

The Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)

The story told by various chronicles of the last fifty years of the Mamluk state (872–922/1468–1516) confirms how the long-established sale of office served as a source of license for holders of military, religious, and administrative office.¹ The period under discussion was of course a difficult one for the Mamluk state, the last actually in which issues of foreign aggression and attendant, recurring economic crises were to be addressed.² Did the sale of office, always a valuable source of revenue for the state, expand during this period? If so, into what areas? Also, depending upon whether the required sums were indexed to the office, to the location, or to the date of appointment, they could have had an impact on economic life.

This article considers the following chronicles: *Inbā' al-Haṣr fī Abnā' al-'Aṣr* of al-Ṣayrafī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām* of al-Sakhāwī, *Tārīkh* of al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'liq* of Ibn Ṭawq, *Dhayl Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā' i' al-Duhūr* of Ibn Iyās, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, and *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* of Ibn Ṭūlūn.³ We have often noted that these works, which cover the period at some length, contain gaps—months, if not

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This article has been translated from the French by W. W. Clifford and Vanessa De Gifis.

¹Cf. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *Al-Badhl wa-al-Baṭṭalāh* (Cairo, 1979), and in particular the first chapter which treats problems of venality before the accession of the Mamluks to power, 25–39.

²Cf. Gaston Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, vol. 4 of *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, ed. G. Hanotaux (Paris, 1937), 589–636; Jean-Claude Garcin, *Etats, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, Xe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1992), 1:343–69; Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993); and idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994).

³'Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr fī Abnā' al-'Aṣr* (Cairo, 1980); Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995); 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1988); Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* (Damascus, 2000); 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, "Dhayl Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal," Bodleian MS Huntington 610; Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā' i' al-Duhūr* (Cairo-Wiesbaden, 1960–63); Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* (Beirut-Sidon, 1999); Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1964).



years—though of course the most extensive writings are not always the most instructive on a given issue.⁴ A perusal of the table below will confirm this. Take the example of the first two chronicles, the *Inbā'* and the *Wajīz*. Al-Şayrafī and al-Sakhāwī each record nine cases of venality but in the *Inbā'* the period under consideration is only four years while that in the *Wajīz* is twenty-six, a ratio six times greater. This leads us once more to question not only the sources of information of these authors but their perspective with regard to the given results. How objective or subjective could they be?

CHRONICLES STUDIED AND CASES OF VENALITY REPORTED

Author	Chronicle (years covered)	Cases of Venality
al-Şayrafī (d. 900/1495)	<i>Inbā'</i> (872–76/1468–72)	9
al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497)	<i>Wajīz</i> (872–98/1468–93)	9 (of which 1 is reported in <i>Dhayl</i> , 2 in <i>Badā' i'</i> , 1 in <i>Ḥawādith</i> , and 1 in <i>Mufākahah</i>)
al-Buṣrawī (d. 905/1499–1500)	<i>Tārīkh</i> (871–904/1467–99)	11 (of which 3 are reported in <i>Mufākahah</i>)
Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509)	<i>Ta'liq</i> (885–90/1480–85)	14 (of which 7 are reported in <i>Mufākahah</i>)
'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl (d. 920/1514)	<i>Dhayl</i> (872–96/1468–91)	12 (of which 1 is reported in <i>Wajīz</i> and 7 in <i>Badā' i'</i>)
Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524)	<i>Badā' i'</i> (872–922/1468–1516)	37 (of which 2 are reported in <i>Wajīz</i> , 7 in <i>Dhayl</i> , 2 in <i>Ḥawādith</i> , and 1 in <i>Mufākahah</i>)
Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 934/1528)	<i>Ḥawādith</i> (872–922/1468–1516)	6 (of which 1 is reported in <i>Wajīz</i> , 1 in <i>Tārīkh</i> , 11 in <i>Badā' i'</i> , and 12 in <i>Mufākahah</i>)
Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546)	<i>Mufākahah</i> (884–922/1479–1516)	26 (of which 1 is reported in <i>Wajīz</i> , 3 in <i>Tārīkh</i> , 9 in <i>Ta'liq</i> , 1 in <i>Badā' i'</i> , and 2 in <i>Ḥawādith</i>)

⁴Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Muḥibb ad-Dīn Salāma b. Yūsuf al-Aslamī, un secrétaire à Damas sous les derniers sultans Mamlouks," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, vol. 3 (Leuven, 2001), 219–69.



This chart reveals yet another issue of no less importance. Many cases are mentioned by two or more authors. This is no accident but reflects for the most part the geographical origins of these historians. It is hardly surprising, then, that Ibn Iyās records a great number of things borrowed from his master, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, who like him resided in Cairo. One can perceive an identical phenomenon among Damascene authors such as al-Buṣrawī, Ibn Ṭawq, and Ibn Ṭūlūn. Only Ibn al-Ḥimṣī seems to have broken this pattern since his informants are also represented by the works of Ibn Iyās and Ibn Ṭūlūn. This bipolarization around the two great cities of the Mamluk state forms another impediment to our understanding of the profusion of venality. But the scholar who ventures beyond the confines of these two great metropolises will gain access to equally useful though little-cited regional sources of information—from cities like Aleppo and Jerusalem, for example—untapped by the chroniclers for whom the reproduction, either in part or in whole, of the writings of their predecessors seems to have been the norm.

As mentioned earlier, all offices that were by their nature military, religious, or administrative could be made the object of gift (*badhl*) or bribe (*barṭalah/birṭil*),⁵ something to which we will return later. Study of the table below will elucidate this.

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY AUTHOR AND BY TYPE OF OFFICE⁶

Author	Source	Military Offices	Religious Offices	Administrative Offices
al-Ṣayrafī	<i>Inbā'</i>	2	3	4
al-Sakhāwī	<i>Wajīz</i>	3	7	2
al-Buṣrawī	<i>Tārīkh</i>	2	6	3
Ibn Ṭawq	<i>Ta'liq</i>	1	13	1
‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl	<i>Dhayl</i>	2	7	4
Ibn Iyās	<i>Badā'i'</i>	7	23	8
Ibn al-Ḥimṣī	<i>Ḥawādith</i>	1	4	1
Ibn Ṭūlūn	<i>Mufākahah</i>	4	20	5

⁵According to Kazimirski, the term *barṭalah/birṭil* signifies a “gift for bribing a judge.” *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français* (repr. Beirut, n.d.), 1:112.

⁶These figures take into account the plurality of offices held by an individual.



Religious posts were the object of great monetary activity. Three authors stand out clearly in this regard. The Damascenes Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn mention, respectively, thirteen cases in the *Ta'liq* and twenty in the *Mufākahah*. The Cairene Ibn Iyās records twenty-three in his *Badā'i'*. However, these three figures require some comment. Actually, the duration taken into account in the *Ta'liq* and in the *Mufākahah* is less than that in the *Badā'i'*, by several years for the *Mufākahah* and thirty for the *Ta'liq*. If one were to create a prospective for the same number of years, one would be right in thinking that the number of cases of sale of office recounted in the *Badā'i'* would be surpassed.

It is equally interesting to note that the figures mentioned by Ibn Iyās for military and administrative office holders, seven and eight respectively, are half as many. This information is repeated more or less equally among the different authors, except al-Ṣayrafī. The supremacy of religious office is problematic. One must understand that when the sultan granted military and administrative posts in exchange for hard cash of full weight or accepted money offered by job hunters it was hardly surprising. Actually, title holders had to be of exemplary morality and probity; this at any rate is how they are extolled by the jurists in their works.⁷

To clarify and advance our thesis we append two lists. The first enumerates cases of venality chronologically; the second, which is subdivided into three small lists (I, II, III), follows a thematic classification with regard to which we have followed the order in the chancellery manuals (military, religious, and administrative office). We have, moreover, to bear in mind the plurality of offices held by a single person, which explains how the same individual could figure on both lists II and III. The chronological list allows us to establish that seventy-eight people paid to obtain the post or posts they desired to occupy during the period covered. Certain people paid for two renewals, some three or more. One must differentiate at this point between candidates and positions occupied, by virtue of the common practice in the Mamluk age of plurality of offices. If one were to make a general calculation of the number of positions, one would arrive at the number one hundred twenty-six. Again, this is not an accurate reflection since in two cases the offices obtained are followed by the vague expression "and other offices" (II/7, 16). If one divides by categories, one sees that nineteen military offices, seventy-five religious posts and thirty-two administrative positions were acquired in exchange for financial contributions.

