MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

XX

مجلة الدراسات المملوكية

2017

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2007: No prize was awarded.

2008: No prize was awarded.

2009: No prize was awarded.

2010: No prize was awarded.

2011: Joint award:

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Matthew B. Ingalls, Yale University, "Subtle Innovation Within Networks of Convention: The Life, Thought, and Intellectual Legacy of Zakariyya al-Ansari (d. 926/1520)."

2012: Elias Ibrahim Muhanna, Harvard University, "Encyclopaedism of the Mamluk Period: The composition of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī's (d. 1333) *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab.*"

2013: No prize was awarded.

2014: Noah Gardiner, University of Michigan, "Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period."

2015: No prize was awarded.

2016: No prize was awarded.

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Introduction

The Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg of Mamluk Studies at the University of Bonn and the Mamluk Studies programs of the Middle East Documentation Center at the University of Chicago have worked closely together since the founding of the Kolleg by Stephan Conermann in 2011. As the Kolleg enters its final two years of funding by the German Research Foundation, we thought it appropriate to contribute an issue of *Mamlūk Studies Review,* celebrating this collaboration and highlighting the contributions that the Kolleg is making to the field through the research of its fellows, visitors, and staff. I am, as always, grateful to Marlis Saleh for her vision and enthusiasm for new things, which resulted in the invitation to guest edit this special issue.

The contributors to this volume have been affiliated with the Kolleg at some point in the last five years. Many of them are publishing in *MSR* for the first time, and this was one of our goals. They represent the range of specializations and career stages that constitute the Kolleg community. The papers in this issue are a deliberately eclectic mix of intellectual, social, economic, environmental, and art histories and collectively illustrate three ways in which our field has developed in recent years, and which have been encouraged and cultivated by the Kolleg: pushing the disciplinary boundaries of our field, asking new questions, and finding ways to answer them with new (and frequently hybrid) methods.

Our contributors are:

Noah Gardiner: Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Religious Studies, University of South Carolina—Jr. Fellow at the Kolleg 2015–2016

Abdelkader Al Ghouz: Scientific Coordinator, Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg—Jr. Fellow 2014–2015

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Ellen Kenney: Assistant Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture, Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations, American University in Cairo— Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture (UHML) speaker May 2012

Bethany Walker: Co-Director of the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg—Sr. Fellow 2012

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Annette Hansen: Ph.D. student in Archaeobotany, Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen—Ph.D. scholarship holder Fall 2016
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Sami G. Massoud
Collège Ahuntsic

Donald Presgrave Little, 1932–2017

How do you announce to the scholarly community he belonged to the passing of one of its most prominent members? How can one avoid the tired clichés of sorrow and bereavement while giving a just measure of the man? Donald P. Little left his family and this world on the 29th of June 2017 in Montréal with Betsy (née Elizabeth Wistar), his wife of fifty-two years, by his side.

We all knew Donald Little in one capacity or another as a true friend of knowledge. His pursuit of higher education led him from his hometown of Elizabethton, Tennessee, to Harvard University, then to Stanford and ultimately to UCLA, where he did his Ph.D. He spent his entire career at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University in Montreal, which he directed for a number of years and where he taught Islamic History and Arabic Language. There he supervised the theses and dissertations of men and women too numerous to count, in fields in which he was a specialist, namely Islamic history and medieval Arabic historiography, but in other related domains as well. The long list of publications that was published in vol. IX, no. 1 (2005) of this journal,* and the fact that he was made Professor Emeritus in 2000 upon his retirement, are both testimony to his scholarship and to the life he spent assiduously researching and writing.

To many of the readers of and contributors to *MSR,* and to those who gravitate around the field of Mamluk studies, he was a friend and colleague. For some, he was a teacher and it is thus that I will always remember him. More than anything else, Professor Little evokes for me memories of my younger self and of the heroic times, now long gone, of my Ph.D. studies. Then, I visited him regularly in his office, where I would find him sitting at his desk, surrounded by his books and by the ubiquitous pictures and drawings of hippos, an animal he was fond of. We talked, of course, about the Mamluks to whose history he devoted the essence of his scholarly attention. To study the rich historiography that was produced under them, he devised a technique, simple but efficient, consisting of a word-to-word comparison of texts, which I and others would end up using in our own research. Our conversations often ended up deviating from the martial slaves of Egypt and Syria to more personal matters. He told me how, while in the US army, he got into learning, and eventually teaching, Arabic. He told me about meeting Betsy, who

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*See http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/browse-download.html to view or download the entire issue or Professor Little's bibliography.

would eventually become his wife, in Cairo while he was doing research for his Ph.D. He recalled his visits to extra-continental countries from which many of his students hailed: Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, etc. He fondly spoke of the long and tortuous path that led him in 1978 to study and catalogue the Haram al-Sharif documents in Jerusalem, a feat in and of itself.

I remember years ago Professor Little telling me how much he liked the eulogy I gave at the funeral of a friend of mine and student of his and remarking, half jokingly, that he would want something similar to be said about him at his passing. My heart filled with sorrow, I had wondered aloud where my friend had gone and then surmised, in nostalgic reminiscence, that his spirit was visiting the places he had gone to during his short but well-filled life. So where is the spirit of Donald Little, I wonder? Is it in his and Betsy's summer residence in New London, New Hampshire? Or is it in the beautiful Mount-Royal park, the jewel in the heart of Montreal, the city where he spent most of his adult life? Is it keeping a watchful eye over Betsy and his son David and his family? Is it wandering the stacks of the magnificent Islamic Studies library? Or is it hovering over the Haram al-Sharif and the gardens of Lahore?

Farewell, Donald P. Little.

Noah Gardiner
University of South Carolina

The Occultist Encyclopedism of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī

In modern scholarship, the Antiochene *muḥaddith,* occultist, and littérateur ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1454) is better known to Ottomanists than Mamlukists, thanks to the influence his voluminous writings exerted in Ottoman courtly milieux during and after his lifetime.[1] In what follows, however, he is discussed mainly in a Mamluk context, with regard to an account he penned of his education and initiation into the occult "science of letters and names" (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-asmāʾ*) as a young man traveling in Cairo, Alexandria, and Damascus and environs during the first decades of the ninth/fifteenth century; and with reference to his book on that science entitled *Shams al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq.* It is argued that *Shams al-āfāq* is an "encyclopedic" work similar in spirit to much Mamluk-era literary production, and was an effort to make the forbiddingly

[1] The major scholarship on al-Bisṭāmī includes İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İhvanu's Safâ ve Abdurrahman Bıstâmî," *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi* (1996): 229–40; Denis Gril, "Ésotérisme contre hérésie: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la premiere moitié du XVe siècle," in *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle): Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001* (Paris, 2005), 183–95; Cornell Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 51–62; idem, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens,* ed. M. Farhad and S. Bağcı (Washington, D.C., 2009), 231–44; İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf Al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, 2016), 104–14. See also Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣāʾin Al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2012), 240–47; Jean-Charles Coulon, "Building al-Būnī's Legend: The Figure of al-Būnī through ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī's Shams al-āfāq," *Journal of Sufi Studies* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1–26; and Noah Gardiner, "Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad Al-Būnī," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 114ff.

esoteric science of letters more accessible to the cosmopolitan learned classes and political elites of the period. Its occult content, however, imposed special requirements on the author regarding his qualifications to synthesize such knowledge—requirements he attempted to satisfy through an account of his occult training that combines attention to formal book-transmission practices and descriptions of various visionary encounters with the Prophet and other spiritual figures. More broadly, it is argued that al-Bisṭāmī's writings indicate that the Mamluk cities of the late eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth centuries were home to a thriving occult scene that recently was being transformed by elite patronage and increased interest among cosmopolitan intellectuals, and that his account of his own readerly initiation into lettrism reflected the new, decidedly bookish occultism that had been taking root in the learned culture of the period. The conclusion discusses the importance of these developments in relation to other trends in the late-Mamluk intellectual scene, particularly with regard to manuscript culture, and to the longer history of the occult sciences in Islam.

