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Maurice A. Pomerantz

An Epic Hero in the Maqāmāt ? Popular and Elite Literature in the 8th/14th Century

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MAURICE A. POMERANTZ*

An Epic Hero in the *Maqāmāt*?

Popular and Elite Literature in the 8th/14th Century

◆ ABSTRACT

This article discusses the *Maqāma qāhiriyya* from the *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya* of Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān b. Rayyān (702-770/1302-1369). Ibn Rayyān's *Maqāma qāhiriyya* alludes to the popular epic (*sīra*) of ʿAntar b. Šaddād. Discussing the motifs drawn from popular epic in this *maqāma*, the article argues that Ibn Rayyān's *maqāma* references *Sīrat ʿAntar b. Šaddād* to foreground differences and similarities between the *maqāma* and the popular *sīra*. This, in turn, shows the *Qāhiriyya* to be a site where the ethics of elite and popular forms contend.

Keywords: *maqāma*, *sīra*, popular epic, ʿAntar b. Šaddād, *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya*, Mamluk literature.

◆ RÉSUMÉ

Cet article traite de la *Maqāma qāhiriyya*, contenue dans les *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya* de Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān b. Rayyān (702-770/1302-1369). La *Maqāma qāhiriyya* d'Ibn Rayyān fait référence à l'épopée populaire (*sīra*) de ʿAntar b. Šaddād. En étudiant les motifs tirés de l'épopée *Sīrat ʿAntar b. Šaddād*, cet article entend élucider les différences et les similarités entre la *maqāma* et la *sīra*. Il montre ainsi que la *Qāhiriyya* est un champ d'affrontement entre l'éthique de l'élite et les formes populaires.

Mots-clés : *maqāma*, *sīra*, épopée populaire, ʿAntar b. Šaddād, *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya*, littérature mamelouke.

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AnIsl 49 (2016), p. 99-114 Maurice A. Pomerantz
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Introduction

Few now employ the notion of "decadence" to describe Mamluk and Ottoman-era Arabic literature. Recent efforts instead have focused on the literary environment for which writers wrote. Scholars now point to the existence of popular culture and literature in the pre-modern period.[1] Oral epics, poetry, and shadow plays existed alongside of elite forms. Yet these new categories and contexts pose problems. How did popular and elite literatures interact?

This article discusses the *Qāhiriyya* from the *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya* of Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān b. Rayyān (702-770/1302-1369). Discussing the motifs drawn from popular epic in this *maqāma*, the article argues that Ibn Rayyān's *Qāhiriyya* alludes to the popular *sīra*. This, in turn, shows the *Qāhiriyya* to be a site where the ethics of elite and popular forms contend.

The *maqāma* in a Period of Change: The *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya* in the 8th/14th Century

The *maqāma* is one of the longest lasting and widest traveling of premodern Arabic literary forms. After the foundational works of al-Hamaḏānī (d. 398/1008) and al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) later authors throughout the Muslim world adopted and adapted the form. Many writers composed *maqāmāt* in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

The 8th/14th century was a period of important changes to the *maqāma*. Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila states: "After al-Ḥarīrī, (…) maqama started to be seen as a more or less fixed genre, and al-Ḥarīrī's picaresque/philological maqama became the model for some two centuries until the genre started disintegrating in the 14th century."[2] Devin Stewart describes what he terms a "widening" of the *maqāma* genre during the same period. As Stewart notes, "from the fourteenth century on, the term *maqāma* comes to denote simply an epistle, written in rhymed prose, which indulges heavily in formal rhetorical flourishes and aspires to elegance."[3]

Modern scholars have studied and edited only a fraction of the texts from this period. In the absence of detailed studies it is premature to outline the reasons for these changes and to what extent they are indicative of larger trends. Nonetheless, one can point to various features of the *maqāma* that were changing. Perhaps the most immediately recognizable is language.

1. See for example, the organization of Allen, Richards, 2006; Bauer, 2007, p. 151; Heath, 1996, p. xx, provides a good summary of the issues facing current research: "The two traditions have been in continuous interaction, both drawing from and playing off one another. One can seriously argue, in fact, that the dynamics, trends, fashions and histories of either are only completely understood if one fails to take into account the contours and internal operations of the other… Focusing on the magnificent achievements of Arabic and Islamic elite literatures while neglecting their constant interaction with their popular literature analogues can only lead one to misconstrue and misrepresent the concerns and accomplishments of elite authors and their works."
2. Hämeen-Anttila, 2002, p. 126. For a discussion of al-Ḥarīrī's collection, see Zakharia, 2000.
3. Stewart, 2006, pp. 145-158.

AnIsl 49 (2016), p. 99-114 Maurice A. Pomerantz
An Epic Hero in the Maqāmāt ? Popular and Elite Literature in the 8th/14th Century
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Hämeen-Anttila points to the existence of so-called "vulgar *maqāmas*" that employ dialect noting the possible influence of these works on the shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl.[4]

The *maqāmāt* of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries foreground narrative artistry over philological complexity. I have noted the way in which one Mamluk author, al-Ṣafadī al-Barīdī (fl. first quarter of the 8th/14th c.) in his *Maqāmat al-faraǧ baʿd al-šidda* emphasizes narrative features of the *maqāma* through intertextual references to anecdotes from the genre of "relief after hardship" tales.[5] The *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya* represent another example of the important role of narrative artistry in the *maqāmāt* of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.[6] Is this emphasis on dialectal language and narrative artistry a result of new audiences for the *maqāma* form?

