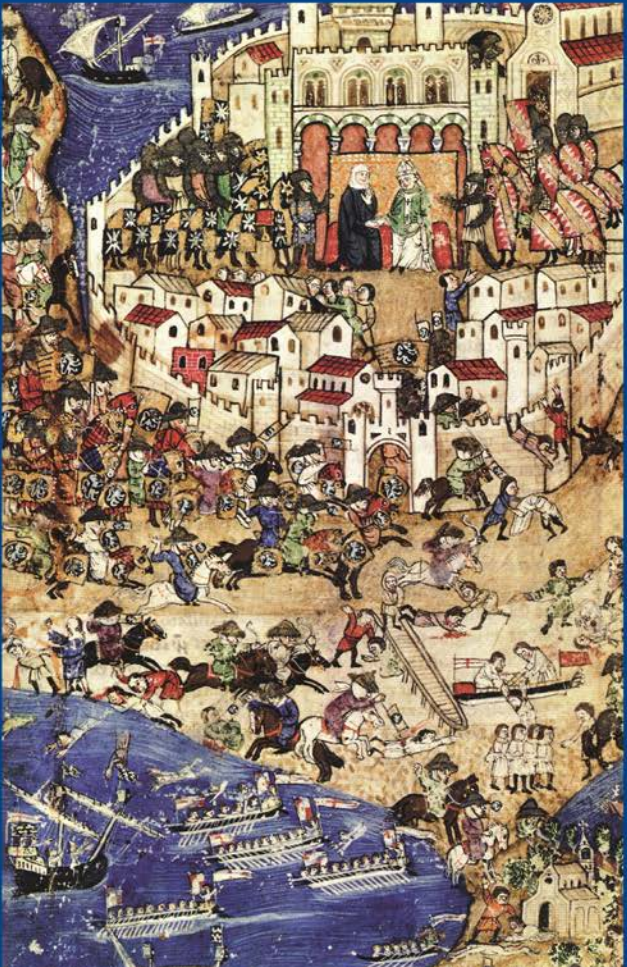
Stephan Conermann / Toru Miura (eds.)

# Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)

Bonn University Press



V&R unipress

V&R unipress

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Mamluk Studies

Volume 25

Edited by Stephan Conermann and Bethany J. Walker

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL KOLLEG
History and Society during the
Mamluk Era (1250 - 1517)

Editorial Board: Thomas Bauer (Münster, Germany), Albrecht Fuess (Marburg, Germany), Thomas Herzog (Bern, Switzerland), Konrad Hirschler (Berlin, Germany), Anna Paulina Lewicka (Warsaw, Poland), Linda Northrup (Toronto, Canada), Jo Van Steenbergen (Gent, Belgium)

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Stephan Conermann / Toru Miura (eds.)

# Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)

With 10 figures

V&R unipress

Bonn University Press

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available online: https://dnb.de.

**Publications of Bonn University Press
are published by V&R unipress.**

Sponsored by the DFG-funded Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study "History and Society during the Mamluk Era, 1250–1517".

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Theaterstraße 13, 37073 Göttingen, Germany
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Cover image: The fall of Tripoli to the Mamluks, April 1289. Date of painting is not specified, but presumably 13th–14th century. Source: Painting reproduced as Plate #26 in Christopher Tyerman's God's War. Credited as "British Library, London [Ms Add 27695 Fol. 5]" (Tyerman, p. vii), Author not listed.

**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com**

ISSN 2198-5375
ISBN 978-3-8470-1031-9

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

# Contents

Stephan Conermann
Mamluk Studies 2010–2020: an overview plus research gaps . . . . . . . . 7

Daisuke Igarashi
Charity and Endowments of the Civilian Elite: The Case of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, the *nāẓir al-jaysh* (d. 854/1451) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 57

Anna Kollatz
Tracing Ibn Iyās' Narrative: Intertextual Compilation from the *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and the*ʿUqūd al-juman* to the *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* . . . . . . . . . . 85

Nobutaka Nakamachi
A Historiographical Analysis of the Four Chronicles Attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 113

Christian Mauder
A Severed Head, a Poetry Slam, and a Shiʿi Visiting al-Shāfiʿī's Tomb: Symbolic and Literary Communication in Mamluk-Safavid Diplomatic Encounters . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 139

Toshimichi Matsuda
*Dhimmī* Society in the Mamluk Period . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 163

Manami Kondo
The *ʿulamāʾ* in the Mamluk Period: A Re-examination of the al-Subkī Family . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 175

Wakako Kumakura
Sugar to Grains. An Agricultural Shift in Medieval Fayyum . . . . . . . . 203

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Takao Ito
Careers and Activities of *mamlūk* Traders: Preliminary Prosopographical Research . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 229

Toru Miura
Who and What led Urban Riots in the late Mamluk Period? Reconsidering the *zuʿr* and Popular Actions in Damascus . . . . . . . . . 247

Mohammad Gharaibeh
Intertextuality between History and Hadith Studies: The *Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* in the Center of al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) work . . . 263

Takenori Yoshimura
The Role of Middle and Lower Rank Military Officers in Fourteenth-Century Mamluk Egypt: Establishment and Development of the Regional Administration Offices of *wālī* and *kāshif* . . . . . . . . . . . 299

List of Contributors . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 321

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Stephan Conermann

# Mamluk Studies 2010–2020: an overview plus research gaps

When the German Research Foundation (DFG) approved the Annemarie Schimmel College "History and Society of the Mamluk Era (1250–1517)" in 2010, the first conference was devoted to an inventory of Mamluk Studies. This resulted in the collected volume "Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies—State of the Art" (Göttingen 2013), which I edited. Thomas Bauer (literature), Catarina Bori (religion), Albrecht Fuess (politics), Syrinx von Hees (historical anthropology), Thomas Herzog (popular culture), Konrad Hirschler (historiography), Th. Emil Homerin (Sufism), Carine Juvin (epigraphy), Christian Müller (law), Lucian Reinfandt (documents), Bethany J. Walker (archeology) and Torsten Wollina (ego documents) each gave an overview of the latest research developments and trends. Later, Yossef Rapoport added his report on social history,[1] as did Daisuke Igarashi and Takao Ito their outline on women's studies[2] and Bethany Walker her comments on archeology.[3] Funding for the college ended in 2020. So, this is a good time to take stock again and to recapitulate roughly how the guild has developed. Of course, not all publications of the last decade by all Mamlukologists have been included in the following presentation. A choice had to be made. Mainly, these included the articles published in *Mamlūk Studies Review*, all *Working Papers* of the College, the volumes of the two series *Mamlūk Studies* and *Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lectures*, and all other new monographs, as well as a number of selected articles.[4]

---

[1] Rapoport, Yossef, "New Directions in the Social History of the Mamluk Era," in: *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517). Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Research College I*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2014, pp. 139–51.

[2] Igarashi, Daisuke and Ito, Takao, "Introduction. An Overview of Recent Studies on Women and Family in Mamluk Society," *Orient* 54 (2019), pp. 1–6.

[3] Walker, Bethany J., "From Ceramics to Social Theory: Reflections on Mamluk Archaeology Today," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 109–58.

[4] The volumes of *Mamlūk Studies Review* end with a bibliography of the latest Arabic publications. In addition to editions, this also includes the latest secondary literature. Regrettably, it is always necessary to examine to what extent these studies meet Western scholarly, historical-critical requirements.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

The founder of Mamluk Studies, David Ayalon (1914–1998) was followed by a generation of scholars who, with their extensive studies, laid an excellent foundation for the research of the past ten years. To mention only a few: Carl Petry, Amalia Levanoni, Rudolf Veselý (d. 2020), Jonathan Berkey, Donald Little (d. 2017), Yehoshua Frenkel, Michael Winter (d. 2020), Ulrich Haarmann (d. 1999), Reuven Amitai, Jean-Claude Garcin and Peter M. Holt (d. 2006). Since the turn of the millennium the number of Mamlukologists had already increased considerably. However, this trend accelerated further when the College for Mamluk Studies in Bonn was established as a global center and contact point for the scholarly community. In the meantime, the number of researchers working full-time around the world on the Mamluk Sultanate has risen to over 100. Interestingly, there are nevertheless hardly any overview accounts. Julien Loiseau provides a very good introduction to the structure of the military elite, but only up to the middle of the fourteenth century.[5] Still worth reading is Winslow Williams Clifford's dissertation from 1995, which is now available in print form.[6] A pioneering reinterpretation of the Sultanate comes from Jo van Steenbergen. Together with Patrick Wing and Kristof D'hulster, he has argued very convincingly in several articles that the Mamluk Sultanate should be understood not as a centralized empire, but rather as a very fluid and flexible society, in which power relations are constantly being renegotiated through social practices or practices of social differentiation.[7]

The body of sources is constantly expanding with new editions. The majority of these editions originate from the Middle East. Unfortunately, they often do not meet our usual philological standards, so it is always necessary to examine the

---

[5] Loiseau, Julien, *Les Mamelouks. XIIIe–XIVe siècle. Une expérience du pouvoir dans l'Islam medieval*, Paris 2014. See also Frenkel, Yehoshua, *Is there a Mamlūk culture?*, Berlin 2014.

[6] Clifford, Winslow W., *State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.*, Göttingen 2013.

[7] van Steenbergen, Jo, *'Mamlukisation' between Social Theory and Social Practice: An Essay on Reflexivity, State Formation, and the Late Medieval Sultanate of Cairo*, Bonn 2015; idem, "Revisiting the Mamlūk Empire: Political Action, Relationships of Power, Entangled Networks, and the Sultanate of Cairo in Late Medieval Syro-Egypt," in: *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2019, pp. 77–108; van Steenbergen, Jo, Patrick Wing and Kristof D'hulster, "The Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate? State Formation and the History of Fifteenth Century Egypt and Syria: Part I: Old Problems and New Trends," *History Compass* 14/11 (2016), pp. 549–59, idem, "The Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate? State Formation and the History of Fifteenth Century Egypt and Syria: Part II: Comparative Solutions and a New Research Agenda," *History Compass* 14/11 (2016), pp. 560–69; van Steenbergen, Jo, "Appearances of Dawla and Political Order in Late Medieval Syro-Egypt. The State, Social Theory, and the Political History of the Cairo Sultanate (thirteenth-sixteenth Centuries)," in: *History and Society During the Mamluk Period (1250–1517): Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel-Kolleg II*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2016, pp. 53–88.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

quality. The annual issues of *Mamlūk Studies Review* provide a good overview of Arabic text editions. In France and Germany in particular, editing techniques in Islamic studies were cultivated up until the end of the twentieth century. This tradition has largely been lost due to the increasing concentration on subjects related to the present and the associated reassignment of chairs to this direction. Only a few new texts have been made available in Germany in recent years. Exceptions are Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī's *al-Qawl al-mūʿab fī l-qaḍāʾ bi-l-mūjab* and Ibn al-Shiḥnah's *Lisān al-ḥukkām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām*, both edited by Suad Saghbini.[8] Moreover, she has published a book containing five purchase contracts and the *waqf* document of the influential amir Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Ughulbak al-Ḥalabī.[9] It is well-known that the genre of intellectual biography enjoyed great popularity during the Mamluk period. In his *al-Tarājim al-jalīlah al-jalīyah wa-l-ashyākh al-ʿāliya al-ʿalīya*, the historian Aḥmad b. Aybak b. al-Dumyāṭī describes the life of the aforementioned Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355).[10] Since only relatively few original documents have been published in the last decade, Donald S. Richards' diligent edition of eighteen new documents from the library of St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai is greatly appreciated. Almost all of the pieces deal either with monastic privileges or the protection that the Muslim authorities granted the monks.[11] In addition to the documents from St Catherine's Monastery, those from the Ḥaram al-Sharīf Collection in Jerusalem are also being analyzed piece by piece.[12] Unfortunately, only very few documents have survived from Damascus. For this reason, the *waqf* deed that Boris Liebrenz recently edited and analyzed is especially valuable. It is a *waqf* made by the Damascene doctor Ibn Ḥubayqah from the last year of the Mamluk Sultanate, which was then affirmed by the Ottoman administration after the regime change. However, the text itself also tells us a lot about the life of the benefactor. For example, we receive invaluable information about his family's property in rural *Bilād al-Shām.*[13] Other individual documents can be found in Werner Diem's publications.[14] For some time now, the approaches of archival

---

[8] Ed. Suad Saghbini, Göttingen 2014 and 2017.

[9] Sagbini, Suad, *Ǧāmiʿ al-mustanadāt. Eine Edition der fünf Kaufverträge und der Waqf-Urkunde des Emirs Faḫr ad-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān b. Uġulbak al-Ḥalabī*, Göttingen 2014.

[10] Aḥmad b. Aybak b. al-Dumyāṭī, *al-Tarājim al-jalīlah al-jalīyah wa-l-ashyākh al-ʿāliyah al-ʿalīyah*, ed. Tarek Sabraa, Göttingen 2017.

[11] Richards, Donald S., *Mamluk Administrative Documents from St Catherine's Monastery*, Leuven 2011.

[12] Müller, Christian, "The Ḥaram al-Šarīf Collection of Arabic Documents in Jerusalem: A Mamluk Court Archive?" *Al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011), pp. 435–59.

[13] Liebrenz, Boris, *The Waqf of a Physician in Late Mamluk Damascus and its Fate under the Ottomans*, Berlin 2019.

[14] Diem, Werner, *Arabische Briefe aus dem 10.–16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2011; idem, *Arabische Briefe auf Papier aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Heidelberg 2013; idem, *Für-*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

studies have offered an interesting perspective on documents and their safekeeping. Konrad Hirschler in particular has commented on this in a number of substantial articles.[15]

In his article, **Daisuke Igarashi** examines the life of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ (d. 854/1451) to highlight the charitable engagement of the civilian elite in the Mamluk period which—in contrast to the military elite's—has been relatively neglected by the scholarship to date. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was not a religious scholar but a civil servant (*rabb al-aqlām*, lit. "man of the pen"). He began his career as a secretary in Damascus and rose quickly to higher ranks through opportunistic moves such as his allegiance to the then rebellious amir and future sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (d. 824/1421). Even after the latter's death, notwithstanding the unstable times that followed, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was able to retain influential positions at court. His contemporaries disagreed about his character. Some report about him as cruel and corrupt while others see him as a good person with a bad reputation. In the second section of his article Igarashi describes ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's extensive charitable work in great detail, focusing on waqfs and associated buildings. As a conclusion, the author sees his article as a starting point for further research in the charitable work of civil elites in the Mamluk period.

In addition to manuscripts and documents, coins are another important source for research into the Mamluk period, of course. Warren C. Schultz has long been considered one of the leading experts on the subject. In his analysis of a manuscript of the "Thousand and One Nights," he concludes that the dinars mentioned in the stories date from the time of the Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38). Many of the stories incorporate imaginations and facts that date back to the fifteenth century.[16] Schultz was also involved in the publication of

---

*sprachebriefe in der arabisch-islamischen Welt des 8.–14. Jahrhunderts. Eine sozial- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Wiesbaden 2015.

[15] Hirschler, Konrad, "Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts," *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3/1 (2017), pp. 33–44, idem, "From Archive to Archival Practices. Rethinking the Preservation of Mamlūk Administrative Documents," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136/1 (2016), pp. 1–28; idem, "'Catching the Eel' – Documentary Evidence for Concepts of the Arabic Book in the Middle Period," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012), pp. 224–34.

[16] Schultz, Warren C., "Numismatic Nights: Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins in the Mahdi. A Manuscript of Alf Layla wa-Layla. Mamluk Coins, Mamluk Politics and the Limits of the Numismatic Evidence," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, pp. 243–68.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the part of the Paul Balog Collection at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, which contains coins from the Mamluk era.[17]

However, there are also other sources that need to be tapped. During the course of his research, Konrad Hirschler—somewhat by chance—stumbled upon a highly interesting document, namely a catalog of the Ashrafīya library in Damascus, written around 668/1270 by a librarian named al-Anṣarī. The exploration of this text gives us a unique look into the world of books in the Middle East before the invention of printing—unique because no comparable document has reached us from before the Ottoman era.[18] We now have an exemplary edition, translation and evaluation of the catalog, which lists a total of 2269 volumes.[19] In another book, Hirschler introduces us to the library of the Damascene scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (840–909/1437–1503).[20] The latter had collected around 3,000 books during his life, which he put into a foundation in his late fifties. With the help of the *fihrist*, the cultural practice of book production, book purchase and the distribution of books can be examined. The new work by Doris Behrens-Abouseif heads in this direction as well.[21] She also addresses the life cycle of books in the Mamluk Sultanate. She touches on topics such as the role of patronage and the establishment of foundations for the production of manuscripts, the establishment and management of libraries in religious institutions, the importance of private collections as well as numerous aspects of the book market and the social milieu of scribes, copyists and calligraphers.

From the beginning, Mamlukologists have been particularly interested in historiography. In recent times, the fictionality of these texts has increasingly come into focus.[22] Chronicles are factual narratives; the authors claim to report the truth, but by using narratological means the narrative strategies behind the

---

[17] Baidoun, Issa M., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Israel Museum: The Paul Balog Collection: Egypt Vol. III: The Mamlūks 1248–1517*, Trieste 2011. This is the place to mention the impending publication of a second volume on the Syrian Mamluk coins in the Israel Museum. Stefan Heidemann is the main force behind this publication, while Issa Baidoun is also still heavily involved.

[18] But see also Kohlkberg, Etan, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tawus and His Library*, Leiden 1992.

[19] Hirschler, Konrad, *Medieval Damascus. Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library. The Ashrafīya Library Catalogue,* Edinburgh 2016.

[20] Hirschler, Konrad, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture. The Library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī*, Edinburgh 2020.

[21] Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517). Scribes, Libraries and Market,* Leiden and Boston 2018.

[22] Conermann, Stephan (ed.), *Mamluk Historiography Revisited: Narratological Perspectives.* Göttingen 2018; van Steenbergen, Jo, and Stijn van Nieuwenhuyse, “Truth and Politics in Late Medieval Arabic Historiography: the Formation of Sultan Barsbāy’s State (1422–1438) and the Narratives of the Amir Qurqumās al-Shaʿbānī (d. 1438),” *Der Islam* 95/1 (2018), pp. 147–88.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

works can be discerned. A good example for this is the depiction of Shajar al-Durr (r. 648/1250), al-Muʿizz ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak (r. 648/1250 and 651–55/1254–57) and al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz (r. 657–58/1259–60) by the historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 874/1470),[23] or the different descriptions and assessments of an uprising in Alexandria in 728/1327 by the historians al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338).[24]

Another chapter is **Anna Kollatz’** examination of three of Ibn Iyās’ (d. ca. 930/1524) historiographical texts, namely the *Jawāhir al-sulūk*, the *ʿUqūd al-juman* and the *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*. She aims to uncover his narrative methods in different circumstances and for different audiences. To this end, she analyzes an exemplary anecdote that appears in all three texts, the death of Muʿizz al-Dīn Aybak, in detail. According to the chronicles, Aybak was killed because of a dispute with his wife Shajar al-Durr, who lured him to her chambers and ordered mercenaries to kill him there. However, in his three works Ibn Iyās tells this story differently every time. For example, even though Aybak is always depicted as the victim, Shajar al-Durr is presented as an evil schemer in the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd*, while in the *Badāʾiʿ* she is intellectually unable to grasp the meaning of the situation. Additionally, through structural reorganization the message and meaning on a meta-level change. The *Jawāhir* version is a plain transmission of facts in accordance with the chronological order of events. The story in the *ʿUqūd* is similar to this but has changes in its introduction and conclusion, so that Shajar’s actions become more reasonable and she even has a change of heart—albeit too late. In contrast, the *Badāʾiʿ* version changes chronological order and wording to create narrative tension and present Aybak as an honorable man. In her conclusion, Kollatz states that the analysis has shown the cross-textual connections between the texts while their narratives serve independent purposes in their contexts of creation.

Among the many notable historians active in the Mamlūk period, al-Maqrīzī is certainly one of the most prominent. Frédéric Bauden has therefore launched the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* series, in which his most important works are gradually being critically edited and translated.[25] Among the many works of the Egyptian

---

[23] Perho, Irmeli, *Ibn Taghrībirdī’s Portrayal of the First Mamluk Rulers*, Berlin 2013.

[24] Ibrahim, Mahmood, “The 727/1327 Silk Weavers’ Rebellion in Alexandria: Religious Xenophobia, Homophobia, or Economic Grievances,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), pp. 123–42.

[25] al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ḍawʾ al-sārī li-maʿrifat khabar tamīm al-dārī*, ed. and trans. Yehoshua Frenkel, Leiden and Boston 2014; idem, *Kitāb al-Maqāṣid al-sanīyah li-maʿrifat al-ajsām al-maʿdinīyah*, ed. Fabian Käs, *Al-Maqrīzīs Traktat über die Mineralien*, Leiden and Boston 2015; idem, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī dhikr man ḥajja min al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, ed. and trans. Jo van Steenbergen, *Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

author, his *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, written between 817/1415 and 844/1440 and commonly abbreviated to *al-Khiṭaṭ*, stands out. Many scholars have already dealt with it from various aspects. Nasser Rabbat has now presented a reinterpretation centered on the moralizing historian who accuses the Mamluks of moral turpitude.[26]

**Nobukata Nakamachi’s** historiographical study of Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī’s (d. 855/1451) four chronicles singles out their different contexts of creation and their purposes. To this end, he uses extensive material by contemporary authors and analyzes manuscripts that are presumed to be one of the chronicles. He finds that the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* is the oldest and is a summary of Ibn Kathīr’s *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah.* Al-ʿAynī started to work on his main work, the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, some two decades later as a result of his own literary and academic aspirations. When nearly finished, he began writing an epitome of his own text, which Nakamachi suggests he might have written to present to Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy who protected al-ʿAynī on several occasions. The fourth text attributed to al-ʿAynī was actually written by his younger brother, Shihāb al-Dīn. Nakamachi concludes that because of al-ʿAynī’s closeness with the sultan his historiographical practice had positive impacts on his career.

Of course, the notion of literature is problematic. For example, in the publication of a conference on literature in the Mamluk period that was held at the University of Chicago in 2012, there are articles on very different authors and types of text.[27] Thomas Bauer dealt with epigrams, Adam Talib and Antonella Ghersetti with anthologies, Muhsin J. al-Musawi with lexicographical texts, Thomas Herzog with *adab* encyclopedias, Th. Emil Homerin with the texts of the mystic ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 922/1517), Livnat Holtzman with a political treatise by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1350), Richard McGregor with Sufi commentaries on prayer and Hakan Özkan with Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār’s (d. 749/1348) poetry.[28] Th. Emil Homerin and Li Guo are currently working on the celebrated Mamluk-period poet Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294 or 696/1297) and

---

*of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage*, Leiden and Boston 2016; idem, *al-Khabar ʿan al-bashar fī ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Al-Maqrīzī’s al-Ḫabar ʿan al-bašar: Vol. V, Section 4: Persia and Its Kings, Part I*, Leiden and Boston 2017; idem, *al-Khabar ʿan al-bashar fī ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Peter Webb, *Al-Maqrīzī’s al-Ḫabar ʿan al-bašar: Vol. V, Sections 1–2: The Arab Thieves*, Leiden and Boston 2019.

[26] Rabbat, Nasser, *The Historian and the City: Al-Maqrīzī’s* Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-l-Āthār, Bonn 2018.

[27] *Mamlūk Studies Review* 17 (2013).

[28] Özkan, Hakan, “Why Stress Does Matter: New Material on Metrics in Zajal Poetry,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 101–15.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310), the author of shadow theater pieces who also wrote poems, respectively.[29] Monographs or anthologies on individual authors are rare. Exceptions are, for example, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (d. 776/1375)[30] and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), even though al-Suyūṭī was probably more of a scholar and not a man of letters.[31] It is surprisingly apparent that there are only very few studies on individual *ʿulamāʾ*, as well. However, Muhammad Gharaibeh has presented an informative examination of the *Buldānīyāt* of al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497).[32] Of course, interesting treatises on prominent religious scholars such as Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) keep appearing frequently.[33] The genre question is also very fascinating. We always assume a Eurocentric classification of the different types of text. A look at the genres typical of the time reveals immediately that we have to take the indigenous categories much more seriously. One example of a very popular type of text is the *faḍāʾil* works, in which the timeless perfection of places is described in literary terms.[34] Furthermore, the separate eulogies on an author or a work (*taqrīẓ*, pl. *taqārīẓ*) can be viewed as a very culture-specific genre, through which rivalries could always be expressed.[35] Another still insufficiently used source is the numerous novel-like *sīrah* texts which, due to their oral background, are commonly regarded as “folk literature.”[36] The example of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 858/

---

[29] Homerin, Th. Emil “‘Our Sorry State!’: Al-Būṣīrī’s Lamentations on Life and an Appeal for Cash,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 19–28; Guo, Li, “Mamluk Historical Rajaz Poetry: Ibn Dāniyāl’s Judge List and Its Later Adaptations,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 43–62.

[30] Papoutsakis, Nefeli and Syrinx von Hees (eds.), *The Sultan’s Anthologist – Ibn Abī Ḥağalah and His Work*, Würzburg 2017.

[31] Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period. Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies (Ca’Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*, Leiden and Boston 2017.

[32] Muhammad Gharaibeh: *The Buldāniyyāt of as-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1496). A Case Study on Knowledge Specialization and Knowledge Brokerage in the Field of Ḥadīṯ Collections*, Bonn 2014.

[33] Gardiner, Noah, *Ibn Khaldūn Versus the Occultists at Barqūq’s Court: the critique of lettrism in al-Muqaddimah*, Berlin 2020; Bori, Caterina, *One or Two Versions of Al-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya of Ibn Taymiyya? And what do they tell us?*, Bonn 2016; Antrim, Zayde, “The Politics of Place in the Works of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 91–112.

[34] Weintritt, Otfried, *The Most Beautiful, the Noblest, and the Best*, Berlin 2012.

[35] Levanoni, Amalia, “Who Were the ‘Salt of the Earth’ in Fifteenth-Century Egypt?,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 63–84. The *taqārīẓ* were also used to tease colleagues or to resolve internal feuds. See Jacques, R. Kevin, “Murder in Damascus: The Consequences of Competition among Medieval Muslim Religious Elites,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 149–86.

[36] Frenkel, Yehoshua, *Volksroman under the Mamluks: The Case of Tamīm ad-Dārī Popular Sira*, Bonn 2013; Herzog, Thomas, “Orality and the Tradition of Arabic Epic Storytelling,” in: *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl, Berlin and Boston 2012, pp. 629–52; idem., “‘What

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

1454) shows how blurred the boundaries between people of letters and religious scholars were in general.[37] Not only did al-Bisṭāmī work as an expert on Hadith, he was also an exponent of the occult “science of letters and names.” His life and oeuvre represent a flourishing occult scene in Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus, about which we are only sporadically informed.

## 1. Politics

The year 1250 is often equated with the establishment of the Mamluk sultanate, even though we are actually dealing with a fluid transition from Ayyubid to Mamluk rule.[38] The early Mamluk sultans consciously adopted Ayyubid traditions in order to establish and secure their rule. As is well known, the new rulers drew a large part of their legitimacy from their victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt in 1260. This can be seen very well in the conscious appropriation of the cultural memory of the conquest of Syria by Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77).[39] The scholars, in turn, equated the success with a confirmation of the superiority of the Muslim religion, whose real representatives they considered themselves.[40]

---

they saw with their own eyes…’ – Fictionalisation and ‘Narrativisation’ of History in Arab Popular Epics and Learned Historiography,” in: *Fictionalizing the Past*, ed. Sabine Dorpmüller, Cairo 2011, pp. 25–43; idem, “Figuren der Bettler,” *Asiatische Studien* 65/1 (2011), pp. 67–94; idem, “La mémoire des invasions mongoles dans la Sīrat Baybars: Persistances et transformations dans l’imaginaire populaire arabe,” in: *Le Bilād al-Šām face aux mondes extérieurs. La perception de l’Autre et la représentation du Souverain*, ed. Denis Aigle, Damascus 2012, pp. 345–62.

[37] Gardiner, Noah, “The Occultist Encyclopedism of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017), pp. 3–38; idem, “Stars and Saints: The Esotericist Astrology of the Sufi Occultist Aḥmad al-Būnī,” *Journal of Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 12/1 (2017), pp. 39–65; idem, “Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī,” *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012), pp. 81–143. See on this topic especially Gardiner, Noah and Matthew Melvin-Koushki (eds.), *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives* (= special double issue of *Arabica* 64/3–4 (2017), 287–693).

[38] Kühn, Hans-Ulrich, *Sultan Baibars und seine Söhne. Frühmamlukische Herrschaftssicherung in ayyubidischer Tradition.* Göttingen 2019; van Steenbergen, Jo, and Stijn Van Nieuwenhuyse, “Truth and Politics in Late Medieval Arabic Historiography: The Formation of Sultan Barsbāy’s State (1422–1438) and the Narratives of the Amir Qurqumās al-Shaʿbānī (d. 1438),” *Der Islam* 95/1 (2018), pp. 147–88.

[39] Troadec, Anne, “Baybars and the Cultural Memory of Bilād al-Shām: The Construction of Legitimacy,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 113–48.

[40] Levanoni, Amalia, *The Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt: A Paradigmatic Historical Event in Mamlūk Historical Narrative*, Berlin 2014; Favereau, M., *La Horde d’Or et le Sultanat Mamelouk. Naissance d’une alliance* (= Cahier des Annales Islamologiques; 34), Cairo 2018.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

In terms of foreign policy, there are now very good studies on Mamluk-Mongol and Mamluk-Ottoman relations.[41] At the same time, it is noticeable that the invasion of Timur (d. 807/1405) into the Mamluk empire at the beginning of the fifteenth century and its medium-term effects urgently need to be reassessed.[42] Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche have published an extensive anthology on embassies at court in Cairo,[43] which is usefully supplemented by a monograph by Doris Abouseif on the practice of giving gifts to foreign diplomatic missions.[44]

**Christian Mauder** examines selected high-profile diplomatic encounters between Mamluk and Safawid representatives in the early sixteenth century. He analyzes symbolic and literary communications, based on descriptions found in mainly Mamluk primary sources, to draw conclusions about the Mamluk-Safawid alliance against the Ottomans presumed by some scholars. Mauder describes how the Mamluks received various envoys from the Safawids who—in the eyes of contemporary chroniclers—behaved rudely in the sultan's presence. On the other hand, the sultan usually replied to this behavior with generous gifts and the exhibition of military strength. When the Mamluks on a later occasion sent an emissary to the Safawid court, he was treated badly and not entrusted with a written answer. Rather, the Safawid shāh sent one of his own officials to Cairo, who—even though he again acted impolitely—presented the sultan with lavish gifts. Mauder explains the symbolism used

---

[41] Amitai, Reuven, *Holy War and Rapprochement: Studies in the relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Ilkhanate (1260–1335)*, Turnhout 2013; Muslu, Cihan Yüksel, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World*, London and New York 2014.

[42] Broadbridge, Anne F., "Spy or Rebel? The Curious Incident of the Temürid Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's Defection to the Mamluks at Damascus in 803/1400–1," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 29–42. This article presents some ruminations on the life and stunted career of one of Timur's grandsons, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, in an effort to demonstrate the effect Timur may have had on the people closest to him.

[43] Bauden, Frédéric and Malika Dekkiche, *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies: Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*, Leiden and Boston 2019; in addition, see Coureas, Nicholas, "Envoys between the Mamlūk Lands and Cyprus under Venice (1473–1517)," in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Eras VIII: Proceedings of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd International Colloquium Organized at the University of Ghent in May 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen, Kristof D'hulster, and Jo van Steenbergen, Leuven 2016, pp. 372–75; von der Hoch, Marc, "Muslim Embassies in Renaissance Venice: The Framework of an Intercultural Dialogue," in: *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Marc von der Hoch, Nikolas Jaspert and Jenny Rahel Oesterle, Paderborn 2013, pp. 165–184; Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, "Mamluk Artistic Relations with Latin Europe," in: *La frontière méditerranéenne du XVe au XVIIe siècle: Échanges, circulations et affrontements*, ed. Bernard Heyberger and Albrecht Fuess, Turnhout 2014, pp. 351–374.

[44] Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *Practicing Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World*, London 2014.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

by the two parties. For example, he sees the shāh's presents, a prayer mat and a Quran, as means to convey religious superiority. Since the Safawids' state religion was Shiʿi Islam, the Sunni Mamluks needed to find a way to rebut such claims. As an answer, they showed the Safawid envoy the tomb of the famous religious scholar al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820). Through his analysis, the author concludes that the exchange of envoys cannot be understood as an indication of the improvement of relations between the two interlocuters, let alone an alliance against the Ottoman empire.

The Mamluk attacks at sea against Cyprus are the focus of a rather subjective report from the pen of a contemporary observer.[45] In addition to their fame for having successfully repelled the hitherto invincible Mongols, the Mamluks enjoyed a great reputation in the Islamic world as the official guardians of the holy sites of Islam in Mecca and Medina. However, there they had to fight both the Rasulids from Yemen for supremacy in the Red Sea trade and the Timurids for the privilege of furnishing the interior of the Kaʿbah and providing the *kiswa*.[46] The rule of the Mamluks was of course also legitimized by the transfer of the Caliphate from Baghdad. Remarkably, Mustafa Banister is the only one who has ever systematically dealt with the latter institution. In 2015 he received his doctorate from the University of Toronto with a thesis on "The Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo (1261–1517): History and Tradition in the Mamluk Court," which he is currently preparing for publication.[47]

Regarding the social structure of the Mamluk Sultanate, the composition of the ruling elite is increasingly being discussed. Koby Yosef in particular has challenged the previously prevalent notion that the Mamluks were primarily networked through their camaraderie and their relationship with their patrons. In many essays based on his extensive dissertation "Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)," accepted at Tel Aviv University in 2011, he has shown that consanguinity, marriage ties and

---

[45] Frenkel, Yehoshua, *Al-Biqāʿī's Naval War Report*, Bonn 2012.

[46] Sadek, Noah, *Custodians of the Holy Sanctuaries: Rasulid-Mamluk Rivalry in Mecca*, Berlin 2019; Dekkiche, Malika, "New Source, New Debate: Re-evaluation of the Mamluk-Timurid Struggle for Religious Supremacy in the Hijaz (Paris, BnF MS ar. 4440)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 247–71.

[47] The book is announced for 2020 as a volume of the Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture under the title *The Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo, 1261–1517: Out of the Shadows*. See also Banister, Mustafa, "'Naught Remains to the Caliph but his Title': Revisiting Abbasid Authority in Mamluk Cairo," *Mamlūk Studies Rreview* 18 (2014–15), pp. 219–45; idem, *A Sword in the Caliph's Service: On the Caliphal Office in Late Fourteenth Century Mamluk Sources*, Bonn 2017.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ethnic solidarity also played a major role at least until 1382.[48] Nevertheless, it is of course interesting to trace not only the résumés of individual emirs, but also the careers of a group of a sultan's slaves. Using the example of the Manṣūrīyah, that is, the Mamluks acquired from al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90), it is possible to show that between 1290 and 1310 a group of senior Mamluks were able to run the Sultanate for almost two decades, with the sultan often just a puppet.[49] During the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 709–41/1310–41), a complex mixture emerged between the Manṣūrīyah, the Nāṣirīyah, members of other *khushdāshīyāt*, the *awlād al-nās* and members of the *wāfidīyah*, which led to a noticeable dissolution of group solidarities.[50] In view of the great intellectual, ethnic and religious heterogeneity of Mamluk society, it was extremely important for the long-term survival of the elite that they build stable networks with as many social groups as possible at different levels.[51] The households of the Mamluks formed important centers of such connections. In addition, the emirs constantly had to negotiate positions of power with the Sufis, jurists and scholars. But connections could also be established through language. Turkish and Persian gave you access to political networks; Mongolian and Greek gave you access to the influential circles of traders.[52] As for the Mamluks, it is now absolutely certain that a considerable number of them worked as scholars and

---

[48] Yosef, Koby, *Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*, Bonn 2012; idem, "Usages of Kinship Terminology during the Mamluk Sultanate and the Notion of the 'Mamlūk Family'," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, pp. 16–75; idem, "Masters and Slaves: Substitute Kinship in the Mamlūk Sultanate," in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Eras VIII: Proceedings of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd International Colloquium Organized at the University of Ghent in May 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen, Kristof D'hulster, and Jo van Steenbergen, Leuven 2016, pp. 557–79; idem, "Ikhwa, Muwākhūn and Khushdāshiyya in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013), pp. 335–62; idem, "The Term Mamlūk and Slave Status during the Mamluk Sultanate," *Al-Qantara* 34/1 (2013), pp. 7–34; idem, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), pp. 55–69; idem, "Dawlat al-Atrāk or Dawlat al-Mamālīk? Ethnic Origin or Slave Origin as the Defining Characteristic of the Ruling Elite in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39 (2012), pp. 387–410. See also Broadbridge, Anne F., "Sending Home for Mom and Dad: The Extended Family Impulse in Mamluk Politics," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 1–18.

[49] Mazor, Amir, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment: The Manṣūriyya in the First Mamluk Sultanate, 678/1279–741/1341*, Göttingen 2015.

[50] Mazor, Amir, "The 'Manṣūrīyah Legacy': The Manṣūrī Amirs, Their Mamluks, and Their Descendants during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Third Reign and After," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 1–56.

[51] van Steenbergen, Jo, and Kristof D'hulster, "Family Matters: The 'Family-in-law' Impulse in Mamluk Marriage Policy," *Annales islamologiques* (2013), pp. 61–82.

[52] Eychenne, Mathieu, *Liens personnels, clientélisme et réreaux de pouvoir dans le sultanat mamlouk*, Damascus and Beirut 2013.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

pursued careers outside the military and administration.[53] Unfortunately, since Ulrich Haarmann's death in 1999, no one has paid much attention to the descendants of the Mamluks, but at least recently the history of the *ḥalqah* is now being revisited.[54] The "partners" (and occasional antagonists) to the Mamluk class were always the *ʿulamāʾ*. Both sides were dependent on each other and developed a modus vivendi over time. The military elite needed the scholars as a bridge to the Arab-Muslim majority society, and the scholars in turn received their posts and their patronage through the Mamluks.[55]

Only a small number of researchers are concerned with the history of the *dhimmī*s, i. e. the Jews and Christians living in the Mamluk Sultanate. Of course, our Israeli colleagues usually have a special interest in the situation of Jewish communities from the perspectives of social, cultural and intellectual history. Remarkably, a conference on this topic took place for the first time only in 2014, in Bonn. The results are now available in a collected volume.[56] The eight contributions focus on topics such as the tolerance of the rulers and the population towards Jews, Jews in administrative positions, conversions of Jews to Islam, the inner connection between the leaders of the Jewish community and Sufi attitudes as well as the intellectual interactions of Muslim and Jewish scholars. The Mamluks themselves are sometimes ascribed a Jewish descent. However, the sources remain unclear on closer inspection. Rather, a negative stereotype of Jews can be assumed.[57]

**Toshimichi Matsuda's** chapter is concerned with the *dhimmī*s, the tolerated religious communities, in Mamluk Egypt. More precisely, he presents the findings of his micro-analysis of the Christian community that served at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. The documents found in the

---

[53] Mauder, Christian, *Gelehrte Krieger: Die Mamluken als Träger arabischsprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen*, Hildesheim 2012.

[54] Levanoni, Amalia, "The Ḥalqah in the Mamluk Army: Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 37–66; Conermann, Stephan, "Handlungsoptionen von Sklavensöhnen im sogenannten 'Mamlukensultanat' (1250–1517): Heeresdienst," in: *Sklaverei und Identität – von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Andrea Binsfeld, Trier 2020 (in print).

[55] See Gharaibeh, M., "Brokerage and Interpersonal Relationships in Scholarly Networks. Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī and His Early Academic Career," in *Everything is on the Move: The "Mamluk Empire" as a Node in (Trans-)Regional Networks*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2014, pp. 223–266.

[56] Conermann, Stephan (ed.), *Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Middle Islamic Period: Jews in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Sultanates (1171–1517)*, Göttingen 2017. A good overview is provided by Mazor, Amir, "Jews in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517): Contextualization and Perspectives," *Chilufim* 26 (2019), pp. 29–44.

[57] Yosef, Koby, "Mamluks of Jewish Origin in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 22 (2019), pp. 49–96.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

monastery's archives reveal that the monks were ensured their safety by various sultans who ordered their amirs to punish any transgression. Another important group in this context were the *ʿulamāʾ* who drew up the documents and administered justice in court appeals brought forth by *dhimmī*s. Matsuda uses an example from the documents to show that these *ʿulamāʾ* actually ruled in favor of a *dhimmī* litigant against his Muslim counterparts if the law required it. Additionally, Arab nomads known as *ʿurbān* lived on the Sinai Peninsula in semi-dependent relationship to the Mamluk Sultanate. Their stance toward the monastery also varied, but the documents show that some engaged in trade with the monks or transported the grain needed to feed them. Others were even employed by the monastery directly. Nevertheless, the *ʿurbān* also claimed protection payments. In his concluding remarks, Matsuda questions the prevalent view that Muslim societies accepted religious and ethnic coexistence. He notes that promulgated rights were not infrequently neglected in practice, because the ruling class had greater interest in associating itself with the Muslim majority.

Apart from that, we are happy to see a monograph about the Bedouins yet again—the first in decades—even though, sadly, Sarah Büssow-Schmitz limited herself to the fourteenth century in her recently published dissertation.[58] The Egyptian Bedouins spoke a different dialect, carried—in contrast to the rest of the non-Mamluk population—weapons and followed their own common law and customs. In addition, they traced their genealogy back to Arab tribes from the early days of Islam. In this way they created an elitist Islamic identity, also to differentiate themselves from both the locals and the Turkic Mamluks. They did not form self-sufficient groups but were in constant interaction with sedentary people. Not only did they breed cattle, they also lived off farming and from various kinds of services. Raids also formed an additional source of income.

Besides the Jews (and the Copts, to whom no substantial essay or even a monograph has been devoted in the last ten years), the analysis of other groups that feel they belong together through their ethnicity or their language would also be interesting. One example are the people from an area in central Algeria that was referred to as *zawāwah.*[59] From the biographical lexicons of the Mamluk period we learn that a great many *zawāwīyūn*, who also shared a common language, stayed in Egypt and Syria. On a side note, at the end of the thirteenth

---

[58] Büssow-Schmitz, Sarah, *Die Beduinen der Mamluken: Beduinen im politischen Leben Ägyptens im 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 2016.

[59] Baadj, Amar S., *The Term "Zawāwa" in the Medieval Sources and the Zawāwī Presence in Egypt and Syria during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods*, Bonn 2015.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

century some Oirats migrated there, too.[60] Already a century later they seem to have been assimilated, to the point that they are no longer mentioned in contemporary historiographical texts.

A topic that has experienced a great upsurge is the study of women in Mamluk society. During the second conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies, which took place from June 25 to 27, 2015 in Liège, there was a very informative panel on "Representations of Women in the Mamluk Period," of which the expanded papers were published in the 21st volume of *Mamlūk Studies Review* (2018).[61] In general, the various texts, which can be assigned to very different genres, have one thing in common: the images of women represented in them all stem from male imagination. They were texts that were written by men for men; the voices of women were not included. This also applies to the famous diary (*al-Taʿlīq*) of the Damascene clerk Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509). Nevertheless, one can infer from the descriptions contained that although men in Damascus usually were monogamous, there were still cases where a number of concubines lived in a household and often had children with their master.[62] However, an evaluation of the list of teachers by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) shows that women could also be respected scholars.[63] Of the 172 sheikhs al-Subkī learned from, twenty were women. Sometimes we learn a lot about the situation of women from individual documents. For example, Document No. 302 from the Ḥaram al-Sharīf collection contains a marriage contract as well as the details of the later divorce. The documents are particularly interesting because the married couple were a Muslim man and a Christian woman.[64]

---

[60] Landa, Ishayahu, "Oirats in the Ilkhanate and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Thirteenth to the Early Fifteenth Centuries: Two Cases of Assimilation into the Muslim Environment," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 149–92.

[61] The following articles are in this volume: Cassarino, Mirella, "Between Function and Fiction: The Representation of Women in al-Ibshīhī's al-Mustaṭraf" (pp. 1–20); Ghersetti, Antonella, "The Representation of Slave Girls in a Physiognomic Text of the Fourteenth Century" (pp. 21–46); Myrne, Pernilla, "Women and Men in al-Suyūṭī's Guides to Sex and Marriage" (pp. 46–68); Firanescu, Daniela Rodica, "Medieval Arabic Islam and the Culture of Gender: Feminine Voices in al-Suyūṭī's Literature on Sex and Marriage" (pp. 69–86); Lewicka, Paulina B., "The Woman as a Construct: Reconsidering Men's Image of Women in the Arabic-Islamic World – the Case of Seventeenth-Century Cairo" (pp. 87–114).

[62] Shoshan, Boaz, *On the Marital Regime in Damascus, 1480–1500 CE*, Bonn 2014; idem, "On Marriage in Damascus, 1480–1500," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History. Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, pp. 177–186. In the same volume there is also Frenkel, Yehoshua, "Slave Girls and Learned Teachers Women in Mamluk Sources" (pp. 158–76) and Lev, Yaacov, "Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities" (pp. 143–57).

[63] Berkey, Jonathan P., "Al-Subkī and His Women," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 1–18.

[64] Abdul-Rahman, Muhammad N., "An Arabic Marriage Contract and Subsequent Divorce from Mamluk Jerusalem: The Ḥaram al-Sharīf No. 302," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 22 (2019), pp. 121–36.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

One chapter is an examination of the rise and fall of the al-Subkī family as an example of a well-known *ʿulamāʾ* family in the Mamluk period. For this purpose, the author, **Manami Kondo,** describes the posts and intra-societal relations of seven generations of this family in detail. The family can be divided into three branches descending from the three sons of ʿAlī b. Tammām, namely Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī and ʿAbd al-Malik. Especially famous was Zayn al-Dīn's son Taqī al-Dīn, who held—among other posts—the office of chief *shaykh* of the Jāmiʿ ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo. Kondo shows that the family managed to keep many posts within their own ranks and build a marital network with other *ʿulamāʾ* families. It seems that the al-Subkī family used this to strengthen their influence, e.g. when they were new in Damascus. In her fourth section Kondo draws conclusions about the economic situation of *ʿulamāʾ* by comparing them to another powerful family of the time, the al-Qazwinī family. She deduces that it was of great importance for the prosperity of a family to hold the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh*, because many teaching assignments came with it.

How difficult it was in general for the sons of common people (shopkeepers, artisans, laborers, money changers, butchers, tanners, etc.) to climb the social ladder and enter the world of scholarship or receive a good post in the administration is revealed by a precise evaluation of the numerous biographical lexicons.[65] In his *Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah*, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) describes the lives of important personalities of the eighth/fourteenth century. However, among them are a very few who had made the ascent from the very bottom. Most of them apparently became Hadith scholars.

If one looks for turning points in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate, the outbreak of the plague in the year 748/1347 should come to mind immediately.[66] At first glance, the effects on the **economy** and society were devastating. Over the course of a century, Egypt lost about half of its total population. Wages fell rapidly, rents and grain prices rose and agricultural production declined massively.[67] In addition to a monetary crisis evoked by an acute shortage of gold, there were global economic and political changes that led to the establishment of the Safawids, the Ottomans and the Turkmen tribal confederations of the Aq and Qarā Qoyunlu. Due to the effects of the plague, the *iqṭāʿ* system, through which most of the agricultural areas in Egypt and Syria had been controlled, the dis-

---

[65] Perho, Irmeli, "Climbing the Ladder: Social Mobility in the Mamluk Period," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 19–36.

[66] Borsch, Stuart and Tarek Sabraa, "Plague Mortality in Late Medieval Cairo: Quantifying the Plague Outbreaks of 833/1430 and 864/1460," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 115–48.

[67] Borsch, Stuart, *Subsisting or Succumbing? Falling Wages in the Era of Plague*, Bonn 2014.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

tribution of tax revenues from these countries to the military had been organized and thus the economic, political and social relationships between the state, the cities and the rural areas had been coordinated, collapsed at the end of the fourteenth century. The death of numerous *muqṭāʿūn*, accelerated by the plague, made land available. In view of the confusing social and political conditions, many *iqṭāʿāt* were sold by the central *iqṭāʿ* administration to emirs and sultans at low prices. In this way, the land became the private property of the buyers. These then often converted their property into charitable foundations.[68] This had great advantages, because foundations could neither be taxed nor confiscated readily. In addition, it was possible to designate one's own descendants as trustees and thus secure an income for them. Although lucrative for individuals, who in most cases were members of the Mamluk and civilian elite, the alienation of state assets deprived the state of important income for defense, social services and emergencies of all kinds.[69] Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89 and 792–801/1390–99) responded to that by setting up a new finance office that was under his direct control.[70]

In this volume, we find a quantitative study of agricultural changes in the Fayyum basin in central Egypt between the thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The author, **Wakako Kumakura**, analyzes Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman sources, namely al-Nābulusī's (d. 660/1262) *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm wa-bilādihī*, Ibn al-Jīʿān's (d. 885/1480) *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-sanīyah bi-asmāʾ al-bilād al-miṣrīyah* and Ottoman cadastral survey registers of the province. She uncovers a gradual shift from sugarcane to grains production due to the increasing international trade in sugar since the fifteenth century. In a second step, these results are compared to other regions, such as Buḥayrah Province located in the western part of the Nile Delta. There, sugarcane remained the main crop in the sixteenth century which raises questions about other explanatory factors. Kumakura suggests considering natural disasters and political corruption, which might be corroborated by her other results that the amount of cultivated land decreased between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Lastly, she outlines an agenda for future research based on her findings.

---

[68] Igarashi, Daisuke, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt*, Chicago 2015.

[69] Daisuke Igarashi has shown that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1310–41) had already begun the conversion of *iqṭāʿ* land into foundation property as part of his cadaster (*rawk*) carried out in Syria and Egypt from 1313 to 1315, see Daiskue, Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs* (= Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture Series, 7), Berlin 2014.

[70] Igarashi, Daisuke, "The Evolution of the Sultanic Fisc and al-Dhakhīrah during the Circassian Mamluk Period," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), pp. 85–108.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

The slave trade was an important element in the economic system of the Mamluk period. The revised version of the 2015 doctoral thesis on this topic by Hannah Barker at Columbia University has been available since last year.[71] From the north, Genoese and Venetian traders brought slaves from the Golden Horde via Caffa and Tana to the markets. From the east, slaves came from the mountainous regions of Georgia and Circassia. In the west, Bulgaria and Walachia served as reservoirs. The interregional slave traders rarely went to the hinterland in person, but bought at regional slave markets, where local suppliers, successful military leaders and impoverished families offered their goods for sale. Since 1350, there existed a land route from the southern coast of the Black Sea via eastern Anatolia to the Mamluk sultanate as an alternative to the Italian-dominated sea route across the Bosporus and the Aegean Sea into the Mediterranean. Byzantine and Turkish traders controlled the land route to Aleppo and Damascus. The practices in the local Egyptian and Syrian slave markets were based—at least in principle—on rules that were laid down in manuals for buying slaves.[72] Overall, we are quite well informed about the *mamlūk*s. Up until recently, the situation was completely different in regard to "normal" household slaves. Fortunately, Jan Hagedorn has now presented a convincing monograph on domestic slavery in the Mamluk sultanate, which will no doubt remain the standard work on this topic for many years.[73]

**Takao Ito**'s chapter is a prosopographical study on traders whose primary trade good were mamlūks. Since the supply of these slaves was of high importance to the Mamluk sultanate, Ito asks who provided them and through what means did the Mamluks attempt to facilitate the trade. The main actors, the *mamlūk* traders, were called *khawājā* and most of the time originated from outside the sultanate. This might be a reason for the lack of information, as they seldom established any institutions in Egypt. Additionally, Mamluk sources might have been silent on them because Genoese and other Christian merchants presumably played a great part in providing the slaves. Nonetheless, the Mamluks were dependent on them and especially in the second half of the fifteenth century—when the Ottoman power in the Mediterranean grew—they

---

[71] Barker, Hannah, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500*, Philadelphia 2019; eadem, "Christianities in Conflict: The Black Sea as a Genoese Slaving Zone in the Later Middle Ages," in: *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, ed. Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas, Leiden and Boston 2018, pp. 50–69; Amitai, Reuven and Christoph Cluse (eds.), *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, Turnhout 2017.

[72] Barker, Hannah, "Purchasing a Slave in Fourteenth-Century Cairo: Ibn al-Akfānī's Book of Observation and Inspection in the Examination of Slaves," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 1–24.

[73] Hagedorn, Jan Hinrich, *Domestic Slavery in Syria and Egypt, 1200–1500*, Göttingen 2019.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

tried to protect their trade by establishing the office of *tājir al-mamālīk* who supervised the trade in mamlūks. Ito suggests that the Mamluk government hoped to acquire the slaves more securely and at lower prices through the creation of this post.

Trade relations with the Rasulids, with Mecca and with the Venetians are the subject of three important new publications. Éric Vallet sketches a grandiose panorama of the remarkable expansion and consolidation of Rasulid rule in Yemen from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century. He skillfully integrates the local history of the dynasty into the global economic network of the late Middle Ages.[74] John L. Meloy brought forward a very interesting study of the history of Mecca during the fifteenth century. Although the Mamluk period is well researched, it is noteworthy that there are hardly any treatises on the central pilgrimage site of Islam during this period. Meloy is not interested in locating Mecca as a central hub in the network of supra-regional pilgrimage activities, but rather places the political and economic framework conditions of the Sharifs in the center of his treatise.[75] Finally, Georg Christ examines in his dissertation the conflicts between the Egyptians and the Venetians in Alexandria between 1418 and 1420.[76] It is actually astonishing that up to this publication no one had attempted a systematic evaluation of the sources available in the Venice state archives (private letters, waybills, invoices, notes on smaller cash payments, official reports, religious and philosophical treatises, collections of laws, capitulations, petitions and commercial correspondence). The economic crisis elicited by the plague caused the sultans to take over more control of the transit trade. For this reason, relations with the Venetians across the Mediterranean and with the Rasulids across the Red Sea were intensified.[77]

---

[74] Vallet, Èric, *L'Arabie marchande: État et commerce sous les sultans Rasūlides du Yémen (626–858/1229–1454)*, Paris 2010; Varisco, Daniel Martin, *Date Palm Production in Rasulid Yemen*, Berlin 2017.

[75] Meloy, John L., *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade: Mecca and Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Chicago 2010.

[76] Christ, Georg, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria*, Leiden and Boston 2012; Sopracasa, Alessio, "Venetian Merchants and Alexandrian Officials (End of the Fifteenth – Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 91–100; Jacoby, David, "Between Venice and Alexandria: Trade and the Movement of Precious Metals in the Early Mamluk Period," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 115–38.

[77] Christ, Georg, *A King of the Two Seas? Mamluke Maritime Trade Policy in the Wake of the Crisis of the 14th Century*, Berlin 2017.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

The commercial links between Beirut and European trading nations during the Mamluk period are the focus of another interesting study.[78]

Bethany Walker, Sofia Laparidou, Annette Hansen and Chiara Corbino answer the question of whether the Mamluks have developed a sense of their environment in a long essay.[79] Ultimately, it is about the sustainable management of natural resources in rural Jordan, more precisely the town of Tall Ḥisbān on the Maʾdabā plain.[80] It is astonishing that Mamlukology has so far not taken up the "environmental turn." In this respect, it is pleasing to note a study that promises to analyze environmental disasters in the Levant in the "Middle Ages."[81] Sarah Kate Raphael's initial question is: did the Medieval Warm Period (ninth–fourteenth centuries), which apparently favored dry seasons in the eastern Mediterranean, have any impact on the political action of contemporaries? In order to find an answer, Raphael evaluated a number of Arabic and Latin sources, focusing on the period from 1100 to the arrival of the first wave of plagues in the Middle East in 1347.

So far, we know very little about the agricultural conditions in Syria, even though the situation in Bilād al-Shām differed fundamentally from the conditions in Egypt. The changes in the *iqṭāʿ* structures since the end of the fourteenth century were reflected at the local level in new agricultural strategies. There was a diversification of harvesting practices, an intensification of arable farming, a change in irrigation practices and an expansion of animal husbandry.[82]

---

[78] Moukarzel, Pierre, *La ville de Beyrouth sous la domination mamelouke (1291–1516) et son commerce avec l'Europe*, Beirut 2010; idem, "Beirut's Church of the Savior under the Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 22 (2019), pp. 97–120.

[79] Walker, Bethany, Sofia Laparidou, Annette Hansen and Chiara Corbino, "Did the Mamluks Have an Environmental Sense? Natural Resource Management in Syrian Villages," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017), pp. 167–246.

[80] Walker, Bethany, *Planned Villages and Rural Resilience on the Mamluk Frontier: A Preliminary Report on the 2013 Excavation Season at Tall Hisban*, Bonn 2013. Mamluk scholarship has tended to focus in this regard on tax administration, and specifically on its application in the flood-basin irrigation regimes of Egypt (and namely the Fayyum), as the written record is most amenable to such research. See now: Walker, Bethany, "The Struggle over Water Evaluating the 'Water Culture' of Syrian Peasants under Mamluk Rule," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History. Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, pp. 287–310. On flood-basin agriculture in Egypt, see Rapoport, Yossef and Ido Shahar, "Irrigation in Medieval Islamic Fayyum: Local Control in a Large-Scale Hydraulic System," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012), pp. 1–31.

[81] Raphael, Sarah Kate, *Climate and Political Climate: Environmental Disasters in the Medieval Levant*, Leiden and Boston 2013.

[82] This scenario is, fortunately, changing. See the following recent works on Mamluk agriculture: Eychenne, Mathieu, "La production agricole de Damas et de la Ghūṭa au XIVe siècle: Diversité, taxation et prix des cultures maraîchères d'après al-Jazarī (m. 739/1338)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56 (2013), pp. 569–630; Frenkel, Yehoshua,

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 2. Everyday life

Amina Elbendary has presented a very interesting study which primarily aims to examine forms of protest in the urban context of the Mamluk sultanate during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. She shows nicely that in the course of the fifteenth century general displeasure and disapproval of the political and social conditions was articulated in various types of protest, which was mainly directed against too great changes in what was known from ancient times, against groups declared as scapegoats (such as the Copts) and of course against the representatives of the ruling elite. In the end, however, Elbendary emphasizes the constructive forces that conflicts can also set free.[83]

During the Mamluk period, a small group of people from the lower social classes became wealthy and respected. For this reason, quite a few contemporary historians have taken an interest in everyday concerns and the situation and needs of the common people. A survey of three *adab* encyclopedias shows that even the poor and the weak are mentioned astonishingly frequently.[84] The thesis of a popularization of historiographical literature—originally proposed many decades ago by Ulrich Haarmann—goes hand in hand with the findings that Konrad Hirschler has published in recent years.[85] His thesis is that in the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century—at least in Egypt and Syria—a process began which, on the one hand, resulted in the promotion of training opportunities for a larger group of society. More children learned to read and write. On the other hand, more and more people from very different backgrounds took part in common forms of knowledge acquisition in private houses, madrasahs, mosques or in public places. As a result, the intellectual elite expanded and had to give up their exclusivity to a certain extent.

---

"Agriculture, Land-tenure and Peasants in Palestine during the Mamluk Period," in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Eras VIII: Proceedings of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd International Colloquium Organized at the University of Ghent in May 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen, Kristof D'hulster, and Jo van Steenbergen, Leuven 2001, pp. 193–208; Laparidou, Sofia and Arlene Rosen, "Intensification of production in Medieval Islamic Jordan and its ecological impact: Towns of the Anthropocene," *The Holocene* 25/10 (2015), pp. 1685–97; Shoshan, Boaz, "Mini-Dramas by the Water: On Water Disputes in Fifteenth-Century Damascus," in: *Histories of the Middle East*, ed. Eleni Margariti, Leiden and Boston 2011, pp. 233–44.

83 Elbendary, Amina, *Crowds and Sultans. Urban Protest in Late Medieval Egypt*, Cairo 2015; eadem, *Between Riots and Negotiation*, Berlin 2012.

84 Herzog, Thomas, *Social Milieus and Worldviews in Mamluk* adab*-Encyclopedias: The Example of Poverty and Wealth*, Bonn 2013; idem, "Composition and Worldview of some Bourgeois and Petit-Bourgeois Mamluk *adab*-Encylopedias," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 17 (2013), pp. 100–29.

85 Hirschler, Konrad, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Edinburgh 2011.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

The extensive diary of Ibn Ṭawq mentioned above is a unique source that offers us a deep insight into Damascene society from 885/1480 to 908/1502. The work with this material has so far resulted in two groundbreaking monographs. On the one hand, Torsten Wollina dealt in his dissertation with the worldview and the social environment of the author as well as with his self-presentation within the text.[86] On the other hand, Boaz Shoshan's book *Damascus Life 1480–1500: A Report of a Local Notary* was published that year.[87] Shoshan not only deals with the author and his household, but offers us a great panorama of the political and social conditions in the Syrian metropolis. At the end of the Mamluk period, organized gangs (zuʿr) apparently took control of large parts of the city. They did not act in isolation from the urban political structures, but interacted with the residents of the city quarters, the scholars, the administration and the Mamluk elite.[88] Interestingly, Sufi groups also took part in these negotiation processes. At least, Sufis from the Maghreb appeared increasingly in Damascus in the sources, and they were actively involved in the political conflicts there.[89]

**Toru Miura** studies the urban riots that occurred in response to perceived injustice in early fifteenth-century Damascus. He focuses on the so called *zuʿr* (outlaws) and their relationship to the common people by analyzing diaries of contemporaries, namely Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 952/1546) and Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509). Popular actions occurred during urban riots, violent clashes between quarters and parades or banquets and took the shape of petitions to the ruler, pleas to God, the throwing of stones and militant resistance. As the *zuʿr* were mentioned several times, Miura argues that they must have played an important role in the organization of popular action, especially in the major suburban quarters in which they sustained deep-rooted power bases. To characterize the *zuʿr*'s role in this further, Miura re-examines the popular revolt of 907/1501 in the Shāghūr and Maydān al-Ḥaṣā quarters. In this instance, the *zuʿr* were part of the first wave of uprisings that opposed local taxing practice and later rallied more people to the cause. Their leaders were probably the ones negotiating the peace deal with the governor's delegation, so their leading role at least in this uprising is obvious. Miura argues that their motive, however, was not altruist aid to the people of their quarter but rather the defense of their own interests there. In his

---

[86] Wollina, Torsten, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt- und Selbstbild im Journal des Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq (915/1509)*, Göttingen 2014.

[87] Shoshan, Boaz, *Damascus Life 1480–1500: A Report of a Local Notary*, Leiden and Boston 2020.

[88] Miura, Toru, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus: The Salihiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Leiden and Boston 2016.

[89] Wollina, Torsten, "Between Beirut, Cairo, and Damascus: *Al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* and the Sufi/Scholar Dichotomy in the Late Mamluk Period (1480s–1510s)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017), pp. 55–92.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

last section, Miura compares his findings with other sources and perspectives to verify his conclusions. He finds that the *zuʿr* maintained an ambiguous relationship to the people, from whom they sought to generate income but also support against state institutions.

In the Middle Eastern world, we can see two far-reaching developments up to the transition from the Early to the Middle Islamic Period, that is up to around the twelfth century. On the one hand, changes in agricultural cultivation methods led to a greater variety of products in the long term in many regions, while on the other hand, these goods were able to circulate from Southeast Asia to Andalusia through the establishment of a premodern global trade network controlled by Muslim merchants. These transformations ultimately brought about what Paulina Lewicka calls a "culinary revolution." Using the example of al-Fusṭāṭ or Cairo, she can convincingly show that, at the latest in the Ayyubid period, most dishes were no longer produced and prepared as they were during the reign of the Fatimids. Eventually, when it comes to eating, the elements that had been adopted from other cultures masked the old local culinary traditions.[90]

The Mamluk shadow play pieces that the ophthalmologist Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl composed in Cairo at the beginning of the fourteenth century, are—alongside legendary narrative cycles such as the *Sīrat Baybars*—certainly among the most fascinating medieval texts of an art that was mainly aimed at the people and not at the small class of scholars. A well-founded study now not only provides a successful historical contextualization of Ibn Dāniyāl's vita, but also offers us a small cultural history of the performing arts of the time (shadow play, storytelling, poetry and song) and an insight into those literary genres used and further developed by the ophthalmologist.[91] The fact that the martial arts of the Mamluks was based primarily on an excellent mastery of the relevant techniques on horseback is part of general Mamlukological knowledge.[92] What is less well known is that such arts were also presented to a wider audience as a sporting event.[93]

The topic of intersectionality, that is the discrimination based on various difference markers, has not played a major role in research on the Mamluks so

---

[90] Lewicka, Paulina B., *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes: Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden and Boston 2011.

[91] Guo, Li, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*, Leiden and Boston 2011.

[92] Zouache, Abbès, "Western vs. Eastern Way of War in the Late Medieval Near East: An Unsuitable Paradigm: A Review Essay of David Nicolle's *Late Mamlūk Military Equipment*," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014), pp. 301–14.

[93] Guo, Li, *Sports as Performance: The Qabaq-game and Celebratory Rites in Mamluk Cairo*, Berlin 2013.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

far. Kristina L. Richardson takes a first step in this direction in her book, published in 2012. She deals with the social discourse about physical abnormalities (*ʿahat*) in Mamluk (and early Ottoman) society. These anomalies can be of many types: blindness, deafness, paraplegia, leprosy, bad breath, ophthalmia or jaundice, but also physical peculiarities such as blue eyes, flat noses, harelips, skin spots, bald heads, humpbacks or little beard growth.[94] Such characteristics played an important role in Mamluk-period society for the identification of persons. In entries in biographical lexicons at least, one can find countless references to such features when it comes to characterizing individual men or women.

Last but not least, Housni Alkhateeb Shehada's study of veterinary medicine, its practitioners and its patients in the medieval Islamic world, with special emphasis on the Mamluk period, should be mentioned.[95]

## 3. Religion

Sufism was always part of Islam in the Middle Islamic period. Using three deliberately chosen examples from Mamluk Egypt, Nathan Hofer demonstrates that Sufism can by no means be understood as a monolithic movement that satisfied the spiritual needs of the masses.[96] The Sufis sponsored by the authorities gathered around the *khānqāh Saʿīd al-suʿadāʾ* established in Cairo. The Shādhilīyah represents a clearly defined "brotherhood." Both the Ayyubid and the Mamluk sultans left the followers of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) in peace to perform their rituals and were quite benevolent towards them. The Sufis in Upper Egypt formed a very distinct group. Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers had at best an ambivalent attitude toward that region. In this respect, it may not come as a surprise that no central authority ever founded a *madrasah* or a Sufi convent there. Nevertheless—as in many other places in the world that were far away or where Muslims were only a small minority—numerous Sufis found their way into this remote area.[97]

Of course, research on Ibn Taymīyah and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah continues. Yahya Michot has recently published translations of a number of key texts written by the controversial scholar. The carefully selected treatises touch

---

[94] Richardson, Kristina L., *Difference and Disability in the Medieval Islamic World: Blighted Bodies*, Edinburgh 2012.

[95] Shehada, Housni Alkhateeb, *Mamluks and Animals: Veterinary Medicine in Medieval Islam*, Leiden 2012.

[96] Hofer, Nathan, *The Popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1325*, Edinburgh 2015.

[97] See now also Amir, O., *Mamluk Emirs and Sufi Shaykhs: A Study in the Relations between Rulers and Holy Men*, PhD dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2020.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

on his central theological positions. Hearing the original voice is important and helpful in order not to fall for the rhetoric of modern Salafists who have appropriated Ibn Taymīyah for their own purposes.[98] Luckily, a collected volume of papers has now been devoted to Ibn Taymīyah's student, who had remained in his teacher's shadow for a long time.[99] We get to know him as an independent, widely recognized and respected Ḥanbali scholar with completely independent opinions.[100]

A relatively new field is the development of philosophy in Egypt and Syria from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. By the end of the twentieth century, both Arab and Western scholars held the view that Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* meant the end of Arab philosophy. This thesis is now increasingly being questioned. The research results of a collected work published by Abdelkader Al Ghouz show that Muslim scholars (theologians, legal scholars and Sufis) also accepted Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy and their rational reasoning even after the twelfth century.[101] Particularly interesting figures beyond Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūṣī (d. 672/1274) and ʿAbdallāh al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) who were Mamluk-period scholars include Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1348), Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. at the beginning of the fourteenth century) and ʿUbayd Allah b. Muḥammad al-ʿIbrī, (d. 743/1342–43).[102]

The religious and legal scholars of the Shafiite school of law controlled the Egyptian and Syrian judicial systems and, in a sense, became the normative representatives of native Islam. However, Baybars granted the other three Sunni schools, that is, the Malikis, Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis, official representation as well by appointing a chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāh*) for each of them. Occasionally, non-Shafiite scholars—such as the Ḥanafi *qāḍī l-quḍāh* of Damascus Najm al-Dīn

---

[98] Michot, Yahya M., *Ibn Taymiyya: Against Extremisms*, Paris 2012; Holtzman, Livnat, "The Dhimmi's Question on Predetermination and the Ulama's Six Responses: The Dynamics of Composing Polemical Didactic Poems in Mamluk Cairo and Damascus," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), pp. 1–54.

[99] Bori, Caterina und Livnat Holtzman (eds.), *A Scholar in the Shadow: Essays in the Legal and Theological Thought of Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyyah*, Rome 2010.

[100] Belhaj, Abdessamad, "Disputation is a Fighting Sport: Munāẓarah according to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 79–90.

[101] Al Ghouz, Abdelkader (ed.), *Islamic Philosophy from the 12th to the 14th Century*, Göttingen 2018.

[102] Al Ghouz, Abdelkader, "Recasting al-Bayḍāwī's Eschatological Concept of Bodily Resurrection: Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Aḥmad al-Ījī in Comparative Perspective," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017), pp. 39–54; idem, *Brokers of Islamic Philosophy in Mamlūk Egypt: Šams ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1348) as a Case Study in the Transmission of Philosophical Knowledge through Commentary Writing*, Bonn 2015.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Ṭarasūsī (d. 758/1357)—tried to convince the Mamluk sultans that their orientation was actually the only true one.[103]

## 4. Education, Knowledge, Science

In the Islamicate world there existed a very extensive commentary literature in the period after the eleventh century, especially in the field of normative Qur'anic studies. However, these texts have generally been ignored by scholars of Islamic studies, as it was assumed that commentaries were futile, boring and not original. They were considered to be a clear sign of a (very long) stagnation phase that had followed a "golden age" (up to the twelfth century). This Eurocentric narrative has meanwhile been questioned and deconstructed (largely, but by no means everywhere and by everyone). However, commentaries have only recently become the subject of serious research. For this reason, it is extremely gratifying that Mohammad Gharaibeh in his habilitation thesis deals thoroughly with this genre. As a case study, he chose the Mamluk-period commentaries on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's (d. 643/1245) "Introduction to the Hadith sciences" (*Muqaddimat ibn al-ṣalāḥ fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* or just *Muqaddimah*).[104] Here, he does not present one of the diachronic stories customary up to now, which are limited to showing who influences whom in terms of content and who has adopted what from whom in their texts. Rather, the author has succeeded in illustrating the social and group-specific contexts of the commentary's production and in reconstructing the networks of scholars involved. In addition to the commentary literature, the relationship between summaries (*ikhtiṣār*) and extensions (*sharḥ*) offers a productive and as of yet only scarcely researched subject.[105]

Much has been written about Shams al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) as an historian, but **Mohammad Gharaibeh** puts the spotlight on his work in Hadith studies and analyzes the *Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, al-Dhahabī's major work in the field. The *Mūqiẓah* has to date been rather neglected by scholarship, because it was seen as merely an abridgment of an existing work by another author. However, Gharaibeh argues that the *Mūqiẓah*

---

[103] Tezcan, Baki, "Hanafism and the Turks in al-Ṭarasūsī's Gift for the Turks (1352)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 67–86.

[104] Gharaibeh, Mohammad, *The Sociology of Commentarial Literature: An analysis of the commentary tradition of the Muqaddimat Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge*, unpublished habilitation thesis, University of Bonn 2019. Unfortunately, habilitation theses do not have to be published in Germany.

[105] Ingalls, Matthew, *Šarḥ, Iḫtiṣār, and Late-Medieval Legal Change: A Working Paper*, Bonn 2014.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

is an independent text that is concerned with the conceptualization of Hadith transmission, the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*. To this end, he compares it to Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's *Iqtirāḥ fī ʿilm al-iṣṭilāḥ* and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *Maʿrifat ʿilm anwāʿ al-ḥadīth*, also known as his *Muqaddimah*, two works that the *Mūqiẓah* is presumed to be an abridgment of one of them. Through this, he shows that the latter differs significantly from the former two in structure and content and that it is more likely that al-Dhahabī compiled it himself using his own expertise. Additionally, Gharaibeh demonstrates that al-Dhahabī tended to use his own works as references. The *Mūqiẓah* seems to be the link between them and illuminates his holistic approach to both Hadith studies and historiography. In his conclusion, Gharaibeh suggests that the *Mūqiẓah* was most likely written as a teaching manual, because of its short but dense contents and thoughtful structure.

An exciting area of knowledge, which has received much attention recently, is medicine. Linda Northrup uses the Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī (in particular the appointment certificates of the chief physician and the chair at the hospital) built by Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn as a starting point for a study on the interplay of politics, medicine and culture in the Mamluk period.[106] The Muslim polymath Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288), who was from Syria, also dwelled in the environment of Qalāwūn's court. Although he had been trained as a Shafiite scholar and wrote numerous legal works and treatises on the traditional sciences, contemporaries remembered him primarily as an author of medical works.[107] The position of medicine in the Islamic canon of knowledge was ambivalent. Religious scholars tried repeatedly to "Islamize" the secular art derived from the Greco-Roman tradition and to develop an alternative medicine that was based on the revelation and the traditions of the actions and statements of the Prophet collected in the Hadith works.[108] Pharmacy is also to be seen in connection with the medical art of healing. A handbook for pharmacists from the Mamluk era has the beautiful title "The Management of a [pharmaceutical] shop. Rules for the masters [of the guild] for the production and composition of beneficial medicines." It was written by a Jewish druggist, which profession was not unusual for Jews in the Mamluk sultanate. A detailed analysis of the manual introduces us to the fascinating world of pharmacists in Mamluk-Egyptian society.[109]

---

[106] Northrup, Linda, *Al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī Explorations: The Interface Between Medicine, Politics and Culture in Early Mamluk Egypt*, Bonn 2013.

[107] Fancy, Nahyan, *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt: Ibn al-Nafis, Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection*, London and New York 2013.

[108] Lewicka, Paulina, B., *Medicine for Muslims? Islamic Theologians, Non-Muslim Physicians and the Medical Culture of the Mamluk Near East*, Bonn 2012.

[109] Chipman, Leigh, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamluk Cairo*, Leiden and Boston 2010.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

A world without music is virtually inconceivable. Our knowledge of the music from the Mamluk period is very limited. The *Ghāyat al-maṭlūb fī ʿilm al-adwār wa-l-ḍurūb* from the pen of a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥasan b. Kurr al-Baghdādī, who was born in Cairo in 680/1282 and died there in 759/1357, counts as the only theoretical treatise that depicts Cairo's musicological discourse in the first half of the fourteenth century.[110] Yehoshua Frenkel takes a much broader approach. His aim is to fathom the Mamluk-period soundscape, that is the acoustic character and design of certain places.[111]

## 5. Law

Unfortunately, as already mentioned several times, only a few documents relevant to the judiciary have survived from the Mamluk period.[112] In addition to the more than 800 foundation deeds from Cairo, it is above all the 900 documents of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem—discovered by the museum curator ʿAmal al-Ḥājj in the storage rooms of the Islamic Museum on the Temple Mount in the 1970s—that are available to us. This is a unique body of authentic evidence of the practice of notaries and judges of the fourteenth century. Since most of the documents—primarily estate inventories, contract documents and invoices—date from the four years from 1391 to 1395, we get a very good impression of the functioning of a Mamluk court in a provincial town. Although the documents have been known for 40 years, only a few researchers have started working on them. That is certainly due to the complexity and difficulty of the texts. In this respect, Christian Müller's habilitation thesis represents a very large step in the development of the history of legal documents.[113] At the same time, the study significantly expands our understanding of the judiciary practiced in the Mamluk period, which examines the subjective rights claimed by litigants. The relationship between normative legal texts and legal practice is complicated. An example of a scholarly treatise that at least claims to combine both perspectives is provided by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī's (d. 794/1392) *Qawāʿid al-fiqh* ("Fundaments of Jurisprudence"). The competences of the *qāḍī* courts, the market surveillance (*ḥisbah*), the police (*shurṭah*) and the petition courts were not clearly

---

[110] Wright, Owen, *Music Theory in Mamluk Cairo: the Ġāyat al-maṭlūb fi ʿilm al-adwār wa-'l-ḍurūb by Ibn Kurr*, Aldershot 2013.

[111] Frenkel, Yehoshua, *Mamluk Soundscape: A Chapter in Sensory History*, Bonn 2018.

[112] For legal education in the madrasah system, see Moore, Robert Hunter, *The Role of the Madrasah and the Structure of Islamic Legal Education in Mamluk Egypt (1250–1517)*, PhD dissertation, Emory University 2010.

[113] Müller, Christian, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen: Studie der mamlukischen Ḥaram-Dokumente*, Wiesbaden 2013.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

separated from each other. Basically, judges dealt with family and contractual matters, the market supervisor (*muḥtasib*) and the police with criminal offenses, and *maẓālim* jurisprudence with matters of practical rule (*siyāsah*) and the control of officeholders who had been accused of abuse of power. This could involve the illegal appropriation of property, the misuse of foundations by the Mamluk authorities and disputes in *iqṭāʿ* matters.[114] In 1482, for example, two Ḥanbali judges from Damascus were summoned to Cairo. They were charged with having illegally appropriated foundation property. The sultan himself looked into the matter and directed the investigation.[115]

In all premodern Arab societies, the just mentioned *muḥtasib* represents a central contact person between the rulers and the population, because he had extensive powers over the markets. However, the market was a sensitive area in which the decision could be made as to whether or not the sultan himself would fulfill his duties as a just ruler. Nevertheless, this office has remained largely untouched in previous research on the institutions of the Mamluk sultanate. With *Islamic Law in Practice*, Kristen Stilt has now presented a book that attempts to close this gap on the basis of studies on the Egyptian cities of Cairo and al-Fusṭāṭ.[116] The *muḥtasib*s played an important, if not always clearly defined, role. In addition to controlling the markets, they seem over time to have become increasingly responsible for maintaining general order. Their rights, duties and areas of responsibility were not strictly separated from those of the *qāḍī*s and those of the police (*shurṭah*). The main difference lay in the way in which certain legal and conflict cases were approached: the *qāḍī* judged on matters that had been complained about and then conducted legal proceedings to find out the truth. The police intervened in offenses and crimes that required executive action. The *muḥtasib*, in turn, could not initiate legal proceedings, but was able intervene on his own initiative without having to wait for an official complaint.

In his chapter, **Takenori Yoshimura** examines the role of regional administration officers, namely the *wālī*s and *kāshif*s, in fourteenth-century Mamluk Egypt. He looks into their establishment, development and position in the administrative system. As the *wālī* was the more prevalent office, Yoshimura's focus lies with the *kāshif*, who was first mentioned in early fourteenth-century sources. Originally, the office was established to organize the inspection and reparation of the irrigation dams of the Nile and was ranked above the *wālī*.

---

[114] Rapoport, Yossef, "Royal Justice and Religious Law: Siyāsah and Shariʿah under the Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), 71–102.

[115] Richardson, Kristina, *The Evolving Biographical Legacy of Two Late Mamluk Ḥanbalī Judges*, Bonn 2014.

[116] Stilt, Kristin, *Islamic Law in Action: Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt*, Oxford 2011.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

There were two *kāshif*s in Egypt and they supervised the work of the provincial governors. However, after a reform under Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq this supervision task was transferred to the *nāʾib*s. Simultaneously, the rank of a *kāshif* was lowered beneath that of a *wālī* and the number of officers increased. This change only lasted until al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's death, but the *kāshif*'s responsibilities were not restored in the fifteenth century. Instead, the system was further centralized and the *kāshif* stayed on a regional level.

In addition to Carl F. Petry,[117] especially Bernadette Martel-Thoumian has dealt with the phenomenon of "crime" in general, focusing on the time from al-Ashraf Qāytbāy's accession to the throne in 872/1468 to the defeat of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī by the Ottomans in 922/1516.[118] Both outline a broad spectrum of criminals, offenses, and punishments without, however, placing their findings within a larger framework.

A completely new field of research has been opened up with the conference "The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century," which took place on March 5–7, 2015 in Bonn. For the first time, Mamlukologists and Ottomanists came together to discuss the changes and continuities that the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt brought with it.[119] Michael Winter is one of the few who has long worked on this transition. In a recent study, he dealt with the transformation of the legal system in Damascus.[120]

## 6. Art and Architecture

The concept of "Islamic art history" can certainly be questioned. The term is amorphous: since Oleg Grabar's fundamental studies, we have known that the direct association between religion and art raises questions. Art represents a cultural subsystem within societies. From a sociological point of view, art must be

---

[117] Petry, Carl F., *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society. Narratives from Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks*, Chicago 2012; idem, "The Politics of Insult: The Mamluk Sultanate's Response to Criminal Affronts," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 87–116; idem, "Already Rich? Yet 'Greed Deranged Him': Elite Status and Criminal Complicity in the Mamluk Sultanate," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, pp. 1–15.

[118] Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette, *Délinquance et ordre social: l'État mamlouk syro-égyptien face au crime à la fin du IXe–XVe siècle*, Pessac 2012.

[119] Conermann, Stephan and Gül Şen (eds.), *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*, Göttingen 2017.

[120] Winter, Michael, *The Judiciary of Late Mamluk and Early Ottoman Damascus: The Administrative, Social and Cultural Transformation of the System*, Bonn 2012.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

linked to the areas of politics, economics, law, social orders, institutions and other cultural patterns. Only in interaction with other cultural and human sciences is it possible to deconstruct art, taking into account its function and its cultural context. Often enough, art history considers its only task to record, describe and classify objects.[121] This is of course an important and necessary step, but it should not be the reason to stop asking further questions about the objects and, more importantly, relating them to the sociocultural context in which they were created and within which they need to be put into perspective.[122]

In order to protect their realm against incursions by the Ottomans and Portuguese and against attacks by Italian or Cypriot pirates and to secure the pilgrimage routes, the Mamluks required good fortifications. Three phases in which intensive construction work was necessary can be recognized: first, of course, in the course of the fight against the Franks; then during the increased military involvement in the Mediterranean during the times of Barsbāy; and finally at the end of the Mamluk Sultanate in view of the threat from the Ottomans.[123] The use of spolia in Mamluk-era buildings, however, has not been researched systematically. The reuse of historical remains is noticeable on even a brief tour of Cairo. Blocks with inscriptions from the time of the Pharaohs were used, for example, to build the entrances to the *khānqāh* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr (709/1307–10), the mosque of the emir Āqsunqur (747/1346–47), the caravanserai of Qawṣūn (741/1341) or in the monumental building complex of the Sultan Qalāwūn (694–703/1284–85).[124]

In addition to the citadel in Cairo,[125] Mamluk art historians often focus on individual building ensembles such as the *turbah* of Sitt Sutayta (d. 729/1329) in Damascus[126] or the mosques along the Jordan Valley,[127] but there is also interest in groups of objects such as *minbars*[128] and luxury goods made for the Mamluk

---

[121] Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact*, Göttingen 2012.

[122] Conermann, Stephan, Bethany Walker, Amr El-Hawary, Miriam Kühn, Nur Özdilmaç and Daniel Redlinger, *Islamic "Art" History: Some Postcolonial Perspectives*, Bonn 2014.

[123] Pradines, Stéphane, "The Mamluk Fortifications of Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 25–78.

[124] Abdulfattah, Iman, "Theft, Plunder, and Loot: An Examination of the Rich Diversity of Material Reuse in the Complex of Qalāwūn in Cairo," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017), pp. 93–132.

[125] Loiseau, Julien, *Reconstruire la Maison du sultan: Ruine et recomposition de l'ordre urbain au Caire (1350–1450)*, 2 vols., Cairo 2010.

[126] Kenney, Ellen, "The Turbah of Sitt Sutaytah: A Funerary Foundation for a Mamluk Noblewoman in Fourteenth-Century Damascus," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017), pp. 133–66.

[127] Raphael, Kate, *Mosques East and West of the Jordan Valley: From the Arab Conquest to the End of the Mamluk Period*, Bonn 2015.

[128] Kühn, Miriam, *Mamlukische Minbare*, Göttingen 2019.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

elite.[129] Of course, studies on individual objects are also not uncommon.[130] Time and again, the cities of the Mamluk period offer a welcome occasion for interpretation. Nasser Rabbat, for example, uses the Darb al-Aḥmar in Cairo to explain the spatial functions and the social context of the numerous monumental buildings erected there.[131] The Mamluk elite used the street to show their power and to represent their rule. Ibn Ṭawq, who has already been mentioned several times, describes his hometown Damascus in detail in his diary. Since his work often took him to the urban hinterland, he also describes the situation in the country. Against this background, one can rightly ask oneself whether the author differentiates between the two spaces and whether he feels more at home in one environment rather than the other.[132] The trend of Mamluk research, noticeable in recent years, of not looking only at Egypt but also at Syria, is reflected in urban research as well. Studies on Gaza, Tripoli, Beirut and Safad are now available.[133] Finally, there is also a treatise that focuses on Jerusalem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[134] in which Nimrod Luz questions Eurocentric concepts of a "city." By choosing not a typical art-historical approach, but rather a cultural-scientific one, a number of important questions about the function, structure, meaning and development of Mamluk-era Jerusalem are raised, which invite comparative studies.

## 7. Research Gaps

When the Annemarie Schimmel-Kolleg started its work, we had given intensive thought in advance to possible innovative research fields. For the first phase, that is the first four years, the following topics were identified:

---

[129] Juvin, Carine, *Civilian Elite and Metalwork: A View from the Edge*, Bonn 2018.

[130] Nicoll, Davis, "The Iconography of a Military Elite: Military Figures on an Early Thirteenth-Century Candlestick (Part I)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 57–90; idem, "The Iconography of a Military Elite: Military Figures on an Early Thirteenth-Century Candlestick (Part II)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 193–300; idem, "The Iconography of a Military Elite: Military Figures on an Early Thirteenth-Century Candlestick (Part III)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 22 (2019), pp. 3–22; Desideri, Andrea Vanni, "Notes on Two Manjanīq Counterweights from Mamluk Shawbak," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 22 (2019), pp. 23–48.

[131] Rabbat, Nasser, *Staging the City: Or How Mamluk Architecture Coopted the Streets of Cairo*, Berlin 2014.

[132] Wollina, Torsten, *What is a City? Perceptions of Architectural and Social Order in 15th-Century Damascus*, Bonn 2014.

[133] Amitai, Reuven, *The Development of a Muslim City in Palestine: Gaza under the Mamluks*, Bonn 2017.

[134] Nimrod, Luz, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture, and the Urban Landscape*, Cambridge 2014.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 7.1. The Mamluk Empire in its Global Context[135]

The predominance of national history has become just as untenable as the histories of individual cultures. Global history is more removed from the center of the clash of civilizations, and is located, instead, at the interface of interaction, or to put it differently: of the conflict between global, large-scale trends and local and regional responses. Typical areas of interaction are, of course, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic Sea. In global history, the capture and description of the dialectic between large-scale, external relationships and spatial integration processes (which must always result in drawing boundaries, and in fragmentation), between aggregation and differentiation, is always at the fore. This is not about pointing out again how the world was Europeanized, but about the interaction of different parts of the world in constructing our present. Just like looking at non-European history is meant to pry open the narrowness of national histories, by the same token, the global history approach is supposed to relativize the universalism of European history. Focusing on the longue durée of global history processes will, almost by necessity, challenge the established classifications into eras with their underlying modernization parameters deduced from European development. It seems to be high time to attribute a historical existence of their own to non-European areas of the world, instead of placing them at the historical periphery of a European or national center. In the time period that interests us here, the late Middle Ages in European parlance, an intense exchange of goods, people and ideas at a global level is identifiable, which William and John McNeill gave the beautiful name of the "human web" of the Old World. Christopher Bayly, however, talks about the "archaic" globalization as opposed to the "early modern" (from 1500) and "modern" (from about 1800 on) ones. The world of Islam, which encompassed large parts of Africa and Asia, however, did not only constitute a religious unit, but also contributed to the commercial and cultural cohesion of the area between Seville and Samarkand. In the later Middle Ages, the uniting element here was the empire of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, extending from China to Europe, from its original base in the steppes of Central Asia. Janet Abu-Lughod also points out an early world economy for the thirteenth century whose core lay in Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Arab world. North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa were attached, Europe formed the western/northern edge. A characteristic of the world between 1250 and 1500 was a high degree of integration. According to John

---

[135] In order to provide impetus for research, we held one or two conferences for each topic. The first two fields of research were mostly covered by Amitai, Reuven and Stephan Conermann (eds.), *The Mamluk Sultanate in Regional and Transregional Contexts*, Göttingen 2019. The two descriptions reproduced here (i. e. 7.1. and 7.2.) have also been incorporated in the introduction to that volume (pp. 19–40).

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Darwin, this "connectedness" of Eurasia lasted until after 1750. It was only then that—over tortuous paths, against great resistance, and with many contingencies—the global-imperial world of European hegemony arose, which Jürgen Osterhammel has so aptly called a "transformation of the world" (*Verwandlung der Welt*). Ultimately, so Birgit Schäbler argues, a global history pursues the design of interpretations that use polycentric arguments, capturing regional differences or asynchronicities and placing them front and center. Large-scale interconnectedness and interactions did not increase continuously throughout history; instead, they developed in waves of advances and retreats. Such a time of accelerated aggregation was, as has been pointed out, the Mongol Era. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a global contact and communication space arose that initiated profound processes ranging from political and military responses to commercial changes to cultural and technological transfers. Europe finally, at the end of the late Middle Ages, caught up with this transregional network. The Mamluks, besides Genoa and Venice, controlled the area adjacent to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

A radical event of global dimensions was the plague, which spread to Europe around the middle of the fourteenth century, coming from Central Asia across these two bodies of water and claiming a million lives. The end of Mongol rule resulted in more difficult access to East Asian and even Persian and Turkestani markets for Europe. The search for a different route to the riches of the Orient resulted in the discovery of the maritime routes around Africa and America. Then, the Chinese withdrawal from maritime trade helped the Portuguese establish themselves in the Indian Ocean. During the entire era, the Mamluk Empire acted as an interface between Eurasia, North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa. Pointing out the historical alternatives which this annual program is predominantly focused on proves the diversity of historical development models, which juxtaposes the "diversity of the Modern Era" (S. N. Eisenstadt) with the "diversity of the pre-Modern Era." During the period from 1250 to 1500, a series of economic, political, religious and cultural-technological integration processes occurred, affecting large parts of the Eurasian landmass, as well as parts of Africa. The networks resulting from these integration processes were complementary and interacted with each other. The effects of historical events such as changes of political power, the closure of trade routes, the introduction of new technologies, or the eruption of epidemics were passed onward via the different systems of interaction and were able to have a momentous impact on remote world regions. The Mamluk Empire needs to be "located" in this context.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 7.2. Economic Areas of Interaction[136]

Our examination of the society and culture of the Mamluk Empire will be based on the results of two studies submitted by Peter Feldbauer and Gottfried Liedl.[137] In the former work, Feldbauer has succeeded, based on his exemplary treatment of the research literature, to provide a standard reference work for the economic and social history of the Islamic world up and into the thirteenth century, which proves in an impressive manner the continuity of the societal productivity and economic performance of the Muslim communities far beyond the tenth century. This contradicts the sometimes still held opinion that the zenith of Islamic culture supposedly only lasted until the year 1000. For the eleventh, but no later than for the thirteenth century, a very long-lasting social, political and economic crisis is postulated as the start of a centuries-long decline. This demise is said to have been of such a fundamental nature that even a consolidation through the founding of the Ottoman, Safawid and Moghul empires was not able to halt this trend. This phase model is still firmly stuck inside many minds, despite the fact that the scholar of Islam Aziz Al-Azmeh has already demonstrated plausibly that the multitude of decadence and decline stereotypes used to characterize Islamic economic, social and cultural history were mostly a construct that served as a counterfoil to the bourgeois-capitalist order which came increasingly to be understood as, or purported to be, natural in modern Europe. The Eurocentric view of the European path of development, which ultimately resulted in nation states, bourgeois societies, the rise of capitalism, and the establishment of a global market and the international division of labor, lead to a completely inappropriate search for factors standing in the way of capitalism in non-European societies. In their jointly authored study, Feldbauer and Liedl correctly point out that Michael Cook's intentionally naive question why on earth the Islamic world should have anticipated the capitalist development of Western Europe calls out the Eurocentric perspective of many problematic comparisons. It is remarkable that the Islamic world is treated much better in the concepts of "normal" historians. Ferdinand Braudel, Eliyahu Ashtor and others assume an economic, political and cultural strength and creativity of the Islamic societies to the east and south of the Mediterranean that continues at least into the sixteenth century. As Feldbauer and Liedl note correctly, global system theory scholars who started to modify the concepts of Wallerstein's global system theory in the 1970s, see the position of the

---

[136] Another collected volume deals with the transregional networks of the Mamluk sultanate: Conermann, Stephan (ed.), *Everything is on the Move: The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-)Regional Networks*, Göttingen 2014.