The place of the occult sciences in Mamluk-era thought and culture has been explored only a little in recent decades. Writing in the 1950s, the Belgian Orientalist Armand Abel argued that a widespread embrace of occultism by Mamluk-era learned elites—particularly of the works of the controversial Ifriqiyan *cum* Cairene Sufi Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 or 630/1232–33)—was symptomatic of a general intellectual decline in the period, an assessment typical of the dim view of the occult sciences taken by many mid-century scholars.[2] The field of Mamluk intellectual history has since largely moved on from the narrative of "postclassical" Islamic decline that underpinned Abel's thesis, but his observations on the prominence of learned occultism in the period seem to have been abandoned along with it. On the rare occasions Mamluk occultism has been addressed since, it is usually relegated to the ill-defined realm of "popular" culture—astrologers casting horoscopes for women in city *sūq*s, unscrupulous Sufis dealing in talismans, etc.[3]—and, *contra* Abel, it is often implied that critiques of occultism by figures such as Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Khaldūn, and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah were representative of the majority view on such matters among edu-

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[2] Armand Abel, "La place des sciences occultes dans la décadence," in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'islam* (Paris, 1957), 291–318. The dim view of occultism among twentieth-century scholars has been the topic of a number of recent scholarly works, among the most important of which are Randall Styers, *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World* (Oxford, 2004), and Wouter Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge, 2012).

[3] Yahya Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translations of Three Fatwas," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. E. Savage-Smith (Aldershot, 2004), 279ff; Stefan Wild, "Jugglers and Fraudulent Sufis," in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Visby 13–16 August, Stockholm 17–19 August, 1972,* ed. Frithiof Rundgren (Stockholm, 1975), 58–63.

cated Muslims of the time.[4] George Saliba, for example, in his influential study of the social status of astrologers in the medieval Muslim world, repeats as fact Ibn Khaldūn's tendentious assertion that, in his time, "[o]ne could study [astrology] only in 'a secluded corner of his house.'"[5] Similarly, John Livingston proffers Ibn Taymīyah disciple Ibn Qayyim's attacks on astrology and alchemy as evidence contrary to Abel's assertion that religious scholars of the era largely approved of occultism, though he limits his observation of anti-occult sentiments to the Hanbali ulama rather than extending it to scholars generally.[6] Historians of science such as David King and Abdelhamid Sabra routinely reassert the notion that "religious scholars" of the period were opposed to astrology. King's assessment of celestial sciences in the Mamluk period posits a growing distinction between mathematical astronomy and astrology in the period, the former being put to the service of "religious" concerns such as the calculation of prayer times while the latter languished, particularly as it was "frowned upon" by "religious scholars" such as, once again, Ibn Qayyim.[7] Sabra builds on this dichotomy in putting forward his influential notion of the late-medieval rise of the "jurist-scientist" over the "philosopher-scientist" of previous periods, with the implication that this entailed a rejection of the "foreign" elements of the rational sciences, including occultism, in favor of placing science and mathematics in the service of more "religious" concerns.[8] Some recent work by Ottomanist and Timuridist scholars has strongly countered this tendency to marginalize occultism's role in learned society. Cornell Fleischer, İ. Evrim Binbaş, and Matthew Melvin-Koushki have noted that the Mamluk cities were important centers of occult learning in which figures such as al-Bisṭāmī, the Timurid philosopher Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turkah (d. 835/1432), and the Timurid historian and poet Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 858/1454) studied occult subjects.[9] While their efforts have been directed primarily at the careers of those figures in their Timurid or Ottoman contexts, the present paper maintains a focus on the Mamluk intellectual scene, with special attention to the intersection of occultism and Mamluk manuscript culture.

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[4] See Livingston citation below. Cf. Mushegh Asatrian, "Ibn Khaldun on Magic and the Occult," *Iran and the Caucasus* 7 (2003): 73–123; Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology," 279ff.

[5] George Saliba, "The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 44 (1992): 51; the quote is from Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958)*,* III/263.

[6] John Livingston, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: A Fourteenth-Century Defense against Astrological Divination and Alchemical Transmutation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 96–103.

[7] David King, "The Astronomy of the Mamluks," *Isis* 74 (1983): 551.

[8] Abdelhamid Sabra, "The Appropriation and Subsequent Naturalization of Greek Science in Medieval Islam: A Preliminary Statement," *History of Science* 25, no. 3 (1987): 240–42.

[9] See footnote 1, supra.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad—*al-Ḥanafī madhhab*[an] *al-Bisṭāmī mashrab*[an], as he often styled himself—was a child of Antioch who sought an education in the cities of Bilād al-Shām and Egypt, beginning in Aleppo. As a young man he joined the *ṭarīqah Bisṭāmīyah,* less a formal Sufi order than a network of Sufi shaykhs and urban (largely Aleppan) intellectuals from notable families,[10] and it is from this association that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took the *nisbah* by which he is best known. Al-Bisṭāmī claims to have begun his occult education under the tutelage of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī al-Aṭʿānī (d. 807/1405), a leader of the group, and occultism may have been a regular topic of interest to members.[11] In addition to acquiring much in the way of hadith, theology, Sufism, Hanafi *fiqh,* and mathematics, al-Bisṭāmī vigorously pursued further knowledge of the occult sciences, particularly from teachers in and around Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo during the first part of the ninth/fifteenth century, as discussed below.

In the second decade of the ninth century *hijrī,* al-Bisṭāmī answered the invitation of fellow Hanafi scholars to live and teach in the Ottoman principalities of Anatolia as the relatively young Ottoman state was regrouping in the wake of Tīmūr's depredations. He would reside there in one city or another for most of the rest of his life, though he also traveled regularly in the Mamluk territories until at least the late 820s, and was an important link between Anatolian and Syro-Egyptian learned and courtly societies.[12] Indeed, al-Bisṭāmī was a key participant in a translocal network of intellectuals with shared interest in lettrism and related topics who sometimes referred to themselves as the *ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ wa-khillān al-wafāʾ* (brethren of purity and friends of sincerity), a reference to the fourth/tenth-century intellectual provocateurs whose *Rasāʾil* are an important source on "classical" Islamic occultism, as well as one of the major examples of pre-Mamluk encyclopedism. As has been most extensively discussed by Binbaş, this network also included such notables as the aforementioned Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turkah Iṣfahānī and Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, as well as the Ottoman judge and rebel Badr al-Dīn al-Simāwī (d. 818/1416), each of whom had significant impacts on succeeding generations of thinkers across Ottoman and Timurid *cum* Safavid territories.[13]

Al-Bisṭāmī was a prolific author. Ismail Paşa credits him with forty-three works, and Brockelmann with thirty-six,[14] but in his *Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil wa-*

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[10] Binbaş, "The Aṭʿānī-Bisṭāmī Network of Syria and Late Medieval Intellectual Networks," unpublished (2016).

[11] Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 3b.

[12] Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom," 232.

[13] Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks,* passim.

