

# Al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, *Muqaffā*, and *Durar al-'Uqūd*: Trends of “Literarization” in the Historical Corpus of a 9th/15th-Century Egyptian Shāfi‘ī Religious Scholar

*Koby Yosef*

## 1 Introduction: Trends of “Literarization” (“*adabization*”) in Mamluk Historiography\*

Speaking of a “literarization” of history writing during the Mamluk period, Ulrich Haarmann referred mainly to the increasing use of elements drawn from the literature of *adab* and folk romance (*Volksroman*), such as anecdotes or story-like reports, dialogues with direct speech, colloquial language, digressions, popular motifs, occult materials, and other *adab*-like elements (such as *mirabilia*—marvels or exotic stories [*‘ajā’ib wa-gharā’ib*]) in the historical narrative (*hawādith*) in chronicles written mostly by Egyptian chroniclers related to the military institution (Ibn al-Dawādārī [d. after 736/1335] being the most notable example) but to a lesser degree also found in the chronicle of the Syrian religious scholar al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338). This process was underlied by a desire to entertain the readers and “popularize” historical writing.<sup>1</sup> The more popular elements, and especially those drawn from the *Volksroman*, may be seen as elements of *adab* “in its ‘lower’ form,”<sup>2</sup> thus the process of “literarization” described by Haarmann may be seen as a process of “*adabization*.” After Haarmann, much attention has been given to Egyptian historians related to the military institution considered to have written “highly literarized” (or

\* I would like to thank my friend and colleague Almog Kasher for reading a draft of this paper and making some very useful comments on issues related to Arabic grammar.

1 For a convenient summary of Haarmann’s ideas, see Haarmann, Review of *Weltgeschichte* 134–5; *Auflösung* 55–7; Guo, *Mamluk* 33–6; Hirschler, *Studying* 168; Rabbat, *Perception* 164–5; Mauder, *Gelehrte* 23–5; Irwin, *Ibn Zunbul* 6; Parry, *Review* 148; Little, *al-Şafadī* 194. For a detailed discussion, see Haarmann, *Quellenstudien* 119–83 (esp. 159–83). On the process of the “popularization” of reading practices, see Hirschler, *Written*.

2 Guo, *Mamluk* 39.

“popularized” and entertaining) chronicles and who were active mainly during the first half of the 8th/14th century, notably Ibn al-Dawādārī, al-Yūsufī (d. 759/1358), and Qaraṭāy (d. after 708/1308)—Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), active during the late Mamluk period, being the exception (see table 1.1 below). The main elements typical of this group of historians, that is, anecdotes or story-like reports, dialogues with direct speech, and colloquial language incorporated in the historical narrative of contemporary events, can be easily found also in the chronicles of other 9th/15th-century historians related to the military institution. Except for Ibn Iyās, three other historians related to the military institution were active during the Circassian period of the sultanate (784–923/1382–1517), all of them *mamlūks*’ descendants: Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407),<sup>3</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1470),<sup>4</sup> and ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514).<sup>5</sup>

3 Thomas Bauer noted that in the part dealing with the beginning of the Mamluk Sultanate in his chronicle *Nuzhat al-anām*, Ibn Duqmāq shows a “predilection for literature” and that his chronicle is a “combination of political and cultural history with a conspicuous focus on *adab*.” Ibn Duqmāq shows great interest in poetry written in classical Arabic and gives judgment on the poems he quotes. On the other hand, there are no vernacular verses and he hardly shows interest in *mirabilia*. Bauer concludes that the role of poetry cannot be sufficiently explained by considering it as part of the “process of popularization,” which, according to Haarmann, underlies the process of “literarization” and can be explained better by what Bauer labeled as the process of “*adabization of the ‘ulamā’*” (see more on that below) and by the desire of the author to prove his professionalism and to make up for his incomplete linguistic training; see Bauer, Review 261–2; and see also Literarische 105–6. However, a quick survey of the parts dealing with Ibn Duqmāq’s own time in his *al-Nafḥa al-miskīyya* reveals that there is hardly any mention of poetry verses. On the other hand, it is possible to find in the historical narrative story-like reports with dialogues or direct speech containing non-standard usages of Arabic, elements that are typical of other Egyptian historians related to the military institution; see, for example, Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa* 212, 224. For similar elements in reports on earlier periods of the sultanate in *al-Nafḥa al-miskīyya*, see, for example, *ibid.* 90–1, 94, 102–3, 143–4, 155–6, 161; and see also at footnotes 54–8 below. On nonstandard usages of Arabic in *al-Nafḥa al-miskīyya* and *Nuzhat al-anām*, see chapter 2 appendix A group A (*mamlūks*’ descendants no. 2—footnote 175, and no. 3—footnote 178) and appendix A group B (no. 2—footnote 189); and see chapter 2 table 2.1. In order to check these tentative findings there is a need to examine Ibn Duqmāq’s *Nuzhat al-anām* (*al-Nafḥa* being only its summary), the relevant parts of which are still in manuscript form and have not been consulted by the author of the present article.

4 According to Peter Thorau, the “literarization” of history writing that is already noticeable in the writing of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and Ibn Taghribirdī became much stronger in the historical writing of Ibn Iyās; however, he does not elaborate on the nature of this “literarization”; see Thorau, *Geschichte* 230. According to Donald Little, like Ibn al-Dawādārī and Ibn Iyās, Ibn Taghribirdī wrote a “popularized history” in a “style influenced by the Egyptian vernacular and various literary devices.” However, Little does not go into details; see Little, *Historiography* 440. In the introduction to his edition of *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn notes that in the parts that deal with the history of Egypt before Mamluk rule, Ibn

There was not, however, only a single form of “literarization” (or “*adabization*”).<sup>6</sup> Li Guo focused on a different trend of “literarization” current in chronicles written by Syrian *ḥadīth* scholars, some of Ḥanbali background, active in the first half of the 8th/14th century, notably al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326) and al-Jazarī (see table 1.1 below).<sup>7</sup> While using in the historical narrative some story-like reports or anecdotes containing dialogues, direct speech, and colloquial

---

Taghrībirdī shows a penchant for digressions (*istitrādāt*) and for “strange,” extraordinary, and wondrous stories or coincidences (*gharāʾib/ittiḥqāt ʿajiba*); see Shams al-Dīn, *Nujūm* i, 27. Sami Massoud noted that “[i]n addition to the tightly knit narrative and the concern for clarity, there is another aspect peculiar to *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*: the frequent use of proverbial expressions ... to exhort or to lament a certain state of affairs,” and that *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* “was to serve primarily a specific function, namely, the edification and entertainment of a particular group,” which helps account for the “melodramatic tone,” Ibn Taghrībirdī imparts to some of his reports; see Massoud, *Chronicles* 64–5. There are reports that are peculiar to *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, and these are accounts from people who had lived through this period, namely his father’s associates and acquaintances, and information he garnered from his first-hand knowledge of the Mamluk military personnel of his own era; see *ibid.* 63. Because Ibn Taghrībirdī refers many times to his father and his reports, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* is one of the most “personal histories” written during the Circassian period; see *ibid.* 172–3. It may be added that a survey of *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* easily reveals that it contains many anecdotes or story-like reports, mainly from Ibn Taghrībirdī’s father and his associates, his relatives, and other contemporaries, or Ibn Taghrībirdī’s own reports. The transmission of such reports is sometimes connected to the verb *ḥakā* and its derivatives. Such reports normally contain dialogues or direct speech and sometimes nonstandard usages of Arabic; see, for example, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm* xi, 378–9; xii, 60–1, 88, 182–4; xiii, 83–4, 86–7, 91–4, 111–2, 130–2, 138–40; xiv, 14–5, 111–3, 193–4, 233–4, 259, 356; xv, 46, 56, 236–7, 281–2, 401, 443–4; xvi, 234, 361. Such elements can also easily be found in reports on the Turkish period of the sultanate (648–784/1250–1382) quoted from earlier history books; see, for example, *ibid.* vii, 87–9; viii, 45, 250; ix, 106. On “storytelling” in *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* in accounts of the Turkish period, see Guo, *Songs*. On nonstandard usages of Arabic in *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* and *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, see chapter 2 appendix A group A (*mamlūks’* descendants no. 3—footnote 178) and appendix A group D (no. 2—footnote 203); and see also chapter 2 table 2.1.

5 As far as I know, trends of “literarization” in al-Malaṭī’s chronicles did not receive any attention. Still, it may be noted here that by a cursory survey of the historical narrative in *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, a chronicle dedicated to the years covering al-Malaṭī’s lifetime, it is possible to find story-like reports (some transmitted from al-Malaṭī’s father, and some defined by al-Malaṭī as *ḥikāya*) containing dialogues or direct speech and nonstandard usages of Arabic, or “strange” stories, see for example al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ* i, 168–71, 323, 341–2, 364; ii, 69–70, 102–5, 146–7, 168–9, 174–5, 219, 229–31, 233–4, 236, 239, 293–5, 375; iii, 29–30, 102, 106–7, 116–7, 182–3, 190, 192–4, 200–1, 207–12, 291–6, 336–41; iv, 43–9, 56, 95–8 (esp. 97). On nonstandard usages of Arabic in *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, see chapter 2 appendix A group A (*mamlūks’* descendants no. 4—footnote 180).

6 Guo, *Mamluk* 36; and see also Irwin, *Mamluk literature* 16.

7 Guo, *Introduction* 81–96; *Mamluk* 38–9. On their Ḥanbali background, see for example, *Introduction* 86; Irwin, *Mamluk history* 160–1.

language, and also other *adab*-like materials (notably *‘ajā’ib wa-gharā’ib*) typical of their Egyptian counterparts related to the military institution<sup>8</sup> (indeed some of these elements appear in story-like reports received from Egyptian military men),<sup>9</sup> the “literarization” in the chronicles of the early Syrian writers takes a different form and is much more conspicuous in the obituary notes (*wafayāt*). These chronicles are, in fact, a combination of history, biographical dictionary, and literary anthology. The obituary notes, most of them dedicated to learned men, record their *adab* product, mainly “high *adab* materials,” and more specifically their high-quality poetry in classical form (and sometimes poetry written on them),<sup>10</sup> a phenomenon that can be related to the more general trend referred to by Thomas Bauer as the “*adab*ization of the *‘ulamā’*” and the growing usage of poetry for communicative purposes.<sup>11</sup> Much less commonly, however, it records also other *adab*-like materials, such as “strange,” edifying, or entertaining stories (some of them obscene) told by the scholars (or about them), which normally contain dialogues with direct speech and colloquial language,<sup>12</sup> and even more rarely, it records scholars’ riddles (*alghāz*, sing.

8 Guo, Introduction 81–96 (esp. 82, 93–6); and see also the editor’s introduction in al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl* i, 39 (on the use of *‘ajā’ib* and the description of foreign lands in the historical narrative for the purpose of digression [*istiṭrād*]).

9 Such reports normally open with *ḥakā/ḥakā lī*, suggesting that it is justified to see them as belonging to the genre of “*ḥikāya*” (i.e., a “story” or a “tale”), labeled in this article for the sake of convenience as “story-like reports”; see, for example, al-Jazarī, *Ta’rikh* i, 45, 58, 109, 192–3; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl* i, 93–4, 202; ii, 715–7. On Syrian historians’ knowledge of events in Egypt, see Guo, History 451; Little, Historiography 427–8.

10 Guo, Introduction 81–96 (esp. 82, 85, 87–90, 96).

11 Bauer, Misunderstandings 108–11 (esp. 108); and see also, Communication 23–6.

12 Such reports normally open with *ḥakā/ḥakā lī/ḥakā lī ‘anhu*, or are referred to as a *ḥikāya*; see, for example, al-Jazarī, *Ta’rikh* i, 80–1, 145, 165–7, 184–7; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl* i, 226, 384–6, 491–2; ii, 757–8; and see also *ibid.* i, 41; Guo, Introduction 85, 94–6. Among the “strange” or extraordinary stories one may find prophesying dreams; see al-Jazarī, *Ta’rikh* i, 14. Literary trends in *al-Muqtafi*, the chronicle of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339), the colleague of al-Jazarī and al-Yūnīnī, have received less attention; see Guo, Introduction 81–96. Guo noted that al-Birzālī did not incorporate in his chronicle the literary product (most notably poetry) of the deceased scholars; see *ibid.* 85. It may be added that al-Birzālī sometimes mentions that a deceased scholar wrote poetry (sometimes transmitted to al-Birzālī) but still does not quote actual verses; see, for example, al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafi* iii, 15–6, 20, 41, 90, 102, 254. For rare cases in which al-Birzālī incorporates poetry in obituaries, see *ibid.* iv, 291, 314–5. It may also be added that al-Birzālī generally does not incorporate anecdotes or story-like reports in the historical narrative (or obituaries), and thus his chronicle practically contains almost no dialogues including direct speech or colloquial language. This observation is based on a survey of the third volume of *al-Muqtafi*. For what may be considered minor anecdotes incorporated in obituaries of deceased scholars, see *ibid.* iii, 143, 170. Relatively rarely, however, one finds in the historical narrative reports on unusual weather phenom-

*lughz*) or useful general knowledge (*fawā'id*, sing. *fā'ida*) such as supplications (*ad'īya*, sing. *du'ā'*) used by them.<sup>13</sup>

Some attention has also been given to the literary characteristics of works pertaining to history written mostly in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries by authors with *kuttāb-udabā'* backgrounds or such that were more related to the tradition of the *kuttāb-udabā'* than to that of historiography (and, more specifically, Mamluk historiography). In general, these authors did not produce "proper" chronicles, and their works were less subjugated to chronology and more specifically to the annalistic form. At least some of these works have been deemed works of *adab* rather than historiography.<sup>14</sup>

---

ena, or extraordinary phenomena in general (*'ajā'ib*); see, for example, *ibid.* iii, 213–4, 230. On usages of nonstandard Arabic in the chronicle of al-Birzālī, see chapter 2 appendix A group C (exception—footnote 200).

13 See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl* i, 321–2; al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh* i, 183.

14 For some notes on general trends of language use and style in works pertaining to history written by *kuttāb-udabā'*, see chapter 2 section 6.1. The works of *kuttāb-udabā'* pertaining to history (not including biographical dictionaries) may be divided into several categories: (1) Most attention has been given to al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī's (d. after 775/1373) *Kitāb al-Ilmām* and Ibn Ṣaṣrā's (d. after 799/1397) *al-Durra al-muḍ'ra*—two works that are very remote from "traditional" Mamluk historiography and have sometimes been considered works of *adab* rather than historiography. Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī was a manuscript copyist and his *Kitāb al-Ilmām*, which purports to be a history of the Crusader attack on Alexandria in 767/1365, contains very little factual historical information and employs nonhistoriographic *adab* genres in the *istitrād* (digressional) framework in the nature of a literary compendium. Among other things it contains marvels, legends, anecdotes and tales (*hikāya*), "witty replies" (*ajwiba muskita*), fictitious speeches and dialogues, prophesying dreams, and typology and magic of figures (*jafr*); see Holt, Review 131; Guo, Mamluk 36–7; Irwin, Mamluk history 165; Mamluk literature 16. Ibn Ṣaṣrā probably hailed from a family of religious scholars. *Al-Durra al-muḍ'ra* is basically an account of events during the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–99). However, it is not strictly bound to a chronological sequence and does not conform with contemporary norms of history writing. It is written in an unconventional style and format. It draws more on literary nonhistoriographical materials than on history books and makes almost no use of Mamluk history books. It makes use of stories, anecdotes, direct speech, hortatory passages, rhymed prose, fables, proverbs, poetry, moralizing advice, and colloquial language. It is a didactic work, "history as a morality play"; see Brinner, *Chronicle*, xii–xvii, xxv; Mas-soud, *Chronicles* 119–21; Irwin, Mamluk history 165; Ibn Zunbul 6; Mamluk literature 17; and see also chapter 2 section 6.1 at footnote 160. (2) Although much more related to "traditional" Mamluk historiography, the "literarization" in the chronological-historical sections of the (*adab*) encyclopedias or manuals for Mamluk clerks produced by the bureaucrats Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349) has received relatively little attention (in the case of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*) or almost no attention at all (in the case of al-'Umārī's *Masālik al-abṣār*). On the categorization and character of the works and the authors' backgrounds, see, for example, Herzog, Compos-

Trends of “literarization” in history writing during the 9th/15th century, a period dominated by Egyptian historians who were mostly religious scholars (many of them Shāfi‘īs), have received less attention. In fact, according to Haarmann, some historians who were religious scholars active in the 9th/15th century, among them al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), show a “conservative anti-literary

---

ition 107; Irwin, Mamluk literature 8; Mamluk history 166; Guo, Introduction 93; Mamluk 16, 30–2; Little, Historiography 430–1; Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism* 190; Why was 346–7. On “literarization” in al-Nuwayrī, see Guo, Introduction 93; Mamluk 36, 39; Amitai, Chinggis 702; Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism* 190; and see also chapter 2 section 6.1 at footnote 161. On “literarization” in al-‘Umarī, see Lohlker, Al-‘Umarī’s 342. (3) Attention has also been given to royal biographies written by “court historians” working in the chancery (*dōwān al-inshā’*), produced mainly during the early Mamluk period by authors such as Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292) and his nephew Shāfi‘ b. ‘Alī (d. 730/1330). The treatises written by them are normally seen as “official biographies” written under patronage and supervision of sultans that are designed to be presented at court and legitimize their rule by praising them and, therefore, are only partially subjugated to the annalistic form, see, for example, Irwin, Mamluk history 162–3; Little, Historiography 421–3; Guo, Mamluk 30. According to Muhsin al-Musawi, royal biography is a genre that “sits at the very centre of the tradition of belles-lettres”; see al-Musawi, Pre-modern 123. It has been noted that such treatises are written in a florid and ornamented language and contain poetry, “boastful rhymed prose,” and documents drafted by the authors, some of which are written in “bombastic rhymed prose,” see Irwin, Mamluk history 162–3; Mamluk literature 7; and see also Hirschler, Islam 269. The rhymed prose and florid and impeccable Arabic employed in these treatises were probably considered powerful stylistic tools that are suitable for the function of these treatises, i.e., praising the rulers and their military achievements against the enemies of Islam, and legitimizing their rule; see al-Musawi, Pre-modern 107. While it is still not entirely clear to what extent the classical rhetorical device of rhymed prose had found its way into the historical writing in the Mamluk period (see Guo, Mamluk 43), it would seem that in part its usage was dictated by genre (royal biographies) and background of the author (*kuttāb-udabā’* and more specifically the *inshā’* tradition). On *inshā’* and rhymed prose, see, for example, Bauer, Misunderstandings 125–6; on court officials or secretaries and rhymed prose, see Hirschler, Islam 269; Şen, Ottoman 335–6. Normally, however, literary aspects of these treatises have not been discussed in the context of the discourse on the “literarization” of Mamluk historiography. This must be due to the fact that the literary elements in these treatises (most notably rhymed prose) are considered “traditional,” “high,” or “pragmatic”; see Bauer, Misunderstandings 125–6. On documents as literary texts, see Northrup, Documents 121–36. For a detailed discussion on “literarization” in these treatises, see chapter 13, the article of Gowaart Van Den Bossche in this volume. For later “royal biographies” considered by some to be “essentially literary works,” “pseudo-historical texts,” or “literary panegyrics” (or “literary offerings”) containing sparse historical data, “a conglomeration of insignificant facts which are not held together by any attempt of biographical or historical characterization,” and contrasted to the aforementioned earlier biographies deemed as “historical biographies,” see Holt, Review 131–2; Irwin, Mamluk literature 16; Holt, Literary 3–16; Van Steenbergen, Qalāwūnid 6–7.

TABLE 1.1 Trends of “literarization” (“*adabization*”) in Mamluk chronicles and the chroniclers that received the most attention**A. Egyptian chroniclers related to the military institution**

(Conspicuous mainly in the **historical narrative** [*ḥawādith*]: in general, mainly involves **anecdotes or story-like reports containing dialogues, direct speech, and colloquial language** but also popular motifs, occult materials, digressions, and other *adab*-like materials [notably *ʿajāʾib wa-gharāʾib*])

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | <b>Qaraṭāy</b> (d. after 708/1308) <sup>a</sup>                     |  |
| 2. | <b>Ibn al-Dawādārī</b> (d. after 736/1335) <sup>b</sup>             | all active during the <b>first half</b>        |
| 3. | [less attention] <b>al-Shujāʿī</b> (d. after 756/1356) <sup>c</sup> | <b>of the 8th/14th century</b>                 |
| 4. | <b>al-Yūsufī</b> (d. 759/1358) <sup>d</sup>                         |  |
| 5. | <b>Ibn Iyās</b> (d. ca. 930/1524) <sup>e</sup>                      | active during the late <b>9th/15th century</b> |

**B. Syrian *ḥadīth* scholars (Ḥanbalīs or Ḥanbalī milieu)**

(Conspicuous mainly in the **obituary notes** [*wafayāt*]: in general, a record of *adab* product, mainly **high-quality poetry**)

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <b>al-Yūnīnī</b> (d. 726/1326) <sup>f</sup> | all active during the <b>first half</b> |
| 2. | <b>al-Jazarī</b> (d. 739/1338) <sup>g</sup> | <b>of the 8th/14th century</b>          |

a Irwin, *Image* 236–40; Mamluk history 164–5; Ibn Zunbul 6; Eddé, *Qaraṭāy* 51.

b Haarmann, *Quellenstudien* 167–81; *Auflösung* 55; Turkish 105–6; and see also Irwin, Mamluk history 164; Little, *Historiography* 425, 440; Guo, *History* 452; Mamluk 34–7; Robinson, *Islamic* 167.

c Haarmann, *Auflösung* 55; Schäfer, *Chronik* 9–14. Because the literary trends in the chronicle of al-Shujāʿī received relatively little attention, it is perhaps appropriate to make clear that it is easy to find in the historical narrative in his chronicle anecdotes or story-like reports containing dialogues with direct speech and nonstandard usages of Arabic; see, for example, al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh* 48–9, 52, 98–101, 126–7. On nonstandard usages of Arabic in the chronicle of al-Shujāʿī, see chapter 2 appendix A group A (*mamlūks* no. 3—footnote 170) and appendix A group E (no. 4—footnote 211); and most importantly, see chapter 2 appendix C.

d Little, *Recovery* 48, 53–4; *Historiography* 426–7; Guo, *History* 452; and see also Little, *Introduction* 81–4.

e Haarmann, *Auflösung* 55; and see also Little, *Historiography* 440; Massoud, *Chronicles* 71–6 (esp. 75–6), 138, 195–7; Beaumont, *Literary* 1 (referring to the [historical?] work of Ibn Iyās as “anecdotal work”); Irwin, Mamluk history 164; Guo, *History* 452; Thorau, *Geschichte* 230–1; Havemann, *The chronicle of Ibn Iyās* 89; al-Musawī, *Pre-modern* 121.

f Guo, *Introduction* 81–96; and see also Irwin, Mamluk history 160.

g Haarmann, *Quellenstudien* 167–81; *Auflösung* 54–5; Guo, *Introduction* 81–96; and see also Irwin, Mamluk history 161; Little, *Historiography* 428–9; Eychenne, *al-Jazarī* 131.

historiographical ethos,<sup>15</sup> preferring a more serious, solemn, and learned outlook.<sup>16</sup> Muhsin al-Musawi, however, noted that al-Maqrīzī incorporated in his *Khīṭaṭ* (an archeological and monumental history of Cairo) and other works “entertaining accounts and pleasing maxims” in order to appeal to readers and achieve entertainment and edification “in line with traditional forms of biography and historiography.”<sup>17</sup> Martin Smith noted that al-Maqrīzī incorporated in his *Khīṭaṭ* poetry, some of which he personally collected, thus “participating in what has been called the ‘literarization’ of history writing in the Mamluk period,”<sup>18</sup> and Guy Ron-Gilboa noted that he combined anecdotes or stories of a “belles-lettres character” in his universal chronicle (or history of humanity) *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar* in a chapter on pre-Islamic brigands, which “reflects the historiographical conventions of its time”<sup>19</sup> and is “emblematic of the ‘literarization’ of Mamlūk historiography.”<sup>20</sup> According to Ron-Gilboa, al-Maqrīzī was a historiographer endowed with “a keen literary awareness,” a “clear authorial voice,”<sup>21</sup> and “editorial discretion”<sup>22</sup> who was “constantly engaged in a double dialogue: with Arabic belles-lettres and historiographical tradition on the one hand and with popular literature on the other.”<sup>23</sup> Haarmann referred to the existence of some “literarized” materials in the writing of “conservative” authors such as al-Maqrīzī as a “literarization against will,”<sup>24</sup> that is, as an unconscious borrowing of already “literarized” material existing in earlier chronicles.<sup>25</sup> According to Haarmann, these 9th/15th-century “compilers” lacked a sense of critique of the historiographical sources they used and, therefore, did not realize that the materials in it were already “literarized.”

15 Haarmann, *Auflösung* 54; and see also Ron-Gilboa, *Pre-Islamic* 13 (footnote 23).

16 Haarmann, *al-Maqrīzī* 151 (*al-Maqrīzī* is described as a “serious” historian), and see also 163–4; Rabbat, *Perception* 165 (relying on Haarmann’s research, Rabbat writes that al-Maqrīzī “preferred a more serious, solemn, and learned outlook”).

17 Al-Musawi, *Pre-modern* 121; on the *Khīṭaṭ*, see Bauden, *Taqī al-Dīn* 171–3.

18 Smith, *Finding* 143–4.

19 Ron-Gilboa, *Pre-Islamic* 12–4. On *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*, see Bauden, *Taqī al-Dīn* 196–8.

20 Ron-Gilboa, *Pre-Islamic* 26.

21 *Ibid.* 11–2.

22 *Ibid.* 26.

23 *Ibid.* 29; and see also Beaumont, *Literary* 1 (referring to the [historical?] work of al-Maqrīzī as “anecdotal work”); Thorau, *Geschichte* 230 (refers to a “literarization” of history writing that is noticeable in the writing of al-Maqrīzī, however, he does not elaborate about the nature of this “literarization”); Herzog, *What they saw* 32–3 (on “scenic dramatization” as a narrative strategy in the narration of the death of Shajarāt al-Durr in Mamluk chronicles, among them al-Maqrīzī’s *Sulūk*).

24 Haarmann, *Auflösung* 54; and see also Ron-Gilboa, *Pre-Islamic* 13 (footnote 23).

25 See Haarmann, *Auflösung* 54.

In what follows, it will be argued that as a 9th/15th-century Egyptian historian and Shāfi'ī religious scholar, al-Maqrīzī combined Egyptian and (Shāfi'ī) scholarly historiographical trends in a much more conscious and varied manner than Haarmann would allow. The trends of "literarization" in al-Maqrīzī's historical works were dependent on genre (chronicle/biographical dictionary), the time of events or persons described (past/his own time), and sometimes also their background (military men/scholars). This will be exemplified by an examination of al-Maqrīzī's chronicle *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* (section 2 below), his biographical dictionary *al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*, dedicated mainly to notables of the past (section 3 below), and his biographical dictionary *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a'yān al-mufīda*, dedicated to his contemporaries (section 4 below). It will be shown that when describing past events or persons, al-Maqrīzī chose to rely heavily on "highly literarized" sources, which suggests that it is very unlikely that the "literarization" in his historiographical works was against his will. Moreover, it will be demonstrated that although in such cases al-Maqrīzī omitted, condensed, restructured, or paraphrased some "literarized" material, he did leave room for plenty of "literarized" material. In fact, the omitting, condensing, restructuring, and paraphrasing actually prove that al-Maqrīzī knew very well to recognize the "literarized" material and hence that, when he chose to include such materials, it was a conscious decision. Al-Maqrīzī's consistent standardization of nonstandard usages of Arabic in his quoted sources is another indication that he was well aware of issues of language and style. Even more importantly, al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary of his contemporaries contains plenty of "literarized" material, which must have been collected by al-Maqrīzī himself and consciously incorporated into this work. The fact that in some cases it is clear that al-Maqrīzī was aware of "literarized" materials related to his contemporaries, but still decided not to include them in his work, is another indication that he totally controlled the process of the incorporation of "literarized" material.

More specifically, it will be shown that when reporting on events in the first half of the 8th/14th century in his chronicle *al-Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī relied heavily on *Nuzhat al-nāzir fī sirat al-Malik al-Nāsir*, the "highly literarized" chronicle of the Egyptian military man al-Yūsufī that contains countless anecdotes or story-like reports with dialogues, direct speech, and nonstandard usages of Arabic, but he transformed al-Yūsufī's usages into standard Arabic. When describing contemporary events, however, al-Maqrīzī's chronicle is relatively "de-literarized," at least with respect to story-like reports with dialogues and direct speech (section 2 below). In biographical entries dedicated to amirs or religious scholars of the first half of the 8th/14th century in *al-Muqaffā*, a biographical dictionary dedicated to Egyptians who left their mark on history,

al-Maqrīzī combined anecdotes from al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzir* and al-Ṣafadī's (d. 764/1363) *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* but tried to arrange them in chronological order as much as possible, and again got rid of nonstandard usages of Arabic (section 3 below). In al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, a biographical dictionary dedicated to al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries, the *mamlūk* amirs' biographies are "dry" and contain no anecdotes on them or *adab*-like reports from them. In contrast, biographies of scholars or civilians contain their poetry, but to a much larger extent than in early 8th/14th-century chronicles written by Syrian religious scholars, also other "*adab* product" such as "strange," entertaining, exotic, or fantastic stories, useful knowledge, medical prescriptions, prayers and supplications, popular beliefs, and popular wisdom sayings, sometimes in a clear *istitrād* style (section 4 below).

