

# A Window to the Past?

Tracing Ibn Iyās's Narrative Ways of Worldmaking

Bonn University Press



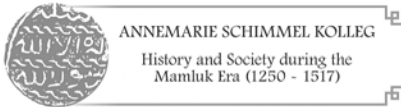


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Anna Kollatz

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With one figure

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Cover image: © Florian Saalfeld. View into Ibn Ṭulūn mosque, Cairo.

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Manifestum est enim quod omne  
quod recipitur in aliquo,  
recipitur in eo  
per modum recipientis  
*Thomas Aquinus, Summa Theologica*

“Of course it is happening inside your head,  
Harry, but why on earth should that mean  
that it is not real?”  
*Albus Dumbledore, Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*



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## Notes on Transliteration and Dates

The present work uses the transliteration standards of IJMES journal for Arabic terms and names. Turkish terms and names are transliterated in accordance with the Modern Turkish standard script. Commonly known names of cities, places or other terms that have been introduced to English standard vocabulary, including the term ‘Mamluk’ as to designating the Mamluk realm, ruling system and culture as a whole and as the denomination of the social status of the Mamluks themselves, are not transliterated unless appearing e.g. in translated quotations from source material.

Dates are given in both the Islamic and Common Era, unless they are used to designate rough timespans in the analysis; in these cases, I have decided to leave the Islamic era out for better legibility.



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# I Introduction

This study is dedicated to the oeuvre of an author who, measured against the number of citations to be found in recent and not-so-recent literature on Mamluk times, and especially the transition to Ottoman rule over Egypt, has often been rated as the most eminent source, at least for his own lifetime.<sup>1</sup> Ironically, Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī (852–ca. 930/1448–ca. 1524) seems to have been of way less interest to his contemporaries than to modern researchers,<sup>2</sup> given that not a single author of the numerous bibliographical dictionaries from his time bothered writing an entry about him. Interest in his person and his writings from the part of the intellectual community of his time<sup>3</sup> seems to be rather limited as well, as no contemporary author of historiographical narrations did refer to or

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1 To date, no contemporary description of his life other than his own are known, although his *Badā' i' al-zuhūr fī waqā' i' al-duhūr* (forthwith cited as *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*) has widely been used as a source for Mamluk history and numerous studies have delivered reviews on the biographical information available on him. Cf. Kahle, Paul (1931): "Einleitung." In Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās: *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, vol. IV. Edited by Paul Kahle, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā and Moritz Sobernheim. Istanbul, Leipzig: Brockhaus (Bibliotheca Islamica), vol. IV, 1–29. Kahle refers to Ibn Iyās's singular position as an eyewitness chronicler of the Ottoman conquest and to his comprehensive reports on the social, economic, architectural and political contexts of Mamluk rule (ibid., 1). See also Hartmann, Richard (1926): *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn*. Berlin: Dt. Verl.-Ges. für Politik und Geschichte (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 3. Jahr, H. 2).

2 There are numerous articles discussing Ibn Iyās's life, all of which draw on the information given by himself in the *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*. For a state-of-the-art overview, see Brinner, W. M.: "Ibn Iyās". In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012; other more concise approaches are Winter, Michael (2007): "Ibn Iyās." In: *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*; and Massoud, Sami G. (2007): *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian period*. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 67), 69–70. Even the recent monograph study by Al Amer cannot add information, cf. Al Amer, Ahmad (2016): *Matériaux, Mentalités et Usage des Sources chez Ibn Iyās. Mise au Point du Discours historique dans les Badā' i' al-zuhūr fī waqā' i' al-duhūr*. Saarbrücken: Éditions Universitaires Européennes.

3 Cf. Massoud (2007), 69–70 and note 226.



cite his works as far as we know.<sup>4</sup> The *emic*<sup>5</sup> knowledge on Ibn Iyās is therefore basically limited to the information he conveyed on himself. This is why, in my view, Ibn Iyās is the ideal figure for discussing some of the most crucial boundaries that cut through—and thereby strongly influence—research on (Mamluk) history. To date, to whom Ibn Iyās wrote and who was interested in his texts has not been thoroughly discussed.

Due to his writing concept, and especially his tendency to use vernacular Arabic, his work has been associated with the rise of so-called ‘bourgeois’ recipients of knowledge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> The popular topics covered in

4 The German language has a distinction between contemporary historians and authors whose source texts usually do not correspond to the genre formats and ‘demands’ of modern historical scholarship: the former are referred to as *Historiker*, the latter as *Geschichtsschreiber* or *Historiographen*. Though such a distinction seems not to exist in English, the inclined reader is asked to keep this differentiation in mind: certainly, Mamluk historians of different times did take into account different principles of writing and making sense of history, than we modern historians and historiographers interested in the art of Mamluk history writing do. Their principles and narrative strategies deserve attention and appreciation, as they may be different, but not *a priori* worse than those of other epochs. I will refer to the corresponding source texts as ‘histories’ or ‘historiographical narrations’ (as derived from *historiography* as an established term for this type of texts). However, this is not in any way to emphasize the lesser value they are often assumed to have. Rather, I am interested in emphasizing the act of the historiographical narration, which deeply shapes our sources. The historians of the Mamluk period were able to use narrative strategies, form and structure consciously in order to convey a certain image of history. A clear distinction should therefore be made between ‘history’ in the sense of ‘events that happened in the past’ and ‘historiographical narration’ in the sense of ‘narration about these events presented in an emplotted context’. On the definition of the term ‘historiographical narration’ and relevant theoretical approaches, see Fulda, Daniel (2014): “Historiographic Narration.” In: the living handbook of narratology, online 2014. For a discussion of narrativity in historiographical discourses, see also Jaeger, Stephan (2009): “Erzählen im historiographischen Diskurs.” In Christian Klein and Matias Martínez (eds): *Wirklichkeitserzählungen. Felder, Formen und Funktionen nicht-literarischen Erzählens*. Stuttgart, Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 110–135.

5 For a critical evaluation and definition of the *emic-etic* distinction and its value in the context of history, see Harris, Marvin (1976): “History and Significance of the Emic/Etic Distinction.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5 (1), 329–350, esp. 334 (definition).

6 Amina Elbendary has recently published a study on the growing influence of lower social strata on Mamluk society, cf. Elbendary, Amina (2015): *Crowds and Sultans. Urban Protest in late Medieval Egypt and Syria*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press. Elbendary characterizes the fifteenth century as a time of dynamic, asymmetrical change, which included social flux and opened up spaces for power negotiations between non-elite urban populations and the ruling classes (*ibid.*, 1–2). See also ead., (2012): *Between Riots and Negotiations. Urban Protest in late Medieval Egypt and Syria*. Berlin: EBV (Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture, 3). The rise and spaces of influence of non-military social groups have been studied by Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette (1991): *Les Civils et l’administration dans l’état militaire Mamlūk: (IXe/XVe siècle)*. Damas: Institut français de Damas, and Petry, Carl F. (2014): *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (Princeton Legacy Library). He has also published on liminal societal spaces, as e.g. id. (2012): *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society. Narratives from Cairo and Damascus under the*

his *Badā'i al-zuhūr*, together with the vernacular style he used to spin his yarns, have led Ulrich Haarmann to name him, together with Ibn al-Dawādārī, as a prime example of the “literarizing” historians<sup>7</sup> of the Mamluk period and thus an instance of the ‘popularization’ of historiography by and for the rising urban classes.<sup>8</sup> By addressing the definition of ‘popular culture’, Konrad Hirschler has discussed a critical dichotomy in Mamluk studies.<sup>9</sup> Defining a ‘popular culture’ or addressing a ‘popularization’ during the long fifteenth century implicitly establishes a clear distinction between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ or ‘low’ culture, and furthermore assumes that texts in both fields were received and produced by two distinct social groups. To avoid this dilemma, which could blur our sense of the fluidity and interactive nature of Mamluk society, he proposes identifying “communities that shared a similar relationship to the written word”,<sup>10</sup> studying “mechanisms of differentiation that indicate variations in cultural practices” and defining ‘popular reading practices’ along “the intersection of specific texts, spatial settings and social contexts.”<sup>11</sup> Taking into account these three criteria allows us to separate the term ‘popularization’ from dichotomic and thereby static conceptions of society. Drawing on Hirschler’s example, the term ‘popularization’ in this study will be understood as the

increasing participation of individuals [...] who had hitherto been excluded [from the reception and production of histories and other intellectual works, AK]. These individuals belonged to different social layers, but they all participated in the spread of the written word beyond the confines of the narrow scholarly, political and cultural elites.<sup>12</sup>

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*Mamluks*. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center (Chicago Studies on the Middle East, 9). For a short introduction on the development of *sabīl-makṭabs*, their role in schooling children from the lower strata of society and continuity into Ottoman times, see Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (2018): *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517). Scribes, Libraries and Market*. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 162), 108–113. For the popularization of written culture, see also Leder, Stefan (2003): “Post-klassisch und prämodern. Beobachtungen zum Kulturwandel in der Mamlukenzeit.” In Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (eds): *Die Mamlūken. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur; zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*. Schenefeld: EBV (Asien und Afrika, 7), 289–312.

- 7 Cf. Haarmann, Ulrich (1971): “Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken.” *ZDMG* 121, 46–60, esp. 55.
- 8 Ibid., 59; see also his remarks concerning the rise of the ‘literary popular chronicle’ (“literarisierende Volkschronik”) in id., (1970): *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Freiburg i. Br.: Schwarz (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 1), e. g. 10.
- 9 On different conceptualizations and the critique raised against the term ‘popular culture’, see also Berkey, Jonathan P. (2005): “Popular Culture under the Mamluks. A Historiographical Survey.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 9 (2), 133–146, esp. 135–137.
- 10 Hirschler, Konrad (2013): *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands. A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*. Paperback ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 24.
- 11 Hirschler (2013), 24.
- 12 Hirschler (2013), 25, thereby owing much to Berkey’s call to come to a balanced position that stands back from dichotomic concepts but also accepts the existence of cultural phenomena

Ibn Iyās's literary reaction to the needs and expectations of these emerging readerships, together with his use and re-use of compiled source material, has earned him criticism for having produced poorly organized historiographical accounts "inaccurate as to chronology".<sup>13</sup> This critique has seeped into more recent literature and seems to be closely related to the persistent aim of perceiving and using the respective sources as conveyors of trustworthy facts. However, this claim does not do justice to the texts in their individuality. It can lead to the devaluation of the historiographical narratives' original characteristics as 'inventions', for example when specific narrative strategies like fictionally retold dialogues between historical persons are misunderstood as 'fake news'.<sup>14</sup> Somewhat inconsistently, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās's most 'literarizing' chronicle, is, as stated above, of crucial importance as a contemporary source.<sup>15</sup> For his own lifetime, Ibn Iyās has been acknowledged widely as a trustworthy eyewitness and has been received without hesitation by modern researchers as an author of texts that directly mediate reality.<sup>16</sup> In any case, both appreciation and

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that can rightly be called 'popular', cf. Berkey (2005), 137. See also Shoshan, Boaz (1993): "On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo." *Poetics Today* 14 (2), 349–365, esp. 359, and Herzog, Thomas (2014): "Mamluk (Popular) Culture." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies—State of the Art*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress (Mamluk Studies, 3), 131–158, esp. 132 for the origin of the concept, and 136f., where he opposes the dichotomic picture by pointing to social mobility in Mamluk society.

- 13 Little, Donald P. (1970): *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography. An Analysis of Arabic annalistic and biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn*. Wiesbaden: Steiner (Freiburger Islamstudien, 2), 94. Little also criticizes the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* for presenting information not presented elsewhere, which leads him to question the reliability of the text (ibid.).
- 14 See e.g. Irwin, Robert (2006): "Mamluk History and Historians." In Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (eds): *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature), 159–170, esp. 164. Irwin gives Ibn Iyās only superficial attention elsewhere, as in his overview of Mamluk literature. Cf. Irwin, Robert (2003a): "Mamluk Literature." *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (1), 1–29, 18–27.
- 15 Thus e.g. Winter, Michael (2006): "Historiography in Arabic during the Ottoman Period." In Roger Allen and Donald S. Richards (eds): *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature), 171–188, 172; similarly Massoud (2007), 70, who brings scholarly attention to Ibn Iyās's *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, stating that "...Ibn Iyās is considered to be the historian of the Mamluk *fin de regime*...".
- 16 This type of source use becomes particularly clear where certain sources are denied benefits for research, as shown by Little (1970), 97. In particular, research dedicated to the contemporary history of Ibn Iyās use his information without hesitation. Even recent studies that acknowledge the narrative character of the sources still use Ibn Iyās as a mediator of 'reality'. For example, Axel Havemann has used Ibn Iyās's *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* as a source for Mamluk history from below, cf. Havemann, Axel (2010): "The Chronicle of Ibn Iyās as a Source for Social and Cultural History from Below." In Heinemann, Arnim; Meloy, John L.; Haddad, Mahmoud and Su'ād Abū'r-Rūs Salim (eds) (2010): *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*. Würzburg: Ergon (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 118), 87–98. See also more

critique do not apply to his entire *oeuvre*: in no way have *all* his texts been explored by historians of the Mamluk-Ottoman transition period and others so far. Rather, only *one* of his texts has been used, namely his last work, the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, which has been the recipient of overwhelming long-term interest and trust.

Thus, Ibn Iyās is not only a striking example of the differing appreciation and reception of authors by emic and etic recipients, but also a remarkable instance of the establishment of a master narrative founded on selective reading. Today's etic image and reception of Ibn Iyās and his work are deeply influenced by the decisions of scholars in Oriental studies, who since the nineteenth century have perused Arabic historiography for 'trustworthy' authors, eyewitnesses who convey 'historical reality', on the basis of a general assumption that accounts that use fictional or semi-fictional narrative strategies must be unreliable. They share this attitude with both contemporary and later critiques, as "learned scholars in Arab-Islamic culture vigorously denounced the imaginary world of story-telling, especially when it touched on the field of history".<sup>17</sup> Even some of the fathers of (German) Mamluk studies joined the call for the text-critical study of Mamluk historiographies in order to determine a source's "grade of originality" and "value"<sup>18</sup> and establish a hierarchy of reliable sources rather than to understand the respective source materials in terms of their emic concepts and with regard to their narrativity.<sup>19</sup> However, Ulrich Haarmann must be appreciated as one of the first voices to call for "additional" fields of research on the materials, such as the emic genre conceptions.<sup>20</sup> Since then, historiography not only in the field of Mamluk studies has changed direction thoroughly. Writing another statement advocating for the acknowledgment of the literary, narrative character of his-

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recently Mauder, Christian (2021): *In the Sultan's Salon. Learning, Religion and Rulership at the Mamluk Court of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–1516)*. 2 vols. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 169), 1:73–102, 2:1013–4, who acknowledges Ibn Iyās's biased and partial view on al-Ghawrī and the "the problem of an often one-sided and uncritical reliance on Ibn Iyās's chronicle", but still uses him as "the standard narrative on this period". On this assessment, see also Petry, Carl F. (1994): *Protectors or Praetorians? The last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power*. Albany: State University of New York Press (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History), 7.

17 Cf. Herzog, Thomas (2012): "What they Saw with their Own Eyes... Fictionalization and 'Narrativization' of History in Arab Popular Epics and Learned Historiography." In Sabine Dorpmüller (ed.): *Fictionalizing the Past. Historical Characters in Arabic Popular Epic. Workshop held at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 28th–29th of November 2007 in Honor of Remke Kruk*. Leuven: Peeters (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 206), 25–44, 25.

18 Cf. Haarmann (1971), 47 (German Original: "Originalitätsgrad" and "Quellenwert").

19 Cf. Conermann, Stephan (2018): "On the Art of Writing History in Mamluk Times." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Mamluk Historiography Revisited. Narratological Perspectives*. Göttingen: V&R unipress Bonn University Press (Mamluk Studies, 15), 7–26, esp. 7.

20 Haarmann (1971), 48.

toriographical sources would be like beating a dead horse.<sup>21</sup> After the *linguistic turn*, historiographical scholarship had to acknowledge that the evaluation of 'historical facts' in emic narrative sources had to struggle with a twofold challenge: both emic sources and the historiographical narratives constructed on their basis by modern scholars should be assessed as products of a selective, reconstructive and interpretative process. Their statements were heavily formed by and thus dependent on the "interpreting eye of the narrating historian".<sup>22</sup>

However, we still ignore wide portions of the source material that have been, at certain moments in the history of European or 'Western' Islamic studies, declared as less valuable due to oscillations between claims of factuality and distinct fictional modes of narration.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Li Guo's statement in his 1997 assessment of Mamluk historiography, or the statement by R. Steven Humphreys cited below, are still valid: we need more case studies on authors and their works to build a stronger basis for a thorough understanding of the intellectual contexts of the time, which deeply shaped the authors' output and were in turn shaped by them.<sup>24</sup> As Humphreys has stated, "we ought to have book-length analyses of the interplay between a historian's life and career, the cultural currents in which he was immersed, and the development of his thought and writing."<sup>25</sup> In the case of Ibn Iyās, and the many other Islamicate authors from different times and places

21 For a discussion of Hayden White's theory in relation to Arabic 'medieval' historiography, see Hirschler, Konrad (2006): *Medieval Arabic Historiography. Authors as Actors*. London, New York: Routledge (SOAS / Routledge studies on the Middle East, 5), esp. 4f.; Hirschler further advocated a change in the approach towards Mamluk historiography, e.g. in id., (2014): "Studying Mamluk Historiography. From Source-Criticism to the Cultural Turn." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies—State of the Art*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 3), 159–186. One of Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg's recent edited volumes has, for the first time, convened a collection of contributions that approach Mamluk historiographic texts from the point of view of narratology. Cf. Conermann, Stephan (ed.) (2018): *Mamluk historiography Revisited. Narratological Perspectives*. Göttingen: V&R unipress Bonn University Press (Mamluk Studies, 15).

22 Herzog (2012), 26.

23 A discussion of the differentiation between fictional and non-fictional narratives can be found in Martínez, Matías and Michael Scheffel (2003): "Narratology and Theory of Fiction. Remarks on a Complex Relationship." In Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller (eds): *What Is Narratology? Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter (Narratologia, 1), 221–237.

24 Guo, Li (1997): "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art." *Mamluk Studies Review* 1, 15–43; see also Little, Donald P. (1998): "Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk epochs." In Carl F. Petry (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Egypt, vol. I: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 412–444, esp. 433, who points to the much more limited research on Circassian historians compared to Qipchak. Hirschler (2014) has reaffirmed his call for more case studies on individual authors and their way of writing history.

25 Humphreys, R. Stephen (1991): *Islamic History. A Framework for Inquiry*. Rev. ed. London: Tauris, 135.

about whom we currently lack personal information, unearthing his personal life and career will be a hard, perhaps irresolvable task. However, it must be possible to explore an author's wider intellectual context—the "cultural currents" as Humphreys put it—and the development of his writing *from the writing itself*. Again, Humphreys can stand as witness: "Questions of concept, method and structure are essential to understanding how a historian has constructed his account of events."<sup>26</sup> In the following lines, Humphreys turns to another aspect of an author's intellectual context. He points to the study of intellectual history, stating that the dissection of the sources of knowledge used by a historical author is as important, if not even more so, to the study of his methods and concepts as a critical reading of his narrative concepts:

Equally important, however, and in a sense logically prior, is the technical matter of determining the provenance of his data. We need not discuss the general problems and procedures of *Quellenkritik* here, since these are dealt with adequately in many places [...]<sup>27</sup>

This study pleads for the importance of a further category of analysis, namely an author's narrative strategies. The narrative construction of a text, naturally, is closely entangled with both the author's choice of sources and the structuring of his account.

Following Ferdinand de Saussure, post-structuralist theories have argued that common discourses, values and convictions determine human perceptions of reality in such way that the ascription of meaning to social life or historical events resemble collective fictionalizing and the construction of master-narratives more than purely objective reconstruction. From this point of view, Hayden White, similar to Paul Ricoeur, has identified historiographical narratives as "most manifestly [...] verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much invented as found and the forms of which have more in common with counterparts in literature than they have with those in science."<sup>28</sup> Since the publication of White's theories, which, although belatedly, also shook the German Oriental studies to its bones, many examinations have acknowledged the narrative character of historiographical (and other) sources. In the context of this movement, new theoretical approaches have been applied to the material.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Konrad Hirschler

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> White, Hayden (1978): *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 82.

<sup>29</sup> In the wake of this movement, the Bonn Centre for Transcultural Narratology (BZTN) has been founded in 2010 and has, since then, developed methods in the transcultural analysis of narrative texts. This collaborative work has influenced my approach to both Persian and Arabic sources since the time of my dissertation thesis. For a recent overview on the Centre's work, see Conermann, Stephan and Anna Kollatz (in press): "An Introduction to the Nar-

centered his study on the *agency* of authors,<sup>30</sup> thereby exploring their room for manoeuvre in terms of text production, the choice of material or narrative strategies and influencing their historical and social context by writing history. The methodology tailored for this goal nevertheless is a rather traditional one in the best sense of the word. Hirschler rightly stated that the study of the “room for manoeuvre” historians had “in composing the works in terms of the social context in which they acted, the learned tradition in which they stood, and the textual environment in which they composed their works” needs to be founded on “a detailed analysis of the authors’ social and intellectual contexts and their narratives”.<sup>31</sup> With this statement, he calls for scrutiny of both text and context, including the author’s wider and narrower historical contexts.

Yet, does this approach necessarily require a certain set of basic (emic) information on the historical author, his individual living situation etc.? If so, the approach would not fit many authors, and especially anonymous texts from the Islamicate tradition. Is it then possible to supplement a deficit of biographical information on historical authors by other ways of researching a certain textual corpus? Such an approach must also include reflection on a text’s context—be it inside a certain author’s *oeuvre* or in the wider arena of contemporary writing traditions and generic allocations and influences.<sup>32</sup> To decode the multiple interrelations of a certain text, the study of its composition and language are of great importance. Arguments and working plans similar to Hirschler’s approach are to be found in methodological discussions in literary studies, for example in the context of the development of narrative studies from a rather structuralist approach into a form of cultural studies,<sup>33</sup> and in studies aiming for the reassessment of historiographical sources from different times and contexts.<sup>34</sup> The

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ratological Approach. The Bonn Centre for Transcultural Narratology.” In Anna Kollatz and Tilmann Kulke (eds): *Through the Travellers’ Eyes. Narrative Strategies on India in Transition*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

30 Hirschler (2014), for his conceptualization and application of *agency*, see *ibid.*, 1, 63–86 and 86–114.

31 Hirschler (2006), 1.

32 Parallel fields of interest are to be found in the study of intellectual networks, which can help to elucidate not only textual agency, but also the interagency between learned people. See e.g. Binbaş, İlker Evrim (2016): *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran. Sharaf al-Din ‘Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization).

33 Erll, Astrid and Simone Roggendorf (2002): “Kulturgeschichtliche Narratologie. Die Historisierung und Kontextualisierung kultureller Narrative.” In Ansgar Nünning (ed.): *Neue Ansätze in der Erzähltheorie*. Trier: WVT Wiss. Verl. (WVT-Handbücher zum literaturwissenschaftlichen Studium, 4), 73–114.

34 For the Indo-Persian historiographical context, see Conermann, Stephan (2002): *Historiographie als Sinnstiftung. Indo-persische Geschichtsschreibung während der Mogulzeit (932–1118/1516–1707)*. Wiesbaden: Reichert (Iran–Turan, 5).

basic steps to be made before one can discuss room for manoeuvre, intertextual relations or the interagency of society and writing are, however, still close to long-established methods. While historians tended, and sometimes still tend, to neglect the fictional side of narrative sources, Gérard Genette criticized, in his book *Fiction et Diction* (1991), narratology for its exclusive concentration on fictional texts, calling it pejoratively “*narratologie fictionnelle*”.<sup>35</sup> He also pointed out that fictional narration can by no means be regarded as a prime example of narration *per se*. Rather, the methodology for the analysis of factual narratives, or narratives oscillating between factuality and fictionality, must be adapted to these materials. In addition, the structuralist toolkit, as well as Genette’s methodology, is restricted not only in terms of its focus on a corpus of fictional narratives, but also by the fact that this corpus consists almost exclusively of fictional narratives written in European languages.<sup>36</sup>

Methodological approaches that seek to combine the history of cultural and mental aesthetics with narratology have followed the direction proposed by Genette. Connecting a thorough study of the historical, social and intellectual contexts of a certain text or author with narrative analysis (as proposed by Astrid Erll and Simone Roggendorf and successfully applied by the studies mentioned above and many more) also takes us back to the core of historical-critical analysis. By the term ‘*cultural historical narratology*’ (“*kulturgeschichtliche Narratologie*”), Erll and Roggendorf refer to an inherently heterogeneous new field of research, one located within the framework of an interdisciplinary re-orientation of the formerly structuralist narratology. Common to the approaches and studies that belong to cultural historical narratology is the orientation of narratological theory and practice towards the epistemological interests and theoretical assumptions of the New Cultural History.<sup>37</sup>

The present study draws on the wide toolkit of this new field, combining narratological approaches and a focus on intertextual analysis. Based on this

35 Cf. Genette, Gérard (1991): *Fiction et Diction*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil (Collection Poétique), 66.

36 Even today, the vast majority of narratological research concentrates on European languages. While efforts have been made to widen the focus to factual texts and narratives in everyday situations (*Alltagserzählungen*) and recently has widened to the analysis of narrative strategies in films, cartoons or even music, narratological research on non-European texts is still in its infancy.

37 Cf. Erll and Roggendorf (2002), 74. On the problem of the terms ‘cultural history’ and ‘cultural studies’ see Daniel, Ute (2001): *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte. Theorien, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp (Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft, 1523), 14. For the genesis and discussion of the field, as well as its methods and theory, see Engel, Manfred (2001): “Kulturwissenschaft/en—Literaturwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft—kulturgeschichtliche Literaturwissenschaft.” *KulturPoetik* 1 (1), 8–36. The standing and situation of the history of the Islamic world in the context of German cultural studies has been discussed in Conermann, Stephan (ed.) (2012): *Was ist Kulturwissenschaft? Zehn Antworten aus den “Kleinen Fächern”* (Edition Kulturwissenschaft).



methodological inventory, it takes an approach similar to Hirschler's study on 'medieval Arabic historiography', as it is likewise interested in shedding light on the node of interaction between the historical author, his writing processes and the different contexts of which he and his texts form part. However, while Hirschler takes a comparative approach and scrutinizes two authors, this study's focus is much more on the development of a single author, namely Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī. In a comprehensive analysis that, for the first time, takes into account all of Ibn Iyās's known historiographical writings, it aims to trace the working process of this single author in the context of the processes' and the author's entanglements with social, historical and intellectual contexts. The reason for proposing yet another study on Ibn Iyās and pre-modern Arabic historiography that advocates for a combined literary and social historical approach to narrative sources is that our discipline still struggles with a lack of biographical information on individuals like Ibn Iyās. How can we approach authors of key sources for today's etic understanding of their times when we have little to no independent information on them? Judging from the master narratives established in basic inventories of our discipline, like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, one would suspect this problem to be non-existent.<sup>38</sup> We have a sound and logical narrative of Ibn Iyās's life and social context, which, as for so many other pre-modern authors, is founded on the scarce information transmitted by the authors themselves, emplotted and re-emplotted by historians over decades of Orientalist scholarship. Here again, we find traces of the 'Rankeian' heritage of 'looking for historical reality', which lures us into the trap of accepting that 'we cannot find any other trustful sources' and 'we have to work with the information at hands'. This study aims to explore an approach to elusive authors of Ibn Iyās's kin, which more radically than before opts for the informative power of the literary approach. If, as in so many cases, it is impossible to gather 'trustworthy' independent information on certain historical persons who happened to become central sources for our discipline—and if, in turn, we accept relying on the information they themselves transmitted—then why not take advantage of the full range of information they left us?

This study is based on the distinction between the term *author*, meaning a historical person who acted as a real or empirical individual that "can be defined in a narrow sense as the intellectual creator of a text written for communicative purposes. In written texts in particular, the real author is distinguished from the mediating instances internal to the text",<sup>39</sup> and *narrator*, or *narrative voice*, meaning "the inner-textual (textually encoded) highest-level speech position from which the current narrative discourse as a whole originates and from which

38 Cf. Conermann (2018), 7.

39 Schöner, Jörg (2011): "Author." In: the living handbook of narratology, online.

references to the entities, actions and events that this discourse is about are being made",<sup>40</sup> be it a fictional or factual narrative, a postmodern novel or pre-modern historiography claiming to convey factual knowledge about the past.<sup>41</sup> In the case of the latter, the narrative voice often appears very close to the historical author, if not identical with him. This holds especially true for texts that show the characteristics of ego-documents, like travelogues or historiographical texts in which the narrative voice clearly identifies itself with the author's person. Although there are many texts in which this connection is much clearer, Ibn Iyās does identify himself as the superordinate narrator in his writings. This offers the possibility to approach the author through the analysis of his narrative voice.

The construction of a narrative is a complex process that requires many decisions to be made by the author. These include the choice of material and topics, form, ordering principles, narrative strategies, intended readership and the degree of presence an author grants to himself in his texts. These decisions, to a certain degree, are influenced by the contexts of which an author and his work form a part. But still, as Hirschler has shown, there is room for manoeuvre, spaces of agency in which authors can take decisions, shape their texts individually and thereby influence their contexts. This means that an author's narrative voice, his way of shaping his narratives and fitting them into the contexts he and his texts lived in, is an open gate that offers us the opportunity to dig through the words of a text into its worlds. Thus, even highly tendentious historiographical narratives can become a window to the past.

With the comprehensive analysis of the historiographic *oeuvre* of a single author on whom we have little to no contemporary independent information, this study aims to test this approach as a way of getting closer to such elusive authors and their contexts. The endeavor is based on a comparative reading of Ibn Iyās's different historiographic texts, with a strong focus on dissecting the working process behind them. The basic idea is to transpose what Frédéric Bauden was able to do with al-Maqrīzī's scratchbooks<sup>42</sup> onto a set of closely

40 Margolin, Uri (2012): "Narrator." In: the living handbook of narratology, online.

41 For Mamluk historiography, see Stephan Conermann (ed. 2018) and the many different approaches used by the contributors. A transculturally comparative approach to premodern concepts of historiography is Conermann, Stephan (ed.) (2017): *Wozu Geschichte? Historisches Denken in vormodernen historiographischen Texten. Ein transkultureller Vergleich*. Berlin: EBV (Bonner Asienstudien, 18). The volume tests an approach based on analysis criteria dissected by Goetz, Hans-Werner (2009): *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbe-wußtsein im hohen Mittelalter*. 2., ergänzte Auflage. Berlin: Akademie Verlag (Orbis Med-aevalis, 1).

42 As published in his extensive Maqriziana series, beginning with Bauden, Frédéric (2006): "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī. Towards a better Understanding of his Working Method, Description: Section 2." *Mamluk Studies Review* 10 (2), 81–139; on the dissection of the working process based on Maqrīzī's scratchbook id. (2003):

interrelated and interdependent texts that have equal status as finished narratives by one author. For unlike in the case of the notebooks examined by Bauden, this book is about three historiographical narratives completed for publication.

This side of the study relies on compilation analyses that will help us to trace the author's strategies of intertextual re-use and re-arrangement of text parts, information and narrative strategies. Compilation as a technique of text production has long been underrated for producing mere plagiarism and rather derivative texts, in which "the compiler himself does not speak",<sup>43</sup> an assessment closely related to the narrative of decline fostered by etic attempts to periodize Islamic intellectual history.<sup>44</sup> The narrative of decline is problematic in itself, as it contrasts the late fourteenth to sixteenth centuries with a mostly undefined 'golden age', which was and still is presented as the culmination of Islamic scholarship, art and political significance. This negative assessment, of course, also has its roots in emic historiographical narratives, especially of the later Mamluk period, in which authors tend to glorify the beginnings of Mamluk rule

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"Maqriziana IV. Le Carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī. L'apport de la codicologie à une meilleure Compréhension de sa Constitution." *Manuscripta Orientalia* 9 (4), 24–36; further id. (2009): "Vers une Archéologie du Savoir en Islam. La Méthode de Travail d'al-Maqrīzī, Historien du XVe siècle." *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 153 (1), 97–110; most recently in his Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture (in press 2023): *Trusting the Source as far as it can be trusted. Al-Maqrīzī and the Mongol Book of Laws (Maqriziana VII)*. Berlin: EBV.

43 Utzschneider, Helmut and Stefan Ark Nitsche (2008): *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung. Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Gütersloh: Kaiser, 248.

44 Conermann and Şen argue against this narrative of decline, advocating for the revision of historical periodization in favor of a concept-oriented approach towards the *longue durée* perspective: Conermann, Stephan and Gül Şen (eds) (2017): *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition. Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*. Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press (Ottoman Studies, 2), for the discussion of periodization see the introduction by the editors, esp. 13–16. Their argument is based on an environmental approach informed by archaeological studies. Bethany J. Walker has shown for the Mamluk 'frontier' region in today's Jordan that the period in question (before and after the Ottoman conquest) should rather be interpreted as a period of transition during which traditional concepts of order, agriculture, etc. had to cope with environmental and related social and political struggles (and did so successfully). See Walker, Bethany J. (2011): *Jordan in the late Middle Ages. Transformation of the Mamluk frontier*. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center on behalf of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies The University of Chicago (Chicago studies on the Middle East), for the discussion of 'decline' esp. 6f.. For approaches from perspectives other than archaeological ones, see e.g. Heinemann, Arnim; Meloy, John L.; Haddad, Mahmoud and Su'ād Abū'r-Rūs Salīm (eds) (2010): *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*. Würzburg: Ergon (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 118). Recently, Elbendary (2015) has further challenged the decline paradigm from a social-historical perspective. However, already on the first page of his seminal study on the last Mamluk sultans, Carl Petry (1994, 1) argues against alleged "mental fatigue" in the later Mamluk period, acknowledging the hardships people had to cope with, which they did, according to Petry, in a very pragmatic way.

in Egypt against the background of their own times, often associated with economic and political decline.<sup>45</sup> Although scholars like David Ayalon and Donald P. Little have warned against falling into the trap of reading the “nostalgic idealization” present in many historiographical narratives from later times as sincere depictions of reality, this notion has been reproduced to a certain extent by modern research that has described (late) Mamluk rule and society while relying on those very depictions.<sup>46</sup>

Various recent publications argue against this master narrative, constructed by the interplay of a questionable periodization and the reproduction of emic assessments. Using the example of the history of the Islamic natural sciences, Sonja Brentjes has shown the shortcomings of the master narrative on decline in the Islamic middle periods.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Christoph Herzog has argued this from the point of view of Ottoman history.<sup>48</sup> Thomas Bauer has called for a realignment of the discipline’s internal master narrative, being particularly critical of the common periodization and devaluation of Mamluk literature.<sup>49</sup> Triggered by the findings of Islamic archaeology and a few other voices, the perception has changed to the effect that the fifteenth century, as well as the era during and after the Ottoman conquest, is now increasingly regarded as a transition period.<sup>50</sup> The problem with the decline paradigm is not only that it is based on theories centered on the West, but also that it is determined by linear models of social evolution, which assume the direction of development towards modernity. W. W. Clifford has criticized this in the theories of Bourdieu, Parsons and Elias.<sup>51</sup>

45 Supported by the historiographical narratives from the earlier Qipchak period, which paint, almost without exception, a very positive picture of Mamluk rule—not least because many of the earlier Mamluk historians held positions in the administration and thus were more or less closely connected to the rulers. Cf. Little (1998), 420, and for a discussion of the Qipchak period’s historians, 421–432.

46 Ayalon, David (1993): “Some Remarks on the Economic Decline of the Mamlūk Sultanate.” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 16, 108–124, esp. 110. See also Little (1970), 90–92 and Little (1998), 440.

47 Brentjes, Sonja (2012): “The Prison of Categories. ‘Decline’ and Its Company.” In Felicitas Opwis and David Reisman (eds): *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion. Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas. With Assistance of Dimitri Gutas*. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 83), 131–156.

48 Herzog, Christoph (1999): “Zum Niedergangsdiskurs im Osmanischen Reich und in der islamischen Welt.” In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Mythen, Geschichte(n), Identitäten. Der Kampf um die Vergangenheit*. Hamburg: EBV (Asien und Afrika, 2), 69–90.

49 Bauer, Thomas (2007): “In Search of ‘Post-Classical Literature’: A Review Article.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 11 (2), 137–167. Shoshan (1993), 360 refers to Bridget Connelly, who challenged the decline paradigm or “decayed epic theory” earlier. Cf. Connelly, Bridget (1986): *Arab Folk Epic and Identity*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

50 Cf. Conermann and Şen (2017); Elbendary (2015 and 2012).

51 Clifford, Winslow W. (1997): “Ubi Sumus? Mamluk History and Social Theory.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 1, 45–62, 58.

However, research following this long overdue re-evaluation has unfortunately not yet been able to fill the gap left by the disregard of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a time of “mental flaccidity” and merely defective imitation of former cultural achievements, as Brockelmann put it in 1909.<sup>52</sup> Although numerous projects have already turned their attention to this period,<sup>53</sup> the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remain, especially from the angle of literary studies directed towards factual or semi-factual texts, a largely unwritten page. One symptom of this, for example, is that a disproportionately large number of writings from this period, which were not covered by Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* or were considered subordinate in value, still remain only in manuscript form or at best published in uncritical editions. This also applies to a large extent to historiography, with the exception of the use of historiographical sources from the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods in Egypt as the basis for historical studies dedicated to the reconstruction of ‘historical reality’. As Hirschler has pointed out, the perspective “on authors of medieval Arabic narratives is closely connected to the ‘Rise/Golden Age/Decline paradigm.’”<sup>54</sup> Even Hodgeson’s otherwise highly welcome proposals for the periodization of Islamic history based on emic criteria are not free of the idea that a cultural decline occurred by the fifteenth-sixteenth century at the latest, which was thought to be characterized by a lack of originality on the part of thinkers and authors of the time.<sup>55</sup> These interpretations of literary production, deeply engraved in reference works, can ultimately be traced back to a Western concept of the author, which has its origin in the romantic idea of the creative author as a genius. Ripping this idea out of its context of origin and applying it to a completely different environment has had problematic effects similar to the

52 Brockelmann, Carl (1909): *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL)*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Leiden: Brill, 217, German original “*geistige Schlaffheit*”.

53 Again, the volume by Conermann and Şen (2017), of which a second will follow shortly, is the first effort to bring together specialists from Ottoman and Mamluk studies to discuss the period in question and to reassess master narratives in a common effort. See also Wollina, Torsten (2014a): *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag. Lebens-, Welt und Selbstbild im Journal des Ahmad Ibn Tawq*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 8), 115–139.

54 Hirschler (2006), 2. This also holds true for the perception of Persianate and Ottoman authors and covers genres apart from historiography. This can be seen in many EI articles on emic genres: see the article on geographic treatises, Ahmad, S. Maqbul and F. Taeschner: “*Djuḡhrāfiyā*.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

55 On Hodgeson’s impact and the recent discussion of his periodization, see Conermann and Şen (2017), Introduction, 14–15. Their thoughtful considerations on dating include social, cultural, literary, archaeological and environmental perspectives.

application of the concept of the Middle Ages to Islamic societies, recently criticized by Thomas Bauer.<sup>56</sup>

The present study, however, recognizes compilation as a process deeply and actively shaped by the compiler's (henceforth the author's) individual aims and decisions. As Kurt Franz has shown in his study on compiled narratives on the Zanj rebellion,<sup>57</sup> it must be recognized as a complex, multi-step writing technique that makes use of information and narrative techniques already present in the intellectual archive of an author's cultural and social environment. The compilation process involves the choice of material according to the author's aims and intended agenda, the conscious arrangement of the chosen material and thus the creation of a new, individually shaped narrative. Thus, the benefits compilation analysis can contribute to the understanding of the working process of Arabic historians lie in the 'gaps' between the bits and pieces of information an author re-uses. Here, the process of conscious (re-)emplotment of knowledge by an individual author, in relation and interaction with his social and intellectual contexts, become even more observable than in a purely 'original' text.<sup>58</sup> Hayden White's theory provides the basis for considerations on the narrativity of historiographical sources in this study.<sup>59</sup> However, the process of emplotment should not be interpreted in a formalistic-structuralist way, especially since White's rather rigid classification of texts and the distinction between 'facts' and 'events' has been rightly criticized.<sup>60</sup> Rather, I would like to emphasize the processual, and thus elastic, character of emplotment. Here I see parallels with Norbert Elias's theory, who uses the term *figurations*.<sup>61</sup> In reference to his con-

56 Cf. Bauer, Thomas (2018): *Warum es kein islamisches Mittelalter gab. Das Erbe der Antike und der Orient*. München: C.H. Beck; and concerning the periodization and decline narratives in literary studies in his earlier article, Bauer (2007).

57 Franz, Kurt (2004): *Kompilation in arabischen Chroniken. Die Überlieferung vom Aufstand der Zanj zwischen Geschichtlichkeit und Intertextualität vom 9. bis ins 15. Jahrhundert*. Berlin e.a.: de Gruyter (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, N. F., 15).

58 The method has been tested by a working group in the context of the Bonn Center for Transcultural Narratology (BZTN), cf. Conermann, Stephan (ed.) (2015): *Innovation oder Plagiat? Kompilationstechniken in der Vormoderne*. Berlin: EBV (Narratio Aliena?, 4).

59 White, Hayden (1973): *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*. Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins.

60 Evans, Richard J. (1997): *In Defence of History*. London: Granta Books, criticizes White's distinction between 'event' and 'fact', while Wagner, Irmgard (2007): "Geschichte als Text. Zur Tropologie Hayden Whites." In Wolfgang Küttler, Jörn Rüsen and Ernst Schulz (eds): *Geschichtsdiskurs. Band 1: Grundlagen und Methoden der Historiographieggeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Humanities Online, 212–232, turns to the criticism of rigid categories.

61 In his sociological theory, Elias strives not to regard the individual as separate from society. Instead, in his books and theories, he sought to link the individual and society and to find a definition for this state. The concept of figuration may be described as the core statement of his theories. Figuration, in his understanding, describes the intertwining of the individual and society, i.e. the intertwining of interdependent individuals who, by and large, form society.

cept of fluid, constantly moving figurations of human society, processes between author, texts and recipients can also be conceived of as figurations.<sup>62</sup>

As has been stated above, White's categorizations, like the majority of current historical and literary theoretical research, have been developed on a text corpus that can be characterized as European or Western. Categorizations and terminology must therefore be critically evaluated. Apart from their sharp demarcation from one another, to which a more fluid conception is certainly preferable, they must also be examined against the background of their applicability to non-European contexts. For this reason, the reference to Hayden White here is mainly to his basic idea of emplotment. All further categories of analysis must always be checked against the source material and adapted accordingly.

Dissecting the narrative voice of Ibn Iyās, and its possible development and re-plotment for different contexts and intended readers, will help to draw a less blurred picture of the author and to explore his writing techniques and intentions. Besides being a test case for using a literary study methodology to explore the social historical contexts of an elusive author, the study will thus add valuable information to the assessment and use of Ibn Iyās's writings as historical sources.

The first part of this study will be dedicated to a comprehensive stock-check of information on the contexts of which Ibn Iyās and his writings form a part. This includes, first and foremost, a critical reading of information provided by the research literature and the quest for first-hand sources of information. This leads to an integral review of the works attributed with certainty to Ibn Iyās and their preservation. Manuscripts can help us gain information on the author's working process, especially when, like in the case of Ibn Iyās, autographs provide insight into how the author arranged his texts and how he commented and amended them.<sup>63</sup> Besides this, the general state of the tradition can give insight into the reception of an author's work during his lifetime and after.<sup>64</sup> Finally, it is nec-

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Cf. Elias, Norbert (2019): *Gesammelte Schriften*. With assistance of Carmen Thomas. Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek.

62 Elias, Norbert (1970): *Was ist Soziologie?* München: Juventa (Grundfragen der Soziologie), 139–145.

63 Due to the current corona virus pandemic, my planned research trips to the archives in Istanbul had to be postponed to a later, as yet unspecified date. The codicological part of this project therefore will be published separately when the situation once more allows for travel.

64 The high benefit of codicological studies has again been proven by Frédéric Bauden and his research group. Cf. Bauden (2003); see also Franssen, Élise (2012): *Les Manuscrits de la Recension égyptienne des Mille et une Nuits. Étude codicologique, avec Édition critique, Traduction et Analyse linguistique et littéraire du Conte de Jānšāh*. PhD dissertation, online; ead. (2017): "What was there in a Mamluk Amīr's Library?" In Yuval Ben-Bassat (ed.): *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History. Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, 143), 311–332. For a general introduction into codicology, see Déroche, François; Berthier, Annie and Muhammad Isa

essary to revisit the corpus that has come to us in order to identify the text base for the following narrative analysis.

The inventory will be completed with an initial narratological experiment dedicated to exploring the self-representation of Ibn Iyās's narrative voice. Here, the basic question will be what kind of information the author shares about himself and in what ways he enters into contact with his readers. His choice of topics is even more interesting in this respect, as Ibn Iyās is so scanty with personal information. A further focus will be on the literary presentation of the narrative voice. Dissecting the intentions of an author that made him write, and write in exactly the way he chose to, is a core element of the historical-critical method and all later approaches based on narrative analysis. They are also a bridge between the author's historical person and contexts and the intratextual narrative voice. Contexts, the narrative voice and a writer's intentions closely interact with each other. Fortunately, Ibn Iyās is much more communicative concerning his writing intentions than he is when conveying personal information. A comparative analysis of the preambles or *muqaddimas* (though he never calls them this) will thus establish a basic understanding of Ibn Iyās's own openly communicated contextualization, which allows us to identify his targeted intended readership, the social contexts his work is related to and the intellectual framing of his writing projects.

The basic aim of the study's second part is to fathom Ibn Iyās's way of working and thereby approach his positionality as narrative voice, reporter and commentator about his time through narratological analysis. For this purpose, the second part will concentrate on the representation of transition processes, especially political changes or transitions of rule. This approach is based on the now widely acknowledged hypothesis that historical writing serves the purpose of endowing events with meaning and explaining the course of events by emplotting them into a worldview familiar, or understandable, to the author and his intended readership.<sup>65</sup> By choosing information from different sources, re-arranging them, adding their own material and judgments and especially by choosing narrative modes for the representation of certain (historical) events, each author configures a unique interpretation of the events he writes about, even if he draws heavily on compiled material.<sup>66</sup> By this configuration, he produces

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Waley (eds) (2005): *Islamic Codicology. An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*. London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation (Al-Furqān Publications, 102). However, the approach will not be used exclusively or in its full range, as the focus of this study is on narrative and compilation analysis.

65 Hirschler (2006), 4, see also Conermann (2002), for a transculturally comparative perspective Conermann (2017).

66 Franz (2004), although formulated differently in Hirschler (2006), 3.



social capital that, with every step of reception (as well by the authors themselves) is re-figured, in Norbert Elias' sense.

Transitions of rule have been recognized as events that seem to require special attention concerning the configuration of meaningful narratives that explain or legitimize transformation of rule.<sup>67</sup> This holds true even more for situations in which foreign, i. e. intruding groups from outside, adopt and change the traditional system, as the booming historical narratives on the Mongol invasion into Islamicate realms stand witness to.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Iyās's reports cover four larger transitions of rule, namely the Islamic conquest of Egypt, the emergence of Mamluk rule, the change to Circassian rule and finally the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. The negotiation, explanation and justification of these four transitions in his different historical narratives will form the basis for the narratological analysis in the second part of the study. Owing to the study's social historical focus, the analysis will put special emphasis on the narrative negotiation of power and the interaction of different societal agents in the course of transition processes. Here I follow the definition of Anthony Giddens, who distinguishes the two forms of influence *power over* and *power to*. Giddens refers to domination, that is the institutionalized rule over others, as *power over*, while *power to* refers to the possibility of exerting influence on others without an institutionalized frame.<sup>69</sup> Giddens's very broad definition can be well applied to non-European and pre-modern systems of rule without imposing more elaborate concepts.

The most interesting agents in this context are those individuals competing for the position of the principal representative of institutionalized power, as well as the powerful groups supporting or fighting the different competitors.<sup>70</sup> The analysis will therefore concentrate on the representation of these groups and their interactions. Wherever possible, the 'people' will be taken into account as well as a third relevant group in the representation of power-figuration processes. The representation of group or individual agents will be analyzed concerning their spatial setting, their characterization as figures and the space they occupy in the narrative. The analysis will draw on categories derived from the 'toolkit' of

67 Cf. Tausch, Tilmann (ed.) (2019): *Norm, Normabweichung und Praxis des Herrschaftsübergangs in transkultureller Perspektive*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Macht und Herrschaft, 3).

68 E.g. Muhanna, Elias (2018): *The World in a Book. Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Angermann, Anna Katharina (2020): *Das Unfassbare fassen und zu Geschichte formen. An-Nuwayrīs Dīkr aḥbār al-dawla al-ḡinkiz-ḥāniya*. PhD dissertation, Bonn.

69 Defined following Giddens, Anthony (1976): *New Rules of Sociological Method. A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies*. London: Hutchinson, 117.

70 Giddens, Anthony (1973): *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Barnes & Noble (Sociology).

narratology, as described by Gérard Genette and others.<sup>71</sup> Due to the character of the material and to the sheer fact that the methodology of (structuralist) narratology has been developed on a body of nineteenth-century European fictional literature, the ‘toolkit’ will be adjusted to the needs and characteristics of the analyzed text. It will be used only as an etic, descriptive meta-language, which makes the material accessible for later comparative readings.

Each set of transition narratives will be studied following a common scheme. Wherever possible, a collation of Ibn Iyās’s different narratives on the same timespan or events will serve to trace his working techniques, such as compilation processes, the re-use and re-arrangement of material and the history of re-employment or refiguration of the same plots in his different accounts. The narrative analysis will furthermore present the possibility to deduce the underlying convictions, norms and judgements that Ibn Iyās intendedly or unintentionally inserted into his narratives. This offers the opportunity to learn about the author’s mindset, his writing motivation and possible agendas.<sup>72</sup> Narratives as ways of worldmaking—or narrative ways of worldmaking—have been recognized as vital aspects of human interaction, as opportunities to negotiate the author’s as well as the readers’ living contexts, and even to venture freely into possible other worlds in the secured spaces of fiction.<sup>73</sup> Thus narratives as a

71 There are several introductions to the theory and methods of narratology that extensively discuss the approaches of different narratologists. See e.g. Martínez, Matías and Michael Scheffel (2007): *Einführung in die Erzähltheorie*. München: Beck (C. H. Beck Studium), and the more recent, amended editions. For figure analysis, see Lahn, Silke and Jan Christoph Meister (2016): *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse*. With assistance of Matthias Aumüller, Benjamin Biebuyck, Anja Burghardt, Jens Eder, Per Krogh Hansen, Peter Hühn et al. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag (Lehrbuch). For a concise presentation of new theoretical approaches, see Nünning, Ansgar (2000): “Towards a Cultural and Historical Narratology. A Survey of Diachronic Approaches, Concepts, and Research Projects.” In Bernhard Reitz and Siegrid Rieuwerts (eds): *Anglistentag 1999, Mainz: Proceedings Vol. XX*. Trier: WVT Wiss. Verl., 345–373; id. (ed.) (2002): *Neue Ansätze in der Erzähltheorie*. Trier: WVT Wiss. Verl. (WVT-Handbücher zum literaturwissenschaftlichen Studium, 4); id. (2003): “Narratology or Narratologies? Taking Stock of Recent Developments, Critique and Modest Proposals for Future Usages of the Term.” In Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller (eds): *What Is Narratology? Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter (Narratologia, 1), 239–275, and further Sommer, Roy (2007): “‘Contextualism’ Revisited. A Survey (and Defence) of Postcolonial and Inter-cultural Narratology.” *Journal of Literary Theory* 1, 61–79.

72 Here, I draw on Nelson Goodman’s concept, cf. Goodman, Nelson (1978): *Ways of World-making*. Hassocks Sussex: The Harvester Press (Harvester Studies in Philosophy, 5).

73 A most useful collection of articles that discuss the concept in front of different narrative media is Nünning, Vera; Nünning, Ansgar; Neumann, Birgit and Mirjam Horn (eds) (2010): *Cultural Ways of Worldmaking*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. See especially Grabes, Herbert (2010): “Three Theories of Literary Worldmaking. Phenomenological (Roman Ingarden), Constructivist (Nelson Goodman), Cognitive Psychologist (Schank and Abelson).” In Vera Nünning, Ansgar Nünning, Birgit Neumann and Mirjam Horn (eds): *Cultural Ways of*

whole, the author's choice of content and his modes of narration, especially the explicit or implicit strategies for guiding the reader, will help us to obtain a more focused picture of his intended readership, the intended contexts of reception and, finally, the wider social processes with which his work was in touch.<sup>74</sup>

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*Worldmaking*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 47–60 for a discussion of the main theoretical approaches with regard to narratology; for the methodological implementation in narratology Nünning, Ansgar (2010): “Making Events—Making Stories—Making Worlds: Ways of Worldmaking from a Narratological Point of View.” In Vera Nünning, Ansgar Nünning, Birgit Neumann and Mirjam Horn (eds): *Cultural Ways of Worldmaking*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 189–214; and on the application in the sense of cultural history and cultural historical narratology, Nünning, Ansgar and Vera Nünning (2010): “Ways of Worldmaking as a Model for the Study of Culture. Theoretical Frameworks, Epistemological Underpinnings, New Horizons.” In Vera Nünning, Ansgar Nünning, Birgit Neumann and Mirjam Horn (eds): *Cultural Ways of Worldmaking*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1–26.

74 Cf. Herman, David (2009): “Narrative Ways of Worldmaking.” In Sandra Heinen and Roy Sommer (eds): *Narratology in the Age of Cross-Disciplinary Narrative Research*. Berlin, New York, NY: de Gruyter (Narratologia, 20), 71–87.

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## II Stricken with Decline?

If there are master narratives in Mamluk studies, the decline paradigm that postulates a quick and overall deterioration of Mamluk rule *and* culture at the turn of the sixteenth century may rightly be named as a model example. As mentioned in the introduction, decline has been attributed to virtually all the subsystems of Mamluk society during that time. The Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria in 921–922/1516–1517 has been interpreted as the necessary consequence of said decline from the perspective of Mamluk studies, while the same date marks the beginning of Ottomanists' interest in the region.<sup>75</sup> From the archaeological point of view, and especially from the perspective of so-called peripheral regions, the decline narrative has been challenged; research has been redirected towards a notion of *transition* rather than *decline*.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the paradigm of decline is in no way a purely etic ascription imposed on Middle Eastern history. On the contrary, the emic contemporary sources often guide their readers towards an understanding of the time as one stricken with decline.

Modern researchers have taken up the same points of critique the emic sources raised and identified the deterioration of the *iqṭā'* system, inflation, internal factional struggles and corruption as both symptoms and motors of decline. Continuing riots from the side of the *julbān* and the people have been noted as reactions to and further stimuli of decline. So does Ibn Iyās, cf. his reports on the continuous *julbān* riots between 1455 and 1560, including the pillage of the granaries. The year-long insecurity was only ended by a new plague epidemic, which killed many of the rioters, much to Ibn Iyās's and the population's relief.<sup>77</sup>

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75 Only in recent years have the first steps been undertaken to link the two fields of Mamluk and Ottoman studies, which promises the opportunity to study the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from a broader perspective and demands further cooperation between the two fields. See e.g. Conermann and Şen (2017).

76 For an overview on recent challenges to the decline narrative in Mamluk studies, see introduction, 26, note 44.

77 See e.g. *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* II, 324, cf. Levanoni, Amalia (2010): "The Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria. The Turkish Mamlūk Sultanate (648–784/1250–1382) and the Circassian Mamlūk

Amina Elbendary has identified two ‘schools’ of thought in the modern explanation of Mamluk decline. She links the first school, which brings forward arguments based on internal factors like the stagnation of agricultural productivity, political reasons for destabilization like corruption, excessive taxation and trade monopolies controlled by the Mamluk authorities, to the research of Eliyahu Ashtor, who dedicated, among his wide-ranging work on the economy and society of the Levant, an article to technological ‘decline’ in terms of sugar production,<sup>78</sup> and further to Sato Tsugitaka’s publications in the same field<sup>79</sup> and Carl Petry’s *Protectors or Praetorians*.<sup>80</sup> The second school, which Elbendary links to the work of Immanuel Wallerstein and Janet Abu-Lughod,<sup>81</sup> reads Mamluk history within the larger context of global economic history. Egypt’s position as a transfer hub between the economic spaces of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean made it vulnerable to changes in European investment and Venetian trade policies, for example. Changing markets, especially increased competition with American plantation sugar, and new challenges concerning the security of overland trade routes, for example during Tamerlane’s conquests, hit the Egyptian economy severely and caused internal shortfalls, as did Vasco da Gama’s discovery of the sea route to India, which provoked the increasing ‘Mediterraneanization’ of the Mamluk realm.<sup>82</sup>

The arguments of both ‘schools’ are discussed hand in hand in both very recent and older research literature.<sup>83</sup> Petry links both positions in those works

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sultanate (784–923/1382–1517).” In Maribel Fierro (ed.): *The New Cambridge History of Islam. The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 237–284, 269.

78 Ashtor, Eliyahu (1977): “Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages. An Example of Technological Decline.” *Israel Oriental Studies* VII, 226–280. See also id. (1976); id. (1992): *Technology, Industry and Trade. The Levant versus Europe, 1250–1500*. Aldershot: Variorum Reprints; id. (1983): *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; and with special regard to the Venetian influence, id. (1978): “The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade. Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism?” In id., *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages*. London: Variorum Reprints, 5–53.

79 Elbendary (2015), 9 and note 8.

80 Elbendary (2015), 9–10; Petry, Carl F. (1994).

81 Elbendary (2015), 11–12; with reference to Abu-Lughod, Janet L. (1989): *Before European Hegemony. The World System AD 1250–1350*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press and Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (1976): *The Modern World-System. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Acad. Press.

82 As illustrated by the example of post-plague spice trade, cf. Apellániz Ruiz de Galarreta, Francisco J. (2009): *Pouvoir et Finance en Méditerranée pré-moderne. Le Deuxième État Mamelouk et le Commerce des Épices (1382–1517)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (*Anuario de Estudios Medievales* Anejo, 66).

83 As, for example, by Adam Sabra, who names the main arguments next to each other without seeing the need for differentiation into ‘schools’, cf. Sabra, Adam (2004): “The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 8 (2), 203–210, 203.

cited by Elbendary, as does Ulrich Haarmann in his studies on the Mamluk descendants (*awlād al-nās*), which necessarily touch upon this topic.<sup>84</sup> Adam Sabra furthermore stresses a connection between social change in the Mamluk elites in the fifteenth century and the waqfization process.<sup>85</sup> I would therefore suggest that it is better to understand these two ‘schools’ as two strong lines of arguments that go hand in hand and are flanked by further factors that ultimately created economic and social tension. As Elbendary shows, the changes resulting from this interplay of influences were by no means negative for all social groups. In contrast to most contemporary and medieval historiographies, Elbendary argues that the Mamluk regime did not witness a straightforward decline during what one could describe as the long fifteenth century. Instead, it “witnessed crises that presented opportunities for various political and social groups, some of whom benefited and gained more power, while others suffered and were placed under increased stress.”<sup>86</sup> Those crises were triggered by deeper changes both inside and outside the Mamluk realm, as discussed in the aforementioned lines of argumentation. Elbendary thus characterizes the fifteenth century as a time of dynamic, asymmetrical change, which included social mobility both upwards and downwards and opened up spaces for power negotiations between the non-elite urban populations and the ruling classes.

As stated in the introduction, a similar narrative of decline is also present in the discussion of the literary history of the period. Thus, Sami Massoud characterizes Ibn Iyās not only as the “foremost historian of the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule”, but also as the last of the “great chroniclers” in Syria and Egypt. As such, Massoud argues, Ibn Iyās also witnessed “the general decline of Muslim historiography”.<sup>87</sup> Intellectual changes that corresponded to the social

84 Especially his studies on *awlād al-nās* as landholders, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt.” In Tarif Khalidi (ed.): *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 141–163; id. (2004): “Joseph’s Law. The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt.” In Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (eds): *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*. Leiden: Brill (The Medieval Mediterranean, 51), 55–84. For an edited analysis of a waqf endowed by *awlād al-nās*, see Conermann, Stephan and Suad Saghbini (2002): “*Awlād an-nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments. The waqfiyah of Yahya ibn Tughan al-Hasani of the Year 870/1465.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 6, 21–50.

85 Sabra (2004), 207 and more detailed in Sabra, Adam (2000): *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam. Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization), 93.

86 Elbendary (2015), 1.

87 Cfl. Massoud (2007), 69–70, see also Winter, Michael (2017): “Egypt and Syria in the Sixteenth Century.” In Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (eds): *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition. Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*. Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press (Ottoman Studies, 2), 33–56, 33, who states a century-long gap between Ibn Iyās’s death and the next important Egyptian chronicler, Muḥammad b. Abī-l-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Siddiqī (d. 1087/1676).

and economic changes of the long fifteenth century in the region have been demeaned as ‘intellectual decline’ because they departed from the—merely blurredly defined—‘classical’ ideals of Arabic history and literature. This evaluation, as well as the decline narrative in the political and economic fields, at least partly corresponds to emic evaluations that tended to idealize the late Abbasid and early Mamluk periods while criticizing the—surely heartfelt—hardships of their own time. However, we should be well aware of the possible positionality of emic voices criticizing changes as decline. Given that sources merely report from the perspective of those formerly established groups that are more likely to be located on the disadvantaged side of these social upheavals, it is not surprising that this period is presented to us in the emic accounts as a period of decline and challenge. As much as negative economic and political developments cannot be ignored, this applies all the more to the evaluation of literary history.<sup>88</sup>

Similar to the emic sources, which usually address changes in one specific area, such as within historiography, the research literature is also rich in contributions that focus on one aspect or one social subsystem, like the distribution of resources through tax collection or land allocation. From an archaeological point of view, two important arguments have been introduced into this discussion: on the one hand, it has been recognized that changes at the grassroots level of society, like in rural environments, do not run parallel with much more short-term political transitions.<sup>89</sup> For the foundational, *longue durée* changes which archaeology investigates and the social upheavals, which can certainly be traced in narrative and archival sources, environmental changes are a far more

88 Bauer (2007) therefore criticizes the narrative of decline in the study of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Arabic literature and historiography as a questionable approach. See Chapter III, Intellectual Changes.

89 Bethany J. Walker’s study on Jordan in the middle periods elucidates the *longue durée* changes, see e.g. Walker (2011) and for the ongoing surveys in Tall Hisban ead. (2013): *Planned Villages und Rural Resilience on the Mamluk Frontier. A Preliminary Report on the 2013 Excavation Season at Tall Hisban*. Bonn (ASK Working Paper, 11); and more recently ead. (2015): “On Archives and Archaeology. Reassessing Mamluk Rule from Documentary Sources and Jordanian Fieldwork.” In Daniella Talmon-Heller and Katia Cytryn-Silverman (eds): *Material Evidence and Narrative Sources. Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Muslim Middle East*. Leiden: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 108), 113–143; ead. (2016): “The Northern Jordan Project and the ‘Liquid Landscapes’ of Late Islamic Bilad al-Sham.” In Stephen McPhillips and Paul D. Wordsworth (eds): *Landscapes of the Islamic World. Archaeology, History, and Ethnography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 84–199. The edition and study of al-Nābulusī’s *Villages of the Fayyūm* translates this approach to text-based research, cf. ‘Uthmān Ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī (2018): *The Villages of the Fayyūm. A thirteenth-century register of rural, Islamic Egypt*. Edited by Yossef Rapoport, Ido Shahar. Paris: Brepols (The Medieval Countryside, 18) and the parallel publication of its study, cf. Rapoport, Yossef (2018): *Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt. A Study of al-Nābulusī’s ‘Villages of the Fayyūm’* (The Medieval Countryside, volume 19), esp. chapter 9: The Tribal Conversion of the Fayyūm.

decisive factor than political upheavals. The same applies to intellectual changes, although they were determined by social parameters. Ultimately, however, it must be noted that both long-term changes in the structure of society and its economic basis, as well as short-term phenomena such as transitions of rule or developments in the intellectual sphere, were entangled with and mutually influenced each other.

The effects, the changes in specific areas, were described in numerous ways by emic historians and other writers, and many of them have already been studied. What has been lacking so far, however, is a joint consideration of the various developments previously judged as symptoms of decline and their interdependence. From a bird's-eye perspective, such an examination would clearly confirm that those stress factors affecting Mamluk society, which were assessed as a 'decline', were in reality parts of a larger transition that stretched far beyond the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The beginnings of these long-term developments can already be found at the start of the fourteenth century, and the erratic changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were at least partially triggered by external environmental factors independent of the decline logic, which has so far often been understood as inherent to the system.

Mamluk research has dissected the transition factors in multifarious thematic perspectives, thus providing a considerable stock of knowledge about certain sub-systems of Mamluk society. However, we still lack a broader picture of the interactions and intersections between these sub-systems, a hole this book also cannot fill. Nonetheless, inspired by Ibn Iyās's technique of presenting history, we will combine thematic and chronological perspectives in the following discussion. Which developments were already slowly but steadily progressing when Ibn Iyās first saw the light of day in 852/1448? Which had only begun during his lifetime? Did he experience the effects of major disruptions whose origins were perhaps much harder to fathom from the perspective of his contemporaries than from a broad retrospective view?

## **Economy, Environment and Rule**

The decline narrative has remained unquestioned for such a long time in the history of the Mamluks because the Mamluk sultanate experienced long periods of stability, especially with regard to the outside world. The legitimization narrative used by the Mamluks themselves contributed to this notion, since they protected Egypt and Syria as 'saviors of Islam' from the attacks of the Mongols and were able to save them from the threat of the crusaders, who had already been present



in the region for some time.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, even Tamerlane's incursions to Syria around 1400 could not lastingly embarrass the Mamluks militarily. The Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria was the first vital military challenge since the defeat of the Mongols, only foreshadowed by skirmishes between Ottoman satellites in the Caucasus and later between the Ottomans themselves and the Mamluks at the end of the thirteenth century. When considering entangled transitions, however, it should not be forgotten that the Mamluks had to deal with external military rivals throughout the entire period of their rule, even if these could never threaten their territorial core. Against this background, it seems only natural to investigate the reasons for the 'decline' of Mamluk rule in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the Ottoman conquest.

However, research on the economic and financial basis of Mamluk rule has brought to light elements in the transition that can be traced back to the turn of the fourteenth century. At this time, alliances were formed between the Ilkhanids and Italian cities such as Genoa, which challenged the Mamluk trade monopoly between India and the Mediterranean.<sup>91</sup> The smoldering conflict with the Ilkhanids did not end until the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41), which again left the Mamluks as the predominant trading power in the region.<sup>92</sup> Both developments may not have had

90 As discuss, for example, the relevant articles in the Cambridge History series: see Northrup, Linda S. (1998a): "The Bahri Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390." In Carl F. Petry (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Egypt, vol. I: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 242–289; Levanoni, Amalia (2010), 237–284.

91 Northrup (1998a), 281. For the Mamluk entanglement in the Mediterranean and further trading networks, see the many numismatic studies of Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz and especially id. (1981): "Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century." In Abraham Udovich (ed.): *The Islamic Middle East, 800–1900. Studies in Social and Economic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 335–345. His theses have been re-evaluated more recently in the fourth part ("A New Look at the Ehrenkreutz Thesis") of the collected volume Amitai, Reuven and Christoph Cluse (eds) (2017): *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*. Turnhout: Brepols, which can be counted as a new reference work for the Mediterranean trade complex with special regard to the slave trade. See also Amitai, Reuven (1980): "Diplomacy and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. A Reexamination of the Mamluk-Byzantine-Genoese Triangle in the Late Thirteenth Century in Light of the Existing Early Correspondence." *Oriente Moderno* 88/2, 349–368 for both an analysis of early economic correspondence and a detailed review of the state of research.

92 Adam Sabra sees his reign as the peak of the Mamluk realm's centralization, cf. Sabra (2004), 204. The pivotal role of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign concerning changes in almost all sub-systems of society has been discussed e.g. by Ayalon, David (1994): "The Expansion and Decline of Cairo under the Mamlūks and Its Background." In Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen (eds): *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen*. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 13–20; and Levanoni, Amalia (1995): *A Turning Point in Mamluk History. The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–341)*. Leiden: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 10).

a direct influence on the life of a scholar in Cairo one century later, but they did determine the overall economic situation of the realm and thus had an indirect *longue durée* effect on everyday life.

Apart from these external economic reorganizations, however, internal economic processes commenced in the fourteenth century that were to change both the Egyptian economy and the fiscal setup of Mamluk rule extensively. The latter half of the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries have been described as the peak of a ‘waqfization’ wave,<sup>93</sup> in the context of which urban centers changed: the increased foundation of *awqāf* was accompanied by a veritable boom in madrasas, *khanqāhs* and mosque buildings, all of which acted as multipliers of education and intellectual production.<sup>94</sup> On the one hand, this laid the cornerstone for the opening of educational institutions to the middle and lower classes, for example by founding numerous *sabīl-kuttābs*, which provided educational opportunities to members of the lower social classes.<sup>95</sup> On the other hand, it initiated a slow change in the fiscal and economic system, the effects of which have often been discussed negatively within the decline paradigm. For example, Daisuke Igarashi shows that increasing waqfization by the transfer of *iqṭāʾ* land to private ownership gradually reduced the financial resources of the treasury responsible for paying the Mamluks and allocating *iqṭāʾ*s to the amirs,

93 Thus Igarashi, Daisuke (2014): *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*. Berlin: EBV (Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture, 7); as well as in his monographic study: id. (2015): *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt*. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center (Chicago Studies on the Middle East, 10). This ‘waqfization’ process has been described from different perspectives and can be traced in the documentary sources, see e.g. Ashtor, Eliyahu (1976): *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 318; for the Circassian period Abū Ghāzī, ‘Imād (2000): *Taṭawwur al-ḥiyāza al-zirāʿiyya fī Miṣr. Zaman al-mamālīk al-jarākisa*. Cairo: ‘Ayn lil-dirāsāt wa l-buḥūth. The implications of privatization have been studied through different examples, see e.g. Sabra (2004); Walker (2011), 233–272, Petry, Carl F. (2000): “Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate. Security vs. Profit?” In Toru Miura and John Edward Philips (eds): *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa. A Comparative Study*. London: Kegan Paul International (Islamic Area Studies), 99–113, to name just a few.

94 Doris Behrens-Abouseif has studied the intersections of urban architecture, endowment policies and intellectual production in Cairo. See for the later fifteen century: Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (2001): “Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Al-Aṣraf Qāyṭbāy—Patrons of Urbanism.” In Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen (eds): *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III. Proceedings of the 6th, 7th, 8th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*. Leuven: Peeters, 267–285. Konrad Hirschler has retraced the same processes in his study on the formation of Syrian provincial civilian elite, cf. Hirschler, Konrad (2008): “The Formation of the Civilian Elite in the Syrian Province. The Case of Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Ḥamāh.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 12 (2), 95–132.

95 Behrens-Abouseif (2018).

while it also opened landownership to groups in society excluded from it previously.<sup>96</sup>

This process alone touches on many of the entanglements mentioned above. The steady reduction in the available *iqṭāʿ* allotments worked together with the generally uncertain status of the amirs and Mamluks: the loss of status and financial livelihood could affect everyone, and not only during transitional situations caused by factional struggles. Both stress factors logically caused the amirs and the sultan to become interested in securing their financial base. As a further factor here, of course, came the securing of assets and living standards for their own descendants, the so-called *awlād al-nās*. This factor directly relates the long-term transformation of the financial system to Ibn Iyās, who, as an *ibn al-nās* of the third to fourth generation, according to his own statement, was financially dependent on income from an inherited *iqṭāʿ* or *rizqah* holding.<sup>97</sup> As Igarashi notes, the conversion of *iqṭāʿ* land into private property or *waqf* land was not considered illegal at any time and was even institutionalized with the introduction of the *diwān al-mufrad* in 785/1383.<sup>98</sup> As a result, new structures and professional profiles developed that were directly related to the management of privatized or *waqf* land.<sup>99</sup> Thus, more and more civilian administrative servants who either belonged to the households of leading amirs or the tax revenue authorities began to work in the administration of private *awqāf* as well.<sup>100</sup> The economic structure of agriculture and other sectors—urban real estate was one of the preferred assets for equipping a *waqf*, as it guaranteed a regular income

96 Igarashi (2014), 13–15.

97 See e.g. Brinner, “Ibn Iyās”, see also Chapter III. On the financial situation of Mamluk descendants in the context of the *ḥalqa*, see also Conermann, Stephan (in press): “Mamluk Descendants in Military Service: The *ḥalqa*.” In Anna Kollatz (ed.): *In Search for a Hidden Group. Where are the awlād al-nās?* Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 29), 97–120.

98 Igarashi (2014), 11; and Igarashi, Daisuke (2006): “The Establishment and Development of al-Diwan al-Mufrad. Its Background and Implications.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 10 (1), 117–140.

99 An organigram elucidating the intersections of Mamluk and civilian administration with regard to the Egyptian provinces has Borsch, Stuart (2009): *The Black Death in Egypt and England. A Comparative Study*. Austin: Univ of Texas Press, 29–30.

100 Later, a similar evolution of new groups of specialists can be observed, for example, in the Mughal Empire, where, under similar social conditions (privatization of formerly centrally allocated lands, the accompanying regionalization of rule and economic downturn), a social group of so-called secretaries (*munshis*) emerged likewise. These *munshis* distinguished themselves by a written culture of their own, different from the former ideal of ‘high culture’, and a pronounced group consciousness. On this development, see for example Alam, Muzaffar and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (2004): “The Making of a Munshi.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24 (2), 61–72. For the civilian servants see Petry (2014); Martel-Thoumian (1991). Amina Elbendary however notes that during the fifteenth century, horizontal social mobility brought an increasing number of Mamluks into positions in the civilian administration, cf. Elbendary (2015), 43, 64.

that was not directly dependent on environmental influences such as the Nile flood—underwent profound but slow changes, which were also directly reflected in the social structure of Mamluk society. Yet for the established system of financing the military, administration and the ruling apparatus in general through centrally controlled *iqṭāʿ* allocations, these changes entailed substantial challenges. In particular, the treasury had to face an increasingly dire shortage of the cash that was ultimately necessary to ensure the loyalty of the military and other key forces.

Hence, the outlined transition strands encompass changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reported and criticized by emic sources. These include the riots on the part of the *julbān* and the additional weakening of the economy due to inflationary policies.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, these economic, social and political entanglements alone cannot explain why the negative effects of developments, which had already started at the end of the thirteenth century, were able to overpower positive factors so quickly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Why did Mamluk society not succeed in positively integrating its changing fiscal-financial foundations into the development of society?

Financial shortfalls and problems with paying the military led the central treasury to utilize sums formerly invested in the maintenance and development of irrigation systems, which in turn caused the neglect and decay of superregional irrigation systems and an increase in coerced labor on restoration works. Larger restoration jobs were often set aside completely due to the lack of financial resources. In the wake of this situation, the Nile flood management system did not work as reliably as before, which caused a shortage of water in regional systems or over-flooding. On the level of *iqṭāʿ* or *waqf* land, long-term investments were often neglected because Mamluk *iqṭāʿ* holders usually did not engage in sustainable rural development and the long-term stabilization of revenue.<sup>102</sup> Ibn Iyās recurrently writes about the deterioration of the system in several of his works, for example on the unavailing attempts to restore broken-down canals.<sup>103</sup> Due to the fragility of the power balance between factions and sultans, allotments could change quickly. This is why the *iqṭāʿ*-holders' engagement was usually directed towards short-term profit, obtained by squeezing as much as possible from the land to secure their assets in, for example, personal *awqāf*, which offered

101 Al Amer dedicates a part of his fifth chapter to Ibn Iyās's "preoccupation" with monetary affairs and monetary crises in the *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, cf. Al Amer (2016), 355–373.

102 On the downfall of the irrigation system, see Borsch (2009), 34–39 and 40–54 and id. (2000): "Nile Floods and the Irrigation System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt." *Mamluk Studies Review* 4, 131–145.

103 E.g. *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 182; *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, IV, 104, where he reports the sultan calling the *muqṭaʿūn* to restore collapsed canals if they had any under their surveillance. See also Petry (1994), esp. 114–115 and 124–125.

better protection against taxation or loss of property.<sup>104</sup> However, long-term maintenance seems to have also ceased in foundation lands. Together with the decay of the irrigation systems and the resulting drops in the productivity of cash crops, tax revenues and foundation incomes plummeted further and pressure on the rural population gradually grew, as they were not able to meet the demands of both tax and *awqāf* revenue collectors. In consequence, parts of formerly arable land became arid or were overflowed; steppe plants invaded the desertified parts of arable land, which was subsequently taken over by Bedouins for pastoralism.<sup>105</sup>

A further strand in the node of rural-economic transition factors was an increasing rural exodus, which drained the labour force from the agricultural basis of the realm and thus fueled the dwindling of agricultural production.<sup>106</sup> This internal migration led to a significant increase in the population of the big cities, a population which by the nature of its urban living space was not able to produce its own food resources, not to mention the excess production that could sustain the economic system. But did the processes rooted in a time that emic observers thought of as the florescence of Mamluk rule alone cause the quick and thorough downfall of the Mamluk system in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

Almost every study on Mamluk rule in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries refers to the recurring plague epidemics that struck the region and the whole western hemisphere repeatedly over the course of 150 years. In his study on the impact of natural disasters on the Mamluk peasantry, William Tucker pointed to the possible social and psychological effects of disasters such as the plague on rural life and its economy.<sup>107</sup> Given Ira Lapidus's rejection of an urban/rural dichotomy, the close entanglement of rural and urban wealth or crisis should be well established. However, the majority of the research literature deals with the impact of the plague only in passing. A welcome exception are the studies of Stuart Borsch, who uses economic data derived from taxation registers and narrative sources to trace the social and economic consequences of the Black Death and

104 Petry, Carl F. (1983): "A Paradox of Patronage during the later Mamluk Period." *The Muslim World* 73 (3/4), 182–207, 192, see also Igarashi (2014) and (2015).

105 The impact of the increasing Bedouin presence on societal transformations has been discussed by Elbendary (2015), 48–54. See also Saleh, Abdel Hamid (1980): "Les Relations entre les Mamluks et les Bédouins d'Égypte." *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 40 (3), 365–393; and Franz, Kurt (2011): "The Bedouin in History or Bedouin History?" *Nomadic Peoples* 15 (1), 11–53, esp. 32–34, and Borsch (2009), 51.

106 Borsch (2009), 49. Rural and nomadic life, however, still remains an understudied topic, see Havemann (2010), esp. 88–9 and note 6.

107 Tucker, William F. (1981): "Natural Disasters and the Peasantry of Egypt." *JESHO* 24/2, 215–24. See also id. (1999): "Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria." *Mamluk Studies Review* 3, 109–28.

following epidemics.<sup>108</sup> His considerations start with the data provided by the *rawk al-Nāṣirī* of 715/1315. Borsch shows that from the beginning of the fourteenth century, economic and taxation data suggest steady population growth in Egypt, which resulted in growing (agricultural) production and correspondingly rising tax revenues.<sup>109</sup> For about 100 to 150 years, this population growth also resulted in the expansion and thus new exploitation of irrigated arable land. Borsch's observations confirm an economic and social stability within the country, which allowed for steady growth. Thus, his findings correspond with the relative stability of Mamluk rule during this period recorded in emic sources and the research literature. Obviously, external stress triggers, such as the conflict with Ilkhanid and Venetian rivals in global trade, did not negatively influence this internal stability to a substantial degree. The same seems to apply to internal stress triggers, such as the recurring factional struggles among the Mamluks that framed the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Even population unrest, such as the anti-Coptic uprisings around 721/1321, apparently did not significantly impede economic and social development. Borsch's calculations thus suggest that economic stability and even recovery were possible during this period, although the stress factors mentioned above were present.

