MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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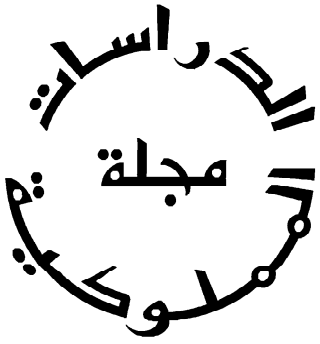

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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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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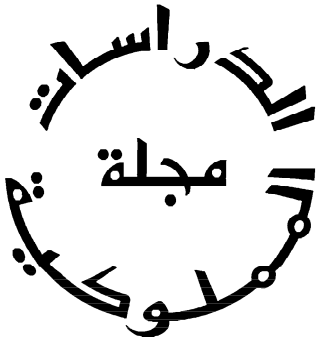

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The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2006 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2006, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2007. Submissions should be sent to:

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Preface

In the course of my work as editor of this journal, and also as editor of the *Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk S*tudie*s,* I began to take note of a body of scholarship in the field of Mamluk studies by Japanese scholars. Of course, I don´t read Japanese, so my acquaintance with this scholarship was limited to books and articles written in European languages. Once my curiosity was piqued, however, I began to review a number of scholarly journals published in Japanese which also included English abstracts. I was surprised not only by the amount of work being done in the field by our Japanese colleagues, but was also impressed by the erudition and originality displayed by some of the authors. I recently counted the number of citations to works by Japanese scholars which appear in the *Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies*. I found forty-nine citations to works written in languages other than Japanese. All are European languages except for one entry in Arabic and one in Persian (the latter is a translation of a book originally written in English). I also found fifty-four citations to works written in Japanese. This means, of course, that more than half of all Japanese scholarship in the field in essentially unknown outside of Japan, to the great detriment of the field at large.

In May of 2003, at a conference on Mamluk studies held at the University of Chicago, I had the opportunity to discuss all of this with Professor Sato Tsugitaka. In the course of our discussion I suggested that a special issue of *Mamlūk Studies Review* be devoted to articles written by Japanese specialists in the field and asked him to help me produce it. The volume in hand is the result of this collaboration. I wish to take this opportunity to thank Professor Sato, without whom the project could never have succeeded. Thanks are due also to my colleague Eizaburo Okuizumi, Japanese Studies Librarian at the University of Chicago, who took a keen interest in the project and answered, with unfailing good humor, questions about the romanization of Japanese titles and other issues. Thanks are also due Patrick Wing for his skillful editorial contributions and Olaf Nelson for solutions to myriad software and other technical problems.

Bruce D. Craig
Editor

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Sato Tsugitaka
Waseda University

Mamluk Studies in Japan: Retrospect and Prospect

Islamic and Middle Eastern studies in Japan has a long history dating back to the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868–1912), when research was first based on information received through China and translations of treatises by European scholars of Islam. From the 1930s on, Japanese scholars began to form various research associations and institutions, such as the Institute of Islamic Civilization Studies (Isuramu Bunka Kenkyujo, 1932), the Institute of the Islamic World (Kaikyoken Kenkyujo, 1937), and the Institute of Oriental Culture (Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo, 1941) in order to study Islam and Islamic civilization on their own. However, during World War II, they were directed by the Japanese government to investigate the contemporary situation of Muslim populations in such Asian countries under Japanese occupation as China, Indonesia, and Malaysia. The aim was clearly to utilize the sense of solidarity existing among these Asian Muslims in the war effort. After such research activities ceased with the end of the war in 1945, some scholars who chose to continue Islamic studies turned toward classical studies regarding medieval Islamic civilization, forsaking their research on contemporary Islam.

After World War II, a new era of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies was opened in Japan under the leadership of Maejima Shinji, Izutsu Toshihiko, and Shimada Johei. Maejima Shinji (1903–83) studied cultural exchange in the history of contact between East and West, making use of the available Chinese and Arabic sources. His major work was collected into the voluminous *Various Aspects of Cultural Exchange between East and West* (Maejima 1971). He is also known for his original translation of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* into Japanese under the title *Arabian Nights* (Maejima 1966–92).

Izutsu Toshihiko (1914–93) utilized the methodology of semantics in his study of the Quran, as revealed in such works as *The Structure of the Ethical Terms in the Koran*[1] and *God and Man in the Koran*.[2] He translated the Quran into Japanese,[3] which is widely read even today due to its accuracy and clarity. In his later years

[1]In English (Tokyo, 1959).

[2]In English (Tokyo, 1964).

[3]3 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957).

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Izutsu took great interest in studying the history of Sufism and Taoism in comparative perspective.

Shimada Johei (1924–90), who had pursued the fields of Arabic and Islamic history under ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī, Bernard Lewis, and others at the University of London, made serious efforts to introduce European Islamic research methods into Japan. He wrote many articles in Japanese on the social and economic history of the early Islamic period, based on such Arabic sources as *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk* by al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* by Abū Yūsuf, and *Futūḥ al-Buldān* by al-Balādhurī. His collected articles, entitled ″Studies on the Early Islamic State″[4] is regarded as a masterwork completed after his many years′ labor.

These pioneers, however, mostly focused on the study of Islamic history and civilization in the classical ages, not extending their interests to the Seljuqid, Ayyubid, or Mamluk periods. It was only from the end of the 1960s on that Japanese scholars started to investigate seriously the various subjects related to the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties.

The Beginning of Mamluk Studies in Japan

Before World War II, Kobayashi Hajime had studied the mamluks in Islamic history (Kobayashi 1939); however, his work was not concerned with the Mamluk dynasty, but with mamluk soldiers as a social and political phenomenon peculiar to Islamic civilization. I myself, after studying the methodology of Islamic history under Shimada, turned to the history of Mamluk Egypt and Syria which is favored with ample historical sources in Arabic. My intention was to see how the Mamluk period might be understood in the evolution of Arabic history since the early Islamic period, so I was stimulated by the article of Claude Cahen entitled ″L′évolution de l′iqṭāʻ du IXe au XIIIe siècle,″[5] which traced chronologically the evolution of the *iqṭāʻ* system in medieval Islamic history.

I too took up the subject of the *iqṭāʻ* system to disclose the relationship between state and society during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, but differed in approach from Cahen and Shimada, who had mostly studied the landholding and taxation systems. I first paid attention to cadastral surveys *(rawk)* conducted in Egypt and Syria during the years 1298–1325. I wrote two articles on this subject originally in Japanese (Sato 1967, 1969a), then revised and enlarged them into an English translation (Sato 1979). From these studies on the cadastral surveys, I found that very little research had been done on rural life and the peasantry in medieval Egypt and Syria. After collecting the sources related to this subject through a search of Arabic manuscripts in Cairo, Damascus, and Istanbul, I wrote

[4]In Japanese (Tokyo: Chuo Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1996).

[5]*Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): 25–52.

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a major article on rural society and the peasantry in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt (Sato 1973). A collection of my articles on the evolution of the *iqṭā'* system was published in Japanese in 1986, then in 1997 I published an English book entitled *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's, and Fallahun* (Sato 1997), which included the above-mentioned Japanese research in revised and enlarged form. My empirical work on Egyptian rural society during the medieval period served as a stimulus to the appearance of a book *Al-Qaryah al-Miṣrīyah fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*[6] by an Egyptian scholar, Majdī 'Abd al-Rashīd Baḥr.

Kobayashi Seiichi, following his study of commercial policy under the Mamluk government (Kobayashi 1973a), took up the study of the formation of Sufi orders and their activities in medieval Egypt (Kobayashi 1973b, 1975). After that, however, his interest changed to the modern history of Egypt, particularly religious movements there during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Yajima Hikoichi, who had studied Arabic and Islamic history under Maejima Shinji, intended to examine commercial and cultural activities in the Islamic world during medieval times. Basing his work on the original Arabic sources, Yajima disclosed various aspects of Egyptian commercial policy during the Bahri Mamluk period (Yajima 1980). In his study of the commercial activities of the Kārimī merchants, he made clear the trade route connecting the Nile valley with the Red Sea coast, focusing on the Qūṣ-'Aydhāb route (Yajima 1986). He then published a valuable work describing historical change in international commercial networks of medieval Islam, although not touching on the causes of such changes (Yajima 1991). After a long-term study of the Arabic manuscripts of the travel accounts by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Yajima translated *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār* into Japanese with very learned annotations (Yajima 1996–2002). Now he is preparing a new critical Arabic text of *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār,* based on the collected manuscripts.

Yukawa Takeshi, who was also a student of Maejima, has studied the social and cultural activities of the ulama in Egypt during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. He published several articles on such subjects as the ulama community in medieval Upper Egypt (Yukawa 1979a), the activities of the Maghribi and Andalusi ulama in Egypt (Yukawa 1980), and Ibn Jamā'ah′s ideas on education (Yukawa 1990a). In particular, Yukawa became interested in the political thought of Ibn Taymīyah (Yukawa 1983a, 1985, 1988, 1990b), translating *Al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyah* into Japanese in collaboration with Nakata Ko (Yukawa 1991: Nakata 1991b).

Morimoto Kosei began his research on the taxation system in Egypt during the early Islamic period, based mainly on Greek and Arabic papyrus documents. His results were published under the title of *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the*

[6]Cairo, 1999.

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Early Islamic Period.[7] He then became interested in the historical views of Ibn Khaldūn and translated the *Muqaddimah* into Japanese (Morimoto 1978–87), and wrote an article on judicial corruption during the Mamluk period, utilizing the original sources describing what Ibn Khaldūn saw in Egypt (Morimoto 2002).

Ohara Yoichiro, who had worked at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published a book in Japanese entitled *The Mamluk Dynasty in Egypt* (Ohara 1976). However, it is not an original work, but a collection of academic research done by modern Arabic scholars. Mutaguchi Yoshiro is a journalist who has contributed considerably to attracting general readers to Islamic and Middle Eastern issues through books on the medieval and contemporary Arab world (Mutaguchi 1972, 1986a). His Japanese translation of *Les Croisades vues par les Arabes* by Amin Maalouf (Mutaguchi 1986b) is still widely read by university students.

The New Era of Mamluk Studies in Japan

Yajima, Yukawa, myself, and other scholars initiated the field of Mamluk studies in Japan and oriented the research toward a new era of prosperity since the 1980s. Kikuchi Tadayoshi, who had studied Oriental history at Waseda and Osaka Universities, took up the study of the social life of Mamluk Egypt, focusing on the personal histories of *muḥtasib*s in Cairo (Kikuchi 1983). He then wrote several articles on the Arabic manuscript *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʻUmr wa-al-Tarājim* by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī (d. 1514), who was a son of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, author of *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (Kikuchi 1997, 2000, 2002). Kikuchi′s intent was to describe a vivid history of Mamluk Egypt by comparing the accounts of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī, Ibn Iyās, et al.

Miura Toru, who had the unique experience of working at a publishing company for about ten years, began his research activities on the urban history of Damascus during the Mamluk period under my guidance. His research on the suburb of Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥīyah (Miura 1987, 1989d, 1995b) intended to describe the urbanization process of al-Ṣāliḥīyah during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, based mainly on *Al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 1546). He then extended his research interests into the social activities of outlaws called *zuʻr* in al-Ṣāliḥīyah during the Mamluk period (Miura 1989a, 1989c). On the other hand, Miura has made serious investigations into the court documents preserved at Markaz al-Wathā'iq al-Tārīkhīyah fī Dimashq. Based on his detailed study on these documents, he shed light on the actual situation of the Islamic legal system from the late Mamluk to the Ottoman period (Miura, 2000b). *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa,* edited by Miura and John E. Philips (Miura and Philips 2000) is also a useful contribution to the comparative study of mamluks in

[7] In English (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1981).

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Islamic history, including the Mamluk period.

Hasebe Fumihiko, stimulated strongly by Boaz Shoshan's article "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517,"[8] studied the food riots that occurred in the later Mamluk period through the Arabic source materials (Hasebe 1988). He extended his interest to studying the characteristics of Egyptian society in the abnormal weather, famine, and epidemics that occurred during the fourteenth century (Hasebe 1989). His research on food riots attempts to explain the actions of the Mamluk government when faced with such severe disturbances as well as to disclose the actual conditions of grain price fluctuations and food shortages in Mamluk Cairo (Hasebe 1990, 1993, 1994, 1999a). Recently, Hasebe has taken up the relationship between the sultan's kingship and the Sufi saints during the end of the Mamluk period (Hasebe 1999b, 2002), and has edited an interesting book entitled *Poor Relief in the Medieval Mediterranean Cities* (Hasebe 2004b), which includes two articles on the relief efforts in medieval Cairo and Jerusalem (Hasebe 2004c; Miura 2004).

Matsuda Toshimichi, who was a student of Shimada, has made efforts to study the useful documents of St. Catherine's Monastery. Based on his elaborate decipherment of these documents, he has written many articles on such subjects as nomads in the Sinai Peninsula (Matsuda 1989, 1991a), the dissolution of *waqf*s (Matsuda 1991b), the *dhimmī*s in medieval Egypt (Matsuda 1990b), *maẓālim* institutions under the Mamluks (Matsuda 1990a), and the oath *(qasāmah)* found in the proclamations of Sultan Qāytbāy (Matsuda 1995b). Recently, he expanded his research interest to the Ḥaram documents in Jerusalem and introduced several sources related to the qadis in Jerusalem and the Christian pilgrims who traveled there during the Mamluk period (Matsuda 1997, 2004).

Ohtoshi Tetsuya, who studied Arabic and Islamic history under my guidance at the University of Tokyo, took special interest in communicating with Egyptian poor people, living among them in Old Cairo for two years. His first article (Ohtoshi 1993a, 1993b) describes concretely various aspects of popular visits to al-Qarāfah (the City of the Dead) in Cairo, utilizing the Arabic manuscripts of the *ziyārah* books, travel guides *(mashāyikh al-ziyārah)* written between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Then he discussed several phases of development and the social function of al-Qarāfah during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, by analyzing the accounts of chronicles, *waqf* documents, and biographies in addition to the *ziyārah* manuscripts (Ohtoshi 1994, 1996a). Ohtoshi then extended his research interest gradually into considering the conceptualization of "Egypt" as reflected in visits to the holy tombs in Muslim society (Ohtoshi 1998, 2001b), the relationship between the Copts and Muslims in twelfth- through fifteenth-century Cairo (Ohtoshi

[8] *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10, no. 3 (1980).

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2001a, 2003), and the aspects of *taṣawwuf* as revealed in the *ziyārah* books and the visits to al-Qarāfah (2004a, 2004b).

Taṣawwuf is one of the main subjects studied by Japanese scholars. In addition to Ohtoshi's and my work (Sato 2001), there is Kisaichi Masatoshi's book entitled *Isuramu seija* (Muslim saints),[9] focusing on the Sufi saints in the Maghrib countries. Tonaga Yasushi, who has seriously examined the methodology of *taṣawwuf* studies, has clarified the position of *taṣawwuf* in Sunni thought during the Mamluk period (Tonaga 1990b) as well as the controversies over the orthodoxy of *waḥdat al-wujūd* during the late Mamluk period (1990a). In contrast to Tonaga's work, Nakata Ko turned to the study of the religious and political thought of Ibn Taymīyah, including the significance of *ijmā'* (Nakata 1987), the theory of Quranic exegesis (Nakata 1988), and a refutation of metaphor *(majāz)* theory (Nakata 1990a).

The field of Islamic archeology was pioneered by Kawatoko Mutsuo at the Middle Eastern Culture Center, who published a voluminous work entitled *The Egyptian Islamic City* (Kawatoko and Sakurai 1992), which includes the survey results of his elaborate excavation work done at al-Fusṭāṭ for seven years beginning in 1978. Kawatoko also clarified the international coffee trade in south Sinai between the late fifteenth and the early eighteenth century, utilizing the Arabic documents excavated at the port of al-Ṭūr (Kawatoko, 2001). Shindo Yoko, who participated in the excavations at al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Ṭūr along with Kawatoko, took special interest in glassware throughout the Islamic world. Classifying and analyzing the pieces unearthed from al-Ṭūr and Rāyah, she has written several articles on Islamic marvered glass (Shindo 1993), glass bracelets (Shindo 1996), and glass beakers (Shindo 2004b), and recently has published a book in Japanese entitled *Arts and Crafts in Islam* (Shindo 2004a), which is a general history of the subject.

Some Characteristic Features of Mamluk Studies in Japan

First of all, it should be mentioned that the third generation of Japanese scholars studying the Mamluk dynasty appeared in Japan during the first half of the 1990s. They study various subjects related to state and society in the Mamluk period, based on the Arabic, Turkish, and Italian documents. Kondo Manami, following the publication of an article on the practice of law in Mamluk Syria (Kondo 1994), took up Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī and his family in relation to the activities of ulama during the Mamluk period (Kondo 1995, 1999). Horii Yutaka, who studied the Ottoman conquest of Egypt as a turning point in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean world, has examined the commercial relationship between Italian cities and Islamic states during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Based on the Arabic and Italian source materials, he has described the situations of the Venetian

[9]Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996.

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consul and residents in Egypt under the Ottoman conquest (Horii 1997a, 1997b) as well as under late Mamluk rule (Horii 1999, 2003). Igarashi Daisuke first studied the Syrian financial policy during the late Mamluk period (Igarashi 1999), and then, after a stay in Syria for two years, considered the legal opinions about the *bayt al-māl* by al-Balāṭunusī, a Shafi'ite scholar in Mamluk Damascus (Igarashi 2003). Recently, he is studying the establishment and development of the *dīwān al-mufrad* under the Circassian Mamluks to clarify the transformation of the Mamluk regime during the fifteenth century (Igarashi 2004).

Another newcomer, Nakamachi Nobutaka, who first studied Armenian in his graduate work, took an interest in examining the peace treaties that Baybars concluded with the Franks and the Armenians (Nakamachi 1996). Following the publication of an article on military refugees from the Ilkhanids to the Mamluk sultanate (Nakamachi 2000), Nakamachi realized the importance of studying the Arabic manuscripts of *'Iqd al-Jumān* by al-'Aynī to understand Mamluk history during the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries (Nakamachi,2003). Ito Takao has noticed that the social mobility of the Egyptian ulama was rather limited between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries through investigating the activities of two influential families, Banū al-Bulqīnī and Banū al-Shiḥnah (Ito 1996). He also examined in detail the historical sources al-Sakhāwī referred to in his *Al-I'lān bi-al-Tawbīkh* (Ito 1997). Finally, let me add that three young scholars have joined us recently: Ota Keiko in an article on the Meccan Sharifate and its diplomatic relations during the Bahri Mamluk period (Ota 2002), Ishiguro Hirotake in a discussion about the administrators of *Wafā' al-Nīl* during the Burji Mamluk period (Ishiguro 2002), and Yoshimura Takenori in an analysis of the water supply administration in the suburbs of Cairo under the Bahri Mamluk government (Yoshimura 2003).

Secondly, we may indicate the efforts of Japanese scholars to study Arabic manuscripts and documents abroad other than the published primary sources. As mentioned above, I myself have searched for Arabic manuscripts related to the *iqṭā'* system in Cairo, Damascus, and Istanbul, Yajima on the travel account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Matsuda on various subjects related to the St. Catherine´s documents, Ohtoshi on the guidebooks for visitors to al-Qarāfah, Kikuchi on the writings of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, and Nakamachi on the chronicle by al-'Aynī, to mention a few cases. It is noteworthy also that Miura and Horii have tried to compare the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods in their work utilizing Arabic and Italian documents.

As to the published materials related to Arabic and Islamic studies, not a small number of universities and institutes, including the Faculty of Letters at the University of Tokyo, The Institute of Oriental Culture (The University of Tokyo), Keio University, The National Diet Library, The Toyo Bunko, Hokkaido University, Kyoto University, and Kyushu University, for example, have collected them since

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the 1960s. However, the collections are still small and insufficient for scholars and students who want to use the primary sources in earnest. Among the universities and institutes mentioned above, The Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library), which was established in 1924 by the Mitsubishi Company to promote Asian studies in Japan, has the best collection on the Middle East in Arabic (20,000 volumes), Persian (15,000), and Turkish (18,000), and source materials related to the Mamluk period account for a large part of the Arabic collection there.

Following World War II, Japanese scholars, who were freed from the historical view of imperial absolutism, were stimulated considerably by Marxism, which puts stress on the social and economic factors in the development of history. For example, Shimada Johei chose to study the taxation system in the early Islamic period with the intent of participating in similar discussions with historians working in other fields. As mentioned above, Morimoto Kosei followed him, but I differed slightly from them and took up the subject of the *iqṭā'* system to examine the relationship between state and society during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (Sato 1967, 1969b, 1979, 1997a). The commercial activities of the Kārimī merchants were also considered of a major importance to understanding social and economic mobility in international trade networks (Kobayashi 1973a; Yajima 1980, 1986, 1989, 1991). The study of the monetary system in medieval Islam by Kato Hiroshi (Kato 1976) is regarded also as an achievement in the same field of research.

I had already started my study of rural society and the peasantry in Egypt (Sato 1972, 1973, 1977) prior to the introduction of the social history method developed by the Annale school in the 1980s. From around that time on, the study of social history was conducted eagerly in relation to the Mamluks as seen in the work on food riots by Hasebe (Hasebe 1988, 1990, 1994, 1999a), the *zu'r* of Mamluk Damascus by Miura (Miura 1989a, 1989c), and Ohtoshi's work on popular visits to al-Qarāfah in Old Cairo (Ohtoshi 1993a and others). Active studies on the social roles of ulama by Yukawa (Yukawa 1979a, 1980, 1981), Kikuchi (Kikuchi, 2002), Miura (Miura 2000), Kondo (Kondo 1994, 1995, 1999), and Ito (Ito 1996, 2003) have greatly improved our understanding of urban life during the Mamluk period.

Consequently, the above discussion demonstrates that the field of Mamluk studies in Japan has developed steadily since the end of the 1960s. Most of the younger scholars hope to visit the Middle East both to search for source materials and communicate with local scholars. Due to the appearance of the second and the third generations of expert since the 1980s, research has been greatly diversified to include such subjects as the relationship between kingship and Sufis, political and judicial ideas of the ulama, various aspects of urban life, international trade networks, etc. However, we find only a few scholars working on the fields of architecture, history of science, or arts and crafts during the Mamluk period.

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Furthermore, we have another important subject to consider, ″What is the Mamluk state?″ in comparison to other Islamic states in history. As to the languages used in the research literature, we now face a serious problem. As revealed in the Select Bibliography, the number of books and articles written in English (and including one article in German) amounts to only 30 (17%) of the total as of the end of 2004. We should recognize the fact that the works written in Japanese cannot be understood by most non-Japanese scholars. In order to contribute to international academic activities, it is necessary for us to publish more of our research achievements in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and the European languages.

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An Analysis of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī al-Malaṭī́s Description of the Year 848: On the Process of Writing History in the Late Fifteenth Century

Introduction

In the field of Islamic historical studies, the Mamluk era offers a relatively vast amount of material. In recent times, many historical sources and some revised editions of these sources have been published. It is thus becoming easier to study the Mamluk era from a variety of perspectives. However, other historical materials, such as *waqf* documents, require further attention. In addition, systematic analysis of a broad range of sources requires close attention to how the texts were produced.

The focus of this article is the process by which ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī (844–920/1440–1514) wrote his historical work *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʻUmr wa-al-Tarājim* (hereafter referred to as al-Rawḍ). The manuscript deals with the period between the mid and late ninth century/the mid fifteenth century. I look specifically at the descriptions of the year 848 (20 April 1444–8 April 1445). In order to show how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ used other historical sources in writing his book, his descriptions in al-Rawḍ will be compared with notes he made in the margins of another manuscript. Then, in order to understand how his book was received, I will examine how the information in his book was transmitted to the next generation.

The Author of al-Rawḍ and the Method for Analyzing his Writing Process

Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (813–73/1410–68), father of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, wrote a well-known book titled *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*. According to Ibn Iyās, Khalīl had an exceptional career, considering he was one of the descendants of the mamluks *(awlād al-nās)*. He also obtained an *ijāzah* in hadith from Ibn Ḥajar.[1] His son, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, was born in 844 in Malaṭīyah, a town in Asia Minor, where his father Khalīl served as *nāʾib*. ʻAbd

[1] J. Gaulmie and T. Fahd, ″Ibn Shāhīn,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:934. The life of Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī was addressed in my article ″My Father Khalīl ibn Shāhīn—Comparative Study of Descriptions by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī″ (in Japanese), *Seinan Asia Kenkyu* 47 (1997): 53–73, which is a comparative study of al-Rawḍ́s description of 873, the year that Khalīl died. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʻ al-Zuhūr wa-Waqāʾiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:25 (hereafter referred to as *Badāʾiʻ*).

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al-Bāsiṭ accompanied his father to his various posts in such places as Tripoli, Damascus, and Cairo, and on his pilgrimages. At the age of 28, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ left for the Maghrib and al-Andalus to study medicine (866–71/1462–67). Later, he resided in Cairo and became acquainted with a number of intellectuals there. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote several books on Hanafi law, medicine, and history. He died in 920/1514 in Cairo.[2]

As mentioned above, the main focus of this article is ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s al-Rawḍ. The extant manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Library and is bound in two volumes (Vatican Arabo 728, 729) A filmed version of this manuscript is preserved in the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub MS 2403 tārīkh Taymūr). The manuscript in the Vatican Library was not given much attention when it was bound, with the result that the folios were not arranged according to their page numbers. However, the pages of the filmed version in the Egyptian National Library were arranged correctly.[3]

This two-volume manuscript contains information about events spanning the 30-year period from 844 to 874 (1440–69/70). However, there is a considerable gap in the chronology. The first volume contains only six years, from 844/1440 to 850/1446–47, and the second volume contains only nine years from 865/1460–1 to 874/1469–70. Thus, coverage of fourteen years (i.e., 850–64) is missing from the two volumes. Each year comprises two sections: a chronicle section and an obituary section. The description of only one year is complete in the first volume.[4]

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[2]Robert Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du nord au XV siècle* (Paris, 1936; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1994); G. Levi Della Vida, ″Il regno di Granata nel 1465–66 nei ricordi di un viaggiatore egiziano,″ *Al-Andalus* 1 (1933): 307–34. These are editions and translations of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s descriptions of his travel to the Maghrib and al-Andalus found in al-Rawḍ. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Al-Raḥḥālah al-Muslimūn fī al-ʻUṣūr al-Wuṣtá* (Cairo, 1945); I. Y. Kratchkovskiy, *Arabskaya Geograficheskaya Literatura,* vol. 4 of *Izbrannye Sochinenia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1957), translated by ʻUthmān Hāshim as *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrafī al-ʻArabī*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1987); ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥamīdah, *A'lām al-Jughrāfīyīn al-ʻArab* (Damascus, 1416/1995; 1st ed., 1984). On the importance of al-Rawḍ as a historical source, see Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: the Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), 8–9; Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: the State of Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1977): 21; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn, *ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī Mu'arrikhan* (Beirut, 1410/1990).

[3]MS 2403 tārīkh Taymūr is bound in four volumes. In this version Vatican Arabo 728 was arranged chronologically from fol. 1r to fol. 19v, and fol. 48r to fol. 66r (the end of Vatican Arabo 728), and then fols. 20r to 47v (there is a missing part between fol. 39v and fol. 40r), and re-paginated. In this article, the folio number is quoted from Vatican Arabo 728.

[4]Vatican Arabo 728 consists of a chronicle and a part of the biographies of 844, a part of a chronicle and biographies of 845, a part of a chronicle of 846, a chronicle and biographies of 848, a chronicle and part of the biographies of 849, and a chronicle and part of the biographies of 850.

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The two-volume manuscript is unique, and assumed to have been written during the period between 887 and 890.[5]

'Abd al-Bāsiṭ made notes in the margin of another manuscript, the ″Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr,″ Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi kütüphanesi MS Ahmet III 2941/2, the famous chronicle written by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (hereafter referred to as Inbā'[T]). The notes in the margins of the first volume, MS Ahmet III 2941/1, are quoted in the annotations of the edition published in Damascus, but they have not been studied in detail.[6] The catalog of manuscripts preserved in the Topkapı Library shows that this manuscript was written in 880/1475 and that it ends in the year 849.[7] In fact, the final folio (198r) of Inbā'(T) has more information added at the end. While two other editions—the Cairo edition and the Hyderabad edition—end in the chronicle section in Muḥarram of the year 850,[8] Inbā'(T) has three added lines that give an account of Monday, 12 Rabī' I 850, as well as some concluding sentences. Then, biographies of five people who died in that year are

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However, Vatican Arabo 729 ends with the biographies of 874, and in this part at least one folio between a biography of Yashbak min Ḥaydar al-Ashrafī and a biography of the historian Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī is missing.

[5]'Abd al-Bāsiṭ wrote about a person in fol. 48v of Vatican Arabo 728: ″I will write about the man who died in (8)87, the year I started writing this book;″ cf. al-Rawḍ, fols. 18v, 52r. In fol. 260r, the final folio of Vatican Arabo 729, there is the sentence ″I finished writing the second volume on Monday 18 Rabī' I 890,″ although ″the second volume″ is written in red and is unclear. After this sentence though, there is writing that indicates the year 895, but the meaning is uncertain. (Brunschvig, *Deux recits,* 10, does not mention this writing.)

[6]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, vol. 1 (Damascus, 1399/1979).

[7]F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1966), 3:391.

[8]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969–98), hereafter referred to as *Inbā'(C);* Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr fī al-Tārīkh* (Hyderabad, 1967–76; repr. Beirut, 1406/1986), hereafter referred to as *Inbā'(Ḥ).* The manuscripts that were the basis of these two editions are as follows: *Inbā'(Ḥ)* was edited by using the manuscript in al-Maktabah al-Sa'īdīyah Library in Hyderabad as the main text, and comparing it with the manuscript in the Egyptian National Library and two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, although the numbers of these manuscripts are not quoted. *Inbā'(C)* was edited using al-Maktabah al-Ẓāhirīyah MS 231 tārīkh as the main text, comparing it with seven additional manuscripts: (1) Maktabat al-Azhar MS 710 tārīkh (2) MS Ahmet III 2942/1 (3) Bibliothèque nationale MS 1601 (4) al-Maktabah al-Sa'īdīyah MS 94 tārīkh (5) a manuscript in Medina, MS 523 Madīnah (6) a manuscript in Ṣan'ā' of which a microfilm copy is in the Egyptian National Library (7) British Museum MS 1601. Manuscripts (3), (4), and (6) are thought to be used for both editions. The second volume of the manuscript (2), MS Ahmet III 2942/2, is not used. According to Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, an editor of the Cairo edition, *Inbā'(C),* manuscript (4) includes notes by al-Biqā'ī, while the editor of the Hyderabad edition, *Inbā'(Ḥ),* did not identify the author of these notes but noted the differences in the texts of the manuscripts in his footnotes.

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given, followed by additional concluding remarks. At the very end, there is a sentence which states that this is the end of the second volume, with the date Tuesday, 6 Rabīʻ II 886. This is 34 years after the author, Ibn Ḥajar, passed away and one year before ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ began to compose al-Rawḍ. A variety of notes are found in the margins of the manuscript Inbāʾ(T), some of which are signed ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī. Other notes are not signed and seem to have been written by different people. A careful comparison between these notes in the margins of Inbāʾ(T) and the text of al-Rawḍ provides a clear insight into ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s writing process. (The part on which this article is based is from fol. 192r to fol. 194v of al-Inbāʾ[T].)

The Purpose and Method of Writing al-Rawḍ

At the beginning of al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote:

> I started writing this history with a description of the year 844, the year I was born. This is to accurately depict the chronicle sections *(al-ḥawādith al-mutajaddidāt)* and the obituary sections of people who died in the same year *(al-wafayāt)*. I decided to describe daily events, noteworthy happenings, and biographies *(tarājim)* of famous people in this era and obituaries *(wafayāt)* in detail. I sometimes deviate from the main topics, especially in biographies or appointments to offices or other accounts, and I tell life stories and careers of famous living people. I tried not to treat anything lightly but tried to describe their biographical information carefully in detail. I also made some notes *(taʻlīq)* with red ink in the margins *(hāmish)* which show the contents of biographies and obituaries in order for people who want to know the details to find corresponding accounts easily. I instructed scribes of this book not to forget to write these notes for easy searching of information.
>
> We hope that this history book will be a continuation *(dhayl)* to the great useful famous history books written before: the two great history books by Chief Qadi Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī, a history book by Shaykh al-Islām Ḥāfiẓ al-ʻAṣr Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, a history book by al-Taqī al-Maqrīzī, and many other great history books written by many masters. Although I am hoping that this book will be a continuation to the aforementioned historical books, I think it is appropriate for me to cover the same several years that have already been covered in those books. In my book I added useful information to the narratives in these overlapping years. When this method was carried out and complete and this book came to fruition,

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> I named this book ″Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʻUmr wa-al-Tarājim.″
>
> In this book I tried to include information which has been transmitted by reliable masters, events that I myself witnessed, and detailed accounts of transmitted information that are worthy of belief. God—praise to Him—please help me to accomplish my purpose. Almighty God, please lead me to use appropriate language, not to defame people, not to hold prejudiced views, and not to misunderstand matters. Please also help make me [by writing this book] entitle all the appropriate people with appropriate rights, bring prestige to appropriate people, and lead us away from vices committed by people who led shameful lives. These are the purposes of my writing this book. (al-Rawḍ, fols. 1v–2r)

In the statement above, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ named master historians whose examples he followed. His explanation of why he started his book in the year he was born and why his book should be a continuation *(dhayl)* to past history books is especially influenced by Ibn Ḥajar, who had started his book from the year 773, the year he was born.[9]

The method described in this preface can be found strictly observed throughout his work. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ quoted details of daily events from previous historians, whose names he mentions. When he did not mention his sources by name, he began his quotations with ″one man wrote,″ mostly specifying where they were from. As he wrote in the preface, some chronicle sections contain events that he witnessed himself, information that he heard from his acquaintances, and biographical information of people related to these events. Similar to other history books written in the same era, he tried to organize the chronicle by month, date, and day of the week.

Following the chronicle sections, the biographies of people who died in the year are recorded alphabetically according to their *ism,* which is written in red. In some cases, he added the titles of offices and various pieces of information about living sons and grandchildren of the individuals mentioned in these sections. Because he began his work from the year he was born, he had personal contacts with individuals who were contemporaries with, and had direct knowledge about, his subjects. One of the characteristics of his writing is, as explained in the

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[9] *Inba'(C),* 1:3–5. See Caesar E. Farah, *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven, 1967) on the category of *dhayl,* and Wadad al-Qadi, ″Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance,″ in *The Book in the Islamic World,* ed. G. N. Atiyeh (Albany, 1995), 93–122, on the changes in the content of biographical information in the field of biography studies.

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preface, that in both the chronicle and the biography section, notes and personal names are indicated in red in the margins.

Another characteristic is that he added aspects of his own personal history to some narratives.[10] In a chronicle section, he described his journey to the Maghrib and al-Andalus among other events, which were also arranged by dates.

ANALYSIS OF THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 848

A reliable method by which to analyze the process of al-Rawḍ′s composition would be to compare descriptions in al-Rawḍ and those in Ibn Ḥajar′s history, especially before and after 850, with other historical sources written in the same era, such as al-Sakhāwī′s book. This article deals with the year 848 for two reasons: first, only the description of the year 848 has a complete chronicle section and obituary section for the whole year. Second, I hope to establish a model for ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s process for treating events before 850. Many important events occurred in 848, which had significant historical consequences. In addition, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī, and ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself all went through several important personal experiences in that year. The descriptions of the year 848 start at 20r and end at 31r in the manuscript of al-Rawḍ.[11]

I have compared the chronicle section of al-Rawḍ with the following sources: accounts in Ibn Ḥajar′s *Inbā′,* which ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ hoped to continue (the two editions published in Hyderabad and Cairo, *Inbā′(Ḥ)* and *Inbā′(C),* and the Topkapı manuscript Inbā′[T]), and notes in the margins of Inbā′(T), most of which were signed by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself at the end; accounts in Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Al-Nujūm* and *Ḥawādith;* accounts in al-ʻAynī′s *ʻIqd;* accounts in *Nuzhah* by Ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī; accounts in *Al-Tibr* by al-Sakhāwī; and accounts in *Badā′iʻ* by Ibn Iyās.[12]

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[10]Cf. Otfried Weintritt, ″Concepts of History as Reflected in Arabic Historiographical Writing in Ottoman Syria and Egypt (1517–1700),″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 188–204; *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition,* ed. Dwight F. Reynolds (Berkeley, 2001), 80–82, 241.

[11]In the margin above the main text of 20r, there is a note reading, ″And al-Sirāj ibn al-Mulaqqan″ in handwriting different from that of the main text. This seems to be a catchword indicating that this part is followed by 19v. If we consider the contents of 19v, however, which are biographies for the year 844, 19v cannot follow 20r; cf. above, n. 3.

[12]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), hereafter referred to as *Al-Nujūm;* idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1410/1990), hereafter referred to as *Ḥawādith;* idem, *Al-Dalīl al-Shāfī ʻalá al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Mecca, 1399/1979; repr. Cairo, 1998), hereafter referred to as *Al-Dalīl*; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo,1985–2002), hereafter referred to as *Al-Manhal;* al-ʻAynī,

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The analysis of information gained from these sources indicates how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ crafted his own work. He first added notes in the margins of Inbāʾ(T) based on the accounts from *Al-Nujūm, Ḥawādith,* and al-ʻAynīʹs *ʻIqd,* and also added original information he obtained himself, before beginning to write al-Rawḍ. It seems that *Nuzhah* and *Al-Tibr* were being written around the same time. I will also analyze how the information by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was transmitted to *Badāʾiʻ*.

I will discuss several events that happened in the year 848 to illustrate characteristics of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭʹs writing process. This year started with an epidemic which had begun the previous year. In al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote,

> The *dīwān al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīyah* reported 120 people died per day in Cairo, but it was said that 200 more people died and these numbers were not reported to the *dīwān*. I personally think that there were more deaths because many of the dead people were children and slaves and the *dīwān* did not know the conditions of most children or slaves. This means that 300 or 400 people died. The situation grew worse and after the pilgrims returned [from Mecca] at the end of this month, many children and slaves in the caravan died of the epidemic. 1000 people died in one day.[13]

From this account, we can tell that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ used a brief description from the *Inbāʾ* and referred to *Al-Nujūm, ʻIqd,* and other materials for additional information.[14]

At that time Ibn Ḥajar, author of *Inbāʾ,* was Shafiʻi chief qadi. In his own book, he recounts that he became sick. The same description can be found also in al-Rawḍ and *Al-Tibr*. Ibn Ḥajar wrote about the epidemic in a book completed in that year.[15] According to many accounts, he started working actively again after he

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ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān, ed. ʻAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1406–9/1985–89), hereafter referred to as *ʻIqd ;* Ibn Dāwūd al-Sayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), hereafter referred to as *Nuzhah;* Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayr al-Sulūk* (Būlāq, 1896; repr. Cairo, 1974), hereafter referred to as *Al-Tibr;* idem, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʻ fī Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ,* ed Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī (Cairo, 1353–55/1934–36; repr. Beirut, n.d.), hereafter referred to as *Al-Ḍawʾ;* idem, *Al-Dhayl al-Tāmm ʻalá Duwal al-Islām lil-Dhahabī,* vol. 1, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ et al. (Beirut and Kuwait, 1992); idem, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʻalá Duwal al-Islām,* ed. Bashshār ʻAwwād Maʻrūf et al. (Beirut, 1416/1995), hereafter referred to as *Wajīz*.

[13]See Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 169–85, for mortality figures.

[14]*Inbāʾ(Ḥ),* 9:219–20; *Inbāʾ(C),* 4:224; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:359; *ʻIqd,* 619.

[15]Franz Rosenthal, ″Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʻAsḳalānī,″ *EI*^{2}, 3:776–78; *Al-Tibr,* 87; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Badhl al-Māʻūn fī Faḍl al-Ṭāʻūn,* ed. Ibrāhīm Kīlānī Muḥammad Khalīfah (Ṣanʻā' and Beirut, 1413/1993), 231; *Al-Tibr,* 87.

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recovered from the disease. In al-Rawḍ, there is another interesting account that Ibn Ḥajar attempted to obtain the release of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s father Khalīl when he was arrested and put in prison. However, neither *Inbā*ʾ nor *Al-Tibr* record this incident, so it is not clear whether it is true or not. Al-Sakhāwī only wrote that Khalīl was dismissed from office and expelled on 4 Rabīʻ II. He did not mention the attempt to release him, despite the fact that in *Al-Tibr* he remarked on other personal affairs such as his marriage to a merchant′s daughter on 8 Rabīʻ II in the presence of his teacher, Ibn Ḥajar.[16]

Regarding the Mamluk expeditionary force sent to Rhodes, al-Rawḍ has more detailed descriptions than any other historical work. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ first wrote that *Inbā*ʾ claims 22 Muḥarram as the date of departure of the expeditionary vessels, but that this was a misunderstanding *(wahm)* by his teacher Ibn Ḥajar, and the real month of departure was Rabīʻ I. Al-Sakhāwī referred to the date of the expedition based on *Inbā*ʾ while al-Rawḍ is based on Ibn Taghrībirdī′s accounts.[17] The information about this expedition seems to have been gathered from the letters of Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʻī, a historian who joined the expeditionary force.[18] The descriptions of the battles are very lively compared to other histories.

This expedition was planned following the success of the expedition the previous year to the small island of Qashtīl (Castellorizzo) located east of Rhodes. After the expedition force arrived in Rhodes in August, 1444, they besieged the fortress in vain for 40 days. This failure led to the conclusion of a peace treaty the following year, ending Mamluk attempts to expand their military power to Rhodes.[19]

ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote vividly about the arrival in Cairo of a delegation from the Timurid ruler Shāh Rukh between Shaʻbān and Ramaḍān of 848. They had an audience with Sultan Jaqmaq in the citadel and presented him with the *kiswah.* When this was revealed, mamluks and citizens were roused to anger. The delegation was attacked and their lodging house was looted. Al-Sakhāwī wrote in *Al-Tibr* that a famous qadi accompanied this delegation and that he was present when Ibn Ḥajar gave this qadi an *ijāzah,* but in *Inbā*ʾ Ibn Ḥajar did not mention this audience at all. In the margin of Inbā'(T), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote of the approval the sultan

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[16]*Al-Tibr,* 93.

[17]*Al-Tibr,* 87; *Al-Nujūm,*15:360–63; *Ḥawādith,* 1:104.

[18]*Inbā'(Ḥ)*, 9:223–24; *Inbā'(C),* 4:226–27. Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashī quotes al-Biqāʻī′s private notes in the footnotes of his edition, which shows that he did not consider them part of the main text of *Inbā*'. However, since the editor of *Inbā'(Ḥ)* did not recognize that these notes were written by al-Biqāʻī, they are included in the main text.

[19]Ettore Rossi, ″The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421–1523,″ in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1975), 3:319–20; Hassanein Rabie, ″Mamluk Campaigns Against Rhodes (1440–1444),″ in *The Islamic World,* ed. Clifford Edmund Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 281–86.

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had given the previous year, which was quoted from *Al-Nujūm.* In al-Rawḍ, he also added that the sultan was enraged and chastised the viceregent (*walī al-salṭanah* [sic]). This information was gathered from a witness who happened to be there.[20]

In *Inbā'*, there is no description of the campaign to Varna (10 November 1444), in which Murad II defeated the Hungarian and Slavic army. The note in the margin of Inbā'(T) is quoted exactly from *Al-Nujūm.*[21] It was written in al-Rawḍ that a delegate of al-Malik Murād ibn 'Uthmān, who was the ruler *(mutamallik)* of Adrianople (Edirne), Bursa, and the land of Rum behind Adrianople and Bursa, arrived and was said to have defeated the *Banū al-Aṣfar* known as al-Anukrus (Hungarians). It was also written in al-Rawḍ that the sending of prisoners would be described later, but no description of their arrival in Dhū al-Ḥijjah is found.[22] Other historical sources, however, have descriptions of the arrival of many gifts and prisoners that the Ottomans sent to flaunt their power.[23] The Ottomans sent many gifts and prisoners to the Aqquyunlu and the Timurids. This campaign was considered the first move toward the conquest of Constantinople (857/1453).[24] This battle as well as the failure of the Rhodes expedition had a great impact on the future of the Mamluks.

There is no mention in *Inbā'* about the above-mentioned events, except a simple description of the expedition to Rhodes. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ gathered new information related to these events, added it in the margin of Inbā'(T), and arranged it in al-Rawḍ. Toward the end of *Inbā'*, we find only short and simple descriptions.

Notes written in the margins of Inbā'(T) tell us that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ gathered information from either *Al-Nujūm, Ḥawādith,* or *'Iqd*. In the descriptions of the appointments and dismissals of government officials, the content and order of sentences are exactly the same as in *Al-Nujūm*, but they are not attributed to *Al-Nujūm.* On the other hand, information quoted from *'Iqd* is followed by the phrase ″as al-'Aynī wrote.″[25] Quotations are found throughout the period from Ṣafar to the end of the year, but more quotations are made in the months after

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[20]*Al-Tibr,* 96; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:364.

[21]*Al-Nujūm,* 15:366.

[22]The details of this campaign were described in the account of the conversion to Islam of the prisoners who were sent to Cairo in early Muḥarram of the next year, 849. (al-Rawḍ, fols. 31r–32v); Ibn Iyās also briefly mentioned the prisoners′ conversion in the same month. See *Badā'i'*, 2:247.

[23]*Ḥawādith,* 1:112; *'Iqd,* 2:631–32; *Nuzhah,* 4:311–12; *Al-Tibr,* 98–99.

[24]Deno J. Geanakoplos, ″Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354–1453,″ in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. Hazard, 3:96–97; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481* (Istanbul, 1990), 129–36.

[25]The same method of quotation is also used in al-Rawḍ. When raising objections, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ sometimes mentions Ibn Taghrībirdī by name. Other times he simply writes, ″someone says the following.″

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Ramaḍān.[26] Since the main text of fol. 193v of Inbāʾ(T) is about the events which happened in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the text of fol. 193r is filled with information about events before Dhū al-Ḥijjah, actually leaving no blank space. And this may be the reason why accounts of happenings after Ramaḍān are dated only as ″the same day,″ ″the same month,″ or ″the same year.″ This careless dating method seems to be one of the causes for mistakes in al-Rawḍ when quoting information from the margins of Inbāʾ(T).

Comparing the notes in the margins of Inbāʾ(T) with al-Rawḍ, it is clear that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ tried to fix the exact dates of incidents to avoid mistakes by using phrases such as ″in the same month, that is, [the name of the month].″ Some accounts in the margins of Inbāʾ(T) cannot be found in the corresponding parts of al-Rawḍ, which means that these accounts might have been left out or moved to other places in al-Rawḍ. For example, the biographies of individuals found in the margins of the chronological section of Inbāʾ(T) were moved to the obituary sections of the years of their deaths.

The dates of all the events after Rajab 848 in al-Rawḍ, with only one exception, match exactly with other historical sources. The only exception is the campaign against the Bedouins of al-Buḥayrah. In the margin of Inbāʾ(T), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that this happened on 16 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but in al-Rawḍ, the date given is the 26th. This is probably due to a slip of the pen while writing the Arabic numeral.

There are great differences between al-Rawḍ and other historical sources, however, in their descriptions of the three months of Rabīʻ II, Jumādá I, and Jumādá II. Ibn Taghrībirdī included no event for Jumādá I and Jumādá II, noting that nothing worth mentioning happened in these months.[27] In al-Rawḍ, on the other hand, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ described the details of his father Khalīl′s dismissal and arrest, a very important event in ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s life.

As will be shown below, it seems that many accounts of events which occurred in Rabīʻ II were dated after Jumādá I. I now will analyze the descriptions of these dating differences.

First, the date of the Nile inundation is given as Tuesday, 9 Rabīʻ II in *Inbāʾ(Ḥ),* but both in *Inbāʾ(C)* and in the main text of Inbāʾ(T), it is written as Tuesday, 19. In al-Rawḍ, however, the date is 19 Jumādá II. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ always wrote notes in the margins when he had to add new information to the main text of Inbāʾ(T). However, he did not write a note for a change of the month for this entry. This means that the date of the Nile inundation in al-Rawḍ should have been Tuesday, 19 Rabīʻ II. It is likely, therefore, that probably he or his scribe

[26]The notes in Inbāʾ(T), fol. 193r are the quotations from *Al-Nujūm,* 15:363–67.

[27]*Ḥawādith,* 1:107.

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made a mistake in writing and misdated it as 19 Jumādá II. *Badā'i'* also has this event misdated as Jumādá II, which indicates that this date in *Badā'i'* was taken from al-Rawḍ.[28]

Next, there are two accounts that were written by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ himself in the margin of Inbā'(T). The first account is the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of the Damascus citadel. The second account is the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Malaṭīyah, which is thought to have resulted in the incident related to his father Khalīl. Both the appointments and dismissals are dated 3 Rabī' II. But in al-Rawḍ he dated them in Jumādá I and Jumādá II.

The date of these two accounts can be analyzed by considering his style in other parts of his book. When 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ changed the date or contents of the notes in the margins of Inbā'(T), he wrote special notices in al-Rawḍ. The description of how the fleet departed for Rhodes from the port of Alexandria is one example. This account is not found in the main text of *Inbā'*. However, in the margin 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ included this account under 16 Rabī' I. In al-Rawḍ 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ dated this departure 17 Rabī' I and began his description by saying that ″on Saturday, 17, which Ibn Taghrībirdī wrote as 16.″[29] This shows clearly that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ at first gathered information from Ibn Taghrībirdī's description and corrected the date when he wrote al-Rawḍ.

The description of the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of the Damascus citadel can be analyzed in the same way. In al-Rawḍ he wrote ″On Monday, 2 Jumādá I, which a man miswrote as 3.″ The man he was referring to was Ibn Taghrībirdī. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, therefore, corrected this date from 3 to 2. Ibn Taghrībirdī included the description of this incident under the date 3 Rabī' II. He also wrote the description of the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Malaṭīyah under the same day.[30] The next problem is the difference of the month between 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ's account and the accounts of Ibn Taghrībirdī and other historians. That is, when did the incident happen, in Rabī' II or Jumādá I?

In his *Nayl,* 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ organized the events and obituaries according to month, and did not write dates and days of the week. Although the dating is sometimes obscure, the date for the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Damascus is clearly written as Rabī' II.[31] The fact that he gave the exact date of this incident, therefore, means that he changed it from 3 Rabī' II to 2 Rabī' II.

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[28]*Inbā'(Ḥ),* 9:222–23; *Inbā'(C),* 4:226; Inbā'(T), fol. 192v. It seems that it was forgotten, and *'asharah* (10) was written between the lines above 9; *Badā'i',* 2:242.

[29]*Al-Nujūm,* 15:360.

[30]Ibid., 363; *Ḥawādith,* 1:105; cf. *Al-Tibr,* 90.

[31]'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,* ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (Beirut and Sidon, 2002), 5:188 (hereafter referred to as *Nayl[T]*).

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The descriptions of the appointment and dismissal of the *nāʾib* of Malaṭīyah and the *atābak* of Aleppo are found under 3 Rabīʻ II *(Nujūm, Ḥawādith, Nuzhah)* or 4 Rabīʻ II *(ʻIqd, Al-Tibr)*.[32] These accounts are not found in the main texts of Inbāʾ(T), *Inbāʾ(C)* or *Inbāʾ(Ḥ)*. In the margin of Inbāʾ(T), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ dated these two incidents as 3 Rabīʻ II. He also added about his father Khalīl, the former *atābak* of Aleppo, that ″my father was put in prison without any reason.″

But in al-Rawḍ he did not include these three accounts under Rabīʻ II, although he recorded them under 2 Jumādá II and added that Qānbāy al-Ḥamzāwī, a *nāʾib* of Aleppo, slandered Khalīl and made allegations to the sultan, resulting in his dismissal as *atābak* of Aleppo and his imprisonment in the jail of the citadel.[33] In his *Nayl* ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ gives short accounts of the same appointment and dismissal, as well as his father´s arrest, under Jumādá II. *Badāʾiʻ* includes the account of this appointment and dismissal only under Jumādá II, without mentioning the former *atābak* of Aleppo, Khalīl. Therefore, it can be presumed that Ibn Iyās, author of *Badāʾiʻ,* got his information from al-Rawḍ.[34]

These analyses prove that the three accounts of appointment and dismissal of the *nāʾib* of the Damascus citadel, the *nāʾib* of Malaṭīyah, and the *atābak* of Aleppo in Rabīʻ II were divided into an account under Jumādá I and two accounts in Jumādá II in al-Rawḍ. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added the incident involving his father under Jumādá II.

There are some indications of how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ gathered information for his book and how these incidents related to his own life. Ibn Ḥajar was dismissed from the chief judgeship in Rabīʻ II. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt al-Haythamī,[35] a Shafiʻi deputy judge *(nāʾib),* approved the matter. The sultan, however, was dubious about his decision, and summoned witnesses who were involved in the case. These witnesses were astonished that they were summoned, and changed their testimony. The sultan, therefore, decided to punish the deputy judge, and put him in prison. Because he was Ibn Ḥajar´s deputy judge, Ibn Ḥajar was ordered to stay in his house, which was tantamount to dismissal from office. Ibn Ḥajar was later given an opportunity to plead his case. After listening to his plea, the sultan made him promise that the number of deputy judges would not exceed ten, and reinstated him. This case was closed when the sultan also reinstated the deputy judge after a recommendation from Ibn Ḥajar. The detailed descriptions of this

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[32]*Al-Nujūm,* 15:365; *Ḥawādith,* 1:106; *ʻIqd,* 623; *Nuzhah,* 4:302; *Al-Tibr,* 93.

[33]Regarding this incident, Dr. ʻUmar ʻAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī indicates a different reason in another source in *Nayl(T),* 1:14–15.

[34]Ibid., 5:190; *Badaʾiʻ,* 2:242.

[35]Only *Nayl(T),* 5:187, and *Badāʾiʻ,* 2:242, referred to this person as Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt al-Haythamī.

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incident and the punishment of the deputy judge are not found in Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā' (Ḥ)* and *Inbā' (C)*.[36] In the margin of Inbā'(T), however, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ quoted sentences from *'Iqd,* which mention al-'Aynī's name, and wrote about the penalty that the sultan imposed on the deputy judge, i.e., to remove his turban and walk to the citadel gate to be handed over to the chief of police *(wālī al-shurṭah)* and enter the felony prison.[37] 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ continued with the quotation of a related account and then his own comment in the margin: as someone who served the sultan, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ added how much the sultan was enraged. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ended with a comment that al-'Aynī described this incident well. This is an example of his attitude toward his writing: he contacted witnesses and confirmed information. In al-Rawḍ, however, the information from the witness and his own comment on this incident are not included.

How the sultan issued and retracted his order is interesting. The order to keep Ibn Ḥajar confined to his house was conveyed by one of the sultan's mamluks *(khāṣṣakīyat al-sulṭān)* of the executive secretary's assistants *(al-dawādārīyah al-ṣighār)*. Then, Shams al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Rūmī, an attendant *(jalīs)* who also served the sultan, visited Ibn Ḥajar and told him how sorry the sultan felt about his dismissal, and ordered him to visit the sultan early the next morning.[38] This attendant, according to the notes in the margin of Inbā'(T), served Sultan al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar before his enthronement and also served Sultan Jaqmaq. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that he was not very knowledgeable but was a very good negotiator. He also wrote that the man was well acquainted with his father, depicting him favorably.

Descriptions of the following incident are found in all the sources referred to in this article, with the exception of Ibn Taghrībirdī's books. The detailed descriptions are found only in *Nuzhah.* According to its author, Ibn Dāwūd al-Sayrafī, this incident happened when a rich man died and left a large inheritance to his heirs. Since his children were young, the matter was brought before a Shafi'i deputy judge. This judge approved the request for a bride price *(ṣadāq)* to one of the wives of the deceased. One of the trustees of the will raised an objection and petitioned the sultan for a ruling. Ibn Dāwūd al-Sayrafī remarked on how strange it was that this deputy judge did not resign his office even though he was said to be rich, earning 600 dirhams a day.[39]

At the end of this year, the sultan heard a rumor about al-Furriyānī (or al-Ghurriyānī), a self-proclaimed Mahdi, and sent a letter to the *nā'ib* of Jerusalem

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[36] *Inbā' (Ḥ),* 9:221–22; *Inbā' (C),* 4:225–26.

[37] *'Iqd,* 2:622.

[38] *Nuzhah,* 4:300–1 has a different explanation: after the incident, Ibn Ḥajar resigned on his own, and when the sultan heard about the resignation he despatched al-Rūmī.

[39] Ibid.

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ordering him to bring this man to Cairo. He was supported by the Bedouins of Jibāl Nābulus (Jabal Ḥumaydah). He presented himself to the *nāʾib,* after which he stopped his activity and was not brought to Cairo, thus ending the matter. This man was born in Tunis in 780 and later stayed in Cairo, where he provided al-Maqrīzī with some information about the Maghrib. He was, therefore, mentioned in many sources.[40] *Inbāʾ(Ḥ), Inbāʾ(C),* and *Al-Tibr* describe his stay in Cairo before going to Jibāl Nābulus.[41] However, the notes in the margins of Inbāʾ(T) continue the story of this man´s life after he stopped his activities. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ quoted the same stories from these notes in al-Rawḍ. According to these descriptions, this man moved between Damascus and Tripoli, and in Tripoli always stayed at the house of Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Yūsuf,[42] an army inspector *(nāẓir al-jaysh),* who treated him kindly. Many of his books were stored in this house. It is also mentioned that he died in Latakia in 862.[43] The reason why ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was able to obtain such details is that his father Khalīl was living in Tripoli with his family when he was an amir of twenty. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was 18 years old and probably remembered stories of this man vividly. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added in al-Rawḍ that this man knew a great deal about the Mahdist movement of ʻUbayd Allāh and Muḥammad ibn Tūmārt in the Maghrib.

Adding a bit of his own family history, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that the sultan had the exchequer give his father Khalīl Madīnat Qāqūn as *iqṭāʻ* and the village named Yaṭṭah bi-Murabbaʻah (?) as *rizqah* to compensate him after being falsely accused and imprisoned. The family later sold these lands at a comparatively low price of 1,000 dinars, though the annual profit was about 800 dinars at the time. In the year 848 ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was four years old. There is a note in the margin of Inbāʾ(T) that he was stabbed in the chest this year, but this description is not included in al-Rawḍ. He probably considered this incident too personal.

Next I will analyze the obituary section (biographies) of nineteen people listed in al-Rawḍ. Among historical sources, al-Sakhāwī´s *Al-Tibr* included the largest number of people (thirty-six people) in the obituaries. It is written in *Inbāʾ* and in

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[40] *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 7:67–70; *Al-Dalīl,* 2:600; *Al-Manhal,* 9:308–9.

[41] *Inbāʾ(Ḥ),* 9:226–28; *Inbāʾ(C),* 4:228–29; *Al-Tibr,* 102–3.

[42] According to *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:192, he came from a Christian family in al-Shawbak and was an army inspector in Tripoli. The relationship with this person is not mentioned; *Al-Tibr,* 422. For his death in 862, see ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, ″Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,″ Bodleian Library MS Hunt 610, fols. 121r–v (hereafter referred t as *Nayl*); *Nayl(T),* 6:41; *Al-Dalīl,* 2:754; *Wajīz,* 2:714.

[43] Al-Rawḍ, fol. 26r. On the other hand, it is written in *Nayl,* fol. 56r, that this man died in Bilād Ṭarābulus after 860. In *Nayl(T),* 5:198–99, the name of this man involved in the incident of the year 848 appears as al-Ghurriyānī. In the later part of *Nayl(T),* 6:32, there is an obituary of the man named al-Furriyānī in the year 862 without mentioning of the place of his death. There is no indication of any connection between these two similar names.

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al-Rawḍ that four more people died or were said to have died this year. If these four were added, the total would have been forty (cf. the Appendix).

First, in analyzing how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ composed his biographies, I will compare al-Rawḍ with two editions of *Inbā'*, namely *Inbā'(Ḥ)* and *Inbā'(C)*, and the main text and notes in the margins of Inbā'(T). I would also like to discuss the characteristics of two editions of *Inbā'* and their problems.

Inbā' itself does not contain much information in the obituary section. The main text of Inbā'(T) includes the obituaries of only three people. *Inbā'(Ḥ)* includes accounts of only six people. *Inbā'(C)* has accounts of ten people, among whom nine died in the year 848. About the manuscript of *Inbā'* which includes notes by al-Biqāʻī, Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, the editor of *Inbā'(C)*, says that there are biographies of only four people. He included all the names found in eight manuscripts that he used to edit this book and explained the differences among these eight manuscripts in the footnotes. This example can be found in the obituary of Abū Bakr ibn Isḥāq in *Inbā'(C)*. Other historical sources date this man's death to 847. *Inbā'(C)* itself gives his obituary under 847. But in one manuscript his death was dated 848, so the editor of *Inbā'(C)* quoted this in the main text and explained the details in the footnote. *Inbā'(Ḥ)* annotated these differences in the footnotes for 847. These footnotes of the two editions reveal the relationships among the manuscripts of *Inbā'* and provide useful clues as to how this information is related to the composition of al-Rawḍ.[44]

In comparing Inbā'(T) and al-Rawḍ and analyzing how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ composed the obituary section, the entry for Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad that appears in the first part of the obituary section of al-Rawḍ proves that Inbā'(T) was the book that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ read and relied upon for his description.[45] In al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote, "Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, while Ibn Ḥajar inadvertently miswrote *(sahá)* Aḥmad ibn Ismāʻīl." Neither *Inbā'(Ḥ)* nor *Inbā'(C)* has this description.[46] According to the footnotes of these two editions, there is no manuscript which contains the name Aḥmad ibn Ismāʻīl. Inbā'(T), however, has exactly the same sentence in its main text. This means the signature "ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī" in the margins of this manuscript was written by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī himself. This man, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, was a Maliki qadi and the older student of Ibn Ḥajar. His life is described in detail by al-Sakhāwī in *Al-Tibr* and *Al-Ḍaw'*.[47] In al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ consulted an acquaintance of this person and corrected his birthdate in al-Sakhāwī's book.