[137] Feldbauer, Peter, *Die islamische Welt 600–1250: Ein Frühfall von Unterentwicklung?*, Vienna 1995; idem and Gottfried Liedl, *Die islamische Welt 1000 bis 1517: Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Staat*, Vienna 2008.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Islamic world as fundamentally positive and dominant at least well into the fourteenth century. Janet Abu-Lughod in particular pointed out in her study, *Before European Hegemony. The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York and Oxford 1989), that it was not until the complementary crisis phenomena starting in the second quarter of the fourteenth century (plague epidemics and the aggressive trade policies of Venice and Genoa), which occurred in tandem with the severe disruptions in the Far East, in India and in Western Europe and undermined the structures of the pre-modern global system, that critical shifts in the distribution of global power were caused. Feldbauer and Liedl emphasize that exactly during this time period, an interesting congruence in the developments of both the specifically 'European' cultural and economic area, and that larger unit named 'Euro-Méditerranée' is discernible. For us, this does not only describe the rising, history-rich regions of the northern coasts of the Mediterranean, but it constitutes—and this is an issue we cannot insist on enough—simultaneously also an appropriate recognition of its South and East, the so-called "Levant" and "Orient," which are intricately linked with their northern and western counterparts, the regions that have been called Europe's "counter coast," Europe's Mediterranean façade. Thus, the global dominance of the Islamic-defined cultural area is extended into the sixteenth century, so that combining the long-term trends of development in agriculture, commerce and trade with the assessment of the expansion into the Mediterranean by the Crusaders and Italian merchants, the flourishing of trade during the Pax Mongolica and the subsequent crisis of the fourteenth century, the nascent Iberian colonial offensive in the Maghreb, as well as the Portuguese foray around the Cape into the vast Indian Ocean, results in the impression that the states and societies of the entire Arabic-Iranian area were capable, adaptable and innovative economies during the period from the eleventh to the early sixteenth century. Obviously, the Islamic world also had its repeated crises, but they were always compensated by effective growth phases. The so-called "European miracle" was still in its infancy in the sixteenth century. With regard to economic development, we can now repudiate the formerly popular stagnation model as far as later than the sixteenth century. Generally, the development of agriculture, trade, commerce and the financial system was favorable until at least the crisis phenomena of the early seventeenth century. It is against this background that we shall reevaluate the Mamluk Era, giving it its due place in the overall economic context.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 7.3. "Rule" in the Mamluk Empire—A Cross-cultural Comparison[138]

In addition to our global history and economy perspectives, another essential aspect should be a cross-cultural approach. According to Almut Höfert, one strand of global history, instead of reconstructing and analyzing processes, focuses on providing context for individual case studies by relating them to each other, based on a global, cross-cultural perspective.[139] The goal here is to avoid submitting the subject of historical research to a historical hierarchy of values that purports to have discovered the center of "the" historical process in a certain region of the world, compared to which other regions are devalued as peripheral. Instead, this approach wants to link selected and contrasting exemplary cases from a range of different "cultures" and "civilizations" against the background of an overarching research approach that focuses on the problems in a theoretically reflected way. Globally oriented Comparative History crosses traditional boundaries between disciplines as well as traditional horizons by expanding the scope of historical scholarship. In addition, comparative profiling of analogous strategies for historical problem situations, as well as contextualized isolation of functional equivalents in differing historical systems, cultures and civilizations allow the refining of the tools of pre-Modern Era research methods. A cross-cultural approach thus means breaking open the epistemological primacy of European concepts in the critical discussion of Eurocentric concepts of individuality, which reason teleologically that the path to the Modern Era is the path to individual freedom and into the economic systems of the Western world, by including European and non-European cultures. The traditionally intra-European boundary of History is crossed, and the problems of concepts in historical scholarship that are biased towards Western European history are addressed. However, a cross-cultural perspective is not an approach that continues to solidify the boundaries of the "civilizations"; instead, it will point out how problematic the historiographical boundaries are that the paradigm of civilization imposes on our research and thinking. But it would also be premature to generally reject the use of universal categories at the cross-cultural level because of their Eurocentric character. A cross-cultural horizon for history will always

---

[138] The Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 1167 "Power and Domination: Premodern Configurations in a Transcultural Comparison" was established within the framework of this topic. Unfortunately, the SFB only ran for one phase, namely from 2016 to 2020. During this time, however, numerous collected volumes were composed, all of which tried to carry out transcultural comparisons. See Conermann, Stephan and Miriam Quiering, "Der Transkulturelle Vergleich – ein Bericht aus dem Inneren von Verbundprojekten," *Saeculum* 70,2 (2020) (in print).

[139] See Höfert, Almut, "Europa und der Nahe Osten. Der transkulturelle Vergleich in der Vormoderne und die Meistererzählung über den Islam," *Historische Zeitschrift* 287,3 (2008), pp. 561–597.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

require overarching categories that by default have an inherent homogenizing and, at the same time, exclusionary tendency. For example, one might adopt the approximations that Jürgen Osterhammel discusses in a global history comparison in his monumental work *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 2009): time (chronology and character of an era, periodization), space (mental maps, areas of interaction, power and space, borders), panoramas (sedentary and mobile people, standards of living: risks and securities [natural disasters, hunger, poverty and wealth], urban and rural, frontiers, empires, centralized power) and topics (work, networks [traffic, trade, money and finances], hierarchies, knowledge, religion, or simply rule]. Premodern forms of rule have so far primarily been analyzed in a European context, while comparative cross-cultural problems have rarely been studied. Based on this desideratum, such a comparison from a cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary point of view should be performed by Mamlukologists as well. In doing so, they have to fall back on methods of comparative history that have been defined more recently. We should aim at analyzing strategies of legitimizing, supporting and staging court/political rule as well as practices of power, in particular, interaction of rulers with different social groups, in different cultural contexts. In doing so, we will ask whether strategies and practices of court/political rule follow culture-specific patterns, and for which issues or under what conditions culture-specific patterns can be determined. For the Mamluk era, there is a very remarkable practice of ruling. Originally, the sons of Mamluk sultans were excluded from ruling since the only person who could become a Mamluk was a Turk who had been born free outside the Islamic territories as a non-Muslim, then enslaved, brought to Egypt as a slave, converted to Islam, been freed, and finally, trained as a warrior. Instead, according to the rules, the ablest officer from the ranks of the Sultan's Mamluks (the most numerous and best-trained and armed ones) became sultan. Also, according to the rules, this officer often had to assert himself against competition, with bloody fights not being rare, until he was confirmed by the other emirs, in order to finally be appointed by the Abbasid shadow Caliph. But there were also many exceptions to this rule. It is not surprising that a number of sultans' sons also ascended to the throne, and familial ties do exist in the sequence of Mamluk Sultans. And yet, it is actually incorrect to refer to the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria as a dynasty: In principle, the Sultanate was not hereditary, even if there are de facto dynastic interludes within the non-dynastic sequence of rulers. A comparison with non-Mamluk societies will yield many new findings on the topic of court/political rule.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 7.4. Culture-specific Narrative Strategies in Mamluk Era Historiographical Sources[140]

When Hayden White's *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* appeared in German—with a delay of 18 years no less, which was indicative of a resistance to theory widespread among historians in Germany—the debate that had taken place in the scholarly journals had already pointed out the elementary weaknesses of this book. And yet, the narrativity model presented in *Metahistory* is seen by many as the beginning of Kuhn's "paradigm shift" that heralded the failure of mechanistic and organic truth models in the Humanities. In the face of sophisticated structuralist, semiotic, deconstructivist, formalistic, inter-textual, discourse analysis, or simply: post-, or most recently, even post-post-modern (i.e. reactionary) literary theories, researchers of non-European cultures can no longer write history textbooks or approach texts as innocently or naively as they did a generation ago. White's *Narrativitätslehre* has reminded them, on the one hand, of their cognitive limits—a point of view that had been largely ignored, as a result of Enlightenment ideology, by Positivism and by other historiographical trends—and has, on the other hand, shown them the central importance of language as the medium of their source materials, and the resulting integration of their texts into the linguistic universe. With the publication of White's book, the debate around the "linguistic turn," which until then had been conducted almost exclusively in literary studies, also arrived in non-European cultural studies. Linguistic theory, as it was developed by Ferdinand de Saussure to Roland Barthes to Mary Louise Pratt, has pointed out the fact that history has no immanent unity or coherence, that all concepts of history are constructs executed by using linguistic means, that humans as subjects do not possess a uniform personality devoid of deep-seated contradictions, and that every text can be read and interpreted differently because it is not based on unambiguous intentions that are free of contradictions. Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida have further pointed out the political implications of language that mediate hierarchical power structures. The contradictions permeating the

---

[140] For this part (i.e. 7.4.), see Conermann, Stephan, *Historiographie als Sinnstiftung. Indo-persische Geschichtsschreibung während der Mogulzeit (932–1118/1526–1707)*, Wiesbaden 2002, 1–32. Over the years, we published some volumes on this topic: Conermann, Stephan and Bekim Agai (eds.), *"Wenn einer eine Reise tut, hat er was zu erzählen." Präfiguration – Konfiguration – Refiguration in muslimischen Reiseberichten*, Berlin 2013; Conermann, Stephan and Jim Rheingans (eds.), *Narrative Pattern and Genre in Hagiographic Life Writing: Comparative Perspectives from Asia to Europe*, Berlin 2014; Conermann, Stephan (ed.), *Mamluk Historiography Revisited: Narratological Perspectives*, Göttingen 2018; idem (ed.), *Innovation oder Plagiat? Kompilationstechniken in der Vormoderne*, Berlin 2015; idem (ed.), *Kulturspezifische Erzählstrategien in "nicht-abendländischen" Lebensdarstellungen*, Berlin 2015.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

entire life of humans force a scholarly observer to "deconstruct" every text in order to discover its ideological elements. Reality is not just mediated by language and discourse; instead, they serve to initially grasp it. Consequently, modern historians can no longer regard language as an innocent, transparent medium by means of which both past events can be described, and one's own thoughts about them expressed. The "linguistic turn" has ultimately drawn non-European culture scholars' attention to the fact that the boundary between event and fiction is not an iron curtain. The individual text is "woven from discourse threads" that—coming from elsewhere—lead into it, and that the scholar must untangle. In the discussion about Hayden White's work, the struggle has been and still is about the epistemological foundations of non-European culture studies. Within the net of this complex debate occurring at different levels, the following mediating line of arguments can be isolated that is essential when dealing with texts: A prerequisite for historical-critical work is and remains the hermeneutical principle that we have to account for what questions we approach our sources with. Ultimately, there are only "mute" texts, which we have to make talk. Our task is to decode the meaning of these texts, and in doing so, we always have to be very aware of the fact that such a process of decoding is invariably refracted subjectively at least twice. For one, a text first only says something about the author's mind within the context of his culture. And secondly, our decoding process is subject to our own subjectivity, even if we are trying to work with so-called "objectivity criteria." Such criteria themselves are a product of cultural development and cannot have final universal validity. Consequently, they require ongoing reflection and critical development. Only in very few instances does the primary text itself yield more than a rudimentary framework. Joining these parts into a coherent meaningful whole is only partially based on scientifically proven findings. In many places, whether consciously or not, it is unavoidable that intuitions take hold which, in turn, require critical reflection. For what is intuitively substructed is usually what is thought of as "obvious" which, in turn, is a time-specific product of knowledge, assumptions and prejudice. Attempts to explain away this problem by means of a positivist reference to facts constitutes merely a perpetuation of unreflected-upon purported certainties. The debate around postmodernism has clearly shown once again that scientific findings are not "true" because scientific statements are in congruence with a reality that exists outside of the findings. The latter can claim "truth status" if, according to the entire corpus of existing knowledge, they form rational and coherent representations by means of which that which they talk about is perceived as reality. This reflection on the conditionality and limitedness of scientific findings is important, even if one should not adopt the exaggerated postmodern view that science is only one way of seeing in the midst of many others. Just as fruitful is the criticism leveled against the preference modern

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

historical thought has for linearity, continuity and totality; the new appreciation for non-synchronicity, discontinuity, heterogeneity and particularity which arose in return proved to be beneficial for better understanding cultural processes in many instances. Since cultural scholars with a focus on the non-European world are becoming increasingly aware that by means of their sources, earlier constructions of reality can be—best-case scenario—traced or disclosed while the thing itself cannot be depicted, meanwhile, the text and its connection with the context has become the focus of interest. The canon is questioned, and the search is on for the ideologies besetting the texts and their authors, for the mental climate in which the text came to be, as well as for the narrative strategies of History texts. What is immanent to the text are interpretations of the information and knowledge about the past that were available to the author at that time. When attempting to decode textual intentionality, it will certainly make sense to ask first which narrative structures and strategies were used in writing the text. Tale or narrative text in this context shall mean a sequence of characters (a "text") representing a sequence of events (a "story"), and where we can distinguish (with Gérard Genette) factual from fictional tales. Factual tales—such as biographies, autobiographies or, case in point, chronicles—while claiming reality and referentiality, depict an event that is, in principle, to be thought of as true by the reader. While factual texts are not about invented figures, objects and events they can, however, and this is the decisive factor, very well be literary and thus possess a poeticism of their own. They are to be understood as narrative models of reality, as constructive attempts at understanding, created in language. Here, on the one hand, reality provides too little to be processed as literature. The deficiencies of what exists are rounded out by interpreting connections and creating interconnections. On the other hand, it also provides too much. It is impossible to show the totality of even a single moment, which results in the necessity of choice in order to transfer a complex and meaningless entropy into a meaningful whole by means of the principle of selection. Even if a text wants to be true and correct, it cannot escape its immanent subjectivity so that it will be able to look at the object treated by it in a neutral way. The subjectivity that resonates in all statements denotes the fact that a text is the product of an individual reorganizing his material into a tale. Thus, we can primarily recognize the position which the author(s) assume(s) with regard to the object processed by him/them. Here, the individual intent is embedded in supra-individual circumstances, in mentalities that can depend on the respective situation of the author(s), as well as on the temporal, political, spatial, material and social conditions. Against this background and in this annual program, the Mamluk Era historiographical texts underlying our project will not primarily be studied with regard to their facticity, their finer philological points or their statements regarding the events. Instead, the focus is going to be on the question of what we

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

can learn from these sources, by means of the narrative structures, about those mental (emotional and cognitive) operations through which the experience of time in the medium of memory has been processed into orientations for practical life.

For the second stage of the Annemarie Schimmel-Kolleg, Bethany Walker and I wanted to widen our perspective in two ways: Firstly, we abandoned the dynastically defined time frame in favor of a more flexible "Middle Islamic Period" (twelfth–seventeenth centuries). While we certainly retain our focus on the history and society of the Mamluk Empire (in Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz), this extension allows for process-oriented analyses that include both the Ayyubid and the early Ottoman eras. This has become necessary because, secondly, we looked into developments for which the establishment and fall of Mamluk rule, respectively, cannot be taken as absolute starting and ending points. In order to understand the dynamics and processes underlying e.g. questions of material culture, environmental history, im/mobility and frontier areas (but also intellectual history or poetry), it is necessary as a rule to go beyond the actual times of the Mamluk Sultanate.

### 7.5. Environment[141]

Environmental history, which can be defined in as many ways as there are disciplines in the humanities, examines the relationships between human beings and their natural surroundings over the course of time. On the one hand, it gives insights on the impact of climate change and other environmental changes on societies; on the other hand it can contribute to our understanding of the innumerable ways natural resources are used, perceived, controlled and preserved. Since modern environmental historians reject the outdated models of environmental determinism they perceive the environment as either a powerful actor of socio-cultural change or an arena of social conflict. Environmental history can be an effective instrument for contextualizing political change, explaining, for example, the complex web of factors behind the so-called "decline" of dynasties in pre-modern societies. In short: environmental history takes up a unique position for the writing of integrated histories. However, environmental history is not a

---

[141] On the next two topics (i.e. 7.5. and 7.6.), there were a pair of conferences, planned as a unit and sponsored in two consecutive years by the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg of Mamluk Studies in 2016 and 2017: "Environmental Approaches in Pre-Modern Middle Eastern Studies" (December 5–7, 2016) and "Material Culture Methods in the Middle Islamic Periods" (December 8–10, 2017). As a result, there is now Walker, Bethany J. and Abdelkader Al Ghouz (eds.), *Living with Nature and Things. Contributions to a New Social History of the Middle Islamic Periods*, Göttingen 2020.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

new research area. What began in the 1970s as the engagement of American scientists with climate change today has become an innovative field of research into—using the European terminology—modern, pre-modern, medieval, and ancient societies all over the world. In Ancient Oriental Studies and Ancient History, it is a well-established discipline, and it has also begun to play an important role in the historiography of medieval Europe. Near Eastern Studies, on the other hand, have proved themselves surprisingly resistant to these research trends. Thankfully, over the last few years some Ottomanists have published various studies that use environmental history as a tool for examining questions on revolts among the rural population and tribal rebellions and describing scenarios of political decline as well as the way the Ottoman Empire worked on a regional level or the agency of local communities.

It is surprising that research in the area of Mamluk Studies—with a few exceptions—has not taken up the "environmental turn." In contrast, contemporary historians of the Mamluk era were certainly aware of the impact that various environmental changes had on their respective societies. Reflections on droughts, for example, were a constant and dominant topic among Arabic historians of the Middle Ages. The works of chroniclers attest to a real understanding of and worry about various climatic and ecological conditions (such as rainfall, temperature, appropriate and inappropriate use of land) that were regularly cited as direct causes of famines, revolts and political decline. The annals of Damascene historians in particular are full of detailed information on rainfall, the condition of roads, food prices and unrest among the rural population and the Bedouins—in their opinion, all these events were connected to each other. Many of these historians earned their living by administering rural foundations, while others maintained close connections to families in the villages (the historian Ibn Ḥijjī al-Ḥusbānī is a particularly colorful case); as a consequence, they were sensitive to the relationship between people and their physical surroundings and understood the role played by the danger of natural disasters in the creation of economic suffering. The notion that there existed a connection between political, social and natural orders met with reasonable approval from contemporaries. Al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthat al-ummah*, an Egyptian treatise on famines, is a veritable lament about the misuse of natural resources by the state and mismanagement during times of drought. The Mamluk state also had a selfish interest in the environment, natural resources, and especially in the usability of agricultural lands and the maintenance of water systems. In some areas of the regime, the state pursued clear strategies in agricultural economy, and disagreements over natural resources would at times spark conflicts with the local population. Contemporaries were, as we would say today, eco-conscious.

Environmental research as it is currently done in Ottoman Studies is—and has to be—highly interdisciplinary. Examining the interrelationships of human

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

beings, political and economic systems and their physical environment requires reference to a dazzling amount of textual sources, sources from the natural sciences and, yes, even from archaeology: a workload no researcher can cope with on their own. The key to environmental history is cooperation and the readiness to ask questions that transcend the boundaries of a single discipline. This could well be one of the reasons why this kind of research has begun so late in Ottoman Studies, and the same certainly applies for Mamluk Studies, which have long suffered from disciplinary isolation and a high degree of specialization. This is not to say that Mamlukologists were not interested in environmental matters. The few publications that have appeared to date follow along lines that are in many regards parallel to those of current "Ottoman environmental history." Among the topics are the adaptation of local communities to changing environmental conditions (with a growing corpus of archaeological literature centering around this theme), the impact of state politics on the environment, the social consequences of environmental disasters, changes in climate, the legal framework of urban water systems, economic studies on imperial water systems and environmental perspectives on rural history. However, the analysis of the complex, dialectic relationships between climate, land use and socio-political systems—which remains at the core of environmental history—has so far not captured the attention of many Mamluk experts.

### 7.6. From "Art History" to "Material Culture"[142]

In traditional Mamluk Art History (MAH), three problematic areas are evident. (I) As is the case with other "non-European art histories," MAH often sees its task as the recording, description and classification of objects. While this is of course an important and indispensable first step, it should not be taken as an excuse for not asking further questions about these objects, especially with regard to the socio-cultural context from which they originate and in reference to which they must be placed. (II) Interpretations mostly remain within a "history of Islamic-Mamluk art" which makes as much or as little sense as just about any intellectual history, resembling a common thread artificially singled out from its context. A more useful approach, it seems, is to carry out more analyses of individual

---

[142] Nobody has done more for this field of research than Bethany Walker: www.islamic-archaeology.uni-bonn.de/Associated%20Members/prof.-dr.-bethany-j.-walker. For this introduction (i. e. 7.6.), see Conermann, Stephan and Bethany J. Walker [together with Amr El-Hawary, Miriam Kühn, Nur Özdilmaç & Daniel Redlinger], *Islamic "Art" History – some postcolonial perspectives* (= Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg (ASK) – Working Paper # 20 (2014) [https://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/working-paper/ask-wp-20-islamic-art-history.pdf].

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

objects in order to better understand their complex embedment in their social circumstances. Conducting several such qualitative single-work analyses enables us to draw connections between the social subsystems and the objects. (III) Another problem is that the patterns of derivation and categorization used today in MAH are largely based on research on non-European peoples and cultures from the nineteenth century and that these classification schemata have not been sufficiently called into question in current MAH research. The interpretation of MAH from the self-reflecting Western perspective has its limits, as we know at least since Dipesh Chakrabarti's *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton 2000). The basic problem here is that the terms of one culture don't fit in the other and that each culture would best be defined by using its own terms. Let us examine some examples of this.

(1) Objects of art vs. cultural objects. A large part of the material evidence of the Mamluk era is considered mainly as objects of art in research and presented accordingly in museums. This view of the objects is connected to an art concept that has evolved historically in Western research and is transferred directly on non-European cultural objects. As has been shown by a number of studies focusing on "Western" history of art, an important question for Mamluk art history, too, is to what extent artefacts of the early modern era can be classified as objects of art in the first place rather than products of craftsmanship. Particularly in regard to non-European pre-modernity, it is problematic that the majority of art historical studies concentrate on objects exclusively produced by elite culture and thus viewed through the lens of "objects of art" rather than "cultural objects." Moreover, the focus on elite culture leads to a disregard of research on objects from everyday culture as sources of data on social processes and phenomena. A particularly problematic area is the transfer of Western perspectives and the methodical approaches to the objects derived from them. Indigenous attributions and terminology found in sources contemporary with the objects are rarely taken into account on a scale that allows one to challenge their own present-day perspective on the historical objects. Thus, a number of questions arise: What is "art" in the Mamluk era in the first place? Which concept or concepts of art can be verified within the scientific system of classification? Here we have to consider that an indigenous art concept is usually itself "alive," not static, but heterogeneous and complex. In any case, it has to be established what needs gave rise to this concept of art. What are the meanings of indigenous attributions, and how can we deal with "cultural" crossroads? To what extent do the current stock of objects and the state of research on them permit approaches from a cultural-studies perspective? Do the objects thus serve as sources for social processes and manifestations? Does it even make sense to speak about art history, i.e. the history of "art" and not solely of cultural objects, in reference to Mamluk society? To what extent would it be necessary to have a common scientific language in the

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

area of non-European and European art historical research to allow trans- and interdisciplinary as well as interconnected research? An area of particular importance in this context, which has rarely been discussed, is culture-specific aesthetics. Is it possible to identify the aesthetic norms and habits of Mamluk-era society? What we must not do is to judge pre-modern objects from a present-day aesthetic perspective. Then what should we call "beautiful" or "ugly," "bad" or "good"? How did we arrive at the canon of "famous" artefacts? Doesn't this mostly represent the taste of Western researchers? In this context, there is a need for studies on the "gaze." How were the objects looked at, cultivated, described and represented in the textual medium? It would also be useful to extend the concept of aesthetics to include function and relevance, as well as situativity, instead of being confined to indigenously aesthetic approaches.

(2) Terminology. Two basic difficulties in analyzing pre-modern cultural objects are (a) the use of modern categories and concepts and (b) the unreflecting adoption of indigenous terms. A conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) looking for the semantics of terms hasn't even begun to be attempted for the Mamluk era. The primary textual sources being made accessible by philologists could pave the way here. Concepts of art and definitions of colors, patterns, fabrics, surface structures etc. yield important information and often imply more than what we see. Dealing with linguistic evidence has been one of the basic preconditions of analytical source-based research since the development of the historical-critical method. Research approaches that can be grouped under the term "Historical Semantics" and among which conceptual history plays an important role take this self-evident fact as a starting point to analyze the source language itself with regard to its historicity and to establish its role within and for historical change. Historical semantics seeks the historicity of the semantic content and change of cultural, and especially linguistic, utterances. As a historiographical approach, this research perspective explores and interprets the cultural, societal and political conditions and requirements of the attribution and articulation of meaning at a given time. The specific access of conceptual history does this by choosing isolated, condensing terms believed to have a key position in order to gather and contextualize linguistic conceptualizations. This will have to be the starting point for our analysis of Mamluk-era material culture.

(3) Research history. To tackle Mamluk-era material culture, we first have to deal with some of the fundamentals of the various histories of science (art history and archaeology): Who were their founders, what did their disciplinal environment look like, what was their cultural and intellectual milieu? Islamic art historiography mostly works along dynastic lines. The usefulness of this can rightly be questioned, since firstly, these lines of presentation follow a European conception of history that cannot be directly transferred to a non-European context, and secondly, they involve problematic essentializations ("Seljuk art," "Abbasid

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

art" etc.). As a consequence, the potential to discover continuities and discontinuities is limited. Moreover, this politically oriented historiography obstructs the view of other (economic, cultural, religious, social) perspectives that would entail an entirely different periodization. MAH, too, usually concerns itself with the material evidence of the respective governing elites. This is true for architecture as well as "portable art" and painting. The selection of the latter two groups as a research object shows a particularly strong influence by the collection history and the presentation of these objects in the most important museum collections. New research perspectives could be gained from looking into the materiality of religious experiences. Religiosity, like all other social phenomena, leaves traces in the material world and is usually not limited by dynastic boundaries. Moreover, it is often the analysis of everyday objects that can tell us about daily life and give answers regarding the religion, faith, customs and tradition, celebrations and habits of the society in question. Some important questions would be: Does "mass production" contradict our concept of "art" objects and make them cultural objects? Does this perhaps even make the whole question of objects of art vs. cultural objects pointless? Doesn't the mere fact of the physical survival of the object and its presentation in a museum or in publications make the mass-produced salad bowl an object of art? Apart from this, we have to seek the perceptions of luxury, art, daily life and everyday objects immanent in the respective culture and how to explain them. Also, it would be helpful to gain more knowledge about the artisans, who have largely been neglected in previous studies. We know little about their workplaces, organization, work and production processes, tools, chains of distribution and prices, which could give us valuable information on the artisans' social status and the value of their works within the culture. Another important question is which spaces are more likely to be associated with the private sphere and which with the public one?

### 7.7. Im/mobility. Focus: migration[143]

Mamluk Egypt and Syria are considered here not as a geographically clear-cut area but rather as a multiply-interconnected space. This space is formed and reformed by human acts and interactions, crossing and transcending spatial, social and cultural boundaries. Mobility of every kind is characteristic for this space of (inter)action: the physical movements of individuals and groups, i.e. social

---

[143] The Priority Program (SPP) 1981 "Transottomanica: Eastern European-Ottoman-Persian Mobility Dynamics" (https://www.transottomanica.de) arose from the intensive discussion of this topic. For the theoretical framework, see Conermann, Stephan and Albrecht Fuess, Stefan Rohdewald (eds.), *Transottomanica: Osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitätsdynamiken: Perspektiven und Forschungsstand*, Göttingen 2019.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

mobility along horizontal and vertical lines; mobility between social positions and within hierarchies; but also intellectual mobility, expressed in the "movement" and transfer of ideas and images. A crucial topic for the third thematic pathway of the second phase was migration during the Mamluk era, which can be derived directly from the overall context of mobility. Migration is usually understood as a particular kind of spatial mobility of people. To comprehend Mamluk-era migration patterns we must sufficiently take into account both external impulses such as compulsion or catastrophes, and endogenous dynamics like motivation or desire. The individual act of migration, however, should not just be understood as a result of personal decisions. The decision for migration is taken within a social context; it includes a household, community or other group of people. A large part of the literature on migration addresses questions of mobility in detail while neglecting immobility. However, these are two sides of the same coin and directly linked with each other. Mobility and immobility are interrelated and mutually dependent. Not only do all mobilities entail specific often highly embedded and immobile infrastructures, but a rise in the mobility of some people often heightens the immobility of others. In short, the "non-movers" are critical to understanding mobility and the cultural, social and economic impact of migration. Studies on mobility analyze and describe processes, strategies, motivations and circumstances of becoming, being or having been mobile. In fact, however, most people do not change residence even if they have the means and opportunities to do so. Remaining at a certain location and in a fixed position is often not just a standard opinion but the result of an active decision against becoming mobile—sometimes even in spite of attractive alternatives. Migrants, like all people, are part of social networks. Their relationships with other people are fixed in these networks. We consider social order(s)/societies as open, unlimited networks characterized by shifting power imbalances. Social networks also play a vital role during the Mamluk era, particularly in regard to migration and mobility. On the one hand, mobility leads to the formation and extension of networks, while on the other, networks enable and facilitate mobility. Migration networks can be understood as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. If we just imagine for a moment that migration networks started out from zero points, then these are probably laid by the arrival of "migration pioneers" at new places of destination, establishing a first basis for the relationship between the place of origin and the new location. These pioneers often follow existing paths indicated e.g. by grazing animals, trade links, power relations or political relationships and draw on symbolical connections like those mentioned above, e.g. a common language, religion or ethnicity. Our research on questions of migration in the Mamluk era begins with the assumption that networks and

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

mobility/migration enter into a dialectic relationship. The focus here rests on the multiplication of interdependent connections and network relationships as well as personal contacts and exchange relations on various interconnected levels of society, which trigger and dynamize acts of migration.

### 7.8. Frontiers, Boundaries, Borders

Recent studies on border regions in the United States and historians working on southern Africa have developed the concept of the "frontier," which is defined as a zone of mutual permeation between two previously different societies or alternatively as a socio-political order differing from the empire's institutions as a whole. Socio-cultural borders are products of conflictual processes of exchange and adoption marked by figurative linkages transcending classical territorial etc. borders. In the context of power interests in national or local geo-politics, it is particularly the course of political borders which is subject to continuous negotiation processes, in the sense of communicative actions, between local, regional and transregional actors. The principle of drawing political borders, which states that only the central ruling organization can represent a functionally adequate system of order, has to be called into question in the face of massive localization processes. Thus, borders are not only or primarily physical demarcations but first of all social constructions. Political and socio-cultural borders describe transitional zones in which varying constellations of acting and thinking are possible. However, it would be short-sighted to view the emergence and re-definition of borders solely as the result of distancing oneself from a diffuse "other" in order to constitute social units. Borders may also be drawn out of the need for belonging, security, or maintaining a certain material wealth. They do not only fulfil a separating function. By delineating a territory, they are also often said to represent a symbol for the relationship between an inside and an outside: Contained within their frame are strategically important spheres/zones that allow states, ethnic or social groups, networks etc. to negotiate their influence over a clearly defined territorial space and perform acts of belonging and difference. But borders do not just mark "spaces of sovereignty" but also act as membranes filtering goods, persons, ideas, beliefs and knowledge. As the example of "borderland" research shows, borders also form seams connecting things that were previously separated. Their meaning changes in the course of social, political and cultural developments, which in turn can not only have direct effects on forms of social interaction (and vice versa) but also underlines quite clearly that boundary-making and weakening practices are processual social phenomena. It is the complex interdependencies of both political and socio-cultural boundary-making and -weakening, as well as their connection to con-

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

texts and possible conditions of spatial and social mobility, which was in the focus of our research during the Kolleg's eighth year. We wanted to examine Mamluk-era "imperial" border regions in general, but also to shed light on the particular ambiguity of Jordan (and other frontiers) as seen from the perspective of the Mamluk ruling elite. What did "empire/state" mean during the Mamluk era? Based on these considerations on Jordan by Bethany Walker,[144] several questions arose: Which other frontiers can we identify besides Transjordan? What structural similarities and what differences are there? How can we describe the relationship between center and periphery? What are the consequences of changes in political power (Ayyubids—Crusaders—Mamluks—Ottomans), both in the regions and with regard to the spatial structure of an empire? What happens if a center (Damascus, Cairo) becomes a frontier? What is the definition of "border" anyway? Are there hard and soft borders? What can we say about local identities? How do they change over the course of time and in the face of "imperial" power politics on site? What are the centrifugal and what the centripetal forces within a frontier?

---

[144] See for example, Walker, Bethany J., "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban", in: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 62.4 (2003): 241–261; eadem, "Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan: A 'Boom and Bust' Economy", in: Mamlūk Studies Review 8.2 (2004): 119–147; eadem, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline? Agriculture as an Economic Barometer for Late Mamluk Jordan", in: Mamlūk Studies Review 11.1 (2007): 173–199; eadem, "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations", in: Mamlūk Studies Review, 13.1 (2008): 82–105; eadem "Popular Responses to Mamluk Fiscal Reforms in Syria", in: Bulletin d'Études Orientales, 58 (2009): 51–67; eadem, Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier. Chicago 2011; eadem, "Transjordan as the Mamluk Frontier: Imperial Conceptions of Authority and Space", in: Guido Vannini (ed.): La Transgiordania Neu Secoli XII–XIII e le 'Frontiere' Del Mediterraneo Medievale/Trans-Jordan in the 12th and 13th Centuries and the 'Frontiers' of the Medieval Mediterranean, Oxford 2012, 197–204.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Daisuke Igarashi

# Charity and Endowments of the Civilian Elite: The Case of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, the *nāẓir al-jaysh* (d. 854/1451)

It is well known that in Mamluk Egypt and Syria the ruling elite actively patronized charitable projects on various occasions, with the development of the *waqf* (religious endowment) system as a vital vehicle for supporting such projects. Unlike the *ṣadaqah* (voluntary alms)—ad-hoc and one-off charitable activities—the *waqf* system, which utilized profits from agricultural lands, residential buildings, and commercial facilities to finance certain projects or facilities, supported the continuous and steady operation of such projects. This patronage was an indispensable part of life and social activities for those who lived in cities. Religious and educational institutions such as mosques, madrasahs (schools), and *khānqāh*s (Sufi convents), were built to provide facilities for religious and educational activities, and also to support the activities of the *ʿulamāʾ*, students, and Sufis economically. Various public water fountains were essential to the infrastructures of Middle Eastern cities where water was scarce, as they quenched the thirst of city dwellers and travelers. Regular provision of meals at *turbah*s (mausoleums), for instance, provided food aid to the poor. It is not farfetched to say that the prosperity in the city and in people's lives in the Mamluk era was supported by the religious charitable acts of the *waqf* system.

Larger-scale charitable projects were mainly patronized by the Mamluk military aristocracy, including the sultans. It is believed that the boom in the construction of religious/educational institutions in Muslim dynasties from the eleventh century onwards was due to the political intent of the military rulers, who were ethnically isolated from the native Arabs, in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of their rule by getting the support of the *ʿulamāʾ* through their backing of the Sunnis. In addition, the Mamluks in the Mamluk Sultanate, the ruling elite, were of slave origin and did not have any bases in society. They established *waqf*s for the purpose of ensuring that their children would receive income from them in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, the sultans of the Circassian Mamluks started to use the *waqf* system in order to ensure their private sources of revenue in a situation where government finances were in

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

decline.[1] Studies on *waqf* and charitable projects have primarily focused on those initiated by the military (and their families) due to their importance in politics and society as well as to an abundance of historical material.

However, although some scholars provide information and comment on their construction activity,[2] not much research has been attempted on *waqf* and charitable projects by civilians, including bureaucrats and the *ʿulamāʾ*. It is evident, however, in any discussion of *waqf* and charity in the Mamluk era, that charitable projects by those not in the military should not be overlooked. Moreover, reasons including "demonstrating the legitimacy of rule" and "economic assistance to the descendants because of their slave-origin" cannot be applied to actions by civilians, who were presumably deeply rooted in society. This leads one to question whether there were differences between the charitable and *waqf* projects according to the donors' social strata or groups. Written and archeological sources attest to a boom in *waqf* and charitable projects across the pre-modern Islamic world; but what we must consider next are the characteristics and distinctiveness of the *waqf* and charitable projects in the Mamluk era, which were different from those in other regions or eras. A case-study approach where a particular case is examined through multiple reference points—such as the period, region, personal, and social circumstances—in a multifaceted manner is the most appropriate way of accomplishing this.[3] The question raised above of social strata/groups will also be an effective reference point.

This is the perspective from which the present article will examine a number of charitable projects undertaken by Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Dimashqī, the *nāẓir al-jaysh* (the chief of the Army Bureau), one of the most powerful bureaucrats in the fifteenth-century Mamluk government, by analyzing literary sources, original *waqf* deeds, and Ottoman registers. The reason for focusing on ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ is that he was devoted throughout his life to undertaking charitable and *waqf* projects. He patronized a great number of such projects in Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz on an unprecedented scale, including the foundation of six *madrasah-khānqāh*s in Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Gaza, Mecca, and Medina; all of which were called al-Bāsiṭīyah after their founder. To my knowledge, he was the civilian who established the largest number of religious and educational institutions in the Mamluk period.

The article will begin by reviewing the career of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ to establish an understanding of the chief points of his career as a bureaucrat. I shall then present an overview of *waqf* and charitable projects that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ set up in his lifetime. Finally, through comparison of his *waqf* and charitable projects

---

[1] Igarashi, 2015, 2–3, 17, 177–78.

[2] Fernandes, 1997, 115–17; Behrens-Abouseif, 2007, 21–23.

[3] Igarashi, 2019, 25–7.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

with those of other bureaucrats, I will identify overall characteristics of charitable projects by bureaucrats.

## 1. Life of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ[4]

Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was born in 784/1382–83 in Damascus, the largest city in Syria. Very little information exists about his parents and family. We know that his father, Khalīl, had been given the village of Jisrayn in al-Ghūṭah, the rural area near Damascus, by the sultan; but it is not known whether it was an *iqṭāʿ* of the sort that was given to soldiers, or a reward. According to some sources, his mother was a Circassian. It is unlikely that he received an Islamic education (even memorizing the Quran or reciting it), as was typical for *ʿulamāʾ*. Instead, he was apprenticed to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Shihāb Maḥmūd,[5] the *kātib al-sirr* (the chief of the Chancery Bureau) of Damascus, and began his career as a secretary. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was to become one of his trusted staff.

At that time, Syria was under the second reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj b. Barqūq (808–15/1405–12) and was in the midst of a civil war with the viceroys of Syrian provinces, including Amirs Jakam and Nūrūz al-Ḥāfizī.[6] One of the powerful amirs who established an independent power base in Syria at that time was Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī, the future Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. When Shaykh was the Viceroy of Damascus, Ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd occupied the position of the *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus, but he was killed when Sultan Faraj's force expelled Shaykh from Damascus and occupied it in 812/1409. Following the death of his master, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ began to serve Shaykh, drawing on his former master's connection.

The year 815/1412 was a major turning point for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ: Shaykh defeated Faraj and appointed Caliph al-Mustaʿīn bi-llāh as sultan. Seven months later Shaykh himself acceded to the throne. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, who accompanied Shaykh to Egypt, was appointed the *nāẓir al-khizānah* (the controller of the sultanic treasury) by Sultan Shaykh. During his revolts throughout Syria, Shaykh forged close relationships with Syrian intellectuals and bureaucrats, and eventually employed them. When he became Sultan, he appointed them to high-ranking positions within the central government of Egypt and trusted them with important tasks. The bureaucrats who supported Shaykh's reign were: Nāṣir al-

---

[4] For his biography see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:24–27; idem, *Tibr*, 329–32; idem, *al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah*, 2:9–14; idem, *Wajīz*, 653–54; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 7:136–43; idem, *Nujūm*, 15:552–54; al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 2:141–43; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl*, 5:321; al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm*, 122; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:285–86; Burgoyne, 1987, 519–21; Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 344–45.

[5] For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:63; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 11:133–34.

[6] Holt, 1986, 179–82.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Bārizī from Hama who served as the *kātib al-sirr* of Egypt;[7] Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muzhir from Damascus, who served as the deputy *kātib al-sirr*;[8] ʿAlam al-Dīn Dāwūd b. al-Kuwayz from al-Karak, who served as the *nāẓir al-jaysh*[9] (these three families were to become influential in the Egyptian civil service and produced a number of bureaucrats in the years to come); and Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh from Tripoli, who served as the *ustādār al-ʿāliyah* (the chief of *al-dīwān al-mufrad*, the Independent Bureau, the post of which was classified as a military office) and temporarily as the *mushīr al-dawlah* (counselor of the financial bureaus) who oversaw the state's financial bureaus.[10] The appointment of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ as the *nāẓir al-khizānah* was part of this trend. Ibn Taghrī Birdī observed that Shaykh's trusted bureaucrats included a number of people who ranked above ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and that he could not have hoped for a better position than this.[11] However, at the time, the sultanic treasure (*al-khizānah al-sultānīyah*) was expanding its role in the state's financial system by re-organizing itself as the treasury under direct control of the sultan, which administered the sultan's private property.[12] Although the post of *nāẓir al-khizānah* was not a traditionally high office in the government, it was an important position that was closely tied to the sultan's own finances. In fact, while the year of the appointment is unknown, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ also served as the *nāẓir al-mustaʾjarāt al-sulṭānīyah*, overseeing the sultan's own income from his private leased lands.[13] He was "known for his ability and reliability in (the business of) *al-khizānah al-sultānīyah*"[14] and served well in his post.

In this way, he gained the trust of Sultan Shaykh and moved up in the government. It is said that Shaykh often visited ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's private home.[15] His work was recognized and in 818/1415, he was also appointed to the post of *nāẓir al-kiswah*.[16] The right to donate the *kiswah*, the black cloth that covers the Kaaba in Mecca, belonged to the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. It was carried to Mecca from Egypt with the pilgrims and replaced each year. To finance the *kiswah*, Sultan al-

---

[7] For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 9:137–9; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 11:7–10; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 3:115–7; idem, *Muqaffā*, 7:71–2. For his family, see Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 249–66.

[8] For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 9:39–40; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 11:25–27; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 3:442–43. For his family, see Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 267–81; Ota-Tsukada, 2019, 129–31.

[9] For his biography, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 5:289–92; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:212–14; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2:81–82. For his family, see Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 283–94.

[10] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:102; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 5:85–8.

[11] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 7:137.

[12] Igarashi, 2015, 126–29.

[13] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:24.

[14] al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 329.

[15] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 7:137.

[16] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:382.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (r. 743–46/1342–45) purchased two-thirds of the *nāḥiyah* (tax district) of Baysūs in the suburb of Cairo (*ḍawāḥī al-qāhirah*) from the state treasury through a *wakīl bayt al-māl* (agent of the state treasury) and designated it as a *waqf* for *kiswah* donation. However, since the *waqf* income was no longer sufficient, Sultan Shaykh had to pay for the *kiswah* himself. It was during this time that Sultan Shaykh appointed ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ as the *nāẓir al-kiswah.*[17] He successfully rehabilitated the *waqf* for the *kiswah* and so enabled it to provide magnificent *kiswah*s. In 822/1419, some *ʿulamāʾ* alleged that the *kiswah* made under his supervision was in contravention of the *waqf* regulation, which stipulated that "surplus after the production of a customary *kiswah* should be allocated for charity," because it was luxurious with gold used for decoration (this was debated before the sultan; the ultimate conclusion being that it was a charitable act).[18]

Following the death of Sultan Shaykh in 824/1421, a number of sultans, including al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad b. Shaykh, al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad b. Ṭaṭar, and al-Ashraf Barsbāy, reigned within a little over a year. However, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ survived in this unstable political environment. On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 7, 824/November 3, 1421, he was appointed by Sultan Ṭaṭar as the *nāẓir al-jaysh*, one of the most influential bureaucratic positions in the government, partly due to his aggressive lobbying for a promotion.[19] Following the sudden death of Ṭaṭar, his trusted colleague Barsbāy took power. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ sent an expensive gift and when Barsbay acceded to the throne in 825/1422, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was appointed to the same post, holding the position of *nāẓir al-jaysh* throughout Sultan Barsbāy's sixteen-year reign. The total length of his time in the position was eighteen years, the longest tenure among successive *nāẓir al-jaysh*s in the Circassian Mamluk era. He wielded power as one of the most influential people in the government, and it was said that "everything was discussed with him."[20] It was also said that many powerful people, including amirs, bureaucrats, judges, intellectuals, and merchants, frequented his private home.[21] In addition to being the *nāẓir al-jaysh*, he also served as the *nāẓir al-kiswah* and *nāẓir al-jawālī* (controller of poll tax).[22] Sultan Barsbāy often trusted him with special missions in addition to his public duties. When Barsbāy built a funeral complex known as *al-madrasah al-ashra-*

---

[17] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:26.

[18] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 1:200.

[19] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 14:205; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 150–52; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:249–50; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:586.

[20] al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 330.

[21] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:1170.

[22] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:328–29; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 535; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:1155.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*fīyah* in central Cairo in 826/1423, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ oversaw its construction.[23] In 830/1427, he was sent to Aleppo to repair the city walls and complete other missions for the sultan.[24] He was also entrusted with promoting the public interest in Mecca.[25] During Barsbāy's reign, other notables such as Jānibak al-Ashrafī, the *dawādār thānī* (second executive secretary); Badr al-Dīn b. Muzhir, the *kātib al-sirr*; and Jawhar al-Qunuqbāʾī, the *khāzindār* (treasurer), became influential. However, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was not hostile towards them and maintained a friendly relationship with them by means of bribes and gifts.[26]

During Barsbāy's reign, two financial officials were charged with the task of paying salaries to the sultanic *mamlūk* corps, namely *wazīr*, the head of *dīwān al-wizārah* (the Finance Bureau), and *ustādār al-ʿāliyah*, the head of *al-dīwān al-mufrad*. The financial difficulties of the time often caused those who held these positions to flee because of the problems of the job. It was not rare for incumbents to be attacked by the sultanic *mamlūk* corps, who were resentful about late payments; their personal assets were also often seized by the sultan to pay for any shortfall.[27] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, cautious by nature, managed to avoid these positions.[28] However, on Ṣafar 22, 838/September 27, 1439, Barsbāy nearly forced Jānibak, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's *mamlūk* and private *dawādār*, to accept the post of the *ustādār al-ʿāliyah*, which would have meant that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was effectively in charge.[29] Furthermore, on Shawwāl 8, 839/April 25, 1436, he was given the power to appoint *wazīr*s, which put him in a top position in the Finance Bureau.[30] He now had the difficult task of running two difficult financial bureaus in addition to his original role of administering the Army Bureau.[31]

Following Barsbāy's death in 841/1438, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ became a powerhouse behind the government of al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf b. Barsbāy, who succeeded his father. However, when al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq acceded to the throne in Rabīʿ I 842/September 1438, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's fortune saw a dramatic change. After achieving stability in the government by quashing the revolt of Taghrī Birmish, the Viceroy of Aleppo, Sultan Jaqmaq suddenly arrested and detained ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and his family in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 842/June 1439. The precise reason is not known, but it is

---

[23] al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 202. The inscription at the entrance of the madrasah identifies ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ as the overseer of the construction. Van Berchem, 1979, 350; Behrens-Abouseif, 2007, 252.

[24] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:744; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 14:309; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 315. Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Nāṣirīyah however states that this event occurred in 831/1428. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Nāṣirīyah, *Durr*, fols. 86v–87r.

[25] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 3:596.

[26] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:553; idem, *Manhal*, 7:139–40.

[27] Igarashi, 2015, 66–69.

[28] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:42–43.

[29] Ibid., 15:51–52; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:537; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:56.

[30] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:77–78; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 473.

[31] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:553.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

probable that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was thought to be opposed to the *ashrafīyah*, the late Barsbāy's *mamlūk*s; and that his great influence in the government was perceived as a threat. He was dismissed from all public offices and jailed in the citadel, while his family was put under house arrest. However, due to the intervention of Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Bārizī, the *kātib al-sirr* of the time, and Khuwand Mughul, his sister and Jaqmaq's wife, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was spared any harsh treatment. The amount confiscated by the sultan was also reduced, from the originally suggested sum of one million dinars to 250,000 dinars. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was released and presented with a robe of honor by Jaqmaq; he and his family were allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca—the hajj—with honor.[32] They left Cairo for Mecca on Rabīʿ II 15, 843/September 25, 1439.[33] His career as a bureaucrat concluded with this incident.

The following year (844/1440), by order of the sultan, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ accompanied pilgrims returning to Syria after the hajj as far as Jerusalem,[34] and lived in Damascus.[35] While he appears to have given up the prospect of public office,[36] he still wanted to return to Cairo. On Jumādā II 8, 847/October 3, 1443, with Sultan Jaqmaq's permission, he visited Cairo with gifts. It was said that no one was left in Cairo because all of the high-ranking officials flocked to greet him, and that some of them went to as far as Bilbays, about 50 km from Cairo, or Qaṭyā in the Sinai Peninsula, to greet him. Although Jaqmaq accepted the gift and awarded robes of honor to ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and his sons, he was not welcoming. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was only allowed to stay in Cairo for a few days before returning to Damascus.[37] On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 25, 848/March 5, 1445, he again visited Cairo and obtained an audience with the sultan. This time, his gift was accepted and he was allowed to remain in

---

[32] He arrived at Mecca on Jumādā II 1, 843/November 9, 1439. Appearances were preserved by his carrying the letter of appointment and the robe of honor to the chief Maliki judge of Mecca. Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 4:140–41.

[33] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:1170; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:334–35; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 547. For his arrest and banishment, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:327–31, 333–35; idem, *Manhal*, 7:140–41; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah*, 4:120–23, 138–41, 145–47, 151, 154–55, 157–59; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:25.

[34] al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 558.

[35] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:357. This was due to the intervention of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Manjak, the head of the renowned military Manjak family in Damascus who enjoyed the trust of Shaykh and Barsbāy (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 6:281; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:357). ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ married one of his daughters to Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad's son. See al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 2:142. For Ibrāhīm b. Manjak, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 1:125.

[36] al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 330.

[37] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:357; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 599–600; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 66–67; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah*, 4:275–76. It is reported that at that time, Sultan Jaqmaq gave him the rank of amir of twenty in Damascus. This should be viewed as a "pension" in the form of the *iqṭāʿ* that accompanied the appointment. For the spread of *iqṭāʿ* for pension, see Kumakura, 2019, 129–63.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Cairo.[38] He continued to lead a quiet life without any involvement in politics. In 853/1449–50, he made pilgrimages to Medina and Mecca, and returned to Cairo in Muḥarram 854/February 1450. Upon his return, he fell ill and died on Shawwāl 4, 854/November 10, 1450, at the age of 70. The following day, a funeral ritual occurred at the *muṣallā* at Naṣr Gate and his body was buried in the mausoleum that he built in al-Ṣaḥrāʾ quarter, the burial district in northern Cairo. It was reported that his death was marked with religious ceremonies as far as Damascus.[39]

Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's career as a bureaucrat can be summarized as follows. First, he was not a "religious intellectual" with vast knowledge in Islamic Studies, but a bureaucrat who specialized in administration and possessed specialized skills. The *arbāb al-aqlām* (men of the pen) in the Mamluk Sultanate, i. e. civil servants, were divided into the *arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīwānīyah* (bureau officials) who served in government bureaus and were engaged in clerical and financial work; and the *arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīnīyah* (religious officials) who were involved in the judiciary and in education. In general, civilians specialized in one of the two areas, but there were a small number who excelled in both divisions.[40] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's career clearly demonstrates that he was a "bureau official."

In addition, it should be noted that he was not from an elite, intellectual family that had produced a number of bureaucrats or intellectuals. Without any family support, he rose from a post as junior provincial secretary to become one of the most influential bureaucrats in the central government, and he managed to retain his status and influence for a long time. On the other hand, while his children and grandchildren managed to attain a certain rank as bureaucrats,[41] they never succeeded in establishing themselves as an influential family of bureaucrats. In other words, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ never founded a "notable bureaucratic family."

His reputation varies across the sources. Al-Sakhāwī provided favorable views while mentioning a bad reputation; partially because his teacher, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, maintained a close relationship with ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ. In contrast, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, who had known ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ while he was an unknown bureau-

---

[38] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:367; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 630–31; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah*, 4:310–11; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 101.

[39] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 2:142.

[40] Escovitz, 1976, 42–62; Petry, 1981, chap. 4, esp. 203–5; Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 373–82.

[41] Abū Bakr, his successor, was close to Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and served as the *nāẓir al-jawālī* and the *ustādār* of Tripoli. His son, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's grandson, Muḥammad, also served as the *nāẓir al-jawālī*. However, neither was said to be very competent. Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 7:169; 11:42–43.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

crat,[42] provided an unflattering report on his character and conduct, focusing on his vanity and meanness, cruel treatments of those surrounding him, bribery, his ingratiating attitudes to those of higher rank, and arrogance towards those below him.[43] Opinion is divided, but there is a consensus that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built a vast fortune while he held public office and that he completed many construction projects. It is certain that his exceptional wealth allowed him to participate in large-scale charitable projects.

## 2. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's *waqf* and charitable projects

### 2.1. Egypt

### 2.1.1. *Madrasah-jāmiʿ* in Cairo[44]

In 822/1419, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, who occupied the position of *nāẓir al-khizānah*, built his first religious/educational complex in northwest Cairo by the gate of his home in the Kāfūrī quarter.[45] The project was completed in 823/1420.[46] This institution is referred to as a madrasah, *jāmiʿ* (Friday mosque) or *masjid*, depending on the source; in the inscription in the institution, it is called a "madrasah."[47] The madrasah, however, also functioned as a *jāmiʿ*, at which the *khuṭbah* (Friday sermon) and the congregational prayer was performed every Friday. In order to perform the *khuṭbah*, permission from the sultan was necessary;[48] it was provided by Sultan Shaykh. However, since another *jāmiʿ* already existed only seven doors away in the same street,[49] *khuṭbah* was performed in order to lend some gravitas to the institution, and that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's close relationship with Sultan Shaykh enabled the performance of the *khuṭbah* for this purpose.

Since the madrasah's *waqf* deed has not survived, details about its staff and activities are not known. However, chronicles and topographical sources provide information on the institution. As soon as it opened, several Sufis and their shaykh were appointed to the madrasah, their monthly salaries and daily bread

---

[42] When he first arrived in Cairo, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ lived in the same quarter as the Ibn Taghrī Birdī family; it is reported that he later asked them to allow him to live in a house they owned. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 7:137.

[43] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:554; idem, *Manhal*, 7:142–43.

[44] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:351–54; Behrens-Abouseif, 2007, 247–49; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 1993, 202–6; Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 408–9.

[45] The residence was originally known as "the house of Tankiz," which was endowed as part of a *waqf* by Amir Tankiz. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:179.

[46] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:24.

[47] Van Berchem, 1979, 344, 349.

[48] Behrens-Abouseif, 2007, 23.

[49] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:226.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

being paid for from the *waqf* income.[50] Behind the madrasah was a *ribāṭ* (hospice) for Sufis, women, and travelers.[51] ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Qudsī,[52] a well-known Shafiʿi deputy-judge of Egypt, was appointed as the first shaykh and on Friday, Rajab 1, 823/July 12, 1420, the first *ḥaḍrah* (Sufi ritual) was performed.[53] We know of at least two Sufis at the time of the opening of the institution.[54] In addition, because the madrasah also served as a *jāmiʿ*, a *khaṭīb* (preacher) who performed the *khuṭbah* was also present. According to al-Maqrīzī, the first Friday prayer at the madrasah took place on Ṣafar 2, 823/February 17, 1420.[55] According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, the Sultan's permission for holding the Friday prayer at the madrasah was granted in Jumādā II 823/June–July 1420 and the first *khuṭbah* was performed on Rajab 1/July 12 that same year.[56] In the beginning, the *khuṭbah* seems to have been performed by al-Qudsī, the shaykh, but soon after, a dedicated *khaṭīb* was appointed.[57]

While this institution was widely referred to as a "madrasah," information regarding the learning that took place there is extremely limited. In terms of the position related to the institution, in an overwhelming number of cases, references are made to Sufi shaykhs, meaning that this post represented the madrasah. By the fifteenth century, the functional distinction between the *khānqāh*, a Sufi training center, and the madrasah, a higher education institution focusing on law, had been lost and it became impossible to distinguish one from the other.[58] The fact that all shaykhs of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's institutions belonged to the Shafiʿi school of law suggests that it is likely that the Sufi shaykh also served as the *mudarris* (professor) of Shafiʿi jurisprudence in accordance with what was customary at that time.[59] In addition, because there was a confirmed case in which a Hanafi was appointed as the *mutaṣaddir* (lecturer) at the madrasah, it is also likely that Hanafi jurisprudence was taught and students studied it.[60]

The madrasah contained a library and a librarian (*khāzin al-kutub*) to manage it. When Shaʿbān b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Āthārī, a scholar who was also a well-known poet, died in Cairo in Jumādā II 828/May 1425, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ treated

---

[50] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:354.

[51] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:59; Fernandes, 1997, 116. Behrens-Abouseif, 2007, 247–49, says that no living space for Sufis in the madrasah building has survived. It is likely that the *ribāṭ* was used as the living quarter for Sufis.

[52] Igarashi, 2013, 84–85.

[53] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:354.

[54] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 7:203, 272.

[55] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:354.

[56] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:226.

[57] Igarashi, 2013, 86.

[58] Berkey, 1992, 56–60; Fernandes, 1986, 33, 50.

[59] Igarashi, 2013, 84–85.

[60] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:198–203, 7:52.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

him with honor, and books he owned and authored were endowed to the madrasah as a *waqf*.[61] The first librarian appears to have been Walī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bulqīnī,,[62] who enjoyed a close friendship with ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ.[63] This was probably the reason for his appointment.

While there is no information in literary sources to support this, the surviving institution had a *sabīl-kuttāb* attached.[64] This was a facility that combined a primary educational institution that taught Quran recitation and Arabic literacy for orphans with a water provision system for the public. The *sabīl-kuttāb* was typically built in conjunction with religious/educational institutions, such as the madrasah in the Mamluk era (as we will see later, all religious/educational institutions ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ constructed had this facility).[65] Therefore, this institution should have had orphans who studied there, as well as a teacher for them (*muʾaddib*).

### 2.1.2. *Fasqīyah* and *ḥawḍ al-sabīl* outside Cairo

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built a new *fasqīyah* (fountain) and a *ḥawḍ al-sabīl* (drinking trough) adjacent to the garden (*bustān*) in Birkat al-Ḥājj ("the pilgrims' lake"), 13 km to the north of the northern gate in Cairo.[66] A *waqf* deed dated Rabīʿ I 30, 829/February 9, 1426, stipulates 8,000 dirhams per year to be paid to the facilities.[67] The deed also suggested a different *waqf* for already existing facilities; it is likely that these facilities were built prior to the date of the *waqf* deed. In addition, a *waqf* deed dated Ṣafar 9, 831/November 29, 1427 stipulated that 4,000 more dirhams should be paid to the facilities annually.[68]

---

[61] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:302; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:355. It was reported that 297 books were stored in this madrasah in the nineteenth century. Nāfiʿ, *Dhayl*, 65.

[62] There is no direct reference to his appointment as librarian of the facility in the sources, but there are references to his deputy and successor, al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 7:139; 8:96.

[63] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 2:189.

[64] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 1993, 1:202; Behrens-Abouseif, 2007, 249. Al-Maqrīzī reports that the madrasah had a *ṣihrīj* (cistern) which held water from the Nile that was used by people. It is likely that this *ṣihrīj* was placed in the *sabīl*. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:354.

[65] al-Harithy, 2009, 165–66.

[66] It is located along the pilgrimage route to Mecca from Egypt and is a station where they spent the night. Popper, 1955, 1:33, 53.

[67] *Waqf* deed, Cairo Wizārat al-awqāf MS j189.

[68] The *waqf* deed uses the term *biʾr* (well) but likely refers to the same thing.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.1.3. Financial support for a *mīḍaʾah* (ablution fountain) of the Mausoleum of al-Layth b. Saʿd in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrā quarter outside of Cairo

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ established *waqf*s and provided financial support for facilities he did not build himself, including a *waqf* for the fountain of the *wuḍūʾ* (ablution) at the Mausoleum of al-Layth b. Saʿd. Al-Layth b. Saʿd was a great scholar who lived in eighth-century Egypt. His mausoleum in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrā quarter, the southern cemetery of Cairo, was frequented by many people in the hope that they might obtain *barakah* (God's blessing) and have their wishes fulfilled.[69] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ established a *waqf* on Ṣafar 9, 831/November 29, 1427 as an additional *waqf* for the water fountain at Birkat al-Ḥājj, as well as to provide financial support for a variety of facilities, including the mausoleum. According to al-Maqrīzī, the mausoleum was renovated around 780/1378, 811/1408, and 832/1428 and the establishment of the *waqf* by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ overlapped with the period when the facility was active.[70]

### 2.1.4. Mausoleum in the Ṣaḥrāʾ quarter outside of Cairo

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built a mausoleum for himself and his family in the northern part of the Ṣaḥrāʾ quarter, the burial district outside Cairo. He also established a *waqf* for it on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 6, 833/August 26, 1430.[71] In Shawwāl/June of the year, his eldest son, Aḥmad, died young due to plague, and it is likely that his son's death was the reason for the construction of the mausoleum.[72] In fact, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, his children, and *mamlūk*swere buried in this mausoleum.[73]

According to the *waqf* deed of the mausoleum, the facility's *īwān* was designated as a prayer room and three burial spaces (*fasāqī*) within the *maqsūrah* (an individual room for prayer) were designated as graves for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and his descendants. It was stipulated that a *ḥāfiẓ* (Quran reciter) would recite the Quran for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, his decedents, and both living and dead Muslims, and perform *ṣalāt* and *salām* for Prophet Muḥammad and his companions. It was also stipulated that three other *ḥāfiẓ*es would recite the Quran during the day. The courtyard was designated as the graveyard for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's emancipated slaves, black slaves, and their descendants. The mausoleum also had a *sabīl-kuttāb* with a *ṣihrīj* and it was further stipulated that ten orphans were to be educated here and that a *ḥāfiẓ* teacher and an assistant would teach them the Quran. For the administrative staff of the mausoleum, the *waqf* deed stipulated

---

[69] al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, 216–19.

[70] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:914–15.

[71] *Waqf* deed, Dār al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīyah MS 13/84.

[72] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 1:322; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:441.

[73] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:56; 11:42–43.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

that in addition to a *nāẓir* (*waqf* administrator) who was responsible for running the mausoleum, a *jābī* would collect rent from the *waqf* assets, a handyman would serve as the gate keeper (*bawwāb*), cleaner (*kannās*), janitor (*farrāsh*), and lamplighter (*waqqād maṣābīḥ*), and a water-carrier would supply water to the *ṣihrīj.*

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, the *waqf* endower, would serve as the *nāẓir*; following his death, the most suitable among his descendants would take the position. If no descendants were available, the *nāẓir* of his madrasah in Cairo (the stipulation about this is unknown) would serve as the *nāẓir.* The building opposite the prayer room was a living quarter for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and his descendants, and also for the *nāẓir* when no descendant was available. The facility also had space where the Quran reciters, orphans, and administrative staff of the mausoleum, including the handyman, lived; it included two warehouses, two toilets, and a kitchen. Every Friday five dirhams' worth of sweet basil (*rīḥān*) was to be purchased and sprinkled over the graves by the handyman. For the annual Feast of Sacrifice (*ʿĪd al-aḍḥā*), 2,000 dirhams were to be used to purchase a cow; half the meat was to be given to the orphans and mausoleum staff, with the other half to be distributed to the poor at the gate; at *ʿĪd al-fiṭr*, the Feast of Breaking the Ramadan Fast, a payment of 100 dirhams was to be made to each orphan.

### 2.1.5. *Suḥābah* for hajj pilgrims[74]

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ provided a *suḥābah* (literally "parasol") for the ḥajj caravan of pilgrims to Mecca from Egypt. This was a dome-shaped tent for poor pilgrims to rest in. In addition, they were also provided with twenty-five *qintar*s of *baqsamāt* (a kind of dried bread) and enough water for their journey. At water fountains where the hajj caravan stopped, sheep were slaughtered and meals were cooked for them in and around the tent. It was reported that this was to happen on both legs of the journey—i.e. to and from Mecca—as well as during their stay in Mecca. Upon his death, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ appointed Muḥibb al-Dīn b. al-Ashqar,[75] the *nāẓir al-jaysh* of Egypt, and Amir Jānibak al-Jarkasī[76] as *nāẓir*s of the tent. He also prepared a *suḥābah* for the Damascus pilgrims.

---

[74] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 2:142; al-Nahrawālī, *Iʿlām*, 213.

[75] He had been close to ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and was appointed as *nazir al-jaysh* after the latter had been dismissed (Igarashi, 2013, 82, note 11). For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 8:143–45.

[76] This likely refers to Janibak Nāʾib Jiddah, the director (shādd) of Jidda, the outer port of Mecca at the time. Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:57–59; Mortel, 1996, 437–56.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.1.6. *Sabīl* in Cairo

According to *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīqīyah* by ʿAlī Mubārak, a *sabīl* (public fountain) was built by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ in the ʿAqqādīn quarter in Cairo, but it was in ruins by the nineteenth century.[77] Contemporary sources make no reference to this facility.

## 2.2. Syria

### 2.2.1. *Khānqāh* in Damascus[78]

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built a *khānqāh* in al-Jisr al-Abyaḍ area of the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter, at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn outside of Damascus, his hometown. Al-Nuʿaymī relates the following anecdote about the foundation of the institution. This building was originally ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's private house but when Sultan Barsbāy and his army stopped in Damascus *en route* to the campaign against Aq Qoyunlu in 836/1432–33, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, who accompanied the sultan on the campaign, was afraid that the soldiers would be quartered in his house. To avoid this, he established a *miḥrāb* inside the house and endowed it as a *waqf*.[79] However, the registration date of the *waqf* document of the *khānqāh*, which is quoted in the Ottoman *waqf* survey register (TTD 656), was 824/1421, i.e. the year he became the *nāẓir al-jaysh*. This date seems to be more credible.

According to the *waqf* document, this *khānqāh* had ten Sufis, a servant (*khādim*) for the Sufis, a Sufi shaykh who served concurrently as imam, three Quran reciters, a *mādikh*, a *muʾadhdhin*, a gatekeeper, and a *qayyim* (custodian). The accountant (*mustawfī*) was appointed and entrusted with collecting rents from the *waqf* assets. The regulation for the post of the shaykh is unique: it is stipulated in the document that the founder, i.e. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself, followed by his sons on his death, was to assume the post of the shaykh and was authorized to appoint a deputy. Judging from the fact that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ had neither even an average education in Islamic knowledge nor any experience as a Sufi, it is obvious that he was a nominal shaykh and that the regulation was established for the purpose of satisfying his hunger for fame as an ʿ*ālim*. In fact, the sources refer to the individual entrusted with the duty of shaykh of the *khānqāh* simply as "the shaykh of the *khānqāh*," not as "the deputy for the shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ."[80]

---

[77] Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:30; 6:61.

[78] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 2:141–43; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qalāʾid*, 274–78.

[79] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 2:142.

[80] For the shaykh of the institution, see Igarashi, 2013, 88–89.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, the *khānqāh* had a living chamber for the shaykh, as well as a toilet and probably a few single rooms for the Sufis. It also served as a *sabīl-kuttāb* and in the courtyard, there were a *jurn* (stone basin), two *ḥawḍ*s (drinking trough), and a *birkah* (pond) to provide water to the public. A school for the orphans was located on the second floor. However, the *khānqāh* was already dilapidated during the lifetime of Ibn Ṭūlūn (i. e. the end of the Mamluk era to the beginning of the Ottoman era. He passed away in 955/1548).[81]

### 2.2.2. The Quran reciter and his servant at the Umayyad mosque

The aforementioned *waqf* document dated 824/1421, which is quoted in the Ottoman *waqf* survey register, states that a reciter of the Quran was to be assigned to the Umayyad mosque and to receive his monthly salary of 40 dirhams from the *waqf*. The reciter was to sit on a stool and to recite half of the *ḥizb* (one-sixtieth) of the Quran after the *adhān al-ẓuhr* every day. The Umayyad mosque was the largest and the most sacred religious institution in Damascus, where a constant recitation of the Quran was performed every day. A great number of reciters who received salaries were assembled there after the *fajr* prayer every morning and recited the Quran together.[82] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ followed the custom in Damascus and established the new post of the reciter there through his *waqf*. His *waqf* also arranged a servant who carried the Quran for the reciter.

### 2.2.3. *Madrasah-khānqāh* in Jerusalem[83]

This institution was adjacent to the Dawadarīyah Gate, a northern gate of Ḥaram in Jerusalem, the third holiest city in Islam. It is referred to as a madrasah in *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-quds wa-l-khalīl* written by Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī in the late Mamluk era.[84] However, in the *waqf* deed, which is partially quoted in the land register from the Ottoman era, it is referred to as a *khānqāh*.[85] The construction of the institution was begun by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Harawī, a well-known scholar of Jerusalem who also served as the chief Shafiʿi judge of Egypt.[86] However, construction was abandoned due to his death on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 19, 829/October 22, 1426, before the completion of the building. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ completed the project and established a *waqf* for it in Jumādā I 834/November

---

[81] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qalāʾid*, 277–78.
[82] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfah*, trans. Gibb, 1:129.
[83] Burgoyne, 1987, 519–25; ʿAbd al-Mahdī, 1981, 2:112–18.
[84] Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, 2:39.
[85] Anonymous, *Awqāf*, 38, 178.
[86] Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, 2:111–12; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 8:151–55.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

1431.[87] The building was known as al-Bāsiṭīyah because it had been ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ who had completed the building. However, he showed respect for the original founder, al-Harawī, burying his body there and stipulated that Sufis living in the facility should recite the *fātiḥah* of the Quran at the end of *ḥaḍrah* and that the *thawāb* (reward) of this act would be donated to al-Harawī.[88]

When the madrasah opened, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Miṣrī, one of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's private secretaries, assumed the position of the shaykh.[89] Sources from the Mamluk era do not refer to any other staff that was engaged in religious/educational activities at the madrasah apart from the Sufis and their shaykh. However, according to the *waqf* deed in the Ottoman register, the institution also functioned as a *sabīl-kuttāb* and ten orphans were given instruction on the Quran and taught Arabic. The orphans received a monthly stipend and clothing allowance at *ʿĪd al-fiṭr*. A water-carrier (*saqqāʾ*) was also installed.[90] It was further reported in records of the Islamic law court register of the Ottoman era that as the madrasah's staff engaged in religious activity, there was also one imam, one Hadith reciter, twelve Quran reciters (who probably also served as Sufis), and one assistant (caretaker and distributor of Quran sections) in addition to the shaykh.[91]

### 2.2.4. Madrasah in Gaza

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built a madrasah in Gaza but details, including when it was built and what functions it contained, are not known.[92] According to Mohamed-Moain Sadek, it was confirmed that there was a Bāsiṭīyah madrasah in the Shajāʿīyah quarter outside the Gaza city walls by the *sharīʿah* court documents of Gaza in the nineteenth century,[93] but no other details are known.

---

[87] According to the Ottoman land registry, three-quarters of the Ṣūr Bāhir Village in Jerusalem region was designated as a *waqf* for the madrasah. Anonymous, *Awqāf*, 38, 178; Burgoyne, 1987, 521.

[88] Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *Uns*, 2:39, 112.

[89] For the shaykhs of the madrasah, see Igarashi, 2013, 86–88.

[90] Anonymous, *Awqāf*, 38, 178; Burgoyne, 1987, 521.

[91] Burgoyne, 1987, 521.

[92] Among the sources from the Mamluk era, only the *Ḍawʾ* by al-Sakhāwī refers to a mosque built by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ in Gaza. Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:26.

[93] Sadek, 1991, 325.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.2.5. Mausoleum at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn, Damascus

It was reported that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's mausoleum was built at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn, but there is only one reference to this.[94] In fact, he and his family were buried in the mausoleum in the Ṣaḥrāʾ quarter outside of Cairo. But it is not surprising that he built another mausoleum during his banishment to Damascus. Since the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter is situated at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn, this may have been attached to his *khānqāh* mentioned above.

## 2.3. Hijaz

### 2.3.1. *Sabīl* in Mecca

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's *sabīl* was in the Maʿallāt quarter in central Mecca. Al-Fāsī reports that this brought many benefits to the public and that many *duʿā*s (supplications) to praise ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ occurred.[95] While al-Fāsī reports that it was built in 826/1423 (the year ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ made his second pilgrimage),[96] Ibn Fahd states that a *sabīl* was built in 819/1416 by an amir by the name of al-Ḥijāzī for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ.[97] Because there is no evidence that two *sabīl*s were built by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, it is more likely that he originally built a *sabīl* in 819/1416 and renovated it in 826/1423, and that it was then made available to the public. The *sabīl* is designated as a beneficiary in the *waqf* deed dated Ṣafar 9, 831/November 29, 1427.[98]

### 2.3.2. Financial assistance to the hospital in Mecca

One facility that received ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's support was a hospital north of the Ḥaram mosque of Mecca. The Abbasid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh established a *waqf* for this hospital in 628/1230–31.[99] On Muḥarram 21, 829/December 3, 1425, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ designated a village in Baʿlabakk as a *waqf* for the hospital and stipulated that 100 *mithqāl*s of gold were to be given to the hospital annually.[100] Furthermore, his *waqf* of Ṣafar 9, 831/November 29, 1427 designated the hospital as a beneficiary after his descendants died.

---

[94] Al-Sakhāwī states that al-Khawājā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqa, a merchant who died in Damascus in 853/1449, was buried there. Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw*ʾ, 7:272.

[95] al-Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd*, 1:124.

[96] al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, 1:338.

[97] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 3:537.

[98] *Waqf* deed, Cairo Wizārat al-awqāf MS j189.

[99] al-Fāsī, *Zuhūr*, 157.

[100] Shaynī, 2005, 433; *Waqf* deed, Cairo Wizārat al-awqāf MS j189.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.3.3. *Sabīl* in Medina

On Ṣafar 9, 831/November 29, 1427, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ established a *waqf* for a *sabīl* he built by the west gate of Medina, known as the Salām Gate, in addition to the *sabīl* in Mecca mentioned above. It is not known when it was built.

### 2.3.4. *Biʾr* (well) on the Hijaz route

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 834/July–August 1431, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, who visited the Hijaz during his third pilgrimage to Mecca, ordered a well dug at ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab,[101] one of the stations for the pilgrims on the Hijaz route.[102]

### 2.3.5. *Madrasah-khānqāh* in Mecca[103]

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 834/July–August 1431, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, who visited Mecca during his third pilgrimage, purchased a house on the left side of the street linking the ʿAjlah Gate and the Ḥaram mosque. The house was originally built as a madrasah around 720/1320–21 by Arghūn Shāh al-Nāṣirī, Viceroy of Egypt, under Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn,[104] but it was confiscated by al-Sharīf Rājiḥ b. Abī Numayy in the mid-fourteenth century and was used as a residence by his offspring. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ordered Rukn al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Shāmī, his private *ustādār*, to remain in Mecca and convert the house into a madrasah. Construction began the following year and the madrasah was completed in 836/1432–33.[105]

This institution is referred to as a madrasah or a *khānqāh* in the sources. It is reported that Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Saʿādāt Muḥammad b. Ẓuhayrah, a member of the Ẓuhayrah family that produced a number of chief judges in Mecca and Medina as well as a chief Shafiʿi judge of Mecca until 830/1427, was appointed as the first *mudarris*. On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10, 835/August 8, 1432, prior to the completion of the madrasah building, he presented a lecture attended by students. However, when he was reappointed as the chief judge of Mecca, due to the regulation banning dual appointments as a chief judge and madrasah *mudarris*, he resigned his post.[106] After Abū al-Saʿādāt, no reference to the title of *mudarris* is found in historical sources. Instead, the title of shaykh was used, similar to other institutions built by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ; the successive shaykhs were from the

---

[101] This was the 23rd station from Cairo, located at a distance of about 584 km from the city. Popper, 1955, 1:53.

[102] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 4:58; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:859–60.

[103] al-Nahrawālī, *Iʿlām*, 212; Mortel, 1997, 246–47.

[104] For the madrasah of Arghūn Shāh, see Mortel, 1997, 240–41.

[105] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 4:59, 63–64, 66.

[106] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 4:63–64; idem, *Durr*, 338, 340; Igarashi, 2013, 90–91.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Shafiʿi school.[107] Moreover, from the time the madrasah opened, Sufis lived there,[108] suggesting that it was likely that a *mudarris* of Shafiʿi jurisprudence also served as a Sufi shaykh. In addition, the facility had a *sabīl.*[109]

### 2.3.6. Madrasah in Medina[110]

In 853/1449–50, a year before his death, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ made the pilgrimage to Mecca for the fifth and last time. Along the way, he visited the Prophet's mosque in Medina. He built a madrasah adjacent to the Salām Gate of Medina during this occasion. It was reported that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built this institution for al-Sayyid Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAjamī al-Juwaymī, a Shafiʿi scholar and well-known teacher of calligraphy (*mukattib*) in Medina, and appointed him as shaykh of the madrasah.[111]

### 2.3.7. *Sabīl* and *biʾr* in Mecca

According to al-Nahrawālī, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ built a *sabīl* and a *biʾr* near the ʿUmrah route in Mecca that were still in use in al-Nahrawālī's own lifetime (the sixteenth century).[112] However, when they were built is unknown.

### 2.3.8. Repairing Roads in the Hijaz

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ is reported to have carried out repairs to roads in the Hijaz, but when this occurred is not known.[113] Most likely, these repairs were carried out during one or more of his five pilgrimages to Mecca (they probably took place during his second or third pilgrimage, when he held politically powerful positions).

This list shows us that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ completed charitable projects across the territory controlled by the Mamluk Sultanate. Except for a small number of sultans, very few people participated in charitable projects over such a wide area during the Mamluk era. Questions including what motivated ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's charitable projects on such a large scale, what he wanted to achieve through these projects, and if there was any "strategy" behind them, require additional examination of his religion, as well as his personal and social circumstances. That,

---

[107] Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf*, 4:525, 538, 539; idem, *Durr*, 352–54, 483, 1120–22.
[108] Ibn Fahd, *Durr*, 483, 1207.
[109] al-Nahrawālī, *Iʿlām*, 212.
[110] al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah*, 1:65.
[111] al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah*, 2:235. For his biography, see Igarashi, 2013, 92.
[112] al-Nahrawālī, *Iʿlām*, 213.
[113] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:26.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

however, is beyond the scope of this article. Instead, an attempt will be made to identify the characteristics of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's charitable projects by comparing his activities with those of other bureaucrats and by identifying shared features.

## 3. Charitable projects by other bureaucrats

It is important first to review the general context of *waqf* and charitable projects by civilians during the Mamluk era. Throughout the Mamluk era, the vast majority of patrons were members of the military aristocracy and their families.[114] According to Denoix, the *waqf* deeds from the Mamluk era housed in the *dār al-wathāʾiq* identify a total of 231 *waqf* endowers, of whom 171 were members of the military (including family members), twenty belonged to the "groupe des religieux et des élites civiles" and only four were merchants (the rest are unidentified).[115] According to Miura, of the 106 madrasas built in Cairo during the Mamluk era, 80.6 % were built by the military, 10.2 % by the *ʿulamāʾ*, 4.1 % by the civil officials, and 5.1 % by merchants.[116]

However, the ratio of charitable projects by civilians rose after the late fourteenth century. According to Loiseau, of the 65 *jāmiʿ*s established in Cairo from 1300 to 1379, 12 % were built by bureaucrats and 12 % by the *ʿulamāʾ*; however, of the 65 *jāmiʿ*s established from 1380 to 1453, 25 % were built by bureaucrats and 25 % by the *ʿulamāʾ*.[117] Loiseau points out that bureaucratic officials in particular expanded their power in politics in the fifteenth century, and some that constructed large-scale religious/educational institutions, many of them comparable to those built by powerful amirs.[118] Martel-Thoumian, who published a comprehensive study on administrative bureaucrats during the Circassian Mamluk era, listed all of the construction projects undertaken by bureaucrats, including the religious/educational facilities built by them.[119]

The table contains "charitable" administrative bureaucrats who founded more than two religious/educational institutions in the Circassian Mamluk period.[120] The following observations can be derived from the table: The first characteristic to note is the length of their service. During the Mamluk era, many bureaucrats

---

[114] Igarashi, 2015, 182–83.

[115] Denoix, 1995, 34–35.

[116] Miura, 2015, 23–24.

[117] Loiseau, 2010, 2:386–88.

[118] Ibid., 2:352–61.

[119] Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 404–22.

[120] In comparison with ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, the analysis is focused on bureaucrats who served in the central government in Egypt. Only newly built facilities are considered, while the renovation and extension of existing facilities are not taken into account.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 1: Bureaucrats who founded more than two religious/educational institutions

| No. | Name | Occupations | Institutions | References |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Saʿd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb (d. 808/1406) | n. al-khāṣṣ (798–803)<br>n. al-jaysh (800–803, 806–7)<br>ustādār (803, 803–5, 8067)<br>kātib al-sirr (808)<br>mushīr al-dawlah (808) | Khanqah (Cairo)<br>Mausoleum (Cairo) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 99–103; Hamza 2001, 11; Brinner 1971, 773–74; Igarashi 2017, 130, 138. |
| 2 | Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Bīrī (d. 812/1409) | Ustādār (807–12)<br>wazīr (809–12)<br>n. al-khāṣṣ (809–12)<br>mushīr al-dawlah (809–12) | Madrasah (Cairo)<br>Mausoleum (Cairo) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 103–5; Hamza 2001, 11; Igarashi 2017, 135, 138. |
| 3 | Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Abī al-Faraj (d. 821/1418) | Ustādār (814, 816–7, 819–21)<br>wazīr (819–20)<br>mushīr al-dawlah (819–21) | Madrasah (Cairo)<br>Mausoleum (Cairo)<br>Mīḍa'ah (Cairo) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 229–30, 236–37; Hamza 2001, 12; Igarashi 2017, 133, 138. |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Naṣr Allāh (d. 846/1442) | n. al-khāṣṣ (806, 807, 816–28)<br>ustādār (828, 835)<br>wazīr (806–7, 21)<br>n. al-jaysh (807–8, 808–16)<br>kātib al-sirr (841–2) | Mausoleum (Cairo)<br>Madrasah (Fuwwah) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 216–18, 224–25; Hamza 2001, 14; Igarashi 2017, 139. |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 1 *(Continued)*

| No. | Name | Occupations | Institutions | References |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Kātib Jakam (d. 862/1458) | n. al-khāṣṣ (841–62)<br>n. al-jaysh (856–62)<br>wazīr (838) | Three Madrasahs (Cairo)<br>Mausoleum (Cairo)<br>Madrasah (Delta)<br>Bi'r (Outside Cairo) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 285–86, 292–94; Hamza 2001, 16. |
| 6 | Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar (d. 874/1469) | Ustādār (846–57 etc.)<br>n. dīwān al-mufrad (844–46) | Two jāmi'ʻs (Cairo)<br>Madrasah (Cairo)<br>Ribāṭ (Cairo)<br>Sabīl-kuttāb (Cairo) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 112–115, 415–417; Loiseau 2010, 355–359; Igarashi 2017, 125–7, 130–1, 134, 140. |
| 7 | Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muzhir (d. 893/1488) | kātib al-sirr (866–93)<br>n. al-jaysh (864–5, 866–7) | Madrasah (Cairo)<br>Two mīḍa'ahs (Cairo)<br>Madrasah (Jerusalem)<br>Ribāṭ (Mecca)<br>Two sabīls (Mecca)<br>Ribāṭ (Medina)<br>Madrasah (Medina) | Martel-Thoumian 1992, 270–272, 279, 281; Ota 2014, 2015; Mortel 1998, 47. |

were removed from their positions after only a short time; appointments and dismissals were frequently repeated and assets confiscated[121] In contrast, most of those who are listed held their positions for a long period of time, similar to ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ. This suggests that the longer a stable position was held, the more financial incentive there was to participate in large-scale charitable projects.

Second, almost all (six out of seven; nos. 1–6) served as head of one of the three financial bureaus, i. e. *wazīr*, the chief of the *dīwān al-wizārah*; *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, the chief of the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ*; and *ustādār al-ʿāliyah*, the chief of *al-dīwān al-mufrad*; indeed many served in two or three of the posts at the same time (four

---

[121] According to Miura, the average length of service of an *ustadar al-ʿāliyah* and a *wazīr* during the Mamluk era was 1.09 years and 1.3 years respectively. Miura, 1997, 63–64.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

out of six; nos. 1–4).[122] Three (nos. 1–3) held the position of *mushīr al-dawlah*, a special post that oversaw various financial offices and was ultimately responsible for state finances. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ did not hold these positions, but he was entrusted with running the *dīwān al-wizārah* and *al-dīwān al-mufrad*, and as *nāẓir al-khizānah* he was involved with the sultan's direct source of income. For this reason, he was on the same level as the four. On the other hand, few who held mainly the position of the *kātib al-sirr*, the chief of the Chancery Bureau and the top position in the bureaucracy, are included in the table. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muzhir (No. 7), the *kātib al-sirr*, who developed an exceptional career outside the financial administration, was an exception. This suggests that bureaucrats who were directly involved with finance had more opportunities to amass wealth and built a financial base to implement charitable projects.

In addition to the fact that they exercised influence in the financial administration, many of them were noted in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries for their "poor reputation" due to "fraud," strict tax collections and pay-cuts.[123] Much of their reputation goes back to complaints made by those who were disadvantaged by strict tax collection and spending cuts, which were essential to running finance bureau. Throughout the Circassian Mamluk period, the state's finances suffered chronic difficulties. As mentioned above, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ also had a poor reputation. Active involvement in charitable projects might be explained by a desire to improve a reputation through demonstrations of piety.

Third, there are more "military financiers" than purely civilian bureaucrats in the list. Military financiers could be either *mamlūk*s or non-*mamlūk*s; they were military officers who were equipped with knowledge and expertise related to clerical and financial administration and who assumed military posts connected with finance, such as the various *ustādār*s (including private *ustādār*s of amirs and the *ustādār*s of the Syrian provinces) and the various *shādd*s (such as the *shādd al-dawāwīn* who were responsible for tax collection at the *dīwān al-wizārah*). At the pinnacle of the military financiers' hierarchy was the *ustādār al-ʿāliyah.*[124]

Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (no. 2), a powerful *ustādār al-ʿāliyah* during the reign of Sultan Faraj, was a straightforward military financier.[125] The family of Ibn Abī al-

---

[122] For the financial organizations of the Mamluk state, see Igarashi, 2015, 60–62.

[123] No. 2: al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 3:565–66. No. 3: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:182–84. No. 6: Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 12:82–83.

[124] The emergence of this new breed of soldiers was probably related to the establishment of *al-dīwān al-mufrad.* For the office of the *ustādār al-ʿāliyah* and the "military financier," see Igarashi, 2017.

[125] Igarashi, 2017, 135.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Faraj (no. 3) produced many military financiers.[126] Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb (no. 1), Badr al-Dīn b. Naṣr Allāh (no. 4), and Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar (no. 6) all began their civil service career as men of the pen, and were later promoted to the post of *ustādār al-ʿāliyah* and acquired military status. Among them, Badr al-Dīn b. Naṣr Allāh came from a family that had traditionally produced many bureaucrats. After he had become a military financier, his son pursued the same career.[127] Not much is known about the military financiers, and more research is needed. Since military financiers were categorized as military, it would not be surprising if they modeled their behavior on the Mamluk military elite, which may explain why they were actively involved in charitable projects. Furthermore, it is important to note that as members of the military they had a stable source of income in the form of the *iqṭāʿ*; it served as the economic basis to support their charitable activity. Given these factors, charitable projects by the military financiers can be categorized as undertaken by the military rather than by civilian bureaucrats.

Fourth, in terms of their backgrounds, four out of the seven (nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6) were from Christian/Coptic convert families. It may be that their status as converted Muslims impelled them to undertake large-scale charitable activities to show themselves to be "true" (and pious) Muslims in Muslim society.

Fifth, considering the number of facilities constructed, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's record is exceptionally high and is only matched by Abū Bakr b. Muzhir (no. 7). In terms of location, as might be expected, their building projects were concentrated in Cairo and its suburbs. Only Ibn Naṣr Allāh, who came from Fuwwah in Lower Egypt, built a madrasah in his hometown. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ also funded charitable projects in his own hometown, but this does not appear to have been a widespread practice among Cairene bureaucrats. The type of facilities varied: many founded mausoleums for themselves (five out of seven); even Abū Bakr b. Muzhir, who did not construct his own mausoleum, had access to a family mausoleum built by his father, Nāṣir al-Dīn.[128] These mausoleums were all located in the Ṣaḥrāʾ quarter. Since those powerful bureaucrats who did not build a madrasah constructed their own mausoleums,[129] it appears that construction of a mausoleum was given priority over other facilities. It is an interesting point to note in relation to their view of life and death.

This article has reviewed charitable projects undertaken by powerful bureaucrats in reference to their career, descent, location, and type of project; and identified overall characteristics and trends. However, those who share the same

---

[126] Igarashi, 2017, 136. As for the family, see Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 227–38.

[127] For the Ibn Naṣr Allāh family, see Martel-Thoumian, 1992, 213–26.

[128] Hamza, 2001, 13.

[129] For example, Fatḥ al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh, the *kātib al-sirr* of Sultan Faraj and Badr al-Dīn b. Muzhir mentioned earlier. Hamza, 2001, 12–13.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

characteristics (such as the type of career and the length of service) were not equally involved in charitable projects; indeed a considerable number were not involved with charities at all. Further empirical studies of individual cases are necessary to determine whether the differences can be explained by personal preferences or differences in individual or societal circumstances.

## Conclusion

This article investigated the details of charitable projects completed by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ throughout his lifetime in Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. The next step will be to examine the projects further in reference to the personal and social circumstances in which he lived, and to investigate his motives and purposes in carrying out charitable projects. This will also lead to an understanding of the meaning and function of charitable projects in society during the Mamluk era. Furthermore, this article has provisionally demonstrated an overall tendency in the personality of "charitable" bureaucrats and their projects; however, this is only the beginning of the research. The subsequent tasks will be to complete comparative analyses of empirical cases, such as a regional comparison with the bureaucrats in Syria, a comparison with bureaucrats in the early Mamluk sultanate, a comparison among civilian populations with religious officials, and a comparison of social groups such as the military men. These analyses will assist in identifying overall commonalities and individual particularities to present a comprehensive view of charitable/*waqf* projects during the Mamluk period.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, Zayn al-Dīn, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, 9 vols., Sidon and Beirut 2002.

Anonymous, *Awqāf wa-amlāk al-muslimīn fī filisṭīn fī alwiyat ghazzah, al-quds al-sharīf, ṣafad, nābulus, ʿajlūn ḥasaba al-daftar raqam 522 min dafātir al-taḥrīr al-ʿuthmānīya al-mudawwanah fī al-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī*, eds. Mehmed İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Tamīmī, Istanbul 1982.

al-ʿAynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ, Cairo 1989.

al-Fāsī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī taʾrīkh balad al-amīn*, eds. Fuʾād Sayyid and Maḥmūd M. al-Ṭanāḥī, 2nd ed., 8 vols., Beirut 1985–86.

–, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, ed. Ibn al-Najjār al-Baghdādī, 2 vols., Mecca 1956.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

–, *al-Zuhūr al-muqtaṭifah min taʾrīkh makkah al-musharrafah*, ed. Adīb Muḥammad al-Ghazzāwī, Beirut 2000.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār wa ʿajāʾib al-asfār*, trans. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, 5 vols., London: Hakluyt Society 1958–2000.

Ibn Fahd, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad, *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār umm al-qurā*, ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt, 5 vols., Mecca 1983–90.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1969–98.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75.

Ibn Khaldūn, Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Muqaddimah*, trans. Frantz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., Princeton 1967.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Nāṣirīyah, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, “al-Durr al-muntakhab fī taʾrīkh mamlakat ḥalab,” British Library MS ARUN Or. 25/2.

Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, ʿAlī b. Dāwūd, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-l-abdān fī tawārīkh al-zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1970–94.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-l-mustawfī baʿda al-wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, 13 vols., Cairo 1984–2009.

–, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, 16 vols., Cairo 1929–72.

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīyah fī taʾrīkh al-ṣāliḥīyah*, ed. Muḥammad A. Dahmān, 2 vols., Damascus 1980–81. (reprint Damascus 1949–56)

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīdah fī tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut 2002.

–, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 5 vols., London 2002–06.

–, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991.

–, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1939–1958; ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1970–1973.

Mubārak, ʿAlī, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīqīyah al-jadīdah li-miṣr: al-Qāhirah wa-mudunuhā wa-bilāduhā al-qadīmah wa-l-shahīrah*, 20 vols., Cairo 1304–06/1886–88.

Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-quds wa-l-khalīl*, ed. Muḥammad M. al-Muḥtasib, 2 vols., Amman 1973.

Nāfiʿ, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Dhayl khiṭaṭ al-maqrīzī*, Cairo 2006.

al-Nahrawālī, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, vol. 3, Geschichte der Stadt Mekka und ihres Tempels, Beirut 1964. (reprint Leipzig 1857)

al-Nuʿaymī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī, 2 vols., Cairo 1988.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, 12 vols., Cairo 1934–36.

–, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, Cairo 1972. (reprint Cairo 1897)

–, *al-Tuḥfah al-laṭīfah fī taʾrīkh al-madīnah al-sharīfah*, eds. ʿĀrif A. ʿAbd al-Ghanī and Khālid al-Mullā al-Suwaydī, 4 vols., Damascus 2010.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

–, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-bughyat al-ṭullāb fī al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-mazārāt wa-l-tarājim wa-l-biqāʿ al-mubārakāt*, Cairo 1986.

–, *Wajīz al-kalām fī al-dhayl ʿalā duwal al-islām*, ed. ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, ʿIṣām F. al-Ḥarastānī and Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī, 4 vols., Beirut 1995.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Naẓm al-ʿaqyān fī aʿyān al-aʿyān*, ed. Philip K. Ḥittī, New York 1927.

Istanbul Babaşkanlık Arşivi MS Tapu Tahrir Defteri, No. 656.

*Waqf* deed, Cairo Wizārat al-awqāf MS j189.

*Waqf* deed, Dār al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīyah MS 13/84.

## Studies

ʿAbd al-Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Jalīl Ḥasan, *al-Madāris fī bayt al-maqdis fī al-ʿaṣrayn al-ayyūbī wa-l-mamlūkī: Dawruhā fī al-ḥarakah al-fikrīyah*, 2 vols, Amman 1981.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Ḥasan, *Tārīkh al-masājid al-atharīya fī al-qāhirah*, 2 vols, 2nd ed., Beirut 1993.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and its Culture*, London and New York 2007.

Berkey, Jonathan, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*, Princeton 1992.

Brinner, William M., "Ibn Ghurāb," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:773–74.

