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Domestic Slavery in Syria and Egypt, 1200–1500

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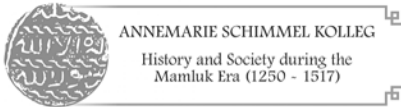
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listening certificates which attest to the presence of domestic slaves at reading circles in thirteenth-
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Acknowledgements

Introduction

This study investigates domestic slavery in Syrian and Egyptian society from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century. It focuses on the agency of slaves in the context of master-slave relationships within households and in wider society. It argues that the ability of slaves to shape the world around them was underpinned by a constant process of negotiation within the master-slave relationship and that intermediaries such as the court system channelled the agency of slaves. The principal sources for this study are purchase contracts, listening certificates, marriage contracts, and estate inventories in combination with scribal, market inspection, and slave purchase manuals as well as chronicles.

The present inquiry seeks to contribute to the discussion of slave agency. It analyses the relationship of masters and slaves within the social framework of the household and explores acts of resistance and cooperation. The documentary and literary sources presented in this study underline the relational nature of slave agency. They illustrate that the capacity of slaves to shape their world was tied closely to their ability to shape the bond between them and their master. This unequal bond of mutual dependency was the basis of their interaction with wider society and could be transformed into a patron-client bond by the act of manumission. The owner-slave and patron-client relationship was subject to constant negotiation between the two parties. These acts of negotiation were manifestations of the agency of the slave and could range from active cooperation to legal challenge and flight. They took place in the context of the patriarchal household, which fostered vertical ties of loyalty and facilitated the formation of kinship-like ties among its members. The agency of slaves was both weakened and strengthened by the intervention of the court system into the master-slave relationship. The legal system perpetuated slavery, but it also granted a measure of agency to slaves which allowed them to act independently and against the interests of their owners in specific situations. This study will show that slaves in this historic situation were not powerless objects but possessed a measure of agency which was evident in their capacity to negotiate the relationship with their master.

The introductory section will set out the historiographical and interpretive framework of this argument, its methodology, and the structure of the subsequent chapters. This includes a discussion of the semantics of slavery, households and master-slave relations within them, the concept of interagency, shifting patterns of slavery, and the methodological challenges which arise from a fragmented source-base. Debates surrounding these concepts will be introduced with a focus on scholars who work on the topic of slavery and wider cultural and social issues in the eastern Mediterranean.

A Contribution to the Study of Slavery

Slavery in the context of Islamic civilization and in the eastern Mediterranean remains an understudied subject. Slavery studies have traditionally focused on Atlantic slavery and to a lesser extent on ancient Roman and Greek slavery, and key concepts such as Moses Finley's 'slave society' and Orlando Patterson's 'social death' as well as the discussion around slave 'agency' have developed in this context.[1] The study of slavery in the medieval Islamicate and Mediterranean world has been following the general trend in slavery studies by adapting such concepts to its unique historical setting, with mixed success. The prevalent approach has been to conceptualize slavery as a cultural and social rather than as an economic phenomenon and most studies include at least a token critique of Patterson's model as well as a short discussion of slave agency. The field faces two major problems. Firstly, many of these theoretical approaches are unsuited to the 'open' integrative variant of slavery prevalent in the eastern Mediterranean and require adaptation to serve as analytical tools.

The present study contributes to this effort by applying a relatively recent offshoot of agency theory – 'interagency' or relational agency – to this historical setting for the first time.[2] This approach has the benefit of addressing the second major problem which faces the field. The study of Atlantic slavery is based on a wealth of documentary sources, from commercial charters to slave diaries, few of which remain extant from the medieval Islamicate world. This scarcity creates methodological problems, since the analytical concepts which were developed in

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1 See Moses Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass ; London: Harvard University Press, 1982); Walter Johnson, 'On Agency', *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–24.

2 Juliane Schiel, Isabelle Schürch, and Aline Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden: Trialog Über Den Nutzen Aktueller Agency-Debatten Für Die Sozialgeschichte', *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch Für Wirtschafts- Und Sozialgeschichte. Annuaire Suisse d'histoire Économique et Sociale*, no. 32 (2017): 17–48.

the Atlantic context often require either a large data sample or sources written from the perspective of slaves. The interagency-approach, however, facilitates the use of notarial documents, legal sources, and other genres as evidence of the master-slave relationship. This alleviates the impact of the lack of ego-documents written by slaves.

The second contribution of this study to the field is the exploitation of two source corpora which have not previously been employed in the study of slavery. Firstly, it collates and analyses the personal data of hundreds of slaves and former slaves found in listening certificates from Damascus and other Syrian cities. This provides a demographic impression of the slave population, its origin, patterns of ownership, and master-slave relations which has so far been missing from a field which used to be based to an undue extent on literary and legal sources, though recent studies have placed a greater emphasis on the documentary evidence.[3] Secondly, it analyses two dozen estate inventories of freed slaves from the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem, which record master-slave relationships past the point of manumission and allow for an in-depth study of the material and social position of freed slaves towards the end of their lives. This study combines these new sources with previously published sources to advance the study of domestic slavery in the context of the eastern Mediterranean and of slave agency in particular.

The Semantics of Slavery

Slaves in Mamluk society filled a variety of roles at all levels of society across a spectrum of labour, gender, honour, and agency.[4] The element which connected these individuals was not a shared social experience, but the legal status of being owned by another person. The definition of slave status along legal lines has the advantage of being inclusive and opening the way for a differentiated analysis of the included groups according to social and cultural criteria. As Ehud Toledano wrote, there was no *difference in kind* between the slaves who filled different

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3 Craig Allen Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves and the Global Reach of Slavery in Medieval Egypt, 969–1250 CE' (Emory University, 2014); Hannah Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants in the Black Sea Slave Trade, 1260–1500' (Columbia University, 2014); Nur Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572' (University of Cambridge, 2012).

4 A concise characterization of Mamluk domestic slavery can be found in Jonathan Berkey, 'Culture and Society during the Late Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1, Islamic Egypt, 641–1517*, ed. M. W. Daly and Carl F. Petry (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 390.

functions in society, but a *difference of degree.*[5] This difference of degree was closely tied to a spectrum of agency, since the function of a slave in the context of the master-slave relationship determined the extent to which a slave was able to shape the world around them.

Nur Sobers-Khan has argued that in the pre-modern world, no one was free in the modern and absolute sense of the word.[6] Both free and enslaved persons were subject to a range of social, religious, and legal restrictions which limited their agency as historical actors in so far as they could not freely choose their religion, profession, spouse, and identity. The legal status of slave modified these restrictions by interposing the owner between the slave and wider society. The owner was the primary mediator of the slave's social and legal relations with third parties. The slave thus interacted with and shaped the world around them through their relationship with their owner. Once they were manumitted by their owner, slaves shifted from the status of slave to the status of client. Manumission lessened the legal obligations of a slave towards their owner, but it often increased their social obligations by acting as a conduit of integration into the owner's household and into wider society. For the purposes of this study, it is useful to note that manumission increased the legal and social agency of slaves in relation to their owner.

The social and legal diversity of slavery is reflected in the terminology employed by legal and documentary sources. The default legal term for a slave was ʿabd (female: jāriyya), but slaves were often identified by their role and function in the household and in society. Terms such as mukātab (contractual slave), mustawlada (child-bearing concubine), umm walad (slave mother), mudabbar (promised future manumission), and maʾdhūn (authorised to conduct business), expressed the functions which owners assigned to their slaves and conferred limited legal rights. Nur Sobers-Khan has argued that the description of the physical appearance of slaves was an act of subjugation and reinforced their servile position.[7] These legal designations likewise reinforced the subordinate position of the slave relative to their owner by defining their function and their identity, though it also conferred upon them a measure of legal agency. While most notarial documents followed the above terminology closely, listening certificates list slaves as the 'boy' or 'girl' (fatā / fatāh fulān) of their owner. This may reflect popular usage and corresponds to Shaun Marmon's observation that slave

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5 Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 21.
6 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 278, 324.
7 Ibid., 326.

owners were encouraged to address their slaves using such euphemistic terms.[8] These infantilising terms indicate the familial nature of the master-slave bond which replaced the native bonds of kinship of the deracinated slave.

A Household-Centric Approach

Slaves lived and worked in the context of the patriarchal household. These households reproduced internally what Winslow Clifford identifies on the sociopolitical level as 'the downward flow of patronage and the upward flow of loyalty'.[9] As households were the building blocks of society and the competition among them constituted the political arena, individuals were the building blocks of the household and the constant negotiation of the unequal relationships among them constituted the arena in which the agency of slaves was manifest. Building on the work of Jane Hathaway, Jo Van Steenbergen defines the Mamluk household as consisting of a patron and 'his harem, his domestic servants, and especially, the core clients that were linked to him by different bonds of kinship – from his offspring to his own mamluks'.[10] The focus of this study lies on the domestic servants who made up the majority of the slave population, though the sources allow additional and useful insights into relations of concubinage and post-manumission patronage. While Clifford, Hathaway, and Van Steenbergen study competition between elite military households, Michael Chamberlain's study of Damascene social history focuses on the competition between the households of the civilian elite of the city, which he defines as encompassing a wide range of households distinguished by scholarly learning and a specific 'social trajectory' of competition for religious patronage.[11]

It is necessary to adapt the household model in two ways if it is to be employed as an interpretive framework for the study of domestic slavery. Firstly, Van Steenbergen's definition must be widened to accommodate smaller households which did not encompass a harem and a network of manumitted mamluk clients.

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8 Shaun Elizabeth Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun Elizabeth Marmon (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1999), 2.

9 Winslow Williams Clifford, *State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt: 648–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Mamluk Studies 2 (Göttingen: Bonn: V&R unipress; Bonn University Press, 2013), 47.

10 Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict, and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382*, Medieval Mediterranean 65 (Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), 95; Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 17.

11 Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 63–64.

This requires moving away from the elite-centric and military-centric approaches employed in studies of the socio-political sphere. Chamberlain's adoption of a civilian-centric approach and the inclusion of a wider range of households is therefore a step in the right direction. The sources used in the present study likewise document a variety of households on a spectrum of socio-economic status and professional identity, most of them belonging to what Yossef Rapoport characterizes as 'the propertied classes' of urban society.[12]

Secondly, the analytical focus must shift away from the *external* relations of households in competition with one another, to the *internal* relations of these households. The socio-political model described above runs the risk of treating households as a 'black box' with specific properties, thereby neglecting the dynamic negotiation of power, loyalty, and patronage within the household itself. Several relevant studies have focused on such intra-household relationships, notably those of Craig Perry, Yossef Rapoport, and Ehud Toledano.[13] Perry's study of the Geniza documents focuses on the deep social integration of female slaves and acknowledges the verticality of ties of loyalty within the household.[14] Rapoport's study of intra-household gender relations points towards similarities in the patriarchal control of women and of slaves within the Mamluk household.[15] Toledano advanced an understanding of slavery as a bond of patronage based both on coercion and exchange in a complex web of reciprocity firmly embedded in the household yet intruded upon by the late Ottoman state.[16] These studies employ a model of the patriarchal household which is well-suited to the study of Mamluk domestic slavery. It focuses on the relationships of actors within the household and enables us to approach slavery through the documentary and literary sources which record these relationships.

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12 He referred primarily to merchants and scholars in fifteenth-century Cairo. Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 82. Please note that the adoption of this quote does not constitute an endorsement of a class-based model of society along structuralist lines; it serves merely to provide a shorthand characterization which encompasses the relative material position of the concerned households.

13 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves'; Rapoport, *Marriage*; Yossef Rapoport, 'Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview', *Mamluk Studies Review*, no. 11 (2007): 1–45; Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*; Hannah Barker and Nur Sobers-Khan take a similar household-centric approach: Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants'; Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles'.

14 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 180.

15 Rapoport, *Marriage*.

16 Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 8.

The Master-Slave Relationship

This points to the centrality of the master-slave relationship. The terminology introduced by Orlando Patterson is often used to describe the process which created the ties of subjugation, dependence, and loyalty between the 'natally alienated' and 'deracinated' individual who suffered a 'social death' upon enslavement and their owner who increased his honour and social prestige through this mode of social parasitism.[17] Shaun Marmon, Craig Perry, and Ehud Toledano among others have taken up this understanding of slavery as a relational social condition and applied it to the Islamic cultural context, with mixed results. Patterson's claim to a universal model has been rejected on the grounds that Islamicate variants of slavery do not meet several criteria which are crucial to his model, but the underlying theoretical shift away from slavery as an economic institution to that of a social institution has become prevalent in the field. These critiques of Patterson's model tend to focus on either the legal agency and modest protections granted to slaves by Islamic law or on the social agency of the slave in the context of the master-slave relationship.[18] For example, Patterson posits the powerlessness of the slave in relation to their master as a defining characteristic of slavery. In response, Toledano shows that the master-slave relationship was an involuntary and unequal yet mutual bond of dependence in which the slave held significant bargaining power. In a similar vein, Perry argues that the assent and cooperation of slaves in the context of concubinage should be understood as a strategy of social accommodation and should thus be situated on a spectrum of resistance. The reciprocal nature of the master-slave bond has been highlighted by its conceptualization as an unwritten pact which both sides could break to the detriment of the other, particularly if they felt wronged by an actual or perceived infraction: the range of actions ranged from stealing and absconding on the slave's side to mistreatment and selling the slave away on the side of the master.[19]

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17 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.
18 Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 5–8; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 148–51; Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, Publications on the Near East (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1998), 32, 33.
19 Ehud Toledano, 'An Empire of Many Households: The Case of Ottoman Enslavement', in *Slaves and Households in the Near East: Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar 'Slaves and Households in the Near East' Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 5–6 March 2010*, Oriental Institute Seminars, no. 7 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 33; Steven Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1400*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 124th ser., 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 61, 84, 85.

A central aspect of the response to Patterson's work has been an analytical focus on the transformation of the owner-slave relationship to a patron-client bond of patronage. The nature of the transition and its social and economic consequences depended on the context in which it took place. Nur Sobers-Khan argues that in sixteenth-century Galata, manumission strengthened the master-slave bond by integrating skilled slaves further into the household of their masters. Stephen Epstein presents a variety of possible outcomes in the context of the medieval eastern Mediterranean, from a severing of social ties to the continuation of the relationship across generations. Regardless of its contextual consequences, the act of manumission has been interpreted as a 'resurrection' which freed the slave from the social death they had suffered upon enslavement.[20] There is, however, a disconnect between the legal and social dimension of manumission in this interpretation. Freed slaves were full members of the community and in that sense, they regained the legal agency they had lost upon enslavement, but this assessment comes with three caveats. Firstly, they were tied to their previous owner by the legal institution of clientage which perpetuated the previous legal inequality by giving the owner a claim to the inheritance of the freed slave, but not vice-versa. Secondly, they were not 'free' in the absolute sense of the word, as set out by Sobers-Khan. Thirdly, the legal institution of clientage accompanied social practices of clientage which limited the social independence of slaves and tied them to their master to an extent which depended on individual choice and societal factors in specific historical situations. These practices ranged from continued residence and service in the household to material support, legal guardianship in marriage arrangements, and even political alliances among elite actors. The extent to which freed slaves remained tied to their masters in the Mamluk and late Ayyubid context will be examined in this study on the basis of novel documentary evidence.

The lasting attachment of master and slave was based on the creation of a kinship tie between them. Van Steenbergen identifies this bond of kinship as the crucial link between the patron of a household and his mamluks.[21] Other categories of slaves were similarly bound in loyalty and obligation by ties of kinship, though the terminology and character of these ties has been debated. While Marmon writes of 'artificial' kinship created by manumission, Perry refers to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'practical' kinship defined by usefulness and reciprocity to describe the process of the social integration of slaves into the

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20 Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 14.
21 Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 95; In a similar vein, Michael Chamberlain writes that the language of household intimacy and kinship was used to describe bonds between scholars and between free-born clients Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 108–16.

household both before and after manumission.[22] Sobers-Khan writes of constructing 'fictive' kinship groups, while Toledano argues that newly acquired kinship ties in the household were not fictive, though he does not elaborate further on this point.[23] This study will refer to 'fictive' kinship in order to distinguish it from genealogical kinship, without doubting either their subjective validity or their reciprocal usefulness.

These fictive ties of kinship replaced the genealogical ties of kinship which were extinguised by the act of enslavement.[24] Nearly all slaves were imported from outside Syria and Egypt and lost their family members either through the trauma of violent enslavement or through the geographical relocation of importation. Since they did not speak the language, know the customs, or have a support network of social contacts in the new environment of their host society, they were at first entirely dependent on the person who bought them, took them into their home, and fed and clothed them. The subsequent process of socialization created a new identity for the slave and forged a bond between them and their master. This relationship was both unequal and to a high degree dependent on the circumstances in which the slave lived and worked and how the master chose to treat the slave; but it was nevertheless a reciprocal relationship in which both parties exerted a degree of agency.

The building of this new identity revolved around the master-slave relationship and involved several elements. It required the eradication of the slave's former identity, which took place along the axes of religion, ethnicity, family, naming, and gender. This process involved but was not limited to violent capture, instances of forced or voluntary religious conversion, the assignment of racial labels and slave-specific names, and the sexual mutilation of children to 'produce' eunuchs. Depending on the circumstances, this eradication remained incomplete, as Sobers-Khan has demonstrated in the case of skilled Italian slaves in Istanbul who could keep their names and their Christian faith.[25] Due to the nature of the surviving documentary sources, the renaming of slaves is particularly well-documented and has received scholarly attention as an act of subjugation which assigned roles and expectations to slaves.[26] The slave was thus assigned a new

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22 Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 15; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 70, 74, 105.
23 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 46, 100, 101, 275; Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 31.
24 There were exceptions to this pattern – some slaves were enslaved and sold as family units and some were born in captivity and subsequently maintained bonds of family, but for the sake of the theoretical discussion, most authors analyse an archetypal imported and deracinated slave, presumably of Turkish steppe origin.
25 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 139–81.
26 See the discussion of onomastics in the following works: Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 75–82; Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 256–73; Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 57–58.

identity, which was defined as closely interdependent with that of his owner. Stephen Epstein has argued that the fundamental asymmetry of the master-slave relationship could be bridged by learning a new language and a new set of religious practices.[27] In this sense, the willing conversion and acquiescence of the slave in the process of identity-building can be seen as a conscious effort to shape their world and therefore as an assertion of agency. The slave was thus acculturated and socialized into the host household and society. Manumission was a crucial and perhaps the final step in this process. At this point the freed slave joined wider society and assumed a role and an identity which was radically different from the life and identity prior to enslavement. They spoke a new language and assumed a new name and a new religion, were assigned a racial label, and they relied on the social relations which had been shaped in the context of the household of their owner. Their natal alienation had thus been reversed through societal assimilation.

Agency

By studying the agency of slaves in the Mamluk and late Ayyubid context, this study contributes to the wider debate around slave agency. The concept of agency emerged as a response to the limitations of the structuralist model in the field of slavery studies, which struggled to account for the counter-hegemonic actions of individuals in spite of societal constraints.[28] Agency is an abstraction of the ability of individuals to influence the world around them and to shape it according to their wishes and desires. It conceptualizes slaves as historical actors rather than as the objects of the actions of others. Agency has served as a framing device in studies of social history for several decades; Walter Johnson has described it as a 'master trope' of the field.[29] Its meaning and operational parameters have shifted over the years. This study follows a relatively recent trend in the field by focusing on its relational dimension which is encapsulated in the term 'interagency'. This understanding of agency has been advanced in an article by Juliane Schiel and her colleagues, who adapted the concept from Vinciane Despret's work.[30] Interagency posits the master-slave relationship as the unit of analysis.[31] It is a historicizing concept insofar as it measures and makes visible the

27 Epstein, *Purity Lost*, 57, 72, 88, 94.
28 Vinciane Despret, 'From Secret Agents to Interagency', *History and Theory* 52, no. 4 (2013): 30.
29 Johnson, 'On Agency', 113, 117.
30 Schiel, Schürch, and Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden'; Despret, 'From Secret Agents to Interagency'.
31 Schiel, Schürch, and Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden', 22.

agency of slaves through the analysis of historically specific master-slave relationships. This relational approach also allows for the consideration of intermediaries which channelled interagency, which in our context could be the household tools used by slaves or the promise of freedom inherent in a pledge of *tadbīr*.[32]

More traditional concepts of agency place a strong emphasis on the use of 'ego-documents', i.e. documents written by slaves such as diaries, in order to focus on their personal perspective.[33] While this is a sensible approach in the context of nineteenth-century American slavery, the lack of such documents from the Mamluk period renders this approach highly problematic for the study of Mamluk social relations. The study of interagency as set out by Schiel and her colleagues widens the analytical perspective and allows for the incorporation of non-ego-documents such as administrative records and statistical material. By explicitly allowing the use of a wider range of sources, this effectively addresses the source-related criticism levelled by Nur Sobers-Khan against Ehud Toledano's supposedly ineffectual focus on making the 'voices' of slaves heard.[34] Considering the nature of the sources used in the present study, the interagency approach is well-suited as an analytical tool for the study of the agency of slaves in the Mamluk and late Ayyubid context.

Recent studies have approached slave agency in a variety of ways. Hannah Barker avoids the term 'agency' throughout most of her study of the Black Sea slave trade.[35] Instead, she writes of the 'power of slaves to convert their internal will into external action' which manifested itself in their cooperation with, acquiescence in, or resistance to their physical inspection and sale on the market and of slaves' 'capacity of choice'.[36] She thus sidesteps the debate around the concept of agency, though her argument reflects a relational understanding of agency which approaches the concept of interagency, since she argues that slaves' power stemmed from 'the interactive aspects' of the inspection process.[37] To exercise this power was to exercise their 'humanity' despite the humiliation and feelings of powerlessness which arose from the dual nature of slaves as commodities and human beings throughout the commercial process. Craig Perry argues that 'slaves exerted agency along a spectrum of resistance' which ranged from conversion to Islam in order to force a sale away from their Jewish owners to active cooperation in order to integrate themselves into their owner's house-

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32 Ibid., 26, 30; For the role of objects as mediators of social agency, see also Despret, 'From Secret Agents to Interagency', 39.
33 Schiel, Schürch, and Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden', 23–24.
34 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 24.
35 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants'.
36 Ibid., 285, 412.
37 Ibid., 412.

hold.[38] In order to preserve the analytical utility of the term 'resistance', the present study prefers to situate such actions on a spectrum of agency.[39] Acts of resistance are situated on one end of the spectrum, while acts of willing integration are situated on the other end. Such classification requires careful consideration, since acts which manifest slave agency were motivated by multiple factors.

For example, Perry focuses on slave concubinage as a strategy of social accommodation which ultimately benefitted the slave by ingratiating her to her owner.[40] This arrangement may appear as a case of willing integration, but it should be situated closer to the middle of the spectrum of agency, since the situation severely limits what Barker refers to as the 'capacity of choice' of the slave. The fundamental imbalance of power in the master-slave relationship meant that it was the owner's decision to initiate the arrangement of concubinage and that it was very difficult for the slave to refuse. Her actions in the context of this arrangement can be situated on the spectrum of agency, though the arrangement itself cannot. The cases discussed in the present study show that concubines chose to react in a variety of ways, ranging cooperation resulting in lasting bonds and material benefits to dragging their owner to court and suing him.

Sources, Structure, and Methodology

The principal source collections used in this study are the documents of the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem and a body of mostly Damascene listening certificates. They are supplemented by a handful of documents from Egypt and a wide range of literary sources. These include chronicles and topographical works, *shurūṭ* and *ḥisba* manuals, and slave purchase advice literature. These sources will be discussed in depth in the chapters in which they are studied. The philosophy which underlies the selection of these sources has been to present a picture as complete as possible of the phenomenon of domestic slavery, building primarily on the work of Marmon, Perry, Baker, and Sobers-Khan. In the absence

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38 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 159, 184, 219.

39 Jeff Eden discusses the impact of active and armed slave resistance on the slave system itself. There are no known parallels for the Mamluk period, though Nur Sobers-Khan has investigated a curious case from fifteenth-century Giza, when African slaves set up their own imitation Mamluk court and applied lethal force, though it is not clear to which extent this was a planned and conscious act of rebellion. Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 11, 183–89, 207; Nur Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves, Wealth and Fear: An Episode from Late Mamluk-Era Egypt', *Oriens* 37 (2009): 155–61.

40 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 148–49, 219.

of ego-documents, it is hoped that the above selection of notarial documents, formularies and listening certificates will provide a broad basis for the study of master-slave relationships and the relational agency of slaves, as proposed by Juliane Schiel and her colleagues.[41] The literary sources listed above serve to frame the argument by contextualizing the documentary evidence, for example by providing the textual basis for a discussion of the topography of the Cairene slave market and of notarial practice. The aspiration to have as wide a source base as possible has been inhibited by practical considerations regarding time and the length of this study, and the topic may be further investigated on the basis of further source genres. Firstly, *waqfiyya* documents represent a source of information on domestic master-slave relations and the role of slaves as beneficiaries of *awqāf* and may also record their role as endowed property.[42] Secondly, the discussion of legal practice may be expanded by incorporating recently edited contemporary works such as the *Lisān al-Ḥukkām*.[43] Thirdly, the analysis of contemporary poetry may offer insights into the perception of slaves, especially concubines, and the societal expectation towards them in the context of the patriarchal household.[44]

The material is presented thematically and in an order which traces agency throughout the life of a domestic slave. Each chapter examines a station in a slave's life and analyses the way in which slave agency was manifested in such a situation and contextualizes the resulting insights using the existing scholarship on agency and domestic slavery. The first two chapters discuss the enslavement, importation, and sale of slaves. The first chapter examines the deracination and natal alienation of slaves through the lens of trade patterns, slave markets, and commercial practices. A brief analysis of slave importation patterns is followed by a topographical study of the slave market of Cairo. The market was the location where the master-slave relationship began and at which the slave was perhaps the most powerless compared to other stations of their life. The topo-

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41 See especially their case study of slave agency on the basis of Venetian notarial documents in Schiel, Schürch, and Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden', 23–31.

42 This may require extensive field work in Cairo. Marmon briefly refers to waqf arrangements in the context of the master-slave relationship in Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 14.

43 Burhan al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-khālifī al-ʿadawī al-ḥalabī al-ḥanafī, *Lisān al-ḥukkām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām*, ed. Souad Saghbini, vol. 1, 2 vols, Mamluk Studies 14 (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2017); Burhan al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-khālifī al-ʿadawī al-ḥalabī al-ḥanafī, *Ghāyat al-Marām fī tatimmat lisān al-ḥukkām*, ed. Souad Saghbini, vol. 2, 2 vols, Mamluk Studies 14 (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2017).

44 See for example the mourning of Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī for his *umm walad* concubine Shahda and her description as both a beautiful lover and as possessing a saintly nature in Adam Talib, 'The Many Lives of Arabic Verse: Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī Mourns More Than Once', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 44, no. 3 (1 January 2013): 257–92, https://doi.org/10.1163/1570064x-1234 1273.

graphical study is followed by a study of the slave market as an abstract space in which, as Hannah Barker argues, the slave was both a commodity and a human being[45] with limited capacity to resist or cooperate arising from certain legal stipulations and from the relational agency of the inspection process as stipulated by ḥisba manuals. The initiation of the master-slave relationship is further contextualized by the study of slave purchase advice literature and the stereotypes assigned to slaves, influencing expectations regarding their role in the household and in wider society. The designated functions of female slaves in the patriarchal household are a focus of this discussion, which builds on Craig Perry's study of pre-Mamluk domestic concubine-master relations.[46] The second chapter adds to this by providing an in-depth study of slave purchase deeds. The language used in these documents subjugates the slave, as Nur Sobers-Khan has shown for the early Ottoman period[47], and thereby lays the groundwork for the fundamental inequality of power in the master-slave relationship, though it also awards the slave a token measure of legal agency. The third chapter moves on from the slave market and to relations within the household itself. It analyses the participation of slaves in social gatherings in Damascus on the basis of novel documentary evidence. Listening certificates recorded the names and basic personal information of hundreds of slaves and manumitted slaves, which allows us to establish patterns of ownership and family relations and track changes over a prolonged period of time. This allows insights into previously unexplored topics such as the social implications of the shared ownership of slaves and the long-term integration of female slaves as concubines and wives, which ties in to the case studies of the previous chapter.

This theme continues in the fourth chapter, which focuses entirely on the sexuality of slaves. Methodically, chapter four and chapter five stand in contrast to the preceding three chapters, which focus on the presentation of source material and case studies. They have prominent descriptive elements, since analysis is for the most part restricted to the material present in the specific source base under investigation. Chapters four and five bring together the insights gathered from these case studies and analyse them thematically in the framework of the patriarchal household. Building on Yossef Rapoport's and Craig Perry's work, chapter four investigates concubinage as a strategy of social accommodation as well as a legal and social institution which allowed owners to sexually exploit their slaves.[48] It also explores slave marriages as an avenue of long-term social integration and the implications of unacknowledged master-slave children and

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45 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 412.
46 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves'.
47 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 276.
48 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 113, 148–51, 219; Rapoport, *Marriage*; Rapoport, 'Women'.

slave-slave children being born into slavery in the context of household relations; Shaun Marmon refers to these children enslaved by birth as 'house-born' slaves.[49] Chapter five focuses on the act of manumission as the final step of the slave's integration into wider society and a crucial development of master-slave relations. It historicizes the discussion of the legal principles of manumission using documents and *shurūṭ* formularies. It thereby builds on the discussion of practices of manumission in the eastern Mediterranean as discussed by Perry, Epstein, Barker, Sobers-Khan and others, concluding that some forms of manumission had fallen out of use in the Mamluk period.[50] It argues that manumission was an act of great importance not only in the household but also in the context of wider society. Manumitted slaves gained both legal and social agency in relation to their previous owner, yet the patron-client bond remained a crucial fixture in the lives of many, though not all, former slaves and their masters.

The sixth chapter continues on from the point of manumission and analyses the material and social circumstances of freed slaves at the point of their death. The estate inventories which form the basis of this chapter provide detailed information regarding the bonds of freed slaves and their owners, which in some cases were of a crucial importance to the social life and material comfort of these clients. In other cases, it appears that clients had been abandoned to poverty by their owners, though some gained a considerable measure of material and social independence by following a craft of earning an income through other means. This highlights the importance of the master-slave relationship even past the point of manumission and shows that many slaves continued to exert agency mainly through the accommodation with the households of their owners. Others, however, were either forced or chose to cut ties with their masters, thus becoming both more independent and more vulnerable to outside forces. This material allows us to apply Perry's concept of concubinage as social accommodation to the Mamluk context, as some of the female testators were listed as the mothers of their masters' children; the documented marriage patterns are likewise highly relevant for the study of intra-household relations.[51] The recorded relationships indicate that slaves chose a wide variety of paths after their manumission, gaining a degree of social independence, though many remained closely linked to their masters through social, economic, and marital ties.

This study combines material from a wide geographical and chronological range. It investigates both patterns of slaveholding and the changes and differences which affected them over time and across space. The fragmentary nature

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49 The Arabic term is 'muwallad', see Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 4, 11.
50 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves'; Epstein, *Purity Lost*; Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants'; Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles'.
51 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves'.

of the documentary record complicates any argument in favour of such patterns and changes, though it does so for some areas more than for others. In areas where the surviving sources provide consistent data, it is comparatively easy to show how patterns evolved. The prime example of such a well-documented change over time is the origin of slaves imported into Syria and Egypt. Across the eastern Mediterranean, it was established practice to record the perceived ethnicity of slaves which were bought and sold. This has enabled historians such as Hannah Barker to trace the quantity and origin of slaves, though her argument is most convincing when it concerns the better-documented Italian city states rather than the sparsely-documented Mamluk context.[52] The work of Julien Loiseau and of Hannah Barker indicates that the northern slave 'reservoirs' and importation routes were disrupted, causing a shortage of supply and a shift in slave origins around the turn of the fifteenth century.[53] It is possible that this shortage of supply led to a change in societal attitudes towards slaves in the household, as argued by Yossef Rapoport.[54] These ideas contextualize the analysis of novel demographic data, primarily in section 3.2.1, and to a lesser extent in section 4.1. The changing topography of the Cairene slave market and the shifting literary stereotypes concerning the ethnicity of slaves are discussed in depth in chapter one.

Geographical and chronological variations in other aspects of domestic slavery are more difficult to trace reliably. Agency in particular is a highly contextual phenomenon which manifests differently in each source corpus analysed in the present study. The case studies presented here provide insights into a wide range of households and the master-slave relations inside them, ranging from rural notables to urban artisans and scholars. Each case must be judged on its own merits, so that similarities and divergences can be detected and contextualized. Household relations were framed by the language defined by Islamic legal traditions, which adds an element of continuity to the sources and resulting analysis, but social practice could vary depending on historical conditions. An example of this historicity is Rapoport's argument regarding the changing role of female slaves in fifteenth-century Mamluk society due to a shrinking slave population. When notable characteristics of slavery become apparent from a corpus of sources, such as a high incidence of shared ownership in the listening certificates of Damascus, a conservative approach seems appropriate when deciding whether the characteristic was specific to the source corpus or applicable to the time period as a whole. If such a characteristic is similarly visible in other

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52 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 119–38, 183, 236–41.
53 Julien Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks: XIIIe–XVIe siècle: une expérience du pouvoir dans l'Islam médiéval*, L'univers historique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014), 25–56, 63–64.
54 Rapoport, 'Women', 13–16, 30, 46.

case studies – the documents in section 2.2 also describe a relationship of shared ownership – the wider significance of the phenomenon should be considered.

1. The Urban Slave Market

In order to understand the bond between master and slave and the slave's agency in this context, it is necessary to study the urban slave market as an environment which shaped the slave's role and future identity. The master-slave relationship began here, and its unequal nature was more visible here than it was at any later point. Slaves entered this space in an uprooted and deracinated state and as individuals whose dual nature as commodities and human beings exposed them to humiliation and acts of symbolic subjugation.[55] This state of a relative lack of power was decisive in strengthening the bond which subsequently formed between them and their owner. The owner's household was a substitute to the family they had left behind in their native land and their relation to their owner was a gateway into a new identity and a new place in society. The literature analysed in this chapter forms part of the cultural and legal framework which first erased the slave's former identity and then assigned them a new role and function as part of the household of the owner. This erasure was facilitated by their importation from the lands north and south of Syria and Egypt, followed by sale on the market and socialization into the owner's household. This chapter traces the importation and sale, while the process of socialization is explored in more depth in later chapters. The first section traces the trade systems which funnelled slaves into the region and then describes the topography of the slave market of Cairo as it changed over time. This is followed by an analysis of the market as an abstract space of regulations, norms, and expectations, which were instrumental in negating the slave's identity through humiliation and assigning them a role through culturally conditioned stereotypes associated with gender and ethnicity. Throughout this process and despite their disadvantaged position, slaves maintained a measure of legal and social agency which manifested itself in their interaction with traders, buyers, and notaries.

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55 For a discussion of this dual nature and of symbolic domination, see Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 412; and Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 276.

The characterization of the urban slave market as well as subsequent chapters should be seen in the context of Hannah Barker's idea of a 'common culture of slavery' in the late medieval Mediterranean.[56] She has demonstrated that Italian and Mamluk practices of slavery shared many characteristics and may even be considered 'regional variations within a shared framework'.[57] This relates in particular to the regional supply system and the operation of the slave market, cultural attitudes towards the legality of enslavement, uses to which slaves were put, and manumission, as well as demographic patterns such as the numerical superiority of female slaves and their sexual exploitation. While the present study is limited to the Mamluk side of the Mediterranean system, the insights drawn from the sources under investigation here for the most part support Barker's conclusions. At the same time, this study goes beyond the scope of Barker's argument by exploring in depth certain aspects of Mamluk slavery, such as slave agency and the discrepancy between legal theory and practice in regard to manumission.[58] For the purposes of this chapter, the emphasis on the Mediterranean as a space of shared practices and norms contextualizes the discussion of the regional supply system in section 1.1 as well as the discussion of trade practices and cultural attitudes in sections 1.2 and 1.3 respectively. For example, the numerical superiority of female slaves over male slaves in Mamluk society was a result of the supply side of the trade system and thus affected both the Italian and the Mamluk parts of the Mediterranean.[59]

Mamluk era-slave markets remain an understudied subject due to the scarcity of sources compared with later Ottoman markets and the lack of archaeological remains. Yusuf Ragib has discussed Islamic slave markets on the basis of a multitude of sources.[60] Unfortunately, his analysis suffers from a tendency which affects most historical writing about Middle Eastern slavery – overgeneralisation. It uses sources from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries[61] to construct an archetypal 'Islamic' phenomenon. By aiming to make his model applicable to all eras, he fails to make it applicable to any era, since it stands divorced from the historical circumstances of any specific point in time. For example, it is highly problematic to apply nineteenth-century travellers' reports of market practices in Istanbul to Ayyubid-era Damascus and Cairo. Despite this note of caution, his

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56 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 5–7, 411.

57 Ibid., 7.

58 See sections 1.1.1 and 4.2.

59 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 132.

60 Yusuf Ragib, 'Les marchés aux esclaves en terre d'Islam', in *Mercati e mercanti nell'Alto medioevo: l'Area euroasiatica e l'Area Mediterranea, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 40 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1993), 721–66.

61 Late Ottoman slave markets are relatively well-researched, due to the much better availability of modern sources. See Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 171–72.

work is admirable and a valuable pointer to primary sources. Anne-Marie Eddé has used his findings and adapted his approach in her description of the slave market in Ayyubid-era Aleppo, and Hannah Barker has studied Mamluk-era slave markets in Cairo.[62] Her treatment of the sources and her conclusions are further discussed in section 1.1.1.

This chapter and the following chapter are based on a variety of literary and documentary sources. Despite the challenges of source survival, the slave market is much better documented than the later stages of a domestic slave's life, because the market was part of the public sphere and the slave had not yet disappeared into the privacy of the home. Several interested parties formulated and enforced regulations, recorded their agreements in notarial documents, and generally left more of a paper-trail than before or after this stage.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section discusses the urban slave market as the endpoint of a regional supply system and uses the topographical description of Cairo by contemporary writers to locate slave markets. The second section discusses the regulations of the marketplace using market inspection manuals. It argues that slaves were at this stage traded by brokers, sold individually, and subjected to intense scrutiny due to their high monetary value. They were subjected to humiliating inspection procedures and their agency was limited to the choice of cooperation or outright refusal to take part in these procedures. The third section discusses the demand side of the market using slave purchase manuals. It argues that demand was at least partially shaped by racial stereotypes and that slaves were sought for their labour, as fighters, for the prestige their ownership bestowed, and as sexual objects. The gender-specific and ethnicity-specific expectations reflected in these works of literature shaped the course of their lives and had a significant influence on the relational agency they would exert, since different roles conferred on them varying degrees of negotiating power in the context of the master-slave relationship. The following chapter problematizes the literary sources used in the preceding sections by comparing them to deeds of sale.

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62 Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep, (579/1183–658/1260)*, Freiburger Islamstudien, Bd. 21 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 543; Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 293–97.

1.1 The Mamluk Slave Market as the Endpoint of an Interregional Supply Chain

High rates of manumission and low rates of internal reproduction necessitated the replenishment of central Islamic slave populations from external sources.[63] This dynamic was reinforced by the peak in demand for military slaves during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, which was met primarily by the constant import of Turks and Circassians from Anatolia and the Black Sea region.[64] This forced movement of people from the north was mirrored in the south by the import of black slaves, mainly from Ethiopia. Egypt and Syria were at the heart of an interregional slave trading network that facilitated the flow of servile labour from the periphery to the economic and political centre.

The importation of slaves, particularly from the north, was a political imperative for the Mamluk ruling elite.[65] The functioning of the political system of competing households required a continuous inflow of human material to replenish these households as servants and soldiers. Since the prestige and power of functionaries, generals, and sultans was measured to a significant extent by the amount and quality of the slaves in their households, each ruler had an incentive to facilitate the importation of slaves and to channel them to his household and to the households of his allies. The acquisition of slave recruits strengthened their position relative to their internal rivals and enabled them to wage external war more effectively. Sultan Qalāwūn (1279–1290) actively courted merchants (*tujjār*) from Anatolia (*bilād al-rūm*) and elsewhere to import slaves (*mamālīk* and *jawārin*) for the armies and households of the Mamluk empire.[66] Apart from pointing to the great profit to be made from such an endeavour, he appealed to the merchants' sense of religious duty: 'Those who can do so should import more of them. Know that our motivation in asking for them is to increase the armies of Islam.'[67]

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63 This argument is proposed most prominently by Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 10. The data analysed in section 6.2 of the present study indicates that manumission rates continued to be high in Mamluk times.

64 Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), chap. Cairo's Monopoly under the Slave Sultanate, 212–247.

65 This applies particularly to the thirteenth century. See Reuven Amitai, 'Diplomacy and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Re-Examination of the Mamluk-Byzantine-Genoese Triangle in the Late Thirteenth Century in Light of the Existing Early Correspondence', *Oriente Moderno* 88, no. 2 (2008): 353.

66 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, ed. Abd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, vol. 13 (Cairo, 1918), 339–41.

67 Ibid., 13:341.

The vital northern supply of slaves from the Black Sea region was conducted along two main routes – by ship through the Bosporus to Alexandria and Cairo, and alternatively by ship to Anatolia and then overland to Aleppo and Damascus.[68] The latter route can be illustrated by the case of Sultan Baybars, who ruled the Mamluk empire from 1260 to 1277. Using contemporary narrative accounts, Peter Thorau has shown that Baybars was most likely enslaved at the age of fourteen in the Qipchāq steppe to the north of the Black Sea and subsequently imported along the Anatolian land route.[69] He crossed Anatolia by way of Sivas and was repeatedly sold on the slave markets of Syria. The account of his importation and sale has been preserved because of his prominence in later life. The demographic data presented in section 3.2.1 suggests that this experience was shared by many slaves who served in urban households in Syria.

The closure of the Anatolian and Iraqi slave supply routes in the wake of the Mongol conquests caused the northern supply chain to shift temporarily to sea routes dominated by Genoese traders.[70] The conflicts between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate were closely linked to an increase in the importance of Black Sea ports.[71] The Genoese and Venetian colonies of Caffa and Tana, where slaves were the most important trade good[72], flourished during this period.[73] The importance which the Mamluk sultans attached to the continuation of the northern supply of slaves is documented by a number of diplomatic treaties which Baybars and Qalāwūn concluded with the Byzantine emperor Palaeologus and the rulers of the Golden Horde.[74] The naval supply route from Caffa and Tana to Mamluk ports remained an important component of the Egypt-centred slave trade system following the resumption of land-based trade across Anatolia. Both the sea route

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68 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 212, 258.

69 Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Peter Malcolm Holt (London; New York: Longman, 1992), 27–32.

70 Andrew Ehrenkreutz, 'Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century', in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. Abraham L. Udovitch, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1981), 337.

71 Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Samuel Willcocks (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 35, 150–240.

72 Ibid., 167.

73 A wealth of notarial documents regarding the Caffa slave trade can be found in Michel Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer, Tome I : Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289–1290*, 1973 and; George Ioan Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281–1290)* (Bucarest: Cultura Naţională, 1927); See also Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, 113 for the continued importance of Caffa and Tana in the fifteenth century.

74 Ehrenkreutz, 'Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt', 341.

and the Anatolian land route, however, were finally cut off in the 1480s by the Ottoman sultanate in order to strategically weaken the Mamluk empire.[75]

The changing patterns of the northern slave trade and their impact on the social dynamics of slavery in Mediterranean societies have in recent years been the subject of debate. Hannah Barker and Julien Loiseau have argued that the numbers of slaves imported from the north declined in the fifteenth century and that these slaves were of different ethnicities than in the fourteenth century, and this decline has been taken up by Yossef Rapoport to argue that the declining supply of slaves changed the roles and perceptions of concubines in late Mamluk households.[76] This discussion has so far neglected the role of the southern slave import routes, which were not subject to the same disruptions as the northern import routes. Al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary shows that the majority of slave concubines in fifteenth-century Cairene households were of southern origin.[77] This indicates that the decline in the northern supply of domestic slaves may have been offset by a relative increase in the numbers of slaves of southern origins. This dynamic is further explored in section 3.2.1 below.

The southern supply routes have received less literary and scholarly attention than the northern routes, partly because Islamic slave trade systems are best documented where they overlap with European trading systems. While we have a certain amount of Italian notarial documents as well as a number of Mamluk literary works concerning the Black Sea trade, we have very few written sources that attest to the African supply routes, and archaeological evidence of slaving activities is notoriously difficult to interpret.[78] The slave trade leaves no physical traces that can be distinguished from the remains of other modes of trade and settlement, which means that the interpretation of artefacts relies to a large extent on the sparse written record, including unreliable travel accounts like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*.[79] The Nile-based supply system that connected Egypt with Nubia can be traced to the *baqt* treaty of the eighth century which guaranteed a steady

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75 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 282.

76 Ibid., 119–38, 183, 236–41; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 25–56, 63–64; Rapoport, 'Women', 13–16, 30, 46.

77 Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, vol. 12, 12 vols (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1966).

78 As explained in Marek Jankowiak, 'Dirhams for Slaves. Investigating the Slavic Slave Trade in the Tenth Century', 2012, 9, https://www.academia.edu/1764468/Dirhams_for_slaves._Investigating_the_Slavic_slave_trade_in_the_tenth_century.

79 See for example Anne Haour, 'The Early Medieval Slave Trade of the Central Sahel: Archeological and Historical Consideration', in *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory*, ed. Paul Lane and Kevin C. MacDonald, Proceedings of the British Academy; 168 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2011); and Mark Horton, *Shanga: The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the Coast of East Africa*, Memoir (British Institute in Eastern Africa); No. 14 (London: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 1996).

tribute of (or trade in) black slaves[80], and we know that East African *zanj* slaves were numerous in ninth-century Iraq[81] due to the slaving activities of Arab merchants in the Indian ocean[82], but there is surprisingly little evidence of the late medieval trade in Ethiopian slaves. This is surprising because the literary and documentary evidence from Egypt and Syria shows that Ethiopians had become much more numerous than other contemporary categories of African slaves.[83]

Apart from the Ethiopia/East Africa supply system, black slaves also came from an area which the Arabs called the *bilād al-sūdān* ('the lands of the blacks'), which roughly corresponds to the modern Saharan and sub-Saharan countries of Mali, Niger, Chad, and Sudan. Muslim traders drove slaves north along the trans-Saharan trade routes, along some of which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled, to the Mediterranean port cities of the Islamic West.[84] A significant portion of these black slaves continued their way to the centre of the Islamic world by ship. These Maghreb-to-Egypt shipping routes were served by Christian European merchants, similar to the Crimea-to-Egypt slave shipping route. The overlap with European trade systems broadens our source base. For example, the account of the Venetian trader and pilgrim Emmanuel Piloti claims that Genoese and Catalan ships brought between 1000 and 2000 black slaves to Alexandria each year during the first half of the fifteenth century.[85] African slaves therefore came into Egypt not just from East Africa, via the southern trade routes, but also from central and Western Africa, via the Mediterranean trade routes.

1.1.1 Slave Markets in Cairo

Following the routes of importation described above, slaves arrived in Cairo and were sold on its slave market. This was their last stop before they entered the households of their new owners and thus disappeared from the public sphere of

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80 Martin Hinds and Hamdi Sakkout, 'A Letter from the Governor of Egypt Concerning Egyptian-Nubian Relations in 141/758', in *Studies in Early Islamic History*, ed. Martin Hinds et al., Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 4 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1996), 160–87.

81 Alexandre Popović, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, Princeton Series on the Middle East (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999).

82 Buzurg ibn Shahriyār, *The Book of the Wonders of India: Mainland, Sea and Islands*, ed. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville (London: East-West, 1981), chaps 7, 15, 32, 91.

83 For example, al-Sakhāwī lists many Ethiopian slaves as mothers of scholars in his fifteenth-century *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1966).

84 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, ed. Ṭalāl Ḥarb, 5th ed. (Lebanon: Dār Al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2011), chap. 16.

85 Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le Passage en Terre Sainte (1420), 1958, Paris, cited in Frédéric Bauden, 'L'Achat d'esclaves et la rédemption des captifs à Alexandrie d'après deux documents arabes d'époque mamelouke conservés aux Archives de l'État à Venise (ASVe)', in *Regards croisés sur le Moyen Âge arabe*, vol. LVIII, 2005, 269–328.

record-keeping, making it more difficult for social historians to trace them. Compared to the subsequent stations of their lives, we have a relative wealth of information concerning the customs and workings of the slave market. This section presents the changing location and characteristics of the Cairene slave market, while sections 1.2, 1.3, and chapter two discuss commercial, legal, and cultural aspects of Mamluk slave markets. Cairo was selected for the relative wealth of information regarding its slave market as well as its prominent status. As the political and economic centre of the Mamluk empire, it was the prime destination for imported slaves.

This section is based primarily on contemporary topographical works. These are mainly Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyya al-zāhira fī khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizziyya al-Qāhira* from the late thirteenth century and al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* from the early fifteenth century.[86] These works are supplemented by al-Maqrīzī's historiographical work *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, and Ibn Iyās' *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr* which contain incidental information regarding the Cairene slave trade.[87]

Reconstructing a chronology of the topographical changes of the slave market of Cairo on this basis is a challenge, because a sizable portion of the material presented by al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) was taken from earlier authors. The topography of Cairo as presented in his *al-Khiṭaṭ* was based without acknowledgement on the unfinished work of his friend al-Awḥadī (d. 1408).[88] Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī often cites the original author when he presents material from much earlier authors such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 1292).[89] It is thus possible to tentatively

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86 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998); Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyya al-zāhira fī khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizziyya al-Qāhira*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya lil-Kitāb, 1996).

87 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAtā, 8 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1997); Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1966); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 6 vols (Cairo: al-Ṭubiʿa bi-Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1984).

88 Frédéric Bauden, 'Taqī Al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī', in *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant*, ed. Alex Mallett, The Muslim World in the Age of the Crusades 2 (Brill Academic Publishers, 2014), 169, 170, 173; Bauden has shown on the basis of a surviving section of al-Awḥadī 's work that al-Sakhāwī's charge of plagiarism against al-Maqrīzī was justified: Frédéric Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out with the Bath Water? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's Khiṭaṭ and the Documentary Evidence', *Mamlūk Studies Review* XIV (2010): 218, 219.

89 For example, the excerpt in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 1998, 167 is a direct and attributed citation from; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyya*, 24–25; On the other hand, Bauden states that al-Maqrīzī neglected to indicate original authors

associate the bulk of the topographical information supplied by al-Maqrīzī to the first decade of the fifteenth century, while passages attributed to other authors describe the topography as it existed during their times. The information presented in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* concerning the years prior to 1417 was similarly adapted from previous works, so that only the parts describing the period between 1417 and his death in 1441 were recorded by him directly rather than copied and collated.[90] It should be kept in mind that al-Maqrīzī was not witness to these earlier events and that his accounts reflect the subjective level of importance he attributed to events.[91] His Egyptocentrism, for example, limits the information available regarding the situation in Syria, though it does not directly impair the information regarding the Cairene slave market.[92]

While some of al-Maqrīzī's earlier work such as the treatise *Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma* was aimed at obtaining favour and appointments, the composition of the *al-Khiṭaṭ* as well as the *al-Sulūk*, which contains open criticism of the ruling Mamluk elites, were written after he had withdrawn from public life around the year 1412.[93] This withdrawal was motivated by a combination of factors, including al-Maqrīzī's loss of patronage, his personal anxieties, as well as his inclination towards scholarship and asceticism.[94] As Jo van Steenbergen writes, this took place in the context of profound changes in the political and socio-economic order during the early fifteenth-century.[95] As these changes affected the urban elites and al-Maqrīzī himself, they may have caused him to take a perspective coloured by nostalgia for more structured past times in his account of the topography of Cairo and of recent events. As Nasser Rabbat writes, al-Maqrīzī sought to record and contrast the opulence of earlier decades with the mismanagement of the contemporary Mamluk ruling class.[96] This sense of grief,

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in 'numerous passages': Bauden, 'Taqī Al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī', 172. Ultimately, the attribution of topographical information to a specific point in time must be handled with caution; much depends on the individual case and the nature of the information presented therein.

90 Bauden, 'Taqī Al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī', 181, 188.

91 Ibid., 187.

92 Ibid., 189.

93 Ibid., 166, 168, 182; Anne F. Broadbridge, 'Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: Al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī', *Mamlūk Studies Review*, no. 3 (1999): 91–92.

94 Jo Van Steenbergen, *Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage: A Critical Edition, Annotated Translation, and Study of al-Maqrīzī's al-Ḏahab al-Masbūk Fī Ḏikr Man Ḥaǧǧa Min al-Ḫulafāʾ Wa-l-Mulūk* (Brill, 2016), 34, 35, 38.

95 Ibid., 36–40.

96 Nasser Rabbat, 'Al-Maqrizi's Khitat, an Egyptian Lieu de Mémoire', in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, ed. Laila ʿAli Ibrahim and Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 24–24.

inspired by a Khaldunian sense of cyclical urban expansion and contraction[97], may have caused him to exaggerate some aspects of the Cairene slave markets.[98] Rabbat argues that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir earlier topographical work, by contrast, was a dry and dispassionate inventory of Cairo's features.[99]

While being mindful of the challenges of working with narrative and topographical sources and of the works of al-Maqrīzī in particular, this section aims to collate the topographical information presented in them in order to trace the location as well as the physical characteristics of the slave market in Cairo during the Mamluk period.

The existing scholarship on the urban history of Cairo aids the contextualization of the topographical information from these primary sources. The maps, illustrations, and descriptions of al-Qāhira's features, especially those in Wiet and Raymond's *Les marchés du Caire*, in Denoix's *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs,* and in MacKenzie's *Ayyubid Cairo*, are invaluable for placing the locations described by contemporary authors in relation to each other, which helped to identify geographical patterns.[100] This was particularly important for identifying the al-Misṭāḥ district as the principal location for the slave trade in the fifteenth century despite greatly varying geographical identifiers in the primary sources. Furthermore, previous studies of long-term developments and the social and economic structures of the city, such as Behrens-Abouseif's *Cairo of the Mamluks,* situate the topographical information on slave markets in a broader socio-economic historical context.[101]

The slave markets of Mamluk Cairo have briefly been studied by Gaston Wiet and André Raymond in their *Les Marchés du Caire.* Unfortunately, their analysis depends to an undue extent on modern travellers' accounts which significantly postdate the Mamluk era.[102] A more recent study of the topography of the slave markets in Cairo has been presented by Hannah Barker, who similarly relies for the most part on al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ*, supplemented by information from contemporary works such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya* and

97 Ibid., 24–25.
98 See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (London: Tauris, 2007), 57, 62.
99 Rabbat, 'Al-Maqrizi's Khitat, an Egyptian Lieu de Mémoire', 21, 26.
100 Gaston Wiet and André Raymond, *Les marchés du Caire: traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Textes arabes et études islamiques; 14 (Le Caire : Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979); Sylvie Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili et Ses Environs: Un Centre Commercial et Artisanal Au Caire Du XIIIe Au XXe Siècle*, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 2 (Cairo, 1999); Neil D. MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo: A Topographical Study* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1992).
101 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, especially chapter 8.
102 Wiet and Raymond, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 133–35 and 223–229.

al-Sakhāwwī's *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*.[103] Barker argues that Cairo 'was served by multiple slave markets' with shifting locations.[104] The present study argues that the evidence from these textual sources does not indicate the existence of more than one slave market at any given time; the topographical and narrative sources suggest that the location and the physical appearance of the slave market of Cairo changed, but that it was always centred on one street or building.