Ibn Rayyān and his *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya*

Ibn Rayyān (702-770/1302-1369), the author of the *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya*, served in the Mamluk administration for much of his life. In 745/1344-1345, he became supervisor of the *dīwān* in Hama, a position which he held until 748/1347-1348. He then went to Cairo. Ibn Rayyān returned to Aleppo in 749/1348-1349 where he again served in the state administration.[7]

Ibn Rayyān corresponded with the famed Ḫalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696-764/1297-1363). Al-Ṣafadī records several examples of the poetry and letters which they exchanged. Al-Ṣafadī praises Ibn Rayyān's talents as a poet. In addition to the standard forms, Ibn Rayyān also composed *muwaššaḥ*s, *zaǧal*s, *mawāliyā*s, *bullayq*s, and *dūbayt*s.[8] Al-Ṣafadī particularly esteemed Ibn Rayyān's *al-bullayq al-hazlī*. Ibn Rayyān also wrote a book entitled the *Zahr al-rabīʿ* on *badīʿ* which is not extant.[9]

Ibn Rayyān studied the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī with Šams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣāʾiġ (d. 725/1325) who was also the teacher of al-Ṣafadī.[10] Al-Ṣafadī states that he once differed with Ibn Rayyān over the grammatical interpretation of one verse in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī.[11] The exchange clearly demonstrates the intimate knowledge that Ibn Rayyān had of the *maqāma* genre.

4. Hämeen-Anttila, 2002, pp. 335-339; Guo, 2012.
5. Pomerantz, 2015a.
6. A similar collection of ten *maqāmāt* is the *Maqāmāt ʿAbbāsiyya* of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 1556) is discussed in Pomerantz, 2015b.
7. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, XII, pp. 369-377.
8. For the terms : *dūbayt*, *mawāliyā*, and *bulayq*, see Larkin, 2006, pp. 189-242.
9. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, XII, p. 377, records an example of *al-bullayq al-hazlī*. See Talib, 2014, pp. 280-283.
10. See van Ess, 1976, pp. 242-266 for his relationship with this scholar.
11. See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, IV, pp. 220-221; the dispute surrounded the verse:
fa-lam yazal yabtazzuhu dahruhu mā fīhi min baṭšin wa-ʿūdin ṣalīb
"Time continued to take from him that which he possessed of strength and robust physique"
(al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 172).
The difference between the two men concerned whether the particle *mā* beginning the second hemistich was the second direct object of the verb (*yabtazzuhū*) or whether it was an appositive (*badl*) of the pronoun attached to the verb. In order to resolve this conundrum Ibn Rayyān wrote to the Šāfiʿī *šayḫ* Kamāl al-Dīn

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The *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya*

The ten *Maqāmāt rayyāniyya* are extant in two manuscripts.[12] The *maqāmāt* have the following titles (folios are listed in the Ms Cairo and Ms Gotha, respectively):

1. *al-ʿUmariyya* (ff. 2a-4a; ff. 260a-262b).
2. *al-Qāhiriyya* (ff. 4a-8a; ff. 262b-265b).
3. *al-Sinǧāriyya* (ff. 13a-19a; ff. 265b-269b).
4. *al-Wizāriyya* (ff. 8a-11a; ff. 269b-272b).
5. *al-Ḥamawiyya* (ff. 11a-13a; ff. 272b-275b).
6. *al-Wāsiṭiyya* (ff. 24b-29b; ff. 275b-277a).
7. *al-Miṣriyya* (ff. 19a-24b; ff. 277a-283b).
8. *al-Baṣriyya* (ff. 29b-34b; ff. 283b-287b).
9. *al-Baġdādiyya* (ff. 34b-41a; ff. 287b-293a).
10. *al-Ḥalabiyya* (ff. 41a-46a; 293a-297).

In the introduction to the work, Ibn Rayyān describes his mode of composition. He states:

> *annī samiʿtu min al-ḥikāyāt šayʾan kaṯīran wa-staḥsantu min mā law ǧamiʿtuhu kāna ǧuzʾan kaṯīran fa-ntaḫabtu minhā ʿašaran wa-ntaqaytu minhā ġarāʾib law dārat ʿalā al-asmāʿ la-aršafathā ḫamran wa-sabat al-ʿuqūl bi-ḥusn bayānihā wa-inna min al-bayān la-siḥran fa-awdaʿtuhā durrān wa-abdaʿtuhā naẓman wa-naṯran wa-abraztuhā fī ṣūrat maqāmāt.*[13]
>
> I have heard many stories that I have enjoyed. If I were to collect all of that which delighted me it would have been a lot. Therefore I selected ten from among these and chose rare ones were they to travel to those hearing they would drink of them like wine and captivate their minds on account of their eloquence. For indeed clear expression is a form of licit magic. I deposited pearls in them, and created them with original verse and prose, and made them appear in the form of *maqāma*s.

Ibn Rayyān thus first heard these tales. He then recorded these tales in rhymed prose, added verses, and placed them in the form of *maqāmāt* (*abraztuhā fī ṣūrat maqāmāt*). Ibn Rayyān's *maqāmāt* reflect an awareness of central features of the *maqāma* genre. He uses rhymed prose (*sağʿ*) and often alternates between prose and verse (*prosimetrum*).[14]

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (d. 727/1326-1327) explaining the difference between them and seeking a resolution. The latter had been a student of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) a noted authority. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid answered these two young men with a *fatwā* in which he favored the reading of Ibn Rayyān. To al-Ṣafadī's credit he recorded the entire exchange even though the older grammarian favored the opinion of Ibn Rayyān.

