

Anna Kollatz (ed.)

Mamluk Descendants

In search for the *awlād al-nās*

Bonn University Press



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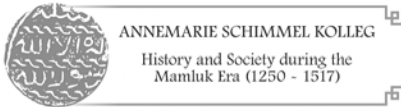


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Introduction: On to New Horizons—Tackling the Mamluks’ Descendants

Almost exactly a decade ago, the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg “History and Society during the Mamluk Era” was established in Bonn. In the eight years that followed, we had the great pleasure of welcoming countless Mamlukists from all over the world: The Kolleg on Heussallee developed a life of its own, bringing about its own *khushdāshiyya*—as it has been nicknamed by many of the colleagues and friends who met here time and again over the years.

Now, German research funding requires that every project must eventually come to an end; the active phase of the Kolleg thus ended after the maximum funding period in 2020. Of course, the Kolleg lives on, for example in the Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lectures, which are now held online, the Mamluk Studies series¹ and, of course, especially in the Bonn department of Islamic Archaeology. But it was also clear that in order to maintain the spirit of the Kolleg, new methods of exchange and fresh topics had to be established. What could be more natural than to start a new phase of Mamluk Studies in Bonn by focusing on the descendants of the Mamluks, their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren?

Since Ulrich Haarmann’s study of the children and grandchildren of the Mamluks—known in existing research by the Arabic term *awlād al-nās*—was ended by his premature death, research on this interesting but elusive group within Mamluk society has progressed only sluggishly.² Individual researchers

1 An overview of the development of the field and research topics tackled in Bonn and elsewhere in the last decade is provided by Stephan Conermann in his introduction to vol. 25 of the series. See Stephan Conermann, “Mamluk Studies 2010–2020: An Overview plus Research Gaps”, in: *Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Toru Miura, Bonn/Göttingen: Bonn University Press & V&R unipress, 2021 (Mamluk Studies, 25), 7–56.

2 Ulrich Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law. The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 55–84; id., “Väter und Söhne im Herrschaftssystem der Mamluken”, *Berliner Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft e.V. Jahrbuch* 1995, 211–227; id., “Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage. Mamluks

have certainly devoted themselves to the subject,³ but a concerted effort, which would be necessary to tackle this vast unknown in Mamluk Studies, has not yet come about. Things are different for a distinct subgroup of the progeny of Mamluks, namely the sons and grandsons of sultans. They are reliably identified in the sources as *sayyid* (pl. *asyād*) and thus distinguished from the rest of the Mamluk descendants. Due to their special position, the *asyād* usually had to cope with completely different opportunities (or even obstacles) than the sons of amirs or simple Mamluks and have received far more scholarly interest, mostly regarding their positions as (future or temporary) sultans.⁴

and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33/1 (1988), 81–114; id., “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in: *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984, 141–168.

- 3 For a short overview, see the two EI articles: David Ayalon, “Awlād al-Nās”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition*; and John L. Meloy, “Awlād al-Nās”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*. Further important studies of the topic are Amalia Levanoni, “Awlad al-Nas in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period”, in: *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honor of Michael Winter*, ed. David Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, 96–105; ead., “The Ḥalqah in the Mamluk Army. Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?” *Mamluk Studies Review* 15 (2011), 37–65; Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini: “Awlād an-nās as Founders of Pious Endowments. The waqfiyah of Yahya ibn Tughan al-Hasani of the Year 870/1465”, *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 21–50; and following Stephan Conermann and Lucian Reinfandt, “Anmerkungen zu einer mamlūkischen waqf-Urkunde aus dem 9./15. Jahrhundert,” in: *Die Mamlūken. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam, Schenefeld: EB Verlag, 2003 (Asien und Afrika, 7), 177–238; Donald S. Richards, “Mamluk Amirs and their Families and Households”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 32–54.

- 4 I will refrain from giving an exhaustive list of studies focused on sultan’s sons that came to power themselves. See e.g., Lucian Reinfandt, “Religious Endowments and Succession to Rule: The Career of a Sultan’s Son in the Fifteenth Century”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 51–62; on the Qalawunid context: Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History. The Third Reign of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)*, Leiden: Brill, 1995; on the subsequent period: Frédéric Bauden, “The Sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Politics of Puppets. Where Did It All Start?” *Mamluk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009), 53–81; and on the Qalawunid household: Jo van Steenbergen, “The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State: Household Politics and the Case of the Qalāwūnid *bayt* (1279–1382)”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56 (2013), 189–217. See also the study on Baybars I. and his sons: Hans-Ulrich Kühn, *Sultan Baibars und seine Söhne. Frühmamlukische Herrschaftssicherung in ayyūbidischer Tradition*, Bonn/Göttingen: Bonn University Press & V&R unipress, 2019 (Mamluk Studies, 18). Sultan’s sons perceived as a social group have been studied, e.g., in Stephan Conermann and Ulrich Haarmann, “Herrscherwechsel als höfische Machtprobe. Das Beispiel der Mamluken in Ägypten und Syrien (1250–1517)”, in: *Hof und Macht. Dresdner Gespräche II zur Theorie des Hofes*, ed. Reinhardt Butz and Jan Hierschbiegel, Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007, 209–240; Henning Sievert, *Der Herrscherwechsel im Mamlukensultanat. Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī und Ibn Tagrībīrdī*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003; id., “Der Kampf um die Macht im Mamlūkenreich”, in: *Die Mamlūken. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich*

Ulrich Haarmann's reflections, which, as his contributions to the subject suggest, he himself conceived as a beginning, as preliminary observations, have remained state of the art until today, and some of his theses, which he formulated as questions and whose investigation he called for, have become something like generally accepted facts over the past decades, without having undergone the thorough review demanded by Haarmann himself. Yet the latter had quite clearly established that there was less factual knowledge about the "Sons of the Mamluks" than there were unanswered questions. In his article "Joseph's Law", he stated, for example, "When exactly this designation '*awlād al-nās*' began to be used and how it was delineated in the course of the decades after 1250 has not yet been systematically investigated."⁵

In the midst of the first wave of the global pandemic, we decided to invite our colleagues to Bonn once again—as soon as it might be possible—and to make a new start on tackling the "*awlād al-nās* question" jointly. In the end, we had to meet online in December 2020, which had the advantage that many new friends of the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg from all over the world could join us: even if each of us sat alone in their kitchen, office or on a park bench, we still had one of the largest conferences the Kolleg has ever seen, and fortunately, despite the circumstances, lively and productive discussions as usual.

With the Mamluks' descendants, this conference focused on a group that, while being located at a crucial point of Mamluk society, standing between the Mamluks and Arabic-speaking Egyptian society, still awaits the academic interest it deserves. Modern research, such as the EI-THREE article "*Awlād al-Nās*" by John L. Meloy, used to define the term as follows, claiming the existence of a more or less clear-cut social group formed by Mamluk descendants:

Awlād al-Nās ("the children of the people"), was an expression used in the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria to designate the descendants, to about the fourth generation, of the politically significant people—that is, the foreign military elite, the manumitted Mamlūks—who dominated the state.⁶

For the first time, we aimed at bringing together research touching on the Mamluks' descendants from different angles or focusing on that fascinating group itself. The reason for the group having received less interest so far might be a rather restrictive conception of Mamluk society in some of the existing research

Haarmann (1942–1999), ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam, Schenefeld: EB Verlag, 2003 (Asien und Afrika, 7), 335–366; Agatha Rome, *Die kurze Regierungszeit der mamlukischen Sultanssöhne in der tscherkessischen Phase (784/1382–922/1517)*, M.A. thesis, University of Basel, 1995.

5 Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 61. On Haarmann's position concerning the state of the art, see also Koby Yosef's second contribution in this volume.

6 John L. Meloy, "*Awlād al-Nās*".

literature. Based on the accounts of well-known historians of the Mamluk Sultanate, such as al-Maqrīzī, al-Qalqashandī, al-Sakhāwī and others, modern interpretations in the tradition of David Ayalon's model of Mamluk society have suggested that Mamluk society was a rather static one, that allowed only limited social mobility.⁷ This notion of stasis has been challenged in the last years, thus opening new directions of research on Mamluk society.⁸ Societal tableaux like the one by al-Maqrīzī define Mamluk society as stratified according to profession, function and wealth. The *awlād al-nās* as a group solely characterised by their Mamluk or mixed parentage—and as such, defined by modern research—stand at odds with this social conception. According to the static normative definition of Mamluk society, they would have had only very restricted options of reaching influential positions in the administration or military. However, sons—and daughters—of Mamluks played decisive roles in Mamluk societies, be it as amirs, or even sultans, as scholars, historians, or administrators of pious foundations.

However, these individuals are difficult to locate, as they are usually not labelled with an easy-to-identify nametag concerning their status by the sources. The best ways to identify them is first, as Haarmann did, by their name, which usually contains a 'typical Mamluk', often Turkish, name as their father's or grandfather's name, or a *nisba* that indicates that their ancestor belonged to a Mamluk household. Second, prosopographic studies that trace back Mamluk family and kinship structures help in locating Mamluks' descendants e.g., in archival sources. As for the term *awlād al-nās*, historical-semantic approaches are needed to clarify its meaning throughout (and before) the Mamluk Sultanate. This volume convenes articles that follow the Mamluk descendants' footsteps by these, and more, approaches.

7 See Ayalon's collected studies on the topic in David Ayalon, *The Mamluk Military Society*, London: Variorum, 1979; and id., *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and Eunuchs*, London: Variorum, 1988. Cf. also the overview offered by Reuven Amitai in "The Rise and Fall of the Mamluk Institution: A Summary of David Ayalon's Works", in: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilisation in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 19–32, and id., "David Ayalon, 1914–1998", *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999), 1–12.

8 With regard to the definition of social groups, see Koby Yosef, "Dawlat al-atrāk or dawlat al-mamālīk? Ethnic Origin or Slave Origin as the Defining Characteristic of the Ruling Élite in the Mamlūk Sultanate", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39 (2012), 387–410; id., *Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*, Bonn, 2012 (ASK Working Paper, 6). Jo van Steenbergen and others have proposed the concept of *mamlukization* as a frame for investigating social mobility, see e.g., Jo van Steenbergen, 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), 549–559; id., "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), 560–569.

In fact, there are fundamental questions to be asked: With the conference title “Where are the ‘*awlād al-nās*’?”, we have chosen one of them as a symbolic kick-off, which however addresses quite a number of unanswered questions: Where do we find traces of the Mamluk descendants? In which social strata, occupational groups, etc. are they to be encountered? Which ways of integration, which options of action did these people have, and: can we recognise patterns here, or was ‘integration’ and ‘career’ for the Mamluk descendants an individual matter, dependent on the respective family constellation, the situation of their Mamluk ancestors, and simply the time and circumstances they lived in? What influences affected the lives of the Mamluk descendants?

Last, but not least two questions, one asked from a semantic perspective, the other from the perspective of social history, seem to be entangled thoroughly, and answers to both of them would advance research greatly: What are Mamluk descendants called in the sources—is there a characteristic name or names for this group at all? Or, to put it from the social history point of view: Were Mamluk descendants perceived as a distinct social group?

Just as well, then, as especially the discussion panels revealed, the December 2020 conference could have been titled “Who are the ‘*awlād al-nās*’?”, or even: “Is there such a group as ‘the *awlād al-nās*’?” During the conference, it quickly became clear that the Arabic term *awlād al-nās*, which initially appears to be a source term and has been used as such previously, with its common translations “children of the elite/the nobles”, or “children/sons of the Mamluks”, is anything but an innocent contemporary source term. We must first note that this Arabic term appears far less frequently, indeed only very rarely, in sources from the Mamluk period than one would suspect. When it is used, it does not have a fixed meaning for much of the Mamluk period but is used differently depending on the context—or, as Jo van Steenberg puts it, we must read this combined term as a *polysemous concept*.

Only in the 15th century, as various contributions in this volume show, did a narrower understanding of the term emerge in a certain socially and culturally definable environment; *awlād al-nās* is then increasingly understood as “sons/descendants of the Mamluks”. But, even in this period, the term is far from being the only designation chosen for these people: the term stands alongside such names as “*atrāk*” or “*awlād al-turk/al-atrāk*”. Moreover, even in the late Mamluk period, the narrower definition of the term *awlād al-nās* as “sons of the Mamluks” is by no means to be understood as a precise delimitation of a social group. In the 15th and 16th centuries, people are also referred to as *awlād al-nās* who are not Mamluk descendants in the narrower sense, but rather, for example, descendants of freeborn military officers, descendants of merchants, etc., who had previously found their way into the military-administrative ranks of Mamluk rule. So, the term also occurs in this period as meaning “descendants of the elite”.

If one were to argue exclusively from a semantic perspective, one would have to conclude that *awlād al-nās* (in the sense of a group concept of Mamluk descendants) simply did not exist over large periods of Mamluk history. Such a conclusion, however, would be far off the mark and is not advocated by any colleague I know. The fact is that the Mamluk descendants, as already noted above, were not associated with, or named after, a clear identifier. At least, such an unequivocal identifier seems not exist in the sources studied so far. Something close to a group identity related to a sort of signifier evolved only in the later half Mamluk period, as Koby Yosef argues, during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–857/1438–1453), when certain Mamluk descendants established themselves among a “new class” of landowners. Furthermore, Yosef shows, using the example of al-Malaṭī, that Mamluk descendants, after being integrated into a specific social group such as the amirs, or the religious scholars, were no longer identified primarily by their descent, but by their standing as a military leader or scholar. Thus, al-Malaṭī refers to them as *umarāʾ* or *ʿulamāʾ*, while he seems to have reserved the identifier *awlād al-nās* for Mamluk descendants who earned their living from inherited *iqṭāʾ*s, from being a *jundī* in the *ḥalqa* or another regiment, or by various other occupations.

Whether identified as *awlād al-nās* or differently, Mamluk descendants certainly existed even before the emergence of a new, “civilian” landowner class and had their impact on society. Moreover, as Daisuke Igarashi’s study on Mamluk inheritance policies shows, the 15th century reveals a much wider concept of kinship that includes not only children, male and female, and their families, but eventually also freed slaves and their offspring, within the group of what Julien Loiseau called the “chosen family” of a Mamluk.⁹ Especially in the 15th century, when the recurring plague epidemics had decimated the population—and thereby Mamluk families—a great extent, freed slaves and their relatives became a significant factor in Mamluk inheritance or *waqf* policies. If we thus regard the question of Mamluk kinship structures from the viewpoint of economic history, it becomes clear that Mamluk descentance must not be regarded solely as a question of biological lineage, but also of socially formed kinship relations, e. g., in the concept of studying households.

Yet modern research has taken up the term “*awlād al-nās*”, linked it to a relatively unambiguous definition and subsequently used it to refer to “Sons of the Mamluks”¹⁰ or “Mamluk descendants”. Eventually, over time, this etic defi-

9 Julien Loiseau, “‘Boy and Girl on Equal Terms’: Women, *Waqf*, and Wealth Transmission in Mamluk Egypt,” *Orient* 54 (2019), 23–39.

10 Thereby systematically neglecting the daughters and granddaughters of Mamluks, who, although rarely appearing in narrative sources, had a significant impact on Mamluk society and kinship relations. For a recent overview of research on family and women in Mamluk society, see Daisuke Igarashi and Takao Ito, “Introduction. An Overview of Recent Studies on Women

nition led to the etic definition of the term being misunderstood as a (supposed) source term, i. e., it became more or less implicitly established that *awlād al-nās* was an emic source term originating from the Mamluk period as a whole, which referred unequivocally to Mamluk descendants, preferably male. It seems that modern research has oriented this definition of *awlād al-nās* primarily by following a notion, maybe a common group-identity, that we find developing in the writings of several 15th-century Mamluk historians, who were in fact Mamluk descendants, grandsons and great-grandsons themselves. Among them we may count such voices as Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Ibn Iyās, and others, and Jo van Steenbergen values their struggle for establishing their (perhaps) self-chosen identity by referring to them as “*awlād al-nās* activists”.¹¹

The articles in this volume, which approach the topic from different methodological and theoretical angles, demonstrate distinctly that there is no uniform definition of Mamluk descendants—at least not to the extent that the ‘master narrative’ created by researchers on the term *awlād al-nās* suggests. Nevertheless, descendants of Mamluks undoubtedly had their fair share in influencing many different aspects of Mamluk society—and their impact can be clearly traced in various source types. Different ‘career options’ were open to them at different times during the approximately 250 years of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria. The socio-historical component, the question of influence, options for action etc. of individual Mamluk descendants can be worked out particularly in documents (*waqf*), in tax registers, but also in biographical reference works through prosopographical studies. Here, the conference also opened perspectives for connecting the question to fields like intellectual history and art history. As for semantic studies concerning the term *awlād al-nās* and its neighbouring terms, (digitised) narrative sources prove helpful—but there is much work to be done in both approaches, until we can offer decisive answers to many of the questions raised by the conference. The contributions in this volume impressively show the variety of material available and the different methods that can be used to generate information on the (still etically defined) group of Mamluk descendants; they also propose preliminary answers. The articles in the first part of this volume comprise the outcome of the December conference, representing the different methodological approaches and research questions that stand in relation to the Mamluk descendants.

The second part of the volume consists of two longer contributions by Koby Yosef, both of which were originally intended as parts of a monograph, but now are published here due to their thematic fit. Since both are based on an extensive

and Family in Mamluk Society”, *Orient* 54 (2019), 1–6. See also Conermann, “Mamluk Studies”, esp. 21.

11 See Jo van Steenbergen’s contribution in this volume.

amount of prosopographical data collection, which we did not want to exclude from the publication, the two contributions are now in their own section, although they were of course initially part of the conference. While the first contribution approaches the role of Mamluk descendants who were amirs during the Turkish period, the second studies term *awlād al-nās* and its use from a prosopographical perspective, discussing it with Ulrich Haarmann's theses and the reflection of the "rise of a new class".

In the first article of part one, **Jo van Steenbergen** examines the term *awlād al-nās* as a *polysemous concept* and traces its changing meaning and the thematic contexts in which it appears in Mamluk sources through a comprehensive study of *awlād al-nās* semantics, frequencies, and discursive strategies in contemporary historiography. Since the term exhibits a certain fluidity over time and in different contexts of meaning, future research on Mamluks' descendants must be based on a critical engagement with these contemporary textual meaning-making processes. Van Steenbergen interprets the formation of a group identity related to the term *awlād al-nās* in the writings of certain historiographers in the 15th century as an expression of mamlukization processes.¹²

Both van Steenbergen's and Yosef's approaches thus come to similar conclusions: First, it should be acknowledged that the term was used extremely rarely, especially in the early Mamluk period, the Turkish period. When it was used, it was not firmly linked to the meaning "Mamluk descendants", but rather as a designation for descendants of the established elites, not for the (newly emerged) Mamluk elite. Secondly, they both identify a certain group identity and consolidation of the term in the 15th century, which can be explained by the emergence of new social strata ("rise of a new class") as well as their integration into existing concepts (mamlukization).

With **Stephan Conermann's** article, the volume takes a turn towards an institutional-historical perspective. Here, too, the first part focuses on individual biographical observations that serve to analyse the integration of the *ḥalqa* into the Mamluk-period apparatus of rule. While personal ties to the sultan predominated in the earlier period, the administration of the *ḥalqa* is characterised by increasing bureaucratisation (and thus transpersonalisation). Conermann traces financial policy decisions and development processes in the context of the *ḥalqa* in a chronological outline and is thus able to show that the position of the *ḥalqa* as a gathering place for "old, young and useless", to which the corps degenerated in the 15th century, is to be seen as the consequence of a longer-term and not entirely intentional development. This article again shows that the terminological consolidation of *awlād al-nās*, for which *ḥalqa* was increasingly used

12 On this concept, see Jo van Steenbergen, Patrick Wing and Kristof D'hulster, "The Mamlukization", parts I and II.

as a synonym in the 15th century, can be attributed only to the later Mamluk period.

Daisuke Igarashi also chooses a socio-historical-economic approach by analysing inheritance practices in Mamluk families and in waqf stipulations—and thus the economic position of male and female Mamluk descendants. In addition, this study also provides insights into family structure, confirming, for example, that Mamluk families usually did not have many children (often no more than three), and often divided inheritance equally between male and female descendants, bypassing Islamic inheritance law. In particular, the case studies on waqf stipulations also make it possible to trace the role of female family members or the influence of matrilineally inherited property—the documents thus prove to be a source genre that can bring to light the influence of women that, with few exceptions, is somewhat invisible in narrative sources.

Yehoshua Frenkel approaches documents from the Jerusalem Haram collection with a working hypothesis that corresponds to the findings of Koby Yosef's second contribution: he reads the term *awlād al-nās* as a group designation that referred to civilian elites, while, as he argues, terms such as *turk/atrāk* were more likely to refer to military elites. The documents he examines illustrate individual examples in the context of a longer-lasting development, in the course of which Mamluk descendants, who are identified in the sources partly as *awlād al-nās* and partly as members of the *ḥalqa*, increasingly evolved away from the military context and integrated into the civilian elites.

The following three case studies take an in-depth look at the possibilities for action and the influence of individual Mamluk descendants in their respective historical and social contexts.

Takao Ito examines the biographies of Mamluk descendants promoted to amir by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, i. e. the Qalawunid descendants described by Ibn Taghri Birdī, al-Maqrīzī and others. He is able to show that the Qalawunid era was not characterised by a one-sided preference for Mamluk descendants, but that the biographies studied are to be understood in the context of a recruitment policy that was aimed at a balanced filling of amir posts with representatives of different groups. The individual fates of the amirs and their descendants produce a diverse picture that illustrates how different the options for action and economic foundations of individual Mamluk descendants could be, even in a rather narrow temporal-social context. He also notes the change in meaning of the term *awlād al-nās* in historiographies of the 15th century already described above.

Noha Abou-Khatwa's contribution also focuses on the period of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, or the Qalawunids. She subjects the artistic and architectural work of the Muḥsinī brothers to an in-depth art-historical analysis and is thus able to show how crucial individual Mamluk descendants were in shaping the development of book culture, architecture, and style in the Mamluk period. In addition, her

contribution demonstrates how central a multidisciplinary approach is to the study of such a volatile group as the Mamluk descendants; only the dialogue with art history allows these individual figures to be traced beyond contemporary narrative representations, precisely on the basis of their own works.

Mustafa Banister's analysis of the *Zubdat al-kashf* of Khalīl b. Shāhīn takes us to exactly the period we have already identified as a time of conceptual change and the emergence of a possible group identity of the Mamluk descendants, i. e. the 15th century. His analysis—which includes a consideration of the author's historical-social context as well as a contentual and narratological analysis of the text, which can be seen as a kind of universal chronicle of the 15th century—leads Banister to the conclusion that Khalīl b. Shāhīn saw himself less as a descendant of a Mamluk elite. Rather, he located himself in his writing as a member of this elite, that is, within the Mamluk power elite of his time and not on its verges or in a subordinate position.

In part two of the volume, **Koby Yosef's** first contribution is the result of many years of work on the information about Mamluk descendants in the Turkish period, based on Ibn Jī'ān's *jarīda iqtā'īyya* of circa 777/1376. Although this prosopographic-economic-historical approach naturally has to cope with some blank spaces or uncertainties in the data reported by Ibn Jī'ān, it yields highly interesting results that extend beyond the time span covered by the *jarīda*. For example, it is not always possible to determine the degree of relationship or status of the amirs recorded in the *jarīda*. Apart from that, this source (unfortunately) also only provides access to the Mamluk descendants who became amirs. However, the examination of this “minimal number of Mamluk descendants in Cairo” already provides fascinating insights into structures and factors that must also have affected the “minor” Mamluk descendants who are not recorded in the *jarīda*. Yosef's analysis clearly demonstrates the influence of demographic (e. g. after the plague) or political (e. g. the influence of “uncertain” times) factors on Mamluk families: the plague decimated their lines, thus also the number of descendants to be provided for, while the Mamluks of the first “tumultuous” years of the sultanate were only able to found families late in life, if at all, and thus initially raised a smaller number of descendants to be provided for later. It was not until the Qalawunid era, during which there was also a change in marriage policy, that there were so many Mamluk descendants in adulthood that they became visibly important, e. g. in amir positions. However, even before this, the Mamluk descendants were by no means excluded from such positions—there were simply very few of the appropriate age who could have taken over posts. Furthermore, the analysis also shows that not only external factors, but especially the support of kin-groups—either one's own father or allies by marriage—fuelled a Mamluk descendant's chances of obtaining positions in the military and thus of entering the *jarīda*. In his second contribution, **Koby Yosef** approaches

the term *awlād al-nās* and the question of whether and when it can be found as a group identifier in Mamluk sources on the basis of a large-scale prosopographical study of Mamluk descendants. Through a qualitative analysis of al-Malatī's writings, he demonstrates that the latter used the term *awlād al-nās* or *ibn (al-)nās* only for a certain subgroup of Mamluk descendants, while others were virtually absorbed into other social groups, e.g. the amirs or religious scholars, and thus were identified as such in the sources. It was only with the formation of a new class of (civilian) landowners in the 15th century that a further change in the meaning of the term *awlād al-nās* was established, as Yosef points out, whereby the term finally became a group designation for a specific group of Mamluk descendants.

All these contributions are based on the insight, as discussed during the conference and described above, that the modern master narrative as well as the term *awlād al-nās*, which oscillates strangely between being a source term and having been attributed a modern meaning, are in need of revision. At the end of the conference, we therefore decided to follow a provisional language regime that would enable researchers and readers to distinguish between the “real” emic source term and the modern, etic group concept. When *awlād al-nās* is used in the following articles, this refers to the actual—rarely occurring—source term, which, however, must not be understood simply as translating to “Mamluk descendants”, but may carry a completely different meaning. If, on the other hand, we speak of Mamluk descendants, sons of the Mamluks, etc., we hereby refer to the group postulated by research. However, in practice this language rule cannot always be fully adhered to, if only because previous research uses the two terms and concepts synonymously and therefore *awlād al-nās* repeatedly appears in quotations and references as an etically constructed group designation. It is therefore left to the inclined reader to read this volume critically, but with goodwill, also from a terminological point of view. Only the next few years will show whether—and if so, in which way—this language regime will prevail with regard to the Mamluk descendants.

However, let me outline several preliminary conclusions, as well as research prospects, shared by the contributions in this volume. The conference in December 2020 and the studies presented in this volume have clearly shown two things: First, Mamluk descendants formed an integral part of Mamluk society and had considerable influence in a variety of contexts in different periods of the Mamluk sultanate. They participated in the military and ruling elite, they were active as scholars, artists, and builders, and they shaped historiographical and other scholarly discourses through their writings. They also participated as administrators and beneficiaries of *iqṭāʿ*s or land ownership in the various known forms. Some of the Mamluk descendants became part of the civilian elite in the later Mamluk period, while others were assimilated into military or scholarly

circles and obviously did not identify themselves primarily, or at least not to any great extent that can be proven so far, by their ancestry.

Second, especially for the Turkish period, but also afterwards, we cannot assume a fixed emic concept *awlād al-nās* which could be translated unequivocally into “Mamluk descendants”. Rather, this term, which is also occasionally used in the pre-Mamluk period, is subject to a constant change of meaning. The meanings range from a general term for descendants of any established elite, to quite narrow meanings depending on the context. For example, the term is used to refer to potentially defenceless young men who are vulnerable to sexual exploitation during their education, or to denote only a certain group of Mamluk descendants who are lower-rank soldiers, e.g. in the *ḥalqa*. Only in the late 15th century and until the Ottoman conquest, did some historiographers who themselves had a background of Mamluk ancestry establish a kind of group identity; Ibn Iyās, for example, gives an intensive description of the discrimination against his fellow *awlād al-nās* by the late Mamluk rulers, as well as by the Ottoman conquerors. It should also be noted that the use, context, and meanings of the source term *awlād al-nās* differ from region to region; in Syria, the term is thus used and understood less frequently and differently than in Cairo. But even in this 15th-century context the term *awlād al-nās* occurs rather seldom and is used alongside other formulations (e.g. *awlād al-turk* and the like).

Nevertheless, it makes a lot of sense to stick to researching the etically defined (constructed?) group of Mamluk descendants. Even though there may not have been an emic group identity as Haarmann postulated, the Mamluk descendants do occupy a central role in Mamluk society that we do not yet understand sufficiently. The main reason is that this role, or rather these roles, are much more diverse and thus even more elusive to scholarship, than previously assumed. Or, to summarise briefly: There is no simple answer to the question “Where are the ‘*awlād al-nās*’?”

Due to the various meanings ascribed to the term *awlād al-nās*, it cannot be sufficient to search for Mamluk descendants solely on the basis of this term and its closer variants in the sources. Rather, other possible group designations must be included, and themselves be studied, with regard to their multifarious layers of meaning that possibly even changed over time. The conference’s chatroom brought up a very good example when discussing the terms “Turk” (*turk/atrāk*) and “Arab” in the context of Mamluk sources. Both terms can function as ethnic definitions, but even more so as cultural or social categories. Moreover, the term *turk/atrāk*, for example, must be recognised as being related to intersectional criteria like language, dress, or class. In some contexts, it may occur as a merely ethnic definition, while in others, intellectual or social aspects may prevail. Still, those criteria seldom occur in isolated form but intermingle or intersect, for example, when “Turkish” dress is associated with the military and thus dis-

tinguishes military persons from the urban population. The term *turk*, to stick with this example, even has a political dimension related to the courtly sphere, the *dawlat al-turk*, and thus may also function as a social identifier distinguishing courtly cultural identity from the rest of society. In each of these cases and their intersections, such a term can then also have a positive or negative connotation according to its context, the author's, or the recipients' interpretation.

Equally importantly, a common effort including various methodological approaches, such as prosopography, seems to be the best way to go. In particular, it is necessary to consult archival material in addition to narrative sources; the results of the relevant studies in this volume promise good opportunities to understand the options for action and the "career" or integration paths of Mamluk descendants better than we already do today. Consideration of social institutions like the *ḥalqa*, the pious endowments, or intellectual scholarly circles, also belongs in the search for Mamluk descendants, as is interesting to examine their potential assimilation into existing social contexts.

Thus, if we want to investigate the rooms for manoeuvre of Mamluk descendants, and their integration or assimilation processes, further in the future, this must—actually not surprisingly—be done with the consideration of various factors. Demographic factors, such as the deep scars left by the plague epidemics, which of course influenced society and the economy as a whole, also created changed conditions for Mamluk descendants. Regional differences—those between Syria and Egypt in the period have already been noted in other examples—need to be observed and understood. Finally, it is an important goal to evaluate source information in such a way that groups that are difficult to trace in the narrative sources, such as simple soldiers and their families and not least women, female Mamluk descendants, can be better considered. These groups, as well as Mamluk descendants "hidden" by assimilation or integration into other social layers, will certainly remain hard to grasp, if only for lack of appropriate source material. However, we should acknowledge these blank spaces and work on and with them, rather than brushing over them by drawing general conclusions from case studies. In addition, various thematic areas or social subsystems are of course interesting for comparative studies and further engagement: for example, the involvement and room for manoeuvre of Mamluk descendants in intellectual and religious discourses, in economic processes, and many more.

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Part I

Where are the *Awlād al-Nās*? Arabic Historiography, *Mamlūk*ization, and the Semantics and Discursive Politics of a Polysemous Concept¹

1 Introduction

In today's scholarship a specific consensus has grown on the identity, roles and changing involvement of *awlād al-nās*, “the sons of the people”, in the history of late medieval Egypt and Syria. First of all, as John Meloy summarized in 2007 in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, *awlād al-nās* is by default considered “an expression used in the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and Syria to designate the descendants, to about the fourth generation, of the politically significant people—that is, the foreign military elite, the manumitted Mamlūks—who dominated the state.”² Secondly, modern scholars tend to consider these *awlād al-nās* a distinct social group with a long collective history of its own. In line with the first proposition, this master narrative of *awlād al-nās* history is derived from the specific trajectories of involvement in the sultanate's history that many *mamlūk* descendants are known to have experienced. Long considered the lesser successors of their *mamlūk* fathers' privileges or, at best, unusual exceptions to this general rule, *mamlūk* descendants have in recent decades managed to exchange this traditional picture for a far more nuanced appreciation of their social and cultural participation. It is by now generally accepted that many *mamlūk* descendants partook actively, effectively, and continuously in the cultural life of the urban centers of Syria and Egypt, as scholars, *literati*, and patrons. During most

1 This chapter has been written within the framework of the project ‘The Mamlukisation of the Mamluk Sultanate II: Historiography, Political Order and State Formation in Fifteenth-Century Egypt and Syria’ (UGent, 2017–21); this project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Consolidator Grant agreement No 681510). This chapter was first presented as a paper at the online *awlād al-nās* conference organized at Bonn University, in December 2020. I am grateful to the organizers for accepting my paper proposal, and to my MMS-II colleagues at Ghent University (Mustafa Banister, Rihab Ben Othmen, Kenneth Goudie, Zacharie Mochtarie de Pierrepont, Daniel Mahoney, Maya Termonia) for providing feedback on two different drafts.

2 John F. Meloy, “Awlād al-Nās”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE.

of the 8th/14th century, many *mamlūk* descendants also played important military as well as increasingly political and socio-economic roles in Egypt and Syria, as *ḥalqa* troopers, as amirs of varying ranks, and as *iqṭāʿ*-holders. Especially the reigns of the Qalāwūnid sultans al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347–51, 1354–61) and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 1363–77) tend to be considered the heyday for these descendants' political and socio-economic participation, as demonstrated by extant prosopographical as well as socio-economic data. From the end of the 8th/14th century onwards, however, their socio-political and military participation has been demonstrated to have receded substantially, giving way in the 9th/15th century to their primary appearance in contexts of the management of varyingly composed family estates.³

Despite this strong scholarly consensus that *awlād al-nās* references in contemporary sources inform about a collectivity of *mamlūk* descendants and its rich social and cultural histories, some fundamental challenges to this common assumption were formulated in a survey chapter of *awlād al-nās* studies, published in 1998 by the German historian Ulrich Haarmann (1942–99). Haarmann explained that “when exactly this designation *awlād al-nās* began to be used and how it was delineated in the course of the decades after 1250 has not been

3 See especially Abraham N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1939), 14, 29, 32–3; David Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1951), 43–4; idem, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15; 16 (1953; 1954), 203–28, 448–76; 57–90, here 204, 451, 456–8; idem, “Mamluk Military Aristocracy: a non-hereditary nobility”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), 205–10; idem, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*; Ulrich Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in: *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut: American University in Beirut 1984, 141–68; idem, “Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33/1 (1988), 81–114; idem, “Joseph’s Law. The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 55–84; Donald S. Richards, “Mamluk amirs and their families and households”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 32–54; Adam A. Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, 90–3; Amalia Levanoni, “*Awlad al-Nas* in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period”, in: *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honor of Michael Winter*, ed. David Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon, London and New York: Routledge 2006, 96–105; Aharon Layish, “*Waqfs of Awlad al-nās* in Aleppo in the Late Mamlūk Period as Reflected in a Family Archive”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2008), 287–326; Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, “*Awlād al-nās* as Grantors of Pious Foundations: The waqf of Yahyā ibn Ṭughān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 21–50; Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, Berlin: EB Verlag Dr. Brandt, 2014.

systematically investigated”.⁴ In the concluding observations of this chapter, Haarmann even stated that *awlād al-nās* only refers to “an extremely volatile, mobile and not easily visible group”, and that this invisibility “impeded the formation of a tangible collective identity and of the resulting group solidarity.” As such, he seems to suggest that whereas *awlād al-nās* may represent a useful heuristic device for modern researchers to engage with some of the complexity and diversity of the late medieval Syro-Egyptian social world, it should not be mistaken for a historical social phenomenon or an effective social identity.⁵ In the opening section of his survey chapter, Haarmann actually already illustrated this point by calling attention to the fact that “in the differentiated social models drawn up at the time”—by al-Subkī (d. 1370), al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī (d. 1483)—“the sons of Mamluks are never mentioned.”⁶

There exists therefore a surprising opposition between, on the one hand, the ongoing assumption in current scholarship that *awlād al-nās* represents the default contemporary term to designate *mamlūk* descendants and to identify them as a distinct social group with a very specific long history of 8th/14th-century empowerment and 9th/15th-century marginalization, and, on the other hand, the final conclusion formulated more than two decades ago by one of that scholarship’s main *awlād al-nās* specialists, that there may well have been no such thing as ‘the *awlād al-nās*’. Inspired by this tantalizing divergence, this chapter follows up on Haarmann’s call for a “systematic investigation” of “when exactly this designation *awlād al-nās* began to be used and how it was delineated”. It attempts to evaluate these two opposite positions in scholarship by pursuing a better understanding of the significance of this term’s contemporary, as opposed to modern, usages. It therefore aims to take stock of the surprisingly complex semantic and discursive frameworks that defined the occurrence of *awlād al-nās*, as a meaningful combined term, in the era’s most voluminous extant source material: contemporary chronicles, biographical dictionaries and related texts of history.⁷ Indeed, as this chapter’s first part demonstrates, when these texts use the designation *awlād al-nās*, their understandings of it were not

4 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 61. Also stated in his “Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage”, 104. A related question had already been asked many years earlier in his “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-Holders” (147): “We do not even know, for the time being, whether the term *awlād al-nās* was customary for the sons and grandsons of Mamluks at large, or whether it was limited to those who were listed in the *halqa*.”

5 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 83–4.

6 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 60.

7 In all, 45 such texts from the 7th/13th to the early 10th/16th centuries have been consulted for this study, and the selection of these texts has been determined by their relevance as well as by the availability of digitized copies (on OpenITI [<http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4075046>] or in our own Corpus database [ihodp.ugent.be/corpus/]) and/or of sufficiently detailed indexes. See the bibliography. See also fns. 33 & 43 on the organization of this corpus and its data.

at all as uniform and specific as most modern interpretations have suggested. In fact, the social history of *mamlūk* lineages and the cultural history of the designation *awlād al-nās* in contemporary texts appear as rather more separate phenomena than generally acknowledged. Descendants, lineages, and families evidently played their differing parts in the sultanate's long history throughout the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th centuries. The term *awlād al-nās*, however, never entirely followed suit. This chapter's second part therefore reconstructs in the fullest possible detail the history of the occurrence of this combined term in the sultanate's narrative sources, aiming not only to map where the term occurred, but especially also to track the differences in its understandings by different generations of historians and their audiences. As will be demonstrated, these differences inform about a very specific trajectory of semantic continuities and transformations, which eventually included above all the representation of *awlād al-nās* as part of the later sultanate's particular *mamlūk* phenomenon, or its *mamlūkization*. After this diachronic survey and interpretation of *awlād al-nās* occurrences in different sets of narrative sources from the 7th/13th to the 10/16th centuries, this chapter's third part endeavors to trace at least some of the ways in which, and some of the purposes to which, these changing *awlād al-nās* occurrences were interconnected across this comprehensive corpus. This part will argue that, rather than in a continuous social history of empowerment and marginalization, these interconnections must be situated in very diverse contexts of the claims, interests and challenges of particular individuals and groups, and of related textual pursuits of very different, sometimes even diametrically opposed, discursive strategies. Via this three-tiered approach, this chapter aims to not only take stock both of the semantic fluidity of the combined term *awlād al-nās* and of the surprisingly rich trajectory of its historiographical manifestations and interpretations, but it also explores a different appreciation of some of these manifestations and interpretations and of what we may learn from them.⁸

8 As should be clear from this introduction, this is above all a cultural history chapter, focused on processes of meaning making and their constructive relationships with social realities. This relates to this chapter's central perspective that modern encounters with these realities are always mediated by those contemporary interpretive processes and their embodiment in our sources, and which therefore require to be analyzed and interpreted first. For a different, but at the same time complementary, social history study of this historical divergence between the social realities of elite lineage and their identification as *awlād al-nās* realities, see the second contribution to this volume by Koby Yosef, as well as some of his related earlier work.

2 The semantics of a polysemous concept: between *mamlūk* and non-*mamlūk* meanings

A random survey of occurrences of the combined term ‘*awlād [al-]nās*’ (and of its variant, ‘*abnā’/ibn [al-]nās*’) in contemporary texts suggests indeed that their understandings were not at all as uniform and straightforward as most modern interpretations have tended to assume. A first among several interesting examples of this semantic divergence may be found in a panegyric history/biography that was dedicated to the Qalāwūnid sultan and *mamlūk* descendant al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl (r. 1343–6). This brief text, written in a courtly context in 1343, has one *awlād al-nās* reference only, in the following passage:

In the year 643 [1245], [sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb] had made several of his *mamlūks* amir, he had appointed governors from among them, and he had enabled them to rule the realms. The rule of the *turk* (*ḥukm al-turk*) in Egypt and Syria continued until now. Before, the rule and reign (*al-ḥukm wa-l-mulk*) there had been for the *awlād al-nās*, and the *dawla* of the *turk*, issuing forth from the *mamlūks* [of al-Ṣāliḥ], was only established in the year 643, and it has continued until this blessed year, the year 743 [1343], the [entire] period [being] 100 years.⁹

Not only does this panegyric include the reigns of two sons and four grandsons of the *mamlūk* sultan Qalāwūn (r. 1279–90) into its centennial representation of “the *dawla* of the “Turks””; it also interestingly represents the concept of *awlād al-nās* in a historical contrast with these *turk*, as identifying their Ayyubid predecessors of explicitly non-*mamlūk* origins in the leadership over Egypt and Syria.

In the biographical study of contemporaries by the Syrian secretary Khalīl b. Ayybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363), a similar contrast between a Syro-Egyptian leadership with and one without *mamlūk* origins may be found in the biography of the famous Qalāwūnid amir Qūṣūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 1341). In this case, however, the contrast is presented not from a diachronic historical perspective, but rather from a synchronic social one. This Qūṣūn, who had been a traveling merchant from the Pontic-Caspian Steppes before entering by his own volition into royal service and becoming a strongman behind the Qalāwūnid throne, was, in al-Ṣafadī’s view, “a people’s son and not a *mamlūk* (*wa-huwa ibn nās wa-lam yakun mamlūkan*)”.¹⁰

Another example of this divergence from modern assumptions may be found about half a century later, when the Egyptian historian Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) related in his chronicle of the sultanate’s history the story of a short-

⁹ Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *al-Nūr al-Lā’ih*, 55; Jo Van Steenberg, “Qalāwūnid Discourse, Elite Communication and the Mamluk Cultural Matrix: interpreting a 14th-century panegyric”, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43/1 (2012), 1–28, 11.

¹⁰ al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 4:137.

lived manifestation of local millenarian leadership and autonomy in southern Bilād al-Shām. This course of events in the summer of 816/1413 allegedly revolved around a *faqīh* who claimed to be an apocalyptic leader (al-Sufyānī), who declared himself sultan in the region of ‘Ajlūn, and who succeeded to rally various hundreds of “*‘arab, atrāk and ‘ashīr*” to his cause. Most interestingly, according to al-Maqrīzī a public announcement in this local sultan’s name did not just refer to the abolition and new arrangement of various local taxes, but it also proclaimed that “the rule of the *turk* had been abolished, so that only the rule of the *awlād al-nās* remained (*fa-’inna ḥukm al-turk qad abtala wa-lam yabqa illā ḥukm awlād al-nās*)”. In this phrase it is again the contrast between *turk* and *awlād al-nās* that gives meaning to both terms; in this context, however, that contrast appears not as a historical or a social one, but rather as a spatial opposition between, on the one hand, the sultan in Egypt and the regional layer of his Syrian agents and arrangements, and, on the other hand, a longstanding local layer of leaderships and their changing arrangements in the southern Bilād al-Shām.¹¹

Again many decades later, the Syrian scholar, personal tutor of sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1437–53) and trusted agent of sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 1453–61) Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqā’ī (d. 1480) presented yet another example of this semantic divergence when he also alluded to the opposition between ‘*turk*’ and *awlād al-nās* in his autobiographical chronicle. This occurred in a report that states that in August 1454 (Sha’bān 858) “those who were not *turk*—the *awlād al-nās*, the *faqīhs* and their like—were barred from the *dīwān al-mufrad* (*wa-quṭī’a ‘ala l-dīwān al-mufrad man ghayr al-turk wa-hum awlād al-nās wa-l-fuqahā’ wa-ghayruhum*)” so that their regular stipends were withheld.¹² In this particular case, however, the opposition that makes the use of the combined term *awlād al-nās* meaningful is not a historical, social or spatial one, but a financial arrangement that opposes *turk* to *awlād al-nās* and other similar categories that were normally included as beneficiaries in the sultanate’s resource flows.

These four specific cases’ different oppositional uses of the notions of ‘*turk*’ and *awlād al-nās* are obviously at odds with modern understandings of the latter as the descendants of the former *mamlūk turk*. Nevertheless, this dominant idea of a kind of generational continuity is certainly also present in contemporary texts. The example from al-Biqā’ī’s chronicle could in fact also be read as using the combined term *awlād al-nās* to simultaneously signify some of those who for specific financial reasons were considered “not *turk* (*ghayr al-turk*)” and those less privileged descendants of these *turk* that in regular circumstances continued to be among the beneficiaries from sultanic income. This ties in directly with

11 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 6:350.

12 al-Biqā’ī, *Izhār*, 2:59.

more well-known contemporary examples of this common modern understanding of ‘the *awlād al-nās*’ as the readily identifiable social group of “the descendants, to about the fourth generation, of the politically significant people—that is, the foreign military elite, the manumitted Mamlūks—who dominated the state.”¹³ One clear example of the latter meaning may be found in a panegyric chronicle for sultan al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy (r. 1468–96), by the smalltime Ḥanafī scholar ‘Alī b. Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī (1416–95). In the detailed reports for the months Rabi’ al-Awwal and al-Thānī of the year 873 (September–October 1468), al-Jawharī explains the enormous extent of the challenges that were faced by the recently enthroned sultan to pay salaries and stipends, including to “the *awlād al-nās* who are registered in the *dīwān* of the sultanīc *mamlūks* (*awlād al-nās al-munzilīn bi-dīwān al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*)”; in al-Jawharī’s reading, one of the causes for this was related to the policy of one of Qāyitbāy’s predecessors, sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1437–53), “to increase the monthly stipends of the sultanīc *mamlūks* and assign a monthly stipend to their sons (*wa-yurattib li-awlādihim jāmakiyya*); and if they did not have that—that is, sons (*ya’nī awlādan*)—, the stipend would be raised, in accordance with this [policy], by a third of what it had been.”¹⁴

Another example that is often referred to to illustrate this more common understanding concerns a passage—apparently first noticed by Robert Irwin and David Ayalon¹⁵—in the chronicle of Egyptian and Qalāwūnid history by the *mamlūk* grandson, military man, and historian Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aybak al-Dawādārī (d. after 1337). In this passage it is suggested that sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 1279–90) had gathered the scattered offspring of his former *mamlūk* comrades of the Baḥriyya regiment and provided them with both regular sources of income in the military unit of the *ḥalqa* and a position as guards of one of the citadel’s gates. Ibn al-Dawādārī first identified this offspring as the “*awlād al-Baḥriyya*”, but it was especially his subsequent comment that this happened without the approval of a leading amir who “hated the *awlād al-nās*” (*fa-innahu yakrahu awlād al-nās*) which has been seen to confirm and even further the default modern reading of this term.¹⁶ A similar comment by another historian and *mamlūk* descendant, Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Duqmāq (d. 1407), has likewise informed this modern master narrative of the *awlād al-nās* as *mamlūk* descendants who were integrated in the *ḥalqa* by the end of the 7th/13th century

13 Meloy, “Awlād al-Nās”.

14 al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr*, 34.

15 Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the middle ages. The early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, Kent: Croom Helm Ltd 1986, 71; David Ayalon, “Baḥrī Mamluks, Burjī Mamlūks—Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate”, *Tārīkh* 1 (1990), 3–52, 28–31; Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 63, f. 40.

16 al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:302.

and who were empowered as Qalāwūnid amirs in the course of the 8th/14th century. Ibn Duqmāq's summary history of Islamic leadership ends its general assessment of the reign of the Qalāwūnid sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347–51; 1354–61) with the following famous comment:

It was [Ḥasan's] intention to raise the *awlād al-nās*. Most of them were raised in his days, including nine *muqaddams alf* [...]. He promoted a group (*jumā'a*) of amirs of *ṭablahkhānāt* and of ten, summoned from Syria to Egypt the sons of the people who had remained aloof (*awlād al-nās al-muḥtashimīn*), and made Ibn al-Qashtamurī *nā'ib Ḥalab* and Ibn Ṣabīḥ *nā'ib Ṣafad*. May God the Sublime have mercy for him and forgive him, because he used to say: 'Never have I heard anyone say that a people's son stood up against the sultan. ('*umrī mā samī'tu aḥadan yaqūlu in ibn nās khāmara 'ala l-sultān*).'¹⁷

This comment, or especially its parallel renderings in some later chronicles, is invariably invoked when that master narrative of the history of the *awlād al-nās* is discussed. There are good prosopographical reasons for this, given that the names mentioned here indeed all refer to second-generation amirs. However, Ibn Duqmāq's understanding of this master narrative may have been somewhat more open-ended than generally accepted. The ranks of *awlād al-nās* whose names are explicitly listed here also included sons of smalltime non-*mamlūk* fathers such as the *muqaddam alf* Mūsā b. al-Uzkushī (d. 780/1379), vaguely identified as al-Miṣrī ('the Egyptian') in one later obituary and "the son of 'Abd Allāh" in another;¹⁸ and Ibn Ṣabīḥ, the *nā'ib Ṣafad*, who was better known as the Damascene amir and *ḥadīth* scholar Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Ṣubḥ al-Kurdī (d. 771/1369).¹⁹

A less exclusively *mamlūk awlād al-nās* definition also seems to have been preferred in another interesting example of this semantic fluidity, by the historian Shams al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī (d. after 1356). In the extant part of his annalistic chronicle of Qalāwūnid history (737–45 AH), the term *awlād al-nās* only occurs once.²⁰ This happens in a highly flattering obituary notice for the amir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who died in the course of 741/1341 and who was the son of another strongman behind the Qalāwūnid throne, the amir Jankalī b. Muḥammad b. al-Bābā (d. 1346). In his praise for Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jankalī,

17 Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 404–5.

18 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh*, 3:590; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 1:295. See also Takao Ito's chapter in this volume, as well as Koby Yosef's second, which suggests that Ibn Ṣabīḥ actually was "a Kurd of free origin".

19 Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1: 307; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh*, 3: 366–7; Ibn al-'Irāqī, *Dhayl*, 2: 292–3. See also Yosef's second chapter.

20 The only other relevant occurrence in this text again concerns the oppositional use of the term '*ibn nās*', in an obituary notice for an amir who "was claimed to be a 'people's son' from the sons of Aleppo (*ibn nās min abnā' Ḥalab*)" rather than a "*mamlūk* of sultan Lājīn". (al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 55).

al-Shujā'ī states that he was “one of the most eloquent, intelligent, comely and articulate [persons] among the *awlād al-nās* (*min fuṣṣahā' awlād al-nās wa-adh-kāhum wa-aḥṣanihim shikālatan wa-ibāratan*)”.²¹ Just as in the above-mentioned case of the “people’s son” Qūṣūn, however, Muḥammad’s father Jankali never had been a *mamlūk*, and he started his career as a successful Ilkhanid military agent in the region of Amid (Diyar Bakr) before switching sides in the early 700s/1300s; Muḥammad himself was said to have been born in Amid before that happened, and to have migrated to Egypt with his father at the age of six.²² Al-Shujā'ī’s portrayal of Muḥammad as one of “the *awlād al-nās*” therefore again invokes the idea of his social distinction. In this case, however, this distinction is neither related to any diachronic, synchronic, spatial, or fiscal contrast nor to any more direct *mamlūk* connection, but rather to his father’s towering leadership status as well as to Muḥammad’s own cultural achievement.

Almost two centuries later, a parallel situation and another slightly different example of this fluidity of the term *awlād al-nās* returns in a chronicle of Egyptian history by the historian Muḥammad Ibn Iyās (d. after 930/c. 1524). Among the many *awlād al-nās* references in this text, there also is the obituary notice for one “al-Badrī Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī” (d. 923/1517), which identifies this Ḥasan as “one of the *awlād al-nās* notables (*min a'yān awlād al-nās*)”. As his name suggests, Ḥasan was not of any *mamlūk* descent, but a leading member of the Ṭūlūnī family of Egyptian building contractors and stone masons. This family allegedly hailed from North-African origins, and it first acquired prominence in Egypt with the *muhandīs* Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (d. 1399), a low-ranking amir who is said to have “dressed like a *turk*” and whose sister and daughter were spouses of sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–9/1390–9).²³

These nine examples of *awlād al-nās* occurrences in a diverse set of chronicles and biographical dictionaries all display first and foremost substantial differences in whom the combined term *awlād al-nās* is meant to identify. These referents range from non-*mamlūk* to *mamlūk* descendants, from local Syrian leaderships to Egyptian stipendiaries, and from *ḥalqa* troopers to courtly elites. These examples inform therefore about how contemporary understandings of *awlād al-nās* could combine an interest in paternal lineage with far more open and fluid qualifications of that lineage than most modern readers have so far suggested. In fact, as will be further demonstrated and analyzed in this article’s next part, this range of different referents and fluid qualifications can be usefully represented as a continuum of lineage-related *awlād al-nās* meanings. Just as in

21 al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 121.

22 See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 4: 380; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3: 23.

23 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 5:161; on the Ṭūlūnī dynasty of building contractors and chief *mu'allims*, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “*Muhandīs, Shād, Mu'allim*—Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period”, *Der Islam* 72/2 (1995), 293–309, 297–303.

al-Jawharī's references to "the *awlād al-nās* who are registered in the *dīwān* of the sultan *mamlūks*", one, *mamlūk*, end of this continuum is occupied by various similar occurrences that literally 'mamlūkize' the term *awlād al-nās* by explicitly representing it as a group among the sultan's *mamlūks*.²⁴ The other, entirely non-*mamlūk*, end of this polysemous range appears in occurrences in contemporary texts that consider *awlād al-nās* a generic urban category of freeborn young boys along a wide span of possible social statuses, from urban elite sons (*awlād al-a'yān*) to the urban poor.²⁵ The anonymous late 8th/14th century *Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Turkīya*—a short dynastic chronicle that covers the years 650–805 AH and possibly represents a version of Ibn Duqmāq's *al-Nafḥa al-Miskīya fi l-Dawla al-Turkīya*—²⁶ includes one of the more direct statements along this generic line. In its brief account of the ceremonial for the circumcision of the son and heir apparent of sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 1260–77), al-Sa'īd Baraka, in 662/1264, it clarifies that "the *awlād al-nās* who were circumcised together with al-Malik al-Sa'īd amounted to 1,645 [boys] from the sons of the *fuqahā* ' and the commoners, not including the sons of the amirs, the commanders and the troopers (*awlād al-nās [...] min awlād al-fuqahā* ' wa-l-*awāmm ghayr awlād al-umarā* ' wa-l-*muqaddamīn wa-l-jund*)".²⁷

24 See e.g. Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, vol. 15:366; 16:379. Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:681. This was already noted by Poliak, *Feudalism*, 29, n. 10; Ayalon, "Studies", 457; Haarmann, "Sons of Mamluks", 149.

25 For the parallelism between *awlād al-nās* and *awlād al-a'yān*, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:407; for the parallelism with the urban poor, see the only occurrence in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349), *Masālik*, 3:67 (explaining how in al-Hind "orphans and *awlād al-nās* are taught to read and write"). This seems also in line with more general generic uses of the term, as in a story recorded by the Baghdadi historian Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 1323) about "one of the *awlād al-nās*" from Baghdad (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 1:283), in three stories attributed to the Fatimid historian Ibn Abī Ṭayy by al-Maqrīzī and involving different roles for "awlād al-nās" in much earlier, Fatimid times (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:291, 350, 387), and in three cases in al-Dhahabī's (d. 748) *Tārīkh al-Islām* where these *awlād al-nās* references are not even remotely related to anything *mamlūk* (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 23:462; 43:141; 52:116).

26 See Sami G. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period*, Leiden, Boston: Brill 2007, 2, n. 12; idem, "Ibn Duqmāq", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE; Ibn Duqmāq, *Nafḥa*, ed. Tadmuri, 20 (editor's introduction).

27 Anonymous, *Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Turkīya*, MS Cambr. Qq 147, fol. 10a; in his dynastic chronicle *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn* Ibn Duqmāq includes a related but different version of the same report, which does not refer to *awlād al-nās* but similarly explains that "the people brought their sons (*aḥḍara l-nās awlādahum*), and the number of youngsters (*'iddat al-ṣiḡhār*) amounted to 1,645 [boys] from the sons of the *faqīhs* and the commoners, irrespective of the sons of the amirs, the commanders and the troopers (*min awlād al-fuqahā wa-l-'awāmm wa khārijan 'an awlād al-umarā* ' wa-l-*muqaddamīn wa-l-jund*)" (Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 276; similar in Ibn Duqmāq, *Nafḥa*, 58). Among the many versions of this circumcision story in a variety of historiographical texts, it is interesting to note that *awlād al-nās* is never used in pre-*Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Turkīya* texts: al-Dhahabī's short version of this circumcision story refers only to "a group of the sons of the amirs (*jumā'a min awlād al-umarā* ')" (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 49:19; idem in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 13:245); Baybars al-Man-

3 The history of a polysemous concept: from non-*mamlūk* to *mamlūkizing* frequencies of *awlād al-nās* occurrences

As mentioned above, Ibn al-Dawādārī's reference to a leading amir who "hated the *awlād al-nās*" but could not prevent sultan Qalāwūn from supporting the "*awlād al-Bahriyya*" represents an important moment in the modern master narrative of *awlād al-nās* integration in the *ḥalqa* and their subsequent empowerment as Qalāwūnid amirs. Interestingly, however, Ibn al-Dawādārī's reference does not just represent the only occurrence of the term *awlād al-nās* in any renderings of this story in other contemporary and later chronicles.²⁸ It is also the only *awlād al-nās* occurrence in the full nine-volume set of the critical edition of Ibn al-Dawādārī's chronicle. The only other related reference in the entire text concerns the notion '*abnā' al-nās*', which similarly occurs only once in this universal chronicle, in the obituary of an Ayyubid ruler of Ḥamā, and again

ṣūri's equally short version prefers to speak of "a group of the sons of the senior amirs" (*jumā'a min awlād al-umarā' al-akābir*) (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, 92); and the longest (and perhaps oldest) version of this story, in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's (d. 692/1292) panegyric biography of sultan Baybars, refers to the circumcision of "the sons of kings and the sons of amirs (*awlād al-mulūk wa-awlād al-umarā'*)", presents a list that identifies nine of these sons by the names of the amirs and Ayyubid rulers who were their fathers, eventually referring to another "group of the sons of the amirs" (*jumā'a min awlād al-umarā'*), and adds that "a group of the orphans and of the sons of the poor" (*jumā'a min al-aytām wa-abnā' al-fuqarā'*) had already preceded them (Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawḍ*, 214; a slightly adapted similar version in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, 30:103). Among later texts, al-Maqrīzī's topographical history of Cairo stands out, as it repeats the rendering of this story in the *Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Turkiya*, including the *awlād al-nās* reference, when it reports that "al-Malik al-Sa'id was circumcised together with 1,645 young boys from the *awlād al-nās*, other than the sons of the amirs and the troopers [...*ṣabīyan min awlād al-nās siwā awlād al-umarā' wa-l-ajnad*)" (al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 4:99). In his chronicle of Egyptian history, al-Maqrīzī very briefly refers to this circumcision of al-Malik al-Sa'id in 662/1364, but without any reference to the circumcision of other boys (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:516). Al-Maqrīzī's contemporary al-'Aynī refers in this same textual context to the simultaneous circumcision of "a group from the sons of the senior amirs (*jumā'a min awlād al-umarā' al-kibār*)" only (al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, ed. Amīn, 1:376). Much later, Ibn Iyās' (d. after 930/1524) chronicle recalls Ibn Duqmāq's and al-Maqrīzī's renderings by stating that "their number was 1,645 boys, irrespective of the sons of the amirs and of the notables of the people (*waladan khārijan 'an awlād al-umarā' wa-a'yān al-nās*)" and that also "the sons of the commoners (*awlād al-awāmm*)" were involved; Ibn Iyās, again, does not refer to *awlād al-nās* in this context (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1/1:323).

- 28 Ibn al-Dawādārī's contemporary Qaraṭāy al-'Izzī (d. 1333) explains in his own chronicle that it were indeed the Bahriyya and their sons (*al-Bahriyya wa-awlādahum; awlāduhum; awlād al-Bahriyya*) whom this amir hated, because of the fearlessness of their fathers and the lack of respect from their sons; Qaraṭāy, however, did not use the phrase *awlād al-nās* in this context (Qaraṭāy, *Tārīkh*, 170; see also Yosef's second chapter). Both terms *awlād al-Bahriyya* and *awlād al-nās* are not at all mentioned in a later rendering of this Bahriyya story, by al-Maqrīzī, which refers instead simply to the offspring of Qalāwūn's peers from the Ṣālihiyya as '*dharārihim*', 'their progeny' (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1: 658).

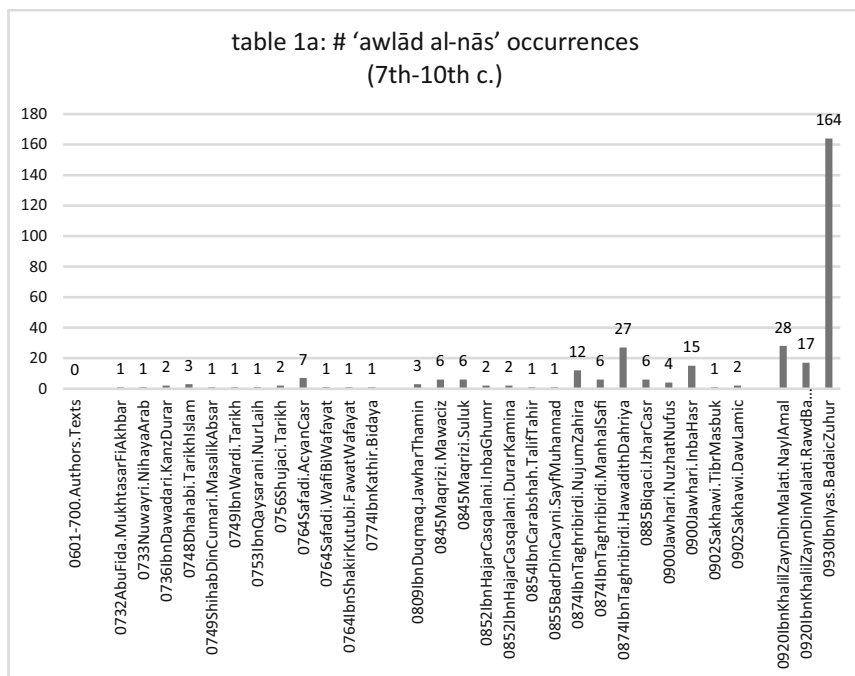
with a very open, generalizing meaning.²⁹ This textual situation of a predominant *awlād al-nās* silence is actually very much alike in another major source for the modern master narrative: Ibn Duqmāq's summary history of Islamic leadership, *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn*. Interestingly, in this chronicle too the terms *awlād al-nās* and 'ibn nās' occur only in the above-quoted passage that qualifies and explains the leadership of sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's reign.³⁰ In fact, these terms never occur in any parallel 8th/14th century text about sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's reign. The historical writings of contemporaries of this reign, such as the afore-mentioned biographer al-Ṣafadī, the Damascene traditionalist scholar Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), the Maghrebi *littérateur* Ibn Abī Ḥajala (d. 776/1375), and the Aleppine scribe Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 779/1377), use the combined term *awlād al-nās* at most only seven times, but never in their descriptions and assessments of Ḥasan's reign and leadership.³¹ From what is currently known, it can therefore only be concluded that Ibn Duqmāq was the first to make any explicit descriptive as well as interpretive connection between that mid-8th/14th century leadership and the notion of *awlād al-nās*, even when he refrained from using this notion elsewhere in his text.³²

29 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:265 (al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad [d. 683/1284] is praised for his benevolence and kindness "towards all the people who called upon him, especially the 'patrons of houses, the people's sons, and those who were in need'" [*khuṣṣān arbāb al-buyūt wa-abnā' al-nās wa-dawī l-hājāt*]).

30 See Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 546 (index).

31 See the biographies of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and the assessments of his reign in al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:247–52; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 14:278; Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Sukkardān*; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkira*, 3:240. The same absence can be noted in the historical section of Muḥammad Ibn 'Aqīl's panegyric for sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, written in the early 780s/1380s (*al-Durr al-Naḍīd fī Manāqib al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abī Sa'īd*, Ms. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Wetzstein I 133, fol. 16v–17r). Ibn Duqmāq's contemporary Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) also does not mention any link between Ḥasan's reign and *awlād al-nās* in his chronicle of Afro-Asian history, and neither does Ibn Ḥajar (d. 1449), in his biographies of 8th/14th century elites (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, 5:452; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 2:38–40). Unfortunately, the relevant parts of Ibn Duqmāq's major chronicle *Nuzhat al-Anām*, of which the *Jawhar* is but a summary, seem to be lost; equally unfortunately, the relevant mid-8th/14th century parts of the chronicle by Ibn Duqmāq's other contemporary Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405), who is known to have recycled and expanded upon Ibn Duqmāq's materials, are similarly not known to have survived (Massoud, *Chronicles*, 30, 36–8; Fozia Bora, "A Mamluk Historian's Holograph. Messages from a *Musawwada* of *Ta'rikh*", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 3 [2012], 119–53, 127).

32 This does not deny the social fact, of course, that many 'sons' rose to prominence and leadership in Ḥasan's days. It has by now, however, been firmly established that this was a much wider phenomenon marking the entire period of 8th/14th century Qalāwūnid history (see also Levanoni, "*Awlad al-nas*"; and Ito's and Yosef's second chapter on the construct of this *awlād al-nās* link.). See part 3 for a further consideration of Ibn Duqmāq's intentions.



In fact, similar absences or, at best, very to extremely limited occurrences of the combined term *awlād al-nās* may be noted for all but one of the sultanate's texts of history (see table 1a).³³ Al-Ṣafadī's five-volume biographical study of his contemporaries only mentions the term *awlād al-nās* six times, in addition to his one reference to the "people's son (*ibn nās*)" Qūṣūn. These seven occurrences represent a negligible 0.001% of this text of more than 600,000 words, or an average frequency of 0.001 per hundred words. One occurrence concerns a conversation between a Syrian amir of Ayyūbid lineage and the amir Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr b. Jandar (d. 729/1329), in which the former would have said: "[O] Sharaf al-Dīn, aren't we all people's sons (*mā naḥnu kullunā awlād*

33 This and most of the other tables in this chapter are put up for their illustrative rather than their interpretive value, given that they are constructed with absolute numbers of listed occurrences in texts of highly diverse sizes (texts are identified in these tables by their Open Islamicate Text Initiative URI); these nominal *awlād al-nās* frequencies remain difficult to compare without taking into account the overall word-size of the entire corpus of 45 consulted texts, of the separate 13th-, 14th-, 15th- and 16th-century sub-corpora, and of the 30 individual texts with *awlād al-nās* occurrences; given that not all texts in the corpus have been digitized yet, including importantly Ibn Iyās' *Badā'i*, and that their overall word-size remains therefore difficult to establish, it has remained impossible to calculate relative frequencies for proper comparative purposes. These tables therefore can do no more than hint at certain patterns.

nās)?”³⁴ A second reference can be found in al-Ṣafadī’s biography of an amir who moved to Safed with a personal entourage of “*mamlūks*, eunuch servants and handsome *awlād nās* attendants (*mamālīk wa-khuddām ṭawāshīyya wa-awlād nās atbā’ lahu milāḥ*).”³⁵ Two further occurrences relate to descriptions of praiseworthy individual qualities: the *mamlūk* amir’s son Quṭlūbak b. Qar-āsunqur (d. 729/1329) is credited with “the caution of the *awlād al-nās* (*‘alayhi khafr awlād al-nās*)”, and the calligrapher Mūsā b. ‘Alī (d. 716/1316) is said to “have been confidently entrusted with the care for the *awlād al-nās*, chaste, virtuous and pious (*wa-kāna ma’ mūnan ‘alā awlād al-nās ‘afīfan khayyiran dayyīnan*).”³⁶ The emotional or even sexual connotation that was implied in these “handsome attendants” and in this “confidence” and “care for the *awlād al-nās*” is actually suggested most explicitly by the final two occurrences of the combined term *awlād al-nās* in this text. Al-Ṣafadī’s biography of Ibn Khaṭīb Ba‘labakk al-Sulamī describes the latter as someone “with whom some of the sons of the notables (*awlād al-a’yān*) learned to write”; it ascribes to this teacher the particular qualities of “devoutness, chastity, continence, the strength to keep oneself from pursuing a devastating desire for the *awlād al-nās*, and integrity (*wa-kāna fīhi diyāna wa-‘iffa wa-ṣiyāna wa-taqwā tamannu’ihī min al-taṭallu’ ilā awlād al-nās wa-amāna*)”; and it claims that he refused a calligraphic commission from the *nā’ib al-Shām* by “presenting as an excuse that he was too busy teaching the *awlād al-nās* to write (*mashghūl bi-taktīb awlād al-nās*).”³⁷

Even al-Maqrīzī’s above mentioned reference to an apocalyptic movement in southern Bilād al-Shām and its local *awlād al-nās* connection concerns one out of only six occurrences of this combined term in the entire chronicle. These occurrences represent an even more negligible 0.00075% of this text of more than 800,000 words. They include an adapted rendering of Ibn Duqmāq’s comments on the composition of sultan Ḥasan’s leadership, as well as stories involving impoverished *awlād al-nās* who had illegally sold their *iqṭā’s* in 721/1321, the confiscation of horses from “the amirs, the *awlād al-nās* and [...] the ‘Arabs of al-Buḥayra, al-Gharbiyya and al-Sharqiyya” in early 792/1390, the arrest of the amir Shaykh al-Ṣafawī (d. 1399) in 800/1398 in Jerusalem as a result of his vice (*fasād*), consisting of “his approaching the *awlād al-nās* and inciting them to fornication (*ta’arrudahu li-awlād al-nās yurīduhum ‘ala l-fāḥisha*)”, and, in 832/1429, a brief and ineffective embargo in Cairo’s horse market on the sale of horses to specific groups, including “to any *awlād al-nās* trooper (*li-jundī min awlād al-*

34 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:555.

35 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:100–1.

36 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:124; 5:481.

37 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 5:407 (for the translation of *al-taṭallu’ ilā* as ‘pursuing a devastating desire for’, see E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols. [Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968; repr. London: Williams and Norgate, 1863–74], 1: 1868, c).

nās)”.³⁸ In al-Biqā’ī’s mid-9th/15th century case, the term *awlād al-nās* similarly occurs six times only in the three-volume edited version of his autobiographical chronicle. In this text of some 200,000 words these six occurrences represent a marginally higher average frequency of 0.003 per hundred words. Most of these occurrences involve stories like the afore-mentioned one from al-Biqā’ī’s chronicle regarding “those who were not *turk*”, about contested claims to resources and privileges, and involving *waqf*, inheritances, the sultan’s *dīwān*, and in one case also the wearing of the distinctive *zamṭ* hat. In addition to these five political-economy-related cases, the term *awlād al-nās* also occurs once in a context of urban violence, in the report for Rabī’ al-Thānī 856/April 1452, when sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53) is described as having judged and sentenced to imprisonment the murderer of “a *ghulām* of an *awlād al-nās* trooper (*ghulāman li-jundī min awlād al-nās*)”.³⁹

This general impression of the low frequency of *awlād al-nās* occurrences in some of our main contemporary sources, including those—by Ibn al-Dawādārī, Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī—which have informed the modern *awlād al-nās* meta-narrative of empowerment and marginalization, is in many ways as surprising as the fluidity of this combined term’s meanings is. To arrive at a better and more nuanced understanding of both unexpected phenomena, the three following sections reconstruct in the fullest possible diachronic detail the history of the occasional occurrence of this combined term in the sultanate’s narrative sources. To do so, each of these sections not only maps when and where the term occurred, but it also tracks the differences in its understandings along the non-*mamlūk*/*mamlūk* continuum of *awlād al-nās* meanings. While the first section thus considers the majority of the relatively silent corpus, the second and third sections adopt this two-pronged approach in their detailed analyses of four historians’ chronicles that stand out due to both higher frequencies of *awlād al-nās* occurrences and more explicit—and therefore more informative—representations of their *mamlūkizing* meanings.

38 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3: 44; 4: 253, 274, 420, 796.

39 al-Biqā’ī, *Izhār*, 1: 206; 2: 59, 62, 84, 211; 3: 89. On the red *zamṭ* hat as a marker of social distinction from the mid-9th/15th century onwards, see Albrecht Fuess, “Sultans with Horns: the Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12/2 (2008), 71–94, 82–3, 93 (figures 11–12).

3.1 7th–9th/13th–15th century *awlād al-nās* occurrences: silence, ambiguity and *mamlūk*ization

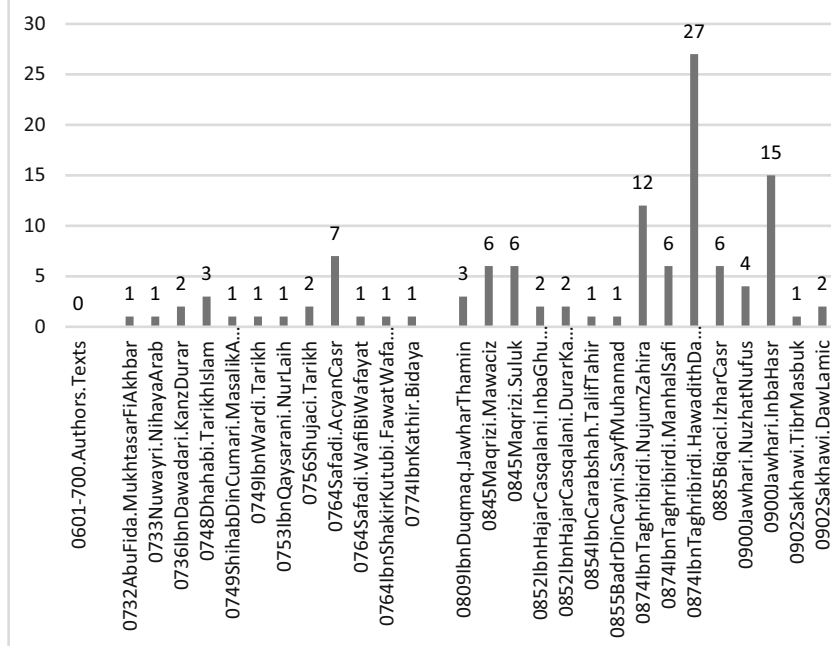
What appears as a most striking impression from a wider survey of relevant 7th/13th to 9th/15th century historical texts is indeed not just the bewildering diversity of *awlād al-nās* meanings, but also the extremely low frequency of *awlād al-nās* occurrences (see table 1b). This remarkable *awlād al-nās* silence was absolutely deafening in texts of history that were written in the 7th/13th century,⁴⁰ and it remained the norm, with only a limited number of 22 exceptions, in consulted texts from the 8th/14th century.⁴¹ This impression diverges entirely, and surprisingly, from the modern master narrative of 8th/14th century *awlād al-nās* empowerment. So does the fact that, among these exceptions, representing an average of merely 1.5 occurrences per 8th/14th century text, the *awlād al-nās* meanings that were prioritized lean towards the non-*mamlūk* end of its semantic continuum, and towards the generic category of young boys of varying local freeborn origins in particular. This is evident in the afore-mentioned seven cases in al-Šafadī's biographical study of his contemporaries, and especially the references to the “people's son” Qūšūn, to “handsome attendants”, to the quality of “taking care for the *awlād al-nās*”, and to teaching “the sons of the notables (*awlād al-a'yān*)” to write. Similar meanings appear to dominate the eight *awlād al-nās* references by the era's other Syrian historians.⁴² Even the “*awlād al-Bahriyya*” of the Egyptian historian Ibn al-Dawādārī and the identification by his colleague al-Shujā'ī of “one of the most eloquent, intelligent, comely and articulate [persons] among the *awlād al-nās*” may have to be understood first and foremost within this context of freeborn local boys and “*awlād al-a'yān*”.

40 Consulted texts from this century, which are not listed in tables 1a and b because of their lack of *awlād al-nās* occurrences, include Abū Shāma's *Rawḍatayn*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*, Ibn Shaddād's *A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's *Rawḍ* and Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*.

41 Other consulted texts from this century, which are not listed in tables 1a and b because of their lack of *awlād al-nās* occurrences, include Baybars al-Manṣūrī's *Zubda*, al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl*, and al-Ṭarsūsī's *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Turk*.

42 Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 1:392; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 18:353; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, 4:307; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 23:462; 43:141; 52:116; Abu l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, 4:111 (repeated in Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 296). See also the further discussion of these 8th/14th century meanings below, in part 3.

table 1b: # 'awlād al-nās' occurrences
(7th-9th c.)



At first sight, the predominant *awlād al-nās* silence of, especially, the 7th/13th and, also, the 8th/14th centuries appears to have been broken far more often in the long 9th/15th century of Ibn Duqmāq, al-Maqrīzī, al-Biqā'ī and their peers.⁴³ The more general phenomenon of this exponential growth of *awlād al-nās* occurrences to more than 90 references in 9th/15th-century texts (see table 2a) is extremely interesting, and significant. This textual pattern of an expanding 9th/15th century *awlād al-nās* interest diverges again entirely from the aforementioned modern master-narrative and its assumption of the marginalization of *awlād al-nās* in the course of the 9th/15th century. It was furthermore only in this century that the *awlād al-nās* meanings that were prioritized by historians started

43 As suggested before, the novelty of Ibn Duqmāq's interpretation, penned down in the 790s–800s/1390s–1400s, arguably represents a turning point in *awlād al-nās* occurrences in the corpus; as will be detailed below, a similar—even though even more so from a quantitative perspective—period of transition is represented by the exponential growth of occurrences in the texts of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī and, especially, of Ibn Iyās, written in various installments between 890/1485 and 928/1522. The 790s/1390s and 890s/1480s are the transitional moments that have therefore been selected to organize the corpus of texts with *awlād al-nās* occurrences from the 8th/14th to the 10th/16th centuries in different centennial subsets.

to lean towards the *mamlūk* end of its polysemous continuum.⁴⁴ This ‘*mamlūkization*’ of the term *awlād al-nās* is most clearly expressed in some very explicit phrases among these more than 90 occurrences. These include Ibn Taghribirdī’s strong statement that the *awlād al-nās* “are closest in their life of plenty and ease to the *mamlūks* (*awlād al-nās li-kawnihim ila l-taraf wa-l-rāḥa aqrab min al-mamālīk*)”⁴⁵ and his distinction of those “*awlād al-nās* [...] who belonged to the sultan’s *mamlūks* (*awlād al-nās* [...] *alladhīna hum min jumlat al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*)”.⁴⁶ Ibn Taghribirdī’s obituary of one Abū Bakr al-Mušārī’ (d. 1452), “also known as Ibn al-Imām, one of the *awlād al-nās* promoted by al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq”, represents a similarly explicitly *mamlūkized* meaning, when it clarifies that “he belonged to the group of the sultanic *mamlūks* and monthly stipend holders (*min jumlat al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya arbāb al-jawāmik*), until al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq became sultan and a little bit of good fortune was set in motion for him”.⁴⁷ Almost simultaneously with Ibn Taghribirdī, al-Jawharī wrote about “*awlād al-nās* who are registered in the *diwān* of the sultanic *mamlūks* (*awlād al-nās al-munzilīn bi-dīwān al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*)”.⁴⁸ As mentioned above, according to al-Jawharī this followed from sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq’s decision “to increase the stipends of the sultanic *mamlūks* and assign a stipend to their sons (*wa-yurattib li-awlādihi jāmakiyya*)”.⁴⁹

A chronologically first reference in 9th/15th century texts that may be interpreted as directly related to this ‘*mamlūkizing*’ meaning of the term *awlād al-nās* occurs in the annals for the year 832/1428–9, about a decade before sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq’s ascension and at a time when—according to Ibn Taghribirdī—Abū Bakr al-Mušārī’ may have already “belonged to the group of the sultanic *mamlūks* and monthly stipend holders”. Al-Jawharī, following similar reports in the chronicles of al-Maqrīzī and of the Egyptian traditionist and chief judge Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (1372–1449), refers in his *Nuzhat al-Nufūs* to an ineffective royal edict of Rabī’ al-Thānī 832 (January 1429) that prohibited “the sale of horses to any ‘turban-wearer’ and *awlād al-nās* trooper (*alā muta’ammim wa-lā jundī min awlād al-nās*)”.⁵⁰ This orientation of *awlād al-nās* meanings towards military profiles and privileges, and especially towards the *mamlūk* end of its

44 See also Poliak, *Feudalism*, 29, n. 10; Ayalon, “Studies”, 457–8; Haarmann, “Sons of Mamluks”, 149–50; and Yosef’s second chapter, especially his interpretation of these changes in the social history and *awlād al-nās* identity of *mamlūk* descendants.

45 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Hawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:690.

46 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 16:379; see also idem, 15: 366; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Hawādith*, ed. Popper, 2:175; 3: 681.

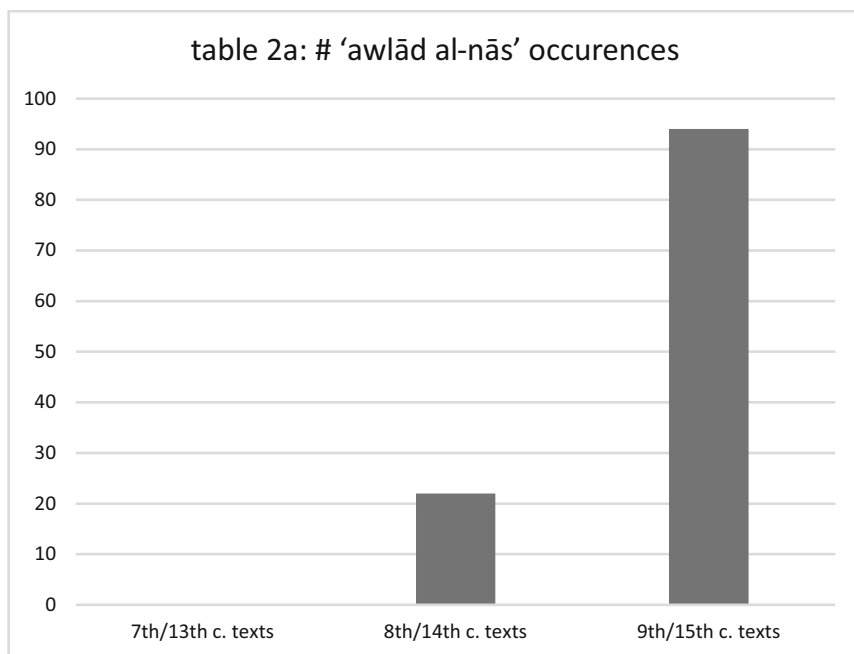
47 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Hawādith*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn, 2:390.

48 al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr*, 35.

49 al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr*, 34.

50 al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:150; also in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 7:187; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’*, 3:476 (but in the annal for 835 AH). See also Yosef’s second chapter.

polysemous continuum, appears even more explicitly in the chronologically next occurrence in the corpus, in the annal for 837/1433–4 of, again, al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*. This concerns a story about one of the leaders of urban disturbances by the sultan’s *mamlūks*, identified by al-Jawharī as “a person belonging to the *awlād al-nās* who look like *turks* (*shakhṣan min awlād al-nās al-mushbihīn bi-l-atrāk*)”.⁵¹ Almost all *awlād al-nās* occurrences in chronicle reports for the annals of subsequent decades ascribe to similar *mamlūkizing* meanings, and interestingly these occurrences spiked in the 850s and in, especially, the early 870s (see table 2b, and section 2.2 below).

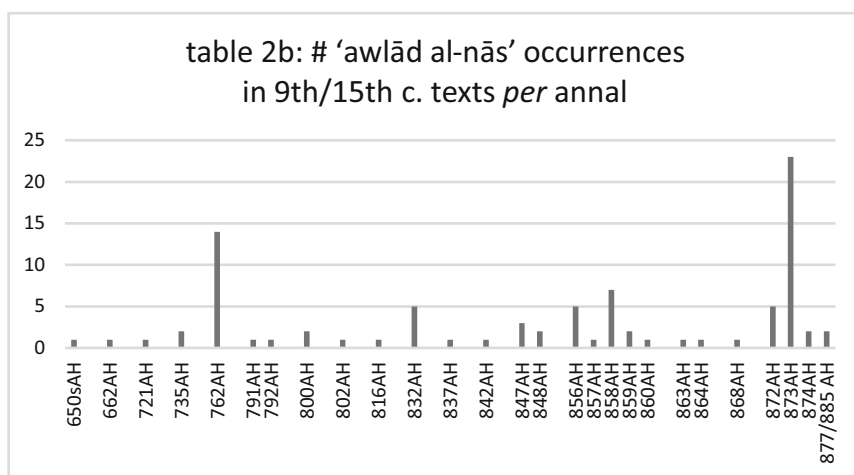


Occurrences before the annals for the 830s, including the spike of references in the mid-8th/14th century context of sultan Ḥasan’s reign, remain far more dispersed and ambiguous in their *awlād al-nās* meanings. These meanings range from the afore-mentioned “sons of the *fuqahā*’ and the commoners” in 662/1264, to “some amirs belonging to the *awlād al-nās*” in 802/1399 and local Syrian elites in 816/1413, and to one Barsbughā l-Julbānī, who died in 832/1429 and whom Ibn Ḥajar remembers as “eloquent and knowledgeable, [so that] anyone who knew

⁵¹ al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:304.

him thought that he belonged to the *awlād al-nās*".⁵² Interestingly, Ibn Ḥajar's biography of Barsbughā was quoted *verbatim*, including this ambiguous *awlād al-nās* qualification, towards the end of the 9th/15th century in the biographical dictionary which one of Ibn Ḥajar's students, the scholar and traditionist Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (1427–97), completed in 896/1491.⁵³ To make things even more ambiguous, the only other relevant reference in this dictionary occurs in another quotation of a tongue-in-cheek epigram by one 'Umar al-Birī from Aleppo, allegedly composed in 871/1466–7:

I love a people's son (*ibn nās*), but I do not desire
to see a woman appear in my house.
Because whenever I want, I can leave him,
while she will never ever leave me.⁵⁴



This late 9th/15th century epigram clearly prioritized the traditional non-*mamlūk* meaning that had remained predominant in the 8th/14th century. It also suggests that this meaning may have lingered on when more ambiguous understandings entered historical texts from the first half of the century, by Ibn Duqmāq, al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar, and even when, from the annals for the 830s onwards, an increasingly uniform *mamlūkization* marked *awlād al-nās* occurrences in these as well as in later texts. In fact, the wider set of al-Sakhāwī's own historical writings display the ongoing presence of a similar semantic diversity.

52 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 3:424. For 816 AH, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 6:350; for 802 AH, see al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:35; for 662 AH, see Anonymous, *Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Turkiya*, MS Cambr. Qq 147, fol. 10a.

53 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 3:9.

54 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 6:118.

Next to the ‘people’s son’ poem and the Barsbughā l-Julbānī reference in his biographical dictionary, there is one other *awlād al-nās* occurrence in al-Sakhāwī’s texts, but in this case, it refers entirely to a highly *mamlūk*ized meaning. The annal for 848/1444 in his chronicle of mid-century history *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* included a report about a major incident involving looting “sultanīc *mamlūks* who are stationed in the barracks” as well as “*ghilmān*, rabble, commoners and slaves”; the incident ended with sultan Jaqmaq “cutting the stipends of some of those whose side [among the sultanīc *mamlūks*] was considered weak, such as the *awlād al-nās* and their like (*mimman istaḍʿafa jānibahu ka-awlād al-nās wa-mā ashbahahum*), without however targeting any of the young [*mamlūk*] recruits (*al-julbān*), despite the fact that allegedly they had done most of the looting.”⁵⁵

In fact, this specific case in the annal for 848/1444 is the only time *awlād al-nās* occurs in the entire text of al-Sakhāwī’s *Tibr*. The ‘people’s son’ epigram and the Barsbughā l-Julbānī reference similarly are the only *awlād al-nās* moments in al-Sakhāwī’s dictionary of almost 12,000 9th/15th century biographies. In a parallel fashion, Ibn Ḥajar’s ambiguous Barsbugha l-Julbānī reference and his rendering of the first *mamluk*izing *awlād al-nās* story about the unsuccessful prohibition to sell horses “to an *awlād al-nās* trooper” in the early 830s, represent the only two *awlād al-nās* occurrences in his annalistic chronicle of the many events of his lifetime (773–850/1372–1447).⁵⁶ Ibn Ḥajar’s own substantial biographical dictionary, furthermore, has only two *awlād al-nās* references. In this case, these references both occur in a *verbatim* copy of al-Ṣafadī’s afore-mentioned 8th/14th century biography of the Damascene scholar who taught *awlād al-nās* to write.⁵⁷ As detailed above, Ibn Duqmāq’s *Jawhar* only has three occurrences, while al-Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ* and his *Sulūk* as well as al-Biqāʿī’s *Izhār* only mention the combined term *awlād al-nās* six times each. Despite an exponential growth and a substantial expansion in the range of meanings, therefore, with an average of 7.5 *awlād al-nās* occurrences per text a general negligibility continues to mark the frequency lists of this century’s enormous texts of history. Just as in the cases of al-Maqrīzī’s *Sulūk*, with its average of only 0.00075 *awlād al-nās* occurrences in every 100 words, and of al-Biqāʿī’s chronicle, with its marginally higher average frequency of 0.003 per 100 words, the majority of this period’s texts continue to have none to only a handful of *awlād al-nās* occurrences (see also tables 1a and 1b).⁵⁸ In fact, a higher interest than this average is only discernible in Ibn

55 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 1:217; see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 15:366, which confirms this *mamlūk* interpretation as it refers in this same context indeed to “the cutting of the stipends of some of the sultanīc *mamlūks* belonging to the eunuchs and the *awlād al-nās*”.

56 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ*, 3:424, 476.

57 Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 6:94.

58 Consulted texts from this century that are not listed in any table because of their total lack of *awlād al-nās* occurrences, at least in their extant and/or published parts, include Ibn Khal-

Taghrībirdī's texts as well as in the extant parts of one of the two chronicles by his contemporary al-Jawharī.⁵⁹ In many ways, therefore, these are only very specific exceptions to the general rule of a textual *awlād al-nās* reticence that is maintained.

3.2 *Awlād al-nās mamlūkization* in the chronicles of Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Jawharī

The exceptional moments of *awlād al-nās* interest in Ibn Taghrībirdī's and al-Jawharī's contemporary chronicles concern especially the annals for the opening years of sultan al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy's reign (r. 1468–96). The annal for 873AH/1468 with its 23 *awlād al-nās* occurrences stands out in particular (see table 2b). Across the entire corpus of these 9th/15th century texts, the only other cluster that stands out concerns the afore-mentioned peculiar *awlād al-nās* interpretations of sultan

dūn's *Tārīkh*, Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh*, al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ*, al-'Aynī's *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir*, and al-Qudsi's *Badhl*. The other major historiographical text of the 9th/15th century, al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-Jumān*, was not included in this survey, because of the complicated manuscript history of this chronicle of universal history and the continuing lack of a comprehensive edition of the chronicle's full text (incompletely extant in 14 out of 19 holograph volumes, and in two slightly later sets of manuscript volumes) (see Nobutaka Nakamachi, "A Historiographical Analysis of the Four Chronicles Attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī", in: *Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Toru Miura, Bonn/Göttingen: Bonn University Press & V&R unipress GmbH 2021, 113–138; we currently have editions of the annals for 565–628 AH, 648–717 AH, 784–801 AH (but this is actually a conflation of two different texts by al-'Aynī, and therefore a problematic edition), and 815–850 AH [see bibliography]); a systematic consultation of available digitized edited versions (for 648–717 AH and 815–850 AH) has so far not resulted in the identification of any further occurrences. The annals for 746–798 AH do not seem to have survived in any manuscript version; this is unfortunate in the present context, because the corresponding manuscript volume of al-'Aynī's other (as yet unedited) chronicle, *Tārīkh al-Badrī*, includes four *awlād al-nās* occurrences in the obituary for sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, explaining in familiar 'Duq-māqian' terms how "he favored the *awlād al-nās* and it was his intention to promote them as two groups of *muqaddams alf* and *ṭablakhānāh*." (Ms Dār al-Kutub 1584 *tārīkh* [juz' 24/1], 124–5; MS British Library, Oriental and India Office Collection, Add. 22,360, fols. 66v–67r [with a slight textual difference from DK 1584 *tārīkh*, and therefore three occurrences rather than four, with the last one 'ibnan (sic) *nāsin*' instead of '*awlāda nāsin*']).

⁵⁹ In al-Jawharī's main annalistic chronicle, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, for which only the final volumes covering the annals for 784 AH to 849 AH are currently accessible in an edited format, just four occurrences have been identified: one in the annal for 802 AH and referring to "some amirs of the *awlād al-nās*", and three for 832, 837 and 847 AH and referring to *awlād al-nās* troopers and military volunteers (al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:35; 3:150, 304; 4:272). The 832 and 847 occurrences parallel those in other 9th/15th century texts (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 7:187; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 3:476; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, 1:91); the 802 and 837 occurrences, however, appear as unique to the *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, including the already mentioned 837 case concerning "one from the *awlād al-nās* who look like turks (*shakhṣ min awlād al-nās al-mushbihīn bi-l-atrāk*)" (al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:304).

Ḥasan's 8th/14th century reign by Ibn Duqmāq, and by al-Maqrīzī, al-ʿAynī and Ibn Taghribirdī after him. Apart from these two chronological *awlād al-nās* clusters, across the 9th/15th century corpus only 21 other annals are marked by one or more *awlād al-nās* occurrences, and the average of occurrences in this specific set of annals is only two per annal. Therefore, not just Ibn Taghribirdī's and al-Jawharī's unusually high interest in *awlād al-nās* occurrences, but also the clustering of these occurrences in their annalistic reports for 873AH invite for more in-depth analysis. In fact, this and similar quantitative and chronological patterns in these relatively higher number of occurrences and also their occasionally more explicit qualifications allow to deepen understandings of both these changing annalistic frequencies and their *mamlūkizing* meanings in each of these two authors' chronicles.

Ibn Taghribirdī's major chronicle *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* spans the full scope of Islamic Egypt's history, from the Muslim conquest in the 1st/7th century to the enthronement of sultan al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy in 872/1468. This chronicle of more than a million words, with most frequent terms such as *ʿamīr/umarāʾ* occurring almost 17,000 times, *ʿsulṭān* more than 10,000 times, and *ʿnās* almost 3,000 times, has twelve occurrences of the combined term *awlād al-nās* only. These occurrences furthermore only happen in two very specific semantic contexts: the leadership of sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's mid-8th/14th century reign, in a direct parallel with Ibn Duqmāq's assessment, and contested claims to resources and privileges related to the central payment arrangements of *iqṭāʾ*, *rizaq*, *jāmaʿiyya* and *naḥaqa*, just as in al-Biqāʾī's afore-mentioned *Izhār* and in most post-830s occurrences more in general.⁶⁰ Occurrences for the latter political-economy context indeed pertain mostly to the final, mid-9th/15th century parts of Ibn Taghribirdī's multivolume text. These occurrences concern *awlād al-nās* references in reports about four distinct moments in the reigns of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53) and al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 1453–61), in the annals for 848/1444, 856/1452, 858/1454, 864/1460, as well as in three more reports about Jumāda I-Ūlā 872 (December 1467), when a heavily contested *naḥaqa* payment haunted the very short-lived and unsuccessful reign of sultan al-Zāhir Timurbughā (r. December 1467–January 1468). The chronicle's narratives of the many decades that connected sultan Ḥasan's "promotion of the *awlād al-nās*" in the 750s/1350s to the 848/1444 case of urban disruption that involved, as in al-Sakhāwī's *Tibr*, sultan Jaqmaq's "cutting down the stipends of some sultanīc *mamlūks*, belonging to the

60 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:308–9, 316; 11:341; 15:364–5, 439; 16:81, 141, 379, 381. On these arrangements, see David Ayalon, "The System of Payment in Mamlūk Military Society", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958), 37–65, 257–96; Daisuke Igarashi, "The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), 118–140; idem, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāyitbāy", *Mamluk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009): 27–51; idem, *Land Tenure*.

eunuchs and the *awlād al-nās* (*qaṭ' arzāq ba'd al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya min al-khuddām wa-awlād al-nās*)” is again marked by a long *awlād al-nās* silence.⁶¹ This centennial silence in Ibn Taghribirdī's dynastic chronicle is broken only once. In line with the ambiguous meanings of most early 9th/15th century references, the report for Dhū l-Qa'da 791 (September 1389) states that the main opponent of the deposed sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–9; 1390–9), the amir Mintāsh, sought support with “his peers, his *mamlūks* and the *awlād al-nās* (*khushdāshiyyatahu wa-mamālīkahu wa-awlād al-nās*).”⁶²

Related patterns of *awlād al-nās* occurrences return even more prominently in Ibn Taghribirdī's other major chronicle of contemporary Egyptian history, the *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*. This detailed continuation of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, beginning with the annal for 845/1441–2 and ending with the first days of the annal for the last year of Ibn Taghribirdī's life, 874/1469–70, has most *awlād al-nās* occurrences of all consulted texts that were written between the 790s/1390s and the 890s/1480s (see table 1b). At the same time, these 27 occurrences again only represent a negligible quantitative component (0,017%) of the more than 160,000 words that make up this text. These occurrences' textual clustering in specific annals and around the specific contexts of the sultanate's courtly financial and military organization, however, is once more noteworthy, and significant. The *Ḥawādith* has four annalistic clusters of *awlād al-nās* occurrences: two for the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53), in the annals for 847/1443–4 and 856/1452–3, and one for each of the early days of the reigns of al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 1453–61), in the annals for 857–8/1453–4, and of al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy (r. 1468–96), in the annal for 873/1468–9, with a clear majority of fourteen occurrences marking the centrality of the latter cluster.⁶³ The first two clusters of, respectively, two and three occurrences concern the participation of “volunteers from among the *fuqahā*’, the *fuqarā*’ and the *awlād al-nās*” in one of Jaqmaq's raids on the Mediterranean island of Rhodes in 1443; the obituary remembrance of Jaqmaq's son and heir apparent (and Ibn Taghribirdī's pupil) al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad (d. 1444) as, “in general, the greatest (*ajall*) of the sultans' sons and the *awlād al-nās* with whom we have been acquainted”, and three reports about the courtly (and financial) fortunes of two

61 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:308; 15:366.

62 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:341.

63 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, 91, 102 (847); 359, 367, 390 (856); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 2:175 (857), 211–2 (858); 3:681–3, 690, 694–5 (873). The only two occurrences that do not fit in entirely with this pattern concern the biography of the *muḥtasib* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, whose father Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr “belonged to the *awlād al-nās al-ghāzāniyya* (?)” and was a boon companion of sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, in the annal for 859/1455, and the report that in Sha'bān 868 (April 1464), and unlike the sultan's *mamlūks*, “a large crowd of *awlād al-nās*, ‘turban-wearers’ and their like (*jumā'at kathīrīn min awlād al-nās wa-l-muta'ammimīn wa-ghayrihim*)” saw their regular textile rations (*kiswa*) cut down (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 2:245; 3:465).

awlād al-nās (*aḥad min awlād al-nās*; *shakhṣ min awlād al-nās*) from Jaqmaq's entourage (*khidma*).⁶⁴ The third cluster of six *awlād al-nās* occurrences appears in reports about the new sultan Īnāl's halfhearted attempts, in March 1453 (3/857) and again in August 1454 (8/858), to cut down the monthly stipendiary payments and food rations to *awlād al-nās* and many others. The fourth, major, cluster of 14 occurrences all concern a similar situation that dominated the reports of the first months of 873/late 1468. This situation was initiated by the contested *nafaqa* payment to "the *awlād al-nās* belonging to the sultanic *mamlūks*" that, as also detailed in the *Nujūm*, haunted the short reign of sultan al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā in Jumāda I-Ūlā 872 (December 1467) and that, in the *Ḥawādith*, returned as an unresolved issue in reports about al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy's early days. In sultan Qāyitbāy's case, this issue revolved specifically around postponed payments of *jāmakiyya*, *nafaqa* and related stipends, between Ṣafar and Jumāda I-Ūlā 873 (September–November 1468), to the amirs and to the sultan's *mamlūks* as well as to various others, repeatedly referred to in varying composed lists as "*awlād al-nās*", "turban-wearers" (*al-muta'ammimīn*), "*fuqahā*", "secretaries" (*al-mu-waqqi'in*), "eunuchs" (*al-khuddām*), and "others" (*ghayrihim*). These payment relationships between the sultan and different groups of regular beneficiaries became especially tense in the midst of military preparations to confront a formidable Turkmen foe in eastern Anatolia as well as of royal experiments to overcome the equally formidable challenge of an empty treasure.⁶⁵ Ibn Taghrībirdī, who claims to have counseled the sultan personally in this matter,⁶⁶ recounts how one of the more famous among these experiments concerned the sultan's organization of a public bow shooting exercise to test the military aptitude of those who were entitled to receive his pay. Those who failed the exercise, and thus proved unfit to participate in the military campaign to Anatolia, were made to transfer substantial compensation payments (*badīl*) or to accept stipend cuts (*qaṭ'*). As Ibn Taghrībirdī summarized,

64 In one of these two *awlād al-nās* cases, manuscript variations suggest that *aḥad min awlād al-nās* could in this context also be rendered *aḥad min al-awbāsh* ("one of the urban rabble") (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 1:124; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, 359, n. 2); a similar condescending attitude transpires from Ibn Taghrībirdī's comment in the other *awlād al-nās* case that he did not know the person (*lā a'rifuhu*), a statement that was put even more strongly in Ibn Taghrībirdī's other chronicle that this person "was known as Ibn Jānibak, even though he lacked any known lineage and merit (*lā yu'raf lahu nasab wa-lā ḥasab*)" (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 15:439). On the rising prominence of specific *mamlūk* and related elite lineages, which Ibn Taghrībirdī seems to suggest here, eventually also expressed in identifications such as "the notable *awlād al-nās* (*a'yān awlād al-nās*)", see 2.3 below.

65 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:678, 681–3, 689–93, 694–5.

66 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:678 (*kallamtuhu anā ayḍan fī dhālika bi-kalām fīhi naf lahu ...*).

their payment was started, but next to the sultan on the bench were three bows, each one heavier to practice with than the other. There was to be tested with [these bows] anyone who held a monthly stipendiary payment in the sultan's household, including *awlād al-nās* but also others. Mostly, however, it concerned the testing of the *awlād al-nās*, given that they are closest in their life of plenty and ease to the *mamlūks*. On this day, the [sultan's] distribution [of the *nafaqa*] was fully and entirely completed for the al-Rafrāf barracks [in the citadel], and a substantial group of the *awlād al-nās* and their like [who were linked to the al-Rafrāf barracks] saw their rations cut down. (*akhadha fī l-nafaqa 'alayhim wa-bi-izā' al-sultān 'alā l-dikka thalātha qusīy kull wāhid aqwā min al-ākhar bi-l-tadrīj yumtaḥan bi-him mimman lahu jāmakiyya fī bayt al-sultān min awlād al-nās wa-ghayrihim wa-l-aghlab li-mtiḥān awlād al-nās li-kawnihim ila l-taraf wa-l-rāḥa aqrab min al-mamālik wa-furriqa fī hādha l-yawm ṭabaqat al-rafrāf bi-tamāmihā wa-kamālihā wa-quṭī'a jum'a kathīrūn* [sic] *min awlād al-nās wa-ghayrihim*).⁶⁷

A parallel *awlād al-nās* cluster, related to the contested *jāmakiyya* payments, campaign preparations and royal experimentation that marked the start of sultan Qāyitbāy's reign, returns equally prominently in one of the chronicles that were composed by Ibn Taghrībirdī's contemporary al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī (1416–95). In fact, the very few extant parts (most of the annals for 873–7 AH and for 885–6 AH) of this panegyric chronicle for sultan al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy have the second highest number of *awlād al-nās* occurrences of all consulted 9th/15th century texts (see table 1b). Even though they number only 15, it is highly significant that almost all of these occurrences are directly related to this one particular context of contested payments and their cuts in the first months of 873/late 1468, and the sultan's scheme “to test with [three distinct bows] the *awlād al-nās* who are registered at the sultan's household in the *dīwān* of the *mamlūks* (*li-yumtaḥan bi-dhālika awlād al-nās al-munzalīn bi-bayt al-sultān fī dīwān al-mamālik*)”.⁶⁸ Direct textual parallels such as these as well as explicit quotations (*wa-qāla l-Jamāl Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī fī tārīkhihi*)⁶⁹ reveal the strong link between these passages and Ibn Taghrībirdī's report in the *Ḥawādith*. Al-Jawharī, however, occasionally provides additional details, such as when he lists other beneficiaries of the sultan's regular payments as “*fuqahā'*”, turban-wearers (*al-muta'ammimīn*), orphans (*al-aytām*), secretaries (*al-muwaqqī'in*), needy (*al-ḥawā'i-jiyya*) and physicians (*al-aṭibbā'*).⁷⁰ He also refers to the Ḥanafī chief *qāḍī* Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 1485) as one of his informants, as well as to his own accompanying of Ibn al-Shiḥna, on the early

67 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:690. See also Ayalon, “System of Payment”, 277–8; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians. The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power*, Albany: SUNY Press 1994, 84–5; Igarashi, “al-Dīwān al-Mufrad”, 135; idem, “Financial Reforms”, 33–7; idem, *Land Tenure*, 153–9.

68 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 21–24, 33–40, 43.

69 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 24, 39.

70 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 23.

morning of Thursday 16 Rabī' al-Ākhir 873 (3 November 1468), to the courtly session (*majlis*) with the sultan during which, according to both Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Jawharī, the need for radical cuts in the expenditure of the sultan's *dīwān* was discussed and decided.⁷¹ Al-Jawharī's *Inbā' al-Haṣr* furthermore continues its own version of this story beyond the point at which Ibn Taghrībirdī's death in Dhu l-Hijja 874 (June 1470) had caused the *Ḥawādith*'s sudden end. Al-Jawharī's complete annal for 874/1469–70 reports how, in Ramaḍān 874 (March 1470), the sultan “returned what had been taken from the *awlād al-nās* and their like (*radda mā ukhidha min awlād al-nās wa-ghayrihim*)” more than a year before.⁷² The five other extant annals, for 875–7/1470–3 and for 885–6/1480–2, of al-Jawharī's text only have two further *awlād al-nās* occurrences related to a very similar occasion of a contested *jāmakiyya* payment. This case elicited concerned but also significant comments from al-Jawharī himself, about the unprecedented demands for military preparation that the sultan put on all *awlād al-nās*, irrespective of their status and the substantial differences in their monthly stipends. According to al-Jawharī, this was a radical and unrealistic departure from preceding practice:

Previous rulers had made them and their like [the recipients of] the donation of charity alms on behalf of the sultan's *bayt* (*hibat al-ṣadaqa 'an bayt al-sultān*); there also is a group who are called ‘pensioners’ (*al-ṭarākhīn*) and who stay in the citadel, benefiting from the *jāmakiyya* of the sultan but without having to travel and without being committed to any service (*khidma*); [another] group includes those entitled to a place at the tablecloth [for the regular ceremonial banquet?] (*jumā'a murattabīn 'alā l-bisāt*) and the one who—in my view (*wa-lladhī aẓunnuhu*) and even though the majority of them do not know how to shoot arrows—enjoyed shooting bullets (*na'ima yarmi bi-l-bunduq*) and preferred it over thrusting a lance or swinging a sword (*faḍlan 'an la'bi al-rumḥ aw ḍarb al-sayf*). How can they demand that [=shooting, thrusting and swinging] of them now that they have grown old and weak (*ba'd kibarihim wa-'ajzihim*); how can that be considered possible for them, [when the reality is just as] the poet has said: ‘[only] knowledge in youth is [as effective] as an engraving in stone’?⁷³

71 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 33, 37. On Ibn al-Shiḥna, who was the Hanafī chief *qāḍī* in Cairo for most of the decade 866–76/1463–71 as well as a well-known historian of his hometown Aleppo, see Anne-Marie Eddé, “Ibn al-Shiḥna, Muḥibb al-Dīn”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE.

72 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 162, 163.

73 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 501–2. In the current edition of this panegyric chronicle this event is attributed to the annal for 885 (1480); a parallel report in Ibn Iyās' 10th/16th century chronicle *Badā'i* is set in Ṣafar 877 (July 1472) (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 3:71). This raises the question whether the attribution of this report in the edition of the defective manuscript copy of al-Jawharī's *Inbā'* to the annal for 885 is correct. This comment by al-Jawharī is also mentioned and partly translated by Igarashi, who concludes from this that “the monthly wages paid to the *awlād al-nās* were not well-earned rewards for military service; rather, they were a kind of ‘public-assistance payment’ for the sons of the mamluks” (Igarashi, “al-Dīwān al-Mufrad”, 136).

The several dozen of *awlād al-nās* occurrences in Ibn Taghribirdī's and al-Jawharī's chronicles substantially expand the pool of *mamlūkizing awlād al-nās* references in 9th/15th century sources. At the same time, these occurrences are not just of a quantitative and chronological interest, but they also make a major difference in qualitative terms, because they often inform in unprecedented ways about the actual nuances of the century's *mamlūkizing awlād al-nās* meanings. These many occurrences include various explicit *awlād al-nās* related statements and comments that somehow parallel al-Jawharī's grumblings on a special bond with the sultan's *bayt* and its *jāmaʿiyya* payments as well as on expectations of martial expertise and action. In fact, a first set of similarly informative statements may already be found at the end of the annal for 856/1452–3 in Ibn Taghribirdī's *Ḥawādith*, in the obituary of the afore-mentioned Abū Bakr al-Muṣārī, "also known as Ibn al-Imām and one of the *awlād al-nās* promoted by al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq":

His father was the *imām* of the amir Jārkas al-Qāsimī al-Muṣārī; this Abū Bakr was raised as a trooper (*'alā hay'at al-ajnad*) [...] and he was an expert and a champion in the art of wrestling (*fann al-ṣirā*). He belonged to the group of the sultan's *mamlūks* and *jāmaʿiyya* holders (*min jumlat al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya arbāb al-jawāmiḳ*), until al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq became sultan and a little bit of good fortune was set in motion for him. He was given the responsibility over [the mausolea of] the *imām* al-Layth b. Sa'd and the *imām* al-Shāfi'ī—may God be pleased with both—and over a handful of *zāwiya*s in the Greater and Lesser Qarāfa, and he inexpertly administered their *waqfs*, becoming wealthy as a result.⁷⁴

Just as in this obituary and in al-Jawharī's comments above, the term *awlād al-nās* mostly occurs in these 9th/15th century texts in direct connection with interrelated practices of, on the one hand, martial prowess and military action, and of, on the other hand, Egyptian resource accumulation involving the sultan. The repeated *mamlūk*—even sultan's *mamlūk*—qualification of this connection, as also in this obituary, is best explained by repeated suggestions in these texts that this represented first and foremost registration in the sultan's *al-dīwān al-mufrad*,⁷⁵ also referred to as "the *dīwān* of the sultan"⁷⁶ and "the *dīwān* of the sultan's *mamlūks*".⁷⁷ For these texts and their authors, this registration involved some form of membership of the sultan's royal household (*bayt al-sulṭān*)⁷⁸ with concomitant military duties and privileges, including the right to monthly pay-

74 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, 2:390; also 359, where the demise is mentioned of this "individual belonging to the *awlād al-nās* and promoted by al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (*aḥad man ansha 'ahu al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq min awlād al-nās*)".

75 As mentioned explicitly in al-Biqā'ī, *Izhār*, 2:59.

76 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:689.

77 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 21, 22.

78 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:689; al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 35, 501.

ments and food and textile rations.⁷⁹ The ranks of those who were referred to here as the sultanic *mamlūks* were therefore deemed to consist of many more groups than just various generations of genuine *mamlūks*. The *awlād al-nās* figured very prominently in any listing of these groups, which allegedly included also other equally vaguely defined collectivities of urban professionals who seem to have similarly acquired direct access to regular royal income (*muta'ammimīn*, *khud-dām*, *fuqahā*, *muwaqqī'n*, *aytām*, *tujjār*, *aṭibbā*, *āmma*, *naṣārā*, ...).⁸⁰ Among these diverse 'mamlūkized' groups, contemporary authors clearly distinguished the *awlād al-nās* not just as *al-dīwān al-mufrad* stipendiaries with some kind of martial background, but also as more directly related to their *mamlūk* peers by their 'Turkish' outlook and way of life as well as via direct (or indirect –as in the case of Abū Bakr al-Mušārī, "the Son of the Imam") kinship ties.

According to the writings of Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Jawharī, this specific type of *mamlūkization* and central integration of *awlād al-nās* originated in the reign of sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1437–53). At that time, as al-Jawharī explains, the sultan decided "to increase the stipends of the sultanic *mamlūks* and assign a monthly stipend to their sons (*wa-yurattib li-awlādihim jāmakiyya*); and if they did not have that—that is, sons (*ya'nī awlādan*)—, the stipend would be raised, in accordance with this [policy], by a third of what it had been."⁸¹ This interpretation was first introduced in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Ḥawādith*, in his explanation of attempts by Jaqmaq's successor Īnāl to reduce royal expenditure.⁸² It only returned in the *Ḥawādith*, and subsequently also in al-Jawharī's panegyric for sultan Qāyitbāy, in the annals for the early 870s/late 1460s, when these arrangements became contested in unprecedented and therefore also unusually high profile ways, and when these authors made claims about their personal involvement in sultan Qāyitbāy's quest for alternatives.⁸³ Interestingly, and strangely, these explicit criticisms of Jaqmaq's integrative policies by Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Jawharī seem at odds with the wider chronology of *mamlūkizing awlād al-nās* occurrences as appearing first in the 830s/1430s, during the second half of sultan Barsbāy's reign. Even al-Jawharī himself, in his first chronicle *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, adopted terms related to by now familiar *mamlūkizing* groups and categories to report these cases from the 830s, about "a 'turban-

79 See also Ayalon, "Studies", 458 ("It is possible, therefore, that the term *mamlūk sultāniyya* during that period occasionally took on a wider meaning, as a result of the incorporation of additional units to the Royal Mamluks into the *dīwān al-mufrad*"); see also Yosef's second chapter.

80 For a full description of this process of the transformation of the sultan's *al-dīwān al-mufrad*, as a result of "the inclusion of recipient groups other than mamluks", see Igarashi, "al-Dīwān al-Mufrad", 133–7 (also Ayalon, "Studies", 457–8).

81 al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 34.

82 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 2:176–7.

83 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 2:678, 689–93; al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 33–40.

wearer' (*muta'ammim*) and an *awlād al-nās* trooper (*jundī min awlād al-nās*)" and about a leader of rioting *mamlūk* recruits (*julbān*) who was "one from the *awlād al-nās* who look like *turks*". Framing Jaqmaq's reign as the main culprit for later confrontations involving these *mamlūk*izing groups may, therefore, have been far more intentional and purposeful than generally assumed.⁸⁴

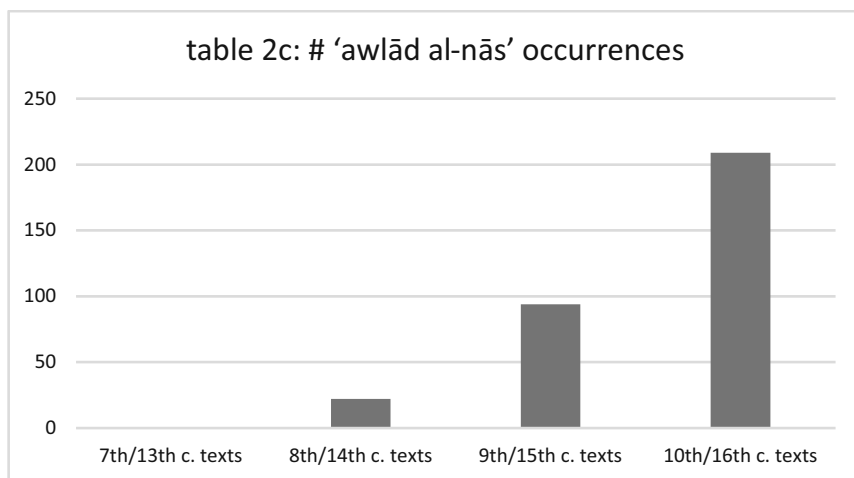
3.3 10th/16th century occurrences: the *awlād al-nās* specialty of Ibn Iyās' *Badā'i*

Before engaging in this chapter's third and final part with at least some of the most obvious authorial intentions and purposes, we first also must consider frequency patterns and changing meanings of occurrences of the combined term *awlād al-nās* in the last generation of the sultanate's Arabic texts of history. This follows especially from the fact that these occurrences are even more atypical and informative than those of Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Jawharī are, and that they therefore allow to add further nuance and insight to our current understanding of these occurrences' changing frequencies and their *mamlūk*izing meanings. In fact, in the currently available corpus, *awlād al-nās* occurrences more than double in texts that were produced between the 890s and 920 s (see table 2c). The text that is mostly responsible for this doubling, and for an unprecedented spike in the more detailed graph of *awlād al-nās* occurrences (see table 1a), is the chronicle of Egyptian history by the somewhat obscure historian, scion of a family of 8th/14th-century *mamlūk* origins, and main 10th/16th-century beneficiary of its *iqṭā'* and related assets Muḥammad Ibn Iyās (1448–after 1524). To a far lesser extent, this doubling of occurrences is also due to the texts of history by Ibn Iyās' contemporary 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ḥanafī al-Malaṭī (844–920/1440–1514), a well-traveled merchant, scholar, amir's son and scion of a lineage of late 8th/14th century *mamlūk* origins. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's texts, however, have been less well-preserved than those by Ibn Iyās. Especially their later parts, recording the history of the later 890s and 900s, appear lost.⁸⁵ Understanding *awlād al-nās* occurrences in 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's texts remains therefore more difficult to gauge than is the case for Ibn Iyās' chronicle of Egyptian history. *Awlād*

84 For the straightforward acceptance of this assumption about Jaqmaq's role, see Igarashi, "al-Diwan al-Mufrad", 133, 134, 136; idem, "Financial Reforms", 29–30, 33; idem, *Land Tenure*, 150, 154; and also Yosef's second chapter in this volume.

85 Kikuchi Tadayoshi, "An Analysis of 'Abd 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 (2006), 29–54, 30–1; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, ed. Tadmuri, "al-Ta'rīf bi-l-mu'allif", 1:51–3, 54, 55–7; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, ed. Tadmuri, [Editor's introduction], 1:79–84 (*wasf al-makhtūt*).

al-nās (and its semantic variants, such as ‘*abnā*’ [*al-*]*nās*’) occurs 28 and 17 times in the extant parts of ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s two chronicles, and more than 160 times in that by Ibn Iyās.⁸⁶ In the order of magnitude of these texts—with Ibn Iyās’ multivolume chronicle being roughly comparable to Ibn Taghrībirdī’s dynastic history—even the latter unprecedented frequency remains negligible. In the wider landscape of *awlād al-nās* occurrences in our corpus in general (see table 1a), however, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s interest appears to equal that of Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Jawharī, whereas that of Ibn Iyās stands out as unusual and therefore as even more significant for this chapter.



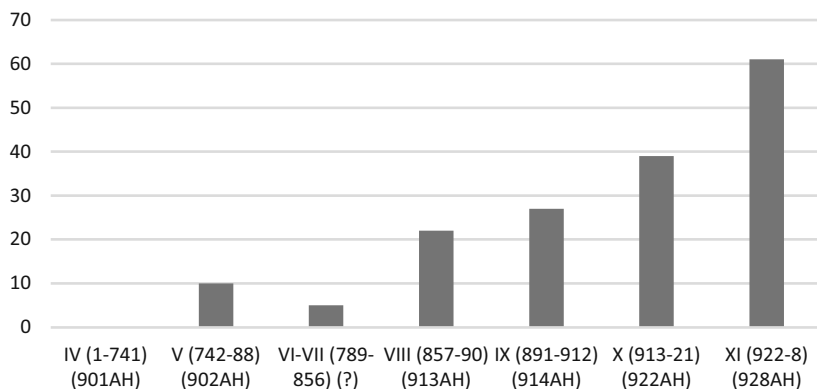
The uneven spread of occurrences across the different extant autograph volumes of Ibn Iyās’ chronicle, detailing Egypt’s history from the early days of the Islamic conquest until five *hijrī* years after the Ottoman takeover in 923/1517, furthermore appears as equally significant (see table 3a).⁸⁷ The rate of *awlād al-nās* occurrences actually only picks up in the eighth volume, with the annals for 857–890 AH. Before this volume, all occurrences concern only a very specific selection of subjects. Five of the ten *awlād al-nās* occurrences in volume five are again related to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s reign, for which Ibn Iyās chooses to follow in Ibn Duqmāq’s footsteps and to repeat his judgement that it was this sultan’s “in-

86 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, *al-Fahāris*, 1931, 17–8; idem, *Badā’i*, *al-Fahāris*, vol. 2: *al-muwazzafūn wa-l-wazā’if wa-l-ḥirafīyyūn wa-l-ḥiraf*, 1984, 96–7.

87 On these autograph volumes and their dating, see David J. Wasserstein, “Tradition manuscrite, authenticité, chronologie et développement de l’oeuvre littéraire d’Ibn Iyās”, *Journal Asiatique* 180/1–2 (1992), 81–114; Michael Winter, “Ibn Iyās”, *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, C. Fleischer, <http://www.ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu>; Benjamin Lellouch, “Le douzième *ḡuz* perdu des *Badā’i al-zuhūr* d’Ibn Iyās à la lumière d’une chronique turque d’Égypte”, in: *Arabica* 45/1 (1998), 88–103.

tention to raise the *awlād al-nās*” (*qaṣḍuhu inshāʾ awlād al-nās*).⁸⁸ Interestingly, Ibn Iyās uniquely continues with a similar line of argument for the other five of these ten *awlād al-nās* occurrences. These highlight a parallel favoritism that would have been displayed by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s Qalāwūnid nephew, sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 1363–77), who is eventually described as “attentive to the *awlād al-nās* (*nāẓiran ilā awlād al-nās*)”.⁸⁹ Four occurrences in the subsequent volume all concern in an equally interesting manner the violent episode (1389–90) of different and briefly successful challenges to the sultanate of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–9, 1390–9), stressing both *awlād al-nās* suffering during this episode and unrelenting *awlād al-nās* support for the deposed sultan.⁹⁰ A final occurrence of the combined term *awlād al-nās* in this volume, paralleling the afore-mentioned ambiguous meanings of other similar reports for pre-830s annals, concerns Ibn Iyās’ *verbatim* rendering of the story by al-Maqrīzī of the arrest of the amir Shaykh al-Ṣafawī in 800/1398 in Jerusalem, as a result of his vice (*fasāduhu*) and “his approaching the *awlād al-nās* and inciting them to fornication (*taʿarrudhu li-awlād al-nās yurīduhum ʾala l-fāḥisha*)”.⁹¹

table 3a: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ*:
occurrences/autograph vol.

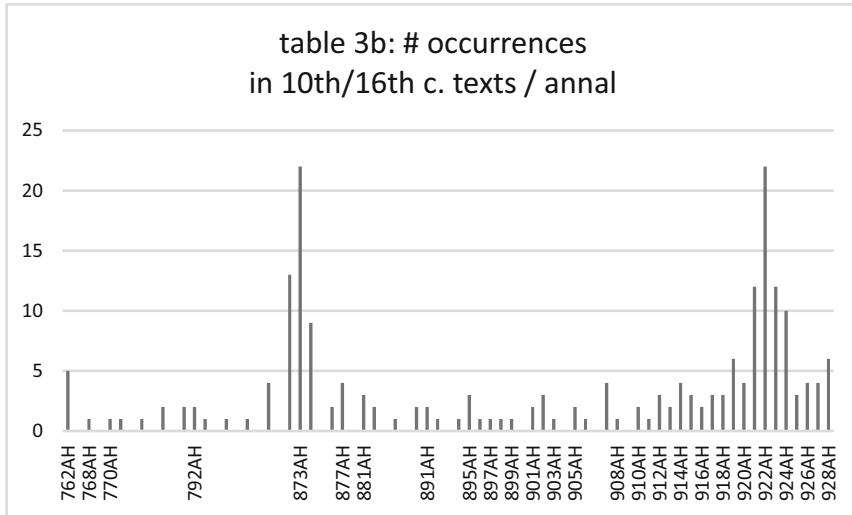


88 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ*, 1/1:578–9.

89 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ*, 1/2, 183; also 55, 91, 97, 191.

90 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ*, 1/2, 421, 422, 426, 447.

91 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ*, 1/2, 508.



A substantial chronological gap follows this vice story, because *awlād al-nās* only occurs again in the autograph volume eight of Ibn Iyās' chronicle, in the annal for 868/1464.⁹² Just as in Ibn Taghrībirdī's dynastic chronicle, therefore, Ibn Iyās' interest in *awlād al-nās* displays a major break between the ambiguous meanings of the later 8th/14th century and the *mamlūk*izing ones of the mid-9th/15th century. This is, in fact, also true for 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's two chronicles, which have their first 9th/15th century occurrences in the annals for 858/1454 and 868/1464, and in the annal for 868, respectively.⁹³ The many occurrences in these texts for the troubled period 872–4/1467–70 even mirror Ibn Taghrībirdī's and al-Jawharī's major concerns with the contested payments that would have haunted the transition to, and the beginning of, Qāyitbāy's sultanate (r. 1467–96). This mirroring includes the high frequency in the annals for the year 873/1468–9, with ten *awlād al-nās* occurrences in Ibn Iyās' *Badā'i*' and a joint number of twelve occurrences in 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's two chronicles (see table 3b). Both au-

⁹² Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*'i, 2:419.

⁹³ 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:422 (858); 6:175 (868), 190 (868); *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:371 (868). *Nayl al-Amal* has only two *awlād al-nās* occurrences before the one for 858 AH, and these represent the general ambiguity of meanings for the turn-of-the-century period: there is a unique occurrence for 774/1372–3 (about a man and his wife who killed 'awlād al-nās min al-atfāl' near Cairo to steal their clothes, "so that people failed to find their children [*ḥattā faqada l-nās awlādahum*])" (2:61) and one for 792/1390, in a textual parallel with al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, about the confiscation of "the horses of the amirs and *awlād al-nās* as well as of the 'Arabs and peasants" (2:284) (see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 5:247). *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim* is mapped on the period of its author's life, and it therefore only starts with the annal for 844 (1440–1); it is nevertheless significant that there are no occurrences in the first set of extant annals (844–50; 865–7).

thors describe again in substantial detail how in this period 872–4 the special financial arrangements between *awlād al-nās*, ‘turban-wearers’ (*muta‘ammimīn*) and other groups on the one hand and, on the other hand, the sultan and his *dīwān* became heavily contested, and how expectations of martial expertise and action were ever more forcefully expressed, including in the infamous bow test.⁹⁴ In fact, all but one of the total number of seventeen *awlād al-nās* occurrences in the extant parts of ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim* concern this specific 872–4 episode. Just as in the case of al-Jawharī’s panegyric chronicle, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim* furthermore includes a few explicit references to a direct relationship with Ibn Taghribirdī’s reports, and this again connects with the 872–4 episode when the volume’s last set of *awlād al-nās* references occurs in the chronicle’s final extant annal for 874 AH in an obituary for Ibn Taghribirdī. In this obituary, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī informs how Ibn Taghribirdī himself had been among the *awlād al-nās* who were involved in these payment conflicts. He also explains how Ibn Taghribirdī was considered “one of the nobles and strongmen of his *awlād al-nās* kind” (*min nubalā’ banī jinsihi min awlād al-nās wa-aṣlābihim*) by “the rulers, sultans and lords”, including by

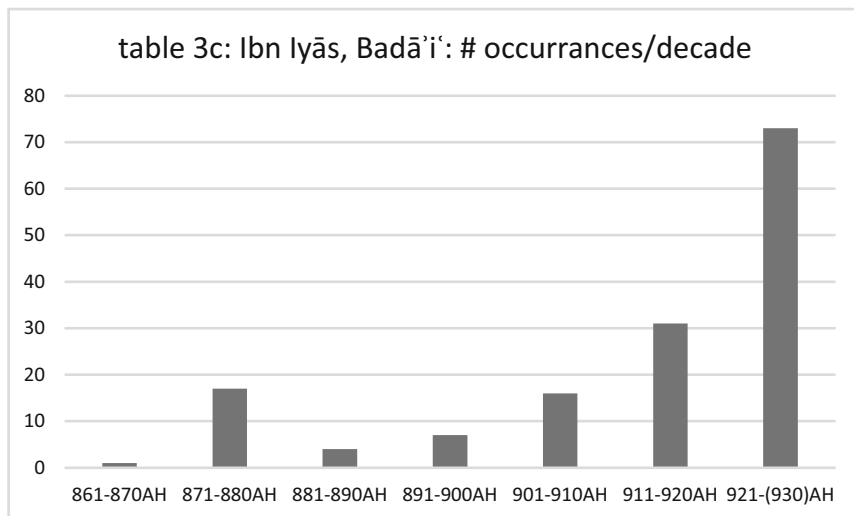
al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy, the sultan of this epoch, who honored him extensively and who elevated him. Once (*marratan*), he allowed him to sit down with the *muqaddams* *alf*, even though that had never happened to any of the *awlād al-nās* just like that, without holding any office or command (*aṣlan bi-ghayr wazīfa aw taqdima*). That was considered extremely exceptional.⁹⁵

Regardless of this parallel clustering of *awlād al-nās* occurrences for the 872–4 episode, in 10th/16th century texts these occurrences only really start appearing more regularly from reports on the later 890s/early 1490s onwards (see table 3b). This trend culminated in multiple annual references for the period 910–28/1504–22, including very significantly a second spiking cluster of *awlād al-nās* occurrences in the annals for the years 921–4/1515–8, which corresponds to the period of transition to Ottoman sovereignty. No parts of ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s chronicles survive for this period of the later 890s and beyond, so that in fact these trends of increasingly regular annual occurrences and a second cluster are entirely the result of Ibn Iyās’ writings in the ninth, tenth and eleventh volumes of his chronicle. Even when potentially only due to a survival bias, these quantitative distinctions underscore the very different and unique position that, from the

94 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 2:462, 470; 3:7, 19, 20, 21, 24–5, 31, 40–1; ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:291, 300, 316, 345, 348, 354, 410, 411; *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:280, 315, 318; 4:23, 28, 29, 30, 51, 206, 249.

95 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:249; for references to Ibn Taghribirdī’s reports, see 4:70, 246–7.

perspective of *awlād al-nās* occurrences, Ibn Iyās' *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* takes up.⁹⁶ In fact, closer examinations of occurrences per volume (see table 3a) as well as per decade from the 860s onwards (see table 3c) demonstrate indeed how this *awlād al-nās* interest in Ibn Iyās' *Badā'i'* first briefly spikes in the 870s and then grows again substantially towards the chronicle's final volumes ten and eleven only, in the annals for the 910s and, especially, the 920s.

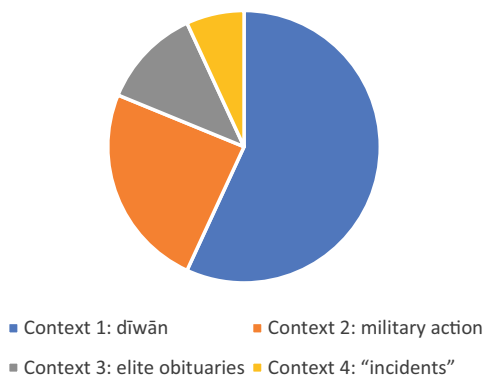


The semantic contexts in which the combined term *awlād al-nās* increasingly regularly occurs in 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's chronicles and, especially, Ibn Iyās' annals for the many decades between the 850s/1450s and 920s/1510s are, again, substantially different from the ambiguity that marked most of their handful of 8th/14th century occurrences in these texts. In fact, in these texts' engagements with the history of these decades, four different but interlocking contexts of *awlād al-nās* occurrences have been identified, which all represent in very informative ways direct continuations with preceding post-830 textual practices. Obviously, given the first cluster of occurrences in the early 870s, these contexts included, just as in al-Jawharī's and Ibn Taghribirdī's cases, that of royal *diwān* stipendiaries and their contested *mamlūkizing* relationships with the sultan. They also included again martial and military expectations and assignments, next to obituaries of those who had somehow excelled in these royal and martial

⁹⁶ For another view on the relative value of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's historical writings, see Yosef's second chapter. For the record: *awlād al-nās* does not occur in another major early 10th/16th century text of relevant history: the *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* by the Damascene scholar Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. c. 1527–8).

contexts. Finally, just as in the report in al-Biqāʾī's *Izhār* about Jaqmaq's sentencing to imprisonment of the murderer of "a *ghulām* of an *awlād al-nās* trooper",⁹⁷ a fourth context concerns more than a dozen other "incidents" that reportedly involved individuals who were explicitly identified as *awlād al-nās*. Each of these four contexts, as well as their interconnections, are fully re-constructed and interpreted below.

table 4a: 10th/16th c. texts: distribution of context-related occurrences 858-928 AH



The overwhelming majority of occurrences in the first two contexts, and especially in the royal *dīwān* context (see table 4a: *dīwān* context = 124, military context = 53), confirms that in these 9th/16th century texts—as in al-Jawharī's and Ibn Taghribirdī's mid-century cases—the term *awlād al-nās* continues indeed to be used first and foremost to refer to a particular category of people who combined a *mamlūk* pedigree of sorts with ties to central practices of resource redistribution. At one point in Ibn Iyās' text, this is actually made explicit, when the annal for 907/1502 reports in much detail how central budget cuts affected a specific series of people in Cairo:

[...] including the notables of the *awlād al-nās* and the administrators (*min a'yān awlād al-nās wa-l-mubāshirīn*) [...] [as well as] the grooms, the guardians of the palace, the stable boys, the *ghilmān* of the sultan's stable, and everyone who was entitled to a monthly stipendiary payment at the sultan's gate (*sā'ir man lahu jāmakīyya fī bāb al-sultān*), including the *fuqahā'*, the turban bearers (*al-muta'ammimīn*) and even a group of the royal ladies and women (*ḥattā jumā'a min al-khawandāt wa-l-sittāt*).⁹⁸

97 al-Biqāʾī, *Izhār*, vol. 1:206.

98 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:25.

Contested claims to and negotiations over *jāmakīyya*, *nafaqa*, *iqṭāʿ*, *rīzaq* and related benefits make up the bulk of these resource-related *awlād al-nās* occurrences. They range from a solitary *jāmakīyya*-related case in an annal for 858/1454 and a similar *kiswa*-related one for 868/1464, both mirroring Ibn Taghrībirdī's chronicle reports, to the intensely contested (and reported) *nafaqa* payments from "the sultan's *dīwān*" of the early 870s/late 1460s,⁹⁹ and to the chronicle's annals for the 920s/1510s. In the latter annals, an annual average of more than three cases of contested resource redistribution involving *awlād al-nās* are reported, clustering in the once again intensely reported military preparations and Ottoman transformations of the period 921–4/1515–8 (see table 3b). In general, these occurrences leave the textual impression that, between the specific moments of spiking interests in the early 870s and the early 920s, these redistributive arrangements were increasingly intensively challenged by the sultan or his agents, without ever really changing.¹⁰⁰ In the annal for 924/1518, this continuity of a *mamlūkizing dīwān* meaning is explicitly confirmed when Ibn Iyās explains how an order from the Ottoman sultan Selīm (r. 1512–20) to his representative in Cairo had specific consequences:

[Selīm] said in [the order] he had sent [...]: 'allow both the *awlād al-nās* and the Circassian *mamlūks* to dispose of their *jāmakīyyas* as usual.' Everyone who had a *jāmakīyya* was allowed to dispose of it, and things went back to normal for all people, high and low, so that the people thanked and praised him for that. When the *awlād al-nās* heard about that, they rushed towards the citadel and had their names registered (*nazzalū asmā'ahum*) with the *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayyar, the scribe of the *mamlūks* (*kātib al-mamālīk*), even those who only had a *jāmakīyya* of [one] *ashrafi* [*dīnār*] or of 200 *dirham*.¹⁰¹

The list of "everyone who was entitled to a *jāmakīyya* at the sultan's gate" in the annal for 907 AH (1502) also gives insight—again as in al-Jawharī's and Ibn Taghrībirdī's 9th/15th century cases—into the wider picture of the diverse cat-

99 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:31 ("their slaughter animals that had been assigned in the sultan's *dīwān* (*murattaba bi-l-dīwān al-sultānī*) since ancient times"). See also 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:23 ("the *jāmakīyyas* of the *awlād al-nās*, assigned to them in the *dīwān* [*al-murattaba lahum bi-l-dīwān*]").

100 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1/2:55, [91, 97, 183, 191,] 421; 2:419, 462, 470; 3:7, 19, 20, 21, 24–5, 31, 40–1, 130, 214, 231, 256–7, 263, 286, 312, 323, 329, 350, 384, 435; 4:22, 25, 26, 65, 73, 84, 136, 150, 173, 242, 202, 260, 269, 285, 319, 321, 324, 369, 436, 444, 446, 448, 459, 460, 467; 5:24, 27, 28, 62, 91, 162, 179, 151, 189, 194, 225, 244–5, 254, 255, 262, 292, 310, 353, 421, 429, 430, 430, 453; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:422; 6:190, 291, 300, 316, 345, 348, 354, 410, 411; 7:193 (appointments to royal household positions, 882AH), 426 (promotions to ranks of amir, 890AH); 8:220; *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:280, 315, 318; 4:23, 28, 29, 30, 51, 206, 249.

101 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5:244–5; see also 255 (payment of *nafaqa* "to the *awlād al-nās* who had registered their name in the *dīwān*"); 310 (the *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn withholds "the *jāmakīyya* of about 40 *awlād al-nās*").

egories that were all at least theoretically included in these continuously contested but tenacious redistributive arrangements. In these 10th/16th century texts the reported line-ups of categories of beneficiaries change continuously. On the one hand, *awlād al-nās* tend to be listed with—as in the 907 list—palace administrators and servants, religious scholars and students (‘turban-bearers’) and royal women, and also with a rich variety of other similarly broad categories: “associates of the great lords” (*muḍāfi a’yān al-dawla*), merchants (*al-tujjār*), eunuchs (*al-khuddām*, *al-khuddām min al-ṭawāshīyya*), physicians (*al-aṭibbā*), the needy (*al-jarā’ihīyya*), the poor (*al-fuqarā*) and the orphans (*al-aytām*). On the other hand, just as in the passage from the annal for 924 with its “Circassian *mamlūks*”, various and equally shifting categories of the sultan’s *mamlūks* and other troopers figure regularly together with *awlād al-nās* in this *dīwān* context. In several cases, Ibn Iyās also repeats al-Jawharī’s and Ibn Taghribirdī’s tendency to occasionally include *awlād al-nās*, explicitly or implicitly, in the category of “the *mamlūks*”.¹⁰² In one particular case, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī also confirms the wide-ranging nature of this category of “the *mamlūks*”, when he felt compelled to explain in the annal for 873/1468 that “the sultan had stopped payments to everyone, except only to those among the *mamlūks* who had experienced enslavement and manumission (*siwā ‘alā man jarā’ alayhi al-riqq wa-l-’itq min al-mamālīk faqaṭ*)”.¹⁰³ In some other cases, however, Ibn Iyās chooses to distinguish *awlād al-nās* as those who belonged to the ancient military unit of the *ḥalqa*.¹⁰⁴ What transpires from all these cases in Ibn Iyās’ and ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s chronicles taken together, therefore, is that these different categories, from ‘turban bearers’ to *mamlūks* and including *awlād al-nās* across this range, continue to appear as very vaguely defined only, with boundaries that remain fuzzy and volatile, that occasionally overlap, and that require further specification when a very specific group—such as genuine manumitted slaves—is meant.¹⁰⁵

In one set of interrelated cases only, pertaining to Ibn Iyās’ annals for the period 916–21/1511–5, this very vague *dīwān* context of *awlād al-nās* occurrences is explicitly narrowed down to a very specific *mamlūk* payment category. This category is first identified in the annal for 916/1511 as “the fifth *jāmakiyya* (*al-jāmakiyya al-khāmisa*), which was newly established for the *mamlūks* who were newly recruited from among Turkmen, Persians (*a’jām*), *awlād nās* and other

102 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:310; 5:45 (‘*iddat al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya [...] min al-qarāniṣa wa-l-julbān wa-awlād al-nās khamsat ālāf nafar [...]*’); see also 429 (‘*niḥwa alf mamlūk min al-mamālīk al-jarākisa wa-awlād al-nās wa-ghayr dhālīka*’), 458. See also Ayalon, “Studies”, 457–8.

103 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:23.

104 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:136 (‘*awlād al-nās min ajnād al-ḥalqa*’), 150 (idem); 5:50 (idem).

105 See e.g. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:51, which includes the *awlād al-nās* in the group of ‘turban wearers’ (*awlād al-nās fi l-muta’ammimīn*).

similar parties (*wa-ghayr dhālika min al-ṭawāʾif*).¹⁰⁶ In the annal for 919/1513, this category is identified for the first time as “the newly created ‘fifth barracks’ (*al-ṭabaqa al-khāmisa al-mustajidda*)”, composed of “*awlād al-nās* and Turkmen” and the recipient of a payment of “ten *ashrafiyya* [*dīnār*] for every *mamlūk*”.¹⁰⁷ The annal for 920/1514, finally, includes the report of a discussion in which sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawri is heavily reproached for this innovation. At one point in the text, Ibn Iyās informs in some detail about his own understanding of (and low appreciation for) the specific *dīwān* arrangements that made for this “fifth barracks”, when he makes one discussant complain to the sultan:

You are the one who has asked the *dīwāns* for resources for this enormous new army that you have rallied and for which you have created a fifth barracks (*ṭabaqa khāmisa*). [You are the one who] cut down the *jāmakiyyas* of the orphans and the women for these ranks of Turkmen, Persians (*aʿjām*), [*suwaynḥāta*?], shoemakers and sons of people who sometimes pretend to be tailors and sometimes veil makers (*mā bayna tarākima wa aʿjām wa-suwaynḥāta wa-asākifa wa-awlād nās mulaffiqīn shayʾ khayyāṭ wa-shayʾ bakhāniqī*).¹⁰⁸

This “fifth” *dīwān* category stops being referred to beyond the reports for early 921/1515. Details about the continuous and limitless expansion of *dīwān* categories, however, return in the annal for 926/1520, at the time of the transition from the Ottoman sultan Selīm (r. 1512–20) to his son Sulaymān (r. 1520–66). When Ibn Iyās reports that “the *awlād al-nās* and those Romans (*arwām* = Ottoman troopers) who were in Egypt were gathered in the citadel for a military review”, and “a group from the bakers of Khān al-Khalīlī [...] had their names written down in the *dīwān*”, Ibn Iyās makes the explicit statement that “the army became a hodgepodge of all kinds of parties and races (*wa-ṣāra l-ʿaskar mulaffaqan min sāʾir al-ṭawāʾif wa-l-ajnās*)”.¹⁰⁹ In his volume’s final annal for 928/1521–2, finally, Ibn Iyās gives the fullest detail about this hodgepodge at that time, when he states that “the money was divided among seven parties (*ṭawāʾif*) in the

106 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:206; similarly identified as a new “fifth *jāmakiyya*” for “the Turkmen *mamlūks* and the *awlād al-nās*” on 4:260, 269 (918 AH).

107 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:324. On the *ṭabaqa khāmisa*, see Poliak, *Feudalism*, 14; Carl F. Petry, “The Military Institution and Innovation in the Late Mamlūk Period”, in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, 462–89, 480–3.

108 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:369. See also 4:436 (“the entire fifth barracks, consisting of [*wa-hum mā bayna*] *awlād al-nās*, *mamlūks*, Turkmen, and their like [*wa-ghayr dhālika*]”), 458 (“review of the army made up of the members of the fifth barracks”, and selection “from their ranks of a group of about 600 *mamlūks*”, including “a group of junior *mamlūks* of the sultan, a group of *mamlūk* veterans, and *awlād al-nās*”), 467 (departure of an army, including “450 from the new fifth barracks, including *awlād nās*, *mamlūks* and their like”).

109 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5: 374–5.

army”, identifies each party as well as the amount of its monthly payment, and includes in this list of seven not just the Khān al-Khalīlī bakers, known as “the party of al-Kamūliyya (*tāʾifat al-Kamūliyya*)”, but also “the party of the Circassian *mamlūks* and *awlād al-nās* (*tāʾifat al-mamālīk al-jarākisa wa-awlād al-nās*)”, both parties being presented as the monthly recipients of 11,000 *dīnār* each.¹¹⁰

As the latter statements about a military review (*ʿarḍ*) and the army (*al-ʿaskar*) suggest, this *dīwān* context was also directly related to *mamlūkizing* relationships that involved not just royal payments and benefits, but also martial forms of service. By way of illustration, in 926/1520 the Kamūliyya are reported by Ibn Iyās to have negotiated for the limitation of their service to merely “defending the citadel and the city (*ḥifẓ al-qaʿa wa-l-madīna*)”.¹¹¹ When “the fifth” *dīwān* category was last mentioned in early 921/1515, it concerned a maritime campaign in the Indian Ocean region for which an army was mustered of “about 6,000 people, consisting of 50 *khāṣṣakiyya*, 150 *jamḍariyya*, and 450 *awlād nās*, *mamlūks* and their like from the novel fifth barracks, and allegedly 5,344 sailors, fighters, Turkmen, Maghrebis and their like”.¹¹² Just as in these cases of an Indian campaign and an army with seven parties, the second, military, context of *awlād al-nās* occurrences mostly informs these 9th/16th century texts’ regular inclusion of the term *awlād al-nās* in continuously shifting lists of sultanīc *mamlūks*, veterans (*qarāniṣa*), junior recruits (*julbān*), amirs’ *mamlūks* (*sayfiyya*), Turkmen (*tarākima*), Maghrebis (*maghāriba*), Ottomans (*uthmāniyya*) and other troopers. This specific set of occurrences involved again particular martial expertises that were associated with, or expected from, *awlād al-nās*, including shooting tests with bows and arquebuses, but also lancing exercises.¹¹³ Unlike in preceding chronicles, these occurrences now also included many reports about the actual military deployment of *awlād al-nās*, as a separate group or jointly with others, in

110 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5: 429–30. On the early Ottoman military organization in Egypt, see David Ayalon, “The End of the Mamluk Sultanate (Why did the Ottomans spare the mamlūks of Egypt and wipe out the mamlūks of Syria?)”, in: *Studia Islamica* 65 (1987), 125–48; Michael Winter, “The Ottoman Occupation”, in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, 490–516; idem, “The re-emergence of the Mamluks following the Ottoman Conquest”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, 87–106; Benjamin Lellouch, *Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et conquérants au XVI^e siècle*, Paris: Louvain, Dudley: Peeters Publishers 2006; idem, “La politique Mamelouke de Selīm I^{er}”, in: *Conquête ottomane de l’Égypte. Arrière-plan, impact, échos*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel, Leiden, Boston: Brill 2013, 165–210.

111 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 5:375.

112 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:467.

113 See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:19, 20, 71, 263. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:348; 7: 41; *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:28.

a range of *ad hoc* guarding and campaigning assignments in Egypt and Syria, along the Mediterranean coast, and in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean region.¹¹⁴

There appears furthermore a significant chronological shift in the representation of these martial and military forms of service involving *awlād al-nās*. Weapons tests to assess an *awlād al-nās* trooper's entitlement to royal payment as well as his eligibility for active military service are reported to have been organized on three occasions during sultan Qāyitbāy's reign only, in early 873/mid-1468, again in early 877/mid-1472 and one last time in early 895/late 1489. In most of these cases, it is furthermore suggested by Ibn Iyās and 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī that many failed these tests and proved unfit for military service.¹¹⁵ For the same period, only a handful of reports inform about the actual selection from *awlād al-nās* ranks of some exceptions to this apparent general rule of *awlād al-nās* unfitness. These explicit identifications of the inclusion of *awlād al-nās* in wider troop formations preparing to leave on campaigns only occur in the annals for 872/1467–8 and 873/1468–9 and for 890/1485 and 895/1489–90.¹¹⁶ After the end of the reign of Qāyitbāy, *awlād al-nās* occurrences in this context return almost exclusively in annals for the 910s/mid-1500s and, especially, the 920s/mid-1510s, and in cases that always concern the deployment of troops for military campaigns, as in the preparations for the Indian Ocean campaign of early 921/1515. These cases never again included any explicit references to any kinds of tests, even though occasionally reference continues to be made to the incapacity of certain *awlād al-nās* as well as others, such as veteran *mamlūks*, warranting payment cuts. The annals for the early 920s/mid-1510s in particular, when a Portuguese fleet threatened the sultanate's interests from the Indian Ocean and Ottoman armies did the same from eastern Anatolia, appear most prominently with more than a dozen *awlād al-nās* occurrences.¹¹⁷

114 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i*, 3:7, 20, 24–5, 214, 263, 336; 4:84, 129, 157, 310, 363, 382, 436, 458, 459, 460, 467; 5:24, 27, 28, 45, 50, 79, 83, 133, 262, 277–8, 280, 284, 330, 374, 453. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:188.

115 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i*, 3:19, 20 (873AH), 71 (877), 263 (895). 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:348 (873); 7:41 (877); *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:28 (873).

116 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i*, 3:7 (872), 20, 24–5 (873), 214 (890), 263 (895). 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:188 (895).

117 Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i*, 3:336 (902); 4:84 (911), 129 (913), 157 (915), 310 (919), 363, 482 (920), 436, 458, 459, 460, 467 (921); 5:24, 27, 28, 45, 50, 79, 83, 133 (922), 262 & 277–8, 280, 284 (924), 330 & 374 (926), 453 (928).

table 4b: 10th/16th c texts: distribution of context-related occurrences 872-4 AH

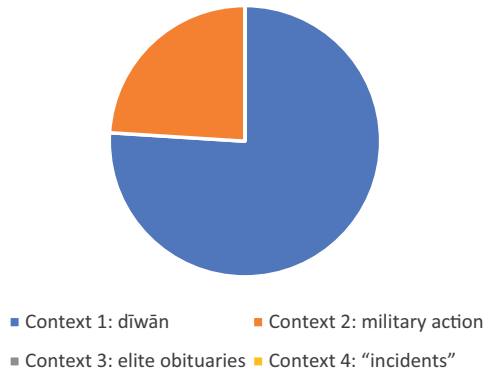
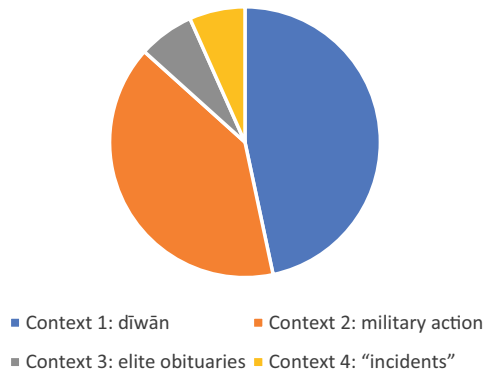


table 4c: 10th/16th c. texts: distribution of context-related occurrences 921-4 AH



This impression of an increasingly intense connection between *awlād al-nās* and contexts of active military action in 9th/16th century texts emerges also from a simple comparison of the distribution of occurrences across different contexts in the annals for the early 870s/late 1460s and for the early 920s/mid-1510s (see tables 4b and 4c). *Mamlūkizing diwān* connections were given clear priority in any *awlād al-nās* occurrences during the first set of annals. This conforms with how Ibn Taghrībirdī's and al-Jawharī's texts had represented *awlād al-nās* in their annals for the same period, and remains interestingly at odds with how these years had actually been marked by a series of major Turkmen challenges

and confrontations.¹¹⁸ Half a century later, at a time of similarly disturbing regional threats and violence,¹¹⁹ a far more balanced distribution of *awlād al-nās* occurrences across the *dīwān* and military contexts marks the second set of annals, resulting from the relatively higher interest that Ibn Iyās demonstrated in the active military participation of *awlād al-nās* groups.

As this comparison of the distribution of *awlād al-nās* occurrences across different contexts also demonstrates, two additional semantic contexts suddenly pop up in Ibn Iyās' annals for the early 920s. They concern especially a handful of elite obituaries that all share explicit *awlād al-nās* connections. More in general, Ibn Iyās and 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī choose to not just include obituaries of *awlād al-nās* in the later parts of their chronicles, but also to qualify most subjects of these obituaries through signifiers of social distinction such as "the *awlād al-nās* notables (*a'yān awlād al-nās*)" or "the renowned sons of the people (*ma-shāhīr abnā' al-nās*)". 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's chronicles have four of these obituaries, for the sultan's son Yūsuf b. Barsbāy (d. 868/1464), "the fifth people's son (*khāmis ibn nās*) who became sultan after Barqūq", for the historian Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), who was deemed "one of the nobles and strongmen of his *awlād al-nās* kind" (*min nubalā' banī jinsihi min awlād al-nās wa-aṣlā-bihim*), for 'Umar b. Dawlāt Bāy al-Dawādār (d. 881/1477), who died from the plague and was "reckoned to belong to the ranks of the *awlād al-nās* notables (*ma'dūdan min a'yān awlād al-nās*)", and for 'Alī b. Khushqaldī (d. 884/1480), born "at the start of the century" (*alā ra's al-qarn*), "one of the *awlād al-nās* notables among the *ḥalqa* troopers (*aḥad a'yān awlād al-nās min ajnād al-ḥalqa*), and a cheerful and appreciated companion".¹²⁰ Ibn Iyās' *Badā'ī* has 21 *awlād al-nās* occurrences in these obituary contexts, identifying 22 different individuals.¹²¹ The extant parts of the chronicles of both authors have only one of these occurrences in common, in two parallel obituaries of 'Umar b. Dawlāt Bāy. All of Ibn Iyās' other *awlād al-nās* obituaries concern different cases. In all, there are therefore 25 individuals explicitly identified as *awlād al-nās* in these 10th/16th century obituary contexts. In fact, Ibn Iyās only starts including these ex-

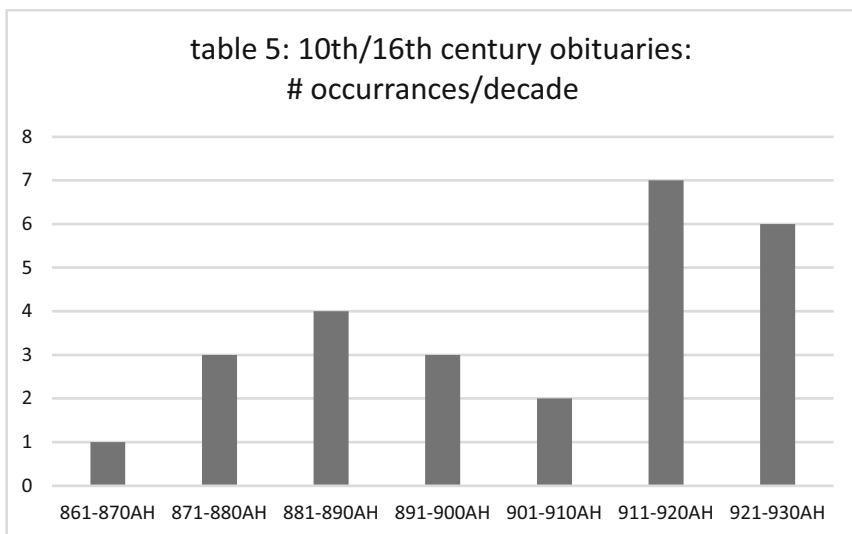
118 See Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty. The Reign of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*, Seattle: University of Washington Press 1993, 57–72; Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East. The Ottoman-Mamluk War. 1485–91*, Leiden, New York, Köln 1995, 80–102; Igarashi, "Financial Reforms", 31–2.

119 See Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins. Contributions à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524*, Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archeologisch instituut 1987; Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Anne Kroell, *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en mer Rouge. L'affaire de Djedda en 1517*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1988.

120 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:371; 4:249; *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:180, 246.

121 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 3:121, 266, 288, 295, 422; 4:47, 99, 101, 105, 165, 233, 326, 354; 5:79, 140, 161, 252, 411, 426.

plicit *awlād al-nās* references in obituaries from ‘Umar b. Dawlāt Bāy’s in the annal for 881/1477 onwards. Some two thirds of Ibn Iyās’ *awlād al-nās* occurrences in an obituary context furthermore concern individuals who died in the 910s and 920s (see table 5). Finally, in the chronicles of both authors it is also from ‘Umar b. Dawlāt Bāy’s obituary in the annal for 881/1477 onwards that the specific distinguishing category of “notables (*a’yān*)” (or in two cases, “renowned men”, *mashāhīr*)¹²² is almost always used.¹²³ Before that obituary, this category seems not yet to have been considered a useful generic marker of distinction, as in ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s obituary for the “noble” and “strongman” Ibn Taghrībirdī in the annal for 874/1470, or in the obituaries by Ibn Taghrībirdī himself, for “the greatest (*ajall*) of the sultans’ sons and the *awlād al-nās*” Muḥammad b. Jaqmaq (d. 847/1444) and for one of Jaqmaq’s *mamlūk* protégés, the “Son of the Imām” Abū Bakr al-Muṣari‘ (d. 856/1452).¹²⁴



In fact, the main *awlād al-nās* context of the *mamlūkizing dīwān* also included a few references in these 10th/16th century chronicles to “*awlād al-nās* notables (*a’yān awlād al-nās*)”, as in the afore-mentioned annal for 907 AH (1502), when central budget cuts affected “everyone who was entitled to a monthly stipendiary payment at the sultan’s gate”, including “the notables of the *awlād al-nās* and the

122 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:47; 5:426.

123 Except in three obituaries, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:101, 233; 5:79.

124 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1:102; 2:390.

administrators (*min a'yān awlād al-nās wa-l-mubāshirīn*).¹²⁵ However, the semantic connection between these *mamlūkizing dīwān* “notables” and the obituary “notables” of Ibn Iyās’ and ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s chronicles remains unclear. No direct reference is made in these obituaries to any *dīwān* connection and, in fact, none of the obituary “notables” are explicitly referred to in any *dīwān* context. When a meaningful connection with the other *awlād al-nās* contexts is suggested in any of these obituaries, this almost always concerns the martial and military context. This is the case in the annal for 922/1516 in particular, when Ibn Iyās names three individuals who belonged to “those among the *awlād al-nās* who died” in northern Syria in the confrontation with the Ottomans.¹²⁶ Two of these three *awlād al-nās* are actually identified as belonging to the minor court category of “the halberdiers (*ṭabardāriyya*)”, which directly links this report to a much earlier one in the *Badā’i*. In the annal for 882/1477, sultan Qāyitbāy is reported to have “reviewed [...] a group of the *awlād al-nās*” and to have allowed some to become a direct member of his royal household and court by appointing “whom he selected from their ranks in offices such as those of the halberdiers, the wardrobe keepers and their like (*fī waṣā’if mithla ṭabardāriyya wa-jamdāriyya wa-ghayr dhālika*)”.¹²⁷ Next to this particular example of an alternative *mamlūkizing* trajectory of *awlād al-nās* integration—via their selection for military court positions originally reserved for the sultan’s *mamlūks* only—¹²⁸ the obituary of the “cheerful companion” and octogenarian ‘Alī b. Khush-qaldī (d. 884/1480) in ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī’s *Nayl al-Amal* is the only one to operate in a more traditional, military context by identifying ‘Alī as “one of the *awlād al-nās* notables among the *ḥalqa* troopers (*aḥad a'yān awlād al-nās min ajnād al-ḥalqa*)”.¹²⁹ Two other similarly explicit obituary cases widen this spectrum of military *awlād al-nās* connections to the sultan’s court and armies even further. In the annal for 928/1521–2, Ibn Iyās reports about the demise of al-Shihābī Aḥmad b. al-Qumārī, “one of the renowned *awlād al-nās* and a former Amir of the Hunt (*min mashāhīr awlād al-nās wa-kāna amīr shikār*), who retreated from his station towards the end of his life and died a *faqīr*”.¹³⁰ Next to this explicit link with the court position of Amir of the Hunt, and thus also with a status of amir, an even higher rank of military and court leadership is mentioned

125 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:25; see also 3:384 (903 AH: *a'yān al-nās min al-tujjār wa-awlād al-nās*); 5:421 (927 AH: *mashāhīr awlād al-nās*).

126 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:79.

127 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:130.

128 See William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans. 1382–1468 A.D. Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s Chronicles of Egypt*, 2 vols., Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press 1955, 1957, 1:95.

129 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:246.

130 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:426.

in the *Badā'ī* for al-Zaynī Faraj (d. 919/1513), identified as “one of the amirs *muqaddams alf* (*aḥad al-umarā' al-muqaddamīn al-ulūf*), son of Burd Bīk [...] and one of the *awlād al-nās* notables (*wa-kāna min a'yān awlād al-nās*)”.¹³¹

Others among these 25 *awlād al-nās* are represented with entirely different, non-military connections with the sultanate's courtly organization. Ibn Iyās' obituary of “al-Badrī Ḥasan b. al-Ṭulūnī” (d. 923/1517), leading member of the longstanding Ṭulūnī family of building contractors, distinguishes Ḥasan both with the court title of “chief master of craftsmen (*mu'allim al-mu'allimīn*)” and the social marker of “the *awlād al-nās* notables”.¹³² As mentioned before, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's obituary for Ibn Taghrībīrdī explains how sultan Qāyitbāy “allowed him to sit down with the *muqaddams alf*, even though that had never occurred to any of the *awlād al-nās* just like that, without holding any office or command (*aşlan bi-ghayr waṣīfa aw taqdima*).”¹³³ 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's obituary for Yūsuf b. Barsbāy concerns a sultan's son who evidently became central to court life in Cairo when he briefly succeeded his father on the throne, in 841–2/1438. Two “*awlād al-nās* notables” who were distinguished by another set of highly appreciated royal family connections were “‘Alī b. Khalīl b. Ḥasan b. Khāṣṣ Bak al-Turkī” (d. 899/1494), identified as “the sultan's father-in-law (*ṣihr al-sultān*)” because sultan Qāyitbāy was married to his daughter Fāṭima (d. 1504), and al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad b. Birdibak (d. 898/1493), identified as “the grandson of al-Ashraf Īnāl (*sibṭ al-Ashraf Īnāl*)” because his mother was the daughter of sultan Īnāl and his equally powerful spouse Zaynab bint Ḥasan b. Khāṣṣ Bak (d. 1479). In fact, as these lineages suggest, 'Alī and Muḥammad were members of the Khāṣṣbakiya, one of the later sultanate's oldest and most prominent families, that originated in the career of the *mamlūk* amir Khāṣṣ Bak al-Nāṣirī (d. 1333) and acquired elite status through its members' real estate and *waqf* investments, religious scholarship and teaching, and strategic marriages, including of Zaynab and her niece Fāṭima to, respectively, the sultans Īnāl (r. 1453–61) and Qāyitbāy (1468–96). This towering social status was confirmed when sultan Qāyitbāy and his amirs were reported to have actively participated in the funerary rituals for 'Alī.¹³⁴

131 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:354.

132 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 5:161.

133 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:249.

134 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 3:288, 295. On the Khāṣṣbakiya, see Carl F. Petry, “The Estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khāṣṣbakiyya: Royal Spouse, Autonomous Investor”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and History*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, 277–94; Jo Van Steenberghe, “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*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann, Bonn/Göttingen: Bonn University Press & V&R unipress 2019, 77–107, esp. 96–100; Albrecht Fuess, “How to Marry

A number of cases display how also more distant courtly connections were linked to the identification of individuals as “*awlād al-nās* notables”. In 913/1507, al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad b. Bint Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār, one “from the *awlād al-nās* notables” whose maternal grandfather had once been one of the sultanate’s most powerful financial administrators, entered in a personal conflict with sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–16), which resulted in Muḥammad’s fall from royal favor, his detention and the forced sale of his properties, and his exile from Cairo; eventually, in 919/1513, mediation on his behalf by “one of the sultan’s confidants (*ba’d akhiṣṣā’ al-sultān*)” ended Muḥammad’s exile, and thus his “troubles and trials (*shadā’ idan wa-miḥan*)”, but *en route* back to Cairo he became ill and died.¹³⁵ In a very parallel case, Ibn Iyās explains that ‘Alī b. Ṭughān (d. 924/1518) was not just “one of the *awlād al-nās* notables”, but also how “towards the end of his life he was afflicted by troubles and trials (*shadā’ id wa-miḥanan*) as a consequence of [his association with the veteran amir and unsuccessful rebel sultan al-Ẓāhir] Qāniṣawh Khamsmī’a” (d. 902/1497).¹³⁶ Finally, “al-Shihābī Aḥmad b. Iyās al-Fakhrī min Junayd” (d. 908/1503), who was Ibn Iyās’ own father, is presented more vaguely both as “one of the renowned people’s sons (*min mashāhīr abnā’ al-nās*)” and as “on very intimate terms with amirs and *arbāb al-dawla* (*kathīr al-ishra li-l-umarā’ wa-arbāb al-dawla*)”.¹³⁷

Next to various kinds of claims about elite status as well as military and courtly connections, another shared feature of several of these *awlād al-nās* obituaries concerns the explicit mentioning of their subjects’ high age. Ibn Iyās thus ex-

Right. Searching for a Royal Spouse at the Mamluk court of Cairo in the Fifteenth Century”, in: *DYNTRAN Working Papers* 21, February 2017 (<https://dyntran.hypotheses.org/1761>). Ibn Taghribirdī identified this lineage in the middle of the century, in the biography of their 8th/14th century patriarch (*wālid*) Sayf al-Dīn Khāṣṣ Bak al-Nāṣirī (d. 1333), as “the well-known *jamā’a* of the Banū Khāṣṣ Bak” (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 5:197–8).

135 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:125, 326. Muḥammad’s maternal grandfather Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Ustādār (d. 1409), presented here as crucial for his social identity, had been the son of a poor preacher from al-Bīra (Birecik) in northern Syria who became one of the sultanate’s most powerful financial administrators; he eventually overplayed his hand and was tortured to death by sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 1399–1412) in 812/1409 (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 12:189–196; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, nr. 1459; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration dans l’état militaire mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* [Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1992], 103–5).

136 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5: 252. On Qāniṣawh Khamsmī’a, see Albrecht Fuess, “The Syro-Egyptian Sultanate in Transformation, 1496–1498: Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qaybay and the Reformation of *mamlūk* Institutions and Symbols of State Power”, in: *Trajectories of State Formation across Fifteenth-Century Islamic West-Asia. Eurasian Parallels, Connections and Divergences*, ed. Jo Van Steenberg, Leiden, Boston: Brill 2020, 201–23, esp. 206.

137 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:47. “Al-Ruknī ‘Umar b. Taghrī Birdī al-Sayfī Sūdūn Baqja” (d. 912/1506) is similarly described as “on very intimate terms with lots of people (*kathīr al-ishra li-l-nās*)” (Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:101) and so is ‘Alī b. Khushqaldī, who apparently was “a cheerful and appreciated companion (*fakah al-muḥāḍara ḥusn al-mu’āshara*)” (‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:246).

plains how “my father lived to the age of about 84 years”.¹³⁸ Aḥmad b. Asanbughā al-Ṭayyārī (d. 922/1516), who “was almost 90 years old” when he died, is presented by Ibn Iyās both as “one of the notable *awlād al-nās* chiefs (*min a’yān awlād al-nās al-ru’asā*)” and as “one of those blessed with long life on earth (*min al-mu’ammārīn fi l-arḍ*)”.¹³⁹ ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī states explicitly that ‘Alī b. Khushqaldī (d. 884/1480) was born “at the start of the [9th/15th] century (*‘alā ra’s al-qarn*)”,¹⁴⁰ and Ibn Iyās similarly explains that ‘Alī b. Khāṣṣ Bak (d. 899/1494), “the sultan’s father-in-law, [...] had grown very old (*wa-kāna qad kabara wa-shākha*), as he was born before 830 [1426–7]”.¹⁴¹

These features of status, connections, and seniority imply that, in the majority of these 25 obituary cases in 10th/16th century chronicles, the combined term *awlād al-nās* relates to a semantic context that represents a specific expansion of the more general *dīwān* and military contexts. This specificity was even more than these general contexts a late textual phenomenon only. For our authors this specific designation only acquired significance from their reports on the 880s onwards, peaking especially in the 910s and 920s. In their annals for these five decades, it combined the specialty of all kinds of courtly connections with an occasional reverence for long and eventful lives so as to remember the survivors of a particular generation within a particular group of increasing prominence among the late sultanate’s elites.

There is only one obituary case that is a clear outlier of this specific category of “notable *awlād al-nās*” survivors, and this is especially due to the fact that this case ties in more directly with the second of the two additional semantic contexts that featured in Ibn Iyās’ annals for the early 920s. This concerns the case of “a person known as Aḥmad Kunaynū, who was one of the *awlād al-nās*” and who died in “a terrible incident” (*ḥāditha muhawilla*) in Cairo in 917/1511. In Ibn Iyās’ report, this incident involved a fight between *mamlūks* and local people, the collapse of an overcrowded roof of a house, and the death of seven *mamlūks* and of seventeen men and women. Obituary-wise, this report adds Ibn Iyās’ standard formula that Aḥmad Kunaynū “was a decent person (*wa-kāna lā ba’s bihi*)”. Ibn Iyās furthermore informs that Aḥmad belonged to the entourage (*jamā’a*) of “al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā’i ‘Alī Ibn Khāṣṣ Bīk.” This was a son of “the sultan’s father-in-law” and “*awlād al-nās* notable” ‘Alī Ibn Khāṣṣ Bak, and Muḥammad is

138 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:47.

139 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:140.

140 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:61.

141 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:295; see also the obituaries for Khiḍr b. Shanāf al-Nawrūzī al-Jarkasī (d. 895/1490) who “died while he was in his sixties”, and for Aḥmad b. Timurbāy (d. 912/1507), “who had grown very old (*wa-kāna qad kabara wa-shākha*), as he was almost 90 years old” (Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:266; 4:105).

stated to have actually been responsible for gathering on this roof with “some 200 people” to watch the performances for an annual festival.¹⁴²

This case of Aḥmad Kunaynū and his patron Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Khāṣṣ Bak indeed fits in directly with the fourth semantic context in which the notion *awlād al-nās* occurs in 10th/16th century texts and which relates especially to these kinds of urban “incidents”. The report about the 917/1511 incident as well as seven other reported cases present more or less detailed stories of urban violence and its settlement or prevention that all share the active involvement of one or more individuals who are explicitly identified as *awlād al-nās* or *ibn nās*.¹⁴³ A chronologically first report, shared by the texts of Ibn Iyās and ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, occurs in the annal for 876/1471, “when a person from the *awlād al-nās* (*insān min awlād al-nās*)” attacked a woman with a knife and left her dead “in the middle of the street (*fī wasaṭ al-ṭarīq*)”.¹⁴⁴ Especially the annals for 920–1/1514–5 in Ibn Iyās’ chronicle stand out with a cluster of four cases: the hanging for murder of “a person from the *awlād al-nās* (*shakhṣ min awlād al-nās*)” and of “a young people’s son (*ṣabīy ibn nās*)”, the investigation of the suspicious death of “a sick person from the *awlād al-nās* (*alīl min awlād al-nās*)”, and a royal decree “that no *mamlūk*, people’s son (*ibn nās*), *ghulām* and slave (*‘abd*) should leave his house (*min dārihi*) after sunset”.¹⁴⁵

The meanings of the combined term *awlād al-nās* in these eight reports remain rather more open-ended than is the case for occurrences in the other three contexts. The occurrences in these reports suggest at best a vague social category of urbanites as well as violent daily life realities that also attest to the “popular” character that is traditionally ascribed to Ibn Iyās’ chronicle.¹⁴⁶ These realities of death and violence, however, certainly also allow for meaningful connections

142 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:232–3.

143 See ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:23 (murder); 8:53 (murder), 84 (suicide). Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:64 (murder); 4:233 (lethal riot), 363 (prohibition), 386 (suspicious death), 446 (murder), 461 (murder). For a wider presentation and analysis of such incidents, see also Carl F. Petry, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society: Narratives from Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks*, Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center 2012; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Délinquance et ordre social. L’état mamelouk syro-égyptien face au crime à la fin du IXe–XVe siècle*, Paris: Ausonius 2012. As suggested before, the “incident” related to the annal for 774/1372–3 and involving the abduction and murder of ‘*awlād al-nās min al-atfāl*’ (‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:61) and the “incident” of the amir Shaykh al-Ṣafawī, accused in 800/1398 of *awlād al-nās* harassment (Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 1/2:508), are very different, chronologically as well as semantically (see also next part), and they are therefore not included among these “incidents”.

144 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:23; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3 64.

145 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:363, 386, 446, 461.

146 Ulrich Haarmann, “Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971), 46–60, esp. 55, 59.

with the martial and military context of *awlād al-nās* occurrences. The latter context therefore appears from this additional connection to have represented a stabilizing layer of shared meaning that tied together the wide semantic framework within which the term *awlād al-nās* operated in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Moreover, just as is the case for the 917/1511 incident involving Aḥmad Kunaynū and his patron Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Khāṣṣ Bak, a final handful of occurrences in four further “incidents” in Ibn Iyās’ chronicle allow to position this more ordinary and urbanite outlook on a semantic continuum that also includes the later sultanate’s widening expanse of financial and social courtly connectivity. These four occurrences include references to “a person from the *awlād al-nās* known as (*shakhṣ min awlād al-nās yuqāl lahu*) Muḥammad b. Īnāl”, who hid the failed sultan al-Zāhir Qāniṣawh Khamṣmi’a in his house in Cairo in late 905/mid-1500, and to “a person from the people’s sons known as (*shakhṣ min abnā’ al-nās yuqāl lahu*) Yūnus b. Sūdūn al-Faqīh” who, in 916/1510, received a reward of ten *dīnārs* and additional benefits when he presented 60 Syrian walnuts to the sultan from a tree that he had managed to grow in his own garden near Cairo.¹⁴⁷ This set of more high profile “incidents” also includes a report about a rental conflict in 927/1521 between “a person from the *turks* (*shakhṣ min al-atrāk*) known as Jān Qilij” and “a person from the people’s sons (*shakhṣ min abnā’ al-nās*), who is the son of the amir Shāhīn al-Jamālī”, which was brought before the Ottoman viceroy by the latter ‘people’s son’, and which ended with the detention of Jān Qilij.¹⁴⁸ Finally, and even more significantly, this set of “incidents” with returning courtly connections includes the deportation of the remains of Egypt’s leadership to Ottoman Istanbul in late 923/1517, and especially the long list of names that Ibn Iyās provided for this occasion in his chronicle. This list was topped by the Abbasid caliph and his two nephews as well as by another grandson of sultan Īnāl and his spouse Zaynab al-Khāṣṣbakīya and by two “amirs’ sons (*min awlād al-umarā’*)”, one of whom was no less than the afore-mentioned “al-Janāb al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad, the son of al-‘Alā’ī ‘Alī b. Khāṣṣ Bak, the father-in-law of al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy”; Ibn Iyās then listed two amirs and “a group of sultanīc *mamlūks*” who all had escaped execution, as well as a certain “Jānibak, *dawādār* of the amir Ṭarabāy”; eventually, this survey of the few remaining men of import “belonging to the notable chiefs of Egypt (*min a’yān ru’asā’ al-diyār al-miṣriyya*)” concludes with naming three individuals “from the *awlād al-nās* (*min awlād al-nās*)”, including one al-Shihābī Aḥmad, a son of the afore-mentioned “chief master of craftsmen (*mu’allim al-mu’allimīn*)”

147 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:432; 4:195.

148 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:399–400.

and “*awlād al-nās* notable” al-Badrī Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī (d. Muḥarram 923/February 1517).¹⁴⁹

Despite all these different occurrences and their operating in a wide framework of different military and martial meanings, there is one main impression that remains from this survey of the four contexts that defined the occurrence of the combined term *awlād al-nās* in early 10th/16th century historiography: it experienced a textual history of increasingly prominent and specific uses. In fact, the tracing of *awlād al-nās* frequencies and semantics in the era’s full corpus of available texts more in general leaves the very same impression of both continued fluidity and increasing specificity. As frequency clusters indicate, this is directly related to the sultanate’s many transformations, not least those that marked reports for the later Qalāwūnids, the early 870s/late 1460s with the accession of sultan Qāyitbāy, and the Ottoman transition of the early 920s/mid-1510s. As changing semantic contexts suggest, the impression of increasing specificity follows even more from the term’s changing uses over the course of the 9th/15th century. This manifested historiographically in the emergence of the term *awlād al-nās* from the 830s and 840s/1420s to 1440s onwards as an ever more wide-ranging *mamlūkizing* and militarizing *dīwān* category that eventually, by the turn of the century, expanded to also include high profile courtly lineages such as those of the Ṭūlūnī building contractors and the Khāṣṣbakīya royals. Remarkably, however, this *mamlūkizing* increase in *awlād al-nās* prominence and specificity was not a uniform phenomenon across the corpus, and as demonstrated ambiguity and occasional non-*mamlūk* meanings or even a total historiographical absence remained equally present in certain texts.

4 The politics of a polysemous concept: discursive strategies and *awlād al-nās* occurrences

As also concluded on many occasions in the preceding part, the relatively limited frequency of *awlād al-nās* occurrences across the entire textual corpus suggests that the historiographical import of the combined term *awlād al-nās* remained restricted to specific textual moments only. In other words, the comparatively limited textual cases in which the term *awlād al-nās* occurs (see table 1a), even in

149 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:229. On this very high Ottoman appreciation for these few survivors from the late sultanate’s leadership, see also Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:397 (in 927/1521, the new Ottoman sultan Sulaymān [r. 1520–66] sends all these “prisoners from the Egyptian people” back to Egypt, except for “Sayyidi ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad Aḥmad b. al-Ashraf Ināl, the son of sultan al-Ghawrī and al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad b. Khāṣṣ Bak”, as well as a handful of “administrators [*al-mubāshirīn*]” and “others belonging to the notables of the Egyptian lands [*ākhirīn min a’yān al-diyār al-miṣriyya*]”).

Ibn Iyās' chronicle, stand out as exceptions to a general historiographical rule of relative silence and, therefore, as textual moments at which the notion of *awlād al-nās* suddenly must have become more meaningful for an author and his audiences. This exceptionalism invites us to make some final more general observations about the occasional textual historicity and significance of the concept of *awlād al-nās*. In fact, at certain times and places, *awlād al-nās* arguably acted as one among various signifiers that were used by different sets of authors to engage in the pursuit of very specific historiographical, social and political strategies. Three of these strategies really stand out from this survey, in the way they connected the term *awlād al-nās* with three distinct discursive layers. As will be demonstrated in this third and final part, these layers were drawn upon to represent some very different aspects of late medieval Syro-Egyptian realities in specific ways. Serving very particular types of interests, these specific needs for representation stimulated more than usual *awlād al-nās* references, including the frequency clusters of the mid-8th/14th century, the early 870s/late 1460s, and the early 920s/mid-1510s.

4.1 An 8th/14th century Syrian discourse of (im)morality

The—chronologically—first of these discursive layers for which the term *awlād al-nās* became meaningful, relates to the highly atypical inclusion in Ibn Iyās' chronicle of the afore-mentioned case of the amir Shaykh al-Ṣafawī's illicit behavior (*fasād, fāḥisha*) involving *awlād al-nās* in Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ This represents in fact a *verbatim* quotation from al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, where the Shaykh al-Ṣafawī case represents one of the text's six *awlād al-nās* occurrences.¹⁵¹ Before Ibn Iyās, also Ibn Taghrībirdī had already picked up on this story in his extensive biographical collection *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, as one of its equally limited number of *awlād al-nās* occurrences that represents a clear paraphrase of al-Maqrīzī's passage.¹⁵² This fits in with a more general pattern of vice and child abuse allusions that represents the discursive context in which the term *awlād al-nās* mainly or even exclusively turns up in the majority of 8th/14th century texts that have such occurrences. Al-Ṣafadī's afore-mentioned biographical laudations of chastity, including his praising of "the strength to keep oneself from pursuing a devastating desire for the *awlād al-nās*"¹⁵³ are a case in point. The only occurrence in Abū l-Fidā's chronicle represents another similar case, as it concerns a

150 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 1/2, 508.

151 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 5:420.

152 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 6:312 (... *li-shakwā ahl al-quds 'alayhi min annahu yata'arrad li-awlād al-nās bi-l-fāḥisha wa-annahu yakthar min al-fasād* ...).

153 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:407.

fasād comment on the story of a “black slave (*‘abd aswad*)” who was punished for “having approached the *awlād al-nās*.”¹⁵⁴ The only occurrence in Ibn Kathīr’s chronicle similarly reports on “the corruption (*ifsād*) [...] of *awlād al-nās*” and their suffering from “pederasty, viciousness and lack of religiosity (*al-liwāt wa-l-fisq wa-qillat al-dīn*)”.¹⁵⁵ A suggestive statement by Ibn Kathīr’s teacher al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) about someone “who laid his eyes on the *awlād al-nās* (*madda ‘aynahu ilā awlād al-nās*)” situates *awlād al-nās* in the same moralizing context.¹⁵⁶

What connects these handful of occurrences is the systematic framing of *awlād al-nās* within a moral discourse of *fasād*, and thus as sexually vulnerable young boys. In fact, in the predominantly traditionalist Syrian milieu of Ibn Kathīr, al-Ṣafadī, al-Dhahabī, Abū l-Fidā’ and their like, the social order’s morality, and especially its opposite, turns out to represent the predominant discursive context within which the term *awlād al-nās* occurs and contributes to serving the moral-didactic purposes of their historiographical interests. As is well-known, by the end of the 8th/14th century this particular type of traditionalist Syrian historiography came to be integrated into its Egyptian counterpart.¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, this integration of Syrian traditions into the historiographical texts of later Egyptian generations meant that at least some examples of this moralizing *awlād al-nās* use—as with the turn-of-the-century case of the amir Shaykh al-Ṣafawī—were picked up, and contributed to the ambiguity of *awlād al-nās* understandings that, as demonstrated above, marked many later historical texts.

4.2 A 9th/15th century Egyptian discourse of good rulership

The tenacity of the Shaykh al-Ṣafawī case, however, appears only as a residual and odd example from a lost discursive time. Later Egyptian generations prioritized other meanings, and different strategies, in their *awlād al-nās* representations. Ibn Duqmāq’s sudden *awlād al-nās* qualification of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s case in his summary chronicle *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn* offers insight into some of those strategies. Most suggestive in this respect is not just Ibn Duqmāq’s explicit and singular *awlād al-nās* qualification of Ḥasan’s reign, but especially his final comment in this passage that the sultan would have used to say: “Never have I heard anyone say that a people’s son stood up against the sultan. (*‘umrī mā*

154 Abu l-Fidā’, *Mukhtaṣar*, 4:111. Repeated in Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 2:296.

155 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 18:353.

156 al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 43:141.

157 See L. Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yunīnī’s Dhayl Mir’at al-Zamān*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:81–96.

samītu aḥadan yaqūlu in ibn nās khāmara ‘alā al-sultān).”¹⁵⁸ Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, known as Ibn Duqmāq, was a grandson of ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur Duqmāq, a *mamlūk* amir at the Qalāwūnid court in the early 8th/14th century. As “a people’s son”, Ibn Duqmāq was therefore pleading his own case as well as that of his peers, when he made sultan Ḥasan promote their loyalty and reliability in these frank terms. The close relationship between Ibn Duqmāq and the court of sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 1382–9, 1390–9) generated a particular courtly and potentially even royal audience for his historiographical authorship. This specific Barqūqid connection is even set up very explicitly as the main dynastic frame of reference for *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn*’s contents—and therefore also for Ibn Duqmāq’s portrayal of sultan Ḥasan’s *awlād al-nās* promotion. In this chronicle’s opening invocation Ibn Duqmāq explains not just that he “collected in it the reports (*akhbār*) of the rightly guided caliphs and of the rulers and sultans, as well as the biography (*sīra*) of each of them [...]”, but also that he did so—or at least aspired to do so—by direct (and very formally represented) royal command:

That [is done] in accordance with the instruction (*dhālika ḥasaba ishārat*) of the august station, the lofty, the lord, the sultan, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, the sword (*al-maqām al-sharīf al-‘ālī al-mawlawī al-sultānī al-malikī al-ẓāhirī al-sayfī*), Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd Barqūq, the partner of the commander of the faithful (*qasīm amīr al-mu‘minīn*), may God make his reign and sultanate everlasting and may He turn good fortune and success into his main attendants.¹⁵⁹

This direct Barqūqid connection allows for the identification of a very particular historical context that enables a possible interpretation of Ibn Duqmāq’s ascription to sultan Ḥasan of a creative line of royal wisdom on rebels “standing up” against sultans and of “people’s sons” remaining loyal. As is well known, in the period 1389–90 sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq was indeed confronted with the traumatic experience of mostly Qalāwūnid amirs “standing up” against his rule and briefly deposing him. As a result, the months and years after his return to the sultanate appear to have been marked by his purging from the ranks of his amirs of former Qalāwūnid agents and their descendants.¹⁶⁰ In this highly charged context of the elite transformations of the 1390s, sultan Ḥasan’s direct speech quote by Ibn Duqmāq transforms into a very meaningful, even programmatic,

158 Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 404–5. Similarly reported in Ibn Duqmāq, *Nafha*, 189.

159 Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 25–6; for the relationship between Barqūq and Ibn Duqmāq, see also Massoud, *Chronicles*, 30–31; Massoud, “Ibn Duqmāq”; Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 9, 15 (editor’s introduction).

160 For Barqūq’s deposition in 1389–90 and its aftermath, see Clément Onimus, *Les maîtres du jeu. Pouvoir et violence politique à l’aube du Sultanat Mamlouk Circassien (784–815/1382–1412)*, Paris: éditions de la Sorbonne 2019, and also Yosef’s second contribution to this volume.

statement that invites Barqūq to follow the precedent of wise rulers and to not give up on Ibn Duqmāq and other “people’s sons”. In fact, it is arguably in this specific context of Ibn Duqmāq’s Barqūqid authorship and of his connecting of the terms *awlād al-nās* and ‘*ibn nās*’ with this discursive layer of good rulership that this rarely used notion’s semantics started to shift, to embrace the more distinctive meaning of amirs’ sons and descendants, and to embark upon a trajectory that enabled, several decades later, its *mamlūk*ization.

Two generations after Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn Taghrībirdī, another high-profile “people’s son”, is the only one of all later historians to repeat and even expand upon the alleged direct speech of sultan Ḥasan in his rendering of Ibn Duqmāq’s assessment.¹⁶¹ In fact, his extended version supports equally programmatic claims about not just the loyalty that sultans may expect from “people’s sons”, but also the general benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) that everybody may expect from their employment by a wise ruler, as a result of the superior expertise as royal advisors that they, unlike any *mamlūk*, would have on offer:

One of [sultan Ḥasan’s] intimates blamed him for promoting the *awlād al-nās* over the *mamlūks*. But he said: “By God, I do not promote them as a result of any affection for them, but I do it to my benefit as well as to that of the populace and the country (*maṣlaḥatan liyya wa-li-l-ra’iya wa-li-l-bilād*). As for my benefit: they would not revolt against me, and when they would intend that, their relatives and entourage would stop them from doing that for fear of [the impact on] their possessions and provisions (*amlākihim wa-arzāqihim*); this is diametrically opposed to the *mamlūks* (*bi-khilāf al-mamālīk*), because they have no financial stakes (*ra’s māl*) in any of the realms (*mamlaka*). As for the populace: they have a satisfied appetite and a lack of ambition and on top of that, for fear of me they will not treat anyone unjustly (*lā yaẓlimūna aḥadan*). As for the land: there should be no doubt that they are experts in regulations and management as well as in the reconciliation of the populace with the *mamlūks* (*annahum a’raf bi-l-aḥkām wa-l-siyāsa wa-l-akhdh bi-khawāfir al-ra’iya min al-mamālīk*).”¹⁶²

161 Al-Maqrīzī, al-‘Aynī and Ibn Iyās, who are the only other chroniclers who are currently known to refer to *awlād al-nās* in their final assessments of sultan Ḥasan’s reign, do not add any similarly positive explanations for Ḥasan’s alleged favoritism. Al-Maqrīzī and al-‘Aynī (for Ibn Iyās, see 3.3 and n. 165) actually rather construct the opposite picture of sultan Ḥasan, as a bad ruler, and they stress, equally stereotypically, “his passionate infatuation with his women and concubines” and “his marginalization by the eunuchs in a way that had not happened to any of the rulers of the Turks”, but also “his ambition to eradicate the Copts and the *mamlūk* Turks” and his intention “to make the entire *dawla awlād nās*” (al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 4:124; *Sulūk*, 4:253; al-‘Aynī, *Tārīkh*, Ms Dār al-Kutub 1584 *tārīkh* [juz’ 24/1], 125; idem, Ms British Library, OIOC, Add. 22,360, fol. 67r).

162 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal*, 5:125–6; in the *Nujūm*, Ibn Taghrībirdī summarized the same ideas in the following, again differently phrased, passage: “he used to tend towards the promotion of *awlād al-nās* and to their advancement to precious ranks, not out of love for them but rather because he used to say: ‘they are harmless as long as they remain wrapped in my banner (*ma’mūnū l-‘āqiba wa-hum fī ṭayy ‘alamī*); wherever I send them, they go, and

Ibn Taghribirdī actually appears at various occasions in his own texts, as well as in those of others, as being given the opportunity to live up to these high *awlād al-nās* expectations, including eventually also—as suggested above—by sultan Qāyitbāy in the early 870s/late 1460s.¹⁶³ Given the intended courtly audiences of Ibn Taghribirdī's writings, and the dynastic as well as panegyric frameworks that, as in the case of Ibn Duqmāq's *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn*, defined Ibn Taghribirdī's historiographical project, sultan Ḥasan's expanded direct speech quote again informs about at least one of the discursive strategies that continued to give Ibn Taghribirdī access to such royal connectivity.¹⁶⁴ This alleged royal speech indeed communicates not just that Ibn Taghribirdī and his *awlād al-nās* peers should be considered highly deserving of such courtly access, but also that any ruler who favors their advice, will gain equal access to an empowering aura of royal wisdom, good rulership and the promotion of general *maṣlaḥa*.

4.3 A 10th/16th century Egyptian discourse of (in)justice

Ibn Iyās interestingly decided not to repeat or reformulate any anti-*mamlūk* comments and good rulership claims in his own rendering of this *awlād al-nās* assessment of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's reign.¹⁶⁵ In the case of his *Badā'ī*, an entirely different discursive layer took priority whenever the term *awlād al-nās* occurred, especially from these occurrences' spiking in the annals for the early 870s/late 1460s onwards. This layer tapped directly into the era's powerful discourse of justice, by systematically framing the reigning sultan or his representatives as agents of injustice (*ẓulm*), intent on harming the rightful interests of *awlād al-nās* and any other category of people "entitled to a monthly payment at the sultan's gate".¹⁶⁶

whenever I want to dismiss them, I can do so easily'. They are furthermore kind towards the populace and experts in the regulations (*wa-fihim ayḍan riḥq bi-l-ra'iya wa-ma'rifa bi-l-aḥkām*).” (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:309–10).

163 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:678; ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:249.

164 See also Rihab Ben Othmen, “A Tale of Hybrid Identities: Notes on Ibn Taghribirdī's Textual and Authorial ‘Self-Fashioning’”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 23 (2020), 165–202; Julien Loiseau, “L’émir en sa maison. Parcours politiques et patrimoine urbain au Caire, d’après les biographies du *Manḥal al-Ṣāfi*”, *Annales islamologiques* 36 (2002), 117–37, esp. 122–3.

165 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 1/1:578–9. Significantly (not least also from the parallel perspective of the construct of the modern meta-narrative), Ibn Iyās seems to be reconstructing a more general perception of later Qalāwūnid reliance on *awlād al-nās*, when he uniquely stresses the *awlād al-nās* promotions and sympathies of not just al-Nāṣir Ḥasan but also of his nephew al-Ashraf Sha'bān and the latter's son al-Manṣūr ‘Alī (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 1/2:55, 91, 183, 191).

166 See also Petry, *Twilight*, 9–10, on this critical tone in Ibn Iyās' chronicle. For the centrality of the discourse of justice, see Anne Broadbridge, “Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in

As suggested before, in their own annals for the early 870s, Ibn Iyās' predecessors' Ibn Taghribirdī and al-Jawharī had also engaged via the *mamlūkizing awlād al-nās* category in justice-related discursive strategies to pursue particular authorial intentions and purposes. In their cases, however, their personal involvements in sultan Qāyitbāy's entourage (and the panegyric character of al-Jawharī's *Inbā'*) made the reigning sultan's predecessors, especially sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53), the main target for their explanations of current challenges and problems. Their narrative of the first months of Qāyitbāy's reign therefore presented Jaqmaq, his associates and his alleged *mamlūkizing* policies as the culprits for the situation of injustice (*ẓulm*) and corruption (*mafāsīd*) that, in Ibn Taghribirdī's and al-Jawharī's analyses, had been defining both the sultanate's entire political economy since Jaqmaq's reign and the new sultan's highly contested relationship with *awlād al-nās* and others.¹⁶⁷ Qāyitbāy himself was rather framed by Ibn Taghribirdī and al-Jawharī along the good rulership model of sultan Ḥasan, as the wise man who decided to restore the proper order of things by appointing capable advisors and administrators—especially the *da-wādār* and strongman of Qāyitbāy's early reign Yashbak min Mahdī (d. 1480), but also Ibn Taghribirdī himself, or the Ḥanafī chief *qādī* Ibn al-Shiḥna, who was al-Jawharī's patron—¹⁶⁸ by cutting excess royal expenditure and, more in general, by “pursuing the normative practice (*salaka ʿarīqat*) of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, al-Ashraf Barsbāy, and those rulers who were before them (*wa-man kāna qablahum min al-mulūk*)”.¹⁶⁹

Society. The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghribirdī”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7/2 (2003), 231–45; Linda T. Darling, “Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/2 (2006), 1–17; Jo Van Steenbergen 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), 147–188, esp. 174–6.

167 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Hawāḍith*, ed. Popper, 3:678, 689–93; al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr*, 33–40.

168 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Hawāḍith*, ed. Popper, 3:678, 682–3; al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr*, 23–4, 33–5.

169 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Hawāḍith*, ed. Popper, 3:692; al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr*, 38. Al-Jawharī further qualifies this historicizing representation of the normative character of this “practice” as well as of the restorative nature of Qāyitbāy's policy by explaining that “the ancient tradition (*al-āda al-qadīma*) at the end of the *dawla* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy conformed to this model (*kānat ʿalā hādha l-namaṭ*) that sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy—may his victory be great—adopted” (al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr*, 36); later in his text, however, al-Jawharī adopts a more critical attitude, especially when *mamlūkization* increasingly turns out to entail militarization, provoking at one textual moment his claim that this counters the precedent of “the rulers of old [*al-mulūk al-sālifa*]” as well as common sense, as also expressed in his rhetorical question of “how they can demand that [=shooting arrows, thrusting lances and swinging swords] of them [= *awlād al-nās* and ‘pensioners’] now that they have grown old and weak” (al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr*, 501–2). Ibn Taghribirdī additionally prepares for his own heroic representation of Qāyitbāy, and of the value of his own advice to him, in his explicit explanations of how payment refusals and failures (according to

Whereas al-Jawharī, and Ibn Taghrībirdī before him, thus argued that their champion, “the sultan—may God make him victorious—did not treat unjustly (*lam yazlum*) anyone by his cutting [of *dīwān* expenditure]”,¹⁷⁰ the 10th/16th century texts of Ibn Iyās and ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī engaged equally strategically with the same discourses of good rulership and, especially, (in)justice to make the opposite argument, against sultan Qāyitbāy, his peers, and their administrators, and in favor of the contested *awlād al-nās* interests in the sultan’s *dīwān*. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī took this very critical position *vis-à-vis* the sultan and his immediate predecessors in the extant parts of *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, but not in those of *al-Nayl al-Amal*. In *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, he added five textual comments to this effect to *awlād al-nās* related passages in the annals for the early 870s/late 1460s and the transition to and the beginning of the reign of sultan Qāyitbāy.¹⁷¹ In these personal comments, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī explained how the cutting of the royal payments to *awlād al-nās* and their like ran contrary to “ancient custom (*al-āda [...] min qadīm al-zamān*)”, how it did not proceed along “the path of justice and equity (*ṭariq al-‘adl wa-l-taswīya*)”, how it generated “all kinds of corruption (*hādhā min al-mafāsīd*)” and how it made these *awlād al-nās* and their like “lodge a complaint of injustice against [...] the one who cut their provisions (*yataẓallamūna ... man qaṭa‘a arzāqahum*)”.¹⁷² In some instances, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī even used Quran and, especially, Hadith references to make his case, including in the following very passionate personal statement:

Nothing good happened to the people on this day [11 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 873/22 September 1468], while the sultan claimed and maintained that what he did was highly rational and beneficial (*ghāyat al-ra‘y wa-l-maṣlaḥa*) [...]; how can this be, when [the Prophet] —peace be upon him—has said: “you only receive Divine support and provision by virtue of the weak ones among you (*innamā tunṣarūna wa-turdazaqūna bi-dū‘afā’i-kum*)”; where is the one who should be doing this, or where is the one who should hear and know about it, so as to become a recipient of Divine support and provision (*li-yakūna manṣūran marzūqan*)?¹⁷³

‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī (including to Ibn Taghrībirdī himself) had caused the quick downfall of Qāyitbāy’s immediate predecessors, Yīlbāy (r. 1467) and Timurbughā (r. 1467–8); in the *Nujūm*, this analysis of the fatal, and therefore undesirable, course of action of Qāyitbāy’s immediate predecessors is even emphasized through Quranic discourse, when it is stated that “one of the *awlād al-nās* recited the following august verse: ‘Indeed, God will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves [Quran 13, 11]’, as an expression of humbleness, humility and humiliation, because there would be no further success and al-Zāhir Timurbughā’s only fault during his sultanate was this issue; whatever God wants, happens.” (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, ed. Popper, 3:616; *Nujūm*, 16:380).

170 al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr*, 36.

171 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:280, 315, 318; 4:23, 28.

172 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:280, 318; 4:23.