Despite numerous changes in location, the slave market remained close to the commercial heart of Cairo. It stayed within a 450-meter radius around the intersection of al-Qāhira's main north-south thoroughfare, the *qaṣaba*, and its corresponding east-west thoroughfare, equivalent to today's al-Azhar street and al-Muʿizz street.[105] The recorded locations for the time under investigation are the following, in chronological order: the site of the al-Kāmiliyya madrasa, the site of the smaller Khān Masrūr, in front of the larger Khān Masrūr, in the al-Mushtarak street in the al-Misṭāḥ district, briefly in a funduq close to the al-Ḥussaynī shrine, back in the al-Misṭāḥ district, at the end of the market of the crossbow makers, back in the al-Misṭāḥ district, in the Khān al-Khālīlī market or district, and in a street close to Khān al-Khālīlī.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, slaves were sold in an open space [*sāḥa*] along the northern part of the *qaṣaba* of al-Qāhira. This market had to relocate in 1225 when the nephew of Saladin, al-Malik al-Kāmil, had a madrasa built in this spot.[106] It moved to another open space located about 250 meters south along the *qaṣaba*.[107] The chronicler Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir reports that his father sold his share of this open space to a palace functionary named Masrūr, who built a small funduq[108] named after him in this location during the reign of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, thus forcing the market to relocate soon after its previous move.[109]

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103 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 293–97.

104 Ibid., 293.

105 See locations 24 (Khān al-Khālīlī), 20 (Sūq al-Bunduqāniyīn). 'm. al Kāmiliyya', 31 (Khān Masrūr) on map 3 and location 71 (Sūq al-Ṣāḥib) on map 2 Wiet and Raymond, *Les Marchés du Caire*; as well as points 19 on map 7 and points 8, 35, 66 and H on map 8 in Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*; and the area between points 38, 32, and 28 in MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*; Concerning the importance of the *qaṣaba*, see ibid., 155, 180; and Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 62.

106 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998), 167; The Madrasa al-Kāmiliyya is item 428 in Nicholas Warner, *The Monuments of Historic Cairo: A Map and Descriptive Catalogue*, Conservation Series / American Research Center in Egypt (Cairo: American Univ. in Cairo Press, 2005), 154–55 also shown on map 19; and item 29 in Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*, 25 also shown on map 8.

107 This location corresponds to item 35 in Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*, marked on map 7; and to items 76 and 77 in MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 166, marked on map 1.

108 MacKenzie defines a funduq as a square enclosure surrounded by storerooms or living accommodation for merchants, see MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, 165.

After this detailed treatment of the slave market in the first half of the thir-
teenth century, there is a significant chronological gap in the sources under
investigation. The next reference to the slave market concerns the second half of
the fourteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī describes the market with nostalgia, remi-
niscing about the decades prior to the economic and demographic decline of the
late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries:[110]

> Then he walks onwards through the old market of the sword-makers, which is now the
> market of the food merchants[111] and he will find on his right Khān Masrūr and the two
> holding chambers for slaves [ḥujratay al-raqīq] and between them the bench for the
> slave recruits [dikkat al-mamālīk], on which Turkish [turk], Anatolian [rūm], and
> similar slave recruits were sitting when they were on display for sale, until the beginning
> of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's reign [1381–1399], when the practice was abandoned.[112]

The market had only moved a few meters from its last recorded location; it was
still in the heart of the commercial district along the qaṣaba, close to the two
funduq/khān[113] buildings of Khān Masrūr.[114] The physical infrastructure and
lasting memory of this space in front of the Khān suggests that it had been used
for many years as a slave market, though al-Maqrīzī's bitterness may have led him
to exaggerate its importance in order to highlight the perceived decadence of the
ruling class of his present day. Considering the details of his description, it
appears that slaves were held in communal rooms from which they were led out in
order to be examined by buyers in a public space. The terms used – mamālīk as a
blanket term and turk and rūm as predominant ethnicities – point towards an
emphasis on military slaves being sold here, while the dual form of 'room' –
ḥujratay – in combination with a comparatively neutral term for slaves – raqīq –
point towards both men and women being sold here, separated physically along
gender lines, which suggests a more diverse audience and range of slave occu-
pations.

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109 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, al-Rawḍah al-bahiyya, 24–25; as well as al-Maqrīzī, al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-
     iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār, 1998, 3:167.
110 As argued in Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 57, 62.
111 Mutaʿayyish. See Maya Shatzmiller, Labour in the Medieval Islamic World, Islamic History
     and Civilization. Studies and Texts, v. 4 (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 134.
112 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār, ed. Khalīl
     al-Manṣūr, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998), 227.
113 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir uses 'funduq', al-Maqrīzī uses 'khān' to describe this location; MacKenzie
     notes that these words were 'effectively synonymous' in al-Maqrīzī's time, see MacKenzie,
     Ayyubid Cairo, 165.
114 Denoix lists Khan Masrūr as item 8 and item 35, which corresponds to point 22 on map 7 and
     points 8 and 35 on map 8, see Denoix, Le Khan Al-Khalili, 8, 30; See also MacKenzie, Ayyubid
     Cairo, 166 and points 76 and 77 on map 1.

By al-Maqrīzī's time, the market had moved to the al-Misṭāḥ district, to the west of the *qaṣaba* of al-Qāhira.[115] Writing in the 1410s, al-Maqrīzī noted that the district currently contained the slave market, also known as the market of slave girls, located in the al-Mushtarak street.[116] The latter title suggests that the populace perceived it primarily as a place where women were sold, rather than male military recruits.

The street market in the al-Misṭāḥ district was of a less permanent nature than its predecessor near the Khān al-Masrūr. While the physical infrastructure – two rooms and a bench – of the latter remained visible decades later, the slave market in the al-Misṭāḥ district could be moved at short notice. It was moved temporarily 'to a funduq facing the al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī' in February 1418, before being moved back to the al-Misṭāḥ district.[117] The wording of al-Maqrīzī's entry (*ilā funduq*) suggests that the slave market was moved into the enclosure of the building itself, rather than to the street in front of it. The indicated location, the mausoleum of Ḥusayn, lies near the centre of al-Qāhira, closely to the north-east of the intersection of its main north-south and east-west thoroughfares.[118] According to Denoix's map of the surrounding area, this funduq may have been the Funduq Bahādur in the district of Khān al-Khalīlī.[119]

A few months later, in August 1418, the market was moved to the edge of the district of the market of the crossbow-makers[120], which lay just south-west of the central intersection of al-Qāhira.[121] Since this district bordered the al-Misṭāḥ district, it is possible that this new location corresponded to the market's old location in the al-Mushtarak street or to a location nearby.

The next dated record of the slave market places it back in the al-Misṭāḥ district by the year 1471. The author al-Ṣayrafī uses the slave market as a point of

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115 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 1998, 3:62; Barker misreads this entry to mean that the district lay outside the al-Qanṭara gate, but al-Maqrīzī explicitly states that the al-Misṭāḥ district in al-Qāhira was not to be mistaken with the identically named district outside the gate, see Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 295.

116 See the entries for 'Khuṭṭ al-Misṭāḥ', 'Darb al-Mushtarak', and 'Ḥammām al-Sulṭān' in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 1998, 3:62, 79, 149; the entry 'Ḥammām al-Sulṭān' does not refer to a separate slave market, as Barker suggests. The landmarks given in this entry are points 4 and 53 on MacKenzie's map 1, which identifies this 'sūq al-jiwār' as the 'sūq al-raqīq' / 'sūq al-jiwārī' of the al-Misṭāḥ district. See Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 296.

117 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1997), 464; Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*, 49–51 and point V on map 15; point 28 on map 1 in MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*.

118 See point 28 on map 1 in MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*.

119 See point 65 on map 8 and pages 52–53 in Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*.

120 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1997, 6:471.

121 Page 158 and point 53 on map 1 in MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*.

reference to describe the location of the al-Sayfiyya madrasa[122] in the al-Misṭāḥ
district.[123] He notes that this is the slave market that had been described in
al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ*, which indicates the return of the market to this location.
Since al-Ṣayrafī refers to it variably as the market of slaves (*raqīq*) and female
slaves (*jawārī*), it appears that people of both genders were traded on it, as in the
time of al-Maqrīzī. The return of the market to the al-Misṭāḥ district by this time
is further corroborated by al-Sakhāwī's localization of the slave market as being
close to the al-Fakhriyya madrasa, which places it back in the al-Misṭāḥ district by
the latter half of the fifteenth century.[124]

Al-Maqrīzī's account of the slave market in al-Mushtarak street in the
al-Misṭāḥ district is reproduced by Aqbughā al-Khāsikī, the secretary of Sultan
al-Ghūrī, in his topography of early-sixteenth-century Cairo. His topography
relies on al-Maqrīzī's work to such an extent, however, that it is more likely to
reflect the state of Cairo in the early fifteenth rather than the sixteenth century. In
particular, the entries regarding the slave market, *khuṭṭ al-misṭāḥ* and *darb
al-mushtarak,* were copied word-for-word from al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭāṭ.*[125]

Following the prolonged period of time in which the slave market had been
located in the al-Misṭāḥ district, it was moved to the district of Khān al-Khalīlī,
within which it changed location at least once in the final decades of the Mamluk
period. In 1474, a Mamluk officer who had fallen into disfavour was 'taken to
Khān al-Khalīlī to be sold' under a legal pretext on the orders of the sultan.[126] The
phrasing used by Ibn Iyās suggests that the slave market was located in the *khān*
of Khān al-Khalīlī itself, but it is possible that he was referring to the surrounding
district (*khuṭṭ*) named after it.[127]

The final relocation of the slave market during the Mamluk period took
place in 1514, when Sultan al-Ghawrī 'closed the old market [*al-sūq al-qadīm*]
on which slaves used to be sold' and replaced it with 'a market close to Khān

122 Ibid., 118.
123 'Alī Ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-haṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī
(Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1970), 379, 383, 396.
124 Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, vol. 3
(Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1966), 71–72; For the location of the al-Fakhriyya madrasa,
see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad ʿAbd
al-Qādir ʿAtā, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 1997), 466; The madrasa is point 40
on map 1 in MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo.*
125 Aqbughā al-Khāsikī, *Al-Tuḥfa al-fākira fī dhikr rusūm khuṭūṭ al-Qāhira*, BNF arabe 2265,
fol. 40v and 54r. A few words are missing, but the content of the text is unchanged.
126 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, ed. Muhammad Muṣṭafā, vol. 3 (Cairo:
al-Ṭubi'a bi-Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, 1984), 100.
127 The market building is no. 42 on map 8, the extent of the district is indicated by the same
map as including no. 33 to no. 66, see Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*, 36–38.

al-Khalīlī on which slaves are [now] sold'.[128] Denoix locates this new market in the street just outside the Funduq Bahādur – a likely location for the previous temporary market of 1418 – placing it on the edge of the Khān al-Khalīlī district, in the street adjacent to al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī.[129] This relocation was an administrative decision in the context of the demolition and rebuilding of Khān al-Khalīlī by Sultan al-Ghawrī starting in 1511.[130]

This timeline shows that Cairo was served by one slave market which moved at irregular intervals. It remained within the confines of al-Qāhira itself and most of the recorded locations were close to its *qaṣaba*. The market took a variety of forms, depending on its location. The recorded variations of the slave market can be grouped into three categories: open markets on undeveloped squares (e. g. the site of the al-Kāmiliyya madrasa), open markets in streets (e. g. al-Mushtarak street), and within *funduq* or *khān*-type market buildings (e. g. the unnamed funduq near the mausoleum of Ḥusayn). The frequency of relocations suggest that these markets were temporary affairs with little permanent physical infrastructure, though al-Maqrīzī describes holding chambers and a bench which persisted after the market had moved on. The sources do not attest to the existence of two or more slave markets in Cairo at the same time. Barker's claim to the contrary seems to be based mostly on a misreading of the sources concerning the fifteenth century, which refer to the al-Misṭāḥ market using changing geographical markers.[131] A further indicator of the singular character of the Cairo slave market is that al-Maqrīzī speaks of 'the' slave market in contemporary Cairo throughout both the *al-Khiṭaṭ* and the *al-Sulūk*, rather than of several co-existing markets.[132]

Since there was only one slave market in the city, there was no specialisation in terms of race or future career-paths for slaves: the market offered both lighter-skinned slaves from the north and darker-skinned slaves from the south, both women and men; and the lighter-skinned men on offer could become soldiers or domestic servants, depending on their buyer. This differed from the separate

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128 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, vol. 5 (Cairo: al-Ṭubi'a bi-Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1984), 94–95.

129 See entry 64 on page 52, point HK on map 8, point W on map 15, in Denoix, *Le Khan Al-Khalili*.

130 Ibid., 37; The demolition and rebuilding of Khān al-Khalīlī is described in Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, vol. 4 (Cairo: al-Ṭubi'a bi-Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1984), 230, 237, 243, 248, 404–5 and; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, 1984, 5:94.

131 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 296.

132 For example, "wa-fīhi al-yawm sūq al-raqīq", al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 1998, 3:63; Authors of secondary works tend to follow his example, see, for example Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 62.

markets for light- and dark-skinned slaves which emerged in Cairo during Ottoman times.[133]

The slave market of Cairo served an urban clientele. Some of its incarnations listed above, the street markets in particular, suggest that it was limited in size and throughput. Considering the numbers of slaves necessary to replenish the army's ranks and staff well-to-do households, it appears likely that there were other venues and means to purchase slaves in the Mamluk empire. For example, members of the high aristocracy entertained close personal relations with specialised importers of slaves, which suggests that their slave purchases took place outside the urban marketplace.[134] Furthermore, the well-organized urban markets in Cairo and other cities were difficult to access for the rural populace. People who were geographically or socially removed from urban centres had to rely on social networks or less formal market settings, as discussed in section 2.2. A likely venue for this less regulated and therefore less visible slave trade were seasonal markets outside the cities. A hint at the existence of these less-well documented slave markets can be found in a fifteenth-century slave purchase manual. Its author warns against buying slaves 'on fayres and seasonal markets' (*fī'l-aswāq al-ḥafla wa-l-mawāsim al-jāmiʿa*), because of the trickery of merchants and the lack of professional regulations on them.[135]

Despite these caveats, the slave market of Cairo was the most important endpoint of a complex regional slave-trading network and many slaves who went on to serve in urban households passed through it. It was also the starting point of the integration of the slave into the web of social relations which constituted the household of their owner. Choosing, inspecting, and buying a slave marked the beginning of the master-slave relationship, which shaped the relational agency of slaves for most of their remaining lives. The study of the slave market's topography and commercial practices is a necessary first step for the study of master-slave relations and slave agency in late Ayyubid and Mamluk households.

1.2   Regulations in the Marketplace: Inspection Manuals

This section discusses the professional regulations that applied to the urban slave markets. Market inspection manuals contain detailed descriptions of many aspects of the slave trade. They can be used to reconstruct commercial practices and customs which directly impacted the lives of domestic slaves, though the

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133 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 297.
134 Sato Tsugitaka, 'Slave Traders and Karimi Merchants during the Mamluk Period: A Comparative Study', *Mamluk Studies Review* X, no. 1 (2006): 145, 154.
135 Al-Amshāṭī, *al-Qawl al-shadīd fī ikhtiyār al-imāʾ wa-l-ʿabīd*, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Ms. orient. A 1237, 4B.

extent to which these regulations reflected and impacted social practice must be considered carefully. Slaves were assigned the roles of passive merchandise, though they possessed a measure of relational agency insofar as they were able to influence the outcome of commercial negotiations by either conforming to the expectations of prospective buyers or by displaying signs of non-cooperation. Through these interactions, they laid the groundwork for the master-slave relationship which determined their role in the buyer's household and in wider society.

In larger urban centres such as Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, the slave trade fell within the supervisory responsibility of a government official called *muḥtasib*. While this title is usually translated as 'market inspector', the position encompassed the enforcement of laws in various fields and the preservation of public order, so that it may be more accurately rendered as 'inspector of public places'.[136] In the marketplace and in artisanal production he 'exercised a level of supervision similar to that exercised by the European guild'.[137] This office was involved in the day-to-day operations of the slave trade, where the *muḥtasib* upheld the interests of the contracting parties as well as the public interest.

The literary genre of *ḥisba* manuals provided guidelines for the *muḥtasib* relating to the inspection and regulation of commercial and artisanal establishments. It thereby provides modern historians with a lively impression of the medieval marketplace and its actors. It represents one of the best primary source-genres for the study of urban slave markets, because it was written for an audience that was directly involved in the trade. It reflects the social reality better than more abstract works of jurisprudence or belles-lettres, because it was a manual with a practical purpose for people who interacted with the market on a daily basis. These works can be seen as indications of social practice, though not necessarily of the author's personal experience, since many passages were copied from one *ḥisba* manual to another.[138] Their analysis in the present study is conducted in the context of the documentary evidence discussed in chapter two, which lies even closer to social practice.

Three *ḥisba* manuals have been chosen from the Ayyubid and Mamluk period for this study. The three manuals below have been chosen because together they cover the geographic and temporal range of this study, because they contain a distinct section on the slave trade, and because they are available in edited form. In her study of *ḥisba* theory and practice, Kristen Stilt considers only these three

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136 Kristen Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action: Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1, 42–46, 204.
137 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 84.
138 Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action*, 56.

manuals as 'relevant to the discussion of the Mamluk period', which suggests that this selection is sufficient for our purposes.[139]

The sections on the slave trade are astonishingly similar in content and style in all three works, which suggests that these texts are variations of a dominant textual tradition which exerted significant influence on the regulation of contemporary slave markets.[140] The following analysis does not pretend to do justice to the undoubtedly complex editing history of this tradition. It treats them as sources of socio-historical information which is best cross-checked with other sources to eliminate a potential literary bias resulting from this history of additions and excisions.

The manual of al-Shayzarī (d. 1193, active in Syria and Egypt) is probably the common source for the manuals of Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 1329, active in Egypt) and Ibn Bassām (active in Egypt in the fourteenth century).[141] While Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's chapter on the inspection of slave traders is very close to al-Shayzarī's chapter, Ibn Bassām's version adds a number of regulations to al-Shayzarī's version.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī (d. 1193) includes in his *Kitāb nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba* a short chapter which consists of guidelines for the inspection of slave traders and concerning their business more broadly. It summarizes the *fiqh* discourse on slavery into a number of practical guidelines for the running and inspection of a slave merchant's business. It dispenses with the *ḥadīth*-based style of argument of legal scholars in favour of a clear and direct prose that describes the reality of commercial transactions in the marketplace. The chapter is a practically-minded text with no literary flourishes.

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurashī Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's *Maʿālim al-qurba fī aḥkam al-ḥisba* follows al-Shayzarī's manual closely. The section on slave merchants shortens, paraphrases and copies al-Shayzarī's text with only minor differences.[142] He includes the regulations for cattle brokers and real estate brokers in his chapter on slave traders. Apart from this, there are two

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139 Ibid.
140 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 74–75; footnotes 19, 20 and 22 in Ragib, 'Les marchés aux esclaves en terre d'Islam'; Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep, (579/1183–658/1260)*, 544.
141 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Kitāb nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, 1946); Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *The Maʿālim al-qurba fī aḥkam al-ḥisba of Ḍiyaʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn al-Ukhuwwa*, ed. Reuben Levy, 'E. J. W. Gibb memorial' series. New series 12 (London: Luzac, 1938); Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Bassām, *Kitāb nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sāmarrāʾī (Baghdad: al-Maʿārif, 1968); For a thorough discussion of the relationship between the three texts see Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action*, 55–62.
142 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 152–53.

relevant additions to the base text of al-Shayzarī, inserted into thematically connected passages of the same section. Firstly, he includes a stipulation that all ongoing emancipation contracts must be taken into consideration in a sale. Secondly, he forbids the sale of slaves for 'singing' (*ghinā᾽*), which may be a code-word for immoral behaviour in general and prostitution in particular.

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Bassām's fourteenth-century *Kitāb nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba* follows al-Shayzarī's work closely, but the section on slave merchants differs considerably.[143] It reproduces the essence of al-Shayzarī's text and cites the contract-clause from Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, but it adds a lot of new material on professional conduct and religious conversion. Most importantly, he expands on a point that his two predecessors had only briefly touched upon: the physical inspection of slaves prior to their purchase. He provides a detailed medical checklist for human merchandise to guide potential buyers. In this regard, though not in others, his work is similar to the slave purchase manuals discussed further below.

In order to give the reader an impression of the format and style of the manuals, al-Shayzarī's chapter, which appears to be the 'original' and most condensed version of the three, is reproduced in translation below. The discussion which follows further below combines excerpts from all three works. The inspection process as set out here highlights a number of ways for slaves to influence the outcome of the process. As discussed by Craig Perry, regulations designed to prevent Muslim slaves being owned by non-Muslims owners could be the vehicle of slave agency, since slaves could choose to hide their faith or convert to Islam, thereby preventing or facilitating their sale.[144] Other regulations listed below similarly offered a measure of legal and negotiating agency to slaves, such as the ban on separating young children and their mothers, which raises the question how the age of children was established. A common theme in both *ḥisba* manuals and purchase manuals was the detection of illness and pregnancies, which indicates that slaves were able to hide these conditions to facilitate a sale. There was a strong incentive for hiding pregnancies, since children born to slave mothers were in most cases considered the offspring of their masters, granting the mother a protected and privileged legal status. The legalistic concerns of *ḥisba* manuals offered the slaves two further avenues of agency which are not reflected in the following excerpt; informing the buyer about pre-existing contractual obligations on their part and formally consenting to their sale by acknowledging their state of slavery. The cooperation or deception of slaves in the inspection process was therefore a crucial aspect of their ability to shape their lives by influencing by whom and for what purpose they were bought on the slave market.

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143 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 75.
144 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 180, 220.

1.2.1   How to Inspect a Slave Trader: A Translation from al-Shayzarī's Manual

Chapter thirty-four: the inspection of slave and cattle brokers [*nakhkhāsī al-ʿabīd wa-l-dawwāb*].[145]

The broker must be a trustworthy and honest man who is known for his chastity [*ʿiffa*] and abstinence [*ṣiyāna]*, because he takes charge of the female slaves [*jawārī*] of other people and of their male slaves [*ghilmān*] and is sometimes alone with them in his house.

He can only sell male [*ʿabd*] and female [*jāriyya*] slaves if he knows the seller [*bāʾi*]or can produce someone who knows him. He must write the seller's name and trade in his notebook [*daftar*] in order to insure against the possibility that the merchandise is free or stolen [*ḥurran aw masrūqan*].

If someone wants to buy a female slave [*jāriyya*], he may inspect her face and her hands. If he wants to examine her in his house and be alone with her, the slave merchant may not allow this, except when there are women in his house – they may inspect the entirety of her body. If someone wants to buy a male slave [*ghulām*], he may inspect those parts of him above the navel and below the knees. All of this refers to the time before the sale. After the sale he may inspect the entirety of the body of the female slave [*jāriyya*].

It is not permitted to separate a female slave [*jāriyya*] from her child under the age of seven. It is not permitted to sell a female [*jāriyya*] or male [*mamlūk*] slave to a Christian or to a Jew [*li-aḥad min ahl al-dhimma*] if they are Muslims, except when [the broker] knows without a doubt that the slave [*mamlūk*] is not a Muslim. When he knows that the merchandise [*bayʿ*] has a defect, he must inform the buyer [*mushtarī*] of this, as we have mentioned at the beginning of the book.

He must know about defects and be familiar with the initial symptoms of illness and disease. If he wants to sell a slave [*ghulām*], he must inspect the entirety of his body except the genitals before selling him. If he finds a defect or an illness, he must inform the buyer. The first thing he inspects is his face. If it is pale or ashen, that is a sign of disease or of an illness of the liver or the spleen or of haemorrhoids, that may suddenly overcome him.

He can only sell animals [*dāba*] if he knows the seller or can produce someone who knows him. He must write the seller's name and a description of him in his notebook, as we said previously, in order to insure against the possibility that the animal is defective or stolen.

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145 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84–85; French and English translations can also be found in W. Behrnauer, 'Mémoire sur les institutions de police chez les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs', *Journal Asiatique*, 5, no. 17 (1861): 36–38; and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr Shayzarī, *The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector*, ed. R. P Buckley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

1.2.2 Actors on the Urban Slave Market

The ḥisba manuals show that end consumers bought slaves from brokers rather than directly from long-distance importers. There were four principal actors involved in the commercial exchanges on the urban slave market: (1) the seller (bāʿi), who could be an importer (jallāb), (2) the broker (nakhkhās), (3) the buyer (mushtarī), and (4) the human merchandise (bayʿ). Buyers and slaves will be discussed further in the following section on purchase manuals.

(1) Sellers commissioned brokers to sell their slaves to buyers. They were either locals or foreigners and stricter regulations applied for the latter category. For reasons of accountability and to prevent fraud, the seller had to be traceable. The broker had to 'know the seller, or be able to produce someone who knows him'.[146] He was also required to 'write the seller's name and trade in his notebook (daftar)'.[147] This served to deter the seller and broker from selling people who were either stolen (masrūq) from other legitimate owners or who were in fact free (ḥurr) and not enslaved.[148] If foreigners (ghurabāʾ) acted as sellers, they had to provide local guarantors (ḍumanāʾ), whose name was also recorded in the broker's notebook.[149] If a foreigner came from a local family (lahu ahl) he was not obliged to provide a guarantor.[150] This illustrates how the commercial system of the market was built on a system of personal reputation and trust among locals that was overseen by the market inspector, who punished abuses. The documentary record suggests that minors and women who sold a slave were often represented by agents acting in their name; this is discussed below.[151]

Most slaves were of foreign origin, which suggests that local demand was fed primarily through slave supply networks that relied on travelling merchants with fewer roots in the local community. It is unclear what proportion of them were specialised slave merchants, but it is certain that itinerant traders ('al-tājir al-saffār'[152]) and opportunistic travelling scholars such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa played a role in this trade; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not travel for the purpose of making a profit

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146 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.

150 Ibid.

151 Donald P. Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds for Slaves from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarîf', *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 131, no. 2 (1 January 1981): 325–27; Yusuf Ragib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale*, vol. 1, Cahier des Annales islamologiques 23 (Cairo: Inst. Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2002), pt. A.

152 Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 298.

from slave-trading, but when the opportunity arose, he bought and sold slaves.[153] At the other end of the spectrum, long distance traders and the specialised *khawājā* traders who supplied the Mamluk courts engaged in more dedicated slave trading on a larger scale.[154]

The manuals offer a few glimpses of these 'foreign' slave sellers. Slave importers were considered unreliable sources of information. They had a commercial interest in lying about their merchandise in order to drive up prices. For instance, slave children could only be sold to Christians and Jews (*ahl al-dhimma*) if their mother was a devout Christian (*naṣrāniyya faṣīḥa*).[155] This was to prevent their new owners from raising potential converts to Islam as Jews or Christians (*yahūdūnahu aw yunaṣṣirūnahu*). On this issue, 'the word of the importer [*jallāb*] is inadmissible'. Rather than asking the trader about the slaves whom he imported from abroad (*min al-ʿajam*[156]), the manual recommends talking to the slaves themselves – 'those who do not understand [your words] are Christians'.[157] This rule suggests that many slaves were driven to central Islamic markets by importing traders without learning Arabic. The same manual warns that pre-existing contractual obligations (*ahda*) between slaves and foreign owners must be scrutinised even more closely than among slaves and their local owners, presumably because the foreigner will soon be out of reach. This suggests that these contractual slaves spoke Arabic, and that their owners occasionally tried to circumvent the provisions of their contracts by selling them in places in which the details of their service were not known. It also suggests that some of the slaves who accompanied travelling merchants were in stable contractual employment, which makes it unlikely that they were bought in the periphery in order to be sold in central markets for immediate profit.

An archaeological discovery in Egypt provides an insight into the supply network of the central Islamic slave markets. One of the documents found in the remains of the house of a clan of thirteenth-century traders in the Red Sea port of Quseir refers to the transportation and sale of a female slave. They usually traded in other commodities and it is interesting that their correspondence regularly refers to their slave boys (*ghilmān*), who escorted shipments and handed over

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153 As demonstrated in this unpublished conference paper: Marina Tolmacheva, 'Foreigners Twice Over: Slaves in the Itinerant Household of Ibn Battuta' (International Mediaeval Congress, Leeds, 2016).

154 Tsugitaka, 'Slave Traders and Karimi Merchants during the Mamluk Period: A Comparative Study'.

155 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.

156 Al-Amshāṭī and Anonymous (see below) define al-ʿajam slaves as non-Arab, non-black; see also Hans Müller, *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs, nach arabischen, persischen und türkischen Ratgebern vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen; Bd. 57 (Freiburg: Schwarz, 1980), 127.

157 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.

goods and cash payments.[158] It appears that they also participated in the slave trade when the opportunity arose. They received a letter from a business partner who wrote: 'If the slave girl [*jāriyya*], whose sale has been certified, has arrived at your place, dispatch her to us immediately. You [already] know the legal procedures of her guardianship.'[159] Unfortunately, we do not know the legal procedures of her guardianship; but it is remarkable to observe the slave trade at such a micro-level. This document suggests that slaves entering Egypt from the south were traded individually rather than in bulk. It also shows that the trade was not monopolised by specialized traders. In the context of the *ḥisba* literature and in combination with the *daftar* analysed in the following section, this evidence suggests that the slave trade was a high-value but low-volume business, especially in the central Islamic cities in which the interregional supply chain ended.

(2) Brokers acted as intermediaries between sellers and buyers. They were the ones who owned the stalls on the market and who would advertise slaves in public, oversee their inspection by potential buyers, and generally be responsible for the well-being of the slave. This put them in a powerful position which they could abuse for their own gain, something the market inspector was charged to prevent. Inspectors were concerned with both the moral and the commercial integrity of slave brokers. A broker was required to have a reputation for sexual abstinence, because he would be 'alone in his house' with 'the slave girls of other people' – a pregnancy would both be immoral (because he was not the owner) and bad for business, because it lowered the price of the slave.[160] A purchase manual similarly expressed concern that brokers might impregnate slaves in their care and blame the seller.[161] The brokers' commercial integrity was central to their role as intermediaries, because there was a risk that they might undervalue a slave, buy him themselves, and then sell him for a higher price, thus scamming the original seller. Therefore, 'the brokers must also swear that they will not buy a slave [*mamlūk*] with their own money to trade on their own account. They must swear not to employ a partner who buys on their account and not to circumvent this rule in any other way'.[162] It is not directly stated in the manuals how these brokers were paid, but it is most likely that they received a

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158 See the documents RN 999b, RN 1072, RN 1077a, RN 983, RN 1023, RN 1077b, RN 1063a, and RN 997 in Li Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community in a Red Sea Port in the Thirteenth Century: The Arabic Documents from Quseir*, Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, v. 52 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 59, 218–20, 236–37, 247–58, 277–83, 284–86, 244–45, 248–49.

159 Ibid., 218–20.

160 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84.

161 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Risāla jāmiʿa li-funūn nāfiʿa fī shirāʾ al-raqīq wa-taqlīb al-ʿabīd', in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, al-Ṭabʿah 1, vol. 1 (Al-Qāhirah: Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1951), 357–58.

162 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 150.

fixed commission of a few percent of the sale price. Defrauding the seller was certainly a more lucrative approach, but also very risky, because the broker's business depended on his personal reputation in the eyes of his business partners and of the market inspector.

Brokers are usually referred to as *nakhkhāsūn* (sg. *nakhkhās*), which can be read literally as 'drovers'. Both al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa thematically group them with cattle brokers in their chapters, which shows the connection of 'driving' cattle and 'driving' slaves to the market in order to sell them. These two professions may even have overlapped, since the requisite holding pens and business connections could be used for both purposes. Ibn Bassām treats them in isolation. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa also refers to them as *simsār* (pl. *samāsira*), which is a word for middleman that lacks the 'driving' connotations of *nakhkhās*. He applies this term to brokers of slaves, cattle, and houses: *samāsirat al-ʿabīd wa-l-jawārī wa-l-dawwāb wa-l-dūr*.[163] Another term for broker, *dallāl,* literally means 'guide' and is used by the Andalusian author al-Saqāṭī as a synonym for *simsār*.[164] Anne-Marie Eddé translates *dallāl* as 'broker' (fr. *courtier*)[165] and Peter Thorau as 'auctioneer'.[166] In the chronicles it is associated with the supply of *mamlūk* recruits: al-Maqrīzī mentions a *dallāl al-mamālīk* as well as *dallālū 'l-khayl*, meaning slave and horse brokers.[167] This suggests that *dallālūn* were a variety of *nakhkhāsūn* and who were involved in the final stages of the slave trade.

Slave brokers were required to keep a notebook (*daftar*) in which they recorded the details of their transactions. None has survived intact. The Cairo Geniza contains *daftar* notebooks from other trades, but the only partially surviving medieval slave broker's notebook was recovered during an archaeological excavation at Fusṭāṭ and dated to the first half of the eleventh century.[168] It provides less detailed information than is required by later *ḥisba* manuals, but it was written in the same spirit of commercial responsibility and accountability that was demanded by their authors. A typical entry reads: 'Sunday, twelve days

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163 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 152.
164 al-Saqāṭī, *Un manuel hispanique de hisba: traité d'Abù ʿAbd Allah Muhammad b. Abi Muhammad as-Sakati de Malaga sur la surveillance des corporations et la répression des fraudes en Espagne musulmane*, ed. Georges S Colin and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1931), 37 (French) and 57 (Arabic).
165 Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep, (579/1183–658/1260)*, 543.
166 Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 28.
167 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, vol. 3 (London: Al-Furqān, 2002), 318; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1997), 188.
168 D.S. Richards, 'Fragments of a slave dealer's day-book from Fusṭāṭ', in *Documents de l'Islam médiéval: nouvelles perspectives de recherche: actes de la table ronde, Paris, 3–5 mars 1988*, ed. Yūsuf Rāġib and Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France), TAEI 29 (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1991), 89, 92.

left of the month. A girl. The seller is Ramaḍān. The buyer is Raḥāb. The price is
57 1/2 [dinars]. Also, on this day: a girl, not a virgin. The seller is Manṣūr, the
agent of Abū Isḥāq. The seller is Ibn Ḥaydara, the judge of Tripoli. The price is
110 [dinars]'.[169] Most other entries are incompletely preserved, but many seem to
be even shorter. They always contain the gender of the slave and the name of
either the seller or the buyer, and some also provide the 'trade' (ṣanʿa) of the
contracting parties, as later authors demand. The author never supplied the name
of the slave, but occasionally their ethnicity is mentioned, e.g. 'from Anatolia'
(rūmī) or 'born in slavery' (muwallad). Slaves are treated as chattels. The daftar
suggests that slaves were traded individually and at considerable sums by brokers
who handled perhaps one or two slaves per day, but not more than five per week.
Despite the earlier provenance of this daftar, its findings are in line with the
literary evidence of the Mamluk period. Brokers filled a lucrative niche by fa-
cilitating transactions for a commission and their work was integral to the
functioning of the slave market.

(3) Buyers went to the market to buy slaves from brokers. Ḥisba manuals
mention them indirectly and mainly in the context of the physical inspection of
slaves. They were entitled to inspect the bodies of the exhibited slaves within
certain limits. These limits were gender-specific and motivated by religious
concerns about sexual propriety. The limits of public decency were defined much
more liberally than in the case of free Muslims, but the market inspectors were
clearly interested in keeping the slaves' bodies covered to some extent. This was
most likely not motivated by a desire to protect their dignity, but to protect the
sensibilities of free Muslims walking the streets. It is interesting to note that the
relevant passages of all three authors are more similar than the rest of their
chapters. Centuries apart, they use the same formulaic language and prescribe
the same limitations. This indicates that there was a resilient legal tradition and
cultural custom of inspecting slaves in this way.

The buyers could only inspect the face and hands (wajhihā wa-kaffayhā) of
female slaves.[170] All three authors state that buyers were allowed (jāza lahu) to
inspect slaves, but it was also the broker's obligation to inform the buyer of any
faults; he was expressly forbidden to knowingly (ʿalamūhu) conceal anything
from the buyer.[171] Buyers were allowed to examine the entire body of male slaves
with the exception of their genitalia, which is prudishly expressed as mā fawq
al-surra wa dūn al-rukba.[172] A quick examination of the permissible body parts
was conducted on the market and it is implied in the inspection manuals that

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169 Ibid., 93–95.
170 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84.
171 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 152.
172 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84.

prospective buyers were well within their rights to take a male slave home before they bought him; purchase manuals recommend that the buyer watch the slave in his sleep to learn about his character before purchase.[173] If the slave was to work as an artisan's assistant, his skills could be tested at the place of production.[174]

In the case of female slaves, the process was more complicated. There is an unwritten suspicion in the manuals that a male customer would have sexual intercourse with the slave girl as soon as they were alone and out of sight, which was illegal before he purchased her. The broker was therefore obliged to refuse the customer if he wanted to take her home before the purchase. Problems arose when the buyer wanted to check for diseases in places other than her face and hands. It was possible that he wanted to assure himself that she was sexually attractive before he purchased her for childbearing or pleasure. For this purpose, he had to assure the broker that he had women in his house (*anna yakūn ʿindahu nisāʾ fi manzilihi*) and that they would conduct the full-body (*jamīʿ badanihā*) examination instead of him. The authors are eager to assure the reader that 'all of this refers to the time before the sale – after the sale [the buyer] may inspect the entirety of the body of the female slave'.[175]

A note of caution is in order here: we lack eyewitness records to verify this relatively virtuous depiction of Mamluk slave markets. Yusuf Ragib has demonstrated that such rules were often circumvented or ignored to the detriment of the slaves; they might be displayed naked, beaten, and abused in a variety of ways.[176] His judgement seems to be based primarily on modern travellers' accounts and regulations seeking to prevent abuses. The material for the Ayyubid and Mamluk period is too scarce to come to similar conclusions, but the *ḥisba* manuals' comparatively positive depiction of the slave market must be seen critically.

(4) Slave agency was severely constricted in the slave market. Slaves were designated as cattle to be sold and bought, though regulations were designed to prevent the most severe abuses.[177] They had a limited capacity to influence their fate by refusing to cooperate in the inspection and sale process or by facilitating the process by conforming to buyers' expectations through role-appropriate behaviour such as friendly gestures or displays of physical strength. This manifestation of agency was fundamentally relational, since they exerted influence

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173 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 364.

174 This is not attested in the above manuals, but it is discussed here: Ragib, 'Les marchés aux esclaves en terre d'Islam', 752.

175 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 153; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149–50.

176 Ragib, 'Les marchés aux esclaves en terre d'Islam', 738–43.

177 See also Barker's discussion of the dual nature of slaves as commodities and human beings, Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 412.

through their interactions with the slave broker and the prospective buyer, thereby laying the groundwork for the future master-slave relationship.

Later sources give a sense of desperate cooperation; laughter and flirtatious behaviour directed at customers who would take them away from the misery of the market.[178] The *ḥisba* manuals do not mention this, even though purchase manuals (see section 1.3) describe a variety of situations in which a slave could actively influence the buyer's decision. The *ḥisba* manuals attribute limited agency to slaves in four situations: when they were asked about (a) their religion, (b) their age and their consent to the sale, (c) whether they were pregnant, and (d) about their previous enfranchisement contracts.

(a) The importance of religion has been alluded to in the section on sellers above: Ibn Bassām prohibits the sale of children to Christians and Jews, except when their mother is 'a devout Christian'.[179] This gave slave mothers the option of preventing or facilitating their sale to a certain buyer, by concealing or emphasizing their Christian faith, or by falsely claiming to be Christian. The success of this strategy certainly depended on how seriously the other actors in the market took this particular *ḥisba* regulation, which does not feature in the other two manuals. A similar and better-documented regulation mentioned by al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa is that the *ahl al-dhimma* could not buy Muslim slaves. Such regulations were meant to preserve the social and demographic superiority of Islam by preventing the conversion of slaves to other religions and by acting as a marker of social status.[180] The broker had to know 'for sure' (*yaqīnan*) that a slave was not a Muslim if he was going to sell him to a Christian or a Jew.[181] If a slave did not want to be sold to a buyer whom he knew to be a Christian, he could claim to be a Muslim and hope that market regulations were enforced sufficiently to prevent the sale. There were many practical problems, however, that would have made it difficult to enforce this regulation. The frontier regions from which most slaves came, like the Horn of Africa and the Turkish steppes, were subject to a slow but steady Islamization. If a slave knew enough Arabic, he could presumably claim to be a Muslim despite being a 'pagan' and thus influence the outcome of the commercial transaction. Ibn Bassām seems to be aware of this when he writes that 'those who do not understand [Arabic] are Christians', thus implying that slaves speaking Arabic should be treated as potential Muslims.[182] This passage exemplifies an underlying attitude which assumed a close association of eth-

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178 Ragib, 'Les marchés aux esclaves en terre d'Islam', 743.
179 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.
180 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 56.
181 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 84.
182 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.

nicity, language, and religious affiliation. A similar cultural attitude is evident in the slavery-related Galata court documents discussed by Sobers-Khan.[183]

There is some evidence, however, that suggests that such religiously inspired regulations were commonly ignored in slave markets. For example, al-Sakhāwī reports that the Ethiopian (ḥabashiyya) child-bearing slave (mustawlada) Jawhara, who belonged to a fifteenth-century Meccan scholar, 'used to say that her name was Fāṭima and that she was Jabartī and not Ethiopian', thus implying that she had been a Muslim and not a Christian when she was captured, making her enslavement illegal.[184] This suggests that ḥisba regulations and laws were at times ignored at the markets, usually to the slaves' detriment.

(b) Age and consent were also limiting factors when selling slaves. All three authors agree that 'it is not permitted to separate a slave girl from her children' (lā yajūz an yufarraq bayna jāriyya wa-waladihā).[185] This regulation was designed to protect slaves and to prevent unnecessary cruelty. Slave mothers (umm walad) also enjoyed special legal protection when they bore the child of their master, which was born free[186]; the prohibition on breaking up slave families is a weaker form of such protection. Al-Shayzarī specifies that this concerns children under the age of seven.[187] Ibn Bassām does not provide an age limit but adds that this regulation does not apply when the children are 'mature' (bawāligh [sic!]) and give their consent (ʿan tarāḍin baynahum). This is a rare instance in ḥisba manuals in which slaves are given a direct voice to interject themselves in the commercial negotiations and mirrors the notarial practice of including the slave's assent to their servile condition in the contract of sale itself, as discussed in chapter 2. This indicates that slaves possessed legal agency on the slave market, though it is uncertain to what extent these regulations were enforced – if they were intended to counter widespread abuse, they may also be interpreted as indications of a lack of slave agency on the market, which was perhaps the most demeaning and dehumanizing environment which the slaves encountered throughout their lives.

In parallel to Ibn Bassām's form of words, al-Shayzarī also defines an age limit which accorded a measure of legal agency to slaves, since there was seldom documentary proof of a child's age and the mother's word and the child's physical appearance were the only sources of information. By claiming that her child was younger than seven years' old or had not yet reached 'maturity', a mother could prevent a separate sale – as long as the above regulations were actually enforced.

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183 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 139–52.

184 al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ, vol. 12, 12:18.

185 al-Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-rutba, 84.

186 J. Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad', in Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

187 al-Shayzarī, Nihāyat al-rutba, 84.

The documentary record suggests that mothers were commonly sold together with their children. A conservative estimate based on Damascene listening certificates suggests that at least five percent of *fatā* domestic slaves served in the same household as one of their siblings. For example, one of the sons of Saladin named Aḥmad owned five Ethiopian brothers (Badr, Jawhar, Masrūr, ʿAnbar, and Kāfūr) and one amir named Muḥammad owned five Turkish brothers (Aybak, Bilbak, Aydughdī, Shafiʿ, and Jawhar).[188] Assuming that slave breeding in captivity was rare and that these slaves were imported, they were probably sold together with their mother on a slave market, under the relative protection of the above regulation.

(c) Women could choose to hide their pregnancy if they wanted to be sold off. Ibn Bassām stipulates that a female slave can only be sold 'if she has bled, which means that she has experienced the days of menstruation'.[189] This does not refer to reaching puberty. It was intended to prevent sellers (or brokers) trying to pass off their children as the children of the buyer, with whom the slave was assumed to have sexual intercourse after the sale, as documented in the Geniza documents and discussed by Craig Perry.[190] Ibn Bassām even provides practical advice on how to enforce this regulation: '[another] woman carefully examines the blood and takes note of whether [the slave] has gained weight to make sure the blood is not fake'.[191] This suggests that slave women had a stake in hiding pregnancies in order to facilitate their acceptance into a new household and that they actively sought to conceal pregnancies on the slave market.

(d) It is surprising to find regulations concerning the sale of slaves with *kitāba* enfranchisement contracts, since such contracts should have prevented their sale in the eyes of all but Hanbali scholars.[192] *Kitāba* contracts allowed the slave to pay for his freedom from instalments earned from wage labour; it also afforded limited legal protection similar to that of *umm walad* slave mothers.[193] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa writes that 'the contractual obligations [ʿahd] of male slaves who have been with their master for a long time must be examined in order to determine what conditions are imposed [*mā qad shuriṭa*] on the buyer due to the commitments between the two'.[194] Ibn Bassām uses *ʿuhda* instead of *ʿahd*

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188 Various entries in Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad Sawwās, and Maʾmūn Ṣāgharjī, *Muʾjam al-samāʿāt al-Dimashqiyya al-muntakhaba min sanat 550 ilā 750 H / 1155 ilā 1349*, Publications de l'I.F.E.A.D.; 162 (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1996), see especially pp. 209–210 and 229.

189 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.

190 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 1–2.

191 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.

192 R. Brunschvig, 'ʿAbd', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

193 Ibid.

194 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 152.

and adds the phrase 'especially in the case of a slave who is with foreigners [*ghurabāʾ*]'. He also specifies that 'if the liberty of the slave is mentioned in the contract [*idhā kāna fī'l-ʿuhda dhikr li-nafsihi*], then it is a written emancipation contract according to precedent [*fa-hiyya kitāba ʿan al-makhbūr*]'.[195] Unfortunately, he does not explain the consequences of this rule – perhaps slaves whose ʿuhda contracts qualified as *kitāba* contracts due to the mention of their eventual freedom could not be sold. It is also possible that the buyer took over the contractual obligations of the seller, so that the slave could continue to pay instalments towards his freedom. In either case, the slave had a vested interest in making his special legal status known to the broker and buyer. This regulation was most likely designed to protect *mukātab* slaves from exploitative masters who sold them off shortly before their emancipation and thus denied them their freedom.

These *kitāba*-related passages indicate that slave contracts were more common than the sparse documentary record suggests. These contracts strengthened the position of the slave in relation to their master, since they strengthened their social and legal agency by interjecting the court system into the master-slave relationship. As discussed by Sobers-Khan in the early Ottoman context, they were an effective means of integrating skilled slaves into the host society and to socially bind them to their masters beyond even the guaranteed point of manumission.[196] On the other hand, the inclusion of these passages in *ḥisba* manuals suggests that masters tried to sell off their contractual slaves in contravention of their contracts, thereby breaking the master-slave bond as well as established interpretations of Islamic law. Despite the mutual dependence of both parties in the master-slave relationship, the fundamental inequality of the relationship meant that masters could take advantage of their slaves in contravention of publicly agreed terms. The slave could not rely entirely on legal guarantees and it was advisable to also cultivate the goodwill of their master as a second pillar in order to ensure their eventual manumission.

1.2.3 Miscellaneous Regulations

The *ḥisba* manuals address a range of other issues related to the sale of slaves. Among these are (1) the sale of singing slaves and the role of slave prostitution as well as (2) the medical knowledge to detect illnesses and physical impairments.

(1) Singing slave girls and their sale on the market were a controversial topic. When Ibn al-Ukhuwwa revised the text of al-Shayzarī in the fourteenth century,

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195 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.
196 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 199, 203.

one of only two major additions to this chapter was the prohibition of the sale of female slaves to 'people who would make them sing' (*li-man yatakhkhadhuhā li-l-ghināʾ*).[197] He justified this prohibition with the established scholarly line of argument. He cites the beginning of Quran 31:6: 'And from among the people, he who buys the amusement of speech…'.[198] Then he cites a relevant hadith: 'Do not sell the singing girls and the songstresses and do not buy them. There is no merit in trading them and the profit derived from them is forbidden'. This is the only instance in the slave inspection chapters of all three authors where the formal Quran-hadith line of argument is employed, which suggests that the author was personally invested in this regulation. His prohibition suggests that there was a trade in slave performers in fourteenth-century Egypt. This conclusion is supported by the detailed advice for buying singing and dancing slaves in the contemporaneous purchase manuals discussed below. Despite his protestations, it is unlikely that the moralizing objections of a scholar did much to hinder the human trafficking of 'slave singers', even if these protestations were embedded in a *ḥisba* manual.

The phrase 'people who would make them sing' may be a euphemism for slave prostitution, which would also explain the vigour with which Ibn al-Ukhuwwa states the ban. He does not use the established term *qiyān*[199], but employs a rather awkward phrase (*li-man yatakhkhadhuhā li-l-ghināʾ*) which leaves room for interpretation. Of course, he may simply have been a particularly conservative scholar whose personal dislike of singing caused him to emphasize this prohibition when he re-worked al-Shayzarī's text into his own treatise. After all, slave singers could be rented out by their owners for a profit.[200] On the other hand, modern scholarship suggests that there was indeed a connection between slave singers and prostitution: 'it is appropriate to refer to the [Abbasid-era] *qiyān* as courtesans [in the sense of elite prostitutes]'.[201]

Recent work by Gary Leiser has shown that slave prostitution continued in the Mamlūk period despite its explicit prohibition by the Quran and the hadith

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197 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 153.
198 The Sahih International translation of 31:6 is "And of the people is he who buys the amusement of speech to mislead [others] from the way of Allah without knowledge and who takes it in ridicule. Those will have a humiliating punishment."
199 Charles Pellat, 'Ḳayna', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, n.d.).
200 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 87.
201 Matthew Gordon, 'Preliminary Remarks on Slaves and Slave Labor in the Third/Ninth Century Abbasid Empire', in *Slaves and Households in the Near East: Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar 'Slaves and Households in the Near East' Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 5–6 March 2010*, Oriental Institute Seminars, no. 7 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 75.

tradition.[202] He does not systematically employ documentary evidence to support his observations, but his argument on the basis of literary sources is convincing. In the context of his study, the above passage in the ḥisba manual of Ibn al-Ukhuwwa can be understood as a reference to the incidence of slave prostitution, especially since he notes that 'singing girls worked as prostitutes'.[203] He assembles evidence for contemporary slave prostitution from a variety of literary genres. For example, he quotes Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who reported that Anatolian Muslims bought Greek slave girls to prostitute them.[204] He also points to an anecdote about Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who interacted with slave prostitutes and their female pimp and owner.[205] Despite this, it appears that the great majority of prostitutes were free women rather than slaves.[206] Work by Ehud Toledano suggests that female slaves were forced into prostitution on later Ottoman slave markets and it is possible that the Mamluk works of ḥisba sought to counteract analogues occurrences on Mamluk slave markets.[207]

(2) All three authors insist that the broker has to inspect medically all slaves before he sells them. Al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa include a few brief comments about this, saying that he is obliged to know about the symptoms of diseases and physical impairments, look for them, and then report them to the buyer. They repeat that in the case of males the genitals must not be examined (*jamiʿa jasadihi siwa ʿawratihi*).[208] It is not clear if females were routinely examined by brokers and if brokers had to abide by the same strict rules as customers when handling them. Ibn Bassām is much more specific about how inspections are to be carried out by the brokers; his instructions are longer than the main body of his chapter. While the other two authors only mention that this needs to be done, he delves into the specifics of many diseases and describes their symptoms, from leprosy and asthma to elephantiasis and weak eyesight. The testing procedures he describes are quite unpleasant and would have resulted in undignified situations for the slaves in question; eyelids were pulled, necks grabbed, teeth and mouth odours examined. These were not *ad-hoc* tests to be

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202 Prostitution as such was considered immoral, but it was not illegal. For the legal situation see pages 67–85 and for the relevant conclusions see pages 189 and 254 in Gary Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World: The Economics of Sex in the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East*, Library of Middle East History (London: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 2017); Petry remarks that prostitution itself was considered 'disgraceful behaviour', but that it was not a 'ḥadd-worthy' crime: Carl F. Petry, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society: Narratives from Cairo and Damascus Under the Mamluks* (Chicago Studies on the Middle East, 2016), 150.

203 Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, 236.

204 Ibid., 224.

205 Ibid., 221–22.

206 Ibid., 254.

207 Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 166–77.

208 al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 85; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 153.

done in the street, and he even recommends performing them in certain spaces: 'the surface of the body is examined in a well-lit place' and 'wound dressings should be treated with suspicion; the slave should be taken to a bath [*ḥamām*][209] and the suspicious spot should be washed with water'.[210] The section ends with the comment that all these procedures had to be followed and that 'for all other matters, those who know about medicine must be consulted'. These extensive medical inspections confirm the impression that slaves represented a significant investment for most buyers. They were expensive and any faults that came to light after the purchase would have resulted in complaints and lawsuits. From the perspective of the market inspector, this was best avoided by making the broker liable for any such faults, thus discouraging intentional fraud on his part. From the perspective of the slave, it was often advisable to hide physical defects and illnesses in order to facilitate a sale into a household which could offer improved living conditions and social advancement. The deception of buyers by slaves who hid defects should therefore not be seen as the work of devious sellers who sought to swindle buyers, but as a conscious act on the part of the slave and thus as a manifestation of the slave agency with the intent to escape the slave market.

1.3   Demand for Slaves: Purchase Manuals

Purchase manuals go beyond the narrow commercial focus of market inspection manuals. They advise the buyer on how to choose a slave for a specific purpose, how to examine him or her, and how to see through the tricks of the slave brokers. In doing so, purchase manuals impart a great deal of information about the position of slaves in households. They betray the cultural preconceptions and ethnic stereotypes which shaped and reflected the demand for certain types of slaves. Their practical advice provides insights into the day-to-day dealings on the market that cannot be gleaned from inspection manuals.

Nevertheless, a note of caution is necessary. These works are significantly longer than the *ḥisba* passages on the slave trade and contain enough literary flourishes to suggest that they addressed an audience that was interested not only in their practical utility as manuals, but also in their quality as works of *adab* literature. The treatise of Anonymous, in particular, contains large sections of poetry that fulfil no practical purpose other than to entertain its readership. There is a danger that these texts were meant to entertain rather than to inform and that the literary tropes they contain, especially in regard to the ethnicity of slaves, were either outdated by the time these works were published or that they

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209 According to the editor, this word is only written only in one manuscript.
210 Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 150.

were irrelevant to the majority of people who frequented slave markets. There are a number of indicators, however, which suggest that these works reflect the mindset of buyers, many of whom were educated and literate, and the reality of the slave market. First and foremost, the treatises contain sections on the physical inspections of slaves, which were of clear practical value during the process of selecting and buying slaves. Additionally, each author strove to include up-to-date information when he edited his colleagues' work; Anonymous added a section on the (mixed) virtues of thirteenth-century Frankish slaves who must have flooded the market during his lifetime, while al-Amshāṭī discussed the qualities of Circassian military slaves for the benefit of his fifteenth-century readers. The central role of ethnicity in the perception of slaves is attested in other source genres, as well. For example, Carl Petry notes that in the case of murders recorded in chronicles, 'the ethnicity of enslaved offenders was likely to receive a pointed reference in case narratives', which suggests that some slave ethnicities were considered to be more dangerous or deviant than others.[211] This in turn suggests that the racial stereotypes which are central to the valuation of slaves in these purchase manuals were part of the wider societal discourse on identity and ethnicity.

This study operates on the assumption that these treatises reflect social reality to a sufficient degree despite the literary tropes they carry. The conclusions of this section are best analysed in connection with other sources. For example, they provide valuable context to the demographic data gained from biographical compendia and archival material (see section 3.2.1), which in turn provide a check on literary topoi.