These facts are of course not only relative with respect to the elements specified before but also because certain years appear altogether devoid of venality, or at least the authors are mute on the subject. But is this to say that no post was farmed

⁷Cf. Emile Tyan, *Histoire de l'Organisation Judiciaire en Pays d'Islam* (Paris, 1938), 1:425–31; Franz Rosenthal, "Rashwa," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:466–67.



out in 877–78, 880, 882, 884, 899, 901, 903, 907, 909–10, or 913–14? It is difficult to establish this when one knows that for a given year, the authors do not record the same facts. One might equally suppose that they could not know about every transaction, or that the popularization of this phenomenon led them only to consider the cases which appear interesting to them, such as that of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb, *qāḍī al-quḍāh* of Cairo, who had six renewals (II/41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 56). He paid once to obtain this office, then renewed it five times.⁸ One must not forget that in the great majority of cases it is the main posts that are mentioned, particularly in this sphere. This last point allows one to think that every gift or bribe connected to a minor post often avoided the scrutiny of the authors. It is also possible that they were not judged sufficiently useful to be recorded.

Consequently, the different parameters used do not allow us to establish an effective picture of those posts that were sold. We have mentioned above that the body of information which serves as the basis of this study does not reflect the whole of the reality, only part. The two following examples provide a good demonstration of this. In *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, al-Sakhāwī mentions in the notice he dedicated to Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr that he obtained in 890/1485 the posts of *nāẓir al-jaysh* and *kātib al-sirr* in Aleppo in exchange for 2,000 dinars.⁹ In the *Wajīz* the same author noted in the obituary of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Awwāḍ, who died in Jumādā II 892/May 1487, that he paid 3,000 dinars for the post of qadi of Alexandria.¹⁰ Yet we have found no mention of these nominations. How many people escaped the attention of the chroniclers? Be that as it may, during a fifty-year period we have counted 126 cases, which is on average 2.5 cases a year. If we exclude those years for which no case of venality is seen, we obtain the figure of 3.4 cases per year. In the face of such results one may ask oneself if it is expedient to launch into a study of venality and its economic consequences if the numbers neither constitute nor reveal convincing indicators.

Clearly, to understand and judge venality in its entirety still seems an impossibility. Of course, the study of the thematic tables allows us to establish for the first time the phenomenon in its temporal and geographic dimensions. From these figures we will try to extrapolate the ultimate economic implications.

The table below allows us to maintain that venality was not just an economic phenomenon, but a political one as well. All sovereigns farmed out offices, even

⁸This concerns the conferment of the post of the grand Maliki qadi but also the granting of certain teaching positions; read the pages Ibn Khaldūn dedicated to this subject in *Le voyage d'Occident et d'Orient*, ed. and trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 148–204, 212–15, and 248–49. See also Morimoto Kosei, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2002): 109–31.

⁹Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934), 9:164–65, no. 413.

¹⁰Al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz*, 3:1022–23, no. 2213.



those who enjoyed only brief reigns. In the latter case the record is laughable since altogether there were but six posts for four rulers. This is certainly far from the totals racked up by Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, who elevated, respectively, sixty-eight and twenty-nine offices, little enough when one recalls how many years both exercised power. Be that as it may, Mamluk sultans employed this practice until the end, the last instance occurring in Rabī‘ II 922/May 1516 (II/63).

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY SULTAN AND BY TYPE OF OFFICE

Sultan	Military Offices	Religious Offices	Administrative Offices
Qāyṭbāy (872–901/1468–95)	13	39	16
Muḥammad ibn Qāyṭbāy (901–4/1495–98)	—	—	1
Qānṣūh (904–5/1498–1500)	—	1	1
Jānbalāt (905–6/1500–1)	—	1	—
Tūmānbāy (906/1501)	—	2	—
Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (906–22/1501–16)	6	20	3

If one were to consider things from a geographic perspective, one would observe the clear predominance of Damascus with respect to offices of the pen. Actually, thirty-nine religious posts were farmed out there as against thirty-three for Cairo, two for Aleppo and two for Jerusalem. We find the same situation for administrative posts: eighteen for Damascus, ten for Cairo, three for Aleppo, and one for Jidda. Military offices constituted a case apart with regard to the fixed number of amirs eligible to be governors of provinces. We will return a little later to the significance that one may attribute to these different figures.

It would hardly be surprising to learn that the most elevated posts were frequently the object of financial transaction. But these were not the only ones, for the range of posts proves to be quite large. In the case of the military, gubernatorial posts—always a question of the locale of the city and its importance—were studied in eight cases. While the post of *nāʾib* of Damascus was leased only once (I/6), and again the information appears only in the obituary notice of its holder, the amir Qijmās, one will note that the governor of Ṣafad renewed three times (II/10, 15, and 17). Coming thereafter are various offices, among which we find those of



ḥājib al-ḥujjāb (I/18) and *dawādār* (I/5), which would not be but for their position in the palatine hierarchy.

Concerning religious offices, we will see that judicial posts occupied the first place and that among them were thirty renewals for the post of *qādī al-quḍāh*. Yet one big difference appears among the four judicial schools: the Shafi'i *madhhab* comes first with eighteen leased offices (seven in Damascus and eleven in Cairo); this is followed by the Hanafi *madhhab* with ten posts (six in Damascus, one in Aleppo, and three in Cairo). The Hanbali and Maliki schools seem to have been little affected by venality since there exists but one case per school in Cairo.

When one reads Ibn Iyās's reflections on venality it would seem that the practice was anchored in current morality. Ironically, the author expresses his own astonishment in Dhū al-Qa'dah 919/December 1513 when Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī invested four grand qadis on the same day without any of the grantees having had to make the slightest payment.¹¹ This observation leads one to think that venality of office became so commonplace, indeed, insignificant a practice that it attracted only occasional attention from historians. There is a possible explanation for this small number of cases. One can of course measure the importance of venality in the testimony of the *Tārīkh* of al-Buṣrawī, who was opposed to this practice. In Muḥarram 902/September 1496 he produced a list of Shafi'is paired with their privileges and showed that the majority took gifts overtly (*ba'duhum ya' khudhu al-rashwah jahran*)—in short, a bribe.¹² Damascus was not the only city affected by this scourge. The same author on 7 Jumādā II 902/February 1497 recalled this problem at the same time as a reunion with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn, brother of the *shaykh al-islām* Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Sharīf. The discussion turned on the issue of the corruption which reigned in Jerusalem and which was the work of the Shafi'i qadi. This person "plunged into debt and bribes (*al-rashwah*) in an indescribable manner."¹³ In such a context one understands better that the chroniclers had at heart to bring to the attention of their readers honest men such as the Shafi'i qadi 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Akhmīmī, who never accepted a single bribe (*'afīfan 'an al-rashwah*) during his tenure.¹⁴ If the post of Shafi'i grand qadi was the object of financial transaction, the same applied to his deputy (*nā'ib qādī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī*) of which we have uncovered nine cases for Damascus.

Venality did not strike the judiciary alone; teaching posts were affected identically: five *mudarrisūn* (three in Damascus and two in Cairo) obtained their

¹¹ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 4:350–52.

¹² Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh*, 190.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁴ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, 4:352–53.



offices through purchase.¹⁵ We should note at this point that instructors were not obliged to disburse money to obtain a lecture post. According to ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ this was a recent phenomenon. Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who obtained the post of *mudarris* at the Shaykhūnīyah (Cairo) in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 895/September 1490, had been the first to be hired in a cashless deal (II/36). It is nevertheless difficult to say if the remark is applicable to all institutions or just the Shaykhūnīyah. In any case, in Damascus in Muḥarram 883/April 1478 ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī obtained a teaching post, though the establishment concerned is not mentioned (II/7). Other religious posts underwent the same process: those of *muḥtasib* (two cases in Cairo),¹⁶ *shaykh* (five cases, of which four were in Cairo and one in Jerusalem), and *wakīl al-sultān* (four cases, three of which were in Damascus and one in Cairo), as well as the different offices of controller (*nāzīr al-bīmāristān*, *nāzīr al-ashrāf* and *nāzīr al-asrā’*) (of eleven cases, six were in Damascus, two in Aleppo, and three in Cairo).

With regard to administrative office, the two most important posts in the civil administration of the ninth/fifteenth century to be farmed out were those of *kātib al-sirr* (seven cases) and *nāzīr al-jaysh* (six cases). Again, Damascus accounts for five cases for the post of *kātib al-sirr* and six for that of *nāzīr al-jaysh*. We must remember that these two posts were often conjoined but also that the post of *kātib al-sirr* was sometimes bundled with that of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī* (III/2, 9). That the vizier figures only in two renewals in our list is undoubtedly a reflection of the decline of the post in Cairo, which no longer existed in Damascus after 839/1435.¹⁷ One notes also the frequency of the post of controller of the citadel (*nāzīr al-qal‘ah*) (three cases in Damascus and one in Aleppo) but also the mention of the office of secretary of the mamluks (*kātib al-mamālīk*), a less elevated post in the hierarchy, that had two renewals much later (in 912/1506).