Burgoyne, Michael H., *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, Jerusalem 1987.

Denoix, S., "Pour une exploitation d'ensemble d'un courps: les waqfs mamelouks du Caire," in: *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique outil de pouvoir socio-politique*, ed. Randi Deguilhem, Damascus 1995, pp. 29–44.

Escovitz, Joseph H., "Vocational Patterns of the Scribes of the Mamlūk Chancery," *Arabica* 23/1 (1976), pp. 42–62.

Fernandes, Leonor, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah*, Berlin 1986.

–, "Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997), pp. 107–20.

Hamza, Hani, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo*, Cairo 2001.

al-Harithy, Howyda N., "Charity and Piety: Sabil-Kuttabs and the Conception of Water during the Mamluk Period," in: *Rivers of Paradise: Water in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, New Haven 2009, pp. 161–83.

Holt, Peter M., *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London and New York 1986.

Igarashi, Daisuke, "*Madrasah*s, Their *Shaykh*s, and the Civilian Founder: The Bāsiṭīyah *Madrasah*s in the Mamlūk Era," *Orient* 48 (2013), pp. 79–94.

–, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt*, Chicago 2015.

–, "The Office of the *Ustādār al-ʿĀliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden 2017, pp. 115–42.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

–, "The Waqf-endowment Strategy of a Mamluk Military Man: The Contexts, Motives, and Purposes of the Endowments of Qijmās al-Isḥāqī (d. 1487)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 82 (2019), pp. 25–53.

Kumakura, Wakako, *Chūsei Ejiputo no tochi seido to Nairu kangai* [Nile Irrigation and the Land System in Medieval Egypt], Tokyo 2019.

Loiseau, Julien, *Reconstruire la maison du sultan, 1350–1450: ruine et recomposition de l'ordre Urbian au Caire*, 2 vols., Cairo 2010.

Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)*, Damascus 1992.

Miura, Toru, "Administrative Networks in the Mamlūk Period: Taxation, Legal Execution, and Bribery," in: *Islamic Urbanism in Human History: Political Power and Social Networks*, ed. Tsugitaka Sato, London and New York 1997, pp. 39–76.

–, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus: The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Leiden 2015.

Mortel, Richard T., "Grand Dawādār and Governor of Jedda," *Arabica* 43/3 (1996), pp. 437–56.

–, "Madrasas in Mecca during the Medieval Period: A Descriptive Study Based on Literary Sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1997), pp. 236–52.

–, "Ribāṭs in Mecca during the Medieval Period: A Descriptive Study Based on Literary Sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61 (1998), pp. 29–50.

Ota-Tsukada, Erina, "Kouki Mamurūkucho yūryokukanryou no jitsuzou: Zayn al-Din ibn Muzhir no kakei to keireki" [Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muzhir: The Career and Lineage of an Influential Bureaucrat in the Late Mamlūk Period], *Shigaku* 83/2–3 (2014), pp. 163–207.

–, "Kouki Mamurūkucho yūryokukanryou no jitsuzou (2): Zayn al-Din ibn Muzhir no koumu to jizen" [Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muzhir (2): The Official Duties and Charitable Achievements of an Influential Bureaucrat in the Late Mamlūk Period], *Shigaku* 84/1–4 (2015), pp. 135–80.

–, "The Muzhir Family: Marriage as a Disaster Mitigation Strategy." *Orient* 54 (2019), pp. 127–44.

Petry, Carl F., *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981.

Popper, William, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt*, 2 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955–57.

Sadek, Mohamed-Moain, *Die mamlukische Architektur der Stadt Gaza*, Berlin 1991.

Shaynī, Aḥmad Hāshim, *Awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn fī al-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī: Dirāsah taʾrīkhīyah wathāʾiqīyah ḥaḍārīyah*, Medina 2005.

van Berchem, Max, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum: première partie, Égypte*, Beirut 1979. (reprint Paris 1903)

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Anna Kollatz

# Tracing Ibn Iyās' Narrative: Intertextual Compilation from the *Jawāhir al-sulūk* and the *ʿUqūd al-juman* to the *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*

Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524) is one of the most cited historians of the Mamluk period; his report on the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in particular has strongly influenced our knowledge of this time. But we still know very little about Ibn Iyās' person and life as a writer. Except for the scanty information he provides about himself in his *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, no contemporary or later biography is known to this day. Scattered mentions in later bibliographic dictionaries cannot substantially supplement the data from the *Badāʾiʿ*. Ibn Iyās, the highly trusted eyewitness to the Ottoman conquest, obviously tried to hide from the eyes of his readers, a task at which he has been successful to this day. Or were his contemporaries just too indifferent towards both his writings and his person to include him in the *Who's Who*s of important men? Of course, research has built up a narrative on Ibn Iyās' biography, social context and the circumstances of his life. But as convincing as it may appear, it still rests on the rather shaky ground of the author's own self-representation. This might appear to be a problem if one is after trustworthy facts on the "real" Ibn Iyās: that is, the historical author. Recent articles and monographs in Mamluk studies point to this desideratum: There is a lack of studies on individual historiographers of the Mamluk period. As Konrad Hirschler wrote,[1] historiographic texts and their writers deserve a fresh approach that acknowledges their character as historiographical literature, and as such the labour of their authors, instead of reducing them to mere compilers of *akhbār*. Moreover, there is still a real shortage of studies that contextualize those of the Mamluk historiographers whose texts serve as a basis for our concepts of Mamluk history. Analyzing their positionalities and the interdependencies between their social and historical contexts on the one hand, and their narratives on the other, is necessary to gain a better understanding of the texts' agendas and functions in their own historical discourses.[2]

---

[1] See Hirschler, 2014, esp. 163.

[2] Guo, 1997, 27.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Thus, why not turn the bug into a feature and approach Ibn Iyās from another angle, namely from his function as a narrative instance? It would be fantastic to find, someday, somewhere, a trustworthy and detailed biography, supported by different sources. As long as this dream does not come true, however, we can still analyze the way our *narrator* Ibn Iyās does present and evaluate the events and persons he writes about. An analysis of the working process,[3] namely the choice of material to be compiled, and its way to a new narrative, can help to dissect norms, agendas and ideas behind an author's way of narrating, and thus explain the course of events. Given the widespread use of compilation as a working technique by historiographers in the Mamluk period and beyond, this special technique of collecting material and developing a new narrative from it appears to be a good point of departure.[4] This article takes a first step towards a better understanding of the ideas, convictions, and social contexts behind Ibn Iyās' way of narrating history. Once we have gained a sound understanding of his convictions and writing incentives, we will be able to decide more precisely in what way we may use the information he presents. For there is a long process that precedes every textual narrative. The *historical author*,[5] before writing a single line, already has an idea *what* he wants to present and to *whom*. Consciously or not, his idea of the project is guided by his normative, perhaps religious or philosophical convictions, as is his way of narrating, embodied by the intratextual narrating instance, the *narrator*.[6] These influences, and many others, also affect the process of collecting and choosing content for the work. In other words, we have to assume that Ibn Iyās must have had significantly more information than the material he finally included in his book. The information not included, the "negative spaces" of a text, thus are as important to understand it as the events, persons and topics included in the narrative. Understanding an author's working process, his ways of choosing topics and narrative strategies, thus is a

---

[3] Franz Rosenthal had already addressed the working process of pre-modern Muslim scholars in the forties (Rosenthal, 1947). It was Ulrich Haarmann, in particular, who made it his subject of interest in his Ph.D. dissertation on al-Jazarīs chronicle (Haarmann, 1970). More recently, Frédéric Bauden devoted special attention to the working methods of pre-modern Muslim historians (on which he subsequently published his Maqriziana series, most recently Maqriziana XIV and VII, both forthcoming), while Kurt Franz, 2004, and Stephan Conermann, 2015, focused on compilation as a working technique.

[4] While compilation has been rated as producing minor historiographical (and other) works, this way of text production as well as its products have been "rehabilitated" by narratological studies. See e.g. Franz, 2004; Conermann, 2015.

[5] I use the term *historical author* to differentiate the "real" person writing a narrative from the *narrator* or the *narrating voice* that addresses the reader. Both instances may overlap to a great extent or even be identical. However, as long as we have no access to information on the *historical author,* and therefore cannot decide to which extent the *narrator* represents this person, we should be careful not to confuse both layers.

[6] For a definition and discussion of the term and relevant theory, see e.g. Margolin, 2012.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

promising approach to rather elusive authors. For the same reason, compilation analysis is an ideal means, as it allows to trace the process of including or rejecting material from the source texts used by the author. While Frédéric Bauden was fortunate to get hold of al-Maqrīzī's scratchbooks,[7] and opened up a great diversity of approaches to analyzing an author's work in progress through several versions of a text to completion, opportunities like this remain rare. But intertextual analyses either of the texts from the pen of one single author, or of the sources used by an author and his final version, may help to trace his working process. In what follows, I will concentrate on the former approach, leaving an intertextual analysis of the sources for later.[8]

In this article, I will follow the traces of Ibn Iyās' working process though three of his historiographical works, which comprises a compilation analysis and a narratological analysis. While I do not propose to look for any kind of development or evolution, the following pages will help to show how a historical author (the "real" but, to us, elusive, Ibn Iyās) processes his topics as well as his narrative attitude, his *narrator*, to reach possibly different audiences at different times. This preliminary approach will be restricted to an analysis of intertextual relations between three of Ibn Iyās' historiographies on Egypt, namely the *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī (akhbār/amr) al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, the *ʿUqūd al-juman fī l-ʿajāʾib wa-l-ḥikam*, and the aforementioned *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr* (see table 1). After introducing the respective works and some theoretical considerations on compilation, I will follow the author's working process, which to a great extent consists of intertextual compilation. A comparative reading of the anecdote on Muʿizz al-Dīn Aybak's death will illustrate multiple strategies of reworking and reusing text passages. In conclusion, I will refer to the changes in message and meaning this filigree work resulted in.

If one assumes that Ibn Iyās came from a family that had its origin in the Mamluk military system, the author is interesting not only because of his reports, but also because he is located on a social crossroads of his society. As a descendant of *mamlūk* grand- and great-grandfathers, and thus as a member of the second generation *awlād al-nās*, it was virtually impossible for him to embark on a military career, but he was still closely related to the Mamluk ruling system. We have no information on whether he ever held an official position, for example in the administration, or would have been active in a madrasah, although he seems to have been in contact with persons related to both contexts. Situated between different social strata, Ibn Iyās apparently had insights and access to different milieus, a fact that shimmers through his narrative. This makes him extremely

---

[7] On the discovery of Maqrīzī's autograph, see e.g. Bauden, 2008.

[8] Al-Amer, 2016, identifies a body of sources Ibn Iyās used for the *Badāʾiʿ*, and briefly discusses the ways text parts from this body are introduced into Ibn Iyās' text.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

interesting for exploiting the individual convictions that back his historiographic work.

## 1. Ibn Iyās' work and his historiographical corpus

Following Michael Winter's analysis,[9] a total of seven different works are to be regarded as from Ibn Iyās' pen. They have been preserved at various editorial stages in a large number of manuscripts, of which some cannot be attributed to the author with final certainty.[10] His work comprises historiographical writings and those more likely to be described as geography and regional studies. Apart from his great chronicle, the *Badāʾiʿ*, a more precise classification and description of the genres is still pending. This desideratum, too, would greatly advance the capture of Ibn Iyās' *narrating voice*, but is beyond the scope of this article. Before turning to the three sources in question here, it is however worth noting that Ibn Iyās' works share some characteristics. Both the historiographic and the rather geographic treatises share a strong interest in everything the author relates to Egypt or judges as especially "Egyptian." Both preliminary genres refer to the same body of content, which is composed of the reproduction of historical events related to Egypt and the description of Egyptian geography, agriculture and economy. The regional studies texts put even more emphasis on treating ancient Egyptian remains, such as the pyramids or ancient Egyptian artifacts, and cultural singularities related to Egypt, such as the Coptic calendar. The historiographic texts share a body of content, which covers large parts of Egyptian political and military history up to Ibn Iyās' time. This high degree of similarity, which also runs through the narrative strategies applied in the different texts, has led scholars to interpret Ibn Iyās' earlier and shorter historiographies as preliminaries to his monumental chronicle. As such, these texts have been judged as inferior in quality and thus less interesting for research. It should suffice to mention that Brinner in his *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article,[11] which is still to be regarded as definitive concerning Ibn Iyās' biography, touches on them only briefly and in passing.[12] Once the narrator comes into the equation, however, it is worth coming back to these texts—not to use them as sources for the reconstruction of historical events, but for the reconstruction of a contemporary way of writing history.

---

[9] Winter, 2007.

[10] See Winter, 2007; Wasserstein, 1992; Vollers, 1896.

[11] Brinner, "Ibn Iyās," *EI*$^2$ (online).

[12] The attribution of anonymous manuscripts to Ibn Iyās, though, has been studied by Wasserstein, 1992; and by Winter, 2007. The same applies for the manuscripts formerly and wrongly attributed to al-Suyūṭī.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

This article focuses on three historiographical approaches to Egypt and the Bilād al-Shām, which have come to us in autograph manuscripts, or have been attributed to Ibn Iyās by Winter and Wasserstein.

| **Title** | **Date** |
|---|---|
| *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī (akhbār/amr) al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk* | Contains events up to 903–904/1497–1500 (Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah MS Taʾrīkh No. 205), ascribed to the author.[13] |
| *ʿUqūd al-juman fī waqāʾiʿ al-azman* | Contains events up to 904/1499. Unique autograph copy, finished Rabīʿ I 17, 905/October 22, 1499 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Ayasofya 3311). |
| *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr* | Contains events up to 928/1521–22, work started before 901/1495; autograph of part four (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Fatih 4197) finished Muḥarram 12, 901/October 2, 1495. |

The sample has been chosen due to the close temporal concurrence of the three. Unfortunately, we do not have a reliable critical edition for any of the texts attributed to Ibn Iyās, with the exception of the *Badāʾiʿ*. This is unproblematic for the *ʿUqūd*, insofar as the text has been preserved in a single manuscript anyway. The MS Ayasofya 3311 is an autograph, fortunately, and can therefore be used without difficulty for analyzing the *narrative voice* of the author. For the *Badāʾiʿ*, too, the situation seems less critical than one might initially assume due to the diverse and large manuscript material. The Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition lays open its choice of the leading manuscripts and relies, wherever possible, on autographs. For this comparison, I have therefore chosen a text example which is available in the MS Fatih 4197, written by Ibn Iyās himself. Only the selection of the text basis for *Jawāhir* is somewhat more problematic. There is no critical edition available so far, the known manuscripts have not yet been compared with each other to my knowledge.[14] No unquestionable autograph seems to have been preserved either. While the editor identifies the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah manuscript as an autograph,[15] the colophon of the same manuscript reads as follows:

---

[13] The only available edition by Zaynahum, 2006, is unfortunately only based on this manuscript and does not refer to those held in the UK or France (see below). Even so, the edition differs from the manuscript text in a number of cases even in the short extract presented here.

[14] British Museum MS Or. 6854 is an anonymous copy, dated to the sixteenth century (Ellis and Edwards, 1912, 32, no. 6854); Cambridge University Library MS Qq74 is an incomplete and therefore undated version, possibly a copy of MS Or. 6854 (Browne, 1900, 58, no. 300); Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ancien fonds arabe 774 A, Ar. No. 1616 is anonymous and dated to the sixteenth century as well (de Slane, 1883, 304, no. 1616). The manuscripts would be interesting for a later paratextual analysis, to trace the later reception of the work.

[15] Ibn Iyās, *Jawāhir*, ed. Zaynahum, 23.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> “This is the end of the blessed copy of the *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī l-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās al-Ḥanafī, may the Lord have mercy on this poor man’s death. This has been made by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, the doorkeeper of the al-Azhar mosque, from an autograph made entirely by him [the author, that is Ibn Iyās, AK]. Praise be to Allah, may his blessings be on our Lord Muḥammad.”[16]

The copy is undated, but still appears to be the closest to the original, compared to the manuscripts held in Europe. Therefore, the following analysis is based on the MS Taʾrīkh No. 205. I have not used a fourth extant historiographic text, *Marj al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, for this analysis. Since the manuscript situation has not been clarified yet and, moreover, the two manuscripts (Princeton University Library MS Garrett Collection Yahuda 4411 and Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ancien fonds arabe 617 A, Ar. No. 1554) that I have at hand already diverge considerably in the preface, it is not very suitable for a narratological analysis before these open questions have been solved. Moreover, the text only runs to the year 655/1257–58, amended by a list-like tract on the Abbasid sultans in Egypt. It thus does not overlap sufficiently with the other texts chosen here, especially the *ʿUqūd.*

The *Jawāhir* is a history of Egypt, focusing on the Islamic rulers of Egypt. The text starts from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Surḥ al-ʿĀmirī,[17] and runs down chronologically to the first year of Sultan Qānisawh al-Ghawrī’s reign. Its last dated heading announces the beginning of the year 905/1500–01. The *Jawāhir*, interestingly, is the only text in Ibn Iyās’ corpus devoid of a *muqaddimah.* Brockelmann classified the text as “Auszug aus den *Badāʾiʿ*” [excerpt from the *Badāʾiʿ*],[18] which has to be kept in mind when comparing the three texts in question here. As we have no evidence as to when the text was originally completed, we do not know whether it is older or younger than the *Badāʾiʿ*. It therefore could be regarded as a preliminary version or an earlier, independent work that Ibn Iyās used as a source for the *Badāʾiʿ*.

The *ʿUqūd* also seems to be a history of Egypt. While, unfortunately, the first volume of the beautifully written Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi manuscript has not survived, its second volume starts with the reign of al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak (r. 1250–57), the first “Turkish king in Egypt”[19] and runs down to the year 904/1499–1500. The text has come to us in a unique autograph copy, held in Istanbul. According to the colophon, the work was completed on Rabīʿ I 17, 905/October 22, 1499.

---

[16] Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah MS Taʾrīkh No. 205, fol. 160b.

[17] Besides his rather ambiguous role in the history of early Islam, he took part in the conquest of Egypt and acted as its governor for an uncertain period. See Becker, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd,” *EI*$^2$ (online).

[18] Wasserstein, 1992, 99.

[19] MS Ayasofya 3311, fol. 2r.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

As third part of the sample, the *Badāʾiʿ* is the youngest of Ibn Iyās' historiographical texts.[20] The example presented in this article comes from the fourth *juzʿ* of the *Badāʾiʿ*, which is given in the first volume of the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition. The edition uses two manuscripts, namely the autograph, MS Fatih 4197 (ca. 1495) and additionally Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ancien fonds arabe 595, Ar. No. 1822 (ca. 1648).[21] Given that the author started working on the *Badāʾiʿ* sometime before 901/1495, the completion date of MS Fatih, all three text in this sample have been written in near temporal concurrence. It is therefore impossible to identify a clear temporal order of completion. On the contrary, the author most likely worked on the three texts at least partly in parallel. Instead of downgrading the shorter historiographies to mere preliminaries to the *Badāʾiʿ* or repetitions of the "masterpiece," this article regards them as narratives in their own right, studying their intertextual relationship to the *Badāʾiʿ* for the first time thoroughly.

## 2. Compilation[22]

In Islamic studies and beyond, two contrasting approaches to historiographical sources exist. A more traditional approach, influenced by Leopold von Ranke's positivist idea of history, keeps asking for the reconstruction of true historical facts. It perceives historiographic sources as mere repositories of factual knowledge about the past and evaluates the material mainly according to its content of original information. Eyewitness testimony is often regarded as the most trustworthy assurance of the veracity of the sources. Under these conditions, works containing compiled passages were often devalued as not original and thus uninteresting for research.[23] This seems to have been the case with most of Ibn Iyās' texts, most of which have not received any interest yet and remain in manuscript or in questionable editions.[24] Even more, this approach led scholars to brand the whole period as a time of literary stagnation during which "geistige Schlaffheit" (intellectual dullness) and blind repetition of traditional knowledge paralyzed intellectual productivity.[25] An examination of the various definitions of compilation shows that this text production technique has been and still is

---

[20] See Winter, 2007, 1.

[21] See the introduction to the Kahle/Muṣṭafā edition, 4:3, for the MS Fatih, and ibid., 4:3ff. for the discussion of the whole manuscript corpus and its classification.

[22] In this article, *compilation* refers to the working process, during which a *compilator* identifies and extracts parts of his *source texts*, to rearrange them in a new text, which is referred to as *compilate.* During this process, the compilator may use one or more source texts. He may modify the extracted texts parts in various ways, or use them in their original form.

[23] See Conermann, 2015, 7f.; idem, 2018, 8.

[24] Guo, 1997, 21.

[25] Brockelmann, *GAL*, 7: 217.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

primarily rated as a plagiaristic, non-autonomous working method.[26] Older scholarship equates compilation with limitation, shortening, deleting, reducing and omitting, as Kurt Franz lamented,[27] while the adding of new elements was seen as the only form of historiographical originality. Utzschneider and Nitsche's definition of compilation appears less negative. Although the authors acknowledge the compilator's own contribution of "interweaving" various source texts into a new piece, they simultaneously dispute the compilate's independence in meaning and content.[28]

The second approach follows the narrative turn debate initiated by Hayden White and argues that compiled historiographies, like other genres, are to be evaluated as narrative texts produced by individuals. These narratives should not be read as absolute objective sources of information, for their writers shaped them, if unconsciously, corresponding to their writing incentives and norms and values prevalent in their historical context. Subsequently, historiographic narratives have been recognized as providing a basis for research into the history of culture and mentality. For this purpose the compilation process forms an interface in text production at which the interdependencies between an author, his historical and social position, and his choice of sources can be studied. As such, compilation turns out to be a writing strategy that produces an innovative, original text that carries the intentions of its writer, be it in the form of an independent new text, a reworked text, an anthology of quotations, or just an excerpt.[29]

Compilation analyses that compare passages from source texts with their counterparts in the compilates reveal that even when drawing on a single source, the compiler has a multitude of strategies at his disposal that enable him to adapt the information taken from the source to his own writing intentions, his intellectual-historical context, etc.[30] In this respect, compilation is not to be seen as an inferior form of text production, but rather as an innovative writing strategy individually formed by each author. Since the compiler consciously adopts, omits or reshapes contents, judgments or narrative structures from his hypotexts, the comparative reading of the source texts and the compilates can be used to infer the selection criteria that guided this process. Furthermore, studying the manner in which compiled passages are combined with original text, as well as possible deletions, changes of meaning, among other things, also provides a basis for investigating the selection criteria, norms, values and (hidden) agendas that guided the author's work.

---

[26] Conermann, 2018, 8.

[27] Franz, 2004, 6.

[28] Utzschneider and Nitsche, 2008, 248.

[29] Franz, 2004, 274.

[30] See the case studies on material from different regions in Conermann, 2015.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 3. Approaching Compilation Processes

The following analysis is based on a comparative reading of the three texts in question. It uses, as an exemplary text base, the story of Shajar al-Durr's quarrel with Aybak, which led to his murder and later to Shajar's own death. This second part of the story will however not be part of the following analysis. The story being well known,[31] the following discussion solely aims to dissect and illustrate the modes of discourse Ibn Iyās chooses in his narratives, and in no way to question any of the historical events related. It proceeds in a three-step process, giving first a comparative parallel translation, which visualizes three basic modes of compilation used by Ibn Iyās. Second, a formal analysis of the compilation strategies will give detailed insight into the filigree processes the texts underwent. It will show in which ways the author chose the material to be compiled, and his many ways of reorganizing and rewriting it. Both the first and the second step read the texts *horizontally*, that is, comparing the three versions and revealing the transformations that happened between them. The third and final step will additionally compare the three texts *vertically*, that is, concerning their individual composition. To this end, it will use the methodology of narrative analysis, which has been developed towards a toolbox for cultural history over the last decades.[32]

Though the three texts obviously belong to the same genre, the *organization of the narratives* differs and therefore will be treated first. This includes the temporal organization. The narrative may follow the natural, chronological order or arrange the plot in an *ordo artificialis* to meet certain ends. Analepses and prolepses may be used to mold an individual perspective on the story, which results in a difference between *narrative time* and *story time*.[33] The most striking question for our purpose is whether—and if so, how—the construction of the *narrators* differs in Ibn Iyās' three versions of the same story. To answer this question, a number of parameters have to be checked, among them the *narrator*'s *focalization*, and his presence in the text, which may appear in different modes. Does it explain, comment on or even judge the story he tells? Does the narrative reveal a (hidden) agenda? On a linguistic level, the codes and vocabularies used in each of the narratives have to be inspected in terms of stability or change. This last part of the analysis will reveal how the compilation process previously traced changed the discourse, and thereby also affected the message and meaning on a meta-level, while the plot remains relatively stable.

---

[31] Shajar al-Durr has received broad scholarly interest. Among the most recent publications are Gharaibeh, 2015; Ragib, 2014; Levanoni, 2001.

[32] See e.g. Erll and Roggendorf, 2002; Nünning and Nünning, 2003; Bachmann-Medick, 2007.

[33] Genette, 1980.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 3.1. Comparative translation

The comparative translation presented below involuntarily suggests, by its arrangement, a chronological order of the three texts in question. As we have seen, there is no certain evidence of one text having been finished before Ibn Iyās started working on the others. Nor is it possible, to date, to deduct an intertextual hierarchy that would identify one text as the *hypertext*, the others as *hypotexts*.[34] Because the *Badāʾiʿ* appears to be the youngest of our three examples, one may speculate that it possibly could also be the youngest hypertext. This assumption seems to be bolstered by the fact that, as we will see, this youngest text contains much more additional material than the others. However, only a thorough analysis of the three narratives could verify this assumption. It must be kept in mind that all three texts were produced in near temporal concurrence, and thus may have influenced one another in multilateral ways. For the time being, the left-to-right order is based on previous studies on Ibn Iyās' oeuvre and, especially, the dating of his works,[35] as well as on dates given in the autograph colophons and on the temporal scope of the works. The arrangement of the examples must not be understood as a proven result, but rather as a starting hypothesis.

To visualize the intertextual relationships and the three basic modes of compilation, namely a) literal-consistent (i.e. verbatim) re-use, b) paraphrase and c) addition of new material, the following texts are presented in colored boxes: Light grey represents literal-consistent re-use, grey represents paraphrases, and dark grey shows added passages. Passages that have been relocated in one or more of the texts are **bold and underlined**, while **bold** signals a strong modification of meaning on the linguistic level. A similar visualization mode has been applied in Conermann, 2015. This volume compared compilation processes in a transcultural perspective and used a fourth color to mark lacunae. However, this is only applicable when an intertextual hierarchy between source text and compilate can be established. Therefore, I do not consider the cancellation of text passages here, though it represents an important compilation strategy. Instead, my focus lies on additional passages or words. Each of the vertical columns contains the text of the respective version. It is important not to overlook the light grey sections that may link the respective column to one or two others. These sections represent literal consistency and have to be included in the reading of every vertical column they span. Compare the columns horizontally in order to

---

[34] "Hypertextuality refers to any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary" (Genette, 1997, 5).

[35] Wasserstein, 1992; Vollers, 1896.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

trace compilation processes. Literal-consistent passages or paraphrases will appear next to each other. White spaces between the colored text boxes are of no importance and should be ignored when reading both vertically or horizontally. The white spaces are inevitable due to the insertions of additional material (dark grey) of differing length at various points of each text. In some cases, however, the white spaces can help to locate lacunae in the respective texts.

| ***Jawāhir* (21b–22a)** | ***ʿUqūd* (3r–3v)** | ***Badāʾiʿ*(293–294)** |
|---|---|---|
| | The Year 654 | |
| […] The reason for Aybak's assassination was that he changed his attitude towards Shajar al-Durr because | | |
| his wife Shajar al-Durr **had been told** that Aybak had become engaged to **the daughter of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the *ṣāḥib* of Mosul** | **Al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak had sent for the daughter of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the *ṣāḥib* of Mosul, for engagement.**<br>When Shajar al-Durr heard this, | This year saw conflicts between al-Malik al-Muʿizz and his wife Shajar al-Durr. |
| and had got angry with Shajar al-Durr because | she became angry with Aybak and he was (already) angry with her because | |
| she was constantly cursing him, saying: | | |
| "If only I hadn't made you a sultan!" (*lau lā anā mā tasalṭantu anta*) | | "I wish I would never have brought you to the sultanate!" (*lau lā anā mā waṣaltu anta li-l-salṭanah*) |
| She had also prevented him from seeing | | She had **driven him** (*alzamat*) to divorce |
| | his wife (***zaujah***), | |
| the mother of his son ʿAlī (***umm walad***) | | |
| and had **driven him** (*lazamat*) to divorce her. | until she had **driven him** (*lazamat*) to divorce her. | And he divorced. |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

<table>
<tr><th><i>Jawāhir</i> (21b–22a)</th><th>ʿ<i>Uqūd</i> (3r–3v)</th><th><i>Badāʾiʿ</i>(293–294)</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>Shajar al-Durr was of Turkish origin and very strong. She had been told that <b>al-Malik al-Muʿizz had sent for the daughter of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the <i>ṣāḥib</i> of Mosul, for engagement</b>.<br>That is why the worst of all bad things arose between them.<br>Shajar al-Durr thought this affair she was involved in would mean her end, [especially] if Aybak left her. That was the root of all evil. However, women are lacking in intellect, and so she stumbled helplessly into her fate, as the saying goes: Death and destruction are destined for us, just as for the beauties of the drooping end (<i>kutiba l-qatl wa-l-qitāl ʿalaynā wa ʿalā al-ghāniyāt jarr al-dhuyūl</i>)<br>As the affair escalated,</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Then Aybak became very angry with her and settled down</td><td>al-Muʿizz Aybak became angry about it</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>furiously</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">in the Manāẓir al-Liwaq. These were where the Uzbekīyah is today. He stayed there for two days</td><td>and descended into the Manāẓir al-Liwaq. These were on the river, near al-Muqass. Al-Muʿizz Aybak stayed there for two days,</td></tr>
<tr><td>furiously.</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>being enraged at Shajar al-Durr and in greatest distress about her.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Shajar al-Durr sent somebody</td><td>While he stayed in the Manāẓir al-Liwaq, she sent</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>the Qāḍī Tāj al-Dīn b. Bint al-Aʿazz to him.</td></tr>
<tr><td>to follow him and win him over with sweet words, until his anger would subside.</td><td>to win him over with sweet words and follow him. Thus his anger subsided. He left and mounted to the citadel.</td><td>And he won him over with sweet words, until he mounted to the citadel.</td></tr>
</table>

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

<table>
<tr><th><b><i>Jawāhir</i> (21b–22a)</b></th><th><b>ʿ<i>Uqūd</i> (3r–3v)</b></th><th><b><i>Badāʾiʿ</i>(293–294)</b></th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Shajar al-Durr had already chosen people to kill him as soon as he would</td><td>Shajar al-Durr had already conspired some evil against him.</td></tr>
<tr><td>come to her.</td><td>enter the citadel.</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>So when he arrived at the citadel, it was the night of Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 25 of the year 655.</td></tr>
<tr><td>When he came to her, she was kind to him. He went into the bathroom, and she went with him.</td><td>When he entered to Shajar al-Durr, she rose</td><td>When he came to the Citadel, she behaved politely towards him</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">and kissed his hand as was not usual.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>So Aybak thought she was doing this with sincere intent. It was as the saying goes:<br>“Do not meet the enemy with a dark gaze, but let your smile flow like water<br>Then strike those who belong to him with hatred hidden in the garment of kindness”[36]</td></tr>
<tr><td>When they were in (the bathroom) together,[37]</td><td>Then he sat down with her.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td></td><td>On the night of Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 25 of the year 655, Shajar al-Durr hired <b>five of <i>al-khuddām al-Rūm</i></b> and told them, “If he goes to the bathroom, kill him in there!”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Then it happened between him and her what happened. Then he got up and went to the bathroom.</td><td>After he slept with her, he went to the bathroom.</td></tr>
</table>

---

[36] The verse has been identified as taken from al-Tannūkhī (d. 384/994), see Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, 2:13.

[37] The MS Taʾrīkh has *fa-lamā istaqarrū bi-hā*, while the edition has *fa-lamā istaqarra bi-hā*, see MS Taʾrīkh No. 205, fol. 21b and Ibn Iyās, *Jawāhir*, ed. Zaynahum, 2006, 111.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

<table>
<tr><th><i>Jawāhir</i> (21b–22a)</th><th>ʿ<i>Uqūd</i> (3r–3v)</th><th><i>Badāʾiʿ</i>(293–294)</th></tr>
<tr><td><b><u>five Rūmī eunuchs</u></b> entered, whom she had hired to kill him.</td><td>Then <b><u>five Rūmī eunuchs</u></b> that Shajar al-Durr had hired for his murder penetrated the room.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>When some of them seized his throat, and others <b><u>his private parts</u></b>, he called Shajar al-Durr to help.</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">While both of them were in the bathroom, she regained her affection for him. Then those <i>khuddām</i> penetrated (the room) with swords drawn. When al-Muʿizz Aybak saw them, he stepped up to Shajar al-Durr and kissed her hand.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>When they got to kill him, Shajar al-Durr changed her mind</td></tr>
<tr><td>She told the <i>khuddām:</i></td><td>and said to the <i>khuddām:</i></td><td>Then she said to the <i>khuddām:</i></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">“Leave him alone!” But some of the <i>khuddām</i> disagreed with her and said: “If we let him, neither we nor you will stay alive.” They killed him in the bathroom</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">by strangling him.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>It is said that they had tightly seized <b><u>his private parts</u></b> until he died.</td></tr>
<tr><td>on Tuesday, Rabīʿ I 23 of the year 655.</td><td>Then they carried him out and made everything up as if he had fainted because of the bath. They laid him on a bed.<br>When morning came, they announced that he had been <b>murdered.</b> That was on the night of Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 24 in the year 655.</td><td>When he died, they carried him out of the bathroom and pretended he fainted because of the bath. They bedded him on a bed in the bathroom.<br>His assassination happened on the night of Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 25 of this year. When morning dawned, they announced <b>his death</b> to the people.</td></tr>
<tr><td>When Aybak had been murdered, his son Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī got to power […]</td><td></td><td>Then his son, Amir ʿAlī, rode to the citadel with the Muʿizzīyah Mamluks. They washed al-Malik al-Muʿizz, wrapped him in a shroud, and prayed for him. They buried him at al-Qurāfah al-Ṣughrā.</td></tr>
</table>

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 3.2. Reading Horizontally: Compilation Analysis

The formal compilation analysis focuses on the techniques applied in the compilation process between the three texts. However, it addresses only the techniques used in the example above and makes no claim to completeness. A full comparison of the three sources may reveal further techniques or combinations of the ones mentioned here and show which Ibn Iyās preferably used. The results presented here have to be understood as preliminary.

### 3.2.1. Literal Consistency (light grey)

Literal adoptions account for the smallest part of the compiled material between the three texts. In the example above, only two short passages appear literally consistent in each of the three texts. However, both passages bear significance for the narrative that should not be underestimated despite their brevity. The first literally consistent passage, the half-sentence "she was constantly cursing him, saying," introduces the conflict between Shajar and Aybak and is presented to the reader with a subsequent quotation in vernacular direct speech. This quotation also appears almost identical in all three texts, although the wording in the *Badāʾiʿ* differs marginally. Vernacular expressions in character voice and vernacular poems appear throughout the whole work of Ibn Iyās[38] and therefore cannot be regarded as compiled stylistic elements. Though combined with the use of direct speech as a marker of turning points in the story, they clearly identify Shajar's quote in the example cited here and above as compiled elements.

The second passage, identical in all three texts, also contains direct speech from Shajar. While in each of the three texts both the entry of the hired murderers into the bath to Aybak, and Shajar's and Aybak's behavior (see below) are depicted rather differently, the fictitious dialogue between Shajar and the murderers remains unchanged:

> [Shajar said to the *khuddām*]: 'Leave him alone!' But some of the *khuddām* disagreed with her and said: 'If we let him, neither we nor you will stay alive.' They killed him in the bathroom […].

Literal consistency between two of the three compared texts appear more frequent, but verbatim adoption still remains the least-used compilation strategy. The above example contains five literal matches each between the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* and between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*. Between the *Jawāhir* and the *Badāʾiʿ*, on the other hand, there is not a single match in the text section examined here. All literal similarities are relatively short, about the length of half sentences.

---

[38] Lellouch, 1995; see also al-Amer, 2016; and most recently Guo, 2018.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Again, all provide relevant information for the development of the story. The content of all literal consistencies between the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* appears also in the *Badāʾiʿ*, but in paraphrased form and supplemented with new information or combined with relocated text parts. The three texts remain congruent concerning the story, while the discourse underwent changes during the writing process of the *Badāʾiʿ*. Most of the paraphrases in the *Badāʾiʿ* are due to the changed overarching narrative structure of the anecdote. While the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* mostly follow a strict chronological order and do not build up tension, the *Badāʾiʿ* shows efforts in alluding to certain facts revealed clearly only in the further course of the narrative, to build up tension. Thus, the *Badāʾiʿ* first disguises the murder conspiracy Shajar has planned, while the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* plainly explain it just at the beginning of the respective passage:

| ***Jawāhir*** | ***ʿUqūd*** | ***Badāʾiʿ*** |
|---|---|---|
| Shajar al-Durr had already chosen people to kill him as soon as he would [enter the Citadel]. | | Shajar al-Durr had already conspired some evil against him. |

The five consistencies between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*, on the other hand, are all to be regarded as additional material, which is missing in the *Jawāhir* version. These additions also add small but important details to the narratives. The first matching passage in the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* could read as an illustrative introduction to the depicted scene. However, it puts forward Shajar's part in triggering the following events. While the *Jawāhir*, in the introduction, only refers to Aybak's emotional status (*taghayyara ʿalayhā*) and thus makes him appear the initially active part in the quarrel, the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* add a mention of Shajar being in rage against Aybak, and thus somehow paint over Aybak's part in the story:

| ***Jawāhir*** | ***ʿUqūd*** | ***Badāʾiʿ*** |
|---|---|---|
| and had got angry with Shajar al-Durr because | she became angry with Aybak and he was (already) angry with her because | |
| she was constantly cursing him, saying: | | |
| 'If only I hadn't made you a sultan!' (lau lā anā mā tasalṭantu anta) | | 'I wish I would never have brought you to the sultanate!' (lau lā anā mā waṣaltu anta li-l-salṭana) |

The second literally consistent addition to the *ʿUqūd* and the *Bādāʾiʿ* significantly changes the text statement as well. If in the *Jawāhir* the mother of Aybak's son and successor ʿAlī is simply referred to as *umm waladihī ʿalī*, the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* specify her status as *zaujat wa-umm waladihī ʿalī*. Thus, the woman who is not mentioned by name in any of the texts appears as a lawful wife according to

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Islamic law, while the formulation in the *Jawāhir* presents her as a concubine who gave birth to her master's son and therefore enjoys a special status. Finally, literal consistent material between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* can also add detailed information, concerning for example the way the *khuddām* killed Aybak. While all three texts mention the same space the murder took place in ("they killed him in the bathroom"), the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* add consistently "by strangling him."

Changes in narrative strategies may also appear consistently in the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*. An example is the way Ibn Iyās describes the interaction between Aybak and Shajar, when he comes back to the citadel. The *Jawāhir*, in the introduction of the scene, stays relatively distanced and shortly tells the relevant course of action. The *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*, however, adorn the narrative with a small but delicate addition that puts Shajar's wickedness more in the foreground:

| ***Jawāhir*** | ***ʿUqūd*** | ***Badāʾiʿ*** |
|---|---|---|
| When he came to her, she was kind to him. He went into the bathroom, and she went with him. | When he entered to Shajar al-Durr, she rose | When he came to the Citadel, she behaved politely towards him |
| | and kissed his hand as was not usual. | |

By first implicitly alluding to the physical interaction between the two figures, the narrative builds up a tension bow that plays out differently in the course of the two texts. The allusion as a stylistic element, even more so an allusion to an ineffable and unusual behavior, enlivens the narrative structure of the texts. Here, we witness not only the addition of information on the story level, but also a refinement of the narrative structure on the way from the *Jawāhir* to the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*. If one were to regard the *Jawāhir* as an abbreviated version of the *Badāʾiʿ* with Brockelmann, one would have to conclude that the narrative structure has been flattened in favor of a short presentation of facts.

As a first result, we can note that literal consistency of all three texts is rare, but where it occurs marks central moments in the narrative and is related to important details of the story. Together with the literal matches between two of the three texts, however, the few passages are sufficient to prove a clear intertextual relationship between all three texts. Literal compilation does not only concern elements on the story level; the texts also share narrative structures, which in some cases apply to all three texts, but mostly the compilation of narrative elements happens between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*.

### 3.2.2. Paraphrase (grey)

Paraphrased text parts communicate a shared meaning, without amendments or omission of information on the story level. They may, however, differ in the narrative discourse. With thirteen occurrences in the example above, paraphrase is the most prominent compilation technique used between the three texts. We find very small paraphrased consistencies between the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd*, which stand next to amended material in the *Badāʾiʿ* and shall be disregarded here (three occurrences). Three further cases are paraphrases in the *Badāʾiʿ* parallel to literal consistencies between the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd*. A special form of paraphrase involves the relocation of text parts. For this technique, the example quoted above contains four references (see the bold and underlined text parts in the translation). In all cases, this relocation takes place exclusively to integrate the information into the text flow of the respective narrative (see below).

Half of the paraphrases span all three texts and cover slightly longer text components of, on average, sentence length. Paraphrased material mostly shares the most telling expressions in the component; only the formulation of the "rest" is changed to embed the component into the respective narrative. The following example shows that the three texts share the verb *talaṭṭafa*, which illustrates again Shajar's deceitful action. In the *Badāʾiʿ* version, Aybak's subsiding anger is not mentioned. Instead, the motif appears slightly changed in the differing material directly afterwards. This example also shows how small changes in the syntax can change the text message in the compilation process. Both the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* contain the sentence section *man khalafa ʿalayhi* ("somebody to follow [Aybak]"), but a slight change to the *ʿUqūd* gives it a new connotation. The *Jawāhir* clearly shows Shajar instructing the unnamed envoy to follow Aybak and charm him with beautiful words: *fa-arsalat Shajar al-Durr man khalafa ʿalayhi wa-yatalaṭṭafu bi-hī ḥattā sakana ghayẓuhū* ("Shajar al-Durr sent somebody to follow him and win him over with sweet words, until his anger would subside."). There it seems to be only about the emissary moving from the citadel to Aybak's whereabouts. In the *ʿUqūd* the sequence of verbs is reversed: *fa-arsalat ilayhi Shajar al-Durr man talaṭṭafa bi-hī wa-khalafa ʿalayhi, fa-sakana ghaḍabuhū* ("Shajar al-Durr sent somebody to win him over with sweet words and follow him. Thus his anger subsided.") This opens the possibility to read the sentence as if Shajar instructed the envoy to "stalk" Aybak until he would change his attitude. Finally, the following quote also exemplifies a change in the wording which does not affect the meaning to a great deal; when the *Jawāhir* speaks of Aybak's *ghaiẓ* and the *ʿUqūd* uses the word *ghaḍab*, both equally evoke his anger.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| *Jawāhir* | *ʿUqūd* | *Badāʾiʿ* |
|---|---|---|
| to follow him and win him over with sweet words, until his anger would subside. | to win him over with sweet words and follow him. Thus his anger subsided. He left and mounted to the citadel. | And he won him over with sweet words, until he mounted to the citadel. |

Towards the end of the example translated above, there is a paraphrase that contains striking differences between the three versions. First and most obvious, the dates given for Aybak's murder differ among the three texts. This inconsistency, while crucial for the reconstruction of factual history, is not that important when it comes to analyzing the narrative structure. More important is to note that the *Jawāhir* only gives the date, while the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* share information on how the murderers tried to cover up the crime. On the linguistic level, we find a striking difference in the description of how Aybak's assassination was announced to the public. The narrator names the crime in all three texts as a "murder" consistently. In the *ʿUqūd*, he reports a public announcement of Aybak having been "murdered" (*qutila*)—which to his opinion corresponds to the truth. The *Badāʾiʿ* however tells that they announced "his death" (*mautuhū*) to the public. This formulation offers the reader options for interpretation: Did they first act in public as if Aybak had died a natural death to cover up the murder? The *Badāʾiʿ* remains ambiguous here, in favor of a livelier narrative.

| *Jawāhir* | *ʿUqūd* | *Badāʾiʿ* |
|---|---|---|
| on Tuesday, Rabīʿ I 23 of the year 655. | Then they carried him out and made everything up as if he had fainted because of the bath. They laid him on a bed.<br>When morning came, they announced that he had been **murdered.** That was on the night of Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 24 in the year 655. | When he died, they carried him out of the bathroom and pretended he fainted because of the bath. They bedded him on a bed in the bathroom.<br>His assassination happened on the night of Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 25 of this year. When morning dawned, they announced **his death** to the people. |

Finally, one noteworthy feature should be mentioned which is directly related to the change in the narrative structure between the *Jawāhir*, the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*. There is only one paraphrase between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ* in our example, the content of which is completely absent in the *Jawāhir*. It belongs to the description of the meeting between Shajar and Aybak on the citadel.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| *Jawāhir* | *ʿUqūd* | *Badāʾiʿ* |
|---|---|---|
|  | Then it happened between him and her what happened. Then he got up and went to the bathroom. | After he slept with her, he went to the bathroom. |

While the *Jawāhir* does not mention any sexual interaction between Shajar and Aybak, the *ʿUqūd* already contains some unequivocal allusion to what happened between the spouses (*kāna baynahum mā kāna*). The *Badāʾiʿ* narrative, finally, leaves behind all disguise and openly addresses the sexual intercourse that happened just before the murderers entered the scene. Paraphrases can therefore be much more than the non-literal reproduction of the same content. Through small changes in the choice of words, as in the first example of this section, the narrative can receive a new coloring or even a different nuance of meaning. Here we see how the narrative about the same situation becomes more and more explicit from the *Jawāhir* via the *ʿUqūd* to the *Badāʾiʿ*. This could hint at an intertextual development connection at least between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*. However, one example it is not enough to clarify in which direction this development could have taken place. Just as a development towards an open description of the scene is conceivable, a later mitigation would also be possible. This reading direction would also be supported by the fact that the *ʿUqūd* autograph was completed four years after that of the *Badāʾiʿ*.

### 3.2.3. Additional/Diverging Material (dark grey)

Without a securely established intertextual hierarchy, it is quite difficult to declare the passages marked dark grey as additions. It is at least theoretically arguable that these parts are not additions to the respective text, but omissions in the others. Yet this absence might simply be because the author had only learned the new details after he had completed the other writings, for example because he found new source material. This last explanation does not work, however, because all three texts contain additional material. It might be more appropriate to refer to these passages as diverging material. All three texts contain shorter or longer passages or information at the story level that do not appear in the other two texts. The *Badāʾiʿ* has the lion's share with nine passages in the excerpt quoted above, but the *Jawāhir* (4) and the *ʿUqūd* (3) also contain singular information. Some details are shared among two texts, such as the abovementioned status of Amir ʿAlī's mother as a rightful wife (*zaujah*) between the *ʿUqūd* and the *Badāʾiʿ*. More strikingly, the *Jawāhir* and the *Badāʾiʿ* share a detail on Aybak's murder. Both texts contain the humiliating detail that Aybak's murderers held

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

him by his genitals while they strangled him. This information is missing in the *ʿUqūd.*

Even this small text excerpt thus shows that it is hardly possible to construct a stringent development of the narrative over two preceding texts into a final product. Rather, we are facing a multidirectional process that can best be compared to a spider's web that entangles all three texts.

### 3.3. Reading Vertically: Narratological Analysis

The *Jawāhir* strictly follows the chronological order of events. The result is a direct narrative style based on the transmission of facts, which does not hold back any information or create tension in any other way. On the contrary, the no-frills report opens with a direct mention of its main theme: "The reason for Aybak's assassination was…" The position of the anecdote in its context is one reason for this, as it forms part of the continuous text of the chapter "On the Sultanate of al-Malik al-Muʿizz Aybak al-Turkumānī, who was the first Turkish ruler in Egypt"[39] without any further structuring title setting it apart. The narrator always remains in the background in the *Jawāhir*, he makes no judgements or comments on the events he reports. Apart from the fictional quotations of Shajar already mentioned above, the section examined here does not contain any outstanding narrative elements. It sounds rather distanced from the events. The *ʿUqūd* narrates in a similar fact-oriented way as the *Jawāhir.* However, the integration into the overall context differs, which possibly explains the slightly different structure. The anecdote is also part of a chapter on Aybak, which figures under the same heading as in the *Jawāhir* Maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīyah manuscript. Yet it appears in the middle of the chapter, under the subtitle "Then the year 654 began," and thus forms a text passage of its own. The chronology of the plot remains the same, only the introduction of the chapter and the conclusion have changes. Thus Aybak's engagement is not presented as a rumor to which Shajar reacted, but as a fact. At the end of the anecdote, a section explaining the attempted cover-up of the murder is added. As in the *Jawāhir*, the narrative voice in the *ʿUqūd* abstains from commentary and remains distanced from the plot. The depiction of the interaction between Shajar and Aybak shortly before his murder becomes much more explicit, but still only hints to the intercourse in an allusion. Unlike the *Jawāhir*, the *ʿUqūd* lets Shajar rethink her attitude at the last moment

---

[39] However, the edition by Zaynahum has "On the Sultanate of ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī", without explaining why it has a title differing from the manuscript, see Ibn Iyās, *Jawāhir*, ed. Zaynahum, 110.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

before the murder, which leads to her trying to stop the murderers. So her reason for action is changed in this version.

In the *Badāʾiʿ* the anecdote also stands directly under the heading "Then the year 654 began," which introduces the second sub-section of the larger chapter "On the Sultanate of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Qutuz al-Muʿizzī" (note the differing headings in the *ʿUqūd* and the *Jawāhir*). The narrative, however, appears strongly altered in this text. The introduction already has seen not only rewording, but also a relocation of literally compiled parts. The literally compiled sentence about Aybak's engagement to the daughter of the Mosul governor appears only after Shajar's verbally quoted humiliations of her husband. The anecdote, in contrast, begins with a neutral, somewhat belittling phrase: "This year saw conflicts between al-Malik al-Muʿizz and his wife Shajar al-Durr." There are two reasons for the conversion and rewording of the introduction. Firstly, Ibn Iyās removes information from the chronological order during the production of the *Badāʾiʿ* when he needs it later for narrative reasons or when it seems to fit better into the context of a subsequent passage. This applies to the information about Aybak's engagement, which appears in the *Badāʾiʿ* in a newly added section that summarizes the background of the events and draws general conclusions (more on this later). Second, information is taken from the chronological order and moved elsewhere to build tension. For example, the narrative in the *Badāʾiʿ* initially only mentions "conflicts" between the spouses, and then gradually follows the escalation. This grows from Shajar mistreating Aybak through Aybak's escape from the citadel and his return to the depiction of the murder. In contrast to the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd*, which tell rather additively, i.e. very often link sentences with *wa* or *fa*, the narrative in the *Badāʾiʿ* also uses half-sentences to lead the reader and to develop an arc of tension (e.g. "As the affair escalated,"). A second change in the chronological order compared to the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* follows immediately. The *Badāʾiʿ* only has Shajar hire the murderers when Aybak's return to the citadel and Shajar's pretended affection for him have already been told. The changed order is even confirmed by mentioning the date on which Shajar hired the murderers. The *Badāʾiʿ* thus somewhat diffuses Shajar's insidiousness, since her premature planning of the plot does not emerge as strongly as in the other texts. This is even though in the course of building up tension, the text already hinted at the abominable things to happen ("Shajar had already conspired some evil against him"). The representation of the bath scene prior to the murder takes elements from the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* but weaves them into a new statement. Here the text reports openly that Aybak slept with his wife. Like the *ʿUqūd*, the *Badāʾiʿ* also reports that Shajar found again her affection for Aybak thereafter. But this change of heart is not directly related to her attempt to stop the murderers. Aybak's reaction to the murderers' storming in, finally, is much more positively depicted than in the *Jawāhir:* "When al-Muʿizz Aybak saw them,

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

he stepped up to Shajar al-Durr and kissed her hand." Thus Aybak's last action is shown more as an honorable farewell than as a begging for his own life in front of a woman.

Some of the differing material in the *Badāʾiʿ* deserves to be looked at more closely. As already mentioned, this text is distinguished by a narrator's comments and explanations. This becomes particularly clear in the first differing passage:

> Shajar al-Durr was of Turkish origin and very strong. She had been told that al-Malik al-Muʿizz had sent for the daughter of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the *ṣāḥib* of Mosul, for engagement. That's why the worst of all bad things arose between them. Shajar al-Durr thought the affair she was involved in would mean her end, [especially] if Aybak left her. That was the root of all evil. However, the women are lacking in intellect, and so she stumbled helplessly into her fate, as the saying goes: Death and destruction are destined for us, just as for the beauties of the drooping end.

The narrator's explanation is based on background information such as Shajar's origin and character, as well as the background story about the engagement. This is followed by a review of Shajar's reflections. For the first time, the narrating voice clearly assumes the position of an omniscient narrator who has insight to the thoughts and emotions of his characters. Although the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* also report the "rage" of Aybak and Shajar, they do so from such a distanced perspective that it can also be regarded as a general conclusion. In the passage quoted here, however, the narrator invokes the thoughts of a character and thus can be characterized as narrating from a *zero focalization* point of view.[40] Eventually a third stage of explanation follows. The narrator now also draws general conclusions from the events and explains them with the intellectual defectiveness of women. His conclusion is finally illustrated and endorsed with a verse. In a further differing passage, the narrative also offers insight into the thoughts of the figure Aybak. At first, we only learn that Shajar had Aybak asked to return to the Citadel through an envoy and that she was already up to something evil against him. The following is an account of her unusual physical affection for her husband. In the middle of this scene, the *Badāʾiʿ* inserts a narrator's commentary that clearly points out Aybak's misinterpretation of the situation to the reader: "So Aybak thought she was doing this with sincere intent." It follows an illustrative verse that once again underlines Shajar's insidiousness and thus implicitly removes Aybak from responsibility for his failure. Through these comments, the narrator appears much more prominently in the narrative than in both other texts. Interrelations are also formulated more clearly here and backgrounds are included in the narrative. The position of the characters is

---

[40] See for a review of Genette's differentiation of focalization e.g. Niederhoff, 2011.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

evaluated with more precision. The *Badāʾiʿ* differs from the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd* in leading its readers by a greater degree, but without explicitly condemning a character. By inserting evaluations of the information (e.g. as a rumor, "it is said"), the narrative also becomes more differentiated.

Finally, with regard to the constellation of characters in the three texts, we find great parallels in the *Jawāhir* and the *ʿUqūd*. Both texts present Shajar as the evil, more or less sole author of the situation. Aybak appears as a victim who is partly to blame but more or less positively portrayed. The *Badāʾiʿ* also shows Shajar as the sole guilty party, but excuses her with the general intellectual defectiveness of women, which has led to her misinterpretation of the situation. Aybak remains the deluded victim, but he is not blamed for his fatal error. Besides, the figure appears positive, as he meets his fate in a manly fashion. The humiliating detail about his murder is marked as a rumor (*wa-qīla*) and thus somewhat downplayed. In addition, the report about his decent Islamic burial sets him apart from Shajar, whose inglorious death all texts report about directly afterwards.

The comparison of the vertical readings shows that the compiled material is adapted in all cases to the narrative character of the compilate. While the story plot remains relatively constant through the three versions, the message and meaning on a meta-level change. The texts differ in temporal organization, in the involvement of the narrator, in the representation of the characters and in the implicit or explicit evaluation of the narrated events. Changes in meaning arise from adding material, from changing the temporal order at the discourse or story level and from changes in the vocabulary used. We can therefore by no means assume a pure copy and paste procedure.

## Conclusion: More questions than answers

This article is intended as a first step towards a better understanding of the narrative instance of Ibn Iyās. To get closer to catching it, I have followed two paths of analysis: The compilation analysis using the example of three historiographical texts by Ibn Iyās served the purpose of obtaining a first glimpse of the author's working process. A comparison of the narrative strategies that characterize the three examples aimed to provide information on whether and to what extent the historical author Ibn Iyās adapted and changed his narrative voice according to the text. As befits first steps on a long journey, this attempt has raised more questions than it could definitely answer. In the following section, I would like to summarize the clues for further work in this direction gained from the example presented.

The contextualization of the manuscript basis and the discussion on their period of origin of the three selected texts alone have shown that it is impossible

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

to deduce a clear genesis of the text corpus based on the manuscript dates (even of autographs) or on the basis of the period covered by a text. Instead, both the contextualization and the analysis of the text example show cross-textual connections entangling the narratives like spiderwebs instead of a clear intertextual hierarchy. In the future, it will therefore be necessary to consider how best to deal with such a complex situation. The compilation analysis has shown that the three texts are clearly dependent on each other and contain enough literal consistencies to prove this dependence. However, in the compilation process, the author applied different strategies of modifying and expanding the material, thus creating three independent historical narratives, each adapted to its intratextual context. Beyond the relatively stable plot, these texts also feature common narrative elements. All three texts are keeping the narrative close to historical performance, using vernacular in character voice to paint a vivid picture of the historical characters, and use dialogues or direct speech quotations to highlight crucial points of the story. The narrative voice differs particularly in the *Badāʾiʿ*, where it moves much closer to what is happening and intervenes in a commenting and judgmental way. The *Badāʾiʿ* is also characterized by an organization oriented towards narrative criteria (tension building).

For a further approach to Ibn Iyās as a narrative instance, in addition to a further investigation of intertextual relationships, it will be particularly necessary to examine the criteria along which the historical author Ibn Iyās changed his narrative voice: Does this have anything to do with his motivation to write, with his intended messages or his intended readership? It will also be interesting to ask whether there is a kind of fixed stock of narrative characteristics in the various texts by Ibn Iyās. Finally, in a further step, we will also have to address intertextual links to texts by other authors which Ibn Iyās used as sources. As a conclusion of this first approach via the path of intertextual comparison of narratives, we can state that Ibn Iyās' narrating voices are complex and multi-faceted, and certainly not flat and monotonous. His texts, although (or even because) they retell the same stories, offer many approaches to the study of his time—certainly much more than just material for positivist factual history.

## Bibliography

### Sources

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Fatih 4197.

–, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, eds. Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas*, 2nd ed., Beirut and Berlin 1982–1992.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

–, *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī amr al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah MS Taʾrīkh no. 205.

–, *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, British Museum MS Or. 6854.

–, *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī akhbār al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, Cambridge University Library MS Qq74.

–, *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī amr al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum, Cairo 2006.

–, *Jawāhir al-sulūk fī al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk*, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ancien fonds arabe 774 A, Ar. No. 1616.

–, *Marj al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Princeton University Library MS Garrett Collection Yahuda 4411.

–, *Marj al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ancien fonds arabe 617 A, Ar. No. 1554.

–, *ʿUqūd al-juman fī waqāʾiʿ al-azman*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Ayasofya 3311.

Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-shuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaghāʾ*, ed. Riyāḍ ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Murād, Beirut 2012.

## Studies

al-Amer, Ahmad, *Matériaux, mentalités et usage des sources chez Ibn Iyās: Mise au point du discours historique dans les Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fi waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Saarbrücken 2016.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris, *Cultural turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*, 2nd ed., Reinbek 2007.

Bauden, Frédéric, "Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Analysis," *Mamluk Studies Review* 12 (2008), pp. 51–118.

–, "Maqriziana XIV: Al-Maqrīzī's Last Opus (Al-Ḫabar ʿan al-Bašar) and Its Significance for the History of Islam," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (forthcoming).

–, *Trusting the Source as Far as It Can Be Trusted: Al-Maqrīzī and the Mongol Book of Laws (Maqriziana VII)*, Berlin forthcoming.

Becker, Carl H., "ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Online, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0062 [accessed 18/01/2019].

Brinner, William M., "Ibn Iyās," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Online, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3225 [accessed 24/01/2019].

Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden 1901–1949.

Browne, Eduard G., *A hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge 1900.

Conermann, Stephan (ed.), *Innovation oder Plagiat? Kompilationstechniken in der Vormoderne*, Berlin 2015.

–, "On the Art of Writing History in Mamluk Times," in: *Mamluk historiography revisited: Narratological perspectives*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2018, pp. 7–26.

de Slane, William M., *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris 1883–95.

Ellis, A. G. and Edward Edwards, *A descriptive list of the Arabic manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*, London 1912.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Erll, Astrid and Simone Roggendorf, "Kulturgeschichtliche Narratologie: Die Historisierung und Kontextualisierung kultureller Narrative," in: *Neue Ansätze in der Erzähltheorie,* ed. Ansgar Nünning, Trier 2002, pp. 73–114.

Franz, Kurt, *Kompilation in arabischen Chroniken: Die Überlieferung vom Aufstand der Zanǧ zwischen Geschichtlichkeit und Intertextualität vom 9. bis ins 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2004.

Genette, Gérard, *Narrative discourse: An essay in method*, Ithaca 1980.

–, *Palimpsests: Literature in the second degree*, Lincoln and London 1997.

Gharaibeh, Mohammad, "Šaǧarat ad-Durr: die einzige Sultanin des muslimischen Ägypten," in: *Ägyptische Königinnen vom Neuen Reich bis in die islamische Zeit. Beiträge zur Konferenz in der Kulturabteilung der Botschaft der Arabischen Republik Ägypten in Berlin am 19. 01. 2013*, eds. Mamdūḥ al-Damāṭī, Friedhelm Hoffmann and Martina Minas-Nerpel, Vaterstetten 2015, pp. 157–72.

Guo, Li, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997), pp. 15–43.

–, "Ibn Iyās, the Poet: The Literary Profile of a Mamluk Historian," in: *Mamluk historiography revisited: Narratological perspectives*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2018, pp. 77–90.

Haarmann, Ulrich, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1970.

Hirschler, Konrad, "Studying Mamluk Historiography: From Source-Criticism to the Cultural Turn," in: *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies – State of the Art*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2014, pp. 159–86.

Lellouch, Benjamin, "Le téléphone arabe au Caire au lendemain de la conquête ottomane: On-dits et rumeurs dans Ibn Iyās," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 75–76 (1995), pp. 117–30.

Levanoni, Amalia, "Šaǧar ad-Durr. A case of female sultanate in medieval Islam," in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras III: proceedings of the 6th, 7th, 8th international colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999*, eds. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen, Leuven 2001, pp. 209–18.

Margolin, Uri, "Narrator," in: *The living Handbook of Narratology*, eds. P. Hühn et al., Hamburg 2012, http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/narrator [accessed 15/01/2019].

Niederhoff, Burkhard, "Focalization," in: *The living Handbook of Narratology*, eds. P. Hühn et al., Hamburg 2011, https://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/node/18.html [accessed 21/01/2019].

Nünning, Ansgar and Vera Nünning (eds.), *Konzepte der Kulturwissenschaften: Theoretische Grundlagen – Ansätze – Perspektiven*, Stuttgart and Weimar 2003.

Ragib, Yusuf, "Une lettre de Šaǧar ad-Durr au futur sultan Qutuz," *Annales Islamologiques* 48/1 (2014), pp. 135–66.

Rosenthal, Franz, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, Rome 1947.

Utzschneider, Helmut and Stefan Ark Nitsche, *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung: Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments*, Gütersloh 2008.

Vollers, Charles, "La Chronique Égyptienne d'Ibn Iyās," *Revue d'Égypte* 2/9 (1896), pp. 545–73.

Wasserstein, David J., "Tradition manuscrite, authenticité, chronologie et développement de l'oeuvre littéraire d'Ibn Iyās," *Journal Asiatique* 280 (1992), pp. 81–114.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Winter, Michael, “Ibn Iyās,” in: *Historians of the Ottoman Empire,* eds. Cemal Kafadar, Hakan Karateke and Cornell H. Fleischer, Chicago 2007, https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/ibniyas_en.pdf [accessed 13/02/2019].

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Nobutaka Nakamachi

# A Historiographical Analysis of the Four Chronicles Attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī

In the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 828/October 1425, during a grain riot provoked by the high price of wheat in Cairo, the crowds protested to the *muḥtasib* (market supervisor), Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī (d. 1451), who was responsible for the grain market and for keeping the peace, accusing him and throwing stones at him. The then-sultan, al-Ashraf Barsbāy, protected al-ʿAynī by sending an armed force to suppress the mob; however, it was customary for Mamluk sultans to pacify the people's anger by punishing high-ranking government officials like the *muḥtasib*. The historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) described this event in detail, adding the following piece of information:

> [The sultan] favored him [al-ʿAynī] because he read histories of kings to him and translated them into the Turkish language.[1]

In this statement, al-Maqrīzī, a severe critic of the Mamluk regime, seems to allude to a relationship between the sultan and the *muḥtasib* that he clearly disapproved of. One of al-ʿAynī's disciples, al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497), also described his master's behavior toward the rulers in reproachful terms, although less strongly.

> Our teacher Badr-ad-dīn al-ʿAynī used to lecture on history and related subjects before al-Ašraf Barsbāy and others. (His lectures impressed) al-Ašraf so much that he made something like the following statement: "Islam is known only through him." Al-ʿAynī and others, such as Ibn Nāhiḍ and others, compiled biographies for (of) the kings (the Mamluk rulers of Egypt), since they knew that they liked to have it done. The elder Dawādār, the jurist Yašbak al-Muʾayyadī, who was an excellent and great amir and a student of mine, kindly asked me to do for az-Ẓāhir Ḫušqadamwhat al-ʿAynī had done for others. However, I did not comply with his wish.[2]

In contrast, another disciple of al-ʿAynī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 1470), describes his master's connection with Barsbāy in a positive manner:

---

[1] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, 4:698.

[2] al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, 43–44; Franz Rosenthal, 1968, 328–29.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> Frequently he [al-ʿAynī] would read in his [Barsbāy's] presence the histories of earlier rulers and their good deeds, recounting to him their wars, troubles, expeditions, and trials; he would explain this to him in Turkish and elaborate on it eloquently.… For this reason al-ʿAinī [sic] was his greatest boon companion and the one nearest to him, despite the fact that he never mixed in government affairs; on the contrary, his sittings with him were devoted only to the reading of history, annals, and the like.[3]

For better or worse, contemporary historians often seemed to consider that al-ʿAynī's social and political advancement had much to do with his practice of historical narrative: writing, reading, and explaining histories.[4] So what texts did he write, read, and explain in the presence of sultans?

By the end of the Mamluk period, al-ʿAynī's chronicles were well regarded, but their titles were scarcely known. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449) referred to one of al-ʿAynī's chronicles in the prolegomena of his work *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* without mentioning the book's title.[5] Al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī stated that al-ʿAynī had written three chronicles: a major history in nineteen or twenty volumes, a minor history in eight volumes, and "an excerpt (*mukhtaṣar*) of it" in three volumes.[6] The only historian during the Mamluk period who noted the titles of al-ʿAynī's chronicles was Ibn Iyās (d. 1524), and he referred to al-ʿAynī as "the author of *al-Taʾrīkh al-badrī.*"[7] Later, the Ottoman bibliographer Kātib Čelebī (d. 1657) identified two of al-ʿAynī's chronicles: the major history, which he referred to as *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, and the minor one, *Taʾrīkh al-badr fī awṣāf ahl al-ʿaṣr.*[8] However, closer examination of the manuscripts of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* reveals that there are four different versions of this text preserved under the title of *ʿIqd al-jumān.*[9] What is the fourth chronicle ?

There is another question: if all four versions can be attributed to him, why did al-ʿAynī write so many chronicles? Historians in the Mamluk period often wrote more than one chronicle, such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 1325), ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī (d. 1514), and Ibn Iyās.[10] Therefore, an examination of each of al-ʿAynī's chronicles provides a good example of historians' practices in this period.

---

[3] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 15:110–11, as cited by Broadbridge, 1999, 96–97.

[4] Modern scholars also connect al-ʿAynī's historical narrative practice to his social success. See Schimmel, 1965, 356–57; Rosenthal, 1968, 104–05; Flemming, 1977, 252; Petry, 1981, 69–70; Berkey, 1992, 100, 153; Broadbridge, 1999, 94–97.

[5] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 1:3.

[6] al-Sakhawi, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:131–35; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 11:197. It is ambiguous whether an excerpt of the former or the latter.

[7] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:292.

[8] Kātib Čelebī, *Kashf*, 1:287; 2:115.

[9] Nakamachi, 2005, 149–51.

[10] For Baybars al-Manṣūrī, see Richards' introduction to his edition of Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdah*, xv–xxv; for ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, see Kikuchi, 2004, 29–48; for Ibn Iyās, see Wasserstein, 1992.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

The present historiographical study treats the four chronicles attributed to al-ʿAynī as four independent works. A codicological survey and a textual comparison will help clarify when, how, and why al-ʿAynī wrote each of his chronicles. In conclusion, we will examine the importance of historical narrative practice for al-ʿAynī's career.

## 1. Studies

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the French scholar Quatremère cited manuscript no. 684 in the Bibliothèque royale de France (now relabeled Arabe 1544 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)) in his translation of al-Maqrīzī's chronicle.[11] As far as we know, this was the first use of al-ʿAynī's *ʿIqd al-jumān* by a Western scholar. At the same time, Quatremère introduced a manuscript of Ibn al-Yāfiʿī's *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, which was later identified as a manuscript of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* through a discussion between Hammer-Purgstall and Defrémery.[12] This manuscript, labeled Arabe 1543 at the BnF, was recognized as one of the important sources for the history of the crusades and was partly edited and published with a French translation as a part of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades.*[13] Afterward, as German and French scholars surveyed libraries in Istanbul and other cities around the world, many manuscripts were confirmed as copies of the *ʿIqd al-jumān.*[14]

However, the more *ʿIqd al-jumān* manuscripts were discovered, the more questionable the relationships between them were found to be. For example, Little, who suggested the *ʿIqd al-jumān*'s importance as a primary source for Mamluk history, did not analyze the differences between several versions of manuscripts, although he was clearly aware of them.[15] Schäfer, sampling the description of the year 742/1344, compared several manuscripts of the *ʿIqd al-jumān:* Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Topkapi Palace Museum Library) MS Ahmet III 2911/C34, Süleymaniye MS Carullah 1591, and Topkapı MS Ahmet III 2911/A18. She classified them respectively as a rough draft ("die Kladde," *muswaddah*), a provisional stage ("Zwischenstadium"), and a final version ("die Endfassung," *bayāḍ*); however, she overlooked the existence of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, to which Carullah 1591 seems to belong, and mistook the most abbreviated text of all, Ahmet III 2911/A18, for a final version.[16]

---

[11] Quatremère, 1837, 1/2:219–228.

[12] Hammer-Purgstall, 1842, 448–50; Defrémery, 1846, 535–54.

[13] al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. Barbier de Meynard.

[14] Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2:52, S2:50–51; Spies, 1932, 88–89; Cahen, 1936, 333–62.

[15] See Little, 1970; idem, 1974, 43.

[16] Schäfer, 1971, 46–58.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Massoud analyzed the descriptions of the years 778/1376–77, 793/1390–91, and 804/1401–02 using Dār al-Kutub (hereafter, DK) MS 1584 taʾrīkh and Topkapı MS Ahmet III 2911/B2, and Topkapı MS Ahmet III 2911/A19. He presumed that the DK MS is divided into two parts: the first written in the hand of Aḥmad b. Aḥmad, al-ʿAynī's brother; the second in the hand of one of al-ʿAynī's disciples, al-Ikhmīmī (al-Akhmīmī). He hypothesized that the first part of DK MS and Ahmet III 2911/B2 are summaries produced in different ways from the main copy of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, whereas the second part corresponds to the original text, that is, Ahmet III 2911/A19. Massoud conjectured that the first part of DK MS is identical to the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* text in the British Library (BL), Add. 22360.[17]

The author's previous research partly resolved the complicated relationships among the manuscripts. A sample test of the descriptions of the year 728/1327–28 identified the *ʿIqd al-jumān*'s main text, those of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, and two summaries of each, and source analysis illustrated that the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* is not an excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* but an earlier text.[18] However, these conclusions apply only to the period between 725/1324–25 and 735/1334–35. We are now ready to expand our understanding and grasp the overall structure of al-ʿAynī's historical works.

While these historiographical studies were being undertaken, Arab philologists published several series of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, based on an inspection of manuscripts at the DK and the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts (Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah, hereafter IAM) in Cairo. Al-Qarmūṭ published a two-volume edition in 1985 and 1989 respectively, covering the final part of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, from 815/1412–13 to 849/1445–46, based on Ahmet III 2911/A19 as the original text, through a microfilm copy preserved at the IAM. Amīn's edition, the first volume of which was published in 1987, covers the first part of the Mamluk period, from 648/1250 to 717/1317. Amīn used DK 1584 ta'rīkh, which includes Veliyyeddin 2391 to 2393 and which is preserved in the Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi (Beyazit National Library) in Istanbul. Maḥmūd published four volumes that cover the earlier Ayyubid period from 565/1168 to 628/1230. This edition is based on Ahmet III 2911/A12 and Veliyyeddin 2389 for the first volume, and then Veliyyeddin 2390 and 2391, all on microfilm, at the IAM and the DK. Shukrī's *al-Sulṭān barqūq, muʾassis dawlat al-mamālīk al-jarākisah* is also an edition of al-ʿAynī's chronicle, covering 784/1382 to 801/1399, which is based on Ahmet III 2911/A19 and the DK microfilm of the Beyazıt MS Veliyyedin series. In addition to these published editions, al-Hajeri's Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to the University of Edinburgh in 2007, contains edited text from the *ʿIqd al-jumān*

---

[17] Massoud, 2008, 39–45. Massoud also surmised that the BL MS was not in fact *Taʾrīkh al-badr,* but rather *ʿIqd al-jumān*'s main copy.

[18] Nakamachi, 2005, 148–57.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

from 431/1040 to 520/1126, based on the Süleymaniye MS Esad Efendi 2317 as a principal copy; and compares MS Ahmet III 2911/C21 and MS Awqāf 2159, which are held at the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Turkish and Islamic Art Museum).[19] At the end of the present paper, we will return to these various editions to evaluate whether these editors used appropriate manuscripts as their principal copies.

## 2. *ʿIqd al-jumān:* the major chronicle

Al-ʿAynī originally wrote the *ʿIqd al-jumān* in nineteen volumes, of which fourteen holographs are extant. Even though these manuscripts are scattered among several libraries, all of which are in Istanbul, we can recognize them as a coherent series due to their common features: they were written by the same hand on the same number of lines on the same size paper. Moreover, on the left side of the upper part of the title pages of all these manuscripts, there are brief notes:

> The author of it (this manuscript), Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī al-Ḥanafī, stopped [to endow] it and regulated it in the *waqf* document, and its position should be in his school (*waqafa musattiruhū wa-muʾallifuhū maḥmūdu l-ʿaynī l-ḥanafī wa-sharaṭahū fī kitābi l-waqfi wa-maqarruhū madrasatuhū*).[20]

These notes show that the series of manuscripts was endowed as *waqf* property by al-ʿAynī himself to his own school, *al-madrasah al-badrīyah*. These holographs also have another brief note in common, which states, "Taghrī Birmish al-Faqīh read it (*ṭālaʿahū*) in the year *dāl lām ḍād* (i.e. 834 in *abjad* numerals)."[21] As all these features show, this series might be the final version of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*. The manuscripts might have been preserved at *al-madrasah al-badrīyah* until the Ottoman army took them and put them in palace libraries.

Table 1 lists these holographs of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, showing the completion date of each manuscript as written in the colophon. We can add to the list the completion date of volume 14, the holograph of which is not extant, as Rabīʿ II 24, 832/January 30, 1429, because it was recorded by one of al-ʿAynī's disciples, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ikhmīmī, in his manuscript copied from the holograph, which is not extant today.[22] This list demonstrates that al-ʿAynī seems to have written a volume about every three months. Consequently, we can guess that he started to write volume 1 during Shawwāl 824/October 1421 at the latest.

---

[19] al-Hajeri, 2007. She erroneously gives her source as Esad Efendi 2137, in ibid., 27.

[20] For example, see MS Ahmet III 2911/A1, fol. 1a.

[21] For Taghrī Birmish b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jalālī al-Muʾayyadī al-Faqīh, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 4:68–74; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:33–34.

[22] See al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. Amīn, 2:393–94. It is taken from Beyazıt MS Veliyyedin 2391.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

When, then, did he finish writing the whole series of the *ʿIqd al-jumān?* Volume 19 has descriptions until 849/1445–46. However, if we look closely at this manuscript, we find a *basmalah* phrase in the header on folio 271b, which starts with the headline "chapter of the events in the year 838." It divides the contents of the manuscripts into two parts. In the first part, whenever he names Sultan Barsbāy, al-ʿAynī uses honorific expressions like "God save him," "God endure his kingship," and "God glorify his victory." By contrast, no honorific expressions to Barsbāy are found in the latter part. This difference suggests that the first part of this manuscript was written during Barsbāy's reign, which ended with his death in 841/1438, and that the second part was written after the sultan's death.

Thus, the writing period for the *ʿIqd al-jumān* is almost consistent with the reign of Sultan Barsbāy, who is known to have been a patron of al-ʿAynī. However, if we regard al-ʿAynī's start date as Shawwāl 824/October 1421, it would precede Barsbāy's seizure of power as a regent (*niẓām al-mulk*) on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 15, 824/December 11, 1421, and his ascension to the throne on Rabīʿ II 8, 824/April 1, 1422.[23] It is likely, therefore, that al-ʿAynī did not write the *ʿIqd al-jumān* to dedicate it to Barsbāy, at least when he began work on it.

If it was not a literary offering to Barsbāy, then why did al-ʿAynī write the *ʿIqd al-jumān?* We can find a possible answer in the preface of the *ʿIqd al-jumān.* There al-ʿAynī stated his purpose in writing it as follows:

> A poor one for God's mercy, Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAynī says; once I compiled a history(A) in my young age, from the Genesis of the World to the year 805 (1402–03) … And then I began to revise it into a better arrangement and clearer organization than before,(B) with small additions, noble incidents, and distinction of unclear names of persons and places. I titled it *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān.*[24]

Superscript A refers to his previous chronicle, which corresponds to the *Taʾrīkh al-badr,* the minor chronicle. It is noteworthy that this "history" includes the description "to the year 805," which we can compare to the completion date of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* (see below). His purpose for writing is clearly stated in superscript B: he intends to revise his former work. In this preface, al-ʿAynī includes neither information about his social circumstances that led him to write the *ʿIqd al-jumān* nor honorific expressions to monarchs or ruling elites. As far as we can determine from the preface, the *ʿIqd al-jumān* should not be regarded as a political offering but as something that al-ʿAynī wrote for his own literary and academic interests.

---

[23] See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, 4:593, 607; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 7:432, 453; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. Qarmūṭ, 2:162, 180.

[24] MS Ahmet III 2911/A1, fol. 1b. See also Ahmet III 2911/C1, fols. 1b–2a; Bayazıt MS 2374, fol. 1b; Sülyemaniye MS Ayasofye 2938, fol. 387b.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Before moving to the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, we should look at the other copies of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* (see Table 2). No copies of this work that were produced during the lifetime of the author have been found, while dozens of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* manuscripts copied during the Mamluk period are extant. Among them, eight manuscripts copied by one of al-ʿAynī's disciples, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ikhmīmī,[25] from 892/1487 to 898/1492, are the most important, because they were copied directly from the author's holographs.[26] This Ikhmīmī set is of primary importance, surpassed only by the holographs; and as Table 2 shows, this set complements volumes 4, 14, and 16, which the holograph set lacks. Another copyist during the Mamluk period is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā b. Ismāʿīl al-ʿUmarī al-Azharī, about whom no information is found in any contemporary biographical sources.[27] There are eighteen copies that were—or appear to have been—produced by him. They differ in the structure of the volume compared with both the holograph set and the Ikhmīmī set in that every two volumes by al-Azharī equal one volume of holographs. The Azharī set is also important as a primary source because its contents are almost identical with the original text, and, above all, because it fills in the lacunae in the holographs and the Ikhmīmī set. As demonstrated in Table 2, volumes 9 and 10 of al-Azharī's version fill in the lacunae of the original volume 5.

In addition, several four-tome sets of *ʿIqd al-jumān* were copied during the Ottoman period: Topkapı MS Ahmet III 2912, Süleymaniye MSS Carullah 1588–91, Gülnüş Valide Sultan 61–64, Beşir Ağa 454–57, and Institut Narodov Azii (in St. Petersburg) MS 350.[28] These sets can be separated into smaller volumes, each of which has been copied from either a nineteen-volume set or a half-volume set. They sometimes have lacunae for the length of all or part of a volume; this is flagged up in the text by remarks such as, "From [the year] 689 to 708, original manuscript lacks" in the Ottoman-Turkish language.[29] For this reason the Ottoman four-tome sets should be regarded as incomplete texts that are of only minor importance as primary sources.

## 3. *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, the minor chronicle

Many scholars have confused the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* with an excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* or with the *ʿIqd al-jumān* itself. For example, MS Süleymaniye 830 has been regarded as a manuscript of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* even in a recently published

---

[25] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 7/51–53.

[26] See colophons of Beyazıt MSS Veliyyeddin 2374, 2389, 2391, and 2396.

[27] Anonymous, 1930, 5:267–69.

[28] About the St. Petersburg MS, see Mikhajlov, 1965, 3:82.

[29] Süleymaniye MS Beşir Ağa 457, fol. 227b.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

catalog of the Süleymaniye Library.[30] However, compared with volume 17 of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* holograph, it is clear that Süleymaniye 830 contains descriptions that are different from the original text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*. In fact, the title page and the colophon of this manuscript clearly mention that it is volume 9 of "*al-Taʾrīkh al-badrī*,"[31] copied by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿAyntābī (al-ʿAynī), the younger brother of al-ʿAynī.[32] Moreover, its contents cannot be regarded as merely a summary of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* but as an independent historical work, which in some places has original descriptions not found in the *ʿIqd al-jumān* text.[33]

A bibliographical survey clarifies that there are other manuscripts of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* copied by Shihāb al-Dīn, as Table 3 shows. These manuscripts share the same handwriting and characteristic appearance. Their colophons contain the copyist's name, Shihāb al-Dīn, and completion dates ranging from 809/1406 to 813/1410. Because the final folios of volume 9 indicate its continuation to volume 10, this set seems to be a ten-volume series. Among them, BnF MS Arabe 1544 has complicated features: no indication of its title and author on its first page, three different kinds of handwriting, and no colophon at the end. Because the handwriting of the first part (fols. 1b–102b) is that of Shihāb al-Dīn, (observed by Slane and confirmed by myself[34]), and because its descriptions begin with the year 799/1396, this manuscript, at least its first half, should be regarded as a continuation of Süleymaniye 830, that is, volume 10 of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*.

Next, we have a conflict between the author's statement and the extant manuscript. Al-ʿAynī declared that his *Taʾrīkh al-badr* contains descriptions "to the year 805," as we saw earlier; but the copy by Shihāb al-Dīn has entries up to the year 814/1411–12. We may conjecture that Shihāb al-Dīn's version is a revised and enlarged one, containing nine extra years' worth of history.

Shihāb al-Dīn's closeness to the author (he and al-ʿAynī were biological brothers) leads us to assume that he could have observed his older brother's holographs or might have taken his dictation. So which is the original text from which Shihāb al-Dīn copied? Table 4 lists three holograph manuscripts of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*. Their outward resemblance indicates that they are one set, although they have been misidentified as manuscripts of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*.

Let us look at the preface of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, written in the first folio of volume 1:

---

[30] al-Dughaym, 2010, 2:493.

[31] For the difference between *badrī* and *badr*, see below.

[32] Regarding Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAynī's detailed biography, see Nakamachi, 2013.

[33] See Nakamachi, 2005, 158.

[34] Slane, 1883, 1:291.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> Now then, the poor servant of God the Powerful, Maḥmūd b. Ahmad al-Sharūḥī[35] al-ʿAynī, says, it filled my heart to compile a book(A) that contains the beginning of the world; tales of prophets and messengers; the biography of our Prophet, Muḥammad; biographies of righteous caliphs after them; disciples and followers; intellectuals and pious ones; the history of kings and sultans in all the times and eras … But the lack of everyday provender prevented me from it, and misfortune for long periods restrained me. However, God favored [me] with ending anxiety and improving [my] situation(B)… Then, I compiled a book containing much importance and abundant benefit like gems adorning a pearl necklace, necklaces decorated with precious corals, which cover up what occurs in my mind and which fit what hides in my heart. I decided [to use] Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* as a main source of it,(C) to follow his way except what is too strange, to omit nothing except what is well known … I titled it as *al-Taʾrīkh al-badrī fī awṣāf ahl al-ʿaṣr*.(D)

In this preface the author explains more about the background of the writing of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* than he did in that of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*. In superscript A, al-ʿAynī states his intention of writing a universal history. Then he notes that his circumstances kept him from writing it (superscript B). So his own descriptions outline his difficult situation before 799/1397. Al-ʿAynī had lived at *al-madrasah al-ẓāhirīyah* as a Sufi, or a boarding student, since he first came to Cairo in 788/1386.[36] When his master, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Sayrāmī, died in 790/1388, al-ʿAynī was expelled from the madrasah and forced to return to his home in ʿAyntāb, where he lived through the siege by the rebel amir Tashtamur Mintāsh.[37] In 794/1392, al-ʿAynī moved to Damascus and was appointed *muḥtasib* of this city.[38] From that point on, we do not have precise information about him until he made a pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca in 800/1398.[39] He might have moved to Cairo before the pilgrimage and continued to live there until he died; so there is a possibility that he decided to settle in Cairo at about the same time he started writing the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*.

At superscript C, al-ʿAynī states that the main source for his history is Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373). This testimony agrees with that of his contemporary, the historian Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who wrote, "[al-ʿAynī] stated that Ibn Kathīr is his source (*ʿumdah*) in his history. And it is as he stated."[40] In fact, al-ʿAynī often references his source with tags like, "Ibn Kathīr said" in the *ʿIqd al-jumān*. However, as previous studies have demonstrated, al-ʿAynī also used sources other than Ibn Kathīr in writing the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, and he sometimes refers to

---

[35] The meaning of this *niṣbah* is unclear.

[36] MS Süleymaniye 830, 137b–38a. For autobiographical descriptions found in al-ʿAynī's chronicles, see Nakamachi, 2009; idem, 2014 (both in Japanese).

[37] MS Süleymaniye 830, 180b.

[38] MS Süleymaniye 830, 194a–b.

[39] Topkapı MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, 12a, 14a; BnF MS Arabe 1544, 10b.

[40] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 1:3.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

information taken from these sources as "Ibn Kathīr said".[41] This indicates that al-ʿAynī initially planned to write the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* by summarizing Ibn Kathīr, and that he might later have mistaken his other sources as Ibn Kathīr when writing the *ʿIqd al-jumān.* We will return to this point later in the paper.

Finally, in this preface he names this chronicle *al-Taʾrīkh al-badrī*, using the adjective form of *badr* (superscript D). This name contradicts the better-known title *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, using the noun form. A later historian, likely Kātib Čelebī, might have altered the original title, changing *badrī* to *badr*, which seems to rhyme, even if imperfectly, with the final part of the title, *fī awsāf ahl al-ʿasr.*

## 4. The *Mukhtaṣar* of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*

The Topkapı has other two holograph manuscripts of al-ʿAynī, labeled Ahmet III 2911/B1 and B2.[42] Although they both lack titles and colophons, their outward features resemble the nineteen-volume series of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* holographs, and the first folios of these two contain brief notes about *waqf*: "The author of it (this manuscript), Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī, stopped [to endow] it and regulated it in the *waqf* document, and its position should be in his school."[43] However, each of these two manuscripts covers a longer period in one volume than the nineteen-volume series of the *ʿIqd al-jumān:* B1 covers from 95/713–14 to 520/1126–27, and B2 from 726/1325–26 to 835/1431–32, whereas volume 7 of the full version covers the period between 96/714–15 and 150/767–68, and volume 17 the years between 725/1324–25 and 745/1344–45. These differences mean that B1 and B2 contain relatively less detailed descriptions than the full text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān.*

A bibliographical survey shows that the time gap between these two manuscripts can be complemented by another manuscript, Selim Ağa 840. These three manuscripts share common features: handwriting, size, and a brief note about *waqf* at the beginning. Furthermore, as Table 5 shows, Selim Ağa 840 fits into the gap between B1 and B2; we can therefore regard these three manuscripts as a coherent set.

What then is this set? A textual comparison between B2 and A17 (i.e. volume 17 of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*) reveals that the former contains much less information

---

[41] See Nakamachi, 2005, 153–57, 160, n. 24. Although I determined the textual closeness between the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, it would be more reasonable to consider that al-ʿAynī's source during this period was Ibn Duqmāq, as Massoud clarified. See Massoud, 2008, 40–41.

[42] Formerly these two manuscripts were known as Ahmet III 2911/B2 and A18 respectively, e.g. in Karatay's catalogue. They had been relabeled B1 and B2, when I examined them in the library in March 2005.

[43] See the brief note about *waqf* in the full text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, mentioned above.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

than the latter, and that the latter includes all the paragraphs contained in the former. The topic order in B2 follows that of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*. In contrast, if we compare B2 to Süleymaniye 830 (i. e. volume 9 of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*) we find that the topic order in B2 is thoroughly different from that of Süleymaniye 830, and that some information in B2 is not included in Süleymaniye 830. Therefore, we can conclude that B2 is an excerpt version (*mukhtaṣar*) of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*'s full text, not that of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*.[44] Consequently, this three-piece holograph set should be regarded as an excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*.

Among the manuscripts of this set, Selim Ağa 840 has a colophon, which shows its completion date as 834/1431. As Table 6 illustrates, this date suggests a more accurate completion date of the full text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, which was not clear from the data shown in Table 1. Selim Ağa 840 covers volumes 12 to 16 of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*; therefore, volumes 15 and 16 must have been produced between 832/1429, the year volume 14 was written, and 834/1431, the year Selim Ağa 840 was written. Likewise, Ahmet III 2911/B1, which covers volumes 7 to 11 of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, must have been produced after 831/1428, which is the year volume 11 was written. Although it is difficult to determine the completion date of Ahmet III 2911/B2, which covers volume 17 up to the first half of volume 19, it may have been completed after 838/1434–35. Thus, it seems that al-ʿAynī wrote the excerpts of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* between 832/1428 at the earliest and after 838/1435, and that he wrote these excerpts after he had almost finished the full text.

## 5. The *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*

We have now determined that Selim Ağa 837 is the fourth variant of al-ʿAynī's chronicle.[45] This manuscript, which seems to be in Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAynī's hand, lacks a title page and is labeled as a *Taʾrīkh al-badr* manuscript; however, a sample test of the year 728/1327–28 shows that its contents differ from those of Süleymaniye 830 (i.e. the text of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*). Even though the descriptions of the former are shorter than the latter, the latter includes all the paragraphs of the former in the same order. Hence, Selim Ağa 837 should be regarded as an excerpt of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*.[46]

I conjecture that Selim Ağa 837 belongs to the chronicle known as *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī wa-l-qamar al-munīr fī awṣāf ahl al-ʿaṣr wa-l-zamān*. As Cahen and Karatay point out, this chronicle is an independent work written by Shihāb al-Dīn

---

[44] Comparison in the descriptions of the year 728/1327–28. See Nakamachi, 2005, 150, 165–67 (Table 2).

[45] Ibid., 151.

[46] See ibid., 151, 165–67 (Table 2).

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

al-ʿAynī, the younger brother of al-ʿAynī. Five manuscripts written by the author are extant.[47] Table 7 shows the data of the *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī* manuscripts, juxtaposed with the data of Selim Ağa 837. These six manuscripts share superficial features including their handwriting. Furthermore, if we compare the *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī* manuscripts with the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, the excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, and the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, we can recognize that the textual relationship of these four variants parallels that of Selim Ağa 837 and the other three variants. Table 8 shows the results of a sample test of the year 565/1169–70, referring to a published version of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* (Maḥmūd's edition), Selim Ağa 840 (excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*), Selim Ağa 839 (*Taʾrīkh al-badr*), and Ahmet III 2952/6 (*al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī*). We can therefore presume that *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī* is an excerpt of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr,* just as in the sample test of the year 728/1327–28, which was surveyed in a previous study.

## Conclusion

Having considered the overall structure of the historical works attributed to al-ʿAynī, we may say that among the four variants, the oldest is the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, which was originally named *al-Taʾrīkh al-badrī*, a title that was known by the end of the Mamluk period. Al-ʿAynī began writing this chronicle, summarizing Ibn Kathīr's chronicle, when he settled in Cairo around 799/1397. Then he started writing the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, his largest chronicle and the second oldest, in about 824/1421. Although written at almost the same time as his patron Barsbāy seized power, the *ʿIqd al-jumān* should not be regarded as an offering to this monarch but as a revised version motivated by al-ʿAynī's own literary and academic interests. After he had almost finished the full text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, al-ʿAynī began writing an excerpt of it: the third variant. Finally, the fourth variant, which corresponds exactly to the excerpt of the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, was not written by al-ʿAynī but by his younger brother, Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, as an independent chronicle titled *Taʾrīkh al-shihābī.*

This classification enables us to reconsider or to revise the previous historiographical studies and published editions of al-ʿAynī's historical works. Schäfer's three-step suggestion can thus be rearranged in appropriate order as follows:

- Ahmet III 2911/C34, which she regards as a rough draft, is the original text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, although it belongs to the half-volume series copied by al-Azharī.

---

[47] Cahen, 1936, 354; Karatay, 1966, 3:385–86. See also Nakamachi, 2013, 99.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

- Ahmet III 2911/A18, now known as B2, which she considers a final version of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, is merely an excerpt of it.
- Though she views Carullah as a provisional stage between them, it is a manuscript of *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī* if compared with Selim Ağa 832.