173 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:28 (this *ḥadīth* is actually slightly differently phrased from the versions in *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Book 15, 118; *Sunan al-Nasā’ī*, Book 25, 95);

Ibn Iyās' engagement with these discursive strategies of good rulership and justice, and his direct association of the *Badā'ī*'s *awlād al-nās* occurrences with it, are very carefully and methodically constructed as no less than another grand master-narrative that runs from the annal for 872/1467–8 and the start of the reign of sultan Qāyitbāy, in the autograph's volume eight, to the very end of the extant text of the *Badā'ī*, in volume eleven. In the annal for 872, at the first *awlād al-nās* occurrence for Qāyitbāy's reign, Ibn Iyās describes how the sultan "increased the pressure on the *awlād al-nās* (*ḍayyaqa 'alā awlād al-nās*)", followed by an explicit personal observation and announcement that connects all subsequent similar references to the same overarching negative frame of this master-narrative of unjust "pressure on the *awlād al-nās*":

This was the first calamity (*shidda*) that occurred on [sultan Qāyitbāy's] account regarding the right of the people (*minhu fī ḥaqq al-nās*), and this situation with him continued to worsen daily, until he overstepped his bounds and there happened what we will mention in its proper place.¹⁷⁴

At the beginning of the report on the reign of sultan Qāniṣawh (r. 1501–16), in the autograph's volume nine, the continued overarching presence of this master-narrative is confirmed in the afore-mentioned passage in the annal for 907/1501–2 that identifies its victims as "those who are entitled to a *jāmaḳiyya* at the sultan's gate". In the course of this passage, another personal intervention of Ibn Iyās not only explicitly connects these events with a strong "injustice" vocabulary, but it also shifts the blame from the new sultan to his *atābak*, identified ferociously as "the culprit for this injustice (*al-qā'im fī ḥādhihi l-maḳlama*), the *atābak* Qayt al-Rajābī [...]—may God not reward him with anything good (*lā jazāhu llāh khayran*)".¹⁷⁵ Some three annals later, the *Badā'ī* informs how this evil mastermind is arrested, framing him again as a "transgressor" (*ḡālīman*) and also repeating the explanation that

he was to blame for the cuts of the *jāmaḳiyyas* of the *awlād al-nās*, the orphans and the women; it was due to him that all the people suffered extremely. [...] Many different

for a second *ḥadīth* reference, also slightly differently phrased, see 4:23 (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book 33, 22); Quran 13:11 ("Indeed, God will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves") is quoted in 3:315, in a direct parallel to Ibn Taghrībirdī's quotation of this verse in his narration of this event in the *Nujūm* (see n. 169).

174 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 3:7; see also 3:21 ("this [cutting of the meat rations] opened the gate of the beginning of *maḡālim*, and it only worsened thereafter"), 71 ("maybe [Qāyitbāy] intended to trick them [*al-ikhrāq bihim*] [by organizing a test with the lance]"), 323 ("those things that were considered [Qāyitbāy's] vices [*masāwā*] included [...] the cutting of several *jāmaḳiyyas* of a group from the *awlād al-nās*").

175 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:25, also 27.

kinds of vices (*masāwā*) had come together in his person and his face had been blackened by the multitude of injustices (*mazālim*).¹⁷⁶

The historical background to this master-narrative as well as to the strategic shifts in its discursive representation by Ibn Iyās manifests itself in the opening annals of the autograph's volume ten. In the annal for 914 (1508)—corresponding to the time when Ibn Iyās was writing volumes eight and nine of the *Badā'ī*—Ibn Iyās famously describes how he himself was directly affected by these endless challenges to the privileges of beneficiaries of royal income such as himself and other *awlād al-nās*. “I was among the group to whom this befell, and my *iqṭā'* was transferred to four [individuals] from the *mamlūks*”. However, Ibn Iyās explains also (at two different places in the text) how one year later he successfully petitioned the sultan “who supported me against the *mamlūks* who had taken my *iqṭā'*”, how he was given back his *iqṭā'* and how, in return, he wrote a panegyric *qaṣīda* for the sultan, which he allegedly presented to him “via a person of his favorites (*'alā yad shakhṣ min khawāṣṣihi*)”.¹⁷⁷ Much later in this volume, in the annal for 919/1513, a similar situation is narrated, with the addition of a surprising reference that explicitly connects this occasion too with this volume's particular version of the master-narrative of *awlād al-nās* distress, and that repeats the special bond that would have existed between the sultan, the author, and some of the *awlād al-nās*:

The rumor spread among the people that the sultan returned to one group of the *awlād al-nās* what had been taken from them from their *iqṭā'*s and [that he] promised to return shortly the *jāmakīyyas* that had been cut for the women and orphans by doing of the *atābak* Qayt al-Rajabī; this made me compose a precious *qaṣīda* for the sultan—may God the Sublime support him.¹⁷⁸

Eventually, in the final extant volume, during and after the descriptions of the Ottoman take-over in 922–3/1516–7, these contested relations of entitlement between *awlād al-nās* and their like and the powers that be, were—as demonstrated above—referenced even more intensely than before. At that time, however, the bad guys in Ibn Iyās' representations of these relations were no longer the sultan, the *atābak*, or the sultan's *mamlūks*, but rather “the administrators (*al-mubāshirūn*)”. Their actions against the *awlād al-nās* and related categories were now equally framed as “injustices” (*mazālim*). At one point in this volume's text, in the annal for 925/1519, a long list of their perceived crimes against the interests of the author's peers is even summarized in a story of the shipwreck and death of most leading “administrators” in Ottoman Egypt on their journey to

176 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:73.

177 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:136, 173.

178 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:321.

Istanbul. In this case, Ibn Iyās not only surveyed in detail “how case by case they had begun to open the gates of injustices (*abwāb al-maẓālīm*)”, even targeting the provisions (*rizaq*) “that were in the hands of the *awlād al-nās*, the women, and their like”, but he also tellingly added the Quranic verse that “those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned” (*saya‘lamu al-ladhīna ẓalamū ayya munqalabin yanqalibūna*) (Quran 26: 227), suggesting that these “administrators” had received nothing less than their due.¹⁷⁹ Eventually, the sultan is again presented in this volume of the *Badā’i* as the warrantor of justice and the savior of the financial interests of Ibn Iyās and the increasingly consciously represented socio-political group of his *awlād al-nās* peers. In the annal for the subsequent year 926/1520, it is reported that the Ottoman ruler Selīm (r. 1512–20) sent a *marsūm* in Turkish to his representative in Egypt, instructing him “to take good care of all the *awlād al-nās* and everyone who has a *jāma‘iyya* and to return to him what was cut (*bi-an yatawaṣṣā bi-awlād al-nās qāṭibatan wa-kull man lahu jāma‘iyya wa-quṭī‘at yarudduhā ilayhi*)”.¹⁸⁰

5 Concluding observations: fluidity, transformations, and *mamlūkization* in past and present

When Ibn Iyās, the self-proclaimed scion of one of “the renowned sons of the people”, was writing the later volumes of his chronicle in the 910s/1500s and 920s/1510s, he obviously had very clear and opinionated—even activist—ideas about who the *awlād al-nās* were, or rather who this combined term was meant to identify. Across the entire corpus of 7th/13th, 8th/14th, 9th/15th, and 10th/16th century historiographical texts, however, *awlād al-nās* meanings were far less clear-cut. Returning to the issues raised in Ulrich Haarmann’s survey chapter of *awlād al-nās* studies, published in 1998, we should even conclude that historiographical sources do not provide any simple, straightforward answers to his question of “when exactly this designation *awlād al-nās* began to be used and how it was delineated”.¹⁸¹ In fact, Haarmann’s final observations that the notion only refers to “an extremely volatile, mobile and not easily visible group”, and that this invisibility “impeded the formation of a tangible collective identity and of the resulting group solidarity”¹⁸² have proven very valuable and realistic ones to understand *awlād al-nās* occurrences in most of the sultanate’s historiographical record. They align with the empirical fact of a relative *awlād al-nās*

179 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:292.

180 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:353.

181 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 61.

182 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 83–4.

silence across this extensive textual corpus on the one hand and, on the other hand, with the equally factual reality that when the term *awlād al-nās* did occur, it did so across a much wider diversity of meaningful contexts than traditionally tends to be acknowledged. In other words, sporadic *awlād al-nās* occurrences in the many Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries from the 8th/14th, 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries display substantial differences in what social reality that occasional occurrence is meant to refer to. As demonstrated, these intended social realities range from non-*mamlūk* to *mamlūk* connections, from local Syrian leadership configurations to Egyptian stipendiary arrangements, from the vulnerability of young boys to aristocratic claims to high status, and from the anonymity of *ḥalqa* troopers to the prominent careers of high-ranking amirs.

This ambiguity of *awlād al-nās* meanings, however, was never a simple static fact, but rather the result of substantial semantic shifts over time. These shifts occurred most conspicuously in the course of the 9th/15th century, when some texts transformed the mid-8th/14th century reign of sultan Ḥasan into a new and meaningful historiographical point of *awlād al-nās* reference, and when unprecedented textual clusters of *mamlūkizing* *awlād al-nās* occurrences marked chronicle annals for the early 870s and early 920s. Eventually, these changes even seemed to culminate in proud identifications of “notable *awlād al-nās*” as well as in passionate argumentations in favor of the rights and interests of *awlād al-nās* and their likes. In the course of this process of semantic expansion and transformation, the *dīwān* context and its *mamlūkizing* relationships of royal payments and benefits as well as, increasingly, of effective military service came to represent the most significant framework for *awlād al-nās* occurrences in some contemporary texts from the later 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries. At the same time, the textual realities of contested interests in which most of these occurrences are situated, as well as the growing number of occurrences in contexts of elite obituaries and specific “incidents”, imply that these specific *mamlūkizing* relationships were not simply perceived as marginal manifestations of top-down processes of subordination and integration. These contested and yet expanding relationships rather appear as textual representations of an increasingly active—and in Ibn Iyās’ case self-conscious—participation of a relatively new and vaguely circumscribed social grouping, and also of particular lineages within that grouping, in the late sultanate’s central elite formation and leadership arrangements.¹⁸³

183 On these changing arrangements and new groups, mostly however represented as a growing body of mere “private” outsiders on the recipients’ end of the late sultanate’s disintegrating political economy, see also Nicolas Michel, “Les rizaq iḥbasiyya, terres agricoles en main-morte dans l’Égypte mamelouk et ottomane. Étude sur les Dafātir al-Aḥbās ottomans”, *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996), 105–98; Imad Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-ljtimā’i: taṭawwur al-ḥiyāza al-zirā’iyya zaman al-Mamlūk al-Jarākisa*, Cairo: ‘Ayn li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-

The substantial qualitative, quantitative, and discursive changes in the historiographical *awlād al-nās* occurrences that have been reviewed here, suggest indeed that neither *awlād al-nās* fluidity nor *awlād al-nās* shifts were random semantic phenomena. Rather, they were directly related to wider historical processes of social and cultural change. The almost deafening silence in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century texts of history illustrate a general irrelevance of *awlād al-nās*, as a historiographical signifier, to describe and identify any of this period's social groups and historical processes. As is well established by now, the sultanate's leadership in this era remained a substantially mixed one, eventually topped by the Qalāwūnid formation. Social differentiation on *awlād al-nās* grounds—whatever that may have meant—or based on *mamlūk* descent more in general clearly was of no consequence whatsoever in any representation of that dynastic formation or of its predecessors. Only Syrian scholars-historians took some more consistent interest in the *awlād al-nās* notion, but this happened for their own, very different, moral-didactic reasons.

The relative rise in *awlād al-nās* interest in the 9th/15th century and, especially, in the early 10th/16th century was generated first and foremost by the likes of Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī and Ibn Iyās. These “people’s sons” all similarly had their own very specific reasons to do so. In fact, the substantial semantic shifts of the 9th/15th century made *awlād al-nās* into an ever more meaningful concept for these authors to represent the social worlds that they tried to relate to through their writings. *Awlād al-nās* groups were now increasingly consciously represented as the rightful beneficiaries of royal favor in return for their own royal service, or for that of their fathers, of their grandfathers, or even of earlier forefathers. In due course, some individual *awlād al-nās* were even remembered as members of increasingly prominent lineages, eventually topped by the Khāṣṣbakīya family and its many royal connections. These ever more prominent *awlād al-nās* worlds, however, never similarly caught the attention of various other historians, from al-Maqrīzī to al-Sakhāwī, and the different discursive purposes to which Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī and Ibn Iyās put their strategic *awlād al-nās* references may have had a lot to do with an increasingly self-conscious need to express and support their and their peers’ very specific but continuously contested or even easily neglected claims and interests.

Whatever these specific discursive purposes, it is above all evident that these strategic *awlād al-nās* references hint at a direct connection with a conflict-

Buḥūth al-Insāniya wa-l-Ijtimā’iyya 2000; Adam A. Sabra, “Rise of a New Class”; Nelly Hanna, “Egyptian Civilian Society and Tax-Farming in the Aftermath of the Ottoman Conquest”, in: *Conquête ottomane de l’Égypte. Arrière-plan, impact, échos*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel, Leiden, Boston: Brill 2013, 211–23; Igarashi, *Land Tenure*.

ridden expansion of the ranks of active shareholders in the sultan's *dīwān* and court. These kinds of central elite expansions are typical of a process of pre-modern state formation, and of its inevitable centripetal dynamics.¹⁸⁴ Any further study of the perceptions (and social realities) of this integration of diversifying old and new groups—including *awlād al-nās*—in the later sultanate's central leadership arrangements should therefore also consider these transformations from the analytical perspective of state formation. In fact, some very inspiring parallels may be found in the formation of the early modern Ottoman state, and in the radical make-over of the organization of its leadership in the 17th and 18th centuries. This is especially true for the parallels between, on the one hand, 15th century representations of the sultan's *mamlūks* and their expanding ranks, through the royal *dīwān* and including with *awlād al-nās*, and, on the other hand, the early modern history of the janissary corps of the Ottoman sultan, which transformed, according to Baki Tezcan, into both “a heavyweight political actor in opposition to the court” and “one of the most visible sites for the infiltration of the subjects (*re'aye*) into the ruling strata (*askeri*) as ‘outsiders’”.¹⁸⁵

As for the *awlād al-nās*, it may be concluded that rather than merely representing a fluid contemporary concept or at most a useful heuristic device for modern researchers to engage with some of the complexity and diversity of the late medieval Syro-Egyptian social world, this combined term should evidently also be understood as a genuine social phenomenon and an effective identity, even as one of the later sultanate's more “visible sites” for outsiders' “infiltration into the ruling strata”. It should, however, always be thus understood with due consideration for the specific perspectives of Ibn Duqmāq, his peers, and their highly creative textual engagements with good rulership, justice and similarly powerful discursive layers and master-narratives. Not only do these engagements continue to mediate most of today's extant *awlād al-nās* representations, they also are the specific products of their own 9th/15th and early 10th/16th century contexts of the *mamlūkizing* royal *dīwān*, of the sultanate's contested integration of ever more social groups, and of these groups' hard-fought claims and interests.

184 See Jo Van Steenbergen, Patrick Wing and Kristof D'hulster, “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), 560–569; Jan Dumolyn and Jo Van Steenbergen, “Studying Rulers and States Across Fifteenth Century Western Eurasia”, in: *Trajectories of State Formation across Fifteenth-Century Islamic West-Asia—Eurasian Parallels, Connections and Divergences*, ed. Jo Van Steenbergen, Leiden: Brill 2020, 89–155, esp. 90–8.

185 Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire. Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010, 191–226 (quotes 199). For a preliminary identification of these interesting Ottoman parallels, see Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class”, 208, n. 19.

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Mamluk Descendants in Military Service: The *Ḥalqa*

Male Mamluk Descendants fulfilled diverse functions—according to their personal conditions and depending on the changing political and institutional environment—in the social life of the Mamluk Empire between 1250 and 1517. Which career opportunities were open to them and taken advantage of, over the course of time? Ulrich Haarmann showed in some studies that many sons of Mamluks not only reached military and administrative ranks, but also took part in economic life and played a role in culture and science.¹

Chronicles and prosopographies provide rich source material. Of course, the usefulness of these sources for quantitative analysis about the proportion of sons of Mamluks in various fields of activities is very limited. This is due to the subjective criteria used to select and assemble the material, which was determined by the professional background of the historians and biographers. Descendants of Mamluks, who wrote comments on the Koran, Ḥadīth writings or Arabic poems, are most likely to appear in this type of sources. If they reached a certain level in the military hierarchy, there is also a great chance to find information about them in the writings of contemporary historians in the context of political events or military history. But in their functions as landlords, founders, merchants and craftsmen, they appear in these genres quite randomly, such as in the writing of the historian and Mamluk descendant Ibn Iyās (d. 1524), who was the last historian of the Egyptian sultanate and incidentally reports that

1 Ulrich Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in: *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut 1984, 141–68; idem, “Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage. Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33/1 (1988), 81–114; idem, “Väter und Söhne im Herrschaftssystem der Mamluken (lecture from November 16, 1995)”, *Berliner Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft e.V.-Jahrbuch* (1995), 211–27, idem, “Joseph’s Law. The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge 1998, 55–84. See furthermore Donald P. Richards, “Mamluk Amirs and their Families and Households”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge 1998, 32–54.

his brother was the weapon master (*zardakāsh*) of the citadel.² It is a blessing for our knowledge about the participation of the sons and grandsons of Mamluks in the economic life of the Sultanate that the archives, even though hesitantly, are now opening their doors. Although we have a large number of different sources at our disposal, there is an even larger problem. The sons of Mamluks rarely have a voice, there is only very little autobiographical material. In this respect, our portrayal remains descriptive; we depend on the reports *about* the Mamluk descendants. This shortcoming has to be kept in mind in perusing the following presentation of the career possibilities of the sons of Mamluks in their specially-created military unit (*ḥalqa*).

1 Military Service

The state-military institution of the Mamluk empire that is most closely connected to the Mamluk descendants is the *ḥalqa* or *al-ḥalqa al-manṣūra*. The extension *al-manṣūra* (“victorious”)—this should be noted—is an *epitheton ornans*, which is omnipresent throughout the entire Mamluk period,³ hence it was not limited to the early days⁴ or the first century of Mamluk rule.⁵ The *ḥalqa* was the section of the Mamluk army, in which the sons of Mamluks were able—up to the final period of the sultanate—to pursue a career and purchase benefices according to the conventions of their time. An undated document from

2 Reference by Mohamed Mostafa, “Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens zur Zeit der türkischen Eroberung”, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 89 (1935), 194–224, here 217–8. For Ibn Iyās, see now Anna Kollatz’s “Habilitation”: A Window to the Past?: Tracing Ibn Iyās’s Narrative Ways of Worldmaking. Unpubl. University of Bonn, 2021.

3 In the foundation deed of al-Sharafī Yahyā b. Tūghān al-Ḥasanī from 1457 (cf. Amīn, Muḥammad M., *Catalogue des documents d’archives du Caire de 853 à 1516*, Cairo 1981, 133–4, # 428 calls the founder *aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa al-manṣūra* in line 3. See therefor also Stephan Conermann and Souad Saghbini, “Awlād al-nās as Grantors of Pious Foundations: The waqfiyah of Yahyā ibn Tūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 21–50 and Stephan Conermann and Lucian Reinfandt, “Anmerkungen zu einer mamlūkischen waqf-Urkunde aus dem 9./15. Jahrhundert”, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Mamlūkenzeit. Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam, Schenefeld 2003, 179–238.

4 Stephen Humphreys, “The Emergence of the Mamlūk Army”, *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977), 67–99, here 82–3.

5 David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army II”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15, 3 (1953), 448–476, here 449; idem, “From Ayyubids to Mamluks”, *Revue des études islamiques* 49, 1 (1981), 43–57, here 52–3. On Ayalon see Mathieu Eychenne, “David Ayalon et l’historiographie de l’armée mamelouke”, in: *La guerre dans le Proche-Orient medieval: État de la question, lieux communs, nouvelles approches*, ed. Mathieu Eychenne and Abbés Zouache, Cairo 2015, 143–77. A list of his works can be found at Reuven Amitai, David Ayalon, 1914–1998, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 31 (1999), 1–12.

Heidelberg,⁶ for example, proves to be a request (for the extension of a fief (*iqṭāʾ*), so that liabilities to the administrator of the benefice can be discharged) of someone, who was not only a member of the “victorious *ḥalqa*”, but according to internal evidence (the father of the applicant is already introduced as a *muqṭaʾ*), very likely also the son of a Mamluk.

1.1 Emergence

The origins and early history of the *ḥalqa* under the Ayyubids (including the linguistic background of the term “ring[troop]”⁷ have not yet been studied in detail. Preliminary works as well as critical editions of important sources are still lacking. This much, however, can be said: The *ḥalqa* emerges for the first time as an elite troop or ruler’s guard⁸ under Saladin (d. 1193) or his nephew Tūrānshāh (d. 1180) in the year 1174⁹ and then is mentioned several times in connection with Saladin’s siege of ‘Akkā in the year 1191.¹⁰ The soldiers of the *al-ḥalqa al-khāṣṣa* or *al-ḥalqa (al-maṣṣūra) al-sulṭāniyya*¹¹ fought under the direct command of the sultan.

According to the current state of research, we then hear about the *ḥalqa* again as late as the beginning of al-Malik al-Kāmil’s (r. 1218–1238) reign. During the siege of Damietta by the crusaders, ‘Alam al-Dīn Shamā’il,¹² al-Malik al-Kāmil’s

6 Cf. Werner Diem, *Arabische Briefe auf Papyrus und Papier aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Wiesbaden 1991, 86–98, # 16. In the document, the reference to the father, who had already taken the same agent (*wakīl*) into service, is in line 10 recto, cf. here 87, 89 and 91.

7 A documented comparison of the two common interpretations: *ḥalqa*, “ring” = (a) “ring-troop”, thus, bodyguard (Étienne Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, Paris 1845, part I/2, 200–2), and (b) “nach türkisch-nomadischer Manier den Gegner einkreisende Einheit” (A. N. Poliak, “The Influence of Chinkiz-Khān’s Yāsa upon the General Organization of the Mamlūk State”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10,4 (1942), 862–876, here 871–2) can be found in Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 448, note 1, and idem, “Ḥālqa”, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 3: *H-Iram*, Leiden 1971, I. 99a.

8 Not necessarily bodyguard in the narrow sense, cf. Humphreys, *Emergence*, 83.

9 Hamilton A. R. Gibb, “The Armies of Saladin”, in: idem, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk, Boston 1962, 74–90, here 74 and 85, note 8. Cf. also Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 448, and Humphreys, *Emergence*, 82. Gibb points out that it is not clear from the textual evidence whether the term *ḥalqa* refers to Saladin or to the leader of the Yemen campaign in 1174, Tūrānshāh.

10 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 448–9 (Reference to al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk li-maʿrifat al-mulūk* vol. 1, 122: 6–7); Humphreys, *Emergence*, 82.

11 About these terms cf. also Poliak, *Influence*, 872.

12 Highly honoured, he had the *khizānat Shamā’il*, named after him, built in Cairo next to the Bāb Zuwayla. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-jāmiʾ al-ghurar*. Volume 7: *al-Durr al-maṭlūb fī akhbār mulūk Banī-Aiyūb*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Fattāḥ ʿAshūr, Cairo 1972, 201: 1–2 Q. As we learn from al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʾiz wal-iṭibār fī dhikr khitāt athār*, ed. Gaston Wiet, 5 vols., Cairo 1911–24, here vol. 2, 187, in one of its most poignant passages, this building

foolhardy Syrian guardsman (*jandār*) manages, by swimming and diving between the enemies' blockade ships, to enter the city and to deliver important information to the besieged. At first, the grateful sultan appoints him a *bardadār* (personal adjutant?), then—equipped with the appropriate fief (*iqṭāʾ*)—a warrior (*jundī*) in his retinue (*ʿudda*) and finally, a commander (*muqaddam*) in the royal *ḥalqa*. Years later, after returning to Egypt, Shamāʾil eventually achieved an even higher promotion, namely to governor of Cairo and the *amīr* of a *ṭablkhāna*-contingent,¹³ which consisted of forty cavalymen (*ṭawāshī*).¹⁴ So, a *taqdima* in the *ḥalqa* was a high, although not the highest, award for especially deserving warriors under the rule of al-Malik al-Kāmil. It seems to have been a—certainly highly endowed—sinecure. In this way, at least, can the comment, which the chronicler included in the report about Shamāʾil's promotion to commander of the *ḥalqa*, be interpreted: “Nevertheless, he continued to stand by the Sultan in word and deed with full commitment” (*wa-huwa maʿa dhālik wāqif ʿalā qadam al-ijtihād fī l-khidma wa-ʿl-munāṣaḥa*).¹⁵

Under the rule of al-Kāmil's two sons, we repeatedly hear of *ḥalqa*-guardsmen,¹⁶ who were commanded by eunuchs (*al-khuddām muqaddamīn [sic] al-ḥalqa*). Eunuchs received high rank in the Ayyubid system, as well as under their predecessors.¹⁷ It was eunuch *ḥalqa*-colonels, who arrested al-ʿĀdil II Abū Bakr (r. 1238–1240) against the resistance of his Kurdish supporters,¹⁸ and brought his half-brother al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (r. 1240–1249) in his place to Cairo;¹⁹ then getting

became one of the most notorious prisons in Egypt. Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–21), who had languished in it, had it demolished and built his own *madrasa* on the very same spot.

13 The witness for this tradition is Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, 200: 10 to 201:2. Ayalon, *Ayyubids*, 55, considers it possible that Ibn al-Dawādārī succumbed to a Mamluk anachronism in his use of the term (*amīr*) *ṭablkhāna* (201:1). Humphreys has the *imārat ṭablkhāna* begin only under the early al-Zāhir Baybars (1262), cf. Stephen Humphreys, “The Emergence of the Mamlūk Army (Conclusion)”, *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977), 147–182, here 168.

14 On *ṭawāshī* in the meaning of “[horse]rider” (*fāris*) under the Ayyubids, cf. Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 464–7; Ayalon, *Ayyubids*, 55.

15 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 7, 200: 17–8.

16 Humphreys does not have them return until near the end of al-Ṣāliḥ's sultanate; cf. Humphreys, *Emergence*, 82.

17 Detailed research on the status of eunuchs among the Ayyubids is still lacking. Cf. David Ayalon, “The Eunuchs in the Mamluk Sultanate”, in: *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 267–95; idem, “On the Eunuchs in Islam”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), 67–124; idem, “On the Term Khadim in the Sense of ‘Eunuch’ in the Early Muslim Sources”, *Arabica* 32 (1985), 289–308; idem, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study of Power Relationships*, Jerusalem 1999; and Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society*, New York 1995.

18 al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique des Ayyoubides (602–658/1205/6–1259/60)*, ed. and trans. by Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Micheau Paris 1994, Arabic text, 147: 24–26, French translation 62.

19 Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique*, Arabic text, 151: 26, French translation, 69.

arrested themselves in the subsequent violent riots in Egypt.²⁰ They had thus broken away from direct dependence on their master and had become an autonomous power factor, reminiscent of the Mamluk regiments. There is no question of a peaceful retired existence, to which the Emir Shamā'il's *taqdima* in the *ḥalqa* would have entitled him. The ca. 800–1000 men of the Baḥriyya, who was systematically built up by al-Ṣāliḥ, as well as the Jamdāriyya (which was possibly a part of the Baḥriyya),²¹ the small bodyguard, which consisted of 200 recruited men, both Mamluk-Kipchak elite corps, can be considered natural competitors or successors of the traditional Ayyubid *ḥalqa*.²² This, of course, never completely escaped the grasp of the ruler. In the conflict with the Syrian Ayyubids in the year 1247 the sultan was again at their vanguard.²³ And in the battle between al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's son al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh (r. 1249–50) and the Baḥriyya, the *ḥalqa* sided with the young Ayyubid ruler and lost this important fight badly.²⁴

1.2 From the Ayyubid to the Mamluk period

Therefore, the starting conditions for the old Ayyubid *ḥalqa* were not good, when, of all things, their competitors from within the sultan's entourage filled the political power vacuum at the highest echelon of the state, caused by the assassination of al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh in 1250. In this regard, it was by no means obvious (at least from the perspective of later developments) that the *ḥalqa* would be able to hold its own as a numerically and logistically significant component of the army during the coming decades, in competition with the system-supporting, actually Mamluk ones, namely the sultan's Mamluks and the subordinate emir's Mamluks. Their solid and self-evident place in the Mamluk military system found expression not least in the fact that in the new Mamluk military hierarchy, the holder of the highest rank was called not only *amīr mi'a* (= commander of a hundred Mamluk mounted soldiers) but also *muqaddam alf* (= commander of a

20 Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique*, Arabic text, 153: 9–10, French translation, 72.

21 Therefor, see Estelle Whelan, "Representations of the Khāṣṣakiyah and the Origins of the Mamluk Emblems", in: *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. P. P. Soucek, University Park and London 1988, 219–43, here 225 and 238b, note 47 (with important evidence of a personal union of several emirs in membership and leadership in both entities).

22 Rightly against Humphreys—Ayalon, *Ayyubids*, 52. Humphreys, *Emergence*, 98, still considers the affiliation of the Baḥriyya to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's *ḥalqa* possible. Incidentally, he compares the *ḥalqa* and the Baḥriyya in their function as elite corps, cf. Humphreys, *Emergence (Conclusion)*, 147.

23 Humphreys, *Emergence*, 98.

24 Ayalon, *Ayyubids*, 52.

thousand *ḥalqa* soldiers, though only in times of war).²⁵ On official occasions *ḥalqa*-soldiers retained a place of honour next to the Mamluk Baḥriyya.²⁶ Their commanders were important state functionaries; some of them served the sultan as ambassadors to the Empire of the Golden Horde or as companions of high-ranking visitors from there²⁷ and thus fulfilled functions, which were usually the preserve of the Mamluk bodyguards (*khāṣṣakiyya*).²⁸ Mamluks, even Mamluk emirs, can be found in the *ḥalqa* in the first period of Mamluk rule, in fact not only as commanders, but occasionally also as soldiers.²⁹ In the second major battle with the Mongols, which was fought and won by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 1279–90) in 1281 at Ḥimṣ,³⁰ the sultan, who stood in the middle (*qalb*) of the army behind the vanguard (*jālīsh*), was not only surrounded by 800 royal Mamluks, but also by 4000 soldiers of his own *ḥalqa*. Also in the right wing, and probably in the left wing³¹ too, *ḥalqa*-soldiers fought in this battle under the leadership of high-ranking generals against the invading Ilkhanid army.³²

The *ḥalqa* adapted to the new circumstances. After all, they had already proved their flexibility in Ayyubid times. Under Baybars (r. 1260–77), it became the preferred institution for gathering and provisioning non-Mamluk military personnel who, as freemen (claiming inheritance of their commands and sinecures by their sons),³³ could not easily be integrated into actual Mamluk units. But the sultans urgently relied on the combat power of these free warriors. First and foremost, among them were the so-called *wāfidiyya* (“immigrants”), Turko-Mongol tribal fighters, often of mature age, who had defected to the Mamluks from the Ilkhans’ territory and were greatly welcome because of their combat experience and their knowledge of the Mamluks’ main adversary, the Tatars. While their commanders were assigned to the second- and third-highest Mamluk ranks (never the highest) under Baybars, the great mass of these “arrivals” (under al-Zāhir Baybars a reported three thousand came, and under al-‘Ādil Kitbughā (r. 1294–96)—as many as ten to eighteen thousand mounted soldiers from the

25 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army* II, 467–8.

26 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army* II, 449.

27 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army* II, 449–50. Cf. Karl Wilhelm Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hīgra nach arabischen Handschriften*, Leiden 1919, 161:5–6 (two anonymous *ḥalqa*-commanders at Uzbak, the Mamluk-allied Khan of the Golden Horde); 161:14–16 (a Mamluk emir of 40 and an *ibn al-nās*, both *ḥalqa*-commanders, accompany Uzbek’s envoys; on the latter see also below).

28 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army* II, 449–50; idem, *Ḥalka*, I. 99a.

29 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army* II, 449–50.

30 On this in detail, see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks. The Mamlūk-Ilkhānīd War, 1260–1281*, Cambridge 1995, 179–201. Cf. also Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army* II, 451.

31 On the division of the cavalry army into the centre and the two wings see also Poliak, *Influence*, 871.

32 Cf. the battle plan at Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols*, 192.

33 Cf. Humphreys, *Emergence (Conclusion)*, 164.

east) were integrated into the *ḥalqa*.³⁴ But prominent Mamluk descendants, too, found their place in the *ḥalqa*. In 1314, during the major reforms under al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1293–1294, 1299–1309 and 1310–1341), for example, we find one of them, namely Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Šārū, accompanying the ambassadors from the Golden Horde, an ally of the Mamluks, as *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*,³⁵ together with a Mamluk emir of forty.³⁶

I think that in the dispute³⁷ between David Ayalon and Stephen Humphreys about the continued existence of the Ayyubid *ḥalqa*, or rather, about its re-establishment by Baybars, a compromise offers itself, whereby it should be considered that new text findings can change this balance again. With Ayalon,³⁸ I am convinced that the Ayyubid *ḥalqa*, as a unit attached to the sultan, survived the beginning of the *dawla turkiyya* not only in name³⁹ but also in substance, so that we have no reason to postulate with Humphreys that the Mamluk *ḥalqa* was completely recreated by Baybars under the old Ayyubid term, specifically to supply his free military as a second-class army unit.⁴⁰ Like Humphreys, however, I see its clear second-class status in comparison with the sultans' and emirs' Mamluks during the decades before the military and land reform of 1315, with which the decline of the *ḥalqa* was to become obvious and final. We should not overestimate the caesura of the *rawk al-Nāṣirī* (see below).

Money and the power of command, not any ceremonial (although the above-mentioned functions as emissaries of the ruler could very well serve to make the humiliating loss of power more bearable) are the decisive criteria for comparing between the status of the privileged Mamluk units and the *ḥalqa*. According to later texts (whose statements should, of course, be read sceptically), the highest Mamluk general commanded one thousand soldiers, while the *muqaddam al-ḥalqa* commanded a mere forty, and the latter's command was limited to the time of actual military campaigns.⁴¹ The fiefs were measured accordingly.

34 On the *wāfidiyya* under the Mamluks see David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom", *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951), 89–104, here 89–94, 98–104.

35 Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 161:15–6.

36 Called Sayf al-Dīn Urūj, *amīr ṭablkhāna*.

37 A short summary of this dispute is offered in Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History. The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)*, Leiden 1995, 8–9, note 14.

38 Ayalon, *Ayyubids*, 50–7.

39 The meagre *tertium comparationis* between the Ayyubid and Mamluk *ḥalqa* (and the reason for the name *ḥalqa* being used twice in such different contexts) was essentially the close ties common to both to the ruler by whom they were chosen and in whose service they were, cf. Humphreys, *Emergence (Conclusion)*, 163.

40 Humphreys, *Emergence*, 68, 82–3; idem, *Emergence (Conclusion)*, 148, 162–5. His thesis of the recreation of the *ḥalqa* is to be found *ibid.*, 164.

41 Cf. Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 450 and note 7 with references to texts from the 15th century.

It has not yet been analysed in detail which group of people, and with which privileges, received a *taqdima* in the *ḥalqa* in the second half of the 13th century. The evidence in the sources is also rarely sufficiently informative. In the writings of contemporary authors such as Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 1335) or the Anonymous in Zetterstéen, which Ayalon has documented,⁴² unspecific plurals such as “emirs and *ḥalqa* commanders” repeatedly come up. In any case, the true Mamluk status (native pagan and Turk) was not a requirement for such leadership positions; proof is provided by one of the two companions of the ambassadors from the Volga presented above, an Mamluk descendant (the other was a true Mamluk emir).

1.3 A case study: ‘Abdallāh b. Aybak al-Dawādārī

A probably not untypical commander’s career in the *ḥalqa* of this period before the two army and land reforms under Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Manṣūr Lājīn (r. 1296–99) and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad will be briefly presented. The example is ‘Abdallāh b. Aybak al-Dawādārī (d. 1313), son (?) and son-in-law of a Mamluk and father of the well-known chronicler.⁴³ ‘Abdallāh, who in his younger years served Dawādār Balabān al-Rūmī⁴⁴ (killed at Ḥimṣ in 1281), the chief of intelligence (*umūr al-quṣṣād wa’l-jawāsīs wa’l-mukātabāt*) under al-Zāhir Baybars (d. 1277) and al-Sa’id Berke Khān (d. 1266), is known to us in 1278 as a major Cairo merchant in foodstuffs (*inter alia* beans),⁴⁵ and must have been given a fief and office in the Mamluk administration around this time, under the sultanate of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 1279–1290).⁴⁶ Under al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 1290–1293) he was promoted—while simultaneously increasing his *iqṭā’* by 500 dīnār—to the position of *muqaddam* in the *ḥalqa*.⁴⁷ It is in this function that we encounter him during Kitbughā’s brief reign, in the company of the *ḥalqa* soldiers under his command, doing entrenchment work in al-Jīza.⁴⁸ The viceroy (and later sultan)

42 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 450, note 3.

43 On the disputed sonship of ‘Abdallāh by Aybak al-Mu‘azzamī (d. 1248–9 or 1249–50), the lord of Ṣarkhad in the Ḥawrān, cf. Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1970, 63–66. On ‘Abdallāh’s father-in-law Böri Bilçik, see below.

44 Cf. al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān*, vol. 4, 107.

45 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-jāmi’ al-ghurar*, volume 8: *al-Durra al-zakiyya fī akhbār al-Dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann, Cairo 1971, 226:8–11.

46 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-jāmi’ al-ghurar*, volume 9: *al-Durr al-fākhīr fī sirat al-malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Hans-Robert Römer, Cairo 1960, 117: 6–7.

47 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, 349: 4–5.

48 Gunhild Graf, *Die Epitome der Universalchronik Ibn al-Dawādārīs im Verhältnis zur Langfassung. Eine quellenkritische Studie zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Mamluken*, Berlin 1990, Arabic text, 93–5; German translation, 226–7.

al-Manṣūr Lājīn, who was charged with supervising these activities, complained that ‘Abdallāh did not, as was common, lend a hand in the ruler’s earthworks and carry baskets of excavated earth, whereupon the accused referred to his three diligent sons, who struggled with greater or lesser burdens depending on their age. This apparently reconciled or even shamed Lājīn, related by marriage to ‘Abdallāh’s Kipchak wife through the latter’s family,⁴⁹ so he subsequently ordered father and sons into the ruler’s tent and gave the boys (the eldest was then 19 years old; the youngest, the chronicler, born in 1289,⁵⁰ under eight) three fiefs of their own in his *ḥalqa* force. The family obviously lived well on this income until the *rawk al-Ḥusāmī*, which was decisive for the further history of the *ḥalqa*. In the meantime, Lājīn himself had become sultan. In the course of Lājīn’s *rawk* in the spring of 1298—to end the story—‘Abdallāh’s and his sons’ *iqṭā’s* were confiscated and replaced by a tiny petty fief (*abkhās al-akhbāz*), supposedly (according to the personally involved historian Ibn al-Dawādārī) because the manager of this land reform, Lājīn’s deputy Mankūtimur, whom we will hear from later, envied and deeply disapproved at the time of the spontaneous granting of a fief to a family member related by marriage.⁵¹

What is remarkable about this case is the close connection between administrative (not necessarily military) duties and economic enterprise in the context of a career as *ḥalqa*-colonel, which was already practiced here some time before 1315, before al-Nāṣir’s reforms. And in another respect, too, customs apply that are usually dated only to the time of the decline of the *ḥalqa*, in particular, the

49 The term is *muṣāhara*, cf. Graf, *Epitome*, 93:15 (Arabic text), 226 (German translation). Regarding the family relationship mentioned: Lājīn had, when he himself was still a common soldier (*jundī*), married ‘Anbā Khatūn, a freed slave of Bōri Biljik, Ibn al-Dawādārī’s Kipchak grandfather on his mother’s side, circumstances that possibly—so Ibn al-Dawādārī hints—strained the relationship between Lājīn and ‘Abdallāh al-Dawādārī; cf. Graf, *Epitome*, 93:15–94:3. On the name Bōri Biljik, cf. the further information in Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 62, note 2; cf. also Ulrich Haarmann, “Altun Khān und Čingiz Khān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken”, *Der Islam* 51 (1974), 1–36.

50 Graf, *Epitome*, Arabic text, 86:8–9; German translation, 218.

51 ‘Abdallāh’s further career remained respectable despite this setback. From 1299–1300 to 1310–1, i.e. during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s second reign, he took over the administration of the strategically important north-eastern Egyptian province of Sharqiyya, cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 9, p.114:1ff. Later, less important postings followed in Syria, cf. the information in Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 69, and Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography. An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn*, Wiesbaden 1970, 11. The fact that the family did not fare entirely badly after 1315 may also have been largely due to its good relations with al-Malik al-Nāṣir’s army inspector, the Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1332), who had organized the *rawk al-Nāṣirī* for the sultan; on the latter cf. Ulrich Haarmann, “Der Schatz im Haupte des Götzen”, in: *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1979, 198–229, 205.

abuse of *ḥalqa* fiefs as sinecures for individuals—without consideration for the army and the state—to whom one wanted to do something good out of gratitude, personal attachment, or simple pity.

For the latter behaviour, the granting of *ḥalqa*-privileges to certain groups of people solely out of *esprit de corps*, loyalty, and generosity, there was a well-known example. Much to the displeasure of his viceroy Ṭurunṭāy, Sultan Qalāwūn had the descendants of his departed companions from the Baḥriyya-regiment⁵² (*awlād al-baḥriyya*) ceremonially presented at the gates of the citadel with robes, monetary grants, and weapons, but above all with membership and fiefs in the *ḥalqa* (*akhbāz fī l-ḥalqa al-manṣūra*), however socially and economically impoverished they might have been. He would not have expected any military recompense noteworthy for the state from these fellows who, let there be no doubt, did not know how to fight. Qalāwūn's behaviour (he went so far as to call this motley bunch "Baḥriyya" after their great fathers)⁵³ deeply disturbed Mamluk contemporaries like Ṭurunṭāy.⁵⁴ The latter hated the Mamluk descendants, probably because he saw in them potential saboteurs and at the same time—sturdy profiteers from the true Mamluk order, in which only the genuine Mamluks, who entered the system from the outside, were supposed to make a career.⁵⁵ The chronicler Ibn al-Dawādārī, on the other hand, who includes this account in his necrology of Sultan Qalāwūn, saw—and was obliged to see—this quite differently from Ṭurunṭāy. For he himself was the grandson of a member of the Baḥriyya regiment; his grandfather Kiritlī al-Qifjāqī, had come to Egypt from the Qipchaq.⁵⁶ For Ibn al-Dawādārī, this act of generosity on the part of Qalāwūn understandably had to be counted among the great *maḥāsin* of the deceased, even though the historian himself might not have benefited directly from it because of his maternal lineage.

52 About this important unit and its role in the history of the early sultanate, cf. David Ayalon, "Le régiment Bahriya dans l'armée mamelouke", *Revue des études islamiques* 19 (1951), 133–41, passim; idem, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks. Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamluk Sultanate", *Tārīkh* 1 (1990), 3–53, here 24–31.

53 See therefor, the important comment by Ayalon, *Baḥrī Mamlūks*, 28–30. Ayalon was the first to translate and comment on this important document on the history of the *awlād al-nās*.

54 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, 303:7–11. Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 8, note 14, names as further sources al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* and Ibn Taghribirdīs *Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira* (ed. W. Popper, 16 vols. Cairo 1936–70).

55 Ayalon, *Baḥrī Mamlūks*, 29.

56 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, 25:17–19 (the author apologetically emphasizes that this grandfather was a good Muslim and had good manners despite his membership in this famous regiment, that was also notorious for its ruthlessness); cf. also 31:4. Cf. also Graf, *Epitome*, 93:15–6 (Arabic text) and 226 (German translation).

1.4 The land reforms under Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Manṣūr Lājīn (*al-rawk al-Ḥusāmī*) and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (*al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*)

Let us return to Lājīn and Mankūtīmur. The despicable confiscation of ‘Abdallāh al-Dawādārī’s family fief was not personal chicanery, as the historian saw it, but the consequence of a broad initiative to strengthen the *ḥalqa* force in terms of numbers. Thanks to a drastic reduction in the individual *iqṭā*’s of each feudal recipient, whether Mamluk emir or *jundī* in the *ḥalqa*, it should be possible to provide for numerous new soldiers. A first, very obvious step in this reform was possibly (the sources are not explicit about this) the identification of downright unproductive fiefs that could be trimmed (or even discarded)—such as those of the al-Dawādārī family, although it was irrelevant that Lājīn himself had endowed them at the time. The funds saved in this blanket reduction of the *iqṭā*’s (a total of 9/24 [*qīrāt*] of the lands of Egypt) were to be made available to new *ḥalqa* fighters (*ajnad al-ḥalqa*). Thus, the *ḥalqa* as a whole was not supposed to be weakened in favour of the sultan’s Mamluks,⁵⁷ but on the contrary, to be strengthened anew after a phase of decline.⁵⁸ For large parts of the *ḥalqa* fiefs had in the meantime been alienated from their original purpose; many free cavalry soldiers of the *ḥalqa* had placed their small fiefs under the protection (*ḥimāya*) of powerful Mamluk emirs, who had their own administrative apparatus, and who in return received a portion of their income.⁵⁹ In this way, some *iqṭā*’s of *jundīs* had fallen entirely into the hands of the respective “protector”. This creeping mediatisation of the petty fiefs was now prohibited in the *rawk al-Ḥusāmī*; from now on, the emirs of hundreds were no longer to be allowed to “protect” the *iqṭā*’s of the *ḥalqa* cavalymen they commanded.⁶⁰

57 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 451.

58 Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den Mamlukischen Lehensregistern. Volume 1: Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, Wiesbaden 1979, 19.

59 Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341*, London 1972, 52; Halm, *Oberägypten*, 17 and 23, note 2 with a detailed listing of the sources.

60 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 88:5–10 (cited by A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900*, London 1930, 25). If this reform had succeeded—al-Maqrīzī claimed—and if effective limits had been placed at that time on the *ḥimāya*’s unruliness, the de facto omnipotence of the Mamluk great commanders over their subjects, Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, who vehemently defended the Mamluks and all their encroachments against the criticism of his contemporaries on principle, could hardly have included this “protection” of the subjects, of all things, in the list of the merits of the Turkish authorities at the end of the 15th century. On the reasons for this behaviour, see Ulrich Haarmann, “Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs’. Changing ‘Ulamā’ Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century”, *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988), 61–77; cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, *Duwal al-islām*, 124: 3–11; see also the commentary by Ṣubḥī Labīb in his German introduction to *Duwal al-islām (Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsīs Traktat über die Segnungen, die die Türken dem Land Ägypten gebracht haben*, ed. Subhi Labib and Ulrich Haarmann, Beirut 1997), 14.

But it did not come to that. The intended linear cut in the *iqṭāʿ*s in the *rawk al-Ḥusāmī* provoked fierce resistance from all concerned, emirs and *ḥalqa* soldiers. A rebellion broke out, in the wake of which both the sultan and the particularly hated vice-sultan Mankūtimur were assassinated. The reform not only came to nothing, but even turned into its opposite. The planned establishment of a “new” *ḥalqa*, free of any ties to powerful emirs, never took place. The emirs helped themselves to the nine (or four)⁶¹ *qīrāt*, which were intended for it. Nothing or little remained for the old *ḥalqa* soldiers.

The army and land reform (*al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*) initiated fifteen years later, in 1313–4, in Syria and then in 1315 in Egypt by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn was to be more permanent. The main motive was the effort of the young sultan, who had ascended the sultanic throne for the third time and was still afraid of the Burjiyya, his main adversaries, to cut back the lush fiefs of the Mamluk and non-Mamluk (*ḥāshiya*) retainers of his predecessor Baybars (II) al-Jāshnīr (r. 1309–10)⁶² without giving this still powerful group cause for open revolt.⁶³ Thus, he proposed a general reform, which served the additional purpose of increasing al-Malik al-Nāṣir's own crown lands (*khāṣṣ*, *khāṣṣ al-sulṭān*) in his capacity as sultan and thus his personal independence, which had become essential to his survival during the years of being pushed back and forth between throne and exile.

Informed by the experience of his unfortunate predecessor Lājīn, who had hesitated too long in implementing his plans, al-Malik al-Nāṣir acted quickly and uncompromisingly. Under the direction of his army inspector (*nāṣir al-jaysh*) Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh, all of Egypt was resurveyed and registered; subsequently, as *octroi* and without any real possibility of objection, new diplomas were issued to those entitled to fiefs, the tax value of which had been determined more or less arbitrarily and which was usually far below the amount to which the *muqṭaʿ* in question had previously been entitled. Connected feudal territories were torn apart (supposedly at the instigation of Coptic administrators) and replaced by several smaller tax districts (*jihāt*), often widely separated from one another—with all the additional economic and administrative costs that this fragmentation had for the individual *muqṭaʿ*. Ten *qīrāt*, so over 40% of the taxed Egyptian land, now became crown land, including entire provinces such as al-Jīza and Manfalūṭ, which had apparently previously been in

61 Halm, *Oberägypten*, 21.

62 Ayalon, *Bahri Mamlūks*, 37–8.

63 “But he shied away from simply collecting the fiefs of these people”, Halm, *Oberägypten*, 25, translates the relevant passage in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawāʿiz wal-iṭibār fī dhikr al-khiṭāʾ wal-athār* (2 vols., Bülāq 1853–4, here vol. 1, 87–91).

the possession of the Circassian Burjiyya⁶⁴ under Baybars II. The *rawk* did not stop with the mostly drastic reduction of the fiefs of the previous beneficiaries. Material privileges that had long been taken for granted, namely the obligatory gifts of hospitality from the peasants to their feudal lords,⁶⁵ were from now on also counted against the nominal yield (*ihra*) of the *iqṭaʿ* and reduced revenues even more. The main sufferers from this reform were the *jundīs* in the *ḥalqa*, and the main beneficiaries—in addition to the sultan himself—were the sultan's Mamluks, who at that time received their own *iqṭaʿ*s for the first time (as compensation for the cut in financial contribution), if Halm's assumption⁶⁶ is correct.

All the sources agree that the cuts in the *ḥalqa* soldiers' *iqṭaʿ*s were particularly dramatic. If the *rawk al-Ḥusāmī* had already been "an extremely negative initiative (*ḥaraka shanʿa ilā ʿl-ghāya*) and the cause of the weakening of the Egyptian army, but especially of the *ḥalqa*",⁶⁷ their social and material decline became proverbial after the *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*.⁶⁸ The *jundī* with the splendid armament, the silver-studded saddle, and the one thousand dinars in his leather pouch,⁶⁹ who we encounter in Ibn al-Dawādārī's Universal Chronicle from the first third of the 14th century, is certainly a witness of the good old days before 1315, if it is a *ḥalqa* cavalryman and not a Mamluk.⁷⁰ "The *ḥalqa* soldiers suffered terribly and could not even buy food for themselves and their families", states the Christian historian Mufaḍḍal b. Abī ʿl-Faḍāʾil.⁷¹ Although the *ḥalqa* remained numerically significant after the *rawk al-Nāṣirī*—Ayalon, citing al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442),⁷² mentions the number of 8,932 *ḥalqa* cavalymen—the force's appeal

64 On the "regiment" founded by Sultan Qalāwūn and named after its quartering place in the towers (*burj*, *abrāj*) of the Cairo citadel Burjiyya (on the contestability of this term as a translation for *ṭāʾifa* see Ayalon, *Baḥrī Mamlūks*, 24) and its peak of power during the second sultanate of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and the brief reign of Baybars al-Jashnukr cf. Ayalon, *Baḥrī Mamlūks*, 36–7, but also idem, "The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949), 135–47, here 137b–138a.

65 *Hadiyya* and *ḍiyāfa*; cf. also Rabie, *Financial System*, 54.

66 Halm, *Oberägypten*, 29.

67 Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 45: 18–9. Cf. also the reference in Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 452, note 2.

68 Cf. Halm, *Oberägypten*, 28, the anecdote of the impoverished *ḥalqa* knight, transmitted in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭāṭ*.

69 The Arabic text and German translation of this miracle story handed down by Ibn al-Dawādārī in the first volume of his universal chronicle *Kanz al-Durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar* (the aforementioned *jundī* is bitten to death by a viper sitting in the ear of the Sphinx of Giza when he tries to expose as a lie and deception the call mysteriously made to a poor man from the Fayyūm to lift a treasure from the ear of the Sphinx) can be found at Haarmann, *Schatz*, 203–4 (German translation) and 225:9–226:6 (Arabic text).

70 On the possible confusion of the terms *jundī*, "simple Mamluk", and *ajnad*, "*ḥalqa* soldiers", cf. Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 467, note 5.

71 Cf. Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 106 and note 126.

72 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, vol. 2, 218:8. Cf. David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army III", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954), 57–90, here 71.

was gone. A hundred years later, this number had already been reduced to 1,000, one-ninth of the original.⁷³ The redistribution of land in the course of the reform of 1315, which was disastrous for the *ḥalqa*, was not revised until the end of the Sultanate.⁷⁴

1.5 The *ḥalqa* from the death of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad 1341 to the second half of the 15th century

One consequence of the loss of prestige and the material damages that the *ajṇād al-ḥalqa* had to cope with was the widespread practice, after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, of passing on the no longer particularly lucrative *ḥalqa* fiefs in return for payment of a fee, to groups of people who had no business in the *ḥalqa* of the old days, who were not in a position to perform the services associated with such a benefice, and who did not care about the preservation of their *iqṭa'* because of a lack of internal and external ties. As we have heard, Qalāwūn had already set a bad example by providing *ḥalqa*-benefices to the sons of his regimental comrades who were unfit for war, solely out of piety. As David Ayalon has worked out⁷⁵ on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's report,⁷⁶ only a few years after al-Nāṣir's death, his son al-Kāmil Sha'bān (I) (r. 1345–46) established an actual exchange platform (*dīwān al-badal*) for *ḥalqa* fiefs at the instigation of the Mamluk official responsible, the *shādd al-dawāwīn*. The owner of an *ḥalqa*-benefice could return his *iqṭa'* there for money; from there it was offered for sale to other interested parties. This authority was able to maintain itself for several years against all resistance, despite the provocation that its mere existence meant for the Mamluk establishment, certainly also because the treasury profited from these transactions with a special tax that was at times quite impressive. Craftsmen and other common people, in particular, now bought into the *ḥalqa*. Also benefiting from these sinecures (in keeping with Qalāwūn's tradition) were the old and the war-disabled soldiers.⁷⁷ After the Black Death of 1348/49 further thinned the ranks of the *ḥalqa* soldiers, too, the influx of interested civilians into these special *iqṭa'*s

73 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army III*, 71.

74 Even the cadastral list, organized by province and village, compiled shortly before the year 1480 by the accountant Ibn al-Jī'ān under the title *al-Tuhfa al-saniyya bi-asmā' al-bilād al-miṣriyya* (ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1898) and indicating the assessed acreage, the tax yield, and the associated benefices, regarding the legal category of the land in March 1376, is based on the conditions created by al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 1315, although the most important changes that occurred in the respective tax district in Circassian times—that is, almost without exception, the decreased *'ibra*—are not left unmentioned. Cf. Haarmann, *Sons*, 147.

75 Ayalon, *Mamlūk Army II*, 453.

76 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt*, vol. 2, 219.

77 Levani, *Turning Point*, 106.

swelled further. Now even children and young people could acquire military fiefs—with all the foreseeable consequences for the reputation of the army, of which these new *ḥalqa* fief-holders had become an official part.

Another result of this sociological transformation of the *ḥalqa* was their increasing involvement in the power struggles of the Mamluk units in the period after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Like representatives of the *‘amma*,⁷⁸ they became wooed auxiliaries in the party warfare of the emirs and drew from this position considerable space to manoeuvre in defence of their newly acquired privileges. Whenever a reshuffle of troops by the sultan was pending, threatening proof of the dispensability of particularly incompetent representatives of the *ḥalqa*, their protectors within the ranks of the emirs would take care in time, that their protégés be removed from this control; we know examples from the reign of al-Muẓaffar Ḥājī (r. 1346–47) and the first sultanate of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (ruled twice, 1347–51, 1354–61).⁷⁹ *Ḥalqa* members, fearing for their sinecures, were also quick to revolt alongside Mamluk rebels.

At the time of the power struggle between Barqūq (reigned twice, 1382–89 and 1390–99) and Minṭāsh in 1389, the military reputation of the *ḥalqa* was already so damaged that they were no longer seriously considered for responsible war tasks. Only the best (and best-paid) *ajnad al-ḥalqa* went into battle with the Mamluks. Incidentally, their main military function had already degenerated to protecting the most important facilities in Cairo, i. e., the citadel and the city gates, when the real—i. e., Mamluk—army was on a campaign.

As part of his short-lived pragmatic efforts to reform the Mamluk army, Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–1421) also attempted a revitalization of the *ḥalqa*. He formed pairs and quartets of rich and poor *ajnad al-ḥalqa*, which were to ensure the material basis for sending at least one equipped and combat-capable representative.⁸⁰ But al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh’s own son, brief as his reign was, immediately abandoned this certainly arduous practice. As in the pre-reform period, the old, the disabled and the young found their place in the *ḥalqa*.⁸¹ Al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 1422–1438), al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh’s successor in the sense that he ruled long enough to find his own political line, again lapsed into the old illusions. An *ḥalqa* warrior had to go into battle; and if he only had a donkey, then he should appear at the muster with it, thus the critical contemporary witness Ibn Taghrībīrdī, himself the son of a Mamluk general and as such the best expert on the *ḥalqa*, quotes the sultan’s instruction.⁸²

78 Cf. Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 109–14.

79 Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 108.

80 Ayalon, *Mamluk Army II*, 454–5.

81 Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 107.

82 Cited after Ayalon, *Mamluk Army II*, 455.

1.6 The end of the army unit

The *ḥalqa* was even less able than the system-affirmative, i.e., Mamluk, army groups to resist the maelstrom of the general decline during the remaining seventy years of the sultanate. The sources become quite silent about them. Their importance and prestige continue to decline. Ayalon has listed general reasons for this decline of the *ḥalqa*.⁸³ The lack of Mamluk status and therefore the lack of combat experience according to the rules of the steppe; closely related to this, the lack of a supply of free cavalymen capable of war; third, economic bottlenecks that necessitated cutbacks in the weakest part of the system, and finally, the lack of a network of old barrack-fellows that helped the real Mamluks support their position of power, while the *ḥalqa* members, in their isolation, did not have such support mechanisms. However, in Syria, this decline in the prestige and power of the *ḥalqa* was less dramatic than in Egypt; no sultan's Mamluks were permanently stationed there, and accordingly it retained more wiggle room for the *ḥalqa*,⁸⁴ and this already since early Mamluk times.⁸⁵

When speaking of the *ḥalqa* in the period around 1450, the descendants of the Mamluks must be brought into play. The sons of Mamluks and emirs, who since the early days of the sultanate had constituted a regiment of honour of their own within the *ḥalqa*, distinguished from the general force and commanded, appropriately, by sons of sultans, the *sīdīs* introduced above, now metonymically become representatives of the *ḥalqa* as a whole. Like the other *ḥalqa-jundīs*, the Mamluk descendants had long since been caught up in the maelstrom of the progressive disappearance of rights, functions and remuneration by the mid-15th century. They, too, had become accustomed to selling their fiefs, or at least, if they did not want to give up their sinecures, to buy their freedom from military service by paying cash in acute situations, i.e., before campaigns to Syria, which in case of doubt were life-threatening. Even a cursory study of Mamluk biographies of the Circassian period (e.g., on the basis of al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*) reveals how high the losses on the battlefield of this period were, especially under Sultan Qāyitbāy (r. 1468–92), and makes such turnarounds plausible. Admittedly, this balance between security of life and limb on the one hand and defences of privilege on the other was not always achieved by the Mamluk descendants—as well as other *ḥalqa* soldiers. Through humiliating tests with the bow, they had to prove their combat capability. If they succeeded, they had to go to war. Otherwise, they lost a significant part of their privileges.⁸⁶

83 Ayalon, *Mamluk Army II*, 455–6.

84 Ayalon, *Ḥalka*, 99b.

85 Poliak, *Feudalism*, 13, 27 (on the co-optation of tribesmen into the Syrian *ḥalqa*).

86 Ayalon, *Mamluk Army II*, 457.

After all, the vanguard of the *ḥalqa*, recruited from sons of Mamluks, was apparently still so respectable and important even in this period of progressive decline that gradually, as Ayalon has pointed out on the basis of his source studies⁸⁷ and as has just been briefly mentioned, the term *awlād al-nās* pars pro toto takes the place of the term *ḥalqa*. Toward the end of the sultanate we hear more and more frequently of the descendants of the Mamluks at the expense of the *ḥalqa*. Surprisingly, these were then sometimes even lumped together with the sultan's Mamluks.⁸⁸ The cadastral lists of the Circassian period, which will be discussed below, also repeatedly refer to the team of "sultan's Mamluks and *ḥalqa*" as *muqṭa*'s of a village. Thus, both parts of the army seem to have had more to do with each other than has been generally assumed. However, it is unlikely that the *ḥalqa* as a whole was subsumed under an expanded concept of sultan's Mamluks,⁸⁹ given the findings from the cadastral lists, which clearly differentiate between actual *ḥalqa* fiefs and communal *iqṭā*'s for sultan's Mamluks and *ḥalqa*.

Our knowledge about the *ḥalqa* from about 1430 is still incomplete. Here, too, only individual observations can be presented at the moment and, at most, speculatively be translated into an overall evaluation. Certainly, despite all their weaknesses, *ḥalqa* soldiers were still important as pawns in the game of the powerful. In 1454, for example, al-Ashraf Īnāl failed in his attempt to dismiss the incompetent (and orphaned) Mamluk sons serving in the *ḥalqa*.⁹⁰ As in the 14th century, the powerful Mamluk patrons of these unproductive *muqṭa*'s again prevented their ruin.

The two lists in Ibn Duqmāq's (d. 1407) *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat 'iqd al-amṣār*, written around 1396, which are rich in economic geography, and Ibn al-Jī'ān's (d. 1496/7) *al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya bi-asmā' al-bilād al-miṣriyya*, compiled shortly before 1480, which depicted the ownership and facilitation structure of Egyptian villages in 1376 during the sultanate of al-Ashraf Sha'bān (r. 1363–1377) and, by contrast, the analogous state at the time the work was written under Sultan Qāyitbāy, together provide special sources for all social groups that were registered in the central feudal authority in Cairo, the *dīwān al-jaysh*, thus also for the *ḥalqa*. The two works, placed side by side, yield a fortunate case of three chronologically staggered data (namely for the years 1376, ca. 1397, and 1480) on the respective *muqṭa*'s and the legal forms of land in the Egyptian tax districts, which were not always stable.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Evidence at Ayalon, *Mamluk Army II*, 457, note 4.

⁸⁹ Ayalon, *Mamluk Army II*, 458.

⁹⁰ Levani, *Turning Point*, 108–9 (reference to Ibn Taghrībī's *Nujūm*).

From Ibn al-Jī'ān, for example, we learn that in 1480 the feudatories in the village of Samirbāya in the central delta province of Gharbiyya were “archers of the *ajnad* [*al-ḥalqa*]”, that is, an elite within the *ḥalqa* that evidently still existed at that time.⁹¹ While these two cadastral lists refer to the *ḥalqa* in general terms, Ibn Duqmāq distinguishes between the commanders and the crews (*rijāl*) of the *ḥalqa* as beneficiaries in the case of three villages around 1497, all of which, interestingly, are located in the province of Sharqiyya.⁹²

That is, Ibn al-Jī'ān is a treasure trove on the economic (and thus also social) status of different groups in the last phase of Mamluk history. How weakened the *ḥalqa* was under Qāyitbāy, is documented by Ibn al-Jī'ān's cadastral list, although unfortunately the information recorded in his *Tuḥfa* (as well as in Ibn Duqmāq's *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*) all too often refers summarily to undifferentiated major groups (e.g., “emirs and *muqta'ūn*”, “sultan Mamluks and *ḥalqa*”, or even more generally, “*muqta's*”) whose constituents cannot be weighted or can only be weighted approximately, as has been analysed in detail elsewhere.⁹³ Yet despite all these shortcomings, his data dramatically illustrate the decline of the *ḥalqa* in the course of the 15th century. For the year 1480, we find Ibn al-Jī'ān explicitly identifying members of the *ḥalqa* as (*ajnad*) *al-ḥalqa* in only four *jihāt* of Lower Egypt and as *muqta's*, an unspecified subgroup together with the sultan Mamluks, in another thirty villages of the two southeastern Delta provinces of Qalyūbiyya and Sharqiyya.⁹⁴ Around the year 1397 (for this year, data are provided in Ibn Duqmāq's *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*) their presence had been much more impressive. At that time, 77 tax districts (the overwhelming majority were in the western Delta) were still explicitly marked as fiefs of the *ḥalqa*, while 74 others, interestingly located mostly in the eastern Delta,⁹⁵ were used by unnamed members of the combined group of “sultan's Mamluks and *ḥalqa*”. The tax revenues of the *iqṭa's* held by *ḥalqa* soldiers given in army dinars (*dīnār jayshī*), which dropped to a mere fraction from 1397 to 1480 according to these two lists, speak a similarly clear language.

In the last period of the history of the sultanate, at the beginning of the 16th century, the *ajnad al-ḥalqa*, then recruited from Mamluk descendants and Bedouins, were perceived only as unmounted reservists.⁹⁶ When the Mamluk troops led by the sultan fought in Syria, they had to guard the citadel and the city

91 Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern. Volume II: Das Delta*, Wiesbaden 1982, 570; Haarmann, *Sons*, 167, note 64.

92 Halm, *Delta*, 647 (*mashtūl al-ṭawāḥīn* – commanders), 662 (*nishwa* – men) and 685 (*sūq al-shitā'* – men); Haarmann, *Sons*, 166, note 58.

93 Haarmann, *Sons*, 148–51.

94 Cf. the data and their analysis (with charts) at Haarmann, *Sons*, 147–52, esp. 149.

95 *Ibid.*, 150.

96 Mostafa, *Beiträge*, 219 (after Ibn Iyās).

gates in Cairo. Since most of them had long since taken up “middle-class” professions and thus, suffered material disadvantages as a result of being called up for this military duty, they were already paid an appropriate compensatory salary at the beginning of the 15th century.⁹⁷ Since Qāyitbāy’s various campaigns (which Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī (d. 1483) systematically compiled in his encomium on this ruler for the years 1468 to 1472),⁹⁸ no recourse had been made to *ḥalqa* soldiers as active combatants. And finally, in 1516, when Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī went into battle against the Ottomans, the *ḥalqa* was not even used as a protective force, according to the instructions of Ṭūmānbāy, the sultan’s representative (and later the last sultan) who had stayed behind in Egypt. They preferred to use Mamluks even for these tasks, which were not exactly associated with great burdens and dangers.

To take an exceptional look beyond the year 1517: For months after the elimination of the Mamluk sultanate by the Ottoman Sultan Selim, the Mamluks and their emirs were persecuted. Although the Mamluk descendants shared this experience, some of them were later integrated into the Ottoman army. However, there was no new version of the *ḥalqa* of any kind.⁹⁹

2 Conclusion: The (male) descendants of the Mamluks as a group

Let us return to the question of whether the sons (and grandsons) of Mamluks formed a social unit of their own that was perceived by themselves and others as sufficiently homogeneous. In the few known contemporary models of society, one looks in vain for the sons of Mamluks as an independent category.¹⁰⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, for example, in the fifth chapter of his treatise on dearth¹⁰¹ in the country (*Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*), divides Egyptian society into seven classes,¹⁰² the foreign Mamluk elite and six indigenous groups, namely wholesale

97 Mostafa, *Beiträge*, 219 (after Qalqashandī).

98 Cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī, *al-Durra al-muḍīʿa fī khabar al-Dawla al-ashrafiyya*, Ms British Museum Or. 3028, fol. 5b–12b. For this text, see also the introduction to the edition of Abū Ḥāmid’s *Duwal al-Islām al-sharīfa al-bahiyya* = Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī’s *Traktat über die Segnungen, die die Türken dem Land Ägypten gebracht haben*, ed. Subhi Labib and Ulrich Haarmann, Beirut 1997, 55–57, especially 56.

99 Poliak, *Feudalism*, 40 (reference to Ibn Iyās).

100 Cf. Haarmann, *Joseph’s Law*, 60, n. 14.

101 Adel Allouche has made it plausible—against Gaston Wiet’s earlier interpretation—that *ghalā*, the key term of this treatise, does not mean “famine” but “dearth”. Cf. Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics. A study and translation of al-Maqrizi’s Ighathah*, Salt Lake City 1994, 9–12.

102 Cf. Allouche, *Mamluk Economics*, 73–9.

merchants, petty merchants, peasants, recipients of state benefits, artisans, and the amorphous group of the poor. Sons of Mamluks theoretically concealed themselves in all seven groups, but they presumably were particularly numerous—as will be shown—among the Mamluk *ahl al-dawla*, i. e., category one, and then especially among the recipients of public money or petty fiefs (“officials”), who were miserably impoverished in al-Maqrīzī’s days, i. e., in category five, which included *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, scholars, and professional witnesses.

The sons of Mamluk are also absent from the list of several dozen offices and professions that Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1370) describes in his social portrait *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niqam* and that, following al-Subkī’s model and template, Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī compiled in the work *Badhl al-naṣāʾih al-sharʿiyya fī-mā ʿalā s-sultān wa-wulāt al-umūr wa-sāʾir al-raʿiyya*. No profession is missing from it—all, from sultan to dog handler, from chamberlain to schoolmaster, from Muftī to groom, from drum major to latrine cleaner, are represented. The socially mobile sons of the Mamluks, who were highly versatile in their activities, do not fit into these two schemes as an ensemble, since they were distributed among the listed occupational fields and status groups and drew their livelihood from the most diverse sources. Their absence from these lists does not contradict their corporate existence and distinct group identity in principle. In the late period, this term is typically used interchangeably with the synonym *banū l-atrāk* “sons of Turks”,¹⁰³ where the term “Turk” of course refers not only to ethnic Turks but also to “white military slaves”¹⁰⁴ or, as Poliak put it, “horsemen of the steppes” as a whole.¹⁰⁵ In their capacity as “sons of the nobles”, i. e., of the Turco-Circassian elite, the *awlād al-nās* were united. This belonging was also unmistakable to foreign visitors and assessors of the Mamluk ruling system. These also make use of the Arabic name—in Italian translation: *awlād al-nās* (singular: *ibn al-nās*) = *fioli di la zente/gente*.¹⁰⁶ The term *awlād al-nās* is attested in Arabic texts at least since the 13th century. Its usage increased in the 15th and early 16th century.¹⁰⁷

The *awlād al-nās* embodied the possibilities and limits of development within Mamluk society.¹⁰⁸ Through their fathers, they were linked to the world of the Mamluks, which dominated the state, army, and economy, without actually belonging to it. Significantly, they usually had native Arabic first names, while the Mamluks held on to their pagan names as if they were an attribute of nobility. This naming, by the way—this may be inserted in parenthesis—is a gift for the chronicler of the *awlād al-nās*; for the sequence (1) Arabic *ism* and (2) Turkic *ism*

103 Cf. Haarmann, *Joseph’s Law*, 61 who refers to Poliak, *Feudalism*, 14, note 6.

104 Ayalon, *Bahri Mamluks*, 23, equates “Turk” with “Mamluk” in this sense. Cf. also *ibid.*, 44.

105 Poliak, *Influence*, 864.

106 Cf. Haarmann, *Joseph’s Law*, 61.

107 See the Jo Van Steenbergen’s contribution in this volume.

108 Cf. For this passage *ibid.*, 62.

al-ab facilitates the rapid tracing of *awlād al-nās* in alphabetically arranged prosopographies and in other works indexed by name.

Birthplace, on the other hand, made the *awlād al-nās* Egyptians, even though the locals did not always joyfully recognize these second-generation (and thus second grade) “Turks” as their equals. Unlike the relatively homogeneous Mamluk community or the compact native elites, the *awlād al-nās* had no binding patterns of socialization. They stood between two poles, with all the burdens but also all the opportunities that such a middle-ground status held.

Many of them consciously used their position in both worlds. Of course, the higher the social prestige and wealth of an *ibn al-nās*, the easier this was. Again, Ibn Iyās may be cited as an example. He, a dedicated mediator between Mamlukdom and Egypt, was still living as the great-great-grandson of a successful Mamluk official on the proceeds of the fortune the latter had established for his family.¹⁰⁹ Many *awlād al-nās* were beneficiaries of endowments that their fathers had established fearing the confiscation of their private property, but also quite specifically to provide for their offspring. As trustees of endowments of learned institutions, they were ideally placed to come into daily contact with professors and other members of the civilian elite. The sons of high-ranking Mamluks, who had experienced how the locals cowered before their fathers, probably found it mentally more difficult to integrate into urban life than the offspring of simple Mamluks, who were not accustomed to privileges and had always had to assert themselves in competition with the locals.

To which world an *ibn al-nās* felt he belonged was, in my opinion, also a question of his mother’s ethnic origin and not least of his mother tongue, which was so important for the formation of an identity. If there were kinship contacts in the city (many emirs married daughters of local Egyptian notables), no cultural barriers to the surrounding environment existed. If, on the other hand, the son of a Mamluk had no compelling reason to take an interest in the world outside the Mamluk milieu during his youth, thanks to a Turkish-speaking, aristocratic home on both sides, this transition was much more onerous. Unfortunately, the narrative and archival sources on the subject of Mamluk marriage behaviour are not very fruitful. Particularly in the case of simple Mamluks, we learn only the names, the status (free or *umm walad*?) and the national origin of their wives in extremely rare cases.

109 Mostafa, *Beiträge*, 217.

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“*Sultān Awlād al-Nās*” or “*Amīr ibn Mamlūk*”? Re-framing Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-l-Masālik*¹

The aims of this chapter are threefold, 1) to locate the freeborn officer and scholar Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (813–73/1410–68) as the descendant of a *mamlūk* ancestor and place his most famous surviving text into the wider range of socio-political complexities of the fifteenth-century Syro-Egyptian (Mamluk) Sultanate of Cairo;² 2) to analyze the text’s implications for the late fifteenth-century discourse concerning the Arabic term *awlād al-nās* (understood by most modern scholars as “sons of the elite”), and 3) to engage the *Zubdat kashf* not just as a mere reflection of structures of the past, but also as a means for generating historical truth claims and the imagined structures intended to shape both the political and social realities the author shaped and was shaped by, interacted with, and helped to discursively produce. The paper thus argues that the *Zubdat kashf* was less about setting forth any kind of “sons of the elites” social identity, and more about creating the image of ongoing political order, linking the new reign of the sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53) to the well-remembered one of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38).

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2 Jo Van Steenberg, 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* (2016), pp. 549–59, here p. 550.

1 The author and his context

To better understand the unique meanings embedded in a text, it is first necessary to approach an understanding of the author and his world. Julien Loiseau rightly observed that Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī was among a select group of fifteenth-century elites of the Cairo Sultanate that “blurred the lines between the military society and civilian, legal, and religious notables.”³ As a freeborn “son of the people” rather than a manumitted “*mamlūk*” in the truest sense of having avoided slavery and barracks training, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn was, by virtue of personal relationships with the sultans of Cairo and the men in their orbits, nevertheless able to ascend high ranks in the successive political orders that formed around the court in Cairo.⁴ Born in Jerusalem in 813/1410, Khalīl was the son of Shāhīn al-Shaykhī al-Zāhīrī (d. 834/1431), a low-level recruit of Tatar origin who had entered the household of the sultan al-Zāhīr Barqūq (784–801/1382–99) from the household of his former master the amir Shaykh al-Ṣafwī or al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 801/1399). Before his ultimate appointment as *nāʾib* of Jerusalem during the sultanate of Barqūq’s son al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–15/1399–1412), Shāhīn had held minor appointments in the city. Following the breakdown of the social and political order that followed in the wake of Faraj’s overthrow and execution, Shāhīn weathered the tumult and subsequent period of rebuilding in Jerusalem where he remained until relocating to Cairo in the early 820s/1420s and found favor during the reign of Barsbāy before his sudden death.⁵ In the case of Khalīl, it may have been Turkish descent on his mother’s side which tied him to the ruling elite, while his endeavors in Arabic-language religious learning tied him to local Syrians and Egyptians.⁶

Khalīl was twenty-one at the time of Shāhīn’s death, and well along the path of a religious education when he entered the household of his father’s *khushdāsh*,

3 Julien Loiseau, “Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE.

4 Indeed, his lofty list of titles comprises an impressive resume: royal *mamlūkī*, *baṭṭāl*, amir of 40, *nāẓir* (Alexandria), *hājib* (Alexandria), *nāʾib thaghr* (Alexandria), *nāʾib* (Alexandria) by age 26, *amir rakb*, *amir hājī mahmal*, *wazīr* and *nāẓir dār darb* in Egypt; *atābak ʿasākīr* in Aleppo; amir 100 in Damascus; and alternately *nāʾib* of Malatya, Karak, Safad and Jerusalem. At just 26 he was appointed governor of Alexandria. This list is adapted from the entry found on the Mamluk Prosopography Project (MPP) on the Islamic History Open Data Platform (IHODP), Ghent University: <https://ihodp.ugent.be/mpp/actor-khal%C4%ABl-b.-sh%C4%81h%C4%ABn-al-shaykh%C4%AB> (30.09.21). For contemporary biographies of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 5:258–61; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 3:195–7; al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ al-bāsim*, 4:119–29.

5 Al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ al-bāsim*, 4:120–1.

6 Ulrich Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law. The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, pp. 55–84, here p. 62.

the amir Uzbek al-Ẓāhirī al-Dawādār (d. 833/1429) alongside the latter's *mamlūk* recruits. Though the precise nature of his duties in Uzbek's household are unclear, it is unlikely that Khalīl would have been trained as a young *mamlūk* in the barracks, though he nevertheless would have been socialized among such trainees as a young man. The fact that he had not been a *mamlūk* did not bar him from courtly service. According to the later obituary written by his son, 'Abd al-Bāṣit al-Malaṭī (844–920/1440–1514), Khalīl ibn Shāhīn had come to the attention of al-Ashraf Barsbāy after the latter reportedly heard stories of his cleverness and chose to appoint him overseer of the port of Alexandria, promoting him eventually to overseer of the armory, chamberlain (*ḥājib*) and ultimately governor (*nā'ib*) of the city, which, according to Khalīl ibn Shāhīn himself, came with additional signs of respect:

I sought permission from the sublime al-Malik al-Ashraf to reside [at the sultan's palace in Alexandria], when I was sultan's deputy at the port; he ordered for it to be done and also married me to the sister of his wife Khawand Julbān may Allāh shower them with His mercy. This had been done for no previous *nā'ib* of Alexandria, and the great hall was indescribably decorated for the occasion.⁷

Evidently pleased with Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's progress and performance in Alexandria, Barsbāy tapped him to serve as his wazir, which the author claims secured further prestige:

When I was appointed to the wazirate during the Ashrafiyya reign, the poets wrote *qasīdas* about me, and exaggerated their words until some of my companions compiled the sheets of their poetry into a whole and copied a book from them which was named *al-Durar al-Sunniyya fī al-maḥāsin al-gharsiyya* (The fine pearls in the merits of grace).⁸

Despite the lofty stature and recognition, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn resigned the wazirate and was sent by Barsbāy to govern Karak in hope that it may serve as an outpost of loyalty for his son and chosen successor al-'Azīz Yūsuf (r. 1438, d. 868/1463) if things went badly for him in Cairo.⁹ The young prince never made it that far, however, and Khalīl spent the next ten years in different positions in Bilād al-Shām, later serving as amir of 1,000 in Damascus, and *nā'ib* of several major cities including Malatya, Aleppo, Safad, Jerusalem, and Tripoli. He served alongside the former *mamlūks* of Barsbāy and advised the sultan Jaqmaq, and later the sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61) (his close friend and former ally) and retired when sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–7) came to power.

7 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut, 1997), p. 36.

8 Ibid., pp. 80–1.

9 Al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ al-bāsim*, 4:128.

It was largely his social role—hosting banquets and scholarly salons when in Cairo and elsewhere, as well as regularly providing counsel to sultans—that may have earned Khalīl ibn Shāhīn the later nickname “*sulṭān awlād al-nās*”, according to his son ‘Abd al-Bāṣit al-Malaṭī.¹⁰ Many of Khalīl’s teachers counted among the highest ranking religious elites of Barsbāy and Jaqmaq’s reigns including ‘Alam al-Bulqīnī, Shams al-Dīn al-Bisaṭī, Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, and of course Ibn Ḥajar, who is an important authority in al-Malaṭī’s biography of his father.¹¹ After Īnāl’s death, Khalīl retired but continued to receive wages, provide the sultans with administrative advice, and serve as an envoy to foreign rulers such as Uzun Ḥasan Aqqoyunlu in 870/1466–7. He ultimately settled in Tripoli where he built a home and mausoleum before his death there in 873/1468.

2 Text: *Zubdat Kashf*

A prolific author, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn penned between thirty and forty works in a variety of genres and styles including *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *inshā’*, history, and medicine. Few of his texts remain beyond a book on dream interpretations, and his *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik* (The cream of uncovering realms and the elucidation of ways and paths). Within the scholarly niche of Mamluk Studies the latter work has served modern researchers as a prescriptive rather than descriptive work which provides an image of an idealized mid-fifteenth-century status quo. The *Zubdat kashf* resembles an administrative manual or scribal encyclopedia, and in some ways serves as a later fifteenth-century follow-up to earlier ambitious endeavors by scribes such as the *Masālik al-absār* of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749/1349), and the *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā* of Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418). While the text of the *Zubdat kashf* preserves few letters, and the author himself expresses regret for not reproducing documents he observed,¹² its early chapters remain rich in geographical information of the Hijazi, Syrian and Egyptian territories of the Cairo-based sultanate during the reigns of the sultans al-Ashraf Barsbāy and al-Zāhir Jaqmaq. It contains a great deal of data useful to social historians, specifically on the administration of the military, ruling apparatuses, the households of sultans and amirs, and even the

10 Ibid. 4:129.

11 Kikuchi Tadayoshi, “An Analysis of ‘Abd al-Bāṣit 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 (2006), pp. 29–54, here pp. 29, 36.

12 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, 75, 82–5; BNF Arabe 1724, however, contains the text of a letter from al-Ashraf Barsbāy to Shāhrukh the son of Tamerlane. For a French translation, see de Sacy, “Lettre du Sultan Mēlic-alaschraf Barsēbaī, á Mirza Scharokh, fils de Timour”.

sultan's postal communication service.¹³ While only tangentially interested in history, the *Zubdat kashf* contains some narrative elements and includes recent anecdotes which would appeal to those interested in the cultural practice of historical writing in the Cairo Sultanate.

The *Zubdat kashf* is all that remains of the author's complex life world. A critical element of locating the agency and utility of the *Zubdat kashf* is to understand its relationship to the larger work it was understood to be an abridgement of—the *Kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*—which has not survived in full, although a partial manuscript has been discovered in Istanbul.¹⁴ In the introduction to his shortened version, the author claims that the original work had existed in two large volumes divided into forty chapters.¹⁵ Although it is a shortened *mukhtaṣar* work, the author indeed envisioned it as a complete text in its own right, meant to serve as a more practical and accessible version.

It is difficult to state with certainty the date when Khalīl ibn Shāhīn produced the *Zubdat kashf*. The text provides a great deal of procedural and practical knowledge that would suggest the work of a seasoned, long-serving, and highly mobile wazīr, courtier and governor with comprehensive knowledge of the realms that comprised the Cairo Sultanate. The most frequently mentioned sultan in the text is al-Ashraf Barsbāy to whose bygone reign the author refers to regularly, though he acknowledges that the living sovereign (to whom the work is apparently addressed) is al-Zāhir Jaqmaq.¹⁶ The work seems most likely to have been composed between 839 and 843, prior to the author's departure for his post in Karak, and his campaign against Ināl al-Jakamī who opposed Jaqmaq early in his reign although he was identified by Khalīl ibn Shāhīn in the text as a hero of Barsbāy's conquest of Cyprus.¹⁷ The manuscript tradition of the *Zubdat kashf* adds another wrinkle of confusion however, as two of the eight existing manuscripts appear to have been copied later in Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's lifetime.¹⁸

13 For some examples of its use in modern studies, see Bethany Walker, Walker, Bethany. "Ceramic Evidence for Political Transformations in Early Mamluk Egypt", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/1 (2004), pp. 1–114, here pp. 57–8. See also David Ayalon's "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army" article series.

14 Loiseau, "Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī". Without the full version of the text, it is difficult to discuss Khalīl's various choices as an editor of his own work, and to analyze the portions of the longer text he deemed excessive or superfluous.

15 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, p. 6.

16 Ibid., p. 59.

17 Al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ al-bāsim*, 4:124. Ināl al-Jakamī is mentioned in the text of the *Zubdat kashf* as one of the two amirs charged with Barsbāy's campaign against Cyprus (p. 120).

18 Istanbul, Topkapı Saray—Sultan Ahmet III Sultanahmet Kütüphanesi 2990 (Colophon dated 845), and 3008 (dated 886/1481). One manuscript of the *Zubdat kashf* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF Arabe 1724) was copied at an unknown date during the fifteenth

The introduction to the *Zubdat kashf* makes clear that the work has strong didactic qualities and was intended for aspiring courtiers or civil servants who—if of sincere intentions—would be guided by God through purposes strengthened by resolve and purified understanding. Mirroring his own privileged career trajectory through the trope of a personal confession, Khalil ibn Shāhīn observes that upon having mobilized his experience to benefit the realm and obtaining information from trustworthy sources, the worthy administrator is entrusted with his post upon coming to the eye of political elites at high levels, who trust and value him for his sagely advice delivered openly or secretly. Having learned all the details of the realm and the duties of its administration, the author wishes to repay God's generosity to him by sharing his knowledge of the affairs and positions of the realms, and perhaps most importantly to the author—to point out that which changes incrementally over time. The *Zubdat kashf* thus appears to be written partially as advice literature for Jaqmaq to present him with a list of the advantageous or profitable situations and organizational strategies under Barsbāy. The text serves as a venue where the author displays many of his memories of Barsbāy's order.

Following its introduction (649 words),¹⁹ the *Zubdat kashf* is divided into twelve chapters. The longest chapters of the text (which together jointly account for more than half of it) are the first chapter (10,433 words) on the territorial extent and religious structures to be found in Egypt,²⁰ Syria and the Hijaz, and the second chapter (8,974 words) on the duties and qualities of the sultan and his courtiers which also contains the author's copious advice for the reigning sultan Jaqmaq.²¹ The third chapter (737 words) is a short treatment on the key agents of the political order's defining value system—the Abbasid caliph and the four chief qadis.²² Chapter four is a longer chapter (3,959 words) on the office of the wazir drawing on Khalil ibn Shāhīn's own experiences and offering advice, as well as the major diwans of the Cairo Sultanate and important positions in the chancery, the *nāẓir al-jaysh*, amirs of different ranks, *ustādārs* and other officials.²³ The fifth chapter (592 words) begins a series of much shorter chapters on the descendents of the sultans, the regent (*niẓām al-mulk*), *ṭabalkhāna* amirs, and amirs of 500;²⁴ Chapter 6 (1,616 words) on different kinds of *mamlūks*: *qarāniṣa* veterans, *khāṣṣakī* royal *mamlūks*, courier pigeons, the transportation of snow, and the

century, while BNF Arabe 2258 was copied prior to the year 876/1472. See: Bibliography of 15th Century Arabic Historiography (BAH) at Ghent Univeristy (<https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>).

19 Khalil ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 5–7.

20 Ibid., pp. 9–47.

21 Ibid., pp. 48–74.

22 Ibid., pp. 75–7.

23 Ibid., pp. 78–92.

24 Ibid., pp. 92–5.

postal relay network;²⁵ Chapter 7 (431 words) on living spaces of the sultan’s female family members, palace eunuchs, weapons and granary stores;²⁶ Chapter 8 (835 words) on the living spaces, kitchen, stables, and falconry and hunting departments;²⁷ Chapter 9 (351 words) on soil managers, bridge construction, Nile measurements, and miscellaneous administrators in Egypt;²⁸ and Chapter 10 (1,065 words) on the key administrators of Syria including governors, amirs, qadis, and soldiers.²⁹ The somewhat lengthier eleventh chapter (1,996 words) is a treatment on Bedouin, Turkmen, and Kurdish tribal groupings as well as the campaigns of Barsbāy’s reign against Yemen, Diyarbakr and Cyprus;³⁰ while the final chapter (1,406 words)³¹ is a collection of anecdotes demonstrating the disloyalty of human beings against their leaders with several examples culled from the recent history of the Cairo Sultanate including al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣikī, al-Ashraf Sha‘bān, Barqūq, Faraj, and al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh.³²

Quite frequently throughout the text, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn expresses his fear of prolixity and refers readers instead to the unabridged version of the work for further comment. While his conscious desire for brevity is likely unimportant to the structure of the shortened work, his various choices to withhold what he considers excess information may be indicative of his own overall structural awareness.³³ Nevertheless, the author believed his abridged text to be a complete stand-alone work intended for unique purposes. It was copied for many later sultans and understood as a finished guide for the later fifteenth-century Cairo Sultanate.

25 Ibid., pp. 96–102.

26 Ibid., pp. 102–4.

27 Ibid., pp. 105–8.

28 Ibid., pp. 109–10.

29 Ibid., pp. 111–4.

30 Ibid., pp. 115–22.

31 Ibid., pp. 122–8.

32 Initial projections on the *Zubdat kashf* chapter word counts for this article are based on approximations from a raw digitized version of the text (0872Zahiri.ZubdatKashf) produced in the context of the MMS-II project in Ghent by Dr. Manhal Makhoul. These tentative word counts are only meant to provide a rough idea of the structure and size of each chapter and do not include chapter headings, and in most cases do not include the Arabic word “wa” (“and”) when it has been appended to the word that follows it.

33 Cf. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 42, 47, 49, 73, 74, 77, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 90, 91, 94, 103, 104, 108, 114. On the topoi of brevity in Arabic biographical writing, see Hartmut Fähndrich, *Man and Men in Ibn Khallikān: A Literary Approach to the Wafayāt al-A‘yān*. PhD diss., University of California, 1972, pp. 70–72.

3 Exploring truth claims in the *Zubdat kashf*

The following sections provide a thematic exploration of the truth claims Khalīl ibn Shāhīn makes on behalf of the ongoing political order within which he textually performed his elite identity. This thematically grouped presentation focusing on geography, time, and changing personnel numbers, culminates in a final section on the author's self-representation in light of his *mamlūk* family origins.

3.1 Claiming authority through geography

As a work linked to the “*mamālik wa masālik*”-genre, the *Zubdat kashf* connects to the conceptual framework identified by Zayde Antrim as the “discourse of place” that bridges formal texts to representations of territory. In the first chapter of the work, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn—following earlier authors like al-‘Umarī—sought to represent and claim territory that was part of the Cairo Sultanate.³⁴ By presenting the important religious structures and places of pilgrimage throughout the sultanate's Syrian, Egyptian, and Hijazi territories, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn established claims about political and religious authority and “associated images of land with loyalty and belonging.”³⁵ Although he emphasized Egypt as the most important land in the text, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn made both Mecca and Jerusalem central to the territories under the sultan's authority.³⁶ The geographical element of the *Zubdat kashf* links to the author's career which was not limited to Cairo—but reflects the great mobility of his life—covering his birthplace Jerusalem as well as the other cities he spent time in or would later serve as administrator or governor. Antrim argues that geographical writing was linked to political power and that by representing the Cairo Sultanate as a unified realm, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn was demonstrating the full territorial and political extent of the state going back to the thirteenth century.³⁷

The first chapter of the *Zubdat kashf* is devoted to how Khalīl ibn Shāhīn divides and represents the various parts of the Cairo Sultanate of his own time as a single realm. He describes Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz not as regions in traditional competition, but as a single geographical and political unit with its seat of

34 Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms. The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 1–2.

35 Ibid., p. 6.

36 Ibid., p. 40.

37 Zayde Antrim, “The Politics of Place in the Works of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014/15), pp. 91–111, here p. 91.

power and governance at the Cairo citadel.³⁸ Egypt is presented as the seat of the center of the world, superior and incomparable to all other realms of the earth.³⁹ Syria remains integral to the functioning and maintenance of the political realm and serves as the location for the second throne of the sultan.⁴⁰ The *Zubdat kashf*’s emphasis on sacred geography also allows Khalīl ibn Shāhīn to emphasize the coherence and unity of the unified realm of the Cairo Sultanate, to assert its power and pre-eminence, as well as to demonstrate his loyalty and appreciation to the sultans of Cairo.⁴¹ For Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem allow the sultan of Cairo to command an empire that includes respected holy places.⁴² He thus puts his past geographical and administrative knowledge of the territories of the Cairo Sultanate at the service of Jaqmaq to create the idea of an ongoing political order by setting forth a hierarchy of places and personnel ranks.

3.2 Time: Al-Ashraf Barsbāy’s reign as a ‘golden age’

An important aim of the *Zubdat kashf* concerns connecting the current political order to a glorious past tradition of the sultanate based in Cairo going back to the thirteenth century. Although not a work of historiography, the *Zubdat kashf* retains an element of historical consciousness and presents an organizational version of the past which is morally connected to the present seeking to indicate how things *should be* to its audience. Combined with some earlier memories, the text is tied to the author’s experiences during the recent reign of Barsbāy in which he achieved many career highlights. The tone of some excerpts of the *Zubdat kashf* suggest the author’s familiarity with the practices associated with the previous *dawlas* of other sultans such as al-Zāhir Barqūq mentioned 8 times in the text, al-Nāṣir Faraj mentioned 4 times, al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21) —mentioned 3 times, and al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38)—mentioned 8 times. The reigning sultan Jaqmaq was mentioned only once, and in some cases the text seems disconnected from modern practices, with the implication that things were better before. Although he was actively in Jaqmaq’s service Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s authorship implies some narrative distance to the current order.

Khalīl ibn Shāhīn had enjoyed great privilege under Barsbāy and had been raised high in his *dawlat Ashrafiyya*. He waxes nostalgic and is proud of his past achievements during the period. The high frequency of mentions of Barsbāy

38 Ibid., pp. 102–4.

39 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 9, 22, 56.

40 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 39–40; Antrim, “Politics of Place,” p. 105.

41 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 20–21, 29. Antrim, “Politics of Place,” pp. 106, 110.

42 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 19–21, 22, 28.

raises questions of how the author used the late sultan's textual persona as a figure through which to express advice to the current political order of Jaqmaq.

Events in the reign of Barsbāy are the focus of the *Zubdat kashf*'s interest in recent events, particularly in the case of military engagements. From the perspective of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's composition, Barsbāy's conquering of Yemen early in his reign led directly to its flourishing at the time of writing.⁴³ Barsbāy later sent troops to the Hijaz to destroy the fortress at Yanbū' when its amir tried to force independence from Egypt, though the sultan of Cairo later had it rebuilt as an act of goodwill.⁴⁴ Barsbāy's forces also overran the small eastern Anatolian town and fortress of Harput and appended it to greater Aleppo.⁴⁵ But it is the penultimate chapter of the *Zubdat kashf* that details two kinds of military expeditions: those against foreign armies, and those aimed at subjugating internal rebels, using only examples from Barsbāy's reign.⁴⁶ In his discussion of Barsbāy's 829–30/1426–8 siege of the island of Cyprus, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn imagines the sultan as a patient and just monarch, defending Muslim merchants from piracy and the depredations of the unjust ruler King Janus of Cyprus (r. 1398–1432). As a good Muslim sovereign, Barsbāy made sure to protect all garrison and forts along the Syrian coast before sending a massive force of nearly 180 galleys to attack Cyprus. Janus, defeated on account of his arrogance and stupidity, is captured and brought back to Cairo in chains, where he concedes and becomes Barsbāy's vassal, agreeing to pay tribute to the Cairo Sultanate in exchange for his freedom. For the author of the *Zubdat kashf*, "such are the bargains of the absurdities of the age."⁴⁷

Similarly, in his comparatively shorter treatment of Barsbāy's 836/1433 campaign against the Aqqoyunlu Turkmen stronghold of Āmid, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn presents the troubled expedition not as a logistical draw, but instead as a clear tactical success for the sultan of Cairo who captured the sons of his enemy and added eastern Anatolian territory to his rule.⁴⁸ In all cases, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn presents the military engagements of Barsbāy as properly executed and religiously legal, and above all, successful endeavors to add new and flourishing provinces to the *dawlat Ashrafiyya* ruled by Barsbāy.⁴⁹

As narrator and teller, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's various intrusions into the *Zubdat kashf* had different degrees of subtlety. A number of deictic terms such as 'in these days', 'in the Ashrafiyya reign', 'today', etc., relate to the author's usage in

43 Ibid., pp. 115–6.

44 Ibid., p. 14.

45 Ibid., p. 46.

46 Ibid., p. 115.

47 Ibid., pp. 117–22.

48 Ibid., p. 116.

49 Ibid., p. 115.

the text and their spatio-temporal situation. When not linked to an actor or textual persona in the *Zubdat kashf*, they connect to Khalīl ibn Shāhīn himself and indicate his attitude about other modal terms that indicate more nuanced meaning such as ‘perhaps’, ‘unfortunately’, and ‘clearly’ in English.⁵⁰ Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s intrusions into his descriptions and narrations connect to metatextual as well as other realities, subtly inserting his own fifteenth-century observations and experiences into his text. Such is the case with a number of metatextual phrasings that link historical remarks to his own time. For example, in his chapter on the religious geography of the Cairo Sultanate he observes that a number of fixtures remained the same in his own day as they had since the seventh century such as the Ka‘ba standing in its same form since its third construction by the Umayyad governor al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī⁵¹; the appearance of the traditional black satin and gold-embroidered satin *kiswa* covering for the Ka‘ba⁵²; the appearance of the Prophet’s mosque in Madina having retained its seventh century extension made by the early companions of Muḥammad⁵³; elements of the current citadel of Cairo being traceable to the fourteenth-century renovations made by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad including his construction of the mosque;⁵⁴ and two of the original minarets of Cairo’s sultan Ḥasan *madrassa* surviving to the modern day from the fourteenth century.⁵⁵ These presentist interferences represent passages of the text operating as “points of direct contact” for members of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s intended audience attuned to similar cultural references and thus facilitate a more interactive dimension of the text.⁵⁶

3.3 Changing numbers: personnel and revenues

Just as many authors of fifteenth-century Arabic historiography such as al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghribirdī, al-Biqā‘ī, al-Sakhāwī, and al-Suyūṭī often inserted tropes of societal decline into their narratives lamenting what they interpreted as the falling standards in their social and political worlds, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn drew attention to abandoned administrative protocols and falls in personnel numbers that he may have interpreted as shortcomings of the current political reality he

50 Gerald Prince, *Narratology. The Form and Functioning of Narrative*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982, pp. 31–2.

51 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, p. 10.

52 Ibid., p. 11.

53 Ibid., p. 13.

54 Ibid., pp. 22–4.

55 Ibid., p. 29.

56 Jo Van Steenberghe, *Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage. al-Dahab al-Masbūk fī dīkr man ḥaḡḡa min al-ḥulafā’ wa-l-mulūk*. Leiden: Brill, 2016, p. 77.

was engaged with. The author's presentist concerns indicate his anxieties that the socio-political world he was inhabiting had deviated from what was previously done according to habit or custom (*'alā al-āda*), thus making things less effective or successful.

As a former wazir and governor, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's interest in evoking rulers of the past appears to be tied to issues of locating revenue streams, securing the proper monthly and annual tax yields, and commenting on traditional levels of military preparedness throughout the realm. To these ends, he mentions a variety of taxes capable of producing 50,000 dinars a month in the reign of Barqūq,⁵⁷ as well as Barsbāy's withholding of grain stores to collect large profits close to 300,000 dinars.⁵⁸ Interested in pointing out past revenue sources to demonstrate his past skills as a wazir, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn also draws attention to Barsbāy's attempts to secure customs in the Red Sea port of Jeddah and emphasizes his generosity in sharing the gains with the *sharīf* of Mecca.⁵⁹

The *Zubdat kashf* also indicates that more was presently being spent on the royal household and luxurious upkeep of the sultan's consorts and female family members than in previous times, though Barsbāy had contributed to the trend of rising expenditures.⁶⁰ Indeed, it was not universally the case that things had gotten worse, as Khalīl ibn Shāhīn estimates that each month the sultan Barqūq had spent nearly 50,000 dinars on a variety of expenses linked to the upkeep of his horses and royal *mamlūks* including barley, straw, meat, other foods as well as repairs to his properties. Ultimately however, the number had been somewhat reduced by the mid-fifteenth century.⁶¹

Included perhaps ironically among his advice for the contemporary ruler Jaqmaq, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn encourages the sultan not to praise the past at the expense of the present.⁶² His own failure to adhere to this principle appears especially in the *Zubdat kashf*'s sixth chapter describing office holders and members of the military. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn observes that in his own day, the *qarāniṣa* veteran *mamlūks* were used far less than in past times and that their current number was very small, and that the *khāṣṣakī mamlūks* had filled in most of the sultan's most trusted positions today. He writes that at the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the fourteenth century there had been only 40 *khāṣṣakī* officers, but by the reign of Barsbāy the number had increased to nearly 1,000 and many were working in the palace, though the number was not as high as in the thirteenth-century reign of Baybars, when royal *mamlūks* accounted for nearly

57 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, p. 82.

58 Ibid., p. 104.

59 Ibid., p. 12.

60 Ibid., p. 103.

61 Ibid., p. 82.

62 Ibid., p. 54.

16,000.⁶³ Likewise, the past number of *ṭablkhāna* amirs had previously been forty, but the number was reduced and the amirs were allowed fewer instruments in their military bands. This was perhaps a personal disappointment for Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, himself a *ṭabalkhāna* amir, who was likely interested in the past history of his position.⁶⁴

He discusses the historic position of other office holders that had also been *ṭablkhāna* amirs and wazirs. Ustadars like Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad in Barqūq’s reign, or Sa’d al-Dīn ibn Ghurāb and Jamal al-Din al-Bajāsī in Faraj’s reign were also important administrators for Khalīl ibn Shāhīn capable of living as lavishly as sultans.⁶⁵ He also mentions that in Ḥamā and Tripoli the *nā’ibs* were known for great pomp and splendor but that the modern day incumbents were not comparable in that regard and lacked basic local administrative and military personnel.⁶⁶

The *Zubdat kashf* also laments declining personnel numbers in its eighth chapter on the living quarters, kitchens and stables of the royal palace. The *awjāqiyya* equestrian corps created by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad served the sultan in his stables and had previously been 800 men in the past and had seen a strong decline by Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s time.⁶⁷ In some cases, such as the number of *jund* fighters stationed in Damascus, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn claims not to know the current counts, but shares his knowledge of slightly older requirements that the *nā’ib* of the city had to have 12,000 cavalry fighters on reserve.⁶⁸

3.4 Self-representation: descent from the elites

It seems fair to argue that the *Zubdat kashf* was actively interested in foregrounding and performing the author’s elite identity. His life traces—presumably down to the start of Jaqmaq’s reign—are scattered throughout the work such as his youthful memories of Jerusalem and Damascus, as well as other places he had lived and would later serve (such as Karak and Malatya). By the end of Barsbāy’s reign, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, by age 28 was an experienced local governor capable of offering insights into successful administration and ideas about what made for a good political order. His intention may not have been to demonstrate his skills and showcase his ability in the hope of obtaining a position, rather he was trying to perform his ongoing status as a socially-integrated member of the

63 Ibid., pp. 97–8.

64 Ibid., p. 95.

65 Ibid., p. 89.

66 Ibid., p. 113.

67 Ibid., p. 105.

68 Ibid., p. 111.

elite thereby demonstrating the veracity of his claims by expanding upon what he knew about recent affairs of state administration.

While there is little in the text itself to suggest Khalīl ibn Shāhīn actively participated in any discourse on the so-called “*awlād al-nās*” in the early-fifteenth century, he did, however, acknowledge his father’s past as a manumitted *mamlūk* governor in Jerusalem who established a fountain for pilgrims near the tomb of Rachel.⁶⁹ He also took on the subject of the children of sultans and amirs at the start of the fifth chapter of the *Zubdat kashf*:

As for the children of kings from the sultan to the one who is called amir, the son of the sultan is rightfully called: “royal offspring of the honorable position” (*najl al-muqām al-sharīf*), while the rest are called: the lords (*al-asyād*) who have nursemaids (*al-lālāāt*) to raise them. In past times they were not presented to the elites (*al-nās*) until they had exceeded the age of seven. The way had been to instruct them in manners, and neither the sultanate nor the amirate did not depart from them. I was told by a trustworthy person, the teacher Baraka al-Bītār, a notable resident of al-Ḥusayniyya who was nearly a centenarian, that he had seen a place in al-Ḥusayniyya with about forty amirs—all sons of kings. Today, most of them have been ignored. It was said [that among them was the] amir Salāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ghurāb, chief *ḥājib* in Egypt, and who was made the sultan’s noble deputy in the port of Alexandria for thirty-seven years [...and also...] Ibrāhīm ibn Amīr Jandār one of the *ṭabalkhāna* amirs, famous for equestrianism and who had a famous story, then became chief amir (*amīr kabīr*) in Aleppo. [...] It is an old custom that if a sultan took over and his predecessor had children, then they had to be imprisoned for fear they would flee.⁷⁰

Khalīl ibn Shāhīn clearly seems to indicate the uniqueness of Salāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ghurāb and Ibrāhīm ibn Amīr Jandār as sons of sultans who went on to find successful careers against the odds or even the mere chances of survival left for royal descendants confined to the princely ghetto in al-Ḥusayniyya.⁷¹ Indeed, their career trajectories were perhaps too startlingly close to his own and thus obvious focal points for his interest.

69 Ibid., p. 20.

70 Ibid., p. 93. It is perhaps noteworthy however, that Khalīl credits Barsbāy for ending the practice of confining descendants of the sultans in 833 as an act of kingly munificence. Al-Maqrīzī (*Sulūk*, 4:788) references a similar development in which the Qalawunid *asyād* are sent away from the privileged world of the citadel, just as their forefather al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had done to the remaining Ayyubid family members, and as the Ayyubids had done to the Fatimids before them—al-Maqrīzī interpreted the moment as the loss of the final vestiges of Qalawunid royal distinction, and the subsequent death and impoverishment of many of the princes who were unacquainted with ordinary urban life. Khalīl’s more positive take on this issue in the 1420s is definitely noteworthy. I thank Jo Van Steenberg for pointing this out.

71 Khalīl identifies Ḥusayniyya elsewhere in the text as one of the biggest suburbs of Cairo and a desirous living place for amirs to construct palaces, particularly during the fourteenth-century reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It was inhabited by distinguished people in the city, and even thirty *ṭabalkhānāh* amirs like Khalīl himself. See *Zubdat kashf*, 26.

Haarmann argued that in the fourteenth century, sons of the elites were not a full-fledged group with well-defined social functions and most likely refrained from imagining themselves as part of a socially independent element.⁷² Nevertheless, a *mamlūk*-descended courtier and commander like Khalīl ibn Shāhīn may have been in search of meaning for his own exceptionality and subsequent career trajectory, perhaps by foregrounding meritocracy. Koby Yosef argues that in the time when Khalīl ibn Shāhīn held his various positions of governor, *ṭablkhānāh* amir, and *muqaddam* during the 1430s and 1440s, it would have been quite rare for someone of his origins to hold such high offices and thus he was interested in underscoring some of these rare exceptions in his text.⁷³

With unusual outliers such as Khalīl ibn Shāhīn in particular, it is more difficult to uphold any imagined glass ceilings barring the “sons of elites” from ascending high office. The lingering social fact, of course, was that the sons of *mamlūks* had to find livelihoods. One wonders if there may have been a quiet stigma or bias against Khalīl in the minds of those who knew what he was or rather what he *was not*, but the way he was remembered in a biography penned by his son as a confidant and able commander in the eyes of many patron sultans, ascending as high as amir of 1,000, *nā'ib*, and wazir—there seems to have been no real bar on a meritocratic ascent based on favors and expectations. As part of a cultural effort to shape the present by restructuring the past, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's interpretation of the state being based on meritocratic principles celebrates his loyalty to the achievements of previous sultans and cultivates continuity for a glorious and communal version of the past.

Much of what we know about the sons or children of *mamlūk* fathers is comprised of theories and common-sense hypotheses based on visible patterns in historiographical sources which function as ‘unwritten rules’. Ulrich Haarmann argued that sons of *mamlūks* could ascend the hierarchies of the state so long as their positions did not have military significance which led to many of them forsaking the military and government, never rising higher than amir of 40, and pursuing pious pursuits while living off the proceeds of their fathers' *waqfs*.⁷⁴ Khalīl, through the support of his father's *khushdāsh* and the complaisance of the sultans, was able to rise even higher than Shāhīn. Indeed Khalīl appears like an exception to us in the context of the fifteenth century which has been acknowledged as a time of blurred social boundaries that allowed the parts played by “men of the sword” and “men of the pen” to bleed together even across

72 Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, pp. 60–61.

73 See his contributions to this volume.

74 Ulrich Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in: *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut: American University in Beirut 1984, pp. 141–68, here p. 143; Julien Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks: XIIIe–XVIIe siècle. Une expérience du pouvoir dans l'Islam médiéval*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil 2014, p. 141.

military ranks. Divisions between *mamlūks*, amirs, scholars, and common folk were decidedly more permeable than has been previously believed.⁷⁵ If indeed there were tighter restrictions on where military and non-military men could participate in the fourteenth century, there was more room to maneuver in the fifteenth. The so-called “children of elites” were by no means a homogeneous and clearly identifiable social group.⁷⁶ As a signifier in historiographical and other sources, “*awlād al-nās*” as reflective of a certain social reality experienced and engaged in by actors such as ‘Abd al-Bāṣit al-Malaṭī and Ibn Iyās, became meaningful only toward the end of the fifteenth century among later generations.

4 Conclusion

The *Zubdat kashf* is thus not best framed as a text written by a representative of the so-called “sons of elites”; it was indeed penned by the son of a *mamlūk*, though one who positioned himself as a member of the power elite. The *Zubdat kashf* appears to have been written in the late 1430s and 1440s, and thus, despite its breadth of information, more so reflective of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s early career.⁷⁷ In its abbreviated form, it serves as a tool that enabled him to claim an identity for himself linked to the organization of the fifteenth-century Cairo Sultanate and what had been done according to precedent (*‘alā l-‘āda*) rather than connecting to other types of capital—cultural or social—associated with his ancestors or family members.

Khalīl ibn Shāhīn largely enjoyed a life of privilege and was well-placed and well-received by successive sultans and their political orders, perhaps based on his reputation as someone capable of efficient service.⁷⁸ His success and survival were based on his growing experience, applicability, adaptability, and malleability. He was one of the quintessential statesman-scholars of the mid-fifteenth century and was in many ways a unique case. The textual image he created of himself and the one that survives in subsequent biographies stands tall in elite circles of his time. However, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s career was also remembered and textually memorialized at a time when the “*awlād al-nās*” label began to appear with more importance in the second half of the fifteenth century. ‘Abd al-Bāṣit ibn Khalīl al-Malaṭī wrote about his father in the final decades of the fifteenth and first of the sixteenth century when notions of who the “*awlād al-nās*” were and what rights they had were clearly the focus of a discernable discourse in courtly

75 Van Steenberghe, Wing, and D’hulster, “Mamlukisation (part I)”, pp. 552–4.

76 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, pp. 77, 82–84.

77 Because Jaqmaq is identified as the living sovereign, the text could not have been completed later than that sultan’s death date of 857/1453.

78 Tadayoshi, “Analysis of ‘Abd al-Bāṣit”, p. 29.

circles.⁷⁹ ‘Abd al-Bāṣit al-Malaṭī was anxious to capitalize on his father’s fame in the context of ongoing debates on the social identity of the *awlād al-nās* and their entitlements, and was even in the habit of introducing himself and his texts abroad as “*ibn al-wazīr*”.⁸⁰

One way to approach the *Zubdat kashf* is by seeking out the nature of the truth claims the author uses to discursively create political order and the social memory of the state. His construction of Barsbāy’s political order offers no hint or reflection of his identity as the son of an amir. He had climbed the ranks to become a high-level administrator whose accomplishments and integration into the social and political worlds far outshone those of his father. Entrance into service as a commanding officer made his status as yet another freeborn civilian descendant of an amiral family obsolete.⁸¹ Rather than identify with a vague notion of a non-existent group identity, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn instead saw himself as part of a fluid and changing series of social and political orders, writing his text as a new one was likely taking shape. One aim of his *Zubdat kashf* is thus to elevate and offer advice that would bring to light administrative and revenue-producing areas to inform Jaqmaq of financially advantageous strategies of the recent past that were ripe for improvement or exploitation.⁸²

Khalīl ibn Shāhīn’s frequent laments that things had ceased to be as they had been before, connects the reader to social memories of glorious leadership from the past. In its advice for the incumbent sultan and wazir, the *Zubdat kashf* underscores and helps construct a tradition of one political order of a continuous sultanate of *mamlūks* in the fifteenth century tying his mid-fifteenth-century present to the memory of a shared thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and earlier fifteenth-century past. Rather than seeking to define and pin down the reign of Barsbāy, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn sought to recreate some of its more potent moments, thereby creating space for new dynamics that allowed the past to intrude upon the present. The *Zubdat kashf* allows space for the recent past to reappear, re-attaching it to the present, and thus creating new meanings intended to offer advice to the contemporary political order taking shape around Jaqmaq and his entourage, making Khalīl ibn Shāhīn and his *Zubdat kashf* ‘actors’ in a bilateral process of shaping and being shaped by it.

79 See the contributions of Jo Van Steenberghe and Koby Yosef in this volume.

80 Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal*, 46, 51.

81 Ibid.

82 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Zubdat kashf*, pp. 5, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90, 92, 115.

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The Muḥsinī Brothers: A Case Study in the Contribution of Mamluks' Descendants to Cairo's Material Culture in the Fourteenth Century

The Mamluk period produced an artistic patrimony that is unparalleled in the history of Muslim Egypt. We know far more about the patrons of this art than about its artists, who rarely left their names on buildings or objects they worked on. Notwithstanding the wealth of information in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries of the period, artists were not as included as we would have hoped. This is why it is fortuitous that we encounter their names in the tomes we have of the Mamluk primary sources, and as signatures on objects of art. Two of these names/signatures happen to be siblings, sons of a Mamluk amir, operating in fourteenth century Cairo. Muḥammad ibn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī, the artist, politician and official (d. shortly after 762/1361);¹ and Aḥmad ibn Baylīk² al-Muḥsinī, the artist, religious scholar and literati (d. 753/1352–3).³ Both were born to amir Badr al-Dīn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī, who was appointed as an inspector of Upper Egypt during the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn.⁴ He was then made the deputy in Alexandria. He built a *qayṣariyya* outside of Bāb Zuwayla and after his death his son Muḥammad inherited its income.⁵ It is the aim of this paper to discuss Muḥammad and Aḥmad's artistic productions, in the form of manuscripts and architectural decoration, and how their affiliation with both Sultans—who also happen to be Mamluks' descendants—al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn

1 He is first mentioned in Abdallah Kahil, "The Architect/s of the Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo," in: *Artibus Asiae* 66, no. 2 (2006), 155–74 and in Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007, 203–204.

2 The correct transcription of their father's name is most probably Bīlīk and not Baylīk as suggested by Dr. Reuven Amitai-Preiss, whom I would like to thank for this tip. Dr. Amitai-Preiss suggested that this is the most probable spelling of the name since Bīlīk—originally *bilig*—is an ancient Turkish word that is also found in Mongolian to mean wisdom or wise saying. However, I have decided to keep Baylīk since this is how Aḥmad ibn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī wrote his name when he signed his own manuscripts, by placing a *fātiḥa* on the *bā'*. Please see fig. 24.

3 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:205; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:37 and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 1:124.

4 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqafa*, 2:583.

5 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:91 and al-Shujā'i, *Tārīkh*, 54.

(r. 693–4/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309 and 709–41/1301–41) and his son Sultan Ḥasan (r. 748–52/1347–51 and 755–62/1354–61) was crucial to their trajectory.

1 Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Dīn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī

Muḥammad was brought to light in recent years by Abdallah Kahil and Doris Behrens-Abouseif.⁶ The importance of Muḥammad for the arts lies in the fact that he left a Quran manuscript (figs. 1–5) that he calligraphed early in his career finishing it in 730/1330,⁷ and in being the *shādd al-‘amā’ir al-sulṭāniyya* (supervisor of royal constructions) for Sultan Ḥasan. He was thus one of the two architects of the sultan’s huge complex in Maydān al-Rumayla.⁸ His career has been investigated heavily by Kahil as part of his research into the architects of the complex of Sultan Ḥasan. Besides scribing Quran manuscripts and designing and building edifices, Muḥammad was also well traveled. The administrator-geographer-historian Ibn Faḍlallāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749/1349) depended on Muḥammad for some topographical information. In his *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* he mentions that the learned *amir* Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥsinī described to him Barqa and its topography in detail, and he uses this information in his book.⁹

Muḥammad was more involved in politics than his brother Aḥmad, and this led to his imprisonment on a few occasions. Neither his exact birth nor death dates were recorded by any of our sources. But he definitely died after his brother Aḥmad, since he was involved in the building Sultan Ḥasan’s complex between 757/1356 and 762/1361.¹⁰

His trajectory begins under the patronage of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad with his appointment as the *wālī* of Cairo in 730/1330, after having been the *wālī* of al-Munūfiyya for some time.¹¹ Serendipitously this is also the date he produced his Quran manuscript in 730/1330 for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, now kept in the Keir

6 Cf. fn 1 above.

7 The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, K.1.2014.577.

8 Muḥammad signed in the southeastern corner of the courtyard of the *madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan as *nashw dawlatihi wa shādd al-‘imāratihi Muḥammad ibn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī* (written by the elated one of his [the sultan’s] reign/state and his [the sultan’s] supervisor of constructions Muḥammad ibn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī). We thus know that he was the *shādd al-‘ama’ir*. Kahil, *Sultan Ḥasan Complex*, 172.

9 Al-‘Umarī, *Masālik*, 3:346.

10 He must have died after 764, the death date of al-Ṣafadī, who mentions Muḥammad in Aḥmad’s obituary and does not dedicate an obituary to Muḥammad. It led me to conclude that he was alive when al-Ṣafadī was writing his books.

11 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:323 and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:284.

collection (on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, object number: K.1.2014.577) (fig. 2).¹²

To contextualize the manuscript and Muḥammad's skill and training, comparisons with the contemporaneous productions of renowned Mamluk calligraphers are in order. Muḥammad's work shares similarities with that of the acclaimed calligrapher Ibn al-Afīf [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anṣarī al-Shāfi'ī al-Ḥalabī (d. 736/1336)], *shaykh al-kuttāb bi-l-diyār al-miṣriyya* (figs. 6 and 7).¹³ Similarities include the floriated kufi on blue background in cartouches as sura titles (compare figs. 1 and 7), the sweeping movement of the *muḥaqqaq* like a tidal wave, and the treatments of certain letters like the *rā'*, the *lām-alif* that tilts slightly to the right and the medial *'ayn* which also tilts slightly to the left (compare figs 4, 5 and 6).

This comparisons stress the proficiency of Muḥammad and of course begs the question of discipleship. Was he a student of Ibn al-Afīf? We know from Mamluk calligraphic treatises and from the encyclopedist al-Qalqashandī that the Egyptian school of the script *muḥaqqaq* is said to have been laid out by the Ibn al-Afīf—he is the father and originator of this school and would have been the best mentor to Muḥammad.¹⁴

Comparable material from the period is present in the work of another book artist working, most probably, for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad: the calligrapher and illuminator Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kamāl ibn Yaḥyā al-Anṣarī al-Mutaṭṭabbib (figs. 8 and 9)—his work is the closest to Muḥammad's. Al-Mutaṭṭabbib's illumination program, typical of the period, has affinities to Muḥammad's illumination composition: the idea of the rectangular star central field that is inscribed, the color palette and the arabesque border on the red-hatched background (compare figs. 3 and 8). Al-Mutaṭṭabbib is one of the many artists who are not mentioned in our rich sources. From his *nisba* it can be surmised that he was in the medical profession, a doctor-artist who left us four signed manuscripts.¹⁵

12 David James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*. London: Alexandria Press and Thames and Hudson, 1988, cat. # 12.

13 This term is used in the sources to emphasize the importance of the calligrapher as a mentor to others. Thus not only was his writing excellent but he taught calligraphy as well. Examples in the sources include al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* with respect to the deaths of 776/1374, where a calligrapher called 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak ibn 'Abdallāh al-Turkī was referred to as, *shaykh kuttāb al-mansūb*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:248.

14 Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, 3:41, 47 and 2:452.

15 James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*, 132–8. Four manuscripts were identified to carry his name. Three Quran manuscripts carry his signature: two in the National Library of Egypt (Raṣīd 184 and Raṣīd 8), and one in the Chester Beatty Library (Is 1476). The fourth carrying his signature is a manuscript of the second part the *Qanūn fī al-ṭibb* by Ibn Sinā now kept at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (MS lxvii).

Speaking of illumination, Muḥammad's work is a copy of the earlier renowned illuminator Ṣandal, responsible for the famous Baybars al-Jāshnakīr (r. 709–10/1309–10) Quran manuscript in the British Library.¹⁶ A Ṣandal manuscript (fig. 10), now kept in the Chester Beatty Library,¹⁷ was almost copied by Muḥammad: the rectangular star central field with text of *sūrat Fuṣṣilat* (41:42) in the centre star in white thuluth, the arabesque border on the red-hatched ground, the color palette share the same exact details and are almost identical compare figs. 3 and 10). The illuminator Ṣandal is only known from his signatures on manuscripts, as no entry is found on him in any of the biographical dictionaries of the period. He is mentioned in passing by the historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) in his *A'yān*, and in *al-Wāfi*, in his rather elaborate discussion of the calligrapher responsible for the same manuscript, Ibn al-Waḥīd. When al-Ṣafadī talks about seeing the great manuscript in seven parts produced for the amir Baybars in the mosque of al-Ḥākim, he mentions that its illuminator was Ṣandal.¹⁸ His name tells us he must have been a eunuch in the Mamluk court, and through an examination of the surviving colophons of his Quran manuscripts we know he had two disciples Ayduḡhdī ibn 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad ibn Mubādīr.¹⁹

It stands to reason to conclude that Muḥammad's training in the arts of the Quran was carried out through two important workshops of the early fourteenth century. His calligraphy fits the workshop of Ibn al-Afif, while his illumination is most certainly a result of a discipleship with Ṣandal or one of Ṣandal's apprentices.

The inescapable question is whether Muḥammad produced the manuscript in celebration of the new post? Unfortunately the sources do not talk of this splendid production and the colophon does not provide the circumstances of production. It is always a possibility that he did, and gifted to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the occasion.

Moving on to his building skills, we have accounts of his architectural training and vision being used by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad early on in his career. Muḥammad was assigned to demolish, redevelop and rebuild the *manāẓir* of al-Maydān al-Zahiri [originally constructed by Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658–76/1260–77)]. He spent two months in 731/1331, the year following the production of his

16 British Library manuscript Add. 24406–13. When Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, the Circassian *us-tadār* who was enthroned as al-Malik al-Muẓaffar for a brief period of time, commissioned one of the masterpieces of Mamluk Quran manuscripts to have survived for us to see. For more on this manuscript please see James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*, 34–72 and James, "Some Observations," 147–57. For a digitized copy of the manuscript please visit <http://www.bl.uk/turning-the-pages/?id=0354faf0-a67a-11db-87d3-0050c2490048&type=book>.

17 CBL 1479.

18 "Wa zammakaha Ṣandal al-Mudhahhib," in al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 3:151, and "Wa zammakaha Ṣandal" in al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:468.

19 James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*, 47–72.

Quran manuscript, dismantling and demolishing the *manāzir*, selling the wood he reclaimed from it, and designing and building the new *maydān* as ordered by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who was very pleased with the end product.²⁰ As the *wālī* of Cairo and an architect he was in charge of beautifying the city when occasion called for it. He had ordered the shops in Cairo to light candles and lamps and decorate their vicinities in celebration of bestowing on Aḥmad, the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the title amir in front of the mausoleum of Qalāwūn in 731/1331.²¹

As a royal administrator, artist and urban developer he became the center of trouble when the notorious *nāzir al-khāṣṣ* al-Nashw decided to go after him. Al-Nashw has been depicted as a villain in the sources, who in 734/1334 schemed the deposition of Muḥammad from his position as the *wālī* of Cairo,²² and in 736/1336 caused his arrest and imprisonment in Alexandria. As a consequence Muḥammad's father, amir Badr al-Dīn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī, his family and his siblings were exiled to Tripoli—later on he was moved to Damascus.²³ This is relevant to the career and trajectory of his brother Aḥmad, as we will shortly see, who became intellectually active in the Syrian lands. In a different account al-Maqrīzī informs us that Muḥammad al-Muḥsinī's wife and children were exiled there too, since he reports that the wife died shortly after returning from Tripoli in 739/1339 leaving an inheritance confiscated by the Nashw!²⁴

His skill in urban development eventually moved him from Tripoli to Damascus in 745/1344 where, as a *shādd*, together with his colleague Ibn Marāḥil, they maintained and developed the surrounding area. Their work was commended by al-Maqrīzī as he describes the expansion work they accomplished.²⁵

20 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:334. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:97–8.

21 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:335.

22 Abdallah Kahil states that the sources confuse Muḥammad with his father amir Badr al-Dīn Baylīk, and that it was the father who was sent to Tripoli. This does not seem to be the case. The confusion is in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqafā* account where he mentions that Muḥammad left when his father was deposed to Tripoli. This is a mistake on behalf of al-Maqrīzī in *al-Muqafā*. Al-Ṣafadī who was a contemporary of both brothers and knew Aḥmad on a personal level—he quotes Aḥmad while giving us his birth date—mentions that when Muḥammad, the brother of Aḥmad, was deposed to Tripoli, Aḥmad left with him. In his *al-Sulūk* al-Maqrīzī rightly corroborates that Muḥammad was deposed and his entire family including his father, siblings, wife and children left with him. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:372 and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 6:280. On al-Nashw and his atrocities see Amalia Levanoni, "The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of 'Moral Economy'," in: *Mamluk Studies Review*, 9 (2005), 207–20.

23 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:391–2 and 2:671.

24 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:464. Daughter of amir Shams al-Dīn Aldikz al-Manṣūrī.

25 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:671.

2 Muḥammad's association with Sultan Ḥasan

Ten years later during the second reign of Sultan Ḥasan, he entered a period of great prosperity when in 754/1353, he was first appointed as *mushīr al-dawla* (counselor of state) by Sultan Ḥasan and eventually constructed his complex.²⁶ Prior to his involvement in the Sultan Ḥasan Complex project, Muḥammad was part of another building project for Sultan Ḥasan. In 755/1354, together with others, he had to build embankments in Fayyum because of the unexpectedly high level of the Nile flood.²⁷ His greatest achievement, however, as *shādd al-‘amā’ir al-sultāniyya* is his involvement in the supervision and/or construction, and design of decorative details in the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan. The focus of this paper is on the inscription band he calligraphed and the chinoiserie elements carved by the entrance portal and inside the mausoleum. As a calligrapher he found himself very proud of the magnificent inscription band that he executed around the *iwān* of the qibla (fig. 11) and around the walls of the *iwāns* of the attached madrasas. Around the walls of the Ḥanafī madrasa—to the south of the qibla *iwān*—he left this signature (fig. 12):

...كتبه نشو دولته وشاد عمارته محمد ابن بيليك المحسني²⁸

Written by the elated one of his [the sultan's] reign/state and his [the sultan's] supervisor of construction Muḥammad ibn Baylik al-Muḥsini

Muḥammad, the artist, was making a statement by reviving *kūfī* as an epigraphic champion. *Thuluth* was the favored epigraphic script in Mamluk architecture carved in both stucco and stone. Examples of the most prevalent style during the period can be seen in the qibla *iwāns* in the *khānqā* of Salār and Sanjar (built in 703/1303) (fig. 13), the mosque of al-Māridānī (built 739–40/1339–40) (fig. 14), and the madrasa of Tatar al-Ḥijāziyya (built 748/1347) (fig. 15). *Kūfī* on an arabesque background was common in *sūra* titles in Quran manuscripts of the first half of the fourteenth century. Various examples survive from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Muḥammad did use them as clear in his surviving Quran manuscript (fig. 16). By the 750s/1350s most Mamluk Quran manuscripts show *tawqī* (which is the smaller *thuluth*) in their *sūra* titles and not *kūfī* (fig. 17). Was Muḥammad intentionally harking back to an older style specifically used in Quran manuscripts? Was he challenging himself by using a script that has never been used on such a monumental scale? Even the earlier examples of the Fati-

26 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:890; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 4:3; and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqafā*, 5:470.

27 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:13.

28 For the full inscription band around the walls of the Hanafī madrasa please see Bernard O’Kane, *The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo*, insc. # 133.9 <https://islamicinscriptions.cultnat.org/InscriptionDetails?id=7007> (30.09.21).

mids, who only used *kūfī* for their epigraphic programs, do not stress such a monumentality. Or was it external influences via Syria? He did live there after all.²⁹

Muḥammad was most certainly involved in other decorative details and carvings in the building. The chinoiserie carved by the entrance portal of the complex has always fascinated art historians (fig. 18). An amazing array of lotuses, peonies, and chrysanthemums are delicately carved on the exterior of the building by the portal. The interior, more specifically the mausoleum of the sultan, has a band of lotuses alternating with the Mamluk interpretation of a peony carved in white marble (fig. 19). I have discussed elsewhere³⁰ that there was a surge in the use of Chinese elements, in a Persianate Ilkhanid garb, in Mamluk Quran manuscripts commissioned by amir Ṣirghatmish al-Nāṣirī (d. 759/1358), and Sultan Ḥasan, and that it was a result of Ṣirghatmish's impetus that these elements eventually became a standard in Mamluk Quran manuscripts.³¹ We lack the textual evidence that would directly connect Ṣirghatmish and the Muḥsinī brothers—Muḥammad and Aḥmad—but they were part of the elite and most definitely interacted with him. Aḥmad, who will be discussed shortly, left us the earliest surviving lotus in a Mamluk Quran manuscript, Ṣirghatmish's fascination with the Persianate world and their arts set in motion a heavy usage of their motifs, Ḥasan followed suite and Muḥammad was there to materialize and produce these elements on architecture. While the chinoiserie on Sultan Ḥasan's complex is not the earliest surviving example on architecture, since we already encounter the lotus on the *sabīl* (built 754/1355) (fig. 20) of amir Shaykhū l-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357)—who together with Ṣirghatmish was the de facto ruler of Egypt during Sultan Ḥasan's first reign—it is the most elaborate and it is no coincidence that it would be Muḥammad who expounded on this usage as archi-

29 Detailed discussion of the inscription band and its sources of inspiration is found in Abdallah Kahil, *The Sultan Ḥasan Complex in Cairo, 1357–1364: A Case Study in the Formation of Mamluk Style*. Beirut: Orient Institut 2008, 146–54. Syrian counterpart is in the mosque of Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī in Damascus (built 757/1356), see Kahil, *Sultan Ḥasan Complex*, pl. 333.

30 Noha Abou-Khatwa, "Shaping the Material Culture of Cairo in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century: A Case Study in the Patronage of Amir Ṣirghatmish al-Nāṣirī," in: *Living with Nature and things: Contributions to a New Social History of the Middle Islamic Periods*, ed. Bethany Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz, Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2020, 311–48.

31 The earliest surviving instances of a lotus in Mamluk lands is on glass and metalwork, as demonstrated by Rachel Ward. Rachel Ward, "Mosque Lamps and Enamelled Glass: Getting the Dates Right." In *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria—Evolution and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, 55–75. Göttingen: Bonn University Press 2012, 71 and eadem, "Brass, Gold and Silver from Mamluk Egypt: Metal Vessels Made for Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. A Memorial Lecture for Mark Zebrowski," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, 14, no. 1 (2004), 59–73, here 66.

tectural decoration, since it is his brother who experimented with it on paper in 739/1339 before it became a fashion in the 750s/1350s and beyond.

More questions than answers arise as one looks at the incredible details of the building. It is hard to believe that Muḥammad produced one Quran manuscript and only for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It makes sense to assume that he also produced manuscripts for Sultan Ḥasan, who was one of the greatest patrons of Quran manuscripts during the fourteenth century. Muḥammad's other manuscripts were probably lost or destroyed. It is the hope of the manuscript specialist that as more libraries open their doors for digitization and research, hidden material will surface and maybe, just maybe, we will once more encounter his signature in one them!

The *raison d'être* behind Sultan Ḥasan granting Muḥammad such agency that was ostentatiously related in his signature was given to us by the later fifteenth century historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī. Sultan Ḥasan favored and supported Mamluks' descendants, this was part of his plan for ruling the country, and it was one of the main reasons he was killed.³² His support of *awlād al-nās*, the term used by Ibn Taghrī Birdī to refer to Mamluks' descendants, is important since they were also involved in his artistic campaign. He placed people from *awlād al-nās* as his deputies in the different provinces and promoted a few to the position of *muq-qadam alf* (commander of a thousand). These also included two of his sons (Aḥmad and Qāsim).³³ Ibn Taghrī Birdī tells us that when some of his entourage and *amirs* blamed him for doing this, Ḥasan explained himself eloquently. He said that it was not out of love for them, but rather for his own personal benefit, the benefit of the populace, and the benefit of the state.³⁴ He would personally benefit from their obedience, which would be less evident in the *mamlūks*, since the *awlād al-nās*' families and companions would forbid them from disobeying the sultan in order to protect their incomes. The *awlād al-nās* would benefit the populace because they had not gone through deprivation, and were therefore not greedy and would not be unjust. The benefit to the state would lie in the fact that they were more knowledgeable about the rules and policies of the state and knew how to deal with the populace, since they shared a culture.³⁵ Whether these points were relevant to astute rulership or not is beside the point, they are important because they show us how this monarch thought, how he explained his actions and why he promoted *them*.

32 The details of Sultan Ḥasan's promotion and investment in Mamluks' descendants, and death as given by the account of Ibn Taghrī Birdī, is the topic of paper in the same volume by Takao Ito entitled "*Awlād al-Nās* during and after the Reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan."

33 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:63; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:127; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, 1:578.

34 Ito, "After the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan," ftn 3.

35 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:127.

It should be recalled that Sultan Ḥasan himself is considered one of the Mamluk descendants. Technically his father, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was from this category as well, since he was freeborn and thus by extension belonged to it. This was one of the reasons the Mamluk amirs treated Sultan Ḥasan as such.³⁶ Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had suffered the same control and abuse by veteran amirs during his first two reigns.

Another more viable reason behind the elevation of Muḥammad is a personal one, namely the close relationship Sultan Ḥasan enjoyed with him. Muḥammad's strong loyalty and closeness to Sultan Ḥasan has been noted before by Abdallah Kahil.³⁷ Towards the end of Sultan Ḥasan's life in 762/1361, the notorious *amir* Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī al-Khāṣṣakī revolted,³⁸ and Muḥammad chivalrously defended the sultan until they were both caught by Yalbughā. The young sultan was killed and Muḥammad was imprisoned in Alexandria, where he presumably died.³⁹ It is the intimate nature of the details reported in the sources regarding this episode that speak of how close Muḥammad was to Sultan Ḥasan, and also inform us that he was from amongst *umarāʾ al-ulūf*.⁴⁰ We need to keep in mind that Muḥammad was much older than Sultan Ḥasan, and the image of a protective father-friend immediately jumps out in reports describing what Muḥammad did when Yalbughā followed Sultan Ḥasan to the Citadel to pursue the fight and kill the sultan. Muḥammad's tenacity in not succumbing to Yalbughā's bribes and his sincere defense is summed up in these lines from Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *al-Nujūm*:

He [Yalbughā] was intercepted and challenged by Ibn al-Muḥsinī, one of the alfi amirs...

36 There are many similarities between Ḥasan's circumstances and those of his father that are not apparent in the sources, and it is most interesting that his contemporary, the Moroccan poet Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Abī Ḥajala (725–76/1325–75), noticed this and listed these similarities. Ibn Abī Ḥajala was living in Cairo when Sultan Ḥasan was ruling. He was in charge of the Sufis in Manjak's building. He wrote his *Sukrdān al-sultān* in 757/1356 in Cairo, tracing the number “7” in the history of Egyptian royalty, and he included stories of some of the prophets, such as Joseph and Moses. The personage to whom he paid the most attention was Sultan Ḥasan, the seventh of al-Nāṣir's sons to rule, and there is a large section on him in the book. Ibn Abī Ḥajala tells us that al-Nāṣir and Ḥasan shared seven things. The most interesting are that they were both deposed and re-enthroned, both went for some time without a wazīr, and both went for some time without a *nāʾib*. See Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Sukrdān al-sultān*, 91; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:62–63; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1:578; and Abdallah Kahil, *Sultan Ḥasan Complex*, 8.

37 Abdallah Kahil, *Sultan Ḥasan Complex*, 172–81.

38 For more information on this episode please see Jo Van Steenberghe, “The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366), the Qalāwūnid Sultanate and the Cultural Matrix of Mamluk Society: A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 131, no. 3 (2011). 423–43.

39 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:60, 65; Abdallah Kahil, *Sultan Ḥasan Complex*, 173–74.

40 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:312.

It is said that when Yalbughā saw Ibn al-Muḥsinī's strength in fighting, he incited those [soldiers?] to withdraw him from the fight, and made him various promises one of which is maintaining his current stature

When Ibn al-Muḥsinī was distracted [from Sultan Ḥasan], Yalbughā—together with his followers—seized the opportunity and moved in with his cavalry.⁴¹

Muḥammad's proficiency and competency as an administrator, an artist and even as a warrior is impressive. His relationship with the sultans he served was an intimate and important one. It allowed him the opportunity to participate in the material culture of the period, and allowed him to patronize his brother as will shortly be seen.

3 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Badr al-Dīn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī

A survey of the relevant biographical dictionaries shows that Aḥmad was an amir literatī and Shāfi'ī jurist, described by Ibn Taghrī Birdī in his *al-Nujūm* as having been “an educated amir and a Shāfi'ī jurist” (*kāna amīr^{an} faqīh^{an} shāfi'ī^{an} adīb^{an}*).⁴² The most important Mamluk account is that of al-Ṣafadī, since he was acquainted with Aḥmad and knew him in person.⁴³ Aḥmad told al-Ṣafadī in person that he was born in 699/1300 in Alexandria. He studied jurisprudence, focusing on the Shāfi'ī school, and eventually finding an affinity in literature. Nothing much is known of his personal life, as historians did not mention whether he was married or had children. He lived for some time in Damascus, where he became good friends with its *nā'ib*, the famous amir and patron Tankiz.⁴⁴

His first trip to Syria was with his brother Muḥammad to Tripoli. Aḥmad was given an *iqṭā'* in Damascus, and it was also in Damascus that he became ac-

41 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:312–3.

42 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:290; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal*, 1:257; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Dalīl 'alā al-manhal*, 41.

43 More recently, a study of Aḥmad and his work on the *sīra* of the Prophet was undertaken in an unpublished MA thesis at the Islamic University of Gaza, see Abū Sha'r, Ḥāzim 'Alī Muṣbiḥ, “Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Nukhab Sirat al-Amin Ta'rif Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī al-Shāfi'ī al-Mutawafī Sanat 753AH: Taḥqīq wa Dirāsa.” Unpublished MA thesis, Islamic University of Gaza, 2018.

44 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:205; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:37; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 1:124. Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz ibn 'Abdallāh al-Nāṣirī is one of the most renowned Mamluk amirs who served the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His most important position was his *niyāba* in Damascus. He is best known as a great patron of the architecture in Greater Syria, with special attention given to Jerusalem and Hebron. For his patronage see Kenney, *Power and Patronage in Medieval Syria*. Even though he died in Alexandria, his body was taken to Damascus where he was buried. More on Tankiz can be found in these entries al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:116–38 and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 2:55–62.

quainted with Tankiz al-Nāṣirī (d. 740/1340).⁴⁵ In his *A'yān al-Ṣafadī* speaks of the many visits Aḥmad paid to Tankiz and the tomes he read to the *nā'ib*, possibly entertaining and educating him.⁴⁶ It seems that they were close companions and had an intimate relationship.⁴⁷ While in Damascus, he might have studied with some of the Syrian religious scholars such as Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), who would give him advice and correct his poetry.⁴⁸ He left poetry, highly metaphorical and encomiastic verses written for the Prophet, quoted by al-Ṣafadī in his *A'yān*, al-Maqrīzī in his *al-Muqafā*, and Ibn Taghrī Birdī in his *al-Manhal*.⁴⁹ He also left prose, and composed a book on Shāfi'ī jurisprudence commenting on Imam al-Shāfi'ī's *al-Tanbīh fī al-fiqh*.⁵⁰

His last post was in Egypt as the *wālī* of Damietta, during the reign of Sultan Ḥasan.⁵¹ During his tenure there he built a madrasa overlooking the Nile, amongst other construction, and fostered his relationships with the ulama and men of letters who frequented Damietta. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Damietta while Aḥmad was its *wālī*, befriended Aḥmad and recounted that an equestrian was sent to him by Aḥmad when he left to Faraskur with a stipend, that pleased him. The messenger informed Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that the amir, Aḥmad, was pleased with his vocation so he sent him money.⁵² The only one who alludes to his penmanship is al-Ṣafadī, who tells us that Aḥmad composed and calligraphed quite a few works.⁵³ He died towards the end of the year 753/1352–3 whilst in Damietta. Aḥmad's surviving literary works are:

1. *Al-Rawḍ al-Nazīh fī Naẓm al-Tanbīh*, a metrical paraphrase of *al-Tanbīh fī al-Fiqh*, a Shāfi'ī law manual originally written by Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī (d. 476/1083). Aḥmad's paraphrase was highly commended by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) and Ibn Shāhīn al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514). It was also read to al-Subkī upon its completion.⁵⁴ It was copied at a later date by a different scribe and is now kept in the Chester Beatty Library.⁵⁵

45 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:205; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 6:280; and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqafā*, 1:355. He used to read his work to Tankiz and recite his own compositions whenever Tankiz wanted to feel better.

46 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:205.

47 Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal*, 1:236.

48 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:206; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:37; and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 1:124.

49 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:206; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqafā*, 1:355; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal*, 1:257.

50 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqafā*, 1:355 and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:290. The work's title is *Al-Rawḍ al-nazīh fī naẓm al-tanbīh*.

51 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:205; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqafā*, 1:355.

52 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-nuzār*, 1:200; and al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:206.

53 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:205.

54 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 1:124; Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal*, 1:236.

55 Is 3312.

2. *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir wa Nuzhat al-Khāṭir* (fig. 24), a work on literature, calligraphed by Aḥmad in a beautiful *naskh* in 733/1333. It is now kept in Aḥmad III Library part of the Topkapi Saray Palace Library.⁵⁶ The frontispiece, extending on two folios, has tears that prevent a full reading of the commissioning statement, which is placed in the middle of the central star. Legible words tell us that it was his brother Muḥammad who asked for it! The title of the book is seen at the top cartouches on both sides of the frontispiece, finishing of at the bottom cartouches with the name of Aḥmad. They read:

Kitāb Rawḍat [al-nāẓir] wa nuzhat al-khāṭir, was compiled with care by the poor slave of God Almighty Aḥmad ibn Baylīk al-Muḥsinī, may God forgive him and [his parents]

On the right side of the frontispiece the following can be read:

By the order of the library of his exalted excellency, the lofty...

On the left side it the text continues:

The Nāṣirī, son of his exalted excellency, the lofty Badr al-Muḥsinī, may God glorify his victories

The text of the book starts on folio 2b explaining that the book is a composition in excellent verse and prose recounting aphorisms and stories of admonitions. He then tells his reader that his brother Muḥammad asked him to compose it. Starting line 8 on the aforementioned folio it reads:

His exalted excellency, the lofty, the princely, the great, the well-served, the Nāṣirī, the brother—May God prolong his presence and perpetuate his promotion in the ranks of the masterly—ordered me to write and encouraged me to compose this work, so I took the initiative in abiding to his noble order and dedicated my will to collate this compendium.

3. *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Nukhab Sīrat al-Amīn* (fig. 24), a work on the *sīra* of the Prophet. The surviving copy is in the Fatih Library in Istanbul. It was calligraphed, and most probably illuminated, by Aḥmad in 751/1350. It is also produced in a beautiful *naskh*.⁵⁷ In this case it seems that Aḥmad was producing it for himself, and not for someone else's library, the single sided elaborate frontispiece carries only the title of the book on folio 1a. On folio 1b, the text starts with an explanation of why he composed it: a feat he's sought God's guidance in the choice of its topic (*istakhart Allah fī ta'lif hadhā al-muntakhab*).⁵⁸ He also intended it be a short and easy composition to aid a

56 Manuscript number 2371. A digitized copy is found in The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts.

57 Manuscript number 4315. A digitized copy is found in The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts. Other later copies of this work exist in different libraries.

58 Manuscript 4315, folio 1b, line 4.

person at home and for the traveler as well.⁵⁹ This work can be thought of as a synecdoche of the Prophet by containing his *sīra*, hence the stress on the portability of what might be seen as a devotional object (*yakūn rafīqan mū'nisan fī al-ḥaḍar wa al-safar*).

4. *Kitāb Mudhākarat al-Aḥrār fī al-Maqām wa al-Asfār*, a work on literature, copied at a later date and kept at the Salar Jung Museum Library in Hyderabad.⁶⁰

The two manuscripts that he signed in as author and artist, *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Nukhab Sirat al-Amīn* and *Rawḍat al-Nāzīr wa Nuzhat al-Khāṭir* show a master calligrapher in operation. His *naskh* is of a higher caliber than many of the surviving examples of the period. A steady hand and perfect proportions, exemplifying the real meaning of *khaff al-mansūb*.⁶¹ The illumination program in both, evident in their respective frontispieces, is also of an accomplished artist. Assuming that he was also its illuminator, the design and skill is typical of these manuscripts and many multi-volume Qurans of the period. It is of excellent quality, yet shies away from the magnificence displayed in the proceeding manuscript.

In addition to these manuscripts a Quran manuscript now in Iran is signed by him as its maker. It is indeed material culture evidence that highlights his proficiency in the arts of the book. He produced a beautiful Quran manuscript in 739/1339—now kept in Tehran in the Iran Bastan Museum (National Museum of Iran) (figs. 21 and 22).⁶² There is a good chance that his skills as a calligrapher and illuminator were sharpened while in Syria. David James has already discussed that the same level of skill were seen in two other manuscripts, one of which is a Bible, produced in Syria at the time.⁶³ The mastery and quality afforded to this manuscript speaks of a highly acclaimed calligrapher and illuminator.

First the calligraphy (fig. 22): majestically penned in a golden *naskh* and is a great example of Mamluk *naskh* in the first half of the fourteenth century. This was the age of magnificence where *muḥaqqaq* was often used for the such productions. However, *naskh* was the script of choice and it tells of Aḥmad's inclinations, who understandably used it for his works on literature and religion.⁶⁴ This Quran manuscript is of almost the same size as his brother's (39x29 cm

⁵⁹ Manuscript 4315, folio 1b, lines 4–7.

⁶⁰ Manuscript number 4319. A digitized copy is found in The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts.

⁶¹ Compare his work to Raṣīd 56 and Raṣīd 149 in the National Library of Egypt.

⁶² MS number 2061/4242.

⁶³ James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*, 138–40 and 149.

⁶⁴ *Naskh* was always the script of choice for hadith, jurisprudence, literature and poetry. It is the script par excellence for these genres during the fourteenth century, while *muḥaqqaq* was the script par excellence for Quran manuscripts.

vs. 38x26.5 cm), and his *naskh* works fantastically well. This is because in this case it is slightly bigger than the normal *naskh* and takes on some of the qualities of *thuluth*, albeit it on a smaller scale. *Muḥaqqaq* is the Quran script par excellence for the Mamluk period, but as a script on this codex size (39x29 cm) Aḥmad's variation of *naskh* worked better than the more monumental *muḥaqqaq*. The manuscript is not huge and certainly dwarfs in comparison to those of the 1350s–70s, whose sizes were double and triple than this one, and where *muḥaqqaq* was the champion.

Second the illumination (fig. 21): the illumination program is a pioneer, unlike Muḥammad who copied the work of Ṣandal—since he might have been a disciple of his—Aḥmad introduced a layout and design that will last for decades to come, since it will be taken over by an illumination workshop in the late 1360s and 1370s to set a style and standard for Mamluk royal productions. It introduces:

- the central star polygon is set in a square and not a rectangle that takes over the entire page;
- the arabesque border around the whole composition is of a blue ground;
- and the most importantly the usage of the lotuses.

These are elements that will define a tradition to last for decades to come.

Persianate/Ilkhanid elements are clear in the usage of the lotus and in the usage of black for the background of compositions.

As mentioned earlier, the lotus was revived and used heavily in the Qurans of Ṣirghatmish—the connoisseur of Persianate culture and intellectual thought—those of Sultan Ḥasan,⁶⁵ and also in a hadith manuscript of Amir Shaykhū, the de facto rulers of the 750s/1350s.⁶⁶ Once again it is important to reiterate that this is not a coincidence. Aḥmad is the one who experimented with the lotus on paper, his brother was involved in its usage in the sultan's complex and Ṣirghatmish and Shaykhū, the effective rulers of the period, used it in their architecture and/or in their manuscripts.

4 Conclusion

It is fair to say that this network of the ruling elite, which incorporated and was giving agency to Mamluks' descendants helped in the fostering of creativity and cultural exchange. The longevity of the interaction between the members of this network had a stunning effect on the arts of the fourteenth century. By the late

65 See Abou-Khatwa, "Shaping the Material Culture of Cairo," figures 16 and 17.

66 *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, volume 1, Ms. Yah. Ar. 24, The National Library of Israel, commissioned by amir Shaykhū al-Nāṣirī in 748/1347.

1360s and 1370s Aḥmad's star polygon and *chinoserie* were used to make up the productions of the most important Quran manuscript workshop working for the Qalawunid line and serving Sultan Sha'bān (r. 764–78/1363–77), his entourage and his mother (d.774/1373) (fig. 23). Thanks to their position within Mamluk society, Mamluks' descendants had access to important patrons and resources. Sultans, amirs and their descendants were patrons, artists and intellectuals supporting and patronizing the intellectual and artistic life of the period. This relationship is best exemplified in Aḥmad's words, *amaranī wa hathanī*, explaining why he composed his work *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa nuzhat al-khāṭir*: he was ordered and encouraged by his brother Muḥammad to do so.

Much work remains to be done in order to uncover further details about the participation of Mamluks' descendants in Cairo's material culture and intellectual life. As an example, Aḥmad's works are still in manuscript form and need to be studied and published at length. An appraisal of his erudition can only be gaged through a detailed study of what he has written. This research has also clarified that he was a master of the arts of the book, but further art historical and codicological examination of his manuscripts are now in order to have a true appreciation of his artistic abilities. Muḥammad's abilities as calligrapher and illuminator are also still to be studied at length, pending the uncovering of manuscripts carrying his signature in the Manuscript libraries around the world. More Islamic manuscripts are being catalogued, with the bulk still unidentified. A thorough search into these collections might very well yield to more of his signatures, since it is hard to believe that he produced only this one Quran manuscript!

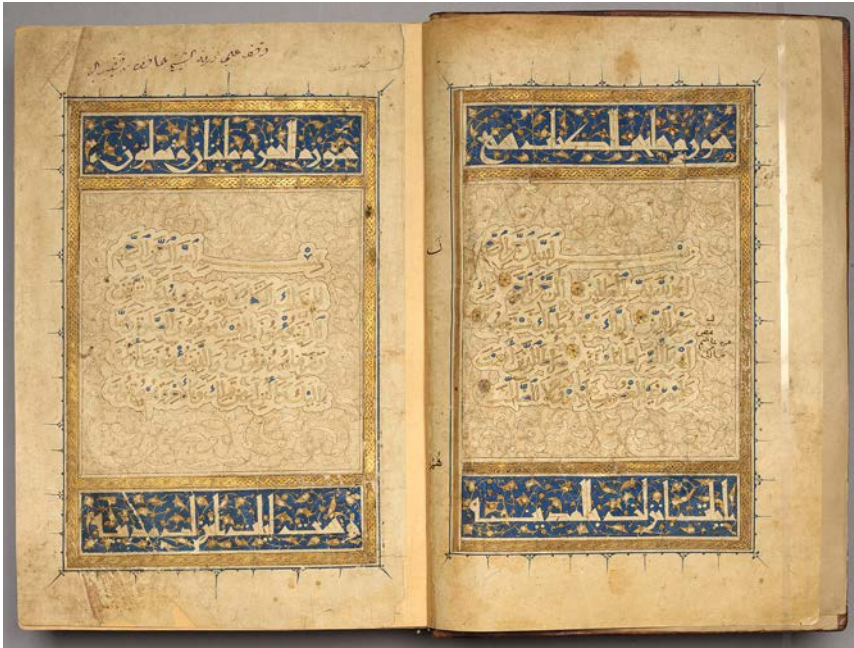


Fig. 01: Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥsinī's Quran manuscript, opening pages, 730/1330, 38x26.5 cm, The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, K.1.2014.577 © Dallas Museum of Art.

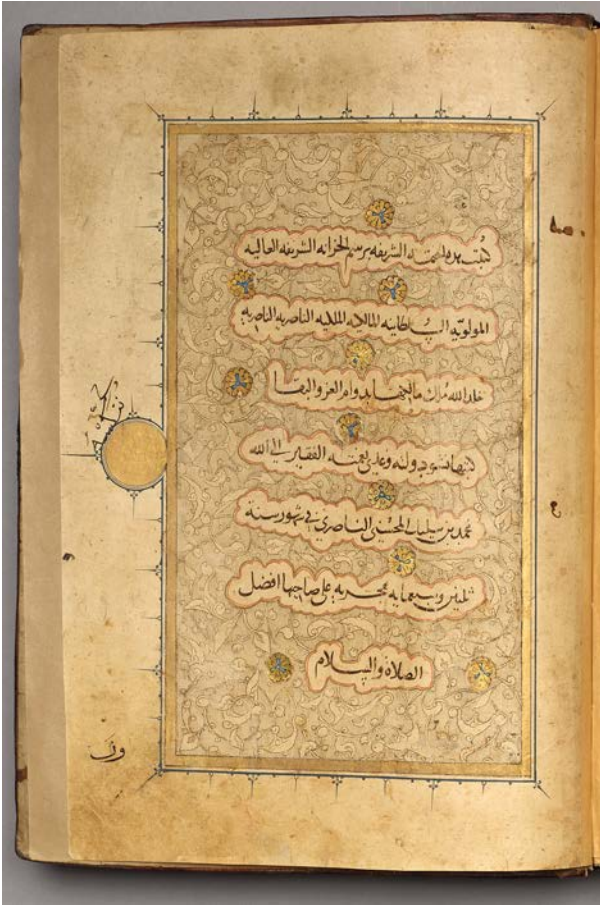


Fig. 02: Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥsinī's Quran manuscript, colophon, 730/1330, 38x26.5 cm, The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, K.1.2014.577 © Dallas Museum of Art.



Fig. 03: Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥsinī's Quran manuscript, frontispiece, 730/1330, 38x26.5 cm, The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, K.1.2014.577 © Dallas Museum of Art.

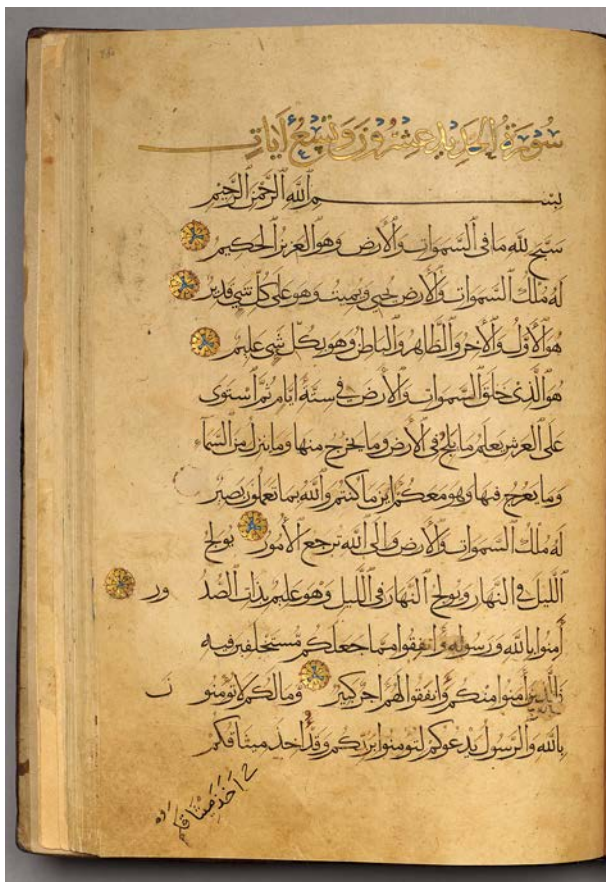


Fig. 04: Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥsinī's Quran manuscript, f. 266a, 730/1330, 38x26.5 cm, The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, K.I.2014.577 © Dallas Museum of Art.

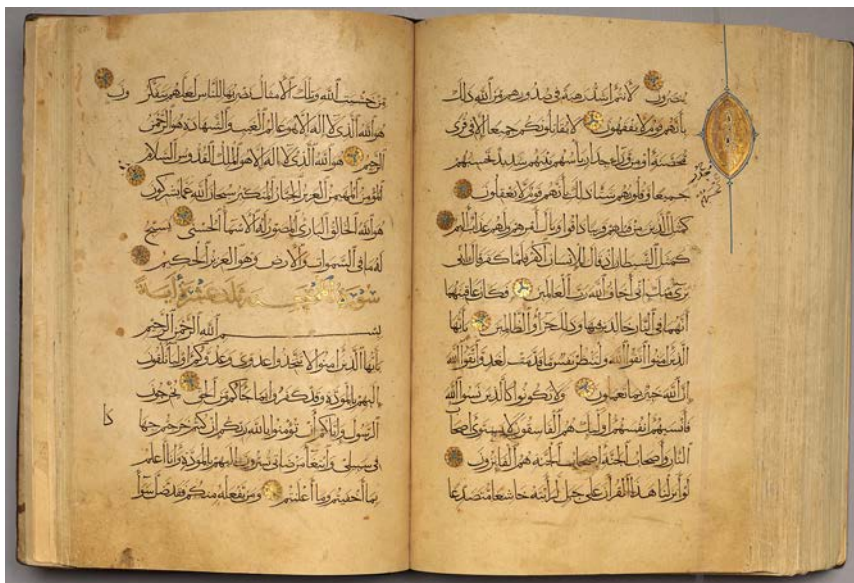


Fig. 05: Muḥammad ibn al-Muḥsinī's Quran manuscript, ff. 271b–272a, 730/1330, 38x26.5 cm, The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, K.1.2014.577 © Dallas Museum of Art.



Fig. 06: Ibn al-Afif's Quran manuscript, ff. 77b–78a, penned in the first half of the 14th century, 58x38 cm, Rašīd 142, © The National Library of Egypt.



Fig. 07: Ibn al-‘Afif’s Quran manuscript, f. 2a, left side of opening page, penned in the first half of the 14th century, 58x38 cm, Raṣīd 142, © The National Library of Egypt.



Fig. 08: Al-Mutaṭṭabib's Quran manuscript, frontispiece, penned in 734/1334, 52x37 cm, Raṣīd 81, © The National Library of Egypt.

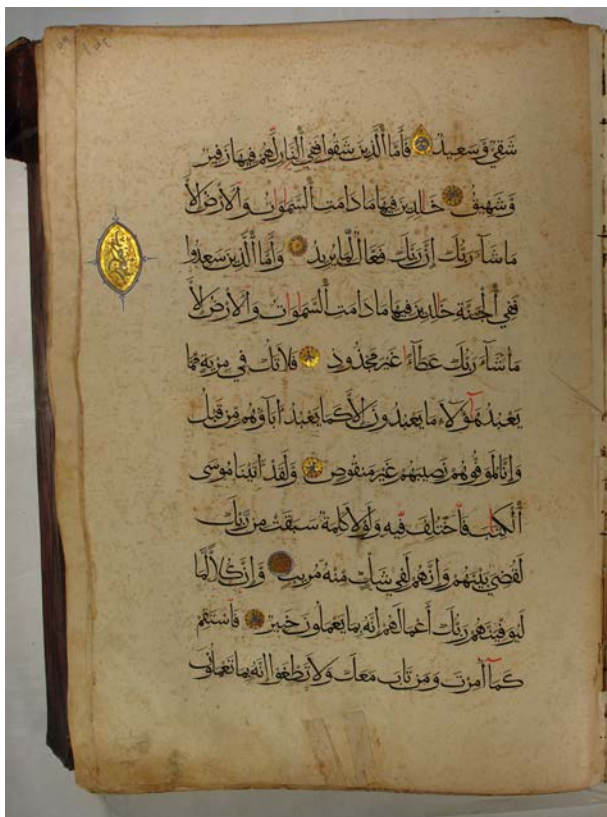


Fig. 09: Al-Mutaṭṭabib's Quran manuscript, f. 154a, penned in 734/1334, 52x37 cm, Raṣīd 184, © The National Library of Egypt.



Fig.10: Sandal's Quran manuscript, frontispiece, produced in the first half of the 14th century, 33x25 cm, Chester Beatty Library Is 1479 © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



Fig. 11: Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, 757/1356–766/1364, Maydan al-Rumayla, Qibla iwān, south wall.



Fig. 12: Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, 757/1356–766/1364, Maydan al-Rumayla, Ḥanafī madrasa, south wall, signature.



Fig. 13: The *khānqā* of Salār and Sanjar al-Jawlī, 703/1303, Saliba street, inscription around walls of *hawsh*.



Fig. 14: The mosque of al-Māridānī, 739–40/1339–40, Tabbana street, inscription on *qibla* wall.



Fig. 15: The madrasa of Tatar al-Ḥijāziyya, 748/1347–8, al-Jamaliyya.



Raṣīd 142



K.1.2014.577



Raṣīd 81



Raṣīd 81

Fig. 16: Collection of *sūra* titles: white kufi on arabesque, 730s/1330s, The National Library of Egypt and the Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, © The National Library of Egypt and © Dallas Museum of Art.



Raṣīd 59



Raṣīd 8



Raṣīd 147

Raṣīd 59

Fig. 17: Collection of *sūra* titles: white tawqi' and thuluth on arabesque, 750s/1350s, The National Library of Egypt, © The National Library of Egypt.



Fig. 18: Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, 757/1356–766/1364, Maydan al-Rumayla, details from portal.



Fig. 19: Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, 757/1356–766/1364, Maydan al-Rumayla, detail from mausoleum interior, north wall.



Fig. 20: The Sabīl of amir Shaykhū al-ʿUmārī al-Nāṣirī, 755/1354, entrance portal, foundation inscription panel over door.



Fig. 21: Aḥmad ibn al-Muḥsinī Quran manuscript, frontispiece, 739/1339, 39x29 cm, Iran-Bastan Museum, 2061 or 4242, (Martin Lings, *Splendours of Qurʾan Calligraphy and Illumination*, Pl. 119) © Justin Majzub.

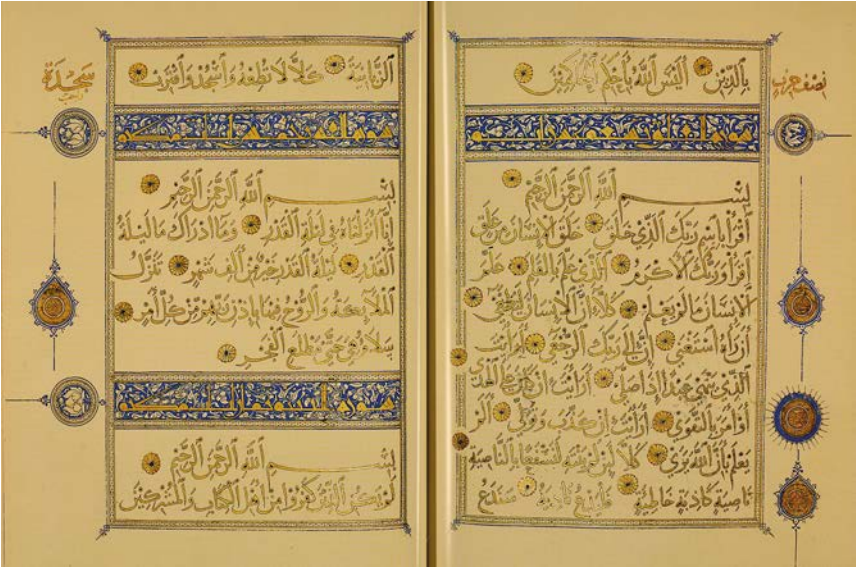


Fig. 22: Aḥmad ibn al-Muḥsinī Quran manuscript, inner folio, 739/1339, 39x29 cm, Iran-Bastan Museum, 2061 or 4242, (Martin Lings, *Splendours of Qur'an Calligraphy and Illumination*, Pl. 121) © Justin Majzub.

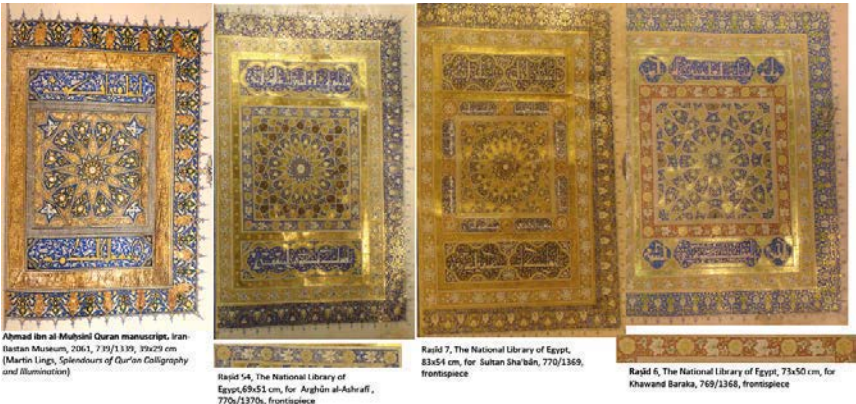


Fig. 23: Comparison between the Aḥmad ibn al-Muḥsinī and later Quran manuscripts produced by Sultan Sha'bān, his mother and entourage.

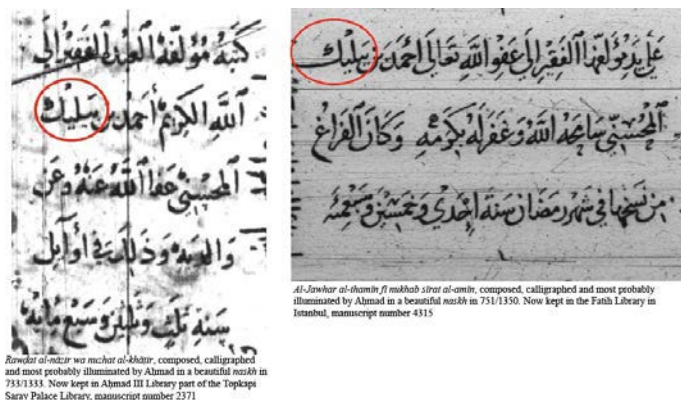


Fig. 24: Aḥmad ibn al-Muḥsinī's signatures in colophons.

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‘Who should benefit from my Waqf?’ Mamluks’ Views on Progeny, Lineage, and Family based on their Waqf Stipulations

1 Introduction: *Waqf* as a tool for wealth transmission

The *waqf* is an important system of charitable endowment developed in the pre-modern Islamic world. Under this system, a *waqf* founder (*wāqif*) donates their farmland or urban estates as financial resources and uses their profits to fund religious buildings or charitable activities. Thus, this system supports urban development, infrastructural improvements, and the economic, educational, and cultural activities of the general population. The development and spread of the *waqf* were particularly striking in Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk Sultanate era (648–922 AH/1250–1517 CE). During this time, the military ruling class was united in its dedication to building religious and educational facilities such as madrasas and khanqahs (Sufi convents) and to establishing *waqfs*.

At the end of the fourteenth century, the North African polymath, Ibn Khaldūn, had moved to Mamluk-ruled Cairo. Expressing his admiration for Cairo’s prosperity and the multitude of religious and educational facilities, Ibn Khaldūn wrote about the reasons for such prosperity based on his observations. According to him, the Mamluks, who made up the ruling class, were originally the slaves of the sultan. For this reason, despite being freed and gaining prosperity, the Mamluks were anxious that the sultan would deprive their progeny of their inherited properties after their deaths. Therefore, they established religious institutions and helped set up their progeny as *waqf* administrators and beneficiaries and endowed them a large amount of property as *waqfs* for the maintenance and management of these institutions.¹

Ibn Khaldūn’s view is supported by the original *waqf* deeds (*waqfiyāt*) from the Mamluk era, preserved by Egypt’s National Archives (Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīya) and the Ministry of Waqfs (Wizārat al-Awqāf). The extant *waqf* deeds show numerous examples of Mamluk *waqf* founders designating themselves, and after their deaths, their descendants as the beneficiaries of the *waqf* income

1 Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, trans. Rosenthal, 2:435.

remaining after expenditures on the upkeep of religious institutions or other charitable activities. In addition, it was typical for Mamluks to endow some of their properties as *waqfs*, designating themselves and their descendants as the primary beneficiaries.² When examining the economic and social role of “Mamluk descendants” in Egyptian and Syrian societies (the research subject of this volume), the importance of the *waqf* cannot be overstated. *Waqfs* were a critical source of steady, long-term income for the Mamluks and their descendants, and occupying administrative offices and managing the *waqf* enabled them to assert their economic and social influence.

As Ibn Khaldūn stated, the Mamluks’ background as slaves serves as a critical context for the prevalence of the *waqf* system as a convenient means of wealth transmission. The Islamic law of inheritance prescribed elaborate rules for recognizing heirs and their inheritance shares. Despite minor differences in the rules followed by the four Sunni schools of law, in principle, this invariable rule of inheritance applies to all Muslims irrespective of the family system prevalent in the region or the era. Nevertheless, Islamic law gave the *waqf* founders free rein in making stipulations about designating the beneficiaries of their *waqfs*. Focusing on the functions of the *waqf*, Julien Loiseau closely examined legal documents recording property endowments in fifteenth-century Egypt. According to him, this period was characterized by high mortality rates due to plagues that led to frequent occurrences of widowhood and remarriage. Under such circumstances, the rigidity of the Islamic inheritance law meant that against a deceased person’s wishes, his property was sometimes inherited by those who had no familial relations with him, such as his ex-wife, her new husband, and the children born to them. Therefore, he concludes that the Mamluk men used the *waqf* system as an alternative, albeit legal channel of transferring wealth or property shares to their close family members as per their wishes while bypassing the constraints placed by the Islamic inheritance law. Loiseau referred to these *waqf* beneficiaries as the “chosen family” who reflected the founder’s view of the family, unlike the “legal family” expressed in the Islamic law of inheritance.³

Based on and developing the notion of “chosen family” presented by Loiseau, this study examines the stipulations used by *waqf* founders in Circassian Mamluk Egypt (784–922/1382–1517) to identify their descendants as the *waqf* beneficiaries. The various Mamluk descendants were unlikely to have shared the same position within the family as a monolithic group; instead, it is reasonable to suppose that sex (male and female) and lineage (agnate- or cognate-line de-

2 Daisuke Igarashi, “*Waqf* as a Means of Securing Financial Assets: The “Self-Benefiting *Waqf*” in Mamluk Egypt and Syria,” in: *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule: Political, Social and Cultural Aspects*, ed. Amalia Levanoni, Leiden 2022, 277–291.

3 Julien Loiseau, ““Boy and Girl on Equal Terms”: Women, *Waqf*, and Wealth Transmission in Mamluk Egypt,” *Orient* 54 (2019), 23–39.

scendants) determined each descendant's relative position in the family. Therefore, this study examines the Mamluk *waqf* founders' choice of beneficiaries among their children and descendants, their order of their entitlement, and the distribution ratio of their wealth. Examining these aspects would help reveal the Mamluks' views of family and lineage that defined their emotional boundaries with their descendants and the extent of Mamluk descendants who could acquire economic and social benefits through *waqfs*.

2 Beneficiary stipulations for Mamluk descendants

The *waqf* deeds of a specific era and region exhibited a common pattern of beneficiary stipulations applicable to the founders' children and their descendants. Loiseau states that in fifteenth-century Circassian Mamluk Egypt, *waqf* deeds followed a basic pattern wherein the founder made all the children equal beneficiaries to the *waqf*, irrespective of their sex. Moreover, upon their children's deaths, their descendants also received equal benefit regardless of their lineage (patrilineal or matrilineal descent) or sex.⁴ This form of succession adopted in *waqf* deeds was significantly different from the inheritance rule prescribed by Sunni Islamic laws, which permitted a son to receive twice the portion of the inheritance received by a daughter and generally excluded the daughters' children from becoming heirs.⁵ Loiseau indicates that the Mamluks' succession norms regulating the founder's descendants affected the family values prevalent among the Mamluk elites of various backgrounds.⁶

Such stipulations did not merely follow the standard format prescribed by the legal opinion held by a school of law (*madhhab*). In fact, the surviving *waqf*-related legal documents reveal that even when the judges of the Hanafi school of law (followed by the Mamluk-ruled Egypt)⁷ validated the *waqfs*, the beneficiary stipulations showed considerable regional and historical variations. For example, Doumani compared the Hanafi *waqfs* established in Tripoli and Sidon (two

4 Loiseau, "Boy and Girl", 33–34.

5 For more information on the Hanafi law of inheritance, see Lucy Carroll, "The Hanafi Law of Intestate Succession: A Simplified Approach," *Modern Asian Studies* 17/4 (1983), 629–670. In Hanafi law, the daughters' children are considered "distant kindred," who only succeed in the total absence of other and more highly preferred blood relatives (i.e., agnatic and Quranic heirs) and are seldom entitled to any share in the estate of their maternal parents, being excluded by the presence of any blood relative either an agnatic or a Quranic heir. Carroll, "Hanafi Law", 630, 663–664.

6 Loiseau, "Boy and Girl", 30.

7 In Mamluk Egypt and Syria, the four Sunni schools of law were accepted as orthodox, of which the Shāfi'i school occupied the first place; however, to our knowledge, most of the surviving *waqf* deeds were validated by Hanafi judges.

Syrian coastal towns) between 1800 and 1860. He noted that 98.3% of the founders' daughters and their descendants were assigned as beneficiaries in Tripoli compared to only 12.1% in Nablus. However, the majority of the *waqf* deeds in both the cities permitted the male descendant to receive twice the portion of wealth as the female descendant, conforming with the inheritance rules prescribed by the Islamic law.⁸ Furthermore, the preferential treatment of male descendants and patrilineal descent was also observed in *waqfs* established in Palestine during the first half of the twentieth century.⁹ These findings support Loiseau's conclusion that the *waqf* stipulations about succession reflected the societal perspective of family and kinship.

However, the extent to which individual *waqf* founders took the initiative in setting these stipulations is unclear. In particular, whether the perspective of family and kinship reflected in the *waqf* stipulations was that of the founders or the '*ulamā*' (such as the qadis and the documentary clerks) deserves a closer examination. Ron Shaham examined *waqf*-related documents by Ottoman-Egyptian elites between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. He reported that even if the founders named their immediate beneficiaries, they were unlikely to have designed a detailed system of assigning beneficiary rights by themselves, because they lacked any legal training. Therefore, according to Shaham, these stipulations could have been more reflective of the social philosophy of the qadis and scribes who formulated the *waqf* deeds than that of the founders.¹⁰ His observations are also relevant when examining the *waqfs* in Mamluk Egypt. Notably, although the *waqf* stipulations usually included the founder's children among the beneficiaries, most founders he observed were childless or had already lost their children during their lifetime.¹¹ The *waqf* deeds that did not include the specific names of the children anonymized them as the founder's "*awlād*" (children). In these cases, the possibility that the founder set these stipulations by simply following a prevalent format cannot be denied.

Nevertheless, many Mamluk *waqf* deeds did contain the names of the founder's individual living children or relatives as beneficiaries. In such cases, the founders might have been more particular about who should be entitled to their *waqfs* and succeed beneficiary rights than in other cases, drafting *waqf* deeds as

8 Beshara Doumani, "Endowing Family: Waqf, Property Devolution, and Gender in Greater Syria, 1800 to 1860," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40/1 (1998), 3–41.

9 Yitzhak Reiter, "Family Waqf Entitlements in British Palestine (1917–1948)," *Islamic Law and Society* 2/2 (1995), 174–193, here 177–179; Ahron Layish, "The Family Waqf and the Shar'ī Law of Succession in Modern Times," *Islamic Law and Society* 4/3 (1997), 352–388, here 370–371, 375.

10 Ron Shaham, "Masters, Their Freed Slaves, and the Waqf in Egypt (Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43/2 (2000), 162–188, here 168–169.

11 Shaham, "Masters, Slaves", 164, 170–171.

per their personal motives or perspectives about family and lineage. In addition, some *waqf* founders deviated from the standard Mamluk format, as indicated by Loiseau, and established individual stipulations about assigning descendant relatives or family members as beneficiaries, their share in the *waqf* income, and the order of their entitlement. The decision to deviate from the standard form was clearly made by individual *waqf* founders based on their opinions about family and lineage. From this perspective, we examine the following specific and exceptional cases of beneficiary stipulations.

3 Role of sex and lineage

As mentioned above, the regular form of beneficiary stipulations followed by the Mamluks treated the *waqf* founder's children as equal beneficiaries to the *waqf*, irrespective of sex. Equality between the sexes was also applicable to the *waqf* deeds, which specified the names of the founders' sons and daughters. For example, on 10 Šafar 865/25 November 1460, before his death, Sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857–865/1453–61) established a *waqf* for his wife Zaynab, their two sons Aḥmad (his successor, Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad) and Muḥammad, and two daughters Badriya and Fāṭima. He wanted all his children to receive the same share of the *waqf* without differentiating between his sons and daughters.¹² In his *waqf* deed dated 1 Muḥarram 912/24 May 1506, Amir al-Sayfī Yashbak stipulated that 60,000 copper dirhams (*dirham min al-fulūs*) of the *waqf* revenue were to be equally divided between his son al-Shihābī Aḥmad and daughter Fāṭima.¹³ In case the *waqf* deed mentioned the name(s) of only the existing son(s) or daughter(s), the founder usually arranged for his future male and female children (*man sayuḥdath-hu Allāh la-hu min al-awlād al-dhukūr wa-al-ināth*) to receive the same share of the *waqf* as his living child/children. For example, the *waqf* deed of Amir Qurqumās min Walī al-Dīn (d. 916/1510),¹⁴ the *atābak al-'asākīr* (Commander-in-Chief) of Sultan al-Ashraf Qānšūh al-Ghawrī, dated 18 Rabī' I 916/25 June 1510 stipulated that his daughters Fāṭima and Sitt al-Mamlūk (al-Mulūk?) and other future male and female children would receive the same share of the *waqf*.¹⁵ To the best of our knowledge, none of the Mamluk *waqf* deeds included beneficiary stipulations that differentiated between the shares received by sons

12 Lucian Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl*, Berlin 2003, 231.

13 *Waqf* deed, Cairo Wizārat al-awqāf (WA), doc. no. q485.

14 For the biography of Qurqumās, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i*, 4:198.

15 *Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. q901, 30. The *waqf* deed of Qijmās al-Iṣḥāqī is another example of this (*Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. j679, dated on 11 Dhū al-ḥijja 869).

and daughters.¹⁶ In addition, these examples indicate that Mamluks had relatively fewer children, rarely exceeding three. To the best of our knowledge, except in the case of Sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl mentioned above, there are no examples of Mamluks establishing a *waqf* with more than three names of children mentioned as beneficiaries. This finding corresponds with the cases of Mamluk *waqfs* in Michael Winter's study of the late Mamluk Damascus based on his investigation of the Ottoman *waqf* registers of Damascus.¹⁷

However, unlike the standard form of beneficiary stipulations followed by Mamluks, there are several cases where the *waqf* founder's daughters' children (i.e., matrilineal descendants) were placed at an inferior position as beneficiaries. For example, the *waqf* of Aytamish b. 'Abd Allāh min Timurbāy, the *amīr al-ustādār* (majordomo), established on 19 Muḥarram 851/6 April 1447, excluded the founder's matrilineal descendants from becoming beneficiaries.¹⁸

The reasons why some *waqf* founders set unique stipulations in stark contrast with the standard Mamluk format requires further examination. For instance, apart from the founders' views of the ideal family, various factors such as their family characteristics (the number of children and their sex ratio) and the total value of their assets could have influenced their beneficiary stipulations. Although there is limited documented evidence on the founders' family characteristics, the *waqf* deed of Qānībāy Qarā,¹⁹ one of the most powerful and important Mamluk amirs in the late Mamluk era, provides some clues about the founders' intention behind setting these beneficiary stipulations.

Qānībāy Qarā, known as al-Rammāḥ (the master of lances) for his exceptional ability in the art of the lance, was a Mamluk purchased and emancipated by Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96). Qānībāy Qarā eventually became an amir of ten (*amīr 'ashara*) in 898/1492 or 93 under the sultan's reign. After his

16 However, there are some examples of *waqfs* stipulating that the administratorship would be given to the most qualified male descendants, prohibiting the female descendants from occupying the administrative office. The *waqfs* of Sultans Barqūq and Barsbāy followed this format. See *Waqf* deed, Cairo Dār al-wathā'iq al-qawmiya (DW), doc. no. 9/51; Darrāj, *Hujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy*, 5. This shows that while women in the Mamluk period did serve as *waqf* administrators, some founders were reluctant to afford them this opportunity.

17 Michael Winter, "Mamluks and Their Households in Late Mamluk Damascus: A *Waqf* Study," in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, eds. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni, Leiden 2004, 297–316, here 314.

18 *Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. q1193. The *waqf* of Qijmās al-Ishāqī mentioned above also excluded his matrilineal descendants from becoming beneficiaries, although there is no indication that he had a daughter. *Waqfs* were also used to exclude female descendants from wealth transmission in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Maghrib, where the Maliki school of law was popular. See David S. Powers, "The Maliki Family Endowment: Legal Norms and Social Practices," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25 (1993), 379–406, here 385; Layish, "Family *Waqf*", 370–371.

19 *Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. q1019.

master's death, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the successor and son of Qāyṭbāy, assigned him to the amirate of a hundred (*amīr mi'a muqaddam alf*) in Egypt and appointed him to the office of the *amīr ākhūr kabīr* (amir of the stables), one of the most important military offices of the Mamluk government, in Muḥarram 903/1497. After his installation, Qānībāy Qarā remained in this position for more than 15 years under several sultans until his death in Rabī' I 921/1515.²⁰ On 3 Rajab 920/24 August 1514, he endowed a large amount of property as *waqfs* for several purposes, but mainly for managing and maintaining the madrasa he established beneath the Citadel, overlooking Rumayla Square.²¹ According to his *waqf* deed, he had two children: a son named al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad and a daughter named Satīta al-Bakr. He endowed, as *waqf*, a mansion (*binā' al-bayt al-kabīr*) in Cairo and a building in front of the mansion to his son al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad and, after his death, his descendants, irrespective of their sex and lineage. Additionally, he endowed his other Cairo mansion as *waqf* to his daughter Satīta al-Bakr. However, his *waqf* deed stipulated that in case of her death, this mansion would be entitled to his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad or his descendants upon his death, and not to his daughter's children. Furthermore, the deed distinguished again between the descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and those of Satīta al-Bakr in the stipulation regarding the beneficiaries of the *waqf* income remaining after the madrasa's upkeep and management expenditures. While Qānībāy Qarā's *waqf* deed stipulated an equal division of wealth between his children irrespective of their sex, his provisions for their children differentiated their descendants based on their lineage. Thus, after his children's death, only al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad's descendants could receive their *waqf* shares from the remainder of the *waqf* income on equal terms regardless of sex and lineage, while the descendants of Satīta al-Bakr were excluded from becoming beneficiaries to the *waqf* income.

This distinction could perhaps be attributed to the backgrounds of the two children. That is, while Satīta al-Bakr was a daughter borne by a slave concubine (who had died probably without marrying to Qānībāy Qarā), al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad was the son borne by Sa'd al-Mulūk, Qānībāy Qarā's legal wife. Sa'd al-Mulūk was the daughter of Yashbak min Mahdī, the *dawādār kabīr* (executive secretary), and the most powerful Mamluk amir in the first half of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy's reign.²² However, Qānībāy Qarā notably permitted his daughter borne by a slave concubine to receive the same share of *waqf* income as his son borne by the legal wife who was from a distinguished Mamluk family, irrespective of their

20 For his biography, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i*, 4:450–452.

21 For information on the institution, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and Its Culture*, London and New York 2007, 304–306.

22 For Yashbak min Mahdī, see Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty. The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*, Seattle and London, 1993, 43–46.

sex and blood. Moreover, the *waqf* deed shows that Qānībāy Qarā endowed a portion of a Syrian village to Satīta al-Bakr's descendants as *waqf*, even though the expected revenues from this asset were much smaller than those endowed to the descendants of al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad. In other words, while Qānībāy Qarā placed the descendants of his concubine's daughter in a position inferior to his son's descendants, he gave his daughter almost equal rights to his son during her lifetime and was concerned about the welfare of her descendants. Thus, Qānībāy Qarā's decision to deviate from the standard Mamluk *waqf* stipulations seemed to have resulted from a careful consideration of the background of his living children and the Mamluks' common views of sex and lineage of the founder's children.

4 Mamluk descendants outside the founders' lineage

The Mamluk descendants entitled to *waqfs* were not limited to the founders' children and blood relatives. As Loiseau indicates, the Mamluk *waqf* founders usually designated their freed slaves (*'utaqā'*) and their descendants as secondary beneficiaries of their *waqfs* after the extinction of their families' lineage.²³ These freed slaves included male and female domestic servants, female slave concubines (*jawārī*), and eunuchs; however, a majority of them comprised Mamluk soldiers because the amirs were obliged to maintain a fixed number of soldiers (10, 40, or 100) as per the status of their amirate.²⁴ Therefore, the descendants of the founder's freed slaves could constitute the *waqf* beneficiaries among the Mamluk descendants.

Recent studies have shown that fifteenth-century Circassian Mamluk Egypt and Syria saw an increased presence of Circassian Mamluks who already had more prosperous blood relatives (brothers, sisters, uncles, cousins, etc.) in the region. These Mamluks were brought into the Mamluk Sultanate as relatives of the sultans or high-ranking amirs and as common slaves, individually and in groups.²⁵ The Mamluk *waqf* founders sometimes included their relatives as well

23 Loiseau, "Boy and Girl", 35; Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt*. Chicago 2015, 187–188.

24 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 187, note 38.

25 Koby Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), 55–69, here 60–63; David Ayalon, "The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949), 135–147, here 144. Loiseau indicates the possibility of regular relations being established between the Mamluk Sultanate and the country of origin of its ruling elite. Julien Loiseau "Soldiers Diaspora or Cairene Nobility?: The Circassians in the Mamluk Sultanate," in: *Union in separation: diasporic groups and identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. Georg Christ, Rome 2015, 207–217, here 212.

as freed slaves among their *waqf* beneficiaries. For example, according to his *waqf* deed dated 27 Sha‘bān 871/3 April 1467, Amir Taghrī Birdī al-Aḥmadī endowed several urban and rural estates as *waqf* and assigned a share of each asset to the following four beneficiary groups: (1) Taghrī Birdī’s wife Zahrā’; (2) his brother (*akh*) Iyās and his descendants; (3) his daughters Khadīja and Fāṭima; and (4) his freed slaves and their descendants.²⁶

Another interesting example is that of Qurqumās min Walī al-Dīn, the *atābak al-asākir* (mentioned above). He was a Circassian Mamluk who eventually established ten *waqfs* within a span of 30 years that served different uses, including his funerary complex in al-Ṣaḥrā’, a cemetery in northern Cairo.²⁷ The *waqf* deed for this funerary complex was established on 18 Rabī‘ I 916/25 June 1510,²⁸ six months before his death. After accounting for the management and maintenance expenses of the institution, the deed stipulated that the remainder of the *waqf* income be equally divided among his daughters Fāṭima al-Ribā’iya and Sitt al-Mamlūk (al-Mulūk?) and his brother (*akh*) al-Sayfī Ulmās. Ulmās’s share would be succeeded by his descendants after his death. Additionally, Qurqumās’s sister’s son, a Mamluk named al-Sayfī Darwīs b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥātīm (Jānim?) was entitled to receive 600 copper dirhams per month from the *waqf* revenue. In the late Circassian Mamluk period, Mamluks related by blood often lived in the territory of the Mamluk Sultanate, as shown by previous studies. Interestingly, Qurqumās added a supplementary condition to his *waqf* deed stating that if his full brother (*shaqīq*) Dabashan (?), who lived in “the Land of the Circassians,” (*bilād al-Jarkas*) migrated to Egypt and converted to Islam, he would be given the same beneficiary rights and *waqf* revenue share as Ulmās, with his descendants succeeding to his entitlement upon his death.²⁹ “The Land of the Circassians” means Caucasia (and its neighboring regions), the homeland of Circassian Mamluks in Egypt and Syria. This example shows how a Mamluk brought into Egypt as a slave became a member of the ruling military elite and retained his concern for his brother living in his homeland, indicating these slaves’ likelihood of migrating and living in the Sultanate based on their kinship ties.³⁰

26 *Waqf* deed, DW, doc. no. 23/152.

27 For the institution, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 306–312.

28 *Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. q901, 30–31.

29 *Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. q901, 33–34.

30 As other examples, the *waqf* of Yashbak al-Muḥammadī Dawādār Yūnus Amīr al-Dawādār (*Waqf* deed, DW, doc. no. 20/121, dated on 13 Jumādā I 864) includes his brother’s son and his descendants among the beneficiaries; the *waqf* of Qurqumās Amīr Silāḥ al-Zāhiri (*Waqf* deed, DW, doc. no. 16/104, dated on 2 Jumādā II 848 and 4 Rabī‘ I 872) includes his brother and his descendants and the son of his aunt among the beneficiaries, and other two brothers as the candidates to the office of the *waqf* administrator. Hannah Barker suggests that the Mamluks desired to share their gains with their families and thus tried to reconnect with the homeland

At times, the Mamluks would marry a daughter or a granddaughter of another Mamluk to forge kinship ties. The in-laws thus established were also catered to in *waqf* stipulations. Mamluk al-Sayfī Qarābughā's *waqf* established on 28 Dhū al-Qa'da 845/9 April 1442, before his death, provides an example of this trend.³¹ The *waqf* deed pertained to the endowment of his agricultural asset purchased from an agent of the *wakil bayt al-māl* (the agent of the state treasury), and stipulated to divide the *waqf* income into two equal halves. The first half would be distributed to the founder's wife Faraj, the daughter of Amir al-Maqarr al-Ashraf al-Sayfī Aytamish al-Khidrī, and to their daughters Fāṭima and 'Ā'isha. After their deaths, the *waqf* income would be distributed among the two daughters' male and female descendants on equal terms irrespective of sex and lineage. The second half would be distributed to Tatar ibna al-'Alā'ī 'Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak, the mother of Faraj and the wife of Aytamish, and to two of Aytamish and Tatar's sons (i.e., Faraj's full brothers), al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad and Yūnus, and subsequently to their descendants. The beneficiaries of the second half were designated as beneficiaries of the first half after the extinction of the founder's line. After both lines' extinction, the freed slave women of the founder and those of Tatar and Faraj were designated as the *waqf* beneficiaries, followed by their descendants.

Thus, Qarābughā's *waqf* incorporated not only the children borne by his wife Faraj and their descendants but also his in-laws and their descendants as beneficiaries. Including his in-laws' lineage, all the beneficiaries can be categorized as "Mamluk descendants" because his mother-in-law Tatar was a descendant of a Mamluk named Khāṣṣbak. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Khāṣṣbak family became one of the most prominent Mamluk families through matrimonial ties by marrying off their daughters Zaynab and Fāṭima to Sultans al-Ashraf Īnāl and al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy, respectively (for more information on the Khāṣṣbak family, see the Appendix). While incorporating the descendants of the founder's freed slaves as beneficiaries was a common affair, Qarābughā's *waqf* was unique because his deed recognized only the "female" freed slaves as beneficiaries. Moreover, it entitled not only the founder's but also his wife Faraj's and mother-in-law Tatar's freed slave women (which probably included domestic servants and the concubines of the founder) and their descendants as beneficiaries. Stipulations that specifically entitled freed slave women and their descendants were rare, making it a pertinent example of a *waqf* that specifically considered the well-being of women.

and import their relatives to Egypt. Hannah Barker, "Reconnecting with the Homeland: Black Sea Slaves in Mamluk Biographical Dictionaries," *Medieval Prosopography* 30 (2015), 87–104.

31 *Waqf* deed, WA, doc. no. q1190.

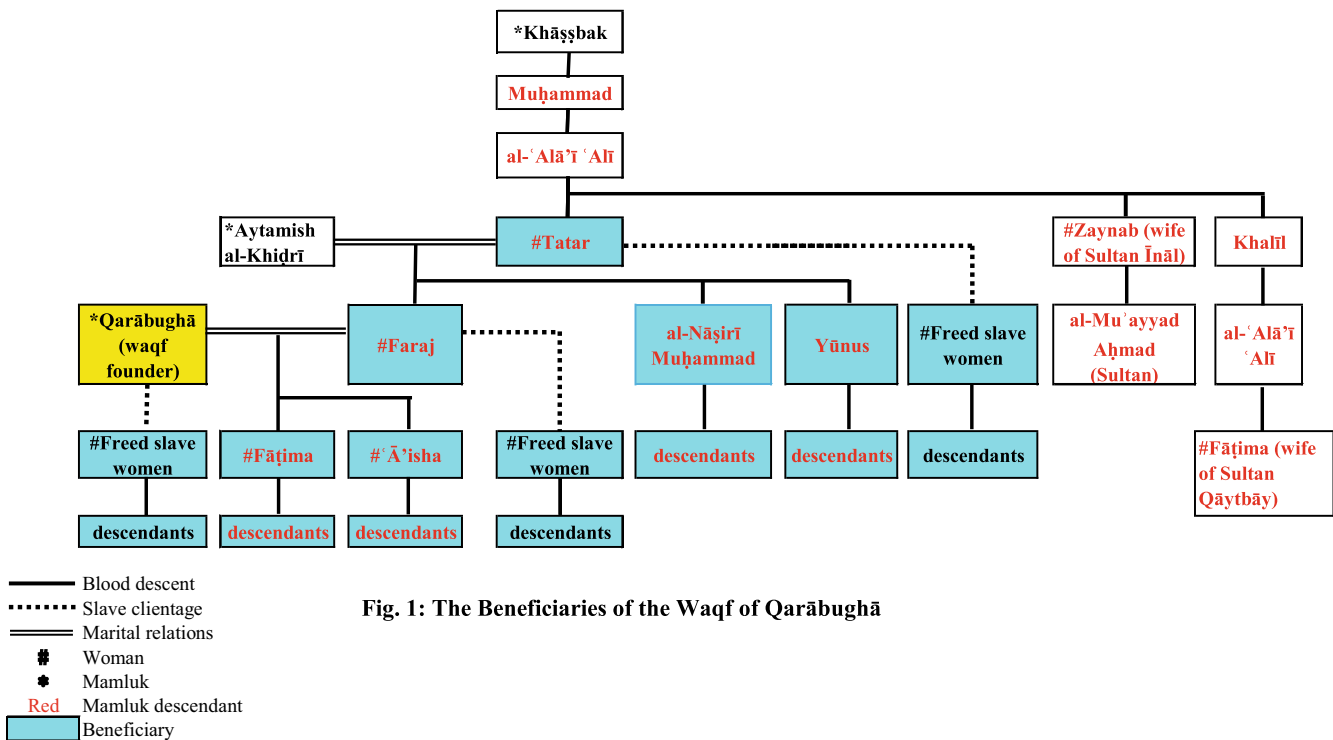


Fig. 1: The Beneficiaries of the Waqf of Qarābughā

Fig. 01: The beneficiaries of the Waqf of Qarābughā.

Although some *waqfs* entitled the founders' wives as beneficiaries, designating the wives' relatives and their descendants as beneficiaries on such a large scale was uncommon. Several factors might have influenced Qarābughā to make such *waqf* stipulations, including the growing importance of matrimonial relations in fifteenth century Circassian Mamluk society, as indicated by Koby Yosef.³² However, his parents-in-law Aytamish and Tatar might have taken a greater initiative in adding these *waqf* stipulations than Qarābughā himself. No information about Qarābughā and his career can be found in biographical sources. Judging from the title "*al-janāb*" given to Qarābughā in the deed, Qarābughā seems to have been a Mamluk military man with the rank of amir of ten or lower. In contrast, the deed addressed his father-in-law Aytamish with a higher title of *al-Maqqarr al-Ashraf*, indicating his higher position in the Mamluk military hierarchy than Qarābughā.³³ Aytamish was a Mamluk of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and occupied the office of the *ustādār al-ʿāliya* (supreme majordomo) in 825/1422.³⁴ Under the reigns of the Sultans al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) and al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53), he was repeatedly exiled to Jerusalem for displeasing the sultans, then reinstated and returned to Cairo. For Aytamish, his marriage to Tatar and his marital relationship with her family played an essential role in his survival in Mamluk's political society. Tatar's sister Zaynab was married to the future Sultan Īnāl, who was already influential and a leading government figure. He often mediated with the sultans whenever his brother-in-law Aytamish was ousted because of the sultan's displeasure.³⁵ This power relationship with his wife's relatives may have pushed Qarābughā to establish a *waqf* favoring their interests. Furthermore, given the exceptional character of this *waqf*, which was confirmed after its founder's death, there is a chance that his wife and her relatives might have fabricated the *waqf* to serve their self-interest. In any case, this *waqf* certainly brought financial benefits to these members of the Khāṣṣbak family; Al-Sakhāwī also commented that Qarābughā's wife Faraj was a wealthy woman with abundant private property and *waqfs*.³⁶

32 Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives", 63.

33 For the titles used in legal documents, see al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-Uqūd*, 2:588–593.

34 For the office of the *ustādār al-ʿāliya*, see Daisuke Igarashi, "The Office of the *Ustādār al-ʿĀliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era," in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levantoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, 115–142.

35 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma'*, 2:612–613. For the biography of Aytamish al-Khiḍrī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 846/1442), see 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma'*, 2:611–613; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 3:139–141; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 2:324–325.

36 al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 12:114.

5 Conclusion

Based on available evidence from the *waqf* deeds, this study analyzed the standard and deviant beneficiary stipulations for descendants followed by Circassian Mamluk elites. It showed that when the Mamluks established their *waqfs*, it was standard to include their direct descendants in the beneficiary list, regardless of their sex and lineage; the founders did not differentiate between their male and female offspring. As Loiseau indicates, these practices certainly reflected the prevailing view of family shared by most Mamluk elites. However, the founders did not simply follow the Mamluks' standard form in establishing *waqfs* but often intentionally deviated from it by incorporating specific stipulations in the *waqf* deed. These provisions include giving preferential treatment to the agnate-line descendants over the cognate-line descendants or excluding the cognate-line descendants from the beneficiaries list, depending on the family circumstances, such as the relative privilege of their children's mothers, and the founders' personal views about family and lineage.

This study also showed that some Mamluk founders factored blood and kinship relations (with their in-laws) while making inheritance decisions, which was reflected in their *waqf* deeds. Apart from the descendants of the Mamluk *waqf* founders and those of their freed slaves, their relatives' and in-laws' descendants were also designated as beneficiaries of the *waqfs*. Thus, a wide range of "Mamluk descendants" could benefit from the *waqfs*, indicating that Mamluks, characterized by modern scholars as "one-generation nobility from slavery," deeply valued these familial relationships.

However, unlike what the *waqf* deeds indicate, the Mamluk descendants did not necessarily benefit from the *waqfs* continuously over several generations. Recent studies have revealed that, especially in the fifteenth century, the Mamluks had a small family size due to late marriage and monogamy and a high infant mortality rate caused by repeated plague epidemics. Therefore, it was common for the Mamluk founders to die without issue, and the long-term continuity of their direct lineage was exceptional.³⁷ Thus, it is likely that the real beneficiaries of the *waqfs* were the founders' freed slaves (and their descendants), who were designated as secondary beneficiaries. The next step in this project is to further examine the *waqf* stipulations regarding freed slaves.

