MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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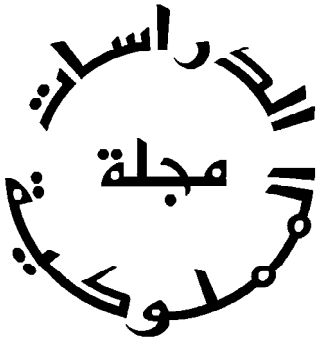

2000

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual, Open Access, refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books.

Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatawa* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. An article or book review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* makes its author a contributor to the scholarly literature and should add to a constructive dialogue.

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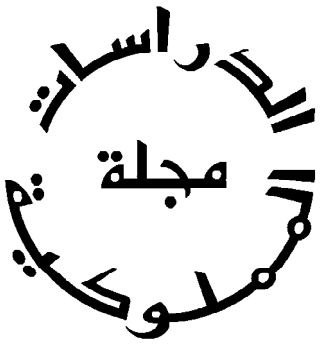

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Stephan Conermann
University of Kiel

Ulrich Haarmann, 1942-1999

When I had to fulfil the sad task of writing this obituary about Ulrich Haarmann, I recalled the following two scenes: The solemn burial service at the Littenweiler cemetery in Freiburg was in progress, when suddenly out of nowhere, in the midst of this very peaceful gathering, the faint utterances of a newborn were heard. After a while, the escalating little voice of the infant grew louder and louder and more demanding—it was the sound of a baby crying out to the world. With disapproving glances, the crowd turned their heads in an attempt to signal the student, who had brought her child to the funeral, that she should take the disturbance away. If Ulrich Haarmann had been there to witness this, he would have given a sympathetic smile, which was so typical of him, and I am sure he would have asked the mother to come to the front. After all, he had been fascinated, since his childhood, by creation in its immeasurable variety and by life in all its unfathomable dimensions; thus, he would have certainly enjoyed this allegorical representation of life and death on such an occasion.

It was the mixture of self-irony, uprightness, the enchanting ease with which he made contacts and professional appearances, his cosmopolitan tolerance, and the ability to unite and compromise without ever losing sight of his own interests which made people want to befriend Ulrich Haarmann. In addition to this, his strong sense of duty and profound scholarly dedication, along with his warm kindness, made him a highly esteemed colleague wherever he went. It is, therefore, no surprise that first and foremost it was his personality which made him the perfect candidate for the post of Director of the Zentrum Moderner Orient/Center for Modern Oriental Studies (ZMO) in Berlin. In spite of his illness, he carried out his duties as Director of the Center from 1 April 1998 to the end with enthusiasm and earnestness. In fact, even during the last days of his life, he added corrigenda and addenda by hand to the Center´s current proposal book submitted to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/German Research Association (DFG) in July 1999. Incidentally, he was thrilled about working in Berlin from the very first day. This was not only because of the fantastic atmosphere at the ZMO but also due to the twelve months he had spent in Berlin as a fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg/

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Institute for Advanced Study (1995/96 and February/March 1997)—a time which he always considered as having been wonderful, important, and very productive.[1]

It was also within the rooms of the Wissenschaftskolleg where the second scene I recalled took place: It was a beautiful, sunny day when I visited Ulrich Haarmann and found him, upon my arrival, amidst a group of other fellows in one of the residents´ rooms at the institute. He was in his element: First, he spoke to a German colleague on his right about cultural life in Berlin; then he discussed emphatically in French with someone on his left the financial misery of German universities before he switched to English to converse with the gentleman opposite him about the complicated careers and activities of Mamluk descendants before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Somewhat shy, I had stepped into the international circle without Ulrich Haarmann having noticed. When he took notice of me, he jumped up enthusiastically and introduced me in perfect Standard Arabic to a colleague from the Comores. Later that evening, he even tried his (to my reassurance) somewhat rusty Russian on an acquaintance from Moscow. One could really feel the ease with which he changed from one idiom to another. Enchanted by the phenomenon of language, he delighted himself in engaging others in his enthusiasm.

Ulrich Haarmann was born in 1942 in Swabia. After having attended the Eberhard-Ludwig-Gymnasium in Stuttgart (classics), it was Arabic which he chose to study at the University of Freiburg. Thereafter, he quickly attained a Fulbright scholarship at Princeton, from which he graduated with a B.A. in Oriental Studies on 15 June 1965. In many ways, this early stay abroad in the USA had a strong influence on the rest of Ulrich Haarmann´s life: First, he discovered a love for Arabic grammatical theories, acquired from his examination work under Rudolf Mach on Ibn Bābashādh´s *Al-Muqaddimah fī al-Naḥw*; second, he developed an interest in editing Arabic texts. In a short time, he mastered this philological craft, which for a long time was one of the most sought-after skills in a German orientalist. Despite the demands of today´s students to deal only with modern topics, he made a continuous and conscious effort to stress that a solid philological education was indispensable.

At Princeton, Ulrich Haarmann hardly visited the hectic city of New York although it was only an hour away by train. He learned to value the exclusivity and privacy of a campus university, and therefore I believe that the wonderful location of the ZMO in Berlin fulfilled his expectations of a scientific retreat. The years at Princeton laid the groundwork for his lifelong and heartfelt relationship with the USA and Canada. In 1974, he spent four months as visiting professor of Islamic History at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA). After two

[1]See his account of this year at the Wissenschaftskolleg: ″Joseph und seine Söhne,″ *Wissenschaftskolleg –Jahrbuch 1995/96*, 65-71.

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similar stays at McGill University in Montreal (1976 and 1986), he participated as a fellow in a research program at the Annenberg Institute for Judaic and Near Eastern Studies in Philadelphia (January-April 1990). In the meantime, he remained loyal to Princeton over the years: first, as a research fellow (January-April 1987), then as a visiting professor (March-June 1992) in the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Studies, where he had the opportunity to further his scholarly activities.

Free from the bureaucratic burdens of a German professorship, during these quiet and peaceful months he was able to finish many of his scientific projects. It should suffice to mention the critical edition of Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī´s *Duwal al-Islām;* some important articles about the careers of the sons of the Mamluks, the legal opposition to Mamluk autocracy, and ethnic and racial prejudices in the medieval Near East; and lastly his pioneering study on life and trade in Ghadames (Libya) in the nineteenth century.

The starting point for Ulrich Haarmann´s intellectual occupation with the somewhat controversial, unique, and fascinating rule of Turkish slaves over the native population of Egypt was his decision to leave Princeton and to return to Freiburg to write his dissertation on *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit.* His supervisor then was Hans Robert Roemer, the leading figure in German Oriental Studies after 1945.[2] Roemer not only supported Ulrich Haarmann´s Ph.D., but he also took great pleasure in witnessing Haarmann´s work at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut/German Archeological Institute (DAI) in Cairo from autumn 1969 until May 1971. Upon completing this first stay in Egypt, he was offered an assistant professorship in Freiburg. Just one year later he would qualify for his *Habilitation* in Islamic Studies on the basis of his current writings, in particular his dissertation and his edition of the *Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī.* With this, he paved the road for a university career: From 1974 to 1976, he was an assistant professor; from 1976 to 1978 an unscheduled professor; and from 1979 to 1992 a full professor at the University of Freiburg. At the same time, he continually worked in different areas and offices within the administrative organization of his alma mater. His last position before his post in Berlin was a full professorship in Oriental Philology (Arabic and Islamic Studies) at the Christian-Albrechts University in Kiel (1992 to 1998).

Considering the often difficult financial situation of today´s young academics, time and again he mentioned how thankful he was for his early job opportunities. All the more reason for him to want to undertake everything in his power to help promising younger scholars. Therefore, he also saw his position in Berlin as a

[2]See Ulrich Haarmann´s obituary about his ″Doktorvater″ (supervisor): ″Zum Gedenken: Hans Robert Roemer (18.2.1915-15.7.1997), *Die Welt des Islams* 38 (1998): 1-8.

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chance to turn the ZMO into a place for advanced research on the Orient, where above all, postdocs would be invited as fellows. With regard to the overall conceptual framework of the ZMO, he always emphasized the importance of partnerships and cooperation with individuals and institutions, at regional as well as interregional levels. Haarmann believed the ZMO should act as an (inter)national mediator, bringing together various entities for the enhancement of Oriental Studies both within and outside Germany. The West, in his opinion, had neither an intellectual monopoly on research, nor on the art of mastering the future.

Contact with the Islamic world and its people was always important to Ulrich Haarmann. He personally knew the Arab countries—with the exception of Iraq and the Sudan—from long or short private trips, international congresses, and several research and teaching programs. For instance, in Cairo he was not only employed by the DAI, but also acted as a visiting professor at the American University in Cairo/Center for Arabic Studies (Spring 1971), as well as a lecturer at the University of Cairo (Spring 1977). The time he worked during the Lebanese civil war as Director of the Orient Institute of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft/German Oriental Society (DMG) in Beirut (1978-1980) was an especially important experience for him. This task was particularly difficult for him personally, since his wife, his six-month-old daughter and his almost three-year-old son had to remain in Germany. The fact that he nevertheless completed this duty, with courage, was honored by the award of a Golden Medal for Education and Science by the Lebanese President on 15 November 1980. Finally, he kept in close contact with Kuwait ever since his discovery of the earliest naming of this state from the travel logs of Murtaḍá ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAlwān.

Because of Ulrich Haarmann´s high reputation among his colleagues, many honorable tasks and duties were offered to him. From about 1976 to 1992, he was principal lecturer (˝Vertrauensdozent˝) at the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes, and from 1981 to 1991 he was a member of the advisory body of the Institute for Oriental Studies at the DMG. From the winter term 1990/91 he worked as an expert on the Entrance Exam Committee of Princeton University (Alumni School Committee), and in 1995 the role of publishing the highly reputed *Bibliotheca Islamica* was assigned to him.[3] In addition to this, the DAI asked him to oversee the publication of *Quellen zur Geschichte des Islamische Ägyptens,* and in 1992 he acted as co-editor of Brill´s series *Islamic History and Civilization.* In 1994, the Academia Europaea nominated him as a member and one year later he was admitted into the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Science.

For a long time, Ulrich Haarmann´s wide-ranging interests focused on the various facets of Mamluk society. He, who was also talented at writing substantial

[3]In Spring 1999 he handed over this task to Prof. Dr. Tilman Seidensticker (Jena, Germany).

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and well considered reviews, did a lot of thorough research in this field. In addition to the above-mentioned titles, his scholarly contributions on medieval Muslim perceptions of Pharaonic Egypt deserve to be highlighted: He introduced and critically edited the *Pyramidenbuch des Abū Ğa'far al-Idrīsī (st. 649/1251),* and no student should miss the opportunity to read his well-written articles on this subject. Besides the difficult subjects of the interdependencies of the Arabic language and Muslim jurisprudence, and socio-political questions on the history of Muslim Central Asia—I will mention only his articles about Faẓl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī (860-925/1456-1519), and on Transoxania in the sixteenth century—Ulrich Haarmann was generally interested in the social, cultural, and intellectual history of the medieval Near East as a whole.

One of Ulrich Haarmann´s lasting merits was editing the *Geschichte der arabischen Welt.* This work—already in its third edition—has become a classic not only among German students, but also among specialists. Through this inspiring and exemplary teamwork by German orientalists, many students are now able to acquire a very high level of understanding and deep insight into the confusing variety of the political and social systems in the different Arab regions.

Ulrich Haarmann had never been just a resident of the ivory tower. It was for him a basic necessity on suitable occasions—be it during lessons or public appearances, in conversation with amateurs of both religions, in discussion groups or lectures on specific topics—to emphasize the common roots of the Muslim and Christian world views. In his opinion, mutual acceptance and tolerance—with all of the necessary remaining unfamiliarities—were the keywords to opening the way to a multi-cultural society. In this regard, Berlin as a metropolis also seemed to him to be opening up to new perspectives.

After becoming Director of the ZMO, he started looking for new scholarly fields. With his typical curiosity, he quickly found his way into theoretical discussions within the humanities and social sciences. As time went on, he considered these new methodological approaches as being the core of all multi- and interdisciplinary projects. On these grounds, he believed that the identity-producing effect of historiography and the international ″contact areas″ of the Islamic world during the modern age (the Sahara, Central Asia, the Indian Ocean) would be interesting subjects for future projects. These undertakings were prevented, however, like so many other plans, by his sudden death. There were a lot of good things still to be expected from Ulrich Haarmann; instead there remains an impressive, but somehow brutally interrupted life. The contemporary German community of orientalists has lost a wonderful person and a very erudite scholar.

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Ulrich Haarmann´s Scholarly Works

1965

″Ibn Bābashādh´s *al-Muqaddima fī l-naḥw:* An Arabic Grammatical Treatise of the 11th Century A.D. Edition, Translation, Annotation.″ B.A. thesis, Princeton University, Department of Oriental Studies, 1965.

1969

Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1. Freiburg im Breisgau: D. Robischon, 1969. (2d. ed., Freiburg im Breisgau: K. Schwarz, 1970).

1971

″Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken.″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 46-60.

Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī. Achter Band: Der Bericht über die frühen Mamluken. Quellen zur Geschichte des Islamischen Ägyptens 1h. Cairo and Freiburg: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, 1971.

1972

″Die Beschreibung der Moschee des Sultans Farağ b. Barqūq: Auszüge aus der Stiftungsurkunde des Sultans Farağ.″ In *Moschee des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo, mit einem Beitrag von Ulrich Haarmann,* by Saleh Lamei Mostafa, 44-56. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Islamische Reihe 3. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1972.

Review of *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn,* by Donald P. Little. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 356-59.

Review of *Yādnāma-yi Īrānī-yi Minorskiy,* by M. Mīnuwī and I. Afshār. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 394-99.

1974

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Review of *'Imâd ad-Dîn al-Iṣfahânîy: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine*, translated by H. Massé. *Der Islam* 52 (1975): 153-55.

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"Islamic Duties in History." *Muslim World* 68 (1978): 1-24.

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Under Western Eyes: A History of Mamluk Studies

The exotic and savage Mamluks, the despotic sultans, their vast and extravagant harems, the political murders, the sanguinary punishments, the mounted skirmishes in the shadow of the pyramids, the moonlight picnics in the City of the Dead, the carnival festivities at the time of the flooding of the Nile, the wild dervish *mawlid*s . . . .

Is there not something paradoxical in the fact that the Mamluks owe their survival in modern memory to men (mostly) who were and are for the most part quiet and solitary scholars, much more familiar with the book than the sword? I have not punched anyone since I was a schoolboy. Yet, when, as a research student, I looked for a thesis topic, I was hooked by Steven Runciman´s description of the sultan Baybars I. According to the doyen of Crusading history, Baybars ″had few of the qualities that won Saladin respect even from his foes. He was cruel, disloyal and treacherous, rough in his manners and harsh in his speech. . . . As a man he was evil, but as a ruler he was among the greatest of his time.″[1] (Peter Thorau, of course, has since offered a slightly more benign view.)

Many of those who have studied the Mamluks have not done so out of liking for them. Edward Gibbon, who was a contemporary of the Mamluks (or neo-Mamluks, if you prefer), put the case against them in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-78): ″A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years.″ Gibbon went on to contrast the ″rapine and bloodshed″ of the Mamluks with their ″discipline and valour.″[2]

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[1]Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1955), 348. This work is listed as no. 2158 in the Chicago *Mamluk Studies* bibliography. However, from this point on, since this article ranges so widely over the extensive range of Mamluk studies, references in my notes will usually only be given to works which, for one reason or another, have not been listed in the excellent *Mamluk Studies: A Bibliography of Secondary Source Materials* (Middle East Documentation Center, the University of Chicago, October 1998 and in progress).

[2]Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1912), 6:377-78.

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Constantin-Francois de Chassebouef, comte de Volney (1757-1820), took a similarly bleak view of the Mamluk system as he knew it in his own time: ″how numerous must be the abuses of unlimited powers in the great, who are strangers both to forbearance and to pity, in upstarts proud of authority and eager to profit by it, and in subalterns continually aiming at greater power.″[3] Volney′s writings, his *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (1787) and his *Les Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions* (1791), helped to direct predatory French interests in the direction of Egypt and are part of the background to Bonaparte′s expedition there in 1798. Famously (or notoriously, if one happens to be of Edward Said′s party) Bonaparte took a team of savants with him. Of course, the past which most attracted these scholars was the Pharaonic one. However, a few interested themselves in the history of the medieval Mamluks, if only for latter-day utilitarian reasons. Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis had helped Volney with his *Voyage en Égypte et Syrie*. Having come across a manuscript of Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī′s *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* in Paris, he went on to produce a stylish, if erratic, translation of it. Venture de Paradis studied the Egypt of Barsbāy and Jaqmaq, the better to understand the same country under Murād and Ibrāhīm Bey, and he subsequently took part in the 1798 expedition to Egypt and took a leading role in the researches of the Institut d′Égypte.[4]

The French who landed in Egypt in 1798 and who went on to invade Palestine were intensely conscious of the fact that Frenchmen had been there before them. The history of the Mamluks was for a long time ancillary to the study of the Crusades and of the fortunes of France in the Levant. In the eighteenth century, religious scholars belonging to the Maurist order had played the leading role in editing documents relating to the history of France and therefore also relating to the history of French Crusades. In the course of the French Revolution, the Maurist Superior-General was guillotined and the order was dissolved. When monarchy was restored the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres was set up to continue the work of the Maurists. Quatremère and Reinaud, who had oriental interests, were both members of the founding committee of five. They, among other tasks, oversaw the publication of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades,* which, in its volumes devoted to *Historiens orientaux,*[5] offered translated extracts from chronicles by Abū al-Fidá and Abū Shāmah covering the early years of the

[3]Volney cited in Albert Hourani, *Europe and the Middle East* (London, 1980), 85-86.

[4]Jean Gaulmier, ed., *La Zubda Kachf al-Mamālik de Khalīl az-Zāhirī, Traduction inédite de Venture de Paradis* (Beirut, 1950).

[5]Paris, 1872-1906.

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Baḥrī Mamluk Sultanate. However, the oriental volumes of the *Recueil* were overwhelmingly weighted to coverage of the edifying career of that chivalrous paladin, Saladin.

Even so, others were editing and sometimes translating texts which had a bearing on Mamluk history, such as Ibn 'Arabshāh's *'Ajā'ib al-Maqdūr*. Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) was the grandest and most influential orientalist of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Before the Revolution he had worked for the Royal Mint and he had strong prejudices about money. It was, I think, because of this that in 1796 he published a translation of al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr al-'Uqud,* since, as Silvestre de Sacy saw it, the fifteenth-century Egyptian historian was an ally in the latter's argument against contemporary French ministers and bankers, who were so foolish as to believe that there must be a fixed rate of exchange between gold and silver.[6] Silvestre de Sacy (who was a much more polemical orientalist than Said has allowed) also took up cudgels against Montesquieu's account of oriental despotisms and the notion that there were no real property rights under such despotisms. In his exceedingly scholarly polemic, Silvestre de Sacy drew heavily again on al-Maqrīzī, making much reference this time to the *Khiṭaṭ*.[7] Furthermore the *Chrestomathie de la langue arabe* (1806) included biographical notices of al-Maqrīzī by al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Taghrībirdī.

Sylvestre de Sacy seems to have transmitted his enthusiasm for al-Maqrīzī to his distinguished pupil, Étienne-Marc Quatremère (1782-1857). Quatremère studied and taught Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, and he also had a strong interest in Coptic and Pharaonic Egyptian. Despite his wide range of interests and publications, he was the first to devote serious and sustained study to the Mamluks. His edition and translation of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk* under the title *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*[8] is an example of text as pretext, being not so much a work of history as of philology. Although al-Maqrīzī is a useful source for his own lifetime, Quatremère, who was not primarily a historian, chose to translate the *Sulūk* for the early Mamluk period, since obviously the fortunes of Baybars, Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl overlapped with those of the Crusaders. (The only reason that Quatremère did not start with al-Maqrīzī on the Fatimids and Ayyubids was because it was planned that those sections of the *Sulūk* should go in the

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[6]Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes* (Paris, 1797).

[7]Silvestre de Sacy, "Sur la nature et les révolutions du droit de proprieté territoriale en Egypte, depuis la conquête de ce pays par les musulmans jusqu'à l'expédition de François," part1, *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1815), 1-165; part 2, *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* vol. 5 (Paris, 1821); part 3, *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* vol. 7 (Paris, 1824), 55-124.

[8]Paris, 1837-45.

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Receuil, though nothing ever came of this.) Quatremère had inherited his teacher´s passion for and mastery of philology and the inordinately lengthy footnotes to *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* are tremendous displays of erudition on the meanings of words for military offices, gypsies, polo balls, wardrobe-masters, heraldry, and much else. Those annotations were later heavily drawn upon by Dozy for his dictionary of post-classical Arabic. They also provided a starting point for later researches into institutions by Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Ayalon. They were industrious giants in those days and among Quatremère´s other publications was an edition of Ibn Khaldūn´s *Muqaddimah, Prolégomènes d´Ibn Khaldoun: texte arabe.*[9] As we shall see, Ibn Khaldūn was to do as much as anyone in shaping western historians´ perceptions of the Mamluks.

A student of Quatremère, Gustave Weil (1808-89) was the first scholar to provide a sustained, detailed, and referenced history of the Mamluks. Those were the days when one did not need a historical training to write history and Weil´s wide range of publications included a translation of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah*. His history of the Mamluk period, *Geschichte des Abbasidenchalifats in Egypten,*[10] was a sequel to *Geschichte der Chalifen,*[11] and, like its precursor, it uncritically reproduced the material provided by sources such as al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Iyās.[12] William Muir´s *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt 1260-1517*[13] acknowledged a heavy debt to Weil´s ferreting among obscure manuscripts on the continent. Apart from Weil, Muir´s three main sources were al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās. Muir was a devout Christian and, as he made plain in his preface and introduction, the Mamluks´ chief importance was as adversaries of the Crusaders, as the Mamluks ″were finally able to crush the expiring efforts of that great armament of misguided Christianity.″ A few exceptional figures apart, Muir was not favorably impressed by the Mamluks: ″But the vast majority with an almost incredible indifference to human life, were treacherous and bloodthirsty, and betrayed, especially in the later days of the Dynasty, a diabolic resort to poison and the rack, the lash, the halter and assassination such as makes the blood run cold to think of. . . .″[14]

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[9]Paris, 1858. On the life and work of Quatremère, see Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1955), 152-53.

[10]Stuttgart, 1860-62.

[11]Mannheim, 1846-51.

[12]Fück, *Die arabischen Studien,* 175-76; D.M. Dunlop, ″Some Remarks on Weil´s History of the Caliphs,″ in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 315-29.

[13]London, 1896.

[14]Ibid., xii, 220.

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Max van Berchem (1863-1921), a Swiss archaeologist and epigrapher, established and worked on the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* from 1903 onwards. This massive collaborative survey was designed to cover the inscriptions of Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Van Berchem´s team of collaborators included Sobernheim, Mittwoch, and Herzfeld in Syria and Gaston Wiet in Egypt. Van Berchem treated buildings as historical documents, or rather he actually considered them to be superior to documents as they could be used to check the accuracy of documents.[15] Van Berchem´s work (small essays within the *Corpus*) on the names and entitulature featured in such inscriptions prepared the way for later work done by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Sauvaget, Ayalon, and others on office holding and other institutional aspects of Mamluk society.

> They flee from me, that sometime did me seek
> With naked foot, stalking in my chamber.
> I have seen them gentle, tame and meek,
> That now are wild. . . .

. . . are the opening lines of a fine erotic poem by Sir Thomas Wyatt (ca. 1503-42). Gaston Wiet, though a French citizen, was directly descended from the Scottish poet. Van Berchem was the major influence on the youthful Gaston Wiet. Wiet was to publish a great deal on a wide range of topics relating to Mamluk history and culture. (Besides his narrative history, *L´Égypte arabe . . . 642-1517* [1937] in G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne,* these include a translation from Ibn Iyās, a digest of Ibn Taghrībirdī´s *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* a book on Cairo´s mosques, a translation of al-Maqrīzī´s *Ighāthah,* extensive work on the same author´s *Khiṭaṭ,* a little book on medieval Cairo, a catalogue of the Cairo Museum´s holdings of glassware, etc., etc.) Nevertheless, though Wiet wrote frequently and at length on the Mamluks, he was not especially interested in them per se. He was just as interested in modern Egyptian novels, of which he translated several examples. The real focus of his enthusiasm was the city of Cairo, which he lived in and loved and finally departed from with the greatest reluctance.

Although Creswell was Wiet´s furious enemy and rival, this was not really Wiet´s fault, since what Creswell especially hated about Wiet was that the latter was French. Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell (1879-1974) was like Wiet an admiring disciple of Van Berchem. Creswell´s *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*[16]

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[15]On van Berchem, see K. A. C. Creswell, ″In Memoriam—Max van Berchem,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1963): 117-18; Solange Ory, ″Max van Berchem, Orientaliste,″ in *D´un Orient l´autre: Les métamorphoses succesives des perceptions et connaissances* (Paris, 1991), 2:11-24.

[16]Oxford, 1952-59.

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unfortunately goes no further than 1326. Although he planned to cover the last two centuries of Mamluk architecture, he never got to it. Creswell knew no Arabic and he concentrated rather narrowly on dating and surveying the buildings he studied, leaving a mass of theoretical problems to be tackled by later scholars such as Michael Rogers, R. S. Humphreys, and Jonathan Bloom.[17]

The Anglo-French colonial moment in the Near East from ca. 1918 until, perhaps, the 1950s, made it relatively easy for European scholars to study the buildings, archaeological sites, and town plans of the region. Many of the early leading figures in these fields were French. France's historic mission in the Orient drew upon the crusading past to justify its reoccupation of a Syria in which so many Frenchmen had fought and died in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From 1921 onwards France exercised a Mandate in Syria and set up an antiquities service which oversaw work done on both Muslim and Crusading architecture. Jean Sauvaget (1901-50) was the leading figure. "Beware of Sauvaget!" Creswell once warned Oleg Grabar. It was not just that Sauvaget was French (always a bad sign), but also that Sauvaget had ideas (also always a bad sign). The classic theory of the "Islamic city" was first developed by the French in Algeria, and then exported to Syria—where Sauvaget was its main exponent. Sauvaget was obsessed with the *Nachleben* of Antiquity. He wanted to find Rome in Damascus and in Lattakia and elsewhere. Naturally the main focus of his interest was in Umayyad Syria, but he was more generally interested in the notion of the "Islamic city." In his work on "the silent web of Islamic history," he treated buildings as texts (and really only as texts, for, like Creswell, he had a healthy dislike for art historians). As for texts, Sauvaget (like Claude Cahen a little later) placed great stress on understanding the sources of one's sources, or, to put it another way, it was not enough to parrot the information of late compilators like Ibn al-Athīr or al-Maqrīzī. Sauvaget also did a lot to draw local histories into consideration.

Sauvaget's main work, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du xixe siècle,*[18] is the "sad" story of the late antique city's failure to preserve itself from later encroachments and its ultimate breakdown, into quarters based on tribes, crafts, and what have you. Although Aleppo experienced a partial revival in the Mamluk period, this could not be credited to the Mamluks. Rather, both Aleppo and Damascus owed their prosperity to their trade with Venice (as well as, perhaps, the collapse of Genoese trading operations in the Black Sea). Sauvaget was always conscious of the need to place his various urban studies in a broader Mediterranean context. His study of quarters

[17] *Studies in Islamic Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1955); Michael Rogers, "Creswell's Reading and Methods," *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 45-54.

[18] Paris, 1941.

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of Syrian cities led him to present a mosaic view of Islamic cities. He looked in vain for strong cohesive urban institutions. What little unity the Syrian cities possessed depended on the walls, the cathedral mosque, and the central souk.

Sauvaget's *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des mamelouks*[19] was a prime example of history with one's boots on and of matching buildings to documents. As Ayalon noted in his encomium of the work and the man, Sauvaget was attracted to the Mamluk period by the comparative wealth of sources which he described as "rich, variegated and dependable of such a kind that no praise of them can be too high." Ayalon commented on this observation of Sauvaget's, remarking that it was "no hyperbole to say that those sources make it possible to write scores, if not hundreds, of works of research of the highest order, on subjects concerning which, when other periods of Islam are in question, only a few sentences can be indited, and that after Herculean scientific labours."[20] (Following this last insight, it seems clear that Ayalon himself and other researchers in the history of Islamic institutions have pitched their research tents in Mamluk pastures because the sources are so rich. However much one might want to know about, say, the Abbasid *barīd* or the Umayyad fisc, it is really only in the Mamluk period that sufficient source material comes easily to hand.)

Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1862-1957), another of van Berchem's students, spread his researches quite widely (including a translation of a Maghribi version of *The One Thousand and One Nights*), but his main interests were philological and institutional and these preoccupations shaped his *La Syrie à l'epoque des mamelouks*,[21] in which he sought to set out the terminology of office holding and the formal functions of those offices as set out in the chancery treatises of the period. It would be left to Ayalon to flesh out Gaudefroy-Demombynes's account by drawing on chronicles and other sources in order to establish the real functions of officers whose formal duties had been set out by al-Qalqashandī and others and then annotated by Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

Early studies tended to be weighted towards the early Mamluk period, because this was when the Mamluks fought the Crusaders. But the gloomy paradox here is that people who studied the Baḥrī Mamluk period tended to use chronicles from the Circassian period, because the latter were more compendious. Popper's work in editing and translating the later sections of Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* as well as his *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr* and related publications, ought to have had the effect of directing attention to the Circassian period. But it did not—at first at least. Even though William Popper (1874-1963) published a great deal on the

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[19]Paris, 1941.

[20]David Ayalon, "On One of the Works of Jean Sauvaget," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 302.

[21]Paris, 1923.

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Circassian Mamluks, he was not a pure Mamlukist, for he had other interests and did major work on the Prophet Isaiah.

Hitherto the primary impetus in Mamluk studies had consisted of the amassing, translating, and editing of material bearing on the Mamluks. Israeli scholars pioneered a more interpretative approach. Some particularly bold interpretations of various features of Mamluk society were put forward by A. N. Poliak in his *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon (1250-1900).* This short book was one of the most determined, but least successful, attempts to present the Mamluks as chivalrous feudatories. Amirs were ″knights,″ they were ″dubbed″ by the sultan or his vice-regent and they held ″fiefs.″ Error crowded upon misjudgment in Poliak´s dense pages. The sultan was elected by an electoral college.[22] The *al-ajnād al-qarānīs* were Caucasian noblemen who had not yet been dubbed amirs.[23] ″The feudal aristocracy″ settled their lawsuits according to rules based on the Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khan.[24] *Futūwah* was an order of knights devoted to Muḥammad´s posterity.[25] The ruler of the Golden Horde was the suzerain of the Mamluk sultan.[26]

Poliak´s various articles repeated these errors and disseminated new ones. For example, in an article on the impact of the Mongol *Yāsa* on the Mamluk Sultanate, Poliak suggested that Mongol immigrants to the Mamluk realm enjoyed an especially high status. Also that ″knights″ who had never been slaves held themselves to be superior to Mamluks. Also that the Mamluks´ subjects welcomed the Ottoman invasion, because it meant liberation from the yoke of the *Yāsa* and a return to *ʻadl*.[27] Much of Poliak´s work was carefully dismantled by Ayalon, who observed that the ″late P. had the genius of putting his finger on crucial problems. His solutions to these problems, however, which were guided more by quick intuition than by thorough and dispassionate examination of the source material, proved to be, unfortunately, too often, wide of the mark.″[28] Elsewhere Ayalon, writing about Poliak´s erroneous population estimates for the medieval Near East, described him

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[22]A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon (1250-1900)* (London, 1939), 1.

[23]Ibid., 2.

[24]Ibid., 14-15.

[25]Ibid., 15.

[26]Ibid., 16-17 n.

[27]Poliak, ″The Influence of Chingiz Khan´s *Yasa* upon the General Organization of the Mamluk State,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942): 862-76.

[28]David Ayalon, ″The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khan: A Re-examination; part C_1, The Position of the Yāsa in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Studia Islamica* 36 (1972): 137.

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as ″a misguided genius.″[29] It is indeed rare to see a work of apparent scholarship become so thoroughly superseded.

Some of Poliak´s notions, particularly concerning Middle Eastern feudalism and the size of the population of Egypt and Syria, were uncritically echoed by Ashtor. Eliyahu Strauss, later Eliyahu Ashtor (1914-84), first worked on Mamluk manuscript sources in the Vienna library and, even before he left Austria at the time of the *Anschluss,* he had produced a dissertation on Baybars al-Manṣūrī and Ibn al-Furāt. In early articles on the Arabic historians who wrote in the Mamluk period, he compared their writings unfavorably to Europeans writing in a humanist tradition—such as Suetonius. However, Ashtor´s hatred was reserved for the Mamluks themselves—corrupt, backward, violent, parasitic feudatories. I do not know, but I wonder if he thought of the Mamluks as the Nazis of the medieval Near East.

By contrast, Ashtor identified first with the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie who struggled as best they could to get along under the alien oppressors and secondly he sympathized with the European, mostly Venetian, traders who came to do business with the Mamluks. In Ashtor´s vision of the social history of the region, there was a ″bourgeois moment″ around the second half of the eleventh century in such merchant republics as Tyre and Tripoli. Thereafter, however, the region was subjected to increasing militarization. Ashtor´s *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* presented a remarkably consistent picture of Syria and Egypt in this period as prey to the ravages of predatory feudatories and already (but surely prematurely?) part of the Third World. Every earthquake, flood, pestilence, and instance of banditry or unjust taxation was lovingly added to Ashtor´s gloomy record. (Inconsistently he also, following Poliak, treated the Baḥrī period as one of demographic growth and monetary stability.) The intervention of the military in industry and commerce stifled technological innovation. Their control of the cities prevented the development of urban autonomy and communal institutions of the ″proper″ sort that one found in medieval Europe. ″The flourishing economy of the Near East had been ruined by the rapacious military, and its great civilizing achievements had been destroyed through inability to adopt new methods of production and new ways of life.″[30]

In *Levant Trade in The Later Middle Ages*[31] Ashtor concentrated on the commercial and diplomatic toings and froings between the Mamluk Sultanate and

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[29]Ayalon, ″Regarding Population Estimates in the Countries of Medieval Islam,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28 (1985): 16.

[30]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1976), 331.

[31]Princeton, 1983.

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the Republic of Venice from the 1340s onwards. The two did not enjoy an easy relationship and recriminations were frequent. What is remarkable about Ashtor's account of the bickering is that in every single case he accepted Venetian complaints about Mamluk monopolies, corruption, etc., etc., while rejecting out of hand Mamluk complaints about Venetian short-changing, piracy, etc., etc. Another obvious criticism that can be made of Ashtor's commercial history is that he grossly underestimated the scale of Genoese trade with the Levant. Although Ashtor was certain that the Mamluk sultans' monopolies were a bad thing, some historians would argue that those monopolies explain the fifteenth-century revival of the sultanate—a revival which was invisible to Ashtor. Ashtor's views about the technological and industrial failure of the Mamluk Sultanate have received some support from the findings of art historians who have worked on glass and metalwork. Certainly it would seem that in the fifteenth century Venice was exporting to Egypt and Syria the sort of high-quality painted and enamelled glass which it had formerly imported from those regions.[32] However, the so-called "Veneto-Saracenic" ware has recently been firmly reascribed to Middle Eastern workshops.[33] But, to come back to *Levant Trade* itself, this and related articles by Ashtor did have the definite merit of stressing the economic importance of such local products as cotton, Syrian silk, sugar, and soap. Some earlier books had treated the sultanate as if it were a mere conduit for silks and spices from further East.

Ashtor's findings were much criticized in his lifetime and subsequently. Several scholars were unhappy with his handling of data and his fondness for tables of prices and salaries in which the unlike tended to be bundled in with the like. As we shall see, Jean-Claude Garcin was critical of Ashtor's view of Mamluks as agents of stagnation. Janet Abu-Lughod has had similar doubts about Mamluk monopolies causing technological stagnation. As she put it, Ashtor consistently "blames the victim."[34] Abu-Lughod and other economic historians have preferred to stress such factors as the cumulative impact of Venetian commercial aggression, the Black Death, and Tīmūr's invasion of the Near East. Moreover, though Ashtor blamed the Mamluk sultans, especially Barsbāy, for the extinction of the Kārimī corporation of spice merchants, Gaston Wiet's listing of known Kārimīs showed

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[32]On this, see Rachel Ward, ed., *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East* (London, 1998).

[33]Rachel Ward, Susan la Niece, Duncan Hook, and Raymond White, "'Veneto-Saracenic' Metalwork: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum," in Duncan R. Hook and David R. M. Gaimster, eds., *Trade and Discovery: The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Mediaeval Europe and Beyond*, Occasional Paper 109 (London, 1995), 235-58.

[34]Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford, 1989), 233.

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that they were still trading in the fifteenth century. These and other criticisms notwithstanding, Ashtor was a considerable figure, not just in Mamluk studies, but also as an authority on the history of the Jews under Islam.

Ashtor´s reputation in the field has, I guess, only been surpassed by that of another Israeli, the late, great David Ayalon (1914-1998).[35] Ayalon´s earliest work was an important and still constantly used Arabic-Hebrew dictionary. In his later years he became fascinated by the history of terminology for eunuchs in the medieval Islamic lands. In the years between the dictionary and the eunuchs, however (from the 1950s onwards), he devoted himself obsessively to the military caste of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria. He put the Mamluks on the historians´ map. He has done more than anyone else to explain how the system worked and to demolish outdated misconceptions. From the beginning of his researches, Ayalon was aware of Ibn Khaldūn´s view of the Mamluks and regarded it as cogent. While Ayalon was working on his doctorate, he had come across a key passage in the *Kitāb al-'Ibar,* in which Ibn Khaldūn discussed Turks and the mamluk institution. Ibn Khaldūn regarded the mamluk institution as a very good thing indeed: ″This status of slavery is indeed a blessing . . . from Divine Providence. They embrace Islam with the determination of true believers, while yet retaining their nomadic virtues, which are undefiled by vile nature, unmixed with the filth of lustful pleasures, unmarred by the habits of civilizations, with their youthful strength unshattered by excess of luxury.″[36] Time and again Ayalon returned to these Khaldunian themes: the resort to the import of mamluks as the salvation of Islam and most specifically the salvation of Egypt and Syria from the Mongols and Crusaders, the mamluks´ retention of nomadic virtues, most notably that of *'iṣābah,* which in a mamluk context was replaced by the artificial bonding of *khushdashīyah,* and, finally, the effectiveness of the Mamluk system in breaking free from the otherwise doomed cycle of dynastic decay which Ibn Khaldūn had perceived as operating everywhere else in Islamic history.

Ayalon, impressed by Ibn Khaldūn, took a much more favorable view of the military elite than most of his precursors and contemporaries, but still not all that favorable. Although Ayalon agreed with Ashtor on very little, he did agree that their military and conservative cast of mind militated against innovation. This particularly comes out in *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society.*[37] This book has had a massive influence on

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[35]On the life and works of Ayalon, see Reuven Amitai, ″David Ayalon, 1914-1998,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 1-12.

[36]Quoted in David Ayalon, "Mamlukiyyāt: (B) Ibn Khaldūn's view of the Mamlūk Phenomenon," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 345.

[37]London, 1956.

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historians working within and beyond the field—in shaping an image of hidebound chivalrous Mamluks doomed by new technology. But it is not his best work and recent studies by Carl Petry and Shai Har-El have chipped away at some of Ayalon´s arguments. Har-El, in particular, has taken a more positive view of the Mamluks and their military response to the Ottomans. He argues that their main problem was lack of such resources as wood, iron, etc. Neither Petry nor Har-El seem to think that Mamluk defeat at the hands of the Ottomans was a foregone conclusion.

Ayalon´s ″Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon,″ published in *Der Islam* in 1977, stressed the essential continuity between the Ayyubid and Mamluk regimes, whereas the drift of R. S. Humpreys´s ″The Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ which appeared in *Studia Islamica* in the same year, was to argue for distinct changes—for reforms taking place early on in the reign of Baybars. Ayalon was to reply to Humphreys in an article in the *Revue des études islamiques* in 1981. The heart of their disagreement concerned the specific problem of the continuity of the *ḥalqah* in any but a merely verbal form. There was also the issue of the chronology of the establishment of a three-tier officer class. Ayalon´s arguments for continuity were detailed and ingenious and it is certainly true that if, say, Baybars carried out a sweeping program of reform, there is little direct evidence for it. Even so, I believe that Humphreys has carried the day, particularly on the decline of the *ḥalqah* from an Ayyubid elite force to a poorly rewarded kind of auxiliary arm of the Mamluk army.

In 1968 Ayalon published an article on ″The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy.″ Although it was published the year after Lapidus´s *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages,* Ayalon´s article had presumably been in press too long to take account of Lapidus´s arguments. Certainly its conclusions were very different from those of Lapidus (to which we shall come). Ayalon placed heavy emphasis on the alienness and social isolation of the mamluks. The mamluks, immured in the Citadel, were more or less immune from contaminating and weakening contact with Cairo´s citizens. Only in one very striking way did they involve themselves in the life of the city and that was in the endowment of mosques, madrasahs and *khānqāh*s. And here again Ayalon drew attention to Ibn Khaldūn´s reflections on the matter. Ibn Khaldūn was inclined to see the buildings as the outcome of the amirs´ desire to protect their wealth and to ensure its transmission to their descendants by creating *waqf*s. Having emphasized the isolation of the military from the civil, Ayalon did go on to note that Syria seemed to be different, but he left the matter there. He was never so interested in Syria as in Egypt, a bias which, to some extent, unbalances his presentation of the *ḥalqah* elsewhere. (While on the subject of the relative importance of Egypt and Syria, Garcin has argued, rightly I think, that whereas Syria was hardly more than

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Egypt's protective glacis in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, thereafter its economic and political importance increases vastly.[38] It is an argument which fits smoothly with Sauvaget's findings about the revival of Damascus and Aleppo in the later Middle Ages.)

Ayalon had rightly stressed the urban nature of Mamluk power. Ashtor had asked himself why Middle Eastern cities were not successful in developing durable autonomous institutions. Both these matters were taken up in Ira Marvin Lapidus's *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages.*[39] Unlike most of its precursors and some of its successors in Mamluk studies, Lapidus's book was problem-oriented and it addressed a wider audience than just Mamlukists. The Syrian cities of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were special cases of the perceived problem of the "Islamic city"—a problem which had attracted not only Sauvaget, but also Massignon and others earlier in the century. The "Islamic city" notoriously failed to preserve such features as the agora, the theaters, and the wide straight streets which had distinguished its antique precursor. Not only this but the "Islamic City" failed to grow up into something like a European city and free itself from feudal control. Lapidus's version of how the Mamluks existed in the city contrasted quite strongly with that of Ayalon. Whereas Ayalon effectively imprisoned the military in the Citadel, Lapidus showed them intervening in every aspect of urban life. In large measure, the Mamluks oversaw the provisioning of the cities. More generally, they acted as mediators between town and countryside. And "the mamluk household was a means of transforming public into private powers and state authority into personal authority."[40] Mamluks were commercial entrepreneurs and the bourgeois who competed against them did so at a disadvantage. At another level the Mamluks opened their purses to such ruffian rabble as the *ḥarāfīsh*.

It was not only the *ḥarāfīsh* who were prepared to sell themselves for Mamluk *dīnār*s. The ulama did the same and much of *Muslim Cities* is devoted to this *trahison des clercs.* The book is above all a study in the power of patronage. The Mamluks, acting out of individual and corporate self-interest, set up *waqf*s for mosques, madrasahs, *khānqāh*s and similar institutions and the civilian elite competed for stipends at these places. Having sold themselves in this manner, the ulama then served as go-betweens or mediators between the military and the urban masses. Everybody lived cheek-by-jowl in these cities and, outside the army and palace, there was little in the way of formal hierarchy. Civic affairs were managed by means which were effective though informal, without recourse

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[38]Garcin, "Pour un recours à l'histoire de l'espace vécu dans l'étude de l'Egypte Arabe," *Annales-Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 35 (1980): 436-51.

[39]Cambridge, MA, 1967.

[40]Ibid., 48-50.

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to chambers of aldermen or guilds. *Muslim Cities* has been widely and rightly praised.

At the same time, it attracted criticism and debate. Lapidus had studied the Mamluk city rather than the Muslim city. As a heuristic device, Lapidus had constructed a Weberian ″ideal type″ of Islamic city in order to compare it with the European city. But one might as well compare the cities Lapidus had studied with Samarkand, Tabriz, and Fez in the same period, for there were many significant dissimilarities. It was not even clear to what extent Lapidus´s insights applied to Egyptian cities. He had sometimes had recourse to Egyptian data, but he did not come up with Egyptian conclusions. He had, on the whole, taken a synchronic approach to the subject, which meant that the book failed to register distinctly the impact on the Syrian cities of the Black Death or of the expansion of Venetian trade.

Lapidus (and others after him, including R. S. Humphreys) stressed the overwhelming role of Mamluk patronage. But it is natural for cultural historians to go looking for a role for the bourgeoisie here. (After all, most historians these days have bourgeois origins and therefore there is perhaps a certain *parti pris*.) Oleg Grabar has argued that what little evidence we have suggests that the bourgeois were the chief patrons of the illustrated *Maqāmāt*s which are such a feature of the age. Less plausibly, Grabar has assigned a role for the bourgeois in the construction of the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque. How, he asked, did such a very weak ruler as al-Nāṣir Ḥasan find the resources to build the greatest madrasah in Cairo? Grabar suggested that the grand bourgeoisie was the real builders. The Mamluks were in shaky control whereas the urban bourgeoisie ″had considerable financial and bureaucratic power within the state.″ (It is not an argument which has much in the way of evidence to recommend it.) Once built, the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque became a monument for popular piety and a focus for legend.[41]

In 1974 at the request of MESA, Albert Hourani prepared a report on ″The Present State of Islamic and Middle Eastern Historiography.″ Hourani´s *tour d´horizon* is full of interest, but I restrict myself here to what he said about Mamluk studies: ″for the Mamluks of Egypt even the basic institution, the military society, has not yet been studied, although Ayalon has laid very solid foundations and Darrag has studied one reign in depth.″[42] Hourani based himself on the *Gunpowder* monograph plus ″Studies in the Structure of the Mamluk Army″ and I rather feel he underestimated the scope of Ayalon´s publications. Additionally,

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[41]Oleg Grabar in J. R. Hayes, ed., *The Genius of Arab Civilization: Source of Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 108.

[42]Albert Hourani, ″The Present State of Islamic and Middle Eastern Historiography,″ reprinted in idem, *Europe and the Middle East,* 176.

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Lapidus´s *Muslim Cities* was referred to by Hourani in the context of urban studies and the study of ideal types in Islamic culture.

Well, that was how it looked in 1974. By then however important works on source criticism had already appeared, of which Hourani had taken no account: Donald Little´s *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography*[43] and Ulrich Haarmann´s *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit.*[44] Of course, a good deal of work on identifying, editing, and translating thirteenth-century sources had already been done by Claude Cahen. Cahen indeed criticized Little´s sampling method and the conclusions which Little derived from it regarding the alleged dependence of Yunīnī on al-Jazarī.[45] Indeed, quite how complex the relationship was between the two historians has been brought out by more recent research by Li Guo. But Little´s research led him on to wider issues than source dependence. His investigation of the varying accounts of the career of Qarāsunqur, the Mamluk defector to the Mongols, led him on to investigate other connections between the Mongols and the Mamluks. Little´s book was downbeat about history writing in the Mamluk period. We have copious chronicles, but they are carelessly put together, they plagiarize one another, and most of the time they are frankly dull.

I should like to linger on Ulrich Haarmann, whose *Quellenstudien* and whose articles—on the literarization of history writing, on the appearance of Turco-Mongol folklore in chronicles, on the culture of the amirs and of the *awlād al-nās*, and on Pharaonic elements in Egyptian culture—I personally have found the most stimulating things to have been produced in the field. (It is not easy for me to be stimulated in German, as the stimulation has to be mediated by a dictionary, even so . . .) I believe that Haarmann´s ideas on the literarization of chronicle-writing have influenced everyone who has since written on the historiography of the age. Even more important, his work on the libraries of the great amirs and on the civilian career-patterns of the *awlād al-nās* has permitted a more nuanced view of the ruling elite and softened the stark contrast between the Men of the Sword and the Men of the Pen. Haarmann´s researches into the literary attainments of the Mamluks and their children have been given further support in work done by, among others, Barbara Flemming and Jonathan Berkey. Haarmann´s work on source criticism was taken further by his own students, Samira Kortantamer, Barbara Langner, and Barbara Schäfer among them.

The beginning of the 1980s was when Mamluk studies really took off—and when non-Mamlukists started to take an interest. As William Muir had observed almost a hundred years earlier, the prolonged Mamluk domination of Egypt ″must

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[43]Wiesbaden, 1970.

[44]Freiburg im Breisgau, 1969.

[45]In a review published by Cahen in *JESHO* 15 (1972): 223-25.

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still remain one of the strange and undecipherable phenomena in that land of many mysteries.″[46] In the 1980s several scholars tried their hand at cracking the mystery. In *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity,*[47] Patricia Crone, having argued that the mamluks were a distinctively Islamic phenomenon, went on to ask why this was the case. Her (somewhat moralistic) conclusion was that the mamluks were the product of the failure of the Islamic *ummah* to arrange its affairs according to the ideal program of the shari'ah. The mamluks were a kind of punishment for political sin. In the *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Khaldūn had argued that Muslims had failed to follow the shari'ah perfectly and their political regimes thereby become prey to cyclical decline and fall. The influence of Ibn Khaldūn pervades *Slaves on Horses*. Crone was trying to explain the general phenomenon of the slave soldiers throughout Islamic history. However, she did note the special features of the Mamluk regime in Egypt and Syria. She took the (surely exaggerated) view that the Egyptian Mamluk system only worked when there was an external threat; otherwise it degenerated into a civil war. The Mamluks were predatory shepherds. (The shepherd image comes, I think, from Ottoman political theory.) Finally Crone stressed the comfortable symbiosis between Mamluks and ulama and how the Mamluks were seen by their subjects as the providential protagonists of the jihad—again very Khaldunian.

Daniel Pipes′ *Slave Soldiers and Islam: The Genesis of a Military System*[48] appeared just a year later. Pipes′ view of the problem was similar, though different. Mamluks and other marginal troops rushed in to fill a politico-military vacuum, that vacuum having been created by the withdrawal from public affairs of other Muslims. The withdrawal from public affairs of these *fainéant* Muslims was the product of their disillusion at their failure to implement the Islamicate ideal. As the use of ″Islamicate″ indicates, Pipes was somewhat influenced by Marshall Hodgson. Ibn Khaldūn′s influence is equally evident, but, whereas Ibn Khaldūn had argued that renewed imports of mamluks served to infuse the ruling regime with fresh nomadic vigor, Pipes argued that it was because of the unreliability of such troops that they kept having to be replaced. The notion of Mamluks as a punishment for perceived failure to live up to Islamic ideals is a curious one. Papal and Imperial theorists in Christendom also had unreal and idealistic notions of government—and most Christians probably did not care about those ideals nor did they wish to be involved in politics. But only the medieval German *ministeriales* look anything like mamluks.

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[46]Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty,* 221.

[47]Cambridge, 1980.

[48]New Haven, 1981.

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Garcin took a particularly critical view of Pipes′ ideas (and come to that, of Ashtor′s as well) concerning the Mamluks as a response to failure of civil society and as agents of a technical and cultural ″blockage″ in the Middle East. He was sceptical too about Crone′s condemnatory view that the mamluk institution ″bespeaks a moral gap of such dimensions that within the great civilizations it has been found only in one.″[49] Garcin was disinclined to indict the Mamluks as agents of ″blockage.″ Instead he adduced such factors as demographic decline and lack of resources. He also gave consideration to the possible role of the Bedouin in the ″blockage.″ Garcin′s contrasting perspective derived from his previous research on Upper Egypt and his *magnum opus, Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ*.[50] The latter is a grand work in the *Annales* tradition, an *oeuvre de longue haleine,* which drew on a remarkably wide range of sources and which gave full weight to topographic, demographic, economic, tribal, and even folkloric matters. Garcin viewed the politics of the Cairo Citadel from the perspective of the provinces. As an *Annales* historian, he paid far more attention to long-term trends, demographic factors, and shifts in trade routes than he did to personalities and dramatic incidents. Like the citizens of medieval Qūṣ (I guess) he was inclined to see the Bedouin as more of a problem than the Mamluks, though, of course, the Bedouin were also integral to the economy of the region. It seems likely that al-Suyūṭī played a larger role than Ibn Khaldūn in forming Garcin′s idea of the Mamluks.

As already noted, the early 1980s were the time when Mamluk studies really accelerated. The Washington exhibition of Mamluk art in 1981 provided some of the stimulus for this lift-off. Esin Atıl produced an admirable catalogue for the exhibition —admirable, that is, except for the title: *Renaissance of Islam*. The notion that one is dealing with a ″rebirth″ in this context is quite strange. True, it is possible to find antiquarian features, or backward-looking references, in certain Mamluk buildings and artifacts. (For example, Jonathan Bloom has shown how the Mosque of Baybars harks back to that of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh, while Bernard O′Kane has argued that some Mamluk buildings were built in conscious emulation of Abbasid precursors.) In general, however, it is striking how Mamluk art broke with past precedents and even with the immediate precedent of Ayyubid art. Thus it is usually easy to distinguish Mamluk metalwork from Ayyubid metalwork. In architecture, to take another example, Mamluk patrons eschewed the Ayyubid preference for the free-standing mosque. The carving up of

[49]Garcin, ″The Mamluk Military System and the Blocking of Medieval Moslem Society,″ in Jean Baechler, John A. Hall, and Michael Mann, eds., *Europe and the Rise of Capitalism* (Oxford, 1988), 113-30.

[50]Paris, 1976.

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art history on dynastic lines may be questionable, but in the particular case of the Mamluks it may be justified, because the patronage and taste of the court and those in the immediate service of the court seem to dominate the work produced.

Atıl′s catalogue was not the only fruit of the Washington exhibition. There was also a concurrent conference, the first conference ever to be devoted to the specific topic of the Mamluks. Its proceedings were published as a special issue of *Muqarnas*.[51] The *Muqarnas* papers were topped and tailed by the broad-sweep papers of Grabar and Lapidus. The former reflected on the cohesiveness of Mamluk art, while the latter′s manifesto urged historians of Mamluk art to snatch leaves from Michael Baxandall′s certainly quite wonderful *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*.[52] As Lapidus noted, Baxandall′s was ″an approach to art history that seeks out the mentality and culture of peoples from a study of their art.″ It drew on a remarkably wide range of sources, including dance manuals and treatises on barrel-gauging, in an attempt to establish how fifteenth-century Italians looked at paintings, how they verbalized their responses, and the mechanics of how artists actually set about their work. It is an inspiring book, but, alas, I do not think that it has yet inspired anyone working on the arts under the Mamluks.

My own view is that art history and socio-political history are false friends, in the sense that they have not yet given each other much assistance. Take the Saint Louis Baptistery, which, with its wealth of iconographic detail including heraldry, should be easy to date. In a meticulous yet probably mistaken study, David Storm Rice assigned the Baptistery to the patronage of the amir Salār, ca. 1290-1310. Rice′s dating has recently been hesitantly accepted by Bloom and Blair and they argue that it could not have been made for the open market. However, Elfriede R. Knauer contends that the Baptistery was made in the reign of Baybars, and so does Doris Behrens-Abouseif, although she adduces different arguments for this dating. However, Rachel Ward is about to demonstrate (I think) that it was made late in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for the European export market. Arguments about the date and provenance of the Baptistery and other objects rely in part on blazons. In Rice′s time the way Mamluk heraldry worked was poorly understood. Since then, thanks to articles by Michael Meinecke and Estelle Whelan, we now have a much better notion of how Mamluk heraldry worked.

To take another example, Mamluk carpets are among the most controversial objects in the field of Islamic art. These exquisite textiles seem to have no real precursors in medieval Egyptian art and there is hardly any textual evidence. There is no consensus about where the carpets were made, when they were made, or why they were made. Although many scholars believe that they were woven in

[51]Vol. 2 (1984).

[52]Oxford, 1972.

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Cairo under the patronage of the Mamluk sultans, others have argued that these carpets may have been produced in North Africa, Syria, or Anatolia. Some believe that production started in the late fifteenth century (and hence the appearance of Qāytbāy′s blazon on one of them), but others argue that they only begin to be produced after 1517. They may have been produced for the Mamluk court; then again it is possible that they were chiefly exported to the west. The significance of the elaborate octagonal design is inevitably also controversial. The carpets were manufactured while the chroniclers′ backs were turned and out of sight of the eyes of European visitors.

There are exceptions to the lack of success in matching objects to documents—Nasser Rabbat′s recent monograph on the Citadel makes exemplary use of both documentary and non-documentary sources. In general, Mamluk architectural history is relatively well mapped. In Cairo, this has been the work first of Creswell and his student Christel Kessler and more recently the work of Michael Meinecke (d. 1995), as well as the work on domestic architecture by Garcin, Jacques Revault, and Bernard Maury. Consequently, Cairo is the most thoroughly studied of all Muslim cities. Jerusalem has also benefited from a meticulous survey by Michael Burgoyne and historical research by Donald Richards. Yet, despite their work and despite the work of Donald Little on the Ḥaram documents, it is curious and even a little dispiriting to consider how many gaps there are in the record of Mamluk Jerusalem. More theoretical and evaluative approaches to Mamluk architecture have tended to stress the importance of procession and ceremony, of boastfulness and statements of legitimation through the prosecution of the jihad in determining the forms of the grand Mamluk foundations. This sort of approach parallels work being done on Fatimid architecture and ceremonial. Examples for the Mamluk period include articles by Humphreys, Bernard O′Kane, and Doris Behrens-Abouseif. The scale of the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque and its possible models have attracted much attention (from Rogers, O′Kane, and others)—as has the financing of its building. Did ″the inheritance effect,″ a hypothetical consequence of the Black Death, fund this massive architectural project? And, to look at another aspect of funding, did the building mania of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad before him seriously contribute to the decline of the Mamluk Sultanate?

Mamluk madrasahs have inevitably attracted a lot of attention. There were after all so many of them. Some have followed Ibn Khaldūn in stressing the patronage of such institutions as a way for amirs to protect their incomes in the guise of *waqf*. However, Robert Hillenbrand′s observation that the Ayyubids and Mamluks were, like the Pharaohs, obsessed with death is a fruitful one.[53] With this

[53]Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh, 1994),

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death-consciousness in mind, Hillenbrand has presented madrasahs as primarily ways of ″laundering″ mausolea. That is to say the endowment of a religious college legitimized the placing of the patron′s tomb within a religious enclosure. While on the subject of the purpose of madrasahs, there has also of course been debate on the importance or not of the teaching carried out in these institutions. It is possible to view the curriculum of the madrasah as a way of promoting and controlling Sunni orthodoxy and, also, as perhaps offering training of a sort to Arabs, some of whom would later enter state service. However, Michael Chamberlain in particular has argued that the madrasahs were primarily ways of managing property and money, and that teaching was carried out everywhere and anywhere, informally, without significantly depending on structured madrasah courses. It is possible that each madrasah will have to be studied on an individual basis, for some performed quite unexpected functions. Berkey noted that al-Ghawrī′s ″madrasah″ had no teaching facilities at all and Hillenbrand has pointed out that the Mosque-Madrasah of Qarāsunqur was used by *barīd* couriers as a hostel en route to and from Syria.

Another major area of interest has been the role of immigrant craftsmen and the imitation of foreign models in both the architecture and the arts of the Mamluks. There are occasions when it would make more sense to reclassify ″Mamluk art″ as Saljuq, or Mosuli, or Ilkhanid, or Qaraqoyunlu art. Creswell, in particular, was fond of explaining developments in Egyptian architecture in terms of disasters elsewhere and the consequent incoming waves of refugee architects and craftsmen. There is plenty of evidence for the influence on Mamluk architecture of buildings in Anatolian towns as well as in Ilkhanid Sulṭānīyah and Tabriz. In other art forms, it is difficult to separate out Ilkhanid Mongol from Chinese influence (for example, the lifting of motifs from textiles imported from China). The question of Mongol influence on the arts shades into the question of Mongol influence on the Mamluks more generally—covering such matters as large-format Qurans, dress, folklore, the courier system, haircuts, the code of the *Yāsa*. The subject got off to a poor start with Poliak′s essay. However, matters have since been put on a sounder footing by Michael Rogers, Ulrich Haarmann, Donald Little, and David Ayalon. Ayalon′s articles on the Mongol *Yāsa* and related matters are fundamental. The weight of the evidence now suggests that the cultural influence of the Mongols on the Mamluk Sultanate was not a significant factor until the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

The civilian elite has been another major focus of research—inevitably, since the sources are so rich (the civilian elite was very good at celebrating itself). Carl

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Petry´s *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*[54] has taken apart the notion that there was a single civilian elite. Rather there was a threefold division into first, bureaucrats—often from Syria; secondly, jurist-scholars —from all over the Islamic world; and, thirdly, religious functionaries, who tended to come from Cairo and the Delta. As for Joseph H. Escovitz´s *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamluks,*[55] it of course says many things, but the main thing I got from reading it was that it poured cold water on the notion of the qadis as spokesmen for the subjects of the Mamluks. The qadis accommodated themselves to the Mamluk regime and they handed down its decrees. They defended the interests of the civilian elite as best they could, but were on the whole oblivious to wider needs. Jonathan Berkey´s survey of teaching establishments, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education,*[56] used both chronicles and *waqfīyah*s to study the way that the religious sciences were taught and showed how they were taught on an informal and personal basis. I have already mentioned Michael Chamberlain´s view, put forward in *Knowledge and Social Practice in Damascus 1190-1350,*[57] that the madrasah was a conduit for managing property and paying stipends. Chamberlain has studied how a medieval society, by and large, managed without documents and, like Lapidus, he has emphasized how informal ways of getting things done compensated for a relative lack of hierarchy and formal institutions. However, Chamberlain does not believe that madrasahs were endowed in an effort to buy the ulama. In this he differs from, say, Fernandes, whose *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khānqāh*[58] argued that *khānqāh*s were a way of, as it were, buying Sufis and controlling Sufism. One problem with all this research on the civilian elite is that only civilians of a certain class got into the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī. Such works tell us very little indeed about merchants, poets, sorcerers, and most of the *awlād al-nās.*

The golden prime of the Mamluks in the late thirteenth century and their wars against the Crusaders and Mongols seems to be relatively uncontentious territory. The same cannot be said of the decline of the Mamluks and there is no agreement yet on when or why or even if the Mamluk Sultanate started declining. Ayalon´s ″The Muslim City and the Military Aristocracy″ blamed it on decadent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the expensive and capricious harem, the failure to keep proper military discipline, and extravagant expenditure on building projects. This kind of approach

[54]Princeton, 1981.

[55]Berlin, 1984.

[56]Princeton, 1992.

[57]Cambridge, 1994.

[58]Berlin, 1988.

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has been echoed and underlined by Amalia Levanoni in her *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāsir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310-1341*.[59] She similarly found seeds of decline in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, though there are points of difference between her and Ayalon. Levanoni places less stress, I think, on the personal failings of the Qalawunid sultans. However, I think if one is looking for the causes of Mamluk collapse in the sixteenth century, then the 1330s is too early to start looking for it. It also seems rough to blame any of it on the royal princesses. I doubt if the cost of their dresses contributed much to the decay of one of the world′s great medieval empires and I do not think we should encourage al-Maqrīzī and al-Suyūṭī in their misogyny.

Others have been disinclined to blame al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s alleged fecklessness and extravagance and they have looked for broader causes. For example, Rabbat′s book on the Citadel suggests a more positive approach to the sultan′s public works and attributes decline to international economic factors.[60] Similarly, Garcin, in his contribution to *Palais et maisons du Caire,* does not find fault with the sultan. Moreover, it must be asked, could things ever have gone all that well with the sultanate after the onset of the plague epidemics from 1347 onwards? Ayalon, himself, was the pioneer on the subject of the plague—in the first study he published in English on the Mamluks in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1946. Ayalon′s article suggested that the declining quality of mamluk training and the breakdown in discipline were in large part a product of the need to recruit and train soldiers faster, because of losses due to plague. The few pages in A. L. Udovitch′s incisive little essay ″England to Egypt″ devoted to the demographic and economic effects of the plague are hard to beat, as they demonstrate how demographic decline explains military rapacity, Bedouin incursions, and most of the rest of the problems of the later sultans. Subsequently Udovitch′s student, Michael Dols, published *The Black Death in the Middle East*.[61] Dols, like Lapidus, was preoccupied by comparisons with Europe and he, as it were, constructed an ideal type of bubonic plague, in order to assess how Egypt′s plague matched up with those of England and Italy. Anybody who might conceivably have been seduced by Poliak′s notion that Egypt experienced a slow but steady demographic increase after 1348 would have been firmly disabused by Dols. And finally on plagues, Lawrence Conrad′s more literary approach to chronicles which reported on them provides a necessary caution against believing that everything one reads

[59]Leiden, 1995.

[60]Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 242-43.

[61]Princeton, 1977.

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on this matter is documentary fact.[62] Similarly Adel Allouche´s introduction to his translation of the *Ighāthah* in *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrizi´s Ighāthah*[63] cautions against taking al-Maqrīzī to be an unprejudiced and reliable source on money matters. Religion took precedence over monetary theory in his muddled brain.

From decline one proceeds to doom. Until recently there was hardly anything to read on the last days of the sultanate. (Well, there was Stripling´s old book.) Now we have Petry´s two books, one by Har-El, and a number of other more specialized studies (for example, James B. Evrard´s *Zur Geschichte Aleppos und Nordsyriens im letzen halben Jahrhundert der Mamlukenherrschaft (872-921 A.H), nach Arabischen und Italeinischen Quellen*[64]). Petry has emphasized the contrasting personalities of Qāytbāy, the dignified conservative, and Qānṣuh al-Ghawrī, the ruthless innovator. In some ways Petry is very hard on al-Ghawrī (for I think that anyone who has heard the penultimate sultan talking—as he does in the *Majālis* and the *Kawkab al-Durrī*—must admire him). But Petry´s approach to al-Ghawrī is a useful corrective to Ayalon, who overdid the image of the last Mamluks as blinkered, chivalrous reactionaries. Petry´s earlier article ″A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period″ on the coexistence of financial crisis and royal magnificence under Qāytbāy is cogent, for the question is well-put and persuasively answered. The trouble with studying the very last days is the paucity of Arabic sources. The way forward will, I think, depend on increasing use of European sources. Ulrich Haarmann´s important recent article ″Joseph´s Law″ makes strikingly effective use of Western sources. Evrard has similarly used Italian sources.

So now, what of the future? I think the main thing is to get away from the activity of studying whatever it is that the obvious sources (mostly chronicles and biographical dictionaries written by ulama) want to tell us. One way of doing this is by use of archives, but I am not clear how much more the Geniza and the Ḥaram al-Sharīf documents have to tell us. There is clearly more material in *waqfīyah*s to be worked on. Even so there are limits to this sort of evidence and several architectural historians have noted mismatches between an endowment´s specifications and the building as actually built. Also, I feel that the study of *waqfīyah*s tips Mamluk studies even further in the direction of becoming ulama studies, at the expense of looking at the secular aspects of the age.

One way of getting away from the pious mutterings of the turbaned elite is to focus properly on the amirs. Reuven Amitai has already produced a prosoprographic

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[62]Lawrence Conrad, ″Arabic Plague Chronologies and Treatises: Social and Historical Factors in the Formation of a Literary Genre,″ *Studia Islamica* 54 (1981): 51-93.

[63]Salt Lake City, 1994.

[64]Munich, 1974.

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essay on the Ẓāhirī and Ṣāliḥī amirs and I have great expectations concerning the similar research he has in progress on Manṣūrī amirs and mamluks. Another way is to redirect attention to the marginals in Mamluk society. Paul Kahle, an obsessive collector of shadow-puppets, was a pioneer in this sort of territory, with his articles on shadow theatre and on gypsies. Poliak wrote on popular revolt and Brinner on the mysterious *ḥarāfīsh*. Much more recently we have had Boaz Shoshan on popular culture in general, Shmuel Moreh on live theatre, Carl Petry on crime, Everett Rowson on gay literature, and G. J. H Van Gelder on *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt* (an *adab* treatise on wine-drinking). Perhaps the biggest problem in dealing with popular culture is clearly separating it out from high culture. Consider the cult of the criminal and the mendicant among the literary elites in Abbasid and Buyid times. Where should one place Ibn Dāniyāl, the friend of the sultan and the amirs, but also the author of low-life shadow plays? Where should one place those wild Sufis with a following of riffraff, but who nevertheless found patronage and protection in the highest places? While on the subject of people who were neither amirs nor ulama, Huda Lutfi´s ″Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shar'i Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises″ has shown how much interesting material about antinomian behavior can be derived from just Ibn al-Ḥājj´s *Madkhal* alone. And, of course, we are likely to see a lot more published about Mamluk women in the near future.

A reasonable amount has been produced fairly recently on popular literature. There is more written on *The Thousand and One Nights* than one can shake a stick at. Malcolm Lyons, Remke Kruk, Harry Norris, and others have produced important works on the popular epics. However, as I see it, far too little work is being done in America or Europe on the high literature of the late Middle Ages—the *adab* and poetry. Emil Homerin is practically unique, as far as I know. Nothing is more likely to transform our perceptions of the Mamluk age than a detailed study of the belles-lettres of the period. But perhaps a forthcoming volume of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* will encourage researchers to venture into the *terra incognita* of Mamluk *adab*. And with reference to *terrae icognitae*, what about the Mamluks in the scramble for Africa? André Raymond has shown how much Cairo´s prosperity under the Ottomans depended on trade with Black Africa—on the commerce in black slaves, gold, and other commodities.[65] It is also plausible then that the African trade may have been important in the Mamluk period also. On the subject of commerce and slave imports, I find it astonishing how little reference is made by Mamlukists to Charles Verlinden´s various publications on the European trade in white slaves.[66]

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[65]Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus, 1974).

[66]See especially Charles Verlinden, *L´Esclavage dans l´Europe médiévale* (Ghent, 1977).

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I have not discussed scholars working and publishing in the Arab world (though the names of Hassanein Rabie, Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, and others come to mind). In sad practice, so much of Western research is conducted without reference to Arab work. This should change. But I have gone on long enough as it is. When I started as a student, there was hardly anything to read on the Mamluks, except what had been produced by the Israelis. Really one could read one´s way through the field in a week. Now, though, there is a lifetime´s reading awaiting your students. (Aren´t they the lucky ones!) Israel is still an important place for Mamluk studies, as are Germany and France, but most of the work in the field is now being done in America. Compared with Fatimid, Saljuq, or Ayyubid studies, Mamluk studies is in great shape. It has its set-piece controversies, its website, its journal. You here at Chicago, at the center of Mamluk studies, should feel particularly cheerful. Even so most of one of the world´s great empires still remains mysterious. ″So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past.″

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Storytelling, Preaching, and Power in Mamluk Cairo*

I

As with many other Islamic institutions, the origins of the *qāṣṣ* (storyteller) and the *wā'iẓ* (preacher) are obscure.[1] However, from an early point in the Islamic period, storytellers and popular preachers became the principal channel of instruction for the common people, those not engaged in a rigorous course of study of the religious sciences under the supervision of one or more scholars.[2] By the sixth/twelfth century, the Hanbali jurist and theologian Ibn al-Jawzī, whose famous treatise on the storytellers, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-al-Mudhakkirīn* (″The Book of Storytellers and Those Who Remind [People of God′s Blessings]″), sought to rein in their excesses and set proper bounds for the material which they related, acknowledged their important role in the transmission of religious knowledge to the common people *(al-'awāmm)*. Drawing on the ethical injunction related in the Quran in surah 3, verse 104 and elsewhere, he remarked that God had sent prophets ″to draw people to the good and warn them against evil,″ and after them the ulama who are distinguished by their learning *('ilm)*. ″Moreover,″ he said, ″the storytellers and the preachers were also given a place in this order *[amr]* so as to exhort *[khiṭāb]* the common people. As a result, the common people benefit from them

*This article is based upon material in my forthcoming book, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*. My thanks to the University of Washington Press for permission to reproduce it here.