Before going into greater detail on the question of disbursement, some remarks are in order. From the outset amounts were not mentioned systematically by the authors, who were no doubt informed about them, even though for the military and administrative offices we possess figures for more than three-quarters of them. Thus, for nineteen military posts the sum total was noted in twelve cases; for sixty-three religious posts there were thirty-nine cases, and for twenty-one administrative posts there were fourteen cases. In addition, if the Mamluks paid a sum of money to obtain or be reconfirmed in an office (I/2 and 5) they could only

¹⁵Cf. Jonathan P. Berkey, "Tadrīs," *EI*², 10:83–84. This term usually designates the teaching of religious law, that is to say *fiqh*.

¹⁶Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Rāziq, "La Ḥisba et le muḥtasib en Egypte," *AnIsl* 13 (1977): 115–78.

¹⁷Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Rāziq, "Le vizirat et les vizirs d’Egypte au temps des mamluks," *Annales islamologiques* 16 (1980): 183–239.



retain one office. In religious and civil cases, the business was much more complex since one is faced with the plurality of offices (II/2 and III/4; II/4 and III/5; II/12 and III/6; II/3 and III/7; II/14 and III/8; II/30 and III/11; II/34 and III/16) or several posts of the same category (II/6, 7, 16, 39, 40, 46, 48, 49; III/15, 17, 20, 21). No information is ever given that reveals whether the sum demanded or paid was a lump sum; perhaps it was a forfeiture. We have only one detailed example. According to Ibn Ṭulūn, in Sha‘bān 916/November 1510, the *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī* Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr granted to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ramlī the *niyābah shāfi‘īyah* for one hundred *ashrafīs* and, according to rumor, on the same day also accorded to him the post of *mutakallim* for the affairs of the Ḥaramayn for 150 *ashrafīs* (II/49).

The offices that we have cited were conferred in exchange for financial contributions, although in certain cases the authors were reticent about them. Indeed, one encounters in their writing the expression “*wa-qīl*” signifying that they were only reporting rumor, perhaps without any foundation (I/16; II/11, 41, 62; III/21, 50, 60). It is in this vein that Ibn Ṭawq recorded in Sha‘bān 886/September 1481 the nomination of ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-Nāṣirī to the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī*: “I have heard it said that he had obtained this post through an exchange of a sizeable cash gift, all to retain the offices that he already possessed” (II/16). The same author, speaking somewhat fatalistically of a similar case, that of Ibn al-Ghazzī, adds: “God alone knows the truth of it” (II/11). Paying to obtain a post had become an official act, at any rate a well-known practice, as when in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 897/August 1492 ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbātī spent 1,000 dinars to land a teaching post in al-Manṣūrīyah; we have this from al-Sakhāwī (II/38). In the case of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī, one of his relatives, named ‘Abd al-Qādir, told al-Buṣrawī that new amounts were required for the renewal of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the office of *wakīl al-sultān* and for obtaining the office of *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah*. We are ignorant of the details of this operation, but the trip to Cairo, for the individual lived and worked in Damascus, cost him 28,000 dinars, which he had to borrow.

The language employed to invoke these monetary transactions is ambiguous to say the least. The question is one of *badhl* (gift) (I/7,8, 11; II/15, 17, 26).¹⁸ The candidate proposed a sum to the ruler who had the right to accept it but also to refuse it in order to obtain more. It is perhaps better to speak not of a gift but a bribe. If sometimes the amount of this gift is noted, as in the case of Shāhīn al-Jamālī, who offered 20,000 dinars for the post of *shādd* in Jidda to Sultan Qāyṭbāy in Rajab 876/December 1471 (I/2), this information is not systematic. In the case of Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzalliq one learns only that he gave an important

¹⁸Franz Rosenthal, “Gifts and Bribes: The Muslim View,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108 (1964): 135–44.



gift (to the same ruler) to obtain the office of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* in Damascus in Sha'bān 889/August 1484 (II/24). It is in no way easier to figure values described simply as "much" (*kathīr*). One might suppose that he paid the sum habitually demanded of the candidate for the highest judicial office, whatever his affiliation, namely 3,000 dinars (II/10, 35, 44, 45, 46, 52, 57, 59). That was at any rate the amount ordinarily required in Cairo, according to the authors. The situation seems slightly different for the provinces since Ibn al-Muzalliq paid in the previous month the tidy sum of 10,000 dinars for the same post (II/22). How much did he spend the second time? The sultan undoubtedly exploited his desire to be reinstated in the post of grand qāḍī. Our confusion is increased when Ibn al-Ḥimṣī says that Sharaf al-Dīn ibn 'Īd confided to him that he was relieved of his obligation to satisfy Sultan Qāyṭbāy, who conferred the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī* upon him (II/8).

One sees then the total ambiguity of the gift, indeed, its total ambivalence. Trapped between the voluntary and forced gift, candidates who ardently desired to obtain a post, which make up the majority of cases in this study, or extend their occupation (I/3), were ready to pay any amount to insure access.¹⁹ The result was a veritable rush for office by whomever, whatever his abilities, was able to fulfill the object of his dreams, if only he could entice the ruler financially. Shocked, Ibn Iyās tells how in Ṣafar 887/March 1482 Sultan Qāyṭbāy conferred on Muḥammad ibn al-'Azamah the office of controller of *waqfs* under the pretext that he had promised him an important monthly deduction on the revenues derived from properties in mortmain. While this individual, intent on lining his own pocket, did not possess the capacity required to administer this office properly, the ruler took it (II/19). We have already had occasion to refer to the fickleness of rulers who had little scruples in distributing religious and administrative offices to incompetents for money.²⁰ Military offices do not seem to have entirely escaped this fate. Ibn Iyās, for one, was shocked to discover that one of the *julbān* obtained the lucrative post of *nā'ib* of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād for the modest sum of 1,000 dinars (I/13). For the author, who cannot explain Qāyṭbāy's action, this was very unusual (*wa-hādhā min al-nawādir*).

If the authors use the word *badhl*, whatever its meaning, they never use the word *barṭalah/birṭāl* and seem to prefer to it *rashwah* (gift), what one bestows on

¹⁹The following anecdote is evocative of the spirit that prevailed then. In Ṣafar 908/August 1502, when the pilgrimage amir Aṣṭamur arrived in Baṭn al-Marr, before the Mecca station, he was received by al-Jāzānī, who came to meet him. Aṣṭamur offered him a robe of honor saying: "If you desire to be invested with the lordship of Mecca, you must pay the sultan 50,000 dinars." This was understood by al-Jāzānī: "I will pay this sum." Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i'*, 4:36–37.

²⁰Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlouk: (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 78–121.



a judge or an officer for gain. Is this a question of bashfulness or was the word simply not in current usage? Thus, we have already mentioned that the authors are not always in a position to furnish us with the sum total paid out by the candidates. Monetary transactions are referred to as *bi-mablagh* (for an amount) (II/40, 63, 60, 61; III/9) and *bi-māl* (for cash) (II/6, 56; III/16, 46); some could be accorded the epithet *kathīr* (much) (*bi-māl kathīr*, II/31) or *kabīr* (large, considerable) (*bi-mablagh kabīr*, III/51). One observes a linguistic variant that signifies when the candidate is successful—*wa-qad sa‘á fī dhālika bi-mablagh lahu šūrah*—meaning that the person has been able to pay because of great wealth (I/14, 15, 17; II/31, 32, 42; III/13, 18).²¹ These different expressions underscore that the sums paid were sizeable, but of what magnitude? It is difficult to give an estimate or determine the range of unspecified gifts. We are unable to say if these sums were really large or just perceived as such by the authors. Moreover, amounts were assessed every fifty years, which complicates our effective understanding of them because during the same period economic progress undoubtedly occurred. To conduct a precise study, it would be necessary to take into account the various price indices, such as monetary variations.

Fortunately, we possess figures for fifty-six posts, that is, slightly less than half. The totals are always quoted in dinars ranging from 100 (*nā‘ib qādī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī*, II/49) to 100,000 (*nā‘ib* of Damascus, I/6). We have noted above that the price takes into account the office and unquestionably the plurality. The sums paid by the amirs are always greater or at least equivalent to those paid by individuals who accumulated religious and administrative offices. This demonstrates conclusively that the military disposed of greater resources or were otherwise able to make stronger bids. Certain details here are worthy of attention. Certain authors such al-Ṣayrafī (I/1; III/1, 2, 3) but occasionally also Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn (I/5) and even Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (I/4) mention that the dinars furnished were weighed coins composed of good alloy.²² In taking this precaution, Sultan Qāyṭbāy, to whom the sums ultimately reverted, was assured that the volume of money corresponded to the sums demanded. However, it is difficult to confirm that this practice was in fashion during the entire length of Qāyṭbāy’s reign or during the reigns of his successors; the last mention is in 886/1481. One can hope that Qāyṭbāy had confidence in the coins he ordered into circulation, as at the same time the chroniclers claimed a halt to counterfeiters. Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions two payments in *ashrafī* dinars (II/49, 51) and like Ibn Ṭawq uses the term *dhahab* (III/10, 11). Indeed, Ibn Iyās proved that in great detail in the case of Fakhr al-Dīn

²¹According to Kazimirski, the expression *māl lahu šūrah* signifies that an individual had considerable wealth (*Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 1:1384).