37 Loiseau, "Boy and Girl", 39.

Appendix: The Khāṣṣbak Family

There is little reliable information available about Khāṣṣbak, the ancestor of the Khāṣṣbak clan. Ibn Taghrī Birdī supposed that Khāṣṣbak al-Nāṣirī (d. 734/1323), a Mamluk of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 709–41/1310–41) who became one of his intimate amirs, was the founder of the Khāṣṣbak clan.³⁸ However, given that he died too early based on the years of his sons' death and that contemporaneous sources like al-Ṣafadī's *A'yān al-Aṣr* refer to his name as Khāṣṣ Turk,³⁹ it is reasonable to assume that he was a different person from the ancestor of the Khāṣṣbak family. The actual Khāṣṣbak (n.1) was supposed to have been a minor Mamluk soldier who lived in Egypt in the late fourteenth century. His life was not documented in contemporary chronicles and biographical dictionaries probably because of his minor position in Mamluk military hierarchy. However, after marrying a woman who was matrilineally related to Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77), his descendants gained prestige from their relations to the royal family. The later generations knew Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad b. Īnāl (n.14; r. 865/1461, d. 893/1488) as a descendant of Sultan Baybars because he was matrilineally related to the Khāṣṣbak family.⁴⁰

According to Ibn Iyās, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khāṣṣbak al-Turkī al-Ḥanafī (n.2; d. 813/1410) was an ancestor of the Khāṣṣbak family. As the son of a Mamluk soldier, he held an *iqṭā'* given by the sultan in exchange for his military service. However, instead of entering a military career, he engaged in the study of Hanafi jurisprudence, lectured and issued fatwas, and became a prominent scholar of the Hanafi school of law. He was also famous for being a matrilineal descendant of al-Zāhir Baybars.⁴¹ He had a brother named Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khāṣṣ al-Turkī (n.3; d. 809/1406–07) who was also a Hanafi scholar; however, only his descendants became known as Ibn Khāṣṣbak.⁴²

Despite the scarce information about Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad's son al-'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (n.4), his family's active involvement in the Mamluk society is documented in the sources about 'Alī's children: daughters Tatar (n.5) and Zaynab (n.6), and son Khalīl (n.7).⁴³ Tatar, as mentioned earlier, married the

38 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 5:197–198.

39 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 2:306–307.

40 al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 1:246.

41 For his biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:475–476; idem *Dhayl Durar al-Kāmina*, 211; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 1/2:806. Ibn Iyās states, “he was the ancestor (*jadd*) of the Khāṣṣbak clan (*al-Khāṣṣbakiya*), which continues to the present day.”

42 For Aḥmad's biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl Durar al-Kāmina*, 181; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 1:292.

43 While Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Ibn Iyās, and 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī recorded the name of the father of Zaynab and Khalīl as Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 16:111; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 3:155–156; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl*, 7:234), we have determined from al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*

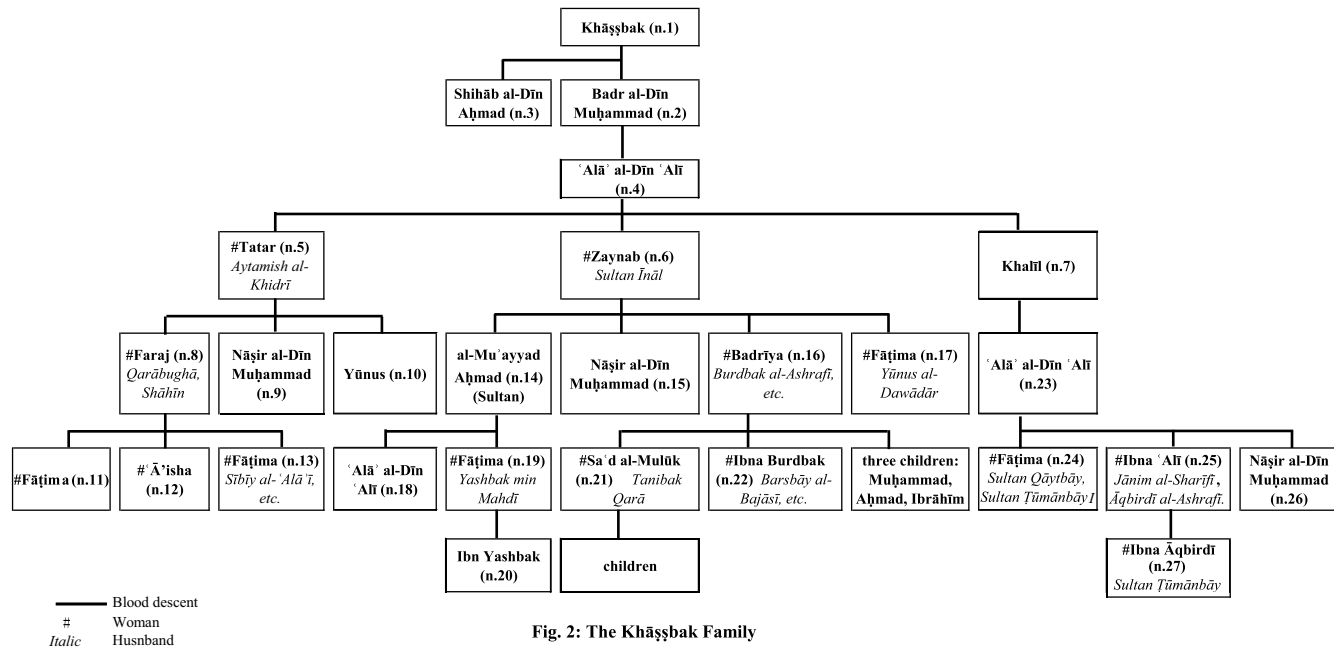


Fig. 2: The Khāṣṣbak Family

Fig. 02: The Khāṣṣbak Family.

Mamluk amir Aytamish al-Khidrī and had three children, sons al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad (n.9) and Yūnus (n.10), and a daughter Faraj (n.8).⁴⁴ According to the *waqf* document, Faraj (d. 884/1479–80) married a minor Mamluk named Qarābughā and had two daughters, Fāṭima (n.11) and ‘Ā’isha (n.12); however, her biography is silent on this marriage and her two daughters. Instead, her biography reveals limited information about her marriage (possibly remarriage after Qarābughā’s death) to another Mamluk named Shāhīn, with whom she had a daughter also named Fāṭima (n.13). Faraj’s biography also states that she recited the Quran and was proficient in calligraphy, and that she was a rich woman with abundant property, *rizqas*, *waqfs*, and wealth.⁴⁵ Fāṭima (n.13) from Faraj’s second marriage had been married three times, including her third husband, Sībāy al-‘Alā’ī,⁴⁶ the governor of Upper Egypt (*kāshif al-Ṣa’id*). Similar to her mother Faraj, she was also known to be a wealthy woman.⁴⁷

As already mentioned, Tatar’s sister Zaynab (n.6; d. 884/1479) married the future Sultan Īnāl in 825/1422. The Sultan had no other wives throughout his life, and she never remarried after her husband’s death. During her husband’s reign, she was involved in political affairs, including the appointment and dismissal of officials, and wielded considerable power.⁴⁸ She had four children with her husband: two sons, Aḥmad (n.14) and Muḥammad (n.15), and two daughters, Badrīya (n.16) and Fāṭima (n.17). Aḥmad (n.14; d. 893/1488), the eldest son, succeeded his father as a sultan in 865/1461, but was soon dethroned by Khushqadam (Sultan al-Zāhir Khushqadam, r. 865–872/1461–67) and imprisoned with his brother al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (n.15; d. 866/1461–62) in Alexandria.⁴⁹ After the enthronement of Qāyṭbāy in 872/1468, the husband of Fāṭima (n.24) from the Khāṣṣbak family, Aḥmad was released from imprisonment and allowed to move freely within

(11:245) and the *waqf* document (Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen*, 231; *Waqf* deed, WA doc. no. q1190) that ‘Alī is the correct name.

44 However, her biography in al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’* (12:16) only mentions Faraj as her child. Her two sons might have died young.

45 For her biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’*, 12:114. Although al-Sakhāwī spells her name as Farah, we have determined from the *waqf* deed that Faraj is correct.

46 He is Sībāy al-‘Alā’ī al-Ashrafī (d. 885/1480), a Mamluk of Sultan Īnāl. He was appointed by Sultan Qāyṭbāy to the amirate of ten and was in charge of the administration of Upper Egypt under Yashbak min Mahdī, the *dawādār al-kabīr* and the viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’*, 3:288.

47 al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’*, 12:92.

48 For her biography, see al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’*, 12:44–45; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:156–157.

49 Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad occupied the amirate of a hundred under his father’s reign but was exiled to Alexandria with his brother Aḥmad and died in 866/1461–62 at the age of about 17. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’*, 7:148.

Alexandria.⁵⁰ Aḥmad had a son named ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī (n.18) and a daughter named Fāṭima (n.19), who married Yashbak min Maḥdī, the *dawādār kabīr* of Sultan Qāyṭbāy in Muḥarram 873/1468 and mothered a son (n.20).⁵¹ Aḥmad’s sisters were respectively married off their father’s favorite Mamluk men, Burdbak al-Ashrafi (d. 868/1464) and Yūnus al-Dawādār (d. 865/1461), to strengthen their familial ties. Badriya (n.16; d. 879/1474) married Burdbak, a Mamluk of her father Īnāl prior to his ascension to the sultanate. When his father-in-law Īnāl became the Sultan, Burdbak supported him in the important position of the *dawādār al-thānī* (the second executive secretary).⁵² Badriya and Burdbak had five children; one daughter, Sa‘d al-Mulūk (n.21), married Tanibak Qarā.⁵³ Their other daughter (n.22) first married Barsbāy al-Bajāsi, who was promoted to the high-ranking military office of *amir ahūr kabīr* by Sultan Īnāl after this marriage.⁵⁴ After Barsbāy’s death in 871/1466–7, she married Sūdūn al-Manṣūrī,⁵⁵ then Āqbirdī al-Ashrafi.⁵⁶ Badriya’s second marriage was to Qarājā al-Ṭawīl,⁵⁷ the viceroy of Hama, after Burdbak’s downfall and death (868/1464) shortly after the de-thronement of his brother-in-law al-Mu‘ayyad Aḥmad and the enthronement of Sultan al-Zāhir Khushqadam.⁵⁸ Aḥmad’s other sister Fāṭima (n.17) married Yūnus, the *dawādār kabīr*, who was one of the most powerful military figures during her father’s reign; however, there is no information about whether she had any children with him.⁵⁹

Despite the lack of information about Khalīl (n.7), the brother of Tatar (n.5) and Zaynab (n.6), historical records show that his son ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī (n.23; d. 899/1494) became the Sultan’s father-in-law by marrying his daughter Fāṭima al-

50 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 1:246; ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma‘*, 1:270. For his life and charitable activities, see Lucian Reinfandt, “Religious Endowments and Succession to Rule: The Career of a Sultan’s Son,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 51–70.

51 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ*, 4:189; idem *Majma‘*, 1:270.

52 Albrecht Fuess, “Legitimacy through Female Lineage? The Role of In-Laws (aṣḥār) in the Royal Mamluk Households of the Fifteenth Century,” *Eurasian Studies* 15 (2017), 200–221, here 212–213; Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen*, 43–45. For Burdbak, al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 3:4–6; ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma‘*, 2:662–664.

53 He was a Mamluk of Sultan Īnāl and became the *hājib al-ḥujjāb* (senior chamberlain) under the reign of Sultan Qāyṭbāy. For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 3:43.

54 For his biography, see ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma‘*, 2:674–675.

55 He is Sūdūn al-Manṣūrī ‘Uthmān (d. 879/1474), an amir of ten. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 3:286.

56 He is probably Āqbirdī b. Bakhshāysh al-Ashrafi (d. 890 or 91/1485–87), a Mamluk of Sultan Īnāl. He was appointed by Sultan Qāyṭbāy to the office of the *ustādār* of Damascus. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma‘*, 2:569–570; id. *Nayl*, 8:16; Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i‘*, 3:225.

57 He is Qarājā al-Ṭawīl al-Ashrafi (d. 885/1480), a Mamluk of Sultan Īnāl. He was appointed by Sultan Qāyṭbāy to the amirate of a hundred of Egypt, then to the viceroyship of Hama. Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 6:216; ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl*, 7:251.

58 For Badriya and her daughters, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 12:12.

59 Fuess, “Legitimacy,” 213; Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen*, 45–46. For Yūnus, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 10:345; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manḥal*, 12:269–270.

Khāṣṣbakīya (n.24) to Qaytbay, gaining prestige in Mamluk society.⁶⁰ ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī was born in the 830s/1426–36 and had many *iqṭā’*s and properties.⁶¹ His son-in-law Sultan Qāyṭbāy built a funerary complex in al-Ṣaḥrā’ and appointed him librarian of the institution.⁶² He was referred to by Ibn Iyās as “one of the prominent figures of the *awlād al-nās*.” Upon his death in Ramadān 899/1494, Sultan Qāyṭbāy held a large funeral in his honor.⁶³ ‘Alī had at least two daughters, including Fāṭima al-Khāṣṣbakīya (n.24), and a son named Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (n.26). Fāṭima al-Khāṣṣbakīya was Qāyṭbāy’s only wife, whom he married before becoming the sultan. As his wife belonged to the same family as Sultan Īnāl’s wife Zaynab (Zaynab was her grandaunt), Qāyṭbāy could gain the support of Īnāl’s Mamluks when he ascended the throne.⁶⁴ During her husband’s reign, Fāṭima acquired large estates, including agricultural lands and urban properties, and endowed them with various *waqfs* to secure her estates.⁶⁵ Fāṭima’s unnamed sister (n.25), known simply as “the daughter (*ibna*) of al-‘Alā’ ī ‘Alī b. Khāṣṣbak,” married Jānim al-Sharīfī (d. 884/1479), a blood relative of Qāyṭbāy’s, who was appointed as an amir of a hundred during his reign in Rajab 883/1478.⁶⁶ After Jānim’s death (884/1482),⁶⁷ in Rabī’ I 887/1482, she married Āqbirdī al-Ashrafi (d. 904/1499), Qāyṭbāy’s nephew, who occupied the position of the *da-wādār al-kabīr* and become one of the most powerful amirs in the later stage of Qāyṭbāy’s reign.⁶⁸ These two marriages of hers were evidently arranged with the political intention of consolidating Qāyṭbāy’s ties with his favored vassals, who were also his blood relatives. Fāṭima’s brother Muḥammad (n.26) was also favored by his brother-in-law Qāyṭbāy and served as the amir of the first caravan (*amir al-rakb al-awwal*) of the pilgrims to Mecca.⁶⁹

60 Although ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī states that ‘Alī was the brother of Tatar and Zaynab (*Rawḍ*, 3:394–395), we interpreted ‘Alī’s father Khalīl to be their brother, based on al-Sakhāwī’s description (*Daw’*, 11:245).

61 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Rawḍ*, 3:394–395. Ibn Iyās states that he was borne before 830/1426 (*Badā’i*, 3:302).

62 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:100.

63 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:302.

64 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 2:475.

65 Carl F. Petry, “Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt,” in: *Women in Middle Eastern History*, eds. N. R. Keddie and B. Baron, New Haven 1991, 122–142, here 134–136; idem, “The Estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khāṣṣbakiyya. Royal Spouse, Autonomous Investor,” in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, eds. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni, Leiden 2004, 277–294, here 277–294.

66 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:145. For Jānim’s biography, see al-Sakhāwī, *Daw’*, 3:64.

67 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:153.

68 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:193. For Āqbirdī’s biography, see ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī, *Majma’*, 2:569–571; al-Sakhāwī, *Daw’*, 2:315.

69 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:299.

However, Fāṭima (n.24) and Qāyṭbāy had no offspring. Thus, after Qāyṭbāy’s death (901/1496), their fortunes were reversed when Muḥammad, Qāyṭbāy’s only son with his female slave Aṣalḥāy, became the sultan (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy, r. 901–904/1496–98), after which her brother Qānṣūh (the future Sultan al-Zāhir Qānṣūh, r. 904–905/1498–1500) came to power. Fāṭima’s brother Muḥammad (n.26) was arrested and imprisoned by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Jumādā II 904/1499. He was later released and reappointed amir of the first caravan of the pilgrims, but this time he was obliged to cover the necessary expenses of the pilgrimage from his own private funds, which was practically a confiscation of his property. Fāṭima’s sister, the wife of Āqbirdī, was also arrested and forced to pay money to the sultan after her husband was killed in a political struggle.⁷⁰ Fāṭima’s wealth was also confiscated by Sultan al-Zāhir Qānṣūh. She later remarried Sultan al-‘Ādil Tumanbay I, who enthroned in 906/1501; however, this marriage did not protect her, as he was shortly dethroned. After her death in 909/1504, Sultan al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r.906–22/1501–16) who dethroned Ṭūmānbāy I confiscated Fāṭima’s *waqf* properties even though al-Ghawrī was a Mamluk of the late Qāyṭbāy, her ex-husband.⁷¹

However, after Fāṭima’s death in 909/1504, the family showed its resourcefulness by marrying off the daughter of her sister and Āqbirdī (n.27) to al-Ghawrī’s nephew and successor, Ṭūmānbay II (the future and the last Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy) in 912/1506.⁷² Being the wife of the most powerful man in the Sultanate, she gained honor and wealth and even made a pilgrimage to Mecca with her mother in 917/1512.⁷³ Nevertheless, their good fortune did not last long. At the Battle of Marj Dābiq in 922/1516, the Ottomans defeated the Mamluk army and Sultan al-Ghawrī died in battle. With the enemy approaching Egypt, Ṭūmānbāy II succeeded the Sultanate, rallied his remaining troops, and challenged the Ottomans to a final battle at Raydāniya. However, he was defeated. Thereafter, although he managed to escape and continue his resistance, he was eventually captured and executed. Under the Ottoman occupation, Tumanbay’s wife and her mother were revealed by their servant to have hidden a vast amount of treasure and were forced to pay the Ottoman Sultan Selim a sum of 20,000 dinars.⁷⁴ Fāṭima’s brother Muḥammad (n.26) and the ex-Sultan Aḥmad’s son ‘Alī (n.18) were among the Egyptian notables taken by Selim during his return to

70 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 3:409–410. For Āqbirdī’s political downfall, see Petry, *Twilight*, 113–116.

71 For Fāṭima’s biography after Qāyṭbāy’s death, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:64–65; Petry, “Class Solidarity”, 135–136; idem, “Estate”, 279. Ibn Iyās mentions a rumor that she married Qānṣūh Khamṣmī’a, who ascended the throne as Sultan in place of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy, but was defeated by al-Nāṣir the next day and failed in his usurpation.

72 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:99–100.

73 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:249–250.

74 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 5:181–182.

Istanbul after conquering Egypt, which indicates that the Khāṣṣbak family still had some influence in Egypt.⁷⁵ In 927/1521, Muḥammad (n.26) was allowed to return to Egypt with other prisoners but soon experienced the tragedy of his *rizqa* lands being confiscated because of the Ottoman government's land policy.⁷⁶

Thus, by marrying the female members of the family to the Sultanate's powerful amirs, especially during the reigns of Sultans Īnāl and Qāyṭbāy, the Khāṣṣbak family succeeded in establishing their own network among the Mamluk ruling elite. These networks helped them maintain their position and wealth in Mamluk military society over a long period while also creating inter-marriage ties among the elites of slave origin.

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75 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’*, 5:229.

76 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’*, 5:421, 424.

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Awlād al-Nās* during and after the Reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan

1 Introduction

Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 748–52/1347–51, 755–62/1354–61) was the son of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–4/1293–4, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41), who was the son of sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90). Thus, in the conventional sense, he was one of the Mamluk descendants or “*awlād al-nās*” (see below). In general, he is believed to have promoted “*awlād al-nās*”, who were of a similar class, to a remarkable extent. During his second reign, as discussed below, almost half of the generals of the highest rank were “*awlād al-nās*”. Many “*awlād al-nās*” were granted amirates of forty or ten (the second or third rank). While this is well-known, the lives of these “*awlād al-nās*”, who were favoured by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, during and after his reign have been understudied. This paper investigates this to reappraise his rule and policies by examining narrative sources, such as chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and topographic works, as well as documentary sources. It will particularly focus on al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s children and descendants. It will also shed light on the fate of the Mamluk descendants from the late 8th/14th to the mid-9th/15th centuries.

2 The rule of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan

When enthroned, he is said to have changed his Turkish name, Qumārī, to the Arabic name, Ḥasan.¹ Reportedly, he used to say, “Upon my life, I have not heard anyone say that an *ibn nās* revolts.”² When one of his favourites criticized him, he also answered:

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1 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:745; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:187; Ulrich Haarmann, “Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century

By God, I promote them (i.e., *awlād al-nās*) not because of love for them, but for my own sake, for the sake of the subjects, and the countries. As for me, they do not refuse to obey me. Even if they desire to do so, their relatives and retainers prevent them for fear of losing their holdings and allowances, contrary to the Mamluks, since the latter have no capital (*ra's māl*) in any territory (*mamlaka*). For the subjects, [*awlād al-nās* are good because] they own enough and have no greed and do not ill-treat anyone, being afraid of me. For the countries, [*awlād al-nās* are good too because] they undoubtedly know more about the rules, politics, and minds of the subjects than the Mamluks.³

Based on these statements, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's policies are sometimes perceived in modern studies to have threatened the position of the Mamluks and even the entire Mamluk system, which led to the fatal clash between al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and his Mamluk amir Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 768/1366).⁴ However, as Jo Van Steenbergen has pointed out, no author of the Mamluk sultanate explicitly attributed al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's downfall to his inclination toward the "*awlād al-nās*" or Mamluk descendants.⁵ Rather, the Syrian historian and scholar Ibn Kathīr (701–74/1301–73) reproached him for having "giant buildings constructed, many of which were unnecessary", for seizing "many of the public treasury's properties and possessions", and for acquiring "many hamlets, and also towns and villages". Moreover, he wrote that "consequently, God the Exalted enabled his perishing by the hand of one from his inner circle: the magnate Sayf al-Dīn Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī".⁶ As Ibn Kathīr mentioned, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was indeed eager to acquire landed properties in Egypt and Syria, as evidenced by his endowments: His *madrassa*-complex in Cairo was endowed exclusively with landed properties; in

Egypt and Syria", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33/1 (1988), 81–114, here 104; idem, "Joseph's Law: The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt", in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge 1998, 55–84, here 67.

2 Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 419; Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382*, Leiden and Boston 2006, 21.

3 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 5:127. With some modifications, the English translation is based on Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt*, Chicago 2015, 29–30.

4 See, for example, Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria: The Turkish Mamlūk Sultanate (648–784/1250–1382) and the Circassian Mamlūk Sultanate (784–923/1382–1517)", in: *The New Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 2: The Western Islamic World Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Maribel Fierro, Cambridge 2010, 237–84, here 254–5; Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 27–30. On Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, see Jo Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamlūk Society: A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131/3 (2011), 423–43.

5 Van Steenbergen, "Amir Yalbughā", 433, n. 38; see also his and Koby Yosef's contributions in this volume.

6 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 14:278. The English translation of Ibn Kathīr's text is based on Van Steenbergen, "Amir Yalbughā", 431–2.

the *waqf* document, it was stipulated that the administrator (*nāẓir*) was to buy landed estates (*al-arādī wa-l-ḍiyā'*) in Egypt and Syria with surplus revenue to add to the endowment.⁷ The Syrian littérateur and scribe al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363), who was himself the son of a Mamluk, also critically stated that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan confiscated properties from the amirs, scribes, and the wealthy, and he rotated local governors and changed *iqṭā's* frequently since he did not trust anyone.⁸ Likewise, the Syrian scribe and historian Ibn Ḥabīb (710–79/1310–77) commented that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan acquired many treasures (*ḥasala dhakhā'ir 'adīda*), bought large properties, and collected an innumerable amount of gold.⁹ Thus, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was not so popular with contemporary Arabic writers, as Ulrich Haarmann has mentioned.¹⁰ In particular, he appears to have been rather unpopular in Syria, which leads us to reappraise his rule and the term *awlād al-nās*.

3 Amirs of one hundred and Syrian governors

According to al-Maqrīzī (ca. 766–845/1364–1442) and Ibn Taghrī Birdī (ca. 812–74/1409–10–70), ten (of the 24) amirs of one hundred in Cairo were *awlād al-nās*.¹¹ Two of them were al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's own sons, Aḥmad and Qāsim (see below). The remaining eight were Asanbughā b. al-Būbakrī, 'Umar b. Arghūn al-Nā'ib, Muḥammad b. Ṭaraghāy, Muḥammad b. Bahādūr Āṣ, Muḥammad b. al-Muḥsinī, Mūsā b. Ariqṭāy, Aḥmad b. Almalik, and Mūsā b. al-Azkashī.¹² Let us examine their careers, which to date have not received significant scholarly attention.

Asanbughā b. Baktamur al-Būbakrī (or Asanbughā b. al-Abī Bakrī) was one of Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī al-Manṣūrī's (d. 728/1328) two sons who were promoted

7 MS WA 881q, 471–2; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkira*, 418; *Kitāb Waqf*, 173.

8 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:249–50.

9 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkira*, 3:240.

10 Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 67, n. 66.

11 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:63; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:317. "The total of twenty-four was fixed" in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army II", BSOAS 15/2 (1953), 448–76, here 468), but it is uncertain whether there were 24 amirs of one hundred during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. See Yosef's contribution in this volume.

12 Without referring to the two sons of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407) mentions that there were nine amirs of one hundred, but he names only the same eight amirs, as do al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī (Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 419). Ibn Iyās (852–ca. 930/1448–1524) mentions that ten *awlād al-nās* were amirs of the highest rank (*muqaddamīn ulūf*), but he names eleven persons including Baydamur al-Khwārizmī, the governor of Syria (on him, see below) (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 1/1:578). To them can be added Muḥammad b. Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī (see Yosef's first contribution).

to be amirs. His father, Baktamur, was promoted to the amirate of forty by Qalāwūn and became one of the greatest amirs (*akābir al-umarāʾ*) of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, until he offended the sultan and was imprisoned in 722/1322.¹³ Asanbughā himself was given the amirate of forty by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's death, Asanbughā seems to have retained the rank of amir of one hundred. He held the posts of *khāzindār*, *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*, governor of Alexandria and Aleppo, and *amīr ākhūr*. In 772/13370–71, he founded al-Madrasa al-Būbakriyya for the Ḥanafis with a *maktab* for orphans in Cairo. Moreover, he began building a mosque opposite this *madrasa*, which was not completed before his death in 777/1375.¹⁴

ʿUmar b. Arghūn al-Nāʾib was the son of Arghūn al-Dawādār (d. 731/1330–1), who was bought by Qalāwūn for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and later assumed the post of *nāʾib al-salṭana* under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.¹⁵ Encouraged by his father, who was interested in Ḥanafī jurisprudence and a keen book collector, ʿUmar studied *ḥadīth*. In 735/1334, he married Ṭulunbāy (d. 741/1340), who was once al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's wife.¹⁶ After studying *ḥadīth*, he was appointed governor of Gaza for some time. There is no information about when his first tenure as governor of Safad occurred, but his second tenure was from 765/1363 to 766/1365, when he was recalled to Cairo to be an amir of one hundred. In 769/1368, he was appointed governor of Karak.¹⁷ Ibn al-Jīʾān's (814–85/1412–80) cadastral survey records in his name two *iqṭāʿ*-lands in Egypt—al-Shuqqa in al-Gharbiyya and Shubrā Bār in al-Buḥayra—for which the annual tax revenues (*ʿibra*) amounted to 5,500 *dīnār jayshī* in total.¹⁸ He died in Damascus in 773/1372.¹⁹

There is no information about Muḥammad b. Ṭaraghāy from between 762/1361 (the end of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's second reign) and 769/1368, when he was

13 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:482.

14 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:489–90; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:386; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:75, 156, 159, 258; *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:563–4/2:390–1.

15 On Arghūn al-Dawādār, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyan*, 1:452–6; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:351–2; Koby Yosef, “Masters and Slaves: Substitute Kinship in the Mamlūk Sultanate”, in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, VIII*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen, Kristof D’hulster, and Jo Van Steenberghe, Leuven 2016, 557–79, here 562, 564.

16 al-Shujāʾī, *Taʾrikh*, 120; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:378; Peter M. Holt, “An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity”, in: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet, Leuven 1995, 313–24, here 316–17.

17 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:244, 262, 317.

18 Ibn al-Jīʾān, *Tuḥfa*, 75, 129; Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lebensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1979–82, 585–6, 453–4. On Ibn al-Jīʾān's cadastral survey, see Wakako Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records Being Updated and Distributed: A Study of *Al-Tuḥfa al-Saniya bi-Asmāʾ al-Bilād al-Miṣriya*”, *Journal of Islamic Area Studies* 10 (2018), 17–29.

19 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:405; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3: 154; Donald S. Richards, “Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households”, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge 1998, 32–54, here 44.

referred to as an amir of forty.²⁰ Thus, he must have been reduced to this rank after al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's rule. When he died in 771/1369–70, he was still an amir of forty.²¹

Muḥammad b. al-Muḥsinī was the son of Bīlik al-Muḥsinī, who assumed the posts of *wālī* of Alexandria and *wālī* of Cairo, was banished with his sons to Tripoli and died there in 739/1338–9.²² In 742/1341, Muḥammad was allowed to return to Cairo to be appointed *wālī* of Cairo. Soon afterward, however, he was arrested and imprisoned in Alexandria. Six months later, in 743/1342, he was released and sent to Syria. In 753/1352, he returned to Cairo and was appointed *mushīr al-dawla* the following year. When the vizier died in 755/1354, Muḥammad was asked to be a vizier, but he declined.²³ Thereafter, he appears to have been favoured by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, as he was the *shādd* of the construction of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's *madrasa*-complex in Cairo. Shortly after the murder of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Muḥammad was arrested and jailed in Alexandria.²⁴ There is no further information on him.

Mūsā b. al-Azkashī seems to have betrayed his master, as al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was arrested in his house. According to Ibn Khaldūn (732–808/1332–1406), Mūsā himself reported that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was in his house to Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī.²⁵ Thereafter, Mūsā b. al-Azkashī probably remained *ustādār* until 763/1362, when he was expelled to Ḥamā for some time. From 769/1368 onward, he held various posts in Egypt, such as *wālī* of al-Buḥayra, *nāʾib* of Alexandria, and *wālī* of Qūṣ, while his rank was seemingly reduced to the amirate of forty. Two Egyptian assets—Danūr (Danasūr) in Ibyār and Bardanīs in al-Suyūṭiyya—whose annual tax revenues amounted to 8,500 *dīnār jayshī* in total, were registered as his *iqṭāʿ* in Ibn al-Jīʿān's cadastral survey.²⁶ He died in 780/1379.²⁷

20 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:161.

21 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:188.

22 al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh*, 54; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 2:335; *Khīṭaṭ*, 3:301 (London)/2:91 (Būlāq); Abdallah Kahil, "The Architect/s of the Sultan Ḥasan Complex in Cairo", *Artibus Asiae* 66/2 (2006), 155–74, here 160.

23 al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh*, 134, 190, 232–3; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:565, 590, 620, 884, 890, 919; *Muqaffā*, 5:254–5; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 3:411.

24 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:61, 65. On him, see Kahil, "Architect/s"; Noha Abou-Khatwa's contribution in this volume.

25 Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, 10:460 (Tunis): *fa-washā bi-himā ilā Yalbughā "wa-yuqālu inna al-Azkashī huwa alladhī dassa bi-dhālika ilā Yalbughā" fa-ba'atha man aḥdarahu....* The sentence between the quotation marks is not found in the Beirut edition (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, 5:972; moreover, in this edition, Yalbughā is misspelled as Baybuqā).

26 Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, 114 (in a variant), 186; Halm, *Lehensregister*, 344–5, 90. According to this, he was Mūsā b. ʿUmar al-Azkashī or al-Azkajī. Moreover, a certain ʿAlī b. al-Azkajī is found as *iqṭāʿ*-holder of Minyat Juḥaysh in al-Sharqiyya, in Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, 43; Halm, *Lehensregister*, 652; see also Yosef's contribution in this volume.

Aḥmad b. Almalik was the son of Almalik (d. 747/1346), who was one of the great amirs favoured by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.²⁸ Aḥmad was given the amirate of forty by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and was promoted to the amirate of one hundred by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. He retained this position until 775/1373, although it is unclear what he did in the meantime. In 775/1373, he wanted to retire to Jerusalem since his *iqṭāʿ*-land in Egypt dried up. Instead, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's nephew, the sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 764–78/1363–77) appointed him governor of Gaza and then *nāẓir* of Jerusalem and Hebron. Shortly afterward, he was recalled to Cairo, granted the amirate of forty, and appointed *ḥājib*. Ibn al-Jīʿān lists his six *iqṭāʿ*-lands in Egypt, with annual tax revenues amounting to 31,000 *dīnār jayshī* in total — al-Bayḍā in al-Sharqiyya, Ṭannāḥ in al-Daqahliyya, Biltāj in al-Gharbiyya, Abū Manjūj in al-Buḥayra, Qulūsanā wa-Kafr Banī Ḥakīm in al-Bahnasā, and Jazīrat al-Dayr wa-Umm ʿAlī in al-Qūṣiyya.²⁹ In 779/1377, after the murder of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, he resigned to become a Sufi and “was content with the proceeds of his father's endowment”.³⁰ He died in 793/1391.³¹

Almost no information is available on Muḥammad b. Bahādur Aṣ; however, it is reported that his father, Bahādur Aṣ al-Manṣūrī, was one of the great amirs in Syria and died in 730/1329, leaving five sons, two of whom became amirs of forty.³² Mūsā b. Ariqtāy (or Ruqtāy) was appointed governor of Safad in 773/1371 and died the following year.³³ There is no further information about him.

Moreover, Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407) and al-Maqrīzī referred to Aḥmad b. al-Qushtamurī and Ibn Ṣubḥ as Syrian provincial governors during al-Nāṣir Ḥa-

27 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:351; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʿrīkh*, 3:590; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʿ*, 1:295 (Hyderabad)/1:188 (Cairo). According to Ibn Ḥajar, he was Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azkashī. I am not sure whether he was of free Kurdish origin, as Yosef assumes. On this amir, see also Jo Van Steenberghe's contribution in this volume.

28 On Almalik, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1: 618–20; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1: 411; see further Van Steenberghe, *Order*, 178–9.

29 Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Tuhfa*, 16, 55, 73, 117 (in a variant), 171 (in a variant), 192; Halm, *Lebensregister*, 607, 760, 482, 401, 175, 70. In a variant, Qulūsanā wa-Kafr Banī Ḥakīm were registered as *ʿiqṭāʿ* of Aḥmad b. Almalik and Uzdampur, *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*; their annual revenues were 16,000 *dīnār jayshī* (Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Tuhfa*, 171). Here, the share of Aḥmad b. Almalik is calculated to be one half of the revenue, i.e., 8,000 *dīnār jayshī*.

30 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:754–5; with a little modification, the English translation is based on Ulrich Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in: *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut 1984, 141–168, here 143 (he referred to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Durar* as his source, but the text appears to instead be al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*).

31 See also Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:108; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 1:183–4; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʿrīkh*, 1:392; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 41; Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, 79.

32 al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:56–8; *Wāfi*, 10:297–8; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:497; Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, 66.

33 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʿrīkh*, 3:397, 427; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:205, 210; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4: 375 (Mūsā b. al-Ḥājj Ruqtāy); Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 43.

san's reign, who were *awlād al-nās*. In 760/1359, Aḥmad b. al-Qushtamurī was appointed the *ḥājib* in Damascus. He was the governor of Aleppo from 761/1360 to 762/1361 and the governor of Karak from 764/1363 to 769/1368, when he was replaced by 'Umar b. Arghūn al-Nā'ib.³⁴ Thereafter, no further information about him is available.

Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Ṣubḥ (or Ṣubayḥ) al-Kurdi was seemingly a free-born Kurd. In 741/1340–41, he was summoned to Egypt to be *kāshif* of the Egyptian Delta (*al-wajh al-baḥrī*) and held this post until 742/1341. Thereafter, he returned to Damascus. In 751/1350–51, he was arrested, but was then released after a few months. During the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 752–5/1351–4), he was appointed governor of Gaza in 752/1351 and transferred the following year to the governorship of Safad, where he built a mosque. In 759/1358, he was appointed *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* in Damascus, but was arrested two months later and jailed in Alexandria. After the murder of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 762/1361, he was released and sent to Aleppo as an amir of forty. He held the posts of *wālī al-wulāt* in Ḥawrān and *nā'ib al-qa'a*, likely in Damascus. He died in 771/1369.³⁵

Ibn Taghrī Birdī added 'Alī al-Māridinī, the governor of Damascus, to the list of the *awlād al-nās* who became provincial governors.³⁶ However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (779–851/1377–1448) mentioned that he was presented to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by the ruler of Mārdīn and became one of his Mamluks.³⁷ Koby Yosef assumes that he was of free Muslim origin, and potentially a Turkmen.³⁸

Furthermore, Ibn Iyās referred to Baydamur al-Khwārazmī as one of the *awlād al-nās* amirs.³⁹ However, according to Ibn Khaldūn, he was a descendant of a Khwarazm-Shāh's vassal.⁴⁰ He was born in 712/1312–13, and first served a certain amir Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Qarā Sunqur and became an agent (*nā'ib*) of the great amir Shaykhū (d. 758/1357). When al-Nāṣir Ḥasan came to know him, he appointed Baydamur as *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* in Damascus and then transferred him to Aleppo as its governor in 760/1358. The following year, Baydamur made a successful expedition to Cilicia. When al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was murdered, Baydamur tried to avenge his master, but he was arrested. In 769/1367, he was appointed governor of Damascus. Thereafter, he was repeatedly arrested, released, and

34 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:148, 162–3, 185, 317; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:51, 67, 84, 158.

35 al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 96, 157; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:10, 19, 36, 135, 145, 182, 184, 366–7;

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Durar*, 1:207; see also Van Steenberghe's contribution in this volume.

36 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:317; *Manhal*, 5:127.

37 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:391–2.

38 See his contribution in this volume.

39 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 1/1: 578.

40 Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, 5:1022–3 (in this edition, his name is misspelled as Bandamur).

appointed governor of either Damascus or Aleppo until sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–9, 792–801/1390–9) arrested him in 788/1386. He died the following year.⁴¹

There are two observations. First, the amirs of one hundred and Syrian governors whom Ibn Duqmāq, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, and Ibn Iyās designated as *awlād al-nās*, included not only Mamluk descendants but also free-born persons. Second, they were neither very powerful nor played a major political role, even during their heyday in the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and for some time afterward. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan seemed to have attached the same importance, if not more, to his Mamluks as to the *awlād al-nās*. After eliminating his last obstacle, the great amir Ṣarghitmish, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan promoted his five Mamluks, including Yalbughā al-ʿUmārī and Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl (d. 769/1368) to amirs of one hundred, and also a number of his other Mamluks to be amirs of forty and ten.⁴² According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, the four most-favoured amirs in al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's final years were Yalbughā al-ʿUmārī, Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, Tumān Tamur al-ʿUmārī (d. 764/1362–3?), whose origin is unclear, and Aydamur al-Ānūkī al-Nāṣirī (d. 776/1375), who was originally a Mamluk of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's brother, Ānūk b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1340).⁴³ Ibn Taghrī Birdī mentions that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan “was not reproved in his rule except for promoting his Mamluks rapidly”.⁴⁴

It should be noted that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's preference for *awlād al-nās* was recorded by the Egyptian historians Ibn Duqmāq, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, and Ibn Iyās. Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, and Ibn Iyās were themselves Mamluk descendants or “*awlād al-nās*”, and al-Maqrīzī relied more or less on Ibn Duqmāq for information on al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's rule. Thus, it could be assumed that Ibn Duqmāq—and later Ibn Taghrī Birdī and Ibn Iyās—highlighted al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's inclination toward *awlād al-nās*, recollecting his rule nostalgically or for other reasons.⁴⁵ Whatever the case may be, the trend toward “de-mamlukization”, or more precisely, the policy of recruiting various groups—not only Mamluks but also non-Mamluks, such as Mamluk descendants—to hold the

41 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:226–7; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:47, 50, 66, 67, 149, 156, 172, 221, 224, 289, 318, 336, 360, 373–4, 388, 394, 399, 466, 549; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:513–4; *Inbāʾ*, 2:264 (Hyderabad)/1:339 (Cairo); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 3:498–9; see also Yosef's contribution in this volume.

42 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:43. On Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2:231; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:330–1.

43 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:457 (necrology of Aydamur al-Ānūkī). See also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:311; Van Steenberghe, “Amir Yalbughā”, 431. On Aydamur al-Ānūkī, see also Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 1:429 (Aydamur al-Dawādār). On Tumān Tamur al-ʿUmārī, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 4:87, although it is not certain if this person can be identified as the Tumān Tamur al-ʿUmārī to whom Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba refers.

44 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:316.

45 Yosef points out that Ibn Duqmāq meant to legitimate Barqūq's struggle with the old elite of the Qalawunids (see his contribution in this volume).

balance of power has been already observed in previous research on the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This continued through al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's reign until the end of the 8th/14th centuries, or the end of the Qalawunid era.⁴⁶

4 Descendants of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan

As mentioned above, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan promoted his two sons, Aḥmad and Qāsim, to amirs of one hundred in Cairo. Concerning them and his other children and descendants as examples of Mamluk descendants, we can find some details in narrative and documentary sources, which will be discussed below.⁴⁷

4.1. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's children

Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan left ten sons (i.e., Aḥmad, Qāsim, 'Alī, Iskandar, Sha'bān, Ismā'il, Yahyā, Mūsā, Yūsuf, and Muḥammad) and 6 daughters.⁴⁸ One of his daughters married her cousin al-Ashraf Sha'bān, although he divorced her in 777/1376.⁴⁹

In 778/1377, before departing for the pilgrimage, al-Ashraf Sha'bān sent his brothers and male relatives, including the ten sons of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and their families, to Karak, fearing a revolt in his absence from Cairo. The next year, after the murder of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, they were allowed to return to the Cairo Citadel.⁵⁰

Yahyā died in 786/1384.⁵¹ A cenotaph in the *madrasa*-complex of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan bears an inscription of the date of the first decade of the month Dhū al-

46 See Van Steenberghe, *Order*; idem, "Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Death (1341)", *Mamluk Studies Review* 9/2 (2005), 173–99; Amalia Levanoni, "Awlād al-nas in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period", in: *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon, London and New York 2006, 96–105; idem, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341*, Leiden 1995, 28–52.

47 On the basic data of the Qalawunids including al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants, see Frédéric Bauden's webpage: <http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/qalawunid-genealogy.html> (30.09.21). On the in-laws of the Qalawunids, see Yosef's contribution.

48 Ibn Duqmāq, *Jawhar*, 419; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:62; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:316; *Manhal*, 5:131.

49 al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:256.

50 al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:270, 304.

51 al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:528.

Qa‘da 786/23 December 1384–1 January 1385.⁵² This cenotaph was probably intended for Yahyā.

The eldest son of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Aḥmad, was named successor after his father’s death. However, the great amirs rejected this because they feared that he would avenge his father’s assassination.⁵³ According to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449), he was nominated as sultan several times thereafter. He died in 788/1386 and was buried in his father’s *madrasa*-complex.⁵⁴

In 791/1389, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s sister or daughter married sultan al-Manṣūr Ḥājji b. al-Ashraf Sha‘bān (r. 783–4/1381–2, 791–2/1389–91), who was restored to the throne shortly before the marriage.⁵⁵ This marriage, as well as that of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān with his cousin, a daughter of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, may have been an attempt to consolidate familial ties among the Qalawunids.

Another son of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Ismā‘īl, was well-versed in arithmetic and the art of writing (*al-ḥisāb wa-l-kitāba*). In 769/1367, amid the turmoil after the murder of Yalbughā al-‘Umārī, Ismā‘īl’s stepfather, Baktamur al-Muḥammadi, plotted to kill al-Ashraf Sha‘bān and help Ismā‘īl ascend to the throne. However, this plot was uncovered, and Baktamur al-Muḥammadi was arrested with his co-conspirators.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Ismā‘īl was reported to have been an amir of forty during al-Ashraf Sha‘bān’s reign, although his name was not found in Ibn al-Jī‘ān’s register. The document mentioned below indicated that he and his brother Qāsim were the administrators of their father’s *madrasa*-complex, at least in 789/1387. Ismā‘īl had a good relationship with sultan Barqūq and became one of the sultan’s boon companions. He died in 799/1397 and was buried in his father’s *madrasa*-complex.⁵⁷

Qāsim was born in 759/1358 and was soon given an amirate of one hundred;⁵⁸ Mūsā died in 803/1400–01.⁵⁹ Except for a reference to Qāsim and Mūsā as well as ‘Alī, Iskandar, and Yūsuf in the document mentioned below, there is no other

52 Max van Berchem, *Mate‘riax pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum: E‘gypte I*, Paris 1894–1903, 270–1.

53 al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:64.

54 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, 1:122; *Inbā‘*, 2:226 (Hyderabad)/1:320 (Cairo); al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:556; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:193.

55 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 9:167; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:680. According to Ibn al-Furāt, al-Manṣūr Ḥājji married a daughter of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, so Aḥmad’s sister; al-Maqrizī mentions that al-Manṣūr Ḥājji married Aḥmad’s daughter.

56 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, 1:488 (the biography of Baktamur al-Muḥammadi); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:327; cf. al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:153–4, 165 (he called this amir not Baktamur but Tulaktamur).

57 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 9:471; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā‘*, 3:343 (Hyderabad)/1:533 (Cairo).

58 al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 3:43.

59 al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw‘*, 10:181. According to al-Sakhawī (831–902/1427–8–97), Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī mentions Mūsā’s death as being in 803/1400–01 in his *Inbā‘* but no reference to him can be found in this or other chronicles and biographical dictionaries.

information about them. Regarding Shaʿbān and Muḥammad, it is only known that they returned to Cairo from Karak in 779/1377.

4.2. Properties of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants

Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan left his children a considerable fortune.⁶⁰ He assigned three of the seven sultanīc (*khāṣṣ sulṭānī*) sugar factories (*maṭbakh*) in al-Fuṣṭāṭ to his children; at the end of the 8th/14th century, they owned two more sugar factories, one of which was registered in the name of Ismāʿīl. They also had four waterwheels for sugar pressing (*dūlāb*) in Mayr wa-l-Qūṣiyya, Bū Tij, and Ṭahanhūr wa-Shaqalqīl (or Saqalqīl) in Upper Egypt.⁶¹

There was a house known as Dār al-Sitt Shaqrāʾ in Ḥārat Kutāma, Cairo. Shaqrāʾ was one of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's daughters, who married a certain amir Urūs (or Rūs). However, she later fell prey to unfortunate circumstances and died in 791/1389.⁶²

Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan acquired another house, called Dār al-Jumaqdār, on the western side of Cairo's main street. It remained with his children until some of them sold part of it to the *nāʾib al-sulṭana* Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī (d. 798/1396),⁶³ while the rest remained an endowment of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's children. Thereafter, ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Karakī took possession of the part of the house that had been sold, followed by Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Qimanī.⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Karakī (d. 801/1398) was once the *waqf* administrator of al-Šāliḥ Ismāʿīl (r. 743–6/1342–5), al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's brother, and that Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Qimanī (d. 833/1430) taught in the Cairo complex of Qalawūn, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's grandfather.⁶⁵ As mentioned below, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Muzhir was once the *waqf* administrator of Qalawūn's hospital. These cases seem to indicate a Qalawunīd connection. These posts would have acquainted them with al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants, and they would have dealt with them, or, on the contrary, they would have held the posts after making deals.

60 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:316; *Manhal*, 5:131.

61 Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 4:41, 42, 43; 5:22, 24, 24–5.

62 al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 3:245 (London)/2:74 (Būlāq). On Shaqrāʾ, see further Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:181; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:689. Her husband Urūs could be identified as Ārūs al-Maḥmūdī al-Muḥammadī (see Yosef's first contribution).

63 On this amir, see Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:447; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 3:303–4 (Hyderabad)/1:517 (Cairo); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:865.

64 al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 3:176 (London)/2:53 (Būlāq).

65 On ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Karakī, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 1:162–6; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 4:41–3 (Hyderabad)/2:60–2 (Cairo); al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 2:60–1. On Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Qimanī, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ*, 8:209–11 (Hyderabad)/3:443–4 (Cairo); al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 11:63–4.

In any case, according to document no. 562j kept in *Wizārat al-awqāf*, Cairo,⁶⁶ three-eighths of a house in Cairo was originally the private property of seven children of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, who were Zayn al-Dīn Iskandar, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā, ‘Ā’isha, Shaqrā’, Tatar, and Zahrā’. They wanted to sell this part of the house to their father’s *madrasa*-complex in Cairo for its *waqf* property and agreed on this deal with the administrators of the *madrasa*, as well as their brothers Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim and ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā’īl, in 789/1387. Nevertheless, it was found that this would violate the stipulations of the *waqf* document because the administrator was to save up to 200,000 *dirhams* of the surplus and could only buy estates or lands in Egypt or Syria;⁶⁷ savings at that time amounted to less than 50,000 *dirhams*. Thus, the sale did not go through.

As aforementioned, Shaqrā’ died in 791/1389, followed by one of her sons, Ḥamza, and her mother, Uljāy. In 793/1391, her heirs and the remaining six children of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan sold part of the house to a certain Sayf al-Dīn Īnāl. After the death of Sayf al-Dīn Īnāl, this part of the house was transferred to sultan Barqūq in 795/1393, although the process of this transfer is not entirely clear. Nine days later, Barqūq exchanged it for one-third of Dār al-Baysarī and Ḥammām al-Baysarī, the *waqf* properties of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s five children (i.e., Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā, and ‘Ā’isha).

According to al-Maqrīzī, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan bought or obtained Dār (or Qaṣr) al-Baysarī through *istibdāl* (exchange) in 761/1359–60 and had it renovated. Subsequently, it changed hands several times and eventually passed to Barqūq’s *waqf* properties.⁶⁸ In fact, Barqūq endowed Dār al-Baysarī and Ḥammām al-Baysarī to his *madrasa* in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn in 797/1395, two years after the transaction with al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s descendants.⁶⁹

Another document, WA 615j, includes the deed of the *istibdāl*, wherein four descendants of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan were involved: Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Ḥasan, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan, Zayn al-Dīn Ramaḍān b. Ismā’īl b. Ḥasan, and Zahrā’ bt. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan.⁷⁰ In 822/1419, they exchanged one-fourth of a house in Khuṭṭ Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, one of their *waqf* properties, for a house in Ḥārat Bahā’ al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, which belonged to the

66 On this document, see Muḥammad M. Amīn, *Catalogue des documents d’archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516*, Cairo 1981, 88.

67 See MS WA 881q, 471–2; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkira*, 418; *Kitāb Waqf*, 173.

68 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:51; *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:225 (London)/2:69 (Bulāq).

69 Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 110, nn. 25 and 26; *Le Khan al-Khalili: Un centre commercial et artisanal au Caire du XIIIe au XXe siècle*, ed. Sylvie Denoix, Jean-Charles Depaule and Michel Tuchscherer, 2 vols., Cairo 1999, 2:39–40 ar. (partial edition of Barqūq’s *waqf* document no. 9/51 kept in the Dār al-Wathā’iq al-qawmiyya, Cairo).

70 On this document, see Amīn, *Catalogue*, 95.

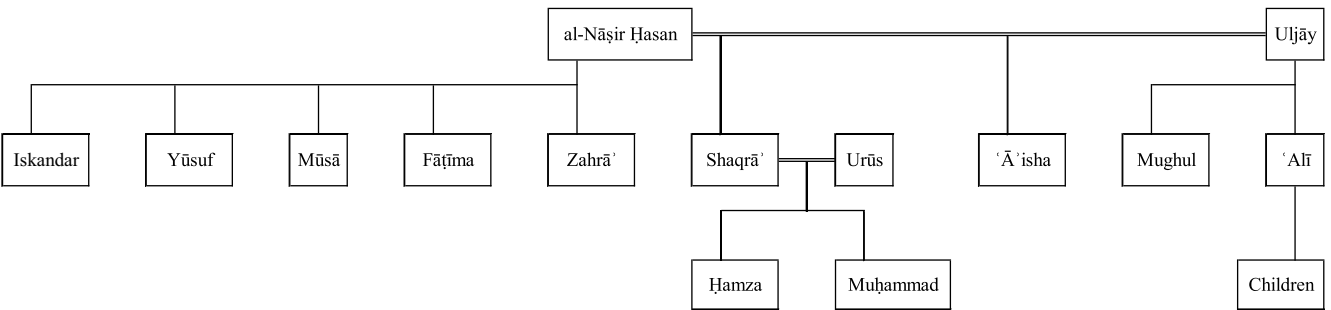


Fig. 01: Family Tree of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan.

stable master (*nāẓir al-iṣṭablāt*) Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Muzhir (d. 832/1429), who was once the *waqf* administrator of Qalāwūn's hospital.⁷¹

The house in Khuṭṭ Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, which could be the house that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants sold and regained in document WA 562j, can likely be identified as Qaṣr Bashtāk. At the same time that Qaṣr (or Dār) al-Baysarī was bought, Qaṣr Bashtāk was bought by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan.⁷² This house remained with al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants until Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Uṣṭādār acquired it through *istibdāl*. After the death of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (812/1409),⁷³ sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–8/1399–1405, 808–15/1405–12) confiscated this house and donated it along with other properties to the mausoleum of his father, Barqūq, in the northern cemetery of Cairo. After al-Nāṣir Faraj's death, sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21) returned his properties to the family of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf. Thus, Qaṣr Bashtāk remained with Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf's heirs until the time of al-Maqrīzī (mid-9th/15th century).⁷⁴ If the house mentioned in document WA 615j was indeed Qaṣr Bashtāk, then al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants still owned part of it until 822/1419. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf may not have obtained the whole house, but only part of it, although there is the possibility that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants regained part of it from Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf's heirs.⁷⁵

After al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's murder, most of the Egyptian and Syrian lands with which he endowed his *madrassa*-complex were reallocated as *iqṭā'* to amirs and others.⁷⁶ Although it worked on a much more limited scale than originally planned, the *madrassa* still reserved 50,000 *dirhams* in 789/1387, as mentioned above. While only one or two of the eight Egyptian *waqf* assets are found in the registers of Ibn al-Jī'an and Ibn Duqmāq—Qahā in al-Qalyūbiyya and Minyat

71 On Badr al-Dīn Ibn Muzhir, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 3:442–3; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 9:39–40; see further Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk (IX^e/XV^e siècle)*, Damascus 1991, 278, 279, and *passim*.

72 al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:51.

73 On him, see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, 6:198–202 (Hyderabad)/2:445–8 (Cairo); Ibn Taghri Birdī, *Manhal*, 12:189–96; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 10:294–7. On the office of the *uṣṭādār*, see Daisuke Igarashi, "The Office of the Uṣṭādār al-'Āliya in the Circassian Mamluk Era", in: *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Leiden and Boston 2017, 115–42.

74 al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:230 (London)/2:70–1 (Bulāq).

75 This part of the house further changed hands and came to Burdbak, the son-in-law of the sultan Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61) in 859/1455. Thereafter, it seems to have been made a *waqf* property for Īnāl's family. See Lucian Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2003, 81–3, 203–4. On Burdbak (d. 868/1464), see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 3:4–6; Reinfandt, *Sultansstiftungen*, 43–5. According to a marginal note of a manuscript of *Khiṭaṭ*, this house or another part of it further changed hands (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:230–1, n. 3 (London)).

76 al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:274 (London)/2:316 (Bulāq).

Şurud in the suburbs of Cairo,⁷⁷ Ibn al-Jī'ān mentions two lands belonging to the *madrasa*-complex that do not appear in al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's *waqf* documents and were therefore probably added later—Maḥallat al-Khādim in al-Gharbiyya and *rizaq*-land in Minyat Ḥalfā in the suburbs of Cairo.⁷⁸ The annual tax revenues of these three or four lands (Qahā, Maḥallat al-Khādim, the *rizaq*-land in Minyat Ḥalfā, and Minayt Şurud) amounted to approximately 12,054 or 16,554 *dīnār jayshī*. This was about 18% or 25% of the originally planned revenues from Egypt.

Thus, the circumstances surrounding al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants seem to have been relatively good until the beginning of the 9th/15th century. They lived in the Citadel and were provided with stipends and servants. The descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, or the Qalawunids, were called *asyād* and, at one point, there were more than 600 of them. Thereafter, their numbers diminished, and their wealth and status decreased, until sultan Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) ordered their expulsion from the Citadel.⁷⁹

4.3. After their expulsion from the citadel

Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's great-grandson, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sha'bān b. Ḥasan, who was born in the Citadel shortly before 810/1407, had to leave the Citadel with his parents and brother Abū Bakr around 825/1422. They went to the

77 Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 12, 7; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 5:50, 47; Halm, *Lehensregister*, 332, 321; Minyat Şurud is, however, registered as *milk* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān in Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa*. The other six Egyptian *waqf* assets of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's *madrasa* were Minyat Banī Salsīl in al-Daqahliyya, Bisāṭ al-Aḥlāf in al-Gharbiyya, one half of Arsāj in al-Buḥayra, Dīrīn in al-Gharbiyya, Dayrūt in al-Muzāḥimiyya, and Shanashā in al-Daqahliyya (MS WA 881q, 22–33, 598–635, 514–88; *Kitāb Waqf*, 10–5, 215–27, 188–212; cf. Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 59, 72, 118; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 5:102; Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 79, 138, 55; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, 5:74; Halm, *Lehensregister*, 733, 484–5, 404–5, 497, 767, 752). The *waqf* documents provide no data on the revenues of these assets. Moreover, there are some differences between the sizes of the areas given in the *waqf* documents and those in Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa* or Ibn Duqmāq's *Intiṣār*. Thus, the revenue of each asset is calculated as follows: 4,500 *dīnār jayshī* (according to Ibn Duqmāq and a variant in Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa*) for Minyat Şurud; 13,990 *dīnār jayshī* (11,000×3,233/2,542) for Minyat Banī Salsīl; 6,400 *dīnār jayshī* (4,900×2,155/1,650) for Bisāṭ al-Aḥlāf; 8,250 *dīnār jayshī* (10,000×5,386/3,264/2) for one half of Arsāj; 8,755 *dīnār jayshī* (8,000×3,002/2,743) for Qahā; 7,192 *dīnār jayshī* (6,100×1,745/1,480) for Dīrīn; 6,125 *dīnār jayshī* for Dayrūt; 10,000 *dīnār jayshī* for Shanashā.

78 Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 90, 7; Halm, *Lehensregister*, 521, 320. The 'ibra of Maḥallat al-Khādim was 3,000 *dīnār jayshī*. The *rizaq*-land in Minyat Ḥalfā for the *madrasa* was 35 *faddān*; the total size of Minyat Ḥalfā was 410 *faddān* and its 'ibra was 3,500 *dīnār jayshī*; thus, the revenue of the *rizaq*-land is calculated to be approximately 299 *dīnār jayshī* (3,500×35/410).

79 al-Maqrizī, *Durar*, 1:572–3; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, 8:154 (Hyderabad)/3:409 (Cairo); al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 3:53; Frédéric Bauden, "The Sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Politics of Puppets: Where Did It All Start?", *Mamluk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009), 53–81, here 80.

city of Cairo, where they settled in al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's *madrasa*-complex.⁸⁰ The *madrasa* could only offer them shelter, although it still retained some sources of income, as mentioned above. Its building, which faces the Citadel, was often used as a military base for rebels from the end of the 8th/14th century onward. Thus, it was repeatedly broken, renovated, and damaged.⁸¹ In general, the situation of the *madrasa* was apparently not good in the 9th/15th century.

As documents WA 562j and WA 615j show, the properties were parcelled out among the heirs over time; thus, they were difficult to maintain and consequently, were sold piecemeal, even if they were converted into *waqf*. As Carl F. Petry and Doris Behrens-Abouseif have noted, the endowments of sultans Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16) mostly comprised fractionalized shares of estates.⁸² They acquired them piecemeal, and many were former *waqf* properties. In any case, according to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, some of the Qalawunids were compelled to sell their pensions (*arzāq*).⁸³

Moreover, Muḥammad's father, 'Alī b. Sha' bān b. Ḥasan, is said to have been heavily in debt already during his stay in the Citadel. In order to live in the city, which he and his family saw for the first time since they were confined to the Citadel, they had to buy several things, such as horses and clothing. Consequently, they soon became impoverished. However, 'Alī's son, Muḥammad, played music, through which he met the eunuch Khushqadam al-Rūmī al-Zimām⁸⁴ and served him for several years. After Khushqadam's death in 839/1435, Muḥammad's situation was precarious. Nevertheless, he became acquainted with sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53) and shot arrows with him, which was a typical Mamluk sport. He thus became one of the sultan's favourites and was able to construct one house (*bayt*) in Cairo near Qanṭarat Bāb al-Ḥarq and another at al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī. Thanks to him, his father, 'Alī, could also lead a good life. After returning from the Mecca pilgrimage, Muḥammad became ill. He died after several months in 852/1448, and was buried in al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's *madrasa*, leaving his parents and several of his children behind. Unfortunately, almost no information is available about their later lives.⁸⁵ They

80 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 10:231–2; *Nujūm*, 15:527–8; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 8:184–5.

81 See for instance al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:274 (London)/2:316; *Sulūk*, 3:701, 733, 986–8; 4:618, 1093–4; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 16:42.

82 Carl F. Petry, "Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: The Holdings of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī According to Their Waqf Deeds", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41/1 (1998), 96–117; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāytbāy's Investments in the City of Cairo: Waqf and Power", *Annales Islamologiques* 32 (1998), 29–40.

83 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 1:281–2 (biography of Aḥmad b. al-Nāṣir Ḥasan).

84 On this eunuch, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 5: 207–10.

85 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 10:231–2; *Nujūm*, 15:527–8; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 8:184–5; Julien Loiseau, "L'émir en sa maison: Parcours politiques et patrimoine urbain au Caire, d'après les biographies du Manhal al-Ṣāfi", *Annales islamologiques* 36 (2002), 117–37, here 133; Bauden,

certainly “scattered in all directions” (*tafaraqqū shadhara madhara*) in the city of Cairo and passed into oblivion, as did the other members of the Qalawunids.⁸⁶

In 873/1468, the administration of the *madrasa*-complex was connected to the second *dawādār*.⁸⁷ Hence, it can be assumed that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s descendants had been relieved of this post by that time.

5 Conclusion

Although the scope of this essay is limited, four conclusions can be drawn, as discussed below.

First, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan did not rely as heavily on Mamluk descendants as was generally assumed in previous studies. He did not adopt anti-Mamluk policies.⁸⁸ He preferred to pursue the policy of recruiting various groups, not just the *awlād al-nās* in the conventional sense—free-born persons, including Mamluk descendants—but also his Mamluks, to maintain the balance of power.

Second, the cases of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s descendants illustrate the process of “mamlukization”⁸⁹ in the 9th/15th century. In the 8th/14th century, many sons and descendants of Mamluks could follow in the footsteps of their fathers and ancestors to become amirs and enjoy various privileges. In the 9th/15th century, however, their opportunities to receive promotions and make their fortunes were restricted, and the Qalawunids—the representatives of the Mamluk descendants—were expelled from the Citadel by Barsbāy. Thereafter, in the middle of the 9th/15th century, the meaning of the term *awlād al-nās* changed. It no longer referred to free-born persons or descendants of the elite, but specifically to Mamluk descendants who were simple soldiers.⁹⁰

Third, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan left his children a considerable fortune in the form of *waqf* and *milk*, from which they and their descendants benefitted for a while. As

“The Sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad”, 59, n. 22. A short biography of ‘Alī b. Sha‘bān b. Ḥasan is found in al-Sakhāwī, *Daw‘*, 5:231, where the author writes almost nothing after the death of his son Muḥammad.

86 al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 4:889–90; see also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, 10:373.

87 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Rawḍ*, 4:34; Igarashi, *Land Tenure*, 210–1.

88 Cf. Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 68.

89 One could also speak of a “re-mamlukization” in contrast to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s policy of “de-mamlukization” or recruiting from various groups; see above.

90 On the term *awlād al-nās*, see further Yosef’s and Van Steenbergen’s contributions in this volume. On the process of “mamlukization” in the course of the 9th/15th century, see Jo Van Steenbergen, 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 and II”, *History Compass* 14/11 (2016), 549–69.

Haarmann has argued, the cases of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's descendants clearly show that Mamluk descendants were "important mediators, brokers... in [the] transactions of real estate".⁹¹ However, their properties were parcelled out and sold piece-by-piece over time. It is now clear that the descendants of Mamluks, including the *awlād al-nās* in the new and narrower sense, still inherited fortunes from their ancestors by the end of the Mamluk sultanate. Thus, how they managed these resources and how long their families would have been able to survive on these resources should be examined. As for the Qalawunids, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's great-grandson, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, is the last one known to date—about a century after al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's death and half a century after the end of the Qalawunid era.

Finally, the Qalawunids would have been subdivided into lineages. Only al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's sons (Aḥmad, Ismā'īl, and likely Yaḥyā) and great-grandson (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sha'bān b. Ḥasan) are known to have been buried in his *madrasa*-complex in Cairo. The same holds true for the *madrasa* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān's mother, Baraka Khātūn, where she, her son al-Ashraf Sha'bān, her two daughters, Zahra and Shaqrā', and her four grandsons, al-Manṣūr 'Alī (r. 778–83/1377–81), al-Ṣāliḥ (al-Manṣūr) Ḥājji, Ismā'īl, and Qāsim were buried.⁹² Al-Ashraf Sha'bān allocated a considerable amount of *iqṭā's* to his sons and brothers, but none to his other male relatives, such as his cousins (e.g. al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's sons).⁹³ As mentioned above, only Ismā'īl b. al-Nāṣir Ḥasan is known to have been an amir of forty under al-Ashraf Sha'bān. These were certainly precautions that al-Ashraf Sha'bān took against a revolt. It should also be remembered that he sent his brothers and male relatives to Karak before his pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus, the Qalawunids had no monolithic unity. However, this presents the following question: what about other families? Accordingly, the familial relations of the military and civilian elite in Mamluk Egypt and Syria should be further investigated, although several studies have been recently conducted on them.⁹⁴

91 Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 76.

92 For Baraka Khātūn (d. 774/1373), see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Durar*: 1:474–5; for al-Ashraf Sha'bān, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:282; for Zahra (d. 771/1370), see van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 284–6; for Shaqrā' (d. 804/1401), see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:1090; al-Manṣūr 'Alī, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:412; for al-Ṣāliḥ (al-Manṣūr) Ḥājji (d. 814/1412), see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 4:200; for Ismā'īl (d. 797/1395 or 795/1393), see Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:418; for Qāsim (d. 801/1398), see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 6:181.

93 See Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 152–6; Yosef's contribution in this volume.

94 See Koby Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)", *Mamluk Studies Review* 16 (2012), 55–69; for an overview of recent studies on family and women in Mamluk society, see Daisuke Igarashi and Takao Ito, "Introduction: An Overview of Recent Studies on Women and Family in Mamluk Society", *Orient* 54 (2019), 1–6.

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***Awlād al-Nās* in Mamlūk Jerusalem: An Inquiry into several Ḥaram documents**

1 Introduction

Three visible socio-political categories will be mentioned along this chapter.

1) The *mamlūks*, a multivalent concept used here with lower-case m to designate the sultans' military slaves, or manumitted slave soldiers,¹ who were also recruited by members of the high ranking politico-military aristocracy. Although an unusual kind of property, these slave soldiers were owned by army commanders (*amīr*, pl. *umarāʾ*). The regulation of their status and their military duties were developed by jurists who compiled the Islamic law of slavery.² 2) The *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, who did not have a history of bondage and whom the sultanate recruited as auxiliary forces.³ 3) The *awlād al-nās*, a construct that is labelled solely by late Mamlūk narrative sources and who played a significant role in the urban environment and in the sultanate's administration.⁴

1 Jo Van Steenberghe, 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* (2016), pp. 549–59, here p. 550.

2 Abū Ḥanīfa did not consider (*wa-asqaṭ* *i'tibārah*) the status of freedom (*hurriyya*) as a condition that a serving soldier should meet. Abū Sālim Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah al-Wazīr al-'Adawī al-Naṣībī al-Shāfi'ī (582–652/1186–1254), *al-Iqd al-farīd li-al-malik al-sa'īd* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Wahhabīyya, 1283/1866), p. 153 (l. 14); Daniel Pipes, "An Explanation of Military Slavery", in: *Critical Readings on Global Slavery*, eds. Damian Alan Pargas and Felicia Roş, Leiden: Brill 2018, pp. 800–840, here p. 834 (item 4).

3 On slavery and a review of Orlando Patterson, see David M. Lewis, "Orlando Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery. The Definitional Problem Revisited", in: *On human bondage: after slavery and social death*, eds. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel, Chichester Malden: Wiley Blackwell 2017, pp. 31–54, here pp. 31–54; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Some Notes Concerning the Trade and Education of Slave-Soldiers during the Mamluk Era", in: *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean 11th-15th Centuries*, eds. Christoph Cluse and Reuven Amitai, Turnhout: Brepols 2018, pp. 187–212, here pp. 189–193.

4 Jo von Steenberghe and other participants advanced this interpretation of the term *awlād al-nās* during the Zoom conference. Contributors to the conference also pointed out that legal, *awqāf* and other documents do not employ the term *awlād al-nās*.

In the present contribution I will concentrate only on these two last categories and their position within fourteenth-century Mamlūk urban society. Namely, on the free born soldiers (*ajṇād al-ḥalqa*) and the possible descendants of the manumitted slave-soldiers (*awlād al-nās*). This last group was integrated, at least partially, with the *ḥalqa*. For that reason, the opening section of my contribution will dwell upon several Ḥaram documents that explicitly mention the *ajṇād al-ḥalqa*, before moving to analyse documents that presumably deal with *awlād al-nās*.⁵

Yet, despite the fact that I am addressing an audience who is well familiar with the Mamlūk society and with this distinct political order, allow me first to open with two short translations. The first is a contemporary tale that explains who the *mamlūks* were. Telling a short anecdote, the author provides an answer to that question. The narrated episode transmits in a nutshell how the Mamlūk elite perceived itself and how the military aristocracy introduced themselves. The account is framed as a report about an episode. The author, who worked as a collector of anecdotes, narrates a story which is fashioned as an ego document that describes the self-presentation of the Mamlūk military elite. He claims that he heard this story when his father met an old friend who had returned from the court of the Mongol-Ilkhan leader (*qān*) in Iran.⁶ Accordingly, the emissary told:

[my father]: As I entered the court hall of [the Ilkhan] Ghāzān [Maḥmūd] (r. 695–703/1295–1304),⁷ he ordered me to stay far away. He spoke to me across four lines of guards. The first question asked by him was: ‘What is your name?’ I answered Özdāmır. Than he asked: ‘And what is your nickname?’ and I said: Ḥusām al-Dīn. “And what is your hereditary common name?” he enquired. It is al-Mujīrī, I responded. Then Ghāzān remarked: ‘In order to create the impression that you are numerous, each one among

5 The documents’ numbering follows Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram as-Sarif in Jerusalem*, Beirut and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1984; More on this collection in: *Wathā’iq maqḍisiyya ta’rikhiyya*, ed. Kāmil Jamīl al-‘Asālī, ‘Ammān: Matba’at al-Tawfiq 1983; Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya. A History of Mamluk Jerusalem based on the Haram Documents*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz 1985; Werner Diem, “Philologisches zu mamlukischen Erlassen, Eingaben und Dienstschriften des Jerusalemer al-Haram ash-Sharif”, *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 33 (1997), pp. 7–67; Christian Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen. Studie der mamlukischen Ḥaram-Dokumente aus Jerusalem*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2013.

6 For the state of the art in the study of Mamlūk historical writings and on this ‘adabization’ development, see Koby Yosef, “Al-Maqrīzī’s Sulūk, Muqaffā, and Durar al-‘Uqūd: Trends of ‘Literarization’ in the Historical Corpus of a 9th/15th-Century Egyptian Shāfi’i Religious Scholar”, in: *New Readings in Arabic Historiography from Late Medieval Egypt and Syria: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the Fifth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies*; eds. Jo van Steenbergen and Maya Termonia, Leiden: Brill 2021, pp. 33–111.

7 Reuven Amitai-Preiss, “Ghazan, Islam and Mongol Tradition: A View from the Mamlūk Sultanate”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 59/1 (1996), pp. 1–10; George Lane, “The Mongols in Iran”, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Iranian History*, ed. Touraj Daryaee, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011, pp. 258–259.

you [the *mamlūks*] carries three names'. I kissed the ground, said al-Mujīrī, and stated: May God protect the Qān.⁸ At a tender age slave merchants buy us in our countries of origin. They carry us to Egypt. At that stage in our lives we are known only by a single name. Then the name of the merchant who carried us to Egypt is added to our first name. As we grow up and develop, a nickname is added. I, the humble servant, was named Özdamır. The name of the merchant who bought me was Mujīr al-Dīn, and hence I was known as al-Mujīrī. Growing and advancing along the manumitted slave-soldiers' lines of career (*falammā kabart^u wa-ṣirt^u min al-nās ma'rūf^u*), I received the honorary name Ḥusām al-Dīn. I heard the Qān, said al-Mujīrī, uttering 'he is right'. Then I responded: Because many amongst us bear the same or similar name, only the name of the merchant who brought us to Egypt makes it possible to distinguish between us. So Ghāzān asked: 'And what is your ethnic identity (*jins/genus*)?' and I said Qipchaq. He concluded: 'You provided a sound answer'.

Then he ordered me to draw closer and spoke to me directly in the presence of a single chamberlain only. He asked numerous questions and I honestly answered them. One of these questions was about my position at the court of the king of Egypt. I said: I am a simple soldier. He was taken aback: 'You are only a simple soldier?' Yes, my answer was. Angrily he turned to the chamberlain and ordered him: 'Ask him why on earth the king of Egypt sent to a leader in my position only a simple soldier?' 'Are you not a commander in his army?' I said yes, I am an emir. 'Is there at your gate a music-band (*ṭabl-khānāh*)?' he asked. Yes, I said. 'So why are you presenting yourself as a simple soldier?' I kissed the ground and said: May God protect you my Qān. The commander is a soldier in the service of the sultan. And the fighting man is a soldier (*jundī*) of the sultan. Hence we use the tag *jundī* and not *amīr*. We are proud of this title. We all are fighters in the service of God. He was surprised by this response and ordered me to come closer. 'You are a servant (*mamlūk*) of this sultan and he bought you with his money?' I said I am his *mamlūk* and the *mamlūk* of his father and of his brother. Lavishly he behaves towards me, and he ordered a *ṭabl-khānāh* to play at the gate of my dwelling. Yet originally I am a *mamlūk* of the late sultan Baybars al-Bundaqdārī.⁹

Fifteenth-century Europeans looked on the Mamlūk polity at a later period and from a different angle. In order to explain the politics of the Mamlūk Sultanate, they disseminated the biblical story of Joseph. In their compilations he is presented as bondsman who was sold by a slave dealer who brought him to Egypt. He started his career as a slave in the dungeon in Cairo.¹⁰ Skill and wisdom enabled him to rise to the prominent position of vizier. This data is widely used by modern scholars who analyse the political paradigm of the Sultanate and who particularly debate the opposite poles of meritocracy versus inherited power and

8 Lawrence Krader, "Qan—Qayan and the Beginnings of Mongol Kingship", *Central Asiatic Journal* 1/1 (1955), pp. 17–35.

9 Ibn Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-jamī' al-ghurar*, vol. 9, pp. 81–82.

10 Ulrich Haarmann, "Joseph's Law. The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt", in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, Cambridge 1998, pp. 55–84.

statues,¹¹ or those who adhere to the revisionist model of *mamlukization* of the sultanate.¹² Both of these research topics are beyond the boundaries of the present contribution. I also will refrain from commenting on changes in the recruitment model of the sultanate's military elite, namely on dwelling upon the shift in the government as Turkic slave-soldiers were replaced by Circassian (and other ethnic groups) recruits.¹³

The second translated paragraph aims at shedding light on the Mamlūk-period discourse regarding the identity of *awlād al-nās*, the sons of the best people, or the Mamlūk gentry. It is a short account selected from an early fourteenth-century chronicle that narrates the virtues of the sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn (d. 689/1290). It tells:

When al-Qalā'ūn ascended the throne in Egypt, he realized that the number of his slave-soldiers (*mamālīk*) was insufficient, particularly after he had ordered the execution of elements from the al-Ẓāhiriyya and al-Sa'diyya regiments. Practically there were no guards at the gate of the Citadel. So the sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr ordered to accumulate the sons of soldiers enlisted in the al-Baḥriyya regiment.

They were recruited from various locations and occupations: from Bāb al-Lūq he enlisted drunkards, gamblers and jobbers at the markets. Some among them worked as stokers at bath-house fireplaces (*qamīn*)¹⁴ and others served as porters in food shops. He ordered to provide them with horses, properties, arable lands, salaries, daily food rations and meat. He instructed that they be stationed at the gate of the Citadel, in accordance to their fathers' routine. By implementing these measures al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn recorded outstanding achievements, no other sultan managed to execute such a policy. He acted so despite the opposition by Ṭuranṭāy, his deputy (*nā'ib*), who hated the Baḥriyya and their sons.¹⁵

The historian Ibn al-Dawādārī, who compiled his magnum opus a generation later, took up this account and transmitted it with slight changes:

11 Koby Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)", *Mamluk Studies Review* 16 (2012), pp. 55–69; Kristof D'hulster and Jo Van Steenberg, "Family Matters: The 'Family-In-Law' Impulse in Mamluk Marriage Policy", *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013), pp. 61–81.

12 Jo Van Steenberg, "'Mamlukisation' between social theory and social practice: An essay on reflexivity, state formation, and the late medieval sultanate of Cairo", Bonn: ASK Working Paper 22, September 2015.

13 On this, see the recent studies by Koby Yosef, "Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)", *ASK Working Papers* 06, Bonn 2012; and by Julien Loiseau, "Une aristocratie de migrants Les Mamelouks et leur intégration dans les villes d'Égypte et de Syrie aux xive et xve siècles", in: "Arriver" en ville. *Les migrants en milieu urbain au Moyen Âge*, eds. Cédric Quertier, Roxane Chilà and Nicolas Pluchot, Paris: publications de la Sorbonne 2013, pp. 115–129; idem, "Soldiers Diaspora or Cairene Nobility? The Circassians in the Mamluk Sultanate", in: *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. Georg Christ e.a., Paris 2015, pp. 207–217.

14 From Greek *καμινός* (*kaminos*).

15 Shihāb al-Dīn Qaraṭāy al-'Izzī al-Khazindārī, *Ta'rikh majmū' al-nawādīr*, pp. 169–170.

He [the sultan al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn] assembled the sons of the soldiers that served in the Bahriyya battalion from all corners of his domain, even those who lived in the neighbourhood of Bāb al-Lūq, food shops (*sharāyijī*)¹⁶ or worked at the bath-house fireplace and brought them to Cairo's citadel. The sultan bestowed upon them uniforms, saddle bands and swords and assigned them a monthly salary. They were recruited to the *ḥalqa* regiment and he lavishly assigned to them farming parcels (*aḥbāz*). They were stationed at the Citadel's gate. Since they were offspring of fathers who served in the al-Baḥriyya battalion they also carried that name. I was against the view of the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭuranṭāy, who hated deeply the *awlād al-nās*.¹⁷

The most conspicuous different between these two similar tales is the replacement of the name "al-Baḥriyya and their sons", which is used in the earliest narrative, with the term "*awlād al-nās*" that is employed by the later compilation. From this philological development we can deduce that in the fourteenth century the term *awlād al-nās* designated sons of military veterans who were recruited as an auxiliary force. In the fifteenth century this term was used in a more wide-ranging definition.

This contribution aims at shining a light on the place of the *awlād al-nās* in the urban landscape. It is based upon documents from the al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf. These records, which were written down in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century, add new grist to the mill. I will address the *awlād al-nās* as an urban social category. A visible component among this class were descendants of outsiders; namely, of fathers who migrated (or were transferred) from non-Muslim lands to Egypt and Bilād al-Shām. Yet, not all of them were sons of *mamlūks*.

My working hypothesis, as noted already above, is that the Mamlūk sources use the term *awlād al-nās* as an invented social construct. It served them as a tool to differentiate between the military governing elite (*atrāk*) and the civic urban dignitaries (the "best people"/*al-nās*). Hence it is a fluid idiom, certainly throughout the long Mamlūk period (1250–1517). Moreover, undoubtedly it is used more often in fifteenth-century narrative sources, rather than in texts from earlier centuries.

16 Vendors of poor quality food that was carried in a jug wrapped in entwined palm leaves. The doors of these shops were made from reeds. Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī al-Faṭḥ al-Ba'li, *al-Muṭlī 'alā alfāz al-Muqni'*, p. 459; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Fayyūmī, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī ḡharīb al-sharḥ al-kabīr*, p. 308; Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Isnawī, *al-Muḥimmāt fī sharḥ al-Rawḍa wal-Rafī'i*, 8: 331; Muḥyī al-Dīn Abī Zakariyā Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Naḥḥās al-Dimashqī al-Dumyaṭī, *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn 'an a'māl al-jāhilīn wa-taḥdhīr al-sālikīn min af'āl al-hālikīn*, pp. 450, 453. I thank Dr. Koby Yosef for the references.

17 Ibn Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-jamī' al-ghurar*, vol. 8, p. 303; Nasser Ismail, "Il Contributo Letterario di Awlād al-Nās", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 12 (2017), pp. 69–86, here pp. 70–72.

2 The state of the art

The research of *awlād al-nās* as a class is not a new topic. Scholars who studied the Mamlūk Sultanate paid attention to them already prior to Ayalon's pioneering research. In the early 1950s he, the late David Ayalon, offered a definition, or a general characterization, of this group. Actually, he established the prevailing view that till recently dominated the writings about the Mamlūk military aristocracy. Ayalon identified the *awlād al-nās* with sons of purchased *mamlūks*. Being offspring of a non-hereditary nobility, they could not join the elite units of the Mamlūk army, and hence were reduced to serving in the upper stratum of the *ḥalqa*, a particular auxiliary unit in the Mamlūk armies. He also identified *awlād al-nās* among religious scholars and among clerks who operated in the service of the Mamlūk administrative apparatus.¹⁸

A generation after Ayalon's pioneering studies, Ulrich Haarmann offered a more subtle view of the *awlād al-nās*. This second stage in the study of the Mamlūk governing elite nuanced our understanding of the sultanate's socio-political classes and the history of their military and administrative functions, as well as the development and changes in their public position over the centuries. According to Haarmann's paradigm, the *awlād al-nās* constituted a privileged class. They rose to important positions in the governing structure, although not in the combat army battalions.¹⁹ Two decades after Haarmann, Amalia Levanoni contributed to the field. She casts light on the recruitment of sons of *mamlūks* during the post-Qalā'un years, and especially from the days of his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. She advanced the thesis that some of them were even nominated to commanding positions in the Mamlūk army.²⁰

More updated studies focus on the scholarly dimension as well as the cultural capacity of the *awlād al-nās*. These studies also investigate the intellectual ac-

18 David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953), pp. 203–228, 448–476; idem, "Awlād al-Nās", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 1:765; idem, "Mamlūk", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 6:314–321; Peter M. Holt, "Mamlūks", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 6:321–331.

19 Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt", in: *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut 1984, pp. 141–68.

20 Amalia Levanoni, "Awlad al-nas in the Mamluk army during the Bahri period", in: *Mamluks and Ottomans. Studies in honour of Michael Winter*, eds. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon, London: Routledge 2006, pp. 96–105; idem, "The Ḥalqah in the Mamluk Army. Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?", *Mamluk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 37–65. She does not refer to John Meloy's article from 2007 (John L. Meloy "Awlād al-Nās", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (21.09.21)).

tivities and literary production by second-generation converts of Turkic origin.²¹ Several scholars have studied the economic history of the *awlād al-nās*. Here it is sufficient to mention *awqāf* studies. Mamlūk wealth holders founded religious endowments that would support future generations as yet unborn.²² A *waqfiyya* from Aleppo²³ and other documents enrich our knowledge of this aspect of Mamlūk history.²⁴ Building on the achievements of this research initiative, it would not be misleading to advance the thesis that the social structure, position, scholarly activity and economic status of the *awlād al-nās*, this corps of free men, went through profound changes during the centuries that separate Qutuz and Ṭīmān Bāy.

3 *Ajnād al-ḥalqa*

The fine scholars mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and other researchers, also contributed greatly to the rich study of the military, economic, administrative and political role of the *ajnād al-ḥalqa*. Based upon their findings and analysis, it seems sound to suggest that during the long Mamlūk centuries, the *ḥalqa* also included freeborn recruits, who were not sons of slave-soldiers, and that their economic status was modest.²⁵ Here we will look into their social-administrative position in a Syrian urban milieu during the closing years of *dawlat al-atrāk* and the emergence of *dawlat al-jarākisa*.²⁶

Several Ḥaram documents mention the *ajnād al-ḥalqa*.²⁷ One of them (that was recorded on 8 Rajab 795/20 May 1393) is a statement made in Jerusalem's courtroom. The august emir 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, the son of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān b.

21 Michael Winter, "Mamluks and their Households in Late Mamluk Damascus: A waqf Study", in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni, Leiden: Brill 2003, pp. 297–316, here pp. 304–308.

22 Lisa Blaydes, "Land, Property Rights and Institutional Durability in Medieval Egypt", Ph.D. diss., Stanford University 2018, pp. 9–11.

23 Aharon Layish, "Waqfs of Awlād al-Nās in Aleppo in the Late Mamlūk Period as Reflected in a Family Archive", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2008), pp. 287–326, here pp. 293–294.

24 Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini. "Awlad al-nas as founders of pious endowments. The Waqfiyah of Yahya ibn Tughan al-Hasani of the year 870/1465", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), pp. 21–50.

25 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-turuq wal-masālik*, p. 113; Gaston Wiet, "Le Traité des famines de Maqrīzī", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5/1 (1962), pp. 1–90, here p. 72.

26 Koby Yosef, "Dawlat al-atrak or dawlat al-mamālik? Ethnic origin or slave origin as the defining characteristic of the ruling élite in the Mamlūk sultanate", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39 (2012), pp. 387–410.

27 On this battalion, see Ibn Shahin al-Zahiri, *Zubdat kashf al-mamalik*, p. 116.

Bakhtiyār, “an officer of the Damascene (*al-shāmiyya*) *ḥalqa* regiment”, registered his property and named his heirs, i. e. his benevolent wife Sutayt bint ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī, his adult sons (Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) and his adult daughters (Sitt al-‘Aysh and Fāṭima). To that list he also added his minor sons (Muḥammad and ‘Umar) and daughters (Mughul and Aydughdī).²⁸ It is interesting to note that beside the fact that also the emir and his wife bear Arabic names, almost all the names of the children are Arab-Muslim ones and only two of them, those of the minor girls, bear Turkish names. This can serve as a clear indication of the assimilation of the *ḥalqa* corpus into the Arabic-speaking urban milieu.

A marriage and divorce contract from Cairo tells the story of Urmanjī (modern Turkish *ormancı* – forester), the son of ‘Abd Allāh, who is described as a member of the victorious *ḥalqa*,²⁹ and Khadija, the daughter of Badr al-Dīn al-Ṣūfī. The record mentions their single daughter ‘Ā’isha-Kizil (the red).³⁰ From Urmanjī’s Turkish name we presumably can deduce that he was a first-generation convert to Islam. The fact that he was not a manumitted *mamlūk*, that is to say, not a member of the ideal *sayfiyya* class but an appendant, did not prevent him from joining a military unit that served as an auxiliary force.

That in the *ḥalqa* sons of *mamlūks* served side by side with indigenous recruits we can deduce from a decree by Sa’d al-Dīn Mas’ūd b. Muḥammad al-Sarā’ī, a commander of ten (*amīr al-‘ashara*),³¹ who was stationed in Damascus before being transferred to Jerusalem. This member of the royal audience (*majlis*) ordered the partial cancellation of the poll tax that was customarily collected from the non-Muslim (*jawālī*) taxpayers in the village of Majdal Fuḍayl,³² in the district of Hebron.³³

Two additional Ḥaram documents provide information on another court case that sheds light on an urban elite with visible roots in a military past. They tell the story of the murder of Sāra, the daughter of the late commander Shujā’ al-Dīn Ismā’īl, the son of the late Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Ṭurī. Her late father carried the title *al-amīr*. This title (*al-amīr al-kabīr*) also adorned her brother Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who resided in the city of Gaza. Certainly her father and brother were not manumitted slave-soldiers. Neither were her husband and his sibling *mamlūks*, yet they are identified as army commanders.³⁴ Presumably all of the men mentioned in this court deed served with the *ḥalqa*.

28 Ḥaram doc193.

29 See Stephan Conermann’s contribution in this volume.

30 Ḥaram doc047.

31 On this military rank, see Ayalon, “Mamluk Army”, part II, p. 470 (c).

32 Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* vol. 5, Leiden: Brill 2013, 5:151.

33 Ḥaram doc006.

34 Ḥaram doc028–029.

Non-mamlūk *ḥalqa* officers were able, due to their position within the governmental administration, to size arable lands and to control villages. A sale contract illuminates this handling of private property. The emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Mūsā and his brother Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the sons of Muḥammad, and Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Muḥammad sold half of a village to the elevated commander Tāj al-Dawla Abū al-Maʿālī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jurjānī al-Sukarjī in Jumādā the Second 712/October 1312.³⁵

Based upon the data presented above we can soundly conclude that the urban elite included both local elements and newcomers who even served as auxiliary troops. An inventory of a deathly ill *ḥalqa* soldier from Gaza is another deed that reinforces our conclusion.³⁶ This man was inherited by his brother, who served in Gaza as a *muftī*. The pieces of information that were analyzed above illuminate the intricacies of the urban upper class. Moreover, it is correct to assume that merchants also belonged to this class, alongside soldiers who served in the *ḥalqa* auxiliary force as well as members of the religious establishment.

4 *Awlād al-nās*

The term *awlād al-nās* is not mentioned in the Ḥaram documents. Yet, according to my interpretation, several of the deeds that I inspected deal with this group. They mention *mamlūk* officers and officials who were sons of manumitted slave-soldiers. This presumption of mine is based upon the reading of the names that are mentioned in the records. My working hypothesis is that the onomasticon of the *awlād al-nās* (*banū al-atrāk*, to be distinguished from *awlād al-mulūk*) marks them visibly. Accordingly, I identified *awlād al-nās* as descendants of army officers who bore a Turkish name and who were first-generation Muslims. Namely X the son (or grandson) of Y (Turkish army officer), the son of ʿAbd Allāh (a non-Muslim father). This, I assume, is a clear indication of their ethno-social identity, that is to say, identifies them as *awlād al-nās*. An additional criterion is the second generation acculturation.³⁷

This interpretation of mine is supported by the narrative sources. In a short biography al-Maqrīzī describes the copyist Alṭunbā b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 685/1286). He says that “he was a descendant of a Turkish manumitted slave (*kān^a min awlād al-atrāk*). A wise man (*wa-kānat fīhī nabāha*) who wrote/copied several

³⁵ Ḥaram doc040.

³⁶ Ḥaram doc689.

³⁷ Christian Mauder, *Gelehrte Krieger. Die Mamluken als Träger arabischesprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag 2012, pp. 65, 93.

books”.³⁸ Ibn Iyās’ well-known verbal attack on the sultan Qāniṣuh illustrates this group’s fluctuating history. The property inherited by them was targeted by the sultan, who was constrained by financial shortages.

Based upon these documents we can illuminate the role of these freeborn sons whose fathers were manumitted slaves in the sultanate’s governmental apparatus. Obliquely, these documents refer to the *mamlūks*’ sons’ positions in the urban and provincial administration. Hence they contribute to the academic debate about the structure of the Mamlūk governing elite. Was it a meritocratic single-generation socio-political experience? Or was it an inheritable multi-generation institution? The answer to this question is beyond the limits of the present article, suffice it to reiterate the argument that it is not rare to discover cases of inter-generation power inheritance. This is a sound historical observation of the Mamlūk elite.

My reading of Ḥaram document 026 provides an example of this methodology of mine. It is an appeal (*muṭālī’a*) addressed to Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Sayf al-Dīn Ṣarghatmish al-Nāṣirī. As his *nisba* indicates, Ṣarghatmish was a *mamlūk* of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He rose to the position of army commander (*amīr*) in the days of the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. Next (in summer 758/July 1357) the sultan nominated him to run the Sultanate’s administration (*tadbīr al-mamlaka/al-mulk*). Ṣarghatmish served in this high position for a year. At that junction he was arrested and jailed in Alexandria (Ramadan 759/August 1358), where he was executed (in Dhū al-Ḥijja 759/November 1358).³⁹ His *madrasa* in Cairo preserves his memory till this very day.⁴⁰

Of his son, Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, only little is known. He served in the Mamlūk army and rose to the rank of *amīr ṭabl-khāna*. As a decorated officer he played an influential role in court politics (*walah^u wajahat^{um} fī al-dawla*).⁴¹ It seems that in this capacity he was also in charge of an endowment in Jerusalem. This example provides information on the history of a manumitted slave-soldier. A second generation of Turkic soldiers, or at least of soldiers who bore Turkish names, while they did not inherit their fathers’ positions directly, continued in their footsteps and occupied administrative positions.

38 al-Maqrizī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffa al-kabīr*, 1:107 (no. 62).

39 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fī a’yān al-mi’ah al-thāmina*, 2: 206–207 (no. 1978); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, 10: 305, 308–10, 328; idem, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi ‘ala’ al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 1: 353–54 (1214).

40 Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo. A Practical Guide*, Cairo: AUC Press 2008, pp. 44–45.

41 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, 11:106.

A testament that was composed in Jerusalem in Muḥarram 796/November 1393 by the grand *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Qabaqjī (the master of the gourd game),⁴² who was the grandson of Baktimūr al-Sākī (the cupbearer or the chief butler) serves as another example of this point. At the session when the will was recorded, two brothers were also presented. The property that is described in the document certainly does not indicate material prosperity, although compared to the urban mob, the family wealth is worthy of attention.⁴³

Several Ḥaram documents mention the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī (d. 763/1362),⁴⁴ a Mamlūk army commander who endowed a school/mausoleum (*madrasa/turba*) complex in Jerusalem. One of the documents names his son Abū Bakr, who served as the inspector of this institution. In this capacity, he ordered the appointment of Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī to serve as a Qurʾān reader (*muqrʾan*).⁴⁵ A similar social reality is reflected in a decree (*marsūm*; signed on 8 Shaʿbān 791/19 November 1379) by the grand *amīr* Badr al-Dīn al-Malikī al-Manṣūrī,⁴⁶ the son of the late Excellency (*al-maqarr al-marḥūm*) ʿImād al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAskarī, who held the degree of viceroy (*naʿib al-salṭana*) and served as governor and supervisor (*nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*) of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, i. e. the pious charities that financed the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem and the tomb of Abraham (al-Khalīl) in Hebron.⁴⁷

Another nomination decree provides additional data on the social structure of a peripheral urban centre. Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, the son of al-ʿAskarī (here used as a personal name and not as a title) al-Manṣūrī, dictated that Burhān al-Dīn Ibrahim b. Rizq Allāh al-Nāṣirī be nominated as a reader at the noble al-Aqsa mosque.⁴⁸ From the decree's lines we can deduce that Ḥaydar was the son of a slave-soldier who was recruited and manumitted by one of the Qalaunid sultans. Being a second generation of the Mamlūk elite, Ḥaydar's career developed not in the central administration of the sultanate but on in its fringe. He held a local urban position.

42 On this game, see Li Guo, *Sports as Performance. The Qabaq-game and Celebratory Rites in Mamluk Cairo*, Bonn and Berlin: EBVerlag 2013, p.8.

43 Ḥaram doc331.

44 Ṭāz's life ended far away from Jerusalem., see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawaʾiẓ wal-ʾitibar bi-dīkr al-khiṭaṭ wal-athār*, 3:240–242; Irmeli Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People", *Studia Orientalia: Societas Orientalis Fennica* 82 (1997), pp. 145–158, p. 149; Michael H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem. An architectural study*, London: n.p., 1987. See also my contribution to Linda Northrop's *Festschrift* (forthcoming).

45 Ḥaram doc007.

46 See Ḥaram doc004.

47 Ḥaram doc305.

48 Ḥaram doc004.

Several years later, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī was nominated in 796/1394 to serve as the viceroy of Jerusalem and Hebron⁴⁹ and as the chief administrator of the endowments that supported these two sacred towns in Mamlūk Palestine. Not many years passed before he rose in the administrative ladder. Following Tamerlane's withdrawal from Syria, Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī was nominated as the majordomo (*niyābat al-ustādār*) in Damascus (in Muḥarram 802/August 1402).⁵⁰ During his term in office as inspector of the endowments in Jerusalem he applied to the court of justice in Jerusalem and asked it to legalize his son's position in the pious endowment administration.⁵¹ It is clear that he was troubled by the career prospects of his son Sha'bān, and that he took this legal course of action to guarantee the son's future and promote him. Is it possible that Sha'bān's mother was a slave girl that Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī owned and who gave birth to a child (*umm walad*) and that he took this measure as a sequel to an indenture contract (*mukātaba*)⁵² that ensured her manumission? I have no answer.

Although this study focused mainly on men, soldiers and sons of soldiers, we should also ask about the role played by women. Since we cannot ignore the fact that manumitted slave-soldiers also begot daughters, we should search for them.⁵³ In the Ḥaram documents several of these daughters are named, in some cases alongside other members of their families. This data opens a new window on gender and second-generation Mamlūk officers.⁵⁴ Such, for example, is the inventory that was registered in Ribāt al-Malikiyya in Jerusalem by Lūkār bint 'Abd Allāh, a manumitted slave-girl of Almalikh bint Quṭlūtāmūr.⁵⁵ From her inheritance (*waṣīyya*) it is clear that she gained a nice sum of capital.⁵⁶

49 Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, 5:16, 117–18; Mujīr al-Dīn Abū al-Yaman 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wal-Khalīl*, 1:145–146, 2:398.

50 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, 3:1023.

51 Ḥaram doc023.

52 Based upon Q. 24: 33 "Those your right hands own (i.e. slave girls) who seek emancipation, contract with them accordingly, if you know some good in them; and give them of the wealth of God that He has given you" (trans. Arberry).

53 One direction that already was taken are *mamlūk* officers' *awqāf* and lists of heirs. See several studies by Daisuke Igarashi.

54 Ḥaram doc056.

55 Ḥaram doc130 (Ribāt al-Malakiyya; presumably the site that is known today as the al-Madrasa al-Malakiyya. al-Malik al-Jukandār built it for his wife, Malak bint al-Sayfī Qal-taqtum al-Nāṣirī (in 741/1340). She endowed it as a *waqf* in 1344); Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns*, 2: 83; Max van Berchem, *Matériux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicum Jerusalem ville*, Cairo 1922, pp. 265–270; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 311–316.

56 On urban women that accumulated property cf. Haram doc607. Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya*, pp. 54–60; Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005, p. 26.

5 Conclusion

The short period that the Ḥaram documents cover prevents us from depicting a *longue durée* picture. Certainly we cannot use this handful of records as a source to study extended developments throughout the long Mamlūk centuries, and changes in the fabric of socio-religious urban institutions. While the first generation of soldiers composed a class of fief holders who amassed sufficient capital to establish *awqāf*,⁵⁷ their sons functioned as administrators of these pious charities.⁵⁸ Several documents name the father, who was a manumitted slave-soldier, and his son, who played a role in the urban/religious administration.

From the cases that have been analyzed above it is clear that the *awlād al-nās* did not fall into obliteration. That is to say, sons of *mamlūk amīrs* were integrated in the urban administration as well as in the supervision of pious charities. They served as an auxiliary corps within the Mamlūk army (*soldats de la garde*), as well as constituting the upper echelon in the urban milieu. This indicates the merging of several social elements into a group that developed its peculiar class identity and political position (*warubam^a dakhal^a fihim man lays^a bi-ṣīfat al-jund*).⁵⁹ The *awlād al-nās* shared power and position and were strong enough to obtain urban and farming property, to play a significant role in the administration of cities and villagers and to acquire sufficient capital to establish pious charities (*awqāf*). Moreover, the borders between the classes, between sons of soldiers and merchants, were not wide. Yūsuf who belonged to the entourage of the Khawāja ‘Uthmān from Jerusalem used to wear both military uniforms and merchants’ costumes (*ziyy al-jund wal-khawājākiyya*).⁶⁰

To wrap up this short contribution, let me re-emphasize some points that were stated, *inter alia*, during the presentation. Despite the limited number of Ḥaram documents studied here and the short period that is covered by them, these documents contribute to the scholarly debate on the nature of the Mamlūk regime. Indeed, the ideal of meritocratic leadership was never abandoned by contemporary authors, who wrote on the basic characterization of the sultanate, as can be deduced from the circulation of the story of Joseph in the late Middle Islamic period. Certainly, only a limited number of second-generation sons of emirs commanded army battalions, thus creating the impression that the Mamlūk elite was a single-generation meritocracy. Yet, by transferring capital

57 Mujīr al-Dīn al-‘Ulaymī, *al-Uns*, 2:93–94 (al-Sa‘adiyya).

58 Ulrich Haarmann, “Mamluk Endowment deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt”, *al-Abhath* 28 (1980), pp. 31–47.

59 al-Qalqashandī, *Subh al-a‘sha fī ṣīnat al-insha*, 4:10.

60 Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ḥijji al-Ḥisbanī, *Ta’rikh ibn Ḥijji: ḥawadith wa-wafayāt 796–815/1393–1413*, 1:328.

and governmental duties to their descendants manumitted first generation slave-soldiers were able to safeguard their offspring's future.

Based upon the Ḥaram documents that I studied, I would argue that the *ḥalqa* and the *awlād al-nās* were highly visible in the urban landscape. They did not disappear, but rather blended into the civic elite. While reading the Ḥaram documents, we can easily deduce that the onomasticon is a sound criterion for identifying the *awlād al-nās*. Their elevated position was supported by Muslim pious foundations. From their fathers, who skilfully used the *awqāf* as a social tool, they inherited fortunes and carried out prominent socio-political roles in the management of pious charities and in local urban administrations. Princes bore the royal title *sīdī*. Already in the closing decades of the fourteenth century, while the Kipcak-Turkic dynasty was disintegrating (1382), the Mamlūk governing elite moved from being solely concerned with the art of fighting to busying itself with political and financial concerns such as land tenure and urban administration. The lines that separated soldiers from civilians gradually melted. This opened the gate for sons of manumitted slave-soldiers, and they seized this opportunity with both hands.

This leads me to conclude with a line of comparison. The integration of the second generation in both the civic milieu and the sultanate's administration should be compared with the history of the Ottoman provinces, and in particular with the history of the *Yerliyya* (*Yerlū Ğeri* in Ottoman Turkish) local corps who were stationed in Ottoman Syria.⁶¹ During the seventeenth century, they became increasingly involved in the economy of the towns where they were deployed, while their military qualifications deteriorated.⁶² Yet, a detailed enlargement of this paradigm is beyond the boundaries of the present modest contribution and should wait for another stage.

61 James Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century Damascus*, Seattle: University of Washington Press 2007, p. 77; Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, "La Société militaire damascène et la campagne analysées à travers les registres de cadis", in: *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul Karim Rafeq* eds. Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber, Leiden: Brill 2010, pp. 371–398, here pp. 372–74.

62 Jane Hathaway, with contributions by Karl K. Barbir, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule, 1516–1800*, Harlow: Pearson Longman 2008, pp. 90–91, 246; Peter Sluglett, "Introduction", in: *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul Karim Rafeq*, eds. Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber, Leiden: Brill 2010, pp. 1–46, p. 25.

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Part II

The Rise of *Mamlūks*' Descendants in the Turkish Period (648–784/1250–1382): The Status and Identity of *Mamlūks*' Descendants who were Amirs in Cairo according to the *Jarīda Iqtā'iyya* of the Year 778/1377

1 Introduction

In his pioneering works conducted starting from the 1940s, David Ayalon advanced the view that

“[t]he mamlūk upper class constituted an exclusive society. Only a person who himself was born an infidel and brought as a child slave from abroad, who was converted to Islam and set free after completing his military training... could belong to that society. These rules implied that the mamlūk upper class should be a non-hereditary nobility”.¹

The “Mamluk military aristocracy” was so exclusive that even the *mamlūks*' descendants (normally referred to by Ayalon and Mamlukists as *awlād al-nās*)² could not become members. Because “sons of the mamlūks and mamlūk amirs were Muslims and free men by birth... they could not belong to the upper class and were automatically ejected from it”.³ They were excluded from the rights and titles reserved for the elite and blocked from effective power.⁴ Because the *mamlūks*' descendants could not be accepted to the *mamlūk* “upper class” and were excluded by their “very nature”, their chances for advancement and attaining key military and political positions were seriously limited, and “[i]n as far as they joined the army they were automatically cast off from the pure mamluk corps and assigned to the *ḥalqa*, a much lower unit”.⁵ Therefore, according to Ayalon, *mamlūks*' de-

1 David Ayalon, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 1:765.

2 The broader meaning of the term “*awlād al-nās*” is free persons. For a discussion of the meaning of the expression “*awlād al-nās*”, see Koby Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās* and ‘the Rise of a New Class’”. I will use the more precise expression “*mamlūks*' descendants” unless when quoting or referring to other scholars or Mamluk sources using the expression “*awlād al-nās*”.

3 Ayalon, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 1:765.

4 John Lash Meloy, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, *EI THREE*.

5 David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—II”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15/3 (1953), 456–7; idem, “The System of Payment in Mamlūk Military Society”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1/1 (1957), 45. And see Ulrich Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in *Land*

scendants could only fill low-ranking positions in the military and politics, and except for “quite a small number of exceptions, attained no higher rank than that of Amīr of Ten and Amīr of Forty” (it would seem, but it is not entirely clear, that Ayalon thought that *mamlūks*’ descendants normally became amirs in the *ḥalqa*). Nevertheless, some *mamlūks*’ descendants reached the highest rank of amir of one hundred, especially in Syria, and to a much lesser extent in Egypt, where in an exceptional manner during the second reign of the Qalāwūnid al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (755–762/1354–1361) *mamlūks*’ descendants enjoyed a privileged position. The “privileged position of the *awlād al-nās* under Sultan Ḥasan was, however, exceptional and contrasted sharply with their status under other rulers”.⁶

Ayalon, it should be remembered, used mainly Circassian-period sources that were at his disposal, which must reflect better the situation in that period (784–923/1382–1517). Subsequent studies have offered a more nuanced and differentiated view of the military/political and economic status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants and focused on correcting Ayalon’s view regarding the status of *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Turkish period of the Sultanate (648–784/1250–1382). A first significant and groundbreaking corrective was offered by Ulrich Haarmann in 1984. Based on information from Ibn al-Jī‘ān’s (d. 885/1480) *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā’ al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya* and Ibn Duqmāq’s (d. 809/1407) *al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat Iqd al-Amṣār* on the legal status of land units (*milk/waqf/rizqalīqtā*), its tax yield (*ibra*) expressed in *dīnār jayshī* (henceforth, DJ),⁷ and on the land holders found in excerpts of the register (*jarīda iqtā’iyya*) of the army office (*dīwān al-jaysh*) of Egypt in three different dates (circa 777/1376,⁸ circa 800/1397,⁹ and circa

Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984), 146.

6 Ayalon, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 1:765; idem, “Studies II”, 456–7.

7 The *dīnār jayshī* was a money of account. As established by Stuart Borsch, at the cadastral survey in 715/1315 it reflected the value of an ardeb made up of an average of the actual value of the predominant crops in Egypt (wheat, barley, and broad beans), which was at that time about 13.33 dirhams, i.e., about 0.67 dinars. At 715/1315, the *ibra* expressed in DJ reflected the actual land value (agricultural product). The remuneration could be given in cash or kind. However, as a means of payment the value of DJ could be manipulated by the sultan and his bureaucracy (especially when the payment was in cash instead of kind). See Stuart J. Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 67–74.

8 The *Tuḥfa* provides data for two dates. As for the first, Ibn al-Jī‘ān writes in the *Tuḥfa* that the date of the excerpt is Shawwāl 777/March 1376, and Heinz Halm and Ulrich Haarmann accepted this date. See Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lebensregistern*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979; 1982), 1:31; Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 145–6. However, there is ample evidence suggesting that it is, in fact, from Shawwāl 778/March 1377. For details, see part 7.1 below. After Table A, I will refer to data from the first date in the *Tuḥfa* as data from (ca.) 778/1377.

9 According to Haarmann, the data in Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār* is from ca. 800/1397. See Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 145–6. Based on names of amirs that appear in the *Intiṣār* as land holders and their titles, Halm suggested that it is from the last few years of the reign of al-Ẓāhir

885/1480),¹⁰ Haarmann examined the “relative importance” and the military/socio-political and economic status of “*awlād al-nās*” (descendants of sultans [*asyād*])

Barqūq (ca. 797–801/1394–1399). See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:31–2. Similarly, Jean-Claude Garcin suggested that it is from 797–800/1394–1398, and that the data perhaps reflects a survey conducted in 799/1397 that is mentioned in Mamluk sources. See Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la haute Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1976), 454. In fact, there is evidence suggesting that it is specifically from 797/1394. Halm and Garcin noted that two amirs who are mentioned in the *Intiṣār* as amirs of one thousand (Arghūn al-Baydamūrī and Fāris Min Quṭlūjā) received this rank only in 797/1394, so Ibn Duqmāq's work could not have been written before that year. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:32; Garcin, *Un centre*, 454 (footnote no. 1). We may add that in fact they were nominated in Ṣafar 797/December 1394. See Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rīfat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda and Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Ashūr (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1934–1973), 3:827. In addition, 'Alī [ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad] ibn al-Ṭablāwī is mentioned by Ibn Duqmāq as amir *ṭablkhāna*, a rank which he received only in Ṣafar 797/December 794. See Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-Wāṣiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār*, ed. Karl Vollers (Beirut: The Trading Office for Printing, Distributing & Publishing, 1966), 2:14; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:727. On the other hand, Faraj [ibn Aydamur al-Sayfī Bābaq] is mentioned by Ibn Duqmāq as amir *ṭablkhāna* and *nā'ib al-Wajh al-Baḥrī* (see Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:14). Faraj ibn Aydamur received the post of *nā'ib al-Wajh al-Baḥrī* in Ramaḍān 796/July 1394, but in Rabī' al-Ākhar 797/February 1395 he became *nā'ib al-Wajh al-Qiblī* and *muqaddam alf*, and later died in Ṣafar 798/November-December 1395. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:815, 831; Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, ed. 'Adnān Darwish (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1977–1997), 1:598. In addition, Qarābughā al-Ashrafi that is mentioned by Ibn Duqmāq as amir of twenty died in 2 Rabī' al-Awwal 797/26 December 1394. See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:20; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:845. It would seem then that the *Intiṣār* was written around (or based on information from) Ṣafar-Rabī' al-Awwal 797/December 1394 (thus, the data in it cannot reflect a survey conducted in 799/1397). After Table A, I will refer to data from the *Intiṣār* as data from (ca.) 797/1394.

- 10 According to Haarmann, the data in the *Tuhfa* concerning the second date is from the period preceding the year 885/1480. See Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 145–6. According to Halm, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Jī'ān, the author of the *Tuhfa*, functioned as a bookkeeper (*mustawfi*) of *dīwān al-jaysh* from 882/1477 until his death in 885/1480 (Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:30), however, he became *mustawfi dīwān al-jaysh* already in 864/1459–60. See Wakako Kumakura, “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 (2014–15), 297. Therefore, we cannot use his tenure as *mustawfi* to fix the exact date of the writing of the *Tuhfa*. Based on names of two amirs that appear in the *Tuhfa*, Garcin suggested that the data was registered sometime between Jumādā al-Aulā 880/September 1475 and Shawwāl 885/December 1480. See Garcin, *Un centre*, 456. Recently, however, Wakako Kumakura who studied the manuscripts of the *Tuhfa* noted that MS Huntington 2 (henceforth, MS. Hunt 2), which should be considered the original text of the *Tuhfa*, was written in 883/1478. Combined with the aforementioned information gathered by Garcin, Kumakura concluded that the *Tuhfa* reflects data from sometime between 880/1475 and 883/1478. See Wakako Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records Being Updated and Distributed: A Study of *Al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*”, *Journal of Islamic Area Studies* 10 (2018), 18–22; Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2015), 63 (footnote no. 62). I would like to thank Wakako Kumakura for kindly walking me through the relevant literature concerning the dating of the *Tuhfa*. It may be added that, in fact, there is evidence that the *Tuhfa* reflects data from 880–1/1475–7. Several

and amirs) by assessing their proportionate share in Egypt's agricultural wealth (i. e., as holders or beneficiaries of *iqṭā's*), which indicates their "political weight".¹¹

Haarmann found that circa 777/1376 under the Qalāwūnid al-Ashraf Sha'bān (764–778/1363–1377) the "*awlād al-nās*" (both royal and non-royal) held about one seventh of Egypt's yield, more than half of it was held by the royal descendants alone, a share labeled by Haarmann as "not a small percentage" of Egypt's yield.¹² However, circa 800/1397 and towards the end of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reign (784–801/1382–1399), Haarmann's findings show a drastic decline in the holdings of the

amirs mentioned as land holders in the days of Ibn al-Jī'ān died in late 881–early 882/1477. The amir Tanam [al-Faqīh] al-Abūbakrī [al-Mu'ayyadī] died as amir of ten in Dhū al-Ḥijja 881–Muḥarram 882/April 1477 [see Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmī li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsī* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), 3:45; Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Shākir Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*, ed. Bernhard Moritz (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1974), 7–8. According to al-Malaṭī, however, he died in Dhū al-Ḥijja 880/March–April 1476. See 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut and Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2002), 7:154]. The amir Jānam al-Ashrafī mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān as a holder of a land with a yield that fits amir of ten is, in all likelihood, the amir of ten Jānam al-Ashrafī Qaytbāy al-Ashqar who died in Muḥarram 882/April–May 1477 (see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 94, 172; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:64. He was not identified by Halm, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:171). The amir of ten Qanṣūh al-Ishāqī [al-Ashrafī Ināl] died in Dhū al-Ḥijja 881/March–April 1477 (see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 96; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:472, 586; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:176). The amir Kasbāy [al-Ẓāhirī Khushqadam] al-Dawādār died in Dhū al-Ḥijja 881/March–April 1477 as amir of ten (see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 78; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:229. He was not identified by Halm, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:492). On the other hand, the amir Jānam al-Sharifi mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān as a holder of a land with a yield that fits amir of forty, apparently received this rank only in Ṣafar 880/June–July 1475 (see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 43, 172, 184; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:89; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:131, 231). The amir Azdamur al-Ibrāhīmī who was *muqaddam alf* is mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān as *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*, a post which he received only in Rabī' al-Awwal 880/July–August 1475 (see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 90, 166; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:109; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:133). The amir Qijmās al-Ishāqī who was *muqaddam alf* is mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān as *amir ākhūr*, a post which he received only in Jumādā al-Aūlā 880/September–October 1475 [see Garcin, *Un centre*, 456; and see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 186; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:91; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'ī al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1960–1975), 3:109]. So, while the *Tuḥfa* was written in 883/1478, it apparently reflects data from sometime between Jumādā al-Aūlā 880/September–October 1475 and Dhū al-Ḥijja 881/March–April 1477. Similarly, Yossef Rapoport recently argued that al-Nābulusī had visited Fayyūm at the end of 642/April–May 1245 and wrote his *Villages of the Fayyūm* ca. 642–3/1245–6, but his book reflects data of the fiscal year 641/1243–4. See Yossef Rapoport, *Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt: A Study of al-Nābulusī's Villages of the Fayyūm* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), 10–11. After Table A, I will refer to data from the second date in the *Tuḥfa* as data from (ca.) 880–1/1475–7.

11 Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 146.

12 See *ibid*, 154, 161; and see Table A below. D.S. Richards labeled the share of both royal and non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" as "a minor but not insignificant share". See D.S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households", in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 32.

royal descendants (*asyād*) who “vanished altogether from the statistics”,¹³ and a decrease in the non-royal “*awlād al-nās*” holdings.¹⁴ Circa 885/1480, in the late Circassian period, the share of the *asyād* in *iqṭā*’s remains negligible, and the holdings of non-royal descendants are also reduced to almost nothing (see Table A below), thus by 885/1480 “the economic power also of the non-royal *awlād al-nās* had collapsed”, and “[u]nmistakably, the *awlād al-nās* as a corporate body, in both its constituents, no longer played a major political and military role and therefore no longer received their remuneration from the holdings of the *dīwān al-jaysh*”.¹⁵ Regarding the status of non-royal “*awlād al-nās*”, Haarmann concluded that “they retained a respectable share of the *iqṭā*’s of Egypt not only in 777, under the Qalāwūnid al-Ashraf Sha’bān, but also after the change of dynasties in 800. Their real decline began only in the course of the 9th/15th century”.¹⁶

Table A: The share of “*awlād al-nās*” as *iqṭā*’ holders in the tax yield (*ibra*) of Egypt’s land according to Haarmann¹⁷

Year	(Non-royal) “ <i>Awlād al-Nās</i> ”	<i>Asyād</i>	Aggregate
777/1376 ¹⁸ [in fact, 778/1377]	5.69%~ ¹⁹	7.98%~	13.67%~

13 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 157, 161; and see Table A below.

14 However, the data in the *Intiṣār* for ca. 800/1397 is very partial, and at least with respect to non-royal descendants should be treated with caution and examined in tandem with data retrieved from narrative sources. See Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (at footnotes nos. 88–90).

15 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 158, 161; and see Table A below. It should be remembered, however, that Haarmann’s findings are relevant only for the amiral ranks and not to the rank-and-file among the *mamlūks*’ descendants who continued to receive *iqṭā*’s. See Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (at footnotes nos. 93–5, 647–61, and 677–90).

16 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 162.

17 Based on Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 151 (esp. Table II), 153–4, 159–61 (esp. Table V); and see also Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfiyya* of Yahyā ibn Tūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 27.

18 According to Haarmann’s count, the total tax yield of Egypt’s land in ca. 777/1376 was 9,384,789 DJ, however, the numbers in Table IV in his article that sum up the tax yield of each province do not add up to this number, and in fact do not include all provinces. See Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 154–5. It is not entirely clear from where Haarmann got the figure of 9,384,789 DJ. Ibn al-Jī’ān writes in the introduction of the *Tuhfa* that the total tax yield of Egypt in ca. 777/1376 was 9,584,264 DJ—in the Delta (*al-Wajh al-Baḥrī*) 6,228,455 DJ, and in Upper Egypt (*al-Wajh al-Qiblī*) 3,355,808.8 DJ. However, when he mentions the tax yield of each province in the Delta and Upper Egypt, the numbers do not add up to 9,584,264 DJ (moreover, the figures of the tax yield in each village given by Ibn al-Jī’ān do not add up to the exact total tax yield of each province given by Ibn al-Jī’ān in his introduction). See Ibn al-Jī’ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 3–5. As shown by Kumakura, this holds true to all the manuscripts of the *Tuhfa*, however, in MS. Hunt 2 (the original text) the variation is the smallest (the numbers add up to 9,633,661 DJ). See Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records”, 21. In the edition of Moritz, used by Halm and Haarmann, the numbers of the tax yield of each province mentioned in the introduction of the

Tuhfa add up to 9,380,789 DJ (not considering fractions—and Haarmann did not consider fractions). See Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 3–5; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:33 (Halm adds also the province of al-Wāḥāt with a tax yield of 54,000 DJ which is not mentioned in the list of provinces and their tax yield in the introduction of the *Tuhfa*, thus, in Halm the numbers add up to 9,434,789 DJ); Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records”, 21. So, it seems that Haarmann calculated the total tax yield by adding up numbers of tax yield of each province as mentioned in the introduction of the *Tuhfa* in the edition of Moritz but did a mistake of 4,000 DJ. In any case, as argued by Kumakura, it is recommended to use the data from MS. Hunt 2 which is the original text of the *Tuhfa*, and all the other manuscripts may only be considered as belonging to the “*Tuhfa* family of manuscripts”. See *ibid.*, 19. Therefore, in this article I will use MS. Hunt 2. I would like to thank Wakako Kumakura for her guidance concerning the status of the manuscripts of the *Tuhfa*, the edition of Moritz, and MS. Hunt 2, for her recommendation to use MS. Hunt 2, and for kindly sharing with me her copy of MS. Hunt 2. Her help saved me mistakes and significantly improved the quality of the data I could use. For calculations concerning the total tax yield of Egypt's land, this article will consider the total number that appears in the introduction of the *Tuhfa*, which is the same in both MS. Hunt 2 and Moritz (9,584,264 DJ). According to my count based on MS. Hunt 2, ca. 777/1376 the total tax yield of villages allocated to explicitly mentioned beneficiaries adds up to 9,503,014 DJ and additional 20,300 feddans (see Appendix II, section A). Note that if the *ibra* is not mentioned in the *Tuhfa* it was taken from the *Intiṣār*. If the *ibra* is not mentioned in both the *Tuhfa* and the *Intiṣār*, the size of the cultivated land (*masāḥa*) was used (if the *masāḥa* is not mentioned in the *Tuhfa* it was taken from the *Intiṣār*). In some rare cases both texts do not mention *ibra* or *masāḥa*. Such marginal cases were ignored. This is the method of calculation used throughout this article. At the *rawk* of 715/1315, each feddan yielded in average a revenue of 2.64 DJ (see Borsch, *The Black Death*, 72). If we assume that also ca. 777/1376 the revenue of each feddan in average was the same, then the total tax yield allocated to explicitly mentioned beneficiaries ca. 777/1376 was about 9,556,606 DJ (9,503,014 DJ + 20,300 feddans X 2.64 DJ). Still, MS. Hunt 2 mentions also villages with a total tax yield of 213,060 DJ and additional 1,617 feddans (i. e., about 217,329 DJ [213,060 DJ + 1,617 feddans X 2.64 DJ]) whose beneficiaries are not mentioned at all or mentioned only for ca. 885/1480 (see Appendix II, section B). In addition, MS. Hunt 2 mentions also villages with a total tax yield of 334,314 DJ and additional 60,567 feddans (i. e., about 494,211 DJ [334,314 DJ + 60,567 feddans X 2.64 DJ]), whose beneficiaries are mentioned but the relevant date is not mentioned. My impression is that such cases in MS. Hunt 2 reflect the state of things at the second date (i. e., ca. 885/1480), because many times in such cases at least some of the lands are said to have belonged to the general categories of *waqf* (without mentioning founder or beneficiary), *milk*, and *rizqa*, which are otherwise very rare ca. 777/1376 (see Appendix II, section C; and compare Appendix II, sections C1.2–11, C2.2–9, and C3.1–12, with sections A1.2–5, A2.2–4, and A3.1–3). Things are apparently messier and more complicated in other manuscripts of the *Tuhfa* used by Moritz. My impression is that in the edition of Moritz, in the case of general categories of beneficiaries, more often it is not mentioned which date is relevant. In addition, it seems that in the edition of Moritz general categories of beneficiaries are sometimes lumped together mixing between the two dates. All this of course distorts the data and the calculations. My impression is that in MS. Hunt 2, ca. 777/1376 even less lands had the status of *waqf* (without mentioning founder or beneficiary), *milk*, and *rizqa* than has been thought until now. This, however, must be examined in a detailed manner. Still, it is possible that at least in some cases in MS. Hunt 2 when the relevant date is not mentioned explicitly, the

(Continued)

Year	(Non-royal) “ <i>Awlād al-Nās</i> ”	<i>Asyād</i>	Aggregate
Ca. 800/1397 ²⁰ [in fact, 797/1394]	2.2–2.5%~	0%	2.2–2.5%~ ²¹
Ca. 885/1480 ²² [in fact, 880–1/1475–7]	0.1%~	0.05%~	0.15%

beneficiaries mentioned were relevant for both dates and not only the later date. This seems to be especially true with respect to lands that are mentioned as *waqf* whose founder or beneficiary is mentioned by name or title (see Appendix II, section C1.1). Most of these *waqfs* have been established before ca. 777/1376, and in some cases, there is information showing that the lands indeed became *waqfs* before that date. For the sake of consistency, however, because the relevant date is not mentioned explicitly, I differentiated between such lands and lands whose beneficiaries are explicitly said to belong to ca. 777/1376. To sum up, while it would seem that the total tax yield of Egypt's lands ca. 777/1376 was about 10,050,388 DJ and additional 82,484 feddans (i. e., about 10,268,146 DJ [10,050,388 DJ + 82,484 feddans X 2.64 DJ]), the total tax yield of lands allocated to explicitly mentioned beneficiaries ca. 777/1376 adds up to about 9,556,606 DJ, which comes close to the figure of 9,584,264 DJ mentioned in the introduction of the *Tuhfa* as the total tax yield of Egypt ca. 777/1376, so this last figure will be used for calculations in this article. In Table A, the number used for calculations is that used by Haarmann (i. e., 9,384,789 DJ). Using the number of 9,584,264 DJ slightly changes the calculations, but it of course does not affect the overall picture drawn by Haarmann.

- 19 In Table V in his article, Haarmann mentioned that the total *ibra* of (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*” ca. 777/1376 was 573,676 DJ (see Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 160), however, the numbers in the Table actually add up to 533,676 DJ. The total tax yield of the *asyād* in Table V is 748,920 DJ (see *ibid.*, 160—the same as *ibid.*, 155), and the total tax yield of (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*” and *asyād* together is 1,282,596 DJ (see *ibid.*, 160—the same as *ibid.*, 151), which fits a total tax yield of 533,676 DJ for the (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*”, so the number used for calculations in Table A of this article is 533,676 DJ. Also note that the number used in Table A for the total tax yield of Egypt's land is that used by Haarmann, i. e., 9,384,789 DJ (see footnote no. 18 above). If we use 9,584,264 DJ for the calculations, then the share of non-royal “*awlād al-nās*” decreases to 5.57%~, the share of *asyād* to 7.81%~, and the aggregate share to 13.38%~.
- 20 Haarmann continued to calculate according to a total tax yield of 9,384,789 DJ. In order to get a more exact percentage, the total tax yield should be calculated according to the figures given by Ibn Duqmāq for the tax yield of Egypt's villages ca. 800/1397 that were collected by Halm. I did not pursue this task here because as mentioned by Halm, the figures of the tax yield given by Ibn al-Jī'ān for ca. 777/1376 and by Ibn Duqmāq for ca. 800/1397 are normally not much different. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:41; and see Garcin, *Un centre*, 455. In addition, the data in the *Intiṣār* is very partial and should in any case be treated with caution.
- 21 There seems to be a variation in Haarmann's numbers. In Table V in his article, he mentions that the total *ibra* of (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*” ca. 800/1397 was 206,899 DJ (the numbers actually add up to 206,399 DJ; i. e., 2.2%~) and that of the *asyād* was 0 DJ (see Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 160), however, in Table II in his article he mentions that the total *ibra* of (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*” and *asyād* together was 234,549 DJ (i. e., 2.5%~) [see *ibid.*, 151].
- 22 Haarmann continued to calculate according to a total tax yield of 9,384,789 DJ, however, it is well-known that by ca. 885/1480 the tax yield seriously declined. Having said that, it does not change at all the overall picture drawn by Haarmann of a drastic decline in the *iqṭā'* holdings of “*awlād al-nās*”.

However, on the one hand, under the category of “*awlād al-nās*” Haarmann counted also many free persons who were not *mamlūks*’ descendants. On the other hand, he perhaps did not emphasize enough the fact that the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* provides only names of amirs and does not give specific information on land holders who were simple soldiers, and apparently underestimated the share of the *ḥalqa* in the *iqṭāʿ*’s of Egypt in 778/1377. Thus, the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants that appear in the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* of 778/1377 as *iqṭāʿ* holders by name is, in fact, only the minimal share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in the total tax yield of Egypt. At the same time, Haarmann and others have noted that information on promotions of *mamlūks*’ descendants to amirates in Egypt in Mamluk chronicles is not comprehensive and does not allow accurate estimations of the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants among the different ranks of amirs in different periods of the Mamluk Sultanate. However, the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* of 778/1377 includes such a comprehensive list of amirs in Cairo in a specific point in time which allows exactly such estimation. Having a full list of amirs in a specific point in time also allows a thorough examination of the identity of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs. This paper will focus on one characteristic: about half of them were related to the Qalāwūnids by marital ties.

The paper will first discuss the partial and speculative nature of estimations of the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants who were *iqṭāʿ* holders in Egypt’s total tax yield in 778/1377, and the relevant categories of land holders in the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* (part 2). This will be followed by a general discussion on *mamlūks*’ descendants as amirs (part 3). In order to put the state of things in 778/1377 in the wider context of the status of *mamlūks*’ descendants throughout the Turkish period and the gradual increase in the number of amirs from their ranks, the paper will then discuss the *mamlūks*’ descendants in preceding periods of the Mamluk Sultanate (parts 4–6). It will concentrate on two factors that may explain the phenomenon of the gradual increase in the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs: the first is the age structure of *mamlūk* families that was related to the age in which *mamlūks* became amirs, and the second is the marital policy of Mamluk sultans (especially the Qalāwūnids) that eventually allowed some *mamlūks*’ descendants to enjoy closer relations with the sultans. The increase was gradual and dependent on the intensification of the web of marital ties; thus, it reached a peak only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This state of things is reflected in the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* of 778/1377. Finally, the paper will offer a reconstruction of a (more or less) full list of amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 and the tax yield allocated to them based on the information from the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* (part 7). The reconstruction will allow an exact estimation of the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in amirates of all ranks, and in the tax yield allocated to each rank of amirs. The reconstruction will also allow a thorough examination of the identity of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs.

2 Estimation of the share of *mamlūks*' descendants who were *iqṭā'* holders in Egypt's total tax yield in 778/1377 and the relevant categories of land holders in the *jarīda iqṭā'īyya*

Haarmann estimated the share of *iqṭā'* holdings of non-royal “*awlād al-nās*” in the late Turkish period (circa 778/1377) at approximately 5.69% of Egypt's total tax yield (see Table A above). According to Haarmann's own definition of the term “*awlād al-nās*” it refers to the sons (i. e., descendants) of the *mamlūks*,²³ however, as far as I can tell, under the category of (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*”, Haarmann included also many (apparently about half) of the free persons mentioned by name by Ibn al-Ji'ān who were actually not *mamlūks*' descendants.²⁴ This is why when referring to Haarmann's data I am using Haarmann's terminology (i. e., *awlād al-nās*) and not the clearer expression “*mamlūks*' descendants”. As we shall see, such inconsistency in the usage of the term *awlād al-nās*, perhaps partially out of understandable enthusiasm to locate *mamlūks*' descendants, is typical of other Mamlukists (they define it as referring to

23 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 141.

24 While according to Haarmann the total *'ibra* of (non-royal) “*awlād al-nās*” ca. 778/1377 was 573,676 DJ (but more correctly 533,676 DJ—see footnote no. 19 above), according to my count (based on Halm and the edition of Moritz) the total *'ibra* of (non-royal) *mamlūks*' descendants was only about 424,532 DJ, but the total *'ibra* of (non-royal) *mamlūks*' descendants and other free persons in Cairo (excluding one *muqaddam alif* who was in all likelihood considered a *mamlūk* by Haarmann) was 558,507 DJ (to this we may add 83,625 DJ allocated to three amirs stationed outside of Cairo—the governors [*kushshāf*] of the Delta and Upper Egypt, and the governor [*nā'ib*] of Alexandria) who were free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants). So, it would seem that about half of the free persons who are not *mamlūks*' descendants were considered by Haarmann as “*awlād al-nās*”. As mentioned, a more exact data may be retrieved from MS. Hunt 2 which will be used in this article. According to my count based on MS. Hunt 2, the total *'ibra* of (non-royal) *mamlūks*' descendants who were *iqṭā'* holders was about 428,056 DJ, and that of non-royal *mamlūks*' descendants and other free persons who were amirs of ten or *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo was 586,071 DJ (to this we may add 125,500 DJ allocated to the three afore mentioned amirs stationed outside of Cairo). For details, see Tables J, K, and L in parts 7.6–8 below, and Appendix I (section 2.5). More specifically, Haarmann explicitly considered Mūsā ibn al-Azkushī (a free Kurd), one of the land holders ca. 778/1377, as one of the *awlād al-nās*. See Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 162. He also explicitly referred to the emigrant Ḥusayn ibn Jandar as an *ibn nās*, and implied that the emigrant Muḥammad ibn Janklī was one of the *awlād al-nās* (they were not land holders in 778/1377). See *ibid.*, 144–5. Other land holders considered by Haarmann as *awlād al-nās* were probably not *mamlūks*' descendants. See *ibid.*, 167 (footnote no. 72). In another article he considered Rankāl ibn Ashbughā, an offspring of a noble Mongol family (probably of emigrants), and Ibn Ṣubḥ (a free Kurd) as *awlād al-nās*, and considered counting a Kurd of the Qaymariyya as one of the *awlād al-nās*. See *idem*, “Joseph's Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt”, in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 66, 68 (footnote no. 69), 76 (footnote no. 119); and see also footnote no. 520 below.

mamlūks' descendants but tend to include other free persons under the category of *awlād al-nās*). Thus, the share of 5.69% of *iqṭā'* holdings of non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" includes also the holdings of free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants, and the actual share of the holdings of non-royal *mamlūks*' descendants mentioned by name by Ibn al-Jī'ān is in fact smaller; according to my count based on MS Huntington 2 (the original text of the *Tuhfa*—henceforth, MS. Hunt 2) it is 428,056 DJ out of 9,584,264 DJ, i. e., 4.47% (and see footnotes nos. 18 and 24 above).

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that in general the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* provides only names of *iqṭā'* holders who were amirs. Normally it does not mention land holders by name because it does not give specific information on land holders who were simple soldiers serving in the *ḥalqa* or as *mamālik al-sultān*, so the share of *mamlūks*' descendants that appear as *iqṭā'* holders in Ibn al-Jī'ān by name is, in fact, only the minimal share of *mamlūks*' descendants in the total tax yield of Egypt. This last point was of course acknowledged by Haarmann. Haarmann noted that Ibn al-Jī'ān frequently does not mention the land holder's name but rather uses general terms. While Ibn al-Jī'ān hardly uses the general term (*ajnad*) *al-ḥalqa* on its own (according to Haarmann, two times with a total tax yield of 1,300 DJ), he uses the "very frequent comprehensive formula 'Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*'" and the "utterly general, widespread formula: *bismi al-muqṭa'in*".²⁵ Haarmann acknowledged the "statistical weakness of summary terms such as *ajnad al-ḥalqa*, Royal Mamluks plus *ḥalqa* (or also solely: *muqṭa'in*, feudatories)"²⁶ and wondered "[h]ow many *awlād al-nās* were hidden" under such general categories. The critical point for him was apparently determining the share of "*awlād al-nās*" under the category of "Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*".²⁷ According to Haarmann's count, the tax yield of this category adds up to a total of 209,155 DJ.²⁸ Under Haarmann's tentative assumption that 50% of

25 Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 148. In fact, in one of the two times in which, according to Haarmann, Ibn al-Jī'ān mentions the *ḥalqa* alone, he actually mentions them as joint holders together with "Bedouins" (*urbān*). See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:609 (the tax yield is 600 DJ); Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Shākir Ibn al-Jī'ān, "Kitāb al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya", Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Huntington 2, 29v (*bi-ism al-ḥalqa wal-urbān*). So, we are left with only one village with a tax yield of 700 DJ under the name of the *ḥalqa* alone. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:332–3; MS. Hunt 2, 12v.

26 Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 150.

27 Ibid., 148 ("Even more critical is the determination of the share of *awlād al-nās* in the very frequent comprehensive formula 'Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*'").

28 In fact, according to my count based on Halm it adds up to 224,575 DJ and additional 1,683 feddans. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:321, 323–6, 328–39, 475, 517, 599–600, 603, 608, 612, 616, 618, 638. According to Jo Van Steenberghe's count based on the edition of Moritz, "an undefined group of the sultan's mamluks" received 210,120 DJ. See Jo Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture. 1341–1382* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 31 (footnote no. 44). In MS. Hunt 2, the numbers in the category of "Royal

the category (*ajṇād*) *al-ḥalqa* and 25% of the category “Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*” were “*awlād al-nās*”, the share of “*awlād al-nās*” (royal and non-royal) in the total tax yield of Egypt increases from 13.67% to 14.29% (see Table B below).²⁹ It may be added that we may assume that if indeed “*awlād al-nās*”, almost all of them were non-royal “*awlād al-nās*” (again, including free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants), so for the sake of convenience, in Table B the whole increase is attributed to the category of non-royal “*awlād al-nās*”.

Table B: Estimated share of “*awlād al-nās*” as *iqṭā'* holders in the tax yield (*'ibra*) of Egypt's land according to Haarmann including the general categories “(*ajṇād*) *al-ḥalqa*” and “Royal Mamluks plus *ḥalqa*”

Year	(Non-royal) “ <i>Awlād al-Nās</i> ”	<i>Asyād</i>	Aggregate
777/1376 [in fact, 778/1377]	5.69% → 6.31%	7.98%~	13.67% → 14.29%

I am guessing that Haarmann assumed (for the sake of calculation alone) that the share of “*awlād al-nās*” in the category of “Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*” was 25%, because he assumed that there were no “*awlād al-nās*” under the category of “Royal Mamluks”, and that 50% of the *ḥalqa* were “*awlād al-nās*”. The calculation also assumes an equal partition of the tax yield in the joint category between *ḥalqa* members and “Royal Mamluks”. All these assumptions are highly speculative. Firstly, there were some “*awlād al-nās*” serving as “Royal Mamluks” (that is, they were registered in the *dīwān al-sultān*) throughout the period of the Mamluk Sultanate³⁰ (we do not know their number of course, but they were probably not too many). More importantly, the share of “*awlād al-nās*” in the general categories varied over time, so we do not really know how to estimate this share.³¹ In any case, the tax yield of the general categories “(*ajṇād*) *al-ḥalqa*” and “Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*” in 778/1377 is not that high and under any estimation does not change much the overall picture (see Table B above).

Mamluks and *ḥalqa*” add up to 207,655 DJ. See Appendix II, section A7.1. Except for the category of “Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*”, in MS. Hunt 2 there are two villages with a total tax yield of 6,200 DJ under the name of *mamlūks*, *ḥalqa*, and *'urbān*. See Appendix II, section A7.2.

29 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 148–51. As mentioned, Haarmann calculated against a total tax yield of 9,384,789 DJ. If calculated against a total of 9,584,264 DJ, the share of non-royal “*awlād al-nās*” decreases to 6.18%~, that of *asyād* to 7.81%~, and the aggregate share to 14%~.

30 See discussion in Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (at footnotes nos. 616–30); and see footnote no. 70 below.

31 And see Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 150. The most detailed study on the *ḥalqa* by Amalia Levanoni suggests a gradual increase in the number of *mamlūks* on the expense of “*awlād al-nās*”. See Amalia Levanoni, “The *Ḥalqah* in the Mamluk Army: Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), 37–65.

2.1 The general category of “*muqṭaʿūn*” in the *Tuhfa*

As for the general category of *muqṭaʿūn*, Haarmann suggested (based on a written communication with Halm who relied on casual remarks in Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār*) that the category includes especially lowly amirs, members of *ḥalqa*, and “Royal *mamlūks*”. Haarmann noted that for this reason “the percentages and ratios... based on the explicit mention of *awlād al-nās* alone... are liable to be far too low measured against contemporary reality. Yet how far exactly we will never know”.³² Haarmann did not discuss much further the category of *muqṭaʿūn* as he did with the joint category of “Royal Mamluks and *ḥalqa*”, and he did not even mention the total tax yield of the category. I am guessing this was because he was looking for explicit references to (*ajnad*) *al-ḥalqa* in whose ranks one supposedly should find many “*awlād al-nās*”. He added that while Ibn al-Jīʿān hardly uses the general term (*ajnad*) *al-ḥalqa* on its own (according to Haarmann’s count based on Halm: two times with a total tax yield of 1,300 DJ for circa 778/1377),³³ in Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār* this category is much more common (according to Haarmann’s count—329,050 DJ). Haarmann suggested that this was due to terminological differences, that is, Ibn Duqmāq may have labeled “(*ajnad*) *al-ḥalqa*” certain groupings which Ibn al-Jīʿān would have identified by name or presented in even general terms as “*muqṭaʿīn*”.³⁴

In fact, according to my count based on MS. Hunt 2, in 778/1377 the category of *muqṭaʿūn* as sole beneficiaries covers the huge amount of about 3,188,674 DJ and additional 3,088 feddans.³⁵ Except for that, MS. Hunt 2 mentions the *muqṭaʿūn* also as joint beneficiaries several times in 778/1377 with a total tax yield that may be estimated at about 67,282 DJ,³⁶ so, all in all, in 778/1377 the *muqṭaʿūn* held a total tax yield of about 3,255,956 DJ and additional 3,088 feddans, that is, about 3,264,108 DJ (3,255,956 DJ + 3,088 feddans X 2.64 DJ; see Appendix II, section A11).

32 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 148.

33 But see footnote no. 25 above.

34 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 148.

35 See Appendix II, section A11.9. Just for comparison, according to my count based on Halm, the total tax yield allotted to *muqṭaʿūn* in 778/1377 was roughly 2,500,000 DJ. It would seem that the main reason for the difference is that in the manuscripts used by Moritz it is many times not specified in the case of general categories of beneficiaries if the first date is relevant (i. e., 778/1377) or the second (i. e., ca. 880–1/1475–7). Apparently, Halm reasonably assumed in most of these cases that the second date is the relevant date. In addition, it seems that in the manuscripts used by Moritz general categories of beneficiaries are sometimes lumped together mixing between the two dates. All this of course distorts the calculations. See footnote no. 18 above.

36 See Appendix II, sections A11.1–8.

2.2 The categories of “*muqtaʿūn*” and “amirs”

But who are the *muqtaʿūn* in the *Tuhfa*? We can relatively easily rule out several categories of beneficiaries. Firstly, in contrast to what Halm and Haarmann suggested, there is no real reason to think that in the *Tuhfa* the category of *muqtaʿūn* includes lowly amirs. Not only that the *Tuhfa* mentions several times the general category of “amirs” (*umarāʾ*) as beneficiaries on their own, but it also mentions several times the joint category of “amirs and *muqtaʿūn*”, so clearly the *Tuhfa* differentiates between amirs and *muqtaʿūn* and we may safely assume that the category of *muqtaʿūn* did not include amirs.³⁷ Such a differentiation is also confirmed by cases in which the *Tuhfa* mentions that in 778/1377 the beneficiaries were *muqtaʿūn*, but in circa 880–1/1475–7 the beneficiaries were “amirs”, or the other way around.³⁸ In one specific case in circa 880–1/1475–7, the beneficiaries of a land with a tax yield of 5,000 DJ are said to have been “five amirs of ten and *muqtaʿūn*”,³⁹ so if five amirs of low rank, each receiving only few hundreds DJ, are mentioned alongside *muqtaʿūn*, it is clear enough that the category of *muqtaʿūn* in the *Tuhfa* does not include amirs, even of low rank. Moreover, as will be explained in part 7.2 below, the names of *iqṭāʾ* holders in 778/1377 that are mentioned in the *Tuhfa* seem to comprise a comprehensive list of amirs in Cairo,⁴⁰ which also suggests that the *muqtaʿūn* in the *Tuhfa* do not include amirs, at least not ones in Cairo.

37 See Appendix II, sections A12.1–2. Note that Appendix II includes only references to beneficiaries in 778/1377. In ca. 880–1/1475–7, one finds more such cases. It may be added that also in the *Intiṣār*, I could not find any remarks suggesting that the category of “*muqtaʿūn*” included lowly amirs as suggested by Halm. Van Steenberghe accepted the suggestion of Halm and Haarmann that the “*muqtaʿūn*” included low-ranking amirs (“it has been argued convincingly that this general term stands for low-ranking amirs, auxiliary forces and sultan’s mamluks only, since they were the only ones who were supposed to share parcels”). See Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 47 (footnote no. 86). Moreover, Van Steenberghe noted that some high-ranking amirs whose names appear in other sources are absent from the *Tuhfa*, and apparently suggested that the category of “*muqtaʿūn*” may have included also high-ranking amirs. See *ibid.* However, Van Steenberghe thought that the *Tuhfa* reflects data from Shawwāl 777/March 1376, whereas it in fact reflects data from Shawwāl 778/March 1377 (see footnote no. 8 above). Apparently, the amirs referred to by Van Steenberghe died before Shawwāl 778/March 1377 (but after Shawwāl 777/March 1376), thus, there is no reason to believe that the category of “*muqtaʿūn*” included amirs. See discussion in parts 7.1 and 7.2 below (esp. at footnotes nos. 376–88).

38 See MS. Hunt 2, 55v (*kānat bi-ism al-muqtaʿīn wal-ān bi-ism al-umarāʾ*), 96v (*kānat bi-ism al-umarāʾ wal-ān bi-ism al-muqtaʿīn*). And see also *ibid.*, 111v (*kānat bi-ism al-umarāʾ wal-ān bi-ism al-umarāʾ wal-muqtaʿīn*).

39 See *ibid.*, 232v.

40 See below in part 7.2 at footnotes nos. 388–9. Except in very rare cases, all *iqṭāʾ* holders in 778/1377 that are mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* were either amirs or *asyād*, so there is also no reason to think that *ajṇād al-halqa* were identified by name in the *Tuhfa* as Haarmann suggested. See below in part 7.2 at footnotes nos. 390–4.

And what about amirs outside of Cairo? The three most prominent amirs in Egypt outside of Cairo in 778/1377, that is, the two governors (*kāshifs*) of the Delta (*al-Wajh al-Baḥrī*) and Upper Egypt (*al-Wajh al-Qiblī*), and the governor (*nā'ib*) of Alexandria, are mentioned by name (and sometimes also by title) in the *Tuhfa*. They held together 125,500 DJ.⁴¹ Other amirs outside of Cairo, that is, governors of the smaller provinces of Egypt (*wulāt*), are not mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa*, but as “governor (*mutawallī/wālī*) of province X or Y”. Such *wulāt* were amirs of 10 or *ṭablkhānas*.⁴² In MS. Hunt 2, ten *wulāt* of provinces are mentioned in 778/1377 (Bahnasā, Ushmūnayn, Qūṣ, Fayyūm, Sharqiyya, Buḥayra, Gharbiyya, Munūf, Qalyūb, and Daqahla) with a total tax yield of 71,700 DJ.⁴³ Eight were amirs of *ṭablkhāna* (Bahnasā, Ushmūnayn, Qūṣ, Fayyūm, Sharqiyya, Buḥayra, Gharbiyya, and Munūf) and only two were amirs of ten (Qalyūb and Daqahla), and it would seem that the *Tuhfa* mentions by title all *wulāt* of provinces who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna*⁴⁴ but does not tend to mention

41 See Appendix I, section 2.5; and see at footnotes nos. 395–6 below. As mentioned, all were free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants (see footnote no. 24 above). The *Tuhfa* also mentions lands with a tax yield of 4,600 DJ that were allocated to salaries and posts (*arbāb al-rawātib*) in Alexandria. See Appendix II, section A17.

42 On the *wulāt*, see Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987), 4:26–8; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wal-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wal-Āthār*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), 3:379–81; and see footnote no. 297 below. From narrative sources we know that they were many times free persons including some *mamlūks*' descendants. However, I could not securely determine who were the *wulāt* at the relevant date.

43 See Appendix II, section A13. Not including the Mutawallī of Miṣr which was counted as one of the amirs of ten of Cairo. See Appendix I, section 3.3, no. 5.

44 According to al-Maqrīzī, at the *rawk* in 715/1315, except for the governor of Alexandria and the *kāshifs* of the Delta and Upper Egypt, there were 11 *wulāt* who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna* (Bahnasā, Ushmūnayn, Qūṣ, Fayyūm, Sharqiyya, Buḥayra, Gharbiyya, Munūf, Jiza, Aswān, and Qaṭyā), all are mentioned in the *Tuhfa* except for the governors of Jiza, Aswān and Qaṭyā. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379. Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (d. 786/1384), writing shortly after 778/1377, seems to mention eight *wulāt* who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna* (Sharqiyya, Buḥayra, Gharbiyya, Munūfiyya, Bahnasā, Ushmūnayn, Fayyūm, and Qūṣ and Akhmīm), all are mentioned in the *Tuhfa*, however, the *Tuhfa* mentions the governor of Qūṣ but does not refer to him also as the governor of Akhmīm. Moreover, Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh mentions that the governors of Qaṭyā and Jiza that used to be amirs of *ṭablkhāna* (as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī), are amirs of ten in his days. In addition, he does not refer at all to a governor of Aswān (referred to as a *ṭablkhāna* by al-Maqrīzī). See Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Kitāb Tathqīf al-Ta'rīf bil-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, ed. Rudolf Veselý (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1987), 112. In the days of al-Qalqashandī, there were eight *wulāt* who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna* (Bahnasā, Ushmūnayn, Qūṣ and Akhmīm, Aswān, Sharqiyya, Buḥayra, Gharbiyya, and Munūf), however, according to al-Qalqashandī, only al-Zāhir Barqūq created the post of *wālī* Aswān, and before his days Aswān was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Qūṣ, which confirms that in 778/1377 there was no independent governor of Aswān, and suggests that the information from al-Maqrīzī regarding Aswān should be treated with caution. Al-Qalqashandī also mentions that Fayyūm used to be governed by a *wālī* who was amir *ṭablkhāna* until the

by title *wulāt* of provinces who were amirs of ten.⁴⁵ Circa 778/1377, there were apparently eight *wulāt* who were *ṭablkhānas* and about eight who were amirs of ten.⁴⁶ At the *rawk* in 715/1315, each of the *wulāt* who were *ṭablkhānas* was allocated 15,000 DJ (about double the average income of amir of ten in Cairo), and each of the *wulāt* who were amirs of ten received 5,000 DJ (about two thirds of the average income of amir of ten in Cairo).⁴⁷ We may expect that the total income of the *wulāt* circa 778/1377 was between about 160,000 DJ (if their income remained the same as in 715/1315 [8 X 15,000 DJ = 120,000 DJ + 8 X 5,000 DJ = 40,000 DJ]), and, more likely, about 111,912 DJ (if their income declined in the same proportion as the income of amirs of ten in Cairo [about 10,492 DJ for each of the eight *wulāt* who were *ṭablkhānas* = 83,936 DJ, and about 3,497 DJ for each of the eight *wulāt* who were amirs of ten = 27,976 DJ]).⁴⁸ So, clearly, the tax yield of 71,700 DJ allocated in the *Tuhfa* to the *wulāt* does not cover all their expected income (we are likely missing about 40,000 DJ or more). This is not surprising, as we already mentioned that the *Tuhfa* does not tend to mention by title *wulāt* who were amirs of ten, but it would also seem that references to *wulāt* who were

days of al-Zāhir Barqūq. As for the governors of Jīza and Qaṭyā who used to be amirs of *ṭablkhāna*, al-Qalqashandī confirms that they were only amirs of ten in his days. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:26–8, 66–8. Therefore, it seems that ca. 778/1377 there were eight *wulāt* who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna* (Bahnasā, Ushmūnayn, Qūṣ [and Akhmīm], Fayyūm, Sharqiyya, Buḥayra, Gharbiyya, and Munūf), all are mentioned by title in the *Tuhfa*.

45 According to al-Maqrīzī, at the *rawk* in 715/1315 there were seven *wulāt* with the rank of amir of ten (Ashmūn al-Rummān [Daqahla], Qalyūb, Jīza [!—mentioned also as governed by amir of *ṭablkhāna*, see footnote no. 44 above], Iṭfīḥ, Manfalūt, Tarūjā, and the *hājib* of Alexandria). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379–80. Note that al-Maqrīzī includes also the *hājib* of Alexandria who was not a *wālī* but was the only amir in Alexandria except for the governor (see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:64), and apparently the only amir in all the provinces of Egypt except for the governors (ibid., 4:64–8). Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh seems to refer to six *wulāt* with the rank of amir of ten in his days (Qalyūb, Daqahla [Ushmūm], Dumyāt, Iṭfīḥ, Jīza, and Qaṭyā) and one amir of twenty (Manfalūt). See Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf*, 112. According to al-Qalqashandī, in his days there were seven *wulāt* with the rank of amir of ten (Jīza, Iṭfīḥ, Manfalūt, Qalyūb, Ushmūm [Daqahla], Dumyāt, and Qaṭyā), including the governor of Manfalūt who was amir of twenty but is considered as one of the amirs of ten. See ibid., 4:27–8; 7:171–2. Therefore, it seems that ca. 778/1377 there were seven *wulāt* considered as amirs of ten (Jīza, Iṭfīḥ, Manfalūt, Qalyūb, Daqahla, Qaṭyā, and Dumyāt), and one more amir of ten in the provinces (the *hājib* of Alexandria), none is mentioned in the *Tuhfa* by title except for the governors of Qalyūb and Daqahla. Although al-Maqrīzī mentions a *wālī* of Tarūjā who was amir of ten in 715/1315, I could not find in chronicles references to such a *wālī* ca. 778/1377.

46 See footnotes nos. 44–5 above.

47 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379–81 (30 amirs of ten in Cairo received 10,000 DJ each, and 170 amirs of ten in Cairo received 7,000 DJ each. Thus, in average, amir of ten in Cairo received 7,450 DJ). And see Tsugitaka Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's, and Fallahun* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 154.

48 While in 715/1315 the average income of amir of ten in Cairo was 7,450 DJ (see footnote no. 47 above), in 778/1377 the average income of amir of ten in Cairo was 5,211 DJ (see Table K below).

ṭablkhānas are not comprehensive.⁴⁹ Still, I suggest that the missing income of the *wulāt* should not be looked for under the general category of “*muqṭaʿūn*” (it was already mentioned that the *Tuhfa* differentiates between amirs and *muqṭaʿūn*) but rather under the general category of “amirs” (*umarāʾ*). In 778/1377, MS. Hunt 2 mentions few times the marginal general category of “amirs” on its own with a total tax yield of 34,700 DJ. Except for that, MS. Hunt 2 mentions the “amirs” also as joint beneficiaries several times in 778/1377 with a total tax yield that may be estimated at about 13,083 DJ,⁵⁰ so, all in all, in 778/1377 the “amirs” held a total tax yield of about 47,783 DJ.⁵¹ Because the figure of 47,783 DJ strikingly fits the expected missing income of the *wulāt*, and because it is less likely that the general category of “amirs” is relevant for amirs in Cairo,⁵² we conclude that it is very likely that the general category of “amirs” refers to *wulāt* not mentioned by title in the *Tuhfa*, mainly lowly amirs of ten, but sometimes also amirs of *ṭablkhāna*.⁵³ In any case, the missing income of the *wulāt* is marginal to the huge amount of the tax yield allocated to the *muqṭaʿūn*.

49 The range of the income of *wulāt* who were *ṭablkhānas* in the *Tuhfa* is between 2,900 DJ and 17,700 DJ. The lower range seems too low for *wulāt* who were *ṭablkhānas*, two of them receiving less than 4,000 DJ given to the *wālī* of Daqahla who was only amir of ten. See Appendix II, sections A13.7–9. In average, each of the *wulāt* who were *ṭablkhānas* received 8,362.5 DJ, which is also somewhat less than expected. See Appendix II, sections A13.1–6 and A13.8–9.

50 See Appendix II, sections A12.1–3.

51 In four cases with a total tax yield of 30,000 DJ, MS. Hunt 2 mentions that in 778/1377 a land was allocated to a person mentioned by name without the title of amir (although the person was amir), and to other amirs (*wal-umarāʾ*). Theoretically, we should have estimated that half of the 30,000 DJ (i.e., 15,000 DJ) was allocated to “amirs”. However, it would seem that in these cases “*wal-umarāʾ*” is likely a corruption of “*min al-umarāʾ*”, so it is considered that all of the tax yield was allocated to the amirs mentioned by name. See Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 3 and 11 (footnotes nos. 572 and 594); section 2.1, no. 8 (footnote no. 632); and section 2.4, no. 5 (footnote no. 757); and see also footnote no. 778 below. Still, it is possible that the general category of “amirs” held about 15,000 additional DJ on the expense of the amirs mentioned by name.

52 Ibn al-Jīʾān mentions sometimes by name two amirs in Cairo who were holders of the same village (almost always ca. 880–1/1475–7), so we may assume that he had no compunction about mentioning several names of amirs in Cairo as joint holders (however, perhaps not more than two). He does not tend to mention several *wulāt* as joint holders. In addition, since the income of amirs in Cairo was in general higher than that of the *wulāt*, there was apparently less chance that amirs in Cairo would have been joint holders. Thus, the general category of “amirs” seems less relevant for amirs in Cairo. As noted by Rapoport, also in the seventh/thirteenth century, junior amirs with lower income more often held only shares of villages. See Rapoport, *Rural Economy*, 150–3 (esp. 153).

53 Perhaps the inconsistency in references to the *wulāt* in the *Tuhfa* (i.e., a tendency to mention *ṭablkhānas* but not in a comprehensive manner, and a tendency not to mention amirs of ten except in rare cases) may be partially explained by the tendency of the *Tuhfa* not to mention by title joint holders outside of Cairo. Since the average income of *wulāt* who were amirs of ten was lower than that of *ṭablkhānas* they were more likely to have been joint holders. Still, apparently also *ṭablkhānas* among the *wulāt* were sometimes joint holders, and amirs of ten

2.3 The categories of “*muqṭaʿūn*” and “*urbān*”

Another general category that can be excluded is the so-called “Beduins”.⁵⁴ These were probably the amirs among them, however, they are not mentioned by name or title but simply as “*urbān*”. In 778/1377, MS. Hunt 2 mentions many times the general category of *urbān* as beneficiaries on their own with a total tax yield of 206,839 DJ.⁵⁵ Importantly, in 778/1377, MS. Hunt 2 mentions many times the joint category of “*urbān* and *muqṭaʿūn*” with a total tax yield of 87,547 DJ, so clearly the *Tuhfa* differentiates between *urbān* and *muqṭaʿūn* and we may safely assume that the category of *muqṭaʿūn* did not include *urbān*. In addition, in 778/1377, MS. Hunt 2 mentions one time also the joint category of “*umarāʾ*, *urbān* and *muqṭaʿūn*” with a tax yield of 3,700 DJ, so the *Tuhfa* differentiates also between the categories of *urbān* and amirs.⁵⁶ This is not to say that the *urbān* were not amirs, they probably were, but in the *Tuhfa* they form a special category, and they are not mentioned by name or title. Such a differentiation between *urbān*, *muqṭaʿūn*, and *umarāʾ*, is also confirmed by a case in which the *Tuhfa* mentions that in 778/1377 the beneficiaries were *muqṭaʿūn*, but in circa 880–1/1475–7 the beneficiaries were amirs and *urbān*.⁵⁷ In addition, MS. Hunt 2 mentions the *urbān* as joint beneficiaries in several other combinations in 778/1377. All in all, in 778/1377 the *urbān* held a total tax yield that may be estimated at about 259,519 DJ.⁵⁸

2.4 The categories of “*muqṭaʿūn*”, “*al-ḥalqa*”, “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*”, and “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*”

We are left then mainly with members of the *ḥalqa* and *mamālīk al-sulṭān* as candidates to fill the category of *muqṭaʿūn*. In what follows, it will be argued that the general category of *muqṭaʿūn* in the *Tuhfa* refers only to the *ḥalqa* and not *mamālīk al-sulṭān*. The categories in the *Tuhfa* that are relevant for the remu-

were sometimes sole beneficiaries. As noted by Rapoport with respect to the seventh/thirteenth century, “[w]hile small holdings are the pattern for the majority of the low-ranking amirs... there are exceptions”. See Rapoport, *Rural Economy*, 153.

54 On the Arab amirs, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:68–73.

55 See Appendix II, section A4.1. For comparison, according to my count based on Halm the tax yield of the category of *urbān* in 778/1377 adds up to about a half.

56 See Appendix II, sections A4.2–3.

57 See MS. Hunt 2, 121r (*kānat bi-ism al-muqṭaʿīn wal-ān bi-ism al-umarāʾ wal-urbān*).

58 See Appendix II, section A4. Except for the *urbān*, MS. Hunt 2 mentions as beneficiaries in 778/1377 also “tribes in Alexandria (*qabāʾ il bi-Thaghṛ al-Iskandariyya*)” with a tax yield of 1,400 DJ, “the guards (*khufarāʾ*) of Banī Ṣabra” with a tax yield of 1,000 DJ, and “*al-sayyid al-sharīf amīr al-Madīna al-Sharīfa*” with a tax yield of 8,433 DJ. See Appendix II, sections A18–19 and A22.

neration of *mamālīk al-sultān* are “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” (or simply “*al-mamālīk*”) and “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” (see details in part 2.5 below). Firstly, the *Tuhfa* mentions one time the joint category of “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya* and the *muqṭaʿūn*” as beneficiaries circa 880–1/1475–7,⁵⁹ which suggests that the *Tuhfa* differentiates between the category of “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” and the category of “*muqṭaʿūn*”. Such a differentiation is suggested also in a case in which the beneficiaries in 778/1377 are said to have been the “*muqṭaʿūn*”, but in circa 880–1/1475–7 the “*mamālīk*” (and the “*amirs*”).⁶⁰ The *Tuhfa* also mentions two times “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” as joint holder together with “*muqṭaʿūn*” circa 880–1/1475–7, so the *Tuhfa* also differentiates between the category of “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” and the category of “*muqṭaʿūn*”.⁶¹ Secondly, “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” and “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” appear as separate categories of beneficiaries (i. e., as sole beneficiaries) many times and throughout the *Tuhfa*,⁶² whereas “the *ḥalqa*” appears only once as a sole beneficiary and only at the very beginning of the *Tuhfa* (folio 12v).⁶³ In fact, “the *ḥalqa*” appears as a beneficiary in the *Tuhfa* 46 times,⁶⁴ however, 44 of these references appear in the first 14 folios in which beneficiaries are mentioned (MS. Hunt 2, 4v–18r), and only two appear later in folios 29v and 47r.⁶⁵ In contrast, “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” appear as beneficiaries 18 times after folio 18r and seven times after folio 47r and until towards the end of the *Tuhfa* (folio 250r).⁶⁶ As for the “*muqṭaʿūn*”, until folio 18r they appear as beneficiaries only four times,⁶⁷ but after this folio references to “*muqṭaʿūn*” as beneficiaries are much more frequent (for example, only in folio 18v there are five references to “*muqṭaʿūn*”). So, while until folio 18r references to “the *ḥalqa*”

59 See MS. Hunt 2, 149r.

60 Ibid., 219r (*kānat bi-ism al-muqṭaʿīn wal-ān bi-ism al-mamālīk [!] wal-umarā*).

61 Ibid., 219v, 220v. Such a differentiation is very conspicuous also in cases in which the *Tuhfa* mentions that in 778/1377 the beneficiaries were *muqṭaʿūn* but in ca. 880–1/1475–7 the beneficiary was *al-dīwān al-sultānī*, or the other way around. See *ibid.*, 219v.

62 As for “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*”, see Appendix II, section A6 (references are only for 778/1377 but there are many more ca. 880–1/1475–7). While in the edition of Moritz “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” appear as sole beneficiaries twice in 778/1377 with a total tax yield of 13,000 DJ (See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:324, 326), in MS. Hunt 2 “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” appear as sole beneficiaries only ca. 880–1/1475–7 (see MS. Hunt 2, 5v, 9v, 13r, 20v, 22v, 23r, 26v, 36r, 47r, 49v, 200r, 222r).

63 See Appendix II, section A10.1; and see MS. Hunt 2, 12v.

64 For references in 778/1377 or references with no date, see Appendix II, sections A10 and C8. For references ca. 880–1/1475–7, see MS. Hunt 2, 12v, 17v.

65 See Appendix II, sections A4.4 (footnote no. 913) and A4.5 (footnote no. 914).

66 See MS. Hunt 2, 18v, 19v, 20v, 22v, 23r, 26v, 36r, 41r, 46r, 47r (twice), 49v, 137v, 138r, 200r, 219r, 222r, 250r. All references except one (47r) are relevant to ca. 880–1/1475–7. Most references to “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” appear starting from folio 194v. See Appendix II, sections A6 and C6.

67 See MS. Hunt 2, 7v, 8r, 13r, 16v. Only one of these references is apparently relevant to 778/1377, but the wording is somewhat peculiar (*kānat bi-ism al-muqṭaʿīn thumma istaqarrat fi al-dawla al-sharīfa wal-ān bi-ism al-mamālīk*...).

are common but references to the “*muqṭaʿūn*” are rare, after this folio it is exactly the opposite. It would seem that around folio 18r, Ibn al-Jīʿān stabilized his terminology and decided to refer to the *ḥalqa* as the “*muqṭaʿūn*” *par excellence*,⁶⁸ probably because the *ḥalqa* members were by far the most common beneficiaries of *iqṭāʿ*s (see in part 2.6 below).

2.5 Royal *mamlūks* and their remuneration (*iqṭāʿ*s, salaries, and rations): “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” and “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*”

It remains to delve deeper into the categories of “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” and “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*” and show that the tax yield allocated to these categories could have theoretically covered in full the remuneration of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* in 778/1377. In 778/1377, “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” are allocated in MS. Hunt 2 a total tax yield that may be estimated at about 105,894 DJ.⁶⁹ The tax yield allocated in MS. Hunt 2 in 778/1377 to “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*”, that is *mamālīk al-sulṭān* registered in the *dīwān*,⁷⁰ was much higher and may be estimated at about 551,879 DJ (509,700 DJ + 15,977 feddans X 2.64 DJ).⁷¹ While perhaps at first sight the

68 The two references to the *ḥalqa* in folios 29v and 47r are apparently slips of a pen, and it is probably not a coincidence that they appear relatively close to folio 18r and not at the end of the *Tuhfa*.

69 See Appendix II, section A7.

70 From the writings of Circassian-period authors, especially ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514), it becomes clear that every soldier that entered (was registered in) *dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī* (sometimes *al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*, *dīwān al-sulṭān*, or *dīwān al-khidam al-sulṭānī* and *al-jund al-sulṭānī*) was considered one of the *mamālīk al-sulṭān* (whether a slave or a free person. See on that in Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” [at footnotes nos. 600–26]). Other terms used are *bāb al-sulṭān* or *bayt al-sulṭān*. See Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar al-Biqāʿī, *Izhār al-ʿAṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-ʿAṣr Taʾrīkh al-Biqāʿī*, ed. M.S. al-ʿAwfī (al-Riyāḍ, 1992–1993), 1:291 (*al-jund al-munazzalīn fī bayt al-sulṭān = al-murattabīn ʿalā dīwān al-sulṭān*); ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan bil-Muʿjam al-Muʿanwan*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Kundarī (Kuwait: Dār al-Nashr al-Islāmiyya, 2011), 602 (*nazala fī jumlat mamālīkihi fī bāb al-sulṭān = athbata ismahu fī dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī*), 688 (*nazala maʿa jumlat mamālīkihi fī al-dīwān*), 818 (*tanazzala baʿda mawt ustādhihi fī al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*), 499 (*nazala fī dīwān al-khidam al-sulṭānī*), 506 (*nazala bil-dīwān al-sulṭānī*), 734 (*ittaṣala bi-bayt al-sulṭān*), 601, 622, 679, 689.

71 See Appendix II, section A6. For comparison, according to my count based on Halm, the tax yield allocated to “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*” in 778/1377 was only about 340,000 DJ. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:69, 73, 75, 78, 91, 100, 105, 113, 123, 138, 152–3, 167, 208, 210–1, 214–5, 220, 224–30, 232–3, 235–8, 248, 253, 257, 260–1, 264–5, 270; 2:317–9, 337, 540–1, 554, 570. It should be noted that in MS. Hunt 2, the category of “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*” appears many times as a beneficiary but the relevant date is not mentioned. The total tax yield of such cases may be estimated at a significant sum of about 197,271 DJ (61,430 DJ + 51,455 feddans X 2.64 DJ). See Appendix II, section C6.1. As mentioned, such cases apparently reflect the state of things ca. 880–1/1475–7, however, it cannot be unequivocally ruled out that some of these cases are relevant also for 778/1377. See footnote no. 18 above. In addition, MS. Hunt 2 mentions also the category of

figures seem rather low, it will be argued that the sums could cover all remuneration of *mamālīk al-sultān* in 778/1377.

Let us start with understanding the nature of the distinction between “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” and “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” as categories of beneficiaries in the *Tuhfa*.⁷² First, it should be noted that it would seem that by the late Turkish period most of *mamālīk al-sultān* normally received a salary and not what may be called “a private *iqṭāʾ*” (see clarification below). This was clearly the case by the Circassian period, and most Circassian-period historians inform us this was the situation in their days. For example, al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) noted that while *ajnad al-halqa* received *iqṭāʾ*s, *mamālīk al-sultān* received monthly salaries (*jawāmik*), daily rations of meat and fodder (*rawātīb*), and annual dress allotments (*kiswa*).⁷³ Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) mentions that this was the situation already before the days of al-Zāhir Barqūq.⁷⁴

As for the early Turkish period, during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars (658–676/1260–1277), “most of the *mamlūks* in Egypt received their stipends in cash”, and “*iqṭāʾ*s of the *mamlūks*... were mainly located in Syria”. There is no information on the revenue of the *iqṭāʾ*s of the *mamlūks* for that period.⁷⁵ Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325) mentions that among the 6,000 *mamlūks* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678–689/1279–1290) there were some receiving salaries and some receiving *iqṭāʾ*s (*arbāb iqṭāʾāt wa-aṣḥāb jāmakiyyāt*).⁷⁶ However, in another place he notes that *mamlūks* received at first a salary and only later on with their advancement

“*dīwān al-khāṣṣ*” as a beneficiary in 778/1377 with a total tax yield of 228,450 DJ. See Appendix II, section A5. At least after the *rawk al-Nāṣirī*, *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* was responsible for allocating revenues from *iqṭāʾ* to *mamālīk al-sultān* (and for other governmental needs). See Daisuke Igarashi, “The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), 120; Sato, *State*, 142–3. It is possible that also ca. 778/1377 *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* would cover in times of need some of the remuneration of *mamālīk al-sultān*.

72 While “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” and “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” are never mentioned as joint beneficiaries in the *Tuhfa*, in one case it is mentioned that in 778/1377 the beneficiary was “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” but in ca. 880–1/1475–7 the beneficiaries were “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*”, confirming that in the *Tuhfa* they are seen as two distinct groups. See MS. Hunt 2, 200r (*kānat lil-dīwān al-sharīf al-sultānī wal-ān lil-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*).

73 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:462; William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley, 1955), 113; and see also Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Kitāb al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1963–1972), 14:70.

74 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Majlis al-ʿAlī lil-Shuʿūn al-Islāmiyya, 1969–1972), 3:169.

75 Sato, *State*, 93–4.

76 David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—I”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15/2 (1953), 223. On *mamālīk al-sultān* receiving *iqṭāʾ*s during the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, see also Sato, *State*, 121.

an *iqṭā'*.⁷⁷ He reports that he himself first received a salary (*jāmakiyya*) in cash and only around 671/1272 when he was about 25 years old he received an *iqṭā'* instead (*naqalanī... min al-naqdiyya arbāb al-jāmakiyya ilā al-iqṭā'iyya a'tānī khubz*).⁷⁸ For the period after the cadastral survey made by al-Manṣūr Lājīn in 697/1298 (*al-rawk al-Husāmī*), and before the cadastral survey of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 715/1315 (*al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*), it is reported that Royal *mamlūks* received *iqṭā's* with a yield of 800–1,000 DJ (how many of them is not clear at all).⁷⁹ And then at the *rawk al-Nāṣirī*, according to al-Maqrizī, all *mamālīk al-sulṭān*, 2,000 in number, received *iqṭā's* with a yield of 1,000–1,500 DJ (400 with 1,500 DJ, 500 with 1,300 DJ, 500 with 1,200 DJ, and 600 with 1,000 DJ).⁸⁰

However, that all *mamālīk al-sulṭān* received *iqṭā's* at the *rawk al-Nāṣirī* seems to be contradicted by other evidence. For example, it is reported that at the time of the *rawk* in 715/1315, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad surveyed his *mamlūks* and gave *iqṭā's* to those he had found worthy, but the others were given only a small salary until they reached the stage of being worthy of an *iqṭā'* at his household (*rasama lahu bi-jāmakiyya hayyina ḥatā yaṣīlu ilā rutbat man yuqṭa'u bi-bāb al-sulṭān*).⁸¹ Another report by al-Maqrizī himself suggests that while at the time of the *rawk* al-Nāṣir Muḥammad cut the rations of supplies given to the *mamlūks* (*rawātib*) and compensated them with *iqṭā's*, he also enlarged the salaries (*jawāmik*) of others, which seems to suggest that not all *mamlūks* received *iqṭā's*.⁸² What complicates things (but at the same time perhaps also solves the apparent contradiction) is that some reports imply that in practice there was possibly not much difference between *mamālīk al-sulṭān* who are said to have received fractions of *iqṭā's* and those receiving salaries. For example, we are reported that in 746/1345 the lands of the *khāṣṣ* were rearranged and one hundred *mamālīk al-sulṭān* with big salaries (*arbāb al-jawāmik al-kibār*) were allocated five villages as *iqṭā's* (*ufridat khams nawāḥin uqṭī'at li-mi'a mamlūk*), “so their salaries will rise” (*li-tatawaffaru jawāmikuhum*).⁸³ Clearly, such a case indicates that the *iqṭā's* were

77 Amir Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment. The Manṣūriyya in the First Mamluk Sultanate 678/1279–741/1341* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015), 65.

78 David Ayalon, “The System of Payment in Mamlūk Military Society (Concluded)”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1/3 (1958), 274 (footnote no. 4); Sato, *State*, 93; Mazor, *The Rise*, 95–6.

79 Sato, *State*, 93, 132–3.

80 al-Maqrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:381; Sato, *State*, 154, 156. For that the 2,000 *mamlūks* were all the *mamālīk al-sulṭān* at that time, see David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—III”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16/1 (1954), 70–1.

81 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:52.

82 al-Maqrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:170; Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 113 (Popper seems to be rightfully puzzled by al-Maqrizī's report that 2,000 *mamālīk al-sulṭān* received *iqṭā's*. He writes “the majority, however, were left with increased monthly salaries”).

83 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:685. It is also reported that in 749/1348 the tax yield from Qaṭyā arrived in Egypt (70,000 dirhams, i. e., 3,500 dinars), and that at that time the tax yield from Qaṭyā was

given as a kind of salary and allocated to the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* who was in charge of distributing the salaries, and not allocated to the *mamālīk al-sultān* as a “private *iqṭāʾ*”. William Popper noted that “[i]t is not clear how mamlūks who held fiefs administered them; possibly the income was collected by the vizier or other officials, who paid it to the individuals in cash in the stipulated amounts as stipends, so that practically all Sultan’s mamlūks were paid in the same way”.⁸⁴ Stuart Borsch suggested that to a soldier at the bottom of the chain of command (including Royal *mamlūks*) an entitlement to the revenue of a “specific plot of land” from the Army Bureau “amounted to nothing more than a stipend, and as such can be viewed as the equivalent of a monthly salary (*jāmakiyya*)”.⁸⁵ This seems to be more or less the situation with *mamlūks* who received salaries dependent on land tax that was allocated to the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* (and later on *dīwān al-sultān*), however, it is not very likely that they “held fiefs” or were entitled to revenue from a “specific plot of land” registered on their name.

Still, the insistence of the sources (before and after the *rawk*) that a transfer from receiving a salary to receiving an *iqṭāʾ* was seen as a promotion, and the fact that *iqṭāʾ*s are seen as a distinct category from salaries and rations,⁸⁶ makes clear that there was a difference between the two ways of remuneration. Some *mamlūks* who had a higher status were receiving “a private *iqṭāʾ*”.⁸⁷ We may tentatively conclude that the *rawks* (and especially *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*) shifted the balance between *mamālīk al-sultān* with “private *iqṭāʾ*s” with significant income, and *mamālīk al-sultān* with salaries and rations (based on land tax) in favor of the former. This largely happened on the expense of land allocated to the *ḥalqa*.⁸⁸

dedicated to the salaries or expenses of the *mamlūks* (*kānat Qaṭyā qad urṣīdat li-nafaqat al-mamālīk*). See *ibid.*, 2:760. In fact, Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh mentions that a land could be registered as an *iqṭāʾ* of a group of *mamālīk al-sultān*, or even all of them (*fi jumlat al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*). See Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf*, 154. Clearly, such *iqṭāʾ*s were not “private *iqṭāʾ*s”.

84 See Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 113.

85 Borsch, *The Black Death*, 33.

86 For references to the period before the *rawk*, see above at footnotes nos. 75–78 and 80. In 758/1357, a *mamlūk* of the *silāḥdāriyya* is reported to have killed the amir Shaykhū because the latter refused to transfer him from a salary to an *iqṭāʾ* (*yunqilunī min al-jāmakiyya ilā al-iqṭāʾ*). See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:33–4.

87 Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh mentions that some *iqṭāʾ*s were registered on the name of a specific Royal *mamlūk* (*manshūr sharīf bi-ism Fulān al-Dīn Fulān al-Fulānī aḥad al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya... bi-mā rusima la-hu bi-hi al-ān min al-iqṭāʾ*). See Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf*, 153–4. Al-Qalqashandī noted that normally two *mamālīk al-sultān* or more (but clearly not much more) receive a whole village as an *iqṭāʾ*, but sometimes one *mamlūk* receives a whole village as an *iqṭāʾ*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʾshā*, 3:525; Sato, *State*, 148. Clearly, for him the “true” *iqṭāʾ* holders were only the ones who held it in private (or with a few partners), and not those who are said to have received fractions of *iqṭāʾ*s together with dozens or hundreds of *mamlūks*. The latter were probably considered receivers of salaries, although the money for the salaries was set aside by allocation of lands (*iqṭāʾ*s) to *dīwān al-sultān*. See in part 2.5.2 below.

88 On this last point, see Sato, *State*, 154; and see also *ibid.*, 94; Levantoni, “The Ḥalqa”, 47–9.

This state of things, however, seems to have been only temporal. Significantly, a post-*rawk* Nāṣirī Turkish-period author such as al-‘Umarī (d. 749/1348), when listing categories of holders of *iqṭāʿ*s in Egypt, mentions only amirs and *ḥalqa* members but not *mamālīk al-sulṭān*.⁸⁹ He was followed by the Circassian-period authors al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) and al-Maqrīzī.⁹⁰ In addition, it is reported that while the monthly salary of all the *mamālīk* during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was 70,000 dirhams (i.e., 3,500 dinars), it tripled by 748/1347 and became 220,000 (i.e., 11,000 dinars), and that in 748/1347 the daily rations (only part of which were of the *mamālīk al-sulṭān*) that came out from the Royal Larder (*ḥawāʾij khāna*) in charge of the supply of meat reached 22,000 *raṭls*, so it was ordered that the rations that started to be given only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad will be cut (*qaṭʿ ma istajadda min al-rawātib baʿda mawt al-sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*).⁹¹ Now, it is assumed that after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in the days of young and inexperienced sultans dominated by strong amirs, the number of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* must have decreased,⁹² and there is no evidence suggesting that after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad the salaries of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* became higher (perhaps the opposite), thus, the increase in the expenses must have resulted from an increase in the numbers of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* receiving salaries and rations. It would seem that after the *rawk* in 715/1315, or at least after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the balance between *mamālīk al-sulṭān* with “private *iqṭāʿ*s”, and *mamālīk al-sulṭān* with salaries and rations shifted again, this time in favor of the latter, and by 748/1347 most *mamālīk al-sulṭān* did not receive “private *iqṭāʿ*s” but rather salaries and rations.⁹³ This process was definitely completed by the Circassian period.⁹⁴

89 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Kitāb Masālik al-Abṣār wa-Mamālīk al-Amṣār*, ed. ‘Abdallāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Sariḥī et al. (Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfi, 2001–2004), 3:430.

90 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:51–2; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376.

91 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:374 (al-Maqrīzī uses *nafaqa* to denote a salary—to confirm that he refers to a salary, see *ibid.*, 4:129 [*jāmaʿiyya*]); *idem*, *al-Sulūk*, 2:738 (90,000 dirhams instead of 70,000 dirhams). On the Royal Larder, see Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 259. Rations of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* are mentioned also in 750/1349. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:803. It is also reported that the expenses of the Royal Larder rose from 13,000 dirhams a day during the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to 21,000 dirhams a day during the first reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748–752/1347–1351). See Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 276.

92 See, for example, Ayalon, “Studies I”, 224.

93 The monthly salary of a Royal *mamlūk* at that time was probably 6–10 dinars (see in part 2.5.2 below), so 11,000 dinars could cover the salaries of about 1,000–2,000 *mamlūks*, which in all likelihood were the majority of *mamlūks*.

94 Towards the end of his rule, al-Zāhir Barqūq had 5,000 *mamlūks* (*mushtarawāt* and *mustakdamūn*) except for those who received *iqṭāʿ*s (*aṣḥāb al-akḥbāz*). See Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī-birdī, *al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfi wal-Mustawfā baʿda al-Wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1984–2006), 3:328. These 5,000 were the mass of his *mamlūks* (see footnote no. 111 below), and all of them received salaries. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:389. The *aṣḥāb al-akḥbāz* must be his few senior *khāṣṣakī mamlūks* (see part 2.5.1

2.5.1 The category of “*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*”: *Khāṣṣakiyya* receiving *iqṭāʾ*s

Still, al-Qalqashandī does mention that *mamālīk al-sultān* were the owners of the largest *iqṭāʾ*s (*awfarahum iqtāʾan*).⁹⁵ However, since he immediately adds that *mamālīk al-sultān* are the ones promoted to amirates (*wa-minhum tuʾammaru al-umarāʾ*), he must mean specifically the *khāṣṣakiyya*, from whose ranks indeed came most of the amirs.⁹⁶ There is indeed evidence that at least during the Circassian period *khāṣṣakiyya* regularly received *iqṭāʾ*s (with a significant income).⁹⁷ It would seem that at that period also *mamālīk al-sultān* who held posts at the court of the sultan could receive *iqṭāʾ*s together with the post, however, it is possible that these were posts normally given to *khāṣṣakiyya*.⁹⁸ As for the num-

below). As shown in detail by Daisuke Igarashi, al-Zāhir Barqūq established a special bureau (*al-dīwān al-mufrad*) responsible for providing for his *mamālīk al-sultān* monthly salaries and supplies, in a period when the traditional state machinery based on state landholding was becoming dysfunctional due to the alienation of state lands and decline in agricultural production. The roots of this process are to be found in the post-plague period during the late Turkish period. As time moved on, more and more *mamālīk al-sultān* (and soldiers in general) received salaries instead of *iqṭāʾ*s. See Igarashi, “The Establishment”, 119–24; idem, “The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009), 28–30; idem, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Bonn: EB Verlag, 2014), 6–7; idem, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 65–6; idem, “The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq”, *Orient (Nippon Oriento Gakkai)* 43 (2008), 171; idem, “The Evolution of the Sultanate Fisc and al-Dhakhīrah during the Circassian Mamluk Period”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), 105. On alienation of state lands in Syria that was accelerated by the demographic and economic turmoil of the Black Death which caused the death of many holders of land grants, see Bethany J. Walker, “Popular Responses to Mamlūk Fiscal Reforms in Syria”, *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 58 (2008–2009), 51–9, 67.

95 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʾshā*, 4:16–7; Ayalon, “Studies I”, 205.

96 See Ayalon, “Studies I”, 214 (“From the amirs’ biographies it can be said that most of them reached the amirate by way of the *khāṣṣakiyya* corps”); and see also Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim fī Ṣināʾat al-Kātib wal-Kātim*, ed. Ashraf Muḥammad Anas (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya, 2009), 1:386 (they are rewarded for their service with amirates and are well remunerated).

97 See, for example, al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 216 (*thumma ṣayyarahu khāṣṣakī... wa-aqṭāʾahu iqtāʾ ḥasan*), 500 (*ṣuyyira khāṣṣakī... wa-ujizat la-hu ʾiddat aqāṭī*), 618 (*ṣayyarahu min khawāṣṣ khāṣṣakiyyatihi ʾalā iqtāʾ jayyid*), 810 (*thumma ṣāra khāṣṣakī wa-bi-yadihi iqtāʾ jayyid*), 846 (*ṣuyyira khāṣṣakī... wa-uqṭīʾa iqtāʾ jayyid*); idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-Umur wal-Tarājim*, ed. ʿUmar ʾAbd al-Salām Tadmuri (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2014), 3:231 (*ṣuyyira khāṣṣakī... ʾalā iqtāʾ jayyid*). At least during the Circassian period, *khāṣṣakīs* who were about to become amirs actually received *iqṭāʾ*s appropriate of amirs, sometimes more than amir of ten. See idem, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 216; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:383. This last point should be further explored. For a simple *mamlūk* (but a relative of the sultan) who was given a “heavy” *iqṭāʾ* (*iqṭāʾ thaqīl*) that comes close to an *iqṭāʾ* of amir of ten, and perhaps even surpasses a small *iqṭāʾ* of amir of ten, see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 619.

98 See, for example, al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:157 (*jaʾalahu bawwāb wa-aqṭāʾahu iqtāʾ ḥasan jiddan*); and see idem, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 508, 704 (*bawwābs* who were *khāṣṣakīs*). During the Circassian period, also *qarāniṣa* (i. e., veteran *mamlūks* who were 40 years old or more and candidates for amirates [and not *mamlūks* of previous sultans as the term is

bers of *khāṣṣakiyya*, they were about 40 under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but under al-Zāhir Barqūq their number reached 80 (later on there was a significant increase in their number).⁹⁹ We do not know exactly what was the average tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of a *khāṣṣakī*, however, as we shall see in part 7.7 below, in 778/1377 the lower range of a tax yield of a *mamlūk* amir of ten was around 2,000 DJ. We also know that at the *rawk* al-Nāṣirī, the tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of a member of the group of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* with the highest status was 1,500 DJ.¹⁰⁰ The tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of *muqaddam ḥalqa* was about 1,000 or 1,500 DJ, and the maximal tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of a *ḥalqa jundī* was about 900 DJ.¹⁰¹ So, it is quite reasonable that the average tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of a *khāṣṣakī* circa 778/1377 was about 1,500–2,000 DJ. So, if there were about 60 *khāṣṣakīs* circa 778/1377 (the average of 40 and 80), each receiving an *iqṭāʿ* with a tax yield of about 1,500–2,000 DJ, the total tax yield would have been 90,000–120,000 DJ. This figure strikingly fits the tax yield allocated in the *Tuhfa* in 778/1377 to the category of “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*”, that is, 105,894 DJ (see at footnote no. 69 above). Thus, we conclude that “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” in the *Tuhfa* are the *khāṣṣakiyya*. The reason why Ibn al-Jīʿān refers to the land holders in such cases specifically as “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” and does not refer to the land holder as “*dīwān al-sulṭān*” should be because these are cases of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* holding a “private *iqṭāʿ*” with a significant income, and not receivers of salaries. This last point may actually be confirmed. In the first time that Ibn al-Jīʿān mentions “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” in MS. Hunt 2 as sole beneficiaries, he actually refers to them as “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya al-muqṭaʿīn*”.¹⁰² In the edition of Moritz, the beneficiaries appear as “the senior Royal *mamlūks*” (*ruʿus* [!] *al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*).¹⁰³ Ibn al-Jīʿān wanted at the beginning of the *Tuhfa* to make a clear differentiation between the senior Royal *mamlūks* who were holders of *iqṭāʿ* (the *khāṣṣakiyya*) and the rest of the *mamlūks* registered in “*dīwān al-sulṭān*” who received salaries, thus, he referred to “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya al-muqṭaʿīn*”, however, later on he simply refers to the latter as “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*”, probably because he wanted to prevent

usually understood)) regularly received *iqṭāʿ*s. However, this group is not relevant for 778/1377. On the term *qarāniṣa* see also Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (in footnotes nos. 424 and 442).

99 See Ayalon, “Studies I”, 215. Al-Saḥmāwī (d. 868/1464) writes that “formerly” their number was 24, but in his days (the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy) they are more than 400. See al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:386.

100 Sato, *State*, 154. On the lower range of the tax yield of amirs of ten in 778/1377, see Table K; and see also at footnotes nos. 514–6 in part 7.7 below.

101 Sato, *State*, 154; and see Levanoni, “The Ḥalqah”, 50 (the data is given in dirhams. For the data in dinars, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:381); al-ʿUmārī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:430; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:52; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376, 381.

102 See MS. Hunt 2, 5v.

103 Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 6.

confusion since the category of “*al-muqṭaʿūn*” in the *Tuhfa* was reserved for members in the *ḥalqa*.¹⁰⁴

2.5.2 The category of “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*”: Simple *mamlūks* receiving salaries and rations

As for the category of “*al-dīwān al-sulṭānī*”, Ibn Taghri Birdī (d. 874/1470) notes that the monthly salaries (*jawāmik*) and rations (*rawātib*) of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* and their annual *kiswa* were fixed in the *dīwān al-sulṭān* (*jawāmik wa-rawātib muqarrara ʿalā dīwān al-sulṭān fī kull shahr wa-kiswa fī al-sana*).¹⁰⁵ So, the costs of salaries and rations of the mass of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* were covered by tax on land set aside and allocated to the *dīwān al-sulṭān*. It is only possible to roughly estimate the number of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* registered in the *dīwān* of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān circa 778/1377. We know that at the *rawk* al-Nāṣirī in 715/1315 there were 2,000 *mamālīk al-sulṭān*. While this number probably grew until the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s rule, it seems to have significantly declined after his death during the reign of young and less dominant sultans.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps what may confirm this assumption is that the monthly salary of the *mamālīk* in 748/1347 was 220,000 dirhams (i.e., 11,000 dinars according to a ratio of 1 dinar to 20 dirhams), but later on, circa 750/1349–50, the *wazīr* Manjak al-Yūsufi reduced it by 60,000 dirhams a month (i.e., it became 8,000 dinar per month).¹⁰⁷ Because at that time

104 One time, MS. Hunt 2 mentions as beneficiaries “*al-muqṭaʿīn al-mamālīk wal-ḥalqa*”. Significantly, the reference is in folio 18r, exactly before folio 18v after which the terminology is stabilized, the term *ḥalqa* practically disappears, and the category of “*muqṭaʿūn*” becomes extremely common. See above at footnotes nos. 59–68. It may be added that in Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār*, the category of “Royal *mamlūks* and *ḥalqa*” is very common, and several times they are mentioned as “*al-muqṭaʿīn* among the Royal *mamlūks* and the *ḥalqa*” (such references apparently made Halm and Haarmann think that in the *Intiṣār* the “*muqṭaʿūn*” include members of *ḥalqa* and “Royal *mamlūks*” [see at footnote no. 32 above]). See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:4, 11, 15–16, 18–19. Two times, however, the *Intiṣār* refers to lands that were given as *iqṭāʾ* to “senior Royal *mamlūks*” (*akābir al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*). See *ibid.*, 2:49, 97. This suggests that also in the *Intiṣār* references to “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” are in fact references to the senior *mamlūks* among them holding a private *iqṭāʾ* (note that the *Intiṣār* has the categories of “*dīwān al-sulṭān*” and “*al-dīwān al-mufrad*”). Significantly, while “*al-muqṭaʿīn* among the *ḥalqa*” appear several times as sole beneficiaries (see *ibid.*, 2:4, 10, 17), when “*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*” appear as sole beneficiaries they are never mentioned as “*al-muqṭaʿīn* among *al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*”, perhaps suggesting that also in the *Intiṣār* the “*muqṭaʿūn*” as a category of beneficiaries involves only the members of the *ḥalqa*.

105 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:70.

106 As noted by Ayalon, there is not much relevant information between the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and that of al-Zāhir Barqūq. See Ayalon, “Studies I”, 224.

107 See above at footnote no. 91. And see Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 276 (Ayalon mistakenly thought that it was a daily salary [see also *ibid.*, 279], but the text he relied on mentions a monthly salary, so Ayalon’s figures should be divided by 30. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:374 [al-Maqrīzī uses *nafaqa* to denote a salary]; 4:129 [*jāmakiyya*]).

the average monthly salary of a simple Royal *mamlūk* was probably 6–10 dinars (see below), there were probably roughly 1,000–2,000 *mamālīk al-sultān* receiving a salary around the middle of the century. We know that in 769/1367, about four years after al-Ashraf Shaʿbān became sultan, he had only 200 *mamlūks*. As Ayalon mentioned, the “low figure is probably due to the fact that the sultan did not enjoy independence during the first years of his reign”.¹⁰⁸ He certainly had more circa 778/1377 when his power grew and after long years of independent rule. We are reported that in 784/1382, upon al-Zāhir Barqūq's ascendance to the throne and six years after the death of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, Barqūq located 500 *mamlūks* of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān,¹⁰⁹ so circa 778/1377 the latter must have had much more. In fact, it is reported that in Dhū al-Ḥijja 778/April–May 1377, upon the murder of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān and at about the same date of the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya*, 3,000 *mamlūks* received a *nafaqa*. These *mamlūks* included the majority of the *mamālīk al-sultān* but also the *mamālīk al-asyād* and some of the *mamlūks* of the amirs,¹¹⁰ so the number of *mamālīk al-sultān* at that time was probably smaller than 3,000 in at least few hundreds. We can roughly estimate the number of *mamālīk al-sultān* registered in the *dīwān al-sultān* at the date of the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* at about 500–2,500 *mamlūks*, however, it was probably closer to 2,500.¹¹¹

108 Ayalon, “Studies I”, 224. At about that time, the *mamlūks* of the amir Yalbughā al-ʿUmārī who controlled the sultanate until 768/1366 were more than 1,500, or 1,800 in number. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:47; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:139. In contrast to the opinion of Loiseau, it seems that al-Ashraf Shaʿbān did have much more *mamlūks* afterwards. See Julien Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks (XIIIe–XVIe siècle): Une expérience du pouvoir dans l’islam médiéval* (France: Seuil, 2014), 101.

109 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:479.

110 Ibid., 3:275, 277, 279, 290–1, 295; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:72, 74.

111 Ayalon mentioned that “the accession of Circassian sultans marks a distinct decrease in the mamluks’ number” (see Ayalon, “Studies I”, 224), however, the evidence suggests that this cannot be true with respect to the late Turkish period (perhaps Ayalon referred to the early Turkish period; and see Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 64). Ayalon collected information on the number of *mamālīk al-sultān* during the reign of several sultans (Ayalon, “Studies I”, 224–8), however, additional information allows a reinterpretation of the data provided by the sources and reintegration of it. As for al-Zāhir Barqūq, he is reported to have bought within the first few years of his first reign a lot of *mamlūks* (when he rose to power, he had almost none of his own [*mushtarawāt*]), so the number of his *mamlūks* became more than 3,000 (it is not clear if only the *mushtarawāt* are intended as Ayalon suggested). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:288; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 11:289. When he was deposed in 791/1389, he had about 2,000 *mushtarawāt*, and additional *mustakhdamūn* whose number is not specified (it is not said that he bought 2,000 *mamlūks* throughout his first reign, as suggested by Ayalon). See Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal wal-Mulūk*, ed. Q. Zurayk and N. ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amrikāniyya, 1936–1942), 9:89; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:289; Ayalon, “Studies I”, 224–5. So, apparently during his first reign he had about 2,000–3,000 *mamlūks*. According to Ayalon, the sources mention that during both his periods of rule he had in aggregate 4,000–5,000 *mamlūks*, *mushtarawāt* and *mustakhdamūn* (see ibid., 225), however, it is relatively clear that what the sources mean is that the number of his *mamlūks* (*mushtarawāt* and *mustakhdamūn*) reached a peak (*balaghat ʿiddat mamālīkihi*) of

As for the salary of the Royal *mamlūks*, apparently during the early Turkish period the monthly salary of a Royal *mamlūk* started at 3 dinars and with his advancement grew to 10 dinars. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is reported to have decided

5,000 (the usual number), or 4,000 and a bit more, towards the end of his rule. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:328 (5,000 *mushtarawāt* and *mustakhdamūn*); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:938 (5,000 *mamlūks*); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, 1b:526–7 (as usual, Ibn Iyās must be “special”—5,000 Circassian *mamlūks*); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:107 (5,000 *mushtarawāt*—clearly a mistake since in the *Manhal* he mentions also the *mustakhdamūn*); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:178 (4,000 or a bit more, *mushtarawāt* and *mustakhdamūn*). Few things confirm this. Firstly, al-Maqrīzī mentions that al-Zāhir Barqūq set aside resources allocated to *al-dīwān al-mufrad* for the salaries of his *mamlūks* who gradually grew in number (*shayʾ baʿda shayʾ*) until they became 5,000 in number. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:389. Secondly, the number of 5,000 is mentioned in al-Zāhir Barqūq’s obituaries (or biographies) alongside rations and salaries he provided for his *mamlūks* that are relevant for the end of his rule (see below at footnotes nos. 119–20, 128, and 137). Thirdly, it is mentioned that in 796/1394, five years before his death, al-Zāhir Barqūq gave *nafaqa* for 5,000 *mamlūks*—his *mushtarawāt* and *mustakhdamūn*, which confirms that towards the end of his rule he probably had about 5,000 *mamlūks*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:803; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:49. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that after the death of al-Zāhir Barqūq his *mamlūks* formed different factions and rebelled, some apparently were no longer counted as *mamlūks al-sultān* (*iftaraqū wa-ikh-talaḥū*), and many of them died in battle and in other ways (the plagues?). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:178. The comment seems more relevant to the second reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (808–815/1405–1412) which was more affected by a civil war and plagues. However, already in 802/1400, the *mamlūks* of al-Zāhir Barqūq formed two factions, and al-Nāṣir Faraj is reported to have given a *nafaqa* at that year only to 3,600 *mamlūks*. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:198. The decline in the number was probably due to the factional strife, however, because al-Maqrīzī mentions that al-Zāhir Barqūq had about 4,000 *mamlūks* (and not 5,000), we will allow a rougher estimation of 4,000–5,000 *mamlūks* for the period towards the end of al-Zāhir Barqūq’s rule. In 807/1405, the number of the *mamlūks* increased and we are reported that al-Nāṣir Faraj gave *nafaqa* to 5,000 *mamlūks*. It is mentioned that in 805/1403 there were 1,200 new *mamlūks* in the *dīwān al-mufrad* who were registered after the death of al-Zāhir Barqūq. These 1,200 new *mamlūks* must have accounted for the increase from 3,600 to 5,000 *mamlūks*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1103, 1156. It is reported that in 809/1406 the monthly expenses on salaries of the Royal *mamlūks* [*jāmaʿiyyat al-mamlūk = nafaqat al-mamlūk al-sultāniyya*] reached 1,200,000 dirhams, and that each *mamlūk* received between 400 to 500 dirhams. Shortly afterwards, it is mentioned that 3,000 *mamlūks* received a *nafaqa*, so in 809/1406 the number of *mamlūks* declined again to about 3,000 *mamlūks*. See *ibid.*, 4:28, 30. So, during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj the number of the *mamlūks* seems to have fluctuated between 3,000 to 5,000. Towards the end of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh’s reign the number of the *mamlūks* was about 4,000. It is reported that in 823/1420, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh paid his Royal *mamlūks* 8,000 dinars for their *kiswa*. Because at that time every *mamlūk* normally received 500 dirhams, and every dinar worth about 250 dirhams, there were about 4,000 Royal *mamlūks* at that time (and not 5,500–5,700 as Ayalon suggested). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:105; Ayalon, “Studies I”, 225; *idem*, “The System of Payment”, 47–8; *idem*, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 258, 276. This number may be confirmed, because in 824/1421 upon the death of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh and the succession of his minor son, each Royal *mamlūk* received a *nafaqa* of 100 dinars, and in total 400,000 dinars were spent (i.e., there were 4,000 Royal *mamlūks*). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:170; Ayalon, “Studies I”, 225 (Ayalon suggested that the 4,000 *mamlūks* were only the majority of the Royal *mamlūks* because he thought that one year

to skip the gradual increase in the salary.¹¹² However, it is not entirely clear if it meant that he gave the young *mamlūks* 10 dinars from the start, or that he gave them from the start an average sum (i. e., about 6.5 dinars).¹¹³ Unfortunately, so far hardly any other information was found on the salaries of *mamālīk al-sultān* during the Turkish period that enables to confirm the report.¹¹⁴ Almost all of the information on salaries (and rations) is relevant for the Circassian period. The most elaborate information on total sums of salaries (and total amounts of rations) concerns the days of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. Because we have relatively good information on the number of his *mamālīk al-sultān*,¹¹⁵ and because the information concerning al-Ẓāhir Barqūq is the closest to 778/1377, it serves as a main point of reference for our rough estimations regarding the situation circa

earlier there were 5,500–5,700 *mamlūks*, however, the 4,000 were clearly all the Royal *mamlūks*. Almost a year later, in 824/1422, when Barsbāy was *nizām al-mulk* of al-Šāliḥ Muḥammad ibn al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, a *naḡaa* was given to 3,200 *mamlūks*, so apparently, upon the ascendance of al-Ashraf Barsbāy this was the number of *mamlūks*. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:222–3. Al-Ashraf Barsbāy is reported to have bought more than 2,000 *mamlūks*, however, the plagues of 833/1429 and 841/1437 decimated the number of his *mamlūks*. See *ibid.*, 15:108; Ayalon, “Studies I”, 225. In 832–3/1429 (before the plague), each Royal *mamlūk* first received a raise of 400 dirhams to the monthly salary, and a month later a raise of 300 dirhams. The total costs of each raise were about 5,000 dinars. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:818–9. A dinar at that time worth between 225 to 280 dirhams, i. e., about 250 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 4:705 (in 829/1425–225 dirhams), 888 (in 836/1433–280 dirhams). So, 5,000 dinars worth about 1,250,000 dirhams. Divided by 300 or 400 dirhams gives a rough estimation of about 3,000–4,000 *mamlūks* at that time, with an average of about 3,500 *mamlūks*. Since we know that in 824/1422 there were 3,200 *mamlūks*, the number of *mamlūks* in 833/1429 was probably closer to 4,000. In 836/1433, the *naḡaa* was given to 2,700 Royal *mamlūks*. See *ibid.*, 4:888. The decrease must have been the result of the deadly plague of 833/1430. Still, in 841/1437–8, the year of al-Ashraf Barsbāy's death, there were 4,000 Royal *mamlūks* again (see Ayalon, “Studies I”, 226; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 64), so after the plague of 833/1430 al-Ashraf Barsbāy must have replenished the rows of his Royal *mamlūks*. The number of *al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya* rose during the days of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, and when he abdicated in 857/1453 those registered in *diwān al-sultān* numbered 6,000 or somewhat less. See al-Biqā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:290–1. In 872/1467, shortly before he died, al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam had about 5,500 *mamlūks*. See Ayalon, “Studies I”, 227–8; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 64; Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts from Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicle Entitled Ḥawādiṭh ad-Duḥūr fī Madā 'l-Ayyām wash-Shuhūr*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930–1942), 3:550–1 (al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam's Royal *mamlūks* included 15 Mu'ayyadiyya, many Ashrafiyya Barsbāy, more than 600 Ẓāhiriyya Jaqmaq, 1,600 Ashrafiyya Ināl, and 3,600 *mushtar-awāt*, among them 400 *kuttābiyya*. The number of the Ashrafiyya Barsbāy is not known but they must have numbered a few hundreds).