12. The two extant manuscripts are: 1. Cairo, Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, copied in 891/1486-1487 by Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar al-Ğawārī; 2. Gotha, Ms Oriental 2684, ff. 260-297, copied in Šaʿbān 1150/ Nov.-Dec. 1737. See Pertsch, 1883, vol. 4, p. 419.

13. Ibn Rayyān, *al-Maqāmāt al-rayyāniyya*, Ms Cairo f. 2a; Ms Gotha f. 260a.

14. See Heinrichs, 1997, pp. 249-275.

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An *isnād* precedes each of the ten *maqāmāt*. The *Ḥamawiyya* begins with the phrase: "I have learned from one of my friends, and those whose transmission I trust among beloved comrades (*aḫbaranī baʿḍ aṣḥābī wa-man aṯiqu bi-naqlihi min aḫbābī*)."[15] The *Miṣriyya* opens: "I learned from some of the charming and elegant known for their affection and loyalty (*aḫbaranī baʿḍ al-ẓurafāʾ mimman yuʿrafu bi-ḥifẓ al-mawadda wa-l-wafāʾ*)."[16] A first-person narrator relates every one of the ten *maqāmāt*. But there is no consistent hero trickster figure as in al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*.

Although Ibn Rayyān states that he heard the tales, several derive from written sources. The *Wāsiṭiyya* borrows its plot from a tale in al-Tanūḫī's collection, *Relief after Hardship*.[17] Ibn Rayyān's *Sinǧāriyya* references the plot of both al-Ḥarīrī's *Sinǧāriyya* and al-Hamaḏānī's *Maḍīriyya*. Several *maqāmāt* refer to events during the Mamluk period: the *Ḥamawiyya* refers to the Ayyubid rulers of Hama, and in particular to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the progenitor of the Ayyubid line in Hama, ʿUmar b. Šāhanšāh Nūr al-Dīn (r. 574-587/1178-1191). The *Wizāriyya* reflects the cadres of administrative officials to which Ibn Rayyān belonged.[18]

Ibn Rayyān's *maqāmāt* do not seem to have circulated widely. Al-Itlīdī (d. 12th/18th century) reproduces Ibn Rayyān's *ʿUmariyya* in his *Iʿlām al-nās bi-mā waqaʿa li-l-Barāmika maʿa Banī ʿAbbās*. Al-Itlīdī mentions Šaraf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Rayyān as the tale's narrator.[19]

The *Qāhiriyya*

The *Qāhiriyya* is the report of a man who knows the "history of the rulers" (*aḫbār al-wulāt*). He states that his neighbor was a government official. This neighbor told him a tale of how once he was working in the government administration in Cairo. This official's tale is as follows:

One day, the Sultan recognizes the official's excellent performance and appoints him to supervise the affairs of the city of al-Maḥalla.[20] The official turns out to be extremely capable. He collects a great deal of money and secures the roads from robbers. For this, the administrator becomes well-known in government circles. The story begins when, one day, the Viceroy (*nāʾib al-sulṭān*) resident in Alexandria sends a shipment of one hundred thousand dirhams to Cairo. He orders a military officer and group of ten guards to transport

15. Ibn Rayyān, *al-Maqāmāt al-rayyāniyya*, Ms Cairo ff. 11a-13a; Ms Gotha f. 272b.

16. Ibn Rayyān, *al-Maqāmāt al-rayyāniyya*, Ms Cairo f. 19a; Ms Gotha f. 277a.

17. Al-Tanūḫī, *al-Faraǧ baʿd al-šidda*, IV, pp. 188-189. In the *Wāsiṭiyya*'s version of the tale, the merchant appoints the agent's trustworthy son. The son however is kidnapped by the ferocious lion. He is saved from certain death when a group of pigs fortuitously distract the lion. While he is in the lion's lair, the boy notices the merchant's money which had been "stolen" by the lion. The final reunion scene with the merchant is a moment of "relief after hardship" (*al-faraǧ baʿd al-šidda*).

18. The frame tale of the *Sinǧāriyya* concerns the reason that a man possesses exceptionally long whiskers. The tale explains his exploits in Sinǧār when an encounter with an itinerant beggar leads to his forfeiting his love interest. The tale is similar in construction to the *Maḍīriyya* of al-Hamaḏānī in which Abū al-Fatḥ refuses to eat this dish and provides his tale as an explanation. Al-Ḥarīrī's rewriting of the *Maḍīriyya* is similarly named *Sinǧāriyya* which perhaps provided the inspiration for this tale.

19. Al-Itlīdī, *Iʿlām al-nās*, 1990, p. 11.

20. See Kramers, 1985.

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the shipment. A guide brings these men to a location on the banks of the Nile in the vicinity of al-Maḥalla. That night, a group of men attacks and robs them of the Viceroy's money. Learning of this incident, the Viceroy sends an official missive (*al-marāsim al-šarīfa al-sulṭāniyya*) to the official. The Viceroy's letter orders the official to arrest the perpetrator and restore the stolen money. It threatens further that if he does not find those responsible and the money, the Viceroy will hold him responsible.