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[44] *Inbā'(C)*, 4:230; ibid., 218; *Inbā'(Ḥ)*, 9:215.

[45] Al-Rawḍ, fol. 26r; Inbā'(T), fol. 193v.

[46] *Inbā'(Ḥ)*, 9:239–40; *Inbā'(C)*, 4:240.

[47] *Al-Tibr*, 106–7; *Al-Ḍaw'*, 2:69–70.

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The nineteen obituaries for the year 848 in al-Rawḍ can be categorized into three groups. The first group includes the biographies that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ seems to have gathered from al-Sakhāwī´s book. The above-mentioned Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad is an example of the entries in this group. In most cases he did not mention the sources of his information. According to its contents, and due to the fact that there is no other clue as to the ultimate source of this information, al-Sakhāwī´s book will for now be considered the source. There are ten biographies in this group.

The second group includes the biographies that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ gathered from al-ʻAynī´s *ʻIqd* and from Ibn Taghrībirdī. He also added some information himself. There are seven biographies in this group.

The third group includes the biographies that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ selected independently. There are two of these.

Six out of ten biographies in the first group did not appear in Inbā'(T) and until today the information can be traced only to al-Sakhāwī´s works. For example, the account of the Hanbali shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh can be found only in *Al-Tibr* and *Al-Ḍaw'*.[48]

Three of the biographies in the first group are found in the unsigned notes in the margin of Inbā'(T). Two of them are found only in *Inbā'(C)*.[49] They are the Shafiʻi shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Bakr, a famous merchant in Syria. Their biographies appear in *Al-Tibr,* making it clear that this information was the basis of the unsigned notes in Inbā'(T).[50] Al-Rawḍ includes an anecdote about the famous Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Bakr that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ heard from a merchant in Tunis in 867 on his way to the Maghrib. It is also stated that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ´s father was on good terms with this man when he and ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ were living in Damascus. The biographical account of the Shafiʻi shaykh Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá Abū Zuhrah, who wrote many books, is not found in either *Inbā'(Ḥ)* or *Inbā'(C),* though *Al-Tibr* and *Al-Ḍaw'* have detailed descriptions of the relationship between the teacher and student. Al-Sakhāwī also wrote that he met this man´s son ʻAbd al-Wahhāb in Tripoli.[51] ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote in al-Rawḍ that he saw the book of this Muḥammad written in his own hand and attended lectures given by his son, ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, at a Tripoli mosque, when ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ´s family lived in that city from 862 until approximately 865. He also added a short biography of this son and quoted a verse of his poetry,

[48] *Al-Tibr,* 112; *Al-Ḍaw',* 8:159.

[49] According to *Inbā'(C),* neither of them are in the manuscript that includes notes by al-Biqāʻī. Their names do not appear in *Inbā'(Ḥ)* either.

[50] *Al-Tibr,* 112, 112–13, respectively.

[51] Ibid., 113–14; *Al-Ḍaw',* 10:70–71.

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information not found in the biography of this son in *Al-Tibr*.

In the second group, two obituaries clearly show the relationships between historical sources. The descriptions of ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Abī Bakr (or ʻAlī) al-Ḥamawī Zayn al-Dīn, a famous preacher, appear in the main text of Inbāʾ(T) and in the signed notes in its margin. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ started his description in al-Rawḍ by writing:

> ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī al-Fatḥ ibn al-Muwaffaq al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Qāhirī al-Shāfiʻī, al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn. Ibn Ḥajar inadvertently miswrote *(sahá)* ʻAlī for his father′s name *(ism)* and Nāṣir al-Dīn for his honorific title *(laqab)*. Ibn Taghrībirdī miswrote *(wahama)* both the *ism* and *laqab* and wrote Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.

In the main text of Inbāʾ(T), his father′s *ism* was written as ʻAlī and his *laqab* as Nāṣir al-Dīn. Both *Inbāʾ(Ḥ)* and *Inbāʾ(C)* give his father′s *ism* as ʻAlī and *laqab* as Zayn al-Dīn. This description in al-Rawḍ is evidence that it was Inbāʾ(T) that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself read. In *Al-Nujūm* Ibn Taghrībirdī called this man Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Al-Tibr* gives the name of this man′s father as Abū Bakr, as does al-Rawḍ.[52] ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, therefore, seems to have read the main text of Inbāʾ(T) first and examined the information in *Al-Nujūm* critically, referring to sources like *Al-Tibr,* before starting to write his book. He also made notes in the margin of Inbāʾ(T) about ʻAbd al-Raḥīm′s son, Maḥmūd, and grandson, Ibrāhīm, who also acquired a good reputation. Their descriptions also appear in al-Rawḍ with slight differences in word order and composition.

A man named Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī appears in unsigned notes in the margin of Inbāʾ(T). These unsigned notes have two different styles. The first part of the notes gives a brief biography of this man. Then, a note in a different hand says that this is about this ʻAbd al-Raḥīm. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, therefore, concluded that this man was ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, who is described in the previous paragraph, and did not include him in al-Rawḍ. In *Inbāʾ(C),* there is a brief biography of Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī with an editor′s footnote saying that this information was not found in the manuscript with notes by al-Biqāʻī.[53] In this footnote, the descriptions in *Al-Nujūm,* which are also referred to in the previous paragraph of this article, are quoted. In the main text of *Inbāʾ(C),* there is a description in parentheses saying ″ʻAbd al-Raḥīm has previously been mentioned; his name was written already.″ The editor wrote in his footnote that this sentence did not make sense. However, I

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[52]*Inbāʾ(Ḥ),* 9:229; *Inbāʾ(C),* 4:231; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:506; *Al-Tibr,* 108–9.

[53]*Inbāʾ(C),* 4:231–32.

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believe the biographical description under the name of Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī is the summary of a biography under the name of ʻAbd al-Raḥīm despite some differences. A difference between the two is the date of death: 2 Dhū al-Qaʻdah and Wednesday 3 Dhū al-Qaʻdah. *ʻIqd*, however, has the same death date of ʻAbd al-Raḥīm and even the same day of the week.[54] Thus I conclude that this was the same person. *Inbāʾ(Ḥ)* does not include a biography of this person. *Nuzhah* gives a description of him under the name Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Ḥamawī. This is probably because its author gathered information from both *ʻIqd* and *Al-Nujūm,* but included information primarily from *Al-Nujūm.*[55]

Another typical description of this second group is Fayrūz al-Ṭawāshī, a cupbearer *(sāqī)* of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. The description of this cupbearer is found in both an unsigned note and a signed note in the margin of Inbāʾ(T). The signed note is quoted from *ʻIqd*. These descriptions were arranged in al-Rawḍ in order to make its meaning clear. A part of *Al-Nujūm* is also quoted, prefaced by the phrase ″Someone says that.″[56]

The third group contains obituaries of two people. Neither of them are found in the main text or the margin of Inbāʾ(T), in *Inbāʾ(Ḥ),* or in *Inbāʾ(C)*. One is the Shafiʻi shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that he did not know much about him and only mentioned that this man died that year in Mecca. I cannot find any description of this man in other historical sources. The other is Yūsuf ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ́s half brother, an older brother who died at the age of five in that year. He added that his brotheŕs mother was released from slavery by his father and, as of the writing of the book, was almost 70 years old living with his own mother. These two people did not appear in his *Nayl,* nor in Ibn Iyāśs *Badāʾiʻ*.

Among the obituaries of the nineteen individuals in al-Rawḍ, only three are mentioned in ″Majmaʻ,″ a collection of biographies written by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, of which only a part remains.[57] He chose fourteen obituaries in *Nayl.* Ibn Iyās selected all eleven people out of these nineteen people and wrote short versions of their obituaries for the same year in *Badāʾiʻ*.[58]

The above analyses of the obituary section (biographies) reveal two characteristics of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ́s writing. Firstly, he used firsthand information

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[54] *ʻIqd,* 2:632.

[55] *Nuzhah,* 4:312–13; *ʻIqd,* 2:632; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:506.

[56] *ʻIqd,* 2:633; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:506–8.

[57] ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, ″Majmaʻ al-Mufannan bi-al-Muʻjam al-Muʻanwan,″ Maktabat Baladīyat al-Iskandarīyah MS 4448/800b musalsal 5 tārīkh. As for the three individuals mentioned in ″Majmaʻ,″ see Appendix.

[58] *Nayl(T)*, 5:184–200; *Bada'iʻ*, 2:241–47.

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from acquaintances of his subjects in vividly depicting people and the era in a narrative form. Secondly, he included aspects of his own personal history, which can be considered inextricably related to the method of using firsthand information. He also explained the meaning of Turkish names, which can be considered a distinct characteristic of his writing. The information on ulama relationships between teacher and student is more detailed in al-Sakhāwī's *Al-Tibr* than al-Rawḍ. One could say that al-Sakhāwī merely showed greater interest in this issue, but I believe that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ used a version of *Al-Tibr* that did not have as much detailed information as the one we know today. Al-Sakhāwī wrote that out of forty people, obituaries of six of them, which are not included in al-Rawḍ, were based on the descriptions of Ibn Fahd, who was well versed in information about Mecca.[59] This reveals that al-Sakhāwī's history which ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ used to compose al-Rawḍ did not contain information from Ibn Fahd.

Conclusion

One of the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā'*, which is preserved in the Topkapı Library (Inbā'[T]), was the manuscript that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ used. He made notes in the margins of this manuscript based on other sources and on his own research. In this article I have analyzed these notes and examined how the author used the information in *Inbā'* when writing al-Rawḍ. First, the notes written in the margins by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ or others were made based on information from Ibn Taghrībirdī, primarily his *Al-Nujūm.* Second, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added information from ʻ*Iqd* and his own research. It was concluded, through studying the descriptions in al-Rawḍ, that these notes were used as the bases for the accounts and their dates in al-Rawḍ. In the descriptions of the year in question, some events were misdated or miswritten. These same mistakes also appear in Ibn Iyās's book.

In the margin of the obituary section of Inbā'(T), there are several biographies of people who are not listed in the main text, some of which seem to be clearly based on information from *Al-Nujūm*. In these descriptions, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added new information and included biographies of sons or grandsons of the people mentioned in the book, who would have been alive at the time. All these biographies in the main text and in notes in the margins of Inbā'(T) are included in al-Rawḍ and their descriptive details tell us that Inbā'(T) was also used as a basis for the creation of this part of al-Rawḍ. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added information by al-Sakhāwī in composing this part of al-Rawḍ. He also selected some accounts of his personal and family histories from the notes in the margins of both the chronicle and obituary sections of Inbā'(T) and incorporated them into al-Rawḍ.

Ibn Iyās was a student of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ and he included descriptions of ʻAbd

[59] *Al-Tibr,* 105–6, 108, 110, 113.

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al-Bāsiṭ in his book while he was still alive.[60] When Ibn Iyās referred to Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, he wrote, ″He is the father of the author of a book titled *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim.*″ Ibn Iyās also described him as ″his father.″[61] All the accounts with ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s name, with only one exception, are quoted from his poems.[62] This may be the reason why the influence ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ had on Ibn Iyās has not been studied. This article has focused on the accounts of only one year, but the analyses of this year′s descriptions makes it clear that al-Rawḍ had a great influence on Ibn Iyās′s descriptions of events and biographies, as well as his basic chronological framework. Al-Sakhāwī also wrote about his student ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ. He mentioned ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s journey to study, his other teachers, and his journey to the Maghrib. He wrote, ″He excelled in many fields. He wrote, composed poetry, and showed an interest in history.″ He continued, ″Therefore, he visited me very often.″[63] As an additional piece of information related to al-Sakhāwī, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ seems to have used a simple version of al-Sakhāwī′s history that had less information than the version of al-Sakhāwī′s book we know today. Al-Sakhāwī′s book was presumably revised after ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote al-Rawḍ. This, I believe, also helps us understand al-Sakhāwī′s own writing process.

[60] *Badāʾi*ʻ, 4:373–74.

[61] Ibid., 2:153, 169, 172, 174, 176, 177, 205, 215, 254, 375, 448; 3:25.

[62] Ibid., 3:263, 318, 424–25, 455–56; 4:83–84.

[63] *Al-Ḍawʾ*, 4:27.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF NAMES OF PEOPLE WHO DIED OR WERE SUPPOSED TO HAVE DIED IN THE YEAR 848

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd al-Dimashqī					(T) 105 (Ḍ) 11:170			
2. Abū Bakr Yūsuf (Isḥāq), al-Shaykh Bākir	[Year 847] (C) 240	[Year 847] (N) 501 (Ḥ) 100	[Year 847] 613–15	[Year 847] (N) 175 (M) 44r–45r	[Year 847] (T) 78 (Ḍ) 11:26–27 (W) 591 (DH) 643		[Year 847] 238	
3. Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn Aḥmad					(F)(T) 105–6 (Ḍ) 2:12–13			
4. Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad					(T) 106 (Ḍ) 2:33			
5. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, al-Ḥannāwī	(Ḥ) 228–29 (C) 240 (T) 193v			(R) 26r–v (N) 189 (M) 112r	(T) 106–7 (Ḍ) 2:69–70 (W) 598 (DH) 649			1
6. Tajār ibnat Muḥammad					(T) 107 (Ḍ) 12:16			
7. Timrāz al-Muʼayyadī				(R) 26v (N) 187–88 (M) 243r	(T) 107–8 (Ḍ) 3:38		242	1

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Appendix—*Continued*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8. Jamāl (Jamāz) ibn Miftāḥ					(F)(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:78			
9. Ḥasan ibn Qirād					(F)(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:121			
10. Ḥusayn al-Kāzirūnī					(T) 108 [Year 849] (Ḍ) 3:161			
11. Ḥamzah ibn ʿUthmān Qarāyalik	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 (T) 193v	(N) 508 (Ḥ) 115	644	(R) 26v–27r (N) 192–93	(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:165 (W) 599 (DH) 651	313		2
12. Saʿīd al-Balīnī					(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:256			
13. Sunqur				(R) 27r (N) 195	(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:273			1
14. Sūdūn al-Nawrūzī	(T) 193v	[year 847] (D) 1:335 (M) 6:172–73		(R) 27r–v (N) 188	[Year 847] (Ḍ) 3:287			2
15. (Ṭūkh al-Abūbakrī)	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 [Year 849] (T) 193v	(N) 508 (Ḥ) 116 (M) 7:14 [Year 849] (D) 1:371		[Year 849] (R) 27v (N) 201	[Year 848 or 849] (Ḍ) 10:10 [Year 849] (T) 129 (W) 606 (DH) 656		[Year 849] 242	2

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16. (Ṭūghān)			[Year 849] (R) 27v	[Year 849] (T) 129		(2)
17. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr				(T) 108 (Ḍ) 5:15–16		
18. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī				(F)(T) 108 (Ḍ) 5:35		
19. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zuraʿī			(R) 27v (N) 200	(T) 108 (Ḍ) 5:76	245	1
20. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Abī Bakr (cf .no. 35)	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 (T) 194r	(N) 506 (Ḥ) 113	(R) 27v–28r (N) 197	(T) 108–9 (Ḍ) 4:170 (W) 598 (DH) 650	246	2
21. ʿAbd al-Ghannī ibn ʿAbd Allāh				(T) 109 (Ḍ) 4:251		
22. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibrāhīm				(T) 109 (Ḍ) 4:306		
23. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Baghdādī			(R) 28r (N) 185	(T) 109 (Ḍ) 5:79		1
24. ʿUthmān ibn Abī Bakr				(T) 109 (Ḍ) 5:127		
25. ʿUlbā ibn Muḥammad				(T) 109–10		
26. ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf				(F)(T) 110 (Ḍ) 6:52		

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Appendix—*Continued*

27. Fayruz al-Ṭawāshī	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 (T) 193r	(N) 506–8 (Ḥ) 114–15 (D) 2:523 (M) 4:348	633	(R) 28r–v (N) 194	(T) 110 (Ḍ) 6:176 (W) 599 (DH) 651	313	244	2
28. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Baṭīkh					(T) 110			
29. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar, Ibn al-Kumayl	(Ḥ) 230 (C) 232–33 (T) 194v	(D) 2:592 (M) 9:275–79		(R) 28v–29r (N) 193–94	(T) 110–12 (Ḍ) 7:28–30 (W) 598 (DH) 648		244	2
30. Muḥammad ibn Abī Saʿd					(T) 112			
31. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh				(R) 29r–v	(T) 112 (Ḍ) 8:159			1
32. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	(C) 232 (T) 194v			(R) 29v	(T) 112			1
33. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿAlī				(R) 29v				3
34. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr, al-Khawājā Ibn al-Muzalliq	(C) 232 (T) 194v			(R) 29v–30r (N) 191	(T) 112–13 (Ḍ) 8:173 (W) 599 (DH) 650		243	1

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35. Muḥammad (ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥamawī) (cf. no. 20)	(C) 231 (T) 194v	(N) 506 (Ḥ) 113				312–13	
36. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr					(T) 113 (Ḍ) 9:67		
37. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad, Abū Zuhrah	(T) 194v			(R) 30r–31r (N) 188–89	(T) 113–14 (Ḍ) 10:71 (W) 596 (DH) 648	242	1
38. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad Abū ʿAbd Allāh					(T) 114 (Ḍ) 10:71		
39. Yūsuf ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn				(R) 31r			3
40. Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad, al-Kawmī				(R) 31r (N) 192	(T) 114 (Ḍ) 10:328 (W) 598 (DH) 649	243	1

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Abbreviations in Appendix Columns from Left to Right

1. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī
   (C): *Inbāʾ(C),* vol. 4
   (Ḥ): *Inbāʾ(Ḥ),* vol. 9
   (T): Inbāʾ(T), 193v–194v

2. Ibn Taghrībirdī
   (N): *Al-Nujūm,* vol. 15
   (Ḥ): *Ḥawādith*, vol. 1
   (D): *Al-Dalīl,* 2 vols.
   (M): *Al-Manhal*, vols .1–9

3. al-ʻAynī
   ʻIqd, vol. 2

4. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ
   (R): Al-Rawḍ, Vatican Arabo 728, 26r–31r
   (N): *Nayl(T),* vol. 5
   (M): Majmaʻ

5. al-Sakhāwī
   (T): *Al-Tibr*
   (Ḍ): *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 12 vols.
   (W): *Wajīz,* vol. 2
   (DH): *Al-Dhayl,* vol. 1
   (F): Information from Ibn Fahd

6. al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn Dāwūd
   Nuzhah, vol. 4

7. Ibn Iyās
   Badāʾiʻ, vol. 2

8. a supposed group

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The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidīyah*

The existence of military refugees from Mongol territory during the Bahri Mamluk period was of great importance for the history of the Mamluk Sultanate politically, diplomatically, and culturally. David Ayalon studied this group over fifty years ago in his article ″The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom″[1] and his theory has been widely accepted, together with his term *wāfidīyah,* an Arabic ″collective formation from *wāfid* ′one who comes, makes his way, in a delegation or group.′″[2] In his study, he criticizes A. N. Poliak, who stated that the *wāfidīyah* enjoyed high positions in the Mamluk army because of the vassal character of the Mamluks′ relationship to the Golden Horde.[3] Rather, Ayalon claims, the *wāfidīyah* were constantly discriminated against in the Mamluk military system throughout the Mamluk period because they were not mamluks, i.e., of slave origin.

In the view of the present author, however, his study is too narrow. First, he connects the arrival of the *wāfidīyah* only to the political situation inside the Mamluk Sultanate, and neglects the situation outside it. For example, he characterizes al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-ʻĀdil Kitbughā, the two sultans who received the largest and second largest number of Mongol immigrants, according to his counting, as ″an admirer of the Mongol regime″ and ″a member of that ethnic group″ respectively, as if these factors caused these immigrations. The *wāfidīyah*′s influx, however, must not have had much to do with the reigning sultans; rather, it was caused by internal factors within the Ilkhanid state. Second, Ayalon states that the *wāfidīyah*′s inferior status is proved by the fact that most of them joined the *ḥalqah* unit.[4] Yet, in another place, he points out the prominent position of the *ḥalqah* in the early Mamluk period.[5] These two claims seem contradictory. Third, his survey tends to look at the *wāfidīyah* as a unit, so he fails to grasp their diversity. We must differentiate their commanders from their soldiers, the Mongol

[1]David Ayalon, ″The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom,″ *Studia Islamica* 25 (1951): 89–104.

[2]David Ayalon, ″Wāfidiyya,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 12:26–27.

[3]A. N. Poliak, ″Le caractère colonial de l′Etat Mameluk dans ses rapports avec la Horde d′Or,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 9 (1935): 213–48.

[4]Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 90–91.

[5]David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 448–51. And see later section of the present article.

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tribesmen from indigenous groups within Mongol-ruled territory, and groups who came in the early Mamluk period from groups who came in relatively later periods.

All of these problems resulted from the lack of adequate published sources in Ayalon′s time. In the present day, because research in Mamluk historiography has progressed and more Arabic sources have been published, we have access to more thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contemporary sources. The present state of research ″simply demands that this part of his work be redone.″[6]

Arrival of the Military Refugees

Who Were the *Wāfidīyah*?: Ibn Shaddād′s Categorization

Actually, the term *wāfidīyah* is not found frequently in the contemporary sources, and though there are references to a *wāfidīyah* in the Mamluk army, the designation must have been temporary and indefinite. Ayalon uses this word in the extremely wide meaning of ″immigrants, those coming from outside″ and includes not only al-Khwārizmīyah and the Kurdish Shahrazūrīyah, who came before the Mongols, but also Frankish and Maghribi refugees, and even those who came from the Ottoman state. On the other hand, later scholars use this term in a narrower sense, as ″individuals and groups of tribesmen who fled to the Sultanate from Mongol controlled territory.″[7] We shall also follow the latter definition in this study. Accordingly, this study generally limits itself to the period from the formation of the Mongol state in Iran until its end, i.e., from 1258 to 1335.

But before we proceed to the main subject, we must make clearer who the *wāfidīyah* were by referring to a contemporary account. ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, the author of Sultan Baybars′ biography, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* lists the names of 201 refugees who entered the sultanate during his reign in a section titled ″Those who came to him″ *(man wafada ‘alayhi).* He classifies them into the following groups:[8] (a) those from Medina and Yanbu‘ (19 persons); (b) those from al-‘Irāq (21 persons); (c) those from al-Mawṣil (17 persons); (d) amirs of al-‘Arab and al-Turkumān (46 persons); (e) Muslims who were displaced by the Mongols *(al-Tatār)* (21 persons); (f) those from Bilād al-Rūm (35 persons); (g)

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[6]R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry,* rev. ed. (London, 1995), 182. For the historiography of the first part of the Mamluk period, see Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalitic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970). About the recent situation of the publication of Mamluk sources, see Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43.

[7]Reuven Amitai, ″The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamluk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn,″ *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 149, n. 17.

[8]See also Peter M. Holt, ″Three Biographies of al-Ẓāhir Baybars,″ in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic World,* ed. David O. Morgan (London, 1982), 24–26.

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Mongols (40 persons); (h) those from Māridīn (1 person); and (i) notables of the Franks (2 persons).[9]

Among these, groups (a) and (d) should be excluded from this study, because they came to the sultanate and then returned to their country; they never became regular members of the Mamluk army.[10] All the refugees of groups (e) and (h) and a part of those of (c) were Ayyubid princes in Syria and Saljuqid *atābak*s.[11] Therefore they did not come from ″Mongol-controlled territory″ any more than group (i), the Frankish refugees. The other three groups, which can be regarded as *wāfidīyah* for this study, represent three types of *wāfidīyah* during Baybars′ reign: indigenous soldiers who came from areas newly occupied by the Mongols (b), subordinates of the Rūm Saljuqs (f), and Mongol tribal units (g).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE *WĀFIDĪYAH*′S DEFECTIONS

Other contemporary sources do not indicate when or under what circumstances all those listed by Ibn Shaddād arrived in the Mamluk Sultanate. This shows that the sources do not transmit all the information about the *wāfidīyah*. Still, we have twenty-four examples during the period covered in the present article of groups of refugees whose arrival times are known. The following list shows the arrival year of these groups, their leaders′ names, and the size of the group.

(1) 660/1262 Shams al-Dīn Salār al-Mustanṣirī, a ruler of al-ʻIrāq
300 horsemen[12]

(2) 660/1262 Ṣaraghān Āghā, a commander of the Golden Horde
200 horsemen[13]

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[9]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 329–38.

[10]See Richard T. Mortel, ″The Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamluk Period,″ *Studia Islamica* 80 (1995): 97–110. Strangely, Ibn Shaddād does not mention the sharifate of Mecca here. For the relationship between the Meccan sharifate and the Mamluk Sultanate, see Ota Keiko, ″The Meccan Sharifate and its Diplomatic Relations in the Bahri Mamluk Period,″ *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 17, no. 1 (2002): 1–20. For the relationship between the Arabs and the Mamluk Sultanate, see M. A. Hiyari, ″The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 509–24.

[11]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʻs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 78.

[12]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Riyadh, 1976), 123–24; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–98), 30:54–55; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat al-Mulūk* (Cairo,1939–72), 1:476; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1987–92), 1:333.

[13]Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʻ* (Cairo, 1947), 220; Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 137–38; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʻyān* (Hyderabad,

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(3)	661/1263	Karmūn Āghā, a commander of the Golden Horde over 1300 horsemen[14]
(4)	662/1264	Sayf al-Dīn Baklak, a ruler of Shīrāz a large number *(jamā'ah kabīrah)*[15]
(5)	662/1264	Jalāl al-Dīn Bashkar ibn Dawādār, a vassal of the Abbasids a large number[16]
(6)	672/1273–74	Shams al-Dīn Bahādur, a ruler of Sumayṣāṭ[17] not specified
(7)	675/1277	Ḥusām al-Dīn Bījār, a vassal of the Rūm Saljuqs, and several others[18] not specified
(8)	681/1282	Mu'min Āghā, a ruler of Mawṣil not specified, but a small number[19]
(9)	681/1282–83	Sinān al-Dīn al-Rūmī, a son of a ruler of Amasia[20] not specified
(10)	681/1283	Shaykh 'Alī, a Sufi shaykh several Mongols[21]
(11)	683/1284	no specific names 4000 horsemen[22]

1954–61), 1:496, 2:156; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā ba'da Tārīkh Ibn al-'Amīd,* in "Histoire des sultans mamlouks," ed. E. Blochet, *Patrologia Orientalis* 12, 14, 20 (1919–28), 1:442; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:64; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960–92), 8:90.

[14]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 177–80; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah* (Beirut, 1998), 101; idem, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Cairo, 1987), 51; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 1:534; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:89–90; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 1:364–65.

[15]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 198; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 105; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:99.

[16]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 203, 209–10; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 109; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:111.

[17]Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntaza'ah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah* (Riyadh, 1976), 153; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 131; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 78; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:207–8; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:611.

[18]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 462; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 153–58, 160, 174–75; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 3:164; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:233; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:403–6; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:621; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 2:153–54.

[19]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 196, 199.

[20]Ibid., 216.

[21]Ibid., 217; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:708–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–49), 9:15.

[22]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Cairo, 1961), 68;

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(12)	695/1296	Ṭaraghāy, the commander of the Oirat tribe 10,000–18,000 households[23]
(13)	698/1299	Sulāmish, a lieutenant from al-Rūm 500 horsemen[24]
(14)	703/1304	Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, a ruler of Ra's al-'Ayn 11 persons[25]
(15)	704/1304	Four *silāḥdārīyah*s of Ghāzān 200 horsemen with their families[26]
(16)	705/1305–6	Sayf al-Dīn Ḥannā and Fakhr al-Dīn Dāwūd, brothers of Amir Salār[27] not specified
(17)	717/1317	Ṭāṭī, a commander of one thousand of the Mongols 100 horsemen with their families[28]
(18)	722/1322	Aḥmad, a son of an aunt of the sultan[29] not specified
(19)	724/1323–24	Ḥasan, a relative of the sultan[30] not specified
(20)	726/1326	Ṭāyirbughā, a relative of the sultan[31] not specified

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Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 240.

[23]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 291–92; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 146; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1907), 4:34–35; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:361–62; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:296–99; al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi* (Sidon and Beirut, 1998), 1:286–88; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:590–93; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1932–39), 13:363; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 3:278–79, 3:304–7, 311.

[24]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 302–3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:373–75; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, in *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān,* ed. Li Guo (Leiden, 1998), 64–65; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:623–28; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:876.

[25]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfah,* 175; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:113; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 3:97–99; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:31; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 4:303–4; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:950; idem, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 A.H.), 2:134.

[26]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:86.

[27]Ibid., 96.

[28]Ibid., 254; al-'Aynī, "'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Istanbul, Bayazit MS Veliyyüddin 2394, fol. 112. For the manuscripts of al-'Aynī's chronicles, see Nakamachi Nobutaka, "Al-'Aynī's Chronicles as a Source for the Baḥrī Mamluk Period," *Orient* 40 (2005): 140–71.

[29]Al-'Aynī, "'Iqd," MS Veliyyüddin 2394, fol. 316.

[30]Ibid., fol. 472.

[31]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:203; al-'Aynī, "'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Süleymaniye 835, fols. 48v–49v.

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(21)	727/1327	Muḥammad Bīh ibn Jamaq, a relative of the sultan[32] not specified
(22)	728/1328	Tamurtāsh, a lieutenant from al-Rūm 300–600 horsemen[33]
(23)	738/1337	Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn, an official of Baghdad 500 persons[34]
(24)	738/1337	Nāṣir al-Dīn Khalīfah ibn ʻAlī Shāh, an official of Baghdad[35] not specified

During Baybars′ reign, four groups were indigenous groups from Mongol-occupied areas (nos. 1, 4–6), one group came from the Rūm Saljuqs (no. 7), and two groups were Mongol tribesmen (nos. 2–3). Ibn Shaddād calculates the *wāfidīyah* from the Mongol tribesmen to have numbered about three thousand horsemen, while the chronicles state that there were two groups, of 200 and 1,300 men, respectively. These two groups, which some historians count more accurately as three groups,[36] are often combined as a single group under sixteen commanders in the sources.[37] It is noteworthy that in all cases these defections of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* were unexpected events for the Mamluk Sultanate; we can find no evidence that the Mamluks enticed them to immigrate. On the other hand, some of the indigenous *wāfidīyah* from areas newly occupied by the Mongols had had connections with the Mamluk Sultanate, and Baybars seems to have pursued a ″head-hunting″ policy toward them.[38] The defections of the Rūm Saljuq *wāfidīyah,* whose arrivals spanned a long term, were caused by Baybars′ military campaign against al-Rūm.

Although a large number of refugees arrived during the reign of Baybars, the

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[32]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:231–232; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd,″MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 72r.

[33]Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar,* 4:98; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, in Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography*, 63–66; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:346–48; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj*, in *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī'l-Faḍā'il,* ed. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 39–40; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:138, 140; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:346–48; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd,″ MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 88r ff.

[34]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi wa-Awlādihi* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 17–18; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:437–38; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,″ Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi MS Ahmet III 2911/a17, fol. 113v.

[35]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh*, 27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:446; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd,″ MS Ahmet III 2911/a17, fol. 113r.

[36]For example, al-Yūnīnī describes the *wāfidīyah* in 661/1263 as *al-ṭā'ifah al-thāniyah* and *al-ṭā'ifah al-thālithah*; see al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 1:534, 2:195.

[37]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 84–85; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 1:365.

[38]For no. 1 see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:54–55. For no. 4 see Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 182; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:90. For no. 5 see ibid., 207–8.

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role of his policy of encouraging the *wāfidīyah* to immigrate should not be overestimated. Most of their defections reflected the situation of Mamluk-Mongol relations in those days rather than Baybars´ admiration of the Mongol regime and military organization.[39]

Further, even in the post-Baybars period refugees in some number came to the sultanate continually. In the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn we find four groups of refugees (nos. 8–11), one of which consisted of four thousand horsemen, and the total number of these refugees is larger than the total number in Baybars´ reign. Afterwards, Sultan Kitbughā received the famous Oirat *wāfidīyah* (no. 12), and al-Manṣūr Lājīn accepted a group of refugees led by Sulāmish, a Mongol lieutenant of al-Rūm (no. 13). During al-Nāṣir Muḥammad´s second reign, three groups arrived (nos. 14–16). Among these, it is true that the Oirat *wāfidīyah* was ″the greatest wave of Tatār horsemen immigrating to the Mamluk kingdom.″[40] Their defection itself, however, probably had nothing to do with the fact that Kitbughā was also a Mongol mamluk, contrary to Ayalon´s suggestion, since no evidence of ″head-hunting″ on Kitbughā´s part is found.[41]

Most of their defections were motivated by disorder upon the deaths of Ilkhan rulers and purges carried out by the Ilkhans. Mu'min Āghā (no. 8) was suspected of the murder of the Ilkhan Abaghā´s brother.[42] The *wāfidīyah* in 683/1284 (no. 11) came because of the internal disorder in the Ilkhanid state after Arghūn´s enthronement.[43] Ṭaraghāy, Sulāmish, and Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (nos. 12–14) were escaping the purge instituted by the Ilkhan Ghāzān. Some groups of the *wāfidīyah* consisted of family members of the Mamluk elite (nos. 16, 18–21), especially the relatives of the sultans, who arrived around the year 722/1323, in which the Mamluks and the Mongols came to an agreement on a peace treaty. Tamurtāsh (no. 22), who rebelled against the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd and defected, had been on friendly terms with a Mamluk amir, Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish.[44] But, in spite of their friendship, Tamurtāsh was executed by the sultan in conformity with the treaty. The defections of the last two groups of *wāfidīyah* (nos. 23–24) were caused by the political disorder after Abū Sa'īd´s death. Khalīfah ibn 'Alī Shāh (no. 24) was

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[39]Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 98.

[40]Ibid., 99.

[41]Of course, it is true that Kitbughā favored them after they came to the sultanate, but we must distinguish the reason for their defection from how the sultan treated them after they arrived.

[42]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 213, 215.

[43]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 68.

[44]Al-'Aynī, ″'Iqd,″ MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 54v. See Donald P. Little, ″Note on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamluk,″ in *Die islamischen Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Wiesbaden, 1979), 396–97.

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also an associate of a Mamluk amir, Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz, and when the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd died, Khalīfah first sought refuge with Tankiz.

The *wāfidīyah* defections reviewed here can be characterized as follows: first, most of them were caused by the internal political situation of the Ilkhanids, rather than that of the Mamluk Sultanate. Second, especially in the later period, the *wāfidīyah* often had some connections with the Mamluk elite before their defections.

Starting Assignments

The Hierarchy of Assignments: Accounts from the Reign of Baybars

Ayalon states in his article that ″most of them joined the *ḥalqah,* whose status . . . was greatly inferior to that of the Mamluk units.″[45] This statement has formed the basis for the idea that the military refugees were a group discriminated against in the Mamluk Sultanate. In this section we shall see if most of them actually joined the *ḥalqah* unit or not.

Here let us refer to Ibn Shaddād again. He states that those who sought refuge from al-Tatār during the reign of Baybars were assigned positions as follows:

> Among them some were assigned exceptionally to the *khāṣṣakīyah;* others were assigned to the unit of *silāḥdār* (armor bearers), the unit of *jamdār* (wardrobe keepers), and the unit of *sāqī* (cupbearers).[46] Others were made amirs of *ṭablkhānah,* others were made amirs given from ten to twenty cavalrymen, and others were incorporated into amirs′ units.[47]

In this account, we find a somewhat hierarchical order of treatment of these newcomers. This can be categorized as follows:

(a) Recruited into the sultan′s units: *khāṣṣakīyah, silāḥdār, jamdār,* and *sāqī:* All of these units are regarded as consisting of Mamluks.[48]

(b) Appointed to the rank of amir, i.e., amir of *ṭablkhānah* or an amir having

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[45]Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 90.

[46]For translation of the words *silāḥdār, jamdār,* and *sāqī,* see William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley, 1955), 95.

[47]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh*, 337–38. A similar passage can be found in al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 3:256–57, and Ayalon cites the latter (″Wafidiya,″ 98-99). However, the former is more first-hand information.

[48]For the *khāṣṣakīyah*, see Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 1, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 213–16. But one finds among the *khāṣṣakīyah* those who were not mamluks. See ibid., 215.

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from ten to twenty cavalrymen: ″Amir of *ṭablkhānah,*″ generally translated as ″amir of forty,″ derives from the word ″band″ *(ṭablkhānah)*. It is the second highest rank of amir after ″amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand″ *(amīr mi'ah wa-muqaddam alf)*.[49]

(c) Integrated into the units of various amirs.

(d) Retained in the unit of their original leader: though this group is not mentioned specifically by Ibn Shaddād, its existence is reasonable, given (b).

As far as we can see from this passage, there is no requirement that they join the *ḥalqah* units, which Ayalon regards as the main destination of the *wāfidīyah*. But in another place, Ibn Shaddād cites the regulation that non-Mongol *wāfidīyah* who came from al-'Irāq and other regions join the *ḥalqah* unit.[50] We can thus add provisionally to the four above-mentioned categories a fifth category:

(e) Assigned to the *ḥalqah* unit.

In order to consider whether assignments to all five of these categories were actually made in practice, let us take two examples from events that occurred in the reign of Baybars.

The first example is Shams al-Dīn Salār al-Mustanṣirī′s group, who arrived in Egypt in 660/1262 and were the first military refugees in the reign of Baybars (see no. 1 in list above). According to Ibn Shaddād, when Baybars received them, ″he made him [Salār] amir of fifty cavalrymen, took into service one hundred persons from those who arrived with him, and divided the rest among amirs.″[51] In this passage, we find mention of those who were appointed to the rank of amir, i.e., Salār himself, those who were assigned to the sultan′s own unit, and those who were divided among amirs′ units. Salār′s ″fifty cavalrymen″ meant that he could retain his own followers within the limit of fifty. Those who were taken ″into service″ would have joined either the mamluk unit or the *ḥalqah* unit, but it is unclear which they joined in this case. Thus, of Salār′s three hundred followers, one-sixth stayed under their original leader (case d above), one-third joined the mamluk unit or *ḥalqah* unit (case a or e), and half were assigned to various amirs′ units (case c).

The next example is the first group of Mongol refugees which came in 660/1262, one of the leaders of which was Sayf al-Dīn Ṣaraghān Āghā (see no. 2 in above list). When they arrived at Cairo, Sultan Baybars ″made their leaders amirs with one hundred cavalrymen or less and assigned the rest to his Baḥrīyah unit and to his mamluks.″[52] It is clear that Ṣaraghān and other anonymous leaders were permitted

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[49]See Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure,″ pt. 2, 467–71.

[50]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 331.

[51]Ibid., 330.

[52]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 138.

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to keep more than one hundred of their followers in total. Since this group consisted of two hundred cavalrymen,[53] we can conclude that more than half of them stayed in the service of their original leader (case d) and that less than half joined the mamluk unit (case a).[54]

These two examples show that the five categories of Ibn Shaddād can be substantiated by fact, even though the difference between (a) and (e) is unclear. As this categorization applies to the reign of Baybars only, let us examine the cases of all other *wāfidīyah* we know about in the period under discussion.

The Starting Rank of the *Wāfidī* Amirs

First, let us investigate the military refugees who were appointed to the rank of amir in the above category (b). Ibn Shaddād ranks this category as second to those who were recruited into the sultan's unit. But we treat them first here because they were commanders of the various *wāfidīyah* groups originally. Although some of the soldiers under them reached the rank of amir during their later careers in the Mamluk army, we shall treat them in a later section and here look at the starting rank to which the commanders were appointed on their arrival.

Although Ibn Shaddād states that the commanders were made amirs of *ṭablkhānah* and "from ten to twenty cavalrymen," Shams al-Dīn Salār al-Mustanṣirī was made amir of "fifty cavalrymen," as seen above. The fact that not forty but fifty cavalrymen were allowed to Salār means in those times there was a lack of the strict uniformity of rank of later times, i.e., amir of one hundred, amir of forty, amir of ten. In 672/1273–74, Shams al-Dīn Bahādur from Sumayṣāṭ (see no. 6 above) was made amir of twenty cavalrymen, which is also not in accordance with the normative size of Mamluk amirs' units, as R. Stephen Humphreys has shown, at least during the reign of Baybars.[55]

On the other hand, Sayf al-Dīn Ṣaraghān Āghā and other leaders of the first Mongol refugees in 660/1262 were made "amirs with one hundred cavalrymen or less," as seen above. If we take this as appointment to the rank of "amir of one hundred," they can be regarded as having gotten a higher rank than Ibn Shaddād's generalization. On this point, while Ayalon states that "Baybars' reign is also marked by the absence of a single appointment to the rank of Amir of a Hundred,"[56]

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[53]Ibid., 137.

[54]The Baḥrīyah unit here means the Mamluk unit that Baybars founded, namely al-Baḥrīyah al-Ẓāhirīyah. See David Ayalon, "Le régiment Bahriya dans l'armée mamelouke," *Revue des études islamiques* 19 (1951): 137.

[55]R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," pt. 2, *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977): 165–66.

[56]Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 99.

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as Sato Tsugitaka points out, Ayalon's statement is a mistake, "although the example of such an appointment was indeed rare."[57] Reuven Amitai-Preiss regards the report of this appointment as "mere hyperbole" because the appointment of one of the *wāfidīyah* to this rank "is not substantiated by one concrete example from the sources."[58] In my view, there is no logical reason for denying this appointment itself, although we should not regard it as to the highest rank of amir because of the lack of a strict uniformity of rank in the early Mamluk period. At least one of these Mongol *wāfidī* amirs must have been appointed to a relatively high rank in Baybars' reign.

However, it is true that most of the *wāfidī* amirs were appointed to the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah*. The following list shows the starting rank of twenty-two *wāfidī* commanders.[59] The number in parentheses is the number of the group they were associated with in the list above.

1. Shams al-Dīn Salār (1)	Amir of fifty cavalrymen
2. Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ṣaraghān (2)	Amir of one hundred cavalrymen
3. Sayf al-Dīn Karmūn and others (3)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
4. Sayf al-Dīn Baklak (4)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
5. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Washshāḥ ibn Shahrī (4)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
6. Jalāl al-Dīn Bashkar ibn al-Dawādār (5)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
7. Shams al-Dīn Bahādur (6)	Amir of twenty cavalrymen
8. Aqūsh (10)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
9. Ṭaraghāy (12)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
10. Ulūs (12)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
11. Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (14)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
12. ʻAlī (14)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
13. Nīrūz (14)	Commander (*taqdimah*)
14. Ṭāyirbughā (20)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
15. Yaḥyá ibn Ṭāyirbughā (20)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
16. Muḥammad Bīh ibn Jamaq (21)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
17. Tamurtāsh ibn Jūbān (22)	Amir of one hundred
18. Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn (23)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
19. Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (23)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
20. Ḥusayn (23)	Amir of ten cavalrymen

[57]Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 101–2.

[58]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, Seventh-Fifteenth Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Brill, 1997), 286. See also Ayalon, "Wāfidiyya," 27.

[59]For the personal data of each amir, see the Appendix.

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21. Kābik (23)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
22. Nāṣir al-Dīn Khalīfah ibn ʻAlī Shāh (24)	Amir of one hundred in Syria

We find that most of them initially held the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah*. Only three commanders (nos. 2, 17, and 22) were made ″amir of one hundred″ when they arrived.[60] Six commanders (nos. 7, 10, 12, 15, 20, 21) were appointed to a lower rank like ten or twenty cavalrymen, but in the case of five of them (nos. 10, 12, 15, 20, 21) their colleague commanders from their same group were given *ṭablkhānah* rank.

This tendency seems to reflect the idea in those days that the rank of *ṭablkhānah* was the one suitable for refugee commanders. For example, Sultan Kitbughā welcomed the Oirat refugees, who arrived in 695/1296, and intended to appoint their commander Ṭaraghāy amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand. But when he consulted with the amirs, they suggested to him that he should give Ṭaraghāy the rank of *ṭablkhānah* at first and promote him later.[61]

What the rank of *ṭablkhānah* actually means, however, must be considered. Some sources other than Ibn Shaddād state that Salār al-Mustanṣirī was made an amir of *ṭablkhānah*.[62] Therefore he became an amir of fifty cavalrymen and amir of *ṭablkhānah* concurrently. Moreover, when Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (11) arrived in Cairo in 703/1304, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ″made him an amir of *ṭablkhānah* and granted him one hundred cavalrymen.″[63] In these two examples, the rank of ″amir of *ṭablkhānah*″ is obviously not equal to having forty cavalrymen. Humphreys points out the honorary meaning of the rank of *ṭablkhānah* bestowed on foreign vassals in the earlier years of Baybars′ reign and states, ″this title signified less a specific rank than one′s entry into the political-military elite of the Kingdom.″[64] We must distinguish between the honorary meaning of the rank of *ṭablkhānah* and the number of cavalrymen that they could accommodate, at least in the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

Furthermore, we must pay attention to the fact that appointment to the rank of

[60]But three more amirs (nos. 11, 14, and 18 in the above list) were raised to amir of one hundred soon after their arrival. See below.

[61]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 3:306.

[62]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 123; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:55; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd*, 1:333.

[63]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfah*, 175. In fact, Jankalī was appointed amir of *ṭablkhānah* upon arrival, and then was raised to amir of one hundred. See below.

[64]Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 169.

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amir in the Mamluk Sultanate always involved distribution of an *iqṭā'*.[65] Consider the following passages:

> [Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] appointed him [Jankalī] amir of *ṭablkhānah* upon the *iqṭā'* of the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, who was transferred to Damascus.[66]
>
> The amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh was transferred to amir of Ṣafad, and Jankalī was granted his rank of amir, which is *ṭablkhānah*.[67]
>
> [Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] ordered him [Jankalī] to live in the citadel, and on his settling down, ordered the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh to leave for Ṣafad and granted his *iqṭā'* to this Jankalī.[68]

All these three passages describe the same event. Although they have diverse information about the new post of the amir Qarāqūsh, in this case it is obvious that the rank of amir which he had held was connected with a certain *iqṭā'* and that Jankalī was granted both at the same time. As for the correspondence between the rank of amir and an *iqṭā'*, another example can be found in the case of Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn (no. 15). Upon his arrival, this Maḥmūd was made only an amir of *ṭablkhānah,* but when the amir Ṭāyirbughā, who was one of the commanders of one thousand and was himself a *wāfidī* amir, died, Maḥmūd was raised to commander of one thousand in his place, and at the same time he received Ṭāyirbughā's *iqṭā'*.[69]

These examples show that there was a one-to-one correspondence between each rank of amir and a certain *iqṭā'* in this period. In order to recruit a commander of the military refugees, it was necessary for the sultan to transfer another amir or to wait for some amir's death. This rule can also be substantiated by the following two examples: Tamurtāsh (14) gained the rank of amir of one hundred in the place of Amir Sanjar al-Jamaqdār,[70] and Khalīfah ibn 'Alī Shāh (19) was appointed commander of one thousand in Damascus in the place of Amir Barsbughā al-'Ādilī.[71]

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[65]For the *iqṭā'* distribution to the *wāfidīyah* during the reign of Baybars, see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 99–103.

[66]Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 3:98.

[67]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:950.

[68]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 4:303.

[69]Al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh*, 28; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:437.

[70]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:294.

[71]Ibid., 446.

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We can observe a result of the redistribution of *iqṭā'*s carried out by al-Manṣūr Lājīn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad[72] in the examples after Jankalī´s defection in 703/1304. Because of the reform of the *iqṭā'* system, it became impossible to bestow high rank and large *iqṭā'*s upon *wāfidī* amirs when they arrived. Instead, the sultan consistently gave them the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah* as an honorary rank. Accordingly, it is meaningless to compare their starting ranks, most of which were amir of *ṭablkhānah*. Rather we must investigate their ranks later in their careers.

Wāfidī Soldiers Assigned to Units

Those Recruited into the Sultan´s Mamluk Unit

During the reign of Baybars, there are statements that a part of the *wāfidī* soldiers were incorporated into the sultan´s mamluk unit (category [a] above). Baybars assigned fewer than half of the first Mongol *wāfidīyah* ″to his Baḥrīyah unit and to his mamluks,″ as seen above, and when the number of military refugees increased after that, Baybars ″divided all groups among twice their number of royal mamluks″ *(wa-yufarriquhum kull jamā'ah bayna aḍ'āfhā min al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah).*[73] Further, Qalāwūn assigned some of the followers of Shaykh 'Alī (no. 10) to his own mamluk unit or to the *khāṣṣakīyah*.[74]

Sato states, ″It is not clear whether the Mongols who were incorporated into the Mamluk corps became slaves or not.″[75] In my opinion, they did not become slaves, but remained free men, for one would expect some evidence of the conflicts that would have occurred if they had been enslaved. Rather, the sources emphasize their honorable positions within the Mamluk army: Ibn Shaddād ranks this group as first on the above-mentioned list, and Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir states, ″Each one of them became like an independent amir attended by soldiers and slaves *(ghilmān).*″[76] We also noted above the *wāfidīyah* of Salār, one hundred of whom were taken into service, but we could not determine whether they joined the mamluk unit or the *ḥalqah*. Thus, the historians of the early Mamluk period seem to have regarded the fact that they were assigned to the immediate control of the sultan as important, while they disregarded whether or not they became slaves.

Among those in this category in the later period, Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī and Bahādur al-Damurdāshī (nos. 15 and 25 in the Appendix) were the most successful. These two came to Egypt under the command of *wāfidī* amirs, were assigned to

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[72]For the result of the redistribution of *iqṭā'*s *(rawk),* see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 152–61.

[73]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 138.

[74]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 217; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:708–9.

[75]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 102.

[76]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 138.

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the sultans′ mamluk units, and reached the rank of amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand in their later careers. Amitai-Preiss regards Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī as a ″non-affiliated″ amir, i.e., neither al-Manṣūrīyah nor al-Nāṣirīyah.[77] However, Aydamur′s biography states that he was ″the greatest of al-Burjī amirs″[78] and many sources call him ″al-Manṣūrī.″ Bahādur al-Damurdāshī was one of the twenty-four commanders of one thousand at the time of the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and he was classified among ″his (i.e., al-Nāṣir′s) mamluks and *khawāṣṣ*″ and was called ″al-Nāṣirī.″[79] We can consider that these two were not only *wāfidīyah* but also mamluk amirs. Thus, even in this later period, the difference between free men and slaves in the Mamluk army was not always clear.

THOSE DIVIDED INTO THE AMIRS′ UNITS

This category (category [c] above) can be found in the case of Salār′s group, half of whom were divided among amirs′ units. When Mu'min Āghā (no. 8 in list beginning on p. 57) and his followers sought refuge with Qalāwūn in 681/1283, his two sons were assigned to serve under the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, *nā'ib al-salṭanah* of Qalāwūn.[80]

Ibn Shaddād ranks this category as the last on the list shown above, and its minor position within the Mamluk army is substantiated by the following two examples. First, when al-'Ādil Kitbughā was dethroned, the new sultan al-Manṣūr Lājīn arrested three commanders of the Oirat refugees, Ṭaraghāy, Kaktāy, and Ulūṣ. As for the rest of them, ″some of them came to serve under amirs [in Egypt] and others went to Syria and sought to enter the service of amirs.″[81] Second, when six hundred followers of Tamurtāsh arrived at Egypt in 728/1328, al-Nāṣir ″was antipathetic towards those who were in Tamurtāsh′s service and divided a part of them among amirs, so that they served under them without *iqṭā*'s.″[82] Both examples show that this category did not provide favorable conditions for the military refugees, and the latter shows that they were assigned without being given *iqṭā*'s.

THOSE RETAINED IN THE UNIT OF THEIR ORIGINAL LEADER

Before seeking refuge, the *wāfidīyah* had been part of a military organization, very different from that of the army of the Mamluk Sultanate, stationed in Mongol-controlled areas. After they sought refuge, most had to accept being dispersed into

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[77] Amitai, ″Remaking of the Military Elite,″ 149.

[78] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Beirut, 1986), 384.

[79] Al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 112.

[80] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 210.

[81] Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 3:356.

[82] Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj* in Kortantamer, *Ägypten*, 39–40; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:295.

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various units of the Mamluk army, but a part of them (case [d] above) were able to remain in the service of their original commanders, who had gained the rank of amir.

As seen above, Salār al-Mustanṣirī was allowed to keep his followers up to the limit of fifty persons out of three hundred, and Ṣaraghān Āghā kept at least one hundred out of two hundred. For the later *wāfidīyah,* we have little information on how many followers remained under their commanders. But I suppose that a certain number of them remained in their original leaders′ units and that these units constituted the various *wāfidīyah* groups in the Mamluk army, as will be seen later.

Those Assigned to the Ḥalqah *Unit*

Let us return to the previous question: did most of the *wāfidīyah* join the *ḥalqah* unit (case [e] above)? Here also let us start with the reign of Baybars. During his reign, Ibn Shaddād states, none of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* were assigned to the *ḥalqah* unit, as seen above, and no other contemporary sources report their assignment to the *ḥalqah* either.[83] It is uncertain whether those of the *wāfidīyah* from al-ʻIrāq commanded by Salār al-Mustanṣirī who were ″taken into service″ were assigned to the *ḥalqah* unit or the mamluk unit. As a whole, no *wāfidīyah* groups are described as assigned to the *ḥalqah* during the reign of Baybars, except for a few ʻIrāqī *wāfidīyah.* Ayalon points out that the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qunqur al-Tatarī, who came to Egypt in the reign of Baybars but whose arrival year is unknown, ″was assigned a good *iqṭāʻ* in the *ḥalqah.*″[84] If we consult with more contemporary sources, however, we find no account like this.[85]

After the reign of Baybars, also, we find only a few cases of *wāfidīyah* who were assigned to the *ḥalqah.* Al-Maqrīzī states that about 300 commanders of the Oirat refugees, except for Ṭaraghāy and al-Luṣūṣ (Ulūṣ), were made commanders in the *ḥalqah (taqādum fī al-ḥalqah),*[86] but this information is not found in any contemporary source. According to al-ʻAynī, who cites al-Yūsufī, Nīrūz, a brother of the amir Jankalī, was appointed *taqdimah,* which was possibly *taqdimat al-ḥalqah* (commander of the *ḥalqah*). Through all the period covered in the present article, we find no indication that the *wāfidīyah* in general joined the *ḥalqah* unit, contrary

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[83]See the cases of Ṣaraghān Āghā and Karmūn Āghā (nos. 2 and 3 in the list).

[84]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 8:179; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:42. See Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 90, n. 10.

[85]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 301; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:274; K. W. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hiğra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 29.

[86]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:22; Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 90, n. 10.

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to Ayalon′s statement.

Besides, it is necessary to clarify what the term *ḥalqah* meant in this period. Here, Ayalon and Humphreys′ argument about the *ḥalqah* is helpful. They both accept the fact that the *ḥalqah* in the army of Saladin was an elite force under the personal command of the sultan. Ayalon considers that the *ḥalqah* kept its high position at least until the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and that it gradually declined because of the redistribution of *iqṭā′*.[87] On the other hand, Humphreys argues that the *ḥalqah* was already weak at the beginning of Baybars′ reign, because ″it comprised the bulk of the provincial Syrian troops.″[88] The basic disagreement between these two is whether there was much continuity between the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, or not.[89]

Ayalon and Humphreys, however, agree that the *ḥalqah* in the Bahri period was still attached to the sultan as royal troops.[90] This seems to be a key to the solution of the obscure treatment of the *wāfidīyah*. As seen above, the Mongol *wāfidīyah* in the reign of Baybars were assigned to the sultan′s mamluk unit without being enslaved, supposedly. We can just say that they joined the royal troops. The expression *khāṣṣakīyah* used by Ibn Shaddād can be used whether they were mamluks or free men. As for the troops of Salār al-Mustanṣirī, there is no designation whether they joined the mamluks or the *ḥalqah;* they are simply described as being taken ″into service.″

In my view, during the reign of Baybars, the *ḥalqah,* the *khāṣṣakīyah,* and even the sultan′s mamluks constituted one royal troop, and there was no distinction among the terms. The distinction between mamluks and free men inside this troop would not have mattered in this period. So I disagree with Humphreys on the point that he regards the *ḥalqah* of Baybars as second-class royal troops. Rather, I agree with Ayalon′s view of the early Mamluk *ḥalqah,* but disagree with him on the point that regards the *ḥalqah* as a separate troop from the mamluks.

It is true that the *ḥalqah* became second-class royal troops but only in a later period. Furthermore, we have found little connection between the *wāfidīyah* and the *ḥalqah.* Accordingly, we cannot support Ayalon′s statement that we know the *wāfidīyah* were discriminated against because they joined the *ḥalqah.*

ADVANCEMENT IN THE MAMLUK ARMY

So far we have only dealt with the rank assigned to military refugees when they

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[87]Ayalon, ″Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 448–56.

[88]Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 148, 163 ff.

[89]For their arguments about the *ḥalqah,* see also David Ayalon, ″From Ayyubids to Mamluks,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 94 (1991): 50–53.

[90]Ibid., 163.

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had just arrived. But we can also identify those who were later promoted to higher rank. Especially, we can identify nine amirs of one hundred from the *wāfidīyah* (nos. 1, 4, 12, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, and 27 in the Appendix), while Ayalon counts only four amirs of one hundred.[91] Besides, other *wāfidī* amirs seem to have reached politically important positions at the Mamluk court, although they are not described as amirs of one hundred in any source (nos. 2, 5, 6, 11, 13, and 22 in the Appendix). *Wāfidī* amirs in high positions can be seen throughout the period in question. If we divide this period into two phases, with the third enthronement of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1310 as a dividing point, we can see that the reasons for their advancement were different in the two phases.

The First Phase (1262–1310)

In the first phase, from the outset of the Mamluk Sultanate until 1310, i.e., before the third enthronement of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, most of these refugees remained with their own military units which maintained their solidarity. Let us look at some groups which arrived at various times.

The Mongol *wāfidīyah* who come in the reign of Baybars (nos. 2–3 in the list) often appear in the sources as a group under Mongol commanders afterwards. For example, in 680/1281, when Sultan al-ʻĀdil Sulāmish, a son of Baybars, was dethroned and Qalāwūn became sultan, a group called *al-tatār al-wāfidīyah* fled from Cairo, under command of their leader Sayf al-Dīn Karāy (no. 6 in the Appendix) and his sons.[92] This episode shows that they had still kept their Mongol tribal bond for about twenty years. Since this Karāy and his unit returned to Cairo later and submitted to the authority of Qalāwūn,[93] it seems they maintained their unit during the reign of Qalāwūn. There are also some accounts in the chronicles stating that one of their leaders, Sayf al-Dīn Nūkāy (no. 4 in the Appendix) participated in several expeditions against the Crusaders and the Mongols until 699/1299, so we can suppose that their unit continued to exist as a viable military unit no less than thirty-six years after their arrival.

The Rūm *wāfidīyah* (no. 7 in the list) left little trace in the sources after their defection. But two of their leaders (nos. 11 and 12 in the Appendix) achieved high positions in the reign of al-Manṣūr Lājīn and the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Therefore it can be supposed that this group also maintained its political power for a long time.

As for the famous Oirat refugees (no. 12 in the list), they retained not only their tribal solidarity, but also their religious creed and lifestyle during the reign of

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[91] See Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 93.

[92] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 193.

[93] Ibid., 200; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:36; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:221.

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Sultan Kitbughā. For example, it is reported that they did not observe the fast in the month of Ramaḍān, and that they ate the meat of horses that they had not slaughtered according to Islamic conventions, but had been beaten to death, as was their custom.[94] Yet this situation did not continue for long, as seen above. After their leaders were arrested, they could no longer remain a strong military faction and we find only a few accounts about them, such as the short-lived riot in 1299.[95]

We can generalize the first phase using the five categories mentioned above as follows: a large number of category (d) soldiers continued to serve under category (b), i.e., *wāfidī* amirs. These amirs were advanced for reasons of their military ability and the large number of category (d) soldiers under their command, for the sultans in this phase needed these military refugees in order to solidify the newborn Mamluk state as well as to bolster their own authority.[96] *Wāfidīyah* of categories (a) and (c), i.e., those taken into the units of the sultan or other amirs, are also found in this period, but these categories produced no high-ranking amirs.

On the other hand, the *wāfidīyah* in this phase are also characterized by their marital ties to the sultans. For example, two of the four wives of Baybars at the time of his death were daughters of Mongol *wāfidī* amirs who came to Egypt in 661/1263, and a daughter of Karmūn, the leader of these *wāfidīyah,* had been another of his wives. Qalāwūn married another daughter of Karmūn, who gave birth to his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʻAlī, and also the daughter of one of the Rūm *wāfidīyah.* She is known as the mother of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Besides, Qalāwūn married his two sons, al-Ṣāliḥ ʻAlī and al-Ashraf Khalīl, to the daughters of Mongol *wāfidīyah.*[97]

What was the reason for these close marital ties between the *wāfidī* amirs and the Mamluk elite? As for the Oirat, Ayalon points out their physical beauty and states, ″Many Mamluks married Oirat wives.″[98] In my opinion, however, the Mamluk elites′ preference for the daughters of *wāfidī* amirs had rather to do with their fathers′ military ability. The sultans wanted marriage with their daughters for political reasons: they regarded the *wāfidīyah* as reliable supporters.

THE SECOND PHASE (AFTER 1310)

In this phase, i.e., the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and afterwards, unlike the first phase, we can find no unit that consisted of military refugees

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[94]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:298.

[95]See no. 17 in the Appendix.

[96]See Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 159.

[97]See nos. 2, 4, 6, and 10 in the Appendix.

[98]Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 92, 100.

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alone, and only those amirs who had personal connections with the sultan could reach high rank.

The amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (no. 20 in the Appendix) advanced to the highest rank in the Mamluk Sultanate, but when he arrived in Egypt in 703/1304, he had brought only several horsemen with him. So when he was made an amir of one hundred, his unit could not have consisted of Mongols only. The reason for his advancement is unknown, but it is clear that it depended on his personal connection to Sultan al-Nāṣir rather than his troop's strength. This connection is reflected in the fact that his daughter married a son of al-Nāṣir.

If we again take an example from the Oirat *wāfidīyah,* the amir Qararnah (no. 18 in the Appendix) is noteworthy. After the dissolution of this group, most of the Oirat were divided among the amirs' units, and it is not clear how this amir Qararnah was treated. But during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Qararnah was sent to the Ilkhanids as an envoy, and during the reigns of the sons of al-Nāṣir, he was sent to post-Ilkhanid Baghdad twice. These appointments were presumably due to his geographical knowledge of Iran or his skill as an interpreter of the Mongol language. He eventually reached the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah,* thus becoming the most successful Oirat in the Mamluk Sultanate.

The group commanded by Tamurtāsh (no. 24 in the Appendix) was welcomed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at first, but when al-Nāṣir arrested Tamurtāsh and executed him, the men were divided among Mamluk amirs.[99] Bahādur al-Damurdāshi (no. 25 in the Appendix) had been under this Tamurtāsh's command, as his *niṣbah* shows, and then was assigned to al-Nāṣir's mamluk unit. Afterwards, though his former colleagues vainly rose in revolt in 732/1331–32,[100] he reached the highest rank of amir, and his prosperity continued until his death in 743/1343, in the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. He married a daughter of al-Nāṣir, and it is clear that his advancement was closely related to his personal connection to the sultan. Similarly, the brothers Badr al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīr (nos. 13–14 in the Appendix) were promoted to high ranks, despite their original affiliation, the Rūm *wāfidīyah.*

One of the last refugees, Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn (no. 26 in the Appendix) was supposedly advanced because of his skill as an administrator. Before coming to Egypt, he had been a vizier of Baghdad,[101] and that is why he was treated favorably by Sultan al-Nāṣir. And then, in the reign of al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr, a son of al-Nāṣir, he was appointed vizier.

Thus, throughout the second phase, we can find several *wāfidī* amirs (category [b]), who kept only a few of their original soldiers (category [d]) under their

[99] Al-'Aynī, "'Iqd," MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 97v.

[100] Ibid., fols. 171v–172r.

[101] However, I could not find any evidence that he was a vizier in Baghdad in Persian sources.

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command. These amirs were able to reach high rank, not by their military importance, but by their strong connections to the sultan or by their skill as administrators. In this phase, we also find high amirs recruited into the sultans′ units (category [a]) whose advancement owed to personal factors.

In this second phase, we still find several examples of marital ties between *wāfidī* families and the Mamluk elite.[102] These ties, however, were based on the sultans′ favoritism toward them, while those in the first phase were based on the *wāfidīyah′*s military importance.

CONCLUSION

The present study has clarified that the *wāfidīyah′*s status was higher than scholars have realized. A certain number of them were recruited into the royal troops, not into the *ḥalqah,* a minor unit in the Mamluk army. Some of the *wāfidī* amirs reached the highest rank in the Mamluk army.

Of course, their status was not unchanging from the beginning to the end, and the change in their status closely reflected the change of structure of the Mamluk Sultanate. At the outset of the Mamluk Sultanate, the *wāfidīyah* could retain their tribal units because the sultans needed to make use of their capable forces to strengthen the newborn state and to solidify their own authority. Owing to this tribal solidarity, their leaders could reach high positions in the Mamluk military system. In the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, however, the centralization of power was achieved, and the sultan no longer needed to depend on strong units of military refugees. He could advance his favorite retainers whether they were sultan′s mamluks or not.[103] Therefore, in this phase, several highly advanced *wāfidī* amirs emerged from *wāfidīyah* groups which had only a small number of personnel or which had collapsed and completely dissolved.

It is true that the *wāfidīyah* were not mamluks, i.e., those who were brought to the Mamluk Sultanate as slaves or captives. But differences between free men and slaves in the Mamluk army seems to have been less significant than has been realized, at least in the early Mamluk period. The *wāfidīyah* were outsiders to the sultanate, just as the mamluks were. The *wāfidīyah* often shared with the royal mamluks the sense of belonging to a certain sultan,[104] because their only base of

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[102]See nos. 20 and 25 in the Appendix.

[103]During the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, there were many examples of amirs who attained the highest ranks without sufficient military training. See Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995), 34–40.

[104]Cf. the Mongol *wāfidīyah* and Baybars′ mamluk unit (al-Baḥrīyah al-Ẓāhirīyah) in the revolt of 680/1281: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 193; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:78. The *wāfidī* amir Sayf al-Dīn Nūkāy was called a Zāḥirī amir (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, in Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian*

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power was the relationship with the sultan who recruited them. The present article shows that the situation of the *wāfidīyah* cannot be explained by the dichotomy of slave and free man. It also casts a new light on the Mamluk political order and the relationship between the Mamluk army and the sultans´ household.

Historiography, 72). See also the Oirat *wāfidīyah* and Kitbughā´s mamluks in the revolt of 699/1300: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:883.

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APPENDIX: THE LIST OF THE *WĀFIDĪ* AMIRS

(The number after the name is the number of the group in the previous list with which the individual was associated.)

1. Sayf al-Dīn Ṣaraghān Āghā (no. 2): His name is found only in the account of 661/1263 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 180; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:89–90) and in the allocation list *(maktūb jāmiʿ bi-al-tamlīk)* of 663/1265 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 98–99; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:276–81; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 1:479–86; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:532–34). Amitai-Preiss identifies him as a leader of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* of 660/1262. See Amitai-Preiss, ″Mamluk Officer Class,″ 295.
2. Sayf al-Dīn Karmūn al-Tatarī (d. 664/1266, no. 3): His biography is found in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 264; Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn,* 111; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:130. He sought refuge in Cairo in 661/1263 accompanied by another thirteen Mongol commanders and their men, and his name is also found in the allocation list of 663/1265. One of his daughters married al-Ẓāhir Baybars and then the amir Sayf al-Dīn Kunduk al-Ẓāhirī, while another married al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and gave birth to his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī. Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Faḍl al-Maʾthūr min Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Sidon, 1998), 111; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 164, 228; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 56, 87. See also Amitai-Preiss, ″Mamluk Officer Class,″ 296.
3. Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh ibn Karmūn (no. 3): Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 338. His name is found only in the account of the battle of Ḥimṣ in 679/1280 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 197; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 100; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:33–34; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:216).
4. Sayf al-Dīn Nūkāy al-Tatarī (d. 699/1300, no. 3): He was one of the fourteen Mongol commanders of 661/1263. He was arrested in Baybars′ reign but later was released and appointed amir of one hundred by Qalāwūn. He died at the battle of Wādī al-Khāzindār (al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:17). One of his daughters married Baybars (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:219; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:368; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:640–41; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:179). Another daughter, named MNKBK, married al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī ibn Qalāwūn in 681/1282 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 20; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 228–29; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:90; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:709) and gave birth to a prince, Mūsá (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:170). A third daughter, named Ardukīn (Urdutakīn), married al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn in 682/1284 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 44; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 232–33; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:99; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:717.), and after his death married al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and gave birth to a prince, ʿAlī, who died at an early age. She died in 724/1324. Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj* in Kortantamer, *Ägypten,* 23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:347–48;

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al-‘Aynī, ″‘Iqd,″ MS Veliyyüddin 2394, fol. 481; Howayda al-Harithy, ″Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification,″ in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 103–21.

5. Jamāl al-Dīn Khaḍir ibn Nūkāy (d. 728/1328, no. 3): He was an amir of *ṭablkhānah*. Biography: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A‘yān al-Mi’ah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1972–76), 2:205; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:304; al-‘Aynī, ″‘Iqd,″ MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 109r; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:275. See also Sato Tsugitaka, ″The Proposers and Supervisors of al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī in Mamluk Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 86.
6. Sayf al-Dīn Karāy al-Tatarī (no. 3): He was one of the Mongol refugees, but only later historians list his name (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 84; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 51; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501; al-‘Aynī, ‘*Iqd,* 1:365). One of his daughters married Baybars. When Qalāwūn became sultan, Karāy joined the amir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashqar in Ṣaḥyūn, and returned to Cairo with al-Baḥrīyah al-Ẓāhirīyah and al-Tatār al-wāfidīyah in 680/1281 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 193, 195, 200; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:36; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:214, 221). He had two sons, Shams al-Dīn Āqsunqur and Alṭunṭāsh (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 114, 338).
7. Sayf al-Dīn Jabrak al-Tatarī (no. 3): He was one of the fourteen Mongol commanders of 661/1263. His name is found only in the account of the battle of Ḥimṣ in 692/1293 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 181; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:33; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:215; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:692).
8. Ḥusām al-Dīn Bījār al-Bayburtī (d. 681/1282, no. 7): He and his son Bahādur came from al-Rūm in 675/1276, following Saktāy (no. 10 below) (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 155). Biography: al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:168; Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A‘yān* (Damascus, 1974), 54–55; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden, 1961–), 10:360; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:711.
9. Badr al-Dīn Bahādur ibn Bījār al-Bayburtī (d. 680/1281, no. 7): His wife was a daughter of Saktāy. Biography: al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:107; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:84–85; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:295; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1991), 2:500; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba‘da al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1986–), 3:427.
10. Saktāy (no. 7): He was the first refugee from al-Rūm, who came in 675/1276 with his brother Jāwrajī. His daughter Ashlūn married Qalāwūn in 681/1282–83 and gave birth to his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 110; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 229; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:90, 267; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:709; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:459).
11. Mubāriz al-Dīn Sawārī ibn Tarkarī, Amīr Shikār (d. 704/1304–5, no. 7): He was one of the Rūm *wāfidī* amirs (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 154–55; al-Yūnīnī,

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Dhayl, 3:166; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:407–8). He is also known as one of the sixteen amirs who supported al-Manṣūr Lājīn in 696/1296 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 313). Biography: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 382; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:14; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:275; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:217.

12. Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Jandarbak (d. 729/1328, no. 7): He was one of the Rūm *wāfidī* amirs. He served the amir Lājīn (later sultan) and became an amir of one hundred in the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:352; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:288; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr* (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 2:259–64; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj* in Kortantamer, *Ägypten,* 44; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá,* 3:649; idem, *Sulūk,* 2:313; al-'Aynī, "'Iqd," MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 128v; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:152; idem, *Nujūm,* 9:276–77. See also Amitai, "Remaking of Military Elite," 162.
13. Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (b. 683/1284–85, d. 754/1253–54, no. 7): He was a son of the Rūm *wāfidī* amir Niẓām al-Dīn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 174–75, 337; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 462). His grandfather Sharaf al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn Khaṭīr was a prominent amir in the Rūm Saljuqid sultanate. Born in Damascus, he was favored by al-Nāṣir and held the posts of grand *ḥājib* and governor (*nā'ib*) of Ghazza and Tripoli. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:417–27; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:110; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:292–93.
14. Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (d. 749/1249, no. 7): He was a brother of the above Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd. He served also as *ḥājib* in Damascus and Cairo. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:364; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:80.
15. 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī al-Manṣūrī (d. 738/1337–38, no. 7): Originally he was one of the mamluks of Niẓām al-Dīn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (father of the amirs numbered 13 and 14 above) and was later assigned to the Burjīyah unit by Qalāwūn. He reached the rank of amir of one hundred in the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 384; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:660; idem, *Wāfī,* 10:17; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:511–12; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:180–82; idem, *Nujūm,* 9:312. See also Amitai, "Remaking of the Military Elite," 161; Sato, "Proposers and Supervisors," 82.
16. Ṭaraghāy (no. 12): He was a leader of the Oirat refugees in 695/1296. For his career under the Mongols, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Tehran, 1995), 1262, and also Shimo Hirotoshi, *The Political Structure of the Mongol Empire: The Core Tribes of the Ilkhanid* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1995), 275–76. He was favored by al-'Ādil Kitbughā, but in the reign of al-Manṣūr Lājīn he and the Oirats were purged (al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 3:356). His brief biography is found only in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:381–82.
17. Ulūṣ (d. 699/1300?, no. 12): After the purge of the Oirat, among their leaders,

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he was the only one released, for unknown reasons. In 699/1300, he conspired with Sayf al-Dīn Burilṭāy, one of the sultan's mamluks, and 'Alā' al-Dīn Quṭulūbars al-'Ādilī, a mamluk of Kitbughā, and revolted, but they were soon put down and executed (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 330; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 156; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:381; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:15; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:632; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:883).

18. Qararnah (d. 749/1348–49, no. 12): One of the Oirat refugees, he was appointed amir of *ṭablkhānah* by al-Nāṣir. He was sent as envoy to the Ilkhanids several times. Biography: Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:290.
19. Sulāmish (d. 698/1299, no. 13): He was the governor of al-Rūm under the Ilkhanids and sought refuge in Egypt in 698/1299. Leaving his brother Quṭquṭū, who was given an *iqṭā'* in Egypt, he went to al-Rūm, where he was caught and executed by the Ilkhanid army. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi',* 1287, 1289; Shimo, *Political Structure,* 129.
20. Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (d. 746/1346, no. 14): His daughter married Ibrāhīm, the son of al-Nāṣir, and he became one of the twenty-four amirs of one hundred in the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:163–66; idem, *Wāfī,* 11:199–200; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:89–91; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:134–35; idem, *Muqaffá,* 4:75–77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:143–44; Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 93; Amitai, ″Remaking of the Mamluk Elite,″ 163; Sato, ″Proposers and Supervisors,″ 80.
21. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jankalī (b. 697/1297–98, d. 742/1342, no. 14): He was born in Diyār Bakr and came to Cairo with his father Jankalī. He became a Hanbali jurisprudent *(faqīh)*. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 4:379–95; idem, *Wāfī,* 2:310–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 5:155; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá,* 5:508; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:325.
22. Sayf al-Dīn Dilanjī (d. 751/1350, no. 14): He was a nephew of Jankalī. He arrived at Cairo in 730/1329–30 and later held the post of governor of Ghazza. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:356–57; idem, *Wāfī,* 14:28–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:228; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:249.
23. Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāyirbughā (Ẓahīrbughā) (d. 738/1337, no. 20): He was one of the relatives of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. When he arrived with Ilkhanid envoys in 726/1326, he was made amir of *ṭablkhānah*, and was raised to the rank of amir of one hundred before long. He read and wrote the Mongol language in the sultan's court. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:635–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:234.
24. Tamurtāsh (Damurdāsh) ibn Jūbān (d. 728/1328, no. 22): He was the governor of al-Rūm in Ilkhanid territory, and he sought refuge in Egypt in 728/1328. He was made amir of one hundred, but al-Nāṣir executed him seven months after he arrived, on account of the peace treaty with the Ilkhanids. Biography:

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al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:111–15; idem, *Wāfī,* 10:400–3; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:62; 2:228–29. See also Shimo, *Political Structure,* 150–53.

25. Bahādur al-Damurdāshī al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1343, no. 22): He was originally a mamluk of Tamurtāsh and was later assigned to al-Nāṣir's mamluk unit. He became amir of one hundred in the latter half of the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 252–53; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:299; idem, *A'yān,* 2:62–63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:36.
26. Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī ibn Sharwīn (d. 748/1347, no. 23): Known as "the vizier of Baghdad." He sought refuge from Baghdad accompanied by some officials and their families in 738/1337. He was made amir of one hundred and after al-Nāṣir's death he held the post of vizier three times. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:399; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:90; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:755; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:183; Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 93.
27. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ghawrī (no. 23): He came to Egypt with the above Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn and was appointed Hanafi qadi (al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 19). Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 3:22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:430.
28. Nāṣir al-Dīn Khalīfah ibn 'Alī Shāh (d. 749/1348, no. 24): He was a son of Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh, a *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* in the Ilkhanid state. He sought refuge in Damascus in 738/1337, counting on the support of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, governor of Syria, and was appointed commander of one thousand of Damascus. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:324–25; idem, *Wāfī,* 13:383–84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:218; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:794; idem, *Muqaffá,* 3:767.

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Cairene Cemeteries as Public Loci in Mamluk Egypt

Introduction

After the conquest of Egypt, the Arab Muslims located their graveyards in the area beneath the Muqaṭṭam Mountain, stretching outward from the southeast side of their new capital, al-Fusṭāṭ. This older and larger cemetery area became known as al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá (the Greater Qarāfah). Subsequently, the cemetery area developed around several famous mausolea, including the mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfi'ī, extended to the Muqaṭṭam as well, and came to be called al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá (the Lesser Qarāfah). Also, outside the Naṣr Gate, there stretched another cemetery area, eventually swallowed by the so-called al-Ṣaḥrā' that prospered most during the Mamluk period, and had stronger ties with the Mamluk ruling elites. There were several other smaller graveyards, and in this article, I include all cemetery areas in the region surrounding Cairo/Fusṭāṭ in the term ″Cairene cemeteries,″ although al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá preceded the construction of Cairo.

These cemetery areas were primarily sanctuaries where people came to console the souls of the dead, or to seek help for worldly difficulties and pray for entrance into heaven through the fulfillment *(ijābah)* of the *du'ā'* (supplicatory prayer). Likewise, crowds including women and children went there on excursions, leading to the depiction of these areas by the historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) as ″the greatest meeting place of the Egyptian people, and their most popular pleasure resort.″ [1]

Literature detailing these cemetery areas and the practice of visitation *(ziyārah/ziyārāt)* among Egyptian Muslim society were prominent in the Mamluk era and continued even through the nineteenth century. Yet, in vicissitude of time, these works tended to focus on the *ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet Muḥammad's holy family), arranging information about them into chapters. Al-Qal'āwī (d. 1815), al-Shablanjī (d. 1883), and al-Mushkī (published in 1919), for instance, composed treatises of this sort, and al-Nabhānī's (d. 1931–32) compilation of *karāmāt* (miracles and virtues) achieved by ″saints″ should be recalled in this regard.[2] Ḥasan Qāsim,

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[1] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 A.H.), 2:444; Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality of Pilgrims to the Egyptian City of the Dead: 1100–1500 A.D.,″ *Orient* 29 (1993): 19.

[2] Al-Qal'āwī, ″Mashāhid al-Ṣafā fī al-Madfūnīn bi-Miṣr min Āl al-Bayt al-Muṣṭafá,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 2136 Tārīkh; al-Shablanjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* (Cairo,

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in addition, listed famous mausolea in 1936.[3] Meanwhile, scholarly investigations in the Western academy were initiated by A. F. Mehren in the latter half of the nineteenth century,[4] followed by R. Guest and L. Massignon, primarily focusing on topography.[5] Great breakthroughs were made by Yūsuf Rāghib, who, after completing an inventory of *ziyārah* guidebooks of the cemeteries, published many substantial studies on this subject.[6] Since the 1980s, Christopher Taylor and the present author have engaged this subject from social-historical or historical-anthropological perspectives, detailing customs and the social background and trying to reconstruct the social milieu.[7] More recently, new studies seem to be flourishing in this field.

This article is an attempt to reconsider the historical characteristics and illuminate actual conditions of these cemetery areas, where any Muslim could participate in various activities, each in his or her own way, irrespective of their position in the social strata, place of origin, gender, or age.[8] Particularly, primary consideration is focused on the various ways in which people participated, based on their social positions or strata, and the supervision of that area by the Mamluk government.

1948); al-Mushkī, *Al-'Adl al-Shahīd fī Taḥqīq al-Mashāhid* (Cairo, n.d.); al-Nabhānī, *Jāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* (Cairo, 1984). For more detail, see Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″A Note on the Disregarded Ottoman Cairene *Ziyāra* Book,″ *Mediterranean World* 15 (1998): 75–85.

[3]Ḥasan Qāsim, *Al-Mazārāt al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1936). Also Aḥmad Taymūr, *Qabr al-Imām al-Suyūṭī: wa-Taḥqīq* Mawḍi'ih (Cairo, 1927) should be added here.

[4]A. F. Mehren, *Câhirah og Kerâfat, historiske Studier under et Ophold i Ægypten 1867-68* (Copenhagen, 1869).

[5]R. Guest, ″Cairene Topography: El Qarafa according to Ibn Ez Zaiyat,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925): 57–61; L. Massignon, ″La cité des morts au Caire (Qarāfa-Darb al-Aḥmar),″ *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 57 (1958): 25–79.

[6]Yūsuf Rāghib, ″Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 16 (1973): 259–80; idem, ″Sur deux monuments funéraires du cimetière d'al-Qarāfa al-Kubrá au Caire,″ *Annales islamologiques* 12 (1974): 67–84; idem, ″Sur un groupe de mausolés du cimetière du Caire,″ *REI* 40 (1972): 189–95; etc.

[7]Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous* (Leiden, 1998); Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead″ (in Japanese), *Shigaku Zashshi* (Historical review) 102, no. 10 (1993): 1–49; idem, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality″; idem, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century: Phases of Its Development and Social Function″ (in Japanese), *Toyo Gakuho* 75, no. 3/4 (1994): 161–202; idem, ″The Egyptian City of the Dead and Visits to Holy Graves: A Case Study from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries″ (in Japanese), Ph.D. diss., The University of Tokyo, 1994; idem, ″Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s,″ in *Islam in the Middle Eastern Studies: Muslims and Minorities* (Osaka, 2003), 27–51; etc.

[8]The main historical sources of this article have already been referred to orally at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society of Japan in 1991, also partly published in Japanese as ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century.″

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As a result, I hope to elucidate the various roles that these cemeteries played in the Cairo/Fusṭāṭ region, and how the public loci in Islamic Egypt functioned for members of Egyptian society, by reconsidering the relationships between cemetery areas and the people of various strata of society in Cairo, as well as the interactions among those people.[9]

Cemeteries as Residential and Leisure Places

Cairene cemeteries, including the two Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā', were primarily huge areas where the dead of Cairo and al-Fusṭāṭ, from sultans to paupers, were entombed. These were graveyards for all Muslims, who probably requisitioned them as their burial land from Coptic Egyptians after the conquest. Copts were allocated a spot near the Ḥabash Lake as their cemetery, although the higher stratum of Copts, such as the pope or some bishops, were buried in churches like al-Mu'allaqah of Old Cairo, or, in some cases, the pope's body was relocated to the monastery of Abū Maqār in Wādī Naṭrūn.[10] The main cemeteries for Jews and Samaritans may have stood next to the Coptic ones beside the Ḥabash Lake, which the 56th Coptic Pope Khā'īl III (880–907) sold to them. Perhaps this measure was taken due to the construction of the *maydān* (square) in a new capital, al-Qaṭā'i', by Ibn Ṭūlūn. Other *dhimmī*s interred their dead within churches, such as the Melikites, who also buried their dead in the Quṣayr Monastery on the Muqaṭṭam, the Armenians, and the Nestorians.[11] Thus, Muslim cemeteries were adjacent to *dhimmī* graveyards, although from a shari'ah point of view, they should have been kept separate by great distances.[12]

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[9]The aim of this article does not lie in social class or stratum analysis; the sectioning of each chapter by headings such as the common people, ulama, or ruling elites, is employed only for arrangement and facilitation of the arguments herein, not for rigid classification of social strata. Through such indices, this article intends to illuminate various aspects of Cairene cemeteries.

[10]Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed; the true author was Abū al-Makārim), *Tārīkh al-Shaykh Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī* (London, 1969), 54–57, Ibn al-Muqaffa' (attributed), *Kitāb Siyar al-Ābā' al-Baṭārikah* (Cairo, 1948–), 2:3:171, 207, 211, 220, 232, 3:1:7; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd, Patrologia Orientalis* 20 (1928): 288, 450, 586; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:460; Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″Visits and Pilgrimages of Copts in Islamic Egypt″ (in Japanese), *Rekishigaku Kenkyu* 755 (2001): 178–87; idem, ″Conception of ′Egypt′ in the Pre-Modern Period: Preliminary Essay,″ *Mediterranean World* 16 (2001): 15–33; idem, ″Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society″ (in Japanese), in *Pilgrimage and Popular Faith,* History of the Mediterranean World 4 (Tokyo, 1999), 224–61.

[11]Al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh* (London, 1912), 215; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:121; Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 55–57; Ohtoshi, ″Visits and Pilgrimages of Copts in Islamic Egypt,″ 181.

[12]Although not written in the Mamluk period, see al-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), *Iqāmat al-Ḥujjah al-Bāhirah 'alá Hadm Kanā'is Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Berkeley, 1975), 63 (text).

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At the same time, since the Cairene cemetery areas were located on the periphery of the Cairo/Fusṭāṭ region, they were vulnerable to easy plunder by raiding outsiders. The invasion of the areas of al-Qarāfah or by the Qarmatians and Fatimid Maghribians, and later by the Ottomans, may be recalled in this regard.[13]

People from all across the social stratum, regardless of gender or age, visited the tombs of their acquaintances or ″saints″; these activities were termed *ziyārah*.[14] Also, travelers from outside of Egypt came to visit the cemeteries, drawn by such sites as the mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfi'ī.[15] Many of them stopped on their Meccan pilgrimages. While visiting famous mausolea, visitors would often form groups, each led by a shaykh of *al-ziyārah,* an authority and guide, making a circuit of the holy mausolea following their own routes. In 845/1442, for instance, eleven groups went on tours of the two-Qarāfahs simultaneously. The shaykhs of *al-ziyārah,* who might be considered tour leaders, wrote guidebooks for tomb visitation, termed *"kutub al-ziyārah"* (books of visit) as well. These treatises, which are utilized in this article, detailed the customs of visitation, and cited abundant anecdotes about the late saints.[16] The *ziyārah* was made not only by visiting groups (sing. *ṭā'ifah*), but also by individuals or groups with specific motives. For instance, at the tomb of al-Shāṭibī in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá, verses of the deceased and the Quran were recited by shaykhs and their pupils on the first Tuesday of each month.[17]

The sanctity of the Qarāfah cemeteries was assumed to be strengthened by their location beneath the holy Muqaṭṭam Mountain. The word al-Qarāfah is employed interchangeably with *safḥ al-Muqaṭṭam* (the foot of al-Muqaṭṭam Mountain) in historical sources. The Muqaṭṭam itself attracted the reverence of

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[13]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* (Cairo, 1982–84), 5:154; Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 171.

[14]The term ″saint″ in this article is employed to denote an analytical concept, which is applied to any person who won veneration from others, including those who were called *walī*/*awliyā', ṣāliḥ*/*ṣāliḥūn,* etc. Concerning various terminological problems on ″saints,″ see Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″′Saints′ and ′the Cult of the Saints′″ (in Japanese), in *The Handbook of Islamic Studies* (Tokyo, 1995), 240–48.

[15]Before the Mamluk period, in the middle of the twelfth century, al-Shaykh Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, who was living in Damascus, asked Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Zangid ruler, for permission to visit Imām al-Shāfi'ī in al-Qarāfah, and his hope was realized. See Abū Shāmah, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* (Cairo, 1956–62), 2:68.

[16]For more detail on the manners and customs which prevailed in Egyptian cemeteries and their visits, and also on the *shaykh al-ziyārah* and *kutub al-ziyārah,* see Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality″; idem, ″The Egyptian City of the Dead and Visits to Holy Graves″; and Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous.*

[17]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qasṭallānī, ″Al-Fatḥ al-Mawāhibī fī Tarjamat al-Imām al-Shāṭibī,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 1766 Tārīkh Taymūr, fols. 90–93.

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Egyptians of various religions—Copts cherished their own legendary memory of moving the Muqaṭṭam Mountain. A person entombed in this area may have been believed to have escaped Judgment. Muslim literature often depicted al-Muqaṭṭam through personification, and every important historical figure was said to have had a relationship with it. Later, the *ziyārah* tract of al-Shu'aybī (seventeenth century) even illustrated its cosmological position by ranking it with Mount Arafat, the Ka'bah, and Jerusalem.[18] Al-Muqaṭṭam was therefore described as *"al-muqaddas"* (holy) by both Muslim and Coptic literature.[19]

As a result, a *du'ā'* (supplicatory prayer) performed there was thought more likely to be fulfilled. The fulfillment *(ijābah)* of individual *du'ā'* constituted a crucial concern of visitors to graveyards, and its content tended to concentrate on worldly affairs or entering heaven.[20] Moreover, mass prayers conducted by rulers were often held there, mainly in the back enclosure of Sultan Barqūq's religious complex in al-Ṣaḥrā', seeking the abatement of the plague or the rising of the Nile. People, including Copts and Jews, were urged to go there to pray, and huge amounts of bread, meat, and other items were distributed on those occasions.

After the death of a relative, the bereaved family would stay for long periods at the graveyard to comfort the soul of the deceased.[21] Additionally, visitors from in and out of Cairo/Fusṭāṭ came to visit these cemetery areas. As time went on the infrastructure in al-Qarāfah was improved, with numerous walled tomb structures enabling people to live there, and it consequently became inhabited by the common people.

As early as the Tulunid period, histories already suggest the presence of inhabitants, particularly those who enjoyed the benefits of an aqueduct from the Ḥabash Lake to al-Ma'āfir (al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá), constructed by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 270/884).[22] In the Ikhshidid period (935–69), the situation seems to have remained

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[18]Al-Shu'aybī, "Kitāb Yashtamil 'alá Dhikr Man Dufina bi-Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah min al-Muḥaddithīn wa-al-Awliyā' wa-al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā'," Maktabat al-Azhar MS Tārīkh 5105819, fols. 92a–b; Ohtoshi, "A Note on the Disregarded Ottoman Cairene *Ziyāra* Book," 81.

[19]Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 62; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:454; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh,* 13; Ohtoshi, "Conception of 'Egypt' in the Pre-Modern Period: Preliminary Essay," 22; idem,"Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s," 41; cf. Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah fī al-Qarāfatayn al-Kubrá wa-al-Ṣughrá* (Cairo, 1325 A.H.), 276.

[20]For a detailed analysis of the content of the *du'ā'* and the logic of its rewards, see Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality," 30–39.

[21]Ibid., 23; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1981), 1:251–53.

[22]Al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn* (Cairo, n.d.), 345, 350, 353; Ibn 'Uthmān, "Murshid al-Zuwwār ilá Qubūr al-Abrār," Dār al-Kutub MS 5139 Tārīkh, fols. 162b, 91a–b; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa-Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fī al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Mazārāt wa-al-Tarājim wa-al-Biqā' al-Mubārakāt* (Cairo, 1937), 180; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 4:57–58.

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the same.[23] From the Arab conquest to the Fatimid period, the development of the al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá area, first as a suburb of al-Fusṭāṭ and then as a graveyard area, is evidenced by archeological research as well.[24] When they entered Egypt, the Fatimids were reported to have made al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá a residential area, and they built mosques, large pavilions, monuments, and cisterns, and so many moved there that it eventually became congested.[25] There were, however, also struggles between the Qarāfah resident Egyptians and al-Maghāribah, who came with the Fatimids. Notably, in 363/973, the Maghāribah invaded the Qarāfah district, evicting Egyptians, and plundered or occupied it.[26] In those days, the natives of al-Qarāfah may have been known as al-Qarāfīyah, who went so far as to send robes of honor to a swindler named Shurūṭ, possibly a converted Copt, when the Banū Qurrah of the Arab Bedouins supported him as their caliph.[27] Nevertheless, the Fatimids later distributed to the Qarāfah residents a great deal of meat and sweets through the mosque, and built a free mill complete with working beasts and fodder.[28] Sufis were reported to seclude themselves in the Muqaṭṭam, though the reliability of this passage in the text is uncertain.[29] Although it suffered disasters in al-Mustanṣir´s reign (427–87/1036–94), and in 564/1168, the area revived in the Ayyubid period, with many new buildings, such as Ribāṭ Fakhr al-Dīn and the *muṣallá* (oratory) of Ibn al-Arsūfī. Most famous of all was the rebuilding of the mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfi'ī in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá with an aqueduct built by Sultan al-Kāmil.[30] The custom of *ziyārah* seems to have been established in this period, as indicated by the appearance of *ziyārah* tracts.[31]

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[23]Al-Shu'aybī, ″Kitāb Yashtamil 'alá Dhikr Man Dufina bi-Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,″ fol. 153a.

[24]R. Gayraud, ″Istabl 'Antar (Fostat) 1985: Rapport de fouilles,″ *Annales islamologiques* 22 (1986): 1–26, idem, ″Istabl 'Antar (Fostat) 1986,″ *Annales islamologiques* 23 (1987): 55–71.

[25]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 180.

[26]Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1981), 164; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1967–73), 1:113, 131, 139, 143, 145, 148, 2:20–21; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1975–), 28:150, 206.

[27]Ibn al-Muqaffa' (attributed), *Kitāb Siyar al-Ābā' al-Baṭārikah,* 2:2:210; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr,* ed. W. Millward (Cairo, 1980), 174.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:319–20, 445–46; idem, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1991), 6:493; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 28:208.

[29]Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ al-Dayājī wa-Ghawth al-Rājī wa-Kahf al-Lājī,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 87 Buldān Taymūr, fol. 124.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:320, 444; idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–73), 1:1:208; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960–72), 7:170.

[31]Ibn 'Aṭāyā (d. 612/1216), for instance, lived in al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, and wrote a *ziyārah* treatise. Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Nuqilah* (Beirut, 1988), 2:346; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa-al-Nuḥāh* (Beirut, n.d.), 2:107; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1932–42), 5:183–84.

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Geographical works of this period also confirm the existence of inhabitants in the Qarāfahs.[32]

The Bahri Mamluk period is considered one of the high points of the Qarāfahs; they are thought to have been fully developed to accommodate both sojourners and inhabitants. The residents of Cairene cemeteries were too numerous to be mentioned. According to the sources, accommodations for residents and sojourners included mosques, *khānqāh*s, *zāwiyah*s, *ribāṭ*s, *madrasah*s (colleges), *mashhad*s (mausolea), *turbah*s (mausolea), *maqbarah*s (graveyards), and *qubbah*s (cupolaed mausolea). This situation was made possible through equipment and development of religious institutions in this period based mainly on the *waqf* (religious endowment) system. Other facilities recorded were a *muṣallá* (oratory), *sūq*s, *furn*s (baking ovens), public bathhouses, an aqueduct, and wells. Residents and sojourners consisted of people concerned with religious institutions, Sufis, superintendents and employees of the above-mentioned public facilities, persons related to the cemetery industry such as grave diggers, and so-called *"fuqarā'*," assumed to be living with their families.[33] Al-Maqrīzī 's description of this situation is widely known: "Then amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's dynasty rebuilt this cemetery area. . . . The soldiers and the rest of the people followed them, and built mausolea, *khānqāh*s, *sūq*s, mills, and public bathhouses as far as the area from al-Ḥabash Lake to al-Qarāfah Gate, and the residential area of Fusṭāṭ to Muqaṭṭam Mountain became built up.[34]

Subsequently, as al-Qarāfah also attracted the governing elite of the dynasty, it became inhabited by them, for instance, Vizier Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Sal'ūs (d. 693/1294), Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Ḥinnā (d. 707/1308), and *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (chief justice) Ibn Bint al-A'azz (d. 695/1295–96). Also, the area began to produce notable scholars of the age, such as Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 682/1283–84), Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qarāfī (d. 802/1402), and Ibn al-Hā'im (d. 815/1412).[35] Bearers of

[32]Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtilāq al-Āfāq* (Cairo, n.d.), 324; Yāqūt, *Kitāb al-Mushtarak* (Göttingen, 1846), 341.

[33]Ibn 'Uthmān, "Murshid," fols. 90a, 91a, 116b, 131b, 229b–230a; Ibn al-Nāsikh, "Miṣbāḥ," fols. 66, 98; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 108–9, 154, 175, 227, 244, 254, 257, 280; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 180, 190; al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī li-Ghurar Ḍaw' al-Sakhāwī* (Beirut, 1998), 2:131; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (Cairo, 1984–), 7:77, 133, 190; idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 7:356; al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh* (Baghdad, 1984), 21:46, 166, 314; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1964), 6:90, 8:321; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:112; Ibn 'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 5:373; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 3:70, 291; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:148; etc.

[34]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:444; cf. Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century," 167; Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous,* 20.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:207; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:760–61, 2:1:41–42; al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ*

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the *nisbah* ″al-Qarāfī,″ or ″native of al-Qarāfah,″ were recorded in rather large numbers.[36] It is interesting to note that, before around 844/1440–41, visits to the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Ruqayyah were hindered because people—including Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Taqā—had taken up residence there.[37] In this manner, the commoners were a driving force for the custom of living in the Qarāfahs, and thereafter the elites of the dynasty followed suit.

As places of residence, the two Qarāfahs, al-Kubrá and al-Ṣughrá, suffered severe devastation due to recurring pestilence, but ironically, at the same time, they expanded as graveyards. In 806/1403–4, the inhabitants were reduced in numbers by a disaster, then in 833/1430 and 864/1460, a huge number of deaths resulted from pestilence reported in the areas included in the two Qarāfahs.[38] Among the dwellers of al-Qarāfah, al-Sūdān al-Takārirah, who originated in an area which may have stretched from western Sudan to Mali, were well known to have become the greatest victims. According to the sources, only a handful of the three thousand al-Takārirah survived the pestilence, notwithstanding the fact that they sought refuge in the Muqaṭṭam Mountain.[39] These al-Takārirah seem mostly to have settled there on their Meccan pilgrimages, as exemplified in the case of the well-known King Mansā Walī, al-Malik Mūsá ibn Abī Bakr, who stopped in Egypt (724/1324) accompanied by a retinue of ten thousand. He enjoyed the hospitality shown there, famously dispersing a large quantity of gold, and stayed in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá.[40]

On the other hand, the Ṣaḥrā' area developed toward the northeast of the

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al-Mi'ṭār fī Khabar al-Aqṭār (Beirut, 1975), 460–61; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Beirut, 1974), 2:280; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn* (Cairo, 1972), 1:81–82.

[36]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 2:99, 113; Aḥmad Bābā al-Timbuktī, *Nayl al-Ibtihāj bi-Taṭrīz al-Dībāj* (Tripoli, 1989), 543; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 6:36; Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 203; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1025; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1353–55 A.H.), 6:62, 10:62, 11:220.

[37]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 170–71; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1229; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 2:570.

[38]The famous account by Leo Africanus, who visited al-Qarāfah in 1526, estimated its population as two thousand families, after the great disaster. Līwūn al-Ifrīqī, *Waṣf Ifrīqīyah* (Rabat, 1980), 2:20; M. Dols, *The Black Death In the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 196.

[39]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 3:189; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:2:826; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:320. Ibn al-Nāsikh noted the existence of a graveyard where many al-Takārirah were buried. See ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 208.

[40]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:320; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:648–49; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo, 1976–86), 2:142–43; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Sinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1963), 5:293; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:367. Regarding al-Takrūr in general, see al-'Umarī, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1988), 44–46; N. Levtzion, ″Mamluk Egypt and *Takrûr*,″ in *Studies in History and Civilization* (Jerusalem, 1988), 183–207.

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citadel in the Mamluk period, and the graveyard, which appeared in the Fatimid period outside the Naṣr Gate, combined with this area.[41] Although this area was famed for its closeness to the ruling elite, who filled the place with religious complexes, people of all classes began to live there over the course of time. We find, since the Bahri Mamluk period, many ulama bearing the *nisbah* of al-Ṣaḥrāwī, such as ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ṣaḥrāwī (d. 879/1475) and Muḥammad al-Abūdarrī (d. 844/1440–41). They were born and raised or lived in structures there that included *zāwiyah*s, *turbah*s, and houses.[42]

Qubbat al-Naṣr and al-Raydānīyah must have marked the northeast limits, as indicated by the situation of 749/1349: ″Graveyards were filled up lengthwise from the Naṣr Gate to Qubbat al-Naṣr, and to the Muqaṭṭam Mountain breadth-wise. Also the area from the Ḥusaynīyah cemetery to al-Raydānīyah was filled up. . .″[43] Qubbat al-Naṣr, established in the Fatimid era, originated in a *zāwiyah* where *fuqarāʾ* (poor, Sufis) abided. Following the reconstruction by Sultan al-Nāṣir, ruling elites of the dynasty, notably the Mamluks, made much use of this Qubbah. The place became an overnight stop for sultans and amirs, and communal supplicatory prayers *(duʻāʾ)* were conducted here for rainfall or the abatement of pestilence. Al-Raydānīyah was also associated strongly with the ruling elite, and was frequently utilized by them, mainly after Sultan Barqūq′s reign. Near the *masṭabah* there, military exercises, such as polo and horse races, were held. The function and characteristics of these two spots bear much similarity; birds for communication or hunting were bred there, and they also marked places for receiving visitors from the north or seeing them off. Since both places offered a suitable gathering place for members of the army and amirs, they became strategic points for rebels as well as rulers.[44] Possibly due to their strong relationship with the ruling elite of the dynasty, and the alienation felt by the common people, these two places seldom appear in *ziyārah* books, but appear very frequently in the chronicles.

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[41]Concerning al-Ṣaḥrāʾ area, Qubbat al-Naṣr, and al-Raydānīyah, see Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 168–70; D. Behrens-Abouseif, ″The North-Eastern Extensions of Cairo,″ *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981); and H. Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Cairo, 2001).

[42]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 1:396, 2:63–64, 2:229, 1:276–277, 1:540; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 8:33, 4:209–10, 6:62, 241; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʻUmr* (Beirut, n.d.), 7:396; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʻ,* 2:386; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:251. H. Hamza listed 14 entries in al-Sakhāwī′s *Al-Ḍaw*ʾ. Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery,* 51.

[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:783.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:433; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:26, 92, 2:2:311, 373–74, 2:3:570, 576–77, 609, 630–31, 711–12, 846–47, 3:1:153, 280, 332, 384, 1160; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah* (Cantabrigiae, 1792), 91; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Beirut, 1986), 205, 325; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 451–53; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 3:43.

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As has been seen, the custom of living in cemeteries has a long history in Egypt, contrary to what is usually believed. Therefore we need to investigate this custom by extending the span of our study, taking the Egyptian view of the hereafter into consideration. In addition, it can be noted that there was a certain interrelationship between the funeral prayers held at Muṣallá Bāb al-Naṣr (Bāb al-Naṣr Oratory) and burials conducted in the Ṣaḥrā' area.[45]

Another important aspect relating to cemeteries, shared by the whole population, was pleasure seeking. Since *ziyārah* books made an effort to situate the visiting of cemeteries within the framework of Islamic pious activities, they never mentioned that visits were often made for pleasure. Yet, if we look at visitors´ behavior, we can easily discern the tendency to pursue pleasure. The common populace *('āmmah)* went on moonlit nights, bringing sweets and drinks, while influential people were fond of enjoying the moonlight of summer nights in the courtyards of mosques in the Qarāfah. In winter, they preferred to stay overnight under the minbar (pulpit). Even women and children could stay out openly until late at night, which was ordinarily quite exceptional.[46] For travelers from outside Cairo the Qarāfahs, which included the mausolea of Imām al-Shāfi'ī and al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, were the first place to be visited. Egyptians, too, may have ushered travelers there, as in the case of an Ilkhanid mission.[47] Meccan pilgrims who stopped in Egypt made visits there and left accounts of the Cairene cemetery regions. They include Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, al-Tujībī, al-Balawī, al-'Abdarī, and al-Qalṣādī.[48]

The *wā'iẓ* (religious preacher) preached from pulpits in the City of the Dead, and the *qāṣṣ* (storyteller) narrated Arab heroic epics, such as *Sīrat 'Antar* and *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himmah,* among the graves or near the Qarāfah Gate. Quran reciters recited in singsong tones, creating additions and subtractions, or stresses, arbitrarily.[49] From the following account quoted in *ziyārah* treatises regarding Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 622/1225), we can well perceive the situation:

> One of the *ṣāliḥūn* (pious men) who resided in al-Qarāfah had died, so his comrades had prepared the funeral ceremony *(waqt,*

[45]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 1:295, 360, 2:99, 121, 204, 326; al-Biqā'ī, *Iẓhār al-'Aṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-'Aṣr* (Riyadh, 1993), 1:187, 206; etc.
[46]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 27–28; idem, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead,″ 19; idem, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society,″ 178–79; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 181; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:268; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:486, 2:444.
[47]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:397.
[48]Ibid.; Ibn Jubayr, *Al-Riḥlah* (Beirut, 1980), 20. As for Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, al-Tujībī, al-Balawī, al-'Abdarī, and al-Qalṣādī, see Ohtoshi, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead,″ 1, 4, 9, 42.
[49]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:268.

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> *'urs)* in the Zāwiyah al-Gharābilī. There a *qawwāl* (religious singer) named al-Faṣīḥ, handsome and preeminent in singing in that era, was engaged. In their hearts, the people assembled there had come to hear him sing. Then the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn, who was held in awe, was informed of this event, and arrived on the scene with his attendants, urging al-Faṣīḥ to desist. Al-Faṣīḥ fled, fearing the shaykh, and the audiences were practically dying with deep disappointment at the passing of the reason they had gathered [abridged].[50]

Moreover, the ruling elite occasionally enjoyed singing and drinking at the southern border of al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá.[51] Thus the activity of singing and dancing performed in the cemeteries varied from mere entertainment to more religious appearances. In either event, ulama condemned them for the mingling of the sexes and immorality as a sort of *bid'ah* (deviation from correct religious practice).

Celebration feasts for saints' birthdays (sing. *mawlid, mawṣim, waqt,* etc.) were held in the cemeteries as well, although this is not reflected in *ziyārah* tracts.[52] In the case of the well-known shaykh Muḥammad Wafā' (d. 765/1364), his tomb was "famed for hosting a *waqt* (celebratory occasion), yearly on the twenty-second night of Rabī' II [for commemorating the deceased]. Plenty of money was spent, and crowds flocked there."[53] On the other hand, the *mawlid* of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah at her mausoleum began in 889/1484, and became known as "*mawlid al-khalīfah*" (the caliph's *mawlid*), since the caliph, who resided close to this mausoleum, took care of it.[54]

The Attachment of the Common People to the Cairene Cemeteries

One way in which the common people involved themselves in the Cairene cemeteries was through the creation/fabrication of tombs of famous persons, or forging/rewriting their names on tombstones. Among the many objects of cemetery visitors, prominent targets were mausolea of the *ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet

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[50]Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality," 27–28; idem, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society," 178–79; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 109–10; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 230–31. The original information on this account can be found in Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr, *Risālat Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr* (Cairo, 1986), 80–81. Cf. al-Mundhirī, *Takmilah,* 3:164–65; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā'* (Cairo, 1973), 467.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:491–92.

[52]Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "*Taṣawwuf* as Reflected in *Ziyāra* Books and the Cairo Cemeteries," in A. Sabra and R. McGregor, *The Development of Sufism in Mamluk Egypt* (forthcoming).

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah* (Beirut, 2002), 3:414.

[54]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:206.

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Muḥammad′s family) and *ṣāliḥ*/*ṣāliḥūn* (pious figure[s]) who acquired veneration from the masses. Yet, in reality, many popular mausolea which attracted visitors were fake, and the names on tombstones were frequently misattributions. *Ziyārah* treatises repeatedly made accusations of such inventions.[55]

Concerning the invention of holy tombs or mausolea, one premise is that the practice of disinterment may have prevailed in Egyptian society in that period, which is supported by this statement from a *ziyārah* book: ″many *ṣāliḥūn* who were entombed in an Egyptian cemetery were disinterred after several years.″[56] People would excavate deserted graves and build new mausolea with purportedly-discovered skulls or relics, such as the robe of the Prophet Muḥammad, with invented anecdotes. Similarly, several mausolea were built based on people′s dreams. Mausolea built on the basis of skulls were called *mashāhid al-ru's,* while those based on dreams were known as *mashāhid al-ru'yā*.[57]

The following is the gist of an anecdote concerning the invention of mausolea, which occurred in the first half of the fifteenth century. An old man named Mubārak al-Takrūrī (d. 871/1467) retired from his work as a dough kneader at a baking oven located in Bāb al-Lūq, and began living in al-Qarāfah. Then, removing the soil of a mound little by little, he began to construct holy tombs. Whenever he saw grave posts while walking around through the cemeteries, he brought them back to one of his tombs in progress. His first creation was a tomb named Shukran, and he brought its *sitr* (cover cloth) from the gate of al-Manṣūrī hospital to al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, in Barsbāy′s reign. When the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrá was destroyed by malefactors, he took its tombstone and put it on one of his invented graves, calling it ″the tomb of Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrá.″ Also, he carved stones, naming his tombs whatever he liked. Then he turned to the construction of that area, and as the place of Mubārak′s holy tombs gained fame, even Sultan Jaqmaq and his wife were said to have supported Mubārak.[58]

Let us now look at examples of Cairene mausolea, which were built upon skulls, dreams, bodies of the deceased, or even complete fiction. If we focus on the periods of creations/fabrications, it is notable that the Fatimids stand out. Specifically, viziers of the later Fatimids or the caliphs themselves were the main inventors. Yet we need to add that this practice continued to occur beyond the Fatimid era. Second, objects of creation tended to center around the *ahl al-bayt,* chiefly ‘Alī′s descendants, and also great prophets, such as Moses. Among them,

[55]For a detailed analysis on the creation and rewriting of holy tombs, see Ohtoshi, ″Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society,″ 231–51.
[56]Ibn ‘Uthmān, ″Murshid,″ fol. 41b.
[57]Ohtoshi, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead,″ 23–24; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 184; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 298.
[58]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 180–81.

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we have many traces of Moses in al-Muqaṭṭam and the Qarāfahs, such as the Aqdām mosque, which contained a footprint attributed to Moses.

The reascription of tombstones was another prevailing practice. For instance, someone rewrote the name on a tombstone as al-Mustanṣir, the caliph, but in fact it was the tomb of al-Mustatir, the onion merchant. Examples of contrived names on tombstones are: the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd, Mu'āwīyah, Bilāl, the muezzin of the Prophet Muḥammad, one of the famous *ṣaḥābah,* Abū Hurayrah, the Prophet Daniel, the son of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, etc. The pattern of these reascriptions can be summarized as being based on famous historical figures or even fictitious characters. The former includes the Prophet Muḥammad's holy family, persons linked to the Prophet Muḥammad like the *ṣaḥābah,* other prophets, "saints," and historically well-known individuals. The latter category comprises fictitious offspring of famous people, such as Muḥammad ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Concerning the way names were invented, it often depended on name similarity, but sometimes this was totally irrelevant. Numerous acts of fabrication and mistransmission resulted in the production of a huge amount of misnaming, where both the tombstones and their supporting legends were false, and the views of *ziyārah* books varied as a result.

Thus seen, the list of invented names of "false" mausolea rather represents the wishes and expectations of commoners, and it is in these falsely attached names that we may perceive their mentality and intentions. Through this method of positive participation in the dynamic life of cemeteries, we see an outburst of energy in the common people engaged in visiting cemeteries or inventing tombs.

Next, as stated above, cemeteries provided inhabitable places for the people, where they could enjoy benefits, or could hope for relief from economic hardships in their daily lives.[59] Large scale banquets, for instance, were held on occasions of celebration for the completion of distinguished buildings or to commemorate recovery from illness. Banquets were also held at communal prayers for the rise of the Nile or the abatement of the plague, at funerals, and feasts, where great quantities of food and money would be dispensed. Moreover, through various religious institutions, both *waqf* income and direct contributions from the state reached Sufis, the needy, and orphans. Numerous visitors to graveyards, needless to say, gave alms and made offerings. Under such circumstances, the masses apparently understood the cemeteries to be a place for sustenance. They could visit cemeteries in times of privation, and were advised to do so. Some of them went even further in order to obtain money or goods from visitors to al-Qarāfah.[60]

[59]The following argument was detailed in Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality," 34–39.
[60]Ibn al-Nāsikh, "Miṣbāḥ," fol. 68.

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Thus, ″many people desired to live there, because of . . . the frequency of alms and acts of charity toward the people of al-Qarāfah.″ It was also recorded that on Fridays, ″all the poor of Cairo go there to eat and to receive money which is given to them.″[61] I have previously analyzed this situation, and have explained it as a symbiotic relationship, wherein the wealth and good deeds of visitors were exchanged for rewards from Allāh, through the intercession of those who received them.[62] Indeed, this exchange was nicely depicted by Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥurayfīsh: ″The poor man is the rich man′s messenger, since when the rich man exercises almsgiving to the poor man with alms on behalf of his [deceased] parents or relatives, it will reach to the deceased; thus the poor man is the rich man′s messenger.″[63]

Tomb robbery would have been committed primarily by the common people. According to *ziyārah* treatises, *kafan* (the winding sheet for the deceased), *tābūt* (coffin), and tomb poles were stolen, and other sources list silver candlesticks, carpets, *sitr* (cover-cloths of a grave or coffin), copies of the Quran, lumber from a mausoleum′s ceiling, and windows. It was in 827/1427 and 918/1512 that the scandal of selling disinterred corpses to Europeans was publicized.[64] As for the plundering of graveyards, there was great unrest in 864/1459, and again in 901/1495, when natives of al-Ṣaḥrā' fled en masse to Cairo, due to plundering by bands of robbers. Some destruction of tombs was carried out as a result of political embroilments or private grudges. In one example, which occurred in 748/1347, a mob opened the grave of Amir Shujā' al-Dīn, stripping off his *kafan,* and burnt his remains.[65] When criminals were apprehended, rulers punished them severely, through methods such as beheading, cutting off their hands, whipping, crucifixion, or flaying of the face.[66]

Since al-Qarāfah comprised large open spaces, it offered refuge in times of emergency. For instance, ″in 702/1303, there was a great earthquake in Egypt and

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[61]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:444–45; P. H. Dopp, *L′Égypte au commencement quinzième siècle d′après le Traité d′Emmanuel Piloti de Crète* (Cairo, 1950), 34–35; G. Wiet, *Cairo: City of Art and Commerce* (Westport, 1964), 135.

[62]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 30–39; idem, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society,″ 180–81.

[63]Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥurayfīsh, *Rawḍ al-Fā'iq fī al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-Raqā'iq* (Cairo, 1949), 67–68.

[64]Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 136, Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 97, 321; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 75–76; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:306, 3:1:222, 4:2:661; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 5:159–60, 2:91–92, 3:205, 4:275–76.

[65]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:1:515; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Berkeley, 1930–42), 2:334; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:45, 55–56; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 197; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:599.

[66]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,*1:2:306; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:391; Y. Rāghib, ″Faux morts et enterrés vifs dans l′espace musulman,″ *Studia Islamica* 44 (1983): 26.

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Syria with collapsing houses, and a lot of people died under the debris. A tsunami ensued due to the earthquake, and wrecked many ships. The earthquake lasted for forty days; people fled to al-Qarāfah and pitched tents for themselves. It so affected Alexandria that the sea rose to the middle of the city.″[67] Also, in 699/1300, a large number of troops conscripted by the Mamluk government stayed in the Qarāfah and other places due to a shortage of housing.[68] The stopping place for the aforementioned king of al-Takrūr was al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá, and the *wālī* (governor) of al-Qarāfah and Fusṭāṭ, Amir Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Amīr Ḥājib took care of him. Similarly, in 783/1338, the daughter of the Marinid ruler Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī, known as al-Ḥurrah, stayed in al-Qarāfah with a group of four hundred Meccan pilgrims. These facts reveal that the cemeteries not only contained open spaces, but also were supplied with sources of water and food.[69]

The Ulama´s Attachment to Cemeteries

For the ulama, Mamluk society offered more positions in religious institutions than in previous times, and some of them were established in Cairene cemeteries.[70] That is to say, cemetery areas provided places for their employment and education. To take some examples, al-Madrasah al-Nāṣirīyah (or al-Ṣalāḥīyah), near Qubbat al-Imām al-Shāfiʻī, was of crucial importance, as is shown by the fact that al-Qalqashandī regarded it as one of the positions suitable for high-ranking *mudarrisūn* (professors).[71] *Mudarrisūn* and shaykhs were employed there, as we can see in the historical literature.[72] Names of *khānqāh*s in the Qarāfahs, whose positions for ulama were known, included those of Tuquztamur, Baktamur, al-Karīmīyah, al-Ṭaydamurīyah, (Arghūn al-ʻAlāʼī and Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd), and notably Khānqāh Qawṣūn (near the Qarāfah Gate) which comprised a shaykh and fifty Sufis with abundant *waqf*s at its opening in 736/1335.[73] Also, *khānqāh*s and *turbah*s in al-Ṣaḥrāʼ

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[67]Al-Suyūṭī, *Kashf al-Silsilah ʻan Waṣf al-Zilzilah* (Medina, 1404 A.H.), 118. Cf. Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʼil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 592–94.

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:898.

[69]Ibid., 2:2:447–48; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:142–43; Levtzion, ″Mamluk Egypt and *Takrûr.*″

[70]According to the assertion of I. Lapidus, ulama of relevant age included *fuqahā*ʼ (jurists), judges, scholars, teachers, Quran reciters, hadith reciters, Sufis, functionaries of religious institutions, professional witnesses, and so on. Moreover, many ulama were appointed by the state as bureaucrats, or could be part-time merchants. Even workers, craftsmen, or people of lower strata could become ulama. Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), 107–15.

[71]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 9:256.

[72]Examples are too numerous to be listed, including al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīd,* 1:377; *Al-Sulūk,* 1:1:302; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn,* 2:135; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 4:229; and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977), 1:2:174.

[73]K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlûkensultâne* (Leiden, 1919), 190–91, 227–28.

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included Khānqāh Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, Turbat Khushqadam, and Turbat Barqūq.[74] The shift from a shaykh post in one *khānqāh* to another was a frequent occurrence.[75] Other institutions in these cemeteries, to which appointments are recorded, included Mashhad al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, *zāwiyah*s, *turbah*s, *ribāṭ*s, *jāmi'*s, etc.[76] In those foundations, ulama found employment in positions such as *shaykh* (leader), *mudarris* (teacher), *nāẓir* (administrator), *khaṭīb* (preacher), hired Sufis, *khādim* (servant), and so forth. Further, other institutions in these cemetery areas might have employed ulama in operating positions, such as Jāmi' Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, Ribāṭ Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Quzul, Jāmi' al-Afram, and Jāmi' Ibn al-Labbān.[77]

For ulama as well, Cairene cemeteries were places for visiting tombs, being entombed, and occasionally living, as noted earlier. Even a well-known biographer of the age such as Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) visited the cemetery frequently, and left eyewitness observations in his *Wafayāt*. In addition, in his chronicle, Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) repeatedly cites the words of his comrades who visited al-Qarāfah.[78]

Cemetery areas also provided employment for Sufis, as mentioned above, and there were several magnet spots for Sufi practices, centering around certain *zāwiyah*s, such as Zāwiyat Abū al-Su'ūd and Zāwiyat (or Ribāṭ) Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Manṣūr, in addition to *khānqāh*s, *turbah*s, and *zāwiyah*s founded by the ruling elite. These examples were strongly related to the *ṭarīq*/*ṭarīqah* (way) of al-Shādhilīyah. *Zāwiyah*s in the Qarāfahs are thought to have provided places of contact between ulama and visitors to cemeteries, whereby the visitors could participate in the religious gatherings and rituals conducted there. Moreover, ascetic practices in the Muqaṭṭam region and the cemeteries beneath it were conducted by Sufis.[79]

Furthermore, it was significant that ulama intervened in cemetery areas through

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Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* 2:425; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:273, 2:3:688, 698, 748, 755–56, 3:1:194; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:45; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:121; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:104; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:2:239; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Durar al-Kāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67), 2:333; Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* (Sidon, 2002), 1:150, 2:22, 323; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:236.

[74]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 1:283; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,* 1:377.

[75]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:998.

[76]Concerning Mashhad al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, see, for instance, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:135, 189, 403.

[77]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:298, 303, 324, 367. As for the construction activities of the ruling elite, see Chapter 4.

[78]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:171, 174, 218, 318, 349, 2:292, 338, 516, 3:129, 162, 222, 317, 318, 4:72, 192, 462; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 5:33, 70, 158, 185, 190.

[79]For more detail, see Ohtoshi, *"Taṣawwuf* as Reflected in *Ziyāra* Books and the Cairo Cemeteries." The meaning of the term "Sufi" widened during this period, and many ulama were encompassed by this term, hence I included Sufis in this section.

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their juridical and religious functions; for example, they criticized the manners of visiting tombs and the tombs′ appearance, judged how to inter the dead, and so forth. Ulama could express their judgments based upon shari'ah (Islamic law), which often took the form of condemning *bid'ah* regularly performed by the people, such as visits by women or their mingling with strangers, *nadhr* (an offering often accompanied with a vow), praying to entombed ″saints,″ leading to their veneration, ostentatious graves, singing and dancing with musical instruments at the cemetery, walking on graves with shoes, etc.[80] Through these accusations, the ulama established their ″authority,″ and retained their sphere of activity. To cite a well-known incident in this regard, al-'Izz Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, the *sulṭān al-'ulamā'* (d. 660/1262), criticized the existence of ostentatious tombs in Cairene cemeteries and activities that took place there, and reportedly succeeded in persuading Sultan Baybars to have all such tombs razed, although it was never enforced.[81]

CEMETERIES AND THE DYNASTIC ELITE[82]

In this section, I will attempt to show how the ruling elite interrelated with Cairene cemeteries in ways not connected to their supervision, which will be discussed next. First are the *ziyārah*s of sultans or their entourages, which had a long history among the Muslim rulers of Egypt. From the time of the legendary Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 270/884) and his son Khumarawayh (d. 282/896), and Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī (d. 357/968), through the Fatimids (al-Ḥākim, al-Āmir, Amīr al-Juyūsh al-Afḍal, Vizier al-Ma'mūn, al-Ẓāfir, and al-'Āḍid), to the Ayyubid sultan Kāmil, rulers and their retainers are said to have engaged in the *ziyārah*.[83] The tradition is assumed to have persisted during the Mamluk period, for Sultan Baybars is portrayed as having followed their example.[84] Even if we confine ourselves to the Burji Mamluk period, we can see the *ziyārah* of sultans occurred frequently, i.e., Barqūq (786/1384, 796/1394, 797/1395), Faraj (812/1409), Mu'ayyad (*al-du'ā'* at al-Ṣaḥrā' in 822/1419), Barsbāy (841/1438), Jaqmaq (845/1442), Īnāl (865/1461), Aḥmad ibn Īnāl (865/1461), Khushqadam (866/1462, 870/1465, 871/1466, 871/1467),

[80]See Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 19–44; idem, ″The Egyptian City of the Dead and Visits to Holy Graves,″ Chapter 1.
[81]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 173–74.
[82]Herein, ″ruling elites″ or ″dynastic elites″ include sultans, military elites, high-ranking officials, and 'Abbasid caliphs who immigrated to Cairo, etc.
[83]Ibn 'Uthmān, ″Murshid,″ fols. 91b–92a, 163a; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 67, 72, 84, 126; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 40–41; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 4:103–4; Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fols. 103, 115, 164; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* 2:102, 3:118; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:484, 2:461; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 214; Ibn Ma'mūn, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 42, 64.
[84]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:499, 501, 520, Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 154.