[14] Fazıoğlu, "Ilk dönem Osmanlı ilim," 230.

ghurrat minhāj al-wasāʾil—an intellectual autobiography al-Bisṭāmī penned in 845/1441–42—he claims to have authored more than 180 texts.[15] Several of these must have been short treatises, though some of his surviving works are quite lengthy. No doubt all were written in the intensely florid, *sajʿ*-dominated Arabic interspersed with verse for which he was well known and admired. While he wrote on topics ranging from hadith, to poetry, to mathematics, to the *manāqib* of various Sufi figures, to medicine and the Black Death,[16] he was best known during and after his lifetime for his works on the science of letters and names, eschatological predictions, and calendrics and historical cycles—topics that were deeply interrelated in the minds of al-Bisṭāmī and many of his contemporaries. As Fleischer has demonstrated, his writings on the latter topics would prove influential in Ottoman milieux well into the tenth/sixteenth century, particularly regarding attempts to ideologically position the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver (r. 926–74/1520–66) as a millennial sovereign destined to rule the world at the end of time.[17]

Shams al-Āfāq fī ʿIlm al-Ḥurūf wa-al-Awfāq as an "Encyclopedic" Work

Several of al-Bisṭāmī's works survive in manuscript, though a full survey of the manuscript corpus has yet to be done. That he sometimes promulgated variant versions of the same title will inevitably complicate this task when it is undertaken. The work with which the present article is primarily concerned, *Shams al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq,* itself has a slightly complicated textual history. The initial recension of the text is likely best represented by Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 533, an authorial holograph completed near the end of Rabīʿ II 826/1423; it also contains an *ijāzah* written by al-Bisṭāmī in Shawwāl of 837/1434.[18] Al-Bisṭāmī records in *Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil* that he completed *Shams al-āfāq* in 826 in the Anatolian town of Larende (now Karaman), south of Konya, and Hekimoğlu 533 may be the fair copy of the recension to which he is referring.[19] A second re-

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[15] This figure is based on the sixth *bāb* of *Tāj al-rasāʾil,* in which al-Bisṭāmī provides a roughly year-by-year account of his activities as an author and as a transmitter of works written by others; "Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil wa-ghurrat minhāj al-wasāʾil," Süleymaniye MS Nuruosmaniye 4905, fol. 21bff, but particularly 24b–37b. At present, the Süleymaniye MS is the only known copy of this work. Cornell Fleischer is preparing an annotated facsimile of it, to be published with Brill.

[16] An edition of al-Bisṭāmī's plague tractate, *Kitāb waṣf al-dawāʾ fī kashf āfāt al-wabāʾ,* is currently under preparation by Jean-Charles Coulon of Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.

[17] Fleischer, "Mahdi and Millennium" and "Ancient Wisdom," both passim.

[18] For the colophon and the *ijāzah* see Hekimoğlu 533, fol. 151b.

[19] Al-Bisṭāmī, "Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil," fol. 31a–b.

cension is also extant, as found, for example, in Chester Beatty MS 5076 (copied in Rabīʿ II 844/1440 by one ʿAlī ibn Muhannā al-ʿAṭṭār al-Atharī). Much of this recension overlaps with the earlier one, but the introduction *(muqaddimah)* has been significantly expanded, as has the list of occult works al-Bisṭāmī claims to have read and synthesized (see Appendix). In *Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil,* al-Bisṭāmī also refers to a second work titled *Shams al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq* that he composed in Bursa in 830/1426–27, which he states "is not the book that I completed in Larende which was mentioned previously" *(wa hadhā al-kitāb huwa ghayr al-kitāb alladhī faraghtu minhu fī Lārandah alladhī taqaddama dhikruhu).*[20] It is possible that he is referring here to the recension represented by CB 5076, assuming he considered the expansions therein substantial enough to justify calling it a different book than the Larende recension; however, he provides no further details that confirm or falsify this hypothesis. For reasons discussed below, it is certain that the second recension was penned sometime after Dhū al-Ḥijjah 826/1423, which is to say at least eight months after the initial version. It is with the expanded introduction to the second recension that this article is primarily concerned.

The subject of *Shams al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq* is the science of letters and names, or "lettrism," as scholars recently have come to call it. Similar in ways to Jewish Kabbalah, lettrism was a cosmologically-oriented discourse on the powers of the Arabic alphabet and the names of God that, in certain iterations, including al-Bisṭāmī's, also encompassed occult practices such as divination and the making of talismans. Though descended from the theological speculation of early Shiʿi "exaggerators" *(ghulāh)* and Ismaʿili Neoplatonist thinkers, the lettrism al-Bisṭāmī was working with largely had taken shape at the hands of Sunni Sufis in the Islamic West between the fourth/tenth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, and was most famously promulgated by figures such as al-Būnī and the great Andalusian mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), who helped introduce it to the central Islamic lands as they migrated eastward at the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century.[21] In both recensions, the text of *Shams al-āfāq* is divided into an introduction followed by five chapters *(fuṣūl).* The five chapters of the main body of the work discuss a range of topics concerning the occult qualities of the letters, the making of talismans based on mathematical "magic" squares, and the description of a quasi-Neoplatonic cosmology in which the letters, understood as the continuous flow of God's creative speech, are implicated in the revolutions of the celestial spheres and thus in the ongoing production of the manifest world.

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[20] Ibid., fol. 32a.

[21] For recent scholarship on the relationship between the Shiʿi and Sufi iterations of lettrism, see Michael Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in Al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn Al-ʿArabī and Ismāʿīlī Tradition* (Leiden, Boston, 2014).

These elements are familiar from earlier lettrist writings, particularly al-Būnī's, on which al-Bisṭāmī draws heavily.[22]

Much as in Kabbalah, esotericism had been central to the Western-Sufi lettrism of Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Būnī's generation as both a *bāṭinī* hermeneutics and a social practice, and both those masters had stressed the need for utmost discretion in transmitting what they viewed as initiated understandings of scripture and powerful praxes for spiritual achievement and transformation of the manifest world that would be destructive in the hands of the *vulgus.*[23] The present author has argued elsewhere that, in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām, early readers of al-Būnī's works—which were far more explicit than Ibn al-ʿArabī's with regard to occult-practical aspects of lettrism such as talismans—heeded al-Būnī's wishes by mostly restricting the circulation of his texts to secretive circles of Sufi adepts for roughly a century after his death, such that only in the eighth/fourteenth century did his writings begin to become available to other communities of readers, becoming increasingly popular through the ninth/fifteenth.[24] The writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī, in which lettrism is a persistent theme, of course became immensely popular and influential during the same period.[25] This gradual emergence of lettrism from the confines of esotericist Sufi reading communities was an important condition of possibility for the creation of *Shams al-āfāq,* and indeed for al-Bisṭāmī's career as a courtier-occultist. It cleared the way for him to undertake the project of reframing lettrism for the cosmopolitan learned and courtly classes of the later Mamluk period, a project that entailed realignments of both the epistemic and social bases of lettrism.

That the proliferation of lettrist texts in the Mamluk cities in the lead-up to al-Bisṭāmī's time was not limited to al-Būnī and Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings is clear from a major list of books on lettrism that al-Bisṭāmī includes in the introduction to *Shams al-āfāq.* The list includes 238 titles of books he claims to have read on the science of letters and names or matters related thereto (see Appendix).[26] It comprises numerous works by figures al-Bisṭāmī cites frequently throughout *Shams al-āfāq,* such as al-Būnī and the turn-of-the-ninth/fifteenth-century shaykh

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[22]On elements of al-Būnī's lettrist cosmology, see the present author's "Stars and saints: The esotericist astrology of the Sufi occultist Aḥmad al-Būnī," forthcoming in 2017 in the journal *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ritual.*

[23]Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Le Livre du mim, du waw, et du nun,* trans. Charles-Andre Gilis (Beirut, 2002), 56ff.

[24]Noah Gardiner, "Esotericist Reading Communities and the Early Circulation of the Sufi Occultist Aḥmad al-Būnī's Works," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives,* ed. Matthew Melvin-Koushki and Noah Gardiner, special issue of *Arabica* 64, nos. 3–4 (2017): 405-41.

[25]Alexander Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany, 1999), 49–140.

[26]Al-Bisṭāmī, "Shams al-āfāq," Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 1a. *Wa-qad waqaftu ʿalá kutub kathīrah jalīlat al-burhān fī hadhā al-shān qalīlat al-wujūd fī hadhā al-zamān.*

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī (about whom more below); famous works on magic such as *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*) and the book of Tum-Tum al-Hindī;[27] pseudo-Aristotelian hermetica like *Kitāb al-Isṭimāṭīs* and *Kitāb al-Istimākhīs;*[28] works attributed to luminaries of the early Islamic period such as Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and Thābit ibn Qurrah, and of the Hellenistic past such as Plato, Alexander the Great, *et alia;* several books *(asfār)* attributed to prophets, e.g., *Sifr Ādam, Sifr Idrīs, Sifr Nūḥ,* etc.; and scores of other titles. These works were "little to be found" at the time, al-Bisṭāmī asserts, but however rare the individual volumes, their sheer number suggests that there was already a considerable audience in the Mamluk cities for occult-scientific literature.