²²The term *wazana* means to give money to someone after it has been weighed (*ibid.*, 2:1530).



ibn al-‘Afīf when he noted that he paid for the post of *kātib al-mamālīk* with 2,000 dinars and change (*wa-kusūr*, III/19).²³

Of course certain candidates made payments both in specie and in kind, things such as grain and livestock. Thus, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr paid 8,000 dinars and 5,000 *ardabbs* of barley, about 45,000 liters (III/21).²⁴ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī disbursed an unknown sum of cash to which he added livestock (II/27). Similarly, Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Mu‘tamid paid in kind, offering forty sacks of barley (II/50) for the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī* in Damascus. According to Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf, he gave a thousand horses (III/17). Ibn Iyās noted that Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir paid a cash sum but also a portion of his inheritance to obtain the post of *kātib al-sirr* held previously by his father (III/14). Unfortunately, we do not possess any details about this transaction. How much was the sum paid and what was the nature of the portion of the inheritance (house, property, livestock) demanded from the applicant by Qāyṭbāy? In the ledger of this arrangement it is difficult to calculate the proportion of each kind of payment but it is interesting to note that the sultan accepted all forms.

Of course, not everyone could furnish the required sum all at once. The government, if it did not have a candidate likely to pay an equivalent sum, would accept graduated payments. The amir Aydakī and the cleric Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, who undoubtedly lacked ready funds to take their offices, were permitted to pay half on the day of their installation and the balance on a date fixed by the authorities (I/12; II/11). Though the amir Ulmās had agreed to pay 41,000 dinars for the post of *walī al-shurṭah*, he offered 20,000 down and the rest in installments (I/19). Yet it happened that a candidate could not finally pay what he had offered to the sultan, or what the latter had charged. The sultan, pressed no doubt by necessity, took a sum less than that fixed at the outset. ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-Nāṣirī, who promised 8,000 dinars to Qāyṭbāy, could only pay 7,000 dinars in the end (II/7).

Nevertheless, the sultan was not always so accommodating. In Rabī‘ II 879/August 1474, on Wednesday the 15th, the new *nāẓir al-ashrāf* of Damascus, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf, did not receive his robe of investiture because he did not fulfill his promise to pay. According to al-Ṣayrafī, he was finally installed in his new office on Friday the 23rd after having paid 1,000 dinars (II/3). These compromises do not seem to have been systematically applied and the affair could always take another turn when the sultan’s need for money proved urgent. The Shafi‘ī grand qadī Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb underwent such an experience in

²³ *Kusūr* signifies change, making up of a sum with fractional coinage; cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (repr., Beirut, 1981), 2:474.

²⁴ According to Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta’s and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 241.



Jumādā I 916/August 1510 when Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī revoked his office after he had been in it for only two months and sixteen days. The qadi had not finished paying the agreed amount at the time of his nomination, on which he still owed 1,000 dinars. Though destitute he had to pay, and the sultan, to ensure payment, ordered him locked up in the home of the *nāzir al-khāṣṣ*.

We have, to this point, noted transactions made face-to-face between the sultan and anyone seeking a post. But venality was not uniquely the purview of the sultan, for other high-ranking persons also took advantage of their positions for profit. This situation seems to have been so common in Damascus for religious offices that one cannot detect any exception. The following three cases refer to the same person, the Shafi‘i grand qadi Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr. In Jumādā II 886/July 1481 he conferred the *niyābah shāfi‘īyah* on Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ghāzī for a cash amount that was less than what was rumored (II/15). In Rajab 889/August 1481 it was Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī to whom he gave the same post for eighty *ashrafī* dinars, according to Ibn Ṭūlūn, and for 400, according to Ibn Ṭawq (II/23). In Jumādā II 889/June 1484 Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qādī Zura‘ became *nā’ib al-ḥukm* after he paid a considerable amount of cash (II/21). A member of the Farfūr clan again figures years later. In Sha‘bān 921/September 1515 *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī* Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr requested of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ramlī 1,000 dinars. The latter was then imam of the Umayyad mosque but was unable to pay more than half the balance. The post then went to Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā for an enormous sum (II/58)! We have related four scenarios involving high Damascene religious dignitaries, though this practice was not limited to them. In Muḥarram 892/December 1486 the governor of Damascus named as *nā’ib* of Ṣafad the *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* Īlbāy for 20,000 dinars (I/10). Then in Shawwāl 895/August 1490 Sultan Qāyṭbāy enjoined the *ḥājib kabīr* Yūnis al-Sharīfī to choose the Hanafī grand qadi; his choice was Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf, who agreed to pay 3,000 dinars (II/35).

Often when money proved scarce it became necessary to solicit the support of influential people. It is unclear if such services were systematically compensated since we possess examples in which cash is not mentioned, only the names of intermediaries. A case in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482 is notable since Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī obtained the *niyābah shāfi‘īyah* thanks to the intervention of Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī and for 200 dinars (II/20). In Ṣafar 898/November 1492 the amir Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ obtained the post of *nā’ib* of Ṣahyūn in exchange for a bribe and the intervention of the amir Azbak al-Khāzindār (I/14).

It would seem, moreover, that candidates were obligated financially to their intercessors. In Dhū al-Qa‘dah 897/August 1492 ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbātī spent 1,000 dinars to obtain a teaching post in al-Manṣūrīyah. This amount consisted of a bribe but also gifts made to people who had supported him, including an anonymous



amir, who received one hundred dinars (II/38). The case of Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn al-Naqīb is particularly interesting. As we have already noted, this person occupied the post of Shafi‘i grand qadi in Cairo six times, paying each time with bribes. He also had recourse to the offices of certain individuals. Ibn Iyās mentioned that in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 911/March 1506 he obtained on three occasions the post of grand qadi for 5,000 dinars but also that he had distributed 2,000 more to those amirs who had supported his candidacy, to principal members of the sultan’s retinue (*khawāṣṣ*), notably the *dawādār* Azdamur. On the occasion of his sixth and last nomination, in Jumādā II 921/July 1515, he paid out the usual 3,000 dinars to which he added the amounts distributed to the *dawādār*, to his adjutant (*dawādār thānī*) and to the *kātib al-sirr*. One can easily imagine all the resources expended by this individual to obtain the office of his dreams and then to maintain himself in it. According to rumor, he spent a total of some 36,000 dinars. One can easily believe, too, Ibn Iyās’ claim that in acting in such a fashion, he ruined his fortune (II/41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 56).

Venality caused money to change hands at such a rate that if they were not systematically important at the start, these sums could become so if the candidate solicited the same office frequently enough and put himself in debt to his intermediaries. One must not forget that the case of Ibn al-Naqīb noted before, as it constitutes a case of affiliation, is not really an exception. Thus in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 918/January 1513 Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl occupied for the third time the office of Shafi‘i grand qadi, achieving his ends by spending in excess of 10,000 dinars (II/48, 53, 57). Other individuals occupied the same posts two or three times by utilizing bribes rather than their abilities, which created discontent with their nominations. Such is the reminder of Ibn Iyās concerning the affection that Ḥusām al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn al-Shiḥnah possessed for the post of Hanafi grand qadi in Ramaḍān 921/October 1515 (II/59): “Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī interested himself in all things having to do with the procuring of money.”²⁵ The author deplored his youth, and consequently his lack of experience as judge, which paralleled his lack of learning, perhaps because he had not completed his education. The judgment of Ibn Iyās is severe: “He was undoubtedly the most incompetent of the Hanafi qadis,”²⁶ while other candidates who had been omitted possessed the requisite qualifications to administer the office.

Even so, it would not be right to place all responsibility for the sale of office and its convolutions solely on the rulers. It was after all the candidates themselves who sought backers to support their applications by means of gifts of varying value. It was in essence a contractual relationship: both parties were free to accept

²⁵ Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i*, 4:477.

²⁶ Ibid.



or reject the proposed deal. Clearly, the sultans exploited the system to their advantage, but the candidates were certainly not inclined to invest, and invest substantially, to no purpose. They of course hoped their new position would allow them not only to recoup their investment but also exploit the system in turn.