[1]Much of the earlier secondary material dwelt upon this issue; see now Khalil ′Athamina, ″Al-Qasas: Its Emergence, Religious Origin and Its Socio-Political Impact on Early Muslim Society,″ *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992): 53-74.

[2]Preaching of course took place on a variety of different levels. At one end of the spectrum, the activity included delivery of a formal sermon *(khuṭbah)* at noon on Fridays. Beyond that, however, there was considerable scope for less formal exhortation. The Muslim masses might attend formal Friday services, but might also hear sermons or edifying stories read in other venues as well. In these settings, the individual delivering the sermon or reciting the tale was usually referred to as a *wā'iẓ* (preacher) or *qāṣṣ* (storyteller). The medieval sources use the terms *wā'iẓ* and *qāṣṣ* more or less interchangeably to refer to individuals engaged in the delivery of exhortations and the transmission of religious knowledge to the common people. See, for example, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-al-Mudhakkirīn*, ed. Merlin Swartz (Beirut, 1986), 11 (Eng. trans., 97-98).

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in a way that they do not from a great scholar.″[3] At another point, he was more precise. ″The preacher brings to God a great number of people, while a jurist *[faqīh]* or a traditionist *[muḥaddith]* or a Quran reader *[qāri']* cannot bring [to God] a hundredth of that number, because [the preacher′s] exhortations are addressed to both the common people and the elite *[lil-'āmm wa-al-khāṣṣ],* but especially the common people, who only rarely meet a jurist, so they discuss things with [the preacher]. The preacher is like the trainer of animals, who educates them, reforms them and refines them.″[4]

Despite their important role, popular preachers and storytellers were subjected to vigorous and sustained criticism throughout the Middle Period. One of their most persistent critics was Ibn al-Jawzī himself. His attack on the lies preached by storytellers to their credulous listeners pulled no punches. What earned the disapprobation of Ibn al-Jawzī and others was not preaching per se, nor reciting to gullible crowds stories about the Hebrew prophets or other topics of sacred history, projects which are an integral feature of Islam as experienced in most times and places; rather, it was certain practices, and excesses, of those who engaged in these activities. The attack came from various quarters. Interestingly, in light of the later history of storytelling and popular preaching, many of the earliest critics were mystics. But traditionists and jurists such as the late Mamluk scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) were also sharply critical of certain features of the storytellers′ craft, and it was their objections which formed the central themes of the polemic against storytellers and preachers. Many of those who denounced the storytellers or their excesses were themselves prominent transmitters of Prophetic traditions, or adherents of a stridently traditionalist religious viewpoint, such as Ibn al-Jawzī, the Maliki jurist Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), and the irrepressible Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymīyah (d. 727/1328). Since much of what the preachers and storytellers recited took the form of hadiths, the concerns of their critics focused on the untrustworthy character of the material they transmitted. Ibn al-Jawzī worried that false hadiths *(mawḍū'āt)* formed the stock-in-trade of many storytellers, and that the common people to whom they related them transmitted the unsound traditions to others, thereby compounding the damage.[5] In Ibn al-Ḥājj′s opinion, the fundamental error of the *quṣṣāṣ* was that they transmitted ″weak sayings and stories″ *(al-aqwāl wa-al-ḥikāyāt al-ḍa'īfah)*.[6] Ignorance was no excuse, but al-Suyūṭī was especially critical of storytellers and preachers who transmitted hadith which

[3]Ibid., 20-21 (Eng. trans., 107).

[4]Ibid., 230 (Eng. trans., 144).

[5]Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū'āt*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1983), 1:29, 32.

[6]Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal al-Shar' al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1929; reprint, Beirut, 1981), 2:14.

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they knew, or had reason to suspect, were false.[7] And the scope for error was enormous: some credited ″heretics″ *(zanādiqah)* with falsely attributing to the Prophet more than 12,000 traditions.[8]

A more biting and formal criticism, and one that was repeated over the centuries, was that storytelling itself was in some way an ″innovation″ *(bid'ah),* and therefore suspect and dangerous. This concern is implicit already in certain traditions about the origins of the practice, such as those which depict the pseudo-legendary Tamīm al-Dārī as pestering the caliph 'Umar to condone a novel practice.[9] Sometimes the scholars' anxieties focused on particular practices associated with the *quṣṣāṣ,* such as their singing verses of the Quran ″beyond the proper bounds″ *(al-qirā'ah bi-alḥān al-khārijah 'an al-ḥadd al-ma'lūf),* or their transmission of heretical innovations in the form of what they claimed were hadith.[10] But others saw the practice generally as an illicit innovation. Thus, for example, al-Suyūṭī pointedly began his treatise against the ″lies of the *quṣṣāṣ*″ by citing a hadith in which the Prophet condemned innovations, while rigorous Maliki critics such as Ibn al-Ḥājj saw the practice of storytelling itself as novel and a threat to the Islamic social order.[11]

The polemical discourse over preachers and storytellers is dominated by their critics, but these transmitters of religious lore and knowledge to the common people were not without their defenders. One treatise written to justify them is *al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ min Sū' al-Ẓann bi-al-Khawaṣṣ* (″The Enciter to Liberation from the Low Opinion of the Elites″—i.e., the elite scholars who scorned popular preachers and storytellers), a work which exists in a single anonymous manuscript in the British Library.[12] This treatise contains a point-by-point response to a critical tract (now apparently lost) penned by Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1404), a Shafi'i jurist and traditionist who lived most of his life in Egypt.

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[7]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawaṣṣ min Akādhīb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāgh (Beirut, 1972), 67f.

[8]Ibid., 162. Other estimates, dutifully recorded by al-Suyūṭī, also circulated. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū'āt,* 1:38, where he gives the figure of 14,000.

[9]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ,* 171-72; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 22 (Eng. trans., 108).

[10]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 118 (Eng. trans., 203); Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, as quoted in ″Al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ min Sū' al-Ẓann bi-al-Khawāṣṣ,″ British Library MS Or. 4275, fol. 2v. On the innovation of chanting the Quran, see Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭushī, *Kitāb al-Ḥawādith wa-al-Bida',* ed. A. M. Turki (Beirut, 1990), 183-93, and Maribel Fierro, ″The Treatises Against Innovations *(kutub al-bid'a),*″ *Der Islam* 69 (1992): 211-13.

[11]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ,* 3; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 2:144f.

[12]British Library MS Or. 4275; see Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1894), 155 (no. 239). This treatise has not, to my knowledge, been the subject of close scholarly scrutiny. Louis Massignon mentioned it briefly in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1954), 254-55, as did Merlin Swartz in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 59n.

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Al-'Irāqī cut a prominent figure among the ulama of late eighth/fourteenth-century Cairo.[13] As a youth, he studied the variant Quran readings, jurisprudence and its methodology, but above all hadith; his father was careful to ensure that his son received *ijāzah*s (licenses) attesting that he had studied hadith with and received permission to transmit traditions from the leading authorities of the day. His academic record reads like that of a model late medieval religious scholar. He travelled widely and frequently, for instance, to study with the ulama of Syria and the Hijaz, his efforts made more efficacious by the fact that he had a prodigious memory, and was able to memorize up to four hundred lines of text per day. He held a number of teaching posts in the leading academic institutions of Cairo, and served as both judge and Friday preacher in Medina. His interlocutor, by contrast, was apparently one of the leading mystics in Cairo at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. For reasons which I have given elsewhere, the author of the anonymous treatise rebutting al-'Irāqī′s criticisms was almost certainly 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wafā' (d. 807/1404), the son of the founder of the Wafā'ī order of Sufis. 'Alī was one of the most popular and influential mystics and preachers in Egypt at the turn of the ninth/fifteenth century.[14] The dispute between these two men, as well as the broader polemical tradition represented by individuals such as Ibn al-Jawzī and Mamluk-era scholars such as Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn al-Ḥājj, and al-Suyūṭī, should help us to understand the social and political context in which both popular preaching and scholarly condemnations of it took place.

II

Preaching, of course, was nothing new in Mamluk Cairo. Returning to his home in eastern Iran after performing the pilgrimage in the year 486/1093, a preacher named Ardashīr ibn Manṣūr al-'Abbādī stopped in Baghdad, and began to deliver sermons in the great Niẓāmīyah madrasah in that city. The sessions, which Abū

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[13]Biographical information is taken from Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr* (Hyderabad, 1967-76), 5:170-76; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfī ba'd al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad M. Amīn (Cairo, 1984-), 7:245-50; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934), 4:171-78; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931-32), 7:55-56.

[14]On 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wafā', see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 5:253-56; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi*', 6:21-22; 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1965), 2:20-60; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 7:70-72. For the argument regarding the authorship of British Library MS Or. 4275, see my forthcoming work *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority*.

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Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī attended, were extremely popular. According to Ibn al-Jawzī, the number of attendees grew with each meeting, until the congregation filled the courtyard, the building's upper rooms, and its roof. Judging by their relative numbers, women apparently were even more strongly drawn to the shaykh than were men. Eventually, according to the historian, the number of attendees reached 30,000. Al-'Abbādī apparently commanded his audience through a profound dramatic sense, since his sermons were punctuated by long and effective silences: "this man," reported Ibn al-Jawzī, "was more silent than not." His power over his audience soon grew obvious. In response to his preaching, attendees would shout aloud; some abandoned their worldly occupations in order to take up the shaykh's call to piety and pious action. Young men shaved their heads and began to spend their days in mosques, or roamed through the city's streets spilling jugs of wine and smashing musical instruments.[15]

Al-'Abbādī drove his audience, or at least some members of it, to live a more pious life, or to implement, sometimes violently, the injunctions of the sharī'ah. Other preachers were able to manipulate their audiences to more explicitly political ends. For example, a preacher named Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Shīrāzī (d. 439/1047-48) came to Baghdad and there "spoke to the people in the language of exhortation *[lisān al-wa'ẓ]."* Attracted by his reputation for asceticism—"seduced" *(iftatana),* said the biographer al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī—uncounted numbers attended his preaching sessions (although after acquiring a certain degree of wealth, he abandoned his rags in favor of more splendid garments). With his following intact, he turned his attention to holy war *(ghazw),* to the frontier skirmishes which were intensifying in the early fifth/eleventh century. A large group of his followers assembling outside the city, they banged drums and set off to the north, toward the frontier. Some apparently lost their zeal, for they abandoned their march around the northern Mesopotamian city of Mosul, but Abū 'Abd Allāh himself carried on, ultimately reaching Azerbaijan.[16]

Whatever their purposes, preachers like al-'Abbādī and al-Shīrāzī potentially exerted a considerable degree of power over their audiences. Ibn al-Jawzī recognized this, and understood that the root of the preachers' power lay in their exposure to and following among the common people. To complicate matters further, however, it should be remembered that power in preaching and storytelling circles flowed in both directions. Preaching was not a simple, didactic affair, in which one individual, whatever his standing and reputation, delivered his message to a passive audience. Of course, the reaction of a congregation to a sermon delivered or a

[15]Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam* (Hyderabad, 1359 AH; reprint, Beirut, 1966), 9:75-76.

[16]Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Beirut, 1966), 1:359-60.

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story recited some five, six, or seven centuries ago is the most fleeting aspect of the problem, at least from the standpoint of the texts on which the historian must rely, and consequently the most difficult facet of the social context of preaching to reconstruct. But our understanding of the phenomenon would be incomplete if we did not assume that those who listened to preachers and storytellers had minds of their own, and somehow collectively expressed their own expectations of what they should be hearing.[17] From a broader perspective, the common people were capable of influencing the consensus of the Muslim community as to what was and was not legitimately Islamic.[18] They were capable, too, of expressing quite vociferously their opinion of one preacher or storyteller or another, as al-Suyūṭī discovered to his chagrin. His treatise *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ* in fact was occasioned by an altercation between himself and a storyteller who recited false hadith. After al-Suyūṭī had condemned the man, the *qāṣṣ* reacted angrily, and spurred on his audience (the ″common people″ [*al-ʻawāmm*], al-Suyūṭī calls them) until they cursed and threatened to stone the scholar.[19] Even ʻAlī ibn Wafā', the great defender of the popular storytellers, worried that individuals who preached correctly—i.e., ordering that which was good, and warning against evil behavior—risked destruction at the hands of the ″rabble″ (*raʻāʻ*).[20] A Hanbali scholar and preacher named Shihāb al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī al-Shīshīnī (fl. late ninth/fifteenth century) ″concerned himself with reading to the common people from works of exegesis and hadith,″ and ″was in much demand among them for that.″ Later, however, after he had expressed in writing his approval of the sultan′s efforts to raise an extraordinary tax, the people turned against him, and ″despised him for this and loosed their tongues in both verse and prose,″ and even tried to kill him and burn down his house.[21] There exists no fury, it seems, like that of a congregation scorned.

Consequently the fundamental issue surrounding preachers and storytellers was one of control: who was to control their activities, their words and their message, and how was such control to be exercised? This was already an issue at an early date, since it forms the subject of several important reports about the origin of the practice of storytelling—for example, the hadith asserting that ″only three kinds of persons narrate stories: one who commands *[amīr],* someone specially

[17]Peter Heath makes a similar point regarding public performances of epic narratives such as the *Sīrat ʻAntar* in *The Thirsty Sword: Sīrat ʻAntar and the Arabic Popular Epic* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 41. See also Boaz Shoshan, ″On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo,″ *Poetics Today* 14 (1993): 349-65, esp. 351.

[18]Jonathan P. Berkey, ″Tradition, Innovation, and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East,″ *Past & Present* 146 (1995): 38-65.

[19]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*, 4.

[20]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 11r-12v.

[21]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ*, 2:9-11.

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commissioned for that purpose *[ma'mūr],* or a hypocrite *[murā'ī],*" as well as the various stories about early storytellers, such as Tamīm al-Dārī seeking the permission of the caliph to practice their art.[22] Ibn al-Jawzī, commenting on the hadith, defined *"amīr"* as referring to those "on whom rests the responsibility for giving the *khuṭbah*, and so they exhort the people and admonish them."[23]

What we are encountering here is the complex of issues surrounding the fact that Islam, unlike for instance the Roman Catholic church, has no specific institutional structure for settling controversies of an ideological or doctrinal nature. This is a point which has been recognized for some time, and despite the perhaps natural tendency of Western scholars to fall back upon unfortunate terms such as "orthodoxy" and "heresy," it is one that seems to be relatively well-settled.[24] On the other hand, the absence of a formally-constituted decision-making body does not mean that it is fruitless to attempt to define an "Islamic tradition," nor that that tradition has not experienced the necessity of setting, or attempting to set, boundaries to what constitutes permissible thought and behavior. Islamic rulers have been capable of instituting very precise limits to the theological positions which could be publicly expounded, as during the third/ninth-century *miḥnah* (sometimes translated as "inquisition") set in motion by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. Less formally, the doctrine of "consensus" *(ijmā')* has given the ulama an instrument, however unwieldy, which can be used to define what is and is not acceptable, particularly in the area of ritual and behavior. But inevitably, the process of defining what is "Islamic" has been a flexible one, and one subject to a variety of internal and external pressures.[25]

This was certainly the case in the city of Cairo under the Mamluks, the forum in which Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī and 'Alī ibn Wafā' waged their polemic over the storytellers. The Mamluks were perfectly willing to intervene in religious matters when a dispute threatened directly to disrupt the social order, or when doing so would strengthen their own political position. Sultan Qaytbāy, for instance, stepped into the simmering controversy over the verse of the Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ, firmly aligning himself with those scholars who considered it religiously unobjectionable, when doing so enabled him to realign the power structure within the ulama hierarchy

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[22]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ,* 172; see also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 28-29 (Eng. trans., 114-15). Other versions of the hadith replace *murā'ī* with *mukhtāl* (deceitful) or *mutakallaf* (false).

[23]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 28-29 (Eng. trans., 114-15).

[24]Bernard Lewis, "The Significance of Heresy in Islam," *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953): 43-63; Alexander Knysh, "'Orthodoxy' and 'Heresy' in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment," *Muslim World* 83 (1993): 48-67.

[25]On this point, see Berkey, "Tradition, Innovation, and the Social Construction of Knowledge," passim.

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in such a way as to consolidate his own authority and that of his Mamluk supporters.[26] More generally, the Mamluk practice of building and endowing religious and academic institutions should be read in part as an effort to bring the ulama and the religious sphere under some degree of influence and control.

But the Mamluks had little interest in taking up the daunting task of systematically policing popular preachers and storytellers; neither, for that matter, had most previous governments in the Islamic Near East. Al-'Irāqī objected that the storytellers of his day did not bother to seek the permission of those in a position to judge whether or not they were sufficiently trained and knowledgeable to practice their art—in the absence of qualified rulers such as the ″rightly-guided caliphs″ *(rāshidūn),* al-'Irāqī mentioned somewhat vaguely ″those who govern″ *(al-ḥukkām)* and, more pointedly, the ulama themselves. In this they compared unfavorably even with Tamīm al-Dārī, who at least sought the permission of the caliph 'Umar before he began to recite his stories. 'Alī ibn Wafā' responded that nothing in the report about Tamīm indicated that one is always *required* to seek the permission of those in authority in order to recite stories, only that Tamīm had once done so; perhaps, 'Alī suggested, he had done so out of respect for the pious and esteemed caliph ᶜUmar, as if to remind al-'Irāqī that, in political terms, the eighth century after the Hijrah was very different from the first.[27] But 'Alī also went beyond the formal question of permission. The hadith limiting ″storytelling″ *(al-qaṣaṣ)* to those who command *(al-amīr)* or who are granted permission *(al-ma'mūr)* was directed specifically, said 'Alī, at the delivery of the formal Friday sermon *(khuṭbat al-jum'ah),* which, since it had an explicitly political purpose, was indeed to be delivered by those in authority *(al-umarā')* or their substitutes *(nuwwāb).* Alternatively, he argued, the storyteller criticized in the tradition was one who did not ″command the good and forbid the evil,″ or whose intentions in delivering his sermon were not pure. As long as the storytellers told tales which incline their listeners to that which is good and drive them away from the wicked, or which in some way ″elucidate the book of God,″ in 'Alī's opinion they had already been granted ″permission″ by God and His Prophet *(ma'mūr bi-dhālika min Allāh wa-rasūlihi).*[28]

Such license posed any number of dangers. On the one hand, it threatened to make the definition of what constituted legitimate religious knowledge far too open and uncritical.[29] It also opened the door to quacks and unscrupulous and

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[26]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1994), 55-75, esp. 69-75.

[27]″Al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ,″ fol. 4r-v.

[28]Ibid., fols. 4v-6r.

[29]This is an important but analytically separate issue, taken up in my book *Popular Preaching and*

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venal profiteers—individuals who resorted to various tricks to delude their gullible audiences, to convince them of the false preachers′ sincerity and so to elicit from them generous financial contributions.[30] But the problem must also be seen against the background of the power wielded, or potentially wielded, by preachers and storytellers, because of their deep and privileged connections to the common people. Both al-'Irāqī and Ibn al-Jawzī understood the danger posed by the preachers and storytellers in social terms. According to a tradition cited by al-'Irāqī, and one which should perhaps be seen against the background of the broader concern that the Muslim community would share the unhappy fate of the earlier chosen peoples, the Banū Isrā'īl had *quṣṣāṣ,* and this was a cause of their destruction.[31] He also recounted a tale about the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiyah, encountering and condemning a storyteller who preached without permission, and then himself preaching a sermon suggesting that freelance preaching had contributed to the hateful fissiparousness of the Jews and Christians. Could its consequences be any different for the Muslim community?[32]

All sermonizing took place in a social and even political context, but the connection between storytellers and preachers and the ruling order was problematic and fraught with tension. As George Makdisi has shown, preaching played an important role in the revival of Sunni power and the articulation of a more precisely defined Sunnism in Baghdad in the fifth/eleventh century.[33] During the Crusades, too, Muslim rulers employed preachers to instill the spirit of jihad into their soldiers and subjects.[34] Such preaching worked to the advantage of the secular authorities, but possessed a power and momentum of its own, which at times threatened to spiral out of hand. In the early sixth/twelfth century, for example, a jurist named Ibn al-Khashshāb whipped an Aleppan crowd into a frenzy with his denunciations of the Franks for their profaning of Muslim shrines in Jerusalem,

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Religious Authority.

[30]Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Umar al-Jawbarī, *Al-Mukhtār min Kashf al-Asrār* (Damascus, 1302 AH), 33-38; ibid., trans. René Khawam as *Le voile arraché*, (Paris, 1979), 91-101; C. E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underground: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden, 1976), 1:88, 111-12, 291; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, 93-94 (Eng. trans., 171); Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal*, 2:271.

[31]″Al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 10r-11r. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, 37, 127 (Eng. trans., 122-23, 211), and M. J. Kister, ″Ḥaddithū 'an Banī Isrā'īla wa-lā Ḥaraja: A Study of an Early Tradition,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 232.

[32]″Al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 6r-10r.

[33]George Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au xi^e siècle (v^e siècle de l'Hégire)* (Damascus, 1963).

[34]Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968), 68-69.

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and then by way of revenge led them in a march to forcibly convert several Christian churches into mosques.[35]

Clearly, some preachers drew their standing and influence from their close connection to those in authority. Such individuals were, of all possible types of preachers, perhaps the most likely to catch the eye of biographers such as Ibn al-Jawzī, who both sought to record an accurate account of the leading men and women of their day, and also hoped to help set standards for the preaching profession. For example, the son of Ardashīr al-ʻAbbādī, Abū Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar (d. 547/1152) (an even more famous preacher than his father), whose sermons in Baghdad were widely attended, developed an especially close relationship with the caliph al-Muqtafī, whose trust extended to sending the preacher on diplomatic missions.[36] Given the tense but symbiotic ties which bound religious scholars and the ruling military elites together during the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that some preachers developed close relationships with the predominantly Turkish rulers, and even profited from them. The Egyptian Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qurdāḥ (d. 841/1438), for example, a noted *wāʻiẓ,* musician, and student of astronomy, had the good graces of Mamluk sultans and the leading amirs, connections which allowed him to die a wealthy man.[37]

Others preachers, however, derived their reputations directly from their oppositional stand, from setting themselves against those in positions of power. Despite the formal connection between Friday sermons and political legitimacy, such opposition was quite natural to a preaching tradition which frequently stressed the ephemeral, even diseased, character of worldly success, wealth, and power, and indeed forms a sort of trope of literary accounts of famous preachers. What was required in a preacher was courage sufficient to preach a sermon capable of making the high and mighty weep, as Manṣūr ibn ʻAmmār did in preaching before Hārūn al-Rashīd.[38] The famed Hanbali mystic and preacher Ibn Samʻūn (d. 387/997), for example, ignored a prohibition on preaching promulgated by the Buyid amir ʻAḍuḍ al-Dawlah in an effort to suppress the communal violence between Hanbalis and Shiʻis which plagued Baghdad in the fourth/tenth century. Called before the amir, Ibn Samʻūn continued to preach, and according to a report recorded by Ibn al-Jawzī, moved the sovereign to tears.[39] The *wāʻiẓ* Abū Saʻd al-Muʻammar ibn

[35]Ibid., 41-43.

[36]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʻyān wa-Anbāʼ Abnāʼ al-Zamān,* ed. Iḥsān ʻAbbās (Beirut, 1978), 5:212-13; ibid., trans. William MacGuckin de Slane as *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* (Paris, 1842), 3:365-66; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 10:150-51.

[37]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 9:15-165; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 2:78; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ,* 2:142; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 7:238.

[38]Abū al-Faraj ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir* (Amman, 1987), 409-10.

[39]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 8:88-89; Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. Salahuddin

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‘Alī Ibn Abī Imāmāh (d. 506/1112-13), who had ″a sharp mind and a Baghdadi intellect,″ was by all repute fearless in preaching to kings and princes, whether the caliph al-Mustaẓhar billāh or the famous vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. Once, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, he delivered a sermon to the latter in a mosque in Baghdad, addressing him directly as the ″hireling of the Muslim community″ *(ajīr al-ummah),* and reminding him in no uncertain terms that his duty consisted in looking after the well-being of the Muslims, and that God would demand of him an accounting of how he had discharged that responsibility. At its conclusion, Niẓām al-Mulk was so moved to tears that he handed Abū Sa‘d 100 dinars, which the preacher piously refused, instructing the vizier instead to distribute the money to the poor.[40] Just so, a preacher named Abū ‘Umar al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Filw (d. 426/1035) composed a poem in honor of himself and his preaching to an unnamed sultan: ″I went in to the sultan in the palace of his majesty / In poverty—I did not make noise with horses or foot soldiers *[wa-lam ujlib bi-khayl wa-lā rajil]* / —And I said: ′Look! Between my poverty and your wealth / is the distance between sainthood and separation [from God].′″[41]

Not every ruler was as pious and god-fearing as the sources portray Hārūn al-Rashīd or Niẓām al-Mulk, and even Ibn al-Jawzī urged circumspection. Those who preach to sultans, he warned, should exercise extreme caution *(ghāyat al-taḥarruz),* for sultans reserve to themselves a monopoly on the use of force, and a sharp reprimand *(tawbīkh)* may appear to them as an intolerable public humiliation *(idhlāl).* Ibn al-Jawzī shared the common medieval attitude that manners and morals were in steep decline. Rulers such as Hārūn used to listen attentively to sermons, but now times have changed: rulers are arrogant, and corrupt ulama seek to flatter them. ″In these times,″ said Ibn al-Jawzī, ″it is preferable [for the honest preacher] to distance himself from such people, and to avoid preaching to them, for that is the safer approach.″ If a preacher is forced to speak before men of authority, he should take an indirect approach: he should preach by way of allusion *(ishārah),* or direct his remarks to the people generally *(‘awāmm),* and mix his exhortation with statements about the nobility of rulership and remind his audience of the comportment of the just rulers of earlier days.[42]

Ibn al-Jawzī′s personal circumstances—an enormously popular and well-respected preacher in twelfth-century Baghdad—made him especially aware of the complex nexus of preaching and power. Some members of the ulama no doubt played the sycophant to those who wielded the sword, but the rulers, too, were

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Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (New York, 1975), 330-31.

[40]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 9:173-74.

[41]Ibid., 8:87.

[42]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir*, 409-10.

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cognizant of the power of the preachers´ word, and so, he implies, feared it. Consequently, despite his warning, the ideal of the confrontational stance remained popular with preachers throughout the later Middle Ages, and instances in which individuals lived up to the ideal were carefully noted by their biographers. In 638/1240, the famous preacher ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262) quarreled with the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʻīl, over the latter´s treaty with the Crusaders by which he surrendered to them a number of fortresses and the town of Ṣafad. To chastise the sultan for his cowardice in dealing with the infidel Franks, Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām refused to pray for him and dropped his name from the official Friday *khuṭbah*, as a result of which al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʻīl exiled the preacher to Cairo, where his nephew and rival al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was happy to appoint the famous man to the pulpit of the mosque of ʻAmr.[43]

The Mamluk sultans and amirs provided the more intrepid among late medieval preachers with ample opportunities to chastise those in power. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Naqqāsh (d. 819/1416), a popular preacher who was appointed *khaṭīb* at the large congregational mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn south of Cairo, was respected for ˝his severe and sharp ordering of the good and in his preaching *[waʻẓ],* both in his Friday sermons and his storytelling *[fī khuṭabihi wa-qaṣaṣihi],* so that he came to have high standing among both the elite and the common people˝; more particularly, he was credited with a willingness to condemn whatever evildoing he witnessed or heard about, even if it embroiled him in controversy with the ruling Turkish authorities.[44] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dayrūṭī (d. 921/1515), a famous preacher at the end of the Mamluk period, was respected and feared, according to the Sufi biographer al-Shaʻrānī, by sultans and amirs, as well as by those of lesser station. Many of the leading figures of state attended his sessions; all left humbled.[45] Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), by his own account, was fearless in preaching to the awesome but pious sultan Qāytbāy. ˝If I was unable to speak to him directly,˝ he recalled, ˝I would give him my advice in a sermon *[khuṭbah],* and he would grasp my meaning; and if I then greeted him at Friday prayers, he would come up to me to greet me and say: ´May God reward you for your faithful advice to us.´˝ The envious, he said, sought to turn the sultan

[43]Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah* (Hyderabad, 1979), 2:138; Ismāʻīl ibn ʻUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, 1932-39), 13:235-36; Tāj al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanṭāwī, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1992), 8:209-55; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260* (Albany, 1977), 267; Sivan, *L´Islam et la croisade,* 149-52.

[44]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 7:232-33; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah*, 4:31-33; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:223-34; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʻ*, 4:140-42.

[45]Al-Shaʻrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá,* 2:164-65.

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against him, and encouraged the sultan to forbid al-Anṣārī to preach to him in a disrespectful manner. But Qāytbāy responded: ″What [would you have me] say to someone who has opened my eyes to my own faults and has given me good advice?″ Summoning up all the rhetorical weight of the Islamic preaching tradition and applying it directly to the Mamluk system itself, al-Anṣārī was able to drive this sultan to tears. ″One day I said to him in a sermon *[khuṭbah]:* ′Awake, O you whom God has put in charge of His servants, and think of your origins, and of your condition today. Once you did not exist, and now you do; once you were an unbeliever, and now you are a Muslim; once you were a slave, and now you are free; once you were ordered *[ma'mūran],* and now you give orders *[amīran];* once you were an amir, and now you are a sultan. Do not accept these blessings with vainglory and pride, and [do not] forget your beginning and your end: for your nose will be ground in the dust when you die, and the worms will eat [you] and you will become dust.′ Then the sultan wept and said to those amirs around him: ′If I were to send this one away, who would preach me such a sermon *[wa'ẓ]?*′″[46]

Given the influence which preachers at least potentially wielded, the issue of control was especially problematic. Direct control of course was impossible, given the absence of a formal ecclesiastical structure. Further complicating the situation, much sermonizing and storytelling took place in settings which even the informal sinews of Islamic religious authority found it difficult or inexpedient to police, such as the vast cemeteries outside Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥājj, for one, harbored a particular concern that unscrupulous storytellers and preachers would ply their trade to gullible audiences in the shadowy warrens of the Qarāfah.[47] Moreover, many preachers and storytellers were peripatetics, traveling through the Islamic world, sometimes on pilgrimage, and practicing their art before always new and different audiences. Such wanderers already provided a stock character for al-Ḥarīrī′s fifth/eleventh century *Maqāmāt,* where one tale describes the rascally hero Abū Zayd as appearing in ″the equipment of pilgrimage″ and preaching to the people of the Yemeni city of San'ah.[48] Not infrequently, such individuals acquired a good deal of contemporary fame: so, for example, al-Sayyid 'Alī ibn Ya'lá (d. 527/1133), a famous preacher from Khurasan, roamed through Iran and Iraq, receiving the enthusiastic approbation of the people *(wa-ẓahara lahu al-qabūl al-tāmm min al-nās),* finally arriving in Baghdad where he received the welcome of both the

[46]'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá* (Cairo, 1970), 42.

[47]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal*, 1:268.

[48]Qāsim ibn 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* (Beirut, 1980), 16-21; ibid., trans. T. Chenery as *The Assemblies of al-Ḥarīrī* (London, 1867), 1:109-11.

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elite and the common people.[49] The Sufi preacher known as al-Shābb al-Ṭā'ib (d. 832/1429), who held preaching and instruction sessions ″in the manner of the Shādhilīyah,″ circulated widely among the common people: he was born and educated in Cairo, but visited Yemen, the Hijaz, Iraq, and Syria, most of them several times, and ″constructed a number of *zāwiyah*s in the various countries″ in which to ply his trade.[50]

Given the fluidity of the situation, one can understand the bitterness of scholars such as al-Suyūṭī who perceived the power and influence of the preachers and storytellers, and who worried that their discourses were not always, as it were, kosher. A treatise such as Ibn al-Jawzī´s *Kitāb al-Quṣṣās* or al-'Irāqī´s polemic against the storytellers was fundamentally an effort to assert control over what its author perceived to be a lawless activity, or, perhaps more accurately, a cry of frustration that wicked and ignorant practitioners of the craft operated without any effective restraints. But in fact the predicament was not so stark as the scholars believed. The issue of authority and control, in relation to the activity of popular preachers and storytellers, was extraordinarily complex, as it was in all aspects of medieval Islamic religious life. There were at least sporadic, and not altogether unsuccessful, efforts to exert formal, if not systematic, control. More importantly, the preaching tradition itself set certain boundaries which prevented a degeneration into wholesale anarchy. Those boundaries were reinforced by the symbiotic, if sometimes tense, relationship between popular preaching and storytelling and the more disciplined transmission of religious knowledge represented by scholars such as Ibn al-Jawzī, al- 'Irāqī, and al-Suyūṭī, and also by the thematic content of the preaching tradition itself.

The prospect of some form of direct control of preachers and storytellers by the ruling authorities was an old one, which at least in theory stretched back to the caliph 'Umar´s ambivalent attitude toward the *qāṣṣ* Tamīm al-Dārī. Al-Suyūṭī peppered his polemic against the storytellers with narratives from the early decades of Islamic history about the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* (indicating some high-ranking officer charged with policing responsibilities) taking action to prevent unauthorized *quṣṣāṣ* from practicing their art.[51] Those who dare to transmit false stories about the Prophet, he indicated, deserve to be whipped and threatened with even worse punishments; in these matters, said al-Suyūṭī, the ruler *(al-ḥākim)* should be appealed

[49]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. H. Ritter et al. (Istanbul, 1931-), 22:333-34.

[50]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 2:50-51; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1956-73), 4:815-16.

[51]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*, 198.

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to for help.[52] Such arguments and anecdotes may be read most accurately as expressions of a pious hope and of the widespread pessimistic conviction that Muslim society no longer operated as it once had, and as it should, rather than as an accurate memory of a formerly consistent pattern. On occasion, however, rulers had complied, as when the caliph al-Mu'taḍid ordered the storytellers (along with astrologers and diviners) swept from the streets of Baghdad in 279/982.[53] Several decades later, the vizier Ibn al-Muslimah ordered preachers and sermonizers, both *khuṭabā'* and *wu''āẓ,* not to recite hadiths in their sermons without first checking their authenticity with the traditionist al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.[54] The assertion by Ibn al-Ukhūwah (d. 729/1329), in his manual of instruction for the *muḥtasib* (roughly, ″market inspector″), that individuals who were not qualified to preach should be forbidden from doing so, and that those who did so anyway should be punished, would seem to indicate that this official appointee of the sultan held, at least formally, some right of supervision over the activities of preachers.[55]

It is difficult to determine whether medieval ruling authorities followed the advice of Ibn al-Ukhūwah and al-Suyūṭī and systematically supervised the activities of popular storytellers and preachers, since routine matters often escaped the notice of chroniclers and biographers. Authority to regulate their activities was diffuse, and shared by numerous individuals. Sultans, of course, held rights of appointment over preachers in the Friday congregational mosques, or at least some of them, and when an official *khaṭīb* preached a sermon which challenged the political order, he could find himself dismissed, as Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī discovered. But al-Qalqashandī noted in his eighth/fourteenth-century reference manual for scribes and bureaucrats that in practice, the ruler′s prerogatives were limited. He identified the official Friday preaching post *(khiṭābah)* as ″in truth, the most powerful [religious] post and most exalted in rank,″ since the Prophet himself had undertaken it. By his day, however, there were ″countless″ such positions all over Egypt, so that the sultan did not routinely concern himself with any but the most important, such as that in the congregational mosque in the Citadel of Cairo, or those in which, by the terms of their endowment, he held the right of supervision.[56]

Preachers in less visible positions must have been subject to even looser control. On the other hand, occasionally matters did reach a point where secular

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[52]Ibid., 109-38.

[53]Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underground*, 28.

[54]Makdisi, *Ibn'Aqīl*, 419-20.

[55]Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah*, ed. Reuben Levy, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., vol. 12 (Cambridge, 1938), 179.

[56]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1914-28), 4:39.

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and/or religious authorities found it expedient to intervene, as did the Saljuq Sultan Mas‘ūd in forbidding ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaznawī (d. 551/1156) from preaching, after the latter began to incline toward Shi‘ism.[57] Occasional anecdotes in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries give us some sense of how the mechanisms of control might operate. The Sufi ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī recounted a wonderful tale about Ibrāhīm ibn Mi‘ḍād al-Ja‘barī (d. 687/1288), a charismatic Cairene preacher. According to al-Sha‘rānī, the qadis held a council in order to condemn al-Ja‘barī′s preaching, and in particular his ungrammatical singing of the Quran. After the council meeting, the Maliki qadi issued a *fatwá* forbidding al-Ja‘barī to preach, but shortly thereafter fell from a gate of Cairo′s citadel and broke his neck; chastened by this expression of God′s judgment, the other qadis threw themselves at al-Ja‘bari′s feet and begged his forgiveness. Triumphant, the preacher told them that it was not he who had recited improperly, but their ears which were at fault.[58] This story, and a parallel one in which, after condemning the preacher, the leading ulama of Cairo suffered from the painful retention of urine, clearly contain apocryphal elements, but the essence of the story is confirmed by the earlier and far more sober biographer, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. He reports the council of qadis and their condemnation of al-Ja‘barī, although in his account the accusing jurist fell, more prosaically, from his mule, and broke his wrist, rather than his neck. He indicates that others, too, had condemned his preaching, but that al-Ja‘barī had persisted nonetheless and proved ″his innocence and the correctness of his belief.″[59] What is of interest in both of these accounts is the interactive pattern of control and resistance: of a council of qadis and jurists seeking to restrain a popular and charismatic preacher of suspect convictions or dubious intellectual competence, and his assertion of an independent right to preach. No doubt al-Ja‘barī felt, as ‘Alī ibn Wafā’ might say, that he had been granted permission to preach by God and His Prophet.

Sometimes the qadis sought to involve the sultan in an effort to give their interdictions more force. Al-Sha‘rānī records another imaginative tale about Ḥusayn al-Jākī, a pious preacher who died in 730/1329-30, who like al-Ja‘barī was accused of mispronouncing the Quran. Again a council was held, this one presided over by the sultan, as a result of which al-Jākī was forbidden to preach. The *wā‘iẓ* complained to his shaykh, Ayyūb al-Kannās (″the sweeper″), who arranged a trick. After the sultan had entered a toilet, Ayyūb appeared to him, emerging through a wall, with a broom in his hand. The sultan mistook him for a lion, and, afraid that the cat was about to swallow him up, fell down trembling. Ayyūb then ordered the sultan

[57]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 10:166-68.

[58]Al-Sha‘rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá*, 1:177.

[59]Al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘īyah*, 8:123.

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to issue an edict allowing al-Jākī to preach; the sultan having done so, the shaykh then slipped back through the wall.[60] The colorful ending of this story aside, its central drama—the qadis and sultan, in council, examining and condemning a popular preacher—was not unique. The jurist, exegete, and preacher Ibn al-Labbān (d. 749/1349), who was criticized for weaving monism and other suspect doctrines into his sermons, was condemned by the Shafi'i chief qadi Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī and forbidden to preach at the insistence of a group of legal scholars, but not before the sultan and a group of amirs had become involved, the latter apparently interceding to seek his repentance.[61]

It would be wrong, however, to view the situation as one that uniformly pitted qadis and senior scholars, allied with sultans or other ruling authorities, representing a kind of quasi-official religious establishment, against more free-wheeling preachers and storytellers catering to a popular constituency. There was considerable overlap between the different groups and the perspectives they represented. The various individuals of the Bulqīnī family, for example, ranked among the most accomplished and respected members of the learned elite of Cairo; but in addition, they held popular preaching sessions, in mosques and madrasah*s*, large and small, throughout the city. Here, too, the fundamental similarity of the material which formed the subject of class sessions, official Friday sermons, and popular preaching and storytelling is important. Tales of the prophets were to be found in rigorous and esteemed exegetical works, as well as in more popular circles, and hadiths of course were a fundamental component of religious discourse at any level.

As a result, the storytelling and preaching tradition generated its own informal mechanisms of control, mechanisms built largely upon reputation and the moral force wielded by particularly respected preachers. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kallā'ī (d. 801/1398), a Shādhilī Sufi, began his career as an official notary (*shāhid*) in a shop outside Bāb Zuwaylah in Cairo, but later became the companion of the shaykh and preacher Ḥusayn al-Khabbāz, and in fact took up the latter's preaching duties in his *zāwiyah* after his death.[62] Al-Kallā'ī seems not to have

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[60]Al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá*, 2:2.

[61]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966), 3:420-21; al- Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 2:408. For another example, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 1:184-85. On Ibn al-Labbān, see Jean Claude Vadet, "Les idées d'un prédicateur de mosquée au xiv[e] siècle dans le Caire des Mamlouks," *Annales islamologiques* 8 (1969): 63-69.

[62]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 4:91-92; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 10:113-14. Ibn Ḥajar and, following him, al-Sakhāwī give his shaykh's name as Ḥusayn al-Ḥabbār; that may, however, be a scribal error, for the individual intended is clearly the same whom most sources name al-Khabbāz. See 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd Ibn al-Ṣayrafī al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970-), 1:277; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:685-86; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929-72), 11:385. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn

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been a shining example of the preaching tradition: the sources report that he made glaring errors and carelessly mispronounced God′s word, and that his sermons contained misguided and unjustified exegeses of Quranic texts. His errors came to the attention of the aged Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403), who took it upon himself to prohibit him from ″speaking to the people″ *(al-kalām ʻalá al-nās)*. In essence, al-Bulqīnī′s reprimand was that of a widely admired scholar and preacher directed against an individual whose incompetence threatened to undermine the authority of all those who preached.

Practitioners of the art of preaching and storytelling might close ranks in order to silence a particularly dangerous individual. In response to al-ʻIrāqī′s repetition of the tradition that ″the storyteller can anticipate only God′s wrath,″ ʻAlī ibn Wafā' agreed—if, that is, the storyteller preached that which contradicted the shariʻah. Such an individual should indeed worry about the retribution he will face on the Day of Judgment.[63] But in fact even the Wafā'īs did not rely entirely on conscience to ensure the integrity of their preaching. Take, for example, the case of ʻAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad al-Qāyātī al-Wafā'ī (d. 873/1469), a member of the order who was originally trained to be a muezzin, but who was drawn to preaching because of the ″power, fame, and reputation″ it brought him. ʻAbd al-Qādir, it seems, was something of an imposter, reciting poetry which he falsely claimed was his own, and impersonating more famous scholars: once, while on the pilgrimage, he claimed to be Walī al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 865/1461), and led preaching sessions in his name. His ensuing altercation with Walī al-Dīn, who was described as having preached ″in the manner of the Banū al-Wafā',″[64] seems in some way—the biographer al-Sakhāwī is sparse with details—to have led to a falling out between ʻAbd al-Qādir and the Wafā'ī order. As a result, some wags gave him the *nisbah* ″al-Jafā'ī,″ i.e., ″one who is alienated,″ or ″one who is treated with distaste.″ The order, that is, took it upon itself to ostracize a member whose misdeeds embarrassed it in front of a family known for its concern for preaching and the transmission of knowledge to the common people.[65]

In the end, the nature of the preaching tradition, and the character of the sermons and tales which formed the bulk of the material transmitted in storytelling circles, themselves acted to blunt the hard edge of the power potentially wielded by religious figures with close ties to the common people, and to minimize the threat which they presented to the social and political order. Generalizations are dangerous, since we can know so little about the particular circumstances in

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al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā' ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1938), 9:173-74, however, named him al-Ḥabbār. There seems also to have been confusion as to whether his name was Ḥasan or Ḥusayn.

[63]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 11r-12v.

[64]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 2:188-90.

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which sermons and stories were recited, and still less about the audiences′ reaction to them. However, we can be certain that popular sermons typically focused on sin, suffering, and death, on poverty and its endurance, on the trials and tribulations of this world, and in particular on the promise of personal (as opposed to social) salvation. The root meaning of the verb *wa'aẓa,* after all, is ″to admonish,″ ″to warn.″ Meditation upon the misery to which humans are subjected in life, the horrors of death, and the promise of release to those who are God-fearing, was a staple of medieval sermonizing. It finds reflection in a variety of sources: in collections of sermons by well-known figures such as Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Nubātah al-Fāriqī (d. 374/984-85); in a compendium of hadith in use among the storytellers, as compiled by Ibn Taymīyah; and in the sermons and tales recounted by popular preachers such as the Sufi Shu'ayb (or 'Ubayd) al-Ḥurayfīsh.[66] Popular preachers such as al-Ḥurayfīsh laid special emphasis on patience in the face of adversity. So, for example, he elucidated for his audience the saying that ″the poor man is doctor of the sick, and his bleacher″: if a rich man is ill, and gives alms, and a poor man prays for him, he will be cured; and if a rich man gives alms to the poor, and the poor man prays for him, the rich man will be cleansed of his sins.[67] Such a sermon grants the poor a certain power, it is true, but it is a power which manifests itself in the next world, and not in this.

Accordingly, popular sermons must surely in many instances have acted as a kind of social safety valve, deflecting and deflating the various pressures experienced by those medieval Muslim men and women who listened to the preachers and storytellers. The excessive weeping which disturbed Ibn al-Jawzī, and which was noted by many medieval observers of preachers and preaching circles, played the social role of internalizing the despair, anger and angst of listeners. The suspicion of and hostility toward the world which were characteristic of sermons hardly amounted to a call to arms against those who benefitted from the established social order. On the contrary, the spirit of penitence which sermons sought to induce, the copious weeping, and all the reminders of our frailty and sin and the hopelessness and injustice of the present world, reminded listeners that true justice would be found only in eschatological time. Al-Ḥurayfīsh and his listeners drew comfort from the Prophet′s observation that of the eight doors to paradise, seven are reserved for the poor, while six of seven entrances to hell are set aside for the rich.[68] Social distinctions will be set aside at the end of time—God created heaven

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[65]Ibid., 4:296-97.

[66]Shu'ayb al-Ḥurayfīsh, *Al-Rawḍ al-Fā'iq fī al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-Raqā'iq* (Cairo, 1949). On al-Ḥurayfīsh, see William M. Brinner, ″The Significance of the *Ḥarafīsh* and Their ′Sultan′,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6 (1963): 190-215. For more on the content of popular sermons, see my *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority,* Chapter 3.

[67]Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *Al-Rawḍ al-Fā'iq,* 67-68.

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for those who obey him, ″even a black Ethiopian slave,″ and hell for those who do not, ″even a Qurayshī *sharīf*″[69]—but in the meanwhile, the underlying hierarchies went unchallenged. Ibn Abī Imāmah preached fearlessly to Niẓām al-Mulk, so vigorously and forthrightly reminding him of his duties in this world and the punishment which threatened him in the next that the vizier, under the preacher′s instructions, distributed a sum to the poor of Baghdad—but Niẓām al-Mulk remained vizier, of course, and the social and political order unchanged. Qāytbāy appreciated being reminded of his sins and the frailty of his soul, but for all his piety thoroughly understood the modalities of raw political power in which he operated. In one of the few records we have of an actual medieval preaching circle, the preacher observed that on the Day of Judgment, our lots in life will be reversed. Ascetics *(zuhhād)* and those who serve God *(ʻubbād)* will, in paradise, have plenty to eat and drink, and live in large palaces, and be served by houris, as do the profligate *(fujjār)* and dissolute *(fussāq)* in this world. By contrast, the profligate will, after the judgment, suffer the lot of those who scorn (or who are denied) the joys of this life: they will be poor, sad, and afflicted by trials and tribulations.[70] But such a sermon postpones the social revolution beyond the limits of history.

Through mechanisms such as these, the social and even political power latent in the tradition of Islamic preaching, and in the ties which bound preachers to their audiences, was softened, its disruptive potential muted. The activities of popular preachers and storytellers remind us of the complex nexus of political and religious power which characterized the society of Mamluk Egypt, as well as that of other military regimes in the medieval Islamic world. The Mamluks stood in an ambivalent and problematic relationship to the Muslim Egyptians over whom they ruled: religious identity and commitment always represented a potential threat, but could also, under certain circumstances, be harnessed to lend prestige and credibility to their regime. It is in such light, of course, that the decision of individual Mamluks to construct and endow religious institutions should be understood. As it turned out, however, many leading religious scholars themselves perceived an ambivalence in certain popular religious phenomena, such as the sermons and recitation of tales which form the subject of this article. The *quṣṣāṣ* and *wuʻʻāẓ* held a privileged position in the transmission of religious knowledge to the Muslim masses, but were also perceived as a threat by senior scholars and representatives of the faith, men such as al-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-Ḥājj. Religious power in Mamluk Egypt did not emanate from individuals or institutions as much as it flowed in circles around them. It could be tapped to support the social and political hierarchies, but at the same moment could undermine them. In this way it

[68]Ibid., 67.

[69]Ibid., 73.

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bound everyone—Mamluks, scholars, popular preachers and their audiences—to the common project of continually constructing and reconstructing Islam.

[70]″Al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ,″ fol. 56v.

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Silver Coins of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn (678-689/1279-1290) from the Mints of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥamāh, and al-Marqab

This article is an amendment to the pertinent chapters of Balog´s[1] standard work on Mamluk coins and an article on Mamluk *dirham*s by Helen W. Mitchell.[2] The basis of the research presented here consists of 121 silver coins of Sultan Qalāwūn minted in the period between the years 680 and 689. As I have mentioned elsewhere,[3] they are part of a collection of approximately 700 Mamluk silver coins which came to Europe from Aleppo about a dozen years ago. Although it is not a hoard in the proper sense, about three quarters of the coins stem from the Baḥrī Mamluks.

Coins provide excellent witness to the specific political and economic circumstances of a certain region at a particular moment in history. Therefore it seemed necessary to gain as much information as possible from the newly acquired corpus. The most important prerequisite to this kind of work turned out to be drawings of the coins, which enabled the reconstruction of dies and the research on die linkages. Quite a few questions raised by Balog and Mitchell were thus solved. An unknown silver coin struck at the stronghold of al-Marqab is of special historical interest, because it is not only a document for Qalāwūn´s important conquest but allows for some conclusions about changes in his monetary policy. It is described in the appendix to this article.

Apart from their worth as objects of documentary value, these coins constitute works of art on a minimal surface and thus their calligraphy as well as their scriptural and ornamental inventory are described in detail. Mamluk coins, in this respect, do not easily disclose their aesthetic charm. While the mosques, madrasahs and mausoleums erected during the reign of Qalāwūn or other Mamluk sultans

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[1]Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria,* Numismatic Studies No. 12 (New York, 1964) (henceforth MSES). Idem, ″The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans: Additions and Corrections,″ *Museum Notes* 16 (1970): 113-71, plates XXVIII-XXXVI (henceforth ″Additions″).

[2]Helen W. Mitchell, ″Notes on Some Mamlūk Dirhems,″ *Museum Notes* 16 (1970): 179-84, plate XXXVII.

[3]Elisabeth Puin, ″Beobachtungen an den Silbermünzen des Mamlukensultans Aynāl (857/1453-865/1461), mit Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Balog: Münzzeichnungen und ihre Möglichkeiten,″ *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 47 (1997): 117-66.

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are of unprecedented beauty and perfection, their respective coinage is of a rather unpleasant appearance. Practically every coin is of irregular shape and off center, while the inscription is hard to decipher because of the weak and defective impression of the die on the flan. As will be shown, it is only by reconstructing the dies and types that the originally intended coin designs can be resurrected, revealing, more often than not, unexpected artistic qualities in calligraphy and ornamentation. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to illustrate the description of the coin types not with photographs but rather with line drawings.

Line Drawing of Coins

The coins were drawn with the aid of a device constructed by my husband Gerd-R. Puin. The coin is placed on a revolving stand below a semi-transparent mirror which throws the concentrated beam of a lamp onto the coin vertically. From there the reflected light passes through the mirror in a vertical direction; a lens above the mirror serves for projecting the coin image onto a transparent paper laid on a pane of glass. This arrangement allows for the convenient drawing of an enlarged natural picture of the coin, and accidental defects like scratches or holes etc. are easily disregarded. Subsequently, these drawings are either reduced on a copy machine or by a computer program until the ultimate scale of exactly 2:1 or 1:1 is achieved. Bob Senior, in his article ″Line Drawing the Easy Way,″ provided a description of his similar computer-aided procedure. He scanned the coin directly, then drew the contour of its features on the monitor and finally reduced the resultant drawing to the scale of 1:1 for print.[4]

Admittedly, the drawings do not convey the appearance of the coins as authentically as photographs would, yet they are, in our case, easier to make than photographs, considering the weaknesses of the coins already mentioned. Line drawings are, moreover, easier to reproduce in print, which allows for their exhaustive representation and insertion in the text at any place. However, the main advantage achieved by this kind of drawings lies in the possibility of offering a more profound evaluation of the coins, especially in such cases as this, when the ″hoard″ at hand is big and homogeneous.

Die Linkages

By laying one drawing of an obverse (or reverse respectively) upon another it is immediately evident whether both coin sides were struck with the same die or not. After comparing all the drawings with each other it is clear how many obverse and reverse dies were used for the production of this coin corpus. In this respect, the minting places of Qalāwūn′s coins show surprisingly different patterns.

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[4]ONS Newsletter no. 151 (Winter 1997): 8 ff.

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Regarding the Cairo and Damascus mints, the number of obverse dies approximately equals the number of reverse dies, while of the Ḥamāh coins, 22 reverse dies are linked with only eight obverse dies. Although the number of coins is not sufficient to allow for a generalization, neither is the difference merely fortuitous. Evidently, but for no discernible reason, the reverse dies in the Ḥamāh mint became worn out much earlier than the obverse dies and had to be exchanged for new ones more frequently.

The combination of one particular obverse with one particular reverse on one coin is a die linkage. Coins closely related to each other show patterns of die linkages which can be represented in a tabular arrangement. On the charts at the end of each section (below) every single combination of obverse and reverse dies is represented by one line connecting the drawings of the obverses (1, 2, . . .) and the reverses (A, B, . . .) with each other. The number of lines emanating from one obverse number equals the number of coins representing this particular obverse die and shows, moreover, its pattern of combination with the reverse dies. Thus it is possible to visualize whether the combination of a pair of dies is singular only, or whether there are groups of dies in combination (represented on the charts by intersecting lines). In some cases it was possible, by this method, to determine the chronological details of a coin devoid of a date. If the dies used for striking such a coin were also used in combination with dies used for striking other coins, then all these dies (and coins) are necessarily contemporary. And if one exemplar from this group of coins shows an explicit date, this will be, with high reliability, the dating of the whole group, too. As an example we take the coins from Damascus, type I (see below): on two of the coin specimens the reverse #G is clearly dated 682. This die occurs linked with the obverses #6 and #7; now these two obverses are also combined with three other reverses (#F, #H, #J) all of which lack the year of strike. Yet, as all of these reverses belong to the same linkage group they necessarily belong to the same period.

The linkage patterns, too, can differ from one mint to another. The coins from Cairo and Ḥamāh were only struck by specific combinations of obverse and reverse dies—every obverse die is linked to only one reverse die. In the Damascus mint, however, groups of coins were struck by varying combinations of dies, i.e., simultaneously. This is certainly due to a difference in the organization of the minting work. Unlike the habit observed in the Cairo and Ḥamāh mints, it can be concluded that in the Damascus mint the dies were not kept in fixed pairs, but rather the obverse dies were stored together, apart from the reverse dies. The next ″shift″ would then combine the pairs of dies at random.

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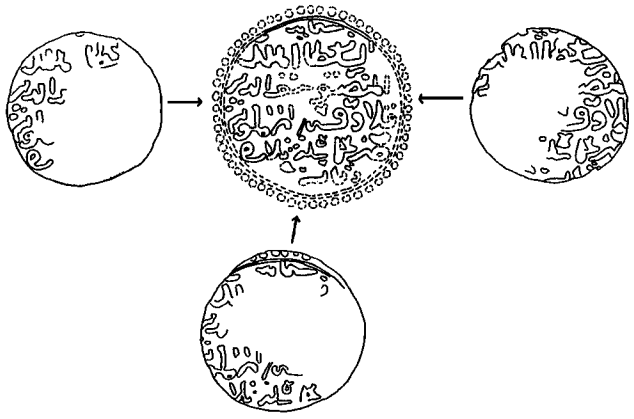
Die Reconstruction

Apart from the advantages of line drawing thus far put forward, its main importance is that it enables the reconstruction of the dies with which the coins were struck. No single Mamluk silver coin ever shows the complete impressions of its dies! In the case of the Qalāwūn silver coinage the average diameter of the coins is only around 20 mm, whereas their dies measure between 23 and 28 mm, which implies that no coin can possibly show more than part of the die(s). Moreover, the impression on the coin is mostly very weak and even leaves part of the flan completely blank, thus reducing again the visible print of the die(s). The only way to find out the size and the calligraphic/ornamental concept of the dies is to make use of as many coins as possible stemming from the same die. The more coins you have at hand, and the more they are off-centered the more completely the reconstruction of a die will succeed. While the well-centered coins are usually of interest for collectors, for our purpose those coins which extend to the very margins are of importance, for they yield the complete legend and even the border line! Any accidental defect on the real coins (e.g., scratches, double strike, weak or blundered writing) may undergo tacit correction. In those cases where a certain (sub-) type cannot be associated exclusively with one specific year, the type drawings leave out the variable parts of the date. If only a few details remain missing from the reconstruction, these details can be safely taken from drawings of other coins from the same (sub-) type.

An example illustrates the procedure: by closely comparing the drawings of individual coins from Ḥamāh it became evident that the obverses of three specimens



(#3 on the die linkage chart below) were struck by the same die. Every coin, however, and thus every drawing, shows a different part of the die. Through accumulation of the drawings, the largest part of the die reappears and can be drawn, yet lacunae remain in the center as well as towards the lower edge. These can be amended, however, by inserting the missing details from the drawing of obverse #2 on the one hand, as well as by completing the visible lines of *thamānīn* at the bottom, in accordance with the prevalent width of the strokes used for the script of the legend. Although these amendments are founded on safe grounds, they are, nevertheless, marked in the illustrations by dotted lines.

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By this method many dies from Damascus and Ḥamāh can be reconstructed either completely or at least partially. Thus, even for the many coins with the date off-flan the year could be determined if they were derived from a die whose reconstruction included the minting year. E.g., although only one out of nine specimens from Ḥamāh struck with the obverse die #5 shows the date 687, it is evident by the reconstruction that all of the other eight specimens were struck in the same year.

TYPOLOGY

The concept of ″type″ and ″sub-type″ applied in this article certainly differs from that of conventional usage. It emerged as the result of an ″inductive″ process while classifying an unusually high number of coins at hand, with side-glances at Balog´s book. An obverse or reverse die is here defined as belonging to the same obverse or reverse *type,* if the same text is arranged in the same way, except for the variable wording of the year. In this respect, it is only the disposition of the units, tens, and hundreds on the coin that is decisive, because one type may have been in use for a longer time than one year. A *sub-type* of an obverse or reverse die still has the same text and the same disposition, but varies regularly in certain details regarding, for instance, calligraphic execution or ornamentation. Finally, a *coin type* is defined by the regular linkage of an obverse die type to a reverse die type.

Sometimes, however, the decision whether to distinguish between two separate types or simply two sub-types of a same type is difficult. The types I and II from Damascus are an example of such a dilemma. Neither their general concept, their texts nor their dispositions differ, whereas their ornamentation as well as their calligraphic realization does. Essentially the obverses (*Obverse I 1* to *Obverse II*) and the reverses (*Reverse I 1* to *Reverse II*) are all variants of the same obverse and reverse types. Not every ″variant″ is found freely combined with other ″variants,″ however. *Obverse II* is, for instance, regularly linked with *Reverse II* and vice versa. Thus it seems reasonable to define this linkage as a coin type of its own. Slightly different is the problem of Damascus type I: there are two obverse variants (*Obverse I 1, 2*) and three reverse variants (*Reverse I 1, 2, 3*); *Reverse I 1* is exclusively linked with *Obverse I 1*, as is *Reverse I 3* with *Obverse I 2*. Each of the obverse variants, however, is also linked with the third variant of the reverse, *Reverse I 2*. Thus, in contrast to the first example, it does not seem wise to split them up into two separate types.

As for the practical side of making type drawings, it must be borne in mind that they are *derived from* the die reconstructions and do not represent individual dies, but constitute the fundamental appearance of (normally) a group of dies bearing the same legend in the same arrangement, as mentioned already. As type

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drawings no longer represent individual coins or dies, there is no need to distinguish between ″original″ and ″amended″ features. The basis of the type drawing is the drawing of the most completely reconstructed die; still missing details are then taken from the drawings of one or several closely related die reconstructions. This procedure is similar to the way in which the die reconstructions were gained from several coins, yet the degree of abstraction is now one level higher. It is even possible to prepare a type drawing on the basis of one single coin, on the condition that it shows an adequate number of characteristic (″typical″) elements, and that the missing details are not only known in principle, but are available as drawings from related coins. A good example of this is the gradual development of the type drawing from the single known specimen of the al-Marqab mint (see Appendix): it shows the essential parts of the legends and ornaments including parts of the edges on both sides, so that the missing details can safely be amended by referring to the drawings of similar types from Cairo and Damascus.

Mode of Presentation

In this article the coin types are quoted by Roman numerals, e.g., Type III. Obverse or reverse types appear as *Obverse I* or *Reverse II*; the sub-types of these are differentiated by the addition of Arabic numerals, e.g., *Obverse I 2* or *Reverse II 1*. Individual dies, like those displayed on the die linkage charts, bear numbers for the obverse dies or capital letters for the reverse dies, such as 1, 2, 3 or A, B, C. If these dies are quoted within the text, the numerals or letters are written #1 or #F.

The sections deal with the mints of Cairo, Damascus, and Ḥamāh. After starting with a few statistics, each section proceeds to a type chart, where the drawings in 1:1 scale of the occurring obverse and reverse types are arranged in such a way that they constitute a synoptical preview of the detailed description of types and sub-types to follow. These descriptions are illustrated by 2:1 enlarged outline type drawings in which the features decisive for the definition of this particular (sub-) type in contrast to the previous one(s) are filled out in black. There is a further section devoted to the metrological evaluation of the corpus. The unique coin from the mint of al-Marqab is dealt with in the Appendix.

Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo

Statistics

Number of specimens:	32
Coin diameter:	19 to 22 mm
Die diameter:	24 to 25 mm
Average weight:	2.77 g; for details see below

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28 obverse dies:

Obverse I 1:	9 dies on 9 specimens: #1-9 (1x each)
Obverse I 2:	8 dies on 11 specimens: #10 (2x), #11 (1x), #12 (2x), #13-14 (1x each), #15 (2x), #16-17 (1x each)
Obverse II:	11 dies on 12 specimens: #18 (1x), #19 (2x), #20-28 (1x each)

30 reverse dies:

Reverse I:	30 dies on 32 specimens: #A-J (1x each), #K (2x), #L-P (1x each), #Q (2x), #R-E′ (1x each)

CAIRO TYPE CHART

Type I, here years 680, 685, 686, 68x, 6x9; on reverse void left for units of minting year.

Obverse I 1

Obverse I 2*

Obverse II

Reverse I

Obverse I 1 and *Obverse I 2* correspond to Balog′s type *B* (Balog no. 126), while *Obverse II* corresponds to his type *A* (Balog nos. 121-25). As the reverse type is always identical it seems appropriate to regard all combinations as forming one single coin type consisting of three different obverse variants.

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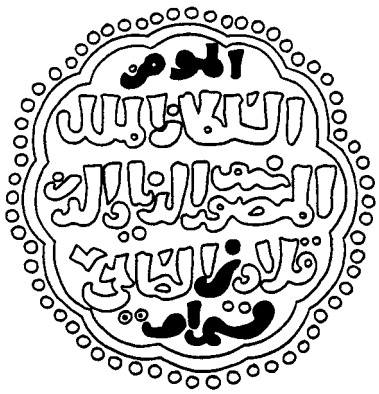
Description of Cairo Type I (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse I 1



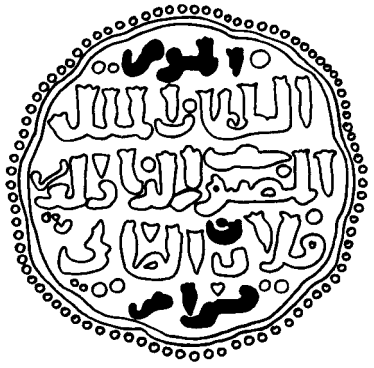
Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور, while the ين of الدين is above the *dāl*.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: completion of text in bottom (قسيم امير) and top (المومنين) segments.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 2* and *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on the line.

Obverse I 2



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: completion of text in bottom (قسيم امير) and top (المومنين) segments.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*.

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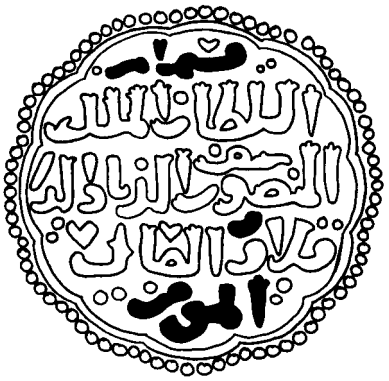
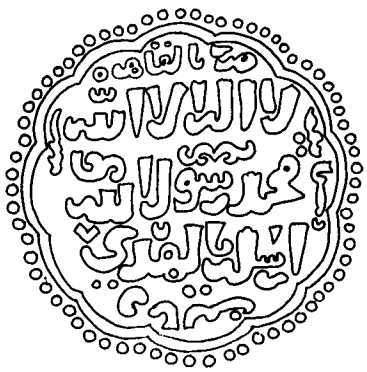
Obverse II



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 1* and *Obverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: completion of text in bottom (قسيم امير) and top (المومنين) segments.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*.

Reverse I



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بالقاهرة (top; *tā' marbūṭah* mostly lacking), [. . ./تسع/ست/خمس] سنة (left), وثمانين (bottom), وستماية (right).

GENERAL FEATURES OF CAIRO TYPE I

Border on both sides: linear dodecalobe in dodecalobe of dots. This kind of border is typical for the Qalāwūn coins of Cairo (versus Balog, *MSES,* 114, where the border is described as ″dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes,″ like the coins from Damascus).

Style of writing: *naskhī.* The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and often show a more or less tight lacing below the tops. Some dies have *hastae* with flat tops, others are bicuspid or multicuspid, which contributes to a cauliflower-like appearance, looking, at times, rather frayed and unbalanced.

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Diacritical points occur occasionally with the *bā'* of بالهدى, the *fā'* of سيف, the *qāf*s, the *nūn*s (in case of the name قلاون the point of the *nūn* is sometimes substituted by a V-shaped angular *muhmal* mark, cf. below), and the *yā'*s.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle: on top of some letters a V-shaped angle or a truncated bifoil is placed. This sign is the *muhmal* mark لا which has probably been developed from the abbreviation of لا وقف "no pausal reading." It informs the reciter that stopping at this place would have a detrimental effect on the true sense of the passage. In epigraphic usage the *muhmal* mark has lost its original meaning; it rather serves to indicate a letter which, in ordinary script, bears no diacritical point—in a way it is a diacritical mark although its meaning is something like لا نقطة عليها "without diacritical point." Occasionally, however, it is, like other *muhmal* marks, simply used to fill void spaces between and above any letter.[5] On the Cairene coins the V-shaped *muhmal* marks are observed above the *sīn*s of قسيم and ارسله, the *ṣād* of الصالحى (occasionally a circle instead), and the final *yā'*s of الصالحى and بالهدى.

circle sometimes with a cleft on top, above the *hā'* of بالهدى (occasionally a V-shaped angle instead), above the *qāf* of قلاون and the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

vertical wedge above the *sīn*s of السلطان and ارسله, and the *ṣād* of الصالحى (occasionally a circle with cleft on top instead).

"shaddah" on top of the first الله (reverse, first line).

Pausal indicators: occasionally the lines in the top or bottom segments are framed by one dot or a pair of dots.

Ornaments:

symmetrical scroll ornament on top of رسول. The same ornament occurs, in the same position, on coins of the Damascus III type, although the execution is mostly neater. Close to these is the scroll ornament on the coins of the Ḥamāh III type which, however, always occurs in combination with a V-shaped *muhmal* mark. Thus, Balog's view *(MSES,* 115) that this ornament is specific to the Cairene coins of Qalāwūn is

[5] Adolf Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, part 2, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 94 (Vienna, 1971), 43-44.

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not tenable any more; the rule can only be maintained if other criteria of Cairene coinage are fulfilled.

asymmetrical scroll ornament  on top of the second الله (reverse, second line).