The long-term changes in the economy and administration discussed above, which are regarded as substantial reasons for the downfall of Mamluk rule in the long fifteenth century, have their origin in the period between 1300 and 1400, an era highly shaped by the impact of plague epidemics. Against a background of archaeological findings that suggest relative stability in the foundations of Mamluk society over the entire period, one must therefore ask whether impacts occurring merely punctual or in rather *courte durée*, such as the aforementioned stress factors, were really capable of bringing down Egypt's rather stable economy before the middle of the fourteenth century. The political and social stress factors that have been discussed as the main reasons for the downfall of the Egyptian economy and thus 'decline' were entangled with each other to such an extent that it seems impossible to determine from which of these strands the general development started—we are confronted by a Mamluk chicken-or-egg dilemma. Was it the continuous transformation of land administration, in the course of which the centrally controlled *iqṭā'* system turned into the more privately administered *waqf*-system? Was it really impossible to adjust existing fiscal tools to this development? Did continuous factional struggles and the resulting precarious situation of the amirs trigger all the other stress factors? And did the agricultural system start to deteriorate because of rising taxes or was rising taxation a reaction to crumbling revenues?

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108 Borsch (2009).

109 Borsch (2009), 38.

The answers to these questions that have been favored thus far seem to presume implicitly that Mamluk policy was not able to generate adequate responses to the stress factors under discussion. On the contrary, the decline narrative is implicitly, and often explicitly, based on the general premise that Mamluk policy triggered or accelerated negative developments through mistaken (re)actions. However, it is imaginable that, under different circumstances, the waqfization of property might have had a positive influence. The individual consideration of different stress factors in research has left us with the situation that, depending on the perspective, one or the other is now regarded as the exclusive trigger for the transition period, a stance often supported by emic interpretations. This impression increases if one adds up the stress factors discussed individually so far and reads the respective research alongside the emic historical narrative, as we find, for instance, with Ibn Iyās. It remains questionable, however, why these gradual, interwoven transformations should so suddenly have triggered a turn towards negative developments. Perhaps a piece of the puzzle is still missing.

In fact, the first bubonic plague epidemic that struck Egypt in 747–852/1347–1449 occurred exactly in the decade after the end of the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Thus, this environmental disaster hit the country at the same time as factional struggle and socio-economic distress, for example through renewed conflicts with Cyprus. If we take a closer look, we also find a change from the predominant import of (young) Qipchak Mamluks to the import of (rather grown-up) Circassian *julbān*.<sup>110</sup> These coincidences make the first wave of plague seem like only one stress factor among many, and thus it has been left standing in the wings rather than on main stage. However, if we consider its effects on the economy and social structure, as Stuart Borsch has done, we must conclude that the plague should be treated as a much more important factor in the study of the transition period than has been the case so far. The first wave of the Black Death spread via long-distance trade routes from Central Asia,<sup>111</sup> presumably not least via the slave trade routes from the Qipchak steppe via the Black Sea region to the Mediterranean. Due to a lack of immunity in the population, the pandemic initially spread unhindered across Egypt, similar to in Europe, and thus claimed a high number of lives.

110 For a general overview, see Garcin, Jean-Claude (1998): “The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks.” In Carl F. Petry (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Egypt, vol. I: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 290–317; Ayalon, David (1949): “The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (3), 135–147. Amalia Levanoni has analyzed the emic perspective on this transition through the example of al-Maqrīzī: Levanoni, Amalia (2001a): “Al-Maqrīzī’s Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate. History in the Service of Faith.” In Hugh Kennedy (ed.): *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*. Leiden: Brill, 93–105.

111 Borsch (2009), 8.

Borsch has analyzed economic data from pre-plague *rawks*, especially relying on the data provided by the *rawk al-Nāṣirī*.<sup>112</sup> Comparing the pre-plague data to later datasets from tax registers and *waqf* documents, Borsch has argued that economic decay, the drop in taxes and (not least) the ramifications on the population were caused by the first plague wave, which struck Egypt hard and whose effects were maintained or even worsened by the following epidemics.<sup>113</sup> The economic data analyzed by Borsch reflect the same changes in the population as described in the research literature that highlights political or economic reasons. However, the suddenly rising death rates caused by the pandemic, together with migration movements caused by a higher death toll in rural areas and related fears in the population, appear far more as a turning point than the slowly progressing political, economic and social changes. According to Borsch, people from rural spaces fled the unknown disease to the cities; however, rural population density was decreasing anyway because the plague caused higher mortality in the countryside.<sup>114</sup> Both processes left the rural population weakened; it was unable to recover after the first wave of the plague, but remained permanently at a lower level than before. The lasting diminution of the population again may have caused the aforementioned decline in arable land and opened new spaces of action for Bedouin (semi-)nomads. It seems legitimate to interpret the recurrent plague epidemics, with the disease remaining endemic in Egypt for more than a century, and their influence on the population and agriculture as a powerful trigger for the political and social changes discussed above.

Yet, the visible changes in the rural population structure mentioned above occurred parallel to the plague epidemic, and have been interpreted as a prime trigger of decline, somehow concealing the impact of the plague. However, the size and terrible aftermath of the first and subsequent plague epidemics in Egypt seem like a much mightier trigger for thorough social restructuration than slow and steady changes in singular subsystems of administration or agriculture. In this sense Stuart Borsch's argumentation can be reconciled with Amalia Levanoni's and Yossef Rapoport's critical comments.<sup>115</sup> Both of them rightly point out

112 Borsch (2009), 67–70; Sato, Tsugitaka (1998): “The Proposers and Supervisors of al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī in Mamluk Egypt.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 2, 73–92.

113 Borsch (2009), chapters 2, 3, and 5. For the *rawk* and his considerations on the *dīnār al-jayshī*, see esp. chapter 5. On the diminution of the population see also Dols, Michael W. (1977): *The Black Death in the Middle East*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; the considerations on general mortality from the book have been republished in id. (1981): “The General Mortality of the Black Death in the Mamluk Empire.” In Abraham Udovich (ed.): *The Islamic Middle East, 800–1900. Studies in Social and Economic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 397–428.

114 Borsch (2009), 49–50.

115 Levanoni, Amalia (2008): “Review: The Black Death in England and Egypt. A Comparative Study by Stuart J. Borsch.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (4), 720–722;



that Borsch gives the *iqṭāʿ* system a great deal of space in his thesis, but pays too little attention to waqfization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Rapoport further characterizes Borsch's argumentation as "class-based",<sup>116</sup> which suggests a rather static societal model behind it. Still, all three aspects must ultimately be brought together. As Borsch argues, the administrative layers involved in the administration of *iqṭāʿ*-land and *waqf*-land overlapped to some extent,<sup>117</sup> and at least in part belonged to the upstart groups observed by Elbandary. This partly deflects Levanoni's and Rapoport's criticism, because in the end the rural population remained exposed to 'exploitation' by the urban *iqṭāʿ*-holders or land-owners, which with the gradual transformation of the landholding system should rather be described as the collection of rents.<sup>118</sup> However, both the process of waqfization and the need to increasingly influence the rural population in order to obtain sufficient funds, as well as the thinning of the rural population and the resulting change in the cultural landscape and its productivity, are related to the effects of the epidemics. The plague remained endemic in Egypt for about 150 years, with regular outbreaks flaring up, sometimes lasting for years. Contemporary chroniclers, and among them Ibn Iyās, report about these repeated epidemics and record the high mortality rate, which led to the depopulation of whole regions and city districts.<sup>119</sup>

Understanding the plague pandemic as a catalyst that accelerated long-term restructuring in society helps to disentangle the knotted node of transition strands. As a result of the unforeseen decimation of the population, which led to a rapid and—for the moment—unstoppable break in agricultural production and trade, the ruling and economic elites felt even more pressured to secure assets for themselves and their families by converting them into private *waqf* properties. Besides, the need for charitable foundations in the larger cities must have risen due to the impoverished former rural population that migrated to the centers. Additionally, the decimation of the urban population, and especially among the Mamluks, triggered or accelerated the need for new groups of administrative

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Rapoport, Yossef (2014): "New Directions in the Social History of the Mamluk Era." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Research College, 1), 143–156, 145.

116 Rapoport (2014), 145.

117 Borsch (2009), 28.

118 Frenkel, Yehoshua (2001): "Agriculture, Land-tenure and Peasants in Palestine during the Mamluk Period." In Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenberghe (eds): *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III. Proceedings of the 6th, 7th, 8th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*. Leuven: Peeters, 193–208.

119 Al Amer has provided us with an overview over passages in the *Badaʿiʿ al Zuhūr* concerned with plague epidemics, as well as a quantitative analysis of sources used by Ibn Iyās in this respect. Cf. Al Amer (2016), 230–237, 287.

specialists. Again, the identified transition strands work hand in hand. When the established social groups could no longer provide the required number of administrative specialists, groups previously excluded from these activities had to step in.<sup>120</sup> Hence, the increase in the number of civilians working in the administration of *awqāf* and in the treasury, as well as the renewed increase of Mamluk descendants, who were able to fill positions formerly reserved for Mamluks. These newly emerging groups thus increasingly achieved financial influence—a means of power that could not be dismissed in view of a regime chronically suffering from a lack of funds. Likewise, the foundation of *sabīl-kuttābs* and other educational institutions in the form of *awqāf* made education more accessible to the urban (Arab or Mamluk descendants) middle classes.<sup>121</sup> This process lasted for several generations and helped the emergence of a new social class, which forms part of the upwards social mobility argued for by Elbandary and others.<sup>122</sup> Altogether, the population loss due to the plague thus triggered an education boost for the remaining population and empowered members of formerly neglected groups.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, the administration's dwindling financial strength caused increasing discontent among the newly recruited Mamluks (*julbān*), who now mostly came from the Circassian lands and were older than previous generations when they arrived in Egypt. Their riots are among the negative effects of the transition period that historians like Ibn Iyās particularly emphasize.

It is impossible to establish in which of the many transition strands this intersectional development rooted, even if the plague epidemics appear to be a reasonable starting point to explain the ever-accelerating problems the old system had to face. However, it is important to note with Elbandary that under no circumstances can we speak of a pure downfall of the system. In spite of the great hardships people and politics had to endure, the long fifteenth century was a time of societal restructuring that went along with hardships for many of the established groups of influence, but opened new spaces of agency to formerly excluded groups. It is no wonder that for those historians who were close to the old system of rule, these restructuring processes must have been unsettling and therefore subject to criticism. Studying the period from the perspective of emic historiographical writing and other narrative sources thus needs to take into account the positionality of those texts. A certain idealization of a 'gilded age' in

120 Borsch (2009), 27–34 discusses the impact of civilian bureaucracy (*mubāshirūn*) and the triangular interplay between these administrators, the Mamluks and the rural population, recurring on a broad basis of narrative historiographical sources and archive documents.

121 On the *sabīl-kuttābs* and their agency in terms of social restructuring, see Behrens-Abouseif (2018), esp. 108–113; Elbandary (2015), 62.

122 Elbandary (2015), Sabra (2004).

123 Which is one of the main arguments of her study, cf. Elbandary (2015), 1–2, 13–15.

the formative years of Mamluk rule, or even during Ayyubid times, served many writers, Ibn Iyās among them, as a narrative tool to criticize their present age. As such, these implicit statements are highly interesting hints for the study of social and intellectual transformation and the reaction of (former) elites to the slow, but steady rise of new, influential “middling groups”.<sup>124</sup> Although Ibn Iyās as a *walad al-nās* of the third and fourth generation would still benefit financially from this old system and therefore has been interpreted as being attached to the Mamluk elite strata, his critical stance towards the Mamluks and the ruling system speaks rather of him being on the side of the majority of the ‘people of Cairo’. He is the last but perhaps most striking example of a new type of historian that emerged from the transition period in Egypt and wrote for an urban audience of aspiring middling groups. The fact that his work received little reception at first may have been due to the fact that with the Ottoman conquest of Cairo, the structure of the potential readership in his home city changed very suddenly with lasting effect.

### Changes in the Social Architecture of the Society: Mamluk Descendants (*awlād al-nās*)

In his 1997 state-of-the-art review, W. W. Clifford criticized the lack of interest—or ability—in interpreting social processes in Mamluk studies.<sup>125</sup> He claimed that the Mamlukists of his age had an “interest in social actors”<sup>126</sup> rather than in social evolution. He lists a considerable number of articles and monographs dedicated to social groups defined by kinship, common economic interest, shared living spaces or emic and etic concepts of social hierarchization.<sup>127</sup> However, according to his assessment, these single studies did not push the field forward to a thorough understanding of overall social processes, nor were those groups identified, for example, by David Ayalon as the core strata of Mamluk society.<sup>128</sup> Clifford calls for the study of Mamluk history against the grain, to understand social dynamics,<sup>129</sup> in line with Ira Lapidus and Michael Chamber-

124 Elbendary (2015), 73.

125 Clifford (1997), 45–62, 46–47.

126 Clifford (1997), 47.

127 Clifford (1997), 54–55, notes 30–35.

128 Referring to Ayalon’s rather static model of Mamluk society, which considers the Mamluk military class as firmly set apart from the local population and the ‘*ulamā*’. Cf. Ayalon, David (1951): *L’esclavage du Mamelouk*. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society (Oriental notes and studies, 1); with regard to the Mamluk descendants esp. Ayalon, David: “*Awlād al-Nās*.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012. See also Meloy, John L. (2016): “*Awlād al-Nās*.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* three. Leiden, Boston: Brill online.

129 He refers mainly to Lapidus in the context of his work on Islamic cities, see e.g. Lapidus, Ira M. (1969): “Muslim Cities and Islamic Societies.” In id. (ed.): *Middle Eastern Cities*. A

lain, whom he presents as the most influential contributors to Mamluk social (or, better, societal) history.<sup>130</sup> However, the research discussed by Clifford still sticks to Ayalon's static model of social stratification.<sup>131</sup> Since then, further attempts have been made to apply theories from the social sciences fruitfully to Mamluk social history. The application of network theories has proved a particularly beneficial approach, as it helps us overcome the static urban/rural or center/periphery dichotomies bemoaned by Clifford and others. Understanding the Mamluk realm as "a region where several nodes of different networks existed side-by-side and at the same time"<sup>132</sup> allows us to make visible the multifarious links between individuals and group-based agents on different layers and across different sub-systems of society. Thus, network analysis serves as a starting point for a reassessment of social group boundaries firmly established in Mamluk studies. Leaving aside the normative construction of society as enshrined in emic societal tableaux, the entanglement of and fluidity between social groups formerly perceived as static becomes more visible.<sup>133</sup> With her focus on urban protest, Elbendary has answered the need to add a perspective on urban political participation 'from below' to Mamluk studies, which have been—and still widely are, at least partly due to the sources that have come to us—focused on 'elite' layers of society.

In the light of this reorientation of Mamluk social history, it becomes crucial to re-assess a group that, by its definition, stands at odds with Ayalon's model. This group, for which modern research has established the name *awlād al-nās*,

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*Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 47–79; id. (1967): *Muslim Cities in the later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press (Harvard Middle Eastern Studies); and to Chamberlain, Michael (1994): *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

- 130 As Yossef Rapoport remarks, Chamberlain in many ways continues the model shaped by Lapidus, who interpreted Mamluk society as vertically structured and determined by patronage systems that integrated elites and (urban) population. Cf. Rapoport (2014), 143–156.
- 131 As laid out in his threefold article concerning the social structure of the Mamluk elite, cf. Ayalon, David (1953a): "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army [I]." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15, 203–228; id. (1953b): "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army [II]." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (3), 448–476; and id. (1954): "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army [III]." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1), 57–90.
- 132 Conermann, Stephan (ed.) (2014): *Everything is on the Move. The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks*. Bonn, Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press (Mamluk Studies, 7); and his introduction to this volume, id. (2014a): "Networks and Nodes in Mamluk Times: Some Introductory Remarks", *ibid.* 9–24; esp. 9.
- 133 It must not go unmentioned that there is awareness of fluidity in Islamicate societies, as expressed by Jonathan P. Berkey, who states that "the lines separating one social group from another were, in general, more porous than they were in medieval Europe." Cf. Berkey (2005), 135.

the progeny of the Mamluk elite and average Mamluk soldiers, have received far less attention than their fathers until recently. Lately, this etic terminology in the guise of an emic source term has been challenged by a conference held in Bonn (online via Zoom) in December 2020. The results suggest that the etic definition, as documented e.g. in John L. Meloy's article<sup>134</sup> draws on an emic use and understanding of the Arabic term *awlād al-nās* as a group definition, that emerged only in certain groups (to which belonged Ibn Iyās, among other historians from Mamluk descendance) during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Owing to these preliminary results, I will use the term *awlād al-nās* in the following either as a source term appearing in Ibn Iyās's writings or in reference to its use by Haarmann and others. In any other case, I prefer the much more neutral formulation 'Mamluk descendants' to point to the etically defined group.<sup>135</sup> After Ulrich Haarmann's interest in the group, whose studies were untimely ended by his premature death, Mamluk descendants have been matter of interest mainly in the context of studies on *awqāf* systems in different cities of the region.<sup>136</sup> A central body of sources are the documents from the Ḥarām al-Sharīf in Jerusalem and St. Catherine's monastery.<sup>137</sup> Apart from endowment deeds, in which Mamluk descendants can be traced relatively easily, and their association with the *ḥalqa*,<sup>138</sup> the group seems to have escaped the interest of recent research.

Still, the ample source material available in chronicles and prosopographies needs to be handled carefully: furthermore, its value for quantitative studies of

134 Meloy "Awlād al-Nās".

135 See the contributions in Kollatz, Anna (ed.) (in press 2022): *In Search for a Hidden Group. Where are the awlād al-nās?* Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 29).

136 The most important studies in this respect are still Haarmann (1984) and, as a continuation, Conermann/Saghbini (2002), while Mazor, Amir (2014–2015): "The 'Maṣūriyah Legacy': The Maṣūri Amirs, their Mamluks, and their Descendants during al-Naṣir Muḥammad's Third Reign and After." *Mamluk Studies Review* 18, 1–56 touches the *awlād al-nās* only as parts of Mamluk households.

137 Little, Donald P. (1984): *A Catalogue of the Islamic documents from Al-Ḥaram Aṣ-Ṣarīf in Jerusalem*. Halle a.d. Saale, Beirut, Wiesbaden: Steiner (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 29); Müller, Christian (2011): "The Ḥaram al-Ṣarīf Collection of Arabic Legal Documents in Jerusalem. A Mamlūk Court Archive?" *Al-Qanṭara* 32 (2), 435–459. See also Frenkel, Yehoshua (in press): "Awlād al-Nās in Mamlūk Jerusalem. An Inquiry into several Ḥaram Documents." In Anna Kollatz (ed.) (in press): *In Search for a Hidden Group. Where are the awlād al-nās? Where are the awlād al-nās?* Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 29), 217–234.

138 On the integration into the Mamluk army, see Levanoni, Amalia (2013): "Awlad al-nas in the Mamluk army during the Bahri period." In David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (eds): *Mamluks and Ottomans. Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 96–105; ead. (2011): "The Ḥalqa in the Mamluk Army. Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?" *Mamluk Studies Review* 15, 37–65 and Conermann (in press 2022).

the proportional contribution of the sons of the Mamluks to various fields of activity is limited. Instead, methods and techniques need to be applied that fit the narrative and selective character of these sources and which allow us to study their very subjectivity, for instance by understanding their underlying selection criteria for the collection of material and the ways these criteria were determined by the professional background of historians and biographers. Mamluk descendants who sought entrance into established social groups determined by intellectual activity (e.g. Mamluk descendants who established themselves as religious scholars, or composed Arabic poems) are most likely to be found in this type of source.<sup>139</sup> The same holds true for those who advanced high enough in the military hierarchy.<sup>140</sup> However, many of those Mamluk descendants are not identified as such in the sources, which suggests the prevalence of fluid concepts of social identification or belonging. Once they successfully integrated into one of the listed groups, the sources present them as *mutaḥaddith* or *faqīh*, without referencing them as belonging to their Mamluk descent.<sup>141</sup> This is why one can often detect a son or grandson of Mamluks only indirectly by studying their names: a Mamluk descendant of the first three to four generations can usually be identified by Turkish names as part of their *nasab* or by references to their ancestor's affiliation with a certain Mamluk faction in form of a *nisba* or *kunya*. Their activities in the economic sector, as landlords and *waqf* founders, merchants and craftsmen, shine through the narrative sources far more rarely, as, for example, when Ibn Iyās casually informs us that his brother al-Jamālī Yūsuf was a master of arms (*zardakāsh*) in the citadel.<sup>142</sup> The study of archival sources, and especially *waqf* deeds, has helped us a lot to unearth those Mamluk descendants who filled important, though not prominent, positions in their society.<sup>143</sup>

Among others, a reason for the relative neglect of this group in socio-historical studies on the Mamluk period might be the perception of Mamluk society as

139 Conermann (in press 2022), 97.

140 See e.g. Haarmann, Ulrich (1988): "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage. Mamluks and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1), 81–114, and more recently Mauder, Christian (2012): *Gelehrte Krieger. Die Mamluken als Träger arabischsprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen*. Hildesheim: Olms (Arabistische Texte und Studien, 18).

141 As ongoing preliminary studies on the *Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'* by al-Sakhāwī show.

142 Kahle (1931), 25–6, pointing to *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* IV, 204.

143 Haarmann (2004), (1988) and (1984), Conermann and Saghbini (2002), Frenkel (in press 2022), for the perspective on Mamluk descendants forming part of a Mamluk household Mazor (2014–2015) and most recently Igarashi, Daisuke (in press 2022): "Who should benefit from my Waqf? Mamluks' views on progeny, lineage, and family based on their Waqf stipulations." In Anna Kollatz (ed.): *In Search for a Hidden Group. Where are the awlād al-nās?* Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 29), 173–194. Still, research on archival documents with regard to Mamluk descendants is in its infancy.

rather static, a perception that the contributions of Clifford, Haarmann, Lapidus and others have been unable to conclusively amend,<sup>144</sup> although especially Haarmann repeatedly pointed to the fact that the status of *‘awlād al-nās*’ in Mamluk society has not been explored to full extent yet.<sup>145</sup> Based on accounts of highly received historians of the Mamluk sultanate, such as al-Maqrīzī, al-Qalqashandī, al-Sakhāwī and others, modern interpretations have suggested that Mamluk society consisted of more or less impermeable subgroups that allowed only limited social mobility.<sup>146</sup> According to this understanding, the system renewed its politico-military and, to a certain extent, administrative elites exclusively by the purchase, training and subsequent manumission of military slaves born outside the Islamic world. Simultaneously, the progeny of the thus recruited Mamluks has been understood as being formally barred from participation in power. David Ayalon has repeatedly outlined the Mamluk system as being based on a one-generation military aristocracy constantly renewed from the outside. This idea has been fundamentally questioned most decisively by Donald Richards, who refuses to see anything exotic about the Mamluk order.<sup>147</sup> Indeed, the sons of Mamluks participated in the social life of the Mamluk Empire in various ways between 1248 and 1517, depending on their personal circumstances and the changing conditions of politics and institutions.

The reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad have received special attention in this respect. Studies on the configuration of the politico-military elites have proved that besides Mamluks from different factions, refugees from the Mongol Ilkhanate and Seljukid Anatolia (*wāfidiyya*) as well as Mamluk descendants formed a vital part of leading circles around the sultan.<sup>148</sup> Even if regarded as a static

144 Clifford (1997) proposing a broader perspective including non-elite layers of society; Lapidus (1969) arguing for vertical rather than horizontal social layers; Sabra (2000), who departs from al-Maqrīzī’s (static) concept of social layers (see below). Elbendary’s (2015) argument about social mobility underlines the fluidity of Mamluk society without questioning existing societal models; Hirschler (2008) traces the development of a provincial civilian elite.

145 E.g. Haarmann (2004), 61: “When exactly this designation *‘awlād al-nās*’ began to be used and how it was delineated in the course of the decades after 1250 has not yet been systematically investigated.”

146 David Ayalon has outlined his concept in several publications (especially Ayalon 1953a, b and 1954) that, since then, have formed the bedrock of modern perception of the Mamluk as a social group, cf. Ayalon (1949), 135–147; Ayalon, “*Awlād al-Nās*”. The more recent EI THREE article by John L. Meloy adopts this model, cf. Meloy (2016).

147 See Richards, Donald S. (1998): “Mamluk Amirs and their Families and Households.” In Thomas Philipp (ed.): *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*. Cambridge e.a.: Cambridge Univ. Press (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization), 32–54.

148 See, for example, Amitai, Reuven (1990): “The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn.” *Studia Islamica* 72, 145–163, esp. 149–50; Van Steenberghe, Jo (2005): “Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Death (1341). A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 9 (2), 173–199,

system determined by social strata in Ayalon's sense, the Mamluk ruling class was shaped by a high degree of fluidity, given the pace with which leading groups, single amirs in powerful positions and even sultans could be appointed and disposed of, often losing their lives in the process.<sup>149</sup> The high degree of social mobility and fluidity in Mamluk society, however, becomes palpable only when groups like the Mamluk descendants are considered as well.<sup>150</sup> One way to get a grasp on them is to focus research on the extended households of leading Mamluks.

Thus, Amir Mazor has meticulously analyzed the configuration of power inside a single household, namely the Manṣūriyya 'Mamluks', a faction going back to Sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678–689/1279–1290). With his study, Mazor shows that the household of Qalāwūn was able to keep an influential position even after its master's death and despite severe sanctions against it, especially in the early reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>151</sup> On the basis of historiographies and prosopographies, Mazor furthermore reconstructs the political-military network set up by this household, which included both Mamluks and their descendants who achieved influential positions in the ruling elite. As he has shown, the Mamluk descendants who achieved leading positions inside or from this faction during the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad were twice as numerous as the 'real' Mamluks<sup>152</sup>—maybe because they were younger and therefore easier for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to win over. Be that as it may, Mazor's study underlines the high level of agency sons of Mamluks enjoyed by that time. But despite the helpful studies mentioned above, Mamluk descendants remain difficult to grasp in Mamluk social history.

Besides the still prevalent perception of Mamluk society as a static system, a further reason for our inability to grasp the Mamluk descendants is that their social demarcation stands at odds with emic social tableaux, which define social groups by occupational criteria, rather than by ancestry. In the fifth chapter of his book on inflation in the country (*Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*), al-

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esp. 194; Clifford, Winslow W. (2014): *State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.* Bonn, Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press (Mamluk Studies, 2), 179–206.

149 With his studies on Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, Jo van Steenberghe has provided insight into the agency of powerful amirs who led from the 'second row', cf. Van Steenberghe, Jo (2011a): "On the Brink of a New Era? Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366) and the Yalbughāwīyah." *Mamluk Studies Review* 15, 117–152; id. (2011b): "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamlūk Society. A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131 (3), 423–443.

150 This group definition is to be understood as an etic one, leaving the question whether there existed an emic group identity aside.

151 Mazor (2014–2015), 54–55.

152 Mazor (2014–2015), 31 and for the Mamluk descendants 46–53.



Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) divides Egyptian society into seven classes.<sup>153</sup> These include 1) the foreign Mamluk elite (*ahl al-dawla*) and six indigenous groups, namely 2) wholesale merchants (*tujjār*); 3) small traders (*aṣḥāb al-bazz wa arbāb al-ma'āyish*); 4) farmers (*aṣḥāb al-fallāḥa wa-l-ḥarth*); 5) learned people as the recipients of state benefits (*fuqahā wa ṭullāb al-'ilm*); 6) craftsmen, servants etc. (*arbāb al-mihan, khudam*); and 7) the amorphous group of the poor (*ahl al-khaṣṣā wa-l-maskana*). Sons of the Mamluks could theoretically form part of all seven groups, but they were particularly numerous—or best traceable, as has been mentioned above—among the Mamluk *ahl al-dawla*, the first category. They also accumulated in the fifth category, which was uniformly comprised of the receivers of public funds or small loans: the ‘civil servants’ studied by Carl Petry and Bernadette Martel-Thoumian<sup>154</sup>, along with scholars, professional witnesses and the *ajnad al-ḥalqa*. The sons of the Mamluks are also not included as a category in Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī’s (d. 771/1370) society tableau (disguised a religious treatise), *Mu'īd al-ni'am wa-mubīd al-niqam*,<sup>155</sup> which was compiled into Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī’s (d. 888/1483) *Badhl al-naṣā 'ih al-shar'iyya fī-mā 'alā l-sultān wa-wulāt al-umūr wa-sā'ir al-ra'iyya*.<sup>156</sup> This list contains all possible sorts of professions, from sultan to dog handler, from amir to latrine cleaner, but does not refer to ancestry as a social marker as well.

While the three named emic society tableaux do not include race or descent as a distinguishing marker—nor for the sons of the Mamluks neither for other groups—however does not wipe out the possible existence of a certain social identity linked to terms like *awlād al-nās* or *awlād al-atrāk*. Instead, common formulations used especially in fourteenth and fifteenth century chronicles such as *dhikr salṭāna al-malik ... min mulūk al-turk* (or *al-atrāk*) *wa awlādihim* show that at least in a certain late-Mamluk environment, the Mamluks and their sons

153 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (2007): *Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*. Edited by Karam Ḥilmi Farahat Ahmad. al-Haram [Giza]: 'Ain lil-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūth al-insāniyya wa-l-ijtimā'iyya, 72–73, 147–150.

154 Petry (2014), Marthel-Thoumian (1991).

155 Subkī provides a detailed list of professions, starting from the religious and Sufic context (*imām, mu'adhdhan*, people related to *khānqāhs*), to artisans, hunters and architects, to craftsmen mostly from the context of the production of books (paperseller, bookbinder etc.) and more general professions (physician, weaver, house-painter), to different servant professions (watercarrier, valet etc.) to obviously low professions like butcher, washer of dead bodies and beggar. Cf. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (1908): *Kitāb mu'īd al-ni'am wa mubīd al-niqam*. Edited by David W. Myhrman. London: Luzac, 44–47.

156 Haarmann (2004), 60, notes 23 lists of several emic sources for the study of societal concepts of the Mamluk era, including the text by al-Qudṣī, which is still only available in manuscript form. As far as I can see, his statement concerning a research desideratum in this respect is still valid. See also Conermann (in press 2022).

were perceived as entangled social groups.<sup>157</sup> That a group defined as Mamluk descendants or even named *awlād al-nās* does not figure among the professions listed by Maqrīzī or al-Subkī proves the high degree of social mobility of the sons of the Mamluks, who could count among amirs, schoolmasters, historians and dog handlers. They spread out among all listed occupational fields and social classes and made their living from the most diverse sources. Moreover, viewed from the pure logic of social tableaux and the (etically defined) term *awlād al-nās*, it becomes obvious that both draw on different discrimination criteria. While the tableaux set up by Maqrīzī and al-Subkī are oriented towards occupational differentiation, the social label *awlād al-nās*, be it the source term arising in fourteenth to fifteenth century or the concept forged by modern research, similar to the denomination of their fathers, draws on the criterion of descent. Just as a Mamluk could serve as a simple soldier or as a sultan, or become a *ḥadīth* scholar or poet, their sons could melt into every layer of society outlined in the emic social tableaux. Whether they achieved influential positions as judges, scholars, (historiographical) writers, Sufis or administrators of pious endowments, or made their living from skilled crafts or trade, Mamluk descendants have been interpreted as occupying a mediating position between the ruling elite and the local population.

As Mamluk progeny, the group identified by research as *awlād al-nās* may have faced the “anti-Mamluk bias rampant among the local civilian elites”, as Haarmann has supposed.<sup>158</sup> Although many of them were rooted in Mamluk-Turkish families on the side of their fathers and grandfathers and Arab-Egyptian families on the side of their mothers, or came from families in which Turkish and Arab-Egyptian parts had intermingled on one or both sides, Mamluk descendants have been expected to have developed a unique, if not individual point of view vis-à-vis their society. Some of the better-known members of the group, for example al-Ṣafadī, made efforts to assimilate into the Egyptian-Arabic parts of society, which went hand in hand with a certain tendency to neglect their Mamluk-Turkish roots. Others, like one of the earliest ‘literarizing’ historians, Ibn al-Dawādārī, integrated parts of their Turkish background into their writ-

157 On the Semantics of *mamlūk* and *turk/atrāk* in the context of social group definitions, see Yosef, Koby (2012a): “Dawlat al-atrāk or dawlat al-mamālīk? Ethnic Origin or Slave Origin as the Defining Characteristic of the Ruling Élite in the Mamlūk Sultanate.” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39, 387–410; id. (2012b): *Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*. Bonn (ASK Working Paper, 6), and most recently id. (in press 2022): “The Term *Awlād al-Nās* and ‘the Rise of a New Class’.” In Anna Kollatz (ed.): *In Search for a Hidden Group. Where are the awlād al-nās?* Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 29), 433–612. See also Jo van Steebergen’s article in the same volume: Van Steebergen, Jo (in press 2022): “Arabic Historiography, Mamlūkization, and the Semantics and Discursive Politics of a Polysemous Concept.” *Ibid.*, 25–96.

158 Haarmann (2004), 82.

ings.<sup>159</sup> It is questionable, however, whether Turkish-Arabic bilingualism—or even Turkish-Circassian-Arabic tri-lingualism in Circassian times—should be regarded as a special feature of Mamluk descendants.<sup>160</sup> As we know from cases of learned Mamluks and studies on Mamluk educational backgrounds, the simultaneous use of Arabic and Turkish was widespread, at least among those Mamluks who have been identified as ‘learned’, with bilingualism culminating during the Circassian period.<sup>161</sup> When Haarmann suggests understanding his *awlād al-nās* as “an extremely volatile, mobile and not easily visible group between two classes that were firmly established in contemporary Egyptian and Syrian society: the Turkish ruling caste and the local economically active and learned civilians,”<sup>162</sup> we should thus take a broader understanding of ‘middling groups’. Accepting the fact that social entities formerly understood as “firmly established” in fact were permeable and open to constant configuration processes to a certain extent will help us to better understand why, for example, Mamluk descendants, though present in certain sources as a group defined by descent, did not develop a comprehensive and well-traceable group identity. When Haarmann further proposes that they “were forced to seek an identity beyond their own ranks,”<sup>163</sup> this evaluation can only stand on a perception of Mamluk society that takes a certain social bipolarity (Mamluks vs. Egyptian) as a secure fact. The relative ‘lack’ of a firmly established group identity broadly visible in, for instance, historiographical treatises could also be impeded by the high level of differentiation in occupations and living circumstances among Mamluk descendants, as well as their personal orientation in-between the Mamluks and local Egyptian-Arabic population.

In light of turning towards an exploration of the fluidity of Mamluk society, it seems advisable not to see the volatility of the (etically defined) group as a disadvantage or a peculiarity of it. Especially in the long fifteenth century, but also before it, certain signs of social mobility characterize even the “firmly es-

159 Haarmann (2004), 80–81.

160 Robert Irwin has discussed the ‘composition’ of the Mamluk social group in Circassian times, pointing to European “professional Turks” (109) as well as to the fact that Qipchak Mamluks did not vanish nor loose considerable in value (e.g. 113). It is to be noted further that even the Mamluks purchased as ‘Circassians’ originated from different regions of the Caucasus, as e.g. Genoese merchants traded in Circassian, Abkhaze, Mingrelian and Georgian slaves frequently (114) in id. (2019): “How Circassian were the Circassian Mamluks?” In Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann (eds): *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History. Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition*. Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press (Mamluk Studies, 17), 109–122.

161 Irwin (2003a), 3; he also points towards the fact that there were amirs and sultans interested in Arabic poetry and literature during the whole time of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria.

162 Haarmann (2004), 83.

163 Ibid.

tablished" social classes such as the Mamluks.<sup>164</sup> It is just the case that fluidity and mobility within this society can be best observed in the group of Mamluk descendants, which crosses the strata of Ayalon's model. Nevertheless, the actual impact of individual sons or grandsons of Mamluks as mediators on their society has not been the focus of research so far. Further research on Mamluk social history should aim to address the middle of society in the sense of a fluid space of interaction, where actors engaged with each other and, if necessary, negotiated new group identities. In a static model of society, these actors were previously understood as separated groups acting *per se*. The opening of perspectives should take into account that actors do not necessarily choose group membership for themselves on an exclusive basis, or are not necessarily born into a group or—in the case of military slaves—bought into it. On the contrary, it is to be expected that actors are members of different intellectual, kinship and professional networks or groups, and that in different phases of their activity, or even depending on their current interaction partners, they relied to varying degrees on one or another affiliation.

Hence, it would be a mistake to identify Ibn Iyās exclusively as an *ibn nās* or as a historian. A broad social history of Mamluk descendants based on quantitative studies must remain a primary desideratum, but for the consideration of Ibn Iyās, it is advisable to approach his positioning within society by taking a closer look at the intersections of his status as *ibn nās* and historian. As Haarmann has pointed out, a significant number of Mamluk historians of the fourteenth to early sixteenth century belonged to the group he defined as *awlād al-nās*, among them al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363) and Ibn Taghrī Birdī as first-generation Mamluk descendants, the latter being the son of one of the leading amirs of his time.<sup>165</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1336), whom Haarmann characterizes as a "full-fledged Egyptian" due to his use of Egyptian and Syrian vernacularisms,<sup>166</sup> was a *ibn nās* of the second generation and thus a grandson of at least one Mamluk amir (hence his *nasab* indicating the function of his father).<sup>167</sup> Finally, Ibn Iyās counts among the grandsons and great grandsons of Mamluk amirs in equal measure. The affiliation to the *awlād al-nās* did not, however, stop at a certain point in the chain of descent. Even a fourth-generation descendant like Ibn Duqmāq—his full name, Ibrahim b.

164 See for example Mauder (2012).

165 Haarmann (1988), 112–113; Haarmann (2004), esp. 80–81.

166 Haarmann (1988), 110.

167 Haarmann reconstructed his line in id. (1974): "Alṭun Hān und Čingiz Hān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken." *Der Islam* 51 (1), 1–36, esp. 7–9, where he identifies Ibn al-Dawādārī's paternal grandmother and grandfather as being from 'Turkish' enslaved origin. The grandfather, Aybak al-Mu'azzamī (d. between 643 and 648/1245–1250) held high posts in the late Ayyubid times; Ibn al-Dawādārī's father 'Abdallāh, who in his turn married the daughter of a Qipchak amir, was born by his mother Gümüş Khatūn, a slave woman from Central Asian origin, only after Aybak's death.

Muḥammad b. Aydamur, betraying his Turkish lineage—was counted among the *awlād al-nās*.<sup>168</sup> The examination of Ibn Iyās's positioning vis-à-vis or within the society in flux that he describes should proceed without preconceived assumptions regarding his attribution in one or the other direction. By examining his narrative style, choice of material and, last but not least, actively interspersed commentaries, we can discover where in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Egypt our author positions himself and in which direction he argues. Ibn Iyās's writings do not show significant tendencies towards the integration of a Turkish heritage; instead, large portions of his historical narrative are critical and sometimes even hostile towards the Mamluk institution. Yet, Ibn Iyās actively engages with his middling position between his Mamluk ancestors and the people of Cairo, among which he seems to localize himself primarily. This engagement, however, does not form part of the autobiographical passages alone, but can also be traced in Ibn Iyās's narrative voice. The following chapter discusses Ibn Iyās's self-positioning in terms of the thematization of his descent. As will be shown, his self-portrayal through explicit engagement with his (historical) person, his family and his friendly or scholarly connections occupies only a very small space throughout the entire historical narrative. In the following reflections on the narrative voice of Ibn Iyās, it becomes clear, however, that by selecting content and in particular by means of evaluative presentation or explicit judgments on the part of the narrative voice, the author actively develops his perspective from the middle of Mamluk society and chooses a clear position on the side of the people of Cairo.

In this context, it is necessary to note that Ibn Iyās needs to be seen in the geographical and social—urban Cairene—context he lived in. Although he refers to the Syrian parts of the Mamluk realm throughout his whole work, his focus and, at the same time, his lense through which he perceives and narrates history, are thoroughly Egyptian, if not Cairene.<sup>169</sup> The following considerations, apart from being a case study on *one* among many Mamluk historians, thus mainly applies to developments in the Egyptian part of the Mamluk realm and more precisely, in its center, Cairo. To gain insight into possibly similar developments in Syria, a similar study would be most welcome and needed.<sup>170</sup>

168 Haarmann (2004), 81.

169 I have discussed parallels and differences between 'Syrian' and 'Egyptian' historians of his time, using the example of Ibn Iyās and Ibn Ṭulūn elsewhere. Cf. Anna Kollatz (in press 2022): "Intellectual Changes triggered by Transition? The Case of Ibn Iyās and Ibn Ṭulūn." In Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (eds): *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition. Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*, vol 2. Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press (Ottoman Studies, 10), 381–407.

170 I should notice that many points I referred to in this background discussion as 'Mamluk', e.g. with regard to the economic development of the region, really refers to Egypt alone, or has been studied thoroughly only on the Egyptian example. In recent years, Mamluk studies do however highlight the need of closing eventual research gaps concerning Syria.

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### III Ibn Iyās Through His Own Lenses

#### Is There a Self-Representative Approach in Ibn Iyās's Writings? Approaching *Badā' i al-zuhūr* and *Uqūd al-juman*

As Ibn Iyās<sup>171</sup> seems to have escaped the interest of contemporaries compiling biographical dictionaries and the like, we do not have access to first-hand information that could validate what Ibn Iyās reveals about himself in his work. Later biographies rely heavily on the information given by our author himself,<sup>172</sup> so that there seems to be, to date, no possibility to prove or disprove his self-representation. According to his own words, Ibn Iyās was born on 6 Rabī' al-thānī 852/9 June 1448 in Cairo.<sup>173</sup> His date of death is unclear. The scholarship has agreed on placing it after the last dated entries in *Badā' i al-zuhūr*, which leads us to assume his demise occurred in 930/1524. Benjamin Lellouch concludes from the said source that Ibn Iyās lived until 29 Dhū l-ḥijja 930/28 October 1524, and died shortly after.<sup>174</sup> This thesis rests on the fact that *Badā' i al-zuhūr* ends rather abruptly, without any hint of the author intending to stop his work at this exact juncture in his narrative.

Unlike other historiographical writers of his time, and also from his closer contexts, Ibn Iyās does not include a consistent autobiographical narrative in any of his texts.<sup>175</sup> Thus, it is worth looking at the way Ibn Iyās writes about himself

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171 I decided not to revive the discussion of the author's name, as Paul Kahle collected convincing evidence that led him to the conclusion that both Iyās and Ayās would be possible readings. Since then, no further evidence has come up that would encourage a shift from the established reading 'Iyās'. Cf. Kahle (1931), 22–23.

172 Cf. Al Amer (2016), 10.

173 *Badā' i al-zuhūr* II, 263.

174 Lellouch, Benjamin (2006): *Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et Conquêteurs au XVIe Siècle*. Paris: Peeters (Collection Turcica, 11), 267.

175 Autobiographical notices can be found, e.g., by Ibn Ḥajar at the end of *Raf' al-iṣr fī qudat Miṣr* (Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1998): *Raf' al-iṣr fī qudat Miṣr*. Edited by 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, Cairo: Maktaba Madbuli, 32), al-Sakhāwī in *al-Daw' al-lāmi* (Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (1992): *Al-Daw' al-lāmi li-ahl al-qarn at-tāsi*, 12

and his social and familial background. This first part of this chapter aims to dissect his self-representative narratives, including the presentation of Ibn Iyās's familial and professional background. Wollina has discussed approaches to the study of self-representation and identity on the basis of ego-documents.<sup>176</sup> Although none of Ibn Iyās's writings bear the characteristics of an ego-document, it is worth studying the rare glimpses he allows his reader into his person and envisioning the spaces the author deliberately leaves blank. Astrid Meier has defined the areas and social groups that influence a person's self and self-representation:

The self is represented and, at the same time, constituted in acts of communication and performance in interaction with external factors such as religious (or political) affiliation, age, gender, occupation, social standing and one's integration within family and other groups. The representation is always aimed at a certain audience, and, therefore, conducted in accordance with norms, values, and conventions the performing subject shares with them.<sup>177</sup>

These intersectional criteria could just as well be an enumeration of the factors that influence an author's writing process and motivation to write. Thus, the self-representation of an author is one of the most important points at which an exploration of his intellectual and personal context should begin.

Ibn Iyās is very scanty when it comes to information about his family or his personal circumstances. Although by the late Mamluk period, historians had started to communicate a remarkable number of details about themselves, their families and life in their neighborhood,<sup>178</sup> such information is scarce in Ibn Iyās's narratives. While the affairs of the people of Cairo and their sometimes very decisive influence occupy a large space in his reports, none of his works gives us a detailed account of his own life. Apart from his name, there is no information

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volumes, Beirut 1992, vol. VIII, 194) and al-Suyūṭī in *Ḥusn al-muḥādara* (Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (2004): *Ḥusn al-muḥādara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrahīm, 2 volumes Cairo: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, vol. I, 335–344).

176 Cf. Wollina (2014a), see also id. (2014b): "Ibn Ṭawq's Ta'liq. An Ego-Document for Mamluk Studies." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies—State of the Art*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 3), 337–362.

177 Meier, Astrid (2008): "Dimensionen und Krisen des Selbst in biographischen und historischen Schriften aus Damaskus im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." In Stefan Reichmuth and Florian Schwarz (eds): *Zwischen Alltag und Schriftkultur. Horizonte des Individuellen in der arabischen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Würzburg: Ergon, 1–21. Cit. after Wollina (2014b), 348.

178 Cf. Elbendary (2015), 104–106, who has some examples of the individual strategies of authors included in their historiographies. See also Conermann, Stephan and Tilmann Seidensticker (2007): "Some Remarks on Ibn Ṭawq's (d. 915/1509) Journal Al-Ta'liq, vol. 1 (885/1480 to 890/1485)." *Mamluk Studies Review* 11 (2), 121–135, esp. 122, and for a case study from the Damascene context, Wollina (2014a).

about the author in the preface or colophon of the texts. Al Amer's<sup>179</sup> is the first modern study that approaches Ibn Iyās's self-representation through literary analysis. However, the analysis is restricted to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, which is to date the only work by Ibn Iyās analyzed with regards to his self-representation. Al Amer's rather structuralist approach struggles with the scarcity of information provided in *Badā'ī*, the same few clues on which all previous attempts to write Ibn Iyās's biography fall back.<sup>180</sup>

A deliberately composed work like *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* not only speaks through the information it contains. On the contrary, the *negative spaces* of a text may also help us to dismantle the criteria the author followed when composing it.<sup>181</sup> Dissecting Ibn Iyās's self-representative narrative thus will assist in understanding how and to what extent the historical author identified himself with the narrative voice and what information about his background he rated as important or interesting for his readers. In putting forward certain details and being silent about others, the self-representation also brings us closer to the position the author claimed to hold in his society.

From Ibn Iyās's own words, we know that his paternal ancestry went back to the Mamluks of Sultan al-Nāṣir b. Muḥammad Qalāwūn and Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq.<sup>182</sup> While he gives no details about his mother and her family, we find him mentioning members of the ruling elite in his paternal ancestry, who held different influential positions in the administration and the military. Ibn Iyās's paternal great grandfather 'Izz al-Dīn Özdemür al-'Umarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 771/1369),<sup>183</sup> the father of our author's grandmother, and his grandfather Iyās al-Fakhrī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 853/1449) were members of the administrative and military elite who were able to keep their elevated social positions over the reigns of several sultans. The great grandfather held the office of *amīr silāḥ* under several sultans and governed the provinces Tripoli, Ṣafad and Aleppo, among others. Shortly before his death, he was promoted to *muqaddam alf*. The grandfather held the influential office of the sultan's *dawādār*<sup>184</sup> during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj

179 Cf. Al Amer (2016), 9. Virtually no new information has appeared since Brinner, "Ibn Iyās". For the most recent contribution, see Winter (2007).

180 See e.g., Brinner, "Ibn Iyās"; Winter (2007), and Lellouch (2006), to mention the most recent biographical sketches.

181 Muhanna (2018), 37–38.

182 See al-Amer (2016), 8–14.

183 In *Uqūd al-juman*, the Turkish *Özdemür* is consequently transcribed into Arabic, including vocalization, as *Azdamur*. I will use the Turkish form of the name.

184 Lit. "inkwell holder", an administrative post of changing importance during the Mamluk sultanate; in the Circassian times it counted among the six most important positions among the amirs. It could be described as a commissioner responsible for overseeing and directing administrative matters. Cf. Ayalon, David: "Dawādār." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

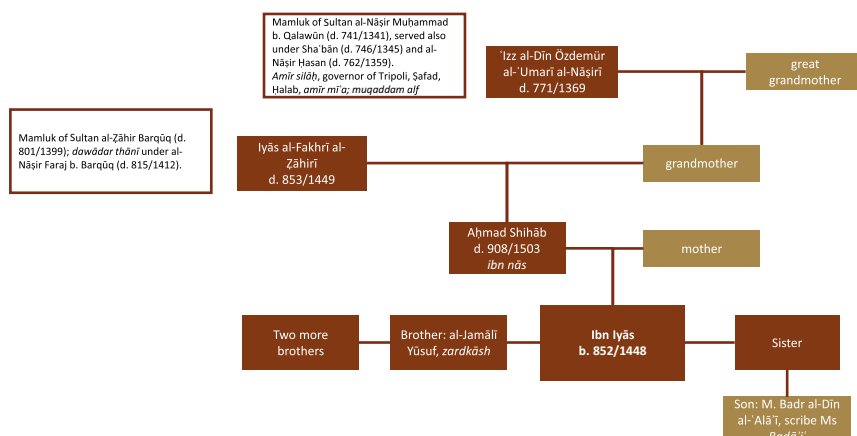


Barqūq. Other family members had different relations with the ruling elite (see Fig. I). Ibn Iyās's family thus appears to have been successful in gaining access to, and keeping their position in, a social layer of Mamluk society that enjoyed a certain proximity to sultans and high-ranking amirs. However, how and where Ibn Iyās incorporates this information into his narrative is much more interesting.

As Ibn Iyās does not provide a section on his family in any of his works, we have to trace hints to his ancestry scattered across his various narratives. This has to be kept in mind as the first hint to the relatively low importance our historical author grants to including personal information about himself or his family into his texts. Is this because he knew himself well-esteemed and well-known in his Cairene surroundings, or was it because he deliberately took the position of an involved but evasive and rather anonymous narrator?

Self-referential passages in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*<sup>185</sup> and *Uqūd al-juman* will be comparatively analyzed in the following. Judging from the considerably low number of passages referring to the author himself, his family members, teachers, friends and acquaintances, self-representation and information about his basic living conditions are not among our author's primary writing incentives. His narrative voice is neither characterized by personal properties, nor does it boldly use relationships with important people or groups to generate overall credibility for the texts. However, references to family, friends and teachers are sometimes used to emphasize trustworthiness or to highlight a fact or an interpretative remark. First, I will discuss those figures mentioned in either *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* or *Uqūd al-juman* who have a personal relationship with Ibn Iyās. I will furthermore discuss the movement of self-referential narratives from *Uqūd al-juman* to different passages of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, focusing on the author's great grandfather 'Izz al-Dīn Özdemür al-'Umarī al-Nāşirī as an example.

185 I draw on the collation of passages from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* provided by Al Amer (2016), 8–14, to read them against parallel passages in *Uqūd al-juman*.

Fig. 1. Ibn Iyās's family.<sup>186</sup>

### Ibn Iyās on his Family

'*Uqūd al-juman* has a relatively long paragraph on Özdemür directly following the description of al-Ashraf Shaḥbān's procession (*maukib*) and the investiture of the amirs after the riots generated by Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī's influence on the sultanate had calmed down.<sup>187</sup> Özdemür is the first amir to be mentioned in this context; his paragraph covers about half a folio, while Ibn Iyās only mentions the name and position of the other amirs invested on the same occasion.<sup>188</sup> As for his great grandfather, the author twice mentions him as *muqarrar al-sayfī*, who was appointed to the positions of *atabak al-'asākir* and *khāzindār*.<sup>189</sup> Moreover, he describes him as "the famous Özdemür al-'Umarī al-Nāṣirī" and notes that he kept the position of *amīr silāḥ*.<sup>190</sup> In a marginal note, the same hand has added a cross reference to an earlier paragraph dealing with Özdemür: "We have already mentioned about him that he had been the *nā'ib* of Aleppo. Later, he was ordered to be present [at court], and when he presented himself, he received a robe of honor and was appointed as *amīr silāḥ* in Egypt."<sup>191</sup> After a short note on his

186 The information in this chart derives both from source material and secondary literature. For a detailed discussion of the material, see below.

187 On Yalbughā's involvement and attempts at domination, see van Steenberghe (2011a and b).

188 '*Uqūd al-juman*, 83 r–v.

189 '*Uqūd al-juman*, 83 r.

190 Ibid.

191 Ibid., margin. I have not been able to locate the earlier paragraph on Özdemür in the '*Uqūd al-juman* so far.

kinship with Özdemür,<sup>192</sup> Ibn Iyās adds a rather elaborate list of buildings and *awqāf* founded and run by Özdemür, among them a “popular well,” a water basin near a road to the village of Banū Sa‘d, a caravansary called Khān Sarāqib near Aleppo, and finally *awqāf* in the holy cities of Mekka and Medina, as well as further caritative *awqāf* and wells. Ibn Iyās presents his great grandfather as “a very pious man” (*kāna l-amīr Özdemür amīran dayyinan khayran*)<sup>193</sup> before listing his accomplishments, closing the paragraph by praying for Allāh’s mercy for Özdemür.

Ibn Iyās mentions ‘Izz al-Dīn Özdemür al-‘Umarī al-Nāṣirī, his paternal grandmother’s father, for the first time in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, in his report on the year 768/1366.<sup>194</sup> The material from *‘Uqūd al-juman* is split into three separate accounts, which follow each other in the second part of the first volume in Kahle/Muṣṭafā’s edition. The year in which Özdemür is first mentioned saw unrest among different amir factions, in which the public was also involved. The riots Ibn Iyās describes in detail belong to al-Ashraf Sha‘bān’s (r. 764–778/1363–1377) attempts to free his sultanate from Amir Yalbughā’s domination.<sup>195</sup> Following his characteristic pattern of reporting, Ibn Iyās pays detailed attention to the sultan re-occupying his position in a ceremony similar to that held at the accession when the riots come to a temporary end: “And when the riots (*fitna*) calmed, the sultan rode to the citadel. He gave robes of honor to the following amirs: [...]”.<sup>196</sup> Ibn Iyās’s narrative illustrates the recovery of rule, using a description of the sultan’s ceremonial procession through the streets of Cairo up to the citadel (*maukib*) and the distribution of robes of honor, a ceremony that also served to establish loyal amirs in positions, as a *pars pro toto* for the whole representative ceremonial act. In *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, these ceremonies are mentioned for all sultans in more or less detailed form, and also at important turning points of political history, like in this case. Ibn Iyās’s paternal great grandfather is the first among those amirs mentioned in the cited example. Apart from the last sentence, Özdemür’s mention follows exactly the common narrative pattern we find in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, as the *amīr silāḥ* is always mentioned first:

[...] the sultan performed the *maukib* in the great castle and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following: Amir ‘Izz al-Dīn Özdemür al-‘Umarī Abū Diqn, and he invested him with the *imāra al-silāḥ*. Özdemür had already held this *imāra al-silāḥ*,

192 Ibid., main text: “This Özdemür al-‘Umarī was the grandfather of the father of the author of this history, being the maternal grandfather of [the author’s] father.”

193 *‘Uqūd al-juman*, 83 r.

194 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ib, 58.

195 Cf. van Steenberghe (2011 a and b).

196 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ib, 58.

once during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, and another time during the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān. This Özdemür was the grandfather of the author's father.<sup>197</sup>

A second, somewhat more detailed account on 'Izz al-Dīn Özdemür follows a few pages later. Among the events of the year 769/1367, Ibn Iyās reports that Özdemür had been called back to the court in Cairo. He suggests a "banishment" (*kāna manfiyyan bi l-ṣabība*), but without going into the reasons. We may deduce from the obituary Ibn Iyās later writes to his great grandfather that this "banishment" might have been Özdemür's appointment as the *nā'ib* of Tripoli. At least during the times of al-Nuwayrī, being invested as governor of Tripoli was rated as a severe degradation, as we learn from the latter's vita.<sup>198</sup> This is perhaps the reason for which, a few pages later, Ibn Iyās makes Özdemür's promotion to the *muqaddam al-f* much more prominent, before directly adding Özdemür's obituary, which is of medium length compared to other amirs of his rank.<sup>199</sup> We find the date of Özdemür's death, the place he was buried and a list of his merits and good works. A short reference to Ibn Iyās's relation follows at the end: "This Özdemür is the grandfather of the father of the author of this historiography."<sup>200</sup>

Ibn Iyās finally mentions his great grandfather a third time in the necrology of the year 769/1367. Here he refers again to the public well, omits some previously given information and also adds new data. Thus, Özdemür is also titled here as *khāzindār*, and his positions as governor (*nā'ib*) of various provinces, among them Tripoli, are mentioned for the first time. However, a mention of the family relationship is missing.<sup>201</sup> Interestingly, Ibn Iyās is not consistent in giving the name of his great grandfather. In the first cited passage, he only refers to him with the *nisba* "al-'Umarī", thus emphasizing the connection to his buyer, educator and patron. In the other passages, he adds "al-Nāṣirī" and "al-khāzindār" to the *nisba* "al-'Umarī", thus emphasizing the connection to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341) and his high position as keeper of the treasury.

The following collation compares the four accounts on Özdemür found so far in *'Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'i al-zuhūr*. Black text marks verbatim compiled parts, while violet marks new material or information that cannot be found in the other accounts. Paraphrased or slightly changed material has not been taken into account at this point. Two verbatim compilations show the intertextual dependency both between *'Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'i al-zuhūr*, and inside *Badā'i al-zuhūr* itself. The first verbatim compiled passage is taken right from the beginning of the *'Uqūd* passage to the same position in the first *Badā'i al-zuhūr*

197 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* Ib, 58.

198 Muhanna (2018), 14.

199 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* Ib, 73.

200 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* Ib, 73.

201 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* Ib, 78.

passage, where a short addition is made to specify the space in which the *maukib* of Sha‘bān was performed and the robes of honor were bestowed.

‘Uqūd al-juman (84 v-r)	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr (Ib, 58)
key: black: verbatim compiled material; violet: additional material	
the sultan performed the <i>maukib</i> and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following.	the sultan performed the <i>maukib</i> in the great castle and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following

The second concordance shows travelling micro-formulations between the version in ‘*Uqūd al-juman* and the three versions in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*. All four versions do additionally contain differing material that has not been compiled either verbatim or in paraphrased form to the other versions. The full texts follow in the compilation concordance at the end of this section. The following visualization only shows relocation processes of verbatim compiled text elements.

The first element from ‘*Uqūd al-juman* travels only to the first version in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, because only this version shares the temporal setting in the context of the sultan’s return. The second and third version in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* share a formulation that underlines Özdemür’s high social status, which has not been compiled from ‘*Uqūd al-juman*. The reference to the author’s relationship to the amir appears in nearly verbatim form in three of the four versions. However, it ‘travels’ from a position in the middle of the ‘*Uqūd*-version to the first and second passages in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, where it serves as closing remark of Özdemür’s description. The reference lacks in the third *Badā’i’* version. The information on the popular well remains in the same middle position in three versions, while Ibn Iyās leaves it out in the first *Badā’i’*-version. Similarly, the pious foundations in Mekka and Medina are not mentioned in the first and the third version in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*.

For the analysis of Ibn Iyās’s self-representation and the discussion of his kinship, it is worth noting that the reference to kinship travels only to two of the three passages in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*. It also seems a bit strange that Ibn Iyās freely adds or leaves out certain parts of information in the different versions, especially in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, even when obviously compiling verbatim from previous passages. Why does he, for instance, use the honorific ‘Izz al-Dīn just once (first passage of *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*)? Why does he leave out the titles *muqarrar al-sayfi* (only in ‘*Uqūd al-juman*) on some occasions and on other occasions mention both *khāzindār* and *amir silāh*? These questions must remain unanswered for the moment, but can be taken into account when it comes to drawing a broader picture of Ibn Iyās’s writing method or working style from the narrative analysis. For the time being, we can state that the mentions of Ibn Iyās’s great grandfather clearly focus on Özdemür’s status as an amir, on his appointments, on his re-

ʿUqūd al-juman (83v)	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr (Ib, 58)	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr (Ib, 73)	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr (Ib, 78)
key: black: verbatim compiled material; violet: additional material. Colored boxes represent thematic units.			
the sultan performed the <i>maukib</i> and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following:	the sultan performed the <i>maukib</i> in the great castle and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following:		
		He was an important ( <i>jalīl</i> ) amir, greatly renowned	He was an important ( <i>jalīl</i> ) amir, greatly renowned.
This Özdemür al-ʿUmarī was the grandfather of the father of the author of this history.	This Özdemür was the grandfather of the father of the author.		
He left a famous/popular well		he left a famous/popular well	He left a famous/popular well.
and pious endowments in the <i>ḥaramayn</i>		and pious endowments in the <i>ḥaramayn</i>	
		This Özdemür al-ʿUmarī was the grandfather of the father of the author of this history	

lationship to the sultan and on his good character and deeds. The kinship with the narrator is only a relatively small part of this representation, so Özdemür's paragraphs in both works must not be read primarily as serving self-representative functions for the author. Instead, the historiographical approach of maintaining information on important men is far more prominent than the narrator's personal involvement. However, since remarks on his person are so scarce in general, the passages allow us to conclude that *if* Ibn Iyās had the intention of showing himself in his historical narrative, he would have identified himself primarily by his Mamluk ancestry and thereby as someone who might be considered as a member of the *awlād al-nās*.

Other than most of the concordances in this study, the following concordance has no color-coding for compiled or paraphrased material. The compilation and relocation processes have been shown above in an exemplary form. It is however impossible to visualize paraphrasing and relocation processes of even smaller elements (like, for example, parts of Özdemür's name) in a comparison of four texts. This example shows how information elements become mixed up and melted into new formulations that cannot be dissected completely anymore. Therefore, the concordance only maps the verbatim compiled portions in red.

ʿUqūd al-juman (83v–84r)	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr (Ib, 58)	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr (Ib, 73)	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr (Ib, 78)
key: red: verbatim compiled portions			
<p>[...] Then, the sultan performed the <i>maukib</i> and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following. The <i>muqarrar al-sayfī</i> Özdemür al-Nāşirī was confirmed as <i>atabek al-ʿasākir</i>, as he had been before. He also gave robes of honor to the <i>muqarrar al-sayfī</i>, the famous Özdemür al-ʿUmarī al-Nāşirī, and invested him as <i>khāzindār</i>. He also stayed <i>amīr silāḥ</i> in the place of Qutlū Bughā Jarkas. [in the margin] We have already mentioned about him that he had been the <i>nāʾib</i> of Aleppo. Later, he was ordered to be present [at court], and when he presented himself, he received a robe of honor and was appointed as <i>amīr silāḥ</i> in Egypt. [end of margin] This Özdemür al-ʿUmarī was the grandfather of the father of the author of this history, being the maternal grandfather of [the author's] father. Amir Özdemür was a very pious man. He left a famous/popular well and other things. Among</p>	<p>[...] After this <i>fitna</i> had calmed down, the sultan performed the <i>maukib</i> in the great castle and gave robes of honor to the amirs mentioned in the following: the amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Özdemür al-ʿUmarī Abū Diqn, and he invested him to the <i>imāra al-silāḥ</i>. Özdemür had already held this <i>imāra al-silāḥ</i>, once during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāşir Ḥasan, and another time during the reign of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. This Özdemür was the grandfather of the father of the author.</p>	<p>In this month [= Jumāda I, 769/December 1367], Özdemür al-ʿUmarī al-Nāşirī, the <i>khāzindār</i> and <i>amīr silāḥ</i>, known as Abū Diqn, presented himself [at court] on the sultan's request. He had been banned for a reason (<i>bi l-ṣabība</i>). When he came to Cairo, the sultan gave (<i>anʿama</i>) to him the rank of <i>taqaddum alf</i> and he stayed for a while. He died in the mercy of Allāh during the Rabīʿ II and was buried in the Qarāfa al-sughrā near the <i>zāwiyya</i> of Shaykh Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Başīr. May Allāh have mercy on him. He was an important (<i>jalīl</i>) amir, greatly renowned, and he left a famous/popular well and pious endowments in the <i>ḥaramayn</i>. He is the one who founded the Khān Sarāqib near Aleppo, which still is in place till now. This Özdemür was the grandfather of the father of the author of this history</p>	<p>And amir Özdemür al-ʿUmarī al-Nāşirī, known as Abū Diqn, the <i>khāzindār</i>, died. He was an important (<i>jalīl</i>) amir, greatly renowned, who held the <i>imāra al-silāḥ</i> twice. he held the <i>niyāba</i> of Aleppo, of Tripoli, Şafad and further <i>niyābas</i>. He left a famous/popular well.</p>



(Continued)

‘Uqūd al-juman (83v–84r)	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr (Ib, 58)	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr (Ib, 73)	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr (Ib, 78)
<b>key: red: verbatim compiled portions</b>			
others, he built a basin and a path/way/street near the <i>Julma Banū Sa’d</i> . He founded a caravansary called Khān Sarāqib near Aleppo next to the road. He also had <b>pious endowments in the ḥaramayn</b> and [donated] a lot of wells and other donations for the sake of the good [84v] and for the aim of getting rewarded in the afterlife. May Allāh have mercy on him.			

Ibn Iyās also mentions a paternal grandfather, named Iyās al-Fakhrī al-Ẓāhirī. Information on him is only to be found in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, though the year of his death, 853/1449, is mentioned by *Uqūd al-juman*. However, it belongs to a large passage of this text, spanning the years 806/1403–879/1475, in which the manuscript chapterization is oriented solely towards the accession of new sultans and lacks the parallel structure of chapter headings for each year. This is why yearly obituaries—where information on the paternal grandfather would most likely have been included—are also lacking. However, *Uqūd al-juman* 198v has the same anecdote on a Persian trickster coming to court as right before Iyās al-Fakhrī's obituary in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. The trickster story is followed directly by cumulative necrologies covering the years 853/1449–854/1450, which is the time of Ibn Iyās's grandfather's death. That the grandfather is not mentioned here clearly shows that the obituary in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* was added later in the overall writing process of our author. This fosters the assumption that he began to insert information on his kin and personal relationships at a later stage in his writerly development. In *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās lists his grandfather's death among the events of the year 853/1449:

And in this month [Muḥarram], on the twelfth, the grandfather of al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad b. Shihābī Aḥmad, the author of this historical work, died. His name was al-Fakhrī Iyās min Junayd and he originally belonged (*kāna aṣluhu*) to the Mamluks of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. During the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faraj, he had been appointed as *dawādār*. He was a faithful man, a respected leader among the people of importance (*al-nās*), and he reached almost 85 years of age.<sup>202</sup>

The grandfather's term of office thus falls into one of the most important transitional periods of the Mamluk era, namely the change to Circassian rule, which began with Barqūq's two reigns. Al-Fakhrī Iyās' appointment as *dawādār* cannot be assigned more precisely to the first or second reign of Barqūq. It remains to be noted that the position he held was to acquire far greater significance in the time of the Circassians than previously under the Bahrī Mamluks or later under the Ottomans.<sup>203</sup>

Apart from the association of the grandfather with his masters or the sultan he served, the details remain very thin. The news of his death takes up only a few lines, between a scandalous story about a Persian charlatan, who wasted the sultan's money unnecessarily and thus provoked public protests, and further brief news about the dismissal of the governor of Jerusalem and the death of a well-known Damascene merchant. Again, the focus is clearly on the grandfather's position as a Mamluk and his career, that is, his being attached to al-Barqūq and

202 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* II, 271–272.

203 Ayalon, "Dawādār".

al-Malik al-Nāṣir. From the way Ibn Iyās cites his name, we further learn the name of his initial buyer and master, a certain Junayd.

We have to wait well into the fourth volume of the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition until Ibn Iyās reveals some final details about his family.<sup>204</sup> The context in which we find a note on the death of Ibn Iyās's father Shihabī Aḥmad in 908/1502–03, which also contains some details on the narrator's siblings, belongs to the large portion of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* that appears to be a scratchbook rather than a finished historiography. The mentions of events are strung together in clipped, note-like terms that appear much less literary than previous sections of the work. With Wasserstein, we may assume that these are notes for a later, more detailed review.<sup>205</sup> Among these short messages, which partly consist of only one sentence, the announcement of the father's death occupies about a quarter of a page in the narrative, which is comparatively large. Nevertheless, the section contains little more information than the pieces about the grandfathers. Indeed, Ibn Iyās defines his father through his grandfather, compiling the paragraph about the connection of al-Fakhrī Iyās to his masters and his position as *dawādār* verbatim. Ibn Iyās also mentions the number of children born to his father (twenty-five) and those who reached adulthood (three sons, one daughter). Names or further reports about the brothers and sisters are missing here. The section concludes with an attempt to establish the father's connection to the leading class. Though he himself, as a *ibn nās*, could not hold any political or military offices reserved for Mamluks, Ibn Iyās suggests a certain closeness to the ruling elite. His father was, the son writes, "very familiar with the amirs and the ruling leaders,"<sup>206</sup> without, however, going into the matter further. He also describes his father's social standing as among the "crème of the *awlād al-nās*".<sup>207</sup> We can thus conclude that the father also plays a minor role in Ibn Iyās's account. Similarly scarce is Ibn Iyās's reference to his brother al-Jamālī Yūsuf, that has received much interest in research and led to speculations about Ibn Iyās's closeness or distance to the court. Al Amer cites al-Jamālī Yūsuf as the name of the only surviving brother of our author,<sup>208</sup> while Brinner mentions him as a *zardakāsh* (warden of the armory).<sup>209</sup> However, he mentions this brother only once in the *Badā'ī al-*

204 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 47.

205 Wasserstein, David J. (1992): "Tradition Manuscrite, Authenticité, Chronologie et Développement de l'oeuvre littéraire d'Ibn Iyās." *Journal Asiatique* 280, 81–113, 98–99.

206 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 47.

207 Ibid.

208 Al Amer (2016), 12, see also Ziyāda, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (1949): *Al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī-l-qarn al-khāmis 'ashara al-milādī (al-qarn al-tāsi' al-hijrī)*. al-Qāhira: Lajna al-ta'lif wa-l-tarjama wa-l-nashr, 48.

209 Brinner, "Ibn Iyās". Kahle (1931), 25 claims that Ibn Iyās refers to this brother occasionally ("gelegentlich"), but without giving evidence. Similarly, Ziyāda (1949) does not refer to his sources when he narrates the biography of Ibn Iyās.

*zuhūr*.<sup>210</sup> The only feature emphasized is the connection to leading Mamluk circles, whereas the personal family connection to the author disappears.

Up to this point, our author has not yet attempted to present his relatives differently—in either a positive or negative sense—from other comparable figures. His report emphasizes the integration of his relatives into the ruling system and consistently omits private details, also remaining silent about the economic position of the family. The biograms thus appear to be part of the historical narrative and not connected to any self-representative intention.

From the few mentions of Ibn Iyās in other sources, more details about the family can be derived. Both Al Amer and Brinner mention the marriage of a nameless sister to a Mamluk named Korkmaz al-‘Alā’ī.<sup>211</sup> Their son, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, has been identified by Bernadette Martel-Thoumian as the copyist of the Damascus manuscript *ta’rīkh* 4534.<sup>212</sup> However, this information cannot be considered as coming from the author. *Badā’i* thus does not contain any specific information about the social background of the family. The author keeps himself distant from the narrative far more than some of his contemporaries and keeps private matters quite consistently out of his narrative. He appears to be rather uninterested in demonstrating a certain social standing, apart from the aforementioned connection of the family to Mamluk circles of power. Ibn Iyās seems to write without any intention of self-marketing. This reluctance may be due to the fact that his text was not a commissioned work, but was written on his own initiative.<sup>213</sup> So, did his own family history simply seem too trivial to include in a work of history? Or did he hold back private details because he hoped for a broad reception of the work in his community?

### Ibn Iyās on Ibn Iyās

Ibn Iyās's notes about his own person and life are just as sparse as the information about his family. *Badā’i al-zuhūr* has a note on his birth that contains no more than the date and the name he received from his father;<sup>214</sup> *Uqūd al-juman* is completely silent about Ibn Iyās's own biography. Al Amer further analyzes a report on the author's return with the pilgrim caravan in 882/1478

210 *Badā’i al-zuhūr* IV, 204.

211 Al Amer (2016), 12–13, Brinner, “Ibn Iyās”.

212 Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette (2000): “Le Manuscrit tāriḥ 4534 de Damas. Un nouvel Exemplaire des *Badā’i al-zuhūr* d’Ibn Iyās.” *Annales Islamologiques* 34, 315–325, 316.

213 On this point I agree with Al Amer's opinion, which contradicts Margoliouth's, Sobernheim's and Brinner's thesis that the eleventh part of *Badā’i al-zuhūr* may be an officially commissioned court historiography. Cf. Al Amer (2016), 14.

214 *Badā’i al-zuhūr* II, 263.

from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>215</sup> This reading, however, must be assessed critically: the return of the caravan is certainly mentioned at this point, but not a word is said about the participation of the author. Ibn Iyās remains reserved and does not allow any insights into his private life. We do not even learn anything about his profession, spouses and children. His livelihood also remains somewhat in the dark.

Two small passages in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, both related to the same event, allow us to get closer to the author. Among the most controversial and well-researched decisions on internal affairs taken by al-Ghawrī was his reorganization of the *iqṭā'* in 914/1508, about which Ibn Iyās complains at length.<sup>216</sup> To the disadvantage of numerous descendants of Mamluks and their families (*awlād al-nās*),<sup>217</sup> this reorganization was intended to generate financial resources for the deployment of new troops.<sup>218</sup> Ibn Iyās addresses these hardships among the events of the year 915/1509. The first passage referring to the fiscal reorganization in favor of the Mamluks finds clear words in criticizing the ruler, pointing to the fact that the expropriated Mamluk descendants and relatives had not committed “any misdemeanor”.<sup>219</sup> Ibn Iyās further continues to use his typical stylistic device of marking an unusual action as unprecedented and incomparable—a stylistic marker he uses to underline both positive and negative comments. He points to the negative consequences for the expropriated, who suffer, among others, violence from the side of the Mamluks who now hold their former deeds. Ibn Iyās mentions his own being affected only briefly, anticipating the good outcome: “And I was among those to whom this happened, and my *iqṭā'* was taken away and given to four Mamluks. But God the Almighty had pity in me and I got my *iqṭā'* back.”<sup>220</sup> He closes the section with two verses from his own pen that admonish al-Ghawrī's decision. Altogether, the personal information on the author in this passage remains very restricted, while his evaluating narrative voice is very prominently involved.

215 Al Amer (2016), 13, with reference to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* III, 145.

216 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 136, where he describes the reform as an act of despotism which brought great hardships to many people, and 173–175, where he comes back to the incident because he is able to regain his *iqṭā'* after more than a year has passed. On Ibn Iyās's comments on this event, see most recently Mauder (2021), 76–77.

217 Here, he uses the group identification *awlād al-nās* along with *ajṇād al-ḥalqa wa ḡhayr dhalika min al-nisā' al-lāṭi lahinna al-rizaq...* *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 136. *Awlād al-nās* is similarly used as a group identification in the second passage related to the incident, cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 173.

218 Cf. Elbendary (2015), 63, who relies exclusively on Ibn Iyās's aforementioned account, but nevertheless points to the fiscal logic behind the reorganization, thereby putting Ibn Iyās's complaint into perspective. On the confiscation of Mamluk descendants' financial deeds in the context of fiscal reorganization, see also Conermann (in press 2022), esp. 107–110.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid.

For the month Dhū' l-ḥijja, he records further of the sultan's "unjust" actions, such as the imprisonment of a highly esteemed Cairo citizen, who was held hostage and forced to pay a ransom of 6,000 dinars<sup>221</sup> and similar incidents. These alternate with news of all kinds, but no particular composition can be discerned here that could be intended to produce a certain image of the sultan. Why now does Ibn Iyās introduce a narrative from his private life exactly at this point, while otherwise he remains so distanced from his narrative? The anecdote, contrary to the first mention of the event, displays an ambivalent-to-positive attitude towards al-Ghawrī. It thus does not seem intended to illustrate the injustice of the sultan and the decline of the good times, which has generally been identified as the basic theme of fifteenth-century historiographies.<sup>222</sup> Is it possible that our author wrote these lines for the simple reason that the event was exceptional for him? Or does he mention the anecdote in order to insert a panegyric poem of his into the text? Both reasons would be conceivable. So, Ibn Iyās lets us know:

Among other things, I experienced the following [treatment] by the sultan: he [confiscated] my *iqṭā'* [and] granted it to the Mamluks, when he confiscated and newly allotted the *iqṭā'*s of the *awlād al-nās*, as it has already been described [above]. I met him on the Maidān and confronted him, so he gave me my *iqṭā'* back and I also got a lot of support from him, when he helped me against the Mamluks who had taken my *iqṭā'*. I praised him in a Qasida, in which I mentioned many of his excellent qualities. I then sent [him] the following Qasida through the hand of one of his confidants: [...].<sup>223</sup>

"*Wa mimā waqa'a lī 'an al-sultān...*" suggests that the encounter described was not the only contact between the sultan and the author. This formulation may indicate multiple contacts—or may have been used as a narrative tool to enhance the author's reputation. Whether intended or not, the latter explanation is used in modern scholarship to construct a close relationship between Ibn Iyās and the court.<sup>224</sup> However, Ibn Iyās's narrative contradicts this picture at the same point.<sup>225</sup> Whatever the direct contact may have been like between the complainant and the sultan on the Maidān, the poem of praise that Ibn Iyās dedicated to the sultan after he had his *iqṭā'* restituted was handed over via an unspecified "confidant." The anecdote provides no compelling reason to assume a close

221 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* IV, 170.

222 On Ibn Iyās's criticism towards al-Ghawrī, see Mauder (2021), e.g. 81–2, 89, 338, 343, 701–2, 852, 857.

223 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* IV, 173.

224 E.g., Brinner, "Ibn Iyās", who characterizes Ibn Iyās as "a writer close to the ruling circles", see also Ziyāda (1949), 50–51, who constructs a closeness to the court out of the number of panegyric verses Ibn Iyās included in *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*.

225 A fact that is reflected in the research as well: see Little (1998), 441, who notes that Ibn Iyās, unlike Ibn Taghrī Birdī or al-'Aynī, was not in close contact with the sultans.

connection to the sultan that would have allowed Ibn Iyās free access to the palace.

Regarding the narrative context, the anecdote on Ibn Iyās's restitution, together with the following poem, contradicts the previous description of the hardships that the less fortunate dispossessed must have had to bear. The poem of praise to the sultan, moreover, occupies by far the largest part of the passage and can be regarded as independent of the anecdote, since it refers to the subject only marginally. Given its outstanding singularity, the anecdote cum poem cannot be read as a part of a self-representative strategy. At the very most, the anecdote could help the author to show off as a capable panegyrist. But it rather appears to be a narrative strategy to put into perspective the rather negative picture of al-Ghawrī evoked before. Indirectly, however, the anecdote leads us to the conclusion that Ibn Iyās obviously enjoyed a financially privileged life due to his paternal descent from two Mamluk families. He could count on regular income from an *iqṭā'* which, according to his description in the first passage, was enough to cater four Mamluks in the time of al-Ghawrī. However, we do not know if he had any other obligations to fulfill to earn this benefit beyond his status as a *ibn nās*, nor is it clear whether the income was sufficient to support Ibn Iyās and his family.

We are obviously dealing with an author who closely withholds information about his person, environment and family. The only mentions highlight his Mamluk ancestry and contacts to ruling circles, which also appear in his two *nisbas* in his full name, Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī al-Jarkāsī.<sup>226</sup> In his extensive corpus of texts, however, he mentions his person and his ancestry so scarcely that it cannot be considered a prominent narrative strategy or even agenda. Perhaps his connection to the Mamluk community is the only thing Ibn Iyās finds worthwhile reporting about his own life. In any case, his narrative is characterized by interventions other than autobiographical narratives. The voice of Ibn Iyās in *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* and his other known texts may rightly be described as a narrator's voice that identifies with the name of the historical author, but does not appropriate the latter's individual biography.

226 Al Amer (2016), VIII. On analyzing Arabic names, see Romanov, Maxim (2013): *Computational Reading of Arabic Biographical Collections with special Reference to Preaching in the Sunni World (661–1300 CE)*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI., 16–18.