The list is invaluable as a bibliography of late-medieval lettrism. It is also an important indicator of the "encyclopedic" nature of al-Bisṭāmī's work, which, though not massive in size, seeks to distill, organize, and otherwise make accessible to learned readers the large, messy, and difficult body of lettrist teachings the list represents. Modern scholarship has long recognized the Mamluk period as one in which an encyclopedist ethos held sway, giving rise to such massive works as al-Nuwayrī's (d. 733/1333) *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab,* al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá,* and al-ʿUmarī's (d. 749/1349) *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār,* as well as "a wide range of compilatory texts—including biographical dictionaries, literary anthologies, universal and specialised lexicons, and professional manuals—all dependent upon the fundamental processes of collecting and ordering knowledge."[29] Some twentieth-century scholars, such as Charles Pellat, held that this surge of compilatory and synthetic activity was a fearful response to the threat posed by the Mongols to the intellectual and belletristic patrimony of Islamic civilization, and furthermore that the seemingly derivative nature of Mamluk literature was a symptom of intellectual lassitude and postclassical decline.[30] Elias Muhanna argues convincingly, however, that the encyclopedism of the period is better conceived as the product of a cosmopolitan, universalist out-

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[27] On *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* see Maribel Fierro, "Bāṭinism in al-Andalus: Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353/964), Author of the *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*)," *Studia Islamica* 84 (1996): 87–112. The book of Tum-Tum al-Hindī is briefly mentioned as a well-known book on magic by Ibn Khaldūn in *al-Muqaddimah,* in the section on "The sciences of sorcery and talismans."

[28] On *Kitāb al-Istamātis* see Charles Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia and Kitāb al-istamātis: Further Evidence for the Transmission of Hermetic Magic," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 167–69. On *Kitāb al-Istimākhis* see idem, "Arabic, Greek and Latin Works on Astrological Magic attributed to Aristotle," in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages,* ed. Jill Kraye, W. F. Ryan, and C. B. Schmitt (London, 1986), 84–96.

[29] Elias Muhanna, "Why Was the Fourteenth Century a Century of Arabic Encyclopaedism?," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance,* ed. Jason Konig and Greg Woolf (Cambridge, 2013), 347.

[30] Charles Pellat, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Mawsūʿa."

look fostered by "[t]he stability and security provided by a rapidly consolidating imperial [Mamluk] state," where previously there had been "several centuries of fractiousness and political turmoil."[31] Encyclopedic works were never direct outcomes of state initiatives, however, but rather were products both of and for the "professionalized and bureaucratized" scholarly class—the "*adab*-ized" ulama, as Thomas Bauer would have it[32]—that was taking shape in the increasingly diverse and literate Mamluk cities, and that demanded news ways to organize and consume the massive bodies of learning available to them.[33] Contrary to the notion that such works are evidence of an intellectual decline, recent scholarship has come to recognize these acts of compilation, classification, abridgement, etc. as considerable and highly original intellectual accomplishments in their own right, as al-Bisṭāmī's certainly was.

Lettrism had not been entirely overlooked by encyclopedist writers prior to al-Bisṭāmī, thanks in large part to the growing availability of al-Būnī's works. Ibn Manẓūr briefly praises al-Būnī in the introduction to *Lisān al-ʿarab,* and even claims to have successfully experimented with lettrist procedures. Writing within esotericist restraints, however, he refrains from going into detail, on the grounds that the secrets of the letters are too dangerous for those whose minds are not prepared.[34] Al-Nuwayrī includes in *Nihāyat al-arab* some brief excerpts from al-Būnī's major lettrist opus *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt fī al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwīyāt,* though he relegates them to the final subsection of the fourth out of five books that comprise his work. The primary topic of the fourth book is plants, and the excerpts from al-Būnī appear as part of a subchapter on "What can be done using occult properties" *(fīmā yufʿal bi-al-khāṣīyah).*[35] The Bunian material—instructions for a few simple talismans—is entirely denatured, divorced from the elaborate Sufi cosmology that it grows out of in the original, and is treated as little more than a curiosity. Al-Būnī is also mentioned by al-Bisṭāmī's older contemporary al-Qalqashandī, in a subchapter of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá* on "The knowledge of book collections and the types of sciences" *(maʿrifah bi-khazāʾin al-kutub wa-anwāʾ al-ʿulūm),* and under the further subheadings of "The sciences current among the learned, the best-known books regarding them, and their authors" *(dhikr al-ʿulūm al-mutadawwalah bayna al-ʿulamāʾ wa-mashhūr al-kutub al-muṣannafah fīhā wa-muʾallifuhā),* "the natural

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[31] Muhanna, "A Century of Arabic Encyclopaedism," 348.

[32] Thomas Bauer, "'Ayna Hādhā min al-Mutanabbī!': Toward an Aesthetics of Mamluk Literature," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 5–22.

[33] On these macro developments in Mamluk culture and reading practices see the aforementioned Bauer article; also Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh, 2012).

[34] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab* (Beirut, 1990), 1:14ff.

[35] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (Cairo, 1935), 12:217ff.

science" *(al-ʿilm al-ṭabīʿī),* and "the science of sorcery and the science of the letter and magic squares" *(ʿilm al-siḥr wa-ʿilm al-ḥarf wa-al-awfāq).* He names three of al-Būnī's works alongside Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Al-Sirr al-maktūm,* the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm,* a *Kitāb al-Jamharah* attributed to one al-Khawārazmī, and the *Timaeus* (which he attributes to Aristotle rather than Plato).[36] That al-Qalqashandī associates lettrism so closely with sorcery *(siḥr)*—typically a term of severe disapprobation in Sunni discourse—suggests that he may have had a rather low opinion of the topic.

Al-Nuwayrī and al-Qalqashandī's mentions of lettrism via al-Būnī can be seen as attempts to discipline a potentially disruptive discourse by subsuming it within their own conceptions of the hierarchy of the sciences *(taṣnīf al-ʿulūm)* and otherwise assigning it relatively little importance in the grand scheme of things that their massive works sought to encompass and order. Al-Bisṭāmī's approach to the topic in *Shams al-āfāq* shares the encyclopedic prerogatives of synthesizing and ordering a large body of material from past authorities. It could hardly be more different, however, with regard to the status he assigns lettrism, which he positions as the veritable queen of the sciences. In describing the sources from which the knowledge of lettrism conveyed in *Shams al-āfāq* is taken, he avows:

> From the books of the prophets I took it. From the speech of the saints I gathered it. From the scrolls of the select I set it down. From the records of the God-fearing I recorded it. From the treasures of the listeners I extracted it. From the riddles of the philosophers I solved it. From original thought I devised it. Among the secrets of the pious ones I discovered upon it. From the epistles of the people of mysteries I deduced it. And by the lamps of the people of lights I sought it.[37]

And regarding the excellence of the science of letters, and of his own book, he asserts:

> It [*Shams al-āfāq*] is among the most outstanding of books in its utility and the greatest of them with reference to the compilation of that which is most excellent and dearly sought in one precious location. For in it is the greatest science of God, His most luminescent mystery, His most radiant law, and His most magnificent

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[36] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá* (Cairo, 1908–19), 1:465. Incidentally, the *Kitāb al-Jamharah* is no. 198 on al-Bisṭāmī's list of books on lettrism. He does not list the other works al-Qalqashandī mentions, though no. 20, *Al-Sirr al-manẓūm fī al-Sirr al-maktūm,* is likely a commentary on al-Rāzī's work.