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Qāytbāy (872/1468, 874/1469, 874/1470, 876/1471, 876/1472, 882/1478, 885/1480, 885/1481, 886/1482), Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy (901/1496), Ghawrī (913/1508, 914/1508, 915/1510, 918/1512, 920/1514, 922/1516), and Tūmān Bāy.[85] Some retainers followed suit on *ziyārah* activities, or even took the initiative, such as Yūnus ibn ʻUmar, who is reported to have visited al-Qarāfah every Friday.[86] Along with these visits, the ruling class performed charitable activities such as distributing *ṣadaqah* (alms) and food. Even when they could not visit the cemeteries personally, they arranged for these distributions. Since these cemetery areas contained the sepulchers of the elites′ relatives, frequent reports of visits to them can also be found.

Further, as mentioned above, members of the ruling elite also competed in the building of architectural works in cemeteries.[87] They constructed madrasahs, mosques, and *khānqāh*s in their names, and *turbah*s for their own entombment. Those buildings and institutions obviously reflect the religious policy or the personal attitude of each member of the ruling elite, and they also can be considered to be closely related to their *ziyārah* activities and the development of the northeast al-Ṣaḥrā' area.

It is widely known that these religious institutions were administered by the *waqf* system. A large number of tombs in the cemeteries were devastated in the vicissitudes of time, and crumbled into the soil. In order to avoid this, considerable efforts were exerted. The first method taken, under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī, was the government′s direct commitment to the administration of holy sepulchers by nominating managers to live there, paying them stipends *(jirāyāt),* and also making monthly payments to *faqīr*s (poor, Sufis) and *awliyā'* (″saints″), and enabling

[85]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 184–85; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:1:515, 807, 4:1:487–89, 4:2:1028; ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn fī Man Waliya Miṣr min al-Salāṭīn* (Cairo, 1987), 119; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:383–84, 2:252, 455–56, 3:401; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 7:356–58; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:45–46, 180, 374, 449, 3:10, 336, 4:126, 133, 169, 253, 382, 5:38; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. ʻA. Qarmūt (Cairo, 1985–), 1:362–63; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:91, 16:290; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* 3:542; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 159; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Anbā' al-ʻAṣr* (Cairo, 1970), 136, 148, 150, 327; Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal,* 6:107, 131, 225, 249, 250, 264, 319, 321, 415, 7:16, 201, 250, 262, 294; Ibn Zunbul, *Ākhir al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, n.d.), 144.

[86]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 468.

[87]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 185; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 345; Anon., *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Ḥulá Ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1970), 192; ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn,* 58, 81, 93, 131, 137, 140, 152; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 7:170, 9:388–89; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:236, 3:33–34, 243; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 8:236, 12:103, 15:348, 16:97; idem, *Ḥawādith*, 1:397; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 4:124; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:324, 416–18, 425, 428; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:1:86, 2:2:390, 516, 540, 2:1:238, 273, 2:3:688, 698, 706, 748, 755–756, 911; etc.

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travelers to stay there.[88] Second, the operations of tomb structures were carried out with *waqf* income. The elite and others endowed their property as *waqf* for the maintenance of tombs, mausolea, or *khānqāh*s, and appointed overseers *(nāẓir, mutawallī)* of these institutions. *Waqf* endowments were no longer designated exclusively to the public infrastructure, nor to the mausolea of those who had won the veneration of the populace. On the contrary, influential families increasingly administered their own *turbah*s through the *waqf* system, diminishing the social redistribution aspect which this system originally boasted.[89]

Specifically, the list of persons who were recorded as having established *waqf*s included sultans, high-ranking amirs, qadis, ulama, and so-called saints *(awliyā')*. We are able to confirm the sources of *waqf* income as *iqṭā'*s of certain lands, or rent from buildings. Structures founded by *waqf*s included the famous mausolea of Imām al-Shāfi'ī, Ikhwat Yūsuf, and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *turbah*s of sultans or member of the ruling elite, and the facilities of religious institutions.[90] Sultan Baybars was famed for establishing a *waqf* for the ritual washing, *kafan,* and burial of the dead who had no relatives.[91]

An illustration of tomb management according to the *waqf* system can be found in the mausoleum of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235). In the days of Sultan Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61), Amir Tamur and his descendants managed the operation, building a mausoleum with *waqf* donations, holding a banquet, performing charity works, and paying stipends *(jāmakīyah)* to the *khādim*.[92]

As for the administration of the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, the Abbasid caliphs, who had immigrated to Cairo due to the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, took charge of it. The first caliph to be buried in al-Qarāfah near al-Sayyidah Nafīsah was al-Ḥākim (d. 701/1302), and afterwards this became the practice.[93] They began to live near the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, a holy area suitable for caliphs. This is understandable since she might have been one of the

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[88]Ibn Jubayr, *Al-Riḥlah,* 20–24.

[89]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ,″ 174. In the case of Turbat al-Ṣūfīyah, the shaykh of *al-khānqāh* took money from those who wished to be entombed there, in exchange for burial. See al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 31–32.

[90]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ,″ 175; Ibn 'Uthmān, ″Murshid,″ fol. 226b; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 178; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Nahj al-Sadīd,* 134–35; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 147; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 99; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 382–83; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:638, 2:2:442, 3:2:944–45, 4:1:457.

[91]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ,″ 175; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:638.

[92]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ,″ 175; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 382–83.

[93]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Mukhtār al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1993), 118; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Nahj al-Sadīd*, 585; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 136; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah* (Cairo, 1968), 2:62.

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most admired people in pre-modern Egypt, and also, in a broad sense, they could be regarded as of the same lineage.[94] Then, after the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (r. 753–63/1352–62), sultans began to entrust its *naẓar* (superintendency, controllership) to successive caliphs instead of appointing administrative officials.[95] Since caliphs stood to benefit a great deal from *nudhūr* (offerings) to this mausoleum, when they were deprived of this post during the years 766–88/1365–87, and after the Ottoman conquest, it caused them a great loss.[96] They benefited from donated objects such as candles and oil, and also from offerings of money placed in the box beneath the head end of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah's tomb.[97] Additionally, the *mawlid* of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah began to be known as "the caliph's *mawlid*," as he was a main part of this celebration. It should also be noted that, notwithstanding the fact that caliphs were in charge of the mausoleum, the management of its *waqf* was assigned to the *mustawfī* (accountant), and one of them might have been a Muslim convert from among the Copts. The names of a *khādim* and a *shāhid al-khizānah* employed there are also mentioned in the sources.[98]

Let us now move on to more details of *waqf* operations in Cairene cemeteries. As shown above, expenses for managing mausolea through the *waqf* system included specified items, such as *ṣadaqah,* banquets for the "poor," and stipends for supervisors and Quran reciters. It should be added that payments were made from *waqf* income to visitors to the Qarāfah, as I have detailed elsewhere.[99] For example, the *waqf* document of Amir Mithqāl mentions stipends of twenty dirhams per month to two reciters at the mausoleum of Ibn Labbān in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá. In the *waqf* document of Sultan Barsbāy, the *waqf* was reserved for a *zāwiyah,* a *sabīl* (public fountain), Quran reciters, etc.[100]

The following case is from the *waqf* document of a leading historian, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), through which we attempt to trace the details of administration of a mausoleum according to the *waqf* system.[101] This was not a

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[94]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 6:21, 51; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn,* 67; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* (Beirut, 1988), 551.

[95]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 136; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:609, 3:1:76; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:72.

[96]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:17, 378, 5:192, al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām,* 1:123.

[97]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 5:192; cf. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:306; *Al-Sulūk,* 3:1:76; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:1:587–88.

[98]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:180; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:693; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:2:644.

[99]Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality," 21; wathīqah waqfīyah, Sūdūn min Zāda al-Ẓāhirī, Dār al-Wathā'iq no. 58, 804 A.H.

[100]M. Meinecke, *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amîrs Sâbiq al-Dîn Miṯqâl al-Ânûkî* (Mainz, 1980), 164; *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy* (Cairo, 1963), 45–48, 50–52, 58; etc.

[101]'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Waqfīyat Ibn Taghrībirdī," in *Al-Mu'arrikh Ibn Taghrībirdī* (Cairo, 1974), 183–221. Concerning studies of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, see Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "Professor 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm on Archive Studies," *Yamagata Daigaku Shigaku Ronshū* 16 (1996): 1–13.

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mausoleum of saints, but rather a mausoleum run by an influential family for themselves.

The *waqf* endowments for this mausoleum in al-Ṣaḥrā' consisted of several properties, including buildings in the Barjawān quarter of Cairo and on the Nile shore at Būlāq, and shares from two parcels of land in the Gharbīyah district of the Delta. The structures of this mausoleum described in the *waqf* document were *īwān al-qiblah,* used as a mosque, four *fasāqī* (family vaults) for the endower's four families, a wide *ḥawsh* (courtyard, walled enclosure) for burial, a *qā'ah* (hall) and *riwāq* (portico, apartment), toilets, an *isṭabl* (stable), a *maṭbakh* (kitchen), *ṭibāq* (living units) and *khalāwī* (Sufi cells) for employees of the mausoleum, a *sabīl* (fountain) and a *ṣihrīj* (cistern) under it, and a *maktab* upstairs in the *sabīl* as a place for children to study. All of these were to meet the demands of residents of the mausoleum and visitors, particularly the families of the *waqf* endowers.

Regarding duties and allowances for operating the mausoleum, the following conditions were set in the *waqf* document: 400 (dirhams per month; the same monetary unit is employed hereafter) for the *bawwāb* (gate-keeper); the *muzammalātī,* who was in charge of the *sabīl,* was given 300, also 300 for the water suppliers, 500 for the *farrāsh* (janitor), who would clean up or sweep the mausoleum and prepare the lamps and frankincense, 150 each as scholarships for ten young orphans and sons of needy people, 300 for their teacher, 150 each for two Quran reciters for the tomb of the *waqf* endower; 200 each for the *shādd* (superintendent) of the *waqf* and its buildings, and *khāzin al-kutub* (librarian). The repair and maintenance of the mausoleum cost 200, 500 for the supervisor *(nāẓir)* of the mausoleum and its *waqf,* 300 for shaykhs who recited the Quran every morning in shifts at the *īwān* of the mausoleum; also 150 each for nine other Sufis, and so forth. Moreover, stipulations set by the *waqf* endower reveal that, for instance, Sufis and their shaykh in the mausoleum should not leave their posts or neglect their duties, except in cases of illness or the pilgrimage to Mecca. Likewise, the *bawwāb* and other employees should live in the mausoleum.

As seen from this document, the mausoleum of Ibn Taghrībirdī combined various functions including a mosque for prayer, locations for Sufi practices and education, and tombs. Thus, it should be pointed out that the number of religious complexes, which were variously known as *khānqāh*s, *ribāṭ*s, *zāwiyah*s, *turbah*s, *qubbah*s, madrasahs, and mosques, expanded in this age. In Cairene cemetery areas the growth of these institutions was widespread, to the point where shaykhs with their disciples, employees, and their families dwelled together, as exemplified in the aforementioned case of the Khānqāh Qawṣūn near the Qarāfah Gate, which comprised a shaykh and fifty Sufis, supported by abundant *waqf*s.

The ruling elite of the Mamluk dynasty would conduct collective prayers in

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cemeteries, for the rising of the Nile River, or the abatement of plague.[102] Given that pestilence raged, people in Egypt tended to flee from the land in defiance of *fatwá*s telling them to remain, or rely on talismans, yet there was no better plan than to implore Allāh who presides over all things. Some of them, however, not only considered this prevalence of pestilence as the fury of Allāh, but went so far as to destroy places of amusement, alcohol, and hashish, prohibiting women from going out, and attacking Christian quarters, in the name of eradicating corruption.[103] An account of a communal prayer in the Ṣaḥrā' area is described as follows:

> [In 822/1419] the pestilence prevailed and sudden death increased so that people began to tremble. Hence, the sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh proclaimed three days of fasting through the *muḥtasib*. After three days′ fasting, people went out to the Ṣaḥrā'. The caliph, *fuqarā'*, ulama, major Sufis, judges, and common people with the vizier and an *ustādār* (steward) marched to the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (Barqūq). They lifted a caliph′s banner and the Quran, raising invocations to Allāh. Groups of Jews and Christians also attended raising the Torah and the Gospels, respectively. The sultan wore wool like a Sufi; on his horse was a plain cloth. As the sultan arrived at the back enclosure of Barqūq′s mausoleum, he prayed tearfully, rubbing his face on the ground. Enormous amounts of food and slaughtered beasts were distributed to the poor. More than thirty thousand pieces of bread were also dispensed, and the people kept on praying [abridged].[104]

Similar events were repeated in 749/1349, 775/1373, 806/1403, 818/1416, 822/1419, 823/1420, 833/1430, and 854/1450, whenever the plague was rampant, or the Nile failed to rise. Al-Ṣaḥrā' and the fringe of al-Qarāfah, al-Raṣad and al-Āthār al-Nabī were spots used for such events.[105] Collective marching and prayer beneath al-

[102]Ohtoshi, ″Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s,″ 42–43, idem, ″Conception of ′Egypt′ in the Pre-Modern Period: Preliminary Essay,″ 23.

[103]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 185–86; H. Ḥabashī, ″Al-Iḥtikār al-Mamlūkī wa-'Ilāqatuhu bi-al-Ḥālah al-Ṣiḥḥīyah,″ *Ḥawlīyāt Kullīyat al-Ādāb bi-Jāmi'at Ayn Shams* 9 (1964); 133–57; Q. 'A. Qāsim, *Al-Nīl wa-al-Mujtama' al-Miṣrī fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1978), Chapter 2; Tāshkubrī′zādah, *Risālat al-Shifā' li-Adwā' al-Wabā'* (Cairo, 1292 A.H.), 38–39; M. Dols, *The Black Death In the Middle East,* Chapters 4 and 6.

[104]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:2:487–89; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:455–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:77–79; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 1:362–63; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 7:356; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:45–46.

[105]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:1:531, 2:128, 282–83; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 5:134–35,

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Muqaṭṭam carried out by a combination of Muslims, Copts, and Jews can be traced back to the Tulunid period, in 270/884.[106] The above quotation brings up at least five points at issue, when collated with other historical sources. The first is that the official character of the Ṣaḥrā' area, and in particular, the back enclosure of the Barqūq mausoleum should be underscored. Collective prayers led by the ruling elite would have been held in this northeast area, whereas most of the common people would pray in the more southern al-Qarāfah area, except perhaps when they were recruited to the northeast. Second, Jews and Copts were mobilized in these official prayers, without fail. This may have been rational, as many Copts were employed in the financial offices of the government, and this mass ritual itself was held by the ruler and his government. Yet, without the entire set of these *dhimmī*s, I have suggested, the total image of ″Egypt″ would not have been complete, which might have made the ritual less effective.[107] Third, related to the second point, the attendance and support of the masses was vital. Their participation was indispensable for the pious deeds of almsgiving and food distribution to gain merits, whether in the mundane world or the hereafter. Viewed from the point of view of the commoners who were associated with this ritual, what they obtained there could be regarded as wages or remuneration for their attendance. Fourth, rituals performed in times of the Nile′s failure to rise and the prevalence of pestilence bore a close resemblance; countermeasures for the plague were considered to be of the same dimension as natural disasters, and all these were believed to be ultimately under the control of Allāh. Fifth, the sultan dressed like a Sufi, expressing himself as sincere and humble; his manner can be interpreted as behaving as an intercessor to Allāh for all the people in the land.

Meanwhile, banquets *(walīmah, simāṭ)* on a large scale were often given by the ruling class in the cemetery areas. As stated earlier, rulers and the military elite were ardent in their support of construction activities in cemeteries, and every celebration for the completion of a building such as a *khānqāh,* for the recovery of health, or collective prayers, was marked by this sort of banquet. It was considered more a religious ritual than an amusement, and included recitation of the Quran, almsgiving on a large scale, and the distribution of food and slaughtered

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7:385–86; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:780–81, 3:1:219, 4:3:749, 822–23; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 1:90; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:204–5, 14:97–98, 15:424–25; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 1:244, 383; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:184; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, repr. 1974), 311–12.

[106]Ohtoshi, ″Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s,″ 42–43.

[107]Additionally, Copts performed communal prayers for the swelling of the Nile yearly in churches, holding festivals along the Nile. All this may have created the impression of Copts as having a special relationship with this river. See Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 75–76, 96; Ibn al-Muqaffá (attributed), *Kitāb Siyar al-Ābā' al-Baṭārikah,* 2:3:213.

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beasts. Many people of influence, those connected to religious institutions, and *faqīr*s assembled there.[108] All these factors, including the above-mentioned *ziyārāt* and the construction projects of rulers, lead to the conclusion that Cairene cemeteries formed a legitimate stage for rulers to act justly and generously. Moreover, on this stage one could be sanctified through the solemn atmosphere of the Cairene cemetery areas. At the same time, these places offered points of close contact between the ruling class and the common people, on occasions such as *ziyārah, ṣadaqah,* and *walīmah*. Through the information networks among people of religious affairs, and hearsay among the commoners, news of the good deeds of the ruling elite may have spread from the cemeteries throughout the domain. If we look at it from the governmental point of view, notwithstanding that they might have sincerely aspired to the fulfillment of their prayers, such banquets could also be taken as a measure to win popularity among the masses.

The Ṣaḥrā' area was included in the itineraries of sultans´ parades, for the area seems to have played a significant symbolic role in solemnifying the parades. Sultans, in their customary parade of enthronement, would first head for the Qubbat al-Naṣr in al-Ṣaḥrā', then enter Cairo from the northern Naṣr Gate, and after marching through the decorated city, they would go out from the southern Zuwaylah Gate to return to the citadel, traversing a counterclockwise arc. Some of these parades are reported to have included Copts and Jews in their company. The shorter version of this parade, which made a circuit only around the citadel, also attached importance to the parade from the Qarāfah Gate. These courses were proper in a practical sense, but also served to demonstrate dignity, authority, and sanctity.[109] Moreover, in 659/1261, Sultan Baybars held a ceremony of enthronement in the vicinity of al-Qarāfah, which is understandable given the Qarāfah´s function as a solemn stage, and its open spaces. Furthermore, in 677/1278, the ceremony of mourning one year after the death of Sultan Baybars was held in al-Qarāfah, and meals were served in tents, and ″people of different classes assembled therein.″[110] Likewise in 814/1411, Sultan Faraj held an appointment ceremony for a caliph, a qadi, and others at the mausoleum of Barqūq, indicating the official ceremonial characteristics of this area, as well as recognizing the majesty of his late father (Barqūq), and demonstrating legitimacy to his subjects.[111]

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[108]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:41; Ibn Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir fī Nuṣrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy* (Beirut, 1983), 52–53; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 190–91, 227–28; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:333–41; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:261–62, 2:2:390, 403.

[109]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:41, 8:57, 87, 16:78–79; idem, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 77; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 236; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:941–43, 2:2:343, 379; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:390, 425; Abū Ṣāliḥ (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 75–76, 220.

[110]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:648.

[111]Ibid., 452, 459, 461, 4:1:174–75; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 424; Ibn al-Dawādārī,

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Another important aspect of cemetery areas was military training and the games of horsemen. In the Mamluk period, games combined with military exercises, such as the lancers´ exercises (sing. *la'b rammāḥ*), polo, and *qabaq* (a game in which a rider shoots arrows at a standing guitar-shaped target), were put in force as the practice of *furūsīyah* (chivalry), and some of their playing fields *(mayādīn)* were located in the cemetery districts. They included Maydān al-Qabaq in al-Ṣaḥrā', Maydān al-Nāṣirī on the periphery of al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, and the space in front of the mausoleum of al-Ḥarrār in al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá alongside the Ḥabash Lake.[112] Maydān al-Nāṣirī was recognized as the playing field for polo, and Maydān al-Qabaq was known, as the name indicates, for the playing of the *qabaq* game. Notably, at circumcision ceremonies for sons of the ruling class, as well as games of *qabaq,* robes of honor were bestowed on principal figures of the dynasty, and a plenitude of goods was dispensed.[113]

Furthermore, lancers´ exercises were repeated before the mausoleum of al-Ḥarrār. This custom began being conducted at the time of *dawrān al-maḥmil* (the ceremonial city circuit of the pilgrimage palanquin sent to Mecca), and on the first occasion, which was in the month of Rajab (there were two annually), was carried out in al-Qarāfah. Lancers in red garments and their horses, both armored, took part in mock battles. Young troopers standing on clogs fixed on their horses swung lances in both hands in staged combat. Upper class and common people alike would take pleasure in watching the games.[114] This exercise of lancers during the *dawrān al-maḥmil* became established as an annual observance, and as early as in 822/1419, it served to amuse Cairo/Fusṭāṭ inhabitants. Consequently, when it was cancelled, such as in 836/1433, 839/1436, and 848/1444, due to demoralization or military expeditions, the people were greatly disappointed and grew indignant. Conversely, their delight in the revival of this event was all the greater, yet when it resumed in 857/1453 after a ten-year interval, the details had already been forgotten, and, in 910/1505 and 920/1514, it was viewed as an old custom.[115]

Kanz, 8:73.

[112]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 188–90; J. Jomier, *Le mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque* (Cairo, 1953), 35–42; D. Ayalon, ″Notes on the Furūsiyya Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 31–62; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Deux jeux sportifs en Égypte,″ *Annales islamologiques* 7 (1974): 95–130.

[113]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 8:16; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:243–44; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:517–18.

[114]Ibn Ẓahīrah, *Al-Faḍā'il al-Bāhirah fī Maḥāsin Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1969), 200; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:57–58; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:517–18. Cf. Al-Aḥdab, *Al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Manāṣib al-Ḥarbīyah* (Baghdad, 1984), 138–39; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:272 ff.

[115]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 1:15, 2:180; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:76, 366, 16:68; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk,* 95–96; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:143, 4:72, 391.

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During lancers′ practices, the *mu‘allim* (commander) of the band of lancers, accompanied by four pashas *(bāshāt al-arba‘ah),* led the army corps. Qāytbāy, the amir of one thousand, was noted as a master at this practice; he would always perform this exercise at al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, aside from the *maḥmil′*s circuits. In addition, he innovated a new ceremony in which the Mamluks, four pashas, and a *mu‘allim* would dismount in the order named and kiss the ground in front of the sultan.[116]

These exercises of military training and games denote not only that Cairene cemetery zones contained wide open spaces and were located beneath the citadel, which was the base for the troops, but also that they provided a place for contact with the common populace, as in cases of royal parades and rituals, which served as another measure for cultivating personal popularity and for impressing upon the people the rulers′ dignity and legitimacy.

Despite the fact that Cairene graveyards were primarily sanctuaries comprised of sepulchers and religious institutions (as they occupied the area around the citadel, and also contained many open spaces), they became arenas for political actions of the ruling elite, particularly amirs and Mamluks.[117] Accordingly, one of the several gates of the citadel, Bāb al-Qarāfah, became a strategic point of the dynasty, manned by Mamluks and even blockaded if necessary.[118] These political actions can be summarized as follows: First, *turbah*s, madrasahs, and a *burj* (tower) in the Qarāfahs were utilized for informal confinement. In 678/1280, for instance, after his dismissal, Vizier Burhān al-Dīn was ordered to confine himself in a madrasah in the Qarāfah. Then, in 723/1323, the qadi Karīm al-Dīn was subjected to arrest and confiscation, and was placed under confinement in a mausoleum.[119] Second, during struggles for supremacy or for other reasons, several members of the elite concealed themselves within mausolea, their *fisqīyah,* or *zāwiyah*s, in ways that can be interpreted as a demonstration of the asylum aspect of Cairene cemeteries. Amir Lājīn (693/1294), Yashbak (803/1401), and Jarbāsh

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[116]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 3:455–57, 493; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:268; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā’ al-Haṣr,* 332.

[117]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 190–92.

[118]Not only the Bāb al-Qarāfah of the citadel, but also the Bāb al-Sirr likely connected the citadel with al-Qarāfah district. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:445, 2:1:229, 2:2:478, 2:3:600, 877, 3:1:274, 383, 3:2:604, 612, 632; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:58; idem, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 77; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:360; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 184; al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* (Beirut, 1986), 144.

[119]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:156; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:293; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:345; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:310–11; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 173; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:247–48, 255; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* 2:383.

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(865/1461) typify this aspect, and one of them was besieged and arrested there.[120] Third, examples of assassinations and murders there are too numerous to count. The two Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā' were advantageous in that corpses could be buried there immediately after a homicide. In 648/1251, 746/1346, and 748/1348, amirs assassinated sultans and entombed them there.[121] Fourth, battles in cemetery sections were best exemplified in the case of 804/1402, whereby a force of Amir Nawrūz took up a position near the Ḥabash Lake, were defeated by Sultan Faraj at the periphery of al-Qarāfah, and some major personnel were captured.[122]

As seen here, Cairene cemetery areas, which had been essentially the sanctuary of Egyptians, took on some aspects of what could be called, in my expression, ″the courtyard of the Mamluks,″ which the military elite frequented as a result of their location (surrounding the citadel and being situated between the two cities of Cairo and Fusṭāṭ). Nevertheless, the government made vigorous efforts to supervise graveyard areas, which I will discuss next.

Further, regarding the interrelationships between big merchants and the cemetery districts, they were interred there, visited tombs of acquaintances or mausolea, and might themselves become objects of *ziyārah* if they became venerated by the people. What is more, they dispensed alms, or at least the people hoped that they would, as with the aforementioned merchant who was surrounded by the needy in the cemetery.[123] Some of them might have built religious institutions or shops, yet these sites would not primarily be for profit, but for the spending of profit.

GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION OF CEMETERIES[124]

Crime, political activities, the reputation of cemeteries as pleasure resorts where people of both genders and all ages and social strata mixed, and vulnerability to outside invasion: all these characteristics may have led rulers to regard Cairene cemeteries as disquieting and dangerous spaces. In addition, their location just beneath the citadel, the focal point of Mamluk rule, containing tombs of the ruling

[120]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 3:239; Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal,* 6:126; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:516; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:268, 448; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1063; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah,* 8:173; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:113; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:628, 2:386, 3:436.

[121]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:18, 381–82; al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn, Bulletin d'études orientales* 15 (1958): 41, 44; al-'Aynī, *Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī* (Cairo, 1966–67), 214; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 2:313, idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:172–173, Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:1:518, al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:730, 737, 742–744, 3:1:332, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 2:84–85.

[122]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:140–41; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,* 1:574–81.

[123]See note 60. One of the Kārimī merchants, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 769/1368), built a large *turbah* in al-Qarāfah (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369).

[124]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 182–84.

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elite themselves and their relatives, made them important. Through the supervision of solemn spaces where people came into contact with holiness, rulers may have endeavored to show their dignity. The Mamluk government, therefore, made strenuous efforts to supervise the cemeteries, and repeatedly took measures such as prohibiting women´s visits.

The memorandum *(tadhkirah)* of the amir Kitbughā should be reexamined in this context. Issued in 679/1281 by Sultan Qalāwūn to Vice Sultan Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, the memorandum was also directed at all subjects by its being read at each minbar (pulpit). It contained directives regarding the two Qarāfahs, such as ″*mujarradūn* (night watches) are to be customarily arranged around both Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, as well as in the district of al-Qarāfah. . . . It should not be neglected even for one night, and *mujarradūn* are not to leave their posts except at dawn or in complete daylight,″ or ″on Friday nights, men and women should not assemble at the two Qarāfahs; particularly, women are prohibited from this.″[125]

The *muḥtasib* (inspector of markets and public morals) should also inspect graveyards and their moral order, as is reflected in the *ḥisbah* treatises. Namely, he should oversee the selection of burial sites, methods concerning ablution of the dead, burial, visiting of tombs, as well as the shape of tombs, and he should also prevent women from ostentatious lamentation, visiting graves, and following the bier.[126] The ulama of all the schools of law supported enforcing discipline in cemetery areas, or even took the initiative in enforcement. Some of them cooperated with the governing authorities, and undertook to investigate alleged holy tombs outside the mortuary zones, moving them into a cemetery if they were legitimate.[127]

Furthermore, although executions were ordinarily carried out in the citadel and other places, graveyards, too, could function as execution grounds. This should be reinvestigated in relation to the supervision of cemetery regions. Mainly grave robbers were executed therein; however, in 793/1391, some influential amirs, who had been imprisoned, were beheaded in al-Ṣaḥrā'.[128] Yet, a more consistent and systematic measure for supervising cemeteries was created: the establishment of the office of *wālī al-Qarāfah* (governor of al-Qarāfah).[129]

According to al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), the police districts *(wilāyāt al-*

[125]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:197; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 8:94; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997), 105–23.
[126]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (London, 1938), 46–51; Yaḥyá ibn 'Umar al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq* (Cairo, 2004), 68–69.
[127]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:649; Ohtoshī, ″Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society,″ 241–51.
[128]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:331; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:1:515; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:306.
[129]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 182–84.

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shurṭah) of Mamluk Cairo and its surroundings were divided into three quarters: *wilāyat al-Qāhirah* (Cairo), *wilāyat Miṣr* (Fusṭāṭ), and *wilāyat al-Qarāfah.* An *amīr ʻasharah* was appointed as the *wālī* of al-Qarāfah under the supervision of the *wālī Miṣr;* nonetheless, at the time *Ṣubḥ* was written, the Qarāfah district was incorporated into the Fusṭāṭ district. After the annexation, the Fusṭāṭ *wālī* was upgraded and the office assumed by an *amīr ṭablkhānah,* still less than the Cairo *wālī.*[130] We will attempt to collate this account with those in other chronicles of the same period that show some discrepancies.

In 786/1385, ″the first″ (according to al-Maqrīzī) *wālī al-Qarāfah* (a separate position from *wālī Miṣr*) the amir of ten Sulaymān al-Kurdī, was nominated by Sultan Barqūq.[131] Perhaps before this, the governors *(wālī, mutawallī)* of al-Qarāfah were appointed occasionally, as noted in historical sources, such as in the Fatimid period (Ibn Shuʻlah al-Kutāmī), 672/1274, 724/1324 (Amir Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Amīr Ḥājib, who was said to have been *wālī* of al-Qarāfah and Fusṭāṭ), and 737/1336–37 (Ibn ʻUsaylah); yet they might have been in lesser positions, or under the superintendence of other *wālī*s, like the *wālī Miṣr.*[132] Then, in 792/1390, Sulaymān was assigned as *wālī Miṣr,* so there is a possibility that he might have held both positions concurrently.[133] In 801/1399, the two-Qarāfah district was added to the jurisdiction of the *wālī Miṣr,* Amir Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who took the position of Sulaymān, and also in the month of Rajab in 803/1401, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the *amīr ṭabar* (hatchet), assumed the position of *wālī al-Qarāfah.*[134] Eventually, in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in 803/1401, the Qarāfah district was transferred to the *wālī* of Cairo, Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭablāwī.[135] It is in this way that the Qarāfah *wālī*'s position was separated from or united with that of Fusṭāṭ or Cairo, possibly influenced by the individual situation of persons appointed as *wālī,* or the intention of the ruler.

After 803/1401, accounts regarding *wālī al-Qarāfah* disappear from the chronicles. Instead, the function of *naẓar al-Qarāfah* (supervisorship or controllership of al-Qarāfah), or its supervisor, *nāẓir al-Qarāfah,* began to be recorded.[136] In 856/1452, for instance, Abū Bakr al-Muṣāriʻ died; he was *″nāẓir* of

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[130]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:23.

[131]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:2:525; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:106; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:241. Although Ibn Iyās noted that the Qarāfah district was separate from the Cairo district, this account is not trustworthy. *Badāʼiʻ*, 2:355–56.

[132]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:319; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 77; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 378.

[133]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:2:717; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:214.

[134]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:2:927, 3:3:1054; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ*, 1:2:518, 545, 620.

[135]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1069; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ*, 1:2:633; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:118.

[136]Al-Biqāʼī, *Iẓhār al-ʻAṣr,* 1:199, 341; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 124, 161; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz*

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the Imām al-Shāfi'ī mausoleum, the Layth mausoleum, and all of al-Qarāfah. And the sultan had bestowed on him the controllership for mausolea of al-Qarāfah.″ Abū Bakr al-Muṣāri', mentioned here, was originally one of the *awbāsh* (riffraff), but Sultan Jaqmaq promoted him to this position, whereby he was said to have enriched himself. Yūsuf Shāh (d. 876/1471), who was in fact *mu'allim al-bannā'īn* (the master of royal builders), took over Abū Bakr al-Muṣāri'′s post of *naẓar al-Qarāfah* in 856/1452 and remained until 857/1453 when the sultan′s son-in-law Amir Burdbak seized it. In 892/1487, a qadi was dismissed from the *naẓar al-Qarāfatayn;* meanwhile in 897/1492, *anẓār* (pl. of *naẓar*) and similar offices, such as al-Baybarsīyah, al-Sa'īdīyah, *waqf* al-Ṣāliḥ, and al-Qarāfatayn, were under the jurisdiction of the *ustādār* Taghrībirdī, and then were transferred to the *dawādār* Taghrī Barmish. In 901/1495, (qadi) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 912/1506) was appointed to the position of *naẓar al-Qarāfatayn* (the two-Qarāfahs), as well as *naẓar* of *waqf*s. If we compare this account side by side with others, we can make the conjecture that the function of this *naẓar al-Qarāfah* (or *al-Qarāfatayn*) would be to inspect or administer mausolea and *zāwiyah*s in the two Qarāfahs, including those of Imām al-Shāfi'ī and Imām Layth. Thus, this position likely concentrated on the administration of mausolea, but its relationship with fiscal duties and control of *waqf*s in each mausoleum remains rather obscure. Yet, seen from other *nāẓir*s′ duties, *naẓar al-Qarāfah* can be assumed to have dealt in some way with *waqf* administration and the financial affairs of mausolea in the Qarāfah.

On the other hand, regarding the Ṣaḥrā' area, we find only the function of *naẓar,* such as *naẓar turbat al-Ẓāhir Barqūq* (superintendency of Barqūq′s mausoleum), but not the *wālī*. In 856/1452, Sultan Jaqmaq nominated al-Shaykh 'Alī al-Muḥtasib for *naẓar turbat al-Ẓāhir Barqūq,* following the dismissal of al-Muḥibb ibn al-Ashqar, who was its *nāẓir* according to the stipulations set by the *waqf* founder. Al-Shaykh 'Alī (d. 862/1458) had experience as the *muḥtasib* of Fusṭāṭ and of Cairo successively, and al-Muḥibb ibn al-Ashqar, who was *kātib al-sirr* (confidential secretary), held the *naẓar* of *khānqāh* Siryāqūs after his dismissal from Turbat al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. The *naẓar* of the Ṣaḥrā' area seems likely to have been concerned with supervising mausolea financially and administratively through the management of *waqf*s, as seen through *waqf* documents as well as chronicles or biographies.[137]

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al-Kalām, 2:856, 3:1005, 1265; idem, *Al-Ḍaw',* 11:100–1; idem, *Al-Tibr,* 385; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 469; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 3:317, 4:97.

[137]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 125, 196, 383; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:194–95; al-Biqā'ī, *Iẓhār al-'Aṣr,* 1:206, 340, 350, 440, 2:386; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 11:185, 6:47. The complexity of who controlled the madrasah of Barqūq, and the share of the *kātib al-sirr* therein, are depicted in J. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992), 65–66. Cf. S. L. Mostafa, *Madrasa, Ḥânqâh und Mausoleum des Barqûq in Kairo* (Glückstadt, 1982). Also regarding *nāẓir*

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To conclude, *nāẓir*s of al-Qarāfah and Turbat Barqūq, especially the latter, seem more to be involved in the financial and administrative management of mausolea, in contrast to the *wālī al-Qarāfah,* whose function rather laid stress on the policing and supervision of the districts. The aforementioned *naẓar* of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah´s mausoleum, which was undertaken by caliphs, should be viewed in this respect.

WOMEN´S ASSOCIATION WITH CEMETERIES

During the Mamluk period, women´s visits to cemeteries can be clearly observed. These visits became a focus of harsh diatribes by ulama and of supervision by *muḥtasib*s. Their criticism pertained mainly to the mingling of women and men, and moral laxity.[138] According to Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), ″on Thursdays they go out to the tombs, and stay there on Fridays, then return home on Saturdays; likewise on the day of 'Āshūrā' (10th of the month of Muḥarram), two Feasts (*'īdān*) and the night of mid-Ramaḍān.″ Moreover, they went out visiting the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn on Mondays, al-Sayyidah Nafīsah on Wednesdays or Saturdays, and on Thursdays and Fridays to Imām al-Shāfi'ī in al-Qarāfah, and also the tombs of their relatives.[139] It should be recalled that al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253) had already portrayed al-Qarāfah in his compilation of anecdotes as a place where women assembled.[140] The Mamluk government repeatedly proclaimed the prohibition of women´s visits to cemeteries, such as in 679/1280, 708/1309, 793/1391, 824/1421, 825/1422, 835/1432, 841/1438, and 864/1460, usually prior to the feast celebrating the end of Ramaḍān. Yet, several records, including frequent criticism and bans on women´s *ziyārah,* clearly show that women were integral to visiting customs in Cairene cemeteries.[141]

Furthermore, it is worth noting that women of all classes visited cemeteries, and they could be interred therein, as well. Among them, there must have been women who helped with the fabrication of holy tombs, by carrying soil in their veils for instance, and even women of the ruling elite, who would visit, pray, and pledge ample donations to cemeteries, as in the case of the mothers of Sultan Ismā'īl and Amir Anūk. In fact they acted as the very mediators between the royal elite and the common people by describing the conditions and merits of *ziyārah* to

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al-waqf, see L. Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 60–63; T. Ito, ″Aufsicht und Verwaltung der Stiftungen im mamlukischen Ägypten,″ *Der Islam* 80 (2003): 46–66.

[138]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 29–30.

[139]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:268, 2:17.

[140]Al-Tīfāshī, *Nuzhat al-Albāb fī-mā lā Yūjad fī Kitāb* (London, 1992), 238–40.

[141]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:197; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:51; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:334; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'* , 2:84, 142, 186; Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 29–30.

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their husbands or families.[142]

Conclusion

Cairene cemeteries were open to people of all social strata, regardless of ethnic origin, social status, language, gender, age, occupation, disparity in wealth, physical handicap, religion, place of origin, illness, or skin color.[143] Commoners could participate there through frequent visits and the creation or reidentification of tombs, as is well reflected in the guidebooks of *al-ziyārah*. Through *ziyārah* texts, writings on the tombs, and hearsay, people were able to form their own discourses. The ulama also maintained an association with Cairene graveyards through their writings and preachings, while the ruling elite held banquets, communal prayers, or engaged in political struggles there. Everyone could find his own medium through which to relate to the cemeteries, and had the right to visit or be buried there. In this sense, Cairene cemetery areas formed a public locus in which people of any social status participated in their creation or improvement.[144] The public character of al-Qarāfah is well reflected in what al-Shaykh ʻAlī al-Turkī (d. 804/1401–2) was told by Shaykh ʻUmar, while they were walking through al-Qarāfah. ″ʻAlī, al-Qarāfah is the cemetery for Muslims, and no one individual can possess it, nor is one allowed to take [even] a portion of it for oneself.″ [145]

Relationships in the cemeteries did not always depend on hierarchy; rather, equality was emphasized. Personal relationships among visitors to Cairene cemetery

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[142]Ohtoshi, ″Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society,″ 241–51; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 2:3:649–50; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:312; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 181.

[143]This characteristic also held true within the cities of Cairo and Fusṭāṭ. According to *ziyārah* treatises, sick persons rushed into cemetery areas to pray for their healing, albeit the *ḥisbah* tract warns against the mingling of hermaphrodites with women in funerals. See Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʻālim,* 51.

[144]In general, the definition of ″public″ can delineate anything official relating to a nation, such as public education or public enterprise; anything common to all people, such as public welfare or public order; or anything open to everyone, such as information or a space from which no one will be rejected. Additionally, ″publicness″ is usually placed opposite ″community,″ and the latter is defined as the relationship unconsciously established between persons, before the emergence of individual consciousness, such as family. If ″public″ is understood as a notion adoptable only for modern bourgeois society derived from the modern West, any efforts to utilize this conception within the context of Cairene cemeteries are rendered inaccurate from the beginning. Likewise, a simple application of Western concepts to Middle Eastern studies should be avoided in general. This article does not employ directly the recent definitions and arguments on the public sphere, but still reflects them to some extent. The employment of the word and conception of ″public″ as a framework for reference and comparison can be thought of as stimulating to argument, which helps us to discover new aspects of Cairene cemeteries. In this sense, this article is evocative rather than deductive. See J. Saito, *Publicness* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 2000).

[145]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,* 2:510.

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districts were generally not communal, but rather temporal. Institutions such as *waqf* or shari'ah, then, pervaded the whole of this composition. That is why the government ordered *muḥtasib*s to supervise these cemetery areas, and *wālī*s to control them. In addition, they sent their superintendents *(nāẓir)* to oversee mausolea's finances through the *waqf* system, and the government even supported the burial expenditures of commoners through *waqf* income.

The way people related to Cairene cemeteries, however, would have varied according to their religious beliefs, social status or personal situations, gender, and so forth. Particularly, internalized religious attitudes and values might have affected these relationships greatly; hence Sufis, who were devoted to ascetic practices there, differed from rigid scholars, who tried to prohibit people from visiting holy tombs. Thus the involvement of all classes does not mean that their interests and activities there were always in harmony. On the contrary, they were often in conflict with one another; for instance, the ruling elite undertook to supervise the activities of commoners and women. Ulama, too, harshly condemned them. Hence, Cairene cemetery areas were loci where power relationships were acted out.

Was there, then, any category of society who were excluded from visiting Cairene cemetery areas? As I mentioned above, they were open and accessible to all people, from sultans to commoners. It is worth underlining here that women went there to visit famous mausolea and fulfill their prayers through the mediation of the entombed Muslim saints. This habit was often criticized by scholars and sometimes prohibited by the government, yet women were never actually expelled from the cemeteries, and the Qarāfahs retained their fame as a spot for women to assemble. Nor were people from outside Egypt or Cairo excluded, so that it was a tourist spot not only for Muslims, from Andalusian Spain to Central Asia, but seemingly also for European travelers.

As for religious differences, the issue is rather subtle. Generally speaking, visits by non-Muslims to the Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā' may possibly be presumed to have been avoided by non-Muslims themselves, and not welcomed readily by Muslims. Nonetheless, we should never forget the fact that the communal prayers in Cairene cemetery areas in the Mamluk period always mobilized a band of Copts and Jews. Additionally, as the cemetery of Coptic Christians was situated on the southern border of al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, and the Jews' cemetery was also located close to the Ḥabash Lake, strictly speaking, their cemeteries were on the edge of the Cairene cemetery zones. And it is possible that they made visits to their own cemeteries by passing through Muslim cemetery areas. Moreover, European non-Muslim travelers possibly traversed them and left accounts of their own visits. Since the Cairene cemeteries were popular pleasure spots for Egyptians, there is a possibility that non-Muslims mingled with Muslims, as is frequently

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observed during feasts in Mamluk Egypt. Thus we see a contrast between *ziyārah* to Cairene cemeteries and the Meccan pilgrimage, which prohibits non-Muslims in the holy zone.

Yet people who violated public morals, as expressed in the *ḥisbah* tracts, were the first to be excluded from the cemetery areas, at least in theory. Also, thieves, people of shameless behavior, those who insulted Islamic values, and destroyers of tombs were to be excluded. In reality, however, as mentioned earlier, the Cairene graveyards were famed for their thieves and moral laxity.

Finally, it can be seen that there was a difference in function and character between the two Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā'. If I may generalize by contrasting them, the Qarāfahs were a burial district for venerated people and commoners, and a visitation site for people of all classes. Meanwhile al-Ṣaḥrā' projected a more official character, where members of the ruling elite preferred to be interred, and for the common people it was usually not a place to visit for fulfillment of their prayers, except in instances when they were mobilized. *Ziyārah* treatises, therefore, seldom depicted tombs of sultans and *khānqāh*s there.

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The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications

The amount of tax revenues from farm villages was estimated throughout Egypt and Syria on the basis of the cadastral survey referred to as *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī,* conducted during the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41). Based on the results of the survey, *iqṭā'*s were reallocated to soldiers, giving priority to the Mamluks. Simultaneously, a new ratio for the division of agricultural land into *iqṭā'*s and *khāṣṣ* land (land in the government's domain) was fixed. The government's control over the allotment of *iqṭā'* was greatly strengthened through this *rawk,* and the political, military, and financial systems of the Mamluk state were finally established on the basis of the highly centralized *iqṭā'* system. It is commonly understood that this resulted in the formation of the basic structure of the Mamluk state.[1]

However, the state structure thus established began to crumble after the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, when the Mamluk state was thrown into political and social confusion. It was thus obliged to transform itself in various respects. Although this is considered as superficial evidence of the decline of the Mamluk dynasty thereafter, in recent years, several important articles have been published, attempting to document the transformations in state and society, especially the changing domestic and international situations during the rule of the Circassian Mamluks (784–922/1382–1517). These articles throw new light on Mamluk history.[2] Presently, Mamluk studies has reached a stage where the historical development

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[1]On *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* and its significance, see: Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), Chap. 6.

[2]For examples of the works relating to this study in particular: 'Imād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirā'īyah fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah: Dirāsah fī Bay' Amlāk Bayt al-Māl* (Cairo, 2000); Miura Toru, ″Urban Society at the Mamluk Era: With a Focus on Damascus″ (in Japanese), *Shigaku Zasshi* 98, no. 1 (1989); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994); idem, ″Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: the Holdings of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī According to their Waqf Deeds,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 1 (1998); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995).

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of the Mamluk regime throughout the whole of the Mamluk era is being reassessed through further research on the structure of the state and society during the period of ″decline.″

From this perspective, this article is concerned with a special financial bureau called al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which was founded by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluks (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89,1390–99). The existence of this *dīwān,* which was charged with providing monthly wages and other essentials to the sultan´s mamluks, was the most obvious difference between the state machinery of the Bahri Mamluks (648–784/1250–1382) and the Circassian Mamluks. However, thus far, the study of this *dīwān* has been superficial and little is known about it despite its having played a crucial role as the most important bureau during this period. I believe that elucidating the implications of its establishment and evolution will also contribute to understanding the problems that confronted the Circassian Mamluk state, compelling it to undertake such an institutional change.

In this article, we trace the historical development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad from its establishment until its fiscal bankruptcy on the eve of the enthronement of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy in 872/1468, who had initiated financial and administrative reforms in order to revitalize the weakened Mamluk state.[3] We also investigate the political and social factors underlying this transformation in order to show that it was not a superficial alteration of the financial machinery; rather, it was closely linked to the process of the collapse of the *iqṭā‘* system, established through *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī,* and the resulting transformation of the state structure.

The Political and Financial Situation in the Second Half of the Eighth/Fourteenth Century prior to the Establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad

It is necessary to examine the political and financial situation after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir in 741/1341 and to understand the problems that confronted Barqūq when he seized power. Regarding the political situation, the Mamluk state was undergoing ″political chaos,″ primarily caused by a fundamental problem concerning the character of the sultan´s power and the path of succession. Power struggles in those days were basically caused by three factors: first, contesting for power between the Qalāwūnid sultans, who ascended on a lineage basis, and the Supreme Council *(majlis al-mashūrah),* comprising several senior Mamluk amirs; second, factional rivalries among the amirs; third, the direct intervention of the Royal Mamluks *(al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah)* in the political process. The Royal Mamluks were a powerful political group because they possessed the armed strength required to win such struggles. After a series of struggles, Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān was killed during the *coup d´état* in 778/1377. In the following year (779/1378), Amir

[3]Cf. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 190–219.

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Barqūq finally seized power and began to rule through the agency of the position of *atābak al-ʻasākir* (commander-in-chief) with the title of *al-amīr al-kabīr* (the Grand Amir). Subsequently, the principle that the paramount individual among the Mamluk amirs would assume the supreme seat with the support of a Mamluk factional power base and through an agreement among the Mamluks, which was the political system prior to the establishment of the Qalāwūnid ″royal authority,″ was re-established. This principle was maintained for the remainder of the Circassian Mamluk period, determining the fundamental character of the sultan´s power.[4]

It now became essential for Barqūq, who had emerged as the final winner in the series of power struggles, to rebuild the state structure that had been weakened during the previous volatile situation. The matter that required immediate attention was that of finance, which was responsible for affecting the stability of successive governments. The period of political and social upheaval following the death of al-Nāṣir was marked by a financial crisis. It had become difficult for the state treasury to meet expenses; therefore, dismissals and resignations of successive viziers were frequent. Although an increase in allowances and provisions for the army, the eunuchs, the harem, etc., was observed to be the principal cause of the financial difficulties,[5] it was not their only cause. The generous special bonus *(nafaqah)* paid to the Royal Mamluks for the purpose of gaining their support during political struggles had strained the treasury.[6] In addition to this, the great plague, which first broke out in 749/1348–49, played an additional, crucial role in the economic deterioration, resulting in rural depopulation and a subsequent decline in agricultural production in the Middle East.[7] Moreover, the ″political confusion″ in those days also impoverished rural areas in Egypt and Syria because it resulted in the government and the *iqṭāʻ* holders neglecting *ʻimārah* (cultivation of land) and exacting oppressive taxes from peasants, in addition to the subsequent plundering

[4]On the political and social situation after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir, see: Amalia Levanoni, ″The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 383–85; idem, *A Turning Point,* Chap. 3; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), Chap. 7.

[5]For example: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–73), 2:626–27, 630, 671, 722, 724, 738, 745, 746, 809–10 (hereafter cited as *Sulūk*). On the financial reform by vizier Manjak (749–50/1348–50): al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–3), 4:296–304 (hereafter cited as *Khiṭaṭ*); *Sulūk,* 2:748–50.

[6]Cf. Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 101–4.

[7]Irwin, *Middle East,* 137–38; Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch, ″England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-term Trends and Long-distance Trade″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East,* ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 115–28; cf. Stuart J. Borsch, ″Thirty Years after Lopez, Miskimin, and Udovitch,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 191–201. On the plague and its effect in the Middle East, see: Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), Chaps. 5–7.

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of these areas resulting from the incursion of bedouin tribes with their herds and flocks.[8] There is no doubt that these varied factors contributed to economic decline and ensuing financial difficulties. However, the immediate cause of the decrease in state revenues was a problem arising from the system of landholding, which was characterized by the alienation and privatization of state lands that produced *kharāj* (land tax) revenues for the state treasury.

With regard to agricultural land in Egypt, which was the principal financial resource of the Mamluk state, 14 *qīrāṭ*s (14/24) were allotted to amirs and the *ḥalqah* troopers as *iqṭā'* and the remaining 10 *qīrāṭ*s (10/24) became *khāṣṣ* land. *Iqṭā'*s for the Royal Mamluks were allocated from the *khāṣṣ* land, with the remainder allocated for other governmental needs.[9] According to the traditional financial system of the Mamluk state, the vizier was in charge of the financial affairs of the government as the chief financial officer, and the bureau headed by him was called the Dīwān al-Wizārah/al-Dawlah (the vizier's bureau/the state bureau).[10] Although the state's economic and financial difficulties were predominantly due to the above-mentioned reasons, I believe that another direct cause was the decrease in taxable lands held by the government. Al-Maqrīzī's account reads as follows:

> On 11 Ṣafar 783 (7 May 1381), Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj al-Maqsī resigned from the office of vizier owing to the impotence of the office, because a huge amount of land had been lost from [the resources for] its work. . . . The following day, the Grand Amir (Barqūq) sent a *khil'ah* (robe of honor) of a vizier to al-Maqsī in order to persuade him to continue [in office] as before. However, he declined the offer because the lands that had been lost from the state [bureau's resources] could not be recovered.[11]

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[8] Al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-I'tibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajib min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār* (Cairo, 1968), 78–79, 85–86, 92–95 (hereafter cited as *Taysīr*); Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 236–39. Useful information on the social and economic crisis in the period from the late Bahri Mamluks to the beginning of the Circassian Mamluks is contained in al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Cairo, 1940).

[9] Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 142–43; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 54–55.

[10] On the financial organization of the Mamluk state during this time, see: al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–22), 4:28–30 (hereafter cited as *Ṣubḥ*); Rabie, *Financial System,* 138–61; al-Bayyūmī Ismā'īl, *Al-Nuẓum al-Mālīyah fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām Zaman Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1998), Chap. 1.

[11] *Sulūk,* 3:410–11, cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:57 (hereafter cited as *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*).

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At this point, it should be noted that at the beginning of Barqūq′s rule, the decrease in government land was regarded as a crucial problem in the state′s finances and it was described as the reason for the vizier′s resignation and his adamant refusal of Barqūq′s offer. We will now investigate the two causal factors that Barqūq attempted to address during his reign. The first was that amirs had rented large quantities of agricultural land from the state treasury. On 19 Ramaḍān 784 (26 November 1382), Barqūq deposed the Qalāwūnid nominal sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī and pronounced himself sultan. He then immediately appointed Shams al-Dīn Ibn Kātib Arlān, who was the chief manager *(nāẓir)* of Barqūq′s office *(dīwān)* when he was an amir, as the vizier and ordered him to restore the fiscal integrity of the state:

> Since al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (Barqūq) ascended to the sultanate, some time had passed. [But] the [financial] affairs were not in order. Therefore, he appointed him [Ibn Kātib Arlān] to the post of vizier in Muḥarram 785 (March 1383). . . . At the time of his appointment, there was neither one dirham [in cash] nor one *qadaḥ* of grain in the [state] coffers, [because] state lands had been rented by amirs at a lower rate than their value by means of making advance payments.[12]

This indicates that a large amount of government land that should have been producing tax revenues for the state treasury had been ″rented″ by the powerful amirs for negligible amounts; in other words, the lands had passed into their *de facto* possession.

The second problem was an increase in the sales of state land and subsequent ″waqfization″ of the lands thus sold. During this period, a substantial amount of agricultural land had been sold by the state treasury as *milk* (private real estate), and then turned into *waqf* (religious trust) for the support of religious institutions or the descendants of sultans and amirs. Accordingly, in 780/1379, which was the year following his ascension to power as *atābak,* Barqūq called a meeting to discuss this problem in order to make such acts illegal and to implement the return of the alienated lands to the state treasury:

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[12]*Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:225; cf. *Sulūk,* 3:569; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah* (Damascus, 1995), 1:122; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 1:161 (hereafter cited as *Nuzhah*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻd al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1985–2003), 1:75 (hereafter cited as *Manhal*).

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> On 16 [Dhū al-Ḥijjah 780] (5 April 1379), the Grand Amir Barqūq summoned qadis and learned shaykhs and consulted with them regarding the cancellation *(ḥall)* of *waqf* lands allotted for mosques *(jawāmi‘ wa-masājid),* schools *(madāris),* and Sufi convents *(khawāniq wa-zawāyā wa-rubṭ),* for descendants of sultans *(mulūk),* amirs, and others, and for pious *rizqah*s,[13] and whether the sale of Egyptian and Syrian *kharājī* lands from the state treasury was [legally] permissible or not. Documents concerning Egyptian and Syrian lands that had been turned into *waqf* or privatized—the amount [of loss] was an enormous sum of money every year—were presented. When these were read to the amirs and learned men present [at that consultation], Amir Barqūq stated, ″This is the matter that has weakened the army of the Muslims.″[14]

Barqūq′s questioning of this circumstance, the legality of which had remained largely unchallenged until this time, indicates that he considered the management of the government to be seriously impeded by the sale and ″waqfization″ of state lands, which had intensified following al-Nāṣir′s reign.[15] That is to say, the increase in *waqf*s caused a decrease in government tax revenues because the *waqf* properties were tax-free owing to their religious nature.[16] Moreover, state lands had often been sold for a pittance by means of an immediate refund of the price paid to the

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[13]*Rizqah* (pl. *rizaq*) is land allotted by the sultan from the state treasury. It is classified under two categories: the first one is the ″military *rizqah*″ *(al-rizaq al-jayshīyah),* which was allotted to retired amirs or widows and orphans of dead amirs. The second one is the ″pious *rizqah*″ *(al-rizaq al-aḥbāsīyah),* which was allotted to religious institutions or religious men. See: A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (London, 1939; repr. Philadelphia, 1977), 32–34; Takao Ito, ″Aufsicht und Verwaltung der Stiftungen im mamlukischen Ägypten,″ *Der Islam* 80 (2003): 55–61.

[14]*Sulūk,* 3:345.

[15]Al-‘Aynī, ″Tārīkh al-Badr fī Awṣāf Ahl al-‘Aṣr,″ British Library MS Add. 22350, fol. 104v (hereafter cited as *Badr*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 11:166 (hereafter cited as *Nujūm*); *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 3:580.

[16]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā‘īyah fī Miṣr 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.* (Cairo, 1980), 279. *Taysīr* also says that the state land sale and the subsequent ″waqfization″ was one of the reasons for the decrease in revenues in Egypt that occurred during the period from *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* till the enthronement of Barqūq. Moreover, it was also regarded as a reason for the agricultural decline because the *‘imārah* of *waqf* lands was often neglected (*Taysīr,* 79–83). While Abū Ghāzī, basing his findings on archival sources, describes the phenomenon as widespread under the Circassian Mamluks (Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur,* 10, 16–17), we also find this situation described for earlier times in the literary sources.

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state treasury for the land.[17]

Thus, these two factors that had led to the alienation of state lands were the fundamental causes of the financial difficulties at the time of Barqūq′s ascent to power. Moreover, their effects on the *iqṭā‘* system, which was based on the principle of state landholding and its full control over land allocation, cannot be ignored; this topic will be addressed later. Although the reasons for the problems that arose after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir require careful examination, it is plausible that the damage to rural districts that resulted from the great plague had inflicted losses on the amirs who depended on the *iqṭā‘* income; therefore, they tried to obtain lands through suspect methods during the political instability wherein the sultan′s control over the government had weakened, by taking advantage of the frequent transfer of *iqṭā‘*s whose holders were lost to the plague.[18]

Nevertheless, when Barqūq took power, he made efforts to resolve these two problems during his reign. However, although all his attempts succeeded initially, they proved to be inconclusive. With regard to the former problem, Vizier Ibn Kātib Arlān succeeded in recovering lost lands from the possession of the amirs and rebuilding state finances during his tenure.[19] However, his death in 789/1387 and Barqūq′s temporary dethronement due to Amir Minṭāsh′s rebellion in 791/1389 nullified the efforts put into the reconstruction of the landholding system. When Barqūq recovered his position in the following year, 792/1389, he appointed several civilians, who had worked as viziers, to various financial posts at the Dīwān al-Wizārah for the purpose of ″restor[ing] the condition of the state land to that in Ibn Kātib Arlān′s years.″[20] Nonetheless, the fact that a majority of them were relieved of their positions as early as the following year is an indication of the failure of this attempt. With regard to the latter, it is important to understand the manner in which the *majlis* ended; however, two different endings are reported in the sources. While some sources such as *Sulūk* claim that Barqūq succeeded in confiscating *waqf* lands and allotting them to the army as *iqṭā‘* regardless of strong opposition from the ulama,[21] others, such as *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* report that his

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[17]*Sulūk,* 3:346. The same method is often observed in the archival sources, and Abū Ghāzī estimates that 10 percent of the state land sales he counted on the basis of the archives had applied this method. See: Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur,* 80–83.

[18]Cf. *Sulūk,* 2:785.

[19]Ibid., 3:486–87, 569; *Nuzhah,* 1:60–62, 160–61; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:103–4, 224–25; *Manhal,* 1:74–76; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Umr* (Cairo, 1969–98), 1:272, 338–39 (hereafter cited as *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*).

[20]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:237–38 (hereafter cited as *Ibn al-Furāt*); *Sulūk,* 3:727–28; *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 1:401; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:350; *Nuzhah,* 1:317–18.

[21]*Sulūk,* 3:347; *Nujūm,* 11:166; *Badr,* fol. 104v.

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attempt resulted in failure owing to the opposition.[22] It is difficult to judge the veracity of these reports. Although similar *majālis* were called in 783/1381 and 789/1387 during Barqūq's reign[23] and also under later sultans, not all of them succeeded in abrogating *waqf*s. Moreover, owing to the opposition of the ulama, they went no further than imposing temporary levies on the *waqf*s under emergency situations such as military expeditions.[24] Therefore, this is an exceptional case even if the abrogation of *waqf*s was carried out at the time. In reality, throughout the Mamluk era, state land sales had never been forbidden, nor had the confiscation of lands converted into *waqf*s been legalized.[25]

When Barqūq seized power under these difficult circumstances, he not only made efforts to bring state finances under control, but also founded a new bureau, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, for the purpose of anchoring the financial administration and achieving the political stability of his regime.

The Establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and the Transformation of the State Machinery

Chancery manual sources such as *Ṣubḥ* explain al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as follows: it was an independent financial bureau in charge of providing the monthly wages *(jāmakīyah),* clothing allowances *(kiswah),* fodder *('alīq),* and other provisions to the Royal Mamluks, having specific lands separate from those of the state treasury as its own resources. *Ustādār al-sulṭān/al-'āliyah* (the sultan's/supreme majordomo), one of the military officers, managed this *dīwān* as chief, assuming the responsibilities of other officials such as *nāẓir al-dīwān al-mufrad* (the deputy chief of the *dīwān*), scribes *(kuttāb),* notaries *(shuhūd),* and so on.[26]

While it is clear that this *dīwān* had been established by Barqūq, there are two

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[22]*Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:178–79; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 3:580; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 1:238–40 (hereafter cited as *Wajīz*).

[23]In 783/1381: *Sulūk,* 3:443. In 789/1387: *Badr,* fol. 127r–v; *Ibn al-Furāt,* 9:10–11; *Sulūk,* 3:563; *Nujūm,* 11:247; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:218–19.

[24]Amīn, *Awqāf,* 322–38. For example, in 803/1400: *Sulūk,* 3:1028–29; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 4:145; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:134. In 812/1409: *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:421. In 839/1345: *Nuzhah,* 3:335–36.

[25]On the Islamic legal disputes regarding the legality of the sale and ″waqfization″ of state lands in the Mamluk era, see: Kenneth M. Cuno, ″Ideology and Juridical Discourse in Ottoman Egypt: the Uses of the Concept of *Irṣād*,″ *Islamic Law and Society* 6, no. 2 (1999): 145–49.

[26]*Ṣubḥ,* 3:453; al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālīk* (Paris, 1894), 106 (hereafter cited as *Zubdah*); *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:723; Ibn Kinnān, *Ḥadā'iq al-Yāsmīn fī Dhikr Qawānīn al-Khulafā' wa-al-Salāṭīn* (Beirut, 1991), 120–24 (hereafter cited as *Ḥadā'iq*); anon., ″Kitāb Dīwān al-Inshā',″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 4439, fols. 126r–v, 136v (hereafter cited as *Dīwān al-Inshā'*; regarding the source, see: Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire Mamlūk [IXe/XVe siècle]* [Damascus, 1992], 16).

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opinions regarding the actual year of its establishment; that is, 784/1382 or 797/1395.[27] The former is based on an account in the *Khiṭaṭ* stating that it was established by the conversion of an *iqṭā‘,* held by Barqūq when he was an amir, into a revenue source ″when he ascended to the sultanate.″[28] Accordingly, it regards 784/1382, the year of Barqūq′s enthronement, as the year of establishment. On the other hand, the latter opinion depends on an account in *Nujūm* stating that it was established by the conversion of the *iqṭā‘* belonging to Barqūq′s son Muḥammad, who died in 797/1395.[29] In other words, the difference of opinion with respect to the year of establishment of the *dīwān* arises from a question regarding its source of revenue, i.e., whether it was originally Barqūq′s *iqṭā‘* or his son′s. We shall now examine the actual establishment process of this *dīwān* on the basis of the chronicle sources.

In the early years of Barqūq′s reign as *atābak al-‘asākir* from 779/1387, the government had been jointly headed by Barqūq and his colleague, Amir Barakah. Subsequently, owing to the political differences between them, Barqūq succeeded in incarcerating Barakah and then killing him in Rabī‘ I 782 (June 1380);[30] consequently, Barqūq′s regime attained stability. At this time, he gave Barakah′s *iqṭā‘,* which was allotted to an amir of one hundred, and the amirate to his own son Muḥammad, who was born on the first day of that month. He then appointed Amir Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Dandār ibn Qaramān as Muḥammad′s *ustādār* to be the manager of his *iqṭā‘,* contrary to the prevailing custom that when the position of an amir became vacant, it was given to another along with his *iqṭā‘*.[31] It appears reasonable to suppose that Barqūq intended to profit from the *iqṭā‘* held in the name of his infant son as well as to prevent the emergence of a political rival by not giving the vacant *iqṭā‘* of the number two position to another amir. In the meantime, Barqūq retained his own *iqṭā‘* as an amir of one hundred in addition to

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[27]For opinions regarding its establishment year as 784/1382: Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l′administration,* 53; Jean-Claude Garcin, ″The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 300. 797/1395: Poliak, *Feudalism,* 4; Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979–82), 1:44; Ulrich Haarmann, ″The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 157.

[28]*Khiṭaṭ,* 3:723.

[29]*Nujūm,* 12:145–46.

[30]*Sulūk,* 3:381–86; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:22–26; *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 1:210–11.

[31]*Sulūk,* 3:387, 389; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn* (Beirut, 1985), 2:255; *Nujūm,* 11:180. Each amir used to have his own *ustādār* to manage the financial affairs of his *iqṭā‘* and other resources. See: al-Subkī, *Mu‘īd al-Ni‘am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam* (Cairo, 1948), 26–27; *Ṣubḥ,* 5:457.

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being in charge of the financial affairs of the state as the *atābak*. During this time, Amir Bahādur al-Manjakī (d. 790/1388) had served as Barqūq′s *ustādār*[32] and managed his *iqṭā‘*. Thereafter, Barqūq formally ascended to the sultanate in Ramaḍān 784 (November 1382) and immediately appointed his personal *ustādār,* Bahādur, to the post of *ustādār al-sulṭān* with a rank of amir of forty, as well as to the post of Muḥammad′s *ustādār*.[33] Although the duties of the *ustādār al-sulṭān* had hitherto included taking charge of all the affairs relating to the sultan′s court and servitors as ″majordomo,″[34] Bahādur′s duties mainly comprised financial management, much as the *ustādār*s of the amirs. Nevertheless, this does not immediately imply that al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was established during this time. The first reference to this *dīwān* was made in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 788 (November 1386), in which Sa‘d al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh ibn al-Baqarī, who had managed Barqūq′s private financial affairs prior to his enthronement, was appointed as the *nāẓir* of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad ″newly established *(istajadda)* by the sultan.″[35] Therefore, it appears reasonable to suppose that this *dīwān* was officially established at this time. However, I believe that Muḥammad′s *iqṭā‘,* which had been under the control of the *ustādār al-sulṭān,* was probably added to the *dīwān*′s resources after his death in 797/1395 because his *iqṭā‘* remained separate from the land of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad after its establishment as it was previously;[36] however, it might have been a *de facto* source of revenue for this *dīwān*.

Thus, we can summarize the establishment process of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as follows: Barqūq had kept for himself two *iqṭā‘*s allotted to amirs of one hundred, which once belonged to Barqūq and Barakah, as his own revenue source, and independent of the government purse, without allotting them to others even after his enthronement. Subsequently, he appointed the *nāẓir* and formally established this *dīwān* through the conversion of his former *iqṭā‘* into its revenue source in 788/1386, then added the other *iqṭā‘* to it later, possibly in 797/1395. If this is true, a question arises regarding the inducement for him to establish the *dīwān*. One reason could be that it was due to one of the policies aiming to augment the mamluks trained and organized by the sultan himself, called *mushtarawāt,*[37] and

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[32]*Sulūk,* 3:393.

[33]Ibid., 478; *Nujūm,* 11:228; *Nuzhah,* 1:49; *Badr,* fol. 116v.

[34]Al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1985), 57–58; *Ṣubḥ,* 4:20.

[35]*Sulūk,* 3:553; *Nuzhah,* 1:143. For the management of Barqūq′s financial affairs, see: *Sulūk,* 3:336.

[36]*Badr,* fols. 139r, 145r.

[37]The Royal Mamluks comprised the *mushtarawāt*, the Mamluks who were trained by the present reigning sultan, and the *mustakhdamūn,* those who were transferred from the service of the preceding sultans or amirs to the service of the reigning sultan. See: David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure

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also to ensure the regular distribution of monthly wages to them. During the chaotic period preceding Barqūq′s ascent to the sultanate, the control of the Royal Mamluks was beyond the sultan′s power and even the *mushtarawāt* had often participated in revolts by the amirs against the sultan demanding money.[38] Because of this, following his enthronement, Barqūq exiled the previous sultans′ mamluks and replaced them with his own in order to secure control over the Royal Mamluks.[39] Therefore, the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad could be regarded as a corollary policy; that is, while the Royal Mamluks were sustained by *iqṭā*‘s allotted from the *khāṣṣ* land or the monthly wages paid from the state treasury, this system had been directly affected by the decrease in state lands. To counter this problem, Barqūq ensured there would be an exclusive revenue source for the Royal Mamluks through the establishment of this *dīwān*. Accordingly, he succeeded in maintaining the *mushtarawāt,* comprising a large number of mamluks, estimated at 5,000 men.[40] The establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad undoubtedly enabled Barqūq to retain his power, unlike his predecessors during the late Bahri Mamluk period. However, it should be noted that this *dīwān* was organizationally and financially independent of the traditional financial system of the Mamluk state as it was originally established, because the *dīwān* itself was funded by *iqṭā*‘ lands. This made it possible for the *dīwān* to avoid the direct effects of the government′s financial difficulties which would affect the sultan′s power base directly; however, it also indicated that Barqūq could not solve the fundamental problem causing these financial difficulties, and that it was difficult for the sultan to depend on the traditional financial system.

Consequently, the newly-established al-Dīwān al-Mufrad rapidly expanded its role, and the Mamluk state structure also came to be reorganized owing to its development. Initially, the financial affairs of the state were managed by three independent bureaus, namely, Dīwān al-Wizārah, Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. Although each of these had its own revenue sources and was responsible for providing certain allowances, all of them were sometimes placed under the sole supervision of the *mushīr al-dawlah* (counselor of the government).[41] Although the role and revenue sources of each of these bureaus changed with time, they may be summarized as follows: Dīwān al-Wizārah obtained its income through

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of the Mamluk Army 1,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15, no. 2 (1953): 204–22; William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955), 1:87.

[38]Sultan Sha‘bān distributed money to his mamluks for the purpose of ″securing himself by giving his money″ [*Sulūk,* 3:139, 154], but he lost his position due to their participation in the amirs′ revolt (see note 6). For a case pertaining to Barqūq′s mamluks in 784/1382, see: *Sulūk,* 3:473; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:84–85.

[39]In 784/1382: *Sulūk,* 3:479; *Nuzhah,* 1:49–50. In 785/1383: *Sulūk,* 3:500; *Nuzhah,* 1:78.

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the collection of *kharāj* tax from particular districts such as Giza and Manfalūṭ and miscellaneous taxes *(mukūs),* and undertook the responsibility of supplying meat and other food for the Royal Mamluks and others. Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ obtained its resources from taxes levied at Alexandria and other coastal ports on the Mediterranean, which covered expenses for the two feasts *('Īdayn), khil'ah*s, etc. Finally, as mentioned before, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was responsible for the monthly stipends and other essentials for the Royal Mamluks.[42]

It is difficult to specify the exact year in which the division of state finances into these three bureaus was completed. However, it is fairly certain that the two prominent *ustādār*s, Yalbughā al-Sālimī (d. 811/1409) and Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 812/1409), who seized political and financial power during the civil war during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–8, 808–15/1399–1405, 1405–12), were associated with the transformation of the financial organization. Each of them was also an amir of one hundred exercising the general management and supervision of state finances as *mushīr al-dawlah,* and occasionally held concurrently the post of vizier.[43] During their tenure, the office of the *ustādār* underwent a remarkable growth in importance, accompanied by a dramatic increase in the numerical strength of the staff of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad.[44] In contrast, the office of vizier, which had hitherto played a crucial role in state finances, lost its importance.[45] Based on this knowledge, we can judge that the transformation of the financial bureaucracy was achieved at approximately this time; however, this leaves still unanswered the question of whether this was an intentional policy clearly designed to transform the organization of state finances.

Parallel to the division of the state finances, the *khāṣṣ* land in Egypt was also allocated to the resources of each bureau.[46] However, lands allotted to the Dīwān al-Wizārah and Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ accounted for only a small portion of the entire amount of land, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad acquired the greater portion of it for itself[47] along with some farm land in Syria.[48] Consequently, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad

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[40]*Nujūm,* 12:107; cf. Ayalon, "Mamluk Army 1," 224–25; *Manhal,* 3:328; *Nuzhah,* 1:499.

[41]*Dīwān al-Inshā',* fol. 125r; *Ḥadā'iq,* 119; *Zubdah,* 106; Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 1:96.

[42]On the roles, resources, and officials of each financial *dīwān,* see: *Zubdah,* 97–98, 106–9; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 35–40, 49–53; Poliak, *Feudalism,* 4–5.

[43]Yalbughā al-Sālimī: *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:159–63; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:417–19; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934–37), 10:289–90 (hereafter cited as *Ḍaw'*); *Sulūk,* 3:1052–53, 1106; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 4:308–9, 312. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf: *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:445–48; *Ḍaw',* 10:294–97; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 103–5.

[44]*Sulūk,* 4:289; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:38.

[45]*Khiṭaṭ,* 3:723–24; *Taysīr,* 71.

[46]*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:261.

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became the most important office for Egyptian local administration, and the appointee to the post of *ustādār al-sulṭān* began to assume the additional post of Viceroy of Lower Egypt *(nā'ib al-wajh al-baḥrī)* from the reign of Sultan Faraj, and also of Upper Egypt *(nā'ib al-wajh al-qiblī)* from the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38). The appointee was also invested with the authority to appoint and dismiss local governors *(wālī, kāshif)*.[49] Furthermore, the *ustādār* would often travel throughout the rural districts of Egypt in order to collect taxes himself.[50]

With regard to the proportion of land assigned to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, valuable information can be obtained from *Intiṣār* and *Tuḥfah,* which recorded the name, size of the cultivated land, and the tax revenues of each tax district *(nāḥiyah)* in Egypt (see Table).[51] This indicates that during the reign of Sultan Barqūq, the agricultural land of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad in Egypt comprised only 14 districts with annual revenues (*'ibrah*) estimated at approximately 200,000 *dīnār*s *jayshī* (dj).[52] However, by the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy, approximately eighty years later, these numbers had increased tremendously; the number of districts had increased by approximately ten times (159 districts), and the amount of revenue collected had increased approximately seven times (1,413,858.3 dj). These districts were spread across most of the provinces of Egypt (17 of 21) and the average revenue from them was 8,892.2 dj, which was more than twice that of the revenues obtained

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[47]Ibid., 3:724; *Zubdah,* 107.

[48]*Sulūk,* 3:898; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:657, 4:107; *Nuzhah,* 2:398.

[49]*Dīwān al-Inshā',* fol. 126r–v; *Ḥadā'iq,* 121; *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:724. However, according to the chronicles, the first case of an *ustādār* holding the post of Viceroy of Lower Egypt came about in 800/1397 (i.e., toward the end of Barqūq's reign), and the first case of an *ustādār* holding the post of Viceroy of Upper and Lower Egypt came about in 824/1421 (i.e., the year in which Sultan al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad was enthroned). See: *Sulūk,* 3:891, 4:568; *Nuzhah,* 2:498.

[50]For example, the case occurring in 816/1414: *Sulūk,* 4:274–75; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:15. In 820/1417: *Sulūk,* 4:385, 392–94; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:138; *Nuzhah,* 2:401. Moreover, several *ustādār*s had careers as Egyptian local governors. For example, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj (d. 821/1418): *Sulūk,* 4:180, 267, 356; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:182–84; *Manhal,* 7:314–18; *Ḍaw',* 4:248–51.

[51]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1893); Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1898). Notes on the Table: (1) All figures were rounded off to one decimal place. (2) If al-Dīwān al-Mufrad shared a tax district with other uses (such as private land, *waqf,* etc.), the *'ibrah* of the *dīwān* was calculated by dividing the *'ibrah* of the district under consideration equally, except in a case wherein the *'ibrah* of each was specified. (3) The *'ibrah,* the average *'ibrah,* and the percentage were calculated excluding those districts whose *'ibrahs* were not known. Therefore, the total amount of *'ibrah* for the whole of Egypt given in this Table differs from that written in the opening paragraph of *Tuḥfah.* However, when calculating the percentage of *'ibrah* of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, this showing of a general tendency is not a problem because there is a small difference of only one decimal place.

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from all the Egyptian districts, which was 4,107.8 dj. Moreover, 187 districts in Egypt provided revenues exceeding 10,000 dj, of which 47 belonged to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, accounting for almost one-fourth of the total number. However, this *dīwān* also accounted for 20 of the 50 districts (40 percent) that provided revenues of 20,000 dj and more, and 10 of the 17 districts (almost 60 percent) that provided revenues of 30,000 dj and more, with the ratio rising in proportion to the revenue. These details immediately clarify that this *dīwān,* as a matter of priority, acquired a greater number of productive districts among the resources under its control. As a result, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad held the largest number of tax districts among the financial bureaus of the government, the income from which comprised 17.3 percent (i.e., more than 4 *qīrāṭ*s) of the revenues from all the rural districts of Egypt.

This increase in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad′s landholdings had been achieved by means of acquisition of not only *khāṣṣ* lands previously under the control of the Dīwān al-Wizārah but also *iqṭā*‘s. The chronicles report several cases in which *iqṭā*‘s of deceased or dismissed amirs were added to the resource pool of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad by sultans: those of three amirs of one hundred, one amir of forty, one amir of ten, and one amir of unknown rank.[53] However, not all the *iqṭā*‘s added to this *dīwān* were such high-yielding ones belonging to high-ranking amirs. According to *Nujūm,* regarding Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-Ashqar (d. 874/1469), the *ustādār* during the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1439–53), ″he seized numerous *iqṭā*‘s of the Royal Mamluks and amirs, acquiring them by force, and added them to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad.″ *Ustādār*s tried to seize *iqṭā*‘s of lower-ranking amirs, mamluks, and probably also the *ḥalqah* troopers for the purpose of discharging their duties and advancing their own interests at every opportunity.[54] In addition, this *dīwān* benefited from other sources of revenue, notably, the government-managed waterwheels *(dawālib)* in 803/1401 and the income from the sultan′s monopoly on sugar in 832/1429. Moreover, a deficit in this *dīwān* was covered by

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[52]Unit expressing the amount of tax revenues from farm land. See: Rabie, *Financial System,* 48–49; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 62–63, 152–55.

[53]Amirs of one hundred: Yalbughā al-Sālimī, *ustādār al-sulṭān* (in 803/1401) [*Sulūk,* 3:1067]; ‘Alī Bāy, *dawādār al-kabīr* (in 824/1421) [*Sulūk,* 4:573; *Nujūm,* 14:182]; Sūdūn min ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *atābak al-‘asākir* (in 837/1433) [*Sulūk,* 4:906; *Nuzhah,* 3:275; *Nujūm,* 15:35–36]. Qānṣūh, amir of forty, and Amīn, amir of ten (in 831/1428) [al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1989), 335 (hereafter cited as *‘Iqd*); *Sulūk,* 4:779; *Nujūm,* 14:319]. Amir Jakam al-Ashrafī, uncle of the ex-sultan al-‘Azīz Yūsuf (in 867/1463) [Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42), 759 (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*[1])].

[54]*Nujūm,* 16:28. Haarmann also connects the decline in *iqṭā‘* holdings of the sons of the sultans (*sīdī;* pl. *asyād*) during the Circassian Mamluk period to the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad

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sales of positions in local government in 824/1421.[55]

These details show that the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad brought about and played a pivotal role in the reorganization of the administrative and financial bureaucracy. It clearly indicates that providing monthly stipends to the Royal Mamluks became the most important task of the government. As mentioned earlier, the Mamluk state had undergone a radical change in its political and power structure, resulting in the Royal Mamluks expanding their role in politics.[56] Furthermore, they rioted when there were delays in the distribution of wages, which often escalated into open revolt against the sultan vociferously demanding his dethronement;[57] therefore, the reliable distribution of wages became the primary concern of successive sultans. Viewed in this light, the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad can be regarded as an organizational adjustment to the new political structure.

On the other hand, it is important to note that al-Dīwān al-Mufrad developed through the acquisition of not only *khāṣṣ* lands but several *iqṭā'*s as well. While the number of amirs of one hundred in Egypt had been fixed at 24 men owing to *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*, all of these posts were rarely filled during the Circassian Mamluk period. According to *Ṣubḥ,* the decrease in the number of amirs of one hundred resulted from the establishment of this *dīwān,* and their number was reduced to 20 or less, and even 18 during the reign of Barqūq due to this reason. Thereafter, this decrease in the number persisted till the reign of Sultan Barsbāy in 840/1436, when it dipped to 13, and then 11 in 857/1453 during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq.[58] This indicates that on one hand al-Dīwān al-Mufrad accumulated a vast amount of agricultural land but on the other that *iqṭā'* lands for amirs decreased inversely, so that the ratio between the *khāṣṣ* land and the *iqṭā'*s based on *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* was being diminished.

Nevertheless, such a large-scale expansion of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad's landholdings should not simply be regarded as part of an "innovation" to strengthen

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(Haarmann, "Sons of Mamluks," 157–58, 162–63).

[55]The case occurring in 803/1401: *Sulūk,* 3:1067. In 832/1429: *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:419; *Sulūk,* 4:796; *Nuzhah,* 3:150. In 824/1421: *Sulūk,* 4:574.

[56]Amalia Levanoni, "Rank-and-File Mamluks versus Amirs: New Norms in the Mamluk Military Institution" in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 17–31.

[57]The revolt in 842/1438: *Sulūk,* 4:1091–95; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 4:96–97; *Nuzhah,* 4:29–37; *Nujūm,* 15:264–75. In 854/1450: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990), 1:213–16 (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*[2]); Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 2:279 (hereafter cited as *Badā'i'*). In 859/1455: *Nujūm,* 16:87–91; *Ḥawādith*[2], 1:454–61.

[58]Barqūq's reign: *Ṣubḥ,* 4:14; *Badr,* fol. 162v. Barsbāy's reign: *Sulūk,* 4:989. Jaqmaq's reign:

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the sultan′s autocratic power by an increase in the number of Royal Mamluks through the building up of this *dīwān*. On the contrary, it resulted from the necessary addition of resources to this *dīwān,* moving parallel to the gradually deteriorating financial situation, as we shall see in what follows.

The Bankruptcy of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and its Implications

The economic decline caused by various factors such as plague was further aggravated during the Circassian Mamluk period.[59] Accordingly, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad also experienced financial difficulties as early as the reign of Sultan Barsbāy, usually regarded as a relatively stable period.[60] In Rajab 828 (May 1425), a large deficit was detected through an audit of the *dīwān;* it amounted to 120,000 dinars per year. Similarly, another deficit, detected in Rabī‘ II 832 (January 1429), had reached 60,000 dinars per year.[61] The financial condition markedly deteriorated subsequent to the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq, during which many *ustādār*s resigned, fled, or were dismissed and suffered confiscation, and the Royal Mamluks frequently demonstrated against the arrears of their monthly wages.[62] While the difficulty in managing this *dīwān* was undoubtedly further aggravated by the economic decline, I would like to emphasize that its expenditures showed a consistent increase throughout the period under consideration. During the reign of Sultan Shaykh, the total amount spent on monthly wages accounted for 11,000 dinars per month; it subsequently increased to 18,000 dinars during Barsbāy′s reign, 28,000 dinars

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Ḥawādith^{2}*,* 1:333. Cf. Poliak, *Feudalism,* 8; Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 1:86.

[59]On the economic decline under the Circassian Mamluks, see: E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), 301–31. Regarding the financial difficulties of the Mamluk state during the period under consideration, see: Miura Toru, ″Administrative Networks in the Mamluk Period: Taxation, Legal Execution, and Bribery″ in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History: Political Power and Social Networks,* ed. Sato Tsugitaka (London and New York, 1997), 59–66.

[60]According to my analysis of the chronicles, there are 21 accounts on the financial failures of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad during 16 years and 8 months of his reign. It is remarkably larger than 5, the number of accounts of financial failures during the 14 years and 3 months of the reign of Sultan Faraj, and 2, during the 8 years and 5 months of the reign of Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21).

[61]In 828/1425: *Sulūk,* 4:688. In 832/1429: *Sulūk,* 4:796; *Nuzhah,* 3:150.

[62]During the reign of Barsbāy, 9 men assumed the post of *ustādār* a total of 13 times, and the average term of office at one time was 15.4 months. However, during the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–65/1543–60), 7 men assumed the post a total of 12 times and the average term was 8.2 months, while during the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (865–72/1461–17), 5 men assumed it a total of 12 times, and the average term was 6.5 months. These figures indicate that the frequency of the substitution was increasing steadily. According to Miura, the average term of office of an *ustādār* during the period from the beginning of Barsbāy′s reign to Qāytbāy′s

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during Jaqmaq′s reign, and it finally reached 46,000 dinars in 873/1468, immediately after Qāytbāy′s enthronement.[63] Since these amounts excluded the expenditures on other necessities such as clothing allowances and fodder, the total expenditure of the *dīwān* undoubtedly exceeded the given amount.

This increase in expenditures was not caused by an increase in the number of the sultan′s mamluks or radical pay raises;[64] rather, it was caused by the inclusion of recipient groups other than mamluks. Several accounts are found in the sources wherein we can find that various groups such as the sons of the mamluks, referred to as *awlād al-nās,* Islamic jurisprudents *(fuqahā'),* women, children, orphans, merchants, and other common people were also enrolled as recipients, receiving money and supplies from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad similar to the mamluks after the reign of Jaqmaq, particularly after 860/1455:[65]

> If only a sultan′s mamluk was [a recipient], what do you think about the present [circumstances]? Countless people comprising ″men of the turban″ (*muta'ammimūn*: religious men), the *awlād al-nās,* merchants *(tujjār),* common people *('āmmah),* and even Christians had been enrolled with the sultan′s treasury *(bayt al-sulṭān)* [as recipients]. The situation departed from the rule and transcended its boundaries. Viziers were unable to provide meat supplies, and *ustādār*s also were unable to [provide] the monthly wages and fodder. . . . These incidents were unheard of before, except following the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq (may God have mercy upon him).[66]

It may be reasonable to believe that in its development, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad assumed the additional responsibility of providing for some of the needs of ″men of the turban″ and the poor, which prior to its establishment would have been

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enthronement in 872/1468 was 1.09 years (Miura, ″Administrative Networks,″ 63).

[63] *Ḥawādith*[2], 689; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr* (Cairo, 1970), 33–34 (hereafter cited as *Inbā' al-Haṣr*).

[64] The monthly wage of a mamluk rose from 100 dirhams to 400–500 dirhams in 809/1406 [*Sulūk,* 4:28], thereafter undergoing several raises till it reached 2,000 dirhams per month during Barsbāy′s reign [*Sulūk,* 4:804, 817–18; *Nuzhah,* 3:160, 178; *Nujūm,* 14:330]. However, this increase was superficial and primarily resulted from the state of disorder of the monetary system; that is, the widespread circulation of copper coins and the consequent decline in the value of the dirham. On the conversion rates and the prices in this period, see: E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l′orient medieval* (Paris, 1969), Chaps. 6, 7; Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 2:41–106.

[65] *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 16, 20–21, 43; *Ḥawādith*[1], 465, 491–92, 678, 682, 689–95; *Nujūm,* 16:82–83.

[66] *Ḥawādith*[1], 691.

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carried out by the government as charity.[67] However, more noteworthy reasons for the increase in the numbers and types of recipients were: first, the new, formal recognition of the *awlād al-nās* as recipients and second: the increase in the informal recipients registered fraudulently.

(1) The Awlād al-Nās

The sons of the mamluks, referred to as *awlād al-nās,* began to be enrolled in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and like the mamluks, received monthly wages and provisions. The *awlād al-nās* were originally military men belonging to the *ḥalqah* troops, receiving *iqṭā*‘s from the sultan.[68] A question arises as to the circumstances that required their enrollment, which started on a regular basis during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq. I believe it was the ultimate consequence of the long-term decline of the *ḥalqah* that began during the late Bahri Mamluk period. It is widely known that the *ḥalqah* troops became impoverished and began to sell their *iqṭā*‘s for money in the last decades of the Bahri Mamluk period;[69] however, their condition continued to deteriorate under the Circassian Mamluks. In Ramaḍān 821 (October 1418), Sultan Shaykh initiated the reconstitution of the *ḥalqah* and improved the chances of a *ḥalqah* trooper holding an *iqṭā*‘ based on his status. That is to say, amirs often purchased the *ḥalqah* troopers´ *iqṭā*‘s or acquired them in the names of their own mamluks and eunuchs. The sultan´s mamluks also acquired *ḥalqah* troopers´ *iqṭā*‘s in addition to their own monthly wages. Accordingly, several *ḥalqah* troopers who lost their revenue source entered into the service of the amirs as ″mamluks of the amirs.″[70] This indicates that the *iqṭā*‘s of the *ḥalqah* gradually came into the possession of the mamluks and amirs, the higher-ranking military class, contrasting with the decline of the *ḥalqah*. In addition, the situation wherein ″*iqṭā*‘s were lost by being turned into *rizqah*s, *milk*s, etc.,″ was also regarded as a

[67] *Taysīr,* 73; *Dīwān al-Inshā*’*,* fol. 133v.

[68] David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army 2,″ *BSOAS* 15, no. 3 (1953): 456–58.

[69] On the decline of the *ḥalqah* troops and the sale of *iqṭā*‘s of the *ḥalqah* troopers, see: ibid., 451–56; *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:710–11. While the origin of this phenomenon lay in *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī,* which sharply reduced the revenues from *iqṭā*‘s for the *ḥalqah* troopers, the plagues that had been frequent since 749/1348–49 also aggravated this problem. In addition to causing extensive damage to the rural areas and decreasing income from the *iqṭā*‘s, several *iqṭā*‘s that lost their holders to the plagues fell into the hands of non-military men. See: Dols, *Black Death*, 273–75; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 159–60.

[70] *Nujūm,* 14:69–71; *Sulūk,* 4:461–64; *Inbā*’ *al-Ghumr,* 3:169. There are several examples wherein a sultan´s mamluk held an *iqṭā*‘ of a *ḥalqah* trooper. For example, when the monthly wages were distributed to the Royal Mamluks in Rabī‘ II 827 (March 1424), wages of mamluks who also held *iqṭā*‘s of the *ḥalqah* troopers were deducted. See: *Sulūk,* 4:661.

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reason for the decline of the *ḥalqah,*[71] and the alienation of the state lands mentioned above continued uninterrupted, directly influencing the decrease in the land for *iqṭā*'s. In any case, this effort of Sultan Shaykh's was largely futile and the decline of the *ḥalqah* proceeded.

The continued decline of the *ḥalqah* troops and their disappearance as a military unit naturally and directly affected the sons of the mamluks, who joined the military unit as *"awlād al-nās"* troopers. One possibility is to assume that the enrollment of *awlād al-nās* in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was in keeping with a policy to maintain them as a military unit by directly providing wages in cash from the state treasury instead of *iqṭā*'s, which had been gradually reduced during the period under consideration. The fact that Sultan Qāytbāy tested the *awlād al-nās* on their military ability by making them draw their bows and deducted the monthly wages of those who were unsuccessful in the examination proves that the wage for the *awlād al-nās* paid from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was officially regarded as compensation for military service. But in fact a majority of them had never possessed any abilities suited to military service, nor had they received an amount necessary to support them. This is proved by the following account (885/1481) regarding the inspection of *ḥalqah* members in which they are ordered to maintain their military equipment and acquire military training:

> However, as for the *awlād al-nās,* no previous sultan had ever reviewed them, or ignored them even if they had reviewed them [with the army]. . . . One [of them] receiving a monthly wage of as much as 500 or 300 dirhams [as opposed to the regular sum for a mamluk of 2,000 dirhams] and having dependents is poor. Where can he raise additional [money] in order [to pay] for a sword, a lance, or a quiver? These are the people who preceding sultans allowed to have presents of alms *(ṣadaqah)* from the sultan's treasury.[72]

As this account indicates, the monthly wages paid to the *awlād al-nās* were not well-earned rewards for military service; rather, they were a kind of "public-assistance payment" for the sons of the mamluks. We can say that the novel enrollment of the *awlād al-nās* in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as formal recipients of stipends indicated that the traditional military *iqṭā'* system had reached a dead end as a consequence of the continuous decrease in state lands.

(2) INFORMAL RECIPIENTS

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[71]*Nujūm,* 14:71.

[72]*Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 501–2.

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There were several categories of informal recipients who were enrolled in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. If we examine the people who acquired the right to receive wages from this *dīwān* and the channels through which they achieved it, they may be divided into two groups. The first group includes ″the people connected with influential men in the state *(muḍāfī kibār al-dawlah).*″[73] It can be stated with a fair amount of certainty that they had connections and became recipients with the aid of their patrons. The majority of these are assumed to be mamluks and private staff of the amirs although there were various kinds of people among them. In the aforementioned account pertaining to Sultan Shaykh′s policy that aimed for the reconstruction of the *ḥalqah,* it is stated that the amirs enrolled their mamluks and eunuchs in this *dīwān* so that they could acquire monthly wages in addition to acquiring *ḥalqah* troopers′ *iqṭā*‘s for their own uses (see note 70). For example, there was a case wherein an *ustādār* enrolled his own mamluks in this *dīwān* as ″sultan′s mamluks″ and paid them wages from it.[74] Another example is that of Amir Burdbak al-Bajmaqdār (d. 875/1470), an eminent amir who successively held various high offices such as Viceroy of Aleppo, Viceroy of Damascus, etc., and who compelled viziers and *ustādār*s to provide him and the men in his service with monthly wages and various supplies.[75] It is obvious that these types of people had included themselves among the regular recipients in view of the fact that amirs often balked at the attempts of sultans to reduce their stipends.[76]

The second group includes the people who purchased their status as recipients. Al-Ashqar, who had occupied the position of *ustādār* for more than ten years during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq, was given free rein in the management of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which was mired in financial difficulties. Due to a lack of operating funds, he began to sell the rights of receiving wages from this *dīwān* in order to obtain funds to disburse the monthly wages. Consequently, various people fraudulently acquired wages as ″sultan′s mamluks.″ Furthermore, it was inevitable that these wages fell into the hands of wealthy people; there were amirs who also received monthly wages, or mamluks who gained more than one stipend at a time.[77] In 873/1468, Qāytbāy attempted to reestablish the principle that each mamluk would receive only 2,000 dirhams (i.e., the regular stipend) and compelled mamluks who purchased stipend-receiving status or received more than this amount to

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[73]*Ḥawādith*[1], 678; *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 16.

[74]*Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 173.

[75]Ibid., 300.

[76]*Sulūk,* 3:1103; *Nuzhah,* 2:165; *Ḥawādith*[2], 1:426; *Badā'i‘*, 2:320. Sultan Qāytbāy did not approve the intervention of the amirs in his attempts at reforming al-Dīwān al-Mufrad in 873/1468 [*Ḥawādith*[1], 693].

[77]On the sale of the monthly wages and its repercussions, see: *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 34.

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return them to the sellers (probably including rank and file mamluks and *awlād al-nās*).[78] This explains the manner in which the sale of wages became widespread.

Under these circumstances, al-Ashqar managed al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as well as possible using all the means within his power, such as seizing *iqṭā'*s and *rizqah*s for the *dīwān*'s resources.[79] Nevertheless, this was nothing more than ad hoc management depending on his own discretion; thus, it ceased to function following the death of his supporter, Jaqmaq. Furthermore, a part of the agricultural land from the *dīwān*'s resources frequently fell into the hands of amirs and mamluks aiming to acquire the lands as *iqṭā'* during times of political unrest, such as the interval between a sultan's death and a new sultan's enthronement.[80] In addition, powerful amirs' *ḥimāyah* (private protection) over farm villages, which became widespread during this period and prevented local officials from collecting taxes from them undoubtedly exerted a negative influence on this *dīwān,* which depended heavily on tax returns from rural districts.[81] Therefore, sultans regularly had to meet this *dīwān*'s deficit from their own purses because it could not otherwise be operated.[82] During the reign of Khushqadam, the fact that the *ustādār* was awarded a *khil'ah* and was lauded each time he was able to provide stipends to the mamluks proves the difficulty of performing this job at this time.[83] These circumstances compelled Qāytbāy, who ascended to the sultanate in 872/1468, to immediately embark on a thorough financial reform. However, this will not be discussed in this article for lack of space.

Conclusion

On the basis of our analysis of the historical development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad from its establishment till the time of its fiscal bankruptcy, two important facts relating not only to this *dīwān* but also to the structure of the Mamluk regime itself were clarified. Firstly, the growing weakness of the system of land management under the sole authority of the state had a persistent influence on the establishment, development, and, finally, bankruptcy of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. This *dīwān* was established against the background of a problem, namely, the alienation of

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[78] *Ḥawādith*[1], 690; *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 36. Similarly, the rights to receive meat supplies from Dīwān al-Wizārah were also dealt with [*Badā'i'*, 3:23, 331] and pensions *(ma'āsh)* for the poor/Sufis *(fuqarā')* and others were sold at a high price [*Nujūm,* 16:28].

[79] For further details of al-Ashqar, see: *Ḍaw',* 10:233–34; *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 172–75.

[80] *Inbā' al-Haṣr*, 34; *Ḥawādith*[2], 1:137; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, n.d.), 218; *Badā'i'*, 2:383.

[81] *Taysīr,* 95–96, 135–36.

[82] *Ḥawādith*[1], 413, 449, 491, 757; *Ḥawādith*[2], 1:453.

[83] *Ḥawādith*[1], 486, 491–92, 493, 495.

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agricultural lands from the state treasury. However, this continued to be perceived as a problem without an effective solution throughout the Circassian Mamluk period. As Abū Ghāzī describes it, the state land sales rapidly increased in the 850s/1446–56 and a majority of those lands sold fell into the hands of the upper class of Mamluks, such as the sultans and amirs.[84] This problem was directly related to the malfunctioning of the *iqṭā'* system; the privatization and inheritance of *iqṭā'* lands were widespread during the period under consideration, and the *iqṭā'* system was shaken to its foundations.[85] It can be said that the large increase in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad's landholdings resulted from the ceaseless efforts to raise money for the monthly stipends of the relatively lower-class Mamluks (and their sons) who had been directly affected to a greater extent by these problems of the *iqṭā'* system, by means of concentrating the gradually decreasing state lands, either *khāṣṣ* lands or *iqṭā'*s, into this *dīwān*. Simultaneously, it meant that redistributing agricultural lands based on government initiatives such as *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* were impossible, because titles to lands such as private holdings, *waqf,* lease, *ḥimāyah*, etc., were complicated.

Secondly, in relation to the above, the government's ability to control the distribution or withholding of remuneration, not only *iqṭā'*s but also the monthly stipends or other provisions, through the machinery of the state had weakened. In contrast, powerful amirs were striving to acquire interests from the state for themselves, and even their followers acquired interests with their support. It appears reasonable to suppose that this situation suggesting "the privatization of the state" that Sabra refers to[86] was closely linked to the emergence of the personal factions/households referred to as *jamā'ah* or *bāb,* which formed around powerful figures (including amirs, civilians, and qadis), and expanded their roles in politics and society during the late Mamluk period.[87] However, this is irrelevant to the main subject. In a political structure where one of the powerful amirs would ascend to the sultanate with the support of a Mamluk factional power base and through an agreement among the Mamluks, it essentially enabled other powerful

[84]Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur,* 26–28, 110–11. However, I agree with Adam Sabra that the alienation of state lands was a part of the privatization of state resources by the Mamluk elite (and their descendants) linked to a change in the character of the Mamluk elite opposing Abū Ghāzī's view that it induced the rise of a new class of private landowners with the opening of a land market. Adam Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 207–10.

[85]*Taysīr,* 81–83; al-Balaṭunusī, *Taḥrīr al-Maqāl fīmā Yaḥill wa-Yaḥrum min Bayt al-Māl* (al-Manṣūrah, 1989), 107–8, 164–65; Poliak, *Feudalism,* 36–37.

[86]Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class?" 207–8, n. 19.

[87]On the *jama'ah*/*bab,* see: Miura Toru, "Urban Society at the Mamluk Era," 8–11, 17–19; cf. Miura, "Administrative Networks," 57–58, 65–66.

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amirs to interfere in the workings of the administration. Thus, the sultan´s control through the state machinery naturally had its limits although it was in varying degrees according to the sultan´s ability and his power base. Inferentially, the sultan, as the ″principal Mamluk,″ had first of all to protect the interests of all the Mamluks, ensuring an equitable distribution of wealth and its allotment among them.[88] On the basis of an understanding of the nature of the sultan´s power and the political structure, we can explain the role of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad from a different perspective; that is, securing resources through the establishment of the *dīwān* and its continuous development achieved institutional stability in training and maintaining a certain number of Mamluks despite the adverse financial situation. In other words, it functioned as an effective mechanism in sustaining the Mamluk military system that produced the ruling military elites through the purchase, training, and emancipation of slaves, which was a fundamental basis of the Mamluk regime. It also enabled the continuance of their rule during the period of economic decline and the collapse of the state structure. Furthermore, the observation that the Royal Mamluks comprised the *mushtarawāt* of the ruling sultan and the *mustakhdamūn* trained by preceding sultans (see note 37) as well as the fact that powerful amirs had let their followers receive wages from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad indicates that not only the sultan but also several Mamluk factions and their leaders, namely, powerful amirs, had their own vested interests in this *dīwān*. In other words, the development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and various other efforts to ensure the regular payment of monthly stipends were linked to the common interest of the Mamluk community, beyond the original plan supporting the preferential treatment of only the sultan´s mamluks.

[88]Under the Circassian Mamluks in particular, the members of those Mamluk factions who were trained and emancipated by the same sultan functioned as political interest groups. It was essential for sultans to manage the government through balancing the interests of such factions. On the Mamluk factionalism in politics and the power structure of the sultan, see: Robert Irwin, ″Factions in Medieval Egypt,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986): 228–46; Levanoni, ″The Mamluk Conception.″

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TABLE. EGYPTIAN *NĀḤIYAH*S ASSIGNED TO *AL-DIWAN AL-MUFRAD* IN THE REIGNS OF QĀYTBĀY AND BARQŪQ

Province (*iqlīm/a'māl*)	THE REIGN OF QĀYTBĀY (AROUND 885/1480) (ACCORDING TO *TUḤFAH*) Number of *Nāḥiyah*s	Total *'Ibrah* (dj)	Average *'Ibrah* (dj)	D. al-Mufrad	*'Ibrah* (dj)	THE REIGN OF BARQŪQ (AROUND 800/1397) (ACCORDING TO *INTIṢĀR*) Average *'Ibrah* (dj)	Percentage	D. al-Mufrad	*'Ibrah* (dj)
Lower Egypt									
The Suburbs of Cairo	26	114,100	5,705	2	24,000	12,000	21.0	3	25,896
al-Qalyūbīyah	60	365,500	6,768.5	2	31,800	15,900	8.7	1	22,000
al-Sharqīyah	382	1,085,185	3,288.4	15	77,700	5,180	7.5	0	0
al-Daqahlīyah	213	435,938.5	2,476.9	8	90,860	11,357.5	20.8	0	0
Ḍawāḥī Thaghr Dimyāṭ	14	24,200	2,016.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
al-Gharbīyah	474	1,730,723.2	3,951.4	18	267,950	14,886.1	15.5	1	13,000
al-Manūfīyah	133	491,768.5	3,753.9	7	44,700	6,385.7	9.0	–	–
Abyār wa-Jazīrat Banī Naṣr	47	100,888	2,193.2	5	14,000	2,800	13.8	–	–
al-Buḥayrah	230	561,908.3	2,565.8	34	175,890.3	5,173.2	31.3	2	13,000
Fuwwah	16	54,400	3,885.7	0	0	0	0	–	–
Nastarāwah	6	29,900	5,980	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ḍawāḥī al-Iskandarīyah	14	34,112	4,264	3	5,000	1,666.7	14.6	0	0
Total for Lower Egypt	**1,615**	**5,028,623.5**	**3,460.2**	**94**	**731,900.3**	**7,786.2**	**14.6**	**7**	**73,896**
Upper Egypt									
al-Jīzīyah	159	206,142	5,027.9	5	33,025	6,605	16.0	0	0
al-Iṭfīḥīyah	53	96,794.5	1,935.9	3	10,916	3,638.7	11.3	0	0
al-Fayyūmīyah	102	433,543	4,563.6	9	27,632	3,070.2	6.4	–	–
al-Bahnasāwīyah	155	968,971	6,417	21	278,764	13,274.5	28.8	3	52,000 +
al-Ushmūnayn	105	526,339.7	5,110.1	17	167,455	9,850.3	31.8	3	56,000
al-Manfalūṭīyah	5	38,000	9,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
al-Asyūṭīyah	32	329,220	10,620	3	83,250	27,750	25.3	0	0
al-Ikhmīmīyah	24	180,864	7,536	1	20,000	20,000	11.1	0	0
al-Qūṣīyah	43	366,999	9,657.9	6	60,916	10,152.7	16.6	1	19,542.5
Total for Upper Egypt	**678**	**3,146,873.2**	**5,860.1**	**65**	**681,958**	**10,491.7**	**21.7**	**7**	**127,542.5**
Total for Egypt	**2,293**	**8,175,496.7**	**4,107.8**	**159**	**1,413,858.3**	**8,892.2**	**17.3**	**14**	**201,438.5**

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Slave Traders and Kārimī Merchants during the Mamluk Period: A Comparative Study

Both slave traders *(nakhkhās, jallāb)* and Kārimī merchants played important economic and social roles in Mamluk Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. As Ira M. Lapidus has stated, slave traders were regarded on religious grounds as disreputable, like brokers, town criers, and money changers, but nevertheless were employed in the slave trade for the army of the Mamluk sultanate and became important figures in Mamluk circles.[1] David Ayalon was the first historian to provide a brief overview of the characteristics of slave traders.[2] In an investigation of mamluk names, titles and *nisbah*s, he also discovered the personal ties that existed between slave traders and ex-mamluks, that is, the sultans and amirs sold by them.[3] On the other hand, Subhi Y. Labib´s voluminous book on commercial activities in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt presents only a brief description of the slave trade during the Mamluk period.[4] Eliyahu Ashtor and Andrew Ehrenkreutz have also touched upon military slaves supplied by the Genoese from the end of the thirteenth century on; however, both failed to refer to Muslim slave traders during that period.[5] Al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-'Arīnī, in his book entitled *Al-Mamālīk,* explained the title *khwājā,* which was held mostly by slave traders, and their transactions in military slaves, through case studies of several merchants during the Mamluk period.[6]

As for the Kārimī merchants, more research has been accomplished than in the case of slave traders. S. D. Goitein, in a study on the origins of the Kārimī merchants based on the Geniza documents, refers to their close relationship with

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[1]Ira. M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 82, 122–23.

[2]David Ayalon, *L´esclavage du Mamelouk* (Jerusalem, 1951), 1–4.

[3]David Ayalon, ″Names, Titles and ´Nisbas´ of the Mamluks,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189–232.

[4]Subhi. Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter 1171–1517* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 259, 490.

[5]Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 11, 28, 36, 47, 127, 333; Andrew Ehrenkreutz, ″Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 335–45.

[6]Al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-'Arīnī, *Al-Mamālīk* (Beirut, 1979), 73–77.

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the merchants active on the west coast of India.[7] Walter J. Fischel, following up on the pioneering study by Gaston Wiet,[8] states that the Kārimī merchants formed a strong association and played an important role in Mamluk fiscal administration through their participation in the profitable spice trade between Egypt and Yemen.[9] By adding new Arabic sources, Ashtor criticized Fischel's views, stating that (1) the Kārimīs were a loosely-organized group of merchants dealing not only in spices but also slaves and agricultural products between Egypt and Yemen, including Syria, and (2) contrary to Fischel's belief that the Kārimīs were an exclusively Muslim group of merchants, there is no reason why the Kārimīs should not have admitted Christians and Jews into their ranks.[10] Based on plentiful Arabic and non-Arabic sources, Labib systematically describes their activities from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period.[11] Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Ashqar has furthered the historical study of the spice trade during the Mamluk period with a book entitled *Tujjār al-Tawābil fī Miṣr fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,*[12] which provides a very useful list of 201 Kārimī merchants containing their full names, personal information, and related historical sources.

As mentioned above, slave traders and Kārimī merchants have been studied mainly in the context of the social and economic history of Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Given that my interest lies in the similarities and differences between these two groups of merchants, this article will attempt to compare them during the Mamluk period, in terms of their fields of commercial activity, commodities, relationships with Mamluk sultans, and religious and cultural activities, based on the cases of two famous slave traders and one leading family from among the Kārimī merchants as depicted in the contemporary Arabic sources.

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[7]Shlomo D. Goitein, "The Beginning of the Kārim Merchants and the Character of their Organization," in *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 351–60; idem, "New Light on the Beginnings of the Kārim Merchants," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958): 175–84.

[8]Gaston Wiet, "Les Marchands d'Épices sous les Sultans Mamlouks," *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne* 7 (1955): 81–147.

[9]Walter J. Fischel, "Über die Gruppe der Kārimī-Kaufleute," *Analecta Orientalia* 14 (1937): 67–82. The revised version of this article in English is "The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958): 157–74.

[10]Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956): 54–56. See also idem, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 241–42, 300–1, 320–21; idem, *Levant Trade,* 218, 270 f.

[11]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 60–63, 112–21, 402–5. See also idem, "Egyptian Commercial Policy in the Middle Ages," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East,* ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 63–77.

[12]Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil fī Miṣr fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1999).

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TWO SLAVE TRADERS

The activities of Khawājā Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Yāqūt al-Sallāmī (671–743/1272–1342) and Khawājā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb ibn Musāfir al-As'ardī (d. 783/1381) are described in the Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries, allowing one to obtain a general grasp of their origins, spheres of activity, commodities, types of activity, relationships with the Mamluk sultans, and religious and cultural activities.

ORIGINS

Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī was born in the village of al-Sallāmīyah near Mosul in al-Jazīrah in the year 671/1272.[13] According to Yāqūt (574 or 575–626/1179–1229), al-Sallāmīyah was a large village located on the east bank of the upper Tigris.[14] Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) says that he came to Egypt as a merchant and was granted the much-coveted title of *khawājā* during the reigns of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–94/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–741/1310–41).[15] *Khawājā* (Arabic corruption of *hoja*) was a title *(laqab)* bestowed upon wealthy merchants operating in official service from outside the Mamluk domain in places like al-Jazīrah, Fars, etc.[16] Al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363) states that he was a significant figure, intelligent, friendly, and an excellent mediator between local rulers.[17]

Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān al-As'ardī was from As'ard, a town to the south of Āmid in al-Jazīrah.[18] He was granted the title of *khawājā* for his distinguished service in transporting Barqūq (future sultan 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99), then his father and his brothers to Cairo in 782/1381.[19] According to *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* Fakhr al-Dīn was thought of as brave, intelligent, and dignified.[20]

As to language ability, both Majd al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn should have spoken

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[13]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853; repr. Baghdad, 1970), 2:43; idem, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1991), 2:181. *Al-Muqaffá* confuses Majd al-Dīn with Najm al-Dīn.

[14]Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1955–57), 3:234.

[15]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181.

[16]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1963), 6:13; Ayalon, *L'esclavage,* 3-4; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 122–23, 127–29; Muḥammad Qandīl al-Baqlī, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Muṣṭalaḥāt Ṣubḥ al-A'shá* (Cairo, 1984), 124. Ashtor states mistakenly that the honorific title khawadja or khawadjaki which was bestowed upon them is not mentioned in the great manual of state administration compiled by al-Qalqashandī (*A Social and Economic History,* 321).

[17]Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden, 1949–), 9:220.

[18]Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān* (Paris, 1840), 289.

[19]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977), 1:3:38, 70.

[20]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 11:220.

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Arabic fluently since they were from al-Jazīrah. However, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) states that Fakhr al-Dīn could speak Turkish, but not Arabic.[21] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (779–851/1377–1448) gives his name as Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʻAjamī (al-aṣl) al-Miṣrī,[22] which indicates that he was originally not an Arab, but later lived in Cairo. As al-ʻArīnī concludes, judging from their names, most of the slave traders during the Mamluk period were non-Arabs.[23]

Spheres of Activity

Al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442) states in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that Majd al-Dīn traveled often between Cairo and Tabriz using post *(barīd)* horses,[24] which were formally for official business. Tabriz at the beginning of the fourteenth century was not only the capital city of the Ilkhans but also an emporium of international trade.[25] Al-Maqrīzī states in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ″Majd al-Dīn used to go in the countries of Ṭaṭar, trade there and return with slaves (sing. *raqīq*) and other goods.″[26] It is related that when he visited the court *(urudū)* of the Ilkhanids, he would stay there for two or three years.[27]

As in the case of Barqūq, who was from Charkas,[28] Fakhr al-Dīn was involved in the trade between Cairo and the province of Charkas to the north of Tabriz. Fakhr al-Dīn also constructed a splendid trading center *(qaysārīyah)* in Damascus, which indicates that his activities encompassed both Egypt and Syria.[29] According to al-Maqrīzī,

> Sultan al-Nāṣir increased the number of male slaves (sing. *mamlūk*) and female slaves (sing. *jāriyah*) to be purchased. He summoned the slave traders and gave them money to purchase male and female slaves. When the traders returned from Uzbek, Tabriz, Rūm and

[21]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'd al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1980–), 3:286; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:224.

[22]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:73.

[23]Al-ʻArīnī, *Al-Mamālīk,* 76.

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1938–73), 2:209, 246.

[25]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 264.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

[27]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67), 1:407.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:241; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:476, 943; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:223.

[29]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr* (Cairo, 1969–72), 1:247; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:73.

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> Baghdad [to Cairo] with mamluks, the sultan would bestow precious goods upon them.[30]

The spheres of activity of Majd al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn—Tabriz and the province of Charkas—were included in the districts for purchasing slaves as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī.

COMMODITIES

Majd al-Dīn was known as a mamluk trader for the sultan *(tājir al-khāṣṣ)* during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He often traveled to the Tatar provinces and returned with mamluk and *jāriyah* slaves (sing. *raqīq*) and other goods.[31] The Arabic sources do not describe the ″other goods″; however, Majd al-Dīn might have purchased such products in the Tatar provinces as furs, silk goods, and silver.

Fakhr al-Dīn was a ″mamluk merchant″ *(tājir fī al-mamālīk),*[32] widely known as the trader *(jālib)* who brought al-Atābak Barqūq from the Charkas provinces to Cairo around 764/1363.[33] According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Fakhr al-Dīn was a ″merchant of the sultan″ *(tājir al-sulṭān)* bringing mamluks and *jāriyah*s from the Turkish provinces *(Bilād al-Turk)*.[34] However, it is not related whether or not he traded other goods besides slaves.

TYPES OF ACTIVITY

According to the Arabic sources, the slave traders of the Mamluk period were engaged in commerce on an individual basis, not forming any trade organizations. According to al-Maqrīzī, Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī was a person of high intelligence, a skillful manager, who had gathered information on the character and manners of local rulers, and a man of gentle character, moderate speech, and handsome appearance.[35] These talents and knowledge enabled him to form a personal bond of trust with Sultan al-Nāṣir. Al-Ṣafadī relates that Majd al-Dīn earned the trust *(wajāhah zā'idah)* of both Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir and the Mughuls (the Ilkhanid court) due to his outstanding conduct.[36]

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[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:524. We find another account that in 737/1336–37 Sultan al-Nāṣir ordered khawājā 'Umar to go to Uzbek to purchase mamluks and *jāriyah*s (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* [Beirut, 1986], 379).

[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181.

[32]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:247.

[33]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:223.

[34]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:73.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:182; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

[36]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:220. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:407.

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On the other hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī remarks in the obituary notice for Fakhr al-Dīn ʻUthmān that he achieved salvation *(saʻādah)* for his personal contribution in bringing Barqūq to Egypt.[37] Because Barqūq was also grateful to Fakhr al-Dīn for services that had opened his opportunity for advancement in Egypt, the sultan would stand up from afar whenever he saw Fakhr al-Dīn and pay his respects.[38] Thus Fakhr al-Dīn, like Majd al-Dīn, developed his trading business based on a personal relationship with the sultan. However, we do not find any account that their descendants inherited their slave-trading businesses following their deaths.

Relationships with the Mamluk Sultans

From the time of the establishment of the Ilkhanid dynasty in 654/1256, hostile relations continued between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids until the end of Ghazan Khan′s reign (694–713/1295–1304). Since Majd al-Dīn had the confidence of both Sultan al-Nāṣir and Ghazan′s nephew, Abū Saʻīd (716–36/1316–35), he attempted to mediate between them. Majd al-Dīn traveled to Tabriz several times for the sultan carrying letters and gifts (sing. *hadīyah*) he himself chose for the notables at the Ilkhanid court.[39] In 722/1322 Amir Aytamish al-Muḥammadī was eventually sent to Abū Saʻīd to conclude a peace treaty *(ṣulḥ)*. The treaty, which was effective for ten years and ten days,[40] guaranteed that roads between the two countries would be open, enabling all merchants to travel freely and a caravan to travel from Iraq to al-Ḥijāz every year with a decorated palanquin *(maḥmil)* and the flags *(sanjaq)* of both countries.[41]

Due to his contribution to the peace treaty, Majd al-Dīn confirmed his position with Sultan al-Nāṣir and gained even greater esteem and favor than before.[42] Consequently, Majd al-Dīn obtained various privileges from the Mamluk government: the sultan assigned *iqṭāʻ*s of the *ḥalqah* to his mamluks, and granted him meat, bread, white unleavened bread (*kumāj*), barley, sugar, sugar candy, etc., worth one hundred and fifty dirhams a day. Furthermore, the sultan allotted him the village of Arrāq in Baʻlabakk,which yielded ten thousand dirhams annually.[43]

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[37]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:220.

[38]Ibid. Sultan Barqūq named himself Barqūq al-ʻUthmānī after the slave merchant Fakhr al-Dīn ʻUthmān (Ayalon, ″Names,″ 221).

[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:175; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:407; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:220; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharāʼib al-Amṣār* (Paris, 1854; repr. 1969), 1:171–72.

[40]Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Cairo, 1960), 312–13.

[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:209–10.

[42]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

[43]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:220–21. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181–82; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

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In addition, according to al-Maqrīzī, Majd al-Dīn was granted another fifty thousand dirhams and received a 50% tax exemption on his goods.[44]

It is widely known that Barqūq named himself Barqūq al-'Uthmānī because he greatly respected Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān. When Fakhr al-Dīn died in 783/1381, just before Barqūq ascended the throne, he prayed to God and wailed much for him.[45] Furthermore, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) relates that Fakhr al-Dīn personally requested the abolition of the pomegranate tax *(maks al-rummān)* in Damascus and his request was eventually granted by the sultan.[46] It is interesting to find that both Majd al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn were exempted from taxation due to their personal relationships with the sultans.

Religious and Cultural Activities

As to the public works sponsored by slave traders, we do not find any information on such activities except Fakhr al-Dīn's trading center *(qaysārīyah)* in Damascus. Research to date documents only a few religious and cultural activities conducted by slave traders during the Mamluk period.[47]

The Kārimī Merchants

From the end of the Fatimid period on, the Kārimī merchants cultivated commercial relations with Yemen, India, Southeast Asia, and China. During the Mamluk period there were such influential families among the Kārimīs as al-Maḥallī, al-Kharrūbī, Ibn Kuwayk, and Ibn Musallam. Here I will take up al-Kharrūbī as an example of an upstart wealthy Kārimī merchant to be compared with the slave traders discussed above.

Since "kharrūb" in Arabic means carob, the family ancestor, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Kharrūbī, might have been a carob retailer. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the Kharrūbīs originated from Kharrūb square in Fusṭāṭ[48] where carob was usually sold.[49] In any case, the family's activities as Kārimī merchants lasted for seven generations from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī (mid-thirteenth century) to Fakhr al-Dīn

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[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:246.

[45]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:247.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:141. Al-Ḥusayn ibn Dāwūd al-Khawājā 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sallāmī was a merchant who constructed a madrasah known as "al-Sallāmīyah."

[48]Ibid., 1:481.

[49]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1893), 1:35. According to this account, the square was originally called "Raḥbat Dār al-Malik," then it came to be named "Raḥbat Kharrūb" because carob was usually sold there.

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Sulaymān (d. 864/1460), who was imprisoned due to his large debt.[50]

Origins

It was after the time of the two brothers, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 769/1368) and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 762/1361), that concrete descriptions of the Kharrūbīs appear in the Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries. Their activities were centered around Fusṭāṭ, where they were probably born as Arab Muslims. Among the Kharrūbī merchants, only Sirāj al-Dīn or Badr al-Dīn ibn Abī ʻUmar ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[51] and Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn Aḥmad (d. 802/1400)[52] were granted the title of *khawājā*.

Sphere of Activity

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad constructed al-Madrasah al-Kharrūbīyah on the outskirts of Fusṭāṭ and his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad built a large tomb *(turbah)* in al-Qarāfah.[53] Khawājā Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī, who was a manly *(murūwah)* and benevolent *(khayr)* person, came to be one of the most notable merchants in Egypt and went to Mecca several times, probably both for pilgrimages and trade.[54] He was also the owner of a school *(ṣāḥib al-madrasah)* near the bank of the Nile in Fusṭāṭ.[55]

Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʻAlī al-Kharrūbī (d. 787/1385) was brought up as a Sufi *(faqīr),* because his father, who yearned for the ascetic life, built a monastery *(zāwiyah)* for his son at al-Jīzah. After he returned from Yemen via ʻAydhāb with a small amount of goods, Zakī al-Dīn inherited a large fortune from his brother Badr al-Dīn, which provided him with the opportunity for success.[56] Ibn Ḥajar relates in *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,*

> [In Mecca] I was under the patronage of Zakī al-Dīn like his slave *(raqīq)* because my father had requested him to take care of me due to my young age. In 786/1384 I returned [to Cairo] with him and Zakī al-Dīn still retained the title of leadership *(ri'āsah).*[57]

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[50]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1934–36), 3:267.

[51]Ibid., 3:267, 8:246.

[52]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 2:123; Ibn Iyās relates that Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī died in 803/1401 (*Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* [Wiesbaden, 1961–75], 1:2:636).

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369.

[54]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:123.

[55]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:2:636.

[56]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:481–82.