It would seem that for al-Maqrīzī, contemporary history was seen as a "serious" thing, or at least, drawing on a (Shāfiʿī) scholarly historiographic tradition, he did not consider accounts of contemporary events as the suitable place for entertaining story-like reports with dialogues and direct speech. In contrast, past events and biographies of past amirs and religious scholars could be used to some degree for entertainment purposes, drawing on the tradition of Egyptian chronicles written by historians related to the military institution, and on a more general anecdotal tradition of biographical dictionaries. Still, drawing on a Shāfiʿī scholarly historiographic tradition, al-Maqrīzī standardized all the nonstandard usages of Arabic in his quoted sources. Biographies of contemporary scholars or civilians contain their "*adab* product." In the tradition of historical works written by scholars, the *adab* product includes poetry verses. However, drawing on general popularizing trends in Mamluk literature and historiography, and possibly also on popularizing literary trends in Egyptian chronicles written by historians related to the military institution, the "*adab* product" also contains to a much greater extent "popular lore" that now becomes part of the scholars' cultural heritage; however, typical for Shāfiʿī scholars, it is transmitted in standard Arabic. Also typical for historians who were (Shāfiʿī) scholars, contemporary *mamlūk* amirs, it seems, are mentioned in a functional way and are not considered "interesting" or able to contribute to the cultural heritage of the community.

In fact, as will be argued, the trend of "literarization" in biographies of contemporary scholars in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd* and the incorporation of such varied *adab*-like, many times popular, elements in the framework of biographical entries or obituaries in a mainstream work of history has no real precedent. While chronicles written by Egyptian historians related to the military institution are filled with story-like reports, and while the obituaries in the chronicles of scholars such as al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī resemble an anthology

of poetry, *Durar al-'uqūd* resembles a (popularized) *adab* anthology. Therefore, if we envisage “literarization” as “*adabization*” (i.e., incorporation of *adab* elements, including elements of *adab* “in its ‘lower’ form”) and take into consideration that “many-sidedness” is central to any definition of *adab*, it may be argued that *Durar al-'uqūd* is, in fact, the most complete example of “literarization” in Mamluk traditional historiography.

## 2 *Al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*: Trends of Literarization in al-Maqrīzī's Chronicle

Al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* is a chronicle covering the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras in Egypt until the days of al-Maqrīzī (567–844/1171–1441; the work ends a few years before al-Maqrīzī's death in Ramaḍān 845/February 1442), which is the last part of a trilogy covering the history of Egypt since the Muslim conquest.<sup>26</sup> As has been shown by Donald Little, and is by now well known, one of the most important sources used by al-Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk* for the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (693–4/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309, and 709–41/1310–41) is al-Yūsufī's “highly literarized” chronicle *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*. At least for some years during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, it is even almost an exclusive source. As Little showed, although al-Maqrīzī does not mention his sources in the *Sulūk* and never acknowledges his indebtedness to al-Yūsufī, a collation of al-Maqrīzī's and al-Yūsufī's annals for the *hijrī* years 734–7 (1333–8)—the only years extant *in toto* from *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*—reveals that al-Maqrīzī based the entire annals on al-Yūsufī, adding only a few reports, obituaries, and dates.<sup>27</sup> The mere fact that al-Maqrīzī chose to rely so heavily on a “highly literarized” chronicle suggests that it is very unlikely that the literarization in the *Sulūk*, exemplified below, was against his will.

As noted by Little, al-Maqrīzī's version of materials from *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* is condensed, and in the process of summarizing al-Yūsufī's reports, he transforms al-Yūsufī's language and recasts the passages into his own language.<sup>28</sup>

26 On the *Sulūk*, see Bauden, Taqī al-Dīn 171, 176, 181–5 (esp. 181).

27 Little, Recovery 44–6; and see also, *Introduction* 81–5 (esp. 83–5), 95; Analysis 252–61 (esp. 252–3, 260–1). Little established the reliance of al-Maqrīzī on al-Yūsufī for some years during the early reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad through a collation of materials from the *Sulūk* with materials from al-'Aynī's (d. 855/1451) *Taqd al-jumān*, in which materials from al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* are quoted extensively. Little noted that it may be assumed that al-Maqrīzī relied on *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* extensively, also in years that he did not check. On al-'Aynī's reliance on *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, see also Nakamachi, al-'Aynī's 152–3.

28 Little, Recovery 45; Analysis 260–1.

However, although al-Maqrīzī omits many of the story-like reports that contain dialogues with direct speech in *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*, and condenses and paraphrases the rest, a few story-like reports with lively dialogues and direct speech do appear in the *Sulūk*. In fact, the omitting, condensing, and paraphrasing actually prove that al-Maqrīzī knew very well to recognize the “literarized” material in *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* and hence that, when he chose to include such materials in the *Sulūk*, it was a conscious decision. This is probably also attested by the fact that al-Maqrīzī, almost with no exception, standardizes the non-standard usages of Arabic that appear in *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* (occasional usages of *ēsh* in the *Sulūk* may be found).<sup>29</sup> This shows a deliberate decision by al-Maqrīzī not to include nonstandard Arabic in his writing, which shows that he was well aware of issues of language and style.

I will discuss only one example in detail. In the course of the narrative of the year 736/1335–6, al-Maqrīzī recasts a story-like report from *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* on a petition addressed to sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by a merchant claiming that the *wazīr* al-Nashū forced the merchant’s slave girl to buy a piece of cloth at a high price (*tarḥ*). Table 1.2 below presents a line-by-line collation of the reports from the *Sulūk* and the *Nuzha*. The text in black is the *Sulūk*, and the text in red is the *Nuzha*. The parts of the report relevant for the discussion on language that were omitted, directly standardized, or paraphrased and standardized by al-Maqrīzī are in orange color in both texts and are preceded by green numerals in brackets. In green brackets, after the relevant passages, it is mentioned if al-Yūsufī’s text was omitted, directly standardized, or paraphrased and thus standardized. If al-Yūsufī’s text was omitted or not directly standardized by al-Maqrīzī, the standard form appears in green brackets after the nonstandard form in al-Yūsufī’s text. It should be emphasized that my intention is not to offer a detailed linguistic analysis of the texts or linguistic usages in Mamluk historiographical texts. I leave that to scholars better qualified to do it than me. My intention is to show a general trend of standardization in al-Maqrīzī’s text. Therefore, I restrict myself to the most conspicuous and clear instances of usages of nonstandard Arabic and standardization thereof. It should also be

29 See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 365 (compare with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 147); and see also al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 393–4 (compare with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 294). Note that *ēsh* (or *ayy shayʿ*) has superseded *mā* as interrogative pronoun starting from a very early period, and it is attested in historiographical texts already in the days of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923); see Blau, *Handbook* 36 (no. 30); and see on that also the linguistic introduction in Zetterstéén, *Beiträge* 27; and see also Schen, Usama Ibn Munqidh (Part II) 65–6; Guo, Introduction 94–5. On *ēsh* in the writing of Mamluk literati normally writing only in classical Arabic, see Rabbat, Representing 69. On al-Maqrīzī’s efforts to restrict himself to classical Arabic, see also Haarmann, *Quellenstudien* 179.

TABLE 1.2 A collation of texts in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzir*<sup>30</sup>

وَقَالَ السُّلْطَانُ لَهُ مُبْرَجٌ:	وَمَا حَضَرَ النَّشْوُ قَدَامَ السُّلْطَانِ رَأَهُ (1) وَأَقِفَ (standard وَأَقِفًا) <sup>31</sup>
فَاسْتَدْعَى السُّلْطَانُ النَّشْوُ	(1) مُحْضُورِ النَّاجِرِ (paraphrased/standardized) وَقَالَ لَهُ:
"(2) قَوْلُ (standard قُلْ) <sup>32</sup> كَمْ (3) يَشْتَكُوا" <sup>33</sup>	النَّاسِ مِنْكَ
(omitted 2)"	كَمْ (3) تَشْكُو (standardized) النَّاسِ مِنْكَ
اسْمَعْ (4) اِشْ" <sup>34</sup>	يَقُولُ هَذَا عَنْكَ أَنْكَ تَرِي عَلَيْهِ الْقَمَاشَ بِالْغَالِي
اسْمَعْ (4) مَا (standardized) يَقُولُ هَذَا عَنْكَ مِنْ طَرَحِ الْقَمَاشِ عَلَيْهِ بِأَعْلَى الْأَثْمَانِ	
(5) وَتَرِيدُ تُكْسِرُ النَّاسَ (standard وَتَرِيدُ أَنْ تُكْسِرَ) <sup>35</sup>	
"(omitted 5)	
فَالْتَفَتَتْ بِسُرْعَةٍ وَقَالَ: "يَا خُونَدُ هَذَا مَا يَشْتَكِي مِنْ أَمْرِ الْقَمَاشِ	
فَقَالَ: "يَا خُونَدُ هَذَا مَا يَشْتَكِي مِنْ أَمْرِ الْقَمَاشِ"	
وَأَمَّا هَذَا لِلْسُّلْطَانِ عَلَيْهِ (6) ثَلَاثِينَ (standard ثَلَاثُونَ) <sup>36</sup>	أَلْفَ دِينَارٍ
لِكِنَّةِ عَلَيْهِ لِلْسُّلْطَانِ مَبْلَغِ (6) ثَلَاثِينَ (paraphrased/standardized) أَلْفَ دِينَارٍ	

30 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 390–1; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 284–5.

31 On the absence of the accusative *alif* in Middle Arabic in cases where in standard Arabic it appears (here in the case of a circumstantial adverb), see Blau, *Handbook* 44 (no. 74). For the phenomenon in Mamluk historiographical texts, see the introductions in Haarmann, *Kanz* 37; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 20.

32 On long vowels occurring in final closed syllables (in the imperative and jussive) in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 30 (no. 6); Lentin, *Levant* 186. For Mamluk historiographical texts, see Brinner, *Chronicle*, xxiv; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 28; Haarmann, *Kanz* 36.

33 Due to the disappearance of the mood endings in Middle Arabic, imperfect forms in all moods may terminate with and without the ending *n*; see Blau, *Handbook* 45 (no. 77). Verbs preceding subjects that designate several persons stand in the plural, see *ibid.* 45 (no. 79). On these phenomena in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Brinner, *Chronicle*, xxiv; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 31; Haarmann, *Kanz* 36.

34 Note that *ēsh* is normally used in Middle Arabic as an interrogative pronoun, see Schen, *Usama Ibn Munqidh* (part 11) 65–6; however, here it may be seen as a relative pronoun.

35 On subordinate asyndetic clauses in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 52–3 (no. 128). For the phenomenon in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Haarmann, *Kanz* 37.

36 On the supersession of the *casus rectus* by the *obliquus* in the sound masculine plural in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 44 (no. 74). For the phenomenon in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 21; Haarmann, *Kanz* 36.

TABLE 1.2 A collation of texts in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzir* (cont.)

		وَهُوَ هَارِبٌ مِنِّي وَأَنَا أَطْلُبُهُ (7) مَا يَقَعُ لِي (standard) وَ[هُوَ] مَا يَقَعُ لِي <sup>37</sup>
		وَقَدْ هَرَبَ مِنِّي وَأَنَا أَطْلُبُهُ (7) (omitted)
		(8) قَالَ السُّلْطَانُ: "مِنْ جِهَةِ إِيشَ لَكَ مَعَهُ؟"
		(omitted 8)
		قَالَ: "يَا خُونَدَ هَذَا تَزَوَّجَ (9) وَاحِدَةً جَارِيَةً <sup>38</sup>
	وَهَذَا الْمَبْعُ مِنْ إِرْتِ	جَارِيَةً (standardized) تَزَوَّجَهَا التَّاجِرُ
	وَهِيَ مِنْ (10) جَوَارِ <sup>39</sup>	الشَّهِيدِ (11) أَخُوكَ (standard) أَخِيكَ <sup>40</sup> الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ
	وَهِيَ مِنْ (10) جَوَارِي (standardized) (omitted 11)	الْمَلِكِ الْأَشْرَفِ خَلِيلِ
		وَكَانَ مَعَهَا جِهَانُ يُسَاوِي مِائَةَ أَلْفِ دِينَارٍ مِنْ فُصُوصِ وَلُؤْلُؤِ وَجَوْهَرِ وَزَرَكَشٍ وَمَاتَتْ
		مَاتَتْ عِنْدَهُ وَخَلَفَتْ نَحْوَ مِائَةِ أَلْفِ دِينَارٍ وَمَا بَيْنَ جَوَاهِرِ وَغَيْرِهَا
		فَأَخَذَ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ لَهَا وَلَمْ يُظْهِرِ السُّلْطَانُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ
		فَأَخَذَ الْجَمِيعَ وَلَمْ يُظْهِرِ السُّلْطَانُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ
		وَالْتَفَتَ لِلرَّجُلِ وَقَالَ لَهُ:
		ثُمَّ التَّفَتَ النَّشُوْ إِلَى التَّاجِرِ وَقَالَ لَهُ:
		"بِحَيَاةِ رَأْسِ السُّلْطَانِ مَا كُنْتُ (12) مُزَوَّجًا <sup>41</sup> فَلَانَةَ؟"
		"بِحَيَاةِ رَأْسِ السُّلْطَانِ مَا كُنْتُ (12) مُزَوَّجًا (standardized) بِفُلَانَةَ؟" - يَعْنِي الْجَارِيَةَ الْمَذْكُورَةَ

37 On subordinate asyndetic clauses in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 52–3 (no. 128).

38 On the word *wāhid* preceding a noun and used as indefinite article in Middle Arabic, see Blau *Dictionary* 754; for the phenomenon in a 9th/15th-century Mamluk literary text, see Vrolijk, *Bringing* 152.

39 On the shortening of a long vowel in an unstressed syllable in Middle Arabic, see Khan, *Judaeo-Arabic* 155. On *jawār(i)* in the definite form instead of the standard *jawārī*, see Smith, *Language* 334; in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Haarmann's introduction in al-Maqrīzī, *Duwal* 32; and see also chapter 2 footnote 38.

40 On the disappearance of cases and on the prevalence of the ending *-ū* in *abū* in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 44 (no. 74); on *akhū* instead of *akhī* in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 22; Brinner, *Chronicle*, xxiii.

41 On the absence of the accusative *alif* in Middle Arabic (here in the case of *khavar kāna*), see Blau, *Handbook* 44 (no. 74).

TABLE 1.2 A collation of texts in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzir* (cont.)

فَقَالَ: "نَعَمْ"  
فَقَالَ: "نَعَمْ"

noted that I have only used printed editions and reproduced the orthography as it appears in the editions. Therefore, orthographical issues are not discussed at all in this article, and the discussion is limited to morphological, syntactical, and lexical elements.<sup>42</sup> It should also be noted that whenever possible, I have vocalized al-Yūsufī's text as if it is in standard Arabic, although, at least in dialogues, a colloquial reading is more appropriate.

Here is a translation of al-Maqrīzī's report with addition of relevant parts from al-Yūsufī in red brackets:

The sultan summoned al-Nashū in the presence of the merchant and told al-Nashū (in anger): "(tell me!) how many complaints do the people have on you? Listen what he has to say on you, that you were forcing him to buy this cloth in a high price (and that you want to break the people)."

So al-Nashū (quickly turned [to the sultan] and) said: "your highness, he is not complaining because of the cloth, but rather because he owes the sultan thirty thousand dinars, but he ran away from me and I am trying to get a hold of him (but he does not fall in my hands." The sultan said: "why is it that [you think] he owes [us] money?" So al-Nashū said: "). The amount that he owes you comes from the estate of a slave girl that he married which had been one of the slave girls of the martyr al-Ashraf

42 In the absence of a historical dictionary of Arabic, a dictionary of Mamluk Arabic, and clear definitions of what are "classical" or "post-classical" lexical usages, it is many times difficult to judge if lexical usages were considered "standard." There is reason to believe, for example, that al-Yūsufī's usages of *bi-ḥaraj* (in anger), *muzawwaj* (married), and *bi-l-ghālī* (for a high price) are "non-classical" (i.e., they do not appear in dictionaries of Arabic language at least until *Lisān al-'arab*, including *Lisān al-'arab*, and normally also not in texts written during the first four centuries of Islam that are generally considered to have been written in standard Arabic). Seemingly, *muzawwaj* and *bi-l-ghālī* were standardized by al-Maqrīzī with *mutazawwij* and *bi-aghālā al-athmān*, respectively, and *bi-ḥaraj* was omitted. These cases, however, are not in orange color in table 1.2. In another place, al-Maqrīzī replaces *bi-ḥaraj* in al-Yūsufī's text with derivatives of *ghadība*, suggesting that he was not very fond of the expression; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 361–2 (compare with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 132).

Khalīl, who died under him and left behind her about one hundred thousand dinars, jewels, and other property. He took it all and did not tell the sultan about the existence of none of it.”

Then al-Nashū turned to the merchant and told him: “swear to me on the life of the sultan [and answer me], were not you married to her?”—that is, to the aforementioned slave girl.

So the merchant told al-Nashū: “yes [I was].”

As can be seen, al-Maqrīzī omits one part of the dialogue in direct speech by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (no. 8 in table 1.2) and therefore has to conflate two different sentences in direct speech by al-Nashū into one long utterance. In addition, al-Maqrīzī omits the emotive expression “in anger” and the fact that after hearing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Nashū “quickly” replied, which adds a dramatic quality to al-Yūsufī’s text. Other parts of the text omitted by al-Maqrīzī such as “you want to break the people” and “but he does not fall in my hands” (nos. 5 and 7) are meant to enhance the image of al-Nashū as an archvillain; thus, they also have a dramatic quality in al-Yūsufī’s text. Another part of the text omitted by al-Maqrīzī is “tell me!” (no. 2), which opens an utterance by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in al-Yūsufī’s text and has a mimetic quality. It imitates a spoken discourse, enlivens the text, and brings it closer to the audience. Notwithstanding this, the text of al-Maqrīzī still contains a lively dialogue comprised of four parts given in direct speech, three participants, and three changes of speaker, and still reads like a drama.<sup>43</sup>

As for language, there is no doubt that al-Maqrīzī put in a great effort to avoid nonstandard usages of Arabic in his text. Sometimes he avoids the nonstandard usages in al-Yūsufī’s text simply by omitting them (nos. 2, 5, 7, 8, 11). At other times he bypasses the nonstandard usages by paraphrasing al-Yūsufī’s wording and totally changing its syntactic structure (nos. 1, 6). At other times, al-Maqrīzī directly standardizes al-Yūsufī’s usages (nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, 12). The existence of a text that employs nonstandard usages of Arabic and a parallel text that seems to consistently standardize it may give us a clearer perception of what was considered “standard” by al-Maqrīzī and (some of) his contemporaries. The cases of direct standardization are normally straightforward. It is the more complicated instances of paraphrasing that are perhaps more significant in this respect since they have to do with perceptions of what were considered “standard” syntactic structures, and more importantly, “standard” lexical items.<sup>44</sup>

43 On the dramatic quality of al-Yūsufī’s *Nuzhat al-nāzir*, see Little, *Historiography* 426–7.

44 See footnote 42 above.

All this, however, awaits detailed research, which, as mentioned, is not the purpose of the present article.

In the annals covering al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, it is relatively easy to find in the *Sulūk* story-like reports with dialogues or direct speech. When it is possible to compare them to al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, it is relatively easy to see that al-Maqrīzī omits parts of the report, condenses or paraphrases the rest, and standardizes the language but still retains parts of its dialogues in direct speech and its dramatic character.<sup>45</sup> In some cases, it seems that except for standardizing the language, al-Maqrīzī also cleans up the bad language from al-Yūsufi's text.<sup>46</sup>

This situation changes, starting from the description of the post-al-Nāṣir Muḥammad period in the *Sulūk* and, more conspicuously, starting from about 760/1359, the time when al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* ended. Starting from that period, there is a decrease in the number of story-like reports with dialogues in direct speech that can be found in the *Sulūk*. As has been shown by Massoud, at least regarding the accounts of events of the last quarter of the 8th/14th century in the *Sulūk*, the most important source is Ibn al-Furāt's (d. 807/1405) chronicle *Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*. Almost all the reports that appear in *Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* also appear in the *Sulūk*. However, al-Maqrīzī invested a lot of effort into condensing and rewriting the reports and recasting them in his own words.<sup>47</sup> It should be added that in the process of reword-

45 For conspicuous examples, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 361–2 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 132—note that al-Yūsufi uses the verb *ḥakā* to describe the act of the transmission of the report from his informant); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 384–5 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 261–3); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 386 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 269–71); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 393–4 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 293–4); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 395 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 298–9); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 399–400 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 308); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 412–3 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 350–3).

46 Al-Maqrīzī omits the word *qawwād* (pimp), see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 382 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 249); al-Maqrīzī replaces *al-walad al-zinā* (the son of a bitch; note the nonstandard genitive construct) with the less vulgar *kadhdhāb* (liar), see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 386 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 270); al-Maqrīzī replaces an accusation that some people are the enemies of Muslims with the general “he spoke very bad words” (*bālagha ft l-sabb*); see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 387 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 271); and see also al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 398–9 (compare with al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 305–6).

47 Massoud, *Chronicles* 49, 99, 112–3. This has been specifically established for the years 778/1376–7 and 793/1390–1. However, it is reasonable to assume that this was also the case in accounts of other years in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century, and possibly also in accounts of the third quarter of the 8th/14th century. Note that al-Maqrīzī is known to have extensively relied in the *Sulūk* on *Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* also in accounts of events from the second half of the 7th/13th century and the early 8th/14th century; see Massoud, *Chronicles* 5 (footnote 29).

ing, al-Maqrīzī consistently standardized Ibn al-Furāt's reports, which are full of nonstandard usages of Arabic.<sup>48</sup>

Massoud has also established Ibn al-Furāt's extensive reliance on Ibn Duqmāq's *Nuzhat al-anām*, at least in accounts of events of the last quarter of the 8th/14th century.<sup>49</sup> Specifically, Massoud showed that *Nuzhat al-anām* forms the backbone of *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*'s narrative for the year 778/1376–7 and that *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* contains almost all the reports from *Nuzhat al-anām*, sometimes quoting them almost word for word.<sup>50</sup> While it was not possible to compare the accounts of the later years of the 8th/14th

48 At least in the parts dealing with Ibn al-Furāt's time, practically every page of *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* contains numerous usages of nonstandard Arabic. In what follows I will give only a few examples of al-Maqrīzī's standardization of Ibn al-Furāt's reports, which happens almost on every page in the *Sulūk* relying on Ibn al-Furāt: 1) Absence of accusative *alif*, compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 33 (line 5: *nufiya ilā Ṣafad battāl*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 581 (line 13: *nafāhu ilā Ṣafad*); and compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 37 (line 9: *'ishrīn sayf*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 585 (line 1: *'ishrīn sayfan*); and compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 120–1 (page 120 line 22: *nakūnu shay' wāhid*; line 25: *lam yu'tīnī shay'*; page 121 line 2: *yuqīmu sultān*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 644 (lines 8–9: *nakūnu shay'an wāhidan*; lines 10–11: *lam yu'tīnī shay'an*; line 13: *yuqīmu sultānan*). 2) Usage of the *obliquus* in the sound masculine plural instead of the *casus rectus*, compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 38 (line 8: *ḥaḍara al-mubashshirīn*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 585 (line 16: *qadīma mubashshirū al-ḥajj*). 3) Usage of the fourth verbal theme instead of the first verbal theme (on this phenomenon in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 38 [no. 40]; on the phenomenon in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 2), compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 49 (lines 3 and 6: *ukhlī'a*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 589 (lines 6 and 8: *khalā'a*); and compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 56 (line 3: *'araḍa*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 593 (line 4: *'araḍa*); for the opposite phenomenon (seemingly a hypercorrection), compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 75 (line 22: *nafaqa*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 607 (line 10: *anfaqa*). 4) Disappearance of the mood endings (imperfect forms in all moods may terminate with and without the ending *n*), compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 52 (lines 1–2: *bi-annahumā yaṣṭalīhā*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 591 (line 2: *an yaṣṭalīhā*). 5) Accusative *alif* in nouns in singular form that should have been in the nominative (on this phenomenon, see Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* 19), compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 75 (lines 18–9: *an lā yata'akhhara ... aḥadan*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 607 (line 8: *an lā yata'akhhara aḥadun*). 6) The active participles of *tertiaē yā'* verbs appear with final *yā'* also in indefinite forms of the nominative/genitive (on this phenomenon in Middle Arabic, see Blau, *Handbook* 41 [no. 57]; in Mamluk historiographical texts, see Brinner, *Chronicle* xxiv), compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 112 (line 12: *māḍī*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 637 (line 7: *māḍīn*). 7) The last (radical) vowel of the suffixless forms of the jussive of verbs III *w/y* is lengthened (see on that Blau, *Handbook* 41 [no. 54]; and see also Haarmann, *Kanz* 36), compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* ix, 120 (line 25: *lam yu'tīnī*) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 644 (line 10: *lam yu'tīnī*).

49 On Ibn al-Furāt's extensive reliance on Ibn Duqmāq's *Nuzhat al-anām*, see Massoud, *Chronicles* 5 (footnote 36), 34.

50 *Ibid.* 29, 36.

century in *Taʿrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* and *Nuzhat al-anām*,<sup>51</sup> Massoud found in the account of the events of the year 793/1390–1 in *Taʿrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* several quotations with explicit references to Ibn Duqmāq that bear a resemblance to materials in Ibn Duqmāq's *al-Nafḥa al-miskīyya* (which is normally a summary of events reported in *Nuzhat al-anām*).<sup>52</sup> Therefore, a continuing reliance of Ibn al-Furāt on Ibn Duqmāq is very probable, at least for the entire last quarter of the 8th/14th century, and possibly for earlier periods as well. The heavy reliance of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt in that period accounts for the fact that "*al-Sulūk* ultimately bears the mark of Ibn Duqmāq."<sup>53</sup>

In accounts of contemporary events, Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle generally does not contain many story-like reports with dialogues employing direct speech.<sup>54</sup> Still, in some of the cases where Ibn Duqmāq is quoted, one does find long story-like reports with dialogues or utterances in direct speech (and nonstandard Arabic).<sup>55</sup> Sometimes such dialogues are omitted altogether in al-Maqrīzī's

51 The extant parts of *Nuzhat al-anām* dealing with events in the second half of the 8th/14th century cover only the years 768–79/1366–78 and are still in manuscript form, see Massoud, *Chronicles* 30. The relevant extant parts of *Taʿrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* cover only the years 789–99/1387–97, thus a comparison between the accounts of the year 778/1376–7 in the *Sulūk*, *Nuzhat al-anām*, and *Taʿrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* was made possible only by consulting *al-Muntaqā min Taʿrīkh Ibn al-Furāt* by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448), also still in manuscript form, which covers the years 773–93/1371–91, see Massoud, *Chronicles* 19 (footnote 32), 28–38; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba 65.

52 Ibid., *Chronicles* 104–6, 110. In fact, references to Ibn Duqmāq appear in *Taʿrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* already in 789/1386–7, i.e., the first year in the relevant extant part of the chronicle, and continue to appear until 799/1396–7, i.e., the last year in the relevant extant part; see Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʿrīkh* ix, 10, 457–8; and see references to Ibn Duqmāq in the index, ibid. ix, 481. At other times, Ibn al-Furāt says that he quotes from one of "our brothers the historians that are well familiar with the ruling elite" (*baʿḍ al-ikhwān min ʿulamāʾ al-taʿrīkh mimman la-hu iṭṭilāʾ ʿalā aḥwāl arbāb al-dawla*), a reference to Ibn Duqmāq who is sometimes referred to as "our colleague the amir Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Duqmāq one of the historians who was well familiar with the ruling elite" (*ṣāhibunā al-amīr Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Duqmāq aḥad ʿulamāʾ al-taʿrīkh wa-kāna la-hu iṭṭilāʾ ʿalā aḥwāl al-dawla*), see for example, ibid. ix, 52, 125.

53 Massoud, *Chronicles* 29 (footnote 77).

54 In fact, Haarmann listed him among the conservative historians and specifically labeled him as a "purist"; see Haarmann, *Auflösung* 54. Given the fact that his chronicle is filled with nonstandard usages of Arabic, it is perhaps better not to regard him as a purist.

55 See, for example, Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʿrīkh* ix, 52–3, 104–5, 140, 193, 255, 347–8, 457–8. For example, in all the historical narratives of the year 793/1390–1 in Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (almost 30 pages), there is only one report with a dialogue in direct speech, and it is taken from Ibn Duqmāq; see ibid. ix, 255. Except for this, one finds one utterance in direct speech, which is actually presented as a quote from a letter, see ibid. ix, 271 (lines 8–9).

report,<sup>56</sup> however, at other times, al-Maqrīzī preserves in his report at least an utterance in direct speech.<sup>57</sup> At other times, the fact that reports with dialogues and direct speech in Ibn al-Furāt that find their way into the *Sulūk* originate in fact from Ibn Duqmāq can be corroborated by a comparison of the materials in Ibn al-Furāt with materials in *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya*.<sup>58</sup>

So, through the filter of Ibn al-Furāt, generally, not many dialogues or utterances in direct speech are left in the *Sulūk* in accounts of events of the last part of the 8th/14th century. In accounts of events that occurred in the 9th/15th century and after the death of Ibn al-Furāt, when the reports of al-Maqrīzī are generally his own, the number of dialogues or utterances in direct speech decreases even further. I have checked in detail the years 825–7/1421–4, and not even a single dialogue or case of direct speech is found in the *Sulūk*. However, in these years the *Sulūk* is not totally “de-literarized.” One finds four verses of poetry incorporated in the historical narrative,<sup>59</sup> reports with a moral lesson (*nādira fī-hā ‘ibra/maw‘iza*),<sup>60</sup> and mainly reports on “strange” or extraordinary, mostly weather-related or natural, phenomena (some defined as *nawādir*, or phenomena that cause wonder [*ta‘ajjub/‘ajab*]).<sup>61</sup>

56 See, for example, *ibid.* ix, 255 (compare with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 741); and see Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 457–8 (compare with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 873).