## Ibn Iyās on his Teachers and Friends

Al Amer has a small chapter on Ibn Iyās's teachers and those persons Ibn Iyās mentions as 'our friends' (*ṣāḥibunā/ aṣḥābunā*) in his *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*. In this text, he refers to these persons on occasion of their deaths and gives more or less clipped information, sometimes combined with some words on the deceased character. As all mentioned friends and teachers died after 905/1499, it is unlikely that we will find references to their biographies in Ibn Iyās's earlier works. Unfortunately, these mentions are just as distanced as the information he gives on his family. Al Amer identifies three persons addressed as "my teacher" (*shaykhunā*), for whom Ibn Iyās dedicates relatively small entries on their deaths. While he adds some funny details<sup>227</sup> on one of the three, his obituary for al-Suyūṭī, who has been interpreted as his most influential teacher,<sup>228</sup> remains rather impersonal and distanced.<sup>229</sup> The same distance is maintained in the mentions of his friends, *aṣḥāb*. Except for the classification as such in the first sentence of each obituary ("In this month, our friend so-and-so passed away..."), these are not different to the obituaries for other people of the same rank and do not give any idea about how to imagine interactions between the author and his peer-group. Following Al Amer, who has collected all names of the author's friends from *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās's private circle was made up of people belonging to the social strata of notables, although they do not seem to belong to the highest circles.<sup>230</sup> Among them figure several qadis, assistant qadis and shaykhs of dif-

227 See, for example, his mention of Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ's "enormous nose" (*wa kana lahu anfan waḥīran*), on which some contemporaries wrote a "nice pleasant verse," which he cites in the following. Cf. *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*, IV, 374.

228 Paul Kahle argues this on the basis of a single citation from *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*, in which Ibn Iyās speaks of a "very true" (*mu'addalī fī ṣiḥḥa*) passage in Suyūṭī's *Akbār Miṣr wa l-Qāhira*. Cf. Kahle (1931), 24. Besides Ibn Iyās's rather curt obituary, the Paris manuscripts discussed by Wasserstein (1992: 86–96), which have portions of *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* with al-Suyūṭī mentioned as the author, might have contributed to the understanding of the relationship between the two as a closer one. As in many other questions, Ibn Iyās has been widely used as a source for the study of al-Suyūṭī's life. However, even the recent volume edited by Antonella Ghersetti, which resulted from a 2014 conference dedicated to al-Suyūṭī exclusively, does not address the relationship between chronicler-student and teacher, cf. Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.) (2016): *Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period. Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 138). The same holds true for Saleh, Marlis J. (2001): "Al-Suyūṭī and his Works. Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present." *Mamluk Studies Review* 5, 73–89. This is all the more astonishing given that Saleh counts as many as 192 titles published on al-Suyūṭī in the last thirty years. To the best of my knowledge, there is no prosopographical study on al-Suyūṭī's students either.

229 A thorough study on Ibn Iyās's way of narrating on al-Suyūṭī would be a promising project, but cannot form part of this book.

230 Cf. Al Amer (2016), 17–22.



ferent madrasas or mosques, along with the turban-maker to the sultan (*laffāf*) and several scholars or other members of a madrasa.<sup>231</sup>

Concerning the characterization of his *aṣḥāb*, Ibn Iyās includes their obituaries in his chronicle in the same way as for important or interesting people. He mostly does not include personal remarks. If appropriate, he stresses the *ṣāhib*'s markers of social standing (for example, being a member of an old and important family) and names the functions he or his forefathers held in the administration or the military. He continues to count the specializations of his scholarly teachers and friends, such as characterizing al-Suyūṭī as a master of *ḥadīth* and a prolific writer who has "almost six hundred writings."<sup>232</sup> For those who had written poetry, he also includes citations of noteworthy verses, but does the same for poets he was not in contact with. Ibn Iyās's friend, the turban maker to Sultan al-Ghawrī makes it into the text because of the noteworthy circumstances of his death: he left a considerable fortune that was only discovered after his demise. Ibn Iyās classifies this news as belonging to the *nawādir* of the time, as "neither his father ... owned money, nor his grandfathers or his relatives."<sup>233</sup> A comparative reading of the *aṣḥāb* mentions in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* thus shows that Ibn Iyās does not orient his narrative towards any kind of self-representation or the transmission of information about himself. He rather seems to include mentions of his friends because they fit into his concept of writing history. Thus, even the scarce information about his friends and teachers may help us to deduce some leading ideas behind this concept. These obviously include reporting on the deaths of noteworthy people, as do both Mamluk and Islamic *ta'rikh* writings from different areas and times. Ibn Iyās also includes his friends or teachers if the information on them corresponds to interesting, remarkable or marvelous things or incidents (*nawādir*, *ʿajā'ib*), which has been identified as a general trend in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Islamic historiography.<sup>234</sup>

Unfortunately, all mentions of friends and teachers in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* are to be found in the chapters on the years after 905/1499, which are not included in any of Ibn Iyās's other historiographical writings. Therefore, it is impossible to locate parallel passages for any of the mentioned friends. Regarding the evolution of Ibn Iyās's historical narratives, however, this leads us to the conclusion that Ibn Iyās inserted his extremely hesitant remarks on personal relationships only at a later stage of his process of writing and re-writing history.

Our historical author thus very carefully keeps his distance and enters the narrative only in rare places. If he does add occasional hints about his personal

231 Al-Amer (2016), 17–18.

232 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 83.

233 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 322.

234 See Chapter V, Questioning Genre.

situation, they remain vague and do not allow us to reconstruct his individual living conditions and networks. Ibn Iyās's presence in the texts, which cannot be denied, must therefore be distinguished by means other than personal information. Therefore, it seems to be most promising to approach the narrative voice through an analysis of the narrative instead of trying to construct a scholarly (or other) peer group from the few mentions. We should thus ask about the *intellectual background* of the narrative voice instead of 'real' acquaintances. Whom does he cite, and when? Does he ignore certain voices from his own or distant times? Does he cite in different ways in his different approaches to history?

## Ibn Iyās's Intellectual Background: His Archive Reconstructed through Citations

It is not the goal of this chapter to lay out a comprehensive list of citations, nor to perform a minute study of citation practices in Ibn Iyās's different works. Both tasks would fill separate volumes and cannot be tackled here. Instead, the chapter aims at bringing together the already gathered information on the intellectual and social attachments of Ibn Iyās. Although there is no comprehensive study of this topic yet, several approaches should be taken into account. Muṣṭafā and Kahle, in their respective prefaces to the edition of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, do provide exemplary lists of cited historians.<sup>235</sup> Their work has been continued by Al Amer, who has assembled a comprehensive list of works and scholars cited in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>236</sup> With Sami G. Massoud's case study on the representation of three chosen years in the late Circassian chronicles, a first step towards the exploration of Ibn Iyās's source material and citation practices has been made.<sup>237</sup> Massoud identifies intertextual relations to al-Maqrīzī, Ibn al-Furāt, al-'Aynī, Ibn Duqmāq, al-Malaṭī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī. These relations cover either the content or the structure of the narrative.<sup>238</sup> However, Ibn Iyās's citation usage has not been

235 Kahle (1931), esp. 23–26. Similarly, Muṣṭafā discusses historians mentioned in the respective volumes in his Muqaddimas, cf. Muṣṭafā, Muḥammad (1975): In Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās: *Die Chronik des Ibn Iyas*. Edited by Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner (Bibliotheca Islamica, 5), vol. 1a, 7–10, esp. 8–10; id. (1974): "Muqaddima." In Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās: *Die Chronik des Ibn Iyas*. Edited by Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner (Bibliotheca Islamica, 5), vol. 1b, 5–12, esp. 10–11.

236 Al Amer (2016), 377–384.

237 Massoud (2007), esp. 69–76, 137–140, 17–182.

238 Massoud describes a "basic Furatian/Maqrizian substructure" (Massoud 2007: 139), but also points to the fact that Ibn Iyās fuses the content compiled from his sources into his in-

studied with regard to his further texts. Nor is it clear whether Ibn Iyās used specific sources for certain topics. Both approaches would be highly promising, but have to be left aside for another project. Other approaches may also shed light onto Ibn Iyās's social and intellectual connections. Thus, Li Guo, for example, chooses to study the poetry included in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* and reads the group of contemporary amirs, shaykhs and scholars whom Ibn Iyās wrote on as a trace of the "volatile mix" of connections the author entertained.<sup>239</sup> If developed further, this interesting approach could add to a broader picture of the larger intellectual and social networks Ibn Iyās was a part of.

Paul Kahle lists, in his preface to volume IV of the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* edition, names of the authors cited in the first half of the volume, identifying Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*), al-Kindī, Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, al-Qaḍā'ī, Abū Shāma, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Dhahabī as the most frequently cited. Among the names less frequently cited in Kahle's sample are Ibn al-Athīr, al-Hamadānī, Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥajar, and many other well-known and well-cited historians, both preceding and contemporary to Ibn Iyās. Kahle further presumes Ibn Iyās to be deeply influenced by al-Suyūṭī, judging from the way he cites the latter.<sup>240</sup> However, this presumption is contradicted by the short and anything but special attention Ibn Iyās offers to his teacher in the latter's obituary (see above). Unfortunately, as Kahle only gives one single example, it is impossible to currently verify Ibn Iyās's narrative attitude towards Suyūṭī. Kahle furthermore suspects that Ibn Iyās did not hold his contemporary Ibn Taghrī Birdī in great esteem.<sup>241</sup> From his cited example, however, it becomes clear that Ibn Iyās was aware of the *Nujūm al-zāhira* and its author. It remains pure speculation as to whether Ibn Iyās did not use or cite his contemporary out of hostility, a lack of esteem or for any other reason: perhaps he simply did not have adequate access to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's work.

Winter (2007) offers another interpretation, which however seems to leave the first three volumes of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* aside, stating that Ibn Iyās's chronicle continues, to an extent, Taghrī Birdī's *Nujūm al-zāhira*: "[Ibn] I[yās]'s work provides continuity in the historical coverage in that this part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* starts when another chronicle, Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn b. Taghrī Birdī's (d. 874/1470) *al-*

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dividual narrative in such a way that it is often impossible to deduce possible sources (ibid., 178).

239 Guo, Li (2018): "Ibn Iyās, the Poet. The Literary Profile of a Mamluk Historian." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Mamluk Historiography Revisited. Narratological Perspectives*. Göttingen: V&R unipress Bonn University Press (Mamluk Studies, 15), 77–90, 81.

240 Kahle (1931), 24.

241 Kahle (1931), 25, which Massoud (2007), 71–72 cannot disprove convincingly. However, the small amount of evidence for a possible intertextual relation between *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* and Ibn Taghrī Birdī could serve as a starting point for a reinvestigation of the question.

*Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa' l-Qāhira*, ends.”<sup>242</sup> Though initially cogent, this could only apply to Ibn Iyās's records on his contemporary history. The third volume of the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition was indeed prepared beginning with the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy in 872/1468, which could support it being read as a follow up to Taghrī Birdī's work. However, this does not correspond to the contents of the Istanbul autograph of *juz* ' eight, which was also used as main source for the edition. Muṣṭafā states that the editors initially chose to begin the edition at precisely this date because Taghrī Birdī's account ends in 872/1468. However, the Istanbul autograph contains 98 folia recording history from Rabī' I 857 to Rajab 872 (1453–1468), not to mention the previous volumes of the chronicle.<sup>243</sup> The “unpublished pages of the chronicle of Ibn Iyās”<sup>244</sup> were later published by Muṣṭafā separately. Thus, it was not Ibn Iyās's decision to follow up Taghrī Birdī: that this seems to be the case is the result of a (later corrected) adjustment by modern editors.<sup>245</sup> Again, we are reminded that our sources are vibrant living texts that do not freeze with the last line written by the initial author or even with the author's death. Instead, copyists and later editors matter when shaping the texts to a great extent.

A comparison with Al Amer's structuralist approach, which offers an encyclopedic overview of every citation of historiographical works in *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*, shows that Kahle's sample does not represent Ibn Iyās's citation practice as a whole. Al Amer's overview demonstrates that Ibn Iyās relied on different sources for different periods of time. Thus, for example, al-Suyūṭī is cited twelve times for the period from 20/641 to 763/1362,<sup>246</sup> but only once for the period of 764/1362 to 815/1413 and never for the period from 816/1413 to 921/1516.<sup>247</sup> Al Amer's survey identifies al-Maqrīzī as the most frequently cited author in *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*<sup>248</sup> followed by al-Dhahabī and then Abū Shāma, Ibn Waṣīf Shāh and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. The complete survey also shows that Ibn Taghrī Birdī was not cited in the *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*.<sup>249</sup> Now, what do these numbers tell? It is important for all following considerations that the data provided by Kahle and Al Amer exclusively concern the citation of histories, chronicles or historians. The following

242 Winter (2007), 2.

243 Also listed by Winter (2007), 2.

244 Ibn Iyās, *Ṣafahāt lam tunshar min Badā' i' al-zuhūr fī waqā' i' al-duhūr. Min sanat 857 ilā sanat 872 h.* Edited by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. Cairo: Al-Maaref Press.

245 Muṣṭafā, Muḥammad (1952): “Unpublished Pages of the Chronicle of Ibn Iyās A.H. 857–872/A.D. 1453–1468 by Ibn Iyās.” *Oriens* 5 (1), 163–165, 163.

246 Al Amer (2016), 378–380.

247 Al Amer (2016), 381–383; Muṣṭafā (1975), 8.

248 Al Amer (2016), 388.

249 Massoud (2007), 71–72 suspects an intertextual link between Ibn Taghrī Birdī and *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*; however, his thesis is based on, as he admits himself, “a relatively small piece of evidence” (ibid., 71).

theses thus concern the function of historiographical quotes in the narrative, and their use for the deduction of Ibn Iyās's intellectual background.

As Al Amer states, Ibn Iyās uses citations, be it with the name of the author, the name of the cited work, a combination of both (which is especially rare) or without specification of author and/or work,<sup>250</sup> to a considerably lesser extent than his contemporaries.<sup>251</sup> The number of citations declines with the passage of time.<sup>252</sup> Citations mostly serve to add legitimation to given narratives, especially when it comes to important events or battles, when the author gives exact numbers or dates and with detailed descriptions of, for example, ceremonial aspects of rule.<sup>253</sup> *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* does not discuss or rate cited material: the narrative voice does not interfere with citations except to add new information<sup>254</sup> or to emphasize their credibility or high value. This does not serve as discussion of traded knowledge, but has to be understood as a narrative strategy designed to foster credibility. In this sense, the historiographical sources serve two different purposes in Ibn Iyās's writing cosmos: as a source of information, which makes their citation interesting for the reconstruction of Ibn Iyās's intellectual background, and as narrative tools, which in turn helps us get closer to Ibn Iyās's construction of a narrative voice.

The survey shows that Ibn Iyās did not chose a significantly different corpus of sources than other contemporary historians, or, in Al Amer's words: "On retrouve les auteurs cités par Ibn Iyās chez les autres chroniqueurs mamlouks notamment Suyūfī et Ibn Taghrī Birdī. Ibn Iyās ne fait donc pas preuve d'originalité dans le choix de ses sources."<sup>255</sup> He thus may be interpreted as being based on a rather stable, commonly used and commonly approved corpus of historiographical works, which must have been accessible to readers and writers in his contemporary Cairo in madrasa libraries, collections kept in mosques, privately held copies and copies available on the book market.<sup>256</sup> This is fostered by the way Ibn Iyās refers to his corpus of sources in the introduction to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, where he states he had used about thirty-seven of "our historiographies" (*ta'riḫhunā*),<sup>257</sup> without going into detail. It thus seems that he had a sense of a more or less extensive corpus of historiographical works shared by a group of

250 E.g., using introductions like *naqala* or *qāla ba'd al-mu'arrikhūna*, for examples, see Al Amer (2016), 378–383.

251 Al Amer (2016), 384.

252 Ibid.

253 Al Amer (2016), 389–392.

254 Muṣṭafā, (1975), 9.

255 Al Amer (2016), 388. I do not agree with judging this fact as a lack of originality, however.

256 On the accessibility of books, see the recent work of Doris Behrens-Abouseif (2018), esp. 43–70 on the circulation of books.

257 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 3–4.

scholars he counted himself among—or wanted to be counted among them—by a larger part of his contemporary society or by his intended readership.

Ibn Iyās as a historical individual kept his distance from his texts. Judging from the insertion of personal information and reflections on his own social networks, the author does not appear prominently in his narratives as has been shown above. Perhaps because he was writing without addressing a specific reader and intended patron, he does not stage himself through his historiographies or geographies, but rather puts his topics in the foreground. However, Ibn Iyās has a narrative voice that is clearly discernible from his texts. Throughout his *oeuvre*, he seems to stick to several narrative and stylistic strategies that serve to communicate his individual judgments concerning the past and contemporary events he is reporting. In the following narrative analysis, two layers of the narrator's engagement in the text shall be explored: on an explicit level, the narrative voice openly communicates with its audience, referring to itself as a first-person narrator (e.g. *qultu*... "I said") who sometimes addresses his reader directly. On an implicit level, he uses narrative strategies, the composition of his texts and the order of knowledge (in short, his *emplotment*) to communicate his individual configuration of Egyptian history. Both layers refer to the narrative voice constructed by the historical author, and therefore have to be studied on an intratextual level.

The details known about Ibn Iyās can be summed up in a few sentences: our author is a *ibn nās* and as such seems to have sufficient income provided by *iqṭā'* revenues. He keeps his personal background meticulously outside the narrative, but underlines—if we can speak of this in his scanty self-representation—his Mamluk ancestry. He has studied with several more or less prominent teachers in Cairo, but does not emphasize his scholarly background in any part of his writings. Nor do contemporary sources mention him as a well-known (or even noticed) member of his teachers' intellectual circles. The few notices about his friends suggest a certain closeness to the milieu of middle-range '*ulamā*' and civil administrative staff, but do not offer much possibility for further enquiries on an individual basis.

## Intellectual Changes—New Recipients?

Coming from these surprisingly scarce results, which do not allow to retrace Ibn Iyās's individual literary and intellectual contexts to a satisfying extent, it is necessary to broaden the focus and take into account the wider intellectual, social and literary developments in whose context our author lived and wrote. In the context of Ibn Iyās's work, but also concerning the fourteenth to fifteenth century as a whole, a trend towards a 'popularization' has been diagnosed repeatedly;

the problematic character of the concept has already been discussed in the introduction. With regard to Ibn Iyās's broader intellectual and social context, both the 'popularization' of (historiographical) writing and the advancement of 'civilian' elites during his time are of high interest. However, just like the discussion of societal structure, the study of intellectual formations and developments in the Mamluk period has to struggle with basic assumptions that assert static dichotomies and thus obstruct the view of long-term and above all dynamic developments. An etic dichotomy of high culture vs. popular culture should be avoided with all possible urgency. However, even in the history of mentality and the history of knowledge of the Mamluk period, emic perceptions have been used to form a research narrative that suggests such a dichotomy. Typically, documents, material culture and archive sources clearly show that it was precisely in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that 'scholarly' and 'popular learned' circles converged and interacted in the same urban spaces. At around the end of the fourteenth century, the differences between the functions of Sufi *khānqāhs*, the Quranic schools and the Friday mosques became more and more blurred.<sup>258</sup> A century later, small mosques scattered throughout Cairo and Damascus were functioning as places to pray, teach and perform Sufi rituals on equal terms. In the face of this trend, narrative sources in particular often have a negative attitude towards them. One example is al-Subkī's frequently quoted criticism of inadequately trained scions from the lower echelons of society, who, despite their lack of insight into true scholarship, present themselves as *faqīh* or *muḥaddith*. In the field of intellectual history, too, we thus encounter the attempt to cement a slowly dissolving group identity and to protect it to the outside.<sup>259</sup> A similar

258 However, this tendency, as well as e.g. the 'literarising' trend in historiography, finds its roots in earlier times. For example, the Khānqāh al-Dawādāriyya in Jerusalem, built in 1295, included a *madrasa* from its beginning (and has been used as a school building to present day). See Burgoyne, Michael (1987): *Mamluk Jerusalem. An Architectural Study*. London: The British School of Archeology in Jerusalem Press, 154–166 and Najm, Yusuf (1983): *Kunuz al-Quds*. Milano: Sagdos, 155–157. I thank Reuven Amitai for directing me towards this example.

259 Cf. Berkey, Jonathan P. (1992): *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo. A Social History of Islamic Education*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press (Princeton Legacy Library), 185, 188. Another example is Ibn Ṭulūn's position in front of Ottoman scholars entering the Syrian discourse after the Ottoman conquest of Damascus. See, e.g., Conermann, Stephan (2004): "Ibn Ṭulūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works." *Mamluk Studies Review* 8 (1), 115–139; Wollina, Torsten (2017): "Sultan Selim in Damascus. The Ottoman Appropriation of a Mamluk Metropolis (922–924/1516–1518)." In Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (eds): *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition. Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*. Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press (Ottoman Studies, 2), 221–246; and Kollatz, Anna (in press 2022), 381–407.

tendency becomes apparent in the intellectual sphere as in the military and administration.

As stated above, the population collapse in the wake of the recurrent plague epidemics undoubtedly led to severe social and economic disruption, which placed the inhabitants of the entire region in a climate of permanent existential fear. If the leading political elites had to cope with an increasing decline in their influence—after all, many of the political and economic changes mentioned in chapter II were nothing more than attempts to counteract this loss of power—the population at large, the traders in the bazaars and the scholars, who were usually paid from endowment funds, had to struggle with crumbling livelihoods. As Adam Sabra has shown, many of the working urban population lived on the margins of subsistence, and even small movements in prices and wages affected their sustenance significantly.<sup>260</sup> This also applies to the farmers (the resulting migration from the countryside has already been mentioned) and to the lower ranking parts of the Mamluk army or the auxiliary troops (*halqa*), who often could only obtain payment of their wages through violent protests.

In addition to civilians entering areas previously occupied primarily by Mamluks,<sup>261</sup> there was also a growing movement in the opposite direction. For example, the *hisba* was now more frequently occupied by an amir. On the one hand, the reason for this could have been that the position of market supervisor was quite lucrative for the owner. On the other, however, especially in the increasingly crisis-ridden situation of protests by individual groups, it was necessary to man the police force in the cities with correspondingly well-resourced people, such as an amir with his own Mamluks.<sup>262</sup> In summary, despite the crisis events of the long fifteenth century, there was increased social mobility within Mamluk society. While this could lead to social decline for members of the formerly stable leadership or even to the opening up of new fields of activity, such as increased involvement in their own charitable foundations or the assumption of civil offices, this transition situation opened up new opportunities for advancement, especially for urban classes. Despite the altogether more difficult situation, the collective occupation with and interest in different areas of scholarship did not break off.

One reason for the stable interest in the establishment of foundations on the one hand, but also in the reception of knowledge on the other, is the fact that both were understood as pious deeds. Merchants, craftsmen or small scholars could now take up functional positions just as much as Mamluks. These social upstarts are also reflected in the intellectual landscape of the region. The role of en-

260 Sabra (2000), see also Rapoport (2014).

261 Petry (2014), Hirschler (2008), Marthel-Thoumian (1991).

262 Elbendary (2015), 38.



dowments, and especially of *sabīl-kuttābs*, in the emergence of a new, education-oriented urban ‘middle class’ has already been mentioned above. It therefore seems natural that not only educational institutions, but also the producers of literature, historical works and poetry would adapt to this new group of recipients.

Modern research in this field has only too readily adopted the assessment of intellectual changes by emic observers. As with socio-political changes, a narrative of decline prevails, written mainly from the perspective of formerly consolidated (intellectual) elites. When, for example, hadith scholars complained around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that newcomers were attending their meetings who lacked—from the point of view of the established scholars—a ‘classical’ education, the same conservative defense mechanisms behind this can be seen in the rejection of ‘simplistic’ representations of history summarizing earlier works. As Hirschler notes, a strategy frequently used was to bring the ‘popular’ discussion of scholarly content close to dubious figures on the margins of society:

the standard line in scholarly texts was to situate these milieus in the lower echelons of society. In particular, the association of reading popular epics with the murky world of street entertainment and street healers reinforced the notion that the popular epic was situated in an entirely different cultural and social sphere.<sup>263</sup>

Applying the word ‘classical’ here, I am well aware of the multifarious problems with this not-at-all innocent concept. When Thomas Bauer rightly criticizes the dichotomy of ‘classical’ and ‘post-classical’ literature used in attempts to map Mamluk and Ottoman literary history, he argues that “in most periods of Arabic-Islamic culture, continuity was considered a major virtue”<sup>264</sup>—a reason why, in Bauer’s view, there is no emic notion of ‘classical’ or ‘post-classical’ ages in Arabic literature. However, a certain notion of ‘classical’ in the sense of “a model for future generations”<sup>265</sup> or concepts, curricula and genre conventions that were “considered as exemplary and taken as a model”<sup>266</sup> may also arise from the esteem for continuity. Changes in the educational institutions that adapted to newly arising groups of interested urban citizens challenged the scholarly ideals of established intellectual circles and led them to criticize the ‘newcomers’ and draw strict lines between themselves and those who lacked a ‘classical’ education, in the sense of an education following established curricula scholars had agreed upon for centuries.

<sup>263</sup> Hirschler (2013), 173.

<sup>264</sup> Bauer (2007), 138.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Bauer (2007), 139.

Similarly, adaptations to arising new readerships, as can be observed in Mamluk historical narratives and in Ibn Iyās's writings, represented breaks with continuity and could therefore earn the criticism of contemporary conservative scholars—or just be ignored by them. However, such stylistic differentiations, or, as Bauer calls it, stylistic pluralism,<sup>267</sup> is in no way specific to Arabic literature in Mamluk times, but instead has existed throughout the ages. The same applies to the change in language. Increasingly, elements of colloquial language were incorporated into treatises on 'scholarly' subjects, while at the same time various genres of popular poetry and orally transmitted heroic tales experienced a boom. Poetry, including satire, penned by authors who were not classically trained in the conservative sense, became socially acceptable, as the relatively early example of Ibn Daniyāl shows. Li Guo characterizes the gifted ophthalmologist as

an outcast who was at the same time well-connected; a 'lowbrow' entertainer who was immensely well-grounded in high culture; a poet whose credits include the definitive panegyric on Egyptian judges and some of the most bawdy verses in Arabic literature; a rebel and yet a sometime-member of the Egyptian elite. Parallels have been drawn between him and the Marquis de Sade; but unlike the ill-fated Parisian, our Cairene 'libertine' managed to escape persecution. Herein lies a tale of conflict and negotiation, of compromise and reconciliation, of individual and society.<sup>268</sup>

This description of diverse fields of activity foreshadows the consolidation of a literary culture in which *fushḥa* and colloquial language, contents of 'classical' education and jocular mnemonics were fused together. Whether more individualistic forms of literary expression diffused into historiographical writings like those of Ibn Iyās, or whether a certain adherence to 'classical' forms and ordering principles on the outer surface of those genres served to hide the individual to a certain extent, still needs to be questioned. Literary reactions to the social trend, which Elbendary has aptly described as popularization and others have described less aptly (because the term is charged with Marxist connotations) as a bourgeois trend, have so far only received the spotlight in the literary studies of the Mamluk period, a fact that has not changed significantly since Thomas Bauer's angry but insightful review article in 2007. Although changes or merges in terms of style can be observed, it is not possible to render plausible a change of epoch as suggested by Hodgeson's model and taken over without reflection in the Cambridge History criticized by Bauer.<sup>269</sup> It is thanks to Bauer's various pub-

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267 Ibid.

268 Guo, Li (2012): *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam. Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*. Leiden, Boston: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization Studies and Texts, 93), VIII.

269 Bauer (2007).

lications<sup>270</sup> that the problem of highly charged concepts like ‘epoch’ or ‘style’ has become visible. What must now follow is a corresponding literary historical re-examination of the sources, especially those from periods previously disparaged as being post-golden age but which in fact produced highly innovative forms of intellectual expression.<sup>271</sup>

Valuable contributions to a comprehensive understanding of educational and intellectual cultures and practices have been achieved by a growing interest in Mamluk book and librarian practices, studied at the intersections of literary history, material culture, archaeology and the history of cities as interaction spaces. Thus, book markets, copyist stalls and, of course, endowed and private libraries that lent their books to interested people served as an entrance for those interested in whatever scholarly sector who were unable—or unwilling—to dedicate themselves to a ‘classical’ years-long universal curriculum. The miscellaneous intellectual profile of the Ashrafiyya Library in Damascus, which Hirschler examined in his 2017 monograph,<sup>272</sup> is an example of the long-term change of focus in learned institutions. Hirschler identifies a quantitative focus in the areas of *adab* and poetry, instead of *fiqh* or *ḥadīth* corpora, citing as a reason the increasing ‘adabization’ of religious scholars and the resulting ‘ulamaization’ of this genre since the eleventh century. In addition, the function of the library as a public Damascene institution is also important. As he has also demonstrated using the example of the reading and reception practices in the Middle Period, the fluidization of society and its development towards an urban community centered around the middle classes began well over two hundred years before the time at the center of this study.

We are thus again dealing with a long-lasting development in the culture of Arab literature and knowledge, at the end of which—an end artificially brought about by the Ottoman conquest of Cairo—Ibn Iyās is to be located. With the spread of endowed public libraries, which were attached to such diverse teaching institutions as madrasas, mosques, *kuttābs* and *khānqāhs*, the written word in Syria and Egypt moved steadily into the middle of society, where it was firmly established by the fifteenth century. As Doris Behrens-Abouseif has shown, schools of all kinds increasingly turned into communal spaces in which the most diverse interactions, from common prayer to the teaching of children to public

270 As with, for example, his critical discussion of the modern historiographical periodization applied to Islamic history in Bauer (2018), id. (2014): “Mamluk literature as a means of communication.” In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies —State of the Art*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress (Mamluk Studies, 3), 23–56.

271 Rapoport (2014), 145.

272 Hirschler, Konrad (2017): *Medieval Damascus. Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture).

lectures and, of course, ‘scholarly’ teaching took place side by side. This communalization is also reflected in the architectural transformation of urban spaces.<sup>273</sup>

However, it is not quite correct to speak of coexistence here, as the various activities mentioned were interwoven in many ways. First of all, endowment deeds prove that founders provided for various social institutions to be located in the same compounds: *waqf*-based institutions offered space for children’s schools, feeding the poor and publicly accessible book collections, many of them of initially modest size. Such institutions could also expand and diversify through later additional donations by diverse endowers. Paratexts in surviving manuscripts testify, for example, that private individuals from the lower echelons of society also gave individual manuscripts or smaller collections as a *waqf* to existing public libraries. In addition, there were often personal links: for example, lecturers for public *mi‘ād* sessions were to be found on the payroll of a foundation and sometimes were personally connected with the founder, as were the resident *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* professors. Due to the increasing availability of the written word in various urban spaces, as well as the active, partly itinerant recitation, performance and discussion of corresponding works (Hirschler mentions book markets, public places, educational institutions and the Qarāfa cemetery as spaces in which ‘popular’ knowledge and entertainment in Cairo was collectively received), people from the middle to lower social strata gained easier access to knowledge. Increasing literacy fostered by the schooling of children also contributed to this: Hirschler emphasizes the importance of reading skills, which in Arabic do not necessarily have to go hand-in-hand with advanced writing skills.

Wherever high-income craftsmen and traders were able to act as part-time scholars and financially support their intellectual milieu (smaller local libraries were increasingly financed by benefactors from this class) water carriers, simple Qur’ān reciters and gatekeepers could participate in educational activities. In addition to reading or aural reception on site, manuscripts could be borrowed and copied or memorized in many places, some of them even in private collections. Persons from outside the group of people outlined by al-Subkī were also involved in this process. Hence, we have a copy of the autograph of *Jawāhir al-sulūk* by Ibn Iyās, which was made by “Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, the doorkeeper of the al-Azhar mosque”.<sup>274</sup> The high level diffusion of the rather specialized and extensive contents of ‘classical’ Islamic knowledge among the ‘middle’ and ‘lower’ classes of society is testified by a practice from the time of the plague, about which Maqrīzī reports. During the plague epidemic, large groups of people gathered

273 Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (1985): “Change in Form and Function of Mamluk Religious Institutions.” *Annales Islamologiques* 21, 73–94, 78 ff.

274 MS Cairo, 160v.

repeatedly in various madrasas and mosques in Cairo to recite not the Qur'ān, but the hadith collection of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī publicly. In one case, Maqrīzī even reports of recitation by children and orphans. Elements of 'classical' Islamic education thus penetrated the middle ranks of society not only as available knowledge, but also through communal rituals.

The two monographs by Konrad Hirschler, his *Written Word* (2012) and his study of the Damascene Ashrafiyya library (2017), and Doris Behrens-Abouseif's study, which departs from a joint investigation of the material history of the book, related social backgrounds and the urban spaces enlivened by them in Cairo (2018), give a thorough insight into the importance of libraries and bookshops for the intellectual developments regarded here. Nelly Hanna's 2003 study<sup>275</sup> continues the same idea for the Ottoman period and thus proves the existence of a long-lasting development. Unfortunately, besides these important contributions, the effects of these social-intellectual changes have gained little attention so far. Ever since Ulrich Haarmann first presented his thesis of a literarized historiography—a line of argument that Stefan Leder later took up—little research has been done into the sources of the Mamluk period from the perspective of language or narrative theory.

It was with the volume *Mamluk Historiography Revisited—Narratological Perspectives* that the *Bonn Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg* resumed this thread. However, the basis for the solid language and literary theoretical mapping of the changes that Haarmann called literarization is still missing. For example, it is not yet possible for us to assess what function(s) the use of colloquial language in fictional dialogue scenes could assume. This kind of problem will be addressed in the following analysis of the representation of Shajar al-Durr. A trend towards literarization, which does not necessarily have to be judged as negative or the symptoms of a decline, can, like the transition factors, be observed well before the turn of the sixteenth century. The extent to which the social positioning of writers and the trend towards the literarization and popularization of historiography are related also remains to be investigated on a larger scale.

Ibn Iyās's works fit seamlessly into the trend described by Stefan Leder and Ulrich Haarmann.<sup>276</sup> His work is no longer strictly oriented towards 'classical' genre conventions;<sup>277</sup> his language, the selection of topics and, not least, their

275 Hanna, Nelly (2003): *In Praise of Books. A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century. First edition.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press (Middle East Studies beyond dominant Paradigms).

276 Haarmann (1971), Leder (2003), more generally, see also Noth, Albrecht (1998): "Fiktion als historische Quelle." In Stefan Leder (ed.): *Story-telling in the Framework of non-fictional Arabic Literature.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 472–487.

277 Again to be understood in the sense of genre conventions regarded as models for future text production.

presentation are clearly designed for ‘readability’ and a certain degree of entertainment. Chapter V will combine an overview of the texts and manuscripts preserved with a study of their generic and thematic orientation. But before we turn to his texts as a whole, the following chapter is dedicated to a second preliminary narratological experiment. As we have few resources to trace the reception of Ibn Iyās’s writings before the onset of (Western) scholarly interest in his historical narrative, it is worth looking for hints towards the *intended readership* our elusive author may have had in mind when penning his texts.



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## IV Why and to Whom Does Ibn Iyās Write? Comparing Prefaces

By their very nature, prefaces reveal the basic structuring principles that an author had in mind when writing their work. Therefore, they can serve as a starting point for exploring the organization of knowledge behind the work. Starting from the assumption that authors tend to display not only the content of the book to follow in the preface, but also their basic structuring ideas and sometimes even composition techniques, the preface is an ideal starting point to analyze the *ideas* and *principles* that shaped the writing process of the respective work. As prefaces figure in a prominent position, they of course have to be read carefully, as they serve to advertise the book and its author. Reclaimed ideas and principles thus may belong to a meta-narrative of their own, in which the author showcases their work and links it to concepts that ‘sell’. However, despite the representative character of introductory narratives, the showcased principles belong to the wider context of formative ideas that shaped a work in one way or another. Furthermore, a micro-level analysis of language and content may reveal hints to the implicit structuring principles, organizational features or even working practices of the author.

Our comparative reading of Ibn Iyās’s prefaces thus will follow a three-step micro-level analysis. The three subchapters address the writer’s intentions, composition techniques and intended readership. The analysis will include both Ibn Iyās’s open statements and implicit hints that may serve as starting points for the further reading of his *oeuvre*. All writings by Ibn Iyās that have come to us, except for *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, begin with a more or less extensive section that in the published editions is usually headed “(author’s) preface” (*muqaddima*).<sup>278</sup> Although none of the manuscripts I have at hand has such a chapter heading, the beginning sections serve the purpose prefaces usually fulfill. Extensive or very short, Ibn Iyās’s prefaces share a common set of topics and narrative patterns, which seem to be relatively stable over the course of time and figure both in his

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278 Unfortunately, only the second volume of *‘Uqūd al-juman* is preserved; thus, it is impossible to decide whether the work had a preface or not.



chronicles and geographical works. Each ‘*muqaddima*’ begins with praise of God and the prophet Muḥammad, which is sometimes elaborate, sometimes rather brief. Only one text (*Jawāhir al-sulūk*) restricts itself to the initial *basmala*, which may lead us to suspect the text, or the copies in which it has come to us, were not a fully worked-out publication ready for the market, but rather a piece of ‘grey literature’ or even a manuscript to be finished later on. The ‘prefaces’ usually also mention the genre; at least in *Marj al-zuhūr*, *‘Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā’i al-zuhūr*, the author uses the generic classification of *ta’rikh*, the content and explains some basic intentions he kept in mind while writing.

As already mentioned, *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, the oldest historiographical text ascribed to Ibn Iyās which contains events until 903–904/1497–1500, does not possess a *muqaddima*. After the initial *basmala*, the text starts in *medias res* with the first chapter. It even does not give an overview of the topics dealt with in the work:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, may he support and help [us] to success

On those who ruled Egypt after it was conquered by Islam

A lot of people had ruled it already in the times of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs. They levied taxes in Egypt, but each of them only stayed for a short while and then went on to rule something else. [...] <sup>279</sup>

This dry beginning could lead to the hypothesis that *Jawāhir al-sulūk* either served as a scratchbook rather than a historical narrative for ‘publication’. Brockelmann has described the text, on the basis of inspecting the Istanbul manuscript, as a “Auszug aus den *Badā’i*” (abridged version of the *Badā’i*), <sup>280</sup> which cannot be verified or denied completely, as to the fact that both texts were written in parallel. However, as MS Cairo is a copy from an autograph, there is at least the possibility that the copyist left out the author’s preface. <sup>281</sup>

However that may be, the geography *Nuzhat al-umam*, probably even older than *Jawāhir al-sulūk* (with MS Cairo having been finished in 891/1486), begins with an extensive preface, which, after lengthy glorification of God and the prophet, also provides detailed information about the author’s motivation to write and his approach (see below). We thus should not conclude that Ibn Iyās started writing prefaces only after gaining a certain amount of experience. Unfortunately, as the first volume of *‘Uqūd al-juman* is lost, we are not able to include it in the analysis. The chronicle, finished in the same year as the *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, could have helped us understand why Ibn Iyās left out a ‘preface’ in the latter, or to trace continuities or discontinuities between his first work and the

<sup>279</sup> *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, MS Cairo, 2r.

<sup>280</sup> GAL S. II, no. 13b.

<sup>281</sup> See Chapter V, Tentative Chronology.

two chronicles from 905/1499. The most extensive preface, finally, heads volume one of the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition of *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, which corresponds to the fourth part of the whole work, parts one to three being lost.<sup>282</sup>

Our analysis here proceeds initially in the presumed order of completion<sup>283</sup> of Ibn Iyās's different works, which will help to trace not only continuities and changes in the topics and writing intentions, but also genre orientations and intended readerships addressed in the prefaces. The second step in the analysis will turn to prosimetric elements<sup>284</sup> working as frames of Ibn Iyās's texts, which offer more details on the author's attitude towards writing history. This part includes a review of final framings in the context of the colophons, which at least in one case correspond with initial framings in the prefaces. The conclusion will sum up the findings on the topics covered: writing intentions, genre orientations, composition techniques, hints toward the intended readership and the inter-textual relationships between the prefaces and final frames of the different texts. This inventory will serve as a starting point for further analysis.

## Analysis in Chronological Order

### *Nuzhat al-umam*

*Nuzhat al-umam* begins with elaborate and quite lengthy praise of God and the prophet Muhammad in *saʿj* rhymed prose. The preface then continues with a paragraph explaining the author's writing intentions and the topics chosen, which also gives hints about Ibn Iyās's writing practice. The paragraph quoted in translation here is also partly in rhymed prose:

[2v] When I read through history works about past countries (*umam*) and saw the kind of **precious wondrous things** (*al-ʿajāʾib al-mutawāliyya*) in there, I decided (*istakhartu ʾllāh*) to write a **pleasant book** (*kitāb laṭīf*) to gather in it **the most remarkable things** (*aghṛab*) I have heard and the **most wondrous things** (*ʿaʿjab*) I have seen. I **decided to keep it short** (*qāṣidan al-ikhtisār*) **in order not to lengthen the writing in its entirety.**

282 See Winter (2007), who states that “[n]othing is known about the first three parts of the work, but it seems he [Ibn Iyās] intended to write the pre-Islamic history of Egypt and also a section on general cosmology.”

283 See Chapter V, Tentative Chronology.

284 While the prosimetric style is widespread in (premodern) Arabic writings, and in genres other than historiography, it appears in different forms, uses and intensity. Cf. Heinrichs, Wolfhart (1997): “Prosimetrical Genres in Classical Arabic Literature.” In Joseph Harris (ed.): *Prosimetrum. Crosscultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer, 249–276, esp. 254. As the authors of the cited volume rightly state, more research on this fascinating stylistic feature is needed urgently. For a study on Ibn Iyās's use of verses in the *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, see Guo (2018).

In [this book], I have considered the **wonders of Egypt** and its works, the good things accomplished by the wise men (*ḥukamāʾ*) there [3r], from **the pyramids, the ancient temple ruins** (*wa l-barābī wa l-ahrām*) and the like. I have recorded something about the **history (yasīra) of their kings (mulūk)** and something about the **wonders of the Nile**, something about their **regions (khiṭaʿ)** and their **antiquities**, something about their **climates and regions**. I already explained what I will include in this book, and that I decided to do so in a **short form (qāṣidan fihi l-ikhtiṣār)**, as mentioned above, and I named it *Nuzhat al-umam fi l-ʾajāʾib wa l-ḥikam*.

May the Lord help from the beginning till the last word (*khitām*) / May we now begin with the first word (*kalām*) on the creation and form of the earth at the beginning of time (*fi l-ʾazal*), and on the wonders God has created on her.<sup>285</sup>

Passages set bold highlight keywords and formulations hinting towards the key concepts that direct Ibn Iyās's writing. With four mentions of words related to the root *ʾayn-jīm-bā* and three occurrences of words related to the root *ghayn-rā-bā*, the general focus is clearly set on *ʾajāʾib wa gharāʾib*, “wondrous and remarkable things”, which by the time of Ibn Iyās had infiltrated into *taʾrīkh* from the formerly separate genre of *ʾajāʾib* that belonged to the broad field of *adab*. The focus on wondrous or interesting things is fostered by a small and rather general enumeration of topics covered, which lists several subjects belonging to the field of *ʾajāʾib*, in its second meaning to be translated as “wonders”, such as the pyramids and other ancient relicts of Egypt. The introduction clearly communicates the book's focus on Egypt, a focus that slightly contradicts the given title, which by the word *umam* could make the reader expect a work with the character of a universal history. However, the narrator does not seem to feel any need to explain this ‘gap’ between title and content. The aim of writing a short and pleasant book clearly speaks from the introductory lines cited above, which are preceded by long—relative to Ibn Iyās's other works - and eloquent praise of God and the prophet. With two mentions, the intention to put the information in a short (*ikhtiṣār*) and easy-to-access or pleasant (*laṭīf*) form is communicated prominently, as if advertising the character of the book. This feature is echoed in the enumeration of topics, which implicitly hints towards the author providing a hand-picked selection of knowledge (*shayʾ min... ʿaraf min... shayʾ min...*).

After the passage translated here, the main text immediately starts with a description of the solar system and the seven climates of the Earth, thus slowly ‘zooming’ in on the main topic of the book, a geography (with historiographical parts) of Egypt. Besides this, the text does not provide any overview on its topics. The author also advertises information about the history of rule and rulers in Egypt, while the “wonders of the Nile” refer to geographical information, like the

285 *Nuzhat al-umam fi l-ʾajāʾib wa l-ḥikam*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum, Cairo 1995 (forthwith cited as *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum) ; *Nuzhat al-umam* MS Cairo, 2v–3r. Emphasis by the author.

annual floods and their use in agriculture.<sup>286</sup> Even the short preface of *Nuzhat al-umam* thus suggests rethinking the generic classification of Ibn Iyās's texts presented by Wasserstein<sup>287</sup> and reproduced in encyclopedic articles like the one by Winter.<sup>288</sup>

### *Badā'ī ba'd al-khalq*

As *Jawāhir al-sulūk* does not contain a preface and due to the lack of 'Uqūd al-umam's first volume, the next preface in the (assumed) order of completion is from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī al-duhūr bād' al-khalq wa sirat al-anbiyā'*, which I unfortunately do not possess in MS form at present. This is why I cite from the French translation:

Nous avons composé cet œuvre fait des chroniques, des contes, d'histoires, de biographies, d'anecdotes et de descriptions en tout genre. Nous en avons **selectionnés les meilleures pour que les plus savants y trouvent du plaisir, et le plus passionnés de la jouissance.** Ils y trouveront tous beaucoup de choses **intéressantes et plusieurs merveilles.** Nous y avons mis les meilleures anecdotes et les faits les plus passionnants ainsi que les plus intéressants.<sup>289</sup>

Though related to a different genre, being a history of the pre-Islamic prophets, similar criteria are called upon to those in *Nuzhat al-umam*: the book is dedicated to wondrous and interesting information, pre-chosen for the reader. Besides the focus on 'ajā'ib, the goal of writing a pleasant book is again prominent. This preface specifies the working process a bit more: the selection following the aforementioned criteria has been put into practice from a corpus of literature belonging to different genres. The author implies a huge base of sources, without giving details in the preface. His enumeration of genres is to be set in relation to his implied readership, which encompasses both "the most learned scholars" and

286 On order of content and the arrangement of compiled parts in Ibn Iyās's different works, see Chapter V. For a previously published case study on *Nuzhat al-umam*, see also Kollatz, Anna (2020): "Ägypten kurzgefasst. Wissensordnung und die Darstellung islamischer Herrschaft in Ibn Iyās's 'Nuzhat al-umam fi l-'ajā'ib wa l-ḥikam'." In Mechthild Albert, Ulrike Becker, Elke Brüggem and Karina Kellermann (eds): *Textualität von Macht und Herrschaft. Literarische Verfahren im Horizont transkultureller Forschungen*. Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press (Macht und Herrschaft, 7), 65–100.

287 Wasserstein (1992), 81–113.

288 Cf. Winter (2007). The analysis of ordering principles in the macro-structure of Ibn Iyās's work will show that *Nuzhat al-umam* shares as much common "Stoff" (material) with the works considered "chronicles" as it does with those regarded as "geographical literature".

289 Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (1995): *Les Meilleures Roses sur les Événements Grandioses. Littérature, Histoire, Romans, Anecdotes*. Translated by Jamal Asri. Beirut: Al-Bouraq, 9. Emphasis by the author.

“the interested audience”. This statement is an early sign of Ibn Iyās’s orientation towards a broad readership located in an urban context, in which both scholars and people of different degrees of learning, as well as interested *passionants* without a ‘professional’ background or interest in history, interact.

### *Marj al-zuhūr*

After *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *‘Uqūd al-juman*, *Marj al-zuhūr* is Ibn Iyās’s third work dedicated to the history of (Islamic) Egypt, including recent and contemporary history. The manuscripts I have at hand differ largely in content and length: as of now, it is not clear whether both manuscripts represent different volumes of a larger universal chronicle, or have to be assessed as separate works. The MS Princeton colophon identifies the manuscript as a copy made in 993/1585 from a now lost autograph dated 909/1503. While this copy thus seems closest to the original version, it may be suspected that the very short introduction was shortened or even rephrased by the copyist. Yet, this brief introduction shares an important characteristic with the later prefaces (see below). It is written in rhymed prose, highlighted in the manuscript by red-inked dots marking the end of a verse, thus setting itself apart from the earlier prefaces. Right after the opening *basmala*, the introduction starts with rhymed praise of God and the prophet, which already refers to the concept of *‘ajā’ib*. Unlike the MS Paris and most of his other works, the author does not write in first person here. After the following extract, the book begins straightaway with the first chapter, without giving a list of contents. Even the following short declaration of writing intentions clearly communicates some of the basic principles we already isolated from the preceding prefaces:

[0v] This is the book *Marj al-zuhūr / fī waqā’i’ al-duhūr* / It is a **summary** (*mutanaqqit*) of numerous **history works** (*ta’rikh*) / and **gathers their advantages** in itself / It **summarizes** beautiful things that **can’t be found anywhere else** / Its points and parts **drive off grief and despair** / May Allāh have mercy on the author.<sup>290</sup>

The work is linked to the genre of *ta’rikh* exclusively and assessed as a summary, thus referring to Ibn Iyās’s writing practice of collection, choice and re-arrangement. Strong emphasis is laid on the work’s claim to superiority and singularity, held up in two verses. Finally, the concept of pleasantness appears in the closing verses, formulated as an inversion: a work that drives off grief and despair adds to the pleasure of its readers. The preface as contained in MS Paris is much more extensive, written in plain prose and with a much stronger involve-

290 *Marj al-zuhūr*, MS Princeton, Yahuda 4411, 0v. Emphasis by the author.

ment of the narrative voice, which speaks to the reader in first person singular as well as in a rather impersonal form (*wa li 'l-mu'allaf an yaqūl*).

The composition methods and writing intentions mentioned in both prefaces to *Marj al-zuhūr* volumes underline the assumption that the author's works, among other interests, aim at presenting a selection of the best and most important information available to the reader. The announcement of contents steps back, leaving space for more information about the author's writing intentions:

[2r] I wrote this **history** (*ta'rīkh*) from the **good things** (*fawā'id*) that preceded in all [other] history works and **life descriptions** (*siyar*). I have made **an excerpt of their beautiful content** (*ma'ānīhim*) and **have combined it with their excellence and the thoughts and 'uqūd that are in them so that it is truly the best share** (*hizz*) of the news. The author must mention (*wa li-l-mu'allaf an yaqūl*) that it contains the **most beautiful things** (*alfāz*) that have happened there, about the gems it holds, about **the remarkable** (*gharā'ib*) **events** that have happened there, and words about the **wonders** it has to offer. **It is a book that stands above everything that has been written so far.**<sup>291</sup>

The MS Paris preface declares, much stronger than in other prefaces or the parallel part of MS Princeton, that it presents the quintessence of all preceding books on history or biographical works, thus making a strong claim of superiority and advertising the book as a reader's digest of exceptional quality. MS Princeton only has a short mention of how the book was produced, "it was compiled from numerous books on history (*ta'rīkh*)", without advertising it openly as a premium product. Like *Badā'i al-zuhūr*, though in a less eloquent way, it presumes to represent a collection of the good parts or things recorded in the "numerous books on history" the author claims to have used in preparation. Both *Marj al-zuhūr* prefaces touch on the question of content only in passing, hence dropping the key concept terms *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib*.

### *Nashq al-azhār*

Yet more ornate praise of God and of the prophet, reciting their respective properties in free *saḥ*, opens the preface in MS Paris Arabe 2208, which is a copy of *Nashq al-azhār fī 'ajā'ib al-aqtār*,<sup>292</sup> a geography of Egypt completed in 922/1516–1517.<sup>293</sup> The praise section covers almost two thirds of the first page and is

291 *Marj al-zuhūr*, MS Paris, Arabe 1554, 2r. Emphasis by the author.

292 *Nashq al-azhār*, MS Paris, Arabe 2208, 1.

293 Cf. W. Ahlwardt, Wilhelm (1887–1899): *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. 10 volumes. Berlin: A.W. Schade, V (1893), 376–377. I refer to the MS Paris Arabe 2208, which is dated to the year 1044/1634. The text in this manuscript is identical with MS Paris Arabe 2207, which is the oldest copy of this text (dated 1018/1609). I also consulted MS Berlin, no. 6050, 1v: the text is identical with the manuscripts held in

followed by a paragraph on the author's intentions introduced with red inked *wa ba'd*, which is then followed by an enumeration of the book's contents. The praise section does not feature similarities with, for example, the version in *Nuzhat al-umam*, which is remarkable regarding Ibn Iyās's practice of compiling well-formulated passages from his older works, and especially his way of sharing parts of his preface material written in *saġ* between *Nuzhat al-umam* and *Nashq al-azhār*, as the following compilation analysis shows.

Nuzhat MS Cairo	Nashq MS Paris Arabe 2208
key: black—verbatim compilation; green—paraphrase without change of meaning; orange—paraphrase with change of meaning; violet—differing material	
<p>[2v] When I read through history works about past countries (<i>umam</i>) and saw the kind of precious wondrous things (<i>al-'ajā'ib al-mutawāliyya</i>) in there, I decided (<i>istakhartu 'llāh an</i>) to write a pleasant book (<i>kitāb laṭīf</i>) to gather in it the most remarkable things (<i>aghrab</i>) I have heard and the most wondrous things (<i>a'jab</i>) I have seen. I decided to keep it short (<i>qāṣidan al-ikhtiṣār</i>) in order not to lengthen the writing in its entirety. In [this book], I have considered the wonders of Egypt and its works, the good things accomplished by the wise men (<i>ḥukamā'</i>) there [3r], from the pyramids, the ancient temple ruins (<i>wa 'l-barābī wa 'l-ahrām</i>) and the like. I have recorded something about the history (<i>yaṣīra</i>) of their kings (<i>mulūk</i>) and something about the wonders of the Nile, something about their regions (<i>khiṭaṭ</i>) and their antiquities, something about their climates and regions.</p>	<p>[1] When I read through history works about past countries (<i>umam</i>) and saw the kind of precious wondrous things (<i>al-'ajā'ib al-mutawāliyya</i>) in there, I decided (<i>fa 'ajabtu an</i>) to compile a pleasant book (<i>kitāb laṭīf</i>) to gather in it the most remarkable things (<i>aghrab</i>) I have heard and the most wondrous I have seen. I decided to keep it short (<i>qāṣidan al-ikhtiṣār</i>) in order not to lengthen the writing in its entirety. In [this book], I have considered the wonders of Egypt the good things accomplished by the wise men (<i>ḥukamā'</i>) there, from the pyramids in the ancient temple ruins and the like. I have recorded something about the history (<i>yaṣīra</i>) of their kings (<i>mulūk</i>)<sup>294</sup> and something on the pyramids they have built in Egypt and other countries. I mentioned something about the wonders of the Nile and the pyramids (<i>ahrām</i>), and something about the wonders of those countries that belong to Egypt, something about their regions (<i>khiṭaṭ</i>), their climates and regions and more things like that on the remarkable wonders and the wondrous reports. I</p>

Paris with slight discrepancies, which, however, do not affect the content or the formulation (e.g. *wa* instead of *fa*, added *ta'ālī* after *allāh*). The third manuscript in Paris, MS Arabe 2209, however, is dated to 1115 /1703, and thus about a century younger than MS Arabe 2007 and 2008; it has therefore not been included in the comparison. MS Paris Arabe 2210, dated to 1110/1699, is a fragment and has been excluded for this reason.

294 MS Berlin 6050, 1v and MS Paris Arabe 2208, 1v have *dhakartu ṭuruq yaṣīra min siyar mulūkiha al-qudamā'* wa ma ṣana'ū min al-abniyya al-muḥakkama fī miṣr wa ghayrihā min al-bilād; this sentence is missing in MS Paris Arabe 2207.

295 In MS Paris Arabe 2208, this is not clearly readable: MS Berlin, 6050, 1v and MS Paris Arabe 2207, 2v have *'ilm al-hai'a*.

<p>I already explained what I will include in this book, and that I decided to do so in a short form (<i>qāṣidan fihi l-ikhtiṣār</i>), as mentioned above, and I named it <i>Nuzhat al-umam fī l-ʿajāʾib wa l-ḥikam</i>.</p> <p>May the Lord help from the beginning till the last word (<i>khitām</i>) / May we now begin with the first word (<i>kalām</i>) on [...]</p>	<p>already have begun with a part on astronomy and on the composition of the planets.<sup>295</sup></p> <p>(Verse) I seek the help of God, following the most important of all leagues (<i>ʿaqd al-ʿuqūd</i>). Stand witness for me even if you envy me</p> <p>I named it <i>Nashq al-azhār fī ʿajāʾib</i> [2] <i>al-aqtār</i> and I say [Verse]</p> <p>I penned it all in a condensed summary (<i>madad qāṣir</i>) / Look at it, therefore, with sympathy.</p> <p>And if you find a sin therein, correct it please for me / Oh save the braves from every sin, Oh Lord, I dare ask thee.</p> <p>May the Lord help from the beginning till the last word (<i>khitām</i>) / May we now begin with the first word (<i>kalām</i>) on [...]</p>
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The sample shows large sections compiled verbatim (black) from *Nuzhat al-umam* to *Nashq al-azhār*. Most remarkable among those passages are the rhymed declarations concerning the author's writing intention and content. While the first part is unchanged except for very small differences in the formulation (orange), the description of the contents has been amended (green text shows paraphrases, while violet denotes differing/additional content); hence, there are no major changes in the overall topics announced. The most striking addition is to be found in the closing lines of the *Nashq al-azhār* preface. From the two lines of *saʿj* present at the end of *Nuzhat al-umam* that delicately bridge the close of the preface and the first words of the first chapter, the author has created a six-verse poem to mark the end of his rhymed preface of *Nashq al-azhār*. While his statements concerning form and writing intentions and his hints towards his working practice remain stable, this amendment implicitly underlines a development that can also be spotted when comparing passages from *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* to parallels in earlier texts.<sup>296</sup> In his later years of writing, Ibn Iyās seems to have developed a new interest not only in using his own poetry to adorn his narratives, but also and more often to comment on the events reported.<sup>297</sup> As a side effect of the amendment, though not necessarily to be ascribed to Ibn Iyās's design, the verse constitutes an example of the close interaction between the text in its formal representation and its structuring by the manuscript. The second stanza of this last verse, "May we now begin with the first word (*kalām*)", is written in red ink in

<sup>296</sup> See the compilation analyses in Chapter VI and VII.

<sup>297</sup> Guo (2018), 83–89. We will come back to this development in the discussion of the preface to *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*.



both *Nashq al-azhār* manuscripts I have at hand.<sup>298</sup> Hence it appears to mark a new chapter, cutting off the textual flow. However, as the second part of the verse, it also links the new chapter to the end of the preface, thus adding to a continuous flow in the text.

### *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*

For the fourth *juzʿ* of his last and largest historiographical project, the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʾ al-duhūr*, Ibn Iyās wrote a preface that takes central elements from his previous ones while still appearing to introduce a number of new features. The additions concern both newly added structuring elements, not only regarding the fourth *juzʿ*, but also the text as a whole and information concerning the intended order of knowledge in the work.<sup>299</sup> The preface shares a three-step organization, beginning with praise of God and the prophet—in this case, it is rather short and not very sophisticated compared to the more elaborate *sajʿ* versions in *Marj al-zuhūr* and *Nashq al-azhār*. The praise is followed by a section detailing the writing intentions and topics to be expected in the book, which closes with one of Ibn Iyās’s own poems on the nature of the book, which is compared to a “mirror” reflecting past events. With this kind of reflection on the writing process and an almost philosophical (hence in any case narratological) assessment of its outcome—characterizing his chronicle as a “mirror”, his narratives thus as reflections—Ibn Iyās seems to anticipate postmodern considerations on historiography. Both underline the difference between an actual historical event and any kind of speaking or writing about it, which necessarily will be shaped by the reflections and considerations of the author, who, if unintentionally, inserts his own interpretations and thereby creates and transmits an emplotment of the event.<sup>300</sup> The poetic reflection on history writing finds its counterpart in the closing lines of the last *juzʿ* of *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, where Ibn Iyās gathers three verses, similarly reflecting on the business of writing, that are taken from different earlier works (see below). Thus, the framing of his historiographical text with some kind of symbolic meta-level remarks is new:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate [...] This is a volume of our book on history (*taʾrīkh*) called *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʾ al-duhūr*. I put into it the **highest advantages (*fawāʾid*) and the sweetest and most pleasant curiosities (*gharāʾib*)** that fit

298 As neither of the manuscripts are autographs, the structuring use of red ink in these places may come from the respective copyist, thus bearing testimony to the shared influence that the copyist exerted on the text’s figurations.

299 The latter has led Wasserstein (1992) to speculate on the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*: *Baʿd al-khalq* not being an independent work, but a previous version of one of the lost pages.

300 Similarly, Norbert Elias’ concept of figurations.

well for an evening's entertainment in company and will join the lonesome like a good companion. For this historiographic project, I studied diverse books, almost 37 of our histories,<sup>301</sup> until I realized what I wanted. Thank God, it came to me like pearls on a string, as I once put it:

Read my book if you'd like to be informed  
on many things that happened in the days gone by  
Like a mirror, it shows to you the things  
that fade away in time miraculously

I collected information on Egypt and added one piece after another, and brought it into order: **I brought it voluntarily into short form** (*qāṣidan fihi 'l-ikhtiṣār*) and thanks to God, **it did not occur to be long and boring, but also it wasn't short and weak.** I recorded the benefited *suras* written in the holy Quran that mention Egypt directly or indirectly, and what is said in the *shar'ī* and *nabawī ḥadīth* on it.

[I recorded] her [Egypt's] **advantages** (*faḍā'il*) and **what makes her stand out before every other country**, the wondrous (*'ajā'ib*) and remarkable (*gharā'ib*) things assembled in her, [strange] occurrences and the like. [I recorded] who of Adam's and Noah's sons lived in her, and who of the prophets entered her. [4] **Who ruled her from the beginning of time**, the titans (*jabābir*), the Amalekites, the Greek, the Pharaohs, the Copts, and others. [I also recorded] who **held her during the early times of Islam**, the *ṣaḥāba*, the Nabateans, may God be content with all of them. [I recorded] who ruled her from the Ikshīdids, the Fātimids (*al-fātimīyīn al-abīdiyya*), the Ayyubids, who were Kurds, the Turkic and the Circassian kings (*mulūk*), up to our present time, which is the beginning of the ninth century.

[I also recorded] the doctors, the '*ulamā*', the jurists, the scholars in the ḥadīth and the Quran, the *ṣulahā*', the ascetics, the poets and others who belong to the **important people** (*a'yān al-nās*). I explained [their importance] at the beginning of each section [on somebody important], and noted their names, their lifetime, their date of decease, including the day, month and year. And now, we will start with the topic.<sup>302</sup>

The writer clearly states his desire to write a pleasant and entertaining book that suits both entertainment in company or being alone. Though he classifies his work as belonging to the genre of *ta'rikh* right in the first sentence, the fact that it is easy to read for interested people becomes evident in first paragraph. The author does not name any patron or commissioner of the work, nor does he dedicate it to certain contemporaries. As Muṣṭafā stated, who as the co-editor of the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* had thorough insight into Ibn Iyās's writing practices, unpublished marginal notes by our author the manuscripts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* confirm this: Ibn Iyās did not hold an administrative post, nor did he maintain relationships with any of the sultans sitting during his lifetime.<sup>303</sup> He rather appears to be writing out of his own interest to a rather public, amorphous readership. Could this be a first hint of Ibn Iyās writing to a

301 Cf. Al Amer (2016), 377–389 for a list of sources used in the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.

302 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 3–4.

303 Muṣṭafā (1952), 163–165, 164, see also Little (1998), 441.

group of interested Cairo citizens perhaps not known to the author personally? Could his easy-to-read companion thus be meant to provide broader access to knowledge formerly provided only to privileged groups in the ruling or learned elites?

This interpretation would correspond with one of the most prominent writing principles of Ibn Iyās. Providing relevant information in a short, entertaining and accessible fashion, *fī ṭarīq al-ikhtiṣār*, but without ignoring relevant information or becoming too thin appears in texts beyond the ‘preface’ to *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*. The characteristic phrase *fī ṭarīq al-ikhtiṣār* very often closes accounts, anecdotes or even city descriptions not only in Ibn Iyās’s historiographical writing, but also in his ‘geographical’ works. Giving brief, comprehensible and reliable information thus appears as the first writing principle that shapes Ibn Iyās’s *oeuvre*.

The author makes a lot of effort to present his book as being excellent in matters of content and preparation. Not only does Ibn Iyās claim to have studied a huge number of relevant sources before writing his own history: he also indicates that he selected the content following his own selection criteria, namely interesting, important and entertaining facts on everything related to Egypt. The whole concept, not only in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, but throughout the entire *oeuvre*, is focused on Egypt, with an even stronger focus on *Miṣr* in the sense of Cairo. Geographical descriptions and the history of the prophets, learned men and Islamic rulers are interesting to our author to the extent that they concern his land and city of birth. His interest spreads further to the *bilād al-shām*, those provinces belonging to the Mamluk dominion, and to the holy cities on the Arab peninsula under at least nominal Mamluk surveillance. Ibn Iyās thus is not in the tradition of Islamic historiography that aims to tell the whole story from the advent of Islam across the entirety of Islamic territory. Departing from Saḥāwī’s classification of historical treatises, as laid down in the introduction to his work *al-Iʿlān bi-l-tawbīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta’rīkh*,<sup>304</sup> Ibn Iyās’s *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* is a local history, though oriented towards a rather large space. As the analysis of narrative strategies and the choice and organization of the knowledge provided in the *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* will show later on, the author merges anecdotes, verses, quotes of proverbs from well-known sources or just unspecified common knowledge as bits of information that can be used and understood without a higher education in history. His extensive history of Egypt, read from the intention as stated in the ‘preface’ and from its smallest textual elements, seems rather like a useful compendium to browse through, picking interesting and delectable pieces here and there, than a massive scholarly work.

304 See Wollina (2014a), 27–28 for a short discussion of the genres. See also Rosenthal, Franz (1968): *A History of Muslim Historiography*. 2. rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, XI–XII (table of contents) and 388–501 (translation).

This may be interpreted as a hint concerning Ibn Iyās's intended readership. He addresses those who seek to be entertained and bewitched by stories about the past. We do not find an open instructive approach, nor a dedication to a ruler, a patron or the like in his introducing words. While he inserts personal remarks and evaluations of the conduct of elites and rulers, most often taking the perspective of the common people, he never explicitly draws on ideas of ideal rulership. It is because of his rather neutral tone, one bereft of moralizing, that I doubt him writing for a courtly audience. While he surely would not have screened his work from elite readers or even the sultan and his entourage, it seems to me open and accessible for individuals from medial layers of society, urban folks like educated artisans, craftsmen and lower administrative employees. This does not mean, however, that Ibn Iyās did not have connections or access to 'higher' levels of Mamluk society. As Li Guo has shown, Ibn Iyās's own verses in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* can be read as an inventory of the author's connections to middle to high-ranking functionaries, such as the judges whom he counted among his 'friends'.<sup>305</sup> But while showing off with some "magnificent" or "eloquent" verses,<sup>306</sup> as he advertises them himself, and displaying his own network to the intended readership may well be part of Ibn Iyās's self-representation as an author, this does not necessarily link his work, and especially not his *oeuvre* before *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, to an intended readership located solely in the highest levels of Mamluk society.

## Poems as Frames

As Li Guo has shown in his considerations on the function of Ibn Iyās's poems in the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*,<sup>307</sup> the whole work is framed by the verse cited in the introduction to volume 1 (see above) and three similar verses cited at the very end of volume 5.<sup>308</sup> With this use of poems as frames and stylistic devices that foster the author's point of view, Ibn Iyās stands in accord with long-lasting traditions in Arabic literature: "As is well known, the interspersing of prose texts with poems as we find it in the *ayyām* stories became a model for later prose-writing in Arabic and in the other Islamic languages as well."<sup>309</sup> His poems, "full of clichés about Arabic chronicles",<sup>310</sup> confirm the attitude and writing motivation expressed in the prefaces. The chronicle is, for instance, compared to a "mirror of

305 Guo (2018), 79. See Chapter III, Ibn Iyās's teachers and friends.

306 e.g. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* IV, 322; III, 473, see also IV, 422–423.

307 Guo (2018), esp. 84–89.

308 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 494.

309 Heinrichs (1997), 254.

310 Guo (2018), 84.

time” (*mir’āt al-zamān*), which may be used to gain information and “see” things and events gone by. A special focus is laid, again, on the “wonders” (*‘ajā’ib*) of the world.<sup>311</sup> Besides their framing function and content, the couplets are also most interesting from the perspective of getting to know Ibn Iyās’s working process over a longer period. As for so many other parts of the *Badā’i*, the first verses, offered as final lines, have been compiled verbatim from *‘Uqūd al-juman*. The latter work<sup>312</sup> closes with the words *wa qad qultu fī khatam hadhā l-juzū* [sic!] *hādhihi l-abiyāt* (“At the end of this volume, I said the verses”), followed by the verse:

Pardon the author of this chronicle with compassion  
 Forgive any shortcomings caused by zealous passion (*bi-ltiḥāmī*).  
 You have been kind to me from the beginning  
 Oh Lord, take care of me through its ending!<sup>313</sup>

The *Badā’i al-zuhūr* has the same verse, introduced by the much shorter *wa fīhi aqūlu* (“and I say on that”). Li Guo has argued that the present tense in this introduction suggests that the poem was composed especially for the text or during its writing. The compilation history of the verse, as well as the use of the present (*Badā’i al-zuhūr*) and perfect (*‘Uqūd al-juman*) tenses in its introduction, contradict this argumentation. Rather, it is to be assumed that the author employs a basic set of stylistic features and textual elements that are slightly varied without their statement being substantially altered as a result. The verse is also cited at the end of *Nuzhat al-umam*, here combined with a quote from the poetry of Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Korkmaz, whose praise of Ibn Iyās’s work is followed by the short transition *wa li-mu’allaḥ fihi* (“and [a verse] by the author of this work”) and the verse cited above.<sup>314</sup> *Nuzhat al-umam* does not feature a corresponding framing verse in the preface, and as the first *juz’* of *‘Uqūd al-juman* is lost, we cannot prove whether Ibn Iyās framed this *ta’rīkh* with poems related to each other at the beginning and the end. It is sure, however, that the final framing is not a new idea set into action only in the *Badā’i al-zuhūr*. Besides the polite self-abasing exculpations concerning the author’s human weakness and the resulting defectiveness of his work, the final framing verses come back to the idea of pleasantness and the intended readership (or listenership?) located in the *majālis* of, as stated in the *Marj al-zuhūr* preface, the learned men and interested people:

311 Both in *Badā’i al-zuhūr* Ia, III; cf. Guo (2018), 84.

312 *‘Uqūd al-juman* MS Istanbul Ayasofya 331, 260.

313 I quote the translation by Li Guo (2018, 84) made from *Badā’i al-zuhūr* V, 494, which mirrors the Arabic verses most beautifully.

314 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 282.

Our chronicle is the delight of the ensembles (*al-majālis*).  
 Its words enchant the crowd in attendance (*al-mujālis*).  
 It is music to the ear.  
 It pleases (*yutrib*) anyone deep in despair.<sup>315</sup>

The last part of the closing triptych finally unites the author and his book with the intended readership in the *majālis* when humanizing the book as a wonderful companion or friend – hence adding another Arabic cliché ascribed to books, which also figure as gardens to be carried away in the pocket. At the same time, praising the book-companion as featuring ideal virtues of true friendship (*ša-daqa*) such as loyalty (*wafā*), he adds a final metaphorical claim of reliability:

I compiled this book to be my best company (*ni'ma al-jālīs*).  
 People come and go, ever changing.  
 But the book remains loyal over the years  
 withstanding scrutiny and queries (*al-naẓar*).<sup>316</sup>

This last verse, again, has been compiled from an earlier work, this time from *Marj al-zuhūr* as it has come to us in the Princeton manuscript. The verse appears there in a similar context at the end of the copy, between the mention of the book's title and the colophon giving the date of completion, name of the copyist and the information that the copy has been made from an autograph.<sup>317</sup> The verse figure appears in an ensemble of two distiches by the author, which are introduced and linked by comments in red ink. The comments suggest reading the first distich as reflecting a common saying (*wa aqūlu kamā qāla al-qā'il*). Similar to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, the present tense is used here. As a request for benevolent reading that appeals to both the reader and God ("save me from hell"), the verse seems like a different version of the final distich from *'Uqūd al-juman*, which has a similar theme but is distinct in terms of wording and structure.

<i>Marj al-zuhūr (Princeton)</i> <sup>318</sup>	<i>'Uqūd al-juman and Badā'ī al-zuhūr</i> <sup>319</sup>
As the beginning went well I ask to be saved from hell	You have been kind to me from the beginning Oh Lord, take care of me through its ending!

In *Marj al-zuhūr*, the author leads to the next verse with the rather smug comment "and this is my better version to conclude, and I'd like to emphasize that", followed by verses re-used as the last lines of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*:

315 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 494. I again quote Guo's translation (Guo 2018, 84). See also Guo's remarks on the composition, rhetoric and poetic style of the cited verses: *ibid.*, 84–85.

316 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 494. Again, I quote Guo's translation, Guo (2018), 85.

317 *Marj al-zuhūr* MS Princeton, 247 r–v.

318 *Marj al-zuhūr* MS Princeton, 247 r; this is my own translation.

319 *'Uqūd al-juman* MS Istanbul, 260 and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 494, translation from Guo (2018), 84.

I compiled this book to be my best company (*nīma al-jalīs*).

People come and go, ever changing.

But the book remains loyal over the years

withstanding scrutiny and queries (*al-naẓar*).<sup>320</sup>

To conclude these considerations, both the technique of final framing and a prosimetric style, including verses written by the author himself, form a characteristic element of Ibn Iyās's writing. In this, Ibn Iyās does not differ much from established genre conventions in Arabic *ta'riḫ*, as Guo states: "Overall, Ibn Iyās's use of verses is in line with the model established by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, where poems are cited to conclude, or to be inserted in the mid of, a narrative unit as commentary, reflection, and afterthought note."<sup>321</sup> Not only the verses, but also thematic elements, the positioning of prosimetric elements and the stylistic and thematic contexts are used throughout his work and work together as a dialectic whole, the way Heinrichs describes it as a characteristic of (early) Arabic literature: "There is a dialectic between prose and poetry: the poetry cannot really be understood without the prose, and the prose is not considered trustworthy and true without the poetry to corroborate it."<sup>322</sup> Through combining or re-formulating introducing and lead-over remarks as well as the verses themselves, all the final frames follow a similar pattern concerning both the verses' contents and the way they are positioned and introduced in the text. The final framing prosimetricum thus suggests a basic attitude and intention behind Ibn Iyās's different works that remains stable from his earlier pieces to his final chronicle. Thus, when Li Guo characterizes Ibn Iyās's writing *Badā'i al-zuhūr* as a "holistic process",<sup>323</sup> this characterization may well be applied to the working process of the whole *oeuvre*. The creation of a prosimetric whole in *Badā'i al-zuhūr*, by which prose and poetry are placed consciously, using their close interaction to illuminate the intended interpretation in many facets, as addressed by Guo, deserves to be considered holistic. Ibn Iyās sticks to a consistent set of topics, concepts and stylistic forms at the beginning or ending of a text throughout his different works, a set which is transferred from one text to another by compilation and re-structuring processes, which include the re-formulation of recurring ideas and sets of arguments.<sup>324</sup>

320 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 494. Again, I quote Guo's translation, Guo (2018), 85.

321 Guo (2018), 85. See also Heinrichs (1997), esp. 260 for a consideration of the dialectic interaction of prose and poetry in Arabic texts.

322 Heinrichs (1997), 260.

323 Guo (2018), 85.

324 This underlines once again how important more research on prosimetric narrative strategies in Arabic literature would be. For Ibn Iyās obviously uses this strategy as a prominent stylistic device, while Heinrichs (1997: 261) assumed that prosimetric narrating in later Arabic literature "gradually peters out" and "later historiography is as a rule devoid of

## Conclusion to Chapter IV

On the basis of these findings, it can be argued that Ibn Iyās as an author was in a constant process of interaction with his works, a process that was directed by a consistent concept of writing history. Further evidence to substantiate this thesis will come from the investigation of the ordering principles according to which Ibn Iyās constructed his writings. Finally, on the level of the narration, it will also be necessary to examine whether the narrative design remains constant across the text corpus by comparing different narratives of the same event.

While research on Ibn Iyās has tended to ‘sort’ his writings into two generic categories—*ta’rīkh* and *khiṭaṭ*—the texts themselves are rather elusive concerning their generic belonging. Instead of placing his works explicitly into a certain generic context (only three of the six analyzed prefaces refer to the genre *ta’rīkh*), Ibn Iyās characterized his writings by naming key concepts both concerning his working methods and the contents he includes. The analysis of his six preserved prefaces has shown a consistent set of key concepts represented by conceptual terms present in every preface. If not explicitly named, they can be deduced from the narrative strategies applied throughout the prefaces and from compiled passages shared by several texts. The three analytical categories of key concepts, writing intentions and working techniques have proven helpful for detecting and interrelating the openly communicated and hidden, indirectly communicated aims of different texts. However, they are interrelated in many ways and must not be understood as independent parameters. This applies both to the level of text production, which is to be explored here, and to the analysis itself. For example, statements about the intended character of the texts, which are supposed to be “pleasant” and “entertaining”, need to be read in association with the chosen content, such as the strong emphasis on “wondrous” things. The writer’s intention is also related to the three working techniques of summary, selection and compilation, which Ibn Iyās advertises as characteristic for his works. It also becomes quite clear how far from any emic perceptions the evaluation of Mamluk texts by research has been for a long time: Ibn Iyās by no means promotes his texts as original works (as expected by the research) originating exclusively in his own intellect. On the contrary, the value of his writings as advocated by Ibn Iyās is their pasticcio-like character. According to Ibn Iyās, his original contribution to the expansion of the common knowledge archive of his society consists in evaluating, sorting and making knowledge easily accessible.

If we compare Ibn Iyās’s approach to, for example, al-Maqrīzī’s texts, we find him neglecting all sorts of theoretical musings or direct positioning of his nar-

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poems”. This statement, however, needs to be revisited especially for the ‘literary’ historiographies of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



rative within any concept of history. As Tarif Khalidi has put it, historians of the age considered their discipline a serious endeavor that pursued moral, religious and thus social intentions. As Khalidi notes when referring to writers like Ibn al-Athīr or Nuwayrī: “Far less is heard of history as entertainment (*tasliya*); far more is heard of history as a moral sermon (*waʿz*) addressed primarily to statesmen and meant to unite and edify society and the state.”<sup>325</sup> In a discussion of al-Maqrīzī’s notion of history in his *Khiṭaṭ* and further texts, Nasser Rabbat has shown that al-Maqrīzī shared this position, understanding historiography as a means “to forewarn the reader of the ephemerality of this world as opposed to the next” and “to appreciate the ethical criteria of their predecessors in order to follow them, and to distinguish their vile deeds in order to advise those in power against them.”<sup>326</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, as Rabbat states, combined this traditional approach with the concept of *khiṭaṭ* and announced this project in the full title of his *Khiṭaṭ*—at least to the reader acquainted with conceptual terms.<sup>327</sup> Ibn Iyās also includes traces of theoretical discussions and personal definitions of terms he uses in his prefaces. He, however, relies on a set of conceptual terms that differs greatly from the approach to history described by Khalidi and Rabbat. Highlighting especially wondrous and interesting things, the *ʿajāʾib*, he declares his interest in entertaining the reader while providing easily understandable information.

Based on his writing intentions, which speak from every preface and are constantly repeated throughout his main texts, Ibn Iyās thus chose a consistent frame of content and adhered to similar writing techniques, which he may have elaborated on, but did not fundamentally change. Ibn Iyās repeatedly proclaims his intention to write pleasant, short and informative books that offer easy access to the archive of historical, geographical and “interesting” knowledge available on Egypt at the date of writing. With this program, his works stand close to the aims of *adab* literature. Almost naturally, working techniques named in the prefaces derive from this program, as mentioned above. The same holds true for the compilation and re-use of his own material, which the author does not discuss, but which shape his working process and the choice of material to a large extent.<sup>328</sup> Writing intentions and working processes are also interrelated to the choice of topics: the most interesting facts and stories that, according to Ibn

325 Khalidi, Tarif (1996): *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*. Reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press (Cambridge studies in Islamic civilization), 216.

326 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* 1:4, cited after Rabbat, Nasser O. (2018): *The Historian and the City. Al-Maqrīzī’s Kitāb al-Mawāʾiẓ wa-l-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-l-Āthār*. Bonn (ASK Working Paper, 30), 7.

327 Rabbat (2018), 8.

328 Intertextual relations are discussed in the following chapters, for exemplary compilation analyses see Chapters VI–VIII.