112 Ayalon, “The System of Payment”, 55 (ascribes the change to al-Ẓāhir Barqūq—but Ayalon clearly intended al-Nāṣir Muḥammad); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:374.

113 Because the report is meant to show that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad broke the norms of his predecessors and remunerated his *mamlūks* generously, apparently the first option is intended.

114 See Ayalon, “The System of Payment”, 49–50, 55; *idem*, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 276.

115 See footnote no. 111 above.

778/1377 (see Table C below), but it is assisted by information from previous and following periods. The average monthly salary of a Royal *mamlūk* starting from the ninth/fifteenth century was normally 5–7 dinars.¹¹⁶ Some estimations suggest an average salary that was somewhat higher than 7 dinars.¹¹⁷ In times of accelerated devaluation of the dirham, the salary could be even less than 5 dinars,¹¹⁸ but such cases are not much relevant for the Turkish period. As for the days of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, in his obituaries it is normally mentioned that the total expense on monthly salaries of his Royal *mamlūks* was 900,000 dirhams, and that he had 5,000 *mamlūks*.¹¹⁹ As mentioned, these figures are relevant to the end of his rule,¹²⁰ and at that time the dinar worth about 30 dirhams,¹²¹ so the total expense was about 30,000 dinars and the average salary was about 6 dinars.¹²² Because the

116 For information collected by Ayalon, see Ayalon, “The System of Payment”, 54–6 (few years before 859/1455—about 7 dinars; in 859/1455—about 5.5 dinar; in 913/1507—about 6 dinars; in 922/1516—about 5 dinars).

117 In 869/1465, during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam, the monthly salary of all the Royal *mamlūks* was 40,000 dinars. See Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 277. As mentioned, in 872/1467, al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam had about 5,500 *mamlūks* (see footnote no. 111 above), so the monthly salary of a *mamlūk* at that time was a little bit more than 7 dinars. In 828/1425, during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, the monthly salary of all Royal *mamlūks* was 30,000 dinars. See Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 277. Because at that time the number of Royal *mamlūks* was probably about 3,500 and no more than about 4,000 (see footnote no. 111 above), the average salary was apparently about 7.5 or even 8 dinars. In 835/1432, the monthly salary of all Royal *mamlūks* was 20,000 dinars. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:867. Because about a year later there were 2,700 Royal *mamlūks* (see *ibid.*, 4:888), the average salary must have been about 7.5 dinars. Note that Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that until the end of the days of al-Ashraf Barsbāy the salary was no more than 2,000 dirhams (the dinar worth at that time around 250 dirhams, so 2,000 dirhams were about 8 dinars). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts*, 3:690–1. So, at that time the salary of at least some *mamlūks* (and probably even many of them) could be 8 dinars.

118 This was the situation in 809/1406. The monthly salary of a Royal *mamlūk* at that time was 400 or 500 dirhams, and the value of the dinar was 135 dirhams, so the salary was roughly 3–4 dinars. However, it is mentioned that this was an exception and that before the devaluation the salary used to be 5 dinars. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:27–8.

119 *Ibid.*, 3:938; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, 1b:526–7.

120 See footnote no. 111 above; and see footnotes nos. 128 and 137 below.

121 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:916, 964, 977, 1027; Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 74.

122 As mentioned, al-Maqrīzī notes that al-Ẓāhir Barqūq had 4,000 *mamlūks* or a bit more (see footnote no. 111 above). If so, then the average salary was about 7 or even 7.5 dinars. According to Ibn Taghribirdī, the monthly salary of all the *mamlūks* in the days of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq reached 400,000 dirhams (and not 900,000 dirhams). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:107; *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 3:328; Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 276 (Ayalon calculated according to a ratio of 1 dinar to 20 dirhams; however, as mentioned, the sums refer to the end of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s rule). However, this number does not seem reliable, because it would mean that the monthly salary of all the 5,000 *mamlūks* was about 13,333 dinars (according to a ratio of 1 dinar to 30 dirhams), i.e., the average salary was about 2.6 dinars which is too low (even if we assume that al-Ẓāhir Barqūq had only 4,000 *mamlūks* or more, then the average salary was only about 3.3 dinars, still too low).

salary during the late eighth/fourteenth century was about 6 dinars and salaries of less than 6 dinars are attested only in the ninth/fifteenth century after the dirham was significantly devalued, and because the only report on salaries during the eighth/fourteenth century suggests that the average salary was 6.5–10 dinars,¹²³ we will estimate that circa 778/1377 the average monthly salary of a simple Royal *mamlūk* was 6–10 dinars (i.e., a yearly salary of 72–120 dinars), with an average of 8 dinars (i.e., a yearly salary of 96 dinars). In the case of salaries, the lower-mid range of the estimation perhaps reflects more the actual reality at 778/1377.

As for the rations, according to Ibn Taghribirdī, until 842/1438, except for monthly salaries the *mamlūks* received only rations of fodder and meat, and annual dress.¹²⁴ The fodder consisted mainly of barley. It was given in kind or cash. The unit of measure was the *‘alīqa* equivalent to 1/25 of an ardeb. The fodder was distributed twice a week,¹²⁵ however, the standard rations mentioned in the sources apparently refer to a daily ration. As mentioned by Ayalon, the sources give only scanty information concerning the standard size of the ration.¹²⁶ At least according to Ibn Taghribirdī, until 842/1438 an ordinary Royal *mamlūk* did not receive more than three *‘alīqas* (a day). However, after that time the standard seems to have been broken by many *mamlūks*, so in 873/1468 a regulation was enacted according to which an ordinary *mamlūk* should not receive more than three *‘alīqas* (i.e., about 3.5 ardebs a month) and a *khāṣṣakī* more than five (i.e., about 6 ardebs a month).¹²⁷ We know that around 801/1398, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq distributed 12,000 or 13,000 ardebs of fodder a month to his Royal *mamlūks*,¹²⁸ and since he had about 5,000 *mamlūks* at that time, each must have received in average 2.5 ardebs a month, which seems to confirm with the pre-842/1438

123 See at footnote no. 113 above.

124 See Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 278; and see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:462 (mentions meat and dress).

125 See Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 261.

126 Ibid., 261–2.

127 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts*, 3:690–1; and see Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 262 (mistakenly mentions the year of the regulation as 892/1488).

128 In his obituaries or biographies, the sum of 13,000 ardebs a month is mentioned alongside the information that he had 5,000 Royal *mamlūks* and the total sums of their monthly salaries. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:328; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:107; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:938; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 1b:526–7. Ibn Iyās also mentions a report on the authority of Ibn Qaṭīna, according to which during his days as *ustādār* the monthly supply of fodder of all the *mamlūks* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq amounted to 12,000 ardebs. See ibid, 1b:527; and see Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 277. Ibn Qaṭīna was *ustādār* around 801/1398; he is first mentioned in the sources in 799/1397. See Aḥmad ibn ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Ḥijjī*, ed. Abū Yaḥyá ‘Abdallāh al-Kundarī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003), 1:368; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:179; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:879–80, 925. This confirms that the data given in al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s obituaries concerning the number of his *mamlūks*, the amounts spent on their monthly salaries, and the total size of their rations, are relevant for the end of his rule. See footnotes nos. 111 and 120 above.

standard.¹²⁹ In 869/1465, during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam, the monthly supply of barley (fodder) of all *mamālīk al-sultān* was 24,000 ardebs,¹³⁰ and since he had around that time about 5,500 *mamlūks*,¹³¹ the average ration of each ordinary *mamlūk* was almost 4.5 ardebs a month, which confirms the report concerning the violations of standard after 842/1438. In 791/1389–90, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq distributed five *‘alīqas* (i.e., about 6 ardebs a month) to each ordinary Royal *mamlūk*, and ten *‘alīqas* (i.e., about 12 ardebs a month) for a *khāṣṣakī*. However, as mentioned by Ayalon, this specific distribution was extraordinary and is not representative of the standard at that time.¹³² So, at least during the early Circassian period the standard monthly ration of fodder for an ordinary *mamlūk* was 2.5–3.5 ardebs, and in extraordinary times 6 ardebs. After 842/1438 the standard was broken, but still, in average it does not seem that an ordinary *mamlūk* received more than 5 ardebs a month. With respect to circa 778/1377, we will work with a rough estimation of 2.5–5 ardebs a month for an ordinary *mamlūk* (the lower-mid range of the estimation perhaps reflects more the actual reality at the time).¹³³ As for the standard price of an ardeb of barley during the Turkish period, and more specifically during the late Turkish period, it seems to have been 10–20 dirhams (i.e., 0.5–1 dinars), and probably in most of the times around 10 dirhams (i.e., 0.5 dinar).¹³⁴ Still, we will work with a rough estimation

129 Even if he had only 4,000 *mamlūks*, each received in average about 3 ardebs a month.

130 Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 277.

131 See footnote no. 111 above.

132 Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 262.

133 The information concerning the Turkish period is scant and not of a very good quality. Al-Ẓāhir Baybars perhaps distributed 120,000 ardebs of fodder a year (i.e., 10,000 ardebs a month) to his ordinary *mamlūks* and *khāṣṣakiyya* (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:639), and he perhaps had 4,000 *mushtarawāt* (see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 7:179), which suggests that the average supply for an ordinary *mamlūk* in his days was no more than 2.5 ardebs a month. The great amir Baysarī al-Shamsī who enjoyed a particularly high status is reported to have distributed extraordinary rations to his *mamlūks* and dependents. The minimal ration he distributed was five *‘alīqas* a day, i.e., about 6 ardebs a month, and some received much higher rations (even up to 70 *‘alīqas*), however, the report seems to suggest that even the minimal ration he distributed was considered high. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 8:185–6.

134 Al-‘Umarī reports that in his days the normal price of an ardeb of barley was 10 dirhams (i.e., 0.5 dinar). See Adam Abdelhamid Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 120. About a century earlier, normal price of an ardeb of barley was about the same. See Rapoport, *Rural Economy*, 77–8. According to al-Qalqashandī, the prices described by al-‘Umarī remained more or less the same until after 780/1378–9. Later, they became three times or even four times higher. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, 3:514. The prices quoted in *al-Sulūk* for the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century generally confirm this observation. Normal prices of barley in normal days (and not days of scarcity and high prices) are around 10 dirhams, and not more than 20 dirhams for an ardeb, even until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. And see Sabra, *Poverty*, 119 (“Frequently, prices were quoted because they were extraordinarily high... [n]ormal prices are less frequently quoted, although they must have been applicable for the

of 10–20 dirhams (i.e., 0.5–1 dinars) for circa 778/1377. Thus, the cost of the monthly ration of fodder of an ordinary *mamlūk* is estimated at 1.25–5 dinars (0.5 dinars X 2.5 ardebs—1 dinar X 5 ardebs), with an average of 2.8125 dinars (0.75 dinars X 3.75 ardebs). The yearly costs of the ration for an ordinary *mamlūk* are estimated at 15–60 dinars, with an average of 33.75 dinars.

As for the ration of meat, the *mamlūks* received their meat rations daily, part of them in kind and part in cash. The basic unit of measure for the rations was “a dish” (*zubdiyya*), normally said to equal three *raṭls*, but according to another version 23/4 *raṭls*.¹³⁵ The information concerning the standard size of the daily ration is very scant. At least according to Ibn Taghribirdī, until 842/1438 an ordinary Royal *mamlūk* did not receive more than one *zubdiyya* (three *raṭls*) a day. However, after that time the standard seems to have been broken by many *mamlūks*, some receiving three, four, ten, and even fifteen *zubdiyyas*.¹³⁶ With respect to information concerning the total amount of meat distributed daily to all the Royal *mamlūks*, we are practically left with a report from 801/1398 according to which at that time al-Ẓāhir Barqūq distributed 26,000 *raṭls* of meat a

greater part of the period”). In 750/1349, the state did not have enough barley to distribute so it paid the Royal *mamlūks* for every ardeb of barley they were entitled to get 5 dirhams, although the normal price in the market was 12 dirhams (perhaps a case of manipulation of the DJ). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:803. In 755/1354, a Nile flood destroyed the crops and the prices rose, but then they (somewhat) improved (*taḥassanat al-as'ār*) and an ardeb of barley was sold for 20 dirhams, suggesting that normal price was below 20. See *ibid.*, 3:12–3. After the Nile fell before time in 775/1373 prices rose and an ardeb of barley was sold for 25 dirhams. In 776/1374 there was scarcity and the prices of barley rose (*al-as'ār tazāyadat*) to 60 dirhams per ardeb. Later that year, the prices rose further to 90 dirhams. However, by the end of the year, supplies arrived in Egypt and the prices declined to 20 dirhams (again suggesting that the normal price was maximum 20 dirhams and probably less). Later that year during a plague, the prices rose somewhat and ardeb of barley was sold for 20–26 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:219–20, 232–3, 235, 237, 239; and see Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press/London: Collins, 1976), 294–5. This last data is the closest we have to the register of 778/1377. The next data comes from 784/1382 in which, at first, prices rose to 50 dirhams, but then declined to 22 dirhams for an ardeb (according to Ashtor the ratio then was 25 dirhams for 1 dinar, i.e., 0.88 dinar). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:466; Ashtor, *A Social*, 295. The next data comes from days of prosperity (*rakhā*) in 785/1383–4, an ardeb of barley was sold for 6–8 dirhams, which must reflect prices lower than the normal. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:509. In 797/1394 in times of high prices (*tazāyadat al-as'ār*), barley was sold for 40 dirhams. Later that year, it was sold for 33 dirhams and then there was a flood and prices rose again to 54 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:831, 842; and see more generally Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 82. We may conclude that the normal prices of an ardeb of barley during the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century, and more specifically ca. 778/1377, were 10–20 dirhams (i.e., 0.5–1 dinar). For the sake of calculation, I took an average of 15 dirhams (i.e., 0.75 dinars).

135 Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 258–9

136 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts*, 3:690–1; and see Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 259.

day to his Royal *mamlūks*.¹³⁷ Thus, each of his 5,000 Royal *mamlūks* received about 5 *raṭls* of meat a day.¹³⁸ There hardly exists information concerning the Turkish period,¹³⁹ so we work with an estimation of 3–6 *raṭls* of meat a day, the mid-higher range of the estimation perhaps reflects more the actual reality at 778/1377. As for the price of meat, standard prices during most of the eighth/fourteenth century and circa 778/1377, were apparently between 0.4 and 0.8 dirhams for a *raṭl*.¹⁴⁰ So, the monthly costs of the ration of meat for an ordinary

137 Ibn Iyās mentions a report on the authority of Ibn Qaṭīna, according to which during his days as *wazīr* 26,000 *raṭls* of meat were distributed daily to the *mamlūks* of al-Zāhir Barqūq. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zuhūr*, 1b:527; and see Ayalon, "The System of Payment (Concluded)", 277. Ibn Qaṭīna became the *wazīr* in 801/1398. See Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:368; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:179.

138 Perhaps it is a coincidence, but it comes very close to one *zubdiyya* if calculated against 23/4 *raṭls*. If al-Zāhir Barqūq had only 4,000 *mamlūks* or a bit more, each received in average about 6 *raṭls* a day, or a bit more.

139 Circa 748/1347, the daily supply of meat reached 22,000 *raṭls* in a cost of 21,000 dirhams (i. e., 1,050 dinars), but not only Royal *mamlūks* were included, and in any case, we do not know exactly what their number at that time was. Few years later, the costs were cut to 18,000 dirhams (i. e., 900 dinars). See Ayalon, "The System of Payment (Concluded)", 276; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:738; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:374, 402; 4:129. The great amir Baysarī al-Shamsī distributed extraordinary rations to his *mamlūks* and dependents. The minimal ration was five *raṭls* of meat a day, and some received much higher rations (even up to 70 *raṭls*), however, the report seems to suggest that even the minimal ration he distributed was considered high. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 8:185–6.

140 Al-'Umārī reports that in his days the normal price of a *raṭl* of meat was half a dirham or more. See Sabra, *Poverty*, 120. According to al-Qalqashandī, the prices described by al-'Umārī remained more or less the same until after 780/1378–9. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 3:514. The prices quoted in *al-Sulūk* for the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century generally confirm this observation. Normal prices of meat in normal days (and not days of scarcity and high prices) are between 0.4 and 0.8 dirhams for a *raṭl* even until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. In 752/135, the prices of meat rose (*irtafa'a si'r al-laḥm*) to 140 or 150 dirhams for one *qinṭār* (100 *raṭls*), that is, 1.4 or 1.5 dirhams for a *raṭl*, however, al-Maqrīzī mentions that they were normally (*kānat 'ādat al-laḥm*) 0.4–0.5 dirhams for a *raṭl*, and not more than 0.6 dirhams. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:854–5. Later that year, the prices declined to 1 dirham for a *raṭl*. See *ibid.*, 2:856. The next data comes from days of scarcity and high prices (*al-as'ār tazāyadat*) in 776/1374. A *raṭl* of mutton was sold for 2 dirhams and beef for 1.33 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:776. The data from the date closest to the register of 778/1377 is also from days of high prices (*irtafa'a si'r al-laḥm*) in Šafar 777/July 1375. In these days, a *raṭl* of mutton was sold for 1.5 dirhams, and a *raṭl* of beef for 1.125 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:252. The next data comes from days of prosperity (*rakhā'*) in 785/1383–4, mutton was sold for 0.8 dirhams and beef for 0.5 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:509. In 788/1386, mutton was sold for 0.5 dirhams and beef for 0.4 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:543. In 797/1394 in times of high prices (*tazāyadat al-as'ār*), al-Maqrīzī mentions the new prices but untypically also the prices before the rise which must reflect the "normal" prices. Mutton was sold for 1.5 dirhams after it was sold for 0.75 dirhams, and beef was sold for 1 dirham after it was sold for 0.5 dirhams. See *ibid.*, 3:826. In 797/1395, prices rose (*tazāyadat al-as'ār*) due to a flood, and the price of mutton was 1.25 dirhams, and of beef 1 dirham. See *ibid.*, 3:842; and see more generally Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 83. It should be considered that by 797/1394–5 the dirham was

Royal *mamlūk* at that time was about 36–144 dirhams (0.4 dirhams X 3 *raṭls* X 30 days—0.8 dirhams X 6 *raṭls* X 30 days), i.e., 1.8–7.2 dinars, with an average of about 81 dirhams (0.6 dirhams X 4.5 *raṭls* X 30 days), i.e., 4.05 dinars. The yearly costs were about 21.6–86.4 dinars, with an average of about 48.6 dinars.

The annual costs of dress (*kiswa*) were rather negligible and may be estimated at about 2–4 dinars a year for an ordinary Royal *mamlūk* circa 778/1377.¹⁴¹

So, the total annual income of an ordinary Royal *mamlūk* circa 778/1377 may be estimated at about 110.6–270.4 dinars, with an average of about 181.35 dinars.¹⁴² For comparison, at the *rawk* in 715/1315 the tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of a simple *mamlūk* of the lowest status was 1,000 DJ, i.e., about 670 dinars. Clearly, the increase in the number of *mamlūks* receiving salaries and rations on the expense of *mamlūks* receiving *iqṭāʿ*s, a process that was completed by the Circassian period and apparently already by the late eighth/fourteenth century, meant that the average income of a royal *mamlūk* seriously declined.¹⁴³ This must have eventually made royal *mamlūks* register also as *ḥalqa* members, however, the phenomenon of “double positions” became widespread only during the Circassian period.¹⁴⁴

somewhat devalued (see *ibid.*, 74). We may conclude that normally the prices of meat were 0.4–0.8 dirhams.

141 Until 842/1438, the annual *kiswa* was apparently about 2 dinars for each ordinary Royal *mamlūk*. It is reported that in 823/1420, al-Muʿayyad Shaykh paid his Royal *mamlūks* 8,000 dinars for their *kiswa*, and at that time he probably had about 4,000 *mamlūks*. See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:105; and see footnote no. 111 above. Around 842/1438, the *mamlūks* were normally given 500 dirhams (i.e., about 2 dinars), however, in that year the *mamlūks* demanded 10 dinars but eventually received 1,000 dirhams (i.e., about 4 dinars). The *khāṣṣakiyya* received 1,500 dirhams (i.e., about 6 dinars). See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:279–80; and see Ayalon, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 258, 278; for the value of the dinar at that time, see *idem* “The System of Payment”, 47–8. Starting from 842/1438, the *kiswa* was many times higher, sometimes up to 10 dinars for each *mamlūk*. See *idem*, “The System of Payment (Concluded)”, 258.

142 The minimal estimation: 72 dinars (salary) + 15 dinars (ration of fodder) + 21.6 dinars (ration of meat) + 2 dinars (dress). The maximal estimation: 120 dinars (salary) + 60 dinars (ration of fodder) + 86.4 dinars (ration of meat) + 4 dinars (dress). The average estimation: 96 dinars (salary) + 33.75 dinars (ration of fodder) + 48.6 dinars (ration of meat) + 3 dinars (dress). For summary, see Table C below (not including dress).

143 Irregular payments to the Royal *mamlūks*, mainly before expeditions (*nafaqat al-safar*) or accessions of sultans (*nafaqat al-bayʿa/al-salṭana*) may have somewhat compensated for this decline. However, according to the information provided by the sources, such payments were more relevant to the Circassian period. During the Turkish period, a *nafaqa* of 50 dinars for a simple *mamlūk* was considered extremely generous and the *nafaqa* was not paid frequently. At that period, one *nafaqa* a year was considered worthy of praise. During the early Circassian period, the standard *nafaqa* was 100 dinars, and apparently payments of *nafaqas* became more frequent. See Ayalon, “The System of Payment”, 48–50, 56–8. In any case, *nafaqas* were apparently not covered by *diwān al-sulṭān*.

144 See footnote no. 149 below.

Table C: The income of simple Royal *mamlūks* in the eighth/fourteenth century—hard data and estimations¹⁴⁵

Year	Monthly salary	Monthly ration of fodder (barley)	Daily ration of meat
Ca. 748/1347	220,000 dirhams (11,000 dinars)/6–10 dinars = 1,100–1,833~ <i>mamlūks</i>		22,000 raṭls (not only <i>mamlūks</i>)
Ca. 750/ 1349–50	160,000 dirhams (8,000 dinars)/6–10 dinars = 800–1,333~ <i>mamlūks</i>		18,000 dirhams (not only <i>mamlūks</i>)
***** Ca. 778/1377 (estimation per <i>mamlūk</i>) *****	***** 6–10 dinars a month. 72–120 dinars a year. Yearly average: 96 dinars. *****	***** 2.5–5 ardebs x 0.5–1 dinars = 1.25–5 dinars a month. 15–60 dinars a year. Yearly average: 33.75 dinars. *****	***** 3–6 raṭls x 0.4–0.8 dirhams = 1.8–7.2 dinars a month. 21.6–86.4 dinars a year. Yearly average: 48.6 dinars. *****
al-Zāhir Bar- qūq (ca. 801/ 1398)	900,000 dirhams (30,000 dinars)/ 4,000–5,000 <i>mamlūks</i> = 6–7.5 dinars per <i>mamlūk</i>	12,000–13,000 ardebs/ 4,000–5,000 <i>mamlūks</i> = 2.5–3~ ardebs per <i>mamlūk</i>	26,000 raṭls/ 4,000–5,000 <i>mamlūks</i> = 5–6.5~ raṭls per <i>mamlūk</i>

As mentioned, in 778/1377 the tax yield allocated to “*al-dīwān al-sultān*” was about 551,879 DJ.¹⁴⁶ What complicates calculations is that the costs of salaries and rations are in dinars and not DJ. Still, we will assume that the actualization of the DJ circa 778/1377 was the same as it was in 715/1315, i. e., one DJ worth two thirds of a dinar.¹⁴⁷ If so, the income of an ordinary Royal *mamlūk* circa 778/1377 may be

145 The figures in bold font are based on data explicitly mentioned in the sources, however, the numbers of *mamlūks* cannot be considered as the exact number of *mamlūks* who received the total sums of salaries or rations that are mentioned in the sources, but only an approximation.

146 See at footnote no. 71 above.

147 According to Borsch, the value of the DJ as 0.67 dinars is applicable only to the time of the *rawk* in 715/1315 and not to later periods. After the Black Death, in the economic and political chaos that followed in the wake of severe depopulation, the value of the DJ “ceased to have any meaning”, and “becomes a highly unreliable figure thereafter”. As noted by Brosch, Ibn al-Jī’ān mentions that in his days the DJ no longer had any validity as a unit of account and the calculation of the value of rural areas became unreliable. This was caused by rural decline and devaluation of the dirham. See Borsch, *The Black Death*, 68–9. Still, and I

estimated at about 166–406 DJ, with an average of about 272 DJ. Thus, in 778/1377 “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” could cover the remuneration of about 1,359–3,325 Royal *mamlūks* registered, with an average of about 2,029 Royal *mamlūks*, which fits the expected number of Royal *mamlūks* at that time.¹⁴⁸ All this is a bit playing with numbers and rough estimations, but the main point is to argue that in all likelihood the remuneration of Royal *mamlūks* in 778/1377 was covered by the land allocated in the *Tuḥfa* to “*mamālīk al-sultān*” (*khāṣṣakiyya* receiving an *iqṭāʿ*) and “*al-dīwān al-sultānī*” (ordinary *mamlūks* receiving salaries and rations), and that there is no reason to think that the category of “*muqṭaʿūn*” in the *Tuḥfa* refers to *mamālīk al-sultān*.

2.6 The category of “*muqṭaʿūn*”: Members of the *ḥalqa*

So, we are left with members of the *ḥalqa*.¹⁴⁹ At the *rawk* in 715/1315 there were about 9,000 soldiers in the *ḥalqa* and 180 *muqaddams* (i. e., one *muqaddam* for every 50 soldiers).¹⁵⁰ As mentioned, at that time the tax yield of an *iqṭāʿ* of a

am saying it with extreme caution, until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century prices remained more or less stable and so did the exchange rate between the dinar and the dirham. Moreover, Circassian-period historians insist that the significant rural decline began only in the ninth/fifteenth century in the days of al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–815/1399–1412). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:171. Comments in Ibn al-Jīʿān mentioning the date of a decline in the revenue of specific villages normally concern the Circassian period (mainly in the early ninth/fifteenth century). See Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (at footnotes nos. 333–5). In addition, as argued by Kumakura, the tax revenue records were subject to reassessment and updating several times after the *rawk*, and more specifically during the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century. See Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records”, 22–4. Such updates would not make much sense if at that time the value of the DJ “ceased to have any meaning”. Could it be that the DJ was actualized circa 778/1377 in a similar manner to its actualization in 715/1315?

148 See above at footnotes nos. 108–11. The minimal estimation of the costs of salaries and rations seems a bit too low because ca. 778/1377 there were less than 3,000 Royal *mamlūks*, however, any number around 2,000 Royal *mamlūks* seems reasonable enough.

149 This is not to say that there were no *mamlūks* registered as *ḥalqa* soldiers. In her detailed study on the *ḥalqa*, Levanoni referred to the phenomenon of “the double position practice”, that is, the phenomenon of *mamālīk al-sultān* and *mamālīk al-umarāʾ* that were also registered as *ḥalqa* soldiers and allocated *ḥalqa iqṭāʿ*s, thus receiving a double remuneration (in the case of *mamālīk al-sultān* they received a *jāmakkiyya* from *dīwān al-sultān* [or *al-dīwān al-mufrad*] and *iqṭāʿ* of the *ḥalqa*). However, as Levanoni notes, this phenomenon became widespread during the Circassian period, and Circassian-period historians report on repeated attempts of Circassian-period sultans to fight this phenomenon. See Levanoni, “The Ḥalqa”, 56–7, 64; Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 114; Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 70 (footnote no. 84). It is even said that before the days of al-Zāhir Barqūq the categories did not mix. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 3:169. As for the Turkish period, while some *mamlūks* became members of the *ḥalqa*, most of the evidence presented by Levanoni has to do with *mamālīk al-umarāʾ*. See Levanoni, “The Ḥalqa”, 43, 48, 51, 53–54. There is

muqaddam ḥalqa was about 1,000 or 1,500 DJ. The maximal tax yield of an *iqṭāʾ* of a *ḥalqa jundī* was about 900 DJ and the minimal was 250 or 300 DJ, with an average of about 600 DJ.¹⁵¹ According to al-Maqrīzī, the number of the soldiers in the *ḥalqa* gradually declined until in his days it reached 1,000.¹⁵² However, al-Qalqashandī writes that their number was great (*wa-hum ʿadad jamm wa-khalq kathīr*), so apparently in the 810s/1410s they still numbered a few thousands. Evidence suggests that in terms of DJ the average income of a soldier in the *ḥalqa* did not change much until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.¹⁵³ The tax

hardly any information on *mamālīk al-sultān* receiving *ḥalqa iqṭāʾ*s during the Turkish period. Levanoni seems to mention two such instances. She mentions that in 712/1312 “fiefs were distributed among salaried... Sultani mamluks”, but the references she gives do not mention such a distribution. See *ibid.*, 48 (footnote no. 52). She also mentions that in 741/1341 “some of the restored *iqṭāʾ*s were given to low-ranking Sultani mamluks”. See *ibid.*, 51. So, clearly the phenomenon was rare. We do find in chronicles on rare occasions a reference to a “distribution” of an *iqṭāʾ* of a *ḥalqa* member to *mamālīk al-sultān*, however they do not seem to have been registered in the *ḥalqa*. It is reported that after the death of the Mongol emigrant Badūh al-Ṭaṭārī in 745/1344–5, his *iqṭāʾ* was distributed to 80 Royal *mamlūks* so their salaries and rations became improved (*furriqa iqṭāʾuhu ʿalā thamānīn min al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya wa-wuffirat jawāmikuhum wa-rawātibuhum*). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:672. These are hardly *mamālīk al-sultān* that were registered as *ḥalqa* members who held a “private *ḥalqa iqṭāʾ*”. The tax yield may have been reallocated to the *khāṣṣ* (or later on to *dīwān al-sultān*) and used for salaries and rations (each probably receiving about 20 dinars). It is very unlikely that it was registered in the name of 80 people (and see at footnotes nos. 83–7 above). The cases mentioned by Levanoni may have been similar. In addition, it is also not clear what were the dimensions of the entrance of *mamālīk al-umārāʾ* to the *ḥalqa* during the Turkish period. Moreover, while during the Circassian period the phenomenon of “double position” became widespread, it is difficult to know the share of each group in the *ḥalqa*. While it is possible that starting from the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq “the *ḥalqa* was manned mainly by mamluks of the sultan’s and the amirs’ households” (Levanoni, “The Ḥalqaḥ”, 56; and see also *ibid.*, 61), there is no conclusive evidence regarding the issue. And see Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (at footnotes nos. 631–2).

150 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376; Ayalon, “Studies III”, 71; Levanoni, “The Ḥalqaḥ”, 48.

151 Sato, *State*, 154; Levanoni, “The Ḥalqaḥ”, 50; al-ʿUmārī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:430; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʾshā*, 4:52; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376, 381.

152 Ayalon, “Studies III”, 71. Ibn Iyās mentions that in 821/1418 the number of the soldiers in the *ḥalqa* was about 1,000. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, 2:40. However, al-Saḥmāwī, writing in the days of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, mentions that the number of the soldiers in the *ḥalqa* was in the past 12,000, but then it declined. He adds that in his days there are 40 *muqaddams* in the *ḥalqa*. See al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385. If the ratio was still 50 soldiers for each *muqaddam*, then there were about 2,000 soldiers in his days.

153 In Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār* we find that a village with a yield of 2,400 DJ was given to four *ajnād* (i.e., of the *ḥalqa*), each taking 600 DJ, a village with a yield of 300 DJ was given to one *jundī*, and a village with a yield of 1,000 DJ was given to two *ajnād* (i.e., each receiving in average 500 DJ). See Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 115; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:3, 99, 103. The average income of all the seven soldiers is about 540 DJ. To this we perhaps may add a case in which a village with a yield of 3,000 DJ was allocated to five “*muqṭaʾin*” (i.e., each receiving in average 600 DJ). See *ibid.*, 2:5. While this is not a big sample it still suggests that until ca. 797/1394 the average income of *ajnād al-ḥalqa* did not change much in terms of DJ from their income at 715/1315. And see Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, 115.

yield allocated to “*muqṭaʿūn*” in the *Tuhfa* in 778/1377 was about 3,264,108 DJ.¹⁵⁴ In addition, the tax yield allocated to the “*ḥalqa*” in the *Tuhfa* in 778/1377 was about 106,894 DJ.¹⁵⁵ Together, the “*muqṭaʿūn*” and the “*ḥalqa*” held about 3,371,002 DJ. This amount could cover the income of a bit more than 5,400 *ḥalqa* soldiers with an average income of 600 DJ, and 108 *muqaddams* with an income of 1,000 DJ. Again, the main point is to argue that it is quite reasonable that the category of “*muqṭaʿūn*” in the *Tuhfa* refers exclusively to members of the *ḥalqa*.

Amalia Levanoi noted that at the *rawk* of 715/1315, “the resources designated to the *ḥalqah*, though divided into small shares of *iqṭāʿ*, amounted to a huge fortune” (about 30% of the *iqṭāʿ* resources).¹⁵⁶ In 778/1377, the *ḥalqa* seems to have held even a larger share—3,371,002 DJ out of 9,584,264 DJ, i. e., about 35% of Egypt’s land resources. If my interpretation of the data on Ibn al-Jīʿān’s categories of land holders (better, beneficiaries of tax on land) is correct, then the allocation of land resources to *mamālīk al-sulṭān* on the expense of the *ḥalqa* at the *rawks*¹⁵⁷ stopped during the second half of the eight/fourteenth century and even changed direction.¹⁵⁸ It also seems that while the income of a simple Royal *mamlūk* declined, that of a *ḥalqa* soldier remained about the same.¹⁵⁹

154 See at footnotes nos. 35–6 above.

155 Appendix II, section A10.

156 Levanoi, “The Ḥalqah”, 48, 63–4.

157 Sato, *State*, 134 (“the government’s intention was to raise the status of the sultan’s *mamlūks* by sacrificing the *ajnad al-ḥalqa*. This [i. e., the *rawk al-Ḥusāmī*] was the first step in the decline of the *ajnad al-ḥalqa* becoming even more evident after the Nāṣirī *rawk*”); Levanoi, “The Ḥalqah”, 47–51 (esp. 51—“al-Nāṣir followed Lājīn’s original policy of increasing mamluk dominance over the *iqṭāʿ* resources. The ‘mamlukization’ of the army was... felt in the transferal of *iqṭāʿ* resources from the *ḥalqah* to the Sultani mamluks”); and see also Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 97.

158 At the *rawk* in 715/1315, the income of all *ḥalqa* soldiers and *muqaddamūn* from *iqṭāʿ* was 5,734,600 DJ, the income of all *mamālīk al-sulṭān* was 2,450,000 DJ (the *muqaddamū al-mamālīk* and *nuqabāʾ al-mamālīk* held additional 57,600 DJ), the income of the amirs in Cairo was 10,220,000 DJ, and the income of the *kushshāf* and *wulāt* was 255,000 DJ. All in all, the total tax yield was 18,717,200 DJ. This calculation is based on data given by al-Maqrīzī. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:381; and see Sato, *State*, 154. It is implied from the wording of al-Maqrīzī that he mentions all *iqṭāʿ* resources at the time of the *rawk* (*allādhī istaqarra ʿalayhi al-ḥāl fī iqṭāʿāt al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya mim mā rattabahu al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn fī al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*), however, it is possible that the information is not complete. So, at 715/1315, the *mamālīk al-sulṭān* (including the *muqaddamū al-mamālīk* and *nuqabāʾ al-mamālīk*) perhaps held about 13.4% of the tax yield (2,507,600 DJ out of 18,717,200 DJ), the *ḥalqa* held about 30.6% (5,734,600 DJ out of 18,717,200 DJ), and the amirs of Cairo held about 54.6% (10,220,000 DJ out of 18,717,200; and not the same share as the *ḥalqa* as suggested by Levanoi who calculated according to shares in the cultivated lands [*qarārīt*] and not their tax yield. See Levanoi, “The Ḥalqah”, 64; and see also Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 32, 45). The share of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* was about 43.7% the share of the *ḥalqa* (2,507,600 DJ out of 5,734,600 DJ). In 778/1377, the *ḥalqa* held about 3,371,002 DJ (see at footnotes nos. 154–5 above) and the Royal *mamlūks* held about 657,773 DJ (105,894 DJ + 551,879 DJ, see at footnotes nos. 69–71 above). So, in 778/1377, the Royal *mamlūks* held only about 6.9% of the

While we cannot know what the share of free persons was, and more specifically *mamlūks*' descendants, in the tax yield allocated to the *ḥalqa*, even if it was only about 15% it would have more or less doubled the share of non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" in the total tax yield of Egypt as estimated by Haarmann.¹⁶⁰

So, while Haarmann acknowledged that the share of *iqṭā'* holdings of non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* in Egypt's total tax yield (5.69% according to his count) is only a minimal share, he perhaps did not emphasize it enough, and he seems to have thought that additional "*awlād al-nās*" were mainly hidden under the category of "Royal *mamlūks* and *ḥalqa*" (estimated 6.31% in total—see Table B above). He apparently did not realize the actual dimensions of the phenomenon of "hidden *awlād al-nās*" under the category of "*muqṭa'ūn*", which must be a "huge reservoir" of free persons, including *mamlūks*' descendants. In any case, with time, the fact that the estimated share of *iqṭā'* holdings of non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" mentioned by name is only a minimal share in the total tax yield of Egypt was downplayed and perhaps somewhat forgotten. Later studies referring to the share of *iqṭā'* holdings of non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" normally mention the figure of about 6% (or 13.67% [or about 14%] together with the *asyād*) without elaboration.¹⁶¹

tax yield (657,773 DJ out of 9,584,264 DJ), and their share was only about 19.5% the share of the *ḥalqa* (657,773 DJ out of 3,371,002 DJ). Even if we add to the holdings of the Royal *mamlūks* also the holdings of *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* (228,450 DJ—see footnote no. 71 above; and the income of *al-khāṣṣ* probably did not go exclusively to *mamālīk al-sultān*), then the *mamālīk al-sultān* held only about 9.2% of the tax yield (886,223 DJ out of 9,584,264 DJ), and their share was only about 26.3% the share of the *ḥalqa* (886,223 DJ out of 3,371,002 DJ).

159 During the early Turkish period, the *iqṭā'* of a *ḥalqa* soldier gave income of 1,000–3,000 DJ. After the *rawk* al-Ḥusāmī, the *iqṭā'* of a *ḥalqa* soldier gave income of 250–1,000 DJ, and that of *mamālīk al-sultān* 800–1,000 DJ. At the *rawk* in 715/1315, the *iqṭā'* of a *ḥalqa* soldier gave income of 300–900 DJ (with an average of about 600 DJ), and that of *mamālīk al-sultān* 1,000–1,500 DJ (with an average of about 1,200 DJ). See Sato, *State*, 133, 154; and see Levanoni, "The Ḥalqah", 63 (the *ḥalqa*'s "secondary status in the Mamluk army was reflected by the smaller fiefs they were granted"). In 778/1377, the income of a Royal *mamlūk* of the lowest status seriously declined from 1,000 DJ, (i.e., about 670 dinars; see footnotes nos. 142–4 above; and see Table C), but the average income of a *ḥalqa* soldier apparently remained about 600 DJ (see at footnote no. 153 above). Still, the actualization of the DJ ca. 778/1377 (and ca. 797/1394) is not entirely clear (see footnote no. 147 above).

160 According to Haarmann, the non-royal "*awlād al-nās*" held 533,676 DJ, however he included also the holdings of free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants. According to my count based on MS. Hunt 2, *mamlūks*' descendants held 428,056 DJ. See footnotes nos. 19 and 24 above; and see Table A above. 15% of 3,371,002 DJ are about 505,650 DJ. It should also be considered that other categories of land holders in 778/1377 included free persons, and more specifically *mamlūks*' descendants (for example, the *urbān* and the *wulāt*), and free persons and *mamlūks*' descendants are also mentioned as holders of private property in 778/1377.

161 See Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 69, 73; Conermann and Saghbini, "*Awlād al-Nās*", 27.

3 *Mamlūks*' descendants as amirs

Attempts to estimate the share of *mamlūks*' descendants as *iqṭā'* holders in all of the cultivated land of Egypt based on the data provided by Ibn al-Jī'ān remain partial and speculative. At the same time, Haarmann and others have noted that information on promotions of *mamlūks*' descendants to amirates in Mamluk chronicles is not comprehensive and does not allow accurate estimations of the share of *mamlūks*' descendants among the different ranks of amirs at given moments and specific places in different periods of the Sultanate. Haarmann himself noted that "the lack of comprehensive figures makes it difficult to place... promotions in the right historical perspective".¹⁶² The studies of Levanoni showed in the best manner the gradual increase in the numbers of "*awlād al-nās*" who were amirs from the early Turkish period to the late Turkish period.¹⁶³ She also showed that *mamlūks*' descendants filled high-ranking military command positions and senior offices and were amirs of one hundred in Egypt also before and after the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (755–762/1354–1361).¹⁶⁴ Levanoni also made clear that at least starting from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (709–741/1310–1341) *mamlūks*' descendants that were promoted to amirates were no longer considered part of the *ḥalqa* formation.¹⁶⁵ During the rule of

162 Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 66.

163 Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 42–52; eadem, "Awlād al-Nās in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period", in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 96–100.

164 Eadem, *A Turning Point*, 45, 50, 49 ("[t]he increase in the numbers of sons of mamluks joining the army typified the entire period [741–784/1341–1382], not only that of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, who openly encouraged the advancement of the sons of mamluks in preference to the mamluks"); eadem, "*Awlād al-Nās*", 100; and see eadem, "The Mafārīda in the Mamluk Army: Reconsidered", *Arabica* 53/3 (2006), 349. For *mamlūks*' descendants at the highest ranks of the army during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, see Mazor, *The Rise*, 210–1. However, as noted by Jo Van Steenberg, the promotion of *mamlūks*' descendants specifically to the rank of amir of one hundred, while existing in other periods, was much more conspicuous during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 21 ("the majority of the period's *awlād al-nās* amirs were indeed promoted well before or after Ḥasan's reign... illustrative of the unrestricted social mobility that characterized fourteenth-century Mamluk society. Their elite status, on the other hand, can be linked to his second reign only").

165 Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 44–5 (footnote no. 79—"[i]n order to remove all doubts that amirs who were sons of mamluks served in the *ḥalqa* during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's rule, a number of examples can be found that clearly demonstrate a distinction between amirs of ten, amirs of forty, amirs of one thousand and *muqaddamū al-ḥalqa*"); and see also Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 68 ("it seems as if these generals recruited from the ranks of *awlād al-nās* were fully integrated into the Mamluk army structure, i.e., they no longer counted as members of the *ḥalqa*"). It may be added in this context that the expression

al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (658–689/1260–1290), Levanoni found 11 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants. After the death of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and until the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (689–709/1290–1310) she found 39 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants, during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709–741/1310–1341) 93 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants, and in 741–784/1341–1382 she found 257 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants.¹⁶⁶ She noted, however, that “as the information the sources contain on the number of Sultani Mamluks who served the various sultans is incomplete, it remains difficult to assess the relative significance of the sons of the mamluks in each of the periods”.¹⁶⁷ D.S. Richards listed 193 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants during the eighth/fourteenth century, some holding the highest ranks in the army, before and after the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, however, he could not use this general information to estimate the share of *mamlūks*' descendants in each of the ranks at a given moment in time.¹⁶⁸

umarā' al-ḥalqa in fact does appear in Mamluk sources but apparently almost only in the seventh/thirteenth century. In Egypt, *umarā' al-ḥalqa* apparently appear only in the days of al-Ẓāhir Baybars and in reference to a person who died in 696/1296. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhir wal-A'lām*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1989–2004), 52:298–9, 409–10. In Syria, they are found mainly in the late seventh/thirteenth century [see *ibid.*, 51:153 (a person who died in 683/1284); 52:232 (a person who died in 694/1294–5)], but one time the expression appears later. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fī Khabar Man Ghabar*, ed. Abū Ḥājar Muḥammad al-Sa'īd ibn Basyūnī Zaghālūl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1985), 4:203. So, it seems to confirm that at least in Egypt, starting from the late seventh/thirteenth century (perhaps the dividing line was the Ḥusāmī *rawk*) any amir mentioned in the sources was not connected to the *ḥalqa* anymore. However, sometimes scholars still assume that *mamlūks*' descendants served as amirs in the *ḥalqa*. See Élodie Vigouroux, “Les Banū Maṅḡak à Damas. Capital social, enracinement local et gestion patrimoniale d'une famille d'*awlād al-nās* à l'époque mamelouke”, *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013), 200–1. This notwithstanding, in another place Levanoni mentions that “sons of Mamluks who became amirs... became part of the Sultani Mamluk sector” or refers to “their affiliation with the Sultani Mamluks”. See Levanoni, “The Maḥārīd”, 349. By that, she is apparently again referring to the fact that they were no longer considered part of the *ḥalqa*, however, amirs (of any origin) should not be considered part of “the Sultani Mamluks” even if, at times, some *mamālīk al-sultān* were under their command in battle. Moreover, some *mamlūks*' descendants indeed served as simple soldiers (and not as amirs) as *mamālīk al-sultān* (see Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” [at footnotes nos. 600–30]), so in order to avoid confusion it is better not to refer to *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs as part of “the Sultani Mamluk sector”.

166 Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 97–100. While Levanoni seems to count also free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants, in general, it does not affect much the overall picture of a gradual increase in the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs. However, see part 5 below.

167 Eadem, *A Turning Point*, 44–5.

168 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 39–44.

Normally, attempts by Mamlukists to estimate the relative share of *mamlūks*' descendants in amirates at a given moment in time during the Turkish period remain dependent on one list of amirs who accompanied al-Ashraf Shaʿbān from Cairo to ʿAqaba in 778/1377, including nine *muqaddam alfs*, 24 amirs of *ṭabl-khāna*, and 14 amirs of ten (47 amirs in total).¹⁶⁹ While this information is indeed valuable, it remains very partial. The detailed prosopographical study of Jo Van Steenberg for the period 741–784/1341–1382 offers the fullest data on Mamluk amirs for the entire period. Van Steenberg found 283 “*awlād al-nās*” (by that Van Steenberg refers to *mamlūks*' descendants) including descendants of sultans, 825 *mamlūk* amirs, and 211 amirs “who lacked both mamluk and *awlād al-nās* backgrounds” (by that Van Steenberg refers to free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants).¹⁷⁰ Still, even this impressive data cannot give us an exact estimation of the share of *mamlūks*' descendants among the different ranks of amirs at a given moment, and it does not differentiate between localities and between royal and non-royal *mamlūks*' descendants.

The *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* of 778/1377, however, in fact seems to include a comprehensive list of amirs in Cairo in a specific point in time which allows exactly such an estimation, which may corroborate (and be corroborated by) information found in the partial lists of amirs in Mamluk chronicles. Having a full list of amirs in a specific point in time also allows a better examination of the identity of the *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs. As we shall see, about half of them were related to the Qalāwūnids by marital ties. In order to put the state of things in 778/1377 in the wider context of the status of *mamlūks*' descendants throughout the Turkish period and the gradual increase in the number of amirs from their ranks, I will first discuss the *mamlūks*' descendants in preceding periods. I will add data and nuance to the phenomenon of the gradual increase in the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs and offer an explanation to it.

Richards noted in 1998 that sometimes it is implied in the works of Mamlukists that the economic and military/socio-political status that *mamlūks*' descendants possessed in the late eighth/fourteenth century was a violation of some ‘basic law’ (i.e., the non-hereditary principle).¹⁷¹ Instead, Richards urged

169 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 163 (footnote no. 5); idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 68; and see footnote no. 520 below. Another partial (and apparently more comprehensive) but important list of amirs used by Mamlukists which comes from the Circassian period is that of about 80 amirs of all ranks arrested in 791/1389. See idem, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 163 (footnote no. 5); idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 68; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 39–40; Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 24; Levanoni, “The Mafārīda”, 349–50; eadem, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 102.

170 Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 20–21 (esp. footnotes nos. 14 and 17).

171 Specifically referring to Haarmann’s “The Sons of Mamluks”, Richards writes: “[w]hile Haarmann highlights such economic and social influence as the *awlād al-nās* possessed

Mamlukists to identify the social and political circumstances that affected the status of *mamlūks*' descendants which are not dependent on "any *a priori* rejection of the hereditary principle".¹⁷² Notwithstanding this, Richards acknowledged that *mamlūks* had an "objective" advantage over *mamlūks*' descendants because they were closer to the sultans, which improved their chances to hold positions, and especially high-ranking ones.¹⁷³ Referring to the "general question why, in all likelihood, real Mamluks were usually granted priority over *awlād al-nās* in military matters", and thus had an advantage in the competition over resources, Haarmann (relying on Ayalon) noted that *mamlūks*' descendants were inferior as military stuff to those who were born in the steppe among them the toughest were chosen to serve as military slaves, and that *mamlūks*' descendants, in contrast to *mamlūks*, had divided loyalties.¹⁷⁴ Still, such factors were at some

from late in the fourteenth century to early in the fifteenth, one is left with the impression that any influence at all was the result of the breaking of some 'basic law'. See Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 32. Indeed, in "The Sons of Mamluks" published in 1984 Haarmann refers to a 'basic law' of the Mamluk Sultanate according to which only *mamlūks* had access to military and political authority and the wealth of the country, or to a "Mamluk 'constitution'" according to which *mamlūks*' descendants "were barred from the privileges of their fathers", or to a "political ideal of Mamluk society" (see Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 141, 146), and notes that "the Mamluks barred the doors to the highest ranks [to their descendants]" (ibid., 144), and only then refers to a "historical reality" that looked different (ibid., 142). In his "Joseph's Law" published in 1998 (in the same volume with Richards' "Mamluk Amirs") Haarmann weavers between references to a "principle of Mamluk exclusivity" (see idem, "Joseph's Law", 57; and see ibid., 60) or "philosophy of limiting Mamluk benefits strictly to the first generation" (ibid., 71) and sayings which suggest that such a principle existed (see ibid., 65), and between sayings that suggest the opposite, such as "[t]he general idea that the Mamluk caste was impenetrable should... be questioned... [t]here was no rigorous apartheid... between generations" or "there was no rigorous and clearly defined one-generation nobility; it would have been a social *absurdum*" (ibid., 83–4).

172 Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 33.

173 Ibid., 39 ("It would be wrong to overstate the case. The *mamlūk* amirs generally held the highest positions because of the advantages of their closeness to the sultans"). And see also ibid., 32 ("No absurd contrary notion will be advanced, that, for instance, first- or second-generation offspring of *mamlūks* inevitably had brilliant careers and were overwhelmingly important in the conduct of affairs of state. That would be nonsense").

174 Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 65 (footnote no. 51); and see also ibid., 60, 69. As for the perception of *mamlūks*' descendants (and free persons) in Mamluk sources as being soft, we may mention that Ibn Zunbul has the amir Jān Birdī al-Ghazālī say to the son of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī that he is "*ibn nās*" who is "soft" because he grew up pampered (*ibn nās wa-zīza murabban fī al-dalāl*). See Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqī'at al-Sultān al-Ghawrī ma'a Salīm al-Uthmānī*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir ([Cairo]: al-Hay' al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1997), 271. Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that in 873/1468 the military skills of "*awlād al-nās*" were examined before payment, because "they were more accustomed to life of luxury and comfort than the *mamlūks*" (*li-kawnihim ilā al-taraf wal-rāḥa aqrab min al-mamālīk*). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts*, 3:690. Al-Ṣafadī provides a conversation between two amirs of emigrant families. While one says that if he dies in battle, he wishes that his body will be left

level always at play throughout the Turkish period (and the entire period of the Mamluk Sultanate), so they cannot explain by themselves change over time in the numbers of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs. Other factors must have been at play, and this paper will highlight two factors. The first is the age structure of *mamlūk* families that was related to the age in which *mamlūks* became amirs, and the second is the marital policy of Mamluk sultans (especially the Qalāwūnids) that eventually allowed some *mamlūks*' descendants to enjoy closer relations with the sultans.

4 The reigns of al-Zāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (658–689/1260–1290)

According to Levanoni, in that period 11 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants may be found in Mamluk sources. Levanoni noted that in that period “the recruitment of sons of mamluks, *awlād al-nās*, into the Mamluk army ranks, when it occurred, was a rare exception”, and that “not only the entry of sons of mamluks into the army was extremely limited during this period, but also that the status of those who were recruited remained low”.¹⁷⁵ It is perhaps implied that this state of things was due to some ‘basic law’ adhered to in that period preventing *mamlūks*' descendants to obtain amirates, at least high-ranking ones. What was perhaps only implied by Levanoni was stated explicitly later by other scholars. According to Haarmann “[i]n the early and ‘classical’ period of the Mamluk Sultanate under Baybars and Qalāwūn, the high command in battle, as well as the concomitant lucrative *iqṭā'*-benefices, remained barred to *awlād al-nās*”.¹⁷⁶ Significantly, such a statement was reproduced in the entry “*awlād al-nās*” in the third edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam in 2007.¹⁷⁷ Amir Mazor

for eagles and predators, the other (defined as one of the *awlād al-nās*, that is, a free person) responds that “indeed you chose a very weird manner to die. All I want is to die in my bed... and that my coffin will be carried with aromatic plants and jasmine on it, and that my slave girls will walk behind me [i.e., my coffin] crying over me and mourning”. Al-Ṣafadī then adds that the difference between their attitudes amazed him. See Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr*, ed. 'Alī Abū Zayd (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'aṣṣir, 1998), 4:125–6. So clearly, some free persons were considered soft and others not. As for loyalty, interestingly al-Nāṣir Ḥasan is reported to have said that he promoted “*awlād al-nās*” because he never heard of one that betrayed the sultan. See Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 21; Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 29–30. However, the policy of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan is considered exceptional, so it is implied that normally *mamlūks* (and by that mostly *muṣhtarawāt* are meant) were considered more loyal.

175 Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 42–3; eadem, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 97.

176 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 65.

177 Meloy, “*Awlād al-Nās*” (“In the early Mamlūk period, *awlād al-nās* were generally barred from high military command and *iqṭā'* assignments”).

noted that “[d]uring Qalāwūn’s reign ‘Mamluk practices’ were strictly observed” and “the principle of ‘one generation aristocracy’ always brought about a certain extent of discontent among the amirs, who naturally strove to promote their sons”, however, Qalāwūn did not accept “the amirs’ requests for the benefit of their children, even if these amirs were among his most favorite mamluks”.¹⁷⁸

However, there is no reason to think that *mamlūks*’ descendants were “barred” during that period due to a ‘non-hereditary principle’ that was strictly observed at that time. Firstly, clearly some *mamlūks*’ descendants became amirs even at that period. Secondly, other free persons (such as Mongol emigrants) were clearly not “barred” at that period from amirates (some even high-ranking ones), and, as observed by Nobutaka Nakamachi, already at that period the difference “between free men and slaves in the Mamluk army seems to have been less significant than has been realized”.¹⁷⁹ The Mongol emigrants were characterized by their marital ties to the sultans of the period. Nakamachi suggested that the sultans wanted to marry the daughters of the emigrants for political reasons: they regarded them as reliable supporters.¹⁸⁰ It may be added, that at that period the marital policy of sultans had as its main objective to enhance their own status and legitimacy, and to differentiate themselves from *mamlūk* amirs, and their own *mamlūks* (daughters of sultans at that period were never given to their *mamlūks*). Thus, in that period sultans did not establish many marital ties with their *mamlūk* amirs or own *mamlūks*, but sought women from established dynasties, or senior Mongol families. Thanks to their close relationship with the sultans, some sons of Mongol emigrants who established marital ties with Mamluk sultans could become amirs. Some of them were young, but not minors (apparently around the age of 20). One such example is Aqsunqur ibn Karāy (d. 673/1274), the son of the Mongol emigrant Karāy ibn Timājī (d. 686/1287) who arrived in Egypt in 661/1263, whose daughter (i.e., of Karāy) was married to al-Zāhir Baybars.¹⁸¹ When Aqsunqur (referred to as the son of the father-in-law of the sultan) died in 673/1274 he was (a bit) more than 25 years old and amir *ṭablkhāna*, so he clearly became amir during the reign of his in-law al-Zāhir Baybars when he was probably about 20 years old.¹⁸²

178 Mazor, *The Rise*, 187. And see *ibid.*, 189 (“promotion was dependent on the extent of the enforcement of the accepted practices and unwritten rules of the Mamluk system, according to which promotion of *awlād al-nās* should be strictly limited”).

179 Nobutaka Nakamachi, “The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidīyah*”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), 75; and see also *ibid.*, 68–9.

180 *Ibid.*, 73.

181 See on him, *ibid.*, 78.

182 Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Shaddād, *Ta’rīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. Aḥmad Huṭayṭ (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983), 114, 338. Although he could have theoretically become amir already in 661/1263 when he was about 15 years old, as we shall see

So, if not excluded, why were there so few *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs during that period? In fact, we should differentiate between the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars and that of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. We should not really expect to find *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs during the reign of the first. During most of the Turkish period, *mamlūks* normally became amirs around the age of 30, and some favored *mamlūks* became amirs in their twenties (normally mid- to late-twenties, and almost never before the age of 20).¹⁸³ This assertion is based on a detailed prosopographical study including hundreds of *mamlūks* throughout the entire period of the Mamluk Sultanate, whose full results naturally cannot be given here, but a few examples. In his detailed prosopographical research on the Manṣūriyya, Mazor examined the length of the period of training of the *mamlūks* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and could estimate the age of seven of them when they became amirs. Three of them were in their mid-late twenties, one was about 30, and one was about 35. Two others became amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in their early thirties. As noted by Mazor, the veteran *mamlūks* who were purchased by Qalāwūn during his amirate were promoted to amirates at a more advanced age than their peers who were purchased during Qalāwūn's sultanate, because as sultan he could promote his *mamlūks* faster.¹⁸⁴ In general, my findings corroborate Mazor's findings and broaden the chronological time span.

More importantly to the matter at hand, I found a correlation between the age of promotion to amirates and the age in which *mamlūks* started families.¹⁸⁵ The reason must be economical. With the promotion to amirate came an income that enabled a *mamlūk* to start a family.¹⁸⁶ So, during most of the Turkish period *mamlūks* who became amirs normally started a family around the age of 30 or in their thirties (sometimes, of course, later. People, including manumitted slaves, are not machines).¹⁸⁷ Favored *mamlūks* who were promoted to amirates in their twenties could start a family earlier. In the case of the Ṣālihiyya, it should be added, in comparison to later periods it seems that more of them were promoted to amirates in their twenties. On the other hand, it would seem that those who

below, there is reason to believe that normally the minimal age for becoming amir at that time was about 20.

183 Just to make clear, of course, most *mamlūks* never became amirs. I am referring here to those who did.

184 Mazor, *The Rise*, 65–8.

185 Again, the full data cannot be given here.

186 This is not to say that simple *mamlūks* did not have families, although many of them probably did not. They would have started families at a later age. Even if not amirs, some were granted posts or sufficient *iqṭā's*. However, the information on simple *mamlūks* is much scantier.

187 During the ninth/fifteenth century, *mamlūks* normally became amirs around the age of 40 or later and normally started families around the age of 40 or in their forties. See Yosef, "The Term *Awlād al-Nās*" (part 3.3).

became amirs only after the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb normally did not start a family before circa 658/1260. The reason must be that the decade following the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in 647/1249, “the turbulent decade” as Robert Irwin has called it, during which many of them had to run away from Egypt, and during which instability was the name of the game, was probably not the most suitable time to start a family. Thus, we find many times a pattern of delay between their amirate and the birth of a child, which normally happened when they were 30–40 years old.

Al-Zāhir Baybars is considered as “the true founder” of the Mamluk Sultanate, and he and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn may be considered representatives of their peer group the Ṣāliḥiyya, whose sons must have been the first candidates for amirates among *mamlūks*’ descendants. According to the most reliable report, Baybars was born in 625/1227–8 (according to another report he was born circa 620/1223–4).¹⁸⁸ Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn seems to have been about his age.¹⁸⁹ Baybars apparently became amir in 648/1250,¹⁹⁰ i. e., when he was about 23 years old (or 28 years old). Qalāwūn is first mentioned as amir in 652/1254–5,¹⁹¹ i. e., when he was apparently a bit more than 25. However, both had to wait until the stabilization of the Sultanate in 658/1260 to start a family. Baybars’ first-born son Muḥammad (the future sultan al-Malik al-Sa‘īd) was born in the year 658/1260 (i. e., when Baybars was about 33 years old [or 38 years old]).¹⁹² Qalāwūn married the mother of his first-born son ‘Alī in Muḥarram 664/October–November 1265,¹⁹³ and ‘Alī was born shortly afterwards (i. e., when Qalāwūn was in his very

188 Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, translated by P.M. Holt (London and New York, 1992), 27–8; Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir‘āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad: Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1954–1961), 3:239–40.

189 Normally, he is said to have been more than 60 years old. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Egypt: al-Hay‘a al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1974), 2:189. Only according to al-Maqrīzī he was about 70 years old. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:755. Since Baybars was more senior than him, and seniority normally came with age, it would be fair to estimate that Qalāwūn was about 65 years old (i. e., about the same age as that of Baybars).

190 al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 3:331; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 1:55; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:380.

191 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra fī Ta‘rīkh al-Hijra*, ed. D.S. Richards (Beirut: al-Ma‘had al-‘Almānī lil-Abḥāth al-Sharqiyya, and Berlin: al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1998), 13; Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khuwayṭir (al-Riyāḍ, 1976), 56; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2004), 29:279.

192 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 4:34; Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi‘ al-Ghurar*, ed. H.R. Roemer (Cairo: Qism al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya bil-Ma‘had al-‘Almānī lil-Āthār, 1960–1982), 8:219; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 7:90.

193 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *al-Tuhfa al-Mulūkiyya fī al-Dawla al-Turkiyya: Ta‘rīkh Dawlat al-Mamālik al-Baḥriyya fī al-Fatra min 648–711 Hijriyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1987), 119; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:542.

late thirties or even 40),¹⁹⁴ but apparently Qalāwūn's daughter Ghāziya (d. 687/1288), whose mother was a slave girl, was somewhat older than 'Alī.¹⁹⁵ During al-Ẓāhir Baybars' reign, not too many Ṣālihiyya who were born before circa 620/1223–4 are mentioned as amirs, and the sources only rarely mention the sons of these older Ṣālihiyya (see below one rare example).¹⁹⁶ So, the candidates to amirates were mainly sons of Ṣālihiyya that were more or less of the age group of Baybars and Qalāwūn, or younger Ṣālihiyya.

Now, it seems that during the reigns of al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn sons of *mamlūks* could become amirs only around the age of 20. Minors, that is children below the age of 15, were definitely not considered eligible for amirates (see one rare exception below). Al-Ẓāhir Baybars did not promote the sons of Qalāwūn to amirates even though Qalāwūn was one of the two rare cases of *mamlūk* amirs that became his in-laws.¹⁹⁷ Towards the end of the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn was probably about 12 years old but still not nominated amir. If that was the case with the most prominent amir of Baybars that was also his in-law, we may conclude that minors were generally not promoted in his days to amirates. During the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (in all likelihood, towards the end of it), it is reported that two of his most prominent

194 He was older than Khalīl born ca. 666/1267–8. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:271.

195 She was married to Muḥammad ibn al-Ẓāhir Baybars in the year 674/1275 (he was about 15 years old at that time), and the legal minimal age for marriage was nine (but apparently, in practice, the age of marriage was normally closer to 15). During the Turkish period there are no signs of marriages of minors. At her husband's death in 678/1279, Ghāziya is described as a grown-up who accused her father of being responsible for her husband's death. Ghāziya was probably 15 years old or a bit less when married.

196 One example of older Ṣālihiyya who did not survive into the reign of Baybars is of course al-Mu'izz Aybak (d. 655/1257). He was apparently almost 60 years old when he died, i.e., he was born before 600/1203–4 (some sources say that he was more than 50 years old, others that he was about 60 years old, but one version mentions that he was almost 60 years old. See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 1:60). Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb seems to have made him amir upon his ascendance to the throne in 637/1240 (i.e., when Aybak was about 40 years old). See Amalia Levanoni, "Aybak, al-Mu'izz 'Izz al-Dīn", *EI THREE* ("one of his master's long-serving and trusted *mamlūks*"); and see al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 48:194 (*akbar mamālīk al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ*). Being one of the veteran Ṣālihiyya he became amir at a more advanced age than his younger peers, since he was older when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb became sultan. Thus, he started a family at a later age. According to most of the sources, his son al-Manṣūr 'Alī was about 15 years old when he ascended the throne in 655/1257 (i.e., he was born about three years after Aybak had been made amir, when Aybak was a bit more than 40 years old). See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 1:47; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:405; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 1:27. The sons of Aybak were expelled to Constantinople by al-Ẓāhir Baybars. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1982–1993), 23:381–2.

197 See footnote no. 195 above. The two were connected by marital ties also through their marriages to daughters of Mongol emigrants. The second *mamlūk* amir that was an in-law of Baybars was Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī (d. 689/1290). See on him in footnote no. 360 below.

and favored amirs Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī and Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī each got one son and one daughter married off to a son or daughter of the other. On that occasion they requested from Qalāwūn to give their newly wedded sons *iqṭā's* in the *ḥalqa*, but Qalāwūn refused because they were still young (*ṣibyān*).¹⁹⁸ While al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn did not establish direct marital ties between his family and his *mamlūks*, he did connect few of his *mamlūks* to his family by connecting them by marital ties to the family of his in-law al-Zāhir Baybars, thus, indirectly making few *mamlūks* his in-laws. Kitbughā was one such *mamlūk*,¹⁹⁹ and once Ṭurunṭāy established marital ties with him he also became an in-law of Qalāwūn. As mentioned, during the Turkish period, normally sons of *mamlūk* amirs were married off around the age of 15. So, if teenagers who were also in-laws of Qalāwūn were not considered eligible for *iqṭā's* in the *ḥalqa*, we may safely assume that in general *mamlūks*' descendants who were teenagers were not considered eligible for amirates. Sultans' *khushdāshiyya* and *mamlūks* who became high-ranking amirs were perhaps in a position to affect appointments to amirates, however, as long as their sons were minors it was not really possible for them to promote their sons to amirates even if they were related to the sultan by marital ties. Since *mamlūks*' descendants were not promoted to amirates before the age of 20, and since normally the sons of the Ṣālihiyya of the age group of Baybars and Qalāwūn were born circa 658/1260 or later, we should not expect to find sons of *mamlūks* who were amirs during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars.

A survey of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs during the reigns of al-Zāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn will serve to demonstrate this. As mentioned, according to Levanoni there were 11 *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in that period, however, she did not mention their identity. Going through her references makes clear that she included also some free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants.²⁰⁰ The *mamlūks*' descendants I could locate in Levanoni's references with addition of a few I found elsewhere add up to seven, four in Egypt

198 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:377.

199 Anaṣ ibn Kitbughā (d. 723/1323, born ca. 671–2/1272–3) was married to a daughter of al-Zāhir Baybars. While the date is not known, it is very likely that it was the initiative of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. See 'Alam al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtaṭi 'alā Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn al-Ma'rūf bi-Ta'rīkh al-Birzālī*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2006), 4:140. In any case, Kitbughā and Qalāwūn were indirectly connected also by marital ties to a family of a Mongol emigrant. Kitbughā married the daughter of Nūkāy, but in 681/1282 divorced her on Qalāwūn's request so 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn would marry her. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:709–10. Another daughter of Nūkāy was married to al-Zāhir Baybars. See Nakamachi, "A Reconsideration of the Wāfi-dīyah", 77–8.

200 In some references I could not locate *mamlūks*' descendants but only free persons. I could not, however, check all references because some are from manuscripts to which I did not have access.

(see Table D below) and three in Syria (see Table E below). While it is perhaps not an exhaustive list, it must be representative of the period.

Table D: *Mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in Egypt in 658–689/1260–1290

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate (father)	Age at amirate (father)
1. Muḥammad ibn Aydamur al-Ḥillī (d. 699/1299–1300) ²⁰¹	Became amir of 40 in 667/1269 ²⁰²	minor ²⁰³	Aydamur al-Ḥillī al-Šāliḥī (d. 667/1269, 60+) ²⁰⁴	Became amir ca. 637/1240 ²⁰⁵	Roughly 35~
2. Muḥammad ibn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī (d. 724/1324)	Became amir of 10 in 679/1280. ²⁰⁶ Became <i>ṭabl-khāna</i> in 691/1292. ²⁰⁷ In 706/1306 he apparently became <i>mu-qaddam al-f</i> ²⁰⁸		Baktāsh al-Fakhrī al-Šāl-ihī (d. 706/1306, 80~) ²⁰⁹	Became amir in 647/1249 ²¹⁰	20~

201 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:905.

202 Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir*, 351; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:580.

203 Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirriyya al-Muntaza'a min al-Sira al-Zāhiriyya*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khuwaytir (al-Riyāḍ: Maṭba'at Safir, 1989), 297 (*ṣiḡhar*).

204 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 2:413 (more than 60 years old); al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 49:237 (more than 60); Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1991), 2:352 (more than 60).

205 al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb (r. 637–647/1240–1249) made him amir. Aydamur was one of his favored *mamlūks* (*khawāṣṣ*), so it is much more reasonable that he was made amir at the beginning of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb's reign ca. 637/1240. See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 3:131–2.

206 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:677 (the first of the amirs' descendants who became amir during the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn).

207 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, 288–9.

208 Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 43; Levani, "Awlād al-Nās", 97; and see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:262.

209 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:385 (more than 70 years old); al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 4:14 (almost 80 years old); Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yān al-Mī'a al-Thāmina*, ed. 'Abd al-Wārith Muḥammad 'Alī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), 1:283 (80 years old); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:30–1 (80 years old); al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, 2:212 (more than 70 years old or more than 80 years old); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:455 (more than 80 years old).

210 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:454–5 (Baktāsh was the *mamlūk* of Yūsuf ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh who died in 647/1249, shortly before al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb's death, and then became the *mamlūk* of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb who is said to have made him amir); and see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:385.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate (father)	Age at amirate (father)
3. Mughultāy ibn Amīr Majlis (d. 733/1333) ²¹¹	Became amir of 10 in 682/1283. ²¹² Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 700/1300. ²¹³ Mentioned as amir of 80 in 718/1318 ²¹⁴		Kushtaghdī (Kundaghdī) al-Mashriqī (d. 682/1283, 50+) ²¹⁵	Mentioned as amir in 657/1259 ²¹⁶	30~
4. Šamaghār (Ṭamaghār) ibn Sunqur al-Ashqar (d. 731/1330, 60+, born between 658/1260 and 666/1268) ²¹⁷	Mentioned as amir in Syria in 684/1285? Became amir in Egypt in 684/1285. ²¹⁸ Received amirate (of <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ?) in 697/1297–8. ²¹⁹	20~ 35~	Sunqur al-Ashqar al-Šāliḥī (d. 691/1292, 70~) ²²⁰	Mentioned as amir in 651/1253–4 ²²¹	30~

211 al-Šafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 5:433.

212 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫh*, 7:285.

213 Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276).

214 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:185. After 718/1318 he was transferred to Damascus where he became *muqaddam al-f*. See al-Šafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 5:433.

215 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 4:195 (more than 50 years old; known as Amīr Majlis); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 7:358 (more than 50); idem, *al-Manhal*, 9:138 (*kahl*); al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫh al-Islām*, 51:120 (*kahl*).

216 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:38.

217 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abū Bakr al-Jazarī, *Ta'riḫh Hawāḍith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihī wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wal-A'yān min Abnā'ihī al-Ma'rūf bi-Ta'riḫh Ibn al-Jazarī: Juz' fi-hi (min Wafayāt Sanat 689 ḥattā Hawāḍith Sanat 699 H.)*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Šaydā and Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 1998), 3:474 (more than 60); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 2:123, 129 (born in the Ilkhanate); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:286. More generally, it is said that the children of Sunqur were born in the Ilkhanate after he became a captive in 658/1260. See al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫh al-Islām*, 52:119. Sunqur returned from captivity to Egypt in 666/1268. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:89. Since Šamaghār was still not 70 (he is said to have been more than 60) when he died in 731/1330, it would seem that he was born between 661/1262–3 and 666/1267–8. He was probably the eldest son, so probably closer to 661/1262–3.

218 Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wal-Uṣūr fi Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo: al-Sharika al-'Arabiyya lil-Ṭibā'a wal-Nashr, 1961), 2:91.

Table E: *Mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in Syria in 658–689/1260–1290

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
1. Muḥammad ibn Aybak al-Fakhrī (d. 680/1281)	Mentioned as amir in 680/1281 ²²²		Aybak al-Fakhrī ²²³ (d. after 680/1282)	Mentioned as ²²⁴ amir in 663/1265	
2. Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī al-ʿAzīzī (d. 680/1281)	Mentioned as amir in 680/1281 ²²⁵		Baktamur al-Sāqī al-ʿAzīzī (d. after 679/1280)	Mentioned as amir in 658/1260 ²²⁶	
3. Muḥammad ibn Aydamur al-Zāhiri	Mentioned as ²²⁷ amir in 681/1283		Aydamur al-Zāhiri (d. 700/1300, old) ²²⁸	Became amir in 658–61/1260–3 ²²⁹	roughly 20–30~

During that period there is not much explicit data on the age in which the *mamlūks*' descendants became amirs. Only in one case, that of Ṣamaghār ibn Sunqur al-Ashqar (d. 731/1330), I could fix a more or less exact age (Table D no. 4). His father Sunqur al-Ashqar (d. 691/1292), a *mamlūk* of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, was about the same age as Baybars and may be considered of the same age group. He became amir after his master's death but no later than 651/1253–4, when he was about 30 years old. Like other Ṣāliḥiyya who became amirs during the “turbulent decade”, he started a family only about a decade later (circa 661/

219 Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276). He was at some point amir of fifty in Egypt. See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 2:572.

220 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, 52:120 (almost 70 years old or more than 70 years old); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:781 (70 years old).

221 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, 48:7. In any case, Sunqur became amir only after the death of his master al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in 647/1249. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:88.

222 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:696 (died in battle. Not mentioned explicitly as amir but with the title Nāṣir al-Dīn); Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 7:219.

223 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:326.

224 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:113.

225 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:696 (died in battle. Not mentioned explicitly as amir but with the title ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn); Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 7:219.

226 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 2:5.

227 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:709; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 7:251.

228 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, 52:472. Defined as old, i.e., he was more than 60 years old (which means that he was not born after ca. 640/1242), however, his master Baybars became amir in 648/1250, so he must have started buying slaves around that year. Aydamur al-Zāhiri was probably one of his first *mamlūks*, but even if he was about 15 years old in 648/1250, he was less than 70 years old when he died. We may conclude that he was roughly 65 years old when he died.

229 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:362–3.

1262–3) when he was about 40 years old. Şamaghār received an amirate in Egypt in 684/1285, about 33 years after his father became amir, when he was about 20 years old. In other cases of Şālihiyya, while there is no explicit information on the age in which their sons became amirs, we see a similar pattern. Baktāsh al-Fakhri al-Şālihi (d. 706/1306), who was about the same age as Baybars, became amir in 647/1249 on the eve of his master's death, when he was about 20 years old or a bit more (Table D no. 2).²³⁰ His son Muḥammad became amir in 679/1280, 32 years after his father became amir, and we may assume that Baktāsh followed the pattern of his peers and started a family only circa 658/1260 (he was a bit more than 30 years old at that time), so his son must have been about 20 years old when he received an amirate. In other cases, when the *mamlūks* became amirs circa 658/1260 or after, we see that the gap between the time of the father's amirate and the time of the son's amirate is smaller, about 20 years. Kushtaghdī al-Mashriqī (d. 682/1283), who was more or less of the same age as Baybars, is mentioned as amir in 657/1259 when he was about 30 years old (Table D no. 3). His son Mughulṭāy was conferred an amirate of ten upon the death of Kushtaghdī in 682/1283 (a gap of 25 years from the amirate of his father). The gaps in other cases are of 17 and 22 years (Table E nos. 1–2). We may assume that in all these cases the son was about 20 years old when receiving an amirate.²³¹ One case involves a son of a *mamlūk* of Baybars, who was probably one of his first *mamlūks*: Aydamur al-Ẓāhiri (d. 700/1300) became amir in 658–661/1260–3 when he was about 20–30 years old (Table E no. 3). His son is mentioned as amir in Syria in 681/1283 with a gap of 20–23 years, so we again assume that he was about 20 years old when receiving an amirate. We may conclude that in that period *mamlūks*' descendants normally became amirs around the age of 20, earlier than the age in which *mamlūks* became amirs.

We do find one exceptional case. It is not a coincidence that it involves a son of a veteran Şālihi amir. Aydamur al-Ḥillī al-Şālihi (d. 667/1269) was about 20 years older than Baybars (Table D no. 1). He was promoted to an amirate by his master al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb, in all likelihood upon his ascendance to the throne in 637/1240, when Aydamur was probably about 35 years old. He was older than the usual when becoming amir because he had to wait until his master became sultan. Because he became amir before the “turbulent decade” he must have started a

230 This is a relatively young age. In that period, it seems that even favored *mamlūks* who became amirs before the age of 30 were normally around their mid- to late-twenties. The calculation of the age of amirate is based on a report that Baktāsh was about 80 years old when he died, however, some reports mention that he was more than 80 years old when he died, so perhaps he was in his early- to mid-twenties when becoming amir.

231 In the case of the gap of 17 years, we do not know the exact date when the father became amir, but only the date in which he is first mentioned as amir, so it is assumed that he became amir a few years before that date.

family long before 658/1260. His eldest son, however, who must have been a grown-up, died in 662/1263–4.²³² Therefore, when Aydamur al-Ḥillī died he left behind a minor son whom Baybars gave an amirate of forty. Aydamur al-Ḥillī is said to have been the one who helped Baybars to become sultan after the murder of al-Muẓaffar Qutuz,²³³ so Baybars felt obliged to help his older *khushdāsh* and supporter. The nomination of Aydamur al-Ḥillī's son to amirate after his father's death is mentioned in the *sīra* of Baybars by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292), a treatise that celebrates the virtues of Baybars and his benevolence towards his *khushdāshiyya*.²³⁴ The case is meant to show the generosity of Baybars who is depicted as guarding the young orphan of his older *khushdāsh*. As such, it is clearly an exceptional case that does not testify to the rule. Indeed, as far as we know it was not repeated throughout that period.

One last point to consider is that Mughultāy ibn Kushtaghdī was conferred an amirate of ten upon his father's death (Table D no. 3). It is reported that he was conferred from the *iqṭā'* of his father an *iqṭā'* for ten horsemen (*an'ama al-sultān 'alā waladihi Mughultāy min khubzihi bi-'ashr ṭawāshiyya*), and the rest was taken by another amir.²³⁵ Referring to the period between 741–784/1341–1382, Jo Van Steenberg observed that “some level of familial continuity can be retrieved from the sources, especially with respect to lower ranks in the military hierarchy”, and that “[u]p to a certain level in the regime's institutional framework, some form of heredity of rank, office, and *iqṭā'* have been acceptable to all those involved, most likely due to sincere considerations for one's own offspring that might end up in the same situation”.²³⁶ Van Steenberg mentioned four instances of ‘inheritance’ of the rank of amir of ten. It should be emphasized that it would seem that from the early period of the Sultanate, it was considered acceptable, and perhaps even preferable, that *mamlūks*' descendants will receive a rank upon their fathers' death, as long as they were of eligible age to receive the rank. It would seem that *mamlūks*' descendants who were too young to receive an amirate when their father had died or shortly afterwards, would later find it much more difficult to obtain amirates (unless they were in-laws of the sultans or enjoyed a special connection with them). Indeed, all the *mamlūks*' descendants in Tables D and E received amirates during the lifetime of their fathers or upon their death. In many cases the descendants were not old enough to receive the rank of their father but old enough to receive a lower rank appropriate of their age. Such

232 Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib*, 149.

233 Ibid., 297.

234 Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir*, 351.

235 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 7:285.

236 Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 79–80. Others have observed the phenomenon in earlier periods, especially during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. See *ibid.*, 80 (footnote no. 104).

was the case of Mughultāy ibn Kushtaghdī who was probably about 20 years old and eligible to receive only a rank of amir of ten upon his father's death. In due time, however, he received a higher rank (Table D no. 3), so once receiving amirates and entering the system, the descendants could achieve promotions as they grew older even if their fathers were already dead. In other cases, especially when their fathers died at a ripe age, the descendants were old enough to receive higher ranks upon the death of the father, sometimes even the rank of amir of one hundred (see below in part 5 at footnotes nos. 247–9). Such cases, however, are not attested in the early period simply because at that period *mamlūks'* descendants were still not old enough, and not because “[i]n the early and ‘classical’ period of the Mamluk Sultanate under Baybars and Qalāwūn, the high command in battle, as well as the concomitant lucrative *iqṭā'*-benefices, remained barred to *awlād al-nās*”.²³⁷

5 The “Manṣūriyya period”: Between the death of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (689–709/1290–1310)

According to Levanoni, there were 39 amirs who were *mamlūks'* descendants (“sons of Mamluks”) in that period, but she apparently included also free persons who were not *mamlūks'* descendants.²³⁸ In the most detailed prosopographical study on that period, Mazor found only 31 “*awlād al-nās*” which he mentioned by name.²³⁹ While Mazor defines the term “*awlād al-nās*” as referring to *mamlūks'* descendants,²⁴⁰ he clearly included also free persons who were not *mamlūks'* descendants. In fact, about half of the names in his list are (at least apparently) not *mamlūks'* descendants.²⁴¹ According to Levanoni, “[a]fter the

237 See above at footnote no. 176.

238 Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 97; eadem, *A Turning Point*, 44. Levanoni did not mention the amirs by name; however, an examination of her references suggests that she included also free persons who were not *mamlūks'* descendants.

239 Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276).

240 Ibid., 20–1.

241 ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jākī (no. 27 in Mazor's list in page 188, footnote no. 276 in *The Rise*) was apparently of free origin. According to his name, ‘Alī ibn Bākhil (no. 28) was of free Kurdish origin. Ḥasan ibn al-Raddādī (no. 31) was of free Kurdish origin. See Abū al-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad ibn Rāfi‘ al-Sallāmī, *al-Wafayāt*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ‘Abbās (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1982), 1:166. According to his *nisba*, Mūsā ibn Abū Bakr al-Azkushī (no. 24) was of free Kurdish origin. Abū Bakr ibn al-Jumaqdār (no. 29), sometimes al-Miḥfadār, was in all likelihood of free origin. See al-Dhahabī, *Ta‘rīkh al-Islām*, 52:168, 182. According to his *nisba*, ‘Alī ibn Dudā al-Turkmānī (no. 5) was probably a free Turkmen (the name of the father is not a typical name of *mamlūks*). According to his *nisba*, and having a Turkish name, Bulghāq ibn Kunjuk (or Künjuk) ibn Bārtamush al-Khawārizmī (no. 30) who was born in

death of Qalāwūn in 689/1290, Egypt was thrown into a state of political instability”, and “the dominant Mamluk amirs” ran the affairs of the state “behind the nominal rule of Qalawun’s sons”. “The controlling position of the amirs... became a determining factor in the increase in number of sons of Mamluks who were recruited into the army and their enhanced status—they were made holders of *iqṭāʾāt* and given high command in battle”.²⁴² According to Mazor, “[a]fter Qalāwūn’s death... the intervention of amirs for the promotion of their sons was much more successful”, and as a result the period “witnessed a dramatic increase

636/1238–9 was clearly of the free Khawārizmiyya and not a *mamlūk*’s descendant (the Turkish names of his forefathers are not typical of *mamlūks*, and there is no master *nisba*). See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminā*, 1:292. Being defined as Rūmīs, and having Turkish names, Quṭlūbak ibn Qarā Sunqur (no. 14) and Ughulbak ibn Rumtāsh (no. 23) were apparently emigrants from Bilād al-Rūm (the names of the fathers never appear with a *nisba* of a master). See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:545–6; 4:125–6. The criterion of a Turkish name is not conclusive by itself. However, if the father normally appears without a *nisba* of a master and is not mentioned as a *mamlūk*, then he was in all likelihood a free person. Even persons designated as *mamlūks* that sometimes appear with a *nisba* of a master can be free persons, however, the tendency not to mention a master *nisba* and not refer to the person as a *mamlūk*, is stronger when the person is free. Having a Turkish name when the name of his father never appears with a master *nisba*, Aṣlam ibn Tamurtāsh (no. 25) was probably not a *mamlūk*’s descendant. Quṭuz ibn al-Fāriqānī [or al-Fāriqāniyya] mentioned in 700/1300 (no. 6), who has a Turkish name, was more likely an emigrant and not a *mamlūk*’s descendant. There is no information on his father, but the sources mention in 732/1332 Quṭuz ibn Sāṭalmish (the father has no master *nisba*) who was a *naqīb* in the *ḥalqa*, and we know of a Sāṭalmish al-Sāqī who was a Mongol emigrant. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:367; Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh*, 338. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Wazīrī (no. 3) is not a son of Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī, but rather Muḥammad ibn Kundaghdi ibn al-Wazīrī. See *al-Sulūk*, 2:111, 169. The fact that his father Kundaghdi (who has a Turkish name) is also known by his father, and his *laqab* Badr al-Dīn, suggest that he was from a family of emigrants. As for Sayf al-Dīn ibn Kirtāy (no. 21), as far as I know, the only Kirtāy mentioned in Mamluk sources is Kirtāy al-Tatarī (d. 698/1298–9) who is never mentioned with a master *nisba* but simply as “the Mongol”, so in all likelihood he was a Mongol emigrant. See Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, *Iqd al-Jumān fī Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya, 2009–2010), 4:486; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 4:31. Šārim al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUthmān (no. 18) who died in 715/1315 at the age of 58 was amir in Damascus. Mazor mentions that his grandfather was a *mamlūk*, however, clearly the grandfather was a free person by the name ʿUthmān. While al-Birzālī mentions that one of his forefathers (*jadd*) was a *mamlūk* of [Balabān] al-Dawādār al-Zāhiri (d. 680/1281, more than 50), it does not really make sense. If we assume a minimal time gap of twenty years between each generation, the grand-grandfather of ʿUthmān must have been born before circa 617/1220, so he could have hardly been a *mamlūk* of [Balabān] al-Dawādār al-Zāhiri who was born later. In any case, his case is not representative of other cases of *mamlūks*’ descendants of the period (normally sons of *mamlūks*). See Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276); al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 3:215–6; al-Birzālī, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:185. Muḥammad ibn Makki (d. 750/1349, 20~) [no. 16] was amir in Damascus but only ca. 750/1349. See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 5:279–80. The additional three suggestions of Mazor at the bottom of footnote no. 276 in *The Rise* are, in fact, emigrants or sons of emigrants.

242 Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 97; eadem, *A Turning Point*, 43–4.

in the number of amirs from *awlād al-nās*”, and it seems that “in several cases *awlād al-nās* received their amirate at a younger age than in previous periods”.²⁴³

In fact, the evidence we have suggests that the situation in the period under discussion was much similar to the previous period. In both periods it was helpful of course to have an influential father, but a crucial factor was still the age of the son. In Mazor’s list there are, in fact, only about 16 *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs in the period under discussion, 13 in Egypt and three in Syria.²⁴⁴ Thus, the increase was far from being dramatic. Four out of the 13 were sons of Ṣāliḥiyya (nos. 1–2, 4 in Table D above) or other *mamlūks* of older generations (no. 3 in Table D) who, in fact, became amirs already in 658–689/1260–1290. However, three of the four advanced to higher ranks in 689–709/1290–1310.²⁴⁵ This happened in most of the cases years after the death of their fathers. Ṣamaghār ibn Sunqur al-Ashqar (no. 4 in Table D) who became amir (of ten) in Egypt in 684/1285 when he was about 20 years old, received 13 years later in 697/1297–8, six years after his father’s death, an amirate (of forty) when he was in his early- to mid-thirties. In other cases, we do not know the age of the son, but we see a similar gap (of about 15 years) between the first amirate and the promotion. Muḡhulṭāy ibn Kushtaghdī (no. 3 in Table D) who received an amirate of ten in 682/1283 upon his father’s death, is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* 18 years later. Muḡammad ibn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī (no. 2 in Table D) who became amir of ten in 679/1280, became amir *ṭablkhāna* 12 years later in 691/1291. It would seem then, that while in that period *mamlūks*’ descendants became amirs of ten earlier than *mamlūks* (the former around the age of 20, the latter normally between the age of 25 to that of 30), it would take them a longer time to be promoted to *ṭablkhānas*, usually, it would seem, in their early or mid- thirties, and at about the same age in

243 Mazor, *The Rise*, 187–8.

244 There are perhaps even less. Jaraktamur ibn Bahādur (no. 7 in Table F below) has a Turkish name and, as far as I know, his father never appears with a master *nisba*. Still, one historian mentions that Bahādur was “one of the *mamlūks* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn” (*min mamālīk al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn*). See Shams al-Dīn al-Shujā’ī, *Ta’rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḡammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi*, ed. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), 223. I think that it is more likely that Bahādur was not a slave (but rather a servant of Qalāwūn), however, I added Jaraktamur to the table. As for Quṭlījā ibn Balabān al-Jūkandār, his father is many times mentioned with a master *nisba* (al-Manṣūrī), so he was probably indeed a *mamlūk*’s descendant. However, while it is reported that he was a *ṭablkhāna* in Damascus, it would seem that he became amir only after 709/1310 (see Table G no. 3). Nāṣir ibn Salār al-Manṣūrī (no. 9 in Table F) was made amir only upon al-Nāṣir Muḡammad’s return to power in 709/1310. Since his case will serve me to make a point, I cunningly decided to include him in Table F.

245 Muḡammad ibn Aydamur al-Ḥillī (d. 699/1299–1300) [no. 1 in Table D] who exceptionally received an amirate of forty as a minor upon his father’s death in 667/1269, apparently remained in that rank until his death 32 years later.

which *mamlūks* (at least favored ones) were promoted to *ṭablkhānas*.²⁴⁶ The fact that all these cases involve sons of veteran *mamlūks* who became amirs before 689/1290, and that all the cases of promotion but one happened years after the death of the father, clearly shows that the dominant factor was not the position of the fathers but simply the age of the sons.

One case of promotion happened, in fact, when the father was still alive. Muḥammad ibn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī not only became amir *ṭablkhāna* during the lifetime of his father, but also received his father's rank of amir of one hundred on the eve of his father's death, 15 years after he became *ṭablkhāna* (we may assume that he was in his late forties when becoming amir of one hundred).²⁴⁷ Here we have a rather rare case of a *mamlūk*'s son who could receive the highest rank of amir of one hundred that was the rank of his father on the eve of the latter's death. Baktāsh al-Fakhrī was 80 years old, or even more, and he is said to have been "the last of the Ṣālihiyya" (*ākhir al-Ṣālihiyya*).²⁴⁸ So, in that period, only in rare cases of *mamlūks* who died at a ripe age, such a transfer of the highest rank could be possible. Again, age was the main factor.²⁴⁹

The dwindling of the Ṣālihiyya meant that *mamlūks*' descendants who were candidates for new amirates in 689–709/1290–1310 were mostly sons of the Manṣūrī amirs who enjoyed the closest ties with the Qalāwūnīd household (See Tables F and G below).²⁵⁰ There is no evidence, however, that the leverage of

246 See the cases of Ṭurunṭāy and Kitbughā (Table F nos. 1–2). The age in which *mamlūks* were normally promoted to higher ranks should be examined in detail. I only checked in detail the age of the first amirate.

247 Muḡhulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis is mentioned as amir of 80 about 18 years after he is mentioned as amir of 40 (see Table D no. 3), so the gap seems about the same. It would seem that in that period, *mamlūks* (at least favored ones) became amirs of one hundred at a younger age. See again the cases of Ṭurunṭāy and Kitbughā (Table F nos. 1–2); and see footnote no. 246 above.

248 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:19, 31.

249 It may be added that the initiative for the transfer of the rank and *iqṭā'* was of Muḥammad and not Baktāsh who in fact resented the transfer of his *iqṭā'* before his death. See *ibid.*, 2:18–20. This also shows that the influence of the father was less crucial than the age of the son.

250 There is evidence for two sons of Ṣālihiyya or Bahriyya who became amirs in 689–709/1290–1310. One, however, seems to have received a *ṭablkhāna* in 697/1297–8, about 40 years after his father is mentioned as amir in the sources (so, apparently like other sons of *mamlūks* in the period he became a *ṭablkhāna* in his thirties). I am guessing that historians simply did not record his promotion to amirate of 10 in an earlier period, or that I missed this record (Table F no. 3). The second case is that of Asad al-Dīn ibn 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram (no. 5 in Table F). Since he and his father are not mentioned by name, I can only guess that he is the son of Aybak al-Afram (d. 695/1296). In addition, he is only mentioned as amir but the specific rank is not mentioned, and the date when he received the amirate is not known. If indeed the father was Aybak al-Afram, and the amirate was that of ten and the date in which he is mentioned as amir was close to the date in which he received the amirate, then we have here an unusual pattern (a gap of 48 years between the amirate of the father and that of the son, and a promotion of a son that was not an in-law after the death of his father). In fact, there is one more case of a son of a Ṣālihi, which is not included in Table G because it was not

Manṣūrī amirs was greater than that of the Ṣālihiyya, since there is no real evidence that their sons were promoted in significantly greater numbers or at a younger age. In Egypt, Kitbughā, who was a favored *mamlūk* of Qalāwūn, became amir circa 671/1272 when he was a bit more than 25 years old. Soon afterwards he started a family. His son Anaṣ became amir only when he was about 22 years old and during the reign of Kitbughā (no. 1 in Table F below). Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī became amir in 678/1279 when he was about 30 years old. Soon afterwards he started a family, and his son Muḥammad is mentioned as commander in 702/1303, when he was roughly 20 years old (no. 6 in Table F).²⁵¹ Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī (d. 689/1290) became amir *ṭablkhāna* in 678/1279 when he was in his early thirties (no. 2 Table F). He started a family a few years earlier when he was about 30. As mentioned, when he died his eldest son was probably about 15 years old, and Ṭurunṭāy, with all the influence he had, could not make him amir during his lifetime. His son Muḥammad became amir only five years after the death of Ṭurunṭāy, when he was probably about 20 years old.

mentioned by Mazor: Sanjar al-Barlī (d. 699/1300, born in 628/1230–1) of the Ṣālihiyya, known by the *kunya* Abū Mūsā, became amir during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars, in all likelihood upon the latter's ascendance to throne in 658/1260, when Sanjar was about 30 years old (he was the first person to be responsible of the *kiswa* after the fall of Baghdād). See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh al-Kabīr lil-Dhahabī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hayla (al-Ṭāʾif: Maktabat al-Ṣadiq, 1988), 2:273–4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:71. Shortly after he became amir, he started a family, and his first-born son Mūsā (d. 698/1299) was born shortly after 660/1261–2 (he is said to have been about 40 years old, but to have been born after 660/1261–2), when Sanjar was in his early thirties. When Mūsā died he was amir of fifty (in Damascus), but he must have become amir of ten much earlier. See al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh*, 2:345; al-Birzālī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:601. We know that his younger brother ʿIsā (d. 691/1292) was amir in Damascus (see al-Birzālī, *Taʾrikh*, 2:289), so Mūsā must have become amir even much before 691/1292. We may only assume that like other sons of Ṣālihiyya he became amir around the age of 20 and became amir of 50 in his early or mid-thirties.

- 251 Levanoni mentions the case of the son of Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī as an example for a son who became amir thanks to the influence of his father. However, he had to wait until he was 20 years old, and his case is not different from other cases discussed. Another example given by Levanoni for a son that was promoted thanks to the influence of his father is that of ʿAlī ibn Aybak al-Khāzindār. See Levanoni, “*ʿAḥlād al-Nās*”, 97; eadem, *A Turning Point*, 44; and see also Mazor, *The Rise*, 188. However, as far as I know, a son of Aybak al-Khāzindār became amir only upon the death of Aybak and even after his death. In fact, the amirate and *iqṭāʾ* of Aybak were given to Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, who decided to contribute, out of charity, an *iqṭāʾ* of ten horsemen to a son of Aybak. See al-ʿAynī, *Iqd al-Jumʿan*, 5:178. Mazor mentions as an example also the case of Muḥammad ibn Makki who received amirate of *ṭablkhāna* due to his father's efforts. See Mazor, *The Rise*, 187–8. However, this case happened only ca. 750/1349, and Muḥammad received this amirate only upon his father's death thanks to the intervention of others. See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 5:279–80.

Table F: *Mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in Egypt in 689–709/1290–1310

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
1. Anaş ibn al- ‘Ādil Kitbughā (d. 723/1323, born ca. 671–2/ 1272–3) ²⁵²	Became amir in 694/1295 ²⁵³	22~	al-‘Ādil Kit- bughā (d. 702/ 1302, 58~) ²⁵⁴	Became amir in 674/1275–6 at the latest, pos- sibly already in 671/1272. Became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> or amir one hun- dred in 678/ 1279. In 679/1281: deputy of sul- tan ²⁵⁵	25–30~ 35~
2. Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy al- Manşūrī (d. 731/1331) ²⁵⁶	Became amir in 694/1295. Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 700/ 1300. ²⁵⁷ Apparently amir of one hundred in 716/1316 ²⁵⁸	20~ roughly ²⁵⁹ 25~ roughly 40~ roughly	Ṭurunṭāy al- Manşūrī (d. 689/1290, 45~) ²⁶⁰	Became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 678/1279. ²⁶¹ Became viceroy in 678/1279	33~

252 He was more than 50 years old but was born (shortly) after 670/1271. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:244; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:629.

253 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:244; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān*, 3:273.

254 He was more than 50 years old when he died in 702/1302 and it is said that he was about 50 when he ascended the throne in 694/1295. See al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, 2:210; al-Jazarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:248–9.

255 Mazor, *The Rise*, 67, 241. Kitbughā was one of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn’s favored *mamlūks* (*khawāṣṣ*) and the latter gave him posts already in the early 670s/1270s.

256 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 4:480.

257 Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276), 286. According to al-Maqrīzī, he became (was?) amir during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 5:744. It seems that by 716/1316 he was already *muqaddam alf*. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:233.

258 al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān*, 3:273.

259 Probably towards 689/1290, a son of Ṭurunṭāy al-Manşūrī married a daughter of Kitbughā (Mazor, *The Rise*, 172). This son could be Muḥammad or his older brother Aḥmad. During the Turkish period, sons of sultans and amirs normally married around the age of 15 (and only rarely much before that age). So, Muḥammad was possibly about 15 years old circa 689/1290.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
3. Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Sa'dī	Received amirate (of <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ?) in 697/1297–8. Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 700/1300 ²⁶²		Aytamush al-Sa'dī/al-Ma-s'ūdī (d. 684/1285)	Mentioned as amir in 657/1259 ²⁶³	
4. Mūsá ibn 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn (d. 713/1313, born ca. 687/1288) ²⁶⁴	Became amir in 698/1299 ²⁶⁵	11~			
5. Asad al-Dīn ibn 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram	Mentioned as amir in 700/1301 ²⁶⁶		Aybak al-Afram? (d. 695/1296, heard traditions in 642/1244–5) ²⁶⁷	Mentioned as amir in 652/1254–5 ²⁶⁸	
6. Muḥammad ibn Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (d. 709/1309)	Mentioned as commander in 702/1303 ²⁶⁹	20~ roughly ²⁷⁰	Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (d. 728/1328, 80~) ²⁷¹	Became amir ca. 678/1279. Apparently became amir of one hundred shortly afterwards ²⁷²	30~

260 al-Jazarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:248–9 (about 45); al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 3:368–9 (less than 50 years old); idem, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 51:370 (less than 50 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 7:385 (less than 50 years old).

261 Mazor, *The Rise*, 67, 239 (he was probably made amir during Qalāwūn's amirate).

262 Ibid., 188 (footnote no. 276).

263 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:38 (amir of the Baḥriyya).

264 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 4:230–1 (said to have been born shortly before 690/1291, but his father died in 687/1288).

265 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:873.

266 Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276).

267 al-Birzālī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:429.

268 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Ta'rikh al-Islām* (628 H/1230 M–659 H/1261 M), ed. Samīr Ṭabbāra (Beirut and Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 1999), 223.

269 Mazor, *The Rise*, 188 (footnote no. 276), 283 (he was not, however, still alive in 761/1360—Muḥammad ibn Qarā Sunqur mentioned in that year is in all likelihood Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Qarā Sunqur. See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 3:473).

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
7. Jaraktamur ibn Bahādūr (d. 742/1342)	Became amir in 708/1309. Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332. Mentioned as <i>mu-qaddam alf</i> in 742/1342 ²⁷³		Bahādūr Ra' s Nawba (d. 693/1293)	Mentioned as amir and commander in 688/1289 ²⁷⁴	
8. Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Jūkandār (d. 710/1310)	Mentioned as amir and governor of Ṣafad in 708/1309 ²⁷⁵		Baktamur al-Jūkandār (d. 711/1311)	Mentioned as amir and commander in 688/1289 ²⁷⁶	
9. Nāṣir ibn Salār al-Man-ṣūrī	Became amir of ten in 709/1310 ²⁷⁷		Salār al-Man-ṣūrī (d. 710/1310, 50 or a little less) ²⁷⁸	Became amir in 687/1288 ²⁷⁹	25~

270 Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, deuxième partie: Syrie du Nord: Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956), 322 (no. 171). The *kunya* of his father was Abū Muḥammad, which suggests that he was the eldest. See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 4:87. His younger brother 'Alī died in 748/1347 in his sixties. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:527 (*ashr al-sab'in*). It is reasonable to assume that Muḥammad was born roughly ca. 680/1281, shortly after his father became amir.

271 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:48 (more than 70 years old); Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Islām*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 253 (*biḍ' wa-thamānūn sana*); al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 4:89 (he was from the same age group [*ṭabaqa*] of Turunṭāy al-Manṣūrī and Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī who were born ca. 645/1247).

272 Mazor, *The Rise*, 242.

273 Ibid., 287; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:366; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:51.

274 Mazor, *The Rise*, 245–6.

275 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:337.

276 Mazor, *The Rise*, 248.

277 Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 51; Mazor, *The Rise*, 285; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 2:107.

278 al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 95 (*la'allahu balagha al-khamsīn sana aw dūnahā*); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 2:106 (*fī ḥudūd al-khamsīn bal lam yablughhā*); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:13 (*awā'il al-kuḥūliyya*); and see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 2:491 (a distortion of al-Dhahabī's version regarding the age of Salār).

279 Mazor, *The Rise*, 249.

Table G: *Mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in Syria in 689–709/1290–1310

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
1. Muḥammad ibn Butkhāṣ al-Manṣūrī (d. 699/1300, born 677/1278)	amir ²⁸⁰	Maximum 22	Butkhāṣ al-Manṣūrī (d. 710–1/1310–2)	Was amir in Syria before 700/1300 ²⁸¹	
2. Muḥammad ibn Bashqurd al-Nāṣirī (d. 702/1303, <i>shābb</i>)	Mentioned as amir in 702/1302 ²⁸²		Bashqurd al-Nāṣirī (d. 702/1302)	Amir in Syria. First mentioned as senior amir in 679/1281 ²⁸³	
3. Qutlījā ibn Balabān al-Jūkandār (d. 720/1320, thirties)	He was a <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Damascus. ²⁸⁴ Apparently became amir after 709/1310 (at that time he became one of the <i>si-lāḥdāriyya</i>)	20 or more	Balabān al-Jūkandār al-Manṣūrī (d. 706/1307)	Mentioned as the governor of (the citadel of) Ṣafad in 689/1290 ²⁸⁵	

In other cases of Manṣūriyya we do not know the age of the sons, but we see the pattern of a gap of about 20 years between the amirate of the father and that of the son (nos. 7–9 in Table F, and nos. 2–3 in Table G). One of these cases is that of Nāṣir, the son of Salār al-Manṣūrī (d. 710/1310) who was one of the two strongest amirs during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Salār was one of the favored *mamlūks* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and he became amir in 687/1289 when he was only about 25 years old. Nāṣir became amir 22 years later in 709/1310. In fact, however, he became amir only after the demise of his father and upon al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's ascendance to the throne for the third time. Even one of the strongest amirs in the period could not appoint his sons to amirates before they were about 20 years old. We do not have any evidence that in 689–709/1290–1310

280 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 4:345.

281 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, 31:258.

282 al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, 4:292. He probably could not have been born after 679/1281, since in that year his father had been apparently imprisoned, practically until he died. See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:676.

283 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:676; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, 182.

284 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 4:128–9.

285 Mazor, *The Rise*, 246; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 8:224.

sons of *mamlūk* amirs became amirs in significantly greater numbers and at a younger age²⁸⁶ due to the controlling position of their fathers.²⁸⁷

In fact, the only *mamlūk*'s descendant in the period under discussion that became amir at a younger age was not a son of a *mamlūk* amir but a grandson of a *mamlūk* sultan. Mūsā ibn al-Šāliḥ 'Alī ibn al-Manšūr Qalāwūn (d. 713/1313, born circa 687/1288) became amir in 698/1299 when he was only about 11 years old (no. 4 in Table F). This happened upon al-Nāšir Muḥammad's ascendance to the throne for the second time,²⁸⁸ and after about four years of reign of two *mamlūks* of al-Manšūr Qalāwūn. At that time, Mūsā ibn al-Šāliḥ 'Alī was the only male descendant of al-Manšūr Qalāwūn that was alive except for al-Nāšir Muḥammad. His promotion to amirate at such a young age was probably meant to build and show the status of the Qalāwūnid family as a royal family and as a focal of loyalty, and to differentiate it from the Manšūrī *mamlūk* amirs. While already enjoying a special status at that time, the Qalāwūnid family will enjoy undisputed status only during al-Nāšir Muḥammad's third reign.

What also testifies to the special status of the Qalāwūnid family already at that period, is that sons of in-laws of the family also seem to have enjoyed some privileged status. At that period, the Qalāwūnid family still did not establish much direct marital ties with the families of Manšūrī *mamlūk* amirs. Perhaps only one such case is attested: Mūsā ibn 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn (d. 713/1313) married a daughter of Salār al-Manšūrī circa 704/1304–5.²⁸⁹ Still, some *mamlūk* amirs such as Kitbughā were indirectly related to the Qalāwūnid family due to their marital ties with the family of al-Ẓāhir Baybars or families of Mongol emigrants. Ṭur-unṭāy al-Manšūrī who became related by marital ties to Kitbughā also became an

286 As evidence that sons of *mamlūks* became amirs at a younger age at the period under discussion, Mazor gave two examples. The first is that of Muḥammad ibn Makkī who was already amir of ten in Syria when he was 20 years old. However, as already mentioned, this happened ca. 750/1349, and, in any case, there is no evidence that he became amir before he was 20 years old. The second is that of Muḥammad ibn Butkhāš al-Manšūrī (d. 699/1300, born 677/1278) who was amir in Syria when he died at the age of 22. Again, there is no evidence that he became amir before the age of 20. See Mazor, *The Rise*, 188–9; and see no. 1 in Table G. I am guessing that Mazor simply thought that the age of 20 was a young age, and that in the early period sons of *mamlūks* would not have become amirs at such an age. The evidence, however, suggests otherwise.

287 Levanoni noted that “[w]hen political stability returned with al-Nāšir Muḥammad's third reign, some weakening in the status of the senior amirs and a lower number of mamluk sons being recruited into the army could have been expected. In actual fact, not only did this kind of practice continue during al-Nāšir Muḥammad's reign but... Mamluk norms were completely put aside”. See Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 44. This fact alone goes against the argument that in 689–709/1290–1310 “[t]he controlling position of the amirs... became a determining factor in the increase in number of sons of Mamluks who were recruited into the army”. See at footnote no. 242 above.

288 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 4:230.

289 Ibid., 4:230–1.

in-law of the Qalāwūnid family. While their sons could not become amirs before the age of 20, they could become amirs years after the death of their fathers, and it seems that after becoming amirs their promotion was faster than normal thanks for being in-laws of the Qalāwūnid family. Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī was promoted by his in-law al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā to amirate in 694/1295, when he was probably about 20 years old (see no. 2 in Table F). However, six years later, during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, when he was roughly in his mid-twenties, he was already amir *ṭablkhāna* (when usually sons of *mamlūks* reached that rank in their early or mid-thirties),²⁹⁰ and he apparently was amir of one hundred at the age of 40 at the latest. The phenomenon of in-laws of the Qalāwūnid family, however, will become much more conspicuous and significant only starting from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign,²⁹¹ and it is correlated by a dramatic increase in the numbers of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs during his third reign and especially after his death.

6 Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (709–741/1310–1341)

Levanoni found 93 amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants in that period. Moreover, she used a unique and valuable list compiled by Ibn al-Dawādārī of amirs who were left in Egypt in 732/1332 when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad performed the pilgrimage, including *mamlūks*' descendants, in order to argue that *mamlūks*' descendants held *iqṭāʿ*s as valuable as those granted to the *khāṣṣakiyya mamlūk* amirs. The amirs were ordered to provide carpets, the size of which corresponded to the tax yield of their *iqṭāʿ*. Levanoni found that some *mamlūks*' descendants were ordered to provide as big a carpet as their *mamlūk* peers. I will return to this issue later.²⁹² First, however, it should be added that it seems that the list of amirs left in Egypt contains only amirs of *ṭablkhāna* and *muqaddam alfs*. Besides this list, Ibn al-Dawādārī also provides a list of names of amirs of *ṭablkhāna* and

290 Note that, similarly, during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars, his in-law Aqsunqur, the son of the Mongol emigrant Karāy, probably did not become amir before the age of 20 but was already amir *ṭablkhāna* around his mid-twenties. See above at footnotes nos. 181–2.

291 See P.M. Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred, and Affinity", in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd International Colloquium*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel De Smet (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1995); Levanoni, "Awlād al-Nās", 99–100; Jo Van Steenberghe, "Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9/2 (2005), 192–4; idem, "The Mamluk Sultanate as a Military Patronage State: Household Politics and the Case of the Qalāwūnid Bayt", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56/2 (2013), 201.

292 Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 44; eadem, "Awlād al-Nās", 97–9; and see at footnotes nos. 506–7 in part 7.6 below.

muqaddam alfs that left for the pilgrimage together with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It seems that both lists together offer a comprehensive list of names of *ṭablkhānas* and *muqaddam alfs* in Cairo in 732/1332. As such, this underused list of names can provide us valuable and exact information on the share of *mamlūks*' descendants in the ranks of *ṭablkhāna* and *muqaddam alf* in Cairo at a given moment.

Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions the names of 17 *muqaddam alfs* and 43 *ṭablkhānas* who left Egypt for the pilgrimage (he starts with the *muqaddams*).²⁹³ Then he mentions the names of 70 amirs left in Egypt and ordered to provide carpets.²⁹⁴ The first six were ordered to provide carpets in the size of 200 or 167 cubits (first, one providing 200, and then five providing 167). These were clearly *muqaddam alfs*, thus, together with the 17 that left Egypt there were 23 *muqaddam alfs* in Cairo, but, as we shall see below, the list seems to mention two more, so there were 25. The next 64 were ordered to provide carpets in sizes ranging between 50 and 100 cubits, however, the list of names is not arranged according to the size of the carpet. Except for two, these 64 amirs were in all likelihood *ṭablkhānas*. Seven of them were ordered to provide 50 cubits. These were governors of provinces in Egypt (*wulāt* and *kushshāf*) with the rank of *ṭablkhāna*.²⁹⁵ At the *rawk* in 715/1315 it was decided that amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo will receive between 30,000 DJ a year (the “outsiders”—*kharjiyya*) and 40,000 DJ a year (the *khāṣṣakiyya*), amirs of ten in Cairo between 7,000 DJ a year (*kharjiyya*) and 10,000 DJ a year (the *khāṣṣakiyya*), *kushshāf* with the rank of *ṭablkhāna* 20,000 DJ, and *wulāt* with the rank of *ṭablkhāna* receive 15,000 DJ a year.²⁹⁶ So, the status of governors of the provinces with the rank of *ṭablkhāna* was between that of amirs of ten and amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo.²⁹⁷ So, the amirs ordered to provide more than 50 cubits

293 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:366–7.

294 Ibid., 9:367–9.

295 Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions explicitly by title four governors: Qashtamur the governor of al-Gharbiyya, Qayghulī the governor of al-Bahnasā, Mubārak the governor of al-Buḥayra, and Khiḍr al-Kamālī the governor of Asyūṭ (= al-Wajh al-Qibli). See Ibid., 9:369. All these four provinces were supposed to be governed by amir *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:25–7. The other three amirs ordered to provide 50 cubits in 732/1332 were Aydamur al-Sayfī, Aydamur al-'Alā'ī, and Iyāz al-Dawādārī. Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions in his chronicle in 734/1333–4 Aydamur that was the governor of al-Wajh al-Baḥrī (*wālī al-wulāt*), and Iyāz al-Dawādārī that was one of the governors of the provinces (*wulāt*). Al-Maqrīzī mentions that in 731/1331 Iyās al-Dawādārī became the governor of al-Munūfiyya. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:378; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:330. The governor (*kāshif*) of al-Wajh al-Baḥrī and the governor (*wālī*) of al-Munūfiyya were amirs of *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:26–7; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379; and see footnote no. 44 above. So, apparently all seven amirs ordered to provide 50 cubits were governors of the provinces of Egypt with the rank of *ṭablkhāna*.

296 Sato, *State*, 154.

297 While the range of the *'ibras* somewhat changed ca. 778/1377, the *wulāt* with the rank of *ṭablkhāna* still received less than amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo and more than amirs of ten in

were clearly at least amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo. In fact, except for those ordered to provide 200 and 167 cubits, two more of them seem to have been *muqaddam alfs* (the only two ordered to provide 100 cubits).²⁹⁸ So, among the amirs left in Egypt in Ibn al-Dawādārī's list we have 55 amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo. Together with the 43 who left for the pilgrimage we have 98 amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in total.

Likely, we have here a full list of names of amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in 732/1332. It is true that at the *rawk* the number of amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo was (ideally?) set on 200, however we should not treat the number as a constant. As we shall see in part 7.6 below, the number of *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 decreased even further, and during the ninth/fifteenth century it continued to

Cairo. At that time, the average tax yield of amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo was about 24,289 DJ, and that of amir of ten in Cairo about 5,211 DJ (see Tables J and K in parts 7.6 and 7.7 below). The four largest *'ibras* of *wulāt* with the rank of *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 were 17,700 DJ, 12,000 DJ, 10,500 DJ, and 10,000 DJ, all below the average tax yield of amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo (see Appendix II, sections A13.1–4). While references to the *wulāt* in the *Tuhfa* are not complete and sometimes they are referred to simply as “amirs”, the tax yield allocated to “amirs” in the *Tuhfa* is relatively marginal, and in any case the average tax yield allocated to *wulāt* with the rank of *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 was lower than that allocated to amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo but higher than that allocated to amirs of ten in Cairo. It was probably about 10,000–11,000 DJ. See discussion at footnotes nos. 41–53 above. As for the *kāshifs* of al-Wajh al-Qibli and al-Wajh al-Bahrī, their status ca. 778/1377 was higher than their status at the *rawk* (or in 732/1332). They were allocated 22,500 DJ and 34,000 DJ, in average more than amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo (see Appendix I, section 2.5, nos. 2–3). Indeed, shortly after 778/1377, during the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq, the two *kāshifs* became *nā'ibs* with the rank of *muqaddam alf*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:25.

298 I could corroborate that at least half of them are mentioned as amirs of *ṭablkhāna* during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Mamluk chronicles or biographical dictionaries. According to Levanoni, 'Alī ibn Salār (ordered to provide 66 cubits) was amir of ten, however, he was amir *ṭablkhāna*. See Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 99; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:273. I did not find contradicting evidence regarding the rest, except for two problematic cases, both (and only they) were ordered to provide 100 cubits, which is the highest limit before that of *muqaddam alfs*. They were apparently at some point *muqaddam alfs* (however, one perhaps in Syria), and one (Bahādūr al-Badrī) is even mentioned in the list right after the six *muqaddam alfs* (with 167 cubits and 200 cubits). However, the second (Khāṣṣ Turk) is mentioned between names of amirs of *ṭablkhāna*. Note that we found only 23 *muqaddam alfs* in the lists of Ibn al-Dawādārī. At the *rawk* there were 24, and on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death there were even 25. See Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite”, 174. In fact, it would seem that the number was fixed on 25 already in 726/1325–6. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:88. Thus, it would seem that the two were in fact *muqaddam alfs*. Still, the fact that the gap between the size of the carpet they were ordered to provide (100 cubits) and that of *muqaddam alfs* (minimum 167 cubits), is much bigger than the gap with the next size of amir *ṭablkhāna* (84 cubits), and the fact that the name of one of them appears between the names of *ṭablkhānas* and not next to the *muqaddam alfs*, pose a problem. The two were perhaps amirs of 50–80. See a relevant discussion in part 7.5 below, at footnotes nos. 446–70.

decrease.²⁹⁹ In addition, Ibn al-Dawādārī's list apparently includes all *muqaddam alfs* (25 in number), and the fact that he even mentions *ṭablkhānas* who were governors of provinces whose status was lower than that of *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo, suggests that he had the intention to provide a full list of amirs of *ṭablkhāna* and *muqaddam alfs* in Egypt.³⁰⁰

Among the 25 *muqaddam alfs* we do not find even one *mamlūk*'s descendant. However, this seems to be mere happenstance because there were clearly some before and after 732/1332. We do find three free persons among the *muqaddam alfs*: Janklī ibn Albābā (d. 746/1346) the Mongol emigrant, Ṭayirbughā/Zahīrbughā (d. 738/1337) the maternal relative of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Ṣūṣūn/Sūsūn (d. 734/1334) the brother of Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 742/1342) who was also the in-law of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.³⁰¹ Among the 98 *ṭablkhānas* we find 13 *mamlūks*' descendants, that is, about 13% (see Table H below).³⁰² In addition, there were at least 15 *ṭablkhānas* (about 15%) who were free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants. Four of them were maternal relatives of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and one his in-law.³⁰³ So, about 28% of the *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 732/1332 were free persons.

299 On the ninth/fifteenth century see Ayalon, "Studies II", 471 (in the tenth/sixteenth century the numbers were higher); Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 98–9. On the number of *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377, see Table J in part 7.6 below.

300 Even if not full, it is as close as it gets to a full list at that period.

301 See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:366. And see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 2:635–6; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminā*, 3:253; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 160, 222; Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Yahyā al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāṣir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1986), 212. In fact, Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī himself was only formally a slave. He is defined as *ibn nās*, i.e., of free Muslim origin. Another *muqaddam alf* was Bahādūr al-Mu'izzī (d. 739/1338) who according to some was a slave, and according to others was *ibn nās* from Aleppo, apparently a Muslim Turkmen. See Yosef, "The Term *Awlād al-Nās*" (at footnotes nos. 15–16). We may conclude that about 10–20% of the *muqaddam alfs* at that time were free persons, or of free Muslim origin, most of them were relatives or in-laws of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

302 In fact, I believe that one of the 13, Jaraktamur ibn Bahādūr, was actually not a *mamlūk*'s descendant. See footnote no. 244 above; and see no. 7 in Table F.

303 Maternal relatives: Yahyā ibn Ṭayirbughā, Burulghay [al-Ṣaghīr ibn Ṭūmān], Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī [al-Sāqī], and Muḥammad ibn Jumaq (see Nakamachi, "A Reconsideration", 59; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:283–4, 498; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminā*, 1:281; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 33). In-laws: Ṭughunjaq (d. 738/1337), Qawṣūn's maternal uncle. See al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 33. Free Turkmen: according to his *nisba*, Qarājā al-Turkmānī was a free Turkmen, therefore, also his brother Aūlajā (in the list) who never appears with a master *nisba* (on Aūlajā, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:637). Mongol emigrants or other emigrants: Muḥammad ibn Janklī, Nawrūz the relative of Janklī, Abājī, Arlān, and Bāwūr (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:77, 499; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminā*, 1:278; 3:253). Other free persons: according to their names, Yūsuf al-Jākī, Khalīl the brother of Ṭaqsubā, and Bahādūr ibn Qaramān were free persons. Khalīl was probably an emigrant and Bahādūr was probably a Turkmen. As mentioned, it is possible that Jaraktamur ibn Bahādūr was a free person but not a *mamlūk*'s descendant (see footnote no. 302 above). In addition, many of the names in the lists appear

Table H: *Mamlūks*' descendants who were *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 732/1332³⁰⁴

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
1. 'Alī ibn Salār al-Manṣūrī (d. 742/1341)	Became amir of ten in 709/1310. Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> (shortly?) after (or upon) the death of his father in 710/1310 ³⁰⁵		Salār al-Manṣūrī (d. 710/1310, 50 or a little less)	Became amir in 687/1288	25~
2. 'Alī ibn [Tughrīl] al-Nughā'ī [= al-Īghānī] (d. 749/1348)	Became amir in 711/1311. ³⁰⁶ Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 725/1325. ³⁰⁷ Became <i>mu-qaddam alf</i> in 747/1346 ³⁰⁸		Tughrīl al-Īghānī (d. 709/1310)	Mentioned as amir in 691/1291 ³⁰⁹	
3. Albars/Albarṣ ibn [Baybars al-Nāṣirī] Amīr Jāndār (d. 733/1333) ³¹⁰	Became amir in 711/1311. ³¹¹ Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332		Baybars al-Nāṣirī [Ṭaqṣū] (d. 691/1291, 60~) ³¹²	Became amir during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars ³¹³	

without a master *nisba*, and it is very difficult to tell a *mamlūk* from an emigrant in the list. My impression is that there are more emigrants in the list, but the evidence is not conclusive.

304 The table does not include Jaraktamur ibn Bahādur, who was already mentioned (no. 7 in Table F), and perhaps was not a *mamlūk*'s descendant. See footnote no. 302 above.

305 Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 49; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:11; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:273 (*a'ṭāhu al-Malik al-Nāṣir ṭablkhāna ba'da qatl wālidihī*); al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 220 (*ammara al-sulṭān waladahu* [i.e., Khalīl the son of Salār] *'alā ṭablkhāna ba'dahu*).

306 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:212.

307 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:260. He was still *ṭablkhāna* in 740/1340. See *ibid.*, 2:498. And still in 742/1341–2. See Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 41–2.

308 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:705, 795; and see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 3:385; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 41–2.

309 Mazor, *The Rise*, 62.

310 al-Jazarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:636.

311 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:212.

312 al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 52:121 (about 60 years old).

313 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:531.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
4. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333, al-most 20)	Became <i>mu-qaddam alf</i> ca. 727/1327. Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332	13~ ³¹⁴	Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333, middle aged) ³¹⁵	Became amir in 709/1309 ³¹⁶	
5. Muḥammad ibn [Bilik] al-Muḥsinī Wālī al-Qāhira (his apparently younger brother Aḥmad was born in 699/1299) ³¹⁷	Became <i>wālī</i> of Cairo (= <i>ṭablkhāna</i>) in 730/1329–30. ³¹⁸ Became <i>mu-qaddam alf</i> during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (755–762/1354–1361) ³¹⁹	more than 30 about 60 or more	Bilik al-Muḥsinī al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338–9)	Became amir before 678/1280 ³²⁰	
6. 'Umar ibn [Arghūn] al-Nā'ib (d. 773/1372) ³²¹	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 731/1330–1. ³²² Became <i>mu-qaddam alf</i> in 751/1350 ³²³		Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī (d. 731/1331, 45~) ³²⁴	Became amir in Cairo in 709/1310 ³²⁵	20~ or a bit more

314 Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bil-Wafayāt*, ed. Helmut Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962–2004), 6:267; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 41; Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 99; Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 66.

315 al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 285 (*kuhūla*).

316 Mazor, *The Rise*, 271.

317 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 1:355 (Aḥmad had a lower rank, and he is said to have followed his brother when transferred to Syria and then back to Egypt); 5:470–1.

318 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:354. Before that, he was the governor of al-Munūfiyya which was also normally governed by a *ṭablkhāna*.

319 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:317.

320 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:584–5.

321 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:405.

322 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 44; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:287.

323 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:217; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:203. Only in 765/1363 he became governor of Ṣafad and his *taqdima* in Egypt was transferred to another amir, however, he seems to have become *muqaddam alf* in Egypt once again in 766/1365. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:90, 99.

324 al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 8:360 (*biḍ' wa-arba'ūn sana*); idem, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 1:455 (*biḍ' wa-arba'ūn sana*), 452 (al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn bought Arghūn when he was young for his son al-Nāṣir

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
7. Abū Bakr ibn [Arghūn] al-Nāʾib (married in 722/1321)	Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332. Became <i>mu-qaddam alf</i> in 742/1341–2 ³²⁶	Roughly 25~ roughly 35~	Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī (d. 731/1331, 45~)	Became amir in Cairo in 709/1310	20~ or a bit more
8. ʿUmar [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Ṭaqṣū (d. 750/1349–50) ³²⁷	Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332		Baybars al-Nāṣirī [Ṭaqṣū] (d. 691/1291, 60~)	Became amir during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars	
9. Jawhar ibn Al-malik	Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332		Almalik al-Jūkandār (d. 747/1346, captured 676/1277, 90+) ³²⁸	Mentioned as amir in 698/1299 ³²⁹	40~ or more
10. ʿAlī ibn Ay-dughmish	Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332		Aydughmish Amīr Akhūr al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342)	Became amir in 709/1310 ³³⁰	

Muḥammad and the two grew up together); and see al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 4:90 (*kahl*). Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn died in 689/1290, so Arghūn was more than 42 years old, and he was probably about the same age as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who was born in 684/1285. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is said to have “adopted” Arghūn, so the latter was perhaps slightly younger than the former. See Koby Yosef, “Masters and Slaves: Substitute Kinship in the Mamlūk Sultanate”, in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, VIII, ed. U. Vermeulen, K. D’Hulster, and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 562.

325 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 32:118; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffāʾ*, 2:19.

326 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 41; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 2:246

327 In the list, and sometimes in other sources, he appears as ʿUmar ibn Ṭaqṣū. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:796. For his identification as ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqṣū, see Karl Wilhelm Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hīgra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1919), 210, 217–8.

328 Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīhi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub, 1976–1986), 3:83 (more than 90 years old). As far as I know, Ibn Ḥabīb is the only historian that mentions the age of Almalik. Joseph Drory thinks that he perhaps exaggerated a bit. See Joseph Drory, “Aalmalik u-ketuboto”, *Cathedra* 117 (2005), 75. Almalik was captured in 676/1277, so even if he was not more than 90 years old as Ibn Ḥabīb claims, he was probably not much younger than 90.

329 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:231.

330 al-Shujāʾī, *Taʾrikh*, 251.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Father	Amirate of father	Age at amirate (father)
11. Muḥammad ibn [Baybars?] al-Aḥmadī (d. 752/1351–2) ³³¹	Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332		Baybars al-Aḥmadī? (d. 746/1345, seventies or 80) ³³²	Mentioned as amir in 708/1309. ³³³ But in 709/1310 became <i>muqaddam alf</i> ³³⁴	35–40~
12. 'Alī ibn [Aydāmūr] al-Khaṭīrī (d. 762/1361) ³³⁵	Mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 732/1332		Aydāmūr al-Khaṭīrī al-Manṣūrī (d. 737/1337, almost 80) ³³⁶	Became amir in 698/1299 ³³⁷	almost 40

As for the *mamlūks*' descendants, no less than eight of the thirteen were in-laws of the Qalāwūnid family (about 62%). The five who were not in-laws were all descendants of Manṣūrī *mamlūks* (nos. 2, 11, 12 in Table H, and no. 7 in Table F that was already discussed) or of veteran *mamlūks* of previous generations (no. 5 in Table H). The pattern of promotion of the sons of amirs who were not in-laws is normally similar to that of previous periods. Normally, the first amirate comes about 20 years after the amirate of the father, the amirate of *ṭablkhāna* comes about 35 years after the amirate of the father, and if promoted to amirate of one hundred it comes about 50 years or more after the amirate of the father (the gaps of course should represent the estimated age of the sons).³³⁸ Normally, they were

331 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:223 (died as *ṭablkhāna*).

332 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:81 (more than 70 years old); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:296 (more than 70 years old); al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 2:83 ('*ashr al-thamānīn*'); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:698 ('*ashr al-thamānīn*'); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:143 ('*ashr al-thamānīn*'); idem, *al-Manhal*, 3:480 ('*ashr al-thamānīn*'); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:460 ('*ashr al-thamānīn*'); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:107 (about 80 years old).

333 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 8:176.

334 Mazor, *The Rise*, 268–9.

335 Ended his life as amir in Syria. See Mazor, *The Rise*, 284; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 3:18.

336 al-Jazarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:975–6; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:312.

337 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:873–4. The evidence that Mazor gives for amirate in 690/1291 is far from being conclusive. See Mazor, *The Rise*, 62.

338 'Alī ibn Tughril al-Ighānī (no. 2 in Table H) became amir 20 years after the amirate of the father, 14 years later he is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna*, and 22 years later he became *muqaddam alf*. 'Alī ibn Aydamūr al-Khaṭīrī (no. 12) is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* 34 years after his father became amir. Sometimes the gaps are even larger. Muḥammad ibn Bilik al-Muḥsinī (no. 5) is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* 52 years after his father is mentioned as amir, and at least 26 more

promoted to amirates during the lifetime of their fathers (nos. 5, 11, 12 in Table H) or shortly after the death of their fathers (no. 2 in Table H).

As for the in-laws, they could become amirs at a younger age, and years after the death of their fathers. Two of them were descendants of Baybars al-Nāṣirī [Ṭaqṣū] (d. 691/1291, about 60 years old) who was amir during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (see no. 3 in Table H).³³⁹ His sons do not seem to have become amirs during his lifetime. However, apparently after his death, his son Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqṣū married a “maternal aunt” (d. 740/1340) of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (*khālat al-sulṭān*). She gave birth to ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqṣū (d. 749/1348–9).³⁴⁰ The marriage must have taken place before circa 710/1310, because ‘Umar’s daughter consummated a marriage in 741/1340 with an 18-year-old husband,³⁴¹ so if we assume that she was about 15 years old at that time, and that her father ‘Umar was at least 15 years old when he had her, then ‘Umar must have been born before circa 710/1310, but probably after 704/1305.³⁴² Being an in-

years passed before he became *muqaddam alf*. In this case we probably have partial information. In any case, we know that Muḥammad ibn Bilik was more than 30 years old when mentioned as *ṭablkhāna*. The only exceptional case seems to be that of Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Aḥmadī who is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* only 24 years after his father is mentioned as amir. One year after Baybars al-Aḥmadī is mentioned for the first time as amir in 708/1309 he was apparently already *muqaddam alf*, so perhaps we have here gaps in information. If Baybars indeed became amir only in 708/1309 he would have been about 35 or even 40 years old at that year, somewhat older than the normal age for amirate. However, there were other cases of Manṣūriyya who were too young to be promoted during the days of Qalāwūn, who after his death became amirs around the age of 40 (see Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī—no. 12), perhaps especially if Burjis (Baybars al-Aḥmadī and Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī were Burjis).

339 While we do not know the exact year of the amirate, we may assume that he started a family when he was about 35 years old or less, because a daughter of his consummated marriage in 681/1282 (we assume that she was about 15 years old at that time or a bit more). See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir ‘āt al-Zamān*, 4:145. So, he probably became amir during the early years of the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars.

340 Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 210.

341 Ibid., 217–8.

342 The mother of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was Ashlūn, the daughter of the Mongol emigrant Saktāy who arrived in Egypt in 675/1276. Qalāwūn married Ashlūn in 680/1281–2, after the death of her father. Another daughter of Saktāy was married at about the same time to the amir Bahādūr ibn Bijār al-Bayburtī (d. 680/1281, in his sixties), the emigrant from Bilād al-Rūm. See Nakamachi, “A Reconsideration of the Wāfidiyah”, 78; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:225; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:427. From the 670s/1270s until 704/1305 there is no mention of other maternal relatives of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but in 704/1305 maternal relatives of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad started arriving in Egypt from the Ilkhanate. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:281. Later in the 720s/1320s arrive in Egypt Ṭayirbughā, defined as a “relative” (al-Shujā‘ī, *Ta’rikh*, 33), and Aḥmad, defined as a “son of the aunt” of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (see Nakamachi, “A Reconsideration of the Wāfidiyah”, 59). Al-Ṣafadī says that the relatives of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad were coming to Egypt in great numbers, and that some of them were going back and forth from Egypt to the Ilkhanate. See al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 2:636. To me it seems that the “maternal aunt” whom Muḥammad

law, 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqṣū (no. 8 in Table H) could become *ṭablkhāna* when he was less than 30 years old. Albars/Albarṣ ibn Ṭaqṣū (no. 3 in Table H) could become amir in 711/1311, 20 years after the death of his father, because his brother Muḥammad established marital ties with the Qalāwūnids (in fact, Albars probably became amir shortly after the marriage).

Other in-laws were Maṣṣūrī amirs. Salār al-Maṣṣūrī's marital ties with the Qalāwūnids were already discussed.³⁴³ His son 'Alī (no. 1) became amir of ten in 709/1310, twenty-two years after his father's amirate. However, one year later, upon his father's death or shortly afterwards, he already became *ṭablkhāna*. Almalik al-Jūkandār (d. 747/1346) is reported to have been in 721/1321 the husband of a daughter of Baysarī al-Shamsī who was a relative (milk brother) of al-Zāhir Baybars,³⁴⁴ thus related indirectly also to the Qalāwūnids.³⁴⁵ His son Jawhar (no. 9) is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* 34 years after his father is mentioned as amir. While this is a normal gap, the apparently younger brother of Jawhar, Aḥmad (d. 793/1391), became *ṭablkhāna* during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (that is, in 732–741/1332–1341—he is not mentioned in Ibn al-Dawādārī's list), and since he was about 70 years old when he died, he must have been less than 18 years old when he became a *ṭablkhāna*. Later, he became *muqaddam alf* during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, when he must have been less than 40 years old, and probably even less than 35.³⁴⁶

Most of the in-laws were sons of *mamlūks* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, however, those who became his *mamlūks* until 709/1310. Ayduḡhmish Amīr Ākhūr al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342) probably became the *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad after the death of his former master in 700/1300.³⁴⁷ He became amir in 709/1310 (no. 10 in Table H). Ayduḡhmish was the in-law (*ṣihr*) of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭayirbughā, the

ibn Ṭaqṣū married, was in fact one of the maternal relatives of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who started arriving in Egypt in 704/1305. Note that the daughters of Saktāy that were married ca. 680/1281–2 had husbands who were about 60 years old, and at that time Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqṣū must have been very young (probably not more than 20). It is unlikely that he indeed married a daughter of Saktāy.

343 See at footnote no. 289 above.

344 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:232; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 181. On Baysarī, see Koby Yosef, "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: Brill, 2017), 25.

345 He became amir at a relatively late age because when he was captured, he was already about 20 years old or even more. See no. 9 in Table H.

346 On his rank, see Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 41. On his age, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:392 (more than 60 years old); Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farida fi Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufida*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 1:184 (a bit more than 70 years old).

347 Mazor, *The Rise*, 278.

maternal relative of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who arrived in Egypt in 726/1326.³⁴⁸ ‘Alī ibn Ayduḡmish is mentioned as amir *ṭablkhāna* in 732/1332, only 23 years after his father became amir (no. 10).

Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333, middle aged) was originally the *mamlūk* of Baybars al-Jashānkīr who made him amir in 709/1309 (he was probably in his late twenties at that time, but the evidence is not conclusive). He became the *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad upon his return to power in 709/1310. No later than 713/1313, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married one of his favorite slave girls (*ḥaṣīyya*) to Baktamur al-Sāqī.³⁴⁹ According to the perceptions of the time, such a marriage created in-law ties (*ṣahāra*).³⁵⁰ Around 714/1314, the former slave girl of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave birth to Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333), who became *muqaddam alf* circa 727/1327 when he was only about 13 years old (no. 4 in Table H). However, in the list of Ibn al-Dawādārī he is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* in 732/1332. Muḥammad, the younger brother of Aḥmad, seems to have become amir of ten when he was still a minor (he is not in the list). A sale document from 733/1333, shortly after the death of Baktamur and Aḥmad, mentions Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad and his two sisters Fāṭima and Sutayta, the children of Baktamur al-Sāqī, who sell their (inherited) property to their mother Qarājā bint ‘Abdallāh. The sale is made by an agent (*wakīl*) in the name of the children, so it would seem that they were all minors at that time.³⁵¹ There is reason to believe that Qarājā was the former slave girl of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.³⁵² Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī became amir of *ṭablkhāna* in 742/1341,³⁵³ when he was about 20 years old or less. The sultan who gave him this rank was al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who was married at that time to Muḥammad’s sister (*akhū zawj al-sultān*).³⁵⁴ The web of marital ties that connected al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Baktamur al-Sāqī and made the former treat the latter and his sons “like his own family” was documented in detail by Doris Behrens-Abouseif who showed that

348 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:57. On Yaḥyā ibn Ṭāyirbughā see footnote no. 303 above.

349 al-Ṣafādī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:709; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “*Waqf* as Remuneration and the Family Affairs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Baktimur al-Sāqī”, in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 56, 60.

350 Gunhild Graf, *Die Epitome der Universalchronik Ibn ad-Dawādārīs im Verhältnis zur Langfassung: Eine quellenkritische Studie zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Mamluken* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1990), 93–4 (Arabic text).

351 Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Fihrist Wathā’iq al-Qāhira ḥattā Nihāyat ‘Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (239–922 AH/853–1516 AD)* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1981), 10–11.

352 Behrens-Abouseif, “*Waqf*”, 62.

353 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 47.

354 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:203. She was the widow of Ānūk ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1340) that was later married to other sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. See Behrens-Abouseif, “*Waqf*”, 57–60.

al-Nāṣir Muḥammad used *waqf*, aside the usual *iqṭā'*, to remunerate his favorite amir “and secure an income for his progeny”, by that securing his own descendants' livelihood.³⁵⁵ It may be added that he (and after him his sons) also granted the sons of his in-laws amirates at a young age.

Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī (d. 731/1331, about 45 years old) was bought by Qalāwūn for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who is said to have “adopted” him. The special status of Arghūn is indicated by the fact that he is mentioned as amir already in 709/1310 when he was only about 20 years old or a bit more (no. 6 in Table H).³⁵⁶ It seems that at about the same time he also started a family—his son Abū Bakr married in 722/1322 the eldest daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the first to be married off,³⁵⁷ and Abū Bakr was probably about 15 years old at that time or a bit less. Thus, Arghūn became also an in-law of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Abū Bakr is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* in 732/1332 when he was probably about 25 years old or a bit less, and he became *muqaddam alf* in 742/1341–2 when he was probably about 35 years old or a bit less (no. 7). His (apparently younger) brother 'Umar (d. 773/1372) became *ṭablkhāna* in 731/1330–1 and *muqaddam alf* in 751/1350 (no. 6). While his age is not known, he could not have been much more than 20 years old in 731/1330–1 (and perhaps even less).³⁵⁸ In 735/1334, 'Umar married Ṭulunbāy bint Uzbek the divorcee of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, thus extending the marital ties between the family of Arghūn and that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.³⁵⁹

355 Behrens-Abuseif, “*Waqf*” (esp. 65–6).

356 ‘Adopted’ or ‘fostered’ *mamlūks* were considered family and enjoyed a special status. An example of a ‘fostered’ *mamlūk* who is said to have had a status of son in the household of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī (d. 743/1342) who was of the same age group of Arghūn al-Dawādār (i.e., he was born ca. 685/1286). See Yosef, “Masters”, 562; idem, “Usages”, 30–2. Ṭashtamur became amir in 712/1312, when he was probably in his mid- to late-twenties. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:34. Apparently, at about the same time he started a family—one of his two sons, probably Muḥammad who was the elder, was circumcised in 722/1322, and normally sons of amirs and sultans were circumcised between the age of five and ten. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:237. The two sons of Ṭashtamur received amirates in 736/1335–6. See *ibid.*, 2:403. Muḥammad became amir *ṭablkhāna* already during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (i.e., in 736–741/1335–1341), when he must have been in his mid- to late-twenties), and became *muqaddam alf* in 746/1345, when he was probably in his early- to mid-thirties. Ṭashtamur's younger son Aḥmad became amir of fifty in 742/1342 (when he was probably in his twenties) and *muqaddam alf* in 759/1358 (probably in his forties). See al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfī*, 3:170; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 207; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:684; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 43; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:304.

357 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:249.

358 Other sons of Arghūn became amirs. Muḥammad (d. 727/1327), who was probably older than Abū Bakr, was amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo already in 720/1320, when he must have been 15 years old or less (he is not mentioned in the list because he died in 727/1327). See Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 169; al-Ṣafādī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 4:317.

359 Holt, “An-Nāṣir Muḥammad”, 316–7.

So, descendants of in-laws could become amirs years after the death of their fathers,³⁶⁰ and at a younger age than descendants of *mamlūks* who were not in-laws.³⁶¹ In fact, the situation in 732/1332 encapsulated in Ibn al-Dawādārī's list is only a precursor of what followed. In general, until the 720s/1320s, sultans, and more specifically the Qalāwūnids, did not give their daughters in marriage to their *mamlūks* and did not take wives from the families of their *mamlūk* amirs (they mainly took Mongol wives in order to enhance their status and legitimacy). There were only few direct marital ties between the sultans and their *mamlūks* or *mamlūk* amirs. Most of the marital ties connecting the Qalāwūnids to *mamlūk* amirs were indirect (via marital ties to the family of al-Zāhir Baybars, and then Kitbughā) or, apparently starting from circa 704/1305, via marital ties with maternal relatives of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Only starting from the 720s/1320s, with the consolidation of the status of the Qalāwūnids viz-a-viz their *mamlūk* amirs and viz-a-viz the Ilkhans, the marriage policy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad started to be directed inwards. He divorced his Mongol wives and ceased to seek for himself wives from established families or from the families of free Mongol emigrants, and began to choose *mamlūk* women, or women from the families of his *mamlūks*. Approximately at the same time, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad began to marry off

360 During the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad we can mention also Qalbars (d. 730/1330) the son of Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī (d. 689/1290). His father was an in-law of al-Zāhir Baybars, thus also of Qalāwūn. See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 16:508. Qalbars himself married in 695/1296 a daughter of al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā who was also an in-law of Qalāwūn. See Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fākhirī, *Ta'rikh al-Fākhirī*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2010), 155. Qalbars is said to have been a *shābb* when he died in 730/1330, a term that usually denotes young people until the age of forty, but sometimes even people in their forties. Clearly, he could not have been less than 40 years old when he died because his father had died in 689/1290. Because Qalbars married in 695/1296, we may assume that at that time he was about 15 years old and not much less, so he was probably in his mid-forties or almost 50 years old when he died. When his father died, he was clearly a minor and, in that period, still not eligible for amirate. However, in 722/1322, thirty-three years after the death of his father, he is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* in Egypt, a rank he held until 729/1328 when he was transferred to Syria as *muqaddam alf*. See al-Jazarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:436–7; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 33:27, 216, 241.

361 In fact, as far as I know, the only *mamlūk*'s descendant who was not an in-law that became amir at a young age during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib who was granted amirate of ten in 729/1329 when he was 13 years old. His younger brother 'Abdallāh, who was five years old at that time, received *iqṭā'*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:314; Levanoni, "Awlād al-Nās", 99. Significantly, it was upon the death of his father, and al-Nuwayrī describes it as an act of charity (*aḥsana al-sulṭān ilā warathatihi*), and mentions the young age of the son, suggesting that it was an unusual event. See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 33:222. It is not entirely clear how widespread was the phenomenon of amirates at a young age among in-laws, especially after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Still, even after his death, when it seems that a few prominent amirs who were not in-laws could promote their sons to amirates at a young age (especially starting from the 760s/1360s), the phenomenon still characterized mostly descendants of in-laws or other *mamlūks* considered as family.

his own sons and daughters, as well as his *ummahāt al-awlād*, to his own *mamlūks* or their relatives.

The eldest daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was married in 722/1322 to Abū Bakr the son of Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī, one of the first *mamlūks* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad that was bought for him by his father, and not to Arghūn himself. The reason must be that Arghūn who was about 35 years old at that time was considered too old to marry a daughter that was about 15 years old. So, until approximately 722/1322, the options of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to connect himself by marital ties to his veteran *mamlūks* were quite limited (Aydughmish, who became his *mamlūk* circa 700/1300, was married to a maternal relative; later on, *ummahāt al-awlād* will become an option).³⁶² However, starting from the 720s/1320s al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could start marrying his daughters to *mamlūks* he purchased during his third reign. Some of these *mamlūks* favored by him, were promoted to amirates at a very young age, and became in-laws of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at a very young age.³⁶³ Thus, they had the chance to start a family at a

362 Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī (d. 740/1340) was more than 60 years old when he died. See al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām*, 2:246 (*biḍ' wa-sittīn sana*). In his case, the tie was first established indirectly, when in 727/1327 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arranged a marriage between Quṭlūmalik the daughter of Tankiz and Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī who was an in-law of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After the death of Aḥmad ibn Baktamur in 733/1332, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married Quṭlūmalik himself, and she became the mother of several of his children. See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 6:266–7; Holt, “An-Nāṣir Muḥammad”, 318. ‘Alī (d. 733/1333), the first-born son of Tankiz, was made amir in Damascus in 732/1332 when he was less than 10 years old. Upon his death, his amirate was conferred on his younger brother Muḥammad (d. 771/1369–70), who was about four years old at that time. See al-Jazarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:652; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:110. In 739/1338–9, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave Muḥammad ibn Tankiz the rank of *muqaddam alf* in Damascus (he was about 10 years old at that time), and shortly afterwards Muḥammad and his younger brother Aḥmad (d. 749/1348) were betrothed to two daughters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. See al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 44, 111; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:207. After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, his descendants continued to establish marital ties with the family of Tankiz. Among other ties, in 747/1346 al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married a daughter of Tankiz (the widow of his brother al-Kāmil Sha'bān), and at about the same time he conferred amirate of *ṭabkhāna* in Cairo on Muḥammad ibn Tankiz and amirate of ten on his younger brother Aḥmad. Muḥammad was about 18 at years old that time, and Aḥmad was younger. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:717, 720.

363 Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married his daughter to Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī (d. 744/1343, less than 25 years old) and made him amir ca. 735/1335, when Alṭunbughā was about 15 years old. Later, but no later than 739/1339, Alṭunbughā became *muqaddam alf*. On his age, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:379 (more than 20 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:70 (less than 25 years old). On the marriage and amirate, see *ibid.*, 3:67–9; *idem*, *al-Nujūm*, 9:112; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:378. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī (d. 748/1347, 35–40) a senior amir and married him to his daughter, probably ca. 734/1334 (after the death of her former husband), when Maliktamur was 20–25 years old. On his age: an examination of the bones in the grave of Maliktamur suggests that he was 35–40 years old when he died. See Tadeusz Dzierzykray-Rogalski, Jerzy Kania, and Medhat al-Minabbawi, “The Investigations of Burial Crypts in the Mausoleum of Princess Tatar al-Ḥijāziyya in Cairo”, *An-*

young age. As in-laws, at least some of their sons could become amirs at a younger age, and even years after the death of their fathers, thanks to the continuity provided by the rule of the Qalāwūnids.³⁶⁴ The amirs who had married at a young age into the Qalāwūnid family also enjoyed the privilege of bringing their relatives into the Sultanate. Upon their arrival, these relatives became amirs.³⁶⁵ In addition, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arranged several marital ties between the families of his *mamlūk* amīrs who were his in-laws, thus creating a broad elite that was in fact a large family, whose foundation was the Qalāwūnid family. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, the families of the in-laws of the Qalāwūnids continued to

nales islamologiques 23 (1987), 83. On the marriage and amirate, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:184; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 5:444; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 111.

- 364 Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 742/1342, about 40) was made *muqaddam alf* in 726/1326, and was married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 727/1327, when he was about 25 years old. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married the sister of Qawṣūn. See al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 159–60 (Qawṣūn was about 18 years old when he arrived in Egypt in 720/1320); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:278–9; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 33:154. The daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave birth to Khalīl ibn Qawṣūn (d. 778/1376). It seems that Khalīl did not become amir during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (he could not have been more than 13 years old upon the latter's death), but it is not entirely clear. In any case, in 749/1348, seven years after the death of his father, he received an amirate of *ṭablkhāna*, when he could not have been more than about 20 years old. In 758/1357, he became *muqaddam alf*, when he could not have been more than 30 years old. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:523; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:194; 11:45. Khalīl ibn 'Alī ibn Salār (d. 770/1368–9), an in-law of the Qalāwūnids, received his father's *ṭablkhāna* upon his death in 742/1341. Khalīl was about ten years old at that time. His young age was a cause for objections, which suggests that it was not considered appropriate to appoint young children to amirates, but the rules could be bended in cases of in-laws. See al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 220; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:353. Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī (d. 748/1347) is said to have been more than 20 years old, but to have been born shortly before 720/1320–1, so he must have been about 29 years old when he died. He became *muqaddam alf* in 737/1336–7, when he was about 18 years old. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 4:270; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:185; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:538, 540. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married him to Ṭūlū Qurṭaqā, a sister of his *umm walad* Ardū, thus making him an in-law. Ṭūlū Qurṭaqā was the mother of Yalbughā's eldest son Muḥammad (d. 801/1398) who was born in 740/1339, when Yalbughā was about 21 years old. See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 5:591; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:61–2; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:473; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:155. In 748/1347, Muḥammad became *ṭablkhāna*, when he was about seven years old. See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 5:587. Levanoni mentioned the appointment of Yalbughā's son as evidence for the dominant position that amirs enjoyed after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a position that enabled them to confer high ranks on their sons. See Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 50. However, in-laws were promoted at a young age already during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Muḥammad ibn Yalbughā continued to be promoted after the death of his father. He became *muqaddam alf* during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, many years after the death of his father, when he was about 20 years old. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:61–2; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:152.

- 365 Koby Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), 57–60. The data presented here concerning the age of amirate and the age of starting families during the Turkish period refines the outline presented in "Mamluks and Their Relatives" which was based on less data.

seek for marital ties with the Qalāwūnid family or their in-laws. They were unable, probably unwilling, to form themselves into an alternative to Qalāwūnid rule, because the interests of so many families of amirs were vested in the Qalāwūnid family. The descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad continued to create significant number of marital ties with other *mamlūk* amirs at least until the 760s/1360s, and also with some favored *mamlūks* that were promoted at a young age.³⁶⁶ Thus, beginning at least with the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, and until the late Turkish period, the Mamluk Sultanate was ruled by a royal family, its in-laws and their relatives.

It has been suggested that the peace that prevailed during most of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (a peace agreement with the Ilkhans was achieved in 722/1322) reduced the importance of military factors and contributed to the increase in the numbers of *mamlūks*' descendants (and other free persons) who became amirs.³⁶⁷ Van Steenbergen suggested that by 741/1341, years of absence of any serious military challenge turned the military into a political body ('demilitarization' or 'politicization'), and the military ranks were opened to free persons including *mamlūks*' descendants.³⁶⁸ While this explanation certainly has merit, our survey adds nuance and complements it. It should be noted that promotions of in-laws to amirates that increased the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs started before 722/1322, and in-laws were promoted to higher ranks at a younger age than the normal even before that date.³⁶⁹ In addition, while

366 Al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl raised his *mamlūk* Arghūn al-Kāmīlī (d. 758/1357, born in 729/1328–9), made him amir, and married him in 745/1344–5 to his maternal sister, when Arghūn was only 16 years old. At the same year, he became *muqaddam alf*. See al-Šafadī, *A'yān al-'Asr*, 1:467, 475; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:122–3. In 751/1350, the family of Arghūn al-Kāmīlī was brought in Egypt, and four of his brothers and relatives became amirs. In 754/753–4, a three-year-old son of Arghūn al-Kāmīlī received the rank of *muqaddam alf*. This son may be the amir Khalīl ibn Arghūn al-Kāmīlī (d. 777/1375). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:819, 895; 3:262. Levanoni mentioned the appointment of Arghūn's son as evidence for the dominant position that amirs enjoyed after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad which enabled them to confer high ranks on their sons. See Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 50. However, Arghūn was a young favored *mamlūk* that was groomed by his master and made an in-law.

367 Mazor, *The Rise*, 217.

368 Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 19–22.

369 See the cases of Aqsunqur ibn Karāy (at footnotes nos. 181–2 above), 'Alī ibn Salār al-Manṣūrī (Table H no. 1), Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī (Table F no. 2), and Muḥammad ibn Arghūn (footnote no. 358 above) who was a son of an 'adopted' *mamlūk* who later became an in-law. Al-Nuwayrī provides a list of 26 (apparently Egyptian) *ṭablkhānas* who were commanders in a military expedition in 722/1322. See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 33:27. Already in that date, nine out of 26 *ṭablkhānas* were free persons, among them three *mamlūks*' descendants (i.e., more than one third were free, and about 12% were *mamlūks*' descendants). Two of the three *mamlūks*' descendants were in-laws (they were connected to the family of al-Zāhir Baybars and thus indirectly connected to the Qalāwūnids): Muḥammad ibn Aybak al-Khāzindār (Aybak was married to a daughter of al-Zāhir Baybars, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:11), and Qalbars ibn Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī (see footnote

after 722/1322 we see an increase in the number of *mamlūks*' descendants, and *mamlūks*' descendants were promoted to amirates before the age of 20,³⁷⁰ this change is correlated by an increase in the number of marital ties established between the Qalāwūnid family and *mamlūk* amirs, and mostly has to do with in-laws. In fact, the main issue it is not that *mamlūks*' descendants in general started to be promoted to amirates in significantly greater numbers and at a younger age, but rather that specifically in-laws were promoted and at a younger age. While the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs increased after 722/1322, the increase was gradual and dependent on the intensification of the web of marital ties, thus, it reached a peak only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This state of things is reflected in the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of 778/1377.

7 741–784/1341–1382: *Mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs in the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of 778/1377

7.1 The Date of the *jarīda iqtā'iyya*

We will first start with the date of the *jarīda*. Ibn al-Jī'ān writes that the date of the excerpt is the end of Shawwāl 777/March 1376,³⁷¹ and Halm and Haarmann accepted this date.³⁷² However, there is ample evidence suggesting that it is in fact from circa Shawwāl 778/March 1377. Firstly, there are no less than ten amirs who received an amirate or rank that fit their *'ibra* in the *Tuḥfa*, or a post that fits their *'ibra* or title in the *Tuḥfa*, only after Shawwāl 777/March 1376, and as late as 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377,³⁷³ so the last date may serve as the *terminus post*

no. 360 above). One of the free persons was Khidr ibn Nūkāy (d. 728/1328) the son of a Mongol emigrant, whose sisters were married to al-Šāliḥ 'Alī, al-Ashraf Khalīl, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (and also al-Zāhir Baybars). See Nakamachi, "A Reconsideration of the Wā-fidiyah", 77–8.

370 Note that the first case, that of Muḥammad ibn Arghūn (footnote no. 358 above), seems to antedate 722/1322.

371 Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 3.

372 Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:31; Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 145–6. Van Steenbergen also accepted this date. See Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 35. Moreover, Van Steenbergen's assumption that the excerpt is from 777/1376 affects his analysis of the data. It makes him think that the list of *iqtā'* holders is not a comprehensive list of amirs and it makes him argue that sometimes grants of *iqtā'* preceded promotions to ranks, which also affects the ranges of *'ibras* he ascribes to each rank. See *ibid.*, 47–8; and see below at footnotes nos. 373–88, 437, 451, 480, 486, 513, and 515.

373 See Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 12, 15 (11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377); section 2.1, nos. 16, 27, 29; section 2.5, no. 3; section 3.1, nos. 5, 9, 12; section 3.3, no. 7; and perhaps also section 2.2 no. 1. There is no need to assume that sometimes grants of *iqtā'* preceded

quem. One of these cases is particularly interesting. One land is said to have been under the name of Mughultāy al-Badrī but then to have been assigned to Quṭlūbughā al-Buzlārī (d. 782/1380–1).³⁷⁴ Now, Quṭlūbughā al-Buzlārī became amir of ten in 26 Sha‘bān 778/8 January 1377, and at that date Mughultāy al-Badrī received a promotion to amirate of *ṭablkhāna*.³⁷⁵ So, at 26 Sha‘bān 778/8 January 1377, with the promotions, some lands were reassigned. The fact that the *Tuhfa* registers the reassignment must mean that the *jarida* is from after 26 Sha‘bān 778/8 January 1377, however, not long after that date, because otherwise there would have been no point in mentioning the reassignment.

Secondly, there are many cases of amirs mentioned in narrative sources circa Shawwāl 777/March 1376 that are not mentioned in the *Tuhfa* (MS. Hunt 2), simply because they died before Shawwāl 778/March 1377: Tumān Tamur was amir *ṭablkhāna* but died in Rabī‘ al-Awwal 778/July–August 1376;³⁷⁶ Aḥmad ibn Lājīn was amir *ṭablkhāna* but died in 8 Rajab 778/21 November 1376;³⁷⁷ Ya‘qūb Shāh was *muqaddam alf* but died in 17 Rajab 778/30 November 1376; Khalīl ibn Qawṣūn was *muqaddam alf* but died in 25 Rajab 778/8 December 1376; Quṭlūbughā al-Manṣūrī was *muqaddam alf* and *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* but died in 26 Rajab 778/9 December 1376.³⁷⁸ In addition, al-Maqrīzī mentions nine amirs of *ṭablkhāna* or amirs of ten who died in 778/1376–7 without specifying the month, none of them appears in the *Tuhfa*, and we may assume that all died before Shawwāl 778/March 1377.³⁷⁹ Two other amirs were expelled to Syria in Jumādā al-Ākhira 778/October–November 1376, and do not appear in the *Tuhfa*.³⁸⁰ Indeed, we do not find in the *Tuhfa* amirs who died in late 777 (i.e., after Shawwāl)/March–May 1376, and the amirs who died in 778/1376–7 died towards the end of the year: one in Dhū al-Ḥijja and six in Dhū al-Qi‘da,³⁸¹ however, one died in 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377, one died in 28 Sha‘bān 778/10 January 1377, and one in 19 Rajab 778/2 December 1376.³⁸² The last date should have theoretically served us as a *terminus ante quem*, however, two of the cases of amirs who died in

promotions to ranks. See Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 47–8; and see footnote no. 372 above.

374 See MS. Hunt 2, 28v (*kānat bi-ism al-amīr Mughultāy al-Badrī thumma istaqarrat bi-ism Quṭlūbughā al-Buzlārī*).

375 See Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 16; section 3.1, no. 12.

376 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:522.

377 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:296.

378 Ibid., 3:296, 300–1.

379 Ibid., 3:296–7, 299, 301.

380 Ibid., 3:268. Thus, no high-ranking amirs whose names appear in narrative sources are absent from the *Tuhfa*. See Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 47 (footnote no. 86); and see footnotes nos. 37 and 372 above, and footnote no. 388 below.

381 See Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 1–2, 4–5, 14; section 2.1, nos. 10, 25; and see also section 3.1, no. 8.

382 Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 12, 15; section 4, no. 2.

778/1376–7 but before Shawwāl 778/March 1377, in fact seem to suggest that the *jarīda* is actually from after the date of their deaths. Jaraktamur al-Ashrafi (d. 778/1376) who was *muqaddam alf* and died in 19 Rajab 778/2 December 1376 is assigned in MS. Hunt 2 only one land with a tax yield of 5,600 DJ.³⁸³ The average tax yield of a *muqaddam alf* at that time was about 118,230 DJ (see Table I below), so by the date of the *jarīda* all the lands that had been assigned to Jaraktamur as *muqaddam alf* have been already reassigned due to his death, except for one land that was still not reassigned. This must mean that the *jarīda* is from after the date of his death, but probably not long after this date. Similarly, Muḥammad ibn Qumārī who was amir *ṭablkhāna* and died in 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377 is assigned in MS. Hunt 2 only one land with a tax yield of 8,000 DJ.³⁸⁴ The tax yield of 8,000 DJ is the lowest of all the tax yields allocated to *ṭablkhānas* in 778/1377, and it is even lower than some of the tax yields allocated to amirs of ten.³⁸⁵ This must mean that also in his case, by the date of the *jarīda* reallocation of lands had already begun but still not completed. Thus, 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377 turns out again to be the *terminus post quem*, however, the date of the *jarīda* must be very close to 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377 because we may assume that the reallocation of lands normally did not take too long.³⁸⁶

We do have a solid *terminus ante quem* in 8 Dhū al-Qi‘da 778/19 March 1377. In that date, historians mention a big round of new appointments to amirates and promotions including dozens of new amirs, who all but two, do not appear in the

383 MS. Hunt 2, 166r; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:296; and see Appendix I, section 4, no. 2.

384 See Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 12.

385 See Appendix I, section 2; and see Tables J and K below.

386 As for Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz who died in 28 Sha‘bān 778/10 January 1377, he is assigned in MS. Hunt 2 three lands with a tax yield of 17,000 DJ (see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 15), which fits amir *ṭablkhāna* of his background (see Table K), so, in his case, the reallocation of lands was apparently slower than the usual. Because in the cases of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz and Muḥammad ibn Qumārī the tax yield that is allocated to them in MS. Hunt 2 is significant and not that far from the average or lowest tax yield allocated to amirs of their rank and background, I decided to count them as amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377. On the other hand, because the tax yield allocated to Jaraktamur al-Ashrafi is only marginal with respect to his rank, he is not counted as *muqaddam alf*, and the tax yield allocated to him is not considered in calculations of *‘ibras* and is mentioned only in a separate section in Appendix I as “additional *iqṭā’s*” (section 4) together with few other marginal *iqṭā’s* whose status is not entirely clear. Except for these three amirs, MS. Hunt 2 mentions also one amir who according to narrative sources died in 775/1373–4, however, the information in narrative sources is likely a mistake (for a possible explanation see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 10). In addition, MS. Hunt 2 mentions a land with a tax yield of 5,000 DJ under the name of ‘Alī al-Māridānī who was *muqaddam alf* in Cairo until he died in 772/1370. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:291–2. This case is puzzling. Can it be that one of his lands was not reallocated for six years after his death? Alternatively, the land could have actually become his property or endowment. Another possibility is that the land was actually under the name of his son Muḥammad. Because the status of the land is not clear, also this land is mentioned in Appendix I under “additional *iqṭā’s*”. See Appendix I, section 4, no. 3.

Tuhfa or appear with an *'ibra* that does not fit the promotion but rather reflects a lower rank.³⁸⁷ While there are two problematic cases, it should be remembered that assuming that the *jarīda* is from Shawwāl 777/March 1376 does not solve the problem but rather complicates it even further. We may assume that in these two cases historians made a mistake in the date of promotion (as they did in other reports on promotions). While it cannot be ruled out that the *jarīda* is from Ramaḍān 778/January-February 1377 (but later than 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377), or that it is from early Dhū al-Qi' da 778/March 1377, the fact that Ibn al-Jī'ān writes that the date of the excerpt is the end of Shawwāl 777/March 1376, makes one think that he made a mistake in the year but not in the month, and the *jarīda* is from late Shawwāl 778/early March 1377.

7.2 *lqṭā'* holders mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* and the amirs of Cairo in 778/1377

In all likelihood, the *jarīda* mentions by name practically all the amirs in Cairo. Firstly, I could not securely locate amirs in Cairo that appear in narrative sources in the few years before 778/1377, but do not appear in the *Tuhfa*, unless, of course, these amirs died before Shawwāl 778/March 1377, or are known to have lost the rank, expelled from Cairo, or alternatively disappear from the sources (at least for

387 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mentions nine promoted to the rank of *muqaddam alf*, among them seven were *jundīs* before the promotion and do not appear in the *Tuhfa*, one was amir of ten before the promotion and appears in the *Tuhfa* with an *'ibra* that fits this rank (Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 5), and one was *ṭablkhāna* before the promotion and appears in the *Tuhfa* with an *'ibra* that fits this rank (Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 20), so the two do not pose a problem. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:514. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mentions also seven who were promoted to the rank of *ṭablkhāna*, none of them appears in the *Tuhfa* except for Iyās al-Ṣarghitmishī who appears in the *Tuhfa* with an *'ibra* that fits the rank of *ṭablkhāna*. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba himself and other sources mention that in fact he received the rank of *ṭablkhāna* already in Sha' bān 778/December 1376–January 1377 (see Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 27). It seems that in 8 Dhū al-Qi' da 778/19 March 1377 Iyās received a post of *dawādār* and not the rank of *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:149 (*wa-khala'a 'alā Iyās al-Ṣarghitmishī wa-istaqarra duwaydār kabīr... bi-imrat ṭablkhāna*). Al-Maqrīzī mentions 21 promoted to the rank of *ṭablkhāna*, all but three do not appear in the *Tuhfa*. Two of them appear in the *Tuhfa* with an *'ibra* that fits the rank of amir of ten and do not pose a problem (Appendix I, section 3.1, nos. 10 and 13), but one appears in the *Tuhfa* with an *'ibra* that fits the rank of amir of *ṭablkhāna* and thus poses a problem (Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 18). Al-Maqrīzī also mentions 25 promoted to amirates of ten, none but two appear in the *Tuhfa*. In one of the two cases, it appears that al-Maqrīzī made a mistake (see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 14 [footnotes nos. 841–2]). The second appears in the *Tuhfa* with an *'ibra* that fits the rank of amir of ten, and thus poses a problem (Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 1). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288–9; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:149–50.

years).³⁸⁸ Secondly, only on rare occasions Ibn al-Jī'ān mentions the general marginal category of “amirs” as beneficiaries without specifying names—with a total tax yield that may be estimated at 47,783 DJ in 778/1377. However, we have argued that the category of “amirs” seems irrelevant for amirs in Cairo and it probably refers to governors of provinces in Egypt. We have also established that the category of “*muqṭa'ūn*” does not refer to amirs, and there are no other general categories of beneficiaries in the *Tuhfa* that may have included amirs in Cairo. Therefore, we conclude that amirs in Cairo were always mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* except perhaps in very rare instances (at least with respect to the year 778/1377).³⁸⁹

On the other hand, there is no reason to think that the holders of *iqṭā'* mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* were not amirs (or *asyād*),³⁹⁰ except perhaps in extremely rare cases, and almost all were specifically amirs in Cairo. Firstly, in most cases, Ibn al-Jī'ān explicitly mentions the title of amir when he mentions holders of *iqṭā'* by name (not including *asyād*). In most of the cases in which the title of amir is not mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān,³⁹¹ it is possible to confirm that the holder was amir from narrative sources.³⁹² In some of the few cases left without confirmation, the *'ibra* allocated to the holder of *iqṭā'* seems to fit the range of amirs of ten in Cairo.³⁹³ In fact, only in four cases, in which the title of amir is not mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān and no information was found in narrative sources confirming that the person was amir, the *'ibra* seems somewhat too low even for amir of ten in Cairo. All four cases apparently involve free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants, and in these four cases caution is recommended. These four marginal cases are mentioned in Appendix I, but not counted as amirs in Cairo.³⁹⁴ Only three holders of *iqṭā'*s mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* in 778/1377

388 This is mainly based on a survey of events of the 770s/1370s in *al-Nujūm* and *al-Sulūk*. Realizing that the excerpt is from Shawwāl 778/March 1377 and not Shawwāl 777/March 1376, makes relatively clear that there are no amirs whose names appear in narrative sources but are absent from the *Tuhfa*. Thus, there is no need to assume that lands allocated to amirs should be looked for also under general categories such as “*muqṭa'ūn*”. See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 47 (footnote no. 86); and see footnotes nos. 37, 372, and 380 above.

389 For a detailed discussion, see part 2.2 above. Just to make clear, the *'ibra* of the general category of “amirs” is not included in the calculations of total *'ibras* of amirs in Cairo.

390 *Asyād* are never mentioned with the title “amir” in 778/1377. Because their status is not entirely clear (see discussion at footnotes nos. 441–5 below), they are not included in Appendix I which covers *iqṭā'* holders mentioned by name in MS. Hunt 2 in 778/1377 who were supposedly amirs. The *asyād* are mentioned in Appendix II (section A23) which covers all categories of land and beneficiaries mentioned in MS. Hunt 2 in 778/1377.

391 In such cases, an asterisk precedes the name in Appendix I. There are 15 such cases.

392 Eight of the 15 cases. See Appendix I, section 3.1, nos. 11–13; section 3.2, nos. 10, 17, 19; section 3.3, nos. 3, 6.

393 Three out of the 15 cases. See Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 17; section 3.2, nos. 21, 23.

394 See Appendix I, section 3.3, nos. 11–14. And see discussion in footnote no. 516 below.

are known to have been amirs in Egypt but not in Cairo, all were free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants with a rank of *ṭablkhāna*: the governor (*nā'ib*) of Alexandria, and the two governors (*kāshifs*) of al-Wajh al-Qibli and al-Wajh al-Baḥrī.³⁹⁵ These three are the most important amirs in Egypt outside of Cairo, and apparently they are the only amirs outside of Cairo that are mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa*.³⁹⁶ As mentioned, the governors of the provinces of Egypt (*wulāt*) are not mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* (the land is simply allocated to whomever is the governor of the province).³⁹⁷ Except for the governor (*nā'ib*) of Alexandria and the two *kāshifs*, I could not find in narrative sources information connecting between holders of *iqṭā'* mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* and the provinces of Egypt.

7.3 A decline in the number of amirs in Cairo

If indeed, as I argue, the *jarīda* mentions by name practically all the amirs in Cairo, then the numbers of amirs in 778/1377 significantly declined in comparison to the (ideal?) numbers at the *rawk* of 715/1315, and it is even significantly lower than the actual numbers of amirs attested in Ibn al-Dawādārī's list for 732/1332. However, we do have a context for this phenomenon—the post-plague rural decline³⁹⁸ and the concomitant “*waqfization*” or privatization of lands. While the phenomenon of “*waqfization*” or privatization of state lands during the ninth/fifteenth century has long been acknowledged by Mamlukists,³⁹⁹ recent studies show that the phenomenon became noticeable already during the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century. Basically, it was a post-plague phenomenon. Daisuke Igarashi suggested that “the damage to rural districts that resulted from the great plague had inflicted losses on the amirs who depended on the *iqṭā'* income; therefore, they tried to obtain lands... by taking advantage of the frequent transfer of *iqṭā'*s whose holders were lost to the pla-

395 See on them also at footnotes nos. 24, 41, 158, 295–7 above. I dedicated for them a special section in Appendix I (2.5). They are of course not counted among the amirs in Cairo, and the *'ibra* allocated to them is not included in the total *'ibra* of amirs in Cairo.

396 But see the comment in footnote no. 516 below on two holders of *iqṭā'* mentioned by name who were perhaps Arab amirs.

397 See on them at footnotes nos. 42–53, 295–7 above.

398 See Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 35–6 (however, Van Steenberghe does not think that the list of land holders mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* amounts to a full list of amirs in Cairo; see *ibid.*, 47 [footnote no. 86]). On rural decline at that period, see Garcin, *Un centre*, 453–4 (esp. 453—footnote no. 4); Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 14–15, 50, 213. On the numbers of amirs in each rank in 778/1377, see below at footnotes nos. 436–41, 474–6, and 508–9.

399 Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 7–8; Walker, “Popular Responses”, 56–7.

gue”.⁴⁰⁰ Igarashi argued that “the most important change in the land tenure system that occurred after the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century was the expansion of the amount of agricultural lands designated as *waqf*”.⁴⁰¹ The problem of sale, privatization, and then *waqf*ization of state lands first surfaced in Egypt in the late Turkish period when the amir Barqūq who was *atābak* tried to tackle it and question its legality in order to bring back lands into the state’s possession.⁴⁰² Bethany Walker showed that also in Syria, the purchase of state lands and their subsequent endowment became more common already in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century. Following the demographic and economic turmoil of the Black Death which caused the death of many holders of land grants, and in the absence of strong sultan, the sale, privatization, and *waqf*ization of lands became easier.⁴⁰³ Other scholars observed that whereas before the Black Death, endowments relied mainly on urban properties, after the Black Death agricultural lands became much more significant.⁴⁰⁴ As Julien Loiseau observed, in the ninth/fifteenth century the significant decrease in land resources available for remuneration of amirs resulted in a decrease in the number of amirs.⁴⁰⁵ It is reasonable then, that a decrease in the number of amirs should be observed in the late Turkish period as well.

400 Igarashi, “The Establishment”, 123. And see more generally *ibid.*, 119–24.

401 *Idem*, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 6–7; and see *idem*, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 20–1, 216.

402 *Idem*, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 10–1; *idem*, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 52–6; *idem*, “The Establishment”, 120–2; and see Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 100, 268–9. However, the dimensions of the phenomenon in 778/1377 should not be overstated. See Adam Abdelhamid Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/2 (2004), 204–6. The tax yield of lands designated as *awqāf* in the *Tuhfa* in 778/1377 was about 111,848 DJ (Appendix II, section A1), that of *amlāk* about 124,478 DJ (Appendix II, section A2), and that of *rizaq* about 6,675 DJ (Appendix II, section A3). Altogether, the three categories have the tax yield of about 243,001 DJ, which is about 2.5% of the total tax yield of Egypt’s land in 778/1377 (9,584,264 DJ). There is reason to believe that additional *awqāf* mentioned by name of founder or beneficiary but without the date, many times actually refer to *awqāf* in 778/1377 (see footnote no. 18 above). Such *awqāf* have the total tax yield of 110,266 DJ + 2,768 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 117,574 DJ~ (see Appendix II, section C1.1). So, it is possible that the three categories have the total-tax yield of about 360,575 DJ, which is almost 4% of the total tax yield of Egypt’s land in 778/1377. Still, it seems that in 778/1377 the more significant factor in the decline of the number of amirs was the rural decline and not the privatization of lands. For some recorded cases of such a decline in the tax yield after the plague, see Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records”, 22–4.

403 Walker, “Popular Responses”, 53–9.

404 Muhammad Shaaban, *Piety and Power: Pious Endowments in the Bahri Mamlūk Period, 1250–1382* (Master’s Thesis, the American University in Cairo, 2016), 29–34; and see also *ibid.*, 22–3; and see also Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 18 (footnote no. 52).

405 Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99–103. On the process of decline, see Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (parts 3.3 and 3.4).

A detailed prosopographical study on amirs in the late Turkish period by Van Steenbergen should also confirm that a decrease in the number of amirs in 778/1377 should be expected. Van Steenbergen found that in comparison to earlier periods, in the late Turkish period (roughly the 760s/1360s and the 770s/1370s) veteran *mamlūks* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 768/1366) were preferred over the sultans' own recruits in promotions to amirates, a phenomenon anticipating patterns of promotions during the ninth/fifteenth century.⁴⁰⁶ Naturally, this meant that many *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates at an older age than the average in previous periods. Without touching on Van Steenbergen's broader analysis of the phenomenon, it would seem logical to connect it to the decrease in land resources and number of amirs. Less amirates resulted in fewer options for promotions, which meant that many *mamlūks* were now promoted to amirates at an older age. This meant that more *mamlūks* in that period would start a family only at a later age, what may be related to changes in terminology of *mamlūk* ties suggesting that at that time *mamlūks* enjoyed fewer biological relations.⁴⁰⁷

406 Jo Van Steenbergen, "On the Brink of a New Era? Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366) and the Yalbughāwīyah", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), 145–52; and see *ibid.*, 145 ("only in very few cases did juniors manage to break into the military ranks"); and see *idem*, *Order out of Chaos*, 36–7. However, the process was not linear. See *idem*, "On the Brink", 152; and see Yosef, "The Term *Awlād al-Nās*" (parts 3.3 and 3.4).

407 Elsewhere I observed that the term "*ikhwa*" as referring to *khushdāshiyya* in the barracks, and the terms "*aghā*" and "*iniyyāt*" in reference to the person in charge of young cadets in the barracks and these cadets, start being used only circa the 760s/1360s. See Koby Yosef, "*Ikhwa*, *Muwākhūn* and *Khushdāshiyya* in the Mamlūk Sultanate", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013), 346–55. I suggested that it was not a coincidence that these changes took place during the days of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī. During his days an increase in the number of Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves can be detected, and because slaves of such origins were discriminated, they tended to start a family at a later age than their Turco-Mongol peers. Such *mamlūks* would have had fewer natural ties (outbursts of plagues in that period must have also contributed to the decimation of natural ties), and in their absence they ascribed greater significance to *mamlūk* ties, which was reflected in contemporary terminology of *mamlūk* social ties. See *ibid.*, 355–7. While Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves were indeed discriminated, the data I collected on promotions to amirates in that period, and the data on the number of amirs in that period culled from the *Tuhfa*, make me now think that I had put too much emphasis on the ethnic factor in explaining the change of terminology. While Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves were promoted to amirates at a later age in average than their Turco-Mongol peers (and thus started families at a later age), the decrease in the number of amirates in that period also meant that more Turco-Mongols were promoted to amirates at a later age than in previous periods, and that there were very few favored Turco-Mongols promoted to amirates in their twenties or earlier (see examples below). After all, the change in terminology was not restricted to Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves but it concerned also Turco-Mongols. In what follows I will survey cases of Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves during the Turkish period who became amirs around the 760s/1360s or later in which I could fix their age when promoted to the amirate. Then I will survey cases in which I could fix the age at amirate of Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves in previous periods in order to show

their discrimination also before the 760s/1360s. Then I will survey cases in which I could fix the age of Turco-Mongols during the Turkish period when promoted to amirates around the 760s/1360s or later. **A.** In the 760s/1360s or later, Circassians were promoted to amirates only around the age of 40 or later: **1.** Sūdūn al-Muẓaffarī (d. 791/1389, more than 60 years old), a Circassian according to his name, became amir in Syria at some point after 772/1370–1 (at that time he was more than 40 years old). He is first mentioned as amir in 783/1381, when he was more than 50 years old. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:174; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:56. **2.** Ināl al-Yūsufī (d. 794/1392, almost 70 years old), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-'Umarī, apparently became amir in 766/1365, when he was about 40 years old. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:441; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:438–9; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:99. **3.** Aytamush al-Bajāsi (d. 802/1400, almost 60 or more than 60 years old), became amir in 779/1378, when he was about 40 years old (he was at least 35 years old). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 2:324; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:143, 149; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:135. We also have evidence that Aytamush al-Bajāsi was manumitted at an advanced age (he was still a slave when he was about 30 years old). See Koby Yosef, "The Term *Mamlūk* and Slave Status during the Mamluk Sultanate", *al-Qantara* 34/1 (2013), 24–5. **4.** Barqūq (d. 801/1399, 60 years old or more), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-'Umarī, became amir in 779/1377 when he was about 40 years old. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:476, 937; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:155, 158, 204; 12:104. We know that Barqūq's first-born child (or son) was born in 782/1380, shortly after Barqūq became amir, so he started a family in his early- or mid-forties. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:422–3. **5.** Turkmens were apparently also discriminated: Jarkas al-Khalilī (d. 791/1389, more than 50, or more than 60), a Turkmen from Tripoli, became amir in 778/1377, when he was apparently in his forties. See Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-'Aynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq Mu'assis Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisa 1382–1398 Milādī/784–801 Hijrī: min khilāl Makhtūṭ 'Iqd al-Jumān fi Ta'rikh Ahl al-Zamān li-Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī*, ed. Imān 'Umar Shukrī (Cairo: Maktabat Madbulī, 2002), 262; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:308; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:205. He apparently started a family in his forties, perhaps somewhat earlier than his amirate (his son was a bit [?] more than 20 in 798/1395). See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:520. **B.** While until the 760s/1360s, favored Turks or Mongols could be promoted to amirates in their twenties (and sometimes even before), as far as I can tell, until the 760s/1360s, Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves were never promoted to amirates before they turned 30, and many times at a more advanced age. **1.** The Circassian Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī became amir when he was about 30 years old (see at footnote no. 251 above). **2.** The Circassian Baybars al-Aḥmadī is first mentioned as amir in 708/1309 when he was about 35 or even 40 years old (see no. 11 in Table H and footnote no. 338 above). **3.** The Circassian Lājīn al-Manṣūrī (d. 698/1299, about 50 years old or a bit more) became amir in 678/1279 when he was 30 years old or a bit more. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:168; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:859; Mazor, *The Rise*, 67, 241–2. **4.** The Georgian Asandamur Kurjī al-Manṣūrī (d. 711/1312, 50–60 years old) is first mentioned as amir in 690/1291 when he was in his thirties. See al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 4:30 (*ākhir al-kuhūla* = 50–60); idem, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 51:54. **5.** The Anatolian Turkmen Lājīn al-Ustādār al-Rūmī (d. 702/1303, about 70 years old) is first mentioned as amir in 680/1281 when he was in his late forties. See idem, *Duwal al-Islām*, 2:210; Mazor, *The Rise*, 247. What confirms that also until the 760s/1360s Caucasian and European/Anatolian slaves were promoted to amirates at a later age in average than their Turco-Mongol peers, and thus started families at a later age in average, is that their share in cases of *mamlūks* who did not leave behind a male descendant (and thus

7.4 Reconstructing a list of amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 from the *Tuhfa* (MS. Hunt 2)

Reconstructing the list of amirs in Cairo in 778/1377, their ranks, and their *ʿibras* from the *Tuhfa* is not without problems. In the edition of Moritz, which is based on several manuscripts of the *Tuhfa* (some of them late), there are clearly many corruptions of names and other data, mistakes, and variations. It is not entirely

inherited by their patron) that are reported in narrative sources, is disproportionate to their numbers during the Turkish period. See Yosef, “Masters and Slaves”, 574–8. C. Circa the 760s/1360s or later, Turco-Mongols could still become amirs around the age of thirty (I include also *mamlūks* whose names were normally given to Turco-Mongols even if there is no explicit information regarding their origin): 1. Aqbughā al-Jawharī al-Yalbughāwī (d. 792/1390, more than 50 years old), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, was made amir by his master (i. e., no earlier than 762/1361) and he is first mentioned as amir in 766/1364, when he was roughly about 30 years old. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:239–40; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:97. 2. Maʾmūr al-Qalamṭāwī (d. 792/1389–90, more than 40), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, became amir in 778/1377 when he was roughly about 30 years old. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:242; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. 3. Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī al-Yalbughāwī (d. 793/1391, more than 50), another *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, became amir in 769/1368 when he was roughly about 30 years old. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:293; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:417. 4. Alṭunbughā Shādī al-Yalbughāwī (d. 802/1400, 50 or more than 50 years old), another *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, became amir of ten in 778/1377, when he was roughly about 30 years old and perhaps somewhat less. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 2:320; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wal-ʿAbdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1970–1994), 2:66; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. 5. Manklibughā al-Aḥmadī al-Baladī (d. 782/1381, apparently a bit more than 40 years old) became amir of ten in 771/1370, when he was apparently about 30 years old. See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185, 406. Still, in comparison to previous periods there seem to be more Turco-Mongols who became amirs only in their thirties, and even in their forties: 6. Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī (d. 801/1398, about 70 years old), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, perhaps became amir in 766/1364–5, when he was about 35 years old. See Ibn Ḥijjī, *Taʾrikh*, 1:355; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:28. 7. Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī al-Yalbughāwī (d. 792/1390, almost 50), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, apparently became amir in 780/1378, when he was about 35 years old. See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:729; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:165; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:404. 8. Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl (d. 769/1368, more than 40) became amir in 758/1357 when he was in his thirties. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:331; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:35. 9. Manklibughā al-Shamsī (d. 774/1372, more than 50 years old) became amir in 758/1357 when he was roughly 35–45 years old. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:284; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 4:224. 10. Ṭashtamur al-ʿAlāʾī al-Dawādār (d. 786/1384, in his fifties or more than 60 years old), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, became amir in 765/1363–4 or 772/1370 when he was apparently at least in his late thirties and probably more. Circa 772/1370, Ṭashtamur became *muqaddam alf*. See al-ʿAynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 164; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 1:143–4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:26, 55. In any case, in that period, there were hardly any favored *mamlūks* promoted by the sultans at an early age. There is only one such conspicuous case, unsurprisingly of an in-law: 11. Jaraktamur al-Ashrafi (d. 778/1376, about 20 years old), al-Ashraf Shaʿbān’s favored *mamlūk* whose sister was al-Ashraf Shaʿbān’s wife, became a senior amir in 775/1373 when he was about 17 years old. His father was brought in Egypt. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:522; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:422.

clear why certain variants were preferred over others.⁴⁰⁸ Although it is possible to reconstruct a list of amirs from this edition, the data retrieved is far from being exact. As argued recently by Kumakura, MS. Hunt 2 is the original text of the *Tuhfa*, and all the other manuscripts may only be considered as belonging to the “*Tuhfa* family of manuscripts”.⁴⁰⁹ Using MS. Hunt 2 significantly improves the quality of the data and significantly reduces problems in reconstructing the list of amirs.⁴¹⁰ Still, even in MS. Hunt 2 there are a few cases in which names or *nisbas* are corrupted or omitted. While generally Ibn al-Jiʿān mentions the *nisba* of an amir, in some cases he does not. In addition, amirs may have been known by more than one *nisba*, and also by the post they held. Thus, there are sometimes problems of identification of amirs and differentiation between them. The problems mainly concern *mamlūk* amirs, but sometimes also *mamlūks*’ descendants, and even other free persons. Working in tandem with narrative sources helps in identifying the amirs and restricting the number of problematic cases. Narrative sources seem to mention all *muqaddam alfs*, almost all *ṭablkhānas*, and most of the amirs of ten that are mentioned in the *Tuhfa* (MS. Hunt 2). While Ibn al-Jiʿān never mentions the rank of the amirs (he does mention sometimes their post), the amirs whose ranks circa Shawwāl 778/March 1377 is relatively securely identified in narrative sources allow us to build a general outline of the range of *ʿibras* of each rank, and of each group of amirs (mainly: *mamlūks*, *mamlūks*’ descendants, and free persons who are not *mamlūks*’ descendants). Thus, the ranks of amirs in the *Tuhfa* that could not be identified in narrative sources may be inferred from the *ʿibra* allocated to them. Unsurprisingly, in almost all these cases, the *ʿibra* fits amirs of ten in Cairo. In Appendix I which includes all the holders of *iqṭāʾ* mentioned by name in MS. Hunt 2 in 778/1377 who were supposedly amirs (almost always in Cairo),⁴¹¹ their ranks (or supposed ranks), and the *ʿibra* allocated to them,⁴¹² I

408 Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records”, 18–19 (“we should be careful when referring to Moritz’s edition... there was no rule to his choice of data”).

409 Ibid., 19. And see footnote no. 18 above. For a partially detailed reconstruction of the number of amirs, their ranks, and their *ʿibras* in 778/1377, based on the edition of Moritz, see Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 35–6, 47–9.

410 It is another opportunity to thank Wakako Kumakura for her guidance concerning the status of the manuscripts of the *Tuhfa*, the edition of Moritz, and MS. Hunt 2, for her recommendation to use MS. Hunt 2, and for kindly sharing with me her copy of MS. Hunt 2. Her help saved me mistakes and significantly improved the quality of the data I could use.

411 As mentioned, the *asyād* are excluded. While they are mentioned by name, their status is not entirely clear (see footnote no. 390 above; and see footnotes nos. 441–5 below). The appendix includes also the three most important amirs outside of Cairo that are mentioned by name (Appendix I, section 2.5), but they are of course not counted as amirs in Cairo (see footnote no. 395 above). It also includes four marginal cases of holders of *iqṭāʾ* mentioned by name that apparently were not amirs, at least not in Cairo (section 3.3, nos. 11–14). These four are not counted as amirs (see at footnotes nos. 391–4 above; and see footnote no. 516 below). It also exceptionally includes one amir who is not mentioned by name but rather by the title of

differentiated between those amirs whose rank circa Shawwāl 778/March 1377 is relatively securely known from narrative sources (they are mentioned first) and amirs whose ranks are inferred from their *'ibras*. The Appendix is divided to the three ranks and to groups of amirs within each rank.

In order to be as transparent as possible, and in order to make the possibility to criticize decisions concerning identification and differentiation easier, references to land holders that may pose problems of identification (due to corruptions, omissions, and other mistakes) are reproduced in Appendix I as they

“Mutawalli Miṣr” (section 3.3, no. 5). As mentioned, Ibn al-Jīʿān does not mention names of *wulāt* of the provinces, but rather mentions them by title. Moreover, he almost always does not mention *wulāt* of provinces that were amirs of ten (see at footnotes nos. 42–6 above). Exceptionally, he does mention Mutawalli Miṣr who was amir of ten, perhaps because he was considered as one of the amirs of Cairo. Often, the Mutawalli Miṣr was a free person who was not a *mamlūk*'s descendant, so Mutawalli Miṣr appears in section 3.3 of Appendix I which is dedicated to free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants that were amirs of ten in Cairo.

- 412 In the few cases in which the *'ibra* is not mentioned in the *Tuhfa*, it was taken from the *Intiṣār*, because normally there is not much difference between the *'ibras* in the two texts (and see footnote no. 20 above). In such cases, it is mentioned explicitly that the *'ibra* is from the *Intiṣār*. The Appendix also mentions the *'ibras* from the *Intiṣār* in case they are different from those in the *Tuhfa* (in parenthesis after the *'ibras* from the *Tuhfa*). If no parenthesis appears, it means that the *'ibra* is the same, or that it is not mentioned in the *Intiṣār* (in that case, I used the *'ibra* from the *Tuhfa* for the sake of calculating the supposed total tax yield in the *Intiṣār*) or in the *Tuhfa*. Normally, there is not much difference between the two calculations. In extremely rare cases, both texts do not mention *'ibra* or *masāḥa* of a land allocated to amirs (five cases, only two involve amirs in Cairo). Such marginal cases were ignored. There are no cases in which the *'ibra* is not mentioned in both texts, but the *masāḥa* is mentioned only in one of them. In one case, a land was allocated to two amirs mentioned by name. In this case, I estimated that each of the amirs received a half of the tax yield (see MS. Hunt 2, 251v; and see Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 6 and 12). In two cases, lands were allocated to an amir mentioned by name together with “Beduins” or “*muqṭaʿūn*”. In these cases, as well, I estimated that the amirs received a half of the tax yield (see Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 2 and 6). In the rare cases in which a village was allocated to one amir mentioned by name in tandem “with others” (*wa-man maʿahu*) who are not specified, I calculated the *'ibra* as if it was given in full to the amir mentioned by name but mentioned that it was shared with others. Such cases involve two *muqaddam alfs* allocated a tax yield of 8,500 DJ shared with others (Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 2 and 9), three *ṭablkhānas* allocated a tax yield of 31,250 DJ shared with others (Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 6 and 34; section 2.3, no. 9), and four amirs of ten allocated a tax yield of 16,831 DJ shared with others (Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 15; section 3.2, nos. 1, 2, and 16). Such marginal cases hardly affect the overall calculations of *'ibras*. On such cases in the seventh/thirteenth century, see Rapoport, *Rural Economy*, 153–4. In addition, in four cases with a total tax yield of 30,000 DJ, MS. Hunt 2 mentions that a land was allocated to a person mentioned by name without the title of amir (although the person was amir), and to other amirs (*wal-umarāʾ*). It seems that in these cases “*wal-umarāʾ*” is likely a corruption of “*min al-umarāʾ*”, so it is considered that all the tax yield was allocated to the amirs mentioned by name. See Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 3 and 11 (footnotes nos. 572 and 594); section 2.1, no. 8 (footnote no. 632); and section 2.4, no. 5 (footnote no. 757); and see also footnote no. 778. And see footnote no. 51 above.

appear in MS. Hunt 2 together with the allocated *‘ibra*, but in almost all cases an identification is suggested. In identifying amirs and differentiating between them I have followed few basic rules of thumb. I consider the following cases as relatively secure identifications. In some cases, the private name or *nisba* of a *mamlūk* amir (or a *mamlūk* father of an amir) are clearly corrupted; the name does not appear in narrative sources, at least not in the events of the period (in some cases the private name it is not attested as a name for *mamlūks*, at least not during the Turkish period, or the royal *nisba* does not make sense for 778/1377), but an emendation that is graphically very plausible gives a name that appears in narrative sources and/or elsewhere in the *Tuhfa* (still, the corrupted version with the allocated *‘ibra* is mentioned in Appendix I in separate but juxtaposed to the amir with which it is identified, so the reader can keep track).⁴¹³ In some of these cases, what confirms that the name is corrupted is that the *‘ibra* allocated to the supposedly corrupted name seems too low for amir *ṭablkhāna* but too high for amir of ten,⁴¹⁴ or, alternatively, too low even for amir of ten;⁴¹⁵ or that the *nisba* was mistakenly added to a name of amir apparently due to a contamination (i. e., the *nisba* also appears in the same page in MS. Hunt 2 after the name of another amir—this time correctly).⁴¹⁶ What helps to confirm the identification is that sometimes without the *‘ibra* allocated to the supposedly corrupted name, the *‘ibra* allocated to the amir with which it is identified is too low for his rank;⁴¹⁷ or that in places where MS. Hunt 2 has the supposedly corrupted name, the edition of Moritz has the correct name of the amir with which it is identified.⁴¹⁸ Such cases show that in rare cases, corruptions and mistakes in MS. Hunt 2 which is the original text of the *Tuhfa*, were identified and amended in later manuscripts.⁴¹⁹ In

413 See Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 3 (footnote no. 574); section 1.2, no. 1 (footnote no. 609); section 2.1, nos. 3 (footnote no. 619), 8 (footnote no. 634), 25 (footnote no. 673), 27 (footnote no. 680); section 2.3, no. 9 (footnote no. 727); section 3.1, no. 18 (footnote no. 803); section 3.2, no. 15 (footnote no. 844). For even clearer cases of corruption, see Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 5; section 2.1, nos. 1, 4, 26; section 3.1, no. 3; section 3.2, no. 11. In the latter cases, the corrupted name is simply mentioned in a footnote and not in separate.

414 Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 3; section 1.2, no. 1; section 2.1, no. 3.

415 Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 27; section 2.3, no. 9; section 3.1, no. 18.

416 Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 25.

417 Appendix I, section 1.2, no. 1.

418 Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 8 and 25. Sometimes, the opposite occurs, i. e., the edition of Moritz has the corrupted name when in MS. Hunt 2 appears the name of the amir with which it is identified. Such cases confirm that the corruption is graphically plausible. See Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 3.

419 This is especially true when Moritz does not mention any variants, so, assumingly the name appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz, including MS arabe 5965 dated by Kumakura to 970/1563. See Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records”, 19. As far as I can tell from the notes of Moritz, the content of MS arabe 5965 is the closest to that of MS. Hunt 2 (Moritz noted that the two had coincidences), and it is possibly the extant manuscript that is closest in date to MS. Hunt 2.

other cases, the name of an amir who was a *mamlūk*'s descendant is corrupted. The supposedly corrupted name does not appear in narrative sources. Sometimes the edition of Moritz has a correction. In some cases, the *'ibra* allocated to the supposedly corrupted name is too low even for amir of ten, confirming that it is a corruption. The cases involve a dittology⁴²⁰ and switching the names Muḥammad and Aḥmad.⁴²¹ For some reason, in some cases in MS. Hunt 2, the name Khushkaldī appears, sometimes erased with a line, where clearly the name Khalīl should have appeared. In all these cases, the edition of Moritz has the name Khalīl,⁴²² again showing that in rare cases mistakes in MS. Hunt 2 were identified and amended in later manuscripts. Some names of *mamlūk* amirs appear without a *nisba*, however, MS. Hunt 2 has only one amir by that name with a *nisba*, and narrative sources do not mention other *mamlūks* by that name in the events of the period (or at all). Significantly, in such cases, the edition of Moritz has the name with the *nisba*. Moreover, sometimes the name with the *nisba* appears in MS. Hunt 2 in the same page as holder of another land. In general, it seems that there is a tendency in the *Tuhfa* to offer a more elaborate identification in the first few times a name appears, but sometimes parts of the name are dropped if the name appears in a more elaborate form nearby, especially if in the same page or folio. It is very unlikely that names appeared for the first time (or only time) with no *nisba* (or in another very partial form). In such cases, I identified the *mamlūk* without the *nisba* as the *mamlūk* with the *nisba* (but mentioned the name without the *nisba* and the *'ibra* allocated to him in separate).⁴²³ Some names of *mamlūk* amirs appear without a *nisba*, when two amirs by that name or more are mentioned in MS. Hunt 2, however, in such cases the name appears with a *nisba* in MS. Hunt 2 in the same page (or nearby) as holder of another land. Moreover, whereas MS. Hunt 2 has the name with no *nisba*, Moritz sometimes has the name with a *nisba*. Considerations of *'ibra* may rule out identification with other amirs by that name. In such cases, the name with no *nisba* was identified as the name with the *nisba* that appears in Moritz and/or nearby in MS. Hunt 2.⁴²⁴ In two cases, the private name is omitted in MS. Hunt 2, and only an appellation appears. However, each of the appellations are attested in MS. Hunt 2 only with respect to two amirs. Moreover, Moritz has a full name, and in one of these cases the full name also appears in the same page in MS. Hunt 2 as holder of another land. In these cases,

420 Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 3 (footnote no. 814).