Three purchase manuals form the basis of the ensuing discussion. They have been selected on the basis of a study by Hans Müller which surveys the surviving Islamicate slave purchase manuals.[212] Their selection is based on the desire to compare works from the beginning and the end of the Mamluk era while also tracing the literary tradition back to its roots in the eleventh century. Neither of the Mamluk-era treatises has been edited and while al-Amshāṭī's work survives in many manuscripts scattered throughout the world, the work of Anonymous survives only in one copy in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo. There are without doubt many more similar works which have not been discovered so far, and this study does not pretend to cover the literary genre as a whole. Scholarly interest in these texts has been renewed in the last few years and Hannah Barker has recently

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211 Petry, *Criminal Underworld*, 225–26.
212 Müller, *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs*.

published a study on a related treatise.[213] The analysis below is based on the works of these three authors:

Ibn Buṭlān (d. 1075) was a Nestorian Christian physician who lived and worked in Baghdad. One of his lesser-known works is the *Risāla jāmiʿa li-funūn nāfiʿa fī shirāʾ al-raqīq wa-taqlīb al-ʿabīd*, a manual for examining and buying slaves on the market.[214] This treatise is a useful starting point for an inquiry into Mamluk slave markets, because it was by most measures the first purchase manual and exerted great influence on later works.[215] It might even be seen as the 'common link' (to borrow from Joseph Schacht) of such manuals. In this respect, it is similar to the *ḥisba* treatise of al-Shayzarī.

'Anonymous' (c. 1250) is the name we must unfortunately give the unknown author of the treatise *al-Taḥqīq fī shirāʾ al-raqīq*. It has not been edited and exists in only one manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo as no. 48 in the section *Fadāʾil wa-Radhāʾil*. It is dedicated to a grandson of Saladin, the ruler of ʿAyntab, which suggests that it was composed around the year 1250 in Egypt or Syria.[216] With 354 pages it is significantly longer than other manuals, partly because it contains long passages of verse between its prose sections, which are often based on Ibn Buṭlān's work.

Al-Amshāṭī (d. 1496) was a Mamluk scholar, doctor, and officer who lived in Cairo.[217] In 1478 he wrote the purchase manual *al-Qawl al-shadīd fī ikhtiyār al-imāʾ wa-l-ʿabīd*, which is based on Anonymous' earlier treatise. The work has not been edited and exists in a number of manuscripts that do not diverge significantly from each other.[218] This study relies on the manuscript held in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha under the registry entry 'Ms. orient. A 1237', alternatively under 'arab. 906' or 'Seetzen Kahira 140'. It is a much shorter work than Anonymous' and should be seen as an updated and shortened version of his treatise.

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213 Hannah Barker, 'Purchasing a Slave in Fourteenth-Century Cairo: Ibn al-Akfānī's Book of Observation and Inspection in the Examination of Slaves', *Mamluk Studies Review*, no. 19 (2016).

214 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq'.

215 Müller, *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs*, 46.

216 Ibid., 112.

217 Ibid., 116.

218 Ibid.

1.3.1   Reasons for Buying a Slave

The manuals mention a multitude of tasks for which slaves would be used. These can be grouped into the following categories: war, work, sex, and prestige. These categories overlapped, but their distinction is useful to understand the motivations of slave buyers and owners, which in turn helps to understand the character of domestic slavery in this historical setting. The expectations towards slaves and roles designated for them in these literary works bring to light a web of relationships within an idealised patriarchal household. These expectations underlay the relationship between master and slave and shaped the slave's bargaining power within it, since different roles required different patterns of behaviour and varying degrees of willing cooperation. The purposes set out below opened vastly differing career projectories for slaves within the extended household and beyond it. Gender and ethnicity played a decisive role in these career opportunities, alongside talent and the cultivation of social capital primarily through the bond of master and slave.

The relevant information discussed below has been taken primarily from chapter six of Ibn Buṭlān's manual and from chapter six of Anonymous' manual as well as from other chapters on racial traits and parts of the body. This key passage in Anonymous (inspired by Ibn Buṭlān[219]) provides an overview of the functions that slaves were expected to perform, even though its racial stereotypes were becoming antiquated by the thirteenth century:

> Whoever wants a female slave [*jāriyya*] for sexual pleasure [*ladhdha*] should take a Berber [*barbariyya*], for taking care of money [*ḥifẓ al-māl*] and for keeping stock [*al-khazn*] a Greek [*rūmiyya*], for offspring [*walad*] a Persian [*fārisiyya*], for breast-feeding [*raḍāʿ*] an East African [*zanjiyya*], for singing [*ghināʾ*] a Meccan[220], and for domestic service [*khidma*] an Armenian. Whoever wants male slaves [*ʿabīd*] for taking care of persons and money should take Indians and Nubians, for domestic service and for skilled work [*mihna*] and for hard work [*kadd*] he should take East Africans and Armenians, for war [*ḥarb*] Turks and Slavs [*saqāliba*], and for scholarship [*ʿilm*] and industry [*ṣināʿa*] Greeks and Arabs.[221]

War, meaning military service, was the primary reason 'the state', i. e. the households of the generals who vied for power, acquired slaves. This function of slavery is expressly not the focus of this study, but it features in the manuals and must be mentioned here. Only male slaves were bought as soldiers and there was a strong preference for certain races as slave recruits. All three authors speak highly of Turks, but the eleventh-century Ibn Buṭlān also recommends

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219 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 352.
220 This is a possible reference to slave prostitution as discussed in section 1.2.3.
221 Anon. 21–22.

Slavs [*ṣaqāliba*[222]] in equal measure, and the fifteenth-century al-Amshāṭī portrays Circassians [*jarkas*] as the ideal warrior race, which is a reflection of the social norms of their times.[223] When a buyer found a promising slave on the market he was to test him by 'suddenly confronting him with something frightening, like snakes, or throwing loud things before them from up high'.[224] The manuals leave the impression that slave recruits were sold alongside domestic slaves – in the same places and by the same merchants – and that their function was not determined until they were bought and trained. This corresponds with the argument of section 1.1.1 according to which Cairo had a singular slave market at any given time on which slaves were sold to a variety of purchasers for a variety of functions. The inspection methods described in the manuals grant the slave a measure of agency by making the decision of whether to purchase him for martial purposes dependent on his reaction to tests of fear and strength; this situation gave the slave the option of avoiding a fighting career by consciously displaying weakness and fear.

Work, meaning domestic and artisanal labour, was the primary reason for the acquisition of slaves by urban households. Slave labour is portrayed as gender-specific: 'Men are suited for all tasks [*ṣanāʾiʿ*], while women are more suited for the tasks of singing, cooking, preparing food, *educating children, and breast-feeding*'.[225] The overall impression is that women were used nearly exclusively in positions of domestic service, such as cleaning, cooking, and child-rearing. There are a few notable exceptions, but highly skilled female slaves like singers, dancers, and musicians were few in number. Men, on the other hand, were used both for menial household tasks and for skilled artisanal and administrative work, if their training allowed for this. They could even gain their freedom by entering into a *kitāba* contract which promised enfranchisement in exchange for diligent artisanal work. A slave could reach high ranks in the household of his master and become his treasurer (*khāzin*) or business agent.[226] This applied to a lesser degree to women, who are mentioned to be suitable for *khazn* as well. Some of the gender roles are unexpected.[227] The mention of 'scholarship' as a task for Arab and Greek slaves in the above passage seems fictional; Arabs were customarily not enslaved and there is no documentary evidence for slave scholars,

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222 The meaning of this term is disputed, but its primary ethnic meaning was 'Slav'. See P.B. Golden et al., 'Al-Ṣaḳāliba', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

223 Al-Amshāṭī, 9a–9b; Anon. 252; Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 387.

224 Anon. 252.

225 Anon. 143. The manuscript is damaged towards the end of the sentence and I am following the reading of Müller, Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs, 153.

226 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 97, 162.

227 For example, male cooks, see Anon. 258.

even though some freed slaves emulated their scholarly masters and became known as *ḥadīth* scholars.[228]

Sex is a central motif in the advice literature and in other genres that discuss slaves and their role in the household. While the labour of a female slave was often the primary reason for a purchase, sexual attraction was likely to play a role whenever a man bought a woman; as Ibn Buṭlān writes, 'do not shop for a slave girl [*jāriyya*] when you are lustful [*shabiq*], because a sexually excited man [*munʿiẓ*] knows no reason and decides at first sight'.[229] The master controlled the slave's body and had the legal right to use it for sexual pleasure and procreation. There were a number of limitations to this right; for example, it did not apply in cases where the owner was female or where ownership was shared among several people. The purchase manuals give extensive advice on which women to buy for what purpose and they distinguish between a variety of sexual functions, mainly pleasure, child-bearing, breastfeeding, and child-rearing. Unsurprisingly, the 'pleasure' function receives the most attention, especially in the poetry accompanying Anonymous' text, but also in the graphic details of Ibn Buṭlān's and al-Amshāṭī's texts.[230] Buying slave concubines gave men a way to have extra-marital sex without committing adultery in a legal sense. There is some indication that slaves used exclusively as concubines had a higher social status than slaves used for *khidma* domestic labour[231] and it is certain that slaves used for child-bearing were afforded basic legal protection.[232] The limiting factor for amassing concubines was wealth (and marriage contracts forbidding the practice[233]), because the purchase and maintenance of a concubine was expensive. Documentary evidence suggests that slave concubines took on a role similar to junior wives after giving birth and that many were manumitted later in life.[234] The sexual abuse of slaves was not limited to women. While homosexuality does not directly feature in the purchase manuals, slave eunuchs were treated as sex objects in contemporaneous belles-lettres writing, notably in al-Ghuzūlī's *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr,* and the beauty of adolescent Turkish slave boys was a common literary motif.[235] Despite the emotional and physical abuse inherent in the practice, sexual cooperation in the form of concubinage and even marriage offered perhaps the greatest chance of social advancement to female slaves, who could significantly

228 See sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

229 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 354–55.

230 For example, all three authors agree that East African are unattractive because of the smell (*natn*) and crudeness (*khushūna*) of their bodies. Al-Amshāṭī, 12a.

231 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 110, footnote 7.

232 Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'.

233 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 110 footnote 7.

234 See sections 3.2.2, 4.1, 5.2, and 6.2.

235 ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2000), chap. 6.

increase their bargaining power in the master-slave relationship by entering into
this arrangement willingly. Such willing cooperation is among the most well-
attested acts of slave agency in the documentary record, since concubinage and
child-bearing features with surprising regularity in both the corpus of listening
certificates and in the Ḥaram documents as studied in subsequent chapters.

Prestige was an important motivating factor for slave buyers. Owning slaves
was a display of social status and wealth. Great men controlled large households
staffed by slave servants and, if these men were part of the military aristocracy,
the number of slave soldiers they owned stood in direct correlation to their
political power. This function of slavery was so self-evident to the writers of the
purchase manuals that they never explicitly mentioned it. They wrote for an
audience of moderately wealthy slave-owners who sought slaves not only to
exploit their labour, but also to raise their own status by owning and controlling
others. As Ghuzūlī wrote, 'good life comes from the size of your house and high
standing [*ʿizz*] comes from having many slaves [*ʿabīd*]' and 'the glory [*ʿizz*] of
kings comes from having many slave soldiers [*mamālīk*]'.[236] This 'social para-
sitism' has been explored among others by Orlando Patterson, David Wyatt and
Craig Perry.[237] Prestige as a function of slavery became more important when the
master stood higher on the social ladder. An artisan might buy a slave assistant
mainly for his labour, while a successful merchant would be more interested in
displaying an exotic eunuch who served his meals. Slaves were status markers that
amplified the social standing of their masters. At the same time, the mutuality of
the master-slave relationship ensured that slaves who raised the prestige of their
master were themselves elevated socially through their bond with a high-ranking
household and individual. It is therefore not entirely accurate to speak of social
parasitism. The agency of the slave relative to outside actors is best expressed as
the interagency which takes the master-slave relationship as its unit of analysis.
The slave elevated the master through their service, but his position and power
relative to other actors likewise increased, since these were tied to the status of the
master. When the slave debased himself in relation to his master, they elevated
the master-slave unit. Thereby they ultimately elevated themselves relative to
other actors, especially if these actors were of a lower rank than their master.

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236 Ibid., 122.
237 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*; David Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain
     and Ireland, 800–1200*, Northern World; v. 45 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), chapter III 'Slavery,
     Power, and Gender'; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 55.

1.3.2   Racial Stereotypes

According to the manuals, the aptitude of slaves for specific domestic tasks depended on their race. The underlying racial stereotypes were one of the factors that shaped the demand of buyers on the slave market; the well-known preference for Turkish adolescents as slave recruits in late Ayyubid and early Mamluk armies is the most prominent example of this phenomenon. In the absence of sufficient statistical data, it is difficult to say just how much influence these stereotypes exerted on purchasing patterns, but they persisted in the literature for centuries and were probably known among the educated population. Anonymous and al-Amshāṭī amended Ibn Buṭlān's text and added long passages to it, for example on Frankish, Kurdish and Circassian slaves, but their thirteenth and fifteenth-century works stay remarkably close to the eleventh-century treatise of Ibn Buṭlān. Anonymous' section on racial attributes is the most elaborate of the three; it is nearly fifty pages long, richly decorated with verse and it discusses in depth the positive and negative attributes of each race.[238]

This suggests that ethnic slave stereotypes had become literary topoi. This reduces their usefulness as indicators of historical social conditions, but they nevertheless provide a context to the data points supplied by other genres of sources. Documentary sources, in particular, tend to provide very little information on individual slaves beyond their name and ethnicity. It is impossible to accurately estimate to what extent these individuals were judged according to the literary preconceptions of their perceived race, but in the absence of more reliable sources regarding the dynamics of race in Mamluk society, literary topoi provide clues which are worth considering in a study of the social experience of slaves. These topoi contain an element of truth in so far as they reflect how slaves of a particular ethnicity were employed in Mamluk society. The use of Turks for war and of Ethiopians for service and concubinage is attested in other sources; and if these two topoi were 'true', there is little reason to dismiss out of hand other topoi which can neither be proven nor disproven in the context of the wider source base.

There are additional reasons why the manuals must be read critically. They describe the use of slaves in an ideal household which is unaffected by their price or availability on the market. Documentary sources, on the other hand, suggest that most owners could only afford one slave and that the ethnicity of this slave was determined more by the supply side of the market than by literary topoi.[239] These considerations tie in to the assessment of the agency of slaves and their

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238 Anon. 21–67.
239 The supply side is considered in section 1.1 and the resulting composition of the slave population is discussed in sections 2.4, 3.2.1, and 6.2.

roles within the household, which were constrained by the perceived and as-
signed ethnicity a slave: the extent to which certain ethnicities were favoured for
specific roles limited the options of slaves of other ethnicities. The preference for
Turkish and Circassian slave soldiers, for example, made it far less likely for an
Ethiopian slave to enter such a professional path despite personal aptitude and
willingness. Such preferences, however, changed over time and black slave sol-
diers were employed towards the end of the Mamluk period.[240]

Anonymous and al-Amshāṭī use three main categories to categorize slaves
according to their race: Arabs (*al-ʿarab*), non-Arab whites (*al-aʿjām al-turk,
al-aʿjām al-akrād,* etc.), and blacks (*ajnās al-sūdān*) – in descending order of
virtue and desirability.[241] It appears that Arabs were mentioned mainly to
complete the list, affirm the racial superiority of Arab readers, and give a virtuous
contrast to the other races; the authors explicitly state that Arabs are not suitable
for servitude. This reflects the historical phenomenon that Arabs were never
enslaved in significant numbers in Islamicate societies. Ethnic nisba adjectives
indicating 'Arab' descent among slaves do not feature in any of the corpora of
documentary sources analysed in the present study, despite a wide range of other
geographical and ethnic designations. The enslavement of Arabs was a cultural-
religious taboo which can be traced to a saying ascribed to the caliph ʿUmar: 'no
ownership of an Arab is permitted'.[242]

Ethiopians and Turks made up the majority of slaves at the time of Anony-
mous, around the middle of the thirteenth century.[243] Anonymous describes both
groups in broadly positive terms, which reflects their integration into society in
specialised roles. He goes well beyond the brief account of Ibn Buṭlān in order to
explain to his readers how the character and temperament of Ethiopians is
particularly well-suited to domestic servitude and concubinage, which corre-
sponds to their documented roles in Mamluk households:

> Ethiopians [*ḥabash*] are more useful than East Africans [*zunūj*]. They can be trusted
> with persons and with money. […] There is obvious goodness in them. Their virtues and
> deficiencies are clear. They are intelligent and mindful. Their bodies are delightful and
> tender and weak. They are not good at singing and dancing. Their women are more
> obedient than their men. It is pleasant to have sexual intercourse [*nikāḥ*] with some
> among them, because of the heat of their genitals [*sukhūnat arḥāmihunna*] and the
> gracefulness of their bodies.[244]

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240 Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 136.
241 Al-Amshāṭī, 5b, 7a, 8a, 11a.
242 Murray Gordon, *Slavery in the Arab World*, 1st American ed. (New York: New Amsterdam, 1989), 32.
243 See section 3.2.1.
244 Anon. 48; Al-Amshāṭī adds to this that "they endure submission and servitude", 12a.

Turks, on the other hand, were praised for their innate martial skills. They share the 'sincere character' [*istiqāmat amzija*] of the Persians, but they 'surpass them in strength and endurance'.[245] It is implied that they should not be used in a domestic function, because they are prone to treachery [*ghadr*], lacking allegiance [*wafāʾ*] and mercy [*raḥma*], and because they are naturally inclined towards war and fighting rather than wisdom, scholarship, mathematics, craftsmanship [*ṣanāʾiʿ*] and politics.[246] While this stereotype underlay the recruitment practices of Ayyubid and Mamluk armies, it does not reflect the documented prevalence of Turks among the civilian domestic slave population.[247] The documented role of Turkish male slaves as craftsmen's assistants and of Turkish freedmen as scholars directly contradicts Anonymous' racial stereotype. It is likely that the demand for Turkish military recruits, supported by this stereotype, supported supply systems which flooded the market with Turkish adolescents, who were then used in a variety of roles due to their widespread availability.

Circassians and Franks are case studies that tell us about the prejudices of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, because the relevant passages were added in their entirety by Anonymous and al-Amshāṭī. Ibn Buṭlān, writing in the eleventh century, makes no mention of them. The addition of a section on the 'Franks' [*ifranj*] by Anonymous is a result of the presence of Western European captives in Egypt in the thirteenth century due to crusade-related warfare.[248] His verdict on them is mixed; they are described as stupid and averse to education, but strong in their own faith [*lahum imāna fī dīnihim*] and skilled in manual crafts [*al-ṣanāʾiʿ wa-aʿmal al-aydī*]. The key statement in his account is that they are not to be trusted and therefore 'should not be enslaved [*lā yantafiʿ bihim fī'l-istirqāq*]'. This suggests that 'Frankish' captives were not commonly used as slaves in this period but ransomed or otherwise exploited. This hypothesis is supported by the absence of any deeds of sale, court records, and listening certificates mentioning Western European slaves in this period. Mamluk chronicles show that Cairo had a subject population of 'Frankish captives' (*asārā min al-ifranj*), who enjoyed limited autonomy as a community, until the end of the fourteenth century.[249] There is most likely a correlation between the racial stereotype of the handy-but-untrustworthy Franks and the special captive-but-not-enslaved status of many of them within Mamluk society; perhaps one gave rise to the other.

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245 Anon. 34.
246 Anon. 34.
247 Turks were the largest ethnic group among the domestic slaves recorded in Damascus – see section 3.2.1.
248 Anon. 40–41.
249 Julien Loiseau, 'Frankish Captives in Mamluk Cairo', *Al Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 23, no. 1 (1 April 2011): 37–52.

Al-Amshāṭī wrote at length about the martial qualities of the Circassians [*jarkas*], who dominated the officer corps of the Mamluk empire during his lifetime in the fifteenth century.[250] According to him, they were stupid, arrogant, and violent, but brave and strong in a fight. He portrays a race whose male children are ideally suited to a captive upbringing and a career in the Mamluk army: Circassians did not have a scripture-based religion [*laysa lahum kitāb*], which meant that any young slave [*ghulām*] brought to the lands of Islam would easily be converted and brought up in the proper Islamic tradition. Furthermore, 'if you train a slave [*ghulām*] from among them in horsemanship [*furūsiyya*], he will become perfect in it and gain high distinctions and he will be suitable for leading armies, especially if he is introduced to slavery and obedience [*al-ghulāmiyya wa-l-ʿanwa*] while he is in puberty [*min sinn al-rihāq*]'. This description reflects the prominence of Circassian officers and sultans in Mamluk society and the fact that most of them had been imported and trained at a young age, which in turn gave rise to the racial stereotype of the mouldable and martially gifted Circassian.

Other races are judged mainly by their suitability for various functions in the realms of military service, domestic service, and sexual exploitation. Each race is introduced by a description of their physical appearance, followed by inherent character traits, an assessment of the sexual value of their women, and of the traits of their children, should the buyer wish to procreate with them. The underlying prejudices seem obscure to the modern reader and some of them may perhaps be based on the author's personal dislike – why does al-Amshāṭī add the remark that mountain-dwelling Kurds are crazy [*kathīrat awhām*][251]? These ethnic stereotypes assigned the ethnic 'other' into groups of descending inherent value and thereby justified their enslavement by ethnically superior Arabs.

The ethnic stereotypes presented by the authors of the purchase manuals were intended both to entertain the reader and to advise them which slaves to buy for specific roles within the household. The differences between the three authors reflect shifts in the perception of slave roles in society over time, specifically the introduction of Frankish and Circassian slaves. While changing circumstances evidently influenced the development of this literary genre, it is much less clear to what extent these manuals influenced the choices of buyers on the slave market. They may be seen as hyperbolical reflections of the social and cultural expectations attached to slaves of specific ethnicities. Buyers who could afford to strive for the idealised patriarchal household of *adab* literature might have been swayed by the manuals' advice, but the documentary evidence examined below suggests that the majority of slave-owners owned very limited numbers of slaves and that

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250 Al-Amshāṭī, 9a–9b.
251 Al-Amshāṭī, 8b.

the relation of ethnicity and occupational role was determined by the supply side of the market rather than literary ideals.

1.3.3   Slave Women as Workers, Mothers, and Sex Objects

Female slaves are discussed more thoroughly in the manuals than their male counterparts. This most likely reflects the demographics of the slave population. There are no reliable statistics, but documentary evidence suggests that most slaves were female and worked in households. Craig Perry observed female slaves are found 'far more frequently' in the Geniza documents of Cairo than male slaves[252] and the Ḥaram documents analysed in chapters 4, 5, and 6 leave a similar impression. It is therefore necessary to consider how female slaves were portrayed in the purchase manuals. The gendered nature of slavery in Ayyubid and Mamluk society meant that the agency of female slaves was expressed differently than the agency of male slaves. Both legal and social conventions differed for male and female slaves and offered gendered options for acts of resistance and cooperation. The manuals set out a range of specifically female scenarios of which the prospective buyer and future master of a slave should be aware – from outright deception on the part of a slave to unwanted pregnancies resulting from the rape of a slave.

The manuals warn prospective buyers that women offered for sale were not what they seemed. They list a variety of tricks that brokers would employ to make them appear more attractive, in keeping with the motto 'A quarter dirham of henna increases the price of a slave woman by one hundred silver dirhams!'.[253] A slave broker could manipulate the physical appearance of a slave in a number of ways, for example by dyeing her hair or covering tattoos and scars with cosmetics. For female slaves, the emphasis of these alterations lay on making them appear healthy and sexually attractive; Ibn Buṭlān complains 'how many a thin one [qaḍīfa] is sold as fertile [khaṣba]'.[254] These manipulations were not confined to the physical appearance of slave women. Slave brokers 'order[ed] them to be nice to old men and to people with a nervous disposition and to be mean to young men and to keep aloof from them, in order to win over their hearts', or, taking the opposite approach, 'to flirt and joke' with them.[255] There is no mention of how older women were sold in the market and the manuals leave the impression that nearly all slaves sold in the market were young adults or children.

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252 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 12.
253 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 356.
254 Ibid., 355.
255 Ibid., 356, 383.

These passages suggest that slaves chose to cooperate and participate in the deception practised by the broker on the slave market. While this may have been motivated by the desire to escape the conditions of the market, it was an expression of agency insofar as it was both an act of cooperation with the broker and an act of resistance against the future master. The master-slave bond could be severely compromised by such an act of deception, which could result in the retrospective nullification of the sale following a complaint by the buyer.

The position of slave women on the market was precarious. The authors of both *ḥisba* and purchase manuals were concerned that slave women would be raped by the brokers who had been entrusted with their care. The *ḥisba* regulations concerning this are discussed above in section 1.2. Ibn Buṭlān deviates from the usual format of purchase manuals to address the seller instead of the buyer, saying that 'you should only give a female slave to a slave broker for sale when she is menstruating, because she might become pregnant in his chambers and then claim that the child is from you'.[256]

This is mirrored by a multitude of warnings directed at the buyer. Buying a pregnant slave woman was something that was to be avoided at all cost, because it brought legal obligations and an unwanted mouth to feed. Buyers were advised to examine the body of the woman for any signs of pregnancy and observe whether she had cravings for sour or sweet food.[257] Generally speaking, buyers should only buy women when they were menstruating. But even then, the authors warn of their deception. A woman from the household of the buyer, 'who hates the idea that she would burden you [*tulṣiq bika*[258]] with another man's child', should examine the menstrual blood to determine whether it was genuine.[259]

This male fear of unwanted pregnancies betrays a particularly gruesome dimension of household slavery. Child sexual abuse was normalized in the master-slave relationship in which the master had near absolute power over his slave. The following excerpt is an off-hand remark that Ibn Buṭlān adds to his discussion of slave pregnancies: 'If you bought a prepubescent [*ghayr bāligha*] slave girl, she may reach puberty [*balaghat*] in your possession without you knowing. She may hide that from you because she wants a child.'[260] This implies that the buyer would have repeated sexual intercourse with an underage *ghayr bāligha* slave girl, taking advantage of the fact that she was too young to become pregnant as a result of the abuse, and thereby avoiding an unwanted child that might result from the

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256 Ibid., 358 and in similar form in Anon. 21.
257 Anon. 21.
258 A less neutral translation of tulṣiq biki may also be "she penetrates/rapes you"; see Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, ed. Stanley Lane-Poole (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 1719.
259 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 357 and in similar form in Anon. 21.
260 Ibid., 358.

rape of an adult slave woman. Two hundred years after Ibn Buṭlān, Anonymous repeated his advice in a slightly altered form:[261] 'If he bought a prepubescent [*ghayr bāligha*] slave girl, he should not believe what she says and not trust her. If a slave girl wants a child, she may resort to deception; she may reach puberty while she is sleeping with him [*wa-balaghat wa-hiyya ʿinda 'l-rajjul*] without him knowing. She may hide that from him because she wants a child'.[262] Another two hundred years later, al-Amshāṭī added '… and in order to be liberated from slavery' to this passage.[263] This suggests that slaves hid their age specifically because they wanted to attain the status of *umm walad* and thereby gain a measure of legal protection, leading to their liberation upon the owner's death. Al-Amshāṭī thereby spells out the warning to the buyer that is merely implied in Ibn Buṭlān's text.

These authors attribute a mode of agency to the young female slave that is directed squarely against her master. The alleged desire to bear the child of her owner was most likely motivated by the prospect of attaining a measure of social and economic stability by achieving the status of *umm walad* which granted her the right to remain in her owner's household until his death, at which point she would be granted her freedom. This was preferable to being sold away as her owner tired of her, thereby removing her from the support network of fictive kin within household in which she had been re-socialised, leaving her open to the abuses she would suffer on the slave market and at the hands of future masters. Such deception was an act of resistance, as it made use of the legal framework to secure an improved social, legal, and material status against the interest of her owner; a formulary analysed in section 4.1 provides a case study of such slave agency. The court system acted as an intermediary which channelled the inter-agency of the slave by strengthening the bargaining position of the slave within the master-slave relationship.

Documentary evidence suggests that motherhood was a central element of the identity of older slave women, especially when they were freed.[264] As the mother of their masters' children, they had a safe, but marginal, place in his household. These slave mothers were often manumitted, but subsequently continued to be attached socially and economically to their former master. The estate inventories

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261 Anon. 21; the relevant phrase is missing in the manuscript I have consulted.
262 Anon. 21.
263 Hans Müller's summarizing translation of the passage includes "… und um aus der Sklaverei befreit zu werden". I have been unable to verify this reading using Anonymous' manuscript and the Gotha al-Amshāṭī manuscript, and I assume that he found the additional phrase in one of the manuscripts of al-Amshāṭī's work that are unavailable to me. See Müller, *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs,* 122.
264 See, for example, the Upper Egypt case discussed in section 2.2 and the estate inventories from Jerusalem discussed in chapter 6.

of Jerusalem show that many of them died in relative poverty, but with social ties to the household of their patron intact.[265] There is little trace of this feature in the purchase manuals themselves, because they were concerned more with the early stages of slavery and less with the fate of older slaves and freedwomen. However, the provision that slave women should only be sold and bought when they were menstruating suggests that few post-menopausal slave women were offered on the market. Factors contributing to this may have been a high mortality rate among slaves and the relatively secure social position which older slaves attained in their household or through their manumission.

Despite the graphic descriptions of slaves as sex objects, their primary function was to provide labour for the household of their master. This is borne out by the long passages in the purchase manuals which discuss the utility of different slave women for different modes of labour. Most common is the *khidma* function, which describes a variety of housekeeping tasks like cleaning and cooking. Craig Perry has discussed the importance of slave labour for the status of free women in this context.[266] The work of slaves allowed free women to abstain from manual labour and, even more importantly, not to leave the house to buy food and for other errands. In a society in which many women of status were living a secluded life within the confines of their husband's residential compound, this was a luxury which indicated wealth and status. Most of the female slaves who are mentioned in the listening certificates of Damascus belonged to female masters and accompanied them to social functions; such maidservants were a visible marker of social status among the educated classes.

When slave women were owned by a female master, by a married couple, by siblings who had inherited them, or by any other group of more than one master, they could only be used for labour. Their masters were not legally allowed to abuse them sexually, because the identity of the father of the resulting child would be unclear. The listening certificates of Damascus suggest that shared ownership was relatively common, which is a further indication that the majority of slave women were bought and owned for the labour they provided, and not for their role as sex objects and mothers.[267]

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265 See chapter 6.
266 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', chap. Domestic Slavery and the Social Status of Free Women.
267 See section 3.2.4.

1.3.4 Physical Examinations and Physiognomy

This section discusses the physical examinations which slaves had to endure prior to their sale as well as the long-established tradition of physiognomy which underlay many of these procedures. Mandatory medical inspections featured prominently in the market inspection manuals discussed above, but purchase manuals were much more detailed and thorough concerning the recommended testing procedures. Besides the evident commercial function of the physical examinations, these procedures served to reduce the slave to chattel by negating their humanity. The effect mirrors the effect of the inspection and physical description required as part of the manumission process in early Ottoman Galata as studied by Nur Sobers-Khan: they were an exercise of dominance which subjugated the slave and conditioned them to an inferior position within the unequal master-slave relationship.[268]

Physical Examinations of slaves are a central topic in all three purchase manuals. Their description is closely linked to the discussion of specific organs and more theoretical medical and pseudo-scientific sections; together, these sections make up most of the content of the manuals. Most of the details are irrelevant to the discussion of slavery as an institution, but two aspects are worth noting.

Firstly, these examinations went far beyond what was allowed in public according to the market inspection manuals. Ḥisba manuals specified that men could only be examined above the navel and below the knees, and that in the case of women only the face and hands could be examined. The purchase manuals contain detailed advice on how to examine the genitals of both genders as well as any other part of the body. This advice was not only a list of diseases and their symptoms as supplied by Ibn Bassām, but also an extensive list of the ideal condition of each part of the body on the basis of medicine and physiognomy.

Secondly, it is likely that most of these inspections were conducted inside the home of the buyer, but before the purchase. Ḥisba manuals allow a full-body examination of female slaves as long as this happens in the privacy of the home and is conducted by women. The purchase manuals recommend extensive testing that could only have happened over the course of several days and in a private space. For example, the slave should be watched 'for many nights'[269] to make sure that he does not 'evacuate the bowels in the bed', 'talk nonsense in his sleep', 'walk around without knowing', 'gnash his teeth', or 'sleep on his face'.[270] Furthermore, slaves with manual skills were tested in their future work environment.[271]

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268 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 276.
269 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 363.
270 Ibid., 364.

This suggests that the purchase of a slave was often preceded by days or weeks of probationary service in the household of the prospective buyer. However, the purchase manuals also warn the buyer against 'closing the deal at first glance' or 'after hearing the slave for the first time', which suggests that slaves were at times bought impulsively and without much consideration or testing.[272] Without any documentary evidence to evaluate the situation, it can only be concluded that both scenarios took place and that the customary way of buying slaves lay somewhere in between these two extremes.

Physiognomy is a pseudo-science that purports to determine the inner qualities of people based on their outward appearance. It is known in Arabic as ʿilm al-firāsa. The purchase manuals' sections on racial traits and physical examination are based to a large extent on this tradition. The explanation of physiognomy's underlying principles is best left to one of its adherents; these are the words of Ibn Buṭlān: 'Let us take bravery as an example accordant with the model of physiognomy [ʿalā qiyās al-firāsa]. The brave man has strong, thick hair; solid bones, arms, and fingers; a mighty chest, shoulders, and neck […] The coward has the opposite'.[273] Body parts and mannerisms were seen as indicative of the slave's character. For example, 'a big belly indicates stupidity [balāda], a small one the opposite' and 'quick movements indicate recklessness [ṭaysh], slowness indicates stupidity'.[274]

Since the outward appearance of individuals was seen as correlated to their ethnicity, physiognomy was a key constituent of the racial thinking which underpinned slavery and Arab superiority. There was a tendency to ascribe positive attributes to people with lighter skin and negative attributes to people with darker skin. When al-Amshāṭī discussed Circassian ethnic subgroups, he divided them according to the complexion of their skin: 'They are of different colours. Those with reddish-white skin [al-abyad al-mutasarrab bi-ḥamra] are intelligent, understanding, smart, knowledgeable, possessing reason and wisdom […] If their skin is predominantly dark [in ghalaba al-sawād], they are fearful, suspicious, irresponsible, and more evil than good'.[275] East Africans [zanj] were judged to be the worst race of all.[276] The racist implications of physiognomy are spelled out by the last phrase in this passage from Ibn Buṭlān: 'If the offspring of an East African woman [zanjiyya] is purified [takarrara] with whites over three generations, black becomes white, a flat nose becomes curved, limbs become

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271 Anon. 243–252.

272 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 364, 365.

273 Ibid., 356–66.

274 Ibid., 369.

275 Al-Amshāṭī, 9b.

276 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 374; Al-Amshāṭī, 11b.

tender, <u>and the character changes accordingly</u> [*taṭabbaʿat akhlāqahu*]'.[277] The physical appearance of a person supposedly revealed their inner nature and since blackness was an indication of bad character, the negative character traits of dark-skinned people could be removed by breeding them with light-skinned people to produce offspring whose lighter appearance would attest to their superior character.

The strain of racism reflected by physiognomy was less dogmatic than the strain that justified nineteenth-century Western slavery. It allowed for a constant mixing of primarily Ethiopian black-skinned concubines and lighter-skinned masters; the outcome was a society in which many men of renown had black slave mothers and therefore darker skin than the average population. This, in combination with the above idea of 'purification' through breeding, allowed for a racially diverse society without the segregation of many slaving societies.

This chapter has presented the slave market as a physical and abstract space in which the master-slave relationship was initiated through inspection, choice, and sale. Slaves had limited means to influence this process, but they exerted a measure of agency through acts of cooperation and resistance. Even at this early stage, the master-slave relationship was mediated by legal regulations which set boundaries to the powers of the master through limited legal protections and offered the slave specific avenues of cooperation and resistance through acts of deception and active accommodation. The second chapter will further pursue this line of inquiry by presenting two case studies of slave sales in the context of the slave market, thereby comparing the documentary evidence with the insights gained from the analysis of literary works as presented in the first chapter.

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277 Ibid., 371.

2.   The Practice of Selling Slaves

This chapter aims to concretize the argument by providing an in-depth analysis of two collections of slave purchase deeds. These documents are themselves intermediaries in the master-slave relationship. As Craig Perry argues, such bills of sale elide the violence and trauma that reduced people to saleable property and thereby assume and perpetuate the erasure of a slave's prior life history.[278] The physical description of the slave within the contract was a form of linguistic domination which affirmed the owner's mastery over the slave.[279] The identity of the slave was minimized and categorized according to the expectations of the master and the notary who wrote the document. These deeds are evidence of the re-naming of imported slaves and of the marginal status of slaves born within the household. These imported black slaves were given Muslim names and assigned a new identity, while the house-born slave had been socialized into a slave-role from birth, so that there was no need to erase a previous identity. Her description therefore acknowledged her existing kinship tie in the form of her mother, though the notary avoided naming her father. The imported slaves were natally alienated individuals whose enslavement and importation brought with it a temporary social death, while the house-born slave enjoyed the questionable privilege of being socialized into a servile role in the household into which she was born. The complex constellations of ownership complicate the master-slave relationships of the recorded actors. Situations in which several masters shared the ownership of one slave are relatively frequent in these documents. Additionally, the mother of the house-born slave remained within the household of her owners and acted as an intermediary in the context of the relationship of her slave daughter and her changing owners. These changes in ownership lessened the interagency of slaves, since each sale weakened or broke the bond which existed between long-serving slaves and their masters. When this bond was broken and had to be reformed, the slave lost the benefits of emotional and social

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278 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 37.
279 As argued by Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 252.

bonds which had previously formed and reverted to their social status as a movable piece of property. This diminished their ability to negotiate with their owners and to shape the world around them through the master-slave bond.

The chapter focuses on two collections of contracts from the Mamluk period and contextualizes them using al-Asyūṭī's *shurūṭ* manual.[280] The first cluster of contracts was written between 1284 and 1288 in the town of al-Bahnasā near Minya in Upper Egypt. It describes the repeated sale of a teenage slave girl between members of a family of middling craftspeople. These documents are currently held in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin.[281] They have been edited by Yusuf Ragib, who attributes their survival to the custom of burying rather than destroying documents which bore the name of God; the dry climate of Egypt permitted their archaeological rediscovery in the nineteenth century.[282] The case of this slave girl shows that the buying and selling of domestic slaves did not necessarily take place in public markets, but that much of it was conducted in private among people who knew each other personally. It also provides a tangible example of the fate of a domestic slave. In the words of Ehud Toledano, such a personal story serves to 'concretize, personalize, and humanize the discussion' of an otherwise rather abstract issue.[283]

The second cluster of contracts was written between 1381 and 1393 in Jerusalem. It consists of deeds of sale for five slaves of African origin. These contracts are part of a cache of documents known as the Ḥaram documents. They were discovered in the 1970s in locked drawers in the Islamic Museum on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.[284] The Ḥaram documents are used extensively in other sections, especially in sections 4.2, 5.2, and in chapter six. The contracts under investigation here are documents 216, 298, 382, 574 (verso), 574 (recto), and 688. The Islamic Studies Library of McGill University holds microfilm copies of these documents and their study was much facilitated by Donald Little's transcription and edition.[285] These contracts illustrate the commercial practice of the Mamluk

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280 Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd wa-muʿīn al-quḍāh wa-l-muwaqqiʿīn wa-l-shuhūd*, ed. Masʿad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Saʿdanī, al-Ṭabʿah 1., vol. 1, 2 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1996); Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd wa-muʿīn al-quḍāh wa-l-muwaqqiʿīn wa-l-shuhūd*, ed. Masʿad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Saʿdanī, al-Ṭabʿah 1., vol. 2, 2 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1996).

281 P. Berol. Inv. 15282, 15252, 15248, 15281.

282 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:X (introduction).

283 Toledano studies the case of a female slave in 19th-century Egypt. The account he provides is relevant both to both this section and to the discussion in section 4.1 on concubinage below, mainly due to similarities in the underlying legal framework. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, 54; See also the stories in Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*.

284 Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Beiruter Texte Und Studien, Bd. 29 (Beirut : Wiesbaden: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1984), 1.

285 Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds'.

slave trade, provide examples for the categories of commercial actors described above, and support the contention that the slave population was predominantly of black African origin.

Using these two clusters has the advantage of providing a measure of internal cohesion to each case study, since each cluster consists of several documents from the same location and a similar point in time. Comparing such related documents and analysing them as a group increases the reliability and of the insights gained from each case study. Comparing the case studies and situating them in the wider context of Mamluk slavery is more difficult, however, since they are separated by time, place, and by their social context. While the Jerusalem contracts document the public sale of slaves in an urban context, the content of the Egyptian contract suggests that the sales in question were negotiated and conducted in a more private familial or communal setting. The documents from Jerusalem describe a succession of separate sales, while the Egyptian documents the repeated sale of a single individual. This presents two distinct impressions of commercial and cultural practice. It is not the aim of this chapter to directly compare the two clusters, but to investigate each cluster by itself and in the light of Mamluk notarial practice. Each cluster points towards a particular set of practices; if a particular practice features in both clusters, it is less likely that its appearance in each cluster is due to the particularities of its specific context and more likely that it was widespread and persistent through time. Nevertheless, the practices recurrent in only one cluster are validated by repeated occurrence in different documents. The resulting insights as presented in section 2.4 point towards larger patterns and developments. Due to the limitations of the source base, they must be seen in the context of the material presented in other chapters.

In addition to these two clusters, two publications contain relevant documentary evidence. Firstly, Frédéric Bauden has published two contracts of sale from the State Archives of Venice describing the purchase of a female Nubian slave by the Venetian consul in Alexandria in 1419 and the purchase (i. e. ransom) of an Italian captive by the chaplain of the Venetian consul in Alexandria in 1415.[286] Secondly, Donald Little has published two additional Ḥaram documents which are court records describing cases in which legal minors were compelled to sell off slaves by court decision in 1391 and in 1394.[287] In order to maintain the thematic focus on Mamluk contracts of sale, these documents are not analysed in this chapter – the divergent diplomatic characteristics of the court records and the strong link to Venice set these documents apart from the two clusters of Mamluk contracts. The reading of these case studies has informed the present

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286 Bauden, 'L'Achat d'esclaves'.
287 Donald P. Little, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors', *Arabica* 29, no. 1 (1 February 1982): 16–49.

study as a whole, however, and one of the court cases is used as a brief case study for the study of manumission practices in section 5.2.

This chapter is an original contribution to the study of domestic slavery, because it goes beyond the manuscript editions and related analyses published by Yusuf Ragib and Donald Little. It treats these contracts as part of a larger multi-genre source base for a specific socio-cultural phenomenon – slavery. The close textual analysis contained in this chapter is a necessary precondition for the wider perspective assumed in later chapters and therefore provides a crucial contribution to the conclusions presented at the end of this study. Ragib, in particular, does not situate the presented documents in this socio-historical context. He is interested in them primarily from a papyrological and legal point of view, as examples of the diplomatic (in the sense of 'written') manifestation of a specified kind of legal transaction, whereby the nature of the transaction is chosen for its exemplary legal character rather than its connection to slavery as a social phenomenon.[288] His brief textual analyses and notes mostly consist of a summary of a given manuscript's content, its papyrological and physical aspects, and selected legal and linguistic points.[289]

Little's analysis of the Jerusalem contracts aims both at achieving a new perspective on slavery and at understanding diplomatic practice during the Mamluk period, but he admits that his efforts have been more fruitful in regards to the study of diplomatic practice than of slavery.[290] The limitations of the Jerusalem source material are compensated for in the present study by placing it in the context of a variety of other slavery-related sources, which is much less the case in Little's edition and analysis. The groundwork of presenting the texts before the background of al-Asyūṭī's work is necessary for the ensuing argument in the analysis section 2.4 and in later chapters; parallels between this ground-work and Little's study are to a considerable extent due to the nature of the manuscripts. Furthermore, the argument in this chapter focuses on the socio-economic status of slave owners, which is not a focal point in Little's study, who instead choses to focus primarily on legal and diplomatic points. His remarks concerning the titles of the involved commercial parties and his brief concluding remarks regarding the social status of slave owners have inspired the argument of this chapter, which looks closely at related issues and places the resulting insights in the context of a wider literature and source base.

While Ragib and Little study notarial and legal practice in great detail, they do not explicitly discuss its relationship with the social practice of slavery. Little goes further than Ragib in this respect, as he makes frequent reference to *shurūṭ*

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288 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:x.
289 See, for example, two of the documents discussed below, edited here: Ibid., 1:34–41.
290 Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 297, 298.

manuals to widen the analytical scope of his investigation in regard to both notarial and social practice. These references remain vague as to how closely notarial custom reflected commercial practice. For example, he writes without further elaboration that an excerpt from al-Asyūṭī 'is worth quoting in full since it contains information on the sale of slaves *as may well have applied* during the Mamlūk period' (my emphasis).[291] He uses *shurūṭ* manuals to analyse the names and titles of commercial parties, but apart from occasionally inserting cautious qualifying words such as 'apparently'[292] he does not problematize the relationship of notarial and social practices.

In the present study, the two case studies are employed to provide tangible examples to the concepts discussed in other sections and to contribute to their development. The case of Khulayfa, in particular, serves this purpose. The approach employed here follows loosely the example of Ehud Toledano, who has repeatedly used archival evidence to set out the stories of slaves to illustrate wider social patterns of slavery.[293] The discussion of the documents in this chapter has the advantage of being situated in close proximity to the discussion of market practices and social attitudes in chapter one and of other aspects of slavery as discussed in later chapters. It follows Little in the sense of using *shurūṭ* manuals to contextualize the documents and analyse the likely socio-economic status of slave owners, but it situates these insights besides the findings from other source genres, such as the professional designations of slave owners in listening certificates as discussed in section 3.2.4.

The analysis of the two clusters of notarial documents is supported by the study of relevant passages of the scribal manual *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* by al-Asyūṭī.[294] As a work of *shurūṭ*, it contains a multitude of model contracts and instructions for scribes which help to contextualize the surviving documentary evidence. While it postdates the clusters under investigation by one and two centuries respectively[295], it is significantly more detailed than the earlier *al-Kawkab al-mushriq* written by al-Jarawānī. These two works of *shurūṭ* are similar in scope and structure, but the *al-Kawkab al-mushriq* lacks the depth of the *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*.

For example, the passages of the *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* used in section 2.1 have no equivalent in al-Jarawānī's work: while al-Asyūṭī provides a list of slave ethnicities and discusses the phrases and terms appropriate for documenting the sale of

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291 Ibid., 304.
292 Ibid., 306, 311.
293 Dozens of such stories can be found in Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*; see also Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, 54, 59–67.
294 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996.
295 The *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* was finished in 1484, while the *al-Kawkab al-mushriq* was written before 1386, see Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 300.

different categories of slaves, al-Jarawānī simply instructs the scribe 'to record the appearance, race, name, and age' of the slave in question, without providing examples and models to emulate.[296] This dynamic also applies to the themes analysed in later chapters, notably concubinage and manumission, where both authors follow the same structure and hardly differ in terms of terminology and content, but al-Asyūṭī provides significantly more depth and material.[297] In the latter instance, both authors use the same headings in the same order: *al-ʿitq, al-tadbīr, al-kitāba, al-ummahāt al-awlād*. The disparity in depth is particularly distinct in the last category. Al-Jarawānī provides a brief legal summary of the topic, followed by a very general scribal formula for attesting the legal status in question.[298] While this amounts to less than half a page in the modern edition of his work, al-Asyūṭī's treatment of the topic covers nine-and-a-half pages in the modern edition, detailing dozens of social situations in which slaves would bear the children of their owners.[299] This demonstrates that the latter work offers significantly more material for the study of domestic slavery.

For the sake of brevity and clarity, this analysis therefore makes use primarily of the *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* rather than the *al-Kawkab al-mushriq* or other works to contextualize documentary sources and as a source for formularies.[300] Contextualizing the documentary clusters in this chapter with this later manual remains an issue, but the similarities in content and structure between the above works indicate a high degree of continuity in Mamluk scribal practice and theory. Donald Little has similarly used the *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* to reconstruct and study fourteenth-century documents, underscoring the work's applicability to earlier material as well as the stability of scribal practice in the Mamluk period.[301] Furthermore, the insights gained from the study of the formularies in the *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* complement the insights gained from the documentary record, though it remains problematic to deduce social realities from scribal practice and theory. This complementary dynamic applies particularly to the fifteenth century from which no significant cluster of relevant documents survives, and in regard to the

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296 Compare al-Ġarawānī, *Al-Kawkab al-mušriq fīmā yaḥtāğ ilayhi al-muwaṭṭiq li-ʿālim aš-šurūṭ [sic!]*, ed. Souad Saghbini, Bonner Islamstudien 24 (Berlin, 2010), 54–55; and al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.

297 Compare al-Ġarawānī, *Al-Kawkab al-mušriq*, 355–59; and al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:421–57.

298 al-Ġarawānī, *Al-Kawkab al-mušriq*, 359.

299 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:448–57.

300 The *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* of al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332) also contains a shurūṭ section, but Little argues that it is an incomplete copy of a tenth-century work, see Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 300.

301 He frequently refers to this work and makes use of it in his studies of the Ḥaram documents, see Little, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors'; Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds'; and to some extent Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem.*

topics discussed in chapters five and six, for which few relevant documents have survived from the Mamluk period.

This chapter includes translations of selected passages from the two documentary clusters, rather than full reproductions of the examined contracts. This is in the interest of brevity and clarity of argument; the full text can be found in the editions by Yusuf Ragib and Donald Little.

2.1   Notarial Practice in the Late Mamluk Empire

When a slave was sold from one owner to another, a contract was drawn up to certify the transaction. This was to ensure sound commercial practice and to protect both parties from subsequent legal claims. The basic structure of these deeds of sale for slaves is the same as for other goods, and the formulas and phrases employed varied surprisingly little throughout the Middle Period. The *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* of al-Asyūṭī specifies what information a certifying notary in the fifteenth century had to include when he drew up a contract as well as the format he was expected to follow. The pattern of the following default formula underlies all the contracts analysed below, even though they predate al-Asyūṭī's work by either one (section 2.3) or two (section 2.4) centuries. It therefore represents a slightly later point in the development of the same scribal tradition than the document clusters:

> The stipulated pattern for purchase – and similar – contracts shall mention the buyer and the seller and whether they conclude the sale by themselves or by way of a legal agent [*wakīl*] […] It shall mention whether the merchandise to be sold [*mabīʿ*] is sold in full or only a share of it and whether it is currently in the possession of the seller […] and a description of it which will rule out ambiguity and doubt […] It shall mention the price and if it is pending, deferred, or received. It shall mention the lawful inspection, awareness, and agreement as well as the acceptance, delivery, and relinquishment, as well as the bodily separation in mutual consent or the provision of withdrawal, as well as the guarantee of fulfilment in this matter, as well as cognizance of both contracting parties of what they have lawfully agreed on; and the date.[302]

In addition to this generic formula translated, the manual contains a number of guidelines for different goods and legal arrangements. A number of these concern specifically the sale of slaves and will serve as a background for the analysis of the document clusters below. Of particular interest is the following section, which sets out a list of ethnic labels to be applied in the written description of slaves:

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302 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:63. I have omitted a few repetitions and details unrelated to slavery.

> If the merchandise to be sold [*mabī*] is a slave [*raqīq*]: slaves differ in terms of race
> [*ajnās*] and qualities. The subdivisions [*anwāʿ*] of Turks are the Mongols of the Qiyāt,
> Nīmān[303], and Mughul tribes, Qipchaq, *Khiṭāmī*[304], Circassian, Russian, Ossetian [*āṣ*],
> Bulgar, Tatar, White Turks [*āq*], Chagatai, Georgian, Anatolian [*rūm*] and Armenian.
> The races of the blacks [*sūdān*] are Amhara Ethiopian, West African [*takrūrī*], Nubian,
> Zaghawa, *Dājawī*, Indian, Beja [*bajāwī*], East African [*zanjī*], Yemeni, *Sarawī*, and
> House-Born [*muwallad*].[305]

The world is here divided into 'Turkish' and 'black', which roughly corresponds
to North and South. It seems that in the context of the late Mamluk empire the
category of 'Turk' had come to include not only the peoples of the steppes,
Anatolia and the Caucasus, but all those ethnicities who were of light enough
complexion to be eligible for *mamlūk* service. This includes people which
modern readers would clearly distinguish from Turks, such as Russians. The
inclusion of non-African peoples like Indians and Yemeni Arabs as 'blacks' was
done not only on the basis of geography, but primarily on the basis of them
having a darker complexion of skin than Egyptians. The inclusion of the 'race' of
muwallad in the 'blacks' category is highly significant; it shows that the 'home-
bred' slaves that feature in a number of documents were perceived to be of a
darker complexion than the general population and thus as 'black'; it also shows
that there was enough internal reproduction within the slave population to
sustain a distinct house-born class of black domestic slaves, but that this group
was small enough to be considered alongside other ethnic groups. The ethno-
graphical section above is followed by detailed instructions on how the notary
should describe slaves in deeds of sale:

> When he writes a contract [*ʿahd*] for the sale of a slave who belongs to one of these races,
> he mentions his[306] race [*jins*] and appearance [*shabah*] and physical qualities [*ḥilya*]
> and whether he is a Muslim or not and whether he has reached adulthood [*bulūgh*] or is
> an adolescent [*murāhiq*] or has reached the ages of ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four,
> three or is weaned [*faṭīm*] or a suckling [*raḍīʿ*] and whether he is male or female. If he is
> an adult, the notary writes that the slave acknowledges his bondage [*riqq*] and servitude
> [*ʿubūdiyya*] towards the seller.[307]

This paragraph clarifies the meaning of *bāligh* and *murāhiq*, two terms that
feature both in literature and in documents involving slaves. *Murāhiq* slaves are
adolescent slaves over the age of ten, who have not yet reached the maturity which
the term *bāligh* describes. While this excerpt associates this maturity with the
ability to comprehend and acknowledge their servile status, the excerpt from Ibn

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303 See Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 304, footnote 18 and 19.
304 Possibly a corrupted spelling of *Khiṭay*, i. e. the Kitai Mongols.
305 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.
306 Al-Asyūṭī uses the masculine form to refer to both male and female slaves in this paragraph.
307 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:80.

Buṭlān and Anonymous quoted in section 1.3.3 associates *bāligh* with the state of having reached *sexual* maturity, so that *murāhiq* most likely describes a stage of puberty that precedes maturity and the ability to conceive.[308] This passage is followed by four 'default' descriptions which the scribe could adapt according to his own needs, one for male Turkish slaves, one for female Turkish slaves, one for male black slaves, and one for female black slaves. Only the two formulas for black slaves are reproduced here, since they are directly relevant to the discussion of the surviving contracts in the following two sections, all of which concern 'black' (*sūdān* according to al-Asyūṭī's criteria[309]) slaves. The basic structure and content of these formulas matches the documentary evidence:

> If the merchandise to be sold is a black man [*aswad*], he writes: 'All of the black slave, of West African race, of Muslim religion, adult, called so-and-so, acknowledging his bondage and servitude to the aforementioned seller, and with these physical qualities: He has a brownish-black complexion, short and curly hair, soft cheeks, a handsome face, and a harmonious stature'. He completes this.
>
> If the merchandise to be sold is a black slave girl [*jāriyya sūdāʾ*], he writes: her race, her complexion, that she is an adult Muslim, that she acknowledges her bondage and servitude to the seller. He describes her external characteristics with the greatest care.[310]

The hypothesis that there was a considerable 'home-bred' slave population in the late Mamluk empire is supported by the focus of these default formulas on the slaves being Muslim; while most slaves imported from abroad were non-Muslims, 'home-bred' second-generation slaves (and slaves sold some time after their importation) were likely to be Muslims. Alternatively, all slaves were converted when they were imported, which, however, would make it difficult for non-Muslims to own slaves. The formulas for Turkish slaves include longer lists of positive attributes, but mostly concur with the formulas for black slaves.