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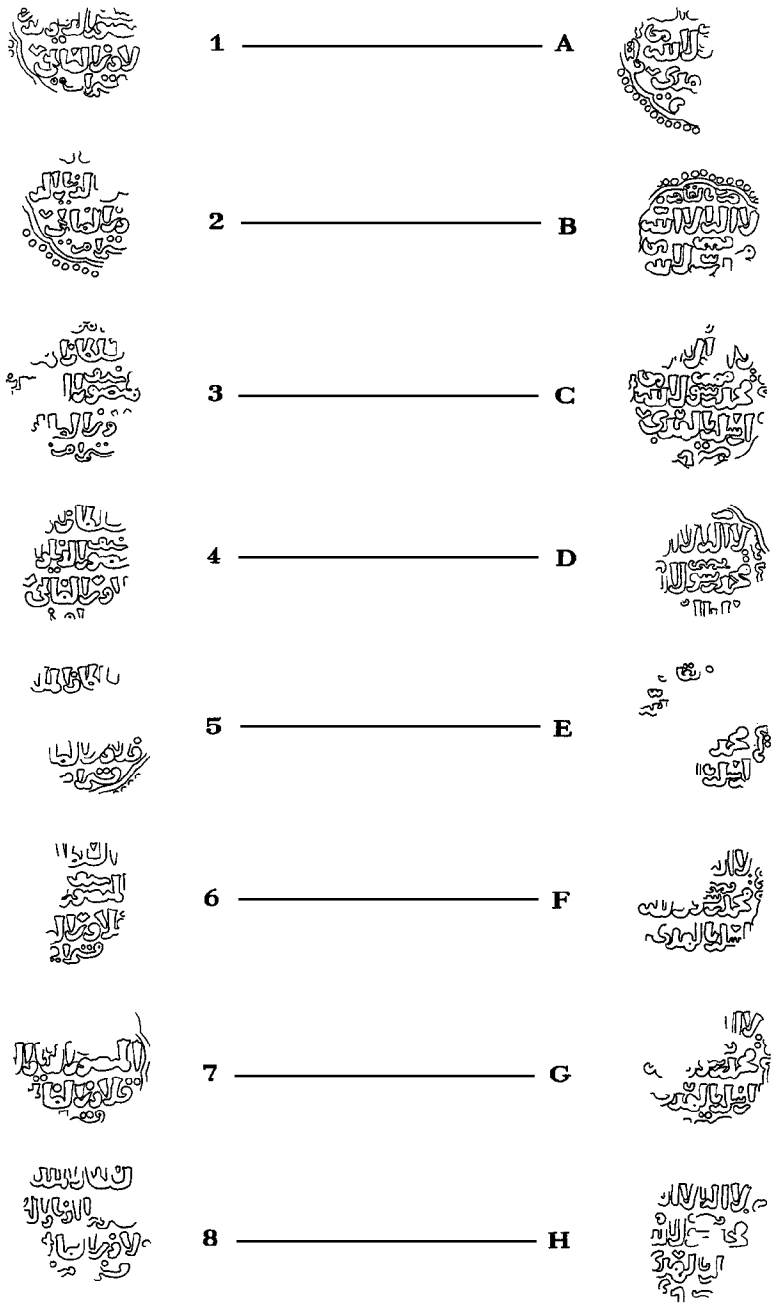

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I

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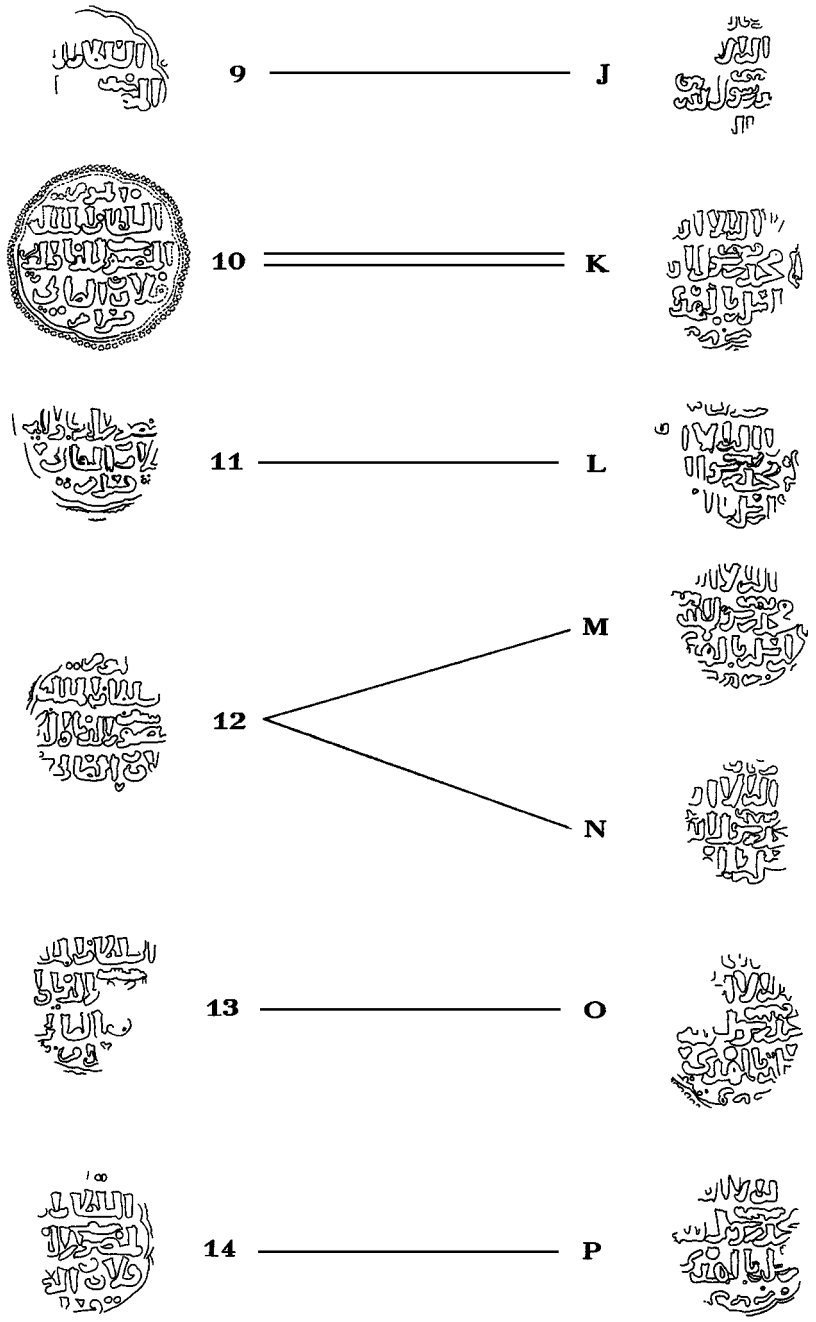
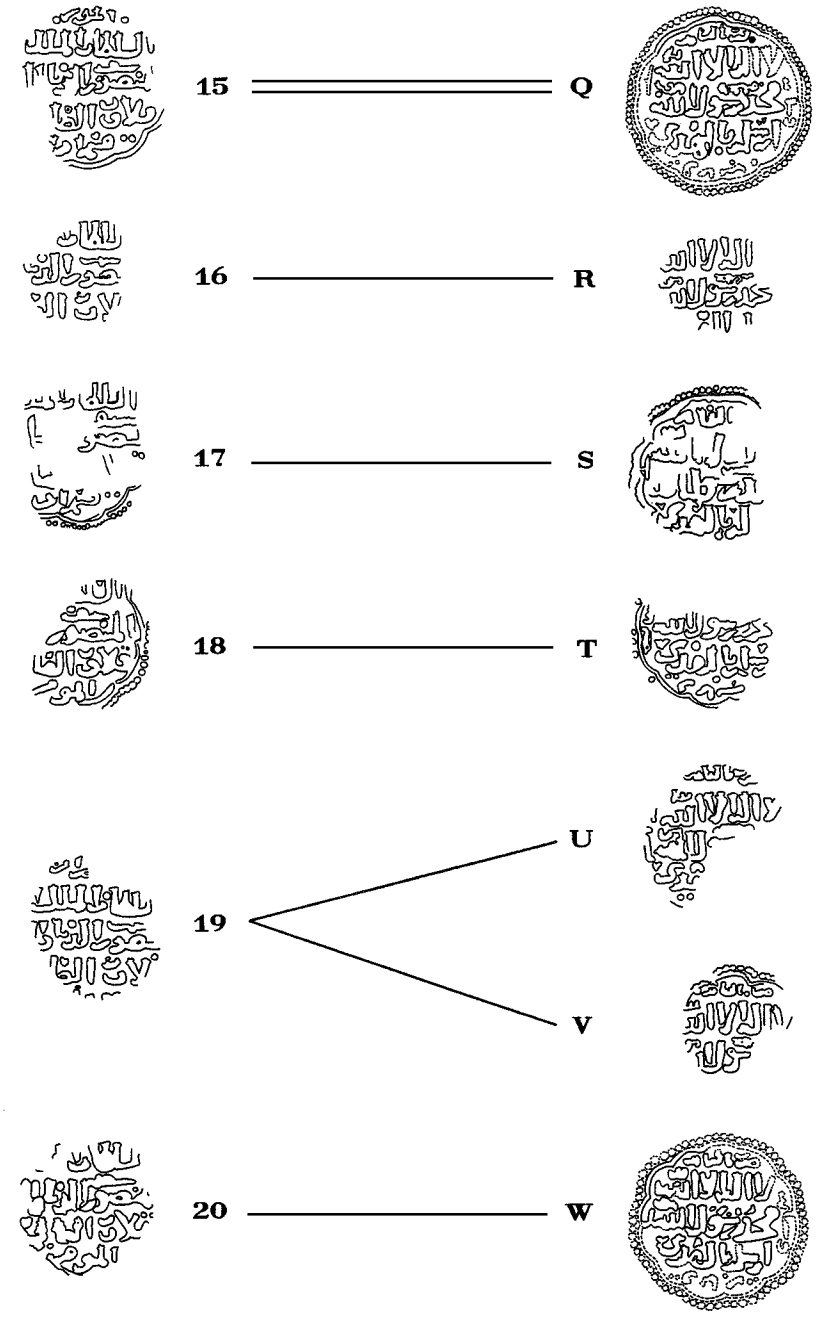


Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I (cont.)

DOI: 10.6082/M1765CGS. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1765CGS)

DOI of Vol. IV: 10.6082/M1ZP4468. See https://doi.org/10.6082/88JJ-2P31 to download the full volume or individual articles.



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I (cont.)

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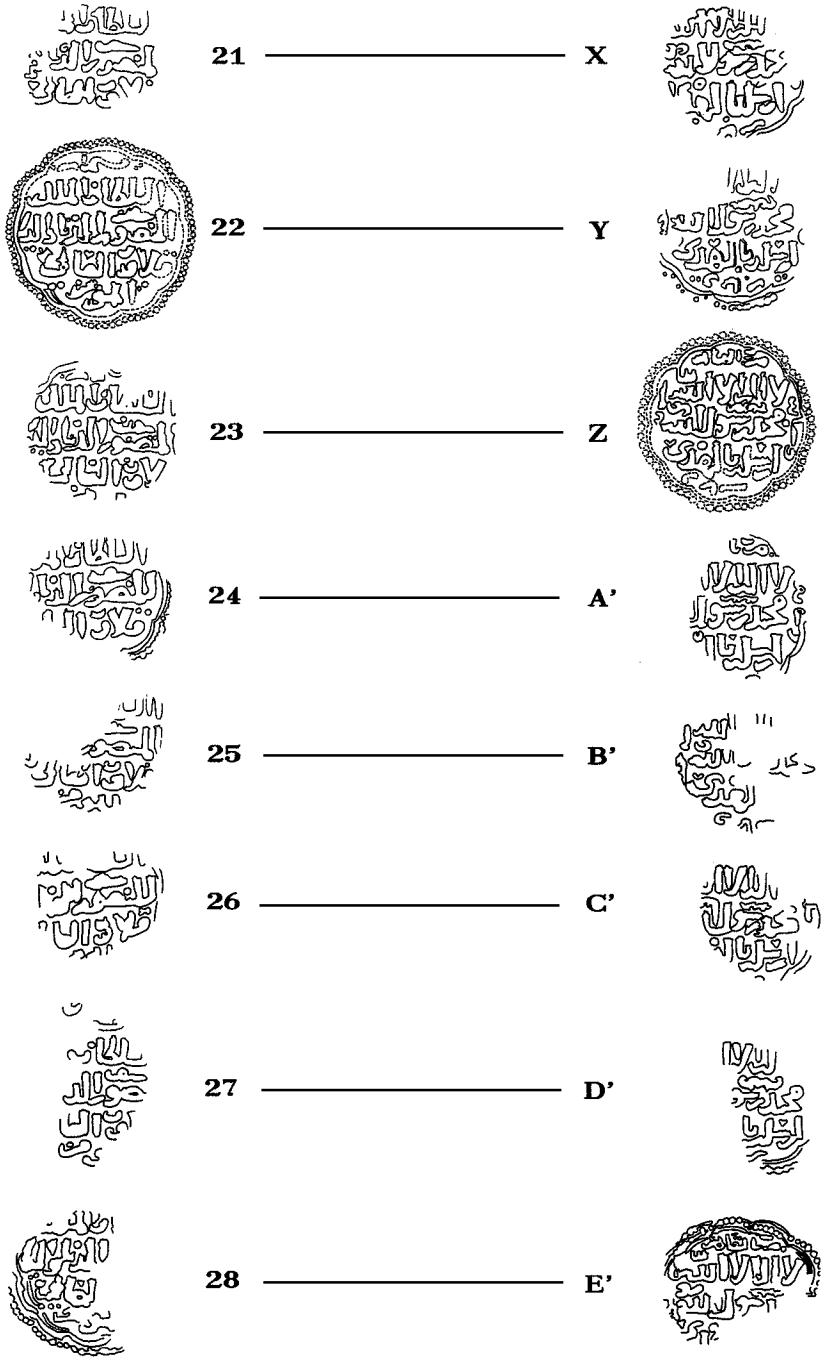

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I (cont.)

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DOI of Vol. IV: 10.6082/M1ZP4468. See https://doi.org/10.6082/88JJ-2P31 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus

Statistics

Number of specimens:	53
Coin diameter:	19 to 22 mm; one (light-weight) specimen 13 mm
Die diameter:	24 to 26 mm
Average weight:	2.87 g; for details cf. below

27 obverse dies:

Obverse I 1:	6 dies on 10 specimens: #1-2 (2x each), #3 (1x), #4 (2x), #5 (1x). #6 (2x)
Obverse I 2:	7 dies on 12 specimens: #7 (3x), #7′ (2x), #8 (1x), #9 (2x), #10-11 (1x each), #12 (2x)
Obverse II:	11 dies on 27 specimens: #13 (1x), #14 (3x), #15 (2x), #15′ (2x), #16 (9x), #17 (1x), #18 (4x), #19 (2x), #20-22 (1x each)
Obverse III 1:	2 dies on 2 specimens: #23 (1x), #25 (1x)
Obverse III 2:	1 die on 2 specimens: #24 (2x)

27 reverse dies:

Reverse I 1:	5 dies (+ possibly 1 additional die) on 6 (+ possibly 2) specimens: #A (1x), #B (1x), #C (2x), #D (1x), #F (1x), [#G (2x)]
Reverse I 2:	3 dies on 6 specimens: #E (3x), #H (1x), #J (2x)
Reverse I 3:	4 dies (+ possibly 2 additional dies) on 5 (+ possibly 2) specimens: #K (1x), #L (2x), #N (1x), #O (1x), [#M (1x), #P (1x)]
Reverse II:	9 dies on 27 specimens: #Q (2x), #R (6x), #S (1x), #T (7x), #U (6x), #V (2x), #W-Y (1x each)
Reverse III 1:	2 dies on 3 specimens: #Z (1x), #A′ (2x)
Reverse III 2:	1 die on 1 specimen: #B′ (1x)

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DAMASCUS TYPE CHARTS

Type I, here years 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 68x, 6xx; on reverse void left for units of years.

Obverse I 1

Obverse I 2

*Reverse I 1 *

Reverse I 2

*Reverse I 3

Type II, here years 685, 686, 68x, 6xx; on reverse void left for units of years.

Obverse II

Reverse II

Type III, here years 688, 689, 68x

Obverse III 1

Obverse III 2

Reverse III 1

Reverse III 2*

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Description of Damascus Type I, here years 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 68x, 6xx (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse I 1

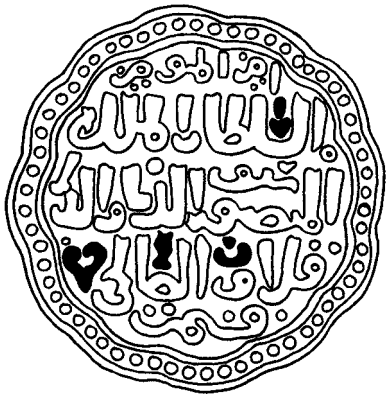
Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

Completion of text in bottom (قسيم) and top (امير المومنين) segments.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور, while the ين of الدين is above the *dāl*.

Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on the line; rhomboid knot above the *sīn* of السلطان; heart-shaped knot concluding the last line; rhombus over triangle above the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

Obverse I 2



Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse I 1* and *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw;* V-shaped angle with wedge between the sides above the *sīn* of السلطان; bifoil concluding the last line; rhomboid knot on top of the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

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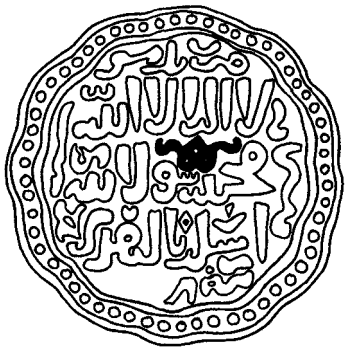
Reverse I 1



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى
Circular legend: ضرب بدمشق (top), سنة (left), ثمـــــانين [. . ./اربع/اثنى] (bottom), وستماية (right).

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Reverse I 2* and *Reverse I 3*, in the drawing set off in black: heart-shaped knot above رسول.

Reverse I 2

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Reverse I 1* and *Reverse I 3*, in the drawing set off in black: V-shaped angle with three dots on either side and, occasionally, one dot between the sides above رسول.

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Reverse I 3

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Reverse I 1* and *Reverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: V-shaped angle above رســـول branching out in bifoil shape.

General Features of Damascus Type I

Border on both sides: dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom, frequently having a bicuspid or tricuspid top; the *kāf* of الملك often ends up in the shape of a leaf, a bifoil, or a trifoil.

Diacritical points frequently occur with the *thā'* of ثمانين, the *shīn* of بدمشق, the *fā'* of سيف, the *qāf*s of قلاون and قسيم, the *nūn*s of السلطان, المنصور, الدنيا, قلاون, المومنين, and ثمانين, the *yā'*s of سيف, قسيم, امير, المومنين, and ثمانين.

Muhmal marks:

- frequently V-shaped angle above the *sīn* of سيف.
- V-shaped angle with dot or small wedge between the sides, above the *sīn* of ارسله.
- circle, sometimes with a cleft on top, above the *hā'* of بالهدى and the *dāl* of الدنيا, occasionally dot instead.
- rhombus, frequently on top of the *hā'* of بالهدى.
- rhomboid knot above the *sīn* of السلطان (on *Obverse I 1* only) and on top of the *ṣād* of الصالحى (on *Obverse I 2* only).
- big V-shaped angle, with wedge between the sides, on top of the *sīn* of السلطان (on *Obverse I 2* only).
- rhombus over triangle above the *ṣād* of الصـــالحى (on *Obverse I 1* only).

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"shaddah"  on top of the first الله (reverse, first line).

Pausal indicators:

inverted heart-shaped knot above the *yā'* of الصالحى, mostly in conjuncture with a dot on either side of its top  , concluding the text (on *Obverse I 1* only).

bifoil  , in the same position as before (on *Obverse I 2* only).

bifoil  or trifoil above the *yā'* of بالهدى, concluding the reverse text.

group of three dots in triangle formation  , framing the lines of the circular reverse legend.

Ornaments:

asymmetrical scroll ornament  on top of the second الله (reverse, second line).

inverted heart-shaped knot with protruding curved ends  above رسول (on *Reverse I 1* only).

wide V-shaped angle with three dots on either side and occasionally with an additional dot between the sides  , in the same position as before (on *Reverse I 1* only).

wide V-shaped angle branching out in bifoil shape on either side  , in the same position as before (on *Reverse I 3* only).

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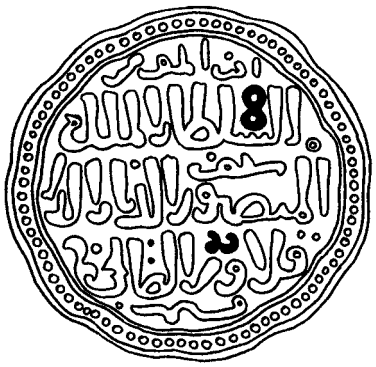
Description of Damascus Type II, here years 685, 686, 68x (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse II



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

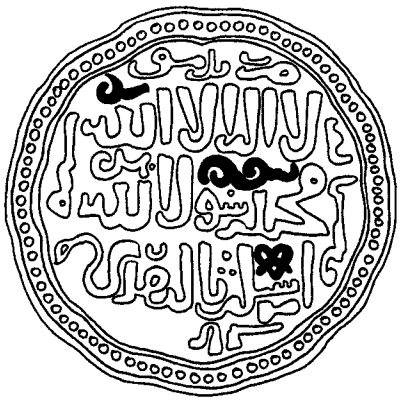
Completion of text in bottom (قسيم) and top (امير المومنين) segments.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور, while the ين of الدين is above the *dāl*.

Specific to line (3): the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on the line.

Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse I 1* and *Obverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: 8-shaped *muhmal* mark above the *sīn* of السلطان; asymmetrical scroll ornament above the last two characters of قلاون; dots above the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

Reverse II



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بدمشق (top), سنة (left), ثمانين [ست/. . .] (bottom), وستماية (right).

Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse I 1*, *Reverse I 2*, and *Reverse I 3*, in the drawing set off in black: asymmetrical scroll ornament above رسول; heart-shaped knot above the *sīn* of ارسله (occasionally V-shaped angle with dot between the sides instead); asymmetrical scroll ornament above the first الله (reverse, first line).

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GENERAL FEATURES OF DAMASCUS TYPE II

Border on both sides: dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and frequently have bicuspid or tricuspid tops; often the *yā*'s of الصـــالحى and of بـالهدى as well as, occasionally, the *kāf* of الملك, end in the shape of a leaf.

Diacritical points occur occasionally with the *fā'* of ســـيـف and the *qāf*s of قلاون and قسيم.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle  occasionally above the *sīn* of سيف.

V-shaped angle with dot between the sides  occasionally above the *sīn* of ارسله.

circle with a cleft on top  above the *hā'* of بـالهـــدى and the *dāl* of الدنيا, occasionally with dot instead.

one point or a colon above the *ṣād* and, occasionally, above the *yā'* of الصالحى.

a group of three dots in triangle formation  occasionally above the *hā'* of ارسله.

a big "eight"  or above the *sīn* of السلطان.

No pausal indicators.

Ornaments:

asymmetrical scroll ornament  above رسول.

heart-shaped knot  , frequently inverted , above the *sīn* of ارسله; occasionally V-shaped angle with dot between the sides instead.

asymmetrical scroll ornaments  on top of both occurring اللـه (reverse, first and second line).

asymmetrical scroll ornament  above the last two characters of قلاون.

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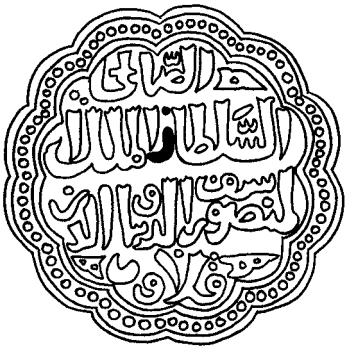
Description of Damascus Type III (corresponds to Balog´s type *B),* here years 688, 689, 68x (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse III 1

Central inscription in two lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
Completion of text in bottom (قـــلاون) and top (الصالحى) segments.
Specific to line (2): ســـيف is placed above المنصـــور, while the يـن of الديـن is above the *dāl*.
Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of السلطان is laid over the second *lām*.

Obverse III 2



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of السلطان is placed on the line.

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DOI of Vol. IV: 10.6082/M1ZP4468. See https://doi.org/10.6082/88JJ-2P31 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Reverse III 1

Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى
Circular legend: ضرب بدمشق (top), سنة (right), وستماية (bottom), وثمانين (left), ثمان.
Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: *muhmal* mark in the shape of a V-angle or a truncated bifoil above رسول; year ″688.″

Reverse III 2

Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: symmetrical scroll ornament above رسول; year ″689.″

GENERAL FEATURES OF DAMASCUS TYPE III

Border on both sides: dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. In distinction from all other coin types of Damascus, this type is characterized by its extraordinarily elegant calligraphy. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and often have bicuspid or tricuspid tops; the *yā'* of بالهدى ends in the shape of a bifoil.

Diacritical points occur with the *qāf* of قلاون, the *yā'* s of ثمانين and ستماية, the *tā'* of ستماية, the *nūn*s of ثمانين, قلاون, and الدين, and the *fā'* of سيف.

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Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle or truncated bifoil  above the *sīn*s of رسـول (on *Reverse III 1* only) and ارسـله, as well as, occasionally, above سـيف and سـتمـاية.

circle with cleft on top  above the *dāl* of مـحـمـد and above the *hā*'s of both occurring اللـه (reverse, first and second line).

circle with cleft on the left side  above the *hā*'s of ارسـله and بـالـهدى.

"shaddah"  above the *ṣād* of الصـــالحى, occasionally with *fatḥah*-like dash on top  , above both occurring اللـه (reverse, first and second line), and above the *sīn* of السلطان.

Pausal indicators:

 to the right of الصـــالحى, opposite ornaments  on either side of the name قـلاون.

Symmetrical scroll ornament  above رســـول (on *Reverse III 2* only).

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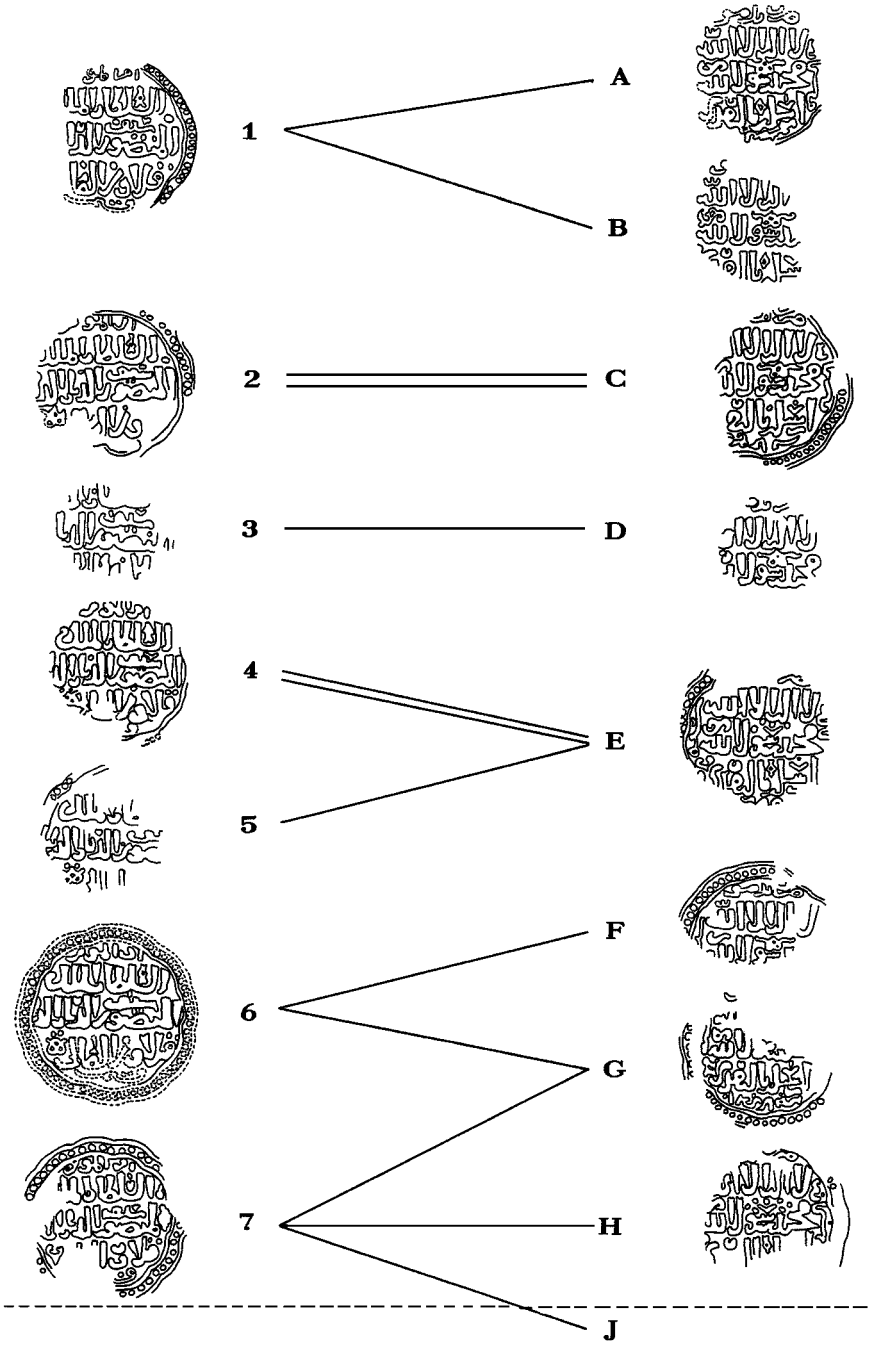

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type I

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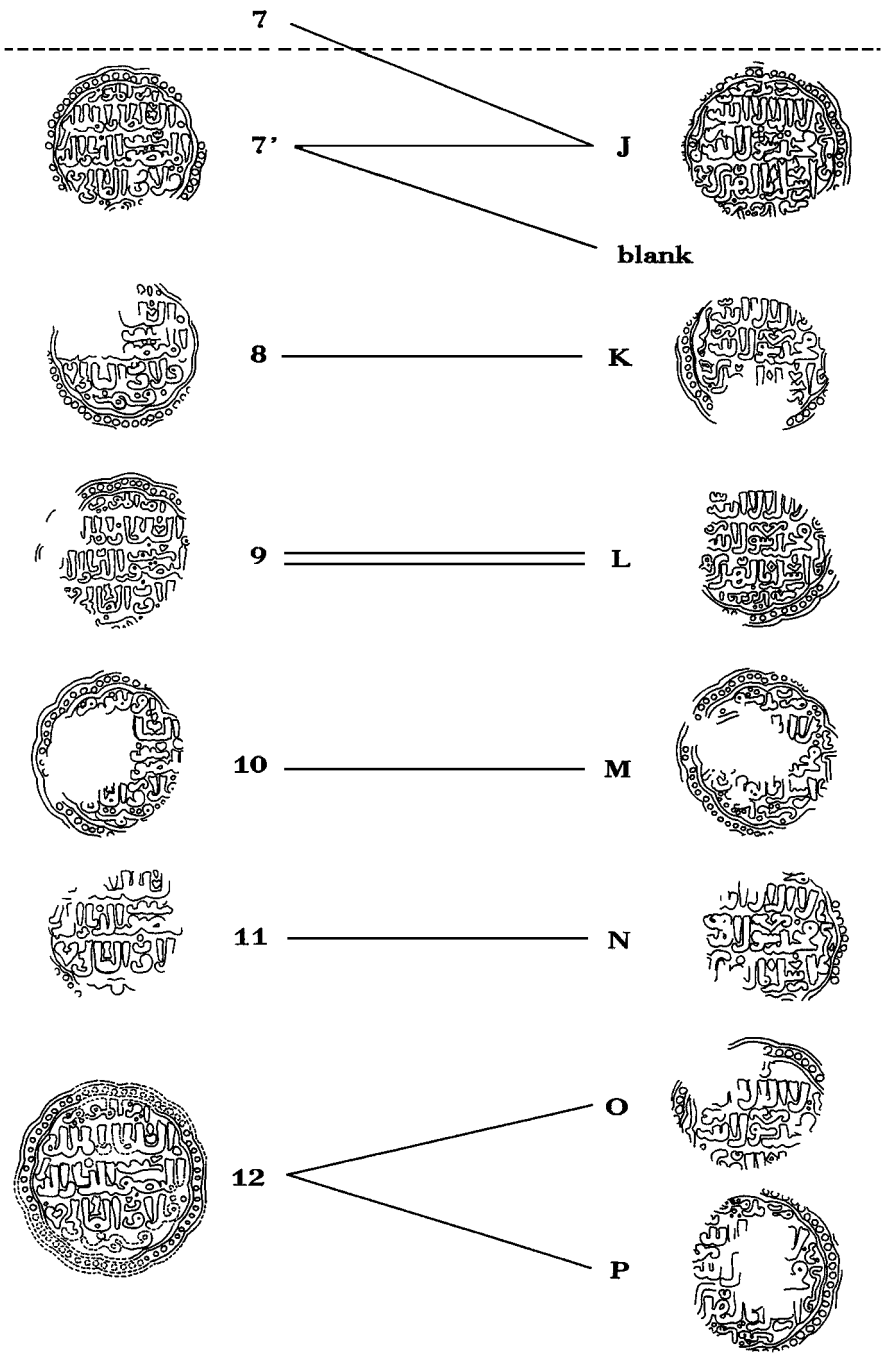

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type I (cont.)

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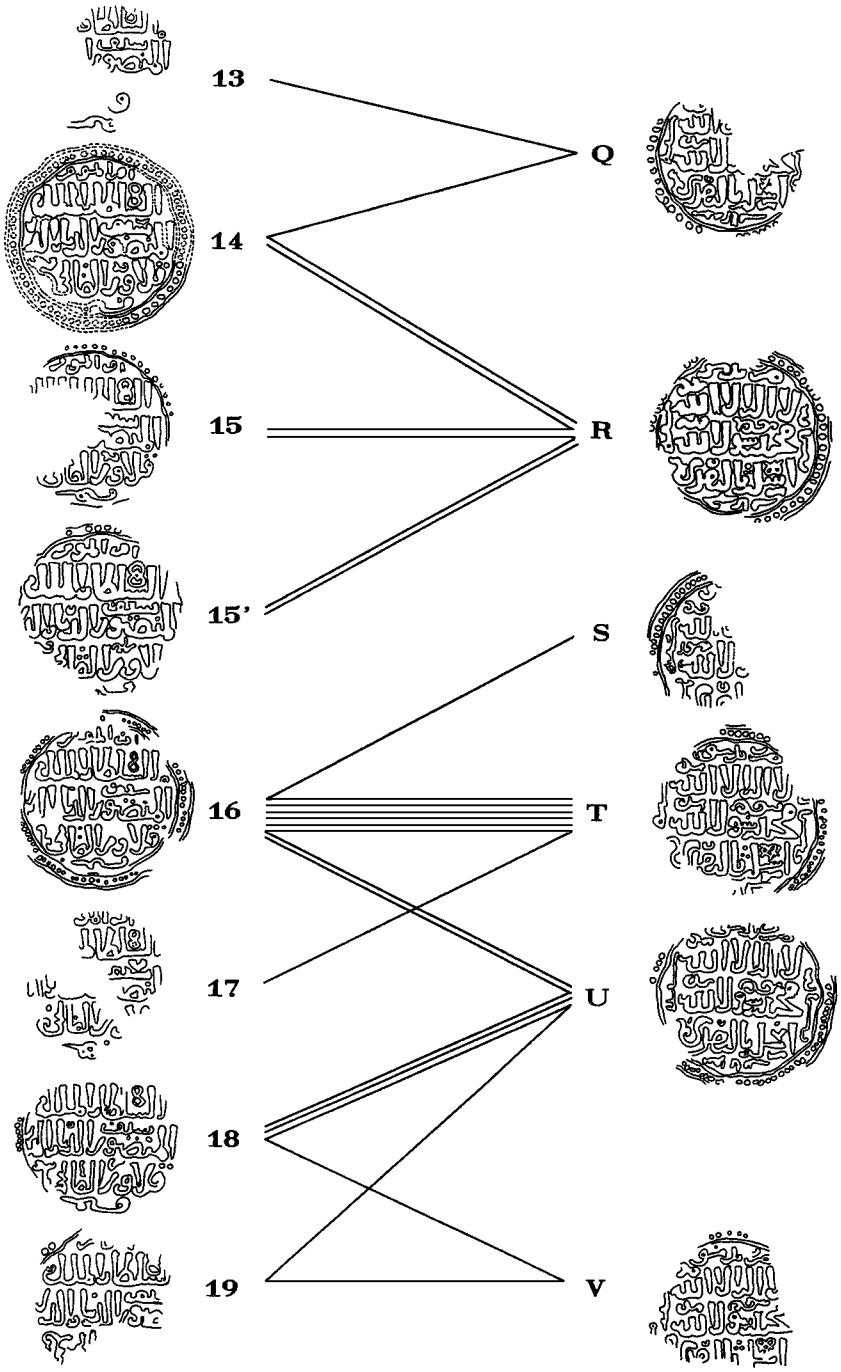

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type II

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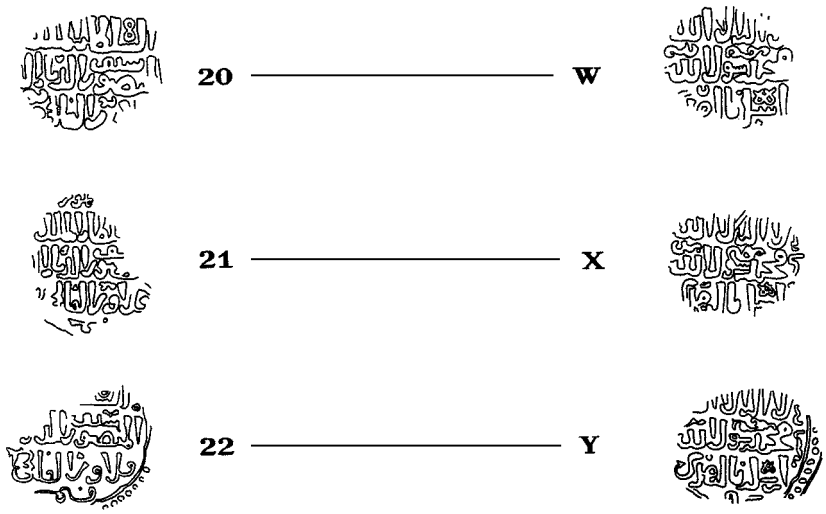

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type II (cont.)

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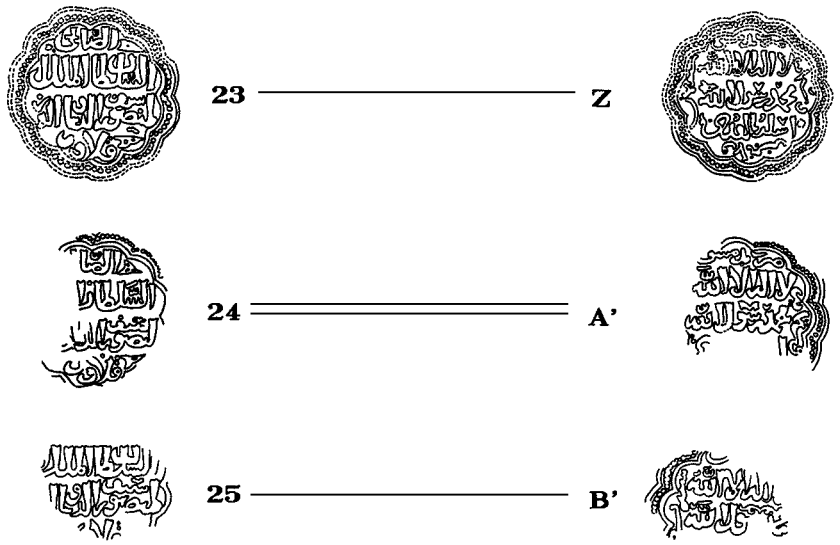

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type III

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Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh[6]

Statistics

Number of specimens:	35
Coin diameter:	19 to 22 mm
Die diameter:	26 to 28 mm
Average weight:	2.89 g; for details cf. below.

8 obverse dies:

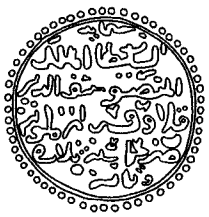
Obverse I:	3 dies on 6 specimens: #1 (2x), #2 (1x), #3 (3x)
Obverse II:	1 die on 6 specimens: #4 (6x)
Obverse III 1:	1 die on 9 specimens: #6 (9x)
Obverse III 2:	3 dies on 14 specimens: #5 (9x), #7 (1x), #8 (4x)

22 reverse dies:

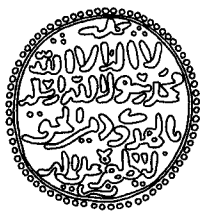
Reverse I:	6 dies on 6 specimens: #A-E (1x each)
Reverse II:	4 dies on 6 specimens: #F (3x), #G-J (1x each)
Reverse III 1:	6 dies (+ possibly 1 additional die) on 15 specimens (+ possibly 1): #K-M (1x each), #N (6x), #Q (2x), #V (4x), (+ possibly #U [1x])
Reverse III 2:	6 dies on 7 specimens: #O-P (2x each), #R-T (1x each)

Ḥamāh Type Charts

Type I (here year 683)

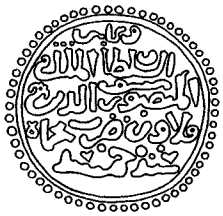


Obverse I



Reverse I

Type II (here year 685)



Obverse II

Reverse II

[6]Only after the completion of this article did the special publication by Lorenz Korn on the coins of Ḥamāh come to my notice: *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Ḥamāh IV c Bilād aš-Šām III* (Berlin, 1998). Korn examined 56 silver coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh. His findings generally confirm my own, adding the minting years 679 to my Type I, and 688 to my Type III. The completion of the text by the word *kullihi* on the reverse of my Type II is in the bottom segment. Another type, which is not represented in my corpus, is recorded for the year 684.

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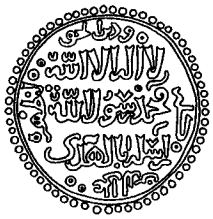
Type III (here years 687, 689)


Obverse III 1


Obverse III 2


Reverse III 1


Reverse III 2

DESCRIPTION OF ḤAMĀH TYPE I (corresponds to Balog´s no. 135 B), here year 683 (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

This *dirham* is two years older than the Ḥamāh type II coin of 685, which was published by Helen W. Mitchell[7] (see below). A coin of this type I has been dated 678 or 688 by Balog,[8] possibly due to mistaking the initial characters of ثلاثة to mean ثمانية; moreover, he evidently misreads the decade ثمانين in the bottom segment to be the word for the century ستماية. If my reading is correct, then this type was minted exclusively in the year 683.

On the Ḥamāh types I and II the naming of the mint and the year of coinage appear as parts of the field inscription, unlike the disposition found on the Cairene and Damascene coins as well as on the Ḥamāh type III. This particular distribution of the legend is typical for many coins of the Ḥamāh mint. It appears for the first time in 658 on Mongol coinage; it was maintained by Baybars on his Ḥamāh coins after he had introduced the *dirham ẓāhirī* and thereafter.[9] It seems to be a peculiarity of Qalāwūn´s Ḥamāh types I and II that the mint and the year are part of the *obverse* inscription, while the same feature occurs on the *reverses* of Ḥamāh coins prior to Qalāwūn´s reign (Hūlāgū 658, Baybars 660 and following) as well as later, e.g., under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 715.[10]

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[7]Helen W. Mitchell, "Mamlūk Dirhems," 180, no. 6.

[8]"Additions," 122, no. 135 B.

[9]For more details and photographs of the coins cf. Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo,* Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts 6 (Leiden, 1996), 282-90, 360-61.

[10]Ibid., 282-90; Balog's nos. 64-66, 204.

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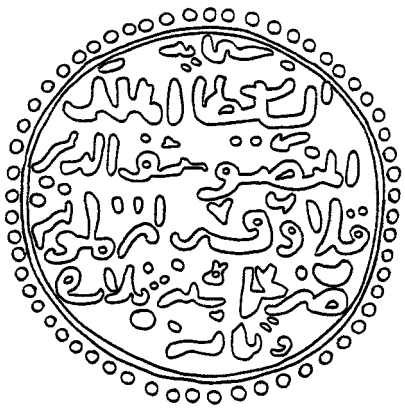
Obverse I



Central inscription in four lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدين
(3) قلاون قسيم امير المومنين
(4) ضرب بحماة سنة ثلاثة

Completion of the date in bottom (وثمانين) and top (ستماية) segments versus Balog, "Additions," 122, where the decade وثمانين in the bottom segment is mistaken for the century ستماية.

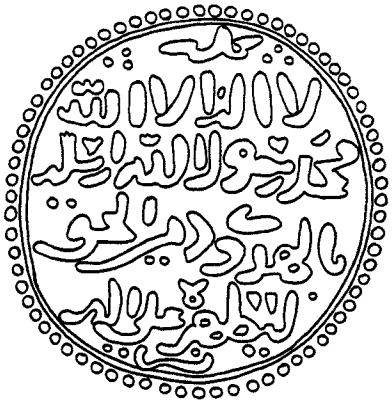
Specific to line (1): the *nūn* of السلطان overlays the second *lām*.

Specific to line (2): the *rā'* of المنصور is placed above the *ṣād*.

Specific to line (3): the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*, and the منين of المومنين is above the *wāw*.

Specific to line (4): the *bā'* of ضرب is placed above ضر, and the *hā'* of بحماة is above the *sīn* of سنة.

Reverse I



Central inscription in four lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله ارسله
(3) بالهدى ودين الحق
(4) ليظهره على الدين

Completion of text in the top segment: كله.

Specific to line (3): the *yā'* of بالهدى is written retroflex and placed above the *dāl*.

On some specimens the inscription protrudes slightly beyond the marginal circle, cf. drawing of die #D here:

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GENERAL FEATURES OF ḤAMĀH TYPE I

Border on both sides: circular line in circle of dots. Contrary to Balog, "Additions," 122, where the borders are described as ″circular line,″ this marginal design seems to be typical for the Qalāwūn coins from Ḥamāh.

Style of writing: *naskhī*. In distinction from the other Qalāwūn coin types the tops of the *hastae* are not flat or bicuspid but rounded; the calligraphic standard is rather poor.

Diacritical points occur with the *nūns* of السلطان and المنصور, the *fā'* of سيف, the *qāf*s of قلاون and الحق, the *ḍād* of ضرب, and the *yā'* of الدين. There is a confusing multitude of other dots of only decorative purpose.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above the *sīn*s of سيف, رسول, ارسله, and, occasionally, of قسيم. occasionally *"shaddah"* on top of both occurring اللهs.

Pausal indicators: group of three dots in triangle formation occasionally at the outset and at the end of the line in the top segment (reverse).

No ornamentation.

DESCRIPTION OF ḤAMĀH TYPE II (corresponds to Balog's no. 137 A), year 685 (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

Helen W. Mitchell[11] has studied a coin of this type and of the same year, although on hers mint and date were missing. It can be confirmed here that the coin is of Syrian provenance, as she surmised. She is also right in interpreting the last distinguishable character on her coin to be read as the *khā'* of the date خمسة. Thus it is indeed ″an early example of the date appearing as part of the field inscription.″ However, it is not the earliest occurrence of that phenomenon, as she states. It can be found on coins from the Ḥamāh mint as early as 658, although these earlier coins from Ḥamāh have the mint and the year on the reverse, as those above.

[11]"Mamlūk Dirhems," 180, no. 6.

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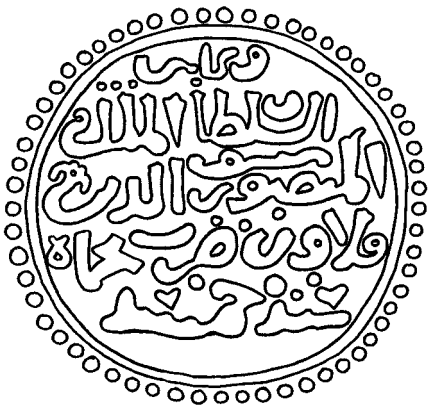
Obverse II



Central inscription in four lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدين
(3) قلاون ضرب بحماة
(4) سنة خمسة

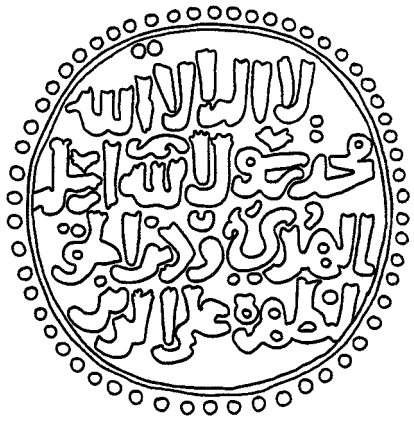
Completion of date in the top segment: وثمـــانين. If, however, this word is read as وستـمـايـة, which is possible, then the decade وثمانين has its place at the very bottom.

Specific to line (1): the *nūn* of السلطان is placed above the *sīn*.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور.

Specific to line (3): the *bā'* of ضرب is placed over the *rā'* .

Reverse II



Inscription in four lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله ارسله
(3) بالهدى ودين الحق
(4) ليظهره على الدين

Probable completion of the text by كله in top segment, if the two dots there are rightly interpreted as pausal indicators.

General Features of Ḥamāh Type II

Border on both sides: circular line in circle of dots.

Style of writing: *naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and frequently have bicuspid or multicuspid tops. This feature contributes to a cauliflower-like appearance which is accentuated by scroll ornaments and floriated characters: the *nūn* of الدين ends in a blossom, the *yā'* of بالهدى in the shape of a bifoil.

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Diacritical points occur with the *nūn*s of قـلاون, of سنـة, and of دين, the *ḍād* of ضرب, the *khā'* of خمسة, the *qāf* of الحق, and the *ẓā'* of ليظهره.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above the *sīn*s of سنة, of رسول, and of ارسله.

circle with a cleft on top or on the left side above the *wāw* of ودين and the *hā'* of بالهدى.

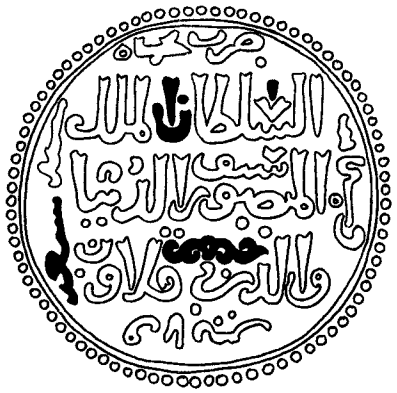
occasionally *"shaddah"* above the first الله (reverse, first line).

Pausal indicator: three dots in horizontal alignment concluding the text in the top segment (obverse).

Asymmetrical scroll ornament on top of the second الله (reverse, second line); occasionally *"shaddah"* instead.

DESCRIPTION OF ḤAMĀH TYPE III (corresponds to Balog´s no. 135 C), here years 687 and 689 (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

Obverse III 1



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا
(3) والدين قلاون

Circular legend: ضـوب بحـمـاة (top), سنة وستماية (right), وثمانين (bottom), تسعة (left).

Specific to line (2): سـيـف is placed above المنصور.

Specific to line (3): The *nūn* of قـــلاون is placed above the *wāw*.

Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: all known coins of this (sub-) type are dated 689, as far as visible (cf. Balog, "Additions," 122); the *nūn* of السلطان is placed on the line, and the *alif* of الملك is above the *nūn*; the space above قـ دين (obverse, last line) is filled up by a roughly symmetrical scroll ornament; between the sides of the angle above السلطان there is a vertical wedge.

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Obverse III 2

Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the date is 687; the word سبعة has a diacritical point below the *bā'*; the *nūn* of السلطان is placed above the *sīn;* the *kāf* of الملك ends in a scroll; the space above قـ ديـن is filled up by an asymmetrical scroll ornament.

Reverse III 1

Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى
Circular legend: ودين الحق (top), ليظهره (left), على الدين (bottom), كله (right).

Specific to line (3): the *yā'* of بالهدى ends up in a trifoil.

Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: symmetrical scroll ornament above a V-shaped angle on top of رسول, rarely just the angle; asymmetrical scroll ornaments on top of both occurring اللهs; the loops of the medial *hā'*s in بالهدى and ليظهره are written vertically above each other; the *yā'* of على is written retroflex.

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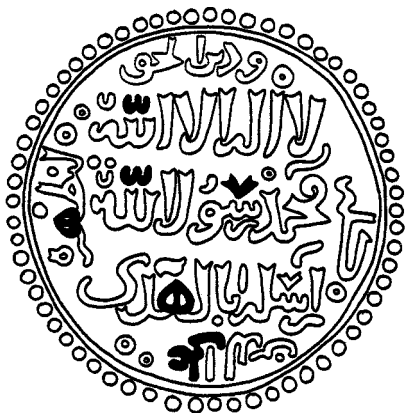
Reverse III 2



Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: V-shaped *muhmal* mark above رسـول, without scroll ornament; *"shaddah"* above both occurring الله; the loops of the medial *hā'*s of بالهـدى and ليظهره are written in juxtaposition forming a symmetrical pointed arch on the line; the *yā'* of على is not retroflex.

Only the discovery of a better specimen could clarify the specific variant of the *yā'* in بالهدى and how the space before على and after كله was used.

GENERAL FEATURES OF ḤAMĀH TYPE III

Border on both sides: linear circle in circle of dots.

Style of writing: *thulth,* of high calligraphic standard. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and have bicuspid or multicuspid tops, which contributes to a cauliflower-like appearance, accentuated by scroll ornaments (cf. below).

Diacritical points occur with the *nūn*s, the *qāf*s, the *yā'* of الدنيا (on *Obverse III 1* only), the *fā'* of سيف (on *Obverse III 2* only), the *bā'* of سبعة in the circular legend (on *Obverse III 2* only), and the *ẓā'* of ليظهره.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above every *sīn* of the central inscriptions on obverse and reverse.

V-shaped angle with wedge between the sides above the *sīn*s of السلطان (on *Obverse III 1* only) and occasionally above ارسله.

circle with a cleft at the bottom above the *nūn* of الدنيا.

circle with a cleft on the left side above the *dāl* of الدنيا (on *Obverse III 1* only), the *hā'* of بالهـدى, and occasionally above the *wāw* of رسـول; circle with a cleft on top above the *hā'*s of both occurring الله (on *Reverse III 2* only).

"shaddah" on top of the *lām*s of both occurring الله (on *Reverse III 2* only).

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Pausal indicators:

frequently circles  framing the lines of the circular legends.

asymmetrical scroll ornament  concluding the circular legend on reverse.

Ornaments:

approximately symmetrical scroll ornament  above الديـن (on *Obverse III 1* only)

asymmetrical scroll ornament  above الديـن (on *Obverse III 2* only)

symmetrical scroll ornament above the V-shaped *muhmal* mark  or  above رسـول (on *Reverse III 2* only)

asymmetrical scroll ornaments   above both occurring اللهs (on *Reverse III 1* only).

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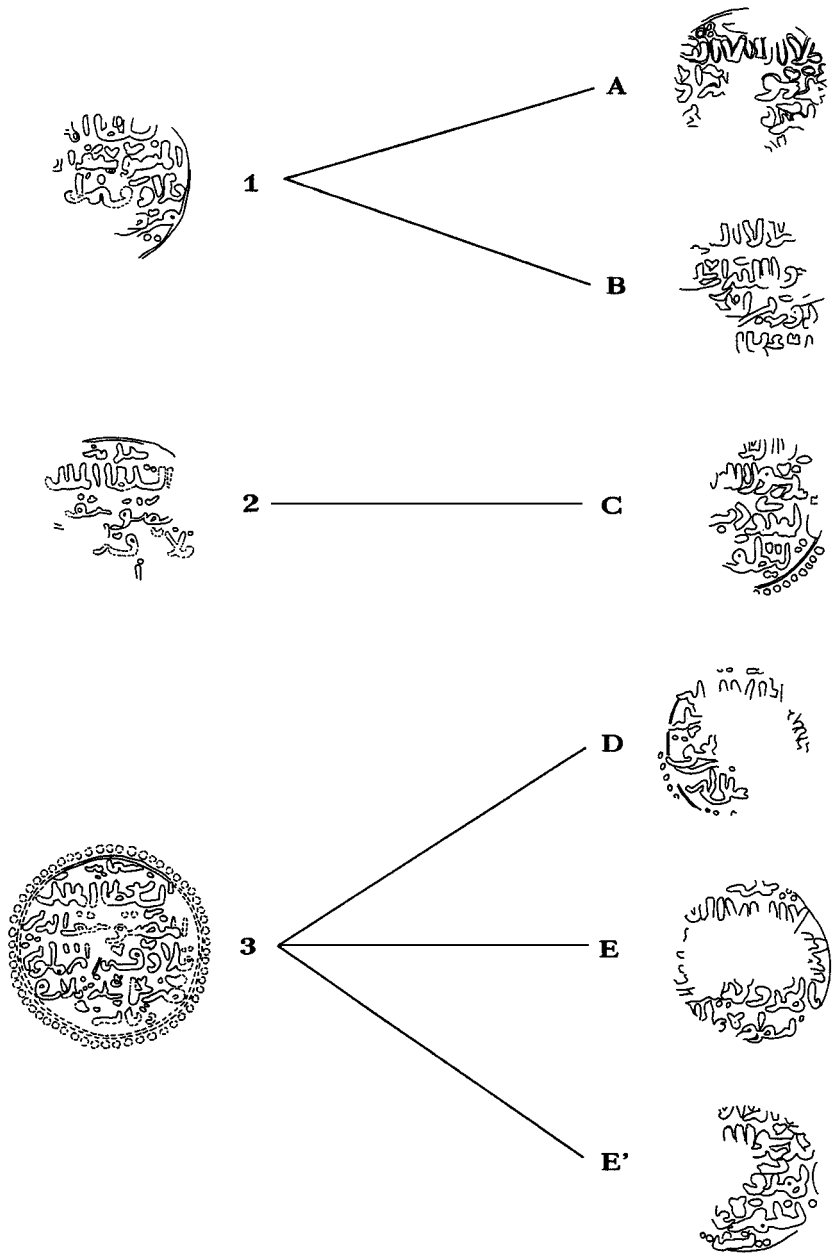

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type I

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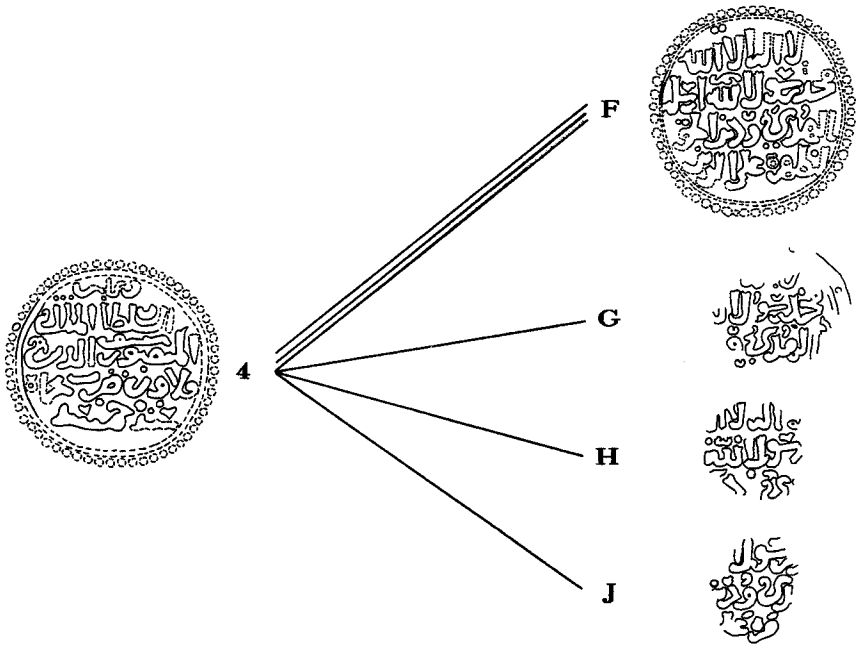

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type II

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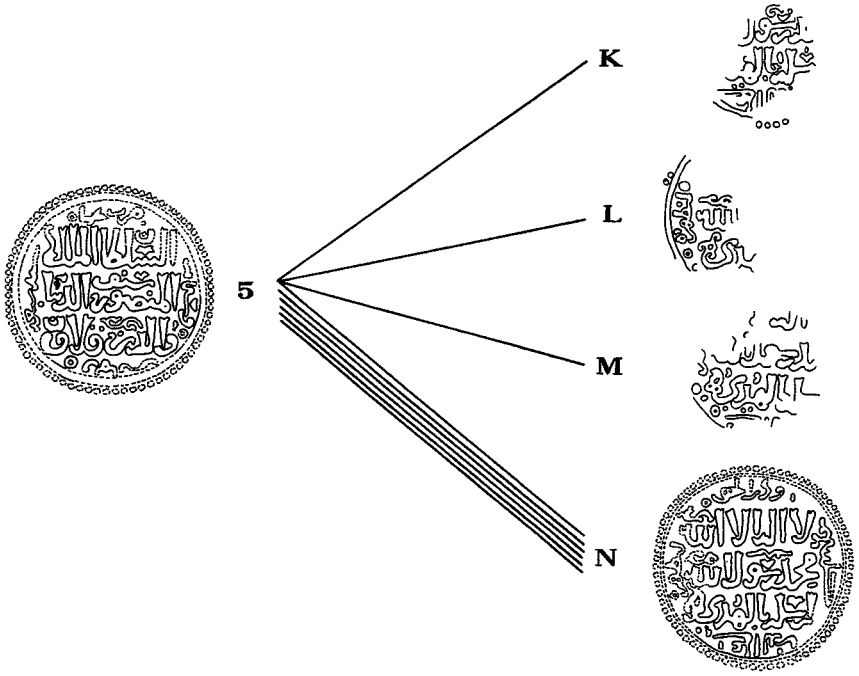

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type III

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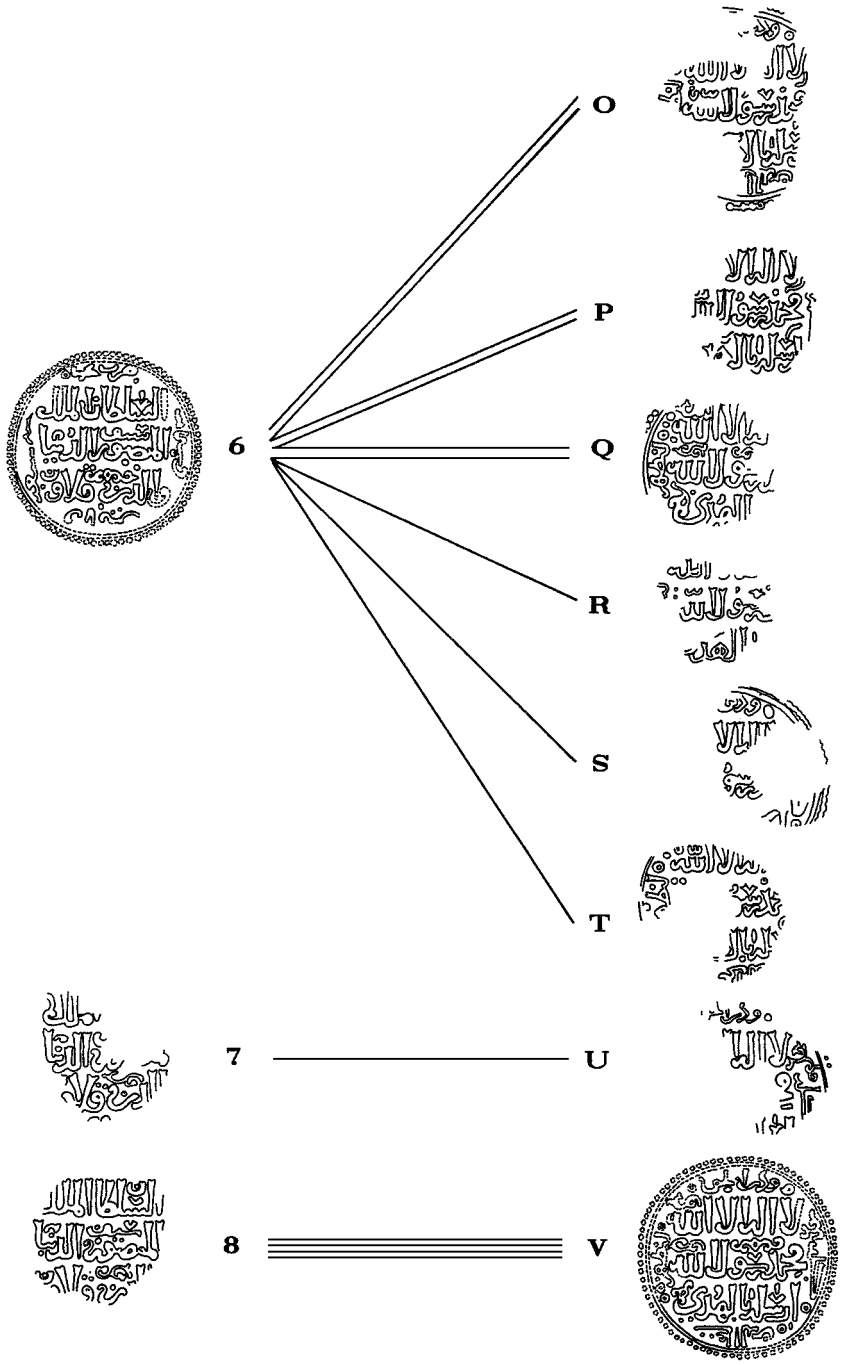

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type III (cont.)

DOI: 10.6082/M1765CGS. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1765CGS)

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METROLOGY

The following frequency table of the Qalāwūn corpus in question serves to clarify its composition according to the three minting sites represented, but at the same time aims at linking its metrological properties to the meticulous findings of Warren C. Schultz.[12] Every coin is symbolized by a circle (**o**). The weight range of 0.1 g was chosen for compatibility with Schultz´s statistics. The extremely wide variation of weight observed among the coins supports his conclusion that the individual specimens did not represent a prescribed value but only the intrinsic value of their silver content.

[12]Warren C. Schultz, ″Mamluk Money from Baybars to Barqūq: A Study Based on the Literary Sources and the Numismatic Evidence,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995. In addition to appreciating his dissertation I gratefully acknowledge his help in rendering my initial version of this article into clear English.

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Weight range	Cairo 32 coins	Damascus 53 coins	Ḥamāh 35 coins	specimens 120
1.20-1.30 g		o		1*
2.00-2.10 g	o			1
2.10-2.20 g				0
2.20-2.30 g	oo	o	o	4
2.30-2.40 g	o		o	2
2.40-2.50 g	ooo	oooo	o	8
2.50-2.60 g	ooooo	ooo	oo	10
2.60-2.70 g	o	ooooooo	o	9
2.70-2.80 g	ooooo	oooooo	oooooo	17
2.80-2.90 g	oooo	oooooo	ooo	13
2.90-3.00 g	o	oooooooooo	ooooooo	19
3.00-3.10 g	oo	o	oooooooo	11
3.10-3.20 g	ooo	ooooo	ooo	11
3.20-3.30 g	o	oooo	o	6
3.30-3.40 g	oo	ooo	o	6
3.40-3.50 g		o		1
3.50-3.60 g				0
3.60-3.70 g	o			1
Average	2.77 g	2.87 g	2.89 g	

*Due to its extreme light weight, this coin is excluded from the determination of the average weight.

Note: The unique coin from al-Marqab (see Appendix) has the weight of 2.47 g.

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APPENDIX: A SILVER COIN OF QALĀWŪN FROM AL-MARQAB, 685

Among the coins of Qalāwūn described in the previous article there was one specimen minted in al-Marqab, a fortress on the Mediterranean coast of Syria which was not previously known to have been a mint. In this appendix, a description of the coin is presented as well as photographs and drawings in 1:1 and 2:1 scale. As is usual with Mamluk coins, only part of the dies´ designs are visible on the flan. For this reason it was advisable to reconstruct the original dies in three steps. First, a line drawing of the two sides was made showing every single discernible detail. Due to an absence of other examples, the second step consisted of amending the off-flan details by referring to the ″closest relatives″ of the coin, i.e., contemporary coins from Damascus and Cairo for which type drawings have already been established in the previous article. At this stage the accidental defects on the coin like the hole and the slight double strike on the reverse (bottom left) were rectified. In the drawings which follow, all reasonable amendments have been characterized by dotted lines. The final drawing was achieved by converting these dotted lines into ordinary ones in order to give an impression of how the complete dies would most probably have appeared.

THE COIN

Coin diameter:	20 mm
Die diameter:	24 mm
Weight:	2.47 g

Photograph, 1:1 size

Obverse

Reverse

Line drawing, 1:1 size

Obverse

Reverse

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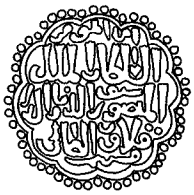
Die reconstruction

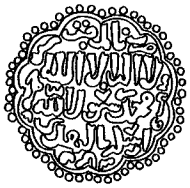
Obverse

Reverse

Type drawing



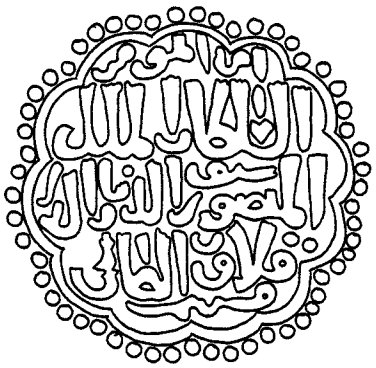
Obverse



Reverse

Description of the al-Marqab Type (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

Obverse



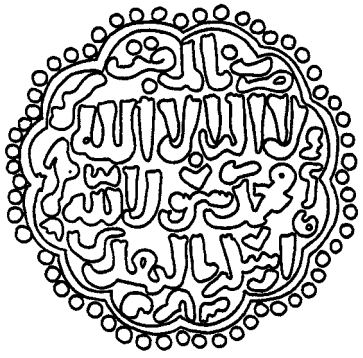
Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

Completion of text in bottom (قسيم) and top (امير المومنين) segments.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور.

Specific to line (3): the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on top of the *wāw*.

Reverse



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بالمرقب (top), سنة خمسة (left), وثمانين (bottom), وستماية (right).

Specific to line (2): The *rā'* of رسول is placed above the *dāl* of محمد.

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GENERAL FEATURES OF THE AL-MARQAB TYPE

Border on both sides: linear dodecalobe in dodecalobe of dots.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom; the tops of the *hastae* and of other characters are bicuspid or multicuspid as with almost all silver coins of Qalāwūn, which contributes to a slightly cauliflower-like appearance.

Diacritical points occur with the *nūn* of الدنيا, the *qāf*s of قلاون and بالمرقب, and the final *bā'* of بالمرقب.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above the *sīn* of ارسله.

V-shaped angle with dot between the sides above the *sīn* of رسول.

V-shaped angle with vertical wedge between the sides above the *sīn* of السلطان.

vertical wedge above the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

"shaddah" above the second الله (reverse, second line).

No pausal indicators, as far as visible.

No ornaments, as far as visible.

As a coin of Syrian provenance, its closest resemblance is with the contemporaneous types I and II of the Damascene mint. Both the text of the central inscriptions and their disposition, as well as the completion امير/قسيم المومنين in the bottom and top segments of the obverse, are identical with the respective features on the Damascus coins. Additionally, the al-Marqab coin and Damascus *Obverse I 2* have in common the *muhmal* mark above the *sīn* of السلطان and the position of the *nūn* on top of the *wāw* of قلاون. Nevertheless, there are a few differences in conception: The border (linear dodecalobe in dodecalobe of dots) as well as the disposition of the date (unit خمسة following سنة immediately) correspond with the Cairo type, but not with the Damascus coins. While the contemporary Damascus and Cairo coins have an asymmetrical scroll ornament above the second الله (reverse, second line), the al-Marqab coin, in the same position, has a *"shaddah"*. (A *"shaddah"* in this position only occurs later on Damascus type III, dated 687, cf. Balog no. 132.) Another peculiarity of the al-Marqab coin consists in the positioning of the *rā'* of رسول above the *dāl* of محمد; all other coin types have the *rā'* below the *sīn* of رسول. And it is only on the al-Marqab coin that the space above the *sīn* of رسول is filled with a V-shaped *muhmal* mark with a dot between the sides.

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Thus, although its Syrian appearance is obvious, the al-Marqab coin is not a simple copy of one of the Damascene die designs in use, bearing only a different mint name. On the contrary, it constitutes a type of its own, including features of Damascene coins (especially on the obverse) and, to a lesser extent, coins from the Cairo mint.

The Historical Setting

The discovery of the new mint is surprising in so far as al-Marqab was not an important town like the other minting cities but a mere stronghold with only a few villages in the vicinity. The fortress of al-Marqab (Arab authors also call it Qal'at Marqab or Ḥiṣn Marqab; western works have various other spellings like Markappos, Markab, Margat or Margant) was situated near the harbor of Bulunyās (occasionally called Banyās) (Valania) on the Syrian coast, roughly half way between Anṭarṭūs (Tortosa) in the south and al-Lādhiqīyah (Latakia) in the north. It was erected on the spur of a ridge which ends close to the coastline. This position not only offered a view over the hinterland in the east but also control of the coastal plain and the sea-side towards the west. Until its fall it was believed to be impregnable, and was thus of strategic value, though not of commercial importance. Nevertheless, the opening of a mint at this place by Sultan Qalāwūn may be interpreted as an indication of his special regard for the fortress, which is connected with his part in the history of the place.[13]

The construction of the castle by the Muslims in 454/1062 was intended to block intrusion into the south by the Byzantines, who at that time controlled the province of al-Anṭākiyah (Antioch). After the Byzantines had been driven away by the Muslims, who subsequently were driven away by the Franks, and after the county of Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) had been founded as the last of the Crusader states, the heights of al-Marqab marked the frontier between the principality of Antioch (towards the north) and Tripoli (towards the south). In 511/1117 the Muslim master of al-Marqab was obliged to leave the fortress—in exchange for other landed properties—to Renaud Mazoyer, Frankish master of Bulunyās and (subsequent) High Constable of the principality of Antioch; in 581/1186 the house of Mazoyer ceded al-Marqab with all its territories and dependencies to the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers.

In 1187 the Ayyubid Sultan Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 566-589/1171-93) went to war against the Franks. Within a few months, he was successful in destroying the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and in taking much of the territory surrounding

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[13]For the history see N. Eliséeff, "al-Markab," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:577-83. A description of the site is in Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im Heiligen Land, auf Zypern und in der Ägäis: Aufnahmen von A. F. Kersting* (Munich, Berlin, ca. 1960), 58-60 (with layout plan), photographs 52-61.

