WOMEN STORIES IN THE MAMLŪK AGE: LOVES AND STRUGGLES TO SURVIVE

Francesca Maria Corrao

University of Naples

Images of women different from the classical poetry stereotypes are scattered here and there in the encyclopedic collections, in the *adab hazl* (the *muğūn* or the *suḫf*), or in the books on heroes (*ʿilm al-bāh*)[1]. These last ones are mainly concerned with the woman's body whether the author praises her beauty or he mocks her ugliness. Ibn Qutayba (d. 889 A. D.) in his *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār* wrote that topics dealing with women's body in scientific terms were neither vulgar nor illicite. The same was true for Qudāma (9th–10th c.) and al-ʿAskarī (10th–11th c.) who added that obscene words could not alter the good quality of poetry (Corrao 1997; Gelder 1988: 63, 79). Legal sexual relations were legitimate subject of conversation. Law and pharmacology books used to deal with the same subjects. Other authors of the Middle Ages confirm that the description of the woman's body is positive as far as the aim of the book is to prevent adultery, fornication or homosexuality. These books were written to entertain men, to relax their mind from daily distress, therefore the subject represented a fictitious image of reality. This is particularly true when they referred to women's stories because either the poetical or the grotesque stereotypes prevailed. Anyhow, throughout the centuries and the geographical areas of the Arabo–Islamic empire, we single out different approaches towards women's behaviours. In most philosophical, mystical or theological books, women and, of course, their bodies, were considered to be dangerous, a devilish temptation, an obstacle in the most noble and serious path that leads to the knowledge of God. The only escape from the *fitna* provoked by the woman is legal marriage or, very rarely, abstinence[2]. Most of the images we have are either abstract beauties or greedy tricky monsters, but it is still possible to have different information on women in the Mamlūk age. Intriguing news come from an uncommon work of *adab*, the *Ṭayf al-ḫayāl* by Ibn Dāniyāl (13th c.); written to be staged as a shadow play, it belongs to the *adab muğūn* (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays*); it presents many women stereotypes, like prostitutes, cheaters, a

---

[1] Kilpatrick 1995; Ḥāğğī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* II, 7–8. Among the most famous books of heros there are those by an-Nafzāwī (m. 996), at-Tiğānī (m. 1306), *Tuḥfa*; at-Tīfašī (m. 1253), *Nuzha*, quoted by De Slane 1883-95: 460; as-Suyūṭī (m. 1489), *Ğulasā'*; *Iḍāḥ* (De Slane 1883–95: 16–17 ff; al-Munağğid 1958. A more complete bibliography is given by Declich 1995: 249– 264; Corrao 1997.

[2] Malti-Douglas 1991: 110. The rare exceptions are represented by the sufi women whose holiness coincides with complete chastity; cfr. Scattolin 1993; Smith 1984; Schimmel 1983; Elias 1988; Amri 1992. For further bibliography on the subject of women in Islamic society see: Meghdessian 1980: 176; Ruud 1981; Bousquet 1953; Borrmans 1977; Minces 1979, 1980; Tomiche 1965–6: III; Walther 1978, 1980; Esposito John 1982; Ascha 1987; Saʿdwī 1982, 1991; Mernissi 1980, 1983, 1990.

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 21–22 (1999)
https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.1999.21-22.10

pregnant nun, a magician, and so on. A typical device of comic literature is to compare contrasting figures, therefore Ibn Dāniyāl, in order to amuse his audience, put together both the classical image of the abstract pure beauty, and a normal ugly woman full of physical defects like old age, white hair, fatness and pains. Like in the greek comedy by Aristophanes, the heroines are ridiculous. Ibn Dāniyāl's protagonists are not well educated as Šahrazād, whose words saved many women from an unfair destiny. In the *Shadow plays*, women are poor and ignorant, but still they are aware of the regenerative power of their bodies.