A further indication of the professionalism of the fifteenth-century bureaucrats who certified slave transactions is a biography found in the *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* of al-Sakhāwī: 'Muḥammad bin ʿAlī [...] was one of the legal witnesses of the al-Ṣāliḥiyya madrasa and the slave market'.[311] This man died in 1447. Legal witnesses were an integral part of the notarial system, because their signature was required for most contracts. The deeds of sale below all carry the signatures of at least one legal witness in addition to the notary, with four witnesses being the theoretical ideal number for a contract. The attachment of the legal witness Muḥammad bin ʿAlī to the Cairene slave market shows that a group of legal

308 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 358.
309 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.
310 Ibid., 1:80.
311 Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, vol. 8 (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1966), 214–15.

witnesses specialised in offering their services to slave traders and their customers. Related professionals such as notaries may have done the same. It also shows that the commerce in slaves in Cairo was of a sufficient volume to support an auxiliary bureaucracy.

2.2   Case Study: A House-Born Slave in Upper Egypt

The first cluster of contracts allows us to reconstruct the case of Khulayfa, a black teenage girl who was a domestic slave in a small town in thirteenth-century Upper Egypt.[312] Over a period of five years, she was repeatedly sold and gifted among members of a family of craftsmen and traders. This family had also owned her mother, who appears to have remained close to them in both a spatial and a social sense. The documents suggest that she remained involved in the upbringing of her daughter and continued to be a part of the household of her masters following her manumission. While the formulaic deeds omit much contextual information, but the collection of deeds leaves the impression that the sale of the freedwoman's enslaved daughter caused social friction between family members. The wife's attempt to annul her husband's sale of the young girl suggests an emotional attachment or at least the attempt to keep the household together as a social unit.

These documents provide an insight both into the social practice of slaveholding and into the commercial and notarial aspects of trading slaves. In chronological order, we have a certificate of sale, two certificates of donation, another certificate of sale, and the revocation of one of the certificates of donation, all concerning the slave girl Khulayfa and her owners. This section reproduces only the key passages of these documents.

The first certificate describes the sale of the young slave girl Khulayfa to ʿĀʾisha, who was the wife of Abū al-Ṭāhir. In fact, it attests to the sale of only one half of the slave to the wife, which strongly suggests that there was an analogous second certificate which described the sale of the other half to the husband. The price for one half was set at 100 dirhams, which means that the married couple paid a total of 200 dirhams for Khulayfa. The contract carries the signatures of the notary and two additional witnesses. The second contract is lost, but it must have been very close in form to this contract. Of particular interest are the list of commercial actors at the beginning of the document and the subsequent description of the merchandise:

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312 P. Berol. Inv. 15282, 15252, 15248, 15281, edited in Ragib, *Actes de vente*.

> This is what Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī […] bought for his biological daughter ʿĀʾisha, a legally adult [*kāmil*] woman, who is the spouse of *al-hājj* Abī al-Ṭāhir bin Abī al-ʿIzz, who is a trader [*bayyāʿ*] in the town of al-Bahnasā – acting as her commercial agent [*bi-ṭarīq al-wakāla*], using her money and none of his own money – from Ṭahra, a legally adult woman, daughter of ʿUbayd Ibrāhīm, and she is one of the inhabitants of the region of Ashrūba.
>
> The seller declared that the merchandise is her legal property. It is all of the share [*jamīʿ al-ḥiṣṣa*], which is half, meaning twelve parts of twenty-four parts, of the Muslim house-born [*al-muwallada al-jins*] domestic slave [*waṣīfa*] Khulayfa, who goes back by birth to the house-born Zubayda.[313]

In the discussion of the *ḥisba* manuals above, the list of 'actors on the urban slave market' comprised (1) sellers, (2) brokers, (3) buyers, and (4) slaves. In the rural setting of Al-Bahnasā and Ashrūba, the contract notes only the presence of the seller and of the slave, with the buyer being represented by her commercial agent. There seems to be no slave broker present. It is possible that such a broker had indeed facilitated the sale but was not mentioned in the contract. It appears more likely, however, that the sale was organised directly between the two parties. Al-Bahnasā and Ashrūba were small towns which did not have a permanent slave market such as that of Cairo discussed previously and lacked the commercial structures which relied on slave brokers. It is quite possible that the sale was arranged by word of mouth and among friends and acquaintances in the provincial networks of villages and small towns along this part of the Nile. The married woman ʿĀʾisha, who is the buyer, is represented by her father who acts as her *wakīl* (commercial agent). It is unclear why she commissioned her father to buy her half of the slave. The assertion that he is spending ʿĀʾisha's money rather than his own shows that the slave was not a gift or dowry of any sort. The seller was a woman, which shows that women were able to act directly as contracting parties in this situation.

The description of the slave does not meet the requirements of al-Asyūṭī's later scribal manual. It corresponds in style and lists the slave's race (*jins*), religion and name, but it lacks any kind of physical description, her age, and the acknowledgment of her servitude. Much of this is provided in the other contracts of this document cluster, however, and we know that she was a minor, which explains the lack of the acknowledgment. The relative lack of detail in this contract can be explained by the inexperience of a provincial notary or the trust that existed between the parties in a small community. Alternatively, scribal conventions might have changed during the two hundred years which passed between the composition of this contract and of the manual of al-Asyūṭī.

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313 P. Berol. inv. 15282 (recto), edited in ibid., 1:34.

The description of Khulayfa as 'going back by birth to the house-born Zubayda' (*al-murāji'a bi-l-wilāda li-Zubayda al-muwallada*) is unusual for the known contracts from this period. It replaces the 'daughter of ʿAbd Allāh' (*bint ʿAbd Allāh*) phrase which al-Asyūṭī recommends for the description of female Turkish slaves in order to mark first-generation converts to Islam. It is likely that the rather awkward phrase *al-murāji'a bi-l-wilāda li-* is an indication of the inferior social status of mother and daughter. A respectable woman would have been marked by a patronymic, e.g. 'daughter of ʿUbayd Ibrāhīm', like the seller Ṭahra. The use of the mother's name shows that the father was unknown, absent, or did not recognize the child. This use of *al-murāji'a bi-l-wilāda li-* rather than the usual *bint* therefore adds another layer of complexity to the case. It is certain, however, that both Khulayfa and her mother Zubayda were not imported into the Islamic world but descended from imported slaves and born into slavery.[314] Al-Asyūṭī lists house-born *muwallad* slaves as one of the black *sūdān* slave races, but the fourth certificate describes Khulayfa as *ḥamrā al-lawn* (of red complexion), which complicates the issue.[315] While Khulayfa is described as both *muwallada* and as *waṣīfa*, Zubayda is only described as *muwallada* in this contract. The notary did not deem it necessary to affirm her slave status, since being 'house-born' already carried the meaning of being a slave.

The second and third certificates are not, strictly speaking, deeds of sale. They follow the same form and structure, but they attest to a 'pious gift' (*ṣadaqa*) rather than a sale. The husband and wife each transferred their half share of the slave to one of their sons, so that the shared ownership now lay with the younger generation. This was a legal fiction, since the father acted as the children's guardian and legal agent and thus controlled their property and could dispose of the slave as he saw fit. The couple decided to use the legal form of *ṣadaqa* rather than the more straightforward *hiba*. They thereby lent the contract the authority of a religious charitable donation and made it irrevocable.[316] The immediate practical effect of this 'pious' gift was that the wife lost control over her share of the slave. She had now surrendered her legal right to the household's slave in favour of her son, but it was her husband who stood to gain. Again, the list of actors and the description of Khulayfa are of particular significance for this study:

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314 The topic of house-born or 'mulatto' domestic slaves has been discussed in Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 4, 11.

315 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.

316 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:90.

(1) This is what ʿĀʾisha, a legally adult woman, daughter of the druggist [ʿaṭṭār[317]] Abī al-Hassan ʿAlī […] piously gifts [taṣaddaqat] to her six-year-old son Sharaf […]
It is all of the share, which is half, meaning twelve parts of twenty-four parts, of the Muslim house-born domestic slave [waṣīfa] called Khulayfa, who goes back by birth to the female slave [jāriyya] Zubayda, whom the witnesses know [ʿārifūn]. […]
Her husband, the father of the benefitted child, accepts this pious gift for his son Sharaf.
(2) This is what al-hājj Abū Ṭāhir […] piously gifts (to his biological son Ibrāhīm[318]) […]
It is all of the share, which is half, meaning twelve parts of twenty-four parts, of the Muslim house-born (domestic slave) called Khulayfa, who goes back by birth to the female slave (Zubayda, whom the witnesses) know. […]
The donor accepts (this pious gift) from himself for his benefitted son Ibrāhīm.[319]

Both certificates also contain a summary of the other one, so that no confusion would arise if only one of the certificates survived. They reiterated that the ownership would now be shared between the brothers: ṣārat al-waṣīfa shirka bayn al-akhawayn. Both certificates are signed by the same notary and by the same witness. The above deed of sale was signed by a total of three people; this suggests that the legal guidelines were less strict for ṣadaqa donations than for bāyaʿa[320] deeds of sale.

The father of the wife, who had bought the slave two years prior, is here identified as an ʿaṭṭār. Since the husband was identified as a bayyāʿ in the above deed of sale, we know that both men were tradesmen in a provincial setting. An ʿaṭṭār was a modest tradesman who was involved in both the production and sale of perfumes and medicinal drugs; it is one of the professions most commonly associated with slaveholding in the listening certificates of Damascus, perhaps because it is one of the most-regularly mentioned crafts in Islamic medieval sources in general.[321] A bayyāʿ was a seller of minor items, defined by Shatzmiller as a 'small trader, seller, seller of emblems, decorations, bridal attire'.[322] Both men were also accorded the title al-ḥājj by the notary, which indicates that they had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.[323] This may suggest that the family had the financial and social resources to travel internationally, though it is also possible al-ḥājj was used here as a generic title applied to people of little distinction: the Ḥaram documents from Jerusalem show that notaries liked to apply honorific

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317 Yusuf Ragib assumes that ʿaṭṭār refers to ʿAlī's father. The profession is listed after the patronym, but this was common practice in documents; the fourth contract shows that the profession refers to ʿAlī himself.
318 The manuscript is damaged, and the bracketed words have been added based on the information in other manuscripts.
319 P. Berol. inv. 15248 and P. Berol. inv. 15281 (recto), edited in Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:89–96.
320 The signatures refer to iqrār al-bāyaʿa (sic!).
321 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 103.
322 Ibid., 128.
323 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, vol. 6 (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1913), 11.

titles to their customers as signs of respect rather than as markers of actual status or past deeds.

These professional and social designations indicate that this slave-owning household in Upper Egypt did not possess great wealth or prestige, though they evidently possessed sufficient means to buy and maintain one or two slaves for domestic work. Similar identifiers are prevalent throughout the different genres of documentary sources analysed throughout this study, which suggests that slave ownership was not restricted to the wealthy and powerful elite of the population but extended to more modest households as well.

Zubayda is here described as a *jāriyya*, while her daughter is again described as a *waṣīfa*. *Jāriyya* was the default term for 'female slave' in the contemporary literature and documents, while *waṣīfa* was not commonly used in a literary context in this period. It seems to have had the more specialised meaning of 'domestic female slave' and was used in this sense in the documents of the Cairo Geniza analysed by Shelomo Goitein.[324] Since the contract explicitly states that the witnesses 'know' (*ārifūn*) Zubayda, it can be assumed that both mother and daughter continued to live as slaves in the same community following the sale of the daughter to different owners two years prior, and that this community was sufficiently small for people to know the domestic slaves of their fellow towns-people.

The fourth contract describes the sale of Khulayfa from the husband to his brother and postdates the certificates of donation by two years. The husband acted as the legal guardian for his two minor sons. The fifth certificate suggests that he thereby counteracted the wishes of his wife. A possible motivation for the decision to sell the slave to his brother was the approaching puberty of his sons. Sharaf was now eight years old and while we do not know the age of his brother, it is possible that Ibrāhīm was a few years older. Once they attained legal maturity, their father would have lost control over their nominal property, the slave Khulayfa. By selling her off to his brother, he ensured that neither his wife nor his sons would benefit to his detriment. This contract contains a much more complete description of Khulayfa, which is preceded by the usual list of commercial actors:

> This is what *al-ḥājj* Khalīfa […] from al-Bahnasā, resident in Dahrūṭ, known to the witnesses, bought from his full brother […] Abī al-Ṭāhir […], who is now a druggist in the city of al-Bahnasā […] from the property of his biological sons Ibrāhīm and Sharaf, who have not reached the age of legal maturity [*darajat al-bulūgh*], because he considers this to be beneficial and advantageous for them.

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324 Shelomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 131.

> It is all of the house-born domestic slave [*al-waṣīfa al-muwallada al-jins*] named Khulayfa, who goes back by birth to their manumitted female slave [*jāriyya maʿtūqa ʿindahum*] named Zubayda. She is now fifteen years old and of medium height. She is a virgin and an adult [*bikr bāligh*]. She acknowledges her bondage and servitude to her two masters. Her complexion is red [*ḥamrā al-lawn]*, her nose is hooked, and there is a green tattoo [*daqqa*] on her chin.
> The price is two hundred well-minted silver dirhams [*al-darāhim al-nuqra al-maskū-ka*].[325]

The list of actors shows that the family still lived in al-Bahnasā and that the husband was no longer a small trader (*bayyāʿ*) and had become a druggist (*ʿaṭṭār*). He may have become involved in the business of his father-in-law, or perhaps both terms described a type of small tradesman who dealt in whatever the market offered. In any case, the two professions appear to have been related and somewhat equivalent in terms of income and prestige. The certificate records that the husband acted in the interest of his sons, but according to his own evaluation of what was in their best interest. There was no instance of control to check that he did not act against their interest, which can be explained by the 'quasi-absolute' power of the father in this situation.[326] The key phrase in this context is the description of the two sons as *al-qāṣirayn ʿan darajat al-bulūgh* – 'not having reached the age of legal maturity'. According to Al-Asyūṭī, this *bulūgh* maturity followed a phase of *murāhiq* adolescence which began at the age of eleven.[327]

It is highly likely that this age of legal maturity was associated with sexual maturity, i. e. with the ability to procreate. The fifteen-year-old Khulayfa is described as *bikr bāligh,* meaning that she had reached the stage of sexual maturity (*bāligh*) while remaining a virgin (*bikr*). There may be differences between free and enslaved children and between boys and girls, but this suggests that the age of *bulūgh* maturity was usually reached before the age of fifteen. Nevertheless, the explicit mention of both her age and her *bulūgh* status shows that neither information was deemed sufficient to extrapolate the other. The association of the sexual maturity of Khulayfa and her legal maturity is obvious in this contract, since she was required to officially acknowledge her slave status as part of the sale.

This is the first certificate which conforms to al-Asyūṭī's requirement that deeds of sale must include a description of the physical appearance of the slave. This description was not the result of a full-body examination as recommended by the *ḥisba* manuals, since her physique, skin colour, and remarkable facial

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325 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:37–41.
326 Ibid., 1:38.
327 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:80.

features could easily be discerned by the notary without removing any clothes. According to Yusuf Ragib, the tattoo on her chin was not a mark of servitude (as in the Sudan), but a sign of magical protection against illness that was common among the peasants and Bedouins of Egypt.[328] This would indicate that she was integrated into the family and that they sought to protect her from harm even though such a tattoo would potentially lower her monetary value. Incidentally, this monetary value had not changed in the preceding four years. The eleven-year-old Khulayfa had been sold for two hundred dirhams to the family in 1284, and in 1288 the husband sold the fifteen-year-old Khulayfa to his brother, like-wise for two hundred dirhams.

We have two conflicting pieces of information regarding the ethnicity of Khulayfa. She is consistently described as *al-muwallada al-jins*, which was one of the black slave races according to al-Asyūṭī. On the other hand, this contract describes her as *ḥamrā al-lawn*, which can be translated as 'of reddish complexion'. This seems to contradict the assumption that Khulayfa was a black slave. Ibn Buṭlān describes the complexion of slave races with the colours black, white, yellow, and brown.[329] He once uses the phrase *bayḍ muḥammara* (reddish white) to describe the complexion of the Lān[330] people of Anatolia, but there is no indication of which race (*jins*) the colour 'red' itself refers to.[331] We know that the slave status of Khulayfa reached back at least two generations, perhaps many more. The identity of her father was not recorded, and her slave status was transmitted through her mother at birth.

Assuming that dark-skinned women were imported as slaves, and assuming that their slave status was transferred to their children from lighter-skinned fathers from among the Egyptian population, then the complexion of each successive *muwallad* generation would be lighter than the preceding generation. Ibn Buṭlān puts this bluntly, as discussed in section 1.3.4: 'If the offspring of an East African woman [*zanjiyya*] is purified [*takarrara*] with whites over three generations, black becomes white'.[332] A part of the *muwallad* population, i. e. the first and second generations, were still of noticeably darker complexion than the free population, while later generations did not stand out as clearly. But since nominal ethnic belonging was transmitted through the known parent, i. e. the 'darker' mother, the 'lighter' child would still be grouped with the 'black' *muwallad* population group. This fixation on the early generations of *muwallad* slaves

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328 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:37.
329 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 371–78.
330 This probably refers to the Alans of the Caucasus, see W. Barthold and V. Minorsky, 'Alān', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).
331 Ibn Buṭlan, 'Shirā al-raqīq', 377.
332 Ibid., 371.

might have been the reason why al-Asyūṭī grouped the *muwallad* race (*jins*) with other black races.[333] It is therefore possible that Khulayfa had comparatively light skin and would nevertheless be grouped as part of the *muwallad* slave population that was categorized as 'black' (*aswad*).

This contract contains a crucial piece of information regarding Zubayda, Khulayfa's mother. In 1286, in the third and fourth certificates, she was described as a *jāriyya* slave. Now, in 1288, she is described as 'their manumitted slave' or 'the manumitted slave who is attached to them' – *jāriyya maʿtūqa ʿindahum*. This means that she had been liberated in the meantime and that she was now 'with' (*ʿinda*) them, i.e. attached to them socially and economically as a client. Since Khulayfa had been bought from the local woman Ṭahra in 1284, it is possible that Ṭahra had also owned her mother Zubayda and that she was now Zubayda's legal patron, though it appears more likely that she was the client of one of the members of the household around which this case revolves. Since such an attachment, i.e. the legal status of *ʿatīqa*, arose from a prior owner-slave relationship, it can be assumed that the family had bought her prior to her manumission. The document uses the term *maʿtūqa* rather than *ʿatīqa*, which is common in contemporaneous Damascene documents. This divergence in terminology may be indicative of further divergence in terms of the social practice of slavery and clientage. Unfortunately, the scarce documentary evidence does not allow a more detailed study of provincial slavery in this setting.

Khulayfa is described as a virgin (*bikr*) despite her sexual maturity (*bāligh*). This shows that she had not been used as a slave concubine. No sexual intercourse was permitted to the partial owner of a slave who was jointly owned; perhaps this had been the reason why the married couple had shared her ownership, first between wife and husband and then between brothers.[334] It must be noted, however, that it is unclear how much impact these legal regulations had 'on the ground' – according to the laws of concubinage and ownership, slave status should not have been transmitted to the children of slave women, since the status of their (free) fathers took precedence. This is further discussed in section 4.3. In any case, the attempt to sell Khulayfa to the husband's brother may have been motivated by the desire to exploit her sexually, since the new owner owned her exclusively and thus had full legal access to her as a sexual object.

The fifth certificate documents the attempt by the wife to annul the sale of Khulayfa to her husband's brother. It was written only twelve days after the fourth certificate and consists of an abridged transcription of the third certificate and its revocation. This means that the wife revoked her 'pious donation' of one half of Khulayfa to her son Sharaf and thereby invalidated the subsequent sale of

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333 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.
334 Brunschvig, 'ʿAbd'.

Khulayfa to her brother-in-law. Since Sharaf was no longer the rightful (partial) owner of Khulayfa, his father was not able to sell her off in Sharaf's name. While *ṣadaqa* donations were irrevocable in legal theory, it seems that in practice they could indeed be revoked, as suggested by default formulas in scribal manuals.[335] The revocation reads:

> ʿĀʾisha […] affirmed that she revoked her donation to her son Sharaf […] which is all of the share which encompasses half of the whole, one part of two parts, of all of the Muslim domestic slave [*waṣīfa*] named Khulayfa described in the above certificate. The revocation is valid and lawful. She pronounced this in the presence of the witnesses of the honourable court. The share has returned to her ownership in accordance with this revocation [*rujūʿ*].[336]

ʿĀʾisha, the wife, now owned half of Khulayfa again. The contract between the husband and his brother was thereby invalidated and the slave would remain with the family. Unfortunately, this document is the last certificate that has survived. The documentary trail ends here, and it is impossible to know the outcome of this affair. The most likely conclusion is that the slave remained with the family who had owned her for the preceding four years and that her mother, the liberated slave, continued to be attached to this family in some function.

The modern-day editor of these certificates, Yusuf Ragib, assumes that the last certificate was accompanied by a similar certificate which revoked the donation of one half of the slave to the other brother.[337] The simultaneous revocation of the husband's donation would suggest that both husband and wife sought to cancel the contract between the husband and his brother. But it seems unlikely that the husband would change his mind less than two weeks after selling the slave to his brother, and then resort to legal tricks rather than asking his brother to reverse the sale. Furthermore, the two certificates of donation contained summaries of each other, while the wife's revocation of her donation contains no mention of a counterpart. It therefore appears more likely that the wife sought to block the sale and in doing so acted against the wishes of her husband. This legal complexity is most likely the reason why the documents were kept and preserved.

In conclusion, this case study sheds light on a number of aspects of domestic slavery in the Mamluk period. The following observations are based on only one documented case, which makes it difficult to extrapolate general patterns from them. Nevertheless, these documents are useful in so far as they provide a case study of the purchase practices set out by the literary evidence. In combination, they also provide insights into the web of household relations in which the slave Khulayfa and her mother Zubayda lived.

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335 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:97.
336 Ibid., 1:97–100.
337 Ibid., 1:97.

The socio-economic background of this family shows that slave ownership was not limited to the upper classes of society. The husband worked as a druggist and a salesman and his title indicates that he may have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, which suggests that the family was better off than most, without being truly rich. The purchase of a family slave was a significant investment and it stands to reason that slaves were treated better when they represented a considerable part of the family fortune; the sum of 200 dirhams was a large amount of money for a modest family.

It appears that the slave was not bought at a slave market but sold within the same social group and later sold to a close family member without the involvement of slave brokers. This suggests that a proportion of the slave trade took place outside the official urban markets described in section 1.1.1, especially in peripheral locations. It is unlikely that there was a permanent and dedicated slave market in the provincial setting of al-Bahnasā. This contrasts the observations made in chapter one, which was concerned with a predominantly metropolitan setting. It also suggests that the literary sources from which most of our information about domestic slavery stems present only a partial picture, since they focus exclusively on the urban society of large cities.

The informal setting of the transactions and the absence of slave brokers may also be explained by the house-born rather than imported nature of the slave who was sold. Khulayfa was not an imported slave like the majority of those sold in the major urban markets. She was at least a third-generation *muwallada* slave who had been born and brought up 'in captivity'. This cluster of documents is a central piece of evidence for the existence of a statistically significant population of house-born slaves in the Mamluk empire. The relationship of such house-born slaves significantly differed from the relationship of imported slaves and their masters. House-born slaves were not natally alienated to the same extent as imported slaves and maintained a limited support network of kin, though this could be weakened by sale to another household. Such support networks empowered them and made them less socially dependent on their master, though the present cluster of documents shows that it did not protect them from capricious owners who decided to sell them off. Breaking the master-slave bond in such a way was particularly hard to bear for slaves who had grown up in the household. The presence of the slave's mother in the household further empowered the slave, since she may have been able to intervene on her behalf in such situations. Overall, the agency of slaves was magnified by the *muwallad* status, since it often implied the presence of actors who could intercede in the master-slave relationship on their behalf.

Her mother Zubayda had also been a domestic *muwallada* slave. By the time of the last certificate, she had been manumitted and was socially attached to the family. There is no indication that the family had previously bought her, which

suggests that her client-patron legal bond had somehow been transferred to them. Her age at this time must have been between thirty and forty years old. This correlates with the impression from other documentary sources that slaves were often manumitted towards the end of their working lives.

Her daughter Khulayfa was bought by the family at the age of eleven. The husband then attempted to sell off her at the age of fifteen, when she was still a virgin. There is no evidence of sexual abuse, which suggests that the focus of the purchase manuals on sexual themes was not a universally applicable depiction of the social reality of the lives of domestic slaves. Khulayfa was a work slave and not a concubine. At the time of her sale to the husband's brother, she had reached sexual maturity, but she was legally off-limits to the husband due to the shared ownership arrangements. This may have motivated the sale to his brother.

Khulayfa was owned jointly, first by husband and wife, then by the two sons under the legal guardianship of their father. Such shared ownership arrangements are surprisingly common in other documentary sources, notably in the listening certificates of Damascus, where five to ten percent of the recorded slaves were jointly owned. Literary sources, with the exception of *fiqh*, seldom discuss shared ownership. It is never mentioned in the works analysed in chapter one. This may have been due to a socio-economic divide, where elite households owned a larger number of slaves and did not share ownership of them. Less prominent households, on the other hand, owned very few slaves and shared their ownership among family members. A possible reason for shared ownership among members of the same household was a situation where the only slave of the household was inherited by several heirs upon the death of the head of the household. This is further discussed in section 3.2.4.

2.3   Case Study: Slave Trading in Jerusalem

While the above case study permits an in-depth analysis of the case of an individual slave, the cluster of six contracts from Jerusalem documents the sale of five African slaves. These documents date to between 1381 and 1393 and are part of the surviving section of the Shāfiʿī court archive of Jerusalem known as the Ḥaram documents. The larger sample size allows us to evaluate the commercial practices of the trade in slaves and a number of social practices of slavery which are documented in the deeds of sale. Except for one case, the contracts presented here record individual sales which are connected mainly by virtue of having been recorded by officials of the same court. This allows a broader, yet shallower, evaluation of social and commercial practices in comparison to the cluster of related documents from Upper Egypt.

Jerusalem was an economically unimportant provincial town, but its status as a religious centre made it a less peripheral location than al-Bahnasā in Upper Egypt. This cluster of manuscripts is a relatively representative sample of Mamluk-era slave deeds of sale, because they were preserved due to their association with a certain judge, rather than their content or character.[338] They are ordinary contracts which were preserved mainly by chance. They are therefore more representative of popular practice than isolated documents that survived due to their extraordinary character, such as the two Alexandrian deeds of sale for slaves which were preserved in the Venetian archive.[339] These Jerusalemite documents allow a unique view of a number of aspects of Mamluk slavery; a number of cautious observations will be advanced at the end of this section and compared with the insights derived from the literature analysed above.

The contracts under discussion are found in documents 574 (recto and verso), 382, 316, 688 and 298 of the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf collection, a copy of which is held in the Islamic Studies Library at McGill University. They have previously been transcribed and edited by Donald Little, which has been very helpful due to the difficulties of deciphering the respective manuscripts.[340] Rather than providing a full translation, I will restrict myself to the reproduction of key passages to guide the analysis.

The first contract describes the sale of Rashīd, an Ethiopian slave, in 1381.[341] The document conforms to most of al-Asyūṭī's requirements for a deed of purchase for a slave, but like most surviving contracts it lacks a thorough description of the physical appearance of the slave:

> *Al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā* Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥāmmad […], from Hama, trader in Jerusalem, bought […] from *al-ṣadr al-ajall* ʿIlm al-Dīn Sulaymān […], from Egypt, present in Jerusalem, all of the Saḥartī Muslim slave [*ʿabd*] called Rashīd, who acknowledges his bondage and servitude to the seller, […] for five hundred […] dirhams.

The seller and buyer carry the geographical *nisbāt al-ḥamawī* and *al-miṣrī*. They were perceived as coming from Hama and Egypt/Cairo and it is implied that the seller stayed in Jerusalem only temporarily. While the buyer is described as a *tājir bi-l-quds,* the seller is identified by *al-ḥāḍir bi-l-quds* rather than by profession. The seller is assigned the title of *al-ṣadr al-ajall,* which denotes low social status and is discussed below. The buyer has the title *al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā*. According to Donald Little, this title was often given to people who were associated with a pious office.[342] This man, however, was a trader. Christian Müller argues that this

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338 Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, 9.
339 Bauden, 'L'Achat d'esclaves'.
340 Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds'.
341 Document 316, edited in ibid., 317–21.
342 Ibid., 302.

title was a status marker for respectable civilians and members of the lower administration, and this seems to be the case here.[343]

The *fulān al-dīn* titles of both men at first glance suggest that Muḥammad and Sulaymān were engaged in scholarly pursuits, but it is more likely that they were spontaneously awarded by the notary; al-Asyūṭī recommends to do so and specifically lists 'Nāsir al-Dīn' as a suitable title for anyone named 'Muḥammad' and ''Ilm al-Dīn' for anyone named 'Sulaymān'.[344] 'Nāsir al-Dīn' was considered particularly appropriate for any Muḥammad who 'worked for the army' (*li-l-jund*).[345] It appears that both parties were moderately wealthy but of relatively low social status.

The ethnicity of the slave Rashīd is described as *al-saḥartī al-jin*s, which implies an Ethiopian origin.[346] He is described as an *ʿabd*, which seems to have taken on an ethnic meaning by this time in so far as that it referred specifically to black male slaves.[347] Note that the price in dirhams is significantly higher for Rashīd than for the *muwallada* house-born Khulayfa, though it is unclear how comparable dirham prices were across time and space.

The second contract describes the sale of Mubāraka, another Ethiopian slave, in 1382.[348] This contract does not contain the usual clause of acknowledgement of bondage and servitude. Al-Asyūṭī's manual requires this clause for all adult slaves and since most of the surviving contracts adhere to this guideline, its omission in this case suggests that Mubāraka was not an adult in the legal sense of *bāligha*.

> *Al-ṣadr al-ajall* Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad […], one of the legal witnesses [ʿudūl] of the honourable court in Jerusalem […], bought from *al-ḥājj* ʿAbd Allāh, resident in al-Khalīl, […] all of the Dīmūtī Muslim slave [*jāriyya*] called Mubāraka […] for three hundred and eighty […] dirhams.

Both men seem to be of modest wealth. The buyer was an assistant at the main court of law of Jerusalem[349] and the seller had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. The title of the buyer indicates low social status.[350] The seller lived in Hebron, which is located roughly thirty kilometres from Jerusalem. It is likely

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343 Christian Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen: Studie der Mamlukischen Haram-Dokumente aus Jerusalem* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2013), 402.

344 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:467–68.

345 Ibid., 2:467.

346 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr wa-l-baḥr*, ed. A. F Mehren (St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des sciences, 1865), 268.

347 This is discussed in the following chapter on chronicles.

348 Document 688, edited in Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 321–25.

349 Donald Little traces the term ʿudūl to Ottoman court documents, see ibid., 323.

350 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:473, 488.

that Jerusalem acted as a local centre of the slave trade and attracted buyers and sellers from the surrounding countryside.

Mubāraka is described as *al-dīmūtiyya al-jins.* The text is difficult to read here, but I am inclined to accept Donald Little's reading of the document and interpret the term as a variant of *al-dāmūtiyya*, i. e. as stemming from the Dāmūt people of Ethiopia. This is partly because Rashīd was similarly described as *al-saḥartī al-jin*s in the first contract analysed above. Both Dāmūt and Saḥart are listed as Ethiopian (*ḥabash*) peoples in the thirteenth-century geographical work of al-Dimashqī:

> They are of six kinds. The Amḥara. It is said that the Negus[351] is from among them and that kingship is in his offspring. The **Saḥart** and the Jazl. They are of beautiful appearance. The Khūmad and the **Dāmūt.** These are the primary kinds and there are innumerable secondary peoples and tribes that come from among them.[352]

This shows that both Rashīd, the *saḥartī*, and Mubāraka, the *dāmūtiyya*, were *ḥabash* Ethiopians. It is highly significant that the provincial notaries of Jerusalem knew the names of the ethnic sub-groups of Ethiopia and applied them to the slaves they described in their official functions. The term *ḥabash* was not precise enough to distinguish Ethiopian slaves from one another, many of whom had been renamed with purposefully common Muslim names. Like the 'Turks' of al-Asyūṭī's list of ethnicities, Ethiopians had become so numerous as slaves in the Mamluk sultanate that they were distinguished by more specific ethnic labels. This assumption is supported by the large proportion of Ethiopian slaves in the Damascene listening certificates and the ubiquity of descent from Ethiopian concubines among scholars in al-Sakhāwī's biographies.[353] It is interesting to note, however, that the listening certificates did not differentiate between subgroups of Ethiopians, while these contracts did – they had to be particularly precise in order to allow the identification of the involved parties.

The third contract describes the sale of an unnamed West African slave in 1382.[354] It is the only contract from this period in which the slave is not named. It is unlikely that such an essential piece of information would be lost due to a scribal error and the reason for its omission is not clear; the text itself was written with care and clarity that is rare among the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf documents.

> *Al-ḥājja al-jalīla* Shirīn bint ʿAbd Allāh, wife of *al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā* Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī the *ḥadīth* reciter, […] bought from *al-ḥājja al-mawṣūna* Bayram bint ʿAbd Allāh, wife of *al-ṣadr al-ajall* Zayn al-Dīn Khiḍr […] all of the adult West African [*takrūriyya*] Muslim slave [*jāriyya*] […] for four hundred and eighty […] dirhams.

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351 A title for the king of Ethiopia.

352 al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr wa-l-baḥr*, 268.

353 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, vol. 12.

354 Document 382, edited in Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 313–17.

The multitude of titles in this contract provides an occasion to discuss the use of titles in this document cluster. They are an important marker which allow us to situate the involved parties on a socio-economic scale, because the notaries applied a specific range of titles to specific social groups and also differentiated in their use between high-ranked and low-ranked members of such groups. The most useful frame of reference is, once again, the work of al-Asyūṭī. He recommends that the notary (*al-muwaththiq*) write 'for every person the appropriate title' (*al-alqāb al-lāʾiqa*) and that he record the person's 'epithet [*naʿt*] and title [*laqab*] according to what he knows of his social position [*maqām*]'.[355]

We have already seen a number of such titles in the above contracts. The title *al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā* was used for the pious trader in the first contract as well as for the *ḥadīth* reciter in this third contract. Al-Asyūṭī recommends it to address people with a religious function, specifically judges, *ashrāf*, imams, and jurisprudents, but its prevalence in these documents suggests that it was used more widely.[356] The title *al-ṣadr al-ajall* was used in all three contracts discussed so far. Al-Asyūṭī recommends it as a generic address for low-ranking merchants and civil servants in the form of *al-ṣadr al-ajall al-kabīr al-muḥtaram*.[357] His colleague al-Qalqashandī lists this extended version as 'one of the titles of the commoners' (*min alqāb al-ʿāmma*).[358] The shorter version used in the contracts therefore implies that the described party was neither a scholar, an *al-hājj* pilgrim, nor of any significance in the secular realm. Since every person (excluding slaves, of course) were to be addressed with respect, commercial actors who did not deserve any of the merit-based titles were assigned the 'default' *al-ṣadr al-ajall*.

The contract at hand lists two women as the contracting parties. According to al-Asyūṭī, women were always to be described by 'the epithets [*nuʿūt*] and titles [*alqāb*] appropriate to their social class [*ṭabaqa*] and the social class of their husband' and that 'they are distinguished by the distinction [*tamyīz*] of husbands with a high social rank [*al-raṭab al-ʿaliyya*]'.[359] This means that the social classification of the contracting parties applied to their husbands and family members as well as to the women themselves. It may also suggest that these women did not themselves perform the pilgrimage, but merely took on the title of their husbands.

Shirīn is described as *al-ḥājja al-jalīla*, which implies that she or her husband had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and was therefore reasonably well-off. Al-Qalqashandī recommends the use of *al-jalīl* in conjunction with *al-ḥājj*, es-

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355 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:17.
356 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:297, 359, 474, 475.
357 Ibid., 2:473, 488.
358 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, 6:26.
359 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:18; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:477.

pecially for pilgrims who were of a higher social status than other pilgrims (*li-aʿlā min hādhihi al-rutba*). Shirīn's title therefore suggests that the position of her husband, the *ḥadīth* reciter, brought with it considerable prestige and enough income for them to travel to Mecca.

Bayram, on the other hand, was less well-off. She is described as *al-ḥājja al-mawṣūna*. While this does imply that she had performed the *ḥājj*, the lack of *al-jalīla* places her below Shirīn. Al-Asyūṭī designates the title *al-mawṣūna al-fulāna* as the lowest one on a tier of social distinction. This *al-mawṣūna* therefore matches her husband Khidr's title *al-ṣadr al-ajall,* which likewise indicates a lack of distinction. Khidr and Bayram were ordinary people without fame or wealth, but they could nevertheless afford to buy a slave and to perform the pilgrimage.

The slave in question is not named, but she is identified as an adult, a Muslim, and a *takrūriyya*. This ethnonym refers to Muslim West African in general and to the region of the Senegal river in particular.[360] It is the second most common ethnonym for black slaves (following *ḥabash*) in the listening certificates of Damascus. The extent of the slave trading systems is illustrated by the distance between the place of origin and the place of contract; Jerusalem is roughly five thousand kilometres away from the Senegal river.

The fourth and fifth contracts describe the repeated sale of Mubāraka, a Nubian slave, in 1385 and 1386.[361] This Nubian slave had been given the same name as the Ethiopian slave in the second contract; Mubāraka was a typical name for converted foreign-born black slaves. She was sold first from a travelling trader to a low-ranking cleric at the Dome of the Rock and then to another trader a few months later. The later contract is written on the back of the earlier contract and refers to it for the description of the involved parties:

> *Al-ṣadr al-ajall al-muḥtaram* Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan […], one of those appointed [*muqarrarīn*] at the Dome of the Rock, […] bought from *al-ḥājj* Mujīr al-Dīn Ayyūb […], the travelling merchant, resident in Jerusalem, […] all of the adult [*kāmil*] Nubian Muslim slave [*jāriyya*] called Mubāraka […] for five hundred and fifty dirhams […] on 24 Rajab 787 [31/08/1385].

> *Al-ṣadr al-ajall al-kabīr al-muḥtaram* Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad […], from Hama, trader in Jerusalem, […] bought from *al-shaykh* Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, the buyer above [*bāṭinan*], all of the Nubian slave called Mubāraka, described above, […] for five hundred and fifty dirhams […] on 28 Muḥarram 788 [01/03/1386].

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360 J.O. Hunwick, 'Takrūr', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

361 Document 574 recto and verso, edited in Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 298–311.

Ḥasan, who first bought and then sold Mubāraka, is described first as *al-ṣadr al-ajall al-muḥtaram* and then simply as *al-shaykh.* The first title suggests that he was of low rank, while the second points to a religious function[362], most likely referring to his position as a *muqarrar* at the Dome of the Rock. The original seller Ayyūb is described by the notary as *al-tājir al-saffār.* Al-Asyūṭī designates this title to those who 'undertake journeys with a variety of goods and types of merchandise and varieties of Baalbek cloth and wool and muslin and Egyptian *al-sakandarī* and other cheap things [*wa-ghayr dhālika mā ʿadā al-makārim*]'.[363] He is also described as a *muqīm al-Quds*, which is likely to describe a temporary rather than permanent stay in Jerusalem.[364] The final owner Muḥammad, on the other hand, was a trader who lived in Jerusalem permanently. His title *al-ṣadr al-ajall al-kabīr al-muḥtaram* was the default title for those traders who did not travel and thus did not merit a special title defining their points of origin or their merchandise.[365] Even though al-Asyūṭī designates it for 'the leaders [*mashāyikh*] of the markets and the grandees [*akābir*] of the brokers and the specialists [*ʿurafāʾ*]', this title appears at the bottom rung of his list of categories of merchants.[366] It seems that the notary added the titles Badr al-Dīn and Nāsir al-Dīn before the personal names of Ḥasan and Muḥammad in accordance with the advice in al-Asyūṭī's manual. Unfortunately, al-Asyūṭī does not recommend any such *laqab* for the *ism* Ayyub, but it is likely that none of the three carried such a title in everyday life. All the involved parties appear to be members of modest households, with positions either in the mercantile or in the clerical sector of the city's economy and society.

The slave in question was described as *al-nūbiyya al-jins.* There is no reliable geographical definition of her home region of Nubia for this period, but it is reasonable to assume that she came from somewhere between Aswan and Khartoum.[367] Her name and ethnicity suggest that she was originally a Christian Nubian who was captured and sold northwards along the Nile or the Red Sea. With a price of 550 dirhams she is the most expensive slave described in this document cluster. Both contracts list this price, which did not change after her initial sale; the same applies to the *muwallada* Khulayfa who was repeatedly sold for 200 dirhams.

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362 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, 6:18.

363 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:477.

364 Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 303.

365 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:477.

366 Ibid.

367 S. Hillelson et al., 'Nūba', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

The sixth certificate describes the sale of Rashīd, a Nubian slave, in 1393.[368] This document supports the assumption that slave ownership in Mamluk society was often shared between family members as a result of the relatively equitable Islamic rules of inheritance. This assumption is further supported by the listening certificates of Damascus, as analysed in section 3.2.4. In this case, the slave was owned jointly by the sisters, wives, and daughters of the deceased Abū Bakr. These women sold the slave by way of two male legal agents, rather than directly, which is reminiscent of the above purchase of Khulayfa by the father of the wife, rather than by the wife herself.[369] The advice literature analysed in chapter one does not discuss shared ownership at any length, which gives its repeated occurrence in the documentary source base particular significance. The sixth certificate reads:

> Al-Ḥājj al-Ajall ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī […], from Jerusalem [min ahl al-Quds], bought […] from Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad […], from Damascus [al-dimashqī], and from Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥman […], known as al-maqdisī al-ḥanbalī, and from al-hājj Yaʿqūb […],
> who are the legal agents [wukalāʾ] of Khadīja […] and Sutayt […], who are the wives of the deceased Abū Bakr […], the Anatolian from Damascus [al-rūmī al-dimashqī], who died in Jerusalem, and Altī and Nafīsa, who are the full sisters of Abū Bakr […],
> whose inheritance [irth] falls to the aforementioned wives and his minor [ṣaghīr] daughters Fāṭima and Sāra and his aforementioned full sisters Altī and Nafīsa according to a record […] of the honourable court in Damascus […]
> and Abū Bakr designated his aforementioned wife Khadīja as the trustee on behalf of his aforementioned daughters […] according to a record […] of the honourable court in Jerusalem […]
> [He bought] all of the adolescent [murāhiq] Nubian Muslim slave [al-ʿabd al-raqīq] called Rashīd, left behind by the aforementioned Abū Bakr, […] for three hundred […] dirhams.

It appears that the involvement of the legal agents was due to practical necessity rather than gender restrictions, because the women were likely to have stayed behind in Damascus instead of travelling to Jerusalem to sell the slave. Abū Bakr must have taken Rashīd with him on his final journey to Jerusalem. The location of his will at the court of Damascus rather than Jerusalem suggests that he was normally resident in Damascus, and so were his female relatives. It is likely that his property, including his slave Rashīd, were seized by the authorities upon his death in order to safeguard them for the benefit of the legal heirs. The estate inventories analysed in chapter six suggest that this was the norm. Once the court

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368 Document 298, edited in Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds', 325–33.
369 Like the above contracts, this contract is presented in an abridged form which stays as close to the original text as possible while shortening the convoluted legal formulas. I have added paragraph divisions to improve the translation's legibility.

in Jerusalem had taken hold of Rashīd, it must have been more convenient logistically for the heirs to sell him off in Jerusalem rather than in Damascus.

The first legal agent is identified as being from Damascus. The nickname of the second legal agent – *al-maqdisī al-ḥanbalī* – suggests that he was part of the famous Damascene Maqdisī family of Hanbali scholars, who also feature frequently in the Damascene listening certificates analysed in chapter three. This suggests that the legal agents were not natives of Jerusalem but sent from Damascus at the behest of the inheriting women.

Two of the men carry the title *al-ḥājj,* one of them with the addition *al-ajall,* and all four carry the default honorific 'al-Dīn' titles. This suggests that two of the men had previously performed the pilgrimage, which required resources and time and was thus a marker of social status. None of the women carry any honorific titles whatsoever. The notary supplies significantly fewer details in terms of professional or scholarly credentials than his colleagues who wrote the contracts discussed above, which suggests that he did not consider them socially significant. Again, it is possible to conclude that the involved parties were of modest wealth and limited social status.

The contract does not specify what proportion of the slave was owned by which heir, but the spread over six heirs suggests that he was part of the portion of the inheritance that was divided among the quota-heirs according to the rules of *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*.[370] A superficial search on the internet suggests that, in this constellation, each wife would inherit 6 %, each daughter 33 %, and each full sister 10 % of the property.[371] It is understandable that the heirs in such a situation would decide to sell off the family slave rather than squabble over rights of use amongst themselves.

The slave in question is the second slave in this document cluster to be named Rashīd and also the second slave from Nubia. He is listed as Muslim, but it is likely that he was converted after his capture, because it was not permitted to enslave Muslims. He is described as *murāhiq*, as adolescent, which explains why there is no clause of acknowledgement of his slavery in this contract.[372] His selling price is the lowest among the prices mentioned in this cluster, and nearly as low as the price for the *muwallada* Khulayfa.

The contracts from Jerusalem are shorter than the documents from Upper Egypt and contain even less information regarding the involved parties. Nevertheless, the standardisation of language and notarial practice that is evident in these texts suggests that the slave trade was conducted professionally, and that

370 J. Schacht and A. Layish, 'Mīrāth', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

371 Calculated on http://inheritance.ilmsummit.org/projects/inheritance/home.aspx, accessed 14/04/2017.

372 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:80.

the formulation of these contracts was a routine matter for the notaries tasked with their composition. This suggests that Jerusalem possessed the institutional and physical infrastructure necessary for such a professional conduct. The topographical study of the Cairene slave market in chapter one provides a model for the appearance and changing location of such an urban slave market.

2.4   Contrasting Literary and Documentary Evidence

This section will draw together a number of conclusions from the above two case studies. These insights from the study of the documentary evidence are then compared and contrasted with the insights gained from the study of literary sources in chapter one. This serves to evaluate the slave market from a variety of perspectives and to lay the groundwork for the further analysis of master-slave relations and slave agency in subsequent chapters. Five points are highlighted here, followed by a concluding section concerning the slave market as a whole.

Firstly, the contracts contain only limited information to confirm or disprove the impression of physical slave markets as relayed by the market inspection and purchase manuals. This is due primarily to the highly standardized nature of the contracts as set out in al-Asyūṭī's formula – these documents were intended to convey a specific set of information which focused on the identity of the involved legal parties and the nature of the merchandise. The notaries therefore did not include much, if any, information about the locality in which the described slaves were offered for sale or inspected, which leaves us empty-handed when it comes to corroborating the literary descriptions of physical slave markets. The under-lying formalisation and professionalism of notary practice also explains the conspicuous absence of slave brokers in the language of the contracts. Based on the literary evidence we can surmise that they acted as mediators between buyer and sellers in urban markets, but from a legal perspective, the sale itself was strictly between the buyer and seller and the auxiliary role of brokers was optional and thus not required to be documented. While slave brokers are not mentioned, both document clusters contain one contract each in which a commercial party makes use of a commercial agent (*wakīl*). This is consistent with the impression given by al-Asyūṭī, who urges the scribe to record whether both parties are physically present or represented by a *wakīl*.[373] In both cases it is women who make use of a *wakīl*, which implies that it was less common for women to be directly involved in commerce, including the slave trade.

Even though the documents contain no direct information about physical slave markets, all of the Jerusalem contracts note that the sale took place after the

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373 Ibid., 1:63.

slave was 'lawfully inspected': *wa-dhālika baʿd al-naẓar* […] *al-sharʿiyya.* This suggests that the procedures for the physical and mental inspection of slaves described in the market inspection and purchase manuals were followed to some extent. This clause, which is prescribed by al-Asyūṭī, is not found in the documents from Upper Egypt, which supports the assumption that the *muwallada* Khulayfa was not sold through official channels, but privately between the members of a small rural community.[374] This suggests that slave markets played an important commercial role in larger towns and cities, while the rural slave trade relied on more informal venues.

Secondly, the contracts provide enough data to argue that slave ownership was not limited to elite households but extended to modest urban and rural households as well. The sample of documents may be small, but there is no reason to assume that these documents were unusual in terms of the clientele they recorded. All of the documented buyers and sellers were tradesmen, merchants, and scholars or members of their households. They were not among the elite of their professions, but neither were they among the lowest in society. Leaving aside the clerical positions, we see the professional designations of *bayyāʿ, ʿaṭṭār, tājir,* and *tājir saffār.* In combination with the honorific titles given to these men, it is possible to identify them as members of mercantile, artisanal, and scholarly households, including a combination of these categories. Scholars, or at least people with professional ties to religious institutions, were involved in every single transaction documented in Jerusalem. They are similarly prominent in the documentary evidence analysed in later chapters. This suggests that it was common for scholarly households to own slaves. It seems less likely, however, that the majority of slaveholders were scholars – it is more likely that the documentary source base is biased in this regard, since scholars were more likely to be associated with a milieu in which documents were produced and preserved.

Thirdly, all of the documented slaves in Jerusalem were of black African origin and their ethnicity was described in detail, down to their native tribal subdivision. This suggests that they were first-generation slaves and that there were so many African slaves in Syrian society that their native subdivisions were known among the Arab scribes who recorded them. The slave in Upper Egypt was repeatedly described as being of *muwallada* race, which was likewise listed as one of the black (*sūdān*) races by al-Asyūṭī.[375] Since we know that the slave-status of this individual went back at least two generations, it is likely that she was a descendent of slaves who had previously been imported in a similar fashion as the documented African slaves in Jerusalem. The absence of Turkish slaves is surprising and is most likely an effect of the small sample size – both the advice literature

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374 Ibid.
375 Ibid., 1:79–80.

and the listening certificates of Damascus make regular mention of Turkish slaves, and al-Asyūṭī provides formulas for both Turkish and black slaves. The documented presence of black slaves at the Jerusalem market shows that the southern African slave trade system reached into Syria, just as the northern Turkish slave trade system reached into Egypt. It also suggests that the elaborate listing of racial characteristics in the advice literature reflected to some extent the ethnic diversity on the slave markets of the Mamluk periods, though it remains unclear to what extent buyers were influenced by these notions.

Fourthly, the conversion and renaming of imported African slaves was universal practice, as suggested by the literary sources. Renaming was part of the process of reassigning an identity to deracinated slaves. By naming an imported slave, owners assigned them a role in Muslim society and set them on the path to integration and social assimilation. This new identity was centred around the master-slave relationship and posited the master as the central person of reference for the slave's interaction with actors outside the household. The mention of Muslim names in certificates of sale supports the assumption – borne out by the urban and local identity of sellers – that these slaves were not newly imported but had been owned and renamed by previous owners.

All of the slaves were described as Muslims, and of the four named slaves in Jerusalem, two were named Mubāraka and two were named Rashīd, which are decidedly Muslim names. The enslavement of Muslims was forbidden by religious law, though it remains doubtful to what extent this ban was enforced in the frontier regions of Africa. These slaves were captured under the assumption or with the subsequent claim that they were unbelievers. The Ethiopians and Nubians among them had most likely been Christians, while the *takrūrī* had almost certainly been an adherent of a non-monotheistic belief system. It remains a mystery how exactly such slaves were converted, but it is very unlikely that they had a choice in the matter. Conversion must have happened shortly after their enslavement, since al-Asyūṭī does not even consider the possibility that a black slave offered for sale on urban markets could be anything but a Muslim: he provides the default formulas as '*in kāna al-mubīʿ aswad, kataba:* […] *al-muslim al-jins* […]' and '*in kāna al-mubīʿ jāriyya sūdāʾ, kataba:* […] *wa annahā muslima bāligha* […]'.[376] The renaming of a slave was a crucial part of the conversion process; while 'white' slaves often received (or kept) Turkish names, black slaves were always assigned Arabic names, often those associated with slave status. This observation is based mainly on the listening certificates of Damascus as discussed in section 3.2.1., and it is corroborated by al-Asyūṭī. When recommending the appropriate *alqāb* for given names, he lists twenty-six Arabic names (including Rashīd) for slaves and then refers to 'those slave names which correspond

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376 Ibid., 1:80.

to Turkish names' (*mā kāna min asmā al-khuddām muwāffiqan li-asmāʾ al-turk*).[377] This shows that nearly all slaves had either one of a limited number of given Arabic names or a Turkish name.

Fifthly, adult slaves were more expensive than adolescent slaves. The sample size in these two case studies is too small in size and too dispersed over time and space to come to any definitive conclusions regarding the pricing patterns of slaves, but age seems to be the most distinct influence.[378] The two slaves recorded as adolescents were sold for 200 and for 300 dirhams. One slave, for whom there is no indication of age, was sold for 380 dirhams, and the three adult slaves were sold for 480, 500, and 550 dirhams. It is also worthy of note that the mixed-race *muwallada* slave only achieved about half the average price of the imported black African slaves. This may be attributable to other factors such as time, place, or age, but it may also indicate that *muwallada* slaves were less sought after than freshly imported slaves.

Sixthly, the contracts show that there was a group of house-born and mixed-race slaves described as *al-muwallad al-jins,* which mirrors al-Asyūṭī's usage of this categorization. This indicates that there was either a significant measure of slave-slave procreation, or that slave-master children were often not recognized by the free father, since this would result in the child being free.[379] It is likely that this group of house-born slaves was much smaller than either the African or the Turkish slave populations within Mamluk society, which required the constant influx of new slaves to replenish captive populations, despite this documented yet limited procreation. The issues of slave marriage and procreation are further discussed in section 3.2.2 and in chapter four.

Drawing from both the literary and the documentary sources analysed in chapters one and two, it is possible to draw a number of preliminary conclusions regarding the nature of the slave market and its role in Mamluk society. The social institution of domestic slavery was a system that was perpetuated by the constant importation of new human material from outside the borders of the empire. The principal reservoirs were the Turkish steppes of the north and the Ethiopian lands of the south, though there was a considerable presence of slaves of other ethnicities. Limited slave procreation resulted in *muwallad* slaves who were not imported but nevertheless traded on the internal market.

The large cities of the empire had slave markets in which the trade was focused and regulated. The example of Cairo shows that there was one slave market within the city walls, and that this market moved regularly from one location to

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377 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:468.
378 See Barker's comparison of Genoese, Venetian, and Mamluk pricing patterns in Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants'.
379 Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'.

another. Outside the major urban centres, slaves were traded at seasonal fairs, in semi-formal markets in larger towns, and informally within smaller communities. A body of religiously inspired laws existed to safeguard the rights of buyers and sellers and to protect slaves from the worst of abuses. Its enforcement was left primarily to market inspectors, but it appears that the notaries who drew up the contracts of sale played an auxiliary role in this.

In the larger urban markets, slave brokers played a crucial role in the day-to-day business of the slave market. They acted as an intermediary between sellers and buyers and often took direct charge of the slaves they were tasked to sell. Though the standardised nature of contracts means that they were not recorded as parties to the transaction, market inspection manuals set out a variety of regulations regarding the proper conduct of these brokers. The bodies and sometimes the minds of slaves were customarily inspected before their sale in order to avoid the deception and disappointment on the side of the buyer.

The racial stereotypes perpetuated by specialised advice literature were closely connected to the preference for Turkish slave soldiers, but they seem to have had little influence on the purchasing patterns for domestic slaves. As Hannah Barker observed, slaves represented a significant financial investment.[380] People bought what was offered on the market and that which was most affordable. A slave in itself was a significant investment which brought with it considerable social prestige, but the market supply was limited compared to earlier times of abundant war captives.

