

**IBN ZUNBUL**

Aḥmad b. °Alī

(d. > 1574)

LIFE

Aḥmad b. °Alī, who bears the nicknames al-Maḥallī (with reference to his native town al-Maḥalla al-kubrā in Lower Egypt),<sup>1</sup> al-Shāfi°ī, al-Munajjim (the astrologer), and al-Rammāl (the geomancer), is commonly referred to “Ibn Zunbul”. However, many manuscripts suggest the reading “Ibn Zanbal.”

An old historiographical tradition depicts I.Z. as a member of the inner circle of Mamluk sultan Qanṣūh al-Ġawrī (r. 906-922/1501-16) and as a witness of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 923/1517. C. Brockelmann refers to I.Z. as a “civil servant at the war division” indicating that he was receiving a salary from the *dīwān al-jaysh* under al-Ġawrī.<sup>2</sup> F. Babinger and, following him, S.M. Es-Seyyid and E. İhsanoğlu depict him as the astrologer of the sultan, who attended the latter’s military campaigns.<sup>3</sup> M.M. Ziyādeh describes him as a contemporary of Ibn Iyās (d. shortly after 29 Zilhicce 930/28 October 1524) and states that he received a salary from the Ottoman army office (*dīwān al-jaysh*) in 951/1544.<sup>4</sup> Although all these authors agree that I.Z. must have died after 960/1552, D. Behrens-Abouseif argues that he lived much later and composed his chronicle at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup>

Since Brockelmann, Babinger and Ziyādeh do not cite their sources, it is difficult to ascertain the origins of their arguments. The idea that I.Z. followed al-Ġawrī at war certainly comes from the fact that his chronicle describes in detail the sultan’s expedition in 922/1516, even though there is no proof that he was then following the Mamluk army, especially since he was clearly not the geomancer whom, in his chronicle, al-Ġawrī consults in order to know who will rule after himself.<sup>6</sup> The first person narrative style he employs on at least one occasion in the text does not imply that he was an eye-witness to the events but is intended to give more authority to his own account.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the reference in his great encyclopedia *Qānūn al-dunyā* to a dream in which the ghost of al-Ġawrī appears to him and justifies his political deeds can be considered a hint that the sultan never actually spoke to him.<sup>8</sup> Finally, one should not trust the later Turkish chronicles depicting I.Z. as a contemporary of al-Ġawrī. In his Turkish adaptation of I.Z.’s chronicle, completed in 1038/1628 or shortly thereafter, Aḥmed Süheylī depicts him as the geomancer and astrologer of al-Ġawrī, and it is him that the sultan consults in order to know who will be his successor.<sup>9</sup> *Ta’rīḥ-i Miṣr*, which Ḥallāq completed in 1130/1717 or shortly after, argues the same way.<sup>10</sup> The idea that I.Z. was a contemporary of al-Ġawrī, therefore, appears to have developed during the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, although it did not appear in 16<sup>th</sup>-century sources.

On the basis of the general character of the account as well as the attribution of the title of *qā'immaqām* to °Osmān Beg, who was the provisional governor of Egypt in 1012/1604, D. Behrens-Abouseif dates the chronicle to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> However, the fact that the first argument is vague, and the reference to °Osmān Beg is a later addition to the original text leaves no reason to think that I.Z. was still alive at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, Behrens-Abouseif is right in suggesting that I.Z. practiced divination after the rule of al-Ġawrī: she refers to a passage from Ḥallāq's *Ta'riḥ-i Miṣr* in which Maḥmūd Paşa, the governor of Egypt (gov. 973-975/1566-67), consults I.Z. after a terrible nightmare.<sup>12</sup> Although Ḥallāq gives I.Z.'s *Qānūn al-dunyā* as his source, the fact that the latter was written before 970/1563,<sup>13</sup> makes it more likely that his source was the Turkish adaptation of the text completed by *qāḍī* °Abdurrahmān in 983/1575.<sup>14</sup>