Massoud's hypotheses also can be partly revised. Whereas he correctly identified Ahmet III 2911/B2 as an excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, the DK MS should be paid more careful attention. According to my own survey, DK MS 1584 is a microfilm copied from several manuscripts, including Beyazıt MSS Veliyyeddin 2395 and 2396. Massoud's supposition that the latter part of the DK MS, that is, Veliyyeddin 2396, corresponds to the original text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* is supportable because it is a direct copy of al-ʿAynī's holograph by the hand of al-Ikhmīmī. However, Massoud's conjecture that the former part of the DK MS, that is, Veliyyeddin 2395, corresponds to a summary of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, or volume 18 of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* itself, is totally without support. It is actually the same text as the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, and it should be differentiated from the text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān.*

If we continue to investigate the published editions of al-ʿAynī's chronicle, we can safely conclude that four of the Arab philologists, al-Qarmūṭ, Amīn, Maḥmūd, and al-Hajeri, edited reliable versions based on appropriate manuscripts as their main source, and that all of them referred to al-ʿAynī's holographs or al-Ikhmīmī's version as principal copies. Shukrī's edition poses a difficult problem: while the first half is based on the DK MS, that is, Veliyyedin 2395, which corresponds to the *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī* text, the latter half after 799 is based on Ahmet III 2911/A19, the original text of the *ʿIqd al-jumān.* Consequently, Shukrī's edition contains two different works combined into one book.

Let me here stress the fact that volume 18 of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* has no holographs or copies written during the Mamluk period as far as we know. Even among the four-tome versions copied during the Ottoman period, we do not have any original text containing the descriptions of volume 18; instead, some Ottoman copyists cited the equivalent descriptions from the *Taʾrīkh al-badr.* This shows that the original text of volume 18 must have been lost by the eighteenth century. Therefore, until the original text of volume 18 is found, even though that is unlikely, we recommend that the future publication of an edition covering the period of volume 18 should be based on the excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, Ahmet III 2911/B2, and on the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, whether Süleymaniye 830 or BL add 22360.

In concluding this chapter, three questions remain:

(1) Why are there so many chronicles? In effect, historians in the Mamluk period often rewrote their earlier chronicles. Among them, al-ʿAynī's is a very

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

rare case because he wrote the universal history from the creation of the world to his own era three times. Each of al-ʿAynī's chronicles has a different writing purpose. His first and minor chronicle, the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, was written at the start of his political and social career in Cairo around 799/1396, and he intended to summarize a famous chronicle of his day, Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah.* It might have been an important step for the novice historian to make a summary or an extract of a masterpiece. Then he began writing his major chronicle, the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, at the pinnacle of his career, about 824/1421, to produce a revised version for his own literary and academic interest. However, the *ʿIqd al-jumān* might be the text that al-ʿAynī read in the presence of Sultan Barsbāy, even if it was not intended as a literary offering. Rather, al-ʿAynī might have written the excerpt of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* to explain its contents more easily to the almost illiterate sultan.

(2) How were al-ʿAynī's chronicles circulated? If we take into account the dissemination of texts, it is ironic that the *Taʾrīkh al-badr* seems to have circulated to a broader audience during al-ʿAynī's lifetime than the *ʿIqd al-jumān.* One of al-ʿAynī's competitors, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, stated that he read al-ʿAynī's chronicle, which obviously referred to the *Taʾrīkh al-badr.*[48] By contrast, there is no evidence that the *ʿIqd al-jumān* was cited by contemporary historians earlier than ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, who lived a generation after al-ʿAynī.[49] Even the last Mamluk historian, Ibn Iyās, failed to notice the title *ʿIqd al-jumān* and instead called al-ʿAynī "the author of *al-Taʾrīkh al-badrī.*" There is no evidence that manuscripts of the *ʿIqd al-jumān* were copied by his disciples during al-ʿAynī's lifetime.[50] It is peculiar that his younger brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, did not refer to the *ʿIqd al-jumān* when he wrote his own chronicle, *al-Taʾrīkh al-shihābī.* The *ʿIqd al-jumān* might have been a book intended exclusively for the sultan and his court; therefore, it was not accessible even to the author's brother. In any case, further textual comparison would illuminate this phenomenon.

(3) Why did al-ʿAynī erroneously name his source as Ibn Kathīr? This is a question that many researchers, like Amīn and Massoud, have already raised. While al-ʿAynī often referred to Ibn Kathīr in the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* does not contain enough information, as al-ʿAynī stated. Why does such an inconsistency occur? The key is the *Taʾrīkh al-badr.*

A text comparison in a previous article shows that the descriptions under the reference "Ibn Kathīr said" in the *ʿIqd al-jumān* are effectively verbatim citations from the *Taʾrīkh al-badr.* As we have seen, al-ʿAynī started out with the plan of

---

[48] Al-Maqrīzī also presumably quoted from the *Taʾrīkh al-badr*, not from the *ʿIqd al-jumān.* See Nakamachi, 2019.

[49] Kikuchi, 2004, 32.

[50] Al-Ikhmīmī and al-Azharī copied the *ʿIqd al-jumān* after 890/1485. There is evidence only that Taghrī Birmish read al-ʿAynī's holographs during his lifetime, in 834/1431–32, as seen above.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

writing his *Taʾrīkh al-badr* by summarizing Ibn Kathīr. Later on, when working on the *ʿIqd al-jumān*, he might have regarded all of his sources as being Ibn Kathīr and cited his previous chronicle without checking his original source, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah.* Further critical surveying is necessary to clarify whether this error stemmed from a misconception by him or was an intentional mistake.

## Bibliography

### Sources

al-ʿAynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. and trans. Casimir A. Barbier de Meynard, "Extraits du livre intitulé le Collier de perles," in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens orientaux*, ed. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, vol. 2, Paris 1887, pp. 181–250.

–, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ, Cairo 1989.

–, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān: ʿAsr salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, 5 vols., Cairo 1986–2009.

–, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān: al-ʿAsr al-ayyūbī*, ed. Maḥmūd Rizq Maḥmūd, 4 vols. Cairo 2002–13.

Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah fī taʾrīkh al-hijrah*, ed. Donald S. Richards, Berlin 1998.

Kātib Čelebī, Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, eds. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā and Rifʿat Bīlgah al-Kilīsī, 2 vols., Istanbul 1941–43.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 9 vols., Hyderabad 1967—76.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1982–84.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-l-mustawfī baʿda al-wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, 13 vols., Cairo 1984–2009.

–, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, 16 vols., Cairo 1963–72.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. and trans. Etienne Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, 2 vols. (in 4 bindings), Paris 1837–45.

–, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1939–1958; ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1970–73.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols. (in 6 bindings), Beirut n.d.

–, *Iʿlān bi-l-tawbīkh li-man dhamma al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Imām Manṣūrī, Damascus 1930–31.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Studies

Anonymous (ed.), *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabīyah al-mawjūdah bi-dār al-kutub al-miṣrīyah*, Cairo 1930.

Berkey, Jonathan, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*, Princeton 1992.

Broadbridge, Anne F., "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999), pp. 85–107.

Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden 1901–1949.

Cahen, Claude, "Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Egypte et la Mesopotamie: De la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *Revue des études islamiques* 10 (1936), pp. 333–62.

Defrémery, Charles, "Nouvelles observations sur le véritable auteur de l'histoire du pseudo-Haçan ben Ibrahim," *Journal Asiatique: Quatrième Série*, 8 (1846), pp. 535–43.

al-Dughaym, Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Sayyid (ed.), *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīyah wa-l-turkīyah wa-l-fārsīyah fī al-maktabah al-sulaymānīyah*, Jiddah 2010.

Flemming, Barbara, "Literary Activity in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in: *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, pp. 249–60.

al-Hajeri, Shayea Abd al-Hadi, "A Critical Edition of the Eleventh Volume of *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, with Particular Reference to the Historical Fragments from the Lost Book of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī called: *ʿUnwān al-siyar fī maḥāsin ahl al-Badū wa'l Ḥaḍar* or *Al-Maʿārif al-mutaʾkhkhira*," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh 2007.

Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von, "Note sur le véritable auteur de l'histoire du prétendu Yafii, de la Bibliothèque Royale de Paris," *Journal Asiatique: Troisième Série* 14 (1842), pp. 448–50.

Karatay, Fehmi Edhem, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1966.

Kikuchi, Tadayoshi, "An Analysis of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī al-Malaṭī's Description of the Year 848: On the Process of Writing History in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2004), pp. 29–54.

Little, Donald P., *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāsir Muhammad ibn Qalāʾūn*, Wiesbaden 1970.

–, "The Recovery of a Lost Source for Bāḥrī Mamlūk History: al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974), pp. 42–54.

Massoud, Sami G., *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period*, Leiden 2008.

Mikhajlov, A.I., *Katalog arabskikh rukopisej instituta narodov azii akademii nauk SSSR*, Moscow 1965.

Nakamachi, Nobutaka, "Al-ʿAynī's Chronicles as a Source for the Bahrī Mamlūk Period," *Orient* 40 (2005), pp. 140–71.

–, "Badoruddîn ainî no gakumonteki kyaria: Mamurûkuchô uramâ no ichi jirei" [The Academic Career of Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī: A Case Study from the Mamluk *ʿUlamāʾ*],

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*Kônan daigaku kiyô, bungaku hen* [Memoirs of Konan University] 159 (2009), pp. 51–71.

–, “Life in the Margins: Shihāb al-Din Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, a Non-Elite Intellectual in the Mamluk Period,” *Orient* 48 (2013), pp. 95–112.

–, “Badoruddîn ainî no shokugyôteki kyaria: Mamurûkuchô uramâ no ichi jirei (2)” [The Professional Career of Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī: A Case Study from the Mamluk *ʿUlamāʾ* (2)], *Kônan daigaku kiyô, bungaku hen* [Memoirs of Konan University] 164 (2014), pp. 237–48.

–, “Al-ʿAynī’s Working Method for His Chronicles: Analysis of His Holograph Manuscripts,” in: *In the Author’s Hand: Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in the Islamic Handwritten Tradition*, eds. Frédéric Bauden and Élise Franssen, Leiden 2019, pp. 277–99.

Petry, Carl, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981.

Rosenthal, Franz, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1968.

Schäfer, Barbara, *Beiträge zur mamlukischen Historiographie nach dem Tode al-Malik an-Nāṣirs; mit einer Teiledition der Chronik Šams ad-Dīn aš-Šuǧāʿīs*, Freiburg 1971.

Schimmel, Annemarie, “Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the Later Mamlūk Period,” *Islamic Studies* 4/4 (1965), pp. 353–92.

Shukrī, Imān ʿUmar, *al-Sultān barqūq, muʾassis dawlat al-mamālīk al-jarākisah, 784–801H/1382–1398M: Min khilāl makhṭūṭ* ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān *li-badr al-ʿaynī*, Cairo 2002.

Slane, William M. de, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols., Paris 1883–95.

Spies, Otto, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte: Juristen, Historiker, Traditionarier*, Leipzig 1932.

Wasserstein, David J., “Tradition manuscrite, authenticité, chronologie et développement de l’oeuvre littéraire d’Ibn Iyās,” *Journal Asiatique* 280 (1992), pp. 81–114.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Tables

Table 1: Contents and Completion Date of *ʿIqd al-Jumān*'s holographs

| **Catalogue No.** | **Volume (contents)** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
|---|---|---|
| Ahmet III 2911/A1 | Vol. 1 | 825.01.30 /1422.01.24 |
| Ahmet III 2911/A2 | Vol. 2 | 825.04.10/1422.04.02 |
| Ahmet III 2911/A3 | Vol. 3 (-10AH) | 825.07.27/1422.07.17 |
| Ahmet III 2911/B6 | Vol. 6 (61–95AH) | 828.06.26/1425.05.15 |
| Ahmet III 2911/B7 | Vol. 7 (96–150) | n.d. |
| Ahmet III 2911/A8 | Vol. 8 (151–225) | 830.01.30/1426.11.30 |
| Ahmet III 2911/A9 | Vol. 9 (226–330) | 830.08.24/1427.06.19 |
| Ahmet III 2911/A10 | Vol. 10 (331–430) | 831.02.03/1427.11.22 |
| Esʿad Effendi 2317 | Vol. 11 (431–520) | 831.05.10/1428.02.26 |
| Ahmet III 2911/A12 | Vol. 12 (521–578) | 831.09.08/1428.06.22 |
| Veliyyeddin 2390 | Vol. 13 (579–620) | 832.01.28/1428.11.06 |
| Veliyyeddin 2392 | Vol. 15 (689–707) | n.d. |
| Ahmet III 2911/A17 | Vol. 17 (725–745) | n.d. |
| Ahmet III 2911/A19 | Vol. 19 (799–849) | n.d. |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 2: Extant Manuscripts of *ʿIqd al-Jumān*

| **19-volume set** | | | | **Half-volume set** | | | | **Ottoman set** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Vol. & Contents** | | **Holographs** | **The Ikhmīmī set** | **Vol. & Contents** | | **The Azharī set** | **Others** | **Ahmet III 2912/1–4** | **Carullah 1588–1591** | **Gülnüş Valide Sultan 61–64** | **Beşir Ağa 454–457** | **Institut Narodov Azii 350** |
| 1 | preface – al-rass | Ahmet III 2911/A1 | Veliyyeddin 2374 | 1 | | | Ahmet III 2911/C1 | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | |
| | | | | | | | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | |
| 2 | Ibrāhīm – Quraysh | Ahmet III 2911/A2 | Ahmet III 2911/C2 | 3 | – Maria | Veliyyeddin 2375 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | |
| | | | | 2? | ʿĪsá – | | Evkaf 2155 | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | |
| 3 | al-fatra – 10AH | Ahmet III 2911/A3 | | ? | – 4AH | | Ahmet III 2911/C3 | | ░ | | ░ | |
| | | | | 5? | 5–10 | | Evkaf 2156 | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | |
| 4 | 11–23 | | Ahmet III 2911/C4 | 7 | 11–16 | Veliyyeddin 2378 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | |
| | | | | 8 | 16–23 | Veliyyeddin 2379 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| 5 | 24–60 | | | 9 | 24–38 | Veliyyeddin 2380 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| | | | | 10 | 39–60 | Veliyyeddin 2381 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| 6 | 61–95 | Ahmet III 2911/B6 | | 11 | 61–73 | Süleymaniye 831 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| | | | | 12 | 74–95 | Süleymaniye 832 | | ▓ | ░ | ▓ | ▓ | ░ |
| 7 | 96–150 | Ahmet III 2911/B7 | | 13 | 96–126 | | Ahmet III 2911/C13 | | | | | |
| | | | | 14 | 126–150 | Veliyyeddin 2383 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 2 *(Continued)*

| 19-volume set | | | | Half-volume set | | | | Ottoman set | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vol. & Contents | | Holographs | The Ikhmīmī set | Vol. & Contents | | The Azharī set | Others | Ahmet III 2912/1–4 | Carullah 1588–1591 | Gülnüş Valide Sultan 61–64 | Beşir Ağa 454–457 | Institut Narodov Azii 350 |
| 8 | 151–225 | Ahmet III 2911/A8 | Veliyyeddin 2384 | 15 | 151–192 | Süleymaniye 833 | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | (151–203) | 16 | 193–226 | | Ahmet III 2911/C16 | | | | | |
| 9 | 226–330 | Ahmet III 2911/A9 | | 17 | 226–279 | Veliyyeddin 2385 | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | | 18 | 279–330 | Veliyyeddin 2386 | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| 10 | 331–430 | Ahmet III 2911/A10 | | 19 | 331–386 | Evkaf 2158 | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | | 20 | 386–430 | Süleymaniye 834 | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| 11 | 431–520 | Es’ad Efendi 2317 | | 21 | 431–481 | | Ahmet III 2911/C21 | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | | 22 | 481–521 | Evkaf 2159 | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| 12 | 521–578 | Ahmet III 2911/A12 | Veliyyeddin 2389 | | | | | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | | | | | | ▨ | | ▨ | ▨ | |
| 13 | 579–620 | Veliyyeddin 2390 | | 25 | 579–591 | | Evkaf 2160 | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | | 26 | 591–620 | | Evkaf 2161 | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| 14 | 621–688 | | Veliyyeddin 2391 | ? | 621–679 | | BN Arabe 1543 | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ | ▨ |
| | | | | | | | | ▨ | | | | |
| 15 | 689–707 | Veliyyeddin 2392 | | | | | | ▨ | ▨ | | | ░ |
| | | | | | | | | ▨ | | | | |

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 2 *(Continued)*

| **19-volume set** | | | | **Half-volume set** | | | | **Ottoman set** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Vol. & Contents** | | **Holographs** | **The Ikhmīmī set** | **Vol. & Contents** | | **The Azharī set** | **Others** | **Ahmet III 2912/1–4** | **Carullah 1588–1591** | **Gülnüş Valide Sultan 61–64** | **Beşir Ağa 454–457** | **Institut Narodov Azii 350** |
| 16 | 708–724 | | Evkaf 2157 | 31 | 708–712 | Veliyyeddin 2393 | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| | | | | 32 | 713–724 | Veliyyeddin 2394 | | ▓ | | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| 17 | 725–745 | Ahmet III 2911/A17 | | 33 | 725–735 | Süleymaniye 835 | | ▓ | ░ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| | | | | 34 | 736–746 | Ahmet III 2911/C34 | | | | | | ░ |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | 799–849 | Ahmet III 2911/A19 | Veliyyeddin 2396 | 37 | 799–813 | | Evkaf 2162 | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ | ▓ |
| | | | | | | | | ▓ | | | | |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 3: Shihāb al-Dīn’s set of *Taʾrīkh al-Badr*

| **Catalogue No.** | **Volume (contents)** | **Folios / lines / size** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Esʿad 2346 | 3 (11?-17) | 104 / 29–31 / 245x165 | 809.06.30/1406.12.11 |
| Selim Ağa 838 | 6 (289–487) | 238 / 31 / 248x160 | 810.02.01/1407.07.07 |
| Selim Ağa 839 | 7 (488–624) | 238 / 31 / 248x160 | 812.09.10/1410.01.16 |
| Süleymaniye 830 | 9 (717–798) | 217 / 31 / 253x163 | 813.02.01/1410.06.04 |
| BnF 1544 | (799–832) | 186 / 31 / 250x160 | n.d. |

Table 4: Al-ʿAynī’s holograph set of *Taʾrīkh al-Badr*

| **Catalogue No.** | **Volume (contents)** | **Folios / lines / size** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahmet 2911/D1 | (-11) | 282 / 31 / 266x180 | 799.03.04/1396.12.06 |
| Ahmet 2911/D2 | (11–66) | 299 / 31 / 266x180 | n.d. |
| Selim Ağa 835 | 3 (~95–325) | 285 / 31 / 270x180 | n.d. |

Table 5: Other al-ʿAynī’s holograph set

| **Catalogue No.** | **Volume (contents)** | **Folios / lines / size** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahmet 2911/B1 | (95–520) | 233 / 31 / 273x178 | n.d. |
| Selim Ağa 840 | (521–726) | 234 / 31 / 270x175 | 834.10.4/1431.6.14 |
| Ahmet 2911/B2 | (727–835) | 217 / 30 / 275x180 | n.d. |

Table 6: Writing period of *ʿIqd al-Jumān* and its excerpts

| ***ʿIqd al-Jumān*** | | | **Excerpts of *ʿIqd al-Jumān*** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Volume (contents, AH)** | **Catalogue no.** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** | **Contents, AH** | **Catalogue no.** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
| 1 | Ahmet III 2911/A1 | 825.01.30/ 1422.01.24 | | | |
| 2 | Ahmet III 2911/A2 | 825.04.10/ 1422.04.02 | | | |
| 3 (-10) | Ahmet III 2911/A3 | 825.07.27/ 1422.07.17 | | | |
| 4 (11–23) | | | | | |
| 5 (24–60) | | | | | |
| 6 (61–95) | Ahmet III 2911/B6 | 828.06.26/ 1425.05.15 | | | |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 6 *(Continued)*

| ***ʿIqd al-Jumān*** | | | **Excerpts of *ʿIqd al-Jumān*** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Volume (contents, AH)** | **Catalogue no.** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** | **Contents, AH** | **Catalogue no.** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
| 7<br>(96–150) | Ahmet III 2911/B7 | | (95–520) | Ahmet III 2911/B1 | *After 831/ 1428* |
| 8<br>(151–225) | Ahmet III 2911/A8 | 830.01.30/ 1426.11.30 | | | |
| 9<br>(226–330) | Ahmet III 2911/A9 | 830.08.24/ 1427.06.19 | | | |
| 10<br>(331–430) | Ahmet III 2911/A10 | 831.02.03/ 1427.11.22 | | | |
| 11<br>(431–520) | Esʿad 2317 | 831.05.10/ 1428.02.26 | | | |
| 12<br>(521–578) | Ahmet III 2911/A12 | 831.09.08/ 1428.06.22 | (521–726) | Selim 840 | 834.10.04 /1431.06.14 |
| 13<br>(579–620) | Veliyeddin 2390 | 832.01.28/ 1428.11.06 | | | |
| 14<br>(621–688) | | *832.04.24/ 1429.01.30* | | | |
| 15<br>(689–707) | Veliyeddin 2392 | *Before 834/1431* | | | |
| 16<br>(708–724) | | *Before 834/1431* | | | |
| 17<br>(725–745) | Ahmet III 2911/A17 | | (726–835) | Ahmet III 2911/B2 | *After 838/ 1434,35* |
| 18<br>(746–798) | | | | | |
| 19<br>(799–837) | Ahmet III 2911/A19 | *838/1434,35— 841/1438* | | | |
| 838–849) | | *After 850/ 1446,47* | | | |

Table 7: Holograph manuscripts of *al-Taʾrīkh al-Shihābī* and Selim 837

| **Catalogue No.** | **Volume (contents)** | **Folios / lines / size** | **Completion date (AH/AD)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahmet III 2952/2 | 2 (1–14) | 186 / 25 / 280x180 | 833.7.3/1430.3.28 |
| Ahmet III 2952/3 | 3 (14–64) | 188 / 25 / 278x180 | 833.10.11/1430.7.2 |
| Fatih 4222 | 4 (64–229) | 188 / 25 / 273x185 | 834.2.4/1430.10.22 |
| Fatih 4223 | 5 (230–426) | 188 / 25 / 275x180 | 834.6.20/1431.3.5 |
| Ahmet III 2952/6 | 6 (427–571~) | 140- / 25 / 280x190 | n.d. |
| Selim Ağa 837 | (715–818) | 252 / 25 / 276x182 | n.d. |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 8: Textual comparison of the four chronicles attributed al-ʿAynī in the year 565 AH

| **Topics in ʿIqd al-Jumān** | | **Pages in ʿIqd al-Jumān** | **Excerpt of ʿIqd al-Jumān** | **Taʾrīkh al-Badr** | **Al-Taʾrīkh al-Shihābī** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Saladin's siege of Damietta | 33 | 1 | 1 (-) | 1 (-) |
| | His request of reinforcements from Nūr al-Dīn | 〃 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| | Withdrawal of the Franks | 34 | | 3, 5 | 3, 5 |
| | A variant by Baybars al-Manṣūrī | 〃 | 3 (-) | | |
| | The Franks in Syria | 〃 | 4 | | |
| | A variant by *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* | 35 | | | |
| | Saladin's request of a fund from al-ʿĀdid | 〃 | 5 | 4 (-) | 4 (-) |
| | Nūr al-Dīn's responce | 〃 | 6 (-) | 8 (+) | 8 (+) |
| | A variant by Ibn Shaddād | 〃 | | | |
| | A variant by al-ʿImād | 36 | | | |
| | A variant by *Kitāb al-Dawlatayn* | 〃 | | 6, 7 | 6, 7 |
| | A variant | 37 | | | |
| | Nūr al-Dīn's letter to al-ʿĀdid | 〃 | | | |
| | Verses | 38 | | | |
| | Verses by Fityān | 〃 | | | |
| | Verses by al-ʿImād | 39 | | | |
| Other events | An alteration of *adhān* in Egypt | 〃 | | | |
| | The lord of al-Bīrah's meeting with Nūr al-Dīn | 〃 | | | |
| | A war in al-Andalūs | 40 | | 12 (-) | |
| | The situation in Iraq | 〃 | | | |
| | *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* by Saladin | 〃 | | | |
| | Arrival of Saladin's father to Cairo | 〃 | | | |
| | Verses | 41 | | | |
| | Nūr al-Dīn's going to Daryā | 〃 | 7 | 9 | 9 |
| | A variant by *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* | 〃 | 7 (-) | | |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 8 *(Continued)*

| **Topics in ʿIqd al-Jumān** | | **Pages in ʿIqd al-Jumān** | **Excerpt of ʿIqd al-Jumān** | **Taʾrīkh al-Badr** | **Al-Taʾrīkh al-Shihābī** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Troubled matters | An earthquake according to Ibn al-Athīr | 〃 | 8 (-), 9 | 10 (-) | 10 (-) |
| | The situation in Aleppo | 42 | 10 | | |
| | The situation among the Franks | 〃 | 11 | | |
| | A variant by al-ʿImād | 〃 | 12 (-) | | |
| | Verses by al-ʿImād | 43 | | | |
| | Verses | 〃 | | | |
| | Verses | 〃 | | | |
| | A variant by *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* | 44 | 13 | | |
| | A variant | 〃 | 14 (-) | | |
| | A variant by Ibn al-Jawzī | | | 11 | 11 |
| | The Franks | 45 | | | |
| | Lacuna of subtitle | 〃 | | | |
| | A pilgrimage | 〃 | 15 | 13 | 12 |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 8 *(Continued)*

| **Topics in ʿIqd al-Jumān** | | **Pages in ʿIqd al-Jumān** | **Excerpt of ʿIqd al-Jumān** | **Taʾrīkh al-Badr** | **Al-Taʾrīkh al-Shihābī** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obituaries | Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shāfiʿ al-Jīlī | 46 | | 14 | |
| | Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Azajī | 〃 | | 15 | |
| | Hibatullāh b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī | 〃 | | | |
| | al-Malik Ṭughril b. Qawart | 〃 | 16 | | |
| | Quṭub al-Dīn Mawdūd b. Zankī | 47 | 17 | 19 | 15 |
| | A variant by Ibn Khallikān | 〃 | 18 (-) | 20 | |
| | A variant by Ibn Kathīr | 48 | 19 | 21 | |
| | A variant by *Kitāb al-Dawlatayn* | 〃 | | | |
| | Cont. | 〃 | | | |
| | Cont. | 〃 | | | |
| | A variant by Ibn al-Athīr | 49 | | | |
| | Majd d. Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya | 〃 | 20 | 22 | |
| | Amīr Ḥājib al-ʿImādī | 〃 | 21 | | |
| | A variant by *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* | 50 | 21 (-) | | |
| | A variant by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī | 〃 | 21 (-) | | |
| | ʿĀmil Qawmasan | 〃 | 22 | 17 | 13 |
| | Verses | 〃 | | 18 | 14 |
| | Tāwūs umm al-Mustanjid | 〃 | 23 | 16 | |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Christian Mauder

# A Severed Head, a Poetry Slam, and a Shiʿi Visiting al-Shāfiʿī's Tomb: Symbolic and Literary Communication in Mamluk-Safavid Diplomatic Encounters[1]

The rise of the Shiʿi Safavid dynasty in Iran and neighboring territories during the first years of the sixteenth century constituted one of the most important developments in the political history of the early modern Middle East and shaped the history of this region for centuries to come. Yet the establishment of a Safavid polity in greater Iran was also of considerable significance for the history of the Mamluk Sultanate, especially since the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk territories in 1516–17 can be understood only against the background of the relations between the three named Middle Eastern powers.[2] Among other things, the Ottomans justified their sudden attack on a fellow Sunni polity in 1516 by claiming that the Mamluks had secretly sided with their Safavid Shiʿi neighbors and had formed a mutual defensive aid pact with the latter.[3]

Despite the great significance of Mamluk-Safavid relations for Mamluk history, and notwithstanding the tremendous progress made in recent years in studying Mamluk diplomatic relations thanks to the work of Frédéric Bauden, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Anne F. Broadbridge, Malika Dekkiche, Cihan Yüksel Muslu, and others,[4] we still know very little about the details of the diplomatic contacts between the Mamluks and the Safavids. In a recent overview on the state of research in Mamluk political history, Albrecht Fuess notes: "For direct Mamluk-Safavid relations we have few scholarly works apart from the article of Clifford from 1993."[5] Winslow W. Clifford's two-part article "Some Observations on the Course of Mamluk-Safavid Relations (1502–1516/908–922)" (to which

---

[1] The writing of this text was supported by the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg "History and Society during the Mamluk Era (1250–1517)", Centre for Advanced Studies, University of Bonn, and the Humanities Research Fellowship Program, New York University Abu Dhabi. The support of both institutions is gratefully acknowledged.

[2] For an overview of the relations between Ottomans, Safavids, and Mamluks, see Fuess, 2003.

[3] E.g., Muṣṭafā Čelebī, *Selīm-nāme*, 279, 282. See also Clifford, 1993, 272; Fuess, 2003, 242; Fuess, 2014, 280; Lellouch and Michel, 2013, 43; Winter, 1998, 495–97.

[4] E.g., Bauden and Dekkiche, 2019; Behrens-Abouseif, 2014; Broadbridge, 2007; idem, 2008; Dekkiche, 2014–15; Muslu, 2013a; idem, 2013b; idem, 2014.

[5] Fuess, 2013, 104.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Fuess is referring) indeed constitutes the by far most comprehensive study of key events in Mamluk-Safavid relations available today.[6] While all future work on the topic will have to take his article as its point of departure, its character as a pioneering overview that focuses largely on geopolitical and military questions prevented Clifford from studying important aspects of Mamluk-Safavid relations in more depth, including the details of the diplomatic exchanges between the two powers.

This chapter builds on Clifford's work and recent publications on the history of Mamluk diplomatic relations and examines selected high-profile diplomatic encounters between Mamluk and Safavid representatives during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Based primarily on Mamluk primary sources depicting these encounters in considerable detail,[7] I shall ask what messages Mamluk and Safavid representatives exchanged by means of symbolic and literary communication. I will look at messages transmitted by means of visual and behavioral signs, as well as literary forms of expressions, and regard both as being on at least the same level of significance as messages that were transmitted through primarily nonliterary, nonsymbolic, and pragmatic means of communication, such as letters and proclamations. This approach takes seriously the priorities of the authors of our primary sources, who often have very little to say about official diplomatic correspondence and instead view the performative, symbolic, and literary aspects of the interactions between Mamluk and Safavid dignitaries to be of central importance in their efforts to create meaningful accounts of what took place between these two polities.

Moreover, this chapter shows that an analysis of the selected key instances of symbolic and literary communication between Mamluks and Safavids yields no evidence to support the assumption, maintained by some scholars,[8] of a Mamluk-Safavid alliance. In their encounters, both sides emphasized political, religious, social, and ideological differences through symbolic and literary means, while showing no interest in reconciliation or compromise.

I understand literary communication following Thomas Bauer to be the antithesis to pragmatic communication, which, as "the common form of everyday communication, is based on the assumption that texts accord with reality, that they claim to be true and induce a specific reaction from their hearers and readers

---

[6] For an earlier, less comprehensive treatment of the topic, see Rabie, 1978. Note, moreover, also the helpful remarks in Petry, 1994, 24, 49–51, 191; idem, 1993, 173–78, 203–04; Brummett, 1994, 69–71, 78; Behrens-Abouseif, 2014, 82–84. The more recent publications Ağalarlı, 2010; Jafarian, 2012, both pay next to no attention to relevant literature in European languages, lack analytical depth, and do not meet modern Western academic standards.

[7] I could not locate similarly detailed information on Mamluk-Safavid diplomatic encounters in sources authored within the Safavid polity.

[8] E.g., Kerslake, 1978, 222, 230; Holt, 1966, 37.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

that is based on the same shared assumptions."[9] Broadly speaking, examples of such texts from the fields of diplomatic relations could include battle reports, appointment decrees, and political proclamations. In contrast, literary communication is not necessarily consistent with reality, nor does it have to be true; rather, it is expected to have aesthetic value. Moreover, by definition literary texts are polyvalent, that is, they allow for multiple interpretations and might be read and reacted to in different ways depending on recipient(s) and/or situation(s). Hence, literary texts often include specific stylistic features that create polyvalence, such as metaphors or double entendres. Clearly, there is not always a clear-cut division between literary and pragmatic communication, and readers may well study a text primarily originating from an act of pragmatic communication, such as a political proclamation, for its aesthetic value or to discover the various meanings it entails. However, there are texts from the realm of diplomatic correspondence that plainly fall within the field of literary texts, as we shall see below.[10]

The second category of communication of special interest, symbolic communication, in part overlaps with literary communication but is considerably more comprehensive: it also includes, among other things, nontextual and nonverbal communication. Moreover, the term "symbolic" is not understood here in its general meaning, i. e. referring to all kinds of verbal and nonverbal signs, but instead denotes a specific type of communication intended to create meaning of a higher order, and evokes or alludes to shared cultural concepts. According to Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, symbolic communication does not consist of chronological sequences of statements, but takes place in a single moment; it does not strive for clarity but is inherently ambiguous and polyvalent. It does not consist of statements marked by high levels of abstraction, but represents a specifically manifest and momentous form of communication.[11] "Symbolic communication thus means here communication by way of symbols in the narrower sense; symbols are understood as a specific type of verbal, visual, objective or gestural signs such as […] metaphors, images, artifacts, gestures, complex sequences of actions such as rituals and ceremonies, but also symbolic narratives such as myths etc."[12]

Before applying these theoretical insights to the study of Safavid-Mamluk diplomatic contexts, I shall first give an overview of the history of relations between the two polities. This next part of the chapter relies heavily on Clifford's study referenced above. I shall then analyze in detail three selected diplomatic

---

[9] Bauer, 2013, 24.

[10] Ibid., 24–25.

[11] Stollberg-Rilinger, 2004, 496–99.

[12] Ibid., 500.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

encounters between Safavid envoys and Mamluk officials. In the concluding part, I shall summarize the main findings and situate them within ongoing research on Mamluk diplomatic culture.

## 1. Historical Background

From a Mamluk perspective, the first consequences of the meteoric rise to power of the Safavid Shāh Ismāʿīl (r. 1501–24) were minor skirmishes by raiding parties operating in the region near the town of al-Bīrah from the 1500s onwards. This region, located on the East bank of the upper Euphrates in Northwest Mesopotamia, fell under the authority of the *nāʾib* (governor) of Aleppo late in the Mamluk period.[13] In 1501, rumors spread that Shāh Ismāʿīl, who had just managed to deal a devastating blow to his Iranian adversaries by seizing Tabriz, was planning to conquer Syria.[14] Although no Safavid invasion force was ever sighted, Shāh Ismāʿīl had firmly established himself on the political map of the Mamluks. This also becomes apparent from the chronicles of Ibn Iyās (d. after 1522) and Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 1527), who first mention the Safavid ruler in their accounts of the events of 1502.[15] Military encounters between Mamluk and Safavid forces were, however, extremely rare during this period, whereas the Mamluks' client principality of the Dhu al-Qadrids saw a significant amount of the fighting that went on between the Safavids and their neighbors in the upper Euphrates region.[16]

The Mamluk Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (1501–16) did his best to keep himself and his troops out of the conflicts between the Dhu al-Qadrids and the Safavids. He did mobilize the main, Cairo-based Mamluk battle forces on three occasions in reaction to Safavid raids and small-scale incursions, but the Mamluks never mounted a fully fledged campaign against their Shiʿi neighbors.[17] Instead, the Mamluks strengthened their contacts with the Safavids through a series of diplomatic missions, with the first official Safavid envoy arriving in Cairo in late 1507 or early 1508 according to Ibn Iyās.[18] Subsequent Safavid missions to Cairo in 1511 and 1512 and the dispatching of Mamluk return

---

[13] Clifford, 1993, 28. See also Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām*, 188; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:184, 191, 257, 262.

[14] Clifford, 1993, 249. See also Rabie, 1978, 76.

[15] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:39; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:158. See also Petry, 1993, 173. Note the earlier reference in Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:252.

[16] Clifford, 1993, 251–57. See also Rabie, 1978, 76; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:316; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:118–19, 121–22. On the Dhu al-Qadrids in general, see Yinanç, 1989.

[17] Clifford, 1993, 257, 262. See also Rabie, 1978, 76; Petry, 1993, 174–75; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:39, 122.

[18] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:123–24. See below for an analysis of the information given in Mamluk sources about this Safavid diplomatic mission. See also Clifford, 1993, 263–64; Rabie, 1978, 77.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

embassies intensified the exchange of messages between the two sides, but did not contribute to any significant improvement of their relations, as we shall see shortly.[19] Moreover, the Mamluks' discovery of secret messages exchanged between the Safavids and European polities across Mamluk territory that aimed to establish an anti-Mamluk coalition was not suited to lead to a development of cordial ties between the two Middle Eastern polities.[20]

In the meantime, through a series of diplomatic missions, the Ottomans did their best to solicit Mamluk support of their anti-Safavid activities. Their proposals for a major military alliance against the Shiʿi polity, however, fell largely on deaf ears in Cairo, as Sultan al-Ghawrī and the Mamluk ruling elite did their best to keep themselves out of the military conflicts between their two most powerful neighbors. The Ottomans thus achieved their decisive triumph over the Safavid forces at Chāldirān in 1514 with next to no Mamluk support.[21] This did however not prevent the Safavids from seeing the Mamluks as potential enemies; they consequently undertook sophisticated espionage activities in Cairo.[22]

When the Ottoman ruler Selīm I (r. 1512–20) turned against the Dhu al-Qadrids, who were Mamluk clients, in 1515 and occupied their territory, it became increasingly clear to the Mamluks that they had to prepare for an Ottoman attack. This materialized one year later and resulted in the complete Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate in 1517.[23] Although especially European and Ottoman sources speak of Safavid attempts to adjust to the new situation after Chāldirān and form a defensive pact with the Mamluks against the now common Ottoman threat, there is no evidence that such an alliance ever materialized.[24]

## 2. Case Studies

It is impossible completely to understand the political developments I have just outlined without a detailed analysis of the history of Mamluk-Safavid political contacts. For such an analysis it is essential to take seriously the role of symbolic and literary communication in diplomatic encounters. I shall take a first step in

---

[19] Clifford, 1993, 264–65. See below for an analysis of the information given in Mamluk sources about these Safavid diplomatic missions. See, moreover, also Rabie, 1978, 77–79; Petry, 1993, 174–78.

[20] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:191, 205. See also Clifford, 1993, 269; Rabie, 1978, 77; Petry, 1993, 175; Fuess, 2003, 241–42; Muslu, 2014, 172.

[21] Clifford, 1993, 268–70. See also Rabie, 1978, 76, 79; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:372–73, 376, 378, 381–83, 393, 398, 400–04. On the Ottoman-Safavid conflict in general, see Allouche, 1983.

[22] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:394–95.

[23] Clifford, 1993, 270–72. See also Rabie, 1978, 80.

[24] Clifford, 1993, 272–74.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

this direction by analyzing three particularly significant encounters between Safavid envoys and Mamluk officials including Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.

The first of these encounters took place in December 1507 or January 1508. Ibn Iyās, who provides us with what is the by far most detailed account, describes it as follows:

> In Shaʿbān [of the year 913] arrived an envoy from Ismāʿīl Shāh the Safavid. He had with him a missive stating that that what had happened with regard to [Ismāʿīl Shāh's] troops and their incursion into the fringes of the sultan's lands took place without Ismāʿīl Shāh's permission and without [his] knowledge. The sultan treated this envoy generously and held for him a solemn reception in the courtyard [of the citadel]. This envoy and his companions were extremely obnoxious (*fī ghāyat al-ghalāsah*).[25] They wore on their heads high red conical caps lacking all splendor, contrary to the Ottoman envoys.[26]
>
> On Saturday, Shaʿbān 27 [of the year 913[27]], the sultan went down to the hippodrome [beneath the citadel] and invited the Safavid envoy [to meet him] there. He then brought in front of him Mamluks shooting arrows on horseback in full battle gear. They demonstrated remarkable feats in the art of archery. The [sultan] had Greek fires (*nafṭ*) ignited in front of the envoy during the day. He then hosted a splendid banquet for him, bestowed robes of honor on him and his companions and allowed them to return to their country. They departed thereafter.[28]

Whereas Ibn Iyās dedicates here only a single sentence to the diplomatic letter the Safavid delegation brought with them, he has much more to say about the symbolic communication going on between the sultan and his Safavid interlocutors. The latter apparently did not show the slightest inclination to adjust their appearance and clothing to the diplomatic standards of the time, but rather made their appearance in apparel considered coarse and detestable by Mamluk observers such as Ibn Iyās. However, through their clothing the Safavid delegates not only transmitted a message of "otherness," they also highlighted the religious differences between them and their Mamluk interlocutors, by donning for their official meeting with the sultan the red headgear so typical for Shāh Ismāʿīl's radical Shiʿi followers known in Turkish as *kızılbāsh*s or "red-heads". This headgear also made a considerable impression on the Syrian historiographer Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), who on the occasion of the delegation's visit to Damascus during their return trip noted: "All of them were wearing white turbans with projecting red conical caps of about one cubit length in the middle."[29] Typically sporting twelve gores representing the twelfth Shiʿi imams, this type of headgear symbolized its bearer's identification with Shāh

---

[25] See on this term Badawi and Hinds, 1986, 627.
[26] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:123.
[27] Corresponding to January 11, 1508.
[28] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:124.
[29] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām*, 190.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ismāʿīl's religious teachings and his status as his master's obedient disciple.[30] In other words, the Safavid envoy and his retinue wore headdresses that not only were inappropriate by Mamluk diplomatic standards, but also symbolically highlighted the existing religious conflicts between the Shiʿi Safavids and their Mamluk Sunni interlocutors.

Al-Ghawrī, their most important conversation partner, conveyed at least two messages through his behavior in the purposeful use of objects and the actions of his subordinates: First, he demonstrated his command over considerable resources and his largesse by treating the envoys generously, organizing a magnificent reception and an equally lavish banquet for them, and gifting them robes of honor. Fulfilling the expectations connected with his status as host in Mamluk diplomatic culture, al-Ghawrī created a noteworthy contrast between his well-mannered behavior and the inappropriate (from a Mamluk perspective) demeanor of his guests. And the communicative significance of the sultan's behavior did not end there: By organizing demonstrations of Mamluk military capabilities for the Safavid delegation, the sultan also highlighted existing tensions between the two sides, which could at any moment erupt into armed conflict. Moreover, he showed that the Mamluks were a military force to be reckoned with, and that they were willing and able to react to any future provocation. Thus, despite the peaceful content of the message that the envoy brought to Cairo, the first official diplomatic interaction between the Mamluks and the Safavids highlighted the cultural and religious differences between the two sides, as well as the ever-present risk of a full-fledged military conflict.

The second official diplomatic encounter between Mamluks and Safavids took place in Cairo and was of similar character, though it brought to an entirely new level the provocative emphasis on the differences between the two sides.[31] In late June 1511, a Safavid envoy arrived at the head of a diplomatic mission in Cairo and was housed in a building close to the citadel. The sultan made sure that the Safavid delegation was escorted by the entire Mamluk military force present in Cairo so that "the vastness of the empty space became narrow for them,"[32] as Ibn Iyās puts it.[33] Before meeting the Safavid envoy, al-Ghawrī donned silk clothing, had the citadel decorated with military standards, equine battle armor, battle-axes, swords, and other weaponry, and called together the amirs present in the capital. He then had the Safavid envoy escorted to the citadel by the *mihmāndār*, i.e., the Mamluk military official responsible for the safety and well-being of diplomatic guests, and the *wālī* or prefect of Cairo who was in charge of security

---

[30] Savory, "Ḳızıl-Bāsh," *EI*$^2$, 5:243.

[31] This encounter is also discussed in Mauder, 2017, ch. 6.3.3.

[32] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:219.

[33] See also Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:216–17. On the envoy's military receptions in Damascus, see ibid., 2:214, 233.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

within the capital. Upon finally meeting the sultan, the envoy kissed the ground in front of the Mamluk ruler as well as his leg before handing over his missive, about which Ibn Iyās does not have to say much.[34]

From the chronicler's perspective, the most important aspect of this stage of the encounter was the subsequent exchange of gifts. The envoy presented al-Ghawrī first with a prayer mat and a copy of the Quran, which the sultan accepted and kissed. The Safavid emissary then brought forth a valuable box, which, when opened in front of the sultan, turned out to contain the severed head of Özbek Khān, a Sunni ally of the Mamluks whom the Safavids had bested in battle.[35] The sultan ordered to give the head a proper burial. When the Safavid envoy thereafter gifted al-Ghawrī a long bow, according to Ibn Iyās[36] the sultan had it broken by one of his junior officers—or by the lowliest of his slave soldiers, as Ibn al-Ḥimṣī tells us.[37]

About a week after this first stage of the encounter, the sultan invited the Safavid envoy to watch him and his amirs playing polo in the hippodrome beneath the citadel, to participate in a banquet, and to receive a robe of honor from the sultan's hand.[38] The Safavid emissary and his companions in Cairo stood under continual close surveillance by members of the sultan's bodyguard, who prevented them from leaving their domicile or meeting with anyone. Only the envoy himself was allowed to move about within Cairo while being escorted by the *mihmāndār* and the *wālī,* who accompanied him on a visit to the tombs of the revered Sunni figures Imam Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), the eponym of one of the Sunni schools of law, and Imam al-Layth b. Saʿd (d. 175/791), a famous early Muslim jurist.[39]

In the meantime, the news spread in Cairo about the Persian text of the Safavid diplomatic missive. What caught the population's attention, however, were not the technical details of the letter, but rather a couplet of verses from the pen of Shāh Ismāʿīl in it. These read:

> The sword and the dagger are our aromatic herbs.
>     Shame on narcissus and myrtle!
> Our wine is the blood of our enemies,
>     And our cup is the skull of [his] head![40]

Ibn Iyās explains these verses as follows:

---

[34] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:218–19. For the letter that the same mission carried for the governor of Damascus, see Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:214.

[35] For the news of his defeat, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:207.

[36] Ibid., 4:219–20. See also Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:217.

[37] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:217.

[38] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:220.

[39] Ibid., 221.

[40] Ibid.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> When [Shāh Ismāʿīl] cut off the head of Özbek Khān, the king of the Tatars, he made a cup out of the cranial bone of his head out of which he drank wine during his sessions, as is said about him. […] And it had become known in the Safavid's lands that the sultan had been busy with what he had laid out in the hippodrome in terms of planting trees and [various] kinds of flowers and aromatic herbs. [The Safavids] wanted to ridicule him for that, and this belongs to the ways of scoffing at the sultan.[41]

On the following six pages of his work, Ibn Iyās provides his readers with a selection of the epigrams (*maqāṭīʿ*)[42] that some of the most famous litterateurs of his time composed in reply to Shāh Ismāʿīl's couplet. The first example Ibn Iyās gives are the following lines from his own pen:

With the sword and the dagger we annihilate the enemy.
  How many have feared us in war?
We make mankind lose its minds in terror,
  While our mind is all-encompassing (*wāfir*) in [our] head.[43]

The sultan, however, was said to have chosen for Shāh Ismāʿīl the following couplet by the famous fourteenth-century poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1348)[44] as his reply:

I have a horse for good [purposes] bridled with good,
  And a horse for evil [purposes] saddled with evil.
Whoever wishes to correct me finds me the corrector.
  And whoever wishes to twist me finds me the twister.[45]

While the sultan thus apparently fell back on the writings of a renowned poet of the past when sending his reply to the Safavid ruler, the list of litterateurs who offered their verses as possible replies to the Ismāʿīl's message is very long and indicates that poets from various walks of life participated in the communal project of finding an appropriate response. In addition to the already mentioned Ibn Iyās, we find Nūr al-Dīn al-Ashmūnī (d. 1512), who besides conducting his literary activities also served as a Shafiʿi deputy judge;[46] the poet Jamāl al-Dīn al-Salamūnī (d. after 1519), who was respected and feared among the populace for his often satirical verses;[47] a certain al-Ḥajjār,[48] who seems to be identical with Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥasan al-Ḥajjār (date of death unknown) and is remembered

---

[41] Ibid., 221–22.

[42] On Arabic epigrams, see now Talib, 2017.

[43] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:222.

[44] See on him e.g., Heinrichs, "Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī," *EI*$^2$, 8:801–05.

[45] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:222. Note that al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:297; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:357, give different answering verses.

[46] See on him Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:223, 251–52.

[47] See on him ibid., 4:87, 112–13, 125, 226, 294; 5:299; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:220; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:301.

[48] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:223.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

today as the author of a peculiar text on a war between various foodstuffs;[49] and the poet Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Buḥayrī (d. 1523), who was known for his ascetic way of life and his knowledge of linguistics and jurisprudence.[50] Moreover, with Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh min Ṣādiq (d. after 1522), who had made a name for himself as a poet, at least one direct descendant of a member of the military presented verses fitting the occasion, too.[51] Ibn Iyās writes that, taken together, "a large group from among the learned of the age wrote verses about this topic, more than 200 people."[52] In his attempt to find a historical parallel, the chronicler likened the affair to a diplomatic exchange between the Mongol Īlkhān Hülegü (r. 1256–65) and the Mamluk Sultan Qutuz (r. 1259–60), where the former had sent provocative verses to Egypt, to which the latter had replied with a military expedition against the Mongols.[53] Yet Ibn Iyās is careful not to magnify Shāh Ismāʿīl unduly by associating him with Hülegü. He adds: "Compared to Hülegü, the Safavid is a nobody."[54]

In the meantime, the diplomatic encounter between al-Ghawrī and the Safavid envoy proceeded with a visit to further polo matches, animal fights, a lance fighting competition (*khuṣmānīyah*) among members of the military, and a lavish banquet.[55] The program continued with three days of Mamluk lance fighting demonstrations in a row which, as Ibn Iyās states, "struck the Safavid's envoy with great astonishment,"[56] before the latter was finally awarded a robe of honor and given permission to return to his master.[57]

Some of the symbolic ways in which the two parties exchanged messages are already familiar to us from the first encounter analyzed above: Again al-Ghawrī sought to convey messages of splendor, generosity, and wealth by staging banquets and other lavish functions as well as by presenting the envoy with robes of honor, thus also demonstrating that he was both willing and able to follow the diplomatic conventions of the time. Concomitantly, the sultan's performances enacted Mamluk military might and emphasized the strained character of Mamluk-Safavid relations through various forms of military demonstrations. New among those were the show of force immediately upon arrival of the diplomatic mission in Cairo: their escort made up by all available troops, the fact that the citadel was decorated with battle gear on the occasion of the sultan's first

---

[49] See on him van Gelder, 1991, 203; and on the text Finkel, 1932; idem, 1933–34; Lewicka, 2011, 57–64 (with references to older scholarship).

[50] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:225; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:157.

[51] See on him Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:223–24, 226.

[52] Ibid., 227.

[53] Ibid., 227–28.

[54] Ibid., 228.

[55] Ibid., 229.

[56] Ibid., 230.

[57] Ibid.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

meeting with the envoy, and the displays of Mamluk lance fighting skills.[58] Moreover, the game of polo had decidedly military overtones at a time when horseback fighting was still the norm in Western Asia.[59] The sultan's active participation in the polo matches made clear that not only the Mamluk military at large, but also its supreme commander possessed the fitness and skills necessary for this martial game.

In addition to these variations of what had already been communicated during the first encounter analyzed above, the Safavid envoy's sojourn in Cairo in 1511 also led to the communication of several new messages by symbolic means. Especially the first meeting between the envoy and the Mamluk sultan was used by both sides to make symbolic statements about their respective identities, intentions, and relations with each other. At the very beginning of the exchange, the envoy had to express his submission to the sultan symbolically by kissing the ground in front of the ruler and his feet. Ibn Iyās does not mention this behavior in the case of the first encounter discussed above, so that it is unclear whether the earlier Safavid envoy might not have had to perform it. At any rate, it is evident that, on the occasion of the second official Safavid mission, the sultan made sure that the difference in status between himself and Ismāʿīl's envoy was clearly expressed at the very outset.

According to Ibn Iyās's account, the envoy, acting as Shāh Ismāʿīl's proxy, used especially this early stage of the encounter to convey his messages, as became clear from the symbolically highly charged gifts bestowed on the sultan, which forced the Mamluk ruler to react in every single case. The first set of gifts, consisting of a prayer mat and a copy of the Quran, was possibly intended to express the Muslim religious identity of the Safavids and to highlight aspects of the Islamic religion shared by Shiʿi Safavids and Sunni Mamluks: a reverence for the Holy Scripture of Islam and the obligatory prayer. At the same time, the gifting of these basic religious utensils could also be understood as implying that the Mamluks had to rely on the Safavid ruler Ismāʿīl for religious instruction about proper Muslim behavior.[60] In either case, the gift put al-Ghawrī in a delicate position: Should he accept these tokens of the Islamic religion from someone he considered a heretic at best? Or should he reject them, thus exposing himself potentially to criticism about his alleged lack of respect for the Quran?

---

[58] See in part also Petry, 1993, 176.

[59] On polo in the Mamluk Sultanate, see, e.g., ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 1974, 107–30; Ayalon, 1961, 53–55; al-Sarraf, 2004, 190–92; Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah*, 87; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:47. On polo in the Safavid realm, see, e.g., Bower and Mackenzie, 2004, 292.

[60] For a less likely interpretation that links the prayer mat and the Quran to al-Ghawrī's advanced age, see Rabie, 1978, 78. For yet another interpretation that understands these gifts—somewhat surprisingly, given their context—as "tokens of peace" see Petry, 1993, 177.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

By choosing the former alternative, the sultan necessarily expressed a level of appreciation of his interlocutors' religious status, which only highlighted the disrespect expressed through the following gift, i. e., the severed head of the sultan's Sunni co-religionist and ally Özbek Khān. Ibn Iyās narrates that when al-Ghawrī had received word about the latter's death in battle against the Safavids a couple of weeks earlier, the sultan was troubled and convened the leading amirs to hold a council.[61] Yet it was not enough that the Mamluk ruler was aware of the fate that his ally had suffered at the hand of the Safavids. By dispatching his severed head as a diplomatic gift, Shāh Ismāʿīl sent a polyvalent but simultaneously very strong message to the Mamluks that could be read in various ways: as a demonstration of Safavid military strength, a threat that al-Ghawrī would meet the same end as his ally if he were to fight Ismāʿīl, an expression of disrespect for the physical remains of a Sunni Muslim, or as a blatant provocation of Mamluk retaliation—to name just a few possible interpretations. While it is unclear how al-Ghawrī and those around him interpreted the Safavid message, they reacted in a way that emphasized their identity as pious Sunnis by arranging for a proper burial of their co-religionist's remains.[62]

The final gift, a long bow, while again polyvalent in meaning, was likewise unsuited for improving relations between Mamluks and Safavids. It could be read, among other things, as another demonstration of Safavid military prowess, as a provocation of a military encounter, or as derision of the Mamluk military forces who were shown as requiring arms shipments from their potential enemies. The sultan's decision to have the bow broken might suggest that he understood the gift according to the first interpretation. It is moreover significant that the Mamluk ruler did not destroy the weapon himself, but had a lower-ranking member of his troops do this on his behalf, thereby possibly expressing that even a lower-ranking Mamluk amir was sufficient to best Safavid military might.

Yet acts of symbolic communication were not limited to the initial stages of the encounter. Al-Ghawrī's orders to prevent the Safavid mission from moving about within Cairo, in addition to serving security aims, sent a strong signal of distrust to the envoy and his companions, while at the same time demonstrating that the Mamluks were fully able to monitor and control their guests' actions through elite members of their military.[63]

The issue of the interlocutors' religious identities was foregrounded again when Mamluk officials escorted the Safavid envoy to the tombs of al-Shāfiʿī and al-Layth b. Saʿd, two of the most revered figures of Sunni Islam whose graves

---

[61] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:207.

[62] See for this interpretation also Petry, 1993, 177.

[63] For a similar interpretation, see Rabie, 1978, 78.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

were located in Cairo. While we do not know what the Safavid envoy exactly did at the tombs of the two Sunni scholars, the mere fact that he went to visit them could be interpreted as nothing else but a—possibly forced—demonstration of respect for the religious identity they symbolized. In addition to the obvious humiliation the Mamluks inflicted on the Safavid representative by bringing him there, they also affirmed their own religious identity and emphasized the religious differences between themselves and their interlocutors. Moreover, the visit to the tombs can be seen as a reaction to earlier Safavid attempts to define what constituted Islam, as expressed in the sending of a Quran and a prayer mat as diplomatic gifts. In this reading, the Mamluk decision to treat these gifts reverently but to make the Safavid envoy pay his respect to founding figures of Sunni Islam shortly thereafter constitutes a conscious effort to regain the interpretational sovereignty over what it means to be Muslim. The latter move may also have been intended to placate the populace of Cairo, which, according to Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, was very much aware of the envoy's Shiʿi identity and demanded that he show respect toward the first Caliph Abū Bakr (r. 632–34) as another emblematic representative of the Sunni tradition.[64]

While we may conclude from what little information Ibn Iyās provides about the envoy's visits to the tombs that this occurrence received only limited attention among the inhabitants of Cairo, this was definitely not the case for the one act of literary communication we know to have played an important role in Safavid-Mamluk relations. Its first stage was marked by the sending and subsequent circulation of what appears to have been an originally Arabic epigram in Shāh Ismāʿīl's otherwise Persian missive. Written in sophisticated, figurative, and esthetically pleasing language (and thus fulfilling central criteria of literary communication), the poem is polyvalent insofar as it communicates not only a blatant provocation and makes statements about its implicit lyrical I, Shāh Ismāʿīl, but also points to key elements of both al-Ghawrī's and Ismāʿīl respective strategies of representation of rule, which the text presents as antithetical. On the one hand, it expounds Ismāʿīl's martial self-representation, which reaches its pinnacle in the lyrical I's contempt for his dead enemies apparent in his habit of drinking their blood out of a human skull. This image also links the poem to its extra-textual diplomatic context and the dispatch of the severed head of al-Ghawrī's ally to the Mamluk capital. Yet the poem conveys not only messages about Shāh Ismāʿīl, it also references—and ridicules—one of the most important representational projects of al-Ghawrī's rule, namely the refurbishing of the hippodrome beneath the Cairo Citadel and its partial transformation into a garden-like park. As I have shown elsewhere, al-Ghawrī's effort to reshape the hippodrome took its inspiration from Persianate garden culture and was in-

---

[64] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:217.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

tended to demonstrate to transregional audiences the Mamluk ruler's cultural sophistication.[65] The fact that a Persianate ruler such as Shāh Ismāʿīl chose especially this aspect of al-Ghawrī's representational program for mockery hit the Mamluk sultan in a particularly sensitive spot.

But why did Shāh Ismāʿīl decide to convey these messages through this specific type of literary communication and not, say, through a plain, pragmatic text? At least three mutually nonexclusive answers come to mind: First, if we interpret the poem as a lampoon supposed to circulate for some time among a large number of people, its specific form allowed easy memorization and dissemination, especially compared to an unembellished prose text. Second, in the Mamluk period, unlike today, as Thomas Bauer has shown, poetry accompanying a letter was a common way of communication that did not require explicit justification.[66] While Bauer's analysis concentrated on the role of poetry in the communication among members of the learned elite, our example suggests that verses could play a similar role in diplomatic encounters. Third, and in part as a consequence of the two preceding points, poems were better suited to addressing larger audiences than other forms of texts. That the lines sent by Shāh Ismāʿīl were in Arabic (unlike the rest of his diplomatic letter, which was written in Persian) suggests that the Safavid ruler sought to reach as large a number of recipients among the Mamluk population as possible. The fact that the poem appears not only in Ibn Iyās's Cairo-centered chronicle, but also in historiographical works by Syrian and Ḥijāzī authors, demonstrates the success of this strategy.[67]

The poem moreover also caught the attention of Cairenes with a literary bent, attested to by the fact that many a famous and not-so-famous city poet came up with a possible reply. In what we might refer to in present-day terminology as a "poetry slam," they rivaled for the sultan's attention and for having their poem chosen to be sent to Shāh Ismāʿīl. The high level of participation in this quasi-contest also demonstrates the extent to which literary communication mattered to the Mamluk population, given that other seemingly very glaring forms of provocation (such as the dispatch of a severed head) apparently did not cause a comparable level of activity among Cairenes. It was a poem, not a head, that demanded a reply in kind.

In coming up with their suggestions for appropriate versified answers that resembled the original poem in structure and formal features, the poets of Cairo engaged in a cultural practice known to contemporaries by terms such as *mukātabah*, *murājaʿah,* or *muṭāraḥah*, all of which refer to a mutual exchange of

---

[65] Mauder, 2017, 6.3.2.

[66] Bauer, 2013, 33–35, 52–53.

[67] E.g., al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:297; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:357; Ibn Fahd, *Bulūgh*, 3:1825.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

literary texts that share certain characteristics.[68] While varying in language and content, all of the poems, including the one by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī said to have been selected by the sultan as his reply, included threats of retaliation in different degrees of explicitness.

In his final remarks on this act of literary communication, Ibn Iyās indicated that the use of poetry in diplomatic encounters could trigger forceful extratextual reactions. According to him, a similar poem had been behind the outbreak of armed Mongol-Mamluk hostilities about two and a half centuries earlier. While this is not the place to discuss the historical accuracy of Ibn Iyās's statement, it underlines that he, as a member of the literary circles of Cairo, considered a poem sufficient reason to go to war. We can additionally conclude from this passage in Ibn Iyās's work that he considered the Safavids a military threat, and that he recommended that the Mamluk sultan take decisive steps to eliminate it.[69]

Taken together, the case of the Safavid poem sent to the Mamluk capital in 1511 and the reactions to it demonstrate the significance that acts of literary communication could have in Middle Eastern diplomatic relations of the early sixteenth century. Although recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of taking literary communication into consideration when studying the history of this period,[70] there is still a widespread understanding that the often non-Arab rulers of this period cared little for Arabic literature. To cite just one example from a recent study of Mamluk cultural history: "In Mamluk times, when many decisive patrons at court were of Turkish military slave origin and often did not sufficiently master the Arabic language to enjoy refined Arabic poetry, *prosimetrum*, or prose, the decline of court patronage for literary production let to a situation in which Mamluk literature was 'mainly a bourgeois phenomenon.'"[71] The Safavid-Mamluk literary exchange discussed here, which occurred in Arabic, suggests that the picture was probably more complex than assumed, given that "refined Arabic poetry" was capable of receiving considerable attention from members of the ruling elite, provided they considered it to fulfill an important communicative function.

The second official Mamluk-Safavid diplomatic encounter of 1511 is thus of considerable significance for any attempt to understand the role of literary communication in sixteenth-century Middle Eastern politics. Yet it also shows that, compared to the first encounter of 1507/08, mutual provocations had reached a new level, with both sides appealing to the sword and threatening each other with violent conflict. Moreover, the question of the interlocutors' religious

---

[68] Bauer, 2013, 33. See also ibid., 34–36; Guo, 2012, 64.

[69] See also Petry, 1993, 178.

[70] E.g., Bauer, 2013, 53.

[71] Herzog, 2013, 145, taking up an expression first coined by Thomas Bauer.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

identities had become more obviously central than in the earlier encounter, with both sides using symbolic means to affirm and express their interpretational sovereignty over what constituted Islam.

The third and last encounter analyzed took place about one year later. In July 1512, a low-ranking Mamluk amir who had been dispatched as an envoy to Shāh Ismāʿīl almost two years earlier returned to Cairo together with a Georgian and a Safavid emissary. Ibn Iyās noted that the Mamluk amir had been treated badly by the Safavid ruler, who had showed neither generosity nor justice toward him, granted him only one audience, and failed to entrust him with a written reply to al-Ghawrī's missive, sending one of his own envoys instead. The latter was accompanied by about 100 attendants and was lodged in the same quarters as the previous Safavid representative after having been hosted to a banquet by one of the sultan's close confidants. Even before meeting the sultan, according to Ibn Iyās's chronicle, the envoy already had a reputation of impudence after talking rudely to the Mamluk governor of Aleppo.[72] In addition, the report of a Venetian embassy that happened to be in Cairo at the same time tells us that the envoy's retainers wore the distinctive red headdress typical for Safavid supporters.[73]

For the reception of the envoy, the sultan again donned lavish clothing, called the leading amirs and the entire army together, and had the citadel decorated with weapons, standards, and other battle gear. As in the previous encounter, the Safavid envoy was escorted to the citadel by the *mihmāndār* and the *wālī* of Cairo. The envoy brought with him gifts transported by about forty carriers, including seven live lynxes, silver tableware, golden cups, and valuable textiles. During the reception ceremony, it was discovered that in fact two envoys headed the Safavid delegation, both of whom kissed the ground in front of al-Ghawrī and then the ruler's knee.[74] Ibn Iyās's description continues:

> [The] envoys presented to the sultan the message of Shāh Ismāʿīl the Safavid. When it was read out before the sultan in the amirs' presence, hard expressions and rude speech were found in it, and the sultan was not happy about this and his face became filled with anger.[75]

Some days later, the following incident took place according to Ibn Iyās:

> On Friday, [Rabīʿ II] 25 [918],[76] the sultan gave orders to al-Mihmāndār Azdamur that he should take (*yakhudha*) the Safavid envoys and his companions and go with them to the sultan's mosque that he had built in the Sharābshyīn [Street]. They [should] pray the Friday prayer there. When they came to the mosques, the four [chief] judges, the

---

[72] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:265. See also Rabie, 1978, 77.

[73] Pagani, *Voyage*, 199.

[74] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:265–66. See also Pagani, *Voyage*, 200.

[75] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:266.

[76] Corresponding to July 20, 1512.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> notables and a group of amirs assembled there. The Maliki chief-judge Yaḥyā b. al-Damīrī who had earlier been appointed preacher of the sultan's mosque stepped forward, ascended the *minbar* wearing black, and delivered an eloquent sermon. In it, he mentioned the merits of Imam Abū Bakr al-Siddīq, may God be pleased with him. It was a memorable day at the mosque, and the Quran readers of the place and the preachers came together there.[77]

Two days later, the sultan invited the Safavid envoy to attend a polo match with him and to participate in a lavish banquet held in the hippodrome.[78] Less than two weeks later, the sultan met again in the hippodrome with all members of the Safavid delegation to gift them robes of honor and hand over a written reply to Shāh Ismāʿīl's missive which took up the harsh tone of the earlier Safavid message.[79] Ibn Iyās concludes his account of the diplomatic exchange with the following words: "This was the very beginning of the occurrence of aversion (*wahshah*) between the sultan and Shāh Ismāʿīl the Safavid."[80]

By now, many of the elements of this diplomatic encounter are familiar to us, such as the Safavid envoys' inappropriate demeanor which this time, however, was felt mostly by the Mamluk governor of Aleppo; their wearing of the distinctive red headdress, the military decoration of the citadel at the sultan's first audience with the envoys, the envoys' symbolic submission of kissing the ground in front of the ruler, the attendance of a polo match, and al-Ghawrī's generous behavior toward the Safavid delegation.

One of the distinctive new features of this encounter was its prelude in the form of Shāh Ismāʿīl's rude behavior toward al-Ghawrī's ambassador, which could be interpreted as another provocation on the Safavid's part, or as an expression of contempt for the Mamluk ruler and his proxy. This treatment of the Mamluk representative together with the Safavid envoys' reportedly unbecoming behavior in Aleppo and the wearing of the distinctive red headdress by their retainers stood in marked contrast to the valuable gifts that Shāh Ismāʿīl's delegation brought to Cairo, which lacked all confrontational implications and could in themselves only be understood as signs of appreciation and respect. As such, the communicative significance of the gifts and the envoys' gestures of submission stood in remarkable contrast to the tone of Shāh Ismāʿīl's missive. The reasons behind these seemingly contradictory messages are today difficult to discern. It seems unlikely that the Safavids would have been unable to pen a message that matched the friendly intent of their gifts, or that the Safavid envoys behaved contrary to their instructions when dealing with the governor of Aleppo.

---

[77] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:268. For this episode see also Mauder, 2017, ch. 5.1.1.1.

[78] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:268.

[79] Ibid., 271.

[80] Ibid.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Did the Safavids consciously send conflicting messages to unsettle their Mamluk interlocutors and throw them off balance? If so, to what end? It is clear, at any rate, that a holistic interpretation of this diplomatic encounter between the Mamluks and the Safavids must pay equal attention to those messages the Safavids sought to communicate through gestures and gifts as to those conveyed in writing. To Ibn Iyās, at least, it was clear that the Mamluk-Safavid encounter of 1512 did not mark the beginning of friendly relations between the two sides, as his final comment on the exchange makes clear.[81]

While the intentions behind the Safavids' behavior in the 1512 encounter are somewhat enigmatic, the Mamluks' activities appear to be more consistent with their earlier course of action. Among other things, al-Ghawrī continued to use the hippodrome as one of the central spatial contexts for dealing with the Safavid delegation, despite the fact that Shāh Ismāʿīl had earlier mocked his refurbishing of this space. Likewise, the Mamluks' show of military force demonstrated that they persisted in viewing the Safavids as military enemies that must be intimidated, if not indeed combated.

Most significantly, the Mamluk leadership still deemed it necessary to affirm their Sunni religious identity in way that was well suited to provoke Safavid anger. In a move similar in intent to the second Safavid envoy's visit to the tombs of al-Shāfiʿī and al-Layth, this time the entire Safavid delegation was made to sit through a Friday sermon that praised the first Sunni Caliph Abū Bakr, whom Shiʿis accused of having illegally assumed political leadership over the Muslim community at the cost of its rightful head, their first Imam ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–61). Shiʿis regularly ceremonially cursed Abū Bakr along with other early Muslims revered by Sunnis. Yet the communicative significance of this religious occasion, which must have been both provocative and humiliating for the Safavid representatives, did not end with the content of the sermon. The fact that the Safavid delegation was made to attend the Sunni Friday prayer in the mosque of the sultan's funeral complex, and not in one of the many other mosques in Cairo, underlined the political implications of the event. Moreover, the preacher had donned black clothing before giving the sermon, i. e., garments in the distinctive color of the Abbasid caliphs, whom the Shiʿis blamed for having killed several of their imams. Finally, this for the Safavids humiliating event took place in front of a sizeable audience, which included leading members of both the civilian and the military elite. It appears that al-Ghawrī and those around him aimed for maximum impact in their performative affirmation of their Sunni identity vis-à-vis the Safavids.

Taken together, the third encounter shares many elements with the two discussed earlier, while also exhibiting distinctive features, among which a decidedly

---

[81] See also Behrens-Abouseif, 2014, 31.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

novel Safavid choice of diplomatic gifts stands out, as does the unprecedented Mamluk effort to highlight the religious differences between themselves as Sunnis and their Shiʿi interlocutors by means of a forced mosque attendance. Moreover, while one could argue that the messages communicated by the Safavids—especially through their selection of gifts—were more conciliatory than during earlier encounters, the contemporary chronicler Ibn Iyās signifies this third encounter to be the real beginning of enmity between the two sides—an evaluation probably based as much on the tone of the Safavid missive and the envoys' behavior as the Mamluks' reactions.

## Conclusion

The three Mamluk-Safavid diplomatic encounters analyzed here had a special focus on acts of symbolic and literary communication. While remarkably similar in their central elements, they demonstrate the need to pay attention to seemingly minor details in order to arrive at a holistic picture of the transregional political relations in the Middle East on the verge of the early modern period. We are not always able to pinpoint what exactly was supposed to be conveyed through a given act of symbolic communication, which lies in the nature of this ambiguous and polyvalent type of communication. It is also clear that all three encounters share certain characteristics: In each case, the Safavid delegation sought to provoke their Mamluk interlocutors through conscious violations of expected behavior. The Mamluks, in turn, demonstrated each time both symbolically and performatively that they were willing and able to counter any Safavid aggression. Both sides considered their respective religious identities to be relevant to their diplomatic relations, and symbolically affirmed them by various means over the course of the encounters.

Nevertheless, we can detect remarkable differences between the three events which might point to a development in Mamluk-Safavid relations. During the first encounter, Mamluk observers were surprised and shocked by the strangeness of the Safavids' demeanor. The latter, however, made no efforts to conform to Mamluk expectations, but rather wore the distinctive headgear that had become emblematic for the Safavid forces and that marked them as Shiʿis, thus highlighting their different religious identity.

Over the course of the second encounter, the Safavids employed novel strategies to irritate their Mamluk interlocutors, including dispatching gifts that challenged the ruling elite of Egypt both on religious and military grounds, and sending lines of poetry ridiculing Sultan al-Ghawrī and causing a major uproar in Cairo. The Mamluks, in turn, took first steps to affirm their Sunni identity vis-à-

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

vis their Safavid interlocutors and thus highlighted the religious differences between the two parties from their perspective.

The third encounter stands out for the Safavids' use of yet another strategy of provocation, which this time built primarily on the text of the diplomatic missive sent to Cairo, but was now counterbalanced by a more conventional selection of diplomatic gifts. In the meantime, the Mamluks, for their part, devised a new way to accentuate their identification with Sunni Islam.

These differences and nuances notwithstanding, there is nothing in the three encounters that could be interpreted as a clear-cut sign of Mamluk-Safavid reconciliation, let alone the formation of a military alliance as assumed in previous scholarship. In all encounters, the interlocutors emphasized not what united, but what separated them, such as their different religious identities and the ever-present possibility of military conflict.

These findings have at least three implications for the broader context of research about Mamluk diplomatic culture: First, they highlight the fact that the history of Mamluk-Safavid relations, though chronologically much shorter than those of the Mamluk-Ottoman or Mamluk-Mongol relations, deserves our full attention, as it can help us to achieve a fuller understanding of the major transformations of the political landscape of the Middle East during the early sixteenth century—and to tackle existing misconceptions about the basic historical developments of this time. Second, the findings underline the importance of symbolic communication in diplomatic encounters and point to the need to take this specific type of communication into account in future studies of Islamicate diplomacy. The employment of performative demonstrations and affirmations of religious identities for diplomatic relations in this period emerges from this analysis as a particularly important and to date largely neglected aspect of political culture of the late middle and early modern Islamicate periods. Third, the example of Safavid-Mamluk relations underscores the fact that literary means of communication—in this case poetry in particular—played a central role in diplomatic exchanges during the time period in question and thus deserve our thorough attention, also and especially on the part of scholars primarily interested in questions of political history.

## Bibliography

### Sources

al-Ghazzī, Najm al-Dīn, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾirah bi-aʿyān al-miʾah al-ʿāshirah*, ed. Jabrāʾīl S. Jabbūr, 3 vols., Beirut 1945–58.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ibn Fahd, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Najm al-Makkī, *Bulūgh al-qirā fī dhayl itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār umm al-qurā*, eds. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. K. Ibrāhīm, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn Abū al-Khuyūr and ʿAlyān b. ʿA. al-Maḥlabdī, 4 vols., Cairo 2005.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-wafayāt al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, 3 vols., Beirut 1999.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75.

Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik: Tableau politique et administratif de l'Égypte, de la Syrie et du Ḥidjâz, sous la domination des sultans mamloûks du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Frankfurt am Main 1993. (reprint Paris 1894)

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Iʿlām al-warā bi-man wulliya nāʾiban min al-atrāk bi-dimashq al-shām al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad A. Dahmān, Damascus 1964.

–, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols., Cairo 1962–64.

Muṣṭafā Čelebī, Jalālzāde, *Selim-nāme*, eds. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar, Istanbul 1997.

Pagani, Zaccaria, *Voyage du magnifique et très illustre chevalier et procurateur de Saint-Marc Domenico Trevisan ambassadeur de l'illustrissime gouvernement vénitien auprès du sérénissime seigneur, le grand Soudan du Caire*, ed. Charles H. A. Schefer, *Le voyage d'Outremer (Égypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine) suivi de la relation de l'ambassade de Domenico Trevisan auprès du Soudan d'Égypte 1512*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, pp. 147–226. (reprint Paris 1884)

al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Qandīl al-Baqlā, 14 vols., Cairo 1970. (reprint Cairo 1913–1919)

## Studies

ʿAbd al-Rāziq, Aḥmad, "Deux jeux sportifs en Égypte au temps des Mamlūks," *Annales islamologiques* 12 (1974), pp. 95–130.

Ağalarlı, Mübariz, "XVI. Yüzyılın Başlarında Safevi Devletiyle Memlük Devleti Arasında Siyasi İlişkilere Genel Bir Bakiş," *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 3/2 (2010), pp. 124–35.

Allouche, Adel, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Ṣafavid Conflict (906–962/1500–1555)*, Berlin 1983.

Ayalon, David, "Notes on the *furūsiyya* Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate," in: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, ed. Uriel Heyd, Jerusalem 1961, pp. 31–62.

Badawi, El-Said and Martin Hinds, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English*, Beirut 1986.

Bauden, Frédéric and Malika Dekkiche (eds.), *Mamlūk Cairo: A Crossroad for Embassies*, Leiden 2019.

Bauer, Thomas, "Mamluk Literature as a Means of Communication," in: *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies, State of the Art*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2013, pp. 23–56.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World*, London 2014.

Bower, Virginia, and Colin Mackenzie, "Polo: The Emperor Games," in: *Asian Games: The Art of Contest*, eds. Irving L. Finkel and Colin Mackenzie, New York 2004, pp. 282–303.

Broadbridge, Anne F., "Diplomatic Conventions in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Annales islamologiques* 41 (2007), pp. 97–118.

–, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds*, Cambridge 2008.

Brummett, Palmira, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*, Albany 1994.

Clifford, Winslow W., "Some Observations on the Course of Mamluk-Safavid Relations (1502–1516/908–922): I and II," *Der Islam* 70 (1993), pp. 245–78.

Dekkiche, Malika, "New Source, New Debate: Re-evaluation of the Mamluk-Timurid Struggle for Religious Supremacy in the Hijaz (Paris, BnF MS ar. 4440)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 247–71.

Finkel, Joshua, "King Mutton: A Curious Egyptian Tale of the Mamlūk Period (Part I)," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 8 (1932), pp. 122–48.

–, "King Mutton: A Curious Egyptian Tale of the Mamlūk Period (Part II)," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 9 (1933–34), pp. 1–18.

Fuess, Albrecht, "Dreikampf um die Macht zwischen Osmanen, Mamlūken und Safaviden (1500–1517): Warum blieben die Mamlūken auf der Strecke?", in: *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur; zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, eds. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam, Schenefeld 2003, pp. 239–50.

–, "Mamluk Politics," in: *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies, State of the Art*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2013, pp. 95–117.

–, "Ottoman Ġazwah – Mamluk Ǧihād: Two Arms on the Same Body?", in: *Everything Is on the Move: The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-)regional Networks*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2014, pp. 269–82.

Guo, Li, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*, Leiden 2012.

Heinrichs, Wolfhart, "Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:801–05.

Herzog, Thomas, "Mamluk (Popular) Culture: The State of Research," in: *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies, State of the Art*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2013, pp. 131–58.

Holt, Peter M., *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922: A Political History*, London 1966.

Jafarian, Rasool, "The Political Relations of Shah Esmaʿil I with the Mamluk Government (1501–16/907–22)," in: *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, eds. Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig, London 2012, pp. 51–79.

Kerslake, Celia J., "The *Selīm-nāme* of Celāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi as Historical Source," *Turcica* 9–10 (1978), pp. 39–51.

Lellouch, Benjamin and Nicolas Michel, "Introduction: Les échelles de l'événement," in: *Conquête ottomane de l'Égypte (1517): Arrière-plan, impact, échos*, eds. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel, Leiden 2013, pp. 1–48.

Lewicka, Paulina, *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes: Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 2011.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Mauder, Christian, In the Sultan's Salon: Learning, Religion and Rulership at the Mamluk Court of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–1516), unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Göttingen 2017.

Muslu, Cihan Yüksel, "Attempting to Understand the Language of Diplomacy between the Ottomans and the Mamluks (1340s–1512)," *Archivum Orientalium* 30 (2013a), pp. 247–67.

–, "Ottoman-Mamluk Relations and the Complex Image of Bāyezīd II," in: *Conquête ottomane de l'Égypte (1517): Arrière-plan, impact, échos*, eds. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel, Leiden 2013b, pp. 51–76.

–, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World*, London 2014.

Petry, Carl F., *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashrāf Qāytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*, Seattle 1993.

–, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power*, Albany 1994.

Rabie, Hassanein, "Political Relations between the Safavids of Persia and the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 15 (1978), pp. 75–81.

al-Sarraf, Shihab, "Mamluk *Furūsīyah* Literature and Its Antecedents," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/1 (2004), pp. 141–200.

Savory, Roger M., "Ḳızıl-Bās͟h," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5:243–45.

Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara, "Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne: Begriffe – Thesen – Forschungsperspektiven," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31 (2004), pp. 489–527.

Talib, Adam, *How Do You Say "Epigram" in Arabic? Literary History at the Limits of Comparison*, Leiden 2017.

van Gelder, Geert Jan, "Arabic Debates of Jest and Earnest," in: *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East: Forms and Types of Debates in Semitic and Related Literatures*, eds. Gerrit J. Reinink and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout, Leuven 1991, pp. 199–211.

Winter, Michael, "The Ottoman Occupation," in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, Islamic Egypt, 640–1517, ed. Carl F. Petry, Cambridge 1998, pp. 490–516.

Yinanç, Refet, *Dulkadir Beyliği*, Ankara 1989.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Toshimichi Matsuda

# *Dhimmī* Society in the Mamluk Period

My research mainly deals with the social history of the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and I am particularly interested in showing how non-Muslim societies within this sultanate functioned under Islamic rule. A point to bear in mind is that the history of Egyptian societies is not the history of Muslims alone; non-Muslim elements were at the core of such societies. Christians formed a large majority, and to this day, many Christians with a long historical background are elements of Islamic society. No in-depth study of the history of Egypt can do without considering the role and status of non-Muslims in its Islamic society. Non-Muslim groups were often referred to collectively as *dhimmī* society during the Mamluk Sultanate. The prevailing view is that these groups were constituent parts of society, although they were considered *dhimmī*s under Islamic law. Therefore, one important aspect of my research deals with the question of whether this interpretation is correct. I also aim to analyse Islamic society from a new perspective—did Islamic society really accept religious and racial coexistence? Or, did the repeated rioting by non-Muslims reveal a lack of Muslim tolerance?

## 1. Methodology: Islamic social theory

My research is based on Islamic social theory, which had its heyday in the 1980s. Prior to that, Islamic social theory was based on a European model. This was denounced by some scholars who said that Islamic social theory must be based on Islamic values. The representative theory was the networked social theory put forth by Lapidus.[1] In the Islamic societies of the past, social order was usually maintained by a loose connection between the social classes, not by a hierarchical system, unlike that in China. Therefore, in a manner of speaking, it is a regional social theory. Present Islamic social theory is an extension of this. However,

---

[1] Lapidus, 1975.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Islamic social theory is based on Islamic values. Since it is believed that social order is maintained by a loose connection between social classes, I would like to look more closely at what exactly these loose connections are. Although each class is loosely connected to the other, the Islamic ideal is the unifying factor, sometimes making actual conditions difficult to evaluate. It is impossible to grasp these loose connections merely by an analysis of the Islamic idea of *maẓālim*, *ʿadl*, *muḥtasib*, etc. The principles and intentions are real, but it were the *ʿulamāʾ* that connected the two. Therefore, to discern the connections, one needs to understand the role of the persons responsible for forming the connections, that is, the *ʿulamāʾ*, *qāḍī*s, and *shāhid*s.

For this research, I employed micro-analysis on a macro scale of documents belonging to St Catherine's Monastery.[2] For analyses of state power and social groups, especially religious communities, it is necessary to conduct macro-analyses. In contrast, however, I have used micro-analysis to evaluate the role of the Christian community that served the monastery. To do this, I investigated the relationship between the community and the monastery, paying particular attention to the customs and conventions they shared.

## 2. Social groups

It is necessary to investigate the relationship between the monastery and its community because social groups are characterised by customs and conventions beyond the bounds of religion. They are therefore peculiar to a geographic area. When we study social groups, rather than comparing the religions they follow, it is necessary to focus on the unique customs they practice, because it is there that we most likely find the source of the customary laws of a society. However, it is not easy to grasp the relationship between the Christian community and the monastery. This point needs to be explored further. It is necessary to study the relationship using the documents of St Catherine's Monastery, the Coptic Patriarchate Orthodox Church, and the Ṣahyūn Monastery (which are difficult to access), as well as other manuscripts.[3] It is possible by analysing customary law to govern the relationship between the monastery and Christian groups. Therefore, I aim to examine historical records to find out whether matters between both were administered by customary law.

---

[2] ʿAṭiyah, 1955, 97; Library of Congress MS Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai No. 6–1067; Hans Ernst, *Sultansurkunden*, 353; Richards, *Documents*, 148; Qāsim, 1979, 218; Kamil, 1970, 213.

[3] Darrāj, 1968, 183; idem, 1961, 266; Qāsim, 1979, 13–19; Rishani, *Documenti*, 352; LoC MS No. 580, 582, 586, 620, 687, 688, 690–92.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

According to Kobayashi's article "Sufi Orders and Saint Worship in Egypt" (in Japanese), although Arabisation was carried out in the villages of Egypt, the faith of the villagers did not change. In these regions, Islamisation occurred at public level through movements of the Sufi Orders, namely *tarīqah*s, and so the popularisation of Islam began. It is therefore necessary to focus on the customs practiced by the villagers. The Sufi Orders remained active from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, i. e. from the last stages of the Mamluk Sultanate to the early stages of Egypt under Ottoman rule.[4] Therefore, I must explore the relationship between monasteries in rural areas and Christian groups.[5]

## 3. *Dhimmī* Society in the Mamluk Period

For this research, I studied the *dhimmī* society in the Mamluk period focusing on the following points: I try to describe the relationship between *dhimmī*s and Muslims and to analyse this relationship based on Islamic social theory mentioned above. I regard this as a necessary step to further advance research to increase our understanding of societal dynamics under Islamic law.

### 3.1. The relationship between state power and the *dhimmī*s

My research to understand state policy regarding *dhimmī*s was based on documents from the Monastery of St Catherine and the Ṣahyūn Monastery. These documents spell out the formal position of the Mamluk Sultanate regarding *dhimmī*s. It is mentioned in the declarations (*marsūm*) which of the sultans promulgated for *dhimmī*s. That is, those sultans who ensured the safety of the *dhimmī*s based on the regulations of Islamic laws.[6] These declarations were promulgated for various reasons, including the promotion of local safety and peace, and to build relationships between the Arab nomads who lived around the monastery; between the monastery and state power; and between the monastery and the amirs of other Islamic cities or ports. Many of these declarations ordered the amirs in the area to warn and punish Arab nomad tribes who threatened the monastery and its monks. Moreover, hostile acts against the monastery, the

---

[4] Kobayashi, 1975.

[5] According to Wilfong, monasteries were important to non-monastic populations, serving at times as important factors in the economic life of the Egyptian Christians, especially in the production and circulation of goods, and as owners of land in the countryside, see Wilfong, 1998.

[6] LoC MS No. 6–119; Richards, *Documents*, 148; Rishani, *Documenti*, 352 ; Darrāj, 1968, 183.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

monks, and their properties were understood (and treated) as attacks on the politics and order of the state. Such violence was regarded as insubordination and a flouting of the orders of the government, and therefore as disregarding orders from the caliph, sultan, and amirs. Some of these declarations were promulgated by the Islamic government of Egypt in the time of the Crusades, when Western confrontations with the Muslim East intensified, and the coasts of Egypt and Syria were attacked, in response to which Arab nomads of this area often escalated attacks on the monastery and its monks.[7]

### 3.2. The relationship between the *dhimmī*s and the *ʿulamāʾ* (*shāhid*s, *qāḍī*s)

To understand the *dhimmī* society's relationship with Islamic social theory, we must understand the relationship between the *dhimmī*s and the *ʿulamāʾ*, that is, between the *dhimmī*s and Muslim *shāhid*s and *qāḍī*s. We need to know how *shāhid*s and *qāḍī*s who dealt with the various legal documents concerning the rights of *dhimmī*s took part in the application of Islamic law. Therefore, I note the following two points.

### 3.3. How were Islamic laws applied to *dhimmī*s?

On the basis of the numerous documents we have been able to examine so far, we must take into account that the *ʿulamāʾ*, such as *shāhid*s, *qāḍī*s, and *muftī*s were directly involved with creating these documents. To know the status of the *dhimmī*s, the most important documents in Arabic are those pertaining to legal agreements. These correspond to the Monastery Manuscripts No. 237–824. Among these were contracts of sale and of purchase, mortgage contracts, *waqf* documents, *iqrār* documents, *istibdāl* documents, fatwa documents, etc. A large proportion of the extant legal documents concerning *dhimmī*s were contracts of sale or purchase and *waqf* documents. These describe the transfer of rights to real estate in Cairo, the Sinai Peninsula, and land in other areas. These transfers of rights were not from Muslims to Christians or vice versa, but predominantly among Christians. However, there were also records that describe purchases by a leading Mamluk amir.[8]

The *waqf* document of the *dhimmī*s is one in which mention is made of the application of Islamic law to non-Muslims. Christians who lived in Islamic society also set up *waqf*s for managing churches and monasteries. These *waqf*s were

---

[7] LoC MS No. 6–119.

[8] LoC MS No. 272.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

approved of by the Muslim *qāḍī*s at the time; in addition they were granted the protection of the state by a number of sultans, including Baybars, Qalāwūn, Barqūq, Faraj, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, and others.[9] As mentioned above, various legal actions taken by Christians in everyday life fell under the rule of Islamic law, as did those of Muslims. For these occasions *shāhid*s and *qāḍī*s who participated in the creation and approval of legal documents were important.

### 3.4. *ʿUlamāʾ* who were involved in drawing up these documents

I aim to consider the *ʿulamāʾ* who participated in drawing up these documents through the lens of Islamic social theory. It turns out that many *shāhid*s and *qāḍī*s were involved in the creation of these documents. It must, then, be shown clearly how did they function. This work is rather difficult, so I will explore how the *ʿulamāʾ* were actually involved. As an example, I take up Document No. 286.[10] This document is a record of a legal dispute tried in front of a tribunal. It consists of a petition and a tribunal record called *maḥdar.* In the top right on the petition is the signature of the substitute judge Shams al-Dīn al-Manūfī, written vertically. He was assigned the investigation of this case. The litigant was a monk of St Catherine's Monastery, Maqārī b. Musallim b. Shubrā. Maqārī had legally purchased a building in Cairo from a Muslim woman named Azdān on Rajab 7, 879/November 17, 1474. However, according to Maqārī, despite having been in the state at the time of purchase, neighbours appealed against the building that he had enlarged higher than those of his Muslim neighbours. In order to show that such an assertion could not be proven, Maqārī appealed to the court and asked for a trial.

Having started this petition, substitute judge Shams al-Dīn, to whom the trial was entrusted, conducted a detailed investigation during the roughly nine months before the sentence was passed. Finally, substitute judge Shams al-Dīn decided to accept the petition of Maqārī. It was Jumādā I 13, 883/October 12, 1478 then. The result of this investigation was recorded in the *maḥdar.* Attacks on non-Muslims by Muslims happened repeatedly in the Mamluk Sultanate. The Mamluk ruling class had begun utilizing non-Muslims' professional capabilities, leading to the emergence of rich non-Muslims with growing social influence. This incensed Muslims.[11] An affair related to the above-mentioned litigation happened during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq, for which he convened a confer-

---

[9] LoC MS No.18, line 38; No. 22, lines 14–16; No. 45, lines 23–25; No. 46, lines 26–27; No. 49, lines 61–63.

[10] Richards, 1985.

[11] Little, 1990.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ence.[12] Despite circumstances at the time, substitute judge Shams al-Dīn had accepted the petition of a Christian, Maqārī. So, as Islamic social theory has predicted, I can grasp a loose connection between *ʿulamāʾ* and the public, as well as the social order under which society was maintained. I can also grasp the horizontal relationship between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the public, as opposed to a vertical relationship with state power and *ʿulamāʾ*.

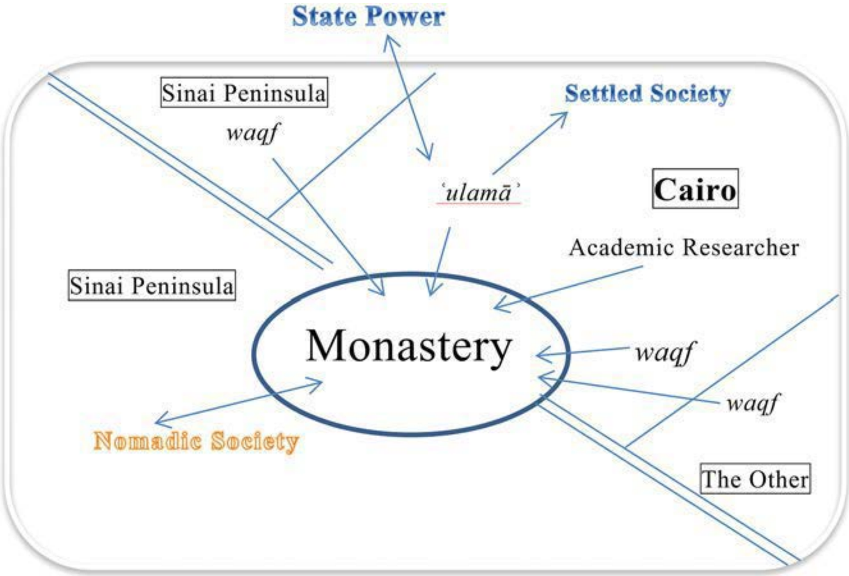


Fig. 1: The Monastery's Relationships to its Environment

## 4. The relationship between *dhimmī* society and the monastery (the relationship between settled society and the monastery)

*Dhimmī*s performed a number of social and economic activities in common with Muslims in everyday life. They participated equally in social bilateral works with Muslims, such as drilling for water, building waterways and canals, and constructing irrigation banks. The funds required for construction were collected from the public, including from the *dhimmī*s, as a special tax. Taxes were also

---

[12] al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 39–40. About this incident, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī has also made reference in detail. Two judges and the market inspector with some members of the public went to the synagogue where the problem occurred and investigated. It is described how they performed suitable disposal there, etc., see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 169–70. Moreover, Cohn, 1984, analysed this incident in detail based on the Geniza Documents.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

collected from mosques, monasteries, and churches.[13] So in everyday life, leaving aside the difference in faiths, both *dhimmī*s and Muslim were fellow constituents of the Mamluk Sultanate. Although people who lived under the Mamluk Sultanate entered into a variety of contracts in everyday life, extant contract documents of *dhimmī*s are often related to real estate. One group of documents concern inheritance, while the other concerns the purchase and sale of land and buildings. Some lands were sold off in part when they changed hands over generations. Some were purchased by the monk in charge of property affairs at the monastery, and some became *waqf* properties.[14] Therefore, from the *waqf* and contract documents, it appears that the *dhimmī*s had a deep connection to the monastery. It appears that the *dhimmī*s who lived in Cairo, the Sinai Peninsula, and other settled communities inside and outside Egypt set aside property for *waqf*s, in order to support the monastery. Among the manuscripts preserved at St Catherine's Monastery, there are two entitled "the diary and the agreement." In these manuscripts, the history of the Mamluk Sultanate is fragmentarily mentioned. But the greater parts of these manuscripts describe agreements that cover several centuries, such as matters about assignments and remunerations for the Bedouin tribes who performed labour for the monastery, the conveyances of goods for the monastery, guards for monks, etc., and the prohibition against hostile acts toward the monastery and monks.[15]

## 5. The relationship between nomadic society and the monastery

Historical sources clearly mention the relationship between nomadic society and the monastery. From the seventh century onward, Arab tribes had migrated to every region from the Arabian Peninsula, riding a wave of conquests and racial migration. Some did not establish themselves in any particular region but continued to lead nomadic lives. They were known as the *ʿurbān*. Although numerous *ʿurbān* are enumerated in the documents from St Catherine's Monastery, they were spread across a vast area from al-Ṭūr to Aylah in the southern Sinai. Among them, I found *ʿurbān* who were engaged in trade like the Banī Wāṣil,[16] who transported grain like the Awlād Saʿīd and al-ʿUlayqāt, and who cultivated the farms of the monastery.[17] Moreover, since the *ʿurbān* were strong, forceful, and mobile, they were employed as guards and called *ghafīr*.[18] They transported

---

[13] Qāsim, 1979, 139; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:168, 3:559; idem, *Sulūk*, 4/1:313–14.