Fearing for his own life, the official is worried and cannot sleep. After gaining resolve through prayer, he summons a group of his own men who are "experienced" in affairs, informing them of the situation. He threatens them so that they recover the stolen money. He then informs them about the types of tricks.

One of the senior military commanders, however, feels humiliated by the official's speech. He dresses in poor man's clothing, bringing with him bread and salt and leaves the city. He arrives in a nearby village where he visits the local mosque where he meets a group of travelers and sufis. There, the commander begins to complain of his loss of wealth and family. His companions in the mosque pray, eat, and lie down to sleep. The men then begin to discuss recent news.

One of his companions mentions the theft of the Viceroy's shipment. He states that the perpetrators are a group of ten led by a certain Šaybūb. He describes Šaybūb as being a slave of good character. The man then gives the names of Šaybūb's companions and where they live. The commander rushes back to the official to inform him.

The official then leads a group to find the perpetrators. He arrests ten of them, and retakes their shares of the money. Šaybūb then confronts the official on the battlefield, kills his mount and throws him to the ground. Having the official in a vulnerable position, Šaybūb decides not to kill him. Instead, he escapes. Having lost Šaybūb, the official remains worried for he has not recovered all the money. A short while later, the official learns that Šaybūb's master lives in a nearby village. The master is a man of excellent character, who banished his servant Šaybūb when he committed crimes.

Seeking to get back the remaining money in Šaybūb's possession, the official hatches a plot. He goes to where the master resides and punishes him for the actions of his slave. He strips the man naked, and whips him. His wives were present at his torture and let their hair hang loose (as a form of lamenting), such that Šaybūb learns of it. Being a man of good character, he rushes to the scene and presents himself to the official. The official asks Šaybūb where the money is. He answers in rhymed prose, explaining his actions and shaming the official for unjustly torturing the innocent man.

The official states that Šaybūb astonished him. So he feels pity for Šaybūb, binds him in chains and brings him to Cairo. He presents Šaybūb before the Sultan and tells him the tale. The Sultan is so astonished at Šaybūb's bravery that he allows him to repent on the spot for his crime of brigandage. He then offers him money and a robe of honor. Finally, he makes Šaybūb a military commander (*muqaddam*) and appoints him to the guards. The Sultan then reappoints the administrator to his position in al-Maḥalla.

AnIsl 49 (2016), p. 99-114 Maurice A. Pomerantz
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References to the *Sīra* of ʿAntar b. Šaddād

Ibn Rayyān states that his *maqāmāt* derive from oral tales (*ḥikāyāt*). The name of the character Šaybūb is well known from the *Sīrat ʿAntar b. Šaddād*. In the popular epic, Šaybūb is the trickster brother and companion of ʿAntar. Born of a slave girl Zabība, Šaybūb is the son of the "Black King" al-Ġawwār. He appears throughout the ʿAntar cycle as a virtuous, but deceptive warrior. Ibn Rayyān's portrayal of the figure of Šaybūb does seem to conform with his representation in the *sīra* of ʿAntar.[21]

Poetry in the *maqāma* also directly refers to the figure of ʿAntara b. Šaddād, such as "when the voice of the situation" (*lisān al-ḥāl*) states after the first confrontation between the narrator and Šaybūb:

qad samiʿnā ʿan ibni Šaddādi aʿnī *ʿAntarā fī al-ḥurūbi mā qad kafānā*
wa-samiʿnā ʿan ġayrihi min ḍawī al-baʾsi *umūrun tušayyibu al-wildānā*

We have heard all we need of Ibn Šaddād, by which I mean ʿAntar, in battles.
We have heard of other strong men's feats, which would make youths turn grey-haired.

This reference to the popular epic of ʿAntar predates the first manuscripts of the *sīra* of ʿAntar which first appear in the 9th/15th century. But as Konrad Hirschler has noted, popular epics such as the *sīra* of ʿAntar b. Šaddād and al-Baṭṭāl were likely written and performed prior to this. The *Qāhiriyya* is thus an important witness to the increasing awareness of the *Sīrat ʿAntar* and other popular epics in elite circles.[22]

According to Hirschler, popular epics challenged learned authority over the transmission of knowledge about the past. For this reason, scholars censured trade in these works which they viewed as filled with romance, magic and miracles.[23] Their complaints underscore the fact that many were reading or listening to these works. They portrayed "protagonists who generally emerge out of a marginal position to claim their pre-destined position through a series of adventures that allow them to display their 'knightly' traits".[24] As such, the works achieved popularity among both elite and non-elite readers.

Competing Values in the *Qāhiriyya*

The *Qāhiriyya* begins from the point of view of the narrator, who is an administrative official. The Sultan appoints the official for his capacity to maintain law and order, prevent theft, and collect taxes. He is an obedient servant of the state, who maintains law and order

21. Lyons, 2012, pp. 17-27.
22. Hirschler, 2011, p. 166.
23. Hirschler, 2011, p. 168.
24. Hirschler, 2011, p. 165.

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and for this, the Sultan values his services. His allegiance to the commands of his superiors and promotion of its interests is valuable to the state and Sultan.

Šaybūb, by contrast, is an outlaw. He breaks the law by stealing money sent by the Viceroy of Egypt to the Sultan. Šaybub's band of outlaws murders innocents and engages in brigandage which is an offense punishable by death. The representatives of the state first want nothing more than to capture and kill the perpetrator of this crime.

