MÎZÂN

Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt

Herausgegeben von
Stephan Guth, Roxane Haag-Higuchi
und Mark Kirchner

Band 18

2010
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Many Ways of Speaking About the Self

Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th–20th Century)

Edited by Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse

2010
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Das von Anwārī al Ḥusaynī entworfene Signet auf dem Umschlag symbolisiert eine Waage.

Cover Illustration: Burçin Aydın

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany

ISSN 0938-9024
ISBN 978-3-447-06250-3

Contents

The Fictional Ego

The Hidden Ego

Representations of the Self in Ottoman Baghdad: Some Remarks on Abū 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad al-Raḥbī's *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī 'ulamā' al-'Irāq*[1]

Henning Sievert

The definition of the term "ego-document", as used by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser, refers to texts "in which the reader is confronted with an 'I', or in some cases … a 'he', as a writing and describing subject present throughout the text" and speaking about himself.[2] Presser's German colleague Winfried Schulze expanded this definition to include statements about somebody's perception of himself (or herself) within his family, his community, his country or social environment, or his attitudes towards these systems and their changes. These statements may also be incomplete, disguised or rudimentary, voluntary or forced, but should be justifying human behaviour, revealing fears, or throwing light onto moral concepts, experiences and expectations of life.[3] Presser's and Schulze's definitions therefore enable us to read texts as autobiographical sources even if they are not explicitly called autobiographies and thus to better understand early modern concepts of the self.

One may, therefore, look for what an author says about himself in a given source, even if it is not explicitly ego-referential. This contribution will present a little-known literary source from eighteenth-century Baghdad, which is not explicitly meant as a statement about the author's self, lacking almost any autobiographical stance. As the present collection of studies is concerned with a variety of ego-documents, it may be appropriate to ask what can be learned about self-representation in a quite stubbornly non-egocentric source.[4]

---

1 This contribution has been supported by valuable suggestions and candid encouragement on the part of Prof. Dr. Renate Würsch (Basel/Zurich). Some aspects of the contribution are treated in greater detail in my Ph.D. dissertation, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung und Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa (st. 1763)* [Between the Arab Provinces and the Sublime Porte: the Social Networks, Education, and Politics of the Ottoman Bureaucrat Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa (d. 1763)], Würzburg, 2008.

2 Jacques Presser, "Memoires als geschiedbron" in Marten Cornelis Brands, Jan Haak, et al. (eds.), *Uit het werk van dr. J. Presser*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 277–282, p. 277.

3 Winfried Schulze, "Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte? Vorüberlegungen für die Tagung 'Ego-Dokumente'" in idem (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, Berlin, 1996, pp. 11–30, p. 28). Schulze's expansion is meant to include forced self-reference, e.g. in court records and interrogations.

4 The present author is certainly not the first one to propose looking for pieces of self-description other than autobiographies (in today's sense of the word). For the context of Abbasid times, see e.g. Hilary Kilpatrick, "Autobiography and Classical Arabic Literature" *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22,1 (1991), pp. 1–20. See also Dwight F. Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2001, and Lutz Berger, *Gesellschaft und Individuum in Damaskus 1550–1791*, Würzburg, 2007, pp. 327–328. Ottoman ego-documents, in a strict sense of the word, are treated by Cemal Kafadar, "Self and others: The diary of a dervish in seventeenth-century Istanbul and first-

Compared with Egypt or the Syrian provinces, research on the early modern history of Iraq is quite sparse, although a couple of fine studies have been published recently. While these studies tend to concentrate on urban society and economy, cultural issues have not been dealt with very much.[5] Therefore, editions and studies of various literary sources by Iraqi scholars like ʿImād ʿA. Raʾūf, Saʿīd al-Diwajī and Salīm al-Naʿīmī are particularly valuable, but on the whole, narrative sources on the history of Iraq have not been put to use as fruitfully as in the case of other Middle Eastern regions.[6] It may thus be useful to present a little-known source and to suggest how it could be read as an ego-document.

Baghdad's upper class culture in the eighteenth century was marked by its salons (*majālis*), which used to bring together the literati, scholars, and notables in conversation, performance, and networking. There are two prominent kinds of literary sources which allow us to catch a glimpse of these salons of Baghdad: First, influential circles showed a preference for the *maqāma* genre, which resulted in the production of several works of that kind.[7] Secondly, there is the wide-spread genre of biographical anthologies that assemble the literati that the compiler considers most important. This selection generally coincided with the author's own friends, relatives, and patrons, while the amorphous group of the literati (*udabāʾ*) commonly overlap with the similarly amorphous *ʿulamāʾ* and partly also with the so-called notables (*aʿyān*). Many "collective biographies" from other parts of the Ottoman Empire provide us with "solid" biographical or career-related information, but this is rarely the case with their counterparts from Baghdad and Mosul, which were written first and foremost as anthologies of poetry and ornate prose.[8]

The manuscript under consideration, called *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ʿulamāʾ al-ʿIrāq*, is preserved as a presentation copy of 264 folios in the Ragıb Paşa collection at the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul.[9] The author, Abū ʾl-Barakāt Muḥammad al-Raḥbī from Baghdad, is

---

person narratives in Ottoman literature" *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), pp. 121–150.

5 Pathbreaking studies on eighteenth-century Iraq include the recent works of Dina Rizk Khoury, Thomas Lier, Thabit Abdullah, and Sayyār al-Jamīl. On the still existing gap between studies based on archival material and those based on literary sources, cf. Kafadar, "Self", pp. 122–123.

6 The lack of published sources puts severe constraints on historical research, which is further seriously aggravated by the destruction of cultural heritage in 2003.

7 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 346–349. Elger writes that this genre was rather typical for seventeenth and eighteenth-century Egypt, listing seven pieces from the eighteenth century (Ralf Elger, "Autobiographical *maqāmāt* of the 17th and 18th centuries: A nearly typical Egyptian genre" in Daniel Crecelius, and Muhammad Husam al-Din Isma'il (eds.), *Papers from the Third Conference for Ottoman Studies in Egypt*, Cairo, 2004, pp. 61–73, pp. 61–62). He does not claim that Egypt saw the production of scores of *maqāmas*, but attributes some literary significance to them. The popularity of the genre in Cairo, as well as in Baghdad, points towards a broader trend rather than a local fashion.