[57]Ibid., 482. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:539; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:167–68. Since Ibn Ḥajar was born in 773/1372, he was thirteen years old when he returned to Cairo with Zakī

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When Zakī al-Dīn died in 787/1385, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Maḥallī took the title of leadership *(ri'āsat al-tujjār)* exclusively until he died in 806/1403.[58] Al-Maqrīzī relates that Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī was a large-scale Kārimī merchant who traveled to Syria and Yemen many times.[59]

According to the above accounts, the sphere of activity of the Kārimī merchants, particularly those of the Kharrūbī family, were Fusṭāṭ, Cairo, Mecca, Yemen, and Syria. We know that there was a not-insignificant number of Kārimīs who unlike the Kharrūbīs traveled to India and as far as China.[60]

COMMODITIES

The research to date informs us that the Kārimīs traded spices *(bahār),* lumber, textiles, precious stones *(jawāhir),* wheat *(qamḥ),* sugar *(sukkar),* pottery *(fakhkhār),* slaves (sing. *raqīq*), etc.[61] Al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) states that ″the office of spice and al-Kārimī″ (*naẓar al-bahār wa-al-Kārimī*) supervised the various spices *(bahār)* and other goods the Kārimī merchants brought from Yemen,[62] so there is no doubt that the Kārimīs specifically brought spices from Aden to Cairo, Alexandria, and Damascus.

However, as I have already mentioned in another article,[63] we find an interesting account in Ibn Duqmāq′s (d. 809/1406) *Kitāb al-Intiṣār,* which relates that among the 65 sugar refineries *(maṭbakh al-sukkar)* located at Fusṭāṭ, 7 were owned by the sultan, 21 by amirs, and 13 by merchants (sing. *tājir*). Among the 13 refineries owned by merchants, 4 were managed by *sukkarī*s (probably Muslim and Jewish sugar merchants) and another 4 by the Kārimī merchants. Among the 4 refineries owned by the Kārimīs, 2 were managed by Kharrūbī family members: Maṭbakh Sirāj al-Dīn ibn [Abī 'Umar] al-Kharrūbī and Maṭbakh Nūr al-Dīn ['Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz] al-Kharrūbī.[64] Sirāj al-Dīn ibn Abī 'Umar was the family′s fourth-

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al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī. See Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis 'Asharah al-Mīlādī* (Cairo, 1954), 18.

[58]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482.

[59]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:246. Concerning Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, see also Ashtor, ″The Kārimī Merchants,″ 48.

[60]Al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 467–539.

[61]Ashtor, ″The Kārimī Merchants,″ 55–56; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 125; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 215; al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 76.

[62]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:32. Labib inscribes ″der nāẓir al-buhār und al-Kārimī″ (*Handelsgeschichte*, 165). However, not ″al-buhār″ but ″al-bahār″ is correct.

[63]Sato Tsugitaka, ″Sugar in the Economic Life of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 99.

[64]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār,* 1:41–46.

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generation merchant prior to Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī, who died in 802/1400.[65] This indicates that the Kharrūbīs had already begun managing sugar refineries during the latter half of the thirteenth century. Accordingly, we need to correct Ashtor's view that the first generation was represented by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 769/1368).[66]

Among the Kharrūbīs, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 762/1361) was particularly well known as a "sugar refinery merchant" *(tājir fī maṭābikh al-sukkar)* at Fusṭāṭ.[67] In 751/1350 Sultan Ḥasan (748–52/1347–51) ordered the Kharrūbīs to provide sugar for his grant of the commodity during the month of Muḥarram.[68] The above accounts show that the Kharrūbīs profited not only from the spice trade but also from sugar refining and sale. Al-Maqrīzī says, "When the water of the Nile flows into the Alexandria Canal during Misrā (25 July–23 August), ships (sing. *markab*) loaded with various kinds of goods, like crops *(ghallah),* spices *(bahār),* and sugar *(sukkar),* would set sail."[69] Sugar during the Mamluk period was thought to have been one of the most important exports to Europe as well as a luxury good consumed by sultans and amirs at their private residences or during public festivals.[70]

Types of Activity

It is widely known that the Kārimīs formed a loose confederation of merchants bound together by professional interest and that they constructed hostelries (sing. *funduq*) on various occasions for common purposes.[71] According to Lapidus, Kārimī merchants themselves were headed by *ra'īs*es, who acted as liaisons between them and the state for the purpose of discipline, diplomacy, banking, and other services.[72] However, Ashtor emphasizes the fact that such titles as "chief of the Kārimīs" found in Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries should not be taken too literally.[73]

In the case of Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī, who held the title of *ra'īs al-tujjār,* Ibn Ḥajar relates that after he obtained the title, the influential merchants

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[65]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:2:636.

[66]Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 50.

[67]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369. See also Sato, "Sugar in the Economic Life," 99.

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:829.

[69]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:273. See also Sato, "Sugar in the Economic Life," 98.

[70]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 215.

[71]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 300–1; idem, "The Kārimī Merchants," 51, 55–56; Goitein, "The Beginnings," 351.

[72]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 125.

[73]Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 51.

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came to be subject to him.[74] Arabic sources do not state distinctly what sort of authority he held over the Kārimī merchants, but it is clear that the title was closely related to the Mamluk government. This will be discussed in the following section.

Though the Kārimīs formed a loose confederation, there was, at the same time, a strong business rivalry among several of them. For example, when a dispute arose between Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Musallam (d. 776/1374), Ibn Musallam said to Badr al-Dīn, ″Buy sacks for all your money and bring them to me. Then I will fill them for you with my coins.″[75] However, interestingly enough, Ibn Musallam gave his daughter in marriage to Sirāj al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (d. 825/1422), a Kharrūbī merchant, in order to strengthen ties between the two families.[76]

Another example of the rivalry that existed among the Kārimī merchants can be found in Ibn Ḥajar′s *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* already noted by Labib.[77] In 786/1384, when trouble arose between Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Fāriqī, an influential merchant from Yemen, they were both tried before Sultan Barqūq. In answer to al-Fāriqī′s accusations, Zakī al-Dīn quoted a letter written by al-Fāriqī and addressed to the lord of Yemen, which read, ″At present Egypt is in a state of corruption *(fasād).* Since there is no credible lord *(ṣāḥib),* you need not send any gifts from here on. The present lord [sultan] is the lowest and the most despicable among the mamluks.″ After reading this, Barqūq ordered al-Fāriqī seized and his tongue cut out. Then the sultan bestowed on Zakī al-Dīn a fine robe *(khilʻah)* and granted him the title of ″great merchant″ *(kabīr al-tujjār).*[78]

Relationships to the Mamluk Sultans

The account of the Zakī al-Dīn/Shihāb al-Dīn dispute tells us that Zakī al-Dīn was granted the title of great merchant or chief merchant *(raʼīs al-tujjār)* in 786/1384. In *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* Ibn Ḥajar states, ″Zakī al-Dīn approached the state *(dawlah)* and gained the title of leadership *(riʼāsah),* thus surpassing his equals,″[79] showing distinctly that Zakī al-Dīn petitioned Sultan Barqūq to bestow

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[74]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482; idem, *Inbā',* 1:306. Zakī al-Dīn was also called *"kabīr al-tujjār"* (a leading figure of merchants) (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:539).

[75]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:99–100.

[76]Al-Sakhāwī, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Bulaq, 1896; repr. Cairo, 1974), 107; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 3:289.

[77]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte*, 228. See also S. Labib, ″Kārimī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:640–43.

[78]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:288.

[79]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482.

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upon him the title of *ri'āsah.* Since he died in 787/1385 at Fusṭāṭ,[80] Zakī al-Dīn held that title for about two years. Ibn Ḥajar relates that after he gained the title, Zakī al-Dīn′s status *(qadr)* in the government improved, and he became preeminent among the Kārimī merchants.[81]

Before that, in 781/1379, Kamāl al-Dīn, a grandson of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kharrūbī, was arrested and whipped by amir Barqūq because he attempted to obtain the rank of vizier with a bribe of 100,000 dinars. Following that incident, Kamāl al-Dīn was exiled to Qūṣ in Upper Egypt, where he was ordered to reside until his death.[82] Consequently, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī was not summoned with three other influential Kārimī merchants—Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Musallam, and Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Kharrūbī—to supply Sultan Barqūq with 1,000,000 dirhams for the war against Timur when the latter attempted to invade Syria in 796/1394.[83] The above three Kārimī merchants′ share thus amounted to ten percent of the 10,000,000 dirhams expended for Barqūq′s royal mamluks just prior to the war.[84]

According to al-Ashqar, the Kārimīs during the Mamluk period were supported and administered by ″the office of spices and the Kārimī,″ which issued passports (sing. *jawāz*) to them and imposed taxes (2.5 percent) on their trade goods.[85] Furthermore, Lapidus argues that the Kārimī merchants became officials because of their close association with the government.[86] However, Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī, for example, though he gained the title of *ra'īs al-tujjār* and had authority over his Kārimī colleagues,was never regarded as a state official.

Religious and Cultural Activities

Compared to the slave traders, we find many more instances of religious and cultural activities conducted by the Kārimīs. As mentioned above, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī (d. 762/1361), who was known as a ″sugar refinery merchant,″ constructed a school (*madrasah*, later called ″al-Madrasah al-Kharrūbīyah) to which he appointed Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Uqayl

[80]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:539; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:305; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482. It is related that when he died, Zakī al-Dīn left a will stating that he provide Sultan Barqūq with 30,000 dinars (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:168).

[81]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:306.

[82]Ibid., 195–96.

[83]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:811; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:378–79. Incidentally, Ibn al-Furāt describes each of these three merchants with the title of qadi. See also Fischel, ″The Spice Trade,″ 171; Ashtor, ″The Kārimī Merchants,″ 53.

[84]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:803.

[85]Al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 105–7, 112–13.

[86]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 128.

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"professor of law" *(mudarris fiqh)* and Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar al-Bulqīnī assistant *(mu'īd)*.[87] It is said that Badr al-Dīn set down the condition that non-Arabs not be appointed to its faculty.[88] His brother, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 769/1368), built a large tomb *(turbah)* at Qarāfah, which his grandson, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 802/1400), repaired and to which he later added a fine washroom *(maṭharah)*.[89] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 776/1374) was the owner of a fine madrasah adjacent to his house.[90] Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Kharrūbī (d. 785/1383) built a large house on the bank of the Nile and converted it into a madrasah, to which he donated a *waqf* and appointed a professor of tradition *(mudarris ḥadīth)*.[91] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 776/1374), also built a madrasah in the suburbs of Fusṭāṭ, which was larger than that of his uncle Badr al-Dīn, but he died before its completion.[92] According to Ibn Iyās (852–ca. 930/1448–ca. 1524), Khawājā Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Kharrūbī (d. 802/1400) was also the owner of a madrasah in Fusṭāṭ near the Nile.[93]

After he returned from Mecca in 786/1384, Zakī al-Dīn *(ra'īs al-tujjār)* invited Najm al-Dīn Ibn Razīn to learn *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from him. It is said that he was a person of decency *(hishmah),* esprit de corps *('aṣabīyah),* and manliness *(murūwah),* donating generously to scholars and poets.[94] Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) relates that Badr al-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Kharrūbī (d. 825/1422), who had yearned to hear the Quran, listened to his reading many times and died heavily in debt.[95] Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, who was a pious Sufi *(mutaṣawwif),* donated 100,000 dirhams for the reconstruction of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Mecca.[96] Although Nūr al-Dīn was called "the last of the Kharrūbī merchants *(ākhir tujjār Miṣr min al-Kharāribah),*"[97] actually he was not the last merchant to come out of the Kharrūbī family, for his nephews, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar (d. 842/1438), Badr

[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369. Badr al-Dīn also built *rab'*s (living quarters) near the school (ibid.).

[88]Ibid., 369–70.

[89]Ibid., 369.

[90]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:86–87.

[91]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:368.

[92]Ibid., 370.

[93]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:2:636.

[94]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482. We also find al-Khānqāh al-Kharrūbīyah in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (2:426–27). However, Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī originally constructed this as a private house for his family. In 822/1419 the house was converted into a *khānqāh* in accordance with the wishes of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.

[95]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 6:92.

[96]Ibid., 5:240.

[97]Ibid.

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al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar (d. 833/1430), and Fakhr al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn ʻUmar (d. 864/1460), etc., still continued to be active in trade. Fakhr al-Dīn, who had spent a luxurious life reading the Quran, suffered misfortune, fell deeply into debt, and was consequently imprisoned,[98] no doubt as the result of the spice and sugar monopoly policies attempted by Sultan Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38).[99]

In conclusion, the above comparison between several slave traders and the Kharrūbī family of Kārimī merchants during the Mamluk period can be summarized in the following six points.

(1) Most of the leading slave traders who were from outside the Mamluk domain were given the title of *"khawājā,"* while only two merchants were granted the title of *"khawājā"* among the Kharrūbīs, who were based in Fusṭāṭ.

(2) Slave traders traveled from Cairo or Damascus to Tabriz and the province of Charkas along the northern routes, while the Kharrūbīs traded between Fusṭāṭ, Cairo, Mecca, and Yemen along the southern routes, but not as far as India, Southeast Asia, or China.

(3) Slave traders returned from Tabriz and the Tatar provinces with male and female slaves and other goods, while the Kārimīs traded goods such as spices, sugar, lumber, textiles, precious stones, wheat, pottery, and slaves. The Kharrūbīs, in particular, earned large profits not only from the spice trade but also from sugar refining and sale.

(4) While slave traders engaged in business on an individual basis, the Kārimīs formed a loose confederation headed by chief merchants *(raʾīs al-tujjār),* which title sultans bestowed upon several wealthy merchants.

(5) Since slave traders were favored and relied upon by both the Mamluk sultans and the Mongol khans, they played an active part as diplomats using their knowledge of the characters and manners of the local eastern rulers. They were often exempted from taxation due to their personal relationships with sultans. The Kārimī merchants also enjoyed the protection of sultans in return for their contribution to the spice trade and contribution to military expenditures. However, the Kharrūbīs were never regarded as state officials, despite their close association with the Mamluk sultans and influential amirs.

(6) As to the public works of slave traders, we find little positive information

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[98]Ibid., 3:267.

[99]Concerning the monopoly policies of Sultan Barsbāy, see the following works: Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay* (Damascus, 1961); Labib, *Handelsgeschichte,* 94 f.; idem, "Egyptian Commercial Policy," 63–77; E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 321; idem, *Levant Trade*, 278 f.; al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 439 f; John L. Meloy, "Imperial Strategy and Political Exigency: The Red Sea Spice Trade and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.

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on their activities. In contrast to this, there are many accounts of the religious and cultural activities conducted by the Kharrūbīs, like the construction of schools in Fusṭāṭ, appointment of professors to those schools, and donations for the reconstruction of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Mecca. Accordingly, it seems that the Kārimī merchants, most of whom were Arab Muslims from Egypt, Yemen, and Syria, made attempts to return part of their wealth to society through such public welfare *(maṣlaḥah)*-oriented religious and cultural works.

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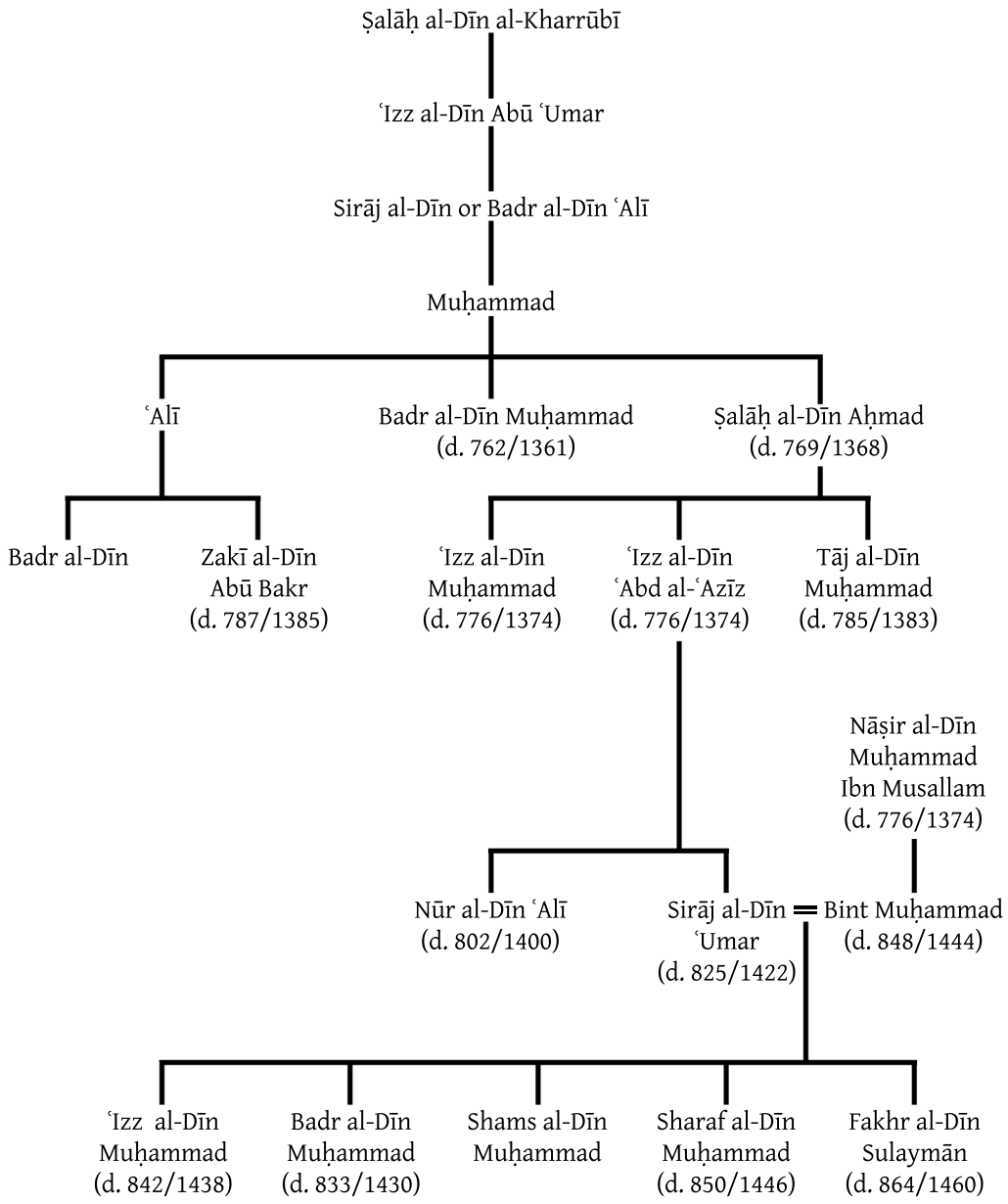
Genealogical Table of the Kharrūbīs[100]



[100]Revised and enlarged genealogy based on the table by E. Ashtor (1956).

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Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era Was Ending

Introduction

How were the Mamluks, formerly military slaves and of a different race and religion, able to govern cities occupied principally by Arab Muslims for more than 250 years? Nearly forty years have passed since Ira M. Lapidus presented a stimulating thesis, and abundant documentation, in an attempt to answer this question. His thesis is still influential: The Mamluks did not simply have military and political superiority; they also linked peasants and nomads to the cities by means of active social and economic actions, forming a variety of networks between these rural outsiders and the two main classes in urban society, the notables and the common people. Thus, the ruling Mamluks′ linkage of the ulama and the common people into one political and social unity was characteristic of the structure of urban society during the Mamluk dynasty. Lapidus called such a system of political and social relations the ″Mamluk regime″[1] and argued that it had its origin in the Seljukid era of the eleventh to twelfth centuries and worked well even after the rise of the Ottoman dynasty.[2]

In this article the author examines urban society at the end of the Mamluk period. According to Lapidus, the Mamluk regime suffered a serious crisis in this period, but later recovered under Ottoman rule. Earlier studies have thus far described this period as one of decline or disorder, but have given no analyses of the socio-political structure except those of Carl F. Petry, who regards it as a period of innovation because of the leadership of the sultans.[3] The article discusses

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[1]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967). On the Mamluk regime, see 43, 191.

[2]Ira M. Lapidus, ″The Evolution of Muslim Urban Society,″ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (1973): 41; idem, *Muslim Cities,* student edition (Cambridge, MA, 1984), xiii–xiv; idem, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), 353–64. I have discussed methodological problems of Lapidus′ urban study in *Islamic Urban Studies: Historical Review and Perspectives,* ed. Haneda Masashi and Miura Toru (London, 1994), 89–91, 116–18, 340.

[3]Carl F. Petry has published two illuminating works on the socio-political structure of Egypt at the end of the Mamluk period. See *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993); *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994).

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a period of about fifty years, from the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (872–901/1468–96) to the occupation of Cairo by the Ottomans, paying primary attention to the political changes outlined below.

First came the financial problem. At the end of the Mamluk period the state constantly faced serious financial crises, due to the decrease of income from *iqṭā'* land as agricultural production fell and the salaries paid to mamluks and officials increased. Meanwhile, however, the Mamluk state needed to dispatch the army against repeated Ottoman incursions from the northern frontier into Syria, which required an extraordinary budget. The financial problem was therefore closely linked to state security. Sultan Qāytbāy inaugurated a new financial policy of imposing taxes on properties owned by civilians and donated as *waqf,* as well as reducing the salaries of military and state officials, thus changing the balance of state income and expenditures. The sultans who succeeded him followed this policy. Although such a policy was criticized by the ulama and the citizens as oppressive conduct *(ẓulm)* against the shari'ah and *'ādah* (customary law), its purpose was to replace income lost from the *iqṭā'* system, by increasing taxes on the cities and their inhabitants.[4]

Second came the decline of the mamluk army, a phenomenon so precipitous that the sultans and provincial governors began to use non-mamluk military forces. The sultans' mamluks, called *julbān,* often revolted against the sultans, demanding the customary extra payments *(nafaqah)* during mobilization and at the succession of a new sultan, or complaining about delays in payment of their monthly stipend. These revolts were caused not only by a lack of military discipline but also by the weakening of the state economically. Having lost their *iqṭā'* income, the mamluks had become salaried workers who depended on the stipend paid to them by the sultans. They could not sustain themselves without an extra payment, in the face of the financial crisis and sudden rise in commodity prices, which reduced the real value of their incomes. The sultans, recognizing the weakness of the military, organized a new army (called the Fifth Army) consisting of non-mamluks, conscripted black slaves *('abīd),* and the urban outlaws called *zu'r,* in order to reform a military system that at that time depended solely on the mamluks. This new army consisted of infantry equipped with firearms and hired at lower salaries

[4]Soon after his succession, Sultan Qāytbāy at the council meeting *(majlis)* twice proposed a new taxation plan on the citizens and the *waqf* properties. He had no choice but to withdraw it, however, because of strong opposition from the ulama. Then he adopted a policy of salary cuts instead. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42), 635–37, 689–93; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 33–37; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:13–15, 20–23.

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than the mamluks, thus challenging the privileged status of the mamluks.[5]

The financial and military crisis became crucial at the end of the Mamluk period, after Qāytbāy, and this necessitated reform of the state itself, which up until that time was based on the *iqṭā'* and the mamluk system. The above-mentioned new financial and military policies were introduced to achieve such reform. The new targets were cities and citizens, and this inevitably caused changes in urban administration. In this article we will examine the changes in urban society, focusing on Damascus. The main sources are journals by Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), and Ibn Ṭawq (d. 908/1502).[6] These are detailed diary-like chronicles and give us clues as to how the inhabitants behaved toward external political and economic pressures and developed new networks as the era ended, even though this behavior was often implicit and concealed behind the apparent disturbances.

Change of Legal Administration

Bribery and Confiscation *(Muṣādarah)*

We find a remarkable number of descriptions of bribery in relation to appointment to office, as well as of confiscation of property by forcible means *(muṣādarah):* for bribery, 49 cases are found in *Badā'i',* 34 in *Mufākahat,* and 22 in *Inbā';* for confiscation, 78 cases are found in *Badā'i',* 21 in *Mufākahat,* and 12 in *Inbā'*. Instances of both bribery and confiscation are found throughout the Mamluk period, but in the following discussion we will focus on particular features at the end of the period.[7] Bribes were customarily offered at the time of appointment to

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[5]The sultans' mamluks revolted about thirty times during the fifty years at the end of the Mamluk period, and most of the revolts were caused by their economic difficulties such as the termination of salary payments and food distribution. They had to maintain their households, pay wages to their subordinates, pay house rents, buy clothes, etc. (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:369, 483–86).

[6]Muḥammad Ibn Iyās was the son of a mamluk living in Cairo. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:47, 136. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn was a Hanafi jurist living in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter in Damascus, who wrote a detailed chronicle of Damascus as well as a review of the provincial governors: *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962–64), and *I'lām al-Wará bi-Man Wulliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Ḥāmid Khaṭṭāb (Cairo, 1973). See Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn* (Damascus, 1348); Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 8:298–29; Stephan Conermann, "Ibn Ṭūlūn: Life and Works," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004). Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq lived in Damascus and provides a record of daily life there. See Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Ta'līq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq,* ed. Ja'far al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000–5), 1:8–11.

[7]I have discussed bribery and property confiscation in Miura Toru, "Administrative Networks in the Mamlūk Period: Taxation, Legal Execution, and Bribery," in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History,* ed. Sato Tsugitaka (London, 1997). Bernadette Martel-Thoumian's recent article, "The

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office, and there seems to have been standard amounts (such as 3,000 dinars for the chief judgeship of Cairo). The sultans could amass a huge amount of income from bribes by making frequent appointments of high officials.[8] As for confiscation, the amounts extracted were often more than 10,000 dinars, higher than the amount of bribes, and these were exacted to cover the extra payments *(nafaqah)* mentioned above.[9] Both bribery and confiscation were used as financial measures to cover the state income deficit. The main targets were civil officials living in the cities, thus transferring the wealth of the citizens to the state.

The constant bribery and confiscation caused changes in the administrative process and the quality of the officials. First, high officials needed to have considerable wealth to pay bribes and endure confiscations.[10] Second, the bribery was pervasive, from high officials to minor ones and common people, as shown in the following report. In Rajab 922/August 1516 when the Ottoman sultan Selim entered Aleppo in peace, he reproached three chief judges of Cairo (who were arrested there) for their unjust conduct, saying that ″you have received bribes *(rishwah)* at the trial under the shari'ah and assumed the office of chief judge, seeking for it by money, and did not prevent the oppressive conduct *(ẓulm)* of the Mamluk sultans towards the citizens.″ The new Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy (r. 922/1516–17) stated at the appointment of four new chief judges of Cairo in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 922 that ″I have not received any bribe from them, and therefore you must not take bribes from any citizen.″[11] This report tells us that bribery had pervaded the whole administration, so widespread as to reach the judges and nullify any chance for justice at trials over which they presided. Furthermore, the bribery relating to judges was more frequent than other types.[12] We cannot simply

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Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005), is a detailed research contribution but does not make use of my earlier work.

[8]Ibid., 46–49.

[9]Of the forty-seven cases reported in *Badā'i'*, confiscation of more than 10,000 dinars occurs in about two-thirds (thirty-four cases). Intentional confiscations for the extra payments are found: *Badā'i'*, 3:394, 407, 409, 442–43. For the average amount of confiscation, see ibid., 52.

[10]The average bribe for the chief judge (3,000 dinars) was equivalent to five years' salary, assuming his salary was fifty dinars (Miura, ″Administrative Networks,″ 48–49). Since such a huge bribe was required, even wealthy men lacking the knowledge and skill needed for state civil officials were appointed simply by offering it (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 771, 780–81; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 4:257, 264).

[11]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 5:117.

[12]Bribery to get the position of chief judge appears in 56% (18 cases) of the total in *Badā'i'* and 30% (6 cases) of the total in *Mufākahat*, while it rises to 65% (13 cases) in *Mufākahat* in the case of the appointment of deputy judges. A judge who did not receive a bribe at his trial was praised, which ironically shows the generality of taking bribes at trials (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā'*, 346–47, 451;

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ascribe the prevalence of bribery to the depraved morals of the ulama. We must analyze the changes in the administrative system itself, which we will do in the next section, using as an example the Furfūr family, who monopolized the office of Shafi'i chief judge in Damascus for 35 years.

The Furfūr Family of Damascus

Two Shafi'i chief judges, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd (d. 911/1505)[13] and his son Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad (937/1531),[14] were both known as Ibn al-Furfūr, a name which was ascribed to their ancestor. As for the origin of this Furfūr family, all that is known is that Shihāb al-Dīn's father Maḥmūd served Ibn Muzhir (d. 893/1488), confidential secretary *(kātib al-sirr)* of the Sultanate, and Shihāb al-Dīn himself was a head of Ibn Muzhir's bureau at Damascus.[15]

Shihāb al-Dīn was appointed the Shafi'i chief judge of Damascus, in addition to his existing posts as *nāẓir al-jaysh* (superintendent of the army), *wakīl al-sulṭān* (go-between for the sultan), and *nāẓir al-qal'ah* (superintendent of the Citadel), when he was thirty-three years old, in Ṣafar 886/April 1481. This was only five days after the former chief judge Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's appointment. The chronicle *(Inbā')* explains this sudden change as owing to three reasons: Shihāb al-Dīn, who with a fine countenance and voice and chivalrous mind *(futūwah)* was a right hand *(akhṣā')* to Ibn Muzhir, offered a bribe of 30,000 dinars and got a recommendation from the Shaykh al-Islām.[16] Ibn Muzhir, as a confidant of the sultan, had influence when it came to office appointments, and the judges were usually appointed from among the staff who served his bureau.[17] His close relationship to Ibn Muzhir dating from his father's time, and a large bribe, secured the appointment of Shihāb al-Dīn.

Shihāb al-Dīn continued to be the Shafi'i chief judge for twenty-five years until his death in Jumādá II 911/November 1505. Furthermore, in Rabī' I 910/August

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Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:353, 460).

[13]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1353–55), 2:222–23; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq al-Thaghr al-Bassām fī Dhikr Man Wulliya Qaḍā' al-Shām,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1956), 180–81; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi-A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Āshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Sulāymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945–59), 1:141–45; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:49; Ibn Ayyūb, "Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-'Āṭir fīmā Tayassara min Akhbār Ahl al-Qarn al-Sābi' ilá Khiṭām al-Qarn al-'Āshir," Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Orientalabteilung MS 9886, fol. 37v.

[14]Cf. al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 2:22–24; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:224–25.

[15]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 2:222; 10:137.

[16]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:33–34, 36, 39; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 513–14. Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:49, 51. The amount of his bribe was reported at 32,000 dinars in *Mufākahat.*

[17]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 9:88–89; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 288, 297; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:255.

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1504 he was appointed the Shafi'i chief judge of Cairo, in addition to Damascus, and was allowed to pass the office to his deputy in his will.[18] At the same time his son Walī al-Dīn became deputy judge at the tender age of fifteen years; at his father's death the following year, he succeeded to the post of chief judge and held this office for about ten years, until Rabī' I 921/May–June 1515.[19] The office of the Shafi'i chief judge was the highest among the four chief judges, as he supervised *waqf* foundations and could appoint his own deputies *(nā'ib)*.[20]

Shihāb al-Dīn appointed twenty-four deputy judges during his tenure, with up to fourteen at one time. He controlled the ulama of the Shafi'i law school by the appointment of deputies, so that he appointed a man of knowledge like al-Nu'aymī (d. 927/1521) and dismissed a deputy who opposed him.[21] He also took a bribe when assigning a deputy office.[22] His influence extended to the other law schools so much as to make his nephew Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furfūr (d. 936/1529) a superintendent and professor of the Qāṣṣā'īyah Madrasah, and to discharge Ibn al-Qaṣīf, the Hanafi chief judge. Badr al-Dīn finally assumed this office succeeding Ibn al-Qaṣīf in Muḥarram 902/October 1496.[23] As he held this office until Dhū al-Ḥijjah 913/March 1508, the Furfūr family monopolized the highest offices of two influential law schools for ten years after 902.

Shihāb al-Dīn seems to have been a powerful mediator among the ulama in matters of appointments to office, liberation from imprisonment, and the like.[24] He cultivated close connections with military officers such as the provincial governor *(nā'ib)* by means of gifts and banquets.[25] Such connections increased his influence, so that he was able to play an influential role in the conflict between the provincial governor and the common people, who resisted his attempt to tax them, preventing

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[18]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:280; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:141; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:49. Ibn Iyās reports this concurrent occupation of two chief judgeships as unprecedented (*Badā'i',* 4:84).

[19]Assuming deputy judgeship: al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:141; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:49. Appointment as chief judge: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:294. Resignation: ibid., 383.

[20]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–22), 4:192.

[21]Fourteen deputy judges: 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* ed. Akram Ḥasan al-'Ulabī (Damascus and Beirut, 1988), 123 (al-Buṣrawī himself was mentioned as one of the deputy judges in Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:126). On al-Nu'aymī: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:162. Dismissal of deputy judges: ibid., 174, 207, 220.

[22]Bribe: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:46, 49, 50; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:83, 195.

[23]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:147; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:169, 269, 313; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt,* 230, 235–37, 239; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:13–14.

[24]Appointment: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:151, 273; al-Nu'aymī, *Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Ja'far al-Ḥasanī (Damascus, 1948–51), 2:23. Debt: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:161–62. Liberation: ibid., 1:158, 202. Mediation: Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq* , 2:629.

[25]Gift: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:215. Banquet: ibid., 253; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt,* 181.

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the governor from attacking them in 905/1500.[26] He had gained considerable influence in Damascene politics and society and was known to be a man of wealth, having *iqṭā‘* land in the provinces and a residence in Damascus, owning shops and public baths, and holding *waqf* properties.[27]

Strong opposition developed against the rising influence of the Furfūr family. In Rajab 893/June–July 1488 a lampoon on the deputies of Shihāb al-Dīn was thrown into the Umayyad Mosque. It ridiculed his deputy judges one by one in the form of a poem.[28] Once again, in Rabī‘ II/March–April 1489, another lampoon was thrown into the court of the governor´s palace *(dār al-sa‘ādah),* in which a deputy was accused of oppressive behavior *(ẓulm)* at a trial and the forcible imposition of taxes *(balṣ).*[29] These lampoons asserted that the deputies acted tyrannically at their most important job, conducting trials. An order was sent to summon to Cairo two deputies, two notaries *(shāhid),* a *dawādār* (executive secretary), and a bailiff *(naqīb)* working under Shihāb al-Dīn in Shawwāl 895/September 1490. Here we note that those to be summoned were called *″jamā‘ah* (faction, household) of the Shafi‘i chief judge, Shihāb al-Dīn,*″*[30] which shows that the subordinate staff (deputies, notaries, etc.) was regarded as within the faction of Shihāb al-Dīn, and the organization itself was criticized.

Based on two incidents that occurred after the death of Shihāb al-Dīn, it seems that the Furfūr family organized a faction/household composed of both familial and non-familial members. First, when Shihāb al-Dīn died on 2 Jumādá II 911, his son Walī al-Dīn sent an urgent message from Cairo to announce that he had been appointed chief judge to succeed his father on 9 Jumādá II and all deputy judges should remain in office. One of the deputies, al-Nu‘aymī, hesitated to conduct a trial, however, because the sultan had not authorized the assignment of

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[26]Shihāb al-Dīn was described as being strong in his struggles with the governors (al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 229). Conflict in 905/1500: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:227. He also prevented the clash in 891/1486 thus leading to the peace announcement (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta‘līq,* 2:627–28).

[27]*Iqṭā‘:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:103, 105, 110, 258. Residence: ibid., 253, 351; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 114. Shops: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:117. Bath: ibid., 243; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta‘līq,* 2:1061. *Waqf*s and *milk:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:115 and recorded *waqf* and *milk* properties of the Furfūr family in the Land Survey Registers at the beginning of Ottoman rule (Tapu Tahrir Defteri, no. 393:12, 112, 185, and no. 602:11, 22, 99, 140, 347). Wealth: Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘,* 4:84.

[28]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat*, 1:96.

[29]Ibid., 112. Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 133. Ibn Ṭawq reported about this lampoon that Shihāb al-Dīn rejected it as a slander before the governor, and there is no criticism of him in Ibn Ṭawq´s report, unlike Ibn Ṭūlūn´s. See Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta‘līq,* 2:839.

[30]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:133, 143. Al-Buṣrawī reported that his deputy judge al-Sibt was also summoned (al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 143–44). Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta‘līq,* 2:981.

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deputies. Nevertheless, the other deputies continued their work.[31] We know from this report that appointment to the office of deputy judge lapsed when the official who had made the appointment left office, and permission of the sultan was needed to re-assign the deputy. To keep his own faction together, Walī al-Dīn declared the deputies would continue in office before getting the sultan´s permission. Walī al-Dīn benefited the deputies by assuming his late father´s office and assigning the office of deputy to each of them, so they did not follow al-Nu'aymī. The second incident was that members of the faction *(jamā'ah)* of Walī al-Dīn were arrested and subjected to confiscation in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 911/April–May 1506, only a half-year after the first incident. Six persons, including Muḥammad, the *dawādār* of Walī al-Dīn and his late father, and the *ustādār* (majordomo) of his father, were arrested and sent to prison to be mulcted.[32] The reason for this arrest and confiscation was not made public, but its purpose must have been to reprimand the Furfūr family as a group because the target of the punishment was obviously the subordinate staff responsible for its management, such as the *dawādār* and the *ustādār*.[33] These reports show that the Furfūr family had organized a faction/household including non-familial members, who were united by their common interests.

*Jamā'ah*s in Legal Administration

The term *jamā'ah* means a group in general, and was often used at the end of the Mamluk period to designate a specific faction led by a boss, attaching to it his own name or his post. The most frequent ones were those of provincial governors and chief judges.[34] The word *bāb*—originally meaning gate—was also used to designate a household or faction performing administrative tasks under the boss.[35]

The organization of *jamā'ah*s under judges was demonstrated during the two incidents in which Ibn Furfūr´s group was summoned and later mulcted. The members can be classified into two groups: legal administrative staff such as the *nā'ib, shāhid,* and *naqīb* on one hand, and the management staff such as the *dawādār* and *ustādār* on the other hand.

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[31]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:294. At the appointment of Shihāb al-Dīn to be chief judge, he sent a letter to declare the continuance of the predecessors of deputy judges (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:53).

[32]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:300.

[33]Dawādār Muḥammad served two heads of the Furfūr family and took an important role as envoy on behalf of one (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:215, 297). He was blamed at the time of confiscation in 894/1489 as well as of the summons in 895 (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:108, 133), which suggests to us his responsibility for household management.

[34]We find twenty-one examples of governor´s *jamā'ah*s and thirteen of chief judge´s in *Mufākahat*.

[35]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 409, 450; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 106, 215.

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First I will examine the legal administrative staff.[36] A *nā'ib* was a deputy judge appointed by the chief judge of each of the four Sunni law schools to conduct trials under his auspices. The number of deputy judges exceeded one hundred in Cairo and might have been about twenty in Damascus.[37] They conducted trials at the notary's office and even in the street,[38] and they seem to have been taking bribes, as is shown in an order stating that a *nā'ib* should be dismissed when he received anything at trial.[39] Walī al-Dīn Ibn Furfūr issued an order to his *nā'ib*s that they must not hear a complaint, authorize a document, or hold a trial other than at the house of the chief judge, in order for him to oversee the legal process, but nevertheless the *nā'ib*s were soon permitted to conduct trials freely. The *nā'ib*s resisted this new order and conducted trials and certified documents at their own houses in order to profit personally.[40]

*Shāhid*s acted as witnesses at trials, as well as for marriage contracts and commercial transactions.[41] They were also called *'adl*.[42] They received a fee for notarizing contracts or for being a trial witness,[43] had shops *(ḥānūt, dukkān)* and

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[36]Regulations on legal administrators can be found in these sources: al-Mawārdī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Wilāyāt al-Dīnīyah* (Cairo, 1960), 71, 76; Ibn Abī al-Dam, *Kitāb Adab al-Qaḍā',* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Zuhaylī (Damascus, 1982), 98–100, 105–9. Émile Tyan studies those officials using legal and administrative texts in his *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam,* 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1960), 200–61.

[37]Sultan al-Ghawrī, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 919/January 1514, restricted the number of deputy judges for each Sunni law school in Cairo to 40 for the Shafi'is, 30 for the Hanafis, 20 for the Malikis, and 10 for the Hanbalis, a total of 100 (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:352). In Damascus in 902/1496 there were as many deputy judges as 10 for the Shafi'is, 5 for the Hanafis, and one for each of the other two schools, making a total of 17 (al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 190). The number of Walī al-Dīn's deputy judges reached 16 at one time (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:309).

[38]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:298–99; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 341, 375, 439.

[39]Bribe: al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 190. Order: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 493.

[40]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:311. At the time of Shihāb al-Dīn in Muḥarram 897/November 1491, a royal order came out to prohibit the *nā'ib*s of the Furfūr family from judging at their houses and keeping a *shāhid, wakīl,* and *rasūl,* but it was the order written by Shihāb al-Dīn (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1082).

[41]Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964), 192–94; R. Peters, "Shāhid," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 9:207–8. Ibn Ṭawq worked as a *shāhid,* and then recorded in his journal different kinds of contracts in which he was engaged (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:40, 59, 96, 101, 2:842, etc.).

[42]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:285, 304; 2:31.

[43]It was reported that the fee was three dirhams for a certificate written at the office of the *muḥtasib* (market inspector) in Damascus, and the total number of certificates came to 3,000 in a day and the *rasūl*s executing this work gained one dinar each per day (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 389). The Ottoman sultan Selim I, before his entry into Damascus, sent a new judge there to proclaim

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bureaus *(markaz, maktab)* in the city, and performed their work at mosques and madrasahs and city gates in Damascus and Aleppo.[44] Descriptions of *shāhid*s are often found in the biographies of the ulama: for example, that they acquired their incomes by working as a *shāhid*[45] or began their career as a *shāhid*.[46] The position of *shāhid* was usually the first job for legal administrators. As an example, a *nā'ib* of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Furfūr, 'Uthmān, was originally a weaver, then became a madrasah gatekeeper, and worked as a notary under the Hanafi chief judge. He was promoted to *nā'ib* by paying a bribe and remained at this post for more than twenty years.[47] We find many cases of promotion from *shāhid* to *nā'ib,* or of holding both positions at the same time.[48] The offices of *nā'ib*s and *shāhid*s might be centers of legal administration where people were trained not so much in legal theory as in legal practice, and where a personal network (*jamā'ah*/faction) would be created.[49]

*Naqīb*s were bailiffs, also called *rasūl,* who executed legal judgements. They received a fee from a plaintiff and made a profit by exacting more from a defendant. In Cairo in Jumādá I 919/July 1513, the sultan ordered *naqīb*s and *rasūl*s under the amirs (military chiefs) not to extort payments from the parties to a trial.[50] At that time the amirs used to profit by holding a trial at the bench *(dikkah)* in front of their house gates.[51] This order aimed to prevent the subordinates from oppressing the parties. The Damascus governor also prohibited *naqīb*s from exacting a penalty without a plaintiff in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 918/February–March 1513.[52]

*Wakīl*s (go-betweens) arbitrated a matter between the party and the judge. We found a notable example of a *wakīl* in Sharaf al-Dīn, who served the chief judge

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that the fee for a marriage contract was to be 25 dirhams, of which 20 dirhams were for the judge and 4 for the *shāhid* (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:29–30, 41).

[44]Shops in Cairo: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 306; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:347. Office in Damascus: al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:118, 271; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:345; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 128, 231. Office in Aleppo: al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:22, 269. At the gate of the Umayyad Mosque: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:138–39; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:285.

[45]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 306, 450; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:176, 178, 271, 279.

[46]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:270, 320.

[47]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:50; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 107, 190, 221; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:260.

[48]Promotion: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:310–11; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:189, 2:9. Concurrent work of *nā'ib* and *shāhid:* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 341.

[49]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:131.

[50]Ibid., 320.

[51]Ibid., 302, 312. This is a kind of *maẓālim* court (administrative court) supervised by administrative executives, such as the sultan and provincial governors.

[52]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:374. Ibn Furfūr's *naqīb*s also exacted money (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 2:1199).

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in spite of his ignorance and illiteracy. He bribed his boss to hear the cases and then extorted bribes from the parties. After a while he found favor with the judge and was consulted about important matters, lived in a mansion, and bought slaves, until he became so powerful that chief judges went to call on him instead of the reverse. Finally, however, in 876/1472 he was prohibited from performing the duties of a *wakīl*.[53]

The increase of lawsuits in larger cities accelerated this tendency of seeking more profit in legal administration. A curious order was issued in Rabī‘ II 914/July–August 1508, forbidding the bringing of a suit against anybody without just cause *(ḥaqq),* and demanding that the accused not be deprived of anything by such an unjust lawsuit. A similar order in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 914/March 1509 provided that a lawsuit would not be accepted unless the defendant agreed to the claim.[54] These orders show that lawsuits and trials had turned into a means for the strong to exploit the weak. Trials were no longer to maintain justice and fairness *(‘adl)* in society or to prevent oppressive conduct *(ẓulm),* but were instead a means to pursue the private interests of both citizens and legal administrators.

We can surmise the features of legal factions and their staffs at the end of the Mamluk period. First, they gained their income by receiving fees, bribes, and exactions pursuant to the performance of legal functions. It is noteworthy that such income was not necessarily regarded as irregular or illegal, but instead as proper in lieu of salary, as the following episode demonstrates. ‘Izz al-Dīn, the Hanbali chief judge, did not solicit bribes at trials, because he received sufficient income from his madrasah salary and income from rented properties.[55] Legal staff could become wealthy by increasing their income from bribes and fees like the above-mentioned *wakīl*. Second, it was not necessary to have had a madrasah education in order to carry out the work of a notary and go-between. To give an example, a *shāhid* from a peasant background *(fallāḥ)* came to Damascus to be a *rasūl*, then became a *ballāṣī* (tax collector) and later worked as a *shāhid*. He was eventually banished because of his crime of forging a royal order.[56] His example shows that the easiest way for newcomers to the city to earn a living was to be employed as subordinate staff such as a *rasūl* or *ballāṣī* under the patronage of an influential man. After gaining experience in legal practice, they could advance to

[53]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā’,* 408–11. Other *wakīl*s: ibid., 224, 518–19; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 104.

[54]Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘,* 4:134; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I‘lām,* 214. At the *maẓālim* court of the sultan, bribes were offered (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā’,* 367). Therefore the sultan was forced to control the increase of lawsuits brought to him in Sha‘bān 876/January 1472 (ibid., 400–1).

[55]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā’,* 345–47, 450–51. He was famous for his austerity and did not employ *nā’ib*s, *naqīb*s, and *rasūl*s as the other chief judges did.

[56]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:334.

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become a *shāhid* or *nā'ib* and make more money.

Legal factions absorbed a large number of subordinate staff in the cities, based on the common interests for each member in making money from legal execution, plus their own training and promotion system inside the *jamā'ah,* until they strengthened and extended their organizations. To control such an extended faction *(jamā'ah)* required a managing staff of *dawādār*s and *ustādār*s such as that of the *jamā'ah* of Ibn Furfūr. We know about the prevalence of such *jamā'ah* organizations at the end of the Mamluk period because of the legal reform ordered by the Ottoman sultan Selim I and carried out from Sha'bān 922/August 1516 to Rabī' I 924/February–March 1518. In both Cairo and Damascus, the judges′ courts were concentrated in one place, the number of *nā'ib*s and *shāhid*s was reduced, and the judges′ *rasūl*s and *wakīl*s were dismissed. Strong resistance to this reform existed, however. No one in Cairo or Damascus obeyed the order. After Selim′s departure to Istanbul, the provincial governor of Damascus, Jānbirdī al-Ghazzālī (r. 924–27/1518–21), allowed *shāhid*s to go back to their offices and restored the ″*jamā'ah* of the judges, that is, *shāhid*s and *rasūl*s.″[57] Legal factions *(jamā'ah)* could survive despite the Ottoman attempt at reform because they had already taken root in urban society.

The chief judges organized their factions, composed of subordinate staff, and executed legal affairs to gain huge profits by means of these *jamā'ah*s. This was why they sought the post of chief judge in spite of paying a large bribe and enduring property confiscation. We find similar organizations led by *kātib*s *al-sirr* and *muḥtasib*s as well.[58]

Change of City Administration

Taxation and Military Conscription

Mamluk sultans, facing the two serious problems of the need to mount military expeditions abroad and financial crisis, introduced a new tax policy, to be imposed on citizens and *waqf* properties. Such policies were imposed in Syrian cities as well,[59] and provincial governors of Damascus instituted the new taxation. Syrian cities were threatened by the invasion of the Ottoman army. How to pay the costs of war and raise the necessary military personnel and supplies were crucial problems of urban politics. In this section we will examine how these problems were solved, as well as investigate the changes in city administration, focusing on Damascus.

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[57]Ibid., 2:29–30, 41, 88–89; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 5:165–66, 243; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:169.

[58]Kātib al-Sirr Ibn Muzhir: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:381; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 222, 314, 409; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 9:89. *Muḥtasib:* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 389, 430. See also Miura, ″Administrative Networks,″ 59–66.

[59]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:280, 4:23.

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The provincial governor, called the *nā'ib al-salṭanah,* oversaw the administration of Damascus, with its population estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 persons.[60] The chronicles report a new type of taxation imposed on the citizens and city quarters *(ḥārah, maḥallah),*[61] the first example was in Muḥarram 890/January 1485 and there eventually were sixty-eight examples prior to the end of the Mamluk period. Most of these were by order of provincial governors. After 904/1499, the tax was imposed every year.[62] In contrast, Cairo had only eight examples of such taxation according to Ibn Iyās′ *Badā'i'*. What was the reason for its frequency in Damascus?

Purpose and Object

The imposition of occasional taxes in Damascus had two purposes: one, to fund the conscription of infantry soldiers for foreign expeditions (twenty-one cases) and the other, to impose an extra tax, allegedly as punishment, on a quarter where a murder was committed (fourteen cases). In contrast, in Cairo, seven of eight cases of taxation are for expeditionary costs, primarily to pay extra allowances to the mamluks rather than for infantry. As for the object of taxation, in Damascus taxes were imposed on all the city quarters or collected from an individual quarter,[63] whereas in Cairo they were levied on immovable properties of *waqf* and *milk* (private ownership), and a portion of rental income was collected.[64] The amounts

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[60]My estimate of the population of Damascus and its quarters at the end of the Mamluk period is based on a household survey at the beginning of Ottoman rule in Damascus. Cf. Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas à la fin du 16e siècle d′après trois actes de waqf ottomans* (Damascus, 1983), 1:23–27. The approximate number of quarters was estimated as 70 inside the city wall *(madīnah)* and 30 in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter, on the basis of the descriptions of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Ibn Ṭūlūn, ″Ḥārāt Dimashq al-Qadīmah,″ *Al-Mashriq* 35(1937) and Ibn Kinnān, *Al-Murūj al-Sundusīyah al-Fasīḥah fī Talkhīṣ Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān (Damascus, 1947).

[61]There is no comprehensive study of the city taxation system during the Mamluk period, except that we know *zakāt* and *maks* were imposed on goods and trade, and *mushāharah* was imposed on daily commodities, at the end of the Mamluk era. Cf. Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 80–107.

[62]The descriptions were collected from the sources of *Mufākahat, I'lām,* and *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī.* Those who imposed the tax were provincial governors, 21 cases; governor′s *jamā'ah,* 6 cases; *khāṣṣakī* (sultan′s guardsmen), 4 cases; and Mamluk sultans, 2 cases. In addition, 12 cases seemed to be by governors, judging from their taxation procedures.

[63]Taxation on all the quarters of Damascus was 23 cases, and on individual quarters, 25 cases.

[64]Taxation in Cairo: in Rabī' I 894 (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:260–61), in Rabī' I–II 896 (ibid., 278–280), in Muḥarram 907 (ibid., 4:14–17, 20) and in Rajab 917 (ibid., 242). Here the owners of *milk* properties such as houses *(bayt, rab'),* shops *(ḥānūt),* public baths *(ḥammām),* vegetable gardens *(ghayṭ),* mills *(ṭāḥūn),* and vessels *(markab)* collected the rent in advance from their lessees to pay the provisional tax to the sultans (ibid., 4:16). Such taxation can be found previously for dispatching the troops against the Mongols (700/1300) and Timur (803/1401); see Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, 1966), 14:14; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal*

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of taxation are known in the case of Damascus; the least one being 50 dinars from each quarter and larger amounts, including 1000 dinars imposed on the Shāghūr Quarter and 20,000 dinars on the whole city of Damascus.[65]

Expedition and Infantry

A new tax to fund an expedition was inaugurated in Jumādá II 891/June 1486. At that time the provincial governor of Damascus, Qijmās al-Isḥāqī (r. 892–902/1487–97), was asked to dispatch an expeditionary force by the commander of the Egyptian army in Aleppo. The governor read the letter from the commander in the presence of ulama and other officials, and apologized for the need to collect money from them to dispatch infantry troops against the Ottoman army.[66] In this case the purpose of taxation is clearly to send infantry troops; eight other cases were described as simply for an expedition. Can we assume these orders were also specifically for infantry?

The primary reason to use infantry is obvious. Due to the weakening of the Mamluk army, the need for infantry increased, for these troops could be hired by wage *(jāmakīyah, ma'lūm)*. Provincial governors ordered the conscription of men to serve as infantry in support of the mamluks, and the number of troops reached 4,000.[67] Another reason is technical: the use of gun power was becoming more necessary at the end of the Mamluk period. The Ottomans were able to use gun power, and therefore the Mamluk sultans were forced to organize infantry troops other than their mamluks. They organized the Fifth Army from non-mamluks and trained non-mamluk slaves *('abīd)* to use guns.[68] In Damascus, we find many examples of infantry troops (forty-five cases).[69] It is natural to assume that infantry

al-Mulūk, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1939–73), 1:906–7, 3:1052–53.

[65]Taxation of 50 dinars: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:245. Taxation of 1000 dinars: ibid., 247, 249; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 179. Taxation of 20,000 dinars: *Mufākahat,* 1:254.

[66]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 72; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 112. Ibn Ṭawq reported that the heads *(kubrá)* of quarters were asked to collect the money for infantry at an amount of 15 dinars for each infantryman (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 2:625–29).

[67]In 903/1498 the provincial governor ordered the military dispatch. Most of the mamluks, however, were unwilling to go on the expedition, and eventually only 70 mamluks as well as many infantrymen went (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:196-97). The number of infantry troops: ibid., 342 and idem, *I'lām,* 232.

[68]David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom,* 2nd ed. (London and Worcester, 1972), 59-83. Ayalon stressed the unwillingness of the mamluks to wear guns and the Mamluk Sultanate's delay in using firearms. Robert Irwin refutes these assertions by Ayalon in his recent article, "Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate Reconsidered," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004). The Fifth Army: Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:324, 369. *'Abīd:* ibid., 3:383, 4:84, 5:81, 107, 134.

[69]The descriptions are collected from *Mufākahat* and *I'lām*.

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troops must have been equipped with firearms, although their specific use is mentioned in only two cases.[70] While the sultans in Cairo, using non-mamluks, organized a new army to employ firearms, infantry was conscripted from the city quarters in Damascus.[71]

The next problem was how to conscript infantry and cover their wages. We can find answers from the descriptions that follow. In Muḥarram 907/August 1501 the deputy governor ordered conscription of troops from each quarter and announced that the conscripts´ allowances should be collected from their respective quarters.[72] In Jumādá I 912/October 1506 the provincial governor asked each quarter for twenty infantrymen to accompany him on an expedition, and the *ʻarīf*s (administrative heads) of the quarters began to collect money to support these soldiers.[73] As these two descriptions show, the quarters were levied heavily, contributing both infantrymen and their wages. However, a clever means of dealing with this problem was devised: The outlaws *(zuʻr)* of the quarter were conscripted and the inhabitants paid their wages. This mechanism is mentioned in the report of Jumādá I 908/November–December 1502, which says that the provincial governor collected the money to be paid to infantrymen, but could not collect it from the *zuʻr* whom he would conscript.[74] As the following section explains, the *zuʻr* were outlaw groups who usually brought arms with them. This solution worked well for all parties concerned. For the governor, the *zuʻr* provided a strong military force. For the *zuʻr,* conscription was a way to acquire weapons as well as wages. For the inhabitants of the quarter, it enabled them to avoid conscription. The provincial governors could acquire the infantry troops at the expense of the inhabitants. This is why they repeated this policy, and by pursuing this policy they could solve their financial and military problems simultaneously.

Penalty Tax for Murder

The provincial governor imposed a penalty tax on the inhabitants of any quarter where a murder had occurred. For example, at the Mazzāz quarter in Ramaḍān 906/1501 a man was killed and robbed of his horse. Several days later the *ustādār*

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[70]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:211, 289.

[71]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:118. Ibn Ṭawq states that unjust exaction spread in the city due to the infantry conscription (*Taʻlīq,* 2:937–38).

[72]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:245.

[73]Ibid., 309.

[74]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 164. In Jumādá II–Rajab 898/February–March 1493 the provincial governor ordered the collection of 20 dinars per infantryman, totalling 10,000 dinars for the whole city, equivalent to 500 infantrymen (Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʻlīq,* 3:1174–75, 1178, 1189). Other cases of conscripting the *zuʻr* for infantry in Damascus: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 92, 190, 195, 330, and those in Cairo: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ,* 3:230, 5:119, 140.

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of the governor imposed a penalty tax on the inhabitants there.[75] Judging from this report, the provincial governor imposed a penalty on the quarter whether the killer lived there or not. The governor had good reason for this penalty taxation, as he stated when he imposed a penalty of 1000 dinars on the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter in Dhū al-Qa'dah 901/August 1496: ″I did not impose [a penalty] without a basis in shari'ah. One of the Hanafi ulama told me that the *diyah* (blood money) should be collected from the inhabitants of the quarter when a murdered person was found there and the killer was unknown.″[76] This legal ground originated from the theory of the Hanafi law school, called *qasāmah* (compurgation). Joseph Schacht explains it thus: ″If the body of a person is found who has obviously been killed, the inhabitants of the quarter, the owner of the house and his *'aqīla* (relatives) must swear fifty oaths that they have not killed him and do not know who has killed him. They thereby become free from liability to *qiṣāṣ* but must as *'aqīla* pay the blood money.″[77] The legal texts of the twelfth century developed this theory to specify that all inhabitants of the quarter were responsible as a group for the murder or compurgation,[78] responding to the development of city quarters.

The provincial governors used this legalism to repeatedly impose penalty taxation. The chronicle states, ″at the end of this month incidents of murder occurred many times because of the absence of the governor, and his deputy again imposed the penalty for the reason of murder, which was oppressive to the people.″[79] This shows that the governors willingly imposed the penalty on the quarter, rather than pursing the killer. It is obvious they took the penalty to cover their lack of income, in place of normal taxation,

The amount of the penalty imposed was much larger than that collected to support the conscripted infantry, reaching 1000 dinars in the great quarters like the Ṣāliḥīyah. This could be a financial boon for the governor, but on the other hand was oppressive to the inhabitants, causing dissension between the rulers and citizens. The inhabitants of the Masjid al-Qaṣab Quarter gathered to ask for God′s relief *(takbīr)* from a huge imposition due to a murder in Jumādá II 905/January 1501.[80] On the side of the rulers, al-'Ādil Ṭūmānbāy, after assuming the position of sultan in Damascus in Jumādá I 906/November 1500, issued a decree that the inhabitants of the quarter where a murder occurred should not be liable for the

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[75]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:234.

[76]Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 179.

[77]Schacht, *Introduction,* 184.

[78]Al-Kāsānī, *Kitāb Badā'i' al-Ṣanā'i' fī Tartīb Sharā'i'* (Cairo, 1327–28), 7:286–96.

[79]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:317; idem, *I'lām,* 209.

[80]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:227; idem, *I'lām,* 103. The inhabitants of the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter protested the penalty tax in 901/1496 (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1430–31).

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penalty; rather they should strive to pursue the killer. The decree of Sultan al-ʻĀdil was engraved on the stone wall of each quarter.[81] But this decree was issued so the sultan could win the favor of the citizens, and it was rescinded after four months.[82] The opposition led to bloodshed in Rabīʻ I 910/August 1504, when Muḥammad Bardadār, the bailiff of the governor, went to the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter to exact the penalty because its inhabitants killed his colleague, and his fellows were attacked and killed on their way. The next day, the inhabitants stoned those who tried to bury those killed, and antagonism deepened between the two groups. The governor launched an effort to arrest the killers, but the *zuʻr* began to support the inhabitants. The governor was then forced to issue a decree of *amān* (peace), attributing the murder of Muḥammad Bardadār to a dog.[83] In this incident, the governor was on the side of the victim and could demand blood money from the inhabitants. Nevertheless they showed strong resistance to the imposition of this financial penalty. Why did the governors cling to the blood penalty, which caused heavy oppression? The governors of Damascus had no other means but the blood penalty to increase their incomes, whereas the sultans in Cairo could gain an immense amount by bribes and property confiscation to overcome a financial crisis.[84]

TAX COLLECTION AND THE *JAMĀʻAH*S OF THE GOVERNORS

The governors used differing tax collection procedures to fund expeditions and for the murder penalty. We know that when Governor Qijmās attempted to raise money to dispatch an expedition of infantry in 891/1486 the response from the citizens was to protest and assert that his actions were motivated by self-interest and were illegal. As the people prepared to stone him, Qijmās went to the house of Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī ʻAjlūn (d. 928/1522),[85] to talk him into asking the influential people of each quarter to cooperate in tax collection. As the Shaykh al-Islām consented to this request and justified the taxation, *ʻarīf*s

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[81]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:234; idem, *Iʻlām,* 129. It remained until the twentieth century and was recorded in Jean Sauvaget, "Decrets mamelouks de Syrie," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 2 (1932): 44. Sultan Qāytbāy issued a similar decree (*Iʻlām,* 129).

[82]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:234.

[83]Ibid., 279–80.