The *Three shadow plays* are structured like a *Maqāma*[3], the protagonists of each *bāba* are men. In the first *bāba*, the hero is the Amīr Wiṣāl (the prince of union), who wishes to marry in order to put an end to his immoral existence. He calls for a procuress, Umm Rašīd, to find him a perfect wife; but she deceives him and procures him a horrible old woman whose physical description corresponds to the woman who smokes ḥašīš in Ibn al-Ḥarrāt's poetry. The second *bāba* presents a group of entertainers, market dealers and vagabonds of the Banū Sāsān (Rosenthal 1971; Bosworth 1976). The third *bāba* refers to a love contest between two men, with a final part celebrating a false pregnancy. The first two *bābāt* end with the repentance of the protagonist and his vow to expiate his sins with a pilgrimage to Mekka. In the last *bāba*, the corrupted sinner, at the sight of death, repents and becomes reconciliated with his God and dies.

The first woman evoked in the *Shadow plays* is a prostitute, friend of Amīr Wiṣāl; the description of her intense passion was so much appreciated that the famous Imām as-Suyūṭī (15th c.) quoted it in his *Kitāb al-wišāḥ fī fawā'id an-nikāḥ* (as-Suyūṭī, *Wišāḥ*: I, 388).

The second woman is the procuress (*Shadow plays*: 23; *Riso*: 146):

"(...) She knows all beauties in Cairo, both the free-women and the prostitutes, for they come out from the public bath hiding in the servant's shawls; she lends for free the mantel, the dresses and the jewels; she warrants the prostitutes in jail. She is more able than a procurer, she puts together better than a seamstress (...). Most of the time she goes around visiting the houses with the silk to sell the raw and the well-cut materials, different kinds of incense and perfumes, she anticipates (the money to pay) the debts, she fixes the appointments from Thursday to Monday (...). She never forgets to put in her pocket the incense, the bottle, the wine, the ash of lead, the maghrebian narghilé, the signs of the geomancer, the

[3] Ibn Dāniyāl declares that the work has been commissioned by Muḥammad b. Mawlāhum al-Ḥāyālī, who is the author of the *al-Maqāma al-muḫtaṣara fī ḫamsīn mar'a* (Abridged Assembly about fifty women) which consists of the debates between exponents of different crafts, and the author uses technical terms for punning; cfr. Moreh 1992: 109-110. Prof. Moreh told me that he is preparing together with prof. J. Sadan a joint edition of the manuscript of Ibn Mawlāhum, Ms. British Library, Ad. 19411, fols 89a — 104a.

pomegranate's flower, the chalk to draw the armpit, the good wool, the fresh unguents (...)"

The woman described here has the same characteristics as the woman introduced in the second *bāba*, the *ṣāniᶜa*[4], and the fortune teller. The woman tells us the freedom she enjoys in her work; the existence of these professions are witnessed from the official historical sources, from the documents of the Genizah (where it is written that they were mostly Jews and Christians), and also from travellers' memories. The above-mentioned atmosphere is not far from what Ibn al-Faqīh wrote on the Egyptian morality[5].

"(...) (refers that) ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz told Zuhra b. Maᶜbad al-Qurašī: «Where do you live in Egypt ?» — «In al-Fusṭāṭ.» — «You live in the debauched city and leave the good one (ie. Alexandria)» (...) God's envoy said: Go to Egypt and look for what is good, but live somewhere else; because Egypt is a mine for magic and adultery, the residence of the debauched (...)"

The immoral image given by pious Muslims is close to the one given by the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Italian pilgrim Andrea Della Valle wrote in his travel book (Della Valle 1843: I, 174) that both women and men used to walk in the streets half naked, and Stefano Mantegazza told (Mantegazza 1616: 90, 111):

"(...) the women rode the donkeys showing their coloured boots and their pierced ears. (...) The women in this country live in laziness, they willingly amuse themselves and let their husbands take care of the cooking and the spinning, I saw it with my own eyes; and the wives frequent the squares they like best to take good air. When the caravan stopped, I saw that men were taking care of the kitchen (...)"