At the same time, it is evident that it was not only the rich and powerful who could buy and own slaves. A number of documented cases in which shopkeepers and tradesmen bought and sold individual slaves suggest that it was normal for successful members of the professional working classes of Mamluk society to own domestic slaves, which is further corroborated by the listening certificates from Damascus analysed in the following chapter. Slaves were owned by well-off urban individuals with artisanal, commercial, and scholarly backgrounds. They were a symbol of economic success as well as social status and many served as domestic labourers; of particular interest is that they were frequently owned by more than one person at a time.

This necessitates an analytical shift away from large elite households towards smaller non-elite households. While elite households could afford dozens or hundreds of slaves of different specializations, non-elite households such as those attested to in the above documents could afford only one or at most a handful of enslaved servants. Decreasing supply and rising prices in the fifteenth century may have contributed to the discrepancy between elite and non-elite

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380 Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 81.

slave-owning households.[381] The shared ownership of slaves complicated the master-slave relationship, since the labour and time of the slave was not directed by a single master. Shared Ownership also increased the complexity of the intra-household web of relations and could cause social tension among its members. The repeated sale and donation of the female slave Khulayfa among household and family members is an example of the fluidity of the social relations in the context of shared ownership. Since such arrangements were often the outcome of the Islamic division of heritable property, sale was a convenient option to resolve the situation, as recorded in one of the contracts from Jerusalem.

Shared ownership shaped the interagency of slaves, since both the legal and the social framework of the master-slave relationship shifted. Owners in a situation of shared ownership suffered legal restrictions in terms of sexual access and the power to manumit, award contracts, or sell the slave, which may both benefit and disadvantage the slave. Similarly, the need to negotiate with more than one master offered both advantages and disadvantages to the slave. It was possible to play off one master against the other, as may have happened in the context of the revocation of the sale of Khulayfa, but the need to maintain relations with several masters required more time and effort.

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381 For the argument regarding decreasing supply and the changing roles of domestic slaves see Rapoport, 'Women'; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*; Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants'.

3. Integration and Participation

Once a slave entered the confines of their master's household, it becomes very difficult for us to trace them. Most slaves simply disappeared from view at this point, since they became dependent minors in both a legal and a social sense and thus interacted with the wider world mainly through their owner. The main events which we can trace are sale, manumission, marriage, and death, which are discussed in previous and subsequent chapters. This chapter takes an unorthodox and untested approach to fill some of the blank spots which result from such a perspective. In order to analyse the social integration of slaves and their role in the patriarchal household, this study proposes to focus on the well-documented practice of holding meetings in which religious literature was read by a teacher to an audience of listeners.

While domestic slaves tend to be invisible in the greatest part of the documentary record, the scribes who registered the attendees of these meetings recorded the names of *everyone* who attended, including children and enslaved members of the household. Many of these gatherings took place in private homes in which slaves were present, served the participants, and on occasion participated actively in the event. Gatherings also took place in public spaces where some listeners attended as a family unit, bringing along their slaves or manumitted slaves. The lists of names recorded at these meetings provide us with information about *hundreds* of enslaved domestic servants and manumitted clients. This allows us to complement the micro-historical study of individual documents as presented in the previous chapter with a study of a significantly broader source base of demographic data.

The application of these sources to the study of Ayyubid and Mamluk social history has great potential, though it is rarely attempted.[382] This chapter focuses

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382 The most signicifant contribution in recent years has been Konrad Hirschler's work, see Konrad Hirschler, 'Reading Certificates (Samāʿāt) as a Prosopographical Source: Cultural and Social Practices of an Elite Family in Zangid and Ayyubid Damascus', in *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, ed. Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler (Würzburg: Ergon

on the analysis of the origins and ethnic identity of the population of urban domestic slaves, slave marriages and childbearing, the shared ownership of slaves among family members, the professions and social standing of slave owners and freed slaves, and other aspects of slavery which tend to be poorly documented in other sources. The analysis of ethnic origins is perhaps the most significant part of this chapter, since it directly relates to the analysis of literary racial stereotypes in chapter one and since the underlying data is rich enough to trace the evolution of these patterns of origin throughout the time period under investigation.

It will be shown throughout the chapter that slaves were deeply integrated into urban households and formed part of the web of social relations of its members. The patterns of attendance set out below underline the strong social ties between master and slave both before and after manumission. The continued attendance of social functions at the patron's house can be seen as a conscious tactic of social accommodation and integration on the part of the freed slave. Similarly, the documented instances of familial bonds including children between masters and slaves attest to the complexities of master-slave negotiations and the diversity of roles within the household.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the source genre and sets out the methodology of the study. The second part presents the statistical trends and patterns which become evident from the material. The third part presents a case study to illustrate the results of this analysis using specific examples, to demonstrate how these reading sessions took place, and to provide tangible examples of the integration and participation of slaves.

3.1   Context and Methodology

This chapter is an extended case study which explores aspects of domestic slavery on the basis of the information transmitted by listening certificates (*samāʿāt*). Moving on from the commercial aspects of slavery, it presents a unique view on the social integration of slaves and by extension on slave-holding households and the agency of slaves within them. It differs from other sections of this study insofar as it is based not on a small number of documents, anecdotal evidence, or literary sources, but on the analysis of several hundred listening certificates. A total of 273 slaves and freed slaves were identified in these certificates. While this approach presents challenges of its own, it is necessary to broaden the

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Verlag, 2011), 73–92; Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

analytical perspective and to go beyond the analysis of commercial and notarial documents.

These certificates are a testament to the presence of slaves in everyday life. They show that slaves attended social events alongside their owners and that freed slaves were socially independent enough to attend them in the same fashion as freeborn people did, though they often did so in a context which shows a continued attachment to their patrons. They also confirm a number of insights such as the prevalence and nature of slave ownership, naming patterns and the ethnic origins of slaves, and patterns of interaction within slave-owning households. The professional designations and other markers of socio-economic status indicate that the ownership of slaves was not limited to elite households but practiced among wider parts of the urban population, and that a slave was often owned by more than one person at a time, as shown in the previous chapter. They therefore both corroborate and complement the insights drawn from other source genres.

3.1.1 The Urban Setting

The focus of this study is Damascus, because most of the surviving certificates document gatherings in this city, though a smaller proportion of the sample concerns Aleppo and Cairo. This setting differs from the case studies in chapter two, which were set in a much more provincial setting, al-Bahnasā being a small town and Jerusalem being a small city that was notable mainly for its religious status. As cultural and political centres, Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo were home to a concentration of scholarly activities. Due to the vagaries of source survival and accessibility, more data is available from the Damascene context, but this data can be combined with the other localities, because they shared common social and cultural norms as well as the scholarly culture which produced these certificates. Damascus and Aleppo were centres of Muslim political power and economic and cultural life. Damascus in particular enjoyed a political and cultural flowering under the Zengids and continued to prosper under the Ayyubids.[383] Aleppo was an important Ayyubid principality and its cultural and political power rivalled that of Damascus, as Anne-Marie Eddé showed in her study of the city.[384] As the political centre of the Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk empires, Cairo was one of the cultural and religious centres of the Islamic world.

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383 Dorothée Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisch-islamischen Stadt*, Damaszener Forschungen, Bd. 1 (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1989), 23.
384 Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep, (579/1183–658/1260)*.

All three cities were home to a thriving cultural scene that ebbed and flowed with the political and economic developments that befell them. After the conquest of Jerusalem by the Franks, a number of Hanbali scholars emigrated with their families to Damascus and settled in the al-Ṣāliḥiyya district near Mount Qāsyūn just outside the city of Damascus.[385] This district grew in size and prominence over the next decades and was home to many religious institutions such as schools of *ḥadīth* (*dār al-ḥadīth*) and mosques.[386] One of these families was the Maqdisī family, who were at the centre of a new pietistic movement which elevated the public reading of *ḥadīth* works and the recording of the names of all attending listeners.[387] The custom of these holding these gatherings and comprehensively recording the personal information of listeners gained enormous regional popularity and spread as far as Cairo and Baghdad, persisting into the fifteenth century. This custom become ingrained in regional scholarly culture to such an extent that it survived both political and socio-economic upheavals. Aleppo and Damascus were plundered by invading Mongol armies in 1260 and subsequently integrated into the Mamluk empire. In the case of Damascus, this is reflected in the absence of any certificates relevant to this study during the five years which followed, but the writing of certificates resumed as soon as the city had recovered. The starting point for the inclusion of data from listening certificates has been set at the year 1200 in order to conform to the general framework of the present study, rather than the points of dynastic change in 1173 and 1250/1260. The bulk of the material covers the period up to 1350, but the inclusion of a number of later certificates makes its findings relevant up to and including the fifteenth century.

3.1.2   Listening Certificates as Historical Sources

The data on which this chapter is based has been gathered from documents known as 'listening certificates' or *samāʿāt*. One reason for the dearth of research into the history of medieval Islamic societies is the scarcity of conventional documents such as charters and administrative records. The listening certificates provide a third way besides such conventional documents and literary sources, but they have hardly been used up to the present day. Put simply, they are lists of people who listened to books which were read out in private homes or publicly in mosques, madrasas, and dedicated establishments known as *dār al-ḥadīth*. Since

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385 Sack, *Damaskus*, 25.

386 H. Sauvaire, 'Description de Damas', 3, no. 9 (1894), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k 932452.

387 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 32, 46; Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 29.

these attendance registers list additional information about the listeners as well as the place and date of the gathering, they can be used to reconstruct to some extent the social and cultural life of a section of the population. For example, they are careful to explain the connections between people by including phrases like 'he is the uncle of so-and-so' and 'he is the freed slave of such-and-such'. They also list the professions of many listeners, which provide an insight into the socio-economic background of audiences and into slave-holding households and the social relations within them.

A typical listening certificate starts with the name and author of the work being read aloud. It then lists the functionaries of the session, such as the lecturer and any presiding teachers who authenticate the work. The main part of the certificate consists of the names of the attending listeners. The order in which the participants were listed reflected the seating order of the meeting, which in turn was determined by their social status.[388] Slaves sat with their masters in all but a few cases, while freed slaves could attend with or without their patrons. Some sessions attracted more than one hundred listeners, while the average number was around ten. The document usually closes with the date and the place of the gathering as well as the name of the recording scribe.

Most of the certificates under investigation date back to the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. It appears that the above format, or at the least the inclusion of all listeners, grew less pervasive by the middle of the fourteenth century. The reduction in popularity of the practice meant that there were much fewer relevant certificates after that point. It is unlikely that a loss of material is to blame for this dearth, since the kind of ḥadīth collections which tend to include relevant samāʿāt can be found in greater numbers, rather than in lower numbers, from later centuries. Al-Sakhāwī's scribal manual for ḥadīth scholars, dating to the fifteenth century, discusses samāʿ and ijāza certification practices at length, but fails to list any formulas that correspond to the format of the certificates used here, even though there are individual certificates from that time which follow the earlier format.[389]

As a large number of these documents have been preserved– there are tens of thousands of medieval Syrian listening certificates in Turkish libraries alone – they lend themselves to a prosopographical approach. While it is possible to reconstruct some aspects of an individual's life from a single certificate, most certificates provide only snippets of information. The quantity of such data

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388 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 46–51.
389 Muhammad bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth bi-sharḥ alfiyyat al-ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm bin ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khaḍīr and Muḥammad bin ʿAbd Allāh bin Fahīd Āl Fahīd, vol. 2, 5 vols (Riyadh: Maktabat Dār al-Minhāj li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʾ, 1426). See pages 340–354 for the relevant samāʿ practices and pages 355–426 for ijāza practices. Formulas are given in various places, for example on pages 347–348, 357, 361.

points makes it possible to assemble a statistical overview for a given group of people, which describes its members as a social group with shared characteristics and life-experiences. Slaves, for instance, are described sufficiently often and in sufficient detail to draw conclusions regarding their geographic origins, naming patterns, the extent of their social integration in household, master-slave relations and the incidence of shared ownership of slaves.

This approach can also be applied to other groups and various aspects of social history.[390] To date, the listening certificates have been used by few scholars. The most noteworthy work in relation to this study is Konrad Hirschler's study of the reading and teaching culture of the medieval Islamicate world, which has been an inspiration for the methodology of this chapter.[391] It is unfortunate that Michael Chamberlain did not use any such sources in his study of the scholarly class of Damascus.[392] The listening certificates remain an untapped resource for the study of slavery and of Islamicate social history more widely.

While the certificates found in the Süleymaniye and Millet manuscript libraries in Istanbul were recorded primarily in the margins and at the end of chapters in ḥadīth collections, the certificates from the al-Ẓāhiriyya library, published by Stefan Leder, include numerous examples written on the pages of works of jurisprudence and edifying tales.[393] This shows that despite a heavy focus on religious content and especially on traditions of the prophet and his *sunna*, these reading sessions had a wider appeal which went beyond the scholarly class. The reading of ḥadīth works themselves attracted many non-scholarly listeners, partly because they were believed to impart *baraka*, religious blessing. The inclusion of all listeners in the certificate was originally motivated by the desire to document their right to transmit the text on their own authority. The format of the listening certificates is close to the *ijāza* certificates of transmission rights, alongside which they are often found at the end of chapters in the same manuscripts. It appears that the certificates lost this function relatively early as they include many non-scholarly listeners who in all likelihood did not memorize the text. The attendance of these sessions by a diverse audience was part of a wider cultural movement, which has been characterized by Stefan Leder as a 'new puritanical devoutness'.[394]

The data gathered from the listening certificates is representative of the population of Syria in a limited sense. It over-represents the scholarly section of the urban population and completely excludes non-Muslims. Even within these

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390 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 35.
391 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*; Hirschler, 'Reading Certificates (Samāʾāt) as a Prosopographical Source'.
392 Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*.
393 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 27.
394 Ibid., 35.

circles it is skewed towards the Hanbali school and the Maqdisī family of scholars in particular.[395] This focus on the scholarly milieu, however, is a challenge which confronts most studies of Islamic social history. Most of the literature as well as a considerable portion of the surviving documentary sources was written by scholars or people with scholarly training, and it is therefore to be expected that we are best informed about the scholarly milieu. On the other hand, one of the key advantages of using the listening certificates is their completeness. Arguably one consequence of their scholarly character is that they were comprehensive, and so include many members of other sectors of the urban population, such as artisans and day-labourers.

The popularity of the listening sessions led to the attendance of members of a variety of households at the gatherings. Sessions in public spaces such as the courtyards of mosques tended to attract many artisans and irregular listeners, while gatherings in private homes were attended by invited scholars who attended several events at one location in succession.[396] The attendance and inclusion of wider parts of the population reflects the permeability of social divisions, as it was possible for merchants, artisans and even freed slaves to become famed scholars.[397] The certificates thus include information on a wide cross-section of society and they are a unique and largely untapped resource for the study of urban society and of the scholarly milieu in particular.[398]

3.1.3   Certificate Collections and Methodology

The following sections are based on listening certificates from the Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus, from the Süleymaniye and Millet manuscript libraries in Istanbul, and from the al-Aqsa Mosque Library in Jerusalem. The material from the al-Ẓāhiriyya library was assembled and published by Stefan Leder and his colleagues.[399] The accompanying analytical index is the source of most of the data underlying the argument below. The most substantive addition to the data derived from the al-Ẓāhiriyya corpus is the data derived from certificates found

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395 Ibid., 21, 29.
396 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 37.
397 Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep, (579/1183–658/1260)*, 480.
398 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 35.
399 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*; Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad Sawwās, and Maʾmūn Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt al-Dimashqiyya al-muntakhaba min sanat 550 ilā 750 H / 1155 ilā 1349 M: Ṣuwar al-Makhṭūṭāt*, Publications de l'I.F.E.A.D. (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 2000); The present author's M.Phil. thesis relied on names drawn from Leder's material: Jan Hagedorn, 'Slaves, Freedmen and Masters in Public Lectures in Medieval Damascus' (University of Oxford, 2015).

in ḥadīth collections in the Süleymaniye[400] and Millet[401] manuscript libraries over the course of original archival research in Istanbul. From the catalogues of these two libraries, 65 manuscripts were selected on the basis of similarities to the al-Ẓāhiriyya corpus in terms of topic, time and place of production, scribal hands, chapter structure, and general appearance. Digitised copies of these 65 manuscrīts were subsequently inspected in detail. Four of them contained several hundred listening certificates which could be attributed to reading circles in Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo between 1200 and 1500. The associated personal data regarding slaves and slave owners was integrated into the database previously sourced from the al-Ẓāhiriyya certificates. The database was further expanded following a survey of the digitised manuscripts which resulted from project EAP 521 of the Endangered Archives Programme of the British Library entitled 'Digitisation of manuscripts at the Al-aqsa Mosque Library, East Jerusalem' (sic) according to the above criteria.[402] The survey resulted in the identification of one relevant manuscript and the integration into the database of the information contained therein.[403] The appendix to this study provides an overview of the personal data which results from the study of these certificates. The data is presented in the form of a table containing the names and key personal data points of the slaves and freed slaves recorded in these certificates.

The most significant of these corpora is Stefan Leder's publication of the al-Ẓāhiriyya collection, which provides an impression of the scale of the database. It incorporates 85 manuscripts which include 1350 listening certificates, corresponding to one third of the extant listening certificates found in Damascus.[404] These certificates include information on about 8000 individuals, of which 148 were slaves and 64 were freed slaves.[405] Of the 1350 certificates, 345 directly mention slaves or freed slaves. These numbers indicate that slaves were present at around a quarter of all gatherings, mostly in small numbers, and that some slaves attended multiple gatherings. The proportions in the collections of the Süleymaniye and Millet libraries appear to be similar to this. The lack of an analytical index and a reliable catalogue, however, introduces an element of uncertainty. Many of the books held in these libraries are copies of earlier manuscripts, so that reading certificates are omitted or shortened to a form in which most non-scholarly listeners and dependents are simply recorded as '…. and others'

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400 Manuscripts Carullah290, Ayasofya551, Asirefendi74.
401 Manuscript Fe259.
402 Available at the time of writing at https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP521.
403 See pages 362–364 in "المسند الصحيح al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ [1239]", available at the time of writing at https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP521-1-81.
404 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 30.
405 Ibid., 23. This data covers the period from 1150 to 1350 and therefore goes slightly beyond the timeframe under investigation in this study.

(*wa-ākhirūn).* These certificates have been excluded from the analysis, since they rarely contain relevant personal data.

About seventy percent of the data has been drawn from the al-Ẓāhiriyya collection, twenty percent from the Süleymaniye, and ten percent from the Millet and al-Aqsa collections. There is no discernible break between these collections when it comes to statistical patterns such as the ratio of slaves and freedmen, ethnicity, naming, and ownership patterns. This enables us to treat them as a single body of source material.

A total of 273 slaves and freed slaves were identified. Most of them were recorded in the city of Damascus between the years 1200 and 1350 but some were recorded in Aleppo and Cairo and as late as 1461. The patterns which emerge from this analysis are consistent throughout the Syrian collections. Only about ten percent of the listed slaves were female, which may be due to the public nature of many of these sessions.[406] Two-thirds of the sample group were listed as slaves and one-third were listed as freed slaves, which suggests a high rate of manumission.[407] Ethnic indicators suggest that Turks were the largest ethnic group, followed by Ethiopians.

Only those individuals who are directly recorded as slaves or freed slaves have been taken into consideration in the analysis of the slave population. This mainly concerns the category of *fatā / fatāh* and *ʿatīq / ʿatīqa,* even though a number of subgroups such as *tawāshī* and *mawlā* are also counted, with particular attention given to the contextual meaning of these terms. This excludes a considerable number of people carrying both a typical slave name and the characteristic slave patronymic of Abd Allāh, e. g. 'Yaqūt bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghuzzī'.[408] The exclusion of this group, perhaps as much as one third of the remaining people, is necessary to ensure that free non-Arab converts are not counted as freed converted slaves. Nine individuals designated as *mamlūk* were identified, all but one of them at a single gathering in the residence of an officer in Cairo.[409] This indicates that military functionaries and the members of their households did not usually attend civilian scholarly sessions.

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406 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 46.
407 The issue of manumission is further discussed in chapter 5.
408 In ms. AYASOFYA551, 128 B and 144 A.
409 See A:EAP:362–364.

3.2   Analysis

The recorded personal and relational information of slaves and masters con-
tained in the certificates enable us to analyse master-slave relations and the
integration of slaves within the household. The following sections focus on the
concepts of ethnicity, procreation, masters, and shared ownership and on the
role and social position of freed slaves. The purpose of these sections is to present
the relevant evidence which emerges from the listening certificates. This dis-
cussion is thematically connected with the previous discussions of ethnicity in
section 1.3.2 and of the roles of female slaves in section 1.3.3 and is meant to
complement the evidence presented there. The more comprehensive treatment
of the themes of sexuality and manumission provided in chapters five and six
builds on the evidence presented here.

3.2.1   Ethnic Composition

We have seen in section 1.3.2 that the literary elite held a number of specific racial
prejudices concerning the suitability of a given slave for a given task. Turks were
seen as a martial race, while Ethiopians were more trustworthy than other blacks,
and so on. The practical implications of these prejudices were evaluated on the
basis of the commercial documents presented in section 2.3, noting that the
Ḥaram documents only contain certificates of sale for black slaves, which in-
dicates that purchase patterns were determined by the supply side of the market
rather than the influence of racial stereotypes on buyers' preferences. This as-
sessment should be corrected further, since the listening certificates indicate the
slave population was ethnically diverse and did not consist primarily of the black
slaves represented in the sample of Ḥaram documents.

  This data suggests that the majority of the population of domestic slaves in
Syria was 'Turkish' as defined by al-Asyūṭī, i. e. from Anatolia or the steppes
beyond.[410] A sizeable minority of slaves was of African origin, overwhelmingly
from Ethiopia. These proportions suggest that even though only 'Turkish'
northern slaves were eligible to join the ranks of the military, both northern and
southern slaves filled the ranks of domestic servants in Mamluk cities. This
indicates that the ethnicity-based allocation of professional roles to imported
slaves propagated by the slave purchase manuals studied in section 1.3.2 was in
practice much less prominent than an allocation based on the availability of
slaves on the market. The data also suggests that slavery was associated with

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410 As quoted and discussed in section 2.1; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.

specific ethnicities and patterns of renaming slaves according to racial expect-
ations.

The ethnicity of most of the recorded 273 slaves and freed slaves can be
appraised on the basis of their assigned racially descriptive *nisba* adjectives, their
personal names, and the recorded ethnicity of close family members. The *nisba*
adjectives were assigned by the scribes who composed the certificates, possibly
according to the information given by owners, but more likely according to the
slaves' appearance. It is likely that this was a spontaneous process, since repeated
recordings of the same slave in different certificates by different scribes often
lack *nisba*s. Of the 273 recorded slaves, 92 were assigned ethnic *nisba*s. 35 were
described as *ḥabashī,* 23 as *turkī*, 15 as *rūmī*, six as *takrūrī*, five as *armanī*, three as
kurjī, two each as *hindī* and *nūbī*, and one as *muwallad*, including the female
forms of these adjectives.[411]

Personal names are an important indicator of slave status and ethnicity due to
culturally established patterns of renaming slaves.[412] According to al-Asyūṭī's
manual there were two kinds of slave names: a set pool of around twenty Arabic
names, many of which were descriptive (Luʾluʾ = 'pearl'), and an undefined range
of Turkish names.[413] This is concordant with the data from the listening certif-
icates, though the pool of Arabic names is wider than that suggested by al-Asyūṭī.
The certificates show that slaves who were given a southern ('*sūdān*' according to
al-Asyūṭī: *ḥabashī, takrūrī, hindī, nūbī, muwallad*) *nisba* always had Arabic
names, usually descriptive ones, while slaves with a northern ('*turkī*' according to
al-Asyūṭī: *turkī, rūmī, armanī, kurjī*) *nisba* overwhelmingly had given Turkish
names.[414] Of the 46 slaves with a northern nisba, 35 had a Turkish name and
11 had an Arabic name; three *turkī*, seven *rumī*, and one *kurjī* slave. We can infer
from this that all slaves with a Turkish name were of a northern ethnicity, though
some slaves of northern origin had Arabic names. An additional indication of a
slave's ethnicity were their brothers and sisters. The scribes recorded the names
of siblings of fifteen of our recorded slaves. We can assume with confidence that
Jawhar ('jewel'), whose brothers were Aybak, Bīlbak, Biktūr, and Sunqūr, was of
northern origin, for example.

Combining these three indicators and operating on the basis of al-Asyūṭī's
ethnic categorisation, we can group the recorded slaves into three broad cate-

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411 See appendix 2 for these individuals and the sources in which the record of each one was
     found.
412 For naming patterns specific to female slaves, see Hekmat Dirbas, 'Naming of Slave-girls in
     Arabic: A Survey of Medieval and Modern Sources', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*,
     no. 69 (2019): 26–38.
413 See also section 2.4; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:468.
414 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.

gories.[415] Of the 273 slaves, 145 were 'northern' (*turkī*) and 49 were 'southern' (*sūdān*). The remaining 79 slaves cannot be categorized with sufficient certainty, though many of them carried descriptive Arabic names such as Rayḥān, Jawhara, and Luʾluʿa, which makes it likely that they were black Africans or second-generation *muwallad* slaves. This data shows that Turks and Ethiopians were the largest ethnic groups among the slave population of Syria. It also suggests that slaves were constantly being imported along the northern and southern trade routes and that there were much fewer 'homebred' than imported slaves. The following graph shows the above ratios:
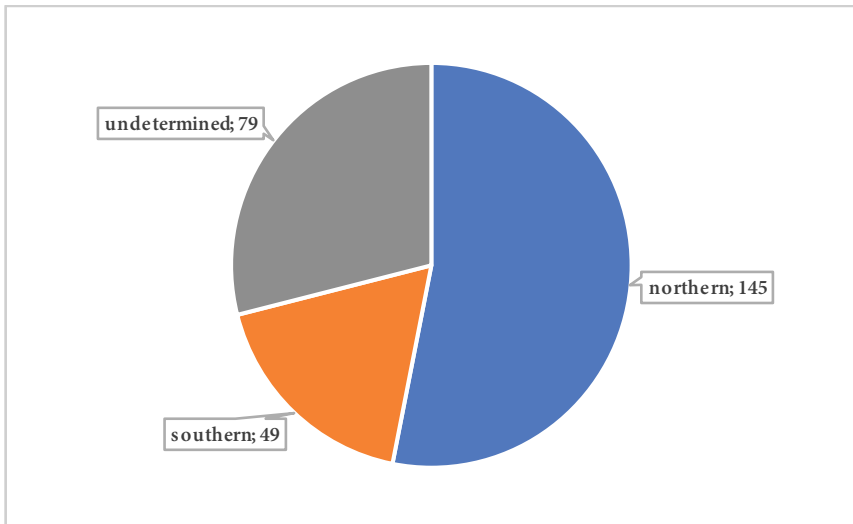
These proportions changed over time, though not drastically. Most of the sample stems from between 1200 and 1350, so it is best presented in three stages of fifty years each. This presents an impression of overall stability in terms of the relation of northern and southern origins, though the relative size of the group of slaves with undetermined ethnicity increased markedly.

This may be an indication of decreasing imports and the relative increase of the number of slaves who were born domestically rather than abroad. According to the principles determined above, these house-born slaves would have received predominantly Arabic names and would have lacked foreign ethnic *nisba* descriptors due to their domestic origin. Such a significant increase over time in the proportion of house-born slaves would have changed the social relations within households, as these slaves were not natally alienated to the same extent as imported slaves and were able to build up social networks more consistently,

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415 Ibid.

| 1200-1249 | | | 1250-1299 | | | 1300-1350 | | |

(pie charts)

- 1200-1249: undetermined; 18, southern; 24, northern; 69
- 1250-1299: undetermined; 17, southern; 7, northern; 35
- 1300-1350: undetermined; 44, southern; 18, northern; 41

	1200-1249	1250-1299	1300-1349
northern	69	35	41
southern	24	7	18
undetermined	18	17	44
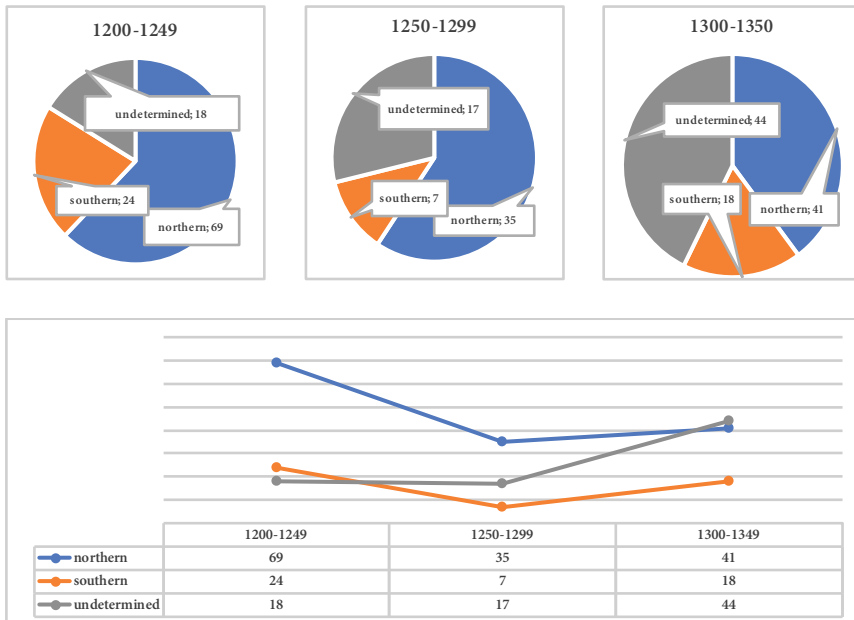
thereby increasing their negotiating power in relation to their master. On the other hand, the decrease in identifiable ethnic origins over time may be due to less detailed scribal practice or the limited sample of documents. In either case, it is worthy of note that northern slaves consistently outnumbered southern slaves by a factor of at least two-to-one.

3.2.2 Slave Procreation

This section analyses slave concubinage and child-rearing in slave-holding households on the basis of the data extracted from the certificates. This source-specific study is followed in chapter five by a discussion of sexuality based on a wider range of sources. The reading certificates offer a rare glimpse into the family life within non-elite households. It is possible to partially reconstruct family trees, because the certificates identify people by their patronymics and by their relation to one another. This section relies on the qualitative analysis of selected passages, since the sample group of 273 slaves contains only 32 women. The following seven excerpts have been taken from fourteenth-century Damascene documents which belong to the al-Ẓāhiriyya corpus. The attendance of women depended on the nature of meetings; they mainly attended private rather

than public gatherings. Patronymics and matronymics have been translated when they indicate relevant family ties.

> (1) '... and Zāhida daughter of Muḥammad al-Maʿarrī the cotton merchant and her maternal grandmother Nārinj bint ʿAbd Allāh freedwoman of Mufliḥ, who is the freedman of al-Ḥājj ʿAlī bin Manāʿ from Tikrit [...] and Ḍayfa daughter of the aforementioned Mufliḥ the Ethiopian, who is the daughter of the aforementioned Nārinj...'[416]

The first passage documents a reading in 1303 in the private setting of the presiding teacher's home. The audience consisted of fifteen people and included one freed slave named Nārinj. The freedwoman Nārinj accompanied her daughter Ḍayfa and her granddaughter Zāhida. This constellation allows us to observe the generational upward mobility that could follow manumission. Nārinj was the slave of the black freedman Mufliḥ and it is noteworthy that the ties of clientage were so strong that even the name of a patron of a patron of a listener was recorded in the certificate. Nārinj is marked as a first-generation convert to Islam by her false patronymic *ibn ʿAbd Allāh*. She had at least one child with her master Mufliḥ and as an *umm walad* she was freed either after his death or before it.[417] Despite being descended from a freedman and a slave, their daughter Ḍayfa married a cotton merchant (*qaṭṭān*). Cotton merchants and perfumers (*ʿaṭṭār*) are frequently mentioned in these certificates, which suggests that urban craftsmen and artisans regularly owned slaves. The third-generation Zāhida is simply described as the daughter of the cotton merchant and her slave ancestry is recorded incidentally because of the presence of her mother and grandmother.

> (2) '... and Zaynab and Fāṭima and Khadīja who are the daughters of the presiding teacher and their mother Alṭūn who is his freedwoman...'[418]

The second passage documents a reading in 1319 in the house of the presiding teacher. As in the case above, this house was at the foot of Mount Qasioun (*bi-safḥ qāsiyūn*) just outside Damascus. Again, this was a modest gathering with eleven listeners. One former slave attended. Alṭūn was the freedwoman of the presiding teacher who hosted the gathering. She was the mother of four of his children, three of whom attended this reading. The analytic index of the al-Ẓāhiriyya listening certificates composed by Stefan Leder and his colleagues lists her as his wife, but there is no mention of this term in the relevant certificate.[419] While it is possible that he married her after freeing her, it is more likely

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416 Ms. 3838/-/80B/2, reproduced in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 251.
417 Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'.
418 Ms. 3775/11/136A/11, reproduced in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 364.
419 Compare Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 224; and Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 364.

that she was his client and continued to work in his household while raising their offspring. Little is known about their three daughters, but their son became a respected *ḥadīth* scholar in his own right.[420] This suggests that descent from a slave concubine or a manumitted female slave did not hinder a scholarly career.

> (3) '… and al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr bin Muḥammad bin Ṭurkhān and his two children Aḥmad and Fāṭima, in the third session, and his slave girl Yāsmīn and her daughter Badra, in the fourth session, and his cousin ʿUmar bin Aḥmad bin Abī Bakr bin Turkhān…'[421]

The third passage documents a reading in 1321 in the Muẓaffarī mosque at the foot of Mount Qasioun. With one-hundred and five listeners this was a large gathering, even though some of them attended only a part of the overall event. They were presided over by ten teachers rather than one or two, as was the norm. Some of the attending scholars brought relatives and dependents. The scholar Muḥammad brought his children, his female slave Yāsmīn, and his cousin. His slave Yāsmīn was present only at the fourth session of this group and was accompanied by her daughter Badra. Muḥammad attended the entire event, but his children as well as his slave were present for only part of the time. The entry for Yāsmīn's daughter Badra can be read in two ways, either as *ibnatuha* (the daughter of her) or as *ibnatuhumā* (the daugther of the two), because the handwriting is unclear. The latter option would clearly identify Badra as the daughter of her mother's master, but caution makes it more advisable to only read it as 'her daughter'. In this case, the father is not specified, but the context suggests that Yāsmīn's owner Muḥammad was the father.

> (4) '… and al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Nūḥ al-Maqdisī and his two children ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, in the fifth session, and ʿĀʾisha, in the second session, and their mother Altī daughter of Lājīn the freedman of al-Rashīdī and her daughter Fāṭima daughter of Biktāsh the freedman of Muḥammad bin Bāʿān al-Sharqī […] and Aḥmad son of Bilbān freedman of the Hanafi judge Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAṭā and his son Muḥammad…'[422]

The fourth passage documents a reading in 1332 in the al-Murshidiyya madrasa at the foot of Mount Qasioun and records eighty-eight listeners. The presence of female listeners at public readings was unusual, but in this case, they attended as part of an extended family and not independently.[423] Altī, the daughter of a freed slave, was accompanied by her children from two different men, one of them a freed slave. She was the daughter of Lājīn, who was the freedman of someone who is only described as *al-rashīdī*, and she had one child with Biktāsh, who was

420 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 572.
421 Ms. 3757/10/182A/11, reproduced in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 285.
422 Ms. 900/9/180A/2, reproduced in ibid., 33.
423 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 46.

the freedman of a certain Muḥammad. From this union resulted her daughter Fāṭima, but at the time of the gathering she was accompanied by the father of her two other children, a ḥadīth scholar from the Maqdisī family. Her change of partner, whether through separation or death, was likely a step up the social ladder. The certificate also records Aḥmad, whose father Bilbān was a freed slave of a Hanafi judge, and his son Muḥammad. The Arabic text is ambiguous and also allows the reading that Aḥmad himself was the freed slave of the judge. But the near-complete absence of 'true' patronymics among slaves suggests that his father was the freedman, not he. The case of Altī and Biktāsh shows that freed slaves and their descendants could marry freely and that there was little prejudice attached to this status.

> (5) '… Anjū bint ʿAbd Allāh freedwoman of al-Amīr Rukn al-Dīn Baybars bin al-ʿAlāʾī and her daughters Fāṭima and Ḥafṣa, who are the daughters of al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Tūghān bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Samarī and her slave Narjis…'[424]

The fifth passage documents a reading in 1333. With thirty-seven listeners it was an average-sized public reading. It took place in 'the school of traditions of the Ashrafiyya close to their citadel' (dār al-ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya jawār qalaʿtiha). There were two Ashrafiyya schools of tradition in Damascus, one them close to the above al-Murshidiyya madrasa outside the city walls and one of them within the city itself.[425] The qualification 'close to their citadel' and the mention of several military officers in the certificate suggests that this gathering took place in the latter school, which must have been connected to the military faction of the Ashrafiyya. The attending freedwoman Anjū was closely connected to two officers. She is listed as the freed slave of the amir Baybars, but the father of her two daughters was the amir Tūghān. This suggests that Baybars freed her and thus remained her legal guardian by way of clientage and that she was then given in marriage to Tūghān, perhaps to cement a friendship or political alliance. This marriage apparently provided her with some measure of wealth, because she attended with her own slave maidservant called Narjis.

The above examples show that female freed slaves attended public and private readings with their children. The same does not apply to male freed slaves, which suggests that the continued integration of slaves into the households of their owners following their manumission was a highly gendered phenomenon. There is only one record of a freedman attending with his son, and that freedman had been a military slave. His case is here presented as the exception from the norm and from wider patterns. He is the only mamlūk slave to be listed as an ʿatīq

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424 Ms. 3818/3/47B/27, reproduced in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt, 452.
425 Sauvaire, 'Journal asiatique', 273; ʿAbd al-Qādir bin Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī, al-Dārs fī Tārīkh al-Madāris, ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990), 37; Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume), 98.

(freedman, which is usually implied) and this designation was most likely meant to highlight his relation of clientage to his superior officer and patron Iftikhār al-Dīn:

> (6) '… al-Amīr ʿIlm al-Dīn Sanjar bin ʿAbd Allāh freedman of al-Amīr Iftikhār al-Dīn and his son Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad and his slave Khuṭlū…'[426]

His military and religious honorifics mark Sanjar as a person of status. As an officer, he was wealthy enough to afford his own slave, similar to Anjū in the example above.

These passages show that children resulted from the sexual relations of slaves and masters, but they do not show whether they were conceived before or after their mothers were freed. While passages (1) and (2) show freedwomen (ʿatīqa) attending with their offspring from their previous owners, passage (3) shows a slave (fatāh) attending with a child of hers whose father is not specified. While it is possible that it was clear to all concerned that her owner was the father of her child, it is also possible that someone else was the father or that she was purchased together with her child.[427]

The relevant certificates do not refer to the freedwomen as the 'wives' (zawja) of the fathers of children. It only calls them the 'mothers' (umm) of their children. Free-born mothers are often described as zawja in the certificates, but this was not always the case. It is possible that these children were conceived and born while their mothers were slave concubines, prior to their manumission. These manumitted female slaves remained attached to the households of their previous owners, perhaps because their children linked and tied them to their masters. This connecting bond, which found its expression in the social and economic dependence of the freed slave upon their former master, was given a legal expression in Islamic law in the form of walāʾ patronage.[428]

The case of Alṭūn in passage (2) shows that this manumission could take place during the lifetime of the master, rather than after his death as suggested by tadbīr regulations.[429] In this case, the freed slave mother attended the social event hosted by her manumitter, who was the father of her children. This suggests that she had remained attached to his household following her manumission, perhaps to bring up the children. It also raises the question of why she was manumitted. A possible reason is personal affection, though this situation would require him to marry her to continue sexual relations with her. A Muslim man was allowed to practice sexual intercourse with all of his slave women and with up to four wives.

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426 Ms. 1139/1/25A/46, reproduced in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 171.
427 As discussed in sections 1.2 and 1.3.3.
428 See chapter 5.
429 See chapter 5.

But as soon as he set a slave free and did not marry her, continued intimate relations were considered unlawful sexual intercourse (*zinā*ʾ).

Freed male slaves also married and had offspring, as passages (1), (4), and (6) show, but this took place after their manumission. Since slave concubinage was a gender-specific construct – free women were not allowed to have sex with their male slaves – they did not form social and familial bonds with the household of their master in the same way as female slaves did. Even though there is an isolated certificate of a slave-slave marriage[430] and some indirect documentary evidence of slave-slave offspring, the literary record suggests it was normal for male slaves to procreate only after they had been freed. The certificates support this assumption, except for one ambiguous passage:

> (7) '… and Abū al-Muzaffar Yūsuf bin Aḥmad bin Nabhān and his brother Muḥammad and their slave Qaymāz and his son Ibrāhīm…'[431]

The Arabic text ('*wa-ibnuhu*') allows two interpretations – either Ibrāhīm was the son of Qaymāz or of Aḥmad. Since this is an isolated example and the listing of dependents in this order is not unusual, it appears more likely that Ibrāhīm was the son of the of the master, not of the slave. There are no other indications in these certificates that male slaves had children prior to their manumission.

These passages suggest that childbearing was a widespread path towards social integration into the household and eventual manumission, which was reflected in the familial bonds between female slaves and their masters. These familial bonds facilitated the continuation of the master-slave relationship past the point of manumission. Freed slaves were able to marry men from outside their masters' households after their manumission, though it appears that this diminished their continued integration into their masters' households. The participation in social events within the household even after their manumission implies an element of choice on the part of the manumitted slaves. Their attendance was an act of agency and formed part of their strategy of accommodation, furthering the material and social well-being of them and their children.

3.2.3   Freed Slaves

The intricate rules and customs of manumission are explored in chapter five, but the listening certificates offer some insights which merit consideration here. About one third of the sample group of recorded slaves are freed slaves. The

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430 Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 'Un document concernant le mariage des esclaves au temps des Mamlūks', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13, no. 3 (1970): 309–14.
431 Ms. 1088/3/48A/15, reproduced in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 99.

gatherings attracted a diverse audience and it is a testament to the social integration of manumitted slaves that they attended in such numbers. While slaves usually accompanied their masters, freedmen tended to come to the reading circles by themselves. The ethnic make-up of this sub-group of freed slaves was more-or-less the same as that of the larger sample group, which suggests that neither Turks nor Ethiopians were favoured in terms of manumission.

Despite their nominally equal status, there is only one documented instance in which a freed slave acted as a lecturer in a reading group. At one session in the year 1207, the freedman Yaḥyā acted as the lecturer (*qāriʾ*) while his patron Aḥmad, a scholar of some standing, acted as the supervising authority (*musmiʿ*).[432]

The scribe used the respectful term *mawlā* rather than the usual *ʿatīq* to describe Yaḥyā's status, which underlines how extraordinary this event was.[433] Except for the rare use of *mawlā / mawlāh,* the freed slaves are consistently described as *ʿatīq / ʿatīqa* in the listening certificates. This stands in contrast to the use of *jāriyya maʿtūqa* in the deeds of sale analysed in section 2.2 and the use of *atāqa* in the Ḥaram documents analysed in chapter six. The most likely explanation for this divergence in scribal practice is the geographic and temporal variation which underlies these corpora of documents. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine on the basis of the surviving sources whether this linguistic divergence is indicative of a divergence in the practice of manumission, though it is likely that social practice varied considerably across the geographic and temporal range of this study.

There is only limited information regarding what kind of life these freed slaves lived. This information suggests that at least some of the attending freed slaves were associated with artisanal and merchant households. We know the professions of two freedmen – a bath attendant (*ḥamāmī*) and a perfumer (*ʿaṭṭār*)[434] – and we also know that in three cases the patrons of freedmen were either a trader (*tājir*) or a perfumer (*ʿaṭṭār*).[435] Two of the freed female slaves were now married or otherwise attached to their former owners.[436] We also have two documented instances in which freed slaves (one male and female) owned a slave themselves, which indicates a certain measure of economic well-being.[437]

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432 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 82, 189, 632.
433 *Mawlā* can mean both "patron" and "freedman", but the textual context makes it clear that the latter applies in this case.
434 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 522, 534.
435 Ibid., 386, 397, 522.
436 Ibid., 224, 618.
437 Ibid., 225, 618.

3.2.4   Masters

Since every slave and freed slave was defined in the certificates by his relationship to his owner or patron (*fulān fatā fulān* or *fulān ʿatīq fulān*), we know the names and pieces of personal information of about 150 slaveholders.[438] This number is lower than the number of recorded slaves and freed slaves because some masters owned several slaves. Scholars are over-represented in this sample group because the gatherings, by their very nature, attracted scholars more than others, but the majority of attending slaveholders had no obvious scholarly credentials. The recorded professions of slaveholders are diverse and confirm the impression that slaveholding was not a preserve of the elite stratum of society but extended to the well-off working population of the cities. Potential professional descriptors of slaveholders include trader, perfumer, seller of soap (*ṣābūnī*), seller of vinegar (*khallāl*), jeweller (*jawharī*), cotton merchant or manufacturer (*qaṭṭān*), treasurer (*khazandārī*), money changer (*ṣayrafī*), roof maker or quiver maker (*kinānī*), and bow maker (*qawwās*), though the contextual meaning of these terms is open to interpretation.

Apart from these merchantile and artisanal descriptors, the certificates mention more than a dozen members of the Ayyubid family. Three of them attended the sessions in the presence of their slaves. The most prominent of them was a son of Saladin named Aḥmad who acted as a lecturer in two sessions and attended three more as a listener between 1204 and 1207.[439] He owned five Ethiopian slaves who were brothers (Badr, Jawhar, Masrūr, ʿAnbar, and Kāfūr) as well as one Turkish slave (Tughrīl) whom he brought along to several of these events. Similarly, four members of the scholarly Maqdisī clan can be identified as slaveholders in these documents.[440] One of them hosted a lecture in his house in 1319 which was attended by one of his freed slaves, who also happened to be the mother of three of his daughters.[441]

As discussed in previous chapters, shared ownership was widespread in the context of non-elite households which could not afford large numbers of slaves. Roughly one-tenth of the slaves who attended lectures were owned by more than one person, suggesting that shared ownership was common in Mamluk and late Ayyubid society. It is likely that this was due to the relatively high price of slaves, which meant that many households could not afford more than one slave. As in the case of the *muwallada* Khulayfa analysed in section 2.2, the overwhelming majority of these slaves were owned jointly by members of the same family. It is

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438 This information can be found by following the 'source' entries in the 'slaves' table in appendix 2.
439 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 209–10.
440 Ibid., 526, 519, 478, 633.
441 Ibid., 633, 107, 224.

similarly likely that many of these situations of shared ownership came about due to the complex Islamic inheritance rules. When a slaveholder died, it was possible for the slave to be notionally divided between the owner's lawful heirs, just like a house or a mule, as documented in the sixth contract analysed in section 2.3. An example of this is contained in the listening certificate of a reading session in 1241, when a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar invited his two brothers to his house for a lecture.[442] They brought along their slave Bikmash, whom all three brothers owned jointly. It seems very likely that they had inherited him from their deceased father, who had been a seller of vinegar (*khallāl*). Such scenarios imply shared use of the slave, whose labour had to be divided among his masters. As discussed in chapter 2, this added an additional layer of complexity to master-slave relations and opened new opportunities for the slave to shape the world around them.

3.3　Case Study: A Public Reading Circle

The following two sections present reading circles by providing a translation of exemplary certificates and a brief analysis of the social setting. The aim is to illustrate and elucidate the methodology and source base on which the above analysis is based. The first certificate describes a typical session of a reading group which met more than a dozen times between February and May of the year 1230 in one of the major mosques of Aleppo. A typical session had around forty listeners; thirty of them were regular attendees and ten were casual listeners who did not return for a second session. They read the first volume of 'The Traditions of Ibn Māja', one of the six canonical Sunni collections of *ḥadīth*. Public reading groups such as this tended to have more participants and proportionately fewer slaves than gatherings in private homes.

This certificate has been translated in full to provide an authentic example of a *samāʿ*. Geographical and ethnic descriptors (like *al-ḥamawī* and *al-turkī*) have been translated into English, but they are not always reliable indicators of the origins of the people they describe.[443] A photograph of the certificate is provided in the appendix under Carullah 290. The emphases in the text are mine.

> The following people heard the entirety of this chapter, which is the fourth chapter of 'The Traditions of Ibn Māja al-Qazwīnī', in the presence of the authorised teacher al-Shaykh al-Imām al-ʿĀlim al-ʿAlāma Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Laṭīf

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442　Ibid., 249, 117. See the entries for 'Bikmash' and 'session 18'.
443　Nisba and laqab descriptors should always be handled with care. See, for example, Shelomo Dov Goitein, 'Nicknames as Family Names', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, no. 4 (1970): 517–24.

Ibn Yūsuf bin Muḥammad al-Baghdādī. He was transmitted this authority from Abū Zurʿa Ṭāhir bin Muḥammad al-Maqdisī. The chapter was read out by Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf bin Alī bin Zayd al-Zuhrī.

The listeners were Sharaf al-Dīn Yusuf, the son of the authorised teacher, and the honourable judges, the sayyids Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad and Baha' al-Dīn Abū al-Muḥāsin Yūsuf and Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Maḥmūd, who are the sons of the honourable high judge Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, son of our shaykh al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAlwān al-Assadī, *and their slave Sunqur the Armenian and Bughash bin ʿAbd Allāh, who is the freed slave of their grandfather al-Ḥāfiẓ*, and their cousins Muḥyā al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim Muḥammad and Abū al-Fatḥ ʿUmar, who are sons of the sayyid *raʾīs al-aṣḥāb* Jamāl al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Shaykh-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *and their slaves Aqush the Turk and Luʾluʾ the Georgian*, and Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad and Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Majd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the sons of al-Imām al-ʿĀlim Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qāsim ʿUmar bin Aḥmad bin Hibbat Allāh bin Abī Jirāda and ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Azīz Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm bin al-ʿAjamī and his son Abū Yūsuf Aḥmad *and his slave Ayabā* and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin ʿAbd Allāh bin al-ʿAjamī and ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad and Amīn al-Dīn Aḥmad, who are the sons of al-Imam al-ʿĀlim Shams al-Dīn Abu Bakr ʿAbd Allāh bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ashtarī *and their slave Altūnabā the Turk* and Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Musā bin Maḥmūd bin Abī Bakr from Qazwīn and his brother Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad and Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn al-Mawlā al-Ṣadr Zayn al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Qāhir bin Hibbat Allāh bin al-Naṣṣībī and his brothers Abū al-Fatḥ ʿAbd Allāh and Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad and Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn ʿAlī bin Muḥammad and his brother Abū Ḥāmid and al-Imam al-ʿĀlim Muḥyā al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh bin Abī Naṣr al-Shāfiʿī from Aleppo and Najm al-Dīn Abū Sālim ibn Abī al-Karam bin Khalīl from Homs and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muslim bin Mulāʿab from Aleppo and ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin Abī Bakr bin Ayyūb al-Balansī[444] and Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAlī bin Muḥammad al-Hussaynī from the Hijāz and ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Muẓaffar bin Abī Bakr bin Abī al-ʿAshāʾir from Hama and Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh bin al-Walīd bin al-Mālik al-Rubʿī *and his slave Uzbak the Turk* and Muḥammad bin Barka bin Ḥamza the **butter merchant** [*sammān*] from Aleppo and Abū al-Faḍl bin Abū al-Qāsim bin al-Ḥasan the **coppersmith** [*naḥḥās*] from Aleppo and ʿAbd al-Ghaffār bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Subqī the Turk and Ḥasan bin Manṣūr bin Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jirāʾḥī and Muḥammad bin ʿAlī bin Musliḥ the jurist from Erbil and Yaʿqūb bin Aḥmad bin Faḍāʾil from Aleppo and Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanbasī and ʿAbd Allāh bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad originally from Tādhif, now living in Aleppo.

This was written by him [ʿAbd Allāh], may God forgive his mistakes. His brothers ʿAlī and Aḥmad were also present. This was read in two sessions. The last of them was on the sixth day of Rabiʿ al-Ākhir of the year six hundred and twenty-seven [22/2/1230]. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī bin Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn bin al-ʿAjamī listened from the section about the virtues of the *tashahhud* prayer in this chapter until

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444 "from Valencia", but this seems unlikely considering the geographical distance.

the end of the chapter. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad and Abū al-Majd Muḥammad, the sons of al-Imām al-ʿĀlim Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlwān al-Assadī, also listened from the section about the virtues of the *tashahhud* prayer to the end of this chapter. This document has been authenticated. Praise be to the only God. May His blessings be on Muḥammad and his family and may he give them peace.

Certified and signed by ʿAbd Al-Laṭīf bin Yūsuf [the attending authority].[445]

The order in which people are recorded reflects the seating arrangement and thus the social hierarchy of the attending persons. Konrad Hirschler has demonstrated that the seating order of reading sessions was determined by the social status of the participants.[446] This hierarchical seating order was part of the culture of learning. The teacher sat at the head of concentric semicircles. His name was recorded first, followed by the participants according to rank and grouped together by affiliation or profession. The scribe was always listed last, not because he sat at the back, but because the format of the certificate required it to be so.[447]

This seating arrangement indicates that those of high status were more likely to bring slaves to public events. Most of those seated at the top of the assembly were accompanied by their slave servants. The humbler common people at the other end of the assembly did not bring slaves. Five of the six slaves were owned by the high-ranking scholars at the front, while only one slave was owned by a listener sitting in the middle section. The freed slave had likewise been owned by a high-ranking scholar and now accompanied his sons.

Slaves were listed only by their personal name and an ethnic *nisba* adjective. They had no true patronyms. One of them had the patronym *ibn ʿAbd Allāh*, which marks him as a convert to Islam. The brevity of their entries marks them as dependents and legally and socially immature persons. The freed slave was listed in a similar manner as a client of his manumitter, which indicates that he was likewise perceived as a social dependant.

The above certificate lists only seven slaves, but over the course of fifteen recorded sessions, a total of fifteen slaves were recorded. Five of them were listed as Turks, three as Armenians, one as Georgian, three as Ethiopian, and one as West African. The remaining two had Turkish names, but no ethnic *nisba*. The African slaves were assigned descriptive Arabic names: ʿAnbar (ambergris, an expensive commodity), Sawāb (correctness), Niẓr (without equal), and Yāqūt (ruby). The Turks and Armenians had Turkish names, but one Turk had the Arabic name Luʾluʾ (pearl). This illustrates the naming patterns as discussed in section 3.2 and the selective diversity of the slave population of Syria, where most

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445 Ms. CARULLAH 290, 87 A, from the Süleymaniye library.
446 Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 46–51.
447 Ibid., 48.

slaves came from the north and were primarily labelled as Turks, while black slaves formed the second-largest ethnic grouping.

3.4   Case Study: A Private Reading Circle

The group analysed above was large and met in public, in a spacious mosque. But most groups were smaller, and many met in private houses. To illustrate the diversity of these gatherings, the next case study concerns a small gathering led by a female teacher, where the only listeners were slaves and one free child. This illustrates how the private space of the secluded home allowed women to partake in, organize and lead such social events. This session was much less formal than the one described above, but it was likewise part of a longer series of regular gatherings. The following certificate is presented in shortened form with an emphasis on key passages.