[37] Hekimoğlu 533, fol. 2b.

name—and these are but a drop of its superabundant sea, a driblet from the raincloud.[38]

Taken on its own terms, the lettrism al-Bisṭāmī reveals in *Shams al-āfāq* is indeed the greatest of the sciences and a powerful body of techniques as well, the "red sulfur" *(al-kibrīt al-aḥmar)* through which the highest spiritual visions and states are realized, but also the "magnificent antidote" *(al-tiryāq al-abhar)* to all life's ills, from plague to poverty to the pangs of unrequited love. All this is presented not as a mere collection of magical recipes, but as material theorized within a quasi-Neoplatonic cosmological framework built on the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Būnī, and others, combining Sufi theosophical concepts such as the pre-existent Muḥammadan light *(nūr muḥammadī)* and the invisible hierarchy of Sufi saints with discourses on astrology, humoral medicine, the physics of the four elements, and the "occult properties" *(khawāṣṣ)* of stones, plants, the planets, etc.

As for his own intellectual role in compiling this body of learning, al-Bisṭāmī claims to have produced his work on this famously difficult and obscure topic:

> only after I untangled the knots of its symbols, broke the talismans concealing its treasures, removed through gnostic eloquence the envelope of its meanings, and described with the tongue of clarification the marvels of its keys, so that one who did not understand their [the lettrists'] symbols will understand them, and one who did not grasp their terms of art will grasp them, so that it [the book] will be the guide to achievement among novices and the end-goal among adepts.[39]

The book indeed does strive toward clarity on matters that previous lettrist authors had left obscure. For example, al-Bisṭāmī explains methods for constructing mathematical magic squares *(awfāq,* sing. *wafq)*—a key element of many of the talismans employed in lettrism—that others, such as al-Būnī, had not divulged.[40] Al-Bisṭāmī does not take all the credit for these accomplishments, but rather asserts that the Prophet Muḥammad—"in whose hand are the keys to the [divine] commands and upon whom rests the authority of all men of great character and eloquence" *(man bi-yadihi maqālīd al-umūr wa-ilayhi masānīd al-furūd jalīl al-shān jamīl al-bayān)*[41]—helped bestow them through "the tongue of realization" *(lisān*

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Hekimoğlu 533, fol. 2b–3a.

[40] For al-Būnī's most explicit discussions of talismans based on mathematical magic squares see his *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt fī al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwīyāt* (as found in numerous MSS, e.g., BnF MS arabe 2657, BnF MS arabe 2658, Berlin MS or. Fol. 80, and others), passim.

[41] Hekimoğlu 533, fol. 2b.

al-taḥqīq), which is to say inspired knowledge.[42] As discussed below, he grounds the general claim of Muḥammadan inspiration in a series of specific events and spiritual experiences in the narrative of his initiation into lettrism included in the second recension of the work. The claim is important insofar as it grounds a theme that runs through *Shams al-āfāq* of book-learning and mystical inspiration as the twin pillars of occult knowledge, an innovative notion relative to prior lettrists such as al-Būnī and Ibn al-ʿArabī. The prophetic agency that he claims propels the project also points to the eschatological implications of the unveiling of lettrist knowledge that al-Bisṭāmī aims to achieve in his work.

As mentioned above, lettrists of prior centuries had exercised some degree of caution in disseminating lettrist knowledge, on the grounds that such secrets were too powerful to be subject to the whims of anyone but spiritual elites with the wisdom and self-restraint to wield them. Al-Bisṭāmī is obviously willing to contravene these restrictions, but he is insistent that doing so is a response to the nearly terminal spiritual immiseration of society. The times in which he lives, he asserts at length, mark a nadir of post-Muḥammadan human relations to the divine:

> In this age the remains of the sciences of wisdom and metaphysical gnosis are effaced, the paths of the laws of the prophets are wiped out, the paths of the way of the saints are fallen into oblivion, the relations of mercy have been severed and the lights of wisdom blotted out. Shameful scandals are revealed and the good counsels of the hidden worlds are eclipsed. The abode of honesty is muddied and the garden of salvation is dried up. The star of the babble of the idiots is risen as is that of the lies of the ignorant. And no wonder! For the people have become evil and Islam is become a stranger as it was when it began. The gnostic fundamentals are trickery so far as they're concerned, and the Quranic creed is among them unbelief. [...] Lettrist subtleties are jugglery and numerological insights are heresy. Indeed, they dispense with right action in favor of bootlicking and with wholesome knowledge in favor of polemic and suspicion. Neither do the verses [of the Quran] remind them nor the sermons restrain them, for the mantles of darkness and the radiance of the ego have obscured the lights of true vision and shrouded [men's] innermost beings from witnessing the wonders of the *Malakūt* and the subtleties of the effects of the *Jabarūt.* Even if they were to hear the lordly realities and the merciful dispensations and the luminescent names and the spiritualistic secrets

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[42]Ibid.

> and the healing invocations and the all-encompassing remedies,
> it would be as if it were shouted from a distant place and behind a
> curtain of iron. [43]

This theme of spiritual decline is hardly unfamiliar in medieval Islamic thought; the well-known hadith "The best people are my generation, then those who will follow them, then those who will follow them"[44] was widely understood to imply that the *ummah* only got worse as time went on. As Eerik Dickinson has discussed, some scholars of the late-medieval period were so convinced of the degeneracy of their peers as to despair of meaningful personality criticism *(ʿilm al-rijāl)* in evaluating recent *muḥaddith*s, such that figures such as Abū ʿAmr al-Murābiṭ (d. 752/1351) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) disagreed mainly with regard to whether the last transmitters worthy of the task had died by the end of the fourth/tenth century or the fifth/eleventh. [45]

Of course, the age was not exclusively prone to theologies of despair; theories of *mujaddid*s—periodic "renewers" of Islam sent by God to restore the vitality of the faith—flourished in the late-medieval period, as did claims to *mahdī*-ship and related millennial reverberations. Al-Bisṭāmī's interest in these topics is indicated by his citations in *Shams al-āfāq* of the Damascene scholar, bureaucrat, and apocalyptic seer Ibn Ṭalḥah (d. 652/1254);[46] his discussions of *mujaddid*s and methods for divining the date of the eschaton in his work on calendrics and related topics *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk,* completed in 833/1429–30; and his *Miftāḥ al-jafr al-jāmiʿ wa-miṣbāḥ al-nūr al-lāmiʿ,* completed the year before *Shams al-āfāq* in 825/1421–22, which Fleischer describes as "[a] compendium of apocalypses current during the rule of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt and Syria… with some materials drawing on Crusade-era traditions… [and] several prophetic works attributed to Ibn Arabi, to which Bistami gave definitive literary form."[47] It is in the context of this climate of perceived spiritual decline and reciprocal millennial expectation that al-Bisṭāmī's project in *Shams al-āfāq*—of reconfiguring lettrism as a science accessible to the learned class rather than just a secretive spiritual elite—should be understood.

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[43] Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 7a.

[44] Numerous transmissions and variants of the hadith can be found. See, for example, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, nos. 3650 and 3651 (the second and third entries in *Bāb faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī*).

[45] Eerik Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ Al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122 (2002): 481–505.

[46] On whom see Mohammad Ahmad Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition: Divination, Prophecy and the End of Time in the 13th Century Eastern Mediterranean" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2008).

[47] Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom," 238.