[14] Matsuda, 2008.

[15] LoC MS No. 687, 688.

[16] LoC MS No. 187; Qāsim, 1979, 189–92.

[17] LoC MS No. 186.

[18] LoC MS No. 186, 187; Matsuda, 1991; Richards, *Documents*, 10–11.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

goods to the monastery and were charged not only with providing protection for the monastery and its inhabitants, but also for trade. Although these tasks were performed on a contractual basis with the monastery, the customs of these nomadic tribes, which had begun expanding in this area, were strongly reflected in the documents from the monastery.[19]

The documents tell us that on the occasions when contracts with the monastery were formed or reconfirmed, customs were important. The *shaykh al-ʿarab* of the leading tribes and the monks attended the meetings, as did many *ʿurbān.* The document describes in individual sections the payment for protection made by the monastery to *ʿurbān.* Each tribe received 80 dirhams and cloth for four suits at the end of each year. After that, earnings were divided among the *ʿurbān* every year.[20] The documents from St Catherine's Monastery reveal the relationship between the state and the monastery and the relationship between the monastery and *ʿurbān*, as shown in Figure 2. This relationship between state power (sultan) and the monastery was one of protection and recognition. Between the monastery and *ʿurbān*, the relationship was one of defence/attack and remuneration/looting, while that between state power and *ʿurbān* was one of control and obedience. The relationship between the monastery and *ʿurbān* was clear, and the intervention of state power was obvious as well. Amidst the multilayered interactions among the three groups, the monastery and *ʿurbān* coexisted with each other. Therefore, I would like to study the customs of the monastery and the regional community (in this case, the nomadic society).

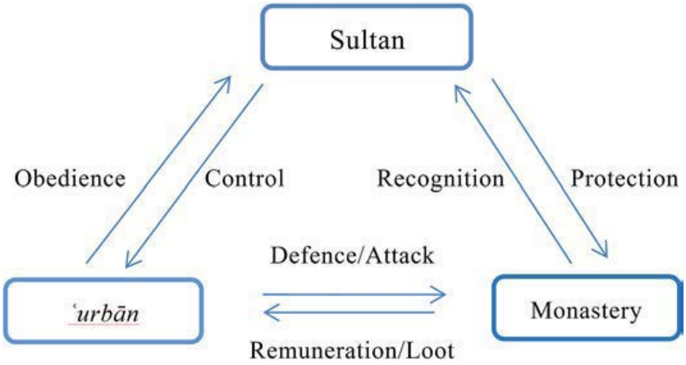


Fig. 2: Reciprocal Relationships between the Monastery, the Sultan and the *ʿurbān*

How did the Banū Fulān, that is, the Arab tribes who settled in the Sinai Peninsula, constitute nomadic societies? Since they formed a group with guaranteed joint liabilities, they were considered to have the role of a kinship group, as will

---

[19] LoC MS No. 185–224.

[20] LoC MS No. 186.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

shortly become clear. If the member of a tribe broke a contract with the monastery, he would compensate the *shaykh al-ʿarab*. If he was dishonest and failed to pay his compensation, another member would take on the responsibility.[21] It is not clear how this kinship concept had spread. I aim to examine this issue as well. The problem of whether these nomadic tribes that developed in the southern Sinai continued existing throughout the Mamluk Sultanate, which lasted for about two-and-a-half centuries, must also be considered. Since the Monastery of St Catherine held real estate, such as extensive farmlands in the southern Sinai, it needed a labour force to transport food and other goods, and was a large base for sedentary society in the southern Sinai. The monastery collected copies of the agreements between the monastery and the nomads, making it a useful source of information on the latter. Based on the customs of these nomadic tribes and the monastery, contracts continued to be established in the Mamluk period as well as up to the nineteenth century.[22]

Clinton Bailey, who used these manuscripts to inquire as to when the Bedouins settled in the southern Sinai, also reflected on the map of Bedouin territories in the Sinai of the early twentieth century.[23] According to Bailey, based on al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418),[24] and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442),[25] five tribes which appeared in the manuscripts—such as Ulayqāt and Awlād Saʿīd—were Bedouins of the southern Sinai. He has concluded that most arrived after the thirteenth century but that the Banū Wāṣil and Ḥamādhah preceded them. We can therefore assume that these nomadic tribes continued to exist throughout the Mamluk period. In addition, Stewart has indicated that Bailey's research only marks a beginning, and that the as yet untouched manuscripts must also be included in such research.[26]

## Conclusion

I will return to my initial subject. Did Islamic society really accept religious coexistence? According to the political theory of the Muslim state, it was the state's task to secure all possible safety for different religious subjects. The Mamluk Sultanate tried to enact this theory and to make a place for the *dhimmī* society within Egyptian society as a matter of policy. But how was this translated into fact? According to many declarations (*marsūm*) promulgated by Mamluk

---

[21] LoC MS No. 186.

[22] LoC MS No. 687, 688.

[23] Bailey, 1985.

[24] al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyah.*

[25] al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān.*

[26] Stewart, 1991.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

political power with regard to *dhimmī*s of St Catherine's Monastery, political power occasionally took care of them, but sometimes also took a very different attitude by treating them severely. Because the Mamluk ruling classes themselves were foreigners to Egypt, they attached greater importance to the relationship with Muslim society than to the relationship with *dhimmī*s for the stability of their political power. If this is to be explained, we must determine whether or not the principles and the actual intentions coincided.

If various kinds of documents from St Catherine's Monastery are analysed, as Fig. 1 shows, the relationship between settled society and nomadic society centred on the monastery will emerge. My aim was to uncover this relationship in view of Islamic social theory. In Islamic society, it has been said that social order is maintained by a loose connection between social classes. In the relationship between the settled society and the monastery, social order was maintained by the multi-level connection between state power, *ʿulamāʾ*, and the monastery. Many *qāḍī*s and *shāhid*s participated in the legal process regarding the rights of *dhimmī*s (that is, *dhimmī*s in residence in settled society, as shown in Fig. 1) who had certain relationships with the monastery, although it seems that their existence was allowed only under the rule of Islamic law, rather than equal religious co-existence. In the relationship between nomadic society and the monastery, as shown in Fig. 2, social custom played an important role for maintaining the social order in this region. Therefore, the relationship between settled society and nomadic society was in the world of customary law rather than the rule of the Islamic law.

## Bibliography

### Sources

Ernst, Hans, *Die Mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*, Wiesbaden 1950.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 9 vols., Beirut 1986. (reprint Hyderabad 1967—76)

Library of Congress MS Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai No. 6–119, 186–87, 237–824.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 5 vols., London 2002–06.

–, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1939–1958; ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1970–73.

–, *al-Bayān wa-l-iʿrāb ʿammā bi-arḍ miṣr min al-a ʿrāb*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ramzī, Cairo 1916.

al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1959.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Richards, Donald S., *Mamluk Administrative Documents from St Catherine's Monastery*, Leuven 2011.

Rishani, Norbert, *Documenti e Fermani*, Jerusalem 1931.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, 12 vols., Cairo 1934–36.

–, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī, Cairo 1897.

## Studies

ʿAṭiyah, ʿAzīz S., *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, Baltimore 1955.

–, *al-Fahāris al-taḥlīlīyah li-makhṭūṭāt ṭūr sīnā al-ʿarabīyah*, Alexandria 1970.

Bailey, Clinton, "Dating the Arrival of the Bedouin Tribes in Sinai and the Negev," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28/1 (1985), pp. 20–49.

Cohn, Mark R., "Jews in the Mamlūk Environment: The Crisis of 1442 (A Geniza Study)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47/3 (1984), pp. 425–48.

Darrāj, Aḥmad, *al-Mamālīk wa-l-firanj fī al-qarn al-tāsiʿ al-hijrī*, Cairo 1961.

–, *Wathāʾiq dayr ṣahyūn bi-l-quds al-sharīf*, Cairo 1968.

Kamil, Murad, *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970.

Kobayashi, Seiichi, "Egypt niokeru Sufi-Kyodan to Seijasuuhai" [Sufi Orders and Saint Worship in Egypt], *Shirin* 58/2 (1975), pp. 61–65.

Lapidus, Ira M., "Hierarchies and Networks: A Comparison of Chinese and Islamic Societies," in: *Conflict and Control in late Imperial China*, eds. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Carolyn Grant, Berkeley 1975, pp. 26–42.

Little, Donald P., "Coptic Converts to Islam During the Baḥrī Mamluk Period," in: *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi J. Bikhazi, Toronto 1990, pp. 263–88.

Matsuda, Toshimichi, "A Note on Nomads in Southern Sinai," *Orient* 27 (1991), pp. 56–73.

–, "Sei-Katerina Shuudouin no Wakuhu Seisaku" [The *waqf* policy of the St Catherine's Monastery], *Journal of the Chuo University Faculty of Letters: History* 53 (2008), pp. 1–16.

Qāsim, Qāsim ʿAbduh, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī miṣr al-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā: Dirāsah wathāʾiqīyah*, Cairo 1979.

Richards, Donald S., "Documents from Sinai concerning mainly Cairene Property," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28/3 (1985), pp. 225–93.

Stewart, Frank H., "Notes on the Arrival of the Bedouin Tribes in Sinai," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34/1 (1991), pp. 97–110.

Wilfong, Terry G., "The Non-Muslim Communities: Christian Communities," in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, Islamic Egypt, 640–1517, ed. Carl F. Petry, Cambridge 1998, pp. 175–97.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Manami Kondo

# The ʿ*ulamāʾ* in the Mamluk Period: A Re-examination of the al-Subkī Family[1]

For the study of the history of the Mamluks, we have a large number of historical sources such as chronicles, biographical dictionaries, *waqf* documents, inscriptions of madrasahs, *fatāwā*, and so on. In these sources, we find a great deal of information about the ʿ*ulamāʾ*, since they were the compilers of these sources and participated in religious and social activities using their knowledge of Islam. A considerable number of studies have been made of the ʿ*ulamāʾ* because of the large amounts of available information. Moreover, because the ʿ*ulamāʾ*, especially the *qāḍī*s, had knowledge of Islamic law and played an important role in applying it to the people, it is useful to study them to clarify certain aspects of state and society. These studies may be divided broadly into two categories. The first quantitatively examines information about a large number of ʿ*ulamāʾ*,[2] while the second qualitatively examines a specific person or family.[3]

In this paper, I employ the latter method, taking up the case of the al-Subkī family and tracing its activities. I will re-examine the information contained in the sources, especially basic sources such as the chronicles and the biographical dictionaries, and consider the rise and fall of this ʿ*ulamāʾ* family. I will then examine the course of events around the inauguration of *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque, in view of the economic situation of the ʿ*ulamāʾ*. In this way, I hope to show the usefulness of re-examining the information contained in basic sources like chronicles and biographical dictionaries.

---

[1] At the German-Japanese Workshop on Mamlukology (on November 5–6, 2016, at Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, Japan), I talked about my research on *qāḍī*s under the title "The Duties of the Qāḍī and the Related Sources in the Mamluk Period." However, in this paper, I omit the section about the general matters of *waqf*s as one of the duties of the *qāḍī al-quḍāh*, while I add a section about the al-Qazwīnī family. This essay is based on the following papers in Japanese: (1) Kondo, 1995; (2) Kondo, 1999; and (3) Kondo, 2009. (1) and (2) were revised and corrected in my Ph.D. dissertation (Kondo, 2002), and (3) is the revised and corrected version of a part of my Ph.D. dissertation.

[2] Gilbert, 1987; Escovitz, 1984, to name only a few examples.

[3] Salibi, 1958; Ḥusayn, 1948, to name only a few examples.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 1. Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Subkī's Life and Career

Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Subkī was a Shafiʿi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus from 739/1339 to 756/1355. His appointment to this post became a turning point for the al-Subkī family. Ḥusayn has already provided detailed information about him and his family in his *Bayt al-ʿilm fī dawlatay al-mamālīk.*[4] In this section, I would like to add some information about this family and consider them from the view of their posts and their relatives by marriage.[5]

This family had three branches descending from the three sons of ʿAlī b. Tammām. Branch 1 (Table 1) consisted of the descendants of Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā, uncle of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī. Branch 2 (Table 2) comprised the descendants of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī, father of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī. Branch 3 was composed of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Malik. The relation between Branch 3 and the al-Subkī family can only be found in the biography of Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 822/1419) in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍawʾ*. I exclude this branch from this examination because of the scarcity of information about it.

Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī was born in Subk[6] in Ṣafar 683/April 1284.[7] His father Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Kāfī served as *qāḍī* at Maḥallah in Lower Egypt, and he died there on Shaʿbān 9, 735/April 4, 1335.[8] His mother Nāṣirīyah was a daughter of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Subkī.[9] In biographies of her it

---

[4] In this work, he introduced *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niqam*, written by Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, son of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, and then described the al-Subkī family.

[5] For the al-Subkī family, see Tables 1 and 2. These Tables are based on information in *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah al-kubrā*, compiled by Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, son of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī, and the other sources: Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*; al-Ḥusaynī, *Dhayl*; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*; idem, *Dhayl*; idem, *Inbāʾ*; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt.* Ḥusayn has a genealogical table of this family, which I used for comparison. For the posts obtained by the members of this family, see Tables 3 to 6. These Tables are based on information in Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Quḍāt Dimashq*, as well as the sources mentioned above.

[6] There were two places with the name "Subk": Subk al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Subk al-ʿAbīd. About this, see discussion in Ḥusayn, 1948. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-usṭā*, in notes on his *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah al-kubrā*, 10:89, says that Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī's uncle Zayn al-Dīn was from Subk al-ʿAbīd. This makes it more likely that Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī was born in Subk al-ʿAbīd.

[7] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:144. There are many biographies of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī. After having examined them, I based my study on the accounts in the following sources: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 21:253–65; al-Ḥusaynī, *Dhayl*, 39–41; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10: 139–339; al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:350; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:270–71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:47–53; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:134–42. Among these, the accounts in Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, contain the most detailed information. For the references on Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī, I give volume and page numbers of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt*, and only when this has little or no information on particular points, do I cite volume and page numbers of the other sources.

[8] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:89–94; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:131–32; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:188; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:10.

[9] Nothing appears to be known about him.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

was said that she had heard the *Sunan* of al-Nasāʿī. She died in 735/1335, after her husband's death.[10] His uncle Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā served as *qāḍī* in a district of Lower Egypt[11] and was a *mudarris* at *al-madrasah al-sayfīyah* in Cairo until his death in 725/1325.[12] This was the first time that the family worked in Cairo.[13] Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī received a rudimentary education in Subk, then went on to study in Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and the Hijaz, until he took up residence in Cairo in 707/1307–08.[14] During his Cairene period, he compiled many of his works and also argued with Ibn Taymīyah about matters related to the pilgrimage to the Prophet's Mosque and the divorce.[15] His fame as a scholar was established during this period.[16] He married a daughter of Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā when he was fifteen years old.[17] Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad was born in 719/1319,[18] Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ṭayyib al-Ḥusayn in 722/1322,[19] Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in 727/1326–27,[20] and Sāra in 734/1333–34.[21] During his time in Cairo, he held the following posts: (1) *mashyakhah* (the post of chief shaykh) of *jāmiʿ ibn ṭūlūn*, (2) *tadrīs* (the post of *mudarris*) of *al-madrasah al-manṣūrīyah*, (3) *mashyakhah* of *dār al-ḥadīth al-ẓāhirīyah*, (4) *tadrīs* of *al-madrasah al-sayfīyah*, and (5) *mashyakhah* of *al-madrasah al-hakkārīyah/al-kahhālīyah.* It should be noted that posts (1) to (5) were kept in the al-Subkī family after the death of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (generations 3 and 4, see Table 3).

His first post was *mashyakhah* in *jāmiʿ ibn ṭūlūn.* It is unclear precisely when he was appointed; he lost the post in 719/1318–19 but was reappointed in 737/1326–27 and retained it until 739/1339, when he went to Damascus as *qāḍī al-quḍāh.* After him, his son Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad also held this post.[22] In 723/1323, he was appointed to two posts: *tadrīs* of *al-madrasah al-manṣūrīyah* and *mashyakhah* of *dār al-ḥadīth al-ẓāhirīyah.* He was appointed to the *tadrīs* of *al-*

---

[10] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:188; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 5:160.

[11] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:392.

[12] Ibid., 10:391–92 and note; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:568; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:131; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 5:197.

[13] Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā were the first persons whose accounts are to be found in the sources.

[14] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:166.

[15] Ibid., 10:147, 150, 166, n.5, 166–67.

[16] Ibid., 10:167 and n. 5.

[17] After that he divorced her, but the date has not been identified, nor is there any information about another marriage. Ibid., 10:145.

[18] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:103–6.

[19] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:411–25; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:25–27.

[20] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:140–43.

[21] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:51. Abū Bakr's dates of birth and death are unknown; Sutaytah's date of birth is also unknown, but the year of her death is 776/1374–75. See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 5:242.

[22] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:181; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 7:247.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*madrasah al-manṣūrīyah* because of the appointment of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zuraʿī[23] to the office of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus, retaining it until 739/1339.[24] The appointment to *dār al-ḥadīth al-ẓāhirīyah* came about because of the death of Zakī al-Dīn al-Munādī and only lasted about one month.[25] But al-Ṣafadī said that Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī left it in the hands of his son Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, when he was appointed as *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus.[26] In 725/1325, he was appointed to the *tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-sayfīyah*, on account of the death of his uncle Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā who had been a *mudarris* of this madrasah.[27] It is not known when he was appointed *mashyakhah* of *al-hakkārīyah*/ *al-kahhālīyah.*[28]

In 739/1339 the place of activity of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī moved from Egypt to Syria. In this year, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed him *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus because of the death of Qāḍī al-Quḍāh Jalāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī.[29] The reason for his appointment was not described precisely, but his fame had been known through his works and disputes with Ibn Taymīyah,[30] so that it cannot be denied that his fame allowed the sultan to name him. At this time the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Cairo was held by members of the Ibn Jamāʿah family. Since Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī had no relationship with them and it was the first time that his uncle Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā obtained the *tadrīs* in *al-Sayfīyah*, it was difficult for Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī to gain the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Cairo. It may be that the best way for him to achieve the highest possible post was to become a *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī said that his gaining this post made him wealthy and allowed him to hold many other posts.[31] He left Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad in Cairo, and moved to Damascus with Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn and Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. He appointed as his *nāʾib* in judicature his nephew Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Baqāʾ Muḥammad, and after him his nephew Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad.[32] After the latter's death in 744/1344 he made his son Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn *nāʾib*,[33] and when he also died in 755/1354, his son Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.[34]

---

[23] He was *qāḍī al-quḍāh* at Damascus from 723/1323 to 724/1323–24.

[24] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10: 211; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:115.

[25] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:116.

[26] al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 7:247.

[27] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:131.

[28] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:49; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:134.

[29] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:168; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:421. The sultan appointed him in the presence of the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Cairo ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Jamāʿah and Shams al-Dīn b. ʿAdlān. As for al-Qazwīnī, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:492; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:202; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:120–123.

[30] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:167.

[31] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:224.

[32] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:201; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:168.

[33] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:412.

[34] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:141.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī held more posts in Damascus than in Cairo (a total of ten). Because of the death of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, he gained teaching posts (*tadrīs*) at *al-madrasah al-ʿādilīyah al-kubrā*, *al-madrasah al-atābakīyah*, and *al-madrasah al-ghazālīyah.* The post at *al-madrasah al-ʿādilīyah al-kubrā* was retained by the al-Subkī family: it was held by Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī's sons Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad and Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, their cousin Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad's son Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, and finally his grandson Taqī al-Dīn Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad.[35] Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, son of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, lectured at *al-madrasah al-atābakīyah* before the death of Jalāl al-Dīn, but after his death Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī became a *mudarris.* After his death, this post was held by members of the al-Subkī family, namely his nephew Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn's son Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh. After Walī al-Dīn the post passed to persons other than the members of this family, but was then held by Badr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, son of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, and after him by his son Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad.[36] At *al-madrasah al-ghazālīyah*, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī's nephew Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad held the post after his death. There was some trouble with Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī's son over the post of *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque, to which I shall return later.

In 742/1341, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī gained *mashyakhah* in *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah* because of the death of al-Mizzī.[37] This post was handed to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, son of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī,[38] and then to Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb;[39] it was later held by Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī's cousin. In the same year, he gained *mashyakhah* in *dār al-ḥadīth al-nūrīyah* in place of al-Mizzī's son.[40] In 745/1345, he was appointed *tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-shāmīyah al-barrānīyah* because of the death of Ibn Naqīb.[41] This post was handed to his

---

[35] Taqī al-Dīn Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad was born in 745/1344 in Cairo and brought up by his grandfather Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī. When he was ten years old, he lectured at a madrasah in the presence of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī. See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:124. For the successors to the post, see al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:366–67.

[36] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:133–35.

[37] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:169, 200–1; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:210. For al-Mizzī, see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:395–430; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:209; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 6:228–33; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:99–101. He was Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, born in the suburbs of Aleppo, and brought up in Mizzah. For twenty-three and a half years, he occupied the seat of chief shaykh in *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah* and died in 742/1341. He was the father-in-law of Ibn Kathīr.

[38] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:257.

[39] Ibid., 14:270.

[40] Ibid., 14:210.

[41] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:170. For Ibn al-Naqīb, see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:307–309; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 5:135–36; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:64–66. He was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Naqīb, born c. 622/1225, died 745/1345. He was a *qāḍī* in Homs, Tripoli, and Aleppo.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

son Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn. In addition, he gained teaching posts (*tadrīs*) in both *al-masrūrīyah* and *al-kallāsah*, but it is unclear when he obtained these posts. At the end of 755/1355 he fell ill and returned to Egypt with his relatives, after his son Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had become a *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus and a shaykh in *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah.* He died at his house in the suburbs of Cairo in 756/1355.[42]

## 2. The al-Subkī Family after Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī: Their Posts

In this section, I will focus on the information about the posts held by the al-Subkī family after Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī, distinguishing between three types of posts: judicial (Tables 4 and 6), religious (Tables 3 and 5), and administrative (Tables 4 and 6).

Members of the al-Subkī family were appointed *qāḍī al-quḍāh* several times, more often in Damascus than in Cairo. Taking into account the high number of *nāʾib*, comparatively few were appointed *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Cairo. Considering the influence of the Ibn Jamāʿah family in Cairo, this would be natural. If we compare Branch 1 and Branch 2 in both Cairo and Damascus, we find that in Cairo, Branch 1 predominated. In Damascus, at first this post was kept by members of Branch 2, but then passed to Branch 1 from Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā' Muḥammad onward. This is probably due to the plague (*tāʿūn*). Many members of Generation 4 died of the plague, among them three sons of Bahā' al-Dīn Aḥmad and two sons of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Branch 2: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, and Yaḥyā. Half of the males of Generation 4 died in 764/1362–63 and 776/1374–75. This is the most likely cause of the decline of Branch 2, and of the decline of this family.

The number of religious posts held by members of the al-Subkī family was overwhelmingly greater in Damascus than in Cairo. The most likely reason is that the number of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* was greater in Damascus than in Cairo. In Cairo, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, who was left behind in Cairo when Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī went to Damascus, achieved two new appointments: *tadrīs*es in *qubbat al-shāfiʿī* and *al-madrasah al-shaykhūnīyah.* The latter was established in 756/1355, and he was the first chair *mudarris* of Shafiʿi law. Both of them continued to be held by the members of the al-Subkī family. In Damascus, Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb held a number of posts, about twice as many as Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī. However, the posts newly achieved by Tāj al-Dīn were not kept by the family, in contrast with those gained by Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī in both Cairo and Damascus. Moreover, in Damascus, Branch 1 was more prosperous than Branch 2 in Generation 4, although this

---

[42] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:315–16; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:270.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

tendency is not clear in Cairo. This could also be due to the plague, as mentioned above in the section on the judicial posts.

In some cases, they employed bribes to gain access to these posts, and their unlawful management of "the money of orphans" was accused. The following members are said to have paid a bribe or unlawful money: Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī and his son Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, both of Branch 2, and Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, and Badr al-Dīn's son Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad of Branch 1. Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī was rumored to have given "the money of orphans" to amirs.[43] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī said about Bahā' al-Dīn Aḥmad: "Like that, a lot of posts concentrated on him, he bent the people to his will with a bribe, and achieved his aims by great effort."[44] Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh was the cause of the trouble related to "the money of orphans" in 789/1387,[45] which he was accused of lending.[46] In the same year, he sold the posts of *mudarris* and *nāẓir* in *al-madrasah al-rayḥānīyah* for 50,000 dirhams.[47] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's unlawful financial dealings were investigated, and he fell sick from too much anxiety and died.[48] Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bribed somebody with a mansion equivalent to 1,000 dinars, and was made *tadrīs* in *qubbat al-shāfiʿī*, as well as *tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-shaykhūnīyah* through bribery.[49] According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī said that Ṣadr al-Dīn was a good person, but "his most blameworthy point was to leave various things to his son Jalāl al-Dīn."[50]

The following members of this family held administrative posts: Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, of Branch 1, and Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh of Branch 2. Three of them belong to Generation 4. Bahāʾ al-Dīn and Walī al-Dīn held many religious and judicial posts. Shihāb al-Dīn served as *nāʾib* to the *qāḍī al-quḍāh*, who was his brother, and as *mudarris* in *al-madrasah al-shāmīyah al-barrānīyah* and *turbat umm ṣāliḥ*; but the posts in *al-madrasah al-shāmīyah al-barrānīyah* and *turbat umm ṣāliḥ*, both in Damascus, were given by his brother Walī al-Dīn on the advice of their father Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad.[51] Jalāl al-Dīn was a *mudarris* in *al-madrasah al-atābakīyah* in Damascus, *qubbat al-shāfiʿī*, *al-madrasah al-shaykhūnīyah*, and *madrasah sulṭān ḥasan*, all in Cairo. However, he gained teaching posts (*tadrīs*) in *qubbat al-*

---

[43] There was a rumor that he handed the money of orphans to Alṭunbughā and Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:221–22; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:309.

[44] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:244.

[45] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:219.

[46] Ibid., 1:150.

[47] Ibid., 1:518.

[48] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 6:37–38; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:653, 655–57, 659.

[49] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 6:132.

[50] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:244.

[51] Ibid., 3:480.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*shāfiʿī* and *al-madrasah al-shaykhūnīyah* through bribery, as mentioned above.[52] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī said that they did not have much legal knowledge.[53]

## 3. The al-Subkī Family after Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī: Their Relatives by Marriage

In this section, I will focus on the information about the relatives of the al-Subkī family by marriage. After Generation 3, information about their marriages grows more plentiful.

### 3.1. The al-Misallātī Family

Sutaytah, daughter of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī,[54] married Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Misallāṭī.[55] He was a Maliki. She had previously been married to Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad, the son of a cousin of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Subkī. After his death in 744/1343–44, she married Jamāl al-Dīn al-Misallātī. He became a Maliki *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus in 748/1347.[56] It is unclear whether their marriage took place before or after his appointment as *qāḍī al-quḍāh*. When Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was investigated for charges of office seeking, he opposed Tāj al-Dīn. Because of this occurrence, he was dismissed later due to pressure by Tāj al-Dīn.[57]

His son Sarī al-Dīn Muḥammad, born in 751/1350, was brought up by the al-Subkī family, and then became a Shafiʾi jurist. When Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad al-Subkī, her other son from her ex-husband, died in 771/1369–70 and his little son became a *mudarris* in *al-madrasah al-ruknīyah* in name only, Sarī al-Dīn became a *mudarris* there.[58] He also became a *muftī* of *dār al-ʿadl*, and was *nāʾib* of Burhān al-Dīn b. Jamāʿah in Egypt on account of being his son-in-law.[59]

---

[52] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 6:132; idem, *Dhayl*, 200.

[53] For Shihāb al-Dīn, see idem, *Dhayl*, 83. For Jalāl al-Dīn, see ibid., 200.

[54] She died of plague in 776/1375. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:459.

[55] Ibid., 3:377; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:129.

[56] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:642, 3:459; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:224; idem, *Inbāʾ*, 1:117.

[57] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:377; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:129.

[58] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:642; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:360.

[59] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:360.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 3.2. The Ibn al-Munajjā Family

In Gilbert, 1976, the Ibn al-Munajjā family is portrayed as one of the famous Hanbali families, and described as politically influential and wealthy.[60] In Damascus, two madrasahs were established by this family.[61] A daughter of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī[62] married Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Munajjā. His uncle ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn al-Munajjā was a Hanbali *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn served as his *nāʾib*.[63]

He had three sons, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad[64], Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad,[65] and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī.[66] On the occasion of his marriage, he let his son Sharaf al-Dīn choose the Shafiʿi *madhhab*. Moreover, he handed over some of his posts to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī when the latter achieved the age of twenty and became his father's *nāʾib* in *qaḍāʾ*. According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, this was because he was a son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, husband of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī's sister, and Tāj al-Dīn had advised it.[67] Furthermore, at the trial of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Munajjā supported him in contrast to al-Misallātī.[68]

## 3.3. The Ibn al-Muraḥḥil Family

This was a Shafiʿi family. A daughter of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī[69] married Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muraḥḥil. His grand-grandfather Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar was the best *ʿālim* of his day.[70] In addition, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, his grandfather's brother, was famous for his knowledge of Islamic law, and at one time Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Subkī attended his lecture in *al-madrasah al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah* and had discussions with him.[71] In 742/1340, when he was fifteen years old, he lectured at a madrasah by himself.[72] He died in Aleppo in 751/1350–51,[73] when his

---

[60] Gilbert, 1978, 177.
[61] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 2:86, 120.
[62] Her name is unknown.
[63] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:357; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 5:5.
[64] According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3: 678–79, because of Taqī al-Dīn's death, his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn became a *qāḍī* in 788/1386.
[65] For Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, see ibid., 1:494.
[66] For ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, see ibid., 3:347, 678–79.
[67] Ibid., 3:347.
[68] Ibid., 3:316–17.
[69] Her name is unknown.
[70] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:343.
[71] Ibid., 10:116, n.4.
[72] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:14; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:99.
[73] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:14.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

son Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad was four years old.[74] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī said that "under Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, his maternal grandfather, he has a chance to learn about his books."[75] It means that he was brought up under the protection of the al-Subkī family.

In 769/1367–68, when he was twenty-two years old, Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammd gained a teaching post (*tadrīs)* in *al-madrasah al-ʿadhrāwīyah*, assisted by Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. This post had been kept in the Ibn al-Muraḥḥil family; having been held by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Muraḥḥil, brother of his great-grandfather, it was then handed on to his grandfather, then to his father.[76] After the death of Zayn al-Dīn's father, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Subkī, Zayn al-Dīn's maternal uncle, obtained it, and after him Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.[77]

### 3.4. The Others

Among the relatives by marriage, there were two with a connection to an amir. One was Sayf al-Dīn Kuzul, who had been a *dawādār* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Alṭunbughā, the governor in Damascus. In 796/1394, Bāy Khātūn of Branch 1 married Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar, but he died in the same year. After that, she married Kuzul in 797/1395.[78] The other was a daughter of Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Mashhadī. She married Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr of Branch 1. Her father Zayn al-Dīn lectured to mamluks in the Citadel of Cairo, and was a scribe and notary, too. When Sarī al-Dīn died in 833/1430, their son Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Baqāʾ Muḥammad was still young. Thus, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Mashhadī succeeded to the *tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-aqbughāwīyah* in Cairo.[79]

There are no direct indications to tell us that the al-Subkī family derived benefits from their relatives by marriage, as there are in the case of the appointment of Sarī al-Dīn al-Misallātī on *qāḍī* on account of the son-in-law of Ibn Jamāʿah. Some benefits that derived from marriage can be found in the case of the marriage with Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muraḥḥil. In this case, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Subkī and Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī held a teaching post (*tadrīs*) in *al-madrasah al-ʿadhrāwīyah* from the death of Taqī al-Dīn b. al-

---

[74] He was born in 748/1346–47. For Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:101.

[75] Ibid., 4:101.

[76] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:253, 157; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:14.

[77] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:378.

[78] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:517, 549. For Sayf al-Dīn Kuzul al-Ḥājib, see ibid., 1:681.

[79] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 4:32–33. For Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Mashhadī, see ibid., 11:52–53. For Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mashhadī, see ibid., 7:179–81.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Muraḥḥil to the appointment of his son Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Muraḥḥil, but this was only temporary.

By contrast, in the following cases the relatives by marriage derived benefits from the al-Subkī family: when Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad of Branch 1 died in 771/1370 and his son was still a child, Sarī al-Dīn al-Misallātī gained a teaching post (*tadrīs*) in *al-madrasah al-ruknīyah.* When Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr of Branch 1 died in 833/1430 and his son was still young, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mashhadī succeeded to the *tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-aqbughāwīyah.*

It is more characteristic that the relatives by marriage covered the four Sunni *madhhab*s. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Misallātī was a Maliki and became a *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Munajjā, uncle of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Munajjā, was a Hanbali *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus. Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muraḥḥil was a Hanbali jurist, and his family had been famous in Damascus since his grand-grandfather's time. Considering that he had lectured by himself at the age of fifteen, he may have been a distinguished scholar. In addition, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Kafrī, who married a daughter of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in 759/1358, was a Hanafi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus in 758–759/1356–58.[80] Each of them had settled down in Damascus before the al-Subkī family came there, and was famous and influential. Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Subkī was the first of his family to come to Damascus. Thus, it can be said that the main purpose of their marriage was to form local connections. The marriage with Amir Kuzul may have offered more direct benefits, because amirs frequently had influence over appointments.

## 4. Economic Situation of the *ʿulamāʾ*

In this section, I describe the economic situation of the *ʿulamāʾ* by examining two cases: the al-Subkī family, and the al-Qazwīnī family.[81] The al-Qazwīnī family was not native to Damascus. They had come to the city in 696/1296–97 at the latest. The following members of this family became Shafiʿi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus: Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar, from 696/1296–96 to 699/1299–1300, and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, from 724/1324 to 727/1326–27 and from 738/1337–38 to 739/1339. Table 7 is the genealogical table of the al-Qazwīnī family, for which Bonebakker and Maṭlūb offer very detailed descriptions. Maṭlūb has the same table as Table 7,

---

[80] He died in 803/1400–01. For Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. al-Kafrī, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:131; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 5:73; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 4:284–85.

[81] For the al-Qazwīnī family, see Bonebakker, "al-Ḳazwīnī," *EI*$^2$ (online); Maṭlūb, 1967.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

and here I confirm the information in the historical and biographical sources.[82] Table 9 is about the posts held by the members of this family.[83]

The following description shows the economic situation of the al-Subkī family before Taqī al-Dīn's appointment as *qāḍī al-quḍāh:* "Because I [Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī] have only a few salaries except for the one from this [*tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-manṣūrīyah*], I spent the night worrying."[84] He had been appointed to the post in 723/1323 following Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zuraʿī's appointment to the office of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus, but al-Zuraʿī was dismissed in the following year. Amir Arghūn intended to appoint al-Zuraʿī instead of Taqī al-Dīn. At this time, *tadrīs* in *al-madrasah al-manṣūrīyah* and *mashyakhah* in *dār al-ḥadīth al-ẓāhirīyah* were the only posts that Taqī al-Dīn held. After 739/1339, he and his family became wealthy, as indicated in several descriptions. Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī died, leaving 32,000 dirhams in debt, which was cleared by Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad.[85] This episode is usually told to show his virtuous penury, but of course it also shows the wealth of his sons, who were able to clear the debt. It was said that Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad went on to earn 1,000 dirhams a month.[86] The episodes already mentioned, namely, that of the unlawful money and selling of the post by Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the bribery by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, and the unlawful money of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī indicate their wealth. Furthermore, when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī was appointed *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus in 805/1398 and dismissed in the same year, the amirs demanded 1,500 *mithqāl*s in 805/1403 and 200,000 dirhams in 806/1403 from him in accordance with the custom of the inauguration.[87] To become a *qāḍī al-quḍāh* meant being wealthy enough to pay these sums.

In 742/1341, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Subkī was appointed *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque following the death of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī. According to al-Qalqashandī, it was the custom for the Shafiʿi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* to hold this post,[88] and the appointment of Taqī al-Dīn cannot be considered unusual. However, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī eventually gave up this post.

In 742/1341, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī died from an illness. During his illness, his brother Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm delivered the *khuṭbah* as his deputy,[89] and he continued to deliver it after the death of his brother. However, on

---

[82] It is based on the information in al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*; al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt*; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*.

[83] It is based on the information in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* in addition to the sources in n. 81.

[84] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:211.

[85] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3:52.

[86] Idem, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:262.

[87] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:306, 351.

[88] al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:200.

[89] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:210–11.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Jumādā II 5, 742/November 16, 1341, Alṭunbughā, the governor of Damascus,[90] ordered Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī to deliver the *khuṭbah.*[91] In Shawwāl 742/March–April 1342, Sayf al-Dīn Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī, the new governor of Damascus,[92] appointed Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī as *khaṭīb.*[93] In Rabīʿ II 743/September 1342, a letter of appointment and the robe of honor reached Damascus, but ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aydughmish, the then governor,[94] became angry at this, and forbade him to deliver the *khuṭbah.*[95] Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī was summoned to Cairo on Rabīʿ II 26, 743/September 28, 1342, received a letter of appointment in Cairo, and then returned to Damascus on Rajab 8, 743/December 17, 1342.[96] The people in Damascus asked for Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī, the then governor of Damascus,[97] to allow Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī to continue holding the post of *khaṭīb*, but he rejected their demand. They complained and clamored, until Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī gave up the inauguration on Rajab 29, 743/December 19, 1342, and Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī was reappointed as *khaṭīb* on Ramaḍān 15, 743/February 11, 1343.[98] According to Ibn Kathīr, Aydughmish thought that the governor had seen that the brothers of the late Badr al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī were poor, because they had many households to maintain, and ordered Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī to continue as *khaṭīb.*[99] Al-Ṣafadī said the following:

> The *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī) was summoned to Egypt in the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl,[100] and there he was appointed [as *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque]. He (Tāj al-

---

[90] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Alṭunbughā arrived in Damascus as governor in January 741/June–July 1340. In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 742/Apri–May 1342, he was executed. For more on him, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:436–37; al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ*, 12.

[91] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:60; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:216; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 18:396.

[92] He was appointed as governor of Damascus instead of Alṭunbughā. Later, he was arrested by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aydughmish, and executed in Muḥarram 744/May–June 1343. For more on him, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:225–36; al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ*, 69.

[93] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:60; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:471; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2: 225, 593; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 18:396.

[94] He arrived at Damascus as governor of Damascus, to replace Quṭlūbughā in Ṣafar 743/July 1342. He suddenly died after the inauguration parade in the same year. For more on him, see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:220, 222; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:455–57; al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ*, 14.

[95] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:221; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:306.

[96] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:211–23; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:307, 309. The reason he was summoned was said to be that he had paid the money of orphans to Alṭunbughā and Quṭlūbugha.

[97] Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī. He was appointed as governor of Damascus instead of Aydughmish in 743/1342. For more on him, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:326; al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ*, 46. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, said that "he had been on the closest terms with Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī in Cairo, but after his coming to Damascus, he grew hostile to Taqī al-Dīn." See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:213.

[98] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:223; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:309–10.

[99] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:221.

[100] He reigned from 743/1342–43 to 746/1345–46.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> Dīn al-Qazwīnī) went up on the *minbar* and sat down before delivering the *khuṭbah*, and said: “This al-Subkī obtained the post of *khaṭīb*, and brought our salary to ruin,” while crying. So that the people showed their sympathy for him, and cried with him.[101]

The economic situation of the al-Qazwīnī family was very hard according to the descriptions of Ibn Kathīr and al-Ṣafadī, but how reliable are these descriptions? In accordance with Table 8, the main posts held by the Qazwīnī family after the death of Badr al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī with the exception of that of *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque, are *tadrīs*es in *al-madrasah al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah* and *al-madrasah al-ʿādilīyah al-ṣughrā.*

Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī succeeded to the post at *al-madrasah al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah*[102] from the late Badr al-Dīn after a hiatus of some two months. Al-Nuʿaymī said in his *Dāris* that Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Subkī of Branch 1 succeeded Badr al-Dīn and he in turn was succeeded by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī.[103] However, the only sources except *Dāris* that mention the fact that Taqī al-Dīn held the post are Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah’s *Ṭabaqāt* and Ibn al-ʿImād’s *Shadharāt*, while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah’s *Taʾrīkh* does not mention it. Al-Ṣafadī’s *Aʿyān* and *Wāfī*, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s *Durar*, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah’s *Taʾrīkh* mention that Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī held this post.[104] The latter states that he held it until his death,[105] and also that Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī succeeded Maḥmūd, son of Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, in 749/1348–49.[106] Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ al-Subkī died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 744/March–April 1344, while Nāsir al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī came to Damascus from Aleppo in Jumādā I 747/September 1346.[107] Thus, it should be said that Tāj al-Dīn succeeded Badr al-Dīn, who in turn was succeeded by Maḥmūd, so that the post was held by the al-Qazwīnī family until 749/1349 after the death of Badr al-Dīn. Tāj al-Dīn gained the post at *al-madrasah al-ʿādilīya al-ṣughrā* in 738/1338,[108] and was succeeded by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī in Shaʿbān 742/January–February 1342, who held it until Ṣafar 743/August 1342.

Including the posts before the death of Badr al-Dīn, the number of posts fell drastically after the death of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* Jalāl al-Dīn. There are three reasons

---

[101] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:60.

[102] For this madrasah, there are a several studies through Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī’s *Fatāwā* and the *waqf* plate of this madrasah: Makdisi, 1981; Kondo, 2009; Stewart, 2008; Melčák, 2012.

[103] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:307. Stewart, 2008, 199–201, assumes that Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ al-Subkī held this post from the death of Badr al-Dīn in 742/1342 until his own death in 744/1344, mainly based on the description in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris.*

[104] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:60, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 19:396, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:471, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:232, 593.

[105] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:593.

[106] Ibid., 2:554.

[107] Ibid., 2:478; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 5:238.

[108] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:198.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

for this. First, there was a rapid succession of sultans. When Jalāl al-Dīn was a *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Cairo, his son Badr al-Dīn used to visit his father and the sultan once a year.[109] This practice must have been helpful for maintaining the prosperity of this family during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. However, it may have not been so helpful during the short reigns of his sons. Second, the members of the family died of the plague, as in the case of the al-Subkī family. In a day or two in 749/1349, Ṣadr al-Dīn, Tāj al-Dīn and his son Maḥmūd died of the plague.[110] Third, Jamāl al-Dīn lavished money.

There are three descriptions that show the wealth of this family. The first is the description of Jalāl al-Dīn. He maintained a favorable relationship with the sultan, gained the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* and *tadrīs*es in many madrasahs, and earned a good salary in Cairo and Damascus.[111] The second is the description of his son Jamāl al-Dīn. He spent a lot of money on horses, houses, clothes, ornaments, and other luxuries.[112] The third is about his brother Badr al-Dīn. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah said of him that "notable jurists would often be welcomed at his garden hospitably, and on Saturdays and Tuesdays received warmly at his famous hammam, which was located at the beginning of Mubāshir Alley in Mizzah."[113] However, al-Ṣafadī said that "the prosperity had gone when he (Jalāl al-Dīn) died, and only remnants of it were left." He also said that "after him, his children came to beg alms from his father's friends and influential people."[114] It is certain that Jalāl al-Dīn's luxurious lifestyle led to a deterioration in his family's economic situation.

## Conclusion

In this paper, I took up the case of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Subkī and his family and considered the rise and fall of the ʿ*ulamāʾ* family by way of re-examining the information in the basic sources. In addition to this, I presented the economic situation of the al-Qazwīnī family as an example of the economic conditions of the ʿ*ulamāʾ*. I present the following remarks in conclusion:

(1) The al-Subkī family came to Cairo for the first time when Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī's uncle Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā became a *mudarris* in *al-madrasah al-sayfīyah.* His nephew Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī also held some posts in Cairo. He became famous for his

---

[109] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:167; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:303; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:249.

[110] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 13:247; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 18:396; *Aʿyān*, 3:60.

[111] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 14:139–40.

[112] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:725–26; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:333; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:400.

[113] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:286.

[114] al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:727.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

knowledge of Islamic law, and it is likely that he was appointed as *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus because of his fame.

(2) After his appointment as *qāḍī al-quḍāh*, he and his family prospered. He and the members of his family held many posts in Damascus and Cairo. It seems reasonable to suppose that this family was economically comfortable. In comparison with the case of al-Qazwīnī, it was important from an economic standpoint to obtain the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh.*

(3) The prosperity was maintained by Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī's fame and office-seeking activities. However, it was difficult for them to hold on to their prosperity in Cairo, because they had no base in Cairo before Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā. In Damascus, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī had no base, but he and his family tried to build a base by marrying into notable families there.

(4) The reason for the downfall of this family is that most of the members died of the plague, the same as in the case of the al-Qazwīnī family. Moreover, unlawful practices such as bribery increased after Generation 4, and there were members who did not study well, as such Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Subkī both in Generation 5.

(5) In comparison with the cases of al-Subkī and al-Qazwīnī, those *ʿulamāʾ* who did not hold only a few posts were economically disadvantaged and gaining the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* was important for their prosperity, because it influenced the number of the posts in the madrasah. In his *Masālik*, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī said: "As for the *qāḍī*s and the *ʿulamāʾ*, salaries of the *qāḍī*s are paid by the sultan and the maximum amount is fifty dinars a month, and they have madrasahs which are rich from their *waqf*s. As for the *ʿulamāʾ* [except for the *qāḍī*s], each of them has only [the salary] from the *waqf* of the madrasah."[115] This explains their realities, but it does not explain why the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* could obtain *tadrīs*es in the rich madrasahs. Details cannot be discussed here for lack of space, but here we have one of the reasons why the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* was required to have sufficient knowledge and fame for the office, and why such persons could obtain *tadrīs*es in many madrasahs. It could be said that the increase of lazy persons such as suggested in point (4) damaged the prosperity of the family.

---

[115] Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 110–11.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Bibliography

### Sources

al-Ḥusaynī, Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Muḥammad, "Dhayl tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ li-l-dhahabī," in: al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Zakarīyā ʿUmayrāt, vol. 5, Beirut 1998, pp. 1–43.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār: Dawlat al-mamālīk al-ūlā*, ed. Dorothea Krawulsky, 2 vols., Beirut 1986.

Ibn Ḥabīb, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām al-manṣūr wa-banīhi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, 3 vols., Cairo 1976–86.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Dhayl al-durar al-kāminah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, Cairo 1992.

–, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols., Cairo 1966–67. (reprint Cairo n.d.)

–, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 9 vols., Hyderabad 1967—76.

Ibn al-ʿImād, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Aḥmad, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, 8 vols., Beirut 1931–32.

Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Fatīḥ, 15 vols., Cairo 1994.

Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols., Beirut 1994.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah*, ed. al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm Khān, 4 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1978–80.

–, *Taʾrīkh ibn qāḍī shuhbah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, 4 vols., Damascus 1977–97.

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Quḍāt dimashq: al-Thaghr al-bassām fī dhikr man wulliya qaḍāʾ al-shām*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus 1956.

al-Isnawī, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt, 2 vols., Beirut 1987.

al-Nuʿaymī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī, 2 vols., Cairo 1988.

al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn, 15 vols., Beirut 1987–89.

al-Ṣafadī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, eds. ʿAlī Abū Zayd, Nabīl Abū ʿAmshah, Muhammad Mawʿid and Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, 6 vols., Beirut and Damascus 1998.

–, *Umarāʾ dimashq fī al-islām*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus 1955.

–, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. Helmut Ritter et al., 32 vols., Istanbul et al. 1931–2013.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, 12 vols., Cairo 1934–36.

al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah al-kubrā*, eds. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 10 vols., Cairo 1964.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Studies

Bonebakker, Seeger A., "al-Ḳazwīnī," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Online, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4091 [accessed 10/02/2020].

Escovitz, Joseph H., *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*, Berlin 1984.

Gilbert, Joan Elizabeth, *The Ulama of Medieval Damascus and the International World of Islamic Scholarship*, Ann Arbor 1987.

Ḥusayn, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, *al-Bayt al-subkī: Bayt ʿilm fī dawlatay al-mamālīk*, Cairo 1948.

Kondo, Manami, "Dai Kādī, Takīyuddīn aru-Subukī: Sono Shōgai to Shihō Katsudō" [Qāḍī al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī: His Life and one of his Judicial Activities], *Sēnan Ajia Kenkyu* [Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southern Asiatic Studies] 42 (1995), pp. 59–73.

–, "Mamrūkuchō ni okeru Uramā no Kakē no Ryūsē: Subukī-ke no Baai" [The Rise of the *ʿulamāʾ* Family under the Mamluks: The Case of the al-Subkī Family], *Oriento* (*Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan*) 42/1 (1999), pp. 84–102.

–, Mamurūkuchō Zenki Damasukusu ni okeru Uramā Shakai [The Society of *ʿulamāʾ* in Damascus in the Early Mamluk Period], unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Kyoto University 2002.

–, "Uramā no Keizai Jōtai ni kansuru Ichi Kōsatsu: Kazwīnī-ke to Shihekinai Shāmīya Madorasa no Jirei" [A Study on the Economic Condition of the *ʿulamāʾ:* A Case of al-Qazwīnī and the *madrasat al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah*], *Tōyōshien* 72 (2009), pp. 1–32.

Makdisi, George, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1981.

Maṭlūb, Aḥmad, *al-Qazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Baghdad 1967.

Melčák, Miroslav, "Reconstruction of the Lost Ayyubid Waqf: Madrasa al-Shāmīya al-Juwwānīya in Damascus as Depicted in the *Fatāwā* of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355)," *Oriental Archive* 80 (2012), pp. 1–39.

Salibi, Kamal S., "The Banū Jamāʿa: A Dynasty of Shāfiʿite Jurists in Mamluk Period," *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958), pp. 97–109.

Stewart, Devin, "The Students' Representative in the Law Colleges of 14th Century Damascus," *Islamic Law and Society* 15/2 (2008), pp. 185–217.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

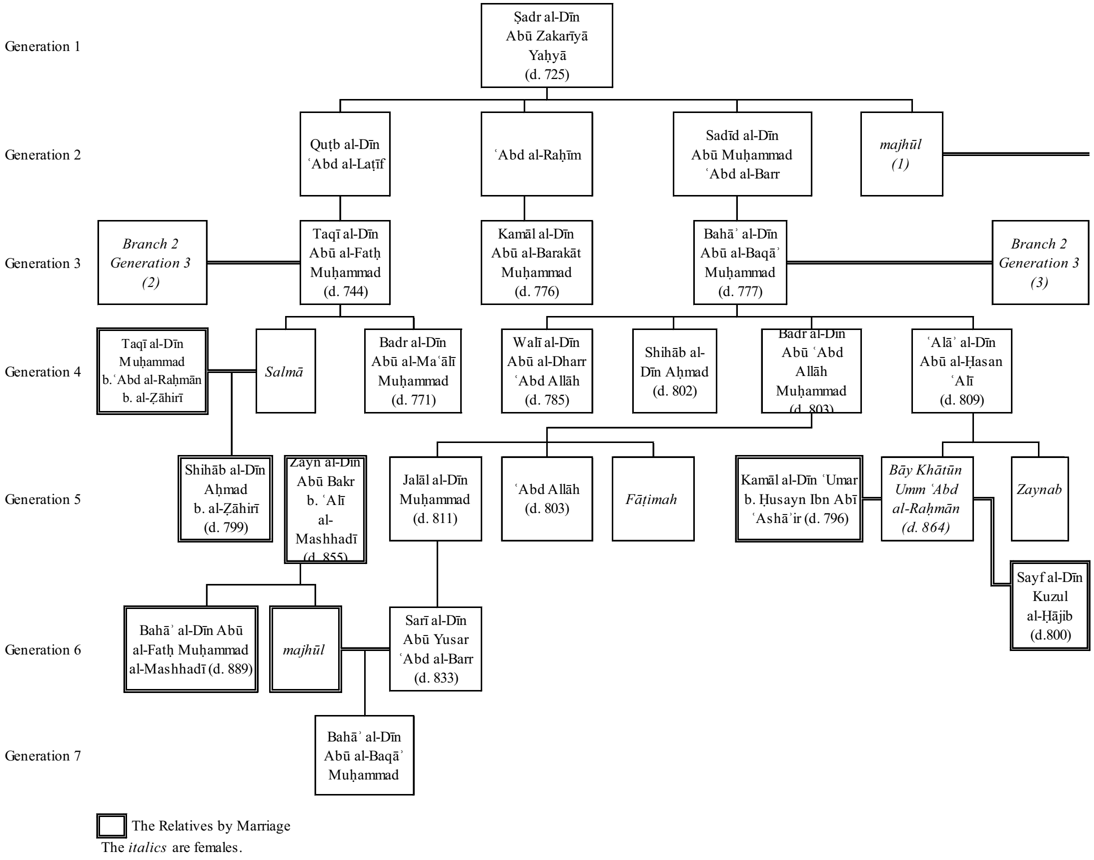
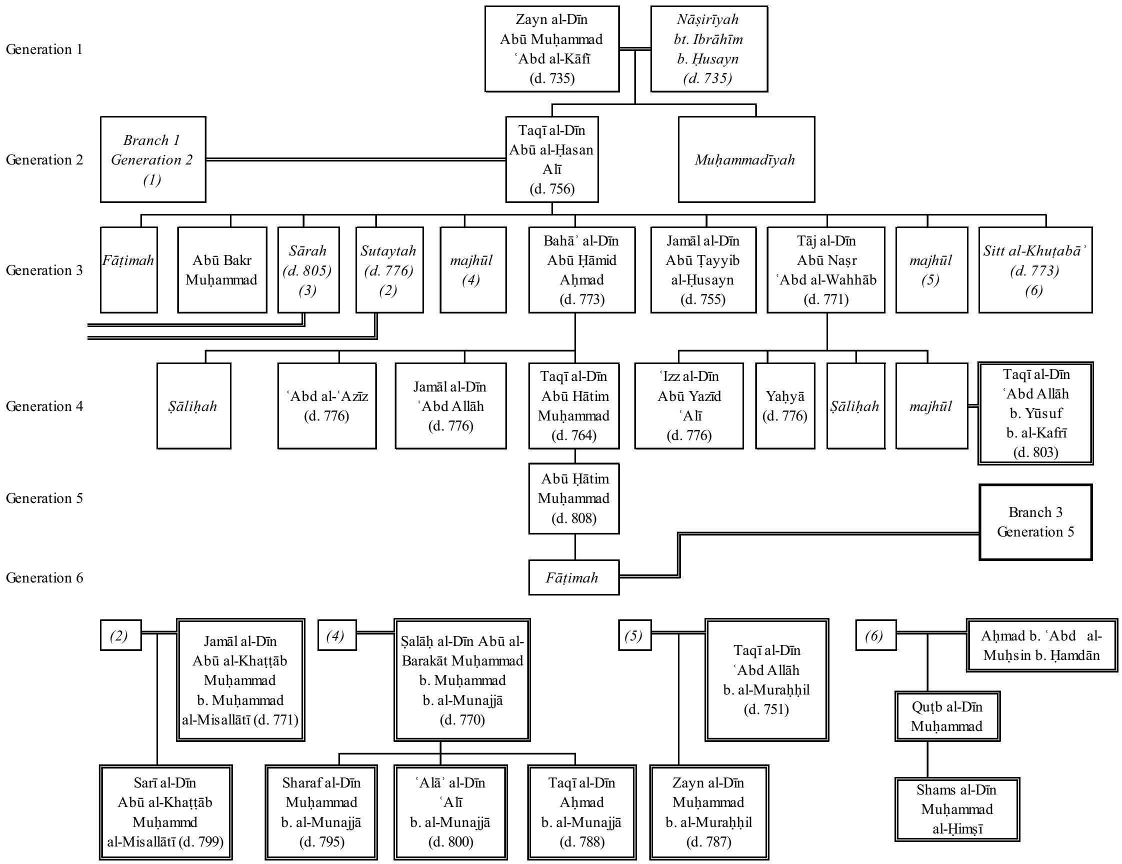

Generation 1
Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā (d. 725)
Generation 2
Quṭb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf
ʿAbd al-Raḥīm
Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Barr
*majhūl (1)*
Generation 3
*Branch 2 Generation 3 (2)*
Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad (d. 744)
Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad (d. 776)
Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Baqāʾ Muḥammad (d. 777)
*Branch 2 Generation 3 (3)*
Generation 4
Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ẓāhirī
*Salmā*
Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad (d. 771)
Walī al-Dīn Abū al-Dharr ʿAbd Allāh (d. 785)
Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 802)
Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 803)
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī (d. 809)
Generation 5
Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ẓāhirī (d. 799)
Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Mashhadī (d. 855)
Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 811)
ʿAbd Allāh (d. 803)
*Fāṭimah*
Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Ḥusayn Ibn Abī ʿAshāʾir (d. 796)
*Bāy Khātūn Umm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 864)*
*Zaynab*
Sayf al-Dīn Kuzul al-Ḥājib (d.800)
Generation 6
Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Mashhadī (d. 889)
*majhūl*
Sarī al-Dīn Abū Yusar ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 833)
Generation 7
Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Baqāʾ Muḥammad
The Relatives by Marriage
The *italics* are females.

Table 1: Branch 1 of the al-Subkī Family

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 2: Branch 2 of the al-Subkī Family


Generation 1
Generation 2
Generation 3
Generation 4
Generation 5
Generation 6
Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Kāfī (d. 735)
*Nāṣirīyah bt. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn (d. 735)*
*Branch 1 Generation 2 (1)*
Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Alī (d. 756)
*Muḥammadīyah*
*Fāṭimah*
Abū Bakr Muḥammad
*Sārah (d. 805) (3)*
*Sutaytah (d. 776) (2)*
*majhūl (4)*
Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad (d. 773)
Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ṭayyib al-Ḥusayn (d. 755)
Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 771)
*majhūl (5)*
*Sitt al-Khuṭabāʾ (d. 773) (6)*
*Ṣāliḥah*
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 776)
Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 776)
Taqī al-Dīn Abū Hātim Muḥammad (d. 764)
ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Yazīd ʿAlī (d. 776)
Yaḥyā (d. 776)
*Ṣāliḥah*
*majhūl*
Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. al-Kafrī (d. 803)
Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad (d. 808)
Branch 3 Generation 5
*Fāṭimah*
*(2)*
Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Misallātī (d. 771)
Sarī al-Dīn Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammd al-Misallātī (d. 799)
*(4)*
Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munajjā (d. 770)
Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Munajjā (d. 795)
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Munajjā (d. 800)
Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Munajjā (d. 788)
*(5)*
Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muraḥḥil (d. 751)
Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muraḥḥil (d. 787)
*(6)*
Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Ḥamdān
Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥimṣī

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Generation | Name | *al-sayfīyah* | *jāmiʿ ibn ṭūlūn* | *al-manṣūrīyah* | *dār al-ḥadīth al-ẓāhirīyah* | *al-hakkārīyah/ al-kahhālīyah* | *mashhad al-ḥusayn* | *qubbat al-shāfiʿī* | *al-shaykhūnīyah* | *al-qalʿah* | *masjid sulṭān ḥasan* | *al-aqbughāwīyah* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | muʿīd | | | | | |
| 3 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | ✓ | ṣadr | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | ✓ | | | |
| | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | ✓ | | | | ✓ | | | | |
| 3 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn | | | | | ✓ | | ✓ | | muʿīd | | |
| | Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 771) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803) | | | ✓ | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | ✓ | muʿīd | ✓ | | ✓ | | nāʾib | | | | |
| | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Yaḥyā | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| 5 | Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |
| 7 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |

Table 3: The Posts held by the al-Subkī Family in Cairo: The Religious Institutes

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Generation | Name | *qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *qāḍī al-ʿaskar* | *muftī dār al-ʿadl* | *wakīl bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir al-awqāf* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā | | ✓ | | | | | |
| 3 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | ✓ | | ✓ | | | |
| | Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | |
| | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 771) | | | | | | | |
| | Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | | | | | | | |
| | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad | | ✓ | | | | ✓ | |
| | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803) | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | |
| | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| | ʿAbd Allāh | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr | | ✓ | | | | | |
| 7 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | |

Branch 1

| Generation | Name | *qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *qāḍī al-ʿaskar* | *muftī dār al-ʿadl* | *wakīl bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir al-awqāf* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī | | ✓ | | | | | |
| 2 | Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Abū Bakr Muḥammad | | | | | | | |
| | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn | | | | | | | |
| | Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb | | | | | | | |
| 4 | ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz | | | | | | | |
| | Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | | | | | | | |
| | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | |
| | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad | | ✓ | | | | | |

Branch 2

Table 4: The Posts held by the al-Subkī Family in Cairo: Except the Religious Institutes

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Generation | Name | *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah* | *dār al-ḥadīth al-nūrīyah* | The Umayyad Mosque | *al-shāmīyah al-b.* | *al-atābakīyah* | *al-ghazālīyah* | *al-masrūrīyah* | *al-ʿādilīyah al-k.* | *al-kallāsah* | *al-ruknīyah* | *ḥalqat ṣāḥib ḥimṣ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī | ✓ | ✓ | △ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| 3 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | *ṣadr* | | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| | Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| 3 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | | | | |
| | Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 771) | | | | *nāʾib* | | | | | | ✓ | |
| | Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | | | |
| | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803) | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | | | | | | |
| | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | ✓ | | *nāʾib* | ✓ | | | | | |
| 4 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | ✓ | | | |
| | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | ✓ | | | | | | | | |
| | Yaḥyā | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | |
| 5 | Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |

| Generation | Name | *al-ẓāhirīyah al-b.* | *al-rawḥānīyah* | *al-qaymārīyah* | *al-ʿadhrāwīyah* | *al-taqwīyah* | *al-dimāghīyah* | *al-nafīsīyah* | *mashhad ʿurwa* | *al-ʿazīzīyah* | *al-māristān al-nūrī* | *al-amīnīyah* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn | | | | ✓ | | ✓ | | | | | |
| | Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | nāẓir | ✓ |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 771) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | |
| | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803) | *nāẓir* | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |
| | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī | | *nāʾib* | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |
| | Yaḥyā | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 5: The Posts held by the al-Subkī Family in Damascus: The Religious Institutes (1)

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Generation | Name | *al-nāṣirīyah al-j.* | *dār al-ḥadīth (new)* | *al-shāmīyah al-j.* | *turbat umm ṣāliḥ* | *al-raydānīyah* | *al-ṣārimīyah* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā | | | | | | |
| 1 | Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī | | | | | | |
| 2 | Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | |
| 3 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | |
| | Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | |
| | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | |
| 3 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | | | |
| | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn | | | | | | |
| | Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb | ✓ | ✓ | | | | |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 771) | | | ✓ | | | |
| | Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | ✓ | | |
| | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803) | | | | ✓ | ✓ | |
| | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | ✓ |
| 4 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | |
| | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | |
| | Yaḥyā | | | ✓ | | | |
| 5 | Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | |
| 5 | Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad | | | | | | |
| 6 | Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr | | | | | | |
| 7 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | |

Table 5: The Posts held by the al-Subkī Family in Damascus: The Religious Institutes (2)

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Generation | Name | *qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *qāḍī al-ʿaskar* | *muftī dār al-ʿadl* | *wakīl bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir al-awqāf* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | ✓ | | | | | |
| 3 | Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 771) | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| 4 | Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| 4 | Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803) | ✓ | | | | | | |
| 4 | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī | ✓ | | | | | | |
| 5 | Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| 5 | ʿAbd Allāh | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Sarī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Barr | | ✓ | | | | | |
| 7 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | |

Branch 1

| Generation | Name | *qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *qāḍī al-ʿaskar* | *muftī dār al-ʿadl* | *wakīl bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir bayt al-māl* | *nāẓir al-awqāf* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Kāfī | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī | ✓ | | | | | | |
| | Abū Bakr Muḥammad | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad | ✓ | | | | | | |
| 3 | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn | | ✓ | | | | | |
| 3 | Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | |
| 4 | ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad | | | | | | | |
| 4 | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad | | ✓ | | | | | |

Branch 2

Table 6: The Post held by the al-Subkī Family in Damascus: Except the Religious Institutes

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

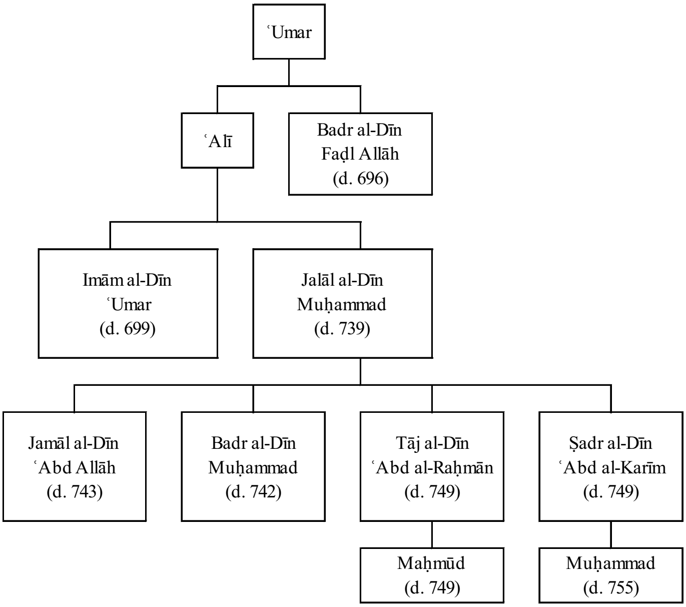

ʿUmar
ʿAlī
Badr al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 696)
Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar (d. 699)
Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 739)
Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 743)
Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 742)
Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 749)
Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm (d. 749)
Maḥmūd (d. 749)
Muḥammad (d. 755)

Table 7: The Genealogical Table of the al-Qazwīnī Family

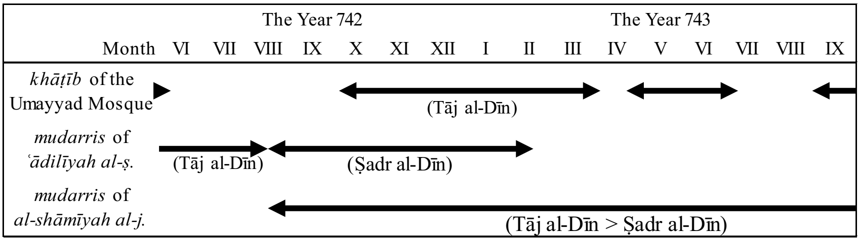


Table 8: The Main Posts held by the al-Qazwīnī Family from Jumādā II 742 to Ramaḍān 743

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Name | *qāḍī al-quḍāh* | *mudarris* (Damascus) | *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque | The Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar | Damascus | *al-ʿādilīyah al-kubrā* | ✓ | |
| | | *al-amīnīyah* | | |
| | | *al-ẓāhirīya al-barrānīyah* | | |
| | | *al-qaymarīyah* | | |
| | | *turbat umm al-ṣāliḥ* | | |
| Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad | Dmasucus > Cairo > Damascus | *al-amīnīyah* | ✓ | |
| | | *al-atābakīyah* | | |
| | | *al-ʿādilīyah al-kubrā* | | |
| | | *al-ghazālīyah* | | |
| | | *al-masrūrīyah* | | |
| | | *al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah* | | |
| | | *al-ẓāhirīya al-barrānīyah* | | |
| Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh | | | | *kātib* (Damascus) |
| Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad | | *al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah* | ✓ | *qāḍī al-ʿaskar* |
| | | *al-amīnīyah* (as a deputy of Jalāl al-Dīn) | | *al-amīnīyah* (as a *nāʾib*) |
| | | *al-ghazālīyah* (as a deputy of Jalāl al-Dīn) | | *al-ẓāhirīyah* (as a *nāʾib*) |
| | | *al-ʿādilīyah al-kubrā* (as a deputy of Jalāl al-Dīn) | | |
| Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm | | *al-ʿādilīyah al-ṣughrā* | ✓ | Umayyad Mosque (as *mutaṣaddir*) |
| | | *al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah* | | |
| Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm | | *al-ʿādilīyah al-ṣughrā* | | *muwaqqiʿ* |
| | | *al-atābakīyah* (as a deputy of Jalāl al-Dīn) | | Umayyad Mosque (as *mutaṣaddir*) |

Table 9: The Posts held by the al-Qazwīnī Family

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Wakako Kumakura

# Sugar to Grains. An Agricultural Shift in Medieval Fayyum[1]

Unlike the substantial amount of scholarship on rural society based on al-Nābulusī's (d. 660/1262) *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm wa-bilādihī* (hereinafter, *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm*)—a rural administrative treatise from the end of the Ayyubid period (1169–1250)—there are few studies that focus on rural society in the Mamluk period. One might think this odd considering the richness of primary sources for Mamluk history in general. However, the reason is simply that so far, no contemporary sources on rural society in the Mamluk period that are comparable to the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* have been found. This study attempts to shed light on rural society in Mamluk Fayyum through the use of sources from both the Ayyubid and the Ottoman periods. The aim is to show historical change in the area over approximately three centuries, concentrating in the main on agriculture as the basis of medieval society as a whole.[2]

The Fayyum is located a hundred kilometers south of Cairo. It forms a wide basin that was largely reclaimed under Ptolemy I (r. 305–282 BC) and Ptolemy II (r. 285–246 BC) in the early third century BC. The reclamation project made the Fayyum a unique province in Egypt, the massive dam at al-Lāhūn regulated the water supply from the Baḥr Yūsuf, and the inside of the basin was irrigated by the canal network.[3] Unlike the other provinces that were irrigated by the seasonal Nile flood, land was irrigated by the canal system regardless of the flood season, which made it possible for the province to produce variety of cash crops.[4] In the

---

[1] This article is an English translation, with some revisions, of Kumakura, 2017.

[2] The present article grew out of the research project "Opening Up the Environmental History of Egypt based on Documentary Sources: Environment, Agricultural Production, and Record Management." It is the object of this project, on one hand, to anchor the Mamluk period within the long history of Egypt by uncovering patterns of environmental change and their influence on human reactions and the economy, from the Greco-Roman period to the Ottoman period; and on the other to contribute to global history.

[3] The dam is still extant with a height of about 3.25–4 meters. For more details about the irrigation system, see Römer, 2017; Willems et al., 2017, 301–09.

[4] For the development history of the Fayyum from the Ptolemaic period to the Ayyubid period, see Rapoport, 2018, 25–51.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ayyubid period, it grew to be a sugarcane-growing center. The *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* provides rich information on such prominent features of the Fayyum.[5] However, the geographical features and environment of a given area are not invariable; they will experience change through natural factors as well as human agency. Clearly, we cannot simply apply the information provided by the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* to the period under investigation. I would like to start by positioning the Mamluk period in the *longue durée.*

## 1. An Era of Natural Disasters: Weather, Plagues, and the Rising of the Nile

In the light of recent studies related to environmental history, the Mamluk period can be regarded as an era of natural disasters. Thanks to prior studies that discuss the issue at length,[6] a full explanation is unnecessary here. However, I will point out three phenomena distinctive to the Mamluk period that are significant for agriculture. The first phenomenon is cool and unstable weather. As is well known, European history classes the era as a transition period from the Medieval Warm Period (from the tenth to the thirteenth century) to the Little Ice Age (from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century).[7] Though one should be careful of applying this classification worldwide,[8] it seems applicable in the case of Egypt. Moreover, descriptions of heavy rains, windstorms, heavy snowfalls, hailstones, floods, water shortages, hot winds, earthquakes, and an extraordinary increase of rats can be confirmed in the chronicles.[9] It is not difficult to imagine that climate

---

[5] For sugarcane production in Ayyubid Fayyum, see Sato, 1997; idem, 2004; idem, 2015; Rapoport, 2018, 105–18.

[6] In Mamluk studies and environmental history, the individual studies on climate change have placed a somewhat heavy focus on the outbreak of plague and the change in the water level of the Nile. However, it is difficult to locate a genuine "environmental history" in such studies. Hasebe's work (1989) comprehensively deals with the environmental factors and discusses the correlation between human and natural environments, making it an outstanding pioneering work in the field of environmental history in Mamluk Egypt. Although written in Japanese, it is worthy of attention by all scholars in the field. Tucker, 1981, and Frenkel, 2014, also contain useful information related to environmental history in the Mamluk period.

[7] Among recent studies, Campbell, 2016, argues that climate change, the outbreak of plague, and changes in society make it reasonable to label the era as one of "great transition," which is consequently connected to the "great divergence" argued for by Pomeranz, 2000. Meanwhile, Moberg et al., 2005, argue historical change of climate based on scientific data.

[8] Mikhail, 2011, 8–9.

[9] For example, in 1337, the chronicles record snowfall in Egypt. Moreover, in 1344–45, the region suffered a severe cold wave, which brought death even in Upper Egypt. The cold wave affected not only human beings but also fish, and witnesses saw a decrease in fish in the Mediterranean Sea, in irrigation canals, and in Elephant Lake in Cairo (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:673). In the same year, people experienced heavy snowfall in Syria, which indicates the cold wave affected the

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

change immediately affected agricultural production, though more professional analyses are needed for an assessment of whether and how agriculture was affected.

The second phenomenon is the intermittent outbreak of plague. The era was characterized by the plague bacillus which must have had a huge impact on society. After the Black Death spread from Alexandria in 1347 and inflicted serious damage on Cairo, the plague intermittently assailed the population.[10] The plagues not only killed urban dwellers, but also affected those in rural areas.[11] There is no doubt that population loss due to incidences of plague had an impact on agriculture, considering that Egypt needed a regular supply of manpower to maintain its irrigation systems.

Thirdly, the level of the Nile recorded in the chronicles clearly indicates that it rose during the era (see Figure 1). The phenomenon has been examined from the perspective of both natural and human factors,[12] but at our present state of knowledge it is difficult to identify the exact cause. Anyway, the phenomenon must have had an impact on agriculture and the economy based on it—considering that water levels would have directly affected annual agricultural production in Egypt.[13] Especially when focusing on Fayyum Province, which functioned as a flood-retarding basin, it is clear that changes in the water level must have affected the area.

Hasebe describes the typical pattern followed by the Egyptian society in crisis due to unusual changes in the natural environment as follows: once the price of crops went up due to natural causes such as water shortage, damage from insects, windstorms, or from human causes such as resource hoarding, food shortages and then the outbreak of plague resulted, which slowed once the population had been reduced to a certain level.[14] This cycle can be observed consistently during the era of climate change on which this study focuses. What makes the era

---

eastern area of the Mediterranean Sea (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:413). For further cases see Tucker, 1981, 217.

[10] On the Black Death, see Dols, 1977; idem, 1979. Shoshan, 1981, 395–403, lists the cases of plague outbreaks in Egypt and Syria after the Black Death.

[11] For instance, the chronicle lists the numbers of casualties in the plague outbreak of 1419–20, which amounted to 1,000 persons in Bilbays, 500 in Bardayn village in Sharqīyah Province, and 3,000 in Dayrūṭ village in Gharbīyah Province (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:486).

[12] For studies on the former, see the works of Hassan, 1981; idem, 2007; idem, 2011. As an archaeologist, Hassan argues that the increase in rainfall in the Ethiopian Highland—one of the sources of the Nile River—caused the rise in water level. On the other hand, among studies on the latter, Borsch, 2000, claims that the rise in water level seen since the Black Death was due to a neglect of irrigation maintenance in Upper Egypt, which occurred with the rise of the Bedouins.

[13] Grain riots caused by fluctuations in the level of the Nile have been a theme of central interest to scholars such as Hasebe and Shoshan (see, for example, Shosan, 1980).

[14] Hasebe, 1989.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

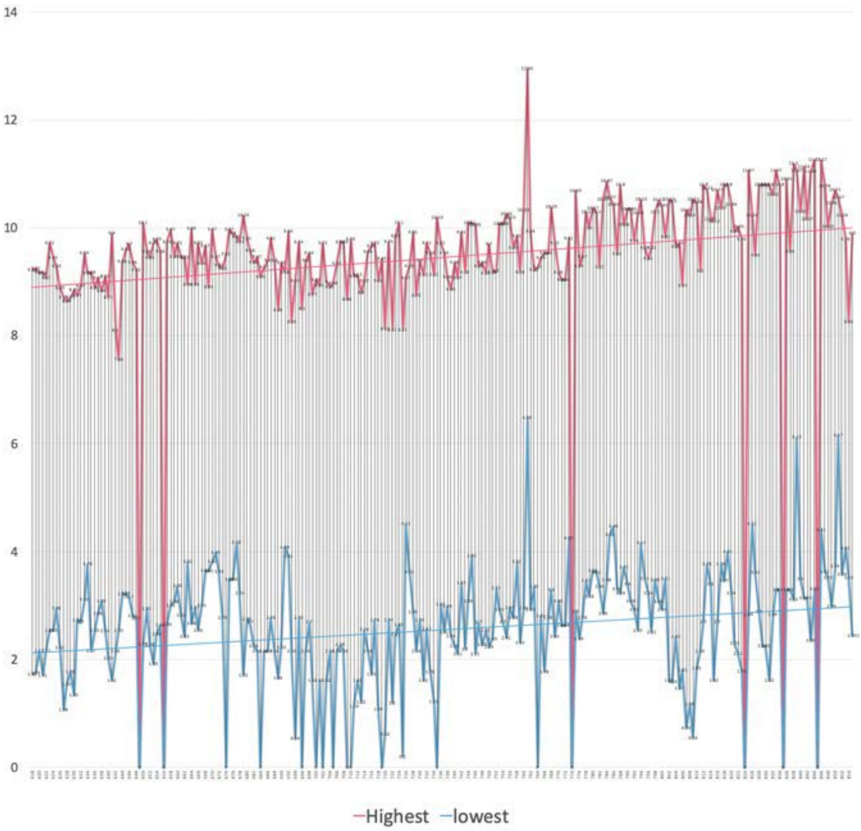


Fig. 1: Water Level of the Nile from 1221 to 1451. Note: If data for a year is unavailable, it is recorded as zero. Source: Mubārak, *Nukhbah.*

remarkable is the short interval between cycles, the circumstances of the outbreak of plague, and the marked population decrease—leading one to assume that certain changes occurred during this era.

## 2. Sources

There are very few contemporary sources of information on geography and the natural environment of Fayyum Province in the Mamluk period. For example, Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* describes the province, but his work relies heavily on literary sources written in

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the previous period.[15] Obviously, the immediate conclusion derived from the non-contemporary descriptions does not take into account the periodization mentioned above. Therefore, in order to explore periodical change in the province, one requires contemporary sources or meticulous examinations of the available land records and the documentary sources derived from other periods.

### 2.1. Ibn al-Jīʿān (d. 885/1480), *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-sanīyah bi-asmāʾ al-bilād al-miṣrīyah* (hereinafter, *Tuḥfah*)[16]

The *Tuḥfah* is assumed to have been composed by a financial bureaucrat of the *dīwān al-jaysh* (Office of the Military), Yaḥyā b. al-Jīʿān who administered *iqṭāʿ*. The finished work was offered to a prominent amir, Yashbak min Dawādār, as a reference for state finance and administration. This famous book contains records for each village throughout Egypt and itemizes in a unified style the area of the cultivated land (*misāḥah*), the estimated tax revenue (*ʿibrah*), and the *iqṭāʿ* holder. The records are following the format:

> Abū Kasāh village: Cultivated area, 4,395 *faddān*; estimated revenue, 5,000 dinars; [in the former era, i. e. 777/1375–76] holder was Amir Sūdūn Jarkas, now held by the *wazīr*'s office.

Because the records are considered datable to 1478,[17] they represent important quantitative data for this study.[18]

---

[15] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:655–75.

[16] Though the text was published by Bernhard Moritz in 1898, there are fundamental problems in terms of its revisions. So, for this study I consulted Bodleian MS Huntington 2, which is presumably the original text. For an analysis of the text, see Kumakura, 2018.

[17] Kumakura, 2018, 24.

[18] Ibn Duqmāq's *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiqd al-amṣār* (hereinafter, *Intiṣār*) is the same type of text as the *Tuḥfah.* There are two major differences between the two: one is that while the *Tuḥfah* files records for almost all villages, the *Intiṣār* leaves many blanks, which makes using the data difficult. The other difference is that while the *Tuḥfah* contains the records of landholding for both past and present, the *Intiṣār* only contains records for the present. Although the *Intiṣār* is still a significant source that offers us information on taxation and land use in the late fourteenth century, it lacks records for Fayyum Province. More examination by way of consulting the manuscripts will be needed in order to uncover the reason for this.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.2. *Daftar al-tarbīʿ wilāyat al-fayyūm sanat 933* (the Cadastral Survey Register of Fayyum Province for 1527–28, Reg. 3001–000113) and *Daftar al-tarbīʿ wilāyat al-fayyūm sanat 934* (the Cadastral Survey Register of Fayyum Province for 1528–29, Reg. 3001–000115)

The National Archives of Egypt preserve two registers titled *Daftar al-tarbīʿ*, one for *kharāj* year[19] 933 (hereinafter, DT 933) and one for *kharāj* year 934 (hereinafter, DT 934).[20] The former register contains various data resulting from the Ottoman cadastral survey in Egypt that was carried out in that year. The latter gives the results of the survey for the following year, though there are several differences in the items of the records, as listed below (with divergent items underlined). The subtle differences indicate that the data was compiled for different purposes: the former was compiled to clarify taxation in the province, and the latter to clarify the area of cultivated land.

> DT 933: Size of cultivated area, tax revenue, tax revenue by crop type, tax revenue from fruit gardens, area of cultivated land by land rights,[21] income and expenditure for taxation and irrigation maintenance.
>
> DT 934: Area of cultivated land and non-irrigated land, area of cultivated land by crop type, area of cultivated land by land rights, income and expenditure for taxation and irrigation maintenance.

These records offer invaluable information that cannot be obtained from the *Tuḥfah* or other Mamluk sources; in particular, the size of the cultivated area divided by crop type provides clear information on what was cultivated in the villages in terms of crops subject to taxation.

While the two registers contain the records for Fayyum Province, the DT 933 also contains some records for Bahnasā Province. This province was located next to the Fayyum (see Figure 2) and the region was irrigated by way of the basin

---

[19] The *kharāj* calendar (*al-sanah al-kharājīyah*) corresponds to the Coptic calendar. The Coptic calendar is a solar calendar that begins with the month of Thoout (which corresponds to September 11–December 10 of the Gregorian calendar). In the Hijrah calendar, being a lunar calendar, the year is shorter than the Coptic calendar by 1/33, which introduces a gap with the season. For this reason, *kharāj* tax was collected according to the Coptic calendar (Poliak, 1938, 21; Rabie, 1972, 133). The year in the *kharāj* calendar synchronized with the year in the Hijrah calendar. For instance, 923 in the *kharāj* calendar begins on September 11, 1517 according to the Gregorian calendar—that is Shaʿbān 24, 923 in the Hijrah calendar.

[20] So far, I have found that the DT 933 contains not only a volume for Fayyum Province but also one for Buḥayrah Province, while no volumes other than that for the Fayyum have been found in the DT 934.

[21] By "land right," I refer here to the various types of land tenure such as *iqṭāʿ*, *rizaq*, *milk* (private land), and *waqf.*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

irrigation system.[22] The comparison between the records of al-Bahnasā and those of the Fayyum illustrate the uniqueness of the Fayyum. Moreover, the DT 933 has a volume for Buḥayrah Province, which will be a useful source for the comparison.

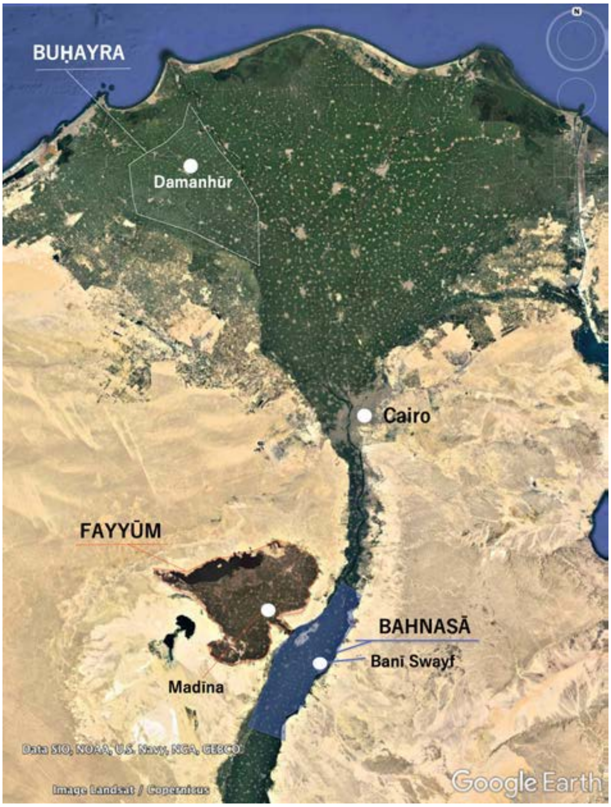

BUḤAYRA
Damanhūr
Cairo
FAYYŪM
BAHNASĀ
Banī Swayf
Madīna
Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO
Image Landsat / Copernicus
Google Earth

Fig. 2: Buḥayrah, Fayyum, and Bahnasā Provinces according to the Ottoman Administrative Division. Map Data: Google Earth, Landsat/Copernicus.

---

[22] In this system, the land was enclosed by banks called *jisr*, making it into a basin shape to allow water from the Nile to flow into it. For explanations of this irrigation method, see Kumakura, 2013, 49–50; idem, 2014; Nagasawa, 2013, 251–69.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.3. *Daftar jayshī* (The Register of the Army, Reg. 3001–000106)[23]

The registers were compiled by the Ottoman government in the 1550s to record *waqf* and private land for which the Ottomans had authorized land rights. The records for each village are categorized into two types: the summary records of cultivated land and of land rights, and the detailed records for each parcel of land. Each contains records copied from the DT 933 and the "Circassian Register based on the old Registers" (*Daftar al-jarākisah min al-jarāʾid al-qadīmah*, hereafter Circassian Register), which makes it possible to trace the history of each land parcel.[24] The Circassian Register, one of the essential sources for the *Daftar jayshī,* is thought to be a register that had Mamluk land records brought to them after the conquest.[25] Therefore, the Mamluk records copied into the *Daftar jayshī* incontestably provide the most detailed data on Mamluk rural society.

This study compares the records obtained from the above sources and from the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm.*[26] The large amount of data makes it difficult to process; there are however only a few items shared by the sources. For example, while information on taxed crops is available from the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm*, the DT 933 and the DT 934, no data on taxed crops is available from the Mamluk sources, i. e. the *Tuḥfah* and records from the Circassian Register copied in the *Daftar jayshī.* So, the key to describing the periodical change lies in how this study works to fill in the blanks between the Ayyubid and Ottoman periods by extracting and comparing the shared items. In any case, the study shows some possibilities and problems because, as yet, no other scholar has attempted to comprehensively compare this data.

## 3. Analyses

### 3.1. Size of the cultivated area

| **Year (in Gregorian Calendar)** | **Villages** |
|---|---|
| 956 | 2.395 |
| Reign of Ḥākim (996–1020) | 2.390 |
| Reign of Mustanṣir (1035–94) | 2.186 |

---

[23] On the source study of the *Daftar jayshī*, see Kumakura, 2009.

[24] For more details on the records and the layout, see Kumakura, 2019, 7–12.

[25] On the process through which the registers of the Mamluks were handed over to the Ottomans, see Kumakura, 2016b.

[26] As for the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm*, this study utilizes the online dataset from the project led by Yossef Rapoport.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

| Year (in Gregorian Calendar) | Villages |
|---|---|
| 1210 | 2.071 |
| 1315 | 2.454 |
| 1375 | 2.322 |
| 1434 | 2.122 |

Table 1: Number of Villages in Egypt. Source: Ashtor, 1976, 303.

In general, population data plays an important role in assessing the rise and fall of a society in economic and social history. However, as we have seen above, it is hard to obtain historical population data for Egypt from the available sources.[27] For this reason, the number of villages has been used instead to estimate population size in medieval Egypt. Ashtor, 1976, collects the village numbers in Egypt over several centuries as shown in Table 1. The table shows that numbers tended to fall from the end of the Abbasid period (750–1258) onwards, but then largely recovered in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1293–94, 1299–1309, and 1310–41), before rapidly dropping again as we approach the fifteenth century.

If we compare the number of villages in the Fayyum listed in the sources for this study, the result is 124 villages according to the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm*, 103 villages according to the *Tuḥfah*,[28] 43 villages according to the DT 933, 73 villages according to the DT 934, and 93 villages according to the *Daftar jayshī.* The unstable change in the DT 933, the DT 934 and the *Daftar jayshī* indicates that there must be passages missing from the Ottoman registers.[29] This means a valid comparison under identical conditions can be done only between the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* and the *Tuḥfah* because they appear to have complete records for the Fayyum villages. The comparison of the two numbers indicates that nearly 20 villages disappeared or integrated with larger nearby villages in the two centuries from the end of the Ayyubid until the later Mamluk period.

---

[27] Scholars are yet to come to an agreement about population numbers in medieval Egypt, though a number of studies on the issue have been produced. For instance, Poliak, 1938, suggests that the population of Egypt decreased from 3 million to 2 million due to the outbreak of plague. Dols, 1977, estimates the population of Cairo to have been between 300,672 and 451,008 in the first half of the fourteenth century based on his survey of plague studies. Other studies such as Clerget, 1934, and Abu-Lughod, 1971, estimate a population of around 500,000–600,000, which decreased due to plague and recovered to 385,000 in around 1550. Raymond, 1975; 1984, attempts to estimate the population of Cairo from the number of public baths in the city. Meanwhile, Russel, 1969, calculates the population of medieval Egypt as between 4 and 4.2 million on the basis of estimated revenue and size of cultivated area. See also Berkey, 1998.

[28] The Cairo edition of the *Tuḥfah* lists 97 villages in Fayyum Province (Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Tuḥfah*, ed. Moritz, 5), while MS Huntington lists 103 villages.

[29] For instance, while the *Daftar jayshī* lists the records according to village name in alphabetical order, the records for villages with names starting with *mīm* appear to be missing.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Next, I compared the data on the amount of land under cultivation. The sources that contain the data are the *Tuḥfah*, the Circassian Register copied in the *Daftar jayshī*, and the DT 934. First of all, as a result of the comparison between the two Mamluk records, namely the *Tuḥfah* and the Circassian Register, it becomes obvious that there are barely any differences between the two. While the overall picture of the Circassian Register is unclear, we can assume that it was up to date with the latest records in the Mamluk period.[30] So if we consider that the *Tuḥfah* represents records from the 1470s and the Circassian Register those from the early sixteenth century, we can say that there was no substantial change in the amount of land under cultivation in the thirty years at the end of the Mamluk period.

Meanwhile, in four villages, the size of the cultivated area shrank or grew by more than 100 *faddān*.[31] In Furquṣ village, the size of land under cultivation was 1,808 *faddān* according to the *Tuḥfah*, 288 *faddān* according to the Circassian Register, and 1,598 according to the DT 933 (in the following year, according to the DT 934, it was 1,555 *faddān*), and in Bayāḍ it changed from 2,450 (*Tuḥfah*) to 238 *faddān* (Circassian Register). It is of course possible that the discrepancy between the *Tuḥfah* and the Circassian Register indicates that the Circassian Register contains some mistakes. However, considering that both villages are located downstream of the eastern part of the basin, it might indicate the area's vulnerability. In the villages of Sāqiyat al-Qamuṣ and Usquf, which were probably located near the province's center, the size of land under cultivation increased almost sixfold from 25 to 146 *faddān*, and in Shisfah near Sinnūris it nearly tripled from 1,210 to 3,209 *faddān*.[32]

The comparison between the *Tuḥfah* and the DT 933 shows that in most of the villages listed in the registers the amount of land under cultivation decreased. While a total of 21 villages could be assessed from the sources, in every village except for two the size of the cultivated area decreased.[33] *Kharāj* tax was imposed on irrigated land, multiplying the tax rate according to crop type. Consequently, the amount of irrigated land directly affected the increase or decrease of tax revenue. Meanwhile, the number indicating the size of the cultivated area consisted of both irrigated (*rayy*) and non-irrigated (*sharāqī*) land. This means it is possible that irrigated land increased even if the number that represents the size

---

[30] See Kumakura, 2010, on the position of the Circassian Register in the registers used in governmental offices in the Mamluk period.

[31] 1 *faddān* in Egypt at that time was equivalent to 6,368 m$^2$ (Bosworth, "Misāḥa," *EI*$^2$ (online)).

[32] N/A in the DT 933 and the DT 934.