Ibn Ṭūlūn relates that the *nāzir al-jaysh* Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr and the *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī "disgraced themselves" in Damascus. In Ṣafar 886/April 1481 al-'Adawī lost the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* while retaining those of *nāzir al-qal'ah* and *wakīl al-sulṭān*. Desirous of managing them, Ibn al-Farfūr agreed to pay 32,000 dinars and had his prayers answered. Al-'Adawī, who had bid only 10,000 dinars to the *dawādār*, was dismissed, but only for a brief time because in the same month he regained two of his former offices (*nāzir al-qal'ah* and *wakīl al-sulṭān*) in exchange for 26,000 dinars. He did not succeed in retaining them, though, as Ibn al-Farfūr offered in Rabī' I/May the sum of 30,000 dinars and obtained as well the post of *wakīl bayt al-māl* (II/12, 13, 14).²⁷ One wonders if any part of the money found its way into the sultan's coffers. Regardless, the attitude of those two office holders gives us an idea of the amount of competition induced by the system. We note that the sum "pocketed" by the *dawādār* in the space of a month was close to 88,000 dinars! It is interesting to note, however, that the Ibn al-Farfūr reported here is the same Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr we have mentioned above in the three affairs of attribution of posts between 886 and 889. Shihāb al-Dīn did not wait long to swap the status of solicitor for that of purveyor of offices, this providing the means of reimbursing himself quickly. This attitude was by no means exceptional. Ibn Iyās, in the notice he dedicated to the amir Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ in Rabī' I 921/April 1513, recalled that he had obtained the post of *nā'ib* of Ṣahyūn through a bribe and the intervention of the amir Azbak al-Khāzindār, but also that his attitude towards his administrators leads one to believe that he was recouping his outlay by pressuring them (I/14). Undoubtedly, it was for the same purpose that the qadi Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī came to Cairo in Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/October 1496. He knew in advance that, good year or bad, he would recoup the 28,000 dinars that he had borrowed for the trip (II/30).

Even so, it is not necessary to see in these practices the emergence of an entirely new phenomenon. When 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Kātib al-Manākh was nominated vizier in Shawwāl 826/September 1423 in exchange for 20,000 dinars, his father said to him: "I have occupied the office of vizier and I have left there the 60,000 dinars that I would possess without ever being able to repair the breach in my fortune. How shall you manage it?" 'Abd al-Karīm made this Sibylline comment: "I would fill this void by taking from the Muslims' portion." With these

²⁷Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 1:36, 37 et 39



profound observations the new vizier revealed to his father a pyramid scheme. One would be right in thinking that the top was not systematically composed of these “Muslims” but that, according to circumstance, other intermediaries would give money thinking that they would recoup in requisite time. Only the poor devil at the bottom of the pyramid would legitimately feel himself injured. In the chronicles it is only the apex of the edifice that is uncovered, while the rest remains hidden, appearing only rarely.

Though significant amounts were either paid or recouped by candidates, they pale in comparison with those disbursed during the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century. The three examples adduced here are, in this regard, significant. Of course, the question is the conferment of the post of *kātib al-sirr*, the most elevated position in the administrative hierarchy and the most coveted. As one can see from the figures that follow, one is far from the kind of sums paid during the period which presently interests us. Thus, in Rabī‘ I 808/August 1405, Sa‘d al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb paid 60,000 dinars; in Shawwāl 826/October 1421 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Bārīzī gave 40,000 dinars; in Rajab 832/April 1429, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muzhir paid 100,000 dinars.²⁸ The rapacity and cupidity of the sultans in place—Faraj, al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh, and Barsbāy—had nothing on Qāyrbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. What is more, sums were paid entirely at the time of the purchase of office. If it is true that these three rulers exercised power during periods which were filled with political and economic crises, contrary to their successors, they were capable of sizing up issues, even bringing solutions to bear, though they proved to be temporary.

Be that as it may, these findings lead us to question the wealth of different office holders since even amirs seem to have had difficulty in paying. Are we faced with the onset of a general impoverishment, at least concerning certain notables? Is the situation the same in Cairo as in the provincial capitals? How does one explain this phenomenon? For the last fifty years of the Mamluk Sultanate’s existence, rulers confronting foreign dangers and diverse economic crises were focused less and less on devising a new fiscal regime to keep state coffers filled. Arbitrary exactions from notables, merchants, or non-Muslim communities, as well as new levies on various branches of commerce and the property of mortmain, allowed Qāyrbāy to replenish his often empty treasury. His successor Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī used similar methods; he had recourse to simple extraordinary levies, to confiscation of the goods of office holders fallen into disgrace, and to seizing the inheritances of the wealthy deceased.

In these circumstances, one sees how the government agreed on a price for certain offices, as in the case of the grand qadi: all candidates hoping to occupy

²⁸Cf. the lists in the appendices of ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *Al-Badhī wa-al-Barṭalah*.



the position had to furnish 3,000 dinars to the sultan. The practice became virtual law. The procedure, without any legal sanction, became so implicit, on the one hand, by princely fiat and, on the other, by the voluntary acquiescence of the candidates. The relatively low asking price is easily explained: administrators, already subject to so many different financial drains, were no doubt unable to extend themselves any further. Of course, there were always exceptions, but the sultan could leave these offices without title holders. Thus, to confer such an office for such a relatively small sum was insurance for always having on hand a potential applicant. Thus, in Rabī' I 919/May 1513 Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī spoke to 'Izz al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī of his desire to award the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanbalī*: "Give me 1,000 dinars and I will confer on you the offices of your father" (II/54). If the ruler wanted to obtain more, since all appointments and removals depended on his good will, he had only to dismiss summarily the office holder and replace him. This was his most used gambit! The case of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb is instructive: in Dhū al-Qa'dah 918/January 1513 he had already been Shafi'i grand qadi five times though the total length of his mandate had been less than a year, in fact, only nine months and eight days.

Did venality exacerbate the major political crises that crisscrossed the sultanate, particularly when it was time to mobilize against external enemies? During these critical periods demands for money but especially its collection proved vital for the raising and equipping of troops. In fact, only five years stand out distinctly: 886/1481 and 922/1516, with nine cases of venality each; 889/1484 and 921/1515, seven cases; and finally, 893/1488, six cases. The last two years of the Mamluk sultanate were marked by greater activity: sixteen offices were farmed out, bringing in some 60,000 dinars, although for three posts the amount is not precise. This sum seems modest ultimately and we may be right in thinking that it was only a balance, though not a negligible one, and nothing more. Moreover, the story in the chronicles is that when the sultan mobilized his forces he raised a new tax, justifying it by invoking the necessity of defending his territory.

Sultans preferred to bleed the population as a whole, with the help of the procedures enumerated above, rather than demand what appeared to be prohibitive fees from various grantees. They were being pragmatic since the sums collected in this way could not be compared with revenues induced through venality. If so, it is a question of yielding to a bad habit embedded in current mores, of assimilation into a quasi-levy, a tax on office. While we have been unable to illuminate fully this phenomenon in our study, it seems to us that during the last fifty years of the sultanate venality of office lost its financial importance. Revenues generated through venality are not attested in reports about other taxes. But did they contribute to the enrichment of all those who practiced it? It is difficult to answer affirmatively because a certain number of individuals undoubtedly had time to recoup their



losses. Still, we cannot be absolutely sure. For those who had the opportunity, the government soon confiscated money won from the "Muslims' portion." May morality be saved!

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Jumādā I 874/ Nov. 1469	Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Hayṣam	<i>mustawfī al-khāṣṣ</i> , Cairo	1,000 weighed dinars	<i>Inbā'</i> , 152
Jumādā I 875/ Oct. 1470	Qāsim ibn al-Qarāfī	vizier, Cairo	20,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 226
Jumādā II 876/ Nov. 1471	Taghrībirdī	<i>kāshif al-jusūr wa- al-damm</i> , al-Sharqīyah	1,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 365
Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Shāhīn al-Jamālī	<i>shādd</i> , Jidda	20,000 dinars	Ibid., 383
Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān	<i>ṣayrafī</i> , Jidda	10,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 383
Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Ibn al-'Ajlūnī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars	Ibid., 390
Ramaḍān 876/ Feb. 1472	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	about 30,000 dinars	Ibid., 406, 423
Rabī' II 879/ Aug. 1474	al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ²⁹	<i>nāẓir al-ashraf</i> , Damascus	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 498, 504
Ṣafar 881/ May 1476	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 271v; <i>Badā'i'</i> , 3:119
Rabī' I 881/ June 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Naḥḥās	<i>muḥtasib</i> , Cairo	800 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 76
Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī 'Ajlūn	<i>nāẓir al-asrā'</i> , <i>nāẓir waqf</i> al-Ruknīyah, Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 78
Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Jānibak	<i>ḥājib thānī</i> , Damascus	4,000 dinars	Ibid.
Muḥarram 883/ Apr. 1478	'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Nāṣirī	<i>nāẓir, mudarris</i> , and other Hanafī functions, Damascus	asking price: 8,000; payment: 7,000 dinars	<i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:221
Shawwāl 883/ Dec. 1478	Ibrāhīm ibn Shādī Bak al-Julubbānī	<i>kāshif</i> , al-Ḥawrān	10,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 226

²⁹This person is likewise designated by the expression Ibn al-Khawājā bi-khān al-nashshārīn.



Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Shawwāl 885/ Dec. 1480	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn 'Īd	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:907; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:170; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 2:252–53; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:28
Dhū al-Qa'dah 885/ Jan. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī	<i>mudarris al-Shāmīyah al-Barrāniyah</i> , Damascus	350 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:30
Dhū al-Qa'dah 885/ Jan. 1481	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Damascus	3,000 dinars	<i>Ta'līq</i> , 1:28; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:30
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 885/ Feb. 1481	Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī	<i>nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'i</i> , Damascus	900 dinars, payment in two parts	<i>Ta'līq</i> , 1:33; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:31
Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'i</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>wakīl al-sultān</i> , <i>nāẓir al-qal'ah</i> , Damascus	32,000 dinars	<i>Ta'līq</i> , 1:49; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:36–37
Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī	<i>nāẓir al-qal'ah</i> , <i>wakīl al-sultān</i> , Damascus	26,000 dinars	<i>Ta'līq</i> , 1:51; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:37
Rabī' I 886/ Apr. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh al-shāfi'i</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>nāẓir al-qal'ah</i> , <i>wakīl al-sultān</i> , Damascus	30,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:39
Jumādā I 886/ June 1481	Īlbāy	<i>dawādār</i> , Damascus	10,000 weighed dinars	<i>Ta'līq</i> , 1:64; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:42
Jumādā I 886/ July 1481	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Ghāzī	<i>nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'i</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:46
Sha'bān 886/ Sept. 1481	'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Nāṣirī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> and other offices, Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta'līq</i> , 1:82



Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Sha‘bān 886/ Sept. 1481	Fakhr al-Dīn al- Ḥamawī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:83; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:50
Dhū al-Qa‘dah 886/Dec. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn al- Ramlī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:110
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 886/Jan. 1482	Qijmās	<i>nā’ib</i> , Damascus	100,000 dinars	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1014–15
Ṣafar 887/ Mar. 1482	Muḥammad al- ‘Azamah	<i>nāẓir al-awqāf</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 319; <i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:192
Ramaḍān 887/ Oct. 1482	Shihāb al-Dīn al- ‘Azāzī (al- ‘Adhāwī?) ³⁰	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	200 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:195
Jumādā II 889/ June 1484	Qāsim Shughaytah	vizier, Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 336v
Jumādā II 889/ June 1484	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Zura‘	<i>nā’ib al-ḥukm</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:370; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:63
Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shihāb al-Dīn al- ‘Azāzī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	80 or 400 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:380; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:63
Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzalliq	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:380; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:64
Sha‘bān 889/ Aug. 1484	Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzalliq	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:950
Sha‘bān 889/ Aug. 1484	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Baqarī	<i>nāẓir al-awqāf</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 337
Dhū al-Qa‘dah 889/Nov. 1484	Mūsá ibn Shāhīn ibn al-Turjumān	<i>naqīb al-jaysh</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:951
Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al- ‘Azāzī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:508
Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al- Ḥimṣī	<i>nā’ib al-ḥukm</i> , Damascus	cash + livestock	<i>Ibid.</i> , 511
Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485	Badr al-Dīn ibn Ajā	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh</i> <i>ḥanafī</i> , Aleppo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 346v–347

³⁰Appears as al-‘Azāzī in the *Ta‘līq* and as al-‘Adhāwī in the *Mufākahah*.



Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 890/Dec. 1485	Amīr al-Ḥājj ibn Abī al-Faraj	<i>naqīb al-jaysh</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:960
Rabī' I 891/Mar. 1486	Muḥammad ibn Shāhīn	<i>nā'ib al-qal'ah</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:72
Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/Nov. 1486	Amīn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	4,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 115–16
Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/Nov. 1486	Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Damascus	14,000 dinars	Ibid., 116
Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/Nov. 1486	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī	<i>wakīl al-sultān</i> , <i>nāzīr al-dhakhīrah</i> , Damascus	not specified	Ibid.
Muḥarram 892/Dec. 1486	Īlbāy	<i>nā'ib</i> , Ṣafad	20,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:73
Ramaḍān 892/Aug. 1487	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Dahānah	<i>shaykh al-jāmi'</i> , al-Mu'ayyadī, Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 366v; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:243
Ramaḍān 892/Aug. 1487	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	<i>shaykh</i> , al-Khashshābīyah, Cairo	about 2,000 dinars	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1009; <i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 366v–367; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:243
Ṣafar 893/Jan. 1488	Duqmāq al-Sayfī Īnāl al-Ashqar	<i>nā'ib</i> , Jerusalem	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 372; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:247
Rabī' I 893/Feb. 1488	Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	<i>nāzīr al-jaysh</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 372v–373; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:248
Rabī' I 893/Feb. 1488	'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamawī	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 372v–373; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:248
Rabī' II 893/Mar. 1488	Aydakī	<i>nā'ib al-qal'ah</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars, payment in two parts	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 126; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:87
Ramaḍān 893/Aug. 1488	Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , Cairo	cash + part of inheritance	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:255



Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Shawwāl 893/ Sept. 1488	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	<i>nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-jawālī, Damascus</i>	10,000 or 20,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 130; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:321–22; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:99
Şafar 895/ Dec. 1489	Sirāj al-Dīn al- Şayrafī	<i>mudarris, al- Şāmīyah al- Barrānīyah, Damascus</i>	600 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 140; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:321–22; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:115
Rajab 895/ May 1490	Yūsuf ibn al- Minqār	<i>kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al- qal‘ah, nāẓir al- bīmāristān, Aleppo</i>	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1139
Shawwāl 895/ Aug. 1490	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī, Damascus</i>	3,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:130
Dhū al-Qa‘dah 895/ Sept. 1490	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Şayrafī	<i>mudarris shāfi‘ī, al- Shaykhūnīyah, Cairo</i>	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 398
Rajab 896/ May 1491	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī, Damascus</i>	2,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 147; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:140
Sha‘bān 896/ June 1491	a <i>julbān</i>	<i>nā‘ib, Ḥiṣn al- Akrād</i>	1,000 dinars	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 403
Dhū al-Qa‘dah 897/Aug. 1492	‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al- Sunbāfī	<i>mudarris, al- Maṣūriyah, Cairo</i>	1,000 dinars	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1261
Dhū al-Qa‘dah 897/ Aug. 1492	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā‘ah	<i>khaṭīb, shaykh al- shuyūkh khānqāh, Jerusalem</i>	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1262
Şafar 898/ Nov. 1492	Qānībāy Qarā al- Rammāḥ	<i>nā‘ib, Şahyūn</i>	not specified	<i>Badā‘i</i> , 3:294
Jumādā II 902/ Feb. 1497	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	<i>kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al- jawālī, nāẓir al- qal‘ah, Damascus</i>	1,000 horses	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 202
Rabī‘ I 904/ Nov. 1498	Nāṣir al-Dīn al- Şafadī	<i>nāẓir al-bīmāristān, al-Manṣūrī, wakīl al-sultān, Cairo</i>	not specified	<i>Ḥawādith</i> , 2:61
Jumādā I 905/ Dec. 1499	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Nayrabī	<i>nāẓir al-jaysh, Damascus</i>	not specified	<i>Badā‘i</i> , 3:428



Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Şafar 906/ Aug. 1500	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	7,000 dinars	Ibid., 448
Rajab 906/ Jan. 1501	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 471
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 906/ June 1501	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:12; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 2:127
Jumādā I 911/ Sept. 1505	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:91
Dhū al-Qa'dah 911/ Mar. 1506	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid.
Jumādā I 912/ Sept. 1506	Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-'Afīf	<i>kātib al-mamālīk</i> , Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid., 99
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 915/ Mar. 1510	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , <i>shaykh al-Khashshābiyah</i> and <i>al-Sharīfiyah</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 171
Rabī' I 916/ June 1510	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 183
Jumādā I 916/ Aug. 1510	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , <i>shaykh al-Khashshābiyah</i> , <i>al-Sharīfiyah</i> and <i>al-Baybarsiyah</i> , Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid., 189
Sha'bān 916/ Nov. 1510	'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ramlī	<i>nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Damascus; <i>mutakallim</i> , al-Ḥaramayn	100 <i>ashrafīs</i> ; 150 <i>ashrafīs</i>	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:347
Şafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Mu'tamid	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Damascus	40 sacks of barley	Ibid., 354
Şafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dūbānī al-Ruḥaybī	<i>nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Damascus	200 <i>ashrafīs</i>	Ibid.
Muḥarram 918/ Mar. 1512	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Rawq	<i>nāzir al-khazā' in al-sharīfah</i> , <i>mustawfī</i> , Cairo	5,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:257
Rabī' II 918/ June 1512	Ṭarābāy	<i>nā'ib</i> , Şafad	not specified	Ibid., 267



Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
Rajab 918/ Sept. 1512	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 280–81
Dhū al-Qa'dah 918/Jan. 1513	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 290
Rabī' I 919/ May 1513	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanbalī</i> , Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 305
Rajab 919/ Sept. 1513	Jānim min Walī al-Dīn	<i>nā'ib</i> , Tripoli	60,000 dinars	Ibid., 330
Dhū al-Qa'dah 919/Dec. 1513	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	<i>nāzir al-awqāf al-ḥanaḥīyah</i> , Damascus	3,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:378
Rabī' I 920/ Apr. 1514	Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr	<i>nāzir al-dawlah, kātib al-mamālīk, mutakallim fī thulth al-wizārah</i> , Cairo	8,000 dinars + 5,000 <i>ardabbs</i> of barley	<i>Badā'i'</i> , 4:370–71
Jumādā II 921/ July 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 460–61
Jumādā II 921/ July 1515	Yūsuf min Sībāy	<i>nā'ib</i> , Ṣafad	not specified	Ibid., 461–62
Jumādā II 921/ July 1515	Ṭarābāy min Yashbak	<i>ḥājib al-ḥujjāb</i> , Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 463
Rajab 921/ Aug. 1515	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 469
Sha'bān 921/ Sept. 1515	Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā	<i>imām</i> , al-Umawī, Damascus	not specified	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:386
Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn al-Shiḥnah	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	<i>Badā'i'</i> , 4:477
Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Damīrī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh mālikī</i> , Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid.
Muḥarram 922/ Feb. 1516	Shams al-Dīn al-Sikandarī	<i>imām</i> , Cairo	1,200 dinars	Ibid., 5:13
Ṣafar 922/ Mar. 1516	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Rūmī	<i>imām al-sulṭān</i> , Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 15
Rabī' I 922/ Apr. 1516	Ulmās	<i>walī al-shurṭah</i> , Cairo	41,000 dinars, 20,000 dinars and the balance in staggered payments	Ibid., 26–27
Rabī' II 922/ May 1516	Māmāy al-Ṣughayr	<i>muḥtasib</i> , Cairo	15,000 dinars	Ibid., 27



DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY TYPE OF OFFICE³¹

I. MILITARY FUNCTIONS

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
1	Jumādā II 876/ Nov. 1471	Taghrībirdī	<i>kāshif al-jusūr wa-al-damm</i> , al-Sharqīyah	1,000 weighed dinars	<i>Inbā'</i> , 365
2	Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Shāhīn al-Jamālī	<i>shādd</i> , Jidda	20,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 383
3	Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Jānibak	<i>ḥājib thānī</i> , Damascus	4,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 78
4	Shawwāl 883/ Dec. 1478	Ibrāhīm ibn Shādī Bak al-Julubbānī	<i>kāshif</i> , al-Ḥawrān	10,000 weighed dinars	<i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:226
5	Jumādā I 886/ June 1481	Īlbāy	<i>dawādār</i> , Damascus	10,000 weighed dinars	<i>Ta'liq</i> , 1:64; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:42
6	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 886/ Jan. 1482	Qijmās	<i>nā'ib</i> , Damascus	100,000 dinars	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1014–15
7	Dhū al-Qa'dah 889/ Nov. 1484	Mūsā ibn Shāhīn ibn al-Turjumān	<i>naqīb al-jaysh</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 951
8	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 890/ Dec. 1485	Amīr al-Ḥājj ibn Abī al-Faraj	<i>naqīb al-jaysh</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 960
9	Rabī' I 891/ Mar. 1486	Muḥammad ibn Shāhīn	<i>nā'ib al-qal'ah</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:72
10	Muḥarram 892/ Dec. 1486	Īlbāy	<i>nā'ib</i> , Ṣafad	20,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 73
11	Ṣafar 893/ Jan. 1488	Duqmāq al-Sayfī Īnāl al-Ashqar	<i>nā'ib</i> , Jerusalem	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 372; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:247
12	Rabī' II 893/ Mar. 1488	Aydakī	<i>nā'ib al-qal'ah</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars, payment in two parts	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 126; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:87

³¹For all these offices, see Maurice Godefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), and William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468* (New York, 1977), 1:90–110.



13	Sha‘bān 896/ June 1491	a <i>julbān</i>	<i>nā’ib</i> , Ḥiṣn al-Akrād	1,000 dinars	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 403
14	Ṣafar 898/ Nov. 1492	Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ	<i>nā’ib</i> , Ṣahyūn	not specified	<i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:294
15	Rabī‘ II 918/ June 1512	Ṭarābāy	<i>nā’ib</i> , Ṣafad	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 4:267
16	Rajab 919/ Sept. 1513	Jānim min Walī al-Dīn	<i>nā’ib</i> , Tripoli	60,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 330
17	Jumādā II 921/ July 1515	Yūsuf min Sībāy	<i>nā’ib</i> , Ṣafad	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 461–62
18	Jumādā II 921/ July 1515	Ṭarābāy min Yashbak	<i>ḥājib al-ḥujjāb</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 463
19	Rabī‘ I 922/ Feb. 1516	Ulmās	<i>walī al-shurṭah</i> , Cairo	41,000 dinars, 20,000 dinars and the balance in staggered payments	<i>Ibid.</i> , 5:26–27



II. RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
1	Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Ibn al-‘Ajlūnī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars	<i>Inbā’</i> , 390
2	Ramaḍān 876/ Feb. 1472	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi’ī, kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	about 30,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 406, 423
3	Rabī’ II 879/ Aug. 1474	al-Sayyid al- Sharīf	<i>nāzir al-ashraf</i> , Damascus	1,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 498, 504
4	Şafar 881/ May 1476	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi’ī, kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 271v; <i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:119
5	Rabī’ I 881/ June 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Naḥḥās	<i>muḥtasib</i> , Cairo	800 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 76
6	Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn	<i>nāzir al-asrā’</i> , <i>nāzir waqf</i> al- Ruknīyah	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 78
7	Muḥarram 883/ Apr. 1478	‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al- Nāşirī	<i>nāzir, mudarris</i> , and other Hanafi offices, Damascus	asking price: 8,000 payment: 7,000 dinars	<i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:221
8	Shawwāl 885/ Dec. 1480	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Īd	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:907; <i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:170; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:252–53; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:28
9	Dhū al-Qa‘dah 885/ Jan. 1481	Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī	<i>mudarris</i> al- Shāmīyah al- Barrānīyah, Damascus	350 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:30



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
10	Dhū al-Qa‘dah 885/ Jan. 1481	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī</i> , Damascus	3,000 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:28; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:30
11	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 885/ Feb. 1481	Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī	<i>nā‘ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	900 dinars, payment in two parts	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:33; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:31
12	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>wakīl al-sulṭān</i> , <i>nāẓir al-qal‘ah</i> , Damascus	32,000 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:49; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:36–37
13	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī	<i>nāẓir al-qal‘ah</i> , <i>wakīl al-sulṭān</i> , Damascus	26,000 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:51; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:37
14	Rabī‘ I 886/ Apr. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>nāẓir al-qal‘ah</i> , <i>wakīl al-sulṭān</i> , Damascus	30,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:39
15	Jumādā II 886/ July 1481	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Ghāzī	<i>nā‘ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 46
16	Sha‘bān 886/ Sept. 1481	‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-Nāṣirī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī</i> and other offices, Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:82
17	Sha‘bān 886/ Sept. 1481	Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	<i>nā‘ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:83; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:50



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
18	Dhū al-Qa‘dah 886/ Dec. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:110
19	Şafar 887/ Mar. 1482	Muḥammad al-‘Azamah	<i>nāzīr al-awqāf</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 319; <i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:192
20	Ramaḍān 887/ Oct. 1482	Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī (al-‘Adhāwī?)	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	200 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:195
21	Jumādā II 889/ June 1484	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Zura‘	<i>nā’ib al-ḥukm</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:370; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:63
22	Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	80 or 400 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:380; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:63
23	Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shams al-Dīn al-Muzalliq	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	10,000 dinars	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:380; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:64
24	Sha‘bān 889/ Aug. 1484	Shams al-Dīn al-Muzalliq	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:950
25	Sha‘bān 889/ Aug. 1484	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Baqarī	<i>nāzīr al-awqāf</i> , Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 337
26	Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī	<i>nā’ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Ta‘līq</i> , 1:508
27	Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī	<i>nā’ib al-ḥukm</i> , Damascus	cash + livestock	<i>Ibid.</i> , 511
28	Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485	Badr al-Dīn ibn Ajā	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Aleppo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 346v–347