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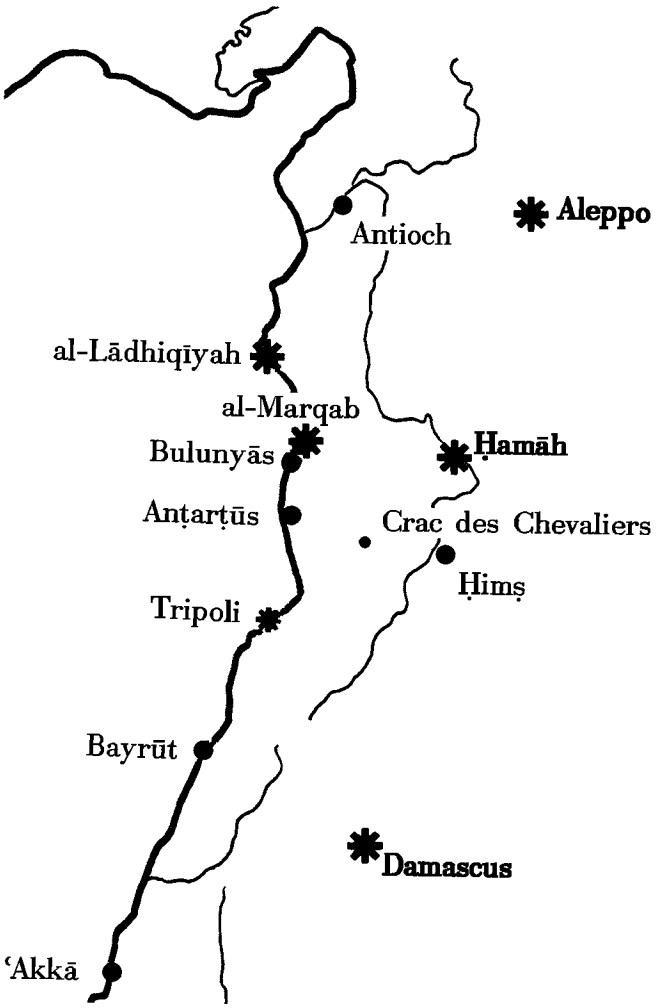
the two Crusader states of Antioch and Tripoli towards the north. Of the Crusader county of Tripoli, only the city of Tripoli itself and the fortress of al-Marqab remained in the hands of the Christians. The Hospitallers improved the citadel and thus the castle remained one of the Crusaders´ foremost strong points in the defensive fortifications against Muslim encroachment. Towards the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century, al-Marqab even became the official residence of the bishop of Bulunyās.



In 601/1204 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, Ayyubid governor of Aleppo, tried to take the castle, but his army withdrew when its leader was killed. The next Muslim leader to attack al-Marqab was Sultan Baybars, who had launched offensives against the Hospitallers since 659/1261 and succeeded in throwing them back to a small coastal strip; nevertheless he failed twice to capture the fortress. Finally, after the capture of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) by Baybars in 669/1273, the Order was left with only the stronghold of al-Marqab. Subsequently, the Grand Master was able to obtain a truce of ten years and ten days in exchange for the cession of part of the territories surrounding al-Marqab and on condition that no new fortifications be established.

In 676/1277 Baybars died. He was succeeded by his son Barakah Khān for a reign of about two years; after him Baybars´ seven-year-old son Salāmish ruled for a mere three months. Then Qalāwūn, who had been the most important of the amirs and the real ruler behind Salāmish, became sultan in 678/1279. He followed

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the example of Baybars in pursuing the war against the Crusaders in Syria. In the same year, the Hospitallers took advantage of unrest in Syria and moved forth against Buqay'ah, but withdrew when attacked by the Muslims. On reaching the coast, they turned and routed the Muslims. Qalāwūn in 679/1281 ordered the siege of the fortress of al-Marqab in a counterattack, but the Hospitallers made a sortie and repelled the Muslims, inflicting heavy losses. On 22 Muḥarram 680/13 May 1281, a truce of ten years and ten months was concluded between Qalāwūn and Nicolas Lorgne, the Grand Master of the Order. Nonetheless a few months later, in autumn 680/1281, the latter appealed for help from Edward I, King of England, and simultaneously sent a contingent to aid the Ilkhān during a Mongol invasion of Syria. Qalāwūn succeeded in repelling the Mongols near Ḥimṣ, but now no longer felt obliged to maintain the conditions of the peace treaty. In 684/1285, the sultan sought to punish the Hospitallers of al-Marqab for the assistance they had provided to the Mongols, driving them out of the ″impregnable″ fortress for good.

At Damascus, in great secrecy, Qalāwūn concentrated a considerable quantity of siege materials assembled from all over Syria and even from as far as Egypt. Experts in the art of siege warfare were engaged and catapults were brought up from the surrounding strongholds. Qalāwūn himself appeared before al-Marqab on 10 Ṣafar 684/17 April 1285. As the siege began, miners set about digging numerous tunnels under the walls. As soon as one of the mines was in good position, it was filled with wood and set on fire on Wednesday, 17 Rabī' I/23 May. When the fire reached the southern extremity of the walls, right under the Ram Tower, the Muslims attacked, trying to climb the tower, but to no avail. In the evening, the tower collapsed, but the rubble rendered any further assaults difficult. The catapults had become useless and all possibilities of undermining were exhausted. That night the Muslims were at the point of giving up. When the Hospitallers discovered that a number of tunnels were reaching their ramparts at various places, however, they lost courage and surrendered under condition of safe-conduct. The *amān* was granted by the Amir Fakhr al-Dīn Muqrī, on 19 Rabī' I/25 May, and the Knights were conducted under escort to Tripoli. They were not allowed to take anything with them except for their personal belongings. Their weapons as well as all of the equipment fell into the hands of the sultan.

Aware of the strategic importance of al-Marqab, the sultan decided not to raze the fortress but to repair the damages. Qalāwūn installed a well-armed garrison there, 1000 foot-soldiers and 150 Mamluks. The chronicler of these events, Ibn

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'Abd al-Ẓāhir,[14] however, does not mention that coins were minted there. In 688/1289 Qalāwūn conquered Tripoli and shortly thereafter the rest of the principality of Antioch came to an end. Only two years later, 'Akkā (Acre, St. Jean d'Acre) was conquered by Qalāwūn's son al-Ashraf Khalīl, and the last Franks left the country.

For Qalāwūn the conquest of al-Marqab was his first real victory over the Franks. It proved his ability as a warrior no less successful in warfare than his predecessor Baybars, particularly because he was able to recover the country from the foreign rule of the Christians. Moreover, the sultan's victory, which was due to God's intervention, as the chronicler states, had a major effect on the political legitimacy of his rule, since he had ousted Baybars' two sons from the sultanate.

HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF THE COIN

Thanks to Michael L. Bates (American Numismatic Society, New York), Stefan Heidemann (Jena) and Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen), discussion about the mint of al-Marqab started before the coin was presented to the meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society at Tübingen in April 1998, where the debate was continued by the audience. Several possible explanations were proffered. One was that Qalāwūn celebrated his important victory by striking coins bearing the name of al-Marqab for commemorative, propagandistic reasons. Yet, considering the fact that all coins only show part of the dies and that most of the Mamluk coins only mention the mint in the margin, the name of al-Marqab could only rarely have appeared on a coin. Such coins can hardly claim to be efficient mass media! (However, the Ottomans established mints at newly conquered places, although their coinage only rendered part of the legend as well). Another reason for minting coins in al-Marqab could have been the fact that among the Knights' equipment left behind in the fortress the Mamluks found quite a lot of treasure. Then they could have brought minters there to transform the treasure into *dirham*s, perhaps as payment for those troops who had participated in the conquest.

Both motives may have played a role, but they are not sufficient to explain the existence of al-Marqab's mint. Our coin does not bear the year of the conquest but of the year after. If propaganda and/or the conversion of a treasure had been the only reasons, the activity of the mint would certainly have been limited to the year 684. However, the fortress was taken during the third month of the Islamic year, and it was advisable, for the sake of security, to mint the bullion as soon as

[14]Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 77-81. Our report of the conquest of al-Marqab is directly based on his account.

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possible. It can be imagined that the overland transport of the silver into one of the established minting places would have been a dangerous enterprise. This is why it seems more likely that a workshop was in fact established in al-Marqab. Furthermore, if this was not the case, we would have to explain why, for instance, the Damascus mint should have produced coinage in the name of al-Marqab. At that time, the opening and operation of a mint was not complicated at all—only a few tools and workmen were needed—and it was certainly not a condition for starting production that the fortress be completely repaired. Likewise, the cutting of a die was an affair of only a few hours. Yet the design of the coin does not suggest that the dies were prepared by a simple blacksmith who happened to work in the region but rather by an experienced die-sinker, possibly from Damascus. Even if the transfer of a workshop and of the dies from, for instance, Damascus would have taken a few months´ time, the minting activity would have surely started during the year 684. But could the treasure have been so substantial that coins were minted from its silver even in 685? Probably not—which implies that bullion was fetched to al-Marqab for minting after the (hypothetical) initial treasure was exhausted.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that the coin is to be interpreted as an indication of the Mamluks´ attempt to integrate the administration and economy of the regained coastal region by founding a new mint there. As mentioned above, our coin was only minted in the year after al-Marqab´s conquest; thus, coins might eventually show up from 684 and possibly even from the years after 685. Nevertheless, in view of the uniqueness of this coin among hundreds of others, it can be taken for granted that the mint of al-Marqab did not produce coins in the quantities of the traditional minting places. Perhaps the establishment of a mint in a relatively remote area proved to be too ambitious, and was abandoned because the mint of Damascus was able to supply the coastal region.

Another explanation for the closure of the al-Marqab mint after a short working period may be derived from subsequent developments in the region. Only two years after the fall of al-Marqab, Qalāwūn succeeded in conquering the seaport and commercial center of al-Lādhiqīyah in 686/1287, and again two years later, in 688/1289, the capital of the county of Tripoli fell into the hands of Qalāwūn. This bustling port was one of the most important towns in Syria and one of the earliest conquests of the Franks, as well as their last major resort in the Holy Land. For political and economic reasons, both newly captured towns were much better situated for the founding of a mint than the fort of al-Marqab, which lost its

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strategic importance as a result of the expansion of Mamluk territory.[15] From this time onwards, until the middle of the ninth century, Mamluk coins are known to have been regularly produced in Tripoli.

[15]In fact, only a short time after Qalāwūn′s death (689/1290), the first coins were minted in both coastal towns. The first dated silver coin known from Tripoli was struck in 709 by al-Muẓaffar Rukn al-Dīn Baybars II (708-9/1308-10, cf. Balog's no. 172), along with a copper coin (Balog's no. 175). A few coins from al-Lādhiqīyah exist from the third reign of one of Qalāwūn′s sons, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1310-41) (Lutz Ilisch and Stefan Heidemann, personal communications).

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Nile Floods and the Irrigation System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt

Of all of the chronicles that survive from the Mamluk period, al-Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ* is no doubt the most renowned and familiar source for historians. Yet near the beginning of his text, he voices concern about an issue that has thus far remained unexplained and unaccounted for. ″The people used to say,″ al-Maqrīzī writes, ″′God save us from a finger from twenty,′″ meaning ′please, God, don′t let the Nile flood reach the height of twenty cubits on the Nilometer!′″ For, he explains, this dangerously high flood level would drown the agricultural lands and ruin the harvest. Yet in our time, the chronicler bemoans, the Nile flood approaches twenty cubits and this high flood level—far from drowning Egypt′s arable land—doesn′t even suffice to supply them with water.[1] Al-Maqrīzī associates this phenomenon with various problems in the social structure and the economy—including the breakdown of the irrigation system.[2]

The story behind this tale of misery, echoed by other chroniclers, is both more complicated and more revealing than appears at first sight. For not only is al-Maqrīzī correct in his assertion, but—as a seemingly strange coincidence—the Nile floods during his time are in fact much higher than they had ever been before. Was nature conspiring with the economic woes of this period to create this bizarre situation?

I would like to offer a theory that will explain this puzzling coincidence, link it to the catastrophic period of bubonic and pneumonic plague epidemics that started with the Black Death in 1348-49,[3] and give us a sense of the quantitative scale of the breakdown in the irrigation system.

Egypt′s basin irrigation system was the mechanism by which the Nile′s annual flood provided for the winter harvest. As the summer monsoon in Ethiopia swelled

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[1]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (hereafter *Khiṭaṭ*) (Cairo, 1270/1853-54), 1:60.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The Black Death actually began in Egypt in late 1347, when a ship arrived in Alexandria with all but a few of its crew and passengers dead—the few survivors died shortly thereafter. The plague then spread rapidly throughout the city (this story of corpse-ridden ships arriving from ports in the Black Sea and Constantinople is repeated by various sources throughout the Mediterranean world). But the main years for mortality from the Black Death were 1348 and 1349.

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the level of the Blue Nile and Atbara rivers, the Nile in Egypt would rise by an average of some 6.4 meters. The system used canals of various sizes to draw this water off the Nile into basins along the Nile Valley and in the Delta. Dikes were then employed to trap the water and allow moisture to sink into the basins (Fig. 1). The alluvium washed down from Ethiopian topsoil also settled on the fields and provided a rich fertilization that guaranteed annual seed-to-yield ratios of up to 1 to 10 for the winter crop.[4]

Yet the irrigation system was very maintenance-intensive. It required constant dredging of canals and shoring up of dikes in order to work efficiently. Failure to do so would mean that the Nile flood would wash in and out of the basins without providing enough moisture or fertilizer.[5]

Before discussing the hydraulic dynamics of the basins, we need to look at the Nilometer itself and the dynamics of measurement and sedimentation (Fig. 2). The Nile was at its minimum around the beginning of June and would rise and then reach its maximum level around the end of September. Over the course of centuries—from the time of the construction of the Roda Nilometer to the early Mamluk period—the levels of the minimum and maximum increased at a steady rate. This was because the Nile alluvium from the Ethiopian topsoil left a small amount of sediment on the bed of the Nile each fall (as it had done since the end of the last ice age). So as the river bed rose—at the rate of about 10 centimeters per century—so did the June minimum and September maximum.[6]

Between 750 and 1260, the rising layer of sediment pushed up the level of the river bed, the June minimum, and the September maximum. All three rose at

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[4]Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn,* ed. A. S. ʻAṭīyah (Cairo, 1943), 259.

[5]Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayyān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 128-29; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā',* ed. M. Ḥusayn al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987), 3:515-16 (hereafter *Ṣubḥ*). For a discussion of irrigation repairs in a wider context, see Hassanein Rabie, ″Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: Studies in Social and Economic History,* ed. Abraham Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 59-90. For data on irrigation repairs during the Ottoman period that demonstrates the expenditure needed to maintain the system, see Stanford Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597* (The Hague, 1968), 124, and idem, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798* (Princeton, 1962), 61-63.

[6]Rushdī Saʻīd, *The River Nile* (New York, 1993), 162-88; Barbara Bell, ″The Oldest Records of Nile Floods,″ *Geographical Journal* 136 (1970): 569-73; Karl W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago, 1976), 28; John Waterbury, *Hydropolitics of the Nile Valley* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1979), 25; John Ball, *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt* (Cairo, 1939), 176.

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roughly the same rate—between .5 and .6 meters total, or an average of slightly more than 10 centimeters per century.[7]

Contemporary observers knew about the buildup of alluvium on the Nile river bed and they report that the ideal level of the September maximum in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was about 17 cubits. A level of 14 or 15 was too low and would leave many of the basins dry, while 19 or 20 cubits was too high and would flood the basins with too much water and damage the harvest.[8]

Over the course of the next two and a half centuries—from 1260 to 1502—the June minima oscillated but on average continued to rise at the same rate as before: roughly 10 centimeters per century.

Fig. 3 shows the increase in the June minimum between 750 and 1502. Note that the minimum has increased by 34 centimeters between 1260 and 1502: over the course of these two and a half centuries it rose at a fairly normal rate of 14 centimeters per century.[9]

However, in the fifteenth century, the records of the maximum flood in September begin to tell us a dramatically different story—a story that brings us back to our introduction and al-Maqrīzī´s concern about the changing impact of high flood levels. Ibn Iyās, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Maqrīzī all report that the Nile flood was reaching abnormally high levels as measured at the Cairo Nilometer. They also report that the very high level of 20 cubits, previously considered a dangerous overflood that would ruin the crop, was now leaving many of the basins dry.[10] They all mention this phenomenon while discussing problems in the Mamluk economy and polity, including the extensive decay of the irrigation system.[11]

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[7]The data for the Nile levels are from William Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 221-23 (hereafter Popper, *Nilometer*).

[8]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1934-73) (hereafter *Sulūk*), 2:753 in 748/1347, 2:769 in 749/1348; *Ṣubḥ* (referring to the fourteenth century), 4:516; Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhat al-Umam fī al-Ajā'ib wa-al-Ḥikam,* ed. M. Zaynahum Muḥammad 'Azab (Cairo, 1995), 88-89 (referring to the fourteenth century); *Khiṭaṭ* (referring to the fourteenth century), 1:60; 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-al-I'tibār,* ed. and trans. K. H. Zand, John Videan, and Ivy Videan (London, 1965); Zakariyā' ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād,* ed. Wüstenfeld (Gottingen, 1848-49), 1:175, as cited in Popper, *Nilometer;* Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār,* ed. and trans. C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti as *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Paris, 1914-22), 1:78-79, as cited in Popper, *Nilometer,* 81.

[9]Data from Popper, *Nilometer*, 221-23.

[10]*Ṣubḥ,* 3:515.; Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhah*, 88-89; *Khiṭat,* 1:60.

[11]*Ṣubḥ,* 3:516; *Sulūk,* 4:564 in 824/1421, 4:618 in 825/1422, 4:646 in 826/1423, 4:678 in 828/1425, 4:709-10 in 829/1426, 4:750-53 in 830/1427, 4:806-9 in 832/1429, 4:834 in 833/1430, 4:863, 874 in 835/1432, 4:903-4 in 837/1434, 4:831, 950 in 838/1435. *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:101. Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Asadī, *Kitāb al-Taysīr wa-al-I'tibār,* ed. Aḥmad Ṭulaymat (Cairo, 1968), 92-93. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley and Los

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Indeed if we compare flood records for the Nile minima (Fig. 3) and Nile maxima (Fig. 4), we see that while the June minimum rose at its regular rate, the September maximum increased dramatically over the course of these two and a half centuries, rising by almost twice as much as it had increased in the previous five centuries. Furthermore, 90% of this increase occurred in the 150 years following the arrival of the Black Death and the onset of repeated plague epidemics.[12]

Why did the September maximum jump by such an unprecedented amount over the course of 150 years? An intensification of the Indian Ocean monsoon would be a possible cause, and yet there are no accounts of a dramatic increase in rainfall for this period in Yemen, East Africa, or the Indian subcontinent.[13] The Nile flood variations at this time are also normal compared to earlier periods in Egypt´s history; again indicating that environmental factors are not to blame.[14] Shifts in the course of the Nile also occurred over time, but shifts in the river that affected the Nilometer bedrock would also appear as an aberration in the Nile minima data; they do not. William Popper briefly addressed this issue, but failed to note the true significance of the data for this period.[15]

My explanation rests upon quantitative data drawn up by a nineteenth-century hydraulic engineer who observed the Upper Egyptian basins before they had converted to perennial irrigation.[16] The Upper Egyptian basins would be filled from August 12 to the 21st of September. Each basin would be filled to an average level of one meter and the water and sediment would settle in the basin for an average of 40-50 days before being drained back into the Nile in October. Willcocks calculated the average volume of water drawn into the Upper Egyptian basins and the average loss due to evaporation before being drained back into the Nile.[17]

Now, if we take a total of some 2 million feddans (of 4200m^2 each) of basins in Upper Egypt (based on a rough computation from the 1315 Rawk al-Nāṣirī)[18] then the total volume of water drawn from the Nile in Upper Egypt from August

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Angeles, 1930-31), 4:673. Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhah,* 182. Ibn Iyās´s testimony from *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961-75), as cited and quoted in Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?* (Albany, 1994), 114-15, 124-25.

[12]Data from Popper, *Nilometer,* 221-23.

[13]H. H. Lamb, *Climate, History, and the Modern World* (London and New York, 1995), 185, 208-9; Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, *Climate and History: Studies in Interdisciplinary History* (Princeton, 1981), 12-13.

[14]Popper, *Nilometer,* 180.

[15]Ibid., 242-43.

[16]W. Willcocks, *Egyptian Irrigation* (London, 1889) (hereafter Willcocks, *Irrigation*).

[17]Ibid., 61-65.

[18]Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah*, ed. Mortiz (Cairo, 1898).

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12 to September 21st is 8.4 billion cubic meters over this period, or 2,430 m^3/sec. Let us assume that from 1355 to 1502, the Upper Egyptian irrigation system decayed and many of the basins were no longer functioning. Most of the water formerly trapped in these basins is now being swept down to Cairo.[19] What does this do to the September maximum flood level? We have the following graph based on a table by Willcocks that allows us to correlate volumetric discharge with the maximum Nile levels based on a gauge at Cairo (Fig. 5).[20]

Note in the following table that if we take the .88 meter jump in the maximum from 1355 to 1502 and subtract 15 centimeters for normal alluvium buildup on the river bed, we have a .73 meter rise to account for. If we look at the table of volumetric discharge versus flood height we see that the difference in volumetric discharge for 1 meter (between meter 8 and meter 7 on Willcocks′ gauge) is 2200 m^3/sec. If we then multiply 2200 m^3/sec by .73 meters we end up with an additional 1600 m^3/sec (1606 m^3/sec exact) of flood water coming from Upper Egypt. This suggests that 1600 m^3/sec of Nile water out of the normal 2,430 m^3/sec is no longer being drawn off into the basins in Upper Egypt. Taken at face value, this would suggest that 1600/2430, or some 2/3, of the basins in Upper Egypt were no longer operational: all of this in the 150 years following the onset of the plagues.

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[19]Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī′s observations for an earlier period demonstrate this phenomenon. In 596/1200 there was an unprecedented and disastrous Nile maximum of only 12 cubits and 21 fingers. The famine that followed caused the peasants to flee their villages in large numbers (this seemingly contradictory tendency of peasants to flee to urban centers during famines was due to the grain storage facilities located there—this type of rural flight was also witnessed immediately following the Black Death, although the reasons were more complex). Al-Baghdādī reports that the floods washed in and out of unmanned and uncontrolled irrigation channels and basins. This in turn led to another short and disastrous flood, although the level should have been more than enough to water all of the agricultural lands. According to his account, in the two years following the devastatingly low flood, the flood waters ″receded without the country having been sufficiently watered, and before the convenient time, because there was no one to arrest the waters and keep them on the land,″ al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-al-I′tibār,* 253-54. Al-Maqrīzī reports that the same phenomenon occurred following the first and most devastating outbreak of the new, mutant strain of *Pasteurella pestis* (i.e., the Black Death, 1348-1349). In 751/1350, the Nile flood ″reached 17 cubits—but then dropped down: much of the land was left dry. This ′drought′ lasted for three years and matters became grievous for the people because of the lack of peasants (*fallāḥīn*),″ *Sulūk,* 2:832-33.

[20]Willcocks, *Irrigation*, 66.

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Table: Volume Discharge vs. Height of Nile

Volumetric Discharge of Water at Cairo	Height of Nile (19th Century gauge)	Difference in m^3/sec between 1m on gauge
9800 m^3/sec	8m	2200 m^3/sec
7600 m^3/sec	7m	1750 m^3/sec
5850 m^3/sec	6m	1500 m^3/sec
4350 m^3/sec	5m	1250 m^3/sec
3100 m^3/sec	4m	970 m^3/sec
2130 m^3/sec	3m	

Volume of water in 1 ″modern″ feddan square = 4200 m^3
Total number basin feddans in Upper Egypt = 2 million ″modern″ feddans
Total volume of water taken by basins in Upper Egypt over 12 Aug - 21 Sep 4200 m^3 x 2 million ″modern″ feddans = 8.4 billion m^3
Total volume of water taken per second from the Nile from 12 Aug to 21 Sep 8.4 billion m^3/(40 x 24 x 60 x 60) = 2430 m^3/sec

Let us examine another piece of this puzzle that may illuminate this linkage more clearly. Again relying on a graph drawn by Willcocks, we can observe the ordinary difference between the autumn flood profile as measured at Aswan and that measured at Cairo (Fig. 6).[21]

We can see on this graph that the flood reaches a higher peak at Aswan and then drops to a lower level much more quickly than the flood at Cairo. The peak is initially lower at Cairo because the upstream basins are being filled. The flood level then drops more slowly at Cairo as the basins are sequentially emptied. There is additionally a secondary peak at Cairo which appears in the late autumn as the last of the upstream basins are emptied at the same time. If a large percentage of the upstream basins had ceased functioning, their effect on the Nile level at Cairo would diminish and we would see the two flood profiles—Aswan and Cairo—slowly converge.

In fact we have already been looking at this process in the data above: the ″jump″ in the Nile maxima brings the Cairo flood peak up closer to Aswan´s.

[21]Ibid.

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But there is more here: the flood profiles following the Nile maximum—in October and November—also appear to converge. In the fifteenth century there are abundant references to floods which are ″too short,″ or ″receded too quickly,″ or fell ″too soon.″ Al-Maqrīzī makes numerous references to this trend in the 1420s and 1430s, often during years in which the Nile maximum was between 19 and 20 cubits.[22]

Carl Petry quotes what may be a colorful illustration of this phenomenon from Ibn Iyās in 916/1510, when a woman´s dream about the coming flood was widely reported in Cairo: ″It was said that she beheld in a vision two angels descending from Heaven. They proceeded to the river, and after one of them touched its surface with his foot, it sank rapidly. The angel then addressed his companion: ′Truly, God the All-High did order the Nile to reach a level of twenty cubits. But when tyranny prevailed in Egypt, he caused its sinkage after only eighteen!′ Upon the woman´s awakening the next morning, the Nile had indeed fallen over the night by the foretold measure.″[23]

The data for the late autumn flood profile are far from comprehensive. Yet if they are taken together with the convergence in the Aswan/Cairo maxima—and the rest of the quantitative data—basin decay seems to be the only probable cause for the flood variations in this period.

But why did the Upper Egyptian basins decay? Was it due to rural depopulation from the plague or were there other elements involved?

It is beyond the scope of this article to go into a full analysis of the economic dynamics of the plague´s impact, but I would like to discuss one crucial development that played a major role in Upper Egypt. Here there was a seemingly paradoxical reaction to the plagues´ decimation of the rural population: as settled agriculture decayed, the power and even the population of bedouin tribes grew in tandem.[24] There were two reasons for this; both had to do with an ecological niche that was opened by *Pasteurella pestis*. The first of these was the environmental product of basin decay. The breakdown of the basin system—accelerated by the bedouin

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[22]*Sulūk,* 4:646 in 826/1423, 4:678 in 828/1425, 4:709-10 in 829/1426, 4:750-52 in 830/1427, 4:806 in 832/1429, 4:834 in 833/1430, 4:903-4 in 837/1434, 4:931, 950 in 838/1435.

[23]Petry, *Protectors*, 105.

[24]Among the many studies which highlight this problem, see J. C. Garcin´s study of bedouin incursions in Qūṣ in Upper Egypt: Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale, Qūs* (Cairo, 1976), 468-507; Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, *Al-Mujtama' al Miṣrī fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1993), 59-63; idem, *Al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (Cairo, 1994); Petry, *Protectors*, 106-13. Stanford Shaw notes that it took the Ottomans over a century to subdue bedouin tribes in Upper Egypt, a task that was never fully realized; see Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798,* 12-13, 19.

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tribes themselves[25]—did not lead to desertification. The product of breakdown was rather the emergence of wasteland that was no longer suitable for grain agriculture. With the Nile flood no longer under control and water sweeping in and out of the basins, the effect was an expansion in the category of land known as *khirs*. *Khirs* was the category applied to areas not suitable for agriculture due to the proliferation of weeds and lack of proper maintenance. It was the most extreme of the three land-clearing categories (the other two being *al-wisikh al-muzdara'* and *al-wisikh al-ghālib*). It was also associated with the categories of *sharāqī* (unirrigated) and *mustabḥar* (flooded).[26] It was the natural product of any area of the flood basin which was no longer controlled by dikes and canals. It was not suitable for agriculture—not unless the irrigation system were restored and the land arduously weeded and plowed.

Yet *khirs* was quite well suited to the bedouin economy. Nomadic pastoralists, leading their grazing livestock over marginal scrub areas, could ask for no better terrain than the weedy product of Egypt′s collapsing irrigation system. Their arrival in these areas, and their use of *khirs,* went hand in hand with Egypt′s post-plague irrigation problems. The bedouin spread because the land was becoming increasingly suitable for their way of life, just as it had become wasteland for agriculturalists.[27]

The second contribution to the growth of bedouin powers and numbers came from another environmental factor that was just as important: the bedouin had a relative ″immunity″ to the plague. This was by no means an immunity in the ordinary biological sense. If any part of Egypt′s population were to develop a hereditary biological immunity, it would have been the more densely populated agrarian communities and urban centers,[28] but modern medical studies have shown no evidence that human populations develop hereditary adaptive immunities to *Pasteurella pestis.*[29]

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[25]It was often the practice of the bedouins to deliberately break the dikes as a means of taking over and adapting the land for their use. See, for example, *Sulūk,* 2:832-33; Petry, *Protectors*, 124-25.

[26]*Khiṭaṭ*, 1:100-101.

[27]This was not universally the case. When bedouin shaykhs assumed the role of *muqṭa'* for the land they controlled, some of them did oversee agrarian production. See 'Āshūr, *Al-Mujtama',* 59.

[28]Had that been the case, the bedouin would have been more vulnerable to the plague over time, not less (as was the case for other communicable diseases that appeared earlier, such as smallpox and measles).

[29]It is theoretically possible that a population of Homo sapiens, under continual and prolonged pressure from one particular strain of *Pasteurella pestis*, could develop a hereditary resistance. However, if this is the case, the mutual adaptation period must be in the range of hundreds of years. Lawrence I. Conrad stresses that twentieth century medical studies have shown no evidence

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The bedouin tribes were less vulnerable because of their primary mode of subsistence. Living in less densely crowded conditions, pursuing a more autarchic economy, and engaging only tangentially in agrarian production, the bedouin were far less susceptible to the deadly locus of rat and flea concentration that devastated other population groups in Egypt.[30] This ″immunity″ allowed them to thrive during the devastating plague years. These two environmental factors thus opened a large ecological niche which allowed the bedouin to turn many areas of organized basin agriculture into pastoral land upon which they flourished.

The interaction between agrarian plague depopulation and the bedouin mode of subsistence thus offers a likely explanation for the decay of the Upper Egyptian basins. The decay of these basins further explains the ″puzzling coincidence″ between the high floods of the fifteenth century and the failure of these floods to irrigate agricultural areas in both the Nile Valley and the Delta. Finally, the hydraulic calculations allow us to estimate the scale of this phenomenon in Upper Egypt: probably half or more of the basins there were no longer functioning.

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of adaptive immunities in exposed populations: see ″The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East,″ Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981, 32-33.

[30]This pattern, and the contagious nature of *Pasteurella pestis*, was first recognized by Ibn Khaṭīb, a fourteenth century Andalusian doctor and observer of the Black Death′s impact on different segments of the population. See Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 65. For a good analysis of the bedouins′ environmental resistance to *Pasteurella pestis*, see Conrad, ″The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East,″ 466 f.

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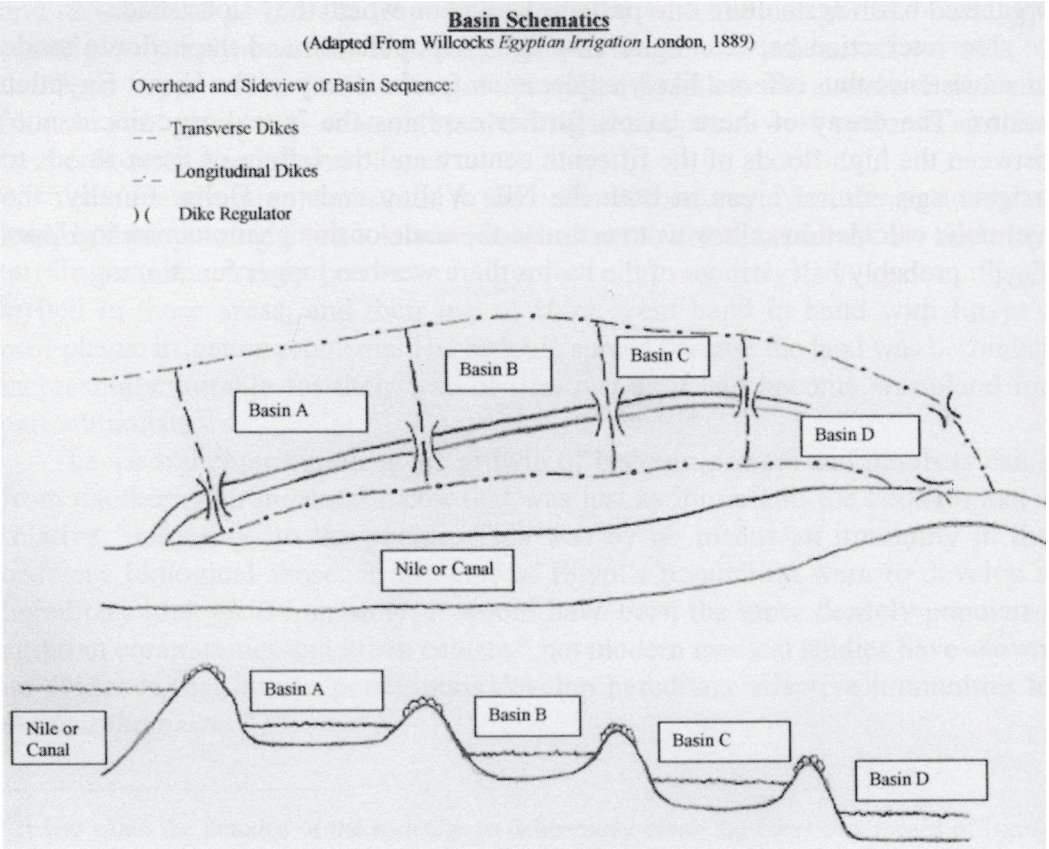

Figure 1. Basin Schematics

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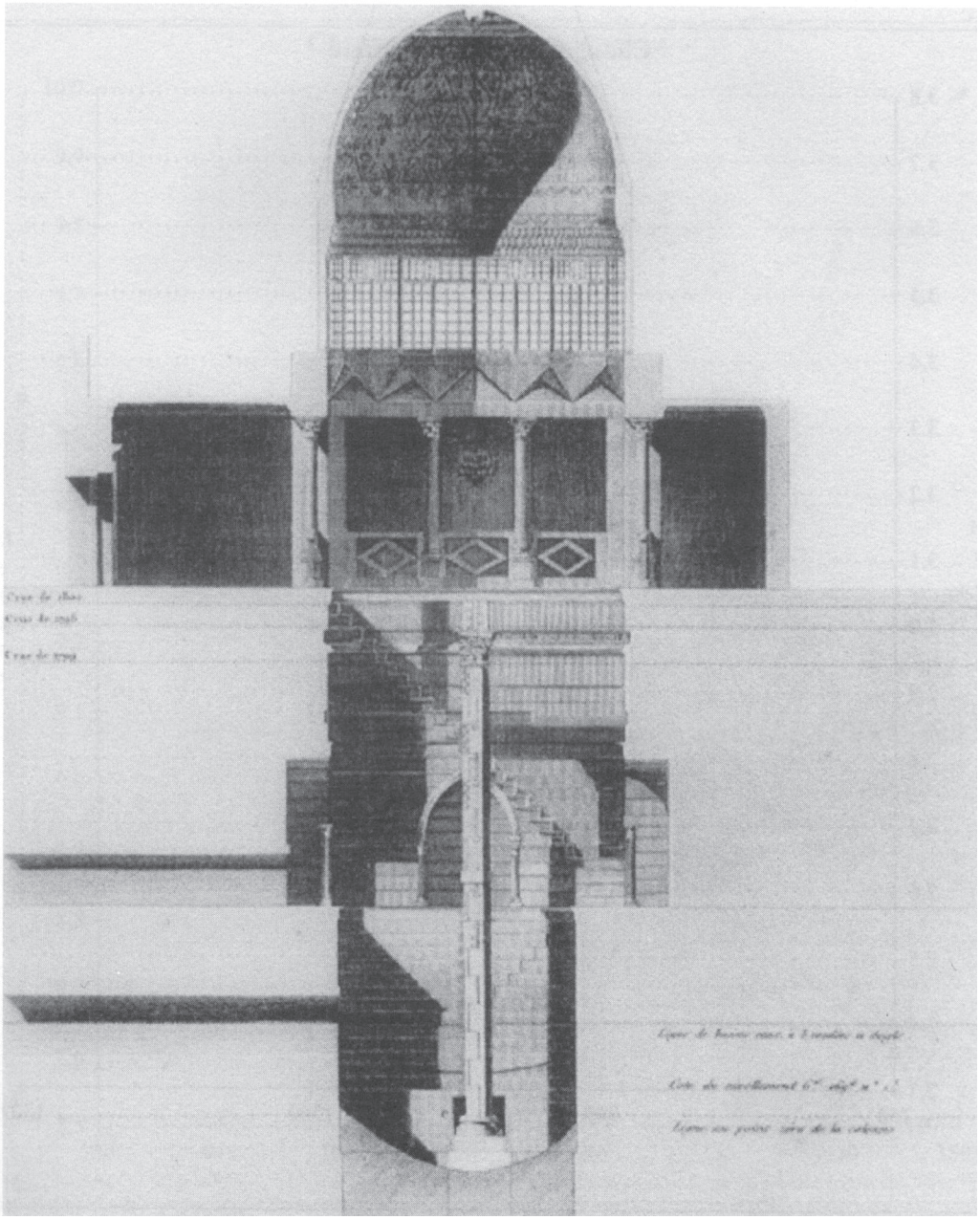

Figure 2. The Nilometer

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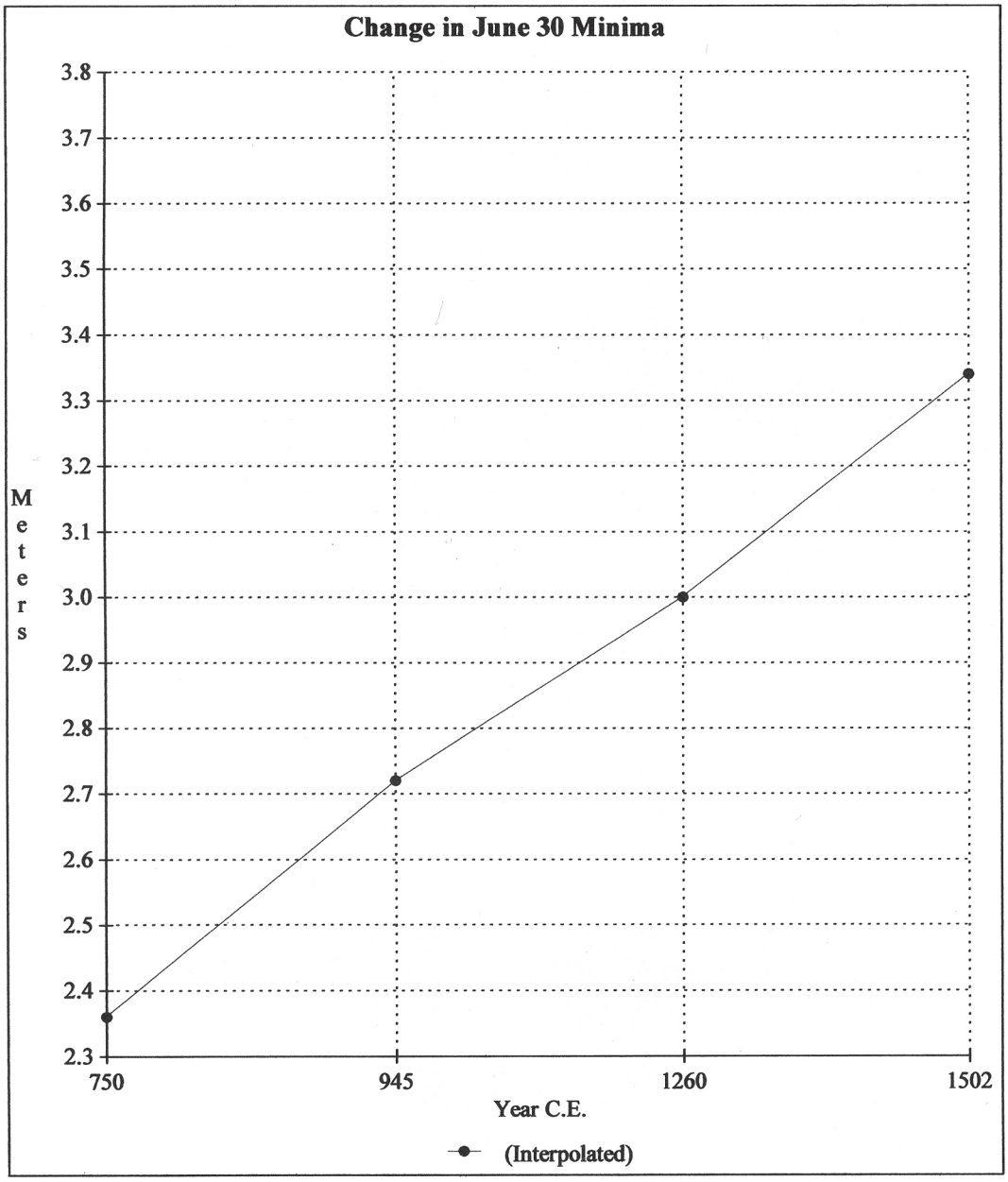

Figure 3. The Nile Minima

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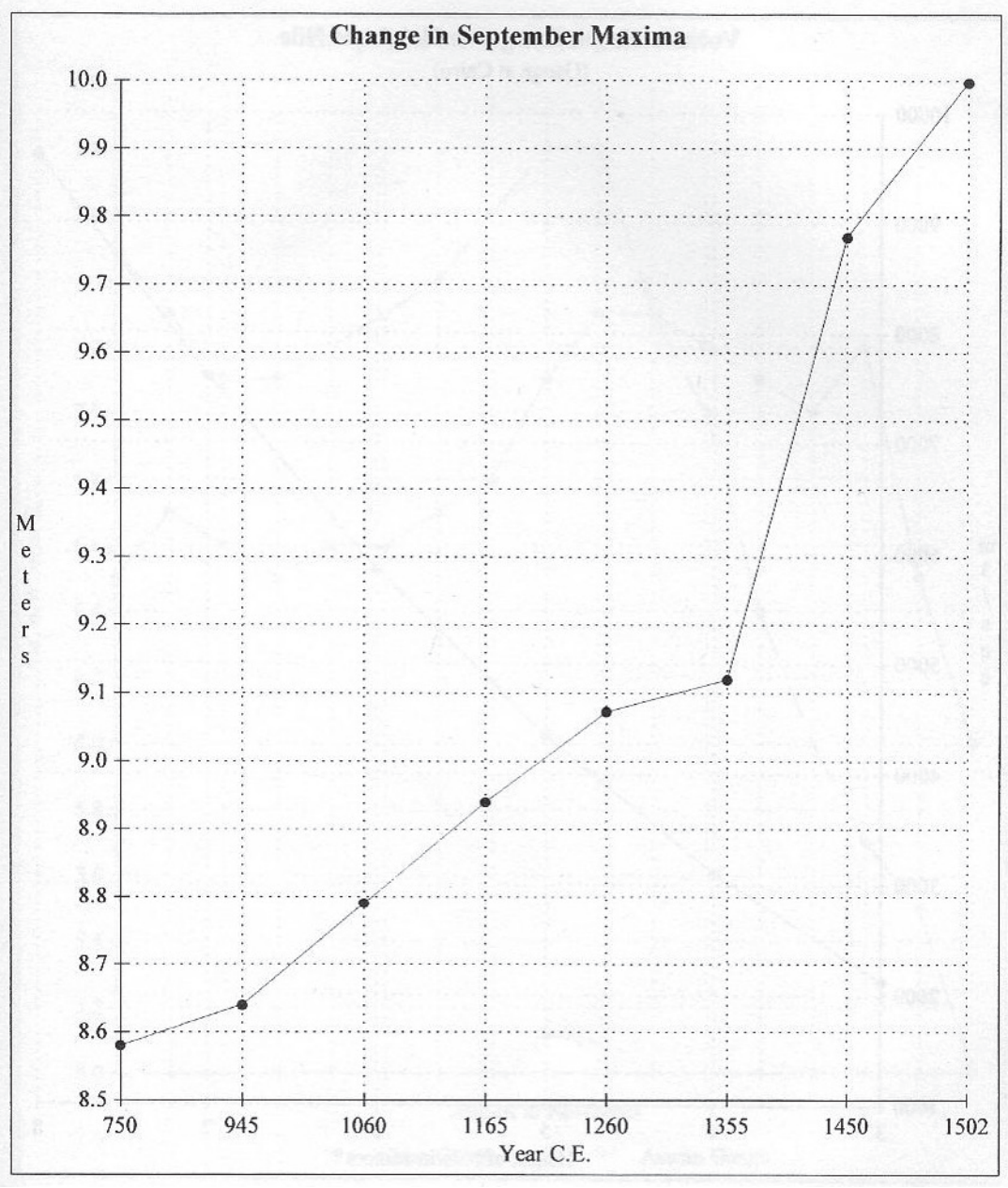

Figure 4. The Nile Maxima

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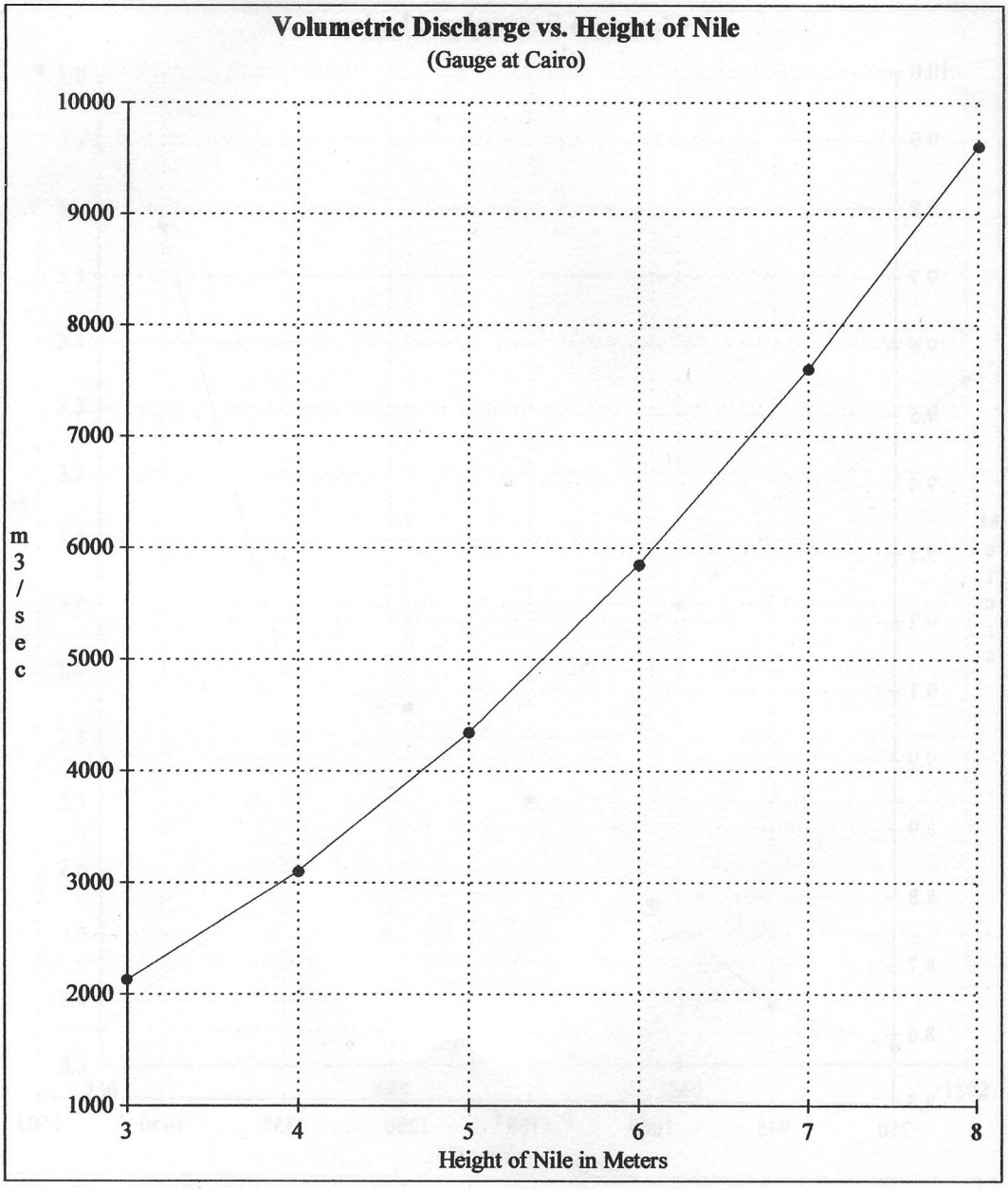

Figure 5. Volumetric Discharge vs. Height of Nile

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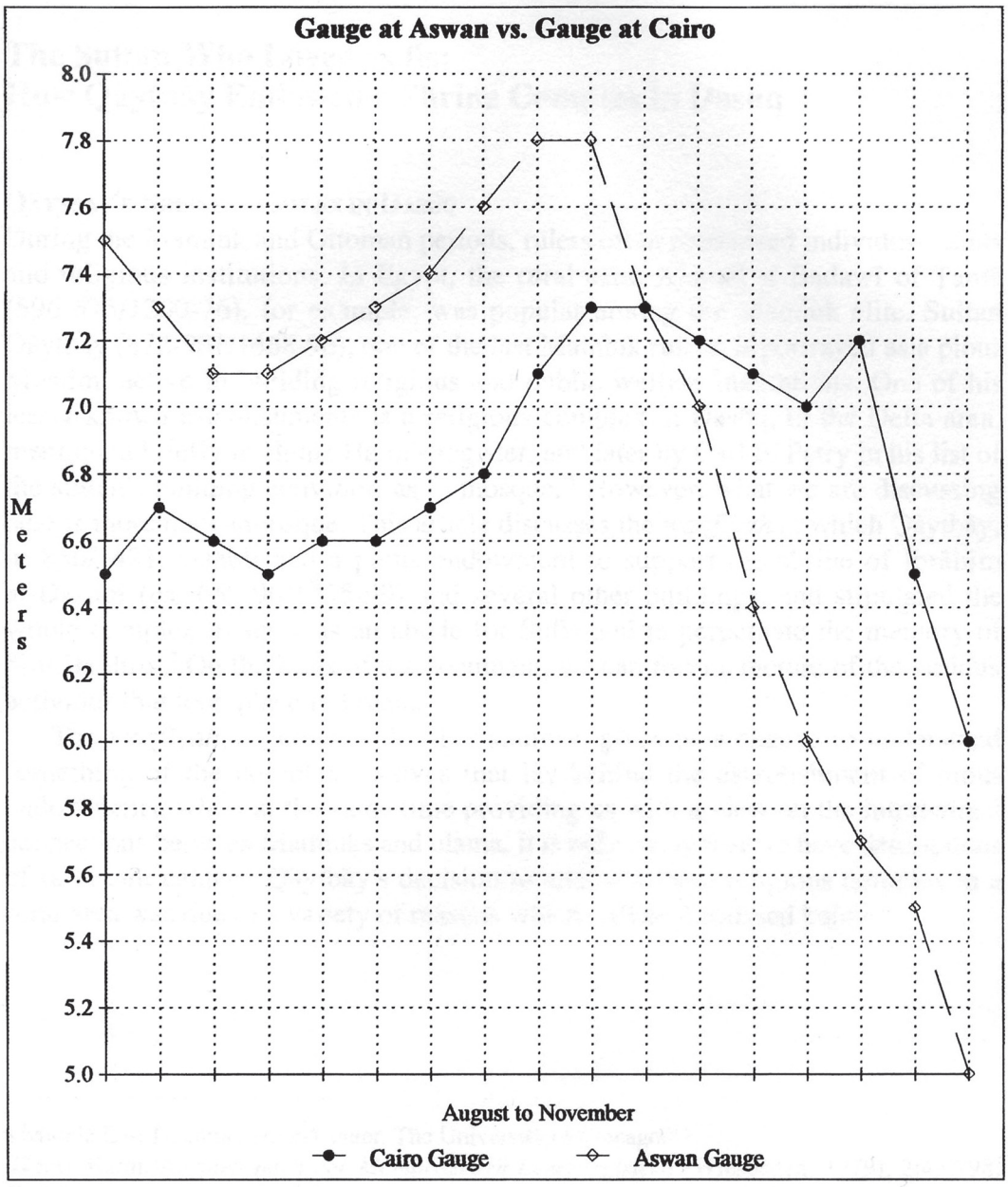

Figure 6. Aswan vs. Cairo Flood Profiles

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The Sultan Who Loved Sufis: How Qāytbāy Endowed a Shrine Complex in Dasūq

Qāytbāy´s Shrine Complex in Dasūq

During the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, rulers often patronized individual saints and religious institutions. In Egypt, the rural saint Aḥmad al-Badawī of Ṭanṭā (596-675/1200-76), for example, was popular among the Mamluk elite. Sultan Qāytbāy (872-901/1468-96), one of the last Mamluk rulers, is portrayed as a pious Muslim, active in building religious and public welfare institutions. One of his lesser-known establishments is a religious complex in Dasūq, in the Delta area, mentioned briefly in Heinz Halm´s register, and later by Carl F. Petry in his list of the sultan´s building activities, as ″a mosque.″[1] However, what we are discussing here is more than a mosque. This article discusses the *waqfīyah* in which Qāytbāy, in 886/1481, established a pious endowment to support the shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (ca. 653-96/1255-99) and several other buildings, and stipulated the whole complex to serve as an abode for Sufis and to perpetuate the memory of Sīdī Ibrāhīm.[2] On the basis of the document, we can form a picture of the various activities that took place in Dasūq.

The *waqfīyah*, together with other sources, gives us a chance to understand something of the complex motives that lay behind the establishment of pious endowments, while at the same time providing us with a view on the intertwined connections between Mamluks and ulama. It is only rarely that we have descriptions of rural cult centers. Qāytbāy´s decision to endow a large religious complex in a rural area was due to a variety of reasons which will be discussed below.

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[1]Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach der Mamlukischen Lehenregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 2:497-98; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt´s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 213, n. 28.

[2]Waqfīyah document no. 810, al-Majmū'ah al-Jadīdah, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Cairo. I am grateful to Carl F. Petry for providing me with a copy of the document. The document is in the form of a continuous long roll and, therefore, in the following, references will be made to the *waqfīyah* with no specific folio citations.

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The Early Cult of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī

We know nothing about the Sufi saint Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī prior to the fourteenth century, and how he became a saint is obscure.[3] The cult most likely reflects a local agricultural festival, since even today his *mawlid* is celebrated according to the agricultural calendar.[4] For centuries, Ibrāhīm remained an obscure figure, and it is only in the sixteenth century that a wealth of writings concerning him emerged. Of the early history of al-Dasūqī´s shrine little is known. Su'ād Māhir Muḥammad mentioned, without citing her sources, that after al-Dasūqī´s death a large sum of money and property was invested in a religious foundation, and that the revenues were spent on his mosque and on those working and studying there. She stated that this was done by Baybars, whom she credited with having a *zāwiyah* (a Sufi institution formed around a shaykh or a Way *[ṭarīqah]*) built for Ibrāhīm where the latter ″could teach his students *(murīdūn)* and educate them in the principles of their religion.″[5] Though Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658-76/1260-77) was very much involved with Sufism, there is no evidence that he endowed a *zāwiyah* or *khānqāh* for al-Dasūqī.

However, from Qāytbāy´s *waqfīyah* we learn that by the fifteenth century there was an edifice on the tomb site in Dasūq, and that the complex was supported by a religious endowment *(waqf),* though the original patrons are unknown. The staff of the shrine consisted of at least nine persons, who received salaries from the *waqf*.[6] We can thus see that the shrine had by that time become the vital focus of al-Dasūqī´s posthumous cult and miracles. All these constructions remained as part of Qāytbāy´s shrine complex.

By the fifteenth century, Sufi practices had been incorporated into the religious ceremonies of the Mamluk sultans, who established numerous Sufi *khānqāh*s,

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[3]The grammarian Ibn al-Mulaqqin briefly mentioned him in 1385 in his Sufi genealogy; a little later, he was also mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, who like Ibn al-Mulaqqin stated that the tomb of al-Dasūqī was visited to obtain blessings, since al-Dasūqī was described as being ″possessor of mystical states.″ Shams al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, n. d.), 5:319. On Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and the evolution of his cult, see Helena Hallenberg, ″Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (1255-96)—a Saint Invented″ (Ph.D. diss., Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, 1997).

[4]Al-Dasūqī´s *mawlid*s were celebrated in the spring at harvest time and in August around the beginning of the flood. The latter celebration, called the big mawlid *(al-mawlid al-kabīr),* is nowadays celebrated in November, coinciding with the end of the cotton harvest and following the big *mawlid* of al-Badawī. Hallenberg, ″Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī,″ 169-73. See also Edward B. Reeves, *The Hidden Government: Ritual, Clientelism and Legitimation in Northern Egypt* (Salt Lake City, 1990), 15; 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah wa-Mudunihā al-Qadīmah wa-al-Shahīrah* (Bulaq, 1306/1890), 11:7:8.

[5]Su'ād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wa-Awliyā'uhā al-Ṣāliḥūn* (Cairo, 1971-80), 2:307-8.

[6]Waqfīyah document no. 810.

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which operated independently of the Sufi orders. The Sufis were paid a monthly salary in addition to the food and shelter they received, and thus had a post *(waẓīfah)*.[7] The *awqāf,* including Sufi *khānqāh*s, served as public welfare institutions and thus could potentially increase a ruler´s popularity. In addition, the donor was able to safeguard his own economic interest by nominating himself or one of his family members as supervisor of the *waqf*.[8] The sultan may have sought political support from influential Sufi circles in this way, but we should not ignore spiritual motives; some sultans were greatly influenced by their Sufi shaykhs, to the extent that they built establishments for them.[9]

Qāytbāy Establishes a Shrine Complex in Dasūq

During the Mamluk era, the sultans thus had both economic and spiritual motives for patronizing a saint, whether living or dead. The patron of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and his shrine, Qāytbāy, is described in contemporary sources as a just and pious ruler, and his construction activities included many charitable projects not only in the capital but in the outlying provinces.[10] This may have made him popular among the peasants. The historian Ibn Iyās recorded that in 884/1479, Qāytbāy visited Dasūq and the tomb of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī.[11] Two years later he made the shrine *(maqām)* of al-Dasūqī the beneficiary of a pious endowment consisting of real estate in Dasūq. In doing this, he incorporated the old *waqf* into his new endowment. He also added a number of constructions (as alms, *ṣadaqah*), and these renovations gave new prestige to the site and turned the shrine into a shrine

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[7]Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: the Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 1-8. Fernandes quotes Ibn Khaldūn writing about the Mamluks´ keen interest in establishing Sufi institutions: he remarked that ″khanqahs increased especially in Cairo and became a source of income for Sufis.″ *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn* (Cairo, 1979), 304; quoted in Fernandes, *Evolution,* 17.

[8]A *waqf,* in the strict sense, means the act of endowment, but ″in popular speech [it] became transferred to the endowment itself.″ W. Heffening, ″Waḳf,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st ed., 4:1096.

[9]On the reasons for establishing religious institutions, see Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his Verse, and his Shrine* (Columbia, S. C., 1994), 60; idem, ″Saving Muslim Souls: The Khānqāh and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 74 f.; E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* (Cambridge, 1975), 1:118.

[10]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*, Occasional papers no. 4, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, The Middle East Center (Seattle and London, 1993), 80.

[11]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. P. Kahle and M. Mustafa with M. Sobernheim, Bibliotheca Islamica 5, c, d, and e (Istanbul, 1931-36), 3:156.

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complex.[12] The document *(waqfīyah)* confirming this was signed on 29 Sha'bān 886/23 October 1481, and is preserved in the Ministry of Pious Endowments (Wizārat al-Awqāf) in Cairo. The description below is based entirely on this document.[13]

The shrine was intended for mendicant Sufis *(fuqarā')*, with no attachment to a particular order stipulated, for visitors *(wāridūn, mutaraddidūn)* to the shrine *(maqām)*, and for other Muslims connected with it *(murābiṭūn)*, most likely referring to the staff and local laymen who performed tasks for the shrine and received food as compensation, so that ″they would benefit from sitting there during their visitation *(ziyārah)*, have a rest, and find shelter.″

First the document states the location of the premises:

> It is located in the *nāḥiyah* [according to Carl F. Petry, fiscal area, sometimes but not always equal to a village][14] of Dasūq in the West, close to Rosetta on the blessed river Nile. It is known for the tombs *(maqābir)* of our lord and master, the God-knowing helping axis saint *(quṭb al-ghawth)*, Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī—may God bless him. According to what is told, he—may God grant him victory—was a servant *(jārī)* in the hand of God and in [? unclear].[15]

Then follows a description of the endowment and the premises maintained by its revenues. The *waqf* consisted of houses *(duwar)* outside the shrine complex, on the other side of the street, and of fields outside the village, which were leased to peasants. The rent of these properties was the source of income for the endowment.

The most important of the additions made by Qāytbāy was a congregational mosque *(jāmi')*, which was ″added *(mulāsiq)* to the shrine *(maqām)* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī.″ From the congregational mosque there was a door leading to ″the mausoleum-mosque *(masjid wa-maqām)* of al-Dasūqī.″ Sometimes the whole complex is referred to as ″the graves″ *(maqābir)*, since it included the tombs of both Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and his brother Mūsá. Because of these and many other

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[12]Qāytbāy seems to have established an abode for Sufi scholars called Bayt al-Barāhinah, ″The House of the Burhānīs,″ in Cairo as well. See the seventeenth-century travel account of 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Ismā'īl al-Nābulusī (1050-1143/1641-1731), *Al-Ḥaqīqah wa-al-Majāz fī al-Riḥlah ilá Bilād al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-al-Ḥijāz*, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (Cairo, 1986), 294. The Burhānīs are the same as the Burhāmīs; their name refers to Ibrāhīm (=Burhān al-Dīn) al-Dasūqī.

[13]Waqfīyah document no. 810.

[14]Oral communication from Carl F. Petry.

[15]The signing of the *waqfīyah* took place in the presence of two witnesses (or notaries, *shāhid*) and a man who probably was an expert appointed by the Dīwān al-Awqāf to inspect the premises. On building experts, see Fernandes, *Evolution*, 6.

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overlappings in the terminology it becomes difficult to draw a clear picture of the area.[16] The congregational mosque, also called *jāmi'-masjid,* was intended ″for prayers, the Friday prayer, and gatherings, and for reciting the Book of God and the hadith of the Prophet.″ As for the *maqām* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm, it was endowed ″as a mosque *(masjid)* to God in order [for people] to devote themselves to all legal forms of worship *('ibādāt shar'īyah).*″

The renovations made by Qāytbāy in the establishment—specifically mentioned in the document as renovated *(mustajaddah)*—include a *maydanah* (?mydnh), which presumably refers to a large square or opening, the façade *(wājihah)* of the shrine-mosque *(masjid)* with eleven new doors, a garden, the interiors of the stores *(ḥānūts)* reserved for livestock, and two large domes above the tombs *(ḍarīḥ)* of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Dasūqī (d. ca. 850/1446), the third *khalīfah* of the Burhāmīyah Order. Then there is a long list of buildings for which there is no indication as to who built them. A very detailed list indicates a variety of activities which Qāytbāy helped to maintain by instituting a religious endowment, the income of which was partly used to support these activities.

The whole area belonging to the shrine complex was surrounded by a brick wall, and one entered the complex from the street on the western side. In the east the complex was bounded by the Nile. The total space of the enclosed area was ca. 4132.67 square meters which equals approximately one *faddān* (4200.83 m^2). The mosque had a total area of ca. 363.31 square meters, and included a lecture room *(bayt khiṭābah),* which was long and narrow, probably because the students would sit in one row. Two marble pillars at the entrance of the mosque were engraved with the name of Sultan Qāytbāy.[17] Within the area, on opposite sides of the mosque, there were also residences for the superintendent *(nāẓir)* of the *waqf* on the western side, and for the shaykh/*khalīfah* of the shrine on the eastern side. In the superintendent´s residence there was also the loggia of the sultan *(maq'ad sulṭānī),* which suggests that Qāytbāy expected to spend some time in the complex whenever he came for a visit. Close to the residence of the shaykh (since he also acted as the teacher *[mudarris]*) were the teaching premises: a Quran school and a

[16]The word *maqām* used in *waqfīyah*s does not necessarily refer to a shrine alone but to the whole complex of buildings around a tomb and thus to the institution. The inconsistency of the terminology in the *waqfīyah*s is also pointed out by Fernandes, *Evolution,* 9. J. Chabbi notes that in medieval Egypt, *khānqāh*s often ″became part of complexes containing several institutions, e.g. *masḏjid-madrasa*-mausoleum. Nevertheless, terminology remained still imprecise, and medieval historians could not always agree on the name for such and such institution.″ J. Chabbi, ″Khānḳāh,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., 4:1025-26.

[17]Unfortunately, during my visits to Dasūq I was not yet familiar with the *waqfīyah* and therefore cannot say whether the pillars still exist.

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recitation hall *(mudda'á)* where texts of jurisprudence *(fiqh)* were recited and learned by heart in front of the teacher. For children there was a *kuttāb-sabīl,* also referred to as *maktab*.

The Staff of the Shrine Complex

To maintain such a complex required staff as well, and we obtain a clear picture of its activities from the list of the salaries paid to the staff as well as of the duties prescribed for them. The salaries paid by Qāytbāy´s *waqf* in Dasūq seem to be in proportion with those of other similar institutions of the time, which varied a great deal from one to another. The staff consisted of twenty-six persons and a number of Sufis—how many is not told.[18] The total of the salaries paid to the staff, including the two witnesses of the document, amounts to 4960 *dirham*s per month (=16.5 *dīnār*s, one *dīnār* equaling 300 *dirham*s),[19] which makes 198.4 *dīnār*s a year, excluding the stipends paid to the Sufis. Additions in the margins of the document discuss extensively which value of the *dirham* should be used, coming to the conclusion that the silver *dirham,* the value of which is three *niṣf* of silver, should be used.

The new donor *(wāqif)* of course wanted to change the key personnel, and Qāytbāy thus nominated a new *nāẓir* (superintendent, or general supervisor or controller), whose tasks are not mentioned in the document though from other sources we know that he was in charge of finance and administration. An addition in the margin indicates that the *nāẓir* was also responsible for distributing the salaries, ″taking into consideration what the 'ulamā' have stipulated about the paying of the alms-tax *(zakāt)*.″ This left the *nāẓir* considerable liberty. He received the highest salary, 1000 *dirham*s a month, and also had a separate residence in the area. He had two administrative staff members under his command to help him to

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[18]As a comparision, the *jāmi'ah* of Azbak (890/1485) had a staff of over forty, including twenty Sufis. Barsbāy´s desert *khānqāh* (840/1436) had twenty-nine persons, of whom seventeen were Sufis. But even larger institutions may have had only a small number of Sufis, such as Qāytbāy´s *khānqāh-jāmi'* (884/1479) in Cairo with its one hundred twenty persons, of whom forty were Sufis and twenty orphans. (Fernandes, *Evolution,* 85-87). Michael Winter gives much higher numbers from the sixteenthth century: the *zāwiyah* of al-Sha'rānī housed two hundred residents—we do not know the nature of the residents—and that of his teacher, Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, ″provided food and shelter for five hundred people, not all of them necessarily Sufis.″ Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī,* Studies in Islamic Culture and History, the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University (New Brunswick, 1982), 127. For a detailed description of the different positions and their respective salaries in *khānqāh*s as calculated based on *waqfīyah* documents, see Fernandes, *Evolution*, 47 ff., esp. 69 f; on the different *waẓīfah*s in *khānqāh*s, see Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr 648-923/1250-1517* (Cairo, 1980), 184-204.

[19]See Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 227.

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collect the revenues from the *waqf*'s leased lands, to register its income and expenditures, to keep accounts, and see to other administrative and financial tasks.

Some of the staff members of minor importance hired by the old *waqf* kept their positions, such as the imam and the two muezzins. Through Qāytbāy's stipulations three Quran reciters were added, one of whom recited the Quran at the tomb *(ḍarīḥ)* of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī. The second reciter together with the shaykh was responsible for recitations during the *dhikr,* and a third one was to recite every day after the evening prayer by the window of the dome *(qubbah)* of al-Dasūqī.

The *waqfīyah* contains no separate information about the shaykh of the complex, which one usually finds in such documents. Normally, his duties are listed along with the qualities he should possess and the law school he must represent.[20] Instead, we find his duties listed under the title of teacher, *mudarris,* also called *muḥaddith*. This combined shaykh-teacher was explicitly told to instruct the students in Shafi'i law, which was favored by the majority of the Egyptian population. The teacher was further expected to provide instruction in *mī'ād* (public reading sessions with commentaries on religious texts), exegesis of the Quran *(tafsīr),* and hadith—thus the whole apparatus of conventional Sunni doctrine—but also in exhortative sermons *(mawā'iẓ)* perhaps composed by Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, the subtleties of Sufi rhetoric *(raqā'iq kalām al-qawm),* and the virtuous deeds, or *manāqib,* of Ibrāhīm. The *manāqib* were to be recited by the teacher "on evenings of gathering *(layālī al-jam')* and on festive days *(mawāsim al-a'yād)*." He was appointed to instruct not children but students *(ṭalabah),* of whom the majority likely consisted of Sufis, especially since he was to teach them the *manāqib* of the saint.[21] The identity of the teacher-shaykh is revealed in an addition in the margin as Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Karakī al-Shāfi'ī, the *khalīfah* of the Dasūqī shrine *(al-maqām al-Dasūqī)*. Thus, while no specific *ṭarīqah* affiliation is mentioned, the Burhāmīyah stood to profit.

The Sufis of the Shrine Complex

The absence of any mention of the Burhāmīyah Order (there is no stipulation that the Sufis need be affiliated with the Burhāmīyah) tells us that the order was still evolving and did not play a vital role in the shrine complex. The Sufis are collectively referred to as "the *fuqarā',*" "mendicants," "the Sufis," or "the *ṣūfīyah,*" the Sufi

[20]Compare this with the detailed description of the duties of the shaykh of the *khānqāh*s. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 47 f., see also 30-31.

[21]Secular subjects were not taught among the Sufis even during the early Ottoman period, and it is therefore no wonder that subjects such as grammar are not listed. Winter comments that many Sufis had a reserved attitude towards even al-Azhar, since its curriculum included subjects they considered secular. Winter, *Society and Religion,* 229.

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brotherhood. This was thus a complex not reserved for any particular *ṭarīqah* but serving general religious needs and Sufi aspirations, while at the same time perpetuating the memory of Sīdī Ibrāhīm. Most of the Sufis seem to have been temporary visitors, and the number of visitors was likely very high, since they were provided with various facilities and services. The number of permanent residents was likely less than twenty, perhaps as few as ten, to judge from what we know of other establishments of similar size. They were to receive free lunch and supper, provided that there was surplus in the income of the *waqf*, plus a sum of fifty *dirham*s each month on the condition that they were ″in the presence of the shaykh *(yaḥḍurū al-shaykh),*″ that is, received instruction. Clothing, normally provided by *khānqāh*s, is not mentioned. In addition both the shaykh and the Sufis, probably collectively, received each day fifty *dirham*s after the afternoon prayer.