> The following people heard the first part of the traditions of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad bin Sulaymān al-Asadī, who is known as al-Luwayn [from Leon?], in the presence of the authorised teacher al-Shaykha al-Ṣāliḥa al-Aṣīla Umm al-Faḍl Karīma bint al-Amīn ʿAbd al-Wahāb bin ʿAlī ibn al-Khiḍr al-Zubayriyya. She was transmitted this authority from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Jaʿfar bin al-ʿAbbās al-Rustamī [… and others].
>
> The reading was conducted by the owner of the book, the honourable judge Kamāl al-Dīn Abī al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad bin Abī al-Faḍāʾil bin Abī al-Majd ibn al-Dakhmīsī. The listeners were *Narjis bint ʿAbd Allāh, who is the slave of the presiding teacher* [Karīma], and his [the reader's] *Turkish slaves Baybars and Quṭlūbughā and Baktimur* as well as my son Yusūf. This was written by his father Muḥammad bin Yusūf bin Muḥammad al-Birzālī al-Ishbīlī [from Sevilla?]. This was on Tuesday, the seventeenth day of Rabiʿa al-Awwal of the year six hundred and twenty-nine [12/1/1232] in the house of the presiding teacher in Damascus, may God watch over her. Praise be to God Almighty and blessings on his prophet Muḥammad and the faithful.[448]

This was one of the smaller gatherings led by *shaykha* Karīma, who is listed as the presiding teacher of ten sessions of this particular chapter, held over a space of ten years.[449] She held most of them in her house or in her garden in Damascus. The audience here consisted of children and slaves, who were legally and socially dependent individuals. Only the presiding teacher, the lecturer, and the scribe were legally adult people. The recorded presence of these children and slaves may have been at least partially incidental and may reflect their presence in the

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448 Ms. 3803/3/35A/12, reproduced in the appendix and in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt*, 402; Index entry in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 117.

449 She is listed as the presiding authority for 22 sessions of various texts. Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 482.

household and their domestic service in the context of the social gathering. Another possible reason for the attendance and recording of the children was the intent to give them the authority to transmit the text which was read in this session.

The informality of the event is also reflected in the style of writing of the manuscript itself. While the scribe of the public gathering analysed above uses the third person ('and his brothers were also present'), this scribe uses the first person ('and my son'). The private location allowed not only for a female teacher, but also for a female listener: the certificate records the presence of the personal slave of the *shaykha* Karīma, named Narjis.

The slaves of the lecturer were all Turks, both in name and by *nisba* descriptor. One of them was a regular companion to his master at reading sessions and is also listed for the years 1209, 1236, and 1238. It is likely that he attended many more sessions, the records of which are now lost. This suggests that he was a slave to the same owner for thirty years and that he was not freed during this time. It also suggests that he was very familiar with this setting and that his master took an interest in the religious education of his servant. The listening certificates of other sessions held by this female lecturer also list slaves, which suggests that this kind of gathering was not an isolated occurrence but represents a social pattern of slaves attending the social events held by their masters.[450]

This chapter has used the information contained in listening certificates to examine the relations of slaves and slaveholders in the context of the household and to provide real-life examples of events in which they interacted. This has served to show that slaves participated in the social life of their owners and that they continued to be involved in the households of their former owners even after their manumission. These acts of social accommodation formed part of a strategy of social integration into the household of their masters and into wider society. The participation of manumitted slaves in particular is an expression of slave agency. The next chapters will continue to investigate a range of connected social phenomena on the basis of complementary literary and documentary sources.

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450 For information on related sessions held by this teacher, see ibid., 116–18.

4.   Sexual Exploitation and Accommodation

This chapter discusses the connected themes of slave concubinage, marriage, and enslavement by birth, bringing together the evidence presented in previous chapters with a variety of default formulas and documents from Cairo and Jerusalem, some of which remain unpublished.[451] The sexuality of female slaves was subject to the duality of passive exploitation and active accommodation. They were vulnerable to the predations of exploitative masters whose sexual access to their bodies was guaranteed by law in most cases. At the same time, they were able to draw material and social benefit from master-slave sexual relations by negotiating within the legal and social framework of the court system and the patriarchal household.[452] Arrangements of concubinage offered ways for slaves to negotiate within the master-slave relationship and to shape the world around them. Legal regulations allowed concubines to appeal to the court system as an arbitrator which was external to the master-slave relationship and to demand better treatment. The ties of affection which could arise from sexual relations were perhaps an even more powerful means to increase the negotiating power of slaves within the web of social relations of the household. Despite the inherently unequal and exploitative nature of master-slave sexual relations, they shaped the agency of slaves and could significantly increase their ability to better their living conditions and eventually attain freedom.

Slaves were legal minors and the social dependants of their owners, who controlled their sexuality. Households were structured along patriarchal lines and it has been convincingly argued that the head of the household increased his power and social prestige by exerting control over women, slaves, and children.[453] This unequal relationship between the patriarch and his dependents situates the

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451 The best discussion of Mamluk sexual and family history is Rapoport, *Marriage.* He discusses some of the unpublished documents used here on pages 65–68.

452 For slave concubinage as a strategy of social accommodation, see Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 148–49, 219.

453 Rapoport, *Marriage*, 89; See also the discussion of power, masculinity, and control in Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland, 800–1200.*

slave as the source of their master's social standing.[454] His honour rested on his control of the women of his household, some of whom happened to be slaves, and of other dependants, some of whom happened to be adult male slaves. Polygamy and slave concubinage were expressions of this patriarchal structure of honour through control. For demographic and financial reasons, most men could afford only one wife and thus the maintenance of several wives and slave concubines was an expression of wealth and status. It is unclear how widespread polygamy and slave concubinage were among the wider population during the Mamluk and late Ayyubid era, but there was a clear correlation between social status and lawful male promiscuity.[455] This promiscuity was not only an expression of status and a luxury, but also a practical way for the rich to overcome high rates of child mortality.[456]

When women owned slaves, or when slaves themselves owned slaves, the dynamic of honour and control remained essentially the same. The immediate owner improved their social status, but the prestige of the patriarch who headed the greater household also increased. The documentary record shows a variety of constellations, sometimes involving shared ownership; these scenarios are all consistent with the underlying societal logic of prestige-accumulation through slave ownership.[457]

A central element of the control of women and dependants was control over their sexuality. Just as a man would be dishonoured by the extramarital sexual encounters of his wife or his daughter, he would also be dishonoured if his slave engaged in illicit sex with other people, though to a lesser extent. This dynamic applied more strongly when the slave in question was known to be a concubine of the patriarch. Concubines were veiled in public, while slaves designated for domestic labour seem to have left the house unveiled, which points to the importance of the protection of the sexual ownership on which the patriarch's honour rested.[458] Owners could also choose to relax or to delegate the control of their slaves' sexuality by marrying them off to other people. The two principal avenues of enslaved sexuality, concubinage and marriage, are the subject of sections 4.1 and 4.2. This is followed by a brief discussion of the dynamics of slave reproduction on a population level, i. e. the (low) proportion of children enslaved by birth, in section 4.3.

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454 See Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death.*

455 For polygamy see Rapoport, 'Women', 28, 29.

456 Ibid., 9.

457 The listening certificates of Damascus contain a number of cases in which a slave was jointly owned. The case study from Upper Egypt shows joint ownership between spouses. See sections 2.1 and 3.2.4.

458 Rapoport, 'Women', 12.

The lack of relevant contemporary sources makes it very difficult to discuss slave prostitution, though the topic was touched upon briefly in section 1.2.3 in the context of *ḥisba* regulations. While prostitution itself was a legal (though 'immoral') business which was regulated by the authorities and became a 'state enterprise' in Egypt, *slave* prostitution was illegal.[459] The legal situation was similar in the late Ottoman Empire, where illegal slave prostitution nevertheless occurred on slave markets.[460] Gary Leiser has recently shown on the basis of literary evidence that, despite the legal situation, some prostitutes in the Mamluk period were slaves and that religious stipulations banning slave prostitution were not effective.[461] This adds another layer of complexity to the portrayal of the sexual exploitation of female slaves. The absence of extant documentary material concerning Mamluk slave prostitution can be explained by the reluctance of pimps controlling slave prostitutes to produce documentation concerning their illegal business. It seems likely that slave prostitution remained an illegal phenomenon of limited scope, mainly because 'free' prostitution was legal and taxed by the authorities.

4.1   Concubinage

Female slaves were considered by law to be sexually available to their male owners. The sexual use and abuse of female slaves was an integral part of the system of Islamic slavery.[462] At the same time, there were legal safeguards which were designed to prevent the worst abuses and mitigate the inherent cruelty of this institution. Foremost among these was the stipulation that any child born to a slave from her master was born free and conferred upon its mother the status of *umm walad* ('mother of a child'). This status guaranteed her liberation when her owner died. In order to prevent ill-meaning owners or their families from circumventing this stipulation, they were also forbidden from selling or gifting her to a third person.

In order to assess whether this legal tradition, which originated in the classical period, had any relevance in the Mamluk period, let us turn to the *shurūṭ* for-

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459 Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, xii, 254.

460 Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 166–77.

461 Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, 81, 254.

462 For a detailed discussion of the legal aspects of slave concubinage see the following: Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'; Jacob Neusner and Tamara Sonn, *Comparing Religions through Law: Judaism and Islam* (London: Routledge, 1999), 158–68; Marion H. Katz, 'Concubinage, in Islamic Law', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition*, 2014.

mulas for legal documents written by the fifteenth-century scholar al-Asyūṭī.[463]
He opens the relevant chapter, the *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād*, with a summary of
the *fiqh* position on the issue. This was for the benefit of the notarial scribe, who
had to make a judgement call about whether the request for a certificate was
justified. The opening paragraph can be seen as a reminder for the religiously
educated scribe:

> When a slave girl becomes pregnant [ʿalaqat] from her free owner while in his pos-
> session, then certify that she is a protected concubine [*thabata lahā ḥukm al-istīlād*[464]].
> Follow what [the companion] ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAbbās narrated; the Prophet said: 'When
> a slave girl gives birth to the child of her master, then she will be free upon his death'.
> And follow what [the companion] ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿUmar narrated; the Prophet said: 'Do
> not sell her, do not give her as a gift, or as a part of the inheritance. When he dies, she is
> liberated.' And follow what the Prophet said about Māriyya when she gave birth: 'Free
> her and her child'.[465]

This introduction mirrors other chapters, in which al-Asyūṭī similarly recounts
the legal consensus. It appears that in Mamluk legal practice, a concubine became
protected from the point of conception rather than the birth of her child. Even
more important to our evaluation of the social reality of concubinage in the late
Mamluk era are the numerous details which al-Asyūṭī provides in the subsequent
paragraphs. While they are too long to reproduce here, they indicate that scribes
had to deal with a myriad of confusing situations in which slaves became preg-
nant and in which the situation was not as clear-cut as the above *hadīth*s suggest.
For example, what should the poor scribe do if the pregnant slave did not belong
to the man who had fathered the child, but to his wife? In such a case, the mother
was not accorded any protection, but the child was born free. What happened if a
slave with an instalment plan to buy his freedom, a *mukātab*, owned a slave girl
and had a child with her? The child was the property of the *mukātab*'s owner. But
if he succeeded in buying his freedom, then the child would also be freed, and the
mother would be accorded the expected protected status.[466] These examples
suggest a complex reality with many shades of freedom and unfreedom.

   Al-Asyūṭī offers his readers a great variety of model formulas for documents
which certify the *umm walad* status of their concubines. This suggests that there
was a tangible demand for such certificates, which in turn suggests that slave
concubinage was widespread among those people who had regular recourse to

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463 As introduced in chapter 2, al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*,
     1996.
464 Dozy renders istawlada as 'prendre une esclave pour concubine' or 'la rendre enceinte' or 'la
     rendre umm walad lahu', see *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, vol. 2 (Leyde; Paris:
     E.J. Brill; G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1967), 840.
465 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:448.
466 Ibid., 2:450.

the services of notarial scribes. The great variety of documents that could be drawn up on the basis of these formulas supports this assumption. No examples of *umm walad* certificates have been identified as yet, which is not surprising considering the catastrophic rate of manuscript survival. By way of substitution, this 'formula for a legal claim against her owner by a concubine who has given birth' illustrates the real-life complexity with which scribes were confronted. It is possible that it was based on an actual case which was then anonymised.

> Such-and-such a woman, concubine [*mustawlada*] of so-and-so, came before the honourable Shāfiʿī court accompanied by her aforementioned owner. She testified in front of the aforementioned judge that he bought her in a lawful transaction, that he had sexual intercourse with her and impregnated her, that as a result she gave birth to a fully-formed dead child, that she became his protected concubine [*umm walad*] and that he was forbidden from selling her.
>
> She asked a question about that. The aforementioned judge asked him about it. He denied that she had given birth [*istīlādihā*] and acknowledged the remainder of her testimony. The aforementioned claimant then pointed out that she had proof, since four midwives witnessed what she testified. She asked permission to bring them before the court [and they confirmed her testimony].
>
> The aforementioned claimant asked for a verdict [*ḥukm*] to confirm that she had become the protected concubine [*umm walad*] of the aforementioned defendant, that he could not sell her and had to provide financial support [*nafaqa*] and clothing and housing in a suitable dwelling. He passed a lawful verdict to this extent to her benefit – and so on. Complete this according to what came before. Write the name of the judge, the date, and the closing formula.[467]

This is a rare glimpse into the social dynamics of concubinage in this period. It shows that slave concubines were able to petition courts and sue their owners for maintenance payments. They could bring their own witnesses and argue their case in front of the judge, successfully claiming the status of *umm walad* against the will of their owner. The formulas which follow in the manual cover other situations in which concubines could sue their owners, which could in exceptional circumstances result in their liberation.[468] These slaves exercised a significant degree of agency which was granted to them by the legal system. This served to attenuate their difficult circumstances. The protection accorded to slave concubines was limited, but they could appeal to the courts when their rights were threatened.

At the same time, it is important to note that only a minority of female slaves was abused as concubines. Most were exploited in terms of their labour, not their

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467 Ibid.
468 Ibid., 2:451.

sexuality.[469] These modes of exploitation could overlap, of course, but the sources suggest that concubines were far less numerous than work slaves. In an age before effective contraceptive methods, sexual encounters between masters and female slaves presumably resulted in pregnancies quite often. As the above formula indicates, the slave could then press for legal recognition as a protected concubine.

The documentary record regarding Mamluk slave concubinage is sparse. We do not have sufficient data to reliably estimate what percentage of the female slave population was sexually exploited by their owners as concubines, but it is possible to say that concubinage was a limited but pervasive phenomenon. The listening certificates published by Leder do not contain enough information to determine whether the listed female slaves were concubines or not, but they list six *ʿatīqa* freedwomen. Of these six women, three were listed as the mothers of the children of their manumitter.[470] One of these three had even married her manumitter. While it is possible that these children were conceived after their mother's manumission, it is likely that they had been concubines before their manumission. These numbers are inconclusive, but they indicate that slave concubinage was practiced throughout society: one of the manumitters was an *amīr*, another a scholar who is listed repeatedly as a lecturer, and the last one a freedman with a name typical of low-status imported African slaves.

Of the twenty-one freedwomen whose estate inventories are among the Ḥaram documents, three were similarly listed as the mothers of their manumitters' children.[471] This is discussed in depth in chapter six below. Taken together, the documentary sources suggest that even though a visible minority of slaves were exploited as concubines, the majority of female slaves was used primarily as work slaves. It is not clear, however, to what extent these two categories were separate. These documents are doubtful witnesses to the sexual lives of masters and slaves, because we can only detect sexual exploitation when it resulted in documented offspring.

On the other hand, there are many indications for the prevalence of slave concubinage in the literary record. For example, al-Sakhāwī's famous fifteenth-century biographical dictionary lists 1075 women of whom 43 were concubines and 36 were the daughters of concubines.[472] These women belonged to what Yossef Rapoport describes as 'the propertied classes in Cairo during the second

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469 This has been argued on the basis of a variety of sources, most convincingly on the basis of the documents of the Cairo Geniza, see Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 90; Shelomo Dov Goitein, 'Slaves and Slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza Records', *Arabica* 9, no. 1 (1962): 6, 7, 20.

470 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 224/268, 225, 618.

471 Ḥ 269, 294, 411.

472 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, vol. 12.

half of the fifteenth century'.[473] The majority of these slave concubines were of Ethiopian origin; many of the relevant entries contain the stereotyped remark 'her mother was an Ethiopian who belonged to her father' (*ummuhā ḥabashiyya li-abīhā*).[474]

This indicates that many scholars chose to take concubines and then had children with them. Anecdotal evidence from narrative sources supports the impression that wider sections of the urban population, those who may perhaps be described as 'comfortably middle class', owned slave concubines.[475] The chronicles suggest that this dynamic was even more pronounced among the Mamluk military elites, since amirs often owned several dozen slave courtesans, both musicians and concubines.[476] Yossef Rapoport has proposed that the prevalence of slave concubinage decreased significantly from the first half of the fourteenth century to the fifteenth century.[477] He attributes this to the diminution of the supply of slaves, which resulted in a drastic reduction in the numbers of female slave courtesans in the Mamluk empire. I believe that this is a valid thesis, but that there is insufficient statistical data to be certain of such trends, since the primary reason may also have been a change in courtly culture. In any case, the work of al-Sakhāwī shows that slave concubinage remained in fashion among urban scholarly households throughout the fifteenth century.

4.2   Marriage

The other institution which shaped the sexuality of slaves was marriage. Slaves could marry with the permission of their owner; he or she could even force them to marry against their will. There is much less documentary and literary evidence for this form of arrangement than there is for concubinage. It appears that it was highly unusual for female slaves to be married, while it was more acceptable for male slaves to marry once they re-gained some measure of social agency by way of deferred liberation, for example by obtaining a *kitāba* contract.[478] Once female slaves were freed, however, it was common, perhaps even expected, that they married either their previous owner or someone else.

A single surviving document from the Mamluk era attests to a marriage involving slaves. It is a marriage contract for two slaves, whose owners both be-

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473 Rapoport, *Marriage*, 82.
474 For example, entries 843, 855, 889, 898, 958, 993, 1001, 1013 on pages 137, 139, 143, 145, 153, 160, 161, 162 in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ, vol. 12.*
475 Rapoport, 'Women', 11, 16.
476 Ibid., 8–12.
477 Ibid., 13.
478 See chapter 5 for a discussion of this mode of liberation.

longed to the same amiral family and probably lived in the same house.[479] Considering the relative wealth of documentary evidence for marriage involving liberated slaves, it is likely that this was an exceptional case, but it will nevertheless be discussed below. While both narrative and documentary sources are for the most part silent on slave marriages, the *shurūṭ* manual of al-Asyūṭī yet again provides an interesting take on the subject. Even though he did not dedicate a chapter to slave marriage, as he did to slave concubinage, al-Asyūṭī tackles the issue in a number of formulas and legal explanations that are strewn about in his chapters about marriage and sexual conduct.[480]

For example, he reminds the reader that free men are allowed to marry four wives, while slaves are only allowed to marry two wives.[481] Owners were not allowed to marry their female slaves when they had granted them a *kitāba* contract of deferred liberation, but other free men and slaves could marry these female slaves.[482] Owners could marry female slaves without such contracts, however. He reminds his readers that 'when a free man marries a slave girl and subsequently becomes rich or marries a free woman, that does not annul the marriage to the slave girl'.[483] Passages like these may indicate that marrying a slave was a measure adopted by those who were not willing to commit to the social and economic strictures of marrying a free woman – but too much of this line of reasoning remains guesswork, because there is no documentary source base with which to compare these *fiqh*-based explanatory passages. Many questions remain unanswered due to a lack of socio-economic context – why would it be advantageous to marry one's slave girl, rather than to take her as a concubine? Was it normal to marry another person's slave?

At the same time, these passages support the impression that slave marriage was a strongly gendered affair. Female slaves were the *objects* of marriage, they were being married *passively*, while male slaves would *actively* seek permission from their master to marry someone of their choice. For example, masters were not liable for their male slave's bride price [*mahr*] and marital support payments [*nafaqa*] despite having given permission for him to marry. This was the slave's responsibility, who in a sense became the patriarch of his own sub-household unit.[484] There were even instances in which male slaves married without the

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479 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 'Un document'. There may be other yet undiscovered documents, of course.
480 Most of the relevant passages can be found on pages 18, 19–22, 29, 31, 37, 68, and 118 in volume 2 of al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996.
481 Ibid., 2:18.
482 Ibid., 2:19.
483 Ibid.
484 Ibid., 2:30.

permission of their masters, as al-Asyūṭī discusses the legal consequences of such cases in terms of the liability for the bride price following consummation.[485]

When he provides scribal formulas for marriage contracts, which are essentially agreements on the amount of the bride price to be paid by the groom to the bride (or her owner), al-Asyūṭī inserts a section which contains modified formulas for special cases. This includes female slaves [*jāriyya*], freedwomen [*muʿtaqa, ʿatīqa*], underage girls [*bint saghīra bikra*] and legal charges [*waṣiyan*]. For the benefit of the ensuing discussion of similar documents, it is advantageous to reproduce the formula for female slaves and freedwomen:

> So-and-so determined as the bride price [*asdaqa*] for so-and-so bint ʿAbd Allāh, the slave girl in the possession of lady so-and-so [*fulāna*], a Muslim adult woman who is not a virgin [*aym*][486], known to the aforementioned lady so-and-so by way of bondage and servitude (and if the wife is a freedwoman, you should write: a Muslim adult woman who is not a virgin, freedwoman of lady so-and-so) such-and-such an amount. Her mistress, mentioned above, has the authority to marry her off to him with this and with her permission and her approval. The husband has accepted the contract of this marriage from her. She accepted the betrothal [*khātabat*] to him by speech while in possession of her faculty of reason (If she is a freedwoman, then write: with her permission and her approval, of the aforementioned freedwoman). Complete this according to how bride price contracts are usually written.[487]

This form of contract assumes by default that the female slave or freedwoman is (or was) owned by a female master. This is indeed the case in our documents, in which both the slave bride and the freedwoman bride had female masters.[488] This indicates that it was customary in the Mamluk context for ladies to marry off their enslaved or liberated maidservants, either as a favour, to dispose of a mouth to feed, or to improve their own social prestige. It is similarly significant that slaves were assumed to not be virgins. This implies that it was customarily assumed that all slaves to be married off had previously been used as concubines or had been sexually active in other ways. The key element of this formula is that it is the mistress who agrees to marry off her slave or freed slave, rather than the slave herself. Let us now turn to the surviving documentary evidence.

The first marriage contract to be analysed documents the marriage of two slaves in Cairo in 1343.[489] It appears to be the only slave-slave marriage contract

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485 Ibid., 2:37.
486 Lit. 'widowed', but the context suggests that it signifies the opposite of bikr/virgin, see Adolf Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache Bd. 1 Abt. 1* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1980), 160.
487 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:68.
488 See document 4225 in the Islamic Museum in Cairo (edited in ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 'Un document') and Ḥaram documents 610 and 646.
489 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 'Un document'.

from the Mamluk era to have survived to the present day.[490] Its unique position is accentuated by the lack of any slave-slave marriage contracts among the Ḥaram documents and even among the Geniza documents, which reach much further back in time.[491] It is held in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo under the catalogue number of 4225 and was published with a short commentary by Ahmed ʿAbd al-Rāziq in 1970. Among other things, he argues that the lack of an introductory *khutba* section[492] and the comparatively small bride price[493] was the result of the low social status of the involved parties. His argument could be criticized on the grounds that most of the documents used for comparison pertain to persons of noble (*amīr*) status, but the lack of comparable documents involving non-noble civilians is a problem that affects this field of study as a whole. The body of the text reads in my translation:

> This is what Tashkur bin ʿAbd Allāh, the Nubian, slave [*mamlūk*] of al-Amīr ʿIzz al-Dīn Hibat Allāh bin al-Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Mutawwaj bin al-Kanz, determined as bride price for his betrothed [*aṣdaqa … li-makhṭūbatihi*], the adult woman [*al-marʾa al-kāmila*] Malīḥa, daughter of Aylam, slave [*mamlūka*] of Umm al-Khayr ibnat al-Amīr Rukn al-Dīn bin al-Kanz, and he married her with it.
>
> He [...] determined as the bride price the sum of one hundred and fifty well-struck silver [*al-nuqra al-maskūka*] dirhams, payable upon demand [*ḥāll*][494], of which fifty dirhams are given immediately to her mistress [*bi-yad sayyidatihā*], and the rest will be given in instalments of ten dirhams at the end of every year [illegible] to the afore-mentioned mistress. [...]
>
> He agreed to the marriage with the permission of his master in this matter on [*bi-idhn sayyidihi fī dhālika*] 10/06/744 [30/10/1343]. [...]

The document conforms to the general outline provided by al-Asyūṭī, though it is much shorter than most of his formulas. Most of the variation can be explained by the earlier provenance of the document, which precedes his formulas by more than a century. The general brevity of the document compared with the formulas provided by al-Asyūṭī may indicate the comparatively low social status of the newlyweds.

While the slaves are undoubtedly of low social status, their owners are not. One of them is an *amīr*, while the other is the daughter of an *amīr*, and both are the grandchildren of a person only described as 'al-Kanz'. This unattached epithet, which may refer to the concept of 'treasure' or to the Banū al-Kanz tribe in

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490 Of course, inaccessible collections may hold similar documents, but this is the only published exemplar. Databases like http://cald.irht.cnrs.fr/php/ilm.php do not list any similar documents.

491 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 162.

492 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 'Un document', 311.

493 Ibid., 312.

494 ʿAbd al-Rāziq translates this as 'immediately', but Rapoport shows that this term means 'due debt', see *Marriage*, 56.

Upper Egypt[495], suggests that their grandfather was a prominent man and that stakeholders would recognize his identity without further description. It may even be a reference to the sultan Kanz al-Dawla. It is very likely that the high social status of Hibat Allāh and Umm al-Khayr were the primary reason why this document was drawn up at all and why it was deemed important enough to be preserved. Even though there is no direct textual evidence for this, I agree with Ahmed ʿAbd al-Rāziq's claim that both owners lived in the same house and that this facilitated the newlyweds' marital life.[496] The owners were second cousins, after all, and extended family members tended to live in the same compound. Such a living situation would allow the slaves to continue to carry out their domestic duties and thus give their owners an incentive to support their marriage.

Normally, the bride price [ṣadāq] became the exclusive property of the bride and acted as a security for widows and divorcees.[497] In al-Asyūṭī's words, 'the bride price is what the woman is entitled to in exchange [badalan] for marriage'.[498] In this case, the bride price was paid to the owner of the bride rather than to the bride herself. This not only underscores the inferior status of the slave bride compared to a free bride, but it also effectively turns the marriage contract into a contract of sale. The bride had no legal agency in this contract, as was common in most pre-modern marriage arrangements, but the owner's receipt of the bride price makes this marriage qualitatively different to free marriages. The husband in this case paid the bride's owner 150 dirhams, who in turn transferred part of her legal power of ownership to him. This gave him the right to sexual access and a claim to her children, but the mistress continued to control most aspects of her life. The price is consistent with the documented prices for slaves in this period, which range from 200 dirhams to 550 dirhams with little fluctuation in the value of the dirham throughout the period.[499] 150 dirhams would have bought a substantial part of a slave on the market. There is unfortunately no evidence regarding the amount of the dowry (as opposed to the bride price), which was usually paid for by the bride's family and exceeded the bride price. Dowries were not required by Islamic law and were therefore usually not recorded in writing.[500]

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495 P.M. Holt, 'Kanz, Banu 'l', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. A.K.S. Lambton et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, n.d.).

496 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, 'Un document', 312.

497 Rapoport, *Marriage*, 13; Rapoport, 'Women', 26.

498 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:33.

499 See the case of Khulayfa in section 2.2 as well as Ḥaram documents 574, 382, 316, 688, 298 in Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds'; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux et la balance des payements du Proche-Orient à la basse époque.* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971), 47–49.

500 Rapoport, *Marriage*, 12–13.

There are a few notable anomalies regarding the married slaves. They are described as *mamlūk* and *mamlūka* rather than as ʿabd and *jāriyya*, as is the convention in related documentary genres. At first sight, the use of *mamlūk* to describe the bridegroom may be attributed to him being a military slave, a *mamlūk*. But he is also described as *al-nūbī*, and black slaves only very rarely entered military service in this period. Furthermore, *mamlūka* is subsequently used to describe a female civilian who was a maidservant to the noble lady Umm al-Khayr. This implies that the scribe chose these terms not to indicate a function, but a legal status. His departure from the customary ʿabd/jāriyya may be motivated by a desire to express a measure of respect for the involved parties or to pay homage to the social setting of a noble household.

Secondly, the bride Malīḥa carries the factual patronym *ibnat Aylam*, as opposed to the fictional *bin ʿAbd Allāh* which marks the husband as an imported slave and a convert to Islam. Her case is highly unusual for slaves who are mentioned in other documentary genres such as the purchase and listening certificates discussed in the second and third chapters. It indicates that she is a second- or third-generation slave. Her children would similarly have been born as slaves, since both parents were slaves. In this regard, her situation is similar to that of the 'house-born' *muwallada* Khulayfa, whose case is discussed in section 2.2. Despite this, Malīḥa is not described as *muwallada* in this document. She does have a stereotypical slave name though, 'the pleasant one', which must have been assigned by her owners, either at birth or following purchase.

Thirdly, the bridegroom Tashkur has a Turkic name rather than one of the stereotypical 'black slave' names like 'Kāfūr' which one would expect a Nubian slave to have. This contravenes the naming patterns observed in the civilian listening certificates as discussed in section 3.2.1. The best explanation for this anomaly lies in the elite social identity of the owners, who chose Tashkur's name according to their amiral taste for martial Turkic names.

The second example to be analysed is a cluster of marriage contracts which documents the marriages of the freed female slave Zumurrud. Her case has been studied by Yossef Rapoport; it is highly relevant for the study of domestic slavery.[501] The contracts are found on documents 610 and 646 of the Ḥaram collection, which have not been edited.[502] Zumurrud was the freed slave of al-Sitt Sutayta, 'Lady Sutayta'. She lived in Jerusalem and married three men in rapid succession between February 1389 and January 1391, without observing the mandatory waiting time of three menstrual periods. Her case is interesting because it offers a glimpse of the marital, social, and economic life of freed slaves in

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501 See 'The marriages of Zumurrud' in ibid., 64–68.
502 I studied photographs of the documents. See their entries in Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, 305–6.

urban Mamluk society. For the sake of brevity, only the first contract is presented here. A photographic reproduction and partial transcription of the document is provided in the appendix as 'Ḥaram 646'. The body of the text reads in my translation:

> Ibrāhīm bin ʿAlī bin Ibrāhīm, milkman [al-labbān], from Damascus, present in Jerusalem, determined the bride price for his betrothed Zumurrud bint ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAbd Allāh, the freed slave [ʿatāqa] of al-Sitt Sutayta. She is an adult woman and she is free from any legal impediment to marriage. […] The bride price amounts to three full minted gold dinars. The wife testifies that she has received one full coin [mithqāl] and the rest of the bride price will be paid in instalments of one dinar per year.
> Her master, the undersigned judge, married her to him with her permission and her approval. The husband lawfully accepts the marriage in the presence of [the witnesses, who are a cook (ṭabbākh) and a dried fruit seller (nuqlī)]. This was certified on 12/02/791 [10/02/1389]. Two dinars remain to be paid within two years.

This contract shows traces of the poverty in which the liberated slave Zumurrud lived and of her low social status. The bride price is the smallest that is recorded among the surviving contracts and is even lower than the bride price described in the slave-slave marriage contract above.[503] The following two marriages of Zumurrud brought similarly low bride prices at five and six dinars each, of which she received only a fraction.[504] Of the fourteen dinars promised to her by three husbands, she received only four. Only one of the yearly instalments due to Zumurrud was actually paid, by her second husband Ṣabīḥ in September 1391. While the bride price was recorded in gold dinars, it was customarily paid out in silver dirhams.[505] The conversion rate at this time fluctuated between 25 and 30 dirhams for one dinar.[506] Since these bride prices were a symbol of social status and prestige, the very low amounts recorded here show that her husbands were poor, even more so since bride prices were customarily inflated and not paid out in full.[507]

Her first husband Ibrāhīm was a milkman [labbān], her second husband Ṣabīḥ was probably a freed slave[508] and either a washer-man [ghassāl] or a honey collector [ʿassāl], and her third husband Muḥammad was a weaver [nassāj].[509] They were unlikely to possess large amounts of cash and the inconsistency of their payments shows that they struggled to scrape together the bride prices they

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503 Rapoport, 'Women', 65.
504 As can be seen in the certificates in Ḥaram documents 610 and 646.
505 Rapoport, Marriage, 54.
506 Ashtor, Les métaux précieux, 49.
507 For the symbolic role of the bride price see Rapoport, Marriage, 54.
508 Ṣabīḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh: his first name means "the handsome one" and is a typical slave name. His patronym is fictional and indicates conversion and slave-status.
509 For these professions, see Shatzmiller, Labour in the Medieval Islamic World, 122, 127, 133, 144.

promised. Zumurrud gave birth to the son of her first husband, which must have put great pressure on her to re-marry quickly after her first divorce. Her second husband, whom she married only one month after her divorce, promised in writing to provide support for her son. When she divorced again, it was two months before she found a new husband. It seems very likely that she did so for material reasons. The documents do not say whether she had a profession, but it is likely that she performed textile-related work at home, which did not suffice to support her son and herself.[510] The professions of the two external witnesses, a cook and a seller of dried fruit, support the impression that this contract stems from a very modest context.

It is striking that her mistress al-Sitt Sutayta was not involved in any of Zumurrud's marriage contracts. The notarial tradition caused her to be named as the mistress of Zumurrud, but she was neither a signatory to nor mentioned as present in the contract, in any of the documents. This contrasts with the slave-slave marriage as well as al-Asyūṭī's formula cited above, in which the mistress takes a central legal role in the marriage arrangement even if the slave has been liberated. Yossef Rapoport surmises that al-Sitt Sutayta may not have been 'allowed to represent her former slave in marriage because of her sex', but in the light of al-Asyūṭī's emphasis on the female mistress acting as the marriage guardian for her freed slave, I find this unlikely.[511] It is more likely that al-Sitt Sutayta was absent, dead, or simply not interested in the marital life of her previous servant. This would also explain why Zumurrud was desperate to re-marry quickly and gain the material support of a husband; without the patronage of her mistress, she may have fallen into poverty quickly.

The judge acted as her legal guardian in the above contract. Women were always required to be 'given away' to the husband, a function which the father usually filled. Slaves and freedwomen had usually been born outside the Islamic world, as attested by the fictional patronym 'bint ʿAbd Allāh' and did not have a father to give them away. The master or mistress of the slave in question was expected to fill that role, and in their absence, the court took over as a last resort. Yossef Rapoport opines that the lack of a legal guardian shows that 'Zumurrud was a member of the lowest strata of urban society'.[512] I agree with this assessment, which is also supported by the low bride price and other indications listed above.

Al-Asyūṭī's formula explicitly describes the slave or freedwoman to be married as 'non-virgin' (*aym*), but the actual contracts discussed above contain use

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510 The professions of women were usually not recorded in documents, but many worked with textiles for monetary gain, see 'Women in the Urban Economy' in Rapoport, *Marriage*, 17–26.

511 Rapoport, 'Women', 65; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:68.

512 Rapoport, *Marriage*, 64.

neither the word *aym* nor *bikr* (virgin). Since comparable documents, such as contracts of sale (see the case Khulayfa above), more often than not describe female slaves as *bikr*, it is reasonable to assume that this omission means that neither Malīḥa nor Zumurrud were virgins when they married. It is very unlikely that they had previously been concubines, because they belonged to female masters – only the direct and exclusive owners of slaves could lawfully use them as concubines.[513] Unfortunately, there is not enough information to explore this further, but it points to a whole complex of questions about the sexuality of slaves.

The marriages of Malīḥa and of Zumurrud are case studies that offer limited insight into a wider phenomenon, the marriages of slaves and freed slaves. It is likely that slaves rarely married, as Malīḥa's marriage is the only documented case. Freed slaves, on the other hand, married much more frequently: of the twenty-three freed slaves leaving estate inventories in Jerusalem, at least fourteen were married, as discussed below in chapter six. These marriages provided the slaves, most of whom were female, with a measure of financial stability. This was crucial if their master or their mistress did not take an active and benevolent interest in their affairs, particularly if they had to provide for children from previous sexual partners. Social independence was a mixed blessing for freed slaves, as it not only increased their agency as individual actors in society, but also amplified their vulnerability as unattached actors without the effective material and social protection of a powerful patron. The severing of the bond of master and slave could thus cause a reduction in the material safety and social status of a slave.

4.3   Enslavement at Birth

Islamic slavery differed from other systems of slavery in so far as the offspring of slave women and their masters were born free, rather than enslaved at birth.[514] Since female slaves were automatically considered to be the lawful concubines of their male owners[515], this significantly lowered the rate at which slaves were born and thus severely limited the rate of the internal reproduction of the slave population within the Islamic world. This dynamic has been used, in conjunction with other factors like high rates of manumission, mortality, and castration, to explain the need to constantly import slaves into Islamicate slaving societies. For

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513 Katz, 'Concubinage, in Islamic Law'.
514 Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'.
515 Neusner and Sonn, *Comparing Religions through Law*, 160.

example, Bernard Lewis wrote that 'there were not many such descendants [of slaves] – casual mating was not permitted, and marriage was not encouraged.'[516]

This argument appears to be based on the legal literature and the timeless principles of *fiqh,* but our sources suggest that it does not hold entirely true for the Mamluk period, if indeed it ever did. It is necessary to explain the discrepancy between the predicted lack of slave procreation and the documented presence of second-generation *muwallad* slaves in Syria and Egypt. The preceding chapters have shown that most of the slaves in Egypt and Syria were imported from abroad, but that a significant minority of the total slave population was of local origin. There are two ways to explain the documented presence of slaves who had not been imported from outside the Islamic world.

Firstly, there is anecdotal evidence for the unlawful enslavement of indigenous Muslim and Christian populations and individuals in times of unrest and economic crisis.[517] For example, al-Maqrīzī recounts how an amir returned from the 820/1417 campaign against rebellious Bedouins with booty, which included 'the slaves [*al-raqīq*] he brought, among them a number of girls from Upper Egypt [*banāt ahl al-ṣaʿīd*] whom he had enslaved despite their previous freedom [*baʿd al-ḥuriyya*].'[518] While such occasional violations of the *sharʿī* prohibition on enslaving Muslims and subject Christians must have played a role in the replenishment of the domestically-born slave population, it is unlikely that they were a significant factor in the long run; such a flagrant violation of law and custom weakened the legitimacy of the regime which perpetrated it.

Secondly, there are a variety of legal loopholes which ensured the enslavement of children at birth, despite the spirit of the law, which aimed mostly at liberation and moderation.[519] It is likely that these loopholes, in the context of social customs, were the primary reason for the internal replenishment of the slave population. This dynamic explains the use of the racial marker *al-jins al-muwallad* or simply *al-muwallad*, which can be translated approximately as 'house-born', in a variety of documentary and the literary sources. Reinhart Dozy suggests 'né de parents esclaves' and 'mulâtre' among various other translations, but there seems to be no consensus regarding the exact meaning of the word.[520] Shaun Marmon proposes to translate the term as 'house-born' or as 'mulatto', while Craig Perry uses 'born into slavery' while noting the wider connotations of the term as

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516 Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*, 10.
517 Rapoport, 'Women', 14; For earlier centuries, see Gordon, *Slavery in the Arab World*, 64.
518 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1997, 6:435.
519 See for example the Quranic attitude to manumission in Neusner and Sonn, *Comparing Religions through Law*, 159.
520 Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2:841.

referring to someone with one non-Arab parent or being born in a foreign land but raised by Arab parents.[521]

The term appears sporadically in the documentary evidence. Two listening certificates from 1251 list a gentleman described as 'al-ʿasqalānī' (from Ashkelon) and his slave Yāqūt al-muwallad.[522] Since more than a quarter of the slaves listed in these listening certificates have Arabic names but lack racial designations, it is likely that there were many house-born slaves among them, even though the term *muwallad* was used only sporadically in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Levantine context.[523] Looking further abroad, the case of the house-born slave Khulayfa and her house-born slave mother Zubayda shows that *muwallad* slaves were owned by modest traders in the Egyptian countryside of the late thirteenth century.[524] Similarly, the remains of an eleventh-century slave merchant's ledger from Cairo show the term *muwallad* as a racial marker to distinguish non-imported slaves from foreign, e. g. *rūmī*, slaves.[525] The use of the word in this specific sense persisted until at least the fifteenth century, when al-Asyūṭī listed *al-muwallad* as one of the dark-skinned (*sūdān*) slave races, which in turn suggests that it was primarily the children of black slaves who were enslaved by birth.[526]

In order to explain the persistence of the *muwallad* group of slaves, let us turn towards the legal loopholes which caused the enslavement of new-born babies. There are two more-or-less obvious legal situations which caused children to be born as slaves: slave-slave marriages and the rejection of fatherhood by the free father of the child, who was often the owner of the mother. In addition to this, it is likely that female slaves had unregulated and unsanctioned sexual intercourse with a third party which led to pregnancy and childbirth. Such a scenario would in practice, and from our perspective, be indistinguishable from the rejection of fatherhood by the slave owner, because any slave owner who did not want to take responsibility for his concubine's child would claim that someone else was the father. Despite the opinion of al-Asyūṭī as cited in section 4.1, this may have ensured the *muwallad* slave status of the child.

Unfortunately, there is hardly any evidence relating to such cases, which makes it difficult to argue for their prevalence in the Mamluk context.[527] The

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521 Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 11; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 38, 161.
522 Ms. AYASOFYA 551, in the Süleymaniyya Library in Istanbul, pages 109 and 122 according to Arabic numbers.
523 See section 3.2.1.
524 See section 2.2.
525 Richards, 'Fragments', 89, 92.
526 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:89–80.
527 A legal dispute among the elite in late thirteenth-century Morocco revolved around the legal status of the offspring of a slave girl and the father of her owner, but there is no comparable

slave-slave marriage certificate analysed above is the only one of its kind and there is hardly any trace of this institution in either the documentary or the literary record. Regarding unsanctioned sex and rejected fatherhood, it is best to look to those surviving documentary sources which are most relevant. The case of the *muwallada* Zubayda and her daughter, the *muwallada* Khulayfa, has been analysed above in section 2.2 and touches on these issues. Khulayfa was clearly not a convert or an imported slave, but she had neither the slave (i.e. convert) patronymic *'ibnat 'Abd Allāh'* nor the factual patronymic that marked freeborn Muslims. Instead, she is identified unconventionally by way of her mother: *al-murāji'a bi-l-wilāda li-Zubayda al-muwallada*.[528] The omission of the identity of her father is a glaring irregularity in the context of medieval Islamic notarial practice. It indicates that her owners did not want to tell the notary who Khulayfa's father was, or that they did not know. At some point they liberated her mother, but she continued to live with them. Clearly, this family and their slaves were intimately linked, which makes it unlikely that they simply did not care about the identity of the father.

The most likely explanation seems to be that Zubayda at some point in her adult life became pregnant as a result of sexual intercourse outside of marriage and concubinal arrangements. The family supported her, both out of a sense of solidarity with Zubayda as a dependant member of the household and in the knowledge that her child would grow up to be their enslaved servant. They had nothing to gain from denouncing her act of unlawful fornication (*zinā*), and the wider community must have accepted this course of events as acceptable.

Apart from such speculative arguments, we can turn once more to the formulas in al-Asyūṭī's scribal manual. It contains a number of default contracts which, while not as useful as actual documents, point towards the existence of certain social norms of the late Mamluk period. His regulations and formulas on marriage involving slaves are discussed in section 4.2. His work suggests that it was very unusual for slaves to marry other slaves, even though this was theoretically possible. Most slaves married, or were married off to, free spouses, which means that their offspring would be born free.[529] When slaves married of their own volition, they were often *kitābī* (alternatively described as *mukātab*) slaves who had a clear path to liberation ahead of them due to their contract of deferred emancipation which was paid for in instalments.[530] These contractual slaves

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case from the Mamluk context. David Stephan Powers, *Law, Society and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300–1500*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23–52. Note especially the discussion of Maliki legal doctrine on pp. 27–30.

528 P. Berol. inv. 15282 (recto), edited in Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:34.

529 Often the husbands were not the owners, see al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-'uqūd*, 1996, 2:453.

530 This applies to both men and women, see ibid., 2:19.

enjoyed many of the freedoms of free people, including the ability to take slave concubines. The following responsa passage exemplifies this phenomenon:

> Question: A slave girl becomes pregnant from a slave. Does she become a protected slave mother [*umm walad*] and is she freed upon the death of the master? He is a contractual slave [*mukātab*].

> [Answer:] If he has sexual intercourse with his slave girl and then she gives birth to a child, then the child is a slave. When he pays the price of his emancipation, then the child is [also] freed and the slave girl becomes a protected slave mother.[531]

The inclusion of such passages in the manual suggests that these matters were of some importance to notaries at the time. Nevertheless, these contractual slaves are an exception to the broader trend. There is very little evidence that slave-slave marriages or slave-slave concubinage arrangements were a common phenomenon in Mamluk society. It is therefore unlikely that many children were born into slavery as a result of these particular legal institutions.

The rejection of paternity by the owner is more likely to have been an important reason for the enslavement of children. The formula reproduced in section 4.1 suggests that owners were reluctant to award the status of *umm walad* to their concubines. The formula describes a case in which 'he [the owner] denied that she had given birth [*istīlādihā*]', thus denying her the protected status of slave mother (*umm walad*), though in this case the child had been stillborn.[532] Owners had a powerful incentive to deny their slaves this protected status, because it greatly reduced their power over them. The situation was different when the child survived, but there were even more reasons to reject paternity and deny the resulting *umm walad* status.

For example, it may have been an embarrassment for the owner to admit that he had had sexual intercourse with a slave. Marriage contracts from the Cairo Geniza often included the clause 'He may not take a slave woman as a concubine.'[533] It was much easier to accuse the slave of illicit intercourse with someone else, than to accept responsibility for the child and risk a legal dispute with the in-laws. A similar domestic situation is described by al-Asyūṭī: 'If his wife owns a slave girl who becomes pregnant from him, he must pay for the freedom of the child with his property [*yuʿtiq al-walad ʿalayhi bi-l-mulk*]'. Here was a powerful incentive to reject paternity – not only was it illegal to have sexual intercourse with someone else's slave, but one had to also pay for the manumission of the resulting child! Again, it was much easier to accuse the slave of

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531 Ibid., 2:450.

532 Ibid.

533 These contracts come from a Jewish community and there are unfortunately no comparable Islamic documents. It is likely that such clauses featured in both traditions. Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 148.

wrongdoing. This resulting child would then grow up to be a *muwallad* slave, like Yāqūt, Zubayda, and Khulayfa.[534]

An additional factor in these considerations is the question to what extent birth control was available to the involved parties. In his study of Mamluk-era prostitution, Gary Leiser observes that 'a means of contraception was available, although of unknown effectiveness.'[535] The described methods of birth control include herbs, elephant dung, and stones worn around the waist.[536] These methods seem to be of little utility to a modern reader, though it appears that certain physical and chemical methods of contraception were somewhat effective.[537] It is likely that sexual contact between a female slave and her master or other men would result in pregnancy and childbirth, with the consequences set out above.

The prevalence of what Bernard Lewis called 'casual mating' among slaves cannot be determined from our source-base, but it is likely to have been at least as significant a reason as the above legal loopholes for the enslavement of children by birth. Such uncontrolled sexual activity took place not just between slaves, but also between slaves and free persons: Carl Petry observes that the court cases which he studied 'revealed settings in which free men were able to interact intimately with unfree women.'[538] Further research should investigate to what extent slave owners were assumed to be the fathers of any offspring produced by their slaves and to what extent uncontrolled 'casual mating' was assumed to be the cause. The sources studied here have little to say on the matter.

This chapter has discussed the present evidence for arrangements of concubinage and slave marriages as well as the legal status of offspring resulting from such unions. These issues are intricately linked with the act of manumission, which was designed to follow an arrangement of concubinage and usually preceded a marriage. The promise of liberation was a powerful incentive for slaves to enter into accommodating arrangements with their masters. The attainment of liberation through conscious acts of cooperation is a significant expression of slave agency. The practice of manumission is explored in depth in the following chapter.

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534 Yāqūt is described as a *muwallad* in a listening certificate, for the others see section 2.2.
535 Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, 189.
536 Ibid., 159, 241, 301.
537 Basim Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam: Birth Control before the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 60–88.
538 Petry, *Criminal Underworld*, 225.

5.   Manumission

The act of manumission marked a decisive moment in the life of a slave, since it freed them from the direct legal ownership of their master and made them full members of society. Though they remained tied to their master by a bond of clientage, the extent to which this impacted their social and material situation strongly depended on the circumstances as discussed in chapter six. This chapter discusses the legal and social processes which led to the manumission of slaves and the extent to which slaves could influence them through acts of resistance and cooperation. A number of pathways were open to slaves with sufficient bargaining power within the master-slave relationship, from decades-long contracts of deferred manumission to spontaneous charitable liberation. The agency of slaves was channelled through their relationship with their master within the household, though the court system acted as a mediator able to intervene on behalf of the slave against the wishes of the master.

A defining characteristic of Islamic slavery is the diversity of ways in which slaves could gain their freedom. The documentary sources of the Mamluk period indicate that manumission was quite common. It is difficult to assemble reliable statistical data regarding the issue, but a preliminary estimate conducted below suggests that one in twenty city-dwellers was a manumitted slave.[539] Whatever the actual number, the study of this segment of the population is closely linked to the study of slavery itself. The prospect of liberation offered slaves hope and an incentive to integrate into the social, cultural, and economic structures into which most of them had been imported. This chapter seeks to determine how and why slaves were freed in the Mamluk context.

There is no comprehensive study of Mamluk manumission practices and their specific legal context. There are numerous studies of Islamic slavery and manumission in a wider sense, but these studies are of limited use for a study of Mamluk slavery for two main reasons. Firstly, they tend to be much more interested in the classical period, which precedes the Mamluk period by roughly

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539 See section 6.2 for a tentative demographic estimate of the slave population.

five hundred years, or in the Ottoman period, which postdates our period. Secondly, the studies concerned with the classical period, which regularly present themselves as studies of 'Islamic' slavery in general, are based nearly exclusively on works of jurisprudence rather than documentary evidence.

The legal aspects of manumission tend to be better-researched than other aspects, because the legal literature contains immense amounts of relevant material. Examples of studies of the legal aspects of Islamic slavery include the articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (II and III), as well as Jonathan Brockopp's and Neusner/Sonn's works.[540] The bulk and the substance of the Islamic legal tradition originated in the seventh, eighth, or ninth century, depending on one's understanding of early Islamic history. It thus reflects the values and the social reality of an earlier time, which saw a more constant influx of enslaved captives towards a differently composed Muslim community. This means that legal material should be read critically when conducting an inquiry into the legal and social history of a later period. The classical legal literature should be seen primarily as a normative force which contributed to the historical reality of Mamluk slavery, rather than as its reflection.

It is beyond the scope of this study to provide an analysis and a comparison of the works of the jurists of the classical period and their Mamluk successors. Instead, we will compare the classical laws as reflected in the secondary literature on Islamic law and slavery with the surviving documentary evidence from the Mamluk period as well as the scribal tradition as reflected in the *shurūṭ* formulas and responsa in al-Asyūṭī's fifteenth-century scribal manual.[541] If the documents, and to a lesser extent the *shurūṭ* formulas and responsa, make reference to specific Islamic legal principles of manumission, we can assume that these elements of classical jurisprudence were applied in the Mamluk period. The absence of such references, on the other hand, is an indication that the socio-legal practices which gave rise to these legal principles in classical times had fallen into disuse due to changing social conditions by the Mamluk period.

The documentary source base is diverse but fragmented and lacks important elements. For example, there are no surviving certificates of manumission for the Mamluk period, or at least none which have been published. One would expect a

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540 Brunschvig, ''Abd'; Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'; Katz, 'Concubinage, in Islamic Law'; Brockopp, 'Slaves and Slavery'; Jonathan Eugene Brockopp, 'Slavery in Islamic Law: An Examination of Early Maliki Jurisprudence' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Yale, 1995); Neusner and Sonn, *Comparing Religions through Law*; Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*.

541 The usefulness of legal responsa for studying the historical reality of Islamic slavery is exemplified in Mohamed Talbi, 'Law and Economy in Ifriqiya (Tunisia) in the Third Islamic Century: Agriculture and the Role of Slaves in the Country's Economy', in *Manufacturing and Labour*, ed. Michael G. Morony, Formation of the Classical Islamic World; v. 12 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 265–306; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996.

society in which much of the secular elite consisted of manumitted slaves to produce and conserve significant numbers of documents relating to manumission, but these documents appear to have been lost. This is even more remarkable considering that manumission certificates have survived from earlier periods, such as from eighth-century Khurasan and from Egypt at the turn of the eleventh century.[542] Contemporary manuals for notaries and judges contain hints which help us understand such fragmentation and omission. While al-Asyūṭī's manual contains many formulas for the written attestation of acts of manumission, the manual of al-Ṭarsūsī informs the reader that acts of manumission were certified without the direct involvement of the judge, presumably by one of his scribes.[543] This may have drastically reduced the chances of survival for such documents, since one of the primary functions of court archives was that of an aide-mémoire to the judge; if the judge was not directly involved in the drafting of such manumission certificates, there was less of a need to preserve them.[544]

It is therefore necessary to study the issue of manumission by examining other documents. There are three main genres of documents analysed throughout this study: certificates of sale, listening certificates, and estate inventories.[545] None of them directly discuss manumission, but they all touch on the matter indirectly. The estate inventories in particular contain a lot of information regarding manumitted slaves.

5.1 Legal Principles

Islamic law sets out four main avenues for manumission, with only minor variations among the Sunni *madhāhib*.[546] These pathways are aligned with the interrelated concepts of *ʿitq, tadbīr, kitāba,* and *umm walad.* Each of them resulted in a lifelong client-patron *walāʾ* relationship between the manumitted and the manumitting party.

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542 Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Documents from Early Islamic Khurasan*, Studies in the Khalili Collection, v. 5 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions, 2007), 152–65; Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Egyptian Library Press, 1934), 61–64; and possibly D.S. Richards, 'Written Documents', in *Fusṭāṭ Expedition Final Report*, ed. George T. Scanlon and Władysław Kubiak, vol. 2, American Research Center in Egypt Reports ; v. 8 (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1986), 67, 73.

543 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:424–34; Gabriela Linda Guelli, *Damaszener Akten des 8.–14. Jahrhunderts nach aṭ-Ṭarsūsīs Kitāb al-Iʿlām: Eine Studie zum arabischen Justizwesen*, Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken 2 (Bamberg: Klaus Schwarz (aku GmbH), 1985), 296–97, 394.

544 Guelli, *Damaszener Akten*, 394.

545 See chapters 2 and 3 on market practice and listening certificates above and chapter 6 on estate inventories below.

546 The fiqh position on Islamic slavery is most conveniently outlined in Brunschvig, ''Abd'.

ʿItq means 'manumission' in a general sense and incorporates the other concepts. The act of liberating a slave is considered a charitable and pious act, an attitude that can be traced to the values promoted by the Quran.[547] While the Quran accepts slavery as part of the natural social order, it takes pity on its victims and seeks to limit its excesses. This resulted in an extraordinarily complex situation in classical Islamic jurisprudence, which promotes a variety of legal institutions leading to the liberation of slaves. The constitutive process is the immediate and unconditional liberation by the owner of his slave orally or in writing, which is simply described as ʿitq. The following concepts are variants of this process, which impose conditions that must be fulfilled before the slave becomes legally free. They result in the same state of legal freedom in combination with continued socio-legal attachment through patronage.

