



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Milana Yu. Iliushina

THE ORIGINS OF THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLUKS A SUBJECT OF MYTH-MAKING

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: HUMANITIES
WP BRP 64/HUM/2014

This Working Paper is an output of a research project implemented as part of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE). Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.

*Milana Yu. Iliushina*¹

THE ORIGINS OF THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLUKS A SUBJECT OF MYTH-MAKING²

Myth, legend, and history appear as constituent components in the ideology of a ruling elite. If the ruling elite is foreign, the ideology acquires a distinctive colouring. A noble lineage which could be traced to common roots shared with the autochthonous population of the country was seen by Mamluks as a tool to maintain and support their authority. A version concerning the origins of the Circassian Mamluks can be found in al-‘Ayni’s treatise which stated that the forefathers of the Circassian Sultan Tatar had been Arabs of the Ghassan tribe. The legendary version of the origin of the Circassian Mamluks narrated reveals an important aspect, which directed and shaped the development of the ideology of the Egyptian ruling elite: the eagerness of the Mamluk sultans and their entourage to find and demonstrate a relation, if remote and vague, to the country’s local population.

In the Ottoman period of Egypt, a completely different political landscape together with a new socio-cultural reality necessitated the transformation of the myth: changed are the name of the forefather, his tribal affiliation and certain plot details. After the Ottoman conquest, the Mamluks of high military rank tried to recover and defend their lost positions. Another legendary version which was documented by an anonymous author of the 17th century authenticating the Quraysh origin of the Circassian Mamluks, proving their having a common ancestor with the prophet Muhammad was to sanctify the rule of the Mamluk Beys and make it seem legitimate.

JEL Classification: Z19.

Keywords: Egypt, Mamluk, genealogy, Circassians, myth.

¹ National Research University Higher School of Economics. Department of Asian and African Studies. Deputy Director; Centre for Asian and African Studies. Leading research fellow. E-mail: miliushina@hse.ru

² This article is an output of the research project ““Minority” vs “Majority” in the Historical and Cultural Continuum of Asia and Africa” implemented as part of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE)

The best inheritance that fathers can give their children,
more precious than any patrimony however large,
is reputation for virtue and for worthy deeds...
[Cicero](#)

I. The early historical studies as a form of intellectual pursuit went from myth to its rational rethinking, to its historical interpretation, with myth understood as a distorted account of some fact or event that took place in the bygone days. The word *ἱστορία* (*istoria lit. investigation, inquiry*) was used by Ionic historians in antiquity as a term for their occupation. The focus of their research and interest was not only on folklore, folk novels, adventure stories about travels, weather chronicles, but also on genealogical and mythical fables (Lurie 2010: 103). Associated with a particular geographical location and a certain tribe or community, bearing relevant ritual or social significance, legend as a story about a historical character is considered to be a form of transition from a mythical narrative to a historical one. Most scholars agree on a deeply-rooted genetic connection between the historical and the mythical, although their interpretations of the dichotomy between history and myth might be dramatically contrasting (Myth in History... 2009: 2; Meletinsky 2012: 7; Toporov 2008: 470-471). This connection suggests a possible counter-process—"the mythologizing of history". At the turn of the 20th century, European thought raised the issue of the interpretation of political myth-making, with myth becoming a central issue and notion of sociology and theory of culture. At present most experts agree that the historical myth as a "tool for revitalizing the past for further usage and acquisition" makes up the basis of the historical conscience of the greater part of society, forming the required patterns of social behaviour, of historical outlook which is socially conformable in certain circumstances (Andramonova 2008: 91-92; Demin 2012: 249; Gatashov, Lubsky 1999: 84; McDonald 1969; Meletinsky 2012: 7, 22-23; Saunt 2006).