8 On similar works in Ottoman Turkish (Sg. *tezkire*), cf. Hatice Aynur, "Ottoman literature" in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. III, *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 481–520, pp. 492–496.

9 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Raḥbī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ʿulamāʾ al-ʿIrāq*, Süleymaniye library, ms. Ragıb Paşa 1050. Apart from the manuscript in the Ragıb Paşa library, there is another photographed copy dated 1179/1765 in the Iraqi National Museum that seems to have been copied in three volumes by the author himself. It is not clear if this copy has survived (Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqshbandī, and Ẓamyāʾ Muḥammad ʿAbbās, *Makhṭūṭāt at-Taʾrīkh wa-t-tarājim wa-s-siyar fī Maktabat al-Maṭḥaf al-ʿIrāqī*, Baghdad, n.d., no. 884, p. 427). Another copy was in the possession of Dār Ṣaddām li-l-Makhṭūṭāt (nos. 9420–

only known by this book and by his biographical sketch (*tarjama*) in 'Umarī's biographic-anthological collection *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir*.[10] Muḥammad al-Raḥbī presented *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* as a literary gift to the grand vizier Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa, probably in 1762.[11]

In his introduction, Raḥbī describes his enthusiasm for "hunting down virgin thoughts" ("mūla' bi-qtināṣ al-abkār min al-afkār") from the days of his early youth onwards; he never stopped reading books and encyclopedias and "filling [his contemporaries'] ears" ("wa-amla' bi-farā'idihi aṣdāf al-masāmi'") with curiosities of all kinds, embracing topics of *'ilm* as well as of *adab*, "the pride of the lords of the Arabs" ("fakhr sādat al-'arab").[12]

Then Raḥbī states, "For a long time I wanted to write a book encompassing treasures of knowledge and strings of beautiful prose and poetry." But the topical vicissitudes and adversity of the age ("dahr") prevented him from doing so.[13] He goes on to complain about the general ignorance and impiety of his contemporaries: "I live among people with religion ("dīn"), but without education ("adab"), and who is educated is devoid of religion. Among these people, I am on my own."[14] Moreover, those rude contemporaries do not appreciate the value of literary education and proper conduct ("adab") in connection with Islamic knowledge and sciences ("'ilm"). Raḥbī, by contrast, declares that he had collected pieces of *'ilm* as well as *adab* in order to put them together in his book, thereby posing as a broadly educated yet religiously righteous man.[15]

In fact, the *adab* component is clearly predominant; topics of *'ilm* are represented by two sets of short treatises attached to the biographical sketch ("tarjama") of Ṣibghatallāh al-Ḥaydarī and to the *tarjama* of a relative of the author, namely 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Raḥbī.[16]

9422), and a section of it was published by Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dakhīl in the 1921–22 issue of *Majallat al-Yaqīn*, which unfortunately was unavailable to me ('Abbās al-'Azzāwī, and 'Imād 'Abd al-Salām Ra'ūf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'arabī fī l-'Irāq*, 2 vols., Baghdad, 2001, vol. II, p. 239).

10 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-'Umarī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir fī tarjamat udabā' al-'aṣr*, ed. Salīm al-Na'īmī, 3 vols., Baghdad, 1975, vol. III, p. 90. The "matter-of-fact" information given there is that 'Umarī had made Raḥbī's acquaintance when the latter was still a beardless youth and then met him again after he had become a promising scholar and *adīb*. Raḥbī includes 'Umarī in his own book with an equally favourable *tarjama*, citing parts of their poetic correspondence, praising 'Umarī's mastery in *adab* and scholarship, and also praising him as a descendant of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and as a successful politician and bureaucrat. He states that he intended to return the favour 'Umarī had done for him by including him in *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir* by including 'Umarī in his own book in turn (Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 81b).

11 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 260b: "wa-qad tamma 'alā yad mu'allifihi al-'abd al-abī Abū 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad al-Raḥbī fī niṣf Shawwāl sanat 1175 [May 1762]."

12 Ibid., fol. 2a-b.

13 Ibid., fol. 2b (orthography not altered in all quotations from the text):
وكثيرا ما عن لي ان أؤلف كتابا يشتمل على فرائد مسائل العلوم وعقود محاسن المنثور والمنظوم ويصدني عن ذلك حوادث الدهر تستفرغ صبر الجليد

14 Ibid.:
اصبحت فيمن له دين بلا ادب ومن له ادب عار من الدين وصرت فيهم عذيب الشكل منفردا

15 It is not quite clear to what extent *adab* refers to literature or to proper conduct as well.

16 The distinguished *ḥanafī* scholar 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Raḥbī (d. after 1184/1770) is known for his interest in astronomy. On his works, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1997, vol. II, pp. 467–468; idem (ed.), *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1999, vol. I, p. 217; 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn: Tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-'arabīya*, 15 vols., Damascus, 1957–1961, vol. V, p. 259; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. and 3 supplements, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1937–1943, supplement I, p. 950, and Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, 12 vols., Leiden, Frankfurt am Main, 1967–2000, vol. I, p. 420. The Raḥbī family produced

Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī 'ulamā' al-'Irāq, in its present shape, is an *adab* collection consisting of sections, each consisting of a *tarjama*, a chapter ("bāb") about a general topic, and a *maqāma*, thus combining three otherwise often separate types of text in a tripartite overall structure.[17]

Most *tarjama*s in *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* hardly contain biographical facts in our sense of the word. Instead they are composed of a multitude of pieces from poems, rhymed prose, and letters. Some parts of it were written by the person Raḥbī describes, some by others in contact with that person, some by Raḥbī himself, and still others are taken from ancient works of Arabic literature. Probably the most convenient translation of the term *tarjama* in this context is "representation of a person", be it by the person's names and virtues, ancestors, teachers or books, by anecdotes, verses, letters, poems, or dreams.[18] It is Raḥbī who represents these persons and in passing his own relation with them, but so indirectly that his egodocument can neither be called biographical nor autobiographical.

The chapters (sg. "bāb") bring together numerous statements about various topics, taken from *adab* literature and tradition. There are occasional verses by Raḥbī himself, who displays his mastery of the literary tradition and of spontaneous poetry by introducing pieces with phrases like "when I read this verse, I immediately said..." Other pieces by him include letters of condolence or congratulation, chronogram verses for birth, legal majority, marriage and so on, always in connection with one of the persons portrayed in the preceding *tarjama*.