421 Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 5.

422 Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 9 and 14; section 3.2, no. 4. In these cases, the corrupted name is simply mentioned in a footnote and not in separate. For other minor corruptions of names of *mamlūks*' descendants or other free persons that are only mentioned in footnotes but not in separate, see Appendix I, section 2.4, no. 3; section 2.5, no. 2; section 3.2, no. 7.

423 Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 4 (footnote no. 578); section 2.1, no. 25 (footnote no. 674).

424 Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 1 (footnote no. 613) and 21 (footnote no. 664).

the partial name in MS. Hunt 2 was identified as the full name as it appears in Moritz.⁴²⁵ In some cases it seems that a *mamlūk* amir (or a *mamlūk* father of an amir) appears in MS. Hunt 2 with more than one *nisba*. Narrative sources and considerations of *‘ibra* help in confirming that in fact we are reasonably dealing with only one person.⁴²⁶

Other identifications are considered less secure (they are underlined in Appendix I); however, the number of such cases is quite restricted.⁴²⁷ There are also three marginal cases (18,150 DJ in total) of names with no *nisbas* who may be identified with several amirs with *nisbas* in MS. Hunt 2. They appear in section 4 (“additional *iqṭā’s*”) of Appendix I (nos. 1, 4–5) together with two *muqdaam alfs* who died before Shawwāl 778/March 1377 but are still allocated a marginal *‘ibra* in MS. Hunt 2 (10,600 DJ together).⁴²⁸ The *‘ibras* of “additional *iqṭā’s*” were not considered for calculations. Notwithstanding all problems of identification, the number of amirs as presented in Appendix I must be very close to the actual number of amirs in Cairo in 778/1377.⁴²⁹ The number of *muqaddam alfs* is secure enough.⁴³⁰ There is no reason to think that the actual number of *ṭablkhānas* was much different.⁴³¹ While the number of amirs of ten was perhaps somewhat higher, it could not have been much higher.⁴³² Also the total *‘ibras* of each group of amirs of each rank in Appendix I must be very close to the actual *‘ibras* of each

425 Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 3 (footnote no. 573) and 13 (footnote no. 599).

426 Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 10 (footnote no. 591); section 2.1, nos. 2 (footnote no. 615) and 8 (footnotes nos. 631 and 633); section 3.2, no. 3 (footnote no. 815). In another case, the pattern of land holding seems to confirm that all the *nisbas* refer to one person. See Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 1 (footnote no. 808).

427 For considerations, see Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 1–3; section 2.1, nos. 30 and 34; section 2.3, nos. 7 and 11; section 2.4, no. 5; section 3.1, nos. 7 and 20.

428 Appendix I, section 4, nos. 2–3. And see at footnotes nos. 383–6 above.

429 However, it is quite possible that the *asyād*, which are excluded from Appendix I, were also amirs. See discussion at footnotes nos. 442–5 below.

430 However, one case is problematic (Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 16). See discussion at footnote no. 470 below.

431 There was perhaps one less *mamlūk* amir of *ṭablkhāna*. See Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 34 (footnote no. 698).

432 If less secure identifications of amirs are not accepted, we perhaps should add two amirs of ten who were *mamlūks’* descendants (Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 7 [footnote no. 722] and 11 [footnote no. 733]), add one amir of ten who was a free person but not a *mamlūk’s* descendant (Appendix I, section 2.4, no. 5 [footnote no. 757]), and add one *mamlūk* amir of ten but on the other hand perhaps drop another (Appendix I, section 3.1, nos. 7 [footnote no. 781] and 20 [footnote no. 806]). Consider also that there are four marginal cases of land holders mentioned by name but without the title of amir (Appendix I, section 3.3, nos. 11–14), all apparently free persons but not *mamlūks’* descendants, who were not considered amirs in Cairo. While it is unlikely that they were amirs in Cairo, the option cannot be totally excluded. See at footnote no. 394 above.

group in 778/1377.⁴³³ However, because most problems of identification and differentiation involve amirs of ten or *ṭablkhānas*, and some *ʿibras* perhaps should move from one category of these ranks to the other, and because these two ranks are the relevant ranks for *mamlūks*' descendants and other free persons, I also made calculations of the total number and *ʿibra* of amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* together, and calculated the share of *mamlūks*' descendants and other free persons in this joint category.

433 Three main things should be considered in this respect: 1. Some identifications are not secure (however, in some of the cases, possible alternative identifications include only amirs of the same rank and group, so the total *ʿibra* of the group is not affected). See at footnote no. 427 above; 2. Some marginal “additional *iqṭāʾs*” (Appendix I, section 4) were not considered in calculations of *ʿibras*. See at footnote no. 428 above; 3. Few amirs were allocated a land “together with others” (*wa-man maʾahu*) who are not specified, and the *ʿibra* was calculated as if it was given in full to the amir mentioned by name. See footnote no. 412 above. So, *muqaddam alfs* who were *mamlūks* perhaps held about 22,250 DJ less (dropping two unsecure identifications with 18,000 DJ [Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 1–2] and half of the tax yield of two amirs who held 8,500 DJ together with others [Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 2 and 9]). On the other hand, this is somewhat balanced by the fact that two “additional *iqṭāʾs*” with a tax yield of 10,600 DJ are allocated to *muqdaam alfs* who died before Shawwāl 778/March 1377, but this tax yield was excluded from calculations (Appendix I, section 4, nos. 2–3). Amirs of *ṭablkhāna* who were *mamlūks* perhaps held 23,500 DJ less (dropping one unsecure identification with 23,000 DJ [Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 34] and half of the tax yield of an amir who held 6,000 DJ together with others [Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 6], but adding 2,500 DJ allocated to a *mamlūk* amir considered amir of ten who perhaps should be allocated to a *ṭablkhāna* [Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 20]). On the other hand, this is somewhat balanced by the fact that one “additional *iqṭāʾ*” with a tax yield of 13,150 DJ belongs in all likelihood to an amir of *ṭablkhāna* who was a *mamlūk*, but this tax yield was excluded from calculations (Appendix I, section 4, no. 1). Amirs of *ṭablkhāna* who were *mamlūks*' descendants perhaps held 6,125 DJ less (dropping two unsecure identifications with 5,000 DJ [Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 7 and 11] and half of the tax yield of one amir who held 2,250 DJ together with others [Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 9]). Amirs of *ṭablkhāna* who were free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants perhaps held 2,000 DJ less (dropping one unsecure identifications with 2,000 DJ [Appendix I, section 2.4, no. 5]). Amirs of ten who were *mamlūks* perhaps held 3,400 DJ less (dropping one unsecure identification with 2,500 DJ [Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 20] and half of the tax yield of one amir who held 1,800 DJ together with others [Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 15]). Amirs of ten who were *mamlūks*' descendants perhaps held about 2,515 DJ less (adding 5,000 DJ which is the tax yield of two amirs identified tentatively as *ṭablkhānas* [Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 7 and 11], but dropping half of the tax yield of three amirs who held 15,031 DJ together with others [Appendix I, section 3.2, nos. 1, 2 and 16]). On the other hand, this is balanced by the fact that one “additional *iqṭāʾ*” with a tax yield of 3,000 DJ that was excluded from calculations, very likely belongs to an amir of ten who was a *mamlūk*'s descendant (Appendix I, section 4, no. 4). Amirs of ten who were free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants perhaps held 2,000 DJ more (adding 2,000 DJ which is the tax yield of one amir identified tentatively as a *ṭablkhāna* [Appendix I, section 2.4, no. 5]). Again, consider also that there are four marginal cases of land holders mentioned by name but without the title of amir with a total tax yield of 2,760 DJ (Appendix I, section 3.3, nos. 11–14), all apparently free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants, who were not considered amirs in Cairo. While it is unlikely that they were amirs in Cairo, the option cannot be totally excluded. See at footnote no. 394 above.

In order to keep in check the effect of problems of identification, corruptions, omissions, and mistakes in the *Tuhfa* on calculations of average *‘ibras* and ranges of *‘ibras* of each rank and group, I calculated also median *‘ibras*, ranges of *‘ibras* without the lowest and highest 10% of members of each rank or members of groups within each rank (“range 80%”), and average *‘ibras* without the lowest and highest 10% of members of each group or rank (“average 80%”).⁴³⁴ The differences between the calculations of average *‘ibras* and the median *‘ibra* are normally not significant, and generally do not affect the overall analysis. The main benefit is in detecting irregularities in the ranges of each rank and group, most importantly in lower ranges, especially of the lowest rank, in which any mistake, even when concerning only one village, may distort the picture. Because on a few occasions Ibn al-Jī‘ān does not mention the *‘ibra* of a village, I used also *‘ibras* from Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār*.⁴³⁵ All in all, the *‘ibras* in the *Intiṣār* and the *Tuhfa* do not vary significantly, and, again, the *‘ibras* in the *Intiṣār* are mainly helpful in detecting irregularities in the *Tuhfa* (due to corruptions, possible omissions, and other mistakes) that may distort the ranges of *‘ibras* of each rank and group (especially the lower ranges, and especially of the lowest rank).

7.5 *Muqaddam alfs* in Cairo in 778/1377

According to my reconstruction, excluding the *asyād*, the total number of amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 was 130.⁴³⁶ The number of *muqaddam alfs* in Cairo was 17 (see Table I below). On the one hand, clearly, no other *muqaddam alfs* are mentioned in narrative sources circa 778/1377, so the number seems secure enough (except perhaps for one problematic identification—see below).⁴³⁷ On

434 I divided by ten the number of amirs in each rank or group and rounded the result up. Then, I excluded the rounded number of members from the higher range and the lower range of each rank or group.

435 See footnote no. 412 above.

436 As mentioned, the number should not be seen as an exact number. See above at footnotes nos. 429–32. Including *asyād*, the number of amirs in Cairo was 144. On the status of the *asyād*, see at footnotes nos. 442–5 below. If I understand correctly, Van Steenberghe found in the edition of Moritz “a surprising total of no more than eighty-four amirs... in Egypt”. See Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 35. However, this seems to be contradicted by *ibid.*, 47 (footnote no. 86).

437 On *muqaddam alfs* who died (shortly) before Shawwāl 778/ March 1377, see at footnotes nos. 378, 383, and 386 above. In addition, al-Maqrīzī mentions once in 771/1371 an amir by the name of Yalbughā al-Majnūn who became *muqaddam alf*, and this amir does not appear in the *Tuhfa*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185. However, except for this reference, al-Maqrīzī and other historians mention Yalbughā al-Majnūn only starting from the 790s/1390s. Thus, the reference in 771/1371 is clearly a mistake. Van Steenberghe identified 17 *muqaddam alfs*

the other hand, according to al-Qalqashandī, at the *rawk* in 715/1315 the number of *muqaddam alfs* was fixed on 24, and this state of things remained until the end of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's reign. Only when al-Zāhir Barqūq established the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* (circa 788/1386)⁴³⁸ the number of *muqaddams* declined to 18–20 including the governors of Alexandria, al-Wajh al-Baḥrī, and al-Wajh al-Qibli who by then became *muqaddams* (i.e., 15–17 without them).⁴³⁹ Historians also report that in 791/1389, the amir Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī who revolted against al-Zāhir Barqūq fixed back the number again on 24, in order to show how Barqūq corrupted the norms of the regime.⁴⁴⁰ What should we make out of it? I can think of two possible explanations. It is possible that the reports on the decline in the number of *muqaddams* during the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq reflect an anti-Barqūqid bias, and the number actually decreased already during the reign of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (note the striking correlation between the number as reconstructed from the *Tuhfa* and the number reported by al-Qalqashandī). After all, it has been mentioned that by the days of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān the land resources declined, and the number of amirs in other ranks also declined.⁴⁴¹ There is, however, also an alternative explanation. We know that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan gave his first-born son a *taqdima* immediately upon his birth, and later he made another son a *muqaddam alf*.⁴⁴² Later on, strong amirs who *de facto* controlled the Sultanate, did the same. Why should al-Ashraf Shaʿbān be different? Moreover, it is significant that except for the *asyād*, practically all *iqṭāʿ* holders mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* were amirs (see above at footnotes nos. 390–4), which perhaps suggests that the *asyād* were also considered amirs. In addition, while in the *Tuhfa*, where the title of amir is normally added to land holders mentioned by name, the *asyād* always appear without the title, and while references in narrative

in the edition of Moritz. See Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 35–6. However, see *ibid.*, 47 (footnote no. 86); and see footnotes nos. 37, 372, 380, 398, 409, and 436 above.

438 On this date, see Igarashi, “The Establishment”, 124–7.

439 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:14; Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 35–6; Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 65–6.

440 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:330; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99. It is possible that after the return of al-Zāhir Barqūq to power the number remained 24 until the days of al-Qalqashandī. At least according to al-Saḥmāwī, the number of *muqaddams* was 24 (including the governors of Alexandria, al-Wajh al-Baḥrī, and al-Wajh al-Qibli) until the beginning of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's reign (i.e., 815/1412), but then it apparently declined. See al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:384. By 827/1424, the number was 11, and later it did not exceed 15 during most of the ninth/fifteenth century. See Ayalon, “Studies II”, 469; and see also al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:387, 394.

441 See discussion above at part 7.3; and see Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 35–6. On other ranks, see discussion below at footnotes nos. 474–6 and 508–9.

442 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:43; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:317. Brothers of sultans could also receive the rank of *muqaddam alf* (and other ranks). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:630.

sources to the *asyād* in the days of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān as amirs are rare,⁴⁴³ Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (d. 786/1384), writing shortly after 778/1377, mentions explicitly that among the sons and brothers of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (i.e., the *asyād*) there were *muqaddam alfs* and *ṭablkhānas* (in plural!) in Cairo, which strongly suggests that all the *asyād* mentioned in the *Tuhfa* were amirs.⁴⁴⁴ It would also seem that the *asyād* were allocated *ʿibras* typical of amirs. The *Tuhfa* mentions by name five sons of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān who were allocated an *ʿibra* that may fit a *muqaddam alf*.⁴⁴⁵ If we add them to the other 17, the number of *muqaddams* becomes 22, very close to 24. Although it is more likely that the *asyād* were amirs, because their status is not entirely clear, they were not included in Appendix I. While the *asyād* are not the focus of this paper, the addition of the *asyād* changes dramatically the calculations concerning *muqaddams* and the total share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in the tax yield allocated to all the amirs (it affects less calculations concerning *ṭablkhānas* and amirs of ten, because the total number of amirs in these ranks is much higher, and the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in these ranks is anyway higher). Therefore, calculations supposing that the *asyād* in the *Tuhfa* were amirs will also be considered.

The reconstructed range of the *ʿibras* of *muqaddams* (*asyād* excluded) in 778/1377 is 54,000–204,550 DJ (see Table I). While at the *rawk* the range of *mu-*

443 See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 31 (“the register mentions many of Shaʿbān’s sons and brothers as the direct beneficiaries of fiscal income, mostly remarkably unlinked to any clear military rank or service”). On rare references to some sons of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān as amirs in narrative sources, see *ibid.*, 48; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:199, 442.

444 Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf*, 150, 152, 187–8. Interestingly, he refers to sons of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān as *muqaddam alfs* and *ṭablkhānas*, but to his brothers only as *ṭablkhānas*. Indeed, according to their allocated *ʿibras*, the brothers were *ṭablkhānas* and not *muqaddams*. See Appendix II, sections A23.7–8; and see at footnote no. 505 below.

445 The *ʿibra* of one is 236,450 DJ, which is higher than any other *ʿibra* allocated to other *muqaddams* in 778/1377 (note that he later became sultan), but still a reasonable *ʿibra* (see Appendix I, section 1.1; and see Appendix II, section A23.1; and see Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 48). The *ʿibras* of the next three are 118,050 DJ, 94,000 DJ, and 91,300 DJ (see Appendix II, sections A23.2–4). Significantly, more than half of the *ʿibras* allocated to the 17 *muqaddams* in 778/1377 were at about that range (Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 6–14; and see at footnote no. 449 below), which suggests that the *ʿibras* allocated to the three sons of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān were very typical of *muqaddams* in 778/1377. The *ʿibra* allocated to another son was 52,150 DJ (see Appendix II, section A23.5). While it is relatively low for a *muqaddam*, it is still higher than all *ʿibras* allocated to attested *ṭablkhānas* in 778/1377 (see Appendix I, section 2.1), and it is very close to the *ʿibra* of one *mamlūk* amir in 778/1377 who was apparently a *muqaddam* (54,000 DJ—Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 16). So, this son and the amir allocated 54,000 DJ are considered (potential) *muqaddams*, although their status is not entirely clear. For a discussion on the range of *ʿibras* of *muqaddams*, see below. Note that the *ʿibras* of *asyād* mentioned in Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 153 (Table III) are somewhat different, because he calculated according to Halm, i.e., the edition of Moritz, and not MS. Hunt 2.

qaddams (*umarā' al-ulūf*) was (ideally?) fixed at 85,000–100,000 DJ,⁴⁴⁶ this range was out of date by 778/1377 and much earlier. Already al-ʿUmarī mentions that the range of amirs of one hundred was between about 80,000 DJ for amirs of the lowest status and 200,000 DJ or even more for the greatest of the amirs that were close to the sultan (*akābir al-umarā' al-mi'īn al-muqarrabīn min al-sultān*),⁴⁴⁷ which is roughly in line with the state of things in 778/1377. Al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī reproduce al-ʿUmarī's words.⁴⁴⁸ However, the average *'ibra* of the *muqaddams* in 778/1377 was only 118,230 DJ, and the median *'ibra* 97,700 DJ. While the range was expanded after the *rawk*, in 778/1377 the bulk of the *muqaddams* still received between about 85,000 DJ and 100,000 DJ, as in 715/1315.⁴⁴⁹ There were four *muqaddams* who enjoyed an especially high status (204,550 DJ, 200,400 DJ, 186,100 DJ, and 170,500 DJ),⁴⁵⁰ and three *muqaddams* who had an especially low status (54,000 DJ, 72,200 DJ, and 72,500 DJ).⁴⁵¹ It would seem, that while the three were considered *muqaddams* they had under their command less than hundred *mamlūk* horsemen of their own. They were apparently amirs of 80, or amirs of a lower rank.

Al-ʿUmarī mentions that while most of the *ṭablkhānas* were amirs of 40 (i. e., they had 40 *mamlūk* horsemen of their own), some of them could have more *mamlūk* horsemen, even up to 70 (i. e., they could be amirs of 70). The words of al-ʿUmarī imply that it was not common that *ṭablkhānas* had more than 40

446 Sato, *State*, 154; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379–80.

447 al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:430; and see Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 48.

448 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:51–2; and see also al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:384. We also find in narrative sources during the 740s/1340s prominent *muqaddams* who received 140,000 DJ or 200,000 DJ. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:614, 719.

449 Seven out of the 17 were allocated between 87,900 DJ and 105,290 DJ. See Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 8–14.

450 Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 1–4. They probably had more than 100 *mamlūk* horsemen of their own. Al-ʿUmarī and other historians mention that *muqaddams* were normally amirs of one hundred (i. e., they had 100 *mamlūk* horsemen of their own under their command), but sometimes they could receive additional *iqṭā's* to support more horsemen. See al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:429; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:14; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376. Chronicles occasionally mention such additions to amirs of one hundred. See Ibn Taghrī-birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:312. Al-Saḥmāwī mentions that the amir of the highest status could receive two *taqdīmas*, and that other senior amirs could receive an addition of *ṭablkhāna* or *'ashara* over their *taqdima*. See al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:384. As noted by Van Steenberg, “the three-tiered military hierarchy... was also far more diverse than would appear from the surface. In terms of financial remuneration, a far more elaborate economic hierarchy existed within that military one”. See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 48.

451 Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 15–16; section 1.2, no. 1. The “Range 80%” (72,500 DJ–186,100 DJ) still does not represent the spread since the number of *muqaddams* was low. See Table I below. Van Steenberg suggested a lower range of less than 30,000 DJ, but this must be due to corruptions in the edition of Moritz. See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 48.

horsemen (*wa-qad yūjadu fī-him man la-hu azyad min dhālika ilā al-sabʿin*).⁴⁵² Significantly, al-ʿUmarī does not refer to amirs of 80 under the category of *ṭablkhānas*, which may imply that they could be considered *muqaddams*. Moreover, al-ʿUmarī mentions elsewhere that some *ṭablkhānas* who were amirs of 70 or 80 or “something similar to that” may be addressed in correspondences as if they were *muqaddams* (*fī umarāʾ al-ṭablkhāna man yuktabu la-hu al-Majlis al-ʿAlī ka-man yakūnu muʿayyan lil-taqdima wa-lahu ʿiddat sabʿin aw thamānīn fāris aw nahwa dhālika*),⁴⁵³ so, while he considers them *ṭablkhānas*, he shows awareness to the fact that their status was in fact between that of *ṭablkhānas* and *muqaddams*. In any case, the fact that al-ʿUmarī considers amirs who had more than 40 *mamlūk* horsemen of their own (but up to 80, i.e., amirs of 50–80) as *ṭablkhānas* (though, with a special status that is close to *muqaddams*, especially the amirs of 70 or 80), does not mean that after him the perception was the same. As we shall see below, although al-ʿUmarī insists that amirs of 20 should be considered a branch of amirs of ten and not of *ṭablkhānas*, there is clear evidence that after him amirs of 20 were referred to by historians as amirs of *ṭablkhāna*. In fact, al-Saḥmāwī (d. 868/1464), writing during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–841/1422–1438), mentions amirs of 70 and amirs of 80 (“about two *ṭablkhānas*”) as a separate rank between that of *muqaddams* and that of *ṭablkhānas*, a rank that is very close to a *taqdima* (*qarīb min al-taqdima*), and Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, writing shortly after 778/1377, seems to refer to amirs of 70 and 80 (and also 90) under the category of *muqaddams*.⁴⁵⁴

In general, references to amirs of 50–80 are not common in chronicles or biographical dictionaries, which perhaps confirms that there were not too many such amirs. Among the amirs of 50–80, most references are to amirs of 50.⁴⁵⁵ There are much fewer references to amirs of 80⁴⁵⁶ and 60,⁴⁵⁷ and references to amirs of 70

452 al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:429–30; and see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:15.

453 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʾrīf bil-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988), 103; and see also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:15; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385.

454 al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385; Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Tathqīf*, 150.

455 For amirates of 50, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:539 (in Egypt); 2:54 (in Syria), 495 (in Egypt); 4:180 (in Egypt); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 8:16 (in Egypt); 9:228 (in Syria); 12:89 (in Egypt), 177 (in Egypt); al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh*, 2:345 (in Syria); Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:42 (in Egypt); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:238 (in Egypt); al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 2:572 (in Egypt); al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh*, 207 (in Egypt); Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, 250 (in Egypt); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:468 (in Egypt); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:106 (in Egypt); ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī Abū al-Fidāʾ, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥusayniyya al-Miṣriyya, 1907), 4:103 (in Egypt).

456 For amirates of 80, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:185 (in Egypt); Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, 256 (in Egypt); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:177–8 (in Egypt); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*,

are even rarer.⁴⁵⁸ During the ninth/fifteenth century, the references to such amirs are even scarcer, which perhaps suggests that Circassian-period historians (on which we are dependent for information concerning the amirs in the *jarīda* of 778/1377) tended to refer to the few amirs of such ranks as *muqaddams* or as *ṭablkhānas*. There is evidence that by the early ninth/fifteenth century, amirs of 80 were generally considered (or could be considered) by historians as *muqaddams*. Ibn Taghribirdī reports that in 801/1399, the amir Ya'qūb Shāh received another *ṭablkhāna* in addition to a *ṭablkhāna* he already had, and thus “became *muqaddam* with 80 horsemen, that is, amir of 80” (*fa-ṣārat taqdimatuhu bi-thamānīn fāris a'nī imrat thamānīn*).⁴⁵⁹ He also reports that in circa 851/1447, an amir of 80 by the name of Alṭunbughā al-Mu'allim was ordered to sit together with the rest of the *muqaddams*, suggesting that he was considered a *muqaddam* (though with a lower status).⁴⁶⁰ As for amirs of 50, they were apparently generally considered as *ṭablkhānas* by other authors except for al-'Umarī, and also after his days. Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325) reports that in 683/1283–4 he was conferred amirate of *ṭablkhāna* with 50 horsemen (*an'ama al-sultān alayya bi-imrat ṭablkhāna bi-khamsīn fāris*).⁴⁶¹ Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) refers to one amir as amir *ṭablkhāna* and as amir of 50 in the same sentence.⁴⁶² Some amirs are referred to in their obituaries as *ṭablkhānas* by some historians, and as amirs of fifty by others.⁴⁶³ Ibn Taghribirdī mentions a list of amirs in 801/1399. An amir of 50 appears in that list between amirs of *ṭablkhāna*,⁴⁶⁴ suggesting that he was considered a *ṭablkhāna*. As for amirs of 60, al-Ṣafadī reports that one of the amirs of al-Zāhir Baybars “was not made amir *ṭablkhāna* until al-Malik al-Zāhir died, and then his son al-Malik al-Sa'id made him amir of 60 horsemen”.⁴⁶⁵ While the report suggests that amirs of 60 could be considered *ṭablkhānas*, the scarce information on amirs of 60 does not allow generalizations. In fact, it seems that circa 778/1377 amirs of 60 were considered (or could be considered) *muqaddams*.

6:199 (in Syria); Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madā al-Ayyām wal-Shuhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1990), 1:149 (in Egypt).

457 For amirates of 60, see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 5:447–8 (in Syria); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 7:350 (in Egypt); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 33:20 (in Egypt); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:143 (in Egypt); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 3:275 (in Egypt).

458 For amirates of 70, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:476 (in Egypt); al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 1:556–7 (in Syria); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 3:236 (in Egypt).

459 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:177; and see also *ibid.*, 12:178.

460 *Idem*, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, 1:149; *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 3:82.

461 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, 250.

462 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 2:54 (*kāna aḥad umarā' al-ṭablkhānāh... wa-yarā annahu 'an al-dawla bi-mu'azzal lākinnaḥu amīr khamsīn fāris*). Ibn Taghribirdī simply refers to him as a *ṭablkhāna*. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:9.

463 Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar*, 4:103; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:338.

464 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:177.

465 *Ibid.*, 7:350.

When we check the spread of the highest *‘ibras* of land holders in the *Tuhfa* that are identified in narrative sources as *ṭablkhānas*, and the lowest *‘ibras* of land holders in the *Tuhfa* that are identified in narrative sources as *muqaddams*, an interesting pattern emerges. We find nine *ṭablkhānas* within a range of about 7,000 DJ (from 30,500 DJ to 37,760 DJ),⁴⁶⁶ then there is a gap of about 7,000 DJ after which we find two more *ṭablkhānas* with 44,800 DJ and 46,400 DJ.⁴⁶⁷ Then, after a gap of about 8,000 DJ, come one *muqaddam* with 54,000 DJ, a gap of about 18,000 DJ and then two *muqaddams* with 72,200 DJ and 72,500 DJ, a gap of about 15,000 DJ and then within a range of about 10,000 DJ we find six *muqaddams* (from 87,900 DJ to 97,700 DJ).⁴⁶⁸ Clearly, it is a very uneven spread. While there are nine *ṭablkhānas* within a range of about 7,000 DJ, and six *muqaddams* within a range of about 10,000 DJ, in between, within a range of about 50,000 DJ (between 37,760 DJ and 87,900 DJ), we find only five amirs. This strongly suggests that the five amirs with 44,800 DJ, 46,400 DJ, 54,000 DJ, 72,200 DJ, and 72,500 DJ were amirs of 50–80, and that such amirs were indeed very few as the information from narrative sources seems to suggest. In fact, we may postulate a key of about 9,000 DJ for every 10 horsemen. Around 36,000 DJ (in reality in 778/1377: 37,760 DJ) is the upper limit of amirs of 40. The two amirs with 44,800 DJ and 46,400 DJ were in fact amirs of 50, so it is not surprising that they are identified as amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in narrative sources. The two amirs with 72,200 DJ and 72,500 DJ were in fact amirs of 80, so it is not surprising that they are identified as *muqaddams* in narrative sources. From about 90,000 DJ (in reality in 778/1377: 87,900 DJ) start the amirs of one hundred.⁴⁶⁹ The amir with 54,000 DJ was in fact amir of 60. He is apparently identified in narrative sources as a *muqaddam*, but his identification is not entirely secure. He seems to have been an old person who was on the way to retire due to his old age, which perhaps explains why he was amir of 60, a rank which was otherwise apparently very rare.⁴⁷⁰ The fact that amirs of 60–80 were

466 Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 3–9; section 2.3, no. 1; section 2.4, no. 1.

467 Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 1–2.

468 Appendix I, section 1.1, nos. 9–16; section 1.2, no. 1.

469 Note that the range at the *rawk* was 85,000–100,000 DJ, which fits the key of about 9,000 DJ for every 10 horsemen. Apparently at the *rawk* the standard of 100 horsemen for each *muqaddam* was followed. Alternatively, the data concerning the *rawk* represents an ideal and not a reality.

470 The *Tuhfa* mentions Malikṭamur ‘Abdallāh al-Ṣafawī with an *‘ibra* of 54,000 DJ. Narrative sources do not mention an amir by the name of Malikṭamur al-Ṣafawī, but they do mention Malikṭamur Min Baraka al-Nāṣirī that was apparently a *muqaddam* in Cairo ca. 778/1377, but was very old, so about two years later he lost his *taqdima* and was ordered to stay at his home. See Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 16. Now, except for Malikṭamur ‘Abdallāh al-Ṣafawī, all other land holders in the *Tuhfa* with an *‘ibra* that fits amirs of 50 or more, were securely identified in narrative sources. Moreover, all land holders with an *‘ibra* of above 23,000 DJ were securely identified in narrative sources. Therefore, it is hard to believe that a land holder with an *‘ibra* of 54,000 DJ would not be mentioned in narrative sources. This suggests

considered *ṭablkhānas* in the days of al-ʿUmārī, but by the late eighth/fourteenth century they were apparently considered *muqaddams*, may be called a “devaluation” of the rank of *muqaddam*. There were less land resources and less *muqaddams*, so the lower limit of entrance into the ranks of *muqaddams* was decreased as a “compensation”.

Among the *muqaddams* we find no *mamlūks*' descendants, however, this seems a coincidence, because clearly there were some before and after 778/1377. We find, however, one free person (Mubārak al-Ṭāzī) who was not a *mamlūk*'s descendant (Appendix I, section 1.2). Interestingly, his *ʿibra* of 72,200 DJ is the second lowest of all *muqaddams*. In fact, he was apparently amir of 80 and not amir of 100.⁴⁷¹ Apparently, the only *mamlūk muqaddam* whose *ʿibra* was lower, was very old and on the way to become retired,⁴⁷² so, in fact, Mubārak al-Ṭāzī received the lowest *ʿibra* among the fully active *muqaddams*. While the sample of free persons in the rank of *muqaddam al-f* does not allow general conclusions, the trend of lower remunerations in average for free persons, *mamlūks*' descendants included, is observable also in the rank of *ṭablkhāna*.

Table I: *Muqaddam alfs* in Cairo in the *jarīda iqtāʿiyya* of 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded)

	<i>Mamlūks</i>	Descendants	Other free persons	Total/General
Number	16	0	1	17
Percentage	94%~	0%	6%~	100%
<i>ʿibra</i>	1,937,715	0	72,200	2,009,915
Share	96%~	0%	4%~	100%
Average <i>ʿibra</i>	121,107	0	72,200	118,230
Median <i>ʿibra</i>	101,495	--	72,200	97,700
Range	54,000 -- 204,550	--	72,200	54,000 -- 204,550
Range 80%	87,900 -- 186,100	--	--	72,500 -- 186,100
Average 80%	117,189	--	--	113,751

that Maliktamur al-Ṣafawī should be equated with Maliktamur Min Baraka al-Nāṣirī. The fact that Maliktamur Min Baraka al-Nāṣirī was very old, and on the way to become retired, may explain why we do not have much information on him ca. 778/1377, and may explain also his odd rank (he was probably first an amir of one hundred, but when he became old, he gradually lost his rank). We tentatively conclude that ca. 778/1377, amirs of 60 (and thus, also amirs of 70) were considered *muqaddams*.

471 See discussion at footnotes nos. 466–70 above. That amirs of 80 were many times free persons, is perhaps also suggested by al-Sahmāwī's remark that amirs of 70 and 80 were sometimes relatives of the sultan. See al-Sahmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385. Also note that the name of one of the few amirs of 80 mentioned in the ninth/fifteenth century was Ya'qūb Shāh, which perhaps indicates that he was a free person. See at footnote no. 459 above.

472 See Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 16; and see at footnote no. 470 above.

If we assume that the *asyād* mentioned in the *Tuhfa* as land holders were amirs, then there were 22 *muqaddams* in Cairo in 778/1377 (see Table I2 below). Five sons of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān were possibly *muqaddams*, all were minors in 778/1377. Thus, about quarter (23%~) of the *muqaddams* in 778/1377 were *asyād*. In average, the *‘ibra* allocated to the *asyād* was about the same as that allocated to *mamlūks*, thus, their share in the total *‘ibra* allocated to *muqaddams* is also about a quarter (23%~). However, the *‘ibra* of 236,450 DJ allocated to al-Maḡām al-‘Alā‘ī Sīdī ‘Alī, who later became sultan, is the highest of all *‘ibras* allocated to *muqaddams*. On the other hand, the *‘ibra* allocated to another son of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān was 52,150 DJ, which is the lowest of all *‘ibras* allocated to *muqaddams*. In fact, this *‘ibra* apparently fits amir of 60.⁴⁷³

Table I2: *Muqaddam alfs* in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* included)

	<i>Mamlūks</i>	Descendants	<i>Asyād</i>	Other free persons	Total/General
Number	16	0	5	1	22
Percentage	73%~	0%	23%~	4%~ (4.5%)	100%
<i>‘ibra</i>	1,937,715	0	591,950	72,200	2,601,865
Share	74%~	0%	23%~	3%~	100%
Average <i>‘ibra</i>	121,107	0	118,390	72,200	118,267

7.6 Amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in 778/1377

According to my reconstruction, the number of *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo (*asyād* excluded) in 778/1377 was 58 (see Table J below).⁴⁷⁴ This is a serious decline from the number at the *rawk* that was (perhaps ideally) fixed at 200,⁴⁷⁵ and even from the actual number in 732/1332 which was 98.⁴⁷⁶ At the *rawk*, the range of *‘ibras* of *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo was fixed at 30,000–40,000 DJ.⁴⁷⁷ Al-‘Umarī mentions that the range is between 23,000 DJ and 30,000 DJ or more, however, he adds that *ṭablkhānas* could sometimes have more than 40 horsemen, so his upper limit clearly refers to amirs of 40.⁴⁷⁸ As with the *muqaddams*, the range was expanded after the *rawk*, and it would seem that the range of *ṭablkhānas* at the *rawk* ideally

473 See Appendix II, sections A23.1–5; and see at footnotes nos. 442–5 above (esp. 445).

474 However, see footnote no. 431 above.

475 al-Maḡrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 98; and see also Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 36.

476 See above at footnotes nos. 298–9.

477 Sato, *State*, 154.

478 al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:429–30; and see al-Maḡrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, 4:15, 51–2; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385; Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 47–8.

fits amirs of 40 with a key of about 9,000 DJ for every 10 horsemen,⁴⁷⁹ which also fits the upper limit mentioned by al-ʿUmarī for amirs of 40, i.e., 30,000 DJ or more; however, in reality (at least after the *rawk*) some *ṭablkhānas* had more than 40 horsemen, and some had less. In 778/1377, the reconstructed range is 8,000–46,400 DJ (see Table J). As for the upper limit, we have already suggested that it in fact concerns amirs of 50 which were very few. Only two amirs (of 50) held around 45,000 DJ in 778/1377 (46,400 DJ and 44,800 DJ), but the rest held 37,760 DJ or less.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, the upper limit of amirs of 40 in 778/1377 is in accordance with the standard fixed at the *rawk*, and with the information that al-ʿUmarī provides. The lower range of the *ʿibras* of *ṭablkhānas* in 778/1377 is more problematic. The highest *ʿibra* of a land holder that was identified in narrative sources as amir of ten circa 778/1377 is 11,962 DJ,⁴⁸¹ however, except for that amir, the higher range is around 9,000 DJ (9,500 DJ, 9,200 DJ, 9,000 DJ, and 8,531 DJ),⁴⁸² so the *ʿibra* of 11,962 DJ seems exceptional. One of the land holders in the *Tuhfa* identified as a *ṭablkhāna* in narrative sources was allocated only 8,000 DJ, however, he died shortly before Shawwāl 778/March 1377, so we may assume that part of his *iqṭāʾ* was already reallocated. Thus, the *ʿibra* of 8,000 DJ does not seem relevant for the lower range of *ṭablkhānas* in 778/1377.⁴⁸³ Except for 8,000 DJ, the lowest *ʿibra* of a land holder identified as a *ṭablkhāna* in narrative sources is 10,500 DJ, which also seems problematic considering the highest *ʿibras* allocated to amirs of ten, but perhaps possible.⁴⁸⁴ Except for 10,500 DJ, the lowest *ʿibras* allocated to land holders identified as *ṭablkhānas* are 12,000 DJ, 13,000 DJ, 13,250 DJ, and 15,000 DJ.⁴⁸⁵ We may relatively safely assume that the lower range of *ṭablkhānas* in 778/1377 was about 12,000–15,000 DJ, and that we have gaps in information concerning the amir allocated 10,500 DJ.⁴⁸⁶

479 See footnote no. 469 above.

480 See at footnotes nos. 466–70 above. Van Steenberghe suggested that “the maximum amount awarded to an amir of forty [was] more than seventy-five thousand *dīnār jayshī*... however, this *iqṭāʾ* seems to have preceded promotion to the rank of amir of a hundred, which happened in early 1377”. See Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 47–8 (footnote no. 89). However, since the excerpt is from 778/1377 and not from 777/1376, we are dealing here with a *muqaddam* and not a *ṭablkhāna*.

481 See Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 1. If his *ʿibra* is calculated according to the information in the *Intiṣār*, then it is 11,000 DJ.

482 Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 2; section 3.2, nos. 1–2, 20.

483 Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 12; and see also at footnotes nos. 384–6 above. Therefore, an asterisk appears before the figure of 8,000 in the rubric “Range” in Table J below.

484 Appendix I, section 2.4, no. 5.

485 Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 9–11; section 2.1, no. 33. Note that if calculated according to the *Intiṣār*, the *ʿibras* of two amirs who are allocated 13,000 DJ and 13,250 DJ in MS. Hunt 2 become 16,000 DJ and 19,500 DJ. See Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 9–10.

486 Perhaps some information is missing in MS. Hunt 2, or narrative sources mistakenly identify him as a *ṭablkhāna*, or he was not a *ṭablkhāna* at the exact time of the *jarīda*. Van Steenberghe suggested that the lowest amount awarded to a *ṭablkhāna* was 3,300 DJ. See Van

Table J: *Ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded)

	<i>Mamlūks</i>	Eunuchs	Descendants	Other free persons	Total/General
Number	36	2	15	5	58
Percentage	62%~	3%~ (3.45%)	26%~	9%~	100%
<i>Ṭbra</i>	955,735	43,500	299,875	109,665	1,408,775
Share	68%~	3%~ (3.1%)	21%~	8%~	100%
Average <i>ṭbra</i>	26,548	21,750	19,991	21,933	24,289
Median <i>ṭbra</i>	25,725	21,750	20,000	23,950	23,500
Range	15,000–46,400	21,500–22,000	*8,000 (12,000)–34,500	10,500–30,715	*8,000 (10,500)–46,400
Range 80%	19,000–33,000	--	13,000–25,000	20,500–24,000	16,300–32,000
Average 80%	25,862	--	19,750	22,817	23,997

Still, 23 amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in 778/1377 had an *ṭbra* that is lower than 23,000 DJ, which is the lower range of *ṭablkhānas* according to al-ʿUmarī.⁴⁸⁷ How can we explain it? Al-ʿUmarī insists that amirs of twenty are not considered *ṭablkhānas* but rather a branch of the amirs of ten (*thumma umarāʾ al-ʿasharāt mimman takūnu la-hu imrat ʿashara wa-rubbamā kāna fī-him man la-hu ʿishrūn fāris wa-lā yuʿaddu illā fī umarāʾ al-ʿasharāt*).⁴⁸⁸ A few decades later, al-Qalqashandī still differentiates between *ṭablkhānas* and amirs of twenty considered as a branch of the amirs of ten, and not only when quoting al-ʿUmarī.⁴⁸⁹ A few

Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 47–8 (footnote no. 89). Van Steenbergen does not provide details, but I assume that he refers to Ḥusayn [ibn ʿAlī] ibn al-Kūrānī Mutawallī al-Qāhira (d. 793/1391). While he was a *ṭablkhāna* in 777/1376, he seems to have lost the rank in 778/1376, so he was apparently amir of ten at the time of the excerpt. See Appendix I, section 3.3, no. 7.

487 18 may be identified as *ṭablkhānas* in narrative sources (Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 25–30, 32–3; section 2.2, nos. 1–2; section 2.3, nos. 7–12; section 2.4, nos. 4–5). Four are allocated an *ṭbra* that fits the range, i.e., they are allocated more than some of the land holders identified as *ṭablkhānas* (Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 35–6; section 2.3, nos. 14–15). One is identified as amir of twenty but allocated more than some of the land holders identified as *ṭablkhānas* (Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 31). On amirs of twenty and their status, see below. In addition, five *ṭablkhānas* were allocated exactly 23,000 DJ (Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 34; section 2.3, nos. 4–6, 13). See also Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 47–8 (footnote no. 89–“sixteen amirs of forty with *iqtāʾs* that generated less than twenty-three thousand *dīnār jayshī*”).

488 al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3:430.

489 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:15 (quoting al-ʿUmarī), 27 (amirs of 20, who are below the rank of amirs of 40, are considered as a branch of amirs of ten [*al-ʿasharāt*]); 3:193 (amirs of

decades later, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (d. 873/1468) mentions amirs of twenty as a separate category between *ṭablkhānas* and amirs of ten.⁴⁹⁰ Notwithstanding some general statements about amirs of twenty which show that the rank existed during the Turkish period,⁴⁹¹ references in chronicles or biographical dictionaries to specific amirs of twenty in the Turkish period are extremely rare.⁴⁹² Such references become common only starting from the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq.⁴⁹³ So, we may assume that in 778/1377 there were amirs of twenty. But how were they referred to by historians? Fortunately, one of the land holders in the *Tuhfa* is identified in narrative sources as amir of twenty circa 778/1377. He has an *ʿibra* of 17,000 DJ,⁴⁹⁴ which also fits the key of about 9,000 DJ for every 10 horsemen. His *ʿibra* is much higher than the highest *ʿibra* of a land holder identified as amir of ten, and even higher than, or as high as, the *ʿibra* of eight land holders identified as *ṭablkhānas*.⁴⁹⁵ So, notwithstanding perceptions reflected in bureaucratic manuals, clearly, (Circassian-period) historians tended to refer to amirates of 20 as *ṭablkhānas* (at least to such amirates in the Turkish period). Consider also that al-Maqrīzī refers to the *iqṭāʿ* of a *muqaddam alf* who died in 742/1341, with an *ʿibra* of 200,000 DJ, as comprised of 17 *ṭablkhānas*.⁴⁹⁶ The average *ʿibra* of such *iqṭāʿ ṭablkhāna* is about 12,000 DJ, which strikingly fits the lower range of land holders in 778/1377 that are identified as *ṭablkhānas*.⁴⁹⁷ Such an *iqṭāʿ* could

twenty and similar categories do not reach the level of *ṭablkhānas* [*lam yablugh al-ṭablkhānāt*]); and see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376 (apparently quoting al-ʿUmarī); al-Sahmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385 (quoting al-ʿUmarī). For such a differentiation, see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:34.

490 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wal-Masālik*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997), 93, 95.

491 See also Mazor, *The Rise*, 65.

492 See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 3:232 (in Syria); al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:745 (in Syria); 5:491 (in Egypt); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:611 (in Egypt); idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:138 (in Egypt). Interestingly, all were free persons, including one *mamlūk*'s descendant.

493 Just for example, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:267, 345; 12:63, 68, 78, 195, 324; 14:204, 255; 15:122; 16:62, 69, 75. References to amirs of 30 or amirs of 15 are extremely rare in both periods. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:470; Mazor, *The Rise*, 65–6; Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 7.

494 Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 31. He is mentioned in the Appendix as one of the *ṭablkhānas* because the *ʿibra* allocated to him is higher than some of the *ʿibras* of land holders identified as *ṭablkhānas*.

495 Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 32–3; section 2.3, nos. 8–12; section 2.4, no. 5.

496 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:614.

497 See discussion at footnotes nos. 481–6 above. Consider also that Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī, that was allocated 13,250 DJ in 778/1377, is mentioned in chronicles as a *ṭablkhāna* ca. 770/1368 (see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 9), but in the *Intiṣār* he is mentioned as amir of twenty. See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:22. Of course, it is possible that his rank changed by ca. 797/1394; however, it is more likely that he was amir of twenty already ca. 770/1368. This seems to confirm that even amirs allocated about 12,000 DJ, who were probably amirs of 20 or something similar to that, could be referred to in chronicles as *ṭablkhānas*. In the *Intiṣār* we also find two amirs of 20 that were allocated about 14,000 DJ ca. 797/1394. See *ibid.*, 2:20,

probably provide for about 15 horsemen, so apparently amirates of 15 were considered by (some) historians as a branch of amirates of 20, and thus as *ṭablkhānas*.⁴⁹⁸ While for al-ʿUmarī, those allocated less than 23,000 DJ (an *iqṭāʿ* that could provide for about 25 horsemen) were not considered *ṭablkhānas*, but rather amirs of 20 which are a branch of the amirs of ten, historians considered amirs of 20 (and possibly even amirs of 15) as *ṭablkhānas* (at least such amirs in the Turkish period). Interestingly, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī writes that “formerly” (*qadīman*) there were 24 *muqaddam alfs*, 40 amirs of *ṭablkhāna* and 20 amirs of 20.⁴⁹⁹ While we cannot know for certain to which period he is referring, the fact that he writes of 24 *muqaddams* perhaps suggests that the data concerns the late eighth/fourteenth century (during the ninth/fifteenth century the number declined),⁵⁰⁰ which is perhaps also implied by the fact that two sentences before he refers to the number of amirs “formerly”, he refers to the status of the grand amir “formerly” and mentions Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī and Barqūq. In any case, the numbers provided by Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī are strikingly close to the reconstructed number of amirs in the *Tuhfa*: there were about 60 *ṭablkhānas* but the *ʿibras* of about 20 of them more or less actually fit amirs of twenty.⁵⁰¹

Again, the fact that amirs of 20 were considered a branch of amirs of ten in the days of al-ʿUmarī, but by the late eighth/fourteenth century they were apparently considered *ṭablkhānas* by historians, may be called a “devaluation” of the rank of *ṭablkhāna*. There were less land resources and less *ṭablkhānas*, so the lower limit of entrance into the ranks of *ṭablkhāna* was decreased as a “compensation”.

Among the 58 *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo we find 15 *mamlūks*’ descendants (26%~) and 5 other free persons (9%~). About one third of the *ṭablkhānas* (35%~) were *mamlūks*’ descendants and other free persons. However, the average, or median, *ʿibra* of *mamlūks*’ descendants or other free persons was significantly lower than that of *mamlūks*⁵⁰² who were not eunuchs (see Table J).⁵⁰³ Thus, the share of

26. While the data in the *Intiṣār* is partial, there is no reason to suspect that in these specific cases we are missing information. This also seems to confirm that amirs allocated about 14,000 DJ in the *Tuhfa* were in fact amirs of 20, although they are identified in chronicles as *ṭablkhānas*. For the connection between the rank of amir of twenty and that of *ṭablkhāna*, see also Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (no. 8 in footnote no. 207; footnote no. 212; and footnote no. 218).

498 On amirates of 15, see footnote no. 493 above.

499 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 94–5.

500 It is possible that the number was 24 also during the early ninth/fifteenth century. See at footnote no. 440 above.

501 As mentioned, 23 amirs out of the 58 that were apparently considered *ṭablkhānas*, were allocated an *ʿibra* that is lower than 23,000 DJ, which is the lower range of *ṭablkhānas* according to al-ʿUmarī (see footnote no. 487 above).

502 Also note that the four highest *ʿibras* of *ṭablkhānas* are of *mamlūks*, two of them were in fact amirs of 50 (Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 1–4), and the five lowest *ʿibras* are of four *mamlūks*’

mamlūks' descendants in the total *'ibra* of *ṭablkhānas* is only about 21%, and that of other free persons is only about 8% (about 29% together). Although defined as *ṭablkhānas* by historians, most of them held *iqṭā's* that actually more or less fit amirs of twenty.⁵⁰⁴

If we assume that the *asyād* mentioned in the *Tuhfa* as land holders were amirs, then there were 62 *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 (see Table J2 below). Two sons and two brothers of al-Ashraf Sha'ḥbān were possibly *ṭablkhānas* according to their *'ibras* (39,500 DJ, 25,500 DJ, 15,500 DJ, and 15,000 DJ). The average *'ibra* of the *asyād* was higher than that of non-royal *mamlūks*' descendants (and other free persons or eunuchs) but still lower than that of *mamlūks*. One of the sons of al-Ashraf Sha'ḥbān was allocated 39,500 DJ which is the third highest *'ibra* of all *ṭablkhānas* (only two *mamlūks* who were, in fact, amirs of 50 were allocated more). Two of the *asyād* with *'ibras* of 15,500 DJ and 15,000 DJ were apparently amirs of 20.⁵⁰⁵ Royal and non-royal *mamlūks*' descendants were about 31% of all *ṭablkhānas* (19 out of 62) and held about 26% of the *'ibra* allocated to *ṭablkhānas*. Together with other free persons they were about 39% of all *ṭablkhānas* (24 out of 62) and held about a third of the total *'ibra* allocated to *ṭablkhānas*.

As mentioned, Ibn al-Dawādārī gives a list of amirs left in Egypt in 732/1332 that were ordered to provide carpets, the size of which corresponded in some way to the tax yield of their *iqṭā'*. Levanoni found that some *mamlūks*' descendants were ordered to provide as big a carpet as their *mamlūk* peers, and thus argued that *mamlūks*' descendants held *iqṭā's* as valuable as those granted to the *khāṣ-ṣakiyya mamlūk* amirs.⁵⁰⁶ The 55 *ṭablkhānas* of Cairo that were left in the city in 732/1332 were ordered to provide carpets in the following sizes: 64, 66, 67, 71, 74,

descendants (Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 9–12) and one free person who was not a *mamlūk's* descendant (Appendix I, section 2.4, no. 5).

503 The average, or median, *'ibra* of eunuchs was significantly lower than that of *mamlūks* (who were not eunuchs), and about the same as that of descendants or other free persons. Apparently, the *'ibra* of eunuchs was traditionally lower than the average. In 732/1332, 'Anbar the *muqaddam al-mamālik* was ordered to supply 66 cubits which was lower than the average size that *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo were ordered to provide (see below at footnote no. 507). See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:369.

504 12 out of 15 *mamlūks*' descendants (80%) had an *'ibra* of 23,000 DJ or less (eight held less, see Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 7–12, 14–15; and four held 23,000 DJ, see Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 4–6, 13). Two out of five free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants (40%) had an *'ibra* of less than 23,000 DJ (see Appendix I, section 2.4, nos. 4–5). Two out of two eunuchs (100%) had an *'ibra* of less than 23,000 DJ (see Appendix I, section 2.2, nos. 1–2). For comparison, 12 out of 36 *mamlūks* (33%) had an *'ibra* of 23,000 DJ or less (11 held less, see Appendix I, section 2.1, nos. 25–33, 35–6; and one held 23,000 DJ, see Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 34).

505 See Appendix II, section A23.6–9.

506 See at footnote no. 292 above.

76, 77, and 84 cubits.⁵⁰⁷ The average size of the carpet of *mamlūks*' descendants was 70.33 cubits, and that of *mamlūks* (non-eunuchs) was 71.77 cubits. The one eunuch in the list was ordered to provide 66 cubits. On the face of it, the differences in the average size of carpets provided by *mamlūks*' descendants and *mamlūks* seem marginal, however, we should remember that we do not really know how exactly the size of the carpet corresponded with the size of the *iqṭā'*. More importantly, while non-eunuch *mamlūks* constitute about 64% of the *ṭablkhānas* of Cairo mentioned in the list (35 out of 55), they constitute only about 36% (4 out of 11) of those ordered to provide carpets in the two smallest sizes (64 and 66 cubits), and while *mamlūks*' descendants constitute about 16% of the *ṭablkhānas* of Cairo mentioned in the list (9 out of 55), they constitute about 36% (4 out of 11) of those ordered to provide carpets in the two smallest sizes. Two *mamlūks*' descendants ordered to provide 84 cubits push the average size up, however, most of the *mamlūks*' descendants apparently held smaller *iqṭā'*s than their *mamlūk* peers already in 732/1332. The seemingly marginal differences in 732/1332 perhaps look more significant in the light of the detailed information we have from 778/1377 on the *'ibras* of *iqṭā'*s of each group.

Table J2: *Ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* included)

	<i>Mamlūks</i>	Eunuchs	Descendants	<i>Asyād</i>	Other free persons	Total/General
Number	36	2	15	4	5	62
Percentage	58%~	3%~ (3.2%)	24%~	7%~ (6.5%)	8%~	100%
<i>'Ibra</i>	955,735	43,500	299,875	95,500	109,665	1,504,275
Share	64%~	3%~ (2.9%)	20%~	6%~ (6.3%)	7%~	100%
Average <i>'ibra</i>	26,548	21,750	19,991	23,875	21,933	24,289

7.7 Amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377

According to my reconstruction, there were 55 amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded).⁵⁰⁸ Again, it is a serious decline from the number at the *rawk* that was (perhaps ideally) fixed at 200.⁵⁰⁹ At the *rawk*, the range of *'ibras* of that

507 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:368–9. On the numbers of amirs, see at footnotes nos. 293–8 above. On the governors of the provinces ordered to provide 50 cubits, see at footnotes nos. 295–7 above.

508 But see at footnote no. 432 above.

rank in Cairo was 7,000–10,000 DJ.⁵¹⁰ Al-ʿUmarī mentions that the *ʿibra* of amirs of ten was 7,000 DJ or less,⁵¹¹ however, al-Qalqashandī and al-Saḥmāwī who quote him write that it was 9,000 DJ or less.⁵¹² Again, it seems that the range at the *rawk* ideally fits amirs of 10 with a key of about 9,000 DJ for every 10 horsemen. This key also fits the upper range as mentioned by al-Qalqashandī and al-Saḥmāwī (which was apparently also the upper range mentioned by al-ʿUmarī). It also fits more or less the upper range in 778/1377. As mentioned, the highest *ʿibra* of a land holder that was identified in narrative sources as amir of ten circa 778/1377 is 11,962 DJ (a *mamlūk*), however, except for that amir, the higher range is around 9,000 DJ, so the *ʿibra* of 11,962 DJ seems exceptional.⁵¹³ As in other ranks, the lower range in 778/1377 has expanded since the *rawk*. The lowest *ʿibra* of a land holder in the *Tuḥfa* that is identified as amir of ten in narrative sources is 150 DJ,⁵¹⁴ which is even much lower than the *ʿibra* of a *jundī* in the *ḥalqa*, so, clearly, in this case there are gaps of information (apparently in the *Tuḥfa*). So, the *ʿibra* of 150 DJ is not considered. Except for that, the lowest *ʿibras* of land holders in the *Tuḥfa* that are mentioned as amirs in narrative sources or mentioned with the title of amir in the *Tuḥfa*, are 1,700 DJ, 1,800 DJ, 2,000 DJ, 2,000 DJ, 2,500 DJ, and 2,500 DJ,⁵¹⁵ so we may safely assume that the lower range of amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 was about 2,000 DJ.⁵¹⁶

509 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:379; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 98; and see also Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 36.

510 Sato, *State*, 154.

511 al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*, 3:430; and see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3:376 (apparently quoting al-ʿUmarī); and see Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 47 (at footnote no. 87).

512 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, 4:52; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:385.

513 See at footnotes nos. 481–2 above. Van Steenberg mentioned that the highest *ʿibra* of amir of ten was about 46,000 DJ and “this *iqṭāʾ* seems to have preceded promotion, since its amir was made an amir of forty shortly afterwards, in early 1377”. See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 47 (at footnote no. 88). However, since the excerpt is from 778/1377 and not from 777/1376, we are dealing here with a *ṭablkhāna* and not amir of ten.

514 Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 19.

515 Appendix I, section 3.1, nos. 15, 20–1; section 3.2, nos. 18, 23–4. Van Steenberg suggested that the cases of amirs of ten allocated about 2,000 DJ could be due to the “flaw in the *Tuḥfa*’s information”. See Van Steenberg, *Order out of Chaos*, 47 (at footnote no. 88). However, we have suggested that the information on amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 in the *Tuḥfa* is apparently complete. See part 2.2 above. Moreover, the fact that quite a few amirs in Cairo are allocated about 2,000 DJ in 778/1377, strongly suggests that this is not due to a “flaw in the *Tuḥfa*’s information” but rather that the actual lower range of amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 was about 2,000 DJ.

516 I excluded four cases in which the title of amir is not mentioned by Ibn al-Jīʿān before the name of the land holder and no information was found in narrative sources confirming that the person was amir. The *ʿibras* are 360 DJ, 400 DJ, 1,000 DJ, and 1,000 DJ, which seem too low for amirs of ten in Cairo (particularly the *ʿibras* of 360 DJ and 400 DJ which are even lower than the average *ʿibra* of a soldier in the *ḥalqa*). See Appendix I, section 3.3, nos. 11–14; and see at footnote no. 394 above. All four cases apparently involve free persons who were not

Table K: Amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded)

	<i>Mamlūks</i>	Descendants	Other free persons	Total/General
Number	21	24	10	55
Percentage	38%~	44%~	18%~	100%
<i>ʿibra</i>	110,062	128,181	48,350	286,593
Share	38%~	45%~	17%~	100%
Average <i>ʿibra</i>	5,241	5,341	4,835	5,211
Median <i>ʿibra</i>	5,400	5,500	5,000	5,400
Range	1,800 -- 11,962	*150 (1,700) -- 9,500	3,200 -- 6,000	*150 (1,700) -- 11,962
Range 80%	2,900 -- 7,000	2,500 -- 7,300	3,300 -- 6,000	2,500 -- 7,000
Average 80%	5,053	5,394	4,894	5,138

Among the 55 amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 there were 24 *mamlūks*' descendants (44%~) and 10 other free persons (18%~). About 62% of the amirs of ten in Cairo were *mamlūks*' descendants and other free persons. In contrast to the higher ranks, the average, or median, *ʿibra* of *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs of ten was about the same as that of *mamlūks* of that rank. The average, or median, *ʿibra* of other free persons was somewhat, but not significantly, lower (see Table K). Thus, the share of *mamlūks*' descendants in the total *ʿibra* of amirs of ten was about 45%, and that of other free persons about 17% (about 62% together).

If we assume that the *asyād* mentioned in the *Tuhfa* as land holders were amirs, then there were 60 amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 (see Table K2 below).⁵¹⁷ Five sons of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān were possibly amirs of ten in Cairo

mamlūks' descendants. Two of them (nos. 12 and 14) have Arab genealogies, which is not common for amirs in Cairo (except for them, the *Tuhfa* perhaps mentions only one amir in Cairo with an Arab genealogy in 778/1377; see Appendix I, section 3.3, no. 6). These two are perhaps rare cases of Arab amirs (*urbān*) mentioned by name. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĀʿid (no. 14), with an *ʿibra* of 360 DJ, was perhaps of the Banū ʿĀʿid. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 7:176; 15:385. ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sallām, with an *ʿibra* of 1,000 DJ, was perhaps of the Banū Sallām. See *ibid.*, 1:420. Note that on rare occasions, also in the *Intiṣār* Arab amirs are mentioned by name (and not as "*urbān*"). See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:27.

⁵¹⁷ To summarize, there were 17 (*asyād* excluded) or 22 (*asyād* included) *muqaddams* in Cairo, 58 (*asyād* excluded) or 62 (*asyād* included) *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo, and 55 (*asyād* excluded) or 60 (*asyād* included) amirs of ten in Cairo. All in all, there were 130 (*asyād* excluded) or 144 (*asyād* included) amirs in Cairo. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī writes that "formerly" (*qadīman*) there were 24 *muqaddams*, 40 amirs of *ṭablkhāna*, 20 amirs of 20, and 50 amirs of 10. See Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 94–5; Ayalon, "Studies II", 471; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99. While he also mentions that there were 30 amirs of five, he does not use the expression "formerly" (*qadīman*) when referring to them, and one has the impression that the reference to amirs of five is a separate reference. There is reason to believe that in 778/1377 there were no amirs of five in Cairo, and, in any case, clearly, there

according to their *'ibras*.⁵¹⁸ The average *'ibra* of the *asyād* was higher than that of all other groups. One of the sons of al-Ashraf Sha'bān was allocated 10,000 DJ which is the second highest *'ibra* of all amirs of ten (only one *mamlūk* was allocated more).⁵¹⁹ Royal and non-royal *mamlūks*' descendants were about 48% of all amirs of ten (29 out of 60) and held about a half of the *'ibra* allocated to amirs of ten. Together with other free persons they were about two thirds (65%~) of all amirs of ten (39 out of 60), and also held about two thirds (65%~) of the total *'ibra* allocated to amirs of ten (see Table K2 below).

Table K2: Amirs of ten in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* included)

	<i>Mamlūks</i>	Descendants	<i>Asyād</i>	Other free persons	Total/General
Number	21	24	5	10	60
Percentage	35%	40%	8%~	17%~	100%
<i>'Ibra</i>	110,062	128,181	30,100	48,350	316,693
Share	35%~	40%~	10%~	15%~	100%
Average <i>'ibra</i>	5,241	5,341	6,020	4,835	5,211

7.8 The amirs of Cairo in 778/1377—Groups and shares

Among the 113 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded), 39 were *mamlūks*' descendants (that is, about one third—35%~), and about 15 (13%~) were other free persons (see Table L below). 54 out of 113 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 were *mamlūks*' descendants or other free persons (that is, about a half—48%). However, the share of *mamlūks*' descendants in the total *'ibra* of amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* was only about one quarter (25%~), that of other free persons was about 9%, and together they enjoyed about one third (35%~) of the *'ibra* of amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas*. Among the 130 amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded), 39 were *mamlūks*' descendants (30%) and 16 were other free persons (about 12%). 55 out of 130

were no 30 amirs of this rank at that time. It is not possible to elaborate on the rank of amir of five in the scope of this paper. Excluding the amirs of five, there were 134 amirs “formerly”. The total number of amirs and the numbers of amirs in each rank provided by Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī are strikingly close to the reconstructed numbers of amirs in Cairo in 778/1377. As mentioned, there is reason to believe that by “formerly” Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī refers to the late eighth/fourteenth century. See at footnotes nos. 499–501 above.

518 See Appendix II, section 23.10–14. The *'ibras* are 10,000 DJ, 9,000 DJ, 6,900 DJ, 3,200 DJ, and 1,000 DJ. The last *'ibra* is somewhat too low for amirs of ten in Cairo.

519 See Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 1.

amirs in Cairo were *mamlūks*' descendants or other free persons (about 42%).⁵²⁰ The *mamlūks*' descendants held about 12% of the total *'ibra* allocated to all amirs, the other free persons held about 6%, and the two groups together held about 18% of the total *'ibra* allocated to all amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 (see Table L below).

Table L: Amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded)

	Number (all amirs)	Share in <i>'ibra</i> (all amirs)	Number (amirs of 10 + <i>ṭablkhānas</i>)	Share in <i>'ibra</i> (amirs of 10 + <i>ṭablkhānas</i>)
Descendants	39 out of 130 = 30%	428,056 out of 3,705,283 = 12%~	39 out of 113 = 35%~	428,056 out of 1,695,368 = 25%~
Other free persons	16 out of 130 = 12%~	230,215 out of 3,705,283 = 6%~	15 out of 113 = 13%~	158,015 out of 1,695,368 = 9%~
Descendants + Free persons	55 out of 130 = 42%~	658,271 out of 3,705,283 = 18%~	54 out of 113 = 48%~	586,071 out of 1,695,368 = 35%~

Among the 122 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* included), 48 were *mamlūks*' descendants or *asyād* (39%~), and they held together about 30% of the total *'ibra* of amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* (see Table L2 below). 63 out of 122 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377 were *mamlūks*' descendants, *asyād*, or other free persons (that is, about a half—52%). Together they held about 39% of the total *'ibra* of amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas*. Among the 144 amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* included), 53 were *mamlūks*' descendants or *asyād* (37%~), and they held together about 26% of the total *'ibra* allocated to all amirs in Cairo. 69 out of 144 amirs in Cairo were *mamlūks*' descendants,

520 As mentioned, Haarmann used a list of 47 amirs of all ranks (nine *muqaddams*, 24 *ṭablkhānas*, and 14 amirs of ten) from Shawwāl 778/March 1377 that is found in narrative sources, in order to estimate the share of *mamlūks*' descendants in amirates (see at footnote no. 169 above). Being from Shawwāl 778/March 1377, it is actually only a partial list of the 130 amirs that was reconstructed from the *Tuhfa*. Haarmann found in the list seven "*awlād al-nās*" who were *ṭablkhānas* and five "*awlād al-nās*" who were amirs of ten, however, two of Haarmann's "*awlād al-nās*" who were *ṭablkhānas*, were, in fact, free persons but not *mamlūks*' descendants (Mūsā ibn Dandār ibn Qaramān and Yādī Qurṭaqā ibn Šūšūn). See Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 163 (footnote no. 5); idem, "Joseph's Law", 68; and see Appendix I, section 2.4, nos. 1 and 3. In the partial list, the *mamlūks*' descendants constitute about 21% of all amirs (together with free persons 26%), about 26% of amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* (together with free persons 32%), about 21% of *ṭablkhānas* (together with free persons 26%), and 36% of amirs of ten (there are no other free persons). The reconstructed full list gives a clearer picture of the number of amirs who were *mamlūks*' descendants or other free persons, and their share in amirates is even much higher than in the partial list.

asyād, or other free persons (that is, about a half—48%), and they held together about 31% of the total *ʿibra* allocated to all amirs in Cairo (see Table L2 below).

Table L2: Amirs in Cairo in 778/1377 (*asyād* included)

	Number (all amirs)	Share in <i>ʿibra</i> (all amirs)	Number (amirs of 10 + <i>ṭablkhānas</i>)	Share in <i>ʿibra</i> (amirs of 10 + <i>ṭablkhānas</i>)
Descendants	39 out of 144 = 27%~	428,056 out of 4,422,833 = 10%~	39 out of 122 = 32%~	428,056 out of 1,820,968 = 24%~
<i>Asyād</i>	14 out of 144 = 10%~	717,550 out of 4,422,833 = 16%~	9 out of 122 = 7%~	125,600 out of 1,820,968 = 7%~
Other free persons	16 out of 144 = 11%~	230,215 out of 4,422,833 = 5%~	15 out of 122 = 12%~	158,015 out of 1,820,968 = 9%~
Descendants + <i>Asyād</i>	53 out of 144 = 37%~	1,145,606 of 4,422,833 = 26%~	48 out of 122 = 39%~	553,656 out of 1,820,968 = 30%~
Descendants + <i>Asyād</i> + Free per- sons	69 out of 144 = 48%~	1,375,821 of 4,422,833 = 31%~	63 out of 122 = 52%~	711,671 out of 1,820,968 = 39%~

7.9 The identity of the *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs in Cairo in 778/1377

As for the identity of the *mamlūks*' descendants in 778/1377 (*asyād* excluded), 19–22 out of the 39 (about 49–56%), that is, about half, were in-laws of the Qalāwūnids (Appendix I, sections 2.3 and 3.2 [“+” in the rubric of “Tie”]).⁵²¹ Out of the total *ʿibra* of *mamlūks*' descendants (428,056 DJ), the in-laws held 198,281–272,781 DJ, that is, between about a half and up to about two-thirds (46–64%). Among the 15 *mamlūks*' descendants who were *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo, 8–11 (53–73%) were in-laws, that is, up to almost three quarters (see Appendix I, section 2.3). Among the 24 *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs of ten in Cairo, 11

521 More correctly, 19–22 enjoyed a special tie (familial tie) with the Qalāwūnids. 18–21 were in-laws: 18 were in-laws for sure, and three were probably in-laws (Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 1, 13, and 15 [“+?” in the rubric of “Tie”]; and see on them at footnotes nos. 530–3 and 540). One was a son of an ‘adopted’ *mamlūk* (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 6). Some of the in-laws were, in fact, descendants of Qalāwūnids (one was claimed to be a Qalāwūnid, and others were descendants of Qalāwūnid women), or relatives of the Qalāwūnids via a female line. For details, see below. For the sake of convenience, I refer to all as in-laws.

(46%) were in-laws, that is, almost half (see Appendix I, section 3.2). We see that in-laws dominated both ranks, however their dominance is even more conspicuous in the higher rank. All the in-laws are mentioned in narrative sources as amirs, whereas four out of the 17 *mamlūks*' descendants who were not in-laws are not mentioned in narrative sources and are rather obscure figures.⁵²² Indeed, the three lowest *'ibras* allocated to *mamlūks*' descendants were given to those who were not in-laws.⁵²³ This data alone shows how important were in-laws among the *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs, and how central were the Qalāwūnids in the story of the rise of the *mamlūks*' descendants.

Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī's (d. 807/1405) *iqṭā'* yielded 25,000 DJ (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 3), the third highest *'ibra* of all *mamlūks*' descendants. In 752/1351, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan married his sister (d. 802/1399), a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (known as *khuwand* al-Tankiziyya after her husband), to Tankizbughā al-Māridānī al-Nāṣirī (d. 759/1358) and promoted him to the rank of *muqaddam alf*. Tankizbughā was known during the days of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan as the husband of the sultan's sister (*zawj ukht al-sultān Ḥasan*).⁵²⁴ *Khuwand* al-Tankiziyya gave birth to Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā who became *ṭablkhāna* upon his father's death in 759/1358, when he could not have been more than seven years old.⁵²⁵ Thus, the holder of one of the largest *iqṭā'*s of *mamlūks*' descendants, was, in fact, a grandson of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad via a female line. *Khuwand* al-Tankiziyya was also the mother of Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī (d. 803/1400–1) who became *ṭablkhāna* in 769/1368, when he could not have been more than 15 years old. In 778/1377 he was still amir *ṭablkhāna* (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 9). He is referred to in narrative sources as "the son of the daughter of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad" (*ibn bint al-Malik al-Nāṣir*).⁵²⁶ Tankizbughā's daughter was married to al-Ashraf Sha'bān,⁵²⁷ thus, the family of Tankizbughā consolidated even further its ties with the Qalāwūnids in general, and specifically with al-Ashraf Sha'bān.

Another amir *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 that was a son of a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī (Appendix I, sec-

522 Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 14; section 3.2, nos. 21–2, 24.

523 Appendix I, section 3.2, nos. 19, 23–4.

524 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:840; 3:1025; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:455–6; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:331; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 12:165.

525 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:455–6 (mistakenly: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī).

526 Ibid., 4:212.

527 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:105; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:256. While the sources do not mention the *nisba* of Tankizbughā whose daughter was married to al-Ashraf Sha'bān, except for Tankizbughā al-Māridānī no other Tankizbughā is mentioned in the sources until the 780s/1380s, so there is almost no doubt that al-Ashraf Sha'bān married the daughter of Tankizbughā al-Māridānī.

tion 2.3, no. 8). Manklibughā al-Shamsī (d. 774/1372) was married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, also referred to as “the paternal aunt of al-Ashraf [Sha‘bān]” (*‘ammat al-Malik al-Ashraf*), who gave birth in 768/1366 to ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Manklibughā and then died. Shortly after her death, in 769/1368, Manklibughā married a sister of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān, thus, consolidating even further his ties with the Qalāwūnids in general, and specifically with al-Ashraf Sha‘bān.⁵²⁸ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Manklibughā became *ṭablkhāna* in 771/1370, when he was about three years old (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 8).

Three other *ṭablkhānas* in 778/1377 may have been the sons of daughters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married one of his daughters to the amir Qumārī Amīr Shikār al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342) and promoted him. Muḥammad ibn Qumārī (d. 778/1377), who may have been a son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s daughter, was amir *ṭablkhāna* and *amir shikār* like his father.⁵²⁹ He became *ṭablkhāna* in 765/1363, long after his father had died, and he was still *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 12). Another daughter (d. 750/1349–50) of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was married to the amir Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī (d. 763/1362). After her death, in 752/1351, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan married his paternal sister Zahrā’, another daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, to Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī who became a prominent amir during al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s reign.⁵³⁰ Al-Ashraf Sha‘bān married a daughter of Ṭāz who died in 771/1370, thus, the family of Ṭāz consolidated even further its ties with the Qalāwūnids in general, and specifically with al-Ashraf Sha‘bān.⁵³¹ During the latter’s reign, narrative sources mention the amirs Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz (d. 778/1377) and Abū Bakr ibn Ṭāz,⁵³² who may have been the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s daughters. The two are mentioned in 778/1377 as holders of *iqṭā’*s that fit *ṭablkhānas* (Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 13 and 15).⁵³³

Another *ṭablkhāna*, Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umarī (d. 802/1400), was claimed to be a son of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 4). Aynbak al-Badrī (d. 779/1377) who was married to his mother, which was formerly the wife

528 Abū Zur‘a Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-‘Irāqī, *al-Dhayl ‘alā al-‘Ibar fī Khabar Man Ghabar*, ed. Šāliḥ Maḥdī ‘Abbās (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1989), 1:217; 2:361; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:315, 426.

529 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:341; 3:534.

530 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:196, 344.

531 Ibid., 2:16; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:184.

532 These two were in all likelihood sons of Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī. For details and arguments, see Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 13 (footnote no. 737) and 15 (footnote no. 742). They are two of the three *mamlūks*’ descendants who are only considered to have probably been in-laws. See at footnote no. 521 above.

533 Note that narrative sources mention in 759/1358 also a son of Ṭāz by the name of Mūsā whose mother was an *umm walad*, but there is no information on the mothers of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr. See al-Šafādī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr*, 2:570.

(or slave girl) of Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 768/1366), claimed that Aḥmad was in fact the son al-Nāṣir Ḥasan whose mother was taken by Yalbughā while being pregnant.⁵³⁴ Aḥmad is said to have been more than 40 years old when he died in 802/1400, however, he must have been born in 762/1361 (the year of death of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan).⁵³⁵ He became *ṭablkhāna* in 775/1373 when he was about 13 years old (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 4).⁵³⁶

Another *ṭablkhāna* was Taghrī Birdī/Taghrī Birmish ibn Aljāy al-Yūsufī (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 10) who was apparently a maternal brother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, or at least his stepbrother. Aljāy al-Yūsufī (d. 775/1373) married circa 768/1367 Baraka (d. 774/1373), the mother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, and became a prominent amir.⁵³⁷ It is said that after Aljāy's death, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān took care to provide for Aljāy's children, who were his maternal brothers (*akhadha al-sultān awlād Aljāy wa-hum ikhwatuhu li-ummihi warattaba la-hum mā yakfīhim*).⁵³⁸ It is implied that all of Aljāy's children were the maternal brothers of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, but it is not entirely clear. Taghrī Birdī ibn Aljāy al-Yūsufī became amir *ṭablkhāna* in 771/1370 (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 10), and if he was a maternal brother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, he could not have been more than three years old at that time.

So, most of the *mamlūks*' descendants in the rank of *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 who were in-laws, were, in fact, closely related to the Qalāwūnids and some had Qalāwūnid blood (three were grandsons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, three others were perhaps grandsons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, one was claimed to be a Qalāwūnid, and one was apparently a maternal brother of a Qalāwūnid). The fathers of most of them were related by marital ties to the Qalāwūnid family only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Qumārī Amīr Shikār al-Nāṣirī is an exception). Moreover, the families of most of them established marital ties (also) specifically with al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, the reigning sultan in 778/1377.⁵³⁹ So, the highest ranks given to *mamlūks*' descendants in 778/1377 were reserved mainly to

534 Levanoni, "Awlād al-Nās", 100–1; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:117. Aynbak himself, who by marrying the mother of Aḥmad became an in-law of the Qalāwūnids, was amir *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 (see Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 20).

535 al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:65–6.

536 In 766/1365, Yalbughā gave his son Shaʿbān the rank of *muqaddam alf* in Egypt. In 778/1377, Muḥammad ibn Shaʿbān ibn Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī received the rank of amir *ʿashara*. He may be considered another in-law who became amir. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 1:368; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. Both are not mentioned in the *Tuhfa*, because in Shawwāl 778/March 1377 they were not amirs.

537 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:439–40; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:52–4.

538 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:61–2.

539 Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī seems like an exception, however, he was said to have been a son of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān married a daughter of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:105; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:256.

those who were the most closely related to the Qalāwūnid family, and the reigning sultan.⁵⁴⁰

540 Except for the eight surveyed above in detail, there were three more *ṭablkhānas* who were in-laws: 1. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥājj Almalik (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 6) who was already discussed (see at footnotes nos. 344–6 above). 2. 'Alī ibn Manjak al-Yūsufī (d. 788/1386) [Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 11]. In 744/1344, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl married his maternal sister to Baybughā [Rūs] al-Ṣāliḥī and made him an amir and a close companion. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:90. Baybughā was the brother of Manjak. In addition, Shaqrā' bint al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (d. 791/1389) was married to the amir Ārūs al-Maḥmūdī al-Nāṣirī (died after 778/1377), who was married also to a daughter of Manjak. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:689; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:129. Note that Ārūs al-Maḥmūdī who was an in-law of the Qalāwūnids was amir *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 (see Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 32). Since both Ārūs and al-Ashraf Sha'bān were married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (see footnote no. 539 above), Ārūs was not only an in-law of the Qalāwūnids but also the *adīl* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān. While very indirectly, Manjak was specifically also connected to al-Ashraf Sha'bān through marriage ties (connecting him and al-Ashraf Sha'bān to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan). 3. Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy (d. 801/1398) was married to an *umm walad* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān by the name of Samrā' who gave birth to Aḥmad ibn al-Ashraf Sha'bān after the death of al-Ashraf Sha'bān. However, the marriage could take place only in 778/1377 or after, so it is not clear if this marriage tie made Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy an in-law already in Shawwāl 1378/March 1377 (he probably married her after the death of al-Ashraf Sha'bān). Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy was promoted to the rank of *muqaddam* in 791/1389, during the short reign of al-Manṣūr Ḥājji ibn al-Ashraf Sha'bān, whose paternal brother Aḥmad was apparently raised by Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:99–100; 6:248; Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 1. Still, it seems probable that Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy was an in-law already in 778/1377. He is one of the three *mamlūks*' descendants that are only considered to have probably been in-laws. See at footnotes nos. 521 and 532 above. Narrative sources mention that Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy grew up “with a silver spoon” (see Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 42; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:99 [*nasha'a... fī al-sa'āda*]), which must mean that his father was a high-ranking amir, and perhaps even implies that he enjoyed a close relationship with the ruling family (which is also suggested by the fact that Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy eventually married an *umm walad* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān). Only three amirs by the name of Mughultāy were high-ranking amirs: Mughultāy al-Jamālī (d. 730/1330), Mughultāy ibn Amīr Majlis (d. 733/1333), and Mughultāy al-Nāṣirī (d. 755/1354) who was married to the mother of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and enjoyed a high status during his days. See Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 84. Mughultāy al-Nāṣirī was apparently the son of Šūšūn the brother of Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (both Mughultāy al-Nāṣirī and Mughultāy ibn Šūšūn were *amīr shikār*. See al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 148; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:14; and see Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos*, 184). The family of Qawṣūn established several marital ties with the Qalāwūnids. See footnote no. 364 above. It is much more likely that Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy, who is first mentioned as amir in narrative sources in 778/1377, was the son of Mughultāy [ibn Šūšūn] al-Nāṣirī (d. 755/1354), because Mughultāy al-Jamālī and Mughultāy ibn Amīr Majlis did not enjoy marital ties with the Qalāwūnids, and they died more than 40 years before Amīr Ḥājj is mentioned as amir in the sources. This would also explain why the *nisba* of the father of Amīr Ḥājj never appears in the sources (Mughultāy ibn Šūšūn was a free person). So, Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy was probably an in-law of the Qalāwūnids and was specifically related by marital ties to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, and thus connected indirectly by marital ties to al-Ashraf Sha'bān who was married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan.

As for amirs of ten who were in-laws, many of them were descendants of *mamlūk* amirs who were related by marital ties to the Qalāwūnids already during the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Some of the families of these amirs did not continue to establish marital ties with the Qalāwūnids after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Mūsā ibn Qumārī Amīr Shikār (d. 800/1398) who was amir of ten in 778/1377 (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 7) was the brother of Muḥammad ibn Qumārī (d. 11 Ramaḍān 778/22 January 1377) who was at that time *ṭablkhāna* and was already discussed (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 12), and both may have been the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's daughter. We do not know when Mūsā became amir of ten, and it is possible that he received part of the *ṭablkhāna* of his brother who had died shortly before Shawwāl 778/March 1377, and part of whose *iqṭā'* was apparently already reallocated in Shawwāl 778/March 1377.⁵⁴¹ ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭaraghāy who was amir of ten in 778/1377 (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 18) was a grandson of Ṭaraghāy al-Jāshankīr al-Nāṣirī (d. 744/1343) who was married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's maternal aunt.⁵⁴² Muḥammad ibn Ṭaraghāy (d. 771/1369–70), who may have been the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's maternal relative, was amir *ṭablkhāna* in Egypt, and upon his death, ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭaraghāy became amir of ten.⁵⁴³ The grandfather of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Lājīn Amīr Ākhūr (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 8) was the husband of al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji's mother (the date of the marriage is not known). The grandfather, Lājīn, and the father, Muḥammad ibn Lājīn, were amirs during the reign of al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji (but after his deposal they lost favor). Lājīn and his son Muḥammad died in 751/1350–1 or 764/1363.⁵⁴⁴ Years after the death of Muḥammad ibn Lājīn, his son could become amir of ten (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 8).

In most of the cases, the families of the amirs who became in-laws during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad continued to create marital ties with the Qalāwūnids (and between themselves) also after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Two descendants of Baktamur al-Sāqī were amirs of ten in 778/1377. Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī was already discussed (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 2). While he was a *ṭablkhāna* in his prime during the reign of Qalāwūnids with whom he had a more personal marital tie, by the time of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān with whom he did not enjoy a personal marital tie, he was only amir of ten.⁵⁴⁵ Khidr ibn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī was also amir of ten in 778/1377 (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 10). Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333) married in 727/

541 See at footnotes nos. 384–6, 529 above.

542 Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 218.

543 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:176, 183, 185, 188.

544 al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 24:389–90; idem, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr*, 4:182; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 3:165.

545 See at footnotes nos. 351–4 above.

1327 Quṭlūmalik bint Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī. After Aḥmad's death, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married Quṭlūmalik and in 738/1337 she gave birth to al-Šāliḥ Šāliḥ ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī and Quṭlūmalik bint Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī had a son named 'Umar, who was al-Šāliḥ Šāliḥ's maternal brother.⁵⁴⁶ So, Khidr ibn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī was closely related to the Qalāwūnids.

Muḥammad ibn Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī (d. 801/1398) was also already discussed (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 5). His father became an in-law of the Qalāwūnids already during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Muḥammad ibn Yalbughā became *muqaddam alf* during the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan,⁵⁴⁷ who married a daughter of Asandamur al-Yaḥyāwī (d. 768/1367), the brother of Yalbughā, and upon the marriage gave Muḥammad a *taqdima*;⁵⁴⁸ however, by the time of al-Ashraf Sha'bān with whom he did not enjoy a personal marital tie, he was only amir of ten. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 9) was a grandson of Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī who became an in-law during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The family of Tankiz established more marital ties with the Qalāwūnids after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Muḥammad ibn Tankiz (d. 771/1369–70) became amir *ṭablkhāna* in Egypt in 747/1346.⁵⁴⁹ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz became amir of ten in 776/1375, five years after his father had died (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 9). This could have been thanks to the marital ties his family had established with the Qalāwūnids in the past, or thanks to a more personal marital tie he established with al-Ashraf Sha'bān. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz was married to an *umm walad* (d. 790/1388) of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, the mother of al-Šāliḥ Ḥājjī ibn al-Ashraf Sha'bān (d. 814/1412, about 41 years old). When she died, she left behind a young son from Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz. This son was probably Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz (d. 802/1399, about 20 years old).⁵⁵⁰ So, the marriage between Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz and the mother of al-Šāliḥ Ḥājjī must have taken place after circa 773/1371–2 (the year of birth of al-Šāliḥ Ḥājjī) and before circa 782/1380–1 (the year of birth of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz).

In the case of Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī/al-Dhahabī (d. 790/1388) [Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 3], his father became an in-law of the Qalāwūnids on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death when he married the

546 Behrens-Abuseif, "Waqf", 58–60; al-Šafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:183–6; idem, *al-Wāfi*, 6:266–7.

547 See footnote no. 364 above.

548 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:61–2; Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'il ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya fī al-Ta'rikh*, ed. 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Cairo: Dār Hajar, 1997), 18:596.

549 See footnote no. 362 above.

550 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:48; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:136.

maternal sister of Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.⁵⁵¹ However, Quṭlūbughā was also the brother of Manklūbughā al-Shamsī who became a guardian of Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā after the death of Quṭlūbughā. Manklūbughā al-Shamsī enjoyed a more personal marital tie with al-Ashraf Shaʿbān since he married a sister of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān in 769/1368. Shortly after this marriage, in 770/1368, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān gave Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā the rank of amir of ten (apparently years after the death of his father).⁵⁵²

The ties of the families of others were established only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad but not personally with al-Ashraf Shaʿbān.⁵⁵³ Some ties were established only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and personally with al-Ashraf Shaʿbān.⁵⁵⁴ The sister of Muḥammad ibn Tuḡhaytamur al-Niẓāmī (d. 803/1401) [Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 11] was married to al-Ashraf Shaʿbān.⁵⁵⁵

In general, many of the in-laws who were amirs of ten in 778/1377 enjoyed a more remote tie with the Qalāwūnids in comparison with in-laws who were *ṭablkhānas*. Some of these ties were established only in the distant past, and less of these families were connected personally with the reigning sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān in comparison with in-laws who were *ṭablkhānas*.

There is much less information in narrative sources on the *mamlūks*' descendants who were not in-laws. Some of them and/or some of their fathers are not identified in narrative sources, and we do not know the age of any of them. Still, some general observations can be made. In most of the cases there are no signs that they became amirs at a young age, and most of them became amirs

551 Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 218–9.

552 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:45; Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 3; and see at footnote no. 528 above.

553 We may mention Muḥammad ibn Buzlār al-'Umarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 791/1389) [Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 6] who was not an in-law but a son of an 'adopted' *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. See Yosef, "Masters", 564–5.

554 One such tie was extremely remote: as mentioned, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān married a daughter of Ṭāz (see at footnote no. 531 above). Now, one of the brothers of Ṭāz was Baktamur al-Mu'minī (d. 771/1369). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:66. Baktamur al-Mu'minī was an in-law of the amir Julbān al-'Alā'ī al-Ḥajīb (d. 788/1386). See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:198. Julbān al-'Alā'ī's wife was the sister of the amir Bahādūr al-Jamālī (d. 786/1384). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1148. Sunqur al-Jamālī was Bahādūr al-Jamālī's brother. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:138. And finally, Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803/1401) was amir of ten in 778/1377 (see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 15). Note that Julbān al-'Alā'ī and Bahādūr al-Jamālī, who may be considered in-laws of the Qalāwūnids, were also amirs in 778/1377; one was a *muqaddam* and one was a *ṭablkhāna*. See Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 9; and section 2.1, no. 15.

555 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:105; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:256. Note that the amir Aydamur Min Ṣiddīq (d. 785/1383) was Tuḡhaytamur al-Niẓāmī's brother. In 769/1368, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān released Aydamur from prison and gave him the rank of amir *ṭablkhāna*. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:119–20. In 778/1377, Aydamur Min Ṣiddīq was still amir *ṭablkhāna* (see Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 9).

during the lifetime of their fathers or upon their death.⁵⁵⁶ The fathers or grandfathers of many of them became amirs already during the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad or even before that time.⁵⁵⁷ Still, we find circa the 760s/1360s few *mamlūks* who became amirs, and then prominent amirs, and although they were not in-laws, they managed to promote their sons to amirates (sometimes of *ṭablkhāna*), apparently at a young age. However, with the fall of one of them, the *ṭablkhānas* of his sons were taken and one son was apparently compensated with a very small *iqṭā'* of amirs of ten yielding 2,000 DJ.⁵⁵⁸ Thus, in such cases, it would

556 Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 770/1369, more than 60 years old) became amir in 729/1328 at the latest, when he was in his twenties, and became *muqaddam* in 765/1364, when he was about 60 years old. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:353–4; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:312–3. 'Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 783/1381) became *ṭablkhāna* in 767/1366, 38 years after his father became amir (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 5). Iyāz al-Dawādārī is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* in 731/1331 (his year of death is not known). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:330. His son Muḥammad ibn Iyāz al-Dawādārī (d. 799/1396–7) is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* in 771/1370, 40 years after his father is mentioned as *ṭablkhāna* (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 20). Qumārī al-Ḥamawī (d. 766/1364–5) is mentioned as amir in 749/1348. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:102; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-Aṣr*, 1:178. 'Alī ibn Qumārī is mentioned as amir of ten in 769/1368, and it is very likely that he became amir upon his father's death, about 20 years after his father is mentioned as amir (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 1). The case of Arghūn Shāh al-Lālā al-Aḥmadī al-Ashrafī (d. 775/1374) seems like a border-line case. He apparently became amir and the *lālā* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān in 764/1363, but he may have become amir before that date. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:438; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:24–5; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 3:84. His son, Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 16), became amir of ten upon his father's death (the father died in Dhū al-Ḥijja and the son became amir in Muḥarram). Another son was amir of ten in 778/1377 (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 22), but the year of the amirate is not known. It would seem that being a *lālā*, Arghūn Shāh enjoyed a close relationship with al-Ashraf Sha'bān who made his sons amirs upon (or after) the death of Arghūn Shāh, although they were probably young. It is not that Arghūn Shāh could make his sons amirs at a young age during his lifetime.

557 Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 2 and 5; section 3.2, nos. 13, 19–20. For example, the grandfather of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Aṣṭay (d. 796/1394) [Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 19] was amir in the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The father, Mūsā ibn Aṣṭay, became *muqaddam alf* in the days of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and died in 774/1372–3. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:427.

558 Taybughā al-Ṭawīl (d. 769/1368, more than 40 years old), the *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, became amir in 758/1357 when he was in his thirties (see footnote no. 407 above—C8). After the death of his master, he and Yalbughā al-'Umarī controlled the sultanate. It is mentioned that at his fall in 767/1366, only nine years after he had become amir, the *ṭablkhānas* of his sons 'Alī and Ḥamza were taken, so it seems that he promoted two of his sons to amirates of *ṭablkhāna* at a young age. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:31. However, his son 'Alī was apparently amir of ten in 778/1377, with a very small *iqṭā'* (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 23). Aqtamur 'Abd al-Ghanī (d. 783/1381) is first mentioned as amir in 762/1361 and in 769/1368 he became (again) *muqaddam* and one of the strongest amirs in Egypt. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:65; Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 12. Shortly afterwards, in 770/1369, only eight years after Aqtamur is first mentioned as amir, his son Aḥmad ibn Aqtamur 'Abd al-Ghanī became *ṭablkhāna* (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 7). Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'ī al-Dawādār (d. 786/1384, in his fifties or more than 60 years old), the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā al-'Umarī, became amir in 765/1363–4 or 772/1370 when he was apparently at least in his late thirties and

seem that because the father was not related by marital ties to the Qalāwūnids, if the father lost his power (or died) the sons were demoted.

As observed by Van Steenberg, circa 759/1358 a generation of amirs that was less intimately linked to the Qalāwūnids and their patronage rose to prominence,⁵⁵⁹ and “the Qalāwūnid *bayt* was losing its grip on Mamluk society”.⁵⁶⁰ In hindsight, the stable rule of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān after 768/1367 was, according to Van Steenberg, only an interval in the disintegration of the Qalāwūnid household’s patronage.⁵⁶¹ The changes in patterns of patronage observed by Van Steenberg were correlated by changes in patterns of marital ties. Starting from the 760s/1360s, fewer amirs were integrated by marital ties into the Qalāwūnid family. While there was some reversal in the days of the effective rule of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān,⁵⁶² the number of prominent amirs connected by marital ties to the Qalāwūnids was significantly lower than in the period before circa 760/1359.⁵⁶³ Still, the patterns of promotions of *mamlūks*’ descendants show the dominance of the Qalāwūnids until the very end of the dynasty. The Qalāwūnids seem to have almost totally controlled such promotions that were mainly reserved to the families that were integrated into the Qalāwūnid family by marital ties before circa 760/1359, and those integrated into the Qalāwūnid family after 760/1359 by more personal marital ties with al-Ashraf Sha‘bān.⁵⁶⁴

probably more. Around 772/1370 he became *muqaddam* and then one of the strongest amirs in Egypt. See at footnote no. 407 above—C10; and see Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 6. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795/1393) is said to have become amir during the days of his father, which suggests that his father played a key role in his appointment. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:480. He was amir of ten already in 778/1377 (see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 12), only seven or 14 years after his father became amir, which suggests that he was young. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur received a *ṭabkhāna* during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq who married his sister ca. 779/1378. See Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 12; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:323.

559 Van Steenberg, “Military Patronage State”, 204–11; idem, “On the Brink”, 150 (“a first... breach of the Qalāwūnid political monopoly”).

560 Idem, “Military Patronage State”, 209.

561 Ibid.

562 See above at footnotes nos. 527–8, 531, 537, 539, 550, 552, 554–5.

563 Compare, for example, with the state of things on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death. See Van Steenberg, “Mamluk Elite”, 192–4.

564 Levanoni suggested that the increase in the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs during the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century “was not only the result of the great power accumulated in the hands of the amirs but also of the army’s ethnic structure in this period”. According to Levanoni, “[t]he absence of importation of Turkish Mamluks might well explain the introduction of sons of Mamluks into the army” to preserve the Turkish hegemony in a time when other ethnic groups were on the rise. “Indeed, many of the *awlād al-nās*... were sons and grandsons of Turkish Mamluks”. See Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 101–2. As for the suggestion that the dominance of the amirs was a crucial factor in the increase in the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs, I have explained in detail why there is not much evidence suggesting that until ca. the 760s/1360s this was a

8 Conclusion

The *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of 778/1377 was inventively used by Haarmann to examine the military/socio-political and economic status of descendants of *mamlūk* amirs by assessing their proportionate share in Egypt's agricultural wealth as holders of *iqtā*'s. However, on the one hand, Haarmann considered also many free persons who were not *mamlūks*' descendants. On the other hand, he perhaps did not emphasize enough the fact that the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* provides only names of amirs and does not give specific information on land holders who were simple soldiers, and apparently underestimated the share of the *ḥalqa* in the *iqtā*'s of Egypt. Thus, the share of *mamlūks*' descendants that appear in the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of 778/1377 by name can only be used in estimating their share among the amirs of Cairo, and is, in fact, only the minimal share of *mamlūks*' descendants in the total tax yield of Egypt. At the same time, Haarmann and others have noted that information on promotions of *mamlūks*' descendants to amirates in Egypt in Mamluk chronicles is not comprehensive and does not allow accurate estimations of the share of *mamlūks*' descendants among the different ranks of amirs in different periods of the Mamluk Sultanate. The *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of the year 778/1377, however, includes such a comprehensive list of amirs in Cairo in a specific point in time which allows exactly such estimation. Among the amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo in 778/1377, about one third (35%~) were *mamlūks*' descendants (*asyād*

crucial factor, and even in the 760s/1360s and 770s/1370s the Qalāwūnids seem to have almost totally controlled promotions of *mamlūks*' descendants. As for the "ethnic structure", indeed, most of the *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs in 778/1377 were Turco-Mongols, and upon the final takeover of the Circassians, Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants were demoted, as other Turco-Mongol amirs of *mamlūk* origin (see Yosef, "The Term *Awlād al-Nās*" [part 3.1]), however, it does not seem that the rise of *mamlūks*' descendants in the late Turkish period was related to "[t]he absence of importation of Turkish Mamluks". Even at that time there must have been many hundreds of Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*, and the *mamlūks*' descendants held only 39 amirates. Moreover, at that period there was a decline in the number of amirates and even Turco-Mongol *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates at a more advanced age (see part 7.3 above; and especially footnote no. 407). In short, it is hard to maintain that there was a lack of *mamlūk* Turco-Mongol candidates for amirates at that time. The increase in the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs started already in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century and before the decline in the number of Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*, and it involved mainly in-laws of the Qalāwūnids. It may be mentioned that while the Qalāwūnids did not tend to establish marital ties with Circassian or Anatolian/European *mamlūks*, when they did, the descendants of such *mamlūks* apparently had good chances to become amirs. For example, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Lājīn Amīr Ākhūr and his father Muḥammad became amirs (see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 8; and see at footnote no. 544). According to his name, Lājīn Amīr Ākhūr was not a Turco-Mongol. On the name Lājīn, see Koby Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*—Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Solidarity in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)", in *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule: Political, Social and Cultural Aspects*, ed. Amalia Levanoni (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2021), 73–4 (Table 4.3I).

excluded), however, the share of *mamlūks*' descendants in the total *'ibra* allocated to amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* was only about one quarter (25%~). The *mamlūks*' descendants were about 30% of all amirs in Cairo and held about 12% of the total *'ibra* allocated to amirs in Cairo in 778/1377. Having a full list of amirs in a specific point in time also allows a thorough examination of the identity of the *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs. About half of them were related to the Qalāwūnids by marital ties (49–56%). Out of the total *'ibra* allocated to *mamlūks*' descendants, the in-laws held up to about two-thirds (46–64%).

The data culled from the *jarīda iqtā'iyya* of the year 778/1377 may be put in the wider context of the status of *mamlūks*' descendants throughout the Turkish period and the gradual increase in the number of amirs from their ranks. *Mamlūks*' descendants were never barred from amirates, not even in the early Turkish period. In that period, as in other periods, it was helpful to have an influential father who enjoyed a close relationship with the ruling family, but a crucial factor was the age of the son. In general, in that period *mamlūks*' descendants were not promoted to amirates before the age of 20 and promotion to higher ranks was gradual. During most of the Turkish period *mamlūks* were normally promoted to amirates around the age of 30 and only then started families. Few favored *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates in their twenties and could start a family earlier. *Mamlūks*' descendants who were not in the proper age to receive amirates during the lifetime of their fathers, or upon their death, found it later on hard to receive amirates. In-laws could be promoted to higher ranks at an earlier age, however, at the early period even they apparently could not become amirs before they were about 20 years old. In any case, during the early period, Mamluk sultans did not establish many marital ties with their *mamlūk* amirs, not to mention their own *mamlūks*, but looked for marital ties with established families, normally the families of Mongol emigrants. Thus, during the early period we do not find many *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs.

As time passed, there were more *mamlūks*' descendants who were in a proper age to receive high ranks. However, what contributed most to the increase in the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs was a change in the marital policy of Mamluk sultans (the Qalāwūnids) that eventually allowed some *mamlūks*' descendants to enjoy closer relations with the sultans. The increase was gradual and dependent on the intensification of the web of marital ties; thus, it reached a peak only after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Starting from the 720s/1320s the marriage policy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad started to be directed inwards. Some of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's in-laws were favored *mamlūks* who were promoted to amirates at a very young age and became in-laws of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at a very young age. Thus, they had the chance to start a family at a young age. As in-laws, at least some of their sons could become amirs at a younger age than normal and even years after the death of their fathers, thanks to

the continuity provided by the rule of the Qalāwūnids. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, the families of the Qalāwūnids’ in-laws continued to seek for marital ties with the Qalāwūnid family, and the descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad continued to create marital ties with some favored *mamlūks* that were promoted at a young age. This state of things is reflected in the *jarīda iqtā’iyya* of 778/1377.

The *jarīda iqtā’iyya* of 778/1377 is a time capsule that gives us a clear look at the status and identity of *mamlūks*’ descendants in one of their most glaring moments (but perhaps somewhat after their prime). Things, however, were soon about to dramatically change.

Appendix I: The amirs of Cairo in 778/1377—*iqtā’* holders mentioned by name in the *jarīda iqtā’iyya* of 778/1377 (not including *asyād*) and their tax yield⁵⁶⁵

1 *Muqaddam alfs*

1.1 *Mamlūks*

Name	<i>Ibra</i>	Rank
1. Bashtāk/Bashtak al-Ash-rafi (d. Dhū al-Qi’da 778)	196,550 (197,500) ⁵⁶⁶ + <u>Bashtāk al-Nāṣiri:</u> <u>8,000</u> ⁵⁶⁷ = Total: 204,550 (205,500)	<i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁶⁸

565 While *asyād* are mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa*, their status is not entirely clear (see at footnote no. 390 above). The Appendix includes also the three most important amirs outside of Cairo that are mentioned by name (section 2.5), but they are of course not counted as amirs in Cairo (see at footnote no. 395 above). It also includes four marginal cases of holders of *iqtā’* mentioned by name that apparently were not amirs, at least not in Cairo (section 3.3, nos. 11–14). These four are not counted as amirs in Cairo (see at footnotes nos. 391–4 above). It also exceptionally includes one amir who is not mentioned by name but rather by the title of “Mutawallī Miṣr” (section 3.3, no. 5). And see footnote no. 411 above. Note that in order to save space, dates are given in the Appendix only according to the *hijrī* calendar.

566 1) MS. Hunt 2, 24r (Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:667 has the name of Bashtāk al-Nāṣiri, but Ibn al-Ji’ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 21 [line 29] has the name of Bashtāk al-Ashrafi) = 5,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 70r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:716 = 25,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 118r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:500 = 15,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 125v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:529 = 8,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 141r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:361—under the name of Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī, but in Ibn al-Ji’ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 101 [line 26]—under the name of Bashtāk al-Ashrafi) = 22,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 147v, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:381, and Ibn al-Ji’ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 105 (line 28) = 2,550 (4,000) DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 151r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:388 = 4,500 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 193r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:768 = 13,000 (10,000) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 225r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:172 = 9,500 (10,000) DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 230v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:153 = 20,000 (22,000) DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 253r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:93 = 72,000 DJ.

(Continued)

Name	'Ibra	Rank
2. Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi (d. Dhū al-Qi'da 778)	190,400 ⁵⁶⁹ + <u>Şarhitmish al-Nā-</u> <u>şiri: 10,000</u> ⁵⁷⁰ = Total: 200,400	Became Amīr Silāḥ in 775. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁷¹

567 1) MS. Hunt 2, 27v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:607 = 8,000 DJ. Halm noted that Bashtāk al-Nāşiri is mentioned in narrative sources in 778; however, the reference is to the *mamlūk* of al-Nāşir Muḥammad who died in 742. Narrative sources do not mention a person by the name of Bashtāk al-Nāşiri except for the *mamlūk* of al-Nāşir Muḥammad who died in 742. Except for Bashtāk al-Ashrafi, no other Bashtaks are mentioned in narrative sources ca. 778, and, in fact, Bashtāk al-Ashrafi is the last Bashtāk mentioned in the sources. Except for Bashtāk al-Ashrafi, Ibn al-Ji'ān does not mention in the *Tuhfa* other Bashtaks. Therefore, it would seem that Bashtāk al-Nāşiri in the *Tuhfa* is to be equated with Bashtāk al-Ashrafi. Note also that the land under the name of Bashtāk al-Nāşiri appears a few pages (MS. Hunt 2, 27v) after a land allotted to Bashtāk al-Ashrafi (MS. Hunt 2, 24r) and in the same province. Still, it is also possible that the land under the name of Bashtāk al-Nāşiri was in fact an endowment or private property of the *mamlūk* of al-Nāşir Muḥammad or his family.

568 Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Qāḍi Shuhba, 3:521; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:93.

569 1) MS. Hunt 2, 36v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:623 = 8,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 38v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:673 = 7,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 91r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:528 = 7,500 (7,400) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 99r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:505 = 5,900 (6,000) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 109r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:585—Şarhitmish al-Aḥmadi; not identified) = 11,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 177v (the 'ibra is 58,000 DJ) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:447 (the 'ibra is 1,035 DJ) = 58,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 216r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:273 = 15,000 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 224r (two thirds of Qāyāt were under the name of Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi) = 10,000 DJ (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:174—two thirds of Qāyāt under the name of Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi, but in ca. 880–1; and see Ibn al-Ji'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 162). 9) MS. Hunt 2, 234v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:173–4 = 33,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 251r (the 'ibra of Minyat Banī Khaṣīb became 38,800 DJ, but it is not mentioned what it was in 778/1377) [in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:126—the 'ibra of 38,800 DJ is for the year 778/1377; but see Ibn al-Ji'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 183. The 'ibra in the *Intiṣār* is 29,000 DJ. In this case I follow the latter 'ibra] = 29,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 253v (Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi together with others: *wa-man ma'ahu*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:91 (Şarhitmish with no *nisba* and others) = 6,000 DJ (with others [wa-man ma'ahu]). In the edition of Moritz, three more villages appear as *iqṭā's* under the name of Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi, and one more village under the name of Şarhitmish, however, in MS. Hunt 2 these villages are mentioned under the name of *muqṭa'un* or as private property. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:240 (MS. Hunt 2, 202r [Zinīn with an 'ibra of 2,000 DJ was the property of Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:377 (MS. Hunt 2, 151v; and see also Ibn al-Ji'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 108 [line 27]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:412 (MS. Hunt 2, 162v and see also Ibn al-Ji'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 116 [line 25]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:358–9 (MS. Hunt 2, 145v).

570 1) MS. Hunt 2, 39v (Shankalūm under the name of Şarhitmish al-Nāşiri and other *muqṭa'un* [*wal-muqṭa'in*]—no 'ibra is mentioned). In the edition of Moritz: Şarhitmish al-Nāşiri, but also Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi as a variant. See Ibn al-Ji'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 32; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:677 (the 'ibra of 20,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = about a half of 20,000 DJ = 10,000 DJ~. Narrative sources do not mention a person by the name of Şarhitmish al-Nāşiri except for the *mamlūk* of al-Nāşir Muḥammad who died in 759. Except for Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi, no other Şarhitmish is mentioned in narrative sources ca. 778. Except for Şarhitmish al-Nāşiri, the only Şarhitmish mentioned in MS. Hunt 2 is Şarhitmish al-Ashrafi. The 'ibra of

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
3. Quṭluqtamur (al-Khāṣṣakī) al-ʿAlāʾī (Shādd al-Sharābkhāna) (d. 779)	158,100 (149,040) ⁵⁷² + al-Khāṣṣakī: 3,000 ⁵⁷³ + Quṭluqtamur al-Jamālī: 12,000 ⁵⁷⁴ + <u>Quṭluqtamur al-Muhammadi</u> : 13,000 ⁵⁷⁵ = Total: 186,100 (177,040)	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 763. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁷⁶

20,000 DJ (though, with other *muqṭaʿūn*) fits amir *ṭablkhāna*, and it is only rarely that such amirs are not identified in narrative sources. As mentioned, in one of the manuscripts of the *Tuhfa* used by Moritz the land is under the name of Ṣarghitmish al-Ashrafi (however, this may be a late correction based on a speculation, or a mistake). Therefore, it would seem that Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣirī is to be equated with Ṣarghitmish al-Ashrafi. Note also that the land under the name of Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣirī appears one page (MS. Hunt 2, 39v) after a land allotted to Ṣarghitmish al-Ashrafi (MS. Hunt 2, 38v) and in the same province. Still, it is also possible that the land under the name of Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣirī was in fact an endowment or private property of Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣirī (d. 759) or his family. Indeed, the *Tuhfa* mentions few such lands (see MS. Hunt 2, 6v, 192v).

571 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 3:430, 525; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:126.

572 1) MS. Hunt 2, 9v (Quṭluqtamur al-ʿAlāʾī al-Khāṣṣakī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:326 = 5,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 93r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:475 = 17,000 (14,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 97r (Quṭluqtamur al-ʿAlāʾī and the amirs [*wal-umarāʾ*]) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:486 (the amir Quṭluqtamur al-ʿAlāʾī) = 5,000 (2,500) DJ. In this case, as in all the other few cases in MS. Hunt 2 when it is mentioned that a holder shared the *iqṭāʾ* with amirs (*wal-umarāʾ*), although it is known that the holder was amir, the title does not appear before his name as it usually does in the *Tuhfa*. On the other hand, in Moritz most of the times the title of amir appears but it is not mentioned that the *iqṭāʾ* was shared with amirs (see footnotes nos. 594, 632, and 757 below). Note that in some other cases when the title does not appear before the name (in Moritz or in MS. Hunt 2), it is mentioned instead after the name that the holder was one of the amirs (*min al-umarāʾ*). Therefore, it seems to me that it is quite probable that *wal-umarāʾ* may be a corruption of *min al-umarāʾ*. Indeed, sometimes *min al-umarāʾ* in MS. Hunt 2 is corrupted to *wal-umarāʾ* in Moritz. See footnote no. 778 below. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 104v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:490 = 10,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 108r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:576 = 13,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 150r and Ibn al-Jīʾān, *al-Tuhfa*, 107 (lines 27–8) [Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:380 does not mention this variant in Moritz] = 4,500 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 157r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:355 = 2,500 (2,440) DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 187r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:428 = 6,600 DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 187v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:431 = 3,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 191v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:465 = 5,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 221r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:140–1 = 7,000 DJ. 12) MS. Hunt 2, 225r (Quṭluqtamur al-ʿAlāʾī Shādd al-Sharābkhāna) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:261 = 3,000 DJ. 13) MS. Hunt 2, 241v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:130 = 9,000 DJ. 14) MS. Hunt 2, 242r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:106 = 2,000 DJ. 15) MS. Hunt 2, 244r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:111 = 9,000 DJ. 16) MS. Hunt 2, 248v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:137 = 6,000 DJ. 17) MS. Hunt 2, 252v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:89 = 25,500 (25,000) DJ. 18) MS. Hunt 2, 255v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:95 = 5,000 DJ. 19) MS. Hunt 2, 259r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:76 = 20,000 (17,000) DJ. In the edition of Moritz, two more villages appear as *iqṭāʾ*s under the name of Quṭluqtamur al-ʿAlāʾī, however, in MS. Hunt 2 these villages are mentioned under the name of other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:376 (MS. Hunt 2, 144r); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:557 (MS. Hunt 2, 137v).

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Name	'Ibra	Rank
4. Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi (Ra's Nawba) (d. Dhū al-Qi'da 778)	154,500 (142,900) ⁵⁷⁷ + Arghūn Shāh: 16,000 ⁵⁷⁸ = Total: 170,500 (158,900)	Became <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in 771. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁷⁹

573 1) MS. Hunt 2, 56v (*bi-ism al-amīr al-khāṣṣakī*) = 3,000 DJ. Only two amirs in 778/1377 appear in the *Tuhfa* with the title *al-khāṣṣakī*: Quṭluqtamur al-'Alā'ī and Ṣarāyṭamur al-Muḥammadi (see Appendix I, section 1.1, no. 11). At the same page in MS. Hunt 2 (56v), just next to the *iqṭā'* under the name of *al-amīr al-khāṣṣakī*, appears also an *iqṭā'* under the name of Quṭluqtamur al-Jamālī (probably a corruption of Quṭluqtamur al-Khāṣṣakī; see below at footnote no. 574). Moreover, the edition of Moritz has *bi-ism al-amīr Quṭluqtamur al-khāṣṣakī* instead of *bi-ism al-amīr al-khāṣṣakī*. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:629; Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 45. Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz. Therefore, in all likelihood, the *al-khāṣṣakī* in MS. Hunt 2 should be equated with Quṭluqtamur al-Khāṣṣakī.

574 1) MS. Hunt 2, 56v (no '*ibra*') and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:662 (the '*ibra*' of 12,000 is taken from the *Intiṣār*) = 12,000 DJ. As far as I know, no amir by the name of Quṭluqtamur al-Jamālī appears in narrative sources (he was also not identified by Halm). The '*ibra*' of 12,000 DJ seems somewhat too low for a *mamlūk* who was amir *ṭablkhāna* (the lowest attested '*ibra*' is 15,000 DJ), and on the other hand a bit too high for amir of ten. Graphically, al-Jamālī seems like a plausible corruption of al-Khāṣṣakī. Indeed, at the same page in MS. Hunt 2 (56v), just next to the *iqṭā'* under the name of Quṭluqtamur al-Jamālī, appears also an *iqṭā'* under the name of al-Khāṣṣakī. Therefore, in all likelihood, Quṭluqtamur al-Jamālī is to be equated with Quṭluqtamur al-Khāṣṣakī.

575 1) MS. Hunt 2, 96r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:486 = 8,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 259r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:64 = 5,000 DJ. As far as I know, no amir by the name of Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi appears in narrative sources in the events of the time (our Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi is in all likelihood not to be equated with Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi who became amir of ten in 802, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:195). Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi was also not identified by Halm. The '*ibra*' of 13,000 DJ seems too low for a *mamlūk* who was amir *ṭablkhāna* (the lowest attested '*ibra*' is 15,000 DJ), and on the other hand a bit too high for amir of ten. Moreover, in the same page in which Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi appears in MS. Hunt 2, Quṭluqtamur al-'Alā'ī also appears as a holder of *iqṭā'* (see MS. Hunt 2, 259r), but at the same page also appear the names of 'Alamdār al-Muḥammadi (258v) and Ṣarāyṭamur Ra's Nawba al-Muḥammadi (259r). Thus, in all likelihood, Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi is a corruption of Quṭluqtamur al-'Alā'ī (the scribe must have had in mind the *nisba* al-Muḥammadi due to the fact that two other amirs with that *nisba* appear nearby). Still, it is also possible, but less likely, that the name Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi is a corruption of 'Alamdār al-Muḥammadi or Ṣarāyṭamur al-Muḥammadi. Similarly, in the other time in which the name Quṭluqtamur al-Muḥammadi appears (96r), it is in the vicinity of two mentioning of Quṭluqtamur al-'Alā'ī (93r, 97r), but also shortly after the name 'Alamdār al-Muḥammadi appears (92v) right next to the name of Quṭluqtamur al-'Alā'ī (93r).

576 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:5, 70; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:76.

577 1) MS. Hunt 2, 11r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:339 = 10,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 26v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:601 = 5,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 72r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:741 = 30,000 (18,000) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 75r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:733—simply Arghūn Shāh) = 11,000 (8,400) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 81v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:511 = 23,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 96r and Halm,

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
5. Baybughā ⁵⁸⁰ [al-Ṣābiqī] al-Ashrafi (Amīr Majlis) (d. Dhū al-Qiʿda 778)	Total: 135,000 (131,750) ⁵⁸¹	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 776. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁸²

- Āgypten*, 2:477 = 10,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 107r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:570 = 5,000 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 153r, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 109 (line 27), and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:369 = 28,000 DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 171r, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 122 (line 28), and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:423 (variant) = 8,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 172v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:411–2 = 9,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 192v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:769 = 5,000 DJ. 12) MS. Hunt 2, 200v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:217 = 1,000 DJ. 13) MS. Hunt 2, 204v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:231 = 4,500 DJ. 14) MS. Hunt 2, 217v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 156 (line 25), and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:246 = 1,000 DJ. 15) MS. Hunt 2, 251r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:123 = 4,000 (7,000) DJ.
- 578 1) MS. Hunt 2, 175r (in Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:422—Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi) = 10,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 231r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:151 = 6,000 DJ. In the edition of Moritz, two more villages appear as *iqṭāʿ*s under the name of Arghūn Shāh, however, in MS. Hunt 2 these villages are mentioned under the name of other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:419–20 (MS. Hunt 2, 166v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 119 [line 26]); Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:573 (MS. Hunt 2, 108v). Except for Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi, no other Arghūn Shāh appears in the events of the period, nor does other Arghūn Shāhs appear in the *Tuhfa* as *iqṭāʿ* holders. Considering also that in one of the cases in which MS. Hunt 2 has Arghūn Shāh as a beneficiary, the edition of Moritz mentions Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi, makes it relatively clear that Arghūn Shāh should be equated with Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi.
- 579 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 3:519; Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:123.
- 580 The edition of Moritz and Halm normally has Taybughā, but never Baybughā, thus, this amir was not identified by Halm (Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:122). Note that the name Taybughā is not attested as a name for *mamlūks*. MS. Hunt 2 sometimes has the name with no diacritics; however, almost always it reads Baybugha with diacritics.
- 581 1) MS. Hunt 2, 11v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:335–6 = 12,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 28v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:617–8 = 12,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 40v (Shubrā al-Lanja with an *ʿibra* of 13,000 DJ under the name of Sunbugha al-Ashrafi Amīr Majlis; clearly a corruption of Baybughā al-Ashrafi Amīr Majlis) = 13,000 DJ. In one of the variants in the edition of Moritz, and thus also in Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:682–3, there is a confusion between the data of Shubrā al-Lanja and Shubrā al-Nakhla in terms of beneficiaries. Shubrā al-Nakhla with an *ʿibra* of 8,500 DJ is mentioned under the name of Taybughā al-Ashrafi Amīr Majlis. However, according to another variant, Shubrā al-Lanja with an *ʿibra* of 13,000 DJ is mentioned under the name of Yalbughā al-Ashrafi Amīr Majlis; clearly a corruption of Baybughā al-Ashrafi Amīr Majlis. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 68r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:754–5 = 7,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 86r (in Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:495—Yalbugha al-Ashrafi; clearly a corruption of Baybughā al-Ashrafi) = 20,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 108r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:569 = 21,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 151v (no diacritics), Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 108 (line 25), and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:363 = 4,000 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 153v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 109 (lines 29–30), and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:373 (variant: Yalbughā al-Ashrafi; clearly a corruption of Baybughā al-Ashrafi) = 8,000 (7,750) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 161v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:350–1 = 3,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 173r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:411 = 5,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 240r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:122 = 14,000 DJ. 12) MS. Hunt 2, 250v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:125 = 7,000 (4,000) DJ. 13) MS. Hunt 2, 250v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:124–5 = 9,000 DJ.
- 582 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 3:510, 521–2; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:242.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
6. Taṣhtamur al-ʿAlāʾī (al-Sulṭānī) (d. 786)	Total: 125,925 (137,875) ⁵⁸³	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> ca. 772. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁸⁴
7. Aydamaur al-Shamsī (d. 783)	Total: 124,950 (122,680) ⁵⁸⁵	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death. Died as <i>muqaddam alf</i> ⁵⁸⁶
8. Aḷtunbughā [Tuṭuq] al-ʿUthmānī (Amīr Silāḥ) = Abū Qurra (d. 779)	Total: 105,290 (104,200) ⁵⁸⁷	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 775 ⁵⁸⁸

583 1) MS. Hunt 2, 12v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:339 = 11,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 16v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:604 = 1,000 (2,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 31r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:606 = 3,325 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 37r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:623 = 2,000 DJ (with *ʿurbān*) = 1,000 DJ-. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 39r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:675–6 = 6,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 44v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:692 = 3,300 (14,000) DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 60v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:750 = 2,600 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 99r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:503 = 22,000 DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 103v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:489 = 6,000 (7,000) DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 131r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:535 = 12,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 138v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:510 = 10,000 DJ. 12) MS. Hunt 2, 164v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:422–3 (variant) = 5,000 DJ. 13) MS. Hunt 2, 178r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:448 = 15,000 DJ. 14) MS. Hunt 2, 216v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:272 = 6,200 DJ. 15) MS. Hunt 2, 224r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:142 = 5,000 DJ. 16) MS. Hunt 2, 251v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:114 (together with *Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī*) = about half of 18,000 (16,500) DJ = 9,000 (8,250) DJ-. 17) MS. Hunt 2, 254v (the *ʿibra* of Sāqiyat Qulta is missing) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:87 (the *ʿibra* in the edition of Moritz and in the *Intiṣār* is 7,000 DJ. In this case I follow Moritz and the *Intiṣār*) = 7,000 DJ. In the edition of Moritz four more villages appear as *iqṭāʾ*s under the name of Taṣhtamur al-ʿAlāʾī, however, in MS. Hunt 2 these villages are mentioned under the name of other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:368 (MS. Hunt 2, 143r and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 102 [lines 28–9]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:388–9 (MS. Hunt 2, 146r and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 104 [line 26]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:401 (MS. Hunt 2, 163v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 117 [line 27]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:518 (MS. Hunt 2, 120r).

584 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 1:143–4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:87.

585 1) MS. Hunt 2, 8r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:327 = 6,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 11r and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 11 (line 27) [but see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:337—no beneficiary for 778/1377] = 17,000 (15,870) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 20r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:703 = 3,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 42r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:677 = 12,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 213v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:250–1 = 9,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 216r, Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:272 (no *ʿibra*), and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 155 = 27,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 221r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:140 = 4,000 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 232v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:178 = 6,000 (4,810) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 237v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:166–7 = 13,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 260v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:65 = 2,950 (3,000) DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 262v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:69 = 25,000 DJ.

586 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 1:71; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71–2, 219; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:65.

587 1) MS. Hunt 2, 5r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:317 = 1,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 9r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:334 = 3,000 (4,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 20v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:680 = 9,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 29r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:616 = 12,000 (8,500) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 51v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:658–9 = 4,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 64r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:710 = 6,500 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 67v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:756 = 10,590 (8,000) DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 98r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:587 = 10,000 (16,000) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 107v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:567 = 15,000 (12,000)

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
9. Bahādur al-Jamālī (d. 786)	Total: 97,700 (111,880) ⁵⁸⁹	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 770. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁹⁰
10. Aqtamur al-Šāhibī/al-Šāliḥī (d. 779) ⁵⁹¹	Total: 96,500 (96,600) ⁵⁹²	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 769. In 776 became the vice-sultan ⁵⁹³

DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 149r, Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:382–3 (variant), and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 106 (line 28) = 2,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 154r, Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:370, and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 110 (line 26) = 2,000 (1,000) DJ. 12) MS. Hunt 2, 198v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:226 = 10,000 (12,000) DJ. 13) MS. Hunt 2, 231v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:179 = 10,000 DJ. 14) MS. Hunt 2, 231v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:269 = 3,200 DJ. 15) MS. Hunt 2, 240r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:106–7 = 7,000 DJ. In the edition of Moritz, one more village appears as *iqṭāʾ* under the name of Aṭṭunbughā al-ʿUthmānī, however, in MS. Hunt 2 this village is mentioned under the name of another beneficiary. See Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:365–6 (MS. Hunt 2, 141r and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 100 [lines 27–8]).

588 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:558.

589 1) MS. Hunt 2, 72r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:729 = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 161r, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 115 (line 29), and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:354 (variant—the *ʿibra* in the *Tuhfa* is mistakenly assumed to have been 6,000 DJ) = 6,600 (5,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 194v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:207 = 6,700 (9,880) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 196r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:211 = 12,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 206r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:186 = 24,400 (24,000) DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 209r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:200 = 5,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 214r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:257 = 6,500 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 221r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:141 = 20,000 (30,000) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 232v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:178–9 = 10,000 (13,000) DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 258r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:172 = 2,500 DJ (together with others [*wa-man maʾahu*]). In the edition of Moritz, four more villages appear as *iqṭāʾ*s under the name of Bahādur al-Jamālī, however, in MS. Hunt 2 these villages are mentioned under the name of other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:368 (MS. Hunt 2, 152v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 109 [lines 25–6]); Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:384 (MS. Hunt 2, 147v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 105 [lines 26–7]); Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:415–6 (MS. Hunt 2, 176v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 126 [line 28]); Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:457 (MS. Hunt 2, 166v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 119 [line 26]).

590 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:54, 70; and see Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:141.

591 Halm differentiates between Aqtamur al-Šāhibī and Aqtamur al-Šāliḥī (the latter was not identified by him). See Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:752. However, the two are in fact the same person. In narrative sources and in MS. Hunt 2 normally the *nisba* is al-Šāhibī, but sometimes al-Šāliḥī. Compare, for example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:557 with Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:492.

592 1) MS. Hunt 2, 47r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:627 = 5,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 68v (Shanashā under the name of Aqtamur al-Šāhibī—no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:752 (under the name of Aqtamur al-Šāliḥī—the *ʿibra* of 10,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 10,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 93r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:478–9 = 4,500 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 97v (Aqtamur al-Šāhibī) and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:487 (Aqtamur al-Šāhibī) = 10,500 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 123r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:520 = 4,900 (4,000) DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 206r (Aqtamur al-Šāliḥī) and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:186 (Aqtamur al-Šāliḥī) = 12,600 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 222v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:162 = 20,000 (25,000) DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 232r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:176 = 21,000 (19,000) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 239r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:103–4 = 8,000 (6,000) DJ.

593 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:66; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:557; Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:104.

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Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
11. Šarāytamur al-Muḥammadī (al-Khāṣṣakī Ra's Nawba) (d. 782)	Total: 95,000 (104,000) ⁵⁹⁴	<i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁵⁹⁵
12. Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī (d. 783)	Total: 91,900 (97,950) ⁵⁹⁶	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Egypt (again) in 769. In 775 became the governor of Tripoli but returned to Egypt in Jumādā al-Ākhira 778 and received the rank of <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Jumādā al-Ākhira or Ramaḍān 778 ⁵⁹⁷
13. Sūdūn Jarkas [al-Man-jakī]	86,000 (75,000) ⁵⁹⁸ + Jarkas: 3,500 ⁵⁹⁹ = Total: 89,500 (78,500)	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 775 ⁶⁰⁰

594 1) MS. Hunt 2, 226r (Šarāytamur al-Muḥammadī al-Khāṣṣakī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:143 = 13,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 226r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:147 (does not mention the *ʿibra*; and see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 163) = 35,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 230r (Šarāytamur al-Muḥammadī al-Khāṣṣakī—no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:153 = 17,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 259v (Šarāytamur Ra's Nawba) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:64 = 14,000 (17,000) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 259v (Šarāytamur al-Muḥammadī and the amirs [*wal-umarāʾ*])—possibly a corruption of *min al-umarāʾ*; see footnote no. 572 above), Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:72, and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 191 (the amir Šarāytamur al-Muḥammadī) = 16,000 (22,000) DJ.

595 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 1:45; 3:510; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:143.

596 1) MS. Hunt 2, 32r (no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:691 (the *ʿibra* of 1,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 1,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 58r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:708 = 5,000 (2,800) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 84v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:478 = 3,000 (6,000) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 110r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:572–3 = 28,000 (24,000) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 164v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:424 = 1,500 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 212v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:247–8 = 3,400 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 218r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:256 = 6,000 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 220v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:159 = 13,000 DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 243v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:107 = 10,000 (20,000) DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 248v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:136–7 = 6,000 DJ. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 251v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:114 (together with *Tashtamur al-ʿAlāʾī*) = half of 18,000 (16,500) DJ = 9,000 (8,250) DJ. 12) MS. Hunt 2, 253r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:94–5 = 6,000 DJ.

597 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:68; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 1:69; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:268; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:95.

598 1) MS. Hunt 2, 84r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:476 = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 180v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:453 = 5,500 (7,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 189v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:441 (Sūdūn Min Jarkas—a corruption) = 5,500 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 210r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:244 = 5,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 223r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:147 = 30,000 (26,000) DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 224r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:155 = 10,000 (8,000) DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 232r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:177 = 2,000 (2,500) DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 246r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:116 = 10,000 (3,000) DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 260r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:68 = 10,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 263r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:74 = 5,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz, and thus Halm, have two more villages under the name of Sūdūn Jarkas but in circa 880–1; however, MS. Hunt 2 makes clear that it is a mistake since it names other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:405 (MS. Hunt 2, 171v); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:415–6 (MS. Hunt 2, 176v).

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Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
14. ʿĪz al-ʿUṭhmānī [al-Ashrafī] (d. Dhū al-Qiʿda 778)	Total: 87,900 (87,500) ⁶⁰¹	<i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁰²
15. ʿĀlamdār al-Muḥammadī (d. 791)	Total: 72,500 (72,000) ⁶⁰³	After being in Syria for years, he became again <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Egypt in 11 Ramaḍān 778 ⁶⁰⁴
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599 1) MS. Hunt 2, 36v (there appears to be a word missing before Jarkas) = 3,500 *DJ*. In Moritz and Halm the name is SDR Jarkas (Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz), clearly a corruption of Sūdūn Jarkas. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:620; Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 30. Thus, it is very likely that Jarkas is to be equated with Sūdūn Jarkas. Note that the *Tuhfa* mentions only two amirs with the appellation Jarkas: Sūdūn Jarkas and Quṭlūbughā Jarkas. MS. Hunt 2 mentions also an amir by the name of Jarkas al-Aḥmadī as *iqṭāʾ* holder, however, in MS. Hunt 2, 36v there seems to be a word missing before the appellation Jarkas, and not after it.

600 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 3:432; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:68.

601 1) MS. Hunt 2, 16v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:637 = 6,000 *DJ*. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 54r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:651–2 = 10,000 *DJ*. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 58v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:712–3 = 3,000 *DJ*. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 69r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:758 = 10,000 *DJ*. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 98v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:591 = 5,000 *DJ*. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 123v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:520 = 7,400 (8,000) *DJ*. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 137r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:557 = 20,000 *DJ*. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 157v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 113 (line 27), and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:343 (variant) = 5,000 (4,000) *DJ*. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 171r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:462 = 8,000 *DJ*. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 176r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:414–5 = 3,500 *DJ*. 11) MS. Hunt 2, 222r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:163 = 10,000 *DJ*. The edition of Moritz, and thus Halm, have two more villages under the name of ʿĪz al-ʿUṭhmānī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:362 (MS. Hunt 2, 144v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 103 [lines 27–8], and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:362 [variant]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:387 (MS. Hunt 2, 151r, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 108 [line 23], and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:387 [variant]).

602 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 3:525.

603 1) MS. Hunt 2, 28r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:612 = 3,000 *DJ*. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 92v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:472 = 17,000 *DJ*. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 140r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:356–7 = 3,000 *DJ*. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 149v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:382 = 14,000 *DJ*. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 161r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:354 = 3,000 *DJ*. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 209v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:259 (no *ʿibra*—but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 150) = 4,000 *DJ*. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 231v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:179–80 = 6,500 (6,000) *DJ*. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 239v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:122 = 4,500 *DJ*. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 254r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:91–2 = 10,500 *DJ*. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 258v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:85 = 7,000 *DJ*. The edition of Moritz and Halm have one more village under the name of ʿĀlamdār; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:423–4 (MS. Hunt 2, 171r and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 122 [line 27]).

604 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:312; 3:509; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:271; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:85.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
16. Maliktamur ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣafawī [al-Nāṣirī (d. 794)?]	Total: 54,000 ⁶⁰⁵	Maliktamur (sometimes Tulaktamur) [Min Baraka] al-Nāṣirī [al-Faqīh] became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 769. In 771 he became the governor of Ṣafad (a post which he filled twice during his career), but in 772 he returned to Egypt as <i>muqaddam alf</i> . In 775 he became the grand chamberlain, a post he filled for several years until he became old, so his amirate was taken and he retired to his home (in 780?) ⁶⁰⁶

1.2 Free persons (who are not *mamlūks*' descendants)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
1. Mubārak [Shāh] al-Ṭazī (d. 780) ⁶⁰⁷	58,200 (68,800) ⁶⁰⁸ + Mubārakshāh al-Ẓahirī: 14,000 = ⁶⁰⁹ Total: 72,200 (82,800)	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 775. <i>Muqaddam alf</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶¹⁰

605 1) MS. Hunt 2, 238v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:184 = 54,000 DJ.

606 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 11:271–2; 4:83 (mistakenly the year of death is 764 instead of 794); idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:129; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:191, 776; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:351; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:319. While it is mentioned that Maliktamur Min Baraka became the governor of al-Karak in Jumādā al-Ākhira 778, it is also mentioned that in 780 it was decreed that he will be honored as one of the grand amirs in Cairo, and at about the same time his *taqdima* in Cairo was taken. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:268, 330, 333. Halm could not identify Maliktamur ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣafawī, and his identification as Maliktamur Min Baraka is not entirely certain. However, the *ʿibra* of 54,000 DJ is too high for amir *ṭablkhāna* and seems to be untypically low for a *muqaddam*, which suggests that in late 778 Maliktamur ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣafawī was on his way to become retired due to his age. In addition, except for Maliktamur Min Baraka there is no other candidate for identification in narrative sources, and it is very unlikely that an amir allocated 54,000 DJ would not be mentioned in these sources (and see discussion at footnote no. 470 above). The appellation ʿAbdallāh may be connected to the fact that Maliktamur Min Baraka was known as *al-Faqīh*, and the *nisba* al-Ṣafawī is perhaps a corruption of the *nisba* al-Ṣafadī, a city to which Maliktamur Min Baraka was connected as governor.

607 As far as I know, no source mentions his master. He was one of the followers (*atbāʾ*) of Ṭāz. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:185. Thus, he must have been a free person (as apparently indicated also by his name).

608 1) MS. Hunt 2, 43v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:687 = 9,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 164r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:401 = 3,200 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 172v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 124 (line 25), and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:409 = 4,000 (3,600) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 209r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:189–90 = 6,000 (7,000) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 236r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:170 = 23,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 238r

2 Amirs of *ṭablkhāna*

2.1 *Mamlūks*

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
1. Ṭaybughā ⁶¹¹ (al-Jamālī) al-Ṣafawī	28,300 (30,800) ⁶¹² + Ṭaybughā: 18,100 (18,000) ⁶¹³ = Total: 46,400 (48,800)	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Muḥarram 777 ⁶¹⁴

(the *ʿibra* is 10,000 DJ as in the *Intiṣār*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:158 (the *ʿibra* is 5,000 DJ) = 10,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 242r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:128 = 3,000 (13,000) DJ.

609 1) MS. Hunt 2, 190r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:440 the name is corrupted: Mārīlbān al-Zāhiri). Mubārak al-Ṭāzī is mentioned in narrative sources also as Mubārakshāh (or Mubārak Shāh) al-Ṭāzī. See, for example, al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:139. While there was a person by the name of Mubārakshāh al-Zāhiri (d. 816), he became amir only during the days of al-Zāhir Barqūq, and, in fact, there is no reason that in 778 *mamlūks* would have the *nisba* al-Zāhiri. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 3:16. In addition, without the *ʿibra* of 14,000 DJ ascribed to Mubārakshāh al-Zāhiri, the *ʿibra* ascribed to Mubārak al-Ṭāzī is somewhat low for a *muqaddam alf*. On the other hand, the *ʿibra* of 14,000 DJ is untypical of amirs of ten (too high) or amirs of forty who were *mamlūks* (somewhat too low). Moreover, graphically, al-Zāhiri is a very plausible corruption of al-Ṭāzī. All this strongly suggests that Mubārakshāh al-Zāhiri is to be equated with Mubārak al-Ṭāzī.

610 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:585; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:185; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:128.

611 Moritz normally reads Ṭanbughā, a clear corruption of Ṭaybughā. Halm normally corrects to Ṭaybughā, but sometimes reads Ṭanbughā. MS. Hunt 2 normally has Ṭaybughā.

612 1) MS. Hunt 2, 13v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:330 = 5,500 (8,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 21r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:673–4 = 2,500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 67v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:753 = 4,800 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 114r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:569—Alṭunbughā al-Ṣafawī; a corruption) = 1,500 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 151r (Ṭaybughā al-Jamālī al-Ṣafawī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:387 (variant) = 5,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 180v (Aybughā [!] al-Ṣafawī; a corruption) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:450 (Ṭaybughā al-Ṣafawī) = 4,500 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 248r (no diacritics; the *ʿibra* is 2,500 DJ as in the *Intiṣār*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:132 (the *ʿibra* is 2,000 DJ) = 2,500 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 260r (the *ʿibra* is 2,000 DJ as in Moritz; see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 192) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:173 (mistakenly has the *ʿibra* of 20,000 DJ) = 2,000 DJ. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, one more village was under the name of Alṭunbughā al-Ṣafawī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:410 (MS. Hunt 2, 172v).

613 1) MS. Hunt 2, 247v (no *nisba* and no diacritics. The *ʿibra* is 15,100 DJ) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:131 (with the *nisba* al-Ṣafawī and with diacritics. The *ʿibra* is 15,600 DJ) = 15,100 (15,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 247v (no *nisba*, but with diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:131 (with the *nisba* al-Ṣafawī and with diacritics) = 3,000 DJ. In the same page in MS. Hunt 2 where the name Ṭaybughā appears twice with no *nisba* (247v), it also appears with the *nisba* al-Ṣafawī (248r). Considering that Moritz has in both cases the *nisba* al-Ṣafawī (he does not mention variants, so I assume that the *nisba* appears in all manuscripts) makes it relatively clear that Ṭaybughā should be equated with Ṭaybughā al-Ṣafawī. While except for Ṭaybughā al-Ṣafawī there are three other amirs by the name of Ṭaybughā that appear in MS. Hunt 2, only one appears in the vicinity of the page in which the name Ṭaybughā appears with no *nisba*: Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī which appears in the same folio (247r). However, he has the *ʿibra* of

(Continued)

Name	'Ibra	Rank
2. Būrī al-Aḥmadī/al-Ḥalabī ⁶¹⁵	Total: 44,800 ⁶¹⁶	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶¹⁷
3. Ṭughaytamur al-Ash-rafi	26,000 (40,000) ⁶¹⁸ + Ṭaqtamur al-Ashrafi: 11,760 = ⁶¹⁹ Total: 37,760 (51,760)	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶²⁰
4. Sharkas al-Rasūlī ⁶²¹	Total: 36,700 ⁶²²	Was <i>shādd al-'amā'ir</i> in 768. Became <i>ustādār thānī</i> in 771= <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁶²³

2,500 DJ, and he could not be identified in the sources, so he was probably amir of ten. Thus, at least the 'ibra of 15,100 DJ does not fit him.

614 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:251.

615 In Moritz and Halm: Nūrī. In MS. Hunt 2: Būrī (as in narrative sources), or with no diacritics. In the *Tuhfa*, almost always with the *nisba* al-Ḥalabī. On the other hand, as far as I know, only Ibn Taghribirdī mentions Būrī al-Ḥalabī (*al-khāzindār*), and only once. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63. Other narrative sources mention Būrī al-Aḥmadī (*al-khāzindār*) in the same event. See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:215. Clearly, they are the same person.

616 1) MS. Hunt 2, 66r (Būrī al-Aḥmadī—no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:713 = 2,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 101v (Būrī al-Aḥmadī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:494 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 207v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:191 = 800 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 208r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:195 = 1,200 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 209r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:200 = 5,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 217r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:275 = 4,800 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 218r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:255–6 = 6,200 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 221v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:160 = 5,000 DJ. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 234r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:182 = 7,000 DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 234v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:174 = 6,800 DJ.

617 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:510. Not identified by Halm.

618 1) MS. Hunt 2, 222r (Ṭughaytamur al-Ashrafi) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:163 (Ṭaqtamur al-Ashrafi—could not be identified by Halm) = 26,000 (40,000) DJ.

619 1) MS. Hunt 2, 35v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:634 = 5,760 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 213v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:250 = 6,000 DJ. Narrative sources do not mention an amir by the name of Ṭaqtamur al-Ashrafi (indeed, he was not identified by Halm). The 'ibra of 11,670 DJ is untypical of amirs of ten (somewhat too high) or amirs of forty who were *mamlūks* (somewhat too low). Moreover, graphically, Ṭaqtamur is a very plausible corruption of Ṭughaytamur (and see such a corruption in the edition of Moritz in footnote no. 618 above). Clearly, Ṭaqtamur al-Ashrafi is to be equated with Ṭughaytamur al-Ashrafi.

620 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71. Not identified by Halm.

621 In MS. Hunt 2: normally Sarkas, but one time Sharkas. In Moritz: Sharkas.

622 1) MS. Hunt 2, 84r (Sarkas al-Rasūl [!]) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:482 (simply al-Rasūl with a gap of a word before al-Rasūl) = 7,200 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 186v (Sharkas al-Rasūlī), Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:430 (Sharkas al-Rasūlī), and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 134 (Sharkīn al-Rasūlī—a corruption) = 3,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 205v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:229 = 3,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 207r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:199 = 5,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 219r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:263 = 4,500 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 235r (Sarkas al-Rasūl [!]) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:174 (Sharkas al-Rasūlī) = 14,000 DJ.

623 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:120, 183. On the rank of *ustādār thānī* (or *ṣaghīr*), see, for example, al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:615; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270. Not identified by Halm.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
5. Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī [al-Yalbughāwī] (Amīr Ākhūr) (d. 793) ⁶²⁴	Total: 33,000 (35,000) ⁶²⁵	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 771. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶²⁶
6. Aljaybughā al-Muḥammadī	Total: 32,000 ⁶²⁷	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775 ⁶²⁸

624 Halm hesitated to identify Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr as Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī al-Yalbughāwī because he could not find reference suggesting that the latter was Amīr Ākhūr (see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:325); however, there is such a reference (see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʿrīkh*, 1:417). Moreover, Halm did not identify Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī because he found in the sources four persons by that name (see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:141–2). While this is true, two of them died before 778, and one became amir only after 778. In 778, the only amir by the name of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī was Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī al-Yalbughāwī. Moreover, there is a tendency in the *Tuhfa* to offer a fuller name in the first time (or one or more of the few first times) an amir is mentioned, and later normally to offer a shorter identification. So, clearly, Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī is to be equated with Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr.

625 1) MS. Hunt 2, 10r (Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:325 = 8,500 (8,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 121v (Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:515 = 1,000 (3,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 141r (Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr), and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 100 (lines 27–8: Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī), and compare with Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:365–6 (does not mention the variant naming Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī) = 6,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 145v (Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī), and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 104 (lines 25–6: Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī), and compare with Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:362 (does not mention the variant Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī) = 3,000 (2,500) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 183v (Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:445 = 1,500 (2,500) DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 225v (Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:141–2 = 13,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm have one more village under the name of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, and one village under the name of Taybughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr (not identified by Halm; but clearly a corruption of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī Amīr Ākhūr); however, MS. Hunt 2 names other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:342 (MS. Hunt 2, 157v, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:342 [variant], and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 112 [lines 27–8]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:388 (MS. Hunt 2, 146v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 104 [line 28]).

626 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʿrīkh*, 1:417; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:325.

627 1) MS. Hunt 2, 65r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:717 (al-Jabughā—a corruption and no *nisha*; but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 52 [al-Jabughā al-Muḥammadī—corrupted and no diacritics]) = 15,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 189r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:437—under the name of *muqṭaʿūn*) = 3,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 261r (Dishnā with an *ʿibra* of 6,000 DJ under the name of Aljaybughā al-Muḥammadī together with others) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:68 (the *ʿibra* is mistakenly mentioned as 60,000 DJ; and see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 193—the *ʿibra* is 6,000 DJ. Under the name of al-Janbughā [!] al-Muḥammadī) = 6,000 DJ (with others [wa-man maʿahu]). 4) MS. Hunt 2, 262v (no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:76 (al-Janbughā [!] al-Muḥammadī) = 8,000 DJ.

628 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:68.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
7. Sūdūn al-Fakhrī (Shaykhū [= al-Shaykhūnī]) (d. 798)	Total: 31,200 ⁶²⁹	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 768 ⁶³⁰
8. Bulāt al-Sayfī [Aljāy al-Kabīr] ⁶³¹	7,000 ⁶³² + Bulāt al-Ashrafi: 20,500 ⁶³³ + Burdbak al-Ashrafi: 3,500 ⁶³⁴ = Total: 31,000	Bulāt al-Sayfī (Aljāy al-Kabīr) became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775. Was amir in Dhū al-Qi‘da 778 ⁶³⁵
9. Aydamur Min Şiddīq [al-Khiṭā‘ī] (d. 785)	Total: 30,500 ⁶³⁶	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 769. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶³⁷

629 1) MS. Hunt 2, 59v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:721 = 4,200 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 103v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:490 = 19,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 206r (Sūdūn al-Fakhrī Shaykhū) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:189 = 8,000 DJ.

630 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:45; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:596; 3:297; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:189.

631 As far as I know, between 758 and Dhū al-Qi‘da 778, the only Bulāt that appears in narrative sources is Bulāt al-Sayfī Aljāy al-Kabīr. In Dhū al-Qi‘da 778, Bulāt al-Sayfī Aljāy al-Ṣaghīr appears for the first time—he became *muqaddam alf* but before that date he was not even amir. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288.

632 1) MS. Hunt 2, 54r (no *ʿibra*—with other amirs [*wal-umarāʾ*]); possibly a corruption of *min al-umarāʾ* (see footnote no. 572 above) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:655 (the *ʿibra* of 7,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*—with other amirs [*wal-umarāʾ*]) = 7,000 DJ.

633 1) MS. Hunt 2, 23r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:600–1—simply Bulāt) = 13,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 251v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:109 = 5,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 251v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:134 = 2,500 DJ. Narrative sources do not mention an amir by the name of Bulāt al-Ashrafi (he was not identified by Halm), which is relatively odd since the *ʿibra* of 20,500 DJ fits amir *ṭablkhāna*. The only Bulāt mentioned in narrative sources during the reign of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān is Bulāt al-Sayfī Aljāy al-Kabīr who was amir *ṭablkhāna*. The *ʿibra* of 7,000 DJ ascribed to Bulāt al-Sayfī in the *Tuhfa* is too low for amir *ṭablkhāna*. Therefore, in all likelihood, Bulāt al-Ashrafi is to be equated with Bulāt al-Sayfī Aljāy al-Kabīr (who probably came to serve al-Ashraf Shaʿbān after the death of his master in 775. Al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, who was the stepson of Aljāy, took control of his property and *mamlūks*).

634 1) MS. Hunt 2, 40v = 3,500 DJ. In Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:682—the name is Bulāt al-Ashrafi (Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz). Taking into consideration that Moritz has Bulāt al-Ashrafi and that during the Turkish period the name Burdbak is not attested otherwise as a name of *mamlūks*, it would seem that Burdbak al-Ashrafi is a corruption of Bulāt al-Ashrafi.

635 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 3:437, 511; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:226, 277. Not identified by Halm.

636 1) MS. Hunt 2, 19v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:619 = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 137v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 98 (line 29), and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:557 (variant) = 10,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 185r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:426–7 = 5,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 206v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:198 = 3,500 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 208v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:199 = 5,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 258r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86–7 = 3,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm have three more villages under the name of Aydamur Min Şiddīq; however, MS. Hunt 2 names other beneficiaries. See

(Continued)

Name	<i>Ibra</i>	Rank
10. Arghūn al-Mu'izzī [= al-'Izzī] (d. Dhū al-Qi'da 778) ⁶³⁸	Total: 29,900 ⁶³⁹	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁴⁰
11. Tamurbāy al-Ḥasanī (al-Damurdāshī al-Ashrafi) (d. 785) ⁶⁴¹	Total: 29,500 (32,500) ⁶⁴²	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁴³
12. Ṣaṣlān al-Manṣūri/ Amīr Ākhūr [= al-Jamālī?] ⁶⁴⁴	Total: 29,000 ⁶⁴⁵	Ṣaṣlān al-Jamālī became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 769 ⁶⁴⁶
13. Ṭashtamur al-Ṣālihi	Total: 29,000 (24,600) ⁶⁴⁷	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 776 ⁶⁴⁸

Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:350 (MS. Hunt 2, 162r); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:410 (MS. Hunt 2, 166r, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:410 [variant], and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 119 [line 24]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:439 (MS. Hunt 2, 169v, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:439 [variant], and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 122 [line 25]).
637 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70, 149–50; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:119–20; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86–7.

638 In MS. Hunt 2: al-Mu'izzī. In Moritz and narrative sources: al-'Izzī.

639 1) MS. Hunt 2, 94v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:484–5 = 4,900 DI. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 98v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:591 = 4,600 DI. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 174r, Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 125 (lines 26–7), and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:417 = 1,600 DI. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 209v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:260 = 2,600 DI. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 217r and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 156 (Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:70—mistakenly mentions the beneficiary of ca. 880–1 as the beneficiary of 778 and does not mention Arghūn) = 3,200 DI. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 228v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:181 = 13,000 DI.

640 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:522; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:181.

641 For the identification of Tamurbāy al-Ḥasanī as Tamurbāy al-Damurdāshī al-Ashrafi (or Tamurbāy al-Ashrafi), see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:120; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63, 71, 182, 297; idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:88; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:259.

642 1) MS. Hunt 2, 18r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:688 = 13,000 (16,000) DI. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 148r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:384 = 7,500 DI. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 214v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:259 = 4,000 DI. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 152r (Tamurbāy al-Ashrafi) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:377–8 (variant: Tamurbāy al-Ashrafi) = 2,000 DI. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 214r (Tamurbāy al-Damurdāshī al-Ashrafi) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:274 (Tamurbāy al-Ashrafi) = 3,000 DI. The edition of Moritz and Halm have one more village under the name of Tamurbāy al-Ḥasanī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names other beneficiaries.

643 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63, 71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:120; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:259.

644 The only Ṣaṣlān mentioned in narrative sources is Ṣaṣlān al-Jamālī who was a *ṭablkhāna*. In all likelihood, Ṣaṣlān al-Manṣūri Amīr Ākhūr mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān with an *ibra* that fits amir *ṭablkhāna* is the same person.

645 1) MS. Hunt 2, 160r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:351 (variant) = 4,000 DI. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 218v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:267 = 12,000. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 223v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:110 = 7,000 DI. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 225v (Ṣaṣlān al-Manṣūri Amīr Ākhūr) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:161 = 6,000 DI.

646 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:161; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:110.

647 1) MS. Hunt 2, 10r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:327 = 6,000 (1,600) DI. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 24r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:666 = 8,000 DI. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 157v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:341 = 3,000 DI. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 163v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:400 (Jāntamur al-Ṣālihi—not identified by Halm; clearly a corruption) = 3,000 DI. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 239r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:103 = 5,000 DI. 6) MS.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
14. ʾInāl al-Yūsufī (d. 794)	Total: 28,900 (34,900) ⁶⁴⁹	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> (again) in 775. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁵⁰
15. Julbān al-ʿAlāʾī (al-Lālā) (d. 788)	Total: 28,000 (27,800) ⁶⁵¹	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 770 ⁶⁵²
16. Mughulṭāy al-Badrī	Total: 27,300 (27,500) ⁶⁵³	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 26 Shaʿbān 778 ⁶⁵⁴
17. Bulūṭ al-Ṣarḡhitmishī	Total: 27,245 ⁶⁵⁵	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁵⁶

Hunt 2, 250r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:125–6 = 4,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm have two more villages under the name of ʿashtamur al-Ṣāliḥī; however, in MS. Hunt 2 these villages are named as *waqf* or under other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:441–2 (MS. Hunt 2, 170r, Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:441–2 [variant], and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 122 [line 25]); Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:461 (MS. Hunt 2, 171r, Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:461 [variant], and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 123 [line 24]).

648 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:232. Halm identified him as amir of ten. See Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:103.

649 1) MS. Hunt 2, 58r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:707–8 = 1,600 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 177r (the *ʿibra* is 7,300 DJ as in the *Intiṣār* and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 127 [line 27]) and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:413 (the *ʿibra* is 7,800) = 7,300 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 260v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:65 = 20,000 (26,000) DJ.

650 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:438; Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:65.

651 1) MS. Hunt 2, 135v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:543 = 9,800 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 224r (Julbān al-ʿAlāʾī al-Lālā) and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:155 = 12,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 239v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:104–5; 2:775 = 6,200 (6,000).

652 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:198; Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:105.

653 1) MS. Hunt 2, 42v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:679 = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 124v (no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:520–1 (the *ʿibra* of 7,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 7,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 125r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:522 = 4,500 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 181v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:460 = 3,800 (4,000) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 226r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:145 = 9,000 DJ. One more village was originally under the name of Mughulṭāy al-Badrī but was transferred to Qutlūbughā al-Buzlārī (d. 782) who became amir of ten in 26 Shaʿbān 778. See MS. Hunt 2, 28v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:614 (Qutlūbughā Amir al-Liwāʾ). On Qutlūbughā al-Buzlārī see Appendix I, section 3.1, no. 12. The edition of Moritz and Halm have two more villages under the name of Mughulṭāy al-Badrī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:349 (MS. Hunt 2, 157r, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 112 [line 26], and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:349 [variant]); Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:387 (MS. Hunt 2, 146v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 104 [line 29]).

654 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270; and see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71.

655 1) MS. Hunt 2, 109r (Nifyā with an *ʿibra* of 4,245 DJ under the name of Bulūṭ al-Ṣarḡhitmishī) [in Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:573 and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 99—the *ʿibra* is 4,250 DJ and no beneficiary is mentioned] = 4,245 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 175v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 2:416 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 206v (in Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:198—Bulūṭ al-Ṣarḡhitmishī: not identified; a corruption) = 7,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 220v and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:140 = 5,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 234r and Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:135; 2:775 = 5,000 DJ.

656 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63, 71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:430, 510; Halm, *Āgypten*, 1:135.

(Continued)

Name	<i>İbra</i>	Rank
18. Şarbughā al-Nāşirī	Total: 26,500 (31,800) ⁶⁵⁷	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 8 Dhū al-Qi'da 778 ⁶⁵⁸
19. Kizil al-Arghūnī	Total: 24,950 (25,900) ⁶⁵⁹	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁶⁰
20. Aynbak al-Badrī (d. 779)	Total: 24,500 ⁶⁶¹	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 764 but lost the rank. Al-Ashraf Sha'bān made him <i>ṭablkhāna</i> again, and he held this rank until Dhū al-Qi'da 778 when he became <i>muqaddam alf</i> ⁶⁶²
21. Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī (d. 798)	21,500 (21,417) ⁶⁶³ + Qarābughā: 3,000 = ⁶⁶⁴ Total: 24,500 (24,417)	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 768. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁶⁵

657 1) MS. Hunt 2, 109r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:573—Timurbughā al-Nāşirī; a corruption. Halm does not mention the *ibra*, but see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 81) = 3,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 179v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:454 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 183r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:444 = 2,300 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 244v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:136; 2:775 = 10,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 254v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:87 = 4,700 (10,000) DJ.

658 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:87.

659 1) MS. Hunt 2, 10v (Kizil al-Arghūnshāh [!]) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:325 (Kizil al-Arghūnshāh [!]) = 2,500 (3,600) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 13r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:328 = 4,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 104r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:491–2 = 8,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 229r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:178 = 300 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 229r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:156 = 4,500 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 255v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:95 = 5,650 (5,500) DJ.

660 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:95.

661 1) MS. Hunt 2, 201v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:240–1—Bashtak al-Badrī: not identified; a corruption) = 10,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 232v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:180 = 8,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 262r (no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:76 (Halm reads his name as Aybak al-Badrī and does not identify him; but see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 194—clearly Aynbak) = 6,500 DJ.

662 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:32; and see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:558; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:180.

663 1) MS. Hunt 2, 52r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:650 = 2,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 67v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:751–2 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 177r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:413 = 4,000 (3,917) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 222r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:162—Kizil Bughā al-Aḥmadī: not identified; a corruption) = 4,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 223v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:157–8 = 2,500 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 257r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86 = 3,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm have one more village under the name of Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:353 (MS. Hunt 2, 160v, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:353 [variant], and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 115 [line 28]).

664 1) MS. Hunt 2, 62r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:717 = 3,000 DJ. Only two amirs by the name of Qarābughā are mentioned in the *Tuhfa* or in narrative sources in the events ca. 778: Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī and Qarābughā al-Ashrafi. The land under the name of Qarābughā (62r) appears in the *Tuhfa* a few pages after a land under the name of Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī (52r), and a few pages before another land under the name of Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī (67v—in this case, the land is in the same province). Few other cases in MS. Hunt 2 seem to suggest that a *nisba* may be dropped if the full name is mentioned in another place nearby. Qarābughā al-Ashrafi is mentioned only once towards the end of the *Tuhfa* (247r), and it is very unlikely

(Continued)

Name	'Ibra	Rank
22. Quṭlūbughā al-Sha' - bānī	Total: 23,750 (23,700) ⁶⁶⁶	Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 775. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁶⁷
23. Quṭlūbughā Jarkas	Total: 23,500 (14,500) ⁶⁶⁸	Received the rank of <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 768 but was arrested shortly afterwards. He is mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 769. He is mentioned in 779 as <i>muqaddam alf</i> ⁶⁶⁹
24. Yalbughā al-Mu- hammadī (d. 790)	Total: 23,500 (24,500) ⁶⁷⁰	Received <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in the days of al-Ashraf Sha' bān. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁷¹

that he would appear for the first time in the *Tuhfa* with no *nisba* (no other such case can be securely identified). Thus, in all likelihood, Qarābughā is to be equated with Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī.

665 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:44, 71; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86.

666 1) MS. Hunt 2, 40r, Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 33 (lines 1 and 26) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:681 = 13,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 212v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:248 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 248v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:135 = 4,750 (4,700) DJ.

667 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63, 71; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:135.

668 1) MS. Hunt 2, 5v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:316 = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 235v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:165 = 2,500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 260r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:77—Quṭluqtamur Jarkas: not identified; a corruption. Note that the name Quṭlūbughā was indeed given at that time to Circassians, but the name Quṭluqtamur seems to have been given at that time to Turco-Mongols) = 18,000 (9,000) DJ. According to one of the variants in the edition of Moritz, one more village was under the name of Quṭlūbughā al-Jarkasī; however, this data does not appear in MS. Hunt 2. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:320 and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 6 (MS. Hunt 2, 5v; Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 6 [line 27]). Note that in the same page appears another village under the name of Quṭlūbughā Jarkas with the same 'ibra and size, whose beneficiary in 880–1 is the same. Clearly, the reference to a second village under the name of Quṭlūbughā al-Jarkasī was mistakenly added later.

669 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:42, 44; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:306; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:541; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:165; al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *al-Ilmām bil-Ilām fīmā Jarat bi-hi al-Aḥkām wal-Umūr al-Maqḍiyya fī Waq'at al-Iskandariyya*, ed. Etienne Combe and Aziz Suryal Atiya (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'arif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1968–1976), 5:194.

670 1) MS. Hunt 2, 39r (no 'ibra) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:678 (the 'ibra of 5,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 5,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 98r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:589 = 8,000 (9,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 172r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:409 = 5,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 233v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:182 = 4,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 261r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:70 = 1,500 DJ.

671 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:47–8; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:70.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
25. Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī (d. Dhū al-Ḥijja 778)	15,200 (15,000) ⁶⁷² + Ṭaydamur al-Ilyāsī: 4,300 ⁶⁷³ + Ṭaydamur: 2,850 (3,000) ⁶⁷⁴ = Total: 22,350 (22,300)	Became <i>muqaddam al-f</i> in 765, but ca. 769 the rank was taken from him. He perhaps became (or was) amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Egypt in 775. In 12 Dhū al-Qi‘da 778 he became <i>ḥājib al-hujjāb</i> = <i>muqaddam al-f</i> ⁶⁷⁵
26. Asantamur/Santa-mur [= Asandamur] ⁶⁷⁶ al-ʿUthmānī	Total: 22,000 (21,900) ⁶⁷⁷	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁷⁸

672 1) MS. Hunt 2, 27v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:605 = 7,200 (7,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 50v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:647 = 8,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm have two more villages under the name of Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names other beneficiaries. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:344–5 (MS. Hunt 2, 160r, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:345 [variant], and Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 114 [line 26]); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:459 (MS. Hunt 2, 174r, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:459 [variant], and Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 125 [line 26]).

673 1) MS. Hunt 2, 247r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:133—Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī) = 4,300 DJ. Al-Ilyāsī is a very plausible corruption of al-Bālisī, and indeed in Moritz the name is Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī (Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz). Narrative sources do not mention an amir by the name of Ṭaydamur al-Ilyāsī, and Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī is the only amir by the name of Ṭaydamur mentioned in the events of the period. Moreover, in MS. Hunt 2, in the same page in which Ṭaydamur al-Ilyāsī appears as a beneficiary, but two villages before, Ṭānī Bak al-Ilyāsī appears as a beneficiary (MS. Hunt 2, 246v), which seems to be the source for the confusion in MS. Hunt 2 concerning the *nisba* of Ṭaydamur (a case of contamination). In this case, the version in MS. Hunt 2 is relatively clearly a mistake.

674 1) MS. Hunt 2, 51r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:644—Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī) = 2,850 (3,000) DJ. In the same page in MS. Hunt 2 in which Ṭaydamur appears as a beneficiary (51r), Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī also appears as a beneficiary (50v). Few other cases in MS. Hunt 2 seem to suggest that a *nisba* may be dropped if the full name is mentioned in another place nearby, especially if in the same page. Since Moritz has Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī (Moritz does not mention any variants), and since except for Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī no other Ṭaydamurs appear in narrative sources in the events of the period, it is clear enough that Ṭaydamur should be equated with Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī.

675 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:525–6; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:290; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:133.

676 In Moritz: ASRİM, SLÜTM or ASÜTM—all are plausible corruptions of Asandamur (or Sandamur).

677 1) MS. Hunt 2, 38r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:704 and Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 31 [lines 6 and 26–7] —Mankūtāmūr al-ʿUthmānī or ASÜTM al-ʿUthmānī: not identified; a corruption) = 6,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 41r (Shubrā al-Nakhla with an *ʿibra* of 8,500 DJ under the name of Asantamur al-ʿUthmānī). In one of the variants in the edition of Moritz, and thus also in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:682–3, there is a confusion between the data of Shubrā al-Lanja and Shubrā al-Nakhla in terms of beneficiaries. According to the variant that fits better MS. Hunt 2, Shubrā al-Nakhla with an *ʿibra* of 8,500 DJ was under the name of ASÜTM al-ʿUthmānī; clearly a corruption of Asantamur al-ʿUthmānī. See Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 33 (lines 26–7). 3) MS. Hunt 2, 223v (...tamur al-ʿUthmānī; it seems that the beginning of the name is erased

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
27. Iyās al-Ṣarghitmishī (d. 784)	20,000 (29,500) ⁶⁷⁹ + Īnāl al-Ṣarghitmishī: ⁶⁸⁰ 430 = Total: 20,430 (29,930)	Became Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Sha‘bān 778 ⁶⁸¹
28. Aqbughā Āṣ [al-Shaykhūnī]	Total: 20,000 ⁶⁸²	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 768. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 779 ⁶⁸³
29. Yalbughā al-Manjakī (d. 808) ⁶⁸⁴	Total: 19,000 (27,000) ⁶⁸⁵	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 26 Sha‘bān 778 ⁶⁸⁶
30. Quṭlūbughā al-Kūkā‘ī (d. 785)	16,350 (20,000) ⁶⁸⁷ <u>+ Quṭlūbughā: 1,300</u> ⁼⁶⁸⁸ Total: 17,650 (21,300)	In 775 became <i>ustādār ṣaghīr</i> = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> . In 781 expelled to Syria. In 782 became (again) <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Egypt ⁶⁸⁹

or missing) [in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:156—ASRĪM al-ʿUthmānī: not identified; a corruption] = 3,800 (3,500) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 227r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:147—ASRĪM al-ʿUthmānī; a corruption) = 3,700 (3,900) DJ.

678 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71.

679 1) MS. Hunt 2, 163r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:402 (variant) = 1,000 (1,500) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 206v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:202 = 2,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 193r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:766 = *ʿibra not mentioned*. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 241v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:136 = 5,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 247v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:131–2 = 12,000 (21,000) DJ.

680 1) MS. Hunt 2, 28r (the *ʿibra* is 430 DJ) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:617 (the *ʿibra* is mistakenly mentioned as 400 DJ, but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 34 = 430 DJ) = 430 DJ. Īnāl al-Ṣarghitmishī does not appear in narrative sources and he was not identified by Halm. The *ʿibra* of 430 DJ is far too low even for amir of ten. Graphically, Īnāl is a very plausible corruption of Iyās.

681 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:149; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:96. But see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:132.

682 1) MS. Hunt 2, 230r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:154–5 = 6,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 246v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:113 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 254r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:90 = 8,000 DJ.

683 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:45, 156; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:90

684 According to al-Sakhāwī, Yalbughā al-Manjakī al-Ashrafī died in 808. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 10:290. Normally the name that appears in narrative sources is simply Yalbughā al-Manjakī.

685 1) MS. Hunt 2, 27v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:616 = 7,500 (9,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 59r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:708–9 = 2,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 165v, Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 118 (line 29), and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:423 (variant) = 3,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 165v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:424 = 3,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 241r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:109 = 3,500 (10,000) DJ.

686 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:109.

687 1) MS. Hunt 2, 235r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:175 = 9,850 (11,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 249v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:124 = 6,500 (9,000) DJ.

688 1) MS. Hunt 2, 212r (there is a blank after the name Quṭlūbughā and no *nisba* is mentioned) = 1,300 DJ. While several amirs by the name of Quṭlūbughā appear in the *Tuhfa* (all except one were *ṭablkhānas*), in the edition of Moritz the name is Quṭlūbughā al-Kūkāʿī (Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name appears in all the manuscripts

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank
31. Qarābughā al-Ashrafī (d. 797)	Total: 17,000 (14,400) ⁶⁹⁰	Became <i>amir of twenty</i> ca. 775. Remained <i>amir of twenty</i> until he died ⁶⁹¹
32. Ārūs al-Maḥmūdī ⁶⁹²	Total: 16,300 ⁶⁹³	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 767. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁹⁴
33. Baktamur al-ʿAlamī Naqīb al-Juyūsh	Total: 15,000 ⁶⁹⁵	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 768. Became <i>naqīb al-jaysh</i> in 775. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁶⁹⁶
*****	*****	*****
34. Quṭlūbughā al-Fakh-rī	Total: 23,000 (28,000) ⁶⁹⁷	In 791, Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhri became Naʿīb Qalʿat al-Jabal (= a post of <i>ṭablkhāna</i>) ⁶⁹⁸

used by Moritz). See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:260; Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 152. Thus, it seems that Quṭlūbughā is to be equated with Quṭlūbughā al-Kūkāʿī. However, the identification in this case is less than certain, because in the same folio in MS. Hunt 2, where Quṭlūbughā appears as a beneficiary, the amir *ṭablkhāna* Quṭlūbughā al-Shaʿbānī also appears as a beneficiary (212v), so perhaps Quṭlūbughā is to be equated with him.

689 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:124; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:367; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:124. On the rank of *ustādār thānī* (or *saghīr*), see, for example, al-Ṣafādī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:615; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270.

690 1) MS. Hunt 2, 247r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:133 = 17,000 (14,400) DJ.

691 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:565. And see also Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:20. Not identified by Halm.

692 According to some sources he died in 775, however, he is mentioned in a list of amirs as *ṭablkhāna* in 778.

693 1) MS. Hunt 2, 8v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:335 = 1,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 36r (no *ʿibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:637 (the *ʿibra* of 4,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 4,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 39v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:676—Ārūs al-Muḥammadī) = 6,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 55r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:654 = 2,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 212r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:260 = 1,500 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 241v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:106 (does not mention the beneficiary for the village of ʿArrāmiyya; but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 176) = 1,000 DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 257r (the village of al-Marzūqiyya with an *ʿibra* of 800 DJ under the name of Ārūs al-Maḥmūdī) = 800 DJ. In the edition of Moritz, the village of al-Marzūqiyya does not appear; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:84.

694 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:438, 510; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:260.

695 1) MS. Hunt 2, 55r (no *ʿibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:651 (the *ʿibra* of 15,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 15,000 DJ.

696 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:45, 71; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:225; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:651.

697 1) MS. Hunt 2, 257r (Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhri together with others) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:84 (only Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhri) = 23,000 (28,000) DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]).

698 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:330; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:84. On the rank, see al-Qal-qashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, 4:24. As far as I know, this is the only time that the sources mention a person by the name of Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhri except for the *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by that name who died in 742. This would make Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhri the only amir of *ṭablkhāna* that is not mentioned in the events circa 778 (but only 13 years later),

(Continued)

Name	<i>İbra</i>	Rank
35. Taybughā al-Mu‘izzī	Total: 20,600 ⁶⁹⁹	
36. Bahādūr al-Manjakī (d. 787)	Total: 19,000 ⁷⁰⁰	First mentioned as amir in 782. First mentioned as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 784, but in 785 became <i>muqaddam alf</i> ⁷⁰¹

2.2 Eunuchs

Name	<i>İbra</i>	Rank
1. Mukhtār al-Ḥusāmī (d. 782)	Total: 22,000 (19,000) ⁷⁰²	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775, but perhaps became amir of ten in Sha‘bān 777; however, in 27 Sha‘bān 778 became <i>muqaddam al-mamālik</i> (normally <i>ṭablkhāna</i>) ⁷⁰³
2. Mithqāl al-Jamālī al-Ashrafi (al-Zimām) (d. 791)	Total: 21,500 (21,800) ⁷⁰⁴	Became <i>zimām al-dār</i> (normally <i>ṭablkhāna</i>) in 776, and filled the post until 779 ⁷⁰⁵

which is somewhat odd. Thus, it is possible that the estate was in fact a property or *waqf* of Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhri (d. 742) or his descendants.

699 1) MS. Hunt 2, 45r (in Halm *Ägypten*, 2:702—Ṭunbughā al-‘Umarī; a corruption) = 1,600 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 187v (in Halm *Ägypten*, 2:431—Ṭunbughā al-‘Izzī; a corruption) = 5,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 191r (in Halm *Ägypten*, 2:465—Ṭunbughā al-‘Izzī; a corruption) = 4,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 225v (in Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 163—Ṭunbughā al-‘Umarī; but Halm *Ägypten*, 1:161 reads Taybughā al-‘Umarī) = 10,000 DJ.

700 1) MS. Hunt 2, 76r (in Halm *Ägypten*, 2:742—Bahādūr al-Maḥallī [not identified]—clearly a corruption of al-Manjakī, as suggested also by Halm. See *ibid.*, 1:151) = 11,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 229v (in Halm *Ägypten*, 1:151—Bahādūr al-Maḥallī) = 8,000 DJ.

701 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:33, 87, 104, 254.

702 1) MS. Hunt 2, 37v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:678–9 = 5,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 40v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:682 = 4,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 166v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:419–20 (variant) = 5,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 168r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:458 (variant; the *ibra* is not mentioned accurately. For the *ibra*, see Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 120; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:103) = 8,000 (5,000) DJ.

703 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63; *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 11:231; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:254, 270; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:420.

704 1) MS. Hunt 2, 113v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:578 = 3,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 169v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:435 = 1,500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 179v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:447 = 6,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 223r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:149 = 5,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 226v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:148 = 3,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 227v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:150 = 2,500 (2,800) DJ.

705 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 11:195–6; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:239; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:156; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:148. On the rank of *zimām al-dār*, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, 4:22.

2.3 *Mamlūks*' descendants

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank	Tie
1. Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughulṭāy (d. 801) ⁷⁰⁶	Total: 34,500 ⁷⁰⁷	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778. ⁷⁰⁸ Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 791 ⁷⁰⁹	+?
2. [Jamāl al-Dīn] ʿAbdallāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 786)	Total: 28,125 (28,325) ⁷¹⁰	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778. ⁷¹¹ Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 779 ⁷¹²	
3. Muḥammad ibn Tank-izbughā al-Māridānī (d. 807)	Total: 25,000 (24,000) ⁷¹³	Became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 759. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁷¹⁴	+

706 In Moritz: sometimes Ḥājj ibn Mughulṭāy.

707 1) MS. Hunt 2, 22r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:597 = 7,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 57r (the *ʿibra* of Wādī al-Sadīr is 2,000 DJ as in the *Intiṣār*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:701 (the *ʿibra* in Moritz is 1,000 DJ. Halm does not mention the *ʿibra* from the *Intiṣār*) = 2,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 99r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:502 = 9,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 182r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:460 (mistakenly gives the name as al-Ḥājj Mughulṭāy, but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 130—Ḥājj ibn Mughulṭāy) = 4,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 248r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:134 = 4,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 252v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:79; 2:775 = 8,500 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm have one more village under the name of Ḥājj ibn Mughulṭāy; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:351 (MS. Hunt 2, 161v; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:351 [variant]); Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 116 [line 24]).

708 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:274; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; and see also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 4:37. Not identified by Halm.

709 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 42.

710 1) MS. Hunt 2, 81v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:511 = 16,425 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 186v (ʿAbdallāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:429–30 (Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib) = 5,700 (5,900) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 249v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:126–7 = 6,000 DJ.

711 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:70–1; and see also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:144–5; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:127.

712 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 40–1.

713 1) MS. Hunt 2, 117r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:588 = 16,000 (15,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 256r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:94 = 9,000 DJ. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, one more village was under the name of Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:361 and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 101 (MS. Hunt 2, 141r; Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 101 [line 26]). In addition, the edition of Moritz mentions a village under the name of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā. Halm suggested that he should be equated with Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:254; Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 155. Indeed, the name in MS. Hunt 2 is Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz (see on him in Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 9). See MS. Hunt 2, 215r.

714 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 4:455–6 (mistakenly: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī).

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank	Tie
4. Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 802)	Total: 23,000 (25,000) ⁷¹⁵	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775. Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778. Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 788 ⁷¹⁶	+
5. ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 783)	Total: 23,000 ⁷¹⁷	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 767. Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 779 ⁷¹⁸	
6. Aḥmad ibn [al-Ḥājj] Almalik (d. 793)	Total: 23,000 (22,500) ⁷¹⁹	Received <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ca. 775–9, and remained in this rank until 779 ⁷²⁰	+
7. Aḥmad ibn Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī	19,000 (5,875) ⁷²¹ + <u>Mūsā ibn Shams</u> <u>ʿAbd al-Ghanī:</u> <u>1,000</u> = ⁷²² Total: 20,000 (6,875)	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 770 ⁷²³	

715 1) MS. Hunt 2, 226v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:143 = 3,000 (5,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 243v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:107–8 = 12,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 256v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:83 = 8,000 DJ.

716 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 4:117; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:83.

717 1) MS. Hunt 2, 106r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:498 = 12,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 167r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:447 = 1,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 232v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:177 = 10,000 DJ.

718 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:118; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:34, 161; and see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:74; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:177.

719 1) MS. Hunt 2, 18r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:607 = 2,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 69v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:760 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 96r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:482 = 8,000 (7,500) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 164r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:401 (variant) = 3,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 261r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:70 = 4,000 DJ.

720 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:392; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:70; and see at footnote no. 346 above.

721 1) MS. Hunt 2, 158r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:348 (variant) = 1,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 250r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:127 = 15,000 (1,875) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 258r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86 = 2,500 DJ.

722 1) MS. Hunt 2, 157r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:341–2 (variant) = 1,000 DJ. Graphically, Shams is a plausible corruption of Aqtamur. Narrative sources do not mention Mūsā ibn Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī. While narrative sources mention that ʿAlī ibn Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī became amir *ṭablkhāna* in Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 (that is, after the date of the *jarīda*), it is not clear at all that he was amir before that date. The round of appointments in Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 marked a change of the ruling elite and included many persons who were not amirs before that date. In any case, the *ʿibra* of 1,000 DJ is somewhat too low even for amir of ten. Note also that the land under the name of Mūsā appears in MS. Hunt 2 one page before a land under the name of Aḥmad ibn Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī (158r), and in the same province. All this seems to indicate that Mūsā ibn Shams ʿAbd al-Ghanī should be equated with Aḥmad ibn Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī. The identification, however, is less than certain.

723 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:177; and see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:54; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86, 127.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank	Tie
8. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Man- klībughā al-Shamsī	Total: 17,000 ⁷²⁴	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 771 ⁷²⁵	+
9. Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā [al- Māridānī] (d. 803)	12,750 (18,200) ⁷²⁶ + Khalīl ibn Ta- murbughā: 500 (1,300) = ⁷²⁷ Total: 13,250 (19,500)	Received <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 769 ⁷²⁸	+
10. Taghrī Birmish/Taghrī Birdī ibn Aljāy [al-Yūsufī] ⁷²⁹	Total: 13,000 (16,000) ⁷³⁰	Received <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 771. Died as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷³¹	+
11. ʿAlī ibn Manjak al-Yūsufī (d. 788)	Total: 8,000 ⁷³² + <u>Faraj ibn Manjak:</u> <u>4,000</u> ⁷³³ = Total: 12,000	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁷³⁴	+

724 1) MS. Hunt 2, 63v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:707 = 3,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 100r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:509 = 3,500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 106v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:596 = 10,000 DJ.

725 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:81.

726 1) MS. Hunt 2, 36v (Tankizbughā with no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:623 = 5,500 (7,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 162r (the *ʿibra* is 500 as in a variant in Moritz) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:351 (variant) = 500 (1,200) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 219r (Tankizbughā with no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:266–7 = 600 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 219r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:262–3 = 400 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 233v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:181 = 3,000 (5,000) DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 240r (Khushkaldī ibn Tankizbughā together with others. The word Khushkaldī is erased with a line, but no name is given instead) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:105 (Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā) = 2,250 (2,500) DJ (with others [wa-man maʿahu]). For some reason, in several places in MS. Hunt 2, where the name should clearly have been Khalīl, the name Khushkaldī appears instead, sometimes erased with a line, but no name is given instead. The phenomenon involves three different *mamlūks*' descendants whose name is Khalīl (see also footnotes nos. 740 and 817 below). In all these cases, Moritz has the name Khalīl (with no variants). Here we have a clear example that in rare cases mistakes in MS. Hunt 2 were corrected in other manuscripts. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 261v (Khushkaldī ibn Tankizbughā—the word Khushkaldī is erased with a line, but no name is given instead) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:78 (Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā) = 500 (1,500) DJ.

727 1) MS. Hunt 2, 20v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:679 (not identified) = 500 (1,300) DJ. Khalīl ibn Tamurbughā is not mentioned in narrative sources and the *ʿibra* of 500 DJ is too low even for amir of ten. The land of his is in the same province as one of the lands of Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā. Tamurbughā is in all likelihood a corruption of Tankizbughā.

728 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:161; and see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:212; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:78.

729 Al-Maqrīzī writes that he died in 775, however, his father Aljāy died in that year, so it seems a mistake. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:229. He was not identified by Halm.

730 1) MS. Hunt 2, 216v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:269—Taghrī Birmish Min [!] Aljāy) = 4,000 DJ.

2) MS. Hunt 2, 225r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:173 = 9,000 (12,000) DJ.

731 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185, 229.

732 1) MS. Hunt 2, 58r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:709–10 = 8,000 DJ.

733 1) MS. Hunt 2, 57v (no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:705 (the *ʿibra* of 4,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 4,000 DJ. Faraj ibn Manjak is mentioned in narrative sources as *muqaddam alf* in

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank	Tie
12. Muḥammad ibn Qumārī [Amīr Shikār] (d. 11 Ramaḍān 778)	Total: 8,000 ⁷³⁵	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 765. Returned from Gaza and became (again) <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Egypt in 772. Apparently died as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷³⁶	+
*****	*****	*****	**
13. Abū Bakr ibn Ṭāz [al-Nā-ṣirī?] ⁷³⁷	Total: 23,000 (23,500) ⁷³⁸	Amir in Dhū al-Qi‘da 778 ⁷³⁹	+?
14. Khalīl ibn Aydamur Qarā	Total: 20,000 ⁷⁴⁰	⁷⁴¹	
15. Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz (al-Ashrafi) [al-Nāṣirī?] (d. 28 Sha‘bān 778) ⁷⁴²	Total: 17,000 ⁷⁴³	Amir in 771. Died in 778 as amir ⁷⁴⁴	+?

Syria in 798, but he is never mentioned as amir in Egypt. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:384; and see Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:172; 2:603–4. He was not identified by Halm. Graphically, Faraj is a possible corruption of ‘Alī. In addition, the *iqṭā*’s of Faraj and ‘Alī appear in the same page in MS. Hunt 2 (57v and 58r). Since the *ʿibra* of 8,000 DJ is too low for amir *ṭablkhāna*, I am guessing that Faraj ibn Manjak should be ‘Alī ibn Manjak, but things are far from being clear here.

734 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:201; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:710; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 45.

735 1) MS. Hunt 2, 233v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:175–6 = **8,000 DJ**.

736 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:90, 189, 301; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:534; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:176; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 48.

737 It is known that Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī had a son by the name of Abū Bakr who was the inspector of the *madrasa* endowed by Ṭāz. I owe this reference to Yehushua Frenkel. See Yehushua Frenkel’s paper in this volume.

738 1) MS. Hunt 2, 67v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:753 = **4,500 (5,000) DJ**. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 146v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:364 (and see also Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 105 [line 25]) = **10,000 DJ**. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 237v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:170–1 = **3,000 DJ**. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 237v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:171 = **3,000 DJ**. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 258v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:80 = **2,500 DJ**. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, Abū Bakr ibn Ṭāz held one more village; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 130 (line 27); but see MS. Hunt 2, 182r, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:460, and Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 130 (line 25).

739 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:277; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:80.

740 1) MS. Hunt 2, 135v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:545 = **6,000 DJ**. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 139r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:595 = **4,000 DJ**. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 153r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:368 = **5,000 DJ**. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 234r (Khushkaldī ibn Aydamur Qarā. The word Khushkaldī is erased with a line, but no name is given instead) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:183 (Khalīl ibn Aydamur Qarā) = **5,000 DJ**. See also footnote no. 726 above.

741 I could not identify him. The *ʿibra* clearly fits amir of *ṭablkhāna*.

742 Narrative sources contain two biographical entries of amirs by the name of Ṭāz: Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī (d. 763) the servant of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Ṭāz al-ʿUthmānī (d. 778) who was the *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān. As far as I know, both are mentioned in narrative sources only once with the *nisba* “al-Ashrafi”. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:356; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:317. There is hardly any information on Ṭāz al-ʿUthmānī and

2.4 Free persons (who are not *mamlūks*' descendants)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
1. Mūsá (ibn Dandār) ibn Qaramān (d. 785) ⁷⁴⁵	Total: 30,715 (31,990) ⁷⁴⁶	Mentioned among amirs of ten and <i>ṭablkhānas</i> in 767. Was <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁴⁷
2. ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad [ibn Kulbak] al-Turkmānī (d. 780)	Total: 24,000 ⁷⁴⁸	At some point after 775 he became <i>shādd al-dawāwīn</i> = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷⁴⁹
3. Yādī (ibn) Qurṭaqā ibn Sūsūn ⁷⁵⁰	Total: 23,950 (21,956) ⁷⁵¹	Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁵²

all we know on him is that he was *muqaddam alf* in Shawwāl 778. Narrative sources mention several times Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz (with no *nisba*), the first in 771 when he is said to have sent an envoy, which suggests that he was an adult at that time. A son of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz is mentioned in 794 as a *wālī* that was arrested, which also seems to confirm that Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz was an adult in 771. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:9; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:296. It is hard to imagine that a *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān who could not have been bought before ca. 764, would have had a grownup son already in 771, so it is much more probable that Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz was the son of Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī. The sources also mention once Ṭāz al-Ashrafī in a list of persons who became amirs of ten in 791, however, he hardly seems relevant (it is hard to imagine that someone who became amir of ten in 791 had a son, not to mention a grownup, already in 771. Moreover, al-Maqrizī is the only historian who mentions him in the list. Ibn Taghribirdī who mentions the same list does not include him). See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:654; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:346.

743 1) MS. Hunt 2, 148r (Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz) [in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:386—Qaraṭāy; but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 106 (line 26)—Muḥammad ibn... (a blank)] = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 192r (Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz al-Ashrafī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:467 (Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz al-Ashrafī) = 7,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 227r (Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:146 (Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz) = 7,000 DJ.

744 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:180, 301; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:146.

745 Moritz and Halm normally read Quzmān instead of Qaramān.

746 1) MS. Hunt 2, 95r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:485—Sīdī Mūsá ibn Quzmān) = 4,500 (2,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 159v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:346 (variant) = 4,700 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 176v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 126 (line 28) = 6,740 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 227r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:150 = 3,775 (7,550) DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 233r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:179 = 8,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 261v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:67–8 = 3,000 DJ.

747 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:274; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 1:127; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:68.

748 1) MS. Hunt 2, 43r (no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:671 (the *ʿibra* of 8,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 8,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 46r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:696 = 6,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 231v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:176 = 10,000 DJ. The *Tuhfa* mentions another land under the name of the children of Muḥammad al-Turkmānī with an *ʿibra* of 65 DJ. The status of the land and the identity of the beneficiaries are not entirely clear, and it is also not clear when it was held by them. See MS. Hunt 2, 215v; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:271.

749 Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:176.

750 The name is always corrupted in Moritz, but sometimes also in MS. Hunt 2.

751 1) MS. Hunt 2, 60r (Yādī ibn Qurṭaqā ibn Sūdūn [!]; no *ʿibra*), Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:719 (Aydi ibn Qaraṭāy ibn Sūdūn; the *ʿibra* of 2,500 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*), and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 47 (line 28—Aydi ibn Qurṭaqā ibn Sūdūn) = 2,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 83r (Yādī Qurṭaqā ibn Sūsūn), Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:471 (Yādī ibn Qaraṭāy [or Qurṭaqā] ibn Sūdūn) = 4,250 (2,256) DJ.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
4. Ḥājji Bak ibn Shādī (d. 781)	Total: 20,500 (19,300) ⁷⁵³	Became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 775. Died in 781, apparently as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷⁵⁴
5. Mūsā ibn ʿUmar al-Azkushī/ al-Azkuji (d. 780) ⁷⁵⁵	8,500 ⁷⁵⁶ + ʿAlī ibn al- Azkuji: ⁷⁵⁷ <u>2,000</u> = Total: 10,500	Became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Cairo in 776. Died in 780 as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷⁵⁸

- 3) MS. Hunt 2, 234v (Yadī Qurṭaqā ibn Sūdūn [!]), Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:173 (Yadī Qurṭaqā ibn Sūdūn) = 8,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 235v (Yadī ibn Qurṭaqā ibn Sūdūn [!]), Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:165 (Yadī ibn Qurṭaqā ibn Sūdūn) = 2,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 262r (Yadī Qurṭaqā ibn Sūsūn), Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:75 (Yadī Qurṭaqā) = 7,200 DJ.
- 752 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:274. Not identified by Halm.
- 753 1) MS. Hunt 2, 52v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:656—Ḥājji Bak Min Shādī; but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 42—Ḥājji Bak ibn Shādī) = 2,000 (2,800) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 112r (the *ʿibra* is 5,500 DJ as in the *Intiṣār*); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:584—reads Ḥājji Bak Min Shādī; but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 83—Ḥājji Bak ibn Shādī. The *ʿibra* in Moritz is 5,000 DJ = 5,500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 187r (Ḥājji ibn Shādī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:433 (Ḥājji Bak ibn Shādī) = 7,000 (5,000) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 228r (Ḥājji Bak Min [!] Shādī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:143 (Ḥājji Bak Min Shādī) = 6,000 DJ.
- 754 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:216, 375; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:202; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:143.
- 755 In narrative sources: normally Mūsā ibn al-Azkushī.
- 756 1) MS. Hunt 2, 160r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:344–5 (variant) = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 253v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:90 = 4,500 DJ.
- 757 1) MS. Hunt 2, 54r (under the name of ʿAlī ibn al-Azkuji and the amirs [wal-umarāʾ]; possibly a corruption of *min al-umarāʾ* [see footnote no. 572 above]. The *ʿibra* of 2,000 DJ is hardly appropriate for several amirs) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:652 (the amir ʿAlī ibn al-Azkuji) = 2,000 DJ. Narrative sources do not mention ʿAlī ibn al-Azkuji, and he was not identified by Halm. ʿAlī is possibly a corruption of Mūsā. Since the *ʿibra* of 8,500 DJ is too low for amir *ṭablkhāna*, I am guessing that he is the same as Mūsā ibn ʿUmar al-Azkuji, but things are far from being clear here.
- 758 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:241; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:194; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:451, 590; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:90. The *ʿibra* of 10,500 DJ is somewhat too low for amir *ṭablkhāna* but somewhat too high for amir of ten. Since Mūsā ibn al-Azkushī is mentioned in narrative sources as amir *ṭablkhāna*, it is more likely that he indeed was. Things, however, are not clear in this specific case.

2.5 Free persons—Provinces of Egypt (obviously, not counted in calculations of *‘ibras* of amirs in Cairo):

Name	<i>‘Ibra</i>	Rank
1. Khalīl (ibn Muḥammad) [ibn ‘Alī] ibn ‘Arrām (d. 782)	Total: 69,000 (80,800) ⁷⁵⁹	In Sha ‘bān 777 became (again) the governor of Alexandria = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷⁶⁰
2. ‘Uthmān al-Sharafī Kāshif al-Wajh al-Qiblī	Total: 34,000 (37,000) ⁷⁶¹	Became <i>kāshif al-Wajh al-Qiblī</i> in 776 = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷⁶²
3. [al-Sharīf] Baktamur ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥasanī/al-Ḥusaynī ⁷⁶³	Total: 22,500 ⁷⁶⁴	Became <i>wālī Manfalūt</i> in 776 = amir of ten or twenty. Became <i>kāshif al-Wajh al-Baḥrī</i> in Muḥarram 778 = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁷⁶⁵

- 759 1) MS. Hunt 2, 30v (no *‘ibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:610 (the *‘ibra* of 10,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 10,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 165r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:404 = 3,000 (3,500) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 164v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:399 (variant) = 3,000 (2,300) DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 165r (no *‘ibra* is mentioned), Ibn al-Jī ‘ān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 118 (line 27), and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:404–5 (the *‘ibra* of 10,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 10,000 DJ. 5) MS. Hunt 2, 192v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:771–2 = 8,000 DJ. 6) MS. Hunt 2, 193r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:765 = 8,000 (14,000) DJ. 7) MS. Hunt 2, 193r (al-Zakāt al-‘Ulwiyya—no *‘ibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:765 (the *‘ibra* of 8,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 8,000 DJ. 8) MS. Hunt 2, 193v (no *‘ibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:766 (no *‘ibra* is mentioned) = ?. 9) MS. Hunt 2, 225v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:161 = 11,000 (18,000) DJ. 10) MS. Hunt 2, 260r (Bardīs with an *‘ibra* of 8,000 DJ) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:66 (the village of Bardīs does not appear in the edition of Moritz) = 8,000 (7,000) DJ.
- 760 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:254; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:44–5; on the rank, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A’shā*, 4:26; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:161.
- 761 1) MS. Hunt 2, 228v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:144 = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 255r (‘Ammār [!] al-Sharafī Kātib [!] al-Wajh al-Qiblī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:98 (‘Uthmān al-Sharafī Kāshif al-Wajh al-Qiblī) [here clearly the version in MS. Hunt 2 is corrupted and was corrected in other manuscripts] = 30,000 (33,000). MS. Hunt 2 mentions two more lands under the name of Nā’ib al-Wajh al-Qiblī without providing the *‘ibra*. See MS. Hunt 2, 263v.
- 762 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:234; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:98.
- 763 In the *Tuḥfa* and in narrative sources the *nisba* is sometimes al-Ḥasanī and sometimes al-Ḥusaynī.
- 764 1) MS. Hunt 2, 211v (Baktamur ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī. The *‘ibra* was 2,500 DJ [it later became 625 DJ]) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:264 (Baktamur ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥasanī. The *‘ibra* is 625 DJ) = 2,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 213r (Baktamur al-Ḥasanī = clearly Baktamur ibn ‘Alī. Note that this land appears one page after a land attributed to Baktamur ibn ‘Alī and in the same province) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:252 (Baktamur al-Ḥasanī) = 8,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 255r (Baktamur ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:98 (Baktamur ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī) = 12,000 DJ.
- 765 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:232, 265. On the ranks, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A’shā*, 4:26–7; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:98.

3 Amirs of ten

3.1 *Mamlūks*

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
1. Mughulṭāy al-Sharāfi	Total: 11,962 (11,000) ⁷⁶⁶	Became amir of ten in 8 Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 ⁷⁶⁷
2. Asanbughā ⁷⁶⁸ al-Malakī/al-Sayfi Shaykhū	Total: 9,000 ⁷⁶⁹	Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁷⁰
3. Aqbughā [Büz/Bürī] Shaykhūn ⁷⁷¹	Total: 7,000 ⁷⁷²	Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁷³
4. Jübān al-Ṭaydamurī	Total: 7,000 (6,000) ⁷⁷⁴	Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁷⁵
5. Ṭashtamur al-Muḥammadī [al-Laffāf] (d. 779)	Total: 5,800 ⁷⁷⁶	Became Amir of ten in 26 Shaʿbān 778. Was amir of ten in 8 Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 ⁷⁷⁷

766 1) MS. Hunt 2, 25r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:644—Mughulṭāy al-Ashrafī; a corruption) = 1,000 (3,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 237r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:169 = 7,962 (5,000) DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 246v and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 180 (not mentioned in Halm) = 3,000 DJ.

767 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:289; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:169.

768 In narrative sources: Asanbughā al-Tulakī. Narrative sources mention Asanbughā al-Sayfi only as a *mamlūk* of Barqūq (see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:456)—he is not our Asanbughā al-Malakī/al-Sayfi Shaykhū.

769 1) MS. Hunt 2, 181r (Asanbughā al-Sayfi Shaykhū) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:456 (Asanbughā al-Sayfi Shaykhū) = 5,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 97r (Asanbughā al-Malakī Shaykhū) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:481–2 (Asanbughā al-Sayfi Shaykhū) = 4,000 DJ.

770 The amir Asanbughā al-Tulakī (wa-Shaykhūn [!]) is mentioned as amir of ten in Shawwāl 778. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; idem, *al-Manhal*, 6:242. Practically all the amirs in that list appear in Ibn al-Jīʿān as holders of *iqṭāʿ*'s. Not identified by Halm.

771 In Ibn al-Jīʿān: Abughā Thawr Shaykhū or Shaykhū Aqbughā; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:457.

772 1) MS. Hunt 2, 146r (Shaykhū Aqbughā; clearly a corruption) = 4,000 DJ. And see also Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 104 (line 26). 2) MS. Hunt 2, 181v (Aqbughā Shaykhūn) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:457 (Aqbughā Thawr Shaykhū; Thawr being a corruption of Büz or Bürī) = 3,000 DJ.

773 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71. Not identified by Halm.

774 1) MS. Hunt 2, 122r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:519 = 7,000 (6,000) DJ.

775 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:519.

776 1) MS. Hunt 2, 49v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:641 = 3,800 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 54v (no *ʿibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:651 (the *ʿibra* of 2,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 2,000 DJ. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, Ṭashtamur al-Muḥammadī held one more village; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:346 (variant); but see MS. Hunt 2, 159v.

777 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:514, 562; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:346.

(Continued)

Name	<i>Tbra</i>	Rank
6. Ṭaynāl al-Māridānī (d. 789, almost 100)	Total: 5,500 (6,500) ⁷⁷⁸	He was <i>muqaddam alf</i> but al-Ashraf Sha'bān gradually took his ranks due to his old age until he became amir of ten ⁷⁷⁹
7. Qaraṭāy al-Karakī (d. 779?)	2,500 ⁷⁸⁰ + <u>Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi</u> : 3,000 (2,870) = ⁷⁸¹ Total: 5,500 (5,370)	Stopped being <i>wālī</i> Qūṣ in 769. Qaraṭāy al-Karakī was amir of ten in 776 ⁷⁸²
8. Iyās al-Māridānī (d. 778)	Total: 5,400 ⁷⁸³	Arrested in Dhū al-Qi'da 778. Died in 778 as amir of ten ⁷⁸⁴

778 1) MS. Hunt 2, 47r (*Ṭaynāl al-Māridānī min al-umarā'*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:624 (*Ṭāniyāl al-Māridānī wal-umarā'*; corrupted) = 4,000 (5,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 209r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:201 — *Ṭanyāl al-Māridānī*; corrupted) = 1,500 DJ.

779 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:570; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:229. Not identified by Halm.

780 1) MS. Hunt 2, 128v = 2,500 DJ. In Moritz and Halm: Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi. Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:547. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, an amir by the name of Qaraṭāy held one more village; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 106; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:386 (MS. Hunt 2, 148r; Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 106 [line 26]).

781 1) MS. Hunt 2, 206r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:203–4 = 3,000 (2,870) DJ. Qaraṭāy al-Karakī is mentioned several times in chronicles, but for the last time in 776. Except for him, narrative sources mention in the events of the period only one person by the name of Qaraṭāy. The latter was apparently a minor amir during the days of al-Ashraf Sha'bān and also shortly after his death in Dhū al-Qi'da 778, when he is first mentioned in chronicles. He is normally called Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī (d. 779), but once he is called Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi by Ibn Taghribirdī. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:52 (*min aṣāghir al-umarā'*). However, Ibn Ḥajar calls him Qaraṭāy al-Turkī and mentions that he was promoted by al-Ashraf Sha'bān. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:166. While according to Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Taghribirdī he was amir during the days of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, according to other historians he was only a *jundī* or one of the *mafārīda*. See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:287; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:514, 563–4. Still, considering also that Moritz has Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi instead of Qaraṭāy al-Karakī in MS. Hunt 2 (apparently according to all manuscripts used by Moritz—see footnote no. 780 above), and that Moritz has once Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi instead of Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī in MS. Hunt 2 (see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 4—footnote no. 817), suggests that Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi is to be equated with Qaraṭāy al-Karakī. See also Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (footnotes nos. 165–6).

782 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:160, 234.

783 1) MS. Hunt 2, 86v (in Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 67—Kurtbāy al-Māridānī; a corruption. Kurtbāy is otherwise not attested as a name of *mamlūks* during the Turkish period. Graphically, Kurtbāy seems like a plausible corruption of Iyās. Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:563—mistakenly reads Kurtbāy al-Murādī and does not identify him) = 3,200 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 152r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:366 (variant; and see also Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 108 [lines 28–9]) = 1,500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 157v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:342 [variant]—Fāris al-Māridānī; a corruption. Not identified by Halm) = 700 DJ.

784 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:290, 296.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
9. Aḷṭunbughā al-ʿAlāʾī	Total: 5,300 ⁷⁸⁵	Became amir of ten in 26 Shaʿbān 778 ⁷⁸⁶
10. Maliktamur ʿAbdallāh al-Manṣūrī (d. 791?) ⁷⁸⁷	Total: 5,000 ⁷⁸⁸	Tulaktamur ʿAbdallāh al-Manṣūrī became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 8 Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 ⁷⁸⁹
11. * Aḷṭunbughā [Min] ʿAbd al-Malik [al-Ḥasanī] (d. 790)	Total: 5,000 ⁷⁹⁰	Became amir of ten in 775. Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁹¹
12. * Quṭlūbughā al-Buzlārī (d. 782)	Total: 4,000 ⁷⁹²	Became amir of ten in 26 Shaʿbān 778. Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁷⁹³
13. * Aṭlamish al-Sayfī Arghūn Shāh [= al-Arghūnī] (d. 780)	Total: 3,600 ⁷⁹⁴	Became Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 ⁷⁹⁵
14. Asanbughā al-Sayfī Arghūn Shāh [= al-Arghūnshāwī]	Total: 2,900 (2,500) ⁷⁹⁶	Became Amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 791 ⁷⁹⁷

785 1) MS. Hunt 2, 58v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:707 = 2,800 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 242v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:138 = 2,500 DJ.

786 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270. Not identified by Halm.