The events of the *Qāhiriyya* resist the simple opposition between the "good" official and the "bad" outlaw. The outlaw's theft of the money and murder of the heroes (*abṭāl*) guarding the money by another group sets the plot in motion. Yet there is little dwelling on the injustice of the act. Rather, the plot focuses on the response of the official to this theft.

The first part of the story reveals that although the official is free, he is subject to the ruler's threat of violence. For the Viceroy's letter threatens the official with retribution if he does not find the perpetrators. The letter frightens the administrator to such a degree that he begins to worry. Yet the official does not oppose the injustice of these threats. Instead, he inflicts on his subordinates the same violent warnings of retribution. He threatens them so that they arrest the perpetrators and recover the stolen money.

If the first part of the story focuses on official threats of violence, the second section points out their inefficacy in the face of a strong, courageous, and noble opposition. The Viceroy's warnings do not achieve their intended result as they pass down through the hierarchy. For his insulting language causes one of his own military officers to resign his post. And it is the military man's movement outside administrative knowledge that leads to the crucial discovery of the outlaws. Rather than suppress this new information, the former military man immediately informs the administrator. The military man who has deserted his post has shown that courage is sometimes found in resistance.

The official's determination to carry out orders brings him into direct conflict with Šaybūb. But the battlefield reveals Šaybūb to be the courageous warrior. He could have killed the administrator on the battlefield, but did not. The voice of the situation (*lisān al-ḥāl*) extols Šaybūb in verse as being far braver than the men of the current age.[25]

The official's actions after his defeat by Šaybūb further underscores the distance between the two men. Rather than granting Šaybūb a victory, the official turns to wanton violence. He seeks to entrap Šaybūb through the unjust torture of Šaybūb's innocent master.

Šaybūb's daring arrival on the scene marks an abrupt shift in the tale. Offering himself in exchange for the innocent free man, he demonstrates his courage. But even more so, he shows the limitations of adherence to the law. For Šaybūb argues that he stole the state's money because he needed to feed his children. Šaybūb's confrontation of the official points to the existence of morality outside of the laws of the state.

25. The final line of this poem is taken from al-Mutanabbī, see al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, n.d., p. 474. This type of poetic quotation is common in Ibn Rayyān's *Maqāmāt*.

AnIsl 49 (2016), p. 99-114 Maurice A. Pomerantz
An Epic Hero in the Maqāmāt ? Popular and Elite Literature in the 8th/14th Century
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In a surprising turn of events, the slave Šaybūb persuades the free official. The official in turn then relates his story of courage and bravery which then sways the Sultan. The Sultan's appointment of Šaybūb to his guard acknowledges his courage and value. The administrator returns to his position in the end.

Contending Genres: Elite and Popular Literature

The official and Šaybūb stand for two sets of contending values in the *Qāhiriyya*. The official's obedience to the state places him in conflict with the brigands. While Šaybūb's loyalty to his kin, comrades, and master puts him into conflict with the ruler. The official represents loyalty to the state, whereas Šaybūb exhibits loyalty to one's family, comrades, and master.

Conflicts between these competing values were inevitable in the Mamluk period. Thus, the *maqāma*'s final scene, in which the official tells the Sultan the tale of Šaybūb's great valor and courage is a moment of transaction and transition. At this point, the Sultan recognizes the real and unappreciated value of Šaybūb. The act of including Šaybūb in his personal guard legitimates his heroic virtue.

The moment of the Sultan's recognition of the hero is not only important for the action of the tale but evokes the basic narrative feature of the *maqāma*. The uncovering of the hero's identity (*anagnorisis*) has been suggested by Philip Kennedy as a central feature of the *maqāma* genre.[26] The epic hero Šaybūb, the man of wiles, similarly evokes the trickster hero of the *maqāmāt*, thus clearly showing the links between these elite and popular traditions.

Moreover, the Sultan's appreciation of Šaybūb points to a positive evaluation of the popular epic as a literary genre. While the character of Šaybūb is from the remote past, his virtues are not. The popular epic of ʿAntar celebrates Šaybūb and his heroism. This positive valuation of epic seems to come not only from the Sultan of the story, but also reflects ideas of the Mamluk literary elite.

The central concern of this *maqāma* is an exchange of money between Alexandria and Cairo. Šaybūb's gang of outlaws interrupts the flow of this transaction. While such outlaws were not uncommon during the Mamluk period, the significance of their actions seems to be greater than a plot complication.[27] For throughout the *maqāma*, Šaybūb's trickster actions evoke the genre of the popular epic. Popular literature thus serves to enrich the *maqāma* and elite literary fictions. More than a simple monetary exchange, this *maqāma* seems a subtle act of literary borrowing that enriches the final composition.

26. Kennedy, 2009, pp. 26-61.
27. Petry, 2012, pp. 47-50 and 63-70.

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Appendix: The Arabic Text of al-Maqāmā al-qāhiriyya

This edition is based on two manuscripts. I have preferred readings of Ms Cairo to Ms Gotha in most cases. I have refrained from altering the prose to conform to Classical Arabic grammar, and intervened only in the poetry.