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
29	Dhū al-Qa‘dah 891/ Nov. 1486	Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Damascus	14,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 116
30	Dhū al-Qa‘dah 891/ Nov. 1486	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī	<i>wakīl al-sulṭān</i> , <i>nāzīr al-dhakhīrah</i> , Damascus	not specified	Ibid.
31	Ramaḍān 892/ Aug. 1487	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Dahānah	<i>shaykh al-jāmi‘</i> al-Mu‘ayyadī, Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 366v; <i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:243
32	Ramaḍān 892/ Aug. 1487	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	<i>shaykh al-Khashshābiyah</i> , Cairo	about 2,000 dinars	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1009; <i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 366v–367; <i>Badā’i’</i> , 3:243
33	Ṣafar 895/ Dec. 1489	Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī	<i>mudarris al-Shāmīyah</i> al-Barrānīyah, Damascus	600 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 140; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:321–22; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:115
34	Rajab 895/ May 1490	Yūsuf ibn al-Minqār	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , <i>nāzīr al-jaysh</i> , <i>nāzīr al-qal‘ah</i> , <i>nāzīr al-bīmāristān</i> , Aleppo	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1139
35	Shawwāl 895/ Aug. 1490	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī</i> , Damascus	3,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:130
36	Dhū al-Qa‘dah 895/ Sept. 1490	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī	<i>mudarris shāfi‘ī</i> al-Shaykhūnīyah, Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 398



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
37	Rajab 896/ May 1491	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī,</i> Damascus	2,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 147; <i>Muḥākahah</i> , 1:140
38	Dhū al-Qa'dah 897/ Aug. 1492	'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāḥī	<i>mudarris al-</i> <i>Manṣūrīyah,</i> Cairo	1,000 dinars	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1261
39	Dhū al Qa'dah 897/ Aug. 1492	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā'ah	<i>khaṭīb, shaykh al-shuyūkh khānqāh,</i> Jerusalem	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1262
40	Rabī' I 904/ Nov. 1498	Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī	<i>nāẓir al-</i> <i>bīmāristān al-</i> <i>Manṣūrī, wakīl al-sulṭān,</i> Cairo	not specified	<i>Ḥawādith</i> , 2:61
41	Ṣafar 906/ Aug. 1500	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī,</i> Cairo	7,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:448
42	Rajab 906/ Jan. 1501	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī,</i> Cairo	not specified	<i>Ibid.</i> , 471
43	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 906/ June 1501	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī,</i> Cairo	not specified	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:12; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 2:127
44	Jumādā I 911/ Sept. 1505	Jamāl al-Dīn al- Qalqashandī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī,</i> Cairo	3,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:91
45	Dhū al-Qa'dah 911/Mar. 1506	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī,</i> Cairo	5,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i>



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
46	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 915/ Mar. 1510	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, shaykh al-Khashshābīyah and al-Sharīfiyah, Cairo</i>	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 171
47	Rabī' I 916/ June 1510	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, Cairo</i>	not specified	Ibid., 183
48	Jumādā I 916/ Aug. 1510	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, shaykh al-Khashshābīyah, al-Sharīfiyah, and al-Baybarsīyah, Cairo</i>	5,000 dinars	Ibid., 189
49	Sha'bān 916/ Nov. 1510	'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ramlī	<i>nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, Damascus; mutakallim, al-Ḥaramayn</i>	100 <i>ashrafīs</i> 150 <i>ashrafīs</i>	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:347
50	Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Mu'tamid	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, Damascus</i>	40 sacks of barley	Ibid., 354
51	Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dūbānī al-Ruḥaybī	<i>nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, Damascus</i>	200 <i>ashrafīs</i>	Ibid.
52	Rajab 918/ Sept. 1512	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, Cairo</i>	3,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:280–81
53	Dhū al-Qa'dah 918/ Jan. 1513	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī, Cairo</i>	not specified	Ibid., 290



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
54	Rabī' I 919/ May 1513	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanbalī</i> , Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 305
55	Dhū al-Qa'dah 919/ Dec. 1513	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	<i>nāzir al-awqāf al-ḥanaḥīyah</i> , Damascus	3,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:378
56	Jumādā II 921/ July 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:460–61
57	Rajab 921/ Aug. 1515	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 469
58	Sha'bān 921/ Sept. 1515	Taqī al-Dīn al- Qarā	<i>imām al- Umawī</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:386
59	Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn al-Shiḥnah	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanaḥī</i> , Cairo	3,000 dinars	<i>Badā' i'</i> , 4:477
60	Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Damīrī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh mālikī</i> , Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid.
61	Muḥarram 922/ Feb. 1516	Shams al-Dīn al-Sikandarī	<i>imām</i> , Cairo	1,200 dinars	Ibid., 5:13
62	Şafar 922/ Mar. 1516	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Rūmī	<i>imām al-sulṭān</i> , Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 15
63	Rabī' II 922/ May 1516	Māmāy al- Şughayr	<i>muḥtasib</i> , Cairo	15,000 dinars	Ibid., 27



III. ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
1	Jumādā I 874/ Nov. 1469	Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Hayṣam	<i>mustawfī al-khāṣṣ</i> , Cairo	1,000 weighed dinars	<i>Inbā'</i> , 152
2	Jumādā I 875/ Oct. 1470	Qāsim ibn al-Qarāfī	vizier, Cairo	20,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 226
3	Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān	<i>ṣayrafī</i> , Jidda	10,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 383
4	Ramaḍān 876/ Feb. 1472	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfī'ī, kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	about 30,000 dinars	Ibid., 406, 423
5	Ṣafar 881/ May 1476	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfī'ī, kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 271v; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:119
6	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfī'ī, nāẓir al-jaysh, wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-qal'ah</i> , Damascus	32,000 dinars	<i>Ta'liq</i> , 1:49; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:36–37
7	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī	<i>nāẓir al-qal'ah, wakīl al-sulṭān</i> , Damascus	26,000 dinars	<i>Ta'liq</i> , 1:51; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:37
8	Rabī' I 886/ Apr. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	<i>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfī'ī, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-qal'ah, wakīl al-sulṭān</i> , Damascus	30,000 dinars	<i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:39
9	Jumādā II 889/ June 1484	Qāsim Shughaytah	vizier, Cairo	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fol. 336v
10	Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/ Nov. 1486	Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	4,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 115–16
11	Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/ Nov. 1486	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī	<i>wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-dhakhīrah</i> , Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 116
12	Rabī' I 893/ Feb. 1488	Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	<i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 372v–373; <i>Badā' i'</i> , 3:248



No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
13	Rabī' I 893/ Feb. 1488	'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamawī	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Dhayl</i> , fols. 372v–373; <i>Badā'i'</i> , 3:248
14	Ramaḍān 893/ Aug. 1488	Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , Cairo	cash + part of inheritance	<i>Badā'i'</i> , 3:255
15	Shawwāl 893/ Sept. 1488	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	<i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jawālī</i> , Damascus	10,000 or 20,000 dinars	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 140; <i>Ḥawādith</i> , 1:321–22; <i>Mufākahah</i> , 1:99
16	Rajab 895/ May 1490	Yūsuf ibn al-Minqār	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>nāẓir al-qaḥ</i> , <i>nāẓir al-bīmāristān</i> , Aleppo	not specified	<i>Wajīz</i> , 3:1139
17	Jumādā II 902/ Feb. 1497	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	<i>kātib al-sirr</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , <i>nāẓir al-jawālī</i> , <i>nāẓir al-qaḥ</i> , Damascus	1,000 horses	<i>Tārīkh</i> , 202
18	Jumādā I 905/ Dec. 1499	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Nayrabī	<i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i> , Damascus	not specified	<i>Badā'i'</i> , 3:428
19	Jumādā I 912/ Sept. 1506	Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-'Afīf	<i>kātib al-mamālīk</i> , Cairo	2,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 4:99
20	Muḥarram 918/ Mar. 1512	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Rawq	<i>nāẓir al-khazā' in al-sharīfah</i> , <i>mustawfī</i> , Cairo	5,000 dinars	<i>Ibid.</i> , 257
21	Rabī' I 920/ Apr. 1514	Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr	<i>nāẓir al-dawlah</i> , <i>kātib al-mamālīk</i> , <i>mutakallim fī thulth al-wizārah</i> , Cairo	8,000 dinars + 5,000 <i>ardabbs</i> of barley	<i>Ibid.</i> , 370–71