The *maqāma*s are small fictitious episodes of artful rhymed prose ("saj'"), often combined with poetry and always transmitted with a "chain" of transmission ("isnād") by a fictive narrator ("rāwī"). They contain various stories, often of the picaresque type, but sometimes also with an aesthetic or philological thrust. The traveling hero of each episode gets into some kind of trouble, but manages to outwit all other characters and is recognized only in the end, whereupon he sums up and explains what has happened.[19]

The *Nuzha*'s narrator bears the name of the author himself: Abī 'l-Barakāt al-Raḥbī. The hero, Abī dh-Dhabīḥ al-Ḥanafī, is less of a picaresque trickster, but more like a cunning *adīb*, and perhaps a clever *ṣūfī*; in some instances, the narrator himself takes the hero's role. Most *maqāma*s display the author's rhetorical mastery, for example in the art of description ("waṣf") of flowers, fruit, faces, or zodiacs, or in contests ("munāẓara") between the four seasons. Another recurring concept is that of cities that occupied an important role in the author's imagination: Damascus, Cairo, Aleppo, Mecca, Istanbul, Baghdad and Basra. Less prominent places like 'Āna, Raḥba, and Ḥulwān,[20] were perhaps connected with the author's life, while others were more remote places of some literary significance, like the

legal scholars of the *shāfi'ī* as well as of the *ḥanafī madhhab*.

17 For an overview, see figure 1.

18 Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting*, pp. 42–43.

19 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, pp. 39–61 (referring to the original *maqāma*s of Hamadhānī). The recognition scene (*anagnorisis*) forms a part of almost all *maqāma*s in *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*; after that, each episode concludes with a religious invocation.

20 Most likely the town of Ḥulwān (today's Sar-e Pūl-e Ẕohāb) in the Zagros mountains (halfway between Baghdad and Kermanshah), not the Ḥulwān near Cairo; see Laurence Lockhart, "Ḥulwān" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III, 2nd ed., Leiden, London, pp. 571–572, and John M. B. Jones, "Ḥulwān" ibid., p. 572. 'Āna and Raḥba are probably identical with the towns on the Euphrates in western Iraq, Raḥba being the Raḥbīs' place of origin.

ancient Lakhmid capital al-Ḥīra,[21] Yemen, Isfahan,[22] or even Ceylon (*Sīlān*). Other recurrent themes in the collection are sorrow and poverty as causes for leaving home, hospitable reception in a hostile environment, criticism of incapable *'ulamā'*,[23] allusions of *ṣūfī* as well as of a homoerotic character.

The overarching structure of the book is explained by the author after the first *tarjama*—the *tarjama* of Shaykh Ṣibghat Allāh al-Ḥaydarī, who, according to Raḥbī, was the teacher of all other persons adressed in the book.[24] After putting forward Ṣibghat Allāh's *tarjama* and citing his treatise on the first Sūra ("al-Fātiḥa") and Dawānī's treatise on the creation of action ("khalq al-a'māl"),[25] Raḥbī explains the *Nuzha*'s structure:

> When I had completed the *tarjama* of this righteous man and his commentaries and treatises by which he surpasses the ancients—on this occasion, I had copied some treatises that are instrumental for all concerned with them—I was motivated to recount manners and examples in the poetry of the Arabs. These are indeed the customs of the forefathers and also indecent talk of their successors. Following their praiseworthy trails and their pertinent ways, I have arranged a chapter ("bāb") and a *maqāma* after the *tarjama* of each of the righteous men. Thus, every stroller in this promenade ("nuzha") takes his place. The observer can look here and there in the garden to pick roses and arrive at the cool, sweet ponds of kindness granted by the Gracious One.[26]

Raḥbī locates his compilation within the chain of Islamic knowledge, as well as within the literary tradition, presenting it as a colourful garden to its visitors and thereby displaying his own abilities in the arts of educated *majlis*-conversation on topics of *'ilm* and *adab*. Apart

---

21 Of course, in Raḥbī's time, it had lain in ruins for centuries, but "for the Arab poet it remained an example of fallen greatness and *vanitas vanitatum*." Alfred F. L. Beeston, and Irfan Shahīd, "al-Ḥīra" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III, 2nd ed., Leiden, London, pp. 462–463, p. 463.

22 Here, the Isfahan of literature emerges, except for the local (i.e. *shī'ī*) scholars who are described as being "more lowly than Jews" ("wa-'ulamā'uhum adhall min al-yahūd"), implying a negative attitude towards both groups, in contrast to virtuous *sunnī* scholars; Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 205b.

23 See esp. ibid., fols. 105b-106a, 135b-136b, 224b-226a.

24 Ibid., fol. 4a:

فما احد من هذه النزهه الا مستفيد منه او قارى فكلهم عيال عليه ومنقادون بالطوع اليه

Shaykh Ṣibghat Allāh adorned the *Nuzha* with a "blurb" ("taqrīẓ"), appended on fol. 262b. Members of the Ḥaydarī family are also well-represented in *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir* (vol. III, pp. 6–64). The Ḥaydarīs were descendants of the prophet Muḥammad, genealogically connected with the Ṣafavids and Aq Qoyunlus. They occupied important positions in Baghdad, including those of the *ḥanafī* and *shāfi'ī muftī*; see Ibrāhīm Faṣīḥ b. Ṣibghat Allāh al-Baghdādī al-Ḥaydarī, *'Unwān al-majd fī bayān aḥwāl Baghdād wa-l-Baṣra wa-l-Najd*, London, 1998 [reprint of the ed. 'Alī al-Baṣrī, Basra, 1962], pp. 125–136. Cf. Hala Fattah, "Islamic Universalism and the Construction of Regional Identities in Turn-of-the-Century Basra: Sheikh Ibrahim al-Haidari's Book Revisited" in Leila T. Fawwaz, and Christopher A. Bayly (eds.), *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, New York, 2002, pp. 119–127.

25 On Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī/Dawwānī (d. 1502), see Andrew J. Newman, "Davānī" *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VII, Costa Mesa, pp. 132–133.