المقامة الثانية القاهرية

ق: معهد المخطوطات العربية (القاهرة)

غ: غوتا

أخبرني بعض الرواة عمن له معرفة بأخبار الولاة

قال:

كان لي بالقاهرة دار هي مسكني * وإلى جانبها جار هو سكني * وذو كفاية وإصابة ومهابة وصرامة وشهامة * قد قدمته يد العناية * إلى أعلاء مراتب الولاية[28] * قال أعجب ما رأيته[29] * من الغرائب وأغرب ما رويته[30] * من العجائب أن[31] مولانا السلطان عظمه الله وأجله * وأحله من منصب السيادة وأجله[32] * فوّض إليّ ولاية المحلة * وهي عمل كبير * يجبى منه خراج كثير * فباشرتهم مباشرة عارفاً بأحوالها * خبيراً بعمالها وأعمالها * مجتهداً في تمييز أمر[33] أموالها * وتتميز غلالها * فأقمت الحرمة * وقمعت كل ذي جرمة * فأمن السبيل * وصار[34] لي بذلك ذكر جميل[35] * واتصل بالمسامع الشريفة * حسن سيري وسيرتي[36] * وجميل معاملتي * في معاملتي[37] وكفايتي * في ولايتي ومسالمتي * لأهل الدولة ومجاملتي[38] * فكنت إذا ذكرت * شُكرت * فإن عرض أخذ بذمي[39] * كان لي في الحاضرين من يردع خصمي *

28. ق: المراتب.
29. ق: رأيت.
30. ق: رأيته.
31. سقط من غ.
32. ق: أجله.
33. سقط من غ.
34. غ: شاع.
35. غ: الجميل.
36. الكلام غير واضح في غ.
37. هكذا في غ و ق.
38. غ: مجالبتي.
39. غ: بدمي.

AnIsl 49 (2016), p. 99-114 Maurice A. Pomerantz
An Epic Hero in the Maqāmāt ? Popular and Elite Literature in the 8th/14th Century
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فاتفق أن نائب الإسكندرية * جهز حملاً إلى الديار المصرية * مبلغه مائة ألف درهم ومعه عشرة من الأعوان[40] عليهم مقدم فنزل بهم[41] الدليل * مكاناً[42] على شاطئ النيل * وذلك المكان قريب من بلدي * داخل في العمل * تحت يدي * فما استقر بهم النزول * ووضعت الحمول * حتى وقع عليهم جماعة من الأبطال * فقتلوا الرجال * وأخذوا المال * فطالع نائب الإسكندرية بالقضية * وفوردت المراسم[43] الشريفة السلطانية * تتضمن الانكار والتعنيف * والتحذير والتخويف * والتأكيد في التشديد * والترديد في التهديد * والمزيد في الوعيد * والمبالغة في عدم المراوغة والإلزام بإحضار الغرماء ذوي الإجترام والقيام * بالمال على التمام * وإن تعذر ذلك كانت أرواح المقتولين بروحك * والمال بمالك * فاستفزني الغيظ وصمت * وتفكرت في هذه الحالة وكظمت[44] *

[من الطويل]:

وُلَيتُ الولاياتِ التي قدْ تَعَدَّدَتْ فَكَمْ نالَني مِنْها أذىً أَتْعَبَ القَلْبا
وَمِـنْ عَـدَمِ الإنْصافِ أنّي مُطالبٌ بِذَنْبٍ وَغَيْري قَدْ جَنى ذلكَ الذَنْبا
وَكَـمْ مَـرَّةٍ أَنْـشَـدْتُ رَبْـعَ وِلايتي فَدُنياكَ مِنْ رَبْع وإنْ زِدَتْنا كَرْبا

قال فضقت ذرعـاً وكدت أبغي * وبت تلك الليلة وقد حار ذهني * لم يغمض جفني * وقد اشتد قلقي * واستدت سبلي * وطرقي وقت أزفت الآزفة * ليس لها من دون الله كاشفة * توضأت وصليت * وسألت الله المعونة فيما توليت * وتلوت سورة الأنعام * ودعوت بين الجلالتين بالدعاء المأثور عن سيد الأنام[45] * النبي صلى الله عليه شعر[من الطويل]:[46]

إلَهِيَ سَهِّلْ لي خَلاصي وَنُصرتي على الغُرما القاتلينَ فَقَدْ طَغوا
سطوا بأناسٍ لا يُـريـدونَ قَتْلهم ولا أضْمروا يوماً أذاهم ولا ابتغوا
ولا زال لُطْفُ الله جُمّاً وإنمّا يُعَجِّلُ هَلْكَ الظالمينَ إذا بغوا

فنهضت في الحال * وقابلت المراسم الشريفة بالامتثال * وأحضرت من حولي من الرجال * والمتقدمين الأبطال * وأصحاب الإدراك في تلك الأعمال * وأعلمتهم بما جرى من الأحوال * وما طرأ[47] على

40. غ: صحبه عشرة من أعوانه.
41. غ: بي.
42. غ: مكان.
43. غ: المواسم السلطانية.
44. ق: كضمت.
45. سقط من ق.
46. الشعر سقط من غ.
47. ق: طري.