Tadbīr describes a deferred promise of liberation given by the master to his slave. It comes into effect only when the master dies, but it confers the legal status of *mudabbar* on the slave from the moment it is given by the master. In theory, this status is irrevocable and guarantees the slave's freedom, but it is also the least reliable avenue of liberation due to the legal exceptions to these two principles. These exceptions vary among the *madhāhib*, but the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalī's, for example, allow the *mudabbar* slave to be sold away, which annuls the promise of liberation. Crucially, the slave only becomes free upon the owner's death in cases where he is part of the disposable third of the owner's inheritance. Therefore, the *mudabbar* slave of a very poor owner would not be freed upon his owner's death, since he would be considered part of the inheritance which automatically falls to his legally mandated heirs.[548] Additionally, the owner was allowed to continue to sexually exploit his female slave after awarding *mudabbara* status to her, which makes this status inferior to the status of *mukātaba.*

Kitāba describes a form of contractual enfranchisement which guarantees the slave's freedom as a result of continued instalments of cash payments by the slave to their owner.[549] It confers the status of *mukātab* on the slave from the moment the contract is agreed upon. This confers on them stronger legal protection than the status of *mudabbab,* though the two can be combined and there are some legal exceptions, particularly in the Ḥanbalī school. They cannot be sold or otherwise given away. A *mukātaba* slave cannot be used as a concubine. It was frowned upon to award a *kitāba* contract to a woman without an honest source of income (*ghayr muktasiba*);[550] the implicit accusation is that she would resort to

547 Brockopp, 'Slaves and Slavery'; Neusner and Sonn, *Comparing Religions through Law*, 158–59.
548 In addition to Brunschvig, 'ʿAbd', see also Schacht and Layish, 'Mīrāth'.
549 This is treated in some depth in chapter four of Brockopp, 'Slavery in Islamic Law', 183–221.
550 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:439.

prostitution to earn her instalments.[551] A *kitāba* contract conferred upon the slave the right to conduct business on his or her own behalf. This meant that he or she could own property himself or herself, thus owning the means of production or earning a salary for his or her work. This implies a considerable degree of integration into the social and economic life of the community and was therefore an important step towards full manumission and social independence.

Umm Walad is the status which slave concubines attained when they gave birth to a child from their master.[552] It is discussed in some depth in section 4.1 on concubinage above. A slave who was an *umm walad* could not be sold or otherwise given away. She was freed when her master died, regardless of whether or not she was part of the disposable third of his inheritance. Her child was born free, because it followed the status of its father. This status was the most reliable among the three conditional pathways towards manumission, because there were fewer legal loopholes which could be used to withdraw the *tadbīr* promise and there were no ongoing financial commitments as in the case of a *kitāba* contract.

Regardless of whether a slave was manumitted unconditionally or through one of the three pathways described above, the result was always the same. He or she continued to be attached to his or her former owner through a patronage relationship called *walāʾ*, which is a bond of fictive kinship.[553] This means that the slave assumed a status similar to an adopted son or daughter, but with fewer privileges. For example, the manumitter became one of the lawful heirs of the manumitted slave, like close kin. Conversely, however, the slave was not entitled to the inheritance of his master. When the master died before his former slave, the claim to the freedman's inheritance was transferred to the master's agnatic heirs, which underscores the continued imbalance of the arrangement. The guiding principle of the jurists throughout all major Sunni *madhāhib* was the prophetic *ḥadīth* 'patronage belongs to the emancipator' (*al-walāʾ li-man aʿtaq*), which was interpreted to mean that the bond of patronage was unbreakable and could not be transferred to third parties.[554]

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551 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa includes a passage on this matter in his market inspection manual, see above in section 1.2.3. See also Brunschvig, ''Abd' under section j., paragraph four.

552 Katz, 'Concubinage, in Islamic Law'; Brunschvig, ''Abd'.

553 Brunschvig, ''Abd'.

554 Al-Asyūṭī uses this saying in al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:421; For its wider usage and significance, see Brunschvig, ''Abd'.

5.2   Practice

The fundamental problem of using documentary sources to investigate Mamluk manumission practices is that these practices all resulted in the above *walāʾ* relationship. There are no surviving *kitāba* contracts or certificates of manumission, which means that we have to look for indirect proof of manumission practices in other genres of documents (such as listening certificates, certificates of sale, testaments, etc.). These documents duly list freed slaves as manumitted clients of specified former owners, but they never directly state which of the four pathways to freedom outlined above these persons had taken. Nevertheless, we can use the information provided by the documents to surmise the most likely method of manumission. In addition to this, we can compare the formulas and responsa in al-Asyūṭī's scribal manual to determine if one of the above methods had fallen out of use or become significantly more important than the others by the fifteenth century.

The terminology used to describe manumitted slaves differs slightly among the documents analysed throughout the present study. The descriptors are usually based on the root ʿayn-tāʾ-qāf. The most common descriptor in the listening certificates of Damascus is *ʿatīq* and its female form *ʿatīqa*, with isolated occurrences of *ʿatāqa* and even *mawlā* throughout the corpus. This use of *mawlā* presents a particular challenge, because it can refer to either patron or client depending on the context.[555] The estate inventories of Jerusalem use the form *ʿatāqa* for both female and male freed slaves, aside from one male freed slave who is described as *ʿatīq*. The contract of sale from Upper Egypt uses the adjectival form *jāriyya maʿtūqa* to refer to the mother of the slave who was sold.[556] All of these forms refer to the act of manumitting (ʿayn-tāʾ-qāf) or to the resulting bond of patronage (wāw-lām-yāʾ). There is no discernible difference in meaning among these terms. It appears that their usage reflects different dialects spoken in different times and places rather than different legal statuses among freed slaves.

The terminology in al-Asyūṭī's scribal manual is consistent with these findings. The oral and written formulas of manumission which he provides designate the manumitted slave as *ʿatīq* and less frequently as *muʿtaq*.[557] He makes no mention of *ʿatāqa*, which may have been the Syrian dialect form not in use in his native Egypt, or perhaps a form of lesser diction. When he refers to slaves before their conditional manumission, he uses the technically precise terms *mudabbar*, *mukātab*, and *mustawlada*, though his formulas do not consistently apply any

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555 Brunschvig, 'ʿAbd'.
556 Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:39.
557 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:421 and 424–34.

particular term to describe them *after* their manumission.[558] This raises the question whether conditionally manumitted slaves were not normally considered ʿatīq fulān and are therefore harder to detect in documents; on the other hand, those among the Jerusalemite testators whom we can assume to be conditionally manumitted slaves were clearly marked as ʿatāqat fulān, which is a close variant.

Itq is not a distinct method of manumission, but an umbrella term which includes the methods below. For the great majority of documented freed slaves, there is not enough data to conclude that they were manumitted according to any specific method as set out in the *fiqh*. It is possible that many of them were simply freed without any conditions, by proclamation or written attestation. One court record from Jerusalem refers to such a spontaneous deathbed proclamation, though it was ruled unlawful for case-specific reasons.[559] Al-Asyūṭī provides a considerable number of formulas for written certificates of unconditional *ʿitq* manumission; they alone take up ten pages in the modern edition of his work.[560] They deal with a wide variety of every-day situations and social situations in which a slave may be manumitted according to the general *ʿitq* procedure. This indicates that there was a strong demand for fifteenth-century notaries to write such certificates. It is all the more surprising, then, that not a single example of this genre of documents has survived and been published thus far.

Tadbīr manumission is generally quite difficult to detect in documents. In our documents, the only possible reference to *mudabbar* freed slaves is the listing of manumitters as 'deceased' (marḥūm or indicated otherwise). In the case of women, this approach is further complicated by their potential *umm walad* status, which also mandates manumission following the master's death.[561] The documentary evidence of the estate inventories of Jerusalem is inconclusive; those documented manumitted slaves who outlived their masters may have been freed either due to *umm walad, tadbīr*, or even *mukātab* and unconditional *ʿitq* manumission procedures. The listening certificates of Damascus generally do not mention whether a freedman's patron is deceased and therefore offer little of substance on this matter.

There is, however, a court record among the Ḥaram documents that is relevant to the issue of *tadbīr*. A male slave, a female slave, and a eunuch slave petitioned the court for their freedom.[562] Their owner, the son of a high judge, had manu-

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558 Ibid., 2:435–56, especially 435, 438, 448.
559 Ḥ 650 as discussed below. See Little, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors'.
560 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:424–34.
561 This issue is discussed below in the section 6.2 "Patterns".
562 Ḥ 650. Ḥ 31 and Ḥ 32 are variants of Ḥ 650. This document has been transcribed and analysed in Little, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors'.

mitted them just before his death out of compassion (*bi-raḥmatihi najaza ʿitqahum fī marḍi mawtihi*). However, despite having reached puberty, he remained under 'legal impediment' (*baqā al-ḥajr ʿalayhi*). According to the court, his act of manumission was invalid. If he had stipulated no other charitable donations, the slaves would have been freed upon his death despite his legal impediment, since they would have been counted as part of the disposable third (*thulth mālihi*) of his estate. But he had designated the disposable third of his estate to be given to a local hospital, so that he had no more property to give away. He therefore did not have the right to free them, because this would have unlawfully diminished his heirs' share of the estate he left behind. The court ruled that the slaves were to be sold off for the benefit of his heirs. The court's decision is consistent with the legal guidelines regarding the eligibility of young persons and ill persons to manumit their slaves set out by al-Asyūṭī.[563]

The court in effect downgraded the *ʿitq* manumission he had performed to a *tadbīr* manumission, though it does not say so explicitly. The weaker protections for *mudabbar* slaves, as outlined above, consequently led to the annulment of this *tadbīr* manumission, mainly due to the principle of the disposable third of inheritances. This case suggests that *tadbīr* manumission was often subsumed under the more general *ʿitq* procedures.

This impression is supported by the treatment of *tadbīr* in al-Asyūṭī's scribal manual. He devotes a very short chapter to the procedure, less than three pages in the modern edition.[564] He stresses that *tadbīr* was a way for the manumitter to 'draw closer to God' (*huwa mā yataqarrab bihi ilā allāh taʿālā*) and that the cost of the slave had to be covered by the disposable third of the inheritance (*yaʿtiq al-mudabbar min al-thulth*).[565] But he offers very few formulas and responsa cases, so that the section seems more like an afterthought to the preceding *ʿitq* section. The relative brevity of al-Asyūṭī's treatment of the topic in combination with the lack of documentary evidence suggest that conditional *tadbīr* manumission as a distinct legal procedure had largely fallen out of practice in Mamluk society.

Kitāba contractual manumission is indicated by the recorded professions of some patrons, by the *ḥisba* literature, and by the recorded professions of some slaves. Professional designations such as trader (*tājir*), perfumer (*ʿaṭṭār*), and cotton-worker (*qaṭṭān*) are occasionally given to the former owners of freed slaves.[566] It is possible that their slaves earned their freedom through paid work in their master's workshop, in a related business, or as a commercial agent in their

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563 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:422 and 423.
564 Ibid., 2:435–37.
565 Ibid., 2:435.
566 For examples, see Ḥaram document 762 and Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 386, 397 and; Ragib, *Actes de vente*, 1:38.

owner's employ. Paying one's slave may have been a useful way for these slave owners to motivate their slaves to work towards the success of the business.

The two fourteenth-century *ḥisba* manuals analysed in section 1.2.2 make explicit mention of contracts between master and slave. The authors refer to them as *ʿahd* or *ʿuhda*.[567] If these contracts referred to the slave's freedom, then they were to be considered *kitāba* contracts. These passages seem to imply that these *kitāba* contracts prevented the sale of the slave in question, but the fact that slaves with contracts were offered for sale suggests that the *fiqh* ban on selling off contractual *mukātab* slaves was relaxed in practice.

One male freed slave is described as a perfumer in a listening certificate and one female freed slave was most likely a textile worker, judging by the tools and materials listed in her estate inventory.[568] It is likely that these two learned the requisite skills for these crafts during their period of enslavement. It appears likely that some slave assistants used their artisanal skills to buy their freedom, more or less according to the *fiqh* rules on *kitāba* contractual manumission; unfortunately, there is very little documentary evidence for this.

The prevalence of *kitāba* arrangements is also indicated by al-Asyūṭī's scribal manual. In contrast to the brief coverage of *tadbīr*, he provides a detailed account of the procedures of *kitāba* conditional manumission.[569] For example, he explains the origins of the *nujūm* instalments and discusses in depth the ban on selling slaves who have been granted the status of *mukātab*.[570] It is significant that he provides a number of formulas which are explicitly intended to be used for female *mukātaba* slaves. It is possible that these were based on actual cases which were then anonymized. As he sets out in his chapter introduction, it was frowned upon to give *kitāba* contracts to female slaves without an assured source of income: *wa-kitābat al-ama allatī hiya ghayr muktasiba: makrūha ijmāʿan*.[571] He addresses this issue by suggesting that the notary insert the profession of the slave in question, i. e. to write 'what trade [*ṣanʿa*] and work [*ʿamal*] she knows; needlework [*khiyāṭa*] and embroidery [*muzarkash*] and things like that.'[572] Another interesting detail is that he spells out a *kitāba* contract for the Muslim slave of a Jewish or Christian owner, which suggests that non-Muslims did in practice own Muslim slaves despite the *fiqh* disapproval of this.[573] The formulas describe a wide variety of scenarios and this chapter leaves the impression that the writing of *kitāba* contracts was one of the more common tasks which a Mamluk notary

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567 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba*, 152; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, 149.
568 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 534; Ḥaram document 403.
569 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:438–47.
570 Ibid., 2:438, 440.
571 Ibid., 2:439.
572 Ibid., 2:442.
573 Ibid., 2:441–42.

would perform. It appears that these arrangements were a common way for slaves to gain their freedom, though the lack of surviving *kitāba* documents and of certificates of manumission in general remains a mystery. Perhaps these ex-slave artisans were simply of too low a social status for their personal documents to be preserved, or perhaps social historians have so far not bothered to scour the archives in search of such obscure documents.

Umm walad slaves were concubines who had given birth to a child of their owner. They were guaranteed manumission upon his death. This legal status is discussed in the sections 4.1 above and 6.2 below. As outlined above, it is likely that only a minority of female slaves were concubines, even though slave concubinage was practiced throughout Mamluk society. The various documents used in this study list six freed slaves who were identified as the mothers of their masters' children.[574] This indicates that there was a correlation between the sexual contact of master and slave and the slave's liberation, but it is not a direct proof that *umm walad fiqh* rules were applied. In fact, two of these six freed slaves were recorded as the wives of their manumitters. This means that they were freed before their manumitters' death and that personal affection is likely to have played a role in the decision to free them. Furthermore, one of these freedwomen is listed as attending a lecture held by her previous owner.[575] This previous owner was the father of her children, who accompanied her. This indicates that *umm walad* slaves could be manumitted before the death of their owner and then remained attached to his household. In such a situation, the freedwoman would presumably bring up the shared children, while being sexually unavailable (legally, at least) due to being neither a slave nor a wife.

Conversely, an owner who did not wish to see his pregnant slave freed upon his death could claim that the child was not his. Al-Asyūṭī's formula cited in section 4.1 above suggests that disputes of this kind occurred in Mamluk society.[576] The documented case of the slave Zubayda and her 'house-born' (*muwallada*) slave daughter Khulayfa may reflect such a case, in which a concubine was not granted *umm walad* status and her daughter inherited her slave status.[577] Of course, the father may have been someone else entirely, as the documents sidestep the question of the girl's paternity by describing her as 'going back by birth to the house-born Zubayda' (*al-murājiʿa bi-l-wilāda li-Zubayda al-muwallada*), rather than giving a conventional patronym. Zubayda was freed in the time between two of the surviving contracts of sale of

574 Ḥ 269, 294, 411 and Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 224/268, 225, 618.
575 See passage (2) in section 3.2.2.
576 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:450.
577 See section 2.1.1 'Case Study: A House-Born Slave in Upper Egypt' above and the relevant documents in Ragib, *Actes de vente.*

her daughter. This shows that female slaves could be – and were – freed despite not having the *umm walad* legal status.

Al-Asyūṭī provides several pages of formulas for the formal certification of *umm walad* status. The provisions in and details of these default documents are practice-oriented enough to support the assumption that they were used by Mamluk notaries. Among these formulas are a few which concern cases in which the non-Muslim concubines of Christian or Jewish owners converted to Islam. In this case, the prohibition of non-Muslims to own Muslim slaves was very much enforced. In one of these scenarios, the reader is informed that 'there are two positions regarding this issue – either to free her or to sell her away; you should consider both options.'[578] It appears that the notaries had a certain amount of leeway to resolve legal cases brought before them, particular concerning family law. Another interesting scenario is 'the formula for certifying that a man impregnated the slave of his son' (which was illegal).[579] The overall impression here is that the notary or the judge he served was called upon mainly to document and to resolve problematic situations which arose from the legal and social position of concubines. It appears that concubines were not routinely rewarded certificates of their status, but that these certificates could be awarded to safeguard their rights or the rights of other stakeholders who had sought the court's assistance. Judging by the lives of the concubines included in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary as well as the common off-hand remark that a person's mother was 'an Ethiopian woman who belonged to his/her father', most concubines were foreigners who probably spoke little Arabic initially and were cloistered away in the privacy of the household.[580] It is doubtful that they had easy access to the court system to claim their rights, which may explain why there are no surviving examples of the documents outlined in al-Asyūṭī's work. Despite this, his work in combination with the documentary evidence suggests that the institution of slave concubinage was well-known and practiced throughout Mamluk society.

5.3   Societal Impact

The lack of surviving certificates of manumission for this period raises the question whether manumission lost its importance in a society which was ruled by a slave elite. This does not appear to be the case. First of all, the 'slave elite' actually consisted of freed slaves, since *mamlūk* recruits were freed upon grad-

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578 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:451–52; A similar case is documented for thirteenth-century Morocco, see Powers, *Law, Society and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300–1500*, 23–52.
579 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:453.
580 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ, vol. 12.* For examples see entries 93, 273, and 746 in volume 12.

uation. Manumission continued to be a crucial concept among the ruling class, where disputes surrounding the manumission of individual officers were used as legal ploys in factional rivalries.[581] Slaves formed part of the retinue of state officials and thus exerted practical authority over civilians, but their authority was always contingent on that of their master.

Secondly, the absence of published manumission certificates from the Mamluk period does not mean that they did not exist or do not continue to gather dust in some form of uncatalogued document collection to this day. This author has come across very few published certificates for all of pre-modern Islamic civilization, most of which date to distant early Islamic Khurasan. The lack of Mamluk-era certificates is not an exception, it is normal. As suggested above, it is likely that the lack of published material is due to a lack of interest on the part of historians combined with the generally catastrophic state of document survival and accessibility in the Middle East.

Thirdly, the listening certificates analysed in chapter three show that there was a clear social difference between slaves and freed slaves in the context of urban scholarly households. The attendance patterns are fundamentally different as freedmen enjoyed significantly more social autonomy than slaves. The certificates also indirectly document the manumission of a few slaves who attended several times over the course of a number of years during the first half of the fourteenth century. Their first entries label them as *fatā*, but subsequent entries refer to them variably as ʿatīq and ʿmawlā.[582]

Lastly, the *shurūṭ* and the body of *fiqh* on which they were based repeatedly stress the distinction between slaves, contractual slaves, and freed or freeborn individuals. *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd* is at heart a practical guidebook for scribes who were dealing with the everyday problems of Mamluk society. The inconsistencies between theoretical concepts which originated in early Islamic times and the documented practice of the Mamluk era deserve further investigation, but it seems unlikely that there was a fundamental disconnect between the concept of manumission as it existed in Mamluk society and in earlier or later times.

Aside from these wider implications, manumission played a crucial role in the social microcosm of the household. The promise of freedom was a powerful incentive to motivate slaves to work towards the interest of their masters in order to earn their eventual liberation, be it by charitable spontaneous ʿitq manumission, a long-term *kitāba* arrangement of deferred liberation, or the legally mandated liberation of a child-bearing concubine following the death of her master. Since these arrangements depended on the negotiating power of the slave, in terms of beauty, artisanal skill, or social capital, the success of strategies

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581 Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 66–67, see also section 1.1.1 for a relevant anecdote by Ibn Iyās.
582 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 487, 249 and 262, 250.

of accommodation depended on power balance in each individual case. The breaking of such arrangements either by the (often unlawful) sale of a contracted slave or the denial of paternity by the owner of a child-bearing concubine could deny the slave their freedom despite their best efforts at cooperation and integration. Successful strategies of accommodation therefore included an element of personal affection which disincentivised treacherous behaviour on the part of the master. Despite the basic protections of the legal system, the master-slave relationship as a bond of personal loyalty was therefore central to the exertion of slave agency. Once a slave was liberated, their material and social status depended on the networks they had established during their time of servitude. A continued and effective bond of clientage with their master appears to have been key to the well-being of liberated female slaves, as argued in the final chapter.

6.   Independence and Death

This chapter examines documentary evidence concerning the paths taken by slaves after their manumission. This evidence suggests that those female slaves who maintained close social ties with their masters lived more comfortable lives than those who did not. Poverty appears to have been widespread among the sample group, which suggests that the post-manumission agency of slaves as independent actors in society was severely constricted by material marginalisation. This ties into the argument concerning the absence of 'absolute' freedom in pre-modern societies as advanced by Nur Sobers-Khan[583]: the agency of slaves both before and after manumission was rooted in and shaped by their membership of a household, which was in turn dependent on their relationship with their master. When they were cut off from this social unit without finding a sufficient substitute, they became socially and materially marginalised. Nevertheless, the separation of ties to the household of their master could be the conscious decision of a newly empowered manumitted slave. The following case study presents a number of relevant examples and analyses the phenomenon with a focus on the socio-economic situation of manumitted slaves towards the end of their lives.

Following their manumission, slaves could acquire property, earn money, take up debt, and forge their own social ties. They were legally free, and their paths diverged from their previous servile careers, though they remained notionally tied to their masters through a legal bond of clientage. It is difficult to trace their individual and collective biographies, because most of them became part of the barely documented low-income urban population. But at the end of their lives, the state and its notaries took an interest in their affairs once more. When they fell ill, and death was a distinct possibility, many were visited by the inheritance assessors of the state treasury, the *bayt al-māl.* These civil servants drew up an inventory of their possessions in order to ensure the lawful division of their

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583 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 278, 324.

inheritance following their death.[584] These documents also list their descendants and spouses as well as other social relations, in order to facilitate the allocation of the inheritance. This information can be used to reconstruct the socio-economic status and family life of these manumitted slaves.

Although there are no extant records from the larger cities of the empire, a collection of these documents has survived from late fourteenth-century Jerusalem. The town had around 40,000 inhabitants at that time and was notable mainly for its status as a pilgrimage destination.[585] The cache in which these records were found, known as the Ḥaram documents, contains (among other documents) more than 400[586] such estate inventories, 24 of which directly describe manumitted slaves.[587] These 24 documents describe 23 individual cases, since one of them is a variant copy of another.[588] They can be seen as 'a random sample of persons who died in the city over a period of around three years', though Christian Müller disagrees with this assessment to some extent.[589] Since the practice of drawing up estate inventories is well-documented as a routine matter for this locality for several years, it is likely that it was a common practice in the Mamluk empire at the time.[590]

The present study is based on microfilms of the documents held at the Islamic Library of McGill University. The documents are extraordinarily difficult to read, primarily because they are written in a highly cursive script which often lacks punctuation.[591] Some words could not be read with sufficient certainty; they have been substituted by '[illegible]' in the translations below and similarly in the transcriptions in the appendix, where key examples are visually reproduced and transcribed.

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584 Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya: a history of Mamlûk Jerusalem based on the Ḥaram documents*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 113 (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1985), 21.

585 Ibid., 226.

586 Müller counts 429 'Nachlassinventare' for 417 'Inventarisierungen'. Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 391; Lutfi counts 423 documents containing estate inventories. Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 60.

587 This refers to Ḥaram documents 57, 60, 130, 246, 249, 269, 294, 403, 411, 438, 445, 457, 462, 489, 512, 533, 555, 679, 687, 713, 724, 754, and 762. Müller only counts 21 manumitted testators, whereas Lutfi counts 28 "documents pertaining to manumitted civilian slaves". Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 395; Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 307, 331.

588 Ḥ 445 and 533, though it is impossible to say which one is the original.

589 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 224, for Müller's position see immediately below.

590 Müller asserts that it was an 'übliches Verfahren' in the Mamluk empire and 'zweifelsohne Routine'. Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 390, 397; Lutfi is more cautious and states that it may have been standard practice for the dead or dying in Jerusalem. Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 22.

591 Professor Christian Müller expands on this problem in Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 9; Huda Lutfi also discusses the difficulties of deciphering the handwriting of the manuscripts in Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 85–87.

Donald Little, who catalogued the documents in the years after their discovery, advances the hypothesis that the Ḥaram documents constitute the general archive of the Shafiʿī court of Jerusalem.[592] The city had only a Shāfiʿī and a Hanafī judge at this time, while the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī school were represented by deputies.[593] Christian Müller maintains that the surviving documents constitute a 'zufällig erhaltener Überrest' rather than a systematic archive and that the Shāfiʿī head judge Sharaf al-Dīn played a greater role in their assembly than Little assumed.[594] He even advances the argument that the corpus was assembled by an investigator to gather evidence of Sharaf al-Dīn's corruption.[595] This means that the surviving documents may be more of a personal collection than a general archive. Nevertheless, Müller characterizes the collection of estate inventories as a homogeneous body of certificates. This lends some support to Huda Lutfi's claim that the data represents a 'random sample'.[596]

There is no direct guidance in al-Asyūṭī's scribal handbook on how to compose estate inventories in the common *wuqūf* format, but he includes a chapter on the related *waṣiyya* format.[597] Müller classifies this *waṣiyya* format as 'letztwillige Verfügung', i.e. testamentary disposition.[598] Fewer than a dozen of these *waṣiyya* dispositions survive among the Ḥaram documents.[599] Al-Asyūṭī's chapter about them contains a detailed discussion of the Quranic principle which dictates that only one third of the inheritance can be disposed of freely by the testator. The provided default formulas differ significantly from the *wuqūf* estate inventories, but share characteristics in certain sections, especially in the description of the testator's health and financial obligations.[600] The absence of a chapter dedicated to *wuqūf* estate inventories in al-Asyūṭī's fifteenth-century manual throws some doubt on Müller's claim that the creation of inventories of dying persons was a routine administrative procedure which was widespread in the empire towards the end of fourteenth century, since such a widespread practice should have left a lasting impression on the scribal tradition as represented in the later manual.

The twenty-four estate inventories reflect a diversity of lived experiences among freed slaves. This group was not a homogenous body of downtrodden servants who had been liberated out of pity, but neither were they all shining

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592 Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, 13.
593 Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 16.
594 Ibid., 13, 19, 30–31.
595 Ibid., 509–27.
596 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 224.
597 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:351–71.
598 Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 419.
599 Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, 311–17.
600 al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:361–71.

examples of social mobility and redemption through servitude. The documents record the last wills and testaments of both men and women, poor and rich. Some were socially independent while others had married their previous owners; some thrived independently, while others lived out their last days in destitution. The emerging picture is diverse, but there are nevertheless patterns which enable us to work towards a definition of the shared characteristics of freed slaves as a distinct group in society.

6.1   The Poor, the Rich, and the Soldier

In order to showcase this diversity, this section will first present three distinctive cases: one poor woman, one moderately prosperous woman, and one of the two men.[601] This selection gives the reader an impression of the composition of the sample group. The estate inventories are presented in the form of a translation, which is supplemented by a visual reproduction of the microfilm image in the appendix.[602] Each case will be introduced with a paragraph, but the historical analysis of overarching patterns follows the presentation of these three examples.

The first case concerns the poor woman Quṭlūl, who died and was thereafter identified to the authorities by her divorced husband.[603] The estate inventory below is in essence a record of what happened when her death came to the attention of the state authorities. A tax assessor determined, on the basis of the testimony of people who knew her, what her possessions were and that the state had no claim to her inheritance. Like most freed slaves in this sample group, she owned only the clothes on her body and a handful of other everyday items. She left no valuables and no cash and had no living relatives who could claim these meagre possessions.

Her recorded possessions went – by default – to her former master, who was her only legal heir. His title *khawāja* suggests that he was a successful merchant with some political clout.[604] It is unlikely that he cared much for the rags of his former servant, but bureaucratic procedure required the appropriate document to be drawn up and filed away.

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601 Ḥ 60, 495, 445.
602 The English words chosen to describe textile items are in some cases intentionally ambiguous to reflect the ambiguity of the Arabic wording or to reflect the unfortunate fact that in some cases only an approximate meaning could be reconstructed on the basis of the commonly used dictionaries by Dozy, Hava, Steingass, Wahrmund, etc.
603 Ḥ 60.
604 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 132.

In the name of God, whose help we seek.

On the twenty-seventh of the month of Dhu al-Qiʿda of the year ninety-five [4 October 1393], the viewing of a dead woman, who is not breathing, took place. Her name is Quṭlūl ibnat ʿAbd Allāh and she is the freedwoman of *khawāja* ʿIzz al-Dīn Baktamur bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Dūrī, who is a merchant in the city of Aleppo. She is the divorced wife of *al-ḥājj* Muḥammad bin al-Adamī, who is present with her in Jerusalem.

This divorced husband attests that this dead woman owned the clothes on her body: a worn white overgarment, a shirt which covers the head, shoes, a face veil, and two kerchiefs. He attested that that she also owns a worn coat, a worn kerchief, a worn garment, and a worn [illegible], and that she owns nothing else but this.

Her heirs are her aforementioned manumitter, according to a document in the possession of the aforementioned divorced husband, which shows her testimony in this matter and is dated to the twenty-first of the month of Shawwāl of the year seven-hundred and ninety-one [13 October 1389], and according to the attestation of the aforementioned divorced husband and of *al-ṣāḥib al-karīm* Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin al-Sayqal. This was recorded with the authorization of the Shāfiʿī high judge Sharaf al-Dīn[605] of Jerusalem, may God bless him. The inventory was completed on the above date.

I confirm the above on the above date. Signed by [illegible].

I confirm the above on the above date. Signed by Khalīl bin Yūsuf al-Ḥanafī.

The second document describes a freed slave whose list of possessions identify her as being better-off than most of her peers.[606] She owns several textile items of good quality, some of them of foreign origin. Such articles of clothing may not seem particularly valuable to a modern reader, but in a pre-industrial society, fine garments were markers of social status. She possesses garments from as far away as Mardin, Alexandria, and Venice, which is not unusual among the wealthier freedwomen recorded in these documents.[607] Her inventory is also written with considerably more care than the previous one, though it is signed by the same legal witness. Despite these markers of status, her list of possessions is comparatively short, and she was not a wealthy person in the context of wider society.

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

On the twenty-second of the month of Dhu al-Qiʿda of the year seven hundred and ninety-five [29 September 1393], the viewing of a weak woman took place in the quarter of al-Maghāriba. She is called Quṭlūmalik bint ʿAbd Allāh and she is the freedwoman of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aydughdī, the Aleppan.

She attested that she owns a blue shirt and a hemmed white cloak and a blue woollen garment from Mardin and the two white kerchiefs and the white headcloth which are on

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605 The titles in the Arabic text refer to Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī, the Shafiʿī judge, without explicitly naming him. This is discussed in Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 13.

606 Ḥ 495.

607 See expecially Ḥ 294 and Ḥ 713.

her head and a white blanket and a red pack containing a white blanket and a face veil and a Venetian shirt and a used hemmed white cloak and a garment decorated with fine Alexandrian cloth and a velvet towel and a dark-brown apron in good condition and an embroidered cushion and a cotton cloak and corner piece of cloth with blue embroidery and a white niqab and fine trousers and linen trousers and two worn white niqabs and a yellow linen headscarf and a worn checked shirt and a white cotton bag and two white [illegible] and two small hats in good condition and a spread in good condition and a cover with a yellow-blue facing and a box and a copper bowl and a black dress.

She attested that she owns nothing except for what is written above. Her heirs are her husband *al-ḥājj* ʿAbd Allāh bin Yaḥya al-Muṣarraf and her above-mentioned manumitter Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who is absent in Aleppo. She attested that she has no claim to any debts from her above-mentioned husband, nor to the remainder of legal claims, nor to a bride price, nor to the remainder of a bride price, nor to any articles of clothing, nor to any maintenance payments, nor to anything else minor or major. This was recorded with the authorization of the Shāfiʿī high judge Sharaf al-Dīn of Jerusalem, may God prolong his days.

He witnessed her statement about the matter. Signed by Khalīl bin Yūsuf al-Ḥanafī.
He witnessed her statement about the matter. Signed by Aḥmad bin Yūsuf.
He witnessed her statement about the matter. Signed by ʿUmar bin Yaʿqūb [illegible].

The third document lists the possessions and debts of a soldier who used to be a slave.[608] There are only two men among the sample group, and both are soldiers. In addition to the usual textile items, this man possesses weapons of war as well as riding gear. He appears to have been a mounted archer. His master, however, is described only as a *shaykh*, rather than an *amīr*. This suggests that he did not receive his military training within his master's household. His clothes are modest, but his weapons must have been worth a considerable amount of money. The sums listed as debt here surpass the sums listed in the inventories of all but a few of the other freed slaves, which suggests that he was of a higher social station than most of the recorded freedwomen. Strikingly, it is implied that he is an indirect landowner who received the dues (*maʿlūmat al-sayyid*) for two villages, most likely in connection with his military commission as a commander of ten soldiers (*jirāyat qism ʿashar imra*).

This assumption that this freedman was a junior officer is supported by the presence of an *amīr* at his sickbed, who was a *shādd* (superintendent) at the state treasury.[609] Furthermore, this is the only inventory among the sample group which survives in two copies, which suggests that this man was considered important.[610] It is very similar in content to the inventory of the other freed slave in the sample group.[611]

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608 Ḥ 445. A variant of this certificate can be found in Ḥ 533.
609 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 159.
610 Ḥ 445 and Ḥ 533.
611 Ḥ 438.

Praise be to God.

On the twentieth of Shawwāl of the year seven hundred and ninety-three [20/09/1391], the viewing of a weak man took place. His name is Altunbughā bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Shihābī and he is a freedman of al-Shaykh Fūlād.

He attested that he owns the clothes on his body, which are a white linen shirt and a white [illegible] and a headcloth in good condition and cotton trousers and a white overgarment and an overgarment of unprocessed cotton and a vest and a red hat and cotton trousers in good condition and a pattern-welded iron sword and a Bulgarian quiver which has twenty bare arrows as well as nineteen individual arrows and a hunting bow and a hammer and pattern-welded copper spurs and shoes in good condition and a Bulgarian quiver in good condition and used reins in good condition and a stitched red cloth garment in good condition and a curved [illegible] and a stitched white cloth garment in good condition with [illegible] inside.

He attested that he is in debt to the adult woman Hājmalik, who is the wife of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Altunbughā al-Sayfī, for the amount of one hundred dirhams, half of which is fifty dirhams, and that he is also in debt to the adult woman Umm Fāṭima, who is a resident of Damascus, for the amount of sixty dirhams. He has the commission from the villages of Bayt Awlaba and Jisr ʿAztāb and the lord's dues from these two places amounting to sixty dirhams and the commission of a commander of ten soldiers.

He attested that he owns nothing except this and that his heir is his above-mentioned manumitter. This was recorded in the presence of al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Bābūq al-Tamrāzī, superintendent at the state treasury in Jerusalem, and of the undersigned legal witnesses from the Shafiʿī court in Jerusalem, may God prolong the days of its leader. This was recorded on the above date.

I confirm the attested and I witnessed it. Signed by Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin Dāwud.

I confirm the attested and I witnessed it on the recorded date. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥī al-Ḥalabī.

I confirm the attested and I witnessed it. Signed by Aḥmad bin Thābit al-Anṣārī.

The absence of cash and everyday items like cutlery in these inventories is puzzling, but at least it is consistent throughout the corpus. It must be assumed that such items passed to heirs through other means. Money could be passed quickly to another person when the court's assessors came by, in order to avoid potential inheritance taxes. Wooden cutlery was probably too cheap to be worth assessing, unlike textiles, copper bowls, and swords, which are duly listed. Or perhaps the court did not tax small sums of cash and thus did not bother recording them. Either way, the assessed possessions are sufficient to compare the inventories with one another and to estimate the testator's socio-economic status.

6.2   Patterns

The twenty-four estate inventories under investigation provide enough data to discern social and economic patterns among the manumitted slaves of Jerusalem. This approach has great potential, but it also has its limitations. While Huda Lutfi freely extrapolates from the wider corpus of estate inventories to the population of Jerusalem at large, Christian Müller is adamant that this source base is not sufficient for a quantitative analysis of legal cases.[612] Perhaps the crucial difference between them is that Lutfi is a social historian, whereas Müller is a legal historian. This study steers a middle course by identifying patterns that emerge from the surviving documents in order to set them against the patterns which emerge from a variety of other sources, analysed elsewhere in the present study. Patterns which emerge from the study of a variety of source genres can be assumed to reflect conditions on the ground with a higher degree of certainty, though the geographical and chronological variance between these case studies necessitates a degree of caution.

The most striking pattern among the twenty-three manumitted testators is the gender imbalance among them. The ratio of twenty-one women and two male soldiers suggests that nine out of ten manumitted slaves were female. Both of the manumitted men had been military, rather than civilian/domestic, slaves. The lack of male domestic servants stands in contrast to their documented presence elsewhere. The listening certificates analysed in chapter three contain many manumitted male civilian slaves and the *shurūṭ* literature analysed in chapter five suggests that the manumission of male craftsmen was possible, perhaps even common.[613] Rather than taking these numbers at face value, we should interpret them as a validation of the impression taken from the study of certificates of sale (section 2.1), *shurūṭ* passages on concubinage (section 4.1), and the slave market (chapter 1) – namely, that domestic slavery was a predominantly female phenomenon.[614]

There is also a gender imbalance in the wider corpus of the estate inventories. Lutfi estimates this as a 2:3 male-female split, whereas Müller counts 176 men and 242 women.[615] This is a significant imbalance, but it does not explain the considerably more pronounced imbalance in the sub-sample of manumitted slaves. Lutfi advances the idea that many women came to Jerusalem to rest and die, attracted by to the holy status of the city.[616] This would also explain why so many

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612 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 217; Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 508.
613 See, for example, the Kitāb al-ʿItq in al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:361–434.
614 This is also one of the main conclusions of Goitein's and Perry's work on the Geniza documents. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:147; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 12.
615 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 227; Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 393.
616 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 227.

of the manumitted slaves had obvious ties to Damascus and Aleppo, but none to Jerusalem, where they died. Such connections suggest that the patterns that emerge from this study reflect the social relations in Syria more widely. However, it is unlikely that the sample group of manumitted testators included many religious tourists and people settled elsewhere. Only one of the twenty-four testators in our sample group was described by the notaries as temporarily residing in Jerusalem for religious reasons (*al-ḥāḍira al-mujāwira bi-l-quds*).[617] All other manumitted testators are described as residents of the city, provided the notaries bothered to record this detail.

The data which can be drawn from these estate inventories allows a tentative estimate of the demographic dimensions of the slave population. The following calculation is based on Huda Lutfi's underlying (and speculative) assumption that the estate inventories were a random sample of the people who died in Jerusalem in the space of a few years towards the end of the fourteenth century. We observe that 23 of 418 testators, corresponding to 5.5 percent, were manumitted slaves. If we consider only the women, then 21 of 242 testators were manumitted slaves, corresponding to 8.7 percent of the wider sample. This suggests that roughly one in twenty inhabitants in Jerusalem was a manumitted slave.

These percentages are significantly higher than the values which result from similar calculations based on the data from the listening certificates. When we count only the persons recorded in the certificates catalogued by Stefan Leder, which form a more internally consistent source base than the amalgamation of several archives used in chapter three, we arrive at 148 slaves and 64 manumitted slaves out of sample of approximately 8000 recorded participants.[618] Manumitted slaves made up only 0.8 percent of that particular sample group, and slaves an additional 1.85 percent.

This discrepancy is hardly surprising, considering the different methodologies involved in collecting the respective data. Based on Huda Lutfi's study and Christian Müller's study (and despite his reservations regarding a quantitative approach), it is likely that the Ḥaram estate inventories are a more representative sample of the urban population than the listening certificates.

We may even go one step further and try to infer the size of the slave population of Jerusalem from the size of its population of manumitted slaves. If we assume a rough equivalence of the two sample groups, we can take the ratio of slaves to manumitted slaves from Leder's catalogue and estimate the population

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617 Ḥ 294; Lutfi designates these people as 'sojourners' and discusses the issue in ibid., 114, 227.
618 Total participant number estimated by Leder in Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*, 23. This data covers the period from 1150 to 1350 and therefore goes slightly beyond the timeframe under investigation in this study.

of slaves in Jerusalem. There are 132 percent more slaves than manumitted slaves in Leder's sample group.[619] If we apply this value to the more conservative estimate of the population of manumitted slaves in Jerusalem, 5.5 percent of the entire population (see above), we may estimate that 12.8 percent of the population of Jerusalem consisted of slaves. If we then combine this value with the estimated 5.5 percent who were manumitted slaves, we may conclude that 18.3 percent of the population of Jerusalem at the end of the fourteenth century consisted of slaves and former slaves.

These projections should be recognized as rough estimates, because the underlying methodology is based on incomplete data and highly biased sample groups. Nevertheless, their inclusion in this study has merit, because the scholarly debate has lacked any figures and demographic estimates for the pre-Ottoman period.[620] This is largely due to the scarcity of documentary materials, but we should at least attempt to provide a demographic sketch as a background for the case studies and debates about better-documented aspects of Mamluk slavery. What matters for the purpose of this study is the order of magnitude of the slave population. Regardless of whether slaves and freed slaves made up eighteen percent, twenty-five percent, or perhaps just five percent of the total population of urban centres, these numbers support the impression that slaves were a sizeable minority and a part of everyday life in Mamluk society. They were therefore an integral part of many households and should be considered in studies of social relations in Mamluk society.

Furthermore, the documented freed slaves were well-integrated into mainstream Mamluk society. They were married to free-born people, bore children, and performed normal work. The most obvious difference between them and other testators in the sample group is that their manumitter acted as their default heir in the absence of children.

Of the twenty-one female testators, twelve were married[621] and two were divorced.[622] Of these twelve married freed slaves, two were in turn married to male freed slaves.[623] It appears that their status as ex-slaves did not prevent these women from finding free-born (or ex-slave) husbands. Conversely, one of the two testator ex-slave soldiers was married to a free-born woman.[624] Within the wider

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619 132 x 100 / 57 = 232.

620 A notable exception is the work of Ralph Austen, especially Ralph A. Austen, 'The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census', *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, The uncommon market : essays in the economic history of the Atlantic slave trade. – New York [u.a.] : Academic Press, ISBN 0122798503. – 1979, p. 23–76, 1979.

621 Ḥ 57, 130, 246, 294, 457, 495, 512, 555, 679, 687, 713, 762.

622 Ḥ 60, 724.

623 Ḥ 246, 724.

624 Ḥ 438.

corpus there is also an inventory from a free-born woman who had married a manumitted slave.[625] This shows that manumitted slaves of both genders inter-married with the wider population and that there was no observable social division between them in this regard.

Two of the manumitted slaves had even married their former master.[626] Since these two seem to have been much better off than their peers, it appears that they benefitted materially from this arrangement. One of them, who was 'the freed-woman of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn bin ʿAlī bin Qayrān and of his [first] wife' left all her belongings to 'her above-mentioned manumitter and husband ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn.'[627] She lived in a house which was set up as an endowment (*mawqūf*) for her by her husband, which suggests that she was maintained as a second or third wife in a separate building following her manumission.[628]

The other manumitted slave who married her master also gave birth to his son. She attested that 'her heirs are her husband, who is her abovementioned manumitter and who is absent from Jerusalem, and her son from him, Aḥmad, who is present with her.'[629] This husband is previously described with the title *al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā*. According to Müller, this title designates members of the lower tiers of the administration and respectable civilians.[630] This husband was therefore able to provide a comfortable life to his wife, who possessed many valuable items such as embroidered, velvet, brocaded and silken textiles, a variety of copper household items, extravagant combs, writing utensils, Florentine coins, and a collection of colourful cushions which was to be moved from her house in Damascus to the one in Jerusalem. There was a potential for considerable social mobility for slaves who successfully integrated into their master's household and cultivated a long-term emotional and sexual bond within the master-slave relationship.

Moving on from the issue of marriage to the issue of children, it is perplexing that very few of the manumitted slaves had children. These would have been listed by default as heirs on the estate inventories, but only seven of the twenty-one female testators had documented children. Of these seven testators, two had never been married and the children were not the offspring of their master, which raises questions about either the consistency of reporting, or the identity of the fathers and the incidence of non-marital sex among this group.[631]

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625 Ḥ 338.
626 Ḥ. 457 and 294.
627 Ḥ 457.
628 Müller reads يعرف, but I agree with Little's reading of موقوف as indicated by: Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, 122.
629 Ḥ 294.
630 Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 402.
631 Ḥ 462 and Ḥ 754.

Considering that fourteen of the twenty-one had married at least once in their lifetime, one would expect to see more offspring, though contraception may have played a role in this.[632] There are two additional explanations. Firstly, child mortality may have been especially high among the poor urban population to which most of the freedwomen belonged. Secondly, they may have been manumitted after their childbearing years. If this was the case, they may also have had children before their manumission. If these children were recognized as the children of their owner, they would have been listed as lawful heirs. But if they had not been recognized, they may have become *muwallad* house-born slaves (see section 4.3). This would have disqualified them from inheriting and thus prevented the recording of their name in the documents.[633]

There are two unmarried manumitted testators whose inheriting children are listed as the offspring of their former masters.[634] Together with the two married freedwomen above, there are four cases out of a sample of twenty-one in which it is reasonable to conclude that these women had been the concubines of their owners before they were manumitted. This indicates that there was sexual contact between some female slaves and their masters, but that this was the exception rather than the rule. This excludes cases in which the abuse did not result in surviving and recognized children or marriage and those in which the slave was not subsequently freed. The real incidence of sexual exploitation of slaves by their owners was probably higher.[635]

There is no clear pattern among the ten women who married someone who was not their master or another freed slave. Two had been divorced, three had a husband absent in Aleppo or Cairo, and one had a husband identified as a *qaṭṭān*, a tradesman involved in the manufacture or sale of cotton products.[636] Again, the absence of these husbands suggests that some testators had come to Jerusalem for religious reasons and that their social network was centred elsewhere.

Generally, the inventories provide only limited information about the former owners of these manumitted slaves. However, there are a number of observations to be made. Firstly, most owners were of a modest socio-economic background. Most of them had generic titles which indicated no exceptional wealth nor status. This includes titles which Müller defines as status markers for respectable ci-

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632 See Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam*, 60–88.

633 It is very difficult to say what the Mamluk custom and interpretation of Islamic law in such cases was, but a similar case from thirteenth-century Morocco shows that children disavowed in such a way were unable to inherit from their father. Powers, *Law, Society and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300–1500*.

634 Ḥ 269 and Ḥ 411.

635 According to the modern understanding of rape, a person cannot give valid consent if they are under duress. Being owned by the other party is duress, even if there is mutual affection.

636 Ḥ 60, 724; 495, 512, 555; 762.

vilians (*al-ḥājj*, *al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā*) as well as their female equivalents (*al-sitt*, *khātūn*).[637] Nearly half of the owners had a *fūlān al-dīn* title. This would at first glance indicate a religious position, but a section in al-Asyūṭī's scribal manual shows that these were also the 'default' titles used to address civilians, as discussed in chapter 2.[638] Only one owner is identified as a member of the military elite (*amīr*) and another as the son of such an *amīr*. Four are identified by profession: a merchant, a judge, a slave trader, and a driver of animals.[639]

Secondly, some of the former owners of these manumitted slaves had already died by the time the inventories were drawn up. In three cases, the manumitter was explicitly listed as 'deceased' (*marḥūm*).[640] In three more cases, the list of heirs includes close family members of the manumitter, but not the manumitter, implying that the manumitter had died.[641] Eight documents list the manumitter as an heir, showing that they were still alive. The remaining nine documents do not mention the former owners or their family members as heirs, signalling that they were dead or their whereabouts unknown to the involved parties. We can therefore be reasonably certain that in at least six of the twenty-four instances the manumitter was dead. In these cases, it is possible to speculate that the slaves had been freed upon the death of the owner due to being either a *mudabbar/mudabbara* or an *umm walad*, as discussed in chapter five.[642]

In the first instance, the owner would have promised them their freedom of his own volition, whereas in the latter instance they would have gained the promise of freedom by giving birth to a child from their owner. Yet only one of these six testators – whose master had already died – was listed as the mother of her master's children and thus as a concubine.[643] As shown above, at least four of the twenty-one female testators had been concubines, but it is not evident from the inventories of the other three whether their masters had already died. The remaining five manumitted slaves whose owner had died may have been *mudabbar* slaves, but they may also have been manumitted through a different procedure. It is therefore not advisable to treat these documents as evidence for the application of *umm walad* or *tadbīr* regulations in Mamluk society.

Thirdly, these documents do not contain any direct evidence of slaves being owned by more than one master simultaneously. The listening certificates show that shared ownership was a regular occurrence in Damascus. The only inventory which may indicate shared ownership records that the testator was 'the freed-

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637 Ḥ 130, 246, 294, 462, 713, 753; Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 402.
638 See al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 2:467–68.
639 Ḥ 60, 512, 555, 724. The reading of *sāʾiq* (driver) is tentative.
640 Ḥ 555, 679, 762.
641 Ḥ 249, 411, 754.
642 Brunschvig, 'ʿAbd'; Schacht, 'Umm Al-Walad'; Katz, 'Concubinage, in Islamic Law'.
643 Ḥ 411.

woman of Fāṭima bint ʿAbd Allāh of Damascus' as well as 'the freedwoman of
Masʿūd bin Ibrāhīm from the village of Qalandiyya in the district of Jer-
usalem'.[644] These two people owned her either jointly or in chronological se-
quence – considering the geographical distance and the lack of a family bond
between them, it is more likely that they owned her in chronological sequence.
The absence of direct evidence for joint ownership may be explained by the
small size of the sample. Alternatively, it is possible that the legal status of patron
(former owner) was conferred in practice on only one of the masters who had
jointly owned a slave, and that parallel owners were not recorded in these
documents.

Fourthly, a considerable number of freedwomen had previously been owned
by women. Out of a sample of twenty-one liberated female slaves, five had been
owned by a female mistress. This shows that free women did directly own slaves
without legal intermediaries. It is likely that these slaves augmented the social
status of their mistresses by freeing them from performing the menial duties in
the household, as Craig Perry argues on the basis of the Cairo Geniza docu-
ments.[645] The listening certificates of Damascus suggest that women tended to
own female rather than male slaves, which explains the relatively high proportion
of female slave-owners in this sample group.

Fifthly, many manumitters lived in, or were connected to, other cities. Con-
sidering both direct (*min, bi*) and indirect (*nisba*) descriptors of origin or resi-
dence, we count two owners from Damascus, five from Aleppo, one from the
Maghreb, and only one who is described as 'in Jerusalem'.[646] The direct de-
scriptors in particular are tied to professional designations, e. g. 'he is a slave
trader in Aleppo', rather than included as a general rule.[647] The data is in-
complete, but it suggests that this sample group had strong ties to other urban
centres in Syria.

This notion is supported by the physical absence of many heirs. Since the
primary *raison d'être* of the estate inventories was the lawful division of the
inheritance and the safeguarding of the heirs' rights, notaries took care to record
whether the stipulated heirs were resident in Jerusalem or abroad. If they were
abroad, measures were taken to ensure that they would receive their share of
the inheritance at a later stage.[648] The sample group of documents lists a total of
thirty-one legal heirs, excluding the state treasury. Out of these, twelve are listed
as absent from Jerusalem. Five were in Aleppo, one each were in Damascus, the
Hijaz, Alexandria, Cairo (*al-Qāhira*) and Egypt (*Miṣr*), and two were listed simply

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644 Ḥ 57.
645 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 66–69.
646 Ḥ 57, 60, 249, 411, 438, 495, 512, 555, 713.
647 Ḥ 555.
648 Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 418–20.

as 'absent'. The remaining nineteen heirs were in Jerusalem. Six of them were specified to be present in the city, while the location of the remaining thirteen was not specified. This last group includes small children and spouses of testators, which makes it likely that they were part of the same household or social group as the testators and that the notary thought it self-evident that they were present and known to the involved parties.

The names of the manumitted slaves allow a tentative division into light-skinned 'Turkish' and darker-skinned slaves, in accordance with the analysis in section 3.2.1.[649] Unfortunately, only two testators are described with ethnic nisba adjectives, one as *al-turkiyya* and one as *al-armaniyya.* To make up for this shortfall, we can study their names. Each of the testators is described by their personal name followed by the fictional 'daughter (or son) of the servant of God' (*bin / bint ʿAbd Allāh*), which marks converts and imported slaves in particular. Six of the testators have unmistakably Turkish personal names like Quṭlūmalik and Yalkhāṭūn. Due to the custom of renaming imported slaves, it is unlikely that all of them were Turks in the modern ethnic sense; but these names are nevertheless indicative of lighter skin, since they were used in this sense throughout the documentary source-base of the present study. At least half a dozen others have descriptive personal names that are typical of renamed dark-skinned slaves, like Ghazāl (gazelle), Farḥa (joy), and Suwayda (melancholy).[650] The remaining names were either more conventionally Arabic like Jurayr, which features three times, or illegible. This data supports the hypothesis that many Mamluk slaves were imported from the Turkish north and the Ethiopian south.

Many of the manumitted testators lived in the al-Maghāriba ('people of the west') quarter of Jerusalem. While some notaries scrupulously described the location of the abode of the testator, others completely omitted this information. Eleven of the inventories explicitly state in which quarter the testator lived. This results in a geographical concentration of five testators in the *ḥārat al-maghāriba*, surrounded by a wide geographical spread which includes the district of the wheat market (*khuṭṭ sūq al-qamḥ*) and the quarter of the grape merchants near the Ḥiṭṭa gate (*ḥārat al-ʿannāba bi-bāb ḥiṭṭa*).[651] This indicates that these manumitted slaves were socially integrated and did not live in segregated quarters. It is interesting to note that this group of manumitted testators, some of whom were dark-skinned, was centred on a quarter that was named after the inhabitants of the western Islamic world (*ḥārat al-maghāriba*), rather than in

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649 See section 3.2.1. and the corresponding passage in: al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿuqūd*, 1996, 1:79–80.

650 See Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 235–36; Similar data was found in the Geniza documents: Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:137–40.

651 Ḥ 269, 403, 462, 489, 495; Ḥ 512; Ḥ 555. For an overview of the residential quarters of Jerusalem, see Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 241–46.

one of the quarters named after 'the Blacks' (*ḥārat al-sūdān*) or 'the Ethiopians' (*ḥārat al-ḥabash*).[652] This can be at least partially explained by the Huda Lutfi's observations that the al-Maghāriba quarter was the most populous quarter and that most quarters were heterogenous, rather than ethnic ghettos.[653]

6.3   Socio-economic Status

We see a remarkably broad socio-economic spectrum in this sample group. Judging from the items as well as the standing financial obligations contained in the inventories, we can situate these women on a scale of prosperity. The notaries normally described the quality and quantity of their clothes and of any household items that they professed to own. They were also careful to question stakeholders about outstanding debts and payments which were due to the testator.

This methodology has its weaknesses, because the inventories do not contain item valuations and we cannot be sure that the testators told the notaries about all of their possessions. According to the Mamluk interpretation of Islamic inheritance law, the state treasury acted as the default beneficiary of the disposable part of the inheritance not allocated to the legal heirs.[654] This raises the question whether testators or their family members sought to conceal valuables in order to sidestep the authorities.[655] In many of the examined documents, the testators took care to stipulate that their spouses did not owe them any money, clothes, or other articles. Such debts would count towards the overall value of the inheritance and could have been confiscated by the state; it was better to be clear that no such debts existed.[656] However, only a few of the manumitted slaves in the sample group were affected by the above rule, since the manumitter (or his heirs) in most cases took the role of 'default heir', rather than the state treasury.