Iyās's understanding, would intrigue his contemporaries are related to *'ajā'ib wa gharā'ib*, to the history of power and domination in Egypt and, as a matter of principle, to Cairo, the space Ibn Iyās lived and wrote in. We may suppose that Egypt and more specifically Cairo were also the places he had in mind when thinking about his intended readership. Contrary to some of his fellow historians, as, for example, his fellow *ibn al-nās* Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Ibn Iyās does not claim to have written for a certain figure or even a less specific group of the Mamluk elite.<sup>329</sup> He approaches learned professionals and interested people as equals, addressing readers both seeking scholarly information and entertainment. This wide scope of intended readers becomes clear not only from his explicit mention, but also from the design and topics of his writings. We may thus imagine Ibn Iyās as somebody writing to reach a broad public, to gain attention both from the powerful and wealthy, who might become patrons for further works, and from people in the madrasas, *kuttābs* and streets of Cairo, whose interest in reading and maybe owning informative short renditions of a common archive of knowledge increasingly made them the patrons and customers of writers in sixteenth-century Cairo.

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329 On Ibn Taghrī Birdī's approach to Mamluk history, see e.g. Perho, Irmeli (2013a): *Ibn Taghrībirdī's Portrayal of the first Mamluk Rulers*. Berlin: EBV (Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture, 6); ead. (2013b): "Ibn Taghrībirdī's Voice." In Sylvia Akar, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila and Inka Nokso-Koivisto (eds): *Traveling Through Time. Essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 135–147; and most recently on his self-representation Ben Othmen, Rihab (2020): "A Tale of Hybrid Identities. Notes on Ibn Taghrībirdī's Textual and Authorial 'Self-Fashioning'." *Mamluk Studies Review* 23, 165–201.



### Structuring Ibn Iyās's *Oeuvre*

#### Tentative Chronology

The completion date of the autograph copies preserved will serve as the first criterion for setting up a tentative chronology, as these copies reflect the chronological order of Ibn Iyās's working process so long as there was no falsification by later copies. As a subsidiary criterion, the content of the chronologically organized texts will be considered. The following chart represents a preliminary chronological order from these criteria. Texts that form part of the source base for this study are in bold. All texts attributed to Ibn Iyās that cannot be integrated into the chronological order convincingly (because they have come to us only in later and/or undated manuscripts) are listed in the second chart in alphabetical order.

The completion dates, or the assumed dates of completion, are often close together, so it must be assumed that Ibn Iyās worked on several of his writings in parallel. Konrad Hirschler has demonstrated that, despite having a chronological structure, a chronicle is not necessarily the output of a chronological writing process,<sup>330</sup> as it does not have to rely on purely linear modes of narration.<sup>331</sup> On the contrary, it is most likely that Ibn Iyās, as well as other historians, followed a non-chronological writing process.<sup>332</sup> Composing several writings in

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330 Thus Wollina, referring to Konrad Hirschler without quoting a specific work, cf. Wollina (2014b): "Ibn Ṭawq's Ta'liq. An Ego-Document for Mamlūk Studies." In Stephan Conermann (ed.): *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies—State of the Art*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 3), 337–362, 345.

331 Cf. Hirschler (2014).

332 Al Amer (2016), 41 discusses the dates of completion, or of the beginning of a new redaction, in the fourth *juz'* of the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. What he detects as an anomaly in the dating can be simply read as a hint towards a non-chronological writing process. This hypothesis is strengthened by the meta-commentaries Ibn Iyās sometimes adds to his narration, e.g. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 364, where he notes the death of Shaykh Muḥī al-Dīn al-Nawāwī, adding:

close proximity should be imagined as an even more complex process, in which the contents and topics of the different writings almost naturally influenced each other. The following tentative chronological order thus must not be understood as a chronological hierarchy, which would imply a stringent line of development from the earlier finished texts to the later ones. Instead, as the compilation analysis will show, the intertextual entanglement of Ibn Iyās's different writings resembles a spider's web. This thus suggests that we understand the textual corpus as a closely interrelated structure, in which one text can oscillate between the positions of hypotext and hypertext, depending on the parts under scrutiny.

#### 1) Tentative Chronology of Works Attributed to Ibn Iyās with Certainty

No.	Title	Date
1	<i>Nuzhat al-umam fī l-'ajā'ib wa-l-hikam</i> 'A Pleasurable Stroll through the Wonders and Dominions of the World'	Copy from autograph completed before 891/1486 (colophon MS Istanbul).
2	<i>Jawāhīr al-sulūk fī amr al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk</i> 'Gemstones about the Caliphs and Kings'	Scope: events until 903–904/1497–1500, one copy from autograph and later copies.
3	<i>'Uqūd al-juman fī waqā'ī al-azman</i> 'Pearl Necklaces on the Events of History'	Unique autograph copy finished on 17 Rabi' al-awwal 905/22 October 1499 (colophon MS Istanbul), probably Cairo
4	<i>Marj al-zuhūr fī badā'ī al-'umūr</i> 'Floral Meadows on the Events Brought by Fate'	Content until 655/1266–67, work finished 909/1503, copy dated 993/1585, no place (colophon MS Princeton).
5	<i>Nashq al-azhār fī 'ajā'ib al-aqtār</i> 'Flowery Scents on the Wonders of the Earth'	Work finished on 14 Sha'bān 922/12 September 1516 (colophon, several copies).
6	<i>Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī al-duhūr</i> 'The Most Beautiful Blossoms on what Fate brought in Events'	Work started in 901/1495–96; contains scope of events until 1522.

#### 2) Further Works with Uncertain Dating

No.	Title	Attribution
1	<i>Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī al-duhūr: Bād' al-khalq wa-sīrat al-anbiyā'</i> 'The Most Beautiful Blossoms on what Fate Brought in Events: On the Creation and the Life of the Prophets'	n/a

“he was one of the most notable men in the time of al-Malik al-Sa'īd b. al-Zāhir Baybars, but I forgot to mention his death in the right spot.”

(Continued)

No.	Title	Attribution
2	<i>al-Durr al-maknūn fī sab'at al-funūn</i> 'Hidden Pearls on the Seven Arts'	Attributed by de Slane (nor reason given) and Hajji Khalifa
3	<i>Jawāhir al-farīda fī 'l-nawādir al-mu-fīda / Majmū' al-nawādir al-muḍḥika wa 'l-hazliyat al-muṭarriba</i> 'Precious gemstones about pleasant curiosities / Collection of Funny Rarities and Entertaining Jokes'	First part possible (MS has author's name)
4	<i>Muntaẓam bad' al-dunyā wa ta'rikh al-umam</i> 'On the Beginning of the World and the History of the Regions'	Uncertain, probably not by Ibn Iyās

### Questioning Genre

At the beginning of this study, narrowing down the source corpus seemed a fairly simple task. From Ibn Iyās's pen, as the references to his texts in the research literature suggest, a 'large' universal chronicle has come down to us, along with some less extensive historiographical writings and two 'regional' texts. If we take a look at Winter's generic classification of the works, however, some ambiguities appear. Winter clearly describes four of Ibn Iyās's works as "histories" or "chronicles". Another work he calls a "cosmography", a clear genre classification.<sup>333</sup> Yet, he does not assign a genre to the two other writings included in his list. Here, Winter merely lists the contents of the texts and alludes to their proximity to known (emic) genres, namely '*ajā'ib* and '*faḍā'il* literature'.<sup>334</sup> Winter has consciously left out those texts discussed by Wasserstein which cannot be unambiguously attributed to Ibn Iyās.<sup>335</sup> If we add these texts to the general consideration of what might form part of Ibn Iyās's *oeuvre*, the scales tilt further towards the 'regional' texts.<sup>336</sup> Regardless of the genre attribution in the literature or the dubious texts, however, even a first cross-reading of the certainly attrib-

333 Winter (2007).

334 Winter (2007) rates *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, *Marj al-zuhūr* and '*Uqūd al-juman* as "histories" or "chronicles". The "cosmography" is *Nashq al-azhār*. He describes *Badā'i' al-zuhūr bād' al-khalq wa-sīrat al-anbiyā'* as a mixed text conveying "sacred history" and information on the history of old Egypt. Finally, he characterizes *Nuzhat al-umam* as "a work about the characteristics, advantages and marvels of Egypt, the customs of the Egyptians, the Muslim conquest, and the Coptic calendar and festivals". Cf. Winter (2007), 4.

335 As he told me during his stay at the *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg* in Bonn in 2012, when he was revising his entry in the *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*.

336 For details on the texts, see below, 2) Further texts with Doubtful Attribution.

utable texts shows that content-related material wanders between the different texts, without taking into account genre boundaries imposed from outside. The question therefore arises what is meant by the 'historiographical' *oeuvre* of Ibn Iyās.

Ulrich Haarmann identified the (emic) genre label *taʾrīkh* with the German term *Chronistik*,<sup>337</sup> and in doing so emphasized annalistic organization as the basic structural principle of Islamic historiography.<sup>338</sup> Rosenthal clearly differentiates between the generic term *annals*, as a "specialized form" or subgenre of historiography defined by its organization into years, and the term *chronicle*, which denominates any historiography organized chronologically. To his dismay, both terms have become synonyms for "historiography".<sup>339</sup> This identification is present either explicitly or implicitly in the entire scholarly literature on Islamic historiography.<sup>340</sup> When I refer to *taʾrīkh* as a generic term, I use it in the widest sense of "texts that transport information on past events".<sup>341</sup> Besides that content-based definition, a relatively stable feature of Arabic *taʾrīkh* seems to be the chronological, even annalistic structure. Rosenthal enumerates some characteristic formulations when discussing annalistic *khavar* that also fit chronologically ordered Mamluk historiographies. Thus, section headings in the style "then, there came the year so-and-so" delimit the chapters from each other. The internal structure of chapters is rather additive, structured by phrases like "and during that year" (*wa fīha*) that connect single records or anecdotes.<sup>342</sup> Most scholars implicitly agree on these basic characteristics, first used by al-Ṭabarī, and regard them as a fundamental defining feature of *taʾrīkh*.

This seems legitimate considering that it persisted in Arab historiography even beyond the caesura Haarmann identifies after the twelfth century and the high

337 On the problem of using European/Western generic classifications for non-European texts, see Conermann, Stephan and Amr El Hawary (eds) (2011): *Was sind Genres? Nicht-abendländische Kategorisierungen von Gattungen*. Berlin: EBV (Narratio Aliena?, 1).

338 Haarmann (1971), 49.

339 Cf. Rosenthal (1968), 63 and *ibid.*, note 2.

340 As far as I know, there is no typological study on the genres and sub-genres of Arabic historiographical writing in a diachronic perspective, either on the basis of a comparative survey of historiographies or on the basis of emic historiographical theory, as to be found in treatises by al-Sakhāwī and others. All publications I have at hand either use the emic term *taʾrīkh* in its specialized meaning of "historiography" and/or translate it unanimously into European generic terms like 'chronicle', 'annalistic chronicle', and similarly unclear concepts, without even raising the question whether some Arabic historiographical writing fits into generic formats developed on the basis of an entirely different corpus.

341 On the historical semantics of *taʾrīkh* and its various ideological definitions by Muslim theorists, see Rosenthal (1968), 12–15, and, more comprehensively, Humphreys, R. Stephen: "Taʾrīkh. II Historical Writing." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

342 Rosenthal (1968), 63.

significance these structural features had for emic recipients of historical works. In emic historiographical theory, one can observe the identification of an annalistic structure and a 'good' *ta'rikh*, for example, in rather negative reviews of contemporary recipients on writings that did not adhere to this principle.<sup>343</sup> Thus, a chronological structure could even serve as camouflage for the increasingly literary historiography of those historians who had departed furthest from the principles of *ta'rikh*, adopted from traditional studies.

However, this basic feature of the outer form of texts cannot serve as the only criterion of generic definition. In his various contributions on this topic, Haarmann noted a development in Arab historiography that began with the aforementioned caesura after the twelfth century. This was the beginning of a 'metamorphosis' of historiography, which, however, did not necessarily follow a linear course, but found stronger or weaker expression in the work of earlier and later historians. Similarly, R. S. Humphreys has noted the development of new genres by middle-period historians:<sup>344</sup> however, he does not refer to the amalgamation of genres that took place when historians customized their writings to newly emerging readerships, such as among the growing 'bourgeois' classes of city dwellers. According to Haarmann, this metamorphosis refers in particular to the "inner structure" of historiographical writings.<sup>345</sup> While, as already noted, the external text structure remained stable, as did the genres (universal chronicle, local or regional histories, biographical literature, all of which were mostly organized chronologically), an overall trend towards the "literarization" of historiography becomes observable. Haarmann's choice to write about "literarization" instead of "fictionalization" has been further strengthened by Thomas Herzog, who argues that with regard to the emic constructions of *ta'rikh* and further genres reliant on the tradition of historical knowledge, one should acknowledge their claim to factuality.<sup>346</sup> Thus, Herzog calls on research to "refrain from talking about 'fictionalizing the past,' but instead use the term 'narrativization of the past.'"<sup>347</sup>

Indeed, both 'narrativization' and 'literarization' seem to address the same tendency observed in the sources. Both terms acknowledge the emic conception of the texts as narrations of past events. Ibn Iyās is, alongside Ibn al-Dawādārī,

343 Haarmann (1971), 50, and note 26.

344 Cf. Humphreys, "Ta'rikh": "The new emphases and methods of middle-period historians led to the development of new genres. They retained the 'universal chronicle' of the preceding period, but to this they added the political biography, the dynastic chronicle and local history."

345 Haarmann (1971), 48–50.

346 Herzog (2012), 31. Herzog argues with regard to Currie, Gregory (1985): "What is Fiction?" *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 43 (4), 385–392.

347 Ibid.



one of the two textbook examples of writers of history who adopted 'literary' features into their historical narratives:

The *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* of Ibn Iyās can even be described as history only to a very limited extent. In its popular subject matter and with its fabulous embellishments that alienate the historical facts, it is precisely this last great work of medieval Arabic chronicles that already leads over to the historicizing popular novel, i.e. to the trivial prose that was particularly popular at the time but not recognized as literature.<sup>348</sup>

However 'fabulous' Ibn Iyās' historical narrative may seem in some parts, we still need to acknowledge that his texts, similar to those of his contemporaries and fellow 'literary historians', stand on a firm dedication to conveying trustworthy 'facts'. This dedication speaks from the lines of Ibn Iyās's prefaces<sup>349</sup> and from brief evaluative comments. Ibn Iyās, for instance, criticizes the *Sīrat Baybars*: "The stories (*akhbār*) about al-Malik al-Zāhir [Baybars] are many, comprising several volumes; most of these stories are fabricated, having no real foundation."<sup>350</sup> From this point of view, Sami Massoud rightly answers the question on whether Ibn Iyās was writing history or fiction: "He was doing both."<sup>351</sup>

Beneath the macro-layer of the chronological or annalistic ordering principle, the narrative elements that shape this trend towards literarization permeate both the language and formal composition of the texts. Vernacular elements, like vocabulary and grammatical constructions from (in Ibn Iyās's case, Cairene) dialect, rhymed prose (*saj'*) or different popular verse types, are used to embellish and enliven the narratives. The anecdote, also a core element in earlier historiography, gains far more importance than in rather traditional histories, which still flourished besides their 'literary' counterparts.

Anecdotes could now be embellished with extravagant scenic representations in (fictional) literal speech or dialogue scenes. They are still related to the historical narrative, but can sometimes also have a purely entertaining function. Part of the development towards an entertaining presentation of historical knowledge is the impact of popular poems. In this connection, too, we find the increasing incorporation of content that previously belonged to *adab* literature: '*ajā'ib* and *faḍā'il*' are particularly noteworthy here. There is a parallel to the development of geographical literature, in which the popularization process postulated by Haarmann also led to the introduction of *adab* content, which served entertainment purposes in particular—again '*ajā'ib* and *faḍā'il*' should be mentioned here. Biographical content, for example in the necrologies which Ibn Iyās includes in his representations sometimes in great detail, sometimes briefly, was

348 Haarmann (1971), 55, translation by the author. See also Little (1998), 440.

349 See Chapter IV.

350 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, Ia, 341, cited after Shoshan (1993), 354.

351 Massoud (2007), 75.

also caught up in this trend towards entertaining writing. So, Ibn Iyās uses obituaries to record not only the merits of a person, but also unfavorable, funny or even embarrassing anecdotes from the lives of the deceased.

Finally, especially for Ibn Iyās's last work, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, a trend towards popularization can also be seen in the topic range and narrative strategies he uses to present the plot material—or historical information—derived from his sources. As Massoud has concluded from his exemplary comparisons, Ibn Iyās “was surely aware of the historical consensus sketched by previous historians on whom he had to rely to recount events he was not a contemporary of.”<sup>352</sup> However, “he consciously chose to revisit and rewrite the history of this period”,<sup>353</sup> applying a number of techniques like changes in order, the combination of plot material from different sources and dramatization through narrative strategies like the insertion of direct speech, prosimetric elements and many more. Massoud uses the term “narrative techniques”, while I tend to define them as part of the writing process. In his assessment of this writing technique, Massoud joins the decline narrative, assessing *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* for inconsistencies compared to the ‘general consensus’ of Mamluk historiography. With reference to what he calls “embellishments”, he states that “Ibn Iyās often imparts such a distinctive mark on a large number of his reports as to make them plainly unreliable.”<sup>354</sup> His assessment set aside, Massoud's case studies have shown that *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* is based on the broad archive of knowledge available for those writing history at the time. Furthermore, his considerations concerning the narrative or writing techniques Ibn Iyās applied to create his *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* have guided Massoud to the conclusion that our author did not simply collect and collate snippets from other texts, but consciously and very skillfully wove them into an individual *refiguration* (in Elias's sense) of history, making it hard to recognize from which source he took the raw material.<sup>355</sup>

It is not surprising that Ibn Iyās's chronicle serves as the main source of information for studies on popular culture, or for the agency of the *awāmm*, in late Mamluk Cairo.<sup>356</sup> It is all the more noteworthy that while Ibn Iyās's last work has often been reproached for its ‘alienation’ of factuality,<sup>357</sup> *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* is still used widely as a source, mostly without regard for its textuality. What may have appeared as unfortunate decay to representatives of traditional

352 Massoud (2007), 138.

353 Ibid.

354 Massoud (2007), 73.

355 Cf. Massoud (2007), 139.

356 Elbendary (2012 and 2015).

357 Little, in the same context, writes of “Ibn Iyās's shortcomings as a historian”, which pretty vividly illustrates the attitude Mamluk research has adopted towards him, cf. Little (1998), 440.

historiography, which as a form of scholarship (*‘ilm*) was located in the social context of the *‘ulamā’*, and to the scholars of our time, can also be seen as the development of new historical-literary forms connected to larger socio-historical processes. Ibn Iyās’s texts reflect many of the features mentioned here—one can rightly cite him as an example of a literary historian. Indeed, in his case, the development goes beyond the *ta’rikh* genre: his ‘regional’ texts show signs of popularization as well. However, it is far more important to stress that the texts, which from an academic perspective have been assigned to different genres, share not only stylistic but also content-related aspects. It will therefore be necessary to ask to what extent a generic subdivision of the *oeuvre* of Ibn Iyās makes sense for this study.

Questioning generic dependencies should be based on a thorough reading of the text concerned. Besides the (possible, but not always existing) classification of a certain text by its author, such as by reference to a certain genre in the title, the content and style of the texts also need to be considered. Especially when it comes to tracing a development, it is also necessary to consider a certain sample of texts. So far, Ibn Iyās’s works, other than *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, have escaped the requisite attention. This has implications for the classification of works into genres, for the assessment of the author’s overall (historical) narrative and for his positioning in the social and historical context of his times.

Even a cursory reading of Ibn Iyās’s different texts shows that both his ‘regional’/‘geographical’ and ‘historiographical’ texts share common features not only concerning the macro-structure, as in the arrangement of topics and contents, but also in the micro-structures of his narratives. The author includes information from his earlier ‘regional-geographic’ writings, such as in the larger ‘historiographical’ works like *Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, while some earlier ‘regional-geographic’ works, in turn, contain ‘historiographical’ information as well. This fact may lead to different suggestions. For one, Wasserstein has offered the hypothesis that Ibn Iyās’s continuous efforts to re-write his already collected information about Egyptian history and geography might be the outcome of a writing process that gradually took on a life of its own:

Il semble bien qu’Ibn Iyās ait copié et recopié de livre en livre, et même (ou presque) que toute sa production littéraire soit un seul livre: il a commencé peut-être avec l’intention d’écrire un petit livre sur les *Nuzhat al-umam fī l-‘ağā’ib wa l-ḥikam*, mais en cours de route, son projet s’est modifié de façon un peu inattendue: il en est ressorti un livre sur l’Égypte. Et de là, il aurait conçu l’ambition de créer un livre plus grand sur l’Égypte même; quoi de plus simple que d’y incorporer ce corpus de matière déjà prête?<sup>358</sup>

358 Wasserstein (1992), 99.

Wasserstein thus points out that a text can develop its own agency during the development process and so lead the author away from their original motivation into completely new directions, and consequently new writing projects.<sup>359</sup>

It would also be possible to argue that at least some of the shorter (and earlier) writings of Ibn Iyās are early forms of his later texts, collections of material or perhaps cohesively written notebooks. Both hypotheses can be supported by the manuscript inventory: the large chronicle *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* received further circulation through numerous copies and abridged transcriptions,<sup>360</sup> while only a few manuscripts of the earlier works have survived. This could be interpreted as an indication of the lower degree of distribution of these works. What speaks against this thesis is the fact that all the texts have their own titles and prefaces or introductory remarks. The latter in particular stands against the scratchbook hypothesis. It is difficult to find an explanation for why an author would provide his notebooks with introductions that address the intended readership and briefly discuss the content for his readers.

It therefore seems more reasonable to assume that we are dealing with a stock of shorter writings that were nevertheless meant for publication. This does not exclude in any way the fact that Ibn Iyās used his earlier writings as a quarry for information or as text modules whenever he planned a new publication. It would seem that this interpretation can be combined with Wasserstein's thesis. His assumption suggests understanding Ibn Iyās's working process as based on his personal archive of knowledge, from which he drew information to be incorporated into the text he was currently composing. Once finished for the moment, his texts would then, in turn, become a materialized part of the personal archive.

Moreover, Wasserstein's thesis leads to another very important assumption. If we imagine Ibn Iyās's writing process as at least partly influenced by the contingency of the creative process or the intrinsic impetus of a book project, we must assume that the products of this creative process do not absolutely correspond to a predefined scheme. Thus, it would be too simplistic to classify these texts into existing generic forms. Instead, it seems more useful to look at the texts in relation to several factors that may have influenced them. This includes, of course, the intellectual environment and thus the different genres popular during the times of the author, or those which formed part of the literary context he lived and worked in. Further factors might be recent trends in his social context, the intended readership or the market he wrote for. Finally, but importantly, the

359 Wollina raises a similar point concerning Ibn Ṭawq, cf. Wollina (2014b), 346.

360 On the manuscript corpus of the original and abridged versions, see Kahle (1931), 2–3 (original text "Fassung A", abridged versions "Fassung B", shortened abridged versions "Fassung C") and more detailed, 3–20.

personal interest and orientation towards certain areas of knowledge must not be underestimated. They can influence the constitution of an author's personal archive of knowledge to a high degree. Similarly, the degree of intuition allowed in writing—which equals the degree of 'intrinsic impetus' a book project can develop—depends on the author's individual background and his personality.

Wasserstein's thesis thus invites us to read Ibn Iyās's writing not in terms of generic ascriptions, but as the product of an individual creative process shaped by multifold influences that led to the amalgamation of several genres, from *ta'rikh* and geography to *'ajā'ib* and *fadā'il*. This tendency towards an amalgamation of genres according to criteria like those brought forward in Ibn Iyās's preliminary remarks<sup>361</sup> is in line with the overall genre development of Mamluk *ta'rikh* that he witnessed in his lifetime and the archive of knowledge built by Mamluk historians since Ibn al-Dawādārī. Therefore, the source base of this study includes not only those texts that have been referred to as historiographies or that assign themselves to the genre *ta'rikh*, but also those that appear to be predominantly regional studies. Since the author drew the contents of his writings from the same personal archive of knowledge and inserted them into his texts crossways to imposed genre boundaries, this open approach seems appropriate.

However, Ibn Iyās obviously changed his approach to the merging of genres over time. The date of completion of *Nashq al-azhār* in 922/1516–1517, for example, suggests that Ibn Iyās prepared this text parallel to the last parts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Thus, he obviously divided his writing activity in later years into two projects, each of which can be characterized as standing closer to a certain genre than his previous writings. In his earliest work, *Nuzhat al-umam*, he combined regional geography and historiography, but later he divides his personal knowledge archive into a more geographical text and a *ta'rikh*. Besides this increased generic rigor, he also seems to have concentrated his knowledge on Cairo in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, as *Nashq al-azhār* does not even contain a chapter on his native town.

The objective of examining the text corpus selected for this study will therefore be to comprehensively analyze the postulated 'literary' character of the transmission of knowledge in Ibn Iyās's work for the first time. In doing so, different levels of narrative will be considered. A further central step will be to explore intertextual entanglements, which should reveal the development of the narrative beyond the boundaries of individual texts.

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361 See Chapter IV.

## Inventory of Texts and Manuscripts

Publications on Ibn Iyās's *oeuvre* beyond *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* are relatively rare. The most recent and most complete survey on the texts attributed to him is from Winter (2007),<sup>362</sup> while the EI article by Brinner still remains a valuable part of the state-of-the-art.<sup>363</sup> As for the reconstruction of Ibn Iyās's *oeuvre*, Wasserstein's<sup>364</sup> is still the most complete survey that also records texts outside the genre of historiography. The majority of studies, however, are centered on *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*. More recent studies like Al Amer's<sup>365</sup> do not add new information to the meticulous summary of autographs, further manuscripts and shortened transcripts of *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* to be found in the prefaces of the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition.<sup>366</sup> Therefore, the information collected in manuscript catalogues remains to a large extent the only source of information beyond the texts themselves.

The manuscripts attributed to Ibn Iyās are today distributed all over the world. In addition to the collections in Istanbul, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the British Library are important locations. In addition, some interesting manuscripts can also be found in Berlin, Princeton, Munich, Cambridge and St. Petersburg collections.<sup>367</sup> While some manuscripts have the names of their copyists and additional owner's marks, most do not contain information on the place of completion. For the autographs, we may assume Cairo as the place of origin due to Ibn Iyās's spatial immobility. In some cases, information on the copyist can allow us to deduce the place of origin of the copy, but, for the most part, it is impossible to attribute them with certainty to a specific place or region.

Since this study aims to explore Ibn Iyās's approach to history through narratological analysis, the manuscripts that could be clearly identified as later, possibly abridged, copies are not considered here. This applies in particular to the numerous abridged copies of *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* already documented by Kahle and Muṣṭafā.<sup>368</sup> While this chapter draws on the previous studies mentioned above, it aims to be more than another overview of Ibn Iyās's works. The purpose of this chapter is to map the intertextual relationship between the works attributed to Ibn Iyās. The first step was to try and establish an order according to the chro-

362 Cf. Winter (2007).

363 Brinner, "Ibn Iyās".

364 Wasserstein (1992), 81–113.

365 Al Amer (2016).

366 Especially Paul Kahle's extensive introduction to vol. IV of the *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* edition (Kahle 1931); see also the introductions to vol. Ia and Ib, Muṣṭafā (1975), and id. (1975). See also Muṣṭafā (1952).

367 See Appendix I: Manuscripts.

368 Cf. Kahle (1931), esp. 2–20, text classified as "Fassung B" and "Fassung C".

nology of writing. The following considerations are not a full codicological analysis of the corpus, but instead serve the purpose of delineating the source base and gaining first insights into possible intertextual relations between the texts attributed to Ibn Iyās.

The following inventory will furthermore serve to delineate the source base for the narratological and compilation analyses in the main part of this study. The texts to be included will be discussed in the next section, texts and manuscripts that do not form part of the main source follow separately. The main source base will be identified using the following criteria:

1. Proximity of the manuscript to the author: this study aims to dissect and make visible the narrative voice of the historical author. Therefore, it is necessary to use texts that are as directly related to the author as possible. Fortunately, some texts by Ibn Iyās are preserved in autographs. In addition, preference is given to those manuscripts which indicate they were copied from autographs or, as in one case, corrected by the author.
2. Texts of a historiographical content: in accordance with the question posed in the analytical part, preference is given to texts that deal with Islamic rule in Egypt.
3. Intersection/overlap of contents: in order to be able to carry out a compilation analysis of the chosen themes and to make the development (or lack thereof) of the narratives visible through various texts, it is necessary to concentrate on those texts whose contents show chronological or thematic overlap.

### Main Source Base of the Study

- 1) Nuzhat al-umam fi l-'ajā'ib wa l-ḥikam ('A Pleasurable Stroll through the Wonders and Dominions of the World')

#### *Manuscript situation/editions*

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3500, 267 fol.<sup>369</sup>

Edition by Zaynahum,<sup>370</sup> based on a microfiche scan of MS Istanbul held in Cairo, of which some pages are lost.<sup>371</sup>

<sup>369</sup> Winter (2007), 8.

<sup>370</sup> Guo (1997), 21 criticizes the only available edition of this work as lacking any textual criticism.

<sup>371</sup> Zaynahum, Muḥammad (1995): "Taqdīm." In Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās: *Nuzhat al-umam fi l-'ajā'ib wa l-ḥikam*. Edited by Muḥammad Zaynahum. al-Qāhirah: Maktabat Madbūlī, 5–6, 5, see also Al Amer (2016).

The unique MS was written before 891/1486.<sup>372</sup> The edition's colophon has as a date of completion 20 Dhū l-ḥijja 901/30 August 1496, probably a copyist's error.<sup>373</sup> MS Istanbul is a copy made by a Muḥammad b. Ismaʿīl al-Muqaddasī al-Shāfiʿī, who claims to have used an autograph of Ibn Iyās.<sup>374</sup> The date of the copy identifies *Nuzhat al-umam* as the oldest surviving text by Ibn Iyās, especially considering that the autograph the copyist claims to have used must have been completed before the copy, or at least at the same time.

### *Content and Genre*

*Nuzhat al-umam* is, according to the introduction of the text, a short summary (*ikhtisār*) of the most important and interesting facts and figures about Egypt that the author considers worth knowing for his intended readership. The title suggests two main types of content, as it promises, on the one hand, information about the different 'regions' (*umam*) of the world (thus a kind of geographical approach) and, on the other, an overview of 'dominions' (*ḥikam*). Al Amer has identified this text as an abridged copy of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*.<sup>375</sup> Indeed, *Nuzhat al-umam* has obvious parallels to *Khīṭaṭ* on the level of macro- and micro-structure, although Ibn Iyās does not give any reference to his hypotext. The process of compilation or *ikhtisār*, the production of a short and easier-to-read version of the hypotext, appears to have resulted in a fairly original work, at least on the level of *narrative rendition*. A comparison of the macro-structure on the level of chapter headings shows that Ibn Iyās has strongly oriented his writing towards the structure of al-Maqrīzī's respective passages. He has roughly applied the same order of topics (see below), but he also adds, leaves out or re-arranges the order of specific passages. He takes al-Maqrīzī's shorter chapter headings,<sup>376</sup> shortens longer ones<sup>377</sup> and adds specifications to others. For example, he emphasizes his program of presenting '*ajā'ib*' by adding to al-Maqrīzī's rather dry

372 Winter (2007), 8.

373 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 282. The date needs to be checked with MS Istanbul. The research literature dates the manuscript to 1486. However, the edition I have at hand is dated 901/1496: a check on the manuscript is still pending. Guo (1997), 21, criticizes the only available edition by Muhammad 'Azab for lacking any form of editorial criticism. However, the conclusions drawn here are not affected by the discrepancy. For the positioning of *Nuzhat al-umam* in the complete works, see also Wasserstein (1992), 98.

374 Tauer, Felix (1934): "Geographisches aus den Stambuler Bibliotheken. (Arabische Handschriften)." *Archiv Orientalni* 6, 95–111, here 103–105; See also Wasserstein (1992), 98; GAL, II, 295.

375 Al Amer (2016), 454. The announced study seems not to have been published yet.

376 e.g. *Dhikr baḥr ar-Rūmī* (*Khīṭaṭ* ed. Zaynahum, I, 53); *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum 16.

377 e.g. *Dhikr mā 'amalhu al-muslimūna 'inda fath Miṣr fī l-kharāj wa mā kāna min amr Miṣr fī dhalika mā 'al-qibṭ* (*Khīṭaṭ* ed. Zaynahum, I, 221) is shortened in *Nuzhat al-umam* to *Dhikr mā 'amalhu al-muslimūna 'inda fath Miṣr* (*Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 129).



heading *Dhikr baḥr al-Qulzum* (“On the Red Sea”)<sup>378</sup> a promising *wa mā fīha min al-‘ajā’ib* (“and on its wonders”).<sup>379</sup> Occasionally, Ibn Iyās also leaves out some of the individual chapters (or even groups of them) presented by al-Maqrīzī, or slightly changes the order of topics by moving some chapters backwards and forwards. While he does not indicate the intertextual dependence on al-Maqrīzī, he refers to his text by presenting a short version on “the available knowledge” multiple times, such as by adding the formula *‘alā sabīl al-ikhtisār* (“in short form”) to many of the chapter headings compiled verbatim from his hypotext.<sup>380</sup> However, the compilation analysis in Chapter VI will show that Ibn Iyās relied more heavily on at least one further hypotext, when it comes to the appropriation of content or plot structures.

The compilation and re-arrangement strategies mentioned still foster Al Amer’s and Guo’s<sup>381</sup> identification (and critique) of *Nuzhat al-umam* as being a mere excerpt from *Khiṭaṭ*.

However, Ibn Iyās does leave his individual footprint on the text, even on the level of the macro-structure. He occasionally adds chapters that correspond to his idea of presenting delightful and entertaining material besides factual knowledge. He especially adds collections of verses or sayings on a specific topic.<sup>382</sup> In *Nuzhat al-umam*, rhymed material seems to be collected in separate sections, while the later works make heavy use of prosimetric passages. In conclusion, we may state that although *Nuzhat al-umam* makes heavy use of compiled material from *Khiṭaṭ*, and therefore may appear to be a short version of al-Maqrīzī’s work from the perspective of traded knowledge, it represents an individual text on the level of narration. An investigation of both texts on the micro level confirms this finding: it is clear that Ibn Iyās compiles from *Khiṭaṭ*. However, he chooses carefully according to the needs of his writing project and edits the compiled material to fit his literary style.<sup>383</sup> Additionally, Zaynahum<sup>384</sup> notes close intertextual relations between Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ* and Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s *Nujūm al-zāhira*, without elaborating on that point. In a further step of investigation into intertextual relations among texts from the corpus of ‘Mamluk historiography’, for example, it would be well possible to detect much more common features, such as narrative strategies, and content material, that may be imagined as forming part of a collective archive of knowledge. Without this

378 *Khiṭaṭ* ed. Zaynahum, 50.

379 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 15.

380 E.g., *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 33, 43, 101.

381 Guo (1997) 21.

382 E.g., *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 92, 97. Both chapters collect rhymed quotations on the yearly rise and fall of the Nile.

383 See Chapter VI.

384 Zaynahum (1995), 6.

hypothesis ruled out, a devaluation of Ibn Iyās's writings as epigenous and falling short of emic and etic historiographic standards seems premature.

With its clear intertextual dependence on *Khīṭaṭ* and possible cross-connections to further texts, *Nuzhat al-umam* joins a whole tradition of geographical-historiographical writings. After the introductory chapters, which 'zoom in' on the geographical subject from a bird's eye perspective that frames the book in the style of a universal geographic encyclopedia, a rather standard opening that Ibn Iyās also uses in *Nashq al-azhār* (see below), there is hardly any reference to areas outside Egypt. With an actual focus on Egypt, the text can be described, from an etic perspective, as regional-geographical. It thus corresponds to one of the eight types of geographical literature that distinguish the 'consolidating phase' of Arabic geography, a period from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. With its combination of geographical description, historical treatise and the description of special regional features, the work fits the genre of *khīṭaṭ* literature developed in Egypt in particular, whose (retrospective) main representative is al-Maqrīzī's (766–845/1364–1442) *Khīṭaṭ*. The text is not organized chronologically, but follows an individual order of thematic blocks, seemingly arranged at random.<sup>385</sup> Reference to Mamluk rule is only very limited.

Guo<sup>386</sup> has assessed the text as a compilation without acknowledging a recognizable amount of individual material added by the author. He therefore doubts the relevance of the text for research, obviously judging from a definition of compilation similar to that of Utzschneider and Nitsche.<sup>387</sup> As we have shown above, this verdict might be correct from the perspective of a historian looking for new factual information. However, the text may be useful for tracing Ibn Iyās's criteria of choice. It may well have served later as a collection or an archive of information for Ibn Iyās that he used while writing his later works.

Parallels concerning the content are to be found between *Nuzhat al-umam* and two other works ascribed to Ibn Iyās. The first is *Nashq al-azhār fī 'ajā'ib al-aqtār* ('Flowery Scents on the Wonders of the Earth').<sup>388</sup> At the end of this text, there is a section of chapters presenting similar content to the last part of *Nuzhat al-umam*. The chapters convey some basic information on Coptic history and the Roman emperor Diocletian, here presented as the 'founder', or at least patron, of the Coptic calendar. Both texts include information on the use of the Coptic calendar in Egyptian agriculture, and especially for the management of the Nile

385 For a discussion of the possible rationale concerning the order of knowledge in this texts, see below and Kollatz (2020).

386 Guo (1997), 21.

387 Cf. Utzschneider/Nitsche (2008), 248.

388 See below.

floods.<sup>389</sup> The chapter headings in both texts differ slightly in the wording, but the sequence of content runs parallel. A second manuscript containing the same material has the title *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-farīda fī al-nawādir al-mufīda* ('Precious gemstones about pleasant curiosities').<sup>390</sup> Ahlwardt has mistakenly identified the manuscript as an autograph copy.<sup>391</sup> The work is a miscellaneous collection or compilation from three different works, of which the first part has been attributed to Ibn Iyās. This first part has parallel chapter headings to *Nashq al-azhār* and the end of *Nuzhat al-umam*.<sup>392</sup>

Assuming that Ibn Iyās mentions the most important contents first, his priorities would be: firstly, the 'wonders' of Egypt, *'ajā'ib* in the sense of ancient Egyptian antiquities and other buildings or attractions, such as natural spectacles; secondly, the history of Egypt and especially the history of its rule; thirdly, the remarkable properties of the Nile; and fourthly, the regions of Egypt, including descriptions of their ancient monuments, geography and climate. With these topics Ibn Iyās does not venture outside the wide limits of *khiṭaṭ* and *'ajā'ib* literature, which probably earned his compilation the reputation of a subordinate transcription. A consideration of the text's macrostructure shows that although the author roughly adheres to the four subject areas addressed in the introduction, he combines them differently in the chapter organization. The work does not follow a uniform ordering system, but jumps freely between topics. This results in a rather volatile structure, which is dominated by detached sequences of thematically related chapter groups.

The first part of the work (up to the list of cities) is arranged chronologically. An inserted block of chapters on the Nile breaks the chronological sequence, however. The text does not offer an exhaustive account of the history of Egypt, but focuses on two epochs, namely ancient Egypt and the period after the Islamic conquest. In addition, the section on the Nile, situated at the beginning of the text, and the geographically ordered section on cities and regions, which is dominant due to its size, are particularly striking. The remaining thematic categories are grouped around these large blocks or partially permeate them, for example in the form of sections on the *'ajā'ib* of a particular town, the good qualities of the Nile, etc. The concluding thematic block on the Coptic calendar seems to be less integrated into the overall work. In view of this thematically interwoven macrostructure, it is difficult to make statements about the weighting of the themes; in any case, the order of their appearance in the text is not a suitable criterion.

389 Ahlwardt (1887–1899), V, 376–77 lists the contents according to MS Berlin's section headings.

390 MS Berlin, Ahlwardt 8426, new shelfmark Wetzstein II 145.

391 Ahlwardt (1887–1899), VII, 405–406. For a discussion of the manuscript, see below.

392 Ahlwardt (1887–1899), VII, 405–406 has a table of contents. See also Wasserstein (1992), 107.

- 2) Jawāhir al-sulūk fī amr al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk; Alternative Title Jawāhir al-sulūk fī akhbār al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk ('Gemstones about the Caliphs and Kings')

*Manuscript situation/editions*

There are three manuscripts known of this text, none of which has come to us complete or as an autograph. The title varies slightly between the manuscripts, which can be disregarded. MS Cairo even has two versions of the title on the frontispiece (*fī amr al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk*) and in the colophon (*fī l-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk*). This slight variance in one manuscript shows that an exact literal formulation of the title obviously does not belong to the text's central identification criterion. This relative openness in terms of titles can also be observed between the different manuscripts of other texts by Ibn Iyās.<sup>393</sup>

- (1) MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Qq74, is defective at the end and therefore has no colophon. As such, the date and place of completion and the name of the copyist are unknown.<sup>394</sup> The text breaks off, because of the missing last part, with the death of al-Mutawakkil 'alā -llāh in 903/1497–98.<sup>395</sup>
- (2) MS London, British Library, Or. 6854, is an anonymous copy dated to the sixteenth century. The manuscript contains events down to the reign of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, 904–905/1498–1500. It is most likely that Ellis and Edwards dated it according to its contents only, without using further evidence.<sup>396</sup> Brockelmann<sup>397</sup> confirms the copy to be from an anonymous hand and dates it to the reign of al-Ghawrī as well. He identifies it as being identical in content with MS Paris, although this is a complete version.
- (3) MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Fonds 774 A, no. Ar. 1616, is described by de Slane as an anonymous copy and has been dated to the seventeenth century.<sup>398</sup> The copy is complete and has a colophon, which describes the text as *mukhtaṣar al-laṭīf*, as does the front page.<sup>399</sup> Contrary to

393 On the structure of rhymed Arabic titles, see Ambros, Arne A. (1990): "Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Funktionen der gereimten klassisch-arabischen Buchtitel." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 80, 13–57.

394 Browne, Eduard G. (1900): *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic Character, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 58.

395 Ibid.

396 Ellis, A. G. and Edward Edwards (1912): *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*. London: British Museum, 32, No. 6854.

397 GAL Suppl II, 42.

398 Slane, William M. de (1883–1895): *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 304, No. 1616.

399 MS Paris, Arabe 1616, 2, and Arabe 143, 1 has the title and possession marks as well.

de Slane's description, the colophon has the name of the copyist, a certain Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān, who finished the copy in 1047/1637–38 while travelling to Laḥsā' on the eastern Arabian Peninsula.<sup>400</sup> The author's name, however, seems to be missing from the manuscript. Various owner's marks and further paratextual material on the front and last pages of the manuscript will be interesting for the study of the reception of Ibn Iyās's work. The names of four former possessors have been identified. The bibliographical information in the Gallica catalogue does not give the full information available on the possession marks,<sup>401</sup> but only has the four names Aḥmad Aghā al-Dimashqī al-Ḥakīm b. 'Umar Bak al-Kurdī al-Diyār Bakrī, Ibn al-Ṣadr ibn Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān. The possession mark of Aḥmad Aghā al-Dimashqī on fol. 3 in the margin is dated 1117/1705–6. Furthermore, the title *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī l-khulafā' wa l-mulūk* is written in the middle of fol. 1, with the word *al-khulafā'* added above the line by the same hand. The title information also indicates a further possessor: a certain al-Faqīh ilā 'Abd Allāh al-Bāqī b. Mullā Isma'il, who is said to have bought the copy *bi l-shirā' al-shar'i*. Unfortunately, the remark is not dated. Further paratexts on fol. 1, possibly from the same hand, seem to discuss the advantages of reading in the evening or at night. The texts are partly covered by a sheet with a Latin synopsis of the text. A second title follows on fol. 2, without the date or name of the author. Just beneath it, we have a notice by a certain Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān, who informs us about the birth of his son Ṣāliḥ, born in good health on Tuesday 21 Shawwāl 1046/18 March 1637. It is most likely that the proud father is the same Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān who figures as the copyist in the colophon of the manuscript, dated only one year later. Furthermore, the mention of Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān as a possessor in the bibliographical information of Gallica seems to be based on this birth announcement.

- (4) MS Cairo, Ma'had al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya, ta'rikh No. 205, is only available as a microfiche. The provenance and place of storage of the original manuscript are unclear. The copy has been identified as an autograph,<sup>402</sup> but this attribution is questionable due to the lack of evidence. The colophon does not support the editor's attribution, as it reads:

400 Ibid., 143.

401 Cf. the bibliographical information in the Gallica catalogue, [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110012163.r=Ibn%20IYas%20Arabe%201616.?rk=21459; \(24.02.20\)](https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110012163.r=Ibn%20IYas%20Arabe%201616.?rk=21459; (24.02.20)).

402 Zaynahum, Muḥammad (2006): "Muqaddima al-muḥaqqiq." In Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās: *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī amr al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk*. Edited by Muḥammad Zaynahum. al-Qāhira: al-Dār al-Thaqāfiyyah lil-Nashr, 3–23, 23.

This is the end of the blessed copy of *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī l-khulafā' wa l-mulūk* [sic!], written by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī, may the Lord have mercy on this poor man's death. This [copy] has been made by Aḥmad b. 'Alī, the doorkeeper of the al-Azhar mosque, from an autograph made entirely by him [the author, that is Ibn Iyās, AK]. Praise be to Allāh, may his blessings be on our Lord Muḥammad.<sup>403</sup>

According to the colophon, the manuscript was directly copied from an autograph, but not by Ibn Iyās himself. As the colophon has no date of completion, we may not take it for certain that this copy was made during Ibn Iyās's lifetime. However, the manuscript still appears to be the closest to the original, compared to the manuscripts held in Europe.

### *Edition*

The only available edition by Zaynahum is, unfortunately, based on the microfiche scan of the manuscript held in the Ma'had al Makḥṭūṭāt in Cairo and does not refer to the manuscripts held in the UK or France. As even a rough comparative reading of some random samples has shown, the edition differs from the manuscript text in quite a few areas. For example, the edition has a rather reworked beginning of the main text. According to the folio number, the edited text starts after a *basmala* in ornamental font, which by its placement on the page above the folio number could be mistaken as an addition by the editor.<sup>404</sup> The edition draws up a text structure different from the manuscript, as to be seen in the formatting of the first text page. The edition sets a *basmala* and furthermore a further benediction formula (which is, by the way, not identical to the version in the manuscript) apart from the main text. Also the chapter heading *muqaddima al-mu'allaf* is inserted into the text without further ado. There are also further divergences between section headings in the edition and in the manuscript, as well as differences in the text and unmarked omissions of hardly legible words.<sup>405</sup> In this study, the edition will therefore only be used with constant crosschecking of the manuscript.

### *Content and Genre*

*Jawāhir al-sulūk* is the only text by Ibn Iyās without a *muqaddima*, but still the historical narrative follows the same principles evoked in the introductions to his other works.<sup>406</sup> The text is organized chronologically, with the chronological order working as one of two structuring principles. Judging from the structuring of the text by chapter headings, it is evident that the text is mainly based on a

403 MS Cairo, 160v.

404 Cf. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 25; MS Cairo, 2r.

405 E.g. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 110; MS Cairo, 21v. I refrain from listing further examples.

406 See Chapter IV.

'dynastic' ordering system, expressed by a chapterization following the reigns of dynasties (early Muslim rule) and sultans (Mamluk rule). *Jawāhir al-sulūk* has elements of an annalistic substructure that announce the chronological structure with section headings like *thumma waṣala al-sana...*, similar to the rest of Ibn Iyās's predominantly historiographical texts. Nonetheless this structuring is incomplete, as often several years are not indicated. There are some collective obituary sections, encompassing several years, interspersed between the dynastic and chronological sections. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* contains events until the years 903–04/1497–1500 and ends with the colophon cited above. Judging from its content and organization, it can be characterized as a historiography of Muslim rulers in Egypt with a focus on the Mamluk sultanate. The content, ordering principles and style of the narrative clearly identify *Jawāhir al-sulūk* as one of Ibn Iyās's works belonging to the genre of (Mamluk-period) *ta'rīkh*.

The text shows close intertextual connections to both '*Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*: further parallels within Ibn Iyās's corpus have yet to be studied.<sup>407</sup> Cahen has identified the text as a compilation or abridged version of the respective parts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>408</sup> However, due to the unclear dates of completion, the direction in which the material travelled between *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* cannot be determined unambiguously. Moreover, initial collations and compilation analyses have shown that *Jawāhir al-sulūk* contains compiled material both from '*Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, which has been re-arranged into the narrative in a way that cannot be considered pure (later) abridgment. Even if the text has no new 'original' information in terms of content, it thus seems to be an independent version.<sup>409</sup> As MS Cairo claims to have been copied from an autograph, it would be worth studying for which reason and intended readership Ibn Iyās abridged parts of his chronicles. As part of this intertextual space, in which the author has adapted the text parts to

407 The close relationship between *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk* has been recognized and described in terms of several examples by Sami Massoud (e.g. Massoud 2007, 76–79, 141, 182–183). As Massoud worked with the anonymous London copy (Or. 6854) exclusively, he does not identify *Jawāhir al-sulūk* as being from Ibn Iyās's pen, though he repeatedly points out striking similarities, especially in the prosimetric portions of the text containing *zajāl* verses (eg. *ibid.*, 182). The fact that his exemplary analysis assumes that the two texts come from different authors while nevertheless revealing clear parallels in their narrativity further strengthens the attribution of *Jawāhir al-sulūk* to Ibn Iyās rather than contradicting it.

408 Cahen, Claude (1936): "Les Chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte et la Mésopotamie, de la Conquête arabe à la Conquête ottomane, dans les Bibliothèques d'Istanbul." *Revue des études islamiques* 10, 333–362, 358.

409 Cf. Kollatz, Anna (2021): "Tracing Ibn Iyās's Narrative. Intertextual Compilation from *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and '*Uqūd al-juman* to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*." In Stephan Conermann and Toru Miura (eds): *Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517). Proceedings of the First German-Japanese Workshop Held at Tokyo, November 5–6, 2016*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Mamluk Studies, 21), 85–112.

his new writing project by means of compilation and paraphrase, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* also has a close intertextual relationship with the sources used by Ibn Iyās, both with those mentioned in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* itself and with those mentioned in the parallel texts.

3) ‘Uqūd al-juman fi waqā’i al-azman (‘Pearl Necklaces on the Events of History’)

*Manuscript situation/editions*

This text has been preserved in only one manuscript, which comprises the second *juz*’ of the work. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 331, is identified by the colophon as an autograph (*wa kāna l-faghār min kitābati hadhā l-juzū ‘alā yad mu’allafihi faqīr, raḥimahu rabbihi, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī*, 260). Fol. 1 has the title, *al-juzū al-thānī min ‘Uqūd al-jumān fi waqā’i al-azmān*, in red ink with black diacritics and ornaments. The lower half of the page has triangular red-inked title information on the author. Furthermore, the first folio has two Ottoman stamps with adjacent years and a black-inked history of ownership. The rectangular colophon opens with a verse by the author, which he later re-used in the closing lines of *Badā’i al-zuhūr*.<sup>410</sup> According to the colophon, the work was completed on Friday 17 *Rabī al-awwal* 905/22 October 1499 (*fī yaum al-jum’a sābi’ ashara rabī al-awwal sana 905*, 260). Due to the lack of further manuscripts, the first and any further volumes must be regarded as lost. Unfortunately, the copy of the second volume does not give any hints concerning the overall size of the text, nor is there any information about the contents of volume one or any other lost volumes. It should be noted that the formulation “this *volume* was completed on Friday 17 *Rabī al-awwal* 905” indicates that the end of the second volume was not necessarily planned to be the end of the entire work. However, as long as no further volumes of this work surface, one can only speculate about the planned size.

The manuscript has section headings in red ink, and the verses are usually framed by red-inked comma-shaped signs. The margins have plenty of notes in the author’s hand, which usually represent additions to the main text. Several of these marginal additions contain the same red-inked section headings or further structuring highlights, such as red-inked introductions of quotes (e.g., *qīla*). These marginal additions thus seem to form an integral part of the text. Several passages from the main text have been crossed out with red or black ink by the same hand (e.g., fol. 6) and subsequently corrected by an adjacent marginal note.

410 Cf. *‘Uqūd al-juman* MS Istanbul, 260; *Badā’i al-zuhūr* (V, 494), cf. Guo (2018), 77–90, 84–85. See also Chapter IV, Poems and Frames.



Apart from the librarian's notes and an Ottoman owner's mark on the front page, the manuscript is free from marginal notes by other hands. There is currently no edition of the text.

### *Content and Genre*

*ʿUqūd al-juman* has the same structure as *Jawāhir al-sulūk*: the text is, typically for Mamluk historiographies, structured both by an annual chronology, indicated by section headings following the pattern *thumma waṣala al-sana X*, and the reigns of sultans. There is variance in the density of the chronological structure. Over long stretches, the text has entries for each year. However, there are also passages in which the events of several years are reported without section headings or in which entire years are omitted. Likewise, the length of chapters belonging to the structure oriented around rulers varies according to the term of a sultan's reign and the number of events reported. The text covers all the sultans and, where applicable, their different reigns from Aybak al-Turkumānī (r. 648/1250) to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 901–903/1496–98).<sup>411</sup> The last chronological section heading refers to the year 904/1498–99.<sup>412</sup>

The text begins on fol. 2r after a *basmala* with a red-inked notice indicating that the volume is to be placed in the overall context of the work: “[This is] the second volume on the beginning of Turkish rule (*dawla al-atrāk*), in an abridged version (*wa dhalika ‘alā sabīl al-ikhtiṣār*).”<sup>413</sup> There follows another cross-reference in the fourth line to the first volume: “He [i.e., al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam Tūrān Shāh] was the last Ayyubid to take over the rule, as already reported in the first volume.”<sup>414</sup> As stated by Winter, the text is a “separate”<sup>415</sup> work, in the sense of being independent from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Although both works share a common scope of contents and do show signs of intertextual relations, Winter has rightly stated that *ʿUqūd al-juman* is independent from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* and abridged versions of it.<sup>416</sup> *ʿUqūd al-juman* is much more chronologically oriented than *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. The narrative is generally less elaborate and makes much less use of illustrative anecdotes. Likewise, departures from the chronological order in the form of prolepses or analepses do not appear as a characteristic narrative strategy either in the macrostructure or microstructure of the narrative. Thus, in terms of narrative structure, it is much closer to *Jawāhir al-sulūk* than to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. However, the text is more detailed than *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and covers a shorter time span due to the missing first volume. The aforementioned

411 MS Istanbul, 243v.

412 Ibid., 257v.

413 Ibid., 2v.

414 Ibid.

415 Winter (2007), 4.

416 Ibid.

texts share the previously mentioned structure according to chronology and political history, as well as a number of other structural parameters, such as the use of prosimetric elements: these are examined in the compilation analysis.

- 4) *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī' al-duhūr* ('The Most Beautiful Blossoms on what Fate brought in Events')

*Manuscript situation/editions*

*Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* is the only work by Ibn Iyās with a large number of surviving manuscripts. However, the work has rarely been copied in its entirety, as the majority of the manuscripts are excerpts.<sup>417</sup> Paul Kahle has divided the surviving body of manuscripts into three categories. Category A comprises the stock of autographs and copies of autographs. Manuscripts in category A contain the most comprehensive version of the text and, thanks to the autographs, can be identified as the original version written by Ibn Iyās. In addition, Kahle distinguished between two types of excerpts or abstracts in categories B and C, which he classified according to their length: category B has more extensive excerpts, category C shorter ones. The manuscripts classified in the context of the edition have already been discussed in detail in the cited foreword, supplemented by the forewords to further volumes by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. Later representations of the manuscript holdings are also mainly based on the work of Kahle and Muṣṭafā. Therefore, the inventory will not be discussed again here; only the corresponding publications will be referred to.

In addition to the corpus of manuscripts discussed by Kahle and Muṣṭafā and described by Winter, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian has identified a manuscript formerly held in the *Dār al-kutub al-zāhiriyya* in Damascus as a preliminary version of parts of *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, copied by a nephew of Ibn Iyās and finished in 909/1503.<sup>418</sup> The copy seems to support Wasserstein's thesis concerning Ibn Iyās's working process, as Martel-Thoumian identifies the text as a preliminary stage or raw version that has seen re-arrangement and amendment afterwards.<sup>419</sup> Apart from discussing the working process by the hand of the historical author, Martel-Thoumian also raises the question of how great the influence of the copyists was on the final version of the texts.<sup>420</sup> Unfortunately, this question must

417 The following paragraph refers to Kahle's introduction to vol. IV of the *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* edition, cf. Kahle (1931), 1–29.

418 Martel-Thoumian (2000), 315–325.

419 Martel-Thoumian (2000), 325 refers to another manuscript formerly held in Aleppo, which suggests similar conclusions. Cf. *ibid.*, note 29.

420 *Ibid.*, 324.

be left aside, as a study in this direction would require a set of clearly inter-dependent versions of a text from the autograph to the final copy.<sup>421</sup>

Al Amer points out, however, that since the publication of the edition, even more new manuscripts have appeared which can be classified as autographs. He lists a total of six manuscripts from the *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi* in Istanbul.<sup>422</sup> His enumeration, however, raises questions and needs to be verified by an inspection of the listed manuscripts. Two of them are said to contain narratives from the creation of the world until the history of pre-Islamic Arabia (no. 2149) and from the biography of the prophet to the middle of Fatimid rule (no. 2150). There is no information on the identification or the date of completion of both copies. Two further manuscripts are said to cover the period from 781–902/1387–1497 (no. 2151, 2152). Most obscure is the description of the fifth copy (no. 2153), which is said to start somewhat earlier, beginning in 891/1486 and, according to Al Amer, reaching to 10 Muḥarram 914/22 June 1534. The sixth copy (no. 2154) again starts in 1507 and reaches until 1522 (912–928). The most interesting manuscripts, if rightly identified as autographs, would be nos. 2151 and 2152, for they would cover part of the lost sixth and seventh *juz* of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>423</sup>

What makes this list appear doubtful in particular is the fifth manuscript mentioned. The period of time allegedly covered extends to 1534, well over a decade beyond the assumed life span of Ibn Iyās. Although it would not be mathematically impossible for our author to have experienced this year, he would have been the grand old age of 86. Moreover, it seems doubtful that these manuscripts, if they are autographs, would never have been described in any academic context. It remains an urgent desideratum to check the attribution of these manuscripts and, if appropriate, to make them available for research. Until then, however, Al Amer's sparse information cannot provide a basis for speculation about the author's life span or possible further parts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.

Just like the autograph of *Uqūd al-juman*, the autographs of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* are also characterized by marginalia, which make the author's working process comprehensible to a certain extent. In the copies, the marginalia are usually included in the continuous text, although in some cases, unfortunately, not in the right place or without being marked as marginalia. However, they promise interesting insights for further studies. Thus, Al Amer refers to marginalia in which

421 As for the manuscripts held in Syria, it is at the moment impossible to gain access or information on their disposition.

422 Al Amer (2016), 460. Unfortunately, his list does not give the collection name or information on the manuscripts except for the number of folia. The date and place of completion thus remain obscure. The following discussion refers to his information. *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi* confirmed the existence of the manuscripts but has no further information; inspection has been postponed due to the corona virus pandemic.

423 Cf. Winter (2006), 2; the missing *juz* 5 and 6 should have comprised the years 788–857 h.

Ibn Iyās apparently wrote himself memos concerning the course of his work.<sup>424</sup> As Muṣṭafā states in the edition, there is, for example, a marginal note where Ibn Iyās remarks that he forgot to mention the date of death of al-Nawāwī (631–676/1233–1277) in the right place.<sup>425</sup> Further observations by Al Amer confirm Hirschler’s statement that chronologically arranged works are not necessarily the product of a chronological working process.<sup>426</sup>

### *Content and Genre*

*Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* has been analyzed and described at length by several studies, as have the different editions and (partial) translations.<sup>427</sup> The historiographical narrative fits the ‘literarizing trend’ Ulrich Haarmann has postulated in Mamluk historiography:<sup>428</sup> indeed, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* is one of the textbook examples of this development. The work’s outer form takes up traditional features of the *ta’rīkh* genre. The text follows the two structural ordering principles every historiographical narrative by Ibn Iyās makes use of: an annalistic basic structure is seconded, sometimes overlaid and sometimes replaced, by a political or dynastic structure. Ibn Iyās does not stick continually to the annalistic principle. In his accounts of the earlier history of Egypt, one or more years are sometimes left out or subsumed under a single heading. The closer the content comes to the author’s time, the more detailed the chronological structure. Thus, the accounts in the final part of *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* resemble the structure of a journal. Like other historiographical narratives from Ibn Iyās’s pen, the content is regionally centered on Egypt and the territory controlled by the Mamluk Sultanate, including the *bilād al-shām*. However, the clear focus is on past events that happened in Cairo. Events from other parts of the Mamluk world, or occasionally from outside it, are very often recorded as news that reaches the city of Cairo and its inhabitants and not in the context of another city’s or region’s history.

424 Al Amer (2016), 434–435.

425 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 364.

426 Cf. Al Amer (2016), 434–435; Hirschler (2014).

427 Winter (2006), Wasserstein (1992) and Brinner, Ibn Iyās are the most recent reference works, besides the different introductions to the edition by Kahle and Muṣṭafā. Numerous articles have studied aspects of Ibn Iyās’s narrative strategies so far (the following being just a selection): Guo (2018); on the prosimetrum see also Naouali, Kais (2016): “La Poésie enchâssée dans la Chronique d’Ibn Iyās. Le Cas d’al-Salamūnī (854/1450–apr. 925/1519).” *Annales Islamologiques* 49, 81–97. The first monograph study on *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* which applies a structuralist approach, is Al Amer (2016). Further studies on miscellaneous aspects of the narrative are, e.g., Marthel-Thoumian, Bernadette (1999): “Les Notices bigraphiques dans les *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* fi waqā’i’ al-duhūr d’Ibn Iyās (années 801–810/1398–1408).” *Annales Islamologiques* 33, 121–139; Lellouch, Benjamin (1995): “Le Téléphone Arabe au Caire au Lendemain de la Conquête Ottomane. On-dits et Rumeurs dans Ibn Iyās.” *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 75/76, 117–130.

428 Haarmann (1971), esp. 53f.

*Badā'ī al-zuhūr* thus can be characterized as a local history, a genre that saw a revival after a decline in the thirteenth century. In large parts, and especially in the final part that records Ibn Iyās's contemporary history, the text even looks like a local history centered on the city of Cairo and its population. As a part of the literarization, and the popularization, of historiography, vernacularisms enter the language of the historiographical narrative, as do the daily urban life of 'normal' people, city rumors and the like.<sup>429</sup> However, the chronicle does not leave its strong focus on the political dimension of urban life in Cairo. Instead, information on the life and troubles of the people might be interpreted as narrative strategies designed to characterize and criticize Mamluk rule, sometimes graphically.<sup>430</sup> The historiographical narrative of the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* thus cannot be described as uniform, but rather as a fluid narration that adapts to the recorded content. One may identify some overarching narrative strategies like the use of fictionally retold dialogues, which are not unique to Ibn Iyās's historiographical narrative voice but are characteristic of literarizing historiography.

#### Further Texts and Manuscripts

This section comprises those texts and manuscripts that will not be considered as the main source base in the present study, either because the scope of their content does not cover the questions raised or because the manuscripts are problematic in terms of their attribution to Ibn Iyās. Some of the texts discussed in the following have come to us only in later, possibly abridged versions, while for others even the attribution to Ibn Iyās is doubtful. Although these manuscripts do not fit the requirements of this study, they offer plenty of opportunities for further research, including the reception and textual history of texts attributed to Ibn Iyās.

##### 1) Further Texts Attributed to Ibn Iyās with Certainty

*Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī al-duhūr bād' al-khalq wa-sīrat al-anbiyā'* ('The Most Beautiful Blossoms on what Fate Brought in Events: On the Creation and the Life of the Prophets') is a history of the pre-Islamic prophets. This text has been

429 Cf. Lellouch (1995), Elbendary (2015), 80ff.

430 See below, esp. Chapter VIII. See also Mauder, Christian (2020): "Der Sultan, sein geschwätziger Barbier und die Sufis. Ibn Iyās über den Fall des Kamāl ad-Dīn b. Šams im Kairo des 16. Jahrhunderts." In Stephan Conermann and Anna Kollatz (eds): *Macht bei Hofe. Narrative Darstellungen in ausgewählten Quellen. Ein interdisziplinärer Reader*. Berlin: EBV (Narratio Aliena?, 11), 79–98.

preserved in a unique copy, held in Istanbul.<sup>431</sup> The text has been edited twice,<sup>432</sup> but neither edition is currently available. A translation was published in Beirut in 1995,<sup>433</sup> but this unfortunately lacks any critical annotations. It therefore cannot serve as a basis for the further study of the text. Due to its title being similar to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, this text has been considered as possibly belonging to the missing first parts of the latter. However, Winter argues that this text is completely independent from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Besides the history of the prophets, this text contains material belonging to the content scope of Egyptian *'ajā'ib* (such as ancient Egyptian remains, the 'wonders' of the Nile) and parts of the thematic block on Coptic history and the calendar system, which stands in close interconnection to the 'wonders' of the Nile. As the thematic scope of the work clearly does not contain topics of interest to this study, it will not be considered.

The first of the two surviving manuscripts entitled *Marj al-zuhūr fī badā'ī al-'umūr* ('Floral Meadows on the Events Brought by Fate'), an anonymous manuscript held in Paris,<sup>434</sup> could be interpreted as an independent history of the pre-Islamic prophets, two Persian kings and Iskandar Dhū l-Qarnayn. However, it is more likely the first volume of a universal history, of which the second manuscript, held in Princeton, seems to be another volume.<sup>435</sup> Unfortunately, the first folio of MS Paris with a rectangular title is damaged, probably by water or humidity. Thus, the first part of the title is barely readable. However, it clearly starts with the word *juz* ('volume'),<sup>436</sup> which must be considered a hint towards the text having formed part of a multi-volume work. As the content of this manuscript does not touch on this study's interests, it will only be used for the general analysis of Ibn Iyās's presentation of his writing strategies and the intended structure of his works.<sup>437</sup>

MS Paris and MS Princeton do not overlap in terms of content. Interestingly, MS Princeton has its own *muqaddima*, which however seems to be—at least in part—from the pen of the copyist. After initial praise of God and the prophet, it reads: "This is the book *Marj al-zuhūr fī badā'ī al-'umūr*, a part (*mutalaqqat*) of his [the author's, AK] numerous historiographies."<sup>438</sup> This corresponds with the front page (fol. 1r), which says, in the lower half of the page and at the end of the title, adorned with a dotted border: "This is one of his witty historiographies (*wa*

431 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Damad Ibrahim Pasha No. 887. Cf. Winter (2007), 8, who lists it following Muṣṭafā.

432 Ibid.

433 Ibn Iyās, *Les meilleures roses*.

434 This is MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 1554.

435 MS Princeton, Princeton University Library, Collection Garrett, section Yahuda, No. 4411.

436 MS Paris Arabe 1554, 1r. The volume number thereafter is unfortunately erased by damage.

437 See Chapter IV.

438 MS Princeton, 1v.

*huwa min al-tawārīkh al-zarīfihi*), which has however been dated to a later time.<sup>439</sup> The colophon gives the date of the autograph used by the copyist as 2<sup>nd</sup> Muḥarram 909/27 June 1503. The copy was finished by a certain Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Atfihi in 993/1585.<sup>440</sup> MS Princeton comprises a history of Islam from the time of the prophet until 655/1266–67. It is followed by a list of the Abbasid caliphs up to the 1520s. The later part of this list thus falls within our scope of interest. However, since the contents are mostly reduced to the names, genealogies and dates of the caliphs' accessions and deaths, this part will only be considered in passing. The contents of both manuscripts should be assessed concerning intertextual links to a) Ibn Iyās's other writings and b) the writings of al-Suyūṭī, to whom a similar manuscript in Paris is attributed; both will be left for further studies.

As *Nashq al-azhār fī 'ajā'ib al-aqtār* ('Flowery Scents on the Wonders of the Earth') will not be counted in the main source base of this study, the survey of its contents will be restricted to a comparative reading of the preface and 'table of contents', given at the beginning of the text, and the chapter headings (red-inked *dhikr xyz* in all manuscripts). While the introducing verses, which Ibn Iyās reused in several of his other works,<sup>441</sup> refer to historiographic works (*kutub tawārīkh al-umam al-khāliya*)<sup>442</sup> as the source and inspiration for the writing of the text, the content is geographical in nature. The text includes some chapters on 'ajā'ib in the sense of the remarkable features of countries, cities and places and refers to eminent persons who lived in the regions or cities described. Its main design, however, makes it look like a universal geography. Like *Nuzhat al-umam*, the text opens with a chapter dedicated to the conception of the universe ('ilm al-falak). It then approaches Egypt from the west, with chapters on countries related to the western, middle and eastern Mediterranean. There are only a few chapters dedicated to Egyptian cities, regions and the Nile in the first quarter of the table of contents.<sup>443</sup> Unlike *Nuzhat al-umam*, the main part of the text is on regions outside Egypt. It comprises information on the Jazeera, Iraq, Rūm, Sub-Saharan Africa, the *bilād al-ḥabasha*, several regions of Iran and North Africa, and finally China, India, the *bilād al-tātār*, Bulghār, the *ard al-rūs*, the Indian and Persian seas, several islands in that region and cities in the named regions. The last chapters differ somewhat from the rest of the content. Here, Ibn Iyās inserts the same material on the Coptic calendar, as well as its use for agriculture fed by the

439 Ibid.; see Mach, Rudolf (1977): *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (Princeton Studies on the Near East), 378–79.

440 MS Princeton, 241 v.

441 See Chapters VI–VIII.

442 Cf. MS Paris Arabe 2207, 2r; MS Paris Arabe 2208 1v; MS Berlin 6050 1v.

443 Cf. Ahlwardt (1887–1899), V, 376–377.

Nile floods, as in *Nuzhat al-umam* and several later manuscripts.<sup>444</sup> The text does not include a chapter dedicated to Ibn Iyās's native town, the city of Cairo.

## 2) Further Texts with Doubtful Attribution

Wasserstein lists two works attributed to Ibn Iyās, which he subsumes under the category of non-historiographical works ("*oeuvres non historiques*").<sup>445</sup> The first is a treatise on the seven genres of poetry, or a collection of poems and verses entitled *al-Durr al-maknūn fī sab'at al-funūn* ('Hidden Pearls on the Seven Arts').<sup>446</sup> The text has been preserved in several manuscripts, none of which seems to contain the author's name. Instead, the catalogues refer to Hajjī Khalīfa's attribution without mentioning this fact.<sup>447</sup> The collection of poems might be a useful addition for further studies of Ibn Iyās's prosimetric style, but it will not be considered here due to its obviously non-historiographical character and the doubtful attribution. The text does not contain, as Hajjī Khalīfa's description might suggest,<sup>448</sup> a collection of poems by the author; the majority of the material is cited from different authors.

The second of the works identified as non-historiographical by Wasserstein is held in a collective manuscript in the National Library of France, which contains a number of different texts by authors such as al-Zamakhsharī, al-Ghazālī and al-Suyūṭī.<sup>449</sup> The text attributed to Ibn Iyās by Wasserstein and the Gallica catalogue is entitled *Nuzhat al-khāṭir wa bahjat al-nāẓir fī ziyādat al-Nīl wa nuqṣānihi wa muntahā ziyādatihi wa awānihi* ('A Stroll of the Mind and the Joy of the Beholder about the Tides of the Nile'). The text begins on folio 170, which has the title and attributes the text to a certain *shaykh al-'ālim* Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī. The copy has no further mention of the author, nor does it contain a date of completion. It refers information concerning the tide of the Nile and related practices up to the time of al-Ghawrī.<sup>450</sup> Wasserstein discusses the attribution of the content of this manuscript to Ibn Iyās in detail and comes to the conclusion that *Nuzhat al-khāṭir* has more or less the same content as *Nuzhat al-umam*.<sup>451</sup> However, it seems too speculative to consider *Nuzhat al-khāṭir* as a

444 See below, 2) Further Texts with Doubtful Attribution.

445 Cf. Wasserstein (1992), 106–108.

446 Ibid., 106–107. See also Katib Çelebi (1835): *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum. Kaşf az-zunūn 'an asāmi 'l-kutub wa-'l-funūn*. Edited by Gustav L. Flügel. Leipzig (Oriental Translation Fund), III, 190–191.

447 Cf. Wasserstein (1992), 106–107.

448 Cf. Katib Çelebi, *Kaşf az-zunūn*, III, 190–191, No. 4872.

449 Ibid., 83–87; MS Paris Arabe 3973.

450 De Slane (1883–1895), 646, s.n. 3973, probably based on this title page, attributes the text to this hitherto unknown person.

451 Ibid., 87.



parallel or even preliminary text to *Nuzhat al-umam*. Moreover, there are many uncertainties regarding the lifetime of the copyist.<sup>452</sup> It would take a close intertextual examination of the manuscripts of both texts, as well as the parallel contents in MS Berlin Wetzstein II, 145 (see below), to explore the interdependency of the three versions. However, such an extended examination would most probably not provide an 'original' version of Ibn Iyās's text, but rather help us understand the reception of his geographical texts. In this regard, a comparative study of the three named texts would be a most welcome addition to the state of the art, but it cannot form part of the present project.

The manuscript Wetzstein II, 145, has been identified by Ahlwardt as an autograph.<sup>453</sup> As such, the copy, which associates two separate works or, most likely, abbreviated transcriptions of them, would have been of utmost interest for the dissection of Ibn Iyās's working process. However, the identification is an obvious mistake. The colophon of the first text, which forms part of the running text on fol. 43v without being highlighted in any way, does not imply at all that the text was written by Ibn Iyās. Its dating paragraph reads: "Here ends *Jawāhīr al-farīda fī 'l-nawādir al-mufīda* ('Precious gemstones about pleasant curiosities'), written by the poor servant of God (*'alā yad al-'abd al-faqīr ilā llāh*), the servant of the men of God, Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī al-Qādirī in the year 1064 [1654]."<sup>454</sup> Although the name of the copyist is similar to that of Ibn Iyās, we clearly have to distinguish between the author and the copyist here. Firstly, the date of the completion of the manuscript is way beyond Ibn Iyās's lifetime. Secondly, on the front page of the manuscript, the slightly rectangular title in red ink has the author's name as "Shaykh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Iyās al-Ḥan[afī],"<sup>455</sup> which differs significantly from the copyist's name given in the colophon. Finally, the formulation in the colophon does not contain a hint towards the text being an autograph, as it lacks the characteristic formulation *'alā yad mu'allafihī*, having instead the neutral stereotype *'alā yad al-'abd al-faqīr*. The manuscript thus seems to belong to a group of later *mukhtaṣars*, joining together a part of Ibn Iyās's works on the River Nile and the Coptic calendar with a second text part, which Ahlwardt attributes to Ibn Iyās as well. This second part, beginning in the running text right after the colophon of the first text without any highlighting, could be read as being entitled *Majmū' al-nawādir al-muḍḥika wa 'l-hazliyyāt al-muṭarriba* ('Collection of Funny Rarities and Entertaining Jokes').<sup>456</sup> The following folio has a table of contents which lists twenty chapters with entertaining

452 Ibid, 84, note 10.

453 Cf. Ahlwardt (1887–1899), VII, 405–406, s. n. 8426.

454 MS Berlin, 43v.

455 MS Berlin, 1r. The last syllable of the name is illegible because it was pasted over with white paper to repair the sheet.

456 MS Berlin, 43v.

stories on different occupational groups (such as *fuqahā*’, *shu’arā*’ etc.).<sup>457</sup> The stories concentrate mainly on figures from the early history of Islam, such as the Umayyad or Abbasid caliphs. Similar content arranged in a similar order is not known in any of the works attributed to Ibn Iyās. The collection thus may be interpreted as a copy of a probably lost *defter* or scratchbook of Ibn Iyās, or as a later collation of textparts by the copyist.

However, as for the manuscript of *Nuzhat al-khāṭir* discussed above, this would be a highly speculative assumption. The first part of the manuscript could form part of an intertextual examination of the reception or tradition of Ibn Iyās’s content dedicated to the Nile and the Coptic calendar and history. These considerations will be left for later studies. As for the second part, it is first necessary to identify possible parallel texts or hypotexts from the corpus of Ibn Iyās’s works. As Ahlwardt’s attribution to Ibn Iyās seems rather arbitrary, especially given the fact that it is built on the mistaken identification of the manuscript as an autograph, this question will not be considered in this study.

Wasserstein<sup>458</sup> furthermore discusses the manuscript of a three-volume ‘universal history’ with the title *Muntaẓam bad’ al-dunyā wa ta’rīkh al-umam* (‘On the Beginning of the World and the History of the Regions’),<sup>459</sup> which, according to him, cannot be attributed to Ibn Iyās without a close examination of the manuscript and its contents: it might also be an (abridged?) version of Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Muntaẓam*.<sup>460</sup> As the content of the three volumes of unknown length obviously comprises only the first three centuries of the Islamic era, the work is not of central interest to this study, which focuses on Ibn Iyās’s historiographical narrative on Mamluk times and the Mamluk-Ottoman transition. Nonetheless, a close examination of the manuscript is still a desideratum, as this would add clarity to the overall understanding of Ibn Iyās’s historiographical *oeuvre*.

457 Ibid., 44r.

458 Cf. Wasserstein (1992), 102–105.

459 The unique copy held in Istanbul, MS Istanbul, Seray 2909, cf. Wasserstein (1992), 102, see also note 53: The call number mentioned by Brockelmann (GAL Suppl. II, 406) seems to be wrong.

460 Wasserstein (1992), 105.



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## VI A Litterateur at Work: First Contacts between Egypt and Muslim Domination

### The Choice of Sample

The ‘political’ history of Egypt starts in Ibn Iyās’s work—and here, we are looking at his complete *oeuvre*, at the content’s scope or plot of his inventory of knowledge—with the Islamic conquest by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and its backstory. It is the first major transition of power, and at the same time the starting point of the wider chronologically ordered history of Egypt as told by Ibn Iyās. The example is interesting not only for the study of Ibn Iyās’s way(s) of narrating power transitions. Rather, because of the generic structure of the texts that contain narratives on the Islamic conquest and the early Islamic rule in Egypt, the sample also allows us to study Ibn Iyās’s way(s) of narrating in various generic contexts at different points in the larger context of his life as a writer while possibly addressing different audiences. There are three versions of the plot that have come to us, namely in *Nuzhat al-umam*, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*.

A fourth mention of these events in the Princeton manuscript of *Marj al-zuhūr* must be discussed briefly here, although it does not form part of the sample as it obviously has no intertextual relationship to any of the other texts: it is a lead that invites further study, but one which cannot be followed here.<sup>461</sup> The *Marj al-zuhūr* version simply mentions the conquest of Egypt at the hands of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (d. 42/663), among many other, very different events in the respective years. At the beginning of the description of year 20/640, the text simply says: “In this year, Qaisār, Miṣr and al-Iskandariyya were conquered, and the year was called the year of conquests (‘*ām al-futūḥāt*).”<sup>462</sup> For the moment, the text

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461 *Marj al-zuhūr* MS Princeton, 7v–8v.

462 Ibid., 7v. On the conquest of Egypt and early Muslim rule, see e.g. Kaegi, Walter (1998): “Egypt on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest.” In Carl F. Petry (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. I: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 34–61, and Kennedy, Hugh (1998): “Egypt as a Province in the Islamic Caliphate, 641–868.” In Carl F. Petry (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. I: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 62–85.

does not give any further details on the conquests, but lists miscellaneous—although still important—events belonging to different geographical parts of the young *umma*:

During (this year), the Jews were driven out of Khaybar and a huge earthquake happened in Medina, which destroyed some of its buildings. In this year died the muezzin of the Prophet, Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, and [he] was buried in Damascus near the Bāb al-Saghīr.<sup>463</sup>

The text then lists more information on the life and death of several companions of the prophet and Caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644). Even at the end of the section, when some names of newly conquered cities are enumerated, there is no special reference to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. In ‘Amr’s year of death as well,<sup>464</sup> the text focuses on events in the context of the rise of the Umayyad caliphate and does not mention ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. As the text differs both in structure and content from the rest of the sample, it will not be considered in the further intertextual compilation analysis.