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أولئك الرجال[48] والمال ❋ وشددت وهددت وخوفت ❋ وأكدت ووعدت وأوعدت ❋ وصرفتهم في ذلك العمل ❋ وعرفتهم ما يعتمدونه في[49] أنواع الحيل ❋ فقابلوا أمري بالامتثال ❋ وتفرقوا من بين يدي في الأعمال ❋ [من الطويل]:

لَقَدْ ذَهبوا لا خَيَّبَ الله سَعيْهم ... وَيَرْجونَ لُطْفَ الله في ذلكَ السَفَرْ
بـأيِّ قُـلـوبٍ يَـذْهَـبـونَ وَكُـلُّـهُـم ... عيونٌ تُريدُ الكَشْفَ عَنْ ذلكَ الخَبَرْ
هُمومٌ وَتَـهْـديـدٌ وَخَـوْفٌ ولوعةٌ ... وما كلُّ هذا الحالُ يَحْمِلُهُ البَشَرْ
إذا اشْتَدّ أَمْـرُ المرءِ وازداد همُّه ... تَيَقّنَ أنَّ اللَه يَأْتيه بالظَفَرْ

وكان فيهم مقدّم مرت به التجارب ❋ وهذّبته النوائب ❋ وكأنه[50] أنف من كلامي ❋ وما حصل له من الذلّة قدامي ❋ فترك داره على حالها ❋ وحملها على أهوالها[51] ❋ وقال إن ولاية المحلة لا تفي بهذه الذلة ❋ ولأخلصنَّ من هذا[52] البلاء ولبس زي الفقراء فلبس مِسْحاً[53] ❋ واستصحب الزاد خبزاً وملحاً ❋ فخرج من المدينة هارباً[54] مما جرى وضرب[55] بين هاتيك القرى فأفضى به المسير ❋ إلى بلد صغير ❋ فأوى إلى مسجده ❋ وتأوه لفقد أهله وولده[56] ❋ والمسجد قد اجتمع فيه من الفقراء الصالحين ❋ والمشايخ السائحين ❋ فصلوا فريضة العشاء ❋ واجتمعوا على ما معهم من العشاء ❋ ثم أخذوا مضاجعهم ❋ وفتحوا مسامعهم ❋ فصار كل منهم يتكلم على قدر[57] ما عنده من المعرفة ❋ ويحكي ما[58] سمعه من الوقائع المستطرفة ❋

فقال شخص هل سمعتم بهذه الأخـيـذة ❋ التي أخذتْها الحرامية ❋ من الجماعة الواصلين من الإسكندرية ❋ ثم حكى الحكاية معنعنة ❋ وأوضحها مبينة ❋ وذكر أن أخذتها عشرة من الأبطال ❋ كلّ واحد منهم يعد برجال ❋ مقدمهم عبد يُقال له شيبوب السلال ❋ وهو عبد عزيز المروة ❋ كثير الفتوة ❋ لا يتميز في المغنم عن رفاقه ❋ ولا يخرجون عن وفاقه ❋ ثم ذكر أسماءهم وأماكنهم ❋ وبين حلاهم[59] ومواطنهم ❋ وذلك المقدم قد أصغى إليه ❋ وفتح لإسماع قوله أذنيه ❋ حتى استوفى في كلامه ❋ وبلغ من مرامه ❋ فسمع هاتفاً يسمع صوت مقاله ❋ ولا يرى شخص خياله ❋ وهو ينشد في شرح حاله [من الطويل]:

48. سقط من غ.
49. غ: من.
50. غ: فكأنه.
51. غ: أحوالها.
52. سقط من ق.
53. غ: ولا لبس زي الفقراء فلبس مسحاً.
54. غ: هرباً.
55. غ: ضربت.
56. غ: غير واضح.
57. سقط من ق.
58. على قدر ما.
59. هكذا في ق ولعله حلى ج حلية؟

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تَـوَقِّـعْ مِـنَ الله الكريم لطائفاً ... وَثِقْ بالذي أَوّاكَ في خَيْرِ مَسْجِدِ
فَـشـاهـدْتَ فيه الأولـيـاءِ وَقَلَّما ... تراهُمْ عُيونُ الناسِ في كلِّ مَشْهَدِ
أَتـيْـتَ إلـيـه بـانـكـسـارٍ وذُلّـةٍ ... وتأتي وَتَشْكو مِنْ زمانٍ مُنَكِّدِ
وَرُمْتَ اتّضاحَ الحال عنْ كلِّ معْشرٍ ... حراميّةٌ ما فيهِم غير معْتدِ
وهُمْ[60] معْشرٌ أُسْـدٌ وفيهِم مُقَدَّمٌ ... عوائدُهُ ضَرْبُ الحُسام المُهَنَّدِ
إذا لاذ مَـظْـلـومٌ بـبـابِ إلهه ... تَيَسَّرَ ما يَرْجوْهُ مِنْ كلِّ مَقْصِدِ
فقابلْ جَميلَ اللُطْفِ بالشُكْر واعْتمدْ ... على اللهِ تَظْفِرْ بالنجاحِ وأنْشدِ
سَتُبدي لَكَ الأيـامُ ما كنتَ جاهِلاً ... ويأتيكَ بالأخبار من لم تُزَوّد[61]

ثم نهض من ساعته * خفية من جماعته * وسلك الطريق * والتوفيق له رفيق * فوصل[62] آخر الليل وفعل من سرعة السير * ما لا يفعله[63] جياد الخيل * وأخبرني بالخبر * وذكر ما ذكر * فركبت في الحال * بمن معي من الرجال * وتتبعتُ الغرماء من أماكنهم[64] * ومسكت تسعة منهم من مساكنهم * واستعدت من المال * تسعين ألف درهم على الكمال[65] * وبقي العبد المقدم * ومعه عشرة آلاف درهم * فأخذت خبره * وتبعت[66] أثره[67] * فوصف لي مكانه * وعظم لي[68] شأنه * فقصدت ذلك المكان بالرجال * واحتطنا بذلك المجال[69] * فلم يَكُ بأسرع مِن أن[70] خرج العبد إلينا * وحمل بسيفه علينا * وصرخ صرخة أرعبت القلوب *