On the basis of the *waqfīyah*, we can reconstruct how in the complex most of the day, from early afternoon till dark, was spent in religious practices, the length of time varying according to the season of the year. After the dawn prayer, which in January in Egypt falls around 5:20 A.M. and in the summer around 3:30 A.M., some of the Sufis sat in Ibrāhīm′s dome and started reciting the Quran at his tomb. There was a window opening to a street outside, so that the voice of this ″window reciter″ *(qāri' al-shubbāk)* would carry out to people passing by and bring blessings to them. He was to recite the same prayers as stipulated for the *ḥuḍūr,* described below, and to conclude with a prayer for the late *nāẓir* of the shrine, al-Sayfī Abū Yazīd. Teaching took place in the early morning in the lecture room and recitation room provided for that purpose. Among the students were perhaps also people other than Sufis. After the midday prayer, around noon, those not engaged in the window recitation likely assisted visitors or were absorbed in private worship. The early afternoon in Egypt is still today normally spent resting, and we can imagine visitors taking their nap in the cool interior of the mosque. The Sufis probably retired to their solitary cells and chambers of retreat (the words *khalāwá* and *ma'āzil* are used), but what kind of meditation or recitation they practiced can only be guessed. They probably used the invocations composed by Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, recited the Quran, or practised ascetic exercises consisting of fasting and vigilance. Their residences were likely very spartan, but at least some of them were located on the second floor of the mosque, with a view overlooking the garden, and seeing the lemon, orange and pomegranate trees and the fountain with ornamented tiles may have encouraged them to contemplate beauty and God′s grace in creation.

The daily communal service was called *ḥuḍūr al-taṣawwuf,* and it lasted from the afternoon prayer (from around 3:00-3:30 P.M.) until the sunset prayer at 5:15-7:00 P.M. It took place in Ibrāhīm′s dome, where the presence of the saint could be felt,

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and started with Quran recitation, of ″whatever [parts of the Quran] they take delight in.″ The shaykh then read a fourth part of the Quran, which was followed by various prayers: to the Prophet, to Sīdī Ibrāhīm, his parents and brothers, to ″the protector of the shrine *(mawlá al-maqām),* the donor *(wāqif)*, whose name be praised,″ to the shaykhs of the shrine, and to all Muslims. Visiting shaykhs perhaps also came to organize *ḥuḍūr* sessions for Sufis, as can be concluded from the plural used *(mashāyikh),* which of course may also refer to senior Sufis at the shrine.[22] The daily *ḥuḍūr* was followed by a short break, after which they gathered again after the evening prayer, which took place around 6:45-8:30, and possibly stayed up until late at night. Some Sufis would recite again by the window of the dome.

The only exception was Friday night, when they would perform the *dhikr* and spend part of the night reciting the *ḥizb,* or invocation, of Ibrāhīm and praise the Lord ″in the Sufi manner″ *('alā 'ādat maqāmāt al-awliyā')*.[23] This was followed by a public recitation of religious texts, and the night was concluded by prayers for the Prophet and others, as mentioned above.[24] In this, the shaykh was assisted by some of the Sufis. Except for the *dhikr,* the reciters were free to choose whatever surahs from the Quran they preferred. We do not know how the Sufis of Dasūq performed the *dhikr:* whether they were sitting or standing, whether they used instruments or chanting, whether men and women were together, or whether they attained ecstasy. We see from the stipulations that in the *ḥuḍūr,* the Sufis were free to recite any surahs they desired, whereas in many *khānqāh*s′ *waqfīyah*s the parts of the Quran to be recited were specifically mentioned, as were other recitations and incantations. As shown by Emil Homerin, this ritual of the *ḥuḍūr* formed the *waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf,* the Sufi duty, or office, which was their main task in a *khānqāh*.[25]

Qāytbāy, or the shaykh in charge of writing down the stipulations, considered it important that all the residents as well as the visitors should perform the *dhikr* according to the Sunnah. Therefore, ″a pious and knowledgeable man″ *(rajul min*

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[22]By the fourteenth century, the institution of *mashyakhat taṣawwuf*, or ″group of Sufis who met daily with their shaykh for the hudur,″ had appeared in mosques and madrasahs. The shaykhs were free to move from one place to another, and this made it possible for Sufis to practice the rituals without belonging to any institution. By the fifteenth century, most mosques and madrasahs had a *mashyakhah* and the Sufis who belonged to it received a salary. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 33, 54.

[23]A *ḥizb* is a prayer asking God for spiritual blessings and may be recited at any time. Most Sufi orders have more than one *ḥizb,* of varying length. Valerie Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints in Modern Egypt* (Columbia, S. C., 1995), 131-32.

[24]In the fifteenth century sessions of readings with commentaries on religious texts *(mī'ād 'āmm)* were opened to the public after the Friday *jum'ah* prayer. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 50.

[25]Homerin, ″Saving Muslim Souls,″ 71.

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ahl al-khayr wa-al-dīn wa-al-'ilm) was to instruct the *fuqarā'* and other Muslims in the Sunnah and other information necessary in order to learn the *dhikr*. During the Mamluk period, Sufis were sometimes accused of practicing alchemy in their convents; any such attempts were severely punished, and it was partly in order to avoid such accusations that Sunni practices were stressed.[26]

The Sufi Sisters

In the shrine complex in Dasūq, there were places for women to relax, referred to as a *maqṣūrah,* ″a closed area,″ which is typically reserved for female visitors to mosques and shrines and ″keeps them from mixing with men.″ Women had separate toilets as well. These may also indicate the presence of female Sufis residing at the shrine. During the Mamluk period there were convents or hospices, called *ribāṭ*s, for women, and some women acted as shaykhahs; the sixteenth-century al-Sha'rānī took it for granted that women performed *dhikr* as well.[27] Even if we cannot necessarily draw conclusions from today's practices to describe the past, it is worth noting that Valerie Hoffman mentioned the Burhāmīyah Order in the 1980s as among the most flexible as far as the relations between the sexes is concerned.[28]

Further, al-Sahkāwī has a special section about holy women in his *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* and Huda Lutfi, in her study of that section, has drawn conclusions about the social and economic status of women in the fifteenth century. She focuses attention on the large number of widowed women and on the fact that many were left without any family to look after them; therefore the *ribāṭ*s established by wealthy men or women were a welcome asylum for many. The Sufis were especially active in patronizing orphans and widows.[29] It is possible that the shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī also hosted some women who probably were family members of those employed by the shrine. In that case they lived either outside it or within its premises, in the residences of the shaykh and the superintendent.[30] The term ″*ribāṭ* for ladies″ is used in the document once but its meaning is ambiguous. It seems to have been a two-winged room or building with vaults located beside the mosque, and from it there was access to the cells *(khalāwá)*. This could be an

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[26]On how, e.g., Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī treated those practicing alchemy, see Winter, *Society and Religion,* 174-75.

[27]'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Baḥr al-Mawrūd fī al-Mawāthīq wa-al-'Uhūd* (Cairo, 1321), 207; quoted by Winter, *Society and Religion,* 131.

[28]Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints,* 119, 247-48.

[29]Huda Lutfi, ″Al-Sakhāwī's Kitāb al-Nisā' as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Women during the 15th C. AD,″ *Muslim World* 71:2 (1981): 104-24.

[30]Those employed by *khānqāh*s were allowed to have their families with them, and sometimes even married Sufis were accepted to reside on the premises. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 31, 34, 43.

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indication that there were female Sufi residents who had their own cells. On the other hand, the *ribāṭ* is said to be separated by a ″painted silk,″ by which a curtain is obviously meant, and this could rather refer to a separate ladies′ section in the mosque itself and not to a separate residence. All this points to women participating in the life of the shrine.

Michael Winter assumes that in the sixteenth century, ″the Sufis who were active in the countryside formed a much more homogeneous group socially than did those in Cairo.″[31] In the case of a small agricultural village such as Dasūq it almost certainly was so. The people residing in or visiting the shrine consisted probably of local fellahs, fishermen, craftsmen and the like, and their wives, sisters and daughters, with a limited number of educated people. Urbanization was not a large-scale phenomenon, and even many Sufis of Cairo had their background in the villages and provinces.[32] With Qāytbāy patronizing this rural cult, it gained status, and perhaps on his initiative, the traditions on Sīdī Ibrāhīm were recorded. This made the cult and the shrine more acceptable to the urban, literate ulama, and incorporated the cult into the larger religious topography of Egypt.

Other Activities of the Shrine Complex

A religious endowment of this size naturally would have staff for the service of the public as well; it was, after all, an institution meant for public welfare. For that purpose, there was a gate-keeper *(bawwāb),* servants (sing. *khaddām*/*khādim*, both forms used) in charge of maintaining the facilities, a caretaker of the waterwheel *(sawwāq)* who also filled the ablution basins and watered the garden, and a teacher *(mu'addib)* who taught children to read and write in the *kuttāb-sabīl* or *maktab*. For the riding animals of the visitors, there was a *wakālah* (caravanserai). Since providing public meals was often one of the functions of pious endowments, there was a separate bakery to provide ″bread for the shrine *(maqām)* and the visitors.″ Bread was the staple food then as it is now; in some *waqfīyah*s the amount of bread the Sufis were to receive daily is mentioned, and decreasing the daily rations was used as a means of punishment. Meals were also served, and there was an inspector of the kitchen *(mushrif al-maṭbakh)* and a cook *(ṭabbākh)*, who was also expected to know how to knead dough and bake bread. Storehouses and an oil press were located close to the kitchen.

Our *waqfīyah* also contains instructions concerning surplus income, expenses, and other points vital to the functioning of the institution. The surplus of the

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[31]Winter, *Society and Religion,* 129.

[32]Ibid., 131 and 276-77. On the relationship between the orders and various guilds, see idem, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798* (London and New York, 1992), 155.

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income *(ray')* remaining after the salaries had been paid was to be spent on lunch and supper for the *fuqarā',* those visiting the shrine, and the laymen, and on meals to be served on festive days and during *mawlid*s. Here the plural *mawālīd* is used with no reference as to whose *mawlid* is meant, but we may take it that Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī´s saint´s day and the Prophet´s birthday celebration are indicated. The latter was an established practice by then, and by no means limited to observance by Sufis but rather a state festival financed by the government.[33] If something was still left over from the income, the *nāẓir* was instructed to invest it in real estate, according to detailed advice given in the document, and to use it for repairs needed at the shrine complex. In case this could not be done or was not needed, and some income still remained, it was to be divided ″among the *fuqarā'* and the poor *(masākīn)* Muslims wherever they are.″

Amir Mughulbāy, the Superintendent

From an addition in the margin we learn that the *nāẓir* of the *waqf* was Amir al-Sayfī Mughulbāy al-Muḥammadī al-Bahliwān al-Malikī al-Ashrafī, who also was the witness (or notary, *shāhid*) of the *waqfīyah*. The name of the superintendent gives us some clues about his life, even if his genealogy remains unclear—for Mamluks, as slaves, are given no lineage. He belonged to the highest rank of the Mamluk military hierarchy, officers who were given the title of amir.[34] The name Mughulbāy, ″the Mongol lord,″ implies Mongol origin, which would not be unusual. But, as pointed out by David Ayalon, especially during the late Mamluk period, names had sometimes lost their function of indicating origin.[35]

Mughulbāy probably received his military training from an amir of the sultan Qāytbāy, after which he was manumitted and entered the service of the sultan. He was thus called Qāytbāy´s personal mamluk, as revealed by his title al-Malikī al-Ashrafī, ″Belonging to the Malik, or King, al-Ashraf″ (Qāytbāy´s honorific). The ″al-Sayfī″ is short for Sayf al-Dīn, ″the Sword of Islam.″ The Mamluk historian al-Qalqashandī wrote that most Mamluks had this title, or *laqab,* in their names, due to its association with power and forcefulness. Towards the end of the Mamluk period almost every amir was given the *nisbah* al-Sayfī. The ″Muḥammad″ in his

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[33]On the *mawlid*s during the sixteenth century, see Winter, *Society and Religion,* 177 f. The first mention of al-Dasūqī´s *mawlid* comes from 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565), *Laṭā'if al-Minan* (Cairo, 1357/1938-39), 2:207; quoted by Winter, *Society and Religion,* 181. We may, however, assume that it had been celebrated earlier.

[34]On the hierarchy of the Mamluk state, see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:1-9.

[35]David Ayalon, ″Names, titles and ´nisbas´ of the Mamlūks,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189-232. Repr. in David Ayalon, *The Mamlūk Military Society,* Collected Studies (London, 1979), 219f.

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name refers to the person to whom Mughulbāy belonged before Qāytbāy. This could be the slave merchant or the amir who had bought him for the sultan, or it could be the master who had taught him his military skills. He must have been a man who had influenced Mughulbāy greatly or for whom he had great respect, since he decided to keep his name as a *nisbah* even after entering the service of Qāytbāy, which was not usual.[36]

One of the conditions set by sultan Qāytbāy was that the guardianship *(walāyah)* of the *waqf* was to be in his own name as long as he lived; after him in the name of Amir Mughulbāy; and after him in the name of whoever was the sultan. The second condition concerns the expenditures and income of the *waqf,* and Mughulbāy was assigned his fair share of the profit. This is further stated in an addition in the margin, which indicates that he had the right to dispose freely of everything that was contained in the shrine, including all the votive offerings *(nudhur)* brought there.

We can be sure that Qāytbāy wanted to favor his amir for one reason or another, and that the *naẓr,* or control, of the *waqf* was assigned to him as a reward and a means of income. On the basis of our evidence, it seems at first that Mughulbāy was not left penniless. However, his control over the *waqf* was not hereditary; this means that it was not within his power to transfer it to his descendants.[37] In fact, the shrine had earlier been controlled by another Mamluk amir named al-Sayfī Abū Yazīd, for whom prayers were to be recited at the tomb. It would be interesting to speculate as to how much influence Mughulbāy as *nāẓir* really had on the affairs of the *waqf,* but on this we have no information.

Looking at the matter more closely, Mughulbāy's position may not have been as personally lucrative as it first appears, for even if Qāytbāy favored his amir, his motives for establishing an endowment were at least partly economic. It is worth remembering that the revenues of the *waqf* benefited the sultan himself as long as he lived, and only after his death did they benefit Mughulbāy. Through the

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[36]Ibid., 191-92, 213-14. Ibn al-Sayrafī mentions a person by the name of Mughulbāy who was a commander of ten *(amīr 'asharah),* later the *nā'ib* (governor) of Jerusalem and the sultan's cupbearer *(sāqī).* However, the information about this person's activities concern much earlier years (813/1410, 816/1413 and 823/1420), and he is said to have been appointed to a post already in 813/1410. From that time until the signing of the *waqfīyah* there are seventy-one years (seventy-three lunar years). If he was around twenty years old at the time of his appointment, he would have been over ninety at the time of the signing. This makes it unlikely that he is our man. Ibn al-Sayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1971), 1:287, 330, 478.

[37]The situation was similar when a professional army officer was granted an *iqṭā',* a form of administrative grant, because "the area granted and the grantee were constantly changed." Cl. Cahen, "Iḳṭā'," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., 3:1088. Sartain has pointed out that "an emir held his fief *(iqṭā')* in the province in which he served and if transferred to a different province he received a new fief." Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:5-6.

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stipulations in the *waqfīyah,* Qāytbāy in fact remained in control of the *waqf*. Qāytbāy was facing a war with the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II, and in order to raise money, seven months´ income was demanded of all *awqāf*.[38] It was under these financially troubled circumstances that Qāytbāy´s *waqf* in Dasūq was established.

Sultan Qāytbāy´s Spiritual Advisors

All of this does not mean, of course, that Qāytbāy´s motives for establishing the endowment could not have been spiritual as well. He was influenced by several religious persons, even if we cannot always prove that they directly advised him. Among the spiritual advisors who surrounded him were his personal imam, Ibn al-Karakī, who had a great impact on him, and a Sufi saint, Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, who roused the sultan´s interest in the local saint of Ṭanṭā, Aḥmad al-Badawī. We shall now focus on the relationship between the sultan and his imam, which changed from a close friendship to the latter´s dismissal. The scope of the influence that the imam had on the sultan´s affairs will be discussed, as well as the colorful circumstances of his dismissal. As a result, the sultan was drawn to Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī for comfort and advice. This shaykh was a follower of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, and although we do not know the precise nature of their relationship, Qāytbāy appointed Jalāl al-Dīn as the shaykh of the shrine complex in Dasūq.

The Sufi Shaykhs

Al-Sha'rānī noted in his *Ṭabaqāt* that there were Sufi shaykhs in Sultan Qāytbāy´s life, such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūṭī (d. 923/1517), whom the sultan admired to the extent that he kissed his feet and asked him to bless his army. Another was Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, who was an illiterate Malāmatī Sufi with a convent *(zāwiyah)* of his own, and who performed miracles such as foretelling the future. According to al-Sha'rānī, who was his student, he guided the sultan for many years. Al-Matbūlī wore a red garment as a token of his affiliation with the followers of Aḥmad al-Badawī.[39] Al-Matbūlī´s biography is given by al-Sakhāwī, who met him personally and wrote that before moving to Cairo, the saint used to live at the tomb of al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā, where he later established a large mosque *(jāmi').*[40]

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[38]The same recklessness continued during Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī´s reign, and the pious foundations remained under a heavy burden: one year´s income was demanded, but due to rioting it was reduced to seven months´ income. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:16-17.

[39]'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá = Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Akhyār* (Cairo, 1343, 1355/1925, 1936), 2:77-80.

[40]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 1:85-86; Winter, *Society and Religion,* 95 f. and 271; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo,* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 1993), 76.

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Al-Sakhāwī, however, did not mention anything of al-Matbūlī´s connection with Qāytbāy, but only said that many notables *(akābir)* came to see al-Matbūlī in search of blessing *(tabarruk)*—this in spite of his illiteracy. If we can rely on al-Sha'rānī´s words about the role of al-Matbūlī in Qāytbāy´s life—which he may have exaggerated since he himself had high appreciation for his teacher al-Matbūlī—we can believe that the sultan was influenced by Aḥmadī ideas. For the Mamluks to support the Aḥmadīs was not in itself strange, since the cult had gained root in society, especially among the ruling elite.[41] During his many trips to the Delta the sultan visited Ṭanṭā in 903/1498 and ordered al-Badawī´s tomb to be enlarged.[42]

The Hanafi Imam

The Mamluks favored the Hanafi school of law, and the personal imam of Qāytbāy was a Hanafi judge by the name of Ibrāhīm (also called Burhān al-Dīn) ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Karakī. Ibn al-Karakī was an educated and learned man, among whose teachers were some members of the famous al-Bulqīnī family. He had much influence on Qāytbāy and received many high posts; he was, among other duties, responsible for reciting the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in the Citadel of Cairo.[43] The tie between Sultan Qāytbāy and Imam Ibn al-Karakī was perhaps made closer by the fact that both had Circassian mothers. Al-Sakhāwī says that Ibn al-Karakī was in favor with Qāytbāy already when the latter was still an amir, and when al-Matbūlī died in 880/1475, Qāytbāy was drawn even closer to his imam. While accompanying him on the pilgrimage in 884/1480, the imam composed poetry in honor of the sultan. They were so close that it was recorded that Qāytbāy said that he wanted Ibn al-Karakī to recite the Quran at his tomb and visit it after his death.[44]

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[41]See, e.g., Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī: Un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien,* Textes arabes et études islamiques, 32 (Cairo, 1994), 751.

[42]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr,* 3:199, 330; also summarized in Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 77.

[43]During the Mamluk era, the recitation of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* took place every year at the end of Ramaḍān in the Citadel, and during times of crisis also at the tombs of Imam al-Shāfi´ī and Sayyidah Nafīsah. Annemarie Schimmel, ″Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten,″ *Die Welt des Islams* 24 (1942): 78-79.

[44]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 1:59-64; 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n. d.), pt. 8, 103. Ibn al-'Imād gives the complete name as Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Wafā' Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd al-Dīn Abī Hurayrah 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Karakī, also known as Ibn al-Karakī. He was born on 9 Ramaḍān 835/10 May 1432 in Cairo. Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) states that Ibn al-Karakī died in 898/1492-93. It is therefore strange to read of his ″resurrection″ in the *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr* of Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524), who writes that Ibn al-Karakī was dismissed from his post as Hanafi judge in 906/1501. Summarized in Petry, *Twilight of Majesty,* 146.

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Ibn al-Karakī´s important position is revealed in the stories describing the conflict between Sultan Qāytbāy and the learned but arrogant scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Al-Suyūṭī had refused to pay the official monthly visit to the sultan, until finally, on 1 Muḥarram 899/12 October 1493, he appeared in the Citadel wearing a cloth called *ṭaylasān* over his shoulders. *Ṭaylasān* was a cloth of honor worn by the learned only, covering the turban and shoulders and hanging down the back.[45] Qāytbāy was offended by this, taking it as a Maliki tradition, and in this he was supported by his imam Ibn al-Karakī, who was angry about the incident even though he himself was not present. During another incident, according to al-Suyūṭī´s biographer, Ibn al-Karakī was doing

> his utmost to provoke [the sultan] . . . , and kindling fires which will burn against [al-Suyūṭī] in his grave. . . . He persuaded him [the sultan] that the sultan´s order was to be obeyed, that obedience to him was obligatory, and that anyone who disobeyed him, sinned and rebelled.[46]

Ibn al-Karakī thus had considerable influence on Qāytbāy, who listened to his advice and acted accordingly. However, from Ibn al-'Imād (d. 1089/1679) we learn that the good relationship between Qāytbāy and his imam lasted only until 886/1481, when ″the sultan´s opinion about him and his company deteriorated (lit. became miserable).″ Ibn al-'Imād gave no reason for this sudden change. Imam Ibn al-Karakī thus did not recite the funerary prayers for Qāytbāy as the latter had wished. Instead, he kept to his house and concentrated on his studies, until he was appointed as the Hanafi qadi of Cairo in 903/1497, the year following Qāytbāy´s death, during the short reign of the deceased sultan´s minor son al-Nāṣir. Ibn al-Karakī stayed in this position for only three years, after which he was dismissed (Shawwāl 906/May 1501) because, as Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524) tells us, he had earned the ire of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī for sheltering one of this new sultan´s political opponents. Therefore, Ibn al-Karakī was dismissed and a favorite of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, Sarī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Barr ibn al-Shiḥnah, was appointed in his place.[47]

At this point Ibn al-Karakī was 68 years old and withdrew into seclusion, perhaps exhausted by the rapid succession of sultans and their changing whims.

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[45]See, e.g., Schimmel, ″Kalif und Kadi, ″56-57.

[46]Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:89, quoting 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī´s biography of al-Suyūṭī, ″Bahjat al-'Ābidīn bi-Tarjamat Jalāl al-Dīn.″

[47]Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* pt. 8, 103. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr,* 3:367; summarized in Petry, *Twilight of Majesty,* 146. Schimmel, based on Ibn Iyās, gives a detailed description of how Ibn al-Karakī and Sarī al-Dīn were each nominated for the post and, after a few months or even days, were replaced by one another. Schimmel, ″Kalif und Kadi, ″103-4.

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He lived on to be 84 and met a sad but pious death. He used to climb down stairs to a pool for his ablutions in his wooden clogs; on 5 Sha'bān 922/2 September 1516 his clog slipped and he fell into the pool, with no one to help him. When people came to look for the old man, they found one of his clogs on the stairs, his turban on the water, and later his dead body. As an honor to him he was buried close to Qāytbāy.[48]

The Imam Who Fell into Disgrace

Why should Qāytbāy, after such a close relationship, have dismissed Imam Ibn al-Karakī in 886/1481, only one year after they had performed the pilgrimage together? The reason given by al-Sakhāwī is that in the end of Jumādá I 886/end of July 1481—thus two months before the signing of the *waqf* document in Dasūq—the *muhtār*[49] of Qāytbāy lodged a complaint against Ibn al-Karakī. He claimed that the imam had insulted him by polluting his clothes with excrement. This had happened at Ibn al-Karakī´s home in Birkat al-Fīl; though we are not told the details about the heated discussion that led to such an extreme outburst of anger, we can imagine the sight, and what was probably involved: the imam threw his chamber pot at the *muhtār* (a severe insult indeed, which leads to a state of ritual impurity). As the victim came, likely rushing, out of the house, a crowd of curious people gathered around him to hear about the outrageous behavior of the imam. Al-Sakhāwī describes the scene:

> The complainant *(mushtakī)* explained vividly what is not proper to be mentioned, and hastened to send [Ibn al-Karakī] his garments because there was excrement on them. . . . Then he [Ibn al-Karakī] forbade him to enter his house, and at that moment his [Ibn al-Karakī´s] status among the spectators sank because of this, and people eagerly discussed the matter.[50]

Then the son of Shaykh al-Shumunnī, who together with Ibn al-Karakī was in charge of the *mashyakhah* of the mosque of Qāytbāy, where the latter taught Hanafi *fiqh,* interceded in the matter. He was probably horrified by such conduct

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[48]Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* pt. 8, 103-4. Ibn al-Karakī´s residence in Birkat al-Fīl was bought for him by Qāytbāy in the early years of the latter´s sultanate (thus some time after 872/1468), on Ibn al-Karakī´s previous residence, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 1:63.

[49]< Turkish *mehter*, meaning ″a doorkeeper at the Sublime Porte; official who announced the award of promotions or decorations; a soldier in charge of setting up the Sultan´s tent; or Ottoman military musician.″ Tuncer Gülensoy, ed., *Doğu Anadolu Osmanlıcası: Etimolojik Sözlük Denemesi* (Ankara, 1986), s.v. *mehter*.

[50]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 1:63.

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by a religious scholar, and as al-Sakhāwī says, he ″was agitated to make complaints as well.″ He took the insulted man to see a Shafi'i qadi, and the matter was settled, the man receiving 100 *dīnār*s as compensation.[51] After such behavior, Ibn al-Karakī was not deemed worthy of reciting in the Citadel, and Qāytbāy expelled him because to allow him to continue would have meant a disgrace to his own authority—though al-Sakhāwī implies that the sultan did this reluctantly and tried not to put Ibn al-Karakī to shame.[52] The sultan then saw to it that the insulted *muhtār* received new clothes. He nominated other persons for the posts formerly held by Ibn al-Karakī, but the post of imam was left empty, since he ″held back the imamate *(waffara al-imāmah).*″ Years passed, and so eager was Qāytbāy to have his favorite imam back that he asked one of his amirs to find out if there could be any excuse made for the Ibn al-Karakī′s behavior. But since nothing came of this, in 895/1490 the sultan simply pardoned his former imam and began to associate with him again. He made Ibn al-Karakī sit in front of him in the Citadel among the Hanafi officials of the executive secretary *(dawādār)*—thus in a place of very high rank and respect. But the matter had not been forgotten in the nine years that had passed. The public appearance must have been painful to Ibn al-Karakī, but he seems to have controlled himself bravely, for al-Sakhāwī writes:

> He was pointed at and talked about, and nobody wanted to show him any signs of approval, but he showed very firm persistence at this trial he had to face, and he behaved very intelligently.[53]

After Ibn al-Karakī was restored to his former position, he still had considerable influence on the sultan; the case of al-Suyūṭī, mentioned earlier, took place after the reconciliation.[54] His final absolution took place when Qāytbāy gave him permission to participate in the celebration of the Prophet′s birthday in the Citadel.[55] There, on the night of the *mawlid* (12 Rabī' I 895/2 February 1490), the sultan publicly spoke of his affection for him.[56]

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[51]Ibid.

[52]″The sultan was extremely angry at this, and he threatened the Imam, but his nature was good to the extent that the matter was suppressed/concealed *(ikhtafá)* and he began to reconcile through [the intercession] of some of his amirs. But this did not have a wholesome effect *(mā anja'a)* on the continuation of his authority *(istimrār jihātihi),* and he therefore expelled him from reciting the Tradition in the Citadel and employed the shaykh′s nephew instead.″ Ibid.

[53]Ibid., 64.

[54]Ibid., 63-64.

[55]Here only the word *mawlid* is used, and I have interpreted it to refer to *mawlid al-nabī*.

[56]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 1:63-64.

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What would the imam who in anger throws a chamber pot at the sultan´s high official have to do with the establishment of a religious foundation in Dasūq? Perhaps more than is evident at first sight. The *waqfīyah* stipulated that a man called Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī—not to be confused with Ibn al-Karakī, the imam of Qāytbāy—was to act as shaykh and teacher of the shrine complex. Jalāl al-Dīn acted as the teacher and *khalīfah* of the Burhāmīyah Order, following his father Khayr al-Dīn, from 888/1483 until his own death in 912/1506.[57] His salary as a teacher was as much as 400 *dirham*s a month; what he received on the basis of an earlier *waqfīyah,* if anything, is obscure. His status was well established, and he may have had an important position in Qāytbāy´s life as a spiritual advisor.

From the day when Qāytbāy´s imam Ibn al-Karakī fell into disfavor and was dismissed, until he officially regained royal favor again, nine years elapsed. Since Qāytbāy could not be in touch directly with his polluted imam, and since his former Sufi advisor al-Matbūlī had died, he most likely felt the need for a new spiritual advisor. During this period (886-96/1481-90) the sultan may have consoled himself through a friendship with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn in Dasūq. This is speculation, but we know for certain that the imam was dismissed in July, and in October of the same year Qāytbāy made the shrine the beneficiary of a religious endowment. Fifteen years passed between the establishment of the *waqf* and the death of Qāytbāy in 901/1496, and there was thus ample opportunity for him to go and visit Dasūq. We know that between 875 and 891/1470 and 1486 the sultan made several trips to the Delta, and it is easy to believe that he also on those occasions performed a *ziyārah* to Sīdī Ibrāhīm´s tomb and consulted Shaykh al-Karakī. The content of their conversations or the advice al-Karakī may have given to the sultan are lost to us, but there may have been a soft spot in Qāytbāy´s heart for the Deltan saint Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and his shaykh, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī. It was perhaps at Qāytbāy´s initiative that Jalāl al-Dīn wrote the biography of Sīdī Ibrāhīm. Since rulers are known to have built *zāwiyah*s and mosques for their favorite shaykhs, the shrine complex in Dasūq was perhaps established to honor Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn.

QĀYTBĀY IN SEARCH OF IMMORTALITY

The study of Qāytbāy´s connections with his religious advisors shows us how intertwined politics and religion were during the late Mamluk period. It provides

[57]His name is given in the catalogue of manuscripts in the library of Dār al-Kutub in Cairo as Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Khayr al-Dīn al-Karakī (d. 912/1505), which makes Jalāl al-Dīn a son of Khayr al-Dīn. This is very possible. *Qā´imat al-Ḥaṣr al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyah bi-Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah* (Cairo, n.d.), s.v. Lisān al-Ta'rīf. The *waqfīyah* gives the name of Jalāl al-Dīn´s son as well: 'Abbās.

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us with a glimpse of what was going on behind the façade of establishing religious institutions, and of how complex the motives of the donors could be.

The shrine complex in Dasūq was endowed by Qāytbāy for various reasons. The stress in the *waqfīyah* on formal Islamic education and on following the Sunnah suggests that the shrine was meant not only to preserve the memory of Sīdī Ibrāhīm but to consolidate the status of Islamic education in the rural Delta area—and thus to bring it within the power of the urban ulama.[58] Qāytbāy also sought to manifest his power by adding a congregational mosque *(jāmi')* to what was already a popular religious center. His name would be mentioned not only in the Friday *khuṭbah*s, but also in the prayers of the Sufi gatherings in the mausoleum-mosque *(masjid wa-maqām)* of al-Dasūqī. This way, Qāytbāy took advantage of the fame of a local holy man to promote his own fame. The shrine complex acted as a constant reminder of the sultan´s power all over Egypt, and may have helped to legitimize his status among the rural population.

During his first trip to Dasūq Qāytbāy had perhaps witnessed the great number of visitors coming to the shrine and bringing votive offerings. Inspired by the example of Ṭanṭā and its flourishing Badawī cult, he incorporated the earlier *waqf* in Dasūq into his new endowment and enlarged the shrine complex—making sure that he remained in control of the revenues that helped him to finance his war with Bāyezīd II.

However, being a pious man and inclined to Sufism, Qāytbāy may have had genuine spiritual motives as well: his decision to promote the memory of a seemingly minor rural saint was perhaps due to his own personal devotion to Sīdī Ibrāhīm, the shrine serving as a token of this devotion. And in the constant presence of death cause by plague, the need to have staff to recite prayers for his immortal soul must have influenced his decision.[59] The construction of a religious complex in itself would bring immortality to its constructor by preserving his name and memory.

The reasons why Sultan Qāytbāy established a pious endowment in Dasūq were thus a combination of economic and spiritual ones. He may have been seeking spiritual consolation in times of crisis, while at the same time safeguarding his economic interests. Whatever the reasons, Qāytbāy helped to develop and activate the cult of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, and it was in the sultan´s interest to promulgate the fame of this saint to attract more people to the site and to make it the famous center of pilgrimage which it remains today.

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[58]As Vincent Cornell has pointed out, in pre-thirteenth-century Morocco, Sufi institutions served as efficient means to spread Islamic doctrine to rural areas. Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, 1998), esp. 3-31.

[59]This may have been the primary purpose of the whole *khānqāh* establishment, as suggested by Emil Homerin. Homerin, ″Saving Muslim Souls,″ 77 f., esp. 83.

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Rethinking Mamluk Textiles*

With the emergence of Mamluk studies as a distinct area of specialization within Islamic studies, an evaluation of the current ″state-of-the-field″ of Mamluk art and architecture is required.[1] Although textiles are included in most discussions of Mamluk art, a full-length review of the literature, goals, and methods of this field has not yet appeared. The following article is a contribution to this end.

The literature on Mamluk textiles is vast and varied. Because of the centrality of textiles in medieval culture, textile analysis has been of interest to scholars from a variety of disciplines.[2] Art historians, more traditional historians, and archaeologists have all written on the subject; sometimes, but not always, their work is done in consultation with textile specialists, who have contributed their own body of scholarly literature.[3] Archaeologists, for example, have taken a special interest in Mamluk textiles, because of their superior preservation in excavations. More complete pieces have been preserved from the Mamluk period than from

*This article grew out of a post-doctoral fellowship in textiles (Veronika Gervers Research Fellowship) I held at the Royal Ontario Museum in the fall of 1998 and a paper on Mamluk textiles and ceramics given at the MESA annual meeting in Chicago in December of the same year. All pieces illustrated herein belong to the Abemayor Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and were photographed by Brian Boyle. I am grateful to Bruce Craig for the invitation to contribute this study.

[1]Donald Whitcomb, ″Mamluk Archaeological Studies: A Review,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 97-106; Jonathan M. Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architectural History: A Review Article,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 31-58; Bethany J. Walker, ″The Later Islamic Periods: Militarization and Nomadization,″ *Near Eastern Archaeology* (″Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine″ series) 62 (1999), in progress.

[2]Lisa Golombek has written eloquently about the ″textile mentality″ of medieval Islamic society in her ″The Draped Universe of Islam,″ in Priscilla P. Soucek, ed., *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (University Park, PA, 1988), 25-38.

[3]In archaeological reports, textile analysis is generally contained in a separate chapter and is written by a textile consultant. Two of the more notable, and successful, joint efforts by art historians and textile specialists are Ernst Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics: Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fatimid,* The Textile Museum (Washington, D.C., 1952) and Lisa Golombek and Veronika Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum,″ in Veronika Gervers, ed., *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, 1977), 82-125.

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any other time.[4] For economic historians, textile analysis is particularly significant. Textiles were the ″most important form of bourgeois wealth″ and appear regularly in medieval texts as a commodity of import and export.[5] Moreover, the textile industry has been described as a mainstay of the Mamluk economy, and, along with metalwork, Mamluk fabrics were the largest exports to the Far East in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.[6]

Scholars of social and political history have emphasized the politicization of textile production by the Mamluks. The manipulation of costume by the ruling establishment for state functions, such as pageants, banquets, and processions, is a familiar phenomenon for medieval Europe, as well as the Islamic world.[7] As Bierman and Sanders have illustrated, the Fatimids appreciated the political potential of textiles and used them, along with the architectural backdrop of the city of Cairo, to punctuate their official ceremonies.[8] The Mamluks, even more than the Fatimids, made expensive fabrics, particularly inscribed silks *(ṭirāz, zarkash),* tools of state by incorporating certain kinds of dress and the change of dress into their court rituals. The elaboration of official ceremonial by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the codification by rank of dress which went along with it are important phenomena to consider in this regard.[9] Most of what has been written on Mamluk ceremonial in recent years has made reference to dress.[10] Similarly, there has been

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[4]*Tissus d'Égypte: Témoins du monde Arabe, VIIIe-XVe siècles (Collection Bouvier),* Musée d'art et d'histoire (Geneva, 1993), 28. For an excellent example of costume preservation in an archaeological context, one should see Elisabeth Crowfoot, ″The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop,″ in *Studies in Textile History*, 43-51.

[5]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 31.

[6]Louise W. Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 127, 140, and Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architectural History,″ 48.

[7]An excellent source on European pageantry is Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Suffolk, 1984).

[8]Irene Bierman, ″Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980) and idem, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley, 1998). Paula Sanders' *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Egypt* (Albany, NY, 1994) is a broader investigation of Fatimid processions.

[9]This is the central theme of L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952). The effects that development in ceremonial had on Mamluk art of the fourteenth century are examined in Bethany J. Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline in the Mamluk Sultanate: An Analysis of Late Medieval Sgraffito Wares″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1998).

[10]Karl Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 13-20; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988): 25-79; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (New York, 1993); and Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*

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an interest in textiles used by the contemporary Mongol courts, as exemplified by the work of Allsen and Wardwell.[11]

The purpose of this article is to reevaluate the contributions of these disciplines in light of the results of recent scholarship in Mamluk studies. Specifically, the coexistence of two distinct groups of patrons (military and civilian) is considered for its impact on the production, consumption, and artistic development of textiles in Mamluk Cairo.

Historical Developments in Mamluk Textile Production

Two themes dominate discussion of the Mamluks´ textile industry: the increasing privatization of production throughout the fourteenth century and the decline of this industry in the fifteenth. There has been a heavy reliance on Maqrīzī´s *Khiṭaṭ* for information on the operation and ownership of *ṭirāz* factories in the Mamluk period.[12] According to this historian, robes of honor *(khila')*—a broad category of official garments, including textiles we traditionally call *ṭirāz,* and ensembles of clothing, equipment, and accessories—were manufactured in the state-run *dūr al-ṭirāz* well into the fourteenth century. Ibn Khaldūn, furthermore, situates the *dār al-ṭirāz* of his day in Cairo´s marketplace rather than the palace, as was the case in the Fatimid period.[13] The date 1340-41 is recognized as a turning point in the textile industry in Egypt, because in that year the administration of the royal workshop in Alexandria was delegated to an appointee of a local government official. Alexandria´s *dār al-ṭirāz* closed soon afterwards.[14] Whether seen as a growing disinterest in textile manufacture by the central authority or as a step towards directing Egypt´s best textile production and sales to Cairo, this action was only one example of the ways in which the industry was transformed. Production was increasingly privatized with the expanding influence of the amirs. Lapidus

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(Leiden, 1995).

[11]Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, 1997); Anne Wardwell, ″Flight of the Phoenix: Crosscurrents in late Thirteenth to Fourteenth Century Silk Patterns and Motifs,″ *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74, no. 1 (Jan. 1987): 1-35; idem, ″Panni Tartarici: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries),″ *Islamic Art* 3 (1989): 95-173; idem, ″Two Silk and Gold Textiles of the Early Mongol Period,″ *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 79, no. 10 (Dec. 1992): 354-78; and James Watt and Anne Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles,* exhibition catalogue, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art and Cleveland Museum of Art (New York, 1997). While Allsen relies on textual sources, Wardwell´s work is more technically based.

[12]For a definition of the term *ṭirāz,* see discussion below and Golombek and Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum.″

[13]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 33.

[14]Patricia L. Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (London, 1995), 78.

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mentions several instances of amirs in Damascus transferring silk and cloth markets to their own *qayṣarīyah*s, in at least one case in violation of an endowment benefiting the Umayyad Mosque.[15]

Contemporary sources leave no doubt that the manufacture and sale of expensive fabrics and costumes were lucrative. Surprisingly, there was no consistent policy towards this industry in the Mamluk period. Maqrīzī explains that after a period of private manufacture and sale, the market, in his day, had been taken over once again by the sultan. In his description of the *Sūq al-Sharābīshīyīn* (a specialized cap market) he writes:

> And the people greatly benefited from this, and they amassed an immense fortune through the regulation of business in this industry. For this reason no one could sell [robes of honor] except to the sultan. The sultan appointed the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* to buy all he needed. If anyone other than the sultan′s agents tried to buy from this market, he would be punished accordingly.[16]

The ″owners″ of these businesses, while they were still independently run, were probably both amirs and civilian merchants. Privatization of this level of the textile industry may have also contributed to a change of fashion among non-Mamluks, as the most prestigious garments were now available, at a price, to wealthier civilians.[17] The result of the sultan′s renewed monopoly over *khila'* would have been not only a concentration of resources but also restricted access to the most valuable fabrics and costumes, reinforcing the hierarchy of dress codes which reached its full development under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

The introduction of chinoiserie was one of the most significant developments in textile production. While oriental motifs begin to appear in Mamluk art of the late thirteenth century, their powerful presence in the mature Baḥrī style of the fourteenth may be related to the success of the Yüan silk export market. The well-known reference by Abū al-Fidá to the gift of 700 silks from the Il Khan Abū Sa'īd to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in celebration of the 1323 peace treaty, is usually cited as evidence for the large-scale import of Mongol silks.[18] The impact of Yüan silks on the Mamluk textile industry, if not the other way around, not to

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[15]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 60.

[16]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum and Madīḥah al-Sharqāwī (Cairo, 1998), 2:591. See also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 63.

[17]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 113.

[18]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 72; Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 132.

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mention the differentiation of Mongol (Yüan or Il Khanid) from Mamluk silks, are still matters of debate.[19]

Scholars are increasingly emphasizing the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as a watershed in textile development. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's elaboration of official ceremonial was complemented, and in fact buttressed, by the beautification of official apparel and the institution of a strict hierarchy of dress according to rank.[20] Mayer's *Mamluk Costume* is to this day the single most important reference for information on official costumes and their codification. Mayer was able to attribute many textile innovations to this period, such as gold *ṭirāz,* gold brocade, and gold belts. Fashions for the military changed under his rule, with the introduction of the "Sallārī" and "Tartar" coats and the *aqbiyah maftūḥah.*[21] The art historical record confirms the picture the Arabic sources paint of this sultan. The majority of historically inscribed silks (both Mamluk and Yüan) name him, and some of the highest quality damasks can be dated to his third reign on a stylistic basis.[22]

The art historical literature suggests that while the Mamluk textile industry fully blossomed in the fourteenth century, the fifteenth century witnessed its decline. The oft-quoted reference to the reduction in the number of Alexandria's silk looms (from 14,000 in 1394 to a mere 800 in 1434) illustrates vividly the extent to which textile production suffered at the turn of the century.[23] Prices for textiles, in some cases, doubled and even tripled, as price lists provided by Ashtor indicate.[24] Ashtor further argues that the high price of domestic textiles led to a change of dress in the fifteenth century, as a cheaper European woolen fabric *(jūkh)* became fashionable.[25]

Three factors are supposed to have contributed to this state of affairs: the Black Death of 1348, the return to royal monopolies over textile production, and the flooding of Mamluk markets with high-quality, less expensive fabrics from

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[19]Wardwell's work, as above; see also discussion on "silk" below.

[20]Walker, "Ceramic Correlates of Decline," 269 ff.

[21]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 21 ff. He describes the *Sallārī* coat as a long coat, often richly decorated with pearls and stones, and with short, wide sleeves. The Tartar coat is so called for the diagonal hem across the chest (from left to right), which was typical of Mongol dress. It was striped and had narrow sleeves.

[22]Mackie, "Toward an Understanding," 128 ff and 139, fig. 2.

[23]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), 306; Baker, *Islamic Textiles*, 78; Bloom, "Mamluk Art," 48 and 73; Mackie, "Toward an Understanding," 127.

[24]Eliyahu Ashtor, "L'Evolution des Prix," reprinted in *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1978), 35 ff.

[25]Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages, an Example of Technological Decline," *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 263.

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Europe.[26] Mackie has observed that ″the textile industry was a vital force in the prosperity and subsequent decline of the Mamluk economy.″[27] It is impossible to determine the percentage of Cairo′s population in the fifteenth century that was occupied with the production, finishing, and sale of textiles, but by the eighteenth century, we are told, one-fifth of the city′s artists continued to specialize in the manufacture of textiles and one-quarter of its merchants sold them.[28]

Problems of Mamluk Textiles

The main characteristic of textiles which makes their study problematic is their fragility. Mamluk fabrics are woven from linen (from native flax fibers), cotton, wool, and silk. Plant and animal fibers, such as these, are vulnerable to attack from insects and are easily broken down by humidity, mildew, and the acidity of human sweat. In fact, the structure of a fabric begins to weaken the moment it is first worn; the normal wear-and-tear of wearing and laundering clothing is a constant factor in the eventual destruction of the garment. It is nothing short of miraculous that textiles as much as 700 years old survive at all. The fact that Mamluk textiles have been preserved in greater numbers and more completely than from any other period in medieval Islamic history is due to the special conditions of Egypt′s physical environment. Egypt′s air is dry and the soil relatively low in acidity. Perishable materials, such as textiles, basketry, paper and parchment, and even hair, skin, and foodstuffs, have survived when buried, to the delight of archaeologists.

One characteristic of Mamluk silks that has mitigated against their preservation is the inclusion of metal threads. *Nasīj al-dhahab al-ḥarīr* (*nasīj* for short and also known as *zarkash* in Mamluk sources) was a gold brocade, or a silk woven with supplementary wefts of gold ″threads″ for decoration.[29] It became very popular as a fabric for official dress (and for robes of honor) in the fourteenth century. In Mamluk *nasīj* gold filaments were twisted around silk threads and then wrapped around a substrate of animal gut or leather.[30] While pure gold is not corrosive, other metals are. Copper filaments have been woven into the fabric of the Ottoman towel illustrated in Fig. 1. Two roundels containing four lines of embroidered

[26]For a complete discussion of these factors, one should consult Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, NY, 1994); Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History*; and idem, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

[27]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 127.

[28]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 14.

[29]Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 2.

[30]Ibid., 97.

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greetings and well-wishes are punctuated with dots or bosses in copper-wound threads. The copper has eaten holes into the surrounding linen.

Ironically, the antiquities market has further contributed to the destruction of Mamluk textiles. The cutting up of textiles into smaller pieces by collectors and dealers increases their financial return while destroying their integrity as complete garments. Inscribed pieces have been particularly vulnerable to this kind of dissection, as borders containing Arabic inscriptions were torn from the surrounding fabric and sold separately. This probably accounts for the high proportion of *ṭirāz* in museum collections.[31] Some of the finest fragments of brocade were cut up into smaller pieces and sewn into medieval church vestments. This practice has, on the other hand, preserved many Mamluk silks.

At the same time, textile fragments in collections are often sewn together, in an attempt to reconstruct the larger piece and to prepare specimens for display. While the intent is conservation, the result for analysis is that the form of the original costume is lost and the overall pattern becomes more difficult to make out (Fig. 2).

Preservation is only one factor that makes the study of Mamluk textiles problematic. The interest in Mamluk textiles by specialists from different disciplines, most of whom work and write independently of one another, exacerbates preexisting methodological problems while introducing new ones. Art historians have traditionally focused on textile decoration. While their literature is almost dominated by what one may call the *″ṭirāz* obsession,″ important contributions have been made towards determining dates and provenances for groups of objects on the basis of decorative motifs and overall design.[32] Decorative parallels from historically inscribed textiles, as well as examples from other media which have been confidently dated, provide a range of dates to which similarly decorated fragments could belong. In addition, defining the Mamluk style has been an overriding concern for art historians. There has been a lively debate on how to differentiate Egyptian (Mamluk) silks from Il Khanid and Yüan weaves, what characterizes Egyptian rugs from those produced in Spain and Anatolia in the fifteenth century, and how to distinguish locally manufactured block prints from those imported from India. Moreover, there is still some question about distinguishing Mamluk from Ayyubid

[31]This is certainly true for Mamluk earthenware ceramics with incised inscriptions (″sgraffito″). The dominance of inscribed and heraldic bowl rims and wells in museum can be attributed to the same pattern of retrieval and collection (Walker, ″Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 223 ff).

[32]Some important work has been done recently on the social and political implications of *ṭirāz:* Irene Bierman, *Writing Signs*; *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme* (Riggisberg, 1997); and Carol Fisher, *Brocade of the Pen, the Art of Islamic Writing,* exhibition catalogue, Kresge Art Museum (East Lansing, 1991).

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textiles. Stylistic analysis, without the aid of other methodological approaches, is limited by the kinds of questions it asks and can answer.

Fortunately, there has been a growing number of joint contributions by art historians and textile specialists. In addition, most museum catalogues and textile analyses in archaeological reports are written by textile specialists.[33] These specialists are generally interested in a different set of questions than art historians or archaeologists; stated another way, they look for information about similar issues in very different ways. Textile specialists focus on the technical aspects of the textiles: their structure, fabric composition, method of coloring, methods of decoration, how hems and edges are finished, how the garment was prepared for wearing. Groups of textiles, for the purpose of dating and determining provenance, are established on the basis of these characteristics. Textile experts have been the most successful in defining Egyptian production and explaining changes in weaving and decorating techniques in this period. Important in these respects are their emphasis on the introduction of the drawloom, the shift to Z-spinning, and the appearance of new embroidery stitches, all of which are attributed to the Mamluks.

The contributions of historians, in addition to studies by art historians and textile specialists, have expanded our present understanding of the political and social contexts of Mamluk textiles. In their scholarship the objects themselves fade into the background, as textual sources are spotlighted and scrutinized. Historians´ interest in textiles has been, by and large, limited to three areas: identifying costume, defining terminology, and describing the use of textiles in ceremonial.[34]

In spite of the central role played by textiles in medieval society, we have only a vague notion of what the garments worn by the Mamluks, and their civilian compatriots, looked like. Illustrations of costume from other media are very rare, and when textiles are depicted they are rendered in short-hand form. Miniature paintings, for example, do not do justice to the variation in cut, fabric, type, and decoration of Mamluk-period textiles. The illustrators of the *Maqāmāt, Kalīlah wa-Dimnah,* and the automata and *furūsīyah* texts showed little interest in what the characters in their tales wore outside of long, flowing gowns, decorated with

[33]A comprehensive list of specialized studies is beyond the scope of this article. However, some of the most useful archaeological reports are Louise Mackie, ″Textiles,″ in Wladislaw Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, eds., *Fustat Expedition Final Report,* vol. 2, *Fustat-C*, (Winona Lake, IN, 1989), 81-97; Gillian Eastwood, ″A medieval Face-veil from Egypt,″ *Costume* 17 (1983): 33-38; idem, ″Textiles, 1978 Season,″ in Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, eds., *Quseir al-Qadim 1980* (Malibu, FL, 1982), 285-326; Elisabeth Crowfoot, ″The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop,″ 43-51.

[34]The term ″costume,″ as opposed to ″textile,″ which is simply a woven fabric, refers to an entire way of dressing, designating complete garments along with accessories.

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an overall, almost water-marked patterning, and turbans with *ṭirāz* bands. One noticeable exception is the frontispiece of the Vienna Ḥarīrī, which is quite precise in its detailing of surface decoration and differentiation of native Egyptian from imported Mongol dress.[35] In contemporary metalwork, an inlaid bowl and basin signed by one Ibn al-Zayn (the so-called ″Vasselot bowl″ and ″St. Louis′ basin″), dated to around 1290-1310, present in thought-provoking detail the headgear, coats, pants, boots, weapons, and accessories of the *khāṣṣakīyah* at the turn of the fourteenth century.[36]

Contemporary European depictions of Mamluk dress are more informative than Egyptian or Syrian illustrations. Mayer has brought attention to a series of line drawings done by European pilgrims to Mamluk lands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including those of Bernhard von Breydenbach and Arnold von Harff.[37] Renaissance Italian paintings are quite lively for the color, variations, and luxuriance with which they bring to life patterned silks worn at the Mamluk court. Among the most notable of this group are *The Embassy of Domenico Trevisano to Cairo in 1512, Reception of an Ambassador in Damascus* by the Bellini school (1490s), the St. George cycle by Carpaccio (sixteenth century), and the *Episodes in the Life of St. Mark* of Mansueti (1499).[38]

Because detailed miniatures of costume are few, historians have tried to reconstruct the appearance of Mamluk textiles, and how they were worn, draped, or tied on or wound around the body as garments, from textual accounts. There were several early attempts to collect and decode all the technical terms for textiles (garment types, fabrics, colors, types of weave, etc.) that are found in contemporary Arabic sources. The first serious attempt to collect vocabulary pertaining to dress appeared in Quatremère′s edition and notes to Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*.[39] Soon to follow was Dozy′s dictionary of

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[35]Clearly, a specific kind of dress is intended in this illustration. The bowl-shaped hats and an outer coat with a diagonal cut are probably Mongol, although Mayer suggested that the coat better fit textual descriptions of the *″Sallārī* coat″ (Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 24).

[36]For illustrations and discussions of both vessels see Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC, 1981), 74-79, cat. #20-21; D. S. Rice, *The Baptistère de Saint Louis*, (Paris, 1953); idem, ″The Blazons of the ′Baptistère de Saint Louis′,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 367-80; and Walker, ″Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 292 ff.

[37]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Introduction.

[38]Hermann Goetz, ″Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting - I,″ *Burlington Magazine* 73 (1938): 50-62, Pl. A; Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982); *Vittorio Sgarbi Carpaccio* (Milan, 1994); and Michelangelo Muraro, *I Disegni di Vittore Carpaccio* (Florence, 1977), Pl. 14.

[39]M. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1837-45). See also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Introduction.

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textile terminology, an encyclopedic effort which has not been repeated on such a scale since.[40] The most useful reference on Mamluk dress by a historian, however, has been Mayer´s *Mamluk Costume*. While this work is not a comprehensive study, by any means, and does not take into account the contributions of art historians or archaeologists (and for this it has been criticized), *Mamluk Costume* is a good place to find rich descriptions of a wide variety of clothing worn by the Mamluk elite. Some of the most important references are borrowed from Ibn Khaldūn (on the organization of *ṭirāz* factories), Abū al-Fidá, Maqrīzī, and Ibn Faḍl Allāh (for a detailed classification of robes of honor). For information on fabric types and production centers, Serjeant´s *Islamic Textiles* is a good initial reference. However, it only covers sources up to the Mongol invasions.

The collection of Arabic terminology is, unfortunately, as far as most historically-based studies of textiles have gone. There have been some notable exceptions, studies concerned with specific textile categories and their social context.[41] These in addition to critiques of textiles and ceremonial, as noted earlier, are the historians´ greatest contributions. Most studies, however, fall short of their potential because they are done without the collaboration of art historians, textile specialists, or archaeologists. One senses that lexicography has taken precedence over the material culture, which is, of course, the primary object of study.

Basic Characteristics of Mamluk Textiles

Textiles from the Mamluk period are usually grouped into one of five categories, each characterized by its method of decoration, ground fabric, and repertoire of decorative motifs. Each textile type seems to have served a special purpose, to which the technique of manufacture and decoration was best suited. These categories form the basis of organization for Baker´s monograph on Islamic textiles, as well as Atıl´s section on the same in her survey of Mamluk art.[42] For further reading on

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[40]Reinhard Pieter Anne Dozy, *Dictionnaire detaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845). A revised edition of Dozy´s dictionary was being prepared by Yedida Stillman at the time of her death. Norman Stillman is completing her work.

[41]M.A. Marzouk, ″The Tiraz Institutions in Mediaeval Egypt,″ in C. L. Geddes, ed., *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), 157-62; L. A. Mayer, ″Some Remarks on the Dress of the ‘Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt,″ *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 36-38; idem, ″Costumes of Mamluk Women,″ *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 298-303; Franz Rosenthal, ″A Note on the *Mandīl*,″ in his *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam* (Leiden, 1971), 63-99; Yedida Stillman, ″Female Attire of Medieval Egypt″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972); S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, 1973); and Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange.*

[42]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* and Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, 223-48. See also Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (reprint, New Haven, 1995), 108-9, 113.

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any subject discussed herein, one might refer to the textile bibliography which came out in print by the Textile Museum last year.[43]

SILKS

Mamluk silks are generally woven on drawlooms. The drawloom, introduced into Egypt sometime in the middle of the thirteenth century, facilitated the production (and reproduction) of complex designs, repeat patterns, and double- and triple-cloth. Threads are predominately Z-spun, and much use is made of gold and silver filament-wound threads in the most expensive fabrics. In terms of color, blue, brown, and ivory dominate. The most common patterns tend to be stripes (vertical and horizontal), ogival lattices, and undulating vines and large blossoms. Silk was the favored fabric for robes of honor.

CARPETS

S-spun, asymmetrically knotted, wool pile rugs appear suddenly in Egypt sometime in the fifteenth century. They generally adhere to a three-color scheme (deep reds, greens, and blues), with occasional highlights in lighter shades of pink, yellow, and white. The layout of design adheres to what has been called the ″international style″ of carpets for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: radiating patterns of geometric elements (stars, rosettes, hexagons) with repeat patterns and lattices and cartouche bands.

APPLIQUÉ

″Appliqué″ refers to the technique of sewing onto a ground fabric another fabric pattern. In Mamluk appliqué the ground fabric is usually a tabby of cotton, linen, or wool, and the applied ornament a tabby of similar fabrics (colored or plain), rolled over and lightly ″hemmed″ onto the backing fabric with basting. What is significant about this technique is its association with ″military surplus″: emblazoned saddlebags, caps, horse and camel gear, and the like. The most common ornament is the amiral blazon. Appliqué blazons are easily removed, thereby simplifying the transfer of ″army issue″ equipment from one amir to another. *Ṭirāz* bands are occasionally applied to garments in this manner.

PRINTS

Because linen (a native Egyptian fabric) does not take inking well, Mamluk prints are usually made of Z-spun cotton. They are block-printed, more often with indigo than any other colorant, probably under the influence of imported Indian block

[43] *Islamic Textile Arts: Working Bibliographies,* The Textile Museum (Washington, DC, 1998).

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prints. They share the same patterns as silks and embroideries. Printed fabrics are one of the most inexpensive decorative textiles used by the Mamluks.

Embroidery

Although traditionally viewed by art historians as a ″plebeian″ form of decoration produced by women at home, there is textual evidence for the use of embroidered fabrics in all segments of Egyptian society and for a variety of purposes (see below). The art of embroidery experienced a revival under the Mamluks, as their numbers in collections of Mamluk textiles indicate. The majority of Mamluk embroideries are created with dyed floss silk (indigo, brown, or red) on Z-spun, undyed linen or cotton tabby. A wide range of new stitches appeared with the Mamluks, some, it would seem, to accommodate the reproduction of popular patterns used in figured silks.

Mamluk Textiles: The Issues

Silks

It is difficult to differentiate Mamluk figured silks from those manufactured in China, Italy, and Spain in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. This was a period of active international exchange of top quality textiles, including silks and rugs, which resulted in the development of what could be called an ″international style.″ Moreover, European silks imitated Oriental silks, while weavers in China produced Islamic designs for the Mamluk market. The characterization, then, of Egyptian or Syrian products on the basis on decoration alone is misleading. Wardwell has suggested that Mamluk and Yüan silks can be differentiated from each other by a single structural detail: the gold and silver brocades in Egypt and Syria were accomplished by wrapping the metal threads around a silk core, while those in China were either wrapped around a cotton core or animal substrate or were replaced by gilded strips of mulberry paper.[44]

Dating Mamluk silks is equally problematic. As is the case generally with Egyptian art of the thirteenth century, it is not clear what the characteristics of early Mamluk silks are as opposed to late Ayyubid (Figs. 2 and 3). Earlier this century, striped silks were identified as Ayyubid because of the absence of figural decoration.[45] Not until excavated contexts ascertained the continuity of these designs into the fourteenth century could art historians be sure that they did not belong to an earlier period.[46]

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[44]Baker, *Islamic Textiles*, 70; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 97; Wardwell, ″Panni Tartarici″; idem, ″Flight of the Phoenix″; and idem, ″Two Silk and Gold Textiles.″

[45]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 70.

[46]For fragments excavated at Jebel Adda, see *Islamic Art in Egypt: 969-1517* (Cairo, 1969), cat.

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Within the Mamluk period, there is very little precision in dating individual pieces. Historically inscribed silks, all Baḥrī Mamluk, which name an identifiable personality (a sultan), have been used to classify and date silks through related designs.[47] These designs fall into one of four categories: stripes (Fig. 4), chinoiserie, ogival patterns, and geometric latticework.[48] Vertical and horizontal stripes, inscriptional registers, or friezes with running animals and floral designs are considered the earliest because of their similarity to Ayyubid decoration. Moreover, there was an indigenous tradition of horizontal banding in Egyptian tapestry weaving, which was apparently adapted to drawloom weaving with the change in looms.[49] The introduction of Chinese motifs (such as the peony, lotus, clouds, phoenix, and fluid floral designs) is often attributed to Kitbughā, although chinoiserie became more common with the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The use of repeat patterns of ogival or tear-drop medallions in lampas weave is quite characteristic of Mamluk silk production, but it has not been properly dated. Their depiction in mid-fourteenth- to mid-fifteenth-century Italian paintings has provided a convenient range of dates for the ″Burjī Mamluk″ style of diamond and square-shaped lattices, which appear as yellow or green on an indigo-colored tabby or twill ground.[50]

Much has been made about the introduction of the drawloom at the beginning of the Mamluk period and the new predominance of Z-spun fabrics. The shift from tapestry to drawloom weave was a very significant one that revolutionized the Mamluks′ textile industry, transforming costume and making possible the mass-production of what we would call ″robes of honor.″ The drawloom is a horizontal loom that allows complex patterns to be ″tied into″ the warp, facilitating the reproduction of large figures, repeat patterns and mirror-images (Fig. 5), and elaborate, long inscriptions.[51] Fabrics also became more complicated, as colorful double-, fancy double-, incomplete double-, and triple-cloths became more common. It has been suggested that the drawloom was brought to Egypt in the thirteenth century by weavers fleeing the Mongol advances. They could have come from Iraq, Iran, or even Spain, where the technology already existed.[52]

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[47]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ reviews Mamluk silks which have been securely dated in this manner. See also Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 224-25.

[48]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 225; Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 73.

[49]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 136.

[50]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 73.

[51]For a clearly written and simply illustrated introduction to drawloom technology, see Katherine Koob, ″How the Drawloom Works,″ in Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske, eds., *Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1977 Proceedings: Looms and Their Products,* The Textile Museum (Washington, DC, 1979), 231-41.

[52]Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800,* 108; Mackie, ″Toward an

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One of the best explanations for technical peculiarities in Mamluk weaving and embroidery was provided by Louisa Bellinger in a larger catalogue of *ṭirāz* fabrics.[53] Silk, she argues, was an imported fabric in a country where linen ruled supreme. The tapestry loom, used since pre-Islamic times for weaving wool, was adapted to weaving silk with *ṭirāz* inscriptions in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods (Fig. 3). Drawloom weaving replaced tapestry weaving in the Mamluk period, as more complicated fabrics and designs for more elaborate forms of costume were required by the court. Both the fashions and the technology to produce them were imported from the east. At the same time, the Z-spinning of Iraq and Iran more or less replaced the Egyptian tradition of S-spinning. Z-spinning was not regularly used with linen until the Mamluk period. This technology was an imported one, ″a habit caught from people used to other fibres without a natural spinning direction, such as wool and cotton.″[54] The abandonment of the tapestry loom and the adoption of Z-spinning were ways of adapting to the demands of a more silk-dominated textile industry.

How were the Mamluk silks on display in museums used? Are we justified in calling these *″khila‘″?* Atıl claims we have no extant examples of the ″robes of honor″ *(khila‘)* which appear regularly in Mamluk-period texts.[55] Contemporary sources describe *khila‘* as textile ensembles that included silks (fur-lined for the highest grades) and, particularly, gold brocades. Children´s tunics, shoes, caps, and a few silk robes are among the complete garments retrieved from archaeological excavations. If anything in our collections comes close to qualifying as *khila‘* it would be the silk robes, but most of these are fragmentary and are not sturdy enough to have been used on any regular basis or as an outer robe. Furthermore, there is no evidence of their having been lined or trimmed with fur.[56] If we associate *khila‘* with *ṭirāz* fabrics, we have a comparable dilemma. Most of the *ṭirāz* bands, which number into the thousands, belong to turbans, thin outfits (perhaps summer apparel), and household items such as towels, sashes, and handkerchiefs.[57] Moreover, these textiles are made of linen and cotton. It is quite possible that what was meant by the terms *khila‘* and *ṭirāz* must have included a much wider range of materials and costumes than have survived.

Understanding,″ 128.

[53]Louisa Bellinger, ″Technical Analysis,″ in *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics*, 101-9.

[54]Crowfoot, ″The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop,″ 50.

[55]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 223.

[56]Granted, fur is usually devoured by insects. However, there is no evidence that these thin robes were ever lined with any material.

[57]Golombek and Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum,″ 85. Franz Rosenthal groups together smaller inscribed items like the handkerchief and towel in his ″A Note on the *Mandīl*,″ 63-99.

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Ṭirāz is borrowed from the Persian term for embroidery. It appears that the original sense of *ṭirāz* was of an elaborately embroidered band on a textile. In an art historical sense it denotes any decorative band on textiles, specifically one carrying an Arabic inscription. This meaning has been extended to all media, incorporating registers of writing, borders or braids, and decorative strips of a variety of forms.[58] A more precise technical definition, one based on the kinds of textile fragments normally identified as *ṭirāz* in museums, has been provided by Golombek and Gervers: ″those fabrics of linen, cotton, or *mulḥam* upon which the decoration is executed in a technique differing from that of the ground weave.″[59]

One could, alternatively, define *ṭirāz* fabrics as those textiles which were produced in the royal factory, or *dār al-ṭirāz*. Two kinds of *ṭirāz* factories, *khāṣṣah* (royal) and *ʻāmmah* (public), produced textiles for two different markets. In the Umayyad and Abbasid periods the *dār al-ṭirāz* was located in the ruler´s palace. According to Ibn Khaldūn, under the Mamluks the workshops were found in the public *sūq*, at times under direct control of the sultan and his amirs and at other times run independently of the state.[60] Approximately 50% of all extant Mamluk silks contain inscriptions.[61] The most common formula of the period, *ʻizz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān . . . ʻazza naṣruhu,* replaces the Fatimid pattern of well-wishing while transforming the formulae used to name the ruler and list his titles. With the exception of customs stamps, the place of manufacture or point of transfer is not named on Mamluk textiles.[62] It has been argued that the heraldic arrangement of short, dedicatory *ṭirāz* paved the way for the development of the military inscriptions of the fourteenth century.[63]

Garments with *ṭirāz* borders bestowed upon officials or given as diplomatic gifts came to be known as ″robes of honor″ or *khilaʻ* (singular *khilʻah*). The term *khilʻah* comes from the Arabic verb for ″to take off″ and refers to the taking off of one´s garment and giving it to another as a sign of personal protection. It was first used in an official sense in the Abbasid period.[64] The term practically supersedes *ṭirāz* in Mamluk sources and, in fact, may have meant the same thing. The matter

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[58]A. Grohmann, ″Ṭirāz,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 8: 785-93.

[59]Golombek and Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum,″ 85.

[60]Ibn Khaldūn in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 33. The *kiswah,* on the other hand, was made in the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn during the Mamluk period, according to al-Qalqashandī (Grohmann, ″Ṭirāz,″ 788).

[61]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 130.

[62]One example is a striped silk in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, stamped with the place name ″Asyūṭ″ (Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 71).

[63]L. A. Mayer, ″Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane,″ *Jahrbuch des Asiatischen Kunst* 2, no. 2 (1925): 183-87; Grohmann, ″Ṭirāz,″ 788.

[64]N. A. Stillman, ″Khilʻa,″ *EI*^{2}, 5:6.

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of terminology is further complicated by Ibn Khaldūn´s association of *zarkash* (gold brocade) with *ṭirāz;* he states that textiles with the name of the sultan or an amir are called *zarkash,* the same material which was formerly referred to as *ṭirāz*.[65]

Medieval Egyptians may have understood terms like *ṭirāz* and *khil'ah* on different levels, different circumstances evoking different meanings. In the Mamluk period *ṭirāz* in its most basic sense probably referred to a textile inscription, regardless of how it was executed or in what material. Garments with official inscriptions naming the sultan or an amir and executed in gold embroidery or woven in gold brocade were referred to as *zarkash,* the term acting as much as an adjective as a noun. *"Zarkash"* described the decorative quality of the garment. In discussing an account by Abū al-Fidá, for example, Mayer describes contemporary *ṭirāz* bands in the following fashion:

> [he] distinguishes between the brocaded band *(ṭirâz zarkash)* on the upper coat *(fauqânî)* and the gilt bands *(ṭuruz mudhhaba)* on the under-tunic *(thaub)*. Since the top coat . . . was gorgeous enough . . ., whereas the under-tunic . . . was hardly visible, the difference between the two kinds of *ṭirâz* is obviously one of importance as well as of form.[66]

In this case, the inscription on the under-tunic may have been stamped in gold, while the one on the outer garment was embroidered or woven in gold thread. The term *zarkash,* then, would have both qualitative and technical connotations.

A *khil'ah,* in the Mamluk sense, was an ensemble of clothing and equipment that included a *zarkash* robe (with cut and fabric suitable for the recipient´s rank), bestowed in an official manner. The inclusion of *khila'* distributions during a variety of elaborate Mamluk ceremonies, while it had precedent in Egyptian (Fatimid) court protocol, may have been directly influenced in the fourteenth century by Il Khanid practice. The Mongols did the most to politicize silk through their reliance on silk and gold in their banquets, drinking parties, and other state celebrations. In ceremonies that strongly resemble Mamluk practice in the fourteenth century, we know from travelers´ accounts and official court records that the Great Khans of the thirteenth century distributed gold silks and gold belts studded with precious stones and pearls at nearly every important occasion at court.[67]

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[65]Ibn Khaldūn in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 33.

[66]Ibid., 34, note 1.

[67]Walker, *"*Ceramic Correlates of Decline,*"* 290 ff; Aldo Ricci, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London, 1950), 131 ff; Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York, 1973), 135 ff; Peter Jackson, *The*

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Allsen´s groundbreaking work on the Mongol textile industry has proven the existence of colonies of West Asian silk weavers in the east, some working under forced labor, others as more or less independent tradesmen.[68] They produced *nasīj,* a gold brocade, for the Mongol court. These textiles were distributed as *khila'* in the Mamluk court.

The relationship between Il Khanid and Yüan and Mamluk silks, either in the historical sources or as extant fragments in collections, is far from clear. *Ṭirāz* (an official textile inscription), *zarkash* (gold embroidered or woven *ṭirāz*), *nasīj* (gold brocade), and *khil'ah* (an assortment of officially distributed gifts including *nasīj* or *zarkash* textiles) were clearly important terms within the vocabulary of Mamluk silk-weaving, but they are extremely ambiguous. We still do not know how surviving Mamluk silks relate to these textile categories or how silk functioned outside the ceremonial apparatus of the Mamluk state.

RUGS

There has been quite a lot written about Mamluk rugs. A good part of the literature describes the red wool rugs we normally associate with Mamluk Egypt as part of an ″international style″ of pile rug production which was fashionable from Spain to eastern Anatolia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[69] In spite of the quantity of studies which have been done on the topic, however, we still cannot say for certain when the tradition began, how it came to Egypt, where in Egypt these rugs were manufactured, and to whom they were sold. Scholars writing on the subject have generally agreed, however, that their production in Egypt can be dated from 1470 to 1550, that the style was introduced sometime after 1467 with the migration

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Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255 (London, 1990); and J. A. Boyle, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror* (Manchester, 1997).

[68]Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 38. For material correlates see references to Wardwell´s work in note 11.

[69]On the characteristics of this style see Louise Mackie, ″Woven Status: Mamluk Silks and Carpets,″ *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 253-61; R. Pinner and W. Denny, eds., *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies, II: Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries 1400-1600,* (London, 1961); Ernst Kühnel, *Cairene Rugs and Others Technically Related, 15th-17th Century,* The Textile Museum (Washington, DC, 1957); Donald King and David Sylvester, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World from the 15th to the 17th Century* (London, 1983); Charles Grant Ellis, ″Gifts from Kashan to Cairo,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 1, no. 1 (1962): 33-46; idem, ″A Soumak-Woven Rug in a 15th-Century International Style,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 1, no. 1 (1962): 4-20; idem, ″Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 2, no. 2 (1967): 2-20; and idem, ″Is the Mamluk Carpet a Mandala?,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 4, no. 1 (1974): 30-50. *Halı* 4, no. 1 (1981) and *The Muslim World* 73, no. 3 and 73, no. 4 (1983) are special issues highlighting Mamluk rugs.