Judging from the structure of the second volume, it is very likely that the first *juz*’ of *‘Uqūd al-juman* also detailed the first Islamic conquest of Egypt. However, as the first volume is lost, we have to work with the three named versions at hand. *Nuzhat al-umam*, a text close to both geographical *mukhtaṣars* and *adab* genres like *‘ajā’ib* and *faḍā’il*, seems to contain the earliest version of the plot. In the following, we have two rather historiographical texts, one shorter and one more elaborate. This inventory suggests, at first glance, a straightforward development of the material from its earliest and shortest version to the most elaborate one in *Badā’i al-zuhūr*, in which the material from the parallel texts has been largely amended with material compiled from other sources. However, the intertextual connections between the texts and their hypotexts appear to be far more complex than this. Every version names several sources, or rather references the names of tradents without clarifying the means of transmission through which the material reached Ibn Iyās. Only in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* does he distinctly name a hypotext and its author, namely Ibrahīm b. Waṣīf Shāh and a book ascribed to him cited as *Akhhbār Miṣr*.<sup>465</sup> This author is cited in several works of the time, but his identification and the historicity of his writings are debated.<sup>466</sup> Among the texts ascribed to him, there are no manuscripts entitled *Akhhbār Miṣr*, but it is a

463 *Marj al-zuhūr* MS Princeton, 7v–8v.

464 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32, has as a date the last day of Ramaḍān 43/January 664, while Wensinck dates it ca. 42/663, cf. Wensinck, Arent J.: “‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

465 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32.

466 Sezgin, Ursula: “al-Waṣīfi.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

common short form used to refer to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr*.<sup>467</sup> Al-Waṣīfī's material on Egypt seems to be restricted to what Rosenthal called the "legendary beginnings", roughly the times of the biblical Exodus.<sup>468</sup> Therefore, Ibn Iyās's direct reference to the account of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ' conquest and later rule in Egypt raises questions that cannot be answered due to the insufficient preservation of al-Waṣīfī's texts.

The *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* version of the plot offers a better lead to follow. Here, Ibn Iyās refers to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, though without citing the title of his book—a type of reference found very often not only in Ibn Iyās's work, but also in other contemporary historiographies. This mention serves as a first trace to be followed in order to learn more about the strategies Ibn Iyās uses to extract, process and re-arrange material from his sources. The sample for the following first collation has been deliberately restricted to the versions of Ibn Iyās and one hypotext. It aims to dissect intertextual relations between the four renderings on both a micro-level that encompasses the outer structure of the respective sections (order, frequency, generic specifics) and a micro-level linguistic comparison (changes in synonyms, verbal vs. nominal constructions, varieties in the scope of a semantic field as delineated by the verbal root). It will also offer a comparison of narrative strategies (especially the use of fictional dialogue). It is *not* intended to provide an exhaustive discussion of all the hypotexts used by the author, and especially not those used to amend new material in the course of writing the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* version.<sup>469</sup>

## The 'Treasure Anecdote'

The 'treasure anecdote' tells the story of a Copt who tried to hide his belongings from the eyes of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ. As the plot is found in all three versions by Ibn Iyās, parts of the anecdote will serve as examples in the following analysis. The following concordance collates the complete anecdotes as to be found in the first hypotext by 'Abd al-Ḥakam and in the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* version.

467 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (1920–1922): *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr wa akhbārihā. History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain*. Edited by Charles Torrey. Leiden, New Haven: Brill, Yale University Press. (cited as *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey). For a discussion of the text, see below.

468 Rosenthal, Franz: "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

469 On the praxis of citation in *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, cf. Al Amer (2016), 375–406.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, <i>Futūḥ Miṣr</i> , 87	Ibn Iyās, <i>Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr</i> Ia, 104–105
<p>[87] Ibn Thaubān al-Hamadānī reported to us, saying: Hishām b. Abī Ruqayya al-Lakhmī reported to me: When ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ conquered (<i>fataḥa</i>) Egypt, he said to the Egyptian Copts: I will sentence anyone to death who keeps a treasure from me (<i>man katamani kanzan ʿindahū</i>). There was a <i>nabaṭī</i> from Alexandria, called Buṭrus, on whom he was told: He owns a treasure! He sent for him and asked him, he lied and denied it.</p> <p>So, he imprisoned him in the prison.</p> <p>He (sent an) order, asking for him: Did you ever hear him speak of anybody? They answered: No, but we heard him ask for a monk from Ṭūr. Then, ʿAmr sent for Buṭrus and took off his signet ring from his hand.</p> <p>Then he wrote to that monk:</p> <p>Send to me what is with you! And he sealed (the letter) with (Buṭrus's) signet ring.</p> <p>His envoy came back with a Damascene box sealed with wax. ʿAmr opened it and found a sheet of paper on which it was written: Your property is under the great well.</p> <p>ʿAmr turned towards the great well. Then he drained the water, and tore out the great stone slabs that paved the ground,</p> <p>and found beneath them 52 <i>irdabb</i> of minted gold coins.</p>	<p>[104] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam said:</p> <p>When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ stayed in the city of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, he gathered together the Copts and said to them: I will break the neck of everybody who has got a treasure and keeps it from me (<i>wa katamanahu ʿannī</i>). He was told: There is a Copt (<i>shakhṣan min al-aqbāt</i>) called Buṭrus, who owns a large treasure. He sent for him and when he arrived before him, he said to him: They told me you owned a treasure, so bring it here! Buṭrus denied it, so ʿAmr ordered him to be imprisoned, and he was put to prison for several days. Then, ʿAmr asked his supervisors: Did you ever hear him speak of one of his friends? They answered: Yes, we heard him ask for a monk from Ṭūr. Then, ʿAmr sent for Buṭrus who was in jail, and ordered him to take off his signet ring and send it to him. So he sent him the signet ring, which had been on his finger. ʿAmr took the ring and sent it, in Buṭrus's name, to that monk in Ṭūr, and told him:</p> <p>Send to me what the owner of this signet ring has entrusted to you! When the monk saw Buṭrus's ring, he recognized it and did not suspect that request to be wrong. So he sent a sealed box by the hand of the person who had brought the ring. When it arrived at ʿAmr, he opened it and found a sheet of paper on which it was written: The property which belonged to the Pharaoh's treasure is under the great well in the Qaṣr al-Shamʿ. ʿAmr went to the Qaṣr al-Shamʿ and found the said well filled with water and drained the water from it. Then, he found the ground paved with white marble and removed that marble</p> <p>and found hidden beneath them heaps of gold dinars, piled up like wheat. He had it carried to his house in large baskets. When he measured it, it turned out to be 52</p>

(Continued)

Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, <i>Futūḥ Miṣr</i> , 87	Ibn Iyās, <i>Badā’i al-zuhūr</i> Ia, 104–105
Then, ‘Amr had his head chopped off at the gate of the mosque. Ibn Abi Ruqayya mentioned that the Copts took out their treasures, fearing that any-one of them could be treated and killed like Buṭrus.	<i>irdabb</i> . This is how Ibrahīm b. Waṣīf Shāh transmitted it in his <i>Akhbār Miṣr</i> . Then, ‘Amr had Buṭrus summoned and executed while all Copts were present. When they saw this, everyone who owned a treasure gave it to ‘Amr. Anyone who did not do so ended up like Buṭrus. This is the end of that story.

As the four versions by Ibn Iyās in question are of diverging, but extended length, with some containing much more material than others, a sentence-by-sentence collation of all four texts would be too extensive and impractical. Therefore, several steps of comparison and visualization of the interdependencies between the hypotext and hypertexts precede the micro-level compilation analysis. These steps serve to a) identify the macro structure of all four narratives and their outer structure, b) identify passages with parallel content and understand the integration of parallel material into the meso-context of the respective narratives, and c) explore the intertextual relations and divergences among the respective text samples in the micro-layer of the narrative. While the identification of macro-structures is presented in text form, the meso- and micro-level analyses use visualizations of intertextual relations. The approaches to visualize processes of compilation serve to address different steps in the compilation and re-organization process, such as the extraction of knowledge from the hypotext. Others help us compare content and/or narrative strategies between the four versions addressed here. In the following, we compare a sample from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam with Ibn Iyās’s four versions to elucidate Ibn Iyās’s technique of using a hypotext.

## Macro-Structure: The Outer Structure of the Texts

The First Hypotext: Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa akhbārīhā*

The author of the hypotext, Abu l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (ca. 182–257/798–871), belonged to an influential family of legal scholars, all of whom have been referred to as Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam.<sup>470</sup> Rosenthal

<sup>470</sup> Rosenthal, “Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam”. See also Elad, Amikam (1998): “Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam.” In D. R. Woolf (ed.): *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, vol. 1. New York, London: Garland, 435.



refers to the *Futūḥ Miṣr* as the oldest source on the Islamic conquest that has come down to us, obviously relying on the introduction to the edition of the *Futūḥ* by Charles Torrey.<sup>471</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s text, though betraying the perspective of the “legal scholar rather than the historian”,<sup>472</sup> contains a large amount of historiographical information on Egypt and the Islamic conquest of the West up to al-Andalūs. The first part of the work is dedicated to Egypt, starting from the “legendary early beginnings”<sup>473</sup> of Egyptian history and ending with the death of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. Both this part and the following discussion of the conquest of North Africa, the Maghrib and al-Andalūs are ordered chronologically. However, the text also features characteristics and contents close to the genres of *khiṭaṭ*, as for instance urban-geographical information on al-Fuṣṭāṭ,<sup>474</sup> and ‘ajā’ib, like the first part on ancient Egyptian history. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam belongs to the stock of sources commonly used by writers of historiographical narratives during the Mamluk era. It is thus no wonder that parallel plot material may be found in, for example, al-Maqrizī’s *Khiṭaṭ*.<sup>475</sup>

Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s narrative on the conquest of Egypt belongs to the last third of his section on Egyptian history, which ends with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ’s death. The text embraces a traditional form of Arabic historiography, collating different *khabars* on the same topic and the same events in an additive way.<sup>476</sup> The *khabars* are introduced by *asānīd*, which make up a huge portion of the text. The author seldom comments on the different traditions. If they differ from each other, he leaves it to the reader to decide which one to follow. Direct speech or the citation of letters in the form of direct speech occur in the *khabars*, but only as a minor

471 Rosenthal, “Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam”, see also *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey, 1. Besides the edition, there are some earlier and later partial translations. See also Shoshan, Boaz (2016): *The Arabic Historical Tradition and the early Islamic Conquests. Folklore, Tribal Lore, Holy War*. London: Routledge (Routledge Studies in Classical Islam, 4). See also, especially for the geographical content, Sezgin, Fuat (ed.) (2008): *Ibn ‘Abd Al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) and the Futūḥ Miṣr. Texts and Studies*. Frankfurt am Main: Inst. for the History of Arab-Islamic Science (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science Islamic Geography), 296.

472 Rosenthal, “Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam”.

473 Ibid., see also Shoshan (2016), esp. 156, who describes the text as containing a chapter on “pseudo antiquity” and as shaped by nostalgia for the “gilded Arab past”.

474 *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey, 91 ff. After a more general chapter headed *Dhikr al-khiṭaṭ*, the text has sections on several landmark buildings in al-Fuṣṭāṭ (e.g., the Friday mosque) and further places (e.g., Gizeh).

475 Torrey, Charles (1920–1922): “Introduction.” In Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam: *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr wa akhbārīhā. History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain*. Edited by Charles Torrey. Leiden, New Haven: Brill, Yale University Press, 1–24, 19 further names Yaqūt, Abū l-Maḥāsīn and Suyūṭī as authors who used Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, probably from a common (defective) manuscript. The edition refers to parallel passages in the commentary. See also Shoshan (2016) for Mamluk hypertexts, esp. 162.

476 On the sources and citation practices of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, see Torrey (1920–1922), 6f.

part of the text. The author does not strive to create a consistent historiographical narrative, but rather collects individual information, which is organized and presented in a chronological, however not annalistic, order of events. A second organizational layer groups the content into larger thematic units, which may comprise several chapters. The thematic unit of interest for the comparison to Ibn Iyās's account of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ belongs to a set of four chapters, namely *Dhikr sabab dukhūl ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ Miṣr* [sic],<sup>477</sup> *Dhikr futūḥ Miṣr*,<sup>478</sup> *Dhikr man qāla anna Miṣr futiḥat bi-ṣulḥ*<sup>479</sup> and *Dhikr man qāla anna Miṣr futiḥat ʿanwatan*.<sup>480</sup> The narrative thus proceeds from a more general perspective on the reasons for the Islamic conquest and the conquest itself to the interpretation by (Islamic) historians and traditionalists. The passages analyzed in detail below belong to the chapters on the actual conquest and on the voices that judged the conquest as peaceful.

#### A Second Hypotext: Al-Maqrīzī's (766–845/1364–1442) *Khiṭaṭ*

Although Ibn Iyās does not mention al-Maqrīzī among his sources for the Islamic conquest of Egypt, we may assume that he relied on the respective passages of his *Khiṭaṭ*. There are several striking parallels in the macro-structure and chapter headings between the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Nuzhat al-umam*, which suggest that Ibn Iyās might have used al-Maqrīzī as a hypotext. As discussed above,<sup>481</sup> *Nuzhat al-umam* has been identified as a short version of al-Maqrīzī's work due to the clear similarities in the macro-structure.<sup>482</sup> Despite this intertextual dependence, *Nuzhat al-umam* and the *Khiṭaṭ* represent two different narrative styles. On the meso-level of compiled content, we find clear differences between the *Khiṭaṭ* as a hypotext and *Nuzhat al-umam* as a hypertext. If Ibn Iyās compiled his material directly from the *Khiṭaṭ*, he did so following the same directives communicated in his various introductions.<sup>483</sup> He stringently leaves out quotations from the Qurʾān and *asānīd*, and chooses only a few anecdotes from the inventory presented by al-Maqrīzī. A micro-analysis of the introductory passage of the treasure anecdote, which will be collated from Ibn Iyās's versions and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, furthermore shows that Ibn Iyās's text is closer to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's wording

477 "On the reasons why ʿAmr entered Egypt", cf. *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey, 53.

478 "On the conquest of Egypt", *ibid.*, 55.

479 "On those who said Egypt was conquered peacefully", *ibid.*, 84.

480 "On those who said Egypt was conquered forcefully", *ibid.*, 88.

481 See Chapter V.

482 Guo (1997), 21. See also Al Amer (2016), 454. The study announced there seems not to have been published yet.

483 See Chapter III.

than it is to al-Maqrīzī's. However, compared to al-Maqrīzī's text, Ibn Iyās's version shows the same differences or innovations as it does in comparison to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam: Ibn Iyās works towards a more literary narrative style that has less 'technical information' interesting for specialists in traditional scholarship. He instead adds direct speech wherever possible to enliven his narrative and bring the reader closer to the historical scene.

The following analysis aims to trace these compilation strategies and narrative re-arrangements. As there are three versions from Ibn Iyās's pen alone, and the strategies are similar between both hypotexts and Ibn Iyās's hypertexts, it is unnecessary to follow both compilation processes in detail. This is why, in the following example, al-Maqrīzī's version has been left aside.

### The Hypertexts

Thanks to the scope of his content, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam was an ideal source for the interests of Ibn Iyās—or perhaps the content influenced the shape of Ibn Iyās's early work on Egypt. Even the appendices listing the chief judges of Egypt and the companions of the prophet who came to Egypt in *Futūḥ Miṣr* are mirrored in Ibn Iyās's list of caliphs at the end of *Nuzhat al-umam*, not in terms of content but rather in the ordering structures and the way of transmitting historical knowledge. Another parallel between the hypotext and *Nuzhat al-umam* in particular (and to a certain extent *Jawāhir al-sulūk*) is the protective attitude towards the Coptic inhabitants of Egypt that shines through both texts.<sup>484</sup> However, Ibn Iyās

484 The interest in Coptic traditions being a common topic in Mamluk historiography, also to be found in the *Khīṭaṭ* and further writings by al-Maqrīzī, e.g., his 'history' of the Copts, cf. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (1845): *Aḥbār Qubṭ Miṣr / Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten. Aus den Handschriften zu Gotha und Wien*. Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Göttingen: Dieterich. See the study by El-Leithy, Tamer (2005): *Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo. 1293–1524 A.D.* Princeton, NJ, Univ. Diss. On Coptic festivals, which Ibn Iyās shows interest in as well, see, e.g., Lutfi, Huda (1998): "Coptic Festivals of the Nile. Aberrations of the Past?" In Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds): *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization), 254–282; for the significance of the Nile in this respect, see also Conermann, Stephan (2014b): "Lebensspender, Stätte der Erinnerung, Gedächtnisort. Der Nil während der Mamlukenzeit." In id. (ed.): *Mamlukica. Studies on the History and Society of the Mamluk Period / Studien zu Geschichte und Gesellschaft der Mamlukenzeit*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Mamluk Studies, 4), 275–316. Research on the interest in the ancient Egyptian heritage in Mamluk texts, as well as in myths and occultism linked to them, has a long tradition. See also Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (1968): *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Makrizi's "Hitat". Nach zwei Berliner und zwei Münchner Handschriften unter Berücksichtigung der Bulaker Druckausgabe*. Unveränd. Nachdr. [d. Ausg.] Leipzig, 1911. Edited by Erich Graefe. (Leipziger Semitistische Studien). On the Arabic terminology for the pyramids, see Graefe, Erich and M. Plessner: "Haram." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second

chose not to take al-Maqrīzī's full chapter heading, *Dhikr mā 'amalahu al-muslimūna 'inda fath Miṣr fī l-kharāj wa mā kāna min amr Miṣr fī dhalika mā 'al-qibṭ* ('What the Muslims did during the conquest of Egypt concerning taxation and what happened to the Copts in this regard'), for his *Nuzhat al-umam*,<sup>485</sup> but rather keeps his heading much shorter and therefore more open: *Dhikr mā 'amalahu al-muslimūna 'inda fath Miṣr* ('What the Muslims did during the conquest of Egypt').<sup>486</sup> The same holds true for the content Ibn Iyās compiles from al-Maqrīzī. He picks several traditions to elaborate the respective anecdotes in his individual style.

Ibn Iyās does not adopt the organizational outline of his hypotext except for the chronological order. This, however, is so common in Arabic historiography that it should not be considered as depending on an intertextual relation to a specific source, but rather as generic characteristic. Each of the three versions by Ibn Iyās shares a basic orientation following chronology. However, each text is further structured by an individual set of criteria. Therefore, the material taken from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam needs to be fitted into the respective contexts and organizational structures. This results in a compilation strategy based on the identification of suitable material on the content-related meso-level, one which takes little to no characteristics from the hypotext. *Nuzhat al-umam* follows a loose chronological-dynastic order, which, however, jumps over large gaps of time. The beginning of Islamic rule is also only sketched out briefly. The majority of the relevant chapters are arranged according to functions and institutions

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Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.; and for pre-Islamic origins of the legends, Fodor, A. (1970): "The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (3), 335–363. For the sphinx, see Haarmann, Ulrich (1978): "Die Sphinx. Synkretistische Volksreligiosität im spätmittelalterlichen islamischen Ägypten." *Saeculum* 29 (4), 367–384. Ulrich Haarmann has published extensively on the reception of ancient Egypt heritage in Mamluk literature. See e. g. id. (1990): "Das pharaonische Ägypten bei islamischen Autoren des Mittelalters." In Erik Hornung (ed.): *Zum Bild Ägyptens im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*. Freiburg, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, V&R (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 95), 29–58; with regard to the wondrous worlds of geography, see, e. g., id. (1996): "Medieval Muslim Perceptions of Pharaonic Egypt." In Antonio Loprieno (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Probleme der Ägyptologie), 605–628; concerning the reception and tradition of legends, also id. (1976): "Evliyā Çelebi's Bericht über die Altertümer von Gize." *Turkica* 8 (1), 157–230, and concerning the reception by early thirteenth-century Arabic writers, esp. al-Idrīsī, see id. (1991): "In Quest of the Spectacular. Noble and Learned Visitors to the Pyramids around 1200 A.D." In Wael B. Hallaq (ed.): *Islamic Studies presented to Charles J. Adams*. Leiden: Brill, 57–67. Among recent studies are Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (2014): "Between Quarry and Magic. The Selective Approach to Spolia in the Islamic Monuments of Egypt." In Alina Alexandra Payne (ed.): *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean. Portable Archeology and the Poetics of Influence*. Leiden: Brill (Mediterranean Art Histories, 1), 402–425; Irwin, Robert (2003b): "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn, Historians of the Unseen." *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (1), 217–230.

485 *Khiṭaṭ* ed. Zaynahum 1998, I, 221.

486 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 129.

(such as tax administration). There is hardly any historiography in the sense of recording events, let alone a stringent annalistic approach. Ibn Iyās adopts only two anecdotes from his hypotext, which can be described as a short summary of interesting facts about Egypt. These anecdotes serve as an introductory narrative framework (*Anfangsrahmung*) for his discussion of the function of early Islamic rule in Egypt.<sup>487</sup> For this purpose, the anecdotes are dramatized and narrativized much more strongly, e.g. by insertion of fictional dialogues and evaluating characterization of the figures and their demeanor.

*Jawāhir al-sulūk* again has a different macro structure. The first part, with an overview of the Islamic dynasties that have ruled Egypt, resembles in terms of its structure and brevity more a list than a historiographical presentation. The last Coptic ruler of Egypt is also discussed in this context. With respect to him, Ibn Iyās includes an anecdote which is supposed to legitimize ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ’s claim to power but which does not come from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. It follows again a list-like enumeration of the caliphs and governors of Egypt, providing only very brief information. This part contains no descriptions of historical events or anecdotes, but follows a stereotypical construction. The treasure anecdote is not introduced in this text in the course of the Islamic conquest, as in the hypotext, but as a part of the obituary for ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.<sup>488</sup> It appears as a quotation from Ibn Waṣīf in the context of the description of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ’s life and is contextualized here as an explanation for his wealth, thus as an indirectly characterizing element.<sup>489</sup> The compiled content is thus rearranged both functionally and contextually. The following discussion of Islamic governors again remains list-like and ends with a reference to the beginning of the Abbasid caliphate.

The relevant section from *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* is included in the first volume of the edition and covers eighteen pages.<sup>490</sup> It begins with the superordinate title *Ibtidā’ dawla al-islām wa faṭḥ Miṣr ‘alā yad ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ (r)* (“The beginning of Islamic rule and the conquest of Egypt by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, may God have mercy on him”). The internal structure is organized into chronological sub-chapters and, especially towards the end, thematic sub-chapters, which usually include a single anecdote. The sample considered here ends with the beginning of the chapter on the reign of the ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Surḥ b. al-Ḥārith. Until this point, the text maintains a chronological structure year by year; after it, similar to the parallel texts, large leaps in time follow. This youngest and most extensive narrative on the conquest of Egypt includes much more anecdotal material than the previous

487 Cf. Kollatz (2020).

488 His date of death is unclear. Wensinck, “‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ” dates it ca. 42/663, while both *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* have 43/663–4, cf. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 31–32, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* 5, 117.

489 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32.

490 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 94–112.

ones. 'Amr's disagreement with the caliph concerning his plans to conquer Egypt is mentioned briefly,<sup>491</sup> but the focus of the narrative is clearly on the actual conquest, the related military action and the interactions between the Egyptian people and their ruler. The latter includes references to diplomatic interactions and numerous anecdotes that underline the military and ethical supremacy of the Islamic troops.<sup>492</sup> The treasure anecdote forms part of this rather extensive body of anecdotes that illustrates all aspects of Muslim-Coptic interaction. It thus 'returns' to a similar context as set out in *Nuzhat al-umam*, but does not figure any more as an outstanding example. Further re-arrangements and changes in the plot occur on the meso- and micro-levels.

## Meso-Structure: Building a Narrative

Ibn Iyās shortens the material considerably when taking it out of the hypotext. His criteria of choice correlate with the guiding principles he mentions in his various forewords, as well as with general developments in Arabic historiography. Similar to Ibn Athīr in his use of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Iyās leaves out the *asānīd* given by his hypotext. He furthermore shortens the content (*ikhtisār*) to a great extent, summarizing extensive passages that discuss differing traditions or leaving them out entirely. For example, he extracts single names of tradents from an *isnād* and cites them as the only reference for the following information, instead of keeping the full reference system given by his source. The text sample analyzed here contains numerous such examples: in most cases, Ibn Iyās leaves out the *asānīd* without hesitation. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam proves the first information given in his chapter on the conquest of Egypt with the following *isnād*: *ḥadathanā 'Uthmān b. Ṣalāḥ, ḥadathanā Ibn Lahī'a 'an 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abī Ja'far wa 'Ayyāsh b. 'Abbās al-Qitbānī wa ghayrihumā*.<sup>493</sup> The second element in the tradition chain, Ibn Lahī'a, often appears as a source cited by Ibn Iyās in the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* version. In no case does Ibn Iyās link the name Ibn Lahī'a to a book title or another source attributed to that name. He thus veils the fact that the respective paragraphs following the citation are constructed by heavily using *verbatim* compiled material from another hypotext, namely Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

This must not be understood, however, as a technique to cover up 'improper' use of sources. It is more likely that Ibn Iyās just decided to mention the names that seemed to him most important for his narrative, sacrificing the emic tech-

491 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 95.

492 See, for example, the anecdote on the Copts' prejudiced comportment in front of the chief negotiator on the Islamic side, Miqdād b. al-Aswad, who has colored skin, cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 96–97.

493 *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey, 55.

niques of traceable historical tradition for the sake of a readable narrative. Besides the *asānīd*, further characteristics of the more traditional Ṭabarian approach to history writing in the hypotext have been more or less rigidly eliminated by Ibn Iyās. For example, he usually leaves out passages that contain parallel traditions or collections of divergent traditions on a certain event. He cuts down whole collections of opposing traditions to one sentence. Thus, the two chapters displaying traditions rating the conquest as peaceful or forceful, which fill several pages in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s text and enable the reader to draw their own conclusions, are reduced to a short collection of three quotations that mention the divergent assessment by scholars, but hardly discuss it.<sup>494</sup> This can stand as a prototype example for Ibn Iyās’s way of cutting material from the hypotext. He tends to eliminate ‘dry’ content referring to the process or state of transmission, that is content interesting to a rather specialized readership. He has a very basic set of referencing notes, though, which both maintains a certain level of credibility and offers the possibility for specialized readers to trace back the material presented by Ibn Iyās. Furthermore, by eliminating parallel traditions, the texts become much easier and even more pleasant to read than the hypotext.

However, the reorganization goes beyond a simple collection and shortening of the hypotext’s material. Besides the rather technical material attesting to the provenance of information, Ibn Iyās also makes choices concerning the narrative strands he is taking or leaving out. The sample discussed here contains a striking example of this way of sorting out content, which already on the meso-level of the narrative can lead to a completely different picture of historical events and persons. The hypotext by Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam is oriented towards two main characters, namely ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, who conquers Egypt for the Islamic *umma*, and the caliph of his time, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. A strong focus of the narrative lies on the interaction between these two agents. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam gives a detailed account of how ‘Amr approached the caliph to obtain permission for the conquest and on the conditions imposed by the caliph. The text cites fictionally retold dialogues<sup>495</sup> and letters exchanged between ‘Amr and the caliph. These portions of the narrative are interwoven with rather short segments reporting what ‘Amr did on his way to Egypt. Most strikingly, Ibn Iyās leaves out the whole plot on ‘Amr asking for permission to conquer and the trick he played to out-

494 The two chapters of *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey, 84–88 (*Dhikr man qāla anna Miṣr futiḥat bi-ṣulḥi*); 88–90 (*Dhikr man qāla Miṣr futiḥat ‘anwatan*) are reduced to the sentence *wa qad ikhtalafa al-‘ulamā’ fī faṭḥihā ‘anwatan au ṣulḥan* in *Badā’i al-zuhūr* Ia, 99–100.

495 I use the terms *fictionally retold* or *semi-fictional dialogues* to describe dialogue scenes that could have taken place in the historical situation displayed, but which the author of the respective historiography, due to their temporal and/or spatial distance from the events or due to their narrative freedom, does not reproduce in the ‘historical’ or ‘original’ wording, which is mostly unknown, but in a form imagined by them.

maneuver the caliph's preconditions,<sup>496</sup> despite the fact that the hypotext depicts this narrative strand by making heavy use of a narrative strategy highly favored by Ibn Iyās as well, namely first-person direct speech and semi-fictional dialogues. He neatly cuts out each reference to this narrative strand from the material he *verbatim* compiles into his archive, such as when citing the caliph's first reaction to 'Amr's request. While Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam enumerates the caliph's considerations in detail (*wa takhawwafa 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 'alā l-muslimīna...*),<sup>497</sup> Ibn Iyās only uses the very first half sentence of the respective text part, which in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's version serves as an introductory formulation of the pattern 'yes...but'. In the following, whole paragraphs referring to this thematic strand are left out.

By this, Ibn Iyās reduces the complexity of the material. He concentrates on one strand of action and thereby also reduces the complexity of both figures involved. The caliph, in Ibn Iyās's versions and contrary to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's tradition, seems to be just fine with everything 'Amr proposes. In turn, our author also reduces the complexity of 'Amr's representation, whom he depicts solely as an Islamic war hero who acts in accordance with his caliph's orders instead of a trickster who outmaneuvers the caliph to pursue his own goals.<sup>498</sup> On the other hand, he adds some other details to the plot which are not evident from the hypotext and must therefore be understood as the author's own interpretations.

There is a stable set of compilation and adjustment strategies that Ibn Iyās puts to use in the preparation of each of his versions. The following translation provides a colored example from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's text to show the strategies used by Ibn Iyās when compiling from the hypotext. The table maps the compilation strategies to be observed in the compilation process in all three versions by Ibn Iyās. While the strategies are the same in all three processes, there is no straight development from the hypotext through the different versions of Ibn Iyās's hypertexts to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Instead, Ibn Iyās seems to have worked out each of his narratives separately, thereby making use both of his original hypotext (here, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam), his previous versions and possibly other, unnamed sources. This compilation and re-adjustment process will be discussed in the next section. The following colored example serves to show the intertextual relationship and the processes the material went through on the meso-level: after having chosen the traditional material to be integrated in his narrative, Ibn Iyās also reworks the respective traditions and reformulates them in accordance with his writing principles. While the compilation on the macro-level mainly decides

496 Cf. Ibn *Futūḥ Miṣr* ed. Torrey, 56–58.

497 Ibid., 56.

498 Cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 94.



which material, or which parts of the plot, in the hypotext will be adopted, the meso-level decides the structure of the anecdote and its narrative building blocks. On both levels, we can observe considerable similarity between the strategies and structures applied in all three versions of Ibn Iyās's texts, as with the already mentioned omission of 'technical' parts of the traditions. The following example serves to illustrate my way of identifying compilation and restructuring processes. The results presented below, however, are based on an analysis of the complete chapters in Ibn Iyās's three versions and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's hypotext.

**Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 87.**

**key:** black—verbatim compilation; green—paraphrase without change of meaning; orange—paraphrase with change of meaning; violet—differing material; crossed out—material omitted in the compilation process.

'Uthmān b. Ṣalāḥ reported to us, Ibn Wahab reported to us, saying: I heard Ḥaywa b. Shuraiḥ who said: I heard al-Ḥasan b. Thaubān al-Hamadānī who said: **Hishām b. Abī Ruqayya al-Lakhmī**<sup>499</sup> reported to me:

When 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ conquered Egypt, he said to the Egyptian Copts: **I will sentence anyone to death who keeps a treasure from me.** There was a ~~nabaṭī~~ from Alexandria, called Buṭrus, about whom he was told: He owns a treasure! He sent for him and asked him. He denied and rejected it. So, he imprisoned him in prison. He (sent an) order, asking about him: Did you ever hear him speak of anybody? Then, 'Amr sent for Buṭrus and **took off his signet ring from his hand.** Then he wrote to that monk: Send to me what is with you! **And he sealed (the letter) with (Buṭrus's) signet ring.** ~~His envoy came back with a Damascene box sealed with wax.~~ 'Amr opened it and found a sheet of paper on which it was written: Your property is under the well. 'Amr turned towards the well. Then he drained the water, and tore out the great stone slabs that paved the ground and found beneath them 52 *irdabb* of **minted gold coins.** Then, 'Amr had **his head chopped off** at the gate of the mosque. ~~Ibn Abī Ruqayya mentioned that the Copts took out their treasures, fearing that anyone of them could be treated and killed like Buṭrus.~~

The **violet parts**, which represent completely different material, are concentrated at the beginning and end of the anecdote. This is partly due to Ibn Iyās's shortening strategy (leaving out the *isnād*), and moreover naturally follows from him taking the anecdote's plot out of its original context to re-arrange it into the overall structure and narrative diction of his respective texts. This includes, as an example, him adding a chapter heading in *Nuzhat al-umam*.<sup>500</sup> As for *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās inserts the anecdote into his running text. In *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, he uses the introducing and closing remarks to fit the anecdote into his argumentation concerning 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, linking the anecdote to an implicitly raised suspicion that 'Amr cashed in the Coptic treasures for himself.

499 Al-Maqrīzī equally cites Hishām b. Abī Ruqāya (cf. *Khīṭaṭ* ed. Zaynahum I, 222). Ibn Iyās's wording is clearly closer to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam than to al-Maqrīzī.

500 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 129.

Thus, the opening sentence of the *Jawāhir al-sulūk* version reads: “[Concerning] the reason for all the money that ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ collected in Egypt, Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh said in *Akhbār Miṣr* [...]”.<sup>501</sup> The same motive is raised again by the closing sentence: “This is the reason why so much money was found with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.”<sup>502</sup> *Jawāhir al-sulūk* is Ibn Iyās’s only text that raises this suspicion. Both *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* also contain hints showing the exemplary figure Buṭrus, who represents the Copts, as a wicked person who not only kept his wealth from the Islamic conqueror, but had stolen gold from an ancient site (*Jawāhir al-sulūk*, 32 has “stolen gold dinars”; *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 105 implicitly accuses Buṭrus of having seized antique material by altering the content of the monk’s letter). In the main body of the anecdote, two smaller differences occur where Ibn Iyās left out briefer characterizations (of Buṭrus as *nabaṭī*; of the box as Damascene). These alterations have a similar impact on the text as the briefer reformulations, including the change of adjectives and adverbs or verbs (or stems).

The **orange parts**, similar to completely different material, serve to alter the narrative ductus or the intended message of the respective text part, although the plot remains stable. In this example, the first of these alterations affects the sources cited in the three hypertexts. Every version has another source, while only *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* refers directly to the hypotext of interest here: *Nuzhat al-umam* refers to one of the tradents mentioned in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *isnād*.

## Micro-Structure: Figurating Meaning

A closer look at the chart above leads into the analysis of the micro-level of narration, on which an author can figurate the meaning of compiled material by changing the narrative structure with partial sentences or even words. The following detailed analysis of the above example will show the possibilities of micro-level adjustments and thereby the changes the picture of Islamic ruler and Coptic subject undergo.

The **black parts** in the table represent material compiled verbatim from the hypotext to one, two or three of Ibn Iyās’s renditions. Unlike the chart might suggest, verbatim compilation makes up only the lesser part of the texts if considered on a larger scale, and moreover the text in question has seen various amendments while being inserted in one of Ibn Iyās’s versions. However, relevant characteristic information like the location and value of the treasure have been taken over unchanged, thus proving a direct intertextual link between Ibn ‘Abd

501 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32.

502 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32.

al-Ḥakam and Ibn Iyās even more than the fact that Ibn Iyās indicates Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam as his source in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*.<sup>503</sup> The very basic plot and setting structure thus remain stable on the micro level as well. Apart from this basis, the three versions, and especially the *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, are very different from the common hypotext both in terms of content and style. The *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* version has even less verbatim compiled parts than the parallel anecdotes in *Nuzhat al-umam* or *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, where Ibn Iyās, however, names sources other than Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam.

The **orange parts** show material that has been transferred to Ibn Iyās’s versions by paraphrasing, including changing the word order and the modus (often combined with amendments that specify certain agents, actions or objects) or making the course of action more explicit, all the while leaving the meaning of the paraphrased content unchanged. They thus can also affect the micro-level of the narration.

The following two tables show the close entanglement of compilation strategies, which work together and cannot always be dissected without creating overlaps. The example contains a significant change of action, issued by a change of subject between the hypotext and the three different hypertexts. While in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s version, ‘Amr and Buṭrus seem to be in one place, as ‘Amr is able to take Buṭrus’ ring from his hand personally, Ibn Iyās’s three renditions have ‘Amr ordering Buṭrus to take off the ring while he stays in jail. We thus have both a change of subject and a reorganization of narrated space, by which Ibn Iyās separates the acting spaces of both figures. This major change, which Ibn Iyās makes in all three of his versions, results from a paraphrase in which the subject is changed. Further additions in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* (violet) serve to clarify the action described, but do not cause major changes in the plot. The first table illustrates changes and additions. Lines that span all four columns represent identical formulations in all texts, intersections in the lines that mend together some of the columns, or cover only one, represent changed material.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, 87	Nuzhat al-umam, ed. Zaynahum, 129	Jawāhir al-sulūk ed. Zaynahum, 32	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr Ia, 104
Then, ‘Amr			
		b. al-‘Āṣ	
sent for Buṭrus			
		who was in jail	
and took off his signet ring	and ordered him to take off his signet ring		

503 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 104.



remain stable (additional semi-fictional direct speech in all three versions), slight adjustments add details to the course of action, as in the development of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ's direct speech at the beginning of the example. The single adjustments, regarded separately, appear to be rather minuscule. The combination of the different adjustment strategies that comprise paraphrasing, and adding material may even change the character of figures.

Some of the changes that occur on the micro-level of language can only be observed properly in the original Arabic text, especially when the paraphrase that changes the message results from either the use of nearly synonymous words or the use of another verbal stem. In many places, slight differences in the Arabic wording do not affect the meaning of the text to a large extent. Thus, the change of the verb in the first sentence from first to fourth stem does not alter the message significantly. The same holds true for slight changes in word order, as can be found in the first sentences in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*. Besides the rather restricted impact on the text message, differences like those in the present example are common effects of the process of copying a text and thus cannot be ascribed with certainty to the author's intention. This is why slight changes like this will not be discussed or indicated in the following compilation analyses. However, the *Jawāhir al-sulūk* example contains an amendment (violet) which operates close to the other formulations, as it takes up the root *n-k-r* (*nakara* and *ankara*, 'to deny', then *inkār*, 'denial') and thus keeps its statement close to those in the other texts. The new formulation with the verb *sammama*, however, puts more emphasis on the Copt's continuing denial and thus adds to his negative image. Interestingly, the negative image of the Copt is built up constantly, but always implicitly, in all texts. There is no open accusation against him. Instead, by putting emphasis on his (false) denial of owning a treasure, the narratives build up suspense until the end of the anecdote, when the false testimony is discovered, the suspense released and, again implicitly, the crime used to legitimate the harsh treatment of Copts who kept their wealth hidden.

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 87	Nuzhat al-umam, ed. Zaynahum, 129	Jawāhir al-sulūk ed. Zaynahum, 32	Badā'i' al-zuhūr Ia, 104
فَأَنكَرَ وَ جَعَلَ فحبسه في السجن	فَأَنكَرَ ه و جده فحبسه في السجن	فَأَنكَرَ ذَلِكَ بِطَرَسٍ وَ صَمَمَ عَلَىٰ إِنكَارِهِ فَحَبَسَهُ عَمْرُو فِي السَّجْنِ	فَأَنكَرَ بِطَرَسٍ ذَلِكَ فَأَمَرَ عَمْرُو بِسَجْنِهِ فَسَجَنَ أَيَّامًا
He denied and rejected it. So, he imprisoned him in prison.	He denied and rejected it. So, he imprisoned him in prison.	Butrus denied it and stuck to his denial. So, 'Amr imprisoned him in prison.	Butrus denied it, so 'Amr ordered him to be imprisoned, and he was put in prison for several days.

An example of the slight amendments between a paraphrase and a rephrasing that cause differences either in the context or grammatical form is ‘Amr’s direct speech that highlights his threat to sentence people to death for keeping treasures from him. Here, Ibn Iyās, as in many other places, takes over the stylistic element of direct speech and the basic grammatical and morphological structure from his hypotext.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, 87	Nuzhat al-umam, ed. Zaynahum, 129	Jawāhir al-sulūk ed. Zaynahum, 32	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr Ia, 104
ان عمرو بن العاص لما فتح مصر قال لقيط مصر ان من كتمنى كنزا عنده فقدرت عليه قتلته	لما فتح مصر قال لقيط مصر ان من كتمنى كنزا عنده فقئلته	ان عمرو بن العاص لما افتتح مصر جمع من فيها من القبط و قال لهم كل من كان عنده كنز و همنى خيره قئلته	لما استقر عمرو بن العاص بمدينة القسطنطينية جمع الأقباط و قال لهم من كان عنده كنز و كتمنه على ضربت عنقه

Even inside one short anecdote, the straightforward chronological development observed in a previous example can be reversed and turned into a spider-web entanglement between the texts. Therefore, it is almost impossible to visualize the intertextual entanglements with a coloration scheme. This complexity is the reason why a detailed compilation and rephrasing analysis for longer text parts cannot be provided here. Instead, we will discuss the strategies applied in the example, which offer a representative picture of the strategies used in the larger example. As we can see from the beginning of the sentence, there are two formulations that occur almost verbatim in the two texts. The formulation from the hypotext reappears in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, with only the verb stem changed from the first (*fataḥa*) to the eighth (*iftataḥa*), which here does not imply a passive or causative connotation, but rather an intensification or stress. The *Nuzhat al-umam* and the *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* versions both open with the temporal particle *lamā*, but the *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* version distinctly differs from all previous renderings and the hypotext, as the first sentence has been reformulated, referring to ‘Amr’s “stay” in *Fuṣṭāṭ* rather than to the conquest. The change in formulation thus places the plot into a different time, namely after the timeframe into which it was placed in the hypotext and the other versions.

Moreover, the narrative is amended by the information that ‘Amr actively gathered together “all the Copts” to announce his claim on hidden treasures. This amendment is another example of small changes that make the plot easier to follow and more vivid. Moreover, by linking more verbal sentences—and thereby action—to the figure of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, he gains more presence and importance in the narrative. However, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* is not the only text that has this amendment. On the contrary, we find it even more elaborately in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, where Ibn Iyās says ‘Amr gathered “all the Copts that lived there”—as the

place of action is named as *Miṣr*, it may not refer solely to the city of Fustāṭ, as made explicit in *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, but leaves us the option to understand the sentence as “he gathered all the Copts living in Egypt”. Either way, we have to note several independent intertextual relations besides the basic connection of a common plot that link the different versions to each other. The example finally shows a general trend towards a more detailed narration in the later texts, especially in *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*.

## Constructing Figures: Muslims and Copts

So far, the structural and narrative analysis of our first small example have clearly shown that the material underwent a working process, in which different compilation strategies worked hand in hand and were closely interconnected. In the course of the overall working process, the narrative became more and more detailed. Paraphrased material, together with verbatim compilations, make up the main part of the anecdote. The paraphrases help to fit the material into the narrative ductus of the respective version. The following part of the analysis will approach the narrative from the question of how depictions of characters change. For this purpose, narrative strategies from all three levels have to be considered together. The results of the previous sections have shown that Ibn Iyās keeps his narratives close to the overall structure of the respective generic context he uses the material in. However, beneath the macro-level of text organization, the compilation and narrative strategies applied in all his versions are the same, be it in the ‘geographical’ *Nuzhat al-umam* or the historiographical *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*. Even the shorter versions tend to include literarizing aspects, like semi-fictional direct speech. This trend is also reflected in the elimination of certain elements present in the common hypotext which would disrupt the narrative flow. Although the focus of Ibn Iyās’s three versions differs, the construction of figure characteristics is a topic that can be studied comparatively, as it is present in all the versions and the hypotext. This question has already been discussed for *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, where the anecdote serves to characterize ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.<sup>504</sup> The following considerations will therefore concentrate on a comparative reading of the *Nuzhat al-umam* version, which represents the rather *khiṭaṭ*-oriented writing of Ibn Iyās, and the *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* version, which is the most elaborate in historiographical terms.

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504 Cf. Kollatz (2020).

*Nuzhat al-umam*<sup>505</sup>

In *Nuzhat al-umam*, the treasure anecdote is closely connected to a second anecdote, which focuses on a meeting between Caliph al-Ma'mūn and a Coptic lady, the head of a village. Both chapters focus on exemplary anecdotes that vividly illustrate the first encounters and interactions of Islamic rulers and their deputies with the Egyptian Copts. The story time and narrated time are relatively close to each other. The dialogical scene design and at times very detailed plot elaborations serve to vividly illustrate the interaction of the figures. In particular, the last anecdote about al-Ma'mūn and the Coptic woman Māriyya stands out for its lively and detailed narrative structure, while the treasure anecdote in the first chapter and the rather historiographical beginning of the second tell their tales in a more concise form.

Thematically as well as formally, both anecdotes are quite similar. The contact of Islamic rulers with the Egyptian population appears as a history of conquest, which is represented by a short narrative on fights between the Copts and the rather incapable governor sent to Egypt by Caliph al-Ma'mūn.<sup>506</sup> However, the text does not focus on military actions or diplomatic negotiations, but on the direct interaction of the Islamic rulers with the conquered population. The military episodes seem to serve as a contrasting foil that emphasizes the caliph's benevolent and peaceful way of interaction that results in loyalty and love from the side of the Copts. According to the basic figure set of rulers and ruled, the constellation of figures in all anecdotes shows a prestige and power gap between the figures. Both the commander 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Caliph al-Ma'mūn must be interpreted as the highest representatives of Islamic rule present in the respective setting. This high status is staged particularly obviously in the second anecdote. There, the figure of the caliph is portrayed as equipped with a large retinue and high on horseback. The high status is underlined by a detailed description of the vast army camp he travels with and the process of its daily establishment. More interestingly, the description of the caliph's large group of translators serves to show both the high level of knowledge on the Muslim side, as well as a claim to holding superior power over large parts of the known world.<sup>507</sup>

By contrast, figures representing the Coptic side are more likely to be characterized as belonging to the common people. Though the characterization of the treasure-hiding Copt Buṭrus remains rather limited, we may state that he is clearly not shown as a high-ranking personality, but rather as an average inhabitant of Alexandria. The figure of the village chief Māriyya shows many more

505 The following argumentation relies on my analysis of the same text part. This has already been published—though with a different analytical focus—in Kollatz (2020).

506 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 130.

507 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 131.



facets. Her relatively prominent position as the head of a community distinguished by indescribable wealth contrasts with her appearance. She is introduced to the narrative as a weak old woman, whose looks and conduct initially mislead even the caliph about her actual function and disposition. This figure construction directs the reader's attention to a main theme in the two anecdotes. Such figures belonging to the lower-to-middle ranges of society underline the fabulous wealth of the Egyptian population much more effectively than a story about a rich Coptic ruler could ever do. Thus, the narrative suggests that the country of Egypt hides the greatest wealth under its very poor shell. While this characterization of the Coptic population is consistent in both chapters, the representation of the behavior towards Islamic rule shows a clear difference. In the treasure anecdote and in the introductory passage of the Māriyya anecdote,<sup>508</sup> the Copts appear as a resistant opponent who confronts Islamic rule and must be brought to reason by stratagem and the use of force. Hence the treasure anecdote presents 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ as a resolutely radical military commander who asserts his position with skill and cunning, but also with the use of force. The focus here is on how to deal with insubordinate subjects, with the investigation of disobedience (questioning the prison guards, a trap for the keeper of the treasure) and the use of force (incarceration, execution) being in the foreground. At the beginning of the second chapter, 'the Copts', together with rebellious Arabs, are only visible collectively, as a threatening mass that does not want to submit to Islamic rule and can only be brought to reason with some difficulty.

However, the position of Islamic rule now changes in relation to these troublemakers. While at the beginning of the chapter, the violent suppression of the enemies is in the foreground—the men are killed, the women and children enslaved, the rebellious population destroyed—preparations are made at the same time for turning away from violent conquest. Hurrying to Egypt, the caliph deposes his governor, who provoked rebellion by bad treatment of the population. This sequence is emphasized not only by the caliph's verbal speech, but also by the mention of emotions: the caliph is "angry" with his governor. In addition, the text refers to the removal of sovereign symbols when it says that the governor's "banners" have been withdrawn. Consequently, the narrative postulates here an exercise of power that sets consensus over enforcement by violence, with the latter only applied when the situation can no longer be solved in any other way. Consensus with the population and their willingness to cooperate are the theme of the second anecdote. Here, the village head Māriyya, as the personification of the Coptic population, meets the caliph. She lays her property at his feet, which is impressively illustrated by a detailed description of a banquet and abundant gifts. There are two reasons presented for her voluntarily be-

508 *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 131.

coming a subject of Islamic rule: firstly, hospitality and interaction with the Islamic ruler are presented as honorable actions, to refrain from which would discredit the head of the village. Secondly, it is repeatedly pointed out here that the annexation to Islamic rule offers the Copts protection against unspecified “enemies”. Accordingly, the caliph is not presented as an assertive warrior, but as a mild ruler who cares for his subjects: he reacts with mercy to the old woman who is allegedly begging for help. His devotion is vividly demonstrated by the narrative twice pointing out that he has stopped his horse, turned it and even dismounted to communicate with the woman.

We thus see here the development from a violent and forceful representation of power to a representation oriented towards consensus and communication. This finally culminates in the conclusion of the anecdote. After the Coptic village chief has urged the caliph on several occasions to accept her gifts, thus suggesting the voluntary subordination of the Copts to Islamic supremacy, the caliph takes up this offer. By referring to an official award of an *iqṭāʿ*’s and a generous tax rebate, the Coptic village chief is officially incorporated into the hierarchy of the Islamic system of rule. The two chapters thus conclude with a consensual reconciliation of the conflict-laden starting position.

### *Jawāhir al-sulūk*

As stated above, the chapters on the Islamic conquest of Egypt in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* merely enumerate the names and periods of reign of Muslim governors after the Islamic conquest. Further basic administrative details, such as the yearly tax amount, are given in most cases, but without any reference to sources. The text does not have any report on the conquest itself, as with Ibn Iyās’s other texts. Thus ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, who serves as the main figure representing the Muslim conquerors in the other texts, only appears in the context of his second governorate, which he started in the year 38/658–9 as an active ruler.<sup>509</sup> However, the enumeration of the first governors after the Islamic conquest is interrupted by an anecdote (*nukta laṭīfa*), which does not come from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam.<sup>510</sup>

This anecdote is presented without reference to a source, with Ibn Iyās’s typical *qīla* (‘it is said’), which he stereotypically uses to introduce uncited material. These indirect references appear when he could not name a specific source (e. g., oral sources, rumors in the later text parts),<sup>511</sup> did not see a need, just forgot

509 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 30.

510 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 28.

511 Ibn Iyās’s practice of referencing has been studied, so far, in terms of the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* only. My first comparative readings suggest that he applied the same practices in all his works, although at differing intensities. For studies on *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, see Lellouch (1995); see also Al Amer (2016), 375–406.

to note a direct intertextual dependence from a source text or possibly wanted to conceal such dependences.<sup>512</sup> The *qīla* has also been interpreted as a means of distancing the narrative voice from the content, so as to express doubt or signal that the author was not able to verify the content himself.<sup>513</sup>

The section entitled *nukta laṭīfa* is set as an analepsis in Alexandria before the Islamic conquest.<sup>514</sup> It presents an account on a Coptic tradition that seems to be closely related to the Coptic conception of rule: each year, “the Copts” came together at the *maidān* of Alexandria to play a game during which the prospective ruler was identified. According to the description, a ball was thrown back and forth between the people. It would then stop with the rightful ruler. Coincidentally, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was present at this game a few years before the conquest and the ball stopped with him. The anecdote concludes with a prophecy of the Islamic conquest, which is placed in the mouth of the Copts themselves: “This is what the Copts said: The ball has never fooled us before, except this one time. This Arab will never rule Egypt unless he conquers it for Islam in the caliphate of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.”<sup>515</sup> Similar to the first anecdote in *Nuzhat al-umam*, the Copts are shown in this story as an impersonal collective, which nevertheless has an important function in the narrative. They serve as bearers of the prophecy, which must eventually be put into context with the legitimation of Islamic rule. Yet, the text does not use Islamic concepts in this respect, but rather refers to an emic form of the ritualized election of rulers. Hence, the figure of ‘Amr, without exerting any influence himself, is indirectly presented as a legitimate governor.

Immediately after this passage, the text falls back into its enumeration of administrative details. Only the data that ‘Amr passed onto the caliph after the conquest of Egypt is still presented as a literal quotation from a letter, before the list of governors continues in the familiar concise form. The text thus includes narrative elements, but these are barely embedded in their context. The representation of the two opposing (groups) of figures remains very rudimentary. In contrast to *Nuzhat al-umam*, the anecdote is not used as a framework or introduction to the brief account of early Islamic rule over Egypt.

512 Little interprets the absence of a reference to a source text as a possibly intentional disguise of direct intertextual dependence on a hypotext. Cf. Little, Donald P. (1986): “An Analysis of the Relationship between Four Mamlūk Chronicles for 737–45.” First Published in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 19, 1974. In Donald P. Little (ed.): *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks*. London: Variorum Reprints (Variorum Reprint CS, 240), 252–268, esp. 258. This interpretation, however, assumes a modern understanding of scientific referencing among Mamluk historians.

513 Lellouch (1995) and Al Amer (2016).

514 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 27.

515 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 27.

The treasure anecdote, as stated above, forms part of ‘Amr’s obituary and is contextualized as an explication for the large amount of money found in ‘Amr’s possession after his death. Although the anecdote has been completely re-contextualized and serves a different purpose than in the other versions, clear intertextual connections to the parallel passages can still be seen. Yet, both the characterization of ‘Amr and of Buṭrus as the representative figure for the Copts get a little twist in this version. In the introduction to the treasure anecdote, we read that shortly before his death, ‘Amr produced a considerable amount of gold and instructed one of his confidants to distribute it after his death to “those who are entitled to it”.<sup>516</sup> This came to the attention of Caliph Mu‘āwīya, who claimed the entire sum for the caliphate and obtained it. Without formulating a direct accusation against ‘Amr, the text reveals a discrepancy in his behavior towards the center of Islamic rule: apparently, he had kept 140 bags of gold dinars during his reign instead of handing them over directly to the caliph. Put in this context, the treasure anecdote is a narrative device that presents ‘Amr in a quite critical way: not only did he take the Coptic population’s possessions by force, but he also did so—as the story implies—for his own benefit and not for the sake of Islamic rule. As a result, ‘Amr’s character gains a negative connotation.

The portrayal of Buṭrus is also more negative in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* than in the other versions. In the first part, the wording of the parallel passages discussed above remains relatively stable. In the further course of the story, however, the figure of Buṭrus is accused of theft by means of a small addition: the treasure excavated by ‘Amr is clearly described in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* as consisting of “stolen” gold dinars.<sup>517</sup> Moreover, the anecdote about Māriyya al-Qibṭiyya is missing in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*. In *Nuzhat al-umam*, this anecdote served to transform the negative representation of the Copts into a consensus between Muslims and Copts. The selection of anecdotal material in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* emphasizes the adversarial character of the early Islamic domination of Egypt, although at the same time it does not represent Islamic rule in an exclusively positive way.

### *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*

The section on the Islamic conquest of Egypt is significantly longer and more elaborate in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* than in every other text by Ibn Iyās. Structured according to the principle of a thematic and chronological chapterization, it opens with the chapter “On the dawn of Islamic rule and the conquest of Egypt by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (r)”.<sup>518</sup> The narrative starts with a short notice on the conquest of

516 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32.

517 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 32.

518 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 94.

Damascus by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 18/639, which opens the setting for a short scene showing ‘Amr’s trickery to receive leave from the caliph for his project of conquering Egypt.<sup>519</sup> The first part of the chapter contains a minute narrative on the actual conquest, during which narrative time and story time converge closely. There are almost no dates given here, and occasional mentions of time spans (“within an hour”)<sup>520</sup> suggest almost a synchrony between both times. Besides the opening chapter heading, there is one more thematic chapter belonging to the synchronic part of this narrative, namely “What happened to al-Muqawqis after the conquest of Alexandria”.<sup>521</sup> Section headings belonging to the chronological principle only restart from year 21/641 onwards. They continue annually until the year 25/645, after which the narrative zooms out again and the gaps between the years marked with headings become wider. The end of the annual sectioning corresponds to the beginning of the chapter on the governorate of ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Surh (d. 36 or 37/656–8).<sup>522</sup> Hence, it is reasonable to assume that Ibn Iyās wanted to highlight the exciting events during the conquest of Egypt; from the moment a certain degree of institutionalized Islamic domination is achieved, he returns to a more concise narrative that is, however, still enlivened with anecdotes.

The section of the text we are focusing on here therefore includes the narratives of the conquest until the end of the year 25. Over the whole sample, the text is structured as a collation of quotations and shows a relatively high number of citations to the tradent. However, the cited name is often not the author of a consulted source, but a name extracted from an *isnād*, as to be found in relation to Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s work. While Ibn Iyās often cites Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, obviously one of the main sources for this part, by name, he occasionally chooses to cite the tradents named in his hypotext, e.g., al-Laiṭh b. Sa’d<sup>523</sup> and quite often Ibn Lahiyā.<sup>524</sup> He mixes plot material and verbatim compiled text from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam with material from further sources, such as, among others, Ibn ‘Asākir<sup>525</sup> and Ibn Waṣīf Shāh.<sup>526</sup> Again, Ibn Iyās does not refer to al-Maqrīzī as a source for his work.<sup>527</sup>

519 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 94.

520 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 99.

521 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 108.

522 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 112. Cf. Becker, C. H.: “‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

523 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 96.

524 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, multiple times on 99–112.

525 E.g. *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 108: “*qāla Ibn ‘Asākir fī ta’rikhihi*”.

526 E.g. *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 111. For a more comprehensive analysis of Ibn Iyās’s citation technique, see Al Amer (2016), 375–406, including a comparative reading of the narratives on pre-Islamic times in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, *al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*. It should be noted, however, that the use and citation of source texts depends on the material the

The text excerpt considered here contains considerably more anecdotal material than Ibn Iyās's preceding texts. Interactions within the Islamic faction are addressed much more than in the author's other texts. This applies not only to the relationship between the caliph and 'Amr. Rather, the narrative now refers to numerous names of involved *aṣḥāb* and illustrates their active role in anecdotes. Dialogical and dramatizing elaboration of the plots is even more apparent here than in the parallel texts. The narrative, for example, purposefully uses references to emotions to characterize persons or situations.<sup>528</sup> The first part of the chapter is formed by rapid switching between scenes, jumping from the interactions between the caliph and 'Amr to the Coptic perspective on the approaching Islamic force. This section's narrative contains a huge amount of dialogue in direct speech, either depicting advice scenes among the Copts or discussions between the caliph and 'Amr, which include the exchange of letters. Narrative time and story time converge in this section. The narrative depicts action in minute, iterative descriptions, especially when it comes to battle scenes or the process of negotiations between Muslims and Copts prior and during the battles.<sup>529</sup>

More than in the other two versions, the focus lies on portraying the Copts as opponents. Similar to the parallel texts, the narrative presents both single figures and groups of Copts. The figure of their "last king" Muqawqis, whom Ibn Iyās does not mention in his other narratives on the same subject, in particular serves to show the Copts as opponents. In *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās uses the potential of this figure, showing Muqawqis as an opposing military leader, whereas the female leader figure Māriyya al-Qibṭiyya in *Nuzhat al-umam*, for example, represented the Copts as willing to accept Muslim overlordship. Muqawqis is further shown as a leader who deliberately deceives his people to achieve his personal

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respective author has at hand. This is why the citation patterns detected in narratives of the distant past, like the pre-Islamic history of Egypt, cannot be taken as an example representing Ibn Iyās's citation techniques in all of his texts and at different times. The meso-layer composition of contents and the way of citation changes, especially when it comes to more recent history, from the point of view of the author.

527 Al Amer (2016) has counted the citations of hypotexts in *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*; see his overview 378–383. According to this, Ibn Iyās used al-Maqrīzī more heavily for his narrative on the period between 764/1362 and 815/1413, while for the periods before and after, only a few citations by name can be located. For the time until 764/1362, Al Amer counts only two occurrences.

528 E.g., awe and fear of the Copts vis à vis the Islamic troops, cf. *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* V, 94, 95, also the Copts' characterization as bigots in the anecdote on their leader rejecting Miqdād b. al-Aswad as chief negotiator from the Muslim side because of his colored skin, *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* V, 96–97. On Miqdād b. al-Aswad, who is a very prominent figure in many historiographical narratives on early Islam, see Juynboll, G.H.A.: "al-Miḥdād b. 'Amr." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

529 E.g., *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* V, 95, 96–97: Copts requesting negotiation, anecdote on Miqdād b. al-Aswad.

benefit, e.g. for securing his position as a king: after the Muslims have offered *amān*, Muqawqis drives his people into battle by pretending they will otherwise become slaves of the Muslims.<sup>530</sup> However, this negative image of the Coptic leader is outweighed by decidedly positive anecdotes that stage Copts joining Islam and actively helping the conquest.<sup>531</sup> The motive of consensus after the battle is taken up by a description of ‘Amr owing respect to Muqawqis after the Copts have been defeated.<sup>532</sup>

The development of the narrative towards a considerably longer, more detailed and more vivid depiction of the conquest and its context is mainly driven by the amendment of additional compiled material. The treasure anecdote, which formed a major part of the representation of Copts and Muslims in the parallel texts, thus loses some of its centrality. In *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, it figures among miscellaneous anecdotes at the end of the chapter on the beginning of the Islamic conquest.<sup>533</sup> The anecdote itself shows the same amount and techniques of narrative development towards a more literary rendition of the plot. Dialogues and the description of action still use compiled formulations from the parallel versions by Ibn Iyās and Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. The text even melds together the *Nuzhat al-umam* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk* formulations into one, for example when describing ‘Amr’s letter sent in order to find the treasure of Buṭrus. The storyline becomes even more detailed and easier for the reader to follow, as certain gaps from previous versions are closed. Moreover, Ibn Iyās adds some dramatizing details. For example, the hidden treasure now becomes a “treasure of the Pharaohs”,<sup>534</sup> a detail woven into the citation of the monk’s letter. Further, the treasure is described more catchily:

And he found beneath them [the marble slabs] heaps of gold dinars piled up like wheat. He had them carried to his house in large baskets. When he measured them, they turned out to be 52 *irdabb*. This is how Ibraḥīm b. Waṣīf Shāh transmitted it in his *Akhbār Miṣr*.<sup>535</sup>

Finally, the additional reference to a source, here Ibraḥīm b. Waṣīf Shāh, adds credibility to the dramatized description.

The emphasis on the value of the treasure also implicitly underlines the negative characterization of the Copt who hides the treasure. This adversarial tendency is also emphasized in the closing words of the anecdote, which now

530 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 97.

531 E.g., on the doorkeeper of Alexandria, who helps the Muslims by secretly opening the gates, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 101; on the nephew of al-Muqawqis, who converts to Islam and dies in combat on the Muslim side, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 107.

532 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 109.

533 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 104–105.

534 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 105.

535 *Ibid.*

refer to the fact that “all Copts” were present at the execution of Buṭrus and subsequently submitted themselves and their property to the Muslim conquerors out of fear. Within the anecdote, the adversarial relationship between Muslims and Copts, which is characterized by the enforcement of domination through violence and stratagem, is intensified. This corresponds in part with the basic tenor of the entire text section. In *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, the focus is clearly on the conquest as a military act. Several of the anecdotes show the Coptic side in a negative way, while others seem to level out the picture by reporting on ‘good Copts’ that joined the Muslim troops. Finally, Ibn Iyās includes at least two anecdotes that serve the purpose of ‘explaining’ the Islamic conquest by reference to predictive events. While he does not re-use the anecdote on the ball game from *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, the argumentative structure behind the anecdotes remains the same, showing, for example, al-Muqawqis acting against the warnings of his advisors and therefore receiving a prophecy of Islamic invasion.<sup>536</sup>

Combining anecdotal material from different sources, Ibn Iyās thus ties the contents of his narrative more closely to the common archive of knowledge, which is fed by various traditions and their emplotments in numerous historiographic narratives. A collation of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, who again serves as an exemplary hypotext, and the respective passage of *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* shows that Ibn Iyās roughly sticks to the hypotext’s thematic order, while leaving out considerable parts of a ‘technical’ character (like *asānīd*) and in terms of content. The direct intertextual relationship between hypotext and hypertext, however, stays clearly visible, as Ibn Iyās still compiles phrases or parts of phrases verbatim. His basic compilation and rearrangement strategies therefore can be assessed as stable over the three texts considered here. On the other hand, Ibn Iyās considerably elaborates the performative and dialogical character of the plots he takes by, for instance, writing more extensive dialogue scenes. The basic constellation of figures and their relationship remains stable as well, although *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* make use of a much wider range of figures representing the Muslim and Coptic sides.

## Conclusion to Chapter VI

On the macro-level of text organization and the order of content, Ibn Iyās’s different versions clearly stick to generic templates and more general trends of his time: there was nothing new about organizing historiographical narratives both thematically and chronologically, nor was Ibn Iyās the first to meld geo-

<sup>536</sup> *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 106, a similar pattern of creating meaning is also behind the previous anecdote on 105–6.



graphical and *adab* content. On the meso-level of plot material as well, Ibn Iyās's narrative on the Islamic conquest of Egypt stays in the framework of material he, like many other historiographical writers, drew from their body of sources. Regarding the similarities on the macro-level of anecdote plots, the example underlines the existence of a common pool of knowledge from which historians during the Mamluk era and beforehand sampled the materials for their historiographical narratives. Together with material that the authors gathered from their own observations and from written and oral sources available only to them, this common pool formed a basis for the writing of history. In particular, reports on events from the distant past relied on this common knowledge archive.

Nevertheless, even our brief look into the narratives of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Iyās shows that with their individually narrated accounts, the authors tell their own stories. The activity of historians can thus be described in the sense of Hayden White's *emplotment*, as suggested by Konrad Hirschler.<sup>537</sup> *Emplotment*, as the process of arranging information about the past in an individual way, is indivisibly entangled with and mutually dependent on both the author's social and historical contexts, which to a great deal influence his *worldviews* and his scope of writerly action, and the basic aim of writing history. As such, Hayden White identified the intention of giving *meaning* to "a set of historical events",<sup>538</sup> which in turn is interdependent on the figurative language the author uses. In this chapter, we have followed the 'technical' side of choosing and re-arranging, thus *emplotting*, a set of information on historical events. It is this very process that transfers plot material shared with many other writers from the common archive of knowledge into the individual narrative of the respective author. This is a transition process from "history" to "his story",<sup>539</sup> during which the author figurates and shapes his narrative, attributing *meaning* to the things described.

Hayden White has further stressed the distinctive influence of the *language* applied by the author. I would like to argue that *language*, in this respect, should be understood in a broad sense, including the dimension of *narrativity* the

537 Hirschler (2016), Introduction, mainly relies on White (1973). For a thorough discussion of the theoretical discourse White forms a part of, and especially its relation to historical studies and the historical-critical method, see Conermann (2002), 1–31. For the integration into postmodern discourses, see also Doležel, Lubomír (1999): "Fictional and Historiographical narrative: Meeting the Postmodernist Challenge." In David Herman (ed.): *Narratologies: New Perspectives on Narrative Analysis*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 247–273.

538 White (1978), 94–95.

539 I borrowed this pun from a talk held by my dear colleague and friend Florian Saalfeld, entitled "History or His Story? Ziya al-din Barani's Medieval Indian Chronicle about the 13th and 14th Century Delhi Sultanate", Dies Academicus, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 17.05.2017.

author chooses to apply, for it is not only the words he chooses that figure meaning for himself and his readership. The use of narrative strategies that have initially been associated, in Western literary theory, with fictional narration may well serve to draw the reader closer to the historical events a certain author is describing. This is exactly the strategy Ibn Iyās applied to the set of information compiled from his sources: to reach a certain audience, he decided to put his historiographical narrative into a vivid, even ‘dramatic’ form that he hoped would make it enjoyable and easy to follow. In doing so, he relied on narrative strategies already present in his sources. For instance, verbal speech and fictional dialogues form part of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s material. However, Ibn Iyās considerably elaborated on this narrative tool and made it one of the main pillars of his narrative on the Islamic conquest. Moreover, we may note a tendency towards a much more detailed description of actions, persons and events, including the use of emotive descriptions, among the parallel texts. Most interestingly, the narrative strategies he applies are relatively stable among all his texts. While on the level of outward structure the texts stay close to the genres they belong to, the tendency towards a dramatized narrative is observed both in the geographical *adab* and in the historiographical texts.

### Appendix to Chapter VI: The Anecdote on Maria the Copt as narrated in *Nuzhat al-umam*<sup>540</sup>

It is said (*wa qīla*) that when al-Ma’mūn travelled in Egypt, [131] a plain area was prepared for him in every village, on which the large tents of his army were pitched all around. He stayed in the (tent) village day and night.

At that time he also came to a village called Ṭā’ al-naml. He did not enter it because it was so poor. When al-Ma’mūn passed by the village, an old woman, known as Māriyya al-Qibṭiyya, who was the head of the village, followed him, screaming loudly. (Because she screamed like that), al-Ma’mūn thought she was desperately asking for help. So he stopped for her. He was always surrounded by translators of all races when he was on the road. They explained to him that the Copt woman said: “The Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-mu’minīn*) is descending in every hamlet but pulls past mine so that the Copts call me names for it! I therefore request the grace of the Commander of the Faithful that he may honor my village by entering it, so that honor and (no) punishment may be mine, and the enemies may not attack me!” Because she was crying terribly, al-Ma’mūn stopped for her, turning his horse towards her, and dismounted at her side.

<sup>540</sup> *Nuzhat al-umam* ed. Zaynahum, 130–132.

Then her son came to (al-Ma'mūn's) kitchen master and asked him how much he needed in mutton, chicken, poultry and fish, and how much in coriander, sugar, honey, musk, candles, fruits, berries and other things, as was usual. Then he brought all these things, and even more.

Together with al-Ma'mūn were his brother al-Mu'tasim and his son al-'Abbās as well as the children of his brothers al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, also Yahyā ibn Aktam and the Qaḍī Aḥmad b. Dāwūd. She had each one of them served individually, and all the leaders and other people (from the hosts) were tirelessly present. After that she brought al-Ma'mūn a splendid meal and many tasty things until it was more than enough.

As dawn broke and he had already blown for departure, she waited on him (once again). Then she had ten servants with her, each of whom carried a plate. When al-Ma'mūn saw her, he said to those who stood with him: "The Copt has already given you rich gifts with the spirited, wide (ṣaḥnāh?) and patient Lower Egypt!" When she presented the plates to him, there was gold piled on top of each one. He found this so kind of her that he asked her to take (the gift) back. Then she said: "No, by God! I will not do that!" Al-Ma'mūn looked at the gold, and behold, all the coins had been minted in one and the same year. He said: "By God, this is very strange. Probably our treasury would not be able to do this at all." She replied, "O ruler of the faithful! This grieves our hearts, do not insult us!" He replied: "Much of what you have done for us would have been enough on its own! God bless you and your courtesy!" [132] She replied: "O ruler of the faithful! This gold is truly taken from the ground and from your righteousness, and I still have much more of it. Do not deliver me up to my enemies by rejecting it!" So al-Ma'mūn took it from her, gave her a number of lands as *iqṭā'* and granted her tax income from her village Ṭā' al-Naml worth two hundred camel loads. When he finally left, he was amazed by her great courtesy and wealth.

It is said (*wa qīla*) that al-Ma'mūn personally distributed all this gold to his army with full hands. May God have mercy on these pure souls!

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## VII Narrating Mamluk Transitions of Rule

Ibn Iyās has been reproached for narrating history in an unreliable, overly literarized or fictionalized way. Whether a reader does assess a narrator as reliable or not depends on the reader's etic concept of reliable narration,<sup>541</sup> and thus should be a research topic in reception history rather than the guiding principle for the evaluation of sources. In a similar way, as has been discussed in the introduction, compilation as a mode of text production has been devalued as inferior to 'original' writing. However, acknowledging the perspective of the author-cum-narrator is a matter of highest importance for the understanding of any given narrative. This perspective is observable in the writing processes and practices, as well as the narrative strategies, of an author, be they 'original' or collated and re-arranged from hypotexts. It must be appreciated as an individual, singular phenomenon, although the outcome, the historiographical narrative, might appear, at first sight, to be made from stereotypical narrative forms and genre conventions of the time, as well as compiled material.

Having worked on Ibn Iyās's different narratives for more than three years, I too fell into the trap of reading his way of expressing his evaluations and reporting historical information as 'standard', 'common', even 'mediocre' and mostly borrowed from his fellow Mamluk historians. However, stereotypical elements in historiographical narrations must serve a cause that goes beyond copying down another person's content. Instead of venturing into a chapter on the changes and stasis (at some point I felt that Ibn Iyās was deeply on the side of

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541 Cf. Nünning, Vera (ed.) (2015): *Unreliable Narration and Trustworthiness*. Berlin, München, Boston: de Gruyter; Nünning, Ansgar, Carola Surkamp and Bruno Zerweck (eds): *Unreliable Narration. Studien zur Theorie und Praxis unglaublichen Erzählens in der englischsprachigen Erzählliteratur*. Trier: WVT Wiss. Verl. Trier; and especially the case study by Nünning, Vera (1998): "Unreliable Narration und die historische Variabilität von Werten und Normen. The Vicar of Wakefield als Testfall für eine kulturgeschichtliche Erzählforschung." In Ansgar Nünning, Carola Surkamp and Bruno Zerweck (eds): *Unreliable Narration. Studien zur Theorie und Praxis unglaublichen Erzählens in der englischsprachigen Erzählliteratur*. Trier: WVT Wiss. Verl. Trier, 257–285.

stasis) of narratives on legitimation of rule, I decided to start from a new angle to deliberately look at the narrative strategies in his texts that upset me most: the ever-repeating stereotypes in the context of narratives on the accession of new Mamluk sultans.

In 2019, at the Sixth School of Mamluk Studies Conference in Tokyo, I presented a paper on how Ibn Iyās used those stereotypes to denote ‘good’ and ‘bad’ rule, and how he used a different composition of narrative stereotypes that stems from the context of ascension ceremonial, to brand Sultan Selim’s takeover in Cairo as an utterly barbaric and unsophisticated act.<sup>542</sup> I limited myself to *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* and a comparison of the narratives on the first twenty-one ascensions of Mamluk sultans in this text with Selim’s representation. An elaborated version of this talk is to be found in the next chapter.

In the present chapter, I would like to broaden this approach, adding the angle of intertextual analysis between Ibn Iyās’s three major historiographical works. This widened approach will lead to some more insight into how Ibn Iyās refined the art of telling the same story all over again in varied ways, achieving different outcomes or conveying changed intended messages for the reader. Due to the thematic and chronological scope of Ibn Iyās’s earlier works, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman*, neither of which covers the last period of Mamluk rule,<sup>543</sup> the sample of analysis needs adaptation. A comparative analysis of the transition narratives for the first four Mamluk sultans will help us understand the evolution of transition narratives in Ibn Iyās’s writing process. The general structure of transition narratives, that is, the introduction of new sultans into the narrative, will be discussed with a broader sample, using several examples from Qipchak and Circassian times: the examples have been chosen following criteria discussed below.

As for the compilation analysis, which will also play a role in this chapter, this approach is an experimental one. The following thus aims both to get somewhat closer to Ibn Iyās and to test a narratological approach in this context. I will approach the stereotypical elements of Ibn Iyās’s narration in the context of narratives on the transitions of rule. The analysis will touch the structure of the narratives, as well as the plot structures, narrative techniques and the choice of content. The study of the narratives about the first years of Islamic rule in Egypt has shown that Ibn Iyās predominantly uses an anecdotal narrative style, tailoring it to individual central figures. With exemplary anecdotes, he illustrates and comments on the otherwise rather sparse narration of historical events. Only

<sup>542</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>543</sup> *ʿUqūd al-juman* ends after al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyitbāy’s reign (r. 901–903/1496–98), while *Jawāhir al-sulūk* stops in the description of the years 903–904/1497–1500. See Chapter V.

*Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* has proved to have a narrative considerably extended in scope, especially by an enlarged arsenal of anecdotes. Finally, I show that Ibn Iyās describes the events of the thirteenth century from the perspective and with the political language of his time, the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries.

The aim of this chapter is to analyze Ibn Iyās's representations of Mamluk rule in a comparative way. For the Mamluk period, both research and emic depictions have identified several turning points that insinuated considerable changes. These include the beginning of Mamluk rule in Syria and Egypt, a process that was initiated by the murder of the last Ayyubid sultan by his Mamluks. According to the general understanding, the transition process ends with the rule of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658–676/1260–1277), his consolidation of the administration, infrastructure and military, the defense against the Mongolian threat and the establishment of an Abbasid shadow caliph in Cairo.<sup>544</sup> Another major change in the succession patterns of the Mamluk sultanate was the beginning of the Qalāwunīd epoch, which culminated in the three reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>545</sup> The reign of Sultan Ḥasan may appear 'unusual'<sup>546</sup> from the etic perspective, as he counts among the few *asyād* who managed to establish stable rule, even though they were sultan's sons, similar to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Besides the relative

544 The transition to Mamluk rule and the development of Mamluk strategies of legitimating rule, both of which involve continuities between the previous Ayyubid and earlier dynasties in Egypt, have been discussed recently, e.g., by Kühn, Hans-Ulrich (2019): *Sultan Baibars und seine Söhne. Frühmamlukische Herrschaftssicherung in ayyubidischer Tradition*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Mamluk Studies, 18); Troadec, Anne (2014–2015): "Baybars and the Cultural Memory of Bilād al-Shām. The Construction of Legitimacy." *Mamluk Studies Review* 18, 113–148; Levanoni, Amalia (2014): *The Battle of Ayn Jālūt. A Paradigmatic Historical Event in Mamlūk Historiographical Narratives*. Berlin: EBV (Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture, 11); and with regard to the legitimation to external political partners Favereau, Marie (2018): *La Horde D'or et le Sultanat Mamelouk. Naissance d'une Alliance*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IF, 1163); and Broadbridge, Anne F. (2001): "Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols: The Reign of Baybars and Qalawun." *Mamluk Studies Review* 5, 91–118. Besides Levanoni (2001a and 2014), Van Steenbergen, Jo and Stijn van Nieuwenhuysse (2018): "Truth and Politics in Late Medieval Arabic Historiography. The Formation of Sultan Barsbāy's State (1422–1438) and the Narratives of the Amir Qurqumās al-Sha'bānī (d. 1438)." *Der Islam* 95, 147–188 approach the narrative negotiation of Mamluk legitimate rule in historiographical writings. On the position of the caliph in Cairo, see Banister (2017 and 2014/15) and Holt, Peter M. (1984): "Some Observations on the Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo." *BSOAS* 47 (3), 501–506. See also the articles in EI II and III, on Baybars, cf. Wiet, Gaston: "Baybars I." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012; and Thorau, Peter: "Baybars I, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ruḳn al-Dīn". In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*. Leiden: Brill, online 2010.

545 Cf. Northrup, Linda S. (1998b): *From Slave to Sultan. The Career of Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (Freiburger Islamstudien, 18), Levanoni (1995), Amitai (1990). Changes in the Mamluk elite during the Qalāwunīd period addresses van Steenbergen, Jo (2011b).

546 On the conceptualization of 'unusual' transitions and/or reigns, see below.

flexibility of the system with regard to the descent of sultans, other factors like relatively long reigns have been identified as ‘unusual’ as well.<sup>547</sup>

It has become the scholarly consensus not to imagine a single, static concept of legitimate rule. The often-quoted principle of *al-mulk ‘aqīm* (“rule is without children”, i. e. the one-generation principle of the Mamluk system as proposed by Ayalon) was certainly present throughout the Mamluk domination of Egypt, but it could be temporally suspended in favor of patrilineal succession, which then would need suitable strategies of legitimation. As Tilmann Trausch has recently stated from a transcultural perspective, fixed and codified norms for the transition of rule are not a common feature of ‘premodern’ ruling systems, even if they are organized in a dynastic pattern.<sup>548</sup> Instead, regularities of succession that have been regarded as characteristic, even *a priori* rules prove to be, in many cases, etic ascriptions from the perspective of research, which are based on *a posteriori* emic explanation or legitimation narratives. If *a posteriori* legitimation strategies form the constituent basis of today’s understanding of rulership and ruling systems, it is worth engaging in a study of those narratives that guided previous attempts to find more or less consistent norms of succession.