[33] The two exceptions are Disyā and Jarradū. In Disyā, the size of cultivated land was 1,200 *faddān* in the *Tuḥfah*, 1,203 *faddān* in the Circassian Register, and 1,274 in the DT 933. In Jarradū, it was 1,409 *faddān* in the *Tuḥfah* and the Circassian Register, and 1,562 in the DT 933.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

of the cultivated area fell. However, the size of the cultivated area is assumed to have decreased, considering that the range of change for each is rather large (an average of minus 835 *faddān*).

### 3.2. Cultivated crops

According to the records for the taxed crops obtained from the DT 933 and the DT 934, the crops raised in sixteenth-century Fayyum were as follows:

> Winter crops:
> Wheat (*qamḥ*), broad beans (*fūl*), sorghum (*dhurah*), millet (*dukhun*), carthamus lanatus (*qurṭum*)
>
> Summer crops:
> Sesame (*simsim*), rice (*uruzz*), indigo (*nīlah*), sugarcane (*qaṣab al-sukkar*)

The amount of land under cultivation in the villages according to taxed crops recorded in the DT 934 is shown in Table 2. This table shows that both winter and summer crops were grown in the Fayyum. In particular, the fact that summer crops were grown in a large area illustrates the geographic features of the Fayyum because summer crops grow up during the dry season so that they were hardly planted in other areas where they were irrigated by the Nile flood. Indeed, the records for the suburbs of Banī Suwayf contained at the end of the DT 933 show the main taxed crop of the areas was flax (*kattān*), a major winter crop.[34]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Winter Crops | Wheat | 12447 |
| | Broad beans | 1383 |
| | Millet | 1046 |
| | Sorghum | 674 |
| | Carthamus lanatus | 8 |
| | Unidentified | 2 |
| Summer Crops | Sesame | 3214 |
| | Rice | 756 |
| | Indigo | 52 |
| | Sugarcane | 115 |

Table 2: Size of cultivated area according to crop type (*faddān*). Source: DT 934.

Next, I compared taxed crops in the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* and the DT 934. Although the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* has records of crops other than sugarcane, it is impossible to compare them with the size of the cultivated area recorded in the DT 934

---

[34] For instance, DT 933, nos. 72, 74, 79.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

because these records represent the yield, not the size of the cultivated area.[35] In consequence, I focused my analysis on sugarcane cultivation, for which the size of the cultivated area can be obtained from both the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* and the DT 934. Sato examines rural society and agriculture in medieval Egypt based on the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* and argues that the thirteenth century (when the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* was composed) was the era in which large-scale sugarcane cultivation was established in Upper Egypt.[36] How, then, did sugarcane cultivation change in the Fayyum afterwards?

According to the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm*, sugarcane was grown in 43 out of 124 villages.[37] The comparison with the DT 934 shows that in the Ottoman period, sugarcane cultivation was only continued in six out of those 43 villages. Out of those 43 villages I then extracted the records of the crops for the 20 villages that were also listed in the DT 934, as shown in Table 3. The size of the sugarcane cultivation area in the DT 934 obviously shows that the scale was limited in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Among the villages listed in Table 3, sugarcane was produced during the Ayyubid period in the following six: Ibshāyat al-Rummān (no. 1), Abū Kasāh (no. 3), Sinnūris (no. 15), Sīnarū (no. 16), Fānū (no. 17), and Maṭar Ṭāris (no. 21). For instance, for Fānū, the size of the sugarcane cultivation area dropped to zero in the first half of the sixteenth century, whereas it had accounted for 267 *faddān* at the end of the Ayyubid period. In addition, while this village cultivated only 8 *faddān* of sesame in summer, deterioration also seems to have affected winter crops: 16 *faddān* for wheat and 4 *faddān* for millet. Meanwhile, in the other villages the cultivation of grains such as wheat and rice, miscellaneous grains such as sorghum and millet, and sesame was thriving, while sugarcane dropped.

Considering these analyses, we can summarize the issue of the Fayyum's sugarcane production as follows: on one hand, sugarcane production in the Fayyum drastically deteriorated from the thirteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century. There were fewer villages cultivating sugarcane and even in villages that continued to do so, the size of the cultivated area no longer exceeded 30 *faddān.* On the other hand, as we saw in the case of Fānū, some villages where sugarcane production was reduced experienced a deterioration of agriculture overall, indicated by a decrease of land under cultivation. Meanwhile, in other villages, summer and winter crops were cultivated on land that was once dedicated to sugarcane.

---

[35] They are shown in *ardabb*, a measure of capacity.

[36] Sato, 1997, 211–20; idem, 2015, 26–30. Sato assumed that sugarcane cultivation spread over Upper Egypt in the twelfth century.

[37] For more details on sugarcane production in Ayyubid Fayyum, see Rapoport, 2018, 105–18.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

In Egypt, sugarcane production generally required ten months for the first year, which ran from the month of Paremhat (corresponding to February 25–March 26 in the Gregorian Calendar), when the seedlings were planted, to the months of Kiahk (November 27–December 26) and Tōbe (December 27–January 26), when the sugarcane was harvested (see Figure 3).[38] After the first harvest, *khirfah* (second-year sugarcane) was harvested in the following year, which indicates no other crops could be cultivated in the field until the second harvest.[39] The decrease in sugarcane production and its replacement by grain suggests that the main production of Fayyum Province shifted from sugarcane to grain some time during the Mamluk or the early Ottoman period.

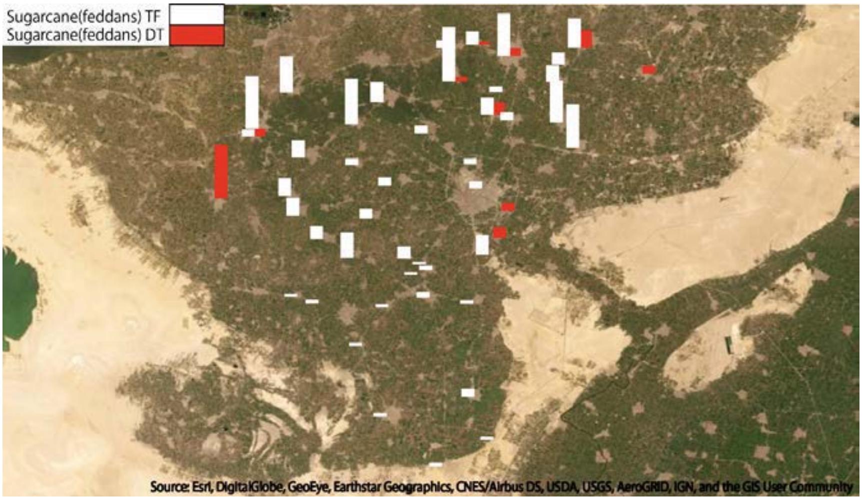

Sugarcane(feddans) TF ⬜
Sugarcane(feddans) DT 🟥
Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS User Community

Fig. 3: Changes in Sugarcane Production in Fayyum Province. Source: *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm*; DT 934. Map Data: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS.

### 3.3. Diversities in a region

As we have seen, there was a general tendency toward abandoning sugarcane production and shifting to grain production in Fayyum Province. Let us now take a closer look at the development of agricultural diversity in the region from a local perspective. Figure 4 shows the villages involved in sugarcane cultivation. The white markers indicate villages that cultivated sugarcane in the thirteenth century, pink markers those that cultivated sugarcane in the sixteenth century, while red markers indicate villages that cultivated sugarcane in both the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. This shows that the area of sugarcane cultivation shifted from a center on Madīnat al-Fayyūm to the northeast area of the Fayyum Basin. Above all, while sugarcane production was maintained in the northeastern area, other areas shifted to producing other crops.

---

[38] al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, places the crop harvesting period as during Kiahk.

[39] Sato, 1986, 335–36. After the harvest, it was necessary to let the land lie fallow to allow it to recover.

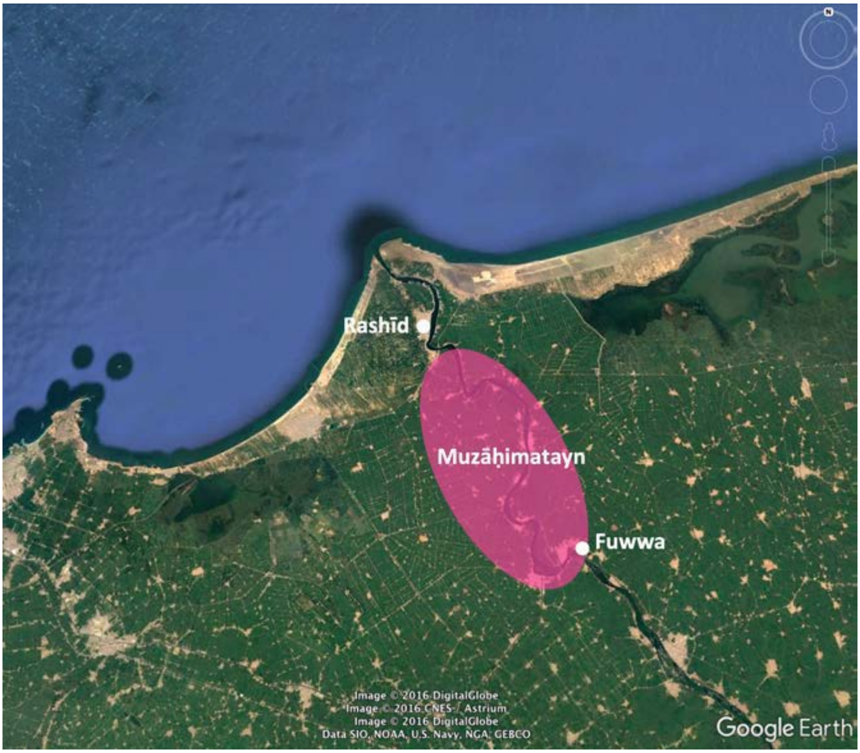

Rashīd
Muzāḥimatayn
Fuwwa
Image © 2016 DigitalGlobe
Image © 2016 CNES / Astrium
Image © 2016 DigitalGlobe
Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO
Google Earth

Fig. 4: Muzāḥimatayn. Map data: Google Earth, 2016 Digital Globe; 2016 CNES/Astrium.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| **No** | **Village** | **Size of Sugarcane Cultivated Land in TF*** | **DT 934** | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Summer Crop** | | | | **Winter Crop** | | | |
| | | | **Sugarcane** | **Sesame** | **Rice** | **Indigo** | **Wheat** | **Broad beans** | **Sorghum** | **Millet** |
| 1 | Ibshāyat al-Rummān | 97 | | 149 | | | 958 | | 3 | 59 |
| 2 | Abhit | 20 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 3 | 62 | | 17 | 5 |
| 3 | Abū Kasāh | 66 | | 85 | | 8 | 708 | | 70 | 21 |
| 4 | al-Qalhānah | 1 | | 32 | 16 | | 108 | | 4 | |
| 5 | Ihrīt | 21 | | 127 | | | 346 | 54 | | |
| 6 | Disyā | 14 | | 166 | 19 | 4 | 637 | 97 | | |
| 7 | Bibīj Unshū | 10 | 11 | 34 | | | 498 | 248 | 27 | 3 |
| 8 | Biyahmū | 30 | 20 | 54 | 28 | | 86 | | | |
| 9 | Tirsā | 11 | | 205 | 70 | | 400 | | | |
| 10 | Jarudū | 30 | | 81 | | | 366 | 86 | | |
| 11 | Khawr al-Ramād | 10 | | 16 | | | 97 | 23 | | 1 |
| 12 | Dhāt al-Ṣafā | 53 | 29 | 178 | 18 | | 403 | 20 | 6 | 27 |
| 13 | Difidnū | 6 | | 114 | 66 | | 110 | 10 | | |
| 14 | Sinnūris | 76 | 10 | 52 | 45 | 7 | 882 | 63 | 74 | 1 |
| 15 | Sīnarū | 84 | | 37 | 3 | | 689 | | 46 | 11 |
| 16 | Fānū | 267 | | 8 | | | 16 | | | 4 |
| 17 | Fidimīn | 35 | | | | | 255 | | 109 | 40 |
| 18 | Qumbushā | 11 | | 100 | | | 250 | | | |
| 19 | Maṭar Ṭāris | 76 | | 178 | 94 | 3 | 132 | 2 | | 38 |
| 20 | Muṭūl | 44 | | 15 | 26 | | 255 | | | |

Table 3: Comparison of the Size of Sugarcane Cultivated Land between the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* and the DT 934 *(faddān)*. Note: Each number representing the size of sugarcane cultivated land in the *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm* is the total number for the size in the sultan's land and that in other lands.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| Area | Land Parcel No. | Summer Crop | | | | | | Winter Crop | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Sugarcane | Sesame | Rice | Alfalfa | Leek etc. | Pomegranate | Wheat | Broad Beans |
| East | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | 1 | 3 | 21 | 10 | | | | |
| | 3 | 4 | | 38 | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | 12 | 16 | | | | |
| | 5 | | | 3 | | | | | |
| | 6 | | | 9 | 4 | | | 4 | |
| | 7 | 4 | | 6 | 1 | | | | |
| | 8 | | | | | | | | |
| | 9 | 10 | | 11 | 2 | 37 | | | |
| | 10 | 6 | | 5 | | | | | |
| | 11 | | | 10 | | | | 1 | |
| | 12 | | | 13 | | | | | |
| | 13 | | | 5 | 1 | | | | |
| | 14 | | | 3 | | | | 2 | |
| | 15 | | | | | | | | |
| | 16 | | | 2 | 1 | | | | 2 |
| | 17 | 1 | | 34 | 11 | | | 7 | |
| | 18 | | | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| | 19 | | | | | | | | |
| | 20 | | | 17 | 11 | 2 | | 6 | |
| West | 21 | 2 | | | 7 | 17 | | | |
| | 22 | | | | | 50 | | | |
| | 23 | | 1 | 8 | | 2 | | | |
| | 24 | 88 | | | | | | | |
| | 25 | 28 | | | | 5 | | | |
| | 26 | 15 | | | | 19 | | | |
| | 27 | 22 | | | | | | | |
| | 28 | 22 | | | | | 11 | | |
| | 29 | 28 | | | | | 8 | | |
| | 30 | 15 | | | | | | | |
| | 31 | 80 | | | | 4 | | | |
| | 32 | 30 | | | | 6 | | | |
| | 33 | 15 | | | | 10 | | | |
| | 34 | 17 | | | | 20 | | | |
| | 35 | 26 | | | | 29 | | | |

Table 4: Cultivated Crops in Muzāḥimatayn (*faddān*). Source: DT 933-Buḥayrah.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 4. Comparison between Provinces

My analysis has shown a profound shift in the mode of agriculture in Fayyum Province between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. As for sugarcane production in the Mamluk period, Ashtor and Sato have already pointed out its deterioration. Although they suggest different reasons for this decline,[40] they agree that sugarcane production in Egypt and Syria deteriorated from the fourteenth century to the fifteenth century. The results of my analysis, which also point to a decrease in sugarcane production, agree with their findings.

The chronicles show that sugarcane production was promoted until, at the latest, the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Buḥayrah Province, located on the western side of the Rosetta branch, was the central area of the development. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad started to develop the area, constructing the Alexandria canal as soon as he returned for his third reign. Through this, he aimed to increase agricultural land for summer crops such as sugarcane and sesame.[41] However, after this time, the chronicles start to fill with descriptions of natural disasters, as we saw in Chapter 1. This suggests that it was then that this very successful period of development came to an end.

In view of this situation, it is possible that the changes in the Fayyum were informed by the natural disasters and political corruption that occurred since the middle of the fourteenth century, as has been surmised by earlier studies. But further examination is still needed in order to determine whether this change affected only the Fayyum, or if it reflects an overall tendency in Egypt. A comparison between provinces will be effective in solving this problem. The DT 933 has a volume for Buḥayrah Province (hereinafter, DT 933-Buḥayrah) that contains records for Muzāḥimatayn. This area, located along the Rosetta branch from Fuwwah Village to Rashīd (Rosetta) Village, was divided into an east and a west bank by the Nile (Figure 5). There are separate records for the west bank based on the local waterwheel (*sāqiyah*)—this indicates the area was irrigated by canal and not by the basin irrigation system.

The records in the DT 933-Buḥayrah consist of those for the Mamluk period and those for 1528–29. The source of the Mamluk period records is not the

---

[40] Ashtor suggests a decline of technology in the sugar industry while Sato suggests political corruption and the outbreak of plague (Ashtor, 1981, 105; Sato, 2004, 106–107).

[41] Another consequence of this development was an improvement of both transportation and the water supply to Alexandria. The construction work created 100,000 *faddān* of new land, with 600 waterwheels and 40 villages newly built in the area (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* 2:111–13, 538). The development of Buḥayrah Province began in the second half of the thirteenth century. The series of developmental works were made in the coastal area of Lake Maryūṭ and the Alexandria canal. Tarrūjah Village, the central village in the coastal area of Lake Maryūṭ, was a source of financial revenue for the sultan's treasury. On the development of Buḥayrah Province in the Mamluk period, see Borsch, 2016.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

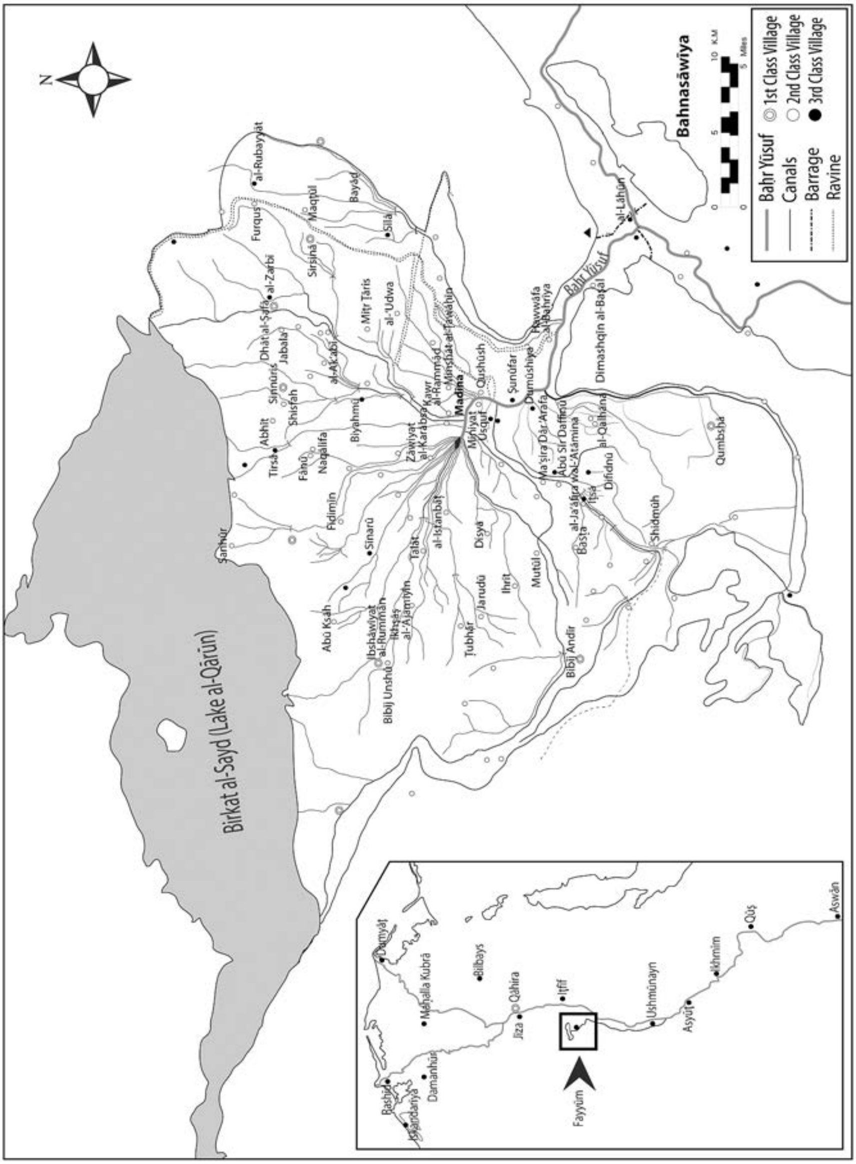

N
Birkat al-Sayd (Lake al-Qārūn)
Sanhūr
Tirsā
Abhīt
Sinnūris
Shisfah
Dhāt al-Ṣafā
al-Zarbī
Jabala
Furqus
al-Rubayyāt
Fānū
Naqālifa
Fidimīn
al-Akʿabī
Sirsinā
Maqṭūl
Abū Ksāh
Sinarū
Biyahmū
Miṭr Ṭāris
Bayāḍ
Ibshāwiyat al-Rummān
Bibij Unshū
Ikhṣāṣ al-ʿAjamiyīn
al-ʿUdwa
Silā
Ṭalāt
Zāwiyat al-Karābsa
Kawr al-Rammād
al-Istanbāṭ
Minshāt al-Ṭawāḥīn
Madīna
Ṭubhār
Jarudū
Disyā
Miniyat Usquf
Qushūsh
Ihrīt
Ṣunūfar
Mutūl
Dumūshiya
Hawwāfa al-Baḥriya
Maʿṣira Dār ʿArafa
Abū Sīr Daffinū
Bibij Andīr
al-Jaʿāfira wal-ʿAṭāmina
Basṭa
Iṭsā
Difidnū
al-Qalhana
Dimashqīn al-Baṣal
Bahr Yūsuf
al-Lāhūn
Shidmūh
Bahnasāwīya
Qumbshā
0 5 10 K.M
0 5 Miles
Baḥr Yūsuf
Canals
Barrage
Ravine
1st Class Village
2nd Class Village
3rd Class Village
Rashīd
Dumyāṭ
Iskandariya
Damanhūr
Maḥalla Kubrā
Bilbays
Jīza
Qāhira
Fayyūm
Iṭfīḥ
Ushmūnayn
Asyūṭ
Ikhmīm
Qūṣ
Aswān

Fig. 5: Villages in Fayyum Province in the Ayyubid period. Created on the basis of the map of Shafei, 1940.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Circassian Register, but the *Sharḥ al-ʿurfān fī qānūn al-buldān sanat 795* (Explanation for Knowledge of Village Revenues in 795/1392–93), which shows tax revenues for the area. According to this source, the total revenue (*irtifāʿ*) of the area was 8,000 dinars, with that of the west bank accounting for 3,600 dinars. The breakdown of revenue for the west bank was: 1,100 dinars from *kharāj* tax, 1,553 dinars from tax collected according to the lunar calendar,[42] 342 dinars from winter crops, and 604 dinars from the sugarcane pressing factory (amounts are rounded down to the nearest whole number). Considering the fact that revenue figures for *kharāj* tax and winter crops were listed separately, *kharāj* tax here represented summer crop revenue. Moreover, revenue from the sugarcane pressing factory accounted for one sixth of total tax revenue from the west bank. This shows that sugarcane production and the sugar industry accounted for a significant portion of revenue from the area at the end of the fourteenth century.

The records from the Ottoman period show the cultivated crops and the size of the corresponding cultivated area. The numbers are shown in Table 4. The east side was rich in cultivating rice and toothed bur clover (*barsīm*) while sugarcane cultivation was thriving on the west bank. It is clear that the situation in this area, where sugarcane continued to be a main crop, is different from that of the Fayyum. This shows that the shift from sugarcane to grain production did not occur in the same way in other areas.

It appears that the overall trend of abandoning sugarcane production can be explained by the intensifying international trade in sugar. In 1423, al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 1422–38) took economic policy measures to control the sugar industry and sugar trade. In 1429, the sultan also regulated the spice trade.[43] Such a stance by the sultan obviously shows the continued value of sugar in the context of international trade in the first half of the fifteenth century. However, from the second half of the fifteenth century European merchants gained access to new alternatives when sugarcane production in Cyprus and Crete stabilized and the Portuguese, supported by Genovese merchants, started sugarcane production in the Algarve, the Canaries, and the Madeira Islands.[44]

While this sufficiently explains the overall fall in sugarcane production, it does not answer the question of why sugarcane production was continued in Buḥayrah but not in the Fayyum. The same is true if we analyze outbreaks of plague and political disorder. We need to look more closely at the situation in each area in order to reveal regional diversities in sugarcane production in Egypt.

---

[42] Monthly taxes collected according to the Hijra calendar, such as taxes imposed on houses, stores, public baths, and ovens. See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 8:228–33.

[43] For Mamluk policy concerning the sugar trade, see Darrag, 1961, 146–51; Ouerfelli, 2008, 100–102. Sato pointed out that as a result of a series of regulations, the Karimi merchants who were involved in the sugar trade were brought to ruin (Sato, 2004, 98–100; idem, 2015, 74–90).

[44] Galloway, 1977.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 5. Agenda for the Study of Rural Society

This study has analyzed changes in agriculture in Fayyum Province by comparing the records from each period. As a result, it found that the Fayyum experienced an overall decrease in cultivated land and a shift in agriculture from sugarcane to grain production during the period from the thirteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century. However, sugarcane continued to be produced in the Muzāḥimatayn region from the end of the fourteenth to the first half of the sixteenth centuries, demonstrating the existence of regional diversity in Egypt. Such results engender further questions. First, when did this agricultural shift occur? Was it under Mamluk rule or after the Ottoman conquest? Did it happen all at once or over a number of years? Second, what factors, both natural and human, brought about the shift, and how are they related to one another? More research is needed—both at local and at a more macroscopic level—to answer these questions. The following issues need to be revisited.

First, the relationship between the political situation and agriculture. The chronicles from the Mamluk period often report revolts and resulting devastation by Arab tribes in the provinces. The Fayyum was no exception in this regard.[45] However, at the same time, the Arab tribes constituted a provincial society taking on the responsibility of providing security for the region.[46] The DT 933 and the DT 934 contain records of payment to the Arab tribes from village tax revenues, which suggests that they played a yet to be identified role in the maintenance of communities and built economic relationships between villagers and land holders. The ways in which their revolts affected agriculture in the area requires further exploration.

The second fundamental issue worthy of consideration is the problem of who determined the crops to be cultivated and how they did so. Under the *iqṭāʿ* system, the rights holders were responsible for the maintenance of their *iqṭāʿ* land. If the land holder was able to determine what crops to cultivate, would agriculture differ between *iqṭāʿ*, private land, *waqf*, and state revenue? If the agricultural shift in the Fayyum was due to the influence of the sugar trade in the Mediterranean, who determined the agricultural policy, and how did this person assess the situation? One possible explanation is that the merchants who purchased the harvest and sold it via domestic or international markets were important actors. Perhaps negotiation with the markets through such brokers had

---

[45] There are reports of internal strife between tribes. For instance, in 1344–45, a traffic route was cut off and many people, including infants, were killed in the ensuing struggles. This also caused the deterioration of Dhāt al-Ṣafā village, which had been famous for sugarcane production. Since the fighters also cut off the canals, many villages in the Fayyum were left without irrigation (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:668).

[46] Rapoport, 2004; Rapoport and Shahar, 2012, 25–28; Kumakura, 2016a, 104.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

an influence on land usage. Considering this background, there needs to be further investigation into the entire process: the harvest of crops, their transport to markets, and their way into people's mouths. We also need to identify the actors involved in these processes, though these are difficult tasks.[47]

The third issue is the need to investigate the irrigation systems. In the case of Fayyum Province, the chronicles indicate that the area was directly affected by unusual flooding of the Nile. For instance, in 1360, the dam that regulated the water level burst, causing orchards and wells to flood. In another such instance in 1354 when the Nile unexpectedly flooded, the Fayyum suffered a water shortage.[48] While such cases indicate the area's vulnerability, how did they relate to agriculture? How did differences in irrigation systems, fertility, and agriculture relate to one another? To solve these problems, it is important to identify the irrigation systems in each area and to consider regional diversities. A new approach—such as simulating the flood and the irrigation system using GIS—must be taken in order to fill in the spaces left blank by historical sources.

## Bibliography

### Sources

Cairo Dār al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīyah MS *Daftar jayshī*, Rūznāma Reg. 3001–000106.

Cairo Dār al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīyah MS *Daftar tarābīʿ wilāyat fayyūm wa-bahnasāwīyah*, Rūznāma: Reg. 3001–000113.

Cairo Dār al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīyah MS *Daftar tarābīʿ wilāyat fayyūm wa-bahnasāwīyah*, Rūznāma: Reg. 3001–000115.

Cairo Dār al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīyah MS *Daftar tarābīʿ ḥudūd zimām nawāḥī taftīsh al-buḥayrah*, Rūznāma: Reg. 3001–000114.

Ibn Duqmāq, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾī, *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiqd al-amṣār*, ed. Karl Vollers, vols. 4–5, Frankfurt am Main 1992. (reprint Cairo 1893)

Ibn al-Jīʿān, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Maqarr, *al-Tuḥfah al-sanīyah bi-asmāʾ al-bilād al-miṣrīyah*, Bodleian MS Huntington 2.

Ibn al-Jīʿān, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Maqarr, *al-Tuḥfah al-sanīyah bi-asmāʾ al-bilād al-miṣrīyah*, ed. Bernhard Moritz, Cairo 1974.

Ibn Mammātī, al-Asʿad, *Qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Surayyāl ʿAṭiyah, Cairo 1943.

---

[47] Thought-provoking in its exploration of this issue is the study of weekly markets in the modern period in Kato, 1992. The interconnections between agriculture, markets, provinces, provincial centers, and urban centers in places such as Alexandria and Cairo in the medieval period requires thorough investigation. Udovitch, 1999, is a good example. It contains much detailed information about local and international traders and commodities, based on documentary sources. Studies on food culture such as in Lewicka, 2011, will be helpful in considering crop selection.

[48] Al-Maqrīzī, *Suluk*, 3:12.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, *Tārīkh ibn qāḍī shuhbah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, 4 vols., Damascus 1977–97.

al-Makhzūmī, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī, *al-Muntaqā min kitāb al-minhāj fī ʿilm kharāj miṣr*, ed. Claude Cahen, Cairo 1986.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1939–1958; ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1970–73.

–, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 4 vols., London 2002–04.

Mubārak, ʿAlī Bāshā, *Nukhbat al-fikr fī tadbīr nīl miṣr*, ed. Laṭīfah Muḥammad Sālim, Cairo 2006.

al-Nābulusī, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm wa-bilādihī*, ed. Bernhard Moritz, Beirut 1974. (reprint Cairo 1899)

al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vols. 1–18, Cairo 1923–55; eds. Muḥammad A. Ibrāhīm et al., vols. 19–33, Cairo 1975–2002.

## Studies

Abu-Lughod, Janet L., *Cairo: 1001 Years of "the City Victorious"*, Princeton 1971.

Ashtor, Eliyahu, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley 1976.

–, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Late Middle Ages: A Case of Technological Decline," in: *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. Abraham L. Udovitch, Princeton 1981, pp. 91–132.

Berkey, Jonathan P., "Culture and Society during the Late Middle Ages," in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, Islamic Egypt, 640–1517, ed. Carl F. Petry, Cambridge 1998, pp. 379–80.

Borsch, Stuart J., "Nile Floods and the Irrigation System in Fifteenth Century Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000), pp. 131–45.

–, "Medieval Egyptian Economic Growth, the Maryūṭ Basin," in: *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517): Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study II*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Bonn 2016, pp. 173–98.

Bosworth, Clifford E., "Misāḥa," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0754 [accessed 09/01/2017].

Campbell, Bruce M.S., *The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World*, Cambridge 2016.

Clerget, M., *Le Caire: Étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, 2 vols. Cairo 1934.

Darrag, Aḥmad, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438*, Damascus 1961.

Dols, Michael W., *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977.

–, "The Second Plague Pandemic and Its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347–1894," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22/2 (1979), pp. 162–89.

Frenkel, Yehoshua, "An Introduction to the Environmental History of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *History Compass* 12/11 (2014), pp. 866–78.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Galloway, John H., "The Mediterranean Sugar Industry," *Geographical Review* 67/2 (1977), pp. 177–94.

Hasebe, Fumihiko, "14 seiki Ejiputo shakai to ijōkishō, kikin, ekibyō, jinkōgekigen" [Fourteenth Century Egyptian Society and Abnormal Weather, Famine, Epidemics, Population Decrease], in: *Rekishi niokeru Shizen* [Natural Environment in History], ed. Michio Shibata et al., Tokyo 1989, pp. 57–82.

Hassan, Fekri A., "Historical Nile Floods and Their Implications for Climatic Change," *Science* 212/4499 (1981), pp. 1142–45.

–, "Extreme Nile Floods and Famines in Medieval Egypt (AD 930–1500) and Their Climatic Implications," *Quaternary International* 173–74 (2007), pp. 101–12.

–, "Nile Flood Discharge during the Medieval Climate Anomaly," *PAGES news* 19/1 (2011), pp. 30–31.

Kato, Hiroshi, "The Data on Periodical (Weekly) Market at the End of the 19th Century in Egypt: The Cases of Qaliubiya, Sharqiya, and Daqahliya Provinces," *Mediterranean World* 8 (1992), pp. 77–114.

Kumakura, Wakako, "Mamurūkuchō tochi seidoshi kenkyū ni okeru shin shiryō, Ejiputo kokuritsu monjokan shozō Osumanchō *Gunmu daichō*" [A New Source for the Study of the Mamluk Land System: The Ottoman Land Register *Daftar Jayshī* in the Egyptian National Archives], *Nihon Chūtō Gakkai nenpō* [Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies] 25/2 (2009), pp. 59–81.

–, "Kōki Mamurūkuchō niokeru Ejiputo tochimonjyogyōsei no shosō: Osumanchōki *Gunmu daichō* nimiru Mamurūkuchō tochidaichō to sonoriyō" [Land Record Management of Egypt in the Late Mamluk period: Mamluk Land Registers and Their Usage Seen in the Ottoman Register *Daftar Jayshī*], *Ochanomizu Shigaku* 53 (2010), pp. 41–83.

–, "16 seiki no Nairu kangai to sonraku shakai, Garubiiya-ken no jirei" [Irrigation of the Nile and Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century: The Case of Gharbīyah Province], in: *Nairu deruta no kankyō to bunmei* II [The Environments and Civilizations of the Nile Delta II], Tokyo 2013, pp. 49–75.

–, "To Where Have the Sultan's Banks Gone? An Attempt to Reconstruct the Irrigation System of Medieval Egypt," *E-Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies* 2 (2014), pp. 11–21.

–, "The Early Ottoman Rural Government System and Its Development in Terms of Water Administration," in: *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, Bonn 2016a, pp. 87–114.

–, "Who Handed over Mamluk Land Registers to the Ottomans? A Study on the Administrators of Land Records in the Late Mamluk Period," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2016b), pp. 279–96.

–, "Satō kara kokumotsu e: Mamurūkuchōki no Faiyūm ni mirareta saibai sakumotsu no tenkan" [Sugar to Grains: An Agricultural Shift in Medieval Fayyum], *Isulāmu Chiiki Kenkyū Jānaru* [*Journal of Islamic Area Studies*] 9 (2017), pp. 56–72.

–, "Mamluk Land Records Being Updated and Distributed: A Study of *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sanīya bi-Asmāʾ al-Bilād al-Miṣrīya*," *Isulāmu Chiiki Kenkyū Jānaru* [Journal of Islamic Area Studies] 10 (2018), pp. 17–29.

–, "Patterns of Women's Landholding in the Late Mamluk Period: A Statistical Study Based on the Ottoman Land Register *Daftar Jayshī*," *Orient* 54 (2019), pp. 7–22.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Lewicka, Paulina B., *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes: Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 2011.

Mikhail, Alan, "Introduction. Middle East Environmental History: The Fallow Between Two Fields," in: *Water on Sand: Environmental Histories of the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Alan Mikhail, Oxford 2011, pp. 1–25.

Moberg, Andres, Dmitry M. Sonechkin, Karin Holmgren, Nina Datsenko, and Wibjörn Karlén, "Highly Variable Northern Hemisphere Temperatures Reconstructed from Low- and High-resolution Proxy Data," *Nature* 433 (2005), pp. 613–17.

Nagasawa, Eiji, *Ejiputo no jigazō: Nairu no shisō to chiiki kenkyū* [Self-Portrait of Egypt: The Idea of the Nile and Area Studies], Tokyo 2013.

Ouerfelli, Mohamed, *Le sucre: Production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Leiden 2008.

Poliak, Abraham N., "The Demographic Evolution of the Middle East," *Palestine and Middle East* 10/5 (1938), pp. 201–05.

Pomeranz, Kenneth, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, Princeton 2000.

Rabie, Hassanein, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341*, London and New York 1972.

Raymond, André, "La population du Caire, de Maqrizi a la Description de l'Egypte," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'institut Francais de Damas* 37 (1975), pp. 201–06.

–, "Cairo's Area and Population in the Early Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), pp. 21–31.

Rapoport, Yossef, "Invisible Peasants, Marauding Nomads: Taxation, Tribalism, and Rebellion in Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/2 (2004), pp. 1–22.

–, *Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt*, Turnhout 2018.

–, *Rural Society in Medieval Islam: 'History of the Fayyum,'* Queen Mary University of London. https://projects.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam/ [accessed 21/03/2020].

Rapoport, Yossef and Ido Shahar, "Irrigation in the Medieval Islamic Fayyum: Local Control in a Large-Scale Hydraulic System," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012), pp. 1–31.

Römer, Cornelia, "The Nile in the Fayum: Strategies of Dominating and Using the Water. Resources of the River in the Oasis in the Middle Kingdom and the Graeco-Roman Period," in: *The Nile: Natural and Cultural Landscape in Egypt*, eds. Harco Willems and Jan-Michael Dahms, Bielefeld 2017, pp. 171–92.

Russell, J.C., "The Population of Medieval Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 5 (1969), pp. 69–82.

Sato, Tsugitaka, *Chūsei Isuramu kokka to Arabu shakai, Ikutaasei no kenkyū*, [State and Society in Medieval Islam: Studies on the *iqṭāʿ* system in Arabic Society], Tokyo 1986.

–, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun*, Leiden 1997.

–, "Sugar in the Economic Life of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/2 (2004), pp. 87–107.

–, *Sugar in the Social Life of Medieval Islam*, Leiden 2015.

Shafei, Ali, "Faiyum Irrigation as Described by Nabulsi in 1245 A.D. with a Description of the Present System of Irrigation and a Note on Lake Moeris," *Bulletin de la Société de ge´ ographie d'Égypte* 20 (1940), pp. 283–87.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Shoshan, Boaz, “Grain Riots and the ‘Moral Economy’: Cairo, 1350–1517,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10/3 (1980), pp. 459–78.

–, “Notes sur les épidémies de peste en Egypte,” *Annales de démographie historique* 1 (1981), pp. 387–404.

Tucker, William F., “Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamlūk Egypt,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24/2 (1981), pp. 215–24.

Udovitch, Abraham L., “International Trade and the Medieval Egyptian Countryside,” in: *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times (Proceedings of the British Academy 96)*, eds. Alan K. Bowman and Eugene Rogan, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999, pp. 267–85.

Willems, Harco, Hanne Creylman, Véronique De Laet and Gert Verstraeten, “The Analysis of Historical Maps as an Avenue to the Interpretation of Pre-Industrial Irrigation Practices in Egypt,” in: *The Nile: Natural and Cultural Landscape in Egypt*, eds. Harco Willems and Jan-Michael Dahms, Bielefeld 2017, pp. 255–344.

## Acknowledgement

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 15K12930 and JFE 21st Century Foundation research promotion grant.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Takao Ito

# Careers and Activities of *mamlūk* Traders: Preliminary Prosopographical Research[1]

The *mamlūk* (slave) trade was crucial to the Mamluk sultanate (648–922/1250–1517) for its survival and maintenance, since that regime's military and political manpower consisted principally of imported military slaves, or *mamlūk*s. In addition, the *mamlūk* traders were the first patrons of the *mamlūk*s, and in several cases there were intimate personal ties between them. For example, the Mamluk amir and envoy Ḥusām al-Dīn Uzdamur al-Mujīrī, explaining to Ghāzān, the ruler of the Mongol Ilkhanate (r. 694–703/1295–1304), the origin of his name, said that one component, al-Mujīrī, came from Mujīr al-Dīn, the name of his trader.[2]

Despite these facts, the *mamlūk* trade and traders have attracted less scholarly attention than they deserve. It has yet to be investigated, for example, how and to what extent the *mamlūk*s were distinguished from other types of slaves, such as domestic slaves, in the trade. One reason for this dearth of research is the fact that only limited information on the trade and traders in slaves in general and in *mamlūk*s in particular is available; moreover, it is scattered in various sources.[3]

Nevertheless, detailed prosopographical research is well worth attempting and will lead to a better understanding both of the *mamlūk* traders and of their relations with the Mamluk sultans and amirs. Based on data collected from contemporary Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries, this essay explores the careers and activities of *mamlūk* traders. It does not, however, discuss the traders or merchants who dealt in other types of slaves.

---

[1] This essay is based on a paper read at the third conference of the School of Mamluk Studies in Chicago, June 25, 2016. I am grateful to the organizers and the participants, in particular Hannah Barker and Yehoshua Frenkel, for providing valuable information and comments. After I submitted the manuscript, Hannah Barker, 2019 was published. I am sorry I could not incorporate her study into this essay. I also thank Doris Behrens-Abouseif for important suggestions.

[2] Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:71; Baktāsh and Anonymous, *Taʾrīkh*, 101; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. Amīn, 4:168–69; al-ʿArīnī, 1967, 74; Ayalon, 1975, 216–17, n. 136.

[3] For scholarly work on slavery during the Mamluk period, see Barker, 2016, esp. 1–2, nn. 1–2; the studies included in Amitai and Cluse, 2017; and also Sato, 2006, 141–42.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 1. *Khawājā*

As has been pointed out by David Ayalon, a pioneer of Mamluk studies, *mamlūk* traders often bore the title *khawājā*.[4] According to al-Qalqashandī, this title came from a Persian word meaning "mister" or "sir" (*sayyid*), which was applied to "great foreign merchants" (*akābir al-tujjār al-aʿājim*) such as those from Persia.[5] Al-Qalqashandī explains that the honorific (*laqab*) *al-amīn* (trustworthy) was used for the *khawājā* traders (*al-tujjār al-khawājakīyah*) because they were trusted to bring female slaves and *mamlūk*s to rulers, whereas the honorific *al-safīrī* (mediator or ambassador) was also used because they mediated (*sifārah*) between rulers and travelled between their countries in order to bring *mamlūk*s, female slaves (*al-jawārī*), and so on.[6] The *khawājā* traders were also called *thiqat al-duwal* (the person the states can trust), *thiqat al-dawlatayn* (the person two states can trust), or *nāṣiḥ al-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn* (the advisor of kings and sultans).[7] Apparently, the *mamlūk* traders were typical representatives of *khawājā* traders who were engaged in long-distance trade and often played the role of envoys.[8] However, persons bearing the title *khawājā* in chronicles and biographical dictionaries did not always trade in *mamlūk*s; some were *kārimī* merchants who usually dealt in spices in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.[9]

The names of approximately two dozen *mamlūk* traders, most of whom bore the title *khawājā*, are known from short accounts in the biographies of some amirs and sultans that usually follow this pattern:[10] So-and-so imported the person in question;[11] or his attributive (*nisbah*) points to the name of a trader so-and-so, as in the case of Ḥusām al-Dīn Uzdamur al-Mujīrī mentioned above.[12] In

---

[4] Ayalon, 1951, 1; see also al-ʿArīnī, 1967, 73–76; Lapidus, 1967, 122–23, 127–28, 214–16; Yudkevich, 2017, 426.

[5] al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 6:13.

[6] Ibid., 6:10, 15.

[7] Ibid., 6:42, 73.

[8] That slave traders were also engaged as envoys or diplomats is the main point of Yudkevich, 2017. See also Sato, 2006.

[9] See Lapidus, 1967, 122–23, 127–28, 214–16. Ira M. Lapidus has listed 42 *khwājā* traders, excluding the *kārimī* merchants, but for many of them, it is not clear whether they dealt in *mamlūk*s. See also Sato, 2016. A *kārimī* merchant, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Manṣūr (d. 713/1313–14) was said to have brought spices, porcelain, *mamlūk*s, female slaves, and other valuable items to Yemen from India and China (al-Yamanī, *Bahjah*, 231; Behrens-Abouseif, 2016, 138; on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Manṣūr, see further al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 32:211; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:132–33; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:383–84). Therefore, some *kārimī* merchants may also have traded in *mamlūk*s and transported them to the Mamluk sultanate.

[10] Ayalon, 1951, 2–3; idem, 1975, 215–17; al-ʿArīnī, 1967, 74–75.

[11] See for example al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:117 (the biography of Tankiz (d. 741/1340); he was imported by al-Khawājā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sīwāsī).

[12] See also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 2:489 (the biography of Āqbirdī al-Muẓaffarī (d. 847/1444); his importer was al-Khawājā Muẓaffar). See furthermore al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 3:543–49; Ibn

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the later Mamluk period, the personal names of many *mamlūk*s include the particle *min* (from), and the name following *min* sometimes refers to that of a *mamlūk* trader, as in the case of Uzbak (or Azbak) min Ṭuṭukh, who was imported by al-Khawājā Ṭuṭukh.[13] In many instances, however, only parts of their names are found in the sources. But we do know of several traders about whom some information is available.

The most famous *mamlūk* trader who bore the title *khawājā* was Majd al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Yāqūt al-Sallāmī.[14] He was born in al-Sallāmīyah near Mosul in 671/1272–73. During the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 693–94/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41), he came to Egypt and became a *tājir al-khāṣṣ* (privy trader of the sultan). He repeatedly visited the countries of the Tatars and returned with slaves (*raqīq*), other goods, and curios (*gharāʾib al-bilād*). A peace treaty between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids was negotiated by al-Sallāmī, who played the role of envoy or diplomat as well. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad favored him and provided him with not only foods and sweets worth about 150 dirhams a day, but also gave him a village in Baʿlabakk and *iqṭāʿ*s to his *mamlūk*s. Al-Sallāmī also owned several landed estates (*ḍiyāʿ*) in the Ilkhanid territory. In 738/1337–38, he settled in Cairo. However, following the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a part of his fortune was confiscated. Shortly afterward, in 743/1342, al-Sallāmī died and was entombed outside Bāb al-Naṣr in Cairo.

Rukn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Musāfir (d. 754/1353) was the importer (*jālib*) and patron (*ustādh*) of the great amir Shaykhū (d. 758/1357) and of other *mamlūk*s whose *nisbah* was al-ʿUmarī.[15] In this role, he amassed wealth and power. He may be identified with Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's informant about the Golden Horde, Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Musāfir,[16] although the *laqab* is different. It is also possible that ʿUmar b. Musāfir is al-Khawājā ʿUmar, who was dispatched by al-Nāṣir

---

Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 7:174–78; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:289–90 (the biography of Yalbughā al-Sālimī (d. 811/1409); al-Maqrīzī and al-Sakhāwī just name his importer as Sālim, whereas Ibn Taghrī Birdī refers to him as al-Khawājā Sālim).

[13] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 2:270. Another example: Ibn Taghrī Birdī's father, Taghrī Birdī min [al-Khawājā] Bashbughā and his *khushdāsh* (comrade) Arghūn b. ʿAbd Allāh min Bashbughā were so named because they were imported by al-Khawājā Bashbughā (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 14:115, 143; Ayalon, 1975, 224).

[14] On al-Sallāmī, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:523–24; idem, *Wāfī*, 9:220–21; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. al-ʿAdawī, 2:43; ibid., ed. Sayyid, 3:132–33; idem, *Muqaffā*, 2:105–06; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:320; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:381–82; Ayalon, 1951, 3; al-ʿArīnī, 1967, 76; Sato, 2006; Yudkevich, 2017, 427–28; Amitai, 2017, 416.

[15] On ʿUmar b. Musāfir, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:815, 906; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 1:197, 253; Ayalon, 1975, 216–17.

[16] Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 68, 70.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Muḥammad to the Golden Horde in 737/1336–37 to bring him *mamlūk*s, female slaves, and the relatives of Bashtak, the sultan's favorite amir (d. 742/1341).[17]

According to Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. Musāfir (d. 783/1381) was a prominent *tājir al-khāṣṣ* comparable to the above-mentioned Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī.[18] He imported the future sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99) from Crimea (*bilād al-qirim*), where Barqūq was brought from Circassia and sold. Later, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān brought Barqūq's father to Cairo. Barqūq held Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān in great respect. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī relates that Barqūq acceded to his request to abolish a tax in Damascus. Since Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān built a caravansary (*qaysārīyah*) in Damascus, it is clear that he would have traded in something other than *mamlūk*s in this region. According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān had no knowledge of Arabic. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that his *nisbah* was al-ʿAjamī, while Ibn Ḥijjī (according to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ name him ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Musāfir al-Isʿirdī; this *nisbah* refers to Isʿird/Siʿird, a town in southeastern Anatolia. We can therefore assume that Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān came from outside the Mamluk sultanate or its northern borderland.

His brother ʿAlī was known as *khawājā* as well, and he seems to have been engaged in the trade between Crimea and Egypt. In 790/1388, al-Khawājā ʿAlī came to Alexandria with Barqūq's relatives. They had been captured by a group of Genoese on their way to Egypt but were subsequently released, after the sultan had ordered that the Genoese in Alexandria be arrested and their property seized. At the beginning of the year 791/1389, al-Khawājā ʿAlī and the sultan's relatives arrived in Cairo with Genoese envoys. After their meeting, Barqūq revoked his order.[19] Whether the group of Genoese who seized Barqūq's relatives were traders or pirates, this incident shows that the Genoese were involved in the slave and *mamlūk* trade in the Mediterranean.

---

[17] al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah*, 379. As Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, the editor of the *Nuzhah* points out, another possibility is a merchant (*tājir*) ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Quṭba (or Quṭīyah?) al-Zarʿī, who died in Damascus in 775/1373 (Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:153).

[18] Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf*, 135, 203. On Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:403, 463, 476; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:73; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Khān, 2:72–73; idem, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Ḥabashī, 1:247; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 11:220; idem, *Manhal*, 3:286 (where it is said that he had no knowledge of Arabic); ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 2:182; Lapidus, 1967, 282, n. 12; Sato, 2006.

[19] Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:38, 49–50; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:581, 585, 589; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Khan, 2:287, 311; idem., *Inbāʾ*, ed. Ḥabashī, 1:352, 364; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 2:266, 267; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah*, 1:174, 182. This ʿAlī could be identified as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Musāfir, although he was appointed *wālī* of Minūf and *nāʾib* of the Delta (*al-wajh al-baḥrī*) in Egypt (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:909, 932, 981, 1020, 1064, 1066).

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

One of the *nisbah*s of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21) was al-Maḥmūdī, which points to al-Khawājā Maḥmūd Shāh al-Yazdī. He came from a village or town (*baldah*) named ʾSKDR.[20] According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, this town was in the country of the Golden Horde (*bilād al-dasht*). However, as al-ʿAynī refers to him as Maḥmūd al-Rūmī, his hometown could have been in Anatolia. At any rate, it is evident that Maḥmūd Shāh came from outside the Mamluk sultanate. He was the renowned disciple of a Sufi shaykh in Yazd. Later, he became a merchant in the Golden Horde and started living in Crimea. Due to his repeated visits to Yazd, Maḥmūd Shāh was also called al-Yazdī. While in Crimea, he is said to have met Barqūq. In 780/1378, Maḥmūd Shāh came to Cairo with eighteen *mamlūk*s, where he died shortly afterward. Barqūq found Shaykh among Maḥmūd Shāh's property and made him one of his *mamlūk*s.[21]

Interestingly, there are four more versions of the story about how Shaykh joined Barqūq's *mamlūk*s. Based on a statement by al-Muʾayyad Shaykh himself, al-ʿAynī gives the following account, which differs slightly from the one given above: Shaykh was taken captive and brought to the Islamic countries (*bilād al-islām*) where the shaykh Maḥmūd al-Rūmī purchased him and brought him to Egypt with other *mamlūk*s. Maḥmūd showed him to Barqūq while the latter was still an amir, but Barqūq did not purchase Shaykh and returned him to Maḥmūd. After Maḥmūd died, his property was sold. Barqūq then found Shaykh in a slave market and bought him for three thousand dirhams.[22] Although Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī also allegedly relies on al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's account, he tells another story: Shaykh was born in 770/1368–69. When he was twelve years old, a trader brought him to Cairo with Barqūq's father and showed him to Barqūq.[23] Barqūq wanted to buy Shaykh, but the trader demanded an unreasonable price. After the trader's death, Maḥmūd Shāh al-Yazdī bought Shaykh for a reasonable price and presented (*qaddama*) him to Barqūq.[24] The third version of the story is to be found in the biography of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar:* He was kidnapped in his country of origin while he and other boys gathered fruits. He was then sold to a trader, who brought him with Barqūq's father to Cairo in 782/1381. In Cairo, Shaykh was shown to Barqūq. Barqūq did not buy him, but Maḥmūd Shāh al-Yazdī bought him for three thousand dirhams. After Maḥmūd Shāh died, Barqūq purchased Shaykh from his heirs. Lastly, in his *Sulūk*, al-

---

[20] It is not clear how the name of this village or town would have been vocalized or pronounced.

[21] On Maḥmūd Shāh, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 3:453–54; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 11:226–27.

[22] al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. al-Qarmūṭ, 100–01; see also Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah*, 2:489; Frenkel, 2017, 199–200.

[23] This means either that this trader was the above-mentioned Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthman or that Shaykh's trader accompanied Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān.

[24] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl*, 281; idem, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Khān, 7:435; idem, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Ḥabashī, 3:256; see also al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:308.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Maqrīzī explains that Maḥmūd Shāh bought Shaykh for three thousand dirhams from his kidnapper and carried him to Cairo in 782/1381, and that Barqūq took Shaykh from Maḥmūd's property after the latter's death and paid his heirs three thousand dirhams.[25]

If we assume that Maḥmūd Shāh died in 780/1378 as mentioned in his biography in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar* and Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *Manhal*, he cannot have brought Shaykh to Egypt in 782/1381 or bought him there.[26] The version according to which Shaykh was brought to Egypt in 782/1381 was presumably fabricated in order to combine his story with that of Barqūq's father, thus emphasizing a relationship between Shaykh and Barqūq. In a similar vein, it seems dubious that Maḥmūd Shāh met Barqūq in Crimea since this episode also appears to have been created so as to establish a special relationship between Maḥmūd Shāh (trader of Shaykh) and Barqūq, and so between Shaykh and Barqūq. As a result, al-ʿAynī's version appears the most likely.[27]

Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) was brought to Egypt in 839/1435–36 by Khawājā Maḥmūd,[28] who can be identified as Maḥmūd b. Rustam al-Rūmī al-Burṣāwī.[29] This *nisbah* indicates that he came originally from Bursa, but there is unfortunately no further information about him. His son Muṣṭafā was a favorite of Qāytbāy's and was designated *tājir al-sulṭān* (trader of the sultan). While some spoke ill of him, Ibn Iyās mentions that he renovated the Azhar mosque in 900/1494 and that his behavior was praiseworthy. It is unclear whether Muṣṭafā dealt in *mamlūk*s, but since he died in 905/1499–1500 in the Ottoman Empire, he may have engaged in the trade between the Mamluk and the Ottoman territories.[30]

Thus, as mentioned by al-Qalqashandī, most *mamlūk* traders who bore the title of *khawājā* came from outside the Mamluk sultanate and seem only rarely to have settled in Egypt or Syria. This is presumably one of the reasons why there is only limited information available on the *mamlūk* traders. The contemporary Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries paid little attention to those who visited the Mamluk sultanate and lived there only temporarily. Moreover, Lapidus mentions that slave dealers were, like brokers, criers, and money changers,

---

[25] al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2:125; idem, *Sulūk*, 4:243.

[26] For the account that Barqūq's father had been brought to Egypt in 782/1381, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:403; idem, *Durar*, 1:431; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:38; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Khān, 2:13–14; idem, *Inbāʾ*, ed. Ḥabashī, 1:217; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 11:182–83; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 2:172–73.

[27] However, al-ʿAynī does not refer to Maḥmūd Shāh nor to the details of Shaykh's early career as *mamlūk* in his literary offering to Shaykh, *al-Sayf al-muhannad.* On the *Sayf*, see Holt, 1998, 8–10.

[28] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:3; see also al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 6:201.

[29] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:136.

[30] al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:160; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:306, 431.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

considered disreputable on religious grounds.[31] If this is correct, we can suppose that here is another reason for the paucity of information on slave dealers, including the *mamlūk* traders. The fact that most of the *khawājā mamlūk* traders were visitors to or temporary residents in the Mamluk sultanate would at least in part explain why, as Sato has pointed out, they founded few public institutions in Mamluk territory, where they would have had few interests.[32]

## 2. *Tājir al-mamālīk*

From the ninth/fifteenth century onward, we frequently encounter the term *tājir al-mamālīk* (trader of *mamlūk*s) in sources. An early example is Īnāl al-Muḥammadī al-Sāqī Ḍuḍagh.[33] He was one of Barqūq's *mamlūk*s and served him as his cupbearer (*sāqī*). Under al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–08/1399–1405, 808–15/1405–12), he was promoted to be an amir of a hundred in Egypt and assumed the post of *raʾs nawbat al-nuwab* (chief head of the guards) in 811/1408. However, in 812/1410, Īnāl al-Muḥammadī was arrested along with another amir for plotting against the sultan, and imprisoned in Alexandria. After his release in 814/1411, fearing that al-Nāṣir Faraj was going to arrest him again, he fled to Syria and joined the great amir Nawrūz. Following Nawrūz's defeat by Shaykh in 817/1414, Īnāl al-Muḥammadī was imprisoned in Aleppo; after his release he went to Circassia. During the reign of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, Īnāl al-Muḥammadī returned to Cairo as a *mamlūk* trader[34] and sold *mamlūk*s to the sultan. Later, he again brought *mamlūk*s to Cairo and remained there until his death in 831/1428. The *mamlūk*s brought by Īnāl included the future sultan Yalbāy al-Īnālī al-Muʾayyadī (r. 872/1467; d. 873/1468), the amir Timrāz al-Īnālī al-Ashrafī (d. 871/1467), and the amir Yarashbāy al-Īnālī (d. 864/1460).[35]

---

[31] Lapidus, 1967, 82.

[32] Sato, 2006, 147, 154–55. Although Sato notes that Khawājā ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (or Ḥusayn) b. Dāwūd al-Salāmī (d. 762/1361) constructed a madrasah (or *dār al-qurʾān*) in Damascus, it is not clear whether he dealt in *mamlūk*s. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:55; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:191; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:72; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 1:330.

[33] On him, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:78, 121, 124, 179; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 13:74, 100, 122; idem, *Manhal*, 3:203–06; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1(2):801 (where the nickname of Īnāl al-Muḥammadī is erroneously spelled Ḍuʿḍuʿ).

[34] Ibn Taghrī Birdī states that Īnāl al-Muḥammadī came to Cairo with many *mamlūk*s in the manner of *mamlūk* traders (*ʿalā qāʿidat tujjār al-mamālīk*), while Ibn Iyās mentions that he was *tājir fī al-mamālīk* (trader dealing in *mamlūk*s) (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 3:206; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1(2):801).

[35] On Yalbāy, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:287–88; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:458. On Timrāz, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 596–98; idem, *Nujūm*, 16:353; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:36 (where Īnāl's *nisbah* is erroneously spelled al-Maḥmūdī). On Yarashbāy, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:269, 287 (in the biography of Yalbāy al-Īnālī).

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibrāhīm b. Qirmish al-Qirimī was a *tājir al-mamālīk* like his father, to whom the *nisbah* of some amirs (al-Qirmishī) was traced back.[36] Ibrāhīm's wife was the sister of Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, who is known as the author of the *Zubdat kashf al-mamālīk*, while Sultan Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) favored Ibrāhīm because of his amiability and decency. Thus, thanks to Ibrāhīm's help, Ibn Shāhīn became one of the *mamlūk*s of the sultan. Ibn Shāhīn's son, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, called his uncle by marriage Ibrāhīm *khawājā*. Although he had once been rich, Ibrāhīm died in poverty in 856/1452 at over eighty years of age.

Marjān (or Amir Jān) (d. 880/1475) was a *sayyid-sharīf* (descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad).[37] Al-Sakhāwī describes Marjān al-Rūmī as *tājir al-sulṭān fī al-mamālīk* (the sultan's trader of *mamlūk*s), while ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and Ibn Iyās mention a certain Amir Jān who was *tājir al-mamālīk*. According to Ibn Iyās, Amir Jān imported most of the amirs of his time, who were called al-Sharīfī after him. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ calls him Amir Jān al-Qazwīnī al-Ḥasanī and says that he was one of the *ṭablkhāna* amirs in Aleppo, while al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Iyās do not mention that he was an amir.

Apart from these three people (Īnāl al-Muḥammadī, Ibrāhīm al-Qirimī, and Mārjān (or Amir Jān) al-Rūmī), we find that twelve amirs were appointed as *tājir al-mamālīk* or to similar posts from the mid-ninth/fifteenth century onward (see Appendix). In 859/1455, the amir of ten Tamurbāy al-Ḥasanī al-Nāṣirī was appointed (*istaqarra*) as *muʿallim tujjār al-mamālīk* (supervisor of the *mamlūk* traders) to replace Qānim min Ṣafar Khujā al-Tājir, who had been promoted to be an amir of a hundred in Egypt by the sultan.[38] It seems that the name of the office was not initially fixed. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī reports that Jānbak (or Jānībāy) al-Khashin al-Īnālī was appointed (*istaqarra*) to the *muʿallimīyat al-aswāq* (supervision of the [slave and *mamlūk*] markets)[39] in place of Tanbak (or Tānībak) Qarā (d. 905/

---

[36] On Ibrāhīm b. Qirmish, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 1:118; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 5:375–76; see also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 5:258–59 (in the biography of Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī).

[37] On Marjān (or Amir Jān), see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 10:153; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 7:146; idem, *Majmaʿ*, 595; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:113. Al-Sakhāwī also refers to Amir Jān al-Qazwīnī al-Ḥasanī (*Ḍawʾ*, 2:321–22), who seems, however, not to be identical with the person whom ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ describes.

[38] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn, 524; idem, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 228.

[39] A few references to *mamlūk*s and slave markets are found in the Mamluk sources. According to al-Maqrīzī, there was a slave market (*sūq al-raqīq*) in Khān Masrūr in Cairo with two rooms (sg. *ḥujrah*) and a bench for displaying *mamlūk*s (*dikkat al-mamālīk*); this slave market was in operation until the beginning of Barqūq's reign—that is, the end of the eighth/fourteenth century (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. al-ʿAdawī, 1:374, 2:92; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, 2:246, 3:304–05). Thereafter, a *sūq al-raqīq* existed in Khuṭṭ al-Misṭāḥ, near Suwayqat al-Ṣāḥib, until at least 849/1445 (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. al-ʿAdawī, 2:33; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, 3:94; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. al-Qarmūṭ, 635–36; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn, 117; idem, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 16; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 114); although it was moved (apparently only temporarily) to al-Bunduqānīyīn in 821/1418 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:442, 452). It is possible that mostly female

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

1500) in 873/1468, while ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ and Ibn Iyās, who refer to the same event, mention that he was appointed to the *tijārat al-mamālīk* (post of *tājir al-mamālīk*).[40] According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Qānim min Ṣafar Khujā al-Tājir (d. 871/1466) was a *muʿallim al-aswāq* when he was dispatched in 855/1451 as envoy to the Qarā Qoyunlu.[41] The position was further designated *muʿallimīyat al-dallālīn* (supervision of the [*mamlūk*] dealers) and perhaps also *muʿallim al-muʿallimīn.*[42] Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 769/1368) mentions *dallāl al-raqīq* along with *dallāl al-kutub* (bookseller) and *dallāl al-amlāk* (real estate broker),[43] and a certain Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ghāzī, the founder of a mosque in Cairo that was opened in 741/1340, was *dallāl al-mamālīk.*[44] From these examples, it is clear that there were already individuals designated *dallāl al-raqīq* or *dallāl al-mamālīk* in the Mamluk sultanate by the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century; however, a *dallāl al-raqīq* or *dallāl al-mamālīk* seems to have been a broker or dealer in the markets at that time, which was not a post held by an amir.[45] It only became an official position in the following century, when Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 873/1468) referred to the *dallāl al-mamālīk* in his treatise about the administration of the Mamluk sultanate.[46] There are instances of successive appointments of amirs as *tājir al-mamālīk* from the 870s onward, so that we may suppose that *tājir al-mamālīk* became a regular post and an established term.[47] In fact, just two

---

slaves were traded in this market at Khuṭṭ al-Misṭāḥ, as al-ʿAynī called it *sūq al-jawārī* (market of female slaves) (al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, ed. al-Qarmūṭ, 635); but cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. al-ʿAdawī, 2:33; idem, Khiṭaṭ, ed. Sayyid, 3:94, which reports that the market was known as *sūq al-jiwār* (market of the neighborhood?). From at least 879/1474 to the end of the Mamluk sultanate, a *sūq al-raqīq* was near Khān al-Khalīlī (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:100; 4:404–05). Although it is not clear where it was located, a *mamlūk* went to a *sūq al-raqīq* to buy or to return a [domestic?] slave (*ʿabd*) (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:115). See Ayalon, 1951, 4; al-ʿArīnī, 1967, 81; Raymond and Wiet, 1979, 94, 133–35, 223–29.

[40] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ*, 25; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6:349; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:23.

[41] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn, 321; see also idem, *Nujūm*, 15:433; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 345; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 5:332; they do however not refer to Qānim as *muʿallim al-aswāq*. On Qānim, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 593–95; idem, *Nujūm*, 16:351; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 6:200–01; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6:250; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:442–43.

[42] According to Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Qānṣawh al-Shāmī was the *muʿallim al-muʿallimīn* in 890/1485 (Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 208). Three years later, his position of *muʿallimīyāt al-dallālīn* was taken by Kurtbāy (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:249). Therefore, it seems that *muʿallim al-muʿallimīn* sometimes could refer to the same position as *muʿallimīyāt al-dallālīn*, although the former usually meant the chief architect (Behrens-Abouseif, 1995).

[43] al-Subkī, *Muʿīd*, 204–05.

[44] al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh*, 117; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. al-ʿAdawī, 2:313; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, 4:255; idem, *Sulūk*, 2:546.

[45] According to al-Sakhāwī, al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad b. Quṭlūbughā, the father of a certain Faraj, was *dallāl al-mamālīk* (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:115). As his name indicates, he was probably the son of a *mamlūk*, but it is not clear whether he was an amir or not, or when he flourished.

[46] Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah*, 115.

[47] See also Frenkel, 2017, 198.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

months prior to the battle of Raydānīyah, al-Ashraf Ṭumānbāy (r. 922/1516–17) appointed (*qarrarahu*) Tamurbāy al-ʿĀdilī to this post.[48]

Usually, the post of *tājir al-mamālīk* was assumed by amirs of ten or forty who were at the start of their careers. But it was a significant promotion. After holding the post of *tājir al-mamālīk*, several amirs were promoted to higher and more prominent positions. For example, Kurtbāy min Tamurbāy (d. 902/1497), the nephew of Sultan Qāytbāy, was subsequently made an amir of a hundred; he was however murdered soon after in the turmoil following the death of Qāytbāy.[49] Jānbulāṭ min Yashbak (d. 906/1501), who succeeded Kurtbāy to the post of *tājir al-mamālīk*, later became sultan for half a year (905–06/1500–01).[50] Later in his life, Qānim min Ṣafar Khujā al-Tājir held the positions of *raʾs nawbat al-nuwab*, *amīr majlis* (amir of the council chamber), and *atābak* (commander-in-chief).[51]

Both Ayalon and Lapidus say that this official bearing the title of *tājir al-mamālīk* was a supervisor of the trade in *mamlūk*s.[52] Their view appears to be generally correct, since the post was also called, as mentioned above, *muʿallim tujjār al-mamālīk*, *muʿallim al-aswāq*, *muʿallim al-dallālīn* or *muʿallim al-muʿallimīn.* However, the amirs holding this post may themselves have sometimes been engaged in the *mamlūk* trade. Qānim min Ṣafar Khujā al-Tājir was sent to Circassia by Barsbāy to bring back the sultan's relatives. Qānim returned to Cairo in about 830/1426–27, although it is unclear whether he was a *tājir al-mamālīk* at that time or not. He later accompanied pilgrims to Mecca several times as *amīr al-rakb al-awwal.* In 853/1449, he was dispatched as an envoy to the Ottomans and returned to Cairo the following year; at that time, Ibn Taghrī Birdī referred to him as an amir of ten and a great broker (*kabīr al-dallālīn*).[53] As mentioned above, Qānim was further sent to the Qarā Qoyunlu while he was a *muʿallim al-aswāq.* Similarly, Jānībāy al-Khashin al-Īnālī, Jānbirdī, and Nawrūz Aghāt Uzdamur al-Dawādārī went to Mecca as *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* and Jānbulāṭ was dispatched as an envoy to the Ottomans, all while holding the post of *tājir al-mamālīk.*[54] In the ninth/fifteenth century, moreover, *mamlūk*s were frequently sent as diplomatic gifts to the Mamluk sultanate from the Ottomans

---

[48] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5:110.

[49] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:249, 288, 371.

[50] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 8:211; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:276, 438, 460–63, 472; see also Frenkel, 2017, 197–98.

[51] On Qānim, see the sources mentioned above in note 40.

[52] Ayalon, 1951, 3–4; Lapidus, 1967, 127.

[53] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn, 211–12, 254; see also idem, *Nujūm*, 15:395, 407; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 265, 306; idem, *Dhayl*, 2:53; Frenkel, 2017, 197. Although Frenkel explains, based on al-Sakhāwī's *Dhayl*, that Qānim brought with him a sizeable number of slaves, al-Sakhāwī does not mention slaves, merely "many things" (*shayʾan kathīran*).

[54] On Jānībāy, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:104, on Jānbirdī, see ibid., 4:66, 76, on Nawrūz, see ibid., 4:184, 199, 210, and on Jānbulāṭ, see ibid., 3:283, 438.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

and the Dhu al-Qadrids, among others.[55] So we can assume that some of the amirs holding the post of *tājir al-mamālīk* brought *mamlūk*s back from their journeys. In any case, a *tājir al-mamālīk* sometimes also acted as envoy or diplomat, as did *khawājā* traders. It therefore seems more appropriate to designate *tājir al-mamālīk* as the sultan's agent responsible for the purchase of *mamlūk*s, as Yudkevich does, rather than as a supervisor of the trade in *mamlūk*s.[56]

## Conclusion

As we have seen, one of the reasons for the paucity of information on *mamlūk* traders is presumably the fact that most of them originated from outside the Mamluk sultanate. It should be also noted that almost all *mamlūk* traders we know of had Muslim, Arabic, Persian, or Turkish names, although it is generally supposed that the Genoese merchants played a significant role in the *mamlūk* trade.[57] This indicates the possibility that the *mamlūk*s did not dare to reveal their relationship with Europeans or infidels, and therefore avoided referring to their importers when the latter were Europeans such as the Genoese. The same is true for the attitude of authors under the Mamluk sultanate toward Europe and Europeans. Doris Behrens-Abouseif proposed the possibility that the Mamluk authors were intentionally silent on the European background of some amirs even though many *mamlūk*s had been brought from Europe, particularly since the ninth/fifteenth century, because the presence of Europeans at the sultan's court "conflicted with the established attitude towards Latin Europe."[58] There is also the question recently asked by Amitai and others, of how and to what extent the Genoese were involved in the *mamlūk* trade.[59] Amitai suggests that beside the problem of available sources—it is not clear how many sources have been lost—there is the possibility that the Genoese may have tried to keep the *mamlūk* trade secret, because it was lucrative but something of an embarrassment, owing to

---

[55] See Behrens-Abouseif, 2016, 78–80, 81, 85–92; on the *mamlūk*s sent by the Ottomans as diplomatic gifts to the Mamluks, see also Muhanna, 2010; Muslu, 2014, esp. 16, 39–40. In addition, the Ottomans were involved in the trade of slaves (*mamlūk*s) to the Mamluk sultanate (Fleet, 1999, 41, 141). E.g. the future sultan Tamurbughā al-Rūmī al-Ẓāhirī (r. 872/1467–68; d. 879/1475) was brought to Syria by *baʿḍ tujjār al-rūm*, which presumably means a merchant from the Ottoman territory (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:40).

[56] Yudkevich, 2017, 426.

[57] This has already been pointed out by Ayalon, 1951, 2–3. An exceptional case is Segurano Salvaygo, the Genoese trader of slaves and *mamlūk*s in the early fourteenth century, who is also referred to in Arabic sources as Sakrān. On him, see Kedar, 1977; Yudkevich, 2017, 428–31; Amitai, 2008, 355; idem, 2017, 408. Amitai notes that Segurano Salvaygo "appears to have been a sort of freelancer."

[58] Behrens-Abouseif, 2014, 364–69, esp. 367.

[59] Amitai, 2008; idem, 2017; Stello, 2017; Cluse, 2017.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

popular criticism and a papal ban.[60] He also surmises that the Genoese would merely have transported *mamlūk*s by sea,[61] and that "the slaves were passed along from merchant to merchant, and from ship to ship"; in this view (which is also supported by Stello and Cluse) the Genoese would have been intermediaries along the slave trade route.[62] In addition these three scholars flag up the importance of routes other than the Bosporus route dominated by the Genoese, namely, the overland routes via Anatolia, the Caucasus, and northern Syria.[63] We may further add al-Maqrīzī's statement that a war between Genoa and Venice in 753/1352–53 decreased the number of European ships coming to Alexandria and caused a shortage of wood, tin, lead, and saffron in Egypt, without referring to *mamlūk*s.[64] The Genoese were undoubtedly engaged in the slave trade in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but this does not mean that they always traded in *mamlūk*s for the Mamluk sultanate. They also transported slaves (though most of them may have been female) to Europe.[65] Indeed, given that Sultan Barqūq was angered by the above-mentioned incident in which some of his relatives were captured by the Genoese, it seems plausible that they were about to carry Barqūq's relatives to Europe. In any case, it is clear that the slave trade in the Mediterranean and the Middle East still requires further investigation.

*Tājir al-mamālīk* refers to a government official for whom the post was presumably created in the mid-ninth/fifteenth century. It became established from the 870s/1460–70s onwards, while a civilian *mamlūk* trader was sometimes also referred to as *tājir al-mamālīk*, as in the case of Ibrāhīm b. Qirmish al-Qirimī.[66] Independent of whether the amirs who were appointed *tājir al-mamālīk* actually dealt in *mamlūk*s or merely supervised the trade, it is evident that in the ninth/fifteenth century the government of the Mamluk sultanate attempted to involve itself more directly in the *mamlūk* trade than before. The question of why this post was created has yet to be examined. But we can suppose that its creation was related to the political and economic changes taking place at that time in and

---

[60] Amitai, 2017, 410: "[The Genoese] were covering their tracks, so to speak, in a lucrative yet embarrassing commercial activity, which engendered opprobrium and active opposition among fellow Franks." On the European attitudes toward trading with Muslims, see Cluse, 2017. According to Cluse, the papal decrees of the thirteenth century listed timber, iron, and arms among the prohibited items but did not yet list *mamlūk*s, contrary to the general assumption. Cluse suggests that the Genoese involvement in the slave trade became sizeable only after c. 1300, a position with which Amitai agrees (Amitai, 2017, 410–11).

[61] Amitai, 2008, 355–56.

[62] Amitai, 2017, 410; Stello, 2017, 390–91.

[63] Amitai, 2017, 413–17; Stello, 2017, 386–91; Cluse, 2017, 462–63.

[64] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:862.

[65] See Fleet, 1999, 37–58; see also Cluse, 2017, 461–62; Stello, 2017, 390; Balard, 2017. For the Venetians, see also Quirini-Popławska, 2017.

[66] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ (d. 920/1514) called al-Khawājā ʿUmar b. Musāfir (d. 754/1353) *tājir al-mamālīk* (ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 1:197). This is probably an anachronistic use of the term.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

around the Mamluk sultanate. To the north, the Ottomans expanded their territory and took control of the trading routes from Crimea to Syria and Egypt. In the Mediterranean, there was a rash of attacks on Muslim ships by European corsairs.[67] The Mamluk sultanate suffered from a shortage of resources. It seems therefore likely that the Mamluk government expected to acquire *mamlūk*s more cheaply and securely by creating the post of *tājir al-mamālīk*.

## Appendix: Mamluk amirs appointed as *tājir al-mamālīk*

| **Name** | **Tenure** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| Qānim min Ṣafar Khujā al-Tājir (d. 871/1466) (*muʿallim al-aswāq*) | ? (855/1451)–859/1455 | Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn, 321 |
| Tamurbāy al-Ḥasanī al-Nāṣirī (*muʿallim tujjār al-mamālīk*) | 859/1455–? | Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn, 524; idem, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 228 |
| Tanbak (or Tānībak) Qarā al-Īnālī (d. 905/1500) | 872–73/1468 | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:7, 429–31 |
| Jānbak (or Jānībāy) al-Khashin al-Īnālī (*muʿallim al-aswāq*) | 873–84(?)/ 1468–79(?) | Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ*, 25; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 6:349; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:23, 159 |
| Qānṣawh al-Shāmī (d. 902/1497) (*muʿallim al-muʿallimīn?*) | ? (890/1485)–893/1488 | Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 208; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:248; 346–47 |
| Kurtbāy min Tamurbāy (d. 902/1497) (*muʿallim al-dallālīn)* | 893–96/ 1488–90 | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:249 |
| Jānbulāṭ min Yashbak (d. 906/1501) | 896/1490–? | ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl*, 8:211; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:276 |
| Burdbak min Bīr ʿAlī | 901/1495–96–? | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:318 |
| Āqbāy al-Ashqar al-Ṭawīl | 906/1500–? | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:455 |
| Jānbirdī (d. 916/1510) | 908–12/ 1502–06 | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:31, 97, 179 |
| Nawrūz Aghāt Uzdamur al-Dawādār (d. 922/1516) | 912–22/ 1506–16 | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:98; 5:47–48 |
| Tamurbāy al-ʿĀdilī | 922/1516–? | Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5:110 |

---

[67] See Petry, 1994, 55–58.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Bibliography

### Sources

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Majmaʿ al-mufannan bi-l-muʿjam al-muʿanwan*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh M. al-Kandarī, Beirut 2011.

–, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, 9 vols., Sidon and Beirut 2002.

al-ʿAynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān (648–712)*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, 5 vols., Cairo 1986–2009.

–, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān (824–850)*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ, Cairo 1989.

–, *al-Sayf al-muhannad fī sīrat al-malik al-muʾayyad*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, Cairo 1967.

Baktāsh, Badr al-Dīn al-Fākhirī and Anonymous, *Taʾrīkh salāṭīn miṣr wa-shām wa-ḥalab wa-bayt al-maqdis wa-umarāʾihā*, ed. Karl V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hiǧra nach arabischen Handschriften*, Leiden 1919.

Ibn al-Dawādārī, Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, ed. Hans Robert Roemer et al., 9 vols., Cairo 1960–94.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Klaus Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-ʿUmarī's Darstellung der mongolische Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, Wiesbaden 1968.

Ibn al-Furāt, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā ʿIzz al-Dīn, vol. 7–9, Beirut 1936–42.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Dhayl al-durar al-kāminah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, Cairo 1992.

–, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wārith, 4 vols., Beirut 1997.

–, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 9 vols., Hyderabad 1967—76.

–, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1969—98.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-wafayāt al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz F. Ḥarfūsh, Beirut 2000.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75.

Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb Tathqīf al-taʿrīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, ed. Rudolf Veselý, Cairo 1987.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr, *Taʾrīkh ibn qāḍī shuhbah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, 4 vols., Damascus 1977–97.

Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, ʿAlī b. Dāwūd, *Inbāʾ al-haṣr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, Cairo 1970.

–, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-l-abdān fī tawārīkh al-zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1970–94.

Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik: Tableau politique et admin-*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*istratif de l'Égypte, de la Syrie et du Ḥidjâz, sous la domination des sultans mamloûks du XIII$^{e}$ au XV$^{e}$ siècle*, Paris 1894.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. W. Popper, Berkeley 1930–42.

–, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn, Beirut 1990.

–, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-l-mustawfī baʿda al-wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, 13 vols., Cairo 1984–2009.

–, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, 16 vols., Cairo 1929–72.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīdah fī tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut 2002.

–, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Quṭṭah al-ʿAdawī, 2 vols., Cairo 1853–54.

–, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 5 vols., London 2002–06.

–, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991.

–, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1939–1958; ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1970–1973.

al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vols. 1–18, Cairo 1923–55; eds. Muḥammad A. Ibrāhīm et al., vols. 19–33, Cairo 1975–2002.

al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, 14 vols., Cairo 1913–19.

al-Ṣafadī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, eds. ʿAlī Abū Zayd, Nabīl Abū ʿAmsha, Muhammad Mawʿid and Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, 6 vols., Beirut and Damascus 1998.

–, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. Helmut Ritter et al., 32 vols., Istanbul et al. 1931–2013.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols. (in 6 bindings), Beirut n.d.

–, *al-Dhayl al-tāmm ʿalā duwal al-islām li-l-dhahabī*, ed. Ḥasan Ismāʿīl Marwah and Maḥmūd Arnāʾūṭ, 3 vols., Kuwait and Beirut 1992–98.

–, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī, Cairo 1897.

al-Shujāʿī, Shams al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh al-malik al-nāṣir muḥammad b. qalāwūn al-ṣāliḥī wa-awlādihī*, ed. and trans. Barbara Schäfer, *Die Chronik as-Šuǧāʿīs*, Wiesbaden 1977.

al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niqam*, ed. David W. Myhrman, London 1908.

al-Yamanī, ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. ʿAbd al-Majīd, *Bahjat al-zaman fī tārīkh al-yaman*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh M. al-Ḥabashī and Muḥammad A. al-Sanabānī, Sanaa 1988.

al-Yūsufī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-malik al-nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Studies

Amitai, Reuven, "Diplomacy and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Oriente Moderno* 88/2 (2008), pp. 349–68.

–, "Between the Slave Trade and Diplomacy: Some Aspects of Early Mamluk Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 401–22.

Amitai, Reuven and Christoph Cluse (eds.), *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, Turnhout 2017.

al-ʿArīnī, al-Sayyid al-Bāz, *al-Mamālīk: al-Furūsīyah fī miṣr fī ʿaṣr salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, Beirut 1967.

Ayalon, David, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951.

–, "Names, Titles and Nisbas of the Mamluks," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 189–232.

Balard, Michel, "Slavery in the Latin Mediterranean (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries): The Case of Genoa," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 235–54.

Barker, Hannah, "Purchasing a Slave in Fourteenth-Century Cairo: Ibn al-Akfānī's *Book of Observation and Inspection in the Examination of Slaves*," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 19 (2016), pp. 1–23.

–, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500*, Philadelphia 2019.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. "*Muhandis, Shād, Muʿallim:* Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period," *Der Islam* 72/2 (1995), pp. 293–309.

–, "Mamluk Artistic Relations with Latin Europe," in: *La frontière méditerranéenne du XV^e^ au XVII^e^ siècle: Échanges, circulations et affrontements*, eds. Albrecht Fuess and Bernard Heyberger, Turnhout 2014, pp. 351–74.

–, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World,* revised paperback ed., London and New York 2016.

Cluse, Christoph, "The Role of the Slave Trade in the *De recuperanda* Treatises around 1300," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 437–69.

Fleet, Kate, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State*, Cambridge 1999.

Frenkel, Yehoshua, "Some Notes Concerning the Trade and Education of Slave-Soldiers during the Mamluk Era," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 187–212.

Holt, Peter M., "Literary Offerings: A Genre of Courtly Literature," in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, eds. Thomas Phillip and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge 1998, pp. 3–16.

Kedar, Benjamin Z., "Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo: Un mercante Genovese al servizio dei sultani mamalucchi, c. 1303–1332," in: *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII–XX: Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi*, eds. Bruno Dini, Vincenzo Giura and Dante E. Zanetti, Bologna 1977, pp. 75–91.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Lapidus, Ira M., *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1967.

Muhanna, Elias I., "The Sultan's New Clothes: Ottoman-Mamluk Gift Exchange in the Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010), pp. 189–207.

Muslu, Cihan Yüksel, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World*, London 2014.

Petry, Carl F., *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power*, Albany 1994.

Quirini-Popławska, Danuta, "The Venetian Involvement in the Black Sea Slave Trade (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 255–98.

Raymond, André and Gaston Wiet, *Les marche´s du Caire: Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Cairo 1979.

Sato, Tsugitaka, "Slave Traders and Kārimī Merchants during the Mamluk Period," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), pp. 141–55.

Stello, Annika, "Caffa and the Slave Trade during the First Half of the Fifteenth Century," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 375–98.

Yudkevich, Jenia, "The Nature and Role of the Slave Traders in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Third Reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (1310–41 CE)," in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse, Turnhout 2017, pp. 423–36.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Toru Miura

# Who and What led Urban Riots in the late Mamluk Period? Reconsidering the *zuʿr* and Popular Actions in Damascus

In the late Mamluk period, numerous urban riots and disturbances occurred in Cairo, Damascus and other cities. The participants demanded that the rulers (the sultan and provincial governors) dismiss unjust officials (*wālī*s, *muḥtasib*s, *qāḍī*s and their subordinates) and abolish heavy taxes, and sometimes their demands were met. The chronicles describe the reasons for the incidents and their results, but give little information about the participants other than general descriptions such as "common people" (*ʿāmmah*), "mobs" (*ghawghāʾ*) and "inhabitants" (*ahl*). We cannot know who led the riots. Did they occur spontaneously in the face of oppression by the rulers, without any leader or organisation? Did the participants have a common idea or goal concerning the riots? These questions have been key to urban society and politics, as Ira M. Lapidus discussed in his pioneering work in 1967.[1]

In the past decade, urban riots, violence and crime in the Mamluk period have drawn a great deal of scholarly attention, and articles and books by James Grehan, Carl F. Petry, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian and Amina Elbendary on the topic have been successively published.[2] Studies so far point out the post-fifteenth-century transformation of Mamluk society caused by economic and financial crises and the paired concept of just and unjust rule (*ʿadl* versus *ẓulm*) which led a wide range of urban people to riot against an unjust ruler in order to correct his action and policy. This concept was held in common among both the common people and the *ʿulamāʾ*. The latter took the role of negotiator between the ruler and the rioters, similar to the concept of the "moral economy" discerned in popular riots in early modern Europe. The above studies regard urban riots as a kind of balancer between the ruler and the subject, but not as causing any institutional change to the urban polity itself.

This paper re-examines the urban riots in Damascus at the end of the Mamluk period in terms of the reasons for them, their participants and their results. The

---

[1] Lapidus, 1984, 143–84.

[2] Grehan, 2003; Petry, 2012; Martel-Thoumian, 2012; Elbendary, 2018.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

main actors were indeed the outlaws called *zuʿr* in the larger quarters, but we have scant information from the narrative sources about who and what they were. Why did the common people participate in riots with the outlaws? How did they regard the outlaws? It is difficult to answer these questions because of insufficient information on the riots in the narrative sources, though there also exist detailed diaries by contemporary local *ʿulamāʾ* such as Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 952/1546) and Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509). I have already studied the relationship between the *zuʿr* and the common people in Damascus in my book, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus*,[3] but I would like to broaden the discussion by examining popular actions in the quarters in general at the end of the Mamluk period.

## 1. Popular Actions in Damascus at the End of the Mamluk Period

The chronicles provide a list of thirty-seven cases of large-scale actions in the quarters of Damascus at the end of the Mamluk period (see Appendix Table). These can be classified into three types; first, urban riots expressing people's claims against the policy of the military rulers, such as heavy taxation; second, violent clashes between the quarters (nine cases), often caused by the *zuʿr*; and third, parades (three cases) and banquets (five cases) to which the people of the quarters were mobilized to celebrate a military victory, welcome a new governor or make a truce (*ṣulḥ*) after a violent clash. Two features can be pointed out. The large-scale actions took place in the larger quarters in the suburbs outside the city wall, such as Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and Qubaybāt to the south and Mazābil and Ṣāliḥīyah to the north. The suburban quarters had taken self-defensive action from the late fourteenth century onwards, for they were often attacked during war, in contrast to the city quarters which were protected by a wall and the *mamlūk*s in the citadel. The *zuʿr* must have led these actions in the quarters, for they participated in more than a third of them (24 of a total of 65 cases).

How did the people state their claims? A moderate way was to present a petition to the ruler directly (three cases), as when on Shaʿbān 29, 904/April 11, 1499 the inhabitants of the Qubaybāt quarter complained to the governor on horseback that they could not pay for the camel which the governor had forcibly sold them. The governor ordered them to be lashed and dismissed the shaykh of the quarter (no. 22).[4] The second way was to plead to Allah for relief (four cases). On Jumādā II 11, 895/May 2, 1490, a pious man of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā quarter began to plead for relief from confiscation by a sultan's guard (*khāṣṣakī*) at the Umayyad mosque, and a shaykh called Faraj supported him. The next day a

---

[3] Miura, 2015, 136–73.

[4] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:213.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

crowd of people (shaykhs and *faqīr*s) gathered there raising a flag and reciting the words of *takbīr* (*Allāh akbar*) against the guard. The *mamlūk*s then attacked the people with arrows and arrested them. The following month a decree arrived from the Sultan to investigate and punish those participants from the Qubaybāt quarter (no. 7).[5]

The third way was to throw stones (*rajm*). On Jumādā II 1, 891/June 4, 1486, when the governor began collecting money to dispatch infantry on an expedition, the people threatened to throw stones in the street, accusing him of collecting the money for his personal use (no. 5). The governor then sent a messenger to calm them down.[6] The people threw stones at Arikmās the governor in Shawwāl 911/February–March 1506, which led to his dismissal by the Sultan.[7] Stoning was used as a tool of political demonstration, such as when common people (*ʿawāmm*) threw stones at the *muḥtasib* (market inspector) who collected heavy taxes at the time food prices rose on Dhū al-Hijjah 19, 892/December 6, 1487.[8] On Shaʿbān 7, 885/October 12, 1480, common people stoned the proclaimer who announced the official denomination of silver coins.[9] A Hanafi judge was also stoned by common people over a decision made on Ṣafar 8, 885/April 19, 1480.[10] In Cairo not only the people but also the *mamlūk*s expressed their complaints by stoning the amirs and the sultan.[11] Why did people throw stones during riots? Stoning refers to God's punishment in the Holy Quran: "If you stop not (this), I will indeed stone you" (19:46), "For us, we see an evil omen from you, if you cease not, we will surely stone you, and a painful torment will touch you from us" (36:18) and "We have made such lamps (shooting stars) missiles (*rujūm:* flying stones) to drive away the devils (67:5)." As is well known, under Islamic law men and women who have committed adultery should be stoned to death. The stone is regarded as a weapon signifying God's punishment. The *zuʿr* used stones as their weapon, as evidenced by the governor's prohibiting them from using the slingshots called *shāliqah*s as well as knives.[12] In medieval Japan, the common people threw stones (an action called *tsubute*) at unjust rulers as the gods' punishment.[13] The fourth way to riot was to take up arms against the governor. We know of six such cases (nos. 23, 29, 31–33, 36): three occurred when resisting the arrest of a member of

---

[5] Ibid., 1:124–25, 127; al-Buṣrawī, *Taʾrīkh*, 141.

[6] al-Buṣrawī, *Taʾrīkh*, 112–13; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām*, 72–73.

[7] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:88.

[8] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:83–84.

[9] Ibid., 1:24.

[10] Ibid., 1:11.

[11] On stoning the amirs, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5:427 (on Dhū al-Hijjah 3, 920/January 19, 1515); on the sultan, see ibid., 5:474 (on Shawwāl 28, 921/December 5, 1515).

[12] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 11:346 (in Cairo in Ramaḍān 15, 791/September 11, 1389).

[13] Amino, 1992.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the *zuʿr*, and three were against the governor's taxation. The *zuʿr* had an important role in all these cases.

The riots in Damascus were organised or mobilised by the large quarters, located particularly in its suburbs, in contrast to those in Cairo where popular riots were not described as being based in a particular quarter, other than those in the Ṣalībah and Ḥusaynīyah.[14] We will discuss the reason for the strong participation of *zuʿr* in riots and popular movements in the quarters after examining their activities.

## 2. The Activities of the *zuʿr* and their Character

At the end of the Mamluk period the word *zuʿr* designated a specific group of outlaws, using three variations of the root (*zuʿr*, *ahl al-zaʿārah*, *azʿār*). These activities are classified into four categories.[15] The first, violence such as murders and plundering, is the most frequent. *Zuʿr* intentionally killed *ʿarīf*s, *ballāṣī*s, and *naqīb*s who collected taxes.[16] If they had only committed illegal acts, however, they would soon have disappeared or lived on the edge of society. Their second role reveals their public function. They were conscripted as infantry by the governors and asked to participate in public processions such as the reception of a delegation. The third category is mass struggle, that is, combat among the *zuʿr* of different quarters and revolts against the rulers. It is noteworthy here that the *zuʿr* organised the whole quarter for combat. The fourth category, arrests and executions, represents the results produced by the activities in the other three categories. It is these three categories that describe the ambiguous character of the *zuʿr*.

The activities of the *zuʿr* were usually related to the quarters in terms of organisation and activity. The quarter became the unit of organisation of the *zuʿr* under their head (called by them shaykh or *kabīr*), especially in the major suburban quarters. The heads of the *zuʿr* in Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and Bāb al-Jābiyah were also simultaneously heads (shaykh) of the quarters,[17] so that the head of the *zuʿr* not only led the *zuʿr* in his quarter but also represented the quarter itself. The *zuʿr* in each quarter controlled the markets and shops from which they pocketed kickbacks to the extent that no one could do business without paying a kickback

---

[14] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:17 (in Muḥarram 907/January 1501); ibid., 5:141 (in Dhū al-Hijjah 922/ January 1517).

[15] See Miura, 2015, 156–58, Table 5-1 and Table 5-3.

[16] For an example of an attack on an *ʿarīf*, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 2:24; for *ballāṣī*, see ibid., 1:221; for *naqīb*, see ibid., 1:176.