Furthermore, Müller argues that the notaries only recorded the possessions which were physically in Jerusalem or its environs. This would exclude, for example, any property left behind in Aleppo and Damascus, where some of the manumitted testators had documented social ties. On the other hand, very few of them appear to have been affluent enough to leave behind substantial property in another city. An additional limitation of this study is that one of the twenty-four inventories is not in fact a complete estate inventory, but rather a testamentary

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652 Ibid., 242.
653 Ibid., 246, 250.
654 Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 398.
655 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 86.
656 Müller discusses this issue here: Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*, 399.

deposition which lacks a list of physical items.[657] This document is excluded from the analysis below.

Despite the above limitations, a tentative socio-economic classification of the documented testators is possible. As suggested by the selected translated inventories presented in section 6.1, the sample group covers a wide socio-economic range. The majority of testators, however, can be classified as residing at the bottom third of the societal socio-economic spectrum. The great majority of them wore clothes that were described by the notaries as worn or shabby (*khalaq*) and made of cheap materials such as linen (*kattān*). Likewise, the small sums specified as debts or loans suggest that these were women of very limited means. In light of this, is interesting to note that none of the testators lived in the same house as their former masters. This indicates a measure of social and fiscal independence, which may have been involuntary. It also suggests that the attested continuation of social ties between masters and freed slaves was not significantly hindered by spatial segregation.

The clearest indicator of social status to be found in the documents is the quantity and quality of the textile items owned by the testators. The first part of the inventory recorded by the notary was in all but a few cases 'the clothes on her body', followed by a list of the spare clothes and related textile items like mattresses and pillows owned by the testator. It appears that these clothes, which seem mundane to the modern observer, who is conditioned by an industrialized and consumerist society, were the most valuable things that many of these testators owned. Most of the manumitted slaves wore very simple clothes made of linen, cotton, or wool, mostly of white colour. A typical example is Dilshatān, who was found dead and subsequently described by an attending notary: 'The clothes on her body are a white linen shirt (*qamīz*) and a torn white outer garment (*qabāʾ*). On her head, there are three cotton kerchiefs (*mindīl*).'[658] In a few cases, the list of textiles stretched over a dozen lines and included expensive clothes with silk, embroidery, and velvet elements, but this was rare. Judging from these clothes, the majority of manumitted testators were poor, but not destitute.

In some cases, the testators owned nothing more than the basic necessities of life. In the case of Ghazāl, all that was found to be in her possession beyond the clothes on her body was 'a shabby spare shirt (*qamīz*), a shabby and torn blue cover (*milḥafa*), a torn blanket (*liḥāf*), and an old carpet (*bisāṭ*).'[659] The inventories contain few items of furniture, but they generally list the constituent parts of the 'bed' of the testator. This usually consisted of a small mattress (*tarrāḥa*), pillows (*mikhda*), and cushions (*maqʿad*). In Ghazāl's example, these

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657 Ḥ 411.
658 Ḥ 462. For a list of textile items see Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 295–96.
659 Ḥ 269.

bedding items are substituted by an old carpet and a torn blanket – it appears that this freedwoman was too poor to afford a mattress or pillows to sleep on. The quality and quantity of these bedding items generally corresponds to the quality and quantity of the other textile items in a given inventory.

Besides these textiles, the inventories listed household items like boxes and dishes. The prevalent materials were wood and copper. The more affluent testators also owned more luxurious items. One freedwoman, who seems to have been significantly richer than any of the other testators in this sample, owned gold jewellery, pearls, and ambergris.[660] Most freedwomen, however, owned a few copper bowls and a wooden box at most. Again, this suggests that most of them were of limited means, but not destitute.

A few inventories mention debts which the testators owed to other people or which were owed to them. One freedwoman owed seventy dirhams to her divorced husband.[661] If one assumes the monthly rent of a cheap room to be three dirhams, then this would have constituted a considerable sum in this social milieu.[662] Another freedwoman owed thirty dirhams to her neighbour, and another owed ten dirhams.[663] Two further inventories list outstanding bride prices; the amounts of seven dinars and seven hundred dirhams seem very high, but it was customary to inflate bride prices in documents, without the intention of ever paying them.[664]

Only one inventory contains sufficient information to determine the profession of the testator.[665] This reflects a similar pattern among the wider group of testators. Women were usually not recorded with occupational names, because the patriarchal structure of society idealised the seclusion of women in the homes of male relations to the detriment of independent labour.[666] In the inventory in question, the profession of the female testator is apparent only because her inventory contains the tools of the textile trade. One of the primary activities of women in the urban productive sector was the combing and spinning of flax, cotton, and wool, because they could perform this in the privacy of their homes.[667] This manumitted slave owned a considerable amount of unprocessed and processed textile materials, colouring brushes for clothes, and other tools.[668] She was not married, had no children, and had previously been owned by a female

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660 Ḥ 713.
661 Ḥ 724.
662 Ḥ 57, see below.
663 Ḥ 403 and 57.
664 Ḥ 512 and 438. For a discussion of the bride price see section 4.2 and in Rapoport, *Marriage*, 54.
665 Ḥ 403.
666 Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 280.
667 Ibid., 320–21.
668 Ḥ 403.

mistress. It is likely that she had performed similar work before her manumission and now continued to perform it to sustain herself.

Besides the above case, only one other inventory contains sufficient information to determine the source of income that maintained the testator.[669] Like the freed slave who married her master, this freedwoman lived in a house that was endowed to her (*bi-dār sakanihā al-mawqūf ʿalayhā*). Unfortunately, the inventory does not mention who had endowed it to her. Since her husband was also a freed slave and therefore most likely of limited means, it is likely that her Damascene mistress had endowed the house. This house was also her primary means of income, since she rented it out to other women. The inventory records that 'al-Ḥājja Fāṭima owes her the remainder of the rent for the month of Shawwāl, one dirham and a half and a fourth, for the rent of her house [*ujrat sakanihā*] and al-Sayyida Lāmighā owes her three dirhams for the month of Shawwāl'.[670] She herself owed ten dirhams to another woman. These are small sums compared to the debts of thirty and seventy dirhams owed by other testators.[671] Her clothes were simple, and her inventory contains few items of value. Despite her relatively advantaged position as a landlady, it appears that this freedwoman lived an austere life of limited means – or that her assets had been successfully hidden from the eyes of the state.

Finally, there is one rather complex case involving a freedwoman owning a slave girl. This freedwoman, Lūkar *al-turkiyya*, was visited by a notary because she was physically ill and saw death approaching, which was the normal procedure leading to the creation of the estate inventories.[672] But she was too weak to speak for herself, so the notary interviewed those around her. This included her 'slave girl (*jāriyya*) called Bad al-Khayr', whose name may be translated as 'beginning of goodness'. This slave was also the final object in Lūkar's list of possessions. This list contains worn clothes including a Venetian shirt and a few copper items, but nothing of substantial value. How, then, could this woman afford to buy and maintain a slave?

The answer lies in her social relations. She had previously been the slave of a lady named al-Sitt Āymalik bint Qutlūtamur al-Nāṣirī, whose title in combination with the title of her father indicate a noble *mamlūk* connection. Perhaps this Bad al-Khayr was Āymalik's 'goodbye present' for Lūkar, her loyal maidservant of many years. She was a resident in the *ribāṭ al-malakiyya*, which made her the only manumitted testator to have lived in a *ribāṭ*.[673] Much hinges on the subtleties of what constituted a *ribāṭ* in this time and place, but considering that her absent

669 Ḥ 57.
670 Ḥ 57.
671 Ḥ 724 and 403.
672 Ḥ 130.
673 For a list of rubuṭ in Jerusalem, see Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya*, 115, 252–53.

husband is described as *al-ṣūfī*, it is likely that she lived in this institution due to his association with a Sufi religious order.[674] According to these indicators, she was a woman of modest means, but with the institutional and social support of a husband, a Sufi *ribāṭ*, and perhaps of a wealthy mistress. The listening certificates of Damascus show that manumitted slaves occasionally owned slaves. This estate inventory confirms that this was also the case in Jerusalem. It also shows that these manumitted slave-owners were not necessarily wealthy themselves, which in turn illustrates that it was not only rich people who owned slaves, but members of the middle and lower-middle classes as well.

The estate inventories from among the Ḥaram documents indicate the importance of the continuation or cessation of master-slave relations past manumission for the material well-being and social integration of slaves. While many of the testators appear to have lived relatively autonomous yet austere lives, a few of them maintained relations to their previous owners. One of them had even married her master and profited immensely from this. These sources attest to a fundamental trade-off between the severing of ties, independence, and poverty on one side and continued ties, integration and wealth on the other side. The agency of slaves was directly affected by this dynamic, since poverty constrained the social independence of freed slaves, while the continuation of close ties could have a similar effect. Ultimately, the inventories attest to a wide variety of paths chosen by liberated female slaves, which suggests that this social group possessed a considerable measure of freedom of choice within societal limits.

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674 Alternatively, this may have been a charitable house for pilgrims or the poor. See also J. Chabbi and Nasser Rabbat, 'Ribāṭ', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill Online, 2007 1960).

Conclusions

The preceding chapters have traced the life of imported slaves from slave markets to households and on to later stations in life such as integration, accommodation, and manumission. Throughout these stages, their ability to shape their world was determined to a great extent by the framework of the master-slave relationship and their negotiating power within this relationship. Slave agency was channelled by this relationship, which determined their position in the patriarchal household and in wider society. The extent to which slaves were able to make decisions to determine their own fate depended on the roles they were assigned within the household at specific points in their life. The most important point was the selection and purchase process on the slave market, which was closely tied to the assignment of a gender-specific role within the household. In the case of concubines and skilled slaves, the assignment of a role was often accompanied by the promise and legal guarantee of eventual liberation due to an increase in the relative bargaining power of the slave relative to the master. The liberation of a slave was accompanied by varying degrees of social and economic continuity within the master-slave relationship. While manumission marked a significant shift and increase in terms of the legal agency of slaves, the social reality of their lives often continued to be shaped by the bond between master and slave.

This concluding section draws together the arguments of the previous chapters and situates them in the context of the debates presented in the introduction. The focus lies on the concept of agency in the context of the master-slave relationship and the conceptual framework of the household. This section argues that slaves were not powerless objects but possessed a measure of agency which was evident in their capacity to negotiate the relationship with their master.

This study has made the agency of slaves visible through the analysis of historically specific master-slave relationships. The documents and treatises studied in the preceding chapters shed light on the relational agency of slaves in the context of the patriarchal household and in wider society. As set out by Schiel, Schürich, and Steinbrecher, this interagency posits the master-slave relationship as the unit of analysis and allow for the study of slave agency in historical

situations which lack ego documents.[675] This relationship was defined by a
constant process of negotiation between its constituent actors, which determined
the unit's interaction with other actors. The relational approach allows for the
consideration of intermediaries that channelled interagency.[676] In the context of
Ayyubid and Mamluk society, actors, institutions, and legal practices external to
the slave-master relationship acted as intermediaries which channelled slave
agency. Through these intermediaries, slaves wielded situational legal agency
which strengthened their negotiating power within the master-slave relationship
and thus increased their ability to shape their social reality within the household
and in wider society.

Slave Markets

The master-slave relationship began in the slave market, where prospective
owners chose their servants. The reduction of the enslaved person to chattel and
their symbolic degradation in the physical setting of the market was formative in
regard to the unequal nature of the future relationship. In this setting, inter-
agency was channelled by two intermediaries. Brokers initiated the master-slave
relationship by marketing slaves and facilitating their passage from one owner
to another. Their actions and advertising influenced the purpose and role within
the household for which slaves were bought. Additionally, agency in the slave
market was shaped by legal regulations concerning commercial practice, physical
inspections, and contractual passages in which slaves formally acknowledged
their servitude. These regulations appear to have been designed mainly to pre-
vent and alleviate the abuse of slaves within such a fundamentally hostile envi-
ronment, thus strengthening their agency by ascribing a measure of humanity
and rights to protection from physical harm to them. On the other hand, the need
to formulate and propagate these regulations suggests that slaves were subject to
systematic abuse on urban slave markets.

   The dislocation and degradation they suffered following their enslavement
and on the slave market rendered them into what has been characterised by
Orlando Patterson as natally alienated, deracinated individuals.[677] While his
argument regarding the relative powerlessness and social death of slaves is not
fully applicable to the Mamluk context, the profound dislocation which underlies
these concepts was indeed a formative element of the nascent relationship be-

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675 Schiel, Schürch, and Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden', 22–24.
676 Ibid., 26, 30; For the role of objects as mediators of social agency, see also Despret, 'From
       Secret Agents to Interagency', 39.
677 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.

tween a buyer and a bought slave. The demographic data analysed above suggests that the overwhelming majority of slaves were imported from abroad and entered their master's household in a state of social alienation and without a supporting network of kin and friends. Their socialization within the household conferred upon them a new identity which was centred around the bond they formed with their master in the context of the household, as analysed by Ehud Toledano in the context of late Ottoman slavery.[678] Their participation or rejection of this new identity was an expression of slave agency, though our sources almost exclusively attest to cases in which this process of assimilation was successful.

Households, Integration, Kinship

The participation of slaves and freed slaves in social gatherings in the houses of their masters as documented in the listening certificates of Damascus exemplifies their deep and long-term integration into slave-holding households. Slaves became part of the household in the sense of the extended family unit of their owners. This can be seen in the listening certificates, but also in the case study of the young female slave Khulayfa, her manumitted mother, and her owners in Upper Egypt as well as in the contract certifying the marriage of two slaves in Cairo.[679] Slaves acquired what has been described as kinship ties with other members of the household.[680] The most important of these ties was the bond with their owner, who was in most cases the patriarch of the household, though the documentary shows that ownership patterns were complex and that many female slaves and even male slaves were in fact owned by female masters. This is particularly apparent in the listening certificates of Damascus, which document the joint attendance of female masters with their female slave attendants. These kinship ties replaced the kinship networks which had been destroyed by the acts of enslavement and deportation from the native regions of imported slaves and by the act of (re-) sale of previously owned and socialized slaves. The documented continuation and long-term nature of master-slave ties beyond the point of manumission attests to the quality and durability of these ties.

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678 Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 24–34.

679 See sections 2.2 and 4.2.

680 Please refer to the discussion in the section 'The Master-Slave Relationship' in the Introduction for more details, as well as the following authors. Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 46, 100, 101, 275; Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*, 31; Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 15; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 70, 74, 105; Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 95; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 108–16.

These kinship ties were strongest when they were reinforced by marriage, concubinage or childbearing. As in the case of Khulayfa and her mother Zubayda[681], the documented cases among the testators from Jerusalem[682] suggest that those domestic slaves who were connected to the household of their master through the birth of children or other sexual ties remained closest to their masters after manumission, compared to those of their peers who did not share such bonds. Though coercion and a lack of sexual consent played a central role in master-slave sexual relations, it is reasonable to follow Craig Perry's assessment of concubinage as a strategy of social accommodation and to extend this assessment to the marriage of slaves to their owners and other members of the host society as documented in estate inventories of Jerusalem.[683] The documented instances of this strategy of accommodation were successfully implemented and evidently beneficial for the concerned slaves, though the repeated marriages of the freed slave Zumurrud were more likely to have been motivated by the desire to avoid poverty and provide for her children rather than as a conscious strategy of social accommodation.[684] Sexual ties could also be turned to the immediate advantage of the slave by appealing to the court system to act as an intermediary of slave agency by interposing itself into the master-slave relationship on behalf of the slave. The formularies studied above strongly suggest that courts intervened to protect the rights of concubines who gave birth to the children of their owners.[685]

The household has served as a framing model for the discussion of slavery and slave agency.[686] The basic concept of a household as consisting of its patriarch and his family members, slaves, free attendants, and clients continues to apply, but the documentary evidence requires a re-orientation towards households smaller and less affluent than the elite households which tend to be the focus of scholarly debate. The modest material standing of many slave-owning households is reflected in a variety of source genres as analysed above and can be illustrated by the prevalence of the shared ownership of slaves.

The content and style of the documents concerning the sale of the Khulayfa in Upper Egypt strongly suggest that she was the only slave servant of the family who

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681 See section 2.2.
682 See chapter 6.
683 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 148–49, 219.
684 See section 4.2.
685 See setion 4.1.
686 See the following works as discussed in the introduction. Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos*, 95; Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt*, 17; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 63–64; Rapoport, *Marriage*, 82; Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 1–45; Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent*; Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants'; Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles'.

owned her jointly.[687] She was bought to support the young family in domestic work, being jointly owned by husband and wife, and was subsequently passed down as a gift to the next generation to be owned jointly by the two young brothers. This household did not include a harem, nor a band of client mamluks, and thus did not compete in the realm of high politics. The artisanal and mercantile professional designators of its male members suggest that it was not primarily a scholarly family that competed for patronage and prestige in the scholarly realm. In this case, a nuclear family of modest wealth shared a slave for the purpose of domestic service.

The documentary evidence suggests that domestic slaves such as Khulayfa were inherited from generation to generation and may have represented a considerable part of the movable inheritance. The sixth certificate of sale from Jerusalem[688] documents a case in which the wives, sisters, and daughters of a patriarch jointly inherited his slave, whom they chose to sell off in order to split the proceeds. The listening certificates of Damascus similarly record several cases in which siblings had inherited a slave from their father, jointly owned them and brought them along to reading sessions.[689] This adds to the impression that most slave-holding households owned only small numbers of slaves. It is likely that the number of slaves per household declined further during the fifteenth century due to a scarcity of external supply, as suggested by the work of Loiseau, Barker, and Rapoport.[690] The large number of Ethiopian slave mothers in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary indicates that the shortage of northern slaves was to some extent offset by a relative increase in the number of southern slaves, though perhaps not in the military realm.[691]

Manumission, Continuity and Independence

The act of manumission increased the slave's relative legal and social power of negotiation within the master-slave relationship, in turn increasing their capacity to exert their individual will. In many cases, master and slave continued to be linked by a durable legal and social bond within a renewed clientage-patronage relationship. Nur Sobers-Khan has argued that in the case of sixteenth-century slavery in Galata, manumission represented a renewed form of subjugation due

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687 See section 2.2.

688 See section 2.3.

689 See section 3.2.4.

690 See the discussion of the following works in the introduction. Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*, 25–26. 63–64; Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants', 119–38, 183, 236–41; Rapoport, 'Women', 13–16, 30, 46.

691 See section 4.1.

to the tightening of the socio-psychological bonds between master and slave.[692] In contrast to this, the documentary evidence from Ayyubid and Mamluk society suggests that the social experience of manumitted slaves varied widely and strongly depended on their previous function within the household of their master. On one end of the spectrum, freed slaves like Zubayda remained closely tied to their previous owners.[693] On the other end, freed slaves like Zumurrud were cut off completely from their masters and struggled to make ends meet, effectively joining the ranks of the urban poor.[694] In the middle of the spectrum, many slaves maintained ties to the household of their patrons, attending listening sessions at their homes and remaining within the same social circles.[695] The estate inventories suggest that those manumitted slaves who pursued strategies of sexual accommodation remained closest to their patrons.[696]

Manumission widened the social agency of slaves by giving them a greater degree of choice when choosing their friends, acquaintances, and partners. It removed them from the immediate control of their owners, though the practical constraints of social independence remained stronger if they remained within the household of their owner or chose to remain closely associated with it. Many freed slaves chose to marry outside their master's household and in effect founded their own small familial households, as recorded in the estate inventories and court records of Jerusalem.[697] It is likely that the extent to which slaves remained tied to their patrons in a social sense depended both on the individual choice of the slave and on the quality of the personal bond between master and slave.

Nur Sobers-Khan argues that no one was free in the absolute sense of the word in the pre-modern world, since both enslaved and 'free' members of the Muslim community were subject to 'equally strict set[s] of rules and obligations'.[698] While this assumption of the equivalence of unfreedom may be a step too far, her point regarding the absence of 'absolute' freedom serves to illuminate the complex situation of manumitted slaves, who gained the status of equal and 'free' members of Muslim society while also remaining permanently tied to their previous owners through an unequal bond of patronage, effectively curtailing their freedom and legal agency. In this study, the unequal nature of the bond of patronage becomes most apparent in the role of manumitters as heirs in the estate

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692 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 277, 323–24.
693 See section 2.2.
694 See section 4.2.
695 See section 3.2.3.
696 See chapter 6.
697 See sections 6.2 and 4.2.
698 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 278, 324.

inventories of freed slaves in Jerusalem.[699] This indissoluble legal bond of patronage-clientship was one of the inescapable 'sets of rules and obligations' which tied individuals together into groups and communities in the pre-modern world. While it restricted the legal agency of freed slaves, for example by making their manumitter and his descendants the client's primary heirs and thereby removing the ability of naming heirs of their choosing from the client, this legal disability did not *in principle* distinguish manumitted slaves from their free-born peers. Free-born persons were similarly bound by sets of rules and obligations determined by their religious, ethnic, and professional identities, as argued by Sobers-Khan.[700]

The patronage-clientship of freed slaves and their previous owners therefore represents one among many factors which determined the extent to which slaves were able to implement their own choices within the household of their masters and in wider society. The variability of experience is underscored by a number of exceptions regarding the role of manumitters as the primary heirs of their clients in the estate inventories of Jerusalem, where it was the husband or the state treasury who were recorded as heirs of freed slaves.[701] The complexities of life hindered the implementation of legal principles; it is likely that, on occasion, the geographical distance and a lack of regular contact between client and patron weakened their social bond, so that the responsible judge and the recording notary were not able to enforce their legal bond regarding rules of inheritance.

Reproduction, Rights, Enslavement at Birth

The materials analysed in the present study shed new light on the phenomenon of a sub-group of slaves characterised by Shaun Marmon as 'house-born'.[702] These *muwallad* slaves formed a prominent minority within a largely imported slave population.[703] Their presence suggests that the sexuality and reproduction of slaves in Ayyubid and Mamluk society was not confined to the dynamics of concubinage and marriage as set out in normative works of law and literature, since children born as house-born slaves had either been renounced by a free father or had two slave parents.[704] The underlying household dynamics and intra-family conflicts are only hinted at in the surviving sources, such as in formularies

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699 See chapters 5 and 6 and the table 'Freed Slaves as Testators in Jerusalem, 1384–1395' in appendix 2.
700 Sobers-Khan, 'Slaves without Shackles', 278, 324.
701 See the table 'Freed Slaves as Testators in Jerusalem, 1384–1395' in appendix 2.
702 Marmon, 'Domestic Slavery in the Islamic Middle East: A Preliminary Sketch', 4, 11.
703 See section 2.2, 3.2.1 and 4.3.
704 See sections 1.3.3, 4.1 and 4.2.

intended to record the outcome of the struggle of child-bearing slaves to be awarded the protected status of *umm walad*.[705]

Craig Perry's work indicates that *muwallad* slaves had been a visible minority among domestic slaves in previous centuries.[706] The Muslim households which are the focus of the present study were subject to a different set of laws than the Jewish households investigated by Perry.[707] The additional legal protections for slaves in Muslim law facilitated a different social dynamic, as exemplified by the ability of concubines to sue their masters in court.[708] The interjection of legal regulations and the court system into the master-slave relationship thereby increased the legal and social agency of slaves and acted as an intermediary within the framework set out by Schiel et al.[709] Nevertheless, the persistent presence of a group of domestically born and socialized slaves documented by a variety of genres across several centuries suggests that social practice did not align completely with the normative vision of a rigidly-structured patriarchal household as set out in works of law and literature.[710]

The enslavement by birth implicit in the concept of *muwallad* slavery changes the dynamic of the master-slave relationship. In the context of Orlando Patterson's model of slavery and social death, the native socialization of slaves into households removes the elements of deracination and uprooting which are essential to the slave's absolute lack of power relative to their master.[711] Since they were raised within household, their native social network was not broken by the act of enslavement and importation, which put non-*muwallad* slaves at a comparative disadvantage within the master-slave relationship. The breaking of the native master-slave bond by the act of selling the slave to another household negated this advantage, however, by removing the slave from his native social circle.[712]

Conclusion

This study has rendered the agency of slaves visible by analysing historically specific master-slave relationships within the context of Ayyubid and Mamluk households. The ability of slaves to shape the world around them was under-

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705 See section 4.2.
706 Perry, 'The Daily Life of Slaves', 38–39, 161–66.
707 Ibid., 166.
708 See section 4.1.
709 Schiel, Schürch, and Steinbrecher, 'Von Sklaven, Pferden Und Hunden', 26, 30.
710 See the discussion of advice literature in chapter 1 and the discussion of *shurūṭ* in chapter 5.
711 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.
712 See the example of Khulayfa in section 2.2.

pinned by a constant process of negotiation within the master-slave relationship. In this relationship, external intermediaries strengthened the bargaining power of slaves and channelled their agency. The sources analysed in this study suggest that regulations, laws, and the court system acted as the most important intermediaries of slave agency, but this assessment may be skewed due to the close association of the surviving documentary and literary sources with the legal system. It is likely that an additional and perhaps more important intermediary were the social and artisanal skills and capacities which slaves employed to better their lives and integrate into the households of their masters. This includes the personal ties of loyalty and affection which bound members of households together, acquiescence to arrangements of concubinage, and the use of skilled labour to earn money and pay towards a contractually agreed deferred liberation. The act of manumission transformed the agency of slaves and inducted them into the community of free Muslims, but they remained legally and, in many cases, socially tied to their master.

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Appendix 1: Key Documents

This section comprises photographic reproductions and transcriptions of selected documents used throughout the study. The corresponding translations can in most cases be found in the text of the study. In those cases where the text contains only a partial translation, the appendix likewise contains only a partial transcription. Listening certificates are not transcribed, because they are essentially list of names and the transcription would therefore be nearly identical to the translation.

The documents of the al-Ḥaram al-Sharif in Jerusalem are listed as 'Ḥaram [number of document]'. They have been used with the permission of the Islamic Studies Library at McGill University. The listening certificates found in libraries in Istanbul are listed as '[name of catalogue] [catalogue number of manuscript]' or under the designation found in Stefan Leder's *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt.*[713] For documents not reproduced here, please refer to the publications cited in the text of the study, notably Yusuf Ragib's *Actes de vente* and the articles by Donald Little.[714]

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713 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Ṣuwar al-makhṭūṭāt.*
714 Ragib, *Actes de vente*; Little, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors'; Little, 'Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds'.

Carullah 290

Page 87 A of ms. CARULLAH290. Reproduced with the permission of the Süleymaniye Manuscripts Library Directorate in Istanbul.

Fe 259

Page 215 A of ms. Fe259. Reproduced with the permission of the Millet Library in Istanbul.

Ḥaram 60

The Ḥaram documents were reproduced with the permission of the Islamic Studies Library of McGill University.

<div dir="rtl">

1 | بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم نستعين به

2 | بتاريخ سبع وعشرين من شهر ذي قعدة من شهور سنة خمسة وتسعين

3 | حصل الوقوف على امراة ميتة لا روح فيها تسمى قطلول

4 | ابنت عبد الله عتاقة خواجة عز الدين بكتمر بن عبد الله الدوري

5 | التاجر بمينة حلب المحروسة مطلقة الحاج محمد بن

6 | الادمي الحاضر معها بالقدس الشريف والذي ذكر زوجها المطلق توما (؟)

7 | المذكور انها ميتة تملك ثياب بدنها خلق جبة بيضاة خلق قندرورة من قبعة

8 | وخف ونقاب ورفيق وشعرية ومنديلين وذكر لها

9 | خلق ملحف وخلق منديل وخلق لباس وخلق *تسائح* (؟) و

10 | لا تملك سوى ذلك و مستحق ارثها معتيقها المذكور اعلاه

11 | بمقتضى ورقة بيد المطلق الإقرار أشهد لها بذلك بتاريخها

12 | حادي عشرين من شهر شوال سنة احد وتسعين وسبعماية وبذكر المطلق المذكور

13 | وصاحب الكريم محمد بن احمد بن السيقل وسطر ذلك حسب الإذن الكريم

14 | العالي القضي الشرفي الأنصاري الشافعي الحاكم

15 | بالقدس الشريف اسبغ الله ظلاله وبه تم الوقوف في التاريخ أعلاه

وقفت على المذكورة في تاريخه
كتبه
(illegible)
وقفت على المذكورة في تاريخه
كتبه
خليل بن يوسف الحنفي

</div>

Ḥaram 495

1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2	بتاريخ ثانى عشرين شهرذى القعدة سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعمائة حصل الوقوف على ضعيفة بحارة المغاربة تدعى
3	قطلوملك بنت عبد الله عتاقة ناصر الدين محمد بن ايذغدي الحلبي والذي ذكرت أنها تملكه قميص أزرق
4	وقبا أبيض طاقي وحنين صوف أزرق مارداني وعلى رأسها منديلين بيض وعصابة بيض وملحفة بيضا
5	وبقجة حمرا ضمنها ملحفة بيضا وشعرية وقميص بندقي وقبا أبيض طاقي مستعمل وحنين مشهر
6	بمحرز اسكندري ومنشفة مخمل وفوطة كافوري عتيقة ومقعد مطرز عتيق وشملة قطن وركنية ركينة
7	مطرزة بأزرق ونقاب أبيض ورفيق محرز ورفيق كتان وخلق نقابين بيض ومنديل صفر مقنع
8	وخلق قميص مقطع وكيس أبيض قطن وقصادنين بيض وطاقيتين عتق سطح عتيق ولحاف بوجه
9	صوف أزرق مملا ومحققا وطاسة نحاس وميزر أسود وذكرت أنها لا تملك سوى ما كتب
10	أعلاه ومستحق ارثها زوجها الحاج عبد الله بن يحيى المصرف؟ ومعتقها ناصر الدين محمد المذكور
11	أعلاه الغائب بحلب المحروسة وأقرت أنها لا تستحق في ذمة زوجها المذكور أعلاه حقا ولا
12	بقية من حق ولا صداقا ولا بقية من صداق ولا كسوة ولا نفقة ولا شيئا قل ولا جل
13	وذلك بعد الإذن الكريم العالي القضائي الشرفي الشافعي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف أدام الله أيامه

شهد عليها بذلك

كتبه خليل بن يوسف الحنفي

شهدت عليها بذلك

أحمد بن يوسف

شهدت عليها بذلك

كتبه عمر بن يعقوب ال (illegible)

Ḥaram 445

1 | الحمد الله

2 | بتاريخ العشرين من شوال المبارك سنة ثلث تسعين سبعمائة حصل الوقوف على شخص

3 | ضعيف يسمى الطنبغا بن عبد الله الشهابي عتيق الشيخ فولاد والذي ذكر أنه يملكه

4 | ثياب بدنه قميص أبيض كتان وتشترين (؟) أبيض وشاش عتيق ورفيق قطن وملوطة بيضا

5 | وملوطة قطن خام وكبر وقبع أحمر ورفيق عتيق قطن وسيف مسقط

6 | بحديد وتركاش بلغاري به عشرين قصبة وبه تسع عشر فردة نشاب

7 | وقوس وبه شكر وشاكوش ومهماز مسقط نحاس وخف عتيق

8 | ونشابة عتيقة بلغارية وعناة اصطلبة مركوبة عتيقة و ثوب شرج

9 | جوخ أحمر عتيق والدشرتوب (؟) معقرب و شرج أبيض عتيق جوخي (؟)

10 | بعن (؟) فيه وأقر أن في ذمته للمرأة حاج ملك زوج علاء الدين الطنبغا

11 | السيفي مبلغ مائة درهم نصفها خمسون درهما وفي ذمته أيضا للمرأة الكامل

12 | أم فاطمة المقيمة بدمشق المحروسة مبلغ سبعون درهما وله ما جراية

13 | من قرية بيت اولية وجسر عزتاب ومعلومة السيد عليهما بمبلغ

14 | ستون درهما وجراية قسم عشر امرة وذكر أنه لا يملك خلاف ذلك وان

15 | مستحق ارثه شرعا معتقه المذكور أعلاه وذلك بحضور الأمير

16 | سيف الدين بابوق التمرازي شادّ بيت المال المعمور بالقدس الشريف

17 | ومن يضع خطه عليها من الشهود المندوبين من مجلس الحكم العزيز

18 | الشافعي بالقدس الشريف أدام الله تعالى أيام متوليه في تاريخه

وقفت على المذكور وشهدت على ذلك

كتبه أبر هيم بن محمد بن داود

وقفت على المذكور وشهدت على ذلك في تاريخه المذكور؟

أحمد بن محمد البطائحي الحلبي

وقفت على المذكور وشهدت عليه بذلك

كتبه أحمد بن ثابت الأنصاري

Ḥaram 646
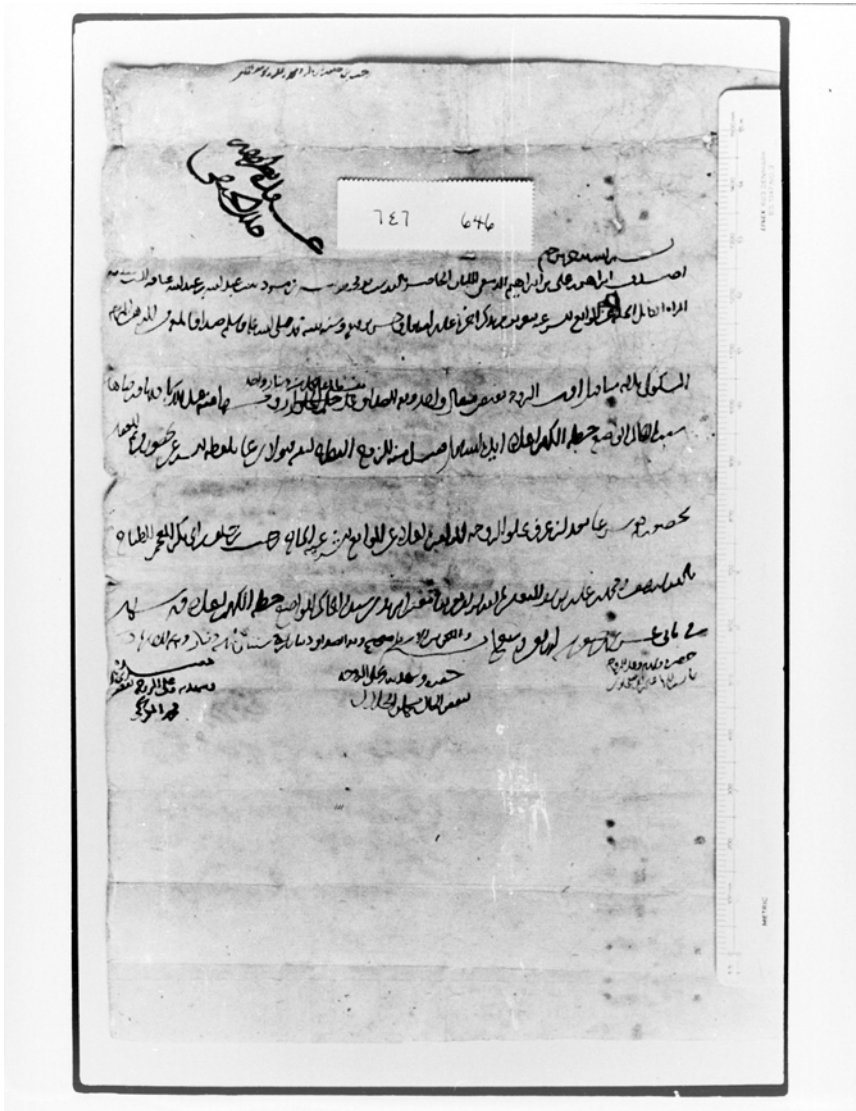
1 | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

2 | أصدق أبراهيم بن علي بن أبراهيم الدمشقي اللبان الحاضر بالقدس الشريف مخطوبته زمرد بنت عبد الله بن عبد الله عتاقة الست ستيتة

3 | المرأة الكامل الخالية عن الموانع الشرعية [...] صداقا مبلغه من *الدنانير* (؟)

4 | المسكوك ثلثة مثاقيل اقرت الزوجة بقبض مثقال واخر بقى الصداق تقسيطا على كل سنة دينار واحد زوجها منه باذنها/*اقر* (؟) صاحبها

5 | سيدنا الحاكم الوضيع خطه المذكور اعلاه/*بده اشهد ان* (؟) يحصل منه الزرج النكاح الشرعي قبولا شرعيا/*تلوطه* (؟) الشرعي بحضور [...]

6 | [...] الطباخ

7 | [...] النقلي [...] في نهار

8 | في ثاني عشر شهر صفر سنة احد تسعين وسبعمائة [...] وبقى الصداق دناران في سنتان [...]

Appendix 2: Tables

Freed Slaves as Testators in Jerusalem, 1384–1395

All data was taken directly from photographs of the manuscripts.
'Doc.' refers to the numbering of Ḥaram documents according to Donald Little.[715]
'Wealth' is estimated relative to the other testators, on a scale of one to ten, see section 6.3.

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715 Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem.*

Doc.	Name	Wealth	Gender	Year	Health	Spouse	Child's Father	Patron	Heir
57	Jurayr	3	female	1391	well	freedman	man	freedwoman and man	son
60	Quṭlūl	3	female	1393	dead	man (divorced)	/	freedman merchant (in Aleppo)	patron
130	Lūkar	4	female	1393	weak	man	/	woman	husband
246	Jurayr	3	female	1393	weak	freedman	/	woman	nephew and husband
249	Narjas	5	female	1393	weak	/	/	man (dead)	patron's brother
269	Ghazāl	2	female	1393	dead	/	patron	man	daughter and son
294	Yalkhāṭūn	8	female	1394	ill	patron	patron	man	patron and son
403	Farḥa	6	female	1394	weak	/	/	woman	patron
411	Yāsmīn	?	female	1393	well	/	patron	amir (dead)	patron's children
438	Faḍl	8	male	1393	weak	woman	/	man	patron and wife
445	Altunbughā	7	male	1391	weak	/	/	scholar	patron
457	Ṭuqṭāyī	5	female	1394	weak	master	/	man	patron
462	Dilshatān	5	female	1394	dead	/	man	man	patron and daughter
489	Būtiyya	5	female	1394	well	/	/	man	brother
495	Quṭlūmalik	6	female	1393	weak	man	/	man (in Aleppo)	patron and husband
512	Alfiyya	7	female	1391	weak	man	/	judge (in Aleppo)	husband and *bayt al-māl*
533	Altunbughā	6	male	1391	weak	/	/	scholar	patron
555	Alfiyya	4	female	1393	dead	man	/	slave trader (in Aleppo, dead)	patron's nephew and husband
679	Nāranj	3	female	1391	ill	scholar	/	scholar (dead)	husband and *bayt al-māl*
687	Quṭlūl	3	female	1393	weak	man	/	administrator	/
713	Ghazāl	9	female	1384	ill	man	/	freedwoman	/

(Continued)

Doc.	Name	Wealth	Gender	Year	Health	Spouse	Child's Father	Patron	Heir
724	Suwayda	4	female	1393	well	man (divorced)	ex-hus-band	scholar	daughter and brother
754	Mubāraka	4	female	1393	well	/	man	man (dead)	daughter and patron's children
762	Fayrūz	5	female	1395	well	cotton mer-chant	/	man (dead)	husband and *bayt al-māl*

Slaves and Freed Slaves in Listening Certificates

This table presents selected data points from the database underlying chapter 3, including *khādim* and *ṭawāshī* eunuchs and *mamālīk*. The underlying issue of terminology is discussed in the introduction and in chapter 3.

'Name': The short vowels in names of non-Arabic origin are approximate.
'Designation': This is the status assigned by the scribe to the individual in question. Multiple recorded designations can indicate a change in status over time.
'Year': If an individual attended gatherings in more than one year, only the first year is listed.
'No.': The number of certificates in which the individual was recorded.
'Source': [archive]:[manuscript or publication]:[folio or page number], e.g. 'Ẓ:L:260'
    'Ẓ' refers to the Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus
    'S' refers to the Süleymaniye manuscript library in Istanbul
    'M' refers to the Millet manuscript library in Istanbul
    'A' refers to the al-Aqsa Mosque Library in Jerusalem
        'L' refers to Stefan Leder's publication of the al-Ẓāhiriyya corpus[716]
        'C290' refers to ms. Carullah290
        'A74' refers to ms. Asirefendi74
        'A551' refers to ms. Ayasofya551
        'Fe259' refers to ms. Fe259
        'EAP' refers to ms. EAP521/1/81[717]
    Only the first relevant folio or page number is listed.
'Nisba': Only geographic and ethnic nisba descriptors are listed here.
'Ethnicity': This is an estimate of the individual's ethnic and geographic origin according to the criteria set out in section 3.2.1.

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716 Leder, Sawwās, and Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt (index volume)*.
717 See pages 362–364 in "المسند الصحيح al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ [1239]" in the online section of the project "Digitisation of manuscripts at the Al-aqsa Mosque Library, East Jerusalem (EAP521)" on the website www.eap.bl.uk – available at the time of writing under https://eap. bl.uk/archive-file/EAP521-1-81.

Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	عتيق	1295	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:379	- .	
ʿAbd al-Hādī	خادم	1461	9	Cairo	M:Fe259:fol. 207r	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:386	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1281	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:386	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1304	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:397	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1305	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:397	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1307	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:397	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1318	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:393	-	Turk
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1319	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:386	- .	
ʿAbd Allāh	عتيق	1321	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:393	-	Turk
ʿAbd Allāh	فتى	1333	1	Cairo	M:Fe259:fol. 58v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
ʿAbd Allāh	فتى	1371	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. cover	-	Turk
Abū Bakr	عتيق	1281	2	?	S:A551:fol. 42r	.	
Abyā	فتى	1230	17	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 21r	الارمني	Turk / Armenian
Aḥmad	خادم	1328	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:176	- .	
Aḥmad	عتيق	1332	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:172	-	Turk
Altibughā	فتى	1375	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 180v	-	Turk
Alṭūn	عتيقة	1224	2	?	S:C290:fol. 88r	الرومية	Turk / Anatolian
Alṭūn	مولاة	1231	3	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 21r	-	Turk
Alṭūn	عتيقة	1319	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:224	-	Turk
Alṭūn	عتيقة	1321	2	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 65v	-	Turk
Altūnbā	فتى	1230	15	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 21r	التركي	Turk
Altūnbā	فتى	1394	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 124r	التركي	Turk
Altunbughā	فتى	1371	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. cover	-	Turk
Amna	عتيقة	1332	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 110r	- .	

(Continued)

Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
ʿAnbar	فتى	1206	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:457	الحبشي	Ethiopian
ʿAnbar	عتيق	1225	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:457	الحبشي	Ethiopian
ʿAnbar	عتيق	1230	3	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 135v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
ʿAnbar	فتى	1236	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:457	الحبشي	Ethiopian
ʿAnbar	فتى	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:457	الهندي	Indian
Anjū	عتيقة	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:225	-	Indian
Aqbars	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1213	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1226	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1230	11	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 65r	التركي	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	-	Turk
Aqush	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:223	الكرجي	Turk / Georgian
Aqūsh	فتى	1223	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:224	التركي	Turk
Aqūsh	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:224	التركي	Turk
Aqūsh	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	-	Turk
Aqūsh	فتى	1268	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:224	الطرابلسي	Turk / Tripoli
Asanbughā	فتى	1369	3	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 67r	-	Turk
Assad	فتى	1207	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:214	التركي	Turk
Assad	فتى	1239	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:214	- .	
Aybak	فتى	1223	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	التركي	Turk

(Continued)

Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Aybak	فتى	1227	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:228	-	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1229	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	التركي	Turk
Aybak	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	الحلبي	Turk / Aleppan
Aybak	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	الورمي	Turk / Anatolian
Aybak	فتى	1240	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	التركي	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1254	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	الكرجي	Turk / Georgian
Aybak	فتى	1265	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	عتيق	1266	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1267	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1271	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	عتيق	1271	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1273	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	عتيق	1273	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1275	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	الأنطاكي	Turk / Antioch
Aybak	فتى	1279	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	عتيق	1300	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aybak	فتى	1304	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aydakīn	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:230	-	Turk
Aydamur	فتى	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:230	التركي	Turk
Aydamur	فتى	1318	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:230	-	Turk
Aydamur	عتيق	1339	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:230	-	Turk
Aydughdī	عتيق	1272	5	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk
Aydughdī	فتى	1299	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:229	-	Turk

(Continued)

Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Aynaʿ	فتى	1306	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 132v	- .	
Badr	فتى	1205	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 118v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Badr	فتى	1205	2	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 86v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Badr	طواشي, فتى	1205	1	?	S:C290:fol. 179r	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Badr	خادم	1205	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 135r	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Badr	فتى	1206	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:233	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Bahādur	فتى	1300	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:251	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Bahādur	فتى	1309	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	-	Turk
Bahādur	فتى	1312	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	-	Turk
Bahādur	فتى, عتيق	1317	5	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	-	Turk
Bahādur	فتى	1331	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Bahādur	فتى	1332	3	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 119r	- .	
Bahādur	عتيق	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Bakmush	فتى	1241	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:249	-	Turk
Baktamur	فتى	1229	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:239	التركي	Turk
Baktamur	فتى	1232	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:239	-	Turk
Baktamur	فتى	1284	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 64v	-	Turk
Baktamur	فتى	1371	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. cover	-	Turk
Baktāsh	عتيق	1332	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:224	-	Turk
Baktūr	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:239	-	Turk
Baktūt	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	-	Turk
Baktūt	فتى	1267	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:239	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Balabān	فتى	1213	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	التركي	Turk

(Continued)

Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Balabān	فتى	1229	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	التركي	Turk
Balabān	فتى	1292	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	-	Turk
Balabān	فتى	1347	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	-	Turk
Balid	فتى	1205	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 64v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Baybars	فتى	1230	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 136r	-	Turk
Baybars	فتى	1238	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:251	التركي	Turk
Baybars	عتيق	1306	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 132v	-	Turk
Baydār	فتى	1330	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:251	-	Persian
Bīhas	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:252	-	Turk
Bilāl	فتى	1227	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:250	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Bilāl	فتى, عتيق	1332	6	Damascus	Ẓ:L:249	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Bilāl	فتى	1332	2	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 119r	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Bīlbak	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:252	-	Turk
Bilbān	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	-	Turk
Bilbān	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	-	Turk
Bilbān	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	التركي	Turk
Bilbān	فتى	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	-	Turk
Būgash	عتيق	1230	13	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 21r	الارمني	Turk / Armenian
Dām as-Surūr	فتاة	1333	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:298	-	.
Dimīja	فتى	1289	1	?	S:C290:fol. 23v	-	.
Dūbughā	فتى	1318	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 223r	-	Turk
Faraj	فتى	1318	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 221v	التكروري	West African
Faraj	فتى	1322	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:469	-	.
Faraj	فتى	1327	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:470	الحبشي	Ethiopian

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Faraj	فتى	1328	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:469	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Ghāsī	غلمان	1251	1	?	S:A551:fol. 43v	- .	
Ghazāla	فتاة	1324	1	Damascus	M:Fe259:fol. 62v	النوبية	Nubian
Ghuṣn	فتاة	1289	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:462	- .	
Ḥalwa	فتاة	1336	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:281	النوبية	Nubian
Hilāl	فتى	1322	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:627	- .	
Ibrāhīm	عتيق	1236	8	Damascus	Ẓ:L:156	- .	
Ismaʿīl	عتيق	1369	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 67r	- .	
Iyās	فتى	1206	1	?	S:A74:fol. 1r	الرومي	Anatolian
Iyās	عتيق	1234	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:228	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Iyās	عتيق	1259	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:228	- .	
Iyās	فتى	1269	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:228	- .	
Jawhar	فتى	1206	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Jawhar	فتى	1227	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	- .	
Jawhar	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	-	Turk
Jawhar	طواشي	1282	8	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	- .	
Jawhar	فتى	1314	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	- .	
Jawhar	فتى	1328	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	- .	
Jawhar	طواشي	1331	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	- .	
Jawhara	جارية	1330	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:260	- .	
Jawhara	عتاقة	1332	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 110r	- .	
Kāfūr	فتى	1206	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:480	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Kāfūr	طواشي	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	- .	
Kāfūr	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:480	-	Ethiopian
Kāfūr	عتيق	1267	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:480	الحبشي	Ethiopian

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Kāfūr	فتى	1290	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:480	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Kalaf	فتى	1371	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. cover	- .	
Kaykaldī	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Kaykaldī	فتى	1273	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Khaḍir	فتى	1280	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:293	- .	
Khāṭūn	عتاقة	1332	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 109v	- Turk	
Khuṭlū	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:294	- Turk	
Khuṭlū	فتى	1273	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:294	- Turk	
Khuṭlubā	فتى	1271	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:294	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Kīd al-Husūd	فتى	1340	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- .	
Lājin	فتى	1332	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 109v	- Turk	
Lājīn	فتى	1253	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Lājīn	فتى	1284	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Lājīn	فتى	1293	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Lājīn	فتى	1296	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Lājīn	عتيق	1332	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:224	- Turk	
Lājīn	فتى	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:484	- Turk	
Luʾluʾ	فتى	1230	16	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 21r	الكرجي	Georgian
Luʾluʾ	فتى	1230	4	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 135v	التركي	Turk
Luʾluʾ	فتى	1239	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:485	- .	
Luʾluʾ	فتى	1272	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:485	- .	
Luʾluʾ	عتيق	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:485	- .	
Luʾluʾa	فتاة	1318	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 222v	الرومية	Anatolian
Luʾluʾa	عتيقة	1330	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:486	- .	
Luʾluʾa	فتاة	1332	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:486	- .	

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Luʾluʾa	عتيقة	1332	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:486	- .	
Mājhān	فتاة	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:486	- Persian	
Marjān	طواشي, فتى	1347	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:580	- Persian	
Masrūr	فتى	1206	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:583	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Masrūr	خادم	1206	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 135r	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Masʿud	فتى	1229	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:583	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Masʿud	فتى	1265	5	Damascus	Ẓ:L:584	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Masʿud	فتى	1321	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:583	- .	
Minqār	فتى	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:612	- .	
Mubārak	فتى, مولى	1316	6	Damascus	Ẓ:L:487	التكروري	West African
Mubārak	فتى	1332	3	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 119r	- .	
Mubārak	فتى	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:486	- .	
Mubārak Shāh	عتيق	1334	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:487	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Mufliḥ	عتيق	1303	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:618	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Muftāḥ	مولى	1324	1	Damascus	M:Fe259:fol. 62v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Muftāḥ	مولى	1324	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:589	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Muḥammad	عتيق	1227	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:510	- .	
Muḥammad	عتيق	1304	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:534	- .	
Muḥammad	عتيق	1326	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:522	- .	
Muḥsin	طواشي	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	- .	
Muḥsin	طواشي, عتيق	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:489	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Naʿma	جارية	1309	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:624	- .	
Nārinj	عتيقة	1303	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:618	- Ethiopian	
Narjis	فتاة	1232	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:621	- .	

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Narjis	فتاة	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:621	- .	
Nashwān	فتى	1268	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:621	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Niẓr	خادم	1230	6	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 135v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Qaymāz	فتى	1220	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:480	-	Turk
Qaymāz	فتى	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	الارمني	Turk / Armenian
Qulūb	عتيقة	1318	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 223r	- .	
Quṭlū	فتاة	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:478	الرومية	Turk / Anatolian
Quṭlubak	فتى	1371	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. cover	-	Turk
Quṭlūbak	فتى	1312	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:478	-	Turk
Quṭlūbughā	فتى	1232	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:478	-	Turk
Quṭlūbughā	فتى	1331	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:478	-	Turk
Quṭlūbughā	فتى	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:478	-	Turk
Rashīd	فتى	1328	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:306	- .	
Rayhān	فتى	1234	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:308	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Rayhān	خادم	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	- .	
Rayhān	عتيق	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:308	- .	
Rayhān	فتى	1254	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:308	الهندي	Indian
Rayhān	طواشي	1274	3	Damascus	Ẓ:L:308	- .	
Saʿd	فتى	1333	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:321	- .	
Ṣafāʾ al-ʿĪsh	فتاة	1288	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:341	التكرورية	West African
Ṣāfī	فتى	1217	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:337	- .	
Saʿīd	فتى	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:322	- .	
Saʿīd	فتى	1335	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:322	- .	
Sakra	فتاة	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:323	- .	

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Sandamur	فتى	1340	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	- .	
Sandamur	فتى	1371	1	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. cover	-	Turk
Sanjar	فتى	1211	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:329	-	Turk
Sanjar	فتى	1230	2	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 65r	-	Turk
Sanjar	فتى	1230	9	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 133r	التركي	Turk
Sanjar	مملوك	1239	1	Cairo	A:EAP:362–364	-	Turk
Sanjar	فتى	1240	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	التركي	Turk
Sanjar	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:329	-	Turk
Sanjar	فتى	1243	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Sanjar	عتيق	1266	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Sanjar	عتيق	1272	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	الحراني	Turk / Harrani
Sanjar	فتى	1281	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	الأرمني	Turk / Armenian
Sanjar	عتيق	1297	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Ṣawāb	خادم, فتى	1230	5	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 135v	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Ṣawāb	فتى	1234	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:343	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Ṣawāb	فتى	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:343	- .	
Ṣawāb	عتيق	1243	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:343	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Ṣawāʾib	عتيق	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:343	الحبشي	Ethiopian
Sayf al-Dīn	عتيق	1267	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:331	- .	
Shafīʿ	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:334	-	Turk
Shafīʿ	عتيق	1273	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:334	- .	
Shamāta	جارية	1332	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 110r	التكرورية	West African
Shaykh	فتى	1229	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:336	التركي	Turk

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Shibl al-Dawla	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:333	- .	
Shukr	فتاة	1251	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:334	- .	
Ṣubayḥ	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:340	. .	
Ṣubḥ	عتيق	1284	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:340	- .	
Sukurmāʾī	فتاة	1461	1	Cairo	M:Fe259: fol. 215r	- .	
Sunqur	فتى	1208	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	التركي	Turk
Sunqur	فتى	1223	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	التركي	Turk
Sunqur	فتى	1230	16	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 21r	الارمني	Turk / Armenian
Sunqur	فتى	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Sunqur	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Sunqur	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Sunqur	فتى	1243	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Sunqur	فتى	1272	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:330	-	Turk
Ṭāwūs	عتيقة	1332	1	Damascus	S:C290:fol. 110r	- .	
Ṭaybughā	فتى	1333	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:347	-	Turk
Ṭūghān	فتى	1309	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:347	-	Turk
Ṭughir	فتى	1347	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:347	-	Turk
Ṭughrīl	فتى	1207	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:347	التركي	Turk
Ṭunbughā	أحد المماليك السلطانية	1306	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:347	-	Turk
ʿUmar	عتيق	1240	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:457	- .	
Uzbak	فتى	1230	13	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 65r	التركي	Turk
Uzbak	فتى	1233	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:212	-	Turk
Uzbak	عتيق	1236	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:212	-	Turk

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Name	Designation	Year	No.	City	Source	Nisba	Ethnicity
Yabrīn	فتى	1232	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:630	- .	
Yaḥyā	مولى	1207	2	Damascus	Ẓ:L:632	-	Turk
Yāqūt	فتى	1230	4	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 135v	التكروري	West African
Yāqūt	فتى	1230	7	Aleppo	S:C290:fol. 65v	التكروري	West African
Yāqūt	فتى	1234	1	?	S:A551:fol. 41v	الرومي	Anatolian
Yāqūt	فتى	1234	1	?	S:A551:fol. 66r	الرومي	Anatolian
Yāqūt	فتى	1251	2	?	S:A551:fol. 122r	المولد	House-born
Yāqūt	عتيق	1271	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:630	الرومي	Turk / Anatolian
Yāsmīn	فتاة	1321	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:630	- .	
Yāsmīn	عتيقة	1330	1	Damascus	Ẓ:L:630	- .	

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