Few female professions, as that of the dancer and the singer, existed since the Pharaohs' times. Among the more recent professions, there were that of the *ballāna*, the masseuse of the public bath, the *murḍiᶜa*, the woman who suckles the babies, prostitutes, *ḫāṭiba*, *dallāla*. Women were able to prepare amulets and tell fortunes.

---

[4] The *Ṣāniᶜa* (the artisan of beauty products) was able to make tattoos, she used to sell beauty products, materials and jewels, she was also a fortune teller; this passage is a rare one, according to later sources it seems that only the gypsies were specialised in this profession. Cfr. ar-Rāziq 1973; Saᶜdawī 1966: 75–6; Lane 1846: 42; Kahle 1950: 11–15, 100; Corrao. 1990: 165–6. Corrao 1996.

[5] Ibn al-Faqīh, *Muḫtaṣar* 69, 75. The above-mentioned images of moral corruption are found both in Arabic and Western sources of travellers, see Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam* V, 141; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* 200. Cf. Lane 1883. See also: Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Durar* III, 244; Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ, *Madḫal* I, 61; II, 17–8, 46, 52, 57, 297; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* II, 96; as-Subkī, *Muᶜīd an-niᶜam* 199–200; al-Maqrīzī, *Description de l'Egypte*; Lengherend 1861: 182; Regnault 1855: 323; Castela 1974: 447; Savary 1807: 260; Wild 1973: 235, 278, 281–2; Leone Africano 1550.

Ibn Dāniyāl quotes the story of a queen of the Pharaohs[6], known as an expert magician and an alchemist. Another woman in the last *bāba* has magic powers, she is the mother of one of the two lovers, who declares that she has used her magic power to increase the fortune of her son (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays* 157).

Life conditions were very hard in that age of transitions, when the Caliphate had been defeated by the Mongols. Thousands of immigrants had escaped from Baghdad and sought refuge in Cairo. Ibn Dāniyāl was among, those, and when he first arrived in Cairo he earned his living as an optician, before becoming a renowned poet. We know that most of the immigrants were soon enroled in the military campaign against the Mongols. Historical sources tell us very little about women; the only women mentioned are the widows of the Mamlūk emirs, the famous singers, or the prostitutes if a lot of them are imprisoned. This last profession was tolerated in Mamlūk times, there was also an official revenue from their business[7]. When Baybars decided to become the champion of the Islamic caliphate, he tried to put an end to the corruption by imprisoning prostitutes, *ḫašīš* and wine dealers. Ibn Dāniyāl in the first *bāba* humorously comments the events, saying that the best thing these women could do was to get married. Also the widows of a Mamlūk emir could have difficulties if the new emir confiscated their wealth. In that age, even a rich woman had to fear for the precariousness of her fortune, her destiny could lead her and her servants, into a private prison, or to a special hostel, where they could end their life in prayer[8]. The case of Ibn Dāniyāl's procuress is that of a working woman who has had a hard time in her life:

> "I use to suck babies like a cow; I was assisting the pregnant until they get would get rid of the placenta at the kid's first painful cry; and all the night long I used to rock the cradle. I missed a good sleep and torpor (...) and my husband used to beat me with the mortar (...)" (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays* 153–4).

It is very rare to find a page of dense realism as this one; in fact, the procuress elsewhere, as in Ibn Ḥazm or in the Thousand and One Nights is more like a fictitious stereotype. The above-mentioned passage is longer and contains more realistic

---

[6] Her name is Dallūka, the woman is also mentioned in al-Masʿūdī *Murūǧ* (II, 96–7); her name literally means lesbian, and with this meaning is quoted in the *Maqāmāt*, here Ibn Dāniyāl hints both at al-Masʿūdī's queen and the one in the *Maqāmāt*.