57 See, for example, Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 52–3 (compare with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 591–2 [esp. 592 line 1]); and see Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 104–5 (compare with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 629–30 [esp. 630 line 5]).

58 Compare, for example, Ibn al-Furāt ix, 86–7 (esp. 86 line 22) with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 614 (esp. line 16), and with Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa* 252 (the utterance in direct speech, which in all likelihood originated in *Nuzhat al-anām*, is omitted, but the resemblance is clear enough). For material of Duqmāqian origin containing an utterance in direct speech that found its way into the *Sulūk*, see also chapter 2 table 2.1 (no. 2). This is not to say that all cases of dialogues or utterances in direct speech that appear in reports in Ibn al-Furāt originated in Ibn Duqmāq. Few reports are transmitted from authorities other than Ibn Duqmāq; see, for example, Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 73–4. Other reports are transmitted without mentioning a source, and its origin could not be ascertained (of course it is quite possible that these reports also originate in Ibn Duqmāq). Some of these utterances in direct speech found their way into the *Sulūk*. Compare, for example, Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 112 with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 637 (esp. lines 7–8); and compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 120–1 with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 644; and compare Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘riḥ* ix, 121–2 with al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 645. There are also cases of dialogues with direct speech in the *Sulūk* whose origin is not necessarily Ibn al-Furāt.

59 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iv, 616, 643.

60 *Ibid.* iv, 607, 618, 624.

61 *Ibid.* iv, 602, 616–8, 625, 632, 634, 639, 647. On “strange” events and weather-related or natural phenomena in the *Sulūk*, see Wijntjes, *Daily* 543–56. On accounts of earthquakes in the *Sulūk* (which occurred, however, during the Turkish period of the sultanate), see Hirschler, *Erdbebenberichte* 134–9.

One may legitimately wonder at this point if all this does not, in fact, support Ulrich Haarmaan's thesis of "literarization" against will. After all, when the reports in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* become his own, we hardly find reports with dialogues or utterances in direct speech, and only as long as al-Maqrīzī relied on earlier sources, did he combine such reports in a significant manner. However, as already argued, al-Maqrīzī controlled the process of omission or incorporation of story-like reports into his chronicle. He chose deliberately to rely on a highly literarized chronicle such as *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* as the main and almost exclusive source for events in the first half of the 8th/14th century. He continued to incorporate such reports (apparently mainly of Duqmāqian origin) also in accounts of events of the second half of the 8th/14th century, however, in a gradually decreasing manner. More importantly, as we will see in section 4 below, in his biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, al-Maqrīzī consciously incorporated "literarized" material. All this suggests that al-Maqrīzī did not object to "literarization" in principle but rather, as an Egyptian historian with a scholarly background, he simply chose his own trend of "literarization." It seems that for al-Maqrīzī, contemporary history was seen as a serious thing, or at least, drawing on a Shāfi'ī scholarly historiographic tradition (see section 2.1 below), he considered accounts of contemporary events as a less suitable place for a certain kind of literarized materials (i.e., story-like reports with dialogues and direct speech). This is in contrast to 9th/15th-century Egyptian historians related to the military institution, who gladly incorporated story-like reports with dialogues and direct speech as an integral part of their account of contemporary events.

### 2.1 *A Note on Language and Style in Mamluk Chronicles*

Before moving on to discuss trends of "literarization" in al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionaries, I would like to make some general notes on language and style in Mamluk chronicles.<sup>62</sup> In order to check usages of Arabic in detail, it is necessary to consult manuscripts and autographs when they exist; however, as already mentioned, this is not the intention here. The intention is to show a trend of standardization in the works of al-Maqrīzī and situate it in more general trends of language use in Mamluk historiography. Using the existing printed editions should allow a preliminary investigation of such trends. The observations in section 2 on the language of al-Maqrīzī are based on printed

---

62 The issue of language and style in Mamluk historiography is discussed in detail in chapter 2. Here, I only summarize some relevant points for the discussion of trends of "literarization" in the works of al-Maqrīzī as a Shāfi'ī religious scholar and situate it in more general trends. For references, see chapter 2.

editions that are not based on autographs (there are no autographs of the relevant parts of the *Sulūk*).<sup>63</sup> Regarding al-Maqrīzī, however, we have Frédéric Bauden's research on the language in an autograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī's notebook, materials from which were incorporated into al-Maqrīzī's historical works.<sup>64</sup> Bauden found some minor deviations from standard Arabic (mainly related to orthography), probably due to lack of attention and the speed of writing that are typical of drafts (*musawwadāt*, sing. *musawwada*) and notebooks.<sup>65</sup> It shows, as Bauden noted, that in contrast to historians related to the military institution that did not hesitate to include nonstandard usages of Arabic in their historical works, "scholars who wrote history, were very careful not to allow themselves such deviations" from standard Arabic.<sup>66</sup> I would qualify Bauden's observation and restrict it mainly to Shāfi'ī religious scholars.

As discussed in detail in chapter 2, in order to better understand trends of language use in Mamluk historiography, a differentiation should be made between subgroups of historians who were religious scholars. Usages of nonstandard Arabic are typical of historians related to the military institution and non-Shāfi'ī religious scholars. On the other hand, because of the importance of "Arabness" and the Arabic language in their ethos, Shāfi'ī religious scholars refrained from using nonstandard Arabic and standardized nonstandard usages in their quoted sources. Examining language use in tandem with the stylistic element of the incorporation of story-like reports with dialogues and direct speech in accounts of contemporary events in the historical narratives in chronicles allows a more nuanced differentiation between trends of language use and style prevalent among chroniclers of the three aforementioned major groups of historians. It seems that in terms of the tendency to incorporate story-like reports in accounts of contemporary events, the non-Shāfi'ī religious scholars took a middle ground between historians related to the military institution, who gladly incorporated such reports, and historians who were Shāfi'ī religious scholars, who did not tend to incorporate such reports.

It should be emphasized that the discussion here does not concern historians who were officially affiliated with the Shāfi'ī school of law; however, they specialized as *udabā'-kuttāb*. Naturally, *udabā'-kuttāb* were strongly related to the *adab* tradition; thus, they were more willing to incorporate *adab* elements into their historical writing. However, authors with such backgrounds did not

63 Bauden, *Taqī al-Dīn* 182.

64 On the notebooks, see *ibid.*, *Maqriziana I* 21–68 (esp. 21–4); *Maqriziana II* 51–118 (esp. 76–86).

65 *Ibid.*, *Maqriziana VIII* 21–36; and see also *Maqriziana II* 84–6.

66 *Ibid.*, *Maqriziana VIII* 36–7.

tend to produce “proper” chronicles, and their works were less subjugated to chronology, and more specifically to the annalistic form.<sup>67</sup> The tendency of *udabā'-kuttāb* to incorporate *adab* elements in their writing is conspicuous in their biographical dictionaries, a genre that, in any case, tends to be anecdotal. Biographical dictionaries written by *udabā'-kuttāb*, such as al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* and *A'yān al-'aṣr* and al-Kutubī's (d. 764/1363) *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, are full of anecdotes or story-like reports containing dialogues with direct speech. Moreover, in the frame of the anecdotes or story-like reports that appear in their biographical dictionaries, one finds many usages of nonstandard Arabic, although the two were officially affiliated with the Shāfi'ī school. In fact, al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionaries are probably the most anecdotal of all Mamluk biographical dictionaries. His *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* was one of the most important sources used by al-Maqrīzī in his *Muqaffā*, which brings us to a discussion of trends of “literarization” in al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionaries.

### 3 *Al-Muqaffā l-Kabīr*: Trends of Literarization in al-Maqrīzī's Biographical Dictionary of Prominent Egyptians in History

In comparison to Mamluk chronicles, much less attention has been given to Mamluk biographical dictionaries with respect to the examination of sources used by their authors, the arrangement of materials in them, and trends of “literarization” within them.<sup>68</sup> A still very important work in this respect is Little's *An introduction to Mamluk historiography*, published in 1970.<sup>69</sup> Little has made several general observations, based mainly on an examination of the biographical entries of the amir Qarāsunqur al-Manṣūrī (d. 728/1327) in the biographical dictionaries of al-Ṣafadī (*al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* and *A'yān al-'aṣr*), Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (*al-Durar al-kāmina*), and Ibn Taghrībirdī (*al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*).<sup>70</sup> Little noted that: 1) Biography constitutes “a distinct literary-historical genre with its own requirements and characteristics which result in the presentation of material not found in annals and a new organization.”<sup>71</sup> According to Little, “a

67 See footnote 14 above.

68 And see Mauder's remark regarding the almost exclusive focus of scholars on “literarization” in Mamluk chronicles, Mauder, *Gelehrte* 23 (footnote 60); and see also Gharaibeh, Narrative 51–2. More generally, as noted by Fedwa Malti-Douglas, collections of biographies of scholars have been considered for a long time as lacking any “literary ambitions,” Malti-Douglas, *Dreams* 138.

69 Massoud's monograph is of course restricted to chronicles, see Massoud, *Chronicles*.

70 Little, *Introduction* 102–9.

71 *Ibid.* 101.

compiler of biographical dictionaries did not rely heavily on annals as a source for his biographies, probably for reasons of convenience. It would have been a cumbersome, laborious process for an author faced with writing a thousand or more biographies to sift through the bulky information provided by annals.” Thus, “the biographer main source for information ... seems to have been not annals, but other biographies whose authors had received reports from informants.”<sup>72</sup> Little concluded that “though biography and annals overlap, the former is not based on the latter but on original information ... [f]or this reason ... identical material is rarely found in both.”<sup>73</sup> 2) Biographies have a penchant for anecdotal style and are, in fact, dominated by isolated anecdotes.<sup>74</sup> This last observation is based mainly on the biographical entries of Qarāsunqur in al-Şafadī’s *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* and *A’yān al-‘aşr*, in which after short introductory data comes a “succession of anecdotes ... arranged more or less chronologically.”<sup>75</sup>

The literary (and anecdotal) character of al-Şafadī’s biographical writing (specifically his *A’yān al-‘aşr*) and the literary devices that al-Şafadī used in it were further explored by Stephan Conermann<sup>76</sup> and also noted by Yoni Brack<sup>77</sup> and Christian Mauder. The latter referred to al-Şafadī as “a typical representative of the literarized history-writing of his time.”<sup>78</sup> Scholars have emphasized the central role played by al-Şafadī in formulating the pattern of Mamluk bio-

72 Ibid. 134. On al-Şafadī’s sources and informants, see *ibid.* 103–4; al-Şafadī 199–206; and see also Abu-‘Uksa, *Lives* 84–5.

73 Little, *Introduction* 135. More generally, Stephen Humphreys noted that chronicles and biographical dictionaries “are very distinct genres as to sources, methods, and subject matter, and they convey very different kinds of information”; see al-Qāḍī, *Biographical dictionaries* 26. Wadād al-Qāḍī added that “[t]he element of chronology or time [...] is crucial for chronicles while it is irrelevant to biographical dictionaries in principle”; see *ibid.*

74 Little, *Introduction* 135. On the “anecdotal nature” of biographies, see also Van Steenbergen, *Yalbughā* 428.

75 Little, *Introduction*, 102–6 (esp. 104). On this pattern in other biographical entries in *A’yān al-‘aşr*, see Brack, *Mongol* 333; and see also *ibid.* 342.

76 See Conermann, *Tankiz*. On anecdotes and dialogues, see *ibid.* 16–9.

77 Brack referred to al-Şafadī’s “passion for lively and exciting anecdotes,” and his incorporation of “colorful stories” and “colorful anecdotes” in biographies; see Brack, *Mongol* 357. Brack suggested that in some cases the stories incorporated by al-Şafadī may have drawn on popular genres and were meant to entertain and satisfy the demands of his audience, see *ibid.* 355–8.

78 Mauder, *Gelehrte* 44–5. On “introductory lines of rhymed prose” at the openings of biographical entries in *A’yān al-‘aşr*, see Little, al-Şafadī 197; *Introduction* 105–6. On poetry product of the deceased incorporated in the biographical entries, see Bauer, *Communication* 109; Abu-‘Uksa, *Lives* 85.

graphical entries (short résumé followed by anecdotes)<sup>79</sup> and established the reliance of Circassian-period historians on his biographical dictionaries.<sup>80</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* is a biographical dictionary dedicated to Egyptians who left their mark on history. Only parts of it are extant.<sup>81</sup> Bauden suggested that "the aim of the dictionary was to list the maximum number of biographical notices of persons who had had links—sometimes firm, sometimes tenuous—with the land of Egypt."<sup>82</sup> However, al-Maqrīzī was not able to complete this project until his death.<sup>83</sup> While trends of "literarization" in the *Muqaffā* so far have not received attention, the sources used by al-Maqrīzī in the *Muqaffā* and the arrangement of material in it have been partially explored. As mentioned by Bauden, in the *Muqaffā*, al-Maqrīzī normally does not mention his sources, which may be discovered only by comparison to other extant works. Many times, however, one is left to speculate about the *Muqaffā*'s sources without the possibility of corroboration.<sup>84</sup> Based on a detailed examination of the biographies of the amir Ulmās al-Nāširī (d. 733/1333) in al-Maqrīzī's works, the *Muqaffā* included, Bauden observed that al-Maqrīzī used al-Šafadī's (résumé of the) *Wāfi* as a model for the structure of the biography of Ulmās and added only in rare cases additional materials from al-Šafadī's *A'yān al-'aṣr* and al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzir*. The added materials, however, did not consist of new structural units of the biography but were rather incorporated into the already existing pattern of the *Wāfi*.<sup>85</sup> The heavy reliance of al-Maqrīzī in the *Muqaffā* on al-Šafadī's biographical dictionaries was also noted by Mauder.<sup>86</sup>

79 Khalidi, *Islamic* 63–4; "[m]ost biographers followed al-Šafadī's plan of presentation ... according to al-Šafadī's formula ... a short résumé of ... career, with a few anecdotes to illustrate ... virtues"; and see Abu-'Uksa, *Lives* 85.

80 Little, *Introduction* 112. On the reliance of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and Ibn Taghrībirdī on al-Šafadī, see *ibid.* 106–9 (esp. 107—regarding Ibn Ḥajar: "the use of al-Šafadī's pattern of episodes is ... obvious"; and 108—regarding Ibn Taghrībirdī: "[h]aving made a generous use of al-Šafadī's biography"). On the reliance of Ibn Ḥajar on al-Šafadī, see also Brack, *Mongol* 358.

81 Bauden, *Taqī al-Dīn* 192: "the letters *alif*, *bā*, *tā*, *thā*, *jīm*, *hā*, and *khā*, part of the letters *ṭā* and *'ayn*, a tiny part of the letters *kāf* and *lām*, and finally the letter *mīm*."

82 *Ibid.* 194.

83 *Ibid.* 192.

84 *Ibid.* 194–5.

85 Bauden, *Maqriziana* XI 126–31 (esp. 131).

86 Mauder, *Gelehrte* 61. Mauder mentions that only further research will determine if the materials were taken from the *Wāfi* or *A'yān al-'aṣr*, see *ibid.* 61–2. Still, based on Bauden's research and my findings (see below, footnote 105), the default assumption should be that materials were taken from the *Wāfi*.

It seems that in the *Muqaffā*, al-Maqrīzī relied on al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* to a much larger extent than Bauden would allow. This point will be exemplified in detail in what follows by an examination of the biographical entry of the *mamlūk* amir Aqūsh al-Ashrafī (d. 736/1335). First, however, it is possible to make some remarks of a more general nature concerning this issue. Except for one, all the *mamlūk* amirs who have biographical entries in the extant parts of al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, and should have appeared in the extant parts of the *Muqaffā*, actually have biographical entries in the *Muqaffā*. In most of these biographical entries, at least some resemblance to *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* may be observed,<sup>87</sup> and some do not appear in the *Wāfi*.<sup>88</sup> In addition, it is possible to find in the *Muqaffā* only one biographical entry of a *mamlūk* amir who died between 733–7/1333–7 (the years with obituary notes in the extant parts of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*) that does not have an obituary in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*.<sup>89</sup> This suggests that at least with respect to biographies of *mamlūk* amirs, al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* served as some basic framework for biographical entries in the *Muqaffā*. The reliance of al-Maqrīzī in the *Muqaffā* on *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* was clearly not restricted to the extant parts of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*. This may be corroborated by a comparison of materials in the *Muqaffā* with materials from the *Iqd al-jumān* of al-ʿAynī who is known to have extensively relied on *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*. For example, some information regarding the Mongol origin of some *mamlūk* amirs is found only in the *Muqaffā* and *Iqd al-jumān*,<sup>90</sup> and it is known that al-Yūsufī had Mongol informants and that he took an interest in Mongol affairs.<sup>91</sup> A comparison between quotations from *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *al-Durar al-kāmina* and material in the *Muqaffā* suggests

87 For example, in the biographical entry of Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333) in the *Muqaffā*, al-Maqrīzī refers to him as *mamlūk Qaramān* as in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, and this appellation does not appear in the *Wāfi*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 468; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 148. Compare also the biography of Aytamush al-Muḥammadī (d. 736/1336) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 335–42 (esp. 342) with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 329–34 (esp. 329–30, 332).

88 See the biographical entry of Aydamur (Duqmāq), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 370 (no. 892); al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 215–6. See also the biographical entry of Tuḡhluq al-Ashrafī (d. 735/1335), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* iv, 26 (no. 1417); al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 277. And see also the biographical entry of Balabān al-Baysarī (d. 736/1335–6), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 491 (no. 968); al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 337.

89 The biographical entry of Balabān al-Ḥusāmī (d. 736/1336), see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 490.

90 For example, the information regarding the Mongol origin of Baydarā al-Manṣūrī (d. 693/1293) and Karatāy (d. 698/1298–9), see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 562; iv, 31; al-ʿAynī, *Iqd* iii, 216–7, 486.

91 Little, *Recovery* 49, 52.

the same.<sup>92</sup> Untypically for al-Maqrīzī in the *Muqaffā*, he even explicitly mentions (at least) once al-Yūsufī's chronicle as a source.<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, according to my count, the extant parts of the *Muqaffā* contain just over 200 biographical entries of *mamlūk* amirs; however, only 16 of them died after the year 755/1354–5, in which *Nuzhat al-nāzir* allegedly ended,<sup>94</sup> and only eight of them died after 764/1363, the year of al-Şafadī's death (five died in the years 770–5/1368–74 and three in 802/1399–1400). This is, of course, a very uneven spread, suggesting that al-Maqrīzī did not collect for the *Muqaffā* much material on amirs who died after ca. 760/1358–9.<sup>95</sup> It cannot be determined,

92 Little (following Rosenthal) mentions five references to the work of al-Yūsufī in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *al-Durar al-kāmina* (one in the biographical entry of al-Yūsufī and four quotations), see *ibid.* 43, 45. In fact, there are ten references (one in the biographical entry of al-Yūsufī and nine quotations). For the quotations, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 270, 367, 544; ii, 52, 161, 248, 404; iv, 5, 76. Four persons, whose biographical entries in *al-Durar al-kāmina* contain a quotation from al-Yūsufī, have also a biographical entry in the *Muqaffā*. Materials in three of these biographical entries in the *Muqaffā* show resemblance to the quoted materials from al-Yūsufī. Significantly, al-Şafadī, one of the most important sources in *al-Durar al-kāmina* and the *Muqaffā*, could not have been the source in any of these three cases. Compare the biography of the religious scholar Ibn al-Zamalkānī in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vi, 316 (lines 3–10, esp. lines 7–8) with Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 76 (lines 10–6, esp. lines 13–4); significantly, Ibn al-Zamalkānī has no biographical entry in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*, and the biography in *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* does not seem to have been the source; see al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān* iv, 632 (lines 1–4). Compare also the biography of Ismāʿil al-Kurdī in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 87 (lines 12–7, esp. 12–5) with Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 367 (lines 14–9, esp. 16–8); significantly, Ismāʿil al-Kurdī has no biographical entry in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*, and the biography in *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* does not seem to have been the source; see al-Şafadī, *Aʿyān* i, 499. And compare the short biography of Jawhar al-Ṭawāshī in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* iii, 112 with Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 544 (no. 1471); significantly, Jawhar al-Ṭawāshī has no biographical entries in al-Şafadī's biographical dictionaries.

93 Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 130. Al-Maqrīzī refers to information mentioned by the author of the biography of al-Nāşir (*jāmiʿ al-Sira al-Nāşiriyya*), and the information is actually found in *Nuzhat al-nāzir*, see al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 221. So far, explicit references to al-Yūsufī's chronicle in al-Maqrīzī's works were found only in the *Khiṭaṭ* where al-Maqrīzī often mentions his sources; see Little, Analysis 261. In the *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī refers to al-Yūsufī as *jāmiʿ al-Sira al-Nāşiriyya* or as *jāmiʿ Sirat al-Nāşir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 92, 166; ii, 240; iii, 255, 289, 348. Once, he refers to him by name: *muʿallif al-Sira al-Nāşiriyya Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā aḥad muqaddamī al-ḥalqa*; see *ibid.* iv, 60. It may be added that in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, al-Maqrīzī mentions that he found some information regarding an event that happened in 702/1302–3 in *al-Sira al-Nāşiriyya Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* iii, 45–6. All these references should also make clear that references in *Iqd al-jumān* to *Sirat al-Nāşir* are in fact references to *Nuzhat al-nāzir*; see Little, Introduction 81 (footnote 5); Recovery 43. In fact, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī refers to *al-Sira al-Nāşiriyya* written by al-Yūsufī (*al-Sira al-Nāşiriyya lil-Yūsufī*); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 52.

94 Little, Recovery 47.

95 It should be mentioned here that I was working with the printed edition of the *Muqaffā*.

however, if this is a result of him using al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*, al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*, or both, as some basic framework for the collection of material (at least with respect to *mamlūk* amirs), or a result of a decision, made in advance or as he moved on in his work, not to include in the *Muqaffā* notables of his own lifetime (that is, persons who died or were born after the beginning of the decade of al-Maqrīzī's birth, i.e., after 760/1358–9),<sup>96</sup> whose biographical entries would be incorporated in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*. Importantly, however, in the extant parts of the *Muqaffā*, there are only two biographical entries of amirs who died before 678/1279–80 (clearly taken from the *Wāfi*).<sup>97</sup> In comparison, there are seven biographical entries of amirs who died in 678/1279–80, so, clearly, al-Maqrīzī collected materials for biographical entries of *mamlūk* amirs in an extensive manner only starting from that year. Interestingly, this is the year in which al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* allegedly began. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī writes that *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fī sirat al-Malik al-Nāşir* began with the reign of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90).<sup>98</sup> In fact, when al-ʿAynī first referred to al-Yūsufi's chronicle in *Iqd al-jumān*, he named it *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fī dawlatay al-Manşūr wa-l-Nāşir*.<sup>99</sup> This even more strongly hints that al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* served as some basic framework for biographical entries (at least of *mamlūk* amirs) in the *Muqaffā*, perhaps together with al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*.

Be that as it may, it is clear that the two most important sources for biographical entries of *mamlūk* amirs (and probably Mamluk notables in general) in the *Muqaffā* are al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* and al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*.<sup>100</sup> Whether

---

Bauden noted that the editor of the *Muqaffā* did not realize that dozens of notices were added in the autograph manuscript of the work, probably after the death of al-Maqrīzī, by his colleague Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī; see Bauden, *Taqī al-Dīn* 193–4. Since I did not consult the manuscript I do not know if some of the biographical entries of amirs who died after ca. 760/1358–9 were in fact added by Ibn Ḥajar.

96 See *ibid.* 171, 191.

97 The biographical entry of Aydamur al-Ḥillī (d. 667/1269), see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 352 (no. 878); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* x, 5 (no. 4457); and the biographical entry of Aydamur al-ʿAlāī (d. 676/1277–8), see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 361–2 (no. 883); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* x, 6 (no. 4458).

98 Little, *Recovery* 47.

99 Al-ʿAynī, *Iqd* iii, 29. As far as I know, this has gone unnoticed so far. In fact, Little thought that the first reference to *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* in *Iqd al-jumān* was in the year 690/1291; see Little, *Recovery* 50. The reference to *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fī dawlatay al-Manşūr wa-l-Nāşir* in *Iqd al-jumān* was in the year 689/1290.

100 In the extant parts of *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* there are fewer obituaries of religious scholars than of amirs, and not many of them appear in the extant parts of the *Muqaffā*. Still, the biographical entry of the religious scholar Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334) in the *Muqaffā* relies heavily on his obituary in *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 130–1; al-Yūsufi,

al-Maqrīzī planned in advance not to include notables of his own time in this biographical dictionary is not entirely clear,<sup>101</sup> but the *Muqaffā* did not include many such persons and took the form of a biographical dictionary of notables of the past.<sup>102</sup> Except for al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* and al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*, it seems that al-Maqrīzī relied in the *Muqaffā* to some degree also on obituaries from Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle, especially (and possibly only) in biographical entries of persons who died in the 7th/13th century.<sup>103</sup> This seems to confirm

---

*Nuzhat* 217–24. The reliance of the *Muqaffā* on *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* in biographical entries of religious scholars is also suggested by a comparison between quotations of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* in *al-Durar al-kāmina* and material in the *Muqaffā*; see footnote 92 above. For examples of biographical entries of amirs in the *Muqaffā* that rely on the *Wāfi*, see the biographical entry of Baktūt al-Muḥammadi (d. 686/1287–8), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 479 (no. 947); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* x, 201 (no. 4682). See also the biographical entry of Baktamur al-Sāqī, al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 468–74 (no. 939); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* x, 193–7 (no. 4677). For examples of biographical entries of civilians in the *Muqaffā* that rely on the *Wāfi*, see the biographical entry of the *kātib* Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh al-Shirāzī (d. 682/1283–4), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 98–9 (no. 3182); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* i, 201–2 (no. 126). See also the biographical entry of the *wazīr* Ibn Ḥannā (d. 707/1307), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 111–7 (no. 3202); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* i, 217–28 (no. 146). See also the biographical entry of the religious scholar Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (d. 718/1318–9), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 123–4 (no. 3212); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* i, 247–8 (no. 160). And see the biographical entry of the religious scholar Ibn al-Qawbaʿ (d. 738/1338), al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 38–42 (no. 3108); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* i, 238–47 (no. 159).

- 101 Al-Maqrīzī mentions in the *Sulūk* that in the *Muqaffā* one may find a biographical entry of the amir Ashaqtamur al-Māridānī (d. 791/1389); see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* iii, 238. However, it is not to be found there, although the extant parts of the *Muqaffā* contain names that start with *alif-shīn*. On the other hand, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* contains a biographical entry of Ashaqtamur al-Māridānī; see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 426–7 (no. 347). This perhaps suggests that at first, al-Maqrīzī planned to include in the *Muqaffā* also biographical entries of notables who lived during his lifetime but eventually moved them to *Durar al-ʿuqūd*.
- 102 The number and percentage of Mamluk civilians who died after ca. 760/1358–9 is also relatively low; however, their percentage is perhaps somewhat higher than that of *mamlūk* amirs. According to my count, in the index of the first volume of the *Muqaffā* (notably containing the names Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm) there are about 240 biographical entries of civilians who died during the Mamluk period. Among them, 22 died after 764/1363 (one in 773/1371–2, one in 775/1373–4, 15 in the years 790–806/1388–1404, and five in 815/1412–3 or after). The spread is somewhat different than that of amirs. Whereas about nine percent of Mamluk civilians died after 764/1363, only about four percent of *mamlūk* amirs died after that year.
- 103 For example, compare the biography of Aqūsh al-Shihābī (d. 678/1279–80) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 235 (no. 809) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Tarīkh* vii, 164; the biography in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi* could not have been the source; see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 324 (no. 4259). Compare also the biography of Altūnbā/Altūnbughā al-Ḥimşī (d. 678/1280) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 283 (no. 834) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Tarīkh* vii, 164; note that Altūnbā/Altūnbughā has no biographical entry in the *Wāfi*. Compare also the biography of Aybak al-Shaykh (d. 678/1280) in al-

Bauden's general remark that al-Maqrīzī's sources in the *Muqaffā* "are often the same as those he used for his chronographical works."<sup>104</sup>

The obituaries in Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle are normally short and "dry" and so are, naturally, the biographical entries in the *Muqaffā* that rely on Ibn al-Furāt. However, Ibn al-Furāt is a relatively marginal source in the *Muqaffā* in comparison to al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*, whose section of obituaries is the most anecdotal (i.e., "literarized") of all Mamluk chronicles, and al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*, which is the most anecdotal of all Mamluk biographical dictionaries. As in the *Sulūk*, the mere fact that al-Maqrīzī chose to rely so heavily on "highly literarized" sources strongly suggests that it is very unlikely that the "literarization" in the *Muqaffā*, to be exemplified in what follows, was against his will. The heavy reliance on *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* and the *Wāfi* and trends of "literarization" in the *Muqaffā* will be exemplified by a detailed examination of the biographical entry of the amir Aqūsh al-Ashrafī.<sup>105</sup> Appendix A contains a survey of the sections and units of information that constitute his biography in one obituary

---

Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 326 (no. 858) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* vii, 164; note that Aybak has no biographical entry in the *Wāfi*. Compare also the biographical entry of Balabān al-Nawfalī (d. 678/1279–80) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 484 (no. 952) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* vii, 164; the biography in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi* could not have been the source, see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* x, 281 (no. 4785). Compare also the biographical entry of Balabān al-Mushrifī (d. 678/1279–80) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 484 (no. 951) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* vii, 165; the biography in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi* could not have been the source, see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* x, 281 (no. 4786). Compare also the biographical entry of al-Ĥājj Azdamur (d. 680/1281) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 34–5 (no. 707: esp. 34 line 9 and 35 lines 1–4) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* vii, 236–7 (esp. 236 lines 11–2, 15 and 237 lines 1–3); the biography in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi* could not have been the source, see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* viii, 370 (no. 3803). And compare also the biographical entry of Baybars al-Rashīdī (d. 680/1281) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 530 (no. 1000) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* vii, 237; note that Baybars has no biographical entry in the *Wāfi*. And compare also the biographical entry of Baktūt al-Khazandār (d. 680/1281) in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 475 (no. 941) with Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh* vii, 237; note that Baktūt has no biographical entry in the *Wāfi*.