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of rug weavers from the fallen Karakoyunlu Turkmen state, and that they were manufactured in Cairo for mosque and palace interiors.[70]

Carlo Suriano has challenged this interpretation in an article on Mamluk blazon carpets published in a recent issue of *Halı*.[71] He argues that the geometric patterns and overall layout adhere to an international style that characterized not only Turkmen but also Ottoman, Safavid, and Nasrid production. While the form of the composite blazon dates the three carpets between 1468 and 1516, Suriano cites fragments of pile carpets, claimed to have been excavated at Fusṭāṭ and structurally related to the emblazoned examples, as possible evidence of Cairene production in an earlier period.[72] Donald Little, in response to Suriano´s article, emphasizes references to Cairene carpets *(min 'amal al-sharīf bi-Miṣr)*[73] by Ibn Taghrībirdī and Maqrīzī for the fourteenth century.[74] The origin of Mamluk carpets, therefore, remains an open issue.

The colors of Mamluk rugs have attracted a lot of attention and debate. The deep reds, blues, and greens of these rugs have been compared to stained glass windows[75] and jewels.[76] Moreover, there was a long tradition in Egypt (from pre-Islamic to Fatimid times) of weaving wool in these very same colors.[77] In her analyses of Mamluk and Anatolian rugs, Louise Mackie has suggested that the silk industry had a significant impact on not only the color scheme of Mamluk rugs, but also their decorative patterning.[78] She claims that each of the three colors was integral to the overall design, just as in incomplete silk triplecloth. Small motif compositions and repeat patterns are characteristic of both Mamluk silks and rugs.[79]

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[70]Louise Mackie, ″Woven Status,″ 256-57; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 226-27; Kurt Erdmann, ″Neuere Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kairener Teppiche,″ *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 65-105; and Belkis Acar, ″New Light on the Problem of Turkmen-Timurid and Mamluk Rugs,″ *Ars Turcica* 2 (1987): 393-402.

[71]Carlo Maria Suriano, ″Mamluk Blazon Carpets,″ *Halı* 97 (Mar. 1998): 72-81.

[72]Ibid, 81.

[73]Parallels in ceramics and metalworking suggest that this is an artist´s signature. *"Al-sharīf"* may be a technical term for the head of a workshop.

[74]Donald Little, ″In Search of Mamluk Carpets,″ *Halı* 101 (Nov. 1998): 68-69. Both accounts describe the looting of Amir Qawsūn´s house in 1341.

[75]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 227.

[76]Mackie, personal communication.

[77]Mackie, ″Woven Status,″ 260.

[78]Mackie, ″Woven Status″; idem, ″Rugs and Textiles,″ in *Turkish Art,* ed. Esin Atıl (Washington, DC, 1980), 301-43.

[79]See also Ellis, ″Gifts from Kashan to Cairo,″ 39.

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The rug industry was thriving, however, at a time when the other textile industries in Egypt were in decline. Because of the technical differences in Mamluk weaving and rug-making (threads spun in different directions, use of different looms), it is unlikely that one industry simply replaced the other. Woven stuffs and rugs appear to have served different purposes and were, perhaps, made for different markets. Until the sources are combed for relevant data, nothing conclusive can be said about the marketing of Mamluk rugs. We do know, however, that this was no passing ″fad.″ Mamluk rugs continued to be produced in Cairo until approximately the middle of the sixteenth century, when the local workshops began to manufacture floral and prayer rugs for the Ottoman courts. The workshops continued to operate until well into the eighteenth century.[80]

APPLIQUÉ

While woven silks and pile rugs adhere to an international style, appliqué is, by contrast, characteristically Mamluk. Amiral blazons are the most common form of applied decoration. It is significant that amiral blazons, while they proliferate in almost all media are, with the exception of appliqué fabrics, rare in textiles.[81] The appearance in silks of the sultanic cartouche and inscriptions dedicated to the sultan may indicate that silks and appliqué fabrics were put to different uses. Silk production was, at times, monopolized or regulated by the sultan. Furthermore, inscribed silks were distributed as *khila'* by the sultan and worn during public processions as a sign of fidelity to the ruler.[82] On the other hand, the regular association of appliquéd ornaments with amiral heraldry suggests that these fabrics were ″army issue″: when equipment passed to another amir, the blazon could be changed accordingly.

Fig. 6 is an interesting exception. This fragment boldly proclaims the sovereignty of the sultan with the phrase ″'izz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān,″ a dedication more appropriate to woven silks than to a coarse cotton tabby. The *ṭirāz* appliqué in this instance reflects function, as the durability of the fabric would make it suitable for a saddlebag or flag. Another fragment from the Royal Ontario Museum is illustrated in Fig. 7. It has been tentatively dated to the Mamluk period, because of the characteristic zigzag pattern and a stylistic similarity with Mamluk appliqué. The piece in question achieves an appliqué effect through laid-and-couched work in undyed linen, which secures the underlying blue linen threads. As the blue threads

[80]Mackie, ″Rugs and Textiles,″ 320 ff.

[81]For emblazoned rugs see Ellis, ″Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks″ (Figs. 3-9 include blazons in appliqué, embroidery, and block printing, as well) and Carlo Maria Suriano, ″Mamluk Blazon Carpets,″ 73-81 and 107-8. Carl Johan Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 66-67, Fig. 2.

[82]For an exposition of this idea, see Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 269 ff.

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are completely covered by the linen embroidery and were, apparently, never intended to be seen, they may have been yarn left-over from another embroidery. I know of no other examples of imitations of appliqué in other techniques. However, it would not be surprising if they did exist. The Mamluk elite were fashion-setters, and Cairo´s civilian population was quick to imitate the dress, tastes, and mannerisms of the amiral class.

Block Prints

The type of Mamluk textile most often retrieved from archaeological excavations is the block print.[83] First identified during the excavations of Fusṭāṭ, they were initially attributed to India, because of the superficial resemblance of their patterns to Gujarati architectural decoration.[84] This idea has been recently challenged by Barnes, who has cited parallels for Z-spun cotton and block printing with indigo in Iraq, Iran, and Yemen.[85] While many printed textiles found on excavations were imported, most were probably produced in Egypt. Indigo, the primary colorant for Mamluk block prints, was cultivated and processed locally and was relatively inexpensive.[86] Moreover, Z-spinning was known in Mamluk Egypt, used primarily in woven silks and alternately with S-spinning in woven cottons and linens.[87]

The designs on block prints are largely derivative. Inscriptional registers on a densely scrolled ground and bands with cartouches are borrowed from contemporary metalworking.[88] Repeat patterns of whirling rosettes, geometric shapes, and medallions replicate the patterns of woven silks. While prints are monochrome, the colors of choice are reminiscent of silks: blue, ivory, and brown.

Mamluk prints are usually made of lightweight, but quality, cotton. It is the most sensible fabric for the warmest months in Egypt and makes comfortable

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[83]See especially the chapter on printed fabrics in Carl Johan Lamm, *Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East* (Paris, 1937); *Tissus d´Égypte (Collection Bouvier);* and Georgette Cornu, *Tissus Islamiques de la Collection Pfister* (Rome, 1992) for excellent catalogue entries.

[84]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 76; R. Pfister, ″Tissue imprimées de l´Inde médiévale,″ *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 10 (1936): 161-64; and idem, *Les Toiles imprimées de Fostat et l´Hindoustan* (Paris, 1938).

[85]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 76; Ruth Barnes, ″Indian Trade Cloth in Egypt: the Newberry Collection,″ in *Textiles in Trade: Proceedings of the Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium* (Washington, DC, 1990), 178-91; and idem, *Indian Block Printed Cotton Fragments in the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1993).

[86]R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles; Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut, 1972), 164.

[87]Eastwood, ″Textiles,″ 286 and 292. At Quseir al-Qadim, as at many archaeological sites in Egypt, one cannot generalize about the direction of spinning.

[88]For good illustrations of these, see Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* cat. #120-22.

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daily wear. Prints imitating silk patterns no doubt constituted clothing, but one wonders about those fragments that bear metalwork designs. In his thought-provoking essay on the *mandīl*, Rosenthal has described a variety of ways in which smaller pieces of decorated textiles were used.[89] Many covered serving vessels during banquets. Such prints could have been used in this fashion.

EMBROIDERIES[90]

Embroidery is a decorative needlework in fancy thread. In the case of Mamluk embroidery, the needlework was usually done in floss silk on an uncolored, tabby cotton or linen background. The needlework alone enlivened what was an otherwise plain textile. As the most common way of trimming the edges of everyday clothing, it could be a simple, often inexpensive, and readily available way of making textiles of any form beautiful.

Embroidery, as opposed to weaving, was a cottage industry. While some needlework was produced by professionals in the public marketplace, most was made at home by women (Fig. 8).[91] Embroideries were an important component of the bridal trousseau during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, as we know from the Geniza documents.[92] The average person in medieval Cairo, for instance, was well-informed about embroideries and had a sophisticated sense of what was of high quality and aesthetically pleasing. One Ja'far ibn 'Alī al-Dimāshqī, writing shortly before 1175, stated:

> People's tastes vary in regard to the ṭirāz borders and the ornamented embroideries . . ., but they are agreed in the preference of that

[89]Rosenthal, "A Note on the *Mandīl*."

[90]The textile fragments illustrated in this study belong to the Abemayor Collection in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The Abemayor family business was in Cairo, and it was in this city that the collection was built up. The collection contains some 114 items which have been identified as Mamluk, in addition to a considerable number of early Islamic *ṭirāz* bands and tunics from various periods. Most of the Mamluk samples are embroideries, none of which had been the focus of extended analysis until now.

[91]S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Los Angeles, 1967), 1:128 ff. It would seem that embroidery was not so strictly regulated in the marketplace in the fourteenth century; see Ibn al-Ukhūwah's [d. 1329] entries on embroidery *(raqqām)* and needlework *(naqshīyah)* (Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (Cairo, 1976), 221 and 328. For an interesting comparative study of domestic embroidery in modern Morocco, see Louise Mackie, "Embroidery in the Everyday Life of Artisans, Merchants, and Consumers in Fez, Morocco, in the 1980's," in *Textile Society of America Proceedings 1992* (1993), 10-20.

[92]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 3:342.

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> which is of the finest thread and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red and golden . . .[93]

Embroidery experienced a revival in the Mamluk period. With a rise in quality came a rise in prices. Maqrīzī describes finely embroidered goods that could be worth a small fortune:

> Among the stuffs woven in Alexandria is this linen cloth which is called sharb, one drachm of which is worth a dirham of silver, and those kinds of embroideries which are sold for several times their weight in silver.[94]

Most museum and private collections of Mamluk textiles consist in large part of embroidered fragments. In spite of this, they have not been the object of focused investigation. There are no monographs on the subject and, outside of entries in exhibition catalogues and archaeological reports, very few studies.[95] To this day, Kühnel´s classification of excavated fragments is used to assign relative dates to embroideries.[96] These categories heavily emphasize stylistic attributes with little consideration of independent criteria for dating. Most embroideries can be dated no more precisely than by a century or two.

There has been a passing interest, however, in medieval Islamic embroidery by scholars of European needlework. The work of the late Veronika Gervers, a former curator of textiles at the Royal Ontario Museum, represents this trend. The original accession catalogue in the museum´s files makes frequent comparisons between fragments in the medieval Egyptian collection and Renaissance needlework. More convincing arguments are made in two posthumous works, which look for the origins of some Hungarian embroidery patterns in Ottoman work.[97] There is no such direct correlation between Mamluk and this kind of

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[93]Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles,* 140.

[94]Ibid., 148.

[95]Two very old but useful articles are Carl Johan Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figs. 1-22, and Essie Newbury, ″Embroideries from Egypt,″ *Embroidery* 8, no. 1 (1940): 11-18.

[96]Ernst Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe aus aegyptischen Gräbern in der islamischen Kunstabteilung und in der Stoffsammlung des Schlossmuseums* (Berlin, 1927).

[97]Veronika Gervers-(Molnár), *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe,* Royal Ontario Museum History, Technology, and Art Monograph, no. 4 (Toronto, 1982) and idem, *Ipolyi Arnold hímzésgüjteménye az esztergomi keresztény múzeumban* (Arnold Ipolyi Collection of Embroideries in the Christian Museum of Esztergom, also known as *Hungarian Domestic Embroidery from the 16th to the 19th Centuries*) (Budapest, 1983).

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European needlework. The Mamluk penchant for rigid geometry contrasts markedly with Ottoman floral designs.

One of the best interpretations of Mamluk embroidery is Louisa Bellinger's technical analysis of *ṭirāz* fabrics cited earlier.[98] She reviews the long and very complex history of embroidery in medieval Egypt and comes to some interesting conclusions. First, embroidery was a foreign technique, brought to Egypt from the Far East as an easier and cheaper method of making silk patterns. Second, the development of Egyptian embroidery is intimately tied up with producing inscriptions in textiles. Embroidery began to replace tapestry weaving for colored and inscriptional designs by the end of the Fatimid period and was more or less completed with the Mamluks. The kinds of stitches used in Egypt relied rather heavily on tapestry technology.

What is most useful about Bellinger's arguments are the functional and etymological connections she makes between the *ṭirāz* industry and Egyptian embroidery and the reasons she gives for idiosyncrasies in the Mamluk craft. One of the most characteristic innovations of Mamluk embroidery, for example, was the preference for counted stitches (Figs. 9 and 10). This Bellinger relates to the way linen in Egypt was prepared for embroidery; the practice of counting stitches from a base thread, she claims, was borrowed from the design of inscriptions in tapestry weaving.[99] I have argued elsewhere that new embroidery stitches appeared in the fourteenth century to respond to changes in silk production, which were generated by heightened demand and the expansion of ceremonial.[100] In both its origin and later development, Mamluk embroidery was indebted to local traditions of silk weaving.

The kinds of stitches used by Mamluk embroiders were uniquely suited to producing inscriptions and repeat patterns and creating the surface appearance of woven silk. The crewel or stem stitch, known from well before the Mamluk period, outlined patterns and produced inscriptions. The fluid chain stitch, also familiar from early Islamic needlework, was used for *naskhī* inscriptions and chinoiserie (Fig. 11). The most characteristic stitch used by Mamluk embroidery was the ″Holbein,″ or square, stitch, a sturdy, reversible counted stitch that is most often associated with repeat patterns in blue (Figs. 12 and 13). Several stitches also appeared which intentionally reproduced the effect of silk, such as the weaving and satin stitches (Fig. 14).

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[98]Louisa Bellinger, ″Technical Analysis.″

[99]Ibid., 104 ff.

[100]Bethany Walker, ″Material Correlates of Decline in Mamluk Egypt: Ceramics and Textiles,″ paper given at MESA Annual Meeting in Chicago, IL, December 4, 1998.

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Mamluk embroideries are very broadly dated according to Kühnel's stylistic groups of the 1920s.[101] To the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries are attributed various abstract geometric motifs, including hooked-X's, the checkerboard pattern, the omnipresent trellis of lozenges or hexagonal cartouches (Fig. 15), rosettes (Fig. 16), and triangular-shaped pseudo-epigraphic motifs (Figs. 12 and 15). Most of what we normally identify as Mamluk dates to the fourteenth century and includes embroideries with blue-dyed silk or linen (Figs. 12 and 13), the Holbein stitch (Figs. 12 and 13), historical inscriptions (Fig. 14), blazons, an "impressionistic and nervous style,"[102] double-ended arrows, zigzags (Fig. 13), and teardrop-shaped medallions (often surrounded by barbs, or "hooks" [Fig. 17]). In the later Mamluk period can be placed the common angular S-shaped motif (Figs. 9 and 10), hooked triangles, angular motifs on a ground of interlacing bands, and a preference for a marine blue-brown dye.

Embroidered bands generally decorated the edges of garments and accented sleeve openings and collars. Embroidered *ṭirāz* encircled the upper arm and wound around turbans. However, most of the fragments illustrated in this article probably did not belong to clothing. One piece is reversible, which would indicate it was used as a towel (Fig. 13). The first of two inscribed examples, while preserved only in part, is long enough to have been a "tablecloth" or light cover of some sort (Fig. 11). The layout of its decoration, with inscriptions legible from opposite ends of the fabric, strengthens this attribution. Fig. 14, a formally inscribed piece, could have served the same purpose or formed part of a banner or panel of an *'abā'* cloak.[103] Fig. 18 belongs to a group of finely worked panels called "laps," which were hung off of poles as flags or banners. Many smaller embroidered pieces probably belonged to the multi-purpose category of *"manādīl,"* items used as handkerchiefs, napkins, cloth envelopes, or head or face coverings.[104]

The written sources are ambiguous in their descriptions of embroideries and the kinds of textiles which they embellished. The word *"ṭirāz"* comes originally from the Persian *"tarāzīdan,"* which means "to embroider."[105] In modern Arabic, *"taṭrīz"* is the term generally employed for "embroidery." It means, alternatively, "embellishment" or "garnish." *"Tanmīq"* (ornamentation) and *"tawshiyah"* (ornamentation with color), although not as common, may also imply an embroidered

[101]The following is a collation of Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe;* Lamm, "Some Mamluk Embroideries"; *Tissus d'Égypte;* and conclusions based on my study of the ROM collection.

[102]Lamm, "Some Mamluk Embroideries," 66.

[103]It is too wide to have been a belt or turban, and without intact hems we do not know enough about its original length to say for certain how it was used.

[104]Rosenthal, "A Note on the *Mandīl*."

[105]A. Grohman, "Ṭirāz," 785.

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ornament. In a similar fashion, medieval Arabic sources do not always differentiate between ″embroidery″ and ″decoration″; in fact, there may not have been a technical term for this kind of needlework. Ibn al-Ukhūwah does differentiate between regular needlework *(naqshīyah)* and what we may call embroidery *(raqqām),* but most sources do not.[106] Any embellishment of a textile, whether sewn or painted on, woven into, or stamped upon, could be called *″ṭirāz,″* for instance.[107] It seems not to have been the technique of application but the visual effect which was important. Mamluk sources use many terms which, in one way or another, make reference to the appearance of embroidered designs: *mushaḥḥar* or *marqūm* (striped), *muzarkash* (a brocade, embroidered with silver and gold thread), *ṭirāz* (an embroidered inscription), and *manqūsh* (colored/striped or inscribed).[108]

While most everyday embroidery was produced at home by women, there existed at the same time a market industry which catered to the court. Embroidered fabrics, second only to brocades, were the most decorative and sought-after textiles in Mamluk Egypt. Embroidered garments were not only worn at home by most people; they also made up the textile ensembles known as *khila'*. Serjeant reproduces the following description, related by Maqrīzī, of robes of honor given by the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to his most important amirs:

> [They consisted of] a kind of cloth called ṭardwaḥsh made in the ṭirāz factory which was in Alexandria, Miṣr (Cairo) and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mudjawwakha djākhāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands (djākhāt) of ṭardwaḥsh, and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mudhahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūsh), and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab [linen], but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab) with a squirrel . . . and beaver . . . fur upon it. . . .[109]

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[106]See note 89. The term *raqqām* would seem to be related to the more common *″marqūm,″* which denotes a striped (embroidery) in most Mamluk sources. *″Raqqām″* may also be connected to the use of counted stitches.

[107]*Ṭirāz* generally means ″embroidery″ in the Geniza documents, where invoices for textile orders are calculated. For example, we read of bleaching, pounding, cleaning, scraping, mending, and ″embroidery″ *(ṭirāz)* of an ordered garment and the individual prices of each (Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders,* 275, no. 3).

[108]Most of the references to these terms can be found in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* and Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles.*

[109]Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles,* 150.

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Once again, the terminology is confusing. What Serjeant defines as ″embroidery″ may be any one of several techniques. For instance, *″zarkash″* may designate true brocade, in this case a woven silk with supplementary weft threads in gold or silver thread. *″Zarkash″* could, alternatively, also be a decorative band embroidered (as opposed to woven) in a baser fabric in gold or silver thread. ″Stripes″ and ″bands″ could be painted on the fabric, woven into it, or embroidered. In other words, the medieval Arabic terms describe the decorative function of the colored threads, not how they were structurally related to the ground fabric.

It is likely, however, that in this passage several techniques are implied and that embroidery was simply one of many ways to embellish a textile. We tend to think in terms of a hierarchy of textile techniques (woven designs are much better than printed designs, for example). The medieval textile connoisseur, on the other hand, discriminated on the basis of fabric and color. A beautifully executed silk embroidery (on linen) may have been in as much demand as equally colorful decoration woven into the fabric. It would appear that the finest embroideries decorated robes of honor, that the court special-ordered embroidered fabrics, and that some embroideries were quite expensive and cherished by their owners.

These passages, of course, only refer to the highest quality embroideries which were manufactured in the *sūq* and destined for the court. There was a second and larger market, for civilian Cairenes. These were made at home by women. What the domestic style looked like may be reconstructed from surviving pieces. Angular and geometric patterns may be related to what we can call the ″folk art″ of the period, while designs imitating silks patterns would belong to a more official strain of Mamluk art. The differentiation of domestic from Mamluk textiles requires further study.

Conclusions

What kinds of questions should we be asking about Mamluk textiles? It is easy to become preoccupied with the minutia of stitch and thread counts, extensive motif descriptions, and terminology. While such details are useful starting points, it is crucial that we conceptualize the broader social issues. What were these fragments used for, why were they decorated the way they were, who owned them, what did they mean to their owners? In short, in what ways were textiles socially significant?

The significance of the ″militarization″ of Mamluk art has been often discussed by art historians.[110] Whelan relates the widespread use of military imagery, amiral

[110]Most sources on Mamluk art make this point, but see especially Nasser Rabbat, ″The ′Militarization′ of Architectural Expression in the Medieval Middle East (11th-14th Century): An Outline,″ *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭá* 6, no. 1 (1994): 4-6; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*; and Estelle Whelan, ″Representations of the *Khāṣṣikīyah* and the Origins of Mamluk Emblems,″ in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World,* 219-43. For studies on heraldry in Islamic art, consult the bibliography in

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blazons, and specialized inscriptions of dedication (which contain the owner's military titles) throughout the Islamic world in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries to the development of *khāṣṣakīyah* imagery.[111] I have suggested that the appearance of heraldic devices and militarized inscriptions in all media in the fourteenth century was the result of increased patronage within an empowered amiral class during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's sultanate.[112] The correlation between the rise of a military class and the popularization of such imagery is a phenomenon paralleled in contemporary Cyprus (where Crusader coats-of-arms and court scenes are omnipresent in arts sponsored by all classes),[113] in contemporary France (where the tastes of the *parvenus*—professional soldiers—affected the growth of knightly art and culture),[114] and in Byzantium (where in the twelfth century the military aristocracy sponsored a militarization of culture which affected official imagery, poetry, leisure activities, and official ceremonial).[115]

Official ceremonial was one area which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad cultivated to consolidate his power vis-à-vis his amirs. If the popularization of amiral symbols in public art was evidence of the growing power of the amiral class, the elaboration and regularity of "state ceremonies" could be seen as the sultan's response to its challenge. The daily repetition of rituals designed to demonstrate the exalted status of the sultan over the mamluks reinforced the Mamluk hierarchy while emphasizing his sovereignty.[116] Participation in these ceremonies by both the military elite and the civilian population, however obligatory, was a physical symbol of loyalty to the sultan, and in this sense can be compared to the recitation of his name in the *khuṭbah* every week or the pledge of allegiance upon his investiture.[117]

A greater part of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's building projects were focused on the Citadel, to accommodate the expansion of these official ceremonies.[118] In addition to banquets *(asmiṭah),* royal audiences, and investitures, military officers were required to participate in drinking parties (where *qumiz*—a fermented mare's

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Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline," Ch. 5.

[111]Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣikīyah*."

[112]This is a theme which runs throughout Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline."

[113]The bibliography on Crusader art in Cyprus is extensive and can be found in ibid., Ch. 4.

[114]Georges Duby, *Foundations of a New Humanism 1280-1440* (Geneva, 1966).

[115]Alexander P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), 104 ff.

[116]Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline," 284.

[117]A similar argument has been made for Renaissance festivals in France and Italy. See Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650,* 15.

[118]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 193; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial"; and Stowasser, "Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court."

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milk—was consumed in large quantities), bi-weekly polo games, formal hunting excursions, and processions.[119]

Processions, like banquets, were held at most important state occasions and during religious festivals; they marked investitures, military victories, hunting excursions, the return of a sultan or an important amir from abroad, the two *ʿĪd*s, the plenitude ceremony, and the *maḥmal* procession.[120] As at banquets, strict rules were observed regarding the order of the participants (or their seating arrangements), the color and material of costume, and protocols of address and behavior.

The visual effect of these ceremonies must have been impressive. This was, of course, the intention. Large, elaborate, colorful parades and banquets, in particular, were meant to have an impact on both the Mamluk participants and the civilian spectators of Cairo. The material expressions of these events—costumes, objects of office, and serving vessels—were created by local artisans to meet the ceremonial requirements of the state.

Like Mamluk art in general, the textile industry was ″militarized″ in the fourteenth century to respond to demands by the elite for appropriate garments to be used in processions and other ceremonies of state. Mamluk costume had changed and began to adopt the cut of Mongol and Chinese court dress.[121] In terms of decoration, the Mamluks had developed a taste for combining military designs (such as blazons and inscriptions) with fluid chinoiserie. Weavers responded to these demands by making use of the drawloom, which aided in production of triple cloth. With this technology, complicated designs and, particularly repeat patterns could be produced, and reproduced, fairly quickly.

Civilian Cairo quickly developed a taste for silk brocade *(ṭardwaḥsh, nasīj)*. Public processions were draped in expensive textiles, from the participants′ costumes to the mounts′ saddles and covers, the banners used in the parades and those hung over the city gates through which the procession progressed, the ″brocades″ which were out along the parade route, the decorations of shops along the way, and temporary pavilions which were set up to distribute refreshments. In a society that was already ″textile conscious,″ this regular and dramatic display of fine textiles rapidly induced a hunger for silk among the non-elite. Moreover silk was woven in the public *sūq*. With the closure of the royal textile workshops in 1341, brocades were not only produced but sold openly in the marketplace. It did not take long

[119]Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 283.

[120]Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo,* and Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court,″ 18.

[121]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* and Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* cite contemporary sources on this subject.

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for civilian Cairenes to begin dressing, shopping, and otherwise behaving like the Mamluk elite did just a few years before.[122]

Embroidered work was yet another industry that underwent considerable expansion in the fourteenth century. Mamluk embroidery to a large degree imitated the patterns and surface effects of woven silk, although it gradually developed its own distinctive decorative repertoire. The craft must have specialized, to some degree, since the late Fatimid period. The many Arabic terms used to designate embroidered work in contemporary sources (*marqūm, zarkash, ṭirāz, nuqūsh*) reflect a variety of materials, patterns, and functions. Embroidery was also used for the ceremonial garments of the elite and in the robes of honor distributed by the sultan.

We can differentiate between two distinct styles of embroidery during the fourteenth century. Geometric designs seem to have catered to civilians and may have been produced at home. This domestic, or ″folk,″ art contrasts with the inscriptional and flowing compositions that still retained a visual affiliation with silk designs. These fabrics served a different purpose than the geometric embroideries and may have been destined for a more elite clientele.

Technological changes in embroidery in the fourteenth century kept pace with developments in ceremonial and the market demands of the amiral elite, as well as the urban bourgeoisie who imitated them. Types of stitches which had been known before, such as the chain and crewel stitches, were now used to produce inscriptions and the fluid designs of Chinese silks. New stitches (the Holbein and a group of techniques known as the ″weaving stitch″) were developed to recreate repeat patterns and the sheen of woven silk.

Technical developments in many media (textiles, ceramics, metalworking, architecture) can be explained to a large degree by the elaboration of official ceremonial. How textiles were socially significant on an unofficial level, what the mechanisms were for private production and sale, and to what extent we can differentiate between civilian and Mamluk styles of decoration are promising areas of future research.

[122]Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 113.

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Appendix: Catalogue of Illustrated Pieces

Figure 1. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.117
Towel fragment
Egypt, Ottoman
yellow, green, pink, and white cotton embroidery on white linen; copper threads
H: 19 cm, W: 37 cm
Technical analysis: 2/2 twill and looped weave, embroidery in double-running stitch and satin stitch couching
For further reading: Maçide Gönül, ″Some Turkish Embroideries in the Collection of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum in Istanbul,″ *Kunst des Orients* 6, no. 1 (1969): 43-76.

Figure 2. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.802
Fragment sewn together from three pieces
Egypt, late Ayyubid-early Mamluk
red and blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
H: 82.5 cm, W: 23 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chain stitch
Inscription: ″Everlasting glory and prosperity . . . to its owner″ (in *naskhī*)

Figure 3. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.574
″Ṭirāz″ fragment
Egypt, Ayyubid or early Mamluk
red and yellow silk, blue linen
L: 4.6 cm, W: 4 cm
Technical analysis: tabby with tapestry-woven inscriptional register (yellow on red)
Parallels: Cornu, *Tissus Islamiques,* BAV 6797 (p. 575) and 6928 (p. 576)

Figure 4. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #981.207
Silk fragment, *khil'ah?*
Egypt, Mamluk (14th century)
dark blue, light blue, and ivory silk
L: 37.5 cm, W: 25 cm
Technical analysis: weft-faced compound tabby with warp-faced tabby stripes, triple-cloth
Inscription: ″Sulṭā[n]″
Parallels: Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* cat. #119 (p. 236)—nearly identical

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Figure 5. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #970.364.4
Silk fragment, *khil'ah?*
Egypt, early Mamluk
dark and light brown silk
H: 19 cm, W: 23 cm
Technical analysis: lampas weave—satin ground and tabby pattern
Inscription: ″al-Sulṭān al-Malik . . .″ (in register, in *thuluth*), pseudo-epigraphy in crescent (related to ″al-'ālim″ or ″al-'ālī″?)

Figure 6. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.291
Appliquéd *″ṭirāz″* fragment
Egypt, Mamluk (14th century)
undyed, red, and blue cotton
L: 21 cm, W: 25 cm
Technical analysis: coarse tabbies, Z-spun threads
Inscription: ″Glory to our Lord the Sultan . . .″ (in *thuluth*)

Figure 7. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1110
Fragmentary band of couched work
Egypt, Mamluk
undyed and blue linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground (two layers), embroidery in satin stitch couching (border registers) and laid and couched work (main design)
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 3

Figure 8. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.799
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
red and blue linen embroidery on undyed linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chain and stem stitches
Inscription: illegible
Parallels: For an illustrated embroidery sampler see Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 75 (right)

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Figure 9. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1148
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
brown silk embroidery on undyed linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in satin stitch and some laid and couched work; double cloth
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 5 (for stippling)

Figure 10. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1148

Figure 11. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.348
Large embroidered fragments, repaired
Egypt, probably Ayyubid
blue, green, and black silk embroidery on undyed linen
H: 35 cm, W: 28 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chained feather stitch
Inscription: difficult to read, possibly ″Everlasting glory, blessings, and happiness to its owner″ (in floriated *naskhī*)
Parallels: Cornu, *Tissus Islamiques,* BAV 6929 (Pl. VIII and p. 581)

Figure 12. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.292
Embroidered *″ṭirāz″* fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
L: 12 cm, W: 56 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in Holbein and counted zigzag stitches
Inscription: pseudo-epigraphy in diamonds (related to ″al-ʻālim″ or ″al-ʻālī″?)
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figures 2 and 3

Figure 13. ROM, Abemayor cat. #978.76.178
Towel fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
blue linen embroidery on undyed linen
L: 20 cm, W: 17 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in Holbein and counted zigzag stitches
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 3; Gönül, ″Some Turkish Embroideries,″ 50

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Figure 14. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.442
Large *"ṭirāz"* fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
blue and yellow silk embroidery on undyed linen
L: 30 cm, W: 70 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground in Z-spun yarn, embroidery in satin stitch
Inscription: ″Honor and long life and glory and [ ]″

Figure 15. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.272
Embroidery fragment, pocket?
Egypt, Mamluk
brown, red, white, and blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
L: 18 cm, W: 15 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground (two layers sewn together on all sides with darning stitch), embroidery in satin and chained feather stitch
Inscription: pseudo-epigraphy in the dodecahedral cartouches
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 14

Figure 16. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.921
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, early Mamluk
red and blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
H: 9.5 cm, W: 8 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in couching stitch

Figure 17. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1098
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
red, black, and blue linen embroidery on undyed linen
L: 4.5 cm, W: 13.5 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chain stitch

Figure 18. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.532
Embroidered panel
Egypt, Mamluk
blue, yellow, and brown silk embroidery on undyed linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground; embroidery in satin, darning, stem, and double running stitches with drawn thread work
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figures 16-19

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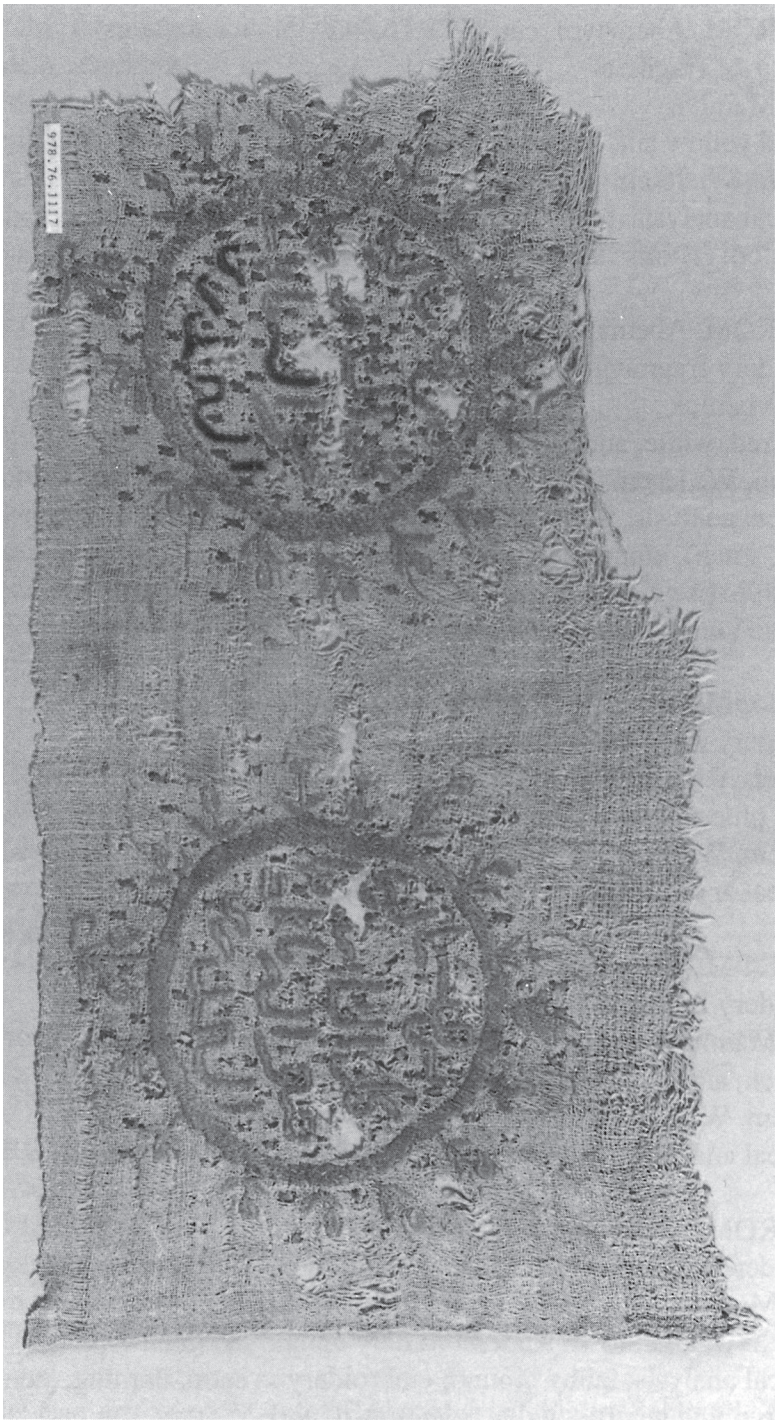

Figure 1. Ottoman towel with copper threads

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Figure 2. Poorly preserved embroidery

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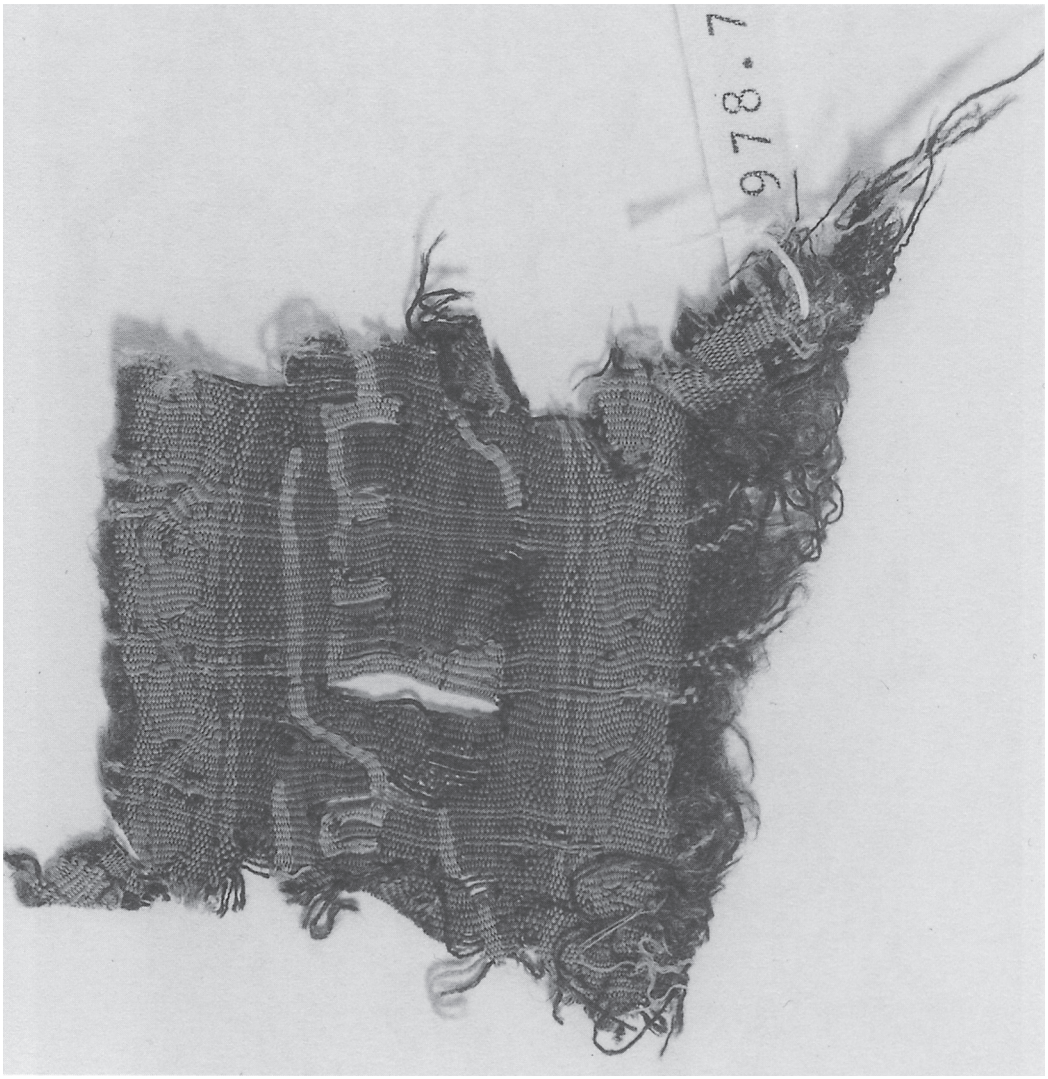

Figure 3. Ayyubid or Mamluk tapestry

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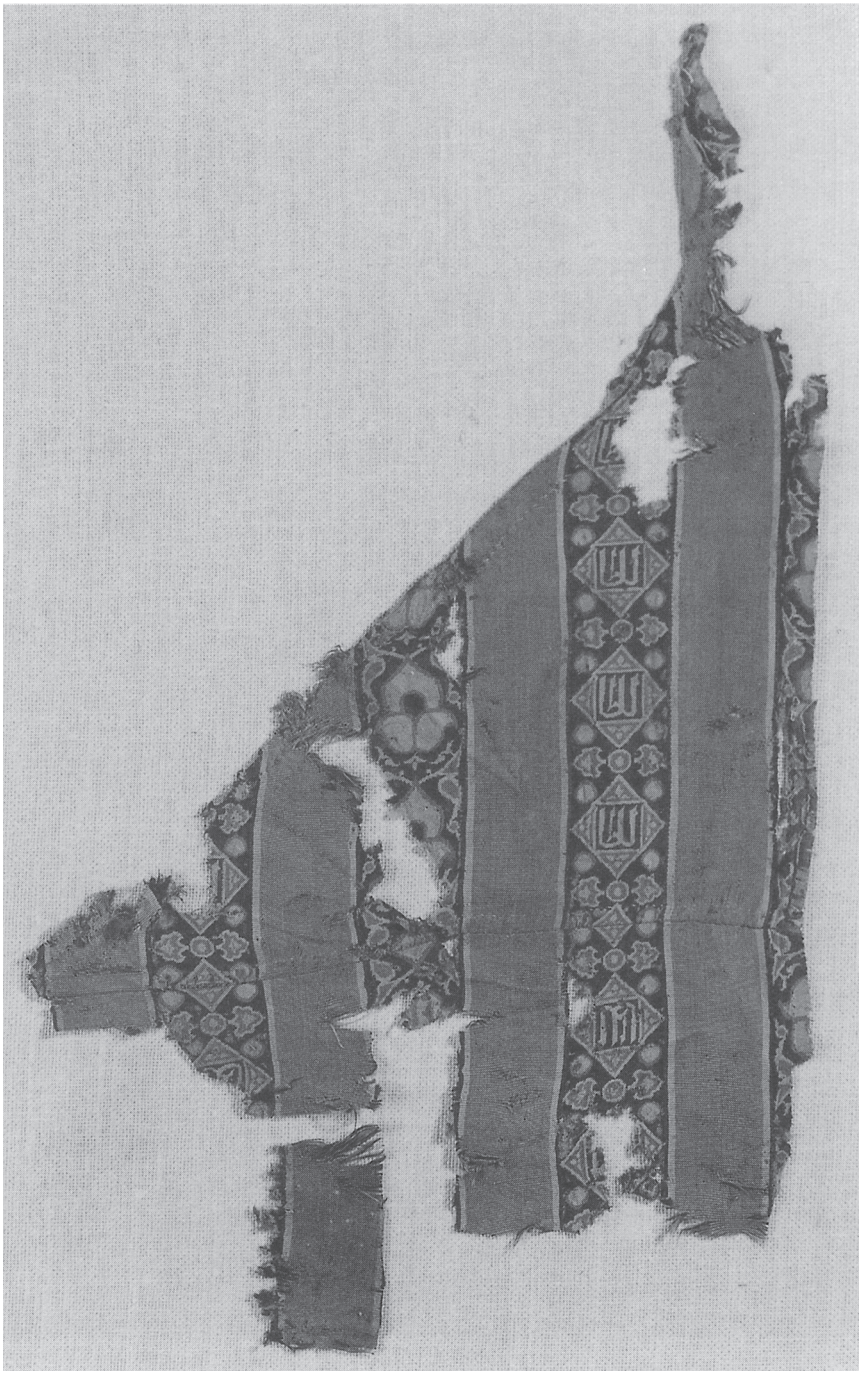

Figure 4. Mamluk striped silk in triple cloth

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DOI of Vol. IV: 10.6082/M1ZP4468. See https://doi.org/10.6082/88JJ-2P31 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Figure 5. Mamluk silk lampas with mirror image repeat

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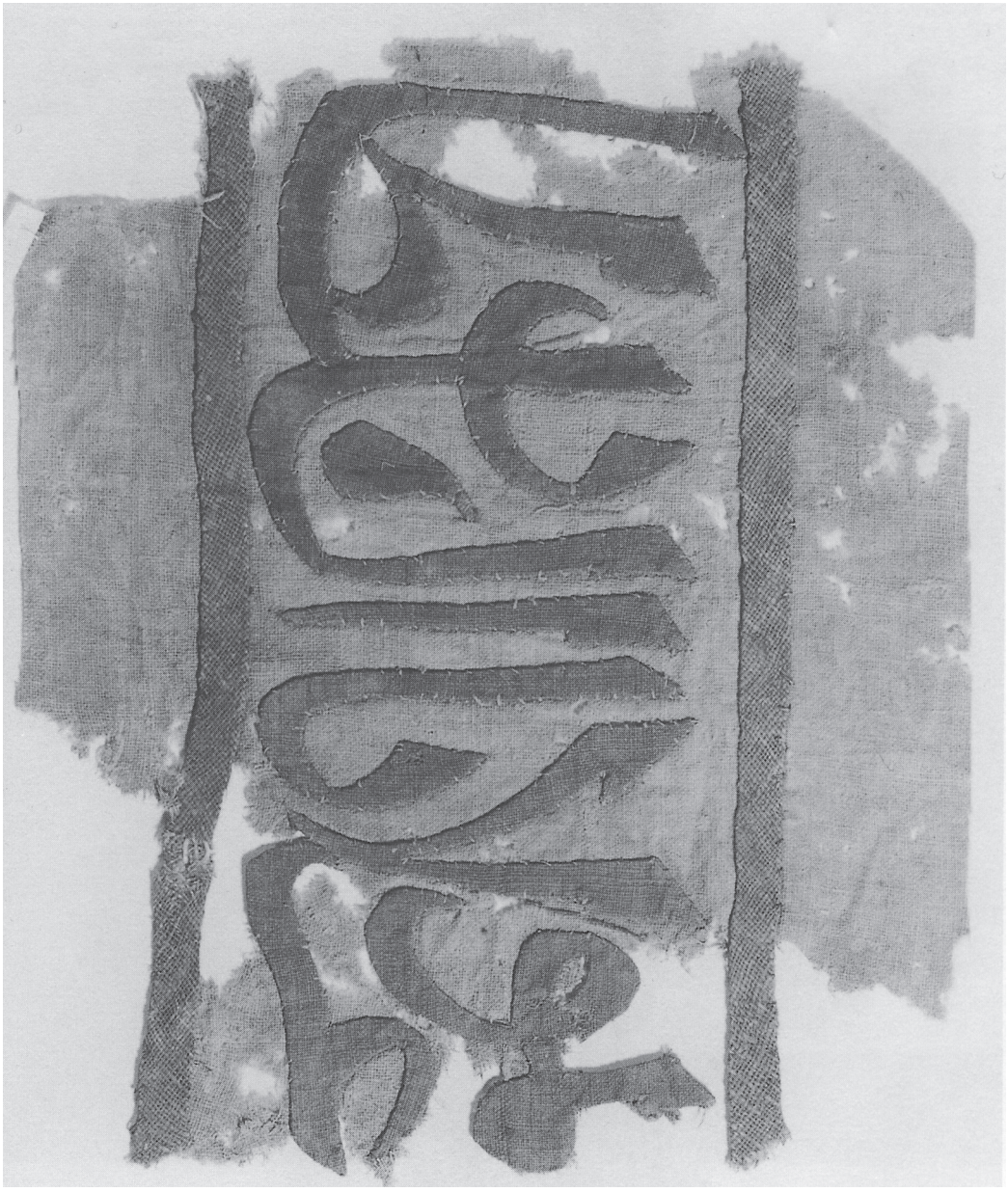

Figure 6. Mamluk appliqué

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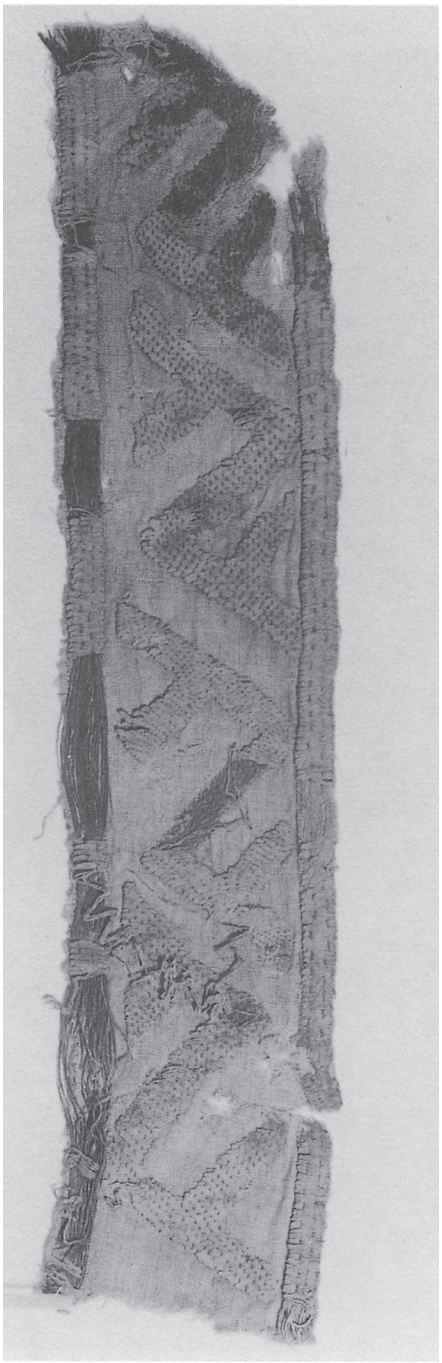

Figure 7. Faux appliqué

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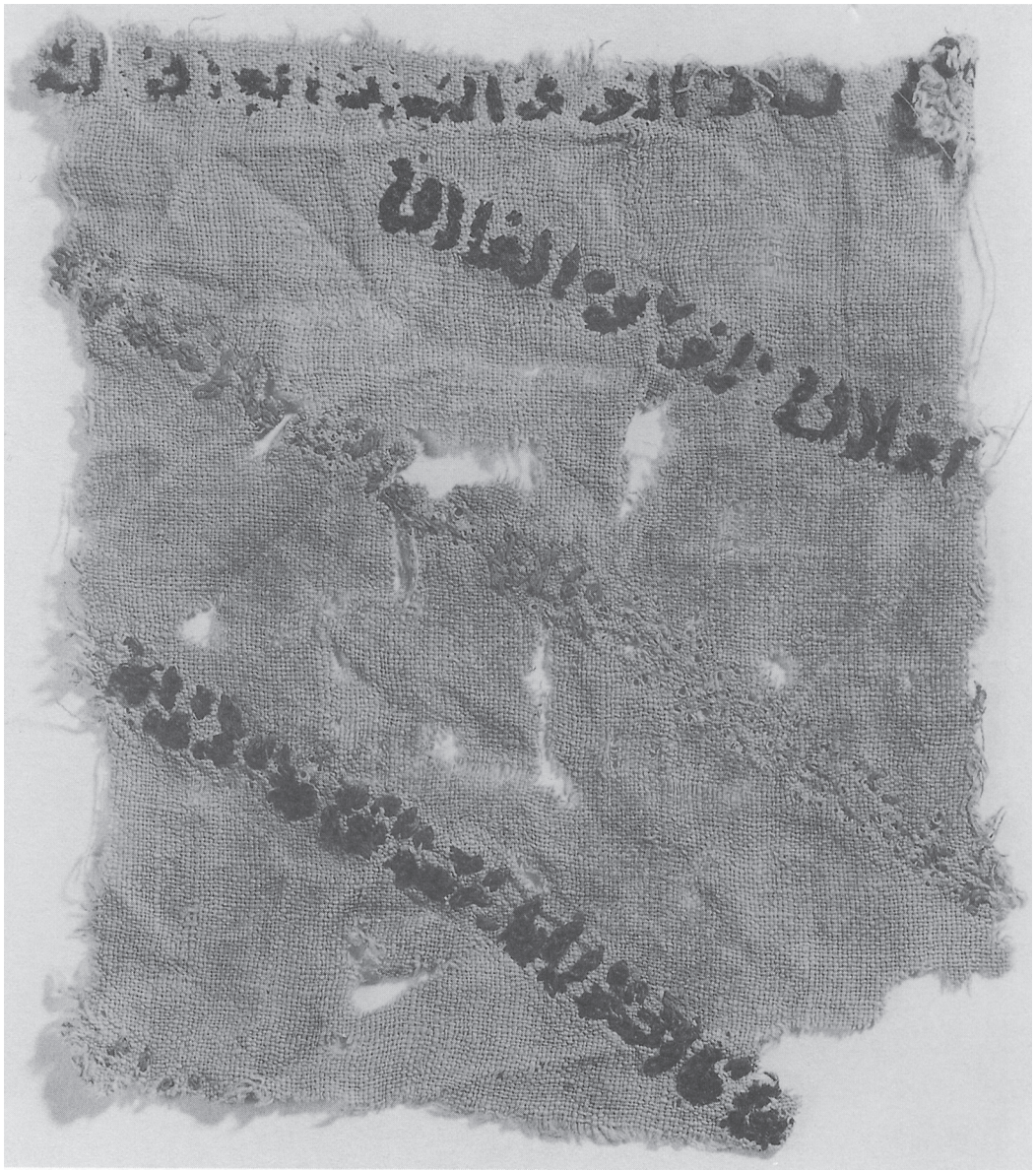

Figure 8. Practice piece or embroidery sampler

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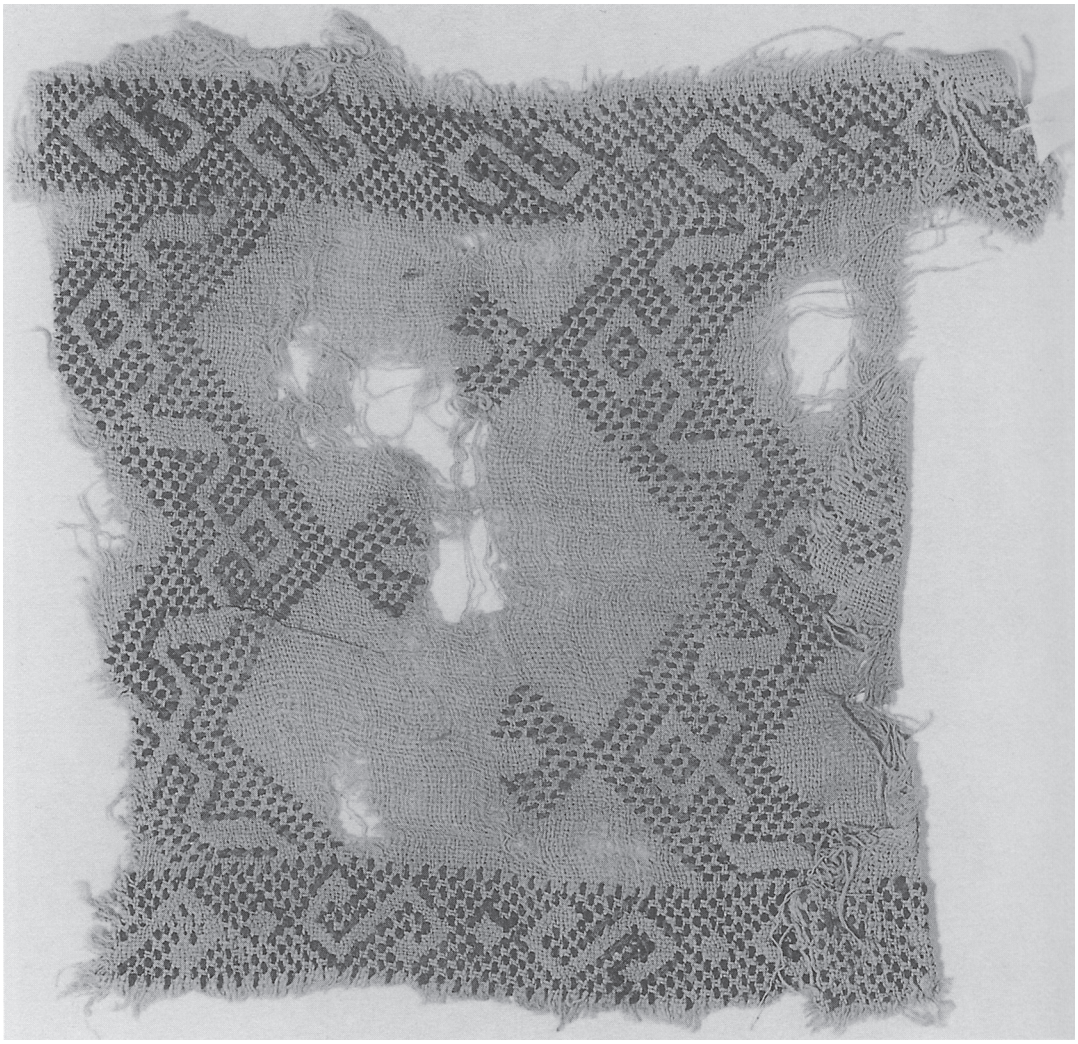

Figure 9. Mamluk counted stitch

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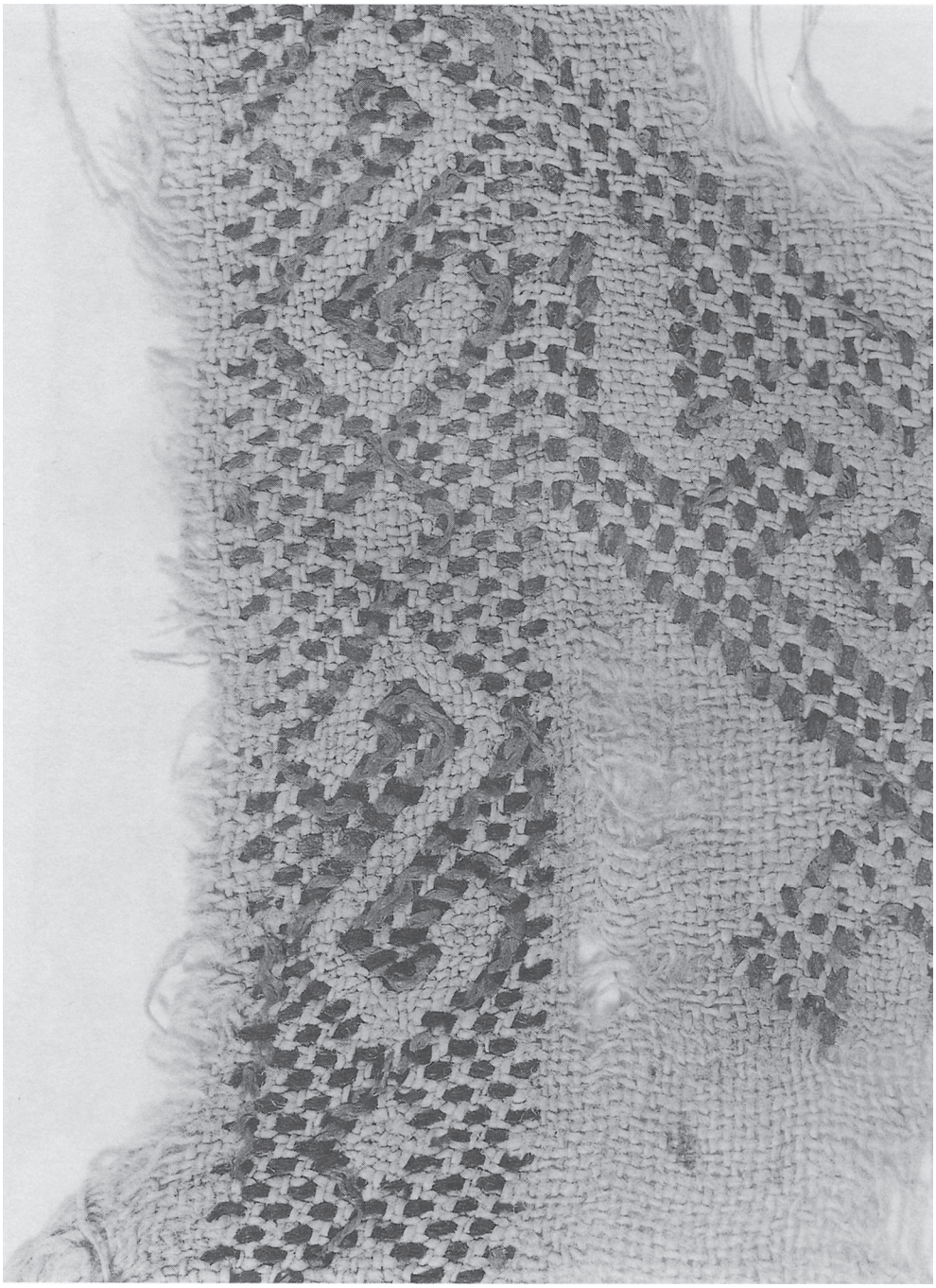

Figure 10. Detail of Mamluk counted stitch

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Figure 11. Embroidered inscription in mirror image

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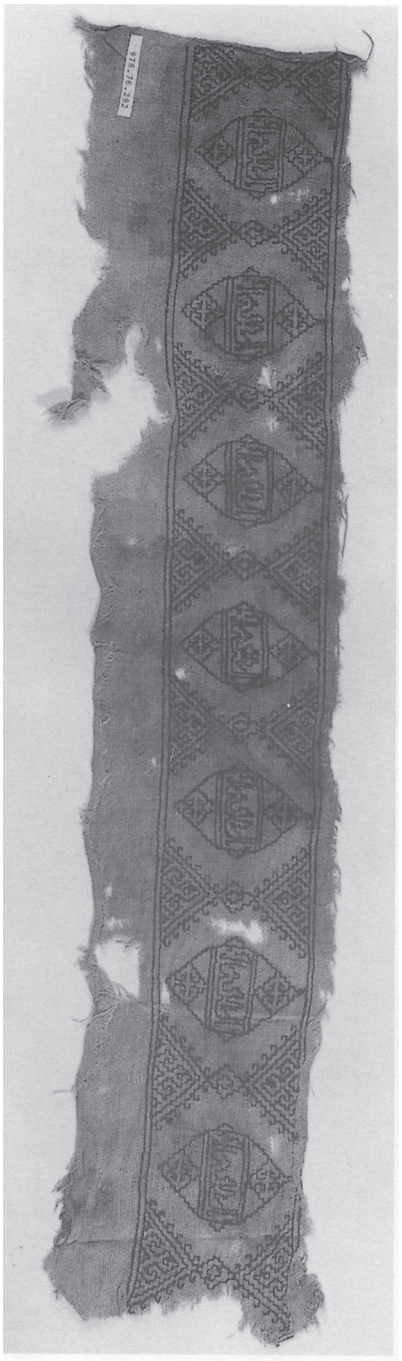

Figure 12. Pseudo-epigraphy and repeat patterns in the Holbein stitch

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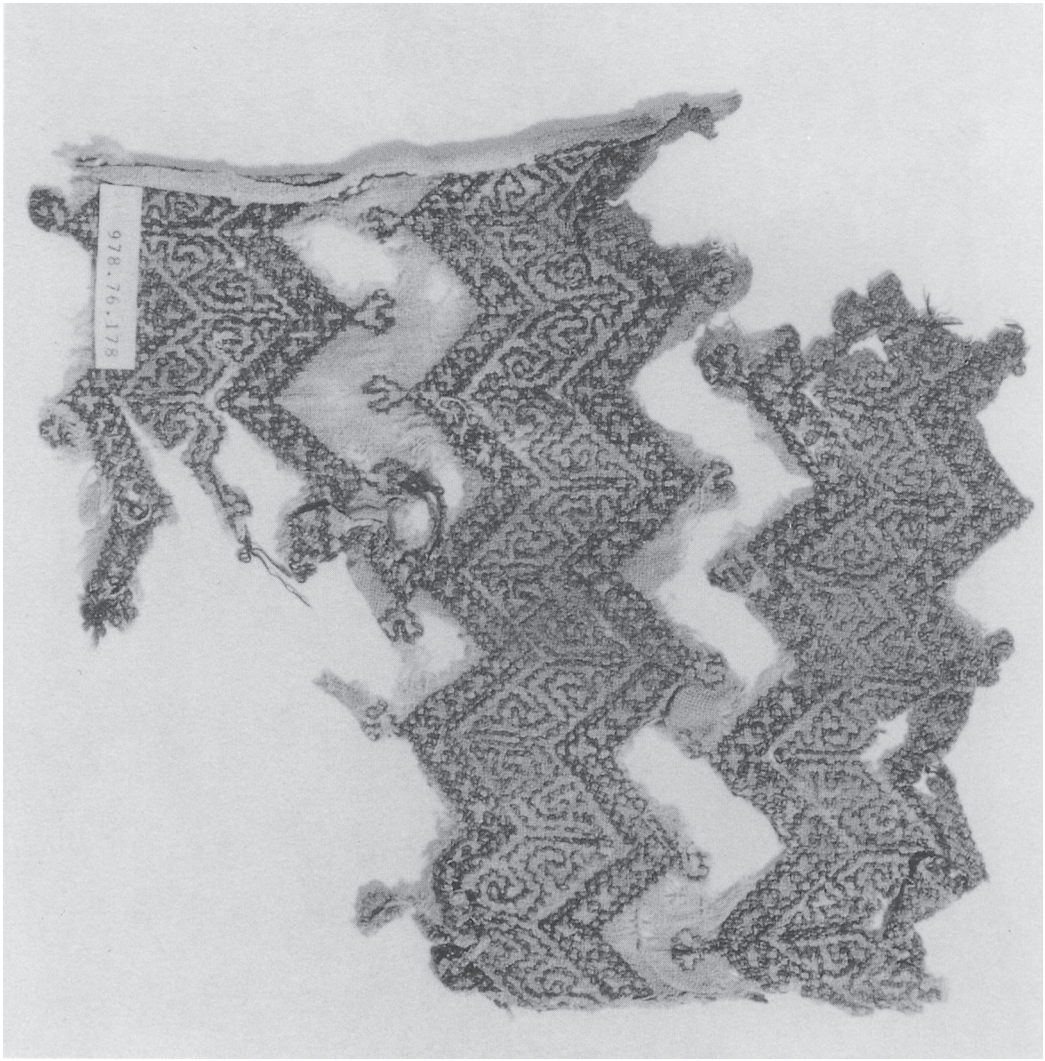

Figure 13. Geometric designs and repeat patterns in the Holbein stitch

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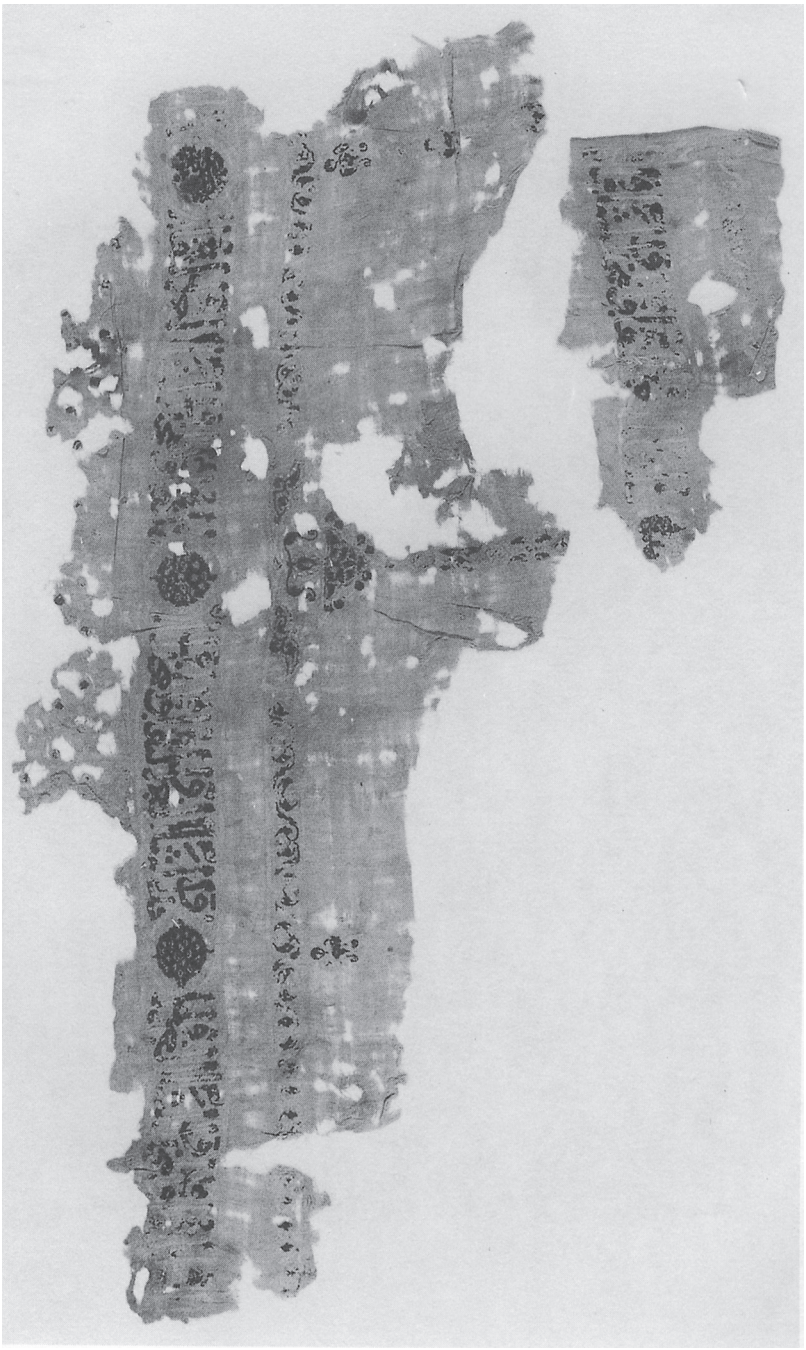

Figure 14. Ceremonial embroidery

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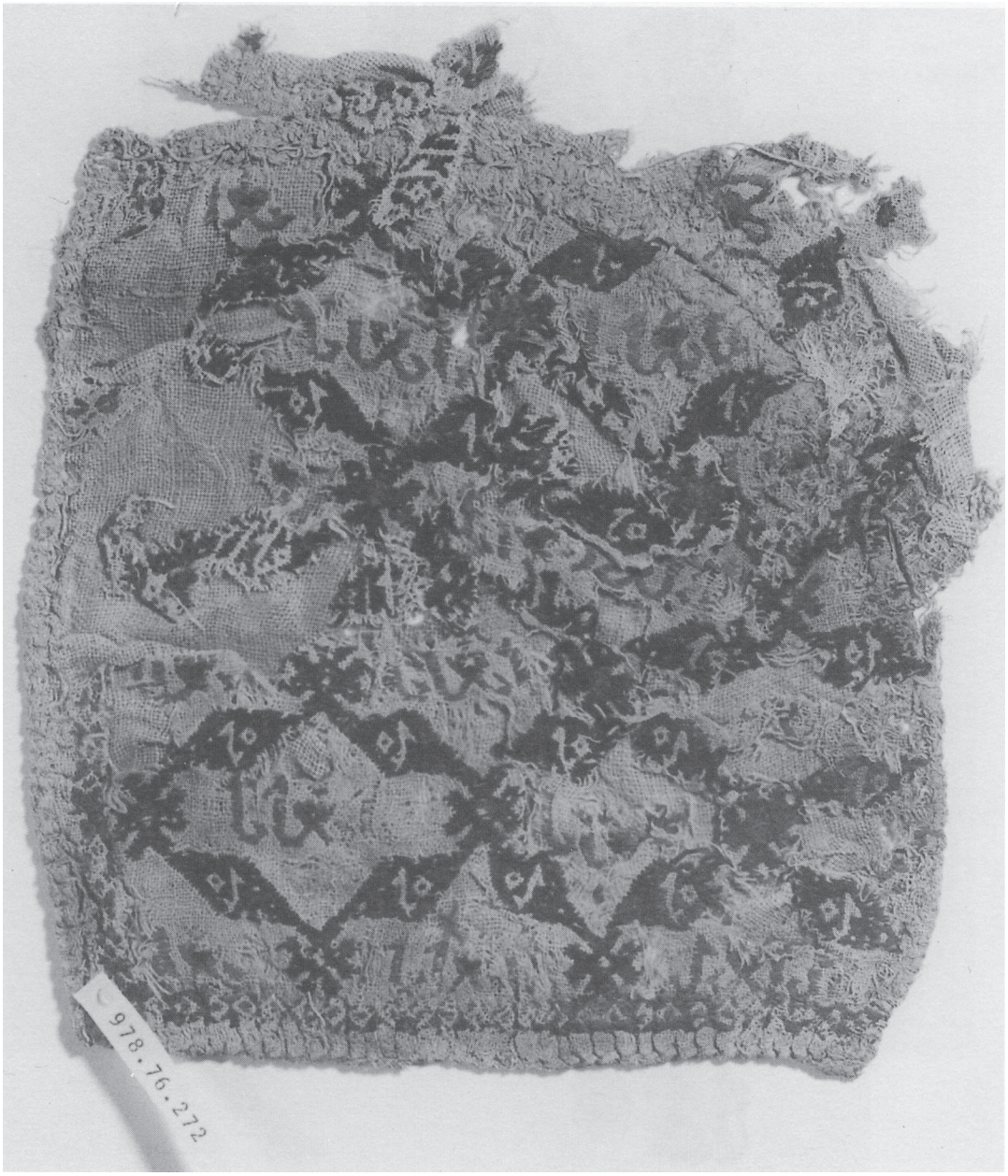

Figure 15. Embroidery with hexagonal trellis pattern

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Figure 16. Emblazoned embroidery

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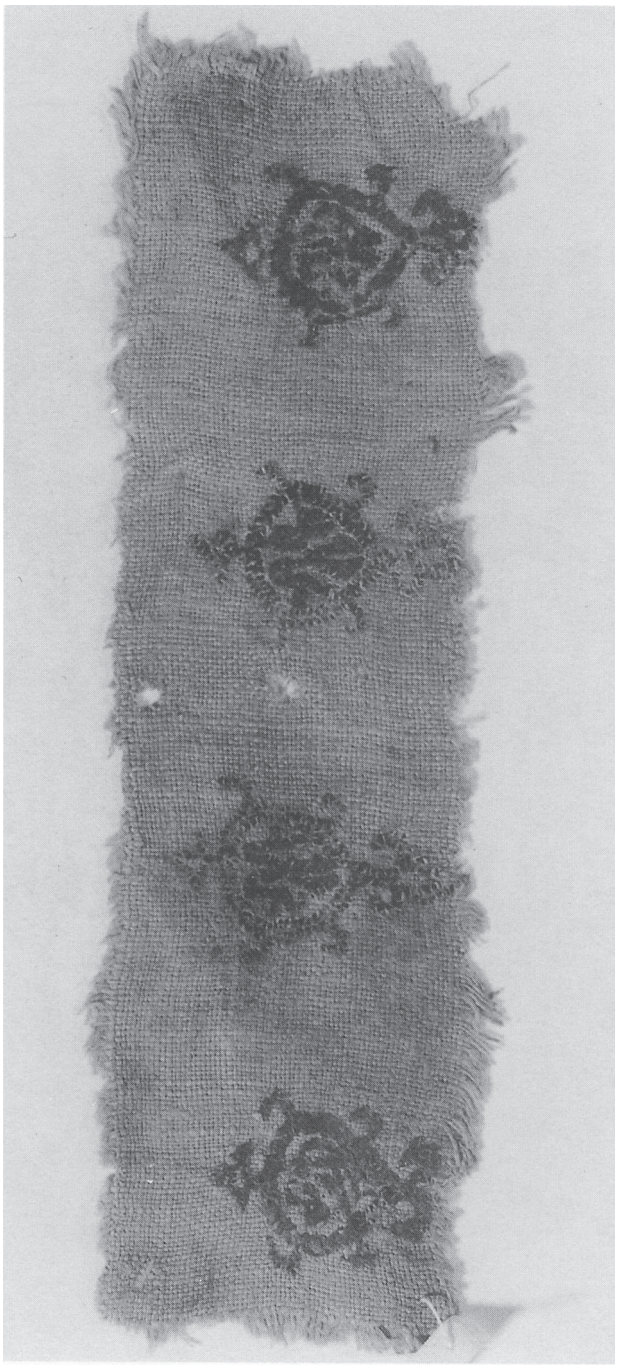

Figure 17. The barbed medallion motif

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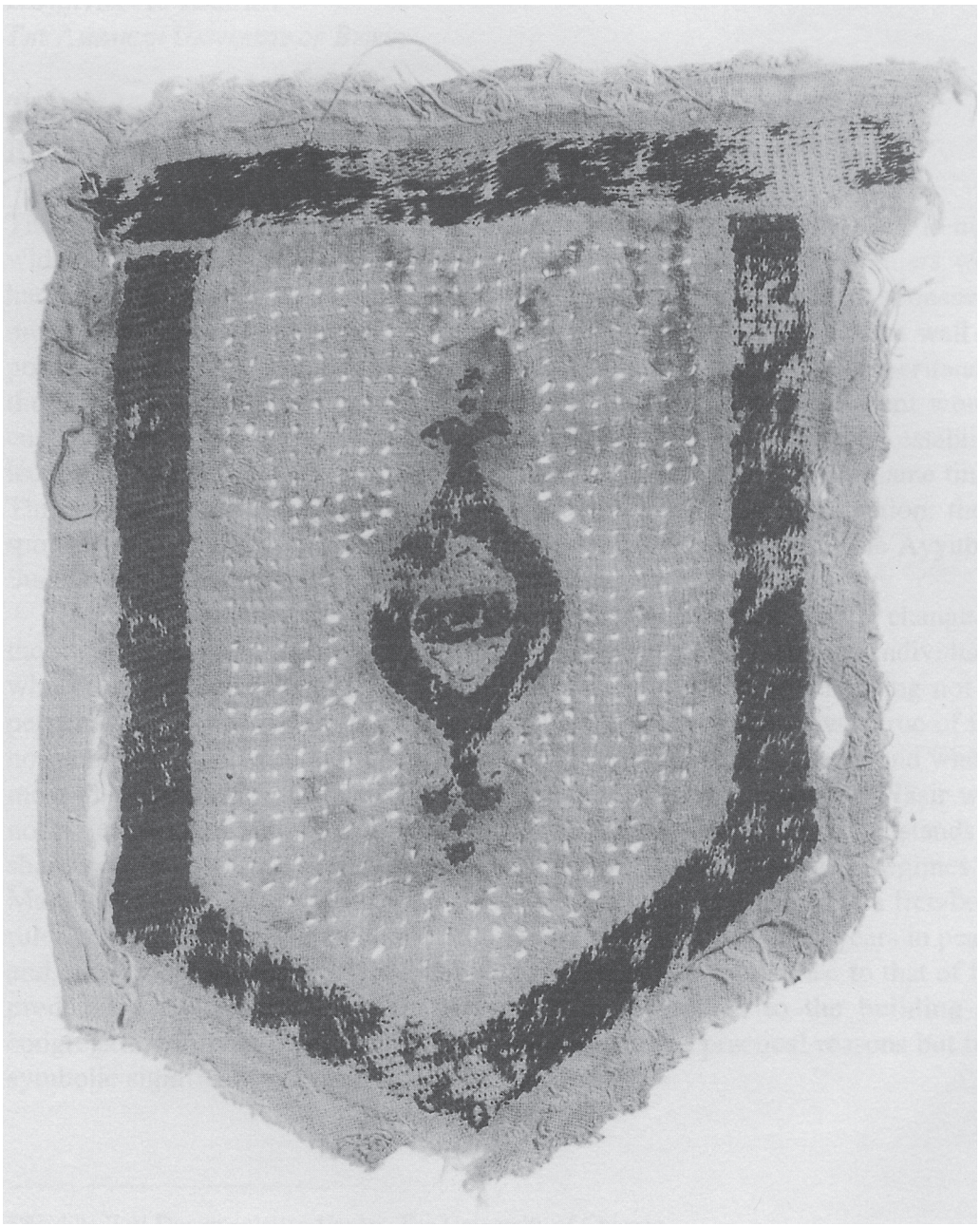

Figure 18. Mamluk ″lap″

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The Patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310-1341*

The explanation for the nature of Mamluk architectural patronage that is now widely accepted by scholars is that the Mamluks, who were slave soldiers who had illegally seized the throne from their masters, the Ayyubids, sponsored monuments, mostly madrasahs, that would redound to their economic as well as political advantage. Under the law, the Mamluks had no right of inheritance; therefore, they sought to build religious institutions whose endowment would enable them to transfer their wealth, give employment to their children, establish local ties, and win the favor of the religious elite, the ulama, all at the same time. This patronage was also interpreted as a means of political legitimation: their sponsorship of madrasahs displayed a commitment and devotion to the Ayyubid Sunni revival and thus made them legitimate heirs of the Ayyubids.[1]

This thesis, though valid as far as it goes, does not account for the change in the social structure of the ruling elite over time. It cannot be applied to individuals who ceased to fit the profile constructed for Mamluk rulers by choosing not to perpetuate the system, but to change its course. In particular this was true of the house of Qalāwūn, who did inherit the throne of the Mamluk sultanate and whose most distinguished figure was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. Al-Nāṣir was not a slave soldier and did not rise to power through the army. His reign stands in sharp contrast to those of his predecessors. Unlike the short unstable regimes of Mamluk military generals, al-Nāṣir′s third reign placed on the throne a free-born ruler who succeeded his father and brother and ruled for over thirty years in peace and prosperity. His patronage of architecture also stands in contrast to that of his predecessors; it shifts from the founding of madrasahs to the building of congregational mosques. This shift was not only due to practical reasons but has symbolic significance, as this article will make clear.