"I will see myself forever in its past" – these are the words of A. Rimbaud, a poet-philosopher. Creation myths, epics about gods and heroes, legends about remote forerunners, stories about the past, all of these help people to understand their present and to believe in their future, to identify themselves and to become aware of their destiny and their mission in the world: "a universal law of historical memory inspires people to look for the roots of the present day in the past" (Zelenev 2012: 111). Resorting to the beginnings and summoning up our historical memory acquires utmost importance at times of crises or other difficulties when a community or society finds itself having to assert its rights to already available resources or to those which can be acquired (Repina 2007: 7).

Myth, legend, and history appear as a constituent component in the ideology of a ruling elite. If the ruling elite is foreign, the ideology acquires a distinctive colouring. In the middle of

the 13th century the Mamluks—slave warriors brought from South Russian steppes, the Crimea, the Caucasus and other Turkic-speaking territories to the Nile—assumed power in Egypt and for over two and a half centuries ruled as independent sovereigns of the state they had established. The myth of their invincibility as “the most daring military caste with the rights and morals of knighthood, whose coat-of-arms and letter-of-privilege was a deed of purchase from the slave market” (Bazili 2007: 65) took centuries to shape. Epic tales about the feats and deeds of Mamluk heroes were handed down from generation to generation. Popular memory keeps a long-lasting image of the Mamluks as unsurpassed warriors and brave knights skilful in martial arts (Naumkin 1982: 45). They embraced an ideology according to which only the elite—in this case the Mamluks alone—had the specific characteristics necessary to exercise authority.

Whether their power was legitimate in terms of Islamic law or not was resolved by sultan Baybars (1260–1277) in the following way. In 1261 he invited the uncle of the last ‘Abbasid Caliph, the son of Caliph al-Zahir (1225–1226) who had narrowly escaped death after the 1258 occupation of Baghdad by the Mongols, with the caliphate coming virtually to an end, to move from Damascus to Cairo. This scion of the ‘Abbasid line was welcomed in Egypt as a new *Amir al-Mu’minin* (the Commander of the Believers) and was bestowed an honorary name of al-Mustansir. The ‘Abbasid Caliphate in Cairo was re-established. As a caliph al-Mustansir invested Baybars with a title of a ruler of Egypt, Syria, Diyarbakır, Hejaz, Yemen and the lands of the Euphrates. In this way he laid the foundation for the theocratic rule of Mamluk Sultans who were granted the power right from the hands of a caliph (Zelenev, Ilyushina 2013: 42).

In the first period of the Mamluk Sultanate, the major part of the ruling elite was constituted by warriors of Turkic origin. In the late 13th century Sultan Qalawun (1280–1290) established an army corps composed mainly of Circassians and other Caucasian people (Zelenev 2007: 139-140). In 1382 a Circassian guardsman, amir Barquq (1382–1389; 1389/1390–1399) usurped power and was proclaimed sultan. He became the founder and the first ruler of the Circassian Mamluk Sultanate (1382–1517).

The transition of power to the Circassian clique was marked by significant changes in the Mamluk culture. Sultan Barquq introduced new principles of the Mamluks mode of life. They were allowed to settle in towns and cities, to get married (Al-Maqrizi 1998: 67). These warriors gradually assimilated adopting the features of local life style, which facilitated the convergence of local Arab culture and Mamluk culture (Rabat 1995: 293). On the whole, Barquq and his successors were more committed to Arab-Muslim culture than the amirs before them (Haarmann 1988a: 100-101). In the early 15th century there was evidence of growing anti-Turkic sentiments among Egyptians, similar to those already chronicled under the Ayyubid dynasty, and it was triggered by the dominance of the Turkic guards. For some time the Mamluks had failed to

corroborate their status as Muslim defenders with new military achievements, while political instability and economic crisis complicated the situation. In these circumstances attempts to find a deeply rooted connection between the alien ruling clique and the Arab population of the country assumed paramount importance (Haarmann 1988b: 63-73).