104 Bauden, *Taqī al-Dīn* 194.

105 There are not too many signs for a reliance on *A'yān al-'aşr* in the biographical entry of Aqūsh al-Ashrafī in the *Muqaffā*. There are no anecdotes in *A'yān al-'aşr* that do not appear in the *Wāfi*. On the other hand, there is one anecdote in the *Wāfi* (appendix A, the *Wāfi* section C11) that appears in the *Muqaffā* (appendix A, the *Muqaffā* section D12) but does not appear in *A'yān al-'aşr*. In a few cases there is a variance in the wording in *A'yān al-'aşr* and the *Wāfi*, and the *Muqaffā* has the versions from the *Wāfi*; see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 338 (line 20); *A'yān* i, 581 (lines 7–8); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 254 (lines 19–20); and see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (lines 9–10); *A'yān* i, 578 (lines 16–7); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 256 (lines 7–8); and see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (line 12); *A'yān* i, 579 (line 2); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 256 (line 9); and see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (line 17); *A'yān* i, 579 (lines 6–7); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 256 (line 12); and see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 338 (line 19); *A'yān* i, 581 (line 7); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 254 (line 17). It is possible, however, that in two cases, the *Muqaffā*

note in a chronicle (al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*) and four biographical entries in biographical dictionaries (al-Şafadī's *Wāfi*, al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, and Ibn Taghribirdī's *al-Manhal al-şāfi*). In the case of biographical dictionaries written in the 9th/15th century, there is a mention of the source for each unit of information. First, the focus will be on the *Nuzha*, the *Wāfi*, and the *Muqaffā* in order to exemplify the *Muqaffā*'s heavy reliance on the *Nuzha* and explore the arrangement of material in the *Muqaffā*, the structure of the biography in it, and trends of "literarization" within it. Then, the biography in the *Muqaffā* will be compared to biographies in *al-Durar al-kāmīna* and the *Manhal* in order to examine the general structural and literary trends in biographical dictionaries of the 9th/15th century.

The beginning of the biographical entry of Aqūsh in the *Muqaffā* clearly relies on al-Yūsufi's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*. This is evident already from the name and appellations of Aqūsh that appear in the title of the entry: "Aqūsh al-Ashrafī al-Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn known as Nā'ib al-Karak (*al-ma'rūf bi-Nā'ib al-Karak*) and called (*yulaqqabu*) also al-Burnāq because of his big nose (*li-kibar anfihi*)."<sup>106</sup> The expression "known as Nā'ib al-Karak" was clearly taken from al-Yūsufi and does not appear as such in the title of the biographical entry of Aqūsh in al-Şafadī's *Wāfi* (see appendix A, section A in *Muqaffā*, *Nuzha*, and *Wāfi*). Moreover, as far as I know, except for al-Yūsufi, no other Turkish-period historian mentions that Aqūsh was called al-Burnāq (because of his big nose). The only Circassian-period biographical dictionaries that mention this appellation in the biographical entry of Aqūsh are the *Muqaffā* and *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, which, as will be argued below, relies on the *Muqaffā* in this case.<sup>106</sup> Only the *Muqaffā* also reproduced the explanation for the appellation, that is, "because of his big nose" (*li-kibar anfihi*). It should be mentioned, however, that the appellation al-Burnāq (and its explanation) does not appear in *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* as part of the title of the entry (section A) but rather in the section dedicated to a general description of Aqūsh (section D in *Nuzha*).<sup>107</sup> The moving of the appellation al-Burnāq from the section of general description to the section of the name is part of al-Maqrīzī's attempt in the *Muqaffā* to arrange the material in as orderly a fashion as possible.

---

was following *A'yān al-'aṣr*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 251 (line 17); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 337 (line 14); *A'yān* i, 579 (line 16); and see also al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 257 (lines 5–6); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 338 (lines 10–1); *A'yān* i, 580 (line 15).

106 In *Iqd al-jumān* the name of Aqūsh appears as Aqūsh Burnāq in a list of amirs upon the ascendance to the throne of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn in 678/1279, but it does not appear in an obituary; see al-'Aynī, *Iqd*, iii, 228. Of course, it is very likely that al-'Aynī took this appellation from al-Yūsufi.

107 See al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 342 (line 2: *wa-kāna yulaqqabu ... bi-l-Burnāq li-kibar anfihi*).

This characteristic of al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* is mainly conspicuous in section B of the entry, which is a long and comprehensive life résumé ordered chronologically. Al-Şafadī and al-Yūsufī give a very short and partial chronological life résumé of Aqūsh, pertaining only to the early stages of his career (four lines and eight lines respectively—section B in *Wāfi* and section C in *Nuzha*), and al-Yūsufī adds a short general description of Aqūsh, including his origin (section D in *Nuzha*). Then, both move on to funny anecdotes and stories on Aqūsh (*ḥikāyāt/nukat żarīfa*) and “peculiarities” (*ashyā' mu'jiba*) related to him, which comprise about 90 percent of the entry and are not arranged chronologically, or at least have a seemingly very loose chronological order (section C in *Wāfi* and section E in *Nuzha*).<sup>108</sup> In fact, after giving the name of Aqūsh, and before mentioning his short life résumé, al-Yūsufī incorporates two anecdotes pertaining to his death and his arrest shortly before he died (section B in *Nuzha*), exemplifying how central anecdotes were in obituaries in the *Nuzha* and how chronology was deemed much less important. In contrast, after mentioning the name of Aqūsh, al-Maqrīzī dedicates a few pages to a chronological life résumé normally fixed in dates (section B in the *Muqaffā*). Then, following the structure and content in the *Nuzha*, he gives a short description of Aqūsh, including his origin (section C) and only then gives room for a few pages of nonchronological anecdotes and stories (section D), taken equally from the *Nuzha* and the *Wāfi*.

The beginning of the chronological life résumé in the *Muqaffā* (section B1) is clearly based on the *Nuzha* and could not have been taken from the *Wāfi*. However, al-Maqrīzī added information taken from the *Sulūk* regarding the promotion of Aqūsh to the amirate in 685/1286–7, which is absent in the obituary in the *Nuzha*.<sup>109</sup> This shows that al-Maqrīzī wanted to create a chronological life résumé as comprehensive as possible. He preferred the *Nuzha* here over the *Wāfi* (as in the case of the name of Aqūsh and his general description—sections A and C in the *Muqaffā*), not because of any a priori preference to the *Nuzha* but rather because the obituary in the *Nuzha* provided much more information regarding the early career of Aqūsh than the *Wāfi*.<sup>110</sup> Thus, the

108 Some of the anecdotes are connected to events in the life of Aqūsh, so it is possible to date them (in appendix A the date is mentioned in brackets in such cases); however, the date is normally not mentioned by al-Yūsufī or al-Şafadī.

109 Compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 248 (line 17)–249 (line 1) with *Sulūk* ii, 193 (lines 13–4).

110 Another example for this may be found in the biographical entry of Baktamur al-Sāqī in the *Muqaffā*. Right after mentioning his name and the fact that he was originally a slave of al-Muẓaffar Baybars, al-Maqrīzī refers to the fact that he was known at that period as *mamlūk Qaramān*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 468. This information appears only in al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, see al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 148. So, clearly, al-Maqrīzī opened the biographical entry of Baktamur with information from *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* because he could find there

pattern or framework of the structural units in biographical entries in the *Muqaffā* were not necessarily dictated by the pattern of the *Wāfi*,<sup>111</sup> and the *Nuzha* played in this respect at least as important of a role as the *Wāfi*. It seems, thus, that the influence of al-Ṣafadī's pattern has been somewhat overstated. Still, in cases when information was lacking in the obituary in the *Nuzha* or the biographical entry in the *Wāfi*, al-Maqrīzī's desire to be as comprehensive as possible in the section of the chronological life résumé led him to look for information in other places, including in the historical narrative of chronicles. For example, the obituary in the *Nuzha* and the entry in the *Wāfi* do not offer much chronological information about the later stages of the career of Aqūsh. In such cases, the most important source is al-Maqrīzī's chronicle the *Sulūk* (see sections B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>3</sub>, B<sub>5–11</sub>, and B<sub>13</sub> in the *Muqaffā*).<sup>112</sup> Even more interestingly, it may be demonstrated that, in two cases, al-Maqrīzī took materials from the historical narrative of the *Nuzha* (sections B<sub>14</sub> and B<sub>15</sub> in the *Muqaffā*). These materials from the *Nuzha* take the form of story-like reports and are different from the more banal and informational reports taken from the *Sulūk* (see below). This shows that at least some Circassian-period historians were incorporating into biographies materials from the historical narrative of chronicles to a much larger extent than Little would allow<sup>113</sup> as part of their attempt to create a comprehensive and chronological life résumé.<sup>114</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī's attempt to arrange the material chronologically in the *Muqaffā* also accounted for the incorporation in the life résumé of some anecdotes from the nonchronological section of anecdotes and stories in the obituary of Aqūsh

---

information concerning the earliest period of Baktmaur in the Mamluk Sultanate that does not appear in any other source.

111 See at footnote 85 above.

112 In two instances I could not identify the source for the information in the *Muqaffā* (B<sub>2</sub> and B<sub>4</sub>).

113 According to Little, anecdotal material from the historical narrative of chronicles was incorporated in biographies only in very rare and untypical cases; see Little, *Introduction* 134. The incorporation of story-like reports from the historical narrative of the *Nuzha* in the biographical entry of Aqūsh in the *Muqaffā* proves otherwise. Little also mentioned that in biographies of rulers, a certain fusion of the annalistic and biographic forms may be found, "when not just a chronological sequence of the important events in the ruler's life is given but an annual—annalistic—résumé of the important events which occurred during his reign is recorded"; see *ibid.* 100. The incorporation of chronologically arranged material from the historical narrative of the *Sulūk* in the biographical entry of Aqūsh in the *Muqaffā* shows that the phenomenon was much more common and, more importantly, proves that the biographies and annals have some common materials. For the phenomenon in other Circassian-period biographies, see below.

114 This will be discussed below in more detail.

in the *Nuzha* and his entry in the *Wāfi*. Al-Maqrīzī dated the events related to the anecdotes or stories and incorporated them in the life résumé according to their dates (see sections B12 and B14–6 in the *Muqaffā*).<sup>115</sup> Now, the incorporation of banal and chronologically arranged informational material from annals in the biography, and the subordination of anecdotes to chronology, may be seen as acts of “de-literarization”;<sup>116</sup> however, two points should be observed. Firstly, the chronological section in the biography in the *Muqaffā* may be divided into two parts. First come approximately three pages of “dry” and matter-of-fact information, mostly taken from the *Sulūk* (sections B1–11), and then come approximately three pages of mainly anecdotal and story-like reports from the *Nuzha* and *Wāfi*, arranged chronologically (sections B12–6, section B13 being dry information; the anecdotal or story-like material is in green color). While somewhat shorter than the original, the reports in the *Muqaffā* retain their anecdotal or story-like quality. The story-like reports are very long, and although some of the dialogues and utterances in direct speech were omitted or condensed, the reports in the *Muqaffā* retain several utterances in direct speech (which, of course, were also standardized).<sup>117</sup> Secondly, at the end of the biographical entry, al-Maqrīzī gives room for approximately three pages of nonchronological anecdotes, stories, “peculiarities,” and witticisms taken from the *Nuzha* and the *Wāfi* (section D). While some of the anecdotes and stories were omitted and others were condensed, and two are so truncated that they became statements (the parts in red color in sections D4 and D7), the *Muqaffā* contains a lot of anecdotes and stories, and most of them

115 An interesting case is a bare statement of fact about the building of a mosque by Aqūsh (“he had built a mosque”) that appears in the *Muqaffā* in the section of anecdotes before an anecdote about his charity and generosity during Ramaḍān, and at first glance, it seems out of place. However, it was originally the opening of an anecdote about generosity in the *Nuzha* which was truncated by al-Maqrīzī. Apparently, he could not fix the date of the building of the mosque, so he left the statement about its building in the anecdotal section (see *Muqaffā* D4). As far as I know, no historian mentions the date of the building of the mosque. Moreover, in his *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī has only a very short entry for this mosque, with no details regarding the date of its construction, and it is mentioned that the mosque was in ruins already in 806/1403–4, so it is quite possible that the date of its construction was lost, see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* iv, 115.

116 On al-Maqrīzī’s “chronological arrangement of his stories wherever the available material allowed for such a set-up” in his *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, a practice that “prioritises chronography over literary aesthetics as a guiding principle,” see Van Steenberg, al-Maqrīzī’s 195, 197.

117 For examples of standardized utterances in direct speech, compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 252 (lines 8–9) with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 192 (lines 9–12); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 253 (lines 17–8) with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 238 (lines 24–5). As in the *Sulūk*, the occasional slip of an *ēsh* may be found, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 254 (line 20).

retain their original quality. Some of the stories or anecdotes contain utterances in direct speech, and one has a dialogue (sections D<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>8</sub>, D<sub>9</sub>, and D<sub>12</sub>). Most of the anecdotes or stories in the *Muqaffā* that contain dialogue or utterances in direct speech are read as funny stories (D<sub>1</sub>, D<sub>8</sub>, and D<sub>9</sub>), and specifically the anecdotes on the harsh or whimsical character of Aqūsh, depicting him as a somewhat odd personality who made “peculiar decisions,” are reminiscent of stories in the style of *ḥukm Qarāqūsh* (D<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>9</sub>).<sup>118</sup>

All this shows that while subordinating some anecdotes and stories to chronology, al-Maqrīzī left plenty of room for “literarized” material in the biographical entry. As the biographical entry progresses, the “literarized” material becomes more conspicuous. After three pages of relatively banal chronological information come three pages of stories arranged chronologically, followed by a three-page, nonchronological anecdotal section. All in all, about two-thirds of the entry consists of “literarized” material. The trend of “literarization” in the *Muqaffā* draws on an anecdotal tradition of Egyptian historians related to the military institution (the *Nuzha*) and, more importantly, on a more general anecdotal tradition of biographical dictionaries (the *Wāfi*); however, al-Maqrīzī gave the biographical entry a new structure. The restructuring of the biographical entries in the *Nuzha* and the *Wāfi* and the transferring of anecdotes to the chronological section actually prove that al-Maqrīzī knew very well to recognize the “literarized” material in the *Nuzha* and the *Wāfi* and that like in the *Sulūk*, the incorporation of “literarized” material in the *Muqaffā* was a conscious and deliberate decision of al-Maqrīzī. This trend of “literarization” and restructuring in the *Muqaffā* was apparently not restricted to the biographical entries of amirs. This, however, cannot be examined in detail in the scope of this article.<sup>119</sup> It may be mentioned here, however, that in biographies of religious scholars or *kuttāb-udabā'*, one finds some verses of their poetry, thus, in

118 For a truly magnificent story in the style of *ḥukm Qarāqūsh*, however, one should go to the *Nuzha*, (section E<sub>2</sub> in the *Nuzha*). On collections of stories on the high-ranking Ayyūbid officer Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh (d. 597/1201), and his image as an “odd personality” whose “extraordinary decisions” exemplified “peculiarity” and sometimes even injustice; see, for example, Shoshan, *Popular* 356–7. On the comic nature of these stories or “jokes,” see *ibid.*, *Jokes*. On the attribution of such decisions to *mamlūk* amirs, see *ibid.*, *Popular* 357–8.

119 As mentioned, in the extant parts of *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* there are fewer obituaries of religious scholars than of amirs, and not many of them appear in the extant parts of the *Muqaffā*. Therefore, the pattern of restructuring and “literarization” in biographical entries of civilians in the *Muqaffā* may be examined mainly by a comparison with biographical entries in the *Wāfi*. For an example of a biographical entry of a Mamluk civilian in the *Muqaffā* relying on the *Wāfi*, however, structured in chronological order, subordinating some anecdotes to chronology and leaving at the end room for nonchronological anecdotes, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* i, 260–2 (no. 306); al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi* vi, 97–8 (no. 2527).

biographical entries of civilians, al-Maqrīzī was also drawing on a scholarly tradition of “literarization.”<sup>120</sup> Still, the number of biographical entries containing verses and, more importantly, the number of poetry verses presented in the biography are far less numerous than in obituaries in the chronicles of al-Jazarī and al-Yūnīnī or the biographical dictionaries of al-Ṣafadī.<sup>121</sup>

In order to get a clearer perception of the structural and literary trends in the *Muqaffā*, it is necessary to compare the trends detected in the *Muqaffā* to other biographical dictionaries written by al-Maqrīzī’s contemporaries. The two most obvious candidates for comparison are Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s *al-Durar al-kāmina* and Ibn Taghrībirdī’s *Manhal* because they are the most conspicuous examples of biographical dictionaries that are either dedicated to notables of the past from different social backgrounds (amirs and civilians) or contain many biographical entries of notables of the past from different backgrounds.<sup>122</sup>

The biographical entry of Aqūsh in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is basically divided into three parts: (A) title/name, (B) life résumé, and (C) anecdotes, stories, and peculiarities (see appendix A *al-Durar al-kāmina*). It is clear that many of the units of information are taken from al-Ṣafadī,<sup>123</sup> however, apparently not from the *Wāfi* but rather from *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*.<sup>124</sup> It is also clear that Ibn Ḥajar generally

120 See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* i, 99–100 (no. 49), 120–1 (no. 83), 242–3 (no. 277); vii, 52–3 (no. 3123), 54–5 (no. 3128), 58–61 (no. 3135). In some of the cases, the biographical entry in the *Muqaffā* relies on the *Wāfi*, including in the quotation of poetry, compare for example al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* i, 117–8 (no. 78) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* v, 338 (no. 2406); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* i, 165–6 (no. 152) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* v, 356–8 (no. 2436); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* i, 260–2 (no. 306) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* vi, 97–8 (no. 2527); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 26–7 (no. 3092) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* i, 203 (no. 127); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 30–1 (no. 3098) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* i, 204–5 (no. 129); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 64–6 (no. 3141) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* i, 249–58 (no. 162); and compare al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* vii, 111–7 (no. 3202) with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* i, 217–28 (no. 146).

121 On poetry in al-Ṣafadī’s biographical dictionaries, see Bauer, Communication 109; Conermann, Tankiz 19.

122 Normally, biographical dictionaries written during the Circassian period focus mainly on contemporary notables from different social backgrounds (for example, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmina*, al-Sakhāwī’s *al-Daw’ al-lāmi*’, and al-Malaṭī’s *al-Majma’ al-mufannan*), or restricted to a specific social group, normally religious scholars (for example, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s *Raf’ al-iṣr* and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*).

123 See especially appendix A sections B3, B5, and C3 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*.

124 Because of the condensed nature of the biography in *al-Durar al-kāmina*, and because of the resemblance of material in the *Wāfi* and *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, most of the times it is difficult to know if Ibn Ḥajar relied on the *Wāfi* or *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, see Little, Introduction 107 (footnote

condensed the anecdotes from al-Şafadī and turned them into bare statements of fact concerning events in the life of Aqūsh or his character. Most of the anecdotes are so truncated that they are hardly recognizable.<sup>125</sup> There is nothing new about the observation that Ibn Ḥajar relied on al-Şafadī and condensed his material. Little noted that “the main part of the biography [of Qarāsunqur] in *al-Durar al-kāmīna* is a summary of that in *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* or *A'yān al-'aṣr* ... the use of al-Şafadī's pattern of episodes is ... obvious ... Ibn Ḥajar has transformed it in the process of condensation. By stripping it of the long anecdotes, and reducing them to bare statements of fact, he produced what amounts to an outline of Qarāsunqur's career ... this in itself lends a factual air to the biography.”<sup>126</sup> Still, about half the information in the biographical entry of Aqūsh in *al-Durar al-kāmīna* does not seem to have come from al-Şafadī, and at least some of the information could not have come from him. It would seem that the source for all this information was the *Muqaffā*.

As mentioned, the title of the entry in *al-Durar al-kāmīna* containing the name and appellations of Aqūsh has information that appears only in the *Nuzha* and the *Muqaffā* and not in al-Şafadī (*al-ma'rūf bi-Nā'ib al-Karak*/al-Burnāq). The title resembles only the title of the entry in the *Muqaffā* because al-Maqrīzī collected the information from different sections of the obituary in the *Nuzha*. It is unlikely that Ibn Ḥajar took the information directly from two sections of the *Nuzha* and incorporated it in the same fashion as al-Maqrīzī

---

2). However, in the biography of Aqūsh there is one case of a significant variance in the order of presentation of anecdotes in the *Wāfi* and *A'yān al-'aṣr*. Whereas in the *Wāfi* anecdotes about generosity appear in the fourth place out of eleven anecdotes, in *A'yān al-'aṣr* they appear last, right at the end of the biographical entry. Moreover, there is also variance between the *Wāfi* and *A'yān al-'aṣr* concerning the internal order of the presentation of the anecdotes on generosity. *Al-Durar al-kāmīna* follows the internal order of anecdotes about generosity in *A'yān al-'aṣr*, and more broadly, the general order of presentation of anecdotes in *A'yān al-'aṣr* (see appendix A, section C3 in *al-Durar al-kāmīna* and compare to section C4 in the *Wāfi*). For a possible reliance of *al-Durar al-kāmīna* on *A'yān al-'aṣr* in another biographical entry, see chapter 2 table 2.1 (no. 1). On the reliance of *al-Durar al-kāmīna* on *A'yān al-'aṣr*, see also Gharaibeh, Narrative. It should be mentioned that in the introduction of *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, Ibn Ḥajar mentions *A'yān al-'aṣr* as a source but does not mention the *Wāfi*; see *ibid.* 55–6. In appendix A, the source for units of information taken from al-Şafadī is assumed to be *A'yān al-'aṣr* also in other cases, although a reliance on the *Wāfi* cannot be unequivocally ruled out. In any case, I have also mentioned in the appendix the parallel unit in the *Wāfi* and other relevant differences between *A'yān al-'aṣr* and the *Wāfi*.

125 See especially appendix A sections B2, B4, B5, and C2 in *al-Durar al-kāmīna*. The truncated anecdotes turned into statements are in red color.

126 Little, *Introduction* 107. Brack noted the same phenomenon in another biographical entry in *al-Durar al-kāmīna*; see Brack, Mongol 358.

did in the *Muqaffā*. It is more likely that he used the *Muqaffā* (see section A in *al-Durar al-kāmina*). The beginning of the life résumé of Aqūsh and its end contain chronologically arranged information that appears in the *Muqaffā* but not in al-Ṣafadī (see sections B1, B6, and B8 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*). While one piece of information that appears in the *Muqaffā* also appears in the obituary in the *Nuzha* and, theoretically, could have been easily collected by Ibn Ḥajar from there (section B1 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*), the rest of the information was collected by al-Maqrīzī from different places in the historical narrative of the *Sulūk* (sections B1 and B6 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*) or from the historical narrative in the *Nuzha* (section B8 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*). It is practically inconceivable that Ibn Ḥajar collected the information from different places in the historical narrative of the *Sulūk* and the *Nuzha* and incorporated it chronologically in the same fashion and exactly in the same place as al-Maqrīzī did in the *Muqaffā*. Some of the truncated anecdotes in the entry in *al-Durar al-kāmina* also seem to have been taken from the *Muqaffā*. A statement about the generosity of Aqūsh in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is found only in the *Muqaffā* and the *Nuzha* and is not found in al-Ṣafadī (section C5 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*). Since there is no unequivocal evidence of reliance on the *Nuzha* in the biographical entry of Aqūsh in *al-Durar al-kāmina*, it was in all likelihood taken from the *Muqaffā*. More significantly, another statement about his generosity (section C6 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*) in fact repeats a statement mentioned earlier in the biography in *al-Durar al-kāmina* (section C3). The first appearance (C3) draws on the wording of al-Ṣafadī; however, the second appearance (C6) reproduces the wording of the *Muqaffā*, which rephrased the wording in al-Ṣafadī. The repetition of the statement in different versions proves beyond doubt that Ibn Ḥajar used both al-Ṣafadī and the *Muqaffā*. In fact, all the information in the entry in *al-Durar al-kāmina* that is absent from al-Ṣafadī may have been taken from the *Muqaffā*, and it would seem that Ibn Ḥajar did not use other sources for the entry of Aqūsh. It has been noted that Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī had access to the autograph manuscript of the *Muqaffā* and even added entries to it (for his own use).<sup>127</sup> In fact, most of the entries in the *Muqaffā* are of persons who died in the 8th/14th century, so it would have been a perfect source for *al-Durar al-kāmina*, which is dedicated to persons who died in that century.

In general, it seems that most of the time, Ibn Ḥajar followed the order of presentation in the *Muqaffā* and al-Ṣafadī, while turning some anecdotes in al-Ṣafadī into statements and combining them in the chronological framework

127 Bauden, Taqī al-Dīn 193–4; Gardiner, Esotericism 250–1.

of the life résumé, basically based on the *Muqaffā*.<sup>128</sup> As mentioned, the life résumé begins and ends with chronologically arranged information from the *Muqaffā*. It again seems, thus, that the influence of al-Ṣafadī's pattern has been somewhat overstated. At least in the 9th/15th century, authors of biographical dictionaries were constructing a much more comprehensive chronological life résumé in biographical entries than al-Ṣafadī and were subordinating anecdotes to chronology.

In terms of "literarization," the biography of Aqūsh in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is an example of a truly "de-literarized" biographical entry, and it seems to represent the general trend of *al-Durar al-kāmina*. As mentioned, the anecdotes or stories are so truncated that they are hardly recognizable.<sup>129</sup> There is not even one dialogue or an utterance in direct speech in the entry.<sup>130</sup> The *Muqaffā* is definitely more "literarized" than *al-Durar al-kāmina*. In fact, Haarmann counted Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī among the historians who show a "conservative anti-literary historiographical ethos."<sup>131</sup> Before making any general statements about Ibn Ḥajar, however, it is advised to look at some of his other biographical dictionaries.<sup>132</sup>

As for the biographical entry of Aqūsh in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Manhal*, it is clearly based on the entry in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfi* (see appendix A the *Manhal*).<sup>133</sup>

128 He does not seem to have jumped back and forth much between different sections, and even within sections. See the comments in sections B4, C2, and C4 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*.

129 A two-page story-like report taken from the *Muqaffā*, which is based on a much more detailed story-like report from the *Nuzha*, is reduced to a six-line report. It is, in fact, the only report in *al-Durar al-kāmina* that perhaps retains some qualities of a story (see section B8 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*).

130 This is not to say that such elements do not appear in *al-Durar al-kāmina* at all. For an example of a long dialogue that appears in a quotation from the *Nuzha*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 270–1.

131 Haarmann, *Auflösung* 54. Bauer noted also that in *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ibn Ḥajar did not incorporate much poetry written by scholars; see Bauer, *Literarische* 108.

132 In *Raf' al-iṣr*, dedicated to Egyptian judges throughout the Islamic period, it is possible to find long biographical entries that contain long and comprehensive life résumés basically arranged chronologically. However, because Ibn Ḥajar brings information from several sources, there are at times repetitions, and general assessments are incorporated within the chronological life résumé. Ibn Ḥajar incorporates chronologically many anecdotes or story-like reports in the life résumé and less often leaves room at the end of the entry for nonchronological anecdotes or story-like reports. Sometimes he mentions at the end poetry verses composed by the judges. This is true for entries of judges of the past and his contemporaries, see for example Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf'* 27–31 (no. 3), 41–2 (no. 11), 81–3 (no. 36), 169–71 (no. 81), 233–7 (no. 115), 241–3 (no. 119), 339–41 (no. 176).