Al-Bisṭāmī on the Mamluk Occult Scene

Al-Bisṭāmī's efforts were a crucial part of the transitioning of lettrism from the confines of esotericist Sufi reading communities into a broader readership among the Mamluk era's new class of scholar-bureaucrats—who often also were involved in Sufism as well, whether from standpoints of literary curiosity or active involvement in then-consolidating Sufi *ṭarīqah*s such as the Shādhilīyah or Qādirīyah—and even into the courts of ruling military elites. It is important to note, however, that *Shams al-āfāq* represents a culmination of that process rather than its inception. It is clear from al-Nuwayrī and al-Qalqashandī's mentions of al-Būnī and lettrism that the science had already gained a degree of visibility among learned audiences. As for ruling elites, al-Bisṭāmī himself testifies to the sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's (r. 784–801/1382–99, with a brief interruption in 791/1389) interest in lettrism, noting that a number of lettrists at the sultan's court had dedicated books on the topic to the sultan, presumably in return for his patronage. In *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk,* al-Bisṭāmī states:

> A group from among the Sufis and a coterie of the most skillful of the lettrists put down books in his [Barqūq's] name… In them were effective prayers, healing medicines, lordly names, Quranic secrets, luminescent magical squares, and Solomonic charms of which none have need save kings, nobles, and the leaders of the scholars, the gems [of society]. In them is that regarding the outcomes of actions, the extension of the reigns of kings, and other such things that are made manifest to the people of luminous vision and luminescent inner-selves.[48]

He then briefly discusses three of these luminaries and their works for Barqūq, including two titles that seem to have been specifically concerned with Barqūq and his reign as sultan, and were likely lettrist analyses of his political destiny:

> Among them [the books] were *Kitāb al-Kanz al-bāhir fī sharḥ ḥurūf al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* by our shaykh and imam, the shaykh, the imam, the master of his age and singular one of his time Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī, may God sanctify his innermost being. *Kitāb Lawāmiʿ al-burūq fī salṭanat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq* by the shaykh, the imam, the master Abī Muḥammad Makhlūf ibn ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Ḥintawī(?) al-Jannātī al-Mālikī,[49] may God enlighten his innermost being. And

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[48] Al-Bisṭāmī, "Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk," Topkapı MS 1597, fol. 132a–b.

[49] The vocalization of al-Ḥintawī is uncertain. The present author has been unable thus far to locate this figure in the standard biographical sources, even despite the unusual combination of

the shaykh and great master Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Akhlāṭī, may God enlighten his innermost being, wrote for him [Barqūq] a comprehensive book *[kitāban jāmiʿan],* though I never examined it with satisfactory care despite the length of my stay in Cairo and my familiarity with many of its exquisite qualities. Among them [Akhlāṭī's books] were *Kitāb al-Kanz al-makhzūn* and other such among so many that if I mentioned them all the book would grow in length and we would abandon brevity for length and logorrhea.[50]

Al-Bisṭāmī himself was not present at Barqūq's court, as he seems to have arrived in Egypt only in 805/1402–3—the earliest date he mentions having been in Egypt in *Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil.* The legacy of the lettrist coterie at Barqūq's court nonetheless must have shaped and helped facilitate his aspirations toward reconfiguring lettrism for the literate upper classes. Certainly, the prestige afforded by Barqūq's apparent fascination with lettrism would have helped generate wider interest in it, notwithstanding the stern disapproval of the topic on the part of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), another of Barqūq's courtiers.[51]

Two of the lettrist authors al-Bisṭāmī mentions as having been at Barqūq's court are of particular interest. The first is Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūmī (fl. 810/1407[52]), a Sufi lettrist from Tunis a number of whose works are still extant in manuscript.[53] As we will see below, al-Bisṭāmī is particularly at pains to affiliate himself with al-Kūmī, whom he discusses and praises at length in *Shams al-āfāq.* The second is Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Akhlāṭī (d. 799/1397), a physician, alchemist, and lettrist who loomed large in the occult scene of late eighth/fourteenth-century Cairo, but who is not much discussed in *Shams al-āfāq,* and whom al-Bisṭāmī seems to distance himself from somewhat in the excerpt above from *Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil.*

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names Makhlūf ibn ʿAlī ibn Maymūn.

[50] Al-Bisṭāmī, "Naẓm al-sulūk," fol. 132b.

[51] For Ibn Khaldūn's discussion of lettrism see *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 3:171ff. For discussions of his views on occultism generally see Mushegh Asatrian, "Ibn Khaldun on Magic and the Occult," *Iran and the Caucasus: Research Papers from the Caucasian Centre for Iranian Studies, Yerevan* 7 (2003): 73–123; James Morris, "An Arab Machiavelli? Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Politics in Ibn Khaldun's Critique of Sufism," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 8 (2009): 242–91. The present author is currently preparing a new analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's anti-occult polemic in the *Muqaddimah* in light of this occultist coterie at Barqūq's court, and taking into consideration certain codical and textual details of autograph copies of the work. It will appear shortly as part of the *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg Working Papers* series.

[52] Per Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur,* S2:358.

[53] See, for example, al-Kūmī's "Taysīr al-maṭālib wa-raghbat al-ṭālib" (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Laleli 1594/1); "Risālat al-Hū" *(*Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Resid efendi 608/3); "Al-Īmāʾ ilá ʿilm al-asmāʾ fī sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusná (Dār al-Kutub MS 1524 Taṣawwuf).

Al-Akhlāṭī lived in Cairo in the latter part of the eighth/fourteenth century, having come to the city at the behest of Barqūq in order to treat (unsuccessfully) the sultan's ailing son. He is dealt with only tersely in the Arabic biographical dictionaries, but is considered at greater length in Persian and Ottoman-Turkish sources, which Binbaş discusses in detail.[54] Nothing is certain regarding al-Akhlāṭī's early life. Ibn Ḥajar states that he was raised in Iran, and Binbaş raises the possibility that he was related to the Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn al-Akhlāṭī who attended some audition sessions for Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* that were presided over by the great shaykh himself in Damascus in 633/1235–36. Ibn Ḥajar reports that after arriving in Cairo al-Akhlāṭī never left his house on the Nile but received many visitors there, including Barqūq himself, who spoke from atop his horse while al-Akhlāṭī responded from his rooftop—a shockingly informal exchange judging by Ibn Ḥajar's tone. He further claims that al-Akhlāṭī was involved in alchemy and associated with Shiʿism *(al-rafḍ),* that he did not attend the Friday prayer, and that some of his followers believed he was the *mahdī.*[55] Among al-Akhlāṭī's disciples in Cairo were such visitors to the city as the aforementioned Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turkah, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, and Badr al-Dīn al-Simāwī—the latter of whom he seems to have had a particularly significant impact on. Though al-Bisṭāmī arrived too late to have studied with al-Akhlāṭī, he certainly would have known of him—and other occultists at Barqūq's court—through his own relationships with al-Akhlāṭī's students, his fellow *ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ.*

A few works in Persian by al-Akhlāṭī on lettrism and alchemy survive in manuscript, which Binbaş describes as "rather short and instructive treatises instead of long theoretical pieces."[56] Among them is *Risālah-yi jafr-i jāmiʿah,* "a short manual on how to write a book of jafr," a prophetic-divinatory text that would be commissioned of a practitioner by a ruler to enable him to have knowledge of things to come. The crafting of such a powerful book was no small affair. Only a *sayyid* (a descendent of the Prophet Muḥammad) could accomplish it, per al-Akhlāṭī, and doing so required "one thousand and one days in seclusion" and a strict regimen of fasting and writing.[57] The *kitāban jāmiʿan* that al-Bisṭāmī refers to al-Akhlāṭī having written for Barqūq indeed may have been such a book of *jafr,* though perhaps it was merely a rendition of the instructions for making one. In either case it seems strange, at first glance, that al-Bisṭāmī goes out of his way to mention that he never took the time to truly read this book, despite his lengthy stay(s) in

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[54] Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks,* 114–40.

[55] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr,* ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Deccan, 1967), 3:336–38.

[56] Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks,* 152.

[57] Ibid.

Cairo. The explanation may lie in the fact that al-Akhlāṭī's star pupil, Badr al-Dīn al-Simāwī, who at one time was chief judge for the Ottoman army, was a spiritual leader of a millenarian rebellion against the Ottoman state, resulting in his execution in 818/1416.[58] Fleischer suggests that al-Bisṭāmī's close association with Badr al-Dīn necessitated that he retreat to the Mamluk territories during these troubles to escape any negative repercussions.[59] A similar sense of caution may have inspired him to de-emphasize his relationship to al-Akhlāṭī, and to instead favor a narrative of himself as an inheritor and interpreter of al-Kūmī and other Sufis' teachings on the science of letters and names.