The works of that period did not once raise the question of the origin of the Mamluks as representatives of the political military elite which changed with every generation. The need of the society to find further reasons to comply with the alien dominant rulers who could hardly speak Arabic was reflected in the idea that the Mamluks were not only skilful with weapons, but also had glorious and noble ancestry. Therefore, a noble lineage that could be traced to the common roots shared with the autochthonous population of the country was seen by the Mamluks as a tool to maintain and support their authority.

II. A version concerning the origin of the Circassian Mamluks can be found in the work by a 15th century Arab historian Badr al-Din al-‘Ayni (1361–1451). He was born into a scholarly family in the city of ‘Ayntab (in present day Syria), was well educated, spoke Turkish fluently and was personally acquainted with several Mamluk Sultans. According to his contemporaries, al-‘Ayni regularly read historical writings for the Sultans explaining to them in Turkish, the native language of his Mamluk sovereigns, passages most difficult to comprehend. Using examples from the remote and recent past, he tried to demonstrate the features of a righteous, virtuous ruler and how the matters of the state should be attended to (Ilyushina 2011: 225; Ibn Taghri Bardi 1992: 14: 288-289). When in 1421 another Circassian ruler, al-Malik al-Zahir Tatar³, came to power, al-‘Ayni presented him a treatise⁴ which stated that the forefathers of Tatar had been Arabs of the Ghassan tribe⁵.

The last ruler of the Ghassanid state, Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, as the historian explains, converted to Islam, but later committed apostasy and returned to Christianity fleeing with a group of 500 men to Byzantium and from there to the land of the Circassians. The Ghassanids of Jabalah settled there and practiced intermarriages with the Circassians in both directions. This led to the integration of the two ethnicities and since then the Circassians took pride in their Ghassanid ancestry. ‘This is just another evidence of the undeniable right of our Overlord, Tatar, to bear the honorary title of Sultan’ – al-‘Ayni concludes (Al-‘Ayni 1962: 5-6).

³

Al-Zahir Sayf al-Din Tatar reigned for 3 months (29 August 1421 – 30 November 1421).

⁴

„*Al-Rawd al-Zahir fi Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*”.

⁵

A group of South Arabian tribes, monophysite Christians. The Ghassanids founded a Kingdom in southern Syria and Palestine, near the borders of Byzantium.

According to some Arabic and Byzantine sources, Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, who was mentioned in the treatise, took the side of Muslims after the troops of Emperor Heraclius (610–641) had been defeated in the battle at Yarmouk in the summer of 636, but then returned to the Byzantians. His reasons to break with Muslims are obscure. Jabalah, who chose to stay Christian, might have done it under the influence of the fact that Caliph ‘Umar (634–644) refused to exempt him from paying *jizyah*⁶ and *kharaj*⁷ (obligatory for all *dhimmis*⁸ in the caliphate), and to allow as an exception to pay *sadaqah*⁹ instead (Krivov 1981: 156).

The works of other Arab historians suggest another explanation for the Ghassanid ruler’s apostasy—having embraced Islam Jabalah ibn al-Ayham decided to go on the hajj. However, when he was circumambulating the Ka’ba a pilgrim stepped on the edge of his Ihram clothing. Jabalah felt abused, hit the offender breaking his nose (in another version he plucked his eye out). Learning about this incident, Caliph ‘Umar demanded that the proud Ghassanid should cover the damage or should be subject to punishment. After being treated as an equal of ‘a person of a lower rank’, Jabalah felt humiliated, left Mecca and fled to Rum (Mednikov 1897: 297).

III. Echoing to some extent the story of Jabalah is the legend about the origin of the Circassians which is found in an anonymous treatise kept in the Research Library of St. Petersburg State University. The manuscript is dated December 24, 1702 and is 29 pages. The original version, according to the copyist, was finished on the 1st of Rajab 1041 (January 23, 1632). The anonymous author begins his work with praising God and defining the aim of the treatise as

“to trace a noble ancestral line and to undertake a great dignified fact-finding mission that includes an account of the origin of the Circassians from the Quraysh who are descendants of Isma‘il, the son of Abraham”.