[84]Property confiscation in Damascus was conducted on a smaller scale than that of Cairo in terms of the number and amount. The number of confiscations in Damascus noted in *Mufākahat* and *Iʻlām* for the period 885–922 was 17 (in contrast to 73 cases in Cairo in the same period), and in only 4 cases were more than 10,000 dinars confiscated.

[85]He was a Shafiʻi jurist and played a role in negotiations on matters of civil life such as the rise of commodity prices and the alcohol trade (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:29–30, 32, 41). Cf. al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:114–18; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:157.

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(administrative heads of the quarters) and other influential persons began to collect the money.[86] At first, the governors strove to get the consent and cooperation of the ulama to defend this taxation. Later, however, only two examples of their seeking such support can be found,[87] indicating it probably was unnecessary.

In practical terms, *'arīf*s of each quarter were charged with the task of collection, as in the example of Qijmās. The following report is suggestive: In Jumādá I 912/September 1506 when the governor ordered the conscription of twenty infantrymen from each quarter, *'arīf*s of the quarters began to collect money following the example of Qijmās.[88] A noteworthy incident occurred during the twenty years between these two reports. When the order of infantry conscription was given in Muḥarram 907/July 1501, outlaws *(ghawghā')* began to plunder the quarter. They justified their actions by insisting that the order stipulated that their wages should come at the expense of each quarter. This caused severe harm to the inhabitants, who appealed to the deputy governor. He suddenly decided to collect 50 dinars from each quarter, 40 dinars of which was allotted to the infantry.[89] The example of Qijmās in 891/1486 was mentioned as precedent for the collection in 912/1506 to avoid such confusion.

Who were the *'arīf*s of the quarter? In spite of only meager information about the duties of the *'arīf*s, we can say that they were the administrators responsible for security as well as tax collection in each quarter, and were appointed by the governor.[90] *'Arīf*s pocketed the money collected from the quarter and seemed to have taken tips in exchange for allowing some to avoid paying, for the governor ordered *'arīf*s to collect taxes in Jumādá I 893/April 1488, warning that no one should seek the protection of *'arīf*s.[91] When *zu'r* of the quarters were ordered to take part in an expedition in Ṣafar 914/June 1508, *'arīf*s were asked to cover their expense, so as not to burden the citizens.[92] The governor must have recognized the abuse committed by *'arīf*s while collecting taxes. The people's strong opposition to the exploitation of the *'arīf*s often led to their murder.[93]

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[86]In other sources, three chief judges as well as Taqī al-Dīn were reported as cooperating in the taxation: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 73–74; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 112. See also note 66.

[87]Refusal of taxation by the judge: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:119. Refusal by shaykh of the quarter in Aleppo: ibid., 282.

[88]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:309; idem, *I'lām,* 203.

[89]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:245; idem, *I'lām,* 148. Ibn Ṭawq reported in 893/1488 that it was usual to collect 60 dinars for infantry in the city (*Ta'līq,* 2:781).

[90]Appointment: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:24, 104. Keeping security: ibid., 1:344, 2:11.

[91]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:89; idem, *I'lām,* 76.

[92]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:330.

[93]Ibid., 2:21, 22.

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Subordinate officials of the provincial governor such as the *ustādār,* the *dawādār,* and the *bardadār* collected the murder penalty, and they were often collectively called the *jamā'ah* of the governor.[94] The governor's *jamā'ah* was composed of two different groups, one being subordinate officials such as *ustādār, dawādār, khāzindār* (grand treasurer), *bardadār,* and *mihmandār* (host manager), the same posts that can be found in the central government of Egypt. These were administrators whose function was to perform political and administrative tasks for the provincial governor.[95] The *dawādār* was mainly responsible for tax collection, for the arrest and execution of criminals, and for supervising the *jamā'ah* itself.[96] They were primarily from the mamluks of the governor, and later the governors would value them above higher officials of the provincial government like *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* (grand chamberlain).[97]

The second group executed public policy: for example, the *ballāṣī* and *naqīb* carried out commands of the governor and the *dawādār*.[98] The *ballāṣī* was a tax collector, but only part time because the first group of *bardadār* and *ra's al-nawbah* (guard) held these positions concurrently.[99] They might also be recruited from the common people, as announced in the decree of Rabī' I 912/August 1506 that recently appointed *ballāṣī*s were dismissed and should return to their own professions.[100] The third group was mercenaries, such as the *'abīd* (black slaves) and the *zu'r. 'Abīd* were hired by wage and worked as private soldiers of the governors, equipped with firearms, especially in the civil war against the sultan. They were also employed to make collections from citizens and for security.[101] Lastly, the governors hired drifters (*gharīb*) entering the city and robber chieftains,[102]

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[94]On *ustādār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat*, 1:234, 247, 377, 2:3, 7; idem, *I'lām,* 150. *Dawādār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:89. *Bardadār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:273, 279. *Jamā'ah:* ibid., 315, 348.

[95]On *khāzindār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:203, 303, 346, 355, 370. *Mihmandār:* ibid., 81, 215, 227. On other subordinates officials, see also notes 94, 96, 97.

[96]On the *dawādār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:151, 264. Expedition commander: ibid., 172, 277, 344. Arrest and execution: ibid., 255, 258–59, 291, 370. Leader of the governor's *jamā'ah* after his death: ibid., 80, 83, 86. On a powerful *dawādār,* Jandar: Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1161.

[97]*Dawādār* and *khāzindār* assumed the office of deputy-governor, in place of the great chamberlain *(ḥājib al-ḥujjāb)* who by the regulations had this office (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:104, 309, 317, 330, 2:11).

[98]On *naqīb:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:215. *Ballāṣī:* ibid., 251–52, 257; idem, *I'lām,* 159.

[99]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:221, 252, 254.

[100]Ibid., 306.

[101]*'Abīd*'s wages: ibid., 263. Gun arms: ibid., 201. Private mercenaries: idem, *I'lām,* 99, 105. Exploitation: idem, *Mufākahat,* 1:280. Police: ibid., 260.

[102]*Gharīb:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:263. Robber: ibid., 288.

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in their attempt to maintain control by incorporating marginal men in urban society into their *jamā'ah*.

The new taxation to support conscripted infantry and the imposition of the murder penalty benefited the governors financially and militarily. To perform these new procedures efficiently, they organized the *'arīf*s in each quarter while also maintaining their *jamā'ah*s as a distinct group separate from the formal administrative organization. Thus, they could control the inhabitants of the quarters directly. Next we will examine the actual conditions of people under this system of rule.

The City Quarters and the Common People

Political Development of the Quarters

There were two conflicts in Damascus that reflect political developments of the quarters at the end of the Mamluk period. One was the civil war from Ṣafar to Rabī' II 903/October to December 1497, and the other was the popular revolt in Jumādá I 907/October 1501.

In 903/1497 Āqbirdī (d. 904/1499), after being defeated by the sultan in Cairo, marched to Damascus. Īnāl al-Faqīh, the recently-appointed governor of Damascus, joined him. When their alliance against the sultan became known on 26 Ṣafar, citizens hastened to bring their property inside the city walls for fear of an attack by the rebellious troops. The next day the mamluks who supported the sultan gathered at the citadel. However, a split occurred among them and they were left leaderless. Ultimately they all fled from the citadel in fear of an attack by the rebels. On 29 Ṣafar the rebels first clashed with the inhabitants of the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter in the northern suburbs, which had remained on the sultan´s side, and established their base at the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter in the southern suburbs of Damascus, from which they planned to attack the inner city. On the sultan´s side, the *nā'ib al-qal'ah* (governor of the citadel) was made commander and continued to wage battle for a month and a half. On 16 Rabī' II, the rebels launched a final attack with all their force, but could not enter the city. Hearing that the army, led by the new governor Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar (r. 903–4/1497–98), was approaching Damascus to subdue them, the rebels then abandoned Damascus for Aleppo.[103]

It is noteworthy that the common people and *zu'r* fought on both sides. One report was that nobody supported the sultan other than the common people *(al-'awāmm),* especially those of the Shāghūr Quarter, and that Āqbirdī was amazed at the strength of the common people who fought equally with his army.[104] Several

[103]Ibid., 185–96.

[104]Ibid., 200.

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reports also document the participation of the *zu'r* in the battle. Responding to the sultan's dismissal of Governor Īnāl and his demand for their submission, the rebels claimed it was a false report in order to keep the *zu'r* on their side.[105] This report suggests the *zu'r* were an indispensable force for the rebels. We know that they were employed as infantry because the people complained that the *zu'r* behaved as they pleased in each quarter because the Turks (mamluks) valued them as infantry.[106] Both groups often used firearms that were normally employed only by infantrymen. Therefore the *zu'r* might participate in the battles as infantry with guns. As the Shāghūr Quarter was a base of the *zu'r,* it is possible that they comprised the militia of the Shāghūr who fought against the rebels so bravely.

Also notable are the political activities of the people organized in each quarter, especially at major quarters located in the suburbs. At the time of Āqbirdī's rebellion, the Shāghūr and Ṣāliḥīyah Quarters were allied with the sultan and defended the inner city, while the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the Qubaybāt Quarters sided with the rebels. They were not forced to take sides, but allied themselves with one side or the other depending on their personal politics. The Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter fought against the rebels on the side of the sultan and refused the rebels' proposal of alliance, which demanded that they supply one hundred soldiers and safeguard the women and belongings of the rebels.[107] The inhabitants of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and Qubaybāt Quarters demanded their protection when moving to the Qabr 'Ātikah Quarter to take refuge from the combat.[108] In contrast, the quarters located between the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the inner city, such as al-Suwayqah, Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj, and Masjid al-Dhabān, were often battlefields and suffered devastation.[109] Suburban quarters were exposed to the dangers of attack and plunder by invaders, and the inhabitants there moved to shelter in the inner city, with its protection of a strong city wall, as shown in the war of 903/1497. The four suburban quarters participating in the civil war with their own armies and of their own volition seem to have learned from bitter experience, however, that this was the best and indeed the only way to defend their quarters.

The popular revolt in 907/1501 illustrates political developments in the major suburban quarters of Damascus. First, the inhabitants of the Shāghūr and the

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[105]Ibid., 194.

[106]Ibid., 195.

[107]Ibid., 199. See also Miura, "The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter in the Suburbs of Damascus: Its Formation, Structure, and Transformation in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Periods," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 47 (1995): 164.

[108]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:189, 191, 195.

[109]Al-Suwayqah: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:192. Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj: ibid., 192–95. Masjid al-Dhabān: ibid., 189, 192–93, 195.

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Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarters gathered at the congregational mosque of Muṣallá al-ʻĪdayn on 14 Jumādá I and allied to fight against the injustice *(ẓulm)* of the governor and his faction.[110] Governor Qānṣūh al-Burj (r. 906–10/1501–4) had levied taxes on quarters like the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the Shāghūr and others so frequently that there was no quarter which had not been taxed during the one and one-half months since his arrival.[111] Here the word *ẓulm* is used in reference to this taxation by his *jamāʻah*. On that day the inhabitants of the Shāghūr Quarter clashed with the *jamāʻah* of the sultan, and the sultan dispatched the army, against which the people fought, allied with the *zuʻr*. Meanwhile ″the strength of the people and the *zuʻr* overwhelmed the army,″ defeating it, until the people of the quarter demanded that the governor of the citadel, sent as a messenger of the sultan, should transfer three officials (*ustādār*, *ballāṣī,* and the *naqīb* of the *muḥtasib*),[112] all of whom were responsible for collecting taxes. On the 15th and 16th, the people constructed barricades in their quarters, fought the army, and forced it to retreat. At night the governor, fearing their attack, sent a mission of the governor of the citadel and judges, to talk to their representatives *(akābir)* and promised to accept their demands to abolish taxation on markets and houses and execute the tax-collectors *(ballāṣī)*. The people of the quarter accepted his answer as satisfactory.[113] This, however, was only a temporary concession. Three months later the governor began to levy taxes on the inhabitants again and attacked the *zuʻr* of the Shāghūr Quarter and others. This time, his army defeated the *zuʻr,* put their leaders to death, and pillaged the Shāghūr Quarter.[114] The *zuʻr* could not cope with the governor′s army by themselves. It was the collaboration of the *zuʻr* and the common people that had brought them victory over the governor in the revolt of 907/1503.

The political change is clear from the stories of the civil war in 903 and the revolt in 907: First, while the declining power of the mamluk army was apparent, the armed people had gained sufficient strength to fight in place of the mamluks, or to cope with them. The governors employed the *zuʻr* as infantry, which increased their own power. Second, the suburban quarters stopped depending on the power of the governor and instead initiated their own independent political actions. Third, the *zuʻr* played an important role in the popular movement of the quarter.

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[110]Ibid., 250; idem, *Iʻlām,* 152.

[111]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:249; idem, *Iʻlām,* 151.

[112]This *naqīb* had been a broker *(simsār)* and was blamed as a subordinate of the tyrant (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:279).

[113]Ibid., 250–52; idem, *Iʻlām,* 152–54.

[114]Taxation: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:254, 258; idem, *Iʻlām,* 157, 159. Arrest and attack: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:258–60; idem, *Iʻlām,* 160–61.

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THE ACTIVITY OF THE *ZU'R* AND THEIR CHARACTER

The original meaning of the word *zu'r* is ″thin-haired,″ and it also has the meanings of ″lacking in wealth″ and ″lacking in virtue.″[115] At the end of the Mamluk period it designates a specific group of outlaws, using three variations of the root *(zu'r, ahl al-za'ārah, az'ar).*[116] The words *ghawghā', awbāsh* (both mean mobs), and *manāḥīs* (scoundrel) were also used to designate specific groups like the *zu'r.*[117] Here we examine their activities and their character, lumping them all together under the term *zu'r*.[118] (See Appendix Table, Activities of the *Zu'r* in Damascus.)

ACTIVITIES OF THE ZU'R

We classified the activities of the *zu'r* into four categories in Table 1:

TABLE 1. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES OF THE *ZU'R*

Categories	Actions and their Frequencies	
Violence	Murder 30 (5 of these were victims)	Plunder and attack 24
Public	Procession 13	Militia 11
Mass Struggle	Fighting 15	Revolt 6
Others	Arrest and Execution 26	

[115]Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1300–7), 5:411–12.

[116]Activities of the *zu'r* in Damascus were recorded for the first time in 889/1484, and thereafter reports of their activity suddenly increased, so that the number of reports concerning the *zu'r* totaled 111 by the decline of the Mamluk Dynasty, according to the sources of *Mufākahat, I'lām, Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* and *Ta'līq.* The term *az'ar* is used to designate individuals of the *zu'r,* especially the head (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283, 259, 315; idem, *I'lām,* 181). The term *zu'r* is a plural form of *az'ar,* designating the group of the *zu'r.*

[117]The words *ghawghā'* and *awbāsh* are sometimes connected to the word *zu'r,* such as *ghawghā' al-zu'r* and *awbāsh al-zu'r* (see Appendix Table). The same group is described by both words, *zu'r* and *ghawghā'*. Other words are also used to designate similar groups of the *zu'r; shabāb* (originally youth): Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:105; idem, *I'lām,* 260, 266; *manāḥīs* (originally bandit): Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:66.

[118]The leading studies on the *zu'r* are: Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 153–63, 173–77; Akram Ḥasan al-'Ulabī, *Dimashq bayna 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk wa-al-'Uthmānīyīn* (Damascus, 1982), 95–110; 'Abd al-Waddād Barghūt, ″Jawānib Ijtimā'īyah min Tārīkh Dimashq fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis 'Asharah min Makhṭūṭ Ibn Ṭawq,″ in *Kitāb al-Mu'tamar al-Duwalī li-Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām* (Damascus, 1974). In a paper published in 1989, I described relations between the quarters of Damascus and the *zu'r:* Miura, ″The Structure of the Quarter and the Role of the Outlaws: The Ṣāliḥīya Quarter and the Zu'r in the Mamluk Period,″ in *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam,* vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1989). In a recent paper by James Grehan, the author's analysis of motivation for the revolts in the quarters neglects a key topic: the socio-political relationships of the *zu'r* to the quarters and the common people there. ″Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluke and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800),″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 2 (2003).

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The activities in the first category are the most frequent, which shows that the *zu'r* most commonly committed illegal acts of violence. In regard to murder, they intentionally killed *'arīf*s, *ballāṣī*s, and *naqīb*s who collected taxes,[119] which means that these murders had a political basis. They could be hired to kill anyone—for example, to kill the aide of an arbitrary ruler *(a'wān al-ẓalamah)* or, just the opposite, to assassinate at the request of a ruler a shaykh who helped those who were unjustly oppressed.[120] The targets of their plundering and attacks were indiscriminate. They were strong enough to attack with impunity even in the light of day, and to celebrate their success by holding a banquet at which they displayed their loot.[121] Afterwards they sold the loot and pocketed the money.[122] The *zu'r* plundered as they pleased, especially when a state of anarchy prevailed owing to the death of a governor or to civil war, and the citizens feared them.[123] They are differentiated from simple robbers *(surrāq, ḥarāmīyah)*[124] stealing at night. We can say, based first of all on their behavior, that the *zu'r* were an outlaw group that maintained its livelihood by violent acts such as plunder and murder.

If they had only committed illegal acts, they would soon have disappeared or lived at the edge of society. Their second role reveals their public function. They were conscripted as infantry by the governors and asked to participate in public processions such as receiving delegations. In Muḥarram 909/July 1503 the governor included the armed *zu'r* in a procession, though he had previously prohibited the arming of the *zu'r*.[125] The third category is mass struggle, that is, combat among the *zu'r* of different quarters (four cases) and revolts against the rulers (six cases). It is noteworthy here that the *zu'r* organized the whole quarter for combat. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 907/June 1502 the *zu'r* of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter rose as one against the governor in response to the execution of their leader. People fled their houses and the heads of the Muṣallá Quarter and others constructed barricades to defend their quarters.[126] The fourth category, arrest and execution, represents the

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[119] *'Arīf:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:24. *Ballāṣī:* ibid., 1:221. *Naqīb:* ibid., 176.

[120] Tool of the tyrant: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:181. Shaykh: ibid., 279–79; idem, *I'lām,* 177; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:77–78.

[121] Ibn Ṭūlūn criticized this banquet in his chronicle: They rob the poor by force. They shall never be happy no matter how much they are proud of their power and wealth. (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:180).

[122] Ibid., 239.

[123] Ibid., 1:183–85, 2:27–28. On the fear of the citizens, see column ″Fear″ in the Appendix Table.

[124] *Surrāq:* Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 2:582, 891, 914, 3:1436, 1509, 1516. *Ḥarāmīyah:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:68; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:510, 2:649, 3:1486.

[125] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:268.

[126] Ibid., 258–59; idem, *I'lām,* 160.

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results produced by the activities in the other three categories.

The above-mentioned three categories describe the ambiguous character of the *zu'r*. The first category shows an outlaw character, those who did not hesitate to employ violence in the violation of the law. Their violence, however, was not only for their own interests, but had an additional effect on the city and its quarters. The second category tells us that their organized power was indispensable to citizens as well as rulers, to defend the city and its properties. Furthermore, from the third category, we see that they took over leadership of the battles to defend the quarter whether the inhabitants wanted them to or not. In all these categories, the activities of the *zu'r* were closely related to the socio-political changes of the city and the quarters.

Relation to the Rulers

The governors could not ignore the habitual plundering and murders of the *zu'r*, since they not only destabilized the civil order, but also at times attacked the governors and their subordinates. Therefore the governors began to take action against the *zu'r*, for example by issuing a decree prohibiting the *zu'r* from arming themselves.[127] Especially after the civil war in 903/1497 when the need for armed infantry increased, Governor Kurtbāy organized new troops by, on the one hand, conscripting *'abīd* (black slaves) from among the citizens and training them in the use of firearms, and on the other hand, clamping down on the *zu'r* until most of them fled the city during his reign.[128] Soon after the revolt of 907/1503, the governor ordered the arms merchants to submit a document swearing not to sell arms to anyone but the mamluks.[129] He began to take measures against the *zu'r* after the end of 907, arresting the *zu'r* leaders of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter and others and executing them on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 907/July 1502, attacking the Shāghūr Quarter with the *'abīd* and mamluk army, killing the *zu'r* leaders of the Shāghūr and the Qarāwinah in the battle, plundering the markets there, and burning the quarters.[130] Both governors, having experienced the danger of employing the *zu'r* as auxiliary forces, intended to train the *'abīd* instead of the *zu'r* and to check the latter by the former.

Nevertheless these measures proved unsuccessful in the end. In reaction, the *zu'r* attacked the quarter of the *'abīd* and plundered it in Rabī' I 910/August 1504.[131] At the same time, the amirs began to hire the *zu'r* for their private armies

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[127]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:197, 299, 314, 331.

[128]Ibid., 201–3; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 228.

[129]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:252.

[130]Ibid., 258–59, 260–61; idem, *I'lām,* 160–61.

[131]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:280.

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even though the hiring of the *zu'r* had been prohibited by decree in Shawwāl 905/May 1500.[132] This decree was ignored by the amirs even after the great chamberlain *(ḥājib al-ḥujjāb)* remonstrated with Governor Arikmās for giving arms to their leaders in Sha'bān 911/January 1506.[133] Thereafter, the *zu'r* were always conscripted from each quarter and the role of the *'abīd* was completely eroded.[134]

Why did these measures against the *zu'r* lack consistency and effectiveness? Our answer: because the *zu'r* were necessary and indispensable for the governors and amirs facing the declining power of the mamluks. Put another way, although mamluks were the sole military force for a long time, other military forces eventually appeared to compete with the mamluks around the turn of the sixteenth century. Therefore the governors needed to keep the *zu'r* on their own side, by bestowing robes of honor *(khil'ah)* and asking for an oath of homage,[135] just as they did with the mamluks.

Relations to the Quarters

The activities of the *zu'r* were usually related to the quarters in terms of organization. Table 2 shows their relations to the individual quarters:

Table 2. Relations between the *Zu'r* and the Quarter

Shāghūr	24	Maydān al-Ḥaṣā	11
Ṣāliḥīyah	11	Muṣallá	5
Qubaybāt, Shuwaykah	4 for each	Qarāwinah, Mazābil, Qabr 'Ātikah	2 for each
Bāb al-Jābiyah	2	Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj	1

Table 2 lists 68 cases and 11 quarters; of these 11 quarters, all except Bāb al-Jābiyah were located in the suburbs of Damascus outside the city wall. The activities of the *zu'r* were most conspicuous in the suburbs. They seemed, however,

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[132]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 108. A similar decree is found in Ramaḍān 906 (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:233).

[133]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283, 295, 298; idem, *I'lām,* 181, 197, 198–99. In addition, the two persons who struggled for the office of governor's *dawādār* both hired the *zu'r* (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:269).

[134]Conscription and imposition for expeditions was most frequent during the period 912–22/1506–16: in all, 13 cases, representing 62% of the total number.

[135]*Khil'ah:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:185; idem, *I'lām,* 78. Swearing homage: idem, *Mufākahat,* 1:282–83; idem, *I'lām,* 180.

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to be present in all quarters, as the phrase ″the *zu'r* of each quarter″ appears.[136] Furthermore they were also in the villages surrounding Damascus, as the head of the *zu'r* in the Shāghūr Quarter called on the *zu'r* of Damascus and the Ghūṭah (surrounding villages of Damascus) to plunder and held a great banquet.[137] The *zu'r* were most active in the five quarters of Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, Ṣāliḥīyah, Muṣallá, and Qubaybāt, where they fought with each other, while also allying themselves to fight against the governor, especially if he oppressed them.[138]

The quarter became a unit by which to organize the *zu'r* under their head (called by them *shaykh* or *kabīr*), especially in the above-mentioned major suburban quarters. The *zu'r* head of the Shāghūr Quarter was famous for being titled *sharīf* and *sayyid* (meaning descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad)[139] and had wide influence over other quarters, as mentioned before. The heads of the *zu'r* in Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and Bāb al-Jābiyah were also heads *(shaykh)* of the quarters at the same time,[140] which means the head of the *zu'r* not only led the *zu'r* in his quarter but also represented the quarter itself.

Relationship to the People

The *zu'r* were a menace to the population and their attacks and plundering were aimed at ordinary people as well as the wealthy and upper classes. Rivalry between the governors and the *zu'r* might have been a cause for the *zu'r* to seek revenge. The murders increased the blood penalty on the quarters. The following describes the *zu'r* in the quarters:

> Taxation and property confiscation increased recently in each quarter, and the *zu'r* became angry, wanting to pay nothing at all. Some of them pressured the shops under their control, to make them sell at a higher price than other shops and to get kickbacks from them. When being taxed for the quarter, they tried to evade the imposed levy by transferring the money to other shops. They enjoyed their fill of food and drink, and were depraved in their exploitation of women and Muslim property. When you find a man brandishing a horrible dagger in the middle of his body, it is indeed

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[136]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:316; 330; idem, *I'lām,* 208.

[137]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283.

[138]Struggle between the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the Shāghūr Quarters: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:179, 232. Between the Qubaybāt and the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā: ibid., 182. Alliance: ibid., 260; idem, *I'lām,* 160–1.

[139]*Sayyid:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:219; *sharīf:* ibid., 225.

[140]Ibid., 289, 332; idem, *I'lām,* 191.

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> a criminal who is short and ugly to support confiscation by the ruler.[141]

As shown by this description, the *zu'r* in each quarter controlled the markets and shops from which they pocketed kickbacks to the extent that no one could do business without paying a kickback *(fā'idah)* to them.[142] In exchange, they protected *(yaḥmī)* the shops from taxation by the governor.[143] Considering this relationship between the *zu'r* and the quarter, the governor's attempt to exact taxes from shops under their control was a threat to their control of the shops and the quarter itself. This is why they often killed *ballāṣī*s and *'arīf*s who collected tax from the quarter.

We now come to a re-examination of the popular revolt in 907/1503, especially the relationship between the *zu'r* and the quarter. The revolt began, it is clear, with the alliance of the Shāghūr and Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarters. A victory of the people against the governor was achieved through an alliance between the *zu'r* and the common people. Three questions arise, however, about participation by the *zu'r*.

The first is whether the *zu'r* participated in the revolt from its beginning or later rallied the people in their support. The report of *I'lām* on the first clash says "the inhabitants *(ahl)* of the Shāghūr Quarter clashed with the *jamā'ah* of the governor. Other *zu'r* appeared there after hearing of the clash, and united against the mamluk army." The *zu'r* of the Shāghūr must have participated in the first clash and asked for help from other *zu'r*.

The second question is who the chiefs *(akābir)*[144] of the people were who met with the delegation of the governor on 16 Jumādá I to talk about a peace agreement. Lapidus supposed them to be shaykhs of the quarters. He insisted that the shaykhs and the *zu'r* dealt separately with the governor in these negotiations and that the *zu'r* continued to murder officials, only afterwards making peace with the governor. In his study, he equates the shaykhs of the quarters with leading notables such as influential ulama who represented the interests of the inhabitants and negotiated on their behalf, and he assumes that they used the power of the *zu'r* as a counter-

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[141]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 195. A similar description is found in Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:292–93, relating that the *zu'r* commanded the markets *(sūq)* under them not to cooperate in the imposition. We find a description of Ibn Ṭawq in 901/1496 of the *zu'r* going around the markets in the inner city with their swords drawn and demanding money from the merchants and others (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1437).

[142]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 208.

[143]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:316; idem, *I'lām,* 208.

[144]*Akābirhum:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:251; *akābir al-ḥārāt:* idem, *I'lām,* 154.

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balancing power to that of the governor.[145] His lucid explanation contradicts the sources, however, concerning both this event and others. The sources do not use the term *shaykh* but rather *akābir* to designate the chiefs in the negotiations. As the word *akābir* was often used to designate the leaders of the *zu'r*,[146] it is possible to suppose that *akābir* here means the leaders of the *zu'r*. Lapidus' explanation is based on his thesis that the shaykhs and the *'arīf*s represented the interests of the inhabitants and negotiated on their behalf.[147] As for the descriptions of the shaykhs and *'arīf*s of Damascus in the *Mufākahah, I'lām,* and *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* we find no cases in which they actually acted in the interests of the people of the quarter.[148] Considering that a leader of the *zu'r* was also the shaykh of the quarter, and that the shaykhs of the quarters, along with the *ballāṣī*s and *naqīb*s,[149] were denounced in a decree by the sultan, the assumption that the shaykh of the quarter was an autonomous representative for the inhabitants is far too simplistic.[150]

Finally, the course of events after the treaty of 16 Jumādá I gives us a key to understanding the role of the *zu'r* in the revolt. On 4 Jumādá II, the next month, the governor sent a messenger to the head of the *zu'r* in the Shāghūr Quarter. The governor promised not to demand blood money for those killed in the fight, not even from those responsible for it, and concluded a peace *(ṣulḥ)* with the *zu'r,* much to the relief of both the citizens and the governor. Then the *zu'r* of the Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, and Qubaybāt quarters held a peace-making banquet for the governor.[151] Observing these complicated procedures, we see that the *zu'r* fought against the governor, and therefore the *zu'r* anticipated the imposition of

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[145]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 156–57.

[146]*Akābir:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283; idem, *I'lām,* 180; *kabīr:* idem, *Mufākahat,* 1:247, 259.

[147]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 92–93.

[148]Lapidus regards the shaykhs as mediators between the rulers and the common people, citing examples of the latter's opposition to the former's imposition in 890 (correctly 891) and in 907 (ibid., 93). These sources, however, simply describe the opposing ones as *al-nās* (citizens), and do not mention shaykhs (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:254; idem, *I'lām,* 72–74).

[149]In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 918/February–March 1513 a decree was issued to prohibit the activities of shaykhs of the quarters *(mashā'ikh al-ḥārāt),* body guards *(ru'ūs al-nuwab),* and *naqīb*s (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:374). *Ru'ūs al-nuwab* in general designates the office responsible for guarding the sultan, but the three cases in Damascus were all tax collectors (*ballāṣī:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:70, 221; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1509). The purpose of this decree was clearly to prohibit exploitation by these three offices. It is plausible to assume that the shaykhs of the quarters were actual rulers of the quarters, like the *zu'r*, rather than communal representatives of the inhabitants.

[150]Al-'Ulabī in his study defines the shaykhs of the quarters as dominating the inhabitants of quarters and speaking in the name of the inhabitants before the provincial rulers, whereas the *'arīf*s dominated the inhabitants, taking root in the quarters and cooperating with the rulers in taxation. No reference is given, however, to the original sources (al-'Ulabī, *Dimashq,* 95–96).

[151]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:251–52; idem, *I'lām,* 154–55.

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blood money. True peace could not come without a solution to the problem of blood money. It is noteworthy that before making peace the governor was most worried that his *ballāṣī*s would not perform their task and the collection of taxes might stop.[152] As mentioned above, the people demanded transfer of the *ustādār* and *ballāṣī* who were responsible for tax-collection. The crucial issue was the governor′s taxation of the quarters by his *jamā'ah,* and the *zu'r′*s resistance by force.

This evidence leads us to conclude that the *zu'r* fought against the governor throughout the revolt in 907/1503 simply to prevent taxation in their quarters. They fought to defend their interests in the quarters, and not to aid the people. This explanation is consistent with the character of the *zu'r*, who defended their own interests at all times; the alliance between the common people and the *zu'r* was possible because abolition of the tax was a common interest and goal for both. The governors were eager to control the *zu'r,* and conversely the *zu'r* resisted the arrest of their leaders with all possible force.[153] Thus, they competed and struggled with each other to gain control over the quarters. Whoever succeeded there would get the money, whether as a tax or as a protection fee *(ḥimāyah).*

Social Background

The *zu'r* ruled the quarters of Damascus and their inhabitants during the final years of the Mamluk period. At the same time, they confronted the authority of the governors and thereby protected the inhabitants from the exactions of the governors. For the quarter inhabitants, to take shelter under the *zu'r* meant protection from the governor′s exploitation, and if one became a *zu'r* himself, he could escape from the rule of both the governor and the *zu'r* and gain wealth and power. The influence of the *zu'r* emerged suddenly and became widespread in a very short time.[154] This sudden development might be caused by such socio-political change around the quarters.

It is difficult to know the organizational development of the *zu'r* and its inner structure, because sources on the members and the organization of the *zu'r* are scarce. In spite of this, we find among its members common people such as brokers *(dallāl),* weavers *(ḥā'ik),* carpenters *(najjār),* and tin makers (*samkarī*).[155] The report of Ibn al-Mibrad (d. 909/1503), a Hanbali jurist, on a strange event of mass assassinations in 902/1496–97 shows changes in the esteem for *zu'r* among the ulama.

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[152]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:252; idem, *I'lām,* 154.

[153]See Appendix Table, nos. 60, 79, 81, and 92.

[154]See note 116.

[155]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:204, 238, 2:105; idem, *I'lām,* 191.

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> This year, after the death of governor Qānṣūh, a legal scholar published his opinion that the murder of the subordinates of unjust tyrants *(ẓalamah)* should be permissible, and encouraged the *zu'r* to assassinate them. A simple-minded man killed a subordinate or gave silver coins to the *zu'r* to assassinate a subordinate. After the killing, the murderer declared that the person killed was a subordinate [of the unjust tyrant]. Due to this, so many fatalities occurred that about thirty persons were killed in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter and about one hundred in the inner city. . . . I was asked about this issue two times. . . . [My answer is] both lack legality. The *zu'r* must not be encouraged.[156]

This opinion of Ibn al-Mibrad represented the traditional idea of the ulama to oppose both the *zu'r* and unjust rulers and not to justify the violence of the *zu'r* as a weapon against injustice. This idea had no power, however, due to the fact that rulers, chief judges, and the *zu'r* all competed with each other for profit and power. Therefore the new opinion that condoned the violence of the *zu'r* as a means of removing injustice is worth noting. Such an opinion must have encouraged the weak and suffering to seek the protection of the *zu'r*.

In this year of 902 murders by the *zu'r* and clashes among the quarters indeed continued, even up to the time of the great pilgrimage festival.[157] On 14 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 902/8 August 1497, the *zu'r* of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter invited those of the Shāghūr, Qubaybāt, and Ṣāliḥīyah quarters and others to a banquet to make peace. Amirs, the *nā'ib al-qal'ah,* and other mamluks participated as well as three persons who were rumored to be leaders of the *zu'r;* one was Taqī al-Dīn, deputy judge of Ibn al-Furfūr, and another was al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the *naqīb al-ashrāf*.[158] The third, Ibn al-Muḥawjib (d. 912/1506), is described as generous, with real power, someone to be asked for aid by those who suffered injustice, and visited by influential ulama and amirs.[159] We cannot ascertain that these three were

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[156]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:181–82. The response of Ibn al-Mibrad on this matter is held at the National Asad Library of Syria under the title ″Al-Dhu'r fī Aḥwāl al-Zu'r″ (Ms. 3243).

[157]Murders: Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1491, 1500; quarter clashes: ibid., 1507–8.

[158]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:180; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1513. On Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Zar': Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:63, 272, 284, 349; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:370, 437; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:119; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:90. On al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:189, 315; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 33, 57; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:100–1; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:60.

[159]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:136–37. His influence on the governors and other ulama: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:189, 202, 249, 307; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 74, 178, 191, 223, 229; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:194, 2:813, 3:1367, 1514. Another example is that the *nāẓir*s of the Umarīyah

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in fact the leaders of the *zu'r*, but they must have had actual connections to the *zu'r* to mediate in their conflicts even though they did not hold high official positions.

The *zu'r* were illegal outlaws who acted in their own self interest, whether on the side of the rulers or on the side of the common people. Due to this ambiguous character, the governor could not subdue them, until they turned into the representatives of justice who opposed injustice often through violence.[160]

Concluding Remarks: The Changing Structure and Dynamism of Urban Society

The purpose of this article has been to examine the theory of Muslim urban society and the Mamluk regime presented by Ira M. Lapidus, by re-constructing the structure of urban society at the end of the Mamluk period. Lapidus argued that the mamluks were able to rule Muslim urban society by combining the ulama and the common people into one social group. His theory is based on the assumption that three major groups—the mamluks, the ulama, and the common people—comprised that urban society. These three, however, were changing at the end of the Mamluk period.

First, the mamluks' military power had weakened and they had become "salaried workers" in the city after losing their principle source of income *(iqṭā')*. Meanwhile, influential amirs and provincial governors formed their *jamā'ah*s, organizing *'abīd* and the *zu'r* as private troops and using subordinates like *ballāṣī* to perform tasks of city administration and maintain their rule. The mamluks thus lost their unity as a political force, and social differentiation appeared among them. Second, a similar differentiation or polarization can been seen among the ulama. High officials such as the chief judges also organized their *jamā'ah*s by using subordinate staff in their faction to shoulder city administration and politics together with the influential members of the military, and to exploit the citizenry. Ulama other than the high officials seemed to be hired for these *jamā'ah* as subordinates or to depend on allowances from *waqf* properties as before. Frequent struggles over *waqf* institutions and *waqf* properties[161] suggest that *waqf*s had been a major economic resource for the ulama. Ultimately they lost their dignity and role as religious and legal intellectuals and forfeited their influence on urban society, except for a few high officials like Ibn Furfūr. Finally, the common people of the third stratum were

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Madrasah in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter hired robbers *(ḥarāmīyah)* and the *zu'r* in opposition to the governor (see Miura, "The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter," 159–60).

[160]It is noteworthy that the outlaws called *shuṭṭār* and *zu'r* fought against the injustice of judges, *muḥtasib*s, and other officials, supporting the just rulers, sultans and caliphs, in the oral folk literatures of the Mamluk period such as *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* and *Sīrat 'Alī Zaybaq*. It might reflect the popular image of the *zu'r,* which shall be discussed in my future work.

[161]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:113, 202, 319, 321, 346, 385. Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:109.

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ruled directly by the *jamā'ah*s of the governors, influential amirs, and high officials, and they were also squeezed by force. In such severe conditions, the common people had only three possible choices: suffering the exactions unwillingly, being a subordinate of the person who ruled, or taking shelter under the protection of the *zu'r*. The *zu'r*, with their violence and organization, created in the quarters a domain that even the ruling power could not invade, ignoring authority and the law. The *zu'r* can be regarded as *jamā'ah*s inside the quarter for people who had no other way to participate.

In the cities, at the end of the Mamluk era, the provincial governors, amirs, high officials, and the *zu'r* all formed their own factions (*jamā'ah*s) to strengthen their domains and to achieve their own interests. They struggled with each other by force. Here, in fact, the three strata of mamluks, ulama, and the common people had already dissolved and lost their bases as social strata as well as political actors. They all began to move into the factions. Scholars have regarded such social mobilization so far as being, on the one hand, decline and depravity or corruption and, on the other hand, regarded social mobilization as disorder. Recent studies, however, have shed light on both mobilization and factionalization of society under Ottoman rule in Egypt and Syria.[162] Although we might discuss at greater length whether the socio-political change discussed in my article was only a temporary phenomenon, appearing solely at the end of the Mamluk period, we should also consider the dynamism and potential inherent in any urban society that enables illegitimate organizations like *jamā'ah*s and *zu'r* to become cores of administration and rule, and to represent two contradictory notions of justice *('adl)* and injustice *(ẓulm)*.

[162]The growth of influential families, both military and civil, in Ottoman Egypt and Syria can be regarded as re-organization of the societies by the household factions. See Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723–1883* (Beirut, 1966); Linda Schatikowski Schilcher, *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stuttgart, 1985); and James Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 2002).

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APPENDIX TABLE: Activities of the *Zu'r* in Damascus

				Quarters						Activities									Indiv.			
No.	Yr.	Mo./ Day	Terms	MH	SR	SA	Q	MU	SH	Mu	P/A	Pr	Mi	F	R	A/E	O	F	Head	Pers. name	Sources	Notes
1	889	10/?	C		O					◎											T:202	
2	890	1/1	A											O							I:70	
3	890	1/30	A, F		O											O					T:441, M1:66	
4	890	6/17	H		O						O			O		O					T:488	
5	890	10/11	A			O					O										T:524	
6	892	8/8	A									O									T:713	
7	893	6/19	A		O									O							M1:92	
8	894	11/29	C							O						O				O	M1:110	
9	899	2/10	C		O					◎										O	M1:153	
10	899	8/3	A													O					T:1281	
11	899	8/6	C													O				O	T:1282	
12	900	11/11	D								O										M1:166	
13	901	2/8	C							◎										O	T:1386	
14	901	12/29	A							O	O										T:1437	extortion
15	901	12/?	B							◎											M1:168	
16	902	7/22	A											O							T:1478	
17	902	9/22	A							O											T:1491	
18	902	9/23	A							O	O										T:1491	
19	902	10/23	A								O			O							M1:176	
20	902	10/24	A						O							O					T:1499	
21	902	10/24	C		O					O										O	M1:177	
22	902	10/26	A		O									O							T:1500	
23	902	10/27	A		O					O											T:1500	
24	902	11/23	A								O										M1:179	
25	902	11/30	F	O	O									O							M1:179, T:1507	
26	902	12/6	A								O										T:1511	Mazābil
27	902	12/8	A													O					T:1512	
28	902	12/8	A, F			O															T:1512	police
29	902	12/14	A, F	O	O	O	O		O										O		M1:180, T:1513	banquet, Mazābil and Qabr 'Ātikah
30	902	12/15	A			O								O							T:1513	

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31	902	12/22	A		O											O				T:1515	
32	902	12/23	C			O				O									O	T:1515	
33	902	12/25	A							O										T:1516	
34	902	12/27	A							O										T:1516	
35	902	?	A							O										M1:181	
36	903	1/1	A	O			O				O									M1:182	
37	903	1/12	A	O	O						O			O						M1:183	
38	903	1/23	A	O								O	O					O		M1:185	
39	903	1/25	A							O										M1:185	
40	903	2/2	A														O			M1:185	
41	903	2/2	F														O			M1:186	
42	903	3/11	F										O			O				M1:190	
43	903	3/13	D								O						O			M1:191	
44	903	3/14	B								O						O			M1:191	
45	903	4/1	D										O							M1:194	
46	903	4/11	E										O				O			M1:195	
47	903	10/?	A		O											O		O		M1:196	
48	903	11/1	A		O					O						O			O2	M1:196	
49	903	11/16	B														O			M1:197	
50	904	1/2	B														O			M1:202	
51	904	3/10	A, F															O		M1:203	
52	904	3/?	A															O		I:87	
53	904	3/16	D						O	O									O3	M1:204	
54	904	3/17	A													O			O	M1:204	
55	904	3/?	A															O		I:87	
56	904	4/15	A																	M1:207	pursue
57	904	8/25	C							⊙									O	M1:212	
58	904	8/28	A									O								M1:212	
59	904	9/6	A			O										O			O	M1:213	
60	904	11/23	A		O									O	O				O	M1:216	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS:
Terms: A=*zu'r;* B=*ahl al-za'ārah;* C=*az'ar;* D=combination of *zu'r* and *ghawghā';* E=combination of *zu'r* and *awbāsh;* F=*ghawghā';* G=*awbāsh;* H=*manāḫīs*
Quarters: MH=Maydān al-Ḥaṣā; SR=Shāghūr; SA=Ṣāliḥīyah; Q=Qubaybāt; MU=Muṣallá; SH=Shuwaykah
Activities: Mu=Murder; P/A=Plunder/attack; Pr=Procession; Mi=Militia; F=Fighting; R=Revolt; A/E=Arrest/execution; O=Order; F=Fear
⊙ =Murder in which *zu'r* was killed
Indiv.: This column designates cases in which a head of *zu'r* or the personal name of a *zu'r* was mentioned. The number indicates when two or more individuals were mentioned.
Sources: M=*Mufākahat;* I=*I'lām;* T=*Ta'līq*

Continued on next page

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Appendix Table—*Continued*

				Quarters						Activities									Indiv.			
No.	Yr.	Mo./ Day	Terms	MH	SR	SA	Q	MU	SH	Mu	P/A	Pr	Mi	F	R	A/E	O	F	Head	Pers. name	Sources	Notes
61	904	12/16	C			O										O					M1:220	
62	905	1/1	C							O											M1:212	
63	905	2/11	A		O							O				O			O		M1:224	
64	905	6/?	A					O			O										M1:227	
65	905	10/20	B										O								I:109	
66	906	4/23	A									O									I:121	
67	906	4/26	A									O									I:122	
68	906	8/11	AB	O	O							O		O						O	M1:232	
69	906	10/20	AC							O						O				O2	M1:238	Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj
70	907	1/15	F								O		O								M1:245	
71	907	1/22	A										O								M1:245	
72	907	3/1	A			O					O	O				O			O	O	M1:247	
73	907	3/2	A															O			M1:247	
74	907	after 5/14	A		O									O	O						M1:250; I:152	
75	907	6/4	A		O														O	O	M1:251; I:154	
76	907	6/6	A					O						O	O	O	O				M1:252; I:155	
77	907	6/17	A	O	O	O	O	O													M1:252	banquet
78	907	7/5	A																O		I:156	
79	907	12/23	A	O															O	O	M1:258; I:160	
80	907	12/?	A					O											O2	O2	M1:259; I:160	
81	908	1/26	A, F		O			O						O	O	O			O2	O2	M1:260, I:160	Qarāwinah
82	908	3/28	C		O											O					M1:262	Qarāwinah
83	908	4/27	A									O									M1:262	
84	908	5/?	A										O								I:164	
85	909	1/?	B														O				M1:268	
86	909	1/30	A									O									M1:268	
87	909	3/3	A									O									M1:269	
88	909	4/24	A							©										O	M1:270	Bāb al-Jābiyah
89	910	3/4	D							O											M1:279	
90	910	3/12	B	O							O										M1:280	

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91	910	3/14	B																		M1:280	instigation
92	910	3/17	F								O				O						M1:280	
93	910	3/18	B								O										M1:280	
94	910	4/1	F												O					O	M1:280	
95	910	5/6	A							O											M1:281	
96	910	6/3	D										O						O		M1:283	
97	910	6/6	F							O											M1:283	
98	910	6/10	D	O			O					O									M1:283, I:181	
99	910	6/13	CD		O						O	O							O	O	M1:283, I:181	
100	910	6/16	F								O							O			M1:284	
101	910	8/4	A										O								M1:286	
102	910	8/7	A													O					M1:286	
103	910	9/23	C			O				O						O					M1:287, I:186	
104	911	1/3	A													O			O	O	I:191	Bāb al-Jābiyah
105	911	4/?	A																		M1:293, I:195	rule of quarters
106	911	8/14	BC		O															O	M1:295	
107	911	11/?	A														O				M1:299	
108	911	12/?	A			O										O					M1:300	
109	913	1/19	A														O				M1:314	
110	913	3/7	C													O					M1:315	
111	913	4/?	A															O			M1:316, I:208	
112	913	9/14	G						O	O	O					O					M1:320	Qabr ʿĀtikah
113	914	2/23	A										O								M1:330	
114	914	3/17	C													O					M1:331	
115	914	5/19	C	O						O										O	M1:332	
116	916	5/12	F																		M1:344	protest
117	922	4/?	E											O							M2:7	
118	922	8/3	A							O											M2:24	
119	922	8/23	A							O											M2:27	
120	922	8/23	A							O	O							O			M2:27	
121	922	8/23	A								O										M2:27	
122	922	8/24	A								O										M2:27	
Tot.				11	24	11	4	5	4	30	24	13	11	15	6	26	6	12	16	31		

Book Reviews

Response to Th. Emil Homerin, review of *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī,* by Richard J. A. McGregor, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 238–41.

Richard J. A. McGregor

I would like to respond to Emil Homerin's review of my book *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī* in *MSR* vol. 9, no. 2. Homerin is right to point out the difficulty in identifying clear lines of influence between mystical thinkers. The issue at hand is how to characterize the relationship between Ibn 'Arabī and Muḥammad and 'Alī Wafā'. Since the Wafā's were not students within the well-known "Akbarian" school—that is, they did not identify themselves as systematizers or commentators on Ibn 'Arabī's work—we are obliged to comb through the Wafā' writings in search of similarities with Ibn 'Arabī's work. In this context Homerin writes "McGregor must undertake a more extensive and exacting comparison if he wants to assess the scope and strength of Ibn 'Arabī's influence on Muḥammad and 'Alī" (p. 241). I would agree with this only in part. Yes, more comparisons (especially of material not relating to *walāyah*) would be welcome, but I am confident that such subsequent work would support my characterization that Muḥammad and 'Alī Wafā' have read Ibn 'Arabī closely. However the picture becomes less clear once we realize that the Wafā's have gone a step further, and put the Akbarian system to work in their own mystical speculations (see p. 8). Thus the question arises as to what exactly we mean by "influence"? Certainly Ibn 'Arabī's technical vocabulary has been imported into the Wafā' writings, and so have many key concepts; but the Wafā's were not slavish, and the details of their doctrine of *walāyah,* for example, differ significantly from Ibn 'Arabī's. They are deeply "influenced" by his wider hermeneutic, ontology, epistemology, and technical vocabulary, but at the same time they strive to assert their own insights and identities. How they manage to do both is fascinating, and should force us to examine what exactly we mean by "influence." Homerin would argue that what I am calling the Akbarian influence may well be found elsewhere, with Ibn al-Fāriḍ for example. I would not dispute that the wider strokes of this mystical philosophy went beyond the writings of Ibn 'Arabī, but my view is that so much of the Wafā' writing can be explained in light of Ibn 'Arabī that he is certainly a primary "influence." I am not sure how we could quantify the "scope and strength" of this influence. This said,

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at the same time I am sure a full comparison of the Wafā' poetry with that of Ibn al-Fāriḍ would also yield interesting parallels (or influences), and certainly a closer reading of the Akbarian school figures (Qūnawī et al.) would be worthwhile. One final point: I would like to remind readers that the Arabic texts provided in the notes are unedited copies of the manuscript texts, and not typos (although neither the English nor the Arabic texts are completely free of those). See my ″Note on Transliteration″ for more on this.

Aḥmad Fawzī al-Hayb, *Al-Taṣannu' wa-Rūḥ al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-'Arab, 2004). Pp. 121.

Reviewed by Roger Allen, University of Pennsylvania

As the specific discipline of literature studies has come to define itself and to develop its own theoretical modes over the course of the last century or so, the need to write and, more often than not, to rewrite literary histories has come to be regarded as being part of a continuing process. In the case of the Arabic heritage, the literary historian enters a sphere in which the basic chronological parameters and esthetic criteria are often regarded as having been set long since, and within the contexts of both indigenous and external research. Scholars here confront a set of historical attitudes that can be viewed as a perfect model of the rise, decline, and renaissance model of generic developments (or lack thereof). *Mamlūk Studies Review* (and especially Volume VII and articles in Volume IX) has played a major part in attempts to challenge some of the critical postures and attitudes engendered by approaches to this topic that have set specific chronological boundaries to periods of efflorescence and decline. The Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258, for example, has been adopted as a convenient dividing-line between a ″high″ period before it and a ″period of decadence″ after it; all that in spite of clear signs of change in the anterior period and of continued creativity in the so-called ″Mamluk″ period that followed it (the latter being a period that Professor Thomas Bauer has recently declared to be ″one of the apogees of Arabic literature″ (*MSR* 9, no. 2 [2005]: 129).

The work under review here thus enters a subfield of Arabic literature studies in which traditional attitudes are already being challenged, although, it has to be admitted, mostly from outside the Arabic-speaking region itself. There is a certain irony here too, one that involves the as-yet-unexplored history of the origins and motivations at work in this usage of the term ″decadence″ to describe a six-century

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period in Arabic literary history. As Bauer also points out as a contribution to that much-needed project, the process of tarring several centuries of literary creativity with the brush of ″decadence″ can be seen as part of the nineteenth-century agenda of European powers in order to justify their colonial intentions by underlining the ″backwardness″ of the peoples in the target regions (see esp. ibid., 105–7). Such lessons in the applications of history were, it would appear, well learned by Arab scholars such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Amīn during their studies in France in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Within the context of the *″taṣannu‘″* of the title of this volume, it goes without saying, of course, that the juxtaposition of the ″natural″ *(maṭbū‘)* and the ″artificial″ *(maṣnū‘)* in discussions of Arabic poetry and debate over their relative virtues (particularly in the context of an increased emphasis on *badī‘*) had been part of the critical milieu at least since the time of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889); indeed that very topic is the focus of a complete study by Mansour Ajami, *The Neckveins of Winter* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), not mentioned by the author of the current study (but then all the sources in this work are in Arabic). One can perhaps get a glimpse of the attitudes involved by posing the question as to whether the *″taṣannu‘″* of the title is best translated in English as ″artifice,″ with its mostly positive connotations—the process of acquiring a craft, or rather as ″artificiality,″ with its implications of contrivance and even lack of sincerity.

The author announces in both his prefatory and concluding material that he wishes to assess the phenomenon during the Mamluk era through two lenses: that of the period in question, and that of the contemporary era. He is to apply the principles he outlines to the poetry of two poets from the period: Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1349) and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 1349). However, whatever the parameters that are cited and the intentions that are made, what emerges is a prolonged lament over the course of Arabic poetry and its modes of analysis, beginning with the publication of *Kitāb al-Badī‘* by Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 908). As has been noted many times, that particular work was actually a rather conservative gesture, in that it intended to show that the trend towards increased elaboration in the use of poetic devices was a matter of emphasis; Arabic poetry (and indeed the text of the Quran itself) contained many examples of the devices to which Ibn al-Mu‘tazz had drawn attention. In his rapid survey of the development of artifice (or is it artificiality?—pp. 16–33), the author suggests that in the pre-Islamic era and the early period of the Islamic caliphate, the two elements of ″naturalness″ and ″artifice″ were in some kind of balance (p. 19), raising, of course, the question as to: in whose eyes and according to what criteria. This typically idealized scenario in analyzing the earliest periods in the Arabic poetic tradition is seen as undergoing a gradual change ″which distanced it bit by bit from the element of content which is the basis of the tradition″ (ibid.). The ″problem″ is, at least in the view of those

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who would cast generic developments of this kind in negative terms, that subsequent poets and critics adopted Ibn al-Mu'tazz's categories (and especially his *"muḥassināt"* [embellishments]) and proceeded to produce larger and larger lists of their examples. In this context Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 1058) comes in for his due share of opprobrium for the elaboration of devices in his *Luzūmīyāt* (p. 20), as do al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122) and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 1200) for their similarly elaborate prose works (pp. 13, and 20–22). But the major culprits in this gradual and prolonged process are said to be the critics (p. 22): Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. 1005) and Ibn Rashīq (d. 1063?) are cited as merely two of those who assembled long lists of devices, until a time when one of the two poets whose works are analyzed in detail in this volume, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, managed to assemble 104 of them. This led, we are told, to a change in the nature of the poetic art and the function of the poet; the concentration on form over content meant that "the poet no longer believed that poetry was an expression of his emotions and a portrait of his feelings" (p. 31). Poets resorted to imitations of each other and to attempts at besting their forebears; the study of plagiarism became a growth industry.

The author then proceeds to analyze the two above-mentioned poets in separate chapters. With Ibn al-Wardī, he concentrates on the individual aspects in the enhanced use of *badī'* devices (evident from the subdivision of the chapter into a number of specific *muḥassināt* categories); with al-Ḥillī (and specifically his *Durar al-Nuḥūr fī Imtidāḥ al-Malik al-Manṣūr* [Pearly necklets concerning the eulogy of al-Malik al-Manṣūr]) the author's analytical method demands a more unified and comprehensive approach to the poems, particularly since they are mostly (and naturally, considering the title) panegyrics.

Not surprisingly, the result of such surveys of these two poets and their poems (indeed their individual lines) succeeds in providing confirmation of the generally negative image of the direction of the poetic tradition provided in the prefatory chapters.

This work then contextualizes a detailed study of two poets of the Mamluk era in a very particular way. In returning to my opening thoughts about the larger issues involved in contemporary studies of Arabic literary history in general and of this era in particular, I am left to wonder in what way(s) is the "deck stacked" in a study of this type. The author's use of sources is excellent and extremely well referenced, but one is drawn inevitably to the conclusion that, by relying on sources, both pre-modern and modern, that clearly operate within a matrix of historical periodization and a view of generic development that prefers breaks (ruptures perhaps) to continuities, the verdicts to which this volume inexorably leads the reader are almost a foregone conclusion. Indeed the very introduction to the volume, by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, uses the term *"khumūd"* (decline) on its very first page. What I find missing in this study is any desire to call into question

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the very parameters on which these assessments of broad cultural trends are based. For example, we can certainly read the poetry and the criticism of it (and, in this case, the critical analysis of both the poetry and its criticism), but what about the views of the audiences (including critics) that were contemporary with the poetry and poets? Are we really to believe that, for several centuries in Arabic literary creativity, the variety of audiences that listened to and read the poetry that was created within a certain time period and its cultural norms and expectations did not appreciate and even enjoy what they were hearing and reading? Are we supposed to blame them for ″getting it wrong″ on esthetic criteria? Or is it rather that an entirely different set of critical yardsticks were at work? I would suggest that, before we can really attempt to assess poetic creativity during this prolonged period, a more profoundly researched answer to that last question is a prerequisite.

This volume then provides a useful survey of the work of two poets of the Mamluk era, set against a study of the place of artifice in the poetic tradition that is firmly based in long-accepted opinions that may well need to be substantially revised.

SUHAYR MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM NU'AYNI', *Al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah al-Muta'akhkhirah: Ḥamlat Buṭrus al-Awwal Lūsinyān 'alá al-Iskandarīyah, 1365 M/747 H* (Giza: 'Ayn, 2002). Pp. 260, maps.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia

In this book Suhayr Nu'ayni' presents an account of the attack made on Alexandria in 767/1365 by the Lusignan King of Cyprus, Peter I (d. 770/1369). This is widely regarded as one of the last major actions undertaken by the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean, and despite the fact that the Latins only occupied Alexandria for a few days, it had a significant impact, exacerbating tensions between Muslims and Christians for years after the event and contributing to the slow decline and eventual downfall of Lusignan Cyprus in the ninth/fifteenth century. Until now Peter of Lusignan's expedition has received relatively little attention from scholars in comparison to the other major Crusading expeditions, something that, while understandable in the face of its limited size and scope, nevertheless makes this book a welcome contribution to the field.

Nu'ayni' begins her account of the events by surveying both previous scholarship on the attack on Alexandria and the sources that provide information about the events. She makes use of both primary and secondary sources from both Europe

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and the Middle East; she pays particular attention to the *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-al-I'lām* of the Muslim eyewitness, al-Nuwayrī al-Sikandarī (d. after 775/1372), the *Prise d'Alexandrie* of the French poet Guillaume de Machaut (d. 778–79/1377), and the *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* of the Cypriot Greek chronicler Leontios Makhairas (d. c. 835/1432), but also makes use of a wide range of other sources from both the contemporary and later European and Middle Eastern literature.

The bulk of Nu'ayni''s work is divided into five parts. In the first of these she provides a description of Europe and the Levant before the attack on Alexandria. Her account of the Levant focuses on the political, social, and economic situation of Egypt under the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān (d. 778/1377), and also details relations between the Mamluk sultanate and its neighbors in Iraq, Armenia, the Byzantine Empire, and Africa, while her account of Europe describes the various states of the region, again in political, social, and economic terms, before describing Cyprus in detail. In the second part of her work Nu'ayni' focuses more closely on the history of Cyprus preceding Peter of Lusignan's expedition, examining the circumstances that led him to conceive the idea of attacking Alexandria, the motives ascribed to him by the sources, and his efforts to garner support for the venture in Europe. The following two parts of Nu'ayni''s text describe the expedition itself, from Peter I's departure from Venice on 7 Shawwāl 766/27 June 1365 through his capture of Alexandria on 24 Muḥarram 767/10 October 1365 to his eventual withdrawal from the city a few days later. Her account is detailed, and she both compares and analyzes the primary sources. The fifth part describes the aftermath of the attack and its impact on both the internal relations of the Levantine region and the wider interactions of the Levant and Europe, with particular attention paid to its effect on military and commercial interaction between Christians and Muslims and Europeans and Levantines.

Nu'ayni' concludes her work with an account of the subsequent "death" of the crusading movement and the Muslim response in the ninth/fifteenth century before providing an analysis of the events. She is highly critical of the attack, regarding it as a result of the papacy's inability to change with the times and accept that it no longer directed the military might of Europe, something that was further exacerbated by a more widely-held, outdated European perception of political, economic, and military realities in the Levant. Meanwhile, Peter I is blamed for pursuing policies that merely consumed the resources of Cyprus and left it destitute, making it ripe for subjugation and conquest by external enemies, while he is accused of pursuing his venture for commercial and political rather than pietistic motives. Such a negative portrayal of the situation is, naturally, open to question, particularly when it comes to the issue of Peter I's motives. While the attack has been regarded by some scholars as an attempt to dominate Mediterranean commerce, others have

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regarded Peter I as being genuinely stimulated by a crusading zeal that he also displayed in earlier life.[1] Thus the matter is somewhat more complex than Nu'ayni' believes.

Shortcomings aside, Nu'ayni''s work is of great value as a detailed account of the attack on Alexandria that takes account of both European and Levantine sources. As such, it is recommended for scholars interested in this dramatic and controversial event.

MUḤAMMAD YŪSUF AYYŪB, *Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī: Ḥayātuhu wa-Shi'ruh* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Adīb, 1999). Pp. 269.

AḤMAD KHĀLID JĪDAH, *Al-Madāris wa-Niẓām al-Ta'līm fī Bilād al-Shām fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasah al-Jāmi'īyah, 2001). Pp. 432.

REVIEWED BY WALID SALEH, University of Toronto

These two books cover different aspects of the intellectual life of the Mamluk era, and in so doing point to a regrettable absence of any substantial general study in English of the cultural and intellectual life under the Mamluks such as one is accustomed to read about medieval Europe. The first book is a study of the poetry of one of the leading intellectual figures of the Mamluk era, while the second is a survey of the educational system under the Mamluks. Before discussing them individually, a generalization about the milieu in which they were produced is in order. Both works share in obvious ways both the virtues and the faults typical of most secondary literature coming from the Arab Middle East. Invariably there is much to learn from such works, and this reviewer, for one, is a devoted reader of them. Despite their shortcomings, they offer the interested reader many insights and directions for study. Some are indeed indispensable in so far as they have carried out the first stage of assessing information available in the literature on a certain topic. Ultimately there is no telling when such works can be useful and there is no substitute for assessing each on its own merits.