787 In narrative sources: Tulaktamur (a common corruption).

788 1) MS. Hunt 2, 122v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:519—Maliktamur ibn [!] ʿAbdallāh al-Manṣūrī) = 5,000 DJ. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, Maliktamur al-Manṣūrī held one more village; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 106 (lines 28–9); Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:385; but see MS. Hunt 2, 149r and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 106 (lines 28–9).

789 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:383; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:172. Not identified by Halm. Note that in a list of amirs in Shawwāl 778 Tulaktamur al-ʿĪsawī appears as amir of ten, and practically all the amirs in that list appear in Ibn al-Jīʿān as holders of *iqṭāʿ*s. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71.

790 1) MS. Hunt 2, 257v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:82 = 5,000 DJ.

791 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63, 71; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:43; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:82.

792 1) One village, originally under the name of Mughulṭāy al-Badrī, was transferred to Quṭlūbughā al-Buzlārī. See MS. Hunt 2, 28v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:614—Quṭlūbughā Amīr al-Liwāʿ) = 4,000 DJ.

793 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:270, 275, 407.

794 1) MS. Hunt 2, 146r, Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:388, and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 104 (line 27) = 3,600 DJ.

795 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 3:582–3. Not identified by Halm.

796 1) MS. Hunt 2, 155v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:374—Asanbughā al-Sayfī Arghūn) = 900 (500) DJ.

2) MS. Hunt 2, 253v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:94 = 2,000 DJ.

797 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:302; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 1:273; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:94.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
15. Jarkas al-Aḥmadī	Total: 1,800 ⁷⁹⁸	Jarkas al-Muḥammadī is mentioned as amir in 788, and as amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 791 ⁷⁹⁹
*****	*****	*****
16. Shāhīn al-Muḥammadī	Total: 6,000 ⁸⁰⁰	
17. * Yalbughā al-Raslānī	Total: 6,000 ⁸⁰¹	
18. Aḷṭunbughā Min Baybughā	4,000 ⁸⁰² + Ṭaybughā Min Bashbughā al-Ash- rafī: 1,500 = ⁸⁰³ Total: 5,500	
19. Kijbughā al-ʿAlāʾī	Total: 3,300 ⁸⁰⁴	
20. Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī	Total: 2,500 (900) ⁸⁰⁵	⁸⁰⁶

798 1) MS. Hunt 2, 175v (Jarkas al-Aḥmadī together with others) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:422 (variant) = 1,800 DJ (with others [*wa-man ma'ahu*]).

799 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:551, 593. Not identified by Halm.

800 1) MS. Hunt 2, 132v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:538 = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 169r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:434—Čahīn al-Muḥammadī; a corruption) = 500 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 181r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:449 = 2,500 DJ.

801 1) MS. Hunt 2, 236v (Yalbughā al-Raslānī; no title of amir) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:167 (the amir Yakbughā [!]) al-Raslānī) = 6,000 DJ.

802 1) MS. Hunt 2, 102v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:494—Aḷṭunbughā Min Taybughā; a corruption) = 4,000 DJ.

803 1) MS. Hunt 2, 158v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:348—Ṭughā ibn Asanbughā; a corruption) = 1,500 DJ. Graphically, Ṭaybughā Min Bashbughā is a very plausible corruption of Aḷṭunbughā Min Baybughā. Both names do not appear in narrative sources. In addition, the *ʿibra* of 1,500 DJ is somewhat too low for amir of ten. Thus, in all likelihood, Ṭaybughā Min Bashbughā is to be equated with Aḷṭunbughā Min Baybughā.

804 1) MS. Hunt 2, 127r (no diacritics) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:543 (Kijbughā al-ʿAlāʾī) = 3,300 DJ. According to a variant in the edition of Moritz, an amir by the name of Kijbughā held one more village; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 105; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:378; but see MS. Hunt 2, 147r; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:378 (variant); Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 105 (line 26).

805 1) MS. Hunt 2, 247r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:130 (but see Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 180 [Ṭunbughā al-ʿUmarī]) = 2,000 (400) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 260v (no diacritics; no *ʿibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:71 (reads Ṭunbughā al-ʿUmarī; a corruption. The *ʿibra* of 500 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 500 DJ. The edition of Moritz and Halm mention two more villages under the name of Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī or Ṭunbughā al-ʿUmarī; however, in MS. Hunt 2, these villages are under the name of Ṭaybughā al-Muʿizzī. See Halm *Ägypten*, 2:702 and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 36 (MS. Hunt 2, 45r); Halm *Ägypten*, 1:161 and Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 163 (MS. Hunt 2, 225v).

806 Narrative sources mention Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī al-Faqīh who became amir of ten in 772 and died as amir of ten in 775. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:189, 228. He cannot be related to our

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
21. Bayram al-Sayfī al-ʿAlamī	Total: 2,000 ⁸⁰⁷	

3.2 *Mamlūks*' descendants

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank	Tie
1. ʿAlī ibn Qumārī ⁸⁰⁸ (al-Ḥamawī/al-Ḥalabī/al-Maḥmūdī)	Total: 9,500 ⁸⁰⁹	ʿAlī ibn Qumārī was amir of ten in 769 ⁸¹⁰	
2. Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī	Total: 8,531 (9,000) ⁸¹¹	Probably was amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁸¹²	+

Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī. In a list of amirs in Shawwāl 778, Ṭūghān al-ʿUmarī (d. 800) appears as amir of ten, and practically all the amirs in that list appear in Ibn al-Jīʿān as holders of *iqṭāʿ*s. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:275, 911; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amaḷ*, 2:386. Could Ṭūghān be a corruption of Ṭaybughā? To complicate things, Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī could well be a corruption of Ṭaybughā al-Muʿizzī who is mentioned in MS. Hunt 2 with an *ʿibra* that fits amir *ṭablkhāna* (see Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 35), and indeed, two times the name Ṭaybughā al-Muʿizzī in MS. Hunt 2 was corrupted to Ṭaybughā (or Ṭunbughā) al-ʿUmarī in Moritz (see footnote no. 805 above). It is possible that also in MS. Hunt 2, Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī is a corruption of Ṭaybughā al-Muʿizzī, and there was no amir by the name of Ṭaybughā al-ʿUmarī. In that case, the *ʿibra* should be added to Ṭaybughā al-Muʿizzī.

807 1) MS. Hunt 2, 161v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:354 (variant. Not identified by Halm) = 2,000 DJ.

808 Among the three *nisbas* of Qumārī, narrative sources mention only Qumārī al-Ḥamawī. Narrative sources mention only ʿAlī ibn Qumārī (with no *nisba*). All four villages held by ʿAlī ibn Qumārī were in the same province and three were shared with others, apparently confirming that Qumārī al-Ḥamawī, Qumārī al-Ḥalabī, and Qumārī al-Maḥmūdī are the same person.

809 1) MS. Hunt 2, 241r (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī al-Ḥamawī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:115 (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī al-Ḥamawī together with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]) = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 245r (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī together with others) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:120 (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī al-Muḥammadi together with others) = 2,000 DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]). 3) MS. Hunt 2, 241v (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī al-Maḥmūdī together with others). In Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:106—there is no beneficiary = 1,500 DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]). 4) MS. Hunt 2, 245v (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī al-Ḥalabī together with others) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:115 (ʿAlī ibn Qumārī al-Ḥalabī together with others) = 3,000 DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]).

810 al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *al-Ilmām*, 5:194. Not identified by Halm.

811 1) MS. Hunt 2, 224v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:165 = 2,000 DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]). 2) MS. Hunt 2, 239v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:121 = 1,500 DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]). 3) MS. Hunt 2, 244v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:119 = 3,000 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 256v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:85—Baktamur al-Sāqī; clearly a corruption) = 2,031 (2,500) DJ (with others [*wa-man maʿahu*]).

812 In that year, the sources mention the amir of ten Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Shamsī and almost all amirs in the list appear in Ibn al-Jīʿān. Al-Shamsī seems like a corruption of al-Sāqī. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:119.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank	Tie
3. Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī (d. 790)	5,700 ⁸¹³ + Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī: 1,100 ⁸¹⁴ + Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Dhahabī: 500 ⁸¹⁵ Total: 7,300	Became amir of ten in 770. Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁸¹⁶	+
4. Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī [Shādd al-ʿAmāʾir]	Total: 7,000 ⁸¹⁷	Mentioned as amir of ten in 791 ⁸¹⁸	
5. Muḥammad ibn Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī (d. 801)	3,000 ⁸¹⁹ + Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī: 4,000 ⁸²⁰ Total: 7,000	Muḥammad was <i>muqaddam alif</i> during the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan but later he became amir of ten ⁸²¹	+

813 1) MS. Hunt 2, 66v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:715 = 3,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 214v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:257—no beneficiary is named) = 2,200 DJ.

814 1) MS. Hunt 2, 237r (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:170 (Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī) = 1,100 DJ. Moritz does not mention any variants, so I assume that the name Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī appears in all the manuscripts used by Moritz. The *ʿibra* of 1,100 DJ is somewhat too low for amir of ten. Thus, clearly enough, the name as it appears in MS. Hunt 2 is a case of dittology.

815 1) MS. Hunt 2, 167v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:452 = 500 DJ. Narrative sources do not mention Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Dhahabī, and he was not identified by Halm. Quṭlūbughā al-Dhahabī is mentioned in narrative sources for the last time in 758 when he was apparently expelled to Syria, and his year of death is not known. See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:35. Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī is known to have died before his son received amirate in 770, but his exact year of death is not known. He was the brother of Manklibughā al-Shamsī who is said to have brought Muḥammad after the death of his father from Syria to Egypt. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrikh*, 9:45. Since the year of death of both is not known but the two were active at about the same time, both were amirs in Syria (one is called in Egypt Quṭlūbughā al-Dhahabī until expelled to Syria, and the second is mentioned only in Syria as Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī after the former was expelled), and the *ʿibra* of Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Dhahabī (500 DJ) is too low for amir of ten, it seems very likely that Quṭlūbughā al-Dhahabī and Quṭlūbughā al-Muḥammadī are the same person.

816 al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:177; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:170.

817 1) MS. Hunt 2, 113v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:578—Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy Aydaki; a corruption) = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 179v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:454—Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Ashrafi. And see footnote no. 781 above) = 2,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 210v (Khushkaldī [!] ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī. And see footnote no. 726 above) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:260 (Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī) = 1,000 DJ.

818 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:322; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:260.

819 1) MS. Hunt 2, 157v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:343 = 3,000 DJ.

820 1) MS. Hunt 2, 17r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:637–8 = 4,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz, and thus Halm, have one more village under the name of Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī; however,

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank	Tie
6. Muḥammad ibn Buzlār [al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī] (d. 791)	Total: 6,000 (6,300) ⁸²²	Amir of ten ⁸²³	+
7. Mūsā ibn Qumārī [Amīr Shikār] (d. 800)	Total: 6,000 ⁸²⁴	He was amir of ten. In 795 he received an additional amirate of ten. When he died, his <i>iqṭāʿ</i> was for 15 horsemen ⁸²⁵	+
8. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Lājīn Amīr Akhūr	Total: 6,000 ⁸²⁶	Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778. ⁸²⁷ Apparently became amir of ten in 770 ⁸²⁸	+
9. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz	Total: 5,800 ⁸²⁹	Became amir of ten in 776. Became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 791 ⁸³⁰	+

MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:405 (MS. Hunt 2, 171v, Ibn al-Jiʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 123 [line 26], and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:405 [variant]). Although Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī is said to have left behind 12 sons, narrative sources mention only Muḥammad who was his eldest (al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 5:591), and never mention Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī. Therefore, Aḥmad seems like a corruption of Muḥammad.

821 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:61–2; and see footnote no. 364 above. Not identified by Halm.

822 1) MS. Hunt 2, 58v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:709—Muḥammad ibn Nazlār; a corruption) = 3,500 (3,800) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 163v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:400–1 [variant]—Muḥammad ibn Nazlār; a corruption. Not identified by Halm) = 2,500 DJ.

823 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:687; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:278; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:177.

824 1) MS. Hunt 2, 104r (no *ʿibra* is mentioned) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:496 (the *ʿibra* of 3,000 DJ is from Moritz and the *Intiṣār*) = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 125v (Mūsā Min [!]) Qumārī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:524–5 (Mūsā ibn Qumārī) = 3,000 DJ. The edition of Moritz, and thus Halm, have one more village under the name of Mūsā ibn Qumārī; however, MS. Hunt 2 names another beneficiary. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:362 (MS. Hunt 2, 145v and Ibn al-Jiʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 104 [lines 25–6]).

825 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:166; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:784; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:477; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:362.

826 1) MS. Hunt 2, 104v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:492 = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 178r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:453 = 2,000 DJ.

827 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:275.

828 Ibid., 3:177 (Muḥammad ibn Lājīn became amir of ten in 770; however, Muḥammad died ca. 750, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 3:165; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 24:389–90). Not identified by Halm.

829 1) MS. Hunt 2, 215r (in Moritz—Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā; however, Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:254 rightly identifies him as Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz) = 1,200 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 219v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:263—Muḥammad ibn Tankiz; a case of haplogy) = 2,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 237r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:169—Muḥammad ibn Tankiz; a case of haplogy. Halm identifies him as Muḥammad ibn Tankiz who died in 771) = 2,600 DJ.

830 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:232; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 48.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿibra</i>	Rank	Tie
10. * Khidr [ibn ʿUmar] ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī	Total: 5,500 ⁸³¹	Amir of ten in 764. Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁸³²	+
11. Muḥammad ibn Ṭughaytamur ⁸³³ al-Niẓāmī (d. 803)	Total: 5,400 ⁸³⁴	Amir of ten in 791 ⁸³⁵	+
12. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭash-tamur al-ʿAlāʾī/al-Dawādār (d. 795)	Total: 5,200 ⁸³⁶	Became amir during the days of his father Ṭash-tamur al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 786). In 791 became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> , but until then he was amir of ten ⁸³⁷	
13. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 802)	Total: 5,000 ⁸³⁸	Amir of ten in Egypt. Mentioned as amir in 780 ⁸³⁹	
14. Ḥasan ibn Ṣar-ghitmish (al-Nāṣirī)	Total: 4,900 ⁸⁴⁰	Perhaps became amir of ten in 8 Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 ⁸⁴¹ or in 775 ⁸⁴²	

831 1) MS. Hunt 2, 209v (Khidr ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī; the *ʿibra* ca. 778 was 5,500 DJ and then became 2,750 DJ) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:244 (Khidr ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī; the *ʿibra* is said to have been 2,750 DJ) = 5,500 DJ.

832 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:244; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 50; and see also Yosef, “The Term *Awlād al-Nās*” (footnotes nos. 129, 207, and 272).

833 In MS. Hunt 2: Ṭaqtamur (with or without diacritics). In Moritz: Ṭaqtamur or Ṭughayn. All are clearly corruptions of Ṭughaytamur. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:476. Narrative sources do not mention an amir by the name of Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqtamur al-Niẓāmī. Note that the name of Ṭughaytamur al-Ashrafī, who appears as amir in MS. Hunt 2, is also corrupted sometimes to Ṭaqtamur al-Ashrafī. See Appendix I, section 2.1, no. 3—footnote no. 619 above.

834 1) MS. Hunt 2, 96v (no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:476 (the *ʿibra* of 3,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 3,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 181r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:451 = 2,400 DJ.

835 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 11:256; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:130; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:322; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:451.

836 1) MS. Hunt 2, 120r (Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭash-tamur al-ʿAlāʾī). In Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:518—Ṭash-tamur al-ʿAlāʾī = 3,200 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 165v (Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭash-tamur al-Dawādār). In Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:405 (variant)—Ṭash-tamur al-Dawādār = 2,000 DJ.

837 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:480; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:601.

838 1) MS. Hunt 2, 21r (no *ʿibra*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:678 (the *ʿibra* of 5,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*) = 5,000 DJ.

839 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾriḫ*, 4:133; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:341. Not identified by Halm.

840 1) MS. Hunt 2, 163r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:400 = 2,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 169r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:426 = 1,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 184r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:443–4 = 400 DJ. 4) MS. Hunt 2, 185r (the *ʿibra* is 1,000 DJ as in the *Intiṣār*) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:425–6 (the *ʿibra* in Moritz is 2,000 DJ) = 1,000 DJ. Not identified by Halm.

841 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:289. According to al-Maqrīzī, in that date (which is later than the supposed date of the *jarīda*), “Ramaḍān ibn Ṣarḡitmish and his brother Ḥasan Ṣarḡitmish

(Continued)

Name	<i>Ibra</i>	Rank	Tie
15. Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803)	2,000 (9,000) ⁸⁴³ + Abū Bakr ibn Sayf al-Ja- mālī: 2,000 ⁸⁴⁴ = Total: 4,000 (11,000)	Amir in 775. ⁸⁴⁵ Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778. ⁸⁴⁶ Became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in 786 ⁸⁴⁷	+
16. Aḥmad ibn Arghūn [Shāh] al-Lālā al-Aḥmadī	Total: 4,000 (5,000) ⁸⁴⁸	Became amir of ten in 776 ⁸⁴⁹	
17. * Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Muḥammadī	Total: 4,000 ⁸⁵⁰	Amir of ten in Shawwāl 778 ⁸⁵¹	
18. ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭaraghāy	Total: 2,500 ⁸⁵²	Became amir of ten in 771 ⁸⁵³	+
19. * Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Ariqtāy (d. 796)	Total: 150 ⁸⁵⁴	Amir of ten in Egypt ⁸⁵⁵	

(!), and Qutlūbughā Ḥājī” became amirs of ten. However, according to Ibn Taghribirdī, “Ramaḍān ibn Ṣarghitmish and Ḥasan the brother of Qutlūbughā Ḥājī [such a person appears in the sources]” became amirs of ten. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. Ibn Taghribirdī’s version seems better.

842 The amir of ten Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣirī died in 771. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:23. However, Ibn Taghribirdī writes that Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣarghitmish became amir of ten in 775, so perhaps Ḥasan is intended. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:26.

843 1) MS. Hunt 2, 237r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:167–8—Abū Bakr ibn Sharaf [!] al-Jamālī; clearly a corruption. Not identified by Halm) = 2,000 (9,000) DI.

844 1) MS. Hunt 2, 240v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:109 = 2,000 DI. Not identified by Halm. Sayf is clearly a corruption of Sunqur.

845 Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-Iqd al-Thamīn fī Ta’rīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1998), 4:260; and see also idem, *Shifā’ al-Gharām bi-Akhhār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2000), 1:454.

846 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71.

847 Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 41.

848 1) MS. Hunt 2, 35v (Aḥmad ibn Arghūn al-Lālā) and Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 29 (line 27—Aḥmad ibn Arghūn al-Lālā; however, in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:635 and Ibn al-Jī‘ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 29 [line 16]—Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī) = 1,000 (2,000) DI. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 158r (Aḥmad ibn Arghūn al-Aḥmadī together with others) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:342 (Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Aḥmadī together with others) = 3,000 DI (with others [wa-man ma’ahu]).

849 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:232; and see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:342.

850 1) MS. Hunt 2, 25v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:661 = 4,000 DI.

851 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:71; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:661.

852 1) MS. Hunt 2, 183r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:442 = 1,000 DI. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 190v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:462–3—‘Abdallāh ibn Ṭaraghāy; a corruption) = 1,500 DI.

853 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185. Not identified by Halm.

854 1) MS. Hunt 2, 167v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:451 = 150 DI.

855 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:535. Not identified by Halm.

(Continued)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank	Tie
*****	*****	*****	**
20. Muḥammad ibn Iyāz/Iyās al-Dawādārī (d. 799)	Total: 9,200 (16,400) ⁸⁵⁶	In 771 appointed <i>kāshif al-Wajh al-Bahrī</i> = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> . In 774, as <i>naqīb al-jaysh</i> , expelled to Syria. In 781 appointed <i>nāʿib al-Wajh al-Qiblī</i> = <i>ṭablkhāna</i> . Apparently died as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ⁸⁵⁷	
21. * Muḥammad ibn Kakbughā Shādd al-Khāṣṣ	Total: 6,000 ⁸⁵⁸		
22. ʿUmar ibn Arghūn Shāh	Total: 5,500 ⁸⁵⁹	⁸⁶⁰	
23. * ʿAlī ibn Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl	Total: 2,000 ⁸⁶¹	In 767 an <i>iqṭāʾ</i> of <i>ṭablkhāna</i> was taken from ʿAlī ibn Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl ⁸⁶²	
24. Ḥamza ibn Sunqur al-Muḥammadi	Total: 1,700 ⁸⁶³		

856 1) MS. Hunt 2, 41v (Muḥammad ibn Iyāz [no diacritics] al-Dawādārī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:675 (Muḥammad ibn Iyār [!] al-Dawādārī) = 2,400 (6,000) DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 211v (Muḥammad ibn Iyās [no diacritics] al-Dawādārī). And see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:276 (no beneficiary) = 3,400 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 246r (Muḥammad ibn Iyāz? [no diacritics] al-Dawādārī) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:116 (Muḥammad ibn Ināl [!] al-Dawādārī) = 3,400 (7,000) DJ.

857 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:184, 208; 2:360; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:475. Not identified by Halm.

858 1) MS. Hunt 2, 185r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:428—Muḥammad ibn Kilbughā Shādd al-Khāṣṣ. Not identified) = 6,000 DJ.

859 1) MS. Hunt 2, 87r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:585–6—ʿUmar ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi) = 2,500 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 179v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:453–4 = 3,000 DJ. In addition, the *Tuhfa* mentions a land, whose *ibra* is not mentioned, that was under the name of the sons of Arghūn Shāh. See MS. Hunt 2, 195v; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:209.

860 He cannot be the son of Arghūn al-Nāʿib al-Dawādār as Halm thinks. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:454.

861 1) MS. Hunt 2, 241r (ʿAlī ibn Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:116 (ʿAlī ibn Ṭughā al-Ṭawīl; however, Halm correctly identifies him as ʿAlī ibn Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl) = 2,000 DJ.

862 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:31.

863 1) MS. Hunt 2, 180r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:454–5 (not identified by Halm) = 1,700 DJ.

3.3 Free persons (who are apparently not *mamlūks*' descendants)

Name	<i>ʿIbra</i>	Rank
1. Naṣr al-Bālīsī	Total: 6,000 ⁸⁶⁴	<i>Nāʿib muqaddam al-mamālīk</i> in 787 = normally amir of ten ⁸⁶⁵
2. al-Shaykh ʿAlī (ibn) Qarā Dalanjī [al-Qāzānī] ⁸⁶⁶	Total: 5,800 ⁸⁶⁷	Amir of ten in 742. Amir of ten in 769 ⁸⁶⁸
3. * Muḥammad ibn Surtuqtāy (d. 778) ⁸⁶⁹	Total: 5,500 ⁸⁷⁰	Among amirs of ten and forty in 767. Died in 778 as amir of ten ⁸⁷¹
4. Khuḡā al-Khiṭāʾī ⁸⁷²	Total: 5,000 ⁸⁷³	Amir in Dhū al-Qiʿda 778 ⁸⁷⁴
5. Mutawallī Miṣr	Total: 5,000 ⁸⁷⁵	Mutawallī Miṣr was normally amir of ten
6. * Abū Bakr ibn Qundus ⁸⁷⁶	Total: 3,550 (3,500) ⁸⁷⁷	Became amir of ten in 769 ⁸⁷⁸
7. Ḥusayn [ibn ʿAlī] ibn al-Kūrānī Mutawallī al-Qāhira (d. 793) ⁸⁷⁹	Total: 3,300 ⁸⁸⁰	Became Mutawallī al-Qāhira in 767. Became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 770. In 28 Muḥarram 778 lost the post (and the rank of <i>ṭablkhāna</i> ?). In Rabīʿ al-Awwal 778 received the post again (= amir of ten or <i>ṭablkhāna</i>) ⁸⁸¹

864 1) MS. Hunt 2, 128v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:538 = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 181v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:456 = 2,000 DJ.

865 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:530. Not identified by Halm.

866 According to his name and *nisba* he was probably an emigrant.

867 1) MS. Hunt 2, 84v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:478 = 3,800 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 160v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:353–4 = 1,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 209r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:200 = 1,000 DJ.

868 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:35; al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *al-Ilmām*, 5:194. Not identified by Halm.

869 Only one Surtuqtāy is mentioned in narrative sources. He never appears with a *nisba* and he was an envoy to the Golden Horde. He was probably a Mongol emigrant. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:457–8.

870 1) MS. Hunt 2, 261v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:67 = 5,500 DJ.

871 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:110, 299; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:67.

872 In narrative sources: Ḥājjī Khīṭāʾī.

873 1) MS. Hunt 2, 39v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:676 = 2,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 240v and Ibn al-Jīʾān, *al-Tuḥfa*, 175 (however, Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:111 mistakenly reads his name as Khuḡā al-Khaṭṭābī and does not identify him) = 3,000 DJ.

874 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:290.

875 1) MS. Hunt 2, 144v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:389 = 4,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 171v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:406 (variant) = 1,000 DJ.

876 Qundus is an Arab name, and it is not attested as a name of *mamlūks*.

877 1) MS. Hunt 2, 15r (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:597—Abū Bakr ibn al-Ashraf Shaʿbān; a corruption) = 3,550 (3,500) DJ.

878 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:162.

879 According to his *nisba*, he was probably a Kurd.

(Continued)

Name	' <i>Ibra</i>	Rank
*****	*****	*****
8. Muḥammad ibn Bayram ibn Kūjri	Total: 6,000 ⁸⁸²	
9. Qaramān ibn Ilyās ⁸⁸³	Total: 5,000 ⁸⁸⁴	
10. Ḥājji Bak ibn Alṭīnā (ibn) 'Ashiq ⁸⁸⁵	Total: 3,200 ⁸⁸⁶	
(11) * Maḥmūd ibn Arshā ⁸⁸⁷	Total: 1,000 ⁸⁸⁸	
(12) * 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sallām	Total: 1,000 ⁸⁸⁹	
(13) * Yūnus al-Ṣalāḥī	Total: 400 (1,200) ⁸⁹⁰	
(14) * 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ā'id	Total: 360 (300) ⁸⁹¹	

880 1) MS. Hunt 2, 249r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:139 = 1,800 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 257v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:81 = 1,500 DJ.

881 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:33, 54; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:162; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:265; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:381; and see D.S. Richards, "The Office of *Wilāyat al-Qāhira* in Mamluk Times", in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV, Proceedings of the 9th and 10th International Colloquium*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo Van Steenberghe (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2005), 451–2; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:81. On the post and rank, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, 4:23.

882 1) MS. Hunt 2, 144v (Muḥammad ibn Bayram ibn Kūjri) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:358 (Muḥammad ibn Bayram—not identified) = 2,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 158r (Muḥammad ibn Bayram ibn Kūjri) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:343–4 (Muḥammad ibn Bayram al-Kawḥarī; a corruption) = 2,000 DJ. 3) MS. Hunt 2, 171v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:405 (variant) = 2,000 DJ.

883 According to his name, he was perhaps a Turkmen (not identified by Halm).

884 1) MS. Hunt 2, 53r (no '*ibra*') and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 42 (line 28) [in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:649 and Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 42 (lines 17–8)—Quzmān al-Bālisī (the '*ibra*' of 5,000 DJ is from the *Intiṣār*)] = 5,000 DJ.

885 The names of the father and grandfather are not attested as names of *mamlūks*. Not identified by Halm.

886 1) MS. Hunt 2, 157v (Ḥājji Bak ibn Alṭīnā 'Ashiq) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:342 (variant: Ḥājji Bak ibn Alṭā ibn 'Ashiq) = 2,000 DJ. 2) MS. Hunt 2, 160r (Ḥājji Bak ibn Alṭīnā ibn 'Ashiq) and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:352 (variant: Ḥājji Bak ibn Alṭā ibn 'Ashiq) = 1,200 DJ.

887 The name Arshā is not attested as a name of *mamlūks* but is attested as a name of a commander in the army of the Ilkhanate. Not identified by Halm.

888 1) MS. Hunt 2, 219v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:266 = 1,000 DJ.

889 1) MS. Hunt 2, 60v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:763 = 1,000 DJ. Note that ca. 880–1 the land was a *waqf* of the descendants of Sallām. See MS. Hunt 2, 60v (but see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:763).

890 1) MS. Hunt 2, 169v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:438–9 (variant) = 400 (1,200) DJ. Not identified by Halm.

891 1) MS. Hunt 2, 127v and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:530 = 360 (300) DJ. Not identified by Halm.

4 Additional *iqṭā's* (not counted in calculations of *'ibras* of amirs in Cairo)

Name	<i>'Ibra</i>
1. Quṭlūbughā	Total: 13,150 ⁸⁹²
2. Jaraktamur al-Ashrafī (d. 19 Rajab 778)	Total: 5,600 (5,000) ⁸⁹³
3. 'Alī al-Māridānī (d. 772)	Total: 5,000 ⁸⁹⁴
4. Baktamur	Total: 3,000 ⁸⁹⁵
5. Alṭunbughā	Total: 2,000 ⁸⁹⁶

892 1) MS. Hunt 2, 110v (in Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:565—other beneficiaries) = 13,150 (13,000) DJ. No other Quṭlūbughā appears nearby in the *Tuhfa*, so, theoretically he may be identified as one of the four Quṭlūbughās mentioned in MS. Hunt 2 who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna*: Quṭlūbughā Jarkas, Quṭlūbughā al-Kūkā'ī, Quṭlūbughā al-Sha'bānī, or Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī. However, it is very unlikely that he should be equated with Quṭlūbughā al-Kūkā'ī or Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī, because both appear only later in the *Tuhfa* and it is unlikely that they would appear for the first time with no *nisba*. The *'ibra* of 13,150 is too high for amir of ten, so he may not be equated with Quṭlūbughā al-Buzlārī mentioned in MS. Hunt 2 and known to have been amir of ten. To conclude, he is probably Quṭlūbughā Jarkas or Quṭlūbughā al-Sha'bānī.

893 1) MS. Hunt 2, 166r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:407 (variant) = 5,600 (5,000) DJ. He is known to have been *muqaddam alf* until he died. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:296; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:522. All his lands seem to have been reallocated by the date of the *jarīda* except for one. See discussion at footnotes nos. 382–6 above.

894 1) MS. Hunt 2, 132r and Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:537 = 5,000 DJ. 'Alī al-Māridānī was *muqaddam alf* in Cairo until he died in 772. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:291–2. It is not very likely that one of his lands was still not reallocated six years after his death. 'Alī al-Māridānī had a son by the name of Muḥammad who died in 793 in Syria. He is known to have become amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in 769, however, he ended his life as *muqaddam alf* in Damascus. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:279; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:34; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:161. It is possible, but not very likely, that the land was in fact under the name of Muḥammad. Alternative explanation is that the land became the property of 'Alī al-Māridānī or his heirs, or their endowment, but mistakenly it is not mentioned as such.

895 1) MS. Hunt 2, 256v = 3,000 DJ. This estate is mentioned right next to an estate under the name of Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī (see MS. Hunt 2, 256v; and see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 2), which suggests that Baktamur should be equated with Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī. However, MS. Hunt 2 mentions in folio 255r a land under the name of Baktamur ibn 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī who was *kāshif al-Wajh al-Bahrī* (see Appendix I, section 2.5, no. 3), so it is also possible that the latter is intended.

896 1) MS. Hunt 2, 246v (no diacritics—the *'ibra* was 2,000 DJ and later declined to 666 DJ) = 2,000 DJ. In Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:115—there is no beneficiary and the *'ibra* is said to have been 666 DJ. In the same page in MS. Hunt 2 (247r), appears an *iqṭā'* under the name of Ṭaybughā al-'Umarī who was apparently amir of ten, so perhaps Alṭunbughā is to be equated with him. However, a few pages before, MS. Hunt 2 mentions two amirs by the name of Alṭunbughā: Alṭunbughā al-'Alā'ī who was amir of ten (242v), and Alṭunbughā al-'Uthmānī who was *muqaddam* (240r). Less likely, Alṭunbughā may also be equated with Ṭaybughā al-Ṣafawī who was amir *ṭablkhāna* that is mentioned in MS. Hunt 2 a page later (248r) with no diacritics (and probably also in the same folio—247v—simply as Ṭaybughā with and without diacritics).

Appendix II: Categories of land and beneficiaries—The Tax yield of Egypt's land in 778/1377

A. Date⁸⁹⁷ and beneficiary (or category of land) mentioned—Total: 9,503,014 DJ + 20,300 feddāns X 2.64 DJ = 9,556,606 DJ~

1. *Awqāf*—Total: 111,716.5 DJ + 50 feddāns X 2.64 DJ = 111,848.5 DJ~

1.1 *Awqāf* (mentioned by name of founder or beneficiary): 105,560 DJ + 50 feddāns⁸⁹⁸

1.2 *Awqāf* + 'Urbān: 9,013 DJ⁸⁹⁹ (assuming one half for *Awqāf* = 4,506.5 DJ)

1.3 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 2,300 DJ⁹⁰⁰ (among them 650 DJ for *Awqāf* = 650 DJ)

1.4 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Amlāk* + *Rizāq*: 2,000 DJ⁹⁰¹ (assuming one quarter for *Awqāf* = 500 DJ)

1.5 *Awqāf* + *Amlāk*: 1,000 DJ⁹⁰² (assuming one half for *Awqāf* = 500 DJ)

2. *Amlāk*—Total: 121,350 DJ + 1,185 feddāns X 2.64 DJ = 124,478.4 DJ~

2.1 *Amlāk* (mentioned by name of proprietor):⁹⁰³ 118,250 DJ + 1,185 feddāns

2.2 *Amlāk* + *Awqāf*: 1,000 DJ⁹⁰⁴ (assuming one half for *Amlāk* = 500 DJ)

2.3 *Amlāk* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 4,200 DJ⁹⁰⁵ (assuming one half for *Amlāk* = 2,100 DJ)

2.4 *Amlāk* + *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Rizāq*: 2,000 DJ⁹⁰⁶ (assuming one quarter for *Amlāk* = 500 DJ)

897 The explicit date (778/1377) is not mentioned, but it is mentioned explicitly that the land “was in the past” (normally: *kānat*) under the name of a certain beneficiary (or that it was in the past a certain category of land, i.e., *waqf*, *milk*, or *rizqa*).

898 MS. Hunt 2, 4v (3,000 DJ + 50 feddāns), 5r (4,500 DJ), 5v (2,500 DJ), 9r (7,000 DJ), 31v (6,000 DJ), 37r (10,000 DJ), 45r (700 DJ), 46v (2,900 DJ), 50r (3,600 DJ), 51r (200 DJ), 63v (6,000 DJ), 74v (3,500 DJ), 79v (300 DJ), 100r (4,000 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:509] + 1,100 DJ), 108r (20,000 DJ), 110r (2,700 DJ), 143r (1,500 DJ), 165r (2,500 DJ), 170r (4,000 DJ), 175v (1,860 DJ), 178r (1,800 DJ), 178v (3,000 DJ), 179r (3,500 DJ), 184r (1,500 DJ), 241r (2,000 DJ), 242r (800 DJ), 242v (1,000 DJ), 249r (600 DJ), 250r (2,500 DJ), 260r (1,000 DJ).

899 MS. Hunt 2, 56v (6,413 DJ), 184r (2,600 DJ).

900 MS. Hunt 2, 83v (2,000 DJ—one quarter for *waqf*), 98v (300 DJ—half for *waqf*).

901 MS. Hunt 2, 142r (2,000 DJ).

902 MS. Hunt 2, 126v (1,000 DJ).

903 MS. Hunt 2, 6r (4,500 DJ), 7r (3,000 DJ), 8r (3,500 DJ + 1,000 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:327]), 8v (1,600 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:334]), 12v (12,000 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:333]), 38r (4,500 DJ), 59v (1,200 DJ), 81v (5,600 DJ), 95v (8,000 DJ), 101v (1,600 DJ), 137r (400 DJ), 137v (2,650 DJ), 138r (20,000 DJ), 159v (1,000 DJ), 163v (2,300 DJ), 167v (3,000 DJ), 170v (2,400 DJ), 173r (400 DJ), 173v (1,185 feddāns), 193v (1,000 DJ), 195r (3,000 DJ), 199v (4,000 DJ), 202r (2,000 DJ), 203v (3,000 DJ), 213v (4,000 DJ), 227v (600 DJ), 232r (22,000 DJ).

904 For references, see Appendix II, section A1.5 above.

905 MS. Hunt 2, 141v (4,200 DJ).

906 For references, see Appendix II, section A1.4 above.

3. *Rizaq*—Total: 6,675 DJ

3.1 *Rizaq* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 10,750 DJ⁹⁰⁷ (assuming one half for *Rizaq* = 5,375 DJ)

3.2 *Rizaq* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *'Urbān*: 2,400 DJ⁹⁰⁸ (assuming one third for *Rizaq* = 800 DJ)

3.3 *Rizaq* + *Amlāk* + *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 2,000 DJ⁹⁰⁹ (assuming one quarter for *Rizaq* = 500 DJ)

4. *'Urbān*—Total: 259,519 DJ

4.1 *'Urbān*: 206,839 DJ⁹¹⁰

4.2 *'Urbān* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 87,547 DJ⁹¹¹ (assuming one half for *'Urbān* = 43,773.5 DJ)

907 MS. Hunt 2, 31v (2,200 DJ), 71v (1,200 DJ), 89r (450 DJ), 96v (2,500 DJ), 168v (3,600 DJ), 208r (800 DJ).

908 MS. Hunt 2, 94r (2,400 DJ).

909 For references, see Appendix II, section A1.4 above.

910 MS. Hunt 2, 15r (2,400 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:597]), 15v (4,500 DJ), 16v (66 DJ), 17r (4,000 DJ), 17v (1,200 DJ), 18r (50 DJ), 18v (4,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 19r (300 DJ + 450 DJ + 600 DJ + 2,500 DJ), 19v (2,200 DJ), 20v (1,700 DJ + 150 DJ + 1,430 DJ), 22v (2,800 DJ), 23r (1,300 DJ), 23v (2,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:625] + 300 DJ), 24v (1,000 DJ), 26r (4,000 DJ + 3,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:700]), 26v (100 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 280 DJ), 27r (1,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:613] + 2,000 DJ), 27v (4,000 DJ), 28v (400 DJ), 29v (1,000 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 30r (400 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 30v (6,000 DJ), 32v (2,600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:691]), 33v (1,500 DJ), 34r (400 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 34v (2,100 DJ + 500 DJ), 35r (1,800 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 37r (800 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ together with *Tashtamur al-'Alā'i* = 1,000 DJ~), 37v (7,000 DJ), 38r (200 DJ), 38v (200 DJ), 39r (8,000 DJ), 41r (4,500 DJ), 41v (3,600 DJ + 1,700 DJ), 42v (500 DJ + 500 DJ), 44r (1,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:693] + 6,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:693]), 45r (300 DJ), 45v (1,500 DJ + 10,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:687]), 46v (400 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 47r (200 DJ), 48r (900 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 48v (700 DJ [together with others: *wa-man ma'ahum*]), 49r (2,600 DJ + 200 DJ), 49v (2,500 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:642]), 50r (150 DJ + 2,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:641]), 50v (2,100 DJ + 580 DJ), 51r (300 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 52r (1,800 DJ), 53v (1,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:650]), 54v (6,000 DJ), 56r (2,400 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 56v (1,800 DJ), 60v (250 DJ), 62r (780 DJ + 300 DJ), 65v (800 DJ), 67r (128 DJ), 81r (400 DJ), 82v (150 DJ), 96r (80 DJ), 97v (400 DJ), 103r (150 DJ), 105r (350 DJ), 113r (175 DJ [see also Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:581–2]), 115r (2,100 DJ), 117r (200 DJ), 123r (3,000 DJ), 124r (1,100 DJ), 164r (850 DJ), 164v (2,800 DJ), 165v (500 DJ), 166v (1,300 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:417]), 167r (560 DJ), 168r (1,000 DJ), 168v (400 DJ), 174r (2,400 DJ + 100 DJ), 174v (300 DJ), 175r (3,150 DJ + 60 DJ), 182r (1,700 DJ), 183v (600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:445]), 184r (2,100 DJ), 184v (200 DJ), 185r (400 DJ), 186v (1,500 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 188r (1,000 DJ), 189r (1,000 DJ), 190r (200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:462]), 193v (5,000 DJ), 194r (500 DJ).

911 MS. Hunt 2, 23r (2,200 DJ), 23v (2,400 DJ), 24v (1,500 DJ), 25v (600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:660]), 26r (600 DJ), 31r (5,400 DJ), 39v (5,015 DJ), 48v (2,679 DJ), 49r (2,400 DJ + 4,200 DJ), 49v (5,000 DJ), 50r (4,000 DJ), 50v (3,600 DJ), 51v (2,233 DJ + 3,500 DJ), 52v (3,500 DJ), 53r (2,700 DJ), 53v (1,500 DJ), 54v (2,400 DJ), 55v (5,600 DJ), 56r (3,600 DJ), 57r (3,500 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:633]), 65v (1,000 DJ), 81r (320 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:512]), 83v (200 DJ), 103r (600 DJ), 103v (300 DJ), 104v (6,400 DJ), 114r (200 DJ), 117v (1,300 DJ), 167r (300 DJ), 216r (8,800 DJ).

- 4.3 'Urbān + Muqta'ūn + Umarā': 3,700 DJ⁹¹² (assuming one third for 'Urbān = 1,233.33 DJ~)
- 4.4 'Urbān + Mamālīk + Ḥalqa: 6,200 DJ⁹¹³ (assuming one third for 'Urbān = 2,066.66 DJ~)
- 4.5 'Urbān + Ḥalqa: 600 DJ⁹¹⁴ (assuming one half for 'Urbān = 300 DJ)
- 4.6 'Urbān + Awqāf: 9,013 DJ⁹¹⁵ (assuming one half for 'Urbān = 4,506.5 DJ)
- 4.7 'Urbān + Rizaq + Muqta'ūn: 2,400 DJ⁹¹⁶ (assuming one third for 'Urbān = 800 DJ)
5. *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ (al-Sharīf)*—Total: 228,450 DJ⁹¹⁷
6. *al-Dīwān al-Sultānī (al-Sharīf) [wal-Dawla al-Sharīfa]*—Total: 509,700 DJ + 15,977 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 551,879.28 DJ~⁹¹⁸
7. *Mamālīk*—Total: 105,894.16 DJ~
- 7.1 *Mamālīk* + Ḥalqa: 207,655 DJ⁹¹⁹ (assuming one half for *Mamālīk* = 103,827.5 DJ)

912 MS. Hunt 2, 106v (3,700 DJ).

913 MS. Hunt 2, 16r (800 DJ), 47r (5,400 DJ).

914 MS. Hunt 2, 29v (600 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:609]).

915 For references, see Appendix II, section A1.2 above.

916 For references, see Appendix II, section A3.2 above.

917 MS. Hunt 2, 43v (8,400 DJ), 68r (5,000 DJ), 173v (72,000 DJ), 191r (16,000 DJ), 198r (10,000 DJ), 210v (5,800 DJ), 211r (4,000 DJ), 211v (1,250 DJ), 213r (23,000 DJ), 217r (1,000 DJ), 218v (12,000 DJ), 219v (7,000 DJ), 221v (4,000 DJ), 230v (21,000 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:151]), 238r (6,000 DJ), 248r (4,000 DJ), 255v (8,000 DJ), 258r (20,000 DJ).

918 MS. Hunt 2, 5r (13,500 DJ), 10v (15,000 DJ), 92r (30,000 DJ), 109r (19,450 DJ), 127v (1,800 DJ), 194v (2,000 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:208] + 593 feddans), 197r (1,190 feddans + 830 feddans), 197v (312 feddans), 198r (160 feddans), 199r (2,020 feddans), 199v (1,730 feddans), 200r (1,709 feddans), 200r (4,700 DJ), 200v (7,000 DJ), 201v (3,013 feddans + 130 feddans + 3,500 DJ [al-Dawla al-Sharīfa: for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:208]), 203r (1,550 feddans), 204r (1,360 feddans + 270 feddans), 204v (5,200 DJ), 205r (1,110 feddans + 6,000 DJ), 212v (10,000 DJ), 214v (5,000 DJ), 215v (300 DJ), 216v (21,000 DJ), 217v (8,000 DJ), 218v (13,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 219r (9,000 DJ), 219v (50,000 DJ), 228v (al-Dīwān al-Sultānī wal-Dawla al-Sharīfa: 22,000 DJ), 229v (5,000 DJ), 239r (25,000 DJ), 242r (9,000 DJ), 242v (3,000 DJ), 244r (16,000 DJ), 246v (al-Dīwān al-Sultānī wal-Dawla al-Sharīfa: 3,000 DJ), 249v (al-Dīwān al-Sultānī wal-Dawla [!]: 5,500 DJ), 254r (38,150 DJ [with others: wa-man ma'ahu]), 257r (al-Dīwān al-Sultānī wal-Dawla al-Sharīfa: 15,000 DJ), 258v (al-Dīwān al-Sultānī wal-Dawla al-Sharīfa: 52,600 DJ), 259v (3,000 DJ + 10,000 DJ), 262r (27,000 DJ), 263r (50,000 DJ).

919 MS. Hunt 2, 7r (3,400 DJ), 7v (9,000 DJ + 4,500 DJ), 8v (1,600 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 9r (2,800 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 9v (6,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 10r (2,400 DJ), 11r (4,800 DJ), 11v (18,000 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 4,800 DJ), 12r (5,600 DJ + 7,000 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 13v (2,500 DJ), 14r (9,000 DJ + 14,400 DJ), 14v (14,500 DJ + 8,400 DJ), 15r (12,000 DJ), 15v (1,300 DJ + 14,000 DJ), 16r (7,200 DJ), 17r (3,075 DJ + 2,500 DJ), 17v (780 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:606] + 1,500 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:614] + 10,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 18r (7,200 DJ + 4,000 DJ).

- 7.2 *Mamālīk* + *Ḥalqa* + *ʿUrbān*: 6,200 DJ⁹²⁰ (assuming one third for *Mamālīk* = 2,066.66 DJ~)
8. *al-Ḥāshiya al-Saʿīda/al-Manṣūra*—Total: 44,400 DJ⁹²¹
9. *Jāmakiyyat al-Bāzdāriyya*—Total: 15,100 DJ⁹²²
10. *al-Ḥalqa (al-Manṣūra)*—Total: 106,894.16 DJ~
- 10.1 *Ḥalqa*: 700 DJ⁹²³
- 10.2 *Ḥalqa* + *Mamālīk*: 207,655 DJ⁹²⁴ (assuming one half for *Ḥalqa* = 103,827.5 DJ)
- 10.3 *Ḥalqa* + *Mamālīk* + *ʿUrbān*: 6,200 DJ⁹²⁵ (assuming one third for *Ḥalqa* = 2,066.66 DJ~)
- 10.4 *Ḥalqa* + *ʿUrbān*: 600 DJ⁹²⁶ (assuming one half for *Ḥalqa* = 300 DJ)
11. *Muqṭaʿūn*—Total: 3,255,955.83 DJ~ + 3,088 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 3,264,108.15 DJ~
- 11.1 *Muqṭaʿūn* + *Umarāʾ*: 23,700 DJ⁹²⁷ (assuming one half for *Muqṭaʿūn* = 11,850 DJ)
- 11.2 *Muqṭaʿūn* + *Awqāf*: 2,300 DJ⁹²⁸ (among them 1,650 DJ for *Muqṭaʿūn* = 1,650 DJ)
- 11.3 *Muqṭaʿūn* + *Awqāf* + *Amlāk* + *Rizaq*: 2,000 DJ⁹²⁹ (assuming one quarter for *Muqṭaʿūn* = 500 DJ)
- 11.4 *Muqṭaʿūn* + *Amlāk*: 4,200 DJ⁹³⁰ (assuming one half for *Muqṭaʿūn* = 2,100 DJ)
- 11.5 *Muqṭaʿūn* + *Rizaq*: 10,750 DJ⁹³¹ (assuming one half for *Muqṭaʿūn* = 5,375 DJ)

920 For references, see Appendix II, section A4.4 above.

921 MS. Hunt 2, 43r (12,000 DJ), 60r (10,000 DJ), 92v (10,000 DJ), 102v (10,000 DJ), 182v (2,400 DJ).

922 MS. Hunt 2, 97r (500 DJ), 160v (1,000 DJ), 166r (8,000 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:410]), 176r (2,800 DJ), 229v (2,000 DJ), 234v (800 DJ—see MS. Hunt 2, 229v).

923 MS. Hunt 2, 12v (700 DJ).

924 For references, see Appendix II, section A7.1 above.

925 For references, see Appendix II, section A4.4 above.

926 For references, see Appendix II, section A4.5 above.

927 MS. Hunt 2, 87r (1,600 DJ), 90r (2,500 DJ), 119v (1,700 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:558–9; MS. Hunt 2 has no *ʿibra*; Moritz has 3,000 DJ; the *Intiṣār* has 1,700 DJ]), 165r (6,500 DJ), 238v (9,000 DJ), 245r (2,400 DJ).

928 For references, see Appendix II, section A1.3 above.

929 For references, see Appendix II, section A1.4 above.

930 For references, see Appendix II, section A2.3 above.

931 For references, see Appendix II, section A3.1 above.

- 11.6 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Rizaq* + *'Urbān*: 2,400 DJ⁹³² (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 800 DJ)
- 11.7 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *'Urbān*: 87,547 DJ⁹³³ (assuming one half for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 43,773.5 DJ)
- 11.8 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *'Urbān* + *Umarā'*: 3,700 DJ⁹³⁴ (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 1,233.33 DJ~)
- 11.9 *Muqṭa'ūn*: 3,188,674 DJ + 3,088 feddans⁹³⁵

932 For references, see Appendix II, section A3.2 above.

933 For references, see Appendix II, section A4.2 above.

934 For references, see Appendix II, section A4.3 above.

935 MS. Hunt 2, 13r (3,000 DJ), 18v (1,400 DJ + 2,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:628] + 8,000 DJ), 19r (2,000 DJ), 19v (4,200 DJ + 6,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:621–2]), 20r (4,800 DJ + 2,800 DJ), 21r (4,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:684] + 2,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:670]), 21v (1,500 DJ), 22r (2,800 DJ + 7,000 DJ + 2,800 DJ), 22v (1,000 DJ + 2,700 DJ), 23r (6,000 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 5,000 DJ), 23v (1,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:668] + 1,800 DJ), 24r (2,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 24v (2,800 DJ + 5,700 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 25r (700 DJ + 1,500 DJ + 4,600 DJ), 25v (2,500 DJ), 26r (1,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:701] + 1,000 DJ), 26v (7,000 DJ), 27v (3,500 DJ), 28r (4,000 DJ + 2,500 DJ + 700 DJ), 28v (8,600 DJ), 29r (6,000 DJ + 4,200 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 30r (3,500 DJ), 30v (2,400 DJ), 31r (7,000 DJ + 3,600 DJ), 32r (2,500 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 33r (2,400 DJ + 1,000 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 1,700 DJ), 33v (2,400 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 34r (300 DJ + 3,400 DJ + 2,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:628]), 34v (2,500 DJ + 8,000 DJ), 35r (600 DJ), 36v (2,500 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:620]), 37v (12,000 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 38r (2,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:670]), 38v (4,200 DJ + 2,640 DJ), 39r (4,000 DJ), 39v (20,000 DJ together with *Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣiri* = 10,000 DJ~), 40r (5,200 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 5,850 DJ), 40v (2,000 DJ), 41r (3,000 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 41v (1,000 DJ), 42r (4,800 DJ + 4,500 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 42v (3,600 DJ), 43r (5,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 43v (7,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:672] + 5,600 DJ), 44r (1,200 DJ + 5,600 DJ), 44v (6,400 DJ + 4,200 DJ + 3,300 DJ), 45r (700 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:697]), 45v (3,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 46r (5,000 DJ + 5,500 DJ), 46v (4,800 DJ), 47r (3,500 DJ), 47v (4,400 [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:624] + 4,500 DJ + 2,200 DJ), 48r (2,400 DJ), 48v (3,000 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 300 DJ), 49r (1,800 DJ), 49v (600 DJ + 5,400 DJ + 1,100 DJ), 50r (15,600 DJ), 50v (2,700 DJ), 51r (4,650 DJ), 51v (3,000 DJ + 3,700 DJ), 52r (12,000 DJ + 4,200 DJ + 5,500 DJ), 52v (1,000 DJ + 5,400 DJ), 53v (4,500 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 54r (880 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 54v (4,000 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 55r (10,000 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 3,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:654]), 55v (4,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:653] + 3,000 DJ + 6,400 DJ + 12,500 DJ), 56r (8,000 DJ + 7,200 DJ), 56v (5,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:635]), 57v (3,600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:705–6]), 58r (500 DJ + 700 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:711–2]), 58v (3,000 DJ), 59r (2,100 DJ + 2,700 DJ + 800 DJ), 59v (1,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:716] + 1,500 DJ), 60r (1,500 DJ + 4,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:719]), 60v (1,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 61r (800 DJ + 400 DJ + 1,000 DJ + 2,700 DJ + 150 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:761]), 61v (850 DJ + 4,200 DJ + 300 DJ + 1,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:749]), 62r (4,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:749] + 2,000 DJ + 1,600 DJ), 62v (600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:728–9] + 1,600 DJ + 900 DJ + 2,400 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:746–7] + 1,500 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:726] + 1,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:747]), 63r (250 DJ + 200 DJ + 5,600 DJ + 1,500 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:719–20]), 63v (2,000 DJ + 5,600 DJ), 64r (2,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:711] + 2,000 DJ + 400 DJ + 400 DJ), 64v (150 DJ + 125 DJ + 10,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 65r (900 DJ + 6,080 DJ + 1,500 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:717] + 600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:721–2]), 65v (600

DJ + 300 DJ + 800 DJ), 66r (1,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:720] + 300 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 66v (3,600 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 67r (2,100 DJ + 1,120 DJ + 2,100 DJ + 6,175 DJ + 3,600 DJ), 67v (4,000 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 68r (1,100 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 68v (10,000 DJ + 4,800 DJ + 800 DJ), 69r (1,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:753–4] + 2,100 DJ + 500 DJ), 69v (300 DJ + 550 DJ + 1,500 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 2,100 DJ [MS. Hunt 2 has *muqta'ün* and *waqf*, but the *waqf* seems a mistake. For the *'ibra* and the *muqta'ün* alone as the beneficiary, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:760]), 70r (800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:750] + 2,100 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 70v (2,000 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 3,600 DJ), 71r (1,200 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 71v (1,800 DJ + 5,600 DJ + 4,600 DJ), 72r (1,000 DJ + 200 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 900 DJ), 72v (200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:746] + 1,400 DJ + 500 DJ + 400 DJ + 1,300 DJ + 300 DJ), 73r (1,200 DJ + 800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:745] + 300 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 1,300 DJ), 73v (4,000 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 74r (2,400 DJ + 400 DJ + 1,083 DJ), 74v (1,200 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 2,700 DJ), 75r (2,400 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 600 DJ), 75v (600 DJ + 200 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 2,250 DJ), 76r (600 DJ + 700 DJ + 500 DJ), 76v (1,200 DJ + 400 DJ + 2,700 DJ + 1,300 DJ + 850 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:743] + 1,150 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:745]), 77r (500 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 2,200 DJ + 4,500 DJ + 1,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:729] + 700 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:731]), 77v (1,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:731] + 1,000 DJ + 700 DJ + 3,600 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 78r (300 DJ + 2,400 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:738] + 550 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 78v (1,500 DJ + 2,100 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 3,400 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:748]), 79r (6,400 DJ), 79v (300 DJ + 200 DJ + 600 DJ), 80r (2,500 DJ + 10,000 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 80v (100 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 81r (1,500 DJ + 800 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 81v (3,800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:512]), 82r (1,200 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:470] + 1,800 DJ + 1,500 DJ + 2,700 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:471]), 82v (6,500 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 5,175 DJ), 83r (4,400 DJ + 750 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 83v (3,000 DJ + 3,800 DJ), 84r (850 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 84v (1,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:590–1] + 1,250 DJ), 85r (5,600 DJ + 300 DJ + 53 DJ + 4,800 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 85v (1,100 DJ + 600 DJ + 600 DJ), 86r (2,600 DJ + 3,600 [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:493]), 86v (6,400 DJ + 3,600 DJ + 600 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:564]), 87r (75 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:585] + 4,800 DJ), 87v (3,800 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 7,200 DJ), 88r (1,800 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 800 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 88v (6,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ + 2,150 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:559]), 89r (800 DJ + 550 DJ + 800 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:560]), 89v (5,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 400 DJ + 600 DJ), 90r (400 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 700 DJ), 90v (1,100 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 91r (4,000 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 91v (800 DJ), 92r (1,600 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 92v (1,600 DJ + 300 DJ), 93r (1,600 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 93v (1,350 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 2,300 DJ + 1,900 DJ), 94r (1,400 DJ + 1,700 DJ + 2,300 DJ), 94v (2,100 DJ), 95r (4,800 DJ + 1,300 DJ + 2,500 DJ), 95v (12,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 97v (1,150 DJ + 1,900 DJ), 98r (840 DJ), 98v (2,600 DJ), 99r (6,100 DJ), 99v (1,000 DJ + 900 DJ + 400 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:507]), 100r (600 DJ), 100v (2,800 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 101r (2,100 DJ + 2,200 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 3,300 DJ), 101v (4,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 102r (3,600 DJ + 750 DJ), 102v (2,700 DJ + 500 DJ), 103r (278 feddans + 2,500 DJ), 103v (873 DJ), 104r (3,200 DJ + 1,400 DJ), 104v (300 DJ), 105r (7,200 DJ + 5,100 DJ + 3,600 DJ), 105v (400 DJ + 2,700 DJ + 2,350 DJ + 10,000 DJ), 106r (2,600 DJ + 1,400 DJ), 106v (320 DJ + 6,100 DJ), 107r (627 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 7,200 DJ), 107v (4,600 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 1,300 DJ), 108r (9,800 DJ), 108v (1,500 DJ + 400 DJ + 2,500 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 109v (650 DJ + 3,300 DJ + 7,000 DJ), 110r (2,600 DJ + 4,600 DJ), 110v (6,000 DJ + 10,800 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 111r (6,000 DJ + 9,600 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 2,800 DJ), 111v (1,200 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 112r (1,000 DJ + 2,500 DJ + 4,800 DJ), 112v (600 DJ [for the

'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:582] + 7,000 DJ + 2,600 DJ), 113r (1,000 DJ + 2,100 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:583] + 9,600 DJ), 113v (5,000 DJ + 7,000 DJ), 114r (14,400 DJ + 5,000 DJ), 114v (5,600 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:577] + 1,500 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:577] + 8,000 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 115r (5,000 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 1,450 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:575]), 115v (8,000 DJ + 2,100 DJ + 3,428 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 116r (4,200 DJ + 350 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 2,600 DJ), 116v (850 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 960 DJ), 117r (7,200 DJ + 7,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 117v (800 DJ + 9,000 DJ + 15,000 DJ), 118r (1,500 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 700 DJ), 118v (2,500 DJ + 2,500 DJ), 119r (1,200 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:563] + 2,000 DJ + 11,200 DJ), 119v (2,000 DJ + 15,000 DJ), 120r (3,200 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 3,600 DJ), 120v (300 DJ + 400 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 1,750 DJ), 121r (1,000 DJ + 2,200 DJ + 500 DJ + 7,000 DJ), 121v (1,700 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 12,000 DJ), 122r (2,500 DJ + 8,000 DJ + 2,200 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:524]), 122v (2,300 DJ + 16,800 DJ + 8,400 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:519]), 123r (2,100 DJ), 123v (6,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 124r (5,600 DJ + 7,200 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 124v (6,000 DJ + 12,000 DJ + 700 DJ), 125r (5,000 DJ + 15,000 DJ + 1,200 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:523]), 125v (600 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:524] + 6,000 DJ), 126r (13,000 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 1,400 DJ), 126v (6,000 DJ + 1,100 DJ + 4,500 DJ), 127r (4,800 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 700 DJ), 127v (2,025 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 128r (700 DJ + 700 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 128v (400 DJ + 700 DJ), 129r (2,800 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 4,400 DJ + 3,200 DJ), 129v (2,916 DJ + 5,600 DJ + 2,500 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 130r (2,000 DJ + 2,200 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 130v (1,500 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 131r (1,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 1,400 DJ), 141v (4,085 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 3,600 DJ + 2,500 DJ), 132r (800 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 4,400 DJ), 132v (500 DJ + 800 DJ), 133r (1,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 3,400 DJ + 1,800 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:539]), 133v (2,600 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 4,500 DJ), 134r (2,000 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 7,500 DJ), 134v (2,600 DJ + 4,800 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 135r (2,100 DJ + 500 feddans + 6,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 135v (8,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 136r (1,700 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 50 DJ), 136v (7,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 1,600 DJ), 137r (5,250 DJ), 137v (300 DJ + 7,200 DJ), 138r (2,000 DJ + 7,500 DJ), 138v (6,000 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 139v (32,000 DJ + 1,153 feddans), 140r (2,500 DJ + 600 DJ), 140v (800 DJ + 12,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 2,800 DJ), 141v (1,200 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 142r (4,000 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 2,100 DJ), 142v (2,400 DJ + 600 DJ), 143r (6,400 DJ + 1,600 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 143v (2,000 DJ + 700 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 1,400 DJ), 144r (3,000 DJ + 9,600 DJ + 5,600 DJ), 144v (1,200 DJ + 2,800 DJ), 145r (6,720 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 500 DJ), 145v (3,000 DJ + 4,600 DJ + 4,200 DJ), 146r (300 DJ + 5,200 DJ), 146v (5,600 DJ + 14,400 DJ + 9,600 DJ), 147r (3,000 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 4,300 DJ + 6,400 DJ), 147v (8,000 DJ + 16,000 DJ), 148r (2,800 DJ + 900 DJ), 148v (5,500 DJ + 3,200 DJ + 2,100 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 149r (7,000 DJ + 5,600 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 149v (1,200 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 2,333 DJ), 150r (8,400 DJ + 10,500 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 150v (3,300 DJ + 15,000 DJ + 600 DJ + 9,800 DJ), 151r (4,800 DJ + 4,800 DJ), 151v (200 DJ + 5,400 DJ + 8,400 DJ), 152r (900 DJ + 2,100 DJ), 152v (2,400 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 1,200 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 153r (4,800 DJ + 6,400 DJ), 153v (1,400 DJ + 1,600 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 154r (1,200 DJ + 1,666 DJ + 600 DJ), 154v (2,100 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 155r (1,500 DJ + 1,800 DJ + 750 DJ + 1,200 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:375]), 155v (6,400 DJ + 600 DJ + 1,400 DJ), 156r (4,500 DJ + 1,600 DJ + 8,000 DJ), 156v (600 DJ + 700 DJ + 7,500 DJ), 157r (2,400 DJ), 158r (10,000 DJ), 158v (2,400 DJ + 900 DJ), 159r (4,000 DJ + 700 DJ + 800 DJ + 600 DJ), 159v (5,000 DJ), 160r (700 DJ), 161r (2,865 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 161v (1,400 DJ + 3,500 DJ), 162r (2,570 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 500 DJ), 162v (3,174 DJ), 163r (1,200 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 163v (400 DJ + 400 DJ), 164r (1,000 DJ), 166r (4,500 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:408] + 1,600 DJ), 166v (6,000 DJ), 167r (200 DJ + 400 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 167v (4,800 DJ), 168r (2,572 DJ + 300 DJ), 168v (300 DJ), 169r (6,000 DJ + 1,700 DJ), 169v (1,200 DJ

+ 6,975 DJ), 170r (1,200 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:438]) + 2,000 DJ + 180 DJ), 170v (2,000 DJ + 400 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 171r (2,800 DJ + 2,880 DJ), 171v (975 DJ), 172r (200 DJ + 2,800 DJ + 2,200 DJ), 172v (4,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:410]), 173v (3,600 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 174r (1,400 DJ), 174v (3,000 DJ + 500 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 175r (150 DJ), 175v (3,840 DJ), 176v (400 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 210 DJ), 177r (4,000 DJ + 750 DJ), 177v (3,250 DJ + 1,575 DJ + 200 DJ), 178r (3,000 DJ), 178v (1,200 DJ + 4,800 DJ + 6,400 DJ), 179r (5,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 9,600 DJ), 180r (5,100 DJ + 2,600 DJ + 8,800 DJ), 180v (1,800 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 181r (400 DJ), 181v (2,000 DJ), 182r (3,600 DJ + 8,400 DJ), 182v (7,200 DJ + 6,000 DJ + 300 DJ), 183r (5,850 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 183v (900 DJ + 800 DJ), 184v (4,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ + 600 DJ), 185v (1,000 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 186r (2,000 DJ + 5,400 DJ + 1,500 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 187r (2,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 187v (3,600 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 188r (3,600 DJ + 600 DJ + 4,200 DJ), 188v (2,000 DJ + 3,000 DJ + 4,000 DJ + 600 DJ), 189r (700 DJ + 300 DJ), 189v (2,250 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 5,000 DJ), 190r (1,350 DJ + 600 DJ + 1,800 DJ), 190v (4,200 DJ), 191v (200 DJ + 5,000 DJ + 6,500 DJ), 192r (4,200 DJ), 193v (1,157 feddans), 206r (200 DJ + 3,000 DJ), 206v (800 DJ), 207r (100 DJ + 1,500 DJ + 200 DJ + 900 DJ + 800 DJ), 207v (2,000 DJ + 750 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 500 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:193] + 500 DJ [for the 'ibra, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:192] + 500 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 208r (1,200 DJ + 1,400 DJ + 300 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 208v (7,000 DJ), 209r (2,000 DJ), 210r (2,400 DJ + 4,800 DJ + 7,000 DJ), 210v (100 DJ + 1,000 DJ + 2,500 DJ), 211r (2,000 DJ + 1,700 DJ), 211v (2,000 DJ), 212r (3,000 DJ), 212v (7,200 DJ), 213r (900 DJ), 214r (10,500 DJ), 214v (4,200 DJ), 215r (1,500 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 215v (3,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 216r (4,360 DJ), 216v (2,000 DJ), 217r (2,400 DJ + 4,000 DJ), 217v (4,800 DJ), 218v (600 DJ), 219r (2,000 DJ + 1,500 DJ), 219v (1,200 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 220r (2,400 DJ), 220v (16,500 DJ), 221r (3,000 DJ), 221v (15,600 DJ), 222v (600 DJ + 2,500 DJ + 2,400 DJ), 224r (700 DJ + 2,400 DJ + one third of 15,000 DJ = 5,000 DJ), 224v (15,200 DJ + 8,000 DJ + 800 DJ), 225r (3,000 DJ), 226v (3,000 DJ), 227r (200 DJ), 228r (1,400 DJ + 12,000 DJ), 228v (7,000 DJ) 229r (600 DJ + 4,800 DJ), 230r (4,000 DJ), 230v (2,100 DJ), 231r (1,000 DJ), 232r (20,080 DJ), 233r (19,200 DJ), 234r (2,000 DJ), 234v (1,500 DJ + 2,800 DJ), 235r (16,000 DJ + 1,150 DJ), 235v (2,000 DJ), 236r (10,500 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 236v (6,400 DJ + 17,000 DJ + 10,500 DJ), 237v (2,000 DJ), 238r (20,000 DJ), 238v (4,200 DJ), 239v (5,000 DJ), 240v (2,000 DJ + 5,000 DJ), 242v (600 DJ), 243r (600 DJ + 6,400 DJ), 243v (2,000 DJ), 244r (2,000 DJ), 244v (5,600 DJ + 3,500 DJ), 245r (800 DJ + 1,200 DJ), 245v (700 DJ + 14,000 DJ), 246r (1,400 DJ + 10,400 DJ), 247r (4,800 DJ), 247v (1,000 DJ), 248v (15,000 DJ), 249r (8,000 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 249v (2,000 DJ), 250v (7,000 DJ + 8,000 DJ), 251r (4,800 DJ + 8,000 DJ), 252r (26,000 DJ), 252v (28,000 DJ), 253r (500 DJ + 4,620 DJ), 254v (8,000 DJ), 256r (10,000 DJ), 256v (5,000 DJ), 257r (75 DJ), 257v (615 DJ + 210 DJ + 2,500 DJ + 240 DJ), 258r (15,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 13,543 DJ), 260v (1,416 DJ), 263r (15,000 DJ).

12. *Umarā* '—Total: 47,783.33 DJ~12.1 *Umarā* ' : 34,700 DJ⁹³⁶12.2 *Umarā* ' + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 23,700 DJ⁹³⁷ (assuming one half for *Umarā* ' = 11,850 DJ)12.3 *Umarā* ' + *Muqṭa'ūn* + '*Urbān*: 3,700 DJ⁹³⁸ (assuming one third for *Umarā* ' = 1,233.33 DJ~)**13. Governors (*Wulāt*) of the provinces of Egypt—Total: 71,700 DJ**13.1 Mutawallī (al-A 'māl) al-Bahnasāwiyya: 17,700 DJ⁹³⁹13.2 Mutawallī al-Ushmūnayn: 12,000 DJ⁹⁴⁰13.3 Mutawallī al-A 'māl al-Fayyūmiyya/Wālī al-Fayyūm: 10,500 DJ⁹⁴¹13.4 Mutawallī Qūṣ: 10,000 DJ⁹⁴²13.5 Mutawallī al-Buḥayra: 6,200 DJ⁹⁴³13.6 Mutawallī (al-A 'māl) al-Munūfiyya: 4,600 DJ⁹⁴⁴13.7 Mutawallī al-Daqahliyya: 4,000 DJ⁹⁴⁵13.8 Mutawallī al-Gharbiyya: 3,000 DJ⁹⁴⁶13.9 Mutawallī al-Sharqiyya: 2,900 DJ⁹⁴⁷13.10 Wālī Qalyūb: 800 DJ⁹⁴⁸**14. *Muqṭa'ū Jihāt Qūṣ*—Total: 300 DJ⁹⁴⁹**

936 MS. Hunt 2, 91v (1,000 DJ + 1,000 DJ), 96v (1,200 DJ), 111v (9,000 DJ), 140r (5,000 DJ), 144r (4,000 DJ), 233v (13,500 DJ).

937 For references, see Appendix II, section A11.1 above.

938 For references, see Appendix II, section A4.3 above.

939 MS. Hunt 2, 213v (1,500 DJ), 223r (2,000 DJ), 223v (700 DJ), 229v (2,000 DJ), 231r (4,000 DJ), 236r (500 DJ), 253r (1,000 DJ [for the '*ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:95]), 255r (5,000 DJ), 256v (1,000 DJ).

940 MS. Hunt 2, 18r (4,000 DJ), 243v (5,000 DJ), 240v (3,000 DJ—the beneficiary of Udmū in 778/1377 is missing in MS. Hunt 2. Moritz mentions Mutawallī al-Ushmūnayn with no variants, so in this specific case I follow Moritz. See Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:137; Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 174).

941 MS. Hunt 2, 252v (2,500 DJ), 261v (8,000 DJ).

942 MS. Hunt 2, 259v (10,000 DJ).

943 MS. Hunt 2, 171v (400 DJ), 213r (1,800 DJ), 233r (4,000 DJ).

944 MS. Hunt 2, 65v (400 DJ for Mutawallī al-Gharbiyya and Mutawallī al-Munūfiyya = 200 DJ~ for Mutawallī al-Munūfiyya), 160v (2,400 DJ), 217v (2,000 DJ).

945 MS. Hunt 2, 229r (1,500 DJ [for the '*ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:156–7]), 244v (2,500 DJ).

946 MS. Hunt 2, 25r (1,000 DJ), 32v (500 DJ), 65v (400 DJ for Mutawallī al-Gharbiyya and Mutawallī al-Munūfiyya = 200 DJ~ for Mutawallī al-Gharbiyya), 85v (1,300 DJ [for the '*ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:505]).

947 MS. Hunt 2, 53r (2,500 DJ), 70r (400 DJ).

948 MS. Hunt 2, 142v (800 DJ).

949 MS. Hunt 2, 260r (300 DJ).

15. **Governors (*Kushshāf*) of al-Wajh al-Baḥrī and al-Wajh al-Qibli (mentioned by name)—Total: 56,500 DJ⁹⁵⁰**
16. **Governor (*Nā'ib*) of Alexandria (mentioned by name)—Total: 69,000 DJ⁹⁵¹**
17. ***Arbāb al-Rawātib* in Alexandria—Total: 4,600 DJ⁹⁵²**
18. ***Qabā'il bi-Thaghr al-Iskandariyya*—Total: 1,400 DJ⁹⁵³**
19. ***Khufarā' Banī Ṣabra*—Total: 1,000 DJ⁹⁵⁴**
20. ***al-Shawānī bi-Thaghr Dumyāt*—Total: 6,300 DJ⁹⁵⁵**
21. ***al-Shawānī*—Total: 12,000 DJ⁹⁵⁶**
22. **(*al-Sayyid al-Sharīf*) *Amīr al-Madīna al-Sharīfa*—Total: 8,433 DJ⁹⁵⁷**
23. ***Asyād* (+ the mother of al-Ashraf Sha'bān)—Total: 721,550 DJ**
 - 23.1 (al-Maqām al-'Alā'ī) Sīdī 'Alī the son of al-Ashraf Sha'bān: 236,450 DJ⁹⁵⁸
 - 23.2 Sīdī Amīr Ḥājj the son of al-Ashraf Sha'bān: 118,050 DJ⁹⁵⁹
 - 23.3 Sīdī Muḥammad the son of al-Ashraf Sha'bān: 94,000 DJ⁹⁶⁰
 - 23.4 Sīdī Qāsim the son of al-Ashraf Sha'bān: 91,300 DJ⁹⁶¹
 - 23.5 Sīdī Abū Bakr the son of al-Ashraf Sha'bān: 52,150 DJ⁹⁶²

950 See Appendix I, section 2.5, nos. 2–3.

951 See Appendix I, section 2.5, no.1.

952 MS. Hunt 2, 19r (1,000 DJ), 235v (3,600 DJ).

953 MS. Hunt 2, 185v (1,400 DJ).

954 MS. Hunt 2, 6v (1,000 DJ).

955 MS. Hunt 2, 88v (6,300 DJ).

956 MS. Hunt 2, 96v (12,000 DJ).

957 MS. Hunt 2, 185v (2,000 DJ), 243r (1,000 DJ), 263r (5,433 DJ).

958 MS. Hunt 2, 5v (15,000 DJ), 6r (15,000 DJ), 12r (12,800 DJ), 12v (9,300 DJ), 14r (19,000 DJ), 57v (15,000 DJ), 94v (35,000 DJ), 119v (20,000 DJ), 137r (18,000 DJ), 173r (12,000 DJ + 9,000 DJ), 195r (2,350 DJ), 196v (2,000 DJ), 200r (8,500 DJ), 204v (3,500 DJ), 233r (22,000 DJ), 250r (18,000 DJ).

959 MS. Hunt 2, 6r (9,000 DJ), 6v (11,850 DJ), 109v (15,000 DJ), 133v (23,000 DJ), 147v (15,700 DJ), 195r (8,500 DJ), 244r (18,000 DJ), 262v (17,000 DJ).

960 MS. Hunt 2, 109r (20,000 DJ), 162v (4,000 DJ), 218r (20,000 DJ), 245v (30,000 DJ), 259v (20,000 DJ).

961 MS. Hunt 2, 6v (9,000 DJ), 13r (18,000 DJ), 14r (22,000 DJ), 36r (16,000 DJ), 220v (6,600 DJ), 262v (19,700 DJ).

962 MS. Hunt 2, 29v (16,000 DJ), 205r (11,150 DJ), 248r (25,000 DJ).

- 23.6 Sīdī Ḥasan the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 39,500 DJ⁹⁶³
 23.7 Sīdī Ānūk the brother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 24,000 DJ⁹⁶⁴ + half of 3,000 DJ⁹⁶⁵ = 25,500 DJ
 23.8 Sīdī Ibrāhīm the brother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 14,000 DJ⁹⁶⁶ + half of 3,000 DJ⁹⁶⁷ = 15,500 DJ
 23.9 Sīdī Ismāʿīl the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 15,000 DJ⁹⁶⁸
 23.10 Sīdī Salmān the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 10,000 DJ⁹⁶⁹
 23.11 Sīdī Ānūk the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 9,000 DJ⁹⁷⁰
 23.12 Sīdī Ibrāhīm the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 6,900 DJ⁹⁷¹
 23.13 Sīdī Aḥmad the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 3,200 DJ⁹⁷²
 23.14 Sīdī Khalīl the son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 1,000 DJ⁹⁷³
 + the mother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: 4,000 DJ⁹⁷⁴

24. Amirs in Cairo mentioned by name—Total: 3,705,283 DJ⁹⁷⁵

- 963 MS. Hunt 2, 14v (10,000 DJ), 123v (17,000 DJ), 210v (6,000 DJ), 255v (6,500 DJ).
 964 MS. Hunt 2, 106r (8,000 DJ), 226r (10,000 DJ), 229v (6,000 DJ).
 965 The brothers of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān were allocated 3,000 DJ. The *Tuhfa* mentions by name two brothers, so I assume that each received 1,500 DJ. It is possible, however, that other brothers are intended.
 966 MS. Hunt 2, 212r (5,000 DJ), 254v (9,000 DJ).
 967 The brothers of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān were allocated 3,000 DJ. The *Tuhfa* mentions by name two brothers, so I assume that each received 1,500 DJ. It is possible, however, that other brothers are intended.
 968 MS. Hunt 2, 74r (15,000 DJ).
 969 MS. Hunt 2, 91r (10,000 DJ).
 970 MS. Hunt 2, 91v (5,000 DJ), 206v (4,000 DJ). As far as I know, narrative sources do not mention a son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān by the name of Ānūk, but they do mention a brother by that name (see the Qalāwūnid genealogical table of Bauden). Still, the *Tuhfa* uses twice *walad* (and not *ibn*) to refer to the son, so it is unlikely a corruption of *akhī* or *akhū* (used to refer to the brother). However, it should be considered that the brother and the son in the *Tuhfa* are in fact the same person, i. e., the brother (in the edition of Moritz, the son appears only once, and in the other time where it appears in MS. Hunt 2, the brother appears in Moritz; however, Halm and Haarmann mention only the brother. See Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 70, 148; Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 153 [Table III]; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:202; 2:530).
 971 MS. Hunt 2, 132v (6,900 DJ). As far as I know, narrative sources do not mention a son of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān by the name of Ibrāhīm, but they do mention a brother by that name (see the Qalāwūnid genealogical table of Bauden). Still, the *Tuhfa* uses *walad* (and not *ibn*) to refer to the son, so it is unlikely a corruption of *akhī* (used to refer to the brother). However, it should be considered that the brother and the son in the *Tuhfa* are in fact the same person, i. e., the brother (the edition of Moritz mentions the son. Halm mentions the son, but in the index refers to him as the brother. Haarmann mentions only the brother. See Ibn al-Jīʿān, *al-Tuhfa*, 96; Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 153 [Table III]; Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:540, 811).
 972 MS. Hunt 2, 102r (2,400 DJ), 158v (800 DJ).
 973 MS. Hunt 2, 99v (1,000 DJ).
 974 MS. Hunt 2, 239r (4,000 DJ).
 975 See Appendix I, sections 1–3 (not including section 2.5 and section 3.3, nos. 11–14); and see Table L.

25. Additional *iqṭāʿ*s—Total: 28,750 DJ⁹⁷⁶
26. Persons mentioned by name without the title of amir whose status is not clear—Total: 2,760 DJ⁹⁷⁷
- B. Beneficiary not mentioned (at all, or in 778/1377)⁹⁷⁸—Total: 213,060 DJ + 1,617 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 217,329 DJ⁹⁷⁹
- C. Beneficiary (or category of land) mentioned, but the relevant date is not mentioned—Total: 334,314 DJ + 60,567 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 494,211 DJ~
1. *Awqāf*—Total: 122,143 DJ + 3,537.5 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 131,482 DJ~
- 1.1 *Awqāf* (mentioned by name of founder or beneficiary): 110,266 DJ + 2,768 feddans⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁶ Appendix I, section 4.

⁹⁷⁷ See Appendix I, section 3.3, nos. 11–14.

⁹⁷⁸ Sometimes no beneficiary is mentioned at all, and sometimes the beneficiary is mentioned only for ca. 880–1/1475–7 (*al-ān*, i.e., in the days of Ibn al-Jīʿān).

⁹⁷⁹ MS. Hunt 2, 8r (700 DJ), 13v (12,000 DJ), 27r (2,000 DJ), 30r (4,500 DJ), 53r (3,000 DJ), 63v (3,000 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:709]), 64r (500 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:711]), 65r (1,850 DJ), 68r (3,000 DJ), 78r (2,000 DJ), 86r (250 DJ), 94v (100 DJ), 96v (50 DJ), 97r (3,600 DJ), 100v (800 DJ), 102r (150 DJ), 119r (1,200 DJ), 126r (11,000 DJ—no date, but the beneficiary mentioned is al-Diḡān al-Mufrad, so clearly there is no beneficiary for 778/1377), 142v (800 DJ), 163v (50 feddans), 176r (2,000 DJ), 191v (1,000 DJ), 192r (700 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:467]), 194r (6,125 DJ), 196r (15,000 DJ + 3,800 DJ), 201r (800 DJ), 203r (9,000 DJ—no date, but the beneficiary mentioned is Qānībak al-Jamālī, so clearly there is no beneficiary for 778/1377), 205v (620 feddans), 206v (75 DJ + 2,400 DJ + 60 DJ), 211r (19,600 DJ—no date, but the land is mentioned as a *waqf* of al-Zāhir Barqūq, so clearly there is no beneficiary for 778/1377), 215r (9,000 DJ), 222r (5,000 DJ), 223r (5,000 DJ), 227v (2,400 DJ + 11,000 DJ), 228r (6,000 DJ), 230r (947 feddans), 230v (600 DJ), 231r (3,500 DJ), 240r (3,000 DJ), 243r (2,500 DJ—no date, but the beneficiary seems unsuitable for 778/1377), 253r (1,000 DJ—the land is said to have been the property of Nawrūz al-Ḥafizī and no beneficiary is mentioned for 778/1377), 253v (13,000 DJ), 254r (10,000 DJ), 255r (20,000 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:86]), 262r (10,000 DJ).

⁹⁸⁰ MS. Hunt 2, 5v (4,270 DJ), 6r (3,000 DJ), 6v (3,500 DJ), 7r (4,500 DJ), 9r (1,000 DJ), 11r (12,600 DJ), 12v (2,400 DJ [for the *ʿibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:329]), 13r (8,000 DJ), 13v (5,000 DJ), 19v (1,800 DJ), 31v (1,500 DJ), 34v (200 DJ), 35v (2,000 DJ), 61v (200 DJ), 90v (50 DJ), 100v (400 DJ), 123r (3,000 DJ), 130v (1,800 DJ), 141r (600 DJ + 300 DJ), 141v (2,000 DJ), 159v (1,646 feddans), 160v (3,000 DJ), 165r (2,000 DJ), 176r (2,585 DJ), 191r (2,200 DJ), 191v (1,500 DJ), 193r (1,000 DJ), 195v (1,200 DJ + 200 feddans), 196v (270 feddans), 203v (620 feddans), 204r (2,500 DJ), 207r (3,000 DJ), 208r (600 DJ), 208v (32 feddans [for the size of the land, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:198]), 208v (1,000 DJ), 211r (175 DJ + 235 DJ), 212r (281 DJ + 2,250 DJ), 218r (4,220 DJ), 218v (400 DJ), 221v (6,000 DJ), 226v (4,000 DJ), 261r (1,500 DJ + 10,500 DJ), 263v (2,000 DJ).

- 1.2 *Awqāf* + *Mamālīk* + *Ḥalqa* + *Rizaq*: 3,000 DJ⁹⁸¹ (assuming one quarter for *Awqāf* = 750 DJ)
- 1.3 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Amlāk* + *Rizaq*: 7,600 DJ⁹⁸² (assuming one quarter for *Awqāf* = 1,900 DJ)
- 1.4 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Amlāk*: 350 DJ⁹⁸³ (assuming one third for *Awqāf* = 116.66 DJ~)
- 1.5 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Rizaq*: 4,700 DJ⁹⁸⁴ (assuming one third for *Awqāf* = 1,566.66 DJ~)
- 1.6 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + '*Urbān* + *Amlāk*: 3,600 DJ⁹⁸⁵ (assuming one quarter for *Awqāf* = 900 DJ)
- 1.7 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + '*Urbān*: 6,080 DJ⁹⁸⁶ (assuming one third for *Awqāf* = 2,026.66 DJ~)
- 1.8 *Awqāf* + '*Urbān*: 424 DJ⁹⁸⁷ (assuming one half for *Awqāf* = 212 DJ)
- 1.9 *Awqāf* + *Amlāk*: 5,000 DJ⁹⁸⁸ (assuming one half for *Awqāf* = 2,500 DJ)
- 1.10 *Awqāf* + *Rizaq*: 2,250 DJ⁹⁸⁹ (assuming one half for *Awqāf* = 1,125 DJ)
- 1.11 *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 1,560 DJ + 1,539 feddans⁹⁹⁰ (assuming one half for *Awqāf* = 780 DJ + 769.5 feddans)

2. ***Amlāk*—Total:** 13,941.66 DJ~ + 1,794 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 18,677.8 DJ~
- 2.1 *Amlāk* (mentioned by name of proprietor): 5,900 DJ + 1,167 feddans⁹⁹¹
- 2.2 *Amlāk* + *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Rizaq*: 7,600 DJ⁹⁹² (assuming one quarter for *Amlāk* = 1,900 DJ)
- 2.3 *Amlāk* + *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 350 DJ⁹⁹³ (assuming one third for *Amlāk* = 116.66 DJ~)
- 2.4 *Amlāk* + *Awqāf* + *Muqṭa'ūn* + '*Urbān*: 3,600 DJ⁹⁹⁴ (assuming one quarter for *Amlāk* = 900 DJ)

981 MS. Hunt 2, 16v (3,000 DJ).

982 MS. Hunt 2, 80r (2,000 DJ), 202v (5,600 DJ).

983 MS. Hunt 2, 200v (350 DJ).

984 MS. Hunt 2, 196v (2,000 DJ [for the '*ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:221]), 197r (1,700 DJ), 208v (1,000 DJ).

985 MS. Hunt 2, 32v (3,600 DJ).

986 MS. Hunt 2, 31v (6,080 DJ).

987 MS. Hunt 2, 33v (124 DJ—half for *waqf* and half for the '*urbān*), 112v (300 DJ).

988 MS. Hunt 2, 203r (5,000 DJ).

989 MS. Hunt 2, 80r (750 DJ [for the '*ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:566]), 86v (1,500 DJ).

990 MS. Hunt 2, 95v (360 DJ), 199r (839 feddans), 200v (700 feddans + 1,200 DJ).

991 MS. Hunt 2, 191r (1,000 DJ), 192v (1,000 DJ), 199v (17 feddans), 200v (180 feddans + 970 feddans), 201r (1,000 DJ), 203v (1,400 DJ), 230v (1,500 DJ).

992 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.3 above.

993 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.4 above.

994 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.6 above.

- 2.5 *Amlāk + Awqāf*: 5,000 DJ⁹⁹⁵ (assuming one half for *Amlāk* = 2,500 DJ)
- 2.6 *Amlāk + Mamālīk + Ḥalqa + Rizaq*: 2,700 DJ⁹⁹⁶ (assuming one quarter for *Amlāk* = 675 DJ)
- 2.7 *Amlāk + Muqṭaʿūn*: 700 DJ⁹⁹⁷ (assuming one half for *Amlāk* = 350 DJ)
- 2.8 *Amlāk + Muqṭaʿūn + Rizaq*: 4,800 DJ + 880 feddans⁹⁹⁸ (assuming one third for *Amlāk* = 1,600 DJ + 293.33 feddans~)
- 2.9 *Amlāk + al-Dīwān al-Sultānī + Rizaq*: 1,001 feddans⁹⁹⁹ (assuming one third for *Amlāk* = 333.66 feddans~)
3. ***Rizaq—Total***: 18,535 DJ + 1,433.5 feddans X 2.64 DJ = 22,319.44 DJ~
- 3.1 *Rizaq + Awqāf + Mamālīk + Ḥalqa*: 3,000 DJ¹⁰⁰⁰ (assuming one quarter for *Rizaq* = 750 DJ)
- 3.2 *Rizaq + Awqāf + Muqṭaʿūn + Amlāk*: 7,600 DJ¹⁰⁰¹ (assuming one quarter for *Rizaq* = 1,900 DJ)
- 3.3 *Rizaq + Awqāf + Muqṭaʿūn*: 4,700 DJ¹⁰⁰² (assuming one third for *Rizaq* = 1,566.66 DJ~)
- 3.4 *Rizaq + Awqāf*: 2,250 DJ¹⁰⁰³ (assuming one half for *Rizaq* = 1,125 DJ)
- 3.5 *Rizaq + Amlāk + Mamālīk + Ḥalqa*: 2,700 DJ¹⁰⁰⁴ (assuming one quarter for *Rizaq* = 675 DJ)
- 3.6 *Rizaq + Amlāk + Muqṭaʿūn*: 4,800 DJ + 880 feddans¹⁰⁰⁵ (assuming one third for *Rizaq* = 1,600 DJ + 293.33 feddans~)
- 3.7 *Rizaq + Amlāk + al-Dīwān al-Sultānī*: 1,001 feddans¹⁰⁰⁶ (assuming one third for *Rizaq* = 333.66 feddans~)
- 3.8 *Rizaq + al-Dīwān al-Sultānī*: 920 feddans¹⁰⁰⁷ (assuming one half for *Rizaq* = 460 feddans)
- 3.9 *Rizaq + Mamālīk + Ḥalqa + ʿUrbān*: 2,000 DJ¹⁰⁰⁸ (assuming one quarter for *Rizaq* = 500 DJ)
- 3.10 *Rizaq + ʿUrbān*: 10,250 DJ¹⁰⁰⁹ (assuming one half for *Rizaq* = 5,125 DJ)

995 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.9 above.

996 MS. Hunt 2, 14r (2,700 DJ).

997 MS. Hunt 2, 244v (700 DJ).

998 MS. Hunt 2, 27r (3,600 DJ), 197r (880 feddans), 207r (1,200 DJ).

999 MS. Hunt 2, 202v (1,001 feddans).

1000 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.2 above.

1001 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.3 above.

1002 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.5 above.

1003 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.10 above.

1004 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.6 above.

1005 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.8 above.

1006 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.9 above.

1007 MS. Hunt 2, 196r (920 feddans).

1008 MS. Hunt 2, 10r (2,000 DJ).

1009 MS. Hunt 2, 20r (1,000 DJ), 53r (1,750 DJ), 56v (7,500 DJ).

- 3.11 *Rizaq + Muqṭa'ūn*: 2,400 DJ + 693 feddans¹⁰¹⁰ (assuming one half for *Rizaq* = 1,200 DJ + 346.5 feddans)
- 3.12 *Rizaq + Muqṭa'ūn + al-Sāda al-Ḥukkām*: 12,280 DJ¹⁰¹¹ (assuming one third for *Rizaq* = 4,093.33 DJ~)
4. **'Urbān—Total: 41,122.66 DJ~**
- 4.1 *'Urbān*: 31,059 DJ¹⁰¹²
- 4.2 *'Urbān + Muqṭa'ūn*: 2,600 DJ¹⁰¹³ (assuming one half for *'Urbān* = 1,300 DJ)
- 4.3 *'Urbān + Awqāf + Muqṭa'ūn + Amlāk*: 3,600 DJ¹⁰¹⁴ (assuming one quarter for *'Urbān* = 900 DJ)
- 4.4 *'Urbān + Awqāf + Muqṭa'ūn*: 6,080 DJ¹⁰¹⁵ (assuming one third for *'Urbān* = 2,026.66 DJ~)
- 4.5 *'Urbān + Awqāf*: 424 DJ¹⁰¹⁶ (assuming one half for *'Urbān* = 212 DJ)
- 4.6 *'Urbān + Rizaq + Mamālīk + Ḥalqa*: 2,000 DJ¹⁰¹⁷ (assuming one quarter for *'Urbān* = 500 DJ)
- 4.7 *'Urbān + Rizaq*: 10,250 DJ¹⁰¹⁸ (assuming one half for *'Urbān* = 5,125 DJ)
5. ***Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ (al-Sharīf)—Total: 25,600 DJ***¹⁰¹⁹
6. ***al-Dīwān al-Sulṭānī (al-Sharīf) [wal-Dawla al-Sharīfa]—Total: 61,430 DJ***
+ 52,248.66 feddans~ X 2.64 DJ = 199,366.46 DJ~
- 6.1 *al-Dīwān al-Sulṭānī*: 61,430 DJ + 51,455 feddans¹⁰²⁰

1010 MS. Hunt 2, 196v (693 feddans), 208v (2,400 DJ).

1011 MS. Hunt 2, 118v (12,280 DJ).

1012 MS. Hunt 2, 15v (680 DJ), 16r (1,000 DJ + 2,000 DJ + 4,500 DJ), 17v (1,200 DJ), 18v (480 DJ), 20r (300 DJ), 21r (100 DJ), 21v (1,500 DJ + 3,700 DJ + 2,000 DJ), 25v (1,750 DJ), 32r (200 DJ), 32v (700 DJ), 36r (40 DJ + 400 DJ), 46r (400 DJ), 47v (1,700 DJ), 86v (20 DJ), 166v (1,500 DJ), 191r (600 DJ), 194r (435 DJ with others [*wa-ghayrihim*])—for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:768), 205v (5,854 DJ).

1013 MS. Hunt 2, 21v (1,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 2:694]), 63r (1,600 DJ).

1014 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.6 above.

1015 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.7 above.

1016 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.8 above.

1017 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.9 above.

1018 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.10 above.

1019 MS. Hunt 2, 6v (2,500 DJ + 500 DJ), 191v (1,200 DJ), 192v (16,500 DJ + 3,400 DJ), 214r (1,500 DJ).

1020 MS. Hunt 2, 5r (7,500 DJ), 196r (1,074 feddans), 196v (7,500 DJ + 220 feddans + 120 feddans), 197r (7,000 DJ + 520 feddans), 197v (560 feddans + 1,450 feddans + 132 feddans + 612 feddans), 198r (300 feddans + 980 feddans + 632 feddans + 700 feddans), 198v (650 feddans + 371 feddans + 13,000 DJ + 770 feddans), 199r (5,298 feddans + 520 feddans + 271 feddans + 400 feddans + 2,007 feddans + 140 feddans), 199v (1,707 feddans + 621 feddans + 1,110 feddans + 1,000 DJ [for the *'ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:213] + 1,160 feddans), 200r (1,790 feddans + 1,360 feddans), 200v (270 feddans), 201r (400 feddans + 250 feddans + 210 feddans + 160 feddans + 1,390 feddans), 201v (2,250 feddans + 3,120 feddans + 83

- 6.2 *al-Dīwān al-Sulṭānī* + *Amlāk* + *Rīzaq*: 1,001 feddans¹⁰²¹ (assuming one third for *al-Dīwān al-Sulṭānī* = 333.66 feddans~)
- 6.3 *al-Dīwān al-Sulṭānī* + *Rīzaq*: 920 feddans¹⁰²² (assuming one half for *al-Dīwān al-Sulṭānī* = 460 feddans)
7. ***Mamālīk*—Total: 4,825 DJ**
- 7.1 *Mamālīk* + *Ḥalqa*: 5,800 DJ¹⁰²³ (assuming one half for *Mamālīk* = 2,900 DJ)
- 7.2 *Mamālīk* + *Awqāf* + *Ḥalqa* + *Rīzaq*: 3,000 DJ¹⁰²⁴ (assuming one quarter for *Mamālīk* = 750 DJ)
- 7.3 *Mamālīk* + *Amlāk* + *Ḥalqa* + *Rīzaq*: 2,700 DJ¹⁰²⁵ (assuming one quarter for *Mamālīk* = 675 DJ)
- 7.4 *Mamālīk* + *Rīzaq* + *Ḥalqa* + *‘Urbān*: 2,000 DJ¹⁰²⁶ (assuming one quarter for *Mamālīk* = 500 DJ)
8. ***Ḥalqa*—Total: 4,825 DJ**
- 8.1 *Ḥalqa* + *Mamālīk*: 5,800 DJ¹⁰²⁷ (assuming one half for *Ḥalqa* = 2,900 DJ)
- 8.2 *Ḥalqa* + *Awqāf* + *Mamālīk* + *Rīzaq*: 3,000 DJ¹⁰²⁸ (assuming one quarter for *Ḥalqa* = 750 DJ)
- 8.3 *Ḥalqa* + *Amlāk* + *Mamālīk* + *Rīzaq*: 2,700 DJ¹⁰²⁹ (assuming one quarter for *Ḥalqa* = 675 DJ)
- 8.4 *Ḥalqa* + *Rīzaq* + *Mamālīk* + *‘Urbān*: 2,000 DJ¹⁰³⁰ (assuming one quarter for *Ḥalqa* = 500 DJ)
9. ***Muqṭa‘ūn*—Total: 25,233.33 DJ~ + 1,553.33 feddans~ X 2.64 DJ = 29,334.12 DJ~**

feddans), 202r (110 feddans + 260 feddans + 174 feddans + 250 feddans), 202v (1,620 feddans + 560 feddans + 530 feddans + 1,170 feddans + 10,000 DJ [for the *‘ibra*, see Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:236]), 203r (1,106 feddans + 250 feddans + 620 feddans), 203v (990 feddans + 1,220 feddans + 1,191 feddans + 92 feddans + 2,994 feddans + 360 feddans), 204r (1,000 feddans + 550 feddans + 560 feddans), 204v (400 feddans + 300 feddans + 550 feddans), 205r (306 feddans), 205v (340 feddans + 344 feddans + 3,430 DJ + 6,000 DJ), 213r (6,000 DJ).

1021 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.9 above.

1022 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.8 above.

1023 MS. Hunt 2, 10r (1,600 DJ), 10v (4,200 DJ).

1024 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.2 above.

1025 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.6 above.

1026 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.9 above.

1027 For references, see Appendix II, section C7.1 above.

1028 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.2 above.

1029 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.6 above.

1030 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.9 above.

- 9.1 *Muqṭa'ūn*: 9,400 DJ + 144 feddans¹⁰³¹
- 9.2 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Awqāf* + *Amlāk* + *Rizaq*: 7,600 DJ¹⁰³² (assuming one quarter for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 1,900 DJ)
- 9.3 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Awqāf* + *Amlāk*: 350 DJ¹⁰³³ (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 116.66 DJ~)
- 9.4 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Awqāf* + *Rizaq*: 4,700 DJ¹⁰³⁴ (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 1,566.66 DJ~)
- 9.5 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Awqāf* + *'Urbān* + *Amlāk*: 3,600 DJ¹⁰³⁵ (assuming one quarter for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 900 DJ)
- 9.6 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Awqāf* + *'Urbān*: 6,080 DJ¹⁰³⁶ (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 2,026.66 DJ~)
- 9.7 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Awqāf*: 1,560 DJ + 1,539 feddans¹⁰³⁷ (assuming one half for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 780 DJ + 769.5 feddans)
- 9.8 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Amlāk*: 700 DJ¹⁰³⁸ (assuming one half for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 350 DJ)
- 9.9 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Amlāk* + *Rizaq*: 4,800 DJ + 880 feddans¹⁰³⁹ (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 1,600 DJ + 293.33 feddans~)
- 9.10 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Rizaq*: 2,400 DJ + 693 feddans¹⁰⁴⁰ (assuming one half for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 1,200 DJ + 346.5 feddans)
- 9.11 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *Rizaq* + *al-Sāda al-Ḥukkām*: 12,280 DJ¹⁰⁴¹ (assuming one third for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 4,093.33 DJ~)
- 9.12 *Muqṭa'ūn* + *'Urbān*: 2,600 DJ¹⁰⁴² (assuming one half for *Muqṭa'ūn* = 1,300 DJ)

10. *al-Sāda al-Ḥukkām*—Total: 4,093.33 DJ~
- 10.1 *al-Sāda al-Ḥukkām* + *Rizaq* + *Muqṭa'ūn*: 12,280 DJ¹⁰⁴³ (assuming one third for *al-Sāda al-Ḥukkām* = 4,093.33 DJ~)

11. *Amīr al-Madīna al-Sharīfa*—Total: 6,000 DJ¹⁰⁴⁴

1031 MS. Hunt 2, 7v (1,750 DJ), 63r (150 DJ), 98r (2,600 DJ)—with others [*wa-man ma'ahum*]), 126r (1,000 DJ), 196r (2,000 DJ), 203r (144 feddans), 208r (1,000 DJ), 245r (900 DJ).

1032 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.3 above.

1033 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.4 above.

1034 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.5 above.

1035 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.6 above.

1036 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.7 above.

1037 For references, see Appendix II, section C1.11 above.

1038 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.7 above.

1039 For references, see Appendix II, section C2.8 above.

1040 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.11 above.

1041 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.12 above.

1042 For references, see Appendix II, section C4.2 above.

1043 For references, see Appendix II, section C3.12 above.

1044 MS. Hunt 2, 202r (3,000 DJ), 209r (3,000 DJ).

12. *al-Ashrāf bil-Ḥijāz al-Sharīf*—Total: 6,500 DJ¹⁰⁴⁵
13. *Awlād Muḥammad al-Turkmānī*—Total: 65 DJ¹⁰⁴⁶

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1046 MS. Hunt 2, 215v (65 DJ).

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The Term *Awlād al-Nās* and “the Rise of a New Class”

Introduction

It is generally assumed that the expression “*awlād al-nās*” (literally: “the children of the [best] people”), was a term used in the Mamluk Sultanate to designate the descendants of the politically significant people (*al-nās*), i.e., descendants of *mamlūks*.¹ Just for example, in the relatively recent entry in *Et*³, this is the definition of the term:

1 See, for example, David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—II”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15/3 (1953), 456–7; Ulrich Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt”, in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984), 141; Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 42; idem, “*Awlād al-Nās* in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period”, in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 96; Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfiyya* of Yaḥyā ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* (2002), 23–4; Amir Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment. The Maṣṣūriyya in the First Mamluk Sultanate 678/1279–741/1341* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015), 20–1. In fact, as far as I know, to date, except for Koby Yosef, *Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Tel-Aviv 2011 [in Hebrew], 1:234–8, where a discussion of the term “*awlād al-nās*”, including its broader meaning (see below), can be found, the only other reference to the fact that during the Mamluk period the term may have had other meanings except for “descendants of *mamlūks*” was made by Jo Van Steenberghe who commented on a Mamluk text in which the Ayyubids are referred to as “*awlād al-nās*” with the following words: “This passage includes a somewhat puzzling chronological, dynastic opposition of the *awlād al-nās*—a concept usually thought to be referring to *mamlūks*’ offspring...—and ‘the rule of the turks’ [*ḥukm al-Turk*]... Both categories definitely need further clarification and research”. See Jo Van Steenberghe, “Qalāwūnid Discourse, Elite Communication and the Mamluk Cultural Matrix: Interpreting a 14th-Century Panegyric”, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43/1 (2012), 11. I am excluding here assertions that by the late Mamluk period the term *awlād al-nās* replaced the term *ḥalqa*. See below at footnote no. 10.

Awlād al-Nās (“the children of the people”), was an expression used in the Mamlūk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria to designate the descendants, to about the fourth generation, of the politically significant people—that is, the foreign military elite, the manumitted Mamlūks—who dominated the state²

It has been debated if the “*awlād al-nās*” formed a clearly definable separate group or class with a collective identity.³ As noted by W.W. Clifford, even Ulrich Haarmann, who conducted the most detailed studies on the identity of “*awlād al-nās*”, was undecided on the matter. While Haarmann wondered “[t]o what degree did [the *awlād al-nās*] form at all a clearly definable separate group...?” and mentioned that they lacked any “tangible collective identity... or resulting group solidarity”, in other instances he referred to them as a “well consolidated” group.⁴ Even in his later studies Haarmann seemed somewhat undecided, and he mentioned that in the “differentiated social models drawn up at the time, the sons of Mamluks are never mentioned”. However, at the bottom line, he noted that the fact that “down to the fourth generation they bore a specific, unambiguous and precise designation, namely ‘sons of the nobles, the gentry’ (i. e., of the Mamluks) —in Arabic *awlād al-nās*; in the singular, *ibn al-nās*”, means that “they must have had a distinct group identity”.⁵ Similarly, Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini noted that because *mamlūks*’ descendants “were called by a collective name: *awlād al-nās*”, they must have “developed a distinct collective identity”.⁶ Haarmann mentioned that while the term “*awlād al-nās*” was used “only sparingly in the Arabic sources as a categorical label”, it must have been very common in Egypt, at least in the late ninth/fifteenth century, because there is evidence that at that time it was taken up by foreigners visiting Egypt.⁷ However, as noted by Haarmann himself: “[w]hen exactly this designation *awlād al-nās* began to be used and how it was delineated in the course of the decades after 1250 has not yet been systematically investigated”.⁸

2 John Lash Meloy, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, *EI THREE*.

3 W.W. Clifford, “‘Mediators and Wanderers’: Ulrich Haarmann and Mamluk Studies”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 6–7 (“While the Mamluks themselves possessed a certain *Kollektivverhalten*, it is unclear what kind of *Kaste* their offspring formed”).

4 *Ibid.*, 6.

5 Ulrich Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt”, in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 60–1.

6 Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 24; and see *ibid.*, 32 (they can be perceived as “a distinct group in their own right”).

7 Ulrich Haarmann, “The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001), 18; *idem*, “Joseph’s Law”, 61. In fact, by the late ninth/fifteenth century the term “*awlād al-nās*” became very common, see below at footnote no. 10.

8 *Idem*, “Joseph’s Law”, 61. In another place, Haarmann assumes that it was during the eighth/fourteenth century that the term started to designate *mamlūks*’ descendants; however, as we shall see below, this is not the case. See *idem*, “Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks

Another unclear issue is the relationship between the term *awlād al-nās* and the *ḥalqa*. Haarmann noted that “we do not even know, for the time being, whether the term *awlād al-nās* was customary for the sons and grandsons of Mamluks at large, or whether it was limited to those who were enlisted in the *ḥalqa*”.⁹ Indeed, David Ayalon, who tended to refer to the *awlād al-nās* as a unit, or a special unit within the *ḥalqa*, suggested that in the late Mamluk period the term *ḥalqa* fell into disuse and was replaced by the term *awlād al-nās* that became extremely common.¹⁰ In addition, Ayalon noted that “at that period the *awlād al-nās* are even called Royal Mamluks” (and once even *khāṣṣakiyya*), and suggested that “[i]t is possible, therefore, that the term *mamālīk sulṭāniyya* during that period occasionally took on a wider meaning, as a result of the incorporation of additional units to the Royal Mamluks into the *dīwān al-mufrad*”.¹¹ Poliak suggested that the phenomenon should be connected with the purchase of *iqṭāʿ*s of *mamālīk sulṭāniyya* by *awlād al-nās*. Haarmann noted that “[h]ow this merger or coalescence of terms and institutions actually came about, we do not know yet”, and that “[f]uture research will have to try to clarify this historical process”.¹²

This paper will offer a detailed survey of the term *awlād al-nās* throughout the Mamluk period and examine the identity of those designated by this term. The survey reveals that during the Turkish period (648–784/1250–1382) the term was only rarely used, and not in the above-mentioned specific meaning of “*mamlūks’* descendants”, suggesting that in that period *mamlūks’* descendants still did not develop a solid group identity and *mamlūks* were not considered an exclusive ruling elite (*al-nās*). In fact, it would seem that only during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–857/1438–1453), or shortly before that time, the term became common and received also a specific meaning. It was at about the same time when in Egypt *mamlūks’* descendants, as a class, on the one hand were hardly

and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33/1 (1988), 104 (“We do not know when exactly in the fourteenth century the phrase *awlād al-nās* began to be used to denote descendants of amirs”).

- 9 Idem, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 147.
- 10 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 456–7 (“the name *ajnad al-ḥalqa* as such virtually ceases to exist separately”); and see Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 65 (“towards the end of the Mamluk history, the term *ḥalqa*... seems to have vanished altogether and was replaced *pars pro toto* by *awlād al-nās*”); and see David Ayalon, “The System of Payment in Mamlūk Military Society”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1/1 (1957), 45 (“Eventually the term *ḥalqa* fell into disuse, and one could find under the name of *awlād al-nās*, side by side with the sons of mamluks, Cairo merchants, artisans and all sorts of *nouveau-riche* elements”).
- 11 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 457–8; and see also Daisuke Igarashi, “The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), 132–5; idem, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2015), 69.
- 12 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 149–50.

nominated to amirates and consequently they no longer held large *iqṭāʿ*s, and on the other hand their wealth shifted to allodial or *waqf* lands. The “rise of a new class” of private landowners, conspicuously comprised of *mamlūks*’ descendants, at the (mid-) ninth/fifteenth century has been recently observed.¹³ However, what has gone so far unnoticed is that the “rise of a new class” was accompanied by a semantic shift in the term *awlād al-nās* and the creation of a *de facto* specific designation for *mamlūks*’ descendants, which, in fact, may confirm that *mamlūks*’ descendants were seen as a distinct group or class starting from that time.

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514) is practically the first (and almost the only) historian who explicitly refers in biographical entries or obituary notes to persons who belonged to this new group of *awlād al-nās*. From the information provided by al-Malaṭī it is inferred that the term *awlād al-nās* designated Egyptian *mamlūks*’ descendants serving as soldiers in the *ḥalqa* or as *mamālik al-sulṭān*¹⁴ who were not amirs. Al-Malaṭī gives us a glimpse to the members of this otherwise rather ignored group who perhaps held only minor *iqṭāʿ*s but had other sources of income that were transferred from their fathers, the *mamlūks*, who by then became in practice an almost exclusive ruling class.

The paper will first survey usages of the term *awlād al-nās* in the Turkish and Circassian periods (parts 1–2). Then, the paper will discuss the chronology of decline in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Circassian period (784–923/1382–1517), and the circumstances that brought this decline, which on the other hand was correlated by a shift of their wealth to allodial or *waqf* lands (part 3). Finally, the paper will survey *awlād al-nās* in the works of al-Malaṭī and examine their identity (part 4).

13 ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Ṭaṭawwur al-Ḥiyāza al-Zirāʿiyya fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālik al-Jarākisa (Dirāsa fī Bayʿ Amlāk Bayt al-Māl)* (al-Haram: ʿAyn lil-Dirāsāt wal-Buḥūth al-Insāniyya wal-Ijtimāʿiyya, 2000), 124; Adam Abdelhamid Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/2 (2004), 204, 207–8; and see also Yossef Rapoport, “New Directions in the Social History of the Mamluk Era”, in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Bonn: Bonn University, 2014), 148–9; and see Amina Elbendary, *Crowds and Sultans: Urban Protests in Late Medieval Egypt and Syria* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2015), 55.

14 It is not, however, that the term *mamālik al-sulṭān* took on a wider meaning, but rather that the term *awlād al-nās* started to be used as referring specifically to *mamlūks*’ descendants.

1. The term *awlād al-nās* in the Turkish period (648–784/1250–1382)

Turkish-period historians used the term *awlād al-nās* (sing. *ibn al-nās*) only sporadically. Moreover, in general they did not use the term to refer specifically to the *mamlūks*’ descendants. During that period, the term clearly had a broader meaning: “descendants of an established family” or “noble people”, “those of Muslim origin”, and even “those who are not slaves” or “those who cannot be enslaved (because they were Muslims)”. A few conspicuous examples will make this clear:

a. Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), when telling the story of Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī’s (d. 742/1342) arrival in Egypt in the year 720/1320 accompanying the daughter of Uzbek, ruler of the Golden Horde, writes that he was an “*ibn nās* and not a slave” (*ibn nās wa-lam yakun mamlūk*). Later, he mentions that when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1341) wanted to buy Qawṣūn, he was told that the latter “is not a slave” (*hādihā mā huwa mamlūk*). Eventually, after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had insisted on buying him, Qawṣūn was ‘bought’, and the money was sent back home to his brother Ṣūṣūn. Qawṣūn would boast of not having been bought by a slave-merchant and not having had to undergo the normal course of training in the barracks.¹⁵ It is clear that Qawṣūn is defined as *ibn nās* not because he was a son of a *mamlūk* but rather because he was not a *mamlūk* himself. He was probably a Muslim (he arrived from the Golden Horde as an escort of a daughter of a Muslim ruler) and therefore he could not have been legally bought.

b. According to al-Shujā’ī (died after 756/1356) and al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā’il (died after 759/1358), some people said that the amir Bahādur al-Mu’izzī (d. 739/1339), who was a *mamlūk* of the sultan al-Manṣūr Lājīn (d. 698/1299), was, in fact, originally an *ibn nās* (or one of the *awlād al-nās*) from Aleppo, perhaps a Turkmen (*min awlād al-Turkmān*).¹⁶ In this case, the expression denotes a person of Muslim origin, not necessarily from an established family, who as a Muslim should not have been enslaved.

c. In *A’yān al-‘Aṣr* we find a conversation between an Ayyubid prince and the amir Ḥusayn ibn Jandar (d. 729/1328), an emigrant from *Bilād al-Rūm*, in which the former says to the latter that both are “*awlād nās*”.¹⁷ Clearly, the expression refers to those who belong to an established family and/or those of Muslim origin.

d. Al-Shujā’ī refers to the amir Muḥammad ibn Janklī ibn Albābā (d. 741/1341) as one of the eloquent and intelligent *awlād al-nās* (*min fuṣṣaḥā’ awlād al-nās wa-adhkāhum*).¹⁸

15 Khalil ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr wa-A’wān al-Naṣr*, ed. ‘Alī Abū Zayd (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu’āṣir, 1998), 4:138.

16 Shams al-Dīn al-Shujā’ī, *Ta’rikh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥ wa-Awlādihi*, ed. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), 55; Samira Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā’il* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1973), 380.

17 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 4:555.

18 al-Shujā’ī, *Ta’rikh*, 121.

Here we are dealing with a son of an emigrant of Muslim origin from an established family.

e. The amir Qutlūbak ibn Qarā Sunqur al-Jāshankīr al-Rūmī (d. 729/1329) is another case of a person who is said to have had the qualities of *awlād al-nās*. He was probably an emigrant or the son of an emigrant.¹⁹ He is described as a person who was well behaved and elegant in his speech, dress, and diet, that is, as a noble person.

f. According to Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qaysarānī al-Qurashī (d. 753/1352), before the rule of the “Turks” (that is, the Mamluks), Egypt and Syria were ruled by “*awlād al-nās*” (that is, the Ayyubids).²⁰

In fact, as far as I know, there are only two cases in which Turkish-period historians refer to people who may have been *mamlūks*’ descendants as *awlād al-nās*.²¹

a. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī (died after 736/1335), when al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (d. 689/1290) wanted to give the sons of the *Baḥriyya* (*awlād al-Baḥriyya*) salaries and landed estates, his *mamlūk* and viceroy, Ṭurunṭāy al-Manṣūrī (d. 689/1290), opposed him, since he hated “*awlād al-nās*”.²² Obviously, some of the sons of the *Baḥriyya* were sons of *mamlūks*; however, in the *Baḥriyya* there were also non-*mamlūk* elements and the expression is used by Ibn al-Dawādārī in a very unspecific manner. Moreover, he is the only author who uses the expression when referring to this event. For example, Qaraṭāy al-‘Izzī al-Khāzindārī (died after 708/1308), when relating the same event, writes that Ṭurunṭāy hated “the *Baḥriyya* and their children” (*al-Baḥriyya wa-awlādahum*).²³

19 al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr*, 4:125.

20 Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qaysarānī, “al-Durr al-Maṣūn fī Iṣṭifā’ al-Maqarr al-Ashraf al-Sayfī Qūṣūn”, The Chester Beatty Library, MS 4179, 8r; and see Van Steenberghe, “Qalāwūnid Discourse”, 11.

21 For other examples of usages of the term *awlād al-nās* (or *ibn nās*) in Turkish-period chronicles or biographical dictionaries in a broad meaning, clearly not referring to *mamlūks*’ descendants, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wal-A‘lām*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmuri (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1989–2004), 52:117; Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1986), 247–8. In literary works, see Maurice A. Pomerantz, “A *Maqāma* Collection by a Mamlūk Historian: *al-Ma-qāmāt al-Jalāliyya* by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī (fl. First Quarter of the 8th/14th c.)”, *Arabica* 61/6 (2014), 645.

22 Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi‘ al-Ghurur*, ed. H.R. Roemer (Cairo: Qism al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya bil-Ma‘had al-‘Almānī lil-Āthār, 1960–1982), 8:303.

23 Qaraṭāy al-‘Izzī al-Khāzindārī, *Ta’rīkh Majmū‘ al-Nawādir mim mā Jarā lil-Awā’il wal-Awākhir*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmuri (Ṣaydā and Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 2005), 266. It should be noted that according to Qaraṭāy, Ṭurunṭāy hated the *Baḥriyya* and their children because they were haughty thinking that they were too honorable to kiss his hand (*yastaqillūna an yuqabbilū yad Ṭurunṭāy*). We are not dealing here with discrimination of *mamlūks*’ descendants because they were not *mamlūks* themselves.

b. Al-Shujā'ī refers to the amir Jaraktamur ibn Bahādūr Ra's Nawba (d. 743/1342) as “*ibn nās*”. Now, it is true that he also says that Bahādūr Ra's Nawba (d. 693/1293) was “one of the *mamlūks* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn” (*min mamālik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn*);²⁴ however, the term *mamlūk* denotes not only a slave but also a servant.²⁵ To the best of my knowledge, al-Shujā'ī is the only historian who refers to Bahādūr Ra's Nawba as a *mamlūk* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, and Bahādūr is never called “al-Manṣūrī” but is simply known as Bahādūr Ra's Nawba. This, combined with the fact that his son has a Turkish name, suggests that it is more likely that Bahādūr was not a slave.²⁶

So, it is clear that during the Turkish-period, the expression *awlād al-nās* hardly ever referred to descendants of *mamlūks*. It was clearly not a categorical label used to designate specifically the *mamlūks*' descendants. The expression had a broader meaning that was not totally fixed: “descendants of an established family”, “those of Muslim origin” and even “those who are not slaves”. It would seem, thus, that during the Turkish period there was no expression referring specifically to *mamlūks*' descendants.²⁷ Turkish-period historians mainly referred to *mamlūks*' descendants with expressions such as *awlād al-umarā'* or *awlād al-jund/al-ajnad*²⁸ which commonly referred also to descendants of military men who were not slaves.²⁹ For example, al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) mentions that in 662/1264, al-Zāhir Baybars (d. 676/1277) circumcised his son Muḥammad (al-Malik al-Sa'īd) together with sons of amirs (*awlād al-umarā'*), some of the latter are mentioned by name, among them we find descendants of amirs of *mamlūk* origin together with descendants of amirs of free origin.³⁰ Interestingly, Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/

24 al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rikh*, 223.

25 Koby Yosef, “The Term *Mamlūk* and Slave Status during the Mamluk Sultanate”, *al-Qantara* 34/1 (2013), 9–14.

26 And see also idem, “The Rise of *Mamlūks*' Descendants in the Turkish Period (648–784/1250–1382): The Status and Identity of *Mamlūks*' Descendants Who Were Amirs in Cairo According to the *Jarida Iqtā'iyya* of the Year 778/1377” (footnote no. 244).

27 As far as I know, Mamluk historians do not use the expression *awlād al-mamālik*. In addition, Turkish-period historians hardly use the expression *awlād al-Atrāk/al-Turk*, and when used it does not refer specifically to *mamlūks*' descendants (or at least, it does not necessarily refer specifically to *mamlūks*' descendants).

28 See, for example, al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 52:270, 366; Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh Takhrij Abi 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd al-Ṣāliḥī al-Hanbalī*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2004), 191; and perhaps also Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fi Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004), 31:103.

29 As observed by Nobutaka Nakamachi, in that period the difference “between free men and slaves in the Mamluk army seems to have been less significant than has been realized”. See Nobutaka Nakamachi, “The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidiyah*”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/1 (2006), 75; and see also *ibid.*, 68–9.

30 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:65; and see also Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fi Sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwayṭir (al-Riyāḍ, 1976), 214; Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Hy-

1407) and Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), when relating the same event, mention that al-Zāhir Baybars ordered the amirs, the soldiers, the judges, the jurists, the common people and the poor, to bring their children so they will be circumcised. The people (*al-nās*) brought their children (*awlādahum*) and 1,645 young children of the jurists and the common people were circumcised, except for the sons of the amirs and the simple soldiers (*awlād al-umarā'... wal-jund*).³¹ Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), who possibly rephrased Ibn al-Furāt, makes explicit what was only implied and separates between *awlād al-nās* and *awlād al-umarā'*: he writes that 1,645 young children of *awlād al-nās* were circumcised, not including the sons of amirs and simple soldiers (*siwā awlād al-umarā' wal-ajnad*).³² While the three are Circassian-period authors, Ibn Duqmāq was perhaps quoting an earlier source,³³ and all were writing before the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and the semantic shift in the term *awlād al-nās* (see part 2.2 below).

With caution, we may suggest that not only that during the Turkish period the expression *awlād al-nās* was not a categorical label used to designate specifically the *mamlūks'* descendants, but also that historians in that period tended to refrain from using it in reference to *mamlūks'* descendants. Because the expression was used to label Muslim free persons, and because it was used to refer to people from a family of high standing, it could be theoretically used even during the Turkish period to refer also to *mamlūks'* descendants, especially descendants of *mamlūk* amirs, and on rare occasions it perhaps was.³⁴ However, in practice,

derabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1954–1961), 2:323; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-Islām*, 49:20; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikra fī Ta'riḫ al-Hijra*, ed. D.S. Richards (Beirut: al-Ma'had al-Almānī lil-Abḥāth al-Sharqiyya, and Berlin: al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1998), 92.

31 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya fī al-Dawla al-Turkiyya: Min Kitāb al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafā' wal-Mulūk wal-Salāṭīn (min Sanat 637 ḥattā Sanat 805 H.)*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmuri (Beirut and Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 1999), 58; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ Ibn al-Furāt wa-Huwa Ta'riḫ al-Duwal wal-Mulūk al-Mujallad al-Sādis al-Juz' al-Awwal*, ed. Mikḥā'il Khūrī, M.A Theses, The American University of Beirut, 1961, 110.

32 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wal-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wal-Āthār*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), 4:100.

33 I could not locate a Turkish-period historian referring to the 1,645 young children of jurists and common people.

34 As mentioned, only in one instance, Turkish-period historians use the expression in reference to persons (the children of the *Baḥriyya*) who must have included also (but not only) *mamlūks'* descendants. See at footnotes nos. 22–3 above. As mentioned, they are described as haughty people who thought that they were too honorable to kiss the hand of the viceroy, so they must have been sons of amirs and not simple *mamlūks*. Interestingly, al-Maqrīzī refers in 721/1321 to *awlād al-nās* in the *ḥalqa*, but few lines later he mentions *awlād al-umarā'* of the same unit. So, apparently when referring to *awlād al-nās*, he was referring specifically to sons of amirs. See Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda and Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1934–1973), 2:228–9. In reports on the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Maqrīzī relied heavily on al-Yūsufi (d. 759/1358), however, the relevant parts of al-Yūsufi's

perhaps because their fathers were originally slaves and only recently became Muslims, and the amirs among their fathers only recently achieved high status, historians saved it mainly for people who were not of slave origin and rather for those whose Muslim origin was rooted in the more distant past.

From this we can infer two important things. First, the defining characteristic of the ruling elite (*al-nās*) in the Turkish period was not *mamlūk* descent,³⁵ and the status of those defined as *awlād al-nās* had nothing to do with slave origins. Second, the descendants of *mamlūks* did not constitute a distinct social category in that period.

2. The term *awlād al-nās* in the Circassian period (784–923/1382–1517)

2.1 The term *awlād al-nās* until the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq

During the Circassian period, until the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq³⁶ (or in reference to persons until that period), the expression continued to be used only sporadically and apparently only in its broader meaning, however, sometimes it was clearly used in reference also (but not only) to persons who were descendants of *mamlūks*. A conspicuous example is the famous list of “*awlād al-nās*” promoted by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (d. 762/1361) to the rank of *muqaddam alf*, which appears only in Circassian-period sources. Historians normally list eight “*awlād al-nās*” who became *muqaddams* in Egypt (excluding two young sons of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan).³⁷ While most of those promoted were descendants of *mamlūks*, Ibn Duqmāq, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1470) include in this list also Mūsā ibn [‘Umar] al-Azkushī (d. 780/1379) who was a Kurd of free origins.³⁸ Among the

chronicle are not extant, so it cannot be determined if al-Maqrīzī changed the wording. On the connection between *awlād al-nās* and *awlād al-umarā’* in reference to persons nominated to amirates in the Turkish period, see also footnote no. 45 below.

35 For the opinion that *al-nās* were the *mamlūks*, see, for example, Ayalon, “Studies II”, 456; idem, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 1:765 (“the ‘people’ were the *mamlūks*, the members of the exclusive society”); and see also Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 141.

36 But see footnotes nos. 61 and 71 below.

37 For a detailed discussion of the members in the list, see Takao Ito’s paper in this volume.

38 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa*, 188–9; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:63; Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Kitāb al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1963–1972), 10:317; idem, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wal-Mustawfā ba’da al-Wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1984–2006), 5:127. On Mūsā ibn [‘Umar] al-Azkushī see also Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 24 and 755). Ibn Duqmāq and Ibn Taghribirdī mention in the list also Muḥammad ibn Bahādur Ra’s Nawba, and Bahādur Ra’s Nawba was apparently not a slave, or at least not

two or three governors of the Syrian provinces who were *muqaddams* they mention [Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn] Ibn Ṣubḥ/Ṣubayḥ (d. 771/1369) the governor of Ṣafad, another Kurd of free origins.³⁹ Specifically Ibn Taghribirdī mentions also ‘Alī al-Mārdīnī (d. 772/1370) the governor of Damascus,⁴⁰ who was originally the *mamlūk* of the ruler of Mardin who gave him as a gift to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.⁴¹ This is another case of a *mamlūk* who is counted as one of the “*awlād al-nās*”.⁴² From what we know on other *mamlūks* defined as “*awlād al-nās*” and given the fact that he was sent from Mardin, that his name was ‘Alī, and he was considered an expert in *fiqh*, we may assume that he was of free Muslim origin, perhaps a Turkmen. Ibn Iyās (died circa 930/1524) mentions in the list also Baydamur al-Khawārizmī (d. 789/1387) as governor of Damascus (after ‘Alī al-Mārdīnī).⁴³ Baydamur was a descendant of the free Muslim Khawārizmiyya (*Muslim al-aṣl*) from the days of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249).⁴⁴

So, clearly the “*awlād al-nās*” promoted by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan were not only *mamlūks*’ descendants, but also other persons of free origin.⁴⁵ In this context we may add that it does not seem that the promotion of *mamlūks*’ descendants to high-ranking positions was considered an issue that warranted special attention during the Turkish period. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan came to be known as the sultan who

necessarily a slave (see at footnotes nos. 24–6 above). See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa*, 189; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:317; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:127. However, according to al-Maqrīzī, the name is Muḥammad ibn Bahādur Aṣ. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:63. Now, it is more reasonable that Muḥammad ibn Bahādur Aṣ is intended since he is also mentioned as amir during the days of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in other contexts, whereas Muḥammad ibn Bahādur Ra’s Nawba is not mentioned otherwise. I owe Takao Ito this note on Muḥammad ibn Bahādur.

39 On Ibn Ṣubḥ/Ṣubayḥ, see Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A’yān al-Mī’a al-Thāmina*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wārith Muḥammad ‘Alī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997), 1:123; Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl al-Tāmm ‘alā Duwal al-Islām*, ed. Ḥasan Ismā‘īl Marwa (Beirut: Dār Ibn al-‘Imād, 1992), 1:245.

40 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:317; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:127.

41 See on him, Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, ed. ‘Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1977–1997), 3:391–2.

42 See at footnote no. 16 above; and see also at footnote no. 15 above. And see perhaps also footnote no. 55 below.

43 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i’ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1960–1975), 1a:578.

44 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtada’ wal-Khabar fī Ta’rīkh al-‘Arab wal-‘Ajam wal-Barbar wa-Man ‘Āsarahum min Dhawī al-Sha’n al-Akbar*, ed. Khalīl Shaḥḥāda (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 5:542; and see also ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut and Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 2002), 2:248.

45 Indeed, Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that he promoted a group of sons of amirs (*awlād al-umarā’*), and right after that he mentions his tendency to promote “*awlād al-nās*” (*thumma akhadha fī tarḡiyat... jamā’a min awlād al-umarā’ wa-kāna yamilu li-inshā’ awlād al-nās*). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:309.

promoted “*awlād al-nās*” to high-ranking positions in a most unusual manner.⁴⁶ However, Levanoni has shown that while not in the same numbers as in the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, before and after his reign, descendants of *mamlūks* were also promoted to high-ranking positions.⁴⁷ Moreover, Turkish-period historians who referred to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s reign in their biographical dictionaries or chronicles, do not mention that he tended to promote descendants of *mamlūks* or descendants of amirs in general.⁴⁸ And why should they? As we have seen, at that time the *mamlūks*’ descendants were not perceived as a distinct social group and there was no clear differentiation between them and other persons of free origin. The promotion of persons of free origin to the ranks of *muqaddams* was clearly not a novelty. For example, on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, among the 25 *muqaddams* in Cairo we find 4–7 persons of free origin, among them, however, only one *mamlūks*’ descendant—Abū Bakr ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.⁴⁹ As far as I know, the first author who referred to the promotion of *awlād al-nās* in the days of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and highlighted it as an exceptional policy was Ibn Duqmāq, who was al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s confidant.⁵⁰ This was probably a deliberate propaganda meant to criticize al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s policy and legitimize al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s struggle with the old elite of the Qalāwūnids and elements that based their right to be part of the ruling elite on their fathers’ pedigree, among them *mamlūks*’ descendants (see more on the struggle in parts 3.1 and 3.2 below).⁵¹

Further evidence exists that until the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (or in reference to persons until that period) the expression *awlād al-nās* continued to be used only in its broader meaning. Al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) mentions that, according to one opinion, al-Muẓaffar Qutuz (d. 658/1260) was “one of the *awlād al-nās* and his name was Maḥmūd ibn Mawdūd ibn Khawārazm Shāh” (*min awlād al-nās*

46 See, for example, Ayalon, “Studies II”, 457; Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 67.

47 Levanoni, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 96–100.

48 I have consulted three treatises referring to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan that were written before the Circassian period: al-Ṣafadī’s (d. 764/1363) *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr*, Ibn Kathīr’s (d. 774/1373) *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya fī al-Taʾrīkh* and Ibn Ḥabīb’s (d. 779/1377) *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīhi*. In al-Kutubī’s (d. 764/1363) *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* al-Nāṣir Ḥasan has no biographical entry.

49 Jo Van Steenberghe, “Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9/2 (2005), 197–9. Numbers 1, 12–13, and 15 in Van Steenberghe’s list were free persons, and numbers 16–17, and 19 were apparently free, or of free Muslim origin.

50 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafha*, 188–9.

51 On the close relationship between Ibn Duqmāq and al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and reflections of this relationship in the writings of the former, see Sami G. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 30–1; and see also Koby Yosef, “*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), 398.

wa-ismuhu Maḥmūd ibn Mawdūd ibn Khawārazām [!] Shāh).⁵² It is clear that in this case the expression refers to persons who belong to an established Muslim family. Al-Maqrīzī reports that in the year 816/1413, an Arab *faqīh* from Damascus claimed to be the eschatological figure of *al-Sufyānī*, declared himself sultan and gathered around him the local population including Bedouins, and announced that the rule of the “Turks” was over, and power would now pass to “*awlād al-nās*”.⁵³ Here the expression must refer to the indigenous Arab-Muslim population, or elite. Until the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, I could not locate even one instance in which the expression refers specifically and only to the group of *mamlūks*’ descendants, and in most cases, it is clear enough that the expression refers to people of free origin in general. When the expression refers to one individual it is never a *mamlūk*’s descendant. The military men referred to as *awlād al-nās* are generally amirs and not simple soldiers.⁵⁴

2.2 The term *awlād al-nās* starting from the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq

The expression *awlād al-nās* kept its broader meaning and was used in its broad meaning sporadically apparently even until the very end of the Mamluk Sultanate.⁵⁵ However, apparently from the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, the expression started to be gradually used more and more frequently, and mostly in what seems

52 Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-‘Aynī, *al-Sayf al-Muḥannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-‘Arabi lil-Ṭibā‘a wal-Nashr, 1967), 47.

53 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:262–3.

54 In this context, it may be added that Ibn Iyās notes that during his reign, al-Ashraf Sha‘bān (764–778/1363–1377) appointed to amirates many *awlād al-nās*. Among the five amirs of *ṭablkhāna* mentioned, one finds three *mamlūks*’ descendants but also two free persons who were not *mamlūks*’ descendants (Mūsā ibn Dandār [ibn Qaramān] and [Yadī] Qurṭaqā ibn Sūsūn). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i al-Zuhūr*, 1b:183.

55 For example, in the obituary note of the amir Julbān al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 859/1455) who died shortly after the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) mentions that he was in fact a free person and not a slave (*ibn nās lam yamassahu riqq*) who was originally from Bahasnā (so, probably a Turkmen). See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *l’lām al-Warā bi-Man Waliya Nā‘ibān min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Sha‘m al-Kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 73–4. Other sources mention that he was either a Circassian (slave) or a free person of Muslim origin (*Muslim al-aṣl*), thus the connection between the expression *ibn nās* and free Muslim origin becomes explicit. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:432. At the very end of the Mamluk Sultanate, Ibn Iyās provides a list of persons expelled to Istanbul in 923/1517 divided into categories. Under the category of *awlād al-nās* he mentions three persons, among them apparently only one was a *mamlūk*’s descendant. The other two were free persons but not *mamlūks*’ descendants, one of them apparently was not a military man. The *awlād al-nās* are differentiated from three *awlād al-umarā*, among them two *mamlūks*’ descendants are mentioned. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i al-Zuhūr*, 5:229. For other examples, see footnote no. 539 below.

to be a more specific and new meaning.⁵⁶ Chroniclers started referring by the term *awlād al-nās* to a group of seemingly simple soldiers, sometimes mentioned as part of *mamālik al-sulṭān* who receive a salary, or as holders of *iqṭāʿ*s. As far as I can tell, the first unequivocal instance of such a usage in chronicles may be found in *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* in the events of the year 848/1444. Ibn Taghribirdī mentions that in this year al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq cut the income of *awlād al-nās* among the *mamālik al-sulṭān*.⁵⁷ Note that before that date Ibn Taghribirdī uses the expression only twice: the first in the obituary of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan who died in 762/1361 and in reference to his promotions of persons of free origin; and the second in 791/1389 when he mentions that Miṭāsh (d. 795/1392) who revolted against al-Ẓāhir Barqūq preferred *awlād al-nās* over the *mamlūks* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq.⁵⁸ While between 791/1389 and 848/1444, there is a gap of 57 years, after 848/1444, Ibn Taghribirdī uses the expression much more often. In 856/1452 he mentions that someone from the *awlād al-nās* (*shakhṣ min awlād al-nās*) who used to serve al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq and was known as Ibn Jānibak (that is, he was apparently a *mamlūk*'s descendant) became *dawādār thālith*.⁵⁹ This is the first, and, as far as I know, until al-Malaṭī, the only reference to a specific individual who was a *mamlūk*'s descendant as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, which gives us a clue about the identity of the group now referred to as *awlād al-nās*. Unlike in most cases of military men referred to as *awlād al-nās* in earlier periods, the person defined here as one of the *awlād al-nās* was not an amir, and his father was also apparently a simple soldier.⁶⁰ After 856/1452, we find a reference in 858/1454 to *awlād al-nās* registered in *dīwān al-sulṭān* whose salaries were cut, and then in 864/1460 to *awlād al-nās* who were holders of *iqṭāʿ*s, and then three references in 872/1467 to *awlād al-nās* (sometimes belonging to *mamālik al-sulṭān*) who received a pay or were denied a pay.⁶¹

56 For possible somewhat earlier usages, see footnote no. 61 below.

57 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:366.

58 Ibid., 10:309, 317; 11:342. On Miṭāsh and the “*awlād al-nās*”, i.e., free persons including *mamlūks*' descendants, see part 3.1 below.

59 Ibid., 15:440.

60 The father could not be identified in the sources, which suggests that he was not amir. In addition, Ibn Taghribirdī notes that Ibn Jānibak had no respected genealogy (*lā yu'rafu la-hu nasab*). While this remark is possibly connected to the Jewish origins of Ibn Jānibak, it also suggests that his father did not enjoy a high status. See Koby Yosef, “Mamlūks of Jewish Origin in the Mamluk Sultanate”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 22 (2019), 76.

61 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:82, 142, 362, 380, 382. And compare with the sporadic usages with a non-specific meaning in Circassian-period chronicles written until the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century: al-Maqrīzī refers to *awlād al-nās* promoted to high ranks in the obituary of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 762/1361; then in 792/1389 when he mentions that the horses of the amirs and *awlād al-nās* were confiscated (in Ibn al-Furāt, who must have been al-Maqrīzī's source, it is mentioned that horses were confiscated from the *awlād al-nās* who were amirs); then in 800/1398 in reference to the governor of Jerusalem who molested *awlād al-nās*

Al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480) mentions *awlād al-nās* in his chronicle for the first time in 858/1454, shortly after the death of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq. In that date, the sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–865/1453–1461) decided to cut the salaries of those registered in *al-dīwān al-mufrad* (apparently from the days of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq) that were not “Turks” (*min ghayr al-Turk*) “which were: *awlād al-nās*, jurists, and other people” (*wa-hum awlād al-nās wal-fuqahā' wa-ghayruhum*).⁶² In earlier periods when historians wanted to differentiate between free persons who were descendants of religious scholars (or the common people) and free persons who were descendants of soldiers, they referred to the former as *awlād al-nās* and to the latter as *awlād al-umarā' / al-ajnād*,⁶³ but clearly al-Biqā'ī's *awlād al-nās* were now the descendants of soldiers.⁶⁴ We cannot know, however, if he refers spe-

(in such references, in all likelihood the children of the local population are intended); then in 816/1413, in reference to the Arab *faqīh* from Damascus who announced that the rule of the “Turks” was over and that power would now pass to “*awlād al-nās*”; and finally in 832/1429 when al-Maqrīzī reports on prohibition to sell horses to *awlād al-nās* who were civilians or soldiers (*li-muta'ammim wa-lā li-jundī min awlād al-nās*), that is, not specifically to *mamlūks'* descendants, or even soldiers. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:63, 690, 909; 4:262–3, 796. The last reference may be understood somewhat differently: it was prohibited to sell horses to civilians, or soldiers who were *awlād al-nās*. If this is the case, perhaps we have here a somewhat earlier reference to a group of *awlād al-nās* who were simple soldiers. Things, however, are not clear. For possible such references in the 830s/1430s, see also al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wal-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Hay' al-Misriyya al-Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1970–1994), 3:150, 304 (in 837/1433 with the *Julbān* there was a person from the *awlād al-nās* that resemble the “Turks” [*shakhs min awlād al-nās al-mushabbahin bil-Atrāk*]), suggesting that he was one of the simple *mamlūk al-sulṭān*). In Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's (d. 852/1449) *Inbā' al-Ghumr* the expression was used only twice. Once in reference to the amir Barsbughā al-Julbānī (d. 832/1429) who spoke eloquent Arabic, so people thought that he was one of the *awlād al-nās*. See Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Majlis al-'Alī lil-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1969–1972), 3:424–5. Ulrich Haarmann inferred from a similar passage in Barsbughā's biographical entry in al-Sakhāwī's (d. 902/1497) *Ḍaw'* (a quotation from *Inbā' al-Ghumr*) that *mamlūks'* descendants were appreciated for their efforts to excel in the sciences, including language. See Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, 80 (footnote no. 143). While I have no intention to offend *mamlūks'* descendants in a volume that is dedicated to them, what we have established by now concerning the term *awlād al-nās*, strongly suggests that the linguistic capabilities of Barsbughā were compared to those of persons of free origin in general (i.e., the Muslim civilian elite) and not to those of *mamlūks'* descendants. A second reference in *Inbā' al-Ghumr* to *awlād al-nās* is the same as that of al-Maqrīzī for the year 832/1429. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:477.

62 Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Biqā'ī, *Izhār al-'Aṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-'Aṣr Ta'rikh al-Biqā'ī*, ed. M.S. al-'Awfī (al-Riyāḍ, 1992–1993), 2:59.

63 See above at footnotes nos. 30–3.

64 For a differentiation in the writings of contemporary historians between merchants, common people, religious scholars, and *awlād al-nās*, all registered in “the sultan's household” and receiving salaries, see also Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts from Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghribirdī's Chronicle Entitled Ḥawādith ad-Duhūr fī Madā 'l-Ayyām wash-Shuhūr*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930–1942), 3:616, 678, 691; al-Jawharī,

cifically to *mamlūks*’ descendants. While we know from the writing of European travelers that by the late ninth/fifteenth century the term *awlād al-nās* referred, apparently exclusively, to *mamlūks*’ descendants,⁶⁵ from the references surveyed so far in Mamluk sources we can only determine that around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century the term *awlād al-nās* started to be commonly used to designate a group of soldiers of free origin, and that around that time we find the first reference to a specific individual who was a *mamlūk*’s descendant as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”. While it seems reasonable that the term *awlād al-nās* started to be used at that time mostly to designate *mamlūks*’ descendants specifically, the evidence surveyed so far is not conclusive. Fortunately, we also have the historical writings of al-Malaṭī.

In al-Malaṭī’s chronicle *Nayl al-Amal* we find similar references to this group of *awlād al-nās*. Like in al-Biqā’ī’s chronicle, the first such reference is in the events of the year 858/1454: the sultan decided to cut the salaries of *awlād al-nās* registered in *al-dīwān al-mufrad*.⁶⁶ A few years later, such references become common.⁶⁷ More importantly, al-Malaṭī is practically the first, and almost only, historian who refers in obituary notes in his chronicles or biographical entries in his biographical dictionary to persons from about the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century onwards as “*awlād al-nās*”. Moreover, he labels them as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, normally right after their name, which suggests that he uses the term *awlād al-nās* as a categorical label and in a specific manner.⁶⁸ He

Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Aṣr, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1970), 36; and see also al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:345, 354.

65 See at footnote no. 7 above; and see Haarmann, “The Mamluk System of Rule”, 18; idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 61.

66 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:422. Before that, al-Malaṭī uses the expression *awlād al-nās* only three times: The first in 775/1373 in reference to a couple of commoners from Cairo who started killing young *awlād al-nās* in order to take their cloths. Clearly, *awlād al-nās* are the children of the indigenous population of Cairo. The second in 792/1389, when the horses of the amirs and *awlād al-nās* are said to have been confiscated. Finally, in 832/1429 when al-Malaṭī reports on a prohibition to sell horses to *awlād al-nās* who were civilians or soldiers. See *ibid.*, 2:61, 284; 4:249.

67 See, for example, *ibid.*, 6:190, 291, 300, 345, 348, 354, 410–1.

68 al-Malaṭī normally uses “*aḥad (...)* *awlād al-nās*”, but sometimes he uses “*min (...)* *awlād al-nās*”. As far as I know, Turkish-period historians refer in obituary notes or biographical entries to only two persons as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” (*min [...]* *awlād al-nās*), both were free persons but not *mamlūks*’ descendants. In both cases, the reference does not follow immediately the name but incorporated in the description of the person alongside his qualities. One is said to have been “a smart person who was one of the *awlād al-nās*”, and the other is said to have been “one of the eloquent and smart *awlād al-nās*... who was engaged in religious studies”. See al-Shujā’ī, *Ta’rikh*, 121; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, 52:117. In both cases, it seems that the reference to them being *awlād al-nās* (i.e., persons from established families) is meant to explain their good qualities and to characterize them, more than to categorize them as belonging to a specific group. Until the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, no Circassian-period historian labels a person in an obituary note or biographical entry as “one

mentions in his historical works, mostly in his *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, about two dozen biographies of such persons, practically all were *mamlūks*' descendants. His works not only help us to understand who the members in the group of *awlād al-nās* were, but also help in confirming when the term was started to be used in a specific meaning. The earliest year of death of a person identified as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" in the works of al-Malaṭī is 859/1454–5: Amīr Ḥajj ibn Īnāl al-Yashbakī, a simple soldier in the *ḥalqa*, died that year as a *shābb*, a term

of the *awlād al-nās*". Even after the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq it is not common to find in obituary notes or biographical entries the expression *awlād al-nās*. In al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'* the expression appears only once when quoting Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, but the person is not labeled as "one of the *awlād al-nās*". Barsbughā al-Julbānī (d. 832/1429), a *mamlūk* amir, is said to have been "so eloquent and knowledgeable that people who did not know him thought that he was one of the *awlād al-nās*". See Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1992), 3:10; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:424–5. Like in the above-mentioned biographies from the Turkish period, the reference is meant to emphasize his good qualities that resemble those of persons from established families, or of Muslims. In fact, until al-Malaṭī, I came across only one biographical entry or obituary note in Circassian-period chronicles or biographical dictionaries in which the person is labeled as "one of the *awlād al-nās*". According to one manuscript of *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, in an obituary note, Ibn Taghribirdī labels Abū Bakr al-Mušārī' ibn al-Imām (d. 856/1452) as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" (*aḥad awlād al-nās/min [...]* *awlād al-nās*) that were promoted by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (*ansha'ahum al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq*). The label appears right after the name. His father was the imam of Jaqmaq's brother, so, apparently the father was not a *mamlūk* (he is not mentioned by name). Until the days of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, Abū Bakr served as one of *al-mamālik al-sultāniyya* and received a salary. Al-Zāhir Jaqmaq made him a *nāẓir* (instead?). See Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr fi Madā al-Ayyām wal-Shuhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1990), 2:359, 390. While this perhaps appears to be the first instance in which a person is labeled as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" in an obituary note by a Circassian-period historian (note also that the reference involves the days of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and a free person who served as one of *al-mamālik al-sultāniyya*), according to another manuscript of *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, Abū Bakr al-Mušārī' is labeled as "one of the persons of lowly background (*awbāsh*)" promoted by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, and not as "one of the *awlād al-nās*". See *ibid.*, 2:359 (footnote no. 2). Now, Ibn Taghribirdī is known to have "sharply criticized what appeared to him to be increasing social mobility, which enabled... commoners to occupy high positions". In his works he gives many "examples of careers that represented the rise of riffraff... (*awbāsh*)" which come to justify his discontent. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Craftsmen, Upstarts and Sufis in the Late Mamluk Period", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 74/3 (2011), 378. Given the facts that until al-Malaṭī no other Circassian-period historian labels persons as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" in an obituary note or biographical entry, that Ibn Taghribirdī himself never uses the label otherwise in obituary notes or biographical entries in *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, *al-Nujūm*, or the *Manhal*, and that in contrast to the persons labeled as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" by al-Malaṭī, Abū Bakr al-Mušārī' was apparently not a *mamlūk*'s descendant (and it is not clear that he served as a soldier in the days of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq), it would seem reasonable to conclude that Ibn Taghribirdī probably labeled Abū Bakr al-Mušārī' as "one of the *awbāsh*" (and criticized his promotion) and not as "one of the *awlād al-nās*". As far as I know, except for al-Malaṭī, the only Circassian-period historian who labels persons as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" in obituary notes or biographical entries is Ibn Iyās (in obituary notes in *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr*). See part 4 below.

that normally refers to persons who were 20–40 years old.⁶⁹ We may assume that he could not have been considered as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” before he reached maturity and started military service. Roughly, this could have happened no earlier than the mid- or late-830s/1430s. The second earliest year of death of a person identified as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” is 865/1461. Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Khidrī died in that year when he was about 30 years old.⁷⁰ He reached maturity in the 850s/1450s. So, the term *awlād al-nās* must have received its new meaning in the mid- or late-830s/1430s at the earliest, and in the 850s/1450s at the latest, which roughly overlaps the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, and the period in which the first references to this new group of *awlād al-nās* appear in the chronicles.⁷¹

In part 4 we will delve deeper into the identity of the members of this group, however, first, the context for the semantic shift in the term will be discussed. In what follows, the paper will discuss the chronology of decline in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Circassian period, and the circumstances that brought this decline, which on the other hand was correlated by a shift of their wealth to allodial or *waqf* lands.

3. The decline in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Circassian period

Based on information from Ibn al-Jī‘ān’s (d. 885/1480) *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā’ al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya* and Ibn Duqmāq’s (d. 809/1407) *al-Intiṣār li-Wāṣiṭat ‘Iqd al-Amṣār* on land units, its tax yield, and on the land holders found in excerpts of the register (*jarīda iqtā’iyya*) of the army office (*dīwān al-jaysh*) of Egypt in three different dates (ca. 777/1376 [in fact, 778/1377], ca. 800/1397 [in fact, 797/1394], and ca. 885/1480 [in fact, 880–1/1475–7]),⁷² Ulrich Haarmann examined the “relative importance” and the military/socio-political and economic status of *mamlūks*’ descendants (descendants of sultans [*asyād*] and amirs) by assessing their proportionate share in Egypt’s agricultural wealth (i. e.,

69 ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan bil-Mu’jam al-Mu’anwan*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Kundarī (Kuwait: Dār al-Nashr al-Islāmiyya, 2011), 595–6.

70 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:98; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-Umur wal-Tarājim*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 2014), 2:127–8; al-Biqā‘ī, *Ta’rikh al-Biqā‘ī*, 3:196.

71 While most of the evidence seems to point to the reign of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, we cannot exclude the possibility that the term started to be used in its new meaning already around the mid-830s/1430s. And see footnote no. 61 above.

72 On the dates, see Yosef, “The Rise” (footnotes nos. 8–10 and part 7.1).

as holders or beneficiaries of *iqṭāʿ*s), which indicates their “political weight”. Haarmann found that circa 777/1376, under the Qalāwūnid al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764–778/1363–1377), the *mamlūks*’ descendants (both royal and non-royal) held “not a small percentage” of Egypt’s yield. However, circa 800/1397 and towards the end of al-Zāhir Barqūq’s reign (784–801/1382–1399), Haarmann’s findings show a drastic decline in the holdings of the royal descendants (*asyād*) who “vanished altogether from the statistics”, and a decrease in the non-royal descendants’ holdings. Circa 885/1480, in the late Circassian period, the share of the *asyād* in *iqṭāʿ*s remains negligible, and the holdings of non-royal descendants are also reduced to almost nothing.⁷³ Regarding the status of non-royal *mamlūks*’ descendants, Haarmann concluded that “they retained a respectable share of the *iqṭāʿ*s of Egypt not only in 777, under the Qalāwūnid al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, but also after the change of dynasties in 800. Their real decline began only in the course of the 9th/15th century”.⁷⁴ By 885/1480 “[u]nmistakably, the *awlād al-nās* as a corporate body, in both its constituents, no longer played a major political and military role and therefore no longer received their remuneration from the holdings of the *dīwān al-jaysh*”.⁷⁵ Haarmann noted however, that while hardly holding *iqṭāʿ*s circa 885/1480, quite a few *mamlūks*’ descendants received funds from endowments of rural lands (*awqāf*), allodial lands (*amlāk*), or lands given as military pension (*rīzaq jayshiyya*)—lands that had been previously the property of the fisc.⁷⁶ In addition, as noted by Haarmann, the phenomenon of establishing *waqfs* and nominating family members, among them descendants, as administrators and beneficiaries is more typical of the Circassian period.⁷⁷

73 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 154, 157, 161.

74 Ibid., 162.

75 Ibid., 161; and see idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 69 (“one gains the impression that the non-Mamluk *awlād al-nās* found it increasingly hard to play a crucial and prominent role in the central institutions of the Mamluk state and army. And this impression was evidently shared by... travelers who visited Cairo during the final two decades of the [fifteenth] century”).

76 Idem, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 161, 158; and see idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 71–2.

77 Idem, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 145; idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 71. It is not entirely clear if Haarmann also implied that *mamlūks*’ descendants were more inclined to engage in religious or cultural activities specifically during the ninth/fifteenth century, when developing a significant military/political career became more difficult for them. In “The Sons of Mamluks” he refers to the “basic law” of the Mamluk Sultanate according to which only *mamlūks* had access to military and political authority (throughout the Sultanate), to the fact that *mamlūks*’ descendants only rarely obtained the highest ranks in the army (throughout the Sultanate), and to the gradual deterioration of the *ḥalqa* where *mamlūks*’ descendants served that reached a peak in the late Mamluk period, and then notes that “[u]nder such conditions many *awlād al-nās* sought their fortunes outside a military career”. See idem, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 143. It is not clear if Haarmann refers to general conditions (throughout the Sultanate) or to the more specific conditions current in the late Circassian period. Still, the example he gives for a *mamlūk* descendant who chose to leave his military career and devote himself to the service of God involves a person from the late Turkish period (ibid., 143), and

Haarmann also noted that many of them inherited property, and he also investigated the “material opportunities” and “economic activities” that were open to *mamlūks*’ descendants even in the ninth/fifteenth century, among other things as businessmen and brokers in transactions.⁷⁸

The studies of Haarmann made the link between the decline in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants and the *waqf*ization or privatization of lands by them and for them. They were extremely influential on subsequent studies on *mamlūks*’ descendants during the ninth/fifteenth that focused almost exclusively on their economic status and activities,⁷⁹ mainly in the realm of *waqf*⁸⁰

the examples he gives for *mamlūks*’ descendants who contributed to “Arabic letters and religious culture” are both from the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries (ibid., 143–4). In “Joseph’s Law”, Haarmann notes that in biographical entries of *mamlūks*’ descendants of the eighth/fourteenth century “we find in roughly half the sample the coalescence of a military career... with an involvement in religious and cultural matters”. See idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 77; and see idem, “Arabic in Speech”, 108. So, it would seem that Haarmann did not make a connection (and certainly not explicitly) between religious activities and the ninth/fifteenth century. In any case, when checking the occurrence of *nisbas* suggesting an adherence to a legal school in the biographical entries of *mamlūks*’ descendants, one finds that such *nisbas* are much more common during the Circassian period. See part 4.3 below.

78 Idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 72–6.

79 Haarmann noted that “[t]he general picture of the economic activities of Mamluk scions in the late Middle Ages, however, remains very incomplete and uneven for the time being”, and called for further research based on archival documents. See Ibid., 76–7.

80 See especially: 2002—Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”; Lucian Reinfandt, “Religious Endowments and Succession to Rule: The Career of a Sultan’s Son in the Fifteenth Century”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002); 2003—Julien Loiseau, “Un bien de famille. La société mamlouke et la circulation des patrimoines, ou la petite histoire d’un moulin du Caire”, *Annales islamologiques* 37 (2003); Lucian Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultanstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Aṣṣaf Īnāl und al-Muʿayyad Aḥmad ibn Īnāl* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003); 2004—Michael Winter, “Mamluks and Their Households in Late Mamluk Damascus: A *Waqf* Study”, in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden: Brill, 2004); 2005—Souad Saghbini, *Mamlukische Urkunden aus Aleppo. Die Urkundensammlung (ḡāmiʿ al-mustanadāt) der mamlukisch-aleppinischen Familie Uḡulbak* (New York: George Olms, 2005); 2008—Hani Hamza, “Some Aspects of the Economic and Social Life of Ibn Taghribirdi Based on an Examination of His *Waqfiyya*”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12/1 (2008); Aharon Layish, “*Waqfs* of *Awlād al-Nās* in Aleppo in the Late Mamlūk Period as Reflected in a Family Archive”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2008); Daisuke Igarashi, “The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq”, *Orient (Nippon Oriento Gakkai)* 43 (2008); 2009—Daisuke Igarashi, “The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāyṭbāy”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13/1 (2009); 2013—Julien Loiseau, “Choisir sa famille. *Waqf* et transmission patrimoniale en Égypte au XVe siècle”, *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013); Élodie Vigouroux, “Les Banū Maṅḡak à Damas. Capital social, enracinement local et gestion patrimoniale d’une famille d’*awlād al-nās* à l’époque mamlouke”, *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013); 2014—Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Bonn: EB Verlag, 2014); Julien Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks (XIIIe–XVIe siècle): Une expérience du pouvoir dans l’islam medieval* (France: Seuil, 2014),

or as private landowners. A conspicuous example of such studies is that of Conermann and Saghbini who discussed “the material affairs of the *awlād al-nās* and their position in the Mamluk economy”.⁸¹ They concluded that the “process of the gradual ‘de-fiefing’ of Mamluk progeny... is certainly not the equivalent of pauperizing this group, but only means that many of the *awlād al-nās* had managed to transfer their *iqṭāʿ* estates into private ownership or endowments”.⁸² They also recorded their activities in “the private business sector” as mediators and brokers in real estate transactions.⁸³ Daisuke Igarashi and Wakako Kumakura discussed the process by which *iqṭāʿ* land transferred into private land (many times first turning into *rizqa* land), and then sometimes into *waqf*.⁸⁴ In general, it has become accepted that “[a]s a class, while their [i.e., *mamlūks*’ descendants] *iqṭāʿ* holdings decreased through the ninth/fifteenth century, it appears that their wealth shifted to allodial or *waqf* lands”.⁸⁵

Moreover, the “rise of a new class” of private landowners, conspicuously comprised of *mamlūks*’ descendants, at the (mid-) ninth/fifteenth century has been observed. ‘Imād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī observed that by the end of the Circassian period “a new class of private landowners” was coming into existence and that the “*awlād al-nās*” formed the backbone of this “new class”.⁸⁶ Adam Abdelhamid Sabra noted that “the sudden rise in the number of *waqfs* in the mid-fifteenth century should be understood in the context of the changing character of the Mamluk elite. It is at this very time when Haarmann shows that the military role of the *awlād al-nās* was in serious decline that the number of *waqfs* established by the descendants of mamluks increases considerably... as part of a

266–80 (especially 266: “l’importance prise par le *waqf* dans le milieu des émirs comme instrument de transmission patrimoniale—dans le temps même où ils ne pouvaient que très exceptionnellement, et de moins en moins, transmettre leur émirat et leur *iqṭāʿ* à leurs fils”).

81 Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 25.

82 Ibid., 27.

83 Ibid., 31–2.

84 Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 10–16; Wakako Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding in the Late Mamluk Period: A Statistical Study Based on the Ottoman Land Register *Daftar Jayshī*”, *Orient* 54 (2019), 7–22 (esp. 12–20); and see also Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 268–9.

85 Meloy, “*Awlād al-Nās*”.

86 See Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur*, 124 (“*ẓuhūr bawādir li-takwīn ṭabaqa jadīda min mullāk al-arāḍi al-zirāʿiyya fī Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-mamālīk al-Jarākisa wa-qad shakkala awlād al-nās al-ʿamūd al-fiqrī li-tilka al-ṭabaqa al-jadīda*”); and see Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 204 (“by the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, a new class of private landowners was coming into existence”); and see also Rapoport, “New Directions”, 148–9 (“by the end of the Mamluk period a new class of private landowners had come to existence”; “The shift in land tenure would have transferred control over agricultural surplus to the hands of the sons of the military elite, the *awlād al-nās*”); and see Elbendary, *Crowds*, 55.

process by which members of the Mamluk elite and their descendants privatized state resources, especially agricultural land, for their own benefit”.⁸⁷

On the other hand, since Haarmann, the military-political status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Circassian period was hardly explored further, and there are still gaps in the chronology of the decline in their military-political status and its causes. It is clear that in 778/1377, shortly before the fall of the Qalāwūnids and the end of the Turkish period, the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in amirates and in the *‘ibra* allocated to amirs was in one of its highest moments.⁸⁸ Haarmann’s findings also made it clear that by circa 885/1480, *mamlūks*’ descendants “no longer played a major political and military role” (that is, they were hardly promoted to amirates). However, the chronology of what happened in-between remains relatively unexplored. Even the data on land holdings in circa 800/1397 extracted from Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār* is very problematic. Haarmann himself was apparently undecided about its interpretation. While in 1984 he wrote that the non-royal *mamlūks*’ descendants “retained a respectable share of the *iqṭā’s* of Egypt not only in 777... but also after the change of dynasties in 800”, and that “[t]heir real decline began only in the course of the 9th/15th century”, in 1998 he wrote that “their dramatic demise seems to have begun” in the days of al-Zāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–1399), or that the “ascendency of the *awlād al-nās* did not survive the change of dynasties... under Sultan Barqūq for long”.⁸⁹ The truth is that the data from Ibn Duqmāq’s *Intiṣār* is so partial that at least with respect to non-royal *mamlūks*’ descendants it should be treated with extreme caution and examined in tandem with data retrieved from narrative sources. While the total disappearance of the *asyād* from the records of circa 800/1397 must attest to their drastic decline by that time, the fact that at that time the share of non-royal *mamlūks*’ descendants in the total tax-yield of Egypt significantly declined in comparison to their share in circa 777/1376 does not really mean anything, and it is only due to the very partial information provided for circa 800/1397. Had Haarmann checked the share of *mamlūks* in the total tax-yield of Egypt in 800/1397 according to the partial information given in the *Intiṣār*, he would have also found that it significantly declined in comparison to their share in circa 777/1376.⁹⁰ If the data from circa

87 Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 207–8.

88 See Yosef, “The Rise” (especially part 7.8 and the conclusion).

89 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 162; idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 68, 73.

90 The partial character of the information also does not allow estimating the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in amirates or in the *‘ibra* allocated to amirs at that time. According to a tentative reconstruction of the (partial) list of amirs that appear by name in the *Intiṣār* and their (partial) *‘ibra* (details cannot be given here), there were, for example, eight *ṭablkhānas*, among them four *mamlūks*’ descendants and two other persons of free origin who held respectively 49%~ and 28%~ of the total *‘ibra* of *ṭablkhānas*. This cannot in any way reflect the actual reality, and the data is, in fact, useless for such estimations. See Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn

800/1397 can tell us anything at all, it is that the decline of the non-royal descendants was completed only after that date, and even that the drastic decline in the number of amirs from among their ranks must have taken place only after that date (which is in line with one of Haarmann's interpretations of the data).

As for what happened in-between, in 1998 Haarmann himself suggested that "[t]he gradual and, in the end, irreversible triumph of the rank-and-file Mamluks from the time of Sultan Barsbāy's rule (1422–1438)... may also have had an effect on the chances (and the visibility) of the *awlād al-nās* in the competition for power... in a polity whose public resources became increasingly scarce"; however, he concluded by writing that "[w]e do not know enough about these issues for the time being".⁹¹ In the same year, D.S. Richards urged Mamlukists to look for the circumstances due to which *mamlūks*' descendants perhaps failed in the ninth/fifteenth century to maintain their status:

That the *awlād al-nās* generally failed to maintain their position must be due to particular developments in the polity as a whole, which remain to be identified, rather than to any *a priori* rejection of the hereditary principle⁹²

Another point that should be emphasized is that the data from Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa*, on which Haarmann's findings are based, is relevant only for the amiral ranks and not for the simple soldiers among the *mamlūks*' descendants. When Haarmann wrote that by 885/1480 *mamlūks*' descendants "no longer played a major political and military role and therefore no longer received their remuneration from the holdings of the *dīwān al-jaysh*",⁹³ or when he wrote of "the large-scale disappearance of *awlād al-nās* as fief-holders in Egypt",⁹⁴ he downplayed the fact that the data he used from the *Tuhfa* is relevant only for amirs and large *iqṭā's*, and that the simple soldiers among the *mamlūks*' descendants continued to hold *iqṭā's*. The latter are normally ignored by Mamluk historians,

Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār*, ed. Karl Vollers (Beirut: The Trading Office for Printing, Distributing & Publishing, 1966).

91 Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 69.

92 D.S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households", in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33. In 1998 Richards still considered it an open question "[i]f it is true that *awlād al-nās* in general had a dwindling share in wealth, political influence and social status in the fifteenth century". See *ibid.* While in 1984 Haarmann mentioned that the decline in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*' descendants by circa 885/1480 meant that "the economic power... of the non-royal *awlād al-nās* had collapsed" (see Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 161), subsequent studies of his and others suggested that the decline in the military-political status should not be necessarily equated with an economic decline. See at footnotes nos. 76–87 above. The issue of the decline in the military-political status of *mamlūks*' descendants received less attention.

93 Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks", 161.

94 *Idem*, "Joseph's Law", 69.

and thus also by Mamlukists. However, Wakako Kumakura’s studies based on the Ottoman land register shed some light on these *mamlūks*’ descendants.⁹⁵ While each held a small *iqṭāʿ*, their holdings in aggregate were apparently not negligible at all. As we shall see in part 4 below, al-Malaṭī opens for us another window to these *mamlūks*’ descendants who were not amirs and gives information which complements that from the Ottoman land register.

But now we turn to the chronology of decline in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Circassian period, that is, the decline in the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs. An examination of the narrative sources can complete Haarmann’s account that was based on the information from the excerpts of the register of the army office from circa 777/1376 and circa 885/1480. It enables us to close the time gap between these two points in time examined by Haarmann, follow the process of decline in a more detailed manner, and identify more precisely the crucial stages of decline in the military-political status of *mamlūks*’ descendants.

We will start, however, in the late Circassian period. In a most unusual manner, Ibn Iyās provides us with a full list of amirs in Cairo in the year 908/1502.⁹⁶ In that year, out of 24 *muqaddam alfs* we find no descendants of *mamlūks*.⁹⁷ Out of 75 *ṭablkhānas* we find only one amir who was a *mamlūk*’s descendant—the son of the sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (d. 922/1516).⁹⁸ Note that it was common during the Circassian period that sons of reigning sultans held high ranks, including that of *muqaddam*.⁹⁹ Out of 186 amirs of ten we find no descendants of *mamlūks*.¹⁰⁰ Out of 285 amirs in total, only one was a *mamlūk*’s

95 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 12–19; and see also Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 12 (at footnote no. 17).

96 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 4:30–4.

97 Apparently, only one *muqaddam* was a free person but not a *mamlūk*’s descendant—Qānṣūh the son of the sultan of *Bilād al-Jarkas*. I consider the amirs who have Turkish names and no name of a father as *mamlūks*, although it is possible that few of them were not slaves. In any case, such persons were of course not *mamlūks*’ descendants.

98 Apparently, among the *ṭablkhānas* there were no free persons who were not *mamlūks*’ descendants.

99 See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:62.

100 Apparently, among the amirs of ten there were no free persons who were not *mamlūks*’ descendants. Still, we should mention that among the amirs of ten we find one Yūsuf Min Muṣṭafā and one Yūsuf al-Badrī. As for Yūsuf Min Muṣṭafā, he is not mentioned outside this list of amirs provided by Ibn Iyās. In the list we find several *mamlūks* whose names contain “Min Muṣṭafā”, which suggests that at that time Muṣṭafā was a slave dealer and Yūsuf Min Muṣṭafā was a slave. On the particle “Min” in the names of *mamlūks*, see David Ayalon, “Names, Titles, and ‘Nisbas’ of the Mamluks”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), 223–8. In addition, as mentioned by Ayalon, few *mamlūks* had Arab-Muslim names. Ayalon mentioned three *mamlūks* in the late Circassian period that were named Yūsuf (including our Yūsuf Min Muṣṭafā). See *ibid.*, 206. As for Yūsuf al-Badrī (d. 924/1518), Ibn Iyās mentions in his obituary note that he was one of the *mamlūks* (*aṣluhu min mamālīk*) of the amir Yashbak

descendant—the son of the reigning sultan, as was the custom during the Circassian period.¹⁰¹ The list of Ibn Iyās confirms Haarmann's conclusion that in the late Circassian period *mamlūks*' descendants (and persons of free origin in general) no longer played a major political and military role (i.e., they were normally not promoted to amirates) and, therefore, no longer held large *iqṭā's*, and shows that the situation circa 885/1480 did not change until the very end of the Mamluk Sultanate.

From about the time of the register of the army office of circa 885/1480 we also have the testimony of the Cairene doctor Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Amshāṭī (d. 902/1496), who in the year 883/1478 wrote a book of advice for those who are interested in buying slaves. He writes in a section about Circassian slaves, that their descendants, if born outside of *Bilād al-Jarkas* (that is, in the territories of the Mamluk Sultanate), are generally not smart and rather useless.¹⁰² His saying must reflect the reality of his days, when *mamlūks*' descendants did not play a significant military and political role in Egypt because by then they were normally not promoted to amirates.

Even earlier, in his *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, an abridged version of a treatise written circa 857/1453,¹⁰³ Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 873/1468) writes in a section on the descendants of sultans and amirs (*awlād al-mulūk*)¹⁰⁴ that in the past (*qadīm al-zamān*):

The post of the sultan and the ranks of amirs used to be regularly in their hands (*kānat al-salṭana wal-imra lā takhruju 'anhum*). A trustworthy man called Master Baraka the veterinarian, who was one of the notables of the al-Ḥusayniyya neighborhood, whose age was about 100 years, told me that he had seen a place in al-Ḥusayniyya in which there were about 40 amirs who were descendants of high-ranking amirs (*min awlād al-mulūk*). However, in our days most of them [descendants of amirs] have no significant position (*wal-ān ghālibuhum muḥmal*). They say that the amir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ghurāb was the chief chamberlain in Egypt and the governor of Alexandria. He lived there for 37 years and left behind him monuments and buildings... It is also said that Ibrāhīm ibn

Min Mahdī (d. 885/1480). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 5:279. Apparently, the name Yūsuf started to be used in the late Circassian period as a name for slaves.

101 Apparently, except for him, only one amir was a free person but not a *mamlūk*'s descendant —Qānshūh the son of the sultan of *Bilād al-Jarkas*.

102 Hans Müller, *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs nach arabischen, persischen und türkischen Ratgebern vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), 131; Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Amshāṭī, *al-Qawl al-Sadīd fī Ikhtiyār al-Imā' wal-'Abīd*, ed. Muḥammad 'Isā Ṣālihiyya (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1996), 54.

103 Jean Gaulmier and Toufic Fahd, "Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:935.

104 Ibn Shāhīn uses the expression *awlād al-mulūk* in reference to descendants of sultans and (senior) amirs.

Amīr Jandār was one of the amirs of *ṭablkhāna* [in Cairo]... Later on, he became a high-ranking amir (*amīr kabīr*) in Aleppo¹⁰⁵

By the year 857/1453, the times when *mamlūks*' descendants held high ranks, filled important positions, and enjoyed high military and political status were considered 'Ancient history', clung to in nostalgia, something that only persons who were one hundred years old could remember. Like any nostalgic memory it seems to incline somewhat to exaggeration. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī was himself a *mamlūk*'s descendant who had a brilliant career under the sultans al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841/1438) and al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (d. 857/1453). He became the governor of Alexandria in the year 837/1434, and later in 839/1436 amir *ṭablkhāna* and *wazīr* in Cairo, *amīr ḥajj* in 840/1437, governor of Karak in 841/1437, and later on in 850/1446 *muqaddam alf* in Damascus.¹⁰⁶ The fact that he was married to the sister of al-Ashraf Barsbāy's wife most probably contributed to his advancement in Cairo.¹⁰⁷ According to al-Malaṭī, the son of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, his father being a *muqaddam* in Damascus in 850/1446 “was considered an exceptional case at that time” (*wa-‘udda dhālika min al-nawādir fī hādhihi al-azmān*).¹⁰⁸ According to Ibn Iyās, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn was an exceptional case of *mamlūks*' descendants or persons of free origin in general (*kāna nādira fī awlād al-nās*).¹⁰⁹ It is clear that in the days when Khalīl ibn Shāhīn was the governor of Alexandria and *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo (around the late 830s/1430s), it was very rare that a *mamlūk*'s descendant (or a person of free origins in general) held high ranks (even *ṭablkhānas*) in Egypt,¹¹⁰ and that at about that time it was not usual for *mamlūks*' descendants to hold high ranks also in Damascus. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn was aware of his unique position and perhaps was trying to accentuate it. He was looking for precedents of a person of free origins filling the position of governor of Alexandria or amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo. He found one only in the late Turkish period.¹¹¹ So, we may conclude that already around the late 830s/1430s it was rare

105 Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wal-Masālik*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997), 93.

106 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:258–60; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:44, 76, 373; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:369–70; 5:103; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:125.

107 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 3:195.

108 al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 1:363.

109 Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘i‘ al-Zuhūr*, 3:25. On this usage of the expression *awlād al-nās*, see in footnote no. 539 in part 4.2 below.

110 Referring to the fact that al-Shihāb Aḥmad ibn al-‘Aynī (d. 908–9/1502–3), the son of al-Zāhir Khushqadam's stepdaughter (*rabība*), became *muqaddam* in Egypt in the year 869/1465, al-Malaṭī comments that it was a rare occurrence in that period (*min al-nawādir fī mithl hādha al-aṣr*). See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:214; and see also idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:50–1.

111 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Ghurāb in Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's text is most probably Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn ‘Arrām (d. 783/1381), who was the governor of Alexandria. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:263–8. Ibrāhīm ibn Amīr Jandār in Khalīl ibn Shāhīn's text is Ibrāhīm ibn Quṭluqtamur al-

to find *mamlūks*' descendants (or other persons of free origin) who were amirs of *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo (and probably even amirs of any rank).

After narrowing the time gap between the two dates examined in detail by Haarmann based on information from Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa* (circa 1377/776 and circa 885/1480), we can now try to pinpoint the period in which the crucial change in the military-political status of the *mamlūks*' descendants in Cairo took place. A survey of major rounds of appointments to amirates in Cairo found in al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk* and Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Kitāb al-Nujūm*, and a survey of references to *mamlūks*' descendants appointed to amirates during the late Turkish and the Circassian periods, reveal that the number of descendants of *mamlūks* who were amirs declined drastically after the Turkish-Rūmī faction headed by Aytamush al-Bajāsi (d. 802/1400) was defeated by a Circassian faction in the year 802/1399. The decline in the status of *mamlūks*' descendants started when Barqūq became *atābak* in 780/1378, especially after he consolidated his power in the year 782/1380 after defeating a Turco-Mongol faction headed by Baraka al-Jūbānī (d. 782/1380). It seems to have gained momentum after Barqūq returned to power in the year 792/1390 after defeating another Turco-Mongol faction headed by Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī (d. 793/1391) and Miṭāsh (d. 795/1392). It seems to have been more or less completed around 802/1399. This is exactly the period in which the Circassians completed their takeover of the Sultanate.¹¹² It is in agreement with Haarmann's findings based on the data from Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Tuhfa* and Ibn Duqmāq's *Intiṣār*, however, as it turns out, the decline in the status of *mamlūks*' descendants seems to have been completed right after the second date researched by him (circa 800/1397).

¹¹² 'Alā'ī (d. 791/1389) who was amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo (he was even a *muqaddam* in Cairo for a short while) and then *muqaddam* in Aleppo where he died. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:648, 683; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150, 341; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:304. For his identification as Ibrāhīm ibn Amīr Jandār, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtada'*, 5:556; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:648; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:234. In fact, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn could have found some rare cases of *mamlūks*' descendants who were high-ranking amirs in Cairo before his days also in the the ninth/fifteenth century (see nos. 2 and 11 in Appendix A [Cairo]; and see part 3.5 below).

112 For a discussion of the struggle between ethnic groups in this period and the Circassian takeover, see David Ayalon, "The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949), 138–42; Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:87–95; idem, "The Names of the Mamlūks—Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Solidarity in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)", in *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule: Political, Social and Cultural Aspects*, ed. Amalia Levanoni (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2021), 98–112; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-'Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq Mu'assis Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisa 1382–1398 Milādī/784–801 Hijrī: min khilāl Makhtūṭ 'Iqd al-Jumān fi Ta'rikh Ahl al-Zamān li-Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī*, ed. Imān 'Umar Shukrī (Cairo: Maktabat Madbulī, 2002), 72–88. On the struggle between the Circassian faction headed by Barqūq and the Turco-Mongol faction headed by Baraka, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:383–5.

Right after the defeat of Aytamush al-Bajāsi’s faction in 802/1399, the sources report on a major round of appointments to amirates in Cairo. About 45 persons were promoted to amirates of ten, twenty, and *ṭablkhāna*, all were apparently *mamlūks*, and in any case there were no *mamlūks*’ descendants among them.¹¹³ This is in clear contrast with the state of things during the late Turkish period. We have data on several major rounds of appointments to amirates in Cairo during the late Turkish period, all of them from a time that roughly overlaps al-Ashraf Sha‘bān’s reign (764–778/1363–1377).¹¹⁴ In all these rounds in total the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in amirates of ten and *ṭablkhānas* was about 20%, and that of *mamlūks*’ descendants and other persons of free origin about 30%.¹¹⁵ In fact, we know that specifically in 778/1377 their share was even higher because the reconstructed share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in amirates of ten and *ṭablkhānas*

113 al-Maqrīzī mentions 48 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas*, among them SHKDĀN and QĀNQ (with no *nisbas*) that are otherwise not attested as names of *mamlūks*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:994–5. Ibn Taghribirdī mentions 44 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* and does not mention SHKDĀN and QĀNQ. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:194–5. And see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:76 (he mentions 40 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* but writes that more were appointed to amirates. He does not mention SHKDĀN and QĀNQ). It seems that the mentioning of SHKDĀN and QĀNQ by al-Maqrīzī is an error.

114 I counted as a major round of appointments a round that includes at least nine appointments to amirates of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo.

115 765/1363: four *ṭablkhānas*, among them one descendant; eight amirs of ten, among them two descendants and one free person who was not a descendant. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:26; and see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:90–1 (partial information). 767/1366: 14 *ṭablkhānas*, among them one descendant and one free person who was not a descendant; 13 amirs of ten, among them no descendants or other free persons. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:33–4. 768/1367: 21 *ṭablkhānas*, among them three descendants and apparently two other free persons; seven amirs of ten, among them apparently one descendant and two other free persons who were not descendants. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:144–5; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:45. 769/1368: 26 *ṭablkhānas*, among them apparently seven descendants and two other free persons; 19 amirs of ten, among them three descendants and one other free person. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:161. 770/1369: eight *ṭablkhānas*, among them two descendants and two other free persons; five amirs of ten, among them three descendants. See *ibid.*, 3:177; and see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:54 (partial information). 771/1370: eight *ṭablkhānas*, among them two descendants; 10 amirs of ten, among them apparently four descendants and one other free person. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:185; and see also Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya*, 210 (partial information). 775/1373: nine *ṭablkhānas*, among them two descendants and one other free person; two amirs of ten, among them no descendants or other free persons. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:216; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63 (partial information). 778/1377 (after the death of al-Ashraf Sha‘bān): 21 *ṭablkhānas*, among them two descendants and one other free person; 24 amirs of ten, among them five descendants and three other free persons. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:288–9; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. All in all: out of 199 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas*, about 38 were descendants (about 19%) and about 57 were descendants or other persons of free origin (about 29%).

in the register of 778/1377 was about 35%, and that of *mamlūks*' descendants and other persons of free origin together was about 48%.¹¹⁶

3.1 *Mamlūks*' descendants during the days of Barqūq (782–801/1380–1399): transformation and gradual decline

The beginning of the change in the status of *mamlūks*' descendants happened when Barqūq became *atābak* in 780/1378, and especially after he consolidated his power in the year 782/1380 after defeating a Turco-Mongol faction headed by Baraka al-Jūbānī. In the first round of appointments to amirates in Cairo which took place a few days after Baraka's defeat, we find no *mamlūks*' descendants (and apparently also other free persons) among the nine *ṭablkhānas* and five amirs of ten. All in all, from 782/1380 until the clash between the Circassian and Turkish-Rūmī factions in the year 802/1399, in all major rounds of Barqūq's appointments to amirates in Cairo, out of 99 amirs of ten, twenty, and *ṭablkhānas*, only four were *mamlūks*' descendants (approximately 4%), and about six were other free persons (about 6%).¹¹⁷ The survey of rounds of appointments during al-Zāhir Barqūq's reign gives us an overall impression of decline in the status of *mamlūks*' descendants in Cairo during his days, yet, it does not allow us to follow the details of this decline.

However, when one checks single appointments to amirates in Cairo in Barqūq's days, one finds that starting from 782/1380 and during his first reign he promoted a few other *mamlūks*' descendants to amirates that are not mentioned

116 See Yosef, "The Rise" (Table L).

117 782/1380: nine *ṭablkhānas* and five amirs of ten, among them no *mamlūks*' descendants and apparently also other free persons. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:387–8; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:180. 791/1389: 13 *ṭablkhānas*, among them one descendant and apparently two other persons of free origin; two amirs of twenty, among them no descendants but one other person of free origins; 12 amirs of ten, among them no descendants or other persons of free origin. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:601; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:267–8. 793/1391: seven *ṭablkhānas*, among them one descendant; six amirs of ten, among them no descendants and one other person of free origins. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:740; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:24–5. 797/1394: six *ṭablkhānas*, among them one descendant and one other person of free origins; four amirs of ten, among them no descendants or other free persons. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:827. 798/1396: five *ṭablkhānas* and five amirs of ten, among them no *mamlūks*' descendants and apparently also other free persons. See *ibid.*, 3:858; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:63. 801/1398: six *ṭablkhānas*, among them one descendant and one other person of free origins; five amirs of ten, among them no *mamlūks*' descendants or other free persons. See *ibid.*, 12:97; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:924. 801/1399 (shortly after the death of al-Zāhir Barqūq, however, continuing the patterns from his days): five *ṭablkhānas* (including one amir of fifty), among them no descendants or other free persons; nine amirs of ten, among them no descendants or other free persons. See *ibid.*, 3:967; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:177.

in the major rounds of appointments (about ten in total).¹¹⁸ Moreover, we are informed that upon the deposition of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq in the year 791/1389, Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī arrested a group of amirs that served al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (see Table A1 below). One of the nine *muqaddams* among these amirs was a *mamlūk*’s descendant (two others were apparently of free origin but not descendants), as were six out of 35 *ṭablkhānas* (five or six others were apparently of free origin but not descendants), and 15 out of 37 amirs of ten (five others were apparently of free origin but not descendants).¹¹⁹ Therefore, it seems that in the year 791/1389, at the end of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s first reign, the share of *mamlūks*’ descendants in amirates of ten and *ṭablkhānas* was about 30%. While there was some decline in

118 For a summary, see Table A2 below. For the basic search I have used the *Nujūm* and the *Sulūk*. A search in the indexes of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Ta’rikh*, al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, al-‘Aynī’s *Iqd al-Jumān* (the reign of Barqūq), Ibn al-Furāt’s *Ta’rikh*, and the appendix of Richards (“Mamluk Amirs”), did not yield more *mamlūks*’ descendant whose promotion to amirate in Cairo can be securely dated to 782–791/1380–1389; however, a reference in Richards started a search that yielded one more *mamlūk*’s descendant who became amir in Cairo at that time (Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī). 1. Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī who died in 791/1389 is said to have been amir of ten in Cairo. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:308; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:385; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 49. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī writes that in 783/1381, upon the death of ‘Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī who was a *muqaddam*, his children were given *iqṭā’s*, but only Ḥasan became amir, so it seems that he became amir of ten upon his father’s death. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:248, 385. 2+3. Upon the death of Bahādūr al-Jamālī in 786/1384, his nephew Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803/1401) received his rank of *muqaddam*, and Bahādūr’s son ‘Umar became amir of ten. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:523. 4. Around 788/1386, Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umārī (d. 802/1400) became a *muqaddam*. See *ibid.*, 3:548; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:117; but see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:391, 470. 5. Mūsā [ibn Abū Bakr] ibn Salār (d. 797/1395) became amir of ten in 788/1386. See *ibid.*, 3:548; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:506; and see also al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:420. 6. Upon the death of Julbān al-‘Alā’ī in 788/1386, his son Muḥammad received his *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:550. 7. In 790/1388, Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaḡarī al-Manjakī (d. 794/1392) became amir of ten. See *ibid.*, 3:579–80; Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh al-Duwal wal-Mulūk*, ed. Q. Zurayk and N. ‘Izz al-Dīn (Beirut: al-Maṭba‘a al-Amrīkāniyya, 1936–1942), 9:327–8. 8. In 791/1389, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz received a *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:605; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:273. 9. Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn Aytamush al-Bajāṣī (d. 798/1395) was promoted to amirate of *ṭablkhāna* during the first reign of Barqūq. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:599–600; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:328–9. 10. To them we should add Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795/1393) who received a *ṭablkhāna* in 791/1389 in one of the above-mentioned major rounds of appointments. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:601. 11. In addition, in 782/1380, [Muḥammad ibn?] Muḥammad ibn Aqbughā Āṣ (d. 795/1393) received a *ṭablkhāna*. See *ibid.*, 3:399. However, he became *muqaddam* and *ustādār* in 774/1372, and was *ustādār* until 778/1377, but then he was deposed. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:63, 69; and see also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:204. Thus, he is not included in Table A2.

119 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:624–6; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:321–2. See on this list, Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 163 (Haarmann counts among the “*awlād al-nās*” in the list also free persons who were not *mamlūks*’ descendants); Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 39–40; Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 24; and see Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 169).

comparison to their share in 778/1377 (about 35%),¹²⁰ the decline is not significant. Most probably it means that even though during his first reign al-Ẓāhir Barqūq promoted to amirates much fewer *mamlūks*' descendants in comparison to the late Turkish period, at that time he did not turn against them altogether. Generally, those who had already held amirates when Barqūq gained power were probably not demoted, and few were even promoted to higher ranks.

In fact, among the 22 amirs of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq in Cairo who were *mamlūks*' descendants and were arrested in 791/1389, 13 were amirs also in 778/1377,¹²¹ and it is quite possible that some of the rest became amirs already before al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reign.¹²² Moreover, among the 15 *mamlūks*' descendants who were *ṭablkhānas* according to the register of 778/1377, four were still amirs in 791/1389, normally still holding the rank of *ṭablkhāna* but one even became *muqaddam*.¹²³ Among the other 11, five were already dead by 791/1389,¹²⁴ and they kept their rank until their death, or close to it.¹²⁵ One other amir *ṭablkhāna* retired of his own will from military service,¹²⁶ and one other became the governor of

120 See Yosef, "The Rise" (Table L).

121 Nos. 1, 3–8, 17–22 in Table A1 below. Two out of six other descendants promoted by Barqūq until 791/1389 (that were not arrested) were also already amirs in 778/1377 (nos. 1 and 6 in Table A2 below).

122 We know that two of the nine that were not amirs in 778/1377 were promoted by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (nos. 2, 9 in Table I1); however, there is no information about the date of promotion of the other seven (nos. 10–16 in Table A1). For example, it is possible that Muḥammad ibn Aqṭamur al-Ṣāḥibī (no. 13 in Table A1) was promoted to amirate of ten upon the death of his father in 779/1377. It is also possible that Qalamṭāy/Turunṭāy ibn Aljāy al-Yūsufī (sometimes QRNṬĀY or QLRṬĀY) received amirate of ten (no. 11 in Table A1) upon the death of his brother Taghrī Birmish/Taghrī Birdī ibn Aljāy who was a *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 (see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 10 in Yosef, "The Rise"). As far as I know, Taghrī Birmish is not mentioned after 778/1377, so it is possible that he died around that date. It is also possible that 'Alī ibn Bulāṭ al-Kabīr (no. 14 in Table A1) received amirate of ten upon the death of his father. As far as I know, Bulāṭ al-Kabīr is not mentioned after 778/1377, so it is possible that he died around that date.

123 Nos. 4, 6, 8 in Table A1 and no. 1 in Table A2; and see nos. 3–4, 8–9 in Appendix I, section 2.3, in Yosef, "The Rise".

124 See nos. 2, 5, 11–12, 15 in Appendix I, section 2.3, in Yosef, "The Rise".

125 Muḥammad ibn Ṭāz and Muḥammad ibn Qumārī died as amirs already in 778/1377 (nos. 12, 15 in Appendix I, section 2.3, in Yosef, "The Rise"). 'Alī ibn Manjak al-Yūsufī (d. 788/1386–7) is said to have held the rank of *ṭablkhāna* from the days of al-Ashraf Sha'bān and until his death. See Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 11, in Yosef, "The Rise"; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:201; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:548; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 45. 'Abdallāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājib (no. 2 in Appendix I, section 2.3, in Yosef, "The Rise") was first promoted to the rank of *muqaddam* but then became again *ṭablkhāna* until close to his death he became a governor of one of the provinces. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:144; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:516, 526; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 40–1. 'Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 783/1381) received the rank of *muqaddam* in 779/1377 and kept this rank until he died. See Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 5, in Yosef, "The Rise"; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:248.

126 Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 6, in Yosef, "The Rise"; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 41.

Alexandria (until he returned to Cairo as *muqaddam* in 791/1389 after the deposition of Barqūq).¹²⁷ The date of death of the other four is not known but they probably died before the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq, not to mention 791/1389.¹²⁸ Among the 24 *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs of ten in the register of 778/1377, ten are mentioned as amirs also in 791/1389 (mostly as amirs of ten, but at least two were promoted).¹²⁹ Two died by 791/1389.¹³⁰ Two others are not mentioned as amirs in 791/1389 but rather during the second reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq; however, the two seem to have been amirs also during his first reign.¹³¹ One was transferred to Damascus as amir after 778/1377.¹³² The year of death of eight is not known; however, they are not mentioned in chronicles after 778/1377, so it is quite possible that some of them died before the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq, or at least before 791/1389.¹³³ The overall impression is that until the end of the first reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq, the descendants of the old Qalāwūnid elite of amirs, mostly of Turco-Mongol origins, were left to die out and not actively demoted (see Table A1 below).

While there were not too many new appointments of the descendants of the Qalāwūnid elite of amirs during the first reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq, we still find some descendants of that elite that were promoted to amirates in Cairo during that time. As can be seen in Table A2 below, all in all, I came across ten cases of new appointments of *mamlūks*’ descendants to amirates in Cairo or promotions to higher ranks that can be securely dated to 782–791/1380–1389 (excluding sons

127 Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 1, in Yosef, “The Rise”; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:37.

128 It was already mentioned that Taghrī Birmish/Taghrī Birdī ibn Aljāy (Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 10 in Yosef, “The Rise”) probably died ca. 778/1377 (see footnote no. 122 above). Aḥmad ibn Aqtamur ‘Abd al-Ghanī, Abū Bakr ibn Ṭāz, and Khalīl ibn Aydamur Qarā are also not mentioned after that date (see Appendix I, section 2.3, nos. 7, 13–4, in Yosef, “The Rise”).

129 Nos. 1 (promoted to the rank of *muqaddam*), 3 (promoted to *ṭablkhāna*), 7 (promoted?), 17–19, 21–2 in Table A1; and no. 6 in Table A2 (promoted?); and see Appendix I, section 3.2, nos. 2, 4, 9, 11–12, 15–17, 20 in Yosef, “The Rise”. Except for these nine that were arrested in 791/1389, Khiḍr ibn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī who was amir of ten in 778/1377 is mentioned in 791/1389 as amir of ten serving Barqūq that was not arrested in 791/1389. See Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 10, in Yosef, “The Rise”; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 50; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:593; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh*, 9:55; al-‘Aynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq*, 236 (mentioned as amir *ṭablkhāna*; apparently a mistake).

130 Nos. 3 and 6 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”. They are not mentioned in chronicles after 778/1377, and from their obituaries it is not clear enough if they died as amirs, although at least one seems to have died as amir. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh*, 9:45, 177; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:588, 687. One other descendant who was amir of ten in 778/1377 died after 791/1389. He is also not mentioned in chronicles after 778/1377, and his obituary does not provide clear evidence that he died as amir, although it perhaps implies it. See no. 19 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:535.

131 Nos. 7 and 13 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:763, 784; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:133; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh*, 9:249, 298.

132 No. 5 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:61–2.

133 Nos. 1, 8, 14, 18, 21–4 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”.

of Barqūq).¹³⁴ Except for these cases, it is possible that eight other descendants were promoted to amirates of ten at that time; however, it is very likely that at least some of them were actually promoted in 778–782/1377–1380.¹³⁵ The fathers (or grandfathers) of all, except for one or two, apparently became amirs already before the days of Barqūq, and practically none of them was a *mamlūk* of Barqūq.¹³⁶ Among the ten securely identified appointments of Barqūq, four were apparently not Turco-Mongols (nos. 2–3 and 7–8 in Table A2), none enjoyed intimate ties with the Qalāwūnid family. Among these four, one was a Circassian (no. 3) whose father was promoted to amirate by Barqūq and was apparently also an in-law of Barqūq.¹³⁷ Among the six who were apparently Turco-Mongols

134 See Table A2 below (and footnote no. 170 below); and see footnote no. 118 above. Note that nos. 2–4, and 10 in Table A2 appear also in Table A1 (as nos. 1–3, and 9) because they were arrested in 791/1389, so some of the relevant references appear in Table A1.

135 Seven are mentioned as amirs in 791/1389 (nos. 10–16 in Table A1). Nos. 11 and 13–14 were more likely promoted in 778–782/1377–1380 (see footnote no. 122 above). No. 12 is a rather obscure figure and could not be identified. No. 16 (Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār) was probably promoted during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. Except for these seven, ‘Alī ibn Sūdūn al-Fakhrī al-Shaykhūnī who died in 790/1388 was amir of ten when he died according to his obituary. See Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 49; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 9:44–5. He is not mentioned otherwise, but it is likely that he was promoted to amirate by Barqūq.

136 The father of Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (no. 2 in Table A1) and possibly also that of Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār (no. 16 in Table A1) became amirs when Barqūq was *atābak*. While Aytamush was bought and manumitted by Barqūq because he was not officially manumitted by his previous master, he was about Barqūq’s age and cannot be truly considered his *mamlūk*. On Aytamush and his age, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:143–4, 149; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 2:324. Yūnus al-Nawrūzī al-Dawādār (d. 791/1389) was older than Barqūq (he was more than 60 years old when he died), he became amir when Barqūq was *atābak*, or ca. 778/1377, or even before. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:316; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:264; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 4:302; al-‘Aynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq*, 263–4. Except for them, it is not clear when the father of Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaqarī al-Manjakī (no. 7 in Table A2) became amir, or even if he was amir at all.

137 Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (no. 3 in Table A2) was a Circassian. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 2:324. Aytamush was made amir when Barqūq was *atābak*. In 786/1384, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq married Fāṭima bint Manjak al-Yūsufi. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:132; al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:93. Al-Ẓāhir Barqūq married a daughter of Manjak al-Yūsufi (which may be Fāṭima) to the amir Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi and promoted him. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:328–9. Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (no. 2 in Table A2), Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaqarī al-Manjakī (no. 7 in Table A2), and ‘Umar ibn Bahādūr al-Jamālī (no. 8 in Table A2) were not Turco-Mongols as the names of their fathers attest; the names Sunqur, Lājīn, and Bahādūr were given at that time to Caucasians or Europeans/Anatolians; however, the names Sunqur and Bahādūr were given at that time mainly to Europeans/Anatolians. See Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 69–80, 93. If ‘Alī ibn Sūdūn al-Fakhrī (d. 790/1388) was indeed promoted by Barqūq (see footnote no. 135 above), then he was apparently a Circassian (the name Sūdūn was given only to Circassians, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 68–9). If we include also [Muḥammad ibn?] Muḥammad ibn Aqbughā Āṣ (see footnote no. 118 above), then he was an Alan. None of them enjoyed intimate ties with the Qalāwūnid family: Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (no. 3), Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaqarī al-Manjakī (no. 7), [Muḥammad ibn?] Muḥammad ibn Aq-

(nos. 1, 4–6, and 9–10 in Table A2), only two were surely closely related to the Qalāwūnids (nos. 1 and 6 in Table A2), whereas two or three were not connected by a special tie to the Qalāwūnids (nos. 4 and 9, and possibly also no. 10),¹³⁸ and one enjoyed only a very remote tie to them (no. 5).¹³⁹ On the other hand, four of the six were closely related to Barqūq (one was the son of his master [no. 1], two were his in-laws [nos. 4 and 6], and one was a son of a close associate who supported him [no. 9]), including the two that were surely also closely related to the Qalāwūnids (nos. 1 and 6).¹⁴⁰ While the sample is very small, it seems to

bughā Āṣ, and ‘Alī ibn Sūdūn al-Fakhri did not enjoy any special tie with the Qalāwūnids. Moreover, Aytamush al-Bajāsi, and possibly also Lājīn al-Ṣaqarī al-Manjakī, were not promoted to amirates by the Qalāwūnids. ‘Umar ibn Bahādūr al-Jamālī (no. 8) and Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (no. 2) enjoyed only a very remote in-law tie with the Qalāwūnids. See Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 554).

138 Mūsā [ibn Abū Bakr] ibn Salār (no. 10 in Table A2) is an obscure figure, but he was possibly a descendant of the Oirat Salār al-Manṣūrī who was an in-law of the Qalāwūnids. See Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnote no. 289). On the other hand, it is more likely that he was not a *mamlūk*’s descendant at all. If Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār (no. 16 in Table A1) was indeed promoted by Barqūq (see footnote no. 135 above), then his father Yūnus al-Dawādār, who is said to have been a “Turk”, was also not connected to the Qalāwūnids. Moreover, Yūnus was perhaps promoted to amirate only by Barqūq with whom he developed a close relationship. The relationship was so close that it resembled a familial relationship, since before Barqūq completed building his familial mausoleum, he had buried several descendants in the mausoleum of Yūnus. See, for example, al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:515. On Yūnus and his origin, see Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:390.

139 Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-‘Alā’ī (no. 5 in Table A2) enjoyed a very remote in-law tie with the Qalāwūnids. See Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 554). At the late Turkish period, the name Julbān must have been given to Turco-Mongols. See, for example, Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:7; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:65.

140 1. Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umarī (d. 802/1400) was promoted from the rank of *ṭablkhāna* to the rank of *muqaddam* ca. 788/1386 (no. 1 in Table A2) when he was about 26 years old. He was claimed to be a Qalāwūnid. See Yosef, “The rise” (at footnotes nos. 534–6). He was the son of Barqūq’s master. Yalbughā al-‘Umarī is said to have been a “Turk”. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:236. 2. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795/1393) was promoted from amirate of ten to *ṭablkhāna* in 791/1389 (no. 4 in Table A2). His father was a Turco-Mongol (he was the brother of Qarā Damurdāsh who was a “Turk”). See Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:155; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:47. In any case, the name Ṭashtamur was given to Turco-Mongols at that time. See, for example, Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:165. Barqūq married Ṭashtamur’s daughter ca. 779/1378. See al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:323. 3. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz was a grandson of Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī who is said to have been a “Turk”. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta’rikh al-Islām*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmuri (Beirut, 2004), 377. He was promoted from an amirate of ten to that of *ṭablkhāna* in 791/1389 (no. 6 in Table A2). Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz was married to an *umm walad* of al-Ashraf Sha’bān, the mother of al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥajjī ibn al-Ashraf Sha’bān. She apparently gave birth to Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz ca. 782/1380–1. See Yosef, “The rise” (at footnote no. 550). At some point between 782/1380 and 784/1382, Barqūq married her. See Jo Van Steenberghe, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture. 1341–1382* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 84–5; Walter J. Fischel,

suggest that Barqūq was willing to promote some descendants of Turco-Mongols, even if related closely to the Qalāwūnids, but mainly those with whom he established or had a close connection. Few descendants of Turco-Mongols who were not closely related to the Qalāwūnids could become amirs even if they were not closely related to Barqūq.¹⁴¹ Descendants of non-Turks who, in general, did not enjoy close ties with the Qalāwūnids, seem to have had more chance to get promotions even if they did not enjoy a very close tie with Barqūq. However, in general, almost all the descendants promoted to high rank, that is, *ṭablkhāna* or *muqaddam* ranks, enjoyed a close relationship with Barqūq. Among the six promoted to these high ranks (nos. 1–6 in Table A2), three were his in-laws (nos. 3–4 and 6), and one was the son of his master (no. 1). The other two were not closely related to the Qalāwūnids (nos. 2 and 5), and one of them who was promoted to the rank of *muqaddam* was not a Turco-Mongol (no. 2).