26 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 21a:

ولما كملت ترجمة هذا الفاضل وتعليقاته التي فاق بها الاوائل وما حررت بالمناسبة بعض الرسائل والمسائل فهو الواسطة في العلوم لكل قائل حرك سلاسل عزمي وشد حياز يم حزمي ذكر الادب والتمثل باشعار العرب وما هي الا شنشنة السلف وهجيري الخلف فاقتفيت اثارهم الحميده واقتديت بارائهم السديده وصممت على ان احرر تلو ترجمة كل فاضل بابا ومقامه ليتبؤ كل متنزه فى هذه النزهة مقامه وليكن الناظر فيها كالمتقلب في الرياض لقطف الورود والوارد فى الحياض العذب الولال للطف الودود

from being written for an Iraqi audience, at least equally important is the fact that Raḥbī gave the book as a gift to the grand vizier Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa.[27] Apparently, he was hoping to be accepted as a client, just like his fellow Iraqi scholar ʿUthmān al-ʿUmarī,[28] all the more so as Rāġıb Paşa had served in Baghdad many years earlier and continued his relationship with the Baghdadi élite.[29] Unfortunately, Raḥbī does not seem to have been successful.[30] Nevertheless, presenting Rāġıb Paşa with a literary work closely connected with Arabic *adab* seems to have been a promising task. As the pasha used to extend his support to literati regardless of their language, the *maqāma* as a typically Arabic genre may have been appreciated.[31]

The *maqāma*s in the collection are not uniform, and the *tarjama*s also take different shapes. A particularly interesting case of such a *tarjama–bāb–maqāma* structure is the *tarjama* of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Raḥbī, together with the nineteenth *bāb* and the nineteenth *maqāma*. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Raḥbī, the authors's namesake, is the earliest person of the Raḥbī family mentioned in the text. Therefore, the family's noble Arab ancestry is dwelled

27 Raḥbī praises Rāġıb in a quite lengthy manner (52 lines on fols. 3a-4a), referring to classical Islamic concepts of good rule ("mālik al-amr wa-l-naḥy wa-l-sayf wa-l-qalam") as well as alluding to Ottoman titles ("al-dustūr al-aʿẓam;" "dhū l-raʾy al-ṣāʾib wa-l-fikr al-thāqib;" cf. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili (Diplomatik)*, Istanbul, 1998, pp. 101–102. He even calls Rāġıb Paşa "the pivot of the circuit of the *ḥanafī* community" ("miḥwar dāʾirat al-milla al-ḥanafiyya"), although the pasha was not a very outspoken exponent of his *madhhab*. Beyond attributions highlighting some points of contact with the author, Raḥbī identifies his expectations of a "continuous rain of favours" ("dīmat al-niʿam").

28 ʿUthmān al-ʿUmarī had also presented a biographical anthology of Iraqi literati and scholars (namely *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir*) to Rāġıb Paşa as a literary gift. Rāġıb actually accepted ʿUmarī as a client and put him in charge of the fiscal administration of Baghdad province; ʿUmarī, *Rawḍ*, vol. I, p. 34; Salīm al-Naʿīmī, "al-Muqaddima" in ʿUmarī, *Rawḍ*, vol. I, pp. 14–15 and 21–22.

29 Rāġıb had served the governor of Baghdad, Aḥmed Paşa, in the 1730s. Later, he stayed in contact with Aḥmed Paşa's successors as well as the notables of Baghdad through various people of his entourage; see Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 31a-b; Damascus, Markaz al-wathāʾiq al-tārīkhiyya, Awāmir sulṭāniyya (Ḥalab), no. 6, pp. 88, 163; no. 6/1, p. 132; Damascus, Markaz al-wathāʾiq al-tārīkhiyya, Maḥākim Ḥalab al-sharʿiyya, no. 87, p. 70; Istanbul, Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi–Osmanlı Arşivi, D.BŞM.MHF 45/20.

30 Raḥbī could at least take comfort in the fact that he was not the only unlucky poet. For example, the Damascene Ḥanbalī *mufti* Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jarrāʿī presented a book on Rāġıb Paşa's virtues to the vizier (*Mafākhir al-iksīr al-rāsib fī baʿḍ manāqib Muḥammad Bāshā al-Rāghib*, ms. Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi 436, fols. 9a–29a), but no reaction on the part of the pasha is recorded. On Jarrāʿī, see John O. Voll, "The Non-Wahhābī Ḥanbalīs of Eighteenth Century Syria" *Der Islam* 49,2 (1972), pp. 277–291, p. 284.

31 "Maqāmas were occasionally imitated in Syriac (Ebedyeshuʿ) and Persian (Ḥamīd al-Dīn Balkhī) as well as later in Turkish, but their influence was ephemeral"; Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 297. Outside Arabic literature, *maqāma*s struck roots only in Hebrew literature; see Arie Schippers, "The Hebrew maqama" in Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, pp. 302–327. On Arabic-speaking poets and scholars in Rāġıb Paşa's entourage, see, e. g. Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī, 4 vols., Beirut, 2001, vol. I, pp. 46–48, pp. 96–112; vol. IV, pp. 139–141, pp. 287–288. One of Rāġıb Paşa's Turkish-speaking clients, namely the well-known Aḥmed Resmī from Crete, has left a *maqāma* in Arabic (cited in Murādī, *Silk*, vol. I, pp. 88–90). This illustrates the fact that the *maqāma* genre is, from an Ottoman's point of view, connected with Arabic literature, as Resmi in general used to write in Turkish. Apart from several Turkish-writing *udebā'* (like Çelebizāde ʿĀṣım, ʿAbdurrazzāḳ Nevres, or ʿAbbāszāde Ḥaşmet) Rāġıb's physician Athanasios Ypsilantis may be mentioned, who authored a world history in Greek.

upon, but without explicitly establishing a genealogical link with the prophet, the Quraysh, or any ancient hero. Nevertheless, Raḥbī is proud of his extraction (*nasab*).[32]

Similarly, Raḥbī doesn't say much about his ancestor Shaykh Muḥammad al-Raḥbī, except for his being a learned and pious man with many virtues. He became the founding father of the house Raḥbī when he migrated to Baghdad (probably from the town of Raḥba), and was finally nominated *Shāfi'ī muftī* of Baghdad.[33] After a lot of eulogizing, the author claims that his ancestor had left many well-known writings and commentaries, but cites only one verse of his poetry. One line of this verse was taken up and included in the poems of several other people also cited in the following. But in the end, Raḥbī admits that this line goes back to the time of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn, then cites the song of al-Ma'mūn's slave girl containing the line.