The author promises to be laconic and states that the manuscript “is based on numerous writings and accurate accounts”. He dedicates his work to Ridwan Bey al-Kabir upon whose request he started gathering information for his “Research” (Nasab. F. 2)¹⁰.

⁶ A poll tax imposed on non-Muslim subjects in Islamic states.

⁷ A land tax. In the early Islamic state *kharaj* constituted a tax on lands owned by non-Muslims.

⁸ Non-Muslims citizens of an Islamic state who accept the status of a religious minority and pay the imposed poll tax, *jizyah*.

⁹ *Sadaqah* – a portion of one’s income, voluntary charity, which is given by propertied Muslims for helping the poor.

¹⁰ In an article, published in 1959 in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Professor Peter Malcolm Holt reports on two copies of a manuscript also touching upon the question of the lineage of Circassian Beys, with one copy of 1681 being kept in John Rylands’s library in Manchester and the other – of 1843 – now in possession of the British Museum. The work is titled “*Qahr al-wujuh al-‘abisa bi-dhikr nasab umara’ al-Jarakisa wa-ttisalihi bi-Quraysh*” (“A cogent demonstration of the lineage of the amirs of the Circassians and its connexion with Quraysh”). The work was completed on February 23, 1632 (Holt 1959). Prof. Jane Hathaway from Ohio University refers to the manuscript at Princeton University Library (Garrett

The work consists of an introduction, seven chapters and a conclusion. The introduction and the first six chapters shed light on the events before the rule of Caliph ‘Umar. Among the tribes that trace themselves to Isma‘il is Banu ‘Amir who, as mentioned in the genealogy, was the forefather of the Circassians. In Chapter 7 the author narrates the legendary emergence of this people onto the historical stage and follows their ancestral line from the 7th to the 18th century, showing that Ridwan Bey’s lineage goes to the Quraysh tribe, the prophet Muhammad and the first man created by God—Adam. As the narrator explains,

everything began from an unlucky stroke with a palm-frond. At a festival, during a game played by mounted men, Kisa, the chief of the Quraysh family of Banu ‘Amir, happened to touch an Arab, named Fuhayd, with the frond and unhappily poked his eye out. Later, the news of the incident came to Caliph ‘Umar’s knowledge, and to escape the punishment Kisa b. Ikrima b. ‘Amr b. Wadd al-‘Amiri fled under the shelter of night – in Arabic “*sara*”. Since then he and his people began to be called “*Sarakisa*” which is close to the Arabic “*Jarakisa*” – Circassians. According to the author of the genealogy, this name became known everywhere – in Hijaz, Yemen, Iraq, Egypt. Kisa began wandering with his army that ran into 30 000 men, and fiercely disposed of anyone who dared to offer him resistance. He came as far as Byzantium, and the frightened ruler of Constantinople allowed him to choose any plot of land for himself. Warring descendants of the Quraysh tribe settled in the region of *’Alf Rayik*, which formerly belonged to the Armenians, and “these lands were rich, abounding in water” (Nasab f. 12).

The next page opens with the mention of emir Rustum, the great-great-grandson of al-’Ashraf Barsbay (1422–1438), who himself was the nephew of Barquq. The manuscript states that the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha (the ruler of Egypt in 1568 and 1571–1572) saved Rustum’s letter in which all his sons are named. The youngest, Janbayk ‘Aziz, was the father of Ridwan Bey, and the author follows his lineage from Rustum to Barsbay, then to Kisa, the Quraysh tribe and further—through Isma‘il, Abraham and Noah—to Adam. The letter was written in reply to an offer “to return to the Ottoman Porte” (Nasab. F. 13). The author of the manuscript makes it clear that Rustum understood what was said in the message of Sinan Pasha and wrote his reply in large handwriting in Arabic affixing to it the seal of al-’Ashraf Barsbay. Rustum, the grandfather