In contrast to the late Turkish period, in 782–791/1380–1389 there is no clear evidence that the *mamlūks*' descendants were promoted to amirates in Cairo at a young age (i. e., before the age of 20). This, of course, makes sense, because during the late Turkish period such promotions were reserved almost exclusively to the in-laws of the Qalāwūnids, mostly of Turco-Mongol origin. In general, Barqūq was not interested in promoting the descendants of that group. During the days of Barqūq, a period of transformation, a new elite still did not establish itself, and in any case, Barqūq who struggled with elements who based their rights on genealogy was perhaps not inclined to such promotions, even concerning descendants of amirs with whom he enjoyed a close relationship, be they Turco-Mongols or Circassians. However, it is possible that some *mamlūks*' descendants became *ṭablkhānas* or *muqaddams* at a relatively young age, especially if they enjoyed a close relationship with Barqūq. For example, Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 802/1400, about 40 years old), the son of Barqūq's master, became a *muqaddam* in 788/1386 when he was about 26 years old, a relatively young age for that rank (no. 1 in Table A2).¹⁴² In general, promotions of *mamlūks*' descendants were apparently

“Ascensus Barcoch (I) and (II): A Latin Biography of the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq of Egypt (d. 1399) Written by B. de Mignanelli in 1416”, *Arabica* 6 (1959), 73. 4. Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 791/1389) apparently became amir of ten ca. 783/1381 (no. 9 in Table A2). His father, ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī, was a close associate of Barqūq (*min khawāṣṣ Barqūq*) and supported him in his struggles. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:220. ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī is mentioned as a “Turk”, and Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur as “of Turkish origin”. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:248; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:173.

141 The conspicuous example is Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-ʿAlāʾī. See at footnote no. 139 above.

142 See no. 1 in footnote no. 140 above. It is also very likely that Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn Aytamush al-Bajāṣī (d. 798/1395), the in-law of Barqūq (no. 3 in Table A2), was relatively young when he had received a *ṭablkhāna* (in 784–791/1382–1389), because when he died, he was a *shābb*. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:328–9.

reserved for those who were of proper age. Some *mamlūks*’ descendants were apparently considered old enough to receive amirate or promotion upon the death of their father (or relative). Upon the death of Bahādur al-Jamālī in 786/1384, his nephew Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803/1401) received his rank of *muqaddam* (no. 2 in Table A2), and Bahādur’s son ‘Umar became amir of ten (no. 8). Upon the death of Julbān al-‘Alā’ī in 788/1386, his son Muḥammad received his *ṭablkhāna* (no. 5). Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 791/1389) apparently received in 783/1381 amirate of ten upon the death of his father ‘Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī who was a *muqaddam* (no. 9).¹⁴³

Table A1: *Mamlūks*’ descendants arrested in 791/1389¹⁴⁴

Name (year of death)	Status in 791 (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
1. Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803)	<i>muqaddam</i> (786)	amir 10 (775 at the latest)	Q: remote	Non-Turk (name) ¹⁴⁵
2. Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn Aytamush al-Bajāṣī (d. 798)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (784–791)	--	B: in-law	Circassian ¹⁴⁶
3. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (791)	amir 10 (772–778)	B: in-law	TM ¹⁴⁷

143 See footnote no. 118 above (nos. 1–3 and 6). For a case of a free person who was not a *mamlūk*’s descendant who received the *ṭablkhāna* of his father upon the latter’s death, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:491.

144 For the list of those arrested, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:624–6; Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:321–2. Only *hijrī* years are mentioned in order to save space. Under the rubrics of “Status in 791” and “Status in 778”, the rank in the years 791/1389 and 778/1377 is mentioned, and in parenthesis the year of promotion to the ranks (if known). Under the rubric of “Tie”, special ties with the Qalāwūnids (Q) and Barqūq (B) are mentioned, mostly involving marital (or familial) ties, but also one case of a son of a *lālā* and few cases involving burial in a joint *turba*, suggesting a close tie. Under the rubric of “Origin”, “TM” stands for a Turco-Mongol (or a Turk or a Mongol). If the information on the origin is not mentioned explicitly in the sources but deduced from the name, then “(name)” appears under the origin. Some names were given to both Europeans/Anatolians and Caucasians, such cases are defined as “Non-Turks”.

145 On ranks, ties, and origin, see footnotes nos. 118 (no. 2) and 137 above; Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 15 in Yosef, “The Rise”. He was a European/Anatolian or Caucasian according to his father’s name, but more likely a European/Anatolian. On the “ethnic destination” of the name Sunqur, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 78–80.

146 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 9) and 137 above.

147 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 10) and 140 (no. 2) above; and see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 12 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid* (footnote no. 558).

(Continued)

Name (year of death)	Status in 791 (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
4. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Manklībughā al-Shamsī	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (771)	Q: in-law B: in-law	TM (name) ¹⁴⁸
5. ‘Alī ibn Aqtamur ‘Abd al-Ghanī	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (778)		TM ¹⁴⁹
6. Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī (d. 803)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (769)	Q: in-law B: remote	TM (name) ¹⁵⁰
7. Muḥammad ibn Iyāz/Iyās al-Dawādārī (d. 799)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	amir 10? (promoted to <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 771; and again in 781?)		? ¹⁵¹
8. Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā (al-Māridānī)? (d. 807)	amir 10? ¹⁵²	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (759) ¹⁵³	Q: in-law B: remote	TM (name) ¹⁵⁴

148 See footnote no. 215 below; and see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 8 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid* (at footnote no. 528). He was a Turco-Mongol according to the name of his father. On the “ethnic destination” of the name Manklībughā during the Turkish period, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 106.

149 On his rank, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. Aqtamur ‘Abd al-Ghanī was a Turco-Mongol. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:243.

150 See footnote no. 216 below; and see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 9 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid* (at footnotes nos. 524–7). He was a Turco-Mongol according to the name of his father. On the “ethnic destination” of the name Tankizbughā during the Turkish period, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 104–5.

151 On his rank, see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 20 in Yosef, “The Rise”. The origin of Muḥammad ibn Iyāz/Iyās al-Dawādārī cannot be determined. While starting from the 720s/1320s and until the Circassian period the name Iyāz/Iyās was given to Europeans/Anatolians or Caucasians, before that time its “ethnic destination” is not known. Iyās al-Dawādārī was given his name before the 720s/1320s. On the name Iyāz/Iyās, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 100.

152 Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā among the amirs of ten arrested. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:321. Al-Maqrīzī mentions instead Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:625. Al-Jawharī mentions Muḥammad ibn Tankiz [!]. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:219. The problem is that at that time Muḥammad ibn Tankiz was a *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:605; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:273. On the other hand, Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā was also a *ṭablkhāna* in the

(Continued)

Name (year of death)	Status in 791 (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
9. Mūsá [ibn Abū Bakr] ibn Salār (d. 797)	amir 10 (788)	--	Q?: in-law	TM? ¹⁵⁵
10. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Man-klībughā al-Shamsī (d. 796)	amir 10 ¹⁵⁶ (mentioned in 786?) ¹⁵⁷	--	Q: in-law B: in-law	TM (name) ¹⁵⁸
11. Qalamṭāy/Turunṭāy ibn Aljāy al-Yūsufī	amir 10	--	Q: in-law	European/Anatolian? (name) ¹⁵⁹
12. Amīr Ḥājj ibn Aydughmish	amir 10	--		?
13. Muḥammad ibn Aqdamur al-Šā-ḥibī	amir 10	--		TM (name) ¹⁶⁰
14. ‘Alī ibn Bulāt [al-Sayfī Aljāy] al-Kabīr	amir 10	--		?

late Turkish period. Moreover, according to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā kept the rank of *ṭablkhāna* until 791/1389. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:456. In any case, we know that Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā was still amir (of unknown rank) in 788/1387. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:244. So, things are not entirely clear in this case; however, it seems much more likely that Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā was amir *ṭablkhāna* in 791/1389 when arrested, if arrested.

153 See Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 3 in Yosef, “The Rise”.

154 On his ties, see footnote no. 216 below; and see Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 524–7). On the name Tankizbughā and his origin, see footnote no. 150 above.

155 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 5) and 138 above.

156 According to al-Maqrīzī, he was amir of ten when arrested. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:626. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, he was a *ṭablkhāna*, but he seems to confuse him with his brother ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (no. 4 in Table A1). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:321; and see also al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:218. He is known to have been amir of ten. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:530.

157 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:138 (footnote no. 1); al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:105. Mentioned as *amīr al-ḥājj* in 786/1384, however, on another occasion related to this post he is only mistakenly mentioned instead of his older brother, so it is more likely that the latter was *amīr al-ḥājj* also in 786/1384. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:725 (footnote no. 3); and compare with Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:401; al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:315 (and *ibid* [footnote 3]); Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh*, 9:234, 238; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:347. More generally, on some occasions, historians seem to confuse between the two brothers. See footnote no. 156 above.

158 On his ties and origin, see footnote no. 148 above.

159 On his ties, see Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 537–8). He was perhaps a European/Anatolian; his brother, Taghrībirdī, had a name given to Europeans/Anatolians—see *idem*, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 94–8.

160 As mentioned (see footnote no. 149 above), the name Aqdamur was given at that time to Turco-Mongols.

(Continued)

Name (year of death)	Status in 791 (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
15. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Arghūn al-Nā'ib	amir 10	--	Q: in-law	TM ¹⁶¹
16. Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Da-wādār (d. 802)	amir 10	--	B: <i>turba</i>	TM ¹⁶²
17. Muḥammad (Aḥmad) ibn Arghūn al-Aḥmadī	amir 10	amir 10 (776)	Q: son of <i>lālā</i>	TM (name) ¹⁶³
18. Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Shamsī (= al-Sāqī)	amir 10	amir 10	Q: in-law	TM ¹⁶⁴
19. Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy [al-Karakī] Shādd al-'Amā'ir	amir 10	amir 10	Q: re-mote	TM ¹⁶⁵
20. Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy [al-Karakī] Naqīb al-Jaysh (d. 792)	amir 10	amir 10 ¹⁶⁶ (772; and again in 778?)	Q: re-mote	TM ¹⁶⁷

161 On his ties, see Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 356–9). Arghūn al-Nā'ib was a “Turk”. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:307 (*kāna Turkī*); Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1991), 2:22 (*Turkī al-jins*).

162 On his ties and origin, see footnotes nos. 135–6, and especially footnote no. 138 above.

163 On his rank and ties, see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 16 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid* (footnote no. 556). The name Arghūn was given to Turco-Mongols during the Turkish period. See Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 109.

164 See Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 2 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid* (at footnotes nos. 349–55 and 545–6). On the name Baktamur during the Turkish period, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 80–4, 111. On the origin of Baktamur al-Sāqī specifically, see al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 285 (*al-Turkī*).

165 On his rank, see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 4 in Yosef, “The Rise”. Qaraṭāy al-Karakī is probably to be equated with Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī. See Yosef, “The Rise” (footnotes nos. 780–781, 817); and see footnote no. 166 below. Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī was a “Turk”. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:166; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Wajiz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl 'alā Duwal al-Islām*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, and Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1995), 1:237. In any case, since Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī was a “Turk”, it suggests that the name Qaraṭāy was given to Turco-Mongols at that time. Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī (d. 779/1377), who is apparently the same person as Qaraṭāy al-Karakī, was married to a daughter of Aynabak al-Badrī (d. 779/1377) who was married to the mother of Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-'Umārī claimed to be al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's son. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:117; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amāl*, 2:124.

166 Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy al-Mawṣilī became *naqīb al-jaysh* and apparently also amir of ten in Cairo in 772/1370. Later, he became *naqīb al-mamālīk*, until in 775/1374 he asked to quit the position. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:189, 226. About two years later, in 777/1376, Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī became the *wālī* of Qūṣ. See *ibid.*, 3:255. In 778/1377, Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī became amir of ten in Cairo. See *ibid.*, 3:289; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150. In 781/1379, the amir Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī became

(Continued)

Name (year of death)	Status in 791 (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
21. Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Muḥammadī	amir 10	amir 10		Non-Turk (name) ¹⁶⁸
22. Muḥammad ibn Ṭughaytamur al-Nizāmī (d. 803)	amir 10	amir 10	Q: in-law	TM ¹⁶⁹

Table A2: *Mamlūks’* descendants promoted by Barqūq to amirates in Cairo (782–791/1380–1389)¹⁷⁰

Name (year of death)	Rank (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
1. Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 802)	<i>muqaddam</i> (ca. 788)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (775)	Q: in-law B: son of master	TM ¹⁷¹

naqīb al-jaysh in Cairo. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:356. Weirdly, in 782/1380, it is mentioned that Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī received (again?) amirate of ten in Cairo. See *ibid.*, 3:380. In 785/1383, Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī stopped being *naqīb al-jaysh*. After arrested and released in 791/1389, Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy is mentioned as *naqīb al-jaysh* again in 791/1389 during the days of Miṭāsh. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:357; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:669. Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy Naqīb al-Jaysh died in battle against Barqūq in 792/1390. See al-ʿAynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 296. A person by the name of Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy is not mentioned otherwise in Mamluk sources. The fact that Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy is mentioned only during a very short period, mainly as amir of ten and *naqīb al-jaysh*, suggests that Qaraṭāy al-Mawṣilī, Qaraṭāy al-Karakī, and Qaraṭāy al-Ṭazī are the same person. And see also Yosef, “The Rise” (footnotes nos. 780–1, 817).

167 On his ties and origin, see footnote no. 165 above.

168 See Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 17 in Yosef, “The Rise”. He was a European/Anatolian or Caucasian according to his father’s name, but more likely a European/Anatolian. On the “ethnic destination” of the name Sunqur, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 78–80.

169 On his rank and ties, see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 11 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid.* (at footnote no. 555). Ṭughaytamur al-Nizāmī was a Turco-Mongol. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:119 (he was the brother of Aydamur Mīn Šiddīq al-Turkī al-Khiṭāʾī).

170 Based on a survey of the *Nujūm* and the *Sulūk* corroborated by the indexes of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Taʾrīkh*, al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, al-ʿAynī’s *Iqd al-Jumʿān* (the reign of Barqūq), Ibn al-Furāt’s *Taʾrīkh*, and the appendix of Richards (“Mamluk Amirs”). For references concerning Barqūq’s promotions, see footnote no. 118 above. The information does not include sons of Barqūq who became amirs (see, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:387, 846; al-ʿAynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 309). It includes only securely identified promotions to amirates in Cairo for the first time, or promotions to a higher rank in Cairo, thus it excludes [Muḥammad ibn?] Muḥammad ibn Aqbughā Āṣ (d. 795/1393) who was a *muqaddam* already in 778/1377 but then deposed only to be appointed again in 782/1380 to amirate of *ṭablkhāna* (see footnote no. 118 [no. 11]).

171 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 4) and 140 (no. 1) above; and see Appendix I, section 2.3, no. 4 in Yosef, “The Rise”.

(Continued)

Name (year of death)	Rank (year)	Status in 778 (year)	Tie	Origin
2. Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803)	<i>muqaddam</i> (786)	amir 10 (775 at the latest)	Q: remote	Non-Turk (name) ¹⁷²
3. Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn Aytamush al-Bajāṣī (d. 798)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (784–791)	--	B: in-law	Circassian ¹⁷³
4. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (791)	amir 10 (772–778)	B: in-law	TM ¹⁷⁴
5. Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-‘Alā’ī	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (788)	--	Q: remote	TM (name) ¹⁷⁵
6. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankīz	<i>ṭablkhāna</i> (791)	amir 10 (776)	Q: in-law B: in-law	TM ¹⁷⁶
7. Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaqarī al-Manjakī (d. 794)	amir 10 (790)	--		Non-Turk (name) ¹⁷⁷
8. ‘Umar ibn Bahādūr al-Jamālī	amir 10 (786)	--	Q: remote	Non-Turk (name) ¹⁷⁸
9. Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (d. 791)	amir 10 (783)	--	B: son of associate	TM ¹⁷⁹
10. Mūsā [ibn Abū Bakr] ibn Salār (d. 797)	amir 10 (788)	--	Q?: in-law	TM? ¹⁸⁰

Many of the afore-mentioned amirs arrested by Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī were released a short while thereafter. Yalbughā released from imprisonment 14 out of 22 *mamlūks*’ descendants (about two thirds) and only 10 out of about 45 non-eunuch *mamlūks* (about a quarter).¹⁸¹ This agrees with general statements that one finds in the sources, according to which Minṭāsh, the other amir who revolted against Barqūq, was assisted in his campaign by “*awlād al-nās*” (i. e., free persons including *mamlūks*’ descendants). Minṭāsh is said to have advanced “*awlād al-*

172 See no. 1 in Table A1 above. He was a European/Anatolian or Caucasian according to his father’s name, but more likely a European/Anatolian.

173 See no. 2 in Table A1 above.

174 See no. 3 in Table A1 above.

175 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 6) and 139 above.

176 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 8) and 140 (no. 3) above; and see Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 9 in Yosef, “The Rise”; and see *ibid* (at footnotes nos. 549–50).

177 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 7) and 137 above.

178 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 3) and 137 above. He was a European/Anatolian or Caucasian according to his father’s name, but more likely a European/Anatolian.

179 See footnotes nos. 118 (no. 1) and 140 (no. 4).

180 See no. 9 in Table A1 above.

181 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:626–8. One *mamlūk* amir was released but immediately imprisoned again.

nās”, his own *mamlūks*, and his *khushdāshiyya*, and to have held promotions from the *mamlūks* of Barqūq.¹⁸² Mīntāsh’s major round of appointments to amirates in Cairo after Barqūq’s deposition in 791/1389 confirms that there was a close link between the rebels and “*awlād al-nās*” (*mamlūks*’ descendants and other free persons). 10 out of 80 amirs of ten, twenty, and *ṭablkhānas* that Mīntāsh appointed were *mamlūks*’ descendants (12.5%), and 19 out of 80 were *mamlūks*’ descendants and other free persons (about 24%).¹⁸³ The share of *mamlūks*’ descendants among Mīntāsh’s appointments is significantly higher than their proportion in Barqūq’s appointments, being closer to their share in rounds of appointments during the late Turkish period. While some of the *mamlūks*’ descendants appointed by Mīntāsh were already amirs before 791/1389, we find among his appointments of *mamlūks*’ descendants a significant number of new amirs or promotions to higher ranks, some were related to the Qalāwūnids, most, if not all, were Turco-Mongols.¹⁸⁴ Although there was perhaps

182 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:342.

183 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:653–4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:344–6. Except for his young son Muḥammad, Mīntāsh appointed two or three *mamlūks*’ descendants to the rank of *muqaddam*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:647, 652; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:351; and see footnote no. 184 (nos. 1–3) below.

184 1. Ibrāhīm ibn Quṭluqtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 791/1389) became *ṭablkhāna* in 778/1377 but was promoted to the rank of *muqaddam* in 791/1389. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:150; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:647. Ibrāhīm ibn Quṭluqtamur was remotely related to the Qalāwūnids: his father Quṭluqtamur al-‘Alā’ī was married to a daughter of Aynabak al-Badrī (d. 779/1377) who was married to the mother of Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umarī claimed to be al-Nāṣir Ḥasan’s son. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:564; 4:117. The “ethnic destination” of the name Quṭluqtamur is not clear. 2. Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughulṭāy (d. 801/1398), closely related to the Qalāwūnids (see Yosef, “The Rise” [footnote no. 540]), was *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in 778/1377, later governor of Alexandria, but was promoted to the rank of *muqaddam* in Cairo in 791/1389. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:37; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:351. He was perhaps of Mongol origins. In any case, the name Mughulṭāy was given during the Turkish period to “Tatars” or “Turks”. See Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 80–4. 3. If Asandamur ibn Ya’qūb Shāh was a *mamlūk*’s descendant, then he is first mentioned as amir in Cairo when he was given the rank of *muqaddam* in 791/1389. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:652; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 42. Around that time, the name Ya’qūb Shāh was given also to a Turco-Mongol slave or servant (*min mamālīk*) of Barqūq. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:148. However, it is more likely that Asandamur was not a *mamlūk*’s descendant, because he has a Turkish name, and his father is never mentioned with a *nisba* or as a *mamlūk*. 4. Muḥammad ibn Asandamur al-‘Alā’ī is not mentioned before he became *ṭablkhāna* in 791/1389. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:653. Shortly afterwards, he became the governor of Alexandria. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:289; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:657; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 47. The name Asandamur was given to Turco-Mongols during the late Turkish period. See Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 72–3 (footnote no. 66), 110 (footnote no. 275). 5. Muḥammad ibn Mughulṭāy al-Mas’ūdī is not mentioned before he became amir of twenty in 791/1389. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:653. The name Mughulṭāy was given during the Turkish period to “Tatars” or “Turks”. See Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 80–4. 6. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz, closely related to the Qalāwūnids, received an additional amirate of ten. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:345. Tankiz

no drastic decline in the military-political status of *mamlūks*' descendants during al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's first reign, the constant erosion in their position drove them into the arms of the rebels.

Of course, the ethnic context of the struggle between Miṭāsh and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, who were supported mainly by Turco-Mongols, some from the old Qalāwūnid elite, and between al-Ẓāhir Barqūq who was supported mainly by Circassians, cannot be ignored. Among the *mamlūk* amirs who served Barqūq in 791/1389 and were arrested by Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī we find several Circassians, but none of them was released.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, possibly all *mamlūk* amirs released after being arrested were Turco-Mongols.¹⁸⁶ Importantly, there is ex-

was a "Turk". See al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 377; and see no. 6 in Table A2 above. 7. Muḥammad ibn Mankūtāmūr 'Abd al-Ghanī, whose sister was married to Miṭāsh, received for the first time amirate of ten in 791/1389. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:654; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:471. Miṭāsh himself connected himself to the Qalāwūnids in 791/1389 when he married the sister al-Manṣūr (formerly al-Ṣāliḥ) Ḥajji ibn al-Ashraf Sha'bān, after reinstalling him as sultan. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:351–2. The "ethnic destination" of the name Mankūtāmūr around the late Turkish period is not known. 8. In addition, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Burulghay received for the first time amirate of ten in 791/1389. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:654. Apparently, only two Burulghays are mentioned in the territories of the Mamluk Sultanate. Burulghay al-Ṣaghīr (d. 749/1348) was a maternal relative of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (i. e., a Mongol) who was not a slave. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:281. Burulghay al-Ashrafī (d. 710/1310) was a Mongol (Tatar) *mamlūk*. See *ibid.*, 1:280. It is more likely that Miṭāsh, the legitimist and the supporter of the Qalāwūnids, promoted a person related to the Qalāwūnids. Therefore, it is more likely that Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Burulghay was not a *mamlūks*' descendant.

- 185 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:624–8. Among the seven *mamlūk muqaddams* arrested we apparently find five Circassians: Qijmās al-Zāhiri the relative of Barqūq (it is not entirely clear if he was a *mamlūk*), Bajās al-Nawrūzī who was a Circassian, and three amirs named Sūdūn, a name given only to Circassians. See Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*", 68–9, 102 (footnote no. 246). None of them was released from imprisonment. One of the seven *mamlūk muqaddams*, Shaykh al-Ṣafawī, was released but immediately imprisoned again. It cannot be determined by his name if he was a Circassian or Turco-Mongol, however he was more likely a Turco-Mongol. See Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:105–6. Aqbughā al-Mārdīnī, the only *mamlūk muqaddam* that was released from imprisonment, was apparently a Turco-Mongol. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:394. Among the about 35 non-eunuch *mamlūk* amirs of ten and *ṭablkhāna* arrested, there is evidence for six Circassians, none was released: Ṭulūbughā al-Aḥmadī was apparently a Circassian. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:672–3. Kamishbughā al-Fisī was a Circassian. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:147. Qunuqbāy al-Aḥmadī was a Circassian, and Qunuqbāy al-Sayfī Aljāy who was a supporter of Barqūq was a Circassian according to his name. See *ibid.*, 9:104–5; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 4:167. According to his name, Baybars al-Tumāntamūrī was apparently a Circassian. See Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*", 75, 102. Jarbāsh al-Shaykhī has a name that was given to Circassians. See, for example, Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:257; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 3:66. Few others were possibly Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians according to their names, however, in their case the evidence is not unequivocal. In any case, none of them was released.

- 186 The only *mamlūk muqaddam* released (and not imprisoned again) was apparently a Turco-Mongol (Aqbughā al-Mārdīnī; see footnote no. 185 above). One of the eight *mamlūk ṭablkhānas* and amirs of ten that were released was a Turco-Mongol: Arslān al-Laffāf was the

plicit information in contemporary sources that Yalbughā's policy towards simple *mamlūks* of Barqūq was the same: Circassians were arrested and not released whereas Turco-Mongol were arrested but later released.¹⁸⁷ In the same manner, among the 22 *mamlūks*' descendants arrested, there is unequivocal evidence for one Circassian—Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (no. 2 in Table A1), who was also an in-law of al-Zāhir Barqūq. He was not released from prison. All in all, among the eight descendants not released, we find one Circassian (Muḥammad ibn Aytamush) and two (nos. 1 and 21 in Table A1) whose fathers' names were given at that time to Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians (but not to Turco-Mongols).¹⁸⁸ On the other hand, almost all the 14 released were apparently Turco-Mongols, and apparently none was a Circassian.¹⁸⁹

The defeat of Yalbughā al-Nāṣiri and Miṭāsh, which was an important stage in the demise of the Turco-Mongol elite, seems to have been also a significant stage in the decline of the *mamlūks*' descendants. At the end of al-Zāhir Barqūq's first reign, apparently most of the amirs (whether *mamlūks* or their descendants)

brother of Aradbughā al-ʿUthmānī who was a Turco-Mongol (see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:352; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 9:240). Four of their names were apparently given to Turco-Mongols at that time: Two Qumārīs (for a Qumārī brought from *Bilād al-Turk* during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 3:154; however, the evidence concerning the “ethnic destination” of the name during the late Turkish period is not conclusive), one Aqbughā (see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 81), and one Tankizbughā (see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 104–5). However, the “ethnic destinations” of few of their names is not known (Bajmān, Yamanshāh, and Būrī). Still, there is no unequivocal evidence that there were Circassians among them, and apparently also Europeans/Anatolians. The position of Europeans/Anatolians in the ethnic struggle of 791/1389 is not entirely clear; however, they seem to have taken a middle position. In 802/1399 they joined forces with the Turco-Mongols.

187 Ayalon, “The Circassians”, 140–1.

188 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:624–8. On Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (no. 2), see footnote no. 137 above. According to the names of their fathers, Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (no. 1) and Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Muḥammadī (no. 21) were apparently either Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians; however, the name Sunqur was given mainly to Europeans/Anatolians. The origin of ʿAlī ibn Bulāṭ al-Kabīr (no. 14) cannot be determined by the name of his father. The other four who were not released were apparently Turco-Mongols (nos. 15, 17–18, and 22 in Table A1).

189 11 were in all likelihood Turco-Mongols: Muḥammad ibn Yūnus (no. 16 in Table A1), Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur (no. 3), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm the sons of Manḳlībughā al-Shamsī (nos. 4 and 10), Khalīl and Muḥammad the sons of Qaraṭāy (nos. 19 and 20), ʿAlī ibn Aqtamur ʿAbd al-Ghanī (no. 5), Muḥammad ibn Aqtamur al-Ṣāhibī (no. 13), Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā and possibly also his brother Muḥammad (nos. 6 and 8), and Mūsā [ibn Abū Bakr] ibn Salār (no. 9) who was possibly the descendant of the Oirat amir Salār al-Manṣūrī; however, he was perhaps not a *mamlūk*'s descendant. The origins of Amīr Ḥājī ibn Aydughmish (no. 12) and Muḥammad ibn Iyāz/Iyās al-Dawādārī (no. 7) cannot be determined by the names of their fathers. The son of Aljāy al-Yūsufī (no. 11) was perhaps a European/Anatolian.

were still Turco-Mongols (although many *muqaddams* were Circassians).¹⁹⁰ Only after Barqūq returned to power in 792/1390, it is reported that he started purging the Turco-Mongols that were still amirs and promoting his mainly-Circassian *mamlūks* in their stead.¹⁹¹ It is implied in Mamluk sources that during his first reign al-Ẓāhir Barqūq mainly relied on amirs from among his peers (many of them must have been Turco-Mongols) and not his *mamlūks*.¹⁹² In fact, only when Yalbughā and Miṭāsh and the Turco-Mongols turned against him in 791/1389, he started promoting his *mamlūks* to amirates in significant numbers.¹⁹³ It is very rare to find references to *mamlūks* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq that were promoted before 791/1389.¹⁹⁴ Only after he returned to power in 792/1390, the Ẓāhirī *mamlūks* become conspicuous among the amirs,¹⁹⁵ and the biographical entries of many of his *mamlūks* include a reference to the fact that they were promoted during his second reign¹⁹⁶ (or shortly before he was deposed in 791/1389, during the struggle with the Turco-Mongol rebels).¹⁹⁷ In 793/1391, in the first major round of appointments to amirates in Cairo reported in the sources after al-Ẓāhir Barqūq had returned to power, most of the 11 *mamlūks* appointed to amirates of ten and *ṭablkhānas* were Ẓāhirī *mamlūks*, among them many Circassians or non-Turks.¹⁹⁸

190 See above; especially at footnotes nos. 185–9 and Table A1.

191 al-ʿAynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq*, 8; and see *ibid.*, 496 (al-ʿAynī mentions in the obituary of Barqūq that most of the *mamlūks* he bought were Caucasians [*wa-ghālib mamālīkuhu... kāna min al-Jarākisa ʿalā ikhtilāf ṭawāʾifihim*]).

192 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:289. On Barqūq’s reliance on Turco-Mongols, see Amalia Levanoni, “al-Maqrīzī’s Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith”, in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 99–101. Levanoni’s observations are more relevant to the first reign of Barqūq. For a discussion concerning Levanoni’s thesis, see Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:87–94.

193 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:268. Ibn Taghribirdī refers to a round of appointments in 791/1389 and mentions that all 12 amirs of ten were *mamlūks* of Barqūq. In fact, this round of appointments is the only major round of appointments to amirates during Barqūq’s first reign (784–791/1382–1389). In contrast, during his second reign, the sources report on four major rounds of appointments. See footnote no. 117 above. This suggests that during his first reign there was more stability in tenures of amirates. This last point, however, should be further examined.

194 Sūdūn al-Ṭuruntāʾī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 794/1392, less than 40, or, less likely, less than 30), a Circassian according to his name (see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 68–9), perhaps became the slave of Barqūq after he had been the slave of Ṭuruntāy the governor of Damascus. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:440 (less than 40); Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:436 (less than 30); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:110–1. He apparently became amir of ten in 788/1386, when he was probably about 30 years old. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:137; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:187.

195 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:24, 34.

196 See, for example, *ibid.*, 12:163; *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 2:303.

197 See, for example, *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 3:375; 4:168.

198 See *idem*, *al-Nujūm*, 12:24–5. According to explicit information or information deduced from their names: 1. Apparently four were Circassians: Sūdūn al-ʿUthmānī and Sūdūn Min

According to Bertrando de Mignanelli (d. 1455), after al-Ẓāhir Barqūq had executed Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī in Syria in 793/1391, “[h]e reformed the country... and promoted his own partisans. He appointed many new officials [and] deposed the old ones... He advanced many of his own people, that is Circassians or Greeks; many loyal Turks he turned away”.¹⁹⁹ The process was apparently gradual, since only after the death of Miṭāsh in 795/1392, de Mignanelli reports, perhaps referring now also to Cairo, that “then, since [Yalbughā al-] Nāṣirī, Miṭāsh, and all the others whom he did not trust were dead, Barqūq reformed the country, changed the officials, created new offices, demoted the Turks and Tartars, [and] promoted his countrymen, the Circassians”.²⁰⁰ Because in 795/1392 the “Greeks” are not mentioned, it is implied that Barqūq gradually drifted away from the Europeans/Anatolians and focused on promoting his Circassian *mamlūks*, which helps to understand why in 802/1399 the Europeans/Anatolians joined forces with the Turco-Mongols against the Circassians.²⁰¹ We may assume that even after the death of Yalbughā and Miṭāsh, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s power was still balanced by his peers, some of them Turco-Mongols, and, of course, by practical considerations. It is reported that only towards his death in 801/1399, when his *aghā* and older *khushdāsh* the Turco-Mongol Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī died, Barqūq was happy because Kamishbughā was the last of the Yalbughāwiyya to die, and Barqūq felt that he now totally consolidated his power (*fa-ibtahaja al-*

Bāshāh (the name Sūdūn was given only to Circassians, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 68–9), Qalamṭay al-‘Uthmānī al-Ẓāhirī (he was a brother of Sūdūn Ṭāz, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:20), Shukrbāy al-‘Uthmānī al-Ẓāhirī (the name Shukrbāy was apparently given to Circassians, since it was given to a Circassian slave-girl, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 12:68). 2. Three were apparently Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians: Lājīn al-Nāṣirī (on the name Lājīn, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 69, 73–4), ‘Alān al-Yahyāwī al-Ẓāhirī (the name ‘Alān seems to have been given either to Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians, but more likely to Circassians, see Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:98), and Quṭlūbughā al-Ṭuqtamushī (on the name Quṭlūbughā, see *ibid.*, 1:69–70). 3. One was apparently a European/Anatolian or Turco-Mongol, but more likely a Turco-Mongol: Arghūn Shāh al-Aqbughāwī (on the name Arghūn Shāh, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 109–10). 4. Apparently three were Turco-Mongols: Qujuq al-Ẓāhirī (see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:35–6), Kuzul al-Nāṣirī [al-Ẓāhirī] (*ibid.*, 9:129), and probably also Kamishbughā al-Ismā‘īlī (on the name Kamishbughā, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 108).

199 See Fischel, “Ascensus Barcoch”, 162. On purges of supporters of Miṭāsh in 793/1391 in Mamluk sources (some were formerly also supporters of the Turco-Mongol Baraka in 782/1380), see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:21; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:417.

200 Fischel, “Ascensus Barcoch”, 166.

201 In the obituary of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, al-Maqrīzī writes that he promoted the Circassians over the Turco-Mongols and the Europeans/Anatolians (*yuqaddimu al-Jarākisa ‘alā al-Arwām wal-Atrāk*), in what probably refers mainly to his policy during his second reign. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:943. Ibn Taghribirdī has similar sayings. See Ayalon, “The Circassians”, 140–1; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:108; *idem*, *al-Manhal*, 6:396. On discrimination of Turco-Mongols during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, see also Yosef, “*Mamlūks of Jewish Origin*”, 58.

sultān li-mawtihi wa-ra'á annahu qad tamma la-hu amruhu fa-innahu ākhir man baqiya min al-umarā' al-Yalbughāwiyya).²⁰² Around that date, the dominance of the *Ẓāhirī mamlūks* became conspicuous enough.²⁰³ Al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451) mentions in the obituary of Barqūq that by the end of his life, most of the amirs and all governors except for one were from among the *mamlūks* which he had personally bought.²⁰⁴ By that time, at least the highest ranks in Cairo were reserved mainly for his Circassian *mamlūks*.²⁰⁵

There is some evidence that during his second reign Barqūq was more inclined to take active measures also against the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs before 792/1390, especially if (closely) related to the Qalāwūnids. Already in the battle in Syria in 792/1390 between Barqūq and Minṭāsh which led to the former's return to power, Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy [al-Karakī] Naqīb al-Jaysh, one of the amirs in Cairo from the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants, who supported Minṭāsh and was perhaps remotely related to the Qalāwūnids, died in battle.²⁰⁶ Quite a few of the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs in Cairo before Barqūq's second reign, many of them related to the Qalāwūnids, were deposed upon or after Barqūq's return to power, many times because they joined the Turco-Mongol rebels or were given amirates by them. The ones deposed included most of the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants who held high ranks (*muqaddams* or *ṭablkhānas*) until 792/1390 (Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughulṭāy, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'ī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn

202 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:935; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:55. On the ethnic origin of Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī, see Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*", 108; Fischel, "Ascensus Barcoch", 156. Kamishbughā was apparently somewhat older than Barqūq. The latter died at the same year when he was about 60 years old or a bit more (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:476, 937). Kamishbughā is said to have been about 60 or 70 years old when he died. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:54; Aḥmad ibn 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta'rikh Ibn Ḥijjī*, ed. Abū Yaḥyā 'Abdallāh al-Kundarī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003), 1:355. It is more probable that he was about 70 years old because he was the *aghā* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:142.

203 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:211.

204 al-'Aynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq*, 496.

205 See *ibid.* Al-'Aynī mentions ten high ranking amirs in Cairo upon the death of Barqūq. See *ibid.* Five were Circassians (Aytamush al-Bajāsi [see footnote no. 137 above], two Sūdūns [see Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*", 68–9, 102 (footnote no. 246)], Yashbak al-Sha'bānī [see *ibid.*, 101], and Baybars the relative of Barqūq), two were Europeans/Anatolians (Taghrī Birdī and Fāris [see *ibid.*, 111]), two were apparently Turco-Mongols (Arghūn Shāh al-Baydamuri and Yalbughā al-Aḥmadī [see *ibid.*, 94, 108]), and the origin of one is not known (Aristāy). It is clear though, that Turco-Mongols were not totally excluded from amirates. More generally, the number of Turco-Mongol amirs seems to have declined further during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–815/1399–1412), and according to al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), by the end of his reign, "most of the *amīrs* and army have become Circassians". See Ayalon, "The Circassians", 139–40.

206 See al-'Aynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq*, 296. On Muḥammad ibn Qaraṭāy, see no. 20 in Table A1 above.

Tankiz, Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umārī, Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Mār-idānī, and perhaps also Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-‘Alā’ī). Few, apparently especially those who enjoyed (also) a close tie with Barqūq, remained amirs in Cairo for a longer period until demoted (Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umārī), or were given amirates in Cairo again after they had been deposed, however, in some cases only to be demoted later again (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz).²⁰⁷

207 1. Shortly after Barqūq’s return to power in 792/1390, the Turco-Mongol Amīr Ḥājj ibn Mughultāy (d. 801/1398), closely related to the Qalāwūnids, who was brought to Cairo and made *muqaddam* by Miṭāsh in 791/1389 (see footnote no. 184 [no. 2] above), lost his amirate and was expelled by Barqūq to Damietta where he remained in his residence as *baṭṭāl* until his death in 801/1398. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:719; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:37; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīda fī Tarājīm al-A’yān al-Mufīda*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 2:5. 2. The apparently Turco-Mongol Muḥammad ibn Tankizbughā al-Mārīdānī (d. 807/1405), a son of a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (see Yosef, “The Rise” [at footnotes nos. 524–5]), who was a *ṭablkhāna* during the Turkish period and amir during Barqūq’s first reign (see no. 8 in Table A1 and footnote no. 150 above), joined the Turco-Mongol rebels according to his mother’s request. Upon Barqūq’s return to power, he took his *iqṭā’* and made him *baṭṭāl*, so he ended his life as a poor person. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:455–6. 3. The Turco-Mongol Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795/1393), who was made *ṭablkhāna* by his in-law Barqūq in 791/1389 (no. 3 in Table A1), cooperated with the Turco-Mongol rebels in 791/1389 and after Barqūq’s return to power his amirate was apparently taken and he was arrested. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:792; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:480. He is not mentioned as amir in the sources during the second reign of Barqūq. 4. The Turco-Mongol Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tankiz, closely related to the Qalāwūnids but also an in-law of Barqūq, who was promoted to *ṭablkhāna* by his in-law Barqūq in 791/1389 (no. 6 in Table A2), was arrested upon Barqūq’s return to power in 792/1390. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:701–2. While he was later released, it seems that he lost his amirate in Cairo and was transferred to Syria (as amir?). See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:426, 462, 464, 469, 515; and see Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 48 (according to Richards, he received amirate of ten after he had been released, but apparently his references do not support this). In 797/1395, he apparently returned to Egypt to receive amirate of *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:827; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:62; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:541. However, in 799/1397, his amirate was once again taken and he was sent to Alexandria as *baṭṭāl* and later to Damascus as *baṭṭāl*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:878–9; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:68; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:616–7. 5. Muḥammad ibn Mughultāy al-Mas’ūdī, a Turco-Mongol according to his father’s name, who was appointed amir of twenty by Miṭāsh in 791/1389 (see footnote no. 184 [no. 5] above), was apparently demoted in 792/1390. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh*, 9:214; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 48. 6. The Turco-Mongol Aḥmad ibn Yalbughā al-‘Umārī (d. 802/1400), closely related to the Qalāwūnids, who was a *ṭablkhāna* during the Turkish period and then promoted to the rank of *muqaddam* during the first reign of Barqūq (no. 1 in Table A2) who was the slave of his father, was arrested by Miṭāsh, but upon Barqūq’s return to power became a *ṭablkhāna* and then *muqaddam*. However, in 798/1396 he was expelled to Tripoli as amir, and then in 799/1397 he was arrested, his *iqṭā’* was taken, and he was made a *baṭṭāl* in Syria. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:857, 878; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:616; 4:117; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:511, 523. 7. Another Turco-Mongol, closely related to the Qalāwūnids, that was demoted is Khidr ibn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī. Khidr was amir of ten during the Turkish period and the first reign of Barqūq. See footnote no. 129 above; Yosef, “The Rise” (Appendix I, section 3.2, no. 10); and see *ibid* (at footnotes nos. 545–

Among the *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs before 792/1390 but deposed during the second reign of Barqūq we find also an Alan,²⁰⁸ but no Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians.²⁰⁹

Still, even after Barqūq's return to power, some *mamlūks*' descendants kept their rank and were apparently not demoted until they died or until the end of Barqūq's second reign (see Table B below). However, among these *mamlūks*'

6); on the origin of Baktamur al-Sāqī, see al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 285. Khidr is not mentioned during the second reign of Barqūq, until in 799/1397 it is mentioned that he received amirate of ten and returned to the service of the sultan (*u'ida ilā al-khidma al-sharīfa*). See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:461; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:876. Note that in 802/1399 Khidr ibn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī will join the anti-Circassian faction. See below at footnotes nos. 265–72. According to Richards, Khidr was amir of ten from 764/1363 until he was arrested in 802/1399 (Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 50), but the above-mentioned information suggests that he was demoted also before 802/1399. So, he was probably demoted after Barqūq's return to power. Note that he is not mentioned in the *Intiṣār* as land holder ca. 797/1394; however, the information in the *Intiṣār* is very partial. 8. The same could have happened with the apparently Turco-Mongol Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-'Alā'ī, who received a *ṭablkhāna* during the first reign of Barqūq (no. 5 in Table A2) but is not mentioned during the second reign until in 797/1395 he is said to have received amirate of twenty. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:828; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:401; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 47. Alternatively, but less likely, it is meant that he received an additional amirate of twenty. Note, that while it is possible that his rank during the first reign (*ṭablkhāna*) was higher than that he received during the second reign (amir of twenty), it is also very likely that the variation is due to terminological differences only (i.e., *ṭablkhāna* actually refers to the rank of amir of twenty). 9. It would also seem that Aḥmad ibn Arghūn al-Aḥmadī, a Turco-Mongol according to his father's name, who was amir of ten during the Turkish period and the first reign of Barqūq (no. 17 in Table A1), was also demoted upon Barqūq's return to power. It is mentioned that he decided to join the Turco-Mongol rebels in 791/1389. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:279. As far as I know, he is not mentioned after that year, so it is quite possible that he was demoted, arrested, or killed upon Barqūq's return to power. His father was the *lālā* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān. 10. If Asandamur ibn Ya'qūb Shāh was a *mamlūk*'s descendant, then he was apparently a Turco-Mongol and supporter of Mīntāsh who gave him the rank of *muqaddam* in 791/1389. See footnote no. 184 (no. 3) above. He was executed in 793/1391. See Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 42. 11. To these we may add the apparently Turco-Mongol Muḥammad ibn Asandamur al-'Alā'ī who was made *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo in 791/1389 by Mīntāsh and then governor of Alexandria (see footnote no. 184 [no. 4] above). Upon Barqūq's return to power in 792/1390 he was demoted, and he is not mentioned afterwards in the sources. See al-'Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 299.

208 [Muḥammad ibn?] Muḥammad ibn Aqbughā Āṣ (d. 795/1393) who was amir *ṭablkhāna* in 782/1380 (see footnote no. 118 [no. 11] above) and is mentioned towards the end of Barqūq's first reign only as amir of ten (See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:593), continued to be amir of ten in Cairo also after Barqūq had returned to power in 792/1390 (see *ibid.*, 3:706, 794), apparently until 793/1391, after which he became a *wālī* and later on his status deteriorated further (see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:493; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 46).

209 There were some cases of Circassians or Europeans/Anatolians who were promoted to amirates during the second reign but later demoted. See Table B (nos. 3–4, and 18) and footnote no. 242 below.

descendants we find a Circassian who was an in-law of Barqūq (no. 5 in Table B),²¹⁰ and two non-Turks (probably Europeans/Anatolians) who were not (closely) related to the Qalāwūnids (nos. 2 and 12 in Table B).²¹¹ These three were made amirs or promoted to a higher rank by Barqūq during his first reign. The origin of one, who received his rank already during the Turkish period, cannot be determined (no. 9 in Table B); however, he did not enjoy a special tie with the Qalāwūnids.²¹² While five were in all likelihood Turco-Mongols who had apparently received their rank already during the Turkish period (nos. 8, 10–11, 14, and 16 in Table B),²¹³ one of them was not related to the Qalāwūnids (no. 16 in Table B),²¹⁴ and three (nos. 8, 10, and 14 in Table B) of the other four who were closely related to the Qalāwūnids were also related to Barqūq (two were his in-laws [nos. 8 and 14 in Table B],²¹⁵ and

210 No. 5 in Table B: Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (d. 798/1395) who was made *ṭablkhāna* by Barqūq during his first reign (for details see no. 2 in Table A1 = no. 3 in Table A2), is mentioned as *amīr al-ḥājj* in 797/1395 and he apparently died as *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:841, 866; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:328; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:599–600.

211 No. 2 in Table B: Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803/1401) who was promoted to the rank of *muqāddam* during Barqūq's first reign (for details see no. 1 in Table A1 = no. 2 in Table A2) and was given only the rank of *ṭablkhāna* by Miṭāsh in 791/1389 (Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:345) is mentioned as receiving (again?) a *ṭablkhāna* in 793/1391 (see *ibid.*, 12:28; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:746; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:379; 4:198–9). He was still *ṭablkhāna* ca. 797/1394 (see Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:21). No. 12 in Table B: Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaqarī al-Manjakī (d. 794/1392) who was made amir of ten by Barqūq in 790/1388 (see no. 7 in Table A2) is mentioned as amir also in 792/1390, and he remained amir until his death in 794/1392. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:727; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:453–4; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 47.

212 No. 9 in Table B: Muḥammad ibn Iyāz/Iyās al-Dawādārī (d. 799/1396–7) who was a *ṭablkhāna* during the Turkish period and the first reign of Barqūq (no. 7 in Table A1), is not mentioned in chronicles during Barqūq's second reign until he died as a *ṭablkhāna* or amir of twenty (again, a matter of terminology, see Yosef, “The Rise” [at footnote no. 497]), so he probably kept the rank until his death (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:884; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:461).

213 Four received their rank during the Turkish period (nos. 8, 10–11, and 16 in Table B) but the date of promotion of one (no. 14 in Table B) is not known.

214 No. 16 in Table B: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Baktamur al-Ḥājjib (d. 802/1399) who was amir of ten during the late Turkish period, and apparently also during the first reign of Barqūq (see at footnote no. 131 above; no. 13 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”), is mentioned as amir also in 793/1391 and 794/1392. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:763; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:249, 298; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:133. On the name Baktamur and its “ethnic destination” during the Turkish period, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 80–4.

215 No. 14 in Table B: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī (d. 796/1394) who was amir of ten during the first reign of Barqūq (see no. 10 in Table A1), is perhaps mentioned as *amīr al-ḥājj* also in 792/1390. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:725. In any case, he is said to have been amir until his death. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 7:231. No. 8 in Table B: Alternatively, and more likely, the *amīr al-ḥājj* in 792/1390 was his brother, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:725 (footnote no. 3); Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:401; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:234, 238; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:347. The latter was amir *ṭablkhāna* during the late Turkish period and Barqūq's first reign (no. 4 in Table A1). He was still *ṭablkhāna* ca. 797/1394. See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:20, 27. In 769/

the other one was apparently related to his in-laws [no. 10 in Table B]).²¹⁶ So, about a third of the few amirs who kept their rank during the second reign of Barqūq were Circassians or non-Turks promoted by Barqūq during his first reign who were not (closely) related to the Qalāwūnids and one of them, a Circassian, was closely related to Barqūq. While few Turco-Mongols still kept the rank they had apparently received already in the late Turkish period, they were mainly either not connected to the Qalāwūnids, or those who were closely related to the Qalāwūnids but also to Barqūq.²¹⁷

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- 1368, al-Ashraf Sha' bān married his sister to the amir Manklibughā al-Shamsī and she gave birth to 'Abd al-Rahmān and Hājar (d. 833/1430) who was married in 788/1386 to al-Zāhir Barqūq. So, Barqūq was married to a full sister of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī and a paternal sister of 'Abd al-Rahīm ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī. See Ibn Tagh-rībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:237; 7:231; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:315; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:233. On their ties with the Qalāwūnids, see also Yosef, "The Rise" (at footnote no. 528).
- 216 No. 10 in Table B: The apparently Turco-Mongol Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā al-Māridānī (d. 803/1400–1), a son of a daughter of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (see Yosef, "The Rise" [at footnotes nos. 524–6]), who was a *ṭablkhāna* during the late Turkish period and during the first reign of Barqūq (no. 6 in Table A1), was amir of twenty ca. 797/1394. See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:22. It is very likely that he was amir of twenty (but referred to in chronicles as *ṭablkhāna*) also in the late Turkish period. See Yosef, "The Rise" (at footnote no. 497). Manklibughā al-Shamsī was buried in the funerary complex of the amir Tankizbughā al-Māridānī (see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 3:427), so the two were apparently closely related. One descendant that was closely related to the Qalāwūnids and kept his rank was not related to Barqūq (no. 11 in Table B): Mūsā ibn Qumārī Amīr Shikār (d. 800/1398) was amir of ten in 778/1377, and apparently also during the first reign of Barqūq. See no. 7 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, "The Rise"; and see footnote no. 131 above. He is said to have received an additional amirate of ten in 795/1393. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:784; Ibn Tagh-rībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:41; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:334; Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", 48. However, at his death he is said to have been amir of 15 horsemen, so the promotion was apparently only minor. See al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:477. On the close ties of Mūsā ibn Qumārī with the Qalāwūnids, see Yosef, "The Rise" (at footnotes nos. 529 and 541). On Qumārī's Mongol origin, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:341.
- 217 Three *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs of ten in 791/1389 are not mentioned during the second reign of Barqūq: 'Alī ibn Bulāt [al-Sayfī Aljāy] al-Kabīr, Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār (d. 802/1399), and Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy [al-Karakī] Shādd al-'Amā'ir (see nos. 14, 16, and 19 in Table A1). However, they are mentioned as amirs of ten right after his death (in 802/1399). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:987–8; Ibn Tagh-rībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:185. So, it is very reasonable that they were amirs of ten also during his second reign, thus, they are included in Table B (nos. 13, 15, and 17). In any case, their profile is the same as that of the other *mamlūks*' descendants who kept their rank. 'Alī ibn Bulāt's origin is not known (no. 14 in Table A1), however, he was not related to the Qalāwūnids. Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy (no. 19 in Table A1) and Muḥammad ibn Yūnus (no. 16 in Table A1) were Turco-Mongols, but they were not (closely) related to the Qalāwūnids, and Muḥammad ibn Yūnus apparently enjoyed a close tie with Barqūq and was promoted to amirate during his first reign (see footnotes nos. 135–6 and 138 above). In addition, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Burulghay who received amirate of ten in 791/1389 from Mīnāsh (see footnote no. 184 [no. 8] above), is not mentioned in chronicles during Barqūq's second reign; however, he was amir of five ca. 797/1394 (see Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:7, 26). It is not clear if he was demoted, or the difference in rank is a matter of

Moreover, some *mamlūks*’ descendants received amirates in Cairo for the first time, or promotions to a higher rank, during the second reign of Barqūq. However, like in his first reign, their number seems to have been relatively small (about ten in total—nos. 1, 3–4, 6–7, 18–22 in Table B below [marked in bold font]).²¹⁸ Among them we find mainly *mamlūks*’ descendants who were not Turco-Mongols (six out of ten [nos. 1, 3–4, 6, and 18–19 in Table B]; their share is larger than in new promotions during the first reign [see Table A2]), and more specifically Circassians (three out of the six [nos. 3–4 and 19 in Table B]).²¹⁹ In general, they did not

terminology. In any case, it is more likely that he was not a *mamlūk*’s descendant (see footnote no. 184 [no. 8] above), thus, he is not included in Table B.

- 218 The information does not include sons of Barqūq (see, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:845). Based on a survey of the *Nujūm* and the *Sulūk* corroborated by the indexes of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbā’s *Ta’rīkh*, al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, al-‘Aynī’s *Iqd al-Jumān* (the reign of Barqūq), Ibn al-Furāt’s *Ta’rīkh*, and the appendix of Richards (“Mamluk Amirs”). Except for the ten mentioned in bold font in Table B, one more *mamlūk*’s descendant is mentioned as amir for the first time during the second reign of Barqūq: The amir ‘Alī ibn Sunqur al-‘Ayntābī (d. 801/1398–9) stopped being *naqīb al-jaysh* (normally amir of ten) in Cairo in 798/1396. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 9:441; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 5:229; Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāmina*, ed. ‘Adnān Darwish (Cairo: Ma’had al-Makhtūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya, 1992), 74. However, the date of his promotion is not known. While it is very likely that he was promoted during the reign of Barqūq, he is left out of Table B. In addition, in 794/1392, ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāymāz (or Qaymāz) became amir and *wazīr*, then *ustādār*, and then amir *ṭablkhāna*. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbā, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:421, 429; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:762, 767, 769. In the *Intiṣār*, he is mentioned as amir of twenty ca. 797/1394 (probably a matter of terminology). See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, 2:17. He functioned as *ustādār* several times until his death in 809/1406. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 2:291–2, 445; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 6:114; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:88, 94. However, it is more likely that he was not a *mamlūk*’s descendant. While the name Qāymāz was given to slaves before the Mamluk period (and outside the sultanate), it is apparently not attested as a name for slaves during the Mamluk period, and it was also used by free persons (see, for example, Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:209). The sources never mention the *nisba* of ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāymāz’s grandfather. Thus, he is left out of Table B.

- 219 On the three Circassians, see footnotes nos. 220–1 below. The three who were not Circassians: 1. Muḥammad ibn Jarkas al-Khalīlī (d. 798/1395, a bit [?] more than 20 years old) was a Turkmen (no. 6 in Table B). He is never mentioned in events in chronicles as amir, but it is said in his obituaries that he was amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:866; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 9:449; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:520; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 47. Except for his obituaries, he is mentioned only once in 791/1389 when some of his property was taken (apparently from his inheritance; his father died in 791/1389), and without the title of amir, so he does not seem to have become amir during Barqūq’s first reign (he was probably considered too young; as mentioned, during Barqūq’s first reign there is no evidence that *mamlūks*’ descendants became amirs at a young age, i.e., younger than 20 years old). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:671; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:359. As he was a *ṭablkhāna* in his twenties, clearly, he was relatively young when holding this rank. Jarkas al-Khalīlī (d. 791/1389) was Barqūq’s (older) *khushdash* and supporter. He was a Turkmen from Tripoli who did not enjoy a special tie with the Qalāwūnids (the Turkmens were apparently discriminated during the Turkish period). See Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 407 [A5]). The ties between the family of Barqūq and that of Jarkas were strengthened

enjoy close ties with the Qalāwūnids (at least, such ties were not established during the Turkish period) and specifically all three Circassians enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq (two were his brothers-in-law [nos. 3–4 in Table B],²²⁰ and one was the son

when in 801/1399 a relative of Barqūq married the daughter of Jarkas; however, this happened only after the death of Jarkas and his son Muḥammad. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:17; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:492. 2. Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Bakjarī (d. 809/1406) [no. 1 in Table B] was a European/Anatolian or Caucasian according to his father's name, but more likely a European/Anatolian. He received amirate in 800/1398, and about two months later he became *ustādār* and amir of 50. While he lost the post in 801/1399, he remained amir. In 803/1401, he became *ustādār* again, but lost the post again in the same year. In 807/1404 he is mentioned as amir of 10 in Cairo who ran away to Syria. He died in Aleppo in 809/1406. He did not enjoy a special tie with the Qalāwūnids or Barqūq. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:899–900, 907, 1070; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:89, 99, 278, 305; 13:165; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:263; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:66; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:14, 192, 403; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 44. On the “ethnic destination” of the name Sunqur, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 78–80. 3. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muqbil (no. 18 in Table B) was a European/Anatolian according to his grandfather's name. Not only that he was not connected to the Qalāwūnids, but also his father (d. 796/1394) was a simple soldier and not an amir. The amir Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muqbil became the *wālī* of Miṣr (i. e., amir of ten) in 801/1399, a few months before the death of Barqūq, but he was deposed about four months later, and he is not mentioned afterwards in the sources. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:822, 927, 934. On the name Muqbil, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 112 (footnote no. 283). In addition to these three, ‘Alī ibn Sunqur al-‘Ayntābī (d. 801/1398–9) may have been promoted to amirate during the reign of Barqūq (see footnote no. 218 above). He was a European/Anatolian or Caucasian according to his father's name, but more likely a European/Anatolian. On the “ethnic destination” of the name Sunqur, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 78–80. He did not enjoy a special tie with the Qalāwūnids or Barqūq.

- 220 Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (no. 3 in Table B) who was amir in Syria before 792/1390, is said to have eventually supported Barqūq in his struggle against Mīntāsh in Syria in 792/1390. It is implied that he intended to escort Barqūq to Cairo in 792/1390, and it is known that he eventually became amir in Cairo, so this possibly happened upon Barqūq's return to power. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:188, 212; al-‘Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 303; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:305; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:399; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:716. In 801/1398, a few months before the death of Barqūq, Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī is known to have been amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo, however, at that time he was expelled to Syria as *baṭṭāl* and his amirate was given to his brother ‘Alī ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (no. 4 in Table B). See al-‘Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 482, 487; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:483; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:10–11; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:923–4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:97; Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 46. However, a few months later, upon the death of Barqūq, ‘Alī was arrested and sent to prison in Alexandria because the *atābak* Aytamush al-Bajāsi suspected that he is not willing to accept his authority. See Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:363; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:20; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:173. The fate of the two sons of Īnāl al-Yūsufī is not entirely clear, however, it is clear they lost their high status in Cairo. The year of death of both is not known and it is not clear if they are mentioned as amirs in Cairo after 801/1399. The sources mention once ‘Alī ibn Īnāl (with no title of amir and no *nisba*) as a supporter of the rebel Jakam in Cairo in 804/1401 who was arrested. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1084–5; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:286. Then in 807/1404, the amir Ibn Īnāl is apparently mentioned as a supporter of Jakam (now in Syria) that was allowed to stay in Jerusalem. See Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:651. As for Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī, he is known to have been released from prison in Tripoli and brought to Damascus by the governor of Damascus in 802/1399.

of his most favored *mamlūk* [no. 19 in Table B]).²²¹ The few Turco-Mongols (nos. 7 and 22 in Table B)²²² or those whose origin is not known for certain (nos. 20–21 in

See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:983; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:181. However, as far as I know, after that date, he is mentioned only once by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (with the title of amir) when in 807/1405 he is said to have become a *ḥājib* (in Cairo?). See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:406. Īnāl al-Yūsufī (d. 794/1392, almost 70 years old) was Barqūq's older Circassian *khushdāsh*. Circa 785/1383, Barqūq married his daughter, thus the sons of Īnāl al-Yūsufī were his brothers-in-law. Upon Barqūq's return to power, Īnāl was made *atābak* and the most senior amir in Cairo. The close tie between Barqūq and Īnāl is manifested also in the fact that when Īnāl died, he had been first buried in the funerary complex of al-Zāhir Barqūq's paternal cousin (*turbat ibn 'amm al-sultān*) before he was moved to a funerary complex of his own. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:441; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:438–9. The close tie between Barqūq and Īnāl is manifested also in the fact that Barqūq brought his relatives in Egypt and made them amirs. See Koby Yosef, “Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012), 62. The family of Īnāl (like that of Barqūq) established marital ties with the Qalāwūnids; however, the exact date is not known, and in any case, this happened only after the demise of the Qalāwūnids, after Barqūq established marital ties with the Qalāwūnids, and probably on the initiative of Barqūq. After 784/1382, Azdamur al-Zāhirī, the brother of Īnāl who was brought to Egypt by Barqūq, married a daughter of al-Ashraf Sha'bān. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:349–51; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:274.

- 221 In 800/1398, upon the death of Qalamṭāy al-'Uthmānī al-Zāhirī who was *muqaddam alf*, his son Muḥammad (no. 19 in Table B) received amirate of ten. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:893; al-'Aynī, *al-Sultān Barqūq*, 443. As far as I know, Muḥammad ibn Qalamṭāy is not mentioned otherwise. Qalamṭāy al-'Uthmānī al-Zāhirī was a Circassian. See footnote no. 198 above. Qalamṭāy was one of Barqūq's most favored and respected *mamlūks*. Barqūq visited him when he was sick, and when Qalamṭāy died Barqūq attended his funeral, prayed on him, and cried over him. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:163; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:892, 912.
- 222 Qāsim ibn Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī (no. 7 in Table B) and Timrāz the son of Qumārī's sister (no. 22 in Table B). In 793/1391, Barqūq gave Qāsim ibn Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī (d. 833/1429–30) a *ṭablkhāna*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:740; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:24; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:254. Only Ibn Ḥajar mentions his age at that time—seven years old. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:417. The sources mention another son of Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī by the name of Rajab who died in 801/1399 in the plague together with his father. Normally this son is not mentioned as amir. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:935; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:55; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:224. However, only al-Jawharī mentions that the older son of Kamishbughā died with him, and that this son was the son who was a *ṭablkhāna* in Egypt. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:26. It seems that al-Jawharī confuses between the son who died in 801/1399 and Qāsim. However, it is also possible that the data on Qāsim given by other historians is confused. Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī was Barqūq's older *khushdāsh* and *aghā* and he was not related to the Qalāwūnids. He was one of the few senior Turco-Mongol amirs from among the peers of Barqūq who decided to support Barqūq in the struggle with the Turco-Mongol rebels, so after his return to power Barqūq brought him in Egypt, and he became the most senior amir in Egypt together with Īnāl al-Yūsufī whom he replaced as *atābak* after his death in 794/1392. See Fischel, “Ascensus Barcoch”, 156, 162; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:54; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:435; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:142–6. However, in 800/1397, in order to consolidate his power, Barqūq sent Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī and his son Rajab to the prison of Alexandria, where they died in 801/1399. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:54–5. Qāsim is not mentioned in chronicles except when given *ṭablkhāna* in 793/1391, however, he is mentioned in few

Table B)²²³ normally enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq (two out of the four [no. 7 was a son of his *aghā* and no. 20 was his in-law]), and only rarely enjoyed a special tie with the Qalāwūnids (one out of the four [no. 22]). The higher ranks (four *ṭablkhānas* and one amir of fifty) were reserved almost exclusively to those who were not Turco-Mongols (four out of five: nos. 1, 3–4, and 6) and those who enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq (three out of five: nos. 3–4 and 7). The only Turco-Mongol who received a high rank enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq (he was the son of his *aghā*) and did not have a special tie with the Qalāwūnids (no. 7). Most of the Turco-Mongols or those whose origin is not known received amirates of ten (three out of the four: nos. 20–22). Only one of them was related to the Qalāwūnids and not to Barqūq (no. 22). He received the amirate of ten upon the death of his relative who was amir of 15. So, only on very rare occasions and special circumstances Barqūq was willing to promote to amirates of low rank Turco-Mongols related to the Qalāwūnids but not to himself.

All in all, among the eight *mamlūks*' descendants who were appointed to amirates of high rank before 792/1390 and kept their rank also during the second reign of Barqūq, and those appointed to amirates of high rank for the first time during the second reign (nos. 1–8 in Table B below),²²⁴ seven were appointments of Barqūq (nos. 1–7) and only one was appointed already by the Qalāwūnids (no. 8). Among the eight, six were not Turco-Mongols (nos. 1–6), among them

obituaries as a *ḥājib ṣaghīr* (but not as amir) during the days of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, so it is safe to assume that he was arrested together with his father in 800/1397 and lost his amirate. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 6:190; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:448; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:273; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:146. Timrāz the son of Qumārī's sister (no. 22 in Table B) received amirate of ten in 800/1398 upon the death of his uncle Qumārī who was amir of 15. See al-'Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 461. On Qumārī's Mongol origin, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 2:341. On the close ties of Qumārī's family with the Qalāwūnids, see Yosef, "The Rise" (at footnotes nos. 529 and 541). Timrāz did not enjoy a special tie with Barqūq.

223 'Abdallāh ibn Yamanshāh al-Shaykhūnī (no. 20 in Table B) and Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Balabān, known as Ibn Khāṣṣ Turk (no. 21 in Table B). The two were not related to the Qalāwūnids and one of them was an in-law of Barqūq (no. 20). 'Abdallāh ibn Yamanshāh al-Shaykhūnī (no. 20) received in 800/1398 his father's amirate of ten upon the latter's death. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:892; al-'Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 443. As far as I know, 'Abdallāh ibn Yamanshāh is not mentioned otherwise. He is said to have been the in-law of Tanibak al-Yaḥyāwī al-Zāhirī (d. 800/1398). See ibid. Tanibak al-Yaḥyāwī was apparently married to an *umm walaḍ* of Barqūq who died in 797/1395. See Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:139 (in her obituary she is mentioned as the wife of the governor [of Damascus] and Tanibak al-Yaḥyāwī was the governor at that time). Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Balabān (no. 21) became amir of ten in 800/1398. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:900; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufus*, 1:463. However, in 802/1399 he was sent to Syria where he was apparently arrested. As far as I know, he is not mentioned after that date. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:977, 981; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:92. On the "ethnic destination" of the name Balabān, see Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*", 80–5; idem, "Mamlūks of Jewish Origin", 66–67.

224 I considered here amirs of fifty and *ṭablkhānas*, but not those who are known to have actually been amirs of 20 (nos. 9–10 in Table B).

three Circassians (nos. 3–5). None of the six was (closely) related to the Qalāwūnids (at least not before the reign of Barqūq). Whereas all the Circassians were in-laws of Barqūq, none of the other three who were not Turco-Mongols enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq. The two Turco-Mongols (nos. 7–8) enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq: one was an in-law (no. 8), and one was a son of his *aghā* (no. 7). While one of them did not enjoy a special tie with the Qalāwūnids (no. 7) the other was also an in-law of the Qalāwūnids (no. 8). It is not a coincidence that the latter is the only one that was promoted to the rank already by the Qalāwūnids.

All in all, among the 22 *mamlūks*’ descendants who were appointed to amirates (of any rank) before 792/1390 and kept their rank also during the second reign of Barqūq, and those appointed to amirates for the first time during the second reign, nine were apparently not Turco-Mongols (nos. 1–6, 12, and 18–19 in Table B), among them four Circassians (nos. 3–5 and 19). Six of the nine, that is, two thirds, held high rank (nos. 1–6). None of the nine was closely related to the Qalāwūnids. Tellingly, all were appointments or promotions of Barqūq (eight new appointments and one promotion [no. 2]). Whereas all Circassians enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq, none of the five other non-Turks enjoyed such a tie. Among these 22 *mamlūks*’ descendants there were also nine who were apparently Turco-Mongols (nos. 7–8, 10–11, 14–17, and 22).²²⁵ Among the nine only two held high rank (nos. 7–8) and only three were new appointments of Barqūq (nos. 7, 15, and 22), including one of the two who held high rank (no. 7). Five out of the nine enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq (nos. 7–8, 10, and 14–15), including the two who held high rank (nos. 7–8),²²⁶ and including two of the three new appointments of Barqūq (nos. 7 and 15). All the four Turco-Mongols who did not enjoy a special tie with Barqūq held low rank—three amirs of ten (nos. 16–17 and 22) and one amir of 15 (no. 11), and three out of these four became amirs already during the Turkish period (nos. 11 and 16–17). While five of the nine Turco-Mongols were closely related to the Qalāwūnids (nos. 8, 10–11, 14, and 22), three out of these five, among them the two who held the highest ranks, were also related to Barqūq (nos. 8, 10, and 14). The other two were relatives (nos. 11 and 22). Mūsā ibn Qumārī Amīr Shikār (d. 800/1398) was amir of 15 when he died (no. 11) and upon his death his nephew Timrāz was given amirate of 10 (no. 22). So, in fact, as far as we can tell, at a given moment during the second reign of Barqūq only one Turco-Mongol *mamlūk*’s descendant who was related to the Qalāwūnids but not to Barqūq held amirate, and this amirate was of low rank. This goes to show how rare were such instances, especially during the second reign of Barqūq.

225 The origin of four could not be determined (nos. 9, 13, and 20–21).

226 In fact, the three Turco-Mongols who held the highest ranks (two *ṭablkhānas* [nos. 7–8] and one amir of twenty [no. 10]), enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq.

To conclude thus far, it can be seen that Barqūq gradually replaced the old, mostly Turco-Mongol, Qalāwūnid elite of *mamlūks*' descendants, especially if they enjoyed a special tie with the Qalāwūnids, with some Circassian descendants closely related to him and some unaffiliated descendants of non-Turks. During his first reign, Barqūq did not take active measures against the Qalāwūnid elite of *mamlūks*' descendants, mostly Turco-Mongols, and they were left to die out. Thus, by the end of his first reign, the great majority of the *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs were still Turco-Mongols, and about half of the *mamlūks*' descendants were still related to the Qalāwūnids. At that time, most of the Turco-Mongol descendants were still related to the Qalāwūnids (see Table A1). Moreover, even in new appointments of *mamlūks*' descendants to amirates during the first reign we find a majority of Turco-Mongols (6 out of 10), most of them were still related to the Qalāwūnids; however, most of those related to the Qalāwūnids were also related to Barqūq. All in all, about half of the new appointments of Barqūq during his first reign were closely related to him (see Table A2). He also established some close ties with *mamlūks*' descendants of the old Turco-Mongol Qalāwūnid elite, however, at the end of his first reign most of the *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs were still not closely related to him (see Tables A1 and A2). When Barqūq returned to power in 792/1390 he started actively demoting the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants, especially if related to the Qalāwūnids.²²⁷ Moreover, in his new appointments during the second reign we find only a minority of *mamlūks*' descendants who were Turco-Mongols (two out of ten; however, the origin of two of the ten is not known), and only one of the ten was related to the Qalāwūnids. One of the Turco-Mongols promoted was related to Barqūq (see Table B; bold font). Like in the first reign, also during the second reign, half of the new appointments were related to Barqūq. Thus, during the second reign we find a much stronger presence of *mamlūks*' descendants who were not Turco-Mongols, and more *mamlūks*' descendants that were related to Barqūq, especially among those holding high ranks, almost all were new appointments of Barqūq (see Table B). As a result, we find a smaller presence of *mamlūks*' descendants who were Turco-Mongols, and a smaller presence of *mamlūks*' descendants related to the Qalāwūnids, most of them were also related to Barqūq, including all those holding the highest ranks among them. Almost all the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants during that time were appointments of the Qalāwūnids or remnants of the old Qalāwūnid elite (see Table B).

During the reign of Barqūq, and especially during his second reign, the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs gradually declined. While some *mamlūks*' descendants were appointed to amirates, they were certainly much fewer than those who died out (during the first and second reigns) or

227 See footnote no. 207 above.

demoted (during the second reign). During the first reign, it seems that most appointments to new amirates were reserved to *mamlūks* from among the peers of Barqūq. Regarding the second reign, we may safely assume that most new appointments to amirates were reserved to the *mamlūks* of Barqūq, which gradually replaced the peers of Barqūq in positions of amirates, but also the *mamlūks*’ descendants who died out or were demoted.

The *mamlūks*’ descendants who were promoted during Barqūq’s first reign were all descendants of *mamlūks* who were older than Barqūq or from his age group,²²⁸ but normally not his *khushdāshiyya*. Among the amirs in Cairo who were *mamlūks*’ descendants during his first reign, apparently only one was a son of his (older) *khushdāsh*: the Turco-Mongol Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 795/1393) who was not connected to the Qalāwūnids and was the brother-in-law of Barqūq. Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭashtamur cooperated with the Turco-Mongol rebels in 791/1389 and was apparently arrested upon Barqūq’s return to power.²²⁹ Among the 14 *mamlūks*’ descendants who were promoted by Barqūq during his first reign and survived the purges during his second reign, or those who were appointed by him during his second reign,²³⁰ we find mainly two groups: 1. unaffiliated non-Turks whose fathers (and one grandfather) were older than Barqūq or from his age group, but not his *khushdāshiyya* (nos. 1–2, 12, and 18 in Table B),²³¹ and 2. descendants of Barqūq’s (older) *khushdāshiyya* (nos. 3–4 and 6–7 in Table B) or descendants of close supporters from his age group (nos. 5 and 15), none enjoyed a close tie with the Qalāwūnids, but almost all enjoyed a special tie with Barqūq (nos. 3–5, 7, and 15). Most of them were not Turco-Mongols (nos. 3–6). In general, during the Turkish period the Qalāwūnids did not tend to establish intimate ties with non-Turks or the Yalbughāwiyya, so the promotion of sons of non-Turks and Barqūq’s *khushdāshiyya* also encapsulate the decline of the Qalāwūnid elite.

In fact, the information the sources offer suggests that during the second reign and until circa 800/1398, only three *mamlūks*’ descendants were appointed to amirates in Cairo for the first time by Barqūq, all were sons of his older *khushdāshiyya*, which singles this group out as the most important group of *mamlūks*’ descendants during that time, and as a potential alternative pool for amirs from

228 See at footnotes nos. 135–6 above; and see Table A2 above.

229 See no. 3 in Table A1; no. 4 in Table A2; footnote no. 140 (no. 2); footnote no. 207 (no. 3); and see Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 407 [C10]). We can mention also that during his first reign (in 790/1388), Barqūq gave amirate of *ṭablkḥāna* in Syria to Muḥammad ibn Aḷṭunbughā al-Jūbānī, a son of his Turco-Mongol *khushdāsh*. His fate is not known. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh*, 9:31. On Aḷṭunbughā al-Jūbānī, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:404; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:57–61.

230 See Table B under the rubric “promotion” = Barqūq in bold font.

231 To them we may perhaps add ‘Alī ibn Sunqur al-‘Ayntābī (d. 801/1398–9). See footnotes nos. 218–9 above.

among the *mamlūks*' descendants, which could have partially replaced the *mamlūks*' descendants from among the old Turco-Mongol Qalāwūnid elite. The first is Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī who was apparently promoted to amirate in Cairo in 792/1390. He was the son of Īnāl al-Yūsufī (d. 794/1392, almost 70 years old) who was Barqūq's older Circassian *khushdāsh* who became the *atābak* and the most senior amir in Cairo in 792/1390. Muḥammad ibn Īnāl was also Barqūq's brother-in-law (no. 3 in Table B).²³² The second is Qāsim ibn Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī (d. 833/1429–30) whom Barqūq gave a *ṭablkhāna* in 793/1391 when he was apparently only seven years old. He was the son of Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī (d. 801/1399, about 70 years old) who was Barqūq's older *khushdāsh* and *aghā*. Kamishbughā was one of the few senior Turco-Mongol amirs from among the peers of Barqūq who decided to support Barqūq in the struggle with the Turco-Mongol rebels, so after his return to power Barqūq brought him in Egypt, and he became the most senior amir in Egypt together with Īnāl al-Yūsufī whom he eventually replaced as *atābak* after his death in 794/1392 (no. 7 in Table B).²³³ The fact that Qāsim ibn Kamishbughā was appointed to amirate of *ṭablkhāna* when he was only seven years old reflects the prominence of Barqūq's *khushdāshiyya* in general at that time, but more specifically the prominent position of Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī who was Barqūq's *aghā* and most senior *khushdāsh*. The third is Muḥammad ibn Jarkas al-Khalīlī (d. 798/1395, a bit [?] more than 20 years old) who apparently became amir *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo during Barqūq's second reign. He was probably considered too young during the first reign, but after Barqūq consolidated his power in 792/1390 he was given a *ṭablkhāna* at a relatively young age (he was probably about 20 years old). Jarkas al-Khalīlī (d. 791/1389) was Barqūq's (older) Turkmen *khushdāsh* and supporter (no. 6 in Table B).²³⁴

However, the number of *khushdāshiyya* and supporters of his age group who enjoyed a close tie with Barqūq, whose descendants could serve as a potential pool for amirs, was quite restricted.²³⁵ The last of the Yalbughāwiyya is said to

232 And see footnote no. 220 above.

233 And see footnotes nos. 202 and 222 above.

234 And see footnote no. 219 (no. 1) above.

235 As for his old supporters, only six *mamlūk* amirs are mentioned as supporters of Barqūq already in his struggle against the Turco-Mongol faction headed by Baraka in 782/1380 (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:381–5): The Circassian Aytamush al-Bajāsi, the Circassian Sūdūn al-Fakhrī al-Shaykhūnī, the non-Turk (but more likely Circassian) 'Alān al-Sha'bānī (on the name 'Alān, see Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:98), the Turkmen Jarkas al-Khalīlī, the Turco-Mongol Yūnus al-Dawādār, and Buzlār al-Nāsirī whose origin cannot be determined. All were more or less from Barqūq's age group but only two were his *khushdāshiyya* ('Alān al-Sha'bānī and Jarkas al-Khalīlī). As can be seen almost all were not Turco-Mongols. Barqūq apparently gave amirates in Cairo to the sons of four of these six supporters: Muḥammad ibn Jarkas al-Khalīlī (no. 6 in Table B), Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi (no. 5 in Table B), Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār (no. 15 in Table B), and 'Alī ibn Sūdūn al-Fakhrī al-Shaykhūnī (see footnotes nos. 135 and 137 above).

have died in 801/1399,²³⁶ and some of their sons that had been promoted to amirates by Barqūq died during Barqūq's second reign or shortly afterwards at a relatively young age.²³⁷ Moreover, towards the end of Barqūq's rule, it seems that Barqūq felt threatened by some of them (or their fathers), or felt secure enough in his position, so he turned against them and demoted them.²³⁸

Another group of descendants that could potentially substitute the descendants of the old, mostly Turco-Mongol, Qalāwūnid elite, was the group of descendants of Barqūq's *mamlūks*; however, during the reign of Barqūq the members of this group were still too young. As mentioned, Barqūq started promoting his *mamlūks* to amirates in great numbers only during his second reign (or in 791/1389), and thus his *mamlūks* normally started families only beginning from his second reign, so their descendants were too young for receiving amirates during that time. In fact, the first, and, as far as we can tell, also the only descendant of Barqūq's *mamlūks* who received amirate during the reign of Barqūq was Muḥammad ibn Qalamṭāy al-ʿUthmānī al-Ẓāhirī (no. 19 in Table B). In 800/1398, upon the death of Qalamṭāy al-ʿUthmānī al-Ẓāhirī, the Circassian *mamlūk* of Barqūq, his son Muḥammad received amirate of ten in Cairo. Qalamṭāy al-ʿUthmānī is said to have been one of the most favored and respected *mamlūks* of Barqūq. Qalamṭāy died in the plague in 800/1398, as *muqaddam alf*, when he was 30 years old or a bit more. As he was one of Barqūq's most favored *mamlūks*, Barqūq visited him when he was sick, attended his funeral, prayed on him and mourned over him.²³⁹ Qalamṭāy became amir in 793/1391²⁴⁰ when he was apparently in his early twenties. Thus, he had a chance to start a family while still young. When he died, although he was only about 30 years old, he left behind him

236 See at footnote no. 202 above.

237 Among the six sons of Barqūq's *khushdāshiyya* and supporters who survived the purges of Turco-Mongols or were appointed to amirates during his second reign (nos. 3–7 and 15 in Table B), Muḥammad ibn Jarkas al-Khalilī died in 798/1395 (no. 6), Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi died in 798/1395 (no. 5), and Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār died in 802/1399 (no. 15). To them we may add ʿAlī ibn Sūdūn al-Fakhrī al-Shaykhūnī, a son of a Circassian supporter of Barqūq, who was apparently promoted to amirate during the first reign but died already in 790/1388 (see footnotes nos. 135 and 137 above).

238 There were rumors that Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Bajāsi who died in 798/1395 was poisoned by Barqūq. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:328. Qāsim ibn Kamishbughā al-Ḥamawī (no. 7 in Table B) was apparently arrested by Barqūq together with his father in 800/1397. See footnote no. 222 above. Muḥammad ibn ʿInāl al-Yūsufī (no. 3 in Table B) was expelled by Barqūq in 801/1398 to Syria as *baṭṭāl* together with his uncle. While his amirate was given to his brother ʿAlī ibn ʿInāl al-Yūsufī (no. 4 in Table B), upon the death of Barqūq the latter was arrested and sent to prison in Alexandria. See footnote no. 220 above; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:10–11.

239 al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 1:332; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:891–2; and see footnote no. 221 above.

240 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:740.

three children, all of whom were minors.²⁴¹ Muḥammad ibn Qalamṭāy must have been less than seven years old when he received the amirate. While the fact that Muḥammad ibn Qalamṭāy was appointed to amirate when he was so young reflects the importance of Barqūq’s *mamlūks*, it has more to say about the prominent position of Qalamṭāy. We may conclude that descendants of Barqūq’s *mamlūks* could receive amirates during the lifetime of Barqūq only in extremely rare cases and special circumstances (the death of an especially favored *mamlūk*). So, since descendants of Barqūq’s *mamlūks*, *khushdāshiyya*, and supporters from his age group, could not substitute in full for the *mamlūks*’ descendants of the old, mostly Turco-Mongol, Qalāwūnid elite who died out or were demoted, the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs gradually declined, especially during the second reign of Barqūq.

Table B: *Mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs in Cairo before 792/1390 and kept their rank also during the second reign of Barqūq, and *mamlūks*’ descendants who apparently became amirs in Cairo for the first time during the second reign of Barqūq (792–801/1390–1399)²⁴²

Name (year of death/arrest/ deposition)	Rank	Tie Qalāwūnids	Tie Barqūq	Origin	Promotion
1. Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Bakjarī (d. 809/1406) ²⁴³	amir 50	--	--	Non-Turk (name)	Barqūq

241 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:99; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 11:267. He left behind him two sons (Muḥammad and Maḥmūd) and a daughter (Fāṭima). Guardians took care of their inheritance, so they were minors (i.e., less than 15 years old), which is of course clear since Qalamṭāy was only about 30 years old when he died. In 807/1405, the children of Qalamṭāy seem to have still been minors (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1156), which strongly suggests that Qalamṭāy started a family only after becoming amir. Maḥmūd was still alive (but not an amir) during the reign of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (815–824/1412–1421). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:111. Muḥammad and Fāṭima had daughters. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 12:47, 77, 99, 164.

242 Based on a survey of the *Nujūm* and the *Sulūk* corroborated by the indexes of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Taʾrīkh*, al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, al-ʿAynī’s *Iqd al-Jumʿān* (the reign of Barqūq), Ibn al-Furāt’s *Taʾrīkh*, and the appendix of Richards (“Mamluk Amirs”). The Table includes two groups of *mamlūks*’ descendants: 1. Those who are known to have been amirs in Cairo before 792/1390 and are mentioned as, or known to have been, amirs in Cairo also during the second reign (or immediately afterwards [nos. 13, 15, and 17]), and are not known to have been deposed, transferred, and/or arrested during the second reign. 2. Those who are first mentioned as amirs in Cairo during the second reign and were apparently promoted to amirates during that time (in bold font), even if they were later deposed. In such cases, the year of the deposition or arrest is mentioned. The table does not include sons of Barqūq. It also does not include ʿAlī ibn Sunqur al-ʿAyntābī (d. 801/1398–9) who was perhaps promoted during the second reign, but the date of his promotion is not known, and ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāymāz (d. 809/1406) who was promoted during the second reign but was more likely not a *mamlūk*’s descendant. See footnote no. 218 above. It also does not include

(Continued)

Name (year of death/arrest/ deposition)	Rank	Tie Qalāwūnids	Tie Barqūq	Origin	Promotion
2. Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803/1401) ²⁴⁴	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	remote	--	Non-Turk (name)	Barqūq (amir 10 in 778)
3. Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (deposed in 801/1398) ²⁴⁵	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	?	+ (in-law)	Circassian	Barqūq
4. ‘Alī ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (deposed in 801/1399) ²⁴⁶	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	?	+ (in-law)	Circassian	Barqūq
5. Muḥammad (Jumuq) ibn ²⁴⁷ Aytamush al-Bajāsi (d. 798/1395)	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	--	+ (in-law)	Circassian	Barqūq
6. Muḥammad ibn Jar-kas al-Khalilī (d. 798/1395) ²⁴⁸	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	--	--	Turkmen	Barqūq
7. Qāsim ibn Kamish-ughā al-Ḥamawī (d. 833/1429–30, arrested in 800/1397?) ²⁴⁹	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	--	+ (son of <i>aghā</i>)	Turco-Mongol	Barqūq

Khiḍr ibn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī and Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-‘Alā’ī who were (apparently) demoted but then received again amirates. See footnote no. 207 (nos. 7–8) above. Finally, there are three cases of *mamlūks*’ descendants who are known to have been amirs in Cairo before 792/1390 whose year of death is known and is after 792/1390. While they are not mentioned as amirs during the second reign, they are also not known to have been demoted, transferred, and/or arrested. It cannot be unequivocally determined from their obituaries or biographical entries if they died as amirs: 1. Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Ariqtāy (d. 796/1394) [see no. 19 in Appendix I, section 3.2, in Yosef, “The Rise”; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 1:535; and see footnote no. 130 above]; 2. Mūsā [ibn Abū Bakr] ibn Salār (d. 797/1395) [no. 9 in Table A1]; and 3. Muḥammad ibn Ṭughaytamur al-Nizāmī (d. 803/1401) [no. 22 in Table A1]. They are not included in Table B. At least Muḥammad ibn Ṭughaytamur al-Nizāmī who was a Turco-Mongol in-law of the Qalāwūnids was probably demoted. He is mentioned as amir in 791/1389 but is not mentioned later. His extremely short biographical entry in al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’* simply mentions him as the son of Ṭughaytamur al-Nizāmī (with no title of amir) who died in 803/1401, so it does not seem that he died as amir. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 11:256.

243 See footnote no. 219 (no. 2) above.

244 See footnote no. 211 above; and see no. 1 in Table A1 and no. 2 in Table A2 above.

245 See footnote no. 220 above.

246 See footnote no. 220 above.

247 See footnote no. 210 above; and see no. 2 in Table A1 and no. 3 in Table A2 above.

248 See footnote no. 219 (no. 1) above.

249 See footnote no. 222 above.

(Continued)

Name (year of death/arrest/ deposition)	Rank	Tie Qalāwūnids	Tie Barqūq	Origin	Promotion
8. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī ²⁵⁰	<i>ṭablkhāna</i>	+	+(in-law)	Turco-Mongol (name)	Qalāwūnids
9. Muḥammad ibn Iyāz/Iyās al-Dawādārī (d. 799/1396–7) ²⁵¹	amir 20/ <i>ṭablkhāna</i>	--	--	?	Qalāwūnids
10. Khalīl ibn Tank-izbughā al-Māridānī (d. 803/1400–1) ²⁵²	amir 20	+	remote? (<i>turba</i> with in-laws)	Turco-Mongol (name)	Qalāwūnids
11. Mūsā ibn Qumārī [Amīr Shikār] (d. 800/1398) ²⁵³	amir 15	+	--	Turco-Mongol	Qalāwūnids
12. Muḥammad ibn Lājīn al-Ṣaḡarī al-Man-jakī (d. 794/1392) ²⁵⁴	amir 10	--	--	Non-Turk (name)	Barqūq
13. ‘Alī ibn Bulāt [al-Sayfī Aljāy] al-Kabīr (arrested in 802/1399) ²⁵⁵	amir 10?	--	--	?	?
14. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Manklibughā al-Shamsī (d. 796/1394) ²⁵⁶	amir 10?	+	+(in-law)	Turco-Mongol (name)	?
15. Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār (d. 802/1399) ²⁵⁷	amir 10?	--	+(joint <i>turba</i>)	Turco-Mongol	Barqūq?
16. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Bakta-mur al-Ḥājib (d. 802/1399) ²⁵⁸	amir 10	--	--	Turco-Mongol (name)	Qalāwūnids
17. Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy [al-Karakī] (d. ca. 802/1399?) ²⁵⁹	amir 10?	remote	--	Turco-Mongol (name)	Qalāwūnids

250 See footnote no. 215 above; and see no. 4 in Table A1 above.

251 See footnote no. 212 above; and see no. 7 in Table A1 above.

252 See footnote no. 216 above; and see no. 6 in Table A1 above.

253 See footnote no. 216 above.

254 See footnote no. 211 above; and see no. 7 in Table A2 above.

255 See footnote no. 217 above; and see no. 14 in Table A1 above.

256 See footnote no. 215 above; and see no. 10 in Table A1 above.

257 See footnote no. 217 above; and see no. 16 in Table A1 above.

258 See footnote no. 214 above.

259 See footnote no. 217 above; and see no. 19 in Table A1 above.

(Continued)

Name (year of death/arrest/ deposition)	Rank	Tie Qalāwūnids	Tie Barqūq	Origin	Promotion
18. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muqbil (deposed 801/1399) ²⁶⁰	amir 10	--	--	European/ Anatolian (name)	Barqūq
19. Muḥammad ibn Qalamṭāy al-‘Uthmānī al-Ẓāhiri ²⁶¹	amir 10	--	+ (son of favored <i>mamlūk</i>)	Circassian	Barqūq
20. ‘Abdallāh ibn Yamashāh al-Shaykhūnī ²⁶²	amir 10	--	+ (in-law)	?	Barqūq
21. Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Balabān (arrested in 802/1400) ²⁶³	amir 10	--	--	?	Barqūq
22. Timrāz ibn Ukht Qumārī ²⁶⁴	amir 10	+	--	Turco- Mongol	Barqūq

3.2 *Mamlūks’* descendants after the days of Barqūq: total decline

Due to the decline in the status of the descendants of the Turco-Mongols during Barqūq’s reign, and especially his second reign, in 802/1399, shortly after Barqūq died, we find their remnants once again joining a (Turco-Rūmī) faction fighting the Circassians.²⁶⁵ Some historians mention explicitly that some amirs who were “*awlād al-nās*” (that is, free persons, including *mamlūks’* descendants) were part of the faction (*ba’ḍ al-umarā’ min awlād al-nās*).²⁶⁶ Lists of the members in that faction indicate that out of 32 amirs of ten, twenty, and *ṭablkhānas*, five were *mamlūks’* descendants (about 16%) and two were other free persons.²⁶⁷ All the *mamlūks’* descendants were amirs of ten, and most, if not all, were Turco-Mongols.²⁶⁸ The defeat of the anti-Circassian faction led to the arrest of many of

260 See footnote no. 219 (no. 3) above.

261 See footnote no. 221 above.

262 See footnote no. 223 above.

263 See footnote no. 223 above.

264 See footnote no. 222 above.

265 On this faction, see Yosef, “The Names of the *Mamlūks*”, 99, 104–12.

266 al-Jawharī, *Nuḥḥat al-Nufūs*, 2:35.

267 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:987–8; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:185–6. The data is slightly different in al-Jawharī, *Nuḥḥat al-Nufūs*, 2:39 and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:69.

268 Four of the *mamlūks’* descendants were amirs already before 802/1399: 1. The Turco-Mongol Khidr ibn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur. See footnotes nos. 207 (no. 7) and 242 above.

its members, and perhaps also the execution of few members. Among the members arrested, four out of the five *mamlūks*' descendants are mentioned (Khiḍr ibn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī, Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār, 'Alī ibn Bulāṭ, and Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī).²⁶⁹ While two are said to have been later released (Khiḍr ibn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī and Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār), one of these two (coincidentally?) died about a month after the arrest (Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār).²⁷⁰ The other two were sent to prison in Alexandria ('Alī ibn Bulāṭ and Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī).²⁷¹ None of the four is mentioned after that time in chronicles in the description of events.²⁷² Clearly, at least most of them lost their status (and some perhaps also their lives). The fate of the fifth *mamlūk*'s descendant who was a member in the anti-Circassian faction (Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī) is not known, and he is not mentioned after the clash between the factions. He may well have lost his life in the clash.

The defeat of the anti-Circassian faction, which dealt another serious blow to the Turco-Mongols,²⁷³ is also the point at which *mamlūks*' descendants lost al-

2. The Turco-Mongol Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār (no. 15 in Table B). 3. The apparently Turco-Mongol Khalīl ibn Qaraṭāy al-Karakī (no. 17 in Table B). 4. 'Alī ibn Bulāṭ whose origin cannot be determined (no. 13 in Table B). One of the *mamlūks*' descendants is mentioned as amir for the first, and only, time in 802/1399: The apparently Turco-Mongol Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī (d. 833/1429–30, b. 778/1377). See on him in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:226. On the "ethnic destination" of the name Arghūn Shāh during the Turkish period, see Yosef, "The Names of the *Mamlūks*", 109.

269 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:991–2.

270 Ibid., 3:992; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:102.

271 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:992.

272 As mentioned, Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Dawādār died in 802/1399. Khiḍr ibn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Baktamur and 'Alī ibn Bulāṭ disappear altogether. Their fate or year of death is not known. While Aḥmad ibn Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī is not mentioned after 802/1399 in the description of events, the sources do provide a biographical entry for him. In the entry it is mentioned that he became amir of ten, but this would seem to refer to the amirate he held in 802/1399. It is not clear if he was amir after that date. He must have been released from prison, since he had a daughter and a son named Khalīl born in 829/1425–6. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:226; 3:190; 12:86. He is perhaps mentioned as amir in a *waqf* document upon his death in 833/1429–30. See Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Fihrist Wathā'iq al-Qāhira hattā Nihāyat 'Aṣr Salāṭin al-Mamālīk (239–922/853–1516)* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1981), 100.

273 Just to make clear, it is not that the Turco-Mongols disappear altogether after that date (this will take few more decades), but the Circassian dominance becomes more conspicuous. As already mentioned, the number of Turco-Mongol amirs seems to have declined further during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (see footnote no. 205 above; Ayalon, "The Circassians", 139–40). During the days of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–824/1412–1421) the Turco-Mongols enjoyed his favor, but after his reign they continued to decline (see *ibid.*, 142.). There is not a single biographical entry of a Turco-Mongol *mamlūk* who arrived in the sultanate after the days of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (842–857/1438–1453). See Koby Yosef, "Cross-Boundary Hatred: (Changing) Attitudes towards Mongol and 'Christian' *Mamlūks* in the Mamluk Sultanate",

most all military and political significance. The fate of the *mamlūks*’ descendants who were members of the faction, most, if not all, Turco-Mongols, was discussed above. More generally, almost all the *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs in Cairo before or until 802/1399 are not mentioned after that date.²⁷⁴ After that date, the sources mention Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Bakjārī (d. 809/1406), a non-affiliated non-Turk, who is last mentioned as amir of ten in Cairo in 807/1406, after which he ran away to Syria where he died in 809/1406.²⁷⁵ The sources seem to mention also Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī and his brother ‘Alī, the Circassian brothers-in-law of Barqūq; however their status after 802/1399 is not entirely clear. They do not have biographical entries in the sources, their years of death are not known, and they are not mentioned after 807/1405.²⁷⁶ The only Turco-Mongol that was amir in Cairo before 802/1399 and is mentioned as amir in Cairo also after that date is Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-‘Alā’ī. He was not closely related to the Qalāwūnids, and he did not join the anti-Circassian faction in 802/1399.²⁷⁷ He is mentioned as amir or *ḥājib* in the years 805–8/1403–5,²⁷⁸ but he is not mentioned afterwards, and his year of death is not known.²⁷⁹

As mentioned above, in the round of appointments that followed the defeat of the anti-Circassian faction, among about 45 amirs of ten, twenty, and *ṭablkhānas*, we do not find a single *mamlūk*’s descendant.²⁸⁰ In fact, it is the last big round of appointments to amirates in Cairo mentioned in the *Sulūk* and the *Nujūm*.²⁸¹ A cursory survey suggests that in the rare instances in which other historians

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*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press, 2019), 188–9; idem, “Mamlūks of Jewish Origin”, 82–3.

274 Based on a survey of the *Nujūm* and the *Sulūk*, the indexes of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Ta’rīkh* and al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, and the appendix of Richards (“Mamluk Amirs”).

275 See no. 1 in Table B; and see footnote no. 219 (no. 2) above. It would also seem that Abū Bakr ibn Sunqur al-Jamālī (d. 803/1401), another non-affiliated non-Turk held amirate until his death in 803/1401. See no. 2 in Table B; and see footnote no. 211 above; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:198–9.

276 See nos. 3–4 in Table B; and see footnote no. 220 above.

277 See no. 5 in Table A2; and see footnotes nos. 139 and 207 (no. 8) above.

278 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1106, 1175; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:299, 327; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:406.

279 It is also possible that the Turco-Mongol Khalīl ibn Tankizbughā al-Mārīdānī (d. 803/1400–1), who is known to have been amir of twenty ca. 797/1394, remained amir until his death. He is not mentioned in chronicles after 797/1394 and it is not clear from his biographical entry if he died as amir. He did not join the anti-Circassian faction in 802/1399 and he was remotely related to Barqūq. In any case, he died in 803/1400–1. See no. 10 in Table B and footnote no. 216 above.

280 See at footnote no. 113 above.

281 This is probably due to the decline in the number of amirates in Cairo after that date, see part 3.3 below (especially at footnotes nos. 325–36).

mention subsequent major rounds of appointments, we also do not find *mamlūks*' descendants.²⁸²

Not only that we do not find *mamlūks*' descendants in major rounds of appointments in the sources after 802/1399, but the number of *mamlūks*' descendants mentioned in the sources as amirs also decreases significantly in comparison to the previous period (see Appendix A [Cairo]).²⁸³ The *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs after 802/1399 will be discussed in part 3.5 below; however, in order to exemplify the drastic change in their military-political status, we will mention here that in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Manhal*, al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*, and al-Malaṭī's *Nayl*, *Rawḍ*, and *Majma'*, we do not find even a single biographical entry or obituary of a *mamlūk*'s descendant who became amir in Cairo for the first time during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–815/1399–1412). A survey of the indexes of the *Nujūm*, *Sulūk*, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's *Ta'rikh*, and al-Jawharī's *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, also did not yield a name of a *mamlūk*'s descendant who became amir in Cairo for the first time during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (but after 802/1399).²⁸⁴ In fact, possibly the only *mamlūk*'s descendant who became amir in Cairo at that time is Qāsim the son of Taghrībirdī al-Bashbughāwī (d. 815/1412) the *mamlūk* of Barqūq. Qāsim, born in 798/1395–6, is known to have become amir *ṭablkhāna*, apparently in Cairo, during “the days of his father”, perhaps meaning after 808/1405–6, when Taghrībirdī became the father-in-law of Sultan Faraj and the most prominent amir in Cairo.²⁸⁵ Taghrībirdī was not only the in-law of Barqūq and Faraj but also the relative of Faraj's mother.²⁸⁶ He was a favored *mamlūk*, promoted to amirate in Cairo at a young age upon Barqūq's return to power in 792/1390 (he was roughly 20–25 years old at that time), and he started a family shortly afterwards in 795/1392–3 when he was young (roughly 25

282 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba mentions a big round of appointments to amirates in Cairo in the year 804/1402, two years after the defeat of the faction. All 13 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* appointed in this round were *mamlūks*. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:270–1. Al-Malaṭī and Ibn Iyās mention a round of appointments to amirates in the year 872/1467. All 17 amirs of ten and *ṭablkhānas* in Cairo appointed in this round were *mamlūks*. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:292; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zuhūr*, 2:462–3. On the situation ca. 872/1467, see part 3.3 below (especially at footnotes nos. 335–6).

283 The discussion excludes sons of sultans.

284 I am excluding here Muḥammad ibn Qijmās (d. 814/1411) who is mentioned as amir in Cairo in 814/1411. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:188, 1175; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 13:126. Qijmās al-Zāhiri (d. 792/1390) was the relative of Barqūq who was brought in Egypt by Barqūq in 784/1382. However, while he was possibly officially bought, it is not mentioned explicitly in the sources, and he is not referred to as a *mamlūk* of Barqūq. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:361. Muḥammad must have been born in Egypt (he has a Muslim name) between 784/1382 and 792/1390, so he was probably in his twenties when mentioned as amir.

285 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:39, 41; and see no. 6 in Table C below. Taghrībirdī was *muqaddam* in Cairo and Syria, so it is also possible, but less likely, that Qāsim was amir in Syria.

286 For further ties, see no. 6 in Table C below.

years old). Qāsim was very young when he became amir *ṭablkhāna* (17 years old at the most), and his promotion to amirate at a very young age (i. e., less than 20) must be due to the close ties between his family and that of Barqūq and Faraj. The promotion of a son of Barqūq’s *mamlūk* again singles out the descendants of his *mamlūks* as a group that could, and should, have potentially eventually substituted the descendants of the old Qalāwūnid elite. One may have thought that during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj this group was still too young to fill positions of amirates, and that is why in this period we hardly find *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs. However, also after the reign of Faraj, the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs remains extremely low, and only few, mainly descendants of *mamlūks* who enjoyed an extremely close relationship and a special tie with the reigning sultan (or one of his predecessors), could become amirs. During the reign of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (815–824/1412–1421), the above-mentioned sources provide entries for only two *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs. Both were sons of Barqūq’s *mamlūk*. Both were close associates (*khawāṣṣ*) of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh and were closely related to him: one was his in-law, and the other was his adopted son.²⁸⁷ During the short reign of al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar (824/1421), the above-mentioned sources provide an entry for only one *mamlūk*’s descendant. He was the son of Barqūq’s *mamlūk* and the brother-in-law of al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar who promoted him thanks to this marital tie.²⁸⁸ A survey of the above-mentioned additional indexes practically did not yield further *mamlūks*’ descendants who were promoted to amirates in Cairo during the reigns of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh and al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar.²⁸⁹ The situation remains the same also after 824/1421 (see Appendix A [Cairo] and see parts 3.4 and 3.5 below).

287 See Appendix A (Cairo)—nos. 1 and 11. We may mention here that during the short reign of the caliph al-Musta’in (815/1412), he promoted Muḥammad ibn Mubārak Shāh al-Ṭazī (d. 823/1420) to amirate of *ṭablkhāna*. Muḥammad was al-Musta’in’s maternal brother. Al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh took Muḥammad’s *iqṭā’* upon his ascendance to the throne. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 10:288; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 8:296. While his father was apparently not a *mamlūk* (see section 1.2 in Appendix I in Yosef, “The Rise”), and thus he is not mentioned in Appendix A, his promotion fits the pattern of promotions of closely related free persons.

288 See Appendix A (Cairo)—no. 2.

289 The sources mention that in 823/1420, Muḥammad ibn Amīr Ākhūr became the *wālī* of Cairo, Fuṣṭāṭ, and Qalyūb, and apparently also an amir, but he was executed about two months afterwards. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:530, 536. Because he was a *wālī*, because he was amir only for two months, and because the name of his father is never mentioned, he may be excluded. In addition, Abū Bakr ibn Quṭlūbak, known as Ibn al-Muzawwiq (d. 823/1420), became *ustādār* and amir in Cairo in 821/1418. See *ibid.*, 4:467. However, he is known to have been a *wālī* and amir in the provinces of Egypt already before 802/1399 (See, for example, *ibid.*, 3:467). Moreover, the *nisba* of his father is never mentioned, and it is possible that Quṭlūbak himself was known as Ibn al-Muzawwiq (see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 11:66), so Quṭlūbak does not seem to have been a slave. Therefore, also Abū Bakr ibn Quṭlūbak may be excluded.

So, while in 782–802/1380–1399, at least 20 *mamlūks*' descendants were promoted to amirates in Cairo (see Tables A1, A2 and B above), in 802–824/1399–1421, about the same period of time, there is information on only three or four *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in Cairo. Beginning in the ninth/fifteenth century, the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who had a significant religious career, as is attested by a *nisba* suggesting affiliation to a school of law, increased significantly.²⁹⁰ This most probably has to do with the fact that after 802/1399 it became much more difficult for them to develop a significant military-political career, which forced them to look for alternative career options.²⁹¹

We have previously seen that there was a correlation between the Circassian takeover between 782/1380 and 802/1399 and the decline in the military-political status of *mamlūks*' descendants. Especially during his second reign, Barqūq turned against the old Turco-Mongol Qalāwūnid elite and tried to undermine its power base and promote his own Circassian *mamlūks*. His struggle against the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants, many of them related to the Qalāwūnids, was part of his struggle against the Turco-Mongol ethnic group and the Qalāwūnids. Barqūq, a *mamlūk* of no respected genealogy, seems to have tried to undermine the legitimacy of those whose status was based on genealogy and inherited rights. Haarmann suggested that contemporary authors describe Barqūq's reign as a watershed because he undermined the dynastic practice that was well established before him, and because in his days emerged new patterns of wealth distribution.²⁹² Circassian-period authors depict his reign as a revolution (*inqilāb al-zamān*)²⁹³ and a time of change in the traditional social order²⁹⁴ and mention his turning against those whose status was based on *nasab*. They mention that Barqūq was infamous for promoting the lowliest (*asāfil*) and abusing the sons of noble families (*dhawū al-buyūtāt*),²⁹⁵ that he tried to confiscate *awqāf* (and

290 The full data cannot be given here, however, see some relevant information in part 4.3 below.

291 As mentioned, it seems that Haarmann did not argue (at least not explicitly) that *mamlūks*' descendants were more inclined to engage in religious or cultural activities specifically during the ninth/fifteenth century. See footnote no. 77 above. Ayalon mentioned that “the proportion of theologians among them [i.e., *mamlūks*' descendants] was fairly high” and that “[t]here was... among the *awlād al-nās*... a strong leaning toward piety... Many of them left the military service and became theologians (*faqīhs*)”. See Ayalon, “Studies II”, 456, 458; and see also idem, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 1:765. However, like Haarmann, he does not seem to have referred specifically to the ninth/fifteenth century.

292 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 163.

293 See Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-Zamān bi-Tarājīm al-Shuyūkh wal-Aqrān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2001), 3:176.

294 Sami G. Massoud, “al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7/2 (2003), 120 (“a breakdown in the traditional order”).

295 al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:213; and see Massoud, “al-Maqrīzī”, 123; and see also Behrens-Abouseif, “Craftsmen”, 377.

property) of the Qalāwūnids and amirs’ descendants,²⁹⁶ that he turned against the caliph and the *ashrāf*,²⁹⁷ and that he confiscated patrimonies.²⁹⁸

What needs explanation is that also after Barqūq’s revolution, the change in the ethnic composition of the ruling elite, and the redistribution of resources, the descendants of *mamlūks* still did not have significant military and political status. In the normal course of events, after a revolution that brings about the demise of an established dynasty, a new dynasty eventually emerges, and with it a ruling elite whose descendants are promoted. However, in the Circassian period something else happened. As will be discussed in what follows, the change in the military-political status of *mamlūks*’ descendants has to do with the dwindling of land resources available for amirs, which resulted in a decrease in the number of amirates, which resulted in that *mamlūks* became amirs and started families at a later age. This, combined with child mortality caused by plague epidemics which became more frequent during the ninth/fifteenth century, diminished the chances of *mamlūks*’ descendants to become amirs (and sultans, but this is another story).²⁹⁹ These conclusions are based on a detailed prosopographical study on the age structure of *mamlūks*’ families, and the related issue of the age of *mamlūks* upon becoming amirs.³⁰⁰

3.3 The age of *mamlūks* when promoted to amirates and the age structure of *mamlūks*’ families during the Circassian period

We have seen that already in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century and after the Black Death the damage caused to the rural districts and also the privatization and *waqfization* of state lands diminished the land resources available for *iqṭāʿ*s for amirs, which resulted in a decline in the number of amirates, which meant that more *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates at a later age, and thus started a family at a later age.³⁰¹ Before the Black Death, *mamlūks* were normally promoted to amirates around the age of thirty and only then started families, but favored *mamlūks* could be promoted to amirates in their twenties

296 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:345; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:148; and see Massoud, “al-Maqrīzī”, 127; Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 10–11.

297 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:359.

298 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:390, 468; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:137, 167.

299 For a discussion of other factors that gave advantage to *mamlūks* over *mamlūks*’ descendants, factors which were always at play and were not unique to the Circassian period, see Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 171–4). Child mortality caused by plague epidemics will not be expanded upon in this paper.

300 Only a fraction of the data can be displayed in the frame of this paper.

301 Yosef, “The Rise” (part 7.3).

and start a family earlier.³⁰² After the Black Death, we find much more cases of *mamlūks* who were promoted to amirates after the age of 30, sometimes when they were 40 or even later, many of them were Circassians, but also Turco-Mongols. On the other hand, we hardly find cases of favored *mamlūks* that were promoted to amirates in their twenties.³⁰³

However, we observe a change during the second reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (792–801/1390–1399). During his second reign, he promoted many of his *mamlūks* to amirates in Cairo around the age of 30 and even earlier.³⁰⁴ Quite a few of his favored *mamlūks* (some of them were, or became, his in-laws) were promoted to amirates in their twenties (see especially nos. 3–6 in Table C below). This change may be connected to the purges made by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq during his

302 Ibid (at footnotes nos. 183–7).

303 Ibid (footnote no. 407).

304 Appendix C surveys *mamlūks* whose age could be roughly estimated when promoted to amirate in Cairo from the beginning of the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq until the end of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign (784–824/1382–1421). I could estimate the age of 16 *mamlūks* promoted to amirates during al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reign, all were his own *mamlūks* (nos. 1–16 in Appendix C). Except for one (no. 1) all the other *mamlūks* were promoted in 791/1389 or later. While two were about 40 years old when promoted (nos. 2 and 5), these were among the oldest of Barqūq's *mamlūks* (no. 2 became the *mamlūk* of Barqūq when he was about 30). The two were promoted already ca. 791/1389 when Barqūq started promoting his *mamlūks*, but they were already about 40 at that time. Two others were perhaps in their thirties (no. 15 and, much less likely, no. 16), but all the rest were about 30 or less (nos. 1, 3–4, and 6–14). The Appendix does not include *mamlūks* labeled as *shābb*, a term that normally refers to persons who were 20–40 years old, thus it is hard to estimate their exact age. Moreover, at least in some Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries, it may also refer to persons in their forties (and of course also to persons below the age of twenty). Still, we may assume that most such *mamlūks* were indeed young. The sources mention some *mamlūks* (all of Barqūq) who became amirs in Cairo during the reign of Barqūq and are labeled as *shābb*, some are said to have been favored *mamlūks*, and some were, or became, Barqūq's in-laws: 1. Tanibak al-Yahyāwī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 800/1398) was made amir of ten in 791/1389. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:267. He died as a *shābb*, or before being middle aged (*qabla al-kuhūla*). He was one of Barqūq's favored *mamlūks*. Barqūq attended his funeral and grieved badly over him in an unprecedented way. See idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:12; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:674. Tanibak al-Yahyāwī was apparently married to an *umm walad* of Barqūq who died in 797/1395. See Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:139. 2. Quṭlūbughā al-Karakī (d. 809/1407) was a *shābb* when he died, or at least during the days of Barqūq. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:372; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:224. He was one of Barqūq's loyal *mamlūks* who escorted him when he was imprisoned in al-Karak and became amirs during the second reign of Barqūq. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:327; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:224. Barqūq attended his funeral. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:233. 3. Buṭā al-Ṭūlūtāmūrī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 794/1391) was bought during Barqūq's first reign. He was one of his favored *mamlūks* (*khawāṣṣ*) whom Barqūq made amir of ten in 791/1389. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:375. He was a *shābb*. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:439. 4. In addition, Shaykh al-Khaṣṣakī al-Ṣafawī (d. 801/1398), who according to some sources was the *mamlūk* of Barqūq (see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:72; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:307), was probably not his slave but he was made amir by him. He was a *shābb*. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:312–4; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 13:8. Shaykh al-Ṣafawī received a *ṭablkhāna* in Cairo already in 784/1383. See al-'Aynī, *al-Sulṭān Barqūq*, 123.

second reign and the redistribution of the resources in Cairo. The amirates of the Turco-Mongols that were demoted (or died out), among them many *mamlūks*' descendants, could now be given to al-Zāhir Barqūq's *mamlūks* which could be promoted at a younger age.³⁰⁵

Al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–815/1399–1412) could still promote quite a few of his father's *mamlūks* or his own favored *mamlūks* around the age of 30 or in their thirties, but apparently fewer of them were promoted before that age. His personal favored *mamlūks* perhaps tended to be younger; however, they were few in number (only three).³⁰⁶ By the time of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–824/1412–1421), *mamlūks* were normally promoted to amirates around the age of 40 or later, and it would seem that the standard minimum age for amirate (and sultanate, but this is a different story)³⁰⁷ was fixed at 40. Almost all the *mamlūks* promoted by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh were not his own *mamlūks* but those of his predecessors (nine of the 22 whose age could be estimated) or of veteran amirs (11 of the 22—Shaykh is known to have relied on the “*Sayfiyya*”).³⁰⁸ Almost all were promoted to amirates when they were 40 or more, significantly, many of them seem to have been exactly 40 years old when promoted.³⁰⁹ Only few *mamlūks* of amirs (but not

305 That I could fix the age of almost no *mamlūk* who was promoted to amirate during the first reign (at that time, most probably *mamlūks* who were peers of Barqūq) probably has to do with the fact that there is more information in the sources on Barqūq's *mamlūks*. However, it may also be related to the fact that there were less new promotions to amirates at that time since during Barqūq's first reign there was more stability and continuity in tenures of amirates. See footnote no. 193 above.

306 I could fix the age of 13 *mamlūks* promoted to amirates in Cairo during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (nos. 17–29 in Appendix C). Three were his own *mamlūks* and they seem to have been promoted at the age of 30 or younger (nos. 24–6), one was a *mamlūk* of an amir who was apparently promoted when he was 40–45 years old (no. 29), and nine were *mamlūks* of Barqūq (nos. 17–23 and 27–8). Among the *mamlūks* of Barqūq, two were 40 or more (nos. 17–18), four were apparently in their thirties (nos. 20, 22, 27–8), one was 25–35 years old (no. 23), and only two were 30 or less (nos. 19 and 21). To these 13 *mamlūks* we may add three *mamlūks* of Barqūq and one *mamlūk* of an amir promoted during the days of Faraj who were *shābbs*: 1. Qarājā al-Dawādār al-Zāhirī (d. 813/1410) was made amir by al-Nāṣir Faraj. He was a *shābb*. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw*, 6:215. 2. Qajājiq al-Dawādār al-Zāhirī (d. 813/1410) was made amir by al-Nāṣir Faraj. He was a *shābb*. Faraj attended his funeral and prayed over him. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:31; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw*, 6:211; Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:926. 3. Sūdūn al-Muḥammadi al-Zāhirī (d. 818/1415) was made amir by al-Nāṣir Faraj. He was a *shābb*. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw*, 3:285. Sūdūn is mentioned as amir already in 806/1404. See Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:619. 4. Tanibak al-Bajāsī (d. 827/1424) was made amir of ten by al-Nāṣir Faraj. He was a *shābb*. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:120–1; idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:16.

307 For now, see Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:258–61; and see al-'Aynī, *al-Sayf al-Muhammad*, 207.

308 I could fix the age of 22 *mamlūks* promoted to amirates during the days of Shaykh (nos. 30–51 in Appendix C). Among them, nine were *mamlūks* of Barqūq (nos. 30–34, 45, 47, and 50–1) and 11 were *mamlūks* of amirs (nos. 35–9, 41–4, and 48–9).

309 Among the nine *mamlūks* of Barqūq, six seem to have been exactly 40 (nos. 30–4 and probably also no. 45), one was 40–50 (no. 47), and two were 50 or more (nos. 50–1). Among

mamlūks of Barqūq) were promoted by Shaykh to amirates when younger than 40.³¹⁰ The latter enjoyed a close relationship with Shaykh. One of them was his in-law³¹¹ and one supported him during a rebellion and upon his death married his widow.³¹² Even fewer were Shaykh's favored *mamlūks* that were promoted during his reign to amirates at a young age. One *mamlūk* of Shaykh, who had been purchased by him already when he was amir, reached the age of 40 during the reign of Shaykh and received amirate in Cairo around that age (no. 40 in Appendix C). One *mamlūk* of Shaykh was probably promoted towards the end of his rule when he was roughly 30 years old. This *mamlūk* was an in-law of the family of Barqūq, and thus may be considered Shaykh's in-law (Shaykh was related to the family of Barqūq by several marital ties).³¹³ The vast majority of Shaykh's *mamlūks* that were promoted to amirates in Cairo were promoted only after his reign, normally starting from the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, when they were 40 years old or more.³¹⁴ In the extremely rare cases in which Shaykh's manumitted *mamlūks*

the 11 *mamlūks* of amirs, four seem to have been exactly 40 (nos. 35, 41–2, and 44), one was more than 40 (no. 43), and two were 50 or more (nos. 48–9).

310 Three were surely younger—one was about 25 (no. 37), one was about 30 (no. 39), and one was 30–35 (no. 36). Another one was 30–40 years old (no. 38).

311 Īnāl al-Nawrūzī (d. 829/1426, more than 30) [no. 39] married Fāṭima bint Taghrībīrdī (d. 846/1442–3, b. 795/1392–3), the widow of al-Nāṣir Faraj. See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:201. Shaykh himself was married to a maternal sister of al-Nāṣir Faraj, the daughter of Shīrīn who was a relative of Taghrībīrdī. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:405.

312 Īnāl al-Jakamī (d. 842/1439, about 50 years old) apparently became amir when he was only about 25 years old, the youngest age at amirate among the *mamlūks* of amirs (no. 37). When the governor of Damascus rebelled, Īnāl al-Jakamī decided to support Shaykh, so, as a reward, Shaykh gave him amirate in Cairo. See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:197. After al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's death in 824/1421, his widow Quṭlubāy was married to Īnāl al-Jakamī. See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:156, 197. The special status of Yashbak al-Jakamī (d. 833/1429–30, forties) [no. 36] is reflected by the fact that upon the death of Shaykh, al-Zāhir Ṭatar married his daughter Fāṭima to Yashbak. See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:215.

313 Taghrī Birdī Min Qaşrūh al-Mu'ayyadī (no. 46) was the brother of Qaşrūh Min Timrāz al-Zāhirī *nā'ib al-Sha'm* (d. 839/1435). See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:43–5. After the death of Barqūq's relative Qānibāy al-'Umarī al-Nāṣirī in 815/1411–2, Qaşrūh married his widow Shukrbāy. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 12:98. To Taghrī Birdī Min Qaşrūh al-Mu'ayyadī we may add three *mamlūks* of Shaykh that were promoted to amirates in Cairo during his reign and are labeled *shābbs*. The three may be considered favored *mamlūks*: 1. 'Alī Bāy al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 824/1421) that became amir towards the end of Shaykh's reign. See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Manhal*, 8:252–5. 2. Yashbak al-Yūsufī al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 824/1421) that was purchased by Shaykh when he was still amir and was promoted to amirate upon Shaykh's ascendance to the throne. See *ibid.*, 12:132–3. 3. Yashbak al-Anālī al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 824/1421). See *ibid.*, 12:134.

314 For representative examples, see Table D below. I could estimate the age of about 35 *mamlūks* of Shaykh that were promoted after his reign when they were 40 or older.

were promoted by successive sultans to amirates in Cairo when younger than 40, they enjoyed a special tie with the reigning sultan who promoted them.³¹⁵

After the death of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and until circa 872/1467 the pattern reoccurs and only a few *mamlūks* of the reigning sultans were promoted to amirates in Cairo before the age of 40. Such *mamlūks* are normally labeled as especially favored *mamlūks* that were close to the master (*khawāṣṣ/akhiṣṣā' / muqarrabūn*) and/or were connected to the sultan by a very close tie (relatives, in-laws, or fostered/adopted *mamlūks*). Some of them were among the *mamlūks* bought by their masters when still amirs.³¹⁶ Sultans normally promoted *mamlūks* of their predecessors at the age of 40 or older than that.

315 Possibly, the only such *mamlūk* is Dawlāt Bāy al-Maḥmūdī (d. 857/1453). According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, he was more than 50 years old (see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:165), however, the less reliable Ibn Iyās writes that he was about 60 years old (Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:313). In an exceptional manner, Dawlāt Bāy became amir during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, circa 835/1431–2, when he was perhaps somewhat younger than 40. This, however, was thanks to a marital tie he established with a relative of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:165; idem, *al-Manhal*, 5:327.

316 For example, during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–841/1422–1438), only few of his favored *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates in Cairo at a young age, many of them enjoyed a special tie with Barsbāy (one adopted *mamlūk*, one relative, and one in-law): 1. Janibak al-Dawādār al-Ashrafī (d. 831/1427) is said to have been about 25 years old or less than 30 years old when he died. He was bought young, when Barsbāy was still amir, and accompanied Barsbāy during his hard days. He is mentioned as one of Barsbāy's favored *mamlūks* (*min akhiṣṣā' ihi*). Barsbāy adopted him and raised him in his harem. He was promoted to amirate upon Barsbāy's ascendance to the throne when he was apparently about 20 years old. He was made *ṭablkhāna* in 826/1422 and later the *lālā* of Barsbāy's son. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:232–4; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:148; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:230; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 3:55; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:786; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:408. 2. Qarājā al-Ashrafī al-Khāzindār (d. 848–9/1444–6) was in his early middle age when he died (*awā'il al-kuhūliyya*), that is, he was 40–50 years old. He was bought when Barsbāy was still amir and was one of his favored *mamlūks* (*khawāṣṣ*). Barsbāy made him amir. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:41–2; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 6:214. He became amir of ten in 830/1427 at the latest, so he became amir when he was about 30 years old or less. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:126. 3. Ināl al-Abūbakrī al-Ashrafī (d. 853/1450) was about 40 years old or in his early middle age (just over 40) when he died. He became amir of ten in 836/1432–3 when he was apparently about 25 years old. He was one of Barsbāy's favored *mamlūks* (*akhiṣṣā' / min khawāṣṣihi al-muqarrabīn ladayhi*). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:213–5; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 623; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:418. 4. Yakhshī Bāy al-Mu'ayyadī al-Ashrafī (d. 842/1439) was about 30 or more than 30 years old when he died. He became amir ca. 840/1437 (the year of death of Shaykh al-Ruknī whom he replaced), when he was apparently about 30 years old. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:470–1; idem, *al-Manhal*, 12:113–4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 10:268–9. Al-Ashraf Barsbāy married his divorcee to Yakhshī Bāy. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:126. 5. To these we may add 'Alī Bāy ibn Dawlāt Bāy al-'Alā'ī al-Ashrafī (d. 854/1450) who was a *shābb* promoted to amirate by Barsbāy. He was one of Barsbāy's favored *mamlūks* whom Barsbāy “loved” (*shughifa bihi/maḥabba*). See ibid., 8:255–7. 6. In addition, Aqtuwah al-Ashrafī (d. 833/1429) was less than 30 years old when he died. He was Barsbāy's relative that was brought to Egypt, probably in 826/1423 together with other relatives, and made amir, so he was probably about

The fixing of the age of 40 as a standard minimum age for amirate around 815/1412 may be exemplified also by a survey of *mamlūk* sultans of the ninth/fifteenth century on whom we have detailed and exact information. Among the nine *mamlūk* sultans of the ninth/fifteenth century, six seem to have been promoted to amirate when they were exactly 40 (see nos. 2–6 and 9 in Table E below), the earliest of them were promoted to amirates exactly in 815/1412 (nos. 2–3 and perhaps also 4). One of the nine became amir when he was about 50 years old (no. 7 in Table E). Only two of the nine became amirs before the age of 40. The first was al-Muʿayyad Shaykh the favored *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Barqūq who became his in-law. He was made amir by his master Barqūq in 794/1392, at a time when the age of 40 was still not fixed as the minimum standard age for amirate and many *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates at a much younger age (see no. 1 in Table E and no. 5 in Table C). The second was al-Zāhir Tamurbughā (d. 879/1475) who happened to be one of the few favored *mamlūks* of his master al-Zāhir Jaqmaq who promoted him to amirate in 846/1442 when he was about 30 years old or a bit more (no. 8 in Table E). Tamurbughā was bought by Jaqmaq when the latter was still amir and Tamurbughā became one of his favored *mamlūks* who enjoyed a close relationship with him (*khawāṣṣ/qarrabahulikhtaṣṣa bi-hi*).³¹⁷ Tamurbughā is even said to have been raised by Jaqmaq from a young age in his harem together with his own family, so he may be considered a fostered *mamlūk*.³¹⁸ His case shows again that after circa 815/1412, only especially favored *mamlūks*, in particular those who enjoyed a special tie with their master, could become amirs during the reign of their master at a young age.

Another indication of the special status of the favored *mamlūks* promoted after circa 815/1412 by their masters to amirates in Cairo at a young age is that almost all were deposed, arrested, or executed after the death of their master. Some of those deposed were promoted again to amirates after many years when they were of more appropriate age. It shows that they were considered special promotions that were specifically loyal to their master, the sultan who promoted them, and that their promotion was not according to the norms of promotions. All three favored *mamlūks* of al-Nāṣir Faraj that were promoted by him to amirates at a young age were deposed by al-Muʿayyad Shaykh upon his as-

20 years old when becoming amir. Still, although he appears with the *nisba* al-Ashrafī, his status (free or slave) is not clear. See *ibid.*, 3:5–6. On the bringing of Barsbāy's relatives in 826/1423, see *idem*, *al-Nujūm*, 14:258.

317 al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:305; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:377.

318 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, 2:467. Tamurbughā may be added to the very short list of fostered *mamlūks* which I have discussed elsewhere. See Koby Yosef, “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: Brill, 2017), 28–32.

cendancy to the throne in 815/1412 and two of them were also imprisoned (nos. 24–6 in Appendix C). The three later became amirs once again, two of them only during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–841/1422–1438), when they must have been at least 40 years old.³¹⁹ The four favored *mamlūks* of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh that were promoted during his reign to amirates in Cairo at a young age lost their amirate and then were arrested and executed³²⁰ or found their death (two were executed) upon their master’s death in 824/1421.³²¹ Among the four favored *mamlūks* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy that were promoted during his reign to amirates in Cairo at a young age and outlived their master,³²² three lost their amirates in Cairo and were arrested or executed in 842/1438 upon the ascendance to the throne of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq,³²³ and only one was spared.³²⁴

The promotion of recruits at an older age during the Circassian period, and the pattern of sultan’s reliance on previous age groups of veteran *mamlūks* with only minimal promotion of his *mushtarawāt* have been already noted by Mamluk-ists.³²⁵ Our prosopographical study adds details concerning the specific age at

319 On the promotion of Aṭunbughā al-Sharīfī al-Nāṣirī (d. 840+/1437+, fifties or about 60) [no. 26 in Appendix C] and Aqbughā Min Māmish al-Nāṣirī (d. 843/1440, about 60) [no. 25 in Appendix C] by al-Ashraf Barsbāy to amirates of ten, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:487; 3:83. By 825/1422, both were at least 40 years old.

320 Taghrī Birdī Min Qaşrūh al-Mu’ayyadī (d. 828/1425 or 830/1427, more than 30) [no. 46 in Appendix C; and see footnote no. 313 above] lost his amirate in Cairo and was sent by al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar in 824/1421 to Aleppo as a governor. Shortly afterwards, al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar ordered to depose him so he rebelled. He was arrested in 825/1422 and he stayed in prison until he was executed. See *ibid.*, 4:44–5; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:92, 102.

321 ‘Alī Bāy al-Mu’ayyadī (d. 824/1421, *shābb*) and Yashbak al-Anālī al-Mu’ayyadī (d. 824/1421, *shābb*) were executed. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 8:254–5; 12:134. Yashbak al-Yūsufī al-Mu’ayyadī (d. 824/1421, *shābb*) found his death in struggles between amirs upon the death of Shaykh. See *ibid.*, 12:132–3. On the three, see footnote no. 313 above. On purges of Mu’ayyadiyya, see Robert Irwin, “Factions in Medieval Egypt”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986), 233.

322 Two died during al-Ashraf Barsbāy’s reign. See footnote no. 316 (nos. 1 and 6) above.

323 Qarājā al-Ashrafī al-Khazīndār (d. 848–9/1444–6) [see footnote no. 316 above—no. 2] was arrested upon Jaqmaq’s ascendance to the throne. Later, he was released but made a *baṭṭāl* in Cairo. Later, he was given a minor amirate in Tripoli. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 6:214. Yakhshī Bāy al-Mu’ayyadī al-Ashrafī (d. 842/1439) [see footnote no. 316 above—no. 4] was arrested and executed by al-Zāhir Jaqmaq. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:113–4. Ināl al-Abūbakrī al-Ashrafī (d. 853/1450) [see footnote no. 316 above—no. 3] was arrested by Jaqmaq for about seven years (until 849/1445–6), then made *baṭṭāl* in Jerusalem, and then arrested again. See *ibid.*, 3:214.

324 ‘Alī Bāy ibn Dawlāt Bāy al-‘Alā’ī al-Ashrafī (d. 854/1450) [see footnote no. 316 above—no. 5].

325 Jean-Claude Garcin, “The Regime of the Circassian Mamlūks”, in *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 299–301; Amalia Levanoni, “The Sultan’s Laqab – A Sign of a New Order in Mamluk Factionalism?”, in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 79–82; and see also Irwin,

which *mamlūks* became amirs. It also adds details on the chronology of the process and helps pinpoint the period in which the patterns of promotions have changed. We have seen that by 815/1412 *mamlūks* were normally no longer promoted to amirates in Cairo before the age of 40. Apparently, already during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj, only a few favored *mamlūks* could be promoted to amirates in Cairo in their twenties, and the number of such *mamlūks* was significantly smaller in comparison to the days of Barqūq. More generally, it seems that the age of *mamlūks* when promoted to amirates was somewhat higher during the days of Faraj in comparison to the days of Barqūq (but still normally less than 40).³²⁶ This information alone shows that by 815/1412 the change in the pattern of promotions already took place, and it suggests that the circumstances leading to the change should be looked for in the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj. It is agreed that during the ninth/fifteenth century the number of amirates in Cairo seriously declined,³²⁷ and it has been suggested that this was the result of the significant decrease in land resources available for remuneration of amirs at that time due to rural decline caused, among other things, by plagues, and due to privatization of rural lands.³²⁸ Still, it is not known when exactly did the number of amirates in Cairo decline. We have seen that in 778/1377, there were about 130 (*asyād* excluded) or 144 (*asyād* included) amirs in Cairo in total. Among them, 17 (*asyād* excluded) or 22 (*asyād* included) *muqaddams*, 58 (*asyād* excluded) or 62 (*asyād* included) *ṭablkhānas*, and 55 (*asyād* excluded) or 60 (*asyād* included) amirs of ten.³²⁹ However, the only full information on the number of amirs in Cairo in the ninth/fifteenth century is from the year 891/1486, in which there were only 85 amirs in total, among them 15 *muqaddams*, 10 *ṭablkhānas*, and 60 amirs of ten.³³⁰ Still, there is more information on the number of *muqaddams*, which may be indicative of the more general number of amirs in Cairo.³³¹ While according to al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), the number of *muqaddams* declined circa 788/1386 from 24 to 18–20 (including the governors of Alexandria, al-Wajh al-Baḥrī, and al-Wajh al-Qiblī), historians also report that in 791/1389, the amir Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī who revolted against al-Zāhir

“Factions”, 233–4, 236. It has also been observed that during the Circassian period *mamlūks* of the most senior age group acceded to the sultanate. See Garcin, “The Regime”, 293; Irwin, “Factions”, 236.

326 See at footnotes nos. 304–6 above.

327 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 469–71; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99.

328 See Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99–103; for a similar suggestion concerning the post Black Death period, see Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 36; and see discussion in Yosef, “The Rise” (part 7.3).

329 See Yosef, “The Rise” (parts 7.5–7.8); and see especially *ibid* (footnote no. 517).

330 See Ayalon, “Studies II”, 471; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99. A tentative and partial reconstruction of amirs ca. 885/1480 based on the *Tuhfa*, suggests that the situation was much similar also ca. 885/1480.

331 See Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 99.

Barqūq fixed back the number again on 24, and the number may have remained 24 until the beginning of the reign of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, because al-Saḥmāwī (d. 868/1464) writes that the number of *muqaddams* was 24 (including the governors of Alexandria, al-Wajh al-Baḥrī, and al-Wajh al-Qiblī) until the beginning of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh’s reign (815/1412), but then it apparently declined.³³² In any case, in 827/1424 the number of *muqaddams* was 11 as was their number in 861/1456–7, which suggests that the crucial decline in the number of amirs in Cairo took place already during the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century, and more specifically circa 815/1412, as is also suggested by our survey of the age of *mamlūks* when promoted to amirates. Significantly, contemporary observers insist that the crucial rural decline took place during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj due to wars and plagues, and, more specifically, starting from circa 806/1403.³³³ It is also noteworthy that Ibn al-Jī’ān mentions quite a few times in the *Tuhfa* the date of the decline of a village’s tax revenue after 778/1377.³³⁴ Most cases roughly

332 See Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 436–40); and see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim fī Ṣinā’at al-Kātib wal-Kātim*, ed. Ashraf Muḥammad Anas (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyya, 2009), 1:384.

333 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:171; Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 102–3. Julien Loiseau discussed the urban decline in Cairo due to the disasters of the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century (wars, plagues, and draughts) which exacerbated the long-term decline of Egyptian economy. See Julien Loiseau, *Reconstruire la maison du sultan, 1350–1450: ruine et recomposition de l’ordre Urbain au Caire* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2010), 113–30 (especially 121).

334 Normally, Ibn al-Jī’ān mentions the tax-yield in 778/1377 and then in his days without mentioning the date of decline (if there was a decline). See Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Shākir Ibn al-Jī’ān, “Kitāb al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā’ al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya”, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Huntington 2; idem, *Kitāb al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā’ al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*, ed. Bernhard Moritz (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyyāt al-Azhariyya, 1974). In 27 cases he mentions a date of reassessment of the tax yield, and all involve a decline. Only seven are dated to before 800/1397–8. Importantly, four of these seven cases involve the years 790–792/1387–90 and there was an outburst of plague in Cairo in 790–1/1388–9. It shows that until the ninth/fifteenth century the decline was more restricted, probably since there were less outbreaks of plague epidemics, and perhaps also suggests that there was a tendency to reassessment after outbursts of plague. The dated recorded cases of decline are: in 780/1378–9 from 7,500 DJ to 5,500 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 27v); in 784/1382–3 from 10,000 DJ to 5,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 64v); in 790/1387–8 from 7,200 DJ to 5,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 16r); in 791/1388–9 from 9,000 DJ to 4,500 DJ (Ibn al-Jī’ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 13; and see MS. Hunt 2, 14r—771 [!]); in 792/1389–90 from 1,500 DJ to 1,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 21v); in 792/1389–90 from 6,000 DJ to 3,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 29r); in 795/1393 from 6,000 DJ to 3,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 29r); in 800/1397–8 from 3,550 DJ to 1,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 15r); in 801/1398–9 from 4,000 DJ to 1,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 25v); in 803/1400–1 from 4,800 DJ to 2,500 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 20r); in 803/1400–1 from 3,600 DJ to 1,800 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 31r); in 803/1400–1 from 3,000 DJ to 1,500 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 37v); in 804/1401–2 from 1,300 DJ to 650 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 15v); in 804/1401–2 from 1,000 DJ to 500 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 16v); in 807/1404–5 from 4,500 DJ to 2,250 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 6r); in 808/1405 from 3,500 DJ to 1,750 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 30r); in 808/1405–6 from 1,000 DJ to 700 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 17v); in 808/1405–6 from 2,640 DJ to 2,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 38v); in 809/1406–7 from

involve the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century, and none are dated to after 827/1423–4, which again makes the impression that a crucial rural decline took place during that time, and with it a decline in the number of amirs. It is also significant that after 802/1399 no big round of appointments to amirates in Cairo is mentioned in the *Sulūk* and the *Nujūm*, and that a cursory survey of other sources yielded a big round of appointments to amirates in Cairo in 804/1402 and then only in 872/1467,³³⁵ which also strongly suggests that a serious decline in the number of amirates of Cairo occurred not too long after 804/1402.³³⁶ In any case, extensive purges that could open the ranks of amirs for many new promotions were unique to the transformative days of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. All this explains why already by the days of al-Nāṣir Faraj *mamlūks* were promoted at a later age than in the days of his father, and why by the end of his rule the standard minimum age for amirates was fixed at 40.

14,000 DJ to 7,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 15v); in 812/1409–10 from 9,800 DJ to 0 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 108r); in 813/1410–1 from 4,000 DJ to 1,000 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 19v); in 813/1410–1 from 5,000 DJ to 2,500 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 37v); in 825/1421–2 from 1,400 DJ to 700 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 18v); in 825/1421–2 from 2,800 DJ to 1,400 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 22r); in 825/1421–2 from 1,000 DJ to 500 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 22v); in 826/1422–3 from 4,500 DJ to 0 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 14r); in 827/1423–4 from 3,500 DJ to 1,750 DJ (MS. Hunt 2, 27v). For cases of dated reassessment of tax revenue in the *Daftar Jayshī*, see Wakako Kumakura, “Mamluk Land Records Being Updated and Distributed: A Study of *Al-Tuhfa al-Saniyya bi-Asmā’ al-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*”, *Journal of Islamic Area Studies* 10 (2018), 23–4. The six dated cases involving decline in the revenue that are mentioned by Kumakura are from the years 779/1377, 780/1379, 808/1405, 811/1408, 822/1419, and 873/1469. Again, it seems that a serious decline occurred during the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century.

³³⁵ See at footnotes nos. 281–2 above.

³³⁶ It is probably not a coincidence that the next big round of appointments was found only in 872/1467. We have found that around that year much more *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates at an age younger than 40 even if not related to the sultan by a special tie. However, this seems to be a pattern that is unique to the period ca. 872/1467. Already Garcin noted that during the early days of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy (872–901/1468–1496), due to plagues and wars on the Anatolian border, many *mamlūks* were killed, which allowed to integrate more new recruits in the ranks of amirs. See Garcin, “The Regime”, 301. More generally, during the reign of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy much more *mamlūks* were his relatives (or in-laws) which could be promoted at a young age. While the information on the age of other *mamlūks* when promoted to amirates is scarcer starting from the days of Qāyṭbāy, there are indications that the pattern of promotion at a younger age (concerning *mamlūks* who did not enjoy a special tie with the sultan) that prevailed ca. 872/1467 was an exception (to be further examined). Also note that the number of amirs in 891/1486 is known to have been still very low. However, in the tenth/sixteenth century there was a significant increase in the number of amirates in Cairo. See Ayalon, “Studies II”, 471.

Table C: al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s *mamlūks* whose age at amirate and age when starting a family could be roughly estimated

Name (year of death, age)	Born	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child’s birth (age when child born)	Tie
1. Tanam al-Ḥasanī (d. 802, almost 50) ³³⁷	752~	791–2 (40~) ³³⁸	Ca. 792~? (40~?) ³³⁹	in-law?
2. Manklibughā Qarājā al-Ẓāhirī (d. 801, more than 30)	770~ or before	801 at the latest (thirties or less)	801 at the latest (thirties or less) ³⁴⁰	
3. Arghūn Shāh al-Baydamurī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 802, more than 30) ³⁴¹	770~ or before	791 ³⁴² (twenties)	801 at the latest (thirties or less) ³⁴³	favored ³⁴⁴
4. Qalamṭāy al-‘Uthmānī (d. 800, 30 or a little bit more)	770~	793 (23–25~)	after 793 (25–30~)	favored ³⁴⁵
5. al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (d. 824, b. ca. 770) ³⁴⁶	770~	794 ³⁴⁷ (25~)	803~ ³⁴⁸ (33~)	favored ³⁴⁹

337 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:123–4.338 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:168.339 Tanam had a son named Aḥmad who was circumcised in 801/1399. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:28–9. Circumcision normally took place between the age of five and ten. He also had a daughter from Shīrīn (d. 802/1400), the mother of al-Nāṣir Faraj (d. 815/1412, b. 791/1389). This daughter consummated marriage in 807/1404, which suggests that she was about 15 years old at that time. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 2:298; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:405. Which suggests that around 792/1290 (after Faraj was born?) Shīrīn was under Tanam.340 As far as I know, Manklibughā is not mentioned in chronicles. In his biographical entries it is mentioned that he was amir *ṭablkhāna* in Egypt and that he left behind him a daughter or a son. Considering that he was a *ṭablkhāna* and left behind a descendant, he must have been promoted to amirate when he was 30 years old or less. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 10:173; al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:27.341 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 2:267; al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:63; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:304.342 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:303; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:117–8; 1:273.343 Arghūn Shāh had a daughter named Qarājā. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:304; 10:8.344 Idem, *al-Nujūm*, 13:13 (*min khawāṣṣ mamālīk al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq*); idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:303 (*ḥaṣiya ‘indahu*).

345 See above at footnotes nos. 239–41.

346 The sources agree that Shaykh was born ca. 770/1368–9. See idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:1 (Barqūq bought him ca. 782/1381 when he was *atābak* and his age was about 12 years old at that time); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, 2:125; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 281.347 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, 2:125.348 Ibrāhīm ibn Shaykh (d. 823/1420) is the oldest child mentioned in the sources. According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibrāhīm was about 20 years old when he died. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 1:53–5.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Born	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)	Tie
6. Taghribirdī Min Bashbughā (d. 815, ca. 784 was young [<i>ṣaghīr</i>]) ³⁵⁰	770–775~	792 ³⁵¹ (20–25~ roughly)	795 ³⁵² (25~ roughly)	in-law/relative ³⁵³
7. Duqmāq al-Muḥammadī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 808, more than 30) ³⁵⁴	770–775~	792–796 (20–25~) ³⁵⁵	797–800~ (25~ roughly) ³⁵⁶	

According to al-Maqrīzī and al-Malaṭī, in the year 812/1409 his age was seven. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:106; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:184. Only according to Ibn Taghribirdī he was more than 20 years old. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:166.

- 349 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:1 (*khuṣūṣiyya*). As he was a favored *mamlūk*, he became the in-law of Barqūq. Shaykh married in 807/1404 a maternal sister of al-Nāṣir Faraj, whose father was Tanam/Tanibak al-Ḥasanī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 802/1400) the governor of Damascus. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 4:405; Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:653; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:298. Shaykh also married Zaynab bint Barqūq (d. 826/1423). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:106.
- 350 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:34 (Taghribirdī was bought in the beginning of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reign, i. e., ca. 784/1382); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd*, 1:491 (he was bought young [*ṣaghīr*], i. e., less than 15 years old).
- 351 He became amir (of twenty) in Cairo already in 792/1290, but in 794/1392 he already became *muqaddam alf* in Cairo. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:35–6; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd*, 1:491.
- 352 Fāṭima was apparently Taghribirdī's eldest child, and she was born in 795/1392–3. For information on her and other descendants, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:41–2. Elsewhere I mentioned that Taghribirdī was about 24 years old when his firstborn son (Qāsim) was born in 798/1392–3, but I did not make clear that the statement is based on an estimation and not concrete evidence. See Yosef, “Mamluks and their Relatives”, 62. Taghribirdī was “young” ca. 784/1382–4, so he must have been less than 15 years old at that time. If he were about 10–15 years old ca. 784/1382, then his first daughter was born when he was about 21–26 years old, and his first son when he was about 24–29 years old. In any case, he was clearly very young when promoted to amirate and starting a family.
- 353 Taghribirdī was the relative of Shīrīn, the mother of al-Nāṣir Faraj. Taghribirdī was married to a former wife of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. See Hamza, “Some Aspects”, 147–8. In 808/1405–6, al-Nāṣir Faraj married Fāṭima bint Taghribirdī and Taghribirdī became *atābak* and the most prominent amir in Cairo. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:39. For more ties and benefits, see Hamza, “Some Aspects”, 147–8; Yosef, “Mamluks and their Relatives”, 63.
- 354 Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:714 (Duqmāq was more than 30 years old when he died. He was adolescent [*ṣabī amrad*] when Barqūq ran away to Aleppo after his deposal [i. e., in 791/1389, see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:375], which means that he must have been in his early- or mid-thirties when he died).
- 355 Duqmāq became a *khāṣṣakī* during his master's first reign, and it is said that after Barqūq came back to power in 792/1390 he made him *muqaddam alf* in Aleppo and later, in 797/1394, governor of Malatya. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:310; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:351. However, he is first mentioned as *muqaddam alf* in Aleppo only in 796/1394. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:506–7; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh*, 9:370.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Born	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)	Tie
8. al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar (d. 824, about 50) ³⁵⁷	775~	815 (40~) ³⁵⁸	Ca. 815 ³⁵⁹ (40~)	
9. al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841, more than 60 or almost 70) ³⁶⁰	775~	815 ³⁶¹ (40~)	820 ³⁶² (45~)	
10. al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (d. 857, about 80 or more) ³⁶³	775~	Ca. 815 (40~) ³⁶⁴	816–819 (40–45~) ³⁶⁵	

- 356 According to al-ʿAynī, Muḥammad ibn Duqmāq al-Muḥammadi al-Zāhiri (d. 833/1429) was a young man (*shābb*) when he died. See Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, *Iqd al-Jumʿan fī Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo: al-Zahrāʾ lil-Iʿlām al-ʿArabī, 1989), 393. His mother seems to have been pregnant with him between 797/1394 and 800/1398. Ardībāy al-Jarkasiyya al-Duqmāqiyya (d. 853/1449) was the *umm walad* of the amir Duqmāq al-Muḥammadi al-Zāhiri. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 12:5–6; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 495. Her brother ʿAlībāy al-Zāhiri (d. 800/1398) requested from Duqmāq (when he was the governor of Malatya) to send him his sister, but Duqmāq refused on the pretext that she was pregnant. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:242–3. Duqmāq was nominated governor of Malatya in 797/1394 (al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:351), so it seems that Ardībāy was pregnant with Muḥammad at some point between 797/1394 and 800/1398.
- 357 The sources agree that he was 50 or about 50 years old. See, for example, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 4:8; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:404. According to Ibn Iyās, he was about 55 years old, but he is not to be relied on. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 2:75.
- 358 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, 1:457; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 2:71–2.
- 359 When Ṭaṭar died in 824/1421, his son Muḥammad was about eight, nine, or 10 years old. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:209; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 7:274; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:590; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 10:89–90; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:211. His daughter Fāṭima was about 60 years old when she died in 874/1469. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 12:92; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:395; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:227. They are Ṭaṭar's oldest children mentioned in the sources.
- 360 He was more than 60 years old when he died (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:9; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1065), or even almost 70 or 70 (al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, 1:479). He was probably in his mid or late sixties, but assuming that he was somewhat younger than his predecessor Ṭaṭar, suggests that he was about 65 years old. According to our friend Ibn Iyās, he was about 75 years old, however, he is not to be relied on. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 2:188.
- 361 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:245; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 2:81; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, 1:457.
- 362 Muḥammad (d. 833/1430) is Barsbāy's oldest child mentioned in the sources. When Barsbāy ascended the throne in 825/1422, he was about five years old. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 7:150; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:331–2.
- 363 al-Biqāʾī writes that he was about 80 years old. See al-Biqāʾī, *Taʾrīkh al-Biqāʾī*, 1:302. According to Ibn Taghribirdī and al-Sakhāwī, he was more than 80 years old. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:74; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:295. Ibn Iyās knows his exact age—81. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 2:299. Assuming that he was somewhat younger than his predecessor Barsbāy, suggests that he was 80 years old or a bit more.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Born	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)	Tie
11. Tanibak al-Burdbakī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 862, almost 90) ³⁶⁶	775~	824 (50~) ³⁶⁷	Ca. 815 (40~) ³⁶⁸	
12. Aytamush al-Khidrī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 846, almost 70) ³⁶⁹	775–780	815–824 ³⁷⁰ (40~ roughly)	835 (55–60~) ³⁷¹	
13. Arikmās al-Ẓāhirī Barqūq (d. 854, more than 70) ³⁷²	780~ roughly	824 (40+) ³⁷³	Ca. 820 (40~) ³⁷⁴	

364 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zuhūr*, 2:199; but see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:260 (possibly he was amir of ten ca. 810/1407 for a short period but then imprisoned and the amirate was taken from him).

365 Jaqmaq's oldest child mentioned in the sources is Muḥammad (d. 847/1444) born in 816/1413 or 819/1416–7. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 10:8–10; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:210–2; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:183.

366 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:195–6; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:42; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:45; idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 803.

367 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:195–6; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:42; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 803.

368 Tanibak's son Aḥmad (d. 877/1473) was apparently born ca. 815/1412–3. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:265 (born in 815/1412, 40 days before Shaykh and al-Musta'in entered Egypt); Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zuhūr*, 3:85 (born after 810/1407–8); but see al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:61 (born after 810/1407–8 or before that year); and see also idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 278.

369 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 613 (almost 70 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:498 ('*ashr al-sab'in*).

370 al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh made him amir of ten. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 611 (*lammā tasalṭana al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh ammarahu 'ashara*); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:497. It is said that he was amir of ten during the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh for a long time. See idem, *al-Manhal*, 3:139 (*dāma 'alā dhālika mudda tawīla*). However, he is first mentioned as amir in 824/1421. See idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:194. Still, it is more reasonable that he became amir at the beginning of Shaykh's reign.

371 Aytamush's son Muḥammad died in 865/1461 when he was about 30 years old. See al-Biqā'i, *Ta'rikh al-Biqā'i*, 3:196 (about 30 years old); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:98 (young man); idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:128 (young man [*shābb*]). Aytamush had also two daughters, but their age is not known. See idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 613.

372 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:269; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:554; idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:332.

373 He became amir in Syria during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, i.e., in 824/1421, but al-Ashraf Barsbāy made him *muqaddam alf* in Cairo. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:202; idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:329. He is mentioned as *muqaddam alf* in Cairo already in 826/1423. See idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:259.

374 Muḥammad the son of Arikmās died in 833/1429 when he was a *murāhiq*, i.e., he was probably about 10–15 years old. See al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān* (ed. al-Qarmūṭ), 392.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Born	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)	Tie
14. al-Ashraf Īnāl (d. 865, about 80) ³⁷⁵	785~	824 (40~) ³⁷⁶	825–835 (40–50~) ³⁷⁷	

Table D: al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's *mamlūks* whose age at amirate (in Cairo) and age when starting a family could be roughly estimated

Name (year of death, age)	Sultan who promoted Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)
1. Tanam Min 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mu'ayyadi (d. 868, about 70) ³⁷⁸	Al-Ashraf Barsbāy ³⁷⁹ Towards the end of his rule?	836 (about 40) ³⁸⁰
2. Qānibak al-Maḥmūdī (d. 874, more than 70 or more than 80) ³⁸¹	Al-Zāhir Jaqmaq ³⁸² 842 (roughly about 40 or 50)	Ca. 861–2 (roughly about 60 or 70) ³⁸³

375 According to the sources, he was about 80 years old (al-Biqā'ī, *Ta'rikh al-Biqā'ī*, 3:215), more than 80 (al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:102), or almost 80 (Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:157; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 2:329; and see also idem, *Wajiz al-Kalām*, 2:737). Of course, Ibn Iyās, provides an exact age—81 (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:367).

376 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:308; Abū Hāmid al-Maqdisī, *Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut and Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2003), 174.

377 All of Īnāl's children were from his wife Zaynab whom he married ca. 825/1421–2. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 12:44–5. The year of birth of his eldest child Badriyya (d. 879/1474) is not known. See *ibid.*, 11:234; 12:12; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:111. His eldest son Aḥmad was apparently born in 835/1431 (see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 1:246; al-Biqā'ī, *Ta'rikh al-Biqā'ī*, 3:288); however, according to al-Malaṭī, Aḥmad was born in the year 831/1427–8 (al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:98; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:84).

378 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:184 (about 70 years old); idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:346 (about 70 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:330 ('*ashr al-sab'in*).

379 Tanam became amir during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy; however, apparently not at the beginning of his reign (*ba'da mudda*). He is first mentioned as amir of ten, and at all, upon the ascendance to the throne of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq in 842/1438. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:175; idem *al-Nujūm*, 15:262. It is very rare to find *mamlūks* of Shaykh promoted to amirates in Cairo during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, so he must have been promoted towards the end of his rule.

380 The oldest child mentioned is Muḥammad (d. 873/1469) born in 836/1432–3. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:382.

381 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 6:198 (more than 70 years old); al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 170 (more than 70 years old); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:403 (more than 80 years old); idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:231 (more than 80 years old, who ever said that he was more than 70 was wrong).

382 al-Ashraf Barsbāy made him amir *ṭablkhāna* in Damascus, but only al-Zāhir Jaqmaq made him amir (of ten) in Cairo upon his ascendance to the throne in 842/1438. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 6:198; al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 170. As far as I know, he is first mentioned in the

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Sultan who promoted Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)
3. al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (d. 872, about 67) ³⁸⁴	Al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq 845–6 (about 40) ³⁸⁵	865 (about 60) ³⁸⁶
4. Yashbak Min Salmān Shāh al- Mu'ayyadī (d. 878, b. ca. 800) ³⁸⁷	Al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq 848 (about 50) ³⁸⁸	842 (about 40) ³⁸⁹
5. Janibak Kūhayh al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 887, old person) ³⁹⁰	Al-Ashraf Īnāl 861 (about 45 or more) ³⁹¹	857 (about 40 or more) ³⁹²

sources in 842/1438 when receiving a post in Cairo from al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:200.

- 383 A son not specified by name was born ca. 861/1456–7 or 862/1457–8. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:231.
- 384 He was almost 65 years old (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:176; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Extracts*, 3:657), about 65 years old, or more than 65 years old (al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:279; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:447; and see also ibid, 2:80). According to his own testimony, Khushqadam was about 10 years old when brought in Egypt in late 815/1413 or the beginning of 816/1413. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Extracts*, 3:657; and see also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:175; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:80 (his age at that time was more than 20 [!] but he was a minor). So, he was apparently about 67 years old. According to Ibn Iyās, he was about 70 years old. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:456.
- 385 al-Maqdisī, *Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy*, 178; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Extracts*, 3:657–8; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 16:255; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:379; and see also al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:80.
- 386 Khushqadam's eldest child was his daughter Faraj (d. 870/1466) who was born in 865/1460–1. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:169; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:245–6; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 12:114.
- 387 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:270–1 (born ca. 800/1397–8); idem, *Wajiz al-Kalām*, 2:854 (more than 70 years old).
- 388 Jaqmaq gave him amirate of ten upon the death of Tamur [!—should be Timrāz] al-Nawrūzī, who died in 848/1444. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:270; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:360. However, he is first mentioned in the sources as one of the most prominent *khāṣṣakiyya* in 842/1438. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:445. It is known that he first received a post during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:270.
- 389 Yashbak's son Yaḥyā (d. 876/1472) was born in 842/1438. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:264–5.
- 390 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:310 (*kāna fi shaykhūkhathihi baṭṭālān*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:60 (he retired from service due to physical weakness). Taking into consideration that he was originally a slave of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh who died in 824/1421, and that he retired from service due to old age, he was in all likelihood at least 70 years old.
- 391 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:112; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:23.
- 392 Janibak's son Aḥmad (d. 927/1521?) was born in 857/1453. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 278–9 (Aḥmad was born in 857/1453 and was still alive circa 890/1485); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:267 (Aḥmad—no date of death); Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 5:411 (Muḥammad died in 927/1521). Taking into consideration that al-Malaṭī and al-Sakhāwī mention only one son of Janibak Kūhayh by the name of Aḥmad that was still alive towards the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, it seems to me that Ibn Iyās has the name wrong, and Muḥammad is actually Aḥmad.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Sultan who promoted Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)
6. Sūdūn al-Faqīh al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 870, a bit more than 70) ³⁹³	Al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad ibn Īnāl 865 (a bit more than 65) ³⁹⁴	840 (a bit more than 40) ³⁹⁵

Table E: Age at amirate and age when starting a family—*mamlūk* sultans of the ninth/fifteenth century

Name (year of death, age)	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)
1. al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (d. 824, b. ca. 770)	794 (25~)	803~ (33~) ³⁹⁶
2. al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar (d. 824, about 50)	815 (40~)	Ca. 815 (40~) ³⁹⁷
3. al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841, more than 60 or almost 70)	815 (40~)	820 (45~) ³⁹⁸
4. al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (d. 857, about 80 or more)	Ca. 815 (40~)	816–819 (40–45~) ³⁹⁹
5. al-Ashraf Īnāl (d. 865, about 80)	824 (40~)	825–835 (40–50~) ⁴⁰⁰
6. al-Zāhir Khushqadam (d. 872, about 67)	845–6 (40~)	865 (60~) ⁴⁰¹
7. al-Zāhir Yalbāy (d. 873, about 80) ⁴⁰²	842 (50~) ⁴⁰³	? ⁴⁰⁴

393 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, 2:438 (about 73 years old); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:238–9 (*qad jāwaza al-sab'īn*); idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:160 (*qad jāwaza al-sittīn*). The edition of *Nayl al-Amal* is more reliable.

394 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:348; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:160; but see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 3:276 (became amir of ten during the reign al-Ashraf Īnāl).

395 Sūdūn's son Yūnus (died after 916/1510) was born in 840/1436. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:160–1; and see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, 4:195.

396 See no. 5 in Table C above.

397 See no. 8 in Table C above.

398 See no. 9 in Table C above.

399 See no. 10 in Table C above.

400 See no. 14 in Table C above.

401 See no. 3 in Table D above.

402 According to al-Sakhāwī, Yalbāy was about 80 years old. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 10:288. According to al-Malaṭī, he was about 80 years old or more. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:346; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:314. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, he was about 75 or more than 70 years old. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 16:371; idem, *Extracts*, 3:608. However, al-Malaṭī writes that the person who thought that Yalbāy was in his seventies (i. e., Ibn Taghrībirdī) was wrong. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:314.

403 al-Maqdisī, *Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy*, 181; and see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:357–8; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:271.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Year of amirate (age at amirate)	Year of child's birth (age when child born)
8. al-Zāhir Tamurbughā (d. 879, about 65 or less) ⁴⁰⁵	846 (30~ or a bit more) ⁴⁰⁶	? ⁴⁰⁷
9. al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (d. 901, about 80) ⁴⁰⁸	862 (40~) ⁴⁰⁹	867–9 (45–50~) ⁴¹⁰

More importantly, the effects that the phenomenon of promotion of *mamlūks* to amirates at an older age had on the age structure of the *mamlūks*' families during the Circassian period have not been discussed.⁴¹¹ Like in the Turkish period, we see a correlation between the age at amirate and the age at which *mamlūks* started a family.⁴¹² *Mamlūks* normally started a family (shortly) after they secured a sufficient income, which during the Circassian period was normally after they

404 No sons of Yalbāy are mentioned in the sources. Two daughters are mentioned, but their years of birth are not known.

405 According to al-Malaṭī, al-Sakhāwī, and Ibn Iyās, Tamurbughā was more than 60 years old. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:124; idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 797; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajiz al-Kalām*, 2:860; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 3:105; and see also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:40–1. He is said to have been young when he arrived in the Sultanate ca. 824/1421, so he was probably in his mid-sixties or early-sixties when he died. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:376–7; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:304–5; and see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:467 (Jaqmaq raised Tamurbughā from a young age in his harem).

406 al-Maqdisī, *Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy*, 183; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:377; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 782; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:305.

407 No descendants of al-Zāhir Tamurbughā are mentioned in the sources.

408 There is variation in the information concerning the age of Qāytbāy and according to various estimations he could have been about 75–85 years old when he died. However, most sources indicate that he was about 80 years old. According to al-Sakhāwī, he was born in the (early?) twenties of the ninth/fifteenth century (*wulida taqrīban sanat biḍ' wa-'ishrīn*), which would make him about 80 years old or a bit less. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:201. According to Ibn Iyās, Qāytbāy was about 84 years old when he died. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 3:324. In *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, written between 887/1482–3 and 890/1485–6 (see al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 1:37–8), al-Malaṭī says that at that time Qāytbāy was in his sixties (*'ashr al-sab'in*) and that there is no doubt that he was more than 65 years old (see *ibid*, 3:360), which would mean that when he died in 901/1496 he was about 80 years old (approximately between 78 and 83 years old).

409 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 3:3.

410 Sitt al-Jarkas (d. 873/1469) was apparently Qāytbāy's first child. She died in the plague of 873/1469. She was four or six years old when she died. See *ibid*, 3:30; al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 60; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:366; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:141.

411 The data presented here concerning the age at amirate and the age of starting families during the Circassian period refines the outline presented in Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives" which was based on less data and ignored information concerning age at amirate. It also did not differentiate between the reign of Barqūq and the ninth/fifteenth century. See Yosef, "Mamluks and Their Relatives", 59 (footnote no. 11), 62.

412 See idem, "The Rise" (part 4 at footnotes nos. 183–7; and part 7.3 at footnote no. 407).

were promoted to amirates or after becoming 40 years old. While among the *mamlūks* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq we still find quite a few *mamlūks* who started a family at a young age since they were promoted during the reign of Barqūq to amirates at a young age (nos. 2–7 in Table C),⁴¹³ his *mamlūks* that were promoted only after his reign, and especially starting from 815/1412, were 40 or older when promoted and they started families only (shortly) after becoming amirs or after turning 40 (nos. 8–14 in Table C).⁴¹⁴ Some of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s *mamlūks* were already about 40 years old during his second reign when he started promoting his *mamlūks*, and they also seem to have started a family only after becoming amirs (no. 1 in Table C), which also shows the correlation between the age at amirate (or the age of 40) and the age at which *mamlūks* started a family. After circa 815/1412 we hardly find *mamlūks* who started a family at a young age, i.e., younger than

413 Elsewhere, and in several places, I have suggested that there was perhaps a link between the discrimination of Circassian (or non-Turkish) *mamlūks* during the Turkish period due to which they tended to start families at a later age than their Turco-Mongol peers, and between the age structure of *mamlūks*’ families during the Circassian period that was dominated by Circassian *mamlūks*. See idem, “*Ikhwa, Muwākhūn and Khushdāshiyya in the Mamlūk Sultanate*”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013), 355–8; and see, most recently, idem, “Cross-Boundary Hatred”, 204. At the time I used only data concerning age of *mamlūks* when starting families and not when promoted to amirates, and I did not differentiate between the reign of Barqūq and the ninth/fifteenth century. The data I have collected since then on the reign of Barqūq clearly shows that it is not possible to draw a direct line between the discrimination of Circassians during the Turkish period and the age structure of *mamlūks*’ families during the ninth/fifteenth century. The age structure of *mamlūks*’ families in the ninth/fifteenth century has to do with long term structural changes. In addition, although most of the *mamlūks* during the ninth/fifteenth century were Circassians, at that time also Turco-Mongol *mamlūks* normally did not start families before the age of 40. And see a relevant remark also in idem, “The Rise” (at footnote no. 407).

414 To nos. 8–14 in Table C, we may add Qarāqujā al-Ḥasanī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 853/1449) who is said to have been a simple soldier for a long time until he became amir of ten after the death of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh and is first mentioned as amir in 831/1428. See Ibn Taghrībī, *al-Manhal*, 9:50–1; and see ibid, 2:340. While his exact age is not known, since he was the *mamlūk* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and since he was a simple soldier for a long time, it is relatively clear that he was about 40 years old or more when promoted to amirate. His son ‘Alī was almost 20 years old when he died in 853/1459, so he seems to have been born a few years after his father had become amir. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw*, 5:275. Qarāqujā is not mentioned in Table C because his exact age is not known. Another special case that is not mentioned in the table is Shāhīn al-Shaykhī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 834/1430, about 80 years old). He is said to have been of Muslim origin, but he became a *mamlūk*. He must have arrived in Egypt at an advanced age because he was bought by Barqūq only ca. 800/1397. He received some posts in Jerusalem during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj but seems to have become amir only towards the end of his reign (*awākhir dawlat al-Nāṣir Faraj*) when he became the governor of Jerusalem. Shāhīn’s son Khalīl was born in 811/1409 or 813/1410 when Shāhīn was about 60 years old and apparently at about the same time in which he became amir. While Khalīl was perhaps Shāhīn’s firstborn son, he had two sisters whose age is not known. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:296; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 1:39; 4:119–20. Because the status of Shāhīn is not entirely clear he is not included in the table.

40, and almost all those who did were (favored) *mamlūks* promoted at a young age and/or enjoyed a special tie with their master or the sultan. For example, no information could be found on a *mamlūk* of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh who started a family before the age of 40. His *mamlūks* whose age when starting a family could be roughly estimated were about 40 years old or more when they started a family (see Table D). Among the *mamlūks* who were promoted to amirate during his reign (815–824/1412–1421), only one *mamlūk* was found that started a family at an age younger than 40 and he was also promoted to amirate at a young age and enjoyed a special tie with al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: Īnāl al-Nawrūzī (d. 829/1426, more than 30 years old), who was al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's in-law and was promoted by him to amirate when he was roughly about 30 years old, is known to have left behind a pregnant wife who gave birth to a son after his death.⁴¹⁵ Among the *mamlūks* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy who became amirs in Cairo only two *mamlūks* are known to have started a family at a young age and both were promoted to amirate at a young age and enjoyed a special tie with al-Ashraf Barsbāy. The first is Janibak al-Dawādār al-Ashrafī (d. 831/1427, about 25 years old or less than 30 years old) who was adopted by al-Ashraf Barsbāy and raised in his harem. He was promoted to amirate upon Barsbāy's ascendance to the throne in 825/1422 when he was apparently about 20 years old.⁴¹⁶ He is known to have left behind him a son who was five years old and a younger child, so he seems to have started a family shortly after becoming amir.⁴¹⁷ The second is Aqtuwah al-Ashrafī (d. 833/1429, less than 30 years old) who was al-Ashraf Barsbāy's relative (in fact, it is not clear if he was a slave). He was brought to Egypt and made amir in 826/1423 when he was apparently about 20 years old. He is known to have left behind him a daughter named Khadija.⁴¹⁸

A word on the quality of the data concerning descendants of *mamlūks* is in order. The sources almost never mention explicitly who was the first-born child, or even the first-born son, of a *mamlūk* amir. There is more information on sons of *mamlūks* than on their daughters, and more specifically, there is less information on the age of daughters. Still, sometimes the sources do mention how many sons (and less commonly, also daughters) a *mamlūk* amir left behind, and

415 al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān* (ed. al-Qarmūṭ), 308 (Īnāl al-Nawrūzī left no heirs except for his pregnant wife who later gave birth to a son); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:329–30. And see also no. 39 in Appendix C and footnote no. 311 above.

416 See footnote no. 316 (no. 1) above.

417 al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān* (ed. al-Qarmūṭ), 344–5. For different information concerning his descendants, see al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:139; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:235; and see also Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 3:408 (he left behind him children); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:55.

418 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:5–6, 280; and see footnote no. 316 (no. 6) above. As far as I know, only one *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Īnāl started a family at an age younger than 40. See at footnotes nos. 461–2 below.

many times the sources in fact provide information on all these sons (or children). While sometimes we do not know the age of all sons, we may assume that due to the importance of seniority in age, the most elaborate information is on the most senior sons. When estimating the age of *mamlūk* amirs when starting a family, I have used the age of their child (almost always a son) who according to his age was born first even if there is information that he had other siblings whose age is not known, unless there is explicit information suggesting that he was not the first-born child. Still, it must be taken into consideration that we lack some information on the daughters of *mamlūk* amirs and on children who had died young. Such gaps of information may be relevant to the few cases in which a *mamlūk* became amir around the age of 40 but his only son that is mentioned in the sources was born only about 20 years later (no. 12 in Table C and no. 2 in Table D). Aytamush al-Khidrī al-Zāhirī (d. 846/1442, almost 70 years old) who became amir when he was roughly 40 years old (no. 12 in Table C) is known to have left behind him a son named Muḥammad and daughters.⁴¹⁹ Muḥammad died in 865/1461 when he was about 30 years old, thus he was born when his father was in his late fifties; however, the age of the daughters is not known. Qānibak al-Maḥmūdī (d. 874/1469, more than 70 or more than 80 years old) became amir in 842/1438 when he was more than 40 or more than 50 years old. He is known to have left behind him one son who was born circa 862/1457–8, when he was more than 60 or more than 70 years old (no. 2 in Table D).⁴²⁰ Still, he may well have had older children who died young and did not outlive him. Having said that, it is of course also possible that some *mamlūk* amirs started families only around the age of 60 (see below the case of al-Zāhir Khushqadam). The important thing is that with all the gaps in information, a very clear pattern emerges and there are no indications that after circa 815/1412 *mamlūk* amirs started families before the age of 40 except in rare cases involving (favored) *mamlūks* promoted at a young age and/or *mamlūks* who enjoyed a special tie with their master or the sultan. Moreover, the data we have on *mamlūk* sultans (who, of course, had been amirs before becoming sultans) corroborates the pattern. The information we have on the descendants of *mamlūk* sultans of the ninth/fifteenth century is more than solid. We sometimes know who their first-born child or first-born son was. Normally we have lists of their children. We have indication on the age of almost all sons and many daughters. While the information on the age of daughters is less elaborate, it seems that senior daughters are always mentioned. Among the nine *mamlūk* sultans of the ninth/fifteenth century, there is explicit information that in two cases (al-Ashraf Īnāl and al-Zāhir Khushqadam—nos. 5 and 6 in Table E) the eldest child was a daughter, in one or two other cases the sources

419 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 613.

420 And see idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:231.

provide information on the age of daughters that suggests they were the eldest child (al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy and perhaps also al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar—nos. 9 and 2 in Table E), and in one other case the sources mention only daughters; however, their age is not known (al-Zāhir Yalbāy—no. 7 in Table E). Moreover, there is also a lot of information on young children, especially sons, who died at a young age. Thus, while it cannot be ruled out that some children (perhaps especially daughters) who had died at a young age were neglected, the information we have on the descendants of *mamlūk* sultans is sufficient to establish the age at which they normally started families. As can be seen from Table E above, the age of seven out of nine *mamlūk* sultans when starting a family could be estimated (nos. 1–6 and 9 in Table E).⁴²¹ Five out of these seven started a family when they were about 40 years old or in their forties (al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar, al-Ashraf Barsbāy, al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, al-Ashraf Īnāl, and al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy—nos. 2–6 and 9 in Table E), and one started a family when he was about 60 years old, although he became amir already when he was about 40 years old (al-Zāhir Khushqadam—no. 6 in Table E). Only one started a family when he was younger than 40 (al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was about 33 years old), but he is the only one that was promoted before 815/1412 when he was very young (about 25 years old), and he was also a favored *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Barqūq who became his in-law (see no. 5 in Table C).

Quite a few *mamlūks* started a family around the age of 40 (but not before that age) although they became amirs only later, sometimes more than two decades later (no. 11 and perhaps also no. 13 in Table C and nos. 4–6 in Table D). It would seem that some *mamlūks* could secure a sufficient income around the age of 40 even when not becoming amirs, because after circa 815/1412, when the age of 40 was considered as the appropriate age for amirate, *mamlūks* who were approaching that age could receive (*khāṣṣakiyya*) posts at court with significant *iqṭā's*.⁴²² At least some *khāṣṣakiyya* gradually received more *iqṭā's* until considered prominent *khāṣṣakiyya* (*a'yān al-khāṣṣakiyya*), and some of these *iqṭā's*

421 The sources do not mention descendants of al-Zāhir Tamurbughā (no. 8 in Table E) and mention only daughters of al-Zāhir Yalbāy (no. 7) whose age is not known. These two sultans ruled for a very short period and then deposed. No son of theirs ascended the throne after their deposal. Perhaps this is the reason why we have less information on their descendants. It cannot be ruled out, however, that they did not have sons.

422 See some references in Yosef, “The Rise” (at footnotes nos. 97–8). It is harder to fix the exact age at which a *mamlūk* became a *khāṣṣakī* or received a post because normally it is only mentioned during which reign the post was given. Still, at least until ca. 872/1467, *mamlūks* of sultans normally became *khāṣṣakiyya* only after the death of their master and not during his reign. For example, it is said that Jānam al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 870/1465–6, an old person [*musinn*]), the *mamlūk* of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, suffered poverty that drove him to beggary after his master's death until al-Zāhir Jaqmaq made him *bawwāb* and gave him a very good *iqṭā'* (*aqṭa'ahu iqtā' ḥasan jiddan*) which improved his situation. At that time, he must have been at least in his thirties. Only when al-Ashraf Īnāl became sultan he received an amirate of ten when he must have been at least 50 years old. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:157–8.

yielded “heavy” income as they were considered appropriate for candidates to amirates.⁴²³ Veteran *mamlūks* that turned 40 years old and were considered of appropriate age (and qualifications) to be candidates for amirates (but still did not become amirs) were called *qarāniṣa*, and there is evidence that some received *iqṭāʾ*s that provided sufficient income.⁴²⁴ For example, Yashbak Min Salmān Shāh al-Muʾayyadī (d. 878/1473, b. ca. 800/1397), the *mamlūk* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, became amir in 848/1444 when he was about 50 years old, but his son Yaḥyā (d. 876/1472) was born already in 842/1438, when he was about 40 years old (no. 4 in Table D). However, Yashbak is first mentioned in chronicles in 842/1438 as one of the prominent *khāṣṣakiyya* (*min aʿyān al-khāṣṣakiyya*),⁴²⁵ so we may assume that around that year, when he was about 40 years old, he achieved a post with a significant income.⁴²⁶

423 For a *mamlūk* who became a *khāṣṣakī* with a good *iqṭāʾ* and then a candidate for amirate (*ṣuyyira khāṣṣakī ʿalā iqṭāʾ jayyid thumma rushshiha lil-imra*), see al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:231. For a *mamlūk* who became a *khāṣṣakī* with a “heavy income” and a candidate for amirate (*aḥad aʿyān al-khāṣṣakiyya al-thiqāl wal-murashshaḥ lil-imra*), see idem, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 846. For a *mamlūk* who became a *khāṣṣakī* with a good *iqṭāʾ* (*iqṭāʾ ḥasan*) and then given another *iqṭāʾ* that was normally given to *mamlūks* who were about to become amirs (*tuḡṭaʾu li-man qaruba taʾmīruhu*), see ibid., 216. Al-Zāhir Yalbāy (d. 873/1468, about 80 years old) became amir only in 842/1438 when he was about 50 years old (no. 7 in Table E). He became a *khāṣṣakī* only after the death of his master al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. He remained an ordinary *khāṣṣakī* for years, until al-Ashraf Barsbāy made him one of the prominent *khāṣṣakiyya* (*aʿyān al-khāṣṣakiyya*) and gave him as *iqṭāʾ* third of the village of Ṭuḥūriyya with an expected annual income of about 2,800 DJ, which fits the lower range of amirs of ten (according to the standards of 778/1377). This seems to have happened when Yalbāy was roughly around the age of 40. Al-Malaṭī writes that after receiving a third of the village of Ṭuḥūriyya, Yalbāy became one of the “heavy” *khāṣṣakiyya* (*min aʿyān al-khāṣṣakiyya al-thiqāl*). Later, in 841–2/1438, that is, shortly before he became amir, he received half the village of Bahnā al-ʿAsal as *iqṭāʾ* with an expected income of about 8,000 DJ, which fits the upper range of amirs of ten (according to the standards of 778/1377). See Ibn Taghrībī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:357–8; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:271. On the tax-yield of the villages, see Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lebensregistern*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979; 1982), 1:609, 696–7.

424 The term is usually understood simply as “veteran *mamlūks*”, and it indeed retained also that general meaning throughout the Circassian period. It is also understood as “*mamlūks* of previous sultans”, but this seems to be simply an extension of the first meaning. I cannot elaborate on the term in the scope of this paper. For now, it will only be mentioned that Arikmās al-Ashrafī (d. 892/1487, more than 80 years old [he was about 80 years old ca. 890/1485]), the *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, became a *khāṣṣakī* only after his master’s death, i.e., when he was at least in his thirties. As a *khāṣṣakī* he gradually received several *iqṭāʾ*s. He became one of the *qarāniṣa* with a significant income, since he is known to have behaved like an amir of ten, although he was not amir. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 500.

425 al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:445.

426 Another example is Tanibak al-Burdbakī al-Zāhirī (d. 862/1458, almost 90), the *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Barqūq, who became amir in 824/1421 after the death of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, when he was about 50 years old, but his son Aḥmad (d. 877/1473) was born in 815/1412–3 when he was about 40 years old (no. 11 in Table C). Still, Tanibak is known to have become a *khāṣṣakī*

3.4 The decline in the military-political status of *mamlūks*' descendants and "the rise of a new class" of *awlād al-nās*

The members of the earliest group of (especially) favored *mamlūks* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq were born roughly in 770–775/1368–1374 and promoted to amirates in 791–796/1389–1394 when they were roughly 20–25 years old. They started families roughly in 795–805/1392–1403 (nos. 4–7 in Table C; and probably also nos. 2–3 in Table C). More generally, since we have established a correlation between promotion to amirate and starting a family, we may safely assume that also other *mamlūks* of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq who were promoted to amirates in Cairo during his second reign (792–801/1390–1399), normally when they were about 30 years old but on rare occasions even 40 years old (since they were among his oldest *mamlūks*), could and would have started families at about the same time, even though we do not have much explicit information on their descendants (no. 1 in Table C; and see nos. 2, 4, 7, 10–11, and 13–15 in Appendix C). The descendants of this group of *mamlūks* promoted during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, who were the earliest candidates for amirates among the *mamlūks*' descendants during the ninth/fifteenth century, would have reached the age of 20, which in earlier periods was normally the minimal age for promotion to amirates in Cairo among *mamlūks*' descendants,⁴²⁷ roughly in 815–825/1412–1422, at a time when the number of amirates in Cairo already seems to have decreased, and, in any case, the minimal age for promotion to amirates in Cairo for *mamlūks* was fixed at 40. Thus, even they would find it very difficult to be promoted to amirates.⁴²⁸ A mass of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's *mamlūks* who were born roughly in 775–785/1373–1384 or later and those who were perhaps less favored, missed the train of promotions during the days of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. While quite a few of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's *mamlūks* were promoted to amirates during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–815/1399–1412),⁴²⁹ it seems that already during his days opportunities for promotions decreased and many *mamlūks* of this group were still not promoted also during that time, thus many of them were promoted only after al-Nāṣir Faraj's reign and only after turning 40 years old (if promoted at all).

and *ra's nawbat al-jamdāriyya* already during the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:42.

427 See Yosef, "The Rise" (at footnotes nos. 197–200; and see also at footnote no. 182).

428 As mentioned, until 815/1412 only on rare occasions involving especially favored *mamlūks* of Barqūq who enjoyed a special tie with the family of Barqūq, their descendants were promoted to amirates at an age (much) younger than 20: Muḥammad ibn Qalamṭāy al-Uṭhmānī al-Ẓāhirī (no. 19 in Table B; and see at footnotes nos. 221, and 239–41 above) the son of Barqūq's most favored *mamlūk* (see no. 4 in Table C), and Qāsim the son of Tagh-rībirdī al-Bashbughāwī who was Faraj's relative and in-law (see at footnotes nos. 284–6 above; and see no. 6 in Table C above).

429 See nos. 17–23 and 27–8 in Appendix C (especially nos. 19, 21–3, and 27–8).

This group of *mamlūks* reached the age of 40 roughly in 815–825/1412–1422. Many of them were not promoted to amirates even at the age of 40, and it is not a coincidence that exactly after a mass of them has reached the age of 40, during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, the *qarāniša*, in the meaning of veteran *mamlūks* over the age of 40 that are candidates for amirates, apparently first become conspicuous.⁴³⁰ This massive group of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s *mamlūks* that turned 40 roughly in 815–825/1412–1422 normally started families during that decade only when they were about 40 or in their forties, but sometimes perhaps somewhat later (nos. 8–14 in Table C). The descendants of these *mamlūks* would have matured roughly in 835–845/1431–1442. They would find it even harder to receive amirates, because not only that by that time the standard minimal age for amirates was fixed at 40, but also their fathers parented them when they were at least 40, and, in most cases, they died before their sons reached the age of 40 and thus could not help them in achieving amirates.⁴³¹ In addition, outbreaks of plagues became much more frequent during the ninth/fifteenth century and decimated the progeny of *mamlūks*.

All this should explain why we hardly find *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs already starting from the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. In 815–825/1412–1422, the descendants of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s *mamlūks*, who were promoted to amirates during the second reign of Barqūq, reached maturity, and since their chances to develop a significant military-political career were not that high, they (and their fathers) must have started looking for alternative sources of income for them (and alternative career options). However, a mass of the descendants of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s *mamlūks* reached maturity only roughly in 835–845/1431–1442. It must have been during the period between 815/1412 and 845/1442, perhaps especially circa 835/1431–2, that the privatization and *waqfization* of state lands for the benefit of *mamlūks*’ descendants accelerated. Indeed, while ‘Imād Abū Ghāzī observed that the reign of al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–865/1453–1461) witnessed a peak in sales of villages in Egypt and Syria by *bayt al-māl*, mostly to

430 And see footnote no. 424 above.

431 As shown by Yossef Rapoport, during the ninth/fifteenth century elite households, including the royal household (starting from al-Ashraf Īnāl), tended to be monogamous. See Yossef Rapoport, “Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11/2 (2007), 30–2 (especially 30). As noted by Loiseau, the situation of the royal household must reflect the situation of amiral households (indeed, the sultans of the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century were monogamous already as amirs), and monogamy must have contributed to the decimation of *mamlūks*’ progeny. See Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 283–4. Still, monogamy apparently became prevalent in royal households only during the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, so the age structure of *mamlūks*’ families and the decimation of number of amirates must have been more crucial in the decline of the military-political status of *mamlūks*’ descendants.

mamlūk amirs and their descendants,⁴³² the first large group of sales occurred already during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–841/1422–1438)⁴³³ which witnessed a significant increase of such sales in comparison to previous periods, an increase that continued during the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (842–857/1438–1453).⁴³⁴ Specifically the decade between 833/1429 and 842/1439 witnessed a significant increase of such sales in comparison to previous periods, which continued in the next decade (843–852/1439–1449).⁴³⁵ Moreover, while a “sudden rise in the number of *waqfs*” in Cairo (funded by urban properties or rural estates) has been observed around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century and the number indeed peaked somewhat later,⁴³⁶ a first significant increase in foundation of *waqfs*, mainly by *mamlūk* amirs but also by their male descendants, may be in fact apparently dated already to the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, and the trend that began in his days apparently gained momentum in the first years of the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (many such *waqfs* were established in 842–845/1439–1442).⁴³⁷ In addition, to the best of my knowledge, the phenomenon of military pension lands (*rizaq jayshiyya*) receive significant attention in chronicles for the first time in 844/1441.⁴³⁸ As mentioned by Daisuke Igarashi, the first

432 Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur*, 20–26, 108–10; and see also Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 206, 208; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 269.

433 Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 206.

434 While during the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq there was one sale, that of al-Nāṣir Faraj seven, and that of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh only one, during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy there were 23 and during that of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq there were 40. See Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur*, 20–21.

435 From 793/1390 until 802/1400: three sales. From 803/1400 until 812/1410: six sales. From 813/1410 until 822/1420: one sale. From 823/1420 until 832/1429: seven sales. From 833/1429 until 842/1439: 19 sales. From 843/1439 until 852/1449: 20 sales. See *ibid.*, 26. In Amīn’s *Fihrist*, sales from *Bayt al-Māl* to *mamlūk* amirs first appear during the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq. See Amīn, *Fihrist*, 24, 105–6, 109.

436 Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 207; *idem*, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 92–3; and see also Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 277.

437 In Amīn’s *Fihrist* we find only four *waqfs* established by non-eunuch *mamlūks* or their male descendants during the reigns of al-Nāṣir Faraj and al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh. See Amīn, *Fihrist*, 15 (804/1402 [no. 63]), 82–3 (806/1404 [no. 322]), 16 (809/1407 [no. 69]), 813/1410 [no. 75]). During the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy we find six such *waqfs*. See *ibid.*, 18 (827/1424 [no. 83]), 96 (827/1424 [no. 354]), 827/1424 [no. 355]), 98 (831/1428 [no. 359]), 18 (833/1430 [nos. 87–8]), 100 (833/1430 [no. 362]). During the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq we find ten such *waqfs*, among them seven in 842–845/1439–1442. See *ibid.*, 20 (842/1439 [no. 99]), 21 (844/1441 [no. 103]), 844/1441 [no. 104]), 316 (844/1441 [no. 845]), 21 (845/1441 [no. 105]), 102 (845/1441 [nos. 367–8]), 103 (845/1442 [no. 369]), 22 (848/1444 [no. 109]), 104 (851/1447 [no. 373]), 23 (852/1449 [no. 112]).

438 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:346. Igarashi mentions that Ibn Taghribirdī refers to the phenomenon in 821/1418—the weakening of the *ḥalqa* is connected to the loss of *iqṭāʾ* lands that turned into *rizqa* and private lands. See Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 13. I think that Ibn Taghribirdī refers to the weakening of the *ḥalqa* in 821/1418 due to the phenomenon of “double positions”, i.e., *mamlūks* of amirs registered also as *ḥalqa* mem-

detailed description of the phenomenon of the transfer of *iqṭāʾ* land of amirs into *rizqa* land of their descendants and then its privatization, appears in al-Asadī's *al-Taysīr wal-ʿItibār* written in 855/1451.⁴³⁹ Thus, it would seem that the phenomenon reached a critical point by the days of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq.⁴⁴⁰ While the information on sales, *waqfs*, and *rizaq jayshiyya* is partial, it still strongly suggests that during the second quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century there was much activity in the land market and that at that time the privatization and *waqfization* of state lands for the benefit of *mamlūks* and their descendants accelerated. It is exactly at that time, in which the “rise of a new class” of private landowners may be identified, that the term *awlād al-nās* went through a semantic shift and became a (*de facto*) specific designation for a group of *mamlūks*' descendants (on their identity see part 4 below).⁴⁴¹ This has gone so far unnoticed. The creation of a specific designation for a group of *mamlūks*' descendants may confirm their turning into a distinct group or class at that time, which must have to do with the changes in their status and sources of income.

We may imagine a vicious circle: every *iqṭāʾ* land turned into private land and then *waqf* land and used to secure an income for *mamlūks*' descendants, diminished further the lands available for *iqṭāʾ*'s, the number of amirates, and the chances of *mamlūks*' descendants to become amirs.⁴⁴²

bers and as *mamālīk al-sultān*, and then adds a comment concerning his days (*al-ān*) that the loss of *iqṭāʾ* lands (by his days) accelerated the weakening of the army (*fa-ḏaʿufa ʿaskar Miṣr li-dhālīka fa-ʿalā hādhā al-hisāb yakūnu al-ʿaskar al-ān bi-thulth mā kāna awwalan hādhā ghayr mā kharaja min al-iqṭāʾāt fī wajh al-rizaq wal-amlāk*). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:71; and see also Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, 72 (at footnote no. 92).

439 Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 12–13; and see Kumakura, “Patterns of Women's Landholding”, 18.

440 The first known reference to *rizaq jayshiyya* is dated to 1364 (Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 268); however, in 778/1377 the phenomenon was still not significant (Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 204–5).

441 See part 2.2 above. The first unequivocal instance of such a usage of the term *awlād al-nās* in chronicles is in 848/1444 (see at footnote no. 57 above); however, it is possible that such usages appear already in the 830s/1430s (see footnotes nos. 61 and 71 above; and see also at footnotes nos. 69–71).

442 And see also Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, 72. This of course affected also *mamlūks*. We already mentioned that during the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy we first meet the *qarāniṣa* (veteran *mamlūks* over the age of 40 that are candidates for amirates but still not amirs). During the same period, chronicles apparently first mention *mamlūks* who were amirs of five in Cairo. The appearance of both groups may be linked to the dwindling of land resources available for *iqṭāʾ*'s and the decimation of the amirates in Cairo at that period. I cannot elaborate on both groups in the scope of this paper.

3.5 *Mamlūks'* descendants who became amirs during the ninth/fifteenth century

This is not to say that *mamlūks'* descendants were totally excluded from the ranks of amirs in Cairo during the ninth/fifteenth century,⁴⁴³ but simply that their chances of becoming amirs were diminished, and only very few of them were promoted to amirates at that time. In fact, some were even promoted to the highest ranks in the military; however, almost all of those promoted had a close connection to the ruling sultan. Excluding sons of sultans, Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions in the *Manhal* only five biographical entries of *mamlūks'* descendants who became amirs in Cairo (for the first time) after 802/1399, all enjoyed a special tie with the reigning sultan who promoted them.⁴⁴⁴ Excluding sons of sultans, al-Malaṭī mentions in the *Nayl*, *Rawḍ*, and the *Majma'*, biographical entries or obituary notes of only 10 *mamlūks'* descendants who became amirs (for the first time) after 802/1399, including all the five mentioned by Ibn Taghrībirdī.⁴⁴⁵ Among the 10, seven enjoyed a special tie with the reigning sultan who promoted them,⁴⁴⁶ and another one was a descendant (*sibt*) of a predecessor.⁴⁴⁷ Excluding sons of sultans, al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) mentions in the *Ḍaw'*, a biographical dictionary covering the entire ninth/fifteenth century, only 16 biographical entries of *mamlūks'* descendants who became amirs in Cairo (for the first time) after 802/1399, including all the ten mentioned by al-Malaṭī. So, all in all, there are 16 biographical entries or obituaries of *mamlūks'* descendants who became amirs in Cairo in the abovementioned sources (all mentioned by al-Sakhāwī).⁴⁴⁸ Among

443 And see Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 69–70.

444 See Appendix A (Cairo) nos. 1–5.

445 See Appendix A (Cairo) nos. 1–10. In fact, one of the 10 perhaps was not an amir. Muḥammad ibn Jarbāsh al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī (d. 887/1482) is not mentioned with the title of amir but he functioned twice as *amīr al-rakb al-awwal*. While the post was filled sometimes by amirs, it could also be filled by simple soldiers (see no. 7 in Appendix A [Cairo]; and see footnote no. 734 below). On the post of *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* and *mamlūks'* descendants, see Haarmann, "Joseph's Law", 70.

446 See Appendix A (Cairo) nos. 1–5 and 8–9.

447 See no. 7 in Appendix A (Cairo). As mentioned, he was nominated as *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* and it is not clear if he was amir. Moreover, he functioned as *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* when his mother went on a pilgrimage, and there seems to have been a tendency to appoint *mamlūks'* descendants to this post when women of their family, or the families of sultans to whom they were connected, went on a pilgrimage. So, his case is not like that of *mamlūks'* descendants who were appointed by a reigning sultan with whom they had close connections.

448 See Appendix A (Cairo) nos. 1–16. In fact, there were perhaps only 12 or 13. It was already mentioned that Jarbāsh al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī (no. 7) is never mentioned with the title of amir but only as *amīr al-rakb al-awwal*. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Ẓāhirī (d. 878/1473–4) is said to have received from al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq *iqṭā'* worthy of amir of 40 (*iqṭā' imrat arba'in*) but he is never mentioned with the title of amir, so his status is not entirely clear (no. 15). Similarly, it is not entirely clear if Muḥammad ibn Burdbak al-Ashrafi (d. 898/1493)

the 16 *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Cairo, 11 enjoyed a special tie with the reigning sultan who promoted them: one was a son of a daughter (*sibī*),⁴⁴⁹ one was an adopted son,⁴⁵⁰ one was the son of a stepdaughter,⁴⁵¹ four were descendants of a master (three of them may be considered also in-laws),⁴⁵² three were in-laws,⁴⁵³ and one was a close associate.⁴⁵⁴ In addition, three were related to sultans of the past: two were descendants of predecessors (*asbāt*)⁴⁵⁵ and one was a relative of a predecessor.⁴⁵⁶ Perhaps significantly, the status of two of the last three as amirs is not entirely clear.⁴⁵⁷ Perhaps more significantly, in two of these three cases, the reigning sultans, or a member of their family, established a marital tie with the families of these predecessors before the promotion of the *mamlūks*’ descendants to amirates,⁴⁵⁸ thus the descendants may be considered in-laws of the reigning sultans.

Among the 11 *mamlūks*’ descendants who (definitely) enjoyed a special tie with the reigning sultan who promoted them, six are mentioned specifically as his favored or close associates (the expressions used are *khaṣīṣ*, *aḥad khawāṣṣ/akhiṣṣā*’, *ikhtaṣṣa bi-hi*, or *qarrabahu* and *muqarrab*),⁴⁵⁹ and we may assume that all 11 enjoyed such a status. We may recall here that even after 815/1412, the dwindling of the number of amirates, and the change in the patterns of promotions to amirates, each reigning sultan could still promote to amirates during his reign few of his especially favored *mamlūks* (*khawāṣṣ/akhiṣṣā*’/ *muqarrabūn*) and/ or *mamlūks* who were connected to him by a very close tie.⁴⁶⁰ Each reigning sultan could also promote few favored *mamlūks*’ descendants with whom he had a special relationship; however, they seem to have been even fewer in number than the favored *mamlūks*. The information we have suggests that each sultan would promote about two such *mamlūks*’ descendants, many of them would be promoted to the highest ranks. Al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (815–824/1412–1421) promoted

became amir of ten or only received *iqṭā’* of amir of ten. He is never mentioned with the title of amir (no. 14). On the other hand, it is possible, but not very likely, that few other *mamlūks*’ descendants who are never mentioned with the title of amir, were, in fact, amirs. See footnote no. 718 in Appendix A (Cairo) below.

449 No. 14 in Appendix A (Cairo).

450 No. 1.

451 No. 9.

452 Nos. 4, 8, and 12–13 (no. 12 was also an in-law and nos. 4 and 13 may be considered also as in-laws).

453 Nos. 2–3 and 11.

454 No. 5.

455 Nos. 7 and 16.

456 No. 15.

457 Nos. 7 and 15. See footnote no. 448 above.

458 Nos. 15–16.

459 See nos. 1–2, 4–5, 9, and 11.

460 See part 3.3 above at footnotes nos. 306–17.

his adopted son Faraj ibn Sikizbāy (d. 824/1421) to amirate of ten (no. 1 in Appendix A [Cairo]) and his in-law Muḥammad ibn Alṭunbughā al-Qurmushī al-Zāhirī (d. 822/1419) to amirate of *ṭablkhāna* (no. 11). Al-Zāhir Ṭatar (824/1421) promoted his brother-in-law Ḥasan ibn Sūdūn al-Faqīh (d. 825/1422) to the rank of *muqaddam* (no. 2). Al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–841/1422–1438) who married Fāṭima bint Qujqār/Qujā (d. 827/1424), the widow of his master Duqmāq al-Muḥammadī al-Zāhirī (d. 808/1405–6), promoted the son of Duqmāq and Fāṭima, Muḥammad ibn Duqmāq al-Muḥammadī al-Zāhirī (d. 833/1429), to amirate of ten (no. 12). He also promoted his in-law Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (d. 873/1468) to amirate of *ṭablkhāna* (no. 3). Al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (842–857/1438–1453) promoted the son of his master (who may be perhaps also considered his in-law) Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (d. 855/1451) to the rank of *muqaddam* (no. 4) and gave his brother, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (d. 874/1469–70), amirate of ten (no. 13). Al-Zāhir Jaqmaq also promoted his close associate Aḥmad ibn Nawrūz al-Khiḍrī (d. 852/1448) to amirate of ten (no. 5). Al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–865/1453–1461) promoted the son of his daughter Badriyya (*sibt*), Muḥammad ibn Burdbak al-Ashrafī (d. 898/1493), to amirate of ten (no. 14).⁴⁶¹ Burdbak al-Ashrafī (d. 868/1464, about 52 years old), was an especially favored *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Īnāl who is said to have been “raised” by Īnāl in his harem. In fact, Burdbak started a family when he was apparently about 30 years old, and, as far as I know, was the only *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Īnāl who started a family before the age of 40.⁴⁶² Al-Zāhir Khushqadam (865–872/1461–1467) promoted Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-‘Aynī (d. 908/1503) to the rank of *muqaddam* (no. 9). Aḥmad was the son of Baykhūn (d. 866/1462), al-Zāhir Khushqadam’s stepdaughter (her father was Abruk al-Jakamī), and during al-Zāhir Khushqadam’s reign Aḥmad lived in the citadel as a son of a king, and it was decreed that he would be addressed as *sīdī* and as a descendant of al-Zāhir Khushqadam in a female line (*sibt al-Maqām al-Sharīf*). Al-Zāhir Khushqadam also promoted Yaḥyā ibn Yashbak al-Faqīh (d. 876/1472), the de-

461 See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 662; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:336. But see Yosef, “Usages”, 34 (footnote no. 96). Īnāl purchased Burdbak in 829/1426 when he was still amir and married Burdbak to his eldest daughter Badriyya.

462 Al-Malaṭī writes that Burdbak was (a bit) more than 52 years old when he died, which agrees with information that he was *murāhiq lil-bulūgh* (i.e., almost 15) when arriving in Egypt in 829/1426. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:341–3; and see also idem, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 662. Other sources mention that he was about 50 years old or more than 50. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 3:5; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:336. In *Nayl al-Amal*, al-Malaṭī writes that Burdbak was about 60 years old. This is clearly a mistake. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:196. Since Muḥammad ibn Burdbak seems to have been roughly 15 years old in 860/1456 (see no. 14 in Appendix A [Cairo]), Burdbak was probably roughly 30 years old when he started a family. And see discussion at footnotes nos. 414–8 above.

scendant (*sibt*) of his master al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, to the rank of amir of 40 (no. 8).⁴⁶³

Like the few favored *mamlūks* that were promoted to amirates in Cairo during the reign of their master, also the favored *mamlūks*’ descendants could be promoted to amirates at a young age. In fact, they could apparently be promoted at a younger age than the favored *mamlūks*. While some favored *mamlūks*’ descendants were already about 40 years old when their patron became sultan (nos. 4–5 in Appendix A [Cairo]), most favored *mamlūks*’ descendants were much younger when promoted. However, it seems that normally they would not be promoted before the age of 20,⁴⁶⁴ and in any case not before the age of 15 (i. e., they were never minors).⁴⁶⁵ So, not only that due to the dwindling land resources and the decrease in the number of amirates, the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs became extremely restricted, unlike in the eighth/fourteenth century, we also do not find *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs when they

463 A survey of the indexes of the *Nujūm, Sulūk*, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Ta’rīkh*, and al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, did not yield much more names of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Cairo for the first time after 802/1399. As for until 824/1412, see at footnotes nos. 283–9 above. In 840/1437, the sources mention the amir Muḥammad/Aḥmad ibn Arikmās who was *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* (a typical position for *mamlūks*’ descendants during the ninth/fifteenth century that could also be filled by simple soldiers—see footnote no. 445 above). See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:384; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1010; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:427. In 843/1440, al-Maqrīzī mentions the amir ‘Alī ibn Ḍināl who was one of the close associates of Jaqmaq (*aḥad khawāṣṣ*) and based on this reference al-Sakhāwī provides a short obituary for the amir ‘Alī ibn Ḍināl that was mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in 843/1440. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1193; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 5:195. However, this is clearly Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḍināl al-Yūsufī (d. 855/1451), one of the close associates of Jaqmaq, that was promoted by him to amirate (no. 4 in Appendix A [Cairo]).

464 One was roughly 25–35 years old when promoted to amirate in Cairo (no. 12 in Appendix A [Cairo]), one was about 26 (no. 3), one was about 24 (no. 8), one was apparently about 20 (no. 7), one was roughly 20 (no. 14), and one was less than 25 but more than about 15 (no. 1). The age of two is not known but they must have been young (nos. 2 and 11). The age of one is not known but he was probably not young (no. 13).