We shouldn't dismiss this as a lack of originality. Rather, the recurrence of poetry produced in Baghdad some 900 years earlier establishes a link with the glorious past of the "classical" age. This tendency of putting himself (and his family) into the venerable Arabic *adab* tradition is visible throughout the book. Raḥbī shows his mastery of the Arabic language and its literary tradition, his broad knowledge of poetry and history within the framework of an Islamic empire stretching from the early caliphate up to the Ottomans as maintainers of Islamic order.

After the *tarjama* of Muḥammad al-Raḥbī the ancestor, there follows a chapter (*bāb*) on vigour, determination, and ambition in achieving one's goals ("'uluww al-himam").[34] The connection with Muḥammad al-Raḥbī the ancestor is not really obvious, but it may consist in the fact that Shaykh Muḥammad was the first Raḥbī to achieve an important office. In doing so, he served as an example for his descendants in terms of ambition. The chapter on "'uluww al-himam" brings together verses, aphorisms, and *ḥadīth* pertaining to that topic; starting with the prophet Muḥammad and the caliphs 'Alī and 'Umar, Raḥbī cites famous poets like Abū Firās, al-Mutanabbī, and Ibn Nubāta as well as bedouins and anonymous people.

The following *maqāma*, called "al-Qusṭanṭīniyya", also has something to do with ambition, but again the connection remains tenuous.[35] Ambitious provincial notables in the Ottoman Empire, especially *'ulamā'*, usually turned to Qusṭanṭīniyya/Constantinople in

32 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fols. 186a–188a. 'Umarī perhaps does allude to our author as being of sharifian descent: "sulālat al-ashrāf al-kirām" ('Umarī, *Rawḍ*, vol. III, 90). Since he does not do this with all the Raḥbīs, he may refer to Raḥbī's descent in the maternal line.

33 Interestingly, 'Umarī also mentions the father and brother of Muḥammad al-Raḥbī, the ancestor. According to him, the father 'Alī al-Raḥbī, also a *shāfi'ī muftī*, was the founder of the house Raḥbī, but he does not say where he used to live. 'Umarī goes on to call the ancestor's brother, Ḥusayn al-Raḥbī, a *muftī* as well, and states that he had met him in Baghdad on one occasion, but nevertheless, the ancestor Muḥammad al-Raḥbī may still have been the founder of the house in Baghdad, while other members carried it on in Raḥba, Ḥilla, or elsewhere. At any rate, it is not clear why our author does not acknowledge 'Alī and Ḥusayn al-Raḥbī (cf. 'Umarī, *Rawḍ*, vol. III, pp. 79–83); instead, he lists an 'Alī Efendi as the ancestor's eldest son, so that 'Umarī's collection may contain some mistake. For the further Raḥbīs mentioned in *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* and in *al-Rawḍ al-naḍir*, see figure 2. As 'Umarī claims to have known Muḥammad, the ancestor, personally (being on good terms with him), this ancestor could possibly have been our author's grandfather, or at the most, his great-grandfather.

34 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fols. 188a-190b.

35 Ibid., fols. 190b-191b.

order to get political support or to foster their own careers. Therefore, visiting the capital is a recurring theme in Arabic travellers' accounts of that period.[36] It is unknown whether Raḥbī actually travelled to the capital, but what is clear is that the journey to the capital was a well-established motif relating to Iraqi notables' actual experience. It would not be too far-fetched to suppose that Raḥbī had travelled to Istanbul himself, or did so to present his book to Rāġıb Paşa.

Initially, the narrator, Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Raḥbī, complains about his inability to achieve his goals in Baghdad. So he travels to Istanbul; the journey itself is not described in detail and does not seem to pose any difficulties. The difficulties appear when Abū 'l-Barakāt arrives in the capital. He is intimidated and confused by a feeling of strangeness; in fact he is scared, hardly daring to take a single step forward.[37] When the narrator's courage is waning, suddenly somebody takes his hand and greets him in Arabic: "Welcome to whom I am related" ("ahlan bi-man kuntu lahu ahlan"). The narrator wants to jump for joy, embraces and kisses the man, but still there remains some doubt whether he has embraced an illusion of the night. But then the stranger asks him: "Aren't You Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Raḥbī?"[38] and thereby dispels his fears.

Subsequently, the stranger takes Abū 'l-Barakāt to his homeand the next day asks him directly about his intentions: "Are you planning to get to know people and to visit the *şeyḫülislām*?"[39] Obviously, the stranger has guessed the narrator's intention to make useful contacts. As a result, he arranges a reception with the *şeyḫülislām*. That the stranger knows the *şeyḫülislām* personally is quite a lucky incident, but may represent the important position of metropolitan mediators with ties to provincial groups.

After greeting the head of the *'ilmīye* in a slightly disrespectful way, the narrator takes a seat at the place of honour ("ṣadr") in the *şeyḫülislām*'s reception room, directly facing the host.[40] The *şeyḫülislām* is annoyed by this irreverent behaviour. But conceding that the visitor is a country bumpkin, the *şeyḫülislām* politely points out to him that he is sitting in the wrong place.[41] The visitor gets a anotherchance throughproving his knowledge. The *şeyḫülislām* asks him about a certain part of—again—the first Sūra ("al-Fātiḥa"), and Abū 'l-Barakāt answers this rather easy question in a short and precise way.[42] The answer pleases the

36 See, e.g. Ralf Elger, "Herrschaftskritik, Karrierestreben, Djihâd: Das Osmanische Reich und Istanbul in arabischen Reiseberichten des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts" in Yavuz Köse (ed.), *Istanbul: Vom imperialen Herrschersitz zur Megapolis. Historiographische Betrachtungen zu Gesellschaft, Institutionen und Räumen*, Munich, 2006, pp. 71–82.