[7] Ibn Iyās, *Journal*: on singers and dancers: I, 6; on taxes or financial helps to widows: I, 19, 60; on men and women drinking alcohol on the roads at *Ramaḍān*: I, 59; on the confiscation of women's properties: I, 61; on the assault against the house of prostitutes and their imprisonment: I, 145; a few Mamlūks assault a group of women, later they will be refunded: I, 181. See also the romance of Baybars in Bohas & Guillaume 1985; 1986; 1986a; 1987; 1989; 1990; 1992; ʿAbdarāziq 1973; Saʿdawī 1966: 112.

[8] Keddie & Baron 1992; Raymond 1973: I, 274–6; al-Rāziq 1973: 44–9, 59, 63–4, 83–4; Elisséff 1949: 117-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Collare*. As for the poorest professions see Goiten 1961: IV, 168–97; Shatzmiller 1997: II, 174–206.

and obscene details concerning the care of the child and the violent relation with the husband. What is considered to be "obscene" nowadays, at that time was felt only as a physiological need. What really worried the pious and orthodox was the dangerous influence of pre-Islamic beliefs, like magic or supernatural powers, legends and festivals like Nawrūz (the Iranian celebration of the old year's death) (Corrao 1996). As Ibn Taymiyya argued, women were dangerous because of their ignorance which led to the blind acceptance of wrong beliefs. Ibn Dāniyāl's work witnesses what Ibn Taymiyya feared; but it shows also that to stick fast to the natural values of the popular culture helped to overcome the crisis produced by the uncertainty of a transitional age. That was particularly evident in Egypt for its historical and geographical bonds, even if those clashed with the need for the revival of a pure Islamic faith.

The woman in folklore is the regenerating element *par excellence*, and this message is clear in Ibn Dāniyāl's *bābāt*. In the first *bāba*, the procuress denies the old corrupted prince the chance to redeem himself and regenerate his life by having a child. The woman, in fact, will marry him to an old lady, her daughter, already mother of a horrible monster. As the prince Wiṣāl will say, the only chance to redeem is to go in Pilgrimage to Mecca. Later the man wants to take his revenge on her, but this desire is also frustrated, because the woman dies. Then the prince calls upon her husband, and here the poet, to reinforce the concept, recurs to redundancy, introducing another old corrupted man who claims to be a perfect lover, but he ends up being cheated by a young girl. The tricks of the two women, the old and the young one, here confirm the values of popular culture, where the female regenerating power deceives old pretentious men.

In the last *bāba*, a group of girls laugh at the false pregnancy of one of the two lovers; here they denounce the false "men's pretence" of a world where it is possible to conceive a child without a woman[9]. The man will generate an excrement, which metaphorically stands for the product of an illusory pretence that has to be buried... The party of the false pregnancy celebrates the burial of man's foolish ambition to regenerate. The symbolical function of the party parallels that of the festival of Nawrūz on a less celebrative level; in the course of the festival, the burial of the old year, which does not want to die, symbolizes the burial of man's foolish aspiration to immortality in this existence.

In the *Shadow plays* we observe that the death of the corrupted characters[10] (the

---

[9] I do not think that such mysoginist thinking characterized the culture of the time, to me the very fact that Ibn Dāniyāl depicts in a realistic way the procuress proves the existence of different points of view. Here Ibn Dāniyāl is mocking at a mysoginist way of thinking, certainly existing and well explained in the first two chapters of Malti-Douglas 1991.

[10] As in al-Hamaḏānī's *Maqāmāt*, the main subject is the intrigue and cheating. The woman, the symbol of the regenerative strength, is introduced as an old prostitute cheating the hero, a boaster, as it happens also in the *maqāmat "ar-Rusāfa"*; there also the hero ends up revealing his misery and his impo-

procuress, her husband and later the homosexual) confirms the Islamic values; with their death all the sins are cancelled; pilgrimage and legal marriage are indicated to be the only means to purify and regenerate life. It is also possible to read another message: in a time of corruption and decay, nothing can be reborn if one keeps complaining about what is lost forever; here the author praises the new hero, Baybars, and the revival of the Islamic faith under his reign.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Ḥaǧǧi Ḫalīfa. *Kašf* = Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbdallāh Ḥāǧǧi Ḫalīfa, *Kašf az-zunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn.* = *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum* a ... Haji Khalfa. Edited by G. Fluegel, 7 vols., Leipzig, London.