465 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-‘Aynī, the son of al-Zāhir Khushqadam’s stepdaughter, was about 15 years old when promoted to amirate (no. 9 in Appendix A [Cairo]). However, his case is perhaps not representative because he was treated as a son of sultan, and sons of sultans could be promoted at an even younger age. For example, Muḥammad ibn al-Ashraf Ḍināl (d. 866/1462, about 17 years old) became amir of ten and later *muqaddam* during the reign of his father, when he was 15 years old or younger. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:187–8. Yūsuf ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 868/1463, b. 827/1424) was circumcised when he was about seven years old. Later, he started military training and was appointed by his father to the rank of *muqaddam*. He must have been at that time 7–14 years old. See *ibid.*, 2:369–70. Still, it is possible that also other *mamlūks*’ descendants became amirs around the age of 15. There is evidence that Muḥammad ibn Uzbek min Ṭuṭukh (d. 911/1505) was amir when he was about 15 years old; however, he is first mentioned in chronicles as amir when he was about 23 years old (no. 16 in Appendix A [Cairo]). In addition, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Zāhirī (d. 878/1473) was no more than about 18 years old when he received *iqṭā’* worthy of amir of 40 (*iqṭā’ imrat arba’in*), but it is not clear if he became amir (no. 15).

were still minors (except for sons of sultans). It is clear, however, that some held high ranks, even that of *muqaddam*, at a very young age.⁴⁶⁶

It seems that like the favored *mamlūks*,⁴⁶⁷ the favored *mamlūks*' descendants were considered special promotions of the reigning sultan that were not according to the standard norms of promotion, and most of them do not seem to have kept their amirate after the death of the sultan who had promoted them; however, unlike the favored *mamlūks*, the *mamlūks*' descendants were not executed (and normally also not imprisoned).⁴⁶⁸ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAynī (no. 9 in Appendix A [Cairo]), the son of al-Zāhir Khushqadam's stepdaughter, was imprisoned by al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and then sent to house arrest.⁴⁶⁹ While he was released later, he is not mentioned in the events of the period as amir any longer and he is also not mentioned by name as amir in the *Tuhfa* reflecting amirates circa 880–1/1475–7. The amirate of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (no. 13), the son of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq's master, was taken by al-Ashraf Īnāl upon his ascendance to the throne and Muḥammad's situation deteriorated (*walammā māta al-Zāhir akhraja al-Ashraf imratahu ʿanhu... wa-inḥaṭṭa jān-ibuhu*).⁴⁷⁰ Muḥammad ibn Burdbak al-Ashrafī, the son of al-Ashraf Īnāl's daughter, was apparently promoted in 864/1460, about a year before his grandfather's death, to amirate of ten in Cairo (no. 14).⁴⁷¹ However, he is not mentioned as amir in chronicles afterwards and he is also not mentioned by name as amir in the *Tuhfa*. Moreover, in his obituaries or biographical entries he is not mentioned with the title of amir, and it is not mentioned there that he was promoted to amirate.⁴⁷² He must have been deposed upon his grandfather's death in 865/1461, and it is as if his short tenure as amir was not considered worthy of mention.⁴⁷³

466 Some became *ṭablkhānas* when they were about 25 years old (nos. 3 and 8 in Appendix A [Cairo]) and some must have been young (no. 11). If ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Zāhirī (no. 15) was indeed amir of 40 then he was no more than 18 years old when appointed. We find one *muqaddam* who was about 20 years old, however, his case is perhaps not representative because he was treated as a son of sultan (no. 9 in Appendix A [Cairo]; and see footnote no. 465 above). Ḥasan ibn Sūdūn al-Faqīh must have been young when he became a *muqaddam* in 824/1421 (no. 2 in Appendix A [Cairo]).

467 See discussion at footnotes nos. 319–24 above.

468 Six out of 11 *mamlūks*' descendants, who enjoyed a close tie with the reigning sultan who had promoted them, died during his reign or shortly afterwards, so we cannot know what their fate would have been (nos. 1–2, 4–5, and 11–12 in Appendix A [Cairo]). Another one apparently became sick, and he does not seem to have been amir after the death of the sultan who had promoted him (no. 8).

469 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 317.

470 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 8:172.

471 But see footnote no. 448 above.

472 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 7:149; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:295.

473 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, who had been promoted by his in-law al-Ashraf Barsbāy (no. 3 in Appendix A [Cairo]), was sent by Jaqmaq to Ṣafad as a *tarkhān* and later to Jerusalem as *baṭṭāl*, but in 850/1446 he became *muqaddam alf* in Damascus. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-*

The two instances of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in Cairo although they did not enjoy a special relationship with the sultan who promoted them (or previous sultans) are very telling, and their cases show how diminished were the chances of *mamlūks*' descendants to become amirs during the ninth/fifteenth century. Aḥmad ibn Lājīn al-Lālā al-Zāhirī Jaqmaq (d. 889/1484, b. [shortly?] after 840/1436–7) became amir instead of his father when the latter became too old for service around the year 880/1476 or shortly afterwards, when Aḥmad was around the age of 40 or in his early forties (Appendix A [Cairo]—no. 10). His father, Lājīn al-Zāhirī al-Lālā (d. 886/1481, more than 90 years old),⁴⁷⁴ became a *khāṣṣakī* in 842/1438, and (shortly?) afterwards amir of ten,⁴⁷⁵ when he was about 50 years old. Lājīn started a family at about the same time (Aḥmad, his eldest, was born [shortly?] after 840/1436–7). Having reached the ripe age of more than 90, on the eve of his death, Lājīn could help his eldest child Aḥmad, who was already about 40 years old and considered eligible, to receive an amirate.⁴⁷⁶ Unfortunately, Aḥmad died during a military expedition a few years later. Aḥmad ibn Tanibak al-Burdbakī (d. 877/1473, b. 815/1412–3) became amir of ten during the reign of al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–865/1453–1461) when he was at least 42 years old (Appendix A [Cairo]—no. 6). Aḥmad was born in 815/1412–3 when his father Tanibak al-Burdbakī (d. 862/1458, almost 90 years old) was about 40 years old.⁴⁷⁷ Having lived until the reign of al-Ashraf Īnāl, Tanibak who was then almost 90 years old, could help his son, who was already 40 years old and considered eligible, to receive amirate of ten (or alternatively, his son was considered eligible to receive amirate of ten upon his father's death because he was 47 years old). That Aḥmad was considered eligible and was not seen as a special promotion of al-Ashraf Īnāl that was not according to the norms of promotions, is perhaps reflected by the fact that he seems to have functioned as amir also after the death

Manhal, 5:258–60; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:123–5. In addition, while not a *mamlūk*'s descendant, the pattern of the deposition of a special promotion of a free person after the death of the sultan who had promoted him may be seen also in the case of Muḥammad ibn Mubārak Shāh al-Ṭāzī (d. 823/1420). Muḥammad was promoted by al-Musta'īn (815/1412), who was his maternal brother, to amirate of *ṭablkhāna*, and then deposed by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh upon his ascendance to the throne. See footnote no. 287 above.

474 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:291 (*asanna jiddan azunmuhu jāwaza al-tis'īn*).

475 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 6:232–3; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:175.

476 According to al-Malaṭī, upon the death of Lājīn in 886/1481, some *iqṭā's* and *rizqas* were transferred to Aḥmad and his brother (al-Malaṭī tends to refer to *iqṭā's* and *rizqas* that were given to *mamlūks*' descendants much more than other historians). See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 375. However, we know from the *Tuhfa* that already ca. 880–1/1475–7 the sons of Lājīn held *rizqas*. See MS. Hunt 2, 224r (a land with a tax-yield of 10,000 DJ was a *rizqa* of the sons of Lājīn and his *mamlūks*). Thus, it seems that before Aḥmad became amir, Lājīn had taken care of him and his younger brother, knowing that the chances of his sons to become eligible for amirates were not that high.

477 See no. 11 in Table C and footnote no. 426 above.

of Īnāl (Appendix A [Cairo]—no. 6). So, the *mamlūks* who did not enjoy a special relationship with the sultans and started families around the age of 40 (or more) had to live until an extremely ripe age (at least 80) so their sons would turn 40 and be considered of eligible age to receive amirates. In addition, the sons (especially the elders) would have to survive recurrent plague outbreaks. It is easy to understand that under such conditions the chances of *mamlūks*' descendants to become amirs in Cairo were extremely low.

As for Syria, Ibn Taghrībirdī does not mention in the *Manhal* biographical entries of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs (only) in Syria (for the first time) after 802/1399. Al-Sakhāwī mentions in the *Ḍaw'* only six biographical entries of *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs (only) in Syria (for the first time) after 802/1399, all in Damascus.⁴⁷⁸ Al-Malaṭī mentions in the *Nayl*, *Rawḍ*, and the *Majma'*, biographical entries or obituary notes of 14 *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs (only) in Syria (for the first time) after 802/1399, among them 12 in Damascus (including the six mentioned by al-Sakhāwī)⁴⁷⁹ and two in Tripoli and Ḥamāt.⁴⁸⁰ Three *mamlūks*' descendants held high rank in Damascus (two *muqaddams* and one *ṭablkhāna*), the *muqaddams* among them are mentioned also by al-Sakhāwī.⁴⁸¹ In fact, all the *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs, that are mentioned by al-Malaṭī and not by al-Sakhāwī, were Syrian. In addition, al-Malaṭī mentions a few *mamlūks*' descendants who held significant posts outside of Damascus without the title of amir; however, it is quite possible that they were actually amirs. None is mentioned by al-Sakhāwī.⁴⁸² In terms of quantity and quality, al-Malaṭī provides the best information on *mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs in the ninth/fifteenth century. While al-Sakhāwī mentions 16 *mamlūks*' descendants in Cairo and six in Syria (a total of 22), al-Malaṭī mentions 10 in Cairo and 14 in Syria (a total of 24), and it must be remembered that the *Rawḍ* and the *Majma'* are extant only in partial form.⁴⁸³ While both al-Sakhāwī and al-Malaṭī dedicate more attention to Cairo than Syria (especially Damascus), the Cairene bias of al-Sakhāwī is much more con-

478 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 1, 3, 5–7, and 12.

479 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 1–3, 5–10, and 12–14.

480 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 4 and 11.

481 Two *muqaddams* (nos. 3 and 5) and one *ṭablkhāna* (no. 2).

482 See footnote no. 696 in Appendix A (Syria) below.

483 Five out of six Cairene *mamlūks*' descendants that are mentioned by al-Sakhāwī and not by al-Malaṭī (nos. 11–12 and 14–16 in Appendix A [Cairo]), should not appear in the extant parts of the *Rawḍ* and the *Majma'* (their year of death is not covered by the *Rawḍ* or the extant parts of it, or the letter in which their name begins is not covered by the extant parts of the *Majma'*). While the *Nayl*, which ends in 896/1491, covers most of the entries or obituaries that appear in the *Rawḍ* and the *Majma'*, it does not cover all such obituaries or entries. Moreover, two of the six Cairene *mamlūks*' descendants that are mentioned by al-Sakhāwī and not by al-Malaṭī, died after 896/1491 (nos. 14 and 16 in Appendix A [Cairo]).

spicuous. Still, given the Egyptian bias of our sources, while the military-political status of *mamlūks*’ descendants in Syria probably (somewhat) declined during the ninth/fifteenth century, we may assume that at that time more *mamlūks*’ descendants became amirs in Syria than in Cairo.⁴⁸⁴

What perhaps confirms the last point is that only five of the 14 *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs (only) in Syria were related to the families of sultans.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, none of the five was promoted during the reign of the sultan to whom he was related, but only many years later. It is their fathers who gained prominence during the reign of the sultan to whom they were related, and eventually became governors of Damascus, but normally only after the death of this sultan.⁴⁸⁶ Indeed, in Syria the more important factor in promotions must

484 While we found in the *Manahl, Daw’*, and the works of al-Malaṭī entries or obituaries of 16 *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Cairo and 14 who became amirs (only) in Syria, it should be mentioned that four of the descendants who were amirs in Cairo were also amirs in Syria (three before the amirate in Cairo [nos. 4–5 and 12 in Appendix A (Cairo)], and one after [no. 3 in Appendix A (Cairo)]). In addition, as mentioned, al-Malaṭī mentions few *mamlūks*’ descendants who held significant posts outside of Damascus without the title of amir (see footnote no. 696 below). A survey of the indexes of the *Nujūm, Sulūk*, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s *Ta’rikh*, and al-Jawharī’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, yielded only few more names of *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Syria for the first time after 802/1399: 1. In 818/1415, during the reign of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, Ibn Taghribirdī mentions “the amir Aḥmad ibn Tanam [al-Ḥasanī] the in-law (*ṣihr*) of al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad who was one of the amirs in Damascus”. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:33. Aḥmad must have been about 20–25 years old at that time (see no. 1 in Table C above). Al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh married in 807/1404 a maternal sister of al-Nāṣir Faraj, whose father was Tanam/Tanibak al-Ḥasanī al-Zāhiri (d. 802/1400), the *mamlūk* of Barqūq and the governor of Damascus. See footnote no. 349 above. Still, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba labels Aḥmad as amir already when he was circumcised in 801/1399. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh*, 4:28–9. If Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba’s information is reliable, then Aḥmad was made amir during the reign of one of his in-laws (Barqūq or Faraj) at a very young age. Still, the significant factor in his promotion was probably the fact that his father was governor of Damascus. 2. The amir Abū Bakr ibn Bahādur al-Bābiri is mentioned in 820/1417 as Nā’ib Qal’ at al-Rūm. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:53. However, it is possible that he was a free Turkmen. 3. In 839/1435, the sources mention the amir Muḥammad ibn Qaṣrūh [Min Timrāz al-Zāhiri nā’ib al-Sha’m]. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:962. He is mentioned upon the death of his father who was the governor of Damascus from 837/1434 until his death in 839/1435. See Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ilām al-Warā’*, 69. While Qaṣrūh was related by marital ties to the family of Barqūq (see footnote no. 313 above), the promotion of his son to amirate in Damascus is probably related to his tenure as governor of Damascus. 4. In 842/1439, the amir Muḥammad ibn Qanṣūh al-Nawrūzī arrived in Cairo from Damascus. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:111; and see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:319; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 4:113. His father became *muqaddam al-f* in Damascus in 839/1436 but he was deposed in 842/1439. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:76, 288. 5. In addition, (the) Amīr ‘Ali ibn Īnāl Bāy ibn Qijmās is mentioned in 839/1435 as one of the *hujjāb* in Damascus. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:335; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:961; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:68. It is not clear if he is labeled amir and, in any case, his father and grandfather were relatives of Barqūq, and they do not seem to have been slaves. See footnote no. 284 above.

485 See Appendix A (Syria) nos. 2, 5–6, 8, and 14.

486 Nos. 2, 5, and 8.

have been the network of the governor of Damascus. All the five *mamlūks*' descendants who were related to the families of sultans were descendants of a *mamlūk* who became the governor of Damascus. Except for them, one more *mamlūk*'s descendant was the son of a governor of Damascus,⁴⁸⁷ so six out of the 14 were descendants of governors of Damascus. However, not all these descendants were promoted to amirates during the governorships of their fathers. While it is very reasonable that Muḥammad ibn Tanam Min 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 873/1469) received a *ṭablkhāna* in Damascus during the governorship of his father, and Yahyá ibn Jānam al-Ashrafi (d. 873/1469) received amirate during the governorship of his father,⁴⁸⁸ it does not seem that Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 872/1467–8) and 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Jānam al-Ashrafi (d. 878/1473–4) became amirs during the governorships of their fathers, probably because they were too young.⁴⁸⁹ The other two descendants of a governor were a grandson and a great grandson of Manjak al-Yūsufi (d. 776/1375) who was the governor of Damascus in the late eighth/fourteenth century.⁴⁹⁰ They became amirs about a century after his death. The Manjak family has established itself as a prominent family in Damascus and long after the death of Manjak several members of the family became amirs in Damascus, even until the Ottoman period.⁴⁹¹ We do not know of such continuity in Cairo during the ninth/fifteenth century.

487 No. 7 in Appendix A (Syria).

488 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 2 and 5. For more such cases, see footnote no. 484 above (nos. 1 and 3).

489 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 7–8. Julbān al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 859/1455) was governor between 843/1439 and his death in 859/1455 (see Ibn Ṭulūn, *Ilām al-Warā'*, 73–4), and Muḥammad ibn Julbān was about 15 years old when his father died. Jānam al-Ashrafi was governor between 863/1459 and 866/1462 (see *ibid.*, 76, 83), and 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Jānam was about 15 years old in 866/1462. There is no explicit data suggesting that *mamlūks*' descendants became amirs in Damascus at that time at such an age. Another son of Jānam al-Ashrafi by the name of Muḥammad (he does not have a biographical entry or obituary) was amir in Damascus, and he was surely promoted after the death of his father. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:269. Moreover, Yahyá ibn Jānam al-Ashrafi was apparently further promoted only after the deposal or death of his father. See Appendix A (Syria) no. 5; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:182; but see Ibn Taghribirdī, *Extracts*, 3:415.

490 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 6 and 14.

491 While only two members of the family that became amirs after 802/1399 have entries or obituaries in the works of al-Malaṭī, the *Ḍaw'*, and the *Manhal*, many others are mentioned as amirs in other sources. See for example: 1. Taghribirdī ibn Faraj ibn Manjak (d. 826/1423) was amir of ten in Damascus. See 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fi Ta'rīkh al-Madāris*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), 2:230. 2. The amir Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak (d. 918/1512–3). See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mu'tat al-Adhhān min al-Tamattu' bil-Iqrān bayna Tarājīm al-Shuyūkh wal-Aqrān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1999), 1:53. 3. Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak had a son by the name of 'Abd al-Qādir (d. 940/1533–4) who was amir,

More generally, almost all the *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Syria were promoted after the death of their fathers.⁴⁹² While the information we have on their networks must be very partial in comparison to their Egyptian peers, they do not seem to have enjoyed a special tie with the governor at the time of their promotion. In addition, fewer of them were promoted to high ranks (two *muqaddams* and one *ṭablkhāna*).⁴⁹³ Moreover, while the favored *mamlūks*’ descendants in Cairo were always promoted, many times to high rank, only during the reign of one sultan, after whose reign their amirate was apparently many times taken, the *mamlūks*’ descendants in Syria promoted to the rank of *muqaddam*, were promoted gradually by more than one sultan (or governor), and, more generally, *mamlūks*’ descendants in Syria seem to have generally kept their amirate until their death also after the change of sultan or governor. Ibrāhīm ibn Bayghūt Min Ṣafar Khujā (d. 873/1469) first became amir in Damascus (shortly?) after his father’s death in 857/1453. During the reign of al-Ashraf Īnāl he became amir of 20. During the reign of al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam he became *nā’ib qal’at Dimashq*, and only during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Yalbāy he apparently became *muqaddam alf*, a rank which he kept until his death in battle.⁴⁹⁴ At that time span several governors ruled in Damascus. Yaḥyā ibn Jānam al-Ashrafī received amirate in Damascus during the governorship of his father (and the reign of al-Ashraf Īnāl), however, he apparently became *muqaddam alf* in Damascus only after the deposal or death of his father (and after a change of sultans in Cairo) and he seems to have kept the rank until his death as commander in battle a few years later (and after several changes of sultans and governors).⁴⁹⁵ Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak (d. 888/1483) became amir of ten in Damascus during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam and he is known to have died as amir, so he remained amir during the reign of several sultans and governors.⁴⁹⁶ So, the impression is that the promotions of *mamlūks*’ descendants to amirates in Syria were normally not seen as special promotions related to a specific sultan or governor that are not according to the norms of promotions, but rather as an

and when ‘Abd al-Qādir died in 940/1533–4, he left behind him two sons who were amirs—Ibrāhīm and Abū Bakr. See *ibid.*, 1:437. For more details on the Manjak family, see Richards, “Mamluk Amirs”, 39; Vigouroux, “Les Banū Maṅḡak”.

492 Except for the descendants of governors who were (apparently) promoted after the death of their fathers (nos. 6–8 and 14 in Appendix A [Syria]), see also nos. 1, 3–4, 9, and 11, and possibly also nos. 13 and 10. There is no information on the father of no. 12.

493 Appendix A (Syria) nos. 2–3 and 5.

494 Appendix A (Syria) no. 3.

495 Appendix A (Syria) no. 5; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:182. While it seems reasonable that Muḥammad ibn Tanam Min ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Mu’ayyadī (d. 873/1469) received a *ṭablkhāna* in Damascus during the governorship of his father, he is known to have kept this rank until his death as commander in battle (so he was a *ṭablkhāna* long after his father’s death and during the reign of several sultans). See Appendix A (Syria) no. 2.

496 Appendix A (Syria) no. 6.

integral part of the standard promotions to amirates. Thus, there was more continuity in tenure of amirates of *mamlūks*' descendants in Syria.

A continuity that is not dependent on the sultan or governor is also reflected by the fact that some *mamlūks*' descendants in Syria received the amirates of their fathers, or parts thereof, upon the death of their fathers. Upon the death of his father, Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn al-Mu'ayyadī became amir of 20 in Tripoli instead of his father (*fa-lammā māta istaqarra waladuhu fī imratihī 'iwaḍahu*) when he was a *shābb*, and he kept the amirate until his death.⁴⁹⁷ Such cases happened also in Damascus. Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak (d. 888/1483) became amir of 10 in Damascus in 888/1483 when he was about 30 years old instead of his father upon the latter's death (*albasahu al-sultān 'iwaḍa wālidihī*). Unfortunately, he died about three months later (as amir, but, as much as we want, we will not argue that he kept his amirate until his death...).⁴⁹⁸ Upon the death of Arikmās al-Ashrafī al-Ṣafadī (d. 873/1469), his amirate of 20 in Damascus was registered on the name of his three sons: Muḥammad the eldest, Aḥmad, and Faraj the youngest (*wa-lammā māta wāliduhum qurrirat imratuhu bi-ismihim*). Aḥmad ibn Arikmās al-Ṣafadī (d. after circa 890/1485) was born in 845/1441–2, so he was 28 years old when receiving a part of his father's amirate, his brother Muḥammad born in 842–5/1438–42 was about 30 years old, and Faraj was younger than 28. Later, Aḥmad achieved additional amirate in Ṣafad. After Aḥmad has gone missing in battle in 885/1480, his younger brother Faraj took hold of Aḥmad's share of the amirate (*iqṭā'*) in Damascus, however, when Aḥmad returned from battle he received his share back.⁴⁹⁹ These three cases demonstrate that there was at least some continuity in the tenure of amirates in families of *mamlūks* in Syria. They also demonstrate that in contrast to Cairo where *mamlūks*' descendants who did not enjoy a special tie with the reigning sultan had to be at least 40 years old in order to be considered eligible for amirates, in Syria they could be much younger: Faraj ibn Arikmās al-Ṣafadī was younger than 28, Aḥmad ibn Arikmās was 28, Muḥammad ibn Arikmās and Abū Bakr ibn

497 Appendix A (Syria) no. 11; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 304.

498 Appendix A (Syria) no. 14; and see Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wal-Aqrān*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon and Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 1999), 1:284, 281.

499 Appendix A (Syria) no. 9; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 246–7, 499–500. In addition to these cases, it also seems that Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Shāhīn al-'Uthmānī received his father's post of *nā'ib qal'at Dimashq* upon his father's death in 891/1486. See Appendix A (Syria) no. 12; and see footnote no. 714. In addition, upon his father's death in 891/1486, Aḥmad ibn Bahādur al-Yashbakī (d. 901/1496, *shābb*) received his post of *nā'ib qal'at Ṣafad*; however, Aḥmad is not mentioned with the title of amir. See no. 2 in footnote no. 696 below. Also note that it seems possible that Ibrāhīm ibn Bayghūt Min Ṣafar Khuḗā became amir upon the death of his father (no. 3 in Appendix A [Syria]), and that Yahyā ibn Jānam al-Ashrafī became *muqaddam alf* in Damascus upon the deposal or death of his father (no. 5 in Appendix A [Syria]).

Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak were about 30, and Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn al-Muʿayyadī was a *shābb*.⁵⁰⁰ Except for a few,⁵⁰¹ all the other *mamlūks*’ descendants on whose age there is information, were apparently (much) younger than 40 when promoted to amirate in Syria: one was apparently less than 40 (no. 10 in Appendix A [Syria]), one was about 30 or a bit more when receiving a *ṭablkhāna* (no. 2), one was less than 30 (no. 7), and one was 13–28 years old (no. 8). On the other hand, except in one case, there is no unequivocal evidence that *mamlūks*’ descendants became amirs in Syria before the age of twenty: Yaḥyā ibn Jānam al-Ashrafī received amirate in Damascus during the governorship of his father when he was 16–18 years old, so perhaps governors could promote their sons when younger than 20 (but apparently not younger than 15, i.e., they were not minors).⁵⁰² We tentatively conclude that in Syria *mamlūks*’ descendants could be considered eligible for amirates when they were about 20 or in their twenties, even if not enjoying a special tie with the reigning governor or sultan.

How may we explain this? We must admit that our knowledge on the army and on the *iqṭāʾ* system (or fiscal system) in Syria is very partial. While the *Tuhfa* provides detailed information on amirs, their numbers, and their *iqṭāʾs* in Egypt, we have nothing that can compare to that concerning Syria. In addition, most Mamluk historians concentrate on Cairo and provide much less information on amirs in Syria. As noted by Stephan Humphreys, “the Mamluk armies in Syria were not mirror images of the Egyptian army. On the contrary, apart from a few royal Mamluks contingents sent out from Cairo for garrison duty in the major towns, Syrian forces seem to exhibit distinctive recruitment patterns and systems of pay, as well as an officer corps whose origins and career paths were not at all like those of their Egyptian counterparts. The Syrian fiscal system was unquestionably a world of its own”.⁵⁰³ According to Ayalon, because in Syria a relatively small number of second-rank *mamlūks* was scattered in many cities (unlike in Egypt where a large number of royal *mamlūks* concentrated in Cairo), and because most of the battles of the Mamluks on Syrian ground required

500 In addition, Aḥmad ibn Bahādur al-Yashbakī (d. 901/1496) became *nāʾib qaʾat Ṣafad* when he was a *shābb*. See footnote no. 499 above; and see no. 2 in footnote no. 696 below.

501 One *mamlūk*’s descendant became amir in Ḥamāt when he was 52–60 years old. See Appendix A (Syria) no. 4. Another is first mentioned as amir when he was about 60 years old, but it is not known when he became amir (no. 12). Another one was at least 25 years old, but his exact age is not known (no. 6).

502 See no. 5 in Appendix A (Syria). Yaḥyā’s case is special also because he became *muqaddam* in Damascus when he was only about 20 years old, a very young age. The information on the age of the other *mamlūk*’s descendant who apparently became *muqaddam* in Damascus is confused (no. 3). The only *mamlūk*’s descendant who is known to have become *ṭablkhāna* in Damascus was about 30 years old or a bit more when receiving the rank (no. 2).

503 R. Stephen Humphreys, “The Politics of the Mamluk Sultanate: A Review Essay”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9/1 (2005), 227.

extensive employment of infantry in addition to cavalry, among the soldiers of Syria there were relatively large numbers of freemen.⁵⁰⁴ He also observed that more *mamlūks*' descendants reached the highest rank of amir of one hundred in Syria,⁵⁰⁵ however, this observation must refer to the eighth/fourteenth century (we have seen that it is not true concerning the ninth/fifteenth century).⁵⁰⁶ Recently, it has also been observed that whereas outbreaks of plagues in Egypt occurred once in about two years, in Syria they occurred only once in about four years,⁵⁰⁷ which perhaps suggests that the decline of land resources (and number of amirates?) and the decimation of *mamlūks*' progeny were less severe in Syria. While we have only scarce information on the number of amirates in Syria during the ninth/fifteenth century, and on the related issue of the age of *mamlūks* when promoted to amirates in Syria and starting a family at that time, al-Malaṭī provides detailed information on one family of a *mamlūk* promoted to amirate in Syria during that time. Arikmās al-Ashrafī al-Ṣafadī (d. 873/1469, about 60 years old) was one of al-Ashraf Barsbāy's favored *mamlūks* (*khāṣṣiyatihi*), but he was not promoted to amirate by his master. When al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq ascended the throne in 842/1438, he expelled Arikmās to Ṣafad.⁵⁰⁸ Later on, Arikmās became amir of twenty in Damascus. We know that his son Aḥmad was born in Damascus in 845/1441–2, after Arikmās became amir, and that Muḥammad ibn Arikmās, who was older than Aḥmad, was also born in Damascus, apparently also after the amirate of Arikmās.⁵⁰⁹ So, Arikmās, which was of course not favored by Jaqmaq (on the contrary), became amir in Damascus and started a family when he was about 30 years old,⁵¹⁰ at a time when in Cairo *mamlūks* would normally not have

504 David Ayalon, "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2/14 (1968), 329.

505 Idem, "Awlād al-Nās", 1:765; idem, "Studies II", 457.

506 And see also Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 140 (based on the index of Richards, "Mamluk Amirs", Loiseau claims that by the late eighth/fourteenth century *mamlūks*' descendants could become amirs mainly in Syria; we have seen, however, that during the reign of Barqūq a significant number of *mamlūks*' descendants became amirs in Cairo).

507 Stuart Borsch and Tarek Sabraa, "Refugees of the Black Death: Quantifying Rural Migration for Plague and Other Environmental Disasters", *Annales de démographie historique* 2 (Berlin, 2017), 64; and compare with Michael W. Dols, "The Second Plague Pandemic and Its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347–1894", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22 (1979), 168–9.

508 As mentioned, al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq turned against other favored *mamlūks* of Barsbāy, took their amirates, arrested, and executed them. See at footnote no. 323 above.

509 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 246–7, 499–500; and see Appendix A (Syria) no. 9.

510 To the information on Arikmās, we perhaps may add information on Aqbirdī al-Sāqī al-Ẓāhiri (d. 859/1455, about 30 years old), the *mamlūk* of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, who became amir in Aleppo in 851/1447 when he was about 22 years old. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 2:315; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawādiṭh al-Duhūr*, 2:564; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 570; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:228. While he was a favored *mamlūk*, other favored *mamlūks* of Jaqmaq who became amirs in Cairo were not promoted at such a young age. In addition, Arghūn Shāh al-

become amirs or started a family before the age of 40. If we are allowed to generalize from the case of Arikmās and his family, we can cautiously suggest that in Syria *mamlūks* could perhaps be promoted to amirates at a younger age than their Egyptian peers, and thus start a family at a younger age. If *mamlūks* could indeed become amirs in Syria during the ninth/fifteenth century at a younger age than in Cairo, it perhaps suggests that the decline in the number of amirates in Syria was less drastic than in Egypt, and therefore, may explain why also *mamlūks*’ descendants could become amirs when younger than 40.⁵¹¹ Thus, it possibly may explain the information suggesting that in Syria the chances of *mamlūks*’ descendants to become amirs during the ninth/fifteenth were perhaps better than that of their peers in Cairo.⁵¹² This last point perhaps finds corroboration in evidence related to usages of the term *awlād al-nās* at that time (see part 4.4 below).

The *mamlūks*’ descendants who were amirs are never labeled by al-Malaṭī as “*awlād al-nās*” in their biographical entries or obituaries. Therefore, while they had the most successful military-political careers among the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the ninth/fifteenth century, and while they held the largest *iqṭā’s*, they are not representative of the mass of *mamlūks*’ descendants during the ninth/fifteenth century, and they are not the real heroes of this paper. Al-Malaṭī saves the label “*awlād al-nās*” to a different group of *mamlūks*’ descendants. It is about time to take a closer look at the identity of this group that started to be called “*awlād al-nās*” around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century.

4. Who are the *awlād al-nās*?

4.1 *Awlād al-nās* were *mamlūks*’ descendants

Al-Malaṭī labels 18 persons as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” (*aḥad... awlād al-nās/min... awlād al-nās*) at the beginning of their biographical entries in *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, that is, he uses the label to categorize them as belonging to a certain

Ibrāhīmī al-Zāhirī (d. 801/1398, a bit more than 20 years old), the *mamlūk* of Barqūq, became amir in Damascus in 793/1391 when he was about 15 years old. It is not clear if he was also amir in Cairo. No *mamlūk* of Barqūq was promoted to amirate in Cairo at such a young age. See no. 8 in Appendix C.

511 We may add that it seems that upon the death of ‘Alī ibn Shāhīn al-‘Uthmānī in 891/1486, his son Muḥammad received his post of *nā’ib qal’at Dimashq* (and his amirate?). ‘Alī ibn Shāhīn was almost 70 years old when he died, so it means that either he started a family when he was less than 40 years old, or his son received his post (and amirate?) when he was less than 40 years old (or both). See no. 12 in Appendix A (Syria).

512 Syrian sources of the late Mamluk period should be examined in detail to explore this issue.

group (see Appendix B). In addition, he categorizes five more persons as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in obituaries or entries in *Nayl al-Amal* and the *Rawḍ*.⁵¹³ Out of the 23 persons categorized by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, 22 were in all likelihood *mamlūks*’ descendants. One of the persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” was Aḥmad ibn ṬBR (d. 889/1484) who has a very short biographical entry in the *Majmaʿ* (see no. 4 in Appendix B). As far as I know, the name ṬBR is not attested otherwise as a name of *mamlūks*, and it was also not used by free persons in the Mamluk Sultanate. It is quite possible that Aḥmad was in fact the son of some *amīr ṭabar*,⁵¹⁴ whose name is not mentioned, thus, his identity is not known. So, practically all persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” by al-Malaṭī were *mamlūks*’ descendants.

As far as I know, except for al-Malaṭī, the only Circassian-period historian who labels persons as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in obituary notes or biographical entries is Ibn Iyās (in short obituary notes in *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*). Ibn Iyās is known to have relied heavily on *Nayl al-Amal* and its obituaries (he mentions four *mamlūks*’ descendants labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”),⁵¹⁵ however, most persons labeled by Ibn Iyās as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” do not have entries or obituaries in the works of al-Malaṭī (nine persons),⁵¹⁶ or, alter-

513 See footnote no. 754 in Appendix B below. The obituaries in *Nayl al-Amal* are normally short and they provide much less information.

514 A few decades earlier, al-Malaṭī mentions once Muḥammad ibn Ṭabar (d. 843/1440) who was *naqīb al-jaysh* (see al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:111), but in other instances he refers to him as Muḥammad ibn Amīr Ṭabar (see *ibid.*, 5:87, 111 [footnote no. 3]).

515 Massoud, *The Chronicles*, 70, 178 (footnote no. 107). Indeed, four *mamlūks*’ descendants labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” also appear in *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* with this label; however, only one of them has an obituary in the *Nayl*: 1. ‘Umar ibn Dawlāt Bāy al-Maḥmūdī (d. 881/1477, young man [*shābb*]). See no. 1 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B below. 2. Aḥmad ibn Iyās Min Junayd (d. 908/1503, about 84 years old; or born after 830/1426–7). See no. 14 in Appendix B. 3. Ibrāhīm ibn Jakam al-Nawrūzī (d. 912/1506). See no. 15 in Appendix B. 4. Aḥmad ibn Asanbughā al-Ṭayyārī (d. 922/1516, almost 90). See no. 16 in Appendix B.

516 1. ‘Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak (d. 899/1494, b. before 830/1426–7). See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:302 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās; ishtighāl bil-ilm*). 2. Muḥammad ibn Abū Yazīd [Min Ṭarabāy] (d. 905/1500). See *ibid.*, 3:431 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās*). While he does not have an entry in the extant parts of al-Malaṭī’s works, he is mentioned in the *Rawḍ* and the *Majmaʿ*, and his religious activity is noted. He is not labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 1:196; *idem*, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 216. Al-Sakhāwī provides a biographical entry in which he mentions his religious activity and labels him as *al-ḥanaṭī*, but not as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 10:77. 3. ‘Umar ibn Taghri Birdī al-Sayfī Sūdūn (d. 912/1506). See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 4:101 (*fī awlād al-nās*). 4. Yūnus ibn Ṭawkh [Min Timrāz al-Nāṣirī] (d. 915/1509–10). See *ibid.*, 4:165 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās*). 5. Muḥammad ibn Bint Jamāl al-Dīn Ustādār al-‘Āliya (d. 919/1513). See *ibid.*, 4:326 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās*). 6. Faraj ibn Burdbak [al-Sayfī Yashbak] (d. 919/1514, more than 80 years old [note that his father died in 833/1430, so he was at least 85 years old]). See *ibid.*, 4:354 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās/ahād al-hujjāb and ra’s bāsh al-baridiyya/towards the end of his life he had to sell all his property*). 7. ‘Alī ibn Ṭughhān al-Nawrūzī (d. 924/1518). See *ibid.*,

natively, are not labeled so by al-Malaṭī in their obituaries or entries (five persons).⁵¹⁷ However, it is possible that the interest of Ibn Iyās in *awlād al-nās* was inspired by al-Malaṭī. All in all, Ibn Iyās labels 18 persons as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in their obituaries. Normally, the obituaries of *awlād al-nās* in *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr* are very short and do not provide much information. The persons described as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” normally do not appear in the description of events in *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr* and they remain rather obscure figures. Still, it is relatively clear that 16 of the 18 were very likely *mamlūks*’ descendants. One person labeled by Ibn Iyās as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” is Muḥammad ibn Bint Jamāl al-Dīn Ustādār al-‘Āliya (d. 919/1513).⁵¹⁸ His father is not mentioned in his genealogy but rather his mother, so we cannot know if he was a *mamlūk*’s descendant from his father’s side. Moreover, if Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār is Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Bīrī al-Ustādār (d. 812/1409), then it is quite possible that the daughter of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār was herself a descendant of a *mamlūk*, because Yūsuf al-Bīrī is known to have married a daughter of Bajās al-Nawrūzī (d. 803/1401).⁵¹⁹ If so, we perhaps have here a special case of a person who earned his pedigree as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” because he was a *mamlūk*’s descendant in a female line. Still, one of the persons labeled by Ibn Iyās as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” was not a *mamlūk*’s descendant: al-Badrī Ḥasan Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (d. 923/1517) was a descendant of the *muhandis* Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (d. 801/1398–9), an amir of free origin.⁵²⁰ Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭūlūnī’s sister was married to al-Zāhīr Barqūq and thanks to this marriage Aḥmad enjoyed high status and became amir of ten. He is known to have worn the garment of the military (*ziyy al-jund*) or the so-called “Turk”

5:252 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās/dawādār Qanṣūh Khamsmi’a*). While he does not have an entry in the extant parts of al-Malaṭī’s works, he is mentioned in *Nayl al-Amal*, but he is not labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”. Al-Malaṭī mentions that he was born in 846/1442–3. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:369. Al-Sakhāwī provides a very short biographical entry in which he mostly tries to identify his father, but he is not labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”. Al-Sakhāwī also briefly mentions him in the entry of his father. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 4:12; 5:233. 8. al-Badrī Ḥasan Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (d. 923/1517, b. 836/1432–3 in Cairo). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 5:161 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās/allāma*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 3:98 (*al-ḥanafī*; not labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”). 9. Aḥmad ibn al-Qumārī (d. 928/1521). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 5:426 (*min mashāhīr abnā’ al-nās/amīr shikār/* died as a poor person).

517 1. Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-‘Alā’ī (d. 881/1477, *shābb*). See no. 55 in Appendix B2. 2. Khidr ibn Shumāf al-Nawrūzī (d. 895/1490, b. 832/1428–9 or 835/1431–2). See no. 12. In Appendix B2. 3. Muḥammad ibn Burdbak al-Ashrafi (d. 898/1493). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 3:295 (*min a’yān awlād al-nās*); and see no. 14 in Appendix A (Cairo). 4. Aḥmad ibn Tamurbāy [al-Tamurbughāwī] (d. 912/1507, b. 824/1421). See no. 21 in Appendix B2. 5. Muḥammad ibn Jānī Bak [al-Ismā’īlī] Kūhayh (d. 927/1521, b. 857/1453?). See no. 22 in Appendix B2.

518 See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 4:326; and see footnote no. 516 (no. 5) above.

519 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 3:2; 10:294–7; 12:51; and see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 13:175.

520 See no. 8 in footnote no. 516 above; and see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 3:98; 1:221.

(*tazayyá... bi-ziyy al-Atrāk*).⁵²¹ Also Yūsuf al-Bīrī first wore the garment of the religious scholars (*ziyy al-fuqahā*) but then wore the garment of the military (*tazayyá bi-ziyy al-jund*) and became *ustādār* and amir.⁵²² So, it seems that Ibn Iyās labeled one or two persons as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” because they were descendants of soldiers or amirs, but not (necessarily) descendants of *mamlūks*.⁵²³

What can we make of it? There are two options. The first is that Ibn Iyās uses the term *awlād al-nās* in a looser manner than al-Malaṭī. We must remember that the expression *awlād al-nās* kept its broad meaning (free persons in general), and was sporadically used in that meaning, apparently until the very end of the Mamluk Sultanate.⁵²⁴ A second and more likely option is that the term *awlād al-nās* could be used in reference to descendants of soldiers or amirs in general and not only *mamlūks*’ descendants. However, even if so, in practice, because during the ninth/fifteenth century the *mamlūks* came to be an almost exclusive ruling elite, and free persons were hardly nominated to amirates any longer, the term *awlād al-nās* would have been only marginally used to designate descendants of soldiers who were not *mamlūks*, and the term became a *de facto* specific designation for a group of *mamlūks*’ descendants. This is probably how it was broadly understood, and apparently it was taken up in this meaning by foreigners visiting Egypt in the late Mamluk period.⁵²⁵

4.2 *Awlād al-nās* were not amirs

None of the 23 persons labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” was amir (see Appendix B). It can hardly be a coincidence that he never labels the amirs among the *mamlūks*’ descendants as *awlād al-nās*, and on the other hand none of those he labels as *awlād al-nās* was amir. It also fits the relative obscurity of this new group of *awlād al-nās* who start appearing around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century in chronicles, where they always seem to be simple soldiers, and where there are hardly any references to members of this group by name.⁵²⁶ In fact, some general references to the group of *awlād al-nās* in late-Circassian-

521 See *ibid.*, 1:221; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 2:58.

522 See Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Nujūm*, 13:175; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 10:294.

523 For another possible, but not likely, case of a free person who was apparently not a *mamlūk*’s descendant, that was labeled by Ibn Taghrībīrdī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, see footnote no. 68 in part 2.2 above.

524 See footnote no. 55 in part 2.2 above; and see footnote no. 539 below.

525 See footnote no. 7 above; and see Haarmann, “The Mamluk System of Rule”, 18; *idem*, “Joseph’s Law”, 61.

526 See part 2.2 above.

period chronicles seem to suggest a clear differentiation between *awlād al-nās* and amirs. For example, Ibn Iyās surveys amirs of all ranks (*muqaddams*, *ṭablkhānas*, and amirs of ten) that were killed in battle in 922/1516 and then mentions separately casualties among the *awlād al-nās*.⁵²⁷ Ibn Iyās also mentions that in 873/1469 the army was surveyed before an expedition. He first mentions amirs of all ranks and then *awlād al-nās*.⁵²⁸ He also mentions that in 919/1513 a *nafaqa* was given to all the *mamlūks*, among them *awlād al-nās*, and then mentions *nafaqa* to amirs of all ranks, which is significantly higher than that of the *mamlūks* and *awlād al-nās*.⁵²⁹ On another occasion, the sultan appointed *awlād al-nās* “and other *mamlūks*” for a mission, and then appointed amirs of all ranks.⁵³⁰ Al-Malaṭī mentions that in 890/1485, a group of *awlād al-nās* (and *qarāniṣa* and *julbān*) was surveyed and some were promoted to amirates, which suggests that the *awlād al-nās* (and the *qarāniṣa*) were not amirs.⁵³¹ All this strongly suggests that *awlād al-nās* were not amirs but rather simple soldiers.⁵³²

This must be the reason why we have been in the dark concerning the *awlād al-nās*. Mamluk historians normally give attention to the amirs among the *mamlūks*’ descendants and not the simple soldiers. Al-Malaṭī is the first, and almost only, historian who dedicated to the members of this group biographical entries or obituary notes, and he is the only historian that provides detailed information in these obituaries or entries. Whereas al-Sakhāwī mentions all ten *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Cairo that are mentioned in al-Malaṭī’s works,⁵³³ and apparently adds few of his own, he mentions none of the 18 *mamlūks*’ descendants labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in the *Majmaʿ* (see Appendix B). Clearly, al-Sakhāwī was interested in the *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Cairo and not in the *awlād al-nās*.⁵³⁴ In fact, the only time in

527 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 5:77–9.

528 Ibid., 3:26.

529 Ibid., 3:319.

530 Ibid., 3:382.

531 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:426.

532 One time al-Malaṭī mentions in *Nayl al-Amal* a group of “*awlād al-nās al-umarāʾ*”. See ibid., 6:316. However, in the same report in the *Rawḍ* he mentions “*awlād al-umarāʾ*” (see idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:377), and Ibn Iyās refers to a group of “*awlād al-nās*” (see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:8). So, the expression “*awlād al-nās al-umarāʾ*” in *Nayl al-Amal* seems to be a mistake (a conflation of two expressions).

533 See Appendix A (Cairo) nos. 1–16; but see footnote no. 483 above. Al-Sakhāwī was less interested in Syria, as he mentions only six out of the 14 *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs in Syria that are mentioned in al-Malaṭī’s works. See Appendix A (Syria) nos. 1, 3, 5–7, and 12. According to Haarmann, al-Sakhāwī explicitly refers to the amir Aḥmad ibn Nawrūz as *ibn nās*; however, he does not. See Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 69 (footnote no. 77); and see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 2:240.

534 And see Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 74 (footnote no. 106). Al-Sakhāwī was also interested in “special” *mamlūks*’ descendants who were related to the families of sultans or whose Muslim pedigree went back three or four generations. He was also interested in *mamlūks*’ de-

the *Ḍaw'* in which al-Sakhāwī uses the expression *awlād al-nās*, he uses it in a quotation of *Inbā' al-Ghumr* in its general old meaning of “free persons” or “noble people” and in reference to a *mamlūk* and not a *mamlūk's* descendant.⁵³⁵

As for Ibn Iyās, none of the 18 persons labeled by him as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in their obituaries appears with the title of amir. Indeed, 17 of the 18 do not seem to have been amirs.⁵³⁶ However, one of the 18, Muḥammad ibn Burdbak al-Ashrafī (d. 898/1493), who is labeled in his very short obituary as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”,⁵³⁷ perhaps became amir of ten. On the other hand, it is also possible that he just received *iqṭā'* worthy of amir of ten. In addition, if he became amir of ten then he probably kept the rank for only a year and he is never mentioned as amir in his obituaries or biographical entries, so his short tenure as amir was not considered of importance.⁵³⁸ Thus, since generally the persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in their obituaries or biographical entries were not amirs,⁵³⁹ we conclude that strictly speaking *awlād al-nās* were not amirs

scendants who were engaged in extensive religious activities. See in part 4.3 below (especially at footnotes nos. 562–6).

535 See footnotes nos. 61 and 68 in part 2.2 above.

536 However, we should mention in this context two obituaries: 1. Aḥmad ibn al-Qumārī (d. 928/1521) is said to have been *amīr shikār*. See no. 9 in footnote no. 516 above. However, while during the Turkish and the early Circassian periods the post of *amīr shikār* was filled by amirs, by the late Circassian period there are hardly any references to the post which seems to have been filled (also) by simple soldiers. See, for example, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 8:172 (around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century a *mamlūk's* descendant “became *amīr shikār*, perhaps even amir of 10”, which suggests that the post was not necessarily filled by amirs). 2. Ibn Iyās mentions an obituary of “Faraj *aḥad al-umarā' al-muqaddamīn* [!] *al-ulūf* ibn Burdbak *aḥad al-ḥujjāb*” which is Faraj ibn Burdbak al-Sayfī Yashbak (d. 919/1514, more than 80 years old). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr*, 4:354; and see no. 6 in footnote no. 516 above. The mentioning of the rank of Faraj before the name of his father is very awkward. Moreover, *aḥad al-ḥujjāb* is a post of simple soldiers and it contradicts the information that Faraj was *muqaddam alf*. In addition, before his obituary, Faraj is mentioned only once (in 912/1506) in *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr* as a simple *ḥājib*, which is very weird if he was indeed *muqaddam*. See *ibid.*, 4:98, 125. Clearly, there is a problem in the wording in his obituary. The simple solution must be that his father was a *muqaddam alf* and Faraj was a simple soldier. Indeed, Ibn Taghribirdī mentions in the obituary of Burdbak al-Sayfī Yashbak (d. 833/1430) that he was a *muqaddam alf* in Cairo (*aḥad muqaddamī al-ulūf bil-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*) who left behind him a son by the name of Faraj who became a simple *ḥājib* in Cairo (*aḥad al-ḥujjāb bil-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:161.

537 See no. 3 in footnote no. 517 above; and see Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:295.

538 See no. 14 in Appendix A (Cairo); and see footnote no. 448 above; and see at footnotes nos. 471–3 above.

539 Just to make clear, since the expression “*awlād al-nās*” kept its broader meaning (“free persons” or “noble people”) and was apparently sporadically used in that meaning until the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, we do find few times the expression used in connection with *mamlūks'* descendants who were amirs. However, it is not used as a categorical label (“one of the *awlād al-nās*”) at the beginning of their obituaries or biographical entries, but (normally) at the end of the obituary or entry as part of their general description as noble people. For example, towards the end of the obituary of the amir Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (d. 873/

by definition. However, we cannot rule out that by extension and in common parlance also *mamlūks*’ descendants who became amirs were referred to as *awlād al-nās* and it is possible that Ibn Iyās sometimes used the term *awlād al-nās* in a looser manner than al-Malaṭī.

So, not all *mamlūks*’ descendants were labeled *awlād al-nās*, but only a subgroup of the *mamlūks*’ descendants. The first characteristic of this subgroup was that its members were not amirs. It actually makes perfect sense. We have seen that the term *awlād al-nās* went through a semantic shift exactly when the chances of *mamlūks*’ descendants to become amirs seriously declined, and as a result they and their fathers started to look for other sources of livelihood for them.⁵⁴⁰ The *awlād al-nās* could not depend any longer only on their own achievements in the military-political field, and their status was derived from that of their fathers (as the name itself indicates). The few *mamlūks*’ descendants who did become amirs achieved their own status in the military-political sphere and with it came significant income. Strictly speaking, it was not appropriate to refer to them as *awlād al-nās* (in the new meaning of the term). Indeed, al-Malaṭī refers sometimes in biographical entries to some *mamlūks*’ descendants who did not become amirs in Cairo, one of them is explicitly labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, as persons whose fame and status came from their father or grandfather. For example, Ibrāhīm ibn Sūdūn al-Qaṣruwī (d. after circa 890/895, b. after 860/1455–6) is labeled as “one of the [simple] soldiers in the *ḥalqa* and one of the

1468), and after mentioning his promotion to amirates, Ibn Iyās writes that Khalīl was an exceptional case of *mamlūks*’ descendants or persons of free origin in general (*kāna nādīra fī awlād al-nās*). See Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 3:25; and see at footnote no. 109 above. And al-Malaṭī, the son of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, writes in the later part of his obituary dedicated to his description, that he was “*sulṭān awlād al-nās*”. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:129; Julien Loiseau, “Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī”, *EI THREE*. It can hardly be a coincidence that when al-Malaṭī and Ibn Iyās use the expression “one of the *awlād al-nās*” as a categorical label in the beginning of obituaries or biographical entries they refer to simple soldiers, whereas when using the expression *awlād al-nās* in reference to amir they use it in a different wording and as part of his general description. Similarly, Ibn Taghribirdī writes at the end of the obituary of Muḥammad ibn al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (d. 847/1444), who is known to have been a *muqaddam* during the reign of his father, that he was “the most respectable of the sultans’ sons and the noble people” (*ajall awlād al-salāṭīn wa-awlād al-nās*), and al-Jawhārī labels him at the end of his obituary as “*nādirat awlād al-nās*”. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, 1:102; al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:291; and see on Muḥammad ibn al-Zāhir Jaqmaq in al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:182–3. For another usage of the expression “*nādirat awlād al-nās*” in a broad meaning, see al-Jawhārī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 4:150. Al-Mu’yyad Aḥmad ibn al-Ashraf Īnāl (d. 893/1488), who was *muqaddam* during the reign of his father and later became sultan, is mentioned in his obituaries or biographical entries as the seventh *walad nas* who became sultan during the Circassian period, and al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy, who was also *muqaddam* during the reign of his father, is mentioned as the fifth *ibn nās* who became sultan in that period. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 260, 264; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:37, 85, 370–1.

540 See part 3.4 above, especially at footnotes nos. 440–2.

prominent *awlād al-nās* whose fame comes from his father” (*aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa wa-a’yān awlād al-nās al-ma’rūf bi-abihī*).⁵⁴¹ In the title of the biographical entry of Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazdād al-Aytamushī (d. after circa 890/1485, b. before 850/1446–7) who was not amir, al-Malaṭī mentions that his status was derived from his grandfather (*al-ma’rūf bi-jaddihī*). In the entry we learn that the grandfather Yazdād was a *mamlūk* of Aytamsuh al-Bajāsī, that he left his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān a lot of money and several properties, which later reached the hands of the grandson Aḥmad (*khallafa la-hu min al-mawjūd shay’ kathīr wa-‘iddat amlāk wa-hiya al-ān bi-yad Aḥmad*).⁵⁴² On the other hand, al-Malaṭī never mentions that *mamlūks’* descendants who became amirs in Cairo were known (that is, gained fame and status) only thanks to their *mamlūk* fathers or grandfathers. One may say that the few *mamlūks’* descendants who were promoted to amirates became part of the ruling elite (*al-nās*) themselves.

There is some irony in the fact that strictly speaking the *awlād al-nās* were not amirs by definition. Mamlukists sometimes mention that the *awlād al-nās* (by that they mean the *mamlūks’* descendants) could hardly become amirs during the late ninth/fifteenth century. However, while some of the *mamlūks’* descendants became amirs, these were not considered *awlād al-nās*. On the other hand, it turns out that a saying such as “*awlād al-nās* were not amirs” is practically a truism.

4.3 *Awlād al-nās* were soldiers

It seems that a second characteristic of the group of *awlād al-nās* was that its members were soldiers (at least officially). Among the 18 persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in the *Majma’*, military education (*andāb/ta’ālīm/furūsiyya*) is mentioned in the biographical entries of 10.⁵⁴³ Sometimes it is explicitly mentioned that the *awlād al-nās* were trained by their fathers (or that their training

541 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 56; and see no. 10 in Appendix B. His father was amir. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 3:285. For two cases of *mamlūks’* sons who were not amirs but rather simple soldiers in the *ḥalqa* (but are not labeled as *awlād al-nās*) whose status is said to have derived from their father (this fact is mentioned in the title of their entry), see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 100, 280.

542 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 319.

543 “+” under the rubric “military education” in Appendix B: nos. 2–3, 5–7, 9–10, 13, 15, and 17. In two out of three obituaries of persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in the *Rawḍ*, al-Malaṭī mentions military training (see nos. 4–5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B below). In the two short obituaries in the *Nayl* there is no information on military training; however, the *Nayl* provides in general much less information (see nos. 1–2 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B below). Al-Malaṭī’s contribution in this respect is significant since other historians hardly refer to military education even in the biographical entries of *mamlūks’* descendants who became amirs in the ninth/fifteenth.

was initiated by their fathers), and sometimes it is only implied (*nasha'a tahta kanaḥ abīhi*).⁵⁴⁴ More importantly, almost all the 18 seem to have performed military service or to have had a military career, or at least to have been affiliated with the military sector. Five of the 18 were soldiers in the *ḥalqa*,⁵⁴⁵ three others were registered in the *dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī*,⁵⁴⁶ four others held *iqṭā's* or *jā-makiyyas*, which suggests that they were soldiers in the *ḥalqa* or registered in the sultan's household, or are said have been used to ride horses,⁵⁴⁷ two others participated in military expeditions,⁵⁴⁸ and another one held a military post (*ra's nawba*).⁵⁴⁹ All in all, there is evidence suggesting that 15 out of the 18 were at least officially considered soldiers (about 83%), most of them seem to have performed military service or to have had a military career.

On the other hand, only one of the 18 (about 6%) is mentioned with a *nisba* suggesting an affiliation with a school of law (*ḥanaḥī*).⁵⁵⁰ This was Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī al-Bashbughāwī (d. circa 870/1465–6), the son of the historian Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī (yes, he had a son!).⁵⁵¹ Ibrāhīm is said to have been educated by his father (*nasha'a tahta kanaḥ abīhi*). First, he received basic religious education (*uqri'a al-qur'ān wa-shay' min al-'ilm wa-samī'a al-ḥadīth*).⁵⁵² Such basic religious education (sometimes including also *fiqh*), always mentioned before military education, is mentioned in the biographical entries of seven of the 18 *awlād al-nās* in the *Majma'*, many times on the initiative of the father,⁵⁵³ and we may assume that all *awlād al-nās* received such education. If we may infer on the education of *awlād al-nās* from the biography of a sultan's son in the works of al-Malaṭī, then religious education started around the age of six and military education around the age of seven or shortly afterwards.⁵⁵⁴ After giving

544 See nos. 2, 5, 7, and 9 in Appendix B.

545 Nos. 1, 3, 6, 10, and 15.

546 Nos. 2, 8, and 17.

547 Nos. 9 and 12–14.

548 Nos. 5 and 7.

549 No. 4.

550 See no. 2 in Appendix B.

551 And see Hamza, “Some Aspects”, 151.

552 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 150. On *mamlūks'* descendants who “made their first acquaintance with the world of learning in the houses of their fathers”, see Haarmann, “Arabic in Speech”, 105.

553 See nos. 2, 5, 7–8, 11, 15, and 17 in Appendix B.

554 Yūsuf ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy started religious training (Qur'ān) when he was about six years old and was circumcised when he was about seven years old. Later, he was educated in *fiqh* and the arts of war. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:370. Importantly, al-Malaṭī reports that his own brother Ibrāhīm ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Shaykhī (d. 872/1468, b. 863/1458–9), who died at the age of nine, already received basic religious education and then basic military education. He is not labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, but surely his biography is representative of the group. See idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 52; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:426.

his son Ibrāhīm basic religious education, Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, who is known himself to have excelled in the arts of war (*furūsiyya*), took care that his son's focus will be on military and administrative education (*nasha'a muta'āniyan bi-ba'd al-andāb wal-ta'ālīm min abīhi wa-kataba*). No other religious activity is mentioned in the biography of Ibrāhīm, and whatever may have earned him the *nisba al-ḥanafī*, he clearly did not have a significant career in the field of religion.⁵⁵⁵ This is also attested by the fact that al-Sakhāwī, who was interested in *mamlūks'* descendants who had a significant career in the field of religion, did not find Ibrāhīm worthy of mention.⁵⁵⁶ Moreover, after his military training, Ibrāhīm is said to have worn the garment of the military (*ziyy al-jund*), then he decided to change for the garment of the bureaucrats (*ziyy al-mubāshirīn*) and he even functioned as a scribe (*muwaqqī*) for a while, however, eventually he returned once again to the garment of the military (*'āda li-ziyy al-jund kamā kāna*) and was registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī* and received a salary (*jāmakiyya*). He came to serve also one of the amirs and he died on a mission.⁵⁵⁷ Clearly, his significant career was in the military field, and he had no religious career worthy of mention, just like the other *awlād al-nās* mentioned in the *Majma'*, none of whom received the attention of al-Sakhāwī.

Still, one of the *mamlūks'* descendants labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in his obituary in the *Rawḍ* and is also labeled as a *ḥanafī*, has an extensive biographical entry in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*: Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī's (d. 874/1470) extensive knowledge in religious and other sciences is mentioned in detail in the *Ḍaw'* (without, of course, referring to him as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”). Still, it cannot be said that he had a significant career in the field of religion, and he held no religious posts. Apparently, the interest of al-Sakhāwī in Ibn Taghrībirdī has to do with the fact that he was a fellow historian, or because he was related to the families of sultans.⁵⁵⁸ On the other hand, he is known to have excelled in the arts of war (*furūsiyya*) and, as mentioned, he also initiated his son into this field. Moreover, al-Malaṭī adds that he had sufficient sources of livelihood (*rizq ḥasan kifāya la-hu*), in what is probably a reference to the *iqṭā'* he is known to have held.⁵⁵⁹ While this *iqṭā'* is normally seen as a military pension

555 Idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 150.

556 In the *Rawḍ*, al-Malaṭī has an obituary of Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Khiḍrī (d. 865/1461, about 30 years old) who is labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”. Muḥammad ibn Aytamush is labeled by al-Malaṭī as *ḥanafī*, and he was engaged in some *ṣūfī* activities. Still, even though he is labeled *ḥanafī*, he does not seem to have had a significant career in the field of religion and he is not mentioned by al-Sakhāwī. See no. 3 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

557 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 150.

558 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:305–8; and no. 5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

559 al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:249; and see al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 179. Al-Sakhāwī does not mention this *iqṭā'* and, in general, he does not tend to refer to the sources of livelihood of *mamlūks'* descendants (except for relatives of sultans).

(*rizqa jayshiyya*) that is not related to service,⁵⁶⁰ the fact that he excelled in the arts of war and his son wore the garment of the military, suggests that he was at least officially considered a soldier and perhaps was required to pass muster and sustain basic military skills. Indeed, according to al-Malaṭī, he was appointed once to be in charge of the *maḥmal* caravan, which is a military post.⁵⁶¹ So, we conclude that none of the 23 persons labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in all his historical works is known to have had a significant career in the field of religion or even to have been engaged in significant activities in that field.

On the other hand, out of 57 biographical entries or obituaries of apparently Cairene *mamlūks*’ descendants that were not amirs but are also not labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in the works of al-Malaṭī,⁵⁶² 17 also have biographical entries in al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍawʿ* (nos. 1–17 in Appendix B2). Military education is mentioned in none of the biographies of these 17 *mamlūks*’ descendants. In addition, 15 out of the 17 are mentioned, both by al-Malaṭī and al-Sakhāwī, with a *nisba* suggesting an affiliation with a school of law (11 Ḥanafīs,⁵⁶³ three Shāfiʿīs,⁵⁶⁴ and one Ḥanafī that turned Shāfiʿī).⁵⁶⁵ Moreover, the biographies of 14 of these last 15 mention extensive religious training and activities or additional appellations suggesting religious activity, and/or religious posts held by the *mamlūks*’ descendants.⁵⁶⁶ Clearly, at least these 14 were considered religious scholars who had a significant career in the religious field, and this is why they were mentioned by al-Sakhāwī. The two *mamlūks*’ descendants mentioned by al-Sakhāwī without a *nisba* suggesting an affiliation with a school of law were still mentioned due to

560 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 19; and see also Hamza, “Some Aspects”, 149.

561 al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:249; and see also Haarmann, “Arabic in Speech”, 113.

562 See Appendix B2. Only *mamlūks*’ descendants who were apparently located in Cairo were examined, because, as we shall see below, the group of *awlād al-nās* was restricted to Cairo. The Appendix includes only *mamlūks*’ descendants who died in 850/1446–7 or later, again, because the group of *awlād al-nās* start appearing only around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century. The Appendix does not include minors (al-Malaṭī mentions in his works few of his minor brothers). The Appendix does not include descendants of sultans (including *asbāt*) or *mamlūks*’ descendants who are more than three generations remote from their *mamlūk* forefather. The reason is that historians, and specifically al-Sakhāwī, showed special interest in these two groups. Thus, the *mamlūks*’ descendants surveyed in Appendix B2 are likely to have been mentioned by al-Malaṭī or al-Sakhāwī due to their religious or military activities and they were active at a time and place in which the group of *awlād al-nās* was present.

563 Nos. 2–3, 6–13, and 15 in Appendix B2.

564 Nos. 1 and 4–5.

565 No. 14.

566 Nos. 1–14. In all cases but one (no. 12) both al-Malaṭī and al-Sakhāwī mention extensive religious training and activities, and/or additional appellations suggesting religious activity, and/or religious posts. Al-Malaṭī does not provide many details on Khidr ibn Shumāf al-Nawrūzī al-Qāhirī (d. 895/1490, born in 832/1428–9 or 835/1431–2), however, his obituary appears in *Nayl al-Amal* which normally does not provide much information (no. 12).

their (not extensive) religious activities, one of them was mentioned because he had heard *ḥadīth* from al-Sakhāwī. The general profile of these 17 *mamlūks*' descendants is completely different from the general profile of the *awlād al-nās* and it can hardly be a coincidence that none of these 17 *mamlūks*' descendants is labeled as "one of the *awlād al-nās*" by al-Malaṭī. All this strongly suggests that *mamlūks*' descendants who were active only in the religious field were not considered *awlād al-nās*, and that, strictly speaking, *awlād al-nās* were soldiers (at least officially). This conclusion fits the impression we get from general references to the group of *awlād al-nās* in chronicles, where they are always mentioned in the context of military service.⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, it only makes sense that *mamlūks*' descendants who were active only in the religious field were not considered *awlād al-nās*, since the term indicates status that is based on the fathers' status, and in the religious field the pedigree of the *mamlūk* fathers was not of importance.

Still, things are not always simple. While there is no mention of military training or military activities in the biographies of these 17 *mamlūks*' descendants, three of them are said to have worn the garment of the military,⁵⁶⁸ and one of these three is even said to have worn the garment of the military because he was "one of them" (*wa-huwa mutazayyī bi-ziyy al-jund li-kawnihi minhum*).⁵⁶⁹ So, these three were at least officially affiliated to the military sector. Al-Malaṭī gives us a hint about the meaning of such an affiliation when he mentions that one of these three "held a good *iqṭā'* as a military pension as he wore the garment of the military" (*bi-yadihi... rizqa jayyida iqtā' wa-huwa bi-ziyy al-jund*).⁵⁷⁰ So, it seems that in the case of the *mamlūks*' descendants who engaged in extensive religious activity but also belonged to the military sector, the affiliation with the military sector was only official and did not involve military service or even registration in military units. Such seems to have been the case of another *mamlūk*'s descendant who was a religious scholar. Aḥmad ibn Rajab ibn Ṭaybughā al-Majdī (d. 850/1447, b. 767/1366) had a significant career in the religious field (he is labeled as a *shaykh*, *imām*, and *'allāma*). While it is not mentioned that he wore the garment of the military, after mentioning his extensive religious activities, al-Malaṭī mentions that he did not have to seek for religious posts because he had an *iqṭā'* that provided for him and his children (clearly a *rizqa*). Al-Malaṭī adds that he was lucky in this respect, suggesting that not all *mamlūks*' descendants who were active in the religious field could enjoy such an *iqṭā'*, that is, most of them did not officially belong to the military sector. So, while it is not clear if the *mamlūks*'

567 And see part 2.2 above at footnotes nos. 55–64.

568 Nos. 9 and 13–14 in Appendix B2.

569 No. 14 in Appendix B2; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 277.

570 No. 13 in Appendix B2; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 731.

descendants who were both religious scholars but also officially belonged to the military sector, apparently without engaging in military service, were considered *awlād al-nās* (they probably were), the majority of the *mamlūks*’ descendants who were active only in the religious field probably were not affiliated with the military sector and were not considered *awlād al-nās*. Indeed, we know of some *mamlūks*’ descendants who decided to quit the military sector, change their garment, and start engaging in religious activities.⁵⁷¹

As usual, Ibn Iyās complicates things. He labels as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” one of the *mamlūks*’ descendants mentioned by al-Malaṭī and al-Sakhāwī with the *nisba al-ḥanaṭī* and as very active in the religious field, but not labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”.⁵⁷² Moreover, two of the persons labeled by Ibn Iyās as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” that do not appear in the works of al-Malaṭī, are mentioned by Ibn Iyās as engaged in religious activity (*ishtighāl bil-‘ilm* / *allāma*), one of them is mentioned by al-Sakhāwī with the *nisba al-ḥanaṭī*.⁵⁷³ While it has to be remembered that the obituaries provided by Ibn Iyās are extremely short and not much informative, again it seems possible that Ibn Iyās was using the term *awlād al-nās* in a looser manner than al-Malaṭī, and it cannot be ruled out that by extension and in common parlance also *mamlūks*’ descendants who were active only in the religious field could be referred to as *awlād al-nās*.

As for the 40 *mamlūks*’ descendants that are not labeled by al-Malaṭī as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” but are not mentioned by al-Sakhāwī, the general profile mostly resembles that of *awlād al-nās*. Military education is mentioned in the biographies of 16 out of the 40. More importantly, 34 of the 40 biographies refer to military service, military career or affiliation, or military skills: 19 were members of the *ḥalqa*⁵⁷⁴ (one of them was also a member of the *khāṣṣakiyya* who died in a military expedition,⁵⁷⁵ one was also registered in *bayt al-sultān*,⁵⁷⁶ two also received a *jāmakiyya* suggesting affiliation in *bayt al-sultān*,⁵⁷⁷ and one was also a *ṭabardār* and died in battle),⁵⁷⁸ additional five were registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī* or the sultan’s household (four of them as *khāṣṣakiyya*, one of the *khāṣṣakiyya* was also a *ḥājib*, another was also a *zaradkāsh*, and another was also a *dawādār* and several times commander in battle),⁵⁷⁹ additional three held *iqṭā’* or *jāmakiyya*,⁵⁸⁰

571 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 79; idem, “Arabic in Speech”, 109; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 8:172.

572 See no. 12 in Appendix B2; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 3:272; and see no. 2 in footnote no. 517 above; and see also no. 2 in footnote no. 516 above.

573 See nos. 1 and 8 in footnote no. 516 above.

574 Nos. 29–47 in Appendix B2.

575 No. 29.

576 No. 30.

577 Nos. 31 and 43.

578 No. 38.

579 Nos. 24–8.

580 Nos. 50–2.

additional three held military posts,⁵⁸¹ an additional one was supposed to participate in a military expedition,⁵⁸² an additional one was a *bahlawān*,⁵⁸³ and additional two excelled in the arts of war (*furūsiyya*).⁵⁸⁴ While 12 of the 34 appear with the *nisba al-ḥanafī*,⁵⁸⁵ only one or two of these 12 were engaged in extensive religious activity⁵⁸⁶ and the biographies of all the rest mention only basic religious education or activity. Except perhaps for one or two, these were not religious scholars, and their main activity must have been in the military field, as is also attested by the fact that al-Sakhāwī did not think that they are worthy of mention.

We see that only in rare cases *mamlūks*' descendants perhaps could combine between a career in the military field and a career in the religious field, or at least combine between significant military and religious activities. The most conspicuous such case is that of Aḥmad ibn Jānibak al-Qāhirī al-Ḥanafī (d. after circa 890/1485, b. 829/1426) who was a soldier in the *ḥalqa* and is also known to have held a salary (*jāmakiyya*), suggesting that he was also registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī*. He received religious education and was interested specifically in Ḥanafī jurisprudence (which must have earned him the *nisba al-ḥanafī*) and he became the in-law of a religious scholar. Al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy, in one of his musters of *mamlūks*' descendants, wanted to cut his salary (*jāmakiyya*), probably because he also had a position in the *ḥalqa*; however, Qāyṭbāy was told that Aḥmad has religious credentials as well as good military skills, so Aḥmad was spared. We also know that Aḥmad was an *imām* in a mosque of an amir and that after the death of his in-law he received several of his religious posts.⁵⁸⁷ It may be said that Aḥmad combined between a career in the military field and a career in the religious field, probably thanks to the fact that he was an in-law of a religious scholar. But even in his case, we have indications that his religious activities perhaps came at the expense of his military career, and, on the other hand, even his religious career was not considered by al-Sakhāwī as worthy of mention. The other *mamlūks*' descendants who were apparently soldiers but are labeled as *ḥanafīs*, must have been engaged in even more basic religious activities. They were perhaps entertaining themselves with the possibility to have a significant career in the religious field because they knew that their chances to be promoted to amirates were slim, however, eventually it is their military activities that get the focus, and we may safely assume that their significant activity was in the military field. The case of

581 Nos. 23, and 48–9.

582 No. 22.

583 No. 53.

584 Nos. 20–1.

585 Nos. 20–3, 25, 29–31, 43–4, and 46–7.

586 Nos. 31 and 43. The two were soldiers in the *ḥalqa* and they are also known to have held *jāmakiyya* and *iqṭā*.

587 No. 43; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 243–4.

Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Aynbak al-Māridānī (d. after circa 890/1485, *shābb* at that time) is illustrative. While he was a soldier in the *ḥalqa*, because he was the neighbor of a Ḥanafī scholar, he started attending his classes as a young man and became interested in Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*wa-kāna ishtighāluhu bi-sabab mujāwaratihi li-shaykhinā al-‘allāma al-Sayf al-Ḥanafī fa-innahu kāna mujāwir lahu bal rubbamā ḥaḍara durūs al-Sayf*), which must have earned him the *nisba al-ḥanafī*, still, there are no signs that he had any sort of religious career and his main activity must have been in the military field as a soldier in the *ḥalqa*.⁵⁸⁸

Ulrich Haarmann mentioned that “[a]bout half of the *awlād al-nās* [i.e., *mamlūks*’ descendants] portrayed in fourteenth-century biographical dictionaries combined their academic career... with an army post”.⁵⁸⁹ Elsewhere he used a different wording: “we find in roughly half the sample the coalescence of a military career... with an involvement in religious and cultural matters”.⁵⁹⁰ Well, a career is not the same as simple activities. As for Cairo in the ninth/fifteenth century, we find either *mamlūks*’ descendants who had a career in the field of religion,⁵⁹¹ some of them were perhaps officially affiliated to the military sector but are not known to have had a military career or to have been engaged in significant military activities,⁵⁹² or *mamlūks*’ descendants who had a career in the military field,⁵⁹³ some of them engaged also in religious activities. We hardly find *mamlūks*’ descendants who combined a military career with a career in the field of religion.

So, if these 34 *mamlūks*’ descendants were indeed simple soldiers in Cairo why were they not labeled by al-Malaṭī as *awlād al-nās*?⁵⁹⁴ Is it possible that there was some difference between the *mamlūks*’ descendants who were simple soldiers but are not labeled as *awlād al-nās* and those who were labeled so? One thing that

588 No. 44; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 367–8.

589 Haarmann, “Arabic in Speech”, 108.

590 Idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 77.

591 Nos. 1–17 in Appendix B2 (especially nos. 1–15).

592 Nos. 1, 9, and 13–14.

593 See nos. 1–18 in Appendix B and perhaps also nos. 1–5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B; and see nos. 20–53 in Appendix B2. Among the 23 *mamlūks*’ descendants labeled as *awlād al-nās* by al-Malaṭī, and the 34 *mamlūks*’ descendants who were apparently simple soldiers in Cairo, we find 15 *mamlūks*’ descendants with a *nisba* suggesting affiliation with a school of law, so apparently about a quarter of the *mamlūks*’ descendants who were simple soldiers in Cairo in the ninth/fifteenth century were also engaged in some religious activity.

594 Another thing that suggests that these 34 were indeed seen as members of the military sector and not as members of the religious sector is that there is information on the property, wealth, or sources of livelihood, of 18 out of the 34 (see nos. 20, 22, 24–6, 30–1, 36, 38–9, 42–3, 47–8, and 50–3 in Appendix B2). Such information is more typical of *awlād al-nās* (15 out of 23: nos. 2–3, 5, 7, 9, and 12–17 in Appendix B; and nos. 1, and 3–5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B) than of *mamlūks*’ descendants who were active only in the field of religion (three out of 17: nos. 1, 13, and 16 in Appendix B2).

comes to mind is that there was a difference between the status of their fathers, however, a cursory examination did not yield substantial results.⁵⁹⁵ Another option is that the difference in label has to do with the fact that among the *mamlūks*' descendants who were not labeled *awlād al-nās* we find more that have a *nisba* suggesting an affiliation with a school of law.⁵⁹⁶ However, we have concluded that the religious activity of most of those labeled with a *nisba* suggesting an affiliation with a school of law was only marginal to their military activities. It is much more likely that the difference in label stems from a simple inconsistency in the usages of al-Malaṭī. While al-Malaṭī many times labels *mamlūks*' descendants who were simple soldiers as *awlād al-nās*, we cannot assume that he used the label in a comprehensive manner. Indeed, Aḥmad ibn Jānibak al-Qāhirī al-Ḥanafī is labeled by al-Malaṭī in the title of his biographical entry as “one of the soldiers of the *ḥalqa*” and not as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, however, in his biography, al-Malaṭī mentions that al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy wanted to cut his salary (*jāmaḳiyya*) when “he cut the salaries of many of the *awlād al-nās*” (*qaṭa'a al-kathīr min jawāmiḳ awlād al-nās*).⁵⁹⁷ So, al-Malaṭī clearly considered him as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” although he did not label him so at the beginning of his entry, and we may assume that this was the case in many other instances. For what it's worth, Ibn Iyās labels two of the 34 as *awlād al-nās*.⁵⁹⁸ So, we will assume that these 34 were considered *awlād al-nās*.⁵⁹⁹

Haarmann mentioned that “we do not even know... whether the term *awlād al-nās* was customary for the sons and grandsons of Mamluks at large, or whether it was limited to those who were enlisted in the *ḥalqa*”.⁶⁰⁰ On the one hand, it is clear enough that strictly speaking the term was not used to refer to all *mamlūks*' descendants, but probably only to the simple soldiers among them. On the other, it was clearly not restricted to those enlisted in the *ḥalqa* although they were the majority. Among the 23 *mamlūks*' descendants labeled as *awlād al-nās* by al-Malaṭī, six are explicitly mentioned as soldiers in the *ḥalqa* (two of these six are known to have held *iqṭā's*),⁶⁰¹ however, three others are said to have been registered (*nazala*) in *dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī* (i.e., they served as *mamālīk al-sul-*

595 This point should be further examined.

596 Three out of 23 *awlād al-nās*: no. 2 in Appendix B and nos. 3 and 5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B. 12 out of 34 among the *mamlūks*' descendants not labeled as *awlād al-nās*: nos. 20–3, 25, 29–31, 43–4, and 46–7 in Appendix B2.

597 See no. 43 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 243.

598 Nos. 21–2 in Appendix B2; and see nos. 4–5 in footnote no. 517 above.

599 The status of six of the 40 *mamlūks*' descendants in Appendix B2 is not clear since there is not much information on their activities (nos. 18–19, and 54–7), however, Ibn Iyās labels one of the six as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” (no. 55 in Appendix B2). See no. 1 in footnote no. 517 above.

600 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 147; and see at footnote no. 9 above.

601 See nos. 1, 3, 6, 10, and 15 in Appendix B; and see no. 2 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

ṭān),⁶⁰² sometimes it is explicitly mentioned that they received a salary (*jāma-kiyya*) because they were registered in the *dīwān*.⁶⁰³ In one of the three cases of the *awlād al-nās* registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī* it is mentioned that this was in addition to the *iqṭāʿ*’s he had already held, so perhaps he was also registered as a soldier in the *ḥalqa* (since soldiers in the *ḥalqa* receive *iqṭāʿ*’s).⁶⁰⁴ Similarly, among the 34 *mamlūks*’ descendants who were apparently simple soldiers in Cairo but are not labeled as *awlād al-nās* by al-Malaṭī, we find 19 soldiers in the *ḥalqa*,⁶⁰⁵ four of them are known to have held *iqṭāʿ*’s,⁶⁰⁶ but one of the 19 is known to have been also a *khāṣṣakī* (i.e., he also served in the household of the sultan),⁶⁰⁷ another is known to have received also a salary in the household of the sultan (*jāma-kiyya bi-bayt al-sultān*) in addition to his *iqṭāʿ*,⁶⁰⁸ another one is known to have received also a salary in addition to the *iqṭāʿ* and another is known to have received a salary (although service in the household of the sultan is not mentioned explicitly).⁶⁰⁹ So, few of the soldiers in the *ḥalqa* were also registered in the sultan’s household as *mamālīk al-sultān* (including *khāṣṣakīyya*). In addition, four are known to have been *khāṣṣakīyya* but are not mentioned as soldiers in the *ḥalqa*, one of the *khāṣṣakīyya* is explicitly said to have been registered in the household of the sultan (*tanazzala... fī bayt al-sultān min jumlat al-jund*), and two of the *khāṣṣakīyya* are said to have been given “good *iqṭāʿ*’s”, as is appropriate of members of the *khāṣṣakīyya*.⁶¹⁰ Additional one was registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī* but not as a member of the *khāṣṣakīyya*.⁶¹¹ So, clearly *awlād al-nās* could serve as soldiers in the *ḥalqa* receiving *iqṭāʿ*’s, or in the household of the sultan as *mamālīk al-sultān* receiving salaries,⁶¹² and even as *khāṣṣakīyya* re-

602 See nos. 2, 8, and 17 in Appendix B; and see Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 70).

603 See no. 2 in Appendix B.

604 No. 17 in Appendix B.

605 Nos. 29–47 in Appendix B2.

606 Nos. 30, 38–9, and 43 in Appendix B2.

607 No. 29 in Appendix B2.

608 No. 30 in Appendix B2.

609 Nos. 31 and 43 in Appendix B2.

610 Nos. 25–8 in Appendix B2.

611 No. 24 in Appendix B2.

612 Such *awlād al-nās* are normally mentioned as registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī* or *bayt al-sultān* (see above). Sometimes they are mentioned as registered in *dīwān al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*, *dīwān al-mamālīk*, or simply in the *dīwān*, and sometimes as being registered in *al-dīwān al-mufrad*. For example, al-Malaṭī reports on *awlād al-nās* receiving salaries that are registered in the *dīwān*. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:23. Al-Jawharī reports on *awlād al-nās* from among the *mamālīk* receiving salaries and then refers to them as “*awlād al-nās* that are registered [at the sultan’s household] in *dīwān al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*” (*awlād al-nās al-munazzalīn ʿindahu bi-dīwān al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*). See al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr*, 21–2; and see also *ibid.*, 35 (*awlād al-nās al-munazzalīn bi-bayt al-sultān fī dīwān al-mamālīk*). And see Yosef, “The Rise” (footnote no. 70). As for *al-dīwān al-mufrad*, see at footnotes nos. 62 and 66 above.

ceiving “good *iqṭāʿ*’s”.⁶¹³ This fact becomes clear when considering that Ibn Iyās refers in 914/1509 to “*awlād al-nās* from among the soldiers of the *ḥalqa* and other units” (*awlād al-nās min ajnād al-ḥalqa wa-ghayrihā*), and then immediately afterwards mentions “*awlād al-nās* from among the *mamālīk*” (*awlād al-nās min al-mamālīk*),⁶¹⁴ which clearly shows that *awlād al-nās* were not only *ḥalqa* members but also *mamālīk al-sultān*.⁶¹⁵

Indeed, already Ayalon noted that at the late Circassian period “the *awlād al-nās* are even called Royal Mamluks” and he even found once the expression “*awlād al-nās al-khāṣṣakiyya*”.⁶¹⁶ The abovementioned information from al-Malaṭī shows that it was not rare that *awlād al-nās* became *khāṣṣakiyya*. Ayalon suggested that “[i]t is possible, therefore, that the term *mamālīk sultāniyya* during that period occasionally took on a wider meaning as a result of the incorporation of additional units to the Royal Mamluks into the *dīwān al-mufrad*”.⁶¹⁷ Haarmann noted that “[h]ow this merger or coalescence of terms and institutions actually came about, we do not know yet”, and that “[f]uture research will have to try to clarify this historical process”.⁶¹⁸ However, it must be remembered that *mamlūks*’ descendants and other free persons were registered in *dīwān al-sultān* or *bayt al-sultān* and labeled as *mamālīk (al-sultān)* in earlier periods as well.⁶¹⁹ It was not that the term *mamālīk sultāniyya* took on a wider meaning around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, but rather that the term *awlād al-nās* started designating *mamlūks*’ descendants who were simple soldiers and started to be used in this sense commonly around that time.

Daisuke Igarashi suggested that as a consequence of the long-term decline of the *ḥalqa* and the *iqṭāʿ* system on which payment in the *ḥalqa* was based, “[t]he sons of the mamluks, referred to as *awlād al-nās*, began to be enrolled in al-

613 Generally, we may assume that *awlād al-nās* or *mamlūks*’ descendants who were simple soldiers that are known to have received *iqṭāʿ*’s (sometimes they are labeled as *aḥad al-muqṭaʿīn*) or salaries were registered as soldiers in the *ḥalqa* or as *mamālīk al-sultān* (including *khāṣṣakiyya*, especially if “good *iqṭāʿ*’s” are mentioned), even if it is not explicitly mentioned. See nos. 9 and 12–13 in Appendix B, and nos. 50–2 in Appendix B2. However, some *iqṭāʿ*’s may have been in fact military pensions (see, for example, no. 22 in Appendix B2).

614 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 4:150.

615 There is also evidence that in the late Circassian period, some *awlād al-nās* were allowed to live in the citadel without providing military service. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 740; al-Jawharī, *Inbāʿ al-Ḥaṣr*, 501–2.

616 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 457–8; and see at footnotes nos. 11 and 56–61 above.

617 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 457–8.

618 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 149–50.

619 On the Turkish period, see Yosef, “The Term *Mamlūk*”, 12; and see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʿ al-Ghumr*, 1:144 (a son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s slave girl whose mother claimed that he was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s son was registered in *dīwān al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*); and see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 32:181 (a free person who grew up in the sultan’s household as one of *al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya* [*rubbiya fī bayt al-sultān min jumlat al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*]).

Dīwān al-Mufrad and like the mamluks, received monthly wages and provisions... which started on a regular basis during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq”.⁶²⁰ However, we find *mamlūks*’ descendants that were registered in the sultan’s household prior to the reign of Jaqmaq: Faraj ibn Sikizbāy (d. 824/1421) became a *khāṣṣakī* during the reign of Shaykh;⁶²¹ Abū Bakr ibn Jarkas al-Ẓāhirī (d. 885/1480–1) became a *khāṣṣakī* during the reign of Ṭaṭar;⁶²² Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 873/1468) became one of the *mamlūks* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (*ṣāra... min jumlat mamālik al-Ashraf Barsbāy*)⁶²³ and his son Amīr Ḥājī ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 895/1489–90, b. 833/1429–30) was also registered during that time in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī*.⁶²⁴ During the reign of Barsbāy we also have a report on a person from the *awlād al-nās* that resemble the “Turks” (*shakhs min awlād al-nās al-mushabbahīn bil-Atrāk*) that was together with the *julbān*, suggesting that he was one of the simple *mamālik al-sultān* and that there were others like him.⁶²⁵ Moreover, al-Saḥmāwī (d. 868/1464), writing in the days of Barsbāy, mentions that one of the responsibilities of *ṣāhib dīwān al-mamālik*, a post related to *al-dīwān al-mufrad*, is to check the number of *mamālik al-sultān*, including sons of kings and amirs that are annexed to them (*ḍabṭ ʿiddat al-mamālik al-sultāniyya wa-man yandariju maʿahum min awlād al-mulūk wal-umarāʾ*).⁶²⁶ So, clearly already during the days of Barsbāy it was common that *mamlūks*’ descendants were registered in *dīwān al-mamālik* or *al-dīwān al-mufrad* as *mamālik al-sultān*. Moreover, while we find in the works of al-Malaṭī some *mamlūks*’ descendants holding “double positions” in the *ḥalqa* and as *mamālik al-sultān*, and others who were only *mamālik al-sultān*, most of them are still mentioned only as members of the *ḥalqa*, and, more generally, most of the *mamlūks*’ descendants during the ninth/fifteenth century in the works of al-

620 Igarashi, “The Establishment”, 134; and see also *ibid.*, 133; and see *idem*, “The Financial Reforms”, 30; *idem*, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 69. On the decline of the *iqṭʿ* system in the late Circassian period, see also Albrecht Fuess, “Three’s a Crowd. The Downfall of the Mamluks in the Near Eastern Power Struggle, 1500–1517”, 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*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press, 2019), 445–7.

621 No. 1 in Appendix A (Cairo). For two free persons who became *khāṣṣakiyya* during the reign of Barqūq, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, 1b:514; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 2:57–8. For a *mamlūk*’s descendant who applied to register as one of the *mamālik al-sultān* during the reign of Shaykh (*li-yanzila... min jumlat al-mamālik al-sultāniyya*), see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:259.

622 No. 4 in Appendix A (Syria); al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 171–2. For a free person who became a *khāṣṣakī* during the reign of Ṭaṭar, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 10:338.

623 See no. 3 in Appendix A (Cairo); and see Loiseau, “Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī”.

624 See no. 24 in Appendix B2.

625 al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:304; and see footnote no. 61 above.

626 al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, 1:421.

Malaṭī were still receiving *iqṭāʿ*s (as *ḥalqa* soldiers or “good *iqṭāʿ*s” as *khāṣṣa-kiyya*) also in the days of Jaqmaq and afterwards,⁶²⁷ which does not seem to be in line with the suggestion that “the novel enrollment of the *awlād al-nās* in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as formal recipients of stipends indicated that the traditional military *iqṭāʿ* system had reached a dead end”.⁶²⁸ However, it is not clear if we may generalize from the *mamlūks*’ descendants in the works of al-Malaṭī (many are mentioned as prominent [*ʿayān*] *awlād al-nās* or soldiers) on the situation of all *mamlūks*’ descendants. So, while there was perhaps an increase in the number of *mamlūks*’ descendants registered as *mamālīk al-sulṭān* starting from the days of Jaqmaq due to the decline of the *ḥalqa* and the *iqṭāʿ* system, we must take into consideration that starting from about that time the term *awlād al-nās* went through a semantic shift and started to be used commonly in chronicles to designate *mamlūks*’ descendants who were simple soldiers, which may be a main reason why we suddenly start hearing much more on *awlād al-nās* registered as *mamālīk al-sulṭān*.

On the other hand, in contrast to what has been suggested by Ayalon, it is clear that in the late Mamluk period the term *ḥalqa* did not fall into disuse and was replaced by the term *awlād al-nās*, and “the name *ajṇād al-ḥalqa* as such” did not “virtually cease... to exist separately”.⁶²⁹ However, since it is clear that *awlād al-nās* served both in the *ḥalqa* and as *mamālīk al-sulṭān* and that the term *awlād al-nās* did not replace the term *ḥalqa*, it is perhaps advised not to refer to the *awlād al-nās* as a unit, as has been done by Ayalon and other scholars.⁶³⁰ Few further things should perhaps be considered in the context of *awlād al-nās* and the *ḥalqa*. Amalia Levanoni suggested that by the late Circassian period, “the majority of the *ḥalqah* troops were in fact either Sultani mamluks or the amirs’ protégés, while the weaker ones, including many of the *awlād al-nās*, formed only a small part of

627 See at footnotes nos. 601–13 above.

628 Igarashi, “The Establishment”, 135. Ayalon even suggested that “the *jāmakīya* was the only pay which the *awlād al-nās* received with any degree of regularity. They had practically no income from feudal fiefs during the later stages of Circassian rule”. See Ayalon, “The System of Payment”, 55 (footnote no. 6). The information in al-Malaṭī’s works shows that this was probably not the case.

629 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 455, 457; and see Massoud, *The Chronicles*, 139 (footnote no. 199); and see at footnote no. 10 above. For references to *mamlūks*’ descendants as *ajṇād al-ḥalqa* but not as *awlād al-nās*, see nos. 29–47 in Appendix B2; and see also al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:276. For references to other free persons as *ajṇād al-ḥalqa*, see idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 59, 223.

630 Ayalon, “Studies II”, 456–8; and see also Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970), 92; and see Sabra, “The Rise of a New Class?”, 204 (uses the term *ḥalqa* to designate *mamlūks*’ descendants).

the *ḥalqaḥ*”.⁶³¹ Firstly, for what it’s worth, almost all soldiers in the *ḥalqa* mentioned by al-Malaṭī were *mamlūks*’ descendants (i. e., *awlād al-nās*) and he does not mention members of that unit that were *mamlūks*. While this perhaps has to do with al-Malaṭī’s biases, it still suggests that the *awlād al-nās* were a significant part of the *ḥalqa*.⁶³² Secondly, and related to the first issue, Levanoni describes the *awlād al-nās* of the *ḥalqa* as a weak element and mentions that they “were not true soldiers but rather the weaker members of the Mamluk elite that were kept in the *ḥalqaḥ* with very low monthly wages out of charity”.⁶³³ While this was perhaps the condition of some *mamlūks*’ descendants (perhaps even many), the impression is that at least some of those who appear in the works of al-Malaṭī were true soldiers that could pass muster, some of them are known to have participated in battles, sometimes as commanders, and, more generally, many *mamlūks*’ descendants in the works of al-Malaṭī seem to have been rewarded properly for their service or affiliation in military units (only few of these are mentioned as prominent [*a’yān*] *awlād al-nās*).⁶³⁴

4.4 *Awlād al-nās* were Cairene

Another important point is that all *mamlūks*’ descendants labeled as *awlād al-nās* were apparently from Cairo. Among the 23 *awlād al-nās* in the works of al-Malaṭī, 17 appear with the *nisba* “al-Qāhiri”, or are explicitly said to have been Cairene.⁶³⁵ Additional three served in the *ḥalqa*, which by default refers to the Egyptian *ḥalqa*, and/or received a salary or *iqṭā’* from a sultan, suggesting service in Cairo.⁶³⁶ The locality of three is not known,⁶³⁷ however the fathers of two of them may be located in Cairo, so they were in all likelihood Cairene.⁶³⁸ Indeed, as far as I know, Syrian chroniclers of the late Circassian period do not use in their writings the term *awlād al-nās* in its new meaning. We have already mentioned that there is evidence that during the ninth/fifteenth century in Syria *mamlūks*’

631 Amalia Levanoni, “The Ḥalqaḥ in the Mamluk Army: Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), 61.

632 Otherwise, other scholars would not have thought that the term *awlād al-nās* came to replace the term *ḥalqa*.

633 Levanoni, “The Ḥalqaḥ”, 61; and see also Igarashi, “The Establishment”, 135 (“the monthly wages paid to the *awlād al-nās* were not well-earned rewards for military service; rather, they were a kind of ‘public assistance payment’ for the sons of the mamluks”); idem, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 71.

634 See especially nos. 5, 7, and 13 in Appendix B, and nos. 27, 29, 38, 43, and 47 in Appendix B2.

635 Nos. 1–2, 5–10, 12, and 14–18 in Appendix B and nos. 3–5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

636 Nos. 3 and 13 in Appendix B and no. 2 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

637 Nos. 4 and 11 in Appendix B and no. 1 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

638 No. 11 in Appendix B and no. 1 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B.

descendants had better chances to become amirs than their peers in Cairo, so it is quite possible that the circumstances that contributed to the “rise of a new class” of *awlād al-nās* in Cairo were less relevant for Syria.⁶³⁹ The term *awlād al-nās* started to be used in a new meaning around 840/1436–7 and it labels a group of *mamlūks*’ descendants who were registered as simple soldiers in Cairo in the *ḥalqa* or as *mamālīk al-sultān*, that would find it hard to become amirs due to the dwindling of land resources in Egypt in the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century, which brought a decline in the number of amirates in Cairo, the fixing of the age of 40 as a standard minimum age for promotion to amirates, and a change in the age structure of *mamlūks*’ families. Since their chances to become amirs and enjoy the significant income that came with the rank were diminished, the *mamlūks*’ descendants had to rely more on other sources of income, such as *rizqa* land, private land, *waqfs*, or property that was inherited from their fathers the *mamlūks*, who by then became in practice an almost exclusive ruling class (*al-nās*). The creation of a specific designation for a group of *mamlūks*’ descendants may confirm their turning into a distinct group or class at that time, which must have to do with the changes in their status and sources of income, which were now more dependent on their fathers, as indicated by the name of this new group.

4.5 *Awlād al-nās*: wealth and sources of livelihood

Because Mamluk historians normally do not provide much information on the *mamlūks*’ descendants who did not become amirs, the research of the group of *awlād al-nās* remains limited, and it draws mainly on documents. Based on several *waqf*, exchange, and sale documents from the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, Haarmann and Conermann and Saghbini researched in detail the economic activities, property, wealth, and sources of livelihood of one soldier in the *ḥalqa* by the name of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī and his family.⁶⁴⁰ Conermann and Saghbini noted that Yaḥyá was a “representative of the affluence to which a member of the second generation could attain due to the munificence of his father, even in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century”.⁶⁴¹ As noted by Haarmann, “[b]oth al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Taghrībirdī... fail to mention Yaḥyá in their biographical dictionaries”,⁶⁴² and in fact, as mentioned by Conermann

639 See part 3.5 above, especially at footnotes nos. 503–12.

640 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 73–6; Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 26–32.

641 Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 27.

642 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 74 (footnote no. 106).

and Saghbini, “Yaḥyá is not mentioned in chronicles and biographical works”.⁶⁴³ Haarmann concluded by writing that “[t]he general picture of the economic activities of Mamluk scions in the late Middle Ages, however, remains very incomplete and uneven for the time being. Research... will largely depend on the full availability of the archival documents”.⁶⁴⁴ Wakako Kumakura’s studies based on the Ottoman land register (*Daftar Jayshī*) shed some more light on these *mamlūks*’ descendants, especially on the *iqṭāʾ* holdings or military pension lands (*rizaq jayshīyya*; sing. *rizqa jayshīyya*) of them and their *mamlūk* fathers, that turned into private land that could be inherited by their family members (including women) and many times turned into *waqf*.⁶⁴⁵ We also find in the *Tuhfa* few references to names of *mamlūks*’ descendants who held land as military pension (*rizqa*), but they remain obscure figures.⁶⁴⁶ Al-Malaṭī opens for us another window to the lives of members of the group of *awlād al-nās*, adds much data and color, and gives information on their wealth and sources of livelihood, which complements the documentary evidence.

First, it must be emphasized that *awlād al-nās* were still remunerated with *iqṭāʾ*s (and salaries) for their military service or affiliation in the *ḥalqa* or the sultan’s household. When Haarmann wrote that by 885/1480 *mamlūks*’ descendants “no longer played a major political and military role and therefore no longer received their remuneration from the holdings of the *dīwān al-jaysh*”,⁶⁴⁷ or when he wrote of “the large-scale disappearance of *awlād al-nās* as fief-holders in Egypt”,⁶⁴⁸ he downplayed the fact that the data he used from the *Tuhfa* is relevant only for amirs and large *iqṭāʾ*s, and that the simple soldiers among the *mamlūks*’ descendants continued to hold *iqṭāʾ*s. Also Ayalon suggested that *awlād al-nās* “had practically no income from feudal fiefs during the later stages of Circassian rule”.⁶⁴⁹ More generally, as mentioned, a general decline of the *iqṭāʾ* system and the *ḥalqa* in the late Circassian period has been observed, and it is assumed that the *awlād al-nās* of the *ḥalqa* “were not true soldiers but rather the weaker members of the Mamluk elite that were kept in the *ḥalqah* with very low monthly wages out of charity”.⁶⁵⁰ While this was perhaps the condition of some *mamlūks*’

643 Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 27. I am sure that Yaḥyá is not found in al-Malaṭī’s works only because the extant parts of his work do not cover the name or year of death of Yaḥyá. If someone is interested in making a bet, please contact me.

644 Haarmann, “Joseph’s Law”, 76–7.

645 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”; and see also Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 12–14; idem, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 178–80.

646 See, for example, MS. Hunt 2, 165v.

647 Haarmann, “The Sons of Mamluks”, 161.

648 Idem, “Joseph’s Law”, 69; and see also Conermann and Saghbini, “*Awlād al-Nās*”, 27 (“process of the gradual ‘de-fiefing’ of Mamluk progeny”).

649 Ayalon, “The System of Payment”, 55 (footnote no. 6).

650 See Levanoni, “The Ḥalqah”, 61; and see above at footnotes nos. 620 and 633–4 in part 4.3.

descendants, the impression is that at least some of those who appear in the works of al-Malaṭī were true soldiers and many others seem to have been rewarded properly for their service or affiliation in military units.

As mentioned by Kumakura, during the late Circassian period the distinction between *iqṭāʿ* (i. e., a land grant in return for military service) and *rizqa* (i. e., land as military pension which was to some degree *de facto* inheritable) was not always clear.⁶⁵¹ Indeed, al-Malaṭī refers to “a good *iqṭāʿ* as a military pension” (*rizqa jayyida iqtāʿ*) which was held by a *mamlūk*’s descendant who was officially affiliated with the military sector but was active in the field of religion, and he also refers to an *iqṭāʿ* that provided for another *mamlūk*’s descendant who was a religious scholar and his children, in what clearly refers to a land given as pension that was in all likelihood not related to service.⁶⁵² However, at other times it seems that the holding of *iqṭāʿ* was related to military service. For example, it is known from the Ottoman land register that in 912/1506 a land that was the *iqṭāʿ* of Ibrāhīm ibn Jakam al-Nawrūzī (d. 912/1506) was bestowed on him as *rizqa*, and it was stipulated that the beneficiaries after his death would be his relatives. Since this happened on the eve of his death, it may be assumed that he made final arrangements to take care of his relatives.⁶⁵³ Al-Malaṭī mentions in the biography of Ibrāhīm ibn Jakam al-Nawrūzī that he was one of the prominent *awlād al-nās* and soldiers in the *ḥalqa*, and he also mentions that he acquired great knowledge in the arts of war,⁶⁵⁴ so we may assume that his *iqṭāʿ*, which was clearly at first not a military pension, was a remuneration for his service in the *ḥalqa*. Ibrāhīm ibn Bahādur al-Jarkasī (d. 855/1451–2) is said to have been “one of the prominent *khāṣṣakiyya*” who was also appointed *khāzindār* and *aghā* in the barracks. He is said to have received a “good *iqṭāʿ*” and we may assume that it was related to his service as a *khāṣṣakī*.⁶⁵⁵ Another *mamlūk*’s descendant was a *khāṣṣakī* who also functioned as a *hājib* and was rewarded with a “good *iqṭāʿ*”.⁶⁵⁶ Others are known to have been *khāṣṣakīs* (sometimes holding posts in court) that participated in military expeditions, sometimes several times and as commanders, and although no *iqṭāʿ* is mentioned in their biographies, we may assume that they were well rewarded.⁶⁵⁷ In other cases, it is mentioned that a salary was given with registration in the *dīwān* (*nazala fī dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī... bi-jāmakiyya*).⁶⁵⁸

651 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 13; and see also Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 12–14; idem, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy*, 178–80.

652 See nos. 1 and 13 in Appendix B2; and see at footnotes nos. 570–1 above.

653 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 18.

654 See no. 15 in Appendix B; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 46.

655 See no. 26 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 44.

656 No. 25 in Appendix B2.

657 Nos. 27 and 29 in Appendix B2.

658 See no. 2 in Appendix B; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 150.

An interesting case is that of Ismā‘īl ibn Fāris al-Fayrūzī (d. 891/1486–7, b. after 840/1436–7). The *Tuhfa* mentions him as holder of *rizqa* with a tax-yield of 2,000 DJ. Al-Malaṭī provides a biographical entry and mentions that he was a Cypriote Frank whose father initiated him in the arts of war in which Ismā‘īl excelled, and that he participated in a military expedition. Whether he was affiliated to a military unit and received another *iqṭā‘* for his service, or his service was given due to his *rizqa*, is not mentioned. Still, in one way or another, he was remunerated for military service or at least expected to perform military service since he was remunerated.⁶⁵⁹

In other cases, whether related to service or not, it is mentioned that *mamlūks’* descendants held a “good *iqṭā‘*”, sometimes in addition to a salary, sometimes it is mentioned explicitly that they were registered in the sultan’s household.⁶⁶⁰ More generally, it is sometimes mentioned that an *iqṭā‘* held by a *mamlūk’s* descendant was sufficient for his livelihood (*iqṭā‘ yakfihi*),⁶⁶¹ or that a *mamlūk’s* descendant had sufficient sources of livelihood (*rizq*)⁶⁶² or “sources of livelihood that were more than enough for his needs” (*bi-yadihi min al-rizq fawqa mā yakfihi*).⁶⁶³ In some of these last cases, perhaps military pension lands (*rizaq*) are intended, but, in any case, the sources of livelihood (*rizq*) may well refer to military pension lands.⁶⁶⁴ Other *mamlūks’* descendants are reported to have left their children sufficient sources of livelihood (*khallafa awlād wa-rizq kifāya lahum*).⁶⁶⁵ In other cases, al-Malaṭī mentions that a *mamlūk’s* descendant was affluent (*māl/tharwa*),⁶⁶⁶ sometimes very affluent (*kathīr al-māl/kathrat al-māl/tharwa ṭā‘īla/tharwa ṣāhira*).⁶⁶⁷ In some cases, al-Malaṭī gives some details on investments of affluent *mamlūks’* descendants who bought properties (*amlāk*) or military pension lands (*rizaq*) with the money they had earned (*ḥaṣala la-hu... tharwa bal wa-ishtarā al-amlāk bal wal-rizaq*).⁶⁶⁸ The brother of al-Malaṭī, Amīr Ḥajj ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ṣāhīrī (d. 895/1489–90), who was registered in

659 See no. 5 in Appendix B.

660 See no. 13 in Appendix B, and nos. 30, and 50–1 in Appendix B2.

661 See no. 43 in Appendix B2; and see also al-Biqā‘ī, *Unwān al-Zamān*, 2:119 (*iqṭā‘ ya‘īshu minhu*).

662 Nos. 16 and 47 in Appendix B2.

663 See no. 4 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B; and see also al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:160–1.

664 See no. 5 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B; and see at footnotes nos. 559–60 above.

665 See no. 20 in Appendix B2; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma‘ al-Mufannan*, 257.

666 See no. 7 in Appendix B, and no. 19 in Appendix B2.

667 See no. 3 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B, and nos. 24 and 48 in Appendix B2.

668 See no. 19 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma‘ al-Mufannan*, 247. Other *mamlūks’* descendants are simply said to have held properties (*amlāk*) in addition to a good *iqṭā‘*. See no. 50 in Appendix B2; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma‘ al-Mufannan*, 436–7. For a rare reference by al-Sakhāwī to the purchase of a *rizqa* by a *mamlūk’s* descendant who was a merchant, who later turned the *rizqa* into *waqf* for the benefit of his daughter, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 7:147.

dīwān al-jund al-sultānī, earned a lot of money in business transactions (*mu'ā-malāt*) and renting property (*musta'jarāt*), according to al-Malaṭī by using manipulations (*ḥiyal*), which was not according to al-Malaṭī's taste, so he cut connections with him.⁶⁶⁹ In other cases, it is known from sale documents that *awlād al-nās* purchased property from *bayt al-māl*, but they would have remained obscure figures without al-Malaṭī. Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Khiḍrī (d. 865/1461, about 30 years old), is known to have bought property from *bayt al-māl* in 858/1454. Thanks for al-Malaṭī, we know that he was very rich (*kathīr al-māl/la-hu tharwa ṭā'ila*), that he was about 23 years old when he purchased the property, and that he was the in-law of al-Ashraf Īnāl (the son of the sister of al-Ashraf Īnāl's wife).⁶⁷⁰ Sometimes al-Malaṭī provides exact figures of the wealth. Aḥmad ibn Qarābughā al-Ṭāzī (d. 886/1481–2), one of the soldiers in the *ḥalqa*, left behind him 1,200 dinars (after 500 dinars had been stolen from him) and a daughter who took her share.⁶⁷¹ Aḥmad ibn Shāhīn al-Bahlawān (d. 888/1483, b. 828/1424–5), another soldier in the *ḥalqa* who held a good *iqṭā'* and a *jāmakīyya* as he was also registered in the sultan's household (*la-hu iqtā' jayyid wa-jāmakīyya bi-bayt al-sultān*), could spend on his daughter's dowry more than 1,000 dinars. However, this seems to have stretched his limit.⁶⁷²

Finally, and most importantly, al-Malaṭī mentions several times explicitly that the *mamlūks'* descendants inherited wealth and properties from their fathers (or grandfathers). Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazdād al-Aytamushī (d. after circa 890/1485, b. before 850/1446–7) inherited from his grandfather (via his father) a lot of money and properties (*amlāk*). He and his brother are said to have had more than enough sources for livelihood (*la-humā min al-rizq fawqa kifāyatihimā*).⁶⁷³ Aḥmad ibn Sūnjubughā al-Yūnusī (d. after circa 890/1485), a soldier in the *ḥalqa*, inherited a lot of money (*māl ṭā'il*) from his father and wasted it all. He wasted a lot of money in a failed investment in a sugar cane press business (*dawlaba ma'āṣir al-qaṣab*).⁶⁷⁴ Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Sayfī Dawlāt Bāy (d. 889/1484, about 50 years old), another soldier in the *ḥalqa*, inherited from his father a lot of money, properties, real estate, and “other things” (*tharwa ṭā'ila wa-*

669 No. 24 in Appendix B2; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 596.

670 See no. 3 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawd al-Bāsim*, 2:127–8. For another case, see no. 1 in footnote no. 754 in Appendix B. Aḥmad ibn Asanbughā al-Ṭayyārī (d. 922/1516, almost 90 years old) is known to be related to a *waqf* in 866/1462, and 33 years earlier, his father established a *waqf* (see Amīn, *Fihrist*, 31; and see *ibid.*, 18). Al-Malaṭī labels him as “one of the prominent *awlād al-nās*” and mentions in his biography that he was imprisoned by al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy because of an issue related to a *waqf*. See no. 16 in Appendix B; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 257.

671 No. 33 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 374.

672 No. 30 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 304.

673 No. 53 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 319.

674 No. 42 in Appendix B2; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 306.

amlāk wa-‘amā’ir wa-ashyā’ kathīra warithahā ‘an abīhi). Unfortunately, he squandered all his inheritance and died as a poor person.⁶⁷⁵ From the biography of his father we know that Fāris who became rich left behind him *awqāf* and *rizaq* and also a son that squandered his inheritance,⁶⁷⁶ so by “other things” al-Malaṭī apparently referred to *awqāf* and *rizaq*.

Indeed, sometimes it is implied that the inheritance included also *iqṭā’s*. However, the issue of the “inheritance” of *iqṭā’s* is complicated. The father of Ibrāhīm ibn Barsbāy died when Ibrāhīm was only three years old. Ibrāhīm was raised by his guardians and received military education until he “was registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī* in addition to the *iqṭā’s* he had already held, as his father left him a lot of money and many other things, to him and to his younger brother” (*nazala fī dīwān al-jund al-sulṭānī ma’a mā bi-yadihi min al-aqāṭī wa-taraka la-hu wāliduhu tharwa zā’ida wa-ashyā’ kathīra ma’a akh la-hu aṣghar minhu*).⁶⁷⁷ It is implied that the *iqṭā’s* were left by the father to Ibrāhīm and his two brothers. As observed by Kumakura, in late- ninth/fifteenth-century Egypt, many *iqṭā’s* were shared by *mamlūks* with their children or relatives and then inherited by the shareholders after the death of the *mamlūk* holder.⁶⁷⁸ There were also cases of *iqṭā’s* of *mamlūks* that turned into *rizqas* for themselves and their descendants, and thus, “*iqṭā’s* were transferred into *rizqas* and were inherited by the holders’ sons who did not necessarily have the ability for military service”.⁶⁷⁹ Indeed, in the *Tuhfa* it is sometimes mentioned that a land was the *iqṭā’* of a *mamlūk* amir and *rizqa* for his sons (*bi-ism al-amīr... wa-rizqa li-awlādihi*).⁶⁸⁰ So, perhaps *iqṭā’s* that turned into *rizqas* were seen as inheritable to some degree.

Kumakura and Igarashi observed that large-scale *iqṭā’s* of high-ranking amirs were not inherited, but only small *iqṭā’s*, or, alternatively, small parts of larger *iqṭā’s*.⁶⁸¹ It should be mentioned in this context that the transfer of *iqṭā’s* of *mamlūks* to their descendants upon the death of the *mamlūks* was applied also during the Turkish period; however, only in cases when the descendants were considered of appropriate age and eligible.⁶⁸² During the Turkish period, if the sons were of eligible age they could also receive the amirate of the father upon his death, sometimes even a high-ranking one, or alternatively a lower rank appro-

675 No. 36 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 372.

676 al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr*, 312.

677 No. 17 in Appendix B; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 43.

678 Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 12–13.

679 Ibid., 12–14; and see Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 14, 18–19.

680 MS. Hunt 2, 77r.

681 Igarashi, *Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs*, 14 (footnote no. 28).

682 See Yosef, *Ethnic Groups* [in Hebrew], 1:265–6; Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21–2.

priate of their age.⁶⁸³ During the Circassian period, *mamlūks*' descendants in Cairo could hardly receive the amirates of their fathers upon the latter's death, due to the fact that the minimum age for amirates was fixed on 40. While Kumakura and Igarashi speak of inheritance of *iqṭā'*s in the ninth/fifteenth century, there is evidence that also during that time the transfer of the *iqṭā'* to the descendants was not automatic and required the approval of the sultan who also decided which share of the *iqṭā'* would be transferred to the descendant, which apparently depended on the worthiness of the descendant, thus, perhaps it is better to speak of a transfer of the *iqṭā'*. For example, al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy gave a share of the *iqṭā'* of Īnāl Min Qaṣrūh al-Ashrafī al-Zaradkāsh to his son Aḥmad upon the death of Īnāl because he loved Īnāl and thus wanted to take care of his son (*rā'āhu li-ajlihi*). However, al-Malaṭī comments that normally the sultan would not give to even more worthy descendants such a share of the *iqṭā'* (*muqtaḍā ḥāl al-sultān fī amthālihi bal fī man huwa amthal minhu... an lā yu'tiyahu dhālika al-miqdār min al-iqṭā'*), and that specifically Aḥmad should not have received anything, also because he received the post of *zaradkāsh* (apparently of his father) and a good salary.⁶⁸⁴ The anecdote confirms that only shares of the *iqṭā'*s were transferred, that the descendant's worthiness was considered, and that, in any case, the sultan should have approved the transfer. Still, since al-Malaṭī implies that Aḥmad should not have received *iqṭā'* not only because he was not worthy but also because he earned enough, one cannot escape the impression that *iqṭā'*s, or shares thereof, were many times transferred to sons upon the death of their fathers with the approval of the sultan in order to take care for their livelihood, but, on the other hand, there was some expectation of service in return (Aḥmad also filled a post in court). This seems to be implied also from the following. When Aruj Khujā ibn Lājīn al-Qāzānī (d. 889/1484) died, his son came to al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and requested that he will receive the *iqṭā'* of his father (*waqafa waladuhu lil-sultān li-ajli iqṭā' kāna li-wāliidihi li-yuqarrara fī-hi 'iwaḍan 'an abīhi*). At first al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy refused but gave him the post of *wālī Miṣr* that was filled by his father until his death and told the son that this would suffice him (*yakfika al-wilāya*). However, later al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy realized that the son is not getting along (*lam yatimma amruhu*) so he decided to give him also a share of the *iqṭā'* (*qurrira la-hu shay' min al-iqṭā'*). Also in this case, we see the sultan deciding what the son should get, and more specifically, which share of the *iqṭā'* he should get if at all, that the transfer of *iqṭā'* was not automatic, that shares of *iqṭā'*s were given to take care for the livelihood of the descendants, and that the son was capable of performing service (he filled a post).⁶⁸⁵

683 See Yosef, "The Rise" (at footnotes nos. 235–7 and 248–9).

684 See, for example, al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 634.

685 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 494–5.

The abovementioned case of the three-year-old Ibrāhīm ibn Barsbāy and his younger brother⁶⁸⁶ shows that in the ninth/fifteenth century also very young descendants could receive the *iqṭāʿ* of their father or parts thereof as shareholders, when they clearly had no ability to perform military service. However, Ibrāhīm was trained by his guardians and eventually also registered in *dīwān al-jund al-sultānī*, so apparently there was at least some expectation that a young son who received the *iqṭāʿ* of his father (or part thereof) will be trained and eventually perform military service in one of the units. A similar case is that of Aḥmad ibn Mubārak Shāh (d. 889/1485, b. 839/1435–6) who apparently received the *iqṭāʿ* and the *jāmakiyya* of his father together with his brother. Aḥmad was only two years old when his father died. However, he is labeled by al-Malaṭī as a soldier in the *ḥalqa*, so apparently he came to be a soldier.⁶⁸⁷

Aḥmad ibn Kuzulbughā al-Bahlawān (d. 891/1486, b. after 850/1446–7) apparently received his father’s *iqṭāʿ* together with his two brothers Yūnus and Yūsuf. His age upon his father’s death is not known. Aḥmad had military training and when his brother Yūnus died, the sultan gave Aḥmad the share of Yūnus in the *iqṭāʿ* and excluded Yūsuf because he was apparently not pleased with Yūsuf’s military skills (*li-ʿadam ḥusn ḥālīhi*). Aḥmad became *ṭabardār* and died during a military expedition, so he clearly became a full-fledged soldier.⁶⁸⁸ Also in this case, we see sons of a *mamlūk* who received their father’s *iqṭāʿ* as shareholders, apparently with the approval of the sultan, who later also decided on a further transfer of a share of the *iqṭāʿ* according to the military skills of the holders, those who did not have the necessary skills were excluded. When Lājīn al-Nāṣirī died, the sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq decided to give his *iqṭāʿ* to his son Ismāʿīl (d. 881/1476–7, a young man) but excluded his brother Aḥmad (*aqṭaʿa mā kāna bi-ismihi bi-ism waladihi Ismāʿīl ḥādḥā dūna akhihi Aḥmad*). Ismāʿīl is known to have had military skills and he became a soldier in the *ḥalqa*.⁶⁸⁹ The father of Aḥmad ibn Jānibak Kūhayh al-Ismāʿīlī (d. 927/1521, b. 857/1453) is said to have left him a lot of money and property and several *iqṭāʿ*s (*tharwa wa-māl kathīr khallafahu la-hu wālīduhu wa-ʿiddat aqāṭī*). Aḥmad was about 20 years old when his father died and he is known to have been military trained, so he was probably expected to perform service in return for the *iqṭāʿ*s. Indeed, he was appointed by al-Ashraf

686 See at footnote no. 677 above.

687 See no. 31 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 375–6.

688 See no. 38 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 374. For another case when upon the death of a *mamlūk*’s descendant his brother received his share in the *iqṭāʿ*, see al-Jawharī, *Inbāʿ al-Ḥaṣr*, 179.

689 See no. 3 in Appendix B; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 544.

Qāyṭbāy to participate in a military expedition. However, eventually Aḥmad was able to exempt himself from service by paying 200 dinars or more.⁶⁹⁰

Finally, one of the *awlād al-nās* inherited his wealth and sources of livelihood from his mother and not his father. Aḥmad ibn Iyās Min Junayd (d. 908/1503, about 84 years old), the father of the historian Ibn Iyās, inherited a lot of money and apparently also military pension lands or other sources of livelihood from his mother (*tarakat la-hu māl jayyid wa-rizaq/rizq*), who was the daughter of a *mamlūk* amir by the name of Azdamur al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 771/1370). Al-Malaṭī adds that Aḥmad's father was only a simple *mamlūk*, so Aḥmad's fame, status, and wealth came from his mother (*shuhratuhu wa-dhikruhu wa-thar-watuhu min qibali ummihi*).⁶⁹¹ As noted by Kumakura, women had more chance to obtain military *rizaq* than *iqṭā's*,⁶⁹² which fits the information that Aḥmad ibn Iyās apparently inherited *rizaq* from his mother. To close a circle, we may mention that the son of Aḥmad, the historian Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās, is also known to have held *rizaq* lands together with his daughter Fāṭima who eventually purchased the land and turned it into *waqf*,⁶⁹³ so some property and wealth accumulated by a *mamlūk* amir in the eight/fourteenth century was kept in the family (men and women) for further four generations.

Haarmann concluded his most detailed study on the *mamlūks'* descendants by writing that “for the time being the basis for definitive judgment remains incomplete and fragmentary, if only because we are, once more, limited to information about the winners—and not the losers—from among their ranks in the fight for success”.⁶⁹⁴ Al-Malaṭī gives us a glimpse to the *awlād al-nās*, a rather ignored group of *mamlūks'* descendants. While perhaps not as successful in the military-political field as the amirs among the *mamlūks'* descendants, I would not label them as losers (at least not the *awlād al-nās* who appear in the works of al-Malaṭī). They perhaps held only minor *iqṭā's* in the *ḥalqa* (sometimes it was sufficient), but at least some of them enjoyed a “good *iqṭā*” as members of the *khāṣṣakiyya*, and some enjoyed an additional *jāmakīyya* if registered in *dīwān al-sultān*. More importantly, they had other sources of livelihood that were transferred from their fathers (or mothers) and many of them were affluent. A main

690 No. 22 in Appendix B2; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 278–9; and see idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:310. Jānibak Kūhayh al-Ismā'īlī is known to have died at old age as *baṭṭāl*, so another option is that the *iqṭā's* he left to his son were in fact military pension lands, which may explain why Aḥmad ibn Jānibak is not known to have been registered in a military unit.

691 No. 14 in Appendix B; and see al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 258; and see William M. Brinner, “Ibn Iyās (also written Ayās), Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Zayn (Shihāb) al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī al-Djarkasī al-Ḥanaṭī”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 812–3.

692 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women's Landholding”, 15.

693 Ibid., 19.

694 Haarmann, “Joseph's Law”, 83.

question of the conference that started this volume was “where are the *awlād al-nās*?”. The simplest answer to this question may be—in al-Malaṭī’s historical works.

5 Conclusion

In this paper we have offered a detailed examination of usages of the term *awlād al-nās* throughout the Mamluk period and examined the identity of those designated by this term. In fact, the examination of the term *awlād al-nās* has served us as a starting point to tell the story of the descendants of *mamlūks*.

In contrast to what is commonly thought, the expression *awlād al-nās* was not always used to designate the *mamlūks*’ descendants. In fact, Turkish-period historians used the term *awlād al-nās* only sporadically. Moreover, in general, they did not use the term to refer specifically to the *mamlūks*’ descendants. During that period, the term clearly had a broader meaning: “descendants of an established family” or “noble people”, “those of Muslim origin”, and even “those who are not slaves”. During the Turkish period there was no expression referring specifically to the *mamlūks*’ descendants. It suggests that the defining characteristic of the ruling elite (*al-nās*) in the Turkish period was not *mamlūk* descent, and the *mamlūks* were not considered an exclusive ruling elite. It also suggests that the descendants of *mamlūks* did not constitute a distinct social category or group in that period. Indeed, at that time, it was common that *mamlūks*’ descendants and other free persons became amirs, and, thus, part of the ruling elite (*al-nās*). Moreover, during the late Turkish period the *mamlūks*’ descendants held a significant share of the amirates in Cairo and were remunerated with large *iqṭāʿ*s.

In fact, only around 840/1436–7 the term *awlād al-nās* became common and started referring specifically to a group of *mamlūks*’ descendants serving as simple soldiers in Cairo. It was at about the same time when in Egypt *mamlūks*’ descendants, as a class, on the one hand were hardly nominated to amirates and consequently they no longer held large *iqṭāʿ*s, and on the other hand their wealth shifted to allodial or *waqf* lands. The “rise of a new class” of private landowners, conspicuously comprised of *mamlūks*’ descendants, at the (mid-) ninth/fifteenth century has been observed. However, what has gone so far unnoticed is that the “rise of a new class” was accompanied by a semantic shift in the term *awlād al-nās* and the creation of a *de facto* specific designation for *mamlūks*’ descendants, which, in fact, confirms that *mamlūks*’ descendants were seen as a distinct group or class starting from that time.

To understand better the context for the semantic shift of the term *awlād al-nās*, we have explored the chronology of the decline of the military-political

status of *mamlūks*' descendants during the Circassian period, and the circumstances that brought this decline, which on the other hand was correlated by a shift of their wealth to allodial or *waqf* lands.

There was a correlation between the Circassian takeover between 782/1380 and 802/1399 and the decline in the military-political status of *mamlūks*' descendants. Especially during his second reign (792–801/1390–1399), Barqūq turned against the old Turco-Mongol Qalāwūnid elite and tried to undermine its power base and promote his own Circassian *mamlūks*. His struggle against the Turco-Mongol *mamlūks*' descendants, many of them related to the Qalāwūnids, was part of this struggle. The most important group of *mamlūks*' descendants that could replace the *mamlūks*' descendants of the old, mostly Turco-Mongol, Qalāwūnid elite who died out or were demoted, would have been the group of the descendants of Barqūq's *mamlūks*. However, during the reign of Barqūq the members of this group were still too young, so the number of *mamlūks*' descendants who were amirs gradually declined, especially during his second reign. Still, even when this group of *mamlūks*' descendants matured we still do not find them filling the ranks of amirs. In fact, during the ninth/fifteenth century there were hardly any *mamlūks*' descendants who were promoted to amirates in Cairo. In the normal course of events, after a revolution which brings about the demise of an established dynasty, a new dynasty eventually emerges, and with it a ruling elite whose descendants are promoted. However, in the Circassian period something else happened. The change in the military-political status of *mamlūks*' descendants in the ninth/fifteenth century in Cairo has to do with the dwindling of land resources available for amirs, which resulted in a decrease in the number of amirates, which resulted in that *mamlūks* became amirs and started families at a later age. This, combined with child mortality caused by plague epidemics which became more frequent during the ninth/fifteenth century, diminished the chances of *mamlūks*' descendants to become amirs in Cairo.

By 815/1412, *mamlūks* were normally promoted to amirates in Cairo around the age of 40 or later, and it seems that the standard minimum age for amirate was fixed at 40. From that time, each sultan could promote only a few favored *mamlūks* to amirates at a young age. This must be related to evidence suggesting that during the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century there was a significant rural decline in Egypt which was correlated by a decline in the number of amirates in Cairo. The phenomenon of promotion of *mamlūks* to amirates at an older age brought about a change in the age structure of the *mamlūks*' families. *Mamlūks* normally started a family (shortly) after they secured a sufficient income, which after circa 815/1412 was normally after they were promoted to amirates or after turning 40 years old. From that time, only a few favored *mamlūks* would start a family at a young age. The *mamlūks* of al-Zāhir Barqūq who were promoted to amirates in Cairo during his second reign (792–801/1390–

1399), could start families at about that time. The descendants of this group of *mamlūks*, who were the earliest candidates for amirates among the *mamlūks*' descendants during the ninth/fifteenth century, reached the age of 20, which in earlier periods was normally the minimum age for promotion to amirates in Cairo among *mamlūks*' descendants, roughly in 815–825/1412–1422, at a time when the number of amirates in Cairo already seems to have declined, and the minimum age for promotion to amirates in Cairo for *mamlūks* was fixed at 40. Thus, even they would find it very difficult to be promoted to amirates. A mass of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's *mamlūks*, who were born roughly in 775–785/1373–1384, reached the age of 40 roughly in 815–825/1412–1422. This massive group of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's *mamlūks* that turned 40 roughly in 815–825/1412–1422 normally started families during that decade only when they were about 40 or more. The descendants of these *mamlūks* matured roughly in 835–845/1431–1442. It must have been during the period between 815/1412 and 845/1442, perhaps especially circa 835/1431–2, that the privatization and *waqf*ization of state lands for the benefit of *mamlūks*' descendants accelerated. Indeed, there is evidence that during the second quarter of the ninth/fifteenth there was much activity in the land market. It is exactly at that time, in which the “rise of a new class” of private landowners may be identified, that the term *awlād al-nās* went through a semantic shift which must have to do with the changes in their status and sources of income, which were now more dependent on their fathers, as indicated by the name of this new group.

The term *awlād al-nās* in its new meaning was not used by Syrian chroniclers of the late Circassian period and there is evidence that the circumstances that contributed to the “rise of a new class” of *awlād al-nās* in Cairo were less relevant for Syria. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514) is practically the first (and almost the only) historian who explicitly refers in biographical entries or obituary notes to persons who belonged to this new group of *awlād al-nās*. From his writings it may be understood that *awlād al-nās* were a group of *mamlūks*' descendants who were registered as simple soldiers in Cairo in the *ḥalqa* or as *mamālīk al-sultān*. Al-Malaṭī opens for us a window to the lives of the members of this otherwise rather ignored group of *awlād al-nās* and gives information on their wealth and sources of livelihood that were transferred from their fathers, the *mamlūks*, who by then became in practice an almost exclusive ruling class.

Appendix A: *Mamlūks*' descendants who became amirs (for the first time) after 802/1399 in Ibn Taghribirdī's *Manhal*, al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*, and al-Malaṭī's *Nayl*, *Rawḍ*, and *Majma'* (excluding sons of sultans)⁶⁹⁵

Syria⁶⁹⁶

Al-Malaṭī's *Nayl*, *Rawḍ*, and *Majma'*⁶⁹⁷

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍaw'</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
1. Muḥammad ibn Ar-ghūn Shāh al-Nawrūzī (d. 853)	al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq: <i>ustādār al-sultān</i> in Damascus (amir)		+/- ⁶⁹⁸	

⁶⁹⁵ I have considered only *mamlūks*' descendants who have biographical entries and are mentioned explicitly as amirs or as persons who received amirates (in their entries or in other sources). I have considered only *mamlūks*' descendants whose promotion to amirate for the first time was clearly after 802/1399. In addition, it is possible that few *mamlūks*' descendants who are not mentioned in their entries (and other sources) as amirs, were in fact amirs, but the sources mentioned only their post (the status of the person filling such posts is not entirely clear) and not their title. These cases are not included in the tables, but the most conspicuous cases are discussed in footnotes. Most such cases are not relevant to Cairo or Damascus but only to other Syrian provinces.

⁶⁹⁶ I have excluded from the table of Syria Yūsuf ibn Yaghmur (d. 856/1452) who was amir in Syria (*nā'ib qal'at Ṣafad*), however, his father's name is not attested as a name of slaves, and it is known to have been used by free persons (he was perhaps a Turkmen). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:338; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:19–20. On the other hand, few *mamlūks*' descendants who are not mentioned in the table may well have been amirs. While they are never mentioned explicitly in the sources as amirs, their posts were possibly given to amirs. All these *mamlūks*' descendants held posts outside of Damascus, none had a special tie with the sultans, and none is mentioned in the *Ḍaw'*: 1. Faraj ibn Ghulbak (d. 885/1481, old) was *hājib al-ḥujjāb* in Aleppo. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:277. 2. Upon his father's death in 891/1486, Aḥmad ibn Bahādur al-Yashbakī (d. 901/1496, *shābb*) received his post of *nā'ib qal'at Ṣafad*. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma'* al-Mufannan, 275–6, 711; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:335. 3. Faraj ibn Muqbil al-Ḥusāmī (d. 886/1482, b. after 830/1426–7) was the *atābak* of Ṣafad. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:307. 4. Ibrāhīm ibn Balabān (died after ca. 890/1485) was *nā'ib Darandah* after his father. His father received in advance from al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh the right to transfer the governorship to his descendants. See idem, *al-Majma'* al-Mufannan, 43.

⁶⁹⁷ The *Manhal* and *Ḍaw'* do not contain additional entries of *mamlūks*' descendants that do not appear in the works of al-Malaṭī.

⁶⁹⁸ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:288, 299; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:131; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān*, 1:94.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍawʿ</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
2. Muḥammad ibn Tanam Min ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Muʿayyadī (d. 873, b. 836 or 835)	amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Damascus (his father was amir in Egypt but then became governor of Damascus in 866, so he could not have become amir in Syria before that year); died as <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in battle	roughly 30~ or more	-/- ⁶⁹⁹	in-law ⁷⁰⁰
3. Ibrāhīm ibn Bayghūt Min Ṣafar Khuḡā (d. 873) ⁷⁰¹	became amir in Syria (shortly?) after his father’s death in 857 al-Ashraf Īnāl: amir of 20 al-Zāhir Khushqadam: 866—became <i>nāʿib qaʿat Dimashq</i> al-Zāhir Yalbāy: 872—became <i>ḥājib al-ḥujjāb</i> in Damascus = <i>muqaddam alf</i> ?; died as amir in battle		+/-	
4. Abū Bakr ibn Jarkas al-Zāhirī (d. 885, b. 805 or 804)	al-Ashraf Īnāl: amir in Ḥamāt	52–60~	-/- ⁷⁰²	

699 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:382; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:167; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ilām al-Warā*, 83–4; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:35–6.

700 In 854/1450, Tanam Min ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Muʿayyadī (d. 868/1463) married Bunukh (d. 899/1493–4), also known as Dawlāt, who was the relative of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:306; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:298.

701 al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:100–1; idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 44–5; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:383; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 1:33; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:267, 360; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:35–6. The information concerning his age is confused.

702 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 171. During the reign of al-Zāhir Khushqadam he functioned as *muqaddam al-barīdiyya* in Egypt (as a simple soldier) but retained his rank in Syria until he retired.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍaw'</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
5. Yahyá ibn Jānam al-Ashrafi (d. 873, b. 846 or 847)	(his father became governor of Damascus in 863, so it is not very likely that he became amir before that year) mentioned as amir in Damascus in 865; ca. 866–7—became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Damascus; died as <i>muqaddam alf</i> in battle	18~ 20~	+/- ⁷⁰³	relative ⁷⁰⁴
6. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak (d. 888)	al-Zāhir Khushqadam ⁷⁰⁵ 869—amir of 10 in Damascus; he was <i>amīr al-ḥājj al-Sha'mī</i> three times; died as amir of ten	at least 25 ⁷⁰⁶	+/-	in-law ⁷⁰⁷
7. Muḥammad ibn Julbān al-Mu'ayyadi (d. 872, less than 30, b. 843 or shortly afterwards)	amir in Damascus; died in battle	less than 30	+/- ⁷⁰⁸	
8. 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Jānam al-Ashrafi (d. 878, b. ca. 850)	amir in Damascus (his father became governor of Damascus in 863, so it is not very likely that he became amir before that year)	13–28~	-/- ⁷⁰⁹	relative ⁷¹⁰

703 Idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:182; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:381; Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:35–6; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:224; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Ilām al-Warā'*, 76, 81; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Extracts*, 3:415.

704 Jānam al-Ashrafi (d. 867/1462) was the relative of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (it is not clear if he was bought as a slave). After suffering tribulations and imprisonment during the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, he became the governor of Damascus during the reign of al-Ashraf Ināl. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:63–4.

705 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 102; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:339; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:125; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān*, 1:281, 284; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mut'at al-Adhḥān*, 1:269–70.

706 His father died in 844/1440.

707 In 786/1384, al-Zāhir Barqūq married Fāṭima bint Manjak. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:93; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh*, 1:132. Manjak was Barqūq's master after Yalbughā al-'Umarī. Al-Zāhir Barqūq promoted Manjak's descendants to amirates in Syria, and afterwards members of the family continued to be promoted to amirates in Syria.

708 al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:462; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:285; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:212.

709 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:95; Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:95; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Ilām al-Warā'*, 76.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍawʿ</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
9. Aḥmad ibn Arikmās al-Ṣafadī (d. after ca. 890, b. 845)	873—upon the death of Arikmās, Aḥmad and two other brothers (the eldest was born in 842–5) received together his amirate of 20 in Damascus. Later, Aḥmad achieved additional amirate in Ṣafad	28	-/- ⁷¹¹	
10. Abū Bakr ibn Jān-ibak al-Nāṣirī (d. after ca. 890, about 40 or more)	amir in Damascus	less than 40	-/- ⁷¹²	
11. Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn al-Muʿayyadī	upon his father's death received his amirate of 20 in Tripoli	<i>shābb</i>	-/- ⁷¹³	
12. ʿAlī ibn Shāhīn al-ʿUthmānī (d. 891, al-most 70)	amir; <i>nāʿib qaʿat Dimashq</i> (first mentioned in 883, kept the post until his death); 889— <i>amīr al-ḥājj al-Shaʿmī</i>	60~	+/- ⁷¹⁴	
13. Ibrāhīm ibn Shād-bak al-Julbānī (d. after 904)	amir in Damascus; 886–7— <i>ustādār al-sulṭān</i> in Damascus; <i>nāʿib al-Ṣalt</i> and <i>ʿAjlūn</i>		-/- ⁷¹⁵	
14. Abū Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Man-jak (d. 888, about 30 years old)	888—upon his father's death, Abū Bakr received his amirate of 10 in Damascus, but he died few months later	30~	-/- ⁷¹⁶	in-law ⁷¹⁷

710 Jānam al-Ashrafī (d. 867/1462) was the relative of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (it is not clear if he was bought). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:63–4.

711 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 246–7, 499–500.

712 Ibid., 171; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:69–70.

713 Idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 304.

714 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:40–1; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 5:231; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān*, 1:508; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān*, 226, 293. Apparently, after the death of ʿAlī ibn Shāhīn in 891/1486, his son Muḥammad received the post of *nāʿib qaʿat Dimashq*, until he was deposed in 893/1488. See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:100.

715 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 57; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mu-fākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998), 36, 51; idem, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān*, 1:244.

716 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 165; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Zamān*, 1:284.

717 See no. 6 in Appendix A (Syria) above; and see footnote no. 707 above.

Cairo⁷¹⁸Al-Malaṭī's *Nayl*, *Rawḍ*, and *Majma'*

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍaw'</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
1. Faraj ibn Sikizbāy (d. 824, less than 25) ⁷¹⁹	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: became a <i>khāṣṣakī</i> ; became amir of 10 in Cairo	less than 25 but more than 15~	+/ ⁷²⁰	adopted son
2. Ḥasan ibn Sūdūn al-Faqīh (d. 825) ⁷²¹	al-Zāhir Ṭatar: 824—made <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Cairo; 824—made <i>muqaddam</i> in Cairo		+/ ⁷²²	in-law ⁷²³

718 I have excluded from the tables of Cairo few *mamlūks'* descendants (or persons who may have been *mamlūks'* descendants) who are not mentioned with the title of amir in any source. While their post is mentioned, it does not seem to have been (necessarily) filled by amirs, at least during the late ninth/fifteenth century: 1. Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn (d. after ca. 890/1485, *shābb* at that time) was *amīr ṭabar* in Cairo. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 304. This post was normally filled by amir of ten during the early ninth/fifteenth century. See Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1987), 4:23. However, by the late Circassian period the post is hardly mentioned, so it seems to have been filled by simple soldiers. Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn is apparently mentioned in the *Tuhfa* as Aḥmad Amīr Ṭabar and he is allocated a land with a tax-yield of only 800 DJ, which fits a simple soldier. See MS. Hunt 2, 8v; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:334. Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn is not mentioned in the events of the period, so he does not seem to have been a significant figure. 2. Ibrāhīm ibn Jarbāsh al-Ibrāhīmī was *wālī shurṭat Miṣr* during the late ninth/fifteenth century. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 46. He is not mentioned in the events of the period (or in the *Tuhfa*), so the post seems to have been filled by simple soldiers. 3. Aruj Khujā ibn Lājīn al-Qāzānī (d. 889/1484) was *wālī Miṣr* during the late ninth/fifteenth century. He is not mentioned in the events of the period or in the *Tuhfa*. In any case, his father does not seem to have been a slave. See *ibid.*, 494–5. 4. 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Quṭlūbak, born in 816/1413, was *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* in 860/1456. However, he was one of the simple soldiers (*aḥad al-ajnad*) at that time. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 4:229–30; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:98. Other posts that could have been filled by simple soldiers, at least during the late ninth/fifteenth century, are *amīr shikār* and *muqaddam al-barīdiyya*.

719 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:80; for his age and *nisba*, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:235 (Faraj ibn Shukrbāy [!] al-Zāhiri; less than 25 years old; adopted by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh).

720 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 8:403 (*aḥad khawāṣṣ al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:168.

721 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:106.

722 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:79–80; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:100–1; and see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:208–9.

723 The sister of Ḥasan was married to al-Zāhir Ṭatar and she was the mother of al-Šāliḥ Muḥammad ibn Ṭatar (d. 833/1430). In the title of Ḥasan ibn Sūdūn al-Faqīh's biographical

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍawʿ</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
3. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 873, b. 813)	al-Ashraf Barsbāy: ca. 834—royal <i>mamlūk</i> ; 837—became governor of Alexandria; 839—became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> and <i>wazīr</i> in Cairo al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq: 850— <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Damascus ⁷²⁴	20~ 24 26 37	+/+ ⁷²⁵	in-law ⁷²⁶
4. Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ināl al-Yūsufī (d. 855, about 50 or more; b. 805–6) ⁷²⁷	the <i>atābak</i> Jaqmaq: 839–841—became amir of 20 in Tripoli al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq: 842—became amir of 10 in Cairo; later, governor of Alexandria and amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Cairo; 849—became <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Cairo ⁷²⁸	35~ 37~ 44~	+/+ ⁷²⁹	son of a master/ in-law ⁷³⁰

entries, he is referred to as the in-law (*ṣihr*) of al-Ẓāhir Ṭatar and as the maternal uncle (*khāl*) of al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad ibn Ṭatar. Due to the close relationship that he enjoyed with al-Ẓāhir Ṭatar, the latter made him a close associate (*qarrabahu*) and promoted him to amirate upon his ascendance to the throne. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:79–80; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:100–1.

724 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:356–7; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 4:119–37; and see at footnote no. 106 above.

725 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:258–60; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:195–7.

726 Khalīl ibn Shāhīn was the in-law of al-Ashraf Barsbāy’s slave merchant. With the help of his in-law (*bi-sifārat ṣihrihi*), he became one of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* ca. 834/1430–1 and governor of Alexandria in 837/1434. Then, Khalīl married Aṣīl the sister of Julbān, al-Ashraf Barsbāy’s wife, and became Barsbāy’s *ʿadīl*, after which he was brought to Cairo by Barsbāy and made amir. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:195.

727 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:345–6; idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 332–4. On his age, see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:7; idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:34.

728 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:32–4. For the date of his becoming *muqaddam alf*, see idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:369.

729 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:32–4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 2:15.

730 Because ʿAlī ibn Ināl al-Yūsufī was Jaqmaq’s first master, Jaqmaq took care of Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ināl after his father’s death. When Jaqmaq was *atābak*, he arranged for Aḥmad amirate of twenty in Tripoli (*bi-sifārat Jaqmaq*), and upon his ascendance to the throne he made him a close associate (*qarrabahu... wa-ikhtaṣṣa bi-hi*) and promoted him to amirate in Cairo. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:32–3; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 333. In addition, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq married a daughter of the amir Ināl al-Yūsufī (see footnote no. 220 above), and al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq himself was married to Zaynab who was the daughter of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq’s relative. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 12:40–1.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍaw'</i> / <i>Man-hal</i>	Tie
5. Aḥmad ibn Nawrūz al-Khiḍrī (d. 852, b. 802 or 801)	al-Zāhir Jaqmaq: amir of 20 in Syria; 848—became amir of ten in Cairo; later, <i>amīr al-rakb al-awwal</i>	40~ 46~	+/- ⁷³¹	close as- sociate ⁷³²
6. Aḥmad ibn Tanibak al-Burdbakī (d. 877, b. 815)	al-Ashraf Īnāl: became amir of 10 in Cairo al-Zāhir Khushqadam: 867— <i>amīr ḥajj</i> al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy: 877— <i>amīr al-rakb al-awwal</i>	42–50~	+/- ⁷³³	
7. Muḥammad ibn Jarbāsh al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī (d. 887, b. ca. 839)	al-Ashraf Īnāl: 859—appointed <i>amīr al-rakb al-awwal</i> al-Zāhir Khushqadam: 866—appointed <i>amīr al-rakb al-awwal</i>	20~	+/- ⁷³⁴	<i>sibt</i> ⁷³⁵
8. Yaḥyá ibn Yashbak al-Faqīh (d. 876, b. 842)	al-Zāhir Khushqadam: ca. 866—became amir of 40 in Cairo; 868— <i>amīr al-rakb al-awwal</i>	24~	+/- ⁷³⁶	<i>sibt</i> ⁷³⁷ descend- ant of a mas- ter

731 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma'* al-Mufannan, 460–2; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:233; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:240; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:251–2. He was made amir of ten in Cairo instead of Sūdūn al-Muḥammadī. For the date, see idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:363.

732 Aḥmad ibn Nawrūz grew up as an orphan, but he still managed to become a servant of Jaqmaq and then one of his close associates (*aḥad akhiṣṣā' al-sulṭān al-Zāhir Jaqmaq wal-muqarrabīn ladayhi*). See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma'* al-Mufannan, 460–1.

733 Ibid., 278; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:46, 61; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:265; and see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:277; idem, *Extracts*, 3:441.

734 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:434; 6:146; 7:322; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:210. His appointments to the post of *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* seem only temporary (his mother went on a pilgrimage when he was *amīr al-rakb al-awwal*), and he probably was not amir otherwise. Note that he is not mentioned by name as amir in the *Tuḥfa* reflecting amirates ca. 880–1/1475–7. Moreover, while the post of *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* was filled by amirs, it could also be filled by simple soldiers. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:98 (mentions *amīr al-rakb al-awwal* who was one of the simple soldiers [*aḥad al-ajnād*]).

735 Muḥammad ibn Jarbāsh was the son of Shaqrā', the daughter of al-Nāṣir Faraj. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:210; 12:68.

736 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:181; 7:28–9; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:69; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:264–5.

737 Yaḥyá ibn Yashbak's mother was Āsiya the daughter of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:210. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was the master of al-Zāhir Khushqadam who promoted Yaḥyá to amirate.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	<i>Ḍawʿ</i> / <i>Manhal</i>	Tie
9. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAynī (d. 908, b. 851 or ca. 850)	al-Zāhir Khushqadam: ca. 865—became amir of 10 in Cairo; 868— <i>amīr al-ḥājī</i> ; later, <i>muqaddam al-f</i>	15~ 17–21	+/- ⁷³⁸	son of ⁷³⁹ step-daughter
10. Aḥmad ibn Lājīn al-Lālā al-Zāhirī Jaqmaq (d. 889, b. after 840)	al-Ashraf Qāytbāy: in 880–885, when his father became too old for service, Aḥmad, his eldest child, became in charge of his landed estates and amirate (<i>al-mutakallim ʿalā iqtāʾ wālidihi wal-imra</i>) and replaced him in service. He died in a military campaign.	40–45~	+/- ⁷⁴⁰	

Additions from the *Ḍawʿ*⁷⁴¹

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Tie	<i>Manhal</i>
11. Muḥammad ibn Alṭunbughā al-Qurmushī al-Zāhirī (d. 822, a young man [<i>shābb</i>]) ⁷⁴²	al-Muʿayyad Shaykh: became <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Cairo	<i>shābb</i>	in-law ⁷⁴³	-

738 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 315–8; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 1:345–6.

739 He was the son of al-Zāhir Khushqadam’s stepdaughter that was raised as a son by Khushqadam and was honored as one the sultans’ descendants. When Khushqadam became sultan, he made him a close associate (*qarrabahul/ikhtaṣṣa bi-hi*) and promoted him. See al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 315–6; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 1:345.

740 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 375; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:382; and see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 2:65 (the entry of Aḥmad consists only of his name; details on him are given in the entry of his father); 6:232–3 (the entry of Lājīn). Whereas al-Malaṭī refers to his military training (*andāb/taʿālīm*), property, and landed estate, al-Sakhāwī only mentions that he replaced his father in service.

741 No additional *mamlūks*’ descendants were found in the *Manhal*.

742 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 7:147.

743 In 818/1415, a daughter of al-Nāṣir Faraj was married to the amir Muḥammad ibn Alṭunbughā al-Qurmushī al-Zāhirī. The marriage was consummated shortly afterwards. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:311–2; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:284. Muḥammad ibn Alṭunbughā was a close associate (*khaṣīṣ bil-Muʿayyad*) of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh who arranged his marriage with al-Nāṣir Faraj’s daughter. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 7:147. Al-Muʿayyad Shaykh himself was related to the family of Barqūq and Faraj, so by connecting Muḥammad ibn Alṭunbughā to this family he made him an in-law. Shaykh married in 807/1404 a maternal sister of Faraj. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:405. Shaykh also married Zaynab bint Barqūq (d. 826/1423).

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Tie	Manhal
12. Muḥammad ibn Duqmāq al-Muḥammadī al-Zāhirī (d. 833, probably born in 797–800) ⁷⁴⁴	al-Ashraf Barsbāy: governor of al-Mar-qab; amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in Tripoli; amir of 10 in Cairo	25–35~	in-law/ son of a master ⁷⁴⁵	-
13. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Īnāl al-Yūsufī (d. 874)	al-Zāhir Jaqmaq: amir of ten	⁷⁴⁶	son of a master/ in-law ⁷⁴⁷	-
14. Muḥammad ibn Burdbak al-Ashrafī (d. 898, his mother was born in 825–835; consummated marriage in 860) ⁷⁴⁸	al-Ashraf Īnāl: 864—became amir of 10? ⁷⁴⁹	roughly 20~	<i>sibt</i>	-

See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:106; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 12:115. In 816/1413, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (d. 823/1420) married Sutayta bint al-Nāṣir Faraj. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:11. In addition, in 823/1420, al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh married his daughter Sutayta to the amir Alṭunbughā al-Qurmushī al-Zāhirī (d. 824/1421) who was the *atābak*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:536; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:66.

⁷⁴⁴ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 7:240–1; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:313–4; and see al-‘Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān* (ed. al-Qarmūṭ), 393. On his age, see no. 7 in Table C above.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:242–3. Fāṭima bint Quijār/Qujā (d. 827/1424), the widow of the amir Duqmāq al-Muḥammadī al-Zāhirī (d. 808/1405–6), the master of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, was married to Barsbāy. Fāṭima was the mother of Muḥammad ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 833/1430, b. ca. 820/1417). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 7:150; 12:99; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:154, 274; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:331–2; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:123, 162.

⁷⁴⁶ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 8:171–2.

⁷⁴⁷ See no. 4 in Appendix A (Cairo) above; and see footnote no. 730 above.

⁷⁴⁸ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 7:149. Muḥammad ibn Burdbak’s mother was Badriyya, the eldest child of al-Ashraf Īnāl. Badriyya was born between 825/1422 and 835/1431 (see footnote no. 377 above), so Muḥammad could not have been born before ca. 840/1436–7. Muḥammad consummated a marriage in 860/1456. See idem, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 2:697. He was probably roughly 15 years old at that time.

⁷⁴⁹ al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:72. Not mentioned otherwise as amir, including in his obituaries and biographical entries, which suggests that when he died, he was not amir. In fact, he is also not mentioned by name as amir in the *Tuhfa* reflecting amirates ca. 880–1/1475–7. Moreover, according to Ibn Taghribirdī, in 864/1460, Muḥammad ibn Burdbak received the *iqṭā’* of Taghrī Birdī al-Ashrafī who was amir of ten in Cairo but at that time was transferred to al-Karak, but it is not mentioned explicitly that Muḥammad became amir of ten. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:136. On Muḥammad ibn Burdbak, see also Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 16.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Amirate	Age at amirate	Tie	<i>Manhal</i>
15. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Baybars al-Zāhiri (d. 878, more than 30) ⁷⁵⁰	al-Zāhir Jaqmaq: a <i>khāṣṣakī</i> ; amir of 40?	18~ or less	relative/ in-law ⁷⁵¹	-
16. Muḥammad ibn Uzbek Min Ṭuṭukh (d. 911, he was a baby in 867)	al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy: ca. 889—amir of 10; ⁷⁵² later, perhaps amir of 40; 898— <i>amīr al-rakb al-awwal</i> ; died as amir of ten	23~	<i>sibt</i> / in-law ⁷⁵³	-

Appendix B: *Awlād al-nās* in al-Malaṭī’s *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*⁷⁵⁴

Name (year of death, age)	Description (Locality)	Military education/ Career	Religious education (<i>nisba</i>)	Property/ <i>Iqtā’</i> / Livelihood
1. Amīr Ḥājī ibn Īnāl al-Yashbakī (d. 859, young man [<i>shābb</i>]) ⁷⁵⁵	<i>aḥad awlād al-nās wa-ajṇād al-ḥalqa</i> (al-Qāhiri)	- <i>ajṇād al-ḥalqa</i>	-	

750 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 5:294. Al-Zāhir Jaqmaq gave him *iqtā’* worthy of amir of 40 (*iqtā’ imrat arba’in*), however, it is not clear if he became amir. After the death of Jaqmaq, his situation deteriorated.

751 ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Baybars was the grandson of al-Zāhir Barqūq’s relative (see *ibid.*), and al-Zāhir Jaqmaq himself was married to Zaynab who was the daughter of al-Zāhir Barqūq’s relative. See *ibid.*, 12:40–1.

752 *Ibid.*, 7:131; al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:276–7; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, 4:85. In fact, he is mentioned by name in the *Tuhfa* as holder of *iqtā’* suitable for amir of ten, but without the title of amir. Still, it seems that he was amir already ca. 880–1/1475–7 when he was about 15 years old. See Ibn al-Ji’ān, *al-Tuhfa*, 38.

753 Muḥammad ibn Uzbek’s mother was the daughter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 7:131. In 879/1475, Timrāz al-Shamsī al-Ashrafī Barsbāy al-‘Azīzī (d. 902/1497), the son of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy’s sister, married al-Manṣūr ‘Uthmān ibn al-Zāhir Jaqmaq’s daughter. See *ibid.*, 3:36–7.

754 Only persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” (*aḥad... awlād al-nās/min... awlād al-nās*) at the beginning of their biographical entry in *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan* are considered (that is, cases in which “*awlād al-nās*” is used as a categorical label). In *Nayl al-Amal* and the *Rawḍ*, al-Malaṭī mentions five obituaries or entries of persons labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*”, all do not appear in the *Majma’*. In *Nayl al-Amal* there is not much information on these persons: 1. ‘Umar ibn Dawlāt Bāy al-Maḥmūdī (d. 881/1477, young man [*shābb*]). See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl*

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Description (Locality)	Military education/ Career	Religious education (<i>nisba</i>)	Property/ <i>Iqtāʾ</i> / Livelihood
2. Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Tagh-rībirdī al-Bash- bughāwī (d. ca. 870) ⁷⁵⁶	<i>aḥad awlād al-nās wal-mu-waqqiʾin... bil-jund al-sultānī</i> (al-Qāhiri)	+ (his father trained him); first wore <i>ziyy al-jund</i> , then wore <i>ziyy al-mu-bāshirīn</i> and became <i>muwaqqiʾi</i> , then wore <i>ziyy al-jund</i> again and <i>nazala fī dīwān al-jund al-sultānī</i> for a <i>jāmakiyya</i> /died on a mission	+ (his father educated him) (ḥanafī)	<i>jāmakiyya</i>

al-Amal, 7:180; and see also Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, 3:125 (*min aʿyān awlād al-nās*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ*, 6:85 (short entry; not mentioned as one of the *awlād al-nās*). Umar ibn Dawlāt Bāy is known to have bought property from *bayt al-māl* in 868/1463. See Amīn, *Fihrist*, 33, 2. ʿAlī ibn Khushkaldī (d. 884/1479–80, b. ca. 800/1397–8). See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:246 (*aḥad aʿyān awlād al-nās min ajnād al-ḥalqa*). 3. Muḥammad ibn Aytamush al-Khidrī al-Qāhiri al-Ḥanafī (d. 865/1461, about 30 years old). See idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 2:127–8 (*aḥad aʿyān awlād al-nās*). Al-Malaṭī mentions that he was *kathīr al-māl* and that he had *tharwa tāʾila*. Muḥammad ibn Aytamush is known to have bought property from *bayt al-māl* in 858/1454. See Amīn, *Fihrist*, 109, 4. Muḥammad ibn Timrāz al-Īnālī (d. after ca. 889/1483, b. after 840/1436–7). See al-Malaṭī, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:226–7 (*min aʿyān awlād al-nās*). Al-Malaṭī mentions his religious and military training and says that he is living in Cairo, and that he has *bi-yadihi min al-rizq fawqa mā yakfīhi*. 5. Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī al-Bashbughāwī al-Qāhiri al-Ḥanafī (d. 874/1470, b. 813/1410–1). See ibid., 4:246–9 (*min nubalāʾ banī jinsihi min awlād al-nās*). Al-Malaṭī mentions his knowledge in *anwāʾ al-furūsiyya* and says that he had *rizq ḥasan kifāya la-hu*. Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī is known to have held an *iqtāʾ* (apparently as a pension). See Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 19; Hamza, “Some Aspects”, 149. Al-Sakhāwī provides an entry for Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī al-Ḥanafī but does not label him as one of the *awlād al-nās*. While al-Sakhāwī mentions his knowledge in *furūsiyya*, he does not mention his sources of livelihood. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ*, 10:305–8.

755 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 595–6.

756 Ibid., 150.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Description (Locality)	Military education/ Career	Religious education (<i>nisba</i>)	Property/ <i>Iqtāʿ</i> / Livelihood
3. Ismāʿīl ibn Lājīn al-Nāṣirī (d. 881, young man [<i>shābb</i>]) ⁷⁵⁷	<i>aḥad awlād al-nās wa-ajṇād al-ḥalqa</i>	+ (<i>furūsiyya</i>); received his father's <i>iqtāʿ</i> —his father was one of the <i>qarāniṣa</i> . He had a brother who did not receive a share (<i>aqṭaʿa mā kāna bi-is-mihi bi-ism waladihi ismāʿīl hādhā dūna akhīhi</i>)/ <i>bahlawān = ṣirāʿ/ dawādār/ ajṇād al-ḥalqa</i>	-	<i>iqtāʿ</i>
4. Aḥmad ibn TBR (d. 889) ⁷⁵⁸	<i>min aʿyān awlād al-nās</i>	- <i>raʿs nawba</i>	-	
5. Ismāʿīl ibn Fāris al-Fayrūzī (d. 891, b. after 840) ⁷⁵⁹	<i>aḥad mashāhīr awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhirī)	+ (<i>funūn al-furūsiyya</i>) his father apparently trained him); <i>tajrīda</i>	+ (apparently his father educated him)	<i>rizqa</i> ⁷⁶⁰
6. Aḥmad ibn Butkhāṣ al-Nāṣirī (d. 891) ⁷⁶¹	<i>aḥad awlād al-nās min ajṇād al-ḥalqa</i> (al-Qāhirī)	+ (<i>furūsiyya</i>); <i>ajṇād al-ḥalqa</i>	-	
7. Aḥmad ibn Burdbak al-Ṭawīl (d. 891, young man [<i>shābb</i>]) ⁷⁶²	<i>aḥad aʿyān al-asyād awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhirī)	+ (his father trained him – <i>anwāʿ al-furūsiyya</i>); several <i>tajrīdas</i> (one time his brother replaced him)—died in a <i>tajrīda</i>	+ (his father educated him)	<i>māl</i>

757 Ibid., 544; and see idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:179 (*aḥad ajṇād al-ḥalqa*).

758 Idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 482.

759 Ibid., 540.

760 The *Tuḥfa* mentions him as holder of *rizqa* with a tax-yield of 2,000 DJ. See MS. Hunt 2, 165v.

761 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 271 (the printed edition has Aḥmad ibn Bunkhāṣ).

762 Ibid., 271–2.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Description (Locality)	Military education/ Career	Religious education (nisba)	Property/ Iqtāʿ/ Livelihood
8. Aḥmad ibn Anaṣ (d. 894, b. ca. 800) ⁷⁶³	<i>aḥad aʿyān awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhirī)	- <i>nazala fī dīwān al-jund al-sultānī</i> /then moved to Manfalūṭ where he became the city's <i>muhtasib</i>	+	
9. Ibrāhīm ibn Tamurbāy al-Tamurbughāwī (d. after ca. 890, b. after 830) ⁷⁶⁴	<i>aḥad aʿyān awlād al-nās wal-muqṭaʿīn min al-asyād</i> (Cairo)	+ (his father apparently trained him); <i>muqṭaʿ</i>	-	<i>muqṭaʿ</i>
10. Ibrāhīm ibn Sūdūn al-Qaṣruwī (d. after ca. 890, b. after 860) ⁷⁶⁵	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa wa-aʿyān awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhirī)	+ <i>ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	-	
11. Aḥmad ibn Arikmās Dawā-dār Yashbak (d. after ca. 890, b. after 820) ⁷⁶⁶	<i>min mashāhīr awlād al-nās</i>	-	+	
12. Aḥmad ibn Iyās al-Kamishbughāwī (d. after ca. 890) ⁷⁶⁷	<i>aḥad al-muqṭaʿīn min awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhirī)	- <i>muqṭaʿ</i>	-	<i>muqṭaʿ</i>

763 Ibid., 258.

764 Ibid., 45.

765 Ibid., 56.

766 Ibid., 248.

767 Ibid., 258.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Description (Locality)	Military education/ Career	Religious education (<i>nisba</i>)	Property/ <i>Iqtā'</i> / Livelihood
13. Ismā'īl ibn Īnāl al-Jakamī (d. after ca. 890, b. 842) ⁷⁶⁸	<i>aḥad a'yān al-asyād awlād al-nās</i>	+ he grew up as an orphan and al-Zāhir Jaqmaq took all his father's grants (<i>ta'alluqāt</i>) because his father rebelled, so he had just enough for his livelihood (<i>kāna 'indahu mā yakfihi li-qūtihi lā zā'id 'anhu</i>). When al-Ashraf Qāytbāy became sultan, he gave him a good <i>iqtā'</i> and a <i>jāmakiyya</i>	-	good <i>iqtā'</i> / <i>jāmakiyya</i>
14. Aḥmad ibn Iyās Min Junayd (d. 908, about 84 years old; or b. after 830)	<i>aḥad a'yān awlād al-nās al-mashāhīr</i> (al-Qāhirī)	- rides horses as if he was amir of ten. ⁷⁶⁹ His son had an <i>iqtā'</i> ⁷⁷⁰	-	his mother left him <i>tharwa/ rizq</i> or <i>rizaql māl jayyid</i> ⁷⁷¹
15. Ibrāhīm ibn Jakam al-Nawrūzī (d. 912) ⁷⁷²	<i>aḥad awlād al-nās wa-ajnad al-ḥalqa al-a'yān</i> (Cairo)	+ <i>ajnad al-ḥalqa</i>	+	his <i>iqtā'</i> was bestowed on him as <i>rizqa</i> in 912 (that is, on the eve of his death) ⁷⁷³
16. Aḥmad ibn Asanbughā al-Ṭayyārī (d. 922, almost 90)	<i>aḥad a'yān awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhirī)	-	-	<i>waqf</i> ⁷⁷⁴

768 Ibid., 544–5.

769 Ibid., 258 (the printed addition has *Ibn Khayr* instead of *Min Junayd*); Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i al-Zuhūr*, 4:47 (*min mashāhīr abnā' al-nās*).

770 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 19.

771 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 258.772 Ibid., 46; Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i al-Zuhūr*, 4:99 (*min a'yān awlād al-nās*).

773 Kumakura, “Patterns of Women’s Landholding”, 18.

774 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 257; Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i al-Zuhūr*, 5:140 (*min a'yān awlād al-nās*). On his *waqf*, see also Amīn, *Fihrist*, 31; and see *ibid.*, 18.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Description (Locality)	Military education/ Career	Religious education (<i>nisba</i>)	Property/ <i>Iqtā'</i> / Livelihood
17. Ibrāhīm ibn Barsbāy al-RQI ⁷⁷⁵	<i>aḥad awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhiri)	+ <i>nazala fī dīwān al-jund al-sultānī</i> in addition to his <i>aqāṭī</i>	+	his father left him and his younger brother <i>tharwa zā'ida</i> and other things
18. Aḥmad ibn Qujqār ⁷⁷⁶	<i>aḥad a'yān awlād al-nās</i> (al-Qāhiri)	-	-	

Appendix B2: *Mamlūks'* descendants in Cairo who were not amirs but are also not labeled as “one of the *awlād al-nās*” in al-Malaṭī's *Majma'*, *Rawḍ*, and *Nayl*⁷⁷⁷

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	<i>Nisba</i>	Property/ <i>Iqtā'</i> / Livelihood	<i>Ḍaw'</i>
1. Aḥmad ibn Rajab ibn Ṭaybughā al-Majdī al-Qāhiri (d. 850, b. 767)	- - -	shāfi'ī (extensive)	<i>iqtā'</i> that provided for him and his children ⁷⁷⁸	+ ⁷⁷⁹ (shāfi'ī) (extensive)

775 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 43 (in the edition, the year of his birth seems to be a corruption. He was probably born after 870/1466).

776 Ibid., 373 (the printed edition has Aḥmad ibn Fujqār).

777 The Appendix includes only *mamlūks'* descendants who have biographical entries or obituaries in the works of al-Malaṭī and were apparently located in Cairo. In most cases, it is explicitly mentioned that they were Cairene; however, in some cases it is only inferred. In very few cases there are no indications of the locality of the *mamlūks'* descendants, so the descendants are considered by default to be Cairene. The Appendix includes only *mamlūks'* descendants who died in 850/1446–7 or later. The appendix does not include minors. It also does not include descendants of sultans (including *asbāt*). It also does not include descendants who are more than three generations remote from their *mamlūk* forefather. See footnote no. 562 above. Under the rubric of “Military education”, a “+” means that there is a mention in the biography of such an education and “- - -” means that there is no mention. However, in cases when there is no mention of military education but there is a mention of military career or activities, no “- - -” appears and only the military activities are mentioned. Under the rubric “*Nisba*” it is mentioned if the biography contains a *nisba* suggesting affiliation to a school of law. Then, in parenthesis, it is mentioned if the biography refers to extensive religious activities (including career in the field of religion), and/or appellations suggesting additional religious activity.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtā'/ Livelihood	Ḍaw'
2. 'Umar ibn Qudayd al-Qalamṭāwī al-Qāhirī (d. 856, b. 785 or 788)	- - -	ḥanafī (extensive)	⁷⁸⁰	+ (ḥanafī) ⁷⁸¹ (extensive)
3. Muḥammad ibn Kuzulbughā al-Jūbānī al-Qāhirī (d. 856, b. ca. 800)	- - -	ḥanafī (extensive)	⁷⁸²	+ (ḥanafī) ⁷⁸³ (extensive)
4. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aqbars al-Qāhirī (d. 862, b. 801)	- - -	shāfi'ī (extensive)	⁷⁸⁴	+ (shāfi'ī) ⁷⁸⁵ (extensive)
5. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Baktamurī al-Qāhirī (d. 878, b. 800 or 797)	- - -	shāfi'ī (extensive)	⁷⁸⁶	+ (shāfi'ī) ⁷⁸⁷ (extensive)
6. Qāsim ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī (d. 879, b. 801 or 802)	- - -	ḥanafī (extensive)	⁷⁸⁸	+ (ḥanafī) ⁷⁸⁹ (extensive)
7. Muḥammad ibn Baktamur al-Qubaybatī (d. 875, b. 788)	- - -	ḥanafī (ṣūfi)	⁷⁹⁰	+ (ḥanafī) (ṣūfi) ⁷⁹¹
8. Aḥmad ibn Īnāl al-Nāshirī (d. 882, b. ca. 813)	- - -	ḥanafī (extensive)	⁷⁹²	+ (ḥanafī) ⁷⁹³ (extensive)

778 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 299–301; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 1:378–9; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:225.

779 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:300–2 (no mention of *iqtā'*).

780 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:368.

781 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:113–4.

782 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:354–5.

783 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 8:294–5.

784 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:31.

785 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 5:292–3.

786 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:81.

787 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 9:173.

788 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:102–3.

789 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 6:184–90.

790 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:432.

791 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:154.

792 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 259.

793 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:247.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtā'/ Livelihood	Ḍaw'
9. Muḥammad ibn Qurqmās al-Aqtamurī al-Qāhirī (d. 882, b. 802)	- - - <i>ziyy abnā' al-jund</i> ⁷⁹⁴	ḥanafī (extensive)	⁷⁹⁵	+ (ḥanafī) ⁷⁹⁶ (extensive)
10. al-Muḥibb Muḥammad ibn Damurdāsh al-Qāhirī (d. 888, b. ca. 836)	- - -	ḥanafī (wā'iz)	⁷⁹⁷	+ (ḥanafī) ⁷⁹⁸ (extensive)
11. Muḥammad ibn Aljaybughā al-Qāhirī (d. 892, b. 813 or 814)	- - -	ḥanafī (extensive)	⁷⁹⁹	+ (ḥanafī) ⁸⁰⁰ (extensive)
12. Khidr ibn Shumāf al-Nawrūzī al-Qāhirī (d. 895, b. 832 or 835)	- - -	ḥanafī	⁸⁰¹	+ (ḥanafī) ⁸⁰² (extensive)
13. Taghrībirdī ibn Abū Bakr ibn Qarābughā al-'Alā'ī (d. 895, b. 825)	- - - <i>ziyy al-jund</i>	ḥanafī (extensive)	<i>rizqa jayyida</i> <i>iqtā'</i> ⁸⁰³	+ (ḥanafī) ⁸⁰⁴ (extensive)
14. Aḥmad ibn Tānī Bak al-Iyāsī al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 900, b. 863)	- - - <i>ziyy al-jund li-kawnih min-hum</i>	ḥanafī/ later shāfi'ī (extensive)	⁸⁰⁵	+ (ḥanafī/ shāfi'ī) ⁸⁰⁶ (extensive)
15. Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn Tamurbāy al-Qāhirī (d. after 900, b. 848)	- - -	ḥanafī	⁸⁰⁷	+ (ḥanafī) ⁸⁰⁸

794 al-Sakhāwī mentions that he wore the garment of the military. Al-Malaṭī does not mention this detail.

795 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:203–4.

796 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 8:292–3.

797 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:356.

798 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:241–2.

799 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:59–60; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, 3:239 (*sa'a min al-ma'isha*).

800 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 7:145–7.

801 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:191–2; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, 3:272 (*min a'yān awlād al-nās/ sa'a min al-ma'isha/ishtighāl bil-'ilm 'alā madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa*).

802 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:178–9.

803 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 730–2.

804 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 3:27. Al-Sakhāwī does not mention his *rizqa* (*iqtā'*) nor *ziyy al-jund*.

805 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 277–8.

806 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:265–6. Al-Sakhāwī mentions in detail his teachers, among them al-Sakhāwī himself, but he mentions that he did not think good things on his level, so he stopped meeting with him.

807 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 238–9; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 1:196.

808 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:210.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtā'/ Livelihood	Ḍaw'
16. Aḥmad ibn Nūkār al-Nāṣirī (d. 901, b. 833)	- - -	- - -	<i>bi-yadihi min al-rizq miqdār ki-fāyatihi</i> ⁸⁰⁹	+ (religion) ⁸¹⁰
17. Yūnus ibn Aṭṭun- bughā al-Salākhūrī (d. 883, b. after 810)	- - -	- - -	⁸¹¹	+ (heard <i>ḥa- dīth</i> from al-Sakhā- wī)
18. Aḥmad ibn Ḥāshūk al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890)	- - -	ḥanafī	⁸¹²	- - -
19. Aḥmad ibn Azda- mur al-Khalīlī al-Qā- hirī (d. 900, b. ca. 800)	- - -	ḥanafī (ṣūfī/ imām)	<i>tharwa</i> /he bought <i>amlāk</i> and <i>rizaq</i> ⁸¹³	- - -
20. Aḥmad ibn Aqbirdī al-Qāhirī (d. 888, b. ca. 828)	+ <i>furūsiyya</i>	ḥanafī	<i>khallafa awlād wa-rizq kifāya la-hum</i> ⁸¹⁴	- - -
21. Aḥmad ibn Ta- murbāy al-Ta- murbughāwī al-Qāhirī (d. 912, b. 824)	+ <i>furūsiyya</i>	ḥanafī	⁸¹⁵	- - -
22. Aḥmad ibn Jānibak al-Ismā'īlī (Kūhayh) al-Qāhirī (d. 927?, b. 857)	+ he was supposed to participate in a military ex- pedition	ḥanafī	<i>tharwa wa-māl kathīr khallafa- hu la-hu wālidu- hu wa-'iddat aqātī wa-lahu jihāt muta'- addida</i> ⁸¹⁶	- - - (just a name) ⁸¹⁷

809 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 462.810 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:240. Al-Sakhāwī mentions religious activity and does not refer to his livelihood.811 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:224.812 Idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 282.

813 Ibid., 247–8.

814 Ibid., 257.

815 Ibid., 276; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 4:105 (*min a'yān awlād al-nās*).816 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 278–9. Ibn Iyās mentions Muḥammad ibn Jānibak Kūhayh who died in 927/1521. He says that he was *min a'yān awlād al-nās*. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, 5:411. It seems that Muḥammad and Aḥmad are the same person.817 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:267 (“Aḥmad ibn Jānibak Kūhayh whose father will be mentioned”).

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtā'/ Livelihood	Ḍaw'
23. Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890, <i>shābb</i> at that time)	<i>amīr ṭabar</i>	ḥanafī	⁸¹⁸	- - -
24. Amīr Ḥājī ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (d. 895, b. 833)	+ <i>nazala fī dīwān al-jund al-sultānī</i> (Barsbāy)	- - -	<i>kathrat al-māl/musta'jarāt/mu'āmalāt</i> ⁸¹⁹	- - -
25. Qāsim ibn Tamurbāy al-Jarkasī al-Qāhirī (d. 870, b. after 810)	+ <i>tanazzala... fī bayt al-sultān min jumlat al-jund/khāṣṣa-kiyya/aḥad al-ḥujjāb</i>	ḥanafī	<i>iqtā' jayyid</i> ⁸²⁰	- - -
26. Ibrāhīm ibn Bahādur al-Jarkasī al-Qāhirī (d. 855)	+ <i>aḥad a'yān al-khāṣṣakiyya</i> (Jaqmaq)	- - -	<i>iqtā' jayyid</i> ⁸²¹	- - -
27. Aḥmad ibn Jānibak (d. 885)	+ <i>khāṣṣakī</i> (from the days of Jaqmaq until his death)/ <i>aḥad al-dawādāriyya</i> /several times commander (<i>bāshā 'alā al-jund</i>)	- - -	⁸²²	- - -
28. Muḥammad ibn Īnāl al-Karakī (d. 893, b. 830)	<i>khāṣṣakī/zar-adkāsh</i>	- - -		- - - ⁸²³

818 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 304. While al-Malaṭī does not mention *iqtā'*, Aḥmad ibn Sūdūn is apparently mentioned in the *Tuḥfa* as Aḥmad Amīr Ṭabar and he is allocated a land with a tax-yield of 800 DJ, which fits a simple soldier. See MS. Hunt 2, 8v; Halm, *Ägypten*, 1:334.

819 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 596.

820 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:247; idem *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:170–1.

821 Idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 44.

822 Ibid., 279–80; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:278.

823 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:113.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtāʿ/ Livelihood	Ḍawʿ
29. Aḥmad ibn Jānibak al-Ashrafi al-Qāhiri	+ his father initiated him into <i>furūsiyya/aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i> / <i>khāṣṣakiyya</i> / died in a military expedition	ḥanafī	⁸²⁴	- - -
30. Aḥmad ibn Shāhīn al-Bahlawān al-Qāhiri (d. 888, b. 828)	+ <i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i> / <i>iqtāʿ jayyid wa-jāmakiyya bi-bayt al-sultān</i>	ḥanafī	<i>iqtāʿ jayyid/ jāmakiyya</i> ⁸²⁵	- - -
31. Aḥmad ibn Mu-bārak Shāh al-Qāhiri (d. 889, b. 839)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	ḥanafī (extensive?)	after his father's death, he received his <i>jāmakiyya</i> and <i>iqtāʿ</i> together with his brother ⁸²⁶	- - -
32. Yūsuf ibn Qijmās al-Bajāsi (d. 885, b. 838)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - - ⁸²⁷		- - -
33. Aḥmad ibn Qar-ābughā al-Ṭāzi (d. 886)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	⁸²⁸	- - -
34. ʿAlī ibn Bahādūr al-Yashbakī (d. 888, b. 811)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	⁸²⁹	- - -
35. Yaḥyā ibn Shādbak (d. 889, b. after 810)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	⁸³⁰	- - -

824 Idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 280.825 Ibid., 304; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:360.826 Idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 375–7.827 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:253.828 Idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 374.829 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:358.830 Ibid., 7:370–1; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 3:206.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtā'/ Livelihood	Ḍaw'
36. Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Sayfī Dawlāt Bāy (d. 889, about 50 years old)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	inherited from his father a lot of money (<i>tharwa tā'ila</i>), property (<i>amlāk</i>), and real estate (<i>'amā'ir</i>), but wasted it all ⁸³¹	
37. Muḥammad ibn Timrāz al-Baktamurī (d. 891)	+ <i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa/bahlawān</i>	- - -	⁸³²	- - -
38. Aḥmad ibn Ku-zulbughā al-Bahlawān al-Qāhirī (d. 891, b. after 850)	+ <i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa al-muq-ṭa'in/tabardār</i> / died in battle	- - - ⁸³³	apparently received his father's <i>iqtā'</i> together with his two brothers. After one brother had died, he received his share	- - -
39. Aḥmad ibn Jānibak al-Sayfī Taghrī Birmish (d. 891, <i>shābb</i>)	<i>ḥalqa</i>	- - -	<i>iqtā'</i> ⁸³⁴	- - -
40. Yūnus ibn Muḥammad ibn Aqbughā al-Dawādār (d. 893, b. 832)	<i>min ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	⁸³⁵	- - -
41. Muḥammad ibn Muqbīl al-Ḥasanī (d. 893)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	⁸³⁶	- - -

831 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 372.

832 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:40.

833 Idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 374.

834 Ibid., 280.

835 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 8:120.

836 Ibid., 8:127.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtāʾ/ Livelihood	Ḍawʿ
42. Aḥmad ibn Sūnbughā al-Yūnusī al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	inherited a lot of money (<i>māl ṭāʾil</i>) from his father and wasted it, among other things in a sugar cane press business (<i>dawlaba maʿāṣir al-qasab</i>) ⁸³⁷	- - -
43. Aḥmad ibn Jānibak al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890, b. 829)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	ḥanafī (extensive)	<i>iqtāʾ yakfihi/jāmakiyya</i> ⁸³⁸	- - -
44. Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aynbak al-Māridānī al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890, <i>shābb</i> at that time)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	ḥanafī	⁸³⁹	- - -
45. Ibrāhīm ibn Sūdūn al-Ḥanafī (d. after ca. 890, more than 60 at that time)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	- - -	⁸⁴⁰	- - -
46. Ibrāhīm ibn Qānibāy al-Yūsufī al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890, b. after 850)	<i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i>	ḥanafī	⁸⁴¹	- - -
47. Ibrāhīm ibn Jūmāt ibn Taghrībirdī al-Ashrafī al-Qāhirī (d. after 900, b. 841)	+ <i>aḥad ajnād al-ḥalqa</i> <i>/furūsiyya</i>	ḥanafī	<i>rizq kifāya</i> ⁸⁴²	- - -
48. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Turuntāy al-Manklī al-Khiṭāʾī al-Qāhirī (d. 869)	+ <i>mihmandār</i>	- - -	<i>tharwa zāhira</i> ⁸⁴³	- - -

⁸³⁷ Idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*, 306.⁸³⁸ Ibid., 243–4.⁸³⁹ Ibid., 367–8.⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 55–6.⁸⁴¹ Ibid., 100.⁸⁴² Ibid., 47.⁸⁴³ Ibid., 419; idem, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, 3:65; idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:216.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/Iqtā'/ Livelihood	Ḍaw'
49. Ibrāhīm ibn Jar-bāsh al-Ibrāhīmī al-Qāhirī	+ <i>wālī shurṭat Miṣr/furūsiyya</i>	- - -	⁸⁴⁴	- - -
50. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Qāhirī (d. 898, b. 828)	- - -	- - -	<i>iqtā' jayyid/amlāk</i> ⁸⁴⁵	- - -
51. Aḥmad ibn Arik-mās al-Rajbī al-Qāhirī (d. after 890, b. after 830)	- - -	- - -	<i>jāmakiyya/iqtā' jayyid</i> ⁸⁴⁶	- - -
52. Aḥmad ibn Arik-mās al-Mu'ayyadī al-Qāhirī (d. 905)	+	- - -	<i>jāmakiyya</i> (taken by Qāyt-bāy) ⁸⁴⁷	- - -
53. Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazdād al-Aytamushī al-Qāhirī (d. after ca. 890, b. before 850)	+ <i>bahlawān = fann al-ṣirā'</i>	- - -	inherited from his grandfather (via his father) a lot of money and property (<i>amlāk</i>). ⁸⁴⁸ He and his brother had <i>rizq fawqa kifāyatihimā</i>	- - -
54. Aḥmad ibn Qūzī? (d. 854, b. 796)	- - -	- - -	⁸⁴⁹	- - -
55. Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-'Alā'ī (d. 881, <i>shābb</i>)	- - -	- - - (historian)	⁸⁵⁰	- - -
56. Aḥmad ibn Bakta-mur al-'Alamī (d. 888, <i>shābb</i>)	- - -	- - -	⁸⁵¹	- - -

844 Idem, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 46.

845 Ibid., 436–7.

846 Ibid., 246.

847 Ibid., 245–6.

848 Ibid., 319.

849 Ibid., 373.

850 Idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 7:180; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:125 (*min a'yān awlād al-nās*).

851 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 275.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Military education/ Military career	Nisba	Property/ <i>Iqtāʾ</i> / Livelihood	<i>Ḍawʿ</i>
57. Ibrāhīm ibn Burd-bak al-Muḥammadi (d. after ca. 890, almost 30 at that time)	- - -	- - -	⁸⁵²	- - -

Appendix C: Age of *mamlūks* at amirate in Cairo from the beginning of the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq until the end of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's reign (784–824/1382–1421)⁸⁵³

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
1. Sūdūn al-Ṭuruntāʾī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 794, less than 40)	Barqūq	Barqūq (became amir of ten in 788)	30~ ⁸⁵⁴
2. Timrāz al-Nāṣirī (d. 814, about 60) ⁸⁵⁵	Barqūq (780–784)	Barqūq (he possibly became a <i>wālī</i> in 791; he became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 795) ⁸⁵⁶	40~
3. Arghūn Shāh al-Baydamurī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 802, more than 30)	Barqūq	Barqūq (in 791 he became amir of ten)	twenties ⁸⁵⁷
4. Julbān al-Kamishbughāwī al-Ẓāhirī [Qarāsuqul] (d. 802, more than 30) ⁸⁵⁸	Barqūq	Barqūq (it seems that he was a <i>khāṣṣakī</i> until he became amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 791) ⁸⁵⁹	twenties
5. Tanam al-Ḥasanī (d. 802, almost 50)	Barqūq	Barqūq (791–2)	40~ ⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵² Ibid., 42–3.

⁸⁵³ The Appendix includes only *mamlūks* whose age at amirate in Cairo could be estimated, at least roughly. It does not include *mamlūks* labeled as *shābb*. See footnote no. 304 above.

⁸⁵⁴ See footnote no. 194 above.

⁸⁵⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:201.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:143–4; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:233, 358.

⁸⁵⁷ See no. 3 in Table C above.

⁸⁵⁸ al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām*, 1:349; idem, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:77; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:65.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 11:273; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:200; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh*, 4:124. He is not mentioned in the sources before 791/1389.

⁸⁶⁰ See no. 1 in Table C above.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
6. Taghrībirdī Min ⁸⁶¹ Bashbughā (d. 815, ca. 784 was young [<i>ṣaghīr</i>])	Barqūq (782)	Barqūq (792)	20–25~ ⁸⁶²
7. Aqbughā al-Ṭūlūnī/al-Ṭūlūtāmūrī (d. 802, almost 40) ⁸⁶³	Barqūq	Barqūq (792–796) ⁸⁶⁴	almost 30; or 30~
8. Arghūn Shāh al-Ibrāhīmī al-Zāhirī (d. 801, a little more than 20) ⁸⁶⁵	Barqūq	Barqūq (he was perhaps amir in Cairo in 793, in which he became amir in Damascus) ⁸⁶⁶	15~
9. Qalamṭāy al-ʿUthmānī (d. 800, 30 or a bit more)	Barqūq	Barqūq (793)	23–25~ ⁸⁶⁷
10. Fāris al-Quṭluqujāwī (d. 802, almost 40) ⁸⁶⁸	Barqūq	Barqūq (Barqūq made him amir and then <i>ṭablkhāna</i> in 794 at the latest) ⁸⁶⁹	30~ or less
11. al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (d. 824, b. ca. 770)	Barqūq (782)	Barqūq (became amir of ten in 794)	25~ ⁸⁷⁰
12. Yalbughā al-Sālimī (d. 811, more than 30) ⁸⁷¹	Barqūq	Barqūq (became amir in 800) ⁸⁷²	twenties

861 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:34 (Taghrībirdī was bought in the beginning of al-Zāhir Barqūq's reign, i.e., ca. 784/1382); al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, 1:491 (he was bought young [*ṣaghīr*], i.e., less than 15 years old).

862 See no. 6 in Table C above.

863 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 2:318; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:65.

864 He was a favored *mamlūk* (*khaṣīṣ*) who was promoted to amirate during the days of his master. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:482. He is first mentioned in 792/1390 upon Barqūq's return to power, probably when promoted to amirate. He is first mentioned explicitly as amir in 796/1394. See idem, *al-Nujūm*, 11:377–8; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:384. He was probably one of the favored *mamlūks* of Barqūq promoted after his return to power in 792/1390.

865 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 4:37; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 68.

866 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 4:36; 1:372; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:24; idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:323.

867 See at footnotes nos. 239–41 above.

868 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 8:373; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 6:164; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:64.

869 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ*, 6:164; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 4:131.

870 See no. 5 in Table C above.

871 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:177.

872 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 2:387; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:890; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:174–5.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
13. Baykhuja al-Zāhirī [Ṭay-fūr] (d. 802, more than 30) ⁸⁷³	Barqūq	Barqūq (was <i>amīr ākhūr thānī</i> in 800) ⁸⁷⁴	roughly 30 or less
14. Shāhīn Min Islām al-Zāhirī (d. 817, 40–50) ⁸⁷⁵	Barqūq	Barqūq (became amir of ten in 801) ⁸⁷⁶	roughly 30~
15. Bashbāy Min Bākī ⁸⁷⁷ al-Zāhirī (d. 811, 40–50)	Barqūq	Barqūq (became amir of ten in 801) ⁸⁷⁸	30–40~
16. Manklibughā Qarājā al-Zāhirī (d. 801, more than 30)	Barqūq	Barqūq (the year is not known)	thirties or less ⁸⁷⁹
*****	*****	*****	*****
17. Kuzul al-‘Ajamī al-Zāhirī (d. 849 or 845, more than 80) ⁸⁸⁰	Barqūq	Barqūq or Faraj (became amir of ten in 801) ⁸⁸¹	roughly 40
18. Kamishbughā al-Jamālī al-Zāhirī (d. 831, about 80 or more) ⁸⁸²	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir of ten in 801) ⁸⁸³	50~
19. Jānam Min Ḥasan Shāh al-Zāhirī (d. 814, before middle age [i. e., less than 40]) ⁸⁸⁴	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir during the days of Faraj, ⁸⁸⁵ possibly in 805. ⁸⁸⁶ First mentioned explicitly as amir in 806) ⁸⁸⁷	30~ or less

873 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 7:41; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 4:14.874 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 7:40; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:72; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:122; 1:650.875 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:210 (*awā’il al-kuhūliyya*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 3:293 (*awā’il al-kuhūla*).876 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:208–9; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:97.877 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 3:366 (*awā’il al-kuhūla*).878 Ibid., 3:366; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:97.

879 See no. 2 in Table C above.

880 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 6:228; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:130.881 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:130; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:177.882 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 4:231 (more than 80 years old); Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 3:412 (more than 80 years old); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 6:230 (more than 80 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:146 (*‘ashr al-thamānīn* approximately).883 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:146; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 12:177.884 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:217 (*qabla al-kuhūla/shābb*)—apparently, he was in his thirties or at most 40 years old.

885 Ibid., 4:216.

886 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh*, 4:314.887 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:303.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
20. Jarbāsh al-Karīmī al-Zāhirī (d. 861, b. ca. 770, more than 90) ⁸⁸⁸	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir of ten during the days of Faraj, no later than 803) ⁸⁸⁹	30–35~
21. Qānibāy al-Muḥammadī al-Zāhirī [al-Ṣaghīr] (d. 818, less than 40) ⁸⁹⁰	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir during the days of Faraj. First mentioned as amir in 807) ⁸⁹¹	less than 30
22. Jārquṭlū al-Zāhirī (d. 837, sixties or 70) ⁸⁹²	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir of ten during the days of Faraj. ⁸⁹³ First mentioned as amir in 808) ⁸⁹⁴	roughly 30–40~
23. Kamishbughā al-Fīsī al-Zāhirī (d. 833, almost 60) ⁸⁹⁵	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir during the days of Faraj. First mentioned as amir [<i>muqaddam alf</i>] in 810) ⁸⁹⁶	25–35~
24. Īnāl al-Shashmānī al-Nā-ṣirī (d. 851, fifties or 60) ⁸⁹⁷	Faraj	Faraj (became amir of ten during the reign of Faraj; Shaykh imprisoned him) ⁸⁹⁸	roughly twenties

888 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:257 (he was bought by Barqūq during his first reign and finished his training ca. 791/1389, so Ibn Taghribirdī estimates that he was born ca. 770/1368–9); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:11 (al-Malaṭī thinks that he was more than 90 years old).

889 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:66; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:100; and see ibid, 2:187.

890 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:135–6.

891 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 9:14–5; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrikh*, 4:403. He was one of the favored *mamlūks* of Barqūq (*khawāṣṣ*). See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:135–6; idem, *al-Manhal*, 9:14–5.

892 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:188 (*ʿashr al-sabʿīn*); idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:215 (*min abnāʾ al-sabʿīn*).

893 Idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:188; idem, *al-Manhal*, 4:212.

894 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:129.

895 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:147 (*ʿashr al-sittīn takhmīnan*); idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:159 (almost 60 years old); however, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 3:448 (almost 80 years old—seems to be a mistake); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 6:231 (almost 80 years old—quoting Ibn Ḥajar).

896 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:147; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 6:231; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 13:68.

897 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:522 (*ʿashr al-sittīn*).

898 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʾ al-Mufannan*, 624; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:207–8; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:522.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
25. Aqbughā Min Māmish al-Nāṣirī (d. 843, about 60) ⁸⁹⁹	Faraj	Faraj ⁹⁰⁰ (became amir towards the end of Faraj’s reign ; Shaykh took his amirate)	roughly 30~
26. Alṭunbughā al-Sharīfī al-Nāṣirī ⁹⁰¹ (d. 840+, fifties or about 60)	Faraj	Faraj (became amir towards the end of Faraj’s reign ; Shaykh imprisoned him) ⁹⁰²	roughly 30~
27. Asandamur al-Nūrī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 848, about 70) ⁹⁰³	Barqūq	Faraj (towards the end of Faraj’s reign [<i>ākhir al-dawla al-Nā-ṣiriyya Faraj</i>], he became amir of ten) ⁹⁰⁴	roughly 30–40~
28. Baybughā al-Muẓaffarī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 833, about 60)	Barqūq	Faraj (became amir during the days of Faraj. In 814 at the latest he was already <i>muqaddam alf</i>) ⁹⁰⁵	roughly 30–40~
29. Ḥaṭaṭ al-Baklamishī (d. 841, about 70) ⁹⁰⁶	Baklamish al-‘Alā’ī	Faraj (Faraj eventually made him amir of ten. ⁹⁰⁷ He is first mentioned as amir of ten [and mentioned at all] only in 815, towards the end of Faraj’s reign) ⁹⁰⁸	roughly 40–45
*****	*****	*****	*****
30. al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar (d. 824, about 50)	Barqūq	Shaykh/al-Musta‘īn (became amir of ten in 815)	40~ ⁹⁰⁹
31. al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841, more than 60 or almost 70)	Barqūq	Shaykh/al-Musta‘īn (became amir of ten in 815)	40~ ⁹¹⁰

899 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:475.900 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 2:487.901 Ibid., 3:84 (*‘ashr al-sittīn takhmīnan*).

902 Ibid., 3:83.

903 Ibid., 2:449 (*fī ḥudūd al-sab‘īn*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 2:312.904 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:447.

905 Ibid., 3:492 (about 60 years old), 490.

906 Ibid., 5:176 (*fī ḥudūd al-sab‘īn*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 3:161.907 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 5:176; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 3:161.908 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 13:203.

909 See no. 8 in Table C above.

910 See no. 9 in Table C above.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
32. al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (d. 857, about 80 or more)	Barqūq	Shaykh (became amir of ten ca. 815)	40~ ⁹¹¹
33. Ṭarabāy al-Zāhirī (d. 838, more than 60) ⁹¹²	Barqūq	Shaykh (he apparently became amir in 815) ⁹¹³	40~
34. Azdamur Min ‘Alī Jān al-Zāhirī (d. 831, more than 50) ⁹¹⁴	Barqūq	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir, possibly upon his ascendance to the throne in 815. First mentioned as amir [<i>ṭablkhāna</i>] in 819) ⁹¹⁵	40~
35. Julbān al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 859, about 80 or more) ⁹¹⁶	Tanibak al-Zāhirī	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir of ten; apparently ca. 816) ⁹¹⁷	40~
36. Yashbak al-Jakamī (d. 833, forties) ⁹¹⁸	Jakam Min ‘Awḍ (d. 809)	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir, no later than 818) ⁹¹⁹	roughly 30–35~
37. Īnāl al-Jakamī (d. 842, about 50) ⁹²⁰	Jakam Min ‘Awḍ	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir of ten ca. 818) ⁹²¹	25~

911 See no. 10 in Table C above.

912 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:378; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 4:7.

913 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:373–4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 4:7; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:4, 22. In 804/1402, he was still not amir. See al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:140. He is not mentioned in the sources between 804/1402 and the reign of Shaykh.

914 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:150.

915 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 2:275; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 2:371; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:352.

916 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:432–3 (more than 80 years old); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 3:78 (about 80 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, 2:550 (*naḥwa thamānīn sana takh-mīnan*); al-Biqā‘ī, *Ta‘rīkh al-Biqā‘ī*, 2:81 (about 90); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ilām al-Warā‘*, 74 (almost 80).

917 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, 2:550–1 (when he died, he was amir already for about 43 years); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 3:78; Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘ī al-Zuhūr*, 2:22 (he is mentioned as amir already in 818/1415).

918 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:136 (*awā‘il al-kuhūliyya*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 10:276 (*awā‘il al-kuhūla*). Because he was manumitted by Jakam Min ‘Awḍ, it is reasonable to assume that he was at least 20 years old in 809/1407, so it is very likely that he was at least in his mid-forties and probably in his late forties.

919 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 12:135; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:39.

920 Idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:470.

921 Idem, *al-Manhal*, 3:197. Īnāl al-Jakamī supported al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh during a rebellion in 818/1415, so afterwards Shaykh gave him the rank of amir of ten.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
38. Jānibak al-Nāṣirī [al-Thawr] (d. 841, more than 50) ⁹²²	Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 817)	Shaykh (a while after his master's death [<i>ba'da mudda</i>] in 817 he became amir of ten and <i>ra's nawbat</i> <i>sidi</i> Ibrāhīm, the son of Shaykh who died in 823, so it seems that he became amir ca. 820) ⁹²³	30–40~
39. Īnāl al-Nawrūzī (d. 829, more than 30) ⁹²⁴	Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir in Syria until he became in 826 <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Egypt) ⁹²⁵	30~
40. Alṭunbughā al-Marqabī al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 844, in his sixties or 70) ⁹²⁶	Shaykh (when still amir)	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir in Syria upon his ascendance to the throne in 815 . In 820 he was made <i>muqaddam alf</i> in Cairo) ⁹²⁷	40~
41. Baktamur al-Sa'dī (d. 831, about 50) ⁹²⁸	Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb (d. 808)	Shaykh? (became amir only after his master's death and known to have served Shaykh. First mentioned as amir in 820) ⁹²⁹	40~
42. Aqbughā al-Timrāzī (d. 843, more than 60 or 70) ⁹³⁰	Timrāz al-Nāṣirī	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir of ten and later amir <i>ṭablkhāna</i> . ⁹³¹ First mentioned as amir [<i>ṭablkhāna?</i>] in 820) ⁹³²	40~

922 Ibid., 4:232.

923 Ibid., 4:230.

924 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:729.925 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:200–1.926 Ibid., 3:80 (*ashr al-sab'in takhmīnan*).927 Ibid., 3:78–9; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, 585.928 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 320 (more than 40 years old or something like that); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:148 (about 50 years old); idem, *al-Manhal*, 3:409 (more than 50 years old approximately).929 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:408; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:395.930 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 2:317 (more than 60 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:479 (more than 60 years old); idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:475 (about 70 years old approximately).931 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:476; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:476.932 Idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:45.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
43. Arghūn Shāh al-Nawrūzī (d. 840, more than 60) ⁹³³	Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (d. 817)	Shaykh? (became <i>wazīr</i> in Cairo in 820; his first amirate in Cairo as <i>wazīr</i> was during the reign of Shaykh) ⁹³⁴	more than 40~
44. Qānibāy al-Ḥamzāwī (d. 862, about 80)	Sūdūn al-Ḥamzāwī	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir. He is not mentioned as amir [or at all] until 824) ⁹³⁵	roughly 40~
45. Aytamush al-Khiḍrī al-Zāhirī (d. 846, almost 70)	Barqūq	Shaykh (815–824)	roughly 40 ⁹³⁶
46. Taghrī Birdī Mīn Qaṣrūh al-Muʾayyadī (d. 828 or 830, more than 30) ⁹³⁷	Shaykh	Shaykh (Shaykh made him a <i>khāṣṣakī</i> and later amir of ten. ⁹³⁸ He is first mentioned as amir in 824, so he was probably promoted to the amirate towards the end of Shaykh's rule) ⁹³⁹	roughly 30~
47. Sūdūn al-Sūdūnī al-Zāhirī (d. 854, about 80 or more) ⁹⁴⁰	Barqūq	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir) ⁹⁴¹	40–50~
48. Aqbirdī al-Qajmāsī (d. 841, seventies or 80)	Qajmās al-Zāhirī (d. 792)	Shaykh (became amir of ten towards the end of Shaykh's rule) ⁹⁴²	50–60~
49. Qujḡār al-Baktamurī (d. 831, in his sixties) ⁹⁴³	Baktamur Jilliḡ	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir of ten) ⁹⁴⁴	roughly fifties

933 Ibid., 15:207 (more than 60 years old approximately).

934 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 2:386; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 3:333; 4:422; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:324–5.

935 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 16:201 (almost 80 years old); al-Biqāʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Biqāʿī*, 3:24 (*ʿashr al-thamānīn*); al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, 6:53 (80 years old or more); and see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:18–19.

936 See no. 12 in Table C above.

937 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 4:45.

938 Ibid., 4:43; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:126.

939 Idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:172.

940 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:279 (about 80); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:179 (about 80); idem, *al-Nujūm*, 15:551 (*ʿashr al-tisʿīn*).

941 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 6:178; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 3:279.

942 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:488–9 (*ʿashr al-thamānīn*); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 2:315 (*ʿashr al-thamānīn*).

943 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 6:211 (*ʿashr al-sabʿīn*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:34 (*ʿashr al-sabʿīn taqrībān*).

944 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:34.

(Continued)

Name (year of death, age)	Master	Sultan who promoted (year of promotion)	Age at amirate
50. Qaṣrūh Min Timrāz al-Zāhirī (d. 839, almost 80) ⁹⁴⁵	Barqūq	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir of ten) ⁹⁴⁶	55–65~
51. Asanbāy al-Zāhirī (d. 852, more than 80 or 90) ⁹⁴⁷	Barqūq (782) ⁹⁴⁸	Shaykh (Shaykh made him amir of ten) ⁹⁴⁹	50–60~

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945 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ilām al-Warā*, 69–70.
946 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 6:222; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 9:69.
947 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma’ al-Mufannan*, 554 (more than 80 or 90 years old); idem, *Nayl al-Amal*, 5:249 (more than 80 or 90 years old); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 2:311 (about 90 years old); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:434 (about 90 years old); idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, 1:188 (*‘ashr al-tis’in takhmīnan*).
948 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:433.
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