Moreover, the group around Trausch, to which I contributed, has identified accession narratives as promising starting points for the study of conceptions of rule in a transcultural comparative context. Whether or not the transition of rule was regarded as following commonly accepted norms, narratives on accessions have seemed to invite historiographical authors across cultures and times to reflect upon, or at least refer to, the concepts on legitimate rule commonly agreed upon in their specific context. As Gerd Althoff has stated, to express the author’s (or, one might add, their patron’s) perspectives on legitimate transitions of rule was often the main *causa scribendi* in medieval European texts.<sup>549</sup> Trausch further states that in most premodern contexts, codified ‘rules’ for ‘regular’ transitions of power did not exist. Instead, whether or not a transition was regarded ‘normal’, in the sense of corresponding to the norms agreed upon at that specific point of time, often depended on negotiation processes in the ruling elites or even the

547 For example, Behrens-Abouseif (2001), 267, counts the reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and al-Asraf Qā’itbāy among the “unusually long tenures” of the Mamluk Sultanate.

548 Trausch, Tilmann (2019): “Vom Vater auf den Sohn—oder jemand anderen. ‘Unübliche’ Formen des Herrschaftsübergangs in transkultureller Perspektive.” In Tilmann Trausch (ed.): *Norm, Normabweichung und Praxis des Herrschaftsübergangs in transkultureller Perspektive*. Göttingen: V&R unipress (Macht und Herrschaft, 3), 11–59, 11–59, esp. 19, 24, 28.

549 Trausch (2019), 17; Althoff, Gerd (1988): “Causa Scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht. Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele.” In Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling (eds): *Litterae Medii Aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*. Sigmaringen, 117–133.

society as a whole.<sup>550</sup> On the other hand, fixed ‘rules’ that are imagined to have remained stable over longer periods of time are, for most premodern societies, merely an etic derivation by modern research fueled by empirical evidence. Such rules, derived *a posteriori* from a necessarily limited set of sources, can by no means be easily generalized, especially not in a transcultural comparative context. Rather, it is necessary to understand even brief and possibly stereotypical narratives about transitions of power as parts of a social discourse that constantly renegotiates and redefines legitimate rule based on a consensus of the influential classes and, to a certain extent, the general population. A comparative analysis of transition narratives can thus help us to uncover underlying beliefs hidden behind the respective texts.

The chapter is not, as in Trausch’s anthology, primarily concerned with identifying ‘usual’ and ‘unusual’ transitions of power. Rather, the narrative analysis focuses on potentially ‘usual’ and ‘unusual’ ways of *narrating* transitions inside the corpus of texts in question, that is, Ibn Iyās’s strategies for the narrative evaluation and representation of changes of rule and their possible development during his writing process. His representations are thus understood as a contribution to the social discourse on rule, which holds historical events against an individual set of normative conceptions (yet to be identified) and measures them against standards that are influenced by the author’s perspective and social embedding. Thus, the study of transitions will help us achieve two goals: learning more about Ibn Iyās’s ways of narrating rule and society and learning more about emic concepts of interagency of rule, rulers, elites and society.

This chapter therefore turns towards the representation of transitions of rule by Ibn Iyās, towards individual narration in his three works. There are several reasons for this. First, the focus follows from the source material itself. As already described, all historiographical narratives by Ibn Iyās are characterized by a ‘dynastic’ structuring of the text’s surface. This is certainly not a unique feature of the texts, and rather testifies to their generic location in the Arab-Islamic *ta’rīkh* tradition. Despite this generic component, we cannot deny, however, that the transition process constitutes a central and often dominant position in the chapters. This is especially true for the depiction of the earlier Mamluk period, where the author has not yet been able to incorporate his own observations or more eyewitness accounts into the narration and refers to transitions of rule and related ceremonies at the beginning of new ‘dynastically’ defined chapters. However, in the last part of *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*, which is partly structured like a journal, frequent accounts of ceremonial entries into cities, audiences etc. transfer the function of narratives about accession ceremonies into now extended text parts even between two transitions of rule. Narrating ceremonialized entries

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550 Trausch (2019), 28.



to the city of Cairo that usually culminate in the sultan occupying his throne again, could be interpreted as repetitive reinsurance of the respective sultan's position. The narrative reconstruction of succession ceremonies, including processions and enthronement or audience scenes, thus seems to play an outstanding role for the thematic and content-related constitution of the narratives as a whole, and cannot be judged as a mere strategy for generating content out of nothing.

In the following, I will consider the purpose of these accounts of ceremonies, some of which are stereotypically repeated, while others are individually adapted to the historical situation they report on. These descriptions seem to share common features and even stereotype formulations. They include references to the ceremonies of accession, the regal insignia presented in this context and the spatial (citadel and city) and social (agency of elites and people of Cairo) dimensions of accession. Accessions are shown as processes participated in and supported by all society. Both structural and contentual evidence thus suggests reading the descriptions of accessions as a central feature of the conceptualizations of history and society that stand behind Ibn Iyās's work. They, therefore, fit well as a sample for studying his ways of narrating history and explaining (Mamluk) society.

The first text sample in this chapter focuses on Ibn Iyās's narrations on the beginning of Mamluk rule in Egypt and comprises the three historiographic texts *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, *Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'i al-zuhūr*. These three texts have passages on the initial years of Mamluk rule in Egypt, from Aybak to Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* is the only of the three texts that has a separate chapter "On the sultanate of Shajar al-Durr in Egypt",<sup>551</sup> while both *Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'i al-zuhūr* subsume the short reign and later influence of Shajar al-Durr into her husband's chapters.<sup>552</sup> The second part of the chapter analyzes transition narratives from the angle of narrative sequence, tracing the transfer of plots and the alterations the material went through while being transferred from one text to the other. The last part of the chapter compares the content and micro-elements of transition narratives as they appear at the beginning of each

551 *Jawāhir al-zuhūr* ed. Zaynahum, 108–109.

552 The following aims at analysing the narrative representation by Ibn Iyās and does thus not engage into a discussion on the historical agents. Shajar al-Durr, as the only female sultan in the Mamluk times, has received scholarly interest, see e.g. Levanoni, Amalia (2001b): "Šağar ad-Durr. A Case of female Sultanate in Medieval Islam." In Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen (eds): *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras III. Proceedings of the 6th, 7th, 8th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*. Leuven: Peeters, 209–218. On her architectural heritage, see e.g. Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (1983): "The Lost Minaret of Shajar al-Durr at Her Complex in the Cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 39, 1–39.

sultan's chapter. Here, the 'unusual' transitions mentioned above will serve as case studies.

The analysis proceeds along both horizontal and vertical trajectories and remains based on compilation concordances. Both tracks consider the levels of narrative discourse and content of the texts. In the horizontal comparison, the focus is on identifying intertextual connections and possible developments between the three texts. The vertical comparison turns toward the concepts of domination and legitimacy that emerge from the representations, and furthermore to the combination of stereotypical elements and individual historical events. This chapter focuses on intertextuality and change or stasis between the three mentioned historiographical narratives by Ibn Iyās. Intertextual relations to hypotexts outside Ibn Iyās's corpus are not considered in a similar way as in Chapter VI. Instead, insertions of quoted material will be considered concerning their function on the discourse level, that is, concerning their function in the narrative built by Ibn Iyās. As for the compilation analysis, which again serves to trace intertextual entanglement, this chapter relies on a sentence-to-sentence comparison of the relevant passages in the three texts. The following exemplary part from the concordance shows the analysis and visualization mode, and furthermore serves as a text basis for the chapter. Further brief examples from the concordance will be quoted in the form of examples wherever needed.

This concordance obviously is a microscopic part of the whole material. However, it is well suited to illustrating the compilation techniques observable between the three of Ibn Iyās's texts when it comes to periods of time he did not experience as a contemporary, but were so far distant from his living context that he could not have met any eyewitnesses. After all, while penning the three texts in question here, our author was living in the Mamluk capital of Cairo and experienced (late) Mamluk rule, along with its impact on public life, economy and the public performance of ceremony. Moreover, judging from his citation practice,<sup>553</sup> our author obviously had access to a certain number of Mamluk historiographical texts that allowed him to compare the different narratives and information included and to weigh them against eyewitness accounts and orally transmitted reports. Ibn Iyās's way of approaching the establishment of Mamluk rule and its further development is most naturally seen in terms of his perspective as a Cairo citizen who has first-hand knowledge about how, for example, solemn processions or other ceremonial acts related to Mamluk rule looked during his lifetime. We must therefore take into account that his narratives on past events are narrated through the lenses of his eyewitness impressions and do not necessarily represent a realistic description of, for example, court ceremonial in a specific moment of the past. As Ibn Iyās extracts his material from the text corpus

553 Al Amer (2016), 386–88 has a conclusive list of works quoted in *Badā' i' al-zuhūr*.

Jawāhir al-sulūk	ʿUqūd al-juman	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr
key: black—verbatim compilation; green—paraphrase without change of meaning; orange—paraphrase with change of meaning; violet—differing material		
<p>[110/21v] On the sultanate of al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak al-Turkumānī.<sup>a)</sup> He is the first of the Turkish rulers (<i>mulūk al-turk</i>) in Egypt (<i>bi-Miṣr</i>).</p> <p>He got to rule (<i>tawallā al-mulk</i>) on Saturday 29 Rabīʿ I (<i>rabīʿ al-awwal</i>) 648, [when he] displayed the insignia of rule (<i>rakaba bi-l-shiʾār al-mulk</i>).</p> <p>The parasol (<i>al-qubba wa ʿl-ṭayr</i>)<sup>c)</sup> was carried over his head and they [i. e. the notables responsible for the investiture of the sultan] clad his feet in the golden shoes (<i>wa laʿabū bi ʿl-ghawāshī al-dhahab qaddāmahu</i>).</p>	<p>[2r] On the sultanate of al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak al-Turkumānī, he is the first of the Turkish rulers (<i>mulūk al-turk</i>) in Egypt (<i>bi-l diyār al-miṣriyya</i>)<sup>b)</sup></p> <p>He got to rule (<i>tawallā al-mulk</i>) on Saturday 29 Rabīʿ II (sic! <i>rabīʿ al-ākhir</i>) 648,<sup>e)</sup> [when he] displayed the insignia of rule (<i>rakaba bi-l-shiʾār al-salṭana</i>).<sup>f)</sup></p> <p>The parasol (<i>al-qubba wa ʿl-ṭayr</i>) was carried over his head and they [i. e. the notables responsible for the investiture of the sultan] clad his feet in the golden shoes (<i>wa laʿabū qaddāmahu bi ʿl-ghawāshī al-dhahab</i>).</p>	<p>[Ia, 288] On the beginning of Turkish rule (<i>dawla al-atrāk</i>) in Egypt The first of them was ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī al-Šāliḥ al-Nujūmī.</p> <p>They swore allegiance to his sultanate (<i>buyiʿa bi-l salṭana</i>) after the deposition of Shajar al-Durr, on Saturday 29 Rabīʿ II (<i>rabīʿ al-ākhir</i>) 648. He took the <i>laqab</i> al-Malik al-Muʿizz. He displayed the insignia of rule (<i>rakaba bi-l-shiʾār al-salṭana</i>). The parasol (<i>al-qubba wa ʿl-ṭayr</i>) was carried over his head and his feet were clad in the golden shoes (<i>wa luʿiba qaddāmahu bi ʿl-ghawāshī al-dhahab</i>). He sat<sup>g)</sup> on the throne of rule (<i>mulk</i>) and the amirs kissed the ground in front of him.</p> <p>He originally belonged to the Mamluks of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who had bought and manumitted him (<i>ishtarāhu wa iʿtaqahu</i>). He became an amir during the reign of his master (<i>ustādh</i>) al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, then became <i>atabek al-asākir</i> after al-Malik al-Muzaffar Tūrānshāh had been killed, then became sultan after the deposition of Shajar al-Durr from the sultanate.</p>

(Continued)

Jawāhir al-sulūk	‘Uqūd al-juman	Badā’i’ al-zuhūr
<b>key:</b> black—verbatim compilation; green—paraphrase without change of meaning; orange—paraphrase with change of meaning; violet—differing material		
<p>When his sultanate became consolidated (<i>istaqarra fī l-salṭana</i>), the Ṣāliḥī Mamluks said: “We must invest an Ayyubid as sultan (<i>nasalṭanahu</i>).”</p> <p>The driving force behind this (<i>qā’im</i> [sic! singular]) was Amir Balabān al-Rashīdī,<sup>d)</sup> Amir Fāris al-Dīn Akṭāy and Amir Baybars al-Bunduqḍārī and Amir Sunqur al-Rūmī and a</p>	<p>When he ascended the throne (<i>jalasa ‘alā sarīr al-mulk</i>) and his sultanate became consolidated (<i>istaqarra fī l-salṭana</i>), the Ṣāliḥī Mamluks said: “We must invest an Ayyubid as sultan (<i>nasalṭanahu</i>).”</p> <p>In these days, the spokespersons (<i>al-mutakallim</i> [sic! singular]) concerning the issues of rulership (<i>umūr al-mamlaka</i>) were Amir Ba-</p>	<p>On the origins of the Turks [inserted material quoted from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Baybars al-Manṣūrī] [289]</p> <p>The first of them to become a sultan was al-Malik al-Mu‘izz Aybak al-Turkumānī, who was the first [sultan in Egypt] who had been [formerly] enslaved (<i>wa huwa awwal man jarā ‘alayhi al-riqq</i>).</p> <p>Imām Abū Shāma says: when Aybak al-Turkumānī became sultan (<i>tasalṭana</i>), the Egyptian population did not consent to him [being invested]. When he rode [through the city], one could hear the <i>‘awāmm</i> confess their hatred against him, saying: ‘We want for a sultan somebody born into Islam!’ Aybak lavished the people with most friendly favors until they stopped.</p> <p>Then, a group of the Ṣāliḥī Mamluks turned against al-Malik al-Mu‘izz and said: “We must invest an Ayyubid as sultan (<i>nasalṭanahu</i>).” Then they agreed to bring one (<i>shakhs</i>) from the sons of al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd, the <i>ṣāhib</i> of Hama, who was of Ayyubid lineage and who had been staying with his aunts (<i>‘ammātihi</i>) in the eastern provinces.</p>

(Continued)

Jawāhir al-sulūk	Uqūd al-juman	Badā'ī' al-zuhūr
key: black—verbatim compilation; green—paraphrase without change of meaning; orange—paraphrase with change of meaning; violet—differing material		
<p>great deal of the Ṣāliḥī Mamluks. They brought a person of Ayyubid descent (<i>shakhṣ min Banī Ayyūb</i>).</p> <p>They said (<i>wa qīla</i>): of Ayyubid lineage (<i>shakhṣ min dariyya Banī Ayyūb</i>) by the name of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūsuf, a son of al-Malik Mas'ūd, the <i>malik</i> of the Eastern provinces, who had been staying with his aunts ('<i>ammātihi</i>) in the eastern provinces.</p> <p>When he arrived, they made him sultan and gave him the <i>laqab</i> al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was about twenty years old.</p> <p>When he was made sultan, they did not remove (<i>ya'zālū</i>) Aybak al-Turkumānī from the sultanate, but he stayed with him like an Atabek and they read the <i>khuṭba</i> from the <i>minbars</i> in the names of the two of them and dirhams and dinars were issued in the names of the two of them. Aybak did not submit to this issue and al-Mu'izz Aybak remained sultan.</p> <p>This boy (<i>ṣabī</i>) Yūsuf remained his partner (<i>sharīk</i>) in the sultanate, until al-Mu'izz Aybak gained momentum.</p> <p>At that moment, the boy Yūsuf resigned ('<i>azala</i>) from the sultanate and he [Aybak]</p>	<p>labān al-Rashīdī, Amir Fāris al-Dīn Akṭāy and Amir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī and Amir Sunqur al-Rūmī and a great deal of the Ṣāliḥī Mamluks. They brought a person of Ayyubid lineage (<i>shakhṣ min dariyya Banī Ayyūb</i>) by the name of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūsuf, a son of al-Malik Mas'ūd, the <i>malik</i> of the eastern provinces, who had been staying with his aunts ('<i>ammātihi</i>) in the eastern provinces.</p> <p>When he arrived, [2v] they made him sultan and gave him the <i>laqab</i> al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was about twenty years old.</p> <p>When the said Yūsuf was made sultan, Aybak al-Turkumānī was not removed (<i>yu'zala</i>) from the sultanate, but they read the <i>khuṭba</i> from the <i>minbars</i> in the names of the two of them and dirhams and dinars were issued in the names of the two of them. Aybak did not submit to this issue and al-Mu'izz Aybak remained sultan.</p> <p>The said Yūsuf remained his partner (<i>sharīk</i>), until al-Mu'izz Aybak gained momentum and the Mamluks supported his rise and formed an alliance with him.</p>	<p>When he arrived, they made him sultan and gave him the <i>laqab</i> al-Malik al-Ashraf. His name was al-Amīr 'Īsa, said Yūsuf and he was about twenty years old.</p> <p>When he was made sultan, Aybak was not removed (<i>yu'zala</i>) from the sultanate, he stayed with him like a partner (<i>sharīk</i>) and on Fridays, they read the <i>khuṭba</i> from the <i>minbars</i> in the names of the two of them and dirhams and dinars were issued in the names of the two of them.</p> <p>Al-Mu'izz Aybak remained his partner (<i>sharīk</i>) in the sultanate, until al-Mu'izz Aybak gained momentum [290] and the Mamluks supported his rise and formed an alliance with him.</p>

(Continued)

Jawāhir al-sulūk	ʿUqūd al-juman	Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr
<b>key:</b> black—verbatim compilation; green—paraphrase without change of meaning; orange—paraphrase with change of meaning; violet—differing material		
<p>stayed independently (<i>istaqalla</i>) after the things that had happened to him and after [many] events that cannot be reported in this <i>mukhtaṣar</i> for reasons of space, until al-Muʿizz was killed, as will be shown in due time (<i>kamā sa-yaʿtī dhikruhu</i>).</p> <p>[An account follows on the reasons for Aybak being murdered]</p>	<p>[An account follows on how Aybak plotted to murder Amir Akṭāy]</p>	<p>At that moment, the boy Yūsuf resigned (<i>khalaʿa</i>) from the sultanate and he [Aybak] stayed on his own (<i>infarada</i>) without a partner, as will be shown in due time (<i>kamā sa-yaʿtī dhikruhu</i>).</p> <p>[The sub-heading <b>The year 649</b> follows]</p>

<sup>a)</sup>MS Cairo, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 110 has *Dhikr salṭana ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Nujūmī*. In MS Cairo, the heading is in red ink, while the *nisba al-Ṣāliḥī al-Nujūmī* is written in black ink, thus forming part of the main text of the chapter.

<sup>b)</sup>MS Istanbul has the heading in red ink, including the location.

<sup>c)</sup>In Mamluk sources, the parasol as an element of regal insignia often appears under the name *al-qubba wa ʿl-ṭayr* (lit. “the dome and the bird”), which refers to the dome-like form of the parasol, which was crowned by a silver-gilt bird. The parasol (also: *shitr*, from Persian *čitr*, *čatr*) in the form it was used by the Mamluk sultans has been described e.g. by al-ʿUmarī and al-Qalqashandī. Cf. Bosworth, C.E.: “Miẓalla. 2. In the Mamlūk sultanate” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012.

<sup>d)</sup>MAS Cairo, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 110, has wrongly *Amir Bilyān*.

<sup>e)</sup>01.07.1250 or 31.07.1250.

<sup>f)</sup>MS Istanbul has *rakaba* and the following verb *humilat* vocalized to clarify the active mode of the first.

<sup>g)</sup>Reading in the active or passive mode is possible.

of historiographical writing commonly used in Cairo during his lifetime, it is natural that his accounts resemble and copy the style and structure of these texts to a certain degree. Ibn Iyās's compilation practices with regard to external hypotexts, as analyzed in Chapter VI, also show that he rearranged and reformulated compiled material to fit it into his narrative, and thereby also adjust it to the tone of his historical and social contexts.

Turning to the structure of the text surface, the compilation concordance shows that most of the addition, paraphrasing and relocating of the material happened in the process of writing *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*—in a manner of speaking, 'between' the two earlier texts and Ibn Iyās's final historiographical narrative. This youngest text has large amounts of added material right at the beginning of the exemplary passage (violet parts), which not only expands the information conveyed, but also affects the sequence of the text's macro-structure. While *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *'Uqūd al-juman* stick to a dynastic-cum-chronological order of the material, Ibn Iyās enters two topic-related chapter headings at the beginning of the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* sample. For the rest of the sample, the predominant compilation strategies are *verbatim* compilation (black parts, covering the majority of the sample) and paraphrases that either alter the wording without affecting the meaning (green parts) or change the meaning as well (orange parts). The concordance of the translated texts does not highlight minor changes in the grammar, which however is in some cases explicitly noted by the vocalization of certain words in the otherwise unvocalized autograph of *'Uqūd al-juman*.

It appears to me that slight changes in the wording, in the declination and modus of verbs and in the choice of subjects and objects might affect the depiction of the power balance between the parties involved. I would like to mention this observation here only as an interesting hint that suggests the otherwise literally adopted formulations may have been modified in very limited ways. In order to be able to assess with certainty whether these changes were intended by the author and consciously used to alter the meaning or whether they were introduced into the texts in the later process of reception, it is necessary to inspect the manuscripts and study the relevant passages in detail.

When we look at the first sentences on Aybak's ascension, we find slight changes of wording that include both inversions of word order and the interchangeable use of words that are (almost) synonymous, like *mulk* and *saṭṭana*.<sup>554</sup>

554 While the semantic field of *mulk*, with the related words *mamlaka*, *malik* refers predominantly to royal or kingly power (hence *mamlaka* as the realm of a *malik*), *saṭṭana* in its semantic genesis is narrowed to the power of a *sulṭān*, a political function that was thought as dependent on caliphal sovereignty. In Ibn Iyās's texts, however, both terms *mulk* and *saṭṭana* appear to be largely interchangeable synonyms. Cf. Plessner, M.: "Mulk." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Leiden: Brill, online 2012; Ayalon, Ami: "Malik." In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012; Miquel, A.: "Mamlaka." In: *Encyclo-*

These rather small changes do not affect the meaning considerably, and may be due to copyist errors or a result of a compilation process by the author himself, who often either copied passages *verbatim* or copied meaning rather than the exact words. Nevertheless, some other small adjustments on the linguistic level seem to have been made on purpose. For example, the *ʿUqūd al-juman* autograph specifies the modus of the verbs, even adding vocalization in the sentence: “The parasol (*al-qubba wa ʿl-ṭayr*) was carried (*ḥumilat*) over his head and they [the notables] clad his feet (*laʿabū qaddāmahu*) in the golden shoes”.<sup>555</sup> *Jawāhir al-sulūk* has the verbs in the same mode, while in the *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* edition, the lack of vocalization does not allow us to decide whether the texts changes to the passive mode (“and his feet were clad (*luʿiba*) in the golden shoes”)<sup>556</sup> or to an active mode, as the verb can also be vocalized as *laʿaba* (“he put the golden shoes on his feet”). These changes in verbal modus certainly affect the power or agency balance between the involved figures and objects. For example, the active description of the notables putting the golden shoes on the new sultan’s feet underlines their active participation in the transition of rule, while the passive mode seems to highlight the sultan’s passivity during some of the ceremonies, but without presenting the notables in an active role. In this case, the position of the sultan appears stronger. If we read the verb as active, though, it clearly underlines a shift in agency towards the elites who participated in the ceremony.

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paedia of Islam, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012, and Chapoutot-Remadi, Mounira: “Saṭṭana.” In: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012, with an extensive bibliography. See also Levanoni, Amalia (1994): “The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (03), 373–392.

555 *ʿUqūd al-juman* 2r. A thorough examination of ceremonial clothing and further insignia of rule at Mamluk courts is still pending. Cf. Vermeulen, Urbain (2005): “La Tenue protocolaire à la Cour Mamlouke.” In Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenberghe (eds): *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV. Proceedings of the 9th and 10th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2000 and May 2001*. Leuven: Peeters (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 140), 491–496; Petry, Carl F. (2001): “Robing Ceremonials in Late Mamluk Egypt. Hallowed Traditions, Shifting Protocols.” In Stewart Gordon (ed.): *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture*. New York: Palgrave (The New Middle Ages), 351–377. Without being focused on ceremonial clothing, see Fuess, Albrecht (2008): “Sultans with Horns. The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 12 (2), 71–94; Mayer, Leon A. (1952): *Mamluk costume. A survey*. Geneva: A. Kundig; and the seminal monograph on robes of honor Springberg-Hinsen, Monika: *Die Ḥilʿa*. Würzburg: Ergon (Mitteilungen zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der islamischen Welt, 7).

556 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 288.



## The Narrative and the Narrated Put in Order: Sequentiality in the First Sample

Zooming out from the micro-level of word-by-word compilation analysis, let us now consider the way Ibn Iyās arranges his material in the three respective passages. As mentioned before, Ibn Iyās's *oeuvre* is deeply shaped by the genre conventions of Arabic historiographical writing, and especially by the double sequencing criteria of chronology and dynastic order. Even in those of his texts that have been described as geographical elsewhere, chronological sequentiality comes into use in text parts that refer to historical events.<sup>557</sup> In turn, the historiographical texts like, above all, *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, *ʿUqūd al-juman* and *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, feature multiple strategies of sequentialisation on the story level, the level of discourse or presentation and the plot level, that is, the underlying basic sequence of the historical events narrated. Ibn Iyās's writings merge the chronological and 'dynastic' ordering principle with anecdotal narration, again a genre characteristic of Arabic historiography that evolved from the *khbar* structure of the first historiographical texts we have from Islamic times. In both the macro- and micro-structure of anecdotes, the sequencing stays close to the chronological *ordo naturalis* in many parts, but occasionally breaks into sequences determined by the creation of meaningful narratives, for instance in explaining a certain character's 'career', or, on the macro level, connecting temporally distant events into an explanation on the course of history.<sup>558</sup> Such non-chronological sequences appear mostly in *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*, whilst *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* stay close to the natural temporal order. Altered sequencing in *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* involves, as the following analysis will show, both the relocation of compiled text parts into a new order and an increasing number of proleptic and analeptic remarks from the narrative voice that serve to emphasize connections between distant text parts or chronologically distant but still correlated historical events.

As Herbert Grabes has underlined, sequentiality goes beyond the text layers mentioned above, also affecting the production or writing process and reception.<sup>559</sup> While the writing process is heavily dependent on the author's historical and social contexts, the sequence of reception also depends on multifarious external influences. Recipients may decide to read the texts in an individual order shaped by their interests, or the reception might even be directed by a third instance, such as a recitator or teacher who picks individual parts of the

557 See, e.g., my analysis of the *Nuzhat al-umam*, Kollatz, Anna (2020).

558 Analeptic and proleptic cross referencing in the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* will be exemplified in Chapter VIII.

559 Grabes, Herbert: "Sequentiality." In: the living handbook of narratology, online.

texts and re-arranges them to fit their needs or communication intentions. The latter is the case in most modern scholarly publications, conference talks and academic teaching. This chapter itself is a form of third-party selection and sequentialisation.

Historical authors have long been aware of this freedom of reception and may have chosen to add guiding remarks that help the selective reader to reference back to the text's inherent sequentiality, or even add a second layer of implicit possible sequence, for example by the use of cross-references. Cross-referencing and the transgression of chronological order in limited parts of the text thus may serve as a strategy to loosen the primary sequencing criteria and to mark sequences determined by a certain argumentation or that are tied to certain protagonists or places. Thus, when Ibn Iyās chooses to structure his narratives unequivocally according to chronological and 'dynastic' criteria, he nevertheless implements prolepses and analepses as sequencing strategies that allow us to read the texts 'against the grain', for example by following cross-references to previously mentioned events with a certain connection to a figure, place or metaphorical phrase. Finally, we must state, again with Herbert Grabes, that the different layers of sequentiality mentioned above are closely entangled and influence each other mutually.

The following considerations start from the text production once more, scrutinizing the working process of Ibn Iyās by tracing intertextual entanglements horizontally on the macro-level of sequentiality in the whole text sample. Another micro compilation analysis will show how changes in the sequentiality affect, for instance, the presentation of certain figures. The analysis of the macro-structure will also reveal change or stasis in the sequentialisation of the plot, story and discourse levels, which help us detect changing intentions or, at least, focal points in the different texts. Both macro and micro analysis of sequentialisation are closely connection to re-tracing focalization both of the narrative voice and the voices of figures that may introduce differing points of view. The macro-analysis in particular will look at Ibn Iyās's use of additional narrative voices, which he introduces by quoting whole text parts from esteemed historians who belonged to the archive of knowledge he potentially shared with his readers.

Let us now consider the sequencing of the three versions of Ibn Iyās in terms of the structure of the text surface, the sequencing of the perspective, the sequencing of the story level and sequencing by changing linguistic forms.

As described in Chapter V, the three texts in question share the basic sequentialisation of the text surface via a dual structure of chronological and dynastic sequences. The dynastic ordering principle is the leading factor in the text surface in all of three. Not only do the respective chapter headings unequivocally cover each Mamluk sultan, but the graphical setup of the autographs, which has been taken over by the editions, also suggests that the 'dynastic'

ordering principle provides the main structure for all three texts. However, in the MS Istanbul autograph of *ʿUqūd al-juman*, both sequencing criteria are emphasized by headings in red ink, which, however, remain equally embedded in lines of continuous text. In other words, neither the dynastic nor the chronological headings are emphasized by paragraphs, graphical structure markers or the like. The dynastic sequencing only seems more prominent because the headings usually cover several lines.

As for the reception of *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, the copyist of MS Cairo, which claims to be a copy made from an autograph, apparently privileged dynastic sequencing over chronological sequencing. While dynastic headings appear in color in the continuous text, chronological structure markers, according to the pattern *thumma waṣāla al-sana X* (“the year X [began]”), are usually not highlighted in the manuscript. Both *ʿUqūd al-juman* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk* furthermore share a somewhat incomplete chronological structure. In the text sample in question here, both texts lack chronological headings for several years, sometimes even multiple years in a row. Both texts prefer a consistent narration of related events to a chronological sequence. Both focus on events related to politico-military developments in Cairo and strongly avoid mixing these accounts with other information. In contrast, the focus in *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* changes. Compared to *Jawāhir al-sulūk* in particular, it is remarkable that when writing *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās obviously took care to create a comprehensive annalistic structure. As a result, in the text sample considered here, we find some passages that justify recording some years with only one or two short notes each, for example about the death of a well-known personality.

Chronological sequentialisation, however, is a much more important factor in the linguistic structures of all three texts. Again, in a very similar way, the three texts use temporal markers to link the events narrated in different chronological relationships. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* mostly contains temporal markers that communicate a simple chronological correlation (*wa fī hādhihi l-sana / wa fī-hā*), chronological sequence (*thumma*) and, finally, chronological and action-logical connections (*fā / fā-lamā*). In *ʿUqūd al-juman*, too, the arsenal of chronological sequencing goes beyond the structuring of the text into years. In addition, the sequence of individual events in a chronological section is also divided by the short opening line *wa fī-hā* (“and in this [year]”), which, however, is less for dating than for sequencing the text into meaningful sections. The markers *wa kāna(t)* (to be translated, in reference to the context, as a temporal or logical conjunction), (*wa*) *ammā* (“concerning this, ...”) and the like, which are also displayed in red ink, share a similar function. They can both introduce more detailed explanations of individual persons, places or events mentioned, but are also used as markers of independent anecdotal subsections. Graphically equal to

the two main sequencing criteria, there are further structure markers in red ink in the autograph.

In the text sample considered here, but also in general, *Jawāhir al-sulūk*'s text takes a rather uniform perspective, namely that of a narrator-author reporting in retrospect. Representations from the perspective of third parties usually remain subordinate to the narrative voice. Like in all texts from Ibn Iyās's pen, markers such as *qīla* ("they said / it was said") mark content for which no source is mentioned by name. As the compilation analysis in the previous chapter has shown, the author uses this method, especially in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, in order to incorporate portions, some of which are taken literally from written sources, as seamlessly as possible into the perspective of his narrative voice. By not marking literally compiled material as such, he simplifies the narrative situation, which appears to the reader as a uniform perspective. An exception to this, as in Ibn Iyās's other texts, are quotations of verses and entire poems by other authors, which are woven into the text as prosimetric elements. For poetic material, the text always indicates the authorship of third parties. Only in rare cases are verses marked as anonymous, for example by the introductory phrase *wa qīla fi-l ma'nā* ("they said, figuratively speaking").

In the overall prosimetric text of the *'Uqūd al-juman* autograph, where prose and verse elements constantly alternate, the parts of the text in bound language are usually separated by paragraphs and graphical markers. The same applies to structure markers, which concern the marking of perspective. For many individual meaningful elements of the text, short signal words (*qīla*, *qultu*, *qāla fulān*, etc.) indicate the perspective or transmission status from which the respective contents of the narrative, i. e. the material at the story level, originated. The marker *qīla* announces content that is not substantiated by a named witness or a named written source. In the same way, *qīla* can also introduce content that originates from the collective voice of the 'streets of Cairo', i. e. from the exchange of news and opinions among the population. The marker *qultu* refers to the expressions of the opinion of the narrative voice, but also emphasizes the verses ascribed to the author himself. In the latter case, the introduction *qultu fi l-ma'nā* ("I said in a figurative sense") appears frequently. By marking verses as 'his own' and referring to other places where he mentioned such verses, Ibn Iyās fosters the bond that links his narrative voice to himself as a historical person. Finally, insertions of quoted material from the works of other authors should be mentioned as qualitative structural markers. These are also highlighted in red ink, but are significantly less frequent in *'Uqūd al-juman* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk* than in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.

With the superordinate narrator inherent in the text, the voice of the streets of Cairo and the representation by (named) third parties explicitly marked as such, the graphical structures in the *'Uqūd al-juman* autograph indicate an at least

threefold sequencing of the narrative perspective. However, we should remember that the content marked by *qīla* in particular are usually more strongly integrated into the narrative voice's presentation and should therefore be considered as a perspective filtered by the narrative voice. This does not apply, however, to quotes from the work of third parties marked by name, which can be seen more as a supplement or sometimes a contrast to the narrative from the narrator's perspective and thus as external perspectives equal to the narrative voice. Thus, the reader of the autograph can not only orientate themselves along the temporal or political sequencing of the story level, but can also often recognize, at first glance, the quality of the content of the following paragraph. However, verses by the author are always marked as such, so we cannot assume that the author intended to appropriate the thoughts of others. The sequencing of the story level is essentially limited to the aforementioned markers for the representation of chronological or logical sequences of action. The narrative of *ʿUqūd al-juman* remains, similar to *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, for the most part oriented to the natural chronological order of the events, avoiding duplication and explanations of 'background knowledge' interwoven as anecdotal flashbacks. This relative one-dimensionality of the sequencing of the story levels results directly from the motivation to write a short account in the case of *Jawāhir al-sulūk*. Nevertheless, this presentation also uses mimetic elements, such as short dialogue scenes or the literal speech of individual characters, thus showing signs of literarization.

### The Major Step to *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*

*Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* uses the same structural markers as the two previous texts, both in the text surface and in the chrono-logical sequencing. It also alternates between narrative prose and bound language, taking over large portions of the prosimetric content of the two previous texts. Nevertheless, it differs much more from the other two texts than *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* do between each other. As for the structuring of the text surface, the chronological substructure becomes even more prominent. Nevertheless, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* is more flexible in the structuring of the dynastic sequence. We find a transgression of the usual structure right at the beginning of the sample under consideration. Under the heading "Of the Origin of the Turks", Ibn Iyās adds material concerning the mythical prehistory of the Islamic period, for example about the relationship of the Turks to the peoples of Gog and Magog, who according to Islamic legend were separated behind a wall from the world of human life by Alexander the Great.<sup>560</sup>

560 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 288.

Hence, we are dealing with a thematic or meaningful prolepsis that breaks out of the chronological general context of the narrative. This transgression of the chronological order is even more striking, since the chapter consists exclusively of quotations from third parties (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and al-Manṣūrī), which are not to be found in the two previous texts. While Ibn Iyās quotes both authors by mentioning their names or the book he refers to,<sup>561</sup> and thus no longer blends their content and formulations into his narrative voice, both quotations are contextualized by the narrator and connected to Ibn Iyās's own words in the description of Aybak's rule. The narrator evaluates the mythical preliminary stories in a relativizing manner, for example commenting "and God knows whether that is right."<sup>562</sup> In this way, the altered citation method contributes to a change in the sequencing of the narrative perspective(s).

In contrast to the two preceding texts, the sample examined here contains a far greater number of named citations from third-party sources. For example, Ibn Iyās quotes frequently from Abū Shāma, but also from Ibn Daniyāl, Ibn Kathīr and others. Abū Shāma stands out as a frequently inserted additional narrative voice. His accounts usually follow those of the author and are clearly marked as quotations. These sections contain either additional information or a representation of the events discussed before from the perspective of the narrator, which differs slightly from the latter's meaningful evaluation. Due to the clearly indicated manner of quotation, these text sections are less integrated into the perspective of the narrative voice than in the previous texts. Rather, they appear as additive or contrastive narratives on an equal or nearly equal footing. Depending on their content, they stand in contrast to the narrative voice or assure the narrator's perspective, but are no longer blended completely into the narrator's view and therefore seem like rather independent perspectives. Ibn Iyās thus moves closer again to the tradition of early *khavar*-based Islamic historical works, which compile individual traditions in additive or contrastive form, but generally allow them to stand side-by-side on an equal footing without extensive evaluation by the respective author. This is where the difference lies in the sequencing which Ibn Iyās implements in this section. Here we find some transitional, comparative and evaluative comments from the narrator with regard to the external sources. In addition, the emphasis is clearly on the side of the text-internal narrative voice, both because of the structure—the perspective of the narrative voice usually precedes the quoted passages and frames them with a few concluding sentences—and because of the relative priority of their narrative duration.

561 He introduces the quotations by *qāla al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī ...* and *qāla ṣāhib 'Zubda al-fikra fī ta'rīkh al-hijra'* respectively, cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 288.

562 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 288.

At the same time, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* uses the strategy of communicating perspectives of third parties through the narrator's voice much more often than the previous texts. For instance, the narrator often refers to the people of Cairo's actions and their reactions to political or administrative decisions.<sup>563</sup> However, the people of Cairo's voice, as well as the voices of further groups, do not stand on the same level of narration as the narrator himself or the quoted external perspectives, remaining subordinate to the narrator's account. Following Genette's typology, we may identify these subordinated voices as focalizers: they remain dependent on the narrator's account, but still the reader learns about their evaluations, estimations or position towards the narrated events. Both the external perspectives and the different focalizers enhance the multiperspectivity inherent in the text, and at the same time the scope of the narrator as the superordinate narrative voice becomes more pronounced. To mark the focalizers' voices, the text uses the markers already mentioned above, such as *qīla*, in combination with further specifications, such as "people told each other in the streets of Cairo" and those stylistic elements that Ulrich Haarmann has referred to as characteristics of the literarization of historiography. In the part of the text discussed here, literal character speech is particularly worthy of mention. With regard to the text as a whole, the information reproduced in indirect speech or paraphrase, which is attributed to oral sources mentioned by name, also plays an important role.<sup>564</sup>

Meso-level sequencing thus shows some obvious differences, although the basic principles involved are typical for all three texts compared here and, moreover, for contemporary Arabic historiography. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* is clearly the most concisely formulated text. In terms of content sequencing, the text rests on a framework of 'dynastic' chapters, i. e. chapters oriented towards individual rulers. The sample examined here contains in particular significantly fewer chronologically or annalistically arranged structure markers than the two comparative texts.

*Badā'ī al-zuhūr* often uses the smaller markers described above in addition to the chronological and dynastic structure. The use of quotations mentioning the name of the quoted author or book, which take a perspective different from that of the narrator, is much more common here than in *Uqūd al-juman*. All three narratives are sequenced according to three criteria: a) the temporal and political classification of the events reported at the story level, b) sequencing through

563 As for example in transition narratives, see below "Transition Narratives: The First Four Mamluk Sultans" or in scenes that show the people interacting with or affected by the sultan's decisions, see Chapter VIII, "Acting Figures and Groups: Mamluks vs. Ottomans".

564 Such an example is discussed in Chapter VIII, where Ibn Iyās refers to Amir Tuqtubāy, whom he identifies as a (reliable) source of information, who was sent to the sultan to inform him about the Mamluk defeat, cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 129.

different perspectives and c) sequencing according to genre and intended meaning of the respective passage, roughly subdivided into reporting of events, metaphorical reflection in prosimetric parts and evaluation by the narrator. However, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* is the text that makes strategies b) and c) most prominent. The way the three strategies are used is quite individual in each text, thus indicating the different communication intentions of the author. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* seems to be dedicated to conveying brief information, according to Ibn Iyās's principle to inform *'alā sabīl al-ikhtisār*. *Uqūd al-juman* features a more detailed historical account with occasional evaluations of both content and the transmission situation. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* finally offers the most dramatized and commented-upon narrative, which, however, pays less attention to a consistent narrative of logically connected events, using more frequent interweaving of new material that provides "interesting" information (*'ajā'ib*), but not necessarily politico-military history.

## Travelling Plots, Changing Characteristics and the Magic of Addition

At the same time, the content sequence thoroughly changes between *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, *Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. The author re-uses a considerable part of his material in all three texts, compiling large parts verbatim or in only slightly differing paraphrases, as the exemplary compilation analysis sample above shows. Changes in the content structure become apparent in the movement of prosimetric material. Verses written by the author himself in particular appear verbatim in all three texts, although they may be relocated or shifted—usually 'backwards'—by the insertion of huge amounts of new material in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. In some cases, Ibn Iyās also adds new verses to his own poems.<sup>565</sup> Apart from this, the prosimetric material remains remarkably stable throughout the whole sample, as most additions of new poems or verses concern exemplary quotations in the context of obituaries, which aim to show the deceased person's ability to write poetry. Verses in the context of obituaries, however, normally do not relate to the historiographical narratives that surround the necrologies.

The illustrative or commenting verses that appear as integral prosimetric parts of the historiographical narrative usually fulfill one of two functions. They highlight important features of the described events or involved persons or convey the evaluative point of view of the narrative voice, thereby hinting towards

<sup>565</sup> See, for example, the mnemonic verses that mention the names of the first Mamluk sultans, cf. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 112: 12 verses, *Uqūd al-juman* 4r: 9 verses, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* 1a, 296: 14 verses; some verses are different in each version.



the normative background of the text sample. It may be safely assumed that the relative stability of the prosimetric elements shows that Ibn Iyās's evaluation of the events, and the normative basis he is grounded in, does not change significantly between the three texts.

If we reduce the historical events reported to the plot level, the content of the three texts in question also does not change to a great extent. There are occasional adaptations, for example some more precise dates. However, the three texts considerably differ on the level of discourse, and here mainly in two respects. First, *'Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* feature an increased amount of narration time (*Erzählzeit*),<sup>566</sup> which is prolonged along with an increasing dramatization of the narrative. Narration time and narrated time (*erzählte Zeit*, story time) are almost level in the dialogical anecdotal portions of the narrative and in anecdotal passages, both of which are especially present in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. A high degree of convergence between narrated time and narration time is far less common in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *'Uqūd al-juman*.

It is important to note that the three texts still share core formulations that do not change in the compilation and re-arrangement process, such as the most striking sentences of an anecdote. For example, writing about the conflict between Shajar al-Durr and Aybak, Ibn Iyās uses a dialogue between Shajar and the hired assassins with identical wording in all three texts. The following visualization shows that sequences that share the same plot, but tell it with individual words and foci, are combined with paraphrases that hardly change the meaning and, finally, verbatim compiled elements. The latter often contain core narrative strategies, such as dialogues:

<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> MS Cairo 21v–22r	<i>'Uqūd al-juman</i> , 3r–3v	<i>Badā'ī al-zuhūr</i> , Ia, 293–294
When some of them seized his throat, and others his private parts, he called Shajar al-Durr to help.	When they got to kill him, Shajar al-Durr changed her mind	While both of them were in the bathroom, she regained her affection for him. Then those eunuchs [whom she had hired as murderers]

566 Narration time (*Erzählzeit*) refers to the discourse level of a narrative; it denotes the time-span needed to read or listen to the respective text. Narrated time or story time (*erzählte Zeit*), on the other hand, refers to the story level and denotes the time covered by the narrated events. The research and theoretical literature on this dualism is extensive; I limit myself to the exemplary mention of Ricoeur, Paul (1980): "Narrative Time". *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1), 169–190 and Genette, Gérard (2010): *Die Erzählung*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition Paderborn: Fink (UTB Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaft, 8083), 17–18, who attributes the distinction to German narrative theorists, pointing to the discussion by Günther Müller (1968b): "Erzählzeit und erzählte Zeit". In: id., *Morphologische Poetik. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Elena Müller and Helga Egner. Darmstadt: WBG, 269–286. See also his article "Die Bedeutung der Zeit in der Erzählkunst", *ibid.*, 247–268.

(Continued)

<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> MS Cairo 21v–22r	<i>‘Uqūd al-juman,</i> 3r–3v	<i>Badā’i’ al-zuhūr,</i> Ia, 293–294
		penetrated [the room] with swords drawn. When al-Mu‘izz Aybak saw them, he stepped up to Shajar al-Durr and kissed her hand.
She told the eunuchs:	and said to the eunuchs:	Then she said to the eunuchs:
‘Leave him alone!’ But some of the eunuchs disagreed with her and said: ‘If we let him, neither we nor you will stay alive.’ They killed him in the bathroom		
	by strangling him.	

While the *Jawāhir al-sulūk* version still remains the shortest and least elaborate, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* contains material compiled from *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *‘Uqūd al-juman* in a re-organized form that leads to the building of tension.<sup>567</sup> Such narrative techniques characterize the figures more distinctly and judge them explicitly or implicitly by depicting their actions and motives. However, even the narrative in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* does not rely primarily on the characterization and evaluation of figures by elaborated narrative strategies. Far more importantly, the characterization of figures is communicated by the use of brief evaluative or descriptive expressions or by verbs that depict a figure’s action as driven by certain emotions (such as the ruler’s wrath or Shajar’s jealousy). Consistent paragraphs on a figure’s character and actions are only to be found in the context of their obituaries. However, these characterizations usually cover a stereotypical inventory of deeds and actions, from the kinship and education of a person to their religious deeds, *awqāf*, buildings etc. The depiction in the obituaries often takes a rather levelled view in all three texts and does not necessarily match the previous evaluation of a figure. The micro-characterizations integrated into the text, however, do provide a picture that complies with the evaluative position of the narrative voice towards the figure.

The depiction and evaluation of individuals, however, is still not the main characteristic in the depiction of early Mamluk rule or in the depiction of later Mamluk sultans. Instead, the dynastic sequencing seeps into the narratives. Apart from the headings, which follow a common pattern in all three texts, the individual chapters regularly contain references to a more or less stable set of elements related to or part of Mamluk enthronement ceremonial. Such elements are woven into all chapters, especially those dealing with the earlier Mamluk

567 For a detailed analysis of this anecdote including a complete comparative translation showing the compilation and re-arrangement process, see Kollatz (2021), 94–98.

sultans, and the stereotypical references often occupy the majority of both narration time and narrated time in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Below the chapter headings, which include the name and 'number' of the respective sultan in his dynasty, the introducing parts of the chapter usually contain a set of core stereotypical elements. They inform us about the sultan's descent or background, the circumstances that led to his enthronement (e.g. the imprisonment or death of the predecessor) and the date of accession.

In accordance with his fellow historians, Ibn Iyās presents Mamluk rule, which for the relevant timespans did not allow dynastic (patrilineal) succession, as a dynastic entity. He describes Baḥrī/Qipchak rule as (*dawla*) *mulūk al-turk (wa awlādihim) bi (l-diyār) al-miṣriyya* in all of his texts, and consistently distinguishes them from the (*dawla*) *mulūk al-jarākisa (wa awlādihim) bi (l-diyār) al-miṣriyya*. Ibn Iyās even reconnects the Ottoman conquest to the line of the *mulūk al-turk/atrāk* by no longer identifying Sultan Selim as a member of the Ottoman dynasty, as "son of 'Uthmān" from the moment he takes power in Egypt, but by integrating him into the line of the rulers in Egypt and the *atrāk*. He even counts Selim as the fourth sultan in a neo-*atrāk* line, which he makes up by defining the Mamluk sultans al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (r. 865–872/1461–1467), a Mamluk of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā (r. 872–873/1467–1468), a Mamluk of Sayf al-Dīn Jaqmaq,<sup>568</sup> as *rūmī* sultans of Egypt in the first lines of the chapter on Selim's rule in Cairo, which he entitled, "On Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Selim Khān". After giving Selim's full name and genealogy, he continues:

... [Selim] who is known as Ibn 'Uthmān. He is of *rūmī* regal lineage and he is the forty-eighth of the kings of Egypt and their sons (*min mulūk Miṣr wa awlādihim*). He is [also] the third of the *rūmī* kings in Egypt. The first of the *rūmī* kings in Egypt was al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam, the second al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā, and the third is Selim Khān b. 'Uthmān. He conquered Cairo by the sword.<sup>569</sup>

With this placement into three lineages, Ibn Iyās strives to smooth the transition caused by the Ottoman conquest and the abrupt end of Circassian rule. He creates the appearance of continuity by integrating Selim into the line of "the kings of Egypt and their sons"—an adapted version of his usual wording *min mulūk al-turk/atrāk wa awlādihim bi (l-diyār) al-miṣriyya*. Moreover, it establishes continuity, albeit far-fetched, between two *rūmī* Mamluk rulers and the conqueror, thus constructing a certain connection between the old regime and the Ottoman conqueror.

568 On the Mamluk pseudo-kinship lines in the Circassian period, see Garcin (1998), 293.

569 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 151.

Turning back to the structural features on the content level that support the dominance of dynastic sequencing, the second most important is, as was typical for Arabic historiographies, information on the new ruler's lineage. In the case of the Mamluk sultans, in the lack of an 'Islamic' lineage, which ideally would link a ruler back to the prophet, the historiographies mirror Mamluk legitimization strategies. At the same time, later historiographies, such as those by Ibn Iyās, approach the problem of legitimate rule from the perspective of consolidated Mamluk legitimacy. In the chapters on the first Mamluk sultans, Ibn Iyās reacts to the fact that these men had no genealogic connection whatsoever to established Islamic rulers by entering 'enslavement biographies' instead of genealogical information, thus taking into account the institute of temporary Mamluk slavery as a generator of pseudo-kinship relationships that formed the backbone of ideas of legitimization. Those ideas had long become general consensus by the time of Ibn Iyās, even though the sultanate had experienced deviations from them. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *'Uqūd al-juman* share quite literally an enslavement biography of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, which appears in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* as well in an expanded version.<sup>570</sup> Ibn Iyās also adds an enslavement biography for al-Mu'izz Aybak to the respective chapter of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>571</sup> He also discusses Sultan Qutuz's allegedly questionable status of enslavement in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>572</sup>

The content of these enslavement biographies is similar to the biographies in prosopographical dictionaries of the time.<sup>573</sup> If any such was available to the prosopographer, they contain information on the place of birth and ethnic origin of the enslaved person, as well as their approximate age and social status in their homelands. If such information was not known, which is relatively common, the biographies instead start with a more or less detailed description of the routes by which the enslaved persons were traded, and often detailed information on the traders and owners, who possibly also took care of their basic education. Additional anecdotal material serves to underline the pseudo-kinship bonds between traders and the (formerly) enslaved. For example, *'Uqūd al-juman* has a long anecdote on Amir Bilik's continuing loyalty towards the trader who had brought him to Egypt and probably sold him to Baybars al-Bunduqdārī when the

570 Cf. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 115–116, *'Uqūd al-juman* 7r, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 308–309.

571 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 288.

572 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 303.

573 On biographies of (formerly) enslaved persons in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw' al-lāmī*, see Kollatz, Anna (in press 2023): "Dependency Narrated in a Biographic Manual from the Mamluk Sultanate. The *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmī fī a'yān al-qarn al-tāsi* by al-Sakhāwī (1427–1497)". In Marion Gymnich and Elke Brüggem (eds), *Narratives of Dependency* [Working Title]. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter (Dependency and Slavery Studies).

latter was still an amir.<sup>574</sup> The *‘Uqūd al-juman* version first gives a detailed account on the benefits Bīlik earned from his master Baybars and continues to stress Bīlik’s powerful position as *ṣāhib al-hill wa-l ‘aqd*. This description is contrasted with the characterization of his former owner, the trader, who has become destitute and lived among the urban poor (*ḥarāfīsh*) of Cairo.<sup>575</sup> However, when his peers encourage him to turn to his former slave, he is rewarded highly, because Bīlik shows him the highest honor and even makes him sit next to himself.

The anecdote thus obviously serves to highlight two characteristics of the slaving system on which the Mamluk sultanate was based and to connote them positively. First, Bīlik’s ‘career’ bears witness to a beneficial outcome of enslavement, which adds to the positive connotation. Second, the loyalty and honor Bīlik shows to his former trader refers to a core element of Mamluk ethics, which even today is recognized as a central feature of the system. Similarly, loyalty bands are stressed in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* by an addition into the enslavement biography of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, which shows his continuing relation to his first *ustādh*.<sup>576</sup>

Stressing the slave background of the first Mamluk amirs and sultans seems to contradict the legitimization strategies enacted in their time: up to the point when Baybars managed to achieve formal recognition by the Abbasid caliph whom he installed in Cairo, and the Mamluks’ growing reputation for saving the Islamicate realm from Mongol attack, the first sultans had struggled to build convincing legitimization strategies. Those strategies did not include reference to their slave background, which was in fact the main reason their legitimacy was questioned both by other sovereigns of the region and by the people. Ibn Iyās’s emphasis on enslavement biographies, however, is fueled by the set of legitimization criteria that had evolved after the consolidation of the Mamluk institution. As such, the perspective of the narrative voice and its evaluating gaze clearly are to be located in Cairo of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However, on the story level, the narrative remains rooted in the historical events as they were remembered in the common archive of knowledge erected and shared by the corpus of contemporary Mamluk historiographical authors.

574 While *‘Uqūd al-juman*, 7v tells this anecdote from the perspective of the superordinate narrative voice, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 311 has a slightly different version marked as a direct quotation from al-Ṣafadī, hence framing the information in the context of a contrasting narrative voice.

575 Guo, Li: “Ḥarāfīsh”. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* THREE. Leiden, Boston: Brill online 2017.

576 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 308–309 has a nearly verbatim compilation of the enslavement biography as featured in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 115–116, and *‘Uqūd al-juman* 7r, but expanded by the remark: “It is among the wondrous things that Amīr Aydakīn al-Bunduqdārī, Baybars’s *ustādh*, lived until the days the latter became sultan of Egypt, and (Aydakīn) became one of his amirs.”

In *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, narrative elements that refer to parts of the accession ceremonial work as a structuring feature that continues through all accounts on the transition of rule. While the Mamluks never seem to have codified court ceremonial (at least, we have no knowledge of any book of ceremonies specific to a Mamluk ruler),<sup>577</sup> we have descriptions of Qipchak Mamluk ceremonial by al-'Umarī, who may count as an eyewitness of courtly life in the time of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>578</sup> Furthermore, al-Qalqashandī re-used most of his descriptions.<sup>579</sup> Al-Maqrizī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī also focus on Qipchak ceremonial; however, we may deduce from their frequent complaints about 'disruptions' in the protocol issued in Circassian times that court ceremonies did change over time.<sup>580</sup> Ibn Iyās and al-Zāhirī are counted among the few contemporary writers on Circassian protocol.<sup>581</sup> For the purpose of this study, it is not necessary to delve deeper into the details of Mamluk court ceremonies, nor it is the goal of this chapter to trace the different influences and traditions the Mamluks borrowed from or the evolution of protocol over time.<sup>582</sup>

It is noticeable that Ibn Iyās employs narrative attitudes towards the description of ceremonial depending on the narrative context in which a ceremony or public festival appears. He offers detailed accounts on ceremonial and public festivals in which the sultan took part or played a central role, like the opening of the *khalīj* or, after Barqūq, the birthday of the prophet.<sup>583</sup> When it comes to the transition of rule, however, Ibn Iyās usually falls back on a set of stereotypical allusions to certain ceremonial elements, like the procession (*maukib*), the sultan's first seating on the throne or the robes and insignia he was ritually bestowed with. Most frequent are short sentences describing the recognition of a new

577 The manual for kings dedicated by Ibn al-'Abbās to Sultan Baybars al-Jashngir is merely a miscellany of descriptions of court ceremonial from different traditions, such as Greek, Sassanian, Byzantine and even Indian sources. Cf. Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh Ibn al-'Abbās (1878): *Athār al-awwal fī tartīb al-duwal*. Edited by 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra, Būlāq: Maṭba'a Būlāq.

578 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (1985): *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*. Edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo: al-Ma'had al-'ilmī al-faransī li 'l-āthār al-sharqiyya.

579 Behrens-Abouseif (1988), 28.

580 See also Petry (2001).

581 Khalīl b. Shāhin al-Zāhirī (1894): *Kitāb zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa bayān al-ṭuruq wa l-masālik*. Edited by Paul Ravaisse, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; see also Behrens-Abouseif (1988), 28.

582 The spatial dimension of the representation of power in the architectural framework of the city of Cairo, and most importantly the citadel, as well as Fatimid, Abbasid and other elements in Mamluk ceremonial, have been discussed by Behrens-Abouseif (1988); Rabbat, Nasser O. (2020): "Brotherhood of the Towers. On the Spatiality of the Mamluk Castle." *Thresholds* 48, 116–121; id. (1995): *The Citadel of Cairo. A new interpretation of royal Mamluk Architecture*. Leiden: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 14).

583 E.g. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 24–25, where the festivities on the occasion of the *maulid al-nabī* under the Mamluks are described at length.

sultan by the amirs (*ḥalafa bihi* or *buyi'a bi l-saltana*), the adoption of a throne name (*talaqqaba*), the mention of one or several *maukibs*, the reaction of the population and the public announcement of the new ruler. These narrative micro-elements appear, similar to the information about the new sultan given at the beginning of his chapter, in verbatim or synonymous wording in most of the transition narratives in *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, and in a different, much less stereotypical and less frequent way in *Uqūd al-juman*. They can therefore be described as stereotypical elements in two respects. In a broader sense, the topic of ascension ceremonial might be identified as a metaphorical and structural backbone of ascension or transition narratives in *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*. In this text, the stereotypically formulated sentences (or parts of sentences) work as a harmonizing narrative tool that levels out 'bumpy' passages in Mamluk succession and conceals the accession of 'puppet sultans' or insecure transitions, such as the frequent changes of child-age sultans after Qalāwūn, concealing turbulent events with notions of regal grandeur. With their ever repeated formulation, the ceremonial stereotypes also add to the sequencing of the narrative language of *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*.

In *Uqūd al-juman* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, ascension ceremonial narrations are not present from the beginning of Mamluk rule. While certain formulation that later become part of the stereotypical ascension representation do exist in the accounts on the first Mamluk sultans,<sup>584</sup> *Jawāhir al-sulūk* in particular does not display similarities to the later standard formulations in *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*. The first time ceremonial elements are woven into an ascension narrative in *Uqūd al-juman* is on folio 29v, where the accession of Lājīn (r. 696–698/1296–1299) is described. The passage (black parts) mostly consists of the verbatim compiled wording of *Jawāhir al-sulūk*. However, *Uqūd al-juman* has another typical stereotypical formulation added that details the regal insignia (violet part):

*fa-lamā tasaltana hunāka tawajjaha ilā 'l-diyār al-miṣriyya fa-lamā dakhalahā zuyyināt lahu wa duqqat al-kūsāt fa tala'a ilā 'l-qa'a wa jalasa 'alā sarīr al-mulk wa ḥumilat 'alā ra'sihi al-qubba wa 'l-ṭayr fa-lamā tamma amruhu fi-l-saltana istaqarra bi 'l-amīr...*<sup>585</sup>

584 The first mention of several micro-elements is to be found in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 166, where Ibn Iyās mentions the *juḥūs* and the *maukib* several times, as well as the *ḥilf* (Ed. Zaynahum and MS Cairo have *khalafa*, "they followed him", which is possibly a scribal error and should be read *ḥalafa*, "they gave an oath of loyalty"), and the *ba'i'a wa l-tā'a* on the part of governors (*mulūk*) who are absent from Cairo. It is interesting to note that in the direct context, where he describes the rebellion of Amir Sanjar al-Ḥalabī, who enthroned himself as sultan in Damascus, Ibn Iyās enumerates a much more extensive set of accession stereotypes to describe Sanjar's state of utter disobedience: *tasaltana bi Dimashq wa rakaba bi-l shi'ār al-saltana wa laqaba nafsahu bi 'l-Malik al-Mujāhid wa kataba bi-dhalika ilā nawwāb wa khaṭaba 'alā manābir Dimashq [...]*, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 117.

585 *Uqūd al-juman* 29v; *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 147.

Before the quoted passage, *ʿUqūd al-juman* has a short element of an enslavement biography of the new sultan (*wa aṣluhu min mamālik Qalāwūn*)<sup>586</sup> and a mention of his regal name (*wa talaqqaba bi ʿl-Malik al-Manṣūr*).<sup>587</sup> Several elements of the later stereotypical formulations are present here, such as the reference to the reaction of the city. Newly added to the text of *ʿUqūd al-juman* is the mention of the parasol (*al-qubba wa ʿl-ṭayr*) as regal insignia. The formulation *wa ḥumilat ʿalā raʿsihi al-qubba wa l-ṭayr* certainly belongs to the set of stereotypical micro-elements Ibn Iyās puts to use, but it is not among the most frequently used. In *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, this reference to the insignia worn on the new sultan's head is a standard element for the Qalāwūnīd period.<sup>588</sup> After the ascension of Aybak, for which all three texts refer to the parasol, the element is not present in *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* until Qalāwūn's accession,<sup>589</sup> nor does it appear in the narrative on Lājīn in *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*. Instead, Lājīn's case can serve as another example of Ibn Iyās's technique of adding new, external voices to his own material. Here, he adds a quotation from Abū Shāma, who details, as an additional narrative voice, the *maukib* on the occasion of a sultan's ascension and the insignia and representatives of different groups involved in the ceremony.<sup>590</sup> In his own words again, Ibn Iyās adds that Lājīn's *maukib* was held in the fashion described, but was disturbed by persistent rain. Only after these two new content elements does he continue with material from *ʿUqūd al-juman* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, shortly paraphrasing the enslavement biography from the beginning of Lājīn's chapter in *ʿUqūd al-juman*.

The quoted passage on Lājīn represents a special case, although not a singular one, as the new sultan is appointed while he is not in Cairo. In Ibn Iyās's very condensed narration in *ʿUqūd al-juman*, he immediately returns to Cairo to enter the spaces of city and citadel, as is narrated in similar cases.<sup>591</sup> The stereotypical formulation *lamā dakhalahā zuyyināt lahu wa duqqat al-kūsāt* ("When he entered [the city of Cairo], they had already adorned the city for him, and they played the drums on his behalf") appears very frequently in both *ʿUqūd al-juman* and *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* when a newly appointed sultan enters the city either from the outside, like Lājīn, or, in the context of a *maukib*, from the citadel to the city. City and drums work as *pars pro toto* in this formulation, and represent the

586 *ʿUqūd al-juman* 29r.

587 Ibid., 29v.

588 The formulation is present in each, but only one transition narrative from Qalāwūn to al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, who represents the end of the sample. The only sultan whose accession is narrated without this formulation is al-Malik al-Nāṣir [Shihāb al-Dīn] Aḥmad, cf. *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 495.

589 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 347.

590 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 394.

591 E.g., in the case of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī cf. *ʿUqūd al-juman*, 6v–7r.



entirety of the architectural space and inhabitants. The formulation usually appears to signal ‘the city’s’ approval of the new sultan, and usually does not appear in the case of child-aged puppet sultans. However, in *Badā’i al-zuhūr*, the special circumstance of the sultan being outside Cairo at the initial point of his appointment does not garner attention anymore. Instead, the chapter opens with an impersonal and rather stereotypical enumeration of ceremonial acts:

*buyi’a bi l-salṭana wa khala’a al-Malik al-‘Ādil Kitbughā min al-salṭana, lamā dakhala Lājīn ilā l-Qāhira fa-jalasa ‘alā sarīr al-mulk wa talaqqaba bi l-Malik al-Manṣūr wa bāsa lahu l-umarā’ al-arḍ wa nūda bi-ismihi fī l-Qāhira wa ḍajja lahu al-nās bi l-du‘ā’ wa duqqat lahu bi l-shi‘ār fī l-qal’a*<sup>592</sup>

The sequence of elements is typical for ascension narratives in *Badā’i al-zuhūr*. As we have already noted, Ibn Iyās reduces the biographical element to a minimum and moves it from the beginning to the end of the ascension narrative. Instead of sketching the course of events, as he did in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *‘Uqūd al-juman*, the narrative in *Badā’i al-zuhūr* concentrates on elements of the ceremony and the involved groups: while the earlier versions only mention the reaction of the people of Cairo, *Badā’i al-zuhūr* adds two mentions of the amirs swearing allegiance and kissing the ground in front of the new sultan. With Abū Shāma’s added narrative voice, the roles of the caliph (*yaktuba lahum al-taqlīd*) and the vizier, who placed the document upon the new sultan’s head during the *maukib*, are added to the picture as well. ‘Mamluk’ legitimization, the mention of the new sultan’s integration into *khushdāshiyya* loyalty bands that originated in their enslavement history,<sup>593</sup> falls into last place. In turn, Ibn Iyās adds information that can either be interpreted as ‘gossip’ or ‘things interesting to know’, but not necessary information, when he mentions the unpleasant weather and even stresses this point with a poem.<sup>594</sup> On the other hand, this addition might also serve as an implicit hint towards the author’s assessment of Lājīn’s reign.

The example of Lājīn thus shows that the major step to *Badā’i al-zuhūr* also includes working towards a narrative representation that strives to include a

592 *Badā’i al-zuhūr* Ia, 394.

593 *Khushdāshiyya* is the emic term for the loyalty bands that tied together the Mamluks belonging to the same household, that is, to the same owner-master (*ustādh*), which continued even after the manumission of a household member. The *khushdāshiyya* loyalty among *ustādh* and fellow manumitted or still enslaved Mamluks has been compared to family relations among father and sons or brothers among each other, and can therefore be regarded as *pseudo-kinship* relations instigated by the slaving system. Cf. Ayalon, David: “Mamlūk.” In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Leiden: Brill, online 2012, see esp. in “5. The Mamlūk and his patron”. I have shortly touched the *pseudo-kinship* bonds as represented in Mamluk names in Kollatz (in press 2023), “Dependency narrated”.

594 All examples mentioned are in *Badā’i al-zuhūr* Ia, 394.

certain set of common elements in the ascension narratives that open the chapters. However, we cannot identify a stereotypical sequence of individual elements either in *‘Uqūd al-juman* or *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*. On the contrary, some of the micro-elements appear more, others less frequently, and they are placed into the narratives in changing combinations. As has been mentioned above, the use of one or two stereotypical micro-elements often serves to conceal the enthronement of child sultans or weaker sultans who reigned only for a short time. In these cases, Ibn Iyās either keeps the most basic formulations, (*lamā*) *ta-salṭana...* and (*wa lamā*) *tamma amr bi-mulkihi* or *bi l-salṭana*, or adds, seemingly at random, one of the other micro-elements.<sup>595</sup> In the case of puppet sultans, the narrative immediately turns towards the description of the respective atabek’s political decisions. The use of the whole set of micro-formulations becomes more frequent in the course of *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*. The full or nearly complete set of these elements marks the chapters dedicated to sultans Ibn Iyās regarded as especially powerful. In less frequent cases, it can also serve to point out sultans who will become influential later.<sup>596</sup>

## Ceremonialized Narration as a Way of Representing Order (Even out of Chaos)

### Transition Narratives: The First Four Mamluk Sultans

Only the beginning of Mamluk rule in Egypt is distinctly marked as a break or the beginning of a new ‘dynasty’ in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr*. In contrast to the other two texts, the author inserts two chapter headings here that address this caesura: “On the beginning of the Turkish rule in Egypt” and “On the origins of the Turks”.<sup>597</sup> The two parallel texts do not explicitly deal with the change from Ayyubid to Mamluk rule. Rather, the narratives of *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *‘Uqūd al-juman* mimetically follow the events of the reorientation after the murder of Tūrānshāh in 648/1250, without integrating these events into an explanatory overarching narrative. It is true that *‘Uqūd al-juman* also begins with a headline that refers to the beginning of a new ‘dynasty’ and contains the formulation *fī ibtidā’ dawla al-*

595 See e.g. the chapters on Baybars’s two sons, *Dhikr salṭana al-Malik al-Sa’id Abī ‘l-Ma’ālī Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārā al-Ṣāliḥī*, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 342; and *Dhikr salṭana al-Malik al-‘Ādil Saif al-Dīn Salāmish b. al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars*, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 346.

596 As in the case of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s first reign, see *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr* Ia, 378, where Ibn Iyās evokes much more elements of ascension ceremonial than in the later chapters of al-Nāṣir’s second and third reigns, cf. *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr* Ia, 401 and 432.

597 Both *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* Ia, 288.

*atrāk*, which is subsequently used in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>598</sup> However, the section headed in this way contains an account of the events revolving around Shajar al-Durr and does not address the establishment of a new 'dynasty', as to be found later in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.

*Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Uqūd al-juman* present the events in a strongly actor-centered or figure-centered form and are free of superordinate meaningful elements or explanatory patterns that argue, for instance, in favor of divine will. The historical events that eventually lead to the establishment of Mamluk rule appear as the results of the actions and connections of the individual protagonists. In *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, for instance, Ibn Iyās shows Shajar al-Durr's ascension as a consequence of her tight loyalty bonds with the last influential Ayyubid sultan—an explanation that he maintains in *Uqūd al-juman*, though in a very condensed form. Both texts share an anonymous verse that serves to explain the unbecoming events around Shajar as triggered by her womanly mental weakness:

Women are lacking in intellect and religion  
They have no sensible judgement  
And because they carry the children  
Allah Most High has not made any woman a prophet<sup>599</sup>

Ibn Iyās further elaborates this argumentation in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* by rearranging the compiled text parts accordingly and combining them with additional elements. In this way, he forms a more evaluative narrative, which characterizes the figure of Shajar as an evil person who tragically succumbs to her female deficiencies.<sup>600</sup>

*Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Uqūd al-juman* furthermore share a very similar approach to reporting on the following three Mamluk sultans. The narratives in both texts are concise and focused consistently on political events. As mentioned above, the majority of the narrated time is dedicated to showing the accession scenes and to narrating events that support the Mamluk claim to legitimate rule. Instead of adhering to the structuring grid of yearly chronological headings, both texts concentrate on the events, thus creating a constant narrative flow: *Jawāhir al-sulūk* even completely abandons the chronological structuring in this passage.<sup>601</sup> There are very few references to events that stand in no connection to the questions of transition of power and legitimacy: if mentioned, the events are of superior remarkability (such as a severe blaze in Mekka). Both texts put the acting figures and their motivation center stage, and even start to discuss their moti-

598 On the designation of Mamluk rule as *dawlat al-mamālik* or *dawlat al-atrāk*, see Yosef (2012 a and b).

599 *Uqūd al-juman* 2r, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 109.

600 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 293–294.

601 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum 110–112.

vations. For example, both *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* present emotions as the driving force behind Shajar al-Durr's and Aybak's behavior. The text parts again share many formulations verbatim, a lot of which are also re-used in *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*. In this text, however, Shajar's actions are mainly explained due to her being a woman and therefore lacking sound understanding; now this argumentation is integrated into the text, while the above cited verse does not appear again.<sup>602</sup>

<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> , 110	<i>ʿUqūd al-juman</i> , 3r
Then Aybak became very angry with her and settled down in the Manāẓir al-Liwaq. These were where the Uzbekiyya is today. He stayed there for two days furious. Shajar al-Durr sent somebody to follow him and win him over with sweet words, until his anger subsided. Shajar al-Durr had already chosen people to kill him as soon as he came to her.	Then Aybak became very angry with her and settled down furiously in the Manāẓir al-Liwaq. These were where the Uzbekiyya is today. He stayed there for two days. Shajar al-Durr sent somebody to win him over with sweet words and follow him. Thus his anger subsided. He left and mounted to the citadel. Shajar al-Durr had already chosen people to kill him as soon as he entered the citadel.

The reports concentrate on two topics. First, they focus on the events and doings of the individual figures who supported Aybak's power, but also led to his murder. Second, and somewhat in contrast to this very microscopic focus on the acting figures, there is a stark focus on ceremonial actions in the context of Aybak's ascension. The versions continue to share large portions of literally consistent passages. They vary only in the characterization of the acting figures; still, these minor changes in the narrative composition do not allow compilation analysis to decide whether the versions are in a unilateral or bilateral intertextual relationship.

*Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* stands out in the comparison due to the insertion of new material and the restructuring of compiled narrative parts. Elsewhere, I have already described the compilation process using this anecdote as an example.<sup>603</sup> Therefore, only the major changes within the narrative will be discussed here. Both *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* stick to a chronological presentation of the events. They sequence the conflict between Aybak and Shajar in roughly the following order: 1) Aybak decides to marry another woman; 2) Shajar disagrees and tries to prevent him from doing so; 3) the couple quarrel and Aybak leaves the citadel for a short time, but is calmed down by Shajar's emissary and persuaded to return; 4) Shajar plans to have Aybak murdered, sets a trap for him in the bathroom and regrets the decision, but too late to avert Aybak's murder; 5)

602 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 293–294.

603 Kollatz (2021).

after Aybak's assassination, the culprits are identified, Shajar and the hired assassins are killed and buried only days later; 6) the report of the inglorious end of Shajar is followed by obituaries for Shajar and Aybak, which present both characters in a far more positive light than the previously reported events.

In both texts, the narrative voice does not interfere in the report on the conflict; the actions, decisions and characteristics of the protagonists are neither evaluated nor put into a deeper context. An evaluation takes place only rudimentarily in the obituaries. However, the structure of the narrative is completely different in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Here, the author abandons the strictly chronological sequence of events, thereby achieving two effects. First, the alteration allows for tension to be built up in large parts of passages that have otherwise been adopted literally. Second, the rearrangements obviously pursue the goal of highlighting certain characteristics of the protagonists and a certain interpretation of the events. The sequence of the narrative is thus now organized according to literary criteria and the aim of guiding the recipients. The narrative voice is far more present in the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* version, as judgmental and explanatory remarks from the narrator's side now are inserted in all parts of the anecdote. Just as with the first newly added sentence in the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* version, the author clearly stakes out his evaluative framework: "This year saw conflicts (*fitan*) between al-Malik al-Mu'izz and his wife Shajar al-Durr."<sup>604</sup> Next follows a scene copied literally from the parallel texts, which illustrates Shajar's behavior towards Aybak with the help of literal speech and introduces the figure as bossing the sultan around. The following paragraph links compiled material from the beginning of the two previous texts with new additions and now clearly establishes the evaluation of Shajar's behavior as being due to the intellectual inadequacy of women. The section also contains a cataphoric remark from the narrator's side that heralds the end of the affair and evaluates it as tragic.

She had been told that al-Malik al-Mu'izz had sent for the daughter of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', the *ṣāhib* of Mosul, for engagement. That is why the worst of all bad things arose between them. Shajar al-Durr thought this affair she was involved in would mean her end, [especially] if Aybak left her. That was the root of all evil. However, women are lacking in intellect, and so she stumbled helplessly into her fate...<sup>605</sup>

It is tragic because the events are presented solely as the result of the misguided decisions of a woman, who, as the depiction of the murder scene demonstrates, is guided by her emotions:

<sup>604</sup> *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 301.

<sup>605</sup> *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 293.

While both of them were in the bathroom, she regained her affection for him. Then those eunuchs<sup>606</sup> penetrated (the room) with swords drawn. When al-Mu'izz Aybak saw them, he stepped up to Shajar al-Durr and kissed her hand. Then she said to the eunuchs: "Leave him alone!" But some of the eunuchs disagreed with her and said: "If we let him, neither we nor you will stay alive." They killed him in the bathroom by strangling him. It is said that they had tightly seized his private parts until he died.<sup>607</sup>

The parallel texts do not offer such an interpretation and meaning. Corresponding to the depiction of Shajar as a tragic female villain, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* also makes efforts to cast the figure of Aybak in a better light. The humiliating details concerning the way he was murdered appear only as an aside, and his behavior vis-à-vis his murderers is presented as much more 'manly' than in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, where Aybak is shown as helpless and humiliated: "When some of them seized his throat, and others his private parts, he called Shajar al-Durr to help."<sup>608</sup> In *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* though, Ibn Iyās lets him kiss his wife's hand goodbye and face his fate (see above). The narrative voice in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* differs from that in the preceding texts by a strong differentiation in its focalization. The described evaluation and insertion of the events into a meaningful framework is carried out here, in contrast to the previous versions, from the position of an omniscient narrator who knows the emotions, thought processes and intentions of the characters and organizes the narrative meaningfully around them. Although *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Uqūd al-juman* also report the "rage" of Aybak and Shajar, they do so from a rather distanced perspective that results from strict chronological sequentialisation.

Similar strategies of modification can be observed throughout the sample. Particularly noteworthy is the addition of a constantly high number of new elements to the information taken over from the parallel texts. As we have seen, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* seamlessly inserts some of these new shares into the voice of the superordinate narrator, Ibn Iyās, while quoting others as additional statements from external voices. In addition to the evaluative remarks, details on the reaction of the population to the ascension of sultans are added. It is noticeable that ambiguous, even negative reactions of the population are addressed and set against, for example, the actions of the sultans that helped to win the population over. For example, all three texts discuss the people of Cairo's reaction when Baybars enters the city and ascends the throne, while "the streets of Cairo had already been decorated for the victory of Qutuz".<sup>609</sup> All three texts refer to ambiguous reactions of the population, which is only won over to Baybars's side

606 The hired murderers.

607 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 294.

608 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* MS Cairo, 21v–22r.

609 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 116, *Uqūd al-juman* 7r, and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 309.

when he has the story of the murder of Qutuz announced from the minbars of the city, while he at the same time cancels some taxes that Qutuz had imposed on the population.<sup>610</sup>

*Badā'ī al-zuhūr* spends much more narrative time on depicting the transition ceremony, such as the amirs choosing Baybars as the next sultan while still travelling.<sup>611</sup> While *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* share a certain perspective on the legitimization of rule by parties outside Cairo, for instance, *maliks* of distant provinces,<sup>612</sup> *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* turns the focus completely towards political decisions and ceremonies at the center of power, Cairo. Added material mainly serves to convey information on consensual decision processes, the amirs and notables appointed by the new sultan and further political decisions.

Finally, a further structural change in the narrative should be mentioned. When Ibn Iyās moves compiled material told from his own narrative perspective between *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman*, he usually does so without marking the compiled parts. Instead, the compiled portions are merged seamlessly into the new narrative context and cannot be identified as re-used material unless one conducts a comparative reading. This is why it seems impossible to deduce a unilateral intertextual relationship between the two texts: they seem to belong to the same period in our author's writing process. However, the analysis of the first chapters on Mamluk rule shows that when compiling his own voice into *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, Ibn Iyās starts to insert markers to introduce re-used material. The majority of the compiled and paraphrased material still forms part of the hypertext's narrative, as if it was written uniquely for this text. However, when it comes to evaluative remarks, a not negligible number of paraphrased or verbatim compiled passages are now introduced with *qultu* ("I have said [elsewhere]"), although without referring to the hypotext's title.<sup>613</sup> Still, this way of marking his own, re-used material suggests that he saw his different texts as independent publications in their own standing which must be referred to. Had they been mere quarries for text material to him, references would have been unnecessary.

To conclude, the narrative analysis of the sample has confirmed that *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* are much closer in content and formulation to each

610 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 116–117, *ʿUqūd al-juman* 7r–v, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 311.

611 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 310.

612 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 116, *ʿUqūd al-juman* 8r.