Maḥmūd Paşa was not the only governor of Egypt I.Z. served. His employers included Ḥusrev Paşa (gov. 941-943/1535-36) as well as others in much later periods.<sup>15</sup> Both in *Qānūn al-dunyā* and *Kitāb al-maqālāt fī [or: wa] ḥall al-mushkilāt*, one of his geomancy treatises, he states that he sojourned in Istanbul on two occasions. During his first stay (Rebiülevvel 944/August-September 1537 until 945/1538), I.Z. displayed his talent as a geomancer to the chancellor (*nişāncı*) Celālzāde Muştafā (d. 975/1567).<sup>16</sup> His entrance in the Ottoman power circles was probably facilitated by his good relations with al-Ġawrī's son Muḥammad, who had developed a friendship with Selīm I (r. 918-926/1512-20) in Egypt in 923/1517, and was brought to Istanbul by him. Although Muḥammad returned to Egypt in the company of the Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Paşa (d. 942/1536) in 931/1525,<sup>17</sup> he was again in Istanbul in 945/1538, giving the two Egyptians the opportunity to see each other in the Ottoman capital.<sup>18</sup>

I.Z. went to Istanbul for a second time in 962/1554-55. He states that he was, just like in 944-945/1537-38, hosted by Aḥmed, who was the agha of the janissaries during I.Z.'s first visit and grand vizier during the second.<sup>19</sup> This fact indicates that it was Qara Aḥmed Paşa, the "conqueror of Temeşvar" (*Temeşvar fātiḥi*), who was put to death on 14 Zilkade 962/28 September 1555.

The Turkish adaptation of the *Qānūn al-dunyā* indicates that I.Z. was still alive between 981-983/1573-75 when °Abdurrahmān composed it as the latter claims to have worked at the request of Murād, who was prince before ascending the Ottoman throne in 982/1574. I.Z. was obviously known in the Ottoman court since his first visit in Istanbul, and perhaps even from earlier on.

## WORKS

### ① *İnfişāl al-āwān wa ittişāl dawlat Banī °Uṭmān*

Although it is not clear whether I.Z. began to work on *İnfişāl al-āwān* in Egypt or in Istanbul, and when he finished it, it is known that he was working on it while in Istanbul in 945/1538.<sup>20</sup> Devoted to the Ottoman-Mamluk war of 922-923/1516-17, *İnfişāl* opens with the departure of the Mamluk army from Cairo (Qāhire) in Rebiülahire

## HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

922/May 1516, narrates the tensions within the Mamluk camp, describes the escalation of the conflict with the Ottomans, and culminates with the victory of Selīm I and the death of al-Ġawrī in Marj Dābiq (Mercidābiq) in Receb 922/August 1516. This section constitutes approximately one-sixth of the text, while the description of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, defended by the new Mamluk sultan Ṭomanbay (r. Ramazan 922-Rebiülevvel 923/October 1516-April 1517) makes up two-thirds of the work. After the conquest, the description of events becomes much more succinct, even though the chronicle gives much detail about the 927/1520-21 revolt of Jānbirdī al-Ġazālī (d. 927/1521), a Mamluk emir who had been appointed Ottoman governor of Damascus (Şām). The Ottoman victory over the Knights of Rhodes in 929/1522, thanks to the help of Egyptian troops, is quickly related. This appears to be the original end of the work, although very short notes bring some manuscripts up to the governorship of °Alī Paşa (956-961/1549-53).<sup>21</sup> Except for a very limited number of important events, such as al-Ġawrī’s departure for Syria, the Battle of Marj Dābiq, the election and hanging of Ṭomanbay, the death of Selīm I, and the death of Jānbirdī al-Ġazālī, *Infişāl* almost never gives dates. Furthermore, the chronological organization is shaky: on various occasions the text returns to the past or jumps into the future.