Manuscript Collection, MS 186H) which bears the title “*Nisba sharifa...*” identical to that of the manuscript in possession of St. Petersburg State University (Hathaway 2003: 152-153, 240). Unfortunately, there was not a chance to study personally “*Qahr al-wujuh...*” and the Princeton manuscript. However, comparing the St. Petersburg University manuscript with the descriptions of the London and the Manchester copies given in Hathaway’s work could make it safe to assume that we indeed deal with the copies of the same original. If collating the manuscripts proves their identical nature, the St. Petersburg copy will become the fourth version of this literary monument.

of Ridwan Bey, is shown here as a man who not only kept and treasured the memory of his forefathers, but also could speak Arabic, the language of his ancestral tribe.

The final part of the manuscript is devoted to Ridwan Bey himself. The author uses various appellations: a branch of the Quraysh tree, the crown of the dynasty of blessed rulers and sultans; while the manuscript itself is termed “a unique pearl and a precious treasure” (Nasab, F. 13). According to the genealogy, Ridwan Bey and the prophet Muhammad have a common ancestor, Qusay, who continues the famous Quraysh genealogical line: Kilab – Murrah – Ka‘b – Lu‘ay – Ghalib – Fihir.

Confirming the genealogical bonds between the Circassians and the Quraysh contributes to the tradition established even before the Ottoman rule according to which the Circassians are of Arabic origin. Nonetheless, the author of the treatise takes the Banu ‘Amir for the Ghassanids and Kisa, a Muslim, for Jabalah, a Christian. Holt does not believe that these transformations could have been made by chance. The position of Ridwan Bey was supposedly that of *Amir al-Hajj*, a highly privileged one. It was he who was in charge of the caravan with pilgrims making the Greater Hajj to Mecca. His Quraysh descent added even greater social importance and glory to him (Holt 1959: 228). Moreover, with the declining power of Istanbul, Ridwan Bey could exercise the functions of *Amir al-Hajj* not only and not as much as an official to whom authority was delegated by the Ottoman Sultan, but by the right inherited from the Mamluks and the Quraysh. This particular stress on his origin shows that the Mamluk Beys of Egypt wanted to become independent from the Sublime Porte.

As any other genealogy, this manuscript is imbued with the ideas of continuity, unity and historicity. It is evident that the Mamluk Beys are portrayed here as heirs to powerful sovereigns of the Mamluk Sultanate period. The protagonist of the manuscript is seen as part of the whole which included the best, chosen members of the Muslim community, such as the unbeatable Quraysh Kisa or the glorious sultans Barquq and Barsbay. Thus, the ambition of Ridwan Bey to reinforce the rule of the Mamluks secures firm historical grounds.

The “*Nisba sharifa...*” treatise is in fact a legendary writing to prove the Quraysh origin of the Circassians. Page 22 of the St. Petersburg manuscript contains an addition supposedly in the hand of Sheikh Muhammad ‘Ayyad al-Tantawi (1810–1861), its last owner, refuting quite categorically the hereditary connection between Rustum and Barsbay and recommending the author of the treatise “...to study some chronicles”. The Mamluks seized power in Egypt and held it firmly with the sword and plotting. After the Ottoman conquest, the Mamluks of high military rank tried to recover and defend their lost positions. The noble genealogy ascribing the Arabic descent to the Circassian Mamluks and, consequently, proving their having a common

ancestor with the prophet Muhammad was to sanctify their rule and make it seem legitimate (Ilyushina 2008).