37 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 191a:
ودخلتها وانا مرعوب فقلت يا صبر ايوب ووقفت وقوف الحائر والغريب اعمى وتاملت تامل الناظر والدهر اصمى اقدم رجلا واؤخر اخرى

38 Ibid., fol. 191a:
فقال الست الواله الابى ابو البركات الرحبي

39 Ibid.:
قال هل لك شغل برؤية الانام وزيارة شيخ الاسلام

40 Ibid.:
فبادرت بالسلام ووطئت بقدمي الاحرام وصافحته لواذا قائلا رب اغبر لي اخي هذا وجلست في الصدر قباله

41 Ibid.:
قال لي لست من فرسان هذا الميدان ولا من جلساء هذا المكان

42 The question is, why was the phrase "صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم", put in this way? In the first instance, divine grace is expressed by a verb in a relative clause, while in the second, divine anger

şeyḫülislām, who then expands the conversation and becomes friendlier, accepting the narrator as a scholar deserving respect, even remarking that his seat at the head was appropriate.[43] After the reception, the narrator gives a sigh of relief and finally recognizes his helper as Shaykh Abū l-Dhabīḥ al-Ḥanafī.[44]

As our information about Muḥammad al-Raḥbī derives almost exclusively from *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, it is impossible to determine its degree of self-reflectivity by comparing it, e. g., with a parallel travelogue, as has been done with the *maqāma* on a visit to Istanbul (*al-Maqāma al-Rūmiyya*) by Aḥmad al-Khafājī (d. 1659).[45] Khafājīs's *maqāma* also deals with an Arab scholar's travel to Istanbul looking for patronage. In the preceding travel account, Khafājī had complained about the promotion of less gifted people, just as Turkish-writing scholars and bureaucrats used to do.[46] Although the narrator does not bear Khafājī's name, according to Elger, it is clear that he himself is speaking,[47] describing Istanbul as a beautiful, but morally corrupting place.[48] A hundred years later, the Damascene Khalwatī *shaykh* and *adīb* Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (d. 1749) wrote a *Maqāma Rūmiyya* as well. In this piece he warns of the moral dangers visitors (especially young ones) are exposed to and seems to present a facet of himself he would not show in a 'real' travel account. In another *maqāma*, the narrator is actually called al-Bakrī, while in the *maqāma* of Bakrī's Egyptian student al-Laqīmī (d. 1759/60), the main character bears that author's first name.[49] Bakrī's and Laqīmī's contemporary, Muḥammad al-Raḥbī, does not care to conceal himself either, but appears on the scene with his own name, not even pretending to relate somebody else's story. The *udabā'* of mid-eighteenth century Baghdad thus seem to have been up to date with those of Cairo and Damascus in terms of *maqāma* writing in that they did not shy away from appearing in their stories, at least by name.

In Raḥbī's *maqāma*, the city of Istanbul appears not as a hotbed of vice, but as a strange place of power and opportunity.[50] The Iraqi visitor feels insecure there, but Istanbul is without any doubt the Islamic centre of power. It is true that Raḥbī proudly refers to the Arabic

---

takes the form of a passive participle, and not the other way around. Raḥbī's answer emphasises the reliability of God's grace, which seems to be expressed adequately by a verb, and refers further to the masterly rhetorical adequacy of using the participle, which may pertain to the doctrine of the miraculous inimitability of the Quran ("i'jāz al-Qur'ān").

43 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fol. 191a:

وقال مرحبا بك واهلا انت لهذا الصدر اهلا

It is not clear, however, how much of it—and of the whole story for that matter—is meant to be ironic.

44 Ibid.:

فعرفته باسمه ورسمه واذا هو شيخنا الوفى ابو الذبيح الحنفي

45 Elger, "Autobiographical *maqāmāt*", pp. 63–65.

46 Cf. e.g., Ulrich Haarmann, "The plight of the self-appointed genius – Muṣṭafā 'Ālī" *Arabica* 38 (1991), pp. 73–86.

47 Elger, "Autobiographical *maqāmāt*", p. 65, and idem, *Mustafā al-Bakrī: Zur Selbstdarstellung eines syrischen Gelehrten, Sufis und Dichters des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Schenefeld, 2004, p. 187.

48 This characterization, probably not uncommon for a capital, continued to appear in various places. Individual writers' perceptions of state and society as being either healthy or corrupt were often enough connected with their personal fortunes; see e. g., on Khafājī's negative view of the Istanbul establishment: Elger, "Autobiographical *maqāmāt*", p. 65, and Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, 16th-18th Centuries*, Albany, 1991, p. 25.

49 Elger, "Autobiographical *maqāmāt*", pp. 65–69.

50 Cf. 'Uthmān al-'Umarī's ode in praise of Istanbul, cited by Raḥbī in ms. Ragıb Paşa 1050, fols. 91a–94a.

literary tradition, but at the same time the Ottoman order is an essential part of how he perceives the world (*Weltanschauung*). This aspect becomes obvious in the 28th *maqāma* after the *bāb* on Justice and Suppression.[51] In that *maqāma*, heretics ("*ahl al-bidʿa*") are accused of turning the Muslim law and order upside down and of transgressing the boundaries drawn by God ("tajāwuz ḥudūd Allāh"). This implies that they are at the same time committing an illicit rebellion ("'işyān") against the "order of the world" ("niẓām-ı ʿālem"). Hence, the Ottoman *pādişāh* ("sulṭān al-barrayn wa-khāqān al-baḥrayn") subjugates the heretics with his army in his capacity as maintainer of the Islamic order.[52]

By composing *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, Muḥammad al-Raḥbī evidences his literary abilities, his taste and knowledge of style and lexicon, situating himself in the Arabic literary tradition while at the same time varying its established forms. Thus, he emerges as a junior, but gifted member of the literati of Baghdad, and he also displays his connections with the senior literati included in the book who were often at the same time local notables.

Although Raḥbī's *Nuzha* should be read with caution (as far as its ego-documentary character is concerned), it is nevertheless possible to discover some traits that hint at the writer's personality behind the narrative ego. It reveals something of his perception of himself as a member of his family (that figures so prominently in *Nuzhat al-mushtāq)*, of the Baghdad community of *sunnī* literati and scholars, as an inhabitant of an Iraqi region (as people from Baghdad, Mosul and adjacent territories are presented in the *Nuzha* as *'ulamā' al-'Irāq*), and as a subject of the Ottoman sultan as well as part of the venerable tradition of Arabic *adab*.

The tripartite structure connects the representation of persons with the following poetic statements and *maqāma*s. As Raḥbī casts his feelings and attitudes into the mould of poetry and *maqāma* so popular in the Baghdadi literary salons of his time, it is difficult, and perhaps idle, to distinguish topoi and literary requirement from personal expression. But the *maqāma* singled out above tells something about Raḥbī's aims and fears, expectations and general outlook as far as the capital is concerned. Further scrutiny of this multi-layered work, and comparison with similar pieces, will probably reveal many more instances of Raḥbī's self-representation. The 'I' may not speak in a direct manner, but it is possible to perceive a degree of 'egocentrism' in many sources, so that 'ego-documentarity' would not be an absolute, but a gradual property of the source.