The chronological weakness is not surprising if one considers that the text concerns itself with “high deeds” rather than events: it is a “romance of chivalry.”<sup>22</sup> *Infişāl* tells with unending detail of the heroic charges of the Mamluk cavalry and of the Ottoman counterattack with the use of artillery. Solemn proclamations, sometimes insulting the enemy, are made on the battlefield. Combat carries over to the Ottoman imperial council and turns into debate, where brave Mamluks, such as the amirs Shādbak (d. 923/1517) and Kurtbay al-Wālī (d. 923/1517), and Sultan Ṭomanbay, who were held prisoners by the Ottomans and were awaiting their upcoming death, then face Selīm I in a last confrontation, this time a verbal one: the debate centers on the legitimacy of war and power. Thus the epic feeds political polemic. *Infişāl* opposes two methods of fighting, two political systems, two civilizations; the confrontation is awe-inspiring and total.<sup>23</sup> I.Z. takes neither the Mamluk nor the Ottoman side, but rebukes at length the Mamluk amirs Ḥayrbak (d. 928/1522) and Jānbirdī al-Ġazālī as traitors responsible for the Ottoman victory.

This work is one of fiction as much as of history, and U. Haarmann saw it as the end product of the *Literarisierung* process taking place in Arabic historiography during the last centuries of the middle ages.<sup>24</sup> In a recent study Robert Irwin went further and considered I.Z. not as a historian proper, but as a historical novelist, maybe the Arab world’s first true one: he noted *Infişāl*’s “readiness to sacrifice factual accuracy to narrative drive.”<sup>25</sup> I.Z.’s imagination no doubt played an essential part in the composition of the text. I.Z. does obviously not rely on any written source, but claims to have been inspired by Muḥammad b. al-Ġawrī, when he states in *Qānūn al-dunyā* that “It is because of Sayyidī Muḥammad, son of the sultan al-Malik Qānşūh al-Ġawrī that I wrote” *Infişāl al-āwān*.<sup>26</sup> It is in the same text that I.Z. states that he paid

little attention to the testimony, which is hostile to al-Ġawrī, of °Alī, son of the sultan al-Mu’ayyad Aḥmad (r. 865/1461), whom he met during his first visit to Istanbul.<sup>27</sup> However, in *Infiṣāl*, he mentions as informants the *qāḍī* Aṣīl al-Tawīl, who knew Ṭomanbay, and the Mamluk amir Arazmak Nāshif (d. 930/1524),<sup>28</sup> besides, of course, Muḥammad b. al-Ġawrī (d. ?).<sup>29</sup>

I.Z.’s text was a major success. No other narrative of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt had such an audience during the Ottoman period, and it is only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Ibn Iyās’s *Badā’i° al-zuhūr* exceeded its fame. There are eight manuscripts of the chronicle in Paris, five in Gotha and, in total, dozens of manuscripts copied between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. There seems to be no manuscript clearly datable to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, or any manuscript bearing the title *Infiṣāl al-āwān wa ittiṣāl dawlat Banī °Uṭmān* (Separation of the Moments and the Advent of the Fortune of the Ottoman Family), which is only known through I.Z.’s encyclopedia. The manuscripts bear various, and even contradictory, titles: *Ta’rīḥ Miṣr al-maḥrūsa* (History of the Well-Protected Cairo); *Fath Miṣr* (Conquest of Cairo); *Ta’rīḥ Ġazawāt sulṭān Salīm Ḥān ma° al-sulṭān al-Ġawrī* (Wars of Sultan Selīm Khan against Sultan al-Ġawrī); *Wāqi°at al-Ġawrī huwa wa’l-sulṭān Salīm* (War of al-Ġawrī and of Sultan Selīm); *Wāqi°at al-sulṭān Salīm* (War of Sultan Selīm); *Kitāb Sirat al-Jarākisa wa mā waqa°a baynahum ma° al-sulṭān Salīm Ḥān* (Romance of the Circassians: What Happened Between them and Sultan Selīm Khan). Such contradictions should be attributed to the strength of a text that is both history (*ta’rīḥ*) and romance (*sīra*), depicting both the Mamluk and the Ottoman sides.