The best sense of the Mamluk occult scene as al-Bisṭāmī experienced it is conveyed in his account of his own education and initiation into lettrism. In what amounts to a performance of the theme of book-learning and mystical inspiration as the twin pillars of occult knowledge, this account takes the form of a record of al-Bisṭāmī's formal readings of various lettrist texts—i.e., of his having read or heard texts in the presence of either their authors or shaykhs in direct lines of transmission from their authors (*qaraʾa ʿalá* or *samiʿa ʿalá*)—interspersed with his visionary encounters with the Prophet and other spiritual authorities. The implication is that these events are linked, the readings somehow precipitating the visionary experiences. This relationship is made explicit at the climax of the narrative, where a reading of the great Maghribī Sufi master Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī's (d. 656/1258) *Ḥizb al-baḥr* triggers a dream-encounter with the Prophet in which the Prophet bestows complete knowledge of lettrism upon al-Bisṭāmī.

The section of the introduction to *Shams al-āfāq* in which al-Bisṭāmī details the chains of transmission (*isnāds*) that vouchsafe his knowledge of lettrism begins with a chain stretching from himself, through al-Kūmī, and back to the Prophet. It is similar to chains—accompanied by brief biographical/hagiographical accounts—he provides later in the text for a number of authorities from earlier generations whom he draws on in the book, including al-Būnī, al-Shādhilī, and Ibn Ṭalḥah, along with the Western Sufi-lettrist Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarāllī (d. 638/1240), the illuminationist mystic-philosopher al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 587/1191), the famous Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), the great Sufi martyr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), and others.[60] The vocabulary of transmission employed is familiar from the hadith sciences and other discourses, and implies the oral/aural imparting of knowledge:

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[58]For a recent and detailed discussion of these events, see Dimitri Kastritsis, "The Şeyh Bedreddin Uprising in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413," in *Political Initiatives "from the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII, a Symposium Held in Rethymno 9–11 January 2009,* ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno, 2012), 221–38.

[59]Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom," 232.

[60]Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 16bff.

> I took [knowledge of] the science of letters and magic squares, through the tongue of wisdom and tastings, from the teacher of the horizons, the shaykh, the imam, the knower of God and sign unto God, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī, may God give him to drink from the pools of kindness and make him to dwell in the gardens of Paradise. He took from the shaykh Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Duhhān. He took from the shaykh Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Khāmī [or al-Jāmī], and he took from the shaykh Abū al-ʿAzāʿim Māḍī. He took from the shaykh, the pole, the helper, the unique one, the gatherer … Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. He took from the shaykh, the pole, the helper, the unique one, the gatherer Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh al-Ḥasanī al-Nārimī(?). He took from the shaykh Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī. He took from pole after pole to the Imam Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī. He was the first of the poles, and he took from his grandfather the Messenger of God (God's blessings and peace be upon him).[61]

Following this initial statement of al-Kūmī's credentials, al-Bisṭāmī then recounts his arrival in Alexandria in 811/1408–9, and three meetings in which he "read" *(qaraʾa ʿalá)* some of al-Kūmī's works with someone who had read them in the presence of al-Kūmī:

> When I arrived on the scene in Alexandria in the year 811 I read the book *Taysīr al-maṭālib* in the presence of the shaykh the imam Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maghribī, the imam of the al-ʿArabī Mosque there. He read it in the presence of its author the shaykh, the imam, the gnostic, the learned one, the teacher of his age and the tongue of his time Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh [ibn] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī, may God consecrate his innermost being.[62]

The fact that al-Bisṭāmī places these two different types of transmission statements one after the other—the first involving a line of face-to-face meetings between past masters reaching back to the Prophet, and the second documenting the transmission of books—is important, as it implies the passage of lettrist knowledge from primarily oral/aural transmission into books. The passage is not

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[61] Ibid., fol. 9a.

[62] Ibid., fol. 9b. Though al-Bisṭāmī's use of *akhadhtu* implies face-to-face contact with al-Kūmī, it is possible that his claim to have "taken" from al-Kūmī "through the tongue of wisdom and tastings" implies that their meeting was spiritual rather than physical.

absolute, of course, as al-Bisṭāmī is still highlighting his participation in book-transmission practices featuring the circulation of texts between human and written media, but it marks a transition from an ancient way of transmitting knowledge to a more recent one, a transition that renders legitimate al-Bisṭāmī's further acts of appropriation and written synthesis in *Shams al-āfāq.*

Al-Bisṭāmī's narrative then jumps to 815/1412–13 in Damascus, where he again reads al-Kūmī at one step of remove. This time the transmitter is Musāʿid ibn Sārī al-Ḥawārī (d. of the plague 819/1416–17), an ascetic shaykh and *muḥaddith* who spent the last part of his life in a village outside Damascus, where he received many visitors. Ibn Ḥajar notes that he also specialized in *ʿilm al-mīqāt,* the science of timekeeping attuned to Islamic ritual needs that Sabra associates especially with the allegedly anti-occult "jurist-scientists" of the period.[63] In this case, notably, the readings precipitate a sighting—perhaps visionary—of "the Pole of the Levant,"[64] as well as dream-sightings of the Prophet:

> In the year 815 when I entered the city of Damascus (may God protect it) I heard—from the shaykh, the imam, the gnostic, the jurist, the trustworthy one, the continuator of the scholars, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Musāʿid ibn Sārī ibn Masʿūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Raḥmat al-Ḥawārī al-Ḥimyarī, in the village of Shaʿbā in the southern pastures—the book *Taysīr al-maṭālib* and the book *Al-Īmāʾ ilá ʿilm al-asmāʾ* and the book *Sirr al-jamāl* and the book *Al-Kanz al-bāhir fī sharḥ ḥurūf al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* and the book *Iẓhār al-rumūz wa-ibdāʿ al-kunūz* and the treatise *Al-Hū.* He [Musāʿid] had read them in the presence of their author the shaykh the imam Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kūmī. In it [the reading session, the village?] I saw the Pole of the Levant. And I saw the Messenger of God (God's blessings and peace be upon him) in the year 815 in a dream in Damascus: he was standing, combing his beard (God's blessings and peace be upon him). I also saw him a second time that night in a dream.[65]

The coinciding of the readings and visions seems intended to signal that the readings of al-Kūmī, properly conducted under the authority of shaykhs who had

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[63] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr,* 7:248–49. For Sabra see footnote 8 supra.

[64] The hierarchy of the saints, of which the Pole is the living head, is "invisible" in the sense that its members and their rank are unknown to anyone who is not himself or herself high in the hierarchy; according to some theories none but the highest-ranking members are even certain of their own membership. For him to have seen the Pole, then, might indicate either that he recognized him in person as such, or that he had a vision of him.

[65] Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 9b.

studied directly with the author, were instigating a deeper connection between al-Bisṭāmī, the invisible hierarchy of saints of which the Pole is the living head, and the Prophet.

Al-Bisṭāmī seemingly gives priority to mentioning his readings of al-Kūmī's works in order to emphasize his closeness to the shaykh. That accomplished, the account then moves back in time to Cairo in 807/1404–5 and two readings he undertook there with the shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāʿah (d. 819/1416–17). One is a work by an author named Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Nadrūmī (d. 807/1404–5).[66] The other is al-Būnī's collection of astrologically-timed *duʿa*'s for accomplishing a variety of material and spiritual ends, *Al-Lumʿah al-nūrānīyah fī awrād al-rabbānīyah*:

> When I was in Cairo (may God Most High protect it from His over-powering punishment) in the year 807 I read, in the presence of the shaykh the imam Abū ʿAbd Allāh ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāʿah al-Kinānī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dimashqī (may God have mercy on him), the book *Qabs al-anwār wa-jāmiʿ al-asrār*. He read it in the presence of its author the shaykh the knower of God Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Nadrūmī. I also read, in the presence of the shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Jamāʿah, the book *Al-Lumʿah al-nūrānīyah fī al-awrād al-rabbānīyah* and others like that of the wondrous sciences and strange subtleties.[67]

The identity of the shaykh who presided over the readings is noteworthy. ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāʿah (d. 819/1416–17) was a scion of the Ibn Jamāʿah scholarly dynasty, and his immediate forebears had served for three generations in some of the highest civilian offices of Mamluk Cairo and Jerusalem, and also were known for their devotion to Sufism. ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad's great-grand-father, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 733/1333), served as the Shafiʿi grand qadi of Cairo and *shaykh al-shuyūkh* of the Sufi associations on and off between 690/1291 and 727/1327, and his grandfather, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 767/1366), and paternal uncle, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 790/1388), had similarly illustrious careers.[68] He was also an important teacher of the noted historian Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852/1449). Although the Ibn Jamāʿah family's power in Cairo waned during ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad's lifetime, the Syrian branch of the family maintained a high standing in Damascus and Jerusalem well into the Ottoman period under

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[66]On whom see Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn,* ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā and Rifʿat Bīlga (Istanbul, 1941–43), no. 1315.