613 The introduction with *qultu* ("I have said") does appear, in Ibn Iyās's texts and in the (Mamluk) historiographic corpus at large, as a marker introducing the author's individual voice. As such, it can be read as "I have said/I say [regarding this matter]" as well. However, in the samples I have analysed from *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* in the context of this study, the vast majority of *qultu*-markers introduce compiled material from Ibn Iyās's other texts without mentioning these as sources. Therefore, I tend to read *qultu* in this context as a reference to previous works.

other than compared to *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Obviously, our author undertook major steps in collecting new material, especially concerning the history of regions outside Egypt, reorganizing his already formulated content and re-plotting it in a far more evaluative and 'literarized' narrative. He fills the blank spots in the chronological sequence with additional information that mainly belongs either to the politico-military sphere or to the categories of *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib*. A further additional focus is on the people of Cairo, who enter the narrative both as evaluating focalizers and as potential recipients. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* includes the greatest amount of information that might be regarded as of special interest for the general public, such as information on taxation, events in Cairo or eminent persons still well known in the Cairo of Ibn Iyās's time. Due to the historical context, a major focus of the additional material is on reports of the Mongol advance and the Mamluk campaigns against the Mongols, marked in the texts as 'Tatars'. Reports on incidents that also appear in the earlier texts, such as the blaze in Mekka for instance, are now much more elaborated and commented on by the narrative voice.<sup>614</sup>

While the content of the two previous texts clearly concentrated on political events in Egypt, and news from abroad was only sporadically and briefly addressed (even the approaching Tatars are only briefly touched upon), *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* broadens the perspective to include interesting stories of all kinds. On the other hand, the texts presents them through a greater variety of narrative strategies, such as the addition of external perspectives in the form of quotations. This expansion in terms of content and structure does not marginalize the reports on political events at the sultan's court. Narratives about changes of ruler remain the defining characteristic of the sample in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. However, these are embedded much more strongly in more general historical and 'interesting' news than in the two previous texts. Especially in the reports on the early Mamluk sultans, however, the individual circumstances of the accession to the throne and the respective measures taken to legitimize the sultan are equally important to the stereotypical elements in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.

In this context, it is again noticeable that only *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* discusses at length the arrival of two members of the Abbasid dynasty in Cairo and their subsequent installation as caliphs in the context of their functionalization as legitimators of Mamluk rule.<sup>615</sup> In this context, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* puts great emphasis on the ceremony of investiture by which Baybars becomes a fully legiti-

614 Cf. the references to this catastrophe in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, ed. Zaynahum, 113–114; *Uqūd al-juman*, 5r; and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 298–299, which consists of an anonymous report that reached the people of Cairo on the 5th of Jumāda II and two additional narrative voices, namely a Shaykh from Basra and Abū Shāma.

615 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 312–318 and 320–21.



mated sultan on behalf of the caliph.<sup>616</sup> Narrated time and narrative time are very close to each other in these passages, which brings the reader close to the performative character of the described ceremonial acts and thus ties in with everyday knowledge shared by Cairo citizens of his time, who had the chance to witness at least the public parts of such ceremonial acts. In contrast, both *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* share only a short mention of the arrival of the Abbasid refugees, but do not link it to the legitimization of Baybars's sultanate.<sup>617</sup> On the contrary, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* mentions both arrivals and emphasizes the aspects of legitimization of the Mamluk sultanate, with the first passage in particular detailing the verification of the Abbasid arrival's identity, his being recognized as caliph and his subsequent appointment of the elites, qadis and of Baybars as the rightful sultan.<sup>618</sup> It is to be noticed in special that Ibn Iyās adds new agents or agent groups in his *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* version, namely first the people of Cairo as a commenting mass:

Then al-Malik al-Ẓāhir set off, Imām Aḥmad with him, and they entered [Cairo] through the Bāb al-Naṣr and all Cairo trembled [at their festive entry]. This day was a day of celebration and the inhabitants gathered to see the Caliph from the Abbasid family, for [previously] the people had believed that the Caliphate had been completely extinguished. In fact, the Caliph's throne had remained empty for about three and a half years and the world without an Abbasid Caliph.

When Imām Aḥmad arrived, the people rejoiced and thanked Allāh who had preserved the Abbasid lineage even though Hulagu had tried to destroy the worthy Abbasids. Some traditions say that the Abbasid caliphate will continue to exist in the world and will only end when ʿĪsa b. Mariam, peace be upon him, descends [to earth on the Last Day].<sup>619</sup>

Second, the *ʿulamāʾ*, qadis, amirs and further elites assembled to form the council (*majlis*) Baybars convened to verify and install the new caliph, are presented by

616 E.g. *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 314 (*baʿʿa*, certificate of legitimization), 316 (ceremonies that illustrate the caliph's *taqlīd* towards the sultan; Baybars being clad in the black robes of the sultan and *maukib*).

617 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 114, the text is identical to *ʿUqūd al-juman*, 8v–9r and describes the arrival of the second Abbasid in Cairo. *Jawāhir al-sulūk* has no mention of the first Abbasid's arrival in Cairo whatsoever, nor does it mention the Aleppine intermezzo of the second. As the first volume of *ʿUqūd al-juman* is lost, it is impossible to tell whether it would have comprised any mention of the first arrival similar to the version in *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*. On the Aleppine caliphate see Heidemann, Stefan (1994): *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261). Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo*. Leiden: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 6).

618 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 312–322, with 312–318 detailing the arrival, verification and installation of the first caliph and Baybars's subsequent actions, 320–322 representing the arrival of the second Abbasid with frequent cross-references to the previous, more detailed account on the first arrival.

619 *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* Ia, 313. All groups are not equally present in the parallel version of *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman*.

name several times, while their action in the context of the ceremonial even precedes Baybars's actions in relevant points.<sup>620</sup> In the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* version, the caliph himself becomes a puppet of the sultan, who, for example, dictates the first Friday sermon to him. Here, Ibn Iyās's narrative voice that evaluates from hindsight shines through the text, and becomes most visible in an inserted poem in praise of Baybars that presents him as the foundation pillar (*rukṇ*) of Mamluk rule. This evaluative aspect is missing from the parallel texts:

He [Baybars] was the first to adopt the throne name Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn ("Partner of the Caliph"), which was his distinction over the Ayyubids who had called themselves "representatives" or "deputy" of the caliph. They say:

O Turkish lion (*yā asad al-turk*), oh pillar [of their might]  
 who took the lead after the oppression  
 You broke the tyranny and revived the mercy  
 crossed the Euphrates and re-established the caliphate<sup>621</sup>

#### Transition Narratives: Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Three Reigns

Can ceremonial stereotypes characterize rule and maybe even help model or change the characteristics ascribed to a certain sultan or event? To answer these questions, we will have a look at the representation of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's three accessions (r. 693/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41). When the amirs of his father Qalāwūn placed al-Nāṣir on the throne for the first time, he was probably meant to be an underage placeholder for the next Mamluk sultan to come. Only his third reign became, as Amalia Levanoni has coined it, a turning point in Mamluk history.<sup>622</sup> However, Ibn Iyās tells his story about 200 years after al-Nāṣir's time and must have been well aware of the significance the young sultan enthroned in 693/1293 would earn later. Does he design his narratives according to this knowledge, or does he mimic the course of history, presenting al-Nāṣir each time he ascends as a bit more powerful?

The narratives about al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's first ascension coincide to a large extent literally in *Uqūd al-juman* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, which is why they are discussed jointly here.<sup>623</sup> Both texts concentrate on the sultan's young age and thus present him in a way Ibn Iyās usually reserves for underage puppet sultans. The narrative uses three stereotypical formulations: with *tasallṭana*, Ibn Iyās

620 For example, the verification of the new caliph's identity is confirmed and performed by the chief qadi Tāj al-Dīn b. Bint al-A'azz; it is the elites who chose the *laqab* for the new caliph and pay homage to him first (*Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 314).

621 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 314.

622 Levanoni (1995).

623 *Uqūd al-juman*, 25 r–v and *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 140–141.

introduces the reason for his enthronement, namely the murder of his brother. The formulation *jalasa 'alā sarīr al-mulk*, which might read as evoking regal superiority by referring to the spatial display of the sultan, here introduces information on al-Nāṣir's young age. Finally, with *wa lamā tamma amruhu fī 'l-saltāna*, which in the case of powerful sultans introduces their appointment policies, leads to naming al-Nāṣir's deputy (*nā'ib*) Kitbughā and the description of his policies, namely him capturing other amirs. Both texts thus underline the sultan's young age and his marginal potential to engage in political decision-making. With this depiction, the texts stick to the moment in time they describe: there are no efforts to bind together the narrative on al-Nāṣir Muḥammad or hint towards his later position. Hence in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, we again find additions of stereotypical micro-elements in the way we have already mentioned in the case of Lājīn.

...*fa-lamā jalasa 'alā sarīr al-mulk, bāsa lahu al-umarā' al-arḍ, wa talaqqaba bi 'l-Malik al-Nāṣir, wa nūda bi-ismihi fī 'l-Qāhira, wa ḍajja lahu al-nās bi 'l-du'a' wa duqqat lahu al-bashā'ir [...]'amala al-maukib wa akhla'a 'alā man yadhkura min al-umarā'...*<sup>624</sup>

The image of the enthronement of a young puppet sultan in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *'Uqūd al-juman* is turned, by the addition of some stereotypical elements, into the depiction of a fully-fledged ascension. It is noticeable, again, that Ibn Iyās carefully notes the participation of both amirs and people in the ceremony, which represents a consensual process accepted both by powerful elites and the population. The only literally consistent formulation taken over from *'Uqūd al-juman* and *Jawāhir al-sulūk* leads to the one part all three texts have in common, namely the enumeration of the amirs who were appointed to functions in the course of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's first ascension, or demoted, were captured or killed in the process.<sup>625</sup> The shorter texts only refer to this aspect of the transition to power: Ibn Iyās, like his contemporaries, evidently understood the staffing of functional positions, or the reorganization of responsibilities within the group of influential Mamluks, as extremely important information for understanding further historical processes. The distribution of power among the amirs and among various households is communicated by default by listing the names, previous positions and new functions of the respective amirs. In the event of the capture or even extermination of individual amirs or entire groups, this is also reported in detail. As a centerpiece of transition of power narratives this part is

624 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 378, violet parts represent additions only to be found in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, black parts are verbatim in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *'Uqūd al-juman*, orange parts represent paraphrased material.

625 *'Uqūd al-juman*, 25v immediately delves into the description of how al-Nāṣir's amirs got rid of their competitors.

also preserved in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, and is usually taken over almost literally here and elsewhere. However, the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* version differs slightly from the parallel texts, as Kitbughā does not appear as prominently as key decision-maker as before: he is listed, though still at the top of the list, together with the other newly appointed emirs. Moreover, Ibn Iyās turns to his policy only a paragraph further down.<sup>626</sup>

Like for his first reign, *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* have identical wording, with only negligible paraphrases of no more than five words (see green/violet parts in the left column below), in the description of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's second accession. Ibn Iyās has compiled large parts of this version into *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. The chapter heading and dating of his return are identical (except for *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* also giving the day of the week of his return to Cairo). However, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* has large insertions of stereotypical narrative elements that relate to the ceremony of transition in the first part, along with additional anecdotal material and verses inserted into the later part of the transition narrative. In favor of the stereotypical depiction of ceremonial, Ibn Iyās has erased the description of the sultan's robe and attire. The text portion below is followed, in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, by another short anecdote and a poem commenting on al-Nāṣir's return. Afterwards, the usual list of appointed amirs follows, however introduced by the short mention of a second *maukib*.

<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> , 153–4; <i>ʿUqūd al-juman</i> , 31 r-v	<i>Badā'ī al-zuhūr Ia</i> , 401–402
[...] Cairo had already adorned herself for him and the good news ( <i>bashā'ir</i> ) heralded. He mounted to the citadel and donned the sultan's <i>khil'a</i> , which is a black robe with golden hemlines, a black turban and a sword with a chiseled hilt. He sat on the throne of rule and his name was called out in Cairo. The people prayed in his favor ( <i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> : <i>ṣāḥa al-nās lahu bi 'l-du'ā'</i> / <i>ʿUqūd al-juman</i> : <i>ḍajjū</i> ). On this occasion, when al-Malik al-Nāṣir came back, <sup>627</sup> Shaykh 'Alā al-Dīn al-Wadā'ī made the verses: Al-Malik al-Nāṣir's rule / arose like the sun / He came back to the throne ( <i>kursī</i> ) / like Sulaymān.	[...] When he entered, Cairo had already adorned herself for him and the parasol ( <i>al-qubba wa 'l-tayr</i> ) was carried over his head. The four qadis met him in Maṭariyya and he entered Cairo in a splendid <i>maukib</i> . The amirs walked in his retinue and the streets had been covered in silk for him until he mounted the citadel. Then, Caliph al-Imām Aḥmad and the four qadis came and swore their allegiance ( <i>bāy'ūhu bi 'l-salṭana</i> ). He sat on the throne of rule and the amirs kissed the ground in front of him. The good news ( <i>bashā'ir</i> ) was heralded, his name was called out in Cairo and the people prayed in his favor ( <i>ḍajjū al-nās lahu bi-d-du'ā'</i> ). Some of the historians have recorded: when al-Malik al-Nāṣir returned from Karak, he was informed that Caliph al-Imām Aḥmad

626 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr Ia*, 388–389.

627 The violet part only in *Jawāhir al-sulūk*.

(Continued)

<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> , 153–4; <i>Uqūd al-ḡuman</i> , 31 r-v	<i>Badā'ī al-zuhūr Ia</i> , 401–402
	al-Ḥākim bi-llāh had said about him: 'He is a stranger.' When al-Imām Aḥmad came to do the <i>bai'a</i> , al-Nāṣir snorted and told him: 'You said I was a stranger, you blackface?' Shaykh 'Alā al-Dīn al-Wadā'ī made the verses: Al-Malik al-Nāṣir's rule / arose like the sun / He came back to the throne ( <i>kursī</i> ) / like Sulaymān.

*Badā'ī al-zuhūr* is closer to *Uqūd al-ḡuman* than to *Jawāhir al-sulūk* in this part, taking the verb *ḡajjū*. However, if it was not for the verse by al-Wadā'ī, which he copies into the *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* version, the few passages left from the earlier versions could be accidental parallels. The additions in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* foster the interpretation of the writing process as has been proposed for al-Nāṣir's first reign. The participation of all sorts of functional groups and the caliph is much more strongly put forward than in the earlier version. While 'standard' formulations in transition narratives in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, and some in *Uqūd al-ḡuman*, mention the actions of groups like the *bai'a*, the amirs and the caliph taking part in the *maukib*, this version illustrates the actions by narrating the ceremonial context in bright colors. Secondly, with the story about al-Nāṣir's verbal exchange with the caliph, Ibn Iyās also adds an anecdote that reads as interesting and even funny at first sight, but at the same time serves to characterize the still young sultan. Showing al-Nāṣir as a self-confident man who is able to laugh away verbal assaults and dares to challenge the position of a still symbolically significant figure endorses the positive evaluation Ibn Iyās already included in his earlier version with al-Wadā'ī's verse.

The narratives on al-Nāṣir Muḥammad fit the comparative approach of this chapter well, not only because the same sultan ascended the throne three times under different circumstances, but also because Ibn Iyās's approach to re-emplotting the material in the course of his working process differs strongly between the three accessions or returns to rule. While the narrations on the initial ascension remained relatively stable and only saw small additions in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, the narration of the first return to rule has been expanded and replenished with stereotypical elements, along with a brightening and implicitly evaluative anecdote on the young sultan. As for the second return (in Ibn Iyās's words), or al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third rule, the narratives in Ibn Iyās three historiographical works differ significantly from each other. To begin with *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, the text shows a very condensed approach to the sultan's return. Introduced by the stereotypical *fa-lamā tamma amruhu fī l-salṭana, akhla'a 'alā*

*sā'ir al-umarā'*, the text directly starts by listing appointments, demotions and related conflicts between the amirs and the sultan.<sup>628</sup> The chapter heading even lacks the usual numeration of the sultan, while both *'Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* stick to the usual paradigm and count al-Nāṣir's return as his "third reign".<sup>629</sup> The shortest rendition of events by Ibn Iyās thus does not develop the sultan's narrative representation, instead it keeps providing brief historiographical information.

The rendition in *'Uqūd al-juman* is closer to the paradigm of chapter beginnings and includes stereotypical mentions of ceremonial elements, thereby referring to the participation of Caliph al-Mustakfī bi-llāh Sulaymān (r. 701–740/1302–1340) and various groups of amirs: the sequence differentiates between those amirs who "had been in his companionship" during his exile in Kerak and others both high and low who had unequivocally sworn personal allegiance to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (*ḥilf*).<sup>630</sup> Besides some stereotypical formulations like "he sat on the throne" (*jalasa 'alā sarīr al-mulk*) and "the parasol was carried over his head" (*ḥumilat al-qubba wa 'l-ṭayr 'alā rā'sihi*), the sequence has individual formulations like "al-Malik al-Nāṣir donned the robes of honor of the sultanate" (*labasa al-Malik al-Nāṣir khil'a al-salṭana*) and information on where he performed the seating ceremonial (*wa jalasa bi 'l-īwān al-ashrafi*). Finally, the detailed reference to amirs of high and low ranks (*al-umarā' min al-arkān wa-l-aṣāghir*) and the differentiation between two forms of vowing allegiance, the *bai'a* performed by the caliph (which, as Peter M. Holt has stated, refers to the functional position of the sultanate and thereby has to be regarded as a transpersonal element of legitimation)<sup>631</sup> and the *ḥilf* directed personally to the sultan, performed by the amirs, are specifications that do not form part of the stereotypical set of ceremonial narrations.

The listing of appointments differs from the *Jawāhir al-sulūk* version in two respects. Firstly, there is no simple listing, as is usual in many transition narratives in all three texts in question: the *'Uqūd al-juman* version goes straight into the discussion of some unusual occurrences, reporting on the former deputy sultan (*nā'ib al-salṭana*), who asks for dismissal and permission to go to his lands in Shaubak to live there. In the following, notes on appointments alternate with short anecdotes on interactions between the sultan, his confidants and other amirs abroad. Among these, some formulations from the narration about Amir Baybars al-Dawādār being sent to negotiate with the former sultan al-Malik al-

628 *Jawāhir al-sulūk* ed. Zaynahum, 163–164.

629 *'Uqūd al-juman*, 41v; *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 431–432.

630 *'Uqūd al-juman*, 41v.

631 Holt, Peter M. (1975): "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan". In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, 237–249, 241.

Muẓaffar Baybars al-Jashnkīr<sup>632</sup> have been compiled verbatim into *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. However, these elements of the narrative do not form part of the usual range of topics at the beginning of a new sultan's chapter. Instead, it seems that Ibn Iyās skipped his usual short notes on appointments to go straight into the main part of the chapter, which as usual deals with political and military decisions and interactions between sultan and amirs. The narrative thus leaves the common form to spend more narrative time on reporting the actual historical situation, and 'interesting' anecdotes related to it, than on standard narrative elements.

This tendency becomes even clearer when we look at the narration on al-Nāṣir's third accession in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. Apart from the chapter heading and very few verbatim compiled or paraphrased passages, the transition narrative in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* is genuinely different from the earlier texts. Parts of the stereotypical ceremonial descriptions are still present, but only as minor elements of a narrative dedicated to representing the individual historical occasion, al-Nāṣir's entrance to Cairo. This version still underlines the importance of the city in the accession process, but in a far more individual narrative way than the stereotypical element "Cairo had been adorned" (*zuyyināt al-Qāhira*) does. In particular, Ibn Iyās now uses spatial references to the architectural framework of Cairo and the citadel to make the narrated events palpable for his Cairo-based intended recipients, as in the first section:

...He entered Cairo on Saturday 2nd Shawwāl 709 [5.3.1310]. Cairo had been adorned on his behalf (*zuyyināt lahu al-Qāhira*) and the parasol was carried over his head (*wa ḥumilat 'alā ra'sihi al-qubba wa 'l-tayr*). Yet, he entered [the city] from the direction of al-Turab and the streets had been covered in silk on his behalf, from Ra's al-Ṣuwwa up to the citadel. He entered through the Bāb al-Silsila and sat on the throne (*maq'ad*) in the sultan's barracks, where the drummers (*auzān*) and the young sultan's Mamluks stepped in front of him. It was a festive day, as al-Ṣafadī has put it...<sup>633</sup>

This version also underlines the participation of young Mamluks, while the group of established powerful amirs is absent from the narrative. Instead, the text includes the names of the caliph, the four qadis, the head of chancery (*kātib al-sirr*) and the vizier of the time, but without detailing the ceremony they performed in front of the new sultan. The investiture of the new sultan by the caliph, which takes formulations from both *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *'Uqūd al-juman*, follows only in the fifth section, after an anecdote that takes up the plot of al-Nāṣir beating back criticism from established figures. However, other than in the narrative on his second ascension, the sultan is now shown confronting one of the qadis: "When the *majlis* was over, al-Malik al-Nāṣir turned to Qadi Badr al-

632 *'Uqūd al-juman*, 41v-42r.

633 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* Ia, 431.

Dīn b. Jāmi'a and asked: 'How about you making a fatwa on me being a stranger and deserving to be killed?' ...<sup>634</sup>

The anecdote is followed by a rather stereotypical description of the *maukib*, again supplemented by references to the exact way the procession went; furthermore, the participation of the amirs is more distinctly shown as a ceremony that represents their status as subordinated to the sultan: "He rode through the Bāb al-Silsila, while the amirs walked at his feet, until he mounted the citadel, where the amirs kissed his feet while he sat on the throne..."<sup>635</sup> The last part of the ascension narrative again shows the sultan as occupying the most powerful position. He gives robes of honor to the caliph, the qadis and a number of other position holders. It is noticeable that in this section, in contrast to the usual appointment lists, Ibn Iyās consequently refers to the functional posts or groups, i. e. the caliph, the deputies (*nawwāb*), the important men of the realm (*arbāb al-dawla*), without mentioning a single individual by name. With this change, he enhances the transpersonal character of the functional posts and groups, while the individual amirs who hold the positions remain unnamed. This strategy somewhat stands in contrast with the third section of the passage in question, where Ibn Iyās listed the names of the four qadis, which he did not include in any of the other ascension narratives on al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

Compared to the narratives on the third ascension in *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Uqūd al-juman*, the *Badā'i al-zuhūr* version appears to have undergone a serious rewriting process, which resulted in a narrative that is far more independent from the earlier texts than the *Badā'i al-zuhūr* narratives are in general. However, the basic statements and plot elements remain stable: the new sultan is staged in front of all relevant groups of society, the city and the citadel as spatial representations of Mamluk societal and political order. However, certain elements like the mention of young Mamluks stress individual features of the third accession. On the discourse level, the inclusion of more anecdotes and verses enhance the literary character of the narrative, both producing a more individual picture of the new sultan and making the narrative as a whole more enjoyable and interesting.

634 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* Ia, 432.

635 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* Ia, 432.



## Conclusion to Chapter VII: Ibn Iyās's 'Imaginary Norm' of Stable Rule Narrated

The case studies in this chapter have shown that Ibn Iyās uses a stereotypical set of narrative elements in the context of transition narratives both on the macro level of structuring (e.g., chapter headings) and in terms of the normally included information elements. This set builds up over the first chapters on the Mamluk sultanate, and is substantially amended (or implemented much more intensively) in *Badā'i al-zuhūr* than in the parallel texts. The representation of transitions includes, in all texts, the depiction of 'Mamluk' strategies of consensual nomination: the narrative also follows conflicts that often precede a consensus and may even continue after the candidate favored by the most influential amir faction has been installed on the throne. However, there is a tendency toward using stereotypical narrative elements referring to the ceremony of accession to cover up these power struggles, one that can be observed in *Uqūd al-juman* and becomes a standard element of the narrative in *Badā'i al-zuhūr*. In these texts, a set of standard ceremonial elements becomes observable after the (newly inserted) detailed representation of the Abbasid caliph being installed as a legitimating factor in Cairo. The set of ceremonial stereotypes includes several elements that are mentioned almost in every ascension narrative, which mostly occur in a certain order. Other elements join in occasionally. The individual circumstances and processes of each transition led our author to consciously create stability in the narrative. The narrative reconstruction of performative representation and legitimation of power by the stereotypical elements serves this purpose.

An important component is the interactive character of all stereotypically described elements of the ceremonial. While ceremonies and *maukibs* within the citadel, as well as the formal vows of allegiance (*ba'i'a /ḥilf*), illustrate the consent of the elites, especially the amirs, the presentation of the sultan in his royal attire, the document of investiture issued by the caliph and the testimony of the four qadis stand for the representation of Islamic legitimation and the consensus of the respective elites. Finally, the urban population is also stereotypically included in these affirmative narratives. Even the smallest linguistic modifications during the compilation process, such as the change from the passive to active mode of the verbs, can affect the representation of the participation or agency of the different groups during the accession process. This linguistic element needs further study. However, it suggests that even small changes, like the disruption of the order of represented ceremonial elements, can be used to present a certain transition as either orderly or disruptive. We will return to this narrative strategy in the next chapter when reading the representation of Selim I's entrance to Cairo

after the Ottoman conquest. The analysis presented in this chapter are of course, only a first step towards a full understanding of Ibn Iyās's strategies of legitimation and representation of rule. Especially regarding the intertextual entanglement of his works—decidedly not only the *Badā'i al-zuhūr*—further studies e.g. concerning his use of external sources are needed, but must remain a desideratum for the moment.



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## VIII The Ottoman Conquest Narrated

Many, if not all historiographical studies on the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Cairo rely on Ibn Iyās's report in one or the other way.<sup>636</sup> Often, his attitude has been described as skeptical or even hostile to the Ottoman conquerors and their sultan. However, there is a broad consensus, as Doris Behrens-Abouseif has put it, that his report should not be considered unreliable for this reason.<sup>637</sup> The following analysis does not seek to prove the narrative's (un)reliability either. Instead, the approach of cultural-historical narrative studies (*kulturhistorische Narratologie*)<sup>638</sup> aims to understand a narrative's construction, to detect, behind its composition, the ideas, values, and judgments intentionally or unintentionally highlighted by the author. As far as I know, despite its widespread use as a source, there is to date no study that approaches Ibn Iyās's writing from the narratological angle, except for Li Guo's remarks on the poetic insertions into *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*.<sup>639</sup> Undertaking such an analysis alongside the study of Ibn Iyās's complete historiographic *oeuvre* will help us to understand his 'biases' and statements concerning the Mamluk-Ottoman transition in a much broader context than has been possible when reading his 'report' on the Ottoman conquest as an isolated source. For as the product of the 'last great chronicler of Egypt', the last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* indeed occupies a singular position among the Mamluk historiographical narratives that have come to us, as we have no additional sources from the same time that cover the Egyptian perspective. From the Syrian, or Damascene point of view, the references to the Ottoman conquest in Ibn Ṭūlūn's (d. 953/1546) writings may be regarded as originating from a similar background

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636 To name just a few, see, e. g., Holt, Peter M. (1966): *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922*. London: Longmans, 33–45 for a synopsis of events and agents; Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (1994): *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule. Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo (16th and 17th centuries)*. Leiden: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization, 7); Lellouch (2006); Winter (2017), 33–56.

637 Behrens-Abouseif (1994), 134.

638 As introduced by Erll/Roggendorf (2002).

639 Guo (2018).

as those of Ibn Iyās. Both authors have been described as the first and foremost “excellent eyewitness chroniclers” of the Mamluk-Ottoman transition.<sup>640</sup> However, the last part of the *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* still stands in the context of both the work it forms part of, which is deeply influenced by generic conventions of its time, and of Ibn Iyās’s overall way of dealing with historiographical narration. Studying his account of the Mamluk-Ottoman transition thus must include an analysis of the narrative strategies, the techniques he uses to endow his texts with meaning in the last part of *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr*.

According to the thematical framework of this study, the narratological analysis will concentrate on the ‘reports’ of events directly related to the Ottoman occupation of Syria, Egypt and especially Cairo.<sup>641</sup> It is dedicated to studying exemplary narrative devices, both on the discourse and sematic levels, that shape the positionality and perspective of the narrative voice. The text sample here starts with Qānīṣaw al-Ghawrī’s (r. 906–922/1501–1516) preparations for his march on Aleppo, which ultimately led to Mamluk defeat at Marj Dābiq and the sultan’s death. It ends with the description of Ottoman preparations for the administration of their newly conquered lands before Sultan Selim I (r. 918–926/1512–1520) leaves Cairo for Istanbul. Relevant examples will be given in English translation for the purpose of readability, although the narrative analysis is always based on and refers to the Arabic original text. This especially applies with regard to semantic considerations.

The narrative of the Mamluk-Ottoman confrontation and the following transition period again sees the encounter of two distinctive parties, as was the case in the narration on the Islamic conquest of Egypt. While the struggles between Mamluk factions and pretenders to the throne were negotiated between groups and individuals from the same social context, and even the transition to Mamluk rule itself grew out of a relatively homogeneous context (after all, the first Mamluk amirs to seize power in Egypt had been rank-and-file members of the military elite during Ayyubid times), the Ottomans, though Ḥanafī Muslims, represented the first ‘foreign’ entity to seize power in Egypt since, as Ibn Iyās puts

640 E.g., by Michael Winter (2017), 33. On Ibn Ṭūlūn, see Brinner, W. M.: “Ibn Ṭūlūn.” In : *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, online 2012. See also the biographical article by Stephan Conermann that includes more references to emic material on Ibn Ṭūlūn, cf. Conermann (2004), and Richardson, Kristina (2015): “Reconstructing the Autograph Corpus of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 135 (2), 319–327. On the parallels and possible connections between Ibn Iyās and Ibn Ṭūlūn, see also Wollina (2017) and id. (2018): “Did Ibn Ṭūlūn read Ibn Iyās? A Manuscript from Paris,” *Damascus Anecdotes*, online; and Kollatz (in press 2022).

641 The following will use ‘narrative’, ‘report’ and ‘account’ as synonyms, understanding the text as a narrative of a factual character with the intention to convey information about historical events by using narrative strategies, including fictional elements.

it, the Islamic conquest at the hands of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. The events are presented as utterly exceptional by placing them in the context of events further back in history:

I shall add (*aqūlu*): from the time when ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, God be pleased with him, took Egypt by force of arms in the 22nd year of the hijra, until today, no ruler has ever taken Egypt by force of arms like Selim. Such a thing never happened before, except with Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian, a long time ago.<sup>642</sup>

One may note that Ibn Iyās does not mention the intrusions of Timur Lenk, who besieged Damascus in 802/1400, as equal threat to Mamluk rule—this again might hint to how deeply Egyptian, or Cairo-centered, his perspective on history was. Nevertheless, the Ottoman conquest calls for explanatory strategies that endow meaning to the disruptive and highly contingent events our author and his fellow Cairene inhabitants had to cope with. In this respect, the narrative on the Ottoman conquest and its aftermath joins aspects of both narratives on military struggles and narratives on natural crisis, like the plague epidemics. Similar to narratives about the natural disasters that befell Cairo, the sections on the Ottoman conquest focus strongly on the destruction caused by military confrontations both in Syria and Cairo itself, and on the suffering of the population and high death rates. Although the style of the last section of *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* has often been described as being close to journal notes, the main structuring principles of chronological and dynastic order are still observed or even consciously instrumentalized to create a notion of continuity, as will be discussed below. However, the chronological structure is narrowed to a daily or at least almost daily scheme.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand if and how Ibn Iyās adapted his narrative strategies to the special situation of writing during the events reported, or in very close proximity to them. A focus will be on the representation of collective and individual agents involved in the events. At which points do the representations of Mamluks and Ottomans as groups, as well as the respective sultans or further individual representatives of each group, differ from each other? Which strategies are used to express the author’s judgements on both

642 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 152, Nebuchadnezzar is referenced a dreadful example of hostile conquest a several times, e.g., *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 157 (destruction of the country and the suffering of its people). The use of Nebuchadnezzar as a comparative foil can also be found in Ibn al-Athīr, who compares the Mongolian invasion on the realm of the Khwarazmshāh in the year 617/1220–21 with the cruelty of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem. See Ibn Athīr (\*2003): *Al-kāmil fī ‘l-tārikh*. Edited by Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Daqaq. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, vol. 10, 399; see also the translation in Browne, Eduard G. (1902): *A Literary History of Persia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. II, 427–431, esp. 428. On the representation of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, see Chapter VI, and further Kollatz (2020). See also below, “The Ottomans Compared to Non-Islamic Conquerors”.

groups and individual agents? Which criteria are the basis for those judgments, and do they differ concerning the respective groups? The abundant material from the last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* makes it possible to study the primary strategies of characterization, such as the association of certain figures with specific emotive terms, as well as subsidiary or indirect strategies of characterization, such as the implementation of spatial framing, the use of multiple narrative layers, highlighting strategies such as prosimetric passages, the use of fictional dialogues and internal direct speech that sometimes comes close to interior monologue and finally explicit and implicit strategies of judgment. Besides figure characterization and spatial framing, the analysis of the temporal organization of the narrative will help us understand thematical focuses and the weighting of certain topics, such as by the frequent use of repetitive narration of certain events, including their evaluation by the narrative voice. The most interesting groups are, of course, the opposed parties in the military struggle, the Mamluks and the Ottomans. While the latter enter the narrative stage for the first time, a third and very important group, namely the Cairene population, can be compared to their earlier positioning in the narrative, as is the case for the Mamluks. Most individual figures stand out from those collective agents; the Mamluk elite is the main reservoir from which these individual figures stem.

Ibn Iyās's narrative on the Ottoman conquest has often been described as clearly taking sides against the Ottoman conquerors, and indeed it is dripping with negative assessments of everything related to the Ottomans. However, it seems noteworthy that a good portion of the anti-Ottoman evaluations, especially the negative characterization of the Ottoman policy toward the population of Cairo, does not differ much from the criticism raised earlier against Mamluk policies. A comparison of the representation of the Mamluks prior to, during and after the conflict with the representation of the Ottomans, from their initial entrance to the reports on their implementation of rule (whether effective or not) in Cairo, will question whether Ibn Iyās's negative stance towards the Ottomans (and earlier the Mamluks) should be understood as expressions of a strong distrust in rulers in general. The following analysis thus does not aim to once again paraphrase Ibn Iyās's representation of events.

## The Discourse: Temporal and Spatial Organization of the Narrative

### Temporal Dimensions and Frequency

The last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* is structured along the double organization criteria of chronological order and the reigns of various sultans. The chronological grid tightens again, zooming from a mostly annalistic or monthly rhythm

into frequent day-by-day reports. However, as for the previous sections and Ibn Iyās's older historiographical texts, the chronological organization remains flexible and oscillates between very detailed passages, sometimes even distinguishing events according to the time of the day, and passages with a broader view that summarize the events of several days or even weeks. The narrative thus may be described as being characterized by a very flexible relationship between narrated time and narration time.<sup>643</sup> Furthermore, the temporal structure is influenced by the narrative voice, which frequently gives proleptic comments that link reported events to events in the future of narration time by anticipating certain developments. The almost stereotypical phrases used for such links are, for example, *wa kadhā jarā fima ba'd* ("and this will become obvious in the following"), along with more explicit links including judgmental phrases. This can be observed in the assessment of Ottoman diplomatic activities prior to the Battle of Marj Dābiq, which Ibn Iyās evaluates as schemes meant to deceive the Mamluks: *kāna hadhā kulluhu ḥiyālan wa khadā'an min Ibn 'Uthmān ... wa qad zuhira ḥaqīqa dhalika fīmā ba'd* ("all these were stealth and deceit on the part of the Ottoman ... and meanwhile the events that followed have revealed the truth").<sup>644</sup> Apart from the function of guiding the readership, which is intended to convince them of the views expressed by the narrative voice and, such cross-referential remarks serve to build continuity in the narrative flow. Regarding the writing process of our author, they suggest that the text was edited or reworked in retrospect. In any case, the frequency of forward-looking comments, as they occur in the fifth part, cannot be the result of a writing process that took place exclusively parallel to the events.<sup>645</sup>

Another distinguishing factor closely related to the temporal dimensions of the narrative is the *frequency of narration*, which might seem to contradict the aforementioned hypothesis concerning a redaction process, at least in some respects. Several, mostly decisive events are narrated repeatedly. The narrative refers to such events in their place in the chronological order; however, there might be anticipating remarks pointing to the respective event beforehand, although usually without details. Repetitive episodes on the same event are then inserted into the chronological order in later places, for example in retrospectives

643 See, e.g., Genette (2010), 17-18, see also Chapter VII, 200, note 566.

644 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 45.

645 My inspection of Ibn Iyās's autograph of *Uqūd al-juman* has led me to the hypothesis that he added cross-references even in the last step of the writing process and certainly in prior (usually not preserved) notes. The *Uqūd al-juman* autograph has frequent insertions of cross-referential remarks or short addenda in the margins, which clearly come from the author's hand. The autograph seems to be the only copy of the said text issued by the author, however, the cross-referencing process could additionally be studied using autographs of *Badā'i al-zuhūr*.



usually in the context of obituaries or end-of-year summaries. Repetitive mentions may also appear in places where new information becomes available to the people of Cairo and thereby to the author-cum-narrator Ibn Iyās. This forges another correlation between the narrator's position, or *focalization*, and the structure of the narrative. Repetitive multiple narrations on the same event may re-narrate already mentioned details or add new information. In general, repetitive episodes in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* first summarize previous reports, often including a cross-reference, although without a precise indication of the position of the related previous text passages. In the following, new information or evaluative remarks on the part of the narrative voice are added, and the event in question may also be set in relation to the closer context. This technique allows the author to slowly build the narrative voice's evaluation of certain events, highlight different aspects and even adapt according to new information.

An example of the application of this technique is Ibn Iyās's report on the Battle of Marj Dābiq, the preceding events and the consequences of the Mamluk defeat. As all these events take place in Syria, which compels the author to rely on information coming into Cairo, it seems natural that he splits his reports into several reprises reflecting the drip of incoming information. However, repetitive narration is also used as a narrative strategy to strengthen evaluative remarks on certain events or figures. Thus, the summary of al-Ghawrī's life in the context of his obituary<sup>646</sup> uses elements from the previous reports on Marj Dābiq and the failed legation to the Ottoman sultan, which led to the Mamluk envoy Mughulbāy falling under Ottoman arrest.<sup>647</sup> If we now compare the three representations of Mughulbāy's fate, first in the chronological context of the events preceding the Battle of Marj Dābiq,<sup>648</sup> which deals with diplomatic contacts between the Mamluk and the Ottoman sultans, second in the direct context of the aftermath of the Mamluk defeat,<sup>649</sup> and third in the context of the assessment of al-Ghawrī's rule after his death has been confirmed,<sup>650</sup> it becomes clear that the three reports are each linked to different functions on the discourse level, although they relate to the same events and do not change the essential plot to a greater extent.

The first and second passages contain a detailed account on what Mughulbāy had to endure at Ottoman hands. Parts of these passages are identical or contain only slight changes in wording, thus standing witness to intra-textual compilation practices. The second passage includes new information about the return of Mughulbāy to Aleppo and reparations from al-Ghawrī. However, Mughulbāy's report, dramatized by the use of direct speech, contains no information other

646 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86ff.

647 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 63–64.

648 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 64.

649 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 68–71.

650 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86.

than that already available in the first passage. It is hence a repetitive narrative which underlines the depiction of the Ottomans and their implicit evaluation by the use of dramatizing or 'literarizing' narrative elements. Both the first and second passages show Sultan al-Ghawrī as a capable ruler, who in the first part acts correctly and generously towards his Ottoman opponent and in the second generously compensates his humiliated envoy. The latter's fate is presented as an implicit message from the Ottoman sultan to al-Ghawrī. The Mamluk sultan immediately knows how to decipher it—again a characteristic of capable rulership—and implicitly criticizes the Ottoman side for mistreating the Mamluk envoy. Al-Ghawrī thus also serves as an additional focalizer. This criticism by the means of a lively scene is all the more impressive as right before the first passage, we find a similarly lively report about the generous gifts al-Ghawrī had sent to the Ottoman sultan.<sup>651</sup> Implicit evaluation is thus achieved here by comparison of the different behaviors of the Ottoman and Mamluk sultans, a technique defined by Manfred Beller as *antithetic argumentation*, which is characterized by the frequent use of stereotypical descriptions, biased evaluations and prejudices.<sup>652</sup> The second passage may serve as an example of this contrasting depiction:

The letter [sent by the Mamluk amir 'Allān to al-Ghawrī] said that [the Ottoman envoys] had lied to the sultan [al-Ghawrī] on behalf of Sultan Selim Shāh b. 'Uthmān, and this was confirmed by the return of Mughulbāy Dāwādār Sikkīn, who was in a horrible condition. He wore a bald cap on his head, his clothes were old, dirty and all ripped up and he rode on a very lean draught beast. His baggage had been plundered, his horses and equipment stolen. He reported that Ibn 'Uthmān refused peace and had told him: Go tell your master, he shall meet me at Marj Dābiq! He also reported that [the Ottoman sultan] had put him in chains and had threatened him with hanging multiple times, until some viziers had intervened in his favor. He had made him balance the droppings of his horse in a basket on his head and had made fun of him and humiliated him in a very mean way.<sup>653</sup>

The third mention of Mughulbāy's bad luck, however, forms part of the summary and evaluation of al-Ghawrī's life and rule. This passage contains an evaluation of both the positive and negative characteristics and deeds of the sultan. In this context, the narrative on Mughulbāy's mistreatment is not repeated; instead, we find an unspecific cross-reference ("as has been told before").<sup>654</sup> Similarly, nothing is mentioned of al-Ghawrī's compensation. Instead, a new bit of information turns the sultan's image negative: Mughulbāy's mistreatment is now

651 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 59–60.

652 Beller, Manfred (2013): "Fremdbilder, Selbstbilder." In Rüdiger Zymner and Achim Hölter (eds): *Handbuch Komparatistik. Theorien, Arbeitsfelder, Wissenspraxis*. Stuttgart, Weimar, 94–99, 97.

653 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 68.

654 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86.

presented as al-Ghawrī's fault, who appears to have missed the right diplomatic tone by sending his envoy in combat equipment:

...the sultan [al-Ghawrī] invested the [Ottoman] envoys with splendid robes of honor and gave lavish gifts to them, until the return of Mughulbāy Dāwādār Sikkīn, whom he had sent to the Ottoman sultan. When he returned, he was in utter state of humiliation, as has been told before. The sultan had sent Mughulbāy to the Ottoman sultan in full armor, which had offended the Ottoman sultan and provoked the humiliating treatment [of the envoy].<sup>655</sup>

This example will illustrate a narrative strategy that uses both frequency and the temporal construction of the narrative to link elements on the content level with evaluative significations and to present them to the reader. This strategy is used rather often in the last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* to represent and evaluate both Mamluk and Ottoman actions. It also serves to reinforce evaluative significations, as in this case between text passages one and two, both of which underline the negative evaluation of the Ottomans. However, content level information can also be used for differing textual statements, as shown by the third text passage, in which the same event is used to criticize al-Ghawrī. For the implicit criticism of both conflict partners, the same narrative strategies are applied at the discourse level, namely antithetical argumentation, which generates implicit evaluations, and, in addition, positively or negatively connoted verbs. Finally, both sides are measured by the same principles of good rule, which can be derived from the depiction of positively evaluated rulers in the narrative.<sup>656</sup>

### Spatial Dimensions

The analysis of the spatial dimensions of a narrative, be it fictional, factual or oscillating between those two poles, engages with the spaces created by or referred to on the story level, as well as with such spaces that develop in the process of reception.<sup>657</sup> On the story level, a number of spatial dimensions can be differentiated by their location on a micro or macro layer, as seen in terms of the whole narration. Thus, the general social, historical and geographical context a narrative is placed in may be referred to as *setting*, while the immediate spatial surroundings of a single event or action may be discerned as the *spatial framework* of the respective part of the narrative.<sup>658</sup> Such *spatial frameworks* can be

655 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86.

656 See Chapter VII.

657 For an overview on the development of spatial concepts in narratology, see Ryan, Marie-Laure: "Space, Paragraph 7." In: the living handbook of narratology, online.

658 Ibid.

linked to certain figures, actions and interactions (e.g., spaces linked to power and rule, sacred spaces, spaces determined or 'owned' by certain figures or agents), and may be invested with symbolic meaning and/or emotive connotations. Landmarks, architectural complexes and even the everyday action spaces of figures and, if they are involved in the action, the narrative voice(s) often also serve as points of identification. Symbolic meanings or common memories can bridge the gaps between the narrated and the historical and social contexts of the intended readership, so long as the narrative and the readers share the same connotations. For the modern analysis of historiographical narratives originally written for a certain contemporary intended readership, it is a vital task to decipher such common codes, as they often contribute to the decisive, if not necessarily easy to grasp, implicit atmosphere of a narration.

Besides spaces in the narrower sense of the word, as, for instance, geographically or architecturally framed spaces, social and intellectual spaces can be delineated on the narrative level by the description of their respective partitions, for example social hierarchies or common identifiers of groups. They are part of the set of spatial frameworks that altogether build the body of information from which the readers form their individual perception of the *narrative world* during the reception process. Finally, even spatial entities far from the actual narrated events may constitute an important part of the narrative and invite the imagination of the recipient. For example, Ibn Iyās refers several times to the homeland of the Ottoman conquerors, without giving much description of this geographical-political space. Besides a rather cursory localization in the *bilād al-Rūm*, Istanbul as the center of power is mentioned several times, for example as the place where the Egyptian people deported by the Ottomans after the conquest of Cairo are forced to go.<sup>659</sup> Furthermore, the homeland of the Ottomans is linked to their customs and traditions, which Ibn Iyās evaluates in a critical way.

Otherwise rarely described, this empty narrative framework invites the reader to develop their own 'mental cinema' of Ottoman moral corruption, fueled by the vivid descriptions of inappropriate Ottoman behavior in Cairo as given in the context. A telling example of this strategy is to be found in a passage where Ibn Iyās 'describes' the Ottoman presence in Cairo after Sultan Selim has finally installed himself in the citadel. Ibn Iyās renders his report while implicitly communicating his negative judgment of the Ottoman morality. He mentions Ottoman tents set up in Rumayla Square, in which the Ottoman army stores alcoholic beverages, hashish and young male slaves for being "used for idle things the way it was the custom in their country (*yuhāfirūna ka-‘ādatihim fī bilādi-*

659 E.g., *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* V, 162; the deportation of Sultan al-Ghawri's son is mentioned several times, cf. *Badā' i' al-zuhūr* V, 208, 253, 397.

him)”.<sup>660</sup> Without giving much more information on what went on in those tents, the narrative manages not only to add a piece to the unfavorable picture of the Ottomans as conquerors of Cairo, but also to defame them in general.

Coming back to the spatial framework of narrated action, the narrative on the Mamluk-Ottoman transition seems not to break with Ibn Iyās’s general spatial conceptualization both in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* and his *oeuvre* in general. Though decisive parts of the conquest take place outside the core setting of Cairo, where the overwhelming majority of Ibn Iyās’s narration is located both in terms of the narrator’s perspective and the spatial frameworks of the events and actions reported, the Cairene perspective remains the formative element of the narrative on the Mamluk-Ottoman struggle.

In only a few episodes does the narrative zoom out to battlefields or spaces of military action in Syria and Egypt, for example mapping the different Mamluk contingents’ routes through Syria and Egypt, as well as those of the Ottomans.<sup>661</sup> However, the narratives on places distant from Cairo usually are reconnected to Cairene space by micro-frame stories that underline the narrator’s, and possibly his source of information’s, location inside the city. Thus, reports on action in the northern parts of the realm are usually framed by reference to either cited informants who brought news to Cairo or by framing the news as ‘rumor’ or (yet) not verified information that spread among the people of Cairo or among the members of the city’s ruling elite. Such micro-frame stories may set up relations between several spatial frameworks of action in the narrative. The report on the Mamluks’ defeat near Baisān,<sup>662</sup> for instance, opens with a reference to the “bad news” the sultan received on the defeat, thereby linking the revealing of the information implicitly with the sultan’s abode, the center of Mamluk power. In the following “summary” (*ikhtīṣār*) of events, the spatial frameworks of military action remain relatively vague: movements of the different Mamluk contingents are mapped only in relation to each other, a description in which spatial and chronological parameters seem to be equally (un)important. Only the battlefield is located by mentioning its closeness to the city of Baisān twice.

Instead of laying emphasis on the spaces of military action, the report comes with a closing frame story, in which Ṣāliḥiyya as the abode of Amir Tuqtubāy is mentioned twice. Tuqtubāy is identified as the reliable source of information, who sent news to the sultan to inform him about the Mamluk defeat.<sup>663</sup> Again, the

660 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 163.

661 E.g. *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 68, 129 (movements of the Mamluk army), 140, 152 (movements of the Ottomans).

662 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 128–130. Baisān, today Bet She’an, Israel, was an important crossing of the River Jordan in the province of Damascus, in Mamluk times it was a center of the sugar cane trade and an important post relay station between Damascus and Cairo.

663 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 129.

spatial framework is thus connected to a meta-level of narration or the acquisition of reliable information, and indirectly to the center of power. In the following, Ibn Iyās returns to more information on the defeated army, when he writes on the surviving Mamluks' return to Cairo a few days later. Here, his information is presented as an eyewitness account from the perspective of the narrative voice,<sup>664</sup> and is thus firmly located in the spatial framework of the public spheres of Cairo. This framing is supplemented by references to the battle, which are marked as reports of unidentified witnesses or rumors (*qīla...*). However, the spatial dimension is not addressed further. Thus, the center of the narrative remains clearly focused on the level of the narrator's perspective and the frame story, namely the return of the defeated Mamluks to Cairo.

In the narrative cosmos of Cairo's urban space and its direct surroundings, spatial references structure the narrative in a far more detailed way. Judging from Ibn Iyās's fixed perspective from inside the Egyptian capital, it seems natural that his narrative describes and stages the events in his hometown in a detailed manner. References to Cairo's streets, buildings and the surrounding areas, including the battlefields between Raidāniyya and Maṭariyya where the Mamluks are finally defeated by the Ottoman army, display this urban space as the everyday living environment of both narrator and intended narratees, as they do in previous sections of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, and, to a lesser extent, in *Uqūd al-juman* or *Jawāhir al-sulūk*. Spatial denominations are in no way introduced to explain or describe them to foreign readers or recipients in the future; instead, the narrative voice presumes Cairo and its surroundings to be perfectly known to the readership. Even occasional references to mansions of individual persons usually come without explication, which shows that there was no need for the author to explain the exact location of a qadi's or a certain amir's house, either because this knowledge is presumed as known to the audience or because it is rated as less important. The latter explanation, however, is contradicted by often detailed descriptions of the location of tombs of important people, or the detailed reference to streets and alleys affected by the house-to-house fighting during the conquest of the city. The detailed mapping of the urban space and its connection to the reporting of events thus encourages us to understand Ibn Iyās's work as directed towards a readership among his fellow inhabitants of Cairo.

Spatial references, however, do not solely fulfill the purpose of information. In the description of the last fights between Sultan Ṭumānbāy and the Ottomans, references to streets, buildings and houses serve to convey information about the destruction of the inhabited urban space or to illustrate the extent of the slaughter following the Battle of Raidāniyya by mapping spaces between well-known landmarks (the 'Allān fountain, the tomb of Qā'itbāy), scattered with

664 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 130–131.

dead bodies. These mentions were certainly written with the aim of informing the reader, but they also allow for an examination of the implicit tendencies and focal points of the narrative. Again, it is not surprising that landmark buildings, like mosques, are mentioned frequently to map the movements of military groups. However, both the mention of buildings and the stereotypical description of procession routes can be linked to other things than purely informative content.

The citadel and the routes of processions, like the sultan's *maukibs*, are frequently mentioned and stereotypically retold not only in the last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, but also in the earlier parts on Mamluk rule. Spaces like the different courts and halls of the citadel, but also certain buildings in town<sup>665</sup> and the procession routes are obviously linked to the performance of power and rule, and work as *pars pro toto* reference to ideas, values and concepts in the context of ideal rulership. The narrative relies on the reader's ability to decipher those spatial metaphors, which are fed from common knowledge shared by Cairene inhabitants of the day. Thus, a short mention of Selim I rejecting the citadel and choosing to stay in his military camp draws its implicit critique from the intended readership's common knowledge about the citadel having been the recognized center of power for centuries. Given this knowledge, Selim's rejection of taking his rightful place appears as an act of barbarism and ignorance of tradition.<sup>666</sup> Not only the neglect of spaces of power, but also their destruction are mentioned as particular examples of Mamluk or Ottoman non-conformance to traditional rules. Thus, both al-Ghawrī and the Ottoman sultan are reported to have "stolen" marble tiles from the representative buildings of their subdued adversaries to install them in their own respective residences.<sup>667</sup>

Besides spaces of power, religious spaces are of particular interest for the way Ibn Iyās communicates a critique especially on the Ottoman conquerors. A significant part of the description of the final fighting in Cairo is dedicated to reports of the destruction and desecration of mosques, tombs or *khānqāhs*. Those descriptions contain a set of stereotypical elements, including the violation of tombs by "trampling" on them, the looting of mosque lamps and carpets and the killing of people who took refuge in the sacred spaces or stayed there as imams, doorkeepers, etc.:

665 Cf. the representation of Sultan Aybak, Chapter VII.

666 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 149–150, see also below. The citadel as the architectonic manifestation of Mamluk sovereignty has been discussed, *intra alia*, by Behrens-Abouseif (1994), e.g., 16. She also addresses the performative rejection of architecturally framed spaces of power by new rulers, who instead claimed their own, new power spaces, see *ibid.* 28.

667 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 162: description of the destruction of ceremonial spaces in the citadel during Selim's stay, including the removal of marble tiles that were subsequently transported to Istanbul. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 90 reports al-Ghawrī performing the same form of demolishing an adversary's building.

An Ottoman corps moved towards Old Cairo, infiltrated the great Qarāfa and occupied it from the gate of the Qarāfa to the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa, may God be pleased with her. The Ottoman soldiers entered her mausoleum, trampled on the tomb, took the silver lamps, the candles that surrounded the cenotaph, the carpets of the *zāwiyya* and massacred a group of Mamluks and individuals who had taken refuge in this very holy place. The [Ottoman] sultan then wanted to destroy the Bridges of the Lions and demolished part of the arches. The Mamluks (*atrāk*) charged a group of Ottomans, who, fleeing, climbed to the top of the minarets of the Muayyad Mosque, from where they fired rifles into the crowd, thus preventing any approach to the Zuwayla Gate. They continued until the Mamluks managed to climb up the minaret and slaughtered the Ottomans who stood there in an atrocious manner.<sup>668</sup>

The different groups of people, be it the imam or a fleeing Circassian Mamluk, are presented as standing under the protection of the respective sacred space, at least in the moral framework the narrator and his intended readership share:

The Ottomans surrounded the mausoleum of Shaykh ‘Imād al-Dīn in al-Nāṣiriyya, and they captured the Circassian Mamluks who were there, then they set fire to the surrounding houses, looted the lamps and mats of the *zāwiyya* and committed a great slaughter among the population (*al-awāmm*), young and old.<sup>669</sup>

Furthermore, the narrative underlines the Ottoman inequity by labelling the death toll as affecting innocent citizens along with “rascals”, and by citing high numbers of deaths:

Both the good man and the rascal died side by side, and many paid without being guilty. Corpses littered the streets from the Zuwayla Gate to Rumayla Square, from Rumayla to Ṣalība, to the Lions’ Bridge and the Nāṣiriyya, and even as far as Old Cairo. The carnage perpetrated on that day [went] from Būlāq to the Wusṭā island, the Nāṣiriyya and Ṣalība Street. More than ten thousand people disappeared: that was the balance of those four days, and without God’s mercy, the entire population of Cairo would have died.<sup>670</sup>

The report on the conquest until the defeat of Ṭūmānbāy largely consists of two motifs, namely slaughter in the public spaces and streets of Cairo and the violation of sacred spaces. Both motifs are repeated multiple times and stereotypically connected to additional messages that accompany or interpret the core aim of the narration, which certainly is informing the own and future generations of the dreadful situation Ibn Iyās and his fellow Cairene inhabitants have to face. The slaughter in public space, with its graphic depiction of violence, mutilated bodies and death, implicitly illustrates the collapse of social hierarchy, with Ibn Iyās mentioning multiple times that the corpses strewn in the streets did not allow one to distinguish high-ranking amirs from ordinary soldiers:

668 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 154.

669 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 154.

670 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 156.



The corpses were strewn on the ground from the 'Allān Fountain to the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy. The earth smelled from the corpses. Nothing distinguished the corpse of an amir of a thousand from that of the simple Mamluk, for they were all headless bodies.<sup>671</sup>

Moreover, the narrative uses horrific examples that address individual amirs to show the utter extermination and abuse of the former representatives of power, along with the terrors of war:

A trustworthy person told me that he had seen the body of the commander of one thousand Qānṣūh Rūḥ-lū, former governor of Qaṭīyā, abandoned in front of the Fountain of the Sultan. Dogs devoured his entrails and stuck their fangs in the fat of his belly, for he was indeed an obese man.<sup>672</sup>

The amirs and Mamluks are now stripped from the hierarchy that formed the backbone of Mamluk rule according to Ibn Iyās's narrative, and the abuse of sacred spaces illustrates the mutilation of order in a twofold way: the bodies, formerly invested with outward signs of their rank and attached to spaces of power like the citadel, the Maidān, or the Mamluk military camp, now occupy public 'unowned' space and thus lost all their former distinctiveness. The focus on the violation of sacred spaces, which dominates the first part of the conquest narrative, adds to showing the events as especially horrendous and engraves into the readers' mind the negative characterization of the Ottomans as violating barbarians, who even do not respect the sacred spaces of their own Islamic faith.

This concentration on certain spatial contexts and their connection to certain social groups is obvious in the narrative. However, it would be too far-fetched to insinuate these narrative strategies to have been implemented solely to fulfill the mentioned purposes. Instead, they should be understood as the product of a historical writer who reacts to a situation he had recently lived through, and who focused on those elements especially important to him. This makes a narrative analysis even more appealing, as it helps us to discover tendencies and focuses on the narrator's perception of recent events. While in the first part of the conquest narrative, public space like streets or the open field appear as 'unowned spaces', publicly owned or inhabited space takes center stage once the Ottoman rule over Cairo has been established. In this part, Ibn Iyās's narration concentrates on the quarters around the citadel, and especially the residential buildings in that part of the city. Here, the focus turns almost exclusively to the population of Cairo enduring the Ottoman takeover of not only public, but also private spaces.<sup>673</sup> Again, the concentration on a specific spatial framework goes along with the

671 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 149.

672 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 156.

673 E.g., *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 157–158, on refugees staying in the hallways of the caliph's residence; 160–161, on the occupation of the quarters around the citadel.

focus on a specific social group and ultimately serves as a contrasting foil to display Ibn Iyās's harsh critique on the Ottoman behavior.

## Acting Figures and Groups: Mamluks vs. Ottomans

Collective and individual agents appear closely related both on the level of content and in the narrative discourse, especially when individual figures are closely connected to a collective agent, or form part of it. For example, the Mamluks, on occasion sub-divided into hierarchy groups like amirs of different ranks, retired Mamluks of previous sultans (*qarāniṣa*) and recruits (*julbān*) are displayed and characterized in mutual interdependence with the sultan, whom Ibn Iyās still depicts as a *primus inter pares*, regardless of how much he may be struggling for supremacy over his fellow amirs and the army.

The fragility of the balance between conflict and consensus,<sup>674</sup> based on which the sultan can only enforce decisions if he succeeds in uniting a sufficient number of amirs and Mamluks behind him, emerges clearly from the description of the preparations for the departure of the army to Aleppo. The narrative mentions consensual strategies, like taking counsel among a small group of amirs,<sup>675</sup> and broadly depicts the sultan's efforts to satisfy the different groups needed to build the large army he intends to take on campaign. Besides secret counsel, as mentioned above, the narrative also displays open criticism of the supreme ruling authority, namely the sultan, from part of the Mamluk elite, as a further element of consensual decision-making. The vast majority of the narration time is spent on the disbursement of—mostly very delayed—pay and further allowances, for example the monthly meat ration or extra payments for the maintenance of horses. The description of disbursements and the narrator's critique concerning the fact that certain groups, like the *awlād al-nās*,<sup>676</sup> do not

674 The concept of consensual rule has been discussed recently from a transcultural perspective by Dohmen, Linda and Tilmann Trausch (eds) (2019): *Entscheiden und Regieren. Konsens als Element vormoderner Entscheidungsfindung in transkultureller Perspektive*. Göttingen, Bonn: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press (Macht und Herrschaft, 9). See especially the theoretical discussion by the editors, Dohmen, Linda; Fahr, Paul and Tilmann Trausch (2019): "Regieren im Konsens? Vormoderne politische Entscheidungsprozesse in transkultureller Perspektive." Ibid., 11–56.

675 *Badā' i al-zuhūr* V, 15: "On that day, the sultan got unfortunate intelligence concerning the Ottoman sultan (*Ibn 'Uthmān*). He was in great distress (*tanakkada li-dhalika*) and went for secluded counsel (*khala'a ... yaḍrabūna mashūratan*) concerning the Ottoman issue, together with the amirs"; reference is also made to larger counsels, e.g., on the Maidān, cf. *Badā' i al-zuhūr* V, 22.

676 Al-Ghawrī's reluctance to pay the *awlād al-nās* and other rather low-ranking groups like orphans is criticized, for example, in the context of the sultan's obituary, *Badā' i al-zuhūr* V, 91; see also, among many others, V, 28.

receive their due allowances, dominate the narrative especially from Muḥarram 922 (February 1516)<sup>677</sup> up to and even after the army's departure. Disbursements seem to work as affirmative stereotypes of stability, structuring the narrated time and the narration time in face of political, military and even fiscal insecurity. Thus, Ibn Iyās bothers to describe the upholding of administration even after the sultan's departure to Aleppo and during the campaign. Despite regular mentions of fiscal problems and jealousy in the army because of the unequal distribution of goods, the regularly repeated narration of disbursement sessions keeps governmental action and ability to act prominent in the narration<sup>678</sup> and forms a continuous link to the narrative representation of former Mamluk rulers.

Repetitive narration of similar situations, including judgmental emphasis on the same points of critique, also stands witness to the overall critical position of the narrative towards the later Mamluk rule. As in former parts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* and other historiographical texts by Ibn Iyās, stereotypical descriptions of recurrent ceremonies, like the congratulation of the sultan on each first day of the month or *maukibs* when the sultan comes back to Cairo after few days of absence, underline the continuity of a traditional and hierarchized order. This continuity, judging from the frequent reference to such public display of power and of the relationship between the sultan, the caliph and the civilian elites, forms a distinctive part of Ibn Iyās's concept of public order and ideal rule. These recurrent descriptions of ceremonial that must have been well-known to the intended recipients may even be identified as a generic convention of Islamicate historiographical narration.<sup>679</sup> However, the display of orderly rule and popular consent, like in the case of *maukibs*,<sup>680</sup> occupies much less narration time than the recurrent and detailed descriptions of the disbursement sessions mentioned above, which seem to bring narration time and narrated time much closer together than the descriptions of ceremonies or even "interesting stories" (*'ajā'ib*). The disbursement sessions, of course, also belong to the ceremonialized display of hierarchy and rule. However, no mention of a payment session comes without reference to the sultan's fiscal problems and his utter delay in satisfying his men's rights. Thus, the frequent repetition of very similar information in the narrative

677 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 3–15.

678 See, e.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 47 (disbursement by *nā'ib*), 62–68 (disbursements and gift-giving in Aleppo).

679 On the role of the caliph as a "living seal", a guarantor and religious authority held in high esteem especially by the population, see Banister, Mustafa (2014/2015): "Naught remains to the Caliph but his Title". Revisiting Abbasid Authority in Mamluk Cairo." *Mamluk Studies Review* 18, 219–245; and further id. (2017): *A Sword in the Caliph's Service. On the Caliphal Office in Late Fourteenth Century Mamluk Sources*. Bonn (ASK Working Paper, 27); Holt (1984); Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (1988): "The Citadel of Cairo. Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial." *Annales Islamologiques* 24, 4–79, esp. 32.

680 Cf. Chapter VII.

merely underlines the sultan's struggles in fulfilling his functions. Here, latent disruption inside the military become evident, as in references to violent conflicts (*fitan*) between the recruits (*julbān*), who claim their payments by use of force and thereby manage to hinder the sultan in fulfilling his duties, when he, for example, cannot inspect the Fayyūm province in person due to *julbān* riots in Cairo.<sup>681</sup> Finally, the narrative voice also comments on the sultan's motives, claiming his efforts to pay the army as much as possible served the purpose of increasing loyalty in the wake of a conflict with the Ottomans.<sup>682</sup>

The third collective agent belonging to Mamluk society, namely the people of Cairo, again figure as both an agent on the level of content and a foil figure on the discourse level. Mostly stereotypical mentions of the inhabitants of Cairo work as a highlighting strategy that underlines critique against the ruling class or the current ruler himself, be it a Mamluk or the Ottoman sultan. Such stereotypical mentions include reference to public displays of emotions by the crowd (cheering, protest, fear), the description of practical reactions (people squirreling away their belongings, shops and mills closing, people securing their residences and neighborhoods) and the description of the afflictions people had to passively endure at the hand of the current ruler (over-taxation, violent repressions, the encroachment of trade and everyday life).

The following passage serves to illustrate the entanglement of the three mentioned collective agents on the discursive level. The example closes a long section in which the recurrent payment sessions to the benefit of different groups are described in a stereotypical way, along with the already mentioned thematization of the sultan's fiscal problems.

On Saturday the 23 [Rabī' I 922/26. April 1516], the sultan completed his payment (*naḥḥa*) of the army, including the retired Mamluks of previous sultans (*qarāniṣa*) and the recruits (*julbān*). He called them to prepare for departure on the first of the [following] month. The army caused great disturbance, and donkeys, mules and horses became rare in Cairo. The Mamluks went to plunder (*yahjamūna*) the mills and to take the horses, mules and other draught beast from them. So, all the mills were closed, and bread and flour disappeared from the markets. The people were hungry and started tumults, and petitions were brought before the sultan. The fabric markets were closed because of the Mamluks, the shopkeepers and tailors went into hiding and all Cairo was in upheaval. All the tradesmen hid themselves, fearing the Mamluks, and parts of the recruits (*julbān*) hid as well, because they feared the travel. The situation in Cairo resembled the day of resurrection, while everybody wept: "Oh my soul, oh my soul!"<sup>683</sup>

681 It is interesting to state that Ibn Iyās uses the same loaded term, *fitna*/ pl. *fitan*, to address both factional struggles or riots among the Mamluks/inside Cairo and the following conflict with the Ottomans as an external adversary. Cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 6–8.

682 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 13.

683 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 28.

The events in Cairo are shown here as a chain of interdependent individual events or decisions, with the sultan at its beginning and general unrest in the city at its end. Without emphasizing this relationship in any way, the narrative presents the suffering of the population as an indirect, but logical consequence of the sultan's decision to mobilize his army. If we begin by taking recourse to narration time, it becomes clear that the focus of this section is on the representation of the consequences for the Cairo population, which take up the most narrative space. The shortage of basic food resulting from the confiscation of necessary working materials, a very frequent trope used in Ibn Iyās's and other historiographical narratives to illustrate upheaval, is at the beginning of the depiction of what Ibn Iyās finally evaluates as a scenario "like on the day of resurrection". The Mamluks are shown "plundering" (*hajama*) the draught animals that drive the mills of the city; this formulation marks the Mamluks' way of enacting the sultan's orders as illegal or at least illegitimate.<sup>684</sup>

The narrative remains here in a mode of *telling* (*diegesis*) and seems to refrain from any form of 'literarizing' or dramatizing strategies or narrator's comments. Only after the description of the consequences, which still have not been linked directly to the sultan's policy, a drastic comparison from the narrator's point of view judges the events as utterly terrible, resembling the day of resurrection. After this evaluation, a final section links the causal chain back to the sultan. The author uses one of the collective agents involved in the events, namely "the military" (*al-ʿaskar*), here denominated with its most general corporate identifier, to establish the link to the sultan as the trigger of events. Citing the military, a directly involved witness group, serves as a strategy to raise the readers' trust in the conveyed report. Secondly, on the discursive level, the constellation of agents fosters the critique raised against the sultan, which is transported through the military as a collective agent. While the military usually align with the ruler and the Mamluks as agent groups belong to the wider sphere of politico-military domination, the *ʿaskar* are now shown to take sides with the population. Here, the narrative implies a difference between the impersonal corporate identity of "the military" and the unruly subgroups of "Mamluks" and "recruits" (*julbān*), who are blamed for the plundering:

The military had already blamed the sultan for the turmoil he had caused, because he did not follow the way of the old kings (*al-mulūk al-sāliḫa*) in preparing for travel and because there was nothing that would have justified this immense turmoil, seeing that

684 Later on, in an almost identical formulation, the Ottomans will be accused of having cut off the supply of bread and water to the city population by plundering the mills (again constructed with the root *h-j-m*). Cf. *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* V, 147, and see below for a comparison of both descriptions.

no intelligence had been received concerning the Ottomans reaching Aleppo, or attacking it, or even leaving their own dominions. [...] <sup>685</sup>

In these closing evaluative remarks, the disturbance and affliction of the population are explained by the sultan having departed from the old order, a point of critique which Ibn Iyās regularly raises against the actions of Mamluk sultans and later against the Ottomans.<sup>686</sup> Further narrative elements reinforce this tendency, as for instance comparative references to positively evaluated former Mamluk rulers. In the last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, al-Ashraf Barsbāy, al-Zāhir Barqūq and al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy in particular serve as positive foil figures to contrast against al-Ghawrī's failures.<sup>687</sup> The narrative thus makes heavy use of antithetic comparison to reinforce the critique against al-Ghawrī—the same narrative strategy is also applied later to illustrate the Ottoman's characterization. In the case of al-Ghawrī, the main points of the critique are fiscal problems, as has become obvious in the narrative function of repeated disbursement ceremonies, and, even more obviously, the military failure that culminates in the sultan's death in combat and the dismantling of the Mamluk army.

Al-Ghawrī's failure in both fields is linked to his lack of respect for the traditions of the former rulers in Egypt<sup>688</sup> as the unique reason for his deficiency. For example, both the theme of fiscal problems and the military are combined when judging al-Ghawrī's politics against the example of al-Ashraf Barsbāy and Barqūq.<sup>689</sup> The lack of respect for traditions is also depicted by showing the sultan's neglect to pay respect to the caliph and the four qadis. The following quotation is the last in a row of repetitive mentions that underline al-Ghawrī's departure from good traditions:

This very Thursday, the sultan sent travel allowances of 1,000 dinar to the commander of the faithful, Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh, by the hand of the doorkeeper of the Duhaysha, Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Alawāhī. Amir Tūmānbāy, the chief *dawādār*, had borrowed him the sum, and if he had not done so, [the sultan] would not have sent anything to [the caliph]. [The sultan] had sent word to the four qadis, telling them: Prepare your departure! and he had sent not a single dirham of travel allowances to them. This had caused them great trouble because, since the departure of al-Ashraf Barsbāy to Amid in the year 836 [1432], no caliph or qadi had accompanied the sultan to Syria. In addition, in earlier times sultans had used to send travel allowances to the qadis when they left for Syria. This was all spoiled by al-Ghawrī.<sup>690</sup>

685 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 29.

686 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 33, 37, 73, 86 (on the Mamluks and al-Ghawrī); for the Ottoman sultan, see below.

687 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 33, 37, 61, 86.

688 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 33, 37.

689 For example, in a poem by Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 61–62.

690 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 33.

The position of the caliph and the four qadis in relation to the collective agents investigated here would be an interesting topic that cannot be pursued further at this point. There are many indications suggesting that Ibn Iyās presents these figures as representatives who are closer to the population than the Mamluks and may occasionally serve as a mediating instance between the politico-military elite and the population.<sup>691</sup> Against this background, the emphasis on al-Ghawrī's rudeness towards these representatives would also indicate that the narrative is intended to underline a confrontational position between the ruler and the population.

Al-Ghawrī is further set against the good example of al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy, who serves as a referencing figure to represent fiscal justice: Ibn Iyās notes that when Ṭūmānbāy becomes sultan, one of his first actions is to restore al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy's taxation system with the consent of the amirs, while al-Ghawrī is shown as the incarnation of unjust fiscal policy.<sup>692</sup> Besides the fiscal policy, other aspects of al-Ghawrī's planning and execution of the campaign against the Ottomans are criticized for not conforming to the old customs. An antithetic comparison, for example, refers back to a similarly dangerous situation when the advance of Timur Lenk threatened Mamluk rule; al-Ghawrī's unsuccessful campaign is set against the good example of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, who managed to repel the Timurid assault on the Mamluk realm.<sup>693</sup> The criticism of Mamluk rule under al-Ghawrī is primarily directed at deviations from an ideal image that can be derived from negative representations, as in a harsh critique after the description of the Mamluk camp being pillaged by the Ottomans, who in this case are presented as divine retribution for the ruling classes' misdeeds:

Something similar [to this looting] had never been heard of: Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī was the only sultan whose baggage and treasures have been pillaged. It was prescribed by fortune. The sultan and the amirs, not even one among them had ever bothered to rule the Muslims with justice and righteousness. So, their deeds and interests were returned to them and God the Almighty decided to send the Ottomans against them until what happened to them happened. It was like it is said: Where are the kings who tyrannized the world? / God took away their dignity bold / There is nothing to hear about their greatness / because nothing was left than their places<sup>694</sup>

691 Cf. Banister (2014/2015), esp. 227–228, 240–242, 245.

692 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86.

693 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, 37.

694 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 73. As a side remark it should be noticed that Ibn Iyās himself, in the same *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* (Ia, 403–406), describes the confrontation of the Mamluks and Ghazan Khān, who defeated the Mamluk army at Wādī Khaznadār and pillaged the sultan's treasury in the aftermath. However in this place, Ibn Iyās refrains from connecting this to a general critique of the Mamluk system.

The anecdotal, journal-like narrative mode, particularly in this last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, in which relatively short depictions of events are arranged in their chronological order, leads to the slow establishment of a fundamental critique of the sultan. This finally culminates in an almost devastating recapitulation of his rule by his obituary.<sup>695</sup> In the ongoing chronological narrative, the critical remarks of the narrative voice are usually limited to a few, mostly identical objections. Typical are references to the suffering of the population resulting from the sultan's actions. This includes, for example, the designation of events as *fasād* (immoral/spoiled). A further point of criticism, always explicitly or implicitly linked to the figure of the sultan, is his tendency towards the unjustified confiscation of property, as well as the use of violence to extort money, which is sometimes depicted drastically, as with female heirs forejudged, or, following the narrator's evaluation, dispossessed by al-Ghawrī.<sup>696</sup>

In the narrative, the recruits (*julbān*), as a sub-grouping of the Mamluks, take on the role of a negatively connoted collective agent, which, as an internal opponent of the system, counteracts the sultan's efforts to maintain stability. The *julbān* appear exclusively as a collective agent, in a similar way to the people of Cairo. Ibn Iyās defines both groups on the discursive level as powerful evaluative instances, which comment, criticize and influence the actions of rulers through their actions and the emotions they reflect—the latter is more applicable to the people of Cairo. In terms of narrative technique, both groups are thus certainly important factors, but they remain rather one-dimensional in their characterization. Thus, for example, there is no illustration of the statements associated with the respective group nor of the displayed intentions through anecdotal illustration, as is more frequently used with the amirs.

### The Moment of Transition Narrated

The presentation of the Mamluks before the Battle of Raidāniyya is very different from their presentation and evaluation afterwards. On the one hand, this correlates roughly with the evaluation of the sultans as leading figures: al-Ghawrī represents bad rule, while Tūmānbāy is later established as a good ruler figure, beaten through no fault of his own. However, repetitive judgmental remarks, especially on the physical abuse to extort money from more or less wealthy amirs or inhabitants of Cairo, keep being mentioned in the narrative on a regular

695 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86f., 89f. and 101–102.

696 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 32.



basis.<sup>697</sup> The rule of al-Ghawrī is thus represented as unjust and repressive; there is no reference to any of the stress factors discussed in Chapter II. As many of those, for example recurrent plague epidemics, were well known to Ibn Iyās and are mentioned as reportable events, it appears that the narrative consciously avoids presenting a balanced view of the rule in its historical, social and environmental context. In this, the representation of al-Ghawrī does not differ much from previous sultans. The recourse to a rather one-sided representation of historical events that understands the current ruler or ruling system as the driving reason behind all vices that befall a population remains a central trait in Ibn Iyās's approach to history.

The following is a reconstruction of the decisive moment in the representation of the Mamluks. We begin with Dhū' l-ḥijja 922 (December 1516); on its first day, Ibn Iyās narrates how reports of the defeat of the Mamluk army at Baisān reached Cairo. The following parts of the narrative feature a constant change in focus between the Mamluk and Ottoman sides, as well as frequent scene changes between the spatial framework of Cairo, the observer position of the narrator, the sultan and the sites of military conflicts. Right with the first mention of the Mamluk army, the main point of criticism of the Mamluks is also introduced: "The amirs and the troops had left in scattered order and with ever growing sluggishness (*takāsul*)."<sup>698</sup>

This statement summarizes amirs and the army together into a collective group; the leading figures, as well as the army as a whole, are unanimously criticized for their lack of commitment. However, the personalized narrative that follows immediately differentiates the assessment again. The introductory statement apparently does not refer to the entire army and its command, but the leading amir Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī and his few loyal followers are now mentioned by name and function, and their reaction to the shortcomings of the army is addressed. Jānbirdī and his followers thus stand as individual examples against the impersonal collective of the army.<sup>699</sup> In this way, they are highlighted for the contemporary reader as leaders of the following military action and at the same time are separated as exceptions from the otherwise negatively judged group. Similar to the later case of Ṭūmānbāy, Ibn Iyās establishes the leader of the Mamluk army and a few amirs as a group characterized by fighting spirit and dedication, which is, however, doomed to failure due to the previously described mistakes of the Mamluks together.

697 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 86f. and 89f., long enumerations of al-Ghawrī's faults; 101–102, repetitive judgment on oppression (*ẓulm*) and confiscation.

698 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 129.

699 Ibid.

Thus, the first sentences of the narrative on Baisān establish the following constellation of collective and individual agents: the Mamluk army stands opposite individually named leading figures, thus showing a break inside the Mamluk politico-military apparatus. The army (*askar*) and the Mamluks, in contrast to the previous example, form a collective here and are unequivocally criticized for their “sluggishness”, which leaves the individual leading figures confronted by a much larger Ottoman force, the second important collective agent in the following events that has not yet been characterized or evaluated. Both this constellation and the explicit critique of the army explain the leading amir’s failure; they are thus indirectly acquitted from possible accusations.

At the end of the report about the defeat at Baisān, the topic of the inappropriate attitude of the Mamluks as a collective is taken up again: “it was said that the Mamluks of al-Ghawrī had ruined the army, fleeing as quickly as possible, thus causing this second defeat.”<sup>700</sup> The negative evaluation of the Mamluks now becomes explicitly linked to the sultan; thus, his faction appears as the ultimate culprit for the defeat. This theme of criticizing reluctance to fight is a common thread running through all other representations of ‘the Mamluks’ as a whole and subdivisions of this group. A second point of criticism joins it, namely the Mamluks’ lack of obedience to their sultan. Directly following the report on Baisān, this topic is continued in the spatial framework of Cairo, where the sultan as an individual agent faces the army as a collective agent. Here, the narrative combines the simple characterization by naming and evaluating the actions of the army with a mini-dialogue scene: while the sultan inspects his troops on the Maidān, rumors of the Ottomans approaching Cairo spread through the city. After having underlined twice that the reported event came unexpectedly and was of a most terrible nature, the narrative turns to the reactions of the sultan, his troops and the people of Cairo. While the description of the latter’s reaction clearly occupies the majority of the narrated time, only the sultan is represented by literal speech, directed towards his army: “How many times have I ordered you to leave? You have always delayed your departure. Leave now, go meet the Ottomans!”<sup>701</sup> The sultan’s literal speech illustrates the ongoing reluctant attitude of the Mamluks, referring back to the many remarks on this topic made in the narrative beforehand, while also dramatizing the anecdote.

Directly afterwards, the theme is deepened by a note on the release of Qānsūh al-Ashrafi, the former governor of Aleppo who had been imprisoned for handing the citadel to the Ottomans without any resistance. His reluctance in fight has already been judged inappropriate,<sup>702</sup> so here again we have an example of re-

700 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 130.

701 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 130.