Reverberations of the legendary version ascribing the origin of the Circassians to the Quraysh tribe are also noticeable in a Kabardian fable about three brothers from whom the Circassians, the Albanians and the Kurds are claimed to have descended. “One of these brothers unintentionally made a man blind in one eye and the victim rejected any recompense other than “an eye for an eye”. The matter was brought before Caliph ‘Umar who adjudicated that the victim was in position to demand the law of talion should be applied. Following Caliph ‘Umar’s decision, all the brothers chose to leave their homeland fleeing to Karahisar (Asia Minor)” (Inal-Apa 2006). Of particular interest is the fact that Adygea-Kabardian genealogies mention the name of Prince Kes. His name might be related to the “kasogi” ethnonym (in Arabic sources kasa, kasak, or kashak). The Kasogi are considered ancestors of the present-day Circassians. Abu’l-Mahasin Ibn Taghri Bardi (Ibn Taghri Bardi 1992: 11: 183), a prominent historian of the 15th century, refers Barquq, founder the Circassian sultanate, to the Kasa family (which can also be Kisa, or even Kusa (كسا) the vowel following the consonant “k” cannot be reconstructed unequivocally as there is no character for it in the text). Therefore, the legend where a key character is an Arab chieftain named Kisa comes closer to the Circassian tradition proper. Moreover, the anonymous author who compiled the family tree of Ridwan Bey might have been of Mamluk origin, as was Ibn Taghri Bardi.

Conclusions

1. The historical myth concerning the origin of the Circassians is closely related to the ideology of the Mamluk military and political elite. The story line of the historical myth remains unchangeable: an Arab chieftain interferes with someone and gets into trouble which puts his life to danger; for this reason he has to flee the realm of the Arabian peninsula together with his tribesmen, and finally settles in a land far away from his home. A few centuries later, his descendants, the Circassians of Arab origin, become rulers of Egypt. In this way the principal aim of establishing the genealogical link between the Circassians and the Arabs is attained, which raises the authority of the foreign Mamluk elite in the Arab society.

2. The version given in al-‘Ayni’s treatise is even more closely tied to the Arab historic tradition. Al-‘Ayni seeks to make his account very much in line with the events well known in the Arab culture, and he takes Jabalah ibn al-Ayham as his hero, who has a protagonist, a historical figure mentioned both in the Arab and Byzantine sources. The author does not claim that all Circassians can trace their lineage back to the Arabs, on the contrary, he stresses that only part of Circassians (including, according to his belief, Sultan Tatar) have both Circassian and Arab forefathers and suggests his explanation for this. To augment the story, al-‘Ayni focuses on

the virtues and unmistakable meritorious features shared by the Circassian Mamluks and most honourable Arab tribesmen: they both show commendable courage, are unparalleled mounted warriors, selflessly protect their women and children, and enjoy fame for their hospitality. At the same time, trying to sound unbiased, al-‘Ayni shows not only positive traits common for both the Circassians and the native population of the Arabian peninsula: they are hot-headed and short-tempered, even prone to mischief, untiring in pursuit of their enemies and adhered to blood revenge (Al-‘Ayni 1962: 6).

3. The story of Jabalah and the Arab ancestry of the Circassian Mamluks comes in full agreement with the tendency of the cultures of the military Mamluks and that of local Arabs to converge. This tendency began to be visibly present in Egypt in the early 15th century. The initiative to write the treatise must have emanated from al-‘Ayni himself, who in his turn had ample grounds to believe that his work would receive an enthusiastic welcome. The legendary version of the origin of the Circassian Mamluks narrated by this Arab author reveals an important aspect, which directed and shaped the development of the ideology of the Egyptian ruling elite: the eagerness of the Mamluk sultans with their entourage to find and demonstrate a relation, if remote and vague, to the country’s local population. This ideological task became even more relevant after the Circassian Sultans had come to power. The line of succession to the throne established by the previous Qala’unid dynasty (1280–1382) came to an end, and with the new dynasty a different period in the sultanate’s history began, a period of political instability, turmoil, economic problems, which subsequently led the Mamluks to gradually lose their prestige (Zelenev 2007: 149).