133 In the case of *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* it is possible to demonstrate that his source was the *Wāfi* and not *A'yān al-'aṣr*. In cases of variance between the *Wāfi* and *A'yān al-'aṣr* the *Man-*

Practically all the information in the *Manhal* comes from the *Wāfi*.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, while omitting four anecdotes (see section C in the *Manhal* and the *Wāfi*), Ibn Taghrībirdī strictly follows al-Ṣafadī's order of presentation. Two of the anecdotes in the *Wāfi* turned into statements of fact (sections C4–5 in the *Manhal* in red color). The fact that Ibn Taghrībirdī does not subordinate anecdotes to chronology may be considered as a more "literarized" method of presentation than that in the *Muqaffā*. However, it may also be the result of simple laziness on the part of Ibn Taghrībirdī, who followed al-Ṣafadī's pattern blindly. As we shall see, in the biographical entries of his contemporaries, Ibn Taghrībirdī's pattern in the *Manhal* is reminiscent of the trends detected in the *Muqaffā*. The biography of Aqūsh in the *Muqaffā* contains more anecdotes or story-like reports and utterances in direct speech than his biography in the *Manhal*.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, it may be argued that at least some biographical entries in the *Muqaffā* are more "literarized" than some biographical entries of past notables in the *Manhal*. Thus, in terms of "literarization," the *Muqaffā* also seems to fare well in comparison to biographical entries of past notables in biographical dictionaries written by authors who are not considered "conservative."

In biographical entries of Circassian-period notables (civilians and amirs) in the *Manhal*, one finds many anecdotes or story-like reports with dialogues or utterances in direct speech that are mostly based on reports from informants. Still, the trend of constructing a long and comprehensive, chronological life résumé is also apparent here. The anecdotes or story-like reports are most of the times incorporated chronologically within a comprehensive life résumé, and some appear at the end of the biography next to the general description

---

*hal* follows the *Wāfi*, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (lines 9–10); *A'yān* i, 578 (lines 16–7); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* iii, 28 (lines 3–4); and see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (line 17); *A'yān* i, 579 (lines 6–7); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* iii, 28 (line 11). Most importantly, as mentioned, there is one significant difference in the order of the presentation of anecdotes in the *Wāfi* and *A'yān al-ʿaṣr*. Whereas in the *Wāfi*, the anecdotes about generosity appear in the fourth place out of eleven anecdotes (see appendix A *Wāfi* C4), in *A'yān al-ʿaṣr*, they appear last, right at the end of the biographical entry; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān* i, 581 (line 13)–582 (line 1). In addition, in the *Wāfi*, the internal order of anecdotes on generosity is "he always paid for the expenses of his servants in expeditions," and then "his *simāt* in Ramaḍān." In *A'yān al-ʿaṣr*, it is the opposite. The *Manhal* follows the general order of the presentation of anecdotes in the *Wāfi* and also the internal order of the presentation of anecdotes regarding generosity in the *Wāfi* (see section C3 in the *Manhal*).

134 See, however, the footnotes in sections B and C4 in the *Manhal*.

135 The *Muqaffā* has one dialogue and five utterances in direct speech, and the *Manhal* has one dialogue and only two utterances in direct speech.

and assessment.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, materials in biographical entries of Circassian-period notables in the *Manhal* resemble materials in the historical narrative (*ḥawādith*) in Ibn Taghribirdī's chronicle *al-Nujūm*.<sup>137</sup> Again it becomes clear that Circassian-period biographers were using chronologically arranged material that also served them in their chronicles. And again, it would seem that the reliance of biographers on al-Ṣafadī's pattern was overstated. Although in biographies of past notables in the *Manhal*, Ibn Taghribirdī was imitating the pattern of al-Ṣafadī blindly, when constructing biographies of Circassian-period notables, he adhered to structural and chronologizing trends current among Circassian-period biographers. Such trends, thus, were not restricted to authors that are sometimes considered "conservative." Similar trends are also found in *al-Majma' al-mufannan*, al-Malaṭī's biographical dictionary of contemporary notables,<sup>138</sup> and in *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary of notables of the 9th/15th century.<sup>139</sup> The chronologizing trend in biographical entries in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'* is most conspicuous in biographical entries of contemporary amirs, some very long, which are normally devoid of anecdotes.<sup>140</sup> In order to situate this trait in the *Ḍaw'* within more general trends of biographical dictionaries dedicated to contemporary notables writ-

136 See, for example, Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal* iii, 279–82 (no. 654), 375–80 (no. 671); iv, 313–24 (no. 850). For a similar trend in obituary notes in *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, see, for example, *ibid.*, *Nujūm* xv, 478–9 (the biography of Sūdūn al-Maghribī); xv, 530–2 (the biography of Taghribirmish al-Jalālī).

137 For a representative example, compare *ibid.*, *Manhal* iii, 376 (line 12)–378 (line 13) with *Nujūm* xi, 373 (line 9)–375 (line 19). Of course, the sources of the chronologically arranged material in the *Manhal* should be further explored in a detailed manner.

138 For an example of a biographical entry of amir that incorporates anecdotes or story-like reports chronologically within a comprehensive life résumé, see al-Malaṭī, *Majma'* 576–7 (no. 776). For a similar pattern in a biography of a religious scholar, see *ibid.* 185–7 (no. 197). For a similar pattern in obituary notes in *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, see *ibid.*, *Rawḍ* ii, 117–9 (no. 133), 185–7 (no. 172).

139 Biographical entries of religious scholars sometimes contain long and comprehensive life résumés basically arranged chronologically but incorporating anecdotes. Like in *Raf' al-iṣr*, however, because al-Sakhāwī normally brings information from several sources, there are at times repetitions, and general assessments are incorporated within the chronological life résumé (see footnote 132 above). Sometimes, al-Sakhāwī leaves room at the end of the entry for anecdotes or story-like reports next to the general assessment or general description and next to poetry verses composed by the scholars; see, for example, al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'* i, 17 (line 24)–20 (line 17), 24 (line 3)–25 (line 9), 37 (line 7)–39 (line 12).

140 See, for example, the biographical entries of the amirs named Sūdūn, al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'* iii, 275–87 (nos. 1047–91, esp. nos. 1052, 1064, 1066). Numbers 1055 and 1084 contain story-like materials, however, with no utterances in direct speech. Anyway, they are not al-Sakhāwī's contemporaries.

ten during the Circassian period, it is time to move to a discussion of *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary dedicated to his contemporaries.

#### 4 *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīda Fī Tarājīm al-Aʿyān al-Mufīda: Trends of Literarization in al-Maqrīzī's Biographical Dictionary of His Contemporaries*

In *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājīm al-aʿyān al-mufīda*, a biographical dictionary dedicated to al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries (or people who lived during his lifetime), different trends of literarization can be detected. The trends in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* may be divided in two: one concerning biographies of *mamlūk* amirs and another concerning scholars (and, more generally, civilians), which, as we shall see, is the most unique and exciting trend of literarization in al-Maqrīzī's historical writing.

The biographical entries of *mamlūk* amirs in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* are totally "dry." The information is mostly banal and matter-of-fact and consists of a life résumé that is strictly arranged chronologically and normally fixed in dates. Some of these entries are relatively long but still normally do not contain even a single anecdote or story-like report on the *mamlūk* amirs with utterances in direct speech, not to mention dialogues.<sup>141</sup> It is very likely that much of the information in the entries of *mamlūk* amirs comes from chronicles and, more specifically, from the *Sulūk*. For example, most of the material in the biographical entry of the amir Ashaqtamur al-Māridānī (d. 791/1389) in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, which is two pages long and is dotted with dates,<sup>142</sup> must have been taken from the *Sulūk*. There are no biographical entries or obituaries of Ashaqtamur, which could have served al-Maqrīzī as a source for the entry (at least for some material in it).<sup>143</sup> On the other hand, it is possible to find in the *Sulūk* bits of

141 See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 426–7 (no. 437), 491–2 (no. 373), 493–5 (no. 375), 573–4 (no. 383), 574–80 (no. 384); ii, 103–5 (no. 492), 198–9 (no. 530), 498–500 (no. 812); iii, 24–5 (no. 911), 420–6 (no. 1365), 513–8 (no. 1426), 534–5 (no. 1440). Joseph Drory noted that in the biography of Timur Leng in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, al-Maqrīzī relied on Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450) but omitted all the flowery rhymed prose "inserting instead an ordinary, mundane description replete with dates, places and informative details"; see Drory, Maqrīzī 394.

142 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 426–7 (no. 437).

143 Ashaqtamur has a four-line obituary in Ibn al-Furāt, see *Taʾrikh* ix, 176 (lines 4–7). Ashaqtamur also has a one-line obituary in *Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ* i, 357. He has a biographical entry in *al-Durar al-kāmina* and an obituary in the chronicle of Ibn Qāḍī

banal information that resemble the material in *Durar al-'uqūd*.<sup>144</sup> A reliance on chronicles is also to be expected in biographical entries of sultans containing much banal chronologically arranged material and that are a few dozen pages long.<sup>145</sup>

The lack of anecdotes or story-like reports in biographical entries of *mamlūk* amirs cannot be the result of al-Maqrīzī's withdrawal from public life circa 815/1412 and his seclusion at home, and the fact that from that time, his contact with the Mamluk elite became rare.<sup>146</sup> *Durar al-'uqūd* also contains no anecdotes or story-like reports in entries of *mamlūk* amirs who died before 815/1412. Moreover, sometimes al-Maqrīzī mentions in entries of *mamlūk* amirs who died after 815/1412 that they were his companions, but he still does not mention anecdotes or story-like reports about them.<sup>147</sup> In one case, al-Maqrīzī notes that people used to tell stories about a certain amir he knew (*ṣaḥibtuḥu*) that are reminiscent of the stories told about Qarāqūsh (*tuḥkā 'anhu ḥikāyāt ka-ḥikāyāt Qarāqūsh*), but he still does not mention the stories themselves.<sup>148</sup> In another case, al-Maqrīzī mentions that people told wondrous stories about the gluttony of an amir (*kāna ... akūlan ... yuḥkā 'anhu fī dhālika mā yuta'ajjabu minhu*) but does not give the actual stories.<sup>149</sup> In another case, al-Maqrīzī mentions that people told stories about the miserliness of an amir (*wa-lahu fī l-bukhl akhbār*)

---

Shuhba that are shorter than the entry in *Durar al-'uqūd* and could not have been the source for all the material in it. On the other hand, it is quite possible that *Durar al-'uqūd* served them as a source (to be further examined); see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* i, 306–7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 389.

144 Compare al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 426 (lines 3–4) with *Sulūk* iii, 84 (lines 8–9); and compare *Durar* i, 426 (lines 5–6) with *Sulūk* iii, 96 (lines 8–9); and compare *Durar* i, 426 (lines 7–8) with *Sulūk* iii, 120 (lines 3–4); and compare *Durar* i, 426 (lines 13–5) with *Sulūk* iii, 195 (lines 2–3); and compare *Durar* i, 426 (line 18)–427 (line 4) with *Sulūk* iii, 237 (line 17)–238 (line 5); and compare *Durar* i, 427 (lines 5–7) with *Sulūk* iii, 331 (lines 1–3); and compare *Durar* i, 427 (lines 8–10) with *Sulūk* iii, 358 (lines 8–14); and compare *Durar* i, 427 (lines 10–1) with *Sulūk* iii, 389 (lines 15–6); and compare *Durar* i, 427 (lines 11–2) with *Sulūk* iii, 466 (lines 12–4). Of course, most of the material in the *Sulūk* was probably taken from the chronicle of Ibn al-Furāt.

145 For example, the biographical entry of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841/1438); see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 456–82 (no. 364). In fact, at the end of the entry al-Maqrīzī directs the reader to the *Sulūk* for a more detailed account, see *ibid.* i, 482. On a certain fusion of the annalistic and biographic forms in biographies of rulers, see Little, *Introduction* 100. On exceptionally long biographical entries in *Durar al-'uqūd*, including that of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, see Drory, Maqrīzī 393.

146 Bauden, Taqī al-Dīn 166, 182.

147 See for example al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 488 (no. 369).

148 *Ibid.* ii, 100–1 (no. 490).

149 *Ibid.* iii, 24–5 (no. 911).

but does not give the stories.<sup>150</sup> All this suggests that al-Maqrīzī deliberately decided not to include “literarized” material related to *mamlūk* amirs in *Durar al-‘uqūd*.

This trend in *Durar al-‘uqūd* is typical in general of biographical dictionaries that contain entries of contemporary amirs and were written during the 9th/15th century by Shāfi‘ī religious scholars. Al-Sakhāwī’s *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘* was already mentioned.<sup>151</sup> It seems that Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī’s *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmina* also adheres to this trend;<sup>152</sup> however, it should be taken into consideration that the biographies in it are relatively short and “dry” in general. It is not possible to determine if this trend is typical of all historians who were religious scholars because non-Shāfi‘ī religious scholars did not produce significant biographical dictionaries containing biographies of amirs; however, obituaries in their chronicles should be examined. In any case, it is clear that the trend regarding biographies of contemporary *mamlūk* amirs in biographical dictionaries written by (Shāfi‘ī) religious scholars is different from the trend in biographical dictionaries authored by historians related to the military institution during the 9th/15th century. It is relatively easy to find anecdotes or story-like reports with dialogues or utterances in direct speech in biographies of contemporary *mamlūk* amirs in Ibn Taghribirdī’s *Manhal* and al-Malaṭī’s *al-Majma‘ al-mufannan*.<sup>153</sup> It would seem that (Shāfi‘ī) religious scholars of the 9th/15th century did not consider contemporary *mamlūk* amirs “interesting” enough to incorporate anecdotes or story-like reports about them in their biographical entries.

In biographical entries of scholars (and, more generally, civilians, some of a humble background) in *Durar al-‘uqūd* we find a unique and most exciting trend of literarization. One finds anecdotes or story-like reports on the scholars that were incorporated chronologically in the life résumé or at the end of their biographical entries.<sup>154</sup> In this respect, *Durar al-‘uqūd* is not different from al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’*, in which anecdotes or story-like reports on contempor-

150 Ibid. iii, 534–5 (no. 1440).

151 See at footnote 140 above.

152 For a rare short story-like report on a *mamlūk* amir that contains no utterances in direct speech, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl* 68.

153 See footnotes 136 and 138 above.

154 See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 79–80 (no. 23), 85–91 (no. 31), 106–9 (no. 36), 166 (no. 96), 167 (no. 97), 169–70 (no. 100), 183 (no. 117), 254–5 (no. 162); ii, 48 (no. 428), 82 (no. 457), 237 (no. 563), 252–3 (no. 580), 320 (no. 627), 351–2 (no. 681), 438–9 (no. 741), 498 (no. 811), 528–9 (no. 845); iii, 34–5 (no. 915), 41 (no. 918), 63 (no. 940), 89 (no. 969), 111–2 (no. 999), 126 (no. 1012), 260 (no. 1157), 291–2 (no. 1233), 321–3 (no. 1248), 336 (no. 1273), 372 (no. 1323), 526–7 (no. 1437).

ary scholars containing dialogues or utterances in direct speech are common enough,<sup>155</sup> or from Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's biographical dictionaries.<sup>156</sup> Such elements are also found in biographical entries of contemporary scholars in biographical dictionaries authored by historians related to the military institution.<sup>157</sup> Still, in general, the content of most of the anecdotes about scholars in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* is untypical of anecdotes on scholars in other contemporary biographical dictionaries. For example, it is possible to find in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* anecdotes about scholars that involve funny and entertaining stories about their beloved women<sup>158</sup> or about their stupidity (*khiffat ʿaql/sukhf*);<sup>159</sup> about strange, extraordinary, wondrous, or bizarre happenings and coincidences (*gharīb*);<sup>160</sup> about divinations<sup>161</sup> and dreams that other people (including al-Maqrīzī) dreamed about them that predict the future<sup>162</sup> or bring a lesson,<sup>163</sup> or dreams dreamed about them after their death,<sup>164</sup> some involving the Prophet<sup>165</sup> and some containing advice or admonition.<sup>166</sup> Other anecdotes have to do with the astonishing and unique (or supernatural) capabilities of

155 See at footnote 139 above.

156 Such elements may occasionally be found in *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmina*; see, for example, Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl* 64, 73, 80 (no direct speech), 85 (no direct speech), 88 (no direct speech), 94. They are very common, however, in Ibn Ḥajar's *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, see at footnote 132 above.

157 See, for example, footnote 138 above.

158 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* ii, 48 (no. 428).

159 Ibid. ii, 320 (no. 627).

160 Ibid. i, 183 (no. 117); ii, 237 (no. 563).

161 For a story-like report on a religious scholar incorporated chronologically in his life résumé involving a prediction of the future with Quranic bibliomancy (*al-fāʾl fī l-Qurʾān*), see *ibid.* i, 79–80 (no. 23; “*fataḥa al-muṣḥaf li-akhdh al-fāʾl*”); on bibliomancy in the Islamic world, see Melvin-Koushki, *Defense* 356. For an anecdote on a religious scholar appearing at the end of his entry and involving predictions on the date of his death (including al-Maqrīzī's prediction) based on astrology/astronomy (*al-naẓar fī l-nujūm*) and popular beliefs (based in part on Prophetic sayings), see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 99 (no. 32). For an anecdote on a religious scholar appearing at the end of his entry and involving predictions (which were fulfilled) about his life and death in drowning based on his astrological birth chart (*mawlid raṣādī*), see *ibid.* iii, 32 (no. 914).

162 Ibid. ii, 98–9 (no. 488). In this case al-Maqrīzī dreamt several dreams, not about a religious scholar but about his wife, which predicted her death. One cannot but recall al-Biqāʿī's dreams in his chronicle (see chapter 2 footnotes 143–5). Al-Maqrīzī had also a dream that was interpreted for him by experts, which predicted the birth of his son, see *ibid.* iii, 132 (no. 1021).

163 Ibid. ii, 252–3 (no. 580).

164 Ibid. ii, 99 (no. 488); iii, 63 (no. 940).

165 Ibid. i, 166 (no. 96); ii, 252–3 (no. 580). On dream accounts in Mamluk chronicles (sometimes related to the Prophet and sometimes related to divination), see Frenkel, *Dream*.

166 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* ii, 82 (no. 457); iii, 89 (no. 969), 260 (no. 1157).

the scholars<sup>167</sup> or miracles (*karāmāt*) performed by them.<sup>168</sup> Yet, this is not the most unique thing about the trends of “literarization” in *Durar al-‘uqūd*.<sup>169</sup>

The most unique thing about *Durar al-‘uqūd* is that most of the “literarized” material in biographical entries of scholars (and civilians in general) comes in the form of reports about what may be very loosely defined as their “*adab* product” or, more properly, as their general knowledge accumulated through the generations or from their own experience, and their contribution to the cultural heritage of the community in a very broad sense.<sup>170</sup> In general, such

167 For example, al-Maqrīzī mentions a scholar who had an astonishing capability (*kānat fī-hi uǧūba*)—when told a story or recited a poem, he could immediately tell the number of the letters that comprised it, see *ibid.* i, 169 (no. 100); or a scholar who could read poetry verses handed to him on a paper without looking at them but only by feeling the paper with his fingers, see *ibid.* i, 167 (no. 97); or a scholar who had the ability to perform “metamorphosis” (*tatawwur*), so people could not recognize him, see *ibid.* ii, 528–9 (no. 845); or a scholar who is said to have been able to make his mule march according to the rhythm of music, see *ibid.* iii, 126 (no. 1012).

168 *Ibid.* i, 169–70 (no. 100); ii, 351–2 (no. 681); iii, 291–2 (no. 1233), 526–7 (no. 1437).

169 At least anecdotes or stories on *karāmāt* (“wonder-working,” “miracle-working,” or “manipulation of metaphysical power”) or dreams dreamt about scholars may occasionally be found in Mamluk biographical dictionaries, especially those dedicated to religious scholars. While such anecdotes were normally connected to Sufis and while “Muslim sainthood has been studied almost exclusively in Sufi contexts,” it has been noted that starting from the 4th/10th century, and more conspicuously during the Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods, “the notion of sainthood and the feasibility of *karāmāt* became widely acknowledged well beyond the Sufi milieu”; see Talmon-Heller, *‘Ilm* 29–30; and see also *ibid.* 25–6. Talmon-Heller observed that as a result “[g]eneral (as opposed to Sufi) biographical dictionaries, and the *wafayāt* sections of chronicles” contain “anecdotes that relate the wondrous doings of learned men”; see *ibid.* 32, 40. In Ibn Rajab’s (d. 795/1393) *al-Dhayl ‘alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, Talmon found that *karāmāt* are ascribed to 27 out of 613 biographees (about five percent), and in Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī’s (d. 771/1370) *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya al-kubrā* “[s]lightly more than six percent of the entries relate wondrous doings or occurrences”; see *ibid.* 33–4. Some of the anecdotes involve dreams; see *ibid.* 42–3. And see, for example, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* x, 45, 80, 131–2, 210–6, 267, 316. On (posthumous) dreams dreamt about Ḥanbalī shaykhs or local saints, some predicting the future, that appear in Ibn Rajab’s *al-Dhayl ‘alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, see Romanov, *Dreaming* 31–2, 38–41, 44–5. The incorporation of anecdotes on *karāmāt* and dreams in Mamluk biographical dictionaries must be related to what may be called the “*ṣūfīzation* of Muslim society” or “popularization of Sufism in Ayyūbid and Mamluk Egypt”; see Hofer, *Popularization*; Mazor, *Topos* 104. On “*ṣūfīzation*” and trends of “literarization” in Mamluk historiography, see also below at footnotes 246–63. Still, it seems to me that anecdotes on *karāmāt* and dreams are more conspicuous in *Durar al-‘uqūd* than in Mamluk biographical dictionaries dedicated to religious scholars. It is certainly more conspicuous in *Durar al-‘uqūd* in comparison to other Mamluk general biographical dictionaries dedicated to amirs and scholars (and other civilians).

170 *‘Ilm*, (expert) knowledge or learning (or rather religious learning), and *adab* are to some extent interchangeable terms; see Hāmeen-Anttila, *Adab*. *Adab* may generally be defined

reports appear at the end of the biographical entry after the life résumé, but many times they constitute the bulk of the entry. Most of the times, al-Maqrīzī received the knowledge directly from scholars (or on their authority through informants) or witnessed it in person. Many times he makes comments and contributions of his own knowledge. Sometimes his associations lead him to digressions; thus, some of the entries are structured in a way that is reminiscent of discussions in a social gathering (*majlis*).<sup>171</sup> Al-Maqrīzī mentions poetry verses composed by the scholars.<sup>172</sup> In that, he follows an established scholarly historiographic tradition. However, in *Durar al-'uqūd*, the poetry product is relatively less conspicuous in comparison to other *adab*-like materials.<sup>173</sup> For example, poetry product is much more common in al-Sakhāwī's *Daw'*.<sup>174</sup> More importantly, in other biographical dictionaries written by religious scholars who were al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries, the *adab* product is practically limited to high-quality poetry verses (or *inshā'* product).<sup>175</sup> On the other hand, the "*adab* product" or knowledge mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in the biographical entries of scholars (and civilians in general) in *Durar al-'uqūd* is mostly of a different quality. It consists in great part of the scholars' "popular lore"; however, as usual with al-Maqrīzī, it is presented in standard Arabic. The material covers a broad range of topics and is of a most disparate kind. The knowledge covers the useful and the entertaining, the scholarly and the trivial. There is a clear

---

as "suitable things to know and to act upon." The term denotes primarily "general knowledge" and was used in the meaning of "the accumulation of the wisdom and learning of the past nations and generations"; see *ibid.*

- 171 For example, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 150–1 (no. 87), 192 (no. 121), 207 (no. 127), 247–8 (no. 159); iii, 205 (no. 110), 379 (no. 1327), 415–6 (no. 1358).
- 172 See, for example, *ibid.* i, 73 (no. 14), 85 (no. 30), 129 (no. 50), 143 (no. 74), 152 (no. 88), 153 (no. 89), 180 (no. 115), 305–6 (no. 215), 422–4 (no. 344); ii, 514–6 (no. 825). Some poetry verses are said to have been given to the scholars in dreams; see, for example, *ibid.* iii, 58–9 (no. 933).
- 173 At times, after mentioning *adab*-like material related to the scholar, al-Maqrīzī mentions that he also composed poetry (*wa-lahu shi'r*) but does not mention the actual verses; see, for example, *ibid.* i, 81 (no. 26).
- 174 See footnote 139 above. And see also al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'* i, 21, 28–9, 31, 34–6. It seems to me that *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* contains much more poetry product than Bauer would allow; see Bauer, *Literarische* 108. Poetry product is occasionally found in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmina*, see for example Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl* 162, 165, 195, 197. For poetry in biographical entries of contemporary judges in *Raf' al-iṣr*, see footnote 132 above.
- 175 But see footnote 305 below. Some biographical dictionaries dedicated to religious scholars that were written during the 8th/14th century, most notably al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya*, contain also scholars' knowledge in *ḥadīth* or other religious sciences and occasionally also linguistic knowledge (defined as useful knowledge—*fawā'id*), see for example al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* x, 34–8, 45, 53–61, 82–4, 86–7, 90.

penchant for the marvelous and incredible, and even the supernatural, popular occult practices, popular wisdom, and popular beliefs.<sup>176</sup> Just to be clear, the biographical entries of *mamlūk* amirs do not contain such information.<sup>177</sup> It would seem that al-Maqrīzī did not perceive *mamlūk* amirs as being able to contribute to the cultural heritage of the community.

In what follows, the *adab*-like materials (*adab* product) in the biographical entries of scholars and civilians will be briefly surveyed. There are many tales and stories (*ḥikāyāt*) told by the scholars and civilians. Many of the stories are about themselves or things they experienced in person. Most of the stories are about “strange,” wondrous, or astonishing happenings or phenomena of all sorts (*akhbār ‘ajība/‘ajīb al-akhbār/‘ajā’ib/gharā’ib*).<sup>178</sup> Some stories are patterned as stories of adventures (typically in faraway lands such as India) that

176 Robert Irwin drew attention to al-Maqrīzī’s interest in the wondrous, divination, and occult matters in general; see Irwin, al-Maqrīzī 225–30; Mamluk literature 18, 26; and see also Melvin-Koushki, *Defense* 370. Irwin also noted that the stress that modern scholars put on al-Maqrīzī’s interest in history “has been at the expense of al-Maqrīzī’s wider literary and intellectual interests.” He wrote, for example, a treatise on secret letters and talismans; see Irwin, al-Maqrīzī 229. Rabbat, however, gets the credit for drawing attention to the fact that specifically in *Durar al-‘uqūd*, al-Maqrīzī combined in biographical entries of his teachers (most notably Ibn Khaldūn), family members, and other acquaintances, stories filled with “popular wisdom, vernacular beliefs, and incredible happenings,” which reveal his interest in the supernatural, “especially when transmitted via prophecies, visions, and dreams”; see Rabbat, al-Maqrīzī’s 121, 128; see also, *The historian* 12–3. On the supernatural in the biographical entry of Ibn Khaldūn in *Durar al-‘uqūd*, see also the editor’s introduction in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 41. The occult materials in *Durar al-‘uqūd* normally do not appear in the framework of a learned discussion on the occult sciences but as a presentation of apparently “popular” practices (for example, even the slave girl of al-Maqrīzī is reported to have practiced geomancy; see *ibid.* ii, 114). In any case, although “[m]odern scholarship sometimes distinguishes the occult sciences from ‘folk’ traditions of magic and divination on the grounds that the former were learned discourses often engaged in by literate actors of relatively high social status,” the distinction “should be taken with a grain of salt, as relationships between folk and learned discourses typically are quite fluid”; see Gardiner, *Occult* 81.

177 Specifically in biographical entries of eunuchs, however, it is possible to find stories told by them to al-Maqrīzī, among them exotic stories on their country of origin; see, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 455 (no. 361); ii 97–8 (no. 487); and see also *ibid.* iii, 416–8 (no. 1362), 419 (no. 1363). In biographical entries of non-*mamlūk* amirs it is possible to find medical prescriptions recommended by them, their apparently popular beliefs based on their experience, supplications, spells, witticisms and wisdom sayings, historical anecdotes, and wondrous reports told by them, see *ibid.* ii, 5–6 (no. 389), 8 (no. 392); iii, 438–9 (no. 1378).