51 Ragıb Paşa 1050, fols. 237a-239b.

52 Ibid., fols. 238b-239b. For the significance of the concept of "niẓām-ı ʿālem", see Gottfried Hagen, "World Order and Legitimacy" in Hakan Karateke, and Maurus Reinkowski (eds.), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of Power*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 55–83. Hagen asserts, however, that the concept lost much of its practical importance in the early eighteenth century.

Table 1: Outline of the content of Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī 'ulamā' al-'Irāq (ms. Süleymaniye Library, Ragıb Paşa Collection, no. 1050)

Number	**Person**	**Chapter**	***Maqāma***
1 fol. 4a	Ṣibghat Allāh Efendi [Ḥaydarzāde]	On knowledge (*'ilm*)	*al-samā'iyya*
Risāla a	On exegesis of the first *sūra* (*al-Fātiḥa*)		
Risāla b	On the creation of action (*khalq al-a'māl*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī		
2 fol. 23a	al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Efendi Fakhrīzāde	On education and proper conduct (*adab*)	*al-suhādiyya*
3 fol. 58b	Muḥammad As'ad Fakhrīzāde	On longing (*ṣabāba*)	*al-sa'diyya*
4 fol. 70b	Fakhrī Efendi Fakhrīzāde	On the beloved (*fī al-ḥabīb wa-aḥwālihi*)	*al-farqadiyya*
5 fol. 81a	'Uthmān Efendi al-'Umarī	On the poetic element of *nasīb*	*al-ḥayawiyya*
6 fol. 106a	Ḥaydar Efendi walad Ṣibghat Allāh Efendi [Ḥaydarzāde]	On enthusiastic style (*ḥamāsa*)	*al-jūdiyya*
7 fol. 111b	Muḥammad Efendi *muftī al-Ḥanafiyya*	On citation (*iqtibās*)	*al-umawiyya*
8 fol. 118a	Muḥammad Efendi Çādırcızāde	On spring and his flowers	*al-falakiyya*
9 fol. 123b	Yāsīn Efendi *muftī al-Ḥanafiyya*	On clouds and rain	*al-riḍwāniyya*
10 fol. 128b	'Abd Allāh Efendi al-Suwaydī	On contendedness	*al-shāmiyya*
11 fol. 136b	Muḥammad Efendi İşçizāde	On correspondence	*al-shamsiyya*
12 fol. 141b	Aḥmad Efendi Maṭārcızāde	On conciliation (*istiʿṭāf*)	*al-hilāliyya*
13 fol. 146b	'Abd Allāh Efendi Murtażāzāde	On generosity and meanness	*al-anwā'iyya*
14 fol. 153a	al-Sayyid 'Alī Efendi Naqībzāde	On brothers	*al-firāqiyya*
15 fol. 158a	İsmā'īl Efendi Etmekçizāde	On wine	*al-surūriyya*
16 fol. 165a	'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi al-Suwaydī	On wine's qualities	*al-sharābiyya*
17 fol. 173b	Muḥammad Sa'īd Efendi al-Suwaydī	On the cupbearer (*sāqī*)	*al-sham'iyya*
18 fol. 180b	Ibrāhīm Efendi b. al-Shaykh Sulṭān al-Jabbūrī (Jubūrī)	On salons (*majālis al-uns*)	*al-fuṣūliyya*
19 fol. 186a	al-Shaykh Muḥammad Efendi al-Raḥbī	On vigour and ambition (*'uluww al-himam*)	*al-qusṭanṭīniyya*

Number	**Person**	**Chapter**	***Maqāma***
20 fol. 191b	*waladuhu al-akbar* ʿAlī Efendi [al-Raḥbī] *muftī al-Shāfiʿiyya*	On complaining about the vicissitudes of life (*shakwā al-zamān*)	*al-Ṣafawiyya*
21 fol. 196b	ʿAbd al-Karīm Efendi *muftī al-Shāfiʿiyya* Raḥbīzāde	On courage	*al-qinnasrīniyya*
22 fol. 201b	ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On patience	*al-shukriyya*
23 fol. 206b	ʿUthmān Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On consultation	*al-khawdiyya*
24 fol. 210a	ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On thankfulness	*al-rushdiyya*
Risāla c	On circular and rectangular wash-basins		
Risāla d	On a related geometrical problem		
Risāla e	On the name *Muḥammad*		
Risāla f	On riddles		
25 fol. 225b	Bakr Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On reconciliation to one's fate (*al-riḍā bi-l-qaḍāʾ*)	*al-sīniyya*
26 fol. 228b	ʿAbd al-Salām Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On vigilance (*tayaqquẓ*)	*al-ʿāniyya*
27 fol. 231b	al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Jalīl Raḥbīzāde	On forgiving (*ʿafw*)	*al-ḥaddādiyya*
28 fol. 236b	ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On justice and suppression	*al-ḥarbiyya*
29 fol. 239b	ʿAbd al-Sattār Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On kings' speech	*al-ʿarabiyya*
30 fol. 244a	Ḥusayn Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On poverty and richness	*al-ḥulwāniyya*
31 fol. 247b	Maḥmūd Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On praise and disparagement (*dhamm*)	*al-zawrāʾiyya*
32 fol. 251a	Maḥmūd Efendi Raḥbīzāde *muftī al-Ḥilla*	On ease after distress (*yusr baʿd al-ʿusr*)	*al-dabīsiyya*
33 fol. 253b	Muḥammad Saʿīd Efendi Raḥbīzāde	On *taqārīẓ*	-

Table 2: Members of the Raḥbī family mentioned in Raḥbī's and ʿUmarī's collections

Nuzhat al-mushtāq	***al-Rawḍ al-naḍir***
	al-Shaykh ʿAlī al-Raḥbī
	Ḥusayn al-Raḥbī
al-Shaykh Muḥammad Efendi al-Raḥbī	Muḥammad al-Raḥbī
waladuhu al-akbar ʿAlī Efendi [al-Raḥbī] muftī al-Shāfiʿiyya	
ʿAbd al-Karīm Efendi *muftī al-Shāfiʿiyya* Raḥbīzāde	ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Raḥbī
ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Efendi Raḥbīzāde	ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Raḥbī
ʿUthmān Efendi Raḥbīzāde	ʿUthmān al-Raḥbī *muftī al-Ḥilla*
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi Raḥbīzāde	ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Raḥbī
	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Raḥbī
Bakr Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
ʿAbd al-Salām Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Jalīl Raḥbīzāde	
ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
ʿAbd al-Sattār Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
Ḥusayn Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
Maḥmūd Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
Maḥmūd Efendi Raḥbīzāde muftī al-Ḥilla	
Muḥammad Saʿīd Efendi Raḥbīzāde	
[the author, without tarjama]	Muḥammad al-Raḥbī

Primary Sources

Damascus, Markaz al-wathāʾiq al-taʾrīkhiyya, Awāmir sulṭāniyya (Ḥalab), no. 6, pp. 88, 163; no. 6/1, p. 132.