[67]Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 9b.

[68]Kamal Salibi, "The Banū Jamāʿa: A Dynasty of Shāfiʿite Jurists in the Mamlūk Period," *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 97–103.

the *nisbah* al-Nābulusī. ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), one of the great interpreters of both Ibn al-ʿArabī and the mystic poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ, was in fact a distant relation of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad.[69] Notably, as Knysh has documented, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah once issued an extremely harsh condemnation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's esotericist masterpiece *Fuṣūs al-ḥikam,* denying the author's claim that the text was divinely inspired, declaring that Iblīs was its true source, and "advis[ing] the ruler that all copies of the Fusus and other writings containing similar statements be destroyed in order to protect the community from a great temptation."[70] The contrasting attitudes of the two Ibn Jamāʿahs—over the space of a few generations—is credible evidence of a shift during that time toward the wider acceptance of al-Būnī and Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings.

Lest it be assumed that al-Bisṭāmī was only receiving knowledge and texts during this period, it is important to note that he was also composing and transmitting new works on lettrism, often at the behest of various military and scholarly elites, as is recorded in *Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil*. In Cairo in 805/1402–3, for example, he composed what he refers to as "a book on the occult properties of a 100 by 100 square"—which is to say a mathematical magic square with 100 rows and 100 columns—for an *atabeg* by the name of Yashbak.[71] And at the behest of various shaykhs and qadis he presides over a number of readings of the two works that ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah licensed him to transmit, al-Būnī's *al-Lumʿah al-nūrānīyah* and al-Nadrūmī's *Qabs al-anwār wa-jāmiʿ al-asrār.*[72] This role as a lettrist authority making the rounds of various elite households—an authority he constantly supplemented by gaining ever more credentials through participating in further readings—is key to understanding al-Bisṭāmī's professional career.

When al-Bisṭāmī's account in *Shams al-āfāq* proceeds to 808/1405–6, we find him, presumably still in Cairo, reading four works with the shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿīsh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Sammāk al-Umawī al-Andalusī, *Kayfīyat al-ittifāq fī tarkīb al-awfāq, Lawāmiʿ al-taʿrīf fī matāliʿ al-taṣrīf, Al-Mawāhib al-rabbānīyah fī asrār al-rūḥānīyah,* and *Al-Istinṭāqāt;* he also notes having heard *Kayfīyat al-ittifāq* with Yaʿīsh's disciple Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Miṣrī. Again marking the transition between oral/aural and book-transmission, he traces the *isnād* from Yaʿīsh back through a classic Iraqi Sufi line that includes such figures as ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, Junayd, Maʿrūf al-Karkhī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and of course the Prophet. Though the Andalusī Yaʿīsh serves as al-Bisṭāmī's

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[69]Elizabeth Sirriyeh, "Whatever Happened to the Banū Jamāʿa? The Tail of a Scholarly Family in Ottoman Syria," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28 (2001): 55–64.

[70]Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition,* 123–24.

[71]Al-Bisṭāmī, "Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil wa-ghurrat minhāj al-wasāʾil," Süleymaniye MS Nuruosmaniye 4905, fol. 28a.

[72]Ibid., fol. 25a, for example.

point of entry to this chain, its function in terms of al-Bisṭāmī's attempts to position himself as an inheritor of Sufi knowledge may be to establish his bona fides with regard to the "sober," shariʿah-minded Sufi tradition associated with figures such as Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) and al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910). This tradition had long been dominant in Egyptian Sufism, and by the ninth/fifteenth century existed in an sometimes-uneasy relationship with the western strain of Sufism represented by figures such as Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Shādhilī, with which lettrism was most strongly associated.

Al-Bisṭāmī goes on to list a welter of further books and authorities with whom he interacted in 808/1405–6, giving the impression of ceaseless learning and initiatic activity.[73] He seems to claim to have taken a number of books from Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Durayhim: *Ghāyat al-mughnim fī al-ism al-aʿzam, Kanz al-durar fī ḥurūf awāʾil al-suwar, Sayr al-ṣarf fī sirr al-ḥarf,* and *Tāʾ al-taṣrīf wa-ḥallat al-taʿrīf.* This assertion is problematic, however, given that Ibn al-Durayhim—who indeed is remembered as a master of lettrism, among other topics—is commonly recorded to have died in 762/1361;[74] such that perhaps he means to say that he took these books from one of Ibn al-Durayhim's students. With one Sharaf al-Dīn al-Baghdādī he reads three books by Sharaf al-Dīn's teacher Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Minkalī al-ʿAlamī, *Kashf al-bayān fī maʿrifat ḥawādith al-zamān, Al-Bāqīyāt al-ṣāliḥāt fī burūz al-ummahāt,* and *Al-Sirr al-maṣūn wa-ʿilm al-maknūn.* He furthermore reads the aforementioned work written for Barqūq by Abū Muḥammad Makhlūf ibn ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Ḥintawī, *Al-Lawāmiʿ al-burūq fī salṭanat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq,* which he reads with its author. Finally, on the authority of the shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid al-Dimashqī, he reads two works by al-Dimashqī's teacher Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanafī al-Qudsī, *Kashf al-ishārāt al-ṣūfīyah wa-nashr al-bishārāt al-ismīyah al-muḥammadīyah* and *Al-Manḥ al-wahhābīyah al-rabbānīyah fī al-milḥ al-ismīyah al-muḥammadīyah.*

At this juncture, al-Bisṭāmī again complicates his chronology by returning to 807/1404–5. Here the jump in time has a dual narrative purpose. On the one hand, the story he unfolds is clearly the dramatic culmination of the long-term initiatic process he is describing throughout this discourse. On the other, the initial and concluding events in this final story are themselves separated in time, with the climax occurring at the end of 826/1423. The events to hand are a series of initiatic book-transmission experiences, three of which occur in the *mundus imaginalis* of dreams, and one in the world of flesh. Notably, all four occur in Cairo, that city of books and initiations.

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[73] Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 10a–b.

[74] For example, the *tarjamah* in Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-al-mustaʿribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn* (Beirut, 1980), 5:6.

In the first event, in 807/1404–5, al-Bisṭāmī dreams that he attends a reading of al-Shādhilī's great supererogatory liturgy, *Ḥizb al-baḥr,* which has long been credited with having various powers of healing and benediction. The reading is presided over by the shaykh Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūrānī (d. 768/1367)—a Sufi of Kurdish origin who was an important figure in Egyptian Sufism many decades before al-Bisṭāmī arrived[75]—and occurs at a site in dream-Cairo parallel to the waking city, the *miḥrāb* at Qanāṭir al-Sabāʿ. When he awakes al-Bisṭāmī finds he has memorized the poem and "witnessed the power of its secrets." From that point forward his soul longs to audition the poem in a line of transmission back to al-Shādhilī. It seems that he remains nineteen years in this state of longing, until "the hand of divine wisdom and eternal gnosis" guides him to a meeting with one Tāj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Shādhilī. Al-Bisṭāmī broaches the subject of auditioning the *Ḥizb* with