178 *Ibid.* i, 158–60 (no. 91), 170–1 (no. 101), 173 (no. 103), 276 (no. 190); ii, 336–7 (no. 655), 407–10 (no. 720); iii, 45 (no. 920), 59–60 (no. 934), 198 (no. 1107), 205 (no. 1110), 378–9 (no. 1327), 380–1 (no. 1329), 440 (no. 1379).

begin with a journey in the sea that brings troubles (fear of water and sea travel is a recurrent theme in the stories), which eventually, however, brings fortune (i.e., the stories are patterned as stories from the genre of *al-faraj ba'da al-shidda*).<sup>179</sup> Some are about miracles (*mu'jizāt*) that happened to the Muslims<sup>180</sup> or miracles in general.<sup>181</sup> Some are about saints and miracles performed by them,<sup>182</sup> and some are about magic spells.<sup>183</sup> Some are about sorcery or magic (*sihr*) and "witches."<sup>184</sup> Some stories involve divination; for example, the prediction of the future with the help of spirits (*jānn*);<sup>185</sup> in some cases, the spirits are using Quran verses to predict the future.<sup>186</sup> Some are stories about solving mysteries that are patterned as a detective story.<sup>187</sup> Some are edifying stories with admonitions, exhortations (*maw'iza*), or moral lessons (morality tales/cautionary tales),<sup>188</sup> which sometimes involve occult matters and the supernatural.<sup>189</sup> Some stories involve dreams;<sup>190</sup> some of the dreams involve the Prophet, and some contain a lesson or admonition.<sup>191</sup> Some are patterned as stories about a reward or punishment (desert) for pious or unreligious actions.<sup>192</sup> There are also anecdotes (*nawādir*),<sup>193</sup> among which are historical anecdotes.<sup>194</sup> Some of the historical anecdotes relate to wondrous information,<sup>195</sup> and some are again presented as edifying stories with admonitions or moral lessons<sup>196</sup> or have the pattern of stories from the genre of *al-faraj ba'da al-shidda*.<sup>197</sup> Some contain

---

179 Ibid. iii, 95–7 (no. 982), 145–6 (no. 1029).

180 Ibid. ii, 405 (no. 720).

181 Ibid. iii, 197 (no. 1107).

182 Ibid. i, 207 (no. 127); iii, 77 (no. 954), 198–9 (no. 1107).

183 Ibid. ii, 404 (no. 720).

184 Ibid. ii, 410 (no. 720); iii, 15–6 (no. 899; in this case in a biographical entry of a Jewish doctor).

185 Ibid. iii, 134 (no. 1022).

186 Ibid. ii, 422 (no. 726); iii, 45 (no. 920).

187 Ibid. ii, 440–1 (no. 744).

188 Ibid. iii, 56 (no. 929), 71 (no. 948).

189 Ibid. i, 188–9 (no. 120).

190 Ibid. ii, 530 (no. 846); iii, 35 (no. 915), 101 (no. 987), 145 (no. 1029), 147 (no. 1030), 437 (no. 1376).

191 Ibid. ii, 41 (no. 414), 517 (no. 825), 520 (no. 830); iii, 78 (no. 955), 537 (no. 1442).

192 Ibid. i, 159–60 (no. 91), 173 (no. 103), 192 (no. 121); iii, 78 (no. 955).

193 Ibid. ii, 297 (no. 612).

194 Ibid. i, 184–5 (no. 119), 296–7 (no. 213); ii, 297 (no. 612); iii, 35 (no. 915), 152 (no. 1038), 153–4 (no. 1039).

195 Ibid. i, 99–100 (no. 32), 188 (no. 120); ii, 297 (no. 612), 406 (no. 720); iii, 198 (no. 1107).

196 Ibid. i, 187–8 (no. 120); iii, 198 (no. 1107), 415–6 (no. 1358).

197 Ibid. i, 184–5 (no. 119); iii, 203–4 (no. 1110).

lamentations of contemporary situations.<sup>198</sup> Some of the anecdotes are about “insane” people (*mamrūrūn*),<sup>199</sup> some are philological, and some contain witty replies.<sup>200</sup>

Other materials are more directly connected to the knowledge of the scholars and civilians. On a more scholarly level, one finds some religious, theological, or legal discussions.<sup>201</sup> There is also historical/genealogical knowledge.<sup>202</sup> However, there are scholarly contributions of a more literary nature, such as a historical survey of the development of poetry until contemporary genres (such as *zajal*).<sup>203</sup> There is also knowledge in “geography” or “natural history” that focuses mostly on the astonishing (*‘ajīb*), extraordinary, wondrous, exotic, folkloristic, or fantastic and magical descriptions of foreign lands, including flora and fauna, the customs of their inhabitants, and their peculiarities (thus, it overlaps to some degree with wondrous stories in general).<sup>204</sup> There are some references to talismanic objects<sup>205</sup> and knowledge in magic spells and astral magic or magical practices in general.<sup>206</sup> We also have prayers and supplications (*ad‘iya*, sing. *du‘ā*)<sup>207</sup> or verses that, if cited, protect from evil.<sup>208</sup> Some materials involve knowledge of occult matters, such as omen interpretation or divinations and predictions of the future.<sup>209</sup> There is also knowledge of the interpretation of dreams (*‘ilm ‘ibārat/ta‘bīr al-ru’yā*), sometimes related to knowledge in gematria and/or prediction of the future.<sup>210</sup> More generally,

198 Ibid. i, 247–8 (no. 159).

199 Ibid. iii, 357–8 (no. 1299), 440 (no. 1379).

200 Ibid. iii, 155 (no. 1041).

201 Ibid. i, 207 (no. 127). At times the theological knowledge of the scholar is transmitted by him to al-Maqrīzī in a dream after his death, see *ibid.* iii, 63 (no. 940).

202 Ibid. iii, 148–9 (no. 1033).

203 Ibid. i, 151–2 (no. 88).

204 Ibid. ii, 336–7 (no. 655), 406–10 (no. 720); iii, 59 (no. 934), 74 (no. 952), 135 (no. 1024), 346 (no. 1281). As noted by Syrinx von Hees, reports on *‘ajā‘ib* in geographical texts or in encyclopedias of natural history (some of these texts conceived as belonging to a so-called genre of “*‘ajā‘ib* literature”), relate most of the times to extraordinary, outstanding, and astonishing phenomena or information in the realm of reality and not necessarily to the fantastic and supernatural (“wondrous”); see Hees, *Astonishing* 104–5. In *Durar al-‘uqūd*, however, it would seem that while definitely not all reports may be considered fantastic, there is a penchant for the fantastic and supernatural.

205 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* iii, 63 (no. 940).

206 Ibid. iii, 134 (no. 1022), 148–9 (no. 1033); and see also *ibid.* iii, 438 (no. 1378).

207 Ibid. i, 207 (no. 127); iii, 135 (no. 1024), 136–7 (no. 1025), 147 (no. 1030), 159 (no. 1047); and see also *ibid.* iii, 438 (no. 1378).

208 Ibid. iii, 358 (no. 1299).

209 Ibid. ii, 358 (no. 689); iii, 74 (no. 952), 196–7 (no. 1107).

210 Ibid. ii, 409–10 (no. 720); iii, 70 (no. 947), 132 (no. 1021).

knowledge concerning gematria or numerology is sometimes related to predictions of the future or strange coincidences (*gharīb al-ittifāq*).<sup>211</sup> Much related knowledge about eschatology is connected to a contemporary setting.<sup>212</sup> There is also knowledge concerning medicine (*tibb*) and prescriptions (medical and magic advice).<sup>213</sup> We also find popular wisdom in the form of wise sayings,<sup>214</sup> maxims,<sup>215</sup> witticisms,<sup>216</sup> witty replies,<sup>217</sup> or advice (sometimes in the form of a testament, *waṣīyya*).<sup>218</sup>

A recurring theme is practical or useful knowledge (*fawā'id*, sing. *fā'ida*) transmitted to al-Maqrīzī by the scholars and civilians, some based on their experiences or the experiences of their community (*jurriba/min al-mujarrab/min al-mujarrab 'indanā/tajārib*) and transmitted from generation to generation. Clearly, some of the practical knowledge reflects occult practices, popular beliefs, or superstitions.<sup>219</sup>

In order to exemplify how varied and unique are the materials incorporated in the biographical entries of civilians in *Durar al-'uqūd*, and how these entries are structured, I will survey in detail the materials in three biographical entries. The first is the biographical entry of the religious scholar Abū Bakr b. 'Alī b. Sālīm b. Aḥmad al-Kinānī al-'Āmirī (d. 815/1412).<sup>220</sup> After a short life résumé (eight lines), al-Maqrīzī surveys his knowledge product (three and a half pages). Al-Maqrīzī starts with a story (or historical anecdote) that al-'Āmirī told him (*akhbaranā*) about his captivity during the occupation of Damascus by Timur. The man who captured al-'Āmirī was surprised the people of Damascus did not know Timur's army was coming. According to the captor, there are several bad omens for troubles (*dalīl al-fitan*) that could have helped the people of Damas-

211 Ibid. i, 81 (no. 26); iii, 132 (no. 1021).

212 Ibid. i, 150–1 (no. 87).

213 Ibid. ii, 468–9 (no. 788: “*adwīya yuta'ajjabu minhā*”—strange/extraordinary prescriptions); iii, 15–6 (no. 899; in this case in a biographical entry of a Jewish doctor), 56 (no. 929), 136–7 (no. 1025), 152 (no. 1038), 205 (no. 1110); for prescriptions given by a non-*mamlūk* amir to al-Maqrīzī that involve magical use of parts of the body and excrements of animals, see *ibid.* ii, 8 (no. 392). On magic and medical advice, see de Somogyi, *Magic* 265–6.

214 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 406 (no. 330); iii, 84 (no. 963); and see also iii, 439 (no. 1378).

215 Ibid. iii, 377–8 (no. 1327).

216 Ibid. i, 341 (no. 247).

217 Ibid. i, 166 (no. 96); iii, 56 (no. 929).

218 Ibid. i, 132 (no. 57), 192 (no. 121).

219 Ibid. i, 192 (no. 121), 313 (no. 222), 406 (no. 330); ii, 404–9 (no. 720), 463 (no. 782); iii, 134 (no. 1022), 197 (no. 1107), 205 (no. 1110); for a popular belief of a non-*mamlūk* amir, see *ibid.* ii, 8 (no. 392), 336 (no. 655). In the introduction of *Durar al-'uqūd* al-Maqrīzī mentions that he wanted to collect useful knowledge (*fawā'id 'ilm*), see *ibid.* i, 62.

220 Ibid. i, 154–8 (no. 90).

cus in predicting the attack. Among the signs given is the crowing of roosters at the beginning of the night. At this point, al-Maqrīzī interferes in the report and says that in 791/1389, someone who was with him at the beginning of the night told him that the roosters were crowing, and it is known from experience (*jurriba*) that if the roosters crow at the beginning of the night, it is a sign for troubles. Shortly afterwards, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq was deposed. Since then, al-Maqrīzī started following this sign, and every time the roosters crowed at the beginning of the night, shortly afterwards the troubles came. Al-Maqrīzī adds that a trustworthy person from the countryside told him that old women in the countryside (clearly a popular belief) expect the dismissal of the inspector if they hear the roosters' crow at the beginning of the night.<sup>221</sup> Such digressions and interferences by al-Maqrīzī give some of the biographical entries in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* the structure of discussions in a social gathering (*majlis*). Then al-Maqrīzī moves on to a verse of poetry that al-ʿĀmirī recited to him (*anshadani*), which is, in fact, a mnemonic device that helps to calculate the day in which every month of the *hijrī* year starts according to the gematrical value (*ḥisāb al-jummal*) of the first letter in each word of the verse. Al-Maqrīzī labels it as very important, useful knowledge (*min ajall al-fawāʿid*).<sup>222</sup> Then al-Maqrīzī mentions a strange thing that he experienced with al-ʿĀmirī (*min gharīb mā shāhadtuhu*), which is actually some sort of an, apparently, popular magical practice.<sup>223</sup> People were sitting around al-ʿĀmirī with a finger below a man that was lying on the ground. After saying several magic words, they could lift him above their heads as if he had no weight. Everyone felt astonishment (*ʿajab*). Al-ʿĀmirī added that the condition for success is that no one would laugh. Indeed, when they tried again, someone laughed, and the man fell on the floor.<sup>224</sup> The reports about the knowledge of al-ʿĀmirī started with roosters and elegantly ended with chickens. Al-ʿĀmirī told al-Maqrīzī (*akhbarani*) of a way to make an extraordinary yellow powder (*taṣfira ʿajība*) based on experience (*jarraba*). You take seven chickens and feed them bran (*nukhāl*) mixed with the blood of a goat for two weeks. You close the yolks of the eggs that they lay in a bottle of glass. The yolks will grow worms. Then you feed the worms with the splendid mixture of bran and blood of a goat until one worm eats the rest and becomes huge. Then you put the worm in the sun to die and dry, preferably in the constellation of Cancer. Then it is possible to make a yellow powder out of the worm.<sup>225</sup>

221 Ibid. i, 155 (lines 3–19).

222 Ibid. i, 155 (line 20)–156 (line 11).

223 And see footnote 300 below.

224 Ibid. i, 156 (line 12)–157 (line 16).

225 Ibid. i, 157 (line 17)–158 (line 6).

Two relatively long biographical entries in *Durar al-'uqūd* that contain much-varied *adab* product are the entries of al-Maqrīzī's mother Asmā' and the maternal uncle of his mother, Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 803/1400), who was a religious scholar.<sup>226</sup> In the biographical entry of his mother's uncle, after a very short life résumé, al-Maqrīzī mentions that he had a lot of useful knowledge (*'indahū fawā'id kathīra*).<sup>227</sup> First comes a piece of advice that he gave al-Maqrīzī, which he received as a testament (*waṣīyya*) from his experienced father (*qāla lī 'an abīhi*) and followed rigorously: "My little boy (*yā bunayya*), you will not find someone that will give you better advice than me (*anṣah*), and you will not find someone more experienced in life than me (*jar-raba al-dahr*). I advise you (*aūṣika*): never get married!"<sup>228</sup> Then comes a story that he told al-Maqrīzī (*akhbaranī*) about a verse of poetry he received in a dream, in which he found a bad omen (*taṭayyartu*), and indeed, a woman he loved died. This report is followed by another verse of poetry that he received in a dream.<sup>229</sup> Then comes a report (*akhbaranī*) about a prescription for a cyst in his hand, which he received in a dream (*manām*), and it unsurprisingly worked quickly.<sup>230</sup> Then al-Maqrīzī returns to wisdom sayings and edifying advice (*min kalāmihī allādhī kāna yu'addibunā bi-hī*), for example: "Be like a crow that pecks and flies."<sup>231</sup> Then come two verses of poetry that he transmitted to al-Maqrīzī (*anshadanī*),<sup>232</sup> followed by another wise saying and a piece of advice told to al-Maqrīzī (*qāla lī ... yā ibn ukhtī*) upon his buying a slave girl (in a free translation keeping a rhyme): "A slave girl is a high dower, an empty shower, and a son with no uncle from the side of the mother" (in Arabic it sounds better: *al-jāriya mahṛ ghālīn wa-farsh khālīn wa-ibn bi-lā khālīn*).<sup>233</sup> Then comes a story with a lesson (*'ibra*)<sup>234</sup> and two astonishing stories or anecdotes that he told to al-Maqrīzī (*akhbaranī*).<sup>235</sup> Then comes a story about how his father became

226 In the biographical entry of al-Maqrīzī's father we find the latter's report on a dream he had, see *ibid.* ii, 516–7 (no. 827). In the biographical entry of al-Maqrīzī's maternal grandfather we find many verses of his poetry, see *ibid.* iii, 255–60 (no. 1157). In the biographical entry of Sūl al-Maqrīzī's slave girl we find a few of her poetry verses that allude to her knowledge in geomancy; see *ibid.* ii, 114–5 (no. 507).

227 *Ibid.* i, 415 (no. 341, line 9).

228 *Ibid.* i, 415 (line 10–3).

229 *Ibid.* i, 415 (line 14–20).

230 *Ibid.* i, 415 (line 21)–416 (line 2).

231 *Ibid.* i, 416 (lines 3–12).

232 *Ibid.* i, 416 (lines 13–6).

233 *Ibid.* i, 416 (lines 17–9).

234 *Ibid.* i, 416 (line 20)–417 (line 6).

235 *Ibid.* i, 417 (lines 7–18).

rich trading in musk.<sup>236</sup> And finally, a story that the uncle told al-Maqrīzī (*akhbaranī*) about a thief that was caught and punished.<sup>237</sup>

In the biographical entry of his mother,<sup>238</sup> after a short life résumé, al-Maqrīzī reports on her beliefs, which probably reflect popular beliefs (she used to visit the grave of her father with a veil because, as she used to say, the spirits of the dead are present in the vicinity of the graves [*taqūlu al-arwāḥ bi-izā' al-qubūr*]).<sup>239</sup> Then we are told that she suffered from a migraine (*ṣudā'*) but received in a dream a prescription (given in detail) that solved the problem. Al-Maqrīzī adds that he prescribed it many times, and it always worked.<sup>240</sup> Then come four verses of poetry she recited to al-Maqrīzī on the authority of her father (*anshadatnī*).<sup>241</sup> Then come some of her wisdom sayings or aphorisms (after her son died, as a reply for consolation, she said: "Forbearance would have been wonderful if it had not consumed life" [*qālat mā aḥsan al-ṣabr lawlā yufnī l-umr*]).<sup>242</sup> Then comes a report about a story she told al-Maqrīzī (*akhbaratnī*) that she had heard from one of her female friends. The friend saw a woman on the shore of the Nile in Būlāq crying and praying (*du'ā'*): "He who brought you back to me before will bring you back to me again." When asked about this supplication, the women pointed to a ship on the Nile and said that her son was on it and that she had an astonishing story (*khobar 'ajīb*) about it. The woman related that when she was pregnant with this son, she traveled by sea to India together with his father. The ship sank and everyone drowned except for her. She gave birth to her son on a piece of wood in the middle of the sea. The two reached an island and eventually were saved by a ship and taken to India. There she found out that the locals use monkeys as servants, so she bought a monkey. One day, as they were near the sea, the monkey saw some men diving and taking pearls out of the sea. Without anyone noticing, the monkey dove and took out several large pearls, which the woman hid. She came back to Cairo and gave her son the pearls. He sold the pearls and bought merchandise and became a rich merchant traveling by sea.<sup>243</sup> Among other things, this wondrous story contains adventures, sea travel that brings trouble but eventu-

236 Ibid. i, 417 (lines 19)–418 (line 3).

237 Ibid. i, 418 (lines 4–22).

238 On this biographical entry and materials in it, see Rabbat, Nisā'. I am presenting here also the material that appears in Rabbat's article.

239 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 394 (no. 319, lines 20–1).

240 Ibid. i, 395 (lines 3–8). Rabbat mentions that she transmitted to al-Maqrīzī popular medical prescriptions (*waṣafāt ṭibbiyya sha'biyya*); see Rabbat, Nisā'.

241 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 395 (lines 9–14).

242 Ibid. i, 395 (lines 15–7).

243 Ibid. i, 395 (line 18)–396 (line 11).

ally fortune (*al-faraj baʿda al-shidda*), a supplication, and an exotic or fantastic description of a faraway land. After this story, al-Maqrīzī reports another story that his mother had told him (*akhbaratnī*). The second story is about a mystery. A young woman died shortly after getting married, and her mother accused the husband of killing her while trying to take her virginity away. The chief of police tortured the husband, who, being unable to suffer the pains, admitted that he killed the virgin. The chief of police decreed that he would be executed in front of the coffin of the virgin. Just before he was executed, a snake crawled out of the coffin, and it became clear that she was killed by the snake.<sup>244</sup> After the stories, al-Maqrīzī mentions that she transmitted to him also some of her knowledge based on experience (*akhbaratnī anna min al-mujarrab*), most of which clearly reflected popular beliefs and superstitions (if you put a cloth on a dead person it soon gets torn; if a circumcision and a wedding are held together, the bride and the groom will soon divorce—because circumcision involves separation).<sup>245</sup> At the end of the entry, al-Maqrīzī mentions three verses of poetry that she had recited to him (*anshadatnī*).<sup>246</sup>

We cannot explore in detail in the scope of this article all the potential influences on the trend of “literarization” that are manifested in biographical entries of scholars (or civilians) in al-Maqrīzī’s *Durar al-ʿuqūd*. This issue deserves a special study. Still, it seems that the trend of “literarization” in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* is greatly connected to what has been called the “*ṣūfīzation* of Muslim society” or the “popularization of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt.”<sup>247</sup> The Mamluk period experienced an increase in the number of people who would identify themselves in some way as “*ṣūfīs*,” and Sufism became popular with the common people and the *ʿulamāʾ*. Sufi masters, typically from a humble background, claimed authority based on the miracles they performed and their access to religious knowledge via dreams or visions which sometimes predicted the future.<sup>248</sup> Sufi masters were also considered authorities in dream interpretation.<sup>249</sup> More generally, there is evidence that “Sufism became a channel for embracing magic and the occult,”<sup>250</sup> and starting from the mid-8th/14th cen-

244 Ibid. i, 396 (lines 12–20).

245 Ibid. i, 396 (lines 21–4). Rabbat refers to popular beliefs (*ʿitqādāt sāʿida*) that she transmitted to al-Maqrīzī, see Rabbat, *Nisāʾ*.

246 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 396 (line 25)–397 (line 3).

247 See footnote 169 above.

248 Berkey, *Popular* 142–3; and see Mazor, *Topos* 104–5; Romanov, *Dreaming* 31; Talmon-Heller, *ʿIlm* 40–1. On Sufi shaykhs of common origin that start appearing in increasing numbers in Mamluk historical works in the 9th/15th century, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Craftsmen*.

249 Frenkel, *Dream* 216; Niyazioğlu, *Dream*.

250 Berkey, *Popular* 143. The science of letters was considered as “the ‘science of the saints,’

ture, the occult sciences (lettrism, astrology, and geomancy) were sanctified through association with Sufism.<sup>251</sup> “Sufi doctrines increasingly informed the production and use of amulets.”<sup>252</sup> Also, “the tradition of popular preaching and storytelling became [...] increasingly intertwined with Sufism,” and Sufi popular preachers of the Mamluk period composed collections of sermons (*mawāʿiẓ*) and edifying pious tales (*raqāʿiq*).<sup>253</sup> Sufis also became involved in the composition of invocations, supplications, and prayers (*adʿiya*),<sup>254</sup> and Sufi saints were said to have received from the Prophet Muḥammad, through a mystic vision, petitionary prayers that were assembled in “supererogatory petitionary prayer compositions” (*duʿāʾ*, *ḥizb*, *wird*).<sup>255</sup> Some of these compositions written during the Mamluk period dedicated a chapter for a supererogatory petitionary prayer of the sea (*ḥizb al-baḥr*), including “miraculous stories of the power of this prayer, which include passengers on the Nile and the Indian Ocean being saved from storms, and travelers being saved from bandits.” In addition, the sea prayer was said to “divert the stings of scorpions.”<sup>256</sup> It would also seem that edifying wisdom sayings are typical of Sufis and very common in Sufi literature, and more specifically, Sufi biographical literature.<sup>257</sup> Therefore, the “*ṣūfīzation* of Mamluk society” may account for much of the *adab* product (knowledge) in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*: stories on miracles performed by saints, edifying stories, stories on sea travel and fear of water, exhortations,

---

and thus a secret teaching at the heart of Sufism,” see Gardiner, *Forbidden* 110; and see also 114–5.

251 Burak, Section 342.

252 Ibid; and see Shoshan, *Social* 53.

253 Berkey, *Popular* 18, 20.

254 Burak, Section 342–3.

255 McGregor, *Notes* 201, 204.

256 Ibid. 208.

257 Such sayings normally open with *min kalām/min kalāmihi*, and some appear in the form of a testament, see just for example (such sayings are abundant) Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, 13–4, 17, 22–3, 25, 27, 29, 32, 37, 43, 46, 49, 51, 54, 57, 70–1. Wisdom sayings or advices (some in the form of a testament) are also typical of doctors and *udabāʾ*, thus they may be found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa’s (d. 668/1269–70) biographical dictionary dedicated to doctors (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*) and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī’s (d. 626/1229) biographical dictionary dedicated to *udabāʾ* (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*); see, for example, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn* 50–1, 288, 298, 359, 390, 445, 516, 564, 691, 693, 742; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam* i, 185, 271; v, 2107; vi, 2802, 2809. Wise sayings (*ḥikam*), or edifying sayings (*mawāʿiẓ*), are also typical of (Mamluk) *manāqib* literature of the great imams, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820); see, for example, Ibn Kathīr, *Manāqib* 231–4, 238–40; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Manāqib* 82–6. They are not common at all in general biographical dictionaries of religious scholars, and when they do appear there it is normally in entries of persons who were *ṣūfīs* or doctors (and philosophers).

dreams and their interpretation, divinations, occult matters and magic, magic spells and talismans, prayers and supplications,<sup>258</sup> medical prescriptions,<sup>259</sup> and wise sayings or advice.<sup>260</sup> Indeed, some of these materials appear in biographical entries of Sufis in *Durar al-'uqūd* as part of their knowledge<sup>261</sup> (even the maternal uncle of al-Maqrīzī's mother is said to have had connections to Sufism).<sup>262</sup> The “*ṣūfīzation* of Mamluk society,” however, meant that scholars who were not defined as Sufis were also looking for such materials and circulating them.<sup>263</sup> Al-Maqrīzī and his informants (or rather biographees) could have been inspired by Sufi literature, perhaps most easily by Sufi texts that had the quality of a literary anthology and were meant to edify and entertain;<sup>264</sup> however, they were more likely using contemporary popular materials related to Sufis that were circulating in Cairo (some of which resemble in their themes and motifs the materials in Sufi texts, and some of which must have found their way into such texts).

At least some of the themes and motifs in stories transmitted by the scholars and civilians in *Durar al-'uqūd* seem to resemble materials in popular compilations of tales and stories, among them materials compiled in *Alf layla wa-layla*.<sup>265</sup> Nasser Rabbat noted that the story of al-Maqrīzī's mother on a mother waiting for her son to return from sea travel<sup>266</sup> has the “flavor” of the stories of *Alf layla wa-layla* and was perhaps a popular tale (*wāḥida min tilka*

258 Supplications are also typical of medical literature as part of the treatment. *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* mentions several supplications recommended by doctors, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿa, *ʿUyūn* 467, 606, 644, 693.

259 Prescriptions are of course typical of medical literature. Knowledge in medicine and medical advice are also ascribed in (Mamluk) *manāqib* literature to Imam al-Shāfiʿī, see for example Ibn Kathīr, *Manāqib* 236–8.

260 See footnote 257 above.

261 See for example al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 206–7, 404–6; ii, 351–2, 509–10; iii, 70, 132–4, 158–9, 200–5, 355–6, 436–9.

262 *Ibid.* i, 415.

263 See for example *ibid.* ii, 39–41; iii, 77–8, 101, 196–9.

264 On such texts, see Bauer, *Literarische* 109–10. A good example for such a text (though one that postdates al-Maqrīzī) is *Nuzhat al-majālis wa-muntakhab al-naḥās*, composed in Mecca in 884/1479 by the Syrian Sufi ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ṣaffūrī. In the introduction of the text, al-Ṣaffūrī writes that he assembled in the book, among other things, pious tales (*akhbār ahl al-ṣalāh/hikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*), stories (*qiṣaṣ*), exhortations (*zawājir/mawāʿiẓ*), witticisms (*laṭāʾif*), useful knowledge (*ḥawāʾid*), and medical prescriptions (*manāfiʿ ṭibbiyya*), see al-Ṣaffūrī, *Nuzhat* i, 3.

265 This, however, should be explored in detail. What is still missing is a comprehensive survey of themes and motives of “literarized” materials in Mamluk historiography, *Durar al-'uqūd* included, in comparison to Mamluk works of *adab* or Mamluk literature in general.

266 See footnote 243 above.

*al-marwiyyāt al-shaʿbiyya*) that did not find its way into the compilation.<sup>267</sup> Rabbat, however, did not elaborate on the themes or motifs in the story that had the “flavor” of *Alf layla wa-layla*. The *Arabian nights encyclopedia* offers a comprehensive survey of themes and motifs in *Alf layla wa-layla* that allows an initial comparison with themes and motifs in some of the stories in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*. Some of the most relevant themes are merchants, money, sea travel, and wondrous lands. It has been noted that most of the stories in *Alf layla wa-layla* involve merchants or sons of merchants, and “are imbued with a distinct ‘moral code’ that reflects the attitude of the urban merchant class.”<sup>268</sup> A “clear indication of the main interest of the merchant class is the fact that intrigues are often related to questions of money (loans, deposits, theft, loss of money, profits, inheritance).”<sup>269</sup> Money and its loss or gain (or both—many times whoever becomes impoverished will receive money) is a recurrent theme. Money also appears in the form of treasures. Beggary, impoverishment, debt, and theft or fraud, are recurrent themes.<sup>270</sup> A number of stories “begin with the son of a merchant squandering his inheritance ... becoming impoverished” but then a slave girl brings him salvation.<sup>271</sup> The “spirit of enterprise” is reflected in the best manner in stories on overseas long-distance trade.<sup>272</sup> In many stories, journeys and, more specifically, sea voyages, serve to initiate the hero (normally a traveling merchant) into the secrets of the world, and in some stories, unknown lands and magic domains are explored.<sup>273</sup> In many cases “seas constitute the setting of specific episodes that change the direction of the narrative,” and shipwreck is a recurring motif. Seas are gates to strange and miraculous worlds and “are also part of the geographical lore that is used by the narrators to enhance the adventurous character of the tales.”<sup>274</sup> Monkeys are frequently mentioned as magical creatures and as sexual partners of women.<sup>275</sup>

*Durar al-ʿuqūd* contains several biographies of merchants or stories involving merchants.<sup>276</sup> Some of these stories involve theft,<sup>277</sup> and in some,

267 Rabbat, Nisāʾ.

268 Marzolph, Van Leeuwen, and Wassouf, *Arabian* ii, 643.

269 Ibid.

270 Ibid. 648–9.

271 Ibid. 644, 649.

272 Ibid. 643–4.

273 Ibid. 645, 650.

274 Ibid. 697.

275 Ibid. 649.

276 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 132, 188–90, 396; ii, 440–1; iii, 95, 153.