Damascus, Markaz al-wathāʾiq al-taʾrīkhiyya, Maḥākim Ḥalab al-sharʿiyya, no. 87, p. 70.

al-Ḥaydarī al-Baghdādī, Ibrāhīm Faṣīḥ b. Ṣibghat Allāh, *ʿUnwān al-majd fī bayān aḥwāl Baghdād wa-l-Baṣra wa-l-Najd*, London, 1998 [reprint of the ed. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī, Basra, 1962].

Istanbul, Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi–Osmanlı Arşivi, D.BŞM.MHF 45/20.

al-Jarrāḥī, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Mafākhir al-iksīr al-rāsib fī baʿḍ manāqib Muḥammad Bāshā al-Rāghib*, ms. Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi 436, fols. 9a–29a.

al-Murādī, Muḥammad Khalīl, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī, 4 vols., Beirut, 2001.

al-Raḥbī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ʿulamāʾ al-ʿIrāq*, ms. Süleymaniye Library, Ragıb Paşa 1050.

al-ʿUmarī, ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī, *Al-Rawḍ al-naḍir fī tarjamat udabāʾ al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Salīm al-Naʿīmī, 3 vols., Baghdad, 1974/1975.

Secondary Sources

Abou-El-Haj, Rifaat Ali, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, 16th-18th Centuries*, Albany, 1991.

Aynur, Hatice, "Ottoman literature" in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. III, *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 481–520.

al-ʿAzzāwī, ʿAbbās, and ʿImād ʿAbd al-Salām Raʾūf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī fī l-ʿIrāq*, 2 vols., Baghdad, 2001.

Beeston, Alfred F. L., and Irfan Shahīd, "al-Ḥīra" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III, 2nd ed., Leiden, London, pp. 462–463.

Berger, Lutz, *Gesellschaft und Individuum in Damaskus 1550–1791*, Würzburg, 2007.

Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. and 3 supplements, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1937–1943.

Elger, Ralf, "Autobiographical *maqāmāt* of the 17th and 18th centuries: A nearly typical Egyptian genre" in Daniel Crecelius, and Muhammad Husam al-Din Isma'il (eds.), *Papers from the Third Conference for Ottoman Studies in Egypt*, Cairo, 2004, pp. 61–73.

———, "Herrschaftskritik, Karrierestreben, Djihâd: Das Osmanische Reich und Istanbul in arabischen Reiseberichten des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts" in Yavuz Köse (ed.), *Istanbul: Vom imperialen Herrschersitz zur Megapolis. Historiographische Betrachtungen zu Gesellschaft, Institutionen und Räumen*, Munich, 2006, pp. 71–82.

———, *Mustafâ al-Bakrî: Zur Selbstdarstellung eines syrischen Gelehrten, Sufis und Dichters des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Schenefeld, 2004.

Fattah, Hala, "Islamic Universalism and the Construction of Regional Identities in Turn-of-the-Century Basra: Sheikh Ibrahim al-Haidari's Book Revisited" in Leila T. Fawwaz, and Christopher A. Bayly (eds.), *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, New York, 2002, pp. 119–127.

Haarmann, Ulrich, "The plight of the self-appointed genius – Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī" *Arabica* 38 (1991), pp. 73–86.

Hagen, Gottfried, "World Order and Legitimacy" in Hakan Karateke, and Maurus Reinkowski (eds.), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of Power*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 55–83.

Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Wiesbaden, 2002.

İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin (ed.), *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1997.

——— (ed.), *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1999.

Jones, John M. B., "Ḥulwān" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III, 2nd ed., Leiden, London, pp. 572.

Kafadar, Cemal, "Self and others: The diary of a dervish in seventeenth-century Istanbul and first-person narratives in Ottoman literature" *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), pp. 121–150.

Kaḥḥāla, ʿUmar Riḍā, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: Tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-ʿarabīya*, 15 vols., Damascus, 1957–1961.

Kilpatrick, Hilary, "Autobiography and Classical Arabic Literature" *Journal of arabic Literature* 22,1 (1991), pp. 1–20.

Kütükoğlu, Mübahat, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili (Diplomatik)*, Istanbul, 1998.

Lockhart, Laurence, "Ḥulwān" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III, 2nd ed., Leiden, London, pp. 571–572.

al-Naqshbandī, Usāma Nāṣir, and Ẓamyāʾ Muḥammad ʿAbbās, *Makhṭūṭāt at-Taʾrīkh wa-t-tarājim wa-s-siyar fī Maktabat al-Matḥaf al-ʿIrāqī*, Baghdad, n.d.

Newman, Andrew J., "Davānī" *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VII, Costa Mesa, pp. 132–133.

Presser, Jacques, "Memoires als geschiedbron" in Marten Cornelis Brands, Jan Haak, et al. (eds.), *Uit het werk van dr. J. Presser*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 277–282.

Reynolds, Dwight F. (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2001.

Schippers, Arie, "The Hebrew maqama" in Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 302–327.

Schulze, Winfried, "Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte? Vorüberlegungen für die Tagung 'Ego-Dokumente'" in idem (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, Berlin, 1996, pp. 11–30.

Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, 12 vols., Leiden, Frankfurt am Main, 1967–2000.

Sievert, Henning, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung und Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa (st. 1763)* [Between the Arab Provinces and the Sublime Porte: the Social Networks, Education, and Politics of the Ottoman Bureaucrat Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa (d. 1763)], Würzburg, 2008.

Voll, John O., "The Non-Wahhābī Ḥanbalīs of Eighteenth Century Syria" *Der Islam* 49,2 (1972), pp. 277–291.