al-Hamaḏānī, *Maqāmāt* = Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd Abū l-Faḍl al-Hamaḏānī Badīʿ az-Zamān, *Maqāmāt.* Comm. by M. ʿAbduh. 4th ed. Beirut: Maṭbaʿa Kāṯūlīkiyya. (= *The Maqāmāt of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamaḏānī.* Tr., intr. by W. J. Prendergast. London 1915.)

Ibn Dāniyāl, *Shadow plays* = Abū Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow plays.* Ed. by P. Kahle with critical apparatus by D. Hopwood, Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1992. The first *bāba* has been translated into french by Khawam R., *Le Mariage de l'Emire Conjonctif*, Paris: l'Esprit de Péninsule, 1997; an analysis of the text by Corrao F. M., *Il riso il comico e la festa al Cairo nel XIII secolo*, Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 1996.

Ibn al-Faqīh, *Muḫtaṣar* = Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. al-Faqīh al-Hamaḏānī, *Muḫtaṣar kitāb al-buldān.* Lugduni Batavorum, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1885.

Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Durar* = Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *ad-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa aṯ-ṯāmina.* Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Maǧlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUṯmāniyya, 1349.

Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ, *Madḫal* = Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāǧǧ al-Fāsī al-ʿAbdarī al-Qayrawānī, *al-Madḫal ilā tanmiyat al-aʿmāl bi-taḥsīn an-nīyya.* Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Miṣriyya, 1929.

Ibn Ḥazm, *Collare* = Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥazm, *Il collare della Colomba.* Tr. by F. Gabrieli. Bari: La Terza, 1946.

Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* = Ibn Ḥawqal Abū l-Qāsim an-Naṣībī, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ.* Ed. by J. H. Kramers. Leiden: Brill, 1938 [= *Configuration de la terre.* Tr. by J. H. Kramers & G. Wiet. Paris: Maisonneuve et la Rose, 1964.]

---

tence; see al-Hamaḏānī, *Maqāmāt* 157–233; Kilito 1983: 53, 68–9, 210.

Ibn Iyās, *Journal* = Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās, *Journal d'un Bourgeois du Caire.* Tr. by G. Wiet. Paris: Colin 1945.

al-Maqrīzī, *Description de l'Egypte* = Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusaynī Taqī d-Dīn, *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte.* Tr. by U. Bouriant. Paris: Leroux, 1895.

al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūǧ* = Abū l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa-maᶜādin al-ǧawāhir.* Ed. by Pellat. Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise, 1970.

al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* = Šams ad-Dīn Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr al-Bannā' al-Baššārī al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maᶜrifat al-aqālīm.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906.

as-Subkī, *Muᶜīd an-niᶜam* = Abū Naṣr ᶜAbdalwahhāb b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdalkāfī Tāǧ ad-Dīn as-Subkī, *Kitāb muᶜīd an-niᶜam wa-mubīd an-niqam.* London: Mirhman, 1908.

as-Suyūṭī, *Ǧulasā'* = Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Nuzhat al-ǧulasā' fī aṣ̌ār an-nisā'.* Ed. by ᶜAbdallaṭīf ᶜĀšūr. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1986.

as-Suyūṭī, *Īḍāḥ* = Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-iḍāḥ fī ᶜilm an-nikāḥ.* Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Ar. 3571.

as-Suyūṭī, *Wišāh* = Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-wišāh fī fawā'id an-nikāḥ.* ms. 5652 Escurialensis Library (H. Derenbourg, *Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1884), cc. 1–69; French transl. by R. Khawam, *Nuits de Noces.* Paris: Albin Michel, 1972.

at-Tīfāšī, *Nuzha* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf at-Tīfāšī, *Nuzhat al-albāb fīmā lā yūǧad fī kitāb.* Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Ar. 3054.

at-Tiǧānī, *Tuḥfa* = Muḥammad b. Aḥmad at-Tiǧānī, *Tuḥfat al-ᶜarūs wa-nuzhat an-nufūs.* London: Riad el-Rayyes Book, 1992.

Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam* = Yāqūt b. ᶜAbdallāh ar-Rūmī, *Muᶜǧam al-buldān.* Beirut 1950.

B. Secondary sources

ᶜAbdarrāziq. 1973. *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Egypte.* Cairo: IFAO.

Amri, Nelly & Laroussi. 1992. *Les femmes soufies ou la passion de Dieu.* Dangles: St. Jean-de-Braye.

Ascha, Gh. 1987. *Du statut inferieur de la femme en Islam.* Paris: L' Harmattan.

Bohas, G. & J. P. Guillaume, J. P. 1985. *Roman de Baïbars, Les enfances de Baïbars.* Paris: Sindbad.

———. 1986. *Fleur de Truands.* Paris: Sindbad.

———. 1986a. *Les bas-fonds du Caire.* Paris: Sindbad.

———. 1987. *La chevaucée des fils d'Ismaïl.* Paris: Sindbad.

———. 1989. *La trahison des émirs.* Paris: Sindbad.

———. 1990. *Meurtre au hammam.* Paris: Sindbad.

———. 1992. *Rempart des Pucelles.* Paris: Sindbad.

Borrmans, M. 1977. *Statut personel et famille au Maghreb de 1940 à nos jours.* Paris.

Bosworth, C. E. 1976. *The Medieval Islamic Underworld; the Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature.* Leiden: Brill.

Bousquet, G. H. 1953. *La morale de l'Islam et son éthique sexuelle.* Paris.

Castela, H. 1974. "Voyage de Hierusalem et Mont Sinai". *Voyages en Egypte des années 1597-1601,* Bernardino da Gallipoli, Aquilante Rocchetta, Henry Castela. First ed. Paris 1703. Cairo: IFAO.

Corrao, Francesca Maria. 1990. *La fantasmagoria delle ombre di Ibn Dāniyāl* Roma: Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza", PhD thesis.

———. 1996. "Laughter Festival and Rebirth. Ibn Dāniyāl's Shadow Plays, an Example of Cultural Tolerance in the Early Mamlūk Age". *The Arabist* 18.13-28.

———. 1997. "Quelques observations en marge des recherches sur la littérature «populaire» arabe". *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UEAI* ed. by W. Madelung *et al.*, 46-61. St. Petersburg: Thesa.

Declich, L. 1995. "L'erotologia araba: Profilo bibliografico". *Rivista degli studi Orientali* LXVIII, fasc. 3–4 (1994). Roma: Università di Roma "La Sapienza", Bardi.

Della Valle, Andrea. 1843. *Viaggi de P.D.V. il pellegrino descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari all'erudito suo amico Mario Schipano.* Brighton: Gancia.

De Slane. 1883–95. *Catalogue des Mss. arabe par de Slane.* Paris.

Elias, J. J. 1988. "Female and Feminine in Islamic Mysticism". *The Muslim World* 78/3–4.209–224.

Elisséff, N. 1949. *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits.* Beirut: Institut Français de Damas.

Gelder, G. J. 1988. *The Bad and Ugly. Attitudes towards Invective Poetry (Hiǧā') in Classical Arabic Literature.* Leiden.

Goiten, S. D. 1961. "The Main Industries of the Mediterranean Area as Reflected in the Records of the Cairo Geniza". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.* Leiden: Brill. 1961.168–97.

John, L. 1982. *Women in Mulsim Family Law.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Kahle, P. 1950. "A gypsy Woman in Egypt in the thirtheenth century". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society.* Seite.