277 Ibid. i, 188–90; ii, 440–1.

the merchant is the thief who gets caught.<sup>278</sup> Some stories about theft do not involve merchants; one such story was transmitted to al-Maqrīzī by the uncle of his mother.<sup>279</sup> Interestingly, according to al-Maqrīzī, the uncle of his mother lost his money but then gained a fortune, and the uncle told al-Maqrīzī how his father gained a fortune trading in musk.<sup>280</sup> *Durar al-'uqūd* also contains a story of a man who lost his money (inheritance?) but then was saved by his slave girl.<sup>281</sup> Other stories involve sea travel and merchants from India that were robbed on the ship, but then, their luck turned again.<sup>282</sup> Some involve people whose ship drowned but then reached the shore and found a treasure.<sup>283</sup> Some involve adventures and miraculous things or creatures.<sup>284</sup> Among the magical creatures appear monkeys who behave like human beings and even have sex with women.<sup>285</sup> And finally, the abovementioned story of al-Maqrīzī's mother referred to by Rabbat contains sea travel to India, which serves to initiate the hero into unknown and miraculous worlds, a shipwreck, a fantastic description of a faraway land involving monkeys that behave like men, and finally, the finding of a sort of treasure and the making of a fortune by trade (it is inferred that it happened after impoverishment).<sup>286</sup>

It should be emphasized, however, that the popular stories of *Alf layla wa-layla* are also strongly connected to Sufis (or Sufi-like materials). Many stories involve Sufis, popular beliefs, magic and sorcery, occult matters, demons (*jānn*, sing. *jinn*), amulets, and talismans, all connected to a Sufi milieu or beggars (who were associated with Sufis). The beggars are sometimes involved in theft and eat *hashīsh*.<sup>287</sup> Interestingly, some stories in *Durar al-'uqūd* involve merchants and Sufis/beggars. In one of these stories (told by a Sufi) a beggar that saved money to release his son from prison complained that a merchant stole his money. Eventually, however, it turned out that a *hashīsh* eater was the thief.<sup>288</sup> In another story, a thief who was a merchant was caught by a Sufi shaykh with the help of demons (*jānn*).<sup>289</sup> Therefore, it is not possible or

278 Ibid. i, 188–90.

279 See *ibid.* i, 418; and see footnote 237 above.

280 See *ibid.* i, 415, 417–8; and see footnote 236 above.

281 Ibid. i, 218–9.

282 Ibid. iii, 95–6. And see at footnote 179 above.

283 Ibid. iii, 145–6.

284 Ibid. ii, 207–8. And see footnote 204 above.

285 Ibid. iii, 345–6.

286 See at footnote 243 above.

287 Shoshan, *Social* 51–4.

288 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* ii, 440–1.

289 Ibid. i, 188–90.

necessary to differentiate in a clear-cut manner between “*ṣūfī* materials” and “*Alf layla wa-layla* materials.”<sup>290</sup> Al-Maqrīzī and his informants were drawing on general popular materials circulating in Cairo.

*Durar al-‘uqūd* also has some points of resemblance with al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī’s (d. after 775/1373) *Kitāb al-Ilmām*, a work pertaining to history that is, however, very remote from traditional Mamluk historiography and has sometimes been considered a work of *adab* containing popular elements. There is some resemblance in the kind of materials presented (marvels, legends, tales, prophesying dreams, and typology and magic of figures) and the tendency toward digressions.<sup>291</sup>

The collection of such a varied *adab* product in biographical entries in *Durar al-‘uqūd*, however, perhaps most resembles *adab* anthologies.<sup>292</sup> More specifically, in subject matter, *Durar al-‘uqūd* resembles popular *adab* anthologies written by, and for, members of “the new rising class of semi-instructed bourgeoisie.”<sup>293</sup> Indeed, some of the *adab* materials in *Durar al-‘uqūd* are the product of members of “intermediate classes.”<sup>294</sup> There is some resemblance

290 In fact, even stories on persons squandering their inheritance but then being saved by a slave girl appear in texts with a Sufi bent; see, for example, Ibn ‘Uthmān, *Murshid* 263–4. The same is true of stories on adventurous or miraculous sea travels; see, for example, *ibid.* 341–2, 405–6, 434, 474 (the story involves the drowning of a ship that leads the hero to a miraculous island with a monkey that behaves like a human being and gives the hero a magic spell that protects him); and see also al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt* iii, 318–9. As mentioned, *ṣūfī* chapters on the petitionary prayer of the sea (*ḥizb al-baḥr*) included miraculous stories on passengers on the Nile and the Indian Ocean being saved from storms; see footnote 256 above. Sufis were asked for help in cases of the drowning of a ship; see, for example, Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal* iii, 264.

291 See footnote 14 above (1).

292 On the anthological quality of biographical dictionaries, see Bauer, *Literarische* 108 (“Besonders stark ist das anthologistische und literarische Element in den Biographiensammlungen”).

293 Herzog, *Composition* 107; and see Bauer, *Anthologies* (“literate and semi-literate middle class”; “written for a middle-class public”); *Literarische* 98 (“Anthologien für den ‘kleinen Mann’”); and see Hirschler, *Written* 150–1 (“[s]cholars had little use for some of these compilations and their readers and owners were rather traders and craftsmen who could acquire with them basic knowledge, obtain convenient advice and acquaint themselves with learned topics of conversation”); and see 187 (“their writers did not compose them for a learned readership, which would not have had much use for such eclectic works that hardly discussed any topic in detail”).

294 We find the poetry of a *mamlūk*’s descendant who was a tailor (‘*ānā ṣinā‘at al-khiyāta*’); see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* i, 63 (no. 1). We find also a supplication, a historical anecdote, and a medical prescription of another tailor; see *ibid.* iii, 136 (no. 1025). There is also a story about a dream by the famous al-Damīrī who started as a tailor; see *ibid.* iii, 436 (no. 1437). There is advice from a *mamlūk*’s descendant who was a cloth merchant (*tājir/simsār fī*

in the topics covered in the popular *adab* anthologies and *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (but normally not in content or form).<sup>295</sup> The popular anthologies “assembled a broad mixture of what the author thought was of interest to his readership ... [a] broad mixture of poetry and prose, of the useful and the entertaining, the pious and the playful as well as the scholarly and the trivial was intertwined.”<sup>296</sup> It is possible to find in these anthologies “famous poems from pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* to contemporary *zajal* poems, medical and magic advice, prayers ... enigmas and arithmetical tests, and astonishing facts from all realms of life and nature.”<sup>297</sup>

Specifically, the anthology of Yūnus al-Mālikī (fl. late 8th/14th century) contains material ranging from “legal and theological problems, *ḥadīths*, prayers, philology, historical anecdotes, geography, riddles, prescriptions, aphrodisiacs to talismans,”<sup>298</sup> and also wise sayings (*ḥikam*) and supplications (*adʿiya*).<sup>299</sup> Thomas Herzog noted that the central idea behind every subject that the book touches on is that “the information should be *useful* in a practical sense, and many of the subjects are in fact introduced by the word ‘*fāʿida*.’”<sup>300</sup> The usefulness of the information, as mentioned, is also a recurring theme in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*.<sup>301</sup> Herzog suggested that Yūnus al-Mālikī’s work was in fact “an open ongoing collection of various materials,” resembling in subject matter the late medieval European *housebooks*—works containing practical knowledge about a variety of fields collected in households of upstarts through several

---

*l-bazz*); see *ibid.* i, 132 (no. 57). An anecdote about the gematria of an artisan (*yutqīnu ʿamal ʿiddat ṣanāʿiʿ bi-yadihi*), see *ibid.* i, 81 (no. 26). A supplication, lamentation, and a story about a saint of a washer of cloths (*qaṣṣār*), who became a *ṣūfī* but did not leave his occupation and continued to wear the outfit of the commoners (*wa-lam yatrūk ṣināʿat qīṣarat al-thiyāb bi-yadihi wa-lā ghayyara zīyy al-ʿamma*), see *ibid.* i, 206 (no. 127). We have strange and wondrous stories that took place in the bathhouse told by a keeper of a bathhouse (*ḥāris ḥammām*) and a worker in the bathhouse; see *ibid.* ii, 440 (no. 744); iii, 380 (no. 1329). We have interpretations of dreams by a practitioner of the craft of weight measurement (*ṣināʿat al-qabbān*); see *ibid.* iii, 132 (no. 1021). On craftsmen and upstarts appearing in increasing numbers in Mamluk historical works in the 9th/15th century, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Craftsmen*.

295 For an example of a case with similar content, see footnote 300 below.

296 Hirschler, *Written* 151, 187.

297 Bauer, *Anthologies*; and see also, *Literarische* 102–3.

298 Hirschler, *Written* 188; and see Bauer, *Literarische* 102–3.

299 Herzog, *Composition* 114.

300 *Ibid.* 115. Interestingly, a popular magical practice labeled as *fāʿida* that appears in the anthology of Yūnus al-Mālikī appears also in a biographical entry of a scholar in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* as part of his knowledge that was transmitted to al-Maqrīzī; see Yūnus al-Mālikī, *al-Kanz* 350; and see at footnotes 223 and 295 above.

301 See footnote 219 above.

generations—“that has expanded over time to such an extent that it eventually became a petit-bourgeois encyclopedic *adab*-compendium.”<sup>302</sup> *Durar al-‘uqūd* is, of course, no such thing. Notwithstanding this, as mentioned, two relatively long entries in *Durar al-‘uqūd* that resemble Yūnus al-Mālikī’s work a lot in terms of subject matter are entries of al-Maqrīzī’s close family members. It perhaps gives us a glimpse of how useful, practical knowledge was also collected through generations in households of highly educated scholars as part of the familial heritage. In *Durar al-‘uqūd*, al-Maqrīzī’s familial heritage is incorporated into the collective cultural heritage of the community.

While al-Maqrīzī drew on general popularizing trends in Mamluk literature (and society), the incorporation of such varied *adab*-like, often popular, elements in the framework of biographical entries or obituaries in a traditional work of history has no real precedent. On rare occasions, al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī incorporated in obituaries of scholars some entertaining, edifying, or wondrous stories told by the scholars, and even more rarely riddles or useful general knowledge transmitted by them; however, such elements are marginal in their chronicles.<sup>303</sup> Possibly, al-Maqrīzī could have been inspired by chronicles written by Egyptian historians related to the military institution that incorporated in their chronicles some popular motifs and occult matters, and many wondrous stories.<sup>304</sup> However, such elements are normally incorporated in these chronicles in the narrative line and are not presented as a contribution of specific persons to a general heritage. In any case, the dominant elements in these chronicles are anecdotes or story-like reports with dialogues incorporated in the account of events, which have no connection to occult matters or popular motifs. Therefore, al-Maqrīzī’s *Durar al-‘uqūd* is unique.<sup>305</sup> While chronicles

302 Herzog, Composition 118, 120.

303 See above, at footnotes 12–3. Such elements are also not common in biographical entries of religious scholars in biographical dictionaries, see at footnote 175 above.

304 See above, at footnote 1. On anecdotes concerning the prediction of the future in Mamluk chronicles, see Mazor, *Topos* (esp. 104). The prediction is most of the times made by *ṣūfī* shaykhs or saints as part of the miracles (*karāmāt*) performed by them, or by experts in astrology or geomancy. Many times, the future is predicted by a dream; see *ibid.* 104–8.

305 As far as I know, the only Mamluk traditional biographical dictionary containing similar materials postdates *Durar al-‘uqūd*. It is al-Biqā’ī’s *Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājim al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*. At this point of the article, I can only recommend to read and enjoy. It may be mentioned, however, that al-Biqā’ī appended to his chronicle medical prescriptions that he labeled as useful knowledge (*fawā’id*); see al-Biqā’ī, *Tārīkh* i, 46. The fact that in the biographical entry of his wife in *Durar al-‘uqūd*, al-Maqrīzī mentions several dreams he dreamt about her, which predicted her death, makes the influence that al-Maqrīzī’s historiographical work had on al-Biqā’ī worth exploring; see footnote 162 above; and see also chapter 2 footnotes 140 and 143.

written by Egyptian historians related to the military institution and biographical dictionaries in general are full of anecdotes or story-like reports, and while the obituaries in the chronicles of the scholars al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī resemble an anthology of poetry, *Durar al-'uqūd* resembles a (popularized) *adab* anthology.

Far from being “literarized” against his will, al-Maqrīzī consciously and skillfully chose his own trend of “literarization” according to the genre in which he was writing.<sup>306</sup> If we envisage “literarization” as “*adabization*” (i.e., incorporation of *adab* elements, including elements of *adab* “in its ‘lower’ form”), as we did in this article, *Durar al-'uqūd* is, in fact, a fine example of “literarization.” Truly, the literature of *adab* is strongly connected to anecdotal writing and high-quality poetry,<sup>307</sup> but a central element in any definition of *adab* is its many-sidedness and the inclusion of a wide variety of materials.<sup>308</sup> From this perspective, *Durar al-'uqūd* is probably the most complete example of “literarization” in Mamluk traditional historiography.

### Appendix A: Structure and Literarization in Biographies—A Case Study: The Biography of Aqūsh al-Ashrafī (d. 736/1335)

#### *Al-Yūsufī, Nuzhat al-nāzir*<sup>309</sup>

(seven out of eight pages = anecdotes and stories)

#### [A] Title/name

Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Ashrafī known as Nā'ib al-Karak (*al-ma'rūf bi-Nā'ib al-Karak*) [P322L2]

#### [B] Opening anecdotes [PP322–3]:

[1] Death in the prison of Alexandria (736/1335) [P322LL3–4] [2] Arrest in Alexandria and complaint to al-Nāšir Muḥammad (735/1335) [P322L15–P323L1]

306 See above at section 1 (introduction: pages 41–3).

307 Gabrieli, *Adab* 176; Hamori, *Anthologies*. On poetry and anecdotes in Mamluk *adab* anthologies/encyclopedias, see Ghersetti, *Mamluk* 81; Herzog, *Composition* 107–8. On anthologies of poetry during the Mamluk period, see, for example, Bauer, *Anthologies*.

308 Hämeen-Anttila, *Adab*. In fact, “many-sidedness differentiates *adab* from poetry ... exclusively poetical works, such as individual *dīwāns*, fall more or less outside the concept of *adab* ... [q]uoting verses belongs to *adab*, but specializing in poetry does not”; see *ibid*.

309 Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 322–9. The page [P] and line [L] of each unit of information in the biographical entry are mentioned in square brackets at the end of each unit.

[C] Short and partial **life résumé** (career until ca. 708/1309) [P323LL2–9]

[D] Short **description**: looks, origin, and character [P324LL1–4]

[E] (Apparently) nonchronological (funny) **anecdotes, stories, and “peculiarities”** (*ashyā’ muǧjiba/hikāyāt/nukat ẓarīfa*)<sup>310</sup> testifying to his character, some of them in the style of *ḥukm Qarāqūsh* [PP324–9]:

[1] Worship place under *al-Jabal al-Aḥmar* [P324LL7–11] [2] An incident with the *wazīr* concerning construction works in Bāb al-Naṣr (722/1322 or after) [P324L12–P325L18] [3] Bad administration of the *māristān* (723/1323 or after) [P325L19–P326L8] [4] Anecdotes about his generosity (generosity toward a soldier he met near the mosque he had built in the Ḥusayniyya; his charity and generosity during Ramaḍān—he never sold wheat from his granaries but just gave it away) [P326L9–P327L8] [5] He was never sick [P327LL8–9] [6] He always paid the expenses of his soldiers from his own money [P327LL9–11] [7] Incident with Aqbughā ‘Abd al-Wāḥid [P327LL12–22] [8] Incident with Mūsā al-Ṣayrafi [P327L22–P328L19] [9] Inspection of the *māristān* (ca. 726/1326) [P328L20–P329L12]

*Al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi*<sup>311</sup>

(three and a half out of four pages = anecdotes and stories)

[A] **Title/name**

Aqūsh al-Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ashrafi Nā’ib al-Karak [P336L2]

[B] Very short and partial **life résumé** (career until ca. 715/1315) [P336LL2–5]

[C] **Anecdotes, stories, and peculiarities** (*ashyā’ gharība*) with a seemingly very loose chronological order [PP336–9]:

[1] His dress and manners in the bathhouse [P336LL6–10] [2] Anecdote about his whimsical character (generosity toward a soldier he met near the mosque he had built in the Ḥusayniyya; compared to harsh treatment of another soldier) [P336LL11–9] [3] Worship place under *al-Jabal al-Aḥmar* [P336L19–P337L5] [4] Anecdotes about his generosity (if a horse died to one of his soldiers or slaves he compensated him; he always paid for the expenses of his servants in

310 On peculiarities (*ashyā’ muǧjiba*), see *ibid.* 324 (line 6); on funny anecdotes and stories (*hikāyāt/nukat ẓarīfa*), see *ibid.* 325 (line 18), 327 (line 12).

311 *Al-Ṣafadī, Wāfi* ix, 336–9.

expeditions; his *simāt* in Ramaḍān [P337LL6–10] [5] Appointment to the position of inspector of the *māristān* (723/1323); and an anecdote about its inspection (ca. 726/1326) [P337LL10–5] [6] Appointed governor of Tripoli in 734/1334, requested to move to Jerusalem, arrested in Damascus, and transferred to Şafad (735/1335); and an anecdote about his arrest in Şafad [P337L16–P338L3] [7] Peculiarities (*ashyā' gharība*) and witticisms related to him during his days in al-Karak (690–708/1291–1309) and Damascus (711–2/1311–2) [P338LL4–10] [8] His warning to Tankiz upon his arrest in Damascus (735/1335) [P338LL11–3] [9] Death in the prison of Alexandria in 736/1335 [P338LL13–6] [10] Two anecdotes about his harsh character [P338L17–P339L2] [11] His advice to Tankiz upon the latter's appointment as governor of Damascus (712/1312) [P339LL2–16]

*Al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā*<sup>312</sup>

(six out of nine pages = anecdotes and stories)

[A] Title/name

Aqūsh al-Ashrafī al-Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn known as Nā'ib al-Karak (*al-ma'rūf bi-Nā'ib al-Karak*) and called (*yulaqqabu*) also al-Burnāq because of his big nose (*li-kibar anfhi*) (*Nuzha* A + D) [P248LL15–6]

[B] A long and comprehensive (six pages) life résumé ordered chronologically, incorporating according to chronology few anecdotes or stories [PP248–54]:

[1] Career until 708/1309 (*Nuzha* C + *Sulūk* ii, 193 [lines 13–4]) [P248L17–P249L7] [2] Career 708–11/1309–11 (source not identified) [P249LL7–11] [3] Appointed governor of Damascus in 711/1311 (*Sulūk* ii, 105 [lines 6–8, 12–3]) [P249LL12–4] [4] Return to Egypt in 712/1312 (source not identified) [P249L15–P250L1] [5] Arrest in 712/1312 (*Sulūk* ii, 117 [lines 11–5], 118 [lines 8–9]) [P250LL2–5] [6] Release and *iqṭā'* in 715/1315 (*Sulūk* ii, 144 [lines 16–8]) [P250LL5–7] [7] Respected according to protocol in 719/1319 (*Sulūk* ii, 193 [lines 8–16]) [P250LL8–14] [8] Leading an expedition to Sis in 721/1321 (*Sulūk* ii, 229 [lines 6–11]) [P250LL15–20] [9] Leading an expedition to Sīs in 722/1322 (*Sulūk* ii, 235 [line 15]–236 [line 2], 237 [lines 1–2, 5–6]) [P251LL1–5] [10] Appointed *nāzīr al-māristān* in 723/1323 (*Sulūk* ii, 247 [lines 15–7]) [P251LL6–8] [11] The renovation of the *māristān* (726/1326) (*Sulūk* ii, 273 [line 19]–274 [line 3]) [P251LL8–14] [12] An anecdote about the inspection of the *māristān*

312 Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 248–57. The source for the units of information in the biographical entry is mentioned in brackets and bold font.

(ca. 726/1326) (*Wāfi* C5) [P251LL14–8] [13] Appointed *amīr al-hajj* in 727/1327 and returned to Egypt in 728/1327 (*Sulūk* ii, 290 [line 4], 291 [line 17]) [P251LL19–20] [14] A story-like report about his appointment as governor of Tripoli in 734/1334 (taken from the **historical narrative of the *Nuzha***)<sup>313</sup> [P251L21–P252L17] [15] A very long story-like report on an incident he had in Tripoli with the Franks which led to his arrest in 735/1335 (taken from the **historical narrative of the *Nuzha***)<sup>314</sup> [P252L17–P254L9] [16] Anecdote about his death in the prison of Alexandria in 736/1335 (*Nuzha* B1) [P254LL10–4]

[C] Short **description**: looks, origin, and character (*Nuzha* D) [P254LL15–6]

[D] Nonchronological **anecdotes, stories, and peculiarities** [PP254–7]:

[1] Two anecdotes about his harsh character (*Wāfi* C10) [P254LL16–22] [2] Worship place under *al-Jabal al-Aḥmar* (*Nuzha* E1) [P255LL1–5] [3] A truncated anecdote about an incident with the *wazīr* (*Nuzha* E2) [P255LL6–11] [4] Anecdote about his generosity (“**he had built a mosque**”—**an anecdote about a generosity toward a soldier he met near the mosque he had built in the Ḥusayniyya, which turned into a bare statement of fact**; his charity and generosity during Ramaḍān—he never sold wheat from his granaries but just gave it away) (*Nuzha* E4) [P255LL12–7] [5] He was never sick (*Nuzha* E5) [P255LL18–9] [6] He always paid the expenses of his soldiers in expeditions from his own money (*Nuzha* E6) [P255L20–P256L1] [7] **A very truncated and hardly recognizable anecdote about an incident with Mūsā al-Ṣayrafī** (*Nuzha* E8) [P256LL2–3] [8] His dress and manners in the bathhouse (*Wāfi* C1) [P256LL4–8] [9] Anecdote about his whimsical character (*Wāfi* C2) [P256LL9–15] [10] If a horse died to one of his soldiers or slaves, he compensated him (part of *Wāfi* C4) [P256L16]

313 See al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 191 (line 11)–193 (line 13). In al-Yūsufī’s *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*, the story-like report is entitled “the mentioning of the moving of Nā’ib al-Karak [to Tripoli].” While the *Sulūk* has a very condensed version of this report, it could not have been the source for the *Muqaffā*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 371 (lines 10–7). The version in the *Sulūk* does not have all the information contained in the *Muqaffā*; the wording of the *Muqaffā* clearly draws on the *Nuzha* and not on the *Sulūk*; and utterances in direct speech that appear in the *Muqaffā* are paraphrased and standardized versions of a dialogue in the *Nuzha*, and are absent in the *Sulūk*; see, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 252 (lines 8–9); and compare with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 192 (lines 9–12).

314 See *ibid.* 236 (line 7)–240 (line 14). In al-Yūsufī’s *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*, the story-like report is entitled “the arrest of the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Nā’ib al-Karak.” The *Sulūk* has a shorter version, which could not have been the source for the *Muqaffā*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* ii, 379 (line 11)–380 (line 11). For an utterance in direct speech in the *Muqaffā* that is absent in the *Sulūk*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 253 (lines 17–8); and compare with al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 238 (lines 24–5).

[11] Peculiarities and witticisms (*Wāfi* C7) [P256L17–P257L6] [12] His advice to Tankiz upon the latter's appointment as governor of Damascus (*Wāfi* C11) [P257LL7–21]

*Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Durar al-kāmina*<sup>315</sup>

(about half a page out of one and a half pages = truncated anecdotes and stories)

[A] Title/name

Aqūsh al-Ashrafī Jamāl al-Dīn al-Burnāq known as Nāʿib al-Karak (*al-maʿrūf bi-Nāʿib al-Karak*) (*Muqaḥḥā* A) [P395L12]<sup>316</sup>

[B] Life résumé basically ordered chronologically, incorporating remnants of anecdotes or stories, which in most of the cases were turned into statements about events in the life of Aqūsh or his character [PP395–6]:

[1] Career until 715/1315 (in all likelihood collected and summarized from *Muqaḥḥā* B1–6) [P395LL12–5]<sup>317</sup> [2] “He had built a mosque”—an anecdote about a soldier he met near the mosque he had built in the Ḥusayniyya, which turned into a bare statement of fact (*Aʿyān* = *Wāfi* C2) [P395L15]<sup>318</sup> [3] Career—*raʿs maymana* (ca. 715/1315) (*Aʿyān* = *Wāfi* B) [P395LL15–6]<sup>319</sup> [4] His

315 Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 395–6.

316 The appellation al-Burnāq and the expression “known as Nāʿib al-Karak” appear in the *Muqaḥḥā* in one section (section A) and in two different sections in the *Nuzha* (sections A and D) but not in al-Ṣafadī (see section A in the *Wāfi*).

317 In *al-Durar al-kāmina* it is mentioned that Aqūsh was one of the *mamlūks* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (*min mamālīk al-Manṣūr*), information that appears in the *Muqaḥḥā* and the obituary in the *Nuzha* but not in al-Ṣafadī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 395 (line 13: *min mamālīk al-Manṣūr*); al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 323 (line 2: *min akābir al-mamālīk al-Manṣūriyya*); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaḥḥā* ii, 248 (line 16: *aḥad al-mamālīk al-Manṣūriyya*). In *al-Durar al-kāmina* it is mentioned that Aqūsh was arrested in Egypt, and then released, information that appears in the biographical entry in the *Muqaḥḥā* (and was taken from different places in the historical narrative of the *Sulūk*), and not in the obituary in the *Nuzha* or the entry in the *Wāfi*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaḥḥā* ii, 250 (lines 2–6). It is highly unlikely that Ibn Ḥajar took the information directly from the *Nuzha* or the *Sulūk* and incorporated it in the same fashion as al-Maqrīzī did in the *Muqaḥḥā*. However, in this specific case, Ibn Ḥajar may have relied on *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* i, 578 (lines 9–11).

318 Ibid. i, 579 (line 1).

319 While the *Muqaḥḥā* has a report on Aqūsh being *raʿs al-maymana*, the wording in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is similar to al-Ṣafadī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 395 (line 16: *yajlisu raʿs al-maymana wa-yaqūmu la-hu al-sultān*); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (line 5: *yajlisu raʿs al-maymana wa-yaqūmu la-hu al-sultān*); *Aʿyān* i, 578 (line 12: *yajlisu raʿs al-maymana wa-yaqūmu la-hu al-sultān*); and compare with al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaḥḥā* ii, 250 (lines 7–9).

dress and manners in the bathhouse—an anecdote turned into a statement about his character (*Aʿyān* = *Wāfi* C1) [P395LL16–7]<sup>320</sup> [5] He had a worship place under *al-Jabal al-Aḥmar*—an anecdote turned into a statement (*Aʿyān* = *Wāfi* C3) [P395LL17–8]<sup>321</sup> [6] Appointed *nāzīr al-māristān* (723/1323) and renovated it (726/1326) (*Muqaffā* B10–1) [P395LL18–9]<sup>322</sup> [7] Appointed governor of Tripoli (734/1334)—a story-like report turned into a statement of fact (*Wāfi* C6 or *Muqaffā* B14) [P395L19–P396L1] [8] A very truncated (originally two pages which turned into six lines) story-like report about an incident he had in Tripoli with the Franks which led to his arrest (*Muqaffā* B15) [P396LL1–6]<sup>323</sup>

[C] Nonchronological truncated anecdotes, stories, and peculiarities:

[1] Peculiarities and witticisms (*Aʿyān* = *Wāfi* C7) [P396LL6–10]<sup>324</sup> [2] Death in the prison of Alexandria (736/1335)—an anecdote turned into a statement

320 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* i, 578 (lines 13–7). The manners and the statement about building the mosque (sections B2 and B4 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*) could have been theoretically taken from the *Muqaffā* (sections D4 and D8). In al-Ṣafadī, however, references to the manners and the mosque appear one next to the other, and next to the references to Aqūsh as *raʾs al-maymana* and the worship place (see sections B3 and B5 in *al-Durar al-kāmina*). Moreover, before and after the references to the manners and the mosque, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī was using the chronological life résumé in the *Muqaffā* (sections B1 and B6–8 in *al-Durar al-kāmina* relying on sections B1–6, 10–1, and 14–5 in the *Muqaffā*), and references to the manners and the mosque appear in the *Muqaffā* in the section of anecdotes (D4 and D8 in the *Muqaffā*). It is highly unlikely that Ibn Ḥajar jumped back and forth from the chronological life résumé in the *Muqaffā* to its anecdotal section.

321 *Al-Durar al-kāmina*, following al-Ṣafadī, refers to the worship place as *maʿbad*, whereas the *Muqaffā*, following the *Nuzha*, refers to it as a cave (*maghāra*), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 395 (line 17); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 336 (line 19); *Aʿyān* i, 579 (line 9); al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 255 (line 1); al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat* 324 (line 8).

322 The biographical entry in al-Ṣafadī lacks some of the information and could not have been the source, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 337 (lines 10–1); *Aʿyān* i, 579 (line 12). The information in the *Muqaffā* was collected from different places in the historical narrative of the *Sulūk* (see *Muqaffā* B10–1). It is highly unlikely that Ibn Ḥajar took the information directly from the historical narrative of the *Sulūk*.

323 This report was taken by al-Maqrīzī from the historical narrative of the *Nuzha* (see *Muqaffā* B15) and incorporated chronologically in the life résumé of Aqūsh. In *al-Durar al-kāmina* it is incorporated exactly in the same fashion. It is highly unlikely that Ibn Ḥajar took the information directly from the *Nuzha* (or from the *Sulūk* where it also appears) and then integrated it in *al-Durar al-kāmina* exactly in the same fashion as al-Maqrīzī did in the *Muqaffā*. The information in the entry in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is very basic and dry and the incident with the Franks seems a marginal event, and its description in the *Durar* is the only case of information that perhaps keeps some of its story-like nature within the life résumé. Ibn Ḥajar must have taken it from the *Muqaffā*.

324 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān* i, 580 (lines 8–16).