[17] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:289, 332; idem, *Iʿlām*, 191.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

(*fāʾid*) to them. In exchange, they protected (*yaḥmī*) the shops from taxation by the governor.[18]

## 3. The Popular Revolt in 1501

We now come to a re-examination of the popular revolt in 907/1501, especially the relationship between the *zuʿr* and the quarter. The revolt began as the inhabitants of the Shāghūr and Maydān al-Ḥaṣā quarters gathered on Jumādā I 14, 907/November 25, 1501 to fight against the injustice of the governor. A victory of the people against the governor was achieved through an alliance between the *zuʿr* and the common people. Three questions arise about participation by the *zuʿr*. The first is whether the *zuʿr* participated in the revolt from its beginning or later rallied the people to their support. The report in the *Iʿlām* regarding the first clash says "the inhabitants (*ahl*) of the Shāghūr quarter clashed with the *jamāʿah* (faction) of the governor. Other *zuʿr* appeared there after hearing of the clash, and united against the *mamlūk* army". The *zuʿr* of the Shāghūr must have participated in the first clash and asked for help from other *zuʿr*.[19]

The second question is who the chiefs (*akābir*) of the people were who met with the delegation of the governor on Jumādā I 16 to talk about a peace agreement.[20] As the word *akābir* was often used to designate the leaders of the *zuʿr*,[21] it is possible to suppose the *akābir* here means the leaders of the *zuʿr*. In fact, the shaykhs of the quarters, along with the *ballāṣī*s and *naqīb*s,[22] were denounced in a decree by the sultan.

The course of events after the treaty of Jumādā I 16 gives us a key to understanding the role of the *zuʿr* in the revolt. On Jumādā II 4, the next month, the governor sent a messenger to the head of the *zuʿr* in the Shāghūr quarter. The

---

[18] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:316; idem, *Iʿlām*, 208.

[19] In 891/1486 the Shāghūr quarter resisted the new taxation to the extent that the *khāṣṣakī*s could not collect any taxes there (Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 1:306–07).

[20] For *akābirhum*, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:251; for *akābir al-ḥārāt*, see idem, *Iʿlām*, 154; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭanīyah MS 4533, fol. 380b.

[21] For *akābir*, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:283; idem, *Iʿlām*, 180; for *kabīr*, see idem, *Mufākahah*, 1:247, 259.

[22] In Dhū al-Hijjah 918/February–March 1513 a decree was issued to prohibit the activities of shaykhs of the quarters (*mashāʾikh al-ḥārāt*), bodyguards (*ruʾūs al-nuwab*), and *naqīb*s (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:374). *Ruʾūs al-nuwab* in general designates the office responsible for guarding the sultan, but the three cases in Damascus were all tax collectors (*ballāṣī*, see ibid., 1:70, 221; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, ed. al-Muhājir, 3:1509). The purpose of this decree was clearly to prohibit exploitation by these three officials. It is plausible to assume that the shaykhs of the quarters were actual rulers of the quarters, like the *zuʿr*, rather than communal representatives of the inhabitants. For the shaykhs of the quarter as a militant leader, see Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:214, 3:10 (in the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter).

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

governor promised not to demand blood money for those killed in the fight, not even from those responsible for it, and concluded a peace (*ṣulḥ*) with the *zuʿr*. The *zuʿr* of the Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, and Qubaybāt quarters then held a peace-making banquet for the governor.[23] Observing these complicated procedures, we see that the *zuʿr* fought against the governor, and therefore anticipated the imposition of blood money. True peace could not come without a solution to the problem of blood money. It is noteworthy that before the conclusion of the peace the governor was most worried that his *ballāṣī*s would not perform their task and the collection of taxes might stop.[24] As mentioned above, the people demanded transfer of the *ustādār* (mayordomo) and *ballāṣī*s who were responsible for tax-collection. The crucial issue was the governor's taxation of the quarters by his *jamāʿah*, and the *zuʿr*'s forcible resistance.

By this evidence we conclude that the *zuʿr* fought against the governor throughout the revolt in 907/1501 simply to prevent taxation in their quarters. They fought to defend their interests in the quarters, and not to aid the people. This explanation is consistent with the character of the *zuʿr*, who defended their own interests at all times; the alliance between the common people and the *zuʿr* was possible because abolition of the tax was a common interest and goal for both. The governors were eager to control the *zuʿr*, and conversely the *zuʿr* resisted the arrest of their leaders with all possible force (see Appendix Table, nos. 23, 31, 32). Thus, they competed and struggled with each other to gain control over the quarters. Whoever succeeded there would get the money, whether as a tax or as a protection fee (*ḥimāyah*).

## 4. Verifying the Conclusion from other Sources and Perspectives

The conclusion above is still a tentative assumption, and there remain some questions to be examined. One is how the common people saw the *zuʿr* and their activities, and another is who usually controlled the quarter, other than in times of disorder when the power of the government declined and the outlaws took control. How can we advance further study to answer these questions?

---

[23] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:251–52; idem, *Iʿlām*, 154–55; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭanīyah MS 4533, fol. 381b.

[24] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:252; idem, *Iʿlām*, 154.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 4.1. New Historical Sources

The first way is the possibility finding new historical sources. In fact there are some manuscripts written at the end of the Mamluk period that have not been fully used, such as the journal of Ibn Ṭawq, *al-Taʿlīq*, and an essay of Ibn al-Mibrad (d. 909/1503), called *al-Dhuʿr fī aḥwāl al-zuʿr.*[25] The first is a diary of a *shāhid* living in Damascus covering the period 885–908/1480–1502. Edited by Jaʿfar al-Muhājir, it has been published in four volumes by the French Institute in Damascus in 2000–07, though the final volume to cover the two years 907 and 908 AH has not yet been published, because of the difficulties editing the index and probably because of the miserable civil war in Syria. The original manuscript[26] was written by the author and is extremely difficult to read, even for Arab scholars. The second source is said to be a treatise on the activities of the *zuʿr*, but no scholar has read it, probably because of the bad handwriting.

### 4.2. Literature and Thought

The second way is to extend our concern to other sources such as literature and political thought. It is noteworthy that in the oral folk literature of the Mamluk period (such as *Sīrat al-ẓāhir baybars* and *Sīrat ʿalī zaybaq*) the outlaws referred to as *shuṭṭār* and *zuʿr* fought against the injustice of judges, *muḥtasib*s, and other officials, supporting just rulers, sultans and caliphs. The outlaws mended their illegal and violent ways when they met a just and clever king such as Baybars, and lived as men of chivalrous spirit, relieving the people from injustice.[27] Such stories are indeed fiction, but they might reflect the popular image of the outlaws: that they could help the oppressed common people by fighting against the injustice of the rulers. “A Tale of Sultan Baybars” remains very popular and was narrated at a café in Damascus every Friday night in the 1990s.[28] The ambiguous character of the outlaw may be compared with that of the *yakuza* in Japan and the *renxia* in China.[29]

---

[25] Ibn al-Mibrad, *Dhuʿr.*

[26] Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, Maktabat al-asad al-waṭanīyah MS 4533.

[27] Cf. Najjār, 1981.

[28] Anonymous, *Sīrah*, 1:8–9. Georges Bohas, Katia Zakharia and Iyās Muḥsin Ḥasan are editing and publishing the Arabic text of *Sīrat al-malik al-ẓāhir baybars* based on manuscripts narrated and collected in Damascus and other places.

[29] Cf. Sato, 1994. This volume contains four papers by Japanese scholars: “*ʿAyyārūn* in medieval Iran” by Kosuke Shimizu; “*ʿAyyārūn* in Baghdad” by Tsugitaka Sato; “Damascus where the outlaws survived” by Toru Miura; and “*Lūṭī* in modern Iran” by Makoto Hachioshi.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Such a positive image of the *zuʿr* and outlaws contradicts the negative descriptions in the chronicles written by the *ʿulamāʾ*. Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) described the *zuʿr* as criminals who brandished frightful daggers to support the ruler's confiscations, depicting most of them as short and fat (from the gains made through these confiscations).[30] He also criticized *zuʿr* banquets: "They rob the poor by force. They shall never be happy no matter how proud they are of their power and wealth."[31] Two men who wanted to gain the position of *ustādār* by hiring the *zuʿr* were criticised by Ibn Ṭūlūn, who stated that Allah would protect his servants and land from the *zuʿr*.[32] Both the *zuʿr* and their supporters were strongly criticized for relying on illegal power. Ibn Ṭawq employed a conventional phrase to ask for Allah's protection after describing the disturbance and injustice caused by the *zuʿr*.[33] This idea was common among the *ʿulamāʾ* in the Mamluk period. In Jumādā II 799/March 1397 the common people killed Ibn al-Nashū, an unjust broker who had bought up grain and who controlled city politics, and robbed his properties. Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. ca. 800/1397), a famous *ʿālim* criticized this act, saying that men of knowledge and belief were not satisfied over this incident, for killing was misconduct prohibited by Allah.[34] To his thinking, it is Allah who punishes the unjust and no one should do so by force.

But the common people realized the ambiguity and the compatibility between the opposite notions of justice (*ʿadl*) and injustice (*ẓulm*) as shown in popular literature. A satirical poem from the Mamluk period says that "Amir [Timur] did the people an injustice and praised the Lord saying *subḥāna Allah*; this was like a butcher who said the name of Allah as he slaughtered beasts."[35] Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349), a poet and historian living in Syria, composed a poem that said, "half of the people would oppose the ruler when he would do justice", which means that "justice" (a policy seeking justice) does what is right only for half of the people but deprives the rest.[36] The chronicles of the Mamluk period contain a great many satires. We should extend our scope to popular literature in order to

---

[30] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām*, 195. We find a description by Ibn Ṭawq in 901/1496 of the *zuʿr* going around the markets in the inner city with their swords drawn and demanding money from the merchants and others (Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, 3:1437).

[31] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:180.

[32] Ibid., 1:269.

[33] Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, 2:463, 669, 3:1166.

[34] Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Durrah*, 207–10. The thirty-three persons were summoned, being guilty of the murder, and sentenced to death (ibid., 225–26).

[35] al-Jamāl, 1966, 45.

[36] A poem titled *Lāmīyat ibn al-wardī*. The original text is: *inna niṣfa l-nāsi aʿdāʾun li-man wuliya l-aḥkāma hādhā in ʿadal/fa-huwa ka-l-maḥbūsi ʿan ladhdhātihī wa-kilā kaffayhi fī l-ḥashri tughal.* I gratefully acknowledge the advice of Zuhayr Ẓāẓa, poet and librarian of the National Library of Abu Dhabi concerning its text and interpretation.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

gain a better insight into how the common people thought about the politics of the *mamlūk*s and the *ʿulamāʾ*.

### 4.3. Analogue Study

The third way is an analogue study, using material from different periods but for the same region. We know that outlaws similar to the *zuʿr* of the Mamluk period existed throughout Islamic history. They are known by different names in different sources. *ʿAyyārūn* appeared as early as the ninth and tenth centuries in Iraq, especially in Baghdad, when the ʿAbbasids began to decline and conferred rule to the Buwayhids and the Seljukids.[37] *Aḥdāth* ("young men") intensified their power in Syrian cities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when both the Fatimids and the Seljukids became weaker.[38] In the Ottoman period they were called *zorab*, *zakartī* and *qabaḍāʾ*.[39] They became more active at times when the ruling dynasty became so weak that it could not provide the people with security and began to oppress them through extraordinary taxes and exploitation.

In the early twentieth century, we have a detailed description by contemporary narrators of the outlaws in the quarters of Damascus. Aḥmad Ḥilmī al-ʿAllāf (d. 1959) states that the socio-political organisation of the quarter was composed of the *mukhtār* (headman, or *agha*) and *wujūh* (boss, originally "face"). He tells us that when the government could not exert its authority to provide security, a council (*majlis*) of the *mukhtār*, *wujūh*, *aʿyān* and *ʿulamāʾ* was organised to protect the rights of the inhabitants and to reconcile disputing parties. Whereas the government demanded tax, conscription, and judicial matters from the inhabitants by way of the *mukhtār*, the members of the *majlis* protected individuals of the quarter and their rights against injustice and trouble from the government and other quarters. Armed strongmen (*aqwiyāʾ*) supported the functioning of the *majlis* which represented the quarter like a mini-government.[40]

Who were *mukhtār*, *wujūh* and strongmen? As far as we can understand, the former two were different from religious leaders like the *ʿulamāʾ* (even though the *ʿulamāʾ* joined the *majlis*) and were rather secular notables like merchants.

---

[37] They were also called *futūwah*, meaning "young men," cf. Cahen, 1958; idem, 1959; Sabari, 1981; Tor, 2007.

[38] For *aḥdāth*, see Ashtor, 1956; Havemann, 1975.

[39] The *zorab* often fought against the governors of Damascus under their leaders and were called "evil men" (*ashqiyāʾ*), see al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāq, *Ḥawādith*, 18, 62, 85, 119, 127, 129, 196, 209. The origin of *zakartī* is the Turkish word *züğürt*, meaning "the poor", while *qabaḍāy* originates from the Turkish words *kobat* or *kavvad* meaning "rude" or "vulgar", cf. *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizçe Sözlük*, 571–72, 1291.

[40] al-ʿAllāf, *Dimashq*, 41–43. Cf. Ḥasan, *Ḥadīth*, 94.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Strongmen would be *zakartī* or *qabaḍāy*, who were described by al-ʿAllāf as defending the quarter armed with a club and a dagger. He said that some of the *zakartī* were so brave that they caught the attention of the public, even outside Damascus, and had the power and authority to deal with every kind of matter in the quarter. This suggests that their leaders might have been the quarter's *mukhtār* and *wujūh*, similar to the shaykh of the *zuʿr* at the end of the Mamluk period.[41]

It is noteworthy that the *zakartī* had two faces: one, men of honour and chivalry who disdained evil actions and protected the common people from injustice, and the other, evil men of showy appearance who indulged in drinking and gambling and who collected protection money from inhabitants.[42]

The power of the outlaws was double-edged. They would do anything to make a profit, even if it was illegal or criminal, and were sometimes employed by the ruler for money. This was a reflection of their evil character. On the other hand, they strengthened their own power in the quarters by protecting inhabitants from the injustice of rulers, soldiers, officials and other authorities. This chivalrous face was needed to gain support from the common people, especially loyalty from subordinates. Because they had this double-edged power, the ruler could not subdue them completely nor drive them from the power structure.

### 4.4. Ambiguous Notion of Justice and Injustice

The military governor used to collect taxes from the inhabitants as a "just" ruler to protect them from injustice. However, when the taxes were illegal and unjust, the outlaws appeared to protect the inhabitants from them, criticising the governor's unjust claim and taking up arms against him. When they defeated the governor, they could collect a protection fee from the inhabitants instead of taxes. Both the governor and the outlaws competed with each other to collect money from the inhabitants, either called tax or protection fee, in exchange for protection. The inhabitants paid money to whoever could protect their life and wealth, either the governor or the illegal outlaws. The side that won this game would be commended as just rulers, the side that lost was blamed for being unjust, as shown in the diagram below.

This ambiguous relation between the ruler and the outlaws corresponds to that of the paired notion of justice and injustice. Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483), an *ʿālim*, quoted the following saying in a discussion about injustice, "The people cannot realize (the notion) of justice if there is no injustice". He quoted

---

[41] Philipp Khoury portrays a *zakartī* family based on interviews in the 1970. See Khoury, 1984.

[42] al-ʿAllāf, *Dimashq*, 244–67; Ḥasan, *Ḥadīth*, 105–07.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

another saying, “The people came to know the perfect character and justice of Allah through the injustice and oppression of rulers”.[43] These maxims did not deny the unjust acts of rulers; instead they regarded them positively as a way to know the justice of Allah, and so al-Qudsī confirmed the rule of the *mamlūk*s as protectors, in spite of existing injustices. Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), a Shafiʿi chief qadi of Damascus, wrote in the chapter on *ʿulamāʾ* in his work that even if Allah gives a trial to stupid people by appointing ignorant or unbelieving persons as *qāḍī* and to other offices of religion, it could be justice. According to his way of thinking, the value of knowledge itself is not denied if ignorant persons act unjustly, but rather it makes the people recognise its value anew, which is justice given by Allah.[44] There is no absolute justice in the world except that of Allah. Any conduct and any person is judged in the context of society, in which both illegal justice and legal injustice coexist. As the notions of *ʿadl* and *ẓulm* are compatible depending on social relations, anyone (*mamlūk*s, *ʿulamāʾ*,[45] the common people or the outlaws) took multiple roles, changing their relationships. We may call this the dynamism of a society.[46]

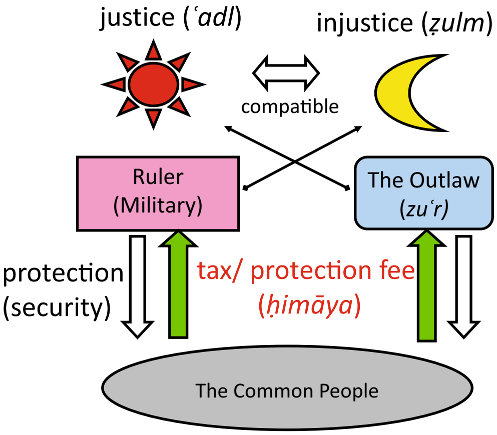


Fig. 1: Paired notions of justice (*ʿadl*) and injustice (*ẓulm*)

---

[43] Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, *Duwal*, eds. Labīb and Haarmann, 113; idem, *Duwal*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1033 *taʾrīkh*, fol. 88. Cf. Haarmann, 1988.

[44] al-Subkī, *Muʿīd*, 105.

[45] We know of double-edged figures from among the *ʿulamāʾ* who gained power at the end of the Mamluk period in both lawful and unjust ways, such as Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Furfur (chief *qāḍī* of Damascus, d. 911/1505), Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Zurayq (superintendent of the Umarīyah madrasah, d. 900/1495) and Ibn al-Muḥawjib (local leader of Damascus, d. 912/1506). See Miura, 2015, 101, 138–41, 165; idem, 2017.

[46] Miura, 2015, 296–97; Luz, 2014, 228–30.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Table 1: Popular Actions in Damascus at the End of the Mamluk Period

| | Date (AH) | Date (CE) | Action | Pattern | Actor | Quarters | | | | | | | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | **Qubaybāt** | **Maydān al-Ḥaṣā** | **Muṣallā** | **Shāghūr** | **Mazābil** | **Ṣāliḥīyah** | **Others** | |
| 1 | 885/9/3 | 1480/11/6 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Ah | ○ | ○ | | | | | | M 1:27 |
| 2 | 890/6/15–7/6 | 1485/6/29–7/19 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Ah | ○ | ○ | | ○ | | | | IH 1:300 |
| 3 | 890/6 | 1485/6–7 | conflict inside the quarter | quarter clash | Ah | ○ | | | | | | | Bu 104 |
| 4 | 890/8/3 | 1485/8/15 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Ah | | ○ | | ○ | | | | T 1:503–04 |
| 5 | 891/6/1–8 | 1486/6/4–11 | protest against taxation | *takbīr* pledge | Ah | | ○ | | | | | | Bu 112–13, I 72–73 |
| 6 | 893/6/19 | 1488/5/31 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Z | | | | ◎ | ◎ | | | M 1:92 |
| 7 | 895/6/11–12 | 1490/5/2–3 | protest against confiscation | *takbīr* pledge | Ah, Am, Sh, F | ○ | ○ | | | | | | M 1:124, Bu 104 |
| 8 | 896/2/22–3/8 | 1491/1/4–19 | dismissal of the Ṣāliḥīyah *wālī* | *takbīr* pledge | Ah, *faqih* , F | | | | | | ○ | | T 2:1003, 1007 |
| 9 | 896/8/23 | 1491/7/1 | pledge against the Ṣāliḥīyah *wālī* | pledge | Ah | | | | | | ○ | | T 2:1041 |
| 10 | 898/3/13 | 1493/1/2 | stoning *mamlūk* s of the Great Ḥājib | stoning | Ah | | | | | | ○ | | T 3:1166 |
| 11 | 899/6/13 | 1494/3/21 | banquet for the dismissal of an unjust officer | banquet | Ah | | | | | | ○ | | M 1:160 |
| 12 | 899/9/4 | 1494/6/8 | attacking the prison to rescue a shaykh | attack | Ah | | | | | | ○ | Qābūn | M 1:158 |
| 13 | 901/11/25 | 1496/8/5 | petition against taxation | petition | Ah | | | | | | ○ | | Bu 179 |
| 14 | 901/11 | 1496/7–8 | protest against taxation | protest | Ah | ○ | | | | | | | Bu 180 |
| 15 | 902/11/19 | 1497/7/19 | murder of a Ṣāliḥiyya *wālī* | murder | Ah | | | | | | ○ | | Bu 224 |
| 16 | 902/11/26–28 | 1497/7/26–28 | quarter clash | quarter clash | J, Ah, G | | ○ | | ○ | | | | M 1:179, T 3:1507 |
| 17 | 902/12/7 | 1497/8/6 | *ṣulḥ* (peace-making) banquet | banquet | Z, C | | ◎ | | ◎ | ◎ | | | M 1:180.T 3:1513 |
| 18 | 903/1/1 | 1497/8/30 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Z, Ah | ◎ | ○ | | | | | | M 1:182 |
| 19 | 903/1/12 | 1497/9/10 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Z, Ah | | ◎ | | ○ | | | | M 1:183, T 4:1535 |
| 20 | 903/2/26 | 1497/10/24 | civil war | civil war | Ah, Am, Z, G | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | | ○ | | M 1:197–91 |
| 21 | 903/11/20–21 | 1498/7/10–11 | murder of a Ṣāliḥīyah *wālī* | murder | Ah, *Kibār* , Z | | | | | | ◎ | | T 4:1632 |
| 22 | 904/8/29 | 1499/4/11 | petition against taxation | petition | J | ○ | | | | | | | M 1:213 |
| 23 | 904/11/23 | 1499/7/2 | opposition against the arrest of the *zuʿr* | revolt | Z | | | | ◎ | | | | M 1:219 |
| 24 | 905/2/11 | 1499/9/17 | parade for the governor | parade | Ah | | | | ◎ | | | | M 1:224 |
| 25 | 905/6/6 | 1500/1/8 | opposition against taxation | *takbīr* pledge | Ah | | | | | | | Masjid al-Qaṣab | M 1:227, I 103 |
| 26 | 905/5/14 | 1499/12/17 | weavers' petition against the Ṣāliḥīyah *wālī* | petition | Ah | | | | | | | | T 4:1774 |
| 27 | 906/8/11 | 1501/3/2 | parade and quarter clash | parade | Z, Ah | | ○ | | ◎ | | | | M 1:232 |
| 28 | 907/3/1 | 1501/9/14 | quarter clash | quarter clash | Z, Ah | | ○ | | | | ◎ | | M 1:247, I 150 |
| 29 | 907/5/14–16 | 1501/11/25–27 | revolt against governor's taxation | revolt | Ah, Z, Am | ○ | ○ | | ○ | | | | M 1:25, I 152 IH 2:140–41 |
| 30 | 907/6/17 | 1501/12/28 | peace-making banquet with the governor | banquet | Z, Ah | ◎ | ◎ | ◎ | ◎ | | ○ | | M 1:252, I 155 |
| 31 | 907/12/23 | 1502/6/29 | opposition against the arrest of the *zuʿr* | revolt | Z, | | ◎ | ◎ | | | | | M 1:258, I 160 |
| 32 | 908/1/26 | 1502/8/1 | opposition against the arrest of the *zuʿr* | revolt | Z, G | | | ◎ | ◎ | | | Qarāwinah | M 1:260, I 160 |
| 33 | 910/3/11 | 1504/8/22 | oppsition against taxation | revolt | Ah, Am, Z, N | | ◎ | | | | | | M 1:279 |
| 34 | 910/6/10 | 1504/11/18 | parade of the infantry | parade | Z, G | ◎ | ◎ | | | | | | M 1:283, I 181 |
| 35 | 910/6/13 | 1504/11/21 | pillage and banquet | banquet | Z | | | | ◎ | | | | M 1:283, I 181 |
| 36 | 911/12/8 | 1506/5/2 | opposition against taxation | revolt | J | ○ | | | | | | | M 1:299 |
| 37 | 922/8/20 | 1516/9/18 | banquet for the new Ottoman governor | banquet | Ah | | ○ | | | | | | M 2:26 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Total** |
| | Total | | | | | 12 | 18 | 4 | 14 | 2 | 13 | 2 | 65 |
| | Participation of the *zuʿr , marked by* ◎ | | | | | 3 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 24 |

Abbreviations: Actors Ah=ahl, Am=ʿāmma, ʿawāmm, F=faqīr, G=ghawghāʾ, J=jamāʿa, N=nās, Z=zuʿr
Source B=al-Buṣrawī, I=*Iʿlām,* IH=Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, M= Mufākahat, T=Ibn Ṭawq

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 5. A Comparative Way: An Agenda

The fourth way is comparative, using materials from different regions and even different periods. Patrick Lantschner, a European historian of medieval Italy, published a comparative study of cities in Italy (focusing on Bologna) and the Middle East (focusing on Damascus) using the framework of "fragmented cities," discussing the revolt in 1501 and quoting my papers. He pointed out the similarity between Italian and Middle Eastern cities in the Late Middle Ages: their multiple political organisations, such as neighbourhoods in Damascus or family ties and other corporations (guilds) in Bologna, and their resistance to tyranny. He stresses the "high level of political volatility" to create a "fluctuating coalition of political actors" and behind it "a rationale to the forms of political order which crystallised around cities" in the Mediterranean region, in contrast to cities as "unitary players of state-building" in northwestern Europe.[47] According to his statement, we might regard the ad hoc networking of urban politics, represented by the *zuʿr* and other outlaws, not as being irregular or anarchic and chaotic, but rather as regular and stable in order to maintain right and justice (or half right or half justice) of the common people not only in the Mamluk cities but also in the Middle East.

In his second work, Lantschner develops his comparative study to discuss the "rationale" to legitimate the revolt against an unjust ruler in medieval Bologna and Damascus.[48] He regards the notion of justice in Islam, which can cause and legitimate urban popular revolts, similar to the religious and legal ideas of justice in Italy.[49] However, the paired notion of *ʿadl* and *ẓulm* in Islamic society is ambiguous and double-edged, justifying both a just ruler and an illegal ruler, as we saw above. Therefore, formal and institutional polity can be neither shaped by nor required by the ruler, as well as by the common people.

The Mamluk period has been portrayed as a period of alternating justice and injustice. However, this is not unusual in terms of world history. In medieval Japan, warrior clans and religious powers competed in creating various networks with the court of the sovereign (*tennō*), the common people (merchants and artisans), and the outlaws. The same happened during more prosperous periods under strong and centralized states in the Middle East and Japan in the Early Modern: under the Ottoman Empire and the Tokugawa Shogunate. Reports about activities of the *zuʿr* and urban riots decreased in Damascus in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Does this mean that they disappeared and

---

[47] Lantschner, 2015, quotations from 581–82.

[48] Lantschner, 2017.

[49] Elbendary, 2018 also discusses popular revolts from comparative perspectives in her recent paper, "Popular Politics".

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the government was able to administer the cities in Damascus province through its formal institutions? My tentative answer is that there was a continuity of urban factions, including the outlaws, under Ottoman institutionalization in Syria.[50] We should extend our scope to other regions and periods and examine this questions from a comparative viewpoint, in order to analyse the complex order of Mamluk societies at a deeper level, as well as their historical features in terms of world history.

## Bibliography

### Sources

Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalīl, *Duwal al-islām al-sharīfah al-bahīyah wa-dhikr mā ẓahara lī min ḥikam Allāh al-khafīyah fī jalb ṭāʾifat al-atrāk ilā al-diyār al-miṣrīyah*, eds. Ṣubḥī Labīb and Ulrich Haarmann, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsīs Traktat über die Segnungen, die die Türken dem Lande Ägypten gebracht haben*, Beirut and Berlin 1997.

–, *Duwal al-islām al-sharīfah al-bahīyah wa-dhikr mā ẓahara lī min ḥikam Allāh al-khafīyah fī jalb ṭāʾifat al-atrāk ilā al-diyār al-miṣrīyah*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1033 *taʾrīkh* (Microfilm 12011).

al-ʿAllāf, Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Dimashq fi maṭlaʿ al-qarn al-ʿishrīn*, Damascus 1976.

Anonymous, *Sīrat al-malik al-ẓāhir baybarṣ: ḥasb al-riwāyah al-shāmīyah*, eds. Georges Bohas, Katia Zakharia and Iyās Muḥsin Ḥasan, 16 vols., Damascus 2000–2018.

al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāq, Aḥmad, *Ḥawādith dimashq al-yawmīyah 1154–1175/1741–1762*, ed. Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, Cairo 1959.

al-Buṣrawī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, *Taʾrīkh al-Buṣrawī*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī, Damascus 1988.

Ḥasan, Najāt Qaṣṣāb, *Ḥadīth dimashqī, 1884–1983*, Damascus 1988.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-wafayāt al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, 3 vols., Beirut 1999.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75.

Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *al-Dhuʿr fī aḥwāl al-zuʿr*, Maktabat al-asad al-waṭanīyah MS 3243.

Ibn Ṣaṣrā, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Durrah al-muḍīʾah fī al-dawlah al-ẓāhirīyah*, ed. and trans. William M. Brinner, *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389–1397*, 2 vols., Berkeley 1963.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, 16 vols., Cairo 1963–72.

---

[50] On the factions in politics in Ottoman Syria, see Rafeq, 1966; Douwes, 2000. For the concept of justice in the Middle East, see Darling, 2013.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ibn Ṭawq, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt shihāb al-dīn aḥmad b. ṭawq*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir, 4 vols., Damascus 2000–2007.

–, *al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt shihāb al-dīn aḥmad b. ṭawq*, Maktabat al-asad al-waṭanīyah MS 4533.

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Iʿlām al-warā bi-man wulliya nāʾiban min al-atrāk bi-dimashq al-shām al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad A. Dahmān, 2nd ed., Damascus 1984.

–, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Beirut 1998.

al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niqam*, ed. David W. Myhrman, London 1908.

## Studies

Amino, Yoshihiko, "Inji" [Stoning], in: *Nihonshi Dai Jiten* [Encyclopedia of Japanese History], vol. 1, Tokyo 1992, pp. 651.

Ashtor, Eliyahu, "L'administration urbaine en Syrie médiévale," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 31/1–3 (1956), pp. 73–128.

Cahen, Claude, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge, I," *Arabica* 5/3 (1958), pp. 225–50.

–, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge, II," *Arabica* 6/1 (1959), pp. 25–56.

Darling, Linda T., *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, London 2013.

Douwes, Dick, *The Ottomans in Syria: A History of Justice and Oppression*, London 2000.

Elbendary, Amina, "Popular Politics in the Medieval Middle East," *History Compass* 16 (2018), https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/hic3.12493 [accessed 08/01/2020].

Grehan, James, "Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35/2 (2003), pp. 215–36.

Haarmann, Ulrich, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs: Changing ʿUlamāʾ Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the late Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988), pp. 61–77.

Havemann, Axel, *Riʾāsa und Qaḍāʾ: Institutionen als Ausdruck wechselnder Kräfteverhältnisse in syrischen Städten vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1975.

al-Jamāl, Aḥmad al-Ṣādiq, *al-Adab al-ʿāmmī fī miṣr fī al-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī*, Cairo 1966.

Khoury, Philip S., "Syrian Urban Politics in Transition: The Quarters of Damascus during the French Mandate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16/4 (1984), pp. 507–40.

Lantschner, Patrick, "Fragmented Cities in the Later Middle Ages: Italy and the Near East Compared," *The English Historical Review* 130/544 (2015), pp. 546–82.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

–, “Invoking and Construction Legitimacy: Rebels in the Late Medieval European and Islamic Worlds,” in: *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, eds. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers, London and New York 2017, pp. 168–88.

Lapidus, Ira M., *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Student ed., Cambridge 1984.

Luz, Nimrod, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture, and the Urban Landscape*, Cambridge 2014.

Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette, *Délinquance et ordre social: L’État mamlouk syro-égyptien face au crime à la fin du IX*$^{e}$*–XV*$^{e}$ *siècle*, Paris 2012.

Miura, Toru, *Dynamism of the Urban Society of Damascus: The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Leiden 2015.

–, “Transition of the ʿUlamaʾ Families in Sixteenth Century Damascus,” in: *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, Bonn 2017, pp. 207–20.

Najjār, Muḥammad Rajab, *Ḥikāyat al-shuṭṭār wa-l-ʿayyārīn*, Kuwait 1981.

Petry, Carl, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society: Narratives from Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks*, Chicago 2012.

Rafeq, Abdul-Karim, *The Province of Damascus 1723–1783*, Beirut 1966.

Sabari, Simha, *Mouvements populaires à Bagdad à l’époqueʿabbasside, IX*$^{e}$*–XI*$^{e}$ *siècle*, Paris 1981.

Sato, Tsugitaka (ed.), *Isuramushakai no yakuza* [Outlaws in Islamic Society], Tokyo 1994.

Tor, D. G., *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the ʿAyyār Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World*, Würzburg 2007.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Mohammad Gharaibeh

# Intertextuality between History and Hadith Studies: The *Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* in the Center of al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) work

The writings of Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī are probably among the most-cited works within Mamluk Studies. His voluminous *Tārīkh al-islām*, his *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* or his *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar* are only a few titles of his that serve as valuable sources for many scholars in different fields. Surprisingly, only a few studies dedicated to this major figure of Mamluk history by Western scholars exist.[1] And while his writings are the foundation of many studies, they rarely are themselves subjects of research. The work that has attracted most attention from scholars is the *Tārīkh al-islām*.[2] It covers the first seven centuries of Islamic history and is sometimes called his most popular work. Al-Dhahabī himself seems to have used the vast amount of material and information contained in the *Tārīkh* to compile seven other abridged histories and biographical dictionaries. Those are al-Dhahabī's *k. Duwal al-islām*, *al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*, *k. al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, *al-Tārīkh al-awsaṭ*, *Ṭabāqāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ* and *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*.[3]

Among the few studies that address al-Dhahabī's writings, we must mention the work of Joseph de Somogyi, who studied al-Dhahabī's historiographical contributions. In four articles, all published in the early twentieth century, he studied the *Tārīkh* and the *Duwal al-islām* in greater detail, describing al-Dhahabī's style in compiling the historical events and the biographies, as well as the sources he used. In larger detail, de Somogyi focuses on the destruction of Baghdad and Damascus by the Mongols.[4] The very recent study of Maxime

---

[1] Among them the (very short) encyclopedic entries written by Mohamad Ben Cheneb and Joseph de Somogyi, "al-Dhahabī," EI$^2$, 2:214–16; al-Qāḍī, 1998, and Amitai-Preiss, 1998.

[2] Many who have written about Muslim historiography mention al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām* and explain its structure, but often do not go much further than that. See e. g. Rosenthal, 1952, where he mentions al-Dhahabī frequently to compare him to others but only makes lengthier statements about the *Tārīkh* at the following pages: 75, 128–30, 277–80, 316–21. See also Robinson, 2007.

[3] See de Somogyi, 1932b, 839. De Somogyi also gives a summary of the historical events contained in the *Tārīkh* for the years 301–700.

[4] See de Somogyi, 1932a; idem, 1932b; idem, 1936; and idem, 1948.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Romanov used al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh* as its backbone. In his dissertation, *Computational Reading of Arabic Biographical Collections with Special Reference to Preaching in the Sunnī World (661–1300 CE)*, Romanov demonstrates impressively how valuable the work of al-Dhahabī and other historians can be, if their data is analyzed computationally in a quantitative study.[5] Interestingly, there are hardly any studies that address al-Dhahabī's efforts and contribution to Hadith studies. Taking into consideration that he was primarily known among his contemporaries as a Hadith scholar and then a historian, this fact is striking.

Studies by Arabic authors on al-Dhahabī's contribution both to the field of historiography and Hadith, in contrast, are numerous. The most detailed and comprehensive work on his historiographical work is Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf's *al-Dhahabī wa-manhaǧuhū fī kitābihī tārīkh al-islām.*[6] Although rather descriptive in nature, Maʿrūf's study offers an impressive amount of information about al-Dhahabī, both his personal and professional life. And despite the focus on his historiographical work, the study also contains much information about al-Dhahabī's efforts in the Hadith sciences, so that it served as a valuable source for the present study as well. Another Arabic study worth mentioning is *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-dhahabī: Muʾarrikh al-islām, nāqid al-muḥaddithīn*, by ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Shaykh.[7] However, since both studies draw on the same sources and follow the same methodological style in research, there is a great overlap in information.

The present study cannot fill the research gap on this important figure. However, it aims for a better understanding of al-Dhahabī's writings, both on Hadith and history, by pointing out intertextualities between his works in both fields. For this, after some general information about Hadith studies in the Mamluk period, al-Dhahabī and his Hadith related work, the *Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* will be discussed in greater detail. This relatively short treatise on Hadith science (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*) has been largely neglected even by Arabic scholars. Most probably because of the conviction that it constitutes an abridgment either of Taqī al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalaḥ al-Shahrazūrī's (d. 643/1245) *Maʿrifat ʿilm anwāʿ al-ḥadīth*, also known as *Muqaddimat ibn al-ṣalāḥ*, or of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's (d. 702/1303) *Iqtirāḥ fī ʿilm al-iṣṭilāḥ*, and because of the belief that abridgments, as well as commentarial literature in general, do not offer much innovative material. The present paper, in contrast, argues that the *Mūqiẓah* appears to be an independent treatise that might have drawn on previous works, but more likely originated from al-Dhahabī's large expertise in Hadith studies, and that must be seen in the context of his other writings. For this, in a first step, the *Mūqiẓah* will be compared with the

---

[5] See Romanov, 2013.

[6] Maʿrūf, 1976.

[7] al-Shaykh, 1994.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

treatises of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd to demonstrate its independence. In a second step, three selected examples shall demonstrate the intertextuality between the *Mūqiẓah* and al-Dhahabī's other writings. At the end, some concluding remarks shall point to the possible audience and function of the *Mūqiẓah.*

## 1. Al-Dhahabī and his efforts in the field of Hadith studies

The stance of al-Dhahabī amongst his contemporaries with regard to his efforts in the field of Hadith, both its transmission and its study, is probably displayed best with a quotation by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, who was a student of al-Dhahabī's as well as one of his loudest and most famous critics. Al-Subkī[8] stated that "our time witnessed only four major Hadith scholars (*ḥuffāẓ*); al-Mizzī, al-Birzālī, al-Dhahabī and my father [al-Taqī al-Subkī]."[9] And in the biography of al-Mizzī, al-Subkī even narrowed the individuals down to only three scholars, naming them in the order of their importance and authority as al-Mizzī, al-Dhahabī and his father al-Taqī al-Subkī.[10] To better understand the efforts and accomplishments of al-Dhahabī and therefore his stance within the context of Hadith studies in his time, it is necessary to draw a larger picture of the Hadith movement, its study, transmission, and culture during the Mamluk period. This also makes it necessary to give a brief overview about post-canonical Hadith studies, since the Hadith movement in the Mamluk period is highly influenced by it.

### 1.1. Post-canonical Hadith studies and transmission of Hadith in the Mamluk period

As Garrett Davidson has convincingly shown in his dissertation, the study, transmission and even the veneration of Hadith significantly changed with the establishment of the so-called Hadith canon.[11] As argued by Jonathan Brown, the long process of "canonization" was not a decision taken by a committee or a body of authoritative individuals—as was the establishment of the canon of Holy Scripture in Christianity—that would determine a number of collections and compilations to represent an authentic body of the Prophetic tradition. Rather,

---

[8] Rosenthal, 1952, 300, 303–06.

[9] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9:100, "*ishtamala ʿaṣrunā ʿalā arbaʿatin min-a l-ḥuffāẓi baynahum ʿumūmun wa-khuṣūṣun-i l-mizzīyu wa-l-birzālīyu wa-l-dhahabīyu wa-l-shaykhu l-imāmu l-wālidu lā khāmisa li-hāʾulāʾi fī ʿaṣrihim.*"

[10] al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10:396, "*wa-lākin aqūlu mā raʾaytu aḥfaẓa min thalāthatin-i l-mizzīyi wa-l-dhahabīyi wa-l-wālidi.*"

[11] For a description of the post-canonical Hadith culture, see Davidson, 2014.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the claim of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and then Muslim (d. 261/875) to have compiled a collection of only authentic Hadiths caused a series of (critical) reactions to both compilations, the *Ṣaḥīḥayn.* In an enterprise by mostly Shafiʿi scholars that took place during the long fourth/tenth century,[12] scholars discussed, negotiated, reaffirmed, and imitated predominantly the two *ṣaḥīḥ*-collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. This discourse mainly took place through the medium of mainly three emerging genres that were dedicated mostly to the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim but later took also other works into consideration, i. e. the *mustakhraj* as well as the *ʿilal* and *ilzāmāt* genres.[13]

The *mustakhraj*-works can be understood as an imitation of a template collection—often one of the two *ṣaḥīḥ*-works, but eventually also other collections. The author of a *mustrakhraj* would narrate the Hadiths contained in the template collection through his own chain of transmission (*isnād*) reaching back to the Prophet. The *mustakhraj*-collections were produced from about 280/880 to 480/1085 in the Nile-Oxus region[14] and had two main effects on later Hadith studies: first, the *mustakhraj*-collections offered many alternative *isnād*s for the narrations of the *ṣaḥīḥayn*—later other collections such as the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, the *Jāmiʿ* of al-Tirmidhī and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Ibn Khuzaymah, too[15]—so that later generations could draw on a much larger variety of chains. Second, the high number of alternative *isnād*s led scholars to conclude that the Hadith material contained in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim is generally sound.[16]

The *ʿilal*- and *ilzāmāt*-genres, on the other hand, were interactions with the criteria of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The *ʿilal*-works challenged the claim of authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* by trying to find hidden flaws in the narrations contained in both works and comparing their criteria to their own standards. The *ilzamāt*-works, also known as *mustadrak*, were collections of Hadiths that scholars had collected according to the standards of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn.* So, instead of listing all Hadiths contained in the template collection, i. e. one of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, with a personal chain, scholars searched for additional narrations that met the

---

[12] According to Brown this describes the last quarter of the third/ninth century to the first half of the fifth/eleventh century. See Brown, 2007, 102.

[13] See ibid., 99–153.

[14] Ibid., 104–14.

[15] See also Brown, 2009, 52.

[16] Notice that this conviction relates mostly to the narrations themselves and not necessarily to the entire collections as such. Although many scholars perceived the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* as the soundest collections, there were still scholars who claimed single *isnād*s or narrators in both works to be corrupted and weak. Also, this doesn't necessarily mean that all Hadiths in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* were used in legal reasoning, since there were a number of reasons why a Hadith could be excluded from being relied on (e. g. being abrogated (*mansūkh*), being unclear in its meaning (*gharīb*), being contradictory to other Hadiths (*shādhdh*), or being general in meaning (*ʿāmm*), to name a few reasons).

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

same standards. One of the best-known works is the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 405/1014).[17] The *ʿilal* and *ilzamāt*/*mustadrak* works had a similarly significant impact on Hadith scholarship as the *mustakhraj* works. Through the efforts to put together such a collection, first, the standards of al-Bukhārī and Muslim experienced a wider circulation, discussion and eventually acceptance. Second, these works provided additional narrations and alternative chains of transmission that supported the authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*.

Although many of these works were produced in the Nile-Oxus region, by the seventh/thirteenth century they reached Ayyubid and Mamluk territories, where they were eagerly discussed as well. One of the most interesting and important developments that resulted from the canonization process was that people began to cite Hadiths in legal discussions from acknowledged collections, instead of using their own personal narrations.[18] This development, however, did not lead to a loss of significance of the *isnād* in general. Rather, the *isnād* became a means of achieving spiritual proximity to the Prophet. Many genres and collections emerged from this change in function, the focus of which mostly lay on the *isnād* and its variations. Forty-Hadith collections (*arbaʿūnāt*), collections with absolutely and relatively short *isnād*s (*ʿawālī*) and with *isnād*s of a certain length, such as three, four, five etc. links to the Prophet (*thulāthīyāt*, *rubʿīyāt*, *khumsīyāt* etc.), collections with *isnād*s from a certain region or city (*buldānīyāt*), were a vivid expression of this trend and particularly experienced a great popularity in the Mamluk period and territory.[19]

But the great popularity of Hadith studies in the Mamluk period cannot be explained solely by the availability of additional narrations and alternative chains of transmission or the change in function of the chain of transmission. The support of Hadith studies by the political elite is as crucial as the influx of many scholars from the Islamic West, fleeing from the Reconquista, and from the Islamic East, fleeing from the Mongols. From the Ayyubid period onwards, the political elite, side by side with the civilian elite, built teaching institutions with generous endowments, allowing scholars and students to concentrate and focus on studying, learning, and teaching the Islamic disciplines in general, and Hadith studies in particular.[20] As has been shown by Mourad and Lindsay, already the Zangid ruler, Nūr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (r. 541–569/1146–1174), who build

---

[17] See for both genres Brown, 2007, 115–20.

[18] See Davidson, 2014, 7–11, esp. 9, who names Abū al-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī to be the first scholar who expressed the possibility to cite from collections rather than from the scholar's own narrations.

[19] See for more details Davidson, 2014, 11–27, 234–78; and on the *buldānīyāt* in particular Gharaibeh, 2016.

[20] See for the general trend of the professionalization of scholars during that period Gilbert, 1980.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the first so-called *dār al-ḥadīṯ* in 565/1170, used this institution as a solid part of his campaign against the crusaders on the one hand and the Shiʿi communities in Syria on the other.[21] Many Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans and amirs followed in his footsteps, so that the Damascene scholarly landscape—and that of Cairo as well—was characterized by a high density of teaching institutions in general, and many *dār al-ḥadīṯ* in particular.[22]

In addition to the establishment of these institutions, the veneration of the Prophet was also fostered, expressed in the celebration of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid*), the popularization of Sufism, and the veneration of Prophetic relics. One striking example is the storage of the Prophet's left sandal in the *dār al-ḥadīṯ al-ashrafīyah* and the right sandal in *al-madrasah al-dammāghīyah.*[23] Both institutions were located right in front of the citadel, so that by entering it one had the Prophet's left sandal on one's left and the right sandal on one's right. As a result, the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods witnessed a popularization of Sufism,[24] of knowledge,[25] and, more importantly for the purpose of the present article, a popularization of Hadith transmission. This is best demonstrated by the search for short *isnād* because of their greater proximity to the Prophet. This proximity was best achieved when relatively old scholars would give permission to transmit (*ijāzat al-riwāyah*) to young students. In the Mamluk period, this led to the cultural phenomenon that children and even newborns were brought to reading sessions to initiate them, and to grant them permissions to transmit (*ijāzāh*), in the hope that they would become valid members of the transmission system once they reached a higher age. As Davidson has shown, transmitting Hadiths could be a very lucrative and profitable business. In some cases, individuals acquired *samāʿ* at an early age—mostly passively through the brokerage of another scholar —, so that they achieved a high position within the transmission system once they grew old. In some cases, these individuals did not even pursue a scholarly career, but could still become Hadith "rock stars"—as Davidson put it—earning hundreds of dinars for each *samāʿ* session and becoming much-sought-after individuals whom scholars would visit to hear from.[26]

---

[21] See Mourad and Lindsay, 2012, 47–62. See also Hofer, 2015, 35–60, who makes a similar argument with regard to the establishment of Sufi convents (*khānqāh*s).

[22] See for the description of the Ayyubid establishment of religious institutions Lapidus, 1969; for an overview of *waqf* establishments in Damascus see Miura, 2015; and for an overview of the teaching institutions in Cairo until the Mamluk period see Leiser, 1976.

[23] See Dickinson, 2002; al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:178.

[24] See Hofer, 2015.

[25] See Hirschler, 2012.

[26] See Davidson, 2014, 49–78, for the phenomenon of pursuing elevation with a concrete example. For the effect on the oral transmission system and the age structure, see 95–107; and for repercussion on the *ijāzah* system, 174–82.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 1.2. Al-Dhahabī's education, teaching positions and work in Hadith studies

The post-canonical Hadith culture in the Mamluk domain has influenced al-Dhahabī's scholarly life significantly. His time was characterized by a popularization of Hadith transmission, an active scholarly scene engaging in Hadith studies, backed by a network of teaching institutions of madrasahs and *dūr al-ḥadīt*, an influx of scholars from the West and East of the Islamicate world, and a high degree of availability of sources that contained additional narrations and alternative chains of transmission. Al-Dhahabī's early education, his career and his work reflect most of these characteristic circumstances directly and indirectly.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Qaymāz b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkmānī al-Fāriqī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dhahabī was born in Damascus, in the village Kafarbaṭnā, as a descendent of a Turkish family in 673/1275.[27] In the same year, he was already granted child *ijāzāt.* This happened, as might be imagined, through the brokerage of another scholar, namely his foster brother (*akhūhu min al-raḍāʿah*), the Shafiʿi scholar ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 724/1324).[28] Himself a well-known scholar, Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār was also known as *mukhtaṣar al-nawawī*, a nickname he earned by his constant company (*mulāzana*) with Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277).[29] As one of the best-known students of al-Nawawī, he could rely on a well-connected scholarly network to mediate many *samāʿāt* and *ijāzāt* (*istajāza*) for al-Dhahabī from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir (d. ?, Damascus), Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿĀmirī (d. 673/1274–75, Damascus), Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (d. 680/1281–82, Damascus), Amīn al-Dīn b. ʿAsākir (d. 686/1287–88, Damascus), Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Ṣayrafī (d. 678/1279–80, Damascus), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Naṣībī (d. 692/1292–93, Aleppo), Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1294–95, Mecca), and Kāfūr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭawāshī (d. ?, Medina). Apparently, Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār performed the *ḥajj* in the year 673/1274–75, the year of al-Dhahabī's birth, so that he could achieve *ijāzāt* for al-Dhahabī from Mecca and Medina.[30]

Despite these early *ijāzāt*, al-Dhahabī only began seriously and actively hearing Hadith by himself at the age of eighteen. And although his early *samāʿāt* must have been beneficial to him, he later criticized the practice of initiating infants and children through *ijāzāt* as a practice that does not serve the higher aim of serving and conserving the Prophet's tradition. This becomes clear in his criticism of the common practice to collect and issuing *ijāzāt* in order to achieve

---

[27] See al-Shaykh, 1994, 27.

[28] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:336.

[29] For the biography of Ibn ʿAṭṭār, see ibid., 3:5–7.

[30] Maʿrūf, 1976, 81; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:6.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

short *isnād*s (*isnād ʿālī*). His differentiation between narrators (*ruwāt*) and Hadith scholars (*muḥaddithūn* or *ahl al-ḥadīth*) at least partially also expresses his critical position vis-à-vis the popularization of Hadith transmission.[31] In his view, not every individual narrating Hadiths possessed the necessary knowledge to evaluate or even understand what they were narrating, so that al-Dhahabī urged scholars to rely only on the *muḥaddithūn* amongst those engaging in Hadith studies and transmission.[32] Al-Dhahabī's critical stance towards the common *samāʿ* practice of his time is also expressed in the biographies of individuals who engaged in Hadith studies and transmission not for reasons of piety and religiosity, but rather for profit, social recognition and status. Al-Dhahabī wrote that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muẓaffar al-Iskandarānī al-Dimashqī, who was the shaykh of the *dār al-ḥadīth al-nafīsīyah*, was not a very religious man, describing him as being careless with his prayers and even having been accused of some major sins. The only reason al-Dhahabī heard from him and his kind was his eagerness to collect Hadith material. About Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī (d. 709/1309–10) al-Dhahabī said that he did not have a laudable lifestyle. And about Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī (d. 706/1306–07) he said that he was a poor man that many used to blame for his life style, while Abū Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī al-Dimashqī (d. 733/1332–33) was in a bad state, religiously speaking, and actually stupid (*safīh*). Al-Dhahabī had even to shout into the ear of one of his *samāʿ* contacts with his loudest voice since the latter was almost deaf.[33]

His serious engagement with Hadith studies began after al-Dhahabī had met the historian and Hadith scholar ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Qāsim al-Birzālī (d. 739/1308). According to al-Dhahabī, his friend and teacher al-Birzālī first awakened his interest and his passion for the field of Hadith (*huwa lladhī ḥabbaba ilayya ṭalab al-ḥadīth*) by telling him that his handwriting resembled that of the Hadith scholars.[34] Al-Dhahabī's eagerness to collect narrations must have been very strong. His *mashyakhah*, the biographical dictionary that lists all of his teachers and the men he received narration from, counts 1043 individuals.[35] However, one cannot but notice that he did not travel far in pursue of knowledge and Hadith narrations, at least in terms of distance. Although he traveled a lot, he remained within Mamluk territory, visiting all major cities of larger Syria (*bilād al-shām*) and Egypt as well as many smaller villages there.[36] This might seem quite unimpressive compared to earlier scholars, such as Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576/1180)

---

[31] See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, 1:48.
[32] See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, 1:48.
[33] See Maʿrūf, 1976, 86.
[34] al-Shaykh, 1994, 112.
[35] al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam*.
[36] al-Shaykh, 1994, 47–65.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

who travelled for about 37 years from Iṣfahān to Alexandria and visited every smaller and bigger city to collect Hadiths.[37] But we must bear in mind that Syria and Egypt in general, and Damascus and Cairo in particular, had by this time become the destination of many scholars from all over the Islamicate world who had often brought books and Hadith collections with them.

Al-Dhahabī was educated by Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Zamlakānī (d. 742/1342) in Shafiʿi *fiqh.* Like al-Birzālī, he belonged to the circle of Shafiʿi traditionalists in Damascus. His influential teacher, the Shafiʿi Hadith scholar Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Mizzī (d. 742/1340), and the younger historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), also belonged to this circle. Although traditionalists had existed in the Shafiʿi school from the very beginning,[38] the Damascene traditionalists, in particular, were influenced by the Hanbali community that settled in the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter in Damascus after they escaped from the Crusaders about a century before the time of al-Dhahabī.[39] All five Shafiʿi scholars also had close relations to the controversial Hanbali scholar Taqī al-Dīn b. Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) and his main student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1350).[40] Being part of the network of those Shafiʿi traditionalists with connections to Hanbali scholars such as Ibn Taymīyah led to al-Dhahabī's critical stance against a popularization of Hadith transmission. His theological opinions, which were even described as anthropomorphist, and his much-criticized bias against his Ashʿari colleagues, can also be linked to his social and intellectual ties.[41]

### 1.2.1. Teaching Positions

Al-Dhahabī's teaching activity is as impressive as his literary output. In addition to his appointment as preacher (*khaṭīb*) from 703/1303–04 till 718/1318–19 in a mosque in Kafarbaṭnā in the suburbs of Damascus, he held six teaching positions in several *dūr al-ḥadīth.* With the death of Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Sharīshī in Shawwāl 718/December 1318, he was appointed to his first position for teaching Hadith. Ibn al-Sharīshī was the supervisor of the *bayt al-māl* and held the teaching position (*mashaykhah*) of the two *dār al-ḥadīth* in the *turbat umm al-ṣāliḥ* and in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah.* The *turbah* hosted

---

[37] See the massive biographical dictionary containing al-Silafī's teachers and the narrators he collected Hadiths from: al-Silafī, *Muʿjam*; see also the short but informative biography in Boulouh-Bartschat, 2012, 124–27.

[38] See El-Shamsy, 2007, 33.

[39] Mirza, 2012, 29–31.

[40] For a brief description of his role within Ibn Taymīyah's network see Bori, 2010, 37–39.

[41] For a description of the Shafiʿi traditionalist circle from the perspective of Ibn Kathīr, see Mirza, 2012, 29–60. There is yet no study that draws on al-Dhahabī's perspective and his role within this network. Rosenthal, 1952, 300, 303–06.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

also a school for Shafiʿi jurisprudence.[42] Ibn al-Sharīshī, after having inherited this position from his father, had held the *mashyakhah* there for more than 30 years, from 685/1286–87 until his death in 718/1318.[43] Al-Dhahabī held the post in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah* for much less time, having been appointed to it in 716/1316–17, only two years before his death.[44] After the death of Ibn al-Sharīshī in 718/1318, the Governor of Damascus, Tankiz, appointed al-Jamāl al-Mizzī to the *mashyakhah* of the *dār al-ḥadīth ashrafīyah*, and al-Dhahabī to the teaching post in the *turbat umm al-ṣāliḥ*, also known as *al-ṣāliḥīyah.*[45] Al-Dhahabī delivered his opening lecture on Monday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 20/February 20. He held this position until his death,[46] and according to Ibn al-ʿImād, al-Dhahabī was also living in its building.[47]

In 729/1328–29, al-Dhahabī was also appointed to the teaching position in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ẓāhirīyah.*[48] A decade later, in 739/1338–39 after the death of his friend and teacher ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, he took over the Hadith teaching position in *al-madrasah al-nafīsīyah.* In the same year, the *dār al-ḥadīth wa-l-qurʾān al-tankizīyah* was completed and opened, and al-Dhahabī also took over the Hadith teaching position there.[49]

The fifth Hadith teaching post held by al-Dhahabī was the chair in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-fāḍilīyah.*[50] However it is rather unclear in which year he started teaching there. Al-Nuʿaymī mentions that he was appointed after Najm al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal al-Fāsī. But since al-Fāsī already died in 657/1259, sixteen years before al-Dhahabī was even born (in 673/1274–75), the post must have been vacant for a long time until al-Dhahabī was appointed. Yet there is no indication about when this might have happened in the sources.[51] There is also no clear evidence as to when al-Dhahabī took over his sixth teaching position in the *mashhad ʿurwah* (also called *dār al-ḥadīth al-ʿurwīyah*) that was located in the eastern corner of the Umayyad Mosque.[52] Al-Dhahabī retired from this position in favor of al-Sharaf b. al-Wānī al-Ḥanafī during his last illness, shortly before he died.[53]

---

[42] For a description of its law section see al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:239–46.
[43] Maʿrūf, 1976, 106.
[44] al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:25–26.
[45] al-Ḥāfiẓ, 2010, 206.
[46] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, 18:500.
[47] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 8:266, where he relies on information given by al-Subkī in his *Ṭabaqāt.*
[48] Maʿrūf, 1976, 107.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 108.
[51] See al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:70.
[52] See ibid., 1:61–65.
[53] Maʿrūf, 1976, 109.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

It is also unclear whether al-Dhahabī took over the teaching position in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-sukrīyah* to succeed his friend, acquaintance and master al-Taqī b. Taymīyah. Al-Nuʿaymī mentions this in his *Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris.*[54] However, Bashshār argues—to me convincingly—that al-Nuʿaymī confused the *dār al-ḥadīth al-sukrīyah* with the *al-tankizīyah* by mistakenly reading the *tāʾ*, *nūn* and *zay* as *sīn* and *rāʾ*, due to unclear handwriting on the manuscript used by al-Nuʿaymī.[55]

It is also worth mentioning that al-Dhahabī was hoping to succeed his master al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341) in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyah* after the latter's death. But al-Mizzī had met with trouble even before his appointment, since local Shafiʿi Ashʿari scholars claimed that only Ashʿaris were supposed to be appointed there according to the stipulation deed (*waqfīyah*). Eventually, al-Mizzī had to testify under oath that he adhered to the Ashʿari school of belief. Given that al-Dhahabī criticized many Ashʿari scholars and works in his writings, such as his treatise on God's attributes and his *al-ʿUlūw li-l-ʿalīy al-ghaffār*,[56] it was impossible for him to be appointed there. The post went instead to the Shafiʿi Ashʿari Chief Judge Tāqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), the father of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah al-kubrā*, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370).[57]

### 1.2.2. Al-Dhahabī's Hadith-related works

Al-Dhahabī's efforts in the field of Hadith studies can be divided into two parts. First, in a series of collections and smaller booklets, he dedicated some of his efforts to single Hadiths, thematic collections, and collections that focus on *isnād* variations. These collections represent the scholars' attention to the *isnād* and its variation in the post-canonical period. Amongst those collections is e.g. the *buldānīyah* collections with forty Hadith from forty different cities. The interesting aspect of this *buldānīyah* is that it does not contain narrations collected by al-Dhahabī himself, but ones that he took from Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān al-Ṭabarānī's (d. 360/918) *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr.* According to al-Dhahabī himself, he did this since he was unable to put together such a collection from his own Hadith material.[58] He compiled a similar collection from the *Muʿjam* of Ibn Jamīʿ al-

---

[54] See al-Nuwayrī, *Dāris*, 1:59. Muḥammad Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ seems to follow al-Nuwayrī's opinion in his overview of the Hadith teaching institutions in Damascus. See al-Ḥāfiẓ, 2010, 201.

[55] See for the whole argument Maʿrūf, 1976, 107–09.

[56] See for a description of both works in ibid., 145–46, 148–49.

[57] Mirza, 2012, 40–41, and for the trouble encountered by al-Mizzī prior his appointment, see 35–36.

[58] Maʿrūf, 1976, 141.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ṣaydāwī, the *Muʿjam Shuyūkh* of Abū Bakr al-Maqdisī, and from the *Muʿjam Shuyūkh* of Ibn al-Muqriʾ, all former teachers of his.[59]

Al-Dhahabī's *al-ʿAdhb al-salsal fī l-ḥadīth al-musalsal* concentrates on the so-called *musalsal* Hadith. These narrations all contain a characteristic, either in terms of content (*matn*), its chain of transmission or a particular action in the act of transmission. So, the *ḥadīth al-muṣāfaḥah* (the Hadith of hand shaking) is a Hadith where the scholar would shake the hand of his disciples after having narrated the Hadith. Another collection put together by al-Dhahabī that has unfortunately not come down to us was a collection of *ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-awwalīyah*, i.e. the Hadith that opened every new teacher-student relation or each new reading session.[60] It should not surprise us that al-Dhahabī chose this Hadith to be at the center of his treatise. In another work, he had criticized the fact that *musalsal* Hadith tended to be of weak *isnād*s or even fabricated—except for the *musalsal bi-l-awwalīyah.*[61]

In addition to his own *Muʿjam* that contains biographies of all his teachers and the scholars from whom al-Dhahabī received knowledge or Prophetic traditions, he also compiled *Muʿjam*s for some of his teachers and peers. These include ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. al-Bālisī (d. 711/1311–12), Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb (d. 779/1377), al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAṭṭār, his foster brother; and the Hanbali judge Abū al-Faḍl Sulaymān b. Ḥamza al-Maqdisī (d. 715/1315–16).[62]

Al-Dhahabī also compiled several collections that focus on short chains of transmission. Among them are the *ʿAwālī al-shams ibn al-wāsiṭī* that he compiled for his Hanbali teacher Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Wāsiṭī (d. 699/1299–1300), the *ʿAwālī al-ṭāwūsī* for his teacher Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ṭāwūsī (d. 704/1304–05), and the *ʿAwālī abī ʿabd allāh b. al-yūnīnī* for his teacher Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Yūnīnī (d. 747/1346–47).[63] He also compiled another interesting *ʿawālī*-collection from the Hadith material narrated by Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), the eponym of the school of law.[64]

Al-Dhahabī also put together a number of *juzʾ*s for some other teachers of his. These smaller collections are selected Prophetic traditions narrated by a certain individual through his own chain of transmission. The peculiarity of each *juzʾ* might lie in in the *isnād*, e.g. a short *isnād* or narrators all being from a certain region; or it might lie in the *matn*, e.g. collections on a specific topic. The *juzʾ* entitled *al-Juzʾ al-mulaqqab bi-l-daynār min ḥadīth al-mashāyikh al-kibār*, for example, focuses on narrations by individuals such as Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b.

---

[59] Ibid., 269–70.

[60] Ibid., 144.

[61] See al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 43–44.

[62] Maʿrūf, 1976, 264–66.

[63] Ibid., 271–72.

[64] Ibid., 272.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nābulsī (d. 718/1318–19), Abū Muḥammad ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmām al-Muṭaʿʿim al-Dallāl (d. 719/1319–20), and Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār (d. 730/1329–30). Other collections are centered around only one scholar and his narrations, such as Rukn al-Dīn Abī al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī al-Ṣūfī (d. 704/1304–05), al-Majd Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Mursī al-Tūnisī (d. 718/1318–19), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī aka Ibn al-Muḥibb (d. 730/1329–30), Sirāj al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Takrītī al-Iskandarānī aka Ibn al-Kuwayk (d. 734/1333–34), al-Amīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Wānī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī (d. 735/1334–35), the friend for whom al-Dhahabī resigned from his position in the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ʿurwīyah*; and ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū ʿUmar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Jamāʿah al-Kinānī al-Ḥamawī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 767/1365–66).[65]

Al-Dhahabī also put together collections of narrations with three-link chains (*thulāthīyah*). Those were selected from larger collections such as the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah (d. 273/886) or the *Ṣāḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.[66]

The second part of al-Dhahabī's Hadith writing is concerned with the evaluation of already existing Hadith material. This, too, constitutes an expression of the scholarly interest in previous Hadiths and Hadith collections in the light of the additional material and alternative chains of transmission produced during the canonization process described above. One example is al-Dhahabī's re-evaluation of the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī. As mentioned above, this collection attempted to collect Prophetic traditions that meet the same standards as the *ṣaḥīḥ*-collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. It seems that al-Dhahabī had taken a closer look into this collection and evaluated the authenticity of its material in a work entitled *al-Mustadrak ʿalā mustadrak al-ḥākim*.[67]

Building on the huge amount of source material produced during the canonization process, al-Dhahabī collected narrations that contain contradictory additions to otherwise sound Hadiths. Those exceptionally narrated additions were known as uncertain additions (*ziyādah muḍṭaribah*); this is also the title of al-Dhahabī's collection.[68] Since they were attributed to otherwise trustworthy individuals, it was worth saving those contradictory additions, unlike additions that had been added by unreliable individuals which were usually dismissed.

Another section of the writings of al-Dhahabī targets the conceptualization of Hadith studies and the evaluation of narrators, or the compilation of biographical data about them. Examples for this aspect of his work include al-

---

[65] Ibid., 273–75.

[66] Ibid., 275–76.

[67] See ibid., 143.

[68] Ibid.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Dhahabī's *Mūqiẓah fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth,* as well as his historical writings, i. e. his biographical dictionaries including the *Tārīkh al-islam*, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, and *al-Mughnī fī al-ḍuʿafāʾ*. The *Mūqiẓah* and its relation to his historiographical works will be at the center of the next chapter.

## 2. The *Mūqiẓah fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*

### 2.1. The discipline of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*

Al-Dhahabī's *Mūqiẓah fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* is concerned with the wide field of systematization and conceptualization of Hadith transmission, known as *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and often translated as *Sciences of Hadith.* Before turning to al-Dhahabī's contribution to this field, some general remarks about the development and the nature of the science of Hadith must be made. It is worth emphasizing that the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* is not a discipline that had existed for as long as the transmission of Hadith itself. It constitutes an attempt to draw general conclusions out of a very controversial field of local and individual practices that developed over a number of decades and even centuries. This does not mean that there had been no standards at the beginning of transmitting Prophetic traditions. However regional and personal definitions of e. g. how a sound narration (*ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ*) should be defined differed from each other. Many early Hadith scholars, such as Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), Mālik b. Anas or even Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) cited Prophetic narrations in their *musnad* works either without any chain of transmission or only with an incomplete chain.[69] Narrators such as Abū al-Zubayr Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 128/745–46) narrated Hadiths by using expressions such as "on the authority of"—expressed by the Arabic preposition *ʿan* (e. g. Abū al-Zubayr *ʿan* Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh etc.).[70] Both practices, however, were later perceived as not sufficiently thorough for a Hadith or *isnād* to be considered sound. Hadith scholars insisted on a complete chain (*musnad*) without any unclarity (*tadlīs*) about the connection of each transmitter to the next. Incomplete chains always carried the risk of containing unreliable individuals, and the transmission via the expression *ʿan* only indicates a contact

---

[69] See Melchert, 2001, 391–92.

[70] See e. g. Kamaruddin Amin's analysis of al-Albānī's (d. 1999) method in modernity, where he shows that the inconsistencies in the early Hadith transmission creates an irreconcilable challenge for the Modern Salafi approach to the authenticity of Hadiths, Amin, 2004, 153–66.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

while leaving the possibility of an indirect transmission through a third individual in-between.[71]

There should be no doubt that scholars such as Abū Yūsuf, Mālik b. Anas or Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal transmitted sound narrations or that Abū al-Zubayr had really met the people he narrated from. Their practice rather expresses the fact that they interacted with their audience, who knew the material and could draw their own conclusions. We can also assume that such scholars acted according to local practices and traditions. But the discrepancy between early practices and later standards left later Hadith scholars with the challenge to come to general conclusions and find transregional definitions in an eclectic and controversial field.

Although many scholars contributed to the discourse of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth,* most of their contributions—such as the introductory remarks of Muslim in his *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*[72]—must be understood as expressions of individual opinions on the transmitter's methodology. Only later with the start of the fourth/tenth century did scholars begin to conceptualize Hadith studies. However, those attempts differed strongly from each other as a comparison between al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī's *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 437/1071) *kitāb al-Kifāyah* clearly shows.[73] The *Muqaddimah* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, also entitled *ʿUlūm al-hadīth,ʿIlm anwāʿ ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* or *Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* is undeniably the most influential treatise in this genre. There was a vivid reception of this treatise during the late Ayyubid and mainly the entire Mamluk period which produced some 43 commentaries, abridgments and versifications.[74]

## 2.2. The *Mūqiẓah fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* in comparison

About a century after Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Dhahabī authored his *Mūqiẓah fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth.* By this time, scholars such as al-Nawawī, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, Ibn al-Qasṭalānī (d. 686/1287), Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288), al-Shihāb al-Khuwayyī (d.

---

[71] See for a discussion of the *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* and its definition Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah*, eds. al-Hamīm and Faḥl, 79–98.

[72] See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4–24.

[73] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī wrote that al-Rāmhurmuzī was the first to author such a treatise. However, his *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna al-rāwī wa-l-wāʿī* contains only few definitions of various types of Hadiths and *isnād*s. It seems instead to have been intended as a collection of guidelines directed towards the Hadith scholars of his time, drawing on topics such as the right intention (*nīyah*) while engaging in Hadith transmission, the need to travel etc., in addition to lists of early narrators (the *Ṣaḥābah* included) and how one can identify them by their nick names etc. See al-Rāmhurmuzī, *Muḥaddith*. For the list of treatises of the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* provided by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, see his *Nuzhah*, 29–34.

[74] For an overview of the commentarial literature on the *Muqaddimah* see al-Suyūṭī, *Baḥr*, 1:235–44. For a comprehensive study on the commentarial tradition of the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, see Gharaibeh, 2019.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

693/1293) and al-Sharaf al-Dimyāṭī (d. 705/1306) had already produced abridgments or versifications of the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. For unknown reasons, scholars from the late Mamluk period, especially al-Suyūṭī, also counted al-Dhahabī's *Mūqiẓah* amongst the abridged versions of the *Muqaddimah.*[75] By contrast modern Arab researchers believe that the *Mūqiẓah* was based on the *Iqtirāḥ* of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, or even an abridged version of this latter work.[76] Ibn Daqīq's work, on the other hand, seems to be at least to a larger part an abridgment of or a critical commentary on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's work, and is also listed by Mamluk scholars as amongst the commentarial literature.[77]

Al-Dhahabī himself did not refer to any work as being the basis of his *Mūqiẓah.* However, he cites some passages of the works of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Daqīq. Drawing from the information he provides about his education, we can see that al-Dhahabī must have had both of these works available as sources. Al-Dhahabī took many lessons with Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd personally during his educational travels to Cairo, and also mentions him in his *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh.*[78] It is more than likely that al-Dhahabī had studied the *Iqtirāḥ* with Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd.

Al-Dhahabī provides the readers of his *Siyar aʿlām al-nubālāʾ* with a list of narrators and scholars who learned or heard the *Muqaddimah* from its author, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. To this information—which he places at the end of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's biography in the *Siyar*—he adds that of the twenty-one scholars who narrated the *Muqaddimah*, twenty provided him with an *ijāzah* for the *Muqaddimah.*[79] We should also mention his close relation to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. al-ʿAṭṭār al-Shāfiʿī, al-Dhahabī's foster brother.[80] Ibn ʿAṭṭār held very close educational and personal contact to al-Nawawī and was even called *mukhtaṣar al-nawawī.*[81] Al-Nawawī himself had a great interest in the *Muqaddimah,* of which he produced three abridged versions: *Irshād ṭullāb al-ḥaqāʾiq ilā maʿrifat sunan khayr al-khalāʾiq*, *al-Manhal al-rāwī min taqrīb al-nawawī* and *al-Taqrīb wa-l-taysīr.* Also, al-Dhahabī was a student of al-Raḍī al-Ṭabarī in Mecca[82] and took some Hadiths from him, as well as from al-Sharaf al-

---

[75] See al-Suyūṭī, *Baḥr*, 238.

[76] See the introductory remarks of the editors of the *Mūqiẓah* in al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 5–7; al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Salīm, 7; and of the commentator in al-ʿAwnī, *Sharḥ*, 7; as well as Salīm, *Jamʿ*, ii.

[77] Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd roughly follows the same structure as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in his work, although taking the liberty to regroup certain types of Hadiths and arrange them under a cohesive title. See his *Iqtirāḥ*.

[78] See al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam*, 544–45.

[79] al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2660.

[80] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:336.

[81] See also ibid., 3:6.

[82] See al-Ṭabarī, *Mulakhkhaṣ*, 11.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Dimyāṭī in Cairo.[83] Both also produced abridged versions of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *Muqadimmah.* As such, al-Dhahabī not only had access to the *Muqaddimah* itself but also to three short versions of the work—or at the very least he was aware of their existence.

Al-Dhahabī cites Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd on five occasions in his *Mūqiẓah* explicitly as a source. In the chapter on fabricated Hadiths (*ḥadīth mawḍūʿ*), he cites him as *shaykhunā ibn daqīq al-ʿīd*, in the chapter on the accepted narrations (*ḥadīth ḥasan*) he mentions him as *shaykhunā ibn wahb.* On three other occasions at the end of his treatise, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd is again mentioned as *shaykhunā ibn wahb.*[84] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, on the other hand, is only cited once in the chapter on accepted narrations.[85] However, whether this really supports the assumption that al-Dhahabī abridged Ibn Daqīq's *Iqtirāḥ* is questionable. He cites both scholars for their specific opinions, while he, in general, presents his own opinion throughout the entire work. This impression is supported by two additional facts. All three works differ slightly but significantly in structure and content.

### 2.2.1. Structural Comparison

All three works differ from each other in terms of structure. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ lists 65 types (*nawʿ*) of narrations, chains of transmissions and other related topics. It is worth mentioning that all these different types are treated equally on the on the same structural level. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ does not introduce superordinate categories that subsume several types under a common phenomenon, for example. A few exceptions, though, constitute e.g. the types "The knowledge of how Hadiths should be heard and received" or "The way Hadiths should be transmitted," in which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ counts some related and subordinated matters. Accordingly, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ begins his *Muqaddimah* with the three types, the sound, the accepted and the weak Hadith (*ḍaʿīf*), and works his way through all other types, such as the connected (*muttaṣil*), the known (*marfūʿ*), the exceptional and contradictory Hadith (*shādhdh*), the appropriate behavior of the transmitter etc., to the last type "The cities and countries of the narrators."[86]

Ibn Daqīq, who seemed to have taken Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *Muqaddimah* as a template, rearranges those types and assigns them to superordinate topics according common features. He proposes a structure consisting of nine chapters (*abwāb*, sg. *bāb*), in which he discusses the related topics. His first chapter for example deals with the terminology of Hadith studies (*madlulāt alfāẓ tataʿallaqu bi-*

---

[83] Maʿrūf, 1976, 92.

[84] See the introductory notes of the editor in al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 6–7.

[85] See ibid., 28.

[86] See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah.*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*hādhihi al-ṣināʿah*). He introduces the different types of Hadith. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ also referred to them as types (*nawʿ*), while Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd names them "terms" (*lafẓ*). These are (to give some examples) the sound, the accepted, the weak, the strange (*gharīb*), the fabricated narration, and so forth. His seventh chapter deals with the definition and the conditions of trustworthy transmitters (*thiqāt*), while the eighth discusses the untrustworthy ones. At the end of his work, Ibn Daqīq attaches seven forty-Hadith collections of various conditions and terms.[87]

Al-Dhahabī only looks at twenty-four types of *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth,* instead of the 65 types into which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ divides his *Muqaddimah.* The same number is discussed by Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd. Al-Dhahabī does not follow the structure of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, but, like Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, discusses each category or type on the same structural level without, however, labeling them a "type". So, al-Dhahabī actually deviates significantly from both works, which supports the assumption that he might have compiled an independent work while consulting the *Muqaddimah* and the *Iqtirāḥ.*

Al-Dhahabī structures the *Mūqiẓah* by starting with the definition of the various kinds of Hadiths. The first five kinds are grouped around the integrity of the transmitters. Al-Dhahabī discusses the sound chain whose narrators are all reliable and trustworthy, while the narrators of the following types decrease in this aspect. An accepted narration, has a sound chain with minor flaws, followed by the chain with minor flaws, the chain with major flaws that leads to its being disregarded or excluded (*maṭrūḥ*); and lastly, the fabricated chain.[88]

After this section al-Dhahabī turns to the *isnād* with some sort of gap. He discusses three types, beginning with the chain that does not mention the Companion (*ṣaḥābī*, i. e. *mursal*), continues with the chain that lacks two or more links (*muʿḍal*), and ends with the chain that lacks one link above the second generation, i. e. the generation after the Companions (*tābiʿūn*, i. e. *munqaṭiʿ*).[89]

Two further sections look at the source the chain reaches back to. If the chain ends with a Companion, it is *mawqūf.* This term primarily describes the Companion's word or action. However, since there is always a chance that the Companions' words or deeds in religious matters might have been inspired by the Prophet, this type of narration is sometimes accorded the same authority as are Prophetic narrations. The second type, however, describes chains that explicitly identify the Prophet as the source of words or deeds (*marfūʿ*).[90]

Al-Dhahabī then explains two terms that could have been arranged in a different sequence, since they refer to characteristics of a chain that had previously

---

[87] See Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, *Iqtirāḥ.*

[88] al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 11–26.

[89] Ibid., 26–29.

[90] Ibid., 29–30.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

been dealt with. The *ḥadīth muttaṣil* describes a chain with no gaps, regardless of whether it goes back to the Prophet or to a Companion. The second term is *musnad*, i.e. a chain that goes back to the Prophet, regardless of whether it has gaps or is unbroken.[91]

The following section is the first to look at content and to put narrations in relation to each other. It groups together categories that deal with contradictory narrations. A tale that contradicts the content of other narrations but is narrated by a trustworthy and reliable source (*mukhālafat al-thiqah*) is *shādhdh.*[92] A contradictory narration told by an unreliable narrator (*rāwī ḍaʿīf*) is *munkar.*[93]

Al-Dhahabī continues with a list of rather loose categories, most of which describe aspects of the chain of transmission. *Gharīb* describes a Hadith which has been narrated by only a single narrator.[94] *Musalsal* describes a chain of transmission characterized by a particular certain property, such as each transmitter being a Damascene scholar, or carrying out a certain action while narrating the Hadith.[95] *Muʿanʿan* labels those chains of transmission that link each narrator only "on the authority of", instead of "he narrated to me" (*akhbaranā* or *anbaʾanā*) or "I heard from him" (*samiʿtu*).[96] Using only the word *ʿan* to describe the transmission process carries the risk that the narrator wants to hide the fact that he did not actually hear the Hadith from the person he claims. If a narrator can be shown to have used this practice, he is called *mudallis* and the chain or Hadith is defined as *mudallas.*[97]

Al-Dhahabī then groups the two terms *muḍṭarib* and *muʿallal* together that, for him, describe the circumstance that one Hadith is narrated in different versions and variations.[98] He then explains the term *mudraj*, which labels narrations that contain explanatory remarks by one of the narrators that, over time and because of the carelessness of other, later narrators, have come to be perceived as part of the original content.[99]

In the next section, al-Dhahabī looks at the different terms that link each narrator to the other. He explains a variety of different expressions such as "he narrated to us" (*ḥaddathanā*) and "I heard from" and others.[100] The next category is connected to the way an *isnād* is reproduced. A *maqlūb* is communicated

---

[91] Ibid., 30.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., 34.
[94] Ibid., 35.
[95] Ibid., 36–37.
[96] Ibid., 37–38.
[97] Ibid., 38–42.
[98] Ibid., 42–47.
[99] Ibid., 48.
[100] Ibid., 48–50.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

together with the chain of transmission of another narration.[101] Next comes a collection of individual issues more or less connected to both categories.[102] Finishing the categorization of the different types of chains and Hadith, al-Dhahabī then turns his attention to the proper behavior of transmitters (*ādāb al-muḥaddith*), enumerating the duties and responsibilities that come with the transmission of Hadith. Those include e.g. the purification of the intention (*taṣḥīḥ al-nīyah*), or the prohibition to narrate fabricated Hadith.[103] Second, al-Dhahabī devotes a fairly long paragraph to the different types of reliability of narrators (*thiqah*). Besides providing several definitions and explaining common terms, he lists several persons whose reliability has been repeatedly proven.[104] Lastly, al-Dhahabī draws attention to possible misspellings or other confusions that might happen while listing narrators' names (*muʾtalaf* and *mukhtalaf*).[105]

### 2.2.2. Comparison of content

As is often the case, the devil is in the detail. This is also true when it comes to the content of the three treatises. To demonstrate al-Dhahabī's peculiarity, the chapters on the sound narration of the three works are compared to each other. In highlighting the characteristics of each work, it will become clear that it is inaccurate to treat al-Dhahabī's *Mūqiẓah* as a simple abridgment of one of the two preceding treatises. Analysis in fact also shows that Ibn Daqīq's *Iqtirāḥ* should not be mistaken for simply an abridged version of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *Muqaddimah*, either.

### 2.2.3. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, first, provides his readers with a basic definition of the sound narration, followed by a discussion in greater detail.

> "It is the narration that reaches down to the Prophet and that is transmitted from trustworthy and accurate narrators to trustworthy and accurate narrators to the end of the chain, without being exceptional and contradictory with regard to the content, and without having any hidden flaws (*muʿallal*). This definition excludes Hadiths and *isnād*s that do not mention the Companion who narrated the Hadith, or those that are unconnected, those that are problematic (*muʿḍal*), of contradictory and exceptional content, or whose narrator has a significant but hidden flaw that affects his integrity.

---

[101] Ibid., 50–51.
[102] Ibid., 51–53.
[103] Ibid., 53–55.
[104] Ibid., 55–69.
[105] Ibid., 70.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

> […] This definition marks the narrations that Hadith scholars agree is sound. But it also happens that they are in disagreement about the soundness of some narrations, because they disagree over possible flaws in it, or over certain aspects of the definition, as is the case with the narrations in which the Companion is not mentioned. So, whenever they say 'this narration is sound' they mean that its chain is unbroken and that all the other conditions are also being fulfilled. However, it is not necessary that the narration is accepted by all scholars (*maqṭūʿ bihī*), since there are sound narrations that were told only by one trustworthy individual, and that do not belong with those narrations on whose acceptance the Muslim community agreed (*ajmaʿat al-ummah ʿalā talaqqīhā bi-l-qabūl*). Again, whenever they say, 'This narration is not sound', it does not necessarily follow that the narration is fabricated. The narrators might still be truthful. It only means that the narration in question, or its chain of transmission, does not meet the mentioned conditions."[106]

This relatively short paragraph is the only passage in the chapter on the sound Hadith that is devoted to its definition. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, however, goes on to address eight related aspects that constitute the largest part of the chapter.[107] The first aspect is the question of what the soundest chain might be (*aṣaḥḥ al-asānīd*), while the other seven aspects are all devoted to the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ speaks (2) about whether or not one can declare a Hadith as sound if it is not contained in any of the acknowledged collections; (3) about who compiled the first *ṣaḥīḥ*-work, (4) about the fact that not all sound narrations are contained in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, (5) about the benefit of the fact that scholars have demonstrated alternative chains for narrations contained in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* (*takhārīj*), (6) about the unconnected narrations (*muʿallaqāt*) in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, (7) about narrations that have different levels of soundness, because they were agreed upon by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, or because they were only narrated by one of them or other scholars; and finally, (8) about how one can use sound narrations in legal reasoning.[108]

The great interest that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ showed in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* is one of the most distinctive characteristics of his work. Although attempting to come to general definitions and statements, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is primarily concerned with the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, which makes his work part of the larger movement described by Brown as the process of canonization.

---

[106] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah*, 79–80. For an alternative translation, see idem, *Maʿrifah*, trans. Dickinson, 5.

[107] In the edition used by me the definition occupies two pages, while Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ devotes 8 pages to addressing the related topics.

[108] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah*, 80–98.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

### 2.2.4. Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd

Interestingly, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's interest in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* is also the key distinction between his *Muqaddimah* and the works of Ibn Daqīq and al-Dhahabī. As mentioned earlier, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd restructures the categories and entitles his first chapter "On the terminology of Hadith studies" (*fī madlūlāt alfāẓ tataʿallaqu bi-hādhihi l-ṣināʿah*). There he writes:

> "The first term is the sound narration. And its definition in legal theory (*uṣūl*) used by jurists and legal theorists (*al-fuqahā wa-l-uṣūlīyūn*) is centered around the same integrity of the narrator that is also required to accept his testimony in juridical matters. Only those who do not accept a chain that does not mention the Companion added the condition of reaching down to the Prophet. Hadith scholars (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) also added that the Hadith should not be exceptional and contradictory with regard to its content, and that it should not contain any hidden flaws. But these two conditions are controversial from the perspective of the jurists, since many of the so-called flaws (*ʿilal*) defined by the traditionists are not flaws according to the theoretical principles of jurists. According to this, the sound narration has been defined as follows: 'It is the narration that reaches down to the Prophet and that is transmitted from trustworthy and accurate narrators to trustworthy and accurate narrators to the end of the chain, without being exceptional and contradictory with regard to its content, and without containing hidden flaws.'
> But it would have been better to say: 'The sound narration that has been agreed on is as I have described.' Because those who do not agree with these conditions do not limit the sound narration to the definition described. And definitions should always include as well as exclude."[109]

After this remark, which mostly targets the definitions given by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in his *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd adds a related topic to the sound narration. Like Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, he also discusses the question of the soundest chain of transmission.[110] However, this is the only related topic Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd elaborates on.

By comparison, Ibn Daqīq's *Iqtirāḥ* differs from the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in the fact that it challenges the definition given in the *Muqaddimah* in favor of that which Muslim jurists and legal theorists chose. In general, the perspective of jurists and legal theorists appears to be the major characteristic of Ibn Daqīq's *Iqtirāḥ*. Therefore, the assumption that Ibn Daqīq's *Iqtirāḥ* is merely an abridgment of the *Muqaddimah* must be challenged. It seems to be meant as a counter treatise that addresses Hadith studies from the perspective of jurists and legal theorists and responds to the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ instead of abridging it.

---

[109] Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, *Iqtirāḥ*, 215–20.

[110] Ibid., 222–26.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Another striking difference is that Ibn Daqīq only addresses the question of the soundest chain of transmission while leaving unmentioned the other seven topics discussed by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. These seven topics are those that are dedicated exclusively to the *Ṣaḥiḥayn* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The question of why he left them out cannot be answered without conducting further research. It might be that Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd and his social and intellectual circle and his intended audience already took the canonical status of both works for granted, so that they did not need to highlight those works any more. Alternatively, they might not have subscribed to the canonical status at all, and so they would not have attributed much importance and attention to these works. It could also be that Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd had a different audience in mind than Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd happened to be a Maliki scholar in his early career, following the orientation of his father, and converted to the Shafiʿi school only later in his life.[111] This is relevant to know because the entire canonization process was primarily a concern of Shafiʿi scholars, as Jonathan Brown pointed out. Indeed, he calls the canonization process a Shafiʿi enterprise.[112] In any case, the fact that Ibn Daqīq left them out is striking and needs to be highlighted here.

### 2.2.5. Al-Dhahabī

Al-Dhahabī's general approach in the *Mūqiẓah* is characterized by brevity, as well as—more importantly—by a degree of objectivity that is expressed in the way al-Dhahabī discusses the various types of narrations. He says about the sound narration:

> "The sound narration revolves around the trustworthiness and accuracy of the narrator (*ʿadl mutqin*) and the connectedness of the chain of transmission. Scholars, however, disagree upon the status of the chain that does not mention the Companion. Traditionists add to this that the Hadith should not be contradictory and exceptional and that it should not contain any hidden flaws. However, this definition is problematic from the perspective of the jurists, since many of the alleged flaws are irrelevant to them. Therefore the characteristics of narrations whose soundness has been agreed upon are that they have an uninterrupted chain of transmission and that they are free from being exceptional and contradictory (*sālim min al-shudhūdh*) and from having hidden flaws (*sālim min al-ʿillah*). Their narrators are all accurate (*ḍabṭ*), trustworthy and reliable (*ʿadālah*) and do not disguise their sources or the way they learn the narration (*ʿadam tadlīs*)."[113]

---

[111] See his biography e.g. in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 4:91–96.

[112] Brown, 2007, 135–43.

[113] al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 24.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

After this, al-Dhahabī turns to the question of the soundest chain of transmission and lists some examples descending from the most reliable to less reliable chains.[114]

As similar as that may seem to the other two authors, especially to Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, in fact al-Dhahabī differs from them significantly. Although he seems to follow Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd by introducing first the definition of the sound narration preferred by jurists, and then adding the definition preferred by the traditionists, al-Dhahabī adopts a different style. While Ibn Daqīq criticized Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ for citing only the definition of the traditionists while he himself prefers that of the jurists, al-Dhahabī cites both definitions without indicating a preference for one over the other. Instead, he considers the practical side of both definitions and comes to the conclusion that the jurists' definition includes a larger number of narrations as sound, while the traditionist definition is narrower. It follows that all traditionist sound narrations are accepted by the jurists, while not all narrations claimed to be sound by jurists are accepted by traditionists. This must be the logic that he followed to structure his chapter. He first provides the broader definition, then turns to the narrow one, only to give the definition that both parties agree upon. Therefore, it seems more likely that al-Dhahabī did not abridge any of the two other treatises, but rather drew from the *Iqtirāḥ* and the *Muqadimmah* as sources, to provide his readers with the different definitions and their effects.

This is supported by the way he addresses the question of how to define the soundest chain. He does not name the topic as such, but instead introduces various examples with the phrase "the highest level of those chains that were agreed upon [by both parties] are" (*fa-aʿlā marātib al-mujmaʿ ʿalayhi*). While the other two authors give examples according to their preferred definitions, al-Dhahabī arranges his examples according to whether the chain in question meets the definitions of both parties. Although there is still much overlap between the examples given by all three authors, the method chosen by al-Dhahabī is different from that of his predecessors, and therefore more likely to be his own choice, arrived at by drawing on both sources rather than by abridging only one of them.

---

[114] Ibid., 24–26.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 2.3. Intertextuality in al-Dhahabī's writings

### 2.3.1. The soundest chain (*aṣaḥḥ al-asānīd*)

The most distinctive and the most special feature of the *Mūqiẓah* only becomes apparent when put in the context of al-Dhahabī's other writings. This will be demonstrated with the example of the "soundest chain of transmission." Since all three authors elaborate on this example, it serves as an excellent example to demonstrate al-Dhahabī's particularity in comparison to the others, as it shows al-Dhahabī's holistic approach to the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth.* Table 1 shows the soundest chains of transmission that each author provides.

| | **Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ**[115] | **Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd**[116] | **al-Dhahabī**[117] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | al-Zuhrī – Sālim – his father | Mālik – Nāfiʿ – Ibn ʿUmar | Mālik – Nāfiʿ – Ibn ʿUmar |
| 2. | Muḥammad b. Sīrīn – ʿUbaydah – ʿAlī | al-Aʿmash – Ibrāhīm – ʿAlqamah – ʿAbd Allāh | Manṣūr – Ibrāhīm – ʿAlqamah – ʿAbd Allāh |
| 3. | al-Aʿmash – Ibrāhīm – ʿAlqamah – ʿAbd Allāh | Muḥammad b. Sīrīn – ʿAbīdah – ʿAlī | al-Zuhrī – Sālim – his father |
| 4. | al-Zuhrī – ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn – his father – ʿAlī | | Abū al-Zanād – al-Aʿraj – Abū Hurayrah |
| 5. | Mālik – Nāfiʿ – Ibn ʿUmar | | Maʿmar – Hammām – Abū Hurayrah |
| 6. | | | Ibn Abī ʿArūbah – Qattādah – Anas |
| 7. | | | Ibn Jurayj – ʿAṭāʾ – Jābir |
| 8. | | | al-Layth – Zuhayr – Abū al-Zubayr – Jābir |
| 9. | | | Simāk – ʿIkrimah – Ibn ʿAbbās |
| 10. | | | Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh – Abū Isḥāq – al-Barrāʾ |
| 11. | | | al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān – his father – Abū Hurayrah |

Table 1: the soundest chains of transmission

It quickly becomes apparent that al-Dhahabī provides the largest number of examples of chains whose soundness has been agreed on by scholars. The

---

[115] See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah*, 80–83.

[116] See Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, *Iqtirāḥ*, 222–26.

[117] al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 24–26.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

comparison also reveals the different approaches followed by the three scholars. Ibn al-Ṣahāḥ bases his list entirely on the authority of former Hadith scholars and authorities. Moreover, he highlights the complexity and difficulty of evaluating a chain of transmission due to the different definitions and terms chosen by each Hadith critic in order to evaluate *isnād*s. Therefore, he states, "we prefer to refrain from any judgment upon a narration or chain of being the soundest, since earlier Hadith critics already spent their life in doing so, so that there are many opinions already."[118] Instead of supporting a specific opinion, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ cites them with a reference to the scholars who maintained the position in question. These are, Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (1), ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās and ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī (2), Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (3), Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaybah (4), al-Bukhārī (5).

Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's approach is somewhat similar to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. While not stating explicitly that he does not support a specific opinion, he introduces the list that he gives with the words, "And the Hadith authorities (*arbāb al-ḥadīth*) had different opinions on the soundest chain."[119] Then he lists the authorities and their opinions in the following order: al-Bukhārī (1), Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (2), ʿAmr b. ʿAlī (3).

Al-Dhahabī, in contrast, does take a stance and presents his own opinions. He does not cite any of the earlier Hadith authorities, nor does he mention that it would be too complicated to judge a chain of transmission. A close look at the list he provides shows that he did not neglect to reference the Hadith authorities for reasons of brevity, but that his list is based on his own evaluation.