The number of the manuscripts gives only a partial idea of the text’s popularity, as it was also orally transmitted. I.Z. appears in the text on many occasions: “the historian said” (*qāla al-mu’arriḥ*), “the author said” (*qāla al-mu’allif*), “the narrator said it excellently” (*wa laqad ajāda al-qā’il*), “the transmitter reported” (*qāla al-rāwī, qāla al-nāqil*). These are probably the words of professional storytellers. Furthermore, the language of the work is not literary, but rather stands halfway between written and spoken language. Action is often expressed not with verbs, but rather through active participles, following the practice of Arabic dialects. It is likely, therefore, that the extant manuscripts are oral versions which were written down in order to be, at a later point, once again used for the oral performance of the story. The conditions of transmission of this chronicle are probably similar to those, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, of the “military” chronicles (or “chronicles of al-Damurdashī group”), and the latter indeed share some of the stylistic characteristics of *Infiṣāl*.<sup>30</sup> Yet it would be a mistake to consider *Infiṣāl* as the first “military” chronicle, since it is the work of a very cultured man of letters who had ties with the Egyptian Paṣas and the Ottoman court, rather than that of a low-ranking officer.

I.Z.’s chronicle has been used by Arabic Egyptian chroniclers Ibn Abī’l-Surūr and al-Jabartī (d. 1241/1825-26).<sup>31</sup> Aḥmed Süheylī adapted it into Turkish, adding a very short extension (*zeyl*) down to 1038/1628. The Turkish adaptation by Süheylī, under

the title *Ta'riḥ-i Miṣr-i cedīd*, was printed by İbrāhīm Mütefferiqa in Istanbul in 1142/1730.<sup>32</sup> Ḥallāq's *Ta'riḥ-i Miṣr*, the most complete manuscript of which brings the narrative down to 1130/1717,<sup>33</sup> gives a Turkish adaptation of I.Z.'s chronicle when it discusses the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Babinger points out one further Turkish adaptation of I.Z.'s chronicle, that of Yūsuf Milevī, although it is quite possible, as J. Hathaway suggested, that Ḥallāq and Milevī (or Mallawī, or Mallawānī) are indeed the same man.<sup>34</sup> One should finally point out that the narrative of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt the Jewish Cairene chronicler Yosef Sambari provides in his Hebrew chronicle, which he completed in 5433 anno mundi/1673, is a shortened version of *Infīṣāl*.<sup>35</sup>

I.Z. is the author of a geographical encyclopedia written in three stages. Having begun with the oldest and shortest version entitled *Muḥtaṣar al-juḡrāfiya*, I.Z. later expanded this work into *Tuḥfat al-mulūk wa'l-raḡā'ib li-mā fi l-barr wa-l-baḥr min al-<sup>c</sup>ajā'ib wa'l-ḡarā'ib*, and finally wrote the most complete version, *Qānūn al-dunyā*.<sup>36</sup> Bringing together a wide array of information, the work not only integrates geographical data with historical knowledge pertaining to the places described, but also devotes significant space to astronomy and the explanation of phenomena using geomancy. Among numerous treatises on occult sciences, primarily on geomancy, I.Z. composed *Kitāb al-maqālāt fi [or: wa] ḥall al-mushkilāt*, which he completed before the death of Süleymān I in 974/1566.<sup>37</sup>

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### ① *Infīṣāl al-āwān wa ittiṣāl dawlat Banī <sup>c</sup>Utmān*

*Manuscripts*: A list of more than 30 manuscripts is given by Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1937-49 [first edition: 1898-1902], vol. 2, 298, Supplementband 2, 409. The present writer omitted some references he could not check while adding others:

(1) Alexandria, University Library, collection of Dr. Atia Sorial (according to <sup>c</sup>Āmir, *Āḥirat al-mamālīk*, 74). [not mentioned in *Fihrist maḥṭūtāt jāmi<sup>c</sup>at al-Iskandarīya* (Cairo, 1994), 2 vols]. (2) Cairo, Dār al-kutub, Ta'riḥ 44/2, 208 fol., dated 1068/1657. (3) Cairo, Dār al-kutub, Ta'riḥ -m 124, 18 fol. (4) Cairo, Dār al-kutub, Ta'riḥ 129, 126 fol. (5) Cairo, Dār al-kutub, Ta'riḥ Taymūr 376, 237 fol., 16 lines, *taliq*, dated 1065/1654. (6) Cairo, Dār al-kutub, Ta'riḥ Taymūr 714, 303 pages, 15 lines, dated 1209/1795. (7) Cairo, Dār al-kutub, Ta'riḥ Taymūr 1776 (*Fihrist al-kutub al-<sup>c</sup>arabīya al-maḥfūza bi-l-kutubḥāna al-ḥidīwīya al-miṣrīya*, vol. 5 (Cairo, 1308/1890-1891), 21, 23, 174 ; <sup>c</sup>Āmir, *Āḥirat al-mamālīk*, 73-74). (8) Cambridge, University Library, Or. 175/Qq 136, 52 fol., 26 lines, *taliq*, not dated. (Edward G. Browne, *A Hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts including all those written in the Arabic character preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1900), 29). (9) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 5272, 80 fol., dated

## HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

1075/1664. (Arthur J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*, (Dublin, 1964), vol. VII, 87). (10) Glasgow, University Library, Or. 155, 136 fol., 19 lines, dated 1028/1619. (J. Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908), 477). (11) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 1669, 187 fol., 11 lines, nash. (12) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 1670, 87 fol., 25 lines, taliq. (13) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 1671, 101 fol., 20-23 lines, nash. (14) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 1672, 69 fol., 21 lines, nash. (15) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 1673, 39 fol., 23 lines. (Wilhelm Pertsch, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Gotha, 1881), 275-277). (16) Hyderabad, Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute (formerly Aṣāfiya Library). (C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1937-1949) [first edition 1898-1902], Supplementband 2, 409, seems to refer to *Kutubhāna-i Aṣāfiya-i Sarkar-i ʿAlī* (Hyderabad, 1308/1900), I, 186 (312). (17) Leiden, University Library, 980/2619 (Cod. 1684). (M. J. de Goeje, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1873), 205; M. J. de Goeje and Th. W. Juynboll, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, editio secunda (Leiden, 1907), 97). (18) London, British Museum, Sup. 565 (Or. 3031), 46 fol., 23 lines, nash, dated 1156/1743. (19) London, British Museum, Sup. 566/1 (Or. 2811/1), fol. 2b-88a, 19 lines, nash, dated probably 17th c. (Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1894), 355-56). (20) Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ar. 275, 130 fol., 15 lines, nash, dated 1241/1825. (A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester, 1934), col. 438-440). (21) Medina, ʿĀrif Ḥikmat Library, Taʿrīḥ 97, 102 fol., double columns of 21 lines, nash (Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (ed.), *Taʿrīḥ Ġazwat al-sultān Salīm maʿ Qānṣūh al-Ġūrī, taʿlīf Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Zunbul* (Beirut, 2004), 6). (22) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 411, 139 fol., 15 lines, dated 1034/1625. (23) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 412, 10 fol., 21 lines, dated 1053/1643. (24) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 413, 93 fol., 23 lines, dated 1081/1670. (25) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 414, 25 fol., 34-36 lines, dated 1081/1670. (Joseph Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen* (Munich, 1866), 164-166). (26) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 21, dated 1083/1673. (27) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 1832, fol. 1-117b, 17-19 lines, one script from 17th c., the other from 1198/1783-84. (28) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 1833, 139 fol., 17 lines, dated 1030/1620-21. (29) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 1834, 168 fol., 13 lines, dated 1066/1655-56. (30) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 1835, 81 fol., 21 lines, dated 1083/1672. (31) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 1836, 194 fol., 17 lines, dated 1179/1765-66. (32) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 1837, 73 fol., 25 lines, dated 1186/1772-73. (33) Paris, Bibliothèque

## HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

Nationale de France, Ar. 1838, 132 fol., 14 lines, dated 1809. (34) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 4612, 117 fol., 23 lines, dated 1264/1848. (35) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 5818, fo. 1-65b, dated 1265/1848-49. (De Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1883), 332-333; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Nouvelles acquisitions* (Paris, 1925), 120). (36) Patna/Bankipur, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1074, 83 fol., 19 lines, nash, dated 1114/1703. (Maulavi Muinuddin Nadwi, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, vol. XV (Arabic MSS.), History* (Calcutta and Patna, 1929), 157-58.) (37) Rampur, Raza Library, 4400, 99 fol., 21 lines, nash, dated before 1129/1716 (Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur, vol. VI History, Biography Travels and Geography* (Rampur, 1977), 96-97.) (38) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Or. 928, 80 fol., 21 lines, nash, dated 1109/1697. (39) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Or. 929, 80 fol., 13 lines, nash. (40) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Or. 930, 60 fol., 11 lines, nash. (Gustav Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1865), vol. 2, 156-57.) (41) Yale, University Library, Ar. 1329, 85 fol., dated 1753. (Leon Nemoj, *Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library* (New Haven, 1956), 142).

The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts of the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (Cairo), has microfilms of several MSS from Dār al-kutub (Cairo), the Coptic Patriarchate and Raza Library (Rampur).

*Editions:*<sup>38</sup> (1) *Ta'rīḥ al-sultān Salīm Ḥān b. al-sultān Bayazīd Ḥān ma' Qānṣūh al-Ġūrī sultān Miṣr wa-a'māliḥā* (Cairo, 1278/1861-62). Lithographic edition. (2) °Abdulmun°im °Āmir (ed.). *Āḥirat al-mamālīk aw wāqī'āt al-sultān al-Ġawrī ma' Salīm al-°Uṭmānī, ta'līf Ibn Zunbul, al-shayḥ Aḥmad al-rammāl* (Cairo, 1962). Republished with a foreword by °Abdurraḥman al-Shayḥ (Cairo, 1998). (3) Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (ed.). *Ta'rīḥ ḡazwat al-sultān Salīm ma' Qānṣūh al-Ġūrī, ta'līf Aḥmad b. °Alī b. Zunbul* (Beirut, 2004).

*Translations:* (1) Aḥmed Süheylī. *Ta'rīḥ-i Miṣr-i cedīd* (Istanbul, 1142/1730) [Turkish translation]. French translation of the Turkish translation by Avenel de Beauville [1734] in Aḥmed Süheylī. *Ta'rīḥ-i Miṣr-i cedīd*. Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Supplément Turc 839, f. 1-403a. (2) J.-P. Tercier [1754?]. *Histoire de la conquête de l'Égypte par le sultan Sélim, traduite de l'arabe*. Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Français 22494 [French translation].

*General bibliography:* Carl Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1937-1949) [first edition 1898-1902], vol. 2, 43, 298-99, Supplementband 2, 409-10. Franz Babinger. *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 56-58, 162. Herbert Jansky. "Die Chronik des Ibn Tulun als Geschichtsquelle über den Feldzug Sultan Selims I. gegen die Mamluken." *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), 24-33. Moḥammed Moṣṭafā Ziyādeh. *al-Mu'arriḥūn fī Miṣr fī l-qarn al-*

## HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

*ḥāmis ʿashar al-mīlādī (al-qarn al-tāsiʿ al-hijrī)* (Cairo, 1949), 55, 75-76. David Ayalon. *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society* (London, 1956), 86-97. Muḥammad Anīs. *Madrasat al-tārīḥ al-miṣrī fī l-ʿaṣr al-ʿuṭmānī* (Cairo, 1962), 18. André Raymond. “Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.” *JESHO*, 6/1 (1963), 58-103, 63-65. Muḥammad Sayyid Kilānī. *Al-Adab al-miṣrī fī ḡill al-ḥukm al-ʿuṭmānī 922-1220 / 1517-1805* (Cairo, 1984) [first edition 1965], 297-99. Peter M. Holt. “Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources.” *Studies in the History of the Near East*, ed. Peter M. Holt (London, 1973), 153 [first edition in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, ed. Peter M. Holt (London, 1968)]. Ulrich Haarmann. *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Br., 1970), 165. Felix Klein-Franke. “The Geomancy of Aḥmad b. ʿAli Zunbul. A study of the Arabic corpus hermeticum.” *Ambix*, 20/1 (1973), 26-35. Barbara Flemming. “Drei türkische Chronisten im osmanischen Kairo.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3-4 (1979-1980), 227-235. Jane Hathaway. “Sultans, Pashas, *Taqwims*, and *Mühimmes*: A Reconsideration of Chronicle-Writing in Eighteenth Century Ottoman Egypt.” *Eighteenth Century Egypt. The Arabic Manuscript Sources*, ed. Daniel Crecelius (Claremont, 1990), 51-77. Doris Behrens-Abouseif. *Egypt’s Adjustment to Ottoman Rule. Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo 16-17th centuries* (Leiden, 1994), 9, 134-36. Benjamin Lellouch. “Ibn Zunbul, un Égyptien face à l’universalisme ottoman (seizième siècle).” *Studia Islamica*, 79 (1994), 143-55. Anonymous. “Ibn Zunbul.” *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul, 1997), vol. 1, 183-84. Seyyid Muhammed Es-Seyyid. “Ibn Zünbül.” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 20 (1999), 474-76. Anonymous. “Ibn Zunbul.” *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul, 2000), vol. 1, 28-29. Jane Hathaway. *A Tale of Two Factions. Myth, Memory and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (Albany, 2003), 127-28. Benjamin Lellouch. *Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et conquérants au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2006), 241-248, 273-278. Robert Irwin. “Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History.” *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam. Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London - New York, 2006), 3-15.

<sup>1</sup> In his great encyclopedia, I.Z. indeed refers to al-Maḥalla al-kubrā as his “country” (*balad*). See *Qānūn al-dunyā*, Ms. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan 1638, f. 103a.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1937-49), vol. 2, 298.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 56; Seyyid Muhammed Es-Seyyid. “Ibn Zünbül,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 20 (1999), 474; Anonymous, “Ibn Zunbul,” *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul, 2000), vol. 1, 28. I made the same mistake in “Ibn Zunbul, un Égyptien face à l’universalisme ottoman (seizième siècle),” *Studia Islamica*, 79 (1994), 144.

<sup>4</sup> Moḥammed Moṣṭafā Ziyādeh, *al-Mu’arriḥūn fī Miṣr fī l-qarn al-ḥāmis ʿashar al-mīlādī (al-qarn al-tāsiʿ al-hijrī)* (Cairo, 1949), 55, 76.



## HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

- <sup>5</sup> Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule. Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo 16-17th centuries* (Leiden, 1994), 9.
- <sup>6</sup> *Infiṣāl al-āwān* (Cairo, 1998), 82. (All references to this work are done to the 1998 edition of the work by ʿAbdulmunʿim ʿĀmir under the title *Āḥirat al-mamālīk*.)
- <sup>7</sup> *Infiṣāl al-āwān*, 210.
- <sup>8</sup> *Qānūn al-dunyā*, Ms. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1638, f. 410b.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ta'rīḥ-i Miṣr-i cedīd* (Istanbul, 1142/1730), f. 5b-6b.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ta'rīḥ-i Miṣr*, Ms. Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversitesi, TY 628, f. 5a. Ḥallāq first wrote his chronicle in Arabic (Barbara Flemming, "Drei türkische Chronisten im osmanischen Kairo," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3-4 (1979-80), 231). It is thus not sure that he used the Turkish adaptation by Süheylī.
- <sup>11</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 9.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ta'rīḥ-i Miṣr*, f. 81b-84a.
- <sup>13</sup> 970/1563 is the *terminus ante quem* of the Istanbul manuscript of *Qānūn al-dunyā*, which is not an autograph copy.
- <sup>14</sup> *Tercüme-i Qānūn-ı dünyā*, Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 2565/3000, f. 548a for the date of the text.
- <sup>15</sup> *Tercüme-i Qānūn-ı dünyā*, f. 344a-b.
- <sup>16</sup> *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa ḥall al-mushkilāt*, Ms. Istanbul, Hacı Selim Ağa, Hacı Selim Ağa 547-m, f. 100a. *Qānūn al-dunyā*, f. 410a.
- <sup>17</sup> ʿAbduṣṣamed Diyārbekrī, *Tercüme-i en-nüzhe es-seniyye fī zikr el-ḥulefā ve'l-mülük el-miṣriyye*, Ms. London, British Library, Add. 7846, f. 348a.
- <sup>18</sup> *Qānūn al-dunyā*, f. 410a.
- <sup>19</sup> *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa ḥall al-mushkilāt*, f. 86a-86b.
- <sup>20</sup> *Qānūn al-dunyā*, f. 410a.
- <sup>21</sup> Peter M. Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," *Studies in the History of the Near East*, ed. Peter M. Holt (London, 1973), 153.
- <sup>22</sup> Peter M. Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," *Studies in the History of the Near East*, ed. Peter M. Holt (London, 1973), 153. Herbert Jansky also presented the text as an epic. See: "Die Chronik des Ibn Tulun als Geschichtsquelle über den Feldzug Sultan Selims I. gegen die Mamluken," *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), 30. Cf. Robert Irwin, "Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History," *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam. Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London - New York, 2006), 3-15.
- <sup>23</sup> Benjamin Lellouch, *Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et conquérants au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2006), 241-248.
- <sup>24</sup> Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Br., 1970), 165.
- <sup>25</sup> Robert Irwin, "Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History," 7.
- <sup>26</sup> *Qānūn al-dunyā*, f. 410a.
- <sup>27</sup> *Qānūn al-dunyā*, f. 410a-b.
- <sup>28</sup> See ʿAbduṣṣamed Diyārbekrī, *Tercüme-i en-nüzhe es-seniyye*, f. 325a for the date of Arazmak Nāshif's death.
- <sup>29</sup> *Infiṣāl al-āwān*, 254, 256.
- <sup>30</sup> Madiha Doss, "Some remarks on the oral factor in Arabic linguistics," *Dialectologia Arabica: A collection of articles in honour of the 60th birthday of Professor Heikki Palva* (Helsinki, 1995), 49-62; a study of the Egyptian chronicler al-Qīnālī, whose narration goes down to 1152/1739.
- <sup>31</sup> Seyyid Muhammed Es-Seyyid. "İbn Zünbül," 475.
- <sup>32</sup> Franz Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, 58, 162.
- <sup>33</sup> Flemming, "Drei türkische Chronisten im osmanischen Kairo," 233.
- <sup>34</sup> Jane Hathaway, "Sultans, Pashas, *Taqwims*, and *Mühimmes*: A Reconsideration of Chronicle-Writing in Eighteenth Century Ottoman Egypt," *Eighteenth Century Egypt. The Arabic Manuscript Sources*, ed. Daniel Crecelius (Claremont, 1990), 54-55.

## HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

<sup>35</sup> R. Yosef Sambarī, *Sefer Divrey Yosef*, ed. Shim'on Shtober (Jerusalem, 1994), 269-282.

<sup>36</sup> On these successive developments, see *Qānūn al-dunyā*, f. 1b and *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa ḥall al-mushkilāt*, f. 1b.

<sup>37</sup> Felix Klein-Franke, "The Geomancy of Aḥmad b. °Ali Zunbul. A study of the Arabic corpus hermeticum," *Ambix*, 20/1 (1973).

<sup>38</sup> I could not consult the 1278/1861-62 edition. The 160-page 1962 edition, republished in 1998 as a 215-page edition with an index, relies on four Egyptian manuscripts. It is not a critical edition and shows some later additions as if they were part of the original text, such as the mentions of °Oṣmān Beg as *qā'immaqām*, the reference to the death of the *qāḍī* Aṣīl al-Ṭawīl in 970/1562-63, as well as the reference to the length of the rule of Süleymān I. *Infiṣāl al-āwān*, 111, 161, 257, 270. The 2004 edition is also not a critical one.

Benjamin LELLOUCH  
June 2006