4. In the Ottoman period of Egypt a completely different political landscape together with a new socio-cultural reality necessitated the transforming of the myth: changed are the name of the forefather, his tribal affiliation and certain plot details. In the legendary version authenticating the Quraysh origin of the Circassians which was documented by an anonymous author of the 17th century, the concept of a foreign political elite converging with the indigenous population pales to a distant second. In the context of keen rivalry between Mamluk clans and a continuous pressure from the Ottoman Empire, the genealogy undertakes a more specific political task: it emphasizes the authority and vital role of Ridwan Bey in establishing the rule of Beys in Egypt completely independent from the Sublime Porte. In both cases we see the past being turned into a myth, a process of paramount importance in the life of any community particularly in a time of crisis, as it helps to unite society.

References

Al-'Ayni, Muhammad b. Ahmad (1962) *Al-Rawd al-Zahir fi Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir Tatar* [The Splendid Garden Concerning the Life of al-Malik al-Zahir Tatar]. Al-Qahira: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-Arabiya. 51 p.

Al-Maqrizi, Taqi al-Din Ahmad b. 'Ali (1998) *Al-Mawa'iz Al-I'tibar bi-Dhikr al-Khitat wa-l-'Athar* [Admonitions and Reflections on the Quarters and Monuments]. Al-Qahira: Maktaba Madbuli. 942 p.

Andramonova I.M. (2008) *Istoricheskiy mif o smute i ego bytovanie v hudojestvennoi i istoricheskoi praktike* [The Historical myth about the Distemper and its existence in the art and historical practice] *Jaroslavskiy pedagogicheskiy vestnik* 1: 91-95.

Bazili K.M. (2007) *Siriya i Palestina pod Turetzkim Pravitelstvom* [Syria and Palestine under Turkish Government]. Moskva: Mosty Kultury. 607 p.

Demin V.I. (2012) *Istoricheskiy mif i mif ob istorii v sovremennom postmodernistskom romane* [Historical myth and myth about the history contemporary postmodern novel]. *Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk*. Moskva: na pravah rukopisi. 267 p.

Gatashov V.V., Lubsky A.V. (1999) *Chto takoe istoricheskoe soznanie?* [What is historical awareness?] In *Istoriya Rossii v voprosah i otvetah* [The History of Russia in Questions and Answers]. Rostov-na-Donu: Feniks. 638 p.

Haarmann U. (1988a) *'Arabic in speech, Turkish in lineage: Mamluks and their sons in the intellectual life of fourteenth-century Egypt and Syria'* *Journal of Semitic Studies*. 33 (1): 81-114.

Haarmann U. (1988b) *'Rather the injustice of the Turks than the righteousness of the Arabs. Changing 'Ulama' attitudes towards Mamluk rule in the late fifteenth century'* *Studia Islamica*. 68: 61-77.

Hathaway J. (2003) *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen*. New York: State University of New York Press. 295 p.

Holt P.M. (1959) *'The Exalted lineage of Ridwan Bey: Some observations on a seventeenth-century Mamluk genealogy'* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. 22 (2): 221-230.

Ibn Taghri Bardi, Jamal al-Din 'Abu al-Muhasin Yusuf al-'Atabaki. (1992) *Al-Nujum Al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa-l-Qahira* [The Brilliant Stars, being the Chronicles of the Rulers of Egypt and Cairo]. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya. 16 j. Al-juz' al-Hadi 'Ashar. 334 p. Al-juz' al-Rabi' 'Ashar. 376 p.

Iiushina M.Yu. (2011) *Arabskiye istochniki o narodah Rossii v Sredniye veka i Novoye vremya* [Arabic sources on the peoples of Russia in Middle Ages and Modern period]. In *Rossiya i Vostok: fenomenologiya Vzaimodeystviya i Identifikatsii v Novoye Vremya* [Russia and the East: Phenomenology of Interaction and Identification in Modern Period]. Sankt-Peterburg: Studia NP-Print. Pp. 217-231.