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*This article was originally part of my dissertation, ″Urban Form and Meaning in Bahri Mamluk Architecture″ (Harvard University, 1992), and was presented as a lecture at the Sackler Museum, Harvard University, on 20 November 1992.

[1]See R. Stephen Humphreys, ″The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay,″ *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119, and I. M. Lapidus, ″Mamluk Patronage and the Arts in Egypt: Concluding Remarks,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 173-81.

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Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn was raised to the sultanate for the first time in 693/1293, with the title al-Malik al-Nāṣir (victorious king).[2] He was only nine years of age at the time, and power was in the hands of his viceroy, Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī, and his vizier, ʻAlam al-Dīn al-Shujāʼī.[3] The next year Kitbughā deposed the boy king, removed him from the palace, and confined him and his mother to an apartment in the Citadel;[4] he then claimed the throne for himself as al-ʻĀdil Kitbughā, and appointed as viceroy Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, the former governor of Damascus who had emerged from hiding after his involvement in the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn.[5]

Kitbughā´s two-year reign ended when al-Manṣūr Lājīn deposed him in turn and exiled al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to al-Karak.[6] In 698/1299, the mamluks of al-Ashraf Khalīl, aided by Burjī mamluks, revolted against Sultan Lājīn, murdered him while he was at prayer in the Citadel, and brought al-Nāṣir Muḥammad back from exile at al-Karak to his rightful throne.[7] A new government was formed. Amir Sayf al-Dīn Salār was appointed to the office of viceroy and Amir Baybars al-Jāshankīr to the office of *ustādār*.[8] But this only began yet another struggle between Amir Salār, the leader of the Ṣāliḥī and Manṣūrī mamluks, and Amir Baybars, the leader of the Burjī mamluks. The increasing rivalry between them, and their interference with the authority of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, resulted in al-Nāṣir´s losing his throne once again. He fled back to al-Karak in 708/1308.[9]

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[2]Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʻUmar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo, 1976-82), 1: 169; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Cairo, 1987), 138; Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1934-71), 1:3:794.

[3]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1982-84), 1:1:378-79; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 138.

[4]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:175; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:806-7.

[5]Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, ″Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,″ MS 549 Maʻārif ʻĀmmah, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, fol. 30; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1953-54), 2:239; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:178.

[6]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:832-33; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:204; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 149.

[7]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:868-69; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:398-99; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:212-13; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 154-55.

[8]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:213; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 155.

[9]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929-56), 8:179; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:44; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:421; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:281-86; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 181, 187.

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Baybars al-Jāshankīr was declared sultan in 708/1309,[10] and Salār was appointed to the office of viceroy.

This time al-Nāṣir Muḥammad prepared his return to the throne of Egypt. He gained the support of the bedouin Arabs in al-Karak and of the governors of Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Jerusalem, and Ṣafad. Although Baybars had seized all his wealth, al-Nāṣir was still able to recruit some of the mamluks of his brother Khalīl in addition to defectors from Baybars´s rule.[11] In a triumphal procession al-Nāṣir Muḥammad entered the city of Damascus.[12] On Friday, the twelfth of Sha'bān of the year 709/1310, the *khuṭbah* was delivered in the name of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad instead of Baybars in Damascus, and the amirs gave their oath of allegiance to the sultan. On the nineteenth of Ramaḍān, the name of al-Nāṣir replaced that of Baybars in the *khuṭbah* in Cairo. From Damascus, al-Nāṣir proceeded to Cairo, where he arrived on the first of Shawwāl of the year 709/1310.[13] Baybars had fled with his mamluks, and the city had prepared to receive the sultan. Al-Nāṣir mounted the throne for the third time at the age of twenty-four, this time to stay.

Al-Nāṣir´s third accession to the throne ushered in a new era in Mamluk history. He began by eliminating the amirs who had betrayed him; both Baybars al-Jāshankīr and his viceroy Salār were executed.[14] They were replaced by the mamluks who supported him, most of whom were former mamluks of his brother al-Ashraf Khalīl. They were promoted to the rank of amir and assigned official posts.

Al-Nāṣir governed with a limited number of trusted men of high caliber, whose long terms are reflective of the stability of al-Nāṣir´s court. Among them were Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, the governor of Damascus (1312-40),[15] 'Alā' al-Dīn Alṭunbughā, governor of Aleppo (1314-17, 1331-41),[16] and Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī, viceroy of Egypt (1310-26),[17] who earlier had been chancellor and was something of an intellectual: he collected books and studied hadith and Hanafi

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[10]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 8:181; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:45-46; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:417.

[11]Al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 193-98; Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1971), 9:167; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:62-67.

[12]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:19; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:172-73; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:66-67.

[13]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:72-73; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 201; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:187-89.

[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:81, 88; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:197-98.

[15]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 10:420-35; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:499-501; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:145-59.

[16]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:137, 2:2:330.

[17]For more biographical information, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá*

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law, and was permitted to issue *fatwá*s.[18] Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī was an effective governor in Damascus for most of al-Nāṣir´s reign; imitating al-Nāṣir´s efforts at urban reform in Egypt, he both restored and built a large number of institutions, reformed the management of *waqf*s, and built an aqueduct to supply the city with water.[19]

Al-Nāṣir was a strong, autocratic ruler; his third reign lasted thirty-one years, until his death in 741/1341. Those years have been described as the ″climax of Egyptian culture and civilization,″[20] a time when ″the empire reached the highest pinnacle of its power.″[21] He was popular with the people, and established strong ties with the bedouin tribes who had supported him while he was in exile. He was the first of the Mamluk sultans to speak fluent Arabic. Twice a week, he administered justice before the people in the Dār al-'Adl of the Citadel.

At the frontiers of the Mamluk empire, al-Nāṣir´s third reign was better known for peace than war. The reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl had seen the fall of Acre and an end to the Crusades in Syria. In al-Nāṣir´s second reign the Mongol invasion under the Ilkhan Ghazan Maḥmūd in 699/1299[22] was defeated by the Mamluk army in 702/1303 at Shaghab.[23] The threat from Mongol Iran was completely eliminated during al-Nāṣir´s third reign. In their last attempt to invade Syria in 712/1312, led by the Ilkhan Öljeitü, Ghazan´s successor, the Mongols were forced by the Mamluks to retreat beyond the Euphrates.[24] A peace treaty, the treaty of Aleppo, was later negotiated and signed with the Ilkhanid Abū Sa'īd, Öljeitü´s successor, in 720/1320.[25] Freed from these problems, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could direct his efforts at establishing diplomatic relations and encouraging trade.[26] His court was said to have received eight embassies in a single year (716/1316),

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ba'd al-Wāfī (Cairo, 1984-90), 2:306-8.

[18]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, 1970), 1:351-52; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:288-89.

[19]Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382* (London, 1986), 107.

[20]Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo* (London, 1902), 215.

[21]J. B. Glubb, *Soldiers of Fortune: The Story of the Mamluks* (London, 1973), 226.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:882-901.

[23]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:85-88; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:930-38; Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Sīrat al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn* (Mecca, 1982), 132-35.

[24]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:245-251; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:442; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:45.

[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:209-10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:115.

[26]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:173; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:537; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:173-75.

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among them representatives from the Byzantine Emperor, the Khan of the Golden Horde, and the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd.[27] To further strengthen his relations with the khan, al-Nāṣir proposed to marry Abū Sa'īd's daughter, but no agreement could be reached about her dowry. Eventually a descendant of Chingiz Khan was sent as wife to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to establish ties between them.[28] Other fronts were also secured. Expeditions between 720/1320 and 738/1337 resulted in an agreement with Cilician Armenia to double the annual tribute to which it had consented during the reign of Lājīn.[29] To secure trade with the East, al-Nāṣir strengthened diplomatic relations with both the sultan of Delhi and the Rasulids of Yemen.[30]

Having stabilized and secured his empire the sultan turned his attention to public works. Roads, irrigation systems, bridges, mosques, and religious institutions were built. Al-Nāṣir's enthusiastic patronage of architecture set the tone for his followers and initiated a building boom. The sultan was beyond doubt the most lavish patron of architecture in the Mamluk period. Mamluk historians acknowledge this when they compare him to his predecessors. Writes al-Maqrīzī:

> Al-Nāṣir was fond of architecture. From the time that he returned from al-Karak for his third sultanate he kept on continuously building until his death. His expenditure was estimated at eighty thousand *dirham*s per day. When he saw something he disliked, he demolished it entirely and rebuilt it to his satisfaction. No king before him equaled his expenditure on architecture. When al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn desired to build a covered *maṣṭabah* to sit on, protected from the heat of the sun, and al-Shujā'ī wrote for him an estimate of its cost (four thousand *dirham*s), he took the paper from the hands of al-Shujā'ī and tore it up. He said: "I sit in a *maq'ad* of four thousand *dirham*s! Erect me a tent when I descend [the Citadel], for I will not release anything from the treasury for such a thing." This was the case with al-Ẓāhir Baybars and those who preceded him; they did not spend money but saved it conservatively and fearfully.[31]

Al-Nāṣir instituted an official *dīwān* for the administration of building projects: "He built extensively, assigned Aqsunqur to manage construction, and brought

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[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:163-64.

[28]Glubb, *Soldiers of Fortune,* 210.

[29]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:124.

[30]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913-18), 5:52; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:254-60.

[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:537.

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construction workers from all over Syria. For construction, he designated a *dīwān* whose expenditures amounted to eight to twelve thousand *dirham*s per day."[32] These projects were paid for by the new wealth brought in by the reform achieved by al-Nāṣir's *rawk* (land survey) in 715/1315.[33] Under the old system, used by al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, the cultivatable land was divided into twenty-four shares, and was distributed so that the sultan and his mamluks had four, the *ḥalqah*[34] had ten, and the amirs had ten. This was slightly modified by Lājīn to a four, nine, and eleven distribution. Al-Nāṣir's *rawk* awarded himself ten shares, with the remainder going to the *ḥalqah* and the amirs.[35]

Among al-Nāṣir's extensive projects was the canal at Alexandria, around which grew the town of al-Nāṣirīyah,[36] a *maydān* at the foot of the Citadel,[37] the Khānqāh of Siryāqūs,[38] and al-Jāmi' al-Nāṣirī.[39] In the Citadel he built the Qaṣr al-Ablaq,[40]

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[32]Ibid., 2:1:130.

[33]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:446.

[34]*Ḥalqah* literally means "ring." During the Ayyubid period the term referred to a small group of bodyguards around the sultan. During the Mamluk period the term came to refer to the free-born members of the Mamluk army. See D. Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army-II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 448-49.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:87-89.

[36]This project was carried out in 710/1310, employing one hundred thousand men according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, and forty thousand according to al-Maqrīzī. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:178; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:111; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:171.

[37]It is called Maydān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn today. The history of this *maydān* goes back to the time of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn. It was rebuilt by the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil in 611/1214. During the reign of al-Nāṣir the *maydān* was revived, planted with trees, supplied with water, and enclosed by a stone wall. It became an important urban feature that provided pleasant scenery as viewed from the Citadel, especially from al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:228; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:179.

[38]The area of Siryāqūs, outside of al-Qāhirah to the north, received a great deal of attention from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who developed it and built in it a number of palaces, houses, and gardens. The *khānqāh* incorporated a Friday mosque and was completed in 725/1324. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:422; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:79; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:149.

[39]It was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 711-12/1311-12 on the shore of the Nile at the southern tip of the Grand Canal outside of Fusṭāṭ. This mosque also incorporated a *khānqāh*. Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1893), 4:77, 101; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:304; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:211.

[40]Built by al-Nāṣir in 713-14/1313-14. It was described by Ibn Iyās as three interlinked palaces with five *qā'ah*s. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:209-10; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:129; and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:445. Remains of this palace were standing at the time of the French expedition, and are thus documented in drawings. See J. Jomard, "Description de la Ville et de la Citadelle du Kaire," *Description de l'Égypte par les Savants de l'Expédition Francais. Etat Moderne* (Paris, 1812).

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the Great Īwān,[41] the mosque,[42] and the seven *qā'ah*s.[43] He built a number of residences for his amirs, including palaces for Ṭaqtimur al-Dimashqī in Ḥadrat al-Baqar, Baktimur al-Sāqī on the lake of al-Fīl,[44] and the two palaces of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī and Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī in Rumaylah.[45] His restoration efforts included the Jāmi' al-Nāṣirī around the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah in 714/1314[46] and the rebuilding of the mosque of Rashīdah[47] in 741/1340.[48] Among his public works were a number of bridges *(qanāṭir,* sing. *qanṭarah):* the al-Jadīdah bridge and the al-'Āwiz bridge were constructed over the Grand Canal in 725/1324.[49] When the new canal named al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī was finished,[50] the bridge of Bāb al-Baḥr was built across it in 725/1324.[51]

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[41]This *īwān* has not survived; it was known as Dār al-'Adl. It was built by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and was renovated by his son al-Ashraf Khalīl. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad renovated the *īwān* twice before ordering its demolition. He rebuilt the *īwān*, to which he added monumental granite columns and a great dome, in 734/1333. For a description of the *īwān* see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:206; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:148-49.

[42]The existing mosque was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 735/1334. On its site there was a much smaller mosque which was demolished by Sultan al-Nāṣir and rebuilt in 718/1318. That mosque was in turn demolished to be replaced by the existing mosque. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:212.

[43]Overlooking the *maydān,* the *qā'ah*s were built by al-Nāṣir to house his one thousand two hundred concubines. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:212.

[44]This palace was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for a favored amir, al-Sāqī, whose daughter later married al-Nāṣir's son Ānūk. It was built in the year 717-18/1317-18. It is described as one of Cairo's greatest palaces to which a large and well-equipped stable was attached. 'Alī Basha Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1888), 2:328-29; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:68.

[45]The two palaces were built in 738/1337 by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad opposite each other at the foot of the Citadel, on the *maydān* of al-Rumaylah. They were demolished by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, who built on the site his *jāmi'*-madrasah complex in 757-63/1356-62. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:537-41; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:71; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:121.

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:306; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:485.

[47]This mosque was built in 393/1002 by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim. When it fell into ruin around the year 738/1337, it was looted. According to al-Maqrīzī, Amir al-Māridānī transferred a number of columns from it to his mosque on al-Tabbānah Street in al-Qāhirah.

[48]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 4:177; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:517.

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:148.

[50]This canal was dug by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 725/1324. It was to supply the area of Siryāqūs in which al-Nāṣir built his *khānqāh,* palaces, and pleasure gardens. See al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1882), 2:389; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:145-46.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:151; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:145.

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The amirs followed in al-Nāṣir´s footsteps: fourteen bridges were constructed across the Grand Canal and five across al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī.[52] Al-Nāṣir encouraged this patronage by offering both moral and financial support. Ibn Taghrībirdī related that al-Nāṣir, upon being informed of a new project, offered his thanks publicly and his financial support privately.[53] In this building frenzy whole new neighborhoods developed: ″The Island of al-Fīl and the site of Būlāq were built up. After having been empty sand on which mamluks shot arrows and amirs played ball, they were covered with houses, palaces, mosques, markets, and gardens.″[54] The most significant impact of al-Nāṣir´s patronage on the city itself was the expansion of al-Qāhirah beyond its walls. The extension of the city at its southern edge is of particular significance because that part of the city had acquired a ceremonial function. It linked the walled city of al-Qāhirah to the Citadel, thus extending its processional routes along which prestigious monuments were erected.

At the architectural level, al-Nāṣir´s patronage resulted in the revival of the hypostyle mosque, which had fallen into disuse. In fact, in Cairo, for a period of a century and a half (555-711/1160-1311)[55] only one congregational mosque had been built, and that was the Great Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars north of the walled city of al-Qāhirah in 665-67/1266-69.[56] In contrast, during the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, over thirty of them were built.[57] Three by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself used the traditional hypostyle plan and were outside the walled city. The first built by al-Nāṣir was the Jāmi‘ al-Nāṣirī on the shore of the Nile north of Fusṭāṭ; the second was constructed around the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah; and the third was al-Nāṣir´s royal mosque in the Citadel.

The Jāmi‘ al-Nāṣiri was built in 711-12/1311-12.[58] It no longer exists, but Ibn Duqmāq left a detailed description:

> It has four doors: one is in the qiblah wall, which is the door to the chamber of the *khaṭīb;* the second is in the *baḥrī* wall opening onto

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[52] ‘Alī al-Mīlayjī, ″‘Amā’ir al-Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Dīnīyah″ (master´s thesis, Cairo University, 1975), 93, 99.

[53] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:185.

[54] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:539.

[55] In 555/1160, the last of the Fatimid congregational mosques was built by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā’i‘ ibn Ruzzīk.

[56] During that period a very small number of *jāmi*‘s were built outside the city, in the Qarāfah and on private farmland in the outskirts of the city, for example the *jāmi‘* near the mausoleum al-Shāfi‘ī, built in 607/1210, and the *jāmi‘* of al-Ṭaybarsī, built in 707/1307. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:296-304.

[57] They are listed by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:544.

[58] Al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 226; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:304; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 1:76.

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> the blessed Baḥr al-Nīl; the third is in the eastern wall that is reached from between the two gardens of ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn Ṭaybarsī al-Wazīr; and the fourth is reached from the small street which separates it from the well and leads to the door of the Qāʻat al-Khaṭabah and all else. It also has three doors, each leading to the roof. . . . It has three mihrabs on the wall of the qiblah: the large one is in the dome, the second to the east of it, and the third is to the west of it. It also has its enclosed *maqṣūrah,* which has three doors, and its *maqṣūrah* which is in its *baḥrī* side, adjacent to its eastern side, which is dedicated to the *fuqarāʼ* who are installed below and above. . . . [There are] one hundred thirty-seven columns, of which the columns of the dome, and they are ten, are large and solid. Between the dome and the roof of the *jāmiʻ* are again eight solid columns; they are shorter and thinner than the first ones. On the eastern front area, between the domed area and the eastern wall, are twenty-six columns. On the western front is an equal number, that is, twenty-six columns. On the eastern side of the *ṣaḥn,* between the *ṣaḥn* and the eastern wall, are sixteen columns. In the western side of the *ṣaḥn* is the same number. On the flank of its eastern end are thirteen columns, and on the flank of its western end the same number. Flanking the mihrab are two columns. In the *maqṣūrah* of the Sufis there are seven columns.[59]

It is clear from this description that this was a domed hypostyle mosque with a *ṣaḥn* and four *riwāq*s, the largest of which was the *riwāq* of the qiblah, three mihrabs on the qiblah wall (reminiscent of the treatment of the qiblah wall in late Fatimid mosques), and an axial symmetrical arrangement. According to the measurements given by Ibn Duqmāq, the Jāmiʻ al-Nāṣirī was one hundred *dhirāʻ* [65.5 m] on its *qiblī* and *baḥrī* sides, one hundred twenty on its eastern side, and one hundred ten on its western side, and thus was not a perfect rectangle.

The second *jāmiʻ* founded by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was begun in 714/1314 around the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah. It too has not survived, but, according to the brief description of Ibn Duqmāq, it was also of the hypostyle type.[60]

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[59]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 1:76.

[60]Ibid., 124.

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The third *jāmi'* of al-Nāṣir was built in the Citadel in 718/1318 on a site originally occupied by a small mosque believed to have been built by the Ayyubid Sultan al-Kāmil,[61] which was demolished along with the royal kitchens.[62] By 735/1334, the mosque was again judged not fit for royalty and it was rebuilt once more. The extent of that reconstruction is unclear in Casanova's study, since none of the Mamluk historians consulted by him clearly identified the parts which were rebuilt at that time.[63] But Ibn al-Dawādārī, who lived during the reign of al-Nāṣir, provides detailed information. "In it [the year 735/1334] royal decrees were issued to demolish the *jāmi'* erected by our master the sultan, may his victory be exalted, in the Citadel, and to renovate its structure. The interior was demolished: the *riwāqs*, the *maqṣūrah,* and the mihrab. It was rebuilt to a structure the likes of which no eye has seen. He raised the arches of the *riwāqs* to an enormous height, also the dome was raised until it became very high. He brought to this mosque huge columns which were left in the city of Ashmūnayn."[64] These antique granite columns were brought to Cairo on boats and carried up to the Citadel by thousands of workers. The reconstruction of the interior involved increasing the height of the walls, which produced the reaction by Briggs that "its walls are higher in proportion to their length than those of Ibn Ṭūlūn or Ḥākim."[65]

The Jāmi' of al-Nāṣir is almost square in plan, measuring 63 by 57 meters (Fig. 1). The *ṣaḥn* is a large rectangle measuring 35.50 by 23.50 meters; it originally had a fountain in the center, but that no longer exists.[66] The qiblah *riwāq* is four bays wide and each of the side *riwāq*s are two bays wide. As in the Jāmi' of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (Fig. 2), the area in front of the mihrab, covering nine square bays, is covered by a dome carried by wooden stalactite pendentives resting on ten cylindrical granite columns.[67] Neither the original mihrab nor the marble paneling

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[61]Paul Casanova, *Tārīkh wa-Waṣf Qal'at al-Qāhirah,* trans. Aḥmad Darrāj (Cairo, 1974), 93-95.

[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:325.

[63]Including the accounts of al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and al-'Umarī, who discussed the rebuilding but failed to indicate the changes made to the first structure.

[64]Al-Mīlayjī in "'Amā'ir al-Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Dīnīyah," 205-6, discloses the important account of Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:382.

[65]M. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (New York, 1924), 101.

[66]This fountain was documented by Watson in 1886. The *ṣaḥn* of the mosque remains bare today. His survey and description of the mosque were published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18 (1886): 477-82.

[67]The original dome was covered with green tiles; it collapsed and was rebuilt during the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy in 893/1487, but this dome has also perished. The present dome is a modern addition made by the Comité in 1935. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 3:253; Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, "Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah: 'Aṣr al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn," *Majallat al-'Imārah* 7-8 (1941): 295.

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of the interior walls has survived.[68] Three projecting portals provide access to the mosque. The main portal is of the stalactite type; it is in the center of the northwestern facade on an axis with the mihrab (Fig. 3). The second portal is placed in the center of the northeastern facade and leads to the *ṣaḥn;* it has a trilobed arched recess. The third is located at the end of the southwestern wall; its pointed-arched recess features an *ablaq* medallion. This portal opens onto the qiblah *riwāq* and gives access to the royal *maqṣūrah* to the right of the mihrab.[69] It was the entrance used by the sultan on Fridays; the amirs entered through the portal on the northwestern wall.[70]

The two minarets built of stone and adorned with faience mosaics that rise above the structure contrast with the otherwise austere exterior. One minaret is located above the main portal; the other occupied the eastern corner of the mosque. The minaret above the portal has a conical shape of three stories; two balconies with stone-paneled parapets separate the shafts. The lower two shafts are carved with zigzag motifs; the upper shaft is ribbed and carries a bulbous ribbed top below which is an inscription band of white faience mosaic. The whole of the upper shaft is covered with white, blue, and green faience mosaic. The eastern minaret has a rectangular base and a cylindrical second shaft, both undecorated. The third story is similar to that of the first minaret only in that the upper structure is raised on an open arcade. Both the bulbous shapes and the use of faience mosaics testify to the participation of Persian craftsmen.[71] The interior facade of the *ṣaḥn* is articulated by a row of arched windows running across the facade above the arcade (Fig. 4). Painted *ablaq* masonry highlights the frame of the windows and the voussoirs of the arcade below. The wall is capped by stepped crenellation. At each of four corners is a sculptural element featuring the *mabkharah* minaret top.

Al-Nāṣir´s example was followed by many amirs who built Friday mosques within the city. The privilege of building congregational mosques was no longer reserved for the sultan. Five examples of the hypostyle *jāmi'* dating to this period

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[68]The marble paneling was dismantled and transferred to Istanbul by Sultan Selim. Both the mihrab and the marble dado were reconstructed by the Comité on the basis of photographs in 1947. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Leiden, 1989), 109; Al-Milaīgī, ″'Amā'ir al-Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Dīnīyah,″ 216-17.

[69]Achille Prisse D´Avennes, *L´Art Arabe* (Paris, 1877),1:106.

[70]Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), 6:105.

[71] For further discussion, see Michael Meinecke, ″Die mamlukischen faience Dekorationen: Eine Werkstatte aus Tabriz in Kairo (1330-1355),″ *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976-77): 85ff.

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are extant. The Jāmi‘ of Qūṣūn al-Nāṣirī, the son-in-law of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,[72] was constructed in 730/1329[73] outside of Bāb Zuwaylah, on the street of al-Qal‘ah. Today only the *riwāq* of the qiblah remains; the rest was demolished when the street of Muḥammad Alī was constructed. ‘Alī Pasha Mubārak proposed a design for its reconstruction that was implemented in 1893. The only remaining part of the original structure is the northwestern portal containing the foundation inscription: ″Qūṣūn al-Sāqī al-Malākī al-Nāṣirī ordered the construction of this blessed *jāmi‘* during the reign of our master al-Malik al-Nāṣir . . . in the year seven hundred thirty [1329].″[74]

The Jāmi‘ of Ulmās al-Ḥājib, the chamberlain of the imperial court,[75] located at the intersection of Ḥilmīyah Street and the Boulevard Muḥammad Alī, was begun in 729/1328-29 and completed in 730/1329 (Fig. 5). Attached to the *jāmi‘* is the mausoleum of the founder. It occupies the northern corner of the *jāmi‘* in the sharp angle formed by the adjustment between the edge of the street and the orientation of the qiblah wall. The site is very irregular so the *riwāq*s differ in size; their organization is maintained by a shift in the main axis of the building.

Amir Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī[76] constructed his *jāmi‘* opposite a *khānqāh*[77] he had built (it no longer survives) and linked the two with a bridge.[78] According to

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[72]Qūṣūn al-Nāṣirī was a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who came to Cairo in the company of Khawand Ibnat Uzbek, the wife of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in 720/1320. He was drafted, trained in the Citadel, and appointed to many posts until he was promoted to a commander of a thousand mamluks. The sultan was married to his sister but also became his father-in-law in 727/1326-27. Al-Nāṣir appointed him guardian to his son Abū Bakr, whom he executed and replaced with another son of al-Nāṣir, the five-year-old al-Ashraf Kuchuk. Qūṣūn ruled the country as *nā’ib al-salṭanah* in Cairo. He was murdered by the amirs who allied with Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his quest for the throne in 742/1341. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:257; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:307.

[73]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:307.

[74]Cited by Su‘ād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wa-Awliyā’uhā al-Ṣāliḥūn* (Cairo, 1971-83), 3:191.

[75]Ulmās al-Ḥājib also held, though not officially, the office of viceroy when Amir Arghūn left the post and was appointed governor of Aleppo. Al-Nāṣir left him in charge of the Citadel when he traveled to the Ḥijāz in 732/1331. He lost the trust of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 734/1333 and was killed under mysterious circumstances in that year. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 3:89-91.

[76]Amir Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī was a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It is said that al-Nāṣir wanted to purchase a mamluk who looked like the Ilkhan Abū Sa‘īd; Bashtāk was sold to him for six thousand *dirham*s, and for that he was favored by the sultan. He grew rich by confiscating the wealth of Baktimur al-Sāqī after his death. Conflict between him and Amir Qūṣūn ended his life in 742/1341. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:477; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:18-19.

[77]The *sabīl* built by Ulfat Hānim in 1280/1863 stands on the site of the *khānqāh* today.

[78]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:262.

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al-Maqrīzī, the *jāmi‘* was completed in 736/1335,[79] but the inscription carved on the door of the minaret leading to the roof of the *jāmi‘* indicates a completion date of 727/1326-27. It is located outside the walled city on the street of Qabū al-Karamālī on Birkat al-Fīl (Port Sa‘īd Street today). This *jāmi‘* was rebuilt by Princess Ulfat Hānim, the mother of Muṣṭafá Pasha Fāḍil, in 1278/1861 and is now called the Jāmi‘ of Muṣṭafá Pasha Fāḍil. Only the main portal and the minaret remain of the original structure (Fig. 6).

The Jāmi‘ of Sitt Miskah (Fig. 7), located in Sūwayqat al-Sibā‘īyīn was founded by Sitt Miskah al-Qahramānīyah (also known as Sitt Ḥadaq), the majordomo of the harem of al-Nāṣir,[80] in 741/1340.[81] The inscription on a wooden panel above the door of the minbar provides the date of its completion, 746/1345.[82] In its northwestern corner, the *jāmi‘* contains Sitt Miskah´s tomb; there is a band of Quranic inscription (from Sūrat Yāsīn) carved in stone on the exterior of the building, and a religious poem carved in wood in the interior.[83] The qiblah wall is lavishly decorated in marble. Marble columns also support the elaborate roof structure of the qiblah *riwāq*. The courtyard has a well—the ablution fountains are outside the *jāmi‘*—and its walls are decorated in stucco.[84]

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[79]Ibid., 309.

[80]Sitt Miskah al-Qahramānīyah al-Nāṣirīyah was a concubine who was brought up under the sultan´s roof. Admiring her competence, the sultan appointed her to administer the royal harem. She was in charge of all affairs of the harem, from raising the sultan´s children to organizing celebrations and weddings. The responsibilities she assumed and the control she demonstrated granted her the respected title ″Sitt.″ She had an influential role in the sultan´s decision to relieve merchants of unjust taxation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:7; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:116.

[81]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:326.

[82]K. A. C. Creswell, *A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Architecture of Egypt to A.D. 1517* (Cairo, 1919), 101.

[83]Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah,* 1:3:91.

[84]See H. Al-Harithy, ″Female Patronage of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo,″ *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 1, no. 2 (1994): 152-74, and C. Williams, ″The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq,″ *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 55-64.

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The Jāmi‘ of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, the son-in-law of al-Nāṣir,[85] is located outside of Bāb Zuwaylah on al-Tabbānah Street (Fig. 8).[86] It was begun in 738/1337 and completed in 740/1339.[87] Al-Maqrīzī, in a rare instance, gives us the name of the architect as Ibn al-Suyūṭī, al-Nāṣir´s chief architect and the architect responsible for the Madrasah al-Aqbaghāwīyah (740/1340) attached to the Mosque of al-Azhar.[88] Like the *jāmi‘*s of al-Nāṣir, al-Māridānī's has a traditional hypostyle plan (Fig. 9) but was built inside the city. The hypostyle plan was, therefore, adapted to its urban setting. Internally, it maintains a symmetrical axial arrangement around the open courtyard. The plan is rectangular, measuring 20 by 22.5 meters, with the northern corner carved out. To retain its symmetrical interior, a chamber was built in the southern corner of the qiblah *riwāq*, which comprises four bays; the remaining three *riwāqs* have two bays each. Three entrances lead to the *ṣaḥn,* with a fountain in the center. The first is on the northeastern side opening onto al-Tabbānah Street. The second entrance is across the *ṣaḥn* from the main portal and is the simplest of the three. The third is on the northwestern side on an axis with the mihrab. The side entrance on al-Tabbānah Street is transformed into the main entrance, for it links to one of the major ceremonial streets of Cairo through which the sultan´s procession passed on its way to the Citadel from Bāb al-Naṣr.

In this series of mosques two significant architectural developments are worth noting. The first was the attachment of the mausoleum to the *jāmi‘,* as was already customary with madrasahs. The second was the revival of the hypostyle *jāmi‘* and the adaptation of its plan to the constrained sites within the urban fabric. In the case of al-Māridānī, for example, the mosque is located at a bend in the street. To accommodate the bend, the corners are cut at an angle to reflect the change in the direction of the street; the axial symmetry of the interior was maintained by building a cell to occupy the right corner of the qiblah *riwāq*. The portal is placed in the section of the building that is set back from the street, thus forming a pocket in front of the entrance which becomes part of its transitional spatial sequence. The minaret is located in the most visible section of the building. The jagged corner of the building joins the entry porch to make the portal appear to be projected, a reference to the tradition to which the mosque belongs that includes the Mosque of al-Ḥākim and the Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, both of which have projected portals.

The number of *jāmi‘*s built during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad has been attributed simply to the growth of the city and its population, but it may also

[85]Amir Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī al-Sāqī was a favored mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who appointed him to the post of *sāqī* (cup-bearer) followed by many other posts until he became commander of a thousand. After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, his son al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr ascended the throne and imprisoned Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī in 742/1341. He was released after al-Manṣūr was deposed and replaced by his brother al-Ashraf Kuchuk in the same year. In

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have broader significance. It can be first explained in light of the shift in authority from the Shafi'i to the Hanafi rite, whose law differed on the number of *jāmi'*s allowed in the city.[89] During the Ayyubid period no congregational mosques were built; the Friday *khuṭbah* was suspended from the Jāmi' of al-Azhar, and the number of *jāmi'*s in which the Friday *khuṭbah* had taken place during the Fatimid period was now reduced to two: the Jāmi' of al-Ḥākim in al-Qāhirah and the Jāmi' of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ in Fusṭāṭ.[90] Though the Ayyubids were Hanafis, Shafi'i law predominated during the Ayyubid period, and only Shafi'is were appointed to the position of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (chief justice), assisted as well by other Shafi'i qadis. The Shafi'i law allows only one congregational mosque in each city. The situation continued during the early years of the Mamluk period until al-Ẓāhir Baybars built his *jāmi'* in 665/1266 in the new quarter of al-Ḥusaynīyah and Sultan Lājīn restored the Jāmi' of Ibn Ṭūlūn and its Friday *khuṭbah* in 696/1296. When al-Ẓāhir Baybars ordered the restoration of the Friday *khuṭbah* in the Jāmi' of al-Azhar in 665/1266, the Shafi'i *qāḍī al-qudāh* Tāj al-Dīn ibn Bint al-A'azz issued a *fatwá* that two Friday *khuṭbah*s should be allowed in the same city and the Hanbali *qāḍī al-qudāh* Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī issued a *fatwá* contradicting the Shafi'i qadi.[91]

The Shafi'i rite gradually lost its dominance. First al-Ẓāhir Baybars in 663/1264 appointed four people to the office of *qāḍī al-qudāh,* one for each of the four rites, instead of a single Shafi'i *qāḍī al-qudāh*.[92] The Shafi'i rite continued to dominate for a while—the positions of imam and *khaṭīb* were reserved for the Shafi'is, and the Shafi'i qadi led the hierarchical order of seating at court. During the fourteenth century, however, the Hanafi rite gradually gained popularity, and the number of madrasahs devoted to it increased. Towards the end of the Baḥrī period, the Hanafis enjoyed the special favor of the sultan, who reserved the most prestigious positions for them.[93] The Friday *khuṭbah* and prayer were even held in madrasahs after Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh obtained a *fatwá* in 730/1329 from Majlis al-Qaḍā' to conduct the Friday prayer in the madrasah of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn.[94] This shift away from Shafi'i dominance, combined with al-Nāṣir's patronage, resulted in the large number of congregational mosques in the city.

743/1342, during the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, he was appointed governor of Ḥamāh and later Aleppo. He died in Aleppo in 744/1343. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 4:67-70; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:308.

[86]The mosque was restored by the Comité in 1314/1896.

[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:308; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 10:105; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 70-71, 115-17.

[88]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:384.

[89]J. A. Williams, "Urbanization and Monument Construction in Mamlūk Cairo," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 35.

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The shift from the building of madrasahs to the building of congregational mosques can also be explained in light of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s competitive streak, especially where al-Ẓāhir Baybars, the founder of the Mamluk sultanate, was concerned. A number of incidents that took place during the reigns of al-Nāṣir reveal a certain resentment of rulers who interrupted the reigns of the house of Qalāwūn, and a very competitive attitude towards al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī and Baybars al-Jāshankīr were the two Mamluk sultans who had interrupted al-Nāṣir′s own rule, deposed him, and sent him into exile. Al-Nāṣir acquired the madrasah built by Kitbughā and replaced Kitbughā′s name in the foundation inscription with his own. He also ordered the royal title of Baybars al-Jāshankīr to be removed from his *khānqāh*. Al-Nāṣir′s actions can be interpreted as a gesture of disapproval of their claim to the throne on the one hand, and a desire to establish an uninterrupted royal lineage for the house of Qalāwūn on the other.

Having erased the imprint of the sultans who unjustifiably interrupted the rule of the house of Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir must have viewed himself in direct competition with the memory of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, who was not only the founder of the Mamluk dynasty but a ruler known for his architectural patronage. Al-Nāṣir saw in him a legend in Mamluk military and political history, a rival against whom he felt the need to compete. He set about outdoing his achievements. In the Citadel al-Nāṣir built the Qaṣr al-Ablaq to match the Ablaq Palace al-Ẓāhir Baybars had built in Damascus. Contemporary historians did not miss the point: al-Maqrīzī writes, ″In this year [713/1313] [al-Nāṣir] began construction of al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq on the site of the royal stable at the beginning of the year, and [it] was completed on the seventh of Rajab. He intended it to rival the palace of al-Ẓāhir Baybars outside of Damascus; he recruited craftsmen from Damascus and called on the craftsmen of Egypt.″[95] Al-Nāṣir built other architectural parallels to those of al-Ẓāhir Baybars as well. Baybars had founded the royal suburb of al-Ḥusaynīyah, north of the walled city, around the congregational mosque and palace he built on the bank of the Grand Canal.[96] To match it, al-Nāṣir built the royal suburb of Siryāqūs in the northern outskirts of the city around his *jāmi‘-khānqāh* complex after the building of the new canal, al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī, in 725/1324.[97]

This competitive streak is best illustrated by the events of the year 735/1334. Al-Nāṣir proposed to rebuild Qanāṭir al-Sibā‘ (the Bridge of the Panthers), which had been built by al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Al-Maqrīzī tells the story:

[90] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:244-45.

[91] M. A. Al-Zarkashī, *A‘lām al-Masājid bi-Aḥkām al-Masājid* (Cairo, 1982), 34-35.

[92] Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:165-66; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:343-44.

[93] Leonor Fernandes, ″Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence From Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyyas,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 94.

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> It was originally built by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. He placed on it panthers of stone, for his emblem was in the shape of a panther. It was then called Qanāṭir al-Sibā' [the bridge of panthers] for that reason. It was lofty and high. After al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn built the royal *maydān,* on the site of Bustān al-Khashshāb by Mawridat al-Balāṭ, he frequently went there and had to go over Qanāṭir al-Sibā' in order to reach the *maydān* from the Citadel. He was discomfited by its height and told the amirs: ″When I ride to the *maydān* across this bridge, my back hurts from its height.″ It is said that though he spread that [excuse], the reason was his dislike of having to look at an edifice of one of the kings who preceded him, and his hatred of having anyone other than himself be associated with something by name. Whenever he passed by it, he saw the panthers, which were the emblem of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, and wished to remove them so that the bridge would be attributed to him and known by his name.[98]

The sultan ordered the bridge to be rebuilt wider and at a shallower angle. At first the reconstruction did not incorporate the panthers, which did not go unnoticed by the public.

> Amir Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī fell ill, went to the royal *maydān,* and stayed there. The sultan [al-Nāṣir] visited him frequently. Al-Māridānī was made aware of the public´s talk that the sultan only destroyed Qanāṭir al-Sibā' in order for it to become attributed to him, and that he ordered Ibn al-Marwānī to break to pieces the stone panthers and to throw them in the river. It is said that he [al-Māridānī] was healed after the completion of the construction of the *qanṭarah* and rode to the Citadel. The sultan was happy to see him, for he had loved him. He asked him about his health and conversed with him until the *qanṭarah* was mentioned. ″How do you like its construction?″ asked the sultan. ″By God, the likes of it has never been made,″ he replied, ″but it is not finished.″ ″How?″ [asked the sultan]. ″The panthers which were there have not been

[94]An important event to which a contemporary, al-Nuwayrī, devoted a section in ″Nihāyat al-Arab,″ fol. 31.

[95]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:129; also see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:444.

[96]Williams, ″Urbanization and Monument Construction,″ 35.

[97]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:422; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:79; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat*

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> put back, and the people say that the sultan´s purpose in removing them was because they are the emblem of another sultan.˝ The sultan was ill-humored.[99]

On the advice of al-Māridānī the sultan ordered the panthers to be put back in their original place.

The unprecedented number of congregational mosques built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and members of his family and court may have encapsulated another symbolic intention beyond competing with the memory of al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Al-Nāṣir built no madrasahs but many hypostyle congregational mosques. His patronage was aimed at reinforcing the royal lineage of the house of Qalāwūn and overcoming the stigma associated with their slave origin. Building madrasahs was a tradition associated with the Mamluks advertising themselves as heirs to the Ayyubids, a legitimacy based on the slave-master relationship. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a non-slave who was born a free Muslim and spoke fluent Arabic, had no wish to associate himself with such a tradition. He sought rather to revive and establish an association with a much older tradition of Islam, the caliphal tradition of building great congregational mosques.

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al-Nabīh, 2:149.

[98]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:146.

[99]Ibid., 147.

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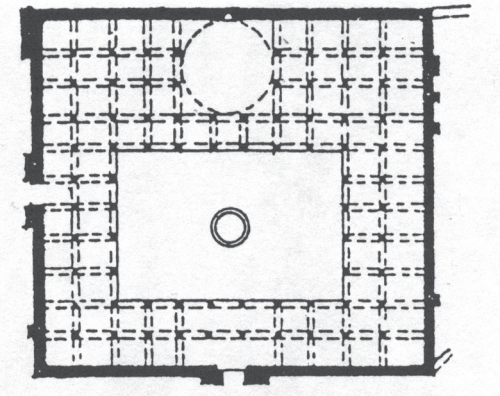

Figure 1. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel, plan (Creswell)

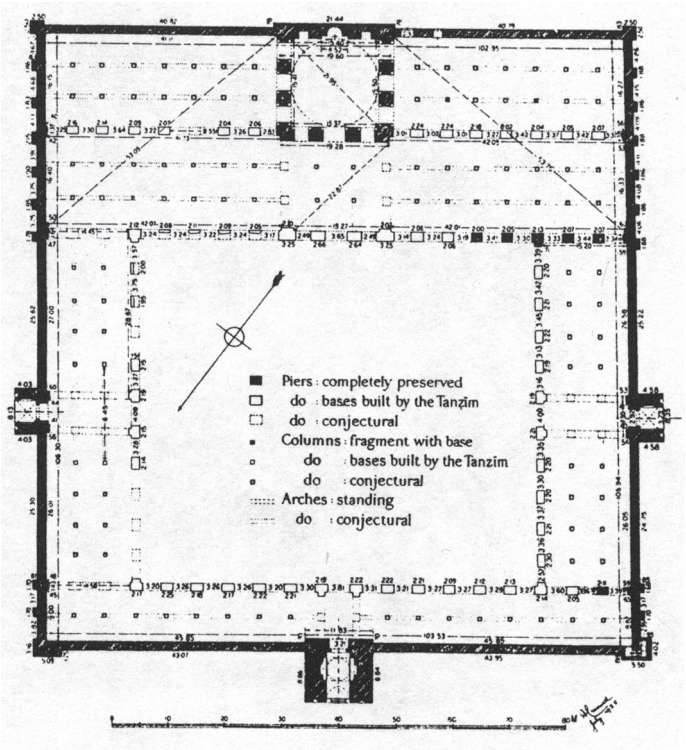

Figure 2. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (Creswell)

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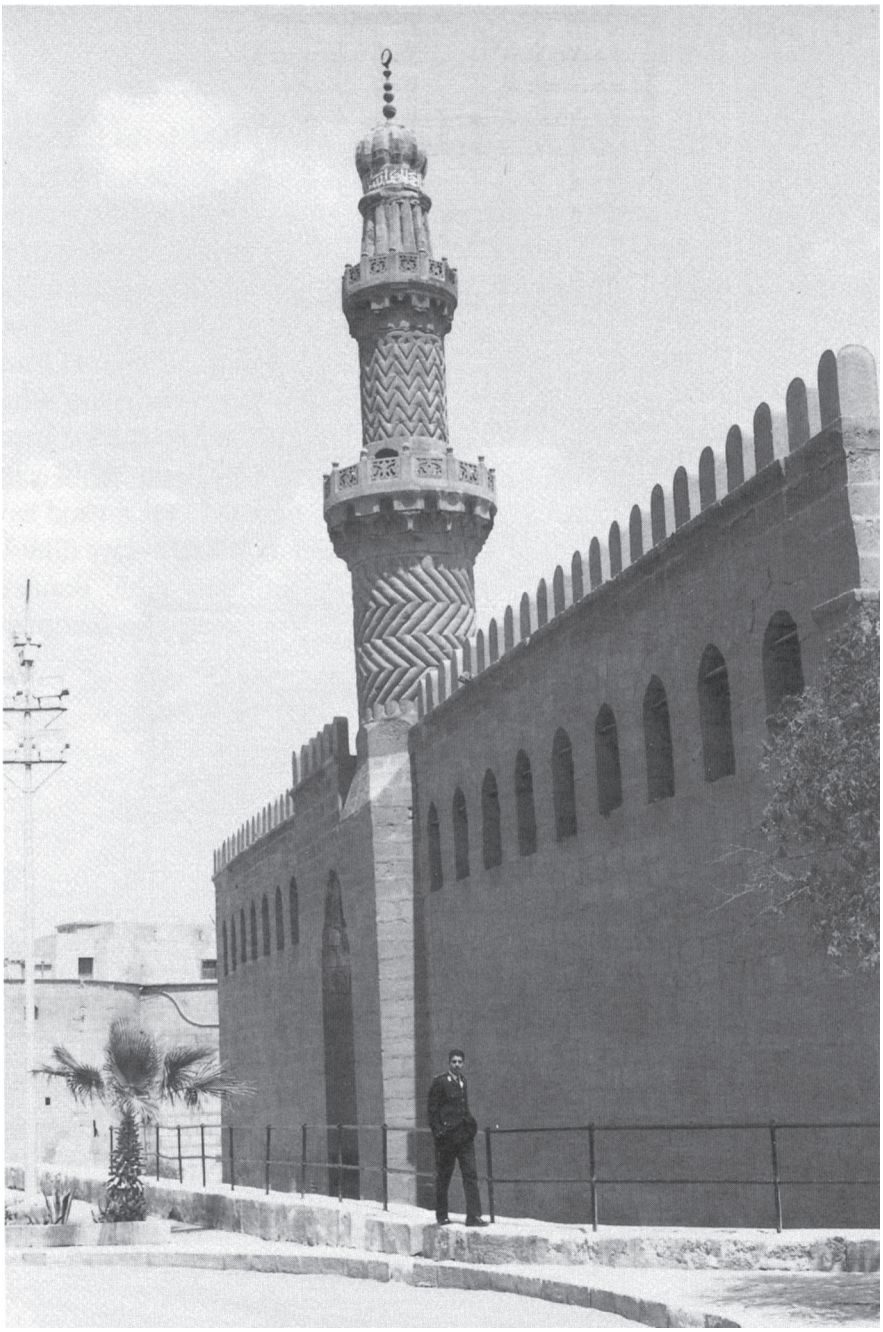

Figure 3. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel, main facade

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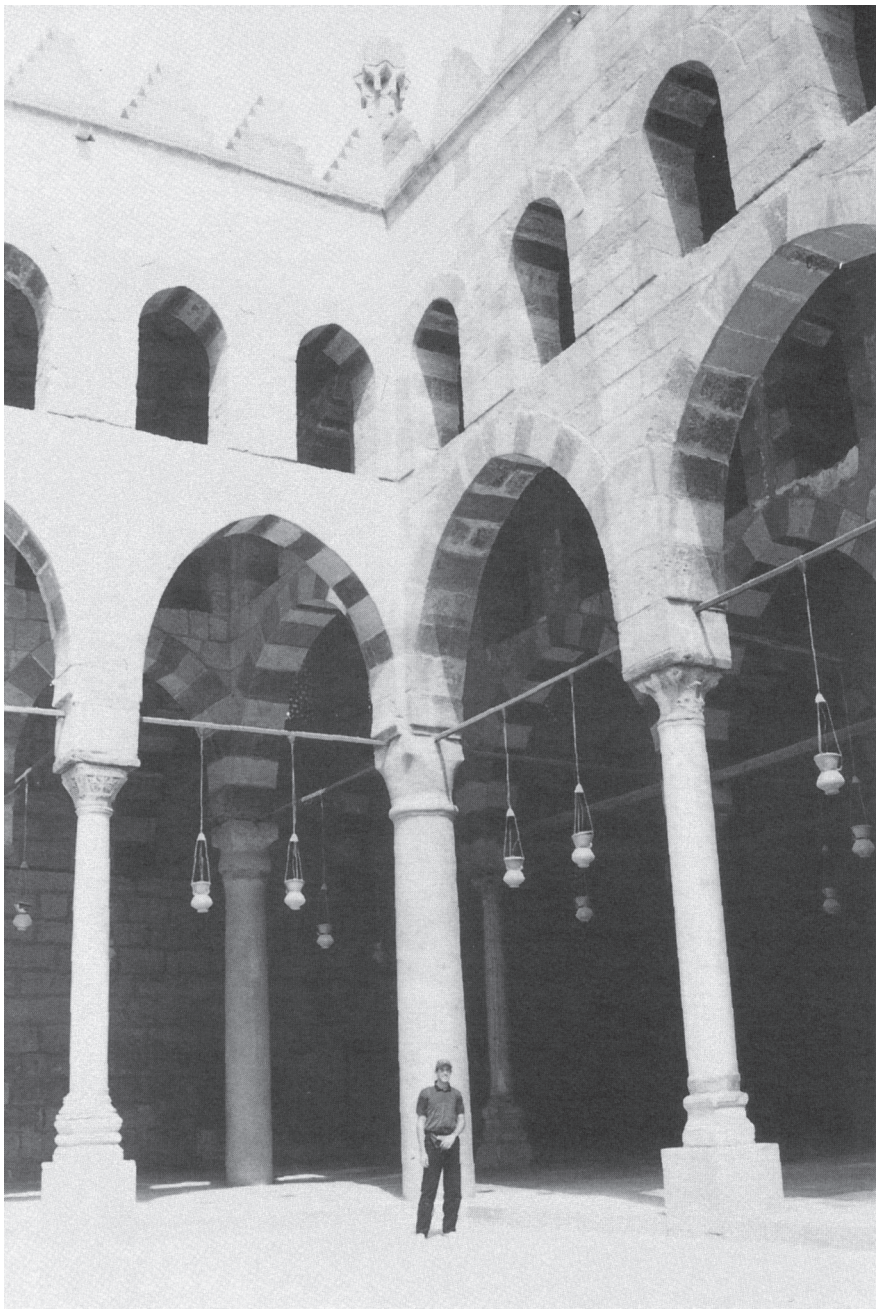

Figure 4. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel, view from the courtyard

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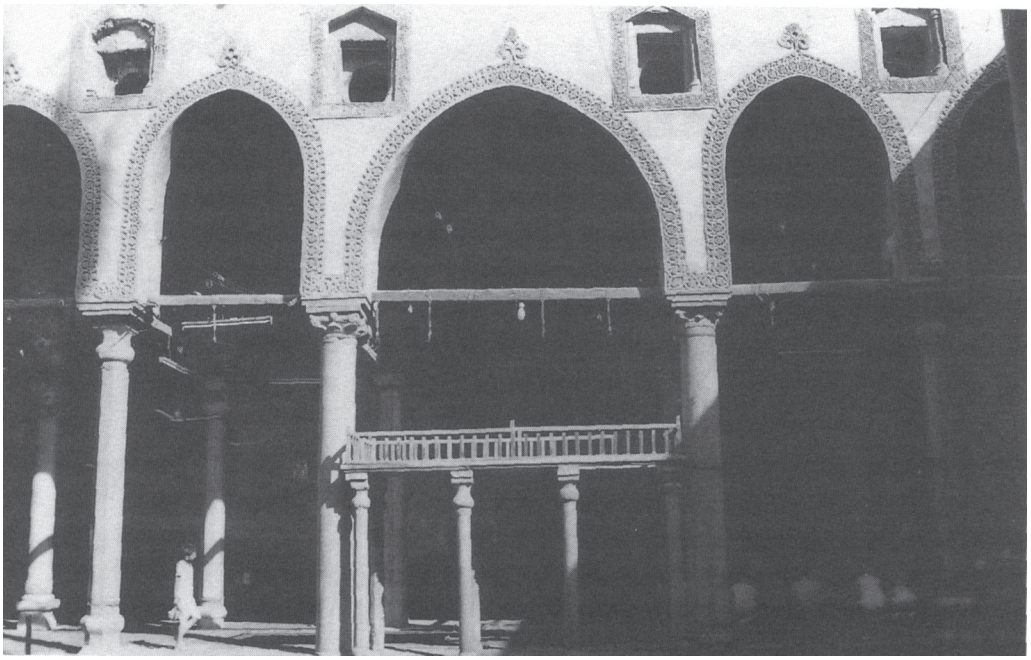

Figure 5. Mosque of Ulmās al-Ḥājib, qiblah *riwāq*

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Figure 6. Mosque of Bashtāk, portal

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Figure 7. Mosque of Sitt Miskah, exterior facade

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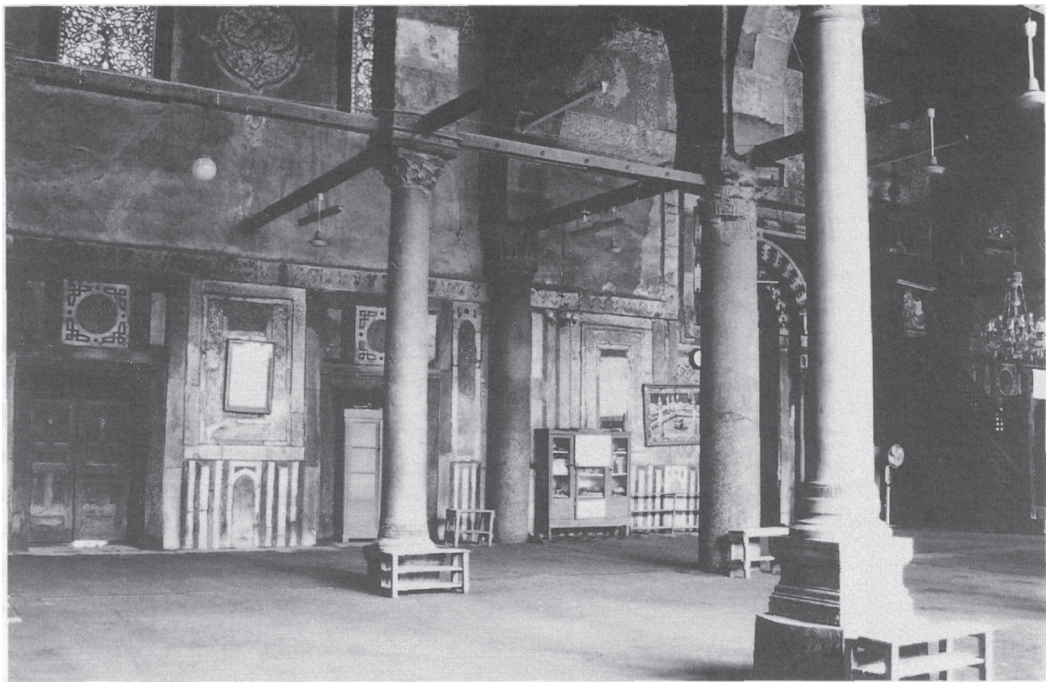

Figure 8. Mosque of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, qiblah *riwāq*

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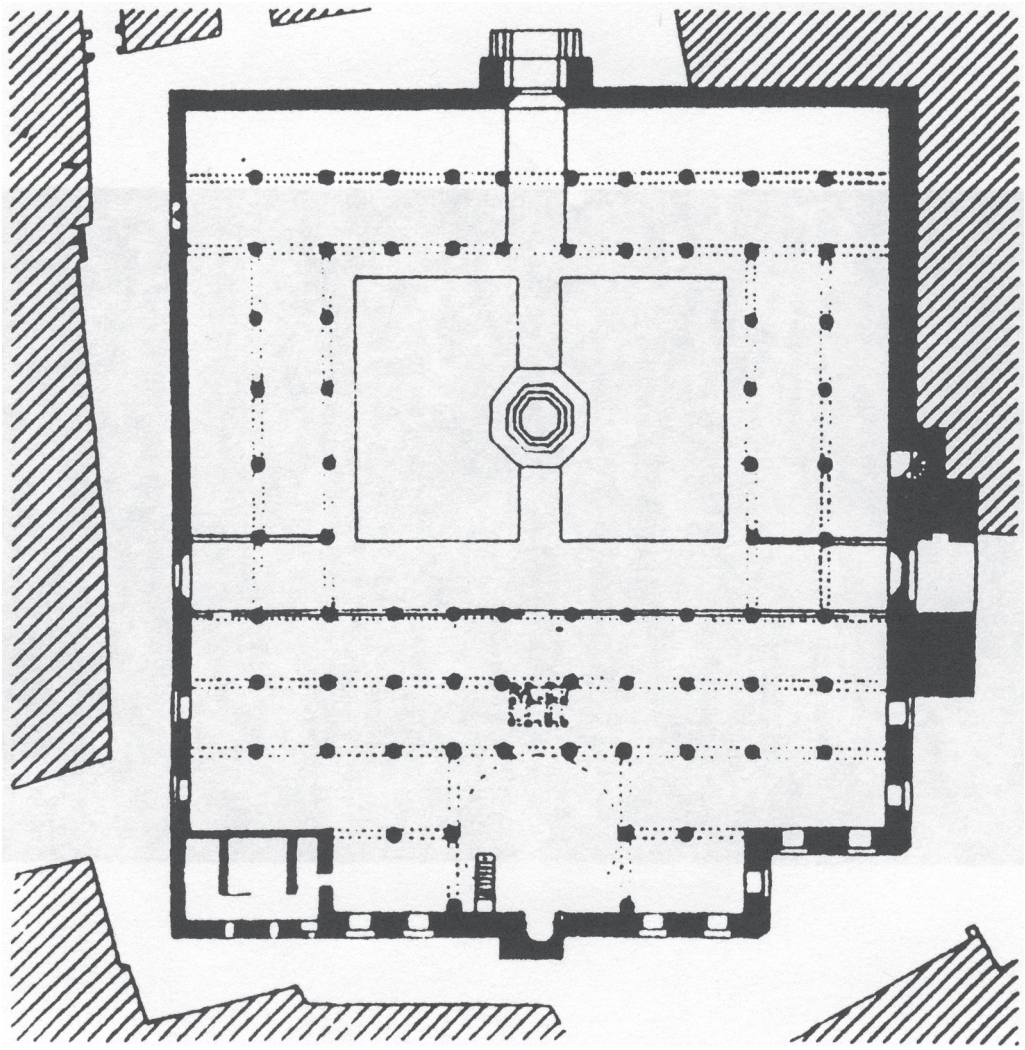

Figure 9. Mosque of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, plan (Comité)

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Book Reviews

Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1998). Pp. 350.

Reviewed by Robert Irwin, London, England

This has, I believe, been a long time coming. However, it has been worth waiting for. It is lucid, assiduously annotated, and in quite a few areas it breaks new ground. The opening chapter on sources is exceptionally clear. I note that she is more positive than Donald Little (in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*) in her assessment of Ibn al-Furāt. It is also curious to note that the Copt Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Faḍā'il appears to have identified so strongly with the anti-Crusader enterprise that he even refers to Qalāwūn as *al-Shahīd*. Her portrait of Qalāwūn, the man, brings few surprises. He was, as earlier historians have judged him to be, capable, cautious, and unusually clement to defeated rivals. What is unusual in Northrup's monograph is her close focus on such matters as the sultan's real and theoretical relationship with the caliph, the phrasing of the *'ahd* or investiture diploma, and the underlying significance of the sultan's entitulature. She points again and again to the ways in which Qalāwūn took care to associate himself with the traditions of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. Also welcome is her use of the *tadhkirah*s, which were drawn up to guide Qalāwūn's deputies during his absences from Egypt, in order to shed light on details of administration and especially the supervision of irrigation and agriculture.

Even more striking is Northrup's repeated emphasis on the strength of civilian hostility to Qalāwūn. It is one of her leading themes. Some of the sources for this are rather late, but she is inclined to believe them (and so am I). According to al-Maqrīzī, Qalāwūn was at first at least so unpopular that he did not dare ride out in a traditional accession procession. The reasons for the antipathy of many of the ulama towards Qalāwūn seem to have been various, but the main issue seems to have been the high-handed fund-raising procedures of Qalāwūn and Sanjar al-Shujā'ī and their ready resort to confiscations and misappropriations of *waqf*s. It is also clear that Syrians resented Egypt's dominance and, for example, the Syrian chronicler Ibn Kathīr stated that Egypt "was a place where wrongdoing was perpetrated with impunity."

Doubtless there were others who suspected that Qalāwūn had not dealt honestly with the sons of Baybars. The death of al-Malik al-Sa'īd, possibly of a fall from his horse, must have looked suspicious. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that, because

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Qalāwūn poisoned the prince, he was loathed until he started making conquests. Qalāwūn′s grand charitable gesture, the building of the Manṣūrī Bīmāristān and Madrasah, was also very unpopular, because of the extravagance and the corvées. It is also interesting to note that, at first at least, amirs must have had reservations about their new sultan, as they threatened to depose him if he did not advance against the Mongols in northern Syria.

Finally with regard to Qalāwūn′s unpopularity, on page 155 Northrup notes that Qalāwūn ″was met with demands for an end to his rule on what should have been his triumphal return to the city following the conquest of Tripoli in 688/1289,″ but tantalizingly she does not dwell any further on this final disappointment (unless I have missed it).

Northrup believes that there were commercial reasons for Qalāwūn′s final offensives against Tripoli and Acre: ″Repossession of the ports of the Syrian Littoral, therefore, gave the sultanate access to a port in which the slave trade had figured and greater control over the trade routes to the interior as well as the revenues from the commerce that passed through the ports and along those routes.″ Yet the history of the Syrian Littoral and its once great ports for at least the next half century or so was one of desolation. The trade routes to the interior were in abeyance and almost the only revenues to be earned were earned by a small band of troopers stationed at Acre who sold caged birds to the occasional pilgrim. (But Northrup has a much better case when she argues against Meron Benvenisti′s contention that the Mamluks systematically destroyed Palestinian agriculture.)