The first work under review here, *Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar,* makes clear two things: that the collected poems of Ibn Ḥajar are now available in print, and that a study

[1]For a variety of opinions, see for example Norman Housley, "The Crusading Movement," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades,* ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995), 272–74; Peter Edbury, "The Latin East, 1291–1669," in ibid., 298–300; and Sir Harry Luke, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1291–1369," in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison, 1969–89), 3:352–60.

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on this most important author is sorely needed. Like many of his peers Ibn Ḥajar wrote many important works in many different fields—altogether 216 works, according to the author of this study. This huge number of books makes it even harder for those planning to study his intellectual career. One only needs to point to his epoch-making commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ, Fatḥ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* to realize that he is one of the most important of medieval hadith scholars. The current edition of *Fatḥ al-Bārī* is in 14 volumes, totalling about 8000 pages of finely-printed text. Recently his *mu'jam* has been published—under the title *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras,* edited by M. al-Mayādīnī (Beirut, 1998)—allowing us a rare opportunity to study what Ibn Ḥajar studied of previous Islamic scholarship.

Ayyūb's work is dedicated to a study of the poetry of Ibn Ḥajar and he makes clear that this study was part of his M.A. work, which also included the edition of Ibn Ḥajar's unpublished second collection of poetry, *Al-Sab'* (p. 5). This newly-published collection is different from his *Dīwān,* which has been available for a while. We are not told this, however, and only by going through the footnotes and the bibliography does this fact become clear. The first one hundred pages of Ayyūb's work offer a biography of Ibn Ḥajar, which includes a full list of his works (pp. 77–87). The rest of the book is a study of the poetics of Ibn Ḥajar, and the approach here is squarely traditional. His poetry is analyzed through the lens of genres, eulogy, panegyric, etc. Ayyūb's critical vocabulary is anything but scholarly; we are still here in the realm of the school of "truth and beauty." But in the course of this analysis we do learn that Ibn Ḥajar used to travel to Yemen to recite his poetry to their kings for money. This is a very interesting snippet of information, and unfortunately Ayyūb does not inform us about his sources for it. The most interesting aspect of Ibn Ḥajar's poetry, however, is his non-traditional poetry, the non-*qaṣīdah* poetry, such as *al-muwashshaḥāt*. The *kharjah*s of these poems were written in colloquial Egyptian dialect. This is rather important information to know and dialectologists should take note. The bibliography at the end of the book is important, as it includes a large number of secondary Arabic studies on the intellectual life in the Mamluk era, the only such studies available so far.

The second book under review, *Al-Madāris* by Jīdah, is a better work on the whole, in so far as it is a more systematic study of the educational system of the Mamluk era. Most of the work is a listing of all the information available in the sources on madrasahs, their names, dates of establishment, and the names of professors who taught there. There is also an analysis of the curriculum, the students' life, professors' duties, etc. The merit of this work is that it offers a detailed survey of all the information available in primary sources, a task that is usually beyond most of us. Scholars wishing to write on the educational system

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will benefit immensely from this work. As for the cultural life of the Mamluk era, we still await a study that will do justice to its monumental achievements in the cultural sphere.

Kitāb Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan bin Muḥammad bin Qalāwūn ʻalá Madrasatihi bi-al-Rumaylah. Edited by Huwaydā al-Ḥārithī. Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. 45 (Beirut: in commission at United Distributing Co., 2001). Pp. 295 + 11.

REVIEWED BY JOHANNES PAHLITZSCH, Freie Universität Berlin

The foundation of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (735/1334-762/1360) on Maydān al-Rumaylah (today Maydān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) opposite the Citadel could very well be termed the most magnificent building of the Mamluk period in Cairo. Thus, the edition of the long endowment deed *(waqfīyah)* of Ḥasan´s foundation by Huwaydā al-Ḥārithī, who is Associate Professor for Architecture and Design at the American University of Beirut and already well known for her work on Islamic art and architecture with a special emphasis on the Mamluk period, is most welcome.[1]

The *waqfīyah* of Sultan Ḥasan has been transmitted in two copies, both in the possession of the Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo. The original parchment document (no. 40/6) of which a small portion has been published by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn in 1986[2] is damaged and has not been used by al-Ḥārithī. Instead, she relied on an obviously contemporary bound manuscript copy (no. 365/85). According to al-Ḥārithī a comparison of this copy with the fragments of the *waqfīyah* demonstrate that it is an exact copy of the original. Also included in the bound copy and published by al-Ḥārithī are the texts that have been written on the back of the original *waqfīyah,* namely a confirmation of the *waqfīyah,* an

[1]Cf. for example ″The Complex of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo: Reading between the Lines,″ *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 68–79; ″Invisible Boundaries, Visible Presence: Persian Cultural Influence on Medieval Cairo,″ *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 7 (2004): 1–28; ″The Ewer of Ibn Jaldak (623/1226) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Mawsili School of Metalwork,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64 (2001): 355–68; ″The Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture,″ *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 73–93; ″Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification,″ in *The Cairo Heritage: Papers in Honor of Layla Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 113–31; ″The Patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 219–44.

[2]In: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* vol. 3 (Cairo, 1986), 341–449.

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incomplete second *waqfīyah* with additional endowments and new personnel appointments, and a similarly incomplete list of further *waqf* lands in Egypt and Syria.

The first *waqfīyah* of Sultan Ḥasan follows the usual form of Islamic endowment deeds. After an introduction describing the religious merits of the *waqf* there follows the very casual statement that the endowed property belonged to the private property of the founder (pp. 1–5). This short remark stands in sharp contrast to the explicit formulas used in the *waqfīyah* of Ḥasan′s grandfather Qalāwūn.[3] The description of the newly-erected buildings of Ḥasan′s complex (pp. 5–10) is followed by the long list of endowed properties in Egypt and Syria (pp. 10–148). It is remarkable to find foundations like the *″waqf ʻalá al-Madrasah al-Nūrīyah al-Ḥanafīyah″* and many other foundations included in the endowed properties without giving any reference to how they could be transferred to Ḥasan′s foundation—if by means of *istibdāl* or because the plague has ruined many foundations.[4] As is well known, these descriptions of property could be of great value for topographical research. However, the *waqfīyah* of Ḥasan could be used as well for the study of the history of older foundations not only in Egypt but also in Syria, especially in Damascus. Then the purpose of the foundation and its different parts, namely the *qubbah,* the *jāmiʻ,* the *madrasah,* and the *maktab al-sabīl* are given together with a list of its staff, their salaries, and instructions to distribute donations on specific occasions (pp. 148–73). The next section deals with the duties of the administrator *(nāẓir)* of the foundation, the appointment of the founder′s family as administrators, and the general stipulations of the founder *(shurūṭ)* followed by the final legal formulas, the date, and subscriptions of witnesses (pp. 173–79). The fact that Ḥasan appointed himself as the first *nāẓir* with all rights to change his foundation including the right of *istibdāl* might hint at the legal means that were used in the transfer of the above-mentioned *waqf* lands into Ḥasan′s foundation.

In editing the documents contained in MS 365/85 al-Ḥārithī follows the method of reproducing the text as it is ″with no corrections, additions, or alterations except for some characters added for the purpose of clarity″ (p. 10, English introduction). Furthermore she provides her edition with a double apparatus, giving in the first one some helpful information about the meaning of certain terms or the location of certain places while the second one is the critical apparatus. In view of the fact that a considerable part of the original *waqfīyah* still exists (according to

[3]In: Ibid., vol. 1 (Cairo, 1976), 337.

[4]For a similar case cf. the discussion of Sultan Īnāl′s foundations by Lucian Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 257 (Berlin, 2003), 74–84.

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Amīn, a text of 1258 lines) it would have been very desirable to use both versions of the document for the establishment of the published text whenever possible. A comparison with Amīn′s edition of parts of the original *waqfīyah* shows that there are not only differences between the two versions as indicated in the apparatus of Amīn′s edition but that MS 365/85 even has a considerable lacuna which is filled by Amīn′s edition. It is true that al-Ḥārithī does mention this fact in a note. However, she does not give the missing the text (cf. p. 150, l. 4; Amīn, pp. 389–95, ll. 1209–58). Thus, al-Ḥārithī′s text cannot be called a critical edition of Ḥasan′s endowment deed based on all available copies of the document. Instead al-Ḥārithī′s edition should be described best as a reproduction of one specific version.

Unfortunately one′s faith in the reliability of this reproduction is shaken if one compares the few pictures of the manuscript published in the book with the printed text. So al-Ḥārithī′s text reads on p. 176, l. 15, *yajrá* with *alif maqsūrah* instead of *yajrī* as is indicated quite clearly in the manuscript (cf. the picture on p. 290). On the same page, l. 19, one has to read *thubūtihi* as in the manuscript instead of *thubūthihi*. On p. 209, l. 18, the manuscript has *wa-min dhālika* instead of *min dhālika,* which makes a difference in terms of syntax, and on p. 210, l. 2, something got mixed up between the footnote and the text (cf. p. 293). While the published text reads *qīrāṭ faddān* the manuscript has *qīrāṭ min faddān.* Confusingly, al-Ḥārithī states in note 2 that *qīrāṭ faddān* corresponds to the manuscript, which should be corrected to read *qīrāṭ min faddān*.

Al-Ḥārithī′s method to reproduce the manuscript unchanged might have the advantage of giving an unadulterated impression of the Mamluk court′s use of the Arabic language. However, one gets the impression of a certain methodological inconsistency when she follows the model of the manuscript in writing *hā*’ instead of *tā*’ *marbūtah* or *alif mamdūdah* instead of *alif maqsūrah* at the end of the word while adding the missing diacritics in the middle of the word as in the case of *mubīd al-ṭughātin* (p. 180, l. 5, cf. p. 291), to give just one example. On the one hand she substitutes *hā*’ at the end of *al-ṭughātin* instead of *tā*’ *marbūtah*. On the other hand she changes the ‘*ayn* of the manuscript to *ghā*’. All in all it would have improved the legibility of the text to standardize the use of, e.g., *tā*’ *marbūtah*, *alif maqsūrah,* or *hamzah* at the end of the words as well.

With regard to headings, paragraphs and punctuation al-Ḥārithī follows the same method. Only the headings found in the manuscript, be it in the text proper or in margins, are inserted into the text. A few editorial measures like the addition of periods might have helped the reader to find his or her way through the very long descriptions of endowed properties. Furthermore al-Ḥārithī′s unsystematic insertion of headings and subheadings does not help to clarify the structure of the *waqfīyah*. So no heading, paragraph, or even a period separates the section on the

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foundation's expenditures from the section on the duties of the *nāẓir* (pp. 171–73). Especially in the case of the localization of the endowed property it is not helpful to find, e.g., the Madrasah al-Nūrīyah in Damascus, which is mentioned without any reference to its location, under the general heading of property in the *diyār al-miṣrīyah* (pp. 10 and 32).

Despite its editorial shortcomings—and maybe it should be taken into account that al-Ḥārithī is an art historian, not a philologist—the edition of Sultan Ḥasan's endowment deed is a very valuable contribution to the study not only of Cairo and its history, but also of the history of other cities such as Damascus and Antioch. In particular, the indices of people and place names are very important tools for future research.

Yaḥyá ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm al-Jazzār, *Dīwān al-Jazzār*, edited by Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām (Alexandria: Munshaʻat al-Maʻārif, 2001). Pp. 109.

ʻUmar ibn Masʻūd al-Maḥḥār, *Dīwān Sirāj al-Dīn al-Maḥḥār*, edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad ʻAṭā (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1422/2001). Pp. 488.

Reviewed by Thomas Bauer, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität

The editions under review are dedicated to two poets from the earlier period of the Mamluk era. Neither of them has got an entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* nor in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*. But they were famous enough in their time, and the editions under review prove that both are interesting, provide important material for a better understanding of early Mamluk cultural life, and doubtlessly deserve further study. The editors, however, seem to have had difficulties to find a publisher for their products, and therefore instead of a calligraphic layout and gold imprinted cloth (now standard with religious texts) one finds homemade, awkwardly printed books sometimes hard to read (and to obtain), as is the case with al-Maḥḥār's *Dīwān,* or full of printing errors and other shortcomings, as is the case with the *Dīwān* of al-Jazzār.

Yaḥyá al-Jazzār (601–79/1204–81) is one of the first of the many craftsmen-poets of the period. He grew up in the butcher shop of his parents in al-Fusṭāṭ. When his father discovered that his boy could make verses, he presented him proudly to Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ. ″Well done,″ Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ remarked on hearing the boy's lines, ″you are a good diver.″ The father took this as a compliment for his son's talent and brought a present of food to Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ, but he had only meant that the son had not yet mastered the meters of poetry and was thus ″diving″ from one

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baḥr "sea = meter" into the next.[1] This anecdote is important because it shows that poetry met with great interest even among craftsmen and that poetry was seen as a means to social advancement.

Al-Jazzār surmounted his problems with meters and, according to al-Ṣafadī, became the best poet of his time next to al-Sirāj al-Warrāq.[2] His success as a poet allowed him to give up his job as a butcher and to try to earn a living by composing panegyric poetry. For a while this attempt proved successful, but in his later years he had to resume his craft as a butcher. To people who mocked him for that, he replied that as a butcher the dogs would run after him, whereas as a poet he had to run after the dogs. The life of al-Jazzār is therefore characteristic for the role of poetry in the Mamluk period as a whole in a twofold way. First, al-Jazzār is a good example of the spread of literary knowledge and practice in the whole of society right down into the class of merchants and craftsmen. Second, this increase in poetic production led to a lowering of its monetary value, so that it became increasingly difficult to earn one's living only by composing poetry.

In his history of Mamluk literature, M. Zaghlūl Sallām had dedicated a comparatively long chapter to al-Jazzār and pointed to the poet's importance.[3] An edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Jazzār by the same scholar may meet therefore with great expectations. But it turns out to be a great disappointment. It is not easy even to figure out what exactly M. Zaghlūl Sallām edited. There is no description of a manuscript and not even a hint about what the basis of the present edition is. As a matter of fact, the whole introduction is nothing else but the very chapter on al-Jazzār from Zaghlūl Sallām's history of Mamluk literature dating from 1971. No modifications or additions have been made. Though it is true that progress in the study of Mamluk literature is rather slow, it is not so slow that absolutely nothing has happened during the last three decades!

To find out what we have before us, we have to turn to another text on al-Jazzār that has been edited more recently. It is al-Ṣafadī's notice on al-Jazzār in the twenty-eighth volume of *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,*[4] which is, with its thirty pages, the longest entry in the whole volume. This volume is now available in an excellent edition by Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, who spent more effort and care on these thirty pages than Zaghlūl Sallām did for his entire edition. For in addition to the manuscript of the *Wāfī,* Shabbūḥ also used two manuscripts relevant for the poetry of al-Jazzār. The first is a selection of al-Jazzār's poetry, compiled by the poet himself and dedicated to his close friend, the famous historiographer of

[1] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 28, ed. Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ (Berlin, 2004), 184.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Al-Adab fī al-Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1971), 2:135–51.

[4] Al-Ṣafadī, 183–212.

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Aleppo, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʻAdīm (588–660/1192–1262), entitled *Taqāṭīf* (variant reading: *Taqṭīf*) *al-Jazzār*. It is preserved in a manuscript in Tunis. The second is a manuscript preserved in Istanbul and entitled *Al-Muntakhab min Shiʻr al-Shaykhayn*. It contains poems by al-Jazzār and his ″sparring partner″ al-Sirāj al-Warrāq.[5] As becomes clear from a comparison between al-Ṣafadī´s article and M. Zaghlūl Sallām´s edition, the latter used a film of the Tunis manuscript (without even mentioning this fact), and the edition is therefore not an edition of the *Dīwān al-Jazzār,* but of the *Taqāṭīf al-Jazzār*. Sallām did not use the *Muntakhab,* though it is mentioned in a footnote on p. 7, and consequently a great portion of the poetry of al-Jazzār that has come down to us is missing in the edition.

As an anthology, the text edited by Zaghlūl Sallām gives only a rather small selection of al-Jazzār´s poems, and for most of the longer poems only excerpts are given. The bulk of the poetry is *madīḥ* and *ghazal*. The last part of the book is entitled ″Al-Ḍirāʻah al-Nājiḥah wa-al-Biḍāʻah al-Rājiḥah″ and consists of twenty-eight poems in praise of the prophet, each comprising ten lines. Each poem rhymes on a different consonant of the alphabet, and the rhyme consonant is always also the first letter of every line. A further development of this scheme was used by al-Ṣafī al-Ḥillī in his *Durar al-Nuḥūr fī Madāʻiḥ al-Malik al-Manṣūr.*[6] Ibn Saʻīd al-Maghribī, who was a friend of al-Jazzār, and the editor consider these poems as literarily inferior to al-Jazzār´s achievements in other genres, and I do not dare to contradict.

In the high proportion of *madīḥ,* the low proportion of satiric, frivolous, and sarcastic epigrams, and the lack of a discernible influence of the spoken language, al-Jazzār´s poetry differs from that of other craftsmen poets like Ibrāhīm al-Miʻmār. It is not easy to decide, therefore, to what degree al-Jazzār can be considered a ″popular poet,″ as the editor calls him (p. 5), notwithstanding al-Jazzār´s social origin and position. But this impression is, at least partially, due to the fact that in his *Taqāṭīf* al-Jazzār presents a selection of his poetry meant to meet the taste of an educated *kātib* who may not have been interested in the ups and downs of Cairene everyday life. So, e.g., al-Jazzār composed several pieces on his donkey. An elegy on this animal is quoted in al-Ghuzūlī´s *Maṭāliʻ al-Budūr* and mentioned in the editor´s introduction (p. 16), but only half of the twelve lines are given in the text (p. 40). We can read an even more complete version of seventeen lines now in al-Ṣafadī´s notice.[7] Even more interesting is a poem that al-Jazzār puts into

[5]A copious selection of the poetry of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Warrāq is now easily accessible in Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* vol. 19, ed. Yūnus Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʼī (Abu Dhabi, 1424/2002), 15–306.

[6]See W. Heinrichs, ″Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:803b.

[7]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 211–12.

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the mouth of his little infant. In this poem, which is preserved in several sources, but not in Zaghlūl Sallām´s edition,[8] al-Jazzār uses baby talk. So far, Ibn Sūdūn was the only poet known to have used baby talk in his poems.[9] Such findings show that it may indeed be reasonable to draw a line of popular poets from al-Jazzār to al-Mi'mār and further to Ibn Sūdūn.

Further examples may demonstrate that the text edited by M. Zaghlūl Sallām is far from being exhaustive. In the recently published anthology *Al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-al-Muḥāwarāt* by al-Suyūṭī, al-Jazzār is quoted five times with altogether sixty-two lines.[10] This shows that al-Jazzār was not yet forgotten after 250 years, but it also shows that the *Dīwān* that is now in our hands contains only a segment of al-Jazzār´s production, since only three of the sixty-two verses in the *Muḥāḍarāt* reappear in the *Dīwān*. Among the missing pieces we find two elegies on the scholar 'Izz al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Salām, a short piece of three lines, and a long one of thirty lines, and a poem of twenty-three lines in praise of al-Ẓāhir Baybars on the occasion of the pilgrimage in the year 664. Not only are these poems missing from Sallām´s edition, we do not find in it even a hint of a relationship between the poet and 'Izz al-Dīn or Sultan Baybars. Especially important, both from a literary as from a biographical point of view, is the entry on al-Jazzār in Muḥsin al-Amīn´s *A'yān al-Shī'ah*.[11] Interesting enough is the fact that al-Jazzār has got an entry in it. Further, al-Amīn provides the most detailed account of al-Jazzār´s life, and finally, the entry presents a remarkable poem rhyming on *ūzū*/*īzū* on al-Ḥusayn not given in any other source. The editor has not used these and other sources, which are crucial for the understanding of al-Jazzār and his poetry. And even those that were known to him were used in a superficial and negligent way. To mention only one example: The *Dīwān* contains a short *'Āshūrā'* poem that corroborates al-Jazzār´s veneration for the *Ahl al-Bayt.* Its first line is given in the edition as follows:

ويعودُ عاشوراءُ يُذكُرُني وُزْءَ الحَسين، فليت لَم يُعدِ

The poem is quoted—as the editor notes—in al-Ṣafadī´s *Tamām al-Mutūn,*[12] but

[8]Ibid., 209–10.

[9]Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the "Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-'Abūs" by 'Alī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī* (Leiden, 1998), 33–34.

[10]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-al-Muḥāwarāt,* ed. Yaḥyá al-Jubūrī (Beirut, 1424/2003), 128, 294–95, 376–77.

[11]Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah,* 5th ed., ed. Ḥasan Amīn (Beirut, 1420/2000), 15:247–51.

[12]Al-Ṣafadī, *Tamām al-Mutūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1969), 207. On this text see Everett K. Rowson, "An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century

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this did not help to avoid the three mistakes, and the vocalization given in al-Ṣafadī′s text, where we read *‘Āshūrā’ yudhakkirunī* instead of *‘Āshūrā’u yudhkirunī,* should at least have been given as an alternative reading in the apparatus. According to this source, the above line should be read as follows:

ويعودُ عاشورا يُذكِّرُني رُزْءَ الحُسين، فليت لَم يَعُدِ

‘Āshūrā’ comes back and reminds me of al-Ḥusayn′s affliction—
would that it never came back!

Unfortunately, this example is representative of the whole edition. Relevant sources are either not used at all or only selectively. Even in al-Ṣafadī′s *Tamām al-Mutūn* we can find several lines by al-Jazzār which are not mentioned by the editor of the *Dīwān* (pp. 49, 64, 285). The text itself is marred by countless mistakes, which cannot always be corrected as easily as in the example given. Sometimes *shaddah* and vowel signs seem to be haphazardly distributed among the consonant text. It is hard to believe that an experienced scholar and editor such as M. Zaghlūl Sallām can be held responsible for the mess. In any case, this combination of a defective edition and an out-dated study can hardly be considered the last word on al-Jazzār.

The fame of al-Jazzār was overshadowed to a certain degree by the great poets of the next two generations, but during his lifetime his renown even spread to Syria and inspired a young man in Aleppo who was just beginning to write his first poems to compose a *muwashshaḥ* in praise of al-Jazzār and to send it to Egypt. This young man was Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Mas‘ūd al-Maḥḥār (d. 711/1311), also known as al-Kattān. The *muwashshaḥ* is found in al-Maḥḥār′s *Dīwān* (p. 304-5). The headline that says that the poem is ″in praise of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jazzār al-Miṣrī″ has to be corrected to ″Abū al-Ḥusayn,″ since the poet, who is addressed by al-Maḥḥār as ″Yaḥyá,″ is without doubt none other than Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Jazzār. Therefore, it must have been composed in the year 679/1281 or earlier and thus is one of the earliest preserved poems by al-Maḥḥār, most of which date between 683 and 711 (see the editor′s remark, p. 12).

Though al-Jazzār and al-Maḥḥār were of similar social origin, the latter′s fate differed much from that of his older Cairene colleague, for, in contrast to al-Jazzār, al-Maḥḥār managed to find patrons who allowed him to make a living from his poetry. From the year 683 onwards, al-Maḥḥār stayed in Ḥamāh as a court poet to the Ayyubid princes who still were allowed to govern this town under Mamluk

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Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles,″ *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 97–110.

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sovereignty. The same constellation was to repeat itself half a century later, albeit with a more famous poet—Ibn Nubātah—and probably a more famous prince—Abū al-Fidā'—too. Al-Maḥḥār's sultans were al-Malik al-Manṣūr II (r. 642–83) and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III (r. 683–98), to whom he offered most of his panegyric odes and some of his *muwashshaḥāt*. Several poems are also dedicated to al-Manṣūr's brother al-Malik al-Afḍāl, and a panegyric *muwashshaḥ* is addressed to the latter's son 'Imād al-Dīn (no. 42, pp. 301–4), who is none other than Abū al-Fidā', the future al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and patron of Ibn Nubātah. The comparatively simple style of al-Maḥḥār's *qaṣā'id,* however, seems to be closer to Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr than to Ibn Nubātah.

For this or for some other reason, later authors displayed only minor interest in the *madīḥ* poems of al-Maḥḥār. Al-Ṣafadī, to mention one example, dedicates quite a long article to al-Maḥḥār in his *A'yān al-Aṣr* (3:662–77), in which he does not quote from al-Maḥḥār's panegyric odes at all, but only from his epigrams and his *muwashshaḥāt*. As a matter of fact, the *muwashshaḥ* seems to be the proper domain of al-Maḥḥār's poetic genius, in contrast to Ibn Nubātah, who perhaps only composed panegyric *muwashshaḥāt* on al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad because al-Maḥḥār's songs still resounded in the palace of Ḥamāh. On the contrary, half of al-Maḥḥār's *Dīwān* is made up of *muwashshaḥ* and *zajal*—a quite unusual proportion for a court poet. In fact, with his more than sixty *muwashshaḥāt,* al-Maḥḥār provides the largest corpus of this poetic form in the Bahri Mamluk period. Despite its metric and rhythmic complexity, the *muwashshaḥ* was considered a simpler and more popular form of poetry than the *qaṣīdah*. The audience expected from the *washshāḥ* not a sophisticated presentation of striking and original *ma'ānī,* but a melodious arrangement of the well-known topoi of love poetry. After all, one must never forget that *muwashshaḥāt* were meant to be song texts. The editor has already drawn our attention to al-Maḥḥār and his crucial role for the Mamluk *muwashshaḥ* in a recent publication, which inevitably overlaps with the present edition.[13] It corroborates that al-Maḥḥār was a preeminent *washshāḥ* of the Bahri Mamluk period.

The same holds true regarding the vernacular brother of the *muwashshaḥ,* the *zajal*. Al-Maḥḥār's *Dīwān* contains the remarkable number of thirty-seven *azjāl,* which represent a major corpus of the Eastern *zajal* in its earlier period. Al-Maḥḥār was certainly not the first Eastern *zajjāl*. A *zajal* by Mujīr al-Dīn Ibn Tamīm (d. 684/1285) is quoted by al-Nawājī.[14] But the genre was probably still in its formative

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[13]*Dīwān al-Muwashshaḥāt al-Mamlūkīyah fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām: al-Dawlah al-Ūlá (648–784/1250–1382),* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Aṭā (Cairo, 1990); see the review by Mustapha Kamal, *MSR* 6 (2002): 198–202.

[14]Shams al-Dīn al-Nawājī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl fī al-Muwashshaḥāt wa-al-Azjāl,* ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf

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period in the East when al-Maḥḥār wrote his contributions. As far as I can judge, the Andalusian model is more visible with him than with any other *zajjāl* of the Mamluk realm. He considers Ibn Quzmān as his model and boasts that whoever hears his *zajal* will imagine that Ibn Quzmān is still alive (p. 360). Therefore it naturally follows that al-Maḥḥār does not hesitate to use words typical of the Arabo-Andalusian dialect (such as the negative particle *las*). In the end of the first *zajal* in the *Dīwān*, al-Maḥḥār declares that ″Western are my words, though I am from Syria″ (*Maghribī lafẓī lākinnī min ahl il-Shām,* p. 344). In this respect, his *zajal* differs remarkably from that of later authors such as al-Mi'mār or Ibn Sūdūn who only use their own (Cairene) dialect in the *zajal*. Cairo, however, plays a role even in the *zajal* of the Syrian al-Maḥḥār. In *zajal* no. 13 al-Maḥḥār depicts an elementary school *(maktab)* in a Cairene setting *(qarīb Darb il-Wazīr)*. The teacher *(faqīh)* sits at the door of his class like an amir, correcting, threatening, or even beating every pupil who is committing a speech error *(alḥan)*—quite a nice idea in a vernacular *zajal* (p. 361):

ثمَّ مكْتَب قَريب دَرْب الوَزيرْ
وفيه الصَبْيَانُ صغَار وكبارْ
وَفَقيه جالس على باب مَكْتَبُهْ
أيّ مَنْ ألَحْنْ في الكَلام يُعْرِبُهْ
وَيْهَدِّدْ ذا وذا يَضْرِبُهْ
وهُوَ جالس بينهم كالأَميرْ
الصَرَّامهْ والأدب والوقارْ

It seems that for this genre depiction the reality of Cairo and its dialect was more influential than that of Cordoba.

The editor had only a single (albeit old and reliable) manuscript at his disposal, or rather, a microfilm of it, since the original (formerly in Alexandria) seems to be lost now (p. 18). Considering this and the fact that only comparatively few quotations of al-Maḥḥār's poems in other sources could help him, one can only admire the formidable task that the editor has accomplished. As minor shortcomings one could mention the lack of a bibliography and the fact that the page numbers given in the index are not correct (one can find the poems though according to the number given to them). One should also mention the entry on al-Maḥḥār in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Manhal,*[15] which, however, does not provide verses absent from

al-Shihābī (Baghdad, 1982), 201–2.

[15]Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣafī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'd al-Wāfī,* vol. 8, ed. Muḥammad

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ʻAṭāʼs edition. In sum, ʻAṭā has done an excellent job and we can only be grateful for having al-Maḥḥārʼs poetry now in a reliable edition, which is deserving of a more lavish presentation. A careful edition like ʻAṭāʼs shows that one can only promote the cause of Mamluk literature by dedicating to it as much diligence and effort as is the custom with pre- and early Islamic poetry.

RĀʼID MUṢṬAFÁ ḤASAN ʻABD AL-RAḤĪM, *Fann al-Rithāʼ fī al-Shiʻr al-ʻArabī fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* (Amman: Dār al-Rāzī, 2003). Pp. 430.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Rithāʼ, or ″elegy,″ is one of the oldest genres of Arabic poetry. The Arabic elegy probably arose out of pre-Islamic Arab lamentations for dead relatives, usually senior adult males. After the coming of Islam, poets gradually extended the genre to include other relatives, including women and children. Poets also composed elegies on important public figures, such as amirs, viziers, caliphs, and their family members, for whom the elegy served as a type of eulogy and obituary. Similarly, classical Arab poets composed verse lamenting the deaths of the Shiʻi imams, the destruction of Muslim cities by infidels, and the reversal of Muslim fortunes. The classical Arabic elegy, then, had a long and respected tradition. Poets of the Mamluk period added to this legacy, and this is the focus of *Fann al-Rithāʼ fī al-Shiʻr al-ʻArabī fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* by Rāʼid Muṣṭafá Ḥasan ʻAbd al-Raḥīm.

At the outset, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm never states why he confined himself to the first half of the Mamluk period. There is some justification for dividing Mamluk rule into two periods based on dynastic change, but ʻAbd al-Raḥīm does not state how this division is applicable to the study of elegy. Perhaps he simply wanted to limit his study in terms of sources and research time, or maybe he hopes to write a sequel, though I doubt that he will reach further conclusions to warrant this. Still, ʻAbd al-Raḥīmʼs study is a very useful survey of the type of elegies composed during the Mamluk period.

ʻAbd al-Raḥīm cites al-Mubarradʼs (d. 285/899) observation that an effective elegy may give consolation to the bereaved and contribute to proper public mourning. Yet ʻAbd al-Raḥīm has little else to say about the elegyʼs uses and purposes, in general. Further, he does not discuss the origins of *rithāʼ* or detail its developments

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Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1999), 324–29.

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but, instead, moves directly into the Mamluk period, categorizing and describing elegies in terms of the deceased. He begins with a chapter on deceased family members and close relatives (pp. 1–37) introduced by a brief discussion of poets′ elegies for themselves and the recurrent themes of the brevity of life and the inevitability of death. He then moves on to elegies on male relatives. Among these, the most frequent subject is the death of a son. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm observes this as a change from the Umayyad and Abbasid periods when elegies to brothers were more frequent. He notes that this may be the effect of Arab, Muslim society moving away from tribal life, in which brothers were valued as allies, toward urban living and the increasing importance of the nuclear family, in which sons were thought to preserve the family′s line and fortune. Citing numerous verses by a number of poets, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm shows that sons who died young were generally praised for their sinless life and handsome appearance, while older and grown sons were eulogized for their skills, learning, and virtue. Often the blissful life of the deceased son in heaven is compared to the living hell of the grieving father.

In contrast to the many poems on sons, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm could find only three short elegies written by sons for their fathers, and he is at a loss to explain why. It may be that ʻAbd al-Raḥīm would have found more examples had he searched further, especially in the many collections of Mamluk poetry still only in manuscript, which he obviously did not consult. It may be too, however, that most sons did not feel a pressing need to compose an elegy for their fathers, who were often eulogized by their contemporaries. Further, most societies regard the death of parents as a sad but inevitable event, and the natural, ordered passing of a generation, while the death of a child is often viewed as a shocking and tragic event requiring an explanation and extraordinary consolation.[1]

ʻAbd al-Raḥīm dedicates his second chapter to elegies on men of state, especially the sultans (pp. 38–114). Often the elegists had once been in the employment of the deceased, and they are worried about their futures following their patron′s death. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm asserts that many of these elegies were written by poets interested more in their own prestige and financial security than in consoling the bereaved family. While this is undoubtedly the case for some poems, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm belabors the point and underestimates the possible friendship and respect that may have grown between poets and patrons. In addition, the sorrow and concern over an uncertain future voiced in many elegies may well have echoed feelings in the larger populace worried over possible chaos in the wake of a ruler′s death. Hence, the elegist′s praise of the deceased′s successor, usually his son, may reflect the

[1]C.f. Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 4 (1991): 247–79, and Avner Gil′adi, *Children of Islam* (Oxford, 1992), 67–119.

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hope for a peaceful transition in power and the need to maintain a world with order and sense.

'Abd al-Raḥīm passes over such issues and concentrates, instead, on an inventory of some of the themes and images found in these ″royal″ elegies. As in most elegies, the deceased is presented in an ideal fashion and, in this case, the deceased sultan may attain near mythical status as the manly, pious, Muslim ruler and defender of Islam. Here, 'Abd al-Raḥīm fails to make a connection that others have made regarding elegy and eulogy in general, namely their ability to portray, to a significant degree, a society′s norms and values regarding relations between ruler and ruled, husband and wife, parents and children, etc. However, 'Abd al-Raḥīm does draw attention to descriptions of royal funerals in many elegies and their usefulness for reconstructing some of the important funeral rites and rituals of the Mamluk period. Finally, 'Abd al-Raḥīm notes that the elegies on sultans, generals, and other important men of state usually praise the deceased and seek consolation in his certain heavenly reward. In the case of such great sultans as Baybars and Qalāwūn, some of their battles and achievements may be dramatically and, to a degree factually, recounted and praised. Yet a few elegies have a sharper, negative tone. Often short and sometimes in more folk poetic forms, these invectives castigate the deceased for bad behavior and an immoral life, and offer a curse in lieu of praise. 'Abd al-Raḥīm suggests that this may have provided some solace to those victimized by the deceased, while serving as a warning to living officials who cared for their own reputations and legacies.

In chapter three, 'Abd al-Raḥīm reviews elegies on the men of the pen, the many religious scholars and litterateurs in Mamluk domains (pp. 116–66). These elegies were often composed by colleagues and students and, too, by poets formerly patronized by the deceased. Generally, the deceased is praised for his learning, piety, generosity, and forbearance, and occasionally for his courage in facing the infidels in battle, or for standing up for the community against unjust rule. Eminent scholars, including Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), were often the subject of many elegies, some of which mentioned the deceased′s fields of learning and specific writings by name. Secretaries, too, were praised in elegies for the power of their pens to do good and correct wrongs, and poets offered consolation to the bereaved by lauding such pious legacies. References to the Quran and hadith are frequent in these elegies, which often depict the deceased as alive and well in heaven, in his writings, and in his obedient children and learned students.

'Abd al-Raḥīm reviews elegies on women in his fourth chapter (pp. 167–96). He claims that there is a scarcity of these elegies. Certainly there are fewer elegies for women than men, and 'Abd al-Raḥīm is probably correct to attribute this to women′s lower social status in the Mamluk period. Nevertheless, he cites many

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examples and could have offered even more, especially had he known of Abū Ḥayyān′s (d. 745/1344) many elegies for his grown and accomplished daughter Nuḍār (d. 730/1329).[2] Such elegies by fathers for daughters and husbands for wives are a valuable and largely untapped resource for the study of male-female relations in the Mamluk period. Why ‘Abd al-Raḥīm segregated women relatives from the men is not clear, particularly as they are treated with the same respect as their male counterparts. Deceased wives of the elegist or of his colleagues are depicted as pious and generous, of good character, and sometimes learned. Deceased women may be likened to a buried treasure or a secluded maiden, and physical attributes may be lauded in ideal terms (i.e., a face like the full moon), which one finds, but less frequently, in elegies on male relatives. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm may be right to assume that women are more often compared to elements of nature, and men to civilization and learning, though this is by no means a hard and fast rule in Mamluk elegies. Moreover, when a wife′s death is likened to the setting of the sun, for instance, this may not denote the loss of physical beauty (especially if the wife was elderly), so much as to the poet losing the ″light of his life.″

This raises one of the major short-comings of this book, namely the author′s apparent lack of analysis regarding nearly universal themes involving death, dying, and symbolic immortality. The eclipse of the sun or moon, the setting of the sun, moon, and stars, the broken branch, the wilting of the redolent flower, the departure of the traveler, and many other motifs occur time and again in world literature and art to symbolize, not just the loss of beauty and love, but above all death. Yet, they imply new life as the sun, moon, and stars will rise again, the leafless tree and dead flower will sprout anew in spring, while the traveler will safely arrive at a heavenly home. While ‘Abd al-Raḥīm is certainly aware of the symbolic associations of many such themes, he never fully acknowledges their essential function to place the sorrow of the bereaved in larger contexts (of nature, society, religion. etc), in order to assert that while the deceased is gone, they are not annihilated but live on in their legacies and, of course for Muslims, in heaven.[3]

In the fifth chapter, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm recounts many elegies composed on Muslim cities that were devastated by the Mongols or Crusaders, including Baghdad, Damascus, and Alexandria (pp. 197–253). Occasionally, a poet may attribute this catastrophe to God′s retribution against the sinful life of the city′s inhabitants though, more often than not, the tragedy is seen as a wake up call for Muslims to take up arms and defeat the infidel. While acknowledging dramatic and stylistic

[2]Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night.″

[3]See Robert Jay Lifton, *The Broken Connection* (New York, 1983), 3–112, and George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago, 1989), 1–56.

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dimensions of these elegies, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm also points to their possible historic value as some of the elegists were eye-witnesses to the destruction of the Muslim cities that they lament. Weapons and battles are sometimes described in detail, and while the infidels are often depicted as vicious dogs, filthy pigs, or other unsavory characters, the Mamluks are not always lauded as lions and heroes. This was especially the case in elegies on the sack of Alexandria in 767/1365, which resulted, in part, because the Mamluk forces fled the city without fighting.

ʻAbd al-Raḥīm gathers together a number of topics in his sixth chapter, including elegies on animals, broken drinking goblets, lost arrows, slave boys, singers, the banning of hashish and wine, and the loss of the good life of debauchery (pp. 254–301). These elegies are frequently works of humor and satire, and this chapter features many verses from the shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310). Elegies on the death of male slaves, however, are serious poems, and of some significance. Several recount the poet′s grief at the loss of a young slave boy, whom the poet was raising and educating as he had his own sons. Other elegies for youthful male slaves *(ghilmān)* resemble elegies for concubines in that love and the physical beauties of the young man are the focus of praise. Had ʻAbd al-Raḥīm compared such elegies with those on concubines, instead of segregating men and women, he might have found that it is not the sex of the deceased so much as his/her social status that determines whether the deceased′s physical or moral features will be the major subject of praise.

ʻAbd al-Raḥīm devotes his seventh and final chapter to elements of form and style (pp. 303–401). Once again, this is a largely descriptive chapter, in which he takes up routine notions of poetic harmony and unity, which are easily achieved in the *rithāʾ* since its subject is the deceased and reflections on life and death. He notes the frequent quotation of the Quran and hadith as sources of consolation, particularly in assuring the bereaved that there is a life after death. He mentions some of the classical poets, including Abū Tammām (d. ca. 232/845), al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), and al-Maʻarrī (d. 449/1058), frequently referred to in Mamluk elegies, and briefly discusses poetic influences. He also catalogs various stylistic elements, including the use of repetition, interrogatives, imperatives, etc., that elegists employed to heighten the tone and pitch of their poems. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm draws attention to the frequent appearance of scholarly terms and jargon in elegies as indicative of their authors′ academic and scribal background, and he ends with a discussion of the rhetorical devices *(badīʻ)* that were quite popular in the Mamluk period. Unlike many scholars of Mamluk literature, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm does not dismiss *badīʻ* with contempt. Rather, he notes that if used in excess, it will distract the reader from the poem′s theme, while its judicious use may enhance the poem′s form and content. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm argues forcefully that antithesis *(ṭibāq)* and paronomasia *(jināsʼ)* are particularly suited to elegy. Antithesis accords especially

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well with elegy given the natural contrasts between life and death, joy and sorrow, night and day, etc.; as for paronomasia *(jināS)* and similar devices, when carefully applied they add to the musical qualities of any verse.

Despite these insights, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm occasionally makes the common mistake of equating simplicity with sincerity, and rhetorical style with insincerity, a false dichotomy that has plagued the study of Arabic literature. For example, he cites the rhetorical verses composed by al-Ṣafadī on the death of Abū Ḥayyān′s daughter Nuḍār as being forced and artificial due to the use of rhetorical devices, yet had ʻAbd al-Raḥīm read Abū Ḥayyān′s own elegies to his daughter, he would have found many of the same devices, and this applies to many poets of the time, including Ibn Nubātah who composed a number of elegies on his dead children.[4] Further, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm questions the sincerity of emotions and grief underlying other elegies, particularly those composed on the children and women folk of colleagues, whom the poet may have seldom met due to social constraints of the period. It may well be true that most of these men did not know or interact with the female members of a colleagues′ family, though we do not know this for certain. However, this lack of personal contact does not render the elegists′ words insincere. Today, many of us send sympathy cards with verses that we never even composed, yet most of us are sincere in our expressions of condolences to others. I think that we must view the elegies from the Mamluk period in the same light. They were publicly recognized and, perhaps, expected forms of condolence exchanged among the learned and ruling classes of Mamluk society and, as such, an important means of social discourse about life and death, love and friendship. To question the sincerity of these elegies is to miss an important and quite intended function.[5] ʻAbd al-Raḥīm should have understood this as he cites (p. 196) several ″Thank You″ poems composed in response to elegies previously received in sympathy for a lost loved one. While ʻAbd al-Raḥīm focuses on stylistic similarities of the poems, he ignores their social dimension and relevance.

This is indicative of the major flaw in his study, which is the lack of critical analysis on many themes and issues. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm never analyzes a complete elegy in any detail, and he often abridges his quotations without telling his reader. Moreover, he fails to read elegies from the Mamluk period in the larger context of elegy, in general, and, as is the case with many Arab scholars, he cites almost nothing by Western scholars relevant to his topic. To his credit, he has cited in his bibliography most of the many Arabic works written on *rithā*ʾ. Despite its

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[4]Thomas Bauer, ″Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder*,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 49–95.

[5]Th. Emil Homerin, ″Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 63–85, esp. 74–75.

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shortcomings, *Fann al-Rithā' fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* offers a detailed description of elegies composed in the Mamluk period, and a tantalizing glimpse into their importance for the study of Mamluk society.

Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Jerusalem between the Fatimid and the Ottoman Period, edited by Johannes Pahlitzsch and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004). Pp. 156, maps, illustrations, tables.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia and Corpus Christi College, Vancouver

This edited volume comprises eight articles dealing with a variety of issues related to the city of Jerusalem during the second/eighth to fifteenth/twentieth centuries. Of these, five are of direct relevance to the Mamluk period (648–922/1250–1517), while the others are likely to be more peripheral to the interests of the readership of this journal. All bar one of the articles derive from a round-table discussion of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages held at the 28th Deutscher Orientalistentag in Bamberg in March 2001.

In the introduction, the editors set out the scope of their volume; they seek to explore the social rather than political or religious history of the city, focusing in particular on the interaction of its inhabitants with the urban fabric. In doing so, they present articles that make particular use of sources that are consulted less frequently by modern scholars than the historical chronicles, including legal documents, inscriptions, and architectural remains.

Given this emphasis, it is fitting that the first two articles, ″Primary Sources on Social Life in Jerusalem in the Middle Ages,″ by Khader Salameh, and ″The Arabic Stone Inscriptions in the Islamic Museum, al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf, Jerusalem,″ by Salameh and Robert Schick, introduce two such types of sources. In the first article, Salameh surveys the collections of documents held in three institutions in Jerusalem, the Aqṣá Mosque Library, the Islamic Museum, and the Shari'ah Court at the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which collectively include documents dating from the first/seventh to fourteenth/twentieth centuries, many of which are relevant for the study of the Mamluk period. Salameh pays particular attention to what these documents reveal about the role of *awqāf* (charitable endowments) in Jerusalem. The second article complements the first by drawing attention to the Arabic stone inscriptions found in the Islamic Museum in Jerusalem, which include tombstones and dedicatory, Quranic, and building inscriptions. Eleven examples, ranging in

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date from the second/eighth to the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries (including three from the Mamluk period), are given in Arabic, Arabic transliteration, and English, with illustrations of the actual artifacts also being included.

The next article, ″Manifestations of Private Piety: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Fatimid Jerusalem,″ by Andreas Kaplony, addresses the ways in which people of all three faiths reacted to the holiness of the city during the Fatimid period (358–492/969–1099). Drawing in particular on the *Safarnāmah* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* of Ibn al-Murajjá al-Maqdisī, Kaplony shows that personal piety could manifest in a number of ways, including the performance of pilgrimages, the establishment of residence at holy sites, seeking to die and/or be buried in the holy city, donations of lamps, oil, and carpets, and the patronage of architectural work and institutions. Thus Kaplony explores religious observance as conducted by members of all social classes during the period.

Moving from the Fatimid to the Ayyubid period, the next two articles consider the attention paid to Jerusalem by Saladin (d. 589/1193) and his descendents. In ″The Transformation of Latin Religious Institutions into Islamic Endowments by Saladin in Jerusalem,″ Johannes Pahlitzsch examines Saladin´s foundation of three religious institutions, a madrasah, a *khānqāh,* and a hospital, as part of his re-Islamization of the city after the Muslim conquest of 583/1187. Pahlitzsch shows that Saladin sought to ensure a smooth transition in the administration of both Muslim and non-Muslim religious institutions during the Muslim takeover, only changing their religious affiliations if such changes helped with this transition. An edition and translation of the *waqfīyah* (endowment document) of the *khānqāh* is included. Meanwhile Lorenz Korn, in ″The Structure of Architectural Patronage in Ayyubid Jerusalem,″ considers Ayyubid architectural patronage in the city, demonstrating that the fact that relatively few buildings were founded by Saladin´s descendents (with the exception of his nephew al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsá [d. 624/1227]) is indicative of the city´s decline, in the Ayyubids´ eyes, from a symbol of the jihad to an unimportant town that could be traded away for political ends.

The last three articles of the volume are concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the Mamluk period. Yehoshua Frenkel´s ″The Relationship Between Mamluk Officials and the Urban Civilian Population: A Study of Some Legal Documents from Jerusalem″ uses a variety of *waqfīyāt,* petitions, decrees, and death registers to show how these documents can shed light on the history of those individuals normally neglected by the historical narratives. Frenkel demonstrates that while the Mamluk rulers used *awqāf* as a means of establishing their legitimacy as rulers, the lower classes could also make use of the institution in a variety of ways to assert themselves in the public sphere. Frenkel includes texts and translations of two decrees in support of his argument.

Joseph Drory addresses the issue of natives of Jerusalem working in the heartland

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of the Mamluk realm in ″Jerusalemites in Egyptian Society during the Mamluk Period.″ Drory notes that both medieval sources and modern scholars regard inhabitants of the holy city as having contributed little to the Mamluk state. Drory proposes to disprove this assertion, which he does by presenting case studies of three chief judges of Jerusalemite origin who became highly influential in Egyptian religious and political circles in the eighth/fourteenth to tenth/sixteenth centuries, showing that contrary to received wisdom, natives of the city did rise to positions of considerable prominence in Egyptian society.

The final article of the volume, ″The Walls and Gates of Jerusalem Before and After Sultan Süleyman´s Rebuilding Project of 1538–40,″ by Mohammad Ghosheh, surveys the development of the city´s wall and gate defenses from the Ayyubid to the early Ottoman periods. Much of Ghosheh´s article is devoted to the Mamluk period, and he shows that contrary to the general opinion, the Mamluk city did have some walls, built at least in part through the efforts of the city´s population, as is apparent from statements in several court records. Ottoman court records also prove to be useful, revealing information about the work conducted on the walls of Jerusalem during the early Ottoman period. Ghosheh concludes by noting that current scholarly opinions about the defenses of Jerusalem and the historical sources that refer to them must be re-evaluated in the light of the new evidence contained in the Mamluk and Ottoman court records, of which he provides illustrations and edited texts of several. The volume concludes with a bibliography.

As should by now be apparent, *Governing the Holy City* is an important volume for its contributions to modern understanding of the social history of Jerusalem. However, it is even more important for its use of hitherto largely neglected legal documents and inscriptions from archives and museums in Jerusalem. Scholars of the medieval Middle East, and the Mamluk period in particular, are beginning to make increasing use of such sources in their research; this volume, with its surveys of available resources and its presentation and use of numerous texts and translations of such sources, can only help to encourage this healthy trend.

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Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (attributed), *Law'at al-Shākī wa-Dam'at al-Bākī*, edited by Muḥammad 'Āyish (Damascus: al-Awā'il, 2003). Pp. 104.

Reviewed by Everett K. Rowson, New York University

In a 2004 review for this journal of an edition of one work by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) and a study of another, I noted the burgeoning interest in this author in both the Middle East and the West, and expressed the hope that the trend would continue.[1] I am gratified to say that it has not only continued but intensified. The Beirut-Wiesbaden edition of al-Ṣafadī's massive biographical dictionary, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* now lacks only three of its thirty volumes; his dictionary of contemporaries, the *A'yān al-'Aṣr,* has been available since 1998 in a serviceable if not optimal six-volume edition;[2] and his voluminous correspondence (almost a biographical dictionary in itself, as well as a literary anthology), the *Alḥān al-Sawāji',* appeared in two volumes in an excellent edition in 2004.[3]

Muḥammad 'Āyish is one of several recent enthusiastic converts to Ṣafadī studies. Besides the *Law'at al-Shākī,* under review here, he has also edited al-Ṣafadī's amusing parody of the genre of literary commentary, the *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā',*[4] and is promising an edition of the *Tashnīf al-Sam' bi-Insikāb al-Dam',* one of al-Ṣafadī's many "theme" anthologies, this one focusing on tears. But the field is getting crowded. A first critical edition of the *Tashnīf* appeared already in 2000[5] (it was published earlier, uncritically, in Cairo in 1903), as did one of the *Ikhtirā'* (never previously published).[6] In 2003 al-Ṣafadī's "beautiful boy" anthology, *Al-Ḥusn al-Ṣarīḥ fī Mi'at Malīḥ,* was edited for the first time.[7] But the prize for industry at this point must go to Muḥammad 'Abd al-Majīd Lāshīn, who in 2005 published

[1]Reviews of al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh 'alá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh*, edited by Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī (Leeds: Majallat al-Ḥikmah, 1420/1999), and of Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Sharḥuhu 'alá Lāmīyat al-'Ajam: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1421/2001), in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 315–23.

[2]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr,* ed. 'Alī Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir and Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998).

[3]Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji' bayna al-Bādi' wa-al-Murāji',* ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, 2 vols. (Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 2004).

[4]Al-Ṣafadī, *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā' fī Mukhālafat al-Naql wa-al-Ṭibā',* ed. Muḥammad 'Āyish (Amman: Dār 'Ammār, 2004).

[5]Al-Ṣafadī, *Tashnīf al-Sam' bi-Insikāb al-Dam'/Ladhdhat al-Sam' fī Ṣifat al-Dam',* ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Dāwūd (Alexandria: Dār al-Qafā' li-Dunyā al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 2000).

[6]Al-Ṣafadī, *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā',* ed. Fārūq Asalīm (Damascus: Ittiḥad al-Kuttāb al-'Arab, 2000).

[7]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Ḥusn al-Ṣarīḥ fī Mi'at Malīḥ,* ed. Aḥmad Fawzī al-Hayb (Damascus: Dār Sa'd al-Dīn, 2003).

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first editions of al-Ṣafadī′s *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim wa-al-ʻArf al-Nāsim* (a general anthology of his own poetry), his *Ṣarf al-ʻAyn* (a ″theme″ book on eyes), and his *Al-Hawl al-Muʻjib fī al-Qawl al-Mūjib* (one of a series of studies on particular rhetorical figures).[8] Most importantly, Lāshīn has also published the most comprehensive biography and study of al-Ṣafadī to date, an impressive work that will be basic for all future Ṣafadī studies.[9]

If it is his, the *Lawʻat al-Shākī wa-Damʻat al-Bākī* (The Sufferer′s pain and weeper′s tear) must count as al-Ṣafadī′s most enduringly popular work. At least twenty-five manuscripts of it are known, it was the first of his works to be printed (in a lithograph edition in Cairo in 1857), and it was republished at least a dozen times between 1864 and 1922, in Cairo, Istanbul, Hims, and Tunis. In form it is a *maqāmah* (also described in some manuscripts as a *risālah,* but the two terms were virtually synonymous in the Mamluk period), a relatively brief prose narrative, giving an account in the first person of the narrator′s love affair with a young Turkish soldier. The plot is minimal—the two meet by chance, fall in love on the spot, arrange to meet a week later, spend a happy night of love, and then part—but proceeds extremely slowly, since the point is not the story but the language, which is an elaborately rhetorical rhymed prose, punctuated at regular intervals by short passages in poetry. The verses, whose authors are never identified (this was conventional in the *maqāmah* genre), usually recast what has just been said in prose, a procedure that reflects the popularity of both *ḥall al-naẓm* (prosification) and *naẓm al-manthūr* (versification) among the littérateurs of the period.[10] The improbabilities of the plot—of which there are many, such as the reproaches the beloved directs at the lover when they first meet, accusing him of abandoning the good sense he knows he has always shown in the past by not falling in love—are to be explained by the fact that the entire exercise is driven by the conventions of love poetry, not in any sense by reality.[11]

In the introduction to his new edition of this text (the first since 1922, to the best of my knowledge), Muḥammad ʻĀyish briefly reviews al-Ṣafadī′s life and works (a very incomplete and rather perfunctory list); summarizes the *Lawʻah′*s plot (laudably avoiding any editorial comment on its homoerotic theme); lists

[8]All Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʻArabīyah, 2005.

[9]Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Majīd Lāshīn, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Āthāruhu fī al-Adab wa-al-Naqd* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʻArabīyah, 2005).

[10]Both devices have been analyzed by Amidu Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification* (Beirut-Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998).

[11]For further discussion of the content of the text see Everett K. Rowson, ″Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamluk Literature: al-Ṣafadī′s Lawʻat al-shākī and Ibn Dāniyāl′s al-Mutayyam,″ in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. J. W. Wright, Jr. and Everett K. Rowson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 158–91.

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some of the previous printed editions of the work and describes the manuscripts on which he has relied for his own; discusses the problem of its authorship; and explains how he has gone about editing it. All of this is presented clearly and succinctly, but there are some issues that merit comment.

The most important of these is the question of authorship. ʻĀyish is sufficiently cautious about this that the cover of his book reads ″attributed to *(al-mansūb li-)* al-Ṣafadī.″ In fact, as he explains in some detail, while the majority of manuscripts do in fact attribute the work to al-Ṣafadī, there are others that assign it to no fewer than four other authors: Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 752/1351), Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (d. 811/1408), Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī (d. 967/1560), and ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Māridīnī (ninth/fifteenth c.). The only one of these he takes seriously, however, is Zayn al-Dīn, since that attribution appears in both the *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* of Ibn al-ʻImād and the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* of Ḥājjī Khalīfah (whereas an attribution to al-Ṣafadī appears nowhere in the bio-bibliographical tradition, nor does al-Ṣafadī seem ever to mention the title in his own works, despite his habit of frequent cross-referencing among them). ʻĀyish is nevertheless inclined to accept the attribution to al-Ṣafadī, although offering no real arguments for it beyond a vague claim of similarity of style between the *Lawʻah* and al-Ṣafadī′s correspondence as reproduced in his *Alḥān al-Sawājiʻ*.

Lāshīn has now gone into this question in somewhat greater detail.[12] He is also inclined to grant al-Ṣafadī′s authorship, but besides appealing, like ʻĀyish, to style and to the preponderance of the manuscript evidence, he also notes that most of the (unattributed) poetry in the *Lawʻah* also appears (attributed) in al-Ṣafadī′s other works, especially in the *Wāfī,* and lists quite a number of examples, including a two-line poem that is not only in fact by al-Ṣafadī himself but serves as the introduction to one of his unpublished works, a collection of literary exchanges from the past with the title *Al-Mujārāh wa-al-Mujāzāh fī Mujārayāt al-Shuʻarā'*. He also notes that at one point the beloved, addressing the narrator, refers to ″your imam al-Shāfiʻī,″ which is exactly how al-Ṣafadī, a fervent adherent of the Shafiʻi school of Islamic law, would have done it; and, less convincingly, argues that the narrator′s describing himself as a *ṣabb damʻuhu mithl ismihi* (″a besotted one whose tears are like his name″) is a reference to al-Ṣafadī′s personal name, Khalīl, which literally means ″close friend,″ the intended meaning being that the narrator′s tears (which *do* appear in great abundance throughout the text) are his inseparable companion. (It seems more likely, however, that the reference is to the word *ṣabb* itself, which can mean ″poured out″ as well as ″besotted.″)

This question cannot be settled in a review, but a few further considerations may be noted. ʻĀyish has done an admirable job of tracking down most of the

[12]Lāshīn, *Al-Ṣafadī,* 95-98.

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authors of the *Law'ah*'s poems (87 out of 145), and they fit quite well with al-Ṣafadī's authorship. At least five are by al-Ṣafadī himself ('Āyish notes three, to which Lāshīn has added one, and I have identified another); seven are by his colleague and sometime friend Ibn Nubātah; a number of others are by other colleagues and friends, including one by Ibn al-Wardī and another by his early mentor Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd; and none seem to postdate his own lifetime. Were the work later, one would expect the occasional appearance of a later poet.

On the other hand, there are serious questions about the relationship between this work and some other titles mentioned in contemporary sources. One of al-Ṣafadī's very first works was a *maqāmah* (or *risālah*) titled *'Ibrat al-Labīb bi-'Athrat al-Ka'īb* (A Lesson for the perspicacious from the stumbling of the disconsolate [lover]), which he himself tells us he composed in emulation of a *maqāmah* enjoying enormous popularity in Cairo when he arrived there in 727/1327, the *Marāti' al-Ghizlān* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir.[13] The text of the latter has been tracked down by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab* (where the author but not the title is given), and is in fact an account of an affair with a young Turkish soldier.[14] Al-Ṣafadī's *'Ibrah* (which is also in some manuscripts called "Al-Maqāmah al-Aybakīyah," suggesting that it was his *only,* or at least his most famous, *maqāmah*) has never been published; but any temptation to identify it with the *Law'ah* would seem to founder on the fact that both the *'Ibrah* and the *Law'ah* are included, side by side, in a Bodleian manuscript (MS Sale 34). Further complicating matters is the fact that al-Ṣafadī informs us that at some point he studied with Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī the latter's *Dam'at al-Bākī*,[15] about which nothing further appears to be known, while some manuscripts (and one early publication) of the *Law'ah,* while attributing it to al-Ṣafadī, call it *Dam'at al-Bākī wa-Law'at al-Shākī.* One can only hope that further investigation of manuscripts of the *Law'ah,* and the now long overdue publication of the *'Ibrah,* will help clear up this situation.

The resources 'Āyish had mustered to establish his text are very far from ideal. For his base *(aṣl),* he has relied on a 1331/1912 Cairo printing, apparently purely on the basis of availability, since he himself points out its poor quality. This he has collated with two relatively recent manuscripts from the library of Maḥmūd Sab' al-Mustashār (not further identified) in Cairo, the first ("Ṣ") dated

[13] Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr,* 3:496.

[14] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1923-), 8:140–9. See Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 340, 386. The *Marāti' al-Ghizlān* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir is not to be confused with the work of the same title by al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455), which is a collection of epigrams about beautiful boys, in the tradition of al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Ḥusn al-Ṣarīḥ.*

[15] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 8:255; *A'yān,* 1:420.

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1272 and attributing the work to Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and the second (″D″) undated (?) and attributing it to Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā. Besides frequent minor textual variations among these, manuscript ″Ṣ″ frequently supplies additional words and phrases, which the editor has mostly included in his text, in brackets. The apparatus lays out all significant variants in lucid fashion. I have in turn collated the text with the 1922 Cairo edition by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Hārūn, which supplies yet more minor variations, lacks almost all the additions from ″Ṣ″, and turns out to have a major lacuna that becomes apparent only from the collation. (Hārūn also supplies some attributions for the poetry, which do not always agree with those of ʻĀyish.)

In textual terms, then, we are hardly better off than we were in 1922, and must continue to await a truly critical edition. ʻĀyish′s printed text is certainly easier to read than the older ones, however, and he has supplied quite a lot of vocalization, almost all correct, and is sensitive to both the meaning and the scansion of the poetry. His work in tracking down the verses in other sources is to be appreciated. A table of verses at the end (first rhyme word, meter, author if known, number of lines, page number) is helpful. The only other end matter is a bibliography of primary sources, but for a short work of this kind no further indices would be expected.

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ـُو	ū	ـِي	ī
ا	ā	ـُوّ	ūw	ـِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	ـَو	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi‘i, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.