(*A'yān* = *Wāfi* C9) [P396LL10–1]<sup>325</sup> [3] Statements about his generosity (he always paid for the expenses of his servants in expeditions; if a horse died to one of his soldiers or slaves he compensated him) (*A'yān* [last anecdote] = *Wāfi* C4) [P396LL11–3]<sup>326</sup> [4] He had a harsh character—**anecdotes turned into a statement about his character** (*Muqaffā* D1) [P396LL13–4]<sup>327</sup> [5] Statement about his generosity: “He never sold wheat from his granaries but just gave it away”—**anecdote turned into a statement about his character** (*Muqaffā* D4) [P396LL15–6]<sup>328</sup> [6] He always paid the expenses of his soldiers in expeditions from his own money (*Muqaffā* D6) [P396LL16–7]<sup>329</sup>

*Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Manhal*<sup>330</sup>

(three out of four pages = anecdotes and stories)

[A] Title/name

Aqūsh b. 'Abdallāh al-Amīr al-Ashrafī Jamāl al-Dīn Nā'ib al-Karak (*Wāfi* A) [P27L3]

- 325 Ibid. i, 581 (lines 2–4). The peculiarities and witticisms, and the statement about his death, could have been theoretically taken from the *Muqaffā*; however, in al-Ṣafadī, the report on the death (and the anecdote related) appears in the section of anecdotes right after the peculiarities and witticisms. In the *Muqaffā*, the report on the death (and the related anecdote) was incorporated in the chronological section and was not located near the peculiarities and witticisms (see sections B16 and D11 in the *Muqaffā*).
- 326 Compare especially al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 337 (lines 7–8: *idhā jurrida*) and *A'yān* i, 581 (line 14: *idhā jurrida*) with Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 396 (line 11: *idhā jurrida*); and see C6 below. Whereas in the *Wāfi* the anecdotes about the generosity appear in the fourth place out of eleven anecdotes, in *A'yān al-'aṣr* they appear last, right at the end of the biographical entry; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān* i, 581 (line 13)–582 (line 1). Moreover, whereas in the *Wāfi* the order of the anecdotes is: “If a horse died to one of his soldiers or slaves he compensated him,” and then “he always paid for the expenses of his servants in expeditions,” in *A'yān al-'aṣr* it is the opposite. *Al-Durar al-kāmīna* follows the internal order of the anecdotes about generosity in *A'yān al-'aṣr*, and more broadly the general order of presentation of anecdotes in it.
- 327 Theoretically, Ibn Ḥajar may have relied here on al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfi* C10); however, it is very unlikely.
- 328 The information is found only in the *Muqaffā* and the *Nuzha* and is not found in al-Ṣafadī. In all likelihood, it was taken from the *Muqaffā*.
- 329 This is, in fact, a repetition of a statement taken from al-Ṣafadī (section C3 in *al-Durar al-kāmīna* based on *A'yān* [last anecdote] = *Wāfi* C4) but the wording here is taken from the *Muqaffā*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 255 (line 20: *wa-mā kharaja qattfi tajrida illā wa-qāma li-jamī' man yurāfiquhu bi-jirāyatīhi wa-'aliq khaylihi*); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 396 (lines 16–7: *mā kharaja fi tajrida illā wa-qāma bi-jirāyat man yurāfiquhu wa-'aliqīhi*); and compare with al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* ix, 337 (lines 7–8: *idhā jurrida ilā makān lā yazālu ṭulbuhu jamī'an ya'kulūna 'alā simāṭīhi*); and with *A'yān* i, 581 (lines 14–5).
- 330 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* iii, 27–30.

[B] Very short and partial **life résumé** (career until ca. 715/1315) (**Wāfi B**) [P27LL4–8]<sup>331</sup>

[C] **Anecdotes, stories, and peculiarities** presented in an order that follows the *Wāfi* [PP27–30]:

[1] His dress and manners in the bathhouse (**Wāfi C1**) [P27L8–P28L4] [2] Anecdote about his whimsical character (generosity toward a soldier he met near the mosque he had built in the Ḥusayniyya; compared to a harsh treatment of another soldier) (**Wāfi C2**) [P28LL5–13] [3] Anecdotes about his generosity (he always paid for the expenses of his servants in expeditions; his *simāt* in Ramaḍān—part of **Wāfi C4**) [P28L14–P29L1] [4] **Appointment to the position of inspector of the *māristān* (723/1323) without the anecdote on its inspection** (an anecdote in **Wāfi C5** that turned into a bare statement of fact) [P29L2]<sup>332</sup> [5] **Appointed as governor of Tripoli in 734/1334, requested to move to Jerusalem, arrested in Damascus; without the anecdote about his arrest in Şafad** (an anecdote in **Wāfi C6** that turned into a sequence of chronological information) [P29LL7–11] [6] Peculiarities and witticisms (parts of **Wāfi C7**) [P29L12–P30L2] [7] Death in the prison of Alexandria in 736/1335 (**Wāfi C9**) [P30LL3–5] [8] Two anecdotes (one of them truncated) about his harsh character (**Wāfi C10**) [P30LL6–10]

331 Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions at the beginning of the life résumé that Aqūsh was originally one of the *mamlūks* of al-Ashraf Khalil (*aşluhu min mamālik al-Ashraf Khalil*), see *ibid.* iii, 27 (line 4). This information does not appear in the *Wāfi* (the master of Aqūsh is not even mentioned) and was in all likelihood deduced by Ibn Taghrībirdī from the *nisba* of Aqūsh. In fact, in the obituary of Aqūsh in the *Nuzha* he is mentioned as one of the *mamlūks* of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn (*min akābir al-mamālik al-Manşūriyya*), see al-Yūsufi, *Nuzhat* 323 (line 2). He appears as one of the *mamlūks* of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn also in his biographical entry in the *Muqaffā*, which relies in this case on the *Nuzha*, and in his biographical entry in *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, which apparently relies in this case on the *Muqaffā*; see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* ii, 248 (line 16: *aḥad al-mamālik al-Manşūriyya*); Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 395 (line 13: *min mamālik al-Manşūr*). Because the rest of the biographical entry in *al-Manhal* uses only the *Wāfi* and strictly follows its structure and order of presentation, there is no reason to believe that Ibn Taghrībirdī used in this specific case material from other sources.

332 At this point in the entry, Ibn Taghrībirdī makes a short comment regarding the fact that since the appointment of Aqūsh, it became a custom that *ra's al-maymana* was also the inspector of the *māristān* and adds a more general note regarding the position of *ra's al-maymana*, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* iii, 29 (lines 2–6).

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān fi ta'riḫ ahl al-zamān*, ed. M.M. Amīn, 5 vols., Cairo 2009–10.
- al-Biqā'ī, *Izhār al-'aṣr li-asrār ahl al-'aṣr Ta'riḫ al-Biqā'ī*, ed. M.S. al-'Awfi, 3 vols., Riyadh 1992–3.
- al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājīm al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 5 vols., Cairo 2001.
- al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafi 'alā Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn al-ma'rūf bi-Ta'riḫ al-Birzālī*, ed. 'U.'A. al-S. Tadmurī, 4 vols., Beirut 2006.
- Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut 1965.
- Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar*, 9 vols., Cairo 1960–92.
- Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fi l-Dawla al-Turkiyya: Min Kitāb al-Jawhar al-thamīn fi siyar al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn*, ed. 'U.'A. al-S. Tadmurī, Beirut and Ṣaydā 1999.
- Ibn Duqmāq, *Nuzhat al-anām fi ta'riḫ al-Islām (628 H/1230 M–659 H/1261 M)*, ed. S. Ṭab-bāra, Beirut and Ṣaydā 1999.
- Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, eds. Q. Zurayk and N. 'Izz al-Dīn, vol. 9, Beirut 1936–8.
- Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmīna*, ed. 'A. Darwīsh, Cairo 1992.
- Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fi a'yān al-mī'a al-thāmīna*, ed. S. al-Karnūkī, 4 vols., Hay-derabad 1929–31.
- Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-anbā' al-'umr*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1969–98.
- Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-iṣr 'an quḍāt Miṣr*, ed. 'A.M. 'Umar, Cairo 1998.
- Ibn Kathīr, *Manāqib al-imām al-Shāfi'ī*, ed. K.I.M. Khāṭir, Riyadh 1992.
- Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā'*, ed. N. al-D. Sharība, Cairo 1994.
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ed. al-Ḥ.'A. al-'A. Khān, 4 vols., Hyderabad 1978–80.
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, ed. 'A. Darwīsh, 4 vols., Damascus 1977–97.
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Kitāb Manāqib al-imām al-Shāfi'ī wa-ṭabaqāt aṣḥābihi min Ta'riḫ al-Islām lil-ḥāfiẓ Abī 'Abdallāh al-Dhahabī*, ed. 'A. al-'A.F. Ḥarfūsh, Damascus 2003.
- Ibn Rajab, *al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. 'A. al-R. al-'Uthaymin, 5 vols., Riyadh 2005.
- Ibn Taghribirdī, *Kitāb al-Nujūm al-zāhira fi mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, eds. F.M. Shaltūt et al., 16 vols., Cairo 1929–72.
- Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa-l-mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfi*, ed. M.M. Amīn, 12 vols., Cairo 1984–2006.
- Ibn 'Uthmān, *Murshid al-zuwār ilā qubūr al-abrār al-musammā al-durr al-munazzam fi ziyārat al-Jabal al-Muqaṭṭam*, ed. M.F. Abū Bakr, Cairo 1995.

- al-Jazarī, *Ta'riḫ ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbā'ihī wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-l-a'yān min abnā'ihī al-ma'rūf bi-Ta'riḫ Ibn al-Jazarī*, ed. 'U.'A. al-S. Tadmurī, 3 vols., Ṣaydā and Beirut 1998.
- al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-mufannan bi-l-mu'jam al-mu'anwan*, ed. 'A.M. al-Kundarī, Kuwait 2011.
- al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim fī ḥawādith al-'umūr wa-l-tarājim*, ed. 'U.'A. al-S. Tadmurī, 4 vols., Beirut 2014.
- al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām al-sharīfa al-bahiyya wa-dhīkr mā ḡahara lī min ḥikam Allāh al-khaṭīyya fī jalb ṭā'ifat al-Atrāk ilā al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*, eds. Ṣ. Labīb and U. Haarmann, Beirut 1997.
- al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda and S.'A.al-F. 'Āshūr, 4 vols., Cairo 1934–73.
- al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaḫḫā al-kabīr*, ed. M. al-Ya'lāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1987–91.
- al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār bi-dhīkr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. K. al-Manṣūr, 4 vols., Beirut 1998.
- al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a'yān al-mufīda*, ed. M. al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut 2002.
- al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, eds. I. Shams al-Dīn et al., 33 vols., Beirut 2004.
- al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *al-Ilmām bi-l-i'lām fīmā jarat bi-hī al-aḥkām wa-l-umūr al-maqḍīyya fī waq'at al-Iskandariyya*, eds. E. Combe and A.S. Atiya, 7 vols., Hyderabad 1968–76.
- al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. H. Ritter et al., 30 vols., Wiesbaden 1962–2004.
- al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. 'A. Abū Zayd, 6 vols., Beirut 1998.
- al-Ṣaffūrī, *Nuzhat al-majālis wa-muntakhab al-naḫā'is*, 2 vols., Cairo 1998.
- al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, 12 vols., Beirut 1992.
- al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'riḫ al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-awlādihi*, ed. B. Schäfer, Wiesbaden 1977.
- al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, eds. M.M. al-Ṭanāḥī and 'A. al-F.M. al-Ḥulū, 10 vols., Cairo 1964.
- al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-jinān wa-'ibrat al-yaqzān fī ma'rīfat mā yu'tabar min ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Kh. al-Manṣūr, 4 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, ed. I. 'Abbās, 7 vols., Beirut 1993.
- al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān: Ta'riḫ al-sanawāt 697–711 H/1297–1312 M*, ed. Ḥ.A. 'Abbās, 3 vols., Abu Dhabi 2007.
- Yūnus al-Mālikī (attributed to al-Suyūṭī), *al-Kanz al-madfūn wa-l-fulk al-mashḥūn*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ṣaghīr, Beirut 1971.
- al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fī sirāt al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986.

### *Secondary Sources*

- Abu-ʿUksa, W., Lives of Frankish princes from al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionary, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, in *Mediterranean historical review* 32/1 (2017), 83–104.
- Amitai, R., Did Chinggis Khan have a Jewish teacher? An examination of an early fourteenth-century Arabic text, in *JAOS* 124/4 (2004), 691–705.
- Bauden, F., Maqriziana I: Discovery of an autograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a better understanding of his working method, description: Section 1, in *MSR* 7/2 (2003), 21–68.
- Bauden, F., Maqriziana II: Discovery of an autograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a better understanding of his working method: Analysis, in *MSR* 12/1 (2008), 51–118.
- Bauden, F., Maqriziana VIII: Quelques remarques sur l'orthographe d'al-Maqrīzī (m. 845/1442) à partir de son carnet de notes: peut-on parler de moyen arabe?, in J. Lentin and J. Grand'Henry (eds.), *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire: Actes du Premier Colloque International*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2008, 21–38.
- Bauden, F., Maqriziana XI. Al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d'un récit biographique, in *QSA* 4 (2009), 99–136.
- Bauden, F., Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim historians and the Franks in the Levant*, Leiden 2014, 161–200.
- Bauer, Th., Anthologies, Arabic literature (post-Mongol period), in *ET*<sup>3</sup>.
- Bauer, Th., Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit, in S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam (eds.), *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur. Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, Hamburg 2003, 71–122.
- Bauer, Th., Review of *Nuzhat al-anām fī taʾrīkh al-Islām* (628 H/1230 M–659 H/1261 M), ed. S. Ṭabbāra, Beirut and Ṣaydā 1999, in *MSR* 7/1 (2003), 257–62.
- Bauer, Th., Mamluk literature: Misunderstandings and new approaches, in *MSR* 9/2 (2005), 105–32.
- Bauer, Th., Mamluk literature as a means of communication, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus? Mamluk studies—State of the art*, Goettingen and Bonn 2013, 23–56.
- Beaumont, D., Literary style and narrative technique in the *Arabian nights*, in U. Marzolph, R. Van Leeuwen and H. Wassouf (eds.), *The Arabian nights encyclopedia*, vol. 1, Santa Barbara 2004, 1–5.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., Craftsmen, upstarts and sufis in the late Mamluk period, in *BSOAS* 74/3 (2011), 375–95.
- Berkey, J.P., *Popular preaching and religious authority in the medieval Islamic Near East*, Seattle and London 2001.
- Berkey, J.P., Popular culture under the Mamluks: A historiographical survey, in *MSR* 9/2 (2005), 133–46.

- Blau, J., *A handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, Jerusalem 2002.
- Blau, J., *A dictionary of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic texts* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem 2006.
- Brack, Y., A Mongol princess making *hajj*: The biography of El Qutlugh daughter of Abagha Ilkhan (r. 1265–82), in *JRAS* 21/3 (2011), 331–59.
- Brinner, W.M. (ed.), *A chronicle of Damascus 1389–1397*, vol. 1, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963.
- Burak, G., The Section on prayers, invocations, unique qualities of the Qur'an, and magic squares in the palace library inventory, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar and C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of knowledge: An inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, Leiden 2019, 341–66.
- Conermann, S., Tankiz b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī (d. 740/1340) as seen by his contemporary al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), in *MSR* 12/2 (2008), 1–24.
- Drory, J., Maqṣūdī in *Durar al-'uqūd* with regard to Timur Leng, in U. Vermeulen, K. D'hulster and J. Van Steenberghe (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras VII*, Leuven 2013, 393–402.
- Eddé, A., Karaṭāy (or Ḳirṭāy) al-'Izzī al-Khāzindārī, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xii, 511.
- Eychenne, M., al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn, in *EI*<sup>3</sup>.
- Frenkel, Y., Dream accounts in the chronicles of the Mamluk period, in L. Marlow (ed.), *Dreaming across boundaries: The interpretation of dreams in Islamic lands*, Boston, 2008, 202–20.
- Gabrieli, F., Adab, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, 175–6.
- Gardiner, D.N., Forbidden knowledge? Notes on the production, transmission, and reception of the major works of Aḥmad al-Būnī, in *JAS* 12 (2012), 81–143.
- Gardiner, D.N., Esotericism in a manuscript culture: *Aḥmad al-Būnī* and his readers through the *Mamlūk* period, PhD diss., University of Michigan 2014.
- Gardiner, D.N., Occult sciences, in R.C. Martin (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim world*, Farmington Hills 2016, 815–7.
- Gharaibeh, M., Narrative strategies in biographical dictionaries: The *al-Durar al-kāmina* of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī—a case study, in S. Conermann and B. Walker (eds.), *Mamluk historiography revisited—Narratological perspectives*, Goettingen 2018, 51–75.
- Ghersetti, A., On Mamluk anthologies again: The case of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt and his *Ghurur al-khaṣā'is al-wādīḥa wa-'urur al-naqā'id al-qābiḥa*, in *MSR* 17 (2013), 72–99.
- Guo, L., Mamluk historiographic studies: The state of the art, in *MSR* 1 (1997), 15–43.
- Guo, L., Introduction: The *Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān* in modern scholarship, in L. Guo (ed.), *Early Mamluk Syrian historiography: al-Yunīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān*, vol. 1, Leiden 1998.
- Guo, L., History writing, in R. Irwin (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam: Islamic cultures and societies to the end of the eighteenth century*, vol. 4, Cambridge 2010, 444–57.

- Guo, L., Songs, poetry, and storytelling: Ibn Taghrī Birdī on the Yalbughā affair, in Y. Ben-Bassat (ed.), *Developing perspectives in Mamluk history: Essays in honor of Amalia Levanoni*, Leiden 2017, 189–200.
- Haarmann, U., *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969.
- Haarmann, U., Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken, in *ZDMG* 121 (1971), 46–60.
- Haarmann, U. (ed.), *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, vol. 8, Cairo 1971.
- Haarmann, U., Turkish legends in the popular historiography of Medieval Egypt, in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the vith Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm and Leiden 1975, 13–9.
- Haarmann, U., Review of *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im Mittelalterlichen Islam*, by B. Radtke, in *JAOS* 115/1 (1995), 133–5.
- Haarmann, U., al-Maqrīzī, the master, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī, the disciple—Whose historical writing can claim more topicality and modernity?, in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, Leiden 2001, 149–65.
- Hämeen-Anttila, J., Adab a) Arabic, early developments, in *ET*<sup>3</sup>.
- Hamori, A.P., Anthologies, Arabic literature (pre-Mongol period), in *ET*<sup>3</sup>.
- Havemann, A., The chronicle of Ibn Iyās as a source for social and cultural history from below, in M. Haddad et al. (eds.), *Towards a cultural history of the Mamluk era*, Beirut 2010, 87–100.
- Hees, S., The astonishing: A critique and re-reading of ‘ajāʿib literature, in *Middle Eastern literatures* 8/2 (2005), 101–20.
- Herzog, Th., Composition and worldview of some bourgeois and petit-bourgeois Mamluk adab-encyclopedias, in *MSR* 17 (2013), 100–29.
- Herzog, Th., “What they saw with their own eyes ...”: Fictionalisation and “narrativization” of history in Arab popular epics and learned historiography, in S. Dorpmueller (ed.), *Fictionalizing the past: Historical characters in Arabic popular epics*, Leuven 2012, 25–43.
- Hirschler, K., Erdbebenberichte und Diskurse der Kontinuität in der postformativen Periode, *Der Islam* 84/1 (2008), 103–39.
- Hirschler, K., Islam: The Arabic and Persian traditions, eleventh–fifteenth centuries, in A. Feldherr et al. (eds.), *The Oxford history of historical writing: 400–1400*, vol. 2, Oxford 2012, 267–86.
- Hirschler, K., *The written word in the Medieval Arabic lands: A social and cultural history of reading practices*, Edinburgh 2012.
- Hirschler, K., Studying Mamluk historiography. From source-criticism to the cultural turn, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus? Mamluk studies—State of the art*, Goettingen and Bonn 2013, 159–86.
- Hofer, N., *The popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1325*, Edinburgh, 2015.

- Holt, P.M., Literary offerings: A genre of courtly literature, in Th. Philipp and U. Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, Cambridge 1998, 3–16.
- Holt, P.M., Review of *Formen spätmittelalterlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung: Untersuchungen zu an-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānīs Kitāb al-Ilmām und verwandten zeitgenössischen Texten*, by O. Weintritt, in *BSOAS* 58 (1995), 131–2.
- Irwin, R., The image of the Byzantine and the Frank in Arab popular literature of the Late Middle Ages, in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, London 1989, 226–42.
- Irwin, R., Mamluk literature, in *MSR* 7 (2003), 1–29.
- Irwin, R., al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn, historians of the unseen, in *MSR* 7/2 (2003), 217–30.
- Irwin, R., Ibn Zunbul and the romance of history, in J. Bray (ed.), *Writing and representation in medieval Islam: Muslim horizons*, London and New York 2006, 3–15.
- Irwin, R., Mamluk history and historians, in R. Allen and D.S. Richards, *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*, Cambridge 2006, 159–70.
- Khalidi, T., Islamic biographical dictionaries: A preliminary assessment, in *MW* 63/1 (1973), 53–65.
- Khan, J., Judaeo-Arabic, in C. Holes (ed.), *Arabic historical dialectology: Linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches*, Oxford 2018, 148–69.
- Lentin, J., The Levant, in C. Holes (ed.), *Arabic historical dialectology: Linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches*, Oxford 2018, 170–205.
- Little, D.P., *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography: An analysis of Arabic annalistic and biographical sources for the reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāʾūn*, Wiesbaden 1970.
- Little, D.P., An analysis of the relationship between four Mamluk chronicles for 737–45, in *JSS* 19 (1974), 252–68.
- Little, D.P., The recovery of a lost source for Bahrī Mamlūk history: Al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, in *JAOs* 94 (1974), 42–54.
- Little, D.P., al-Ṣafadī as biographer of his contemporaries, in D.P. Little (ed.), *Essays on Islamic civilization presented to Niyazi Berkes*, Leiden 1976, 190–211.
- Little, D.P., Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs, in C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, vol. 1, Cambridge and New York 1998, 412–44.
- Lohlker, R., al-ʿUmārī's Bericht über Indien: Eine Studie zur arabisch-islamischen Geographie des 14. Jahrhunderts, in *ZDMG* 156/2 (2006), 339–67.
- Malti-Douglas, F., Dreams, the blind, and the semiotics of the biographical notice, in *SI* 51 (1980), 137–62.
- Marzolph, U., R. Van Leeuwen and H. Wassouf (eds.), *The Arabian nights encyclopedia*, 2 vols., Santa Barbara 2004.

- Massoud, S.G., *The chronicles and annalistic sources of the early Mamluk Circassian period*, Leiden and Boston 2007.
- Massoud, S.G., Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *al-Dhayl al-muṭawwal*: The making of an all Mamluk chronicle, in *QSA* 4 (2009), 61–79.
- Mauder, C., *Gelehrte Krieger: Die Mamluken als Träger arabischsprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen*, Hildesheim 2012.
- Mazor, A., The *topos* of predicting the future in early Mamluk historiography, in S. Conermann and B. Walker (eds.), *Mamluk historiography revisited—Narratological perspectives*, Goettingen 2018, 103–19.
- McGregor, R., Notes on the literature of Sufi prayer commentaries, in *MSR* 17 (2013), 199–211.
- Melvin-Koushki, M., In defense of geomancy: Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī rebuts Ibn Khaldūn's critique of the occult sciences, in *Arabica* 64/3–4 (2017), 346–403.
- Muhanna, E., Encyclopaedism in the Mamluk period: The composition of *Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī's* (d. 1333) *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, PhD diss., Harvard University 2012.
- Muhanna, E., Why was the fourteenth century a century of Arabic encyclopaedism, in J. König and G. Woolf (eds.), *Encyclopaedism from antiquity to the renaissance*, Cambridge 2013, 343–56.
- al-Musawi, M.J., Pre-modern belletristic prose, in R. Allen and D.S. Richards (eds.), *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*, Cambridge 2006, 101–33.
- Nakamachi, N., al-'Aynī's chronicles as a source for the Baḥrī Mamluk period, in *Orient: Report of the society for Near Eastern studies in Japan* 40 (2005), 140–71.
- Niyazioğlu, A., In the dream realm of a sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer: Taşköprizade and the sufi sheikhs, in J.J. Curry and E.S. Ohlander (eds.), *Sufism and society: Arrangements of the mystical in the Muslim world, 1200–1800*, London and New York 2011, 243–57.
- Northrup, L., Documents as literary texts: Mamluk historiography revisited, in S. Conermann and B. Walker (eds.), *Mamluk historiography revisited—Narratological perspectives*, Goettingen 2018, 121–36.
- Parry, V.J., Review of *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, by U. Haarmann, in *BSOAS* 35 (1972), 148–9.
- al-Qāḍī, W., Biographical dictionaries as the scholars' alternative history of the Muslim community, in G. Endress (ed.), *Organizing knowledge: Encyclopaedic activities in the pre-eighteenth century Islamic world*, Leiden and Boston, 2006, 23–75.
- Rabbat, N.O., Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk historical writing, in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, Leiden 2001, 59–75.
- Rabbat, N.O., Perception of architecture in Mamluk sources, in *MSR* 6 (2002), 155–76.
- Rabbat, N.O., Nisā' fī ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī, in *al-Kutub: Wujhāt naẓar fī l-thaqāfa wa-l-siyāsa wa-l-fīkr* 10/114 (2008), 48–52.

- Rabbat, N.O., Was al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* a Khaldūnian history?, in *Der Islam* 89/1–2 (2012), 118–40.
- Rabbat, N.O., The historian and the city: Al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-ʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, in *ASK* 30, Bonn 2018, 1–19.
- Robinson, C.F., *Islamic historiography*, Cambridge 2003.
- Romanov, M., Dreaming Ḥanbalites: Dream-tales in prosopographical dictionaries, in Ö. Felek and A.D. Knysh (eds.), *Dreams and visions in Islamic societies*, London 2012, 31–50.
- Ron-Gilboa, G., Pre-Islamic brigands in Mamluk historiography. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī's account of "The brigands among the Arabs," in *AI* 49 (2015), 7–32.
- Schäfer, B. (ed.), *Die Chronik aš-Šuǧāʿīs*, Wiesbaden 1985.
- Schen, I., Usama Ibn Munqidh's memoirs: Some further light on Muslim Middle Arabic (part II), in *JSS* 18/1 (1973), 64–97.
- Şen, G., Ottoman servant, Mamluk rebel? Narrative strategies in sixteenth-century Ottoman historiography—The example of Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī's downfall, in S. Conermann and G. Şen (eds.), *The Mamluk-Ottoman transition: Continuity and change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the sixteenth century*, Goettingen 2017, 329–44.
- Shams al-Dīn, M. (ed.), *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Mişr wa-l-Qāhira*, 16 vols., Beirut 1992.
- Shoshan, B., Jokes, animal lore, and mentalité in medieval Egypt, in *Arabica* 45 (1998), 129–35.
- Shoshan, B., On popular literature in medieval Cairo, in *Poetics today* 14/2 (1993), 349–65.
- Shoshan, B., Social life and popular culture in the *Arabian nights*, in U. Marzolph, R. Van Leeuwen and H. Wassouf (eds.), *The Arabian nights encyclopedia*, vol. 1, Santa Barbara 2004, 50–4.
- Smith, G.R., The language of Ibn al-Mujāwir's 7th/13th century guide to Arabia, *Taʾrīkh al-mustabṣir*, in J.R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and modernity in Arabic language and literature*, Richmond 1996.
- Smith, M., Finding meaning in the city: Al-Maqrīzī's use of poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ*, in *MSR* 16 (2012), 143–61.
- de Somogyi, J., Magic in ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, in *JSS* 3/3 (1958), 265–87.
- Talmon-Heller, D., *ʿIlm, shafāʿa, and baraka*: The resources of Ayyūbid and early Mamluk ulama, in *MSR* 13/2 (2009), 23–45.
- Thorau, P., Zur Geschichte der Mamluken und ihrer Erforschung, in *WO* 20–21 (1989–90), 227–40.
- Van Steenbergen, J., The amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the cultural matrix of Mamlūk society: A reassessment of Mamlūk politics in the 1360s, in *JAOS* 131/3 (2011), 423–43.
- Van Steenbergen, J., Qalāwūnid discourse, elite communication and the Mamluk cultural matrix: Interpreting a 14th-century panegyric, in *JAL* 43/1 (2012), 1–28.

- Van Steenbergen, J., al-Maqrīzī's History of the *hajj* (*al-Dhahab al-masbūk*): And Khal-dūnian narrative construction: Towards a macro-structural textual analysis of form and meaning, in S. Conermann and B. Walker (eds.), *Mamluk historiography revisited—Narratological perspectives*, Goettingen 2018, 193–210.
- Vrolijk, A., *Bringing a laugh to a scowling face: A study and critical edition of the Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-mudḥik al-ʿabūs by ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bashbughāwī* (Cairo 810/1407–Damascus 868/1464), Leiden 1998.
- Wijntjes, Th.M., Daily life, catastrophes and strange events in al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-Mulūk*, in U. Vermeulen, K. D'hulster and J. Van Steenbergen (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, VIII*, Leuven 2016, 543–56.
- Zetterstéén, K.W. (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hira nach arabischen Handschriften*, Leiden 1919.