Keddie, N. R. & B. Baron (eds.). 1992. *Women in Middle Eastern History.* New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Kilito, A. 1983. *Les Séances.* Paris: Sindbad.

Kilpatrick H. 1995. "Some late ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk books about women: a literary historical approach". *ARABICA* XLII. Leiden: Brill, facs. 1.56–78.

Lane, Edward. 1846. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians.* London: Knight.

———. 1883. *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages.* [Repr. London: Curzon Press, 1986.]

Lengherend G. 1861. *Voyage de Lengherend (1485–6).* Mons: Masquillier et Dequesne.
Leone Africano, G. 1550. "Descritione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili che ivi sono". *Raccolta di viaggi et navigationi fatta de capitani et ambasciatori per li mari et provincie del'Africa et Indie Orientali nei due secoli MCCCC et MDL.* Venice: Giunti.
Malti-Douglas, F. 1991. *Woman's body woman's word.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Mantegazza, Stefano. 1616. *Relazione tripartita del viaggio di Gerusalemme.* Milano.
Meghdessian, Rafidi S. 1980. *The Status of Arab Woman — A Selected Bibliography.* London: Mansell, Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World.
Mernissi, F. 1980. *Les femmes dans le monde Arabe.* Paris: Mazarine.
———. 1983. *Sexe, ideologie et IsIam.* Paris: Tierce.
———. 1990. *La femme voilé — L'Islam au féminine.* Paris: Calman-Lévy.
Minces, J. 1979. *Society and the sexes in Medieval Islam.* Malibu, California.
———. 1980. *La femme dans le monde arabe.* Paris.
Moreh, Shmuel. 1992. *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World.* Edinburh: Edinburg University Press.
al-Munaǧǧid, S. 1958. *al-Ḥayāt al-ǧinsiyya ʿinda al-ʿarab.* Beirut.
Raymond, A. 1973. *Artisans et commerçants au Caire.* Damascus: Institut Français.
ar-Rāziq, A. 1973. *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Égypte.* Cairo: IFAO.
Regnault, A. 1855. *Vouage en Orient.* Paris: Bertrand.
Rosenthal, F. 1971. *The Herb. Ḥašīš Versus Medieval Muslim Society.* Leiden: Brill.
Ruud, I. M. 1981. *Women's Status in the Muslim World — A BibliographicaI Survey — Materials for the Study of the History of Religions.* Köln: E. J. Brill.
Saʿdawī, N. 1966. *Sūr wa-maẓālim min ʿaṣr al-mamāliki.* Cairo: Maktabat an-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya.
Saʿdawī (= Saadaoui), N. 1982. *La face caché d'Eve.* French translation by Elisabeth Geiger. Paris: Des Femmes; Engl. ed. London: Zed Press, 1981.
———. 1991. *Femmes égyptiennes — Tradition et modernité.* French translation by Essia Trabelin & Emma Chettaoui. Paris: Des Femmes.
Savary de, F. 1807. *Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Breves.* Paris: Gasse.
Scattolin, G. 1993. "Women in Islamic Mysticism". *Encounter* 198.3-26. Roma: PISAI.
Schimmel, A. 1983. "The Feminine Element in Sufism". *Mystical Dimensions of IsIam,* Appendix 2. 426–435. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Shatzmiller, M. 1997. "Women and Wage Labour in the Medieval Islamic West: Legal Issues in an economic context". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40. Leiden: Brill. 1997.174–206.
Smith, M. 1984. *Rābiʿa the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints in Islam.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1st ed. Cambridge, 1928).
Tomiche, N. 1965–6. "La femme en Islam". *Histoire mondiale de la femme,* 4 vols. Paris.

Walther, W. 1978. *Women in the Muslim World.* Cambridge–London: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1980. *Die Frau in IsIam.* Leipzig–Stuttgart–Berlin.

Wild, J. 1973. *Voyages en Egypte (1606–1610).* (First ed. 1613) Cairo: IFAO.