I do have one other substantial reservation. On page 47, in a discussion of the value as a source of the chronicle of Qirṭay al-‘Izzī al-Khazindārī she notes that I have raised doubts about its veracity, but does not refer to the article in which I did so. (I did so in ″The Image of the Greek and the Frank in Medieval Arab Popular Literature″ in Benjamin Arbel et al., eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* [London, 1989], 226-42; also published in *Mediterranean History Review* 4 [1989]: 226-42.) Northrup goes on state that while she believes that ″it is too early to dismiss the entire chronicle as fiction, it is perhaps necessary to use it with caution.″ While I did not dismiss all of Qirṭay′s chronicle as fictional, I did note that some of his most improbable and exciting information is not corroborated by other chroniclers and I concluded that the ″fact that the pages he devoted to the embassy to England are demonstrably nonsensical should encourage us to look with a colder eye on the other original snippets of information he offers elsewhere.″ When Qirṭay is the only source, as he is, for example, on Qalāwūn′s recruitment of the sons of Baḥrīyah from the riffraff of the Bāb al-Lūq quarter (Northrup, 83), or on Qalāwūn′s riding out on an accession procession (Northrup, 84), I think that we have to look on these reported incidents with great suspicion. The question mark over Qirṭay′s reliability is not without

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importance, as Northrup quotes *in extenso* an account relayed by Qirṭay of how Qalāwūn on separate days successively delegated military power, financial power, and spiritual power to three of his trusted officers. It is a fascinating narrative and one is grateful to see it translated, but I fear that its only value may lie in the light it sheds on the way that Qirṭay, or his alleged source Ibn al-Wāḥid, thought about things. As Northrup herself notes, we know practically nothing about the third officer, Ṭughrīl al-Shiblī, and there is no other evidence at all to suggest he was the supremo over spiritual affairs in Egypt. While on the subject of unreliable sources, I used to believe that the *waṣīyah* of the dying Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was an authentic document. (It is cited by Northrup in a note on p. 163 on the need for military discipline.) But I now believe it should be read more carefully in order to determine, if possible, who forged it.

LI GUO, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998). Two volumes.

REVIEWED BY DONALD P. LITTLE, McGill University

Readers of this journal will be familiar with the name Li Guo as a member of its editorial board and as author of the important review article, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," which appeared in the first issue.[1] The present work is a revised version of his Ph.D. dissertation on al-Yūnīnī's continuation of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's famous history *Mir'āt al-Zamān*.[2] Since the *Dhayl* has long been recognized as one of the key contemporary sources for Baḥrī history during al-Yūnīnī's lifetime (640-726/1242-1326) spent mainly in Syria, both Guo's edition and translation and his clarification of its relationship to other Mamluk histories should be of considerable interest to scholars.

Unfortunately, publication of the *Dhayl* has been sporadic, piecemeal, and, until Guo's work, sometimes incompetent. The most substantial portion of the text appeared in four volumes some forty years ago, covering the years 654-86.[3] Ironically, this section is of secondary significance, being based for the most part

[1] *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997):15-43.

[2] "The Middle Baḥrī Mamluks in Medieval Syrian Historiography: The Years 1297-1302 in the *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* Attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá al-Yūnīnī; A Critical Edition with Introduction, Annotated Translation, and Source Criticism," Ph.D. diss, Yale University, 1994.

[3] (Hyderabad,1954-61).

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on secondary sources, which Guo identifies as Ibn Khallikān, Abū Shāmah, Ibn Ḥamawayh al-Juwaynī, Ibn Shaddād, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, and Ibn Wāṣil (1:60-63). In recognition of this fact a dissertation by Antranig Melkonian, published in 1975, produced the text and German translation of the years 687-90,[4] a period when al-Yūnīnī's ″originality″ became more strikingly evident, that is, when he seems to have relied on his own observation and that of his informants and colleagues, although, in fact, he was heavily indebted to the work of his Syrian contemporary, al-Jazarī. Now with Guo's book we have the text for another segment, 697-701, which means, however, that the years 691-96 and 702-11 are still available only in manuscript.

Why, we might ask, did Guo choose to edit these particular years rather than pick up where Melkonian left off? Unless I have missed something he does not explicitly say, though in his historiographic article he does declare his intention to complete ″the remaining ten-year portion (702-711),″[5] leaving 691-96 unclaimed. Presumably a combination of factors historiographical and historical guided his choice. In any case, of the twenty-three known manuscripts, he has based his edition on two: one at Yale, the other in Istanbul. Another complicating factor is that Guo's edition of the *Dhayl* has been collated with the text of al-Jazarī's *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* for the years 697-99 in a separate footnote apparatus. Since, however, al-Jazarī's text in the Paris MS used by Guo covers the years 689-99 he could presumably have chosen the years 691-95, say, and still collated them with a1-Jazarī and followed Melkonian's sequence. I am sure that there must be a good reason for Guo's decision not to do so. I'm just not sure what it is.

Since I have not been able to compare his edition with the two manuscripts, I cannot judge his editorial skills with any authority But signs of his competence and care are plentiful inasmuch as Guo follows in many respects Claude Cahen's suggestions for editing Arabic texts by collating the best manuscripts and ″providing the textual, linguistic and historical explanations which help him [the reader] in understanding the narrative, but also give him the references to all other sources.′″[6] Thus Guo introduces his edition with a summary of what is known of al-Yūnīnī's life, a descriptive survey of the twenty-three extant manuscripts of parts of the *Dhayl,* an analysis of the formation of the text, and a description and analysis of the two manuscripts he used for his edition, including paleographic, orthographic, and grammatical discussions. To find the reasons why Guo opted to adapt and ″correct″ orthographic peculiarities and grammatical irregularities (due to the

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[4] *Die Jahre 1287-1291 in der Chronik al-Yūnīnīs* (Freiburg, 1975).

[5] ″Historiographic Studies,″ 16.

[6] ″Editing Arabic Chronicles: A Few Suggestions,″ *Islamic Studies* (Sept., 1962): 1-25, quoted by Guo in ″Historiographic Studies,″ 26.

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influence of colloquial usages) in the text and to relegate the originals to the footnotes, one must refer to his already-cited article, where he contrasts ″free editing″ with ″the traditional Orientalist method.″[7] By the former he apparently means arbitrary, if not whimsical, tampering with a text, whereas the latter results in a faithful transcription of a text with its errors and peculiarities with ″corrections″ relegated to the footnotes. Arguing that a free edition is capricious and that a traditional transcript could be reproduced by a photocopy, Guo takes the conservative option of standardizing the unpunctuated text and footnoting irregularities. This, of course, is a matter of editorial choice of no great importance as long as the reader interested in linguistic issues related to Middle Arabic can cut through the editorial apparatus to find the original text. The addition of variations from al-Jazarī′s *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* in the footnotes is not as confusing as it might sound, given the fact that the *Dhayl* and the *Ḥawādith* are virtually the same for the years Guo has edited.

The relationship between these two authors, plus another contemporary, al-Birzālī, is the main issue addressed by Guo in the prefatory analysis. As other scholars have already shown, ″until A. H. 690, the two texts are clearly independent of each other and contain their exclusive stories supported by their own sources″ (1:42), even though these same sources ″demonstrate that the mutual borrowing between the two, often without acknowledgment, did take place in certain portions (covering the years prior to A. H 690) of their works″ (1:41). In addition, I myself have claimed that for the annals 694, 699, and 705, al-Yūnīnī copied al-Jazarī without explicit acknowledgment, and this portion should be regarded as al-Yūnīnī′s copy of al-Jazarī′s lost work, the extant copies of which end at the beginning of 699.[8] Guo confirms this impression on the basis of his painstaking comparative analysis for 691-99, concluding that this part of the *Dhayl* should be regarded as a synthesis of *Ḥawādith* edited by al-Yūnīnī. But then Guo goes a step further to argue that the remaining portion of the *Dhayl,* for 699-711, represents a nearly verbatim edition of al-Jazarī′s work but ″was wrongly attributed to al-Yūnīnī by a later editor″ (1:59). Although he stops short of identifying that editor as al-Birzālī (he is often quoted as a source by both authors), Guo does state that al-Birzālī′s ″stamp was so deeply marked on these two works that one wonders whether the insertion of al-Jazarī′s collection into al-Yūnīnī′s ′third volume′ of the *Dhayl* and the probable misattribution of the ′fourth volume′ of the text may somehow be due to al-Birzālī′s involvement″ (1:80). This explanation is certainly plausible, but it seems to me that the evidence for misattribution is slim, consisting as it does of instances in which Yūnīnī is mentioned by name not only as a narrator

[7]″Historiographic Studies,″ 21-23.

[8]*An Introduction* to *Mamlūk Historiography* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 57-61.

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but as a subject of narration (possibly a scribal interpolation?). In any case, as Guo concedes, the question of authorship is not so important from a historical, as opposed to a historiographical, point of view, since the Yūnīnī/Jazarī version is one of our most important sources for mid-Baḥrī history, no matter who the original author may have been. For this reason alone we are indebted to Li Guo for making a key segment of this central source available to scholars, quite apart from the light he sheds on how history was composed by a group of early fourteenth-century Syrian scholars.

As far as the translation is concerned, spot checks show it to be accurate and idiomatic and accompanied by informative footnotes. Needless to say, I do have a few complaints. First of all, I wonder why only the *ḥawādith* have been translated, when the obituaries constitute so sizable a chunk of the text. In his dissertation Guo says only that the *wafāyāt* have not been translated, being ″reserved for the use of specialists.″[9] Surely the purpose of translating the *Dhayl* is to make it available to non-specialists, meaning non-Arabists; I´m not sure that the latter will gain an adequate view of al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī or ″the Syrian school″ of historians from this partial translation. Probably Guo´s consideration was practical: enough is enough. Also missing are translations of some of the verses that appear in the annals. Although the dissertation contains a helpful glossary of Arabic terms, the published version does not. This is especially unfortunate since the English index includes only names of persons and places. True, volume 2 contains an index of technical terms in Arabic, but these don´t help the non-Arabist. Also frustrating is the lack of headers on the pages of the translation; worse, there are no cross page—much less line—references between text and translation, so that it is not easy to check one against the other. But given the fact that this is basically a revised and improved dissertation, one can only express admiration and appreciation for the extraordinary effort and skill required to produce such an impressive and useful work. It is also gratifying to observe that with Li Guo Mamluk historiographic studies have passed into capable hands.

[9] ″Middle Baḥrī Mamluks,″ 1:136.

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MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD AL-NASHSHĀR, *'Alāqat Mamlakatay Qashtālah wa-Arājūn bi-Salṭanat al-Mamālīk, 1260-1341 M/658-741 H* (Cairo: 'Ayn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimā'īyah, 1997). Pp. 319.

REVIEWED BY KENNETH J. GARDEN, The University of Chicago

In this work, Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Nashshār provides a detailed examination of diplomacy between the Mamluk sultanate and the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile respectively from 608/1260 to 741/1341. He gives a comprehensive portrayal of the circumstances of both Aragon and Castile that shaped their diplomatic agendas and charts the unfolding of their relations with the Mamluks in a way that is clear to readers not familiar with the history of these kingdoms. The book is written for those with a familiarity with the Mamluk sultanate and its diplomatic agenda. Its treatment of the relations between Castile and Aragon and the Mamluk Sultanate focuses almost exclusively on the Iberian states and has little to say about the concerns and reactions of the Mamluks.

The book begins with a review of the sources used by the author. These include published collections of diplomatic documents from Aragonese archives, Mamluk chronicles, Aragonese chronicles, and Castillian chronicles, as well as other documents found in the Aragonese archives. From here he begins his study, which he divides into five chapters dealing with three topics. These are the historical backgrounds of Castile, Aragon, and the Mamluk Sultanate before and during the period covered in the book, the political relations of Castile and Aragon with the Mamluks, and trade relations between them.

Chapter one outlines the broader historical background of the period covered. After their establishment, Castile and Aragon were initially concerned with their survival and then were too engrossed in the *reconquista* to have any foreign diplomatic concerns until the period covered by the book. Beginning in this period, both nations sought to foster trade with the east. Aragon was concerned with finding allies in its struggle against the papacy and France to maintain control over the island of Sicily. This situation changed when the dispute was resolved under Jaime II. A brief section is also devoted to the concerns of the Mamluks who sought to obtain war materiel from abroad as well as to prevent an alliance between the Crusaders and the Mongols and reinforcements to the remaining crusader outposts in the eastern Mediterranean.

Chapters two and three are devoted to the political relations between Aragon and the Mamluk sultanate. As the ruling military power in the western Mediterranean and one of the leading trading powers in the whole of the Mediterranean at the time, it is natural that Aragon would have more diplomatic concerns with the Mamluks than Castile would. One of Aragon´s major concerns early in this period

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was its search for allies in the Mediterranean during its conflict with France and the papacy over its control of the island of Sicily. To this end, Aragon signed a treaty of alliance with the Mamluks in 1287. This suited the Mamluks as well, as it allowed them to circumvent a ban issued by the pope on trade in strategic materials with them. It also allowed them to count on Aragon´s not sending reinforcements to the remnants of the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean. The treaty only lasted as long as the conflict over Sicily. This was briefly resolved in 1291, when Alfonso III signed the treaty of Tarascon, at which point Aragonese-Mamluk relations entered a period of ″confusion.″ The treaty was, however, rejected by Alfonso III´s successor Jaime II when the former died shortly after its signing. Jaime II quickly renewed his alliance with the Mamluks. The alliance ended when Aragonese relations with the pope and France were restored in 1295 with the signing of the treaty of Anagni. Aragon´s return to the good graces of the pope affected its relations with the Mamluks. After briefly flirting with the idea of an alliance with the Mongols and a new crusade, Jaime II began to press the Mamluks for recognition as patron of the Christians of Egypt and the Levant and for the release of Christian prisoners held in Egypt.

Chapter four, devoted to political relations between Castile and the Mamluks, is much briefer than the section devoted to Aragonese-Mamluk political relations because Castile had few political issues to resolve with the Mamluk sultanate. However, owing to the personality of Alfonso X (the Wise) and his interest in Arabic culture, Castillian diplomatic relations with the Mamluks actually preceded Aragonese-Mamluk relations. These were shortlived, however. They consisted mainly of exchanges of gifts and requests for trading privileges and came to an end after the death of Alfonso X, at which point Castile entered into a period of protracted civil war.

Chapter five deals with trade relations of both Aragon and Castile with the Mamluks. Again, Aragon is the principal player in this story due to its possession of Barcelona, one of the busiest Mediterranean ports of the era. Aragon wanted to insure that Barcelona remained a major player in trade in eastern goods throughout this period. The main obstacle to this was the papal ban on trade in commodities of strategic importance with the Mamluks. Prior to the treaty of Anagni, this was not a difficult obstacle to overcome as Aragon was anyway at odds with the papacy and flagrantly violated the ban. After Jaime II returned to the papal flock, he had to be more circumspect in carrying on this lucrative trade with the Mamluks. One way around the ban was to send merchants along with diplomatic missions. As for Castile, Alfonso X encouraged trade in hopes that revenues generated thereby could solve Castile´s chronic economic difficulties. To this end he sent ambassadors to Cairo to discuss matters of trade. Castile, though, was not as well positioned geographically for trade as was Aragon. Such diplomatic missions

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were never as important to the Mamluks as were those of Aragon and they anyway ceased nearly entirely after the death of Alfonso X and the ensuing civil war.

Following chapter five is an afterword that provides a synopsis of the book and appendices of diplomatic documents with partial translations into Arabic, as well as charts of the kings of the Spanish kingdoms in the Middle Ages and maps of the Iberian peninsula in that period. That there are no maps provided of Egypt or lists of the Mamluk sultans confirms the point made above that this is a book for readers already familiar with Mamluk history.

Readers of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* can rest assured that they fit the profile of the book′s intended audience, though even Mamlukists (or perhaps especially Mamlukists) will find themselves wishing at times for a greater emphasis on Mamluk responses and motivations. The book′s organization is, in some ways, well suited to readers who are not familiar with the history of the western Mediterranean. The three-topic approach—general background, political relations, trade relations—means that the history of Castile and Aragon and their relations with the Mamluk sultanate is told three times with a different emphasis in each telling. While some repetition may be welcome for those unfamiliar with Iberian history, another repetition of much of the information is unnecessary by the third telling. Combining the section on trade relations with the section on political relations would not only have avoided a retelling of events but perhaps would have better illustrated the ways in which trade and political concerns interacted in determining policy. The book is poorly edited. In addition to typographical errors in the Arabic text, the text in Latin characters is especially full of errors. Consistent use of both *hijrī* and common era dating would have been welcome. Sometimes one, sometimes the other and sometimes both are used. Aside from these minor problems, the book provides a clear description of relations between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and the Mamluk sultanate. It is a useful resource for those interested in a detailed history of the Mamluks′ diplomatic relations with a particular region.

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Henri and Anne Stierlin, *Splendours of an Islamic World: Mamluk Art in Cairo 1250-1517* (London and New York: Tauris Parke Books, 1997). Pp. 219.

Reviewed by Bernard O´Kane, American University in Cairo

A pithy but cogent judgement of this work has already appeared within the pages of volume three of this journal:

> With the publication of a splendid full color luxury book by the noted team of Henri Stierlin and Anne Stierlin, the study of Mamluk Art and Architecture has finally made it into the Big Time. The Stierlins, who have previously brought us books on Islamic Architecture, Mughal architecture, Ottoman architecture and the Alhambra, have now brought us the first affordable ($59.50) coffee-table book on Mamluk art and architecture. Dramatic long shots compete with exquisite details for the viewer´s attention which, in the tradition of architectural photography, is rarely, if ever, distracted by the attention of people, apart from the picturesque natives populating reproductions of David Robert´s nineteenth-century lithographs. Their stunning photographs of Mamluk buildings and objects will explain to even the most sceptical audiences why Mamluk art has had its devotees for over a century; the text, infelicitously translated from the French, is mercifully brief and appears oblivious of the content (although not the titles) of recent scholarship on the subject.[1]

One might wonder why a coffee table book merits a review in this journal, but the quality of the photographs is truly such as to provide an inspiration for potential students of the subject. If they can indeed attract attention to our field then we should be grateful. It is all the more important, therefore, that the photographs be identified accurately, but as there are numerous errors in this respect I concentrate in the following on setting the record straight.

The text is not so brief that it does not also have its share of mistakes and misleading information. Its organization is somewhat haphazard, although most chapters are straightforward accounts of the monuments that they illustrate. While the text may be generally accurate, a few examples of its more serious errors may be sufficient to show that not too much reliability should be placed on it:

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[1]Jonathan M. Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architecture: A Review Article,″ *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 31.

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14: ″the Ilkhans of Amou-Daria″
12: ″Greeks (Syrian or Byzantine) . . . often played a role in [Mamluk] art and architecture.″ I know of no evidence for this, and none is proffered.
24: The dome of the mosque of Baybars is no longer standing.
26: ″the *khanka*, or monastery for soldier monks . . .″
29: ″Mangu controlled the Mongols of the Golden Horde″—a reference to the Ilkhanid Möngke-Temür.
49: ″the eleventh-century Tulunid period″
178: It is curious, to say the least, when several Mamluk examples have survived, to pick the Ottoman house at Darb al-Labbān as representative of Mamluk style.

The writing can be eccentric, leading to such statements as (p. 98) ″the centripetal space lends itself to the teaching of the four theological schools of Islam″ (the central courtyard of the complex of Sultan Ḥasan and its *īwān*s [whether or not one thinks of them as centripetal] were a congregational mosque); or, referring to the complex of Faraj ibn Barqūq, ″Everything is ruled by a seemingly natural order, based on the right angle, as part of an all-pervasive orthogonal system″ (p. 140), despite the unusual total lack of flat roofs in the hypostyle areas of the complex.

Moving to the photographs, the eye for detail is remarkable. A judicious number of these, combined with medium and long distance shots and redrawn plans, gives a viewer the best possible impression both of the spatial qualities and the textural variety of the decoration of the major monuments. The numerous ways in which the Mamluks exploited sunlight dappling on diverse surfaces are captured imaginatively. Would that the captions were of the same standard:

18: ″The crenellated walls of the Madrasa of Sultan Hasan . . .″ The crenellated walls visible in this photograph belong instead to the nineteenth century mosque of al-Rifā'ī.
44: ″the quarter of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun at Fustat″—it is in the quarter of al-Qaṭā'i', far to the north of Fusṭāṭ.
53: ″Constructed immediately after Sultan Baibars took power, the Mausoleum ′of the Abbasids′ (1242) . . .″ Baybars took power in 1260; the date of 1242 comes from earliest cenotaph preserved within it.

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72-73: The details of the doors of the complex of Qalāwūn are surprisingly repeated on an even larger double spread on pages 76-77.
79: This is not the front façade of the mausoleum of Qalāwūn, but rather the façade leading from the vestibule to the interior of the mausoleum.
89: The detail of the mihrab of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, also used as the illustration on the jacket, is of one which was almost totally reconstructed in 1948 (only partially on the lines of the original).[2]
90: This is not from the madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan.
107: This is the mausoleum of Qāytbāy, not of Sultan Ḥasan.
154: The background is of glass paste rather than ceramic.
167: The mihrab is from the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad, not the Qāytbāy complex.
169: This is not the madrasah of al-Ghawrī.
170: The tomb is on the right and the madrasah on the left, not the other way around.
176: The captions to this page are to be found on p. 181.
178: not the window of the Bashtak palace, but the façade of the *wakālah* of Qāytbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr. The caption, misplaced on p. 182, wrongly identifies it as the *wakālah* of Qawṣūn.
180: The caption to this, the Ottoman house at Darb al-Labbān, is found on p. 185.
181: The basin used in the restoration of the Bashtak palace is of an unknown provenance; it was lying for some years behind the shops fronting the façade of the madrasah of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb until reused in the restoration of the palace by the German Archaeological Institute of Cairo.
184: This is the interior of the northern mausoleum in the complex of Faraj ibn Barqūq (the correct caption is on p. 189).
185: This is again the *wakālah* of Qāytbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr, not the *wakālah* of Qawṣūn.
186: The private collection in which this Quran stand is held is not identified. However, judging from the photograph, it appears be a nineteenth century copy of a virtually identical stand in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (a detail of the stand, with a misplaced caption, is shown on p. 183).

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[2]Mona Zakariya, "Technique de Construction du miḥrāb mamlūk," *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 2:377-82.

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188: The caption to this, the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, has been misplaced on p. 193.

In short, the relative inexpensiveness of the volume makes it a suitable tool to fire the visual imagination, provided the text is used with caution.

N. MAḤMŪD MUṢṬAFÁ, *Al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī—Min Taṣfiyat al-Wujūd al-Ṣalībī ilá Bidāyat al-Hajmah al-Ūrūbbīyah al-Thāniyah, 642-923/1258-1517* (Cairo: al-Ma'had al-'Ālamī lil-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1996). Pp. 177.

REVIEWED BY STEPHAN CONERMANN, University of Kiel

Every Western scholar who does research in the field of Islamic studies would in principle agree with the statement Carl F. Petry issued in the first volume of *Mamlūk Studies Review*: ″And since so much contemporary scholarship in Arabic is neglected by Western readers for obvious linguistic reasons, the inclusion of recent works in this language by the editorial staff of *Mamlūk Studies Review* for assessment is to be commended.″[1] Unfortunately, Petry himself was anything but impressed by the book of an Arab colleague that the journal had offered him for review. In his opinion, the work suffered from at least five considerable deficiencies: (1) the monograph´s value derives exclusively from its factual information; (2) it contributes no fresh methodological insights; (3) it does not significantly alter existing perceptions of the commercial economy of prominent Red Sea ports throughout the Middle Ages; (4) while numerous monographs published in Arabic are listed in the bibliography, these fall into the same particularistic category as the book under review; and (5) few works of broader scope, either in Arabic or other languages, are noted.[2]

One might say: ″Well, perhaps the author did his work after a fashion, but the reviewer had no real interest in it,″ but after a careful reading of Maḥmūd Muṣṭafá´s *Al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī—Min Taṣfiyat al-Wujūd al-Ṣalībī ilá Bidāyat al-Hajmah al-Ūrūbbīyah al-Thāniyah, 642-923/1258-1517,* I came to the same conclusions as Petry. All the shortcomings he criticized in his review accorded with my own

[1]See his review of 'Alī al-Sayyid 'Alī Maḥmūd´s *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Jiddah fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 648-925 H./1250-1517 M.* (Cairo, 1991) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 128-29.

[2]Ibid., 128.

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findings: this book has, as it were, some value as a first survey of intra-Arab relations during the age of the Mamluks, but in general it consists of mere facts, offers no methodological approach, gives no new insights, is based on old and outdated secondary literature, and completely ignores recent research on this topic.

Was this coincidental, or could it be that these books represent typical scholarly output in Arab countries? Instead of jumping to final conclusions I decided to reread all reviews of historical works written in Arabic that had been published in the first two volumes of *Mamlūk Studies Review*. With the exception of two titles,[3] all books under review were sharply critcized. Thus, Richard T. Mortel writes on ʻAlī al-Sayyid ʻAlī Maḥmūd´s *Al-Ḥayāh al-Thaqāfīyah fī al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: ʻAṣr al-Salātīn al-Mamālīk, 642-923 H*.: ″After a careful reading of the work I must, however, confess to a serious disappointment. ʻAlī al-Sayyid´s book . . . appears to this reviewer as a verbose and quite undisguised apology for the Mamluks lacking in sophistication or the application of any identifiable modern historical methodology.″[4] Similarly, Linda S. Northrup criticizes Muḥammad Ḥamzah Ismāʻīl al-Ḥaddād´s *Al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn: Tārīkh Aḥwāl Miṣr fī ʻAhdihi, Munshaʼatuhu al-Miʻmārīyah*: ″There are, in my opinion, two problems with this study, the first of which is methodological. There is no apparent thesis. Further, the author fails to define the relation between the historical and descriptive sections of the work. . . . Al-Ḥaddād brings neither new information nor a new perspective to his narrative. Nor does he use his synthesis as a framework within which to interpret the findings of his survey of the monuments. . . . A second criticism concerns the historiographical basis of al-Ḥaddād´s monograph. . . . Although al-Ḥaddād has used current secondary literature in Arabic, his failure to supplement older, and still valuable, foreign scholarship with more recent research . . . is unfortunate. Important recent foreign studies treating aspects of Qalāwūn´s reign are not cited in the narrative.″[5] Virtually identical argumentation can be found in the remarks of Warren C. Schultz on Ḍayf Allāh Ibn Yaḥyá al-Zahrānī´s *Zayf al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah: Min Ṣadr al-Islām ḥattá Nihāyat al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī,* in Anne F. Broadbridge´s comments on Fāyid Ḥammād Muḥammad ʻĀshūr´s

[3]See the ambivalent reviews by Warren C. Schultz of Raf'at Muḥammad al-Nabarāwī´s *Al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1993) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 142-43 and of Ḥammūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʻAlī al-Najdī´s *Al-Niẓām al-Naqdī al-Mamlūkī, 648-922 H./1250-1517 M.: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Ḥaḍārīyah* (Alexandria, 1993) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 208-10.

[4]*Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 135-37.

[5]*Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 145-48.

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Al-Jihād al-Islāmī ḍidda al-Ṣalībīyīn wa-al-Mughūl fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī, and in the reviews of Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Hajjī´s books.[6]

What kind of conclusions can be drawn from these findings? It seems to me that we find ourselves in an orientalist predicament. On the one hand, considering the postmodern reappraisal of the colonial past, generally it is politically incorrect to make derogatory remarks about the scholarly works of Arab historians. As a product of Western socialization, one is not only suspected of judging the ″natives″ as foolish and incompetent but also of reducing them again to the rank of mere objects to be studied. On the other hand, in the age of ongoing globalization the Western scientific approach carries the day. If science stands for a special kind of communication that has been (at least temporarily) established by scholars who dominate *this* discourse, it can be taken for granted that everyone who wants to be part of the game has to follow its rules. This is of course—in spite of the overall calling for authenticity—the endeavour of the majority of Arab scholars.

It is therefore legitimate to ask for the reasons for the insufficiencies in their books. Without getting into the details of the much-discussed internal discourse of the colonized, according to my own judgement, first and foremost three simple factors are responsible for the above-mentioned assertion: (1) the old-fashioned structure of higher education in most Arab countries leads to the adoption of strictly hierarchical patterns in which the students have to follow the beaten tracks of their teachers; (2) the overwhelming majority of Arab researchers have access neither to new publications in foreign languages nor to sources that have been edited and published in the West; (3) for that reason, many Arab colleagues have not had the opportunity to follow the early debates of the ´60s and ´70s over methodological and theoretical questions, nor is it possible today for them to keep abreast of the still ongoing discussion. In their works they take no account of the recent interchange of views in journals like *History and Theory, American Historical Review, Past & Present, Central European History, Annales; economies, societes, civilisations, Storia della storiografia, Journal for Interdisciplinary History* or *Journal of the History of Ideas*—just to mention a few.

What can be done in view of these circumstances? The East European historians who faced a similarly difficult situation before 1989—and some Russian scholars still do—delved into the accessible local archives and confined their efforts to writing articles and books with a microhistorical approach or to editing the material and adding a commentary and some introductory remarks. In limiting their ambitions

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[6]See John L. Meloy´s review of her *Ṣuwar min al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʻArabīyah al-Islāmīyah fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk* (Kuwayt, 1412/1992) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 149-50 and Li Guo´s remarks on her *Anmāṭ min al-Ḥayāh al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Iqtiṣādīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk fī al-Qarnayn al-Thāmin wa-al-Tāsiʻ al-Hijrīyayn/al-Rābiʻ ʻAshar wa-al-Khāmis ʻAshar al-Mīlādīyayn* (Kuwayt, 1995) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 222-25.

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to this kind of research some of these East European scholars were able to build up an excellent international reputation. Perhaps Arab historical scholarship should also limit itself in this way, since all reviewers in *Mamlūk Studies Review* of text editions produced by Arab scholars not only warmly welcome these works but highly praise them. It seems that this indeed could be a way out of their predicament.[7]

Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqi'at al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī ma'a Salīm al-'Uthmānī,* edited by 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1997). Pp. 209.

Reviewed by Nabil Al-Tikriti, The University of Chicago

This edition—a slightly revised reprint of an earlier 1962 edition[1]—renders accessible to a wide audience one of only a few eyewitness accounts from the Mamluk side of the 1516-17 Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria, extending up to the Mamluk-turned-Ottoman governor Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī's abortive attempt to restore Mamluk independence in Syria following the accession of Sultan Süleyman (1520-66).[2] The author, Aḥmad Ibn Zunbul al-Rammāl al-Maḥallī (d. ca. 1552-53), by virtue of his position as a geomancer at the Mamluk court, appears to have been privy to many of the sensitive and tortured debates among the leading Mamluk amirs concerning how to deal with tens of thousands of Ottoman troops bearing down on Cairo armed with blisteringly effective small firearms and a train of cannon.

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[7]See Franz Rosenthal's praise of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī's *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām*, edited by Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, and Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī (Beirut, 1416/1995) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 202-8; Doris Behrens-Abouseif's remarks on the publication of a *waqfīyah* included in Rashīd Sa'd Rashīd al-Qaḥṭānī's *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sha'bān 'alá al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh, 1994) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 221-22; Li Guo's comments on *Le Manuscrit autograph d'*al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār *de Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maqrīzī (766-845 AH/1325* [sic]*-1441 AD),* edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1416/1995) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 229-37; and Paul E. Walker's review of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir's *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah,* edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 237-38.

[1]In this 1997 reissue of 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir's 1962 edition, a confusing editor's postscript describing medieval Cairo was deleted. No more publishing details were available in the photocopy of the older edition examined by this reviewer.

[2]Names of Ottoman characters or authors are transliterated here according to the norms of modern Turkish.

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The editor, ʻAbd al-Munʻim ʻĀmir, starts his introduction with a brief historical survey celebrating the Cairo-ruled Egyptian and Syrian unity of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods and blaming corruption and divisiveness for bringing an end to that unity. Following this opening survey, ʻĀmir states that he has published the complete version of this text for the first time, basing his edition on a comparison of Dār al-Kutub MS 376 Taymūr (copied in 1654-55) with MS 714 Taymūr (copied in 1794-95) and an Alexandria University manuscript previously owned by a German library. The editor has discounted a significantly variant text, identified as Dār al-Kutub MS 44 Tārīkh.[3] The first part of this mysterious text was copied in 1921 from a text held by the Orthodox Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo, and is ″defective″ in many parts. The second part, however, was copied in 1657. Taken together, this text is far longer than the version common to the other three copies due to extensive poetic interludes as well as numerous digressions on ancient mythology and other such matters which ″have no connection to the events between Selim and al-Ghawrī″ (p. 11). In this reviewer′s experience, such digressions and poetic asides fit the style of a sixteenth-century geomancer′s account more closely than the rather straightforward version presented here. These digressions, combined with other incongruities based on a summary comparison of the first and last pages of MS 44 Tārīkh with the three editions, suggest that the text has not remained stable through its various recensions and editions.

In a possible sign of textual evolution, the narrative occasionally quotes Ibn Zunbul, stating ″al-Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Zunbul al-Maḥallī has related″ (pp. 33, 100). In addition, at one point the narrative voice mentions in an offhand fashion that ″al-Qāḍī Aṣīl al-Ṭawīl always spoke of the strange and wonderful stories he had witnessed . . . and he died in 970 [1562-63]″ (p. 178). Finally, while discussing Süleyman′s accession to power the narrative states that ″he came to rule 48 years″ (p. 189). The combination of widely variant texts and references to people and events dating nearly fifteen years *after* Ibn Zunbul supposedly died leads this reviewer to speculate whether the text presented here might be an abridged version of Ibn Zunbul′s account produced at some point between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, with the variant MS 44 Tārīkh text perhaps closer to an ″original″ account.

While the narrative presents an omniscient point of view by including deliberations within the Ottoman camp, the story is told mostly from the Mamluk side. As such, this text can be compared with other contemporary sources covering the same set of events, such as Ibn Iyās′s (d. ca. 1524) celebrated chronicle[4] and

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[3]For a listing of other extant manuscripts, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1938), S2:409-10; and ibid., 2:384-85.

[4]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo,

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the numerous Ottoman narrative histories from this period.[5] As the Ottoman sources offer far less detail concerning events and debates within the Mamluk camp, Ibn Zunbul′s narrative is a valuable source to use as a check against the only other extant Mamluk source as well as a supplement to the more numerous Ottoman sources.

Much of the text reads like a morality play, intent on demonstrating the correct behavior of an amir. Both Khā'ir Beg and Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī are repeatedly condemned as traitors to their [Mamluk] ″Circassian brotherhood.″ Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501-16) is blamed for neglecting his supporters, failing to control his forces, and playing the diplomatic game poorly. In one example, al-Ghawrī is said to have made a mistake of epic proportions: when his geomancer—probably Ibn Zunbul—informed al-Ghawrī that the next ruler′s name would begin with the letter *sīn,* the wily sultan concluded that the Mamluk amir Sībāy[6] was out to get his crown rather than that the Ottoman Padishah Yavuz Selim (1512-20) was out to get his empire (p. 17). Meanwhile, the Mamluk amirs Kartbāy, Sībāy, Shārdbeg, and Tūmānbāy are portrayed through their respective noble actions and passionate monologues as courageous leaders who fought for their families, beliefs, and properties against impossible odds.

The ″Rūmīs″ [Ottomans] are portrayed as weak fighters who could not possibly have defeated the Mamluks without firearms or Mamluk treachery. Selim, despite the congratulatory opening *du'ā'* deleted in this edition, is castigated repeatedly—through dialogue rather than the narrator′s own voice—for attacking fellow Muslim rulers without sufficient cause and for having the audacity to use firearms against chivalrous Muslim fighters. Without doubting the authenticity of such viewpoints in the original text, the concept of heroic forces defeated due to internal disunity while facing an unscrupulous and technologically superior invader from the north must have had a certain resonance with Egyptian readers when this edition first appeared in 1962.

1961-75).

[5]Some of the more valuable Ottoman narrative sources for these events include the Turkish *Selim-âme*s by Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1567), Hoca Sadettin Efendi (d. 1599), Kemal Paşazade (d. 1534), Sücûdi (fl. 1520), and Şükrü-i Bitlisi (fl. 1521); the Persian *Salīm-nāmah*s by Idrīs-i Bitlīsī (d. 1520), Kabīr ibn 'Uvays Qāḍīzādah (fl. 1518), and Ādā'ī-yi Shīrāzī (d. 1521); and Arabic equivalents by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Lakhmī (fl. 1516) and Jār Allāh ibn Fahd al-Makkī (d. 1547). For descriptions of these and other works, see: Ahmed Uğur, *The Reign of Sultan Selîm I in the Light of the Selîm-name Literature*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 109 (Berlin, 1985); and M. C. Şehabettin Tekindağ, ″Selim-nâmeler,″ *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1970): 197-231.

[6]Sībāy was the Mamluk governor of Damascus who had rebelled against al-Ghawrī while governor of Aleppo in 1504-5. See P. M. Holt, ″Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:552-53.

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This text contains a number of memorable episodes, some of which suggest that Ibn Zunbul drew freely from older themes to embellish his morality tale. When the Mamluks send a militant and haughty delegation, Selim orders his men to shave their leader Mughulbāy′s chin and parade him around on a donkey (p. 27). When a number of Sufi shaykhs who had supported al-Ghawrī were caught trying to flee after Marj Dābiq, Selim had all one thousand of their necks wrung, one by one and without distinction according to status (p. 50). At one point, a number of Mamluks who had accepted Selim′s offer of safe passage were beheaded or strangled and thrown in the Nile (p. 68). After a couple of small victories over the Ottomans, Shārdbeg inscribes on the Pyramids ninety-two verses of Arabic poetry celebrating their heroism (pp. 93-98). In an episode reminiscent of Muḥammad ʻAlī Paşa′s (r. 1805-48) famous 1811 Citadel massacre of Mamluks,[7] Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī launched his bid for independent rule in Damascus by inviting the local Ottoman commanders to a feast and having all of them murdered (p. 193).

Other passages offer valuable anecdotes concerning religious and ideological components of the conflict. Shārdbeg and a number of Ottoman troops trade curses labelling each other as ″infidel louts″ *[kuffār,ʻulūj]* and ″profligates″ *[fujjār]* (p. 124). The Ottoman battle formation is described as including seven banners carrying Quranic battle slogans and the names of Selim′s forefathers, with a large white flag said to represent the ″banner of Islam″ (p. 135). Tūmānbāy accuses Selim of attacking Muslims without cause and contrasts the Ottomans′ ″worship of idols and crosses″ with the Mamluks′ ″unitary Islam″ (pp. 142-43). Confronted with these and similar accusations, Selim responds that he would not have attacked without a *fatwá* from the ulama authorizing an attack against those ″sons of Christians with no lineage″ who had helped the *rawāfiḍ* (pp. 166, 187). After Tūmānbāy was executed, his widow marries the Halveti Shaykh İbrahim Gülşeni′s son (p. 178).

ʻĀmir′s edition appears to follow closely an earlier edition published in Cairo in 1861-62. This edition, used extensively by David Ayalon for his study on Mamluk firearms,[8] was entitled *Tārīkh al-Sulṭān Salīm Khān ibn al-Sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān maʻa Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī Sulṭān Miṣr*. Note that in the century between these two editions, following the intervening Cairene political perceptions, al-Ghawrī′s relative titular pre-eminence grew and Selim′s fell. The only significant differences between these editions—other than the choice of title and the lack of footnotes in the earlier edition—come at the beginning and the end of the text.

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[7]E. R. Toledano, ″Muḥammad ʻAlī Pasha,″ *EI*^{2} 7:423-31.

[8]David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society* (London, 195_), especially 86-97.

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ʻĀmir deleted the following congratulatory *duʻā'* offered to Selim in the beginning of the text, present in the 1861-62 edition:[9]

> Praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds. May God bless our master Muḥammad, his family, and his companions. May God preserve this treatise treating the invasion of the paramount sultan, exalted khāqān, master of the slaves of all nations, master of sword and pen, deputy to God in this world, protector of the kings of the Arabs and ʻAjam, knight on the field of courage, guardian of the foundation of gallantry, killer of pharaohs and tyrants, Khusraw of the Khusraws and the Caesars, completer of Ottoman fortune, guide for sultanic codes, the sultan son of the sultan, Sultan Salīm Khān, son of Sultan Bāyazīd Khān with Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, sultan of Egypt, and the deeds contained in it . . .

While it may be true, as David Ayalon pointed out,[10] that this *duʻā'* does not fit the tenor of the rest of the treatise, it is striking that ʻĀmir chose to delete it altogether. In addition, the 1997 edition reviewed here extends beyond the 1861-62 edition, which ends with Süleyman's 1521 conquest of Rhodes. This brief extension includes a summary of events and governors of Egypt until the death of ʻAlī Bāshā al-Tawāshī.

There are some intriguing historical inaccuracies in the text which suggest that either the author, some of the copyists, or the editor(s) were not at all intimate with Ottoman developments of the time. On p. 22 the narrator states that Selim's brother Korkud (d. 1513) had fled and taken refuge with al-Ghawrī upon Selim's coming to power and ordering the execution of his brothers. According to the text, Selim requested his return, al-Ghawrī refused, and this was the earliest cause for enmity between the two rulers. In fact, Korkud had visited Cairo as al-Ghawrī's guest while ostensibly on the *ḥājj* and returned in 1511—a full year before Selim came to power.[11] Other persistent inaccuracies include the mistaken statements that Selim fled to "Kūfah" rather than "Kafah" after losing a skirmish with Bayezid's forces in 1512 and that Süleyman conquered "Russia" [Rūs] rather than "Rhodes" [Rūdus] when he came to power. There are also consistently peculiar spellings for

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[9]This *du'ā'* is also present in Yale MS Landberg 461.

[10]The "submissive eulogy to Sultan Selim I . . . is only to camouflage his real attitude. In reality the book reflects the agonized protest against a hated and despised conqueror of a humiliated military caste. . . ." Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms*, 86.

[11]For a detailed account of the events leading up to Selim's coming to power, see Çağatay Uluçay, "Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu?" *Tarih Dergisi* 6/9 (1954): 53-90, 7/10 (1954): 117-42, 8/11-12 (1955): 185-200.

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″Janissary″ *[al-Yakinjarīyah]* and ″Shahsuwār″ *[Shahwār]*. The fact that these peculiarities were present in both this edition and the 1861-62 edition suggest that ʻĀmir may have concentrated less on textual comparison than on reissuing a forgotten nineteenth-century edition.

In conclusion, ʻĀmir has provided neither a critical nor a mistake-free edition. The edition lacks critical apparatus. The footnotes, while useful for an understanding of Egyptian geography and certain military or administrative terms, are neither very extensive nor entirely accurate. Two footnotes in particular, one explaining that ″Edirne is a city in Shām″ (p. 24) and the other describing ″Jīlān″ [Gīlān] as ″a Persian clan which moved from around Persepolis *[Istakhr]* to one side of Baḥrayn on the Arab Gulf″ (p. 40)[12] struck this reviewer as indicative of careless editing. While any edition of such a rare and valuable text is to be welcomed in the fields of both Ottoman and Mamluk studies, the text itself does not appear to have remained consistent through the years and this edition has not been carefully prepared. In order for this source to be used with greater confidence, more careful philological and editing work remains to be done.

NAJM AL-DĪN AL-ṬARSŪSĪ, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Turk. Oeuvre de combat hanafite à Damas au XIVè siècle,* edited and translated by Mohamed Menasri (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1997). Pp. 47 + 209.

REVIEWED BY BERNADETTE MARTEL-THOUMIAN, Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III

The starting point of this work is the textual edition of a tract, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Turk,* whose author, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 758/1357), completed his redaction in 1353. This edition is followed by an annotated translation, then an introduction situating the work in its religious as well as cultural and political context. The editor, Menasri, outlines the condition of the different juristic schools in Damascus under Mamluk control (Baḥrī period) and provides us with information concerning the author′s personal life—at any rate what he could gather about someone already dead at 37, in his prime. If one considers that the purpose of this work is to make known a text which is presently unedited, one cannot fathom why the presentation of the manuscript is so brief. Indeed, in the section dedicated

[12]It is clear from the context that the *region* Gīlān is meant—the coastal area south of the Caspian Sea in northern Iran.

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to this, Menasri even fails to indicate the number of pages (one realizes this from reading the Arabic text, in which 91 folios are marked). Similarly, he seems to be unaware of the existence of copies other than those he has used, which are held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (they number two, pp. 54-56). The text does not seem to be furnished with a colophon, but the copyist's name is specified (p. 54). The date of the copy, quite frankly, has not been established, the author merely referring to Baron de Slane. These various points, which bear significantly on the framework of a document which Menasri styles a juridico-political manual, have not received any comment by him. How, further, does one evaluate the importance of this work if one cannot gauge its dissemination? It is difficult to imagine that this tract could have had a ″favorable reverberation in the service of the Mamluks″ if it remained secret. If that were not the case, one would like to know if the Shafi'i *madhhab,* sued by al-Ṭarsūsī repeatedly, reacted and counterattacked, and if comparable writings as a consequence have come to light (knowing, of course, that the author was to die just a few years later). Does the work of al-Ṭarsūsī reflect the positions of the Hanafi school of Damascus, for which he would have played in some fashion the role of spokesman? This issue seems the most interesting, for in reality, considering all those who were bound up with the government, be they military, civil, or religious, could al-Ṭarsūsī have been sufficiently naive to believe that his masters would be grateful for his precious advice and modify their criteria for recruitment when they were themselves the primary beneficiaries of certain practices (e.g., venality of office)? The study of biographies and chronicles shows that moralization had not become manifest but rather that prohibited practices had, for all intents and purposes, become a way of governance. If, as Menasri suggests, power appears to have affected the author´s position regarding the Hanafi *madhhab,* which seems to have acquired more importance, one can always ponder if the question was really one of honest compliance with the practices remonstrated against by Abū Ḥanīfah, or if personal self-interest carried all before it; but this, only a detailed study would allow us to know.

As a final comment, we must note that this tract is not "a hitherto unpublished text" as the abstract claims. It has been published by Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut, 1992), based upon manuscripts from Berlin, the Umayyad Mosque, and Medina.

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IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Dīwān,* edited by Firdaws Nūr 'Alī Ḥusayn (Madīnat Naṣr: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1416/1996). Pp. 358.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS BAUER, Universität Erlangen

In the ninth/fifteenth century seven ″shooting stars″ (*shuhub*) were sparkling in the heaven of poetry in Egypt, as we learn from al-Suyūṭī.[1] These *shuhub* were seven poets, all of them bearing the name Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, who were counted among the best poets of their time. Due to the almost complete neglect of the Arabic literature of the Mamluk period, the names of these once much admired artists fell into oblivion and their works, despite their undisputable quality, are still in manuscript.[2] There is, however, one exception. One of these Shihāb al-Dīns was none other than Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, whose fame as one of the most ingenious hadith-scholars of Islam has endured. Few people may, however, be acquainted with the fact that this same Ibn Ḥajar started his career as an *adīb* and poet, eulogizing the rulers of the Rasulid dynasty of the Yemen. Even later in his life, Ibn Ḥajar never ceased to appreciate and to compose poetry. The importance Ibn Ḥajar assigned to his own poetic production is shown by the fact that al-Suyūṭī mentions three different recensions of Ibn Ḥajar's *Dīwān,* obviously compiled by the author himself.[3] Of these three recensions at least two seem to have survived. A larger one, represented by a manuscript now in the Escorial, gives the poems in alphabetical order. It still awaits edition. The smaller recension is a selection of those poems that Ibn Ḥajar considered to be his best. The arrangement of the poems is rather sophisticated and shows again Ibn Ḥajar's care for his poetry. The poems are organized in seven chapters, each chapter comprising seven poems. The only exception is the last chapter, which consists of seventy epigrams (each comprising two lines), since it was Ibn Ḥajar's idea that ten epigrams would equal one long poem. As might have been expected, the book starts with poems in praise of the prophet *(nabawīyāt),* followed by a chapter comprising poems in praise of princes (mainly from the Rasulid dynasty) and the caliph *(mulūkīyāt),* and a chapter with poems in praise of other members of the military and civilian

[1] *Naẓm al-'Iqyān fī A'yān al-A'yān*, ed. Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1927), entries 20, 34, 37, 39, 42, 43.

[2] A major exception is the recent edition of two collections of *ghazal*-epigrams (a smaller one dedicated to girls, a larger one dedicated to young men) by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī, *Al-Kunnas al-Jawārī fī al-Ḥisān min al-Jawārī* and *Jannat al-Wildān fī al-Ḥisān min al-Ghilmān,* ed. Raḥāb 'Akkāwī (Beirut, 1418/1998).

[3] See *Naẓm al-'Iqyān,* 50. The editions mentioned in this review in all probability contain the recension mentioned by al-Suyūṭī under the title *Al-Sab'ah al-Sayyārah,* though this title does not appear in the title pages of the manuscripts.

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élite *(fī al-amīrīyāt wa-al-ṣāḥibīyāt)*. The fourth chapter is dedicated to love poems *(al-ghazalīyāt)*. Chapter five is made up of poems of different genres, among them an interesting elegy on the death of Ibn Ḥajar′s teacher al-Bulqīnī. The following chapter is dedicated to the *muwashshaḥāt*. Most of the epigrams that form the last chapter deal with love, just as do all of the *ghazalīyāt* and the *muwashshaḥāt*. It goes without saying that Ibn Ḥajar′s book is of primary importance not only for literary history, but also for the history of culture and mentalities. Apart from this, the main themes of his poetry being praise and love, Ibn Ḥajar′s *Dīwān* offers ample material for the study of Mamluk representations of social relations.

It was certainly mainly Ibn Ḥajar′s fame as a scholar that first aroused the interest of modern scholars in his poetry. The outcome was that today Ibn Ḥajar is the only Mamluk poet whose poetry is accessible in more than one edition. To my knowledge, his *Dīwān* (in the shorter recension) has been edited at least four times. A Ph.D. thesis from 1962 by Syed Abul Fazi was not accessible to me. The edition by Ṣubḥī Rashād ʻAbd al-Karīm (Ṭanṭā: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah 1410/1990), certainly no philological masterpiece, is criticized in detail in the introduction of Nūr ʻAlī Ḥusayn′s edition (pp. 4-7). So there remain two editions that deserve attention: (A) Nūr ʻAlī Ḥusayn′s (the book under review), and (B) an edition by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʻAmr, published 1409/1988 in Beirut (Dār al-Dayyān) under the title *Uns al-Ḥujar fī Abyāt Ibn Ḥajar*. Both editions present a reliable text. (A) is based on six, (B) on three manuscripts. The greater textual basis of (A) is, however, not very significant, since the range of variants in the different manuscripts is fairly small. Most variants noted in the apparatus of (A) are either obvious misspellings or mere orthographic variants that hardly deserve to be mentioned. Unfortunately, (B) does not record variant readings. But whereas (A) gives scarcely any commentary on the poems, (B) is in fact, as its subtitle notes, a *sharḥ balāghī,* a commentary explaining the tropes used by the poet, whereby it becomes an absolutely indispensable tool for every serious reader of Ibn Ḥajar′s poetry. Typical for most poets of this period, Ibn Ḥajar makes more than ample use of rhetorical devices, especially of the *tawriyah,* a form of *double entendre* that has been considered to be the most characteristic trait of Mamluk literature. Consequently, for the modern reader many lines of Mamluk poetry remain obscure without further explanation. Since even specialists of Arabic poetry are often confronted with insuperable difficulties, the number of good commentaries is fairly rare. Shihāb al-Dīn ʻAmr′s commentary, however, is a masterpiece. The author (another ″shooting star″!) not only explains the meaning of every difficult line, but gives an inventory of all rhetorical devices used by Ibn Ḥajar. His edition can thus be considered a valuable contribution to the growing interest in rhetoric in general and Arabic rhetoric in particular. Beyond helping to understand Ibn Ḥajar′s verses,

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'Amr´s commentary may also be used as a textbook for the study of *balāghah* and *badī'*. Though Nūr 'Alī Ḥusayn´s (poorly printed) edition is not completely superfluous (due to its critical apparatus), Shihāb al-Dīn 'Amr´s beautiful and erudite edition and commentary remains first choice.

CHRISTOPHER S. TAYLOR, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous:* Ziyāra *and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). Pp. 264.

REVIEWED BY PAUL E. WALKER, Chicago, IL

Every visitor to Cairo is soon aware of the presence of the massive cemetery complexes that lie adjacent to the city on its eastern side just beneath the Muqaṭṭam plateau, particularly of the one known as al-Qarāfah, which stretches for a considerable distance southward from the Citadel. The placement there of thousands upon thousands of Muslim burials, and with them often impressive aboveground mausoleums, has always seemed as if it constituted a city in its own right. Inhabited from the beginning by a full complement of the living alongside the dead, it is a special feature of the Islamic urban pattern. But the meaning and role of the city of the dead, as the residence not merely of ordinary deceased individuals, is even more complex. Home to numerous saints who radiate blessings to those who live in close proximity and to those who come to visit them, the cemetery is a celebrated abode of righteousness and piety. Despite fairly consistent rejection from the earliest days by strictly traditional Islamic authorities and constantly renewed attacks against the practice, saint veneration—a universal phenomenon in any case—is an integral feature of local religious devotion. Having the saints nearby or available for ready visitation increases the sanctity of the neighborhood. It serves as well to draw pilgrims from farther away. And, although the importance of these sacred spaces on the border of the modern city remains active, for the medieval inhabitants both living near and being buried in the vicinity of the holy dead provided enormous religious benefits that are not quite so obvious now.

The intrinsic value of a cemetery like the Qarāfah is frequently made clear even in passing references in the standard chronicle histories of Egypt. But as the accumulation of saints and the number of their tombs in it grew over time, it increased to the point that a special literature was created to record the many loci of such special sanctity and to guide the increasing numbers of pilgrims by giving them rules of proper behavior in the presence of a saint (do not, for example, sit on the saint´s tomb!) and a topographical inventory of the places to visit along

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with a catalog of the miracles and other achievements of the person buried there. Of many such guides to the Qarāfah that are known to have been written, four in fact survive from the medieval period. They, together with other writings about saints and other examples of their veneration, offer an almost irresistible source for a sociology of Islamic practice, especial for the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries from which these particular guidebooks come.

However, although these subjects—cemeteries, tomb visitation, and saint veneration—possess their own natural fascination, and there exists a literature dedicated to them in this instance, shaping the information to serve a scholarly purpose cannot be an easy task. It is not simply that much about the subject involves what is often called ″folk″ or ″popular″ Islam but that the sources—the pilgrims′ guides—tell stories about a timeless ahistorical world that, although supposedly rooted in the real presence of individual persons, proves surprisingly imprecise and unspecific. It is not confined by time and space. The guides, for example, serve poorly as a tool to reconstruct the actual landscape of the Qarāfah in the period they cover, partly because the details in them seldom match the surviving physical evidence, but partly also because they, like other literature about saints, are not as much concerned with this world as with the next. The lives of saints tend to take on generic qualities; a saint here is much like a saint there, places blur and times merge.

Nevertheless, succumbing to the more obvious attractions of this material, Christopher Taylor in this fine study of the Qarāfah, of the literature about it, and the whole subject of saint veneration in late medieval Egypt, approaches the task with admirable resolution and skill. He has had *per force* to assume a mastery over the material and thereafter to extract from it a suitably scholarly analysis from which to fashion his sociology of this aspect of Islamic observance. Nicely written for the most part this book presents an often vivid picture of life in and around the tombs, of the city of the dead′s liminal role in the sacred universe of Muslims, and of the ambiguity of official and unofficial attitudes toward it. Basing himself primarily on the following four guidebooks: *Murshid al-Zuwwār ilá Qubūr al-Abrār* by Ibn ʻUthmān (d. 1218), *Miṣbāḥ al-Dayājī wa-Ghawth al-Rājī wa-Kahf al-Lājī* by Ibn al-Nāsikh (d. about 1297), *Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah fī al-Qarāfatayn al-Kubrá wa-al-Ṣughrá* by Ibn al-Zayyār (d. 1412), and *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa-Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fī al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Mazārāt wa-al-Tarājim wa-al-Biqāʻ al-Mubārakāt* by ʻAlī al-Sakhāwī (d. about 1483), he necessarily limits his perspective to the Qarāfah and to the time frame defined by these sources. The many additional cemeteries both in Egypt and in other Muslim countries, as well as funerary practice before and after this period, are not covered. Also, since his focal point is the Qarāfah and its saints, he largely avoids or stays away from the issue of saint veneration and visitation elsewhere. He did not

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consider Christian and Jewish (nor ancient) practice, as another example, although in Egypt it parallels that of the Muslims.

In covering his several basic themes, he offers individual chapters on 1) the history, topography, and role of the Qarāfah itself; 2) the *ziyārah* as an institution; 3) notions of righteousness and piety; 4) *barakah,* miracles, and mediation as related to the saints and their tombs; 5) an analysis of the legal attack against visitation and veneration (Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah); and 6) the defense of them (al-Subkī). There are of course many limitations in his coverage of any one of these topics and it shows in his discussion of them. Such restrictions were in part dictated by the narrow scope that is inherent in the original sources from which he began. Some historians will, accordingly, find too little that is truly historical; those wanting a topography will be frustrated by the vagueness of the physical mapping; and even for the sociologists of religion the citation and consideration of parallel materials or theory could have been richer. Still, Taylor was able to extract from his material a highly interesting, often intriguing portrait of his subject and that represents an impressive success which will certainly please most readers, both the specialist and the non-specialist.

The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640-1517*, edited by Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Pp. 645.

REVIEWED BY ROBERT IRWIN, London, England

When *The Cambridge History of Islam* came out in 1970 it attracted much criticism (and some praise). Edward Said, in *Orientalism,* was particularly cruel: ″For hundreds of pages in volume 1, Islam is understood to mean an unrelieved chronology of battles, reigns, and deaths, rises and heydays, comings and passings, written for the most part in a ghastly monotone.″ One knows what he means. Happily standards in the writing of medieval Islamic history have improved quite a bit in the last few decades, and *The Cambridge History of Egypt* cannot fairly be accused of offering a monotonous chronology of the doings of exotic bigwigs. All the contributions to the new volume seek to address broad institutional, social, and ideological issues and, sometimes, methodological issues too. The contributions are argumentative, so that at times, as we shall see, *The Cambridge History of Egypt* appears to argue with itself, and that is no bad thing.

As Carl Petry notes, this is the first such survey in a European language to have been attempted since Gaston Wiet′s *L′Égypte Arabe* (1937). Yet is Egypt a

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self-standing, coherent unit with a continuous history? Some contributors, those dealing with the Fatimids and the Mamluks, are writing about the heart of a great empire. Other contributors, for example those dealing with Byzantines and the Ottomans, are discussing a province which was being milked of its resources. Thierry Bianquis, writing about the Tulunids and Ikhshidids, shows Egyptian history being shaped by developments in Iraq. At times, Egypt′s affairs are impossible to disentangle from those of Syria and under the Ayyubids Egyptian interests were often subordinated to those of Syria. It is not surprising then that Michael Chamberlain′s chapter on the Ayyubid period devotes a great deal of attention to Syria. Also Donald Little′s chapter pays almost as much attention to Syrian historians as it does to Egyptians.

Contributions dealing with the pre-Mamluk period may be dealt with selectively and briskly. Hugh Kennedy′s chapter on Egypt in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods stresses the degree to which we are dependent on the restricted coverage of the sources, both Muslim and Christian. It is also strong on institutional history and is heavily weighted towards the way in which the army in Egypt was paid for. Kennedy concludes by remarking that Egypt′s failure to develop a strong local elite prepared the way for the coming of the Turkish soldiery. The next chapter, ″Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Ṭūlūn to Kāfūr, 868-969″ by Bianquis is commendably wide-ranging and packed with vivid detail. I learned a lot about the Tulunids and Ikhshidids that I did not know before. Paul Walker′s ′The Ismā‘īlī Da‘wa and the Fāṭimid Caliphate′ has a tighter focus than its precursors. One gets the impression that the Fatimids liked Cairo well enough but it was not Baghdad. Yet their stooge Basāsīrī′s brief occupation of Baghdad proved to be the kiss of death for Fatimid ambitions. Paula A. Sanders writes about the Fatimid state. The main activity of the Fatimid army seems to have been to fight itself. Its endemic military factionalism seems to foreshadow that of the Mamluks. I note that in a later chapter on art and architecture, Irene A. Bierman refers to a major institutional change regarding the way *waqf* was centrally administered, which led to the rapid increase in the building of major monuments and pious endowments supported by rural revenues. According to Bierman, this took place around the time Badr al-Jamālī became vizier, i.e., ca. 1075. However, neither Walker nor Sanders discusses this phenomenon. (They do not discuss *waqf* at all.)

Although the next chapter by Michael Chamberlain, on Ayyubid Egypt, rightly pays a great deal of attention to Egypt′s relations with the Crusader regime, this has not been prepared for in the Fatimid chapters, so that we hear nothing in them about Amalric and Manuel II′s Egyptian project or, more generally, about the havoc wreaked by various Crusader expeditions in the Delta area prior to the coming of Saladin. Chamberlain′s chapter on the Ayyubids stresses the informality of office-holding and of social and administrative procedures in general. Men

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made their own authority and offices were molded to fit the office-holder rather than the reverse. His argument is persuasive, yet his contribution is in marked contrast to later chapters on Mamluk history and society which, as might have been expected, emphasize the importance of hierarchy, discipline, and set career patterns.

The coverage of this first volume of *The Cambridge History of Egypt* is heavily weighted towards the Mamluk period. Linda Northrup's "The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250-1390," while covering much ground that is uncontroversial, judiciously deals with two issues which are debatable and debated. In the first of these, regarding the degree of continuity between the Ayyubid military system and that of the Mamluks, she favors Ayalon's view of the essential continuity between the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk regimes. The institutional changes, whenever they did come, seem to have been carried out while the chroniclers' backs were turned, so that we are not sure whether they happened in the reign of Baybars, Qalāwūn, or later yet. The second issue is whether changes initiated by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn had a deleterious effect on the sultanate or not. According to Northrup, "the political, military and economic reforms instituted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, although intended to strengthen his political and economic position, led in the long term to the end of Qalāwuñid and Kipchakī-Turkish rule." However, as Maynard Keynes once observed, "In the long run we are all dead," or, as Ibn Zunbul put it, "It is God who decrees an end to all dynasties." Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is indicted for presiding over "demamlukization" of the regime by appointing non-mamluks to senior military posts, but this was not necessarily a bad thing. He is also condemned for running down the Egyptian *ḥalqah,* but it seems likely that by the 1320s this was already a diminished and ineffective force (unlike the Syrian *ḥalqah*). The thesis that the *khānqāh* was used by the Mamluk regime to promote "moderate Sufism," as Northrup contends, remains unproven. However, these positions can be defended and doubtless will be defended in seminars and essays for years to come.

Incidentally, Northrup's chapter on the Baḥrī Mamluks starts by citing Ibn Khaldūn. (When shall we ever be free of this man and his brilliant insights?) Elsewhere, in the chapter on "Culture and Society in the Late Middle Ages," Jonathan Berkey refers to Ibn Khaldūn's views on the splendor and wealth of Cairo. Ibn Khaldūn thought that the Mamluks were marvellous and the saviors of Islam and he perceived the capital city over which they presided to be thriving. Ibn Khaldūn's enthusiasms are in cheerful contrast to al-Maqrīzī's later grumps and glooms. However, Ibn Khaldūn was in Egypt most of the time from 1382 until his death in 1406 and I note that, if we turn to Jean-Claude Garcin's chapter, "The regime of the Circassian Mamluks," we find that Ibn Khaldūn's Egyptian sojourn overlapped with a famine as well as not one but three plague epidemics.

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Both Barqūq and Faraj had to fight for their thrones and at times Cairo was the battlefield, as in 1497, ″when the battle line stretched from Fusṭāṭ in the south to Maṭarīyah in the north.″ It was a battle for control of not much more than the Delta region, for in the opening decades of the fifteenth century control of Upper Egypt had passed into the hands of the Bedouin. When Tīmūr invaded Syria in 1399, the Mamluk army was too disorganized to face him in open battle. In the light of all this, Ibn Khaldūn′s Pollyannaish approach towards the Mamluks seems misplaced.

Warren Schultz′s ″The monetary history of Egypt, 642-1517″ has an attractive rigor and iconoclastic bite. Because of its engagement with methodological issues, it can be recommended not just to Mamluk historians, but to anyone with an interest in pre-modern history. It can particularly be recommended to anyone who has cracked his or her skull trying to master Hennnequin′s long, dense, and fiercely argued papers on Islamic coins and currency problems. Irene A. Bierman′s ″Art and Architecture in the medieval period″ makes interesting points about urban topography and architecture. She is good on the history of the study of Egyptian architecture and, for example, she points out the damage done by the Comité de conservation des monuments de l′art arabe. However, the chapter is almost wholly devoted to architecture. The treatment of metalwork is perfunctory, glass is hardly mentioned, and miniatures and Mamluk carpets are not discussed at all. Berkey′s ″Culture and Society during the late Middle Ages″ pays more attention to these sorts of artifacts. Berkey, among other points of interest, stresses the piety and learning of a significant number of sultans and amirs and, more generally, the degree to which the military intermingled with civilians in the Mamluk period.

Berkey′s stress on the *gravitas* of at least some of the Mamluk elite is echoed in a different key by Garcin′s chapter on the history of the Circassian Mamluks. This is one of the best chapters in the book and makes many cogent points, but if there is one big argument he is advancing, it is, I think, that Mamluk politics at the top was much less violent and chaotic than it appeared to earlier historians such as Muir, Lane-Poole, and Wiet. He suggests that the ″sultanate was acquiring the appearance of a military magistrature, no longer threatened by the ambition of the amirs.″ Moreover, ″a new political mechanism had gradually been imposed: any amir who rose to be sultan had first to remove his predecessor′s recruits relying on the previous age group that had been kept waiting in the wings until that point, which marked their genuine entry into the political arena. The initial rhythm of Mamluk political life was thus much slowed down.″ Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to describe late medieval Egypt as a gerontocracy. Incidentally Garcin′s researches on Upper Egypt, published as *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (1976) can now be seen to have been one of the

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most influential books on Mamluk Studies. Almost every contributor to *The Cambridge History of Egypt* makes some reference to Garcin's work on such matters as shifting trade routes in Upper Egypt, the contribution to intellectual life made by men from Qūṣ, the role of the Bedouin, and the eventual dominance of the Hawwārah over that region.

I think that Garcin exaggerates the incapacity of the last Mamluk sultans to innovate and I think Carl Petry thinks so too. In "The military institution and innovation in the late Mamluk period," he presents a convincing portrait of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī as a thorough-going innovator. "Under trying circumstances, the military institution was capable of exploring creative ways of reconstituting its hegemony." Michael Winter, in his chapter on the Ottoman occupation, is more inclined to labor the alleged conservatism of the last generation of Mamluks. Winter remarks quite rightly that Ibn Zunbul "was not a reliable chronicler and his work is a kind of historical romance," but he spoils this by going on to observe that nevertheless "it is important as a genuine expression of the mamluks' view of themselves and their ethos." But why should a geomancer from Bahnasā who worked in the household of a sixteenth-century Ottoman pasha be taken as a *porte-parole valable* for the Mamluks? Winter claims that Ibn Zunbul, as the best exponent of the Mamluk military ethos, "regarded firearms as un-Islamic and unchivalrous." Yet all the evidence suggests that Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and Tūmānbāy had no prejudice against guns. Indeed what doomed Tūmānbāy at the Battle of Raydanīyah was his over-reliance on artillery. It is tempting to rely on Ibn Zunbul, as otherwise the modern historian is almost entirely at the mercy of Ibn Iyās. The trouble with Ibn Iyaš is that one cannot, as it were, walk round him, in order to discover what realities he may have been concealing. Ibn Iyās was certainly anti-Mamluk. (He did not realize that the Ottomans were going to be worse.) Although one cannot avoid using Ibn Iyās, nevertheless one can supplement his evidence with that of the Turkish chroniclers and this is what Winter has done in his valuable chapter.

In "Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk epochs," Donald Little notes how Ibn Iyās shared the tendency of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī to idealize the Baḥrī period. This is certainly true. Our view of Mamluk history would be transformed if Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī had maintained a servile court historian like Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, while Baybars I had been systematically denigrated by the carping of an *ʻālim* like Ibn Iyās. Although Little is chiefly concerned with chroniclers and biographers from the point of view of their value to the modern historian, he does also sometimes linger on their literary qualities as well (an approach pioneered by Ulrich Haarmann). On a minor point, Little states that Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir's topography of Cairo is lost. In fact it survives in the British Library, but unfortunately it turns out to be a rather brief and dull treatise. The original source or sources for so much of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* remain to be discovered.

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Little notes that, though Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Faḍā'il was a Copt, his chronicle cannot be seen as having been produced outside the Islamic tradition. Indeed ″he occasionally copied Muslim religious formulae into his work!″ The Islamization of the Coptic community is a leading theme of Terry G. Wilfong′s ″The non-Muslim communities; Christian communities.″ For example, Coptic men sought to impose controls on their women which mimicked those of the Muslim community. One consequence of the Islamization of Coptic culture is that it seems unsafe to deduce conversion to Islam on the basis of the adoption of Arab names. Although the chronology of Coptic conversion remains unclear, there is a perfect consensus among the contributors to this volume that the Copts suffered a catastrophic decline in their numbers and fortunes in the course of the fourteenth century.

In ″Egypt in the world system of the later Middle Ages,″ R. Stephen Humphreys has drawn together common themes and places Egypt in a wider political and commercial context. There is very little agreement in this volume even about the broadest outlines of Egypt′s commercial history. Humphreys argues that the destruction of the Crusader ports, while it crippled Syrian trade, had the advantage of channelling all the Mediterranean trade through Alexandria. On the other hand, Sanders believes that in the Fatimid period it was precisely the establishment of the Crusader states which led to a diversion of one of the main routes for international commerce from the Red Sea to the Nile Valley and that this was a leading source of Fatimid prosperity. Both Humphreys and Northrup seem to be implying that the spice trade only became an important part of the Mamluk economy in the Baḥrī Mamluk period. This is very likely true, though one does not get the impression that the spice trade ranked high in the thinking of Baybars or Qalāwūn or even al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It is possible that Northrup takes an excessively bleak view of the Mamluk economy in the late fourteenth century. She states that there was ″a shortage of specie″ in this period, but it is hard to see why this should have been so, as most (or even all?) Europeans in this period were under the impression that the balance of trade in this period was very much in Egypt′s favor. (Northrup here cites Abraham Udovitch, who in a brief survey article published in 1970 placed too much trust in al-Maqrīzī′s *Ighāthah*). Schultz, on the other hand, states that by the end of the fourteenth century ″both the numismatic and literary evidence indicates that there were many different types of precious metal coins in circulation.″ Northrup suggests that there was a lack of exports in the late fourteenth century. This seems intrinsically unlikely, given the granting to Venice of Papal licenses to trade with Egypt from the 1340s onwards. Venice′s regular convoys to Egypt only began in 1346. Eliyahu Ashtor in *The Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (1983) identified the period from 1291 to 1344 as the years of commercial crisis. By contrast, he presented the period from 1345 to 1421 as a boom period. It does seem likely that the volume and importance of the

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spice trade increased yet further under the Circassians. Garcin suggests that threats posed to the overland routes by the wars of Tīmūr and the Turkomans benefited Red Sea commerce and consequently the coffers of the sultans. Therefore a model of Mamluk economic (or military, or social) history in which everything just gets worse and worse is implausible.

As can be seen from the above, there is plenty in *The Cambridge History of Egypt* to engage the mind and interest of anyone with a background in Mamluk studies. For students coming new to the subject, it will also of course serve as a work of reference and a history which, besides engaging with complex social and institutional issues, tells the essential chronological story. It is an immensely valuable work, a compendium of state-of-the-art syntheses of research in the field. Still it is a pity that there is no chapter on Egyptian literature. It is sad not to see any sustained discussion of the works of Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn Dāniyāl, Ibn Sūdūn, and others. Finally, there is the odd charming misprint. On page 313, we learn of the ″building by al-Ghawrī alongside the Nilometer (*Miqyās*) of a royal palace where a veil fluttering at a widow announced that the flood had reached its maximum . . .″ This reminds me of a friend who, while he was working on a *Time-Life History* part-work, typed in the sentence ″All of Egypt′s prosperity depends upon the headwaters of the Nile,″ only to have it corrected by his spell-checker to ″All of Egypt′s prosperity depends upon the headwaiters of the Nile.″

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