A tiny but significant difference occurs in the second chain of transmission that al-Dhahabī provides (3rd column, 2nd row of table 1). He lists the chain of Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir—who narrated from Ibrāhīm b. Yazī al-Nukhaʿī from ʿAlqamah b. Qays al-Nukhaʿī from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and eventually from the Prophet—as one of the soundest chains that has been agreed upon. The chain that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (1st column, 3rd row) and Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (2nd column, 2nd row) provide, both on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, differ slightly from al-Dhahabī's as it mentions Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash who narrated from Ibrāhīm from ʿAlqamah from ʿAbd Allāh and eventually from the Prophet.

It is clear that al-Dhahabī did not just copy this section from Ibn al-Ṣalāh or from Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd. A possible source for the chain he mentions could be the *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, which also mentions this chain among the soundest.[120] However, going through the chapter of al-Nīsābūrī one cannot but realize that he deviates significantly from the rest of al-Dhahabī's mentioned chains. Only three of these also occur in al-Nīsābūrī's work. They are

---

[118] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah*, 81.
[119] Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, *Iqtirāḥ*, 222.
[120] See al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *Maʿrifah*, 229.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

the chains of Mālik – Nāfiʿ – Ibn ʿUmar, al-Zuhrī – Sālim – his father, and Maʿmar – Hammām – Abū Hurayrah.[121] It would follow that from the fifteen chains mentioned by al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, al-Dhahabī only cites four; or to put it another way, al-Dhahabī only cites four out of a total of eleven chains. The other seven chains in the *Mūqiẓah* do not occur either in al-Ḥākim's work or in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's, or in Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's.

Therefore, it is rather unlikely that al-Dhahabī only drew from previous works on Hadith studies and trusted their judgment. It is more likely that he relied on his experience as a Hadith critic and scholar, putting together his list by himself. His expertise is documented by the large collection of biographies in his historiographical works and biographical dictionaries. There we also find evidence of why he preferred the chain through Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir over the chain through Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash. In his *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, al-Dhahabī includes biographical entries for both individuals. The entries are impressive in terms of length. The biography of al-Aʿmash covers about six pages in two columns, while that of Manṣūr covers four. In comparison with the average length of other biographies (about half a page) these much longer entries convey a sense of the importance that al-Dhahabī attributed to both Hadith narrators.[122]

The biographies start by mentioning the full name and date of birth of the individuals. The second paragraph already contains the most important information, at least for the purpose of this paper. Of Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash, al-Dhahabī mentions that he had met Anas b. Mālik, the Prophet's Companion, and that he narrated from him as well as from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Awfā. However, and this is an important piece of information for al-Dhahabī, al-Aʿmash seemed to have narrated about ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Awfā in an unclear manner (*tadlīs*). In practice, this means that al-Aʿmash either used to cite the traditions he heard with the expression "on the authority of," so that it remains unclear whether or not he heard the tradition from the narrator directly or through a third individual, or he used to name the narrators under an epithet that was less well-known, so that there remains a chance of confusing the narrators participating in the transmission.[123] Al-Dhahabī states, "He saw Anas b. Mālik, spoke of him (*ḥakā ʿanhū*), and narrated from him, as well as from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Awfā, however in an unclear way (*ʿalā maʿnā al-tadlīs*). This man, with his excellence, was a *mudallis*."[124] The rest of the biography contains more details about what and from whom al-Aʿmash narrated, and who narrated from him. Al-Dhahabī also praises al-Aʿmash, leaving little doubt that he considered him a

---

[121] Ibid., 229–30.

[122] See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*.

[123] For a technical definition of the term "*tadlīs*" and its meaning, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifah*, 156–62.

[124] al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 1924.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

highly reliable individual overall. For the question of the soundest chain, however, the information that al-Aʿmash used to be rather unclear about the specifics of his narrations is relevant, so that al-Dhahabī rates him lower than Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir.

Al-Dhahabī follows a similar structure for the biography of Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir. Beginning with the full name, al-Dhahabī lists authorities Manṣūr narrated from. He also states that he did not find any information about Manṣūr travelling or narrating from the Prophet's Companions, although he must have met several in Kufah where some of the Companions lived during his youth. Already in the next paragraph, al-Dhahabī provides his reader with some highly relevant information. He states that Manṣūr was preferred over al-Aʿmash and that it was even said that the soundest chain of all was that of Sufyān al-Thawrī narrating from Manṣūr narrating from Ibrāhīm narrating from ʿAlqamah narrating from Masʿūd.[125] This is exactly the chain al-Dhahabī mentioned in his *Mūqiẓah*. He also cites the Hadith critic Abū Ḥātam al-Rāzī saying that although al-Aʿmash was a great narrator, he made mistakes (*yukhalliṭu*) and used to be rather unclear about the specifics of his narrations, while Manṣūr was more accurate and avoided both mistakes and lack of clarity about the specifics of his narrations.[126]

Taking both entries into consideration, it becomes clear that al-Dhahabī does not simply abridge any of the two previous works on the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth.* It is more likely that he compiled his treatise—at least one can say this for the chapter in question—on the basis of his expertise as a Hadith scholar himself.

### 2.3.2. The accepted narration (*al-ḥadīth al-ḥasan*)

The same intertextuality can be found between other chapters of the *Mūqiẓah* and the other works of al-Dhahabī. For example, in the chapter on the accepted narration, al-Dhahabī provides a list of transmitters and chains that are perceived as accepted and trustworthy, albeit not on the same level as the sound transmission and chain. Similar to the list of the soundest narrations, al-Dhahabī again arranges the accepted narrators (*ruwāt al-ḥasan*) according their level of acceptance (*marātib al-ḥasan*). Again, we notice the practical orientation of al-Dhahabī. Like the sound narration, the definition of the accepted narration is also highly controversial. In his *Mūqiẓah*, al-Dhahabī begins by highlighting this fact (*fī taḥrīr maʿnāhu iḍṭirāb*).[127] While discussing the various attempts by previous scholars, amongst them Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Daqīq al-Īd, he enumer-

---

[125] Ibid., 3958–59.

[126] Ibid., 3960.

[127] al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 26.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ates his own objections to various definitions (or their lack of definition) of the accepted narration in a clear manner. Al-Dhahabī himself defines the accepted narration as one that is ranked above a weak tradition but does not reach the level of a sound one.[128] He also states that it is free from weak narrators,[129] and that its chain of transmission fell little short of the level of sound narrations.[130]

In theory, this might be a plausible definition—as are most of the other definitions discussed by al-Dhahabī. However, the practical challenge to differentiate sound and accepted tradition begins with the problem that Hadith critics often did not give a consistent judgment about narrators. The same narrator can be characterized with the highest level of accuracy and integrity by one scholar while another Hadith critic might have reservations and even mentions flaws. Because of this, working with concrete material to evaluate chains of transmission, i.e. examining biographical dictionaries, eventually decides about the usefulness of a definition. Scholars such as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, who were primarily jurists, may have taken into consideration the definitions by earlier scholars and a sample of chains of transmission to get to their definitions.

Al-Dhahabī, by contrast, approaches the Hadith sciences from the practical point of view. He backs his preferred definition with a list of examples.[131] In addition, he compiled two biographical dictionaries that seem to be the practical expression of the theoretical discussion in the *Mūqiẓah.* These are the *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naqd al-rijāl* and *al-Mughnī fī l-ḍuʿafāʾ*. As al-Dhahabī mentions in his introduction to the *Mīzān* that he compiled the *Mughnī* first before compiling the *Mīzān.*[132] Both works contain very similar material. However, the *Mughnī* provides very brief and concise information, barely a line for each individual, while the *Mīzān* is much more extended. As for the content, al-Dhahabī discusses all narrators who are either liars and fabricators (*kadhdhab waḍḍāʿ*), disregarded due to their unreliability (*matrūk*), unreliable (*ḍuʿafāʾ*), or basically trustworthy and honest (*ṣādiq*) but frequently mistaken; those who have some minor flaws (*fīhim shayʾ min al-layn*), and those about whom any Hadith critic has simply said something negative.[133]

For example, in the *Mūqiẓah*, al-Dhahabī counts the chain of Bahz b. Ḥakī, who narrated from his father who narrated from his father, as the highest accepted narration (*aʿlā marātib al-ḥasan*). This information is supported in his *Mughnī* and *Mīzān.*

---

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid., 27.

[130] Ibid., 28.

[131] Ibid., 32–33.

[132] al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, 45.

[133] al-Dhahabī, *Mughnī*, 1:35; idem, *Mīzān*, 46–47.

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

In the *Mughnī*, al-Dhahabī writes: "Bahz b. Ḥakīm b. Muʿāwiyah al-Qushayrī is trustworthy but has some minor flaws. His narrations are accepted (*ḥasan*). Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Maʿīn and al-Nasāʾī state that he is trustworthy (*waththaqahu*), and Abū Dawūd stated that his narrations are sound (*aḥādīthuhū ṣiḥāḥ*). However, Abū Ḥātam said that one cannot build an argument on him (*lā yuḥtajju bihī*), while Abū Zurʿah stated that he is a useful narrator (*ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*). Al-Ḥākim al-Nīsabūrī said that he was excluded from the *ṣaḥīḥ* works since there exists a narration from him that is exceptional, contradictory."[134]

In his *Mīzān*, al-Dhahabī goes into much more detail and quotes more authorities, giving the reader a clearer idea about what previous scholars thought would reduce an individual's integrity and trustworthiness. Since the entry in the *Mīzān* extend to a full two pages, only selected examples are presented here, those that are not mentioned in the *Mughnī:*

> "[…] Aḥmad b. Bashīr said, 'I once went to Bahz and met him while he was playing chess.' Ibn Ḥibbān said that he used to err a lot. However, Aḥmad and Isḥāq used to argue with his narrations, while other authorities did not consider his narrations. I [al-Dhahabī] say that no scholar ignored him completely, but avoided only to build an argument on his narrations. Then he [Ibn Ḥibbān] continued by saying that if it weren't for his narration, 'We would take it [alms] and half of his money as a fine for God,'[135] we would have included him among the trustworthy narrators. He is one for whom we ask for God's help [to evaluate him] […]"[136]

### 2.3.3. The generations of transmitters (*ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ*)

The last example of intertextuality in al-Dhahabī's works is related to his efforts to conceptualize the generations of narrators (*ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ*). On the one hand, he aims for a classification of narrators according their place within the chain of transmission. All individuals who narrate from the Prophet are Companions; those who narrate from the Companions are *tābiʿūn,* etc. For the early generations that might be easier to do, but it becomes a very difficult task considering the inconsistencies in birth and death dates recorded by historians, as well as the *samāʿ* relations. Also, information in chains of transmission might be corrupt, fabricated or unclear, so that it is not an easy process to evaluate all necessary information. On the other hand, al-Dhahabī builds his typology

---

[134] al-Dhahabī, *Mughnī*, 1:181.

[135] This quotation is part of a narration in which a man refused to pay his part of the obligatory alms (*zakāh*), so that the Prophet said that the alms as well as a part of his money should be taken as a fine for refusing to fulfil his obligation in the first place. See for an example of the discussion around the legal implications of this narration from the perspective of a medieval Hanbali scholar Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *Mughnī*, 4:90–91.

[136] al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, 1:329–330.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

around outstanding narrators, and mentions mostly very famous ones. This is probably due to their importance in the transmission system, but also to practical reasons, since the total number of narrators is impossible to count.

In the *Mūqiẓah*, he provides a list of twenty-four generations. Each generation is represented by up to five named individuals, or even groups such as "the students of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd" (*aṣḥāb yaḥyā b. saʿīd*).[137] The classification of narrators is also connected to the difficult task of evaluating narrators according to their integrity. Hence, al-Dhahabī gives a list of judgements that are found in the writings of earlier Hadith critics. For example, terms such as "*imām*, *ḥujjah*, *thabt*, *thiqat thiqah*, *thiqat ḥāfiẓ*, *thiqat mutqin*" refer to the reliability of individuals,[138] while terms such as "*fulān ḥasan al-ḥadīth*, *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*, *ṣadūq in shāʾa llāh*" refer to their status of being accepted but not on the same level as the trustworthy narrators.[139] And terms such as "*laysa bi-l-qawī*" (not very strong) could mean a narrator is accepted by one scholar but considered weak by another.[140]

Again, the long list of terms, individuals, and detailed disagreements that al-Dhahabī mentions in the *Mūqiẓah* are reflected by him in other works as well. Besides the ones already mentioned, i.e. *Siyar*, *Mughnī* and *Mīzān*, we need to add his *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, *al-Muʿīn fī ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn*, and a poem entitled *Ṭabaqāt l-ḥuffāẓ* in which he put the names of the narrators with a brief significant characterization in verse form. All three works are concerned with the classification of transmitters and narrators and therefore structure the biographies according their generation, instead of e.g. an alphabetical structure. The *Tadhkirah*, in addition, evaluates the narrators, or at least presents the material upon which one can draw conclusions about their respective status.[141]

## Conclusion

Despite its brevity, the *Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣtalaḥ al-ḥadīth* is a very rich and dense treatise that offers an entry into al-Dhahabī's efforts in the field of Hadith transmission and study. The comparison to the works of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd showed that it should be considered an independent work, i.e. that al-Dhahabī did not abridge either of the other treatises. Therefore, the characterization of the medieval scholar al-Suyūṭī and that of modern Arabic researchers is rather inaccurate. They probably judged by the similar structure and

---

[137] See al-Dhahabī, *Mūqiẓah*, ed. Abū Ghuddah, 68–76.

[138] Ibid., 76–77.

[139] Ibid., 81–85.

[140] Ibid.

[141] See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

by the fact that al-Dhahabī cited his predecessors. However, it is more likely that al-Dhahabī, since he was well aware of the both other treatises and cited them, used them as sources to draw from, while presenting to his readers his own views and opinions as a well-versed Hadith scholar himself.

In putting the *Mūqiẓah* into the context of his other writings, it could be shown that it was much more than just a brief introduction into the Hadith sciences. Rather the *Mūqiẓah* seems to be the connection between his other writings. His impressive biographical dictionaries, formerly characterized by modern scholars as works of historiography, appear in the light of the *Mūqiẓah* at least partially in the service of Hadith studies. One might even wonder whether al-Dhahabī did not have Hadith studies in mind while compiling even his *Tarīkh al-islām*, which, apart from the sections that deal with the history of events, also contains material and information relevant for Hadith studies. In any case, the *Mūqiẓah* brings to light al-Dhahabī's holistic approach to both, Hadith studies and historiography.

A last, unanswered, question regarding the *Mūqiẓah* is that of the reason of composition and the possible audience, both actual and imagined. Since al-Dhahabī himself provides no information, one can only speculate. But it seems very likely that the *Mūqiẓah* was intended as a teaching manual. Al-Dhahabī must have spent much time with teaching in the *dūr al-ḥadīth* of Damascus, given the fact that at some point in his life he held at least three or four positions simultaneously. A manual as dense but rich as the *Mūqiẓah* was not only a very thoughtfully arranged introduction into the Hadith sciences. It also would have been a great introduction into the related sciences of evaluating narrators and dealing with the complex field of contradicting biographical data and information about the transmitters.

As for the reception of the work, we can again only speculate. Both editors of the printed editions do not make any statement about the manuscript(s) used and about how many copies they used. But since I could not locate any other copy except for the one in the Ẓāhirīyah Library (no. 963), they probably used this as well. So far, I have not been able to identify any commentary on the *Mūqiẓah* either, which indicates that the work did not experience a wider reception.

Despite all these unanswered questions, the *Mūqiẓah* is still a very interesting piece of scholarship that offers unique insight in the scholarly approach of Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## Bibliography

### Sources

al-ʿAwnī, Ḥātim b. ʿĀrif, *Sharḥ mūqiẓat al-dhahabī*, Riyadh 2006.

al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Mughnī fī al-ḍuʿafāʾ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, 2 vols., Qatar 1987.

–, *al-Muʿīn fī ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynuhum Muḥammad ʿAzb, Cairo 1987.

–, *Muʿjam shuyūkh al-dhahabī*, ed. Rawḥīyah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfī, Beirut 1990.

–, *al-Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah, 2nd ed., Beirut 1992.

–, *al-Mūqiẓah fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Munʿim Salīm, n.p. 1994.

–, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍwān ʿIrqsūsī et al., 5 vols., Damascus 2009.

–, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Ḥassān ʿAbd al-Mannān, Beirut 2004.

–, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ wa-asmāʾ al-mudallisīn*, ed. Muḥammad Zayād b. ʿUmar al-Tuklah, Beirut 2009.

–, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Muʿallimī, 4 vols., Beirut n.d.

al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth wa-kammīyat ajnāsihī*, ed. Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Salūm, Beirut 2003.

Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, Muḥammad, *al-Iqtirāḥ fī bayān al-iṣṭilāḥ wa-mā uḍīfa ilā dhālika min al-aḥādīth al-maʿdūdah min al-ṣiḥāḥ*, ed. Qaḥṭān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dūrī, Amman 2007.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wārith, 4 vols., Beirut 1997.

–, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ nukhbat al-fikar fī muṣṭalaḥ ahl al-athar*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḍayf Allāh al-Ruḥaylī, Riyadh 2001.

Ibn al-ʿImād, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Aḥmad, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ, 10 vols., Beirut and Damascus 1986.

Ibn Kathīr, Ismāʿīl, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 21 vols., Cairo 1997.

Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Mughnī fī fiqh al-imām aḥmad b. ḥanbal al-shaybānī*, eds. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥalw, 3rd ed., 15 vols., Riyadh 1997.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Taqī al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shahrazūrī, *Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, eds. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Hamīm and Māhir Yāsīn al-Faḥl, Beirut 2002.

–, *Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, transl. Eerik Dickinson, *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth: Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, Reading 2006.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 2nd ed., Riyadh 2000.

al-Nawawī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā b. Sharaf, *al-Manhal al-rāwī min taqrīb al-nawawī*, ed. Muṣṭafā Saʿīd al-Khinn, Beirut n.d.

–, *al-Taqrīb wa-l-taysīr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Khasht, Beirut 1985.

–, *Irshād ṭullāb al-ḥaqāʾiq*, ed. ʿAbd al-Bāriʾ Fatḥ Allāh al-Salafī, Medina 1987.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

al-Nuʿaymī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, 2 vols., Beirut 1990.

al-Rāmhurmuzī, al-Ḥasan, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna al-rāwī wa-l-wāʿī*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAjjāj al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1971.

Salīm, ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Jamʿ bayna al-mūqiẓah wa-l-iqtirāḥ fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth wa-ʿulūmihī*, Dammam 2003.

al-Silafī, ʿAlī, *Muʿjam al-safar*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ʿUmar al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1993.

al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿīyah al-kubrā*, eds. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 10 vols., Cairo 1964.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Baḥr alladhī zakhar fī sharḥ alfīyat al-athar*, ed. Abū Anas Anīs b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Andūnūsī, 4 vols., Medina 1999.

al-Ṭabarī, al-Raḍī Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī maʿrifat ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAwwād al-Khalaf, Beirut 2012.

## Studies

Amin, Kamaruddin, “Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī on Muslim’s Ṣaḥīḥ: A Critical Study of His Method,” *Islamic Law and Society* 11/2 (2004), pp. 149–76.

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven, “al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn (1274–1348),” in: *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, ed. Daniel R. Woolf, New York and London 1998, pp. 235–36.

Ben Cheneb, Mohamad and Joseph de Somogyi, “al-Dhahabī,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:214–16.

Bori, Caterina, “Ibn Taymiyya *wa-Jamāʿatu-hu:* Authority, Conflict and Consensus in Ibn Taymiyya’s Circle,” in: *Ibn Taymiyya and his times*, eds. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed, Oxford 2010, pp. 23–52.

Boulouh-Bartschat, Swantje, “Methoden und Verhalten bei Erwerb und Tradierung von Aḥādīṯ am Beispiel Abī Ṭāhir as-Silafīs,” *Jahrbuch für Islamische Theologie und Religionspädagogik* 1 (2012), pp. 123–42.

Brown, Jonathan, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon*, Leiden 2007.

–, *Hadith: Muhammad’s Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford 2009.

Davidson, Garrett, Carrying on the Tradition: An Intellectual and Social History of Post-Canonical Hadith Transmission, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 2014.

de Somogyi, Joseph, “Ein arabisches Kompendium der Weltgeschichte: Das Kitāb Duwal al-Islām des adh-Dhahabī,” *Islamica* 5 (1932a), pp. 334–53.

–, “The Taʾrīkh al-Islam of adh-Dhahabī,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 64/4 (1932b), pp. 815–55.

–, “Adh-Dhahabī’s Taʾrīkh al-Islām as an Authority on the Mongol Invasion of the Caliphate,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 68/4 (1936), pp. 595–604.

–, “Adh-Dhahabī’s Record of the Destruction of Damascus by the Mongols in 699–700/1299–1301,” in: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, eds. Samuel Löwinger and Joseph de Somogyi, Budapest 1948, pp. 353–86.

Dickinson, Eerik, “Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/3 (2002), pp. 481–505.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

El-Shamsy, Ahmed, “The First Shāfiʿī: The Traditionalist Legal Thought of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Buwayṭī (d. 231/846),” *Islamic Law and Society* 14/3 (2007), pp. 301–41.

Gharaibeh, Mohammad, “The Buldāniyyāt of as-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1496): A Case Study on Knowledge Specialization and Knowledge Brokerage in the Field of Ḥadīṯ Collections,” in: *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517): Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study II*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Göttingen 2016, pp. 81–105.

–, The Sociology of Commentarial Literature: An analysis of the commentary tradition of the Muqaddima of Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, unpublished habilitation, University of Bonn 2019.

Gilbert, Joan E., “Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the ʿUlamāʾ in Medieval Damascus,” *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980), pp. 105–34.

al-Ḥāfiẓ, Muḥammad Muṭīʿ, *Dūr al-ḥadīth al-sharīf bi-dimashq*, Damascus 2010.

Hirschler, Konrad, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, Edinburgh 2012.

Hofer, Nathan, *The popularization of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1325*, Edinburgh 2015.

Lapidus, Ira M., “Ayyubid Religious Policy and the Development of Schools of Law in Cairo,” in: *Colloque international sur l’histoire du Caire*, ed. André Raymond, Cairo 1969, pp. 279–86.

Leiser, Gary, The Restoration of Sunnism in Egypt, Madrasas and Mudarrisūn 495–647/1101–1249, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1976.

Maʿrūf, Bashshār ʿAwwād, *al-Dhahabī wa-manhajuhū fī kitābihī tārīkh al-islām*, Cairo 1976.

Melchert, Christopher, “Traditionist-Jurisprudents and the Framing of Islamic Law,” *Islamic Law and Society* 8/3 (2001), pp. 383–406.

Mirza, Younus Y., Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373): His Intellectual Circle, Major Works and Qurʾānic Exegesis, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University 2012.

Miura, Toru, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus: The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Leiden 2015.

Mourad, Suleiman A. and James E. Lindsay, *The intensification and reorientation of Sunni jihad ideology in the Crusader period: Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus (1105–1176) and his age, with an edition and translation of Ibn ʿAsākir’s* The forty hadiths for inciting jihad, Leiden 2012.

al-Qāḍī, Wadād, “al-Dhahabī (673–748/1274–1348),” in: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, eds. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, London and New York 1998, p. 187.

Robinson, Chase F., *Islamic Historiography*, Cambridge 2007. (reprint Cambridge 2002)

Romanov, Maxime, Computational Reading of Arabic Biographical Collections with Special Reference to Preaching in the Sunnī World (661–1300 CE), unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan 2013.

Rosenthal, Franz, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952.

al-Shaykh, ʿAbd al-Sattār, *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dhahabī: Muʾarrikh al-islām, nāqid al-muḥaddithīn*, Damascus 1994.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Takenori Yoshimura

# The Role of Middle and Lower Rank Military Officers in Fourteenth-Century Mamluk Egypt: Establishment and Development of the Regional Administration Offices of *wālī* and *kāshif*

In this article, I will look at the regional administrative systems and organizations of Mamluk Egypt in the fourteenth century, focusing especially on the regional administrative officer ranks of *wālī* and *kāshif.* My analysis will focus on the period from the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 709–41/1309–41) to the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89 and 792–801/1390–99).

In Mamluk Egypt, it is well known that the rulers seized control of agricultural lands and rural villages through the land-holding system of *iqṭāʿ*, which was established as a result of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's land survey (*rawk al-nāṣirī*). Under this *iqṭāʿ* system each general and soldier was allocated agricultural lands according to their military rank, and they were entitled to collect taxes (e.g. *kharāj*, *jawālī*, *ḍiyāfah*, and *maks*) from these lands. Allocated lands were separated into several regions, and also frequently exchanged for other lands by the central government. These landholders (generals, soldiers, and also the sultan) attempted to develop their own effective administration. Generals would establish a private office (*dīwān al-amīr*) and send agents (*mubāshir*) to manage their estates.[1] Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself established a special government section named *dīwan al-khāṣṣ* to look after his lands and those of his own royal *mamlūk*s.

At the same time, land in Egypt was separated into regional areas in the form of provinces (*iqlīm* or *ʿamal*), although much is unclear about the relations between the central government and provinces which existed in parallel with the *iqṭāʿ* system. We will consider the solutions to this problem through the regional administration system and its officers in this period. One of the regional administrators, the *kāshif* (pl. *kushshāf*) gives us a chance to consider this problem. This position fulfilled a function similar to that of the regional governor, *wālī* (pl. *wulāh*), which had existed from the beginning of this dynasty. The title of *kāshif*

---

[1] The agents of the *dīwan al-amīr*, the *mubāshirs* consisted of *wakīl*, *shādd/mushidd*, *dawādār*, *shādd al-shūnah*, *kātib*, *shāhid*, etc., see Sato, 1997, 88–89; Rabie, 1972, 66–67.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

continued to exist even after the conquest by the Ottoman Empire, and *mamlūk* soldiers who ruled regional areas as administrators were called *kāshif al-jusūr.* In the beginning of Ottoman Egypt, they became the core of the rebel forces, such as in the rebellion against the Ottoman government of 1523.[2]

The role of the *kāshif* as regional administrator appeared even before the fourteenth century. A *kāshif* was appointed from among the amirs of forty (*amīr al-ṭablkhānah*) as the chief regional administrator above the rank of *wālī.*[3] Under the *iqṭāʿ* system the *kāshif* was given *iqṭāʿ* equivalent to an amir of forty and was in control of *mamlūk* soldiers in accordance with this rank.[4] In the Egyptian regional administration system after the establishment of Mamluk rule, *kāshif* or *wālī* was recognized as a position held by an amir of forty or an amir of ten (*amīr al-ʿasharah*). But the reason why there are fewer *iqtāʿ*s for these syndics than for regular amirs of forty or of ten has not been examined. David Ayalon mentioned that this *kāshif* was ranked higher than a *wālī*, and was an officer in the rank of an amir of forty. The results of al-Nāṣir's land survey show that a *kāshif* was given *iqtāʿ* equivalent to amirs of forty and *mamlūk*s, respectively.[5] However, Ayalon did not clarify the reasons why such an amir was sent to be a regional government officer, and not given tax land as the amirs of same rank.[6]

Although there are various opinions regarding the establishment of the position of *kāshif*, the most common understanding is that it was established by the Mamluk sultans before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad acceded to the throne, for the purpose of building and maintaining irrigation dikes in provinces as well as for tax collection, and security.[7] Hassanein Rabie believed that the office of *kāshif al-jusūr* was a supervisory position overseeing all the regional areas, charged with managing irrigation systems with the support of followers such as *wālī*s.[8] Amalia Levanoni also says that the *kāshif* were established to construct and repair regional irrigation dikes in the Mamluk period before the era of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[9]

However, these opinions about the establishment and development of the *kāshif* are based on the same historical source, Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī's (d. 873/1468) *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*,[10] and the *kāshif*'s position has not been analyzed

---

[2] Shaw, 1962, 31, 60–61.

[3] During the thirteenth up to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the *kāshif* was appointed from among the amirs of one hundred (*amīr al-miʾah*).

[4] Rabie, 1981, 61–62; Sato, 1997, 156–57. See also al-Shirbīnī, 1997, 1:222–23.

[5] Ayalon, 1954, 71.

[6] Abraham N. Poliak also mentions the low income of regional governments, but could not clarify the reason, see idem, 1937, 100. See also Sato, 1997, 153.

[7] al-Bāshā, 1966, 2:928–92, esp. 965–66; Rabie, 1981, 61–62.

[8] Rabie, 1981, 59–60.

[9] Levanoni, 1995, 169.

[10] Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah*, 129–30.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

through the historical change of official institutions in the Mamluk period. The responsibilities of the *kāshif* are usually explained through the same source, making verification of the actual responsibilities and the authority of the *kāshif* somewhat impossible.[11] Indeed, in contemporary historical sources in the early fourteenth century (e.g. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*), we do not find the term *kāshif* for the regional government officer, but only the term *wālī*.[12] Thus, we can assume that the position of *kāshif* had not yet been established. The earliest examples of *kāshif* as a regional government officer appear in the mid-fourteenth century. The few known cases are as follows: the first case is in Abū Bakr al-Dawādarī's *Kanz al-durar* where Amir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādir, who served as *kāshif al-wajh al-baḥrī*, was arrested in 714/1314.[13] The second case is in al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, where Badr al-Dīn Amīr Masʿūd was given the robe of honor of *kāshif al-wajh al-baḥrī* in 735/1335.[14]

Therefore, in this article, I will analyze the changes in position of the regional administrators and their system, focusing on the office of *kāshif*, from the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad throughout the earlier Mamluk period, which ended when al-Ẓāhir Barqūq came to power as atabek and sultan. I will also give an outline of the historical changes to regional administrative systems in the late fourteenth century.

| **Provinces of Lower Egypt in the Fatimid Dynasty after al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh's reform** | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Province | Provincial Capital |
| 1 | Alexandria | Alexandria |
| 2 | al-Buḥayrah | Damanhūr |
| 3 | Fuwwah wa-l-Muzāḥimīyatayn | Fuwwah |
| 4 | Rashīd | Rashīd |
| 5 | al-Nastrāwīyah | Nastrāwīyah |
| 6 | al-Ṭamarīsīyah | Ṭamarīs |
| 7 | al-Danjawīyah | Danjawīyah |
| 8 | Dimyāṭ | Dimyāṭ |
| 9 | al-Ibwānīyah | Ibwān |
| 10 | al-Fāqūsīyah | Fāqūs |
| 11 | al-Sharqīyah | Bilbays |
| 12 | al-Martāḥīyah | Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ |
| 13 | al-Daqahlīyah | Daqahlah |

---

[11] Ibid., 129–30.

[12] Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 1:106, 119.

[13] al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:274.

[14] al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah*, 245–55.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14 | al-Samnūdīyah | Samnūd |
| 15 | al-Sakhāwīyah | Sakhā |
| 16 | al-Sanhūrīyah | Sanhūr |
| 17 | Ḥawf Ramsīs | Ramsīs |
| 18 | Jazīrat Banī Naṣr | Abyār |
| 19 | al-Ṭandatāwīyah | Ṭandatā |
| 20 | Jazīrat Quwaysnā | Quwaysnā |
| 21 | al-Manūfītānī | Manūf |
| 22 | al-Qalyūbīyah | Qalyūb |

| **Provinces of Lower Egypt after Nāṣir Muḥammad's Land Survey** | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Province | Provincial Capital |
| 1 | Ḍawāḥī Miṣr/Cairo | Cairo and Miṣr |
| 2 | al-Qalyūbīyah | Qalyūb |
| 3 | al-Sharqīyah | Bilbays |
| 4 | al-Daqahlīyah wa-l-Martāḥīyah | Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ |
| 5 | Dimyāṭ | Dimyāṭ |
| 6 | al-Gharbīyah | al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā |
| 7 | al-Manūfītānī | Manūf |
| 8 | Abyār wa-Jazīrat Banī Naṣr | Abyār |
| 9 | al-Buḥayrah | Damanhūr |
| 10 | Fuwwah wa-l-Muzāḥimīyatayn | Fuwwah |
| 11 | al-Nastrāwīyah | Nastrāwīyah |
| 12 | Alexandria | Alexandria |

Table 1: Lower Egypt (Delta Area/*al-wajh al-baḥrī*)

The number of provinces in Upper and Lower Egypt varied by era. In the era of Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh, Lower Egypt was separated into 22 provinces,[15] and it is thought that this arrangement continued until the early Mamluk era. After Nāṣir Muḥammad's land survey, Lower Egypt was reorganized into 12 provinces.[16]

| **Provinces of Upper Egypt after Nasir Muhammad's Land Survey** | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Province | Provincial Capital |
| 1 | Giza | Giza |
| 2 | al-Iṭfīḥīyah | Iṭfīḥ |
| 3 | al-Bahnasāwīyah | al-Bahnasā |

---

[15] Ṭūsūn, 1926, 1:4–13, plate no. 6. Cf. Ḥasan, 1967, 232–36.

[16] Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Tuḥfah*, 3–4.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

| **Provinces of Upper Egypt after Nasir Muhammad's Land Survey** | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | al-Fayyūmīyah | al-Fayyūm |
| 5 | al-Ushmūnayn wa-l-Ṭaḥāwīyah | al-Ushmūnayn |
| 6 | al-Manfalūṭīyah | Manfalūṭ |
| 7 | al-Asyūṭīyah | Asyūṭ |
| 8 | al-Ikhmīmīyah | Ikhmīm |
| 9 | al-Qūṣīyah | Qūṣ |
| 10 | Aswan | Aswan |

Table 2: Upper Egypt (Said Area/*al-wajh al-qiblī*)

No changes to the administrative districts of Upper Egypt were made. Upper Egypt was divided into 10 provinces as shown in the following table.[17]

## 1. Provinces and Regional Administration in the Mamluk Period

It is thought that in Ayyubid Egypt the regional administrative officers like *wālī*s did not exist, and that instead each province was controlled by *muqtaʿ*s themselves.[18] In the early Mamluk period, *wālī*s were appointed as regional administrators to Egyptian provinces, and *nāʾib*s were appointed as provincial rulers in Syria (i.e. to Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, Safad, and Gaza). Regional *wālī*s were sent to nine provinces in Lower Egypt and six provinces in Upper Egypt. Important areas in the provinces were considered posts for amirs of forty, while other, less important areas were for amirs of ten. Al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* mentions that the *kāshif*s and the higher ranked *wālī*s were appointed from among the amirs of forty, and the lower ranked *wālī*s were appointed from among the amirs of ten. Al-Qalqashandī lists 15 *wālī*s in Upper and Lower Egypt before al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reform (see Table 3).[19] The number of *wālī*s is less than the number of provinces in the whole of Egypt, and the table shows that a higher ranked *wālī* controlled several provinces at the same time.

---

[17] Ibid.

[18] Rabie, 1990, 89–90.

[19] al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:26–27.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

| | Rank of amir | Province (ʿ*amal*/*iqlīm*) | Capital (*al-markaz*) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lower Egypt (*al-wajh al-baḥrī*) | Amir of forty | *wālī* (*thaghr*) *al-iskandarīyah* | Alexandria |
| | | *wālī al-gharbīyah* | al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā |
| | | *wālī al-sharqīyah* | Bilbays |
| | | *wālī al-manūfīyah* | Manūfah |
| | | *wālī al-buḥayrah* | Damanfūr |
| | Amir of ten | *wālī qalyūbīyah* | Qalyūb |
| | | *wālī al-daqahlīyah wa-l-marātāḥīyah* | Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ |
| | | *wālī dimyāṭ* | Dimyāṭ |
| | | *wālī qaṭyā* | Baldat Qaṭyā |
| Upper Egypt (*al-wajh al-qiblī*) | Amir of forty | *wālī al-bahnasāwīyah* | al-Bahnasā |
| | | *wālī al-ushmūnayn* | al-Ushmūnayn |
| | | *wālī al-qūṣīyah wa-l-ikhmīmīyah* (Aswan and Aydhāb are controlled by the *wālī al-qūṣīyah*) | Qūṣ |
| | Amir of ten | *wālī al-jīzīyah* | al-Jīzah |
| | | *wālī al-iṭfīḥīyah* | Iṭfīḥ |
| | | *wālī al-manfalūṭīyah* | Manfalūṭ |

Table 3: Rank of amirs in Lower and Upper Egypt

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

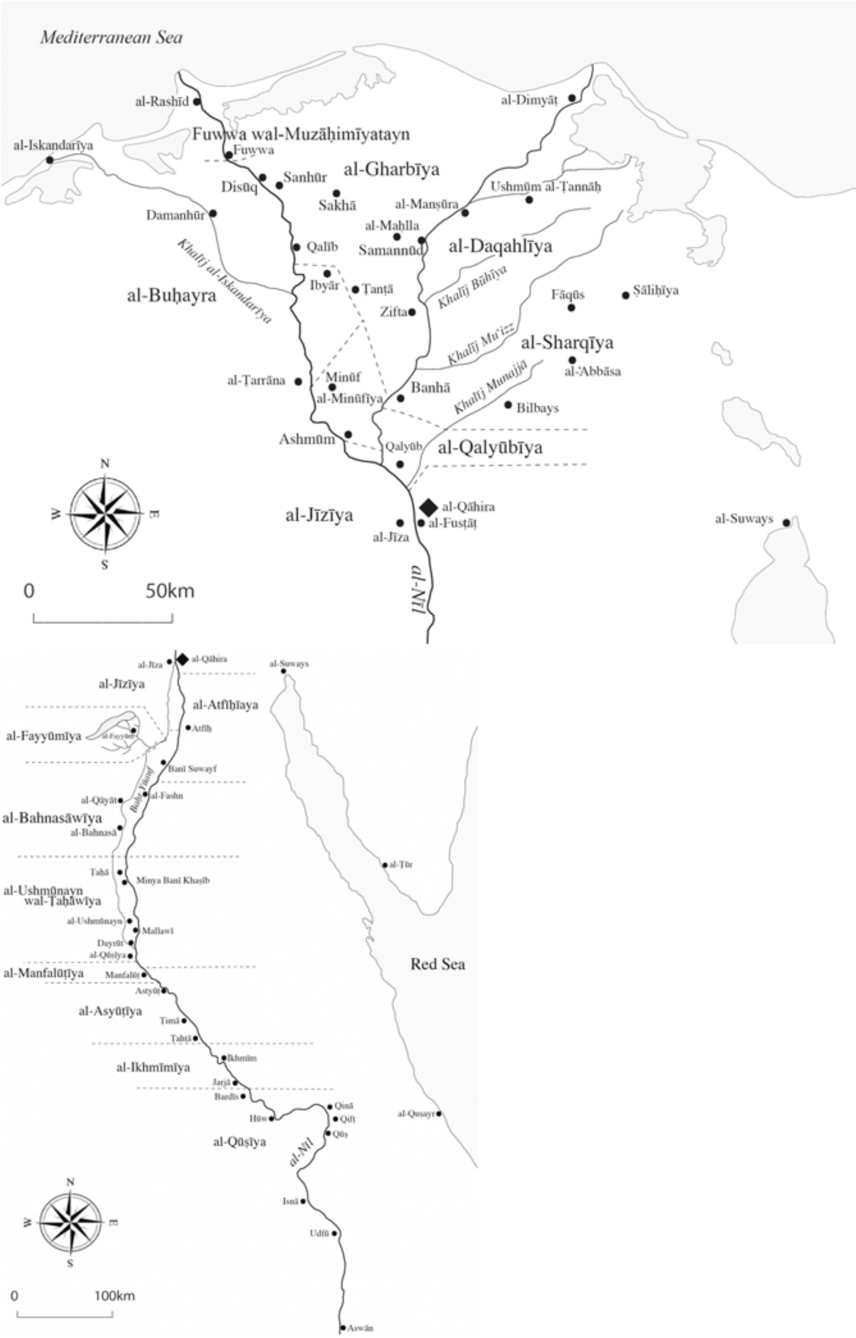

Mediterranean Sea
al-Rashīd
al-Dimyāṭ
Fuwwa wal-Muzāḥimīyatayn
Fuwwa
al-Iskandarīya
Sanhūr
al-Gharbīya
Disūq
Ushmūm al-Ṭannāḥ
Sakhā
al-Manṣūra
Damanhūr
al-Maḥlla
Qalīb
Samannūd
al-Daqahlīya
Khalīj al-Iskandarīya
Ibyār
Ṭanṭā
Khalīj Baḥīya
Fāqūs
Ṣāliḥīya
al-Buḥayra
Ziftā
Khalīj Mu'izz
al-Sharqīya
al-'Abbāsa
al-Ṭarrāna
Minūf
al-Minūfīya
Banhā
Khalīj Munajjā
Bilbays
Ashmūm
Qalyūb
al-Qalyūbīya
N
W
E
S
al-Qāhira
al-Jīzīya
al-Fusṭāṭ
al-Suways
al-Jīza
al-Nīl
0
50km
al-Jīza
al-Qāhira
al-Suways
al-Jīzīya
al-Atfīḥīaya
al-Fayyūmīya
al-Fayyūm
Atfīḥ
Banī Suwayf
Baḥr Yūsuf
al-Qāyāt
al-Fashn
al-Bahnasāwīya
al-Bahnasā
Ṭaḥā
Minya Banī Khaṣīb
al-Ṭūr
al-Ushmūnayn
wal-Ṭaḥāwīya
al-Ushmūnayn
Mallawī
Dayrūṭ
al-Qūṣīya
Red Sea
al-Manfalūṭīya
Manfalūṭ
Asyūṭ
al-Asyūṭīya
Ṭimā
Ṭahṭā
Ikhmīm
al-Ikhmīmīya
Jarjā
Bardīs
Qinā
Hūw
Qifṭ
al-Quṣayr
Qūṣ
al-Qūṣīya
al-Nīl
N
W
E
S
Isnā
Udfū
0
100km
Aswān

Fig. 1: Egypt in the Mamluk era. Source: Sato, 1997.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

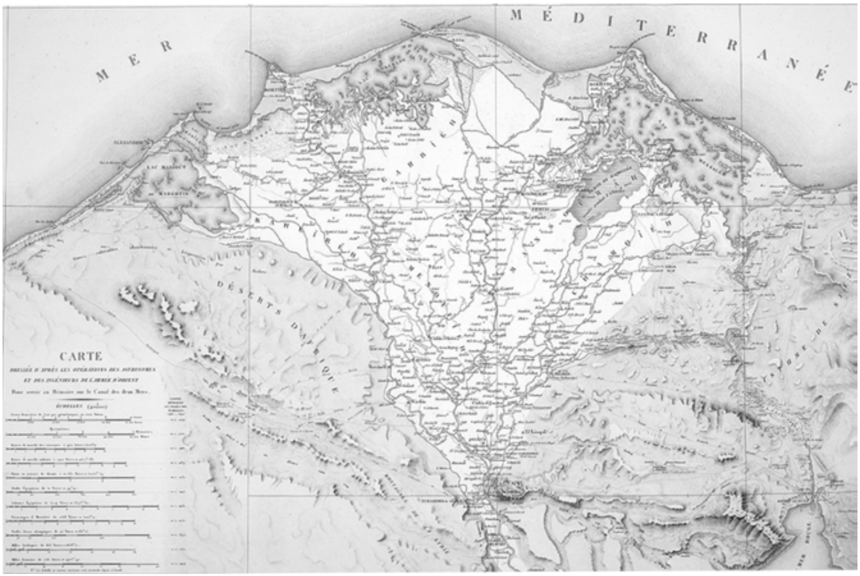


Fig. 2: Provinces of Lower Egypt in the Fatimid era (fifth/tenth century). Source: Ṭūsūn, 1926, plate no. 6.

In another passage al-Qalqashandī explains how the position of *kāshif* changed before and after al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reform:

> *Kushshāf*: Before the *nāʾib*s of Upper and Lower Egypt were established, the *kāshif*, who is called chief *wālī* (*wālī al-wulāh*), was appointed to these two regions. After the establishment of *nāʾib*s of Upper and Lower Egypt, the *kāshif* continued to be selected from amirs of forty as before, but he was placed under the authority of the *nāʾib* in each region. The *kāshif* of Lower Egypt is located at Minyat Ghamr in Sharkīyah Province. The *kāshif* of Upper Egypt was transferred to al-Bafnasāwīyah and al-Fayyūm. The *wālī* of al-Fayyūm was repealed, and all remaining areas of Upper Egypt have been put under the authority of *nāʾib*s. The *kāshif* of Giza Province had only the single duty to provide reports on its agricultural land and its irrigation system in rural village *nāḥiyah*s.[20]

The authority of the *kāshif*, explained above, was transferred to the *nāʾib* after al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reform of the regional administrative system. A *kāshif* now had jurisdiction in a limited area under the supervision of the *nāʾib*. One of the most important changes to the administrative system by the establishment of the post of *nāʾib* was that he had the power and authority to appoint and dismiss *kāshif*s and *wālī*s, which the *kāshif* had not had.

---

[20] Ibid., 4:25.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 2. Benefits and Responsibilities of Regional Administrators

The reasons why the income of a *kāshif* was lower than that of amirs the same rank are not clear, although the sources allow us to catch glimpses of evidence for their incomes. See for example the description in *al-Mawāʿiz wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* by Aḥmad b. al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442):

> Classification of regional administrators (*kāshif* and *wālī*) in each province (*iqlīm*): Amir of forty: al-Buḥayrah, al-Gharbīyah, al-Sharqīyah, al-Manūfīyah, Qaṭyā, *kāshif al-jīzah* (Giza), al-Fayyūm, al-Bahnasā, al-Ushmūnayn, Qūṣ, Aswan, *kāshif al-wajh al-baḥrī*, *kāshif al-wajh al-qiblī*. Regional administrators are appointed in each province above, and each of them has 560 *mamlūk* soldiers.
> Amir of ten: Ashmūn al-Rammān, Qalyūb, al-Jīzah, Turūjā, *ḥājib al-iskandarīyah*, Iṭfīḥ, Manfalūṭ. Each administrator or *wālī* has 70 *mamlūk* soldiers…
> A *kāshif*'s income (*ʿibrah*) is 20,000 *dīnār jayshī* (DNJ). One DNJ is converted to 8 dirhams (DH) of silver. In other words, the total income is 160,000 DH. The expense for moving the tax grains is 15,000 DH, therefore the real income (*khāliṣ*) is 145,000 DH. The income of *wālī*s from amirs of forty is 15,000 DNJ. One DNJ is converted to 8 DH. In other words, the total income is 120,000 DH. Expenses are 10,000 DH; therefore, the real income is 110,000 DH. The income of *wālī*s from amirs of ten is 5,000 DNJ. One DNJ is converted to 7 DH. In other words, the total amount of income is 35,000 DH. Expenses are 3,000 DH; therefore, the real income is 32,000 DH.[21]

On the other hand, the actual place of the tax land *iqṭāʿ* given to the *kāshif* and the *wālī* is unknown. However, Ibn al-Jīʿān mentions in his work *al-Tuḥfah al-sanīyah* some tax lands in Lower Egypt belonging to a *wālī* during the era of Sultan al-Ashraf al-Shaʿbān (r. 1363–77). Two villages of al-Turʿah min Kafūr Minūfah (*ʿibrah:* 316 feddan, 1,200 DNJ) in Minūfīyah Province and al-Kawm al-Akhḍar (*ʿibrah:* 109 feddan, 1700 DNJ) in Buḥayrah Province are *iqṭāʿ*s for the *wālī al-gharbīyah*, and one village of Asmanīyah (*ʿibrah:* 976 feddan, 2000 DNJ) in al-Buḥayrah is an *iqṭāʿ* for the *wālī al-buḥayrah.*[22]

From this description by the *Tuḥfah*, *iqṭāʿ* given to the *wālī* of al-Gharbīyah is not the place where he is posted, while on the other hand the *wālī* of al-Buḥayrah owned *iqṭāʿ* lands in the location where he was posted. This description of the *Tuḥfah* does not add up to the amount of the *kāshif*'s income al-Maqrīzī mentions above, and scholars therefore believe that the remaining lands given to these *wālī*s existed in other places. In conclusion, *wālī*s were given plots of lands as *iqṭāʿ* in the province they were posted to as well as in other places. However, the *Tuḥfah* does not provide information about a *kāshif*'s *iqṭāʿ* at all. That is to say that a *wālī* had some extra-incomes or benefits from each region he was appointed to. The

---

[21] al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:218.

[22] Ibn al-Jī ʿān, *Tuḥfah*, 101, 118, 121.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

following cases of corruption by *wālī*s provide proof of such extra incomes or benefits.

> In this year (734/1334), the sultan (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad) dismissed all regional governors (*wālī*s) and confiscated their properties. He did the same to the commissioner of the tax agency (*shādd al-dawāwīn*) and the secretary general of the treasury (*muqaddam al-dawlah*).[23]

In this case, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur, the great *wālī* of Lower Egypt (*wālī al-wulāh bi-l-wajh al-baḥrī*), Sayf al-Dīn Ṭūghān al-Shamsī, *wālī* of al-Ushmūnayn, and Sayf al-Dīn Qurashī, *wālī* of al-Sharqīyah, were banished to Syria. In addition to this, bureaucrats (*al-dawāwīn*) were also dismissed and their property confiscated the year after.[24] The following case happened in the first half of the fifteenth century:

> On a day in this month (Dhū al-Qaʿdah 826/October–November 1423), many irrigation dams of the Nile in many regions broke down and the water level of the Nile suddenly fell. These are consequences of *wālī*s' corruption. Many regions were plundered by *wālī*s and were exhausted.[25]

Al-Asadī (d. after 854/1450) in his political manual *al-Taysīr wa-l-iʿtibār wa-l-taḥrīr wa-l-ikhtiyār bi-mā yajibu min ḥusn al-tadbīr wa-l-taṣarruf wa-l-ikhtiyār* describes the position of regional administrators as follows:

> The number of *nāʾib*s, *kāshif*s and *wālī*s in provinces in Egypt is fourteen: *nāʾib al-iskandarīyah* (this position had been appointed from among the amirs of one hundred); *nāʾib al-buḥayrah; nāʾib dimyāṭ; nāʾib qūṣ; kāshif al-gharbīyah; kāshif al-sharqīyah; kāshif al-manūfīyah; kāshif al-fayyūm; kāshif al-bahnasā; kāshif al-ushmūnayn; kāshif al-baḥrī; kāshif al-qiblī; mutawallī qaṭyā; mutawallī aswān.*[26]

It is thought that this passage reflects the author's time compared with the description by al-Maqrīzī. Thus, the position of *kāshif* changed character by the introduction of the post of *nāʾib* by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq at the end of the fourteenth century, becoming relatively lower than a *wālī* who only had authority over one province. In addition, the number of posts of both *nāʾib* and *kāshif* increased around the middle of the fifteenth century, while the number of *wālī*s was reduced and *wālī*s were placed in frontier land close to the border.

Similarly, Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī's *Zubdah* describes the establishment and responsibilities of the office of *kāshif* as follows:

> The responsibilities of *kāshif* are the maintenance of irrigation systems. He is responsible only for irrigation dikes controlled by the central government (*al-jusūr al-sulṭanīyah*), not for regional dikes (*al-jusūr al-baladīyah*).

---

[23] Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 2:164.
[24] Ibid., 2:165.
[25] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:646.
[26] al-Asadī, *Taysīr*, 70.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

In the beginning of the Mamluk era, the *kāshif*s were appointed from among the amirs of one hundred in the season of spring, and they were sent to three regions: Upper and Lower Egypt and Giza Province. The *kāshif*s of Upper and Lower Egypt were chosen from among the amirs of one hundred, while the *kāshif* of Giza was appointed from among the amirs of forty or the amirs of one hundred. The *kāshif*s of Upper and Lower Egypt supervised the *wālī*s of their region (seven *wālī*s in Upper and Lower Egypt each). The number of *kāshif*s had been increased by the author's time: there were now three in Upper Egypt (al-Fayyūm, northern and southern Upper Egypt), and two in Lower Egypt (al-Sharqīyah and al-Gharbīyah).[27] There are similar descriptions, e.g. the following record in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk:*

> (738/1337) The brother of Amir Ẓuluẓayh was appointed as *kāshif al-wajh al-baḥrī* in succession to Amir Sayf al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Bābirī, and Amir al-Bābirī was sent to Damascus by request of Tankiz. The period of al-Bābirī's service as *kāshif* was one year.[28]

Thus, descriptions of the establishment and responsibilities of *kāshif*s differed considerably in the earlier and the later part of the fourteenth century in Mamluk Egypt. The following are some concluding points about the regional administrative system in the early Mamluk period. The appointment of *kāshif*s began with just three regions, though in Upper and Lower Egypt the *kāshif*s had no fixed place of office, but instead conducted tax investigations in rural areas. *Kāshif*s in the former half of the fourteenth century were sent from Cairo to their local areas and returned to Cairo after investigations. In Giza province, the *wālī* was appointed from among the amirs of ten. This change of appointment probably occurred after Nāṣir Muḥammad's land survey. It can be shown that amirs and secretaries were dispatched to coincide with the Nile flood control in spring, as was the political custom during the Ayyubid Dynasty.[29] The precise number of *wālī*s and *kāshif*s is hard to identify because of variations in the sources.

---

[27] Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah*, 129–30.

[28] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:446.

[29] Cf. al-Nābulusī, *Taʾrīkh.*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

## 3. Requirements and Characterization of a Regional Administrator: The Case of ʿIzz al-Dīn Azdamr al-Aʿmā al-Kāshif

The *Tadhkirah ilā al-amīr kitbughā min al-sulṭān al-manṣūr qalāwūn* (A Memorandum to Amir Kitbughā from Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn) in the late seventh/thirteenth century described the official responsibilities of *wālī*s. They were as follows: (1) The construction and repair of dikes, canals and water gates under government control, (2) the stationing of guards (*khafīr*) to watch over passersby and travelers at night, (3) the assessment and collection of taxes for the government, (4) the management of sugar cane cultivation and pressing, (5) the drafting of income documents for *muqtaʿ*s, and (6) the inspection of the *muqtaʿ*s' managers (*wakīl*) and the drawing up of the documents related to them.[30] The *Tadhkirah ilā al-amīr kitughā* shows clearly that the official responsibilities of the *wālī* were strongly associated with agrarian control and land revenue. It is thought that these responsibilities of *wālī*s were added to these of *kāshif*s. The following is an example showing a *kāshif* engaged in collecting taxes.

> "In this month (Dhū al-Ḥijjah 748/March–April 1348), the letter about tax collection of barley on the lands of amirs and soldiers was written for Ṭughayh, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt. The detail of this tax is 10 dirhams per *ardabb* from a total of 10,000 *ardabb*s. Ṭughayh ordered the owners of land (*muqtaʿ*) in Upper Egypt to divide this tax among them, and did not exclude anyone."[31]

But there are few details about those appointed to the post of *kāshif* or *wālī* with a rank below that of amir of one hundred. Let us look at one *kāshif*'s record and try to arrive at a typical figure for a regional administrator.

ʿIzz al-Dīn Azdamr was known as al-Aʿmā (the blind man). He was appointed as *kāshif* of both Upper and Lower Egypt several times. He was known to have been a *mamlūk* soldier of his first master Amir Almās, after which he changed his allegiance to Amir Qajlīs and worked under him as *al-silāḥ al-dār* and as *ustādār.* After the death of Qajlīs, Azdamr chose Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr as his master, accompanying him to the provinces. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad choose Azdamr to be an inspector of the land survey at al-Jazīrah. He was then appointed as a commander of *ḥalqah* knights (*muqaddam al-ḥalqah*) and sent on campaign to Yemen. After his return he was promoted to the rank of amir of ten for his exploits in this campaign and appointed to the positions of *wulāt al-ṣināʿ* and *shadd al-ahrāʾ*.

---

[30] Sato, 1997, 105–23.

[31] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:752. See also ibid., 2:750.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

His first career as a regional administrator was as *wālī* of al-Bahnasā; at the same time, he was promoted to amir of forty. He was then appointed *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, where he quashed a rebellion by killing the insurgents. Therefore, the people of Upper Egypt feared and respected him. He suffered from an eye disease during this time.

The quashing of the revolt in Upper Egypt gained him a position as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt. He lost his sight while in this post in 724/1342, although he continued his responsibilities. The officers around him initially did not realize his handicap. At last his blindness became known to the government, and he was dismissed from his post. But when there was another revolt in Upper Egypt some years later, he was again appointed as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt; and subsequently also as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt. He died in 754/1353.[32]

During his career, Azdamr gained much experience both of military service and of governing regional and agricultural areas. His abilities grew through following his master's responsibilities and surveying agricultural lands when he was young. By origin, he was a *mamlūk kharijīyah*, i.e. not a royal mamluk (*khāṣṣakīyah*). Therefore, his first appointment to the post of *kāshif* probably happened towards the end of his life, and the rank of *kāshif* was the summit of his career. His last action as *kāshif* was the suppression of a rebellion in Lower Egypt in 754/1353. He sent 350 prisoners and 120 horses to Cairo and took 640 horses away with him,[33] and as a result it was said that horses had disappeared from Lower Egypt. The title *kāshif* was added to his name because of his remarkable services in Upper and Lower Egypt. But we should bear in mind the fact that his career was held back by his origins.

## 4. Background and Establishment of the Office of *nāʾib* in Upper and Lower Egypt

In Mamluk Egypt, a *nāʾib* was a person who governed during the absence of an official, such as the *nāʾib al-salṭanah* (vice-sultan) who governed on behalf of the sultan when the latter was on campaign or otherwise absent from Cairo. A *nāʾib* was also appointed in Alexandria after the attack by Cypriot crusaders in 767/1365. The *nāʾib* at Alexandria was appointed from among the amirs of one hundred (during the later Mamluk period, he was recruited from among the amirs of forty).

---

[32] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:378; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqqafā*, 1:36–37; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:223–28.

[33] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:899.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

The *nāʾib* as regional administrator was established before the reign of Barqūq; the *nāʾib* of Upper Egypt in 780/1378, and of Lower Egypt in 782/1380. Both *nāʾib*s were chosen from among the amirs of one hundred, and their title in official letters was *malik al-umarāʾ* (the king of amirs/head of amirs). It is likely that one factor in the establishment of the posts of *nāʾib* were the increasing rebellions by Arab tribes. In Mamluk Egypt, Arab tribes raised frequent rebellions against the Mamluk government. It is well known that in 651/1253, at the beginning of the Mamluk period, Arab tribes in Upper Egypt raised a rebellion led by Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Thaʿlab al-Jaʿfarī.[34] The control and suppression to Arab tribes continued to be one of the most important problems for Mamluk rulers. With regard to the Egyptian historical chronology given below, the *nāʾib* still described his position as *kāshif al-wajh al-baḥrī*, though his honorable title was *malik al-umarāʾ*. The *nāʾib* of Lower Egypt was placed in Damanhūr in al-Buḥayrah, while his colleague for Upper Egypt resided in Asyūṭ, where Arab tribes had great power.

After the establishment of *nāʾib*s in Upper and Lower Egypt, *kāshif*s were put in each administrative unit of provinces, and their number increased in the fifteenth century. They ranked relatively low, on the same level as *wālī*s. Barqūq's reform of the regional administrative system aimed to strengthen the central government by stabilizing the regions. One of the main reasons was to strengthen security to counter the increase in rebellions by Arab tribes in the later fourteenth century. In addition, institutional characteristics following the establishment of the post of *nāʾib* were that they supervised the whole of each region, having authority and power over the appointment and dismissal of lower administrators, such as *wālī*s and *kāshif*s in each of the provinces.

## Conclusion

It is highly probable that the office of *kāshif* was established around the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's land survey in 715/1315. This means that the development of the regional administrative system moved in parallel with the evolution of the *iqṭāʿ* system, and was carried out in order to intensify and ease the collection of land tax.

After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, government was thrown into disorder by struggles among the amirs and outbreaks of plague, especially the Black Death in 747/1347–48. In addition to this, the surge of rebellions by Arab tribes made it difficult to control villages and collect land taxes. Consequently, the responsibilities and authorities of regional administrators changed, and now the

---

[34] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:386.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*wālī* was empowered to maintain the irrigation systems and collect tax for them, while the responsibilities of the *kāshif* now lay exclusively in stabilizing the region and subjugating the rebelling Arab tribes.

At the end of the fourteenth century, Barqūq established a stronger regional administrative system, headed by a *nāʾib* who was chosen from among the amirs of one hundred. As a result, the *kāshif* became merely an executive officer in each province or district, making their position similar to that of a provincial administrator, the *wālī*. At the same time, some of the leaders of the Arab tribes were appointed to posts of *kāshif*s or made amirs of forty in order to keep the peace in the regions. But the office of *nāʾib* only lasted a short time; it was abolished after the death of Barqūq at the beginning of the fifteenth century for reasons that are unclear. The duties and authorities of the *kāshif* did not return to the old system, where they had had authority for a whole area in Upper or Lower Egypt and were based in one province. Instead, this political trend in the regional administration system was generalized through the fifteenth century.[35] On the other hand, the role and responsibilities of management and supervision of the regions were devolved to the central government; it seems authority was shifted to the *dawādār* (chief cabinet secretary), who assumed these responsibilities. It is probable that the *dawādār* Yashbak min Mahdī, who was appointed to the post of *kāshif al-kushshāf* in 872/1467 under Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) to control the whole of Egypt, is the first case.[36] I would like to analyze these changes of the regional administration system during fifteenth century Egypt at another opportunity.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mid fourteenth century | Central Government—Upper and Lower Egypt—Provinces (*iqlīm*)<br>*kāshif* → (supervise) → *wālī*<br>(*kāshif* **has no authority** to appoint and dismiss a *wālī*) |
| Later fourteenth century | Central Government—Upper and Lower Egypt—Provinces (*iqlīm*)<br>*nā’ib* → (supervises) → *kāshif* and *wālī*<br>(*nā’ib* **has authority** to appoint and dismiss *kāshif* and *wālī*) |
| Mid fifteenth century | Central Government—Provinces (*iqlīm*)<br>*kāshif al-jusūr*, (*mutawallī*) |
| Mid fifteenth century | Central Government—Provinces (*iqlīm*)<br>Concurrent posts<br>e.g. Yashbak min Mahdī *kāshif al-jusūr*, (*mutawallī*)<br>(*wazīr*, *dawādār*, *kāshif al-kushshāf*) |

Table 4: Changes of Regional Administration in Mamluk Egypt

---

[35] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:159, 161, 164, 191, 221, 248.

[36] Ibid., 3:149.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

In fourteenth-century sources:
*kāshif al-turāb* (inspector of ditch cleaning)
*kāshif al-dawārīb* (inspector of millstones for sugar cane)
*wālī al-wulāh* (chief administrator)

In fifteenth-century sources:
*kāshif al-kushshāf* (chief supervisor; this title appears only in the fifteenth century and is the title for *al-dawādār al-kabīr*)
*kāshif al-jusūr* (inspector of irrigation dams)
*wālī al-wulāh* (chief administrator)
*kāshif al-wajh al-qiblī and kāshif al-wajh al-baḥrī* (supervisor of Upper and Lower Egypt)

Table 5: Terminology for the titles of *kāshif*s (in fourteenth to fifteenth centuries Mamluk Historical Sources)

| **Period AH (AD)** | **Events** |
|---|---|
| Mid Dhū al-Qaʿdah 696 (September 1297) | Three amirs are sent to inspect agricultural land (*kashf*): Ṭughrīl al-Īghānī to al-Sharqīyah, Sunqur al-Massāḥ to al-Gharbīyah, and Baysarī to Giza (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:829). |
| 721 (1321) | The sultan summons Rukn al-Dīn al-Qalunjakī, *kashf* [sic.] *al-buḥayrah*, and interrogates him about lands he gave his son in private. The sultan also orders Aytamush al-Muḥammadī and al-Muwaffaq, *mustawfī al-dawlah*, to investigate the matter, after which it becomes clear the land covers 25,000 feddan (ibid., 2:231). |
| Rabīʿ II 728 (February–March 1328) | The sultan orders ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Khājin, *kāshif* of al-Gharbīyah, to make all Arab tribes (*ʿurbān*) present horses and camels to the sultan (ibid., 2:296). |
| Rajab 735 (February–March 1334) | ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Marwanī who had been *wālī* of Damascus is made *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (*al-wajh al-baḥurī*) and receives a robe of honor from the sultan (ibid., 2:383). |
| 735 (1334) | Al-Marwanī, *kāshif* of Lower Egypt, receives robe of honor and is promoted to *wālī al-qāhirah* (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah*, 255; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:385). |
| 738 (1337) | The brother of Ẓulẓayh is appointed to *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (former *kāshif*, Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Bābirī, had been exiled to Damascus, so his term lasted only one year; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:446). |
| 738 (1337) | The brother of Ẓulẓayh, *kāshif* of Lower Egypt, dies (ibid., 2:457). |
| 739 (1338) | ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (*al-wajh al-qiblī*) receives a robe of honor, and is appointed *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (ibid., 2:466). |
| 740 (1339) | ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Kawrānī, *wālī* of al-Gharbīyah, is appointed *kāshif* of Upper Egypt in succession to the brother of Ẓulẓayh. Asandamur, who was al-Qanjiqī's *mamlūk*, is appointed *wālī* of al-Gharbīyah (ibid., 2:491). |
| 740 (1339) | Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Ruknī al-Muẓaffarī, *wālī* of al-Buḥayrah and *wālī* of Alexandria, dies (ibid., 2:505). |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

| **Period AH (AD)** | **Events** |
|---|---|
| 741 (1340) | ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur changes his position from *kāshif* of Lower Egypt to *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (ibid., 2:514). |
| 745 (1344) | Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf dies in Tripoli. He had served as *wālī* of Alexandria, *kāshif* of Giza, and *dawādār* of the sultan (ibid., 2:675). |
| 747 (1346) | The sultan buys camels for carrying commodities and orders the *kāshif* to pay the fee to the ʿ*urbān* (ibid., 2:708). |
| 747 (1346) | Al-Karwānī is discharged as *kāshif* of Giza (ibid., 2:711). |
| 748 (1347) | Ṭughayh is appointed as *wālī* of Qūṣ, then *kāshif* of Upper Egypt. Later his position changes to *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to al-Karwānī, and Ibn al-Muzawwaq is appointed as *wālī* of Qūṣ. Mūsā al-Hadhbānī is appointed as *wālī* of al-Ushmūnayn. Quṭlumush is appointed as *wālī* of Giza (ibid., 2:750). |
| 748 (1347) | Ṭughayh, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, sends a letter concerning tax on lands of amirs and soldiers to the Cairo government (ibid., 2:752) |
| 749 (1348) | Asandamur al-ʿUmarī, *kāshif al-jusūr*, is appointed *wazīr*, the sultan gives him the robe of honor of a *wazīr* (ibid., 2:760). |
| 749 (1348) | Ṭughayh is killed by ʿ*urbān* (in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:770, Ṭughayh, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, was killed by Banū al-ʿArk and Banū al-Ḥilāl, and many of his company were killed at the same time). |
| 749 (1348) | Khāṣṣ Turk b. Ṭughayh is appointed as *wālī* of al-Manfalūṭ. Mūsā b. al-Hadhbānī is appointed as *wālī* of al-Ushmūnayn and as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt after Ṭughayh was killed. Muḥammad b. Iyās is posted from *wālī* of al-Ushmūnayn to *wālī* of al-Bahnasā (ibid., 2:772). |
| 750 (1349) | Duties concerning the Nile flood are added to the tasks of *wālī*s (ibid., 2:806). |
| 750 (1349) | Some amirs are dispatched to regions of Egypt to enquire into the Nile flood (e.g. Amir Arnān to Lower Egypt, Amir Aḥmad to Upper Egypt, Aqjubā al-Ḥamawī to Manūfah, Amir Arāy to al-Sharqīyah, and an amir of ten to al-Ushmūnayn; ibid., 2:808). |
| 751 (1350) | Aḥmad al-Sāqī is exiled to Aleppo for failing in his duty to maintain the irrigation system at al-Gharbīyah (ibid., 2:819). |
| Dhū al-Qaʿdah 751 (January 1351) | Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Dawādārī (*wālī*), and Asandamur (*kāshif*) of Upper Egypt, are captured (ibid., 2:823). |
| 752 (1351) | Azdamur al-Aʿmā is appointed as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (ibid., 2:850). |
| Shaʿbān 22, 752 (October 14,1351) | Fāris al-Dīn Albakī, Aynabak, and four amirs of forty go to Upper Egypt in order to help crush the rebellion of the ʿ*urbān*. Azdamur al-Aʿmā, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, accompanies these amirs (ibid., 2:852). |
| Shawwāl 752 (November–December 1351) | Azdamur al-Aʿmā, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, and Aynbak repress the Banū ʿArk; the lands of the Banū ʿArk are given to the Banū Ḥilāl (ibid., 2:855–56). |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

| **Period AH (AD)** | **Events** |
|---|---|
| Rajab 753 (August–September 1352) | Azdamur al-Aʿmā, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, is appointed *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to Majd al-Dīn b. Mūsā al-Hadhbānī for his achievement in repression of Upper Egypt (ibid., 2:867). |
| 754 (1353) | Azdamur al-Aʿmā, *kāshif* of Lower Egypt, represses Lower Egypt on the sultan's order. He sends 350 prisoners of war and 120 horses to Cairo and brings 640 horses himself (ibid., 2:899). |
| Muḥarram 28, 755 (February 22, 1354) | Rebellions of *ʿurbān* in Upper Egypt increase. Ṭughāy, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, is killed by *ʿurbān* (ibid., 2:908). |
| 755 (1354) | The sultan calls Azdamur al-Aʿmā, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, and orders the repression of rebellions in al-Sharqīyah in Lower Egypt. Azdamur does so and sends the sultan 150 *ʿurbān* prisoners of war, 120 horses, and many weapons (ibid., 2:910). |
| Dhū al-Qaʿdah 755 (November–December 1354) | Ḥājjī Ustādār is appointed as *wālī* of Qūṣ. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Iyās b. al-Duwaydārī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to Azdamur (ibid., 3:8–9). |
| 769 (1367) | Aydamur Yanīq is appointed as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:79). |
| Dhū al-Ḥijjah 28, 769 (August 14, 1368) | Aydamur Yanīq dies (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:163). |
| Dhū al-Ḥijjah 770 (July1369) | Baybughā al-Qawṣūnī is appointed as *kāshif* of Qalyūb (ibid., 3:176; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:91). |
| Dhū al-Qaʿdah 771 (May–June 1370) | Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Iyās b. al-Duwaydārī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:184; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:96). |
| Muḥarram 774 (July 1372) | Muḥammad b.Qīrān al-Ḥusāmī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to ʿUthmān al-Sharqī. Qaraṭāy al-Karakī is appointed as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt in succession to Asanbughā al-Bahādurī (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:202; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:109). |
| 775 (1373) | Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. al-Azkashī is appointed as *wālī* of Qūṣ in addition to his duty as *kāshif* in this area (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:218; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:123). |
| Jumādā II 775 (November–December 1373) | Qaraṭāy al-Karakī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to Āl Malik al-Ṣarghitmishī (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:222; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:128) |
| Shawwāl 9, 775 (March 24, 1374) | Āl Malik al-Ṣarghitmishī dies (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:227; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:134). |
| Jumādā II 776 (November 1374) | Baktamur al-ʿAlamī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to Qaraṭāy. Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān al-Sharqī is appointed as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt from Giza to Aswan (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:234). |
| Muḥarram 28, 778 (June 17, 1376) | Al-Sharīf Baktamur is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to ʿAlī Khān (ibid., 3:265; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:164). |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

| **Period AH (AD)** | **Events** |
|---|---|
| Ramaḍān 778 (January 1377) | Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt following the death of Jurjī al-Bālis. Al-Shalīf ʿĀṣim is appointed *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:171). |
| Rabīʿ II 780 (August 1378) | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:333; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:228). |
| Shaʿbān 780 (December 1378) | People from al-Buḥayrah visit Murād, *kāshif* of Upper Egypt, and kill Murād as a result of a sudden quarrel (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:339). |
| Ramaḍān 6, 780 (December 27, 1378) | Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Qirmān is appointed as *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (in the *Badāʾiʿ: nāʾib al-wajh al-qiblī*), and made an amir of one hundred. He is assisted by a *ḥājib* from among the amirs of forty. He is the first person appointed as one of the *kushshāf al-saʿīd niyābat al-salṭanah* (in the *Badāʾiʿ*, this event is described in the month of Shaʿbān; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:340; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:233). |
| 782 (1380) | Kurjī is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (al-Sharqīyah in the *Badāʾiʿ*) replacing Quṭlūbak who is the son-in-law of Aydamur al-Muzawwaq (or *nāʾib al-wajh al-baḥrī*). Al-Sharīf Baktamur Aṭlasīn is given a robe of honor and he is appointed as *malik al-umarāʾ* of Lower Egypt (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:394; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:273). |
| Jumādā II 782 (September 1380) | The sultan gives a robe of honor to al-Sharīf Baktamur. Baktamur is appointed *kāshif* of Lower Egypt, becoming the first person to be titled *malik al-umarāʾ* to *kāshif*s in Lower Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:273). |
| Muḥarram 784 (March–April 1382) | Mubārak Shāh al-Sayfī is appointed as *wālī* of al-Fayyūm, Aṭfīḥ and al-Bahnasā in succession to Asanbughā al-Manjakī (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:465; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:302). |
| Shaʿbān 784 (October 1382) | Bahādur Ustādār Tubuj is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to Ibn Qirmān. Abū Darqah is appointed as *wālī* of al-Fayyūm, Aṭfīḥ and al-Bahnasā in succession to Muḥammad b. Qarābghā (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:512). |
| Rabīʿ I 788 (April 1386) | Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, leader of the Arab tribe (*shayf*) of Banū al-ʿĀʾid in al-Sharqīyah, is appointed as *kāshif al-jusūr* and made an amir of forty; his brother Muhannā is appointed as leader of his tribe (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:544). |
| Mid Ramaḍān 789 (September 1387) | Bahādur Ustādār Tubuj dies (ibid., 3:570). |
| Muḥarram 790 (January 1388) | ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Āqubughā al-Māridānī is appointed as *kāshif* of Giza. ʿUmar b. Khaṭṭāb is appointed as *wālī* and *kāshif* of al-Fayyūm, Aṭfīḥ and al-Bahnasā in succession to Aḥmad b. al-Rukn (ibid., 3:574). |
| Ṣafar 1, 790 (February 10, 1388) | Aydamur Abū Zalaṭah is appointed as *nāʾib* of Lower Egypt (*nāʾib al-wajh al-baḥrī*). Qutlūbak Abū Daraqah is demoted from *nāʾib* to *kāshif* of Lower Egypt (ibid., 3:574). |

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*(Continued)*

| **Period AH (AD)** | **Events** |
|---|---|
| Rajab 15, 790<br>(July 20, 1388) | Qutlūbak Abū Daraqah is appointed as *kāshif* of Lower Egypt in succession to ʿUmar b. Alyās b. Akhī Qurṭ (ibid., 3:581). |
| Ramaḍān 8, 790<br>(September 10, 1388) | Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqat al-Aʿsār is appointed as *kāshif* of al-Ushmūnayn in succession to Amir Ḥājj b. Aydamur. Amir Ḥājj is appointed as *wālī* and *kāshif* of al-Fayyūm, Aṭfīḥ, and al-Bahnasā in succession to ʿUmar b. Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥammad b. al-Hadhbānī, who was *kāshif* of al-Bahnasā (ibid., 3:582). |
| Dhū al-Ḥijjah 22, 790<br>(December 22, 1388) | Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, *amīr ʿarab* of Banū al- ʿĀʾid, is appointed as *wālī* and *kāshif* of al-Sharqīyah in succession to Quṭlubughā al-Turkmānī (ibid., 3:585). |
| Dhū al-Ḥijja 790<br>(December 1388) | Jumaq al-Sayfī is appointed as *wālī* and *kāshif* of al-Fayyūm in succession to Amir Ḥājj b. Aydamur (ibid., 3:585). |
| 790 (1388) | Aḥmad. b. ʿUmar b. Qalīj, the *wālī* of al-Fayyūm, dies; his father was an amir of one hundred and *kāshif* of Upper Egypt (ibid., 3:587). |
| Muḥarram 5, 791<br>(January 4, 1389) | Quṭlūbak al-Ṣaʿdī al-Barīdī is appointed as *wālī* of al-Sharqīyah in succession to Ibn ʿĪsā al-ʿAʾīdī. Ibn ʿĪsā is ordered to continue in his position as *kāshif* of al-Sharqīyah (ibid., 3:589). |
| Rabīʿ II 19, 791<br>(April 17, 1389) | Qunuq al-Sayfī is discharged from positions of *wālī* and *kāshif* of al-Fayyūm, *kāshif* of al-Bahnasā, and *kāshif* of Aṭfīḥ; Shāhīn al-Kulbakī takes over these positions. Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqat al-Aʿsār is demoted from *wālī* of al-Ushmūnayn, and ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Muẓẓafarī is appointed to this position (ibid., 3:597). |

Table 6: Appointment and Dismissal of Local Administrators (*wālī*, *kāshf* and *nāʾib*) in Upper and Lower Egypt in the fourteenth century

## Bibliography

### Sources

al-Asadī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl, *al-Taysīr wa-l-iʿtibār wa-l-taḥrīr wa-l-ikhtiyār bi-mā yajibu min ḥusn al-tadbīr wa-l-taṣarruf wa-l-ikhtiyār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Tulaymāt, Cairo 1967.

al-Dawādārī, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aybak, *Kanz al-durar wa-l-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, vol. 9, al-Durar al-fākhir fī sīrat al-malik al-nāṣir, ed. H. R. Romer, Cairo 1960.

Ibn Duqmāq, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾī, *al-Jawhar al-thamīn fī siyar al-khulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl ʿIzz al-Dīn, 2 vols., Beirut 1985.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār: Dawlat al-mamālīk al-ūlā*, ed. Dorothea Krawulsky, 2 vols., Beirut 1986.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols., Cairo 1966–67. (reprint Cairo n.d.)

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75.

Ibn al-Jīʿān, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Maqarr, *al-Tuḥfah al-sanīyah bi-asmāʾ al-bilād al-miṣrīyah*, ed. Bernhard Moritz, Cairo 1974.

Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-uruq wa-l-masālik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik: Tableau politique et administratif de l'Égypte, de la Syrie et du Ḥidjâz, sous la domination des sultans mamloûks du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Paris 1894.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-qāhirah*, eds. Fahīm M. Shaltūt, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, 16 vols., Cairo 1963–72.

al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Mawāʿiz wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 2 vols., Baghdad 1970. (reprint Cairo 1853–54)

–, *al-Muqqafā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991.

–, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1939–58; ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1970–73.

al-Nābulusī, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh al-fayyūm wa-bilādihī*, ed. Bernhard Moritz, Beirut 1974.

al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vols. 1–18, Cairo 1923–55; eds. Muḥammad A. Ibrāhīm et al., vols. 19–33, Cairo 1975–2002.

al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad A. Ibrāhīm, 14 vols., Cairo 1964.

al-Yūsufī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-malik al-nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986.

## Studies

Ayalon, David, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army III," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954), pp. 57–90.

al-Bāshā, Ḥasan, *al-Funūn al-islāmīyah wa-l-waẓāʾif ʿalā al-āthār al-ʿarabīyah*, 3 vols., Cairo 1965–66.

Ḥasan, ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrikh al-mamālīk al-baḥrīyah*, Cairo 1967.

Levanoni, Amalia, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Region of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)*, Leiden 1995.

Poliak, Abraham N., "Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamlūks," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1937), pp. 97–107.

Popper, William, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt*, 2 vols., Berkley and Los Angeles 1955–57.

Rabie, Hassanein, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341*, London and New York 1972.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

–, "Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt," in: *The Islamic Middle East 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. Abraham L. Udovitch, Princeton 1981, pp. 59–60.

–, *al-Nuẓum al-mālīyah fī miṣr zaman al-ayyūbīyīn*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1990.

Sato, Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans Muqtaʻs and Fallahun*, Leiden 1997.

Shaw, Stanford J., *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517–1798*, Princeton 1962.

al-Shirbīnī, al-Bayyūmī Ismāʿīl, *Muṣādarat al-amlāk fī al-dawlah al-islāmīyah: ʿAṣr salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, 2 vols., Cairo 1997.

Ṭūsūn, ʿUmar, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe*, 3 vols., Cairo 1926–1936.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

# List of Contributors

**Mohammad Gharaibeh** (Ph.D., University of Bonn, 2012) is Professor for Islamic Intellectual History at the Berlin Institute for Islamic Theology at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Prior to that, he worked as Academic Coordinator at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg "History and Society of the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)" (2012–16) and at the Alexander-von-Humboldt Kolleg for "Islamicate Intellectual History" (2016–19) at the University of Bonn. Currently, he is working on commentary cultures in the Middle Islamic Period as well as on the scholarly networks of Hadith scholars from Mamluk Cairo, through the Hijaz and Yemen to the Gujarat Sultanate between 1200–1700. Among his recent publications are *Ḥadīṯ: Eine Einführung in die Geschichte und Textsorten* (Freiburg i. Br. 2016); "Narrative Strategies in Biographical Dictionaries: The ad-Durar al-Kāmina of Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī – A Case Study," in: *Mamluk Historiography Revisited: narratological perspectives*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen 2018); "Social and Intellectual Rivalries and their Narrative Representations in Biographical Dictionaries: The representation of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ," in: *Historiography and Adab in the Mamluk Period: Fifth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies*, eds. Jo van Steenbergen and Maya Termonia (Leiden 2020); and "Religious legitimation and political pragmatism in a changing society: Saudi Arabia and its religious elite," in: *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien, Special Issue: Religion and Power* 2 (2020). He is currently preparing his habilitation thesis about the sociology of commentarial literature for publication and is editing the collective volume *Beyond Authenticity: Towards Alternative Approaches to Ḥadīth Narrations and Collections.* He also prepares a manuscript edition about the *buldānīyah* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258).

**Daisuke Igarashi** (Ph.D., Chuo University, Tokyo, 2006) is an Associate Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at the Faculty of Letters, Arts and Sciences at Waseda University since 2017. Previously, he held positions as Lecturer at Chukyo University in Nagoya, Japan, and Visiting Researcher at the University of

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Tokyo. His current research is focused on *waqf*s (religious endowments) in Mamluk society. His recent publications include *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Chicago 2015); "The Office of the Ustādār al-ʿĀliya in the Circassian Mamluk Era," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat (Leiden 2017); "The Waqf-endowment Strategy of a Mamluk Military Man: The Contexts, Motives, and Purposes of the Endowments of Qijmās al-Isḥāqī (d. 1487)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 82/1 (2019); and "Father's Will, Daughter's Waqf: A Testamentary Waqf and Its Female Founder/ Administrator in Fourteenth-Century Egypt," *Orient* 54 (2019).

**Takao Ito** (Ph.D., University of Munich, 2007) is an Associate Professor at the University of Kobe since 2011. Between 2007 and 2010 he was Lecturer at the same university. His research is about Mamluk Studies and Arabic historiography. More precisely, he is currently working on the Syrian school of Mamluk historiography and the relations between *mashriq* and *maghrib* in the Mamluk period. His recent publications include "Al-Maqrīzī's Biography of Tīmūr," *Arabica* 62 (2015); "Al-Suyūṭī and Problems of the Waqf," in: *Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period*, ed. Antonella Ghersetti (Leiden 2016); "The Last Mamluk Princess, Her Endowment, and Her Family History," *Orient* 54 (2019); and "A Collection of Histories of the Mamluk Sultanate's Syrian Borderlands: Some Notes on MS Ahmet III 3057 (TSMK, Istanbul)," in: *The Mamluk Sultanate and Its Periphery*, ed. Frédéric Bauden (Leiden forthcoming).

**Anna Kollatz** (Ph.D., University of Bonn, 2015) is a Research Associate at the Department of Islamic Studies and Languages of the Middle East at the University of Bonn since 2013. Since 2016, she is also a Board Member of the Collaborative Research Center "Macht and Herrschaft: Premodern Configurations in Transcultural Perspective". She is furthermore affiliated with the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies. Previously, she was Acting Professor for Persianate Studies at the University of Bonn (2019–20) and worked as a Research Assistant for the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg "History and Society during the Mamluk Era (1250–1517)" (2012–13). Currently she works on the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt as well as on the Mughal Empire and the Indian Subcontinent up to the nineteenth century. Her general interest lies in ethnic and religious diversity, the functions of historiographic writing and in forms of dependencies in the pre-modern and early modern times. Her work on the Mamluk Sultanate concentrates on historiographic writing and negotiating identities, the functions and social embedding of writing history especially during the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule and the *awlād al-nās.* In the context of the Mughal and late Mughal courts, she focuses on social dependencies between the rulers and

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

free as well as enslaved nobles. Her work includes both the elite circles at court as well as a micro-historical perspective on subaltern military slaves and their masters. She recently published *The Ceremonial of Audience: Transcultural Approaches*, ed., together with Eva Orthmann (Göttingen 2019); Ägypten Kurzgefasst: Wissensordnung und die Darstellung islamischer Herrschaft in Ibn Iyās' '*Nuzhat al-umam fī-l-ʿaǧāʾib wa-l-ḥikam*,' in: *Textualität von Macht und Herrschaft: Literarische Verfahren der Darstellung sozialer (Un-)Ordnung im Horizont transkultureller Forschungen*, eds. Mechthild Albert et al. (Göttingen 2020); "Some Remarks in the Diplomatic Relations between Cairo, Delhi/Dawlatābād and Aḥmadābād during the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries," (together with Stephan Conermann) in: *Mamluk Cairo: A Crossroads for Embassies*, eds. Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche (Leiden 2019); and "Where is 'the audience'? Who is 'the audience'? Approaching Mughal spaces of social interaction," in: *The Ceremonial of Audience: Transcultural Approaches*, eds. Eva Orthmann and Anna Kollatz (Göttingen 2019).

**Manami Kondo** (Ph.D., University of Kyoto, 2002) is an Associate professor of Asian history at the Department of History of the Faculty of Letters at Ryukoku University in Kyoto since 2003. Prior to this, she worked as a Lecturer at the Graduate School of Letters at the University of Kyoto (1999—2003). Her current research focuses on law and society in Syria under the Mamluks, more specifically on the activities of the *ʿulamāʾ* as scholars, teachers, and judges. Her recent publications include "Uramā no Keizai Jōtai ni kansuru Ichi Kōsatsu: Kazwīnī-ke to Shihekinai Shāmīya Madorasa no Jirei" [A Study on the Economic Condition of the *ʿulamāʾ*: A Case of al-Qazwīnī and the *madrasat al-shāmīyah al-juwwānīyah*], *Tōyōshien* 72 (2009); and "Ōmiya Toshokan-zou Isurāmu Kankei Shiryō no Kenkyū: Isurāmu Kankei Tosho Mokuroku (Kou)" [A Survey of the Manuscripts and the Books on Islam in Omiya Library, Ryukoku University: A Draft Catalogue], (together with Akiko Tsuzuki et al.) *Ryūkoku Daigaku Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* [Bulletin of Research Institute for Buddhist Culture, Ryukoku University] 56 (2017). Additionally, she worked on "Ahumado Ibun Fadoru Arrā Umarī-cho *Koukinaru Yougo no Kaisetsu* Yakuchū" [A Japanese Translation of Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *al-Taʿrīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*], ed. Junichi Taniguchi, Part VI, *Shisō* 72 (2015); Part VII, *Shisō* 74 (2017), Part VIII, *Shisō* 75 (2018); Part IX, *Shisō* 76 (2019); and Part X, *Shisō* 77 (2020).

**Wakako Kumakura** (Ph.D., Ochanomizu University, Tokyo, 2011) is an Assistant Professor at the Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa at the Tokyo University of Foreign Languages. Prior to this, she was a Research Assistant at the Organization for Islamic Area Studies at the Waseda University in Tokyo. She is currently working on the topic of water administration since the

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

Mamluk period, focusing on the development of the administration offices of the *kāshif jusur al-sultanīyah* (inspector of the sultan's irrigation bank) and the *kāshif al-kushshāf* (chief *kāshif*). She recently published *Chūsei Ejiputo no Tochiseido to Nairu Kangai* [Nile Irrigation and the Land System in Medieval Egypt] (Tokyo 2019). Additionally, she is interested in Digital Humanities and started a joint research project called "Chūtou Isurāmu no Rekishi to Rekishikūkan no Kashika: Dejitarukajidai no Gakuchi no Kyuyū wo Mezashite" [The Visualization of the History and Historical Space of the Middle East: Sharing Knowledge in the Digital Age].

**Toshimichi Matsuda** (Ph.D., Chuo University, Tokyo, 2008) is Professor at the Faculty of Arts at the Chuo University in Tokyo since 2002. Previously, he was Associate Professor (1998–2001) and Lecturer (1995–98) at the same faculty. His research interests include Mamluk Studies and more precisely the role and status of *dhimmī*s as well as the Documents of Mount Sinai. Among his recent publications are *Saladin: Yerusaremu dakkai* [Saladin and Retaking of Jerusalem] (Tokyo 2015); "Saladin no keu de sikonosho" [Translation of the Rare and Excellent History of Saladin by Ibn Shaddād, Part 2], *Chuo Daigaku Ajiashi kenkyu* [Chuo Journal of Asian History] 40 (2016); "Cairo no koptkyoto no boshi to maisobunka nituite" [On the Epitaphs and the Burial Culture of the Copts in Cairo], *Chuo Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyo, Shigaku* 62 (2017); and "Saladin no keu de sikonosho" [Translation of the Rare and Excellent History of Saladin by Ibn Shaddād, Part 3], *Chuo Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyo, Shigaku* 65 (2020).

**Christian Mauder** (Ph.D., University of Göttingen, 2017) is Associate Professor in the Study of Religions with specialization in Islam at the University of Bergen. Before coming to Bergen, he completed a postdoctoral fellowship at Yale University, a membership in the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, a humanities research fellowship at New York University Abu Dhabi, and a junior fellowship at the Annemarie Schimmel Center for Advanced Studies, Bonn. His research focuses on the intellectual, religious, and cultural history of the Islamic world in the late middle and early modern periods. His recent publications include *Koran in Franken: Überlegungen und Beispiele für Koranrezeption in fremden Kontexten*, ed. together with T. Würtz and S. Zinsmeister (Würzburg 2016); "Georg Pilder's Arabisches Lexicon of 1772: The Oldest Known Comprehensive Arabic-German Dictionary Rediscovered," *Der Islam* 95 (2018); "Childless Rule and the Sultan's Son: Muḥammad ibn al-Ghawrī and the Mamluk System of Succession in Early 16th Century Egypt," in: *Norm, Normabweichung und Praxis des Herrschaftsübergangs in transkultureller Perspektive*, ed. Tilmann Trausch (Göttingen 2019); and *In the*

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

*Sultan's Salon: Learning, Religion and Rulership at the Mamluk Court of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–1516)* (Leiden forthcoming).

**Toru Miura** (M.A., University of Tokyo, 1986) is Trustee and Vice-President at Ochanomizu University in Tokyo and Research Fellow at the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) in Tokyo. His research interests include *waqf*s (religious endowments) and similar donations in human history from comparative perspectives. He recently published *The Vellum Contract Documents in Morocco in the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. together with Kentaro Sato, Part I (Tokyo 2015) and Part II (Tokyo 2020); *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus: The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden 2015); and edited *Comparative Study of the Waqf from the East: Dynamism of Norm and Practices in Religious and Familial Donations* (Tokyo 2018).

**Nobutaka Nakamachi** (Ph.D., University of Tokyo, 2007) is Professor at the Faculty of Letters at the Konan University in Kobe. Previously, he worked as a Research Associate in Asian Studies at the Waseda University in Tokyo. He currently focuses on editing and digitizing Mamluk manuscripts. He recently published "Mamurûkuchô shoki no guntai to mongoru kei bômei gunji shûdan (wâfidîya)" [Early Mamluk Army and the Mongol Military Refugees (*wāfidīyah*)], *Shichô* 77 (2015); *Arabu no haru to ongaku: wakamonotachi no aikoku to purotesuto* [Arab Spring and Music: Patriotism and Protest of the Youth] (Tokyo 2016); *Isuramu wa tokushu ka? Nishi ajia no shûkyô to seiji no keifu* [Is Islam unique? A genealogy of religion and politics in the West Asia], ed. together with Daisuke Shibata (Tokyo 2018); "Ibun ainî no shôgai: bujin ka bunjin ka?" [The life of Ibn al-ʿAynī: Was he a military man or a civilian?], *Kônan daigaku kiyô, bungaku hen* [Memoirs of Konan University] 169 (2019); and "Al-ʿAynī's Working Method for His Chronicles: Analysis of His Holograph Manuscripts," in: *In the Author's Hand: Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in the Islamic Handwritten Tradition*, eds. Frédéric Bauden and Élise Franssen (Leiden 2019).

**Takenori Yoshimura** (Ph.D., Waseda University, Tokyo, 2014) is a Lecturer at the Department of International Culture at the Daito Bunka University in Saitama since 2016. Prior to this, between 2011 and 2016, he worked as a Junior Researcher at the Organization for Islamic Area Studies at the Waseda University in Tokyo. His research focuses on the transformations and changes of governance and political decision-making processes in the Mamluk government galvanized by the relationship between central government and rural society. His latest publications include "Jūyon-seiki Mamrūku-chō jidai no Ejiputo niokeru chihō gyōseikan: wārī, kāshihu to sono hensen wo chūshin ni" [The Changing Structure of Regional Administration in fourteenth-century Mamluk Egypt], *Shiteki* 38

© 2021, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319

(2016); "Description of Document III, Chapter 2," in: *The Vellum Contract Documents in Morocco in the 16th to 19th Centuries: Part II*, eds. Toru Miura and Kentaro Sato (Tokyo 2020); and "Nishi-Ajia chiiki no rentai, tōgō: Ibn Khaldūn no 'Rekishi-josetsu' to rentai ishiki (asabīya) wo tegakari ni" [Solidarity and Integration in West Asia: A Study on *'aṣabīyah* in Ibn Khaldun's *al-Muqaddimah*], in: *Exchange and Integration in Asia*, ed. Yonjun Kuon (Niigata 2018). He is currently working in a joint research project with historians and architects on urban growth and water facilities in Mamluk and Ottoman Cairo.

ISBN Print: 9783847110316 – ISBN E-Book 9783847010319