702 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 74.

current narration that offers the opportunity to engrave judgmental notes into the reader's mind: in this note, Ibn Iyās refers to the sultan's emotion of being "furious" (*taghayyara khāṭir al-sulṭān 'alaihi*).<sup>703</sup> Having enumerated several examples of the reluctance in fight and the lack of obedience towards the sultan, the narrative returns to a description of this behavior's consequences. The Mamluk army returning from the Gaza campaign is depicted in a state of utter weakness and humiliation. Again, the description of the army robbed of all its gear and remarks on the cowardice of certain amirs go hand-in-hand with a comparison with the Ottoman army, which is characterized as superior, especially concerning military technology and strategy.<sup>704</sup>

Yet, the negative image of the Mamluks and their relationship with the sultan changes abruptly in the narrative on the Battle of Raidāniyya.<sup>705</sup> Two factors bear witness to the narrative voice changing position towards Mamluk rule and the Mamluk sultan as an individual agent. First, Ṭūmānbāy is overall depicted as a far better sovereign and military leader than his predecessor al-Ghawrī. Second, and from the perspective of the discourse level more telling, is the fact that the Mamluk army is suddenly a group of capable, fearless fighters. Only at the beginning of the account on Raidāniyya does Ibn Iyās tell us that the "Egyptian army was shaken to its core"<sup>706</sup> when news about the Ottoman arrival at the Pilgrim's Pond arrived in Cairo. After a rather stereotypical description of the city's reaction to the threat—as usual in case of pending military conflict, Ibn Iyās mentions the city's gates being closed, the markets and mills ceasing to work and the people suffering scarcity of bread—a long and positive description of the sultan's and army's departure follow. This text part mirrors a previous passage, in which Ibn Iyās gives a meticulous description of Ṭūmānbāy's fortification of the army camp at Raidāniyya, and in which he points out the military technology and work force raised for this undertaking.<sup>707</sup> The army now seems a well-ordered, powerful entity, standing united behind its vigorous, ingenious leader. This image is created both by the mention of numbers (20,000 horsemen), but also by the enumeration of insignia, like standards, and the vivid description of military pomp and glory. Thus, resounding military marches and "great white and red banners flapping in the wind", as well as the obviously impressive picture of the large army "ranged in order of battle",<sup>708</sup> are mentioned repeatedly. Only a brief narrator's commentary anticipates the defeat: "If Sultan al-Ghawrī had lived, he

703 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 130.

704 On the characterization of the Ottomans, see below.

705 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 144–151.

706 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 144.

707 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 142f., 144, 171.

708 All *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 144.

would not have shown an offensive spirit superior to that of Sultan ʿTūmānbāy. But yet, God was not to grant him victory over the Ottomans.”<sup>709</sup>

There is not a single hint of the formerly characteristic motif of Mamluk reluctance to fight or disloyalty towards the sultan. On the contrary, the whole narrative is designed to evoke the impression of an invincible army, which is even able to chop off Ottoman heads in passing to send them to Cairo for display at the gates.<sup>710</sup> The description of the battle itself still accentuates the Mamluk strength, although anticipating narrator’s comments keep forecasting the defeat. Thus, the narrator comments that Sultan ʿTūmānbāy’s strategy did not work out as expected, but does not criticize him for the mistake. Still, the commentary again anticipates the defeat and gives a first hint towards the explanatory statements to be expected in the narrative:

The sultan had imagined that the fight against the Ottomans would last and turn into a long siege. Yet, it was the opposite that happened. The Ottoman army rested for two days by the Pilgrim’s Pond, and Sultan ʿTūmānbāy did not risk any movement in its direction. Would he have moved forward and fought the enemy before he reached Raidāniyya!<sup>711</sup>

As in similar cases, the battle description is interspersed with topoi of indescribability:

On Thursday the 29th of Dhū’ l-ḥijja [23. January 1517], a great battle took place. Even the brightest minds lost their senses listening to its description and the most cool-headed contemporaries were perplexed by its horror. We will say no more than the following ...<sup>712</sup>

Despite the anticipating hints, the narrative continues to draw a picture of a strong Mamluk army by the use of motifs of collective action, military grandeur and accentuation of the army’s size through spatial references: “the army spread out until the plain was filled [with soldiers].”<sup>713</sup> This section plays with different narrative strategies that provoke a certain friction against each other. In particular, the contrast between the description of a strong Mamluk army and the interspersed anticipatory comments of the narrative voice contributes to this. A certain melancholy in the face of shattered Mamluk rule resonates in this friction, a melancholy that partly explains the sudden change in the assessment of the Mamluk army from this moment on in the narrative.

709 *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* V, 144.

710 *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* V, 144.

711 *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* V, 145.

712 *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* V, 144.

713 *Badāʾiʾ al-zuhūr* V, 145.

## Ottoman Characterization

The narrative strategies in the description of the Ottoman conquest outlined here are only a selection, serving to demonstrate the degree to which the narrative was shaped as a literary account. Even if the literary form, apart from the use of fictionally retold dialogues and comparative argumentation, can be described as simple, it is clear that the narrative is structured in a strongly intentional way. Many of the central points of the criticism of rule, especially the opposition of people of Cairo vs. ruling class, are constitutive components of the criticism of Mamluks and Ottomans alike and shape the historical information conveyed by Ibn Iyās to a great extent.

The Ottomans have already been introduced as a group agent in the various accounts on Marj Dābiq and the conquest of Aleppo without resistance. The descriptions of the battles almost always emphasize the Ottoman superiority in battle, for example through describing particularly effective, but “horrible” weapons, like barbed lances and spears fit to assault mounted warriors,<sup>714</sup> or of course the various firearms. Much more narration time, however, works to characterize the Ottomans as a ruthless and rude band of barbarians, who do not understand nor care for the traditions and culture of their Mamluk counterpart or their newly acquired Syrian and Egyptian subjects. The narrative strategies applied to lay out this negative characterization in front of the reader are the same as those applied before to the Mamluks and the Mamluk sultans. As an additional feature, negative, almost caricature-esque remarks on the Ottoman sultan’s complexion and graphic descriptions of violence join the repetitive narration and exemplification via asymmetric comparison. The overall negative characterization of the Ottomans, whether applying to the Ottoman army as a collective agent or to their sultan as an individual agent singled out from the group, serves two purposes. First, the Ottomans stand as a foil figure, against which the now positively evaluated Mamluk past can shine brighter; second, by condemning the Ottoman conquerors, the narrative can work towards building a sharp discrimination between “us vs. them”.

Interestingly, the introduction to the account of the Ottoman capture of Cairo creates the impression that the Ottoman victory was not necessarily predestined.<sup>715</sup> Along with the switch to a positive representation of the Mamluk army, as has been mentioned above, the narrator shows the Mamluks as being capable of inflicting heavy losses on the Ottomans. This image of the Egyptian army’s initial equivalence, if not superiority, helps to establish a double justification for the Mamluk defeat: on the one hand, Ibn Iyās attributes the defeat at Raidāniyya

714 E.g., *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 131.

715 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 144.

to a tactical error by the sultan, which gives the Ottomans time to recover before the two sides confront each other. At this point, the narrative centers on the individual agent completely, changing to zero focalization for a few sentences. The narrator here creates the impression of knowing the sultan's thoughts. At the same time, he shows his knowledge of the unfortunate outcome of the situation by means of two small regretful interjections, thus qualifying himself as an omniscient narrator. This brief change from observant contemporary to omniscient narrator additionally emphasizes the assessment by the narrator's voice:

The sultan [Ṭūmānbāy] had imagined that the fight against the Ottomans would last and turn into a long siege. Yet, it was the opposite that happened. The Ottoman army rested for two days by the Pilgrim's Pond, and Sultan Ṭūmānbāy did not risk any movement in its direction. Would he have moved forward and fought the enemy before he reached Raidāniyya!<sup>716</sup>

Yet, unlike the report on Marj Dābiq and all the other previous defeats, there is no mention here of the shortcomings of the Mamluk army in terms of loyalty to the sultan or willingness to fight in general. The explanatory strategy of the narrative thus clearly changes at this point. While Mamluk rule was previously presented as the main cause of the population's suffering, Ṭūmānbāy's wrong decision is regretted here, but not openly criticized. Instead, the narrative starts to build up the Ottomans as the sole cause of all further cataclysms.

This is demonstrated again on the linguistic level in several respects. In many notes on Sultan Selim's complexion,<sup>717</sup> as well as in the description of the Ottoman army and their behavior as a whole, bluntly negative descriptive terms are frequently used, that qualify the Ottomans as cruel, reckless and ugly.<sup>718</sup> Similar to the assessment of al-Ghawri in comparison to former Mamluk sultans, both Sultan Selim and the Ottoman conquest are characterized by asymmetric comparisons that equate them with ominous figures and phenomena known to the recipients from history or religious tradition. Comparative characterizations range from one-sentence metaphors to more elaborate comparisons. Thus, the Ottoman approach is compared with a violent flood: "Then the Ottomans gained ground, [advancing] wave by wave",<sup>719</sup> or frequently equated to pests, describing them as coming "like locusts spread over" first the battlefields and later the city of Cairo.<sup>720</sup> Besides illustrating the size of the Ottoman army, this also activates

716 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 145.

717 E.g., *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 74, 150.

718 See below, Ottoman Characterization.

719 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 145.

720 E.g., *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 131, 145, "The Ottomans were spreading like locusts, and their numbers were impressive." *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 160 similarly describes the Ottomans while seizing living quarters near the citadel in Cairo: *wa šārū ka 'l-jarrād al-muntashira min kathratihim... wa mā khalā maudī minhum fi l-madīna*.

recipient knowledge, depicting the Ottomans as a plague and divine punishment.<sup>721</sup>

The negative characterization extends to the figure level. The Ottomans, unlike the Mamluks and their sultans, remain for a long time an impersonal mass, of which at best the most important leaders are mentioned by name and are thus distinguished from the mass as individual agents. The only Ottoman figure comparable to Mamluk amirs, who frequently are mentioned by name as individual agents, is Sinān Pasha, “the tutor (*lālā*) of the Ottoman sultan and the most important of his viziers”,<sup>722</sup> whose death is reported in the passage on the Mamluks’ brief superiority at the beginning of the battle. In contrast, the narrative draws on the individual fates of important Mamluk amirs, reporting their time and place of death, sometimes in gruesome detail.<sup>723</sup> This is partly due to the author’s position and the intended recipients’ interest in information, but also implies a greater proximity between the narrator, the recipient and the Mamluk army.

Apart from Sinān Pasha, Sultan Selim is the only individual agent who is highlighted and singled out from the Ottoman masses. It should be emphasized that Sultan Selim, until far into the description of the conquest of Cairo, is not called a sultan, but only “Ibn ‘Uthmān”, the “son of the Ottoman”. The failure to use the obviously known name of a figure has already appeared in the narrative when discussing the beginning of Mamluk rule in Egypt in order to discredit Aybak’s Ayyubid co-ruler.<sup>724</sup> In this case, however, the non-named co-ruler was no more than a puppet embellishment to Aybak’s rule. Now, this strategy is used to keep the Ottoman sultan at distance, and “Ibn ‘Uthmān”, too, works as a disrespectful denomination that denies his status as a ruler. Thus, the mere naming technique alone identifies the mass of the Ottomans, right up to the top level of leadership, as a foreign, uniform mass. Selim is characterized both by descriptions of his complexion and character and by illustrating short anecdotes that show his interaction with Mamluk officials. The first physical description of “Selim Shāh” is part of the narrative on the Ottoman occupation of Aleppo in the wake of Marj Dābiq. Before that, Selim’s diplomatic practices have already been presented as rude, double-dealing and without respect for diplomatic conventions by quotations from correspondence between al-Ghawrī and him that

721 Although the ten plagues sent against the pharaoh are only mentioned in passing in the Qur’ān 7:133–35, the comparative picturing of the Ottomans as locusts was also suitable for Coptic readers.

722 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 145.

723 E.g., the fate of Qānṣūh Rūh-lū, former governor of Qaṭiyā, whose body remained unburied in the streets of Cairo as prey for the dogs, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 156.

724 See Chapter VII.

preceded the confrontation at Marj Dābiq.<sup>725</sup> Although he occasionally uses the name and title “Selim Shāh” (or similar) from this point onwards, our narrator keeps using the distancing and derogative “Ibn ‘Uthmān” until Selim has formally taken over power in Cairo and has been introduced in the narrative as the new sultan in Egypt.<sup>726</sup> Ibn Iyās ascribes the following information to an unnamed eyewitness, who managed to get a glimpse of Selim, as he claims. Given the fact that Ibn Iyās does not hesitate to present individuals, even his friends or teachers, in an unflattering way, this description is clearly not written to engender admiration in the reader, although it is hardly devastating:

A witness who saw Selim Shāh described him to me as a man of medium height, with a wide chest, stiff neck, deformed shoulders. His back was slightly crooked; he had a Turkish face, wide eyes, wheat-colored skin and a large nose. His body was plump, and he shaved his beard and wore only a moustache. He had a large head, surmounted by a small turban, less bulky than that of his amirs.<sup>727</sup>

However, the illustrative scenes that lead to this description show Selim in interaction with the caliph and the four qadis, vividly depicting his harsh character in fictionally retold mini-dialogues.<sup>728</sup> By this, the whole report on Selim’s person already has a clearly a disadvantageous tinge.

The second characterization of Selim also belongs to a scene of conquest, namely Selim’s first entrance into Cairo.<sup>729</sup> This version focuses much more on Selim’s poor character and behavior as a ruler, describing him as having a “rough and restless mind”, still showing attentiveness while on horseback.<sup>730</sup> He is criticized for not attending to the duties a ruler needs to fulfill, such as giving new laws “like the sovereigns did in ancient times.”<sup>731</sup> A second crucial point of critique is that Selim keeps promising peace while not getting a grip on his marauding soldiers: “Every day, he had the *amān*, security and peace proclaimed in Cairo, while the looting and murder did not cease, perpetrated by his entourage, who did not listen to him, and the population lived in utmost terror.”<sup>732</sup> In this context, the narrative becomes even more explicit regarding Selim’s nature: “To all this, it must be added that he had a vile character, liked to pour blood, had violent outbursts of anger, and would not go back on a decision.”<sup>733</sup> This

725 E.g., *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 45, 60, 67–68.

726 See below.

727 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 74.

728 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 74.

729 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 150, see quotation below.

730 Ibid.

731 Ibid.

732 Ibid.

733 Ibid.



second characterization closes with an anecdote that cites fictionally retold verbal speech of Selim, which illustrates his violent spirit once again:

They reported that he had said during a meeting with his courtiers in Damascus: When I enter Cairo, I will burn all its houses and pass the people over with swords. But the Caliph had succeeded in coaxing him, so he renounced it; but if he had wished to do so, no moral law would have prevented him. Allāh has [full] command of His affairs.<sup>734</sup>

The unfriendly tone of the general description of the Ottomans continues to be created by stereotypical comparisons with negatively connoted natural phenomena, as mentioned above, or comparisons with historical figures, as will be shown below. This evaluative presentation of the Ottomans on the linguistic and metaphoric levels corresponds with the selection of reported material on the discursive level. Here, too, the narrative strives to present the Ottomans in a purely adverse light. Both before and after the conquest, the narrative focuses on several fields of criticism that are linked to certain stereotypes and among each other. Let me review the characterization of the Ottomans in terms of six interdependent character traits, not without highlighting once more that this analysis of narrative devices does not question the impression, the individual experience our author inscribed into his text. When I speak of narrative strategies here, I do not claim them to be utilized, consciously or unconsciously, to fabricate an exaggerated picture of the Ottoman conquest. The following analysis is intended to provide a better understanding of the criteria and ideas belonging to the common archive of knowledge that guided Ibn Iyās's narrative reaction to the experience of conquest—and maybe mirror his intended readership's reactions to a certain extent.

### 1) Ottoman violence

The defining characteristic of the representation of the Ottomans in connection with the conquest of Cairo, but also of previous battles and conquests, is the resort to drastic depictions of violence. Other parts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* and the further historiographical writings of Ibn Iyās feature occasionally bold depictions of violent actions either in war or in the torture and punishment of delinquents. One example among many is al-Ghawrī's treatment of his former barber, as recently analyzed by Christian Mauder.<sup>735</sup> The amount and detail of graphic depictions of violence, as they appear in the report on the conquest of Cairo and the first period of Ottoman rule, are, however, not representative of Ibn Iyās's historiographical narrative as a whole. The depiction of cutting off the

<sup>734</sup> *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 151, closing with a quotation from the Qur'ān 12: 21.

<sup>735</sup> Cf. Mauder (2020).

heads of enemy soldiers and presenting them—parallel to the presentation of executed people—certainly formed part of the Mamluk repertoire of the violent representation of power; the narrative usually does not evaluate such practices explicitly negatively in connection with Mamluk rule.<sup>736</sup> However, the representation of the Ottomans is different. First, the narrative uses constant references to the sheer number of Mamluks killed in battle or during later purges to describe the extent of Ottoman violence. In addition, measures such as the setting up of special racks for the mass display of decapitated heads are described.<sup>737</sup> Recurring descriptions of the numerous corpses abandoned in the city and on the battlefields without any distinguishing features not only serve to illustrate Ottoman cruelty. By describing the decomposition and stench of bodies that are now bereft of any recognizable features of their former rank, the narrative also reproduces on a symbolic level the destruction of Mamluk rule and the associated social order, which was set as a standard of good behavior by the narrative. The fall of the social order thus becomes unmistakably tangible to the recipient. A record about the body of Qānṣūh Rūḥ-lū, former governor of Qaṭīyā, serves as the personification of this symbol of destruction. His body remains identifiable, but lies unburied in the streets of Cairo as prey for the dogs.<sup>738</sup> The cruelty of the Ottomans remains a leitmotif behind the criticism discussed below, and serves as an indirect explanation for much of the Ottoman's represented behavior. Put otherwise, the author obviously chose his material to represent the Ottomans as driven by a violent and 'barbarian' nature. First and foremost, his narrative impressively shows the reaction of an urban middle-class writer who, probably for the first time in his life, sees a battlefield. Here, to make it worse, his hometown and the center of social, political, and economic order that framed his and his intended recipients' lives, is turned into this utter state of chaos and destruction.

## 2) The Ottomans as Uncultured Barbarians

The second criterion on which the narrative compares Ottomans and Mamluks centers on what could be described as the notion of a 'cultivated lifestyle', including both the general living conditions in an area of domination and certain qualities of the exercise of domination itself. The narrative naturally assumes, without having argued this prominently beforehand, that the Mamluk form of government and life known in Egypt sets the normative standard. The decisive

736 As can be witnessed in the same textpart, when Ibn Iyās describes how Ottoman bodies are sent to Cairo and presented at the city's gates, cf. *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 144.

737 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 149, 156.

738 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 156.

factor here is not a specifically 'Mamluk' or 'Egyptian' character of government, social order and standard of living, but rather the derivation of customs and traditions from the models of the ancients. Ibn Iyās explicates this argument using the case of governmental and ceremonial actions. This line of criticism begins in the reports on the Ottoman conquest of Aleppo and Syria, all of which presents the Ottomans as all-grasping looters. Narrations on the Ottomans plundering everything down to the last crumb are a stereotypical part of every battle or conquest report. This motif of Ottoman greediness is explained by them coming from a less elaborate and less wealthy realm:

He [the Ottoman sultan] found things there [in the citadel of Aleppo, where al-Ghawri had stored his treasury] he had never seen before and none of his forefathers had been able to rejoice from something similar, nor any king of Anatolia.<sup>739</sup>

Similarly, but even more dramatized, this argumentation also appears in the report on the conquest of Cairo:

Then all the rascals of the city denounced to the Ottomans the depots of the ladies of high society, so the Ottomans looted the expensive fabrics. The treasures of the earth were opened up to the Ottomans in Cairo through this plundering of fabrics, weapons, horses, mules, small slaves, slaves ('*abīd*) and all sorts of precious things. They got their hands on riches and fabrics that they had never enjoyed in their own country, not even their great master.<sup>740</sup>

Both the Ottoman sultan and his troops are thus denied any knowledge of luxurious goods and an elaborate lifestyle, as the narrative now implicitly uses as a standard.

On the level of political representation, the report on the capture of Aleppo contains telling examples concerning Selim's person, as has been shown above. Regarding the characterization of the Ottomans as a collective agent, a *pars pro toto* illustrative anecdote is used, another narrative structure that will be repeated in the account of the conquest of Cairo. The takeover of the Aleppo citadel is textually quite closely related to a long list and description of luxury goods and representation utensils, such as golden saddles, which al-Ghawri had left in the citadel and are now being plundered by the Ottomans. This depiction of—lost—Mamluk grandeur contrasts with a description of the takeover of Aleppo by the Ottomans, in which Ibn Iyās presents politically symbolic actions of the Ottomans as proof of their lack of sophistication:

When Ibn 'Uthmān recognized that [the Aleppo citadel had been left without guard], he sent someone of his people (*shakhṣan min jamā'atihi*), a one-eyed and lame man walking on a wooden cane. This one walked up to the citadel and found nobody to keep

739 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 75.

740 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 151.

him from it. He laid hands on the goods in there, the money, the weapons, the rare things and everything else. Ibn 'Uthmān then used to boast of having conquered the citadel of Aleppo with a lame man walking on a wooden cane, the weakest member of his troops.<sup>741</sup>

Selim is similarly shown defying manners and customs in Cairo, thus demonstrating his lack of regal virtues. In this case, Ibn Iyās exemplifies by telling an anecdote about how the keys to the citadel, the residence of the incumbent sultan, were handed over dutifully to the Ottoman conqueror.<sup>742</sup> However, the latter initially refused to take his due place, and instead resided in his military camp at the Rawḍa, a place that Ibn Iyās negatively charges with graphic depictions of Ottoman cruelty during the mass executions carried out there.<sup>743</sup> When the sultan finally takes up quarters in the citadel, this does not only lead to the expulsion of the inhabitants from neighboring districts, an occurrence that the narrative depicts in vivid colors, putting emphasis on the people of Cairo's afflictions.<sup>744</sup> In this section, too, the narrative represents the Ottomans as a plague against which no precautions can help:

There were so many of them, they spread out like locusts from the Ṣalība to the mosque of Qawṣūn, to the Qanāṭir al-Sibā' and into the Bāb Zuwayla. There was not a single spot in the city where there were no Ottomans. The people started blocking their gates, the alleys and the gates of the neighborhoods to keep their horses from entering. But none [of their precautions] helped in the faintest, they demolished everything the inhabitants had raised.<sup>745</sup>

To describe the Ottomans' actions against the inhabitants of Cairo and Mamluks alike, the narrative uses the same verbal vocabulary (e.g., *hajama*, *nahaba*) used for the Mamluks before.<sup>746</sup> Mamluk refinement and respect for tradition is shown by composing anecdotes around specific yearly events, and the objects and ceremonies related to them. For example, Ibn Iyās has a relatively detailed account on the solemn, but voluptuous celebrations on the occasion of the prophet's birthday as held under al-Ghawrī's reign.<sup>747</sup> Reading this description without the larger context of the subsequent narrative about the Ottoman conquest, it seems surprising that such a strong emphasis is placed on the lavish festivities and the objects used during the celebrations. Ibn Iyās reports in detail on various banquets, especially the marquee specially made for the prophet's

741 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 74–75.

742 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 159–150.

743 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 156–157.

744 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 160.

745 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 160–161.

746 See, e.g., the description of the raid in the tombs of Imam al-Shāfi'ī and Laith b. Sa'd, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 160.

747 *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* V, 24–25. The celebration of the *maulid* has been regularly commemorated at the Mamluk court since the time of Barqūq, cf. Behrens-Abouseif (1988), 4–79 esp. 30, 56.

birthday. Why does he emphasize this lavish decoration in a part of the narrative where criticism of the chronically clammy sultan is one of the defining features?

A possible answer can be found in his depiction of the beginning of Ottoman rule in Cairo. The first celebration of the *maulid* turns into a demonstration of Ottoman barbarism.<sup>748</sup> Instead of celebrating the feast together with the notables, the Ottomans are shown selling the specially made tent and let the festival day pass without any celebration. The focus of the presentation is not a critique of the absence of devotion towards the prophet, which would have been a very pointed form of criticism against the new regime. Rather, the narrative underlines the lack of benefits for different social groups by a negative enumeration:

...it was the night of the *maulid al-nabī*, but the population could not notice it. The usual ceremonies of the prophet's birthday were cancelled, the reunion of the four qadis and the amirs in the sultan's court, the banquets that were usually held on that day, and the readers of the Qur'ān did not get their usual gifts of dress fabrics. Everything of this kind was cancelled.<sup>749</sup>

The narrative instead focuses on the sale of the tent as a ritually loaded object that formed part of the transpersonal inventory of symbols of rule and on the Ottomans' alleged misunderstanding of traditional customs and order, which make them sell the precious fabric for much too low a price. Ibn Iyās ascribes this to the Ottoman sultan in person, while the destruction of the tent is ascribed to his accomplices:

When Ibn 'Uthmān had mounted the citadel and inspected the things stored there, he had seen the tent for the *maulid* and he sold it to some people from the Maghrib for 400 dinars. They cut it into pieces and sold it to the people as drapes and tablecloths (*sufar*). This tent had been counted among the wonders of the world (*'ajā'ib al-dunyā*) and nowhere in the world has something been made similar to it.<sup>750</sup>

Towards the end of the narrative, there is a repetitive description of the grandeur and beauty of the tent, before Ibn Iyās closes with a bold judgment on Ottoman barbarism. In the closing words, he denotes the tent as counting among the "emblems of the state" (*sha'ā'ir al-mamlaka*, w. "ceremonial places of the state"), which explains why the destruction of the tent weighed this heavily in his judgment; its destruction and distribution embodied the destruction of the old order Ibn Iyās clings to:

[The tent] counted among the emblems of the state (*sha'ā'ir al-mamlaka*) and it was sold for the most improper price. Ibn 'Uthmān did not recognize its value, hence it was

748 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 172.

749 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 172.

750 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 172.

lost for all future kings. He caused universal misfortune, and this is one of the bad deeds he committed in Egypt.<sup>751</sup>

### 3) The Ottomans Do Not Respect (Islamic) Law

This line of criticism likewise comes into play in Ibn Iyās's earlier report on the beginning of the conflict between al-Ghawrī and Selim.<sup>752</sup> A lot of narration time serves to depict the diplomatic contacts between the two rulers and uses stylistic devices such as fictitious direct speech, quotations from written communication between the rulers and exemplary anecdotes, which are supposed to underline the cruelty of the Ottoman sultan, in order to make his assessment clear. The Ottoman sultan is portrayed as a dishonest adversary in the conflict, and the narrative openly accuses him of deceiving the Mamluk sultan by making up falsehoods.<sup>753</sup> As has been shown, the repetitive narrative about the fate of the Mamluk envoy Mughulbāy, captured and tortured by the Ottomans, also underlines their disregard for traditional martial law. A much weightier argument, which is likewise impressed on the reader by repetitive narration, is the accusation that the Ottomans did not respect sacred spaces such as mosques, tombs or *khānqāhs* when they conquered Cairo.<sup>754</sup> Using the same stereotypical description, which includes the looting of prayer rugs and mosque lamps, the desecration of graves of respected religious authorities by stamping on the tombstones and the murder of innocent people who had sought refuge in religious buildings, Ibn Iyās refers to the looting of numerous sacred spaces in Cairo.

Finally, the narrative about three tents on Rumayla Square must also be mentioned in connection with the negative portrayal of the Ottomans. Here it is particularly noteworthy that, similar to the depiction of the plunder of luxury goods as a demonstration of their allegedly uncultivated way of life, the criticism of the Ottomans is not only illustrated by their current behavior, but also their general nature. The criticism remains vague; in contrast to the clear depictions of violence in the streets, the narrative here works with allusions, as in the case of the already mentioned tents erected in Rumayla Square,<sup>755</sup> which carry, without becoming explicit, a general accusation of immorality and disregard for Islamic values against the Ottomans as a whole.

751 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 172.

752 See above, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 63–68.

753 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 45 as cited above.

754 E.g., *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 154.

755 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 163.

#### 4) The Ottoman Sultan Does Not Fulfill His Duties as a Ruler

This line of criticism is closely related in narrative terms to the two aforementioned aspects. Again, Selim's inapt conduct is compared to the traditions of earlier (Mamluk) sultans. The following example shows that this comparative approach is not only present on the level of content, but also within the narrative structure. The account of Selim's first entry to Cairo<sup>756</sup> is still oriented along the skeleton of transition narratives, as we have observed in Chapter VII. In the case of Selim's entry to Cairo, the order of ceremonial elements, however, is disrupted in comparison to other transition narratives, and the elements are intermingled with criticizing remarks.

In Chapter VII, I have discussed the use of stereotypical micro-elements in transition narratives, which constitute the references to ascension ceremonies. These micro-elements include reference to the seating on the throne (in the citadel of Cairo), to *maukibs* through different spaces of the citadel and the city and, most importantly, to the ceremonial participation of the ruling Mamluk elite, the caliph and the people of Cairo in ascension ceremonies. The narrative 'building blocks' of the transition of power narratives were often literally re-used, or at least paraphrased with the same meaning. The order and frequency of the constitutive building blocks, which are not missing in any Mamluk transition narrative in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, has proved to be fairly flexible and dependent on the evaluation of the respective new sultan by the narrative voice. However, if several of the ceremonial stereotypes are present in a transition narrative, their order usually mimics Mamluk transition ceremonial.

This no longer applies to the narrative on Sultan Selim's entrance into Cairo, which directly follows the account on the Battle of Raidāniyya. The narrative of Selim's takeover combines narrative devices from the context of transition (or accession) narratives, with narrative structures that belong to Ibn Iyās's repertoire of narrating battle scenes. Notably, he uses repetitive narration of violence, plundering and the abuse of the population, applying graphic descriptions of violence, thus blending the *maukib* scene into the surrounding reports on fight and conquest. The scene appears as fairly unstructured and seems to stick closely to the events rather than to a traditional ceremonial order. Except for some verses, there is no space for illustrative anecdotes or vivid dialogue scenes. Most of the narrative is dedicated to bold descriptions of the Ottomans' cruelty, especially towards the ordinary inhabitants and 'middle-range' Mamluks. Elements of the well-ordered political transition from his earlier transition narratives are scattered over the pages, but do not to pretend to any kind of order. Instead, their disorder mirrors the upheaval in Cairo. While in the sample of

756 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 150–151.

Mamluk transitions discussed before, Ibn Iyās uses these stereotypical ceremonial elements to evoke order and stability, their disorder underlines the notion of turmoil and chaos shown as the characterizing feature of the Ottoman entrance into Cairo. The sequences mentioned before are interrupted, mixed up and squeezed between vivid descriptions of the Ottomans' and Sultan Selim's cruelty.

Most of the narratives on Mamluk transitions share certain sequences. A full display of the micro-elements is usually be ordered as follows: 1) setting the sultan in the context of his predecessors and followers by numbering him, 2) giving his full name, 3) his lineage or Mamluk affiliation, 4) describing the circumstances of the transition (not all narratives have this part), 5) describing the vow of loyalty (*bai'a*, *ḥilf*) by the caliph and the amirs, 6) describing the procession *maukib* and seating on the throne, 7) the public announcement of the new sultan, 8) the prayer (*du'ā*) for his success by the people in the streets, and finally 8) a second *maukib*. Appointment lists and reference to bestowing robes of honor may be interspersed in various places. Parts of these sequences now appear in the narrative on Selim's first entrance to Cairo, which is interspersed with the already mentioned narrations on the Ottomans' violent plundering. The structure of the narrative runs as follows.<sup>757</sup>

1) A narrative on fear, showing public life in Cairo shut down and the defeat of the Mamluk armies, 2) the first mentions of plundering in Cairo,<sup>758</sup> 3) the caliph riding through the streets, trying to calm the people and make them submit to the new rulers.<sup>759</sup> Here, Ibn Iyās focuses on the caliph's speech to underline the importance of this event. The town criers call the people to pray for the new sultan (here: "Selim Shāh") and for his victory, announcing a "time of justice" as nobody would have to fear the Mamluks anymore:

The town criers went in front of him, announcing the *amān* and peace to the people. They called for the resumption of business and trade and announced that no-one was allowed to molest the population anymore because the door of tyranny had been closed and the door of justice opened wide. [They also proclaimed that] anyone who hid a Circassian Mamluk from the sultan's Mamluks in his home and did not report it would be hanged from the door of his house. [The proclamation ended] with prayers on the occasion of Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Selim Shāh's victory. The people cheered in his honor.<sup>760</sup>

757 The text part discussed here comprises *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 144–151.

758 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 144, further references to the people's emotions and reactions are interspersed in the whole passage.

759 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 147.

760 *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* V, 147.



4) The *du'ā* for the new ruler is cited in almost the same words as in narratives on Mamluk transitions of power before, but is changed in some central respects.<sup>761</sup> The people are called to pray for the new ruler by an important figure belonging to the old system, while all other transition narratives present the people praying *du'ā* on their own initiative. The acclamation is preeminent, as it happens before the new ruler has been introduced to Cairo or seated on the throne. While the acclamation is usually among the final parts of the transition narrative as given by Ibn Iyās, it now occurs first. Having been used as a closing phrase that marks the end of the transition process and thus the beginning of a new, more or less ordered reign, the turmoil and horror persists for the people, as the narrative continues with the Ottomans plundering the city. After 5) a vivid description of Ottoman violence and three days of plundering,<sup>762</sup> the text again focuses on a single event, namely 6) the Friday prayer (*khutba*) being held in Sultan Selim's name. The text announced from the Cairene minarets is cited to close his account of the year 922/1516–1517.<sup>763</sup>

However, a few pages later, even this last element of the 'usual' transition narratives will be invalidated when Ibn Iyās reports that only a week later, after the Mamluks had managed to threaten the Ottoman hold on Cairo seriously one last time, the Friday prayer was held once again, for the last time, in the name of Sultan Ṭūmānbāy.<sup>764</sup> We thus find only two elements of the 'usual' transition narratives mixed up with lengthy descriptions of turmoil and violence. The narrative thereby shows the old order turned upside down, the well-known and well-ordered system drowning in chaos. This pattern of showing the world overturned continues with the account of the year 923/1517.<sup>765</sup> Accounts of cruel executions are followed by the appointment of certain functionaries. Further incidents are mentioned that break with 'well-ordered' rule. The new sultan refuses to reside in the citadel, and the plundering and oppression of the people of Cairo continue as before. Alternating depictions of representative ceremonial acts and the repeated proclamation of peace and security in the city, on the one hand, and scenes of looting, on the other, illustrate the central points of the criticism mentioned above.

Ibn Iyās's narrative continues to gather anecdotes that foster his representation of Selim not fulfilling his duties as a ruler. A second example will be discussed here, namely Ibn Iyās's description of how Selim finally entered the Cairo citadel to stay there.<sup>766</sup> As has been mentioned above, the citadel features as the

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761 Ibid.

762 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 147–148.

763 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 148.

764 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 153–155, esp. 155.

765 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 148 ff.

766 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 162–163.

sultan's rightful place in Ibn Iyās's estimation. Selim's entrance into the rightful space of government, however, depicts him as the exact opposite of an able and just ruler. According to the narrative, he merely disappears behind the walls of the citadel and leaves the city to its fate, or rather the arbitrariness of his troops, while he himself engages in demolishing the ceremonial spaces of the citadel and allows his troops to keep horses in there. Three stereotypical points of criticism thus emphasize the narrator's bold judgment of the Ottomans and their—in Ibn Iyās's view—undeserved reputation as just rulers. In conclusion, Ibn Iyās states that the disruption of social order formerly secured by (albeit not flawless) Mamluk rule, which he has already thematized implicitly by the description of the battlefields and dead bodies in the city, now has become the new order:

Throughout his time at the citadel, the Ottoman ruler lived in seclusion from the people, showed himself to no one, held no public sessions on the dais of the sultanian court, did not dispense justice and never defended the oppressed against the oppressors. Instead, every day anew, he and his viziers performed an unprecedented iniquity; [they] put [people] to death and confiscated for arbitrary reasons. Everything was truly out of bounds. Before Selim Shāh's arrival in Egypt, we had heard a lot about the infinite justice of the Ottomans in their homeland, but this fame was without any foundation: at no time did Selim Shāh obey in Egypt, the principles of equity of the former sultans of that country. He did not observe any rule, neither he, nor his viziers, nor his amirs, nor his soldiers. They were barbarians (*hamaḡ*) who did not know how to distinguish the slave (*ghulām*) from the master (*ustādh*).<sup>767</sup>

## 5) The Ottomans Compared to Non-Islamic Conquerors

Even if, as discussed above, the Ottomans are associated with the disregard of Islamic law and other central values, there is only one passage where a non-Muslim in their ranks is highlighted as an example of particular cruelty. This is a short report about the executioner who carries out mass beheadings in the Ottoman camp after the conquest of Cairo. Ibn Iyās includes information about his ethnic and religious affiliation, saying he was either Frankish or a Jew from the Ottoman lands (*Rūm*), although he considers this information a mere rumor.<sup>768</sup> The narrative thus uses this sharp depiction of cruelty and associates it with a stereotype of otherness, while at the same time distancing itself from it, as if a kind of disclaimer was to be incorporated. While the Ottomans themselves are not openly criticized as unbelievers, comparisons with historical, non-Islamic conquerors of Egypt or other parts of the Islamic lands serve to associate their behavior with that of infidels. The narrative repeatedly refers to a comparison of

<sup>767</sup> *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 162.

<sup>768</sup> *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 156.

the Ottoman conquest with that of the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>769</sup> Each time it is emphasized that the Ottoman conquest hit the country and its inhabitants much harder than that of the unbelieving historical king. The threat to Egypt by the Mongol storm, which had occurred more recently from Ibn Iyās's perspective, does appear as an asymmetrical comparison as well. Hulagu as an infidel Mongolian leader was known to the recipients of the narrative and was discussed in the previous parts of *Badā' i al-zuhūr*. The knowledge about him can also be considered part of the collectively available historical knowledge of the time. In an asymmetrical comparison, the same Hulagu is more positively evaluated than the Ottoman sultan. Ibn Iyās reports on the former Mamluk governor of the province of Aleppo, who defected to the Ottomans. He describes his external transformation; the traitor puts on Ottoman robes and shaves his head according to Ottoman custom. But more important for the depiction of the Ottomans is Selim's attitude toward the traitor. The Ottoman sultan honors him, accepts him into the ranks of his amirs and gives him the honorary name Khaynbak, "traitor".<sup>770</sup> Directly connected to this is an implicitly moralizing anecdote about the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 656/1258:

This incident reminds us of Ibn al-ʿĀqamī, the vizier in Baghdad, who betrayed Caliph al-Mustaʿsim bi-llāh when Hulagu, the king of the Tatars, conquered Baghdad and killed Caliph al-Mustaʿsim bi-llāh. He [Ibn al-ʿĀqamī] had become a close confidant of Hulagu, but then Hulagu turned against him, had him crucified and said to him: "I could see in your eyes that you had nothing good in mind for your master. How could you then wish something good for me?" But nothing the like happened to Khayrbak, the [former] governor of Aleppo.<sup>771</sup>

While Sultan Selim gets involved with the treacherous Mamluk amir Khayrbak and even courts him, giving him the honorary title Khaynbak ("traitor"), Hulagu, the epitome of a cruel conqueror, is shown as wiser than Selim. Disloyalty to the master is thus shown as despised and punished even by the worst barbarians, even if they profited from it. With this anecdote, Ibn Iyās implicitly attributes two negative qualities to Selim: namely, a lack of very basic values and unwise rule because he gets involved with traitors. The asymmetrical historical comparison as a narrative strategy thus serves to underline the Ottomans' reprehensibility and at the same time implicitly defames them as worse than infidels.

769 *Badā' i al-zuhūr* V, 152, 157.

770 *Badā' i al-zuhūr* V, 62.

771 *Badā' i al-zuhūr* V, 76–77.

6) Ottomans and Mamluks Criticized Equally

At several points, the criticism of the Ottomans strongly resembles that held against the Mamluks before the battle of Raidāniyya. Both the Mamluk and the Ottoman sultans are criticized equally for not being able to keep their troops under control, thereby causing troubles for the population. Ibn Iyās also criticizes both groups for mistreating the Mamluk descendants (he uses the term *awlād al-nās* in these textparts), thus referencing back to an example that may have affected him personally as a historical author.

Similar to the depiction of the sluggish Mamluk army before Raidāniyya, the Ottoman army is shown as disobedient against its sultan, as when ignoring the promise of security (*amān*) Selim has proclaimed in Cairo:

But the Ottomans turned a deaf ear to these injunctions and continued to plunder people’s houses under the pretext of searches for Circassian Mamluks. They broke into the buildings and for three days in a row, it was nothing but housebreaking and plunder: precious fabrics, horses, mules disappeared from the homes of the amirs and soldiers and, in general, everything that could be stolen.<sup>772</sup>

In a sense, the narrative thus equates the old and new ruling systems regarding their flaws. Even the portrayal of Ottoman looting runs parallel to the Mamluks in terms of content and discursive elements. Both the narrative about al-Ghawrī’s mobilization and the section on the Ottoman conquest contain descriptions of the looting of vital infrastructure by the two armies. Both narratives illustrate these events with the same stereotypical examples, referring to the plundering of water carriers’ pack animals, as well as animals important for the operation of grain mills.<sup>773</sup>

Mamluks	Ottomans
The army caused great disturbance and donkeys, mules and horses became rare in Cairo. The Mamluks went to plunder ( <i>yahjamūna</i> ) the mills and to take the horses, mules and other draught beasts from them. So, all the mills were closed, and bread and flour disappeared from the markets. The people were hungry and started tumults, and petitions were brought before the sultan. The fabric markets were closed because of the Mamluks, the shopkeepers and tailors went into hiding and all Cairo was in upheaval. All the tradesmen	Then groups of Ottomans invaded the mills, taking all the mules and draught beasts and camels. They also took a number of camels from the water carriers. The Ottomans seized all the fabrics they discovered. They abducted a number of young boys and black slaves. That day the plundering lasted until sunset. Then the Ottoman soldiers rushed to the granaries of Old Cairo and Bulāq and took the stored grain. This event was beyond all that people would have been able to imagine and yet it was set

772 *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 147–148.  
773 For Mamluk looting, see above and *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 28; Ottoman looting is described e.g. in *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* V, 147.

(Continued)

Mamluks	Ottomans
hid themselves, fearing the Mamluks, and parts of the <i>julbān</i> hid as well, because they feared the travel. The situation in Cairo resembled the day of resurrection, when everyone wept: "Oh my soul, oh my soul!"	by fate from all eternity. Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Zaytūnī has commented on this event: We weep for Cairo and its folk / all pillars and buildings have been destroyed Mournful shame dawned over / what had once been Cairo.

Both anecdotes share common features regarding the plot, the looted goods named and their structure. They equally proceed from a description of the situation over the reaction of the people of Cairo to a final evaluation that offers God's will or fate as the ultimate reason for the situation and tags it as utmost state of destitution by adding a comparison to the day of resurrection and an illustrative verse respectively. Both ruling groups thus appear unable or unwilling to supply the population and thus ensure the functioning of the community.

As for the Mamluk descendants (in Ibn Iyās's terminology: *awlād al-nās*), the narrative accuses Mamluks and Ottomans of different wrongdoings against them. In both cases, however, the criticism keeps being repeated as a steady part of the narrative. The account of al-Ghawrī's mobilization against the Ottomans is interspersed again and again with bitter comments about the fact that *awlād al-nās*, unlike other members of the army, received fewer financial allowances from the sultan, or none at all. Much more dramatically, the narrative presents the fate of this group under the Ottoman conquest, again using repetitive narrative and fictionally retold dialogues to dramatize the scenes. There are repeated reports about how *awlād al-nās* were threatened and blackmailed by the Ottomans because of their similar appearance to Circassian Mamluks, that is, because of intersectional discrimination by ascribed ethnic origin, outer appearance and clothing:

... the Ottomans arrested all the *awlād al-nās* who wore a red cap (*zamṭ*)<sup>774</sup> or a light turban (*takhfīfa*), and told them: You are a Circassian! They would chop off their heads at once. So, all the *awlād al-nās*, even the descendants of amirs or sultans, covered their heads with turbans (*amā'im*), so that light turbans and red *zamṭ*-caps disappeared from Cairo's streets.<sup>775</sup>

... The Ottomans seized the *awlād al-nās* in the streets and said to them: You are Circassian! And the passers-by would bear testimony for them to show that they were not Circassian Mamluks. The Ottomans would tell them: Redeem your souls, if not we

774 On the history of this distinctly Mamluk headgear, see Fuess (2008), 82. For the *takhfīfa*, see *ibid.*, 77–78.

775 *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 150.

will slay you! And they took from them the money they wanted, and in fact the people of Cairo were their prisoners.<sup>776</sup>

Thus, the *awlād al-nās*, as well as the inhabitants of the quarters bordering the citadel who were expelled by the Ottoman army after Selim's occupation,<sup>777</sup> serve as an example of the otherwise generally held references to the fate of the people of Cairo as a whole. These parallels suggest understanding Ibn Iyās's position as a narrator and a judgmental instance as being close to his fellow inhabitants of Cairo and rather adverse to the ruling classes in general.

## Conclusion to Chapter VIII

The analysis of the narrative about the Ottoman conquest has shown that Ibn Iyās employs narrative strategies similar to those we have observed before in this late part of his presentation. Here, too, the narrative continues to have a strong literary character. Individual figures and group agents are evaluated both by direct assessment through the narrative voice, by judgmental descriptions of their actions and by implicitly judgmental anecdotes. The negative Ottoman image is constructed along the same lines of criticism as the representation of the Mamluks. In contrast, the Mamluk image changes for the better with the emergence of Ottoman rule, which Ibn Iyās seems to have evaluated as being even worse. In addition to the already established lines of criticism, which particularly include injustice, cruelty and arbitrariness toward the population, but also disobedience on the part of the Ottoman army, a moral devaluation of the Ottomans is added. They are presented as uncultivated, greedy barbarians; even their sultan is shown as someone who disregards order and tradition. Finally, the Ottomans are shown as bad Muslims who desecrate sacred spaces and indulge in alcohol and other forbidden things. In addition, they are more often compared with non-Islamic rulers, some of whom are rated more positively than the Ottomans. All these narrative strategies of course have their roots or triggers in the situation of conquest Ibn Iyās and his intended readership had to witness. They therefore can—an must—be read as a relatively direct reaction to this situation, which must have been threatening and disturbing to the population of Cairo. Speaking of a common traumatic experience would maybe be too far-fetched, at least in this stage of research. However, we must keep in mind that Ibn Iyās's way of showing the Ottomans, as well as his growing sings of sympathy and wistful remembrance of Mamluk rule are not only reaction to the situation itself, but also strategies to (narratively) cope with it.

<sup>776</sup> *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 151.

<sup>777</sup> *Badā'i al-zuhūr* V, 160.



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## IX Concluding Remarks and Research Prospects

In conclusion, I would like to reflect on the methods applied in this study and on the results with regard to the main areas of interest. I will begin with a short review of compilation analysis as a method of study and then proceed to a resume of the initial tasks and research plans behind this book. I will sum up the results of this research project with regard to compilation as a working method heavily used by Ibn Iyās and the outcome of author analysis by the means of literary methods. Subsequently, I will turn to the strategies characteristic of Ibn Iyās's narrative voice that are shared among all of his texts, and the possibilities and limits of the analysis of narrative voice(s) for reconstructing Ibn Iyās's positionality in his socio-historical context. Before I conclude with some research prospects, also regarding the integration of this study into the wider context of Mamluk Studies, I will finally reflect on how the examination of Ibn Iyās's transition narratives can help us approach his narrative ways of worldmaking.

The comparative study of several texts within a corpus, which additionally involves external hypotexts, requires a number of different approaches regarding the implementation, analysis and evaluation of texts produced by means of compilation. There are essentially two types of challenges. Compilation concordances are always relatively uncomplicated to draw up and present if the relevant portions of the texts remain quite consistent through different versions. Yet, it becomes more difficult to identify compilation processes and visualize them when this technique occurs together with major additions to the hypertext(s). First, it is difficult to trace and reconstruct the stretching or redistribution of compiled material in larger parts of the hypertext—the same applies to the representation of compilation processes that extend over large quantities of text which are interspersed with non-compiled material. Moreover, the presentation becomes more complex when compiled material from several hypotexts overlaps in the hypertext: the use of colors in this study to indicate compiled, paraphrased and added material reaches its limits here. Therefore, the present study employs summary representations to illustrate the macro-level of reorganization and sequencing.



A similar challenge arises from the comparative examination of three parallel texts if, as in the present case, these texts do not fit *a priori* into a chronological sequence or intertextual hierarchy. The fact that the three texts were written during the same time period makes it impossible to identify alterations such as deletions or additions. In most cases, the direction in which the differing material was altered cannot be reconstructed. However, as the analysis of the texts in this study has shown, a clear ‘one-way’ intertextual relationship does not necessarily exist. Rather, Ibn Iyās’s working process involved compiling two of his original texts simultaneously into the most recent one, which he also supplemented with external material and new passages of his own. There are also intertextual connections between the two hypertexts *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *‘Uqūd al-juman*, which do not suggest a one-way processing direction: it may also have occurred vice versa. Considering only the three compared texts by Ibn Iyās, the following four combinations of intertextual exchange are possible, where the connection between the texts has to be thought of as reciprocal in principle:

<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> — <i>‘Uqūd al-juman</i> — <i>Badā’i al-zuhūr</i>	All three texts involved in a compilation/paraphrase.
<i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> — <i>Badā’i al-zuhūr</i> <i>Jawāhir al-sulūk</i> — <i>‘Uqūd al-juman</i> <i>‘Uqūd al-juman</i> — <i>Badā’i al-zuhūr</i>	Two of the three texts share compiled/paraphrased material.

The possible combinations increase exponentially as soon as one or more external hypotexts come on top. Hence, investigating compilation concordances requires analytical description, and cannot be performed by color visualizations alone. The spider web of intertextuality between the three texts is difficult to visualize, since intertextual relations of different constellations can occur side by side even in small samples.

While a temporal hierarchy can be established with certainty, especially in the case of a hypertext compared to hypotexts that originated far earlier in time (such as that of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam in this study), the challenge of reconstructing these spider webs in larger text corpora increases with the number of texts that are not only intertextually dependent on several others, but stand in such temporal proximity to each other that they cannot be clearly placed in a temporal sequence. For this reason, I deliberately decided to first test my methodological approaches on a manageable corpus of texts as an example. The study thus very consciously does not attempt to draw a larger or even complete picture of the intertextual connections between Ibn Iyās’s oeuvre and its historiographical, literary and popular-narrative context. If it, by this, points to open questions that have not been answered systematically so far, such as the question of when elements of the ‘popularization’ and ‘literarization’ of Mamluk historiography as

postulated by Haarmann, which are clearly discernible in Ibn Iyās's and other works actually arose, or the question of whether broader intertextual analyses on the methodological basis proposed here can demonstrate lines of intertextual dependencies and compilatory (or: writerly) techniques of text production for this period, then much has already been achieved. Both these topics, and other open questions that the interested reader will (hopefully) come up with while reading my discussions, also deserve monographic attention.

For now, let me emphasize once more that the first elements of the 'popularization' and 'litararization' tendencies, as well as the first signs of the stress factors discussed in Chapter II, can of course be observed well before Ibn Iyās's lifetime. So it remains to be examined when the respective beginnings became real 'trends'. Interesting, and worthy of a further case study, is the observation that Ibn Iyās seems to have far more in common—both biographically and historiographically—with, for example, Ibn al-Dawādārī than with some of his contemporaries (although he shares e.g. the Mamluk descendance, with Ibn Taghrī Birdī, whom he does his best to ignore). Ibn Iyās, as well as e.g. al-Nuwayrī, who seems to have lived rather insulated from scholarly circles of their time, are also interesting for the study of intellectual trends that developed through the reception of a canon rather than by the influence of scholarly peer-groups or 'schools'. New technologies, such as the now advancing possibility of digitization and electronic searchability of Arabic source texts, will help to address such questions in the years to come, the answers to which would take the lifetime of several colleagues using the 'pencil-and-paper' method I have employed here.

This is all the more needed because my case study, like yet the greater part of the research available on the Mamluk period, ultimately relates to Egyptian writing traditions and Egyptian, even Cairene, realities of life. Without a critical mass of corresponding case studies on Syrian authors (encouraged by the already existing, very welcome and absolutely to be expanded socio-historical and intellectual history studies in this area), which then have to be included into a diachronic comparison (within the framework of the Mamluk period, but later also beyond!) encompassing the entire area of the Mamluk Sultanate (and later also more distant centers of knowledge production in exchange with it!), the image of 'Mamluk historiography' and its integration into the knowledge production of its time will always remain somewhat spotty.

So we are still left with the Mamlukists' consensus mentioned in the introduction: we still need more case studies in order to finally have the possibility of tackling larger analytical questions, such as the development of certain genres, on their basis. The present study is nothing more but also nothing less than a further step on this path, which of course also includes the further prosopographic and social-historical investigation of the various historiographers and their environment. In the present study, however, I have deliberately refrained

from striving for more source material and an enlarged basis of comparison in favor of the opportunity to test a method in a manageable experimental set-up that can be refined in the future, as mentioned above, e.g. through digital aids, and made applicable to the remaining larger questions.

However, the approach of color-coding three qualities of intertextual connection has proven to be practicable and useful in this work: the color codes include violet for material that differs in content and language, green for paraphrases that do not change the meaning or content and orange for reformulations that change the meaning and/or content. In summary, it can be stated that the comparative reading of broad parts of the three writings examined, as well as the inclusion of further hypotexts for comparison, has provided far deeper insight into the construction of narratives than was expected. The word-by-word microanalysis was as important as the comparison on the level of the overall architecture of the narratives. The combination of both approaches allowed us to identify several characteristic narrative patterns common to all texts by Ibn Iyās. Once identified by comparative reading, these characteristic patterns can be located even in those parts of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* that do not have direct parallels in the two earlier texts. This result, in particular, gives hope that the aforementioned broader analysis of common characteristics can be achieved.

My analysis has furthermore clearly shown that the negative connotation ascribed to compilation, devalued as plagiarism by past research, does not do justice to the texts produced using compilation as a working technique. Instead, compilation processes in Ibn Iyās's working method are always combined with further methods of re-organization, addition and re-employment. Even if, as has been shown especially between *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *Uqūd al-juman*, significant parts of a narrative are compiled *verbatim* into another text, they are still adjusted and fitted into the macro-structure of the new textual environment and to the intended message of the hypertext, which may differ from that of the hypotext(s). As such, text parts that use compiled elements offer the possibility to study the author's strategies for creating new narrative statements out of the material he collected from a common inventory of knowledge, named sources or his own previous work. The analysis has also revealed that compilation without reference to the sources fulfills other narrative purposes than quotations or paraphrases that signal their source: the latter enter the narrative as additional, external focalizers, thus diversifying the arsenal of commenting instances. The first are woven into the superordinate narrative instance's discourse and thereby are incorporated into the worldview of this narrating voice.

The function of compiling or paraphrasing without mentioning the source, or with vague references such as *qīla*, thus cannot be devaluated as the pure 'stealing' of information. Instead, such a use of sources needs to be acknowledged as a strategy for evaluating content and guiding the recipients. It is most likely

that this strategy is not a peculiar invention of Ibn Iyās, but was also used by other authors of his time in a similar way. Thus, reassessing ‘imprecise’ quotation practices in historiographical texts could lead to a better understanding of how Mamluk—or even Islamicate authors in general—evaluated their material. Apart from the compilation of content, be it in fully formulated form or in the adoption of plot structures, Ibn Iyās also uses a ‘compilation’ of narrative strategies. His implementation of literal compilations of formulated micro-elements, such as dialogue modules, is a good example of how he was able to alter the meaning of a *verbatim* compiled element and use it to express evaluations of figures, for example, that stand opposite to statements in the hypotext. Such changes prove that compilation as a writing technique can result in independent works with their own message.

Compilation analysis has proven a useful method for investigating intentions behind the text, their narrative construction and changes during the course of the working process. At the points of intersection between compiled or paraphrased text portions, the author’s guiding and evaluating intentions and methods of intervention become particularly clear. By dissecting the macro-structure of texts consisting of compiled material, compilation concordances can also reveal structural and content-related aspects of this working technique.

In recent years, Mamluk studies, as well as other fields of Islamicate history, has steadily focused more interest on the working processes and practices of historiographical authors, which have been scrutinized concerning their intellectual, narrative and material dimensions in different times and regions. The involvement of historical authors in intellectual and social networks, their sharing of ideas among each other during direct interactions, the reception of books or orally transmitted texts, as well as the basic living conditions of those who wrote history, have been recognized as vital factors that influenced an author’s perceptions, evaluations and representations. This is where questions for further investigations into the history of motifs and themes, and also for the exploration of narratological continuities arise: Numerous Mamluk historians offer suitable starting points—for example, the relationship between the work of Ibn al-Furāt and al-Maqrīzī, who frequently relied on the former for his depiction of the early Mamluk period. Another ‘pair’ linked by frequent intertextual connections are Baybars al-Manṣūrī and al-Nuwayrī. In this respect as well, the interrelation with the ‘Damascus school’ should be examined, e.g. regarding historians like al-Dhababī or al-Yūnīnī.

This book however is dedicated to approaching the closer socio-historical context of Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī, the Egyptian historiographical voice of the Mamluk-Ottoman transition period. How did Ibn Iyās work? Which convictions, beliefs and guiding norms and values stand behind his writings? How did his historical context affect his representation of power and transitions of rule? These

are the three main questions that stood at the beginning of my journey into Ibn Iyās's ways of worldmaking. The study started from three hypotheses:

First, I recognize historiographical writing as a practice for explaining the course of history and making sense out of contingent historical events. Conceived as such, historiographical narratives, conceptualizations and structures provide information about the ways of worldmaking authors supported and consciously or subconsciously communicated in their texts. The narratological analysis of historiographical texts thus fits as a method not only for studying a certain author's convictions and biases, but also for approaching their positionality as narrating voices, reporters and commentators on their times.

Second, I conceive the text corpus of Ibn Iyās's writings as a set of intertextually linked works that mutually influenced each other. The study is based on a comparative reading of Ibn Iyās's historiographical texts, with a strong focus on dissecting the working process behind them. The basic idea was to transpose Frédéric Bauden's approach to al-Maqrīzī's scratchbooks onto a corpus of intertextually interdependent texts, on which the author placed equal value as separate, finished works, each endowed with an individual character and aim. As has been shown, compilation processes entangle the three works *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, *ʿUqūd al-juman* and *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*. While *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman* can be identified as hypotexts to *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* in many cases, there is no clear one-way intertextual hierarchy among the three texts. Instead, they are to be characterized as mutually entangled. However, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, as the youngest of the three, has seen recognizably more addition and editorial interventions, as well as additions of new material, than identified in the working processes between *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and *ʿUqūd al-juman*. The comparative analysis of the texts opposes Wasserstein's thesis that the earlier writings of Ibn Iyās are to be regarded merely as preliminary work for his last chronicle. Each of the examined texts stands out for its own individual foci, even if all three are clearly marked by Ibn Iyās's fundamental understanding of historiographical writing.

The peculiarity of the texts is only partially due to their content, because the plots are fairly stable. However, the communication intentions, form and narrative peculiarities distinguish the texts from one another. The fact that Ibn Iyās wanted to publish *ʿUqūd al-juman* as an independent work is demonstrated not least by the autograph we have today.<sup>778</sup> In contrast to research on scratchbooks, narrative analysis needed to be conducted on each work in order to uncover their characteristic macro- and micro-structures and to trace common features: this

778 Unfortunately, the effects of the corona virus pandemic have made it impossible to advance the codicological study of the material further. I will process and publish the results separately as soon as archive visits are possible again.

finally helped to work out the overarching characteristics of Ibn Iyās's narrative voice. Since each text keeps its individual characteristics, whether in form, content or, in the case of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, through the considerable expansion of the material, I do not see them as three versions of one narrative, but as independent works by the same author. Therefore, I call their connection intertextual, not intratextual.

Third, my approach starts from a distinction between the *historical author* and the *narrative voice*, although it recognizes the close interrelation, if not identification, of both entities in the case of Islamicate historiographical writings. The historical author Ibn Iyās can be identified as the leading narrative voice in all three of the texts in question, as well as in his other writings. Although he keeps his individual person and history distant from the historiographical narratives, he clearly identifies himself as the first-person narrator. His narrative voice oscillates between the qualities of external and zero focalization and is furthermore diversified by the use of external focalizers, mostly in the form of quotations from the historiographical literature, or by the use of figures as direct or indirect focalizers within the narrative of Ibn Iyās's superordinate narrative voice. This result, and in particular the systematic use of additional focalizers on different levels of the narrative, confirms that Ibn Iyās shaped his texts, especially *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, much more consciously than was previously assumed. A diversification of the narrative instance across the three texts under consideration can be demonstrated, which finds its strongest form in *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*. The analysis of the narrative voice permitted me to examine how the author directs the reader and how he implements different strategies for the explicit or implicit evaluation of reported events.

I examined the above questions using a twofold comparative approach based on continuous compilation concordances. I traced changes and continuities in the historical representation and assessment of power, rule and related factors, especially concerning the interaction of social groups close to rule and social groups with less institutionalized political power. To understand the evolution of Ibn Iyās's approach, my analysis followed the chronological organization of his narratives, focusing on the major transitions of rule that brought, in the long run, remarkable changes to the political and/or societal system of the Mamluk Sultanate. Second, the analysis focuses on the topics and narrative strategies Ibn Iyās chose to thematize and implement in the context of the major transitions. This approach is dedicated to possible changes both in the representation of historical events and in the process of intertextual compilation and reframing inside Ibn Iyās's corpus, as well as between his corpus and his main sources.

In retrospect, I have to state that it was not always an easy task to cover in equal measure the multiple research angles I considered necessary to approach such an elusive author as Ibn Iyās. Although many parts of his writings seem, at first sight,

to show similar characteristics both in content and narrative style, the exemplary analyses have revealed manifold variations in narrative expression, to which a uniform analytical pattern would do no justice. The compilation studies, however, follow a common pattern in all chapters and thus form a comparable basis for narratological analysis, which was then adjusted to the needs of each chapter. The combination of literary and compilation study as an approach to elusive historical authors has proven a valuable tool, so long as one does not expect to obtain 'hard data' on the biography or other aspects of the author's life. Instead, the meticulous tracing of compilation processes and other ways of re-organizing and re-emplotting texts offers valuable information on the working method—hard data on the art of writing history at a certain point of time. The flexibility of the narratological toolkit may appear to be a disadvantage at first glance. Likewise, the procedure requires descriptive sections and paraphrases. Overall, however, the approach has proven to be well suited for reflecting the complexity of Ibn Iyās's narrative style, which he achieves by using a stable arsenal of narrative tools.

I would now like to summarize the main results for the areas mentioned at the beginning of this section. In the second chapter, the study reflects the current state of research, which helps us to reconstruct the broader historical setting in which Ibn Iyās is to be located. The third chapter then brings together all the information that Ibn Iyās revealed about himself. The pure collection of relevant text passages initially did not yield anything new from either *Jawāhir al-sulūk* or *Uqūd al-juman*, which have not been consulted on the subject previously. It still remains noticeable that Ibn Iyās only began to integrate elements of his historical person into the narrative instance when writing his last work. However, through narrative analysis of the few text parts in which he gives information about his family and social background, some characteristics of the implicit narrator Ibn Iyās can be worked out. Ibn Iyās clearly identifies himself as an *ibn al-nās*. He locates his narrative voice within the circle of an urban peer group, which is essentially located within the city walls of Cairo. This peer group includes people from the middle level of the administration or judiciary, as well as his teachers and some friends who, similar to Ibn Iyās himself, also write.

Apart from the few reports about his family, teachers and friends, Ibn Iyās makes no mention of his social environment. Moreover, he does not put the information together in a narrative about himself. Ibn Iyās is thus a rather elusive author, who guides his recipients through his texts far more with his immaterial narrative voice than his historical person. Therefore, in this book I have taken the approach of investigating Ibn Iyās's narrative voice in order to better trace his positionality vis à vis his social position and the society he lived in and wrote about. Based on the distinction between historical author and narrative voice, the results of such a separate consideration can be merged if an author like Ibn Iyās

clearly identifies himself with his superordinate narrative instance. Only by reading his scattered allusions to his own person and background as elements of self-representation has it become possible to put the bits and pieces together. This approach has allowed fresh insights into the key question concerning the social position of Ibn Iyās. Judging from his narrative style, the author must be located in the urban society of Cairo, but not in or only at the very edge of ruling circles—he represents himself as a city dweller, while he underlines his ancestor's connection to the citadel as a space of rule. One must keep in mind at all times that the aforementioned elements constitute the representation of the intended author Ibn Iyās, the image of himself that he wanted to reveal to his recipients.

Collaborative initiatives such as the interdisciplinary network “Medieval Narratology”,<sup>779</sup> led by Eva von Contzen, or the Bonn Centre for Transcultural Narratology<sup>780</sup> have recently brought the narrative characteristics of ‘medieval’ and ‘non-European’ fictional and factual texts into the focus of methodological and theoretical discourses in narratology. This welcome development is contributing to the slow but much needed adaptation of the toolkit of narratology to text types that—as explained in the introduction—can only be analyzed inadequately with the help of concepts and methods based on a canon of nineteenth-century European fictional literature. I would like to refer to just one point from this discussion as an example. In her essay *Why we Need a Medieval Narratology*,<sup>781</sup> which the author herself calls a “manifesto”, von Contzen points out, among other things, that figures in medieval European texts “lack a discernible ‘character’”<sup>782</sup> in comparison to the ‘expectations’ of the narratological toolkit formulated so far. Figure depictions that make do with much sparser means than those in nineteenth-century novels thus appear, in unreflexively applied narratological analysis, to be a neglectable research subject.<sup>783</sup>

779 The interdisciplinary network was active from 2014–2017, cf. <http://medieval-narratology.de/index.php/home2> (07.11.20).

780 Bonner Zentrum für Transkulturelle Narratologie (BZTN). The center's website is under construction at the moment: its series represents the transcultural range of projects conducted, cf. <https://www.ebv-berlin.de/Begegnung-der-Kulturen-und-Religionen/Reihe-Narratio-Aliena> (07.11.20).

781 Contzen, Eva von (2014a): “Why we need a Medieval Narratology. A Manifesto.” *Diegesis* 3 (2), 1–21.

782 Ibid., 4.

783 Von Contzen discusses her approach in a case study, cf. Contzen, Eva von (2014b): Saints' Lives as Narrative Art? Towards a Pragma-Narratological Approach to the Scottish Legendary. In Monika Fludernik and Daniel Jacob (eds): *Linguistics and Literary Studies / Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft*. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 171–198, and more recently in a monograph dedicated to the same corpus of texts, Contzen, Eva von (2016): *The Scottish Legendary. Towards a Poetics of Hagiographic Narration*. Manchester: Manchester University Press (Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture). A theoretical and methodological discussion was published in the collective volume Contzen, Eva von and Florian Kragl



My investigation of figure construction in Ibn Iyās's narratives, which I have carried out in particular into the examples of the Islamic conquest of Egypt and the transitions to Mamluk and Ottoman rule, has shown that this statement also applies to Mamluk historiographical texts. Ibn Iyās uses a rather small set of narrative means to characterize and evaluate figures. These are mainly the narrator's commentary, the concise but pointedly formulated descriptions of emotions (e.g., the ruler's wrath, expressions of emotions by the urban population) and the physical appearance of the characters (the sarcastic description of Ottoman representatives and Selim I). In addition, indirect characterization strategies include (fictionally retold) literal speech endowed with characteristic features (e.g., colloquial language in Shajar al-Durr's speech). More elaborate character studies, as found in certain obituaries, do not have the same effect on the reader's perception of the figures as a continuous characterization (as in a novel, for example) because they are separated into their own sequence of narratives. Ibn Iyās applies his small arsenal of narrative means for the characterization of figures to group-related agents as well as to single characters. By far the most common tools used are direct commentary by the superordinate narrative voice and additional external focalizers. The narrative strategies occur in anecdotal text parts as well as in the chronical or journal-like parts; especially in obituaries, anecdotes are also inserted to underline certain figure characteristics.

Further investigation is needed, especially with regard to prosopographical representations in obituaries. A cross-genre investigation of the characterizations of figures in historiographies and biographical dictionaries that decodes the narrative patterns inherent in these representations would be a valuable addition to the understanding of Mamluk (historiographical) narration, and could also yield interesting socio-historical results. Using the texts of Ibn Iyās alone, such an investigation would allow, for example, for further insights into his conceptualizations of social roles and intersectional distinctions.

Similar to figure construction, the design of the narrative instance in Ibn Iyās's work cannot be described with a single term from the narratological toolkit. The superordinate narrative voice, which identifies with the historical author, takes a perspective corresponding to the social position of Ibn Iyās as an *ibn al-nās* of the third and fourth generation. The selection of the covered topics, as well as the evaluation and classification of historical events by the narrator-cum-author, always revolve around the needs and the reality of the life of his urban peer-

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(eds) (2018): *Narratologie und mittelalterliches Erzählen. Autor, Erzähler, Perspektive, Zeit und Raum*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter (Das Mittelalter, Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung Beihefte, MABH, 7), including her own article Contzen, Eva von (2018): "Narrative and Experience in Medieval Literature: Author, Narrator, and Character Revisited." In *ibid.*, 61–80. Contzen, Eva von and Stefan Tilg (eds) (2019): *Handbuch historische Narratologie*. Berlin: Metzler.

group. This positionality becomes particularly clear in the investigation into the Mamluk-Ottoman transition and the Ottoman conquest, about which Ibn Iyās reports from own experience. Both in the reports on the last years of the Mamluk-Ottoman transition and when the Ottoman takeover is described, the narrator critically evaluates the decisions of the ruling elite from the perspective of the ruled. Mamluks and Ottomans alike are criticized for the same shortcomings and using the same narrative means. The positionality of the superordinate narrative voice, which oscillates between zero focalization and external focalization, is complemented by other voices of external focalizers. These openly complement, specify or sometimes even contradict the representation of the voice of Ibn Iyās.

In all such cases, the external focalizers are named and usually incorporated into the narrative by means of quotations. The quoted material comes from the archive of knowledge of Mamluk-period historiography, from which Ibn Iyās, according to his own statement, used 37 titles for the production of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* alone. In addition, there are quotations, often in verse form, from Ibn Iyās's intellectual peer group, to which belong his personal acquaintances and persons of his time who strongly influenced his narrative. Another desideratum, which may be discussed in terms of building upon this study and which could form an intermediary step on the path of exploring intertextuality in 'Mamluk historiography' to a broader extent, is a further literary and social historical examination of the intellectual networks in which Ibn Iyās was directly or indirectly involved.

As a first approach, the present study has limited itself to the direct environment of the author. Urban voices of individual figures or the urban population as a group agent are usually woven into the narrative through the superordinate narrative voice. This diversification of the narrative voice, which at the same time serves to communicate evaluations, gives the urban perspective a strong presence in Ibn Iyās's narrative. In terms of content, the perspective of the urban population revolves around themes located in their living environment: criticism of the injustice of rule and political and economic impositions are in the foreground. Again and again, Ibn Iyās deals with the fate of the Mamluk descendants whom he calls *awlad al-nās*, especially observable in the last part of *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, which comprises the entire fifth volume of the edition. He criticizes their unjust treatment by the last Mamluk sultans—he also deals with his personal fate at one point—as well as the violence that *awlad al-nās* experienced from the Ottomans, who persecuted them because of their relation to the Circassian Mamluks and identified them by the intersectional criteria of physical appearance and clothing. We may conclude that both thematically and in terms of the design of the narrative voice, Ibn Iyās's historiographical narratives revolve around the setting of the urban population and report from its perspective. Domination and elites are central to the structure and content of the texts be-

cause they determine the life of the author and his peer group—but not because the author writes for the powerful.

In order to further explore Ibn Iyās's positionalization from the point of view of his fellow Cairene dwellers, it would be useful to consider two additional topics in the future. These are the examination of narratives on disasters not caused by humans (or, more precisely, the rulers), such as the plague epidemic or poor harvests, and the narrative evaluation of their impact on the city and its economy. In addition, it would be desirable to examine the elements of constructing an 'Egyptian' identity in Ibn Iyās's narratives. Such elements can be observed, for example, in text parts that include geographical information, narratives on ancient Egyptian remains and culture and discussions of Coptic culture in relation to the River Nile and the agriculture dependent on this major lifeline in the Egyptian economy and identity. For the consideration of such a thematically oriented study, all writings of Ibn Iyās, including those described as 'geographical', would have to be consulted. Additionally, it would again be important to examine the intertextual intertwining with external hypotexts, especially those of al-Maqrīzī and the texts related to his pyramid chapter. This example is also suitable as a case study for a further text analysis-based investigation of (indirect) intellectual networks.

This study has revealed strong intertextual relations between the three texts included in the analysis. Both working methods and narrative patterns change over the writing process, which we could indirectly follow by scrutinizing its outcomes. On the basis of these findings, it can be argued that Ibn Iyās as an author was in a constant process of interaction with his works, a process that was directed by a consistent concept of writing history, although he also adapted his principles to the more specific aims or intended readership of each text. He applied a relatively concise set of narrative strategies in manifold combinations, constantly re-ordering his plot and narrative material, and thus succeeded in telling the same stories in many different ways and with many different evaluations. In this process, and especially towards his later writings, he elaborated his historiographical style into a more literarized narrative. Dissecting the narrative voice of Ibn Iyās, and its development and re-employment in different contexts, yet for a relatively stable intended readership, allowed us to draw a slightly less blurred picture of the author, to explore his writing techniques, and to get insight into his intentions. The outcome of similar studies on other authors could be expanded as soon as more biographical information on the central figure of interest, or a certain number of their peers, becomes available. In the case of Ibn Iyās, however, it is hard to follow the paths of his friends and companions because they belonged to social groups that seldom appear in historiographical texts. People like the assistant judges or the turban-maker with whom Ibn Iyās was friends may be counted among the 'bourgeois' middle classes, which were

rising over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but had not yet developed their own arsenal for conserving information about themselves. While, a century later, their descendants would start writing diaries, travel accounts, or other ego-documents, we cannot rely on much material about Ibn Iyās's peer-group.

In this study, I have deliberately limited myself to one subject area, namely the narrative discourse on transitions of rule and the ways Ibn Iyās's texts endow these situations with meaning. It was my objective to use this example to explore the positionality of the author and his underlying views and patterns of sense-making. Ibn Iyās's relationship to rule, be it that of the Mamluks or incipient Ottoman domination, can be described as ambivalent. Narratives on rule and rulers assume a prominent position as an ordering factor in the storyline as a whole. This applies to the structural level—think of the 'dynastic' macro-structure of the texts. Beyond that, the discussion of domination, decisions of power and their consequences simply cover most of narrative time and narrated time in the texts. On the content level, the engagement with rule is thus also one of (if not *the*) defining factors in Ibn Iyās's accounts of history. Both personal and transpersonal elements of domination are equally important to the narrative. Here, again, is much room for further examinations of other Mamluk historiographies to gain a better understanding of the interplay of personal and transpersonal elements, as well as narratives about consensus and conflict, in the broader historiographic conception and representation of (Mamluk) rule by Mamluk historiographers.

For instance, Ibn Iyās's, but surely not only his, representation of transitions of power in the Mamluk period is characterized by an intense orientation towards the depiction of participation. In the run-up to a succession, the narrative focus is primarily on the negotiation processes within the Mamluk elite and on efforts to reach a consensual decision, even if only one party agrees on a new sultan. Conflict situations are certainly addressed, but kept out of the core of the transition narratives. Violent clashes and the escalation of conflict situations do form part of the narrative. However, they are negotiated either before (i. e., at the end of the chapter about the previous sultan) or after (i. e., in the further course of the chapter about the new sultan) the actual transition narratives. The descriptions of the transition processes themselves, however, are kept free of disruption. Ibn Iyās refrains from presenting a certain form of determining a new sultan as 'rightful' or 'usual'. However, the consensual character of appointing a new sultan is frequently mentioned explicitly, yet always implicitly. The actual processes of negotiation prior to the consensus, however, are neither discussed nor openly valued. Transpersonal aspects of Mamluk rule, in particular the ceremonial representation and (stylized) performance of interaction between all social groups in the course of a transition, are a structuring moment in Ibn Iyās's narrative. In this form, which often makes use of stereotypical elements of cer-

emonial narratives, the narratives about the transition of rule also serve to create an image of stability, even when unstable power relations accompany or trigger a change in rulers.

In this respect, Ibn Iyās's view of history ties in with the normative understanding of domination present in Islamicate historiographies as a whole.<sup>784</sup> Domination as an ordering factor is regarded as the cornerstone of any Islamic society—and thus structures historiographical narrations about them— even if the execution of rule is evaluated as bad or even tyrannical.<sup>785</sup> The discord between the idealized normative conception of rule and the reported course of history is the reason for the ambivalent attitude of the narrator-author towards rule. This discrepancy is also fueled by the disruptions Ibn Iyās experienced as a contemporary witness, and which he evaluates as being caused by deficient rule, a sultan's unbecoming decisions or weakness of the sultan's or other functional elites' character. His criticism from the perspective of the urban population touches on all the rulers or 'dynasties' examined in this book equally. The points of criticism already mentioned above, such as injustice, oppression, despotism and exploitation of the common people, affect Mamluk sultans and the Ottomans alike. The criticism against the latter, however, is much more direct and severe. Correspondingly, the appearance of the Ottomans is accompanied by a sudden change in the picture of the Mamluks: from the moment when 'even worse' rule needs to be explained in Ibn Iyās's narrative, the author begins to idealize Mamluk rule as a whole and the last sultan in particular, whom he had criticized sharply beforehand. In general, the criticism of rule is contrasted in the entire narrative by a few idealized depictions of rulers, from which virtuous, 'right' actions of rule can be deduced—one example is the depiction of the caliph al-Ma'mūn in the course of the Islamic conquest of Egypt, who interacts with his new subjects at eye level. Examples from the Mamluk period include the narratives on the sultans Qā'itbāy and Barsbāy.

Looking back on my work on this book, I can say that I found at least as many unresolved questions as I found answers. Although Ibn Iyās is a well-known and much-frequented historiographer of the Mamluk period, there is still a lot to do

784 See e.g. Chapter III. "Ibn Iyās's Intellectual Background: His Archive Reconstructed through Citations" and "Intellectual Changes—New Recipients?", see also Chapter V, "Questioning Genre."

785 For example, Ibn Iyās strives to integrate Ottoman rule into his ordering grid of 'Egyptian' kings, cf. Chapter VII, "Travelling Plots, Changing Characteristics and the Magic of Addition." On Islamic, especially Sunni political thought highlighting the need of obedience even to oppressive rulers, see Rahemtulla, Shadaab (2013): "Tyranny" In: The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton Univ. Press, 571–572. See also Crone, Patricia (2004): *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, esp. 268–278 on the need of government and the institution of monarchy as evolving out of the fear of anarchy.

before we have a picture of him that is as transparent as possible, let alone his intertextual entanglement with his contexts. Future research should be directed towards the dissection of more thematic areas in Ibn Iyās's writing, such as those mentioned in this conclusion. Finally, continued studies on the manuscript material is much needed. There are still open questions concerning the ascription and dating of several manuscripts included into this study, and the recently re-discovered manuscripts in the Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi in Istanbul await inspection. Sadly, the corona virus pandemic has kept me from making the necessary trip. Therefore, the codicological analysis, and especially the analysis of paratexts that can give insight into the reception of Ibn Iyās's works after his lifetime, will be postponed to an as yet unknown date. Likewise, I plan to conclude the comparative analysis of *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, *Uqūd al-juman* and *Badā'ī al-zuhūr* by studying marginal notes and additions in the autographs. This was part of the initial outline of the study as well, but must be postponed until all the manuscript material can be inspected; the results will be published separately at a later date.

In a manner of speaking, this study took a sharp turn towards the narratological side due to the historical (and to a certain extent, social) context it has been authored in. In this regard, I, as a scholar of the twenty-first century, am much closer to the self-declared Cairene historian Ibn Iyās than one would have imagined when I started this project. However, the book's narratological turn also offers valuable paths for future research. As the first book-length narratological study on a Mamluk historian, the project invites expansion on these initial findings and making them fruitful in two ways: a connection to the theoretical and methodological discourses in the emerging field of medieval narratology is just as promising as an application of the method to other Mamluk case studies. It would be desirable, as has been stated above, to extend the method to a generic study of Mamluk historiographical writings in order to make narratives from the Mamluk period, and ultimately from the Islamicate world, more comparable in terms of conceptual and narrative strategy. A successive development of genre typologies, which includes narrative strategies in the consideration of different text genres, would in turn stimulate the theoretical-methodological discussion. Such an extended knowledge of genres would contribute to the development of methodological toolkits tailored to the character of Mamluk (or Islamicate) historiography and, ideally, open the field to transculturally comparable analysis.



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