وقال: أنا شيبوب * ثمّ ضرب فرسي بصارمه * فألقى رأسه بين قوائمه * فجندلني[71] * أومى بسيفه إليّ ثم تركني[72] * ولو شاء أن يقتلني قتلني * ثم عطف عليّ من معي من الرجال * فطرح منهم عشرة في ذلك المجال * فما ضرب ضربةً إلا سقط بها مجروح * وكانت كفيلة بخروج الروح * فأحجمت عنه الرجال حياراً * وولوا فراراً * وخرج هو على حمية حتى استتر عنّا وتوارى وأنشدَ لسانُ الحال [من الخفيف]:

60. هم في الأصل.
61. هذا البيت من معلقة طرفة بن العبد، انظر: الزوزني، ١٩٨٠، ص ١٠٣.
62. غ: في آخر الليل.
63. غ: تفعله.
64. غ: تبعتهم من أماكنهم وأمسكت منهم تسعة من مساكنهم.
65. غ: سقط من غ.
66. غ: تتبعت.
67. من غ لأن الكلمة غير واضحة في ق.
68. غ: عليّ
69. غ: محال.
70. غ: بأن.
71. ق: خذلني؟
72. غ: ونهرني.

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قَـدْ سَمِعْنا عَـنْ ابْـنِ شَـدّادِ أَعْني ... عَنْتَرَا في الحُروبِ ما قدْ كفانا
وَسَمِعْنا عَنْ غَيرِهِ مِنْ ذوي البأْسِ (م) ... أمـــورٌ تُـشـيّـبُ الـولـدانـا
وَرَأَيْنا في عصْرِنا حالةَ الحرب (م) ... رجـالاً تَـجَـنْـدَلَ الشُجْعانا
غَيرُ أنّـي ما شاهدت قـطّ عَيني ... مِثْل هـذا الـغُـلام لمّا التقانا
صادقُ الضرْبِ ثابتُ الجأشِ يَحْكي ... صُـوْرةَ اللَيْثِ بلْ أشـدُّ جَنانا
لَمْ يَخَفْ سَطْوَةَ الرجال ولا هابَ (م) ... المنايا لمّا التقى الفُرْسانا
فـإذا لَـمْ يكنْ مِـنَ الـمَـوْتِ بُـدٌّ ... فَمِنَ العَجْزِ أَنْ تَكونَ جَبَانا

فقال فرجعت مهموماً مكسوراً * بعد ما كنت مسروراً منصوراً * فأُخبرتُ أن العبد له مولى في بلد قريب إلينا[73] * غير بعيد عنا * وهو رجل معروف بالخير * موصوف بحسن السيرة والسير * لمّا تعلق العبد بالحرام أبعده[74] * ونفاه عنه وطرده * فسوّل لي الشيطان * قصد ذلك المكان * وإمساك مولاه عقوبته على ما فعل عبده وجناه فأتيت البلد ونصبت الخشب * وصلبت[75] التسعة على اللعب * ثم أحضرت مولى العبد وهو مرعوب * وألزمته بإحضار العبد شيبوب[76] * وجرّدته من أثوابه * وأوقفته عرياناً بإزاء بابه * وأمرت الجلاد أن يرقمه بأثيابه * فرقمه وأسال دمه ونساؤه لعقوبته مباشرات[77] * ولشعورهن ناشرات * فلمّا اتصل خبر الرجل بالعبد عز عليه * وحملته المروة بالحضور إليه * ووجد وقوع نفسه فيما يخشاه * أسهل عليه[78] من وصول الأذى الى مولاه * فاخترق الصفوف * ووقف بين الوقوف * ثم نظر إليّ وقال يا مصحوب * كيف يكون شيبوب المطلوب * وهذا الشيخ المضروب * أين تذهب من علام الغيوب * كيف تنجو[79] من ظلامة هذا الشيخ المرعوب * كيف تخلص من دعاته المنكسرات القلوب * قال فأمرت بإمساكه * والتعجيل بإسلاكه * وقال لا تعجل * وافعل ما تفعل * أن المروة لا تقتضي عقوبة هذا الشيخ ظلماً ومن كنت عبده فالواجب أن يعد ويحمى فأطلق الشيخ إلى قصده * وافعل ما تختاره بعبده * فقلت أين المال * فقال يا أبطال المال مال * والحال ما حال المال * ينتفع به بعدي الرجال * المال أصرفه الى الكماة والأبطال * المال تستعين به العيال * المال أتركه لهؤلاء الأطفال * لم ينفع الذي استعدته من رفاقي * فكيف تطلب مني إحضار الباقي * تعين الفوت * حضر الموت * والله لو نصبت سلماً * وصعدت فيه إلى السماء ما أحضرت من المال درهماً * فقال فحير عقلي وعطفي عليه عطفة عن قتله فقيدته وزندته * وسلسلته وغلقته * وحملت بين يدي المواقف الشريفة وأحضرته وأخبرت عنه بما شهدته منه وشاهدته ورويت ما رأيت وشرحت من شجاعته ما لمحت

73. غ: منّا.
74. غ: بعده.
75. غ: شنقته.
76. غ: سقط من غ.
77. غ: سائرات.
78. غ: سقط من غ.
79. ق: تنجوا.

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