Iiushina M.Yu. (2008) *'O rodoslovnoy mamlukov Egipta po materialam rukopisi "Nasab al-Jarakisa" iz kollektzii Vostochnogo otdela Nauchnoy biblioteki SPbGU'* [On the genealogy of Egyptian Mamluks according to a manuscript "Nasab al-Jarakisa" from the Collection of the Department of Asian and African Studies at the Scientific Library of St. Petersburg State University]. *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. Seriya 9. 2(1): 111-116.

Inal-Apa Sh. D. (2006) *'Chto rasskazyvayut abhazy o drevneyshem naseledii Abhazii i svoym proishozhdenii (materialy s kommentariyami)'* [What Abkhazians tell about ancient population of Abkhazia and their lineage (materials and comments)] *Abhazovedeniye*. Yazyk. Folklor. Literatura. 2: 193-255.

Krivov M.V. (1981) *'Posledniye Gassanidy mezhdru Vizantiyei i halifatom'* [The Last Ghassanids between Byzantium and the Chaliphate]. *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*. 42 (67): 154-158.

Lurie S.Ya. (2010) *Gerodot* [Herodotus]. Moskva: "Librokom". 232 p.

McDonald L.C. (1969) *'Myth, politics and political science'* *The Western Political Quarterly*. 22 (1): 141-150.

Mednikov N.A. (1897) *'Palestina ot zavoevaniia ee arabami do krestovyh pohodov po arabskim istochnikam'* [Palestine from the Arab conquest to the Crusades in the Arab sources]. *Pravoslavnyi palestinskiy sbornik* 17 (2). 715 p.

Meletinsky E.M. (2012) *Poetika Mifa* [The Poetics of Myth]. Moskva: Akademicheskyy proekt. 331 p.

Myth in History, History in Myth (2009) Ed. by L.Cruz, W.Frijhoff. Leiden, Boston: Brill. 263 p.

Nasab al-Jarakisa [The Lineage of the Circassians]. The Scientific Library of St. Petersburg University. The Department of Asian and African Studies. Ms.O. № 708.

Naumkin V.V. (1982) *Egipet i egiptyane: vchera i segodnya* [Egypt and Egyptians: Yesterday and Today]. In E.W.Lane *Nravyy i Obychai Egiptian* [Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians]. Moskva: Nauka. Pp. 3-51.

Rabbat N.O. *The Citadel of Cairo: a New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*. Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1995. 339 p.

Repina L.P. (2007) *'Pamyat' i znanie o proshlom v structure identichnosti* [Memory and knowledge of the past in the structure of identity]. *Dialog so vremenem*. 21: 5-10.

Saunt C. (2006) *'The Political uses of myth and history in the Cherokee and Creek nations'* *The Journal of American History*. 93 (3): 673-697.

Toporov V.N. (2008) *Istoriya i Mify* [History and myths]. In *Mify Narodov Mira* [Myths of the peoples of the world]. Moskva: Electronnoie izdanie, pp. 469-471.

Zelenev E. I. (2007) *Musulmanskiy Egipet* [Muslim Egypt]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatelstvo SPbGU. 373 p.

Zelenev E.I. (2012) *Postizhenie Obraza Mira* [Comprehending of the Conception of the World]. St. Petersburg: Karo. 336 p.

Zelenev E.I., Iliushina M.Y. (2013) *'Mamluuskii sultanat v Egipte: Beibars i ego epoha (1260–1277)'* [Military and political expansion of Mamluk Sultanat in the Middle East: sultan Beibars (1260–1277)] *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. Seriya 13. 3: 41-53

Milana Yu. Iliushina, deputy director at Department of Asian and African studies, National Research University 'Higher School of Economics', leading research fellow at Centre for Asian and African Studies, National Research University 'Higher School of Economics'. E-mail miliushina@hse.ru

Tel. +7-921-906-7249

Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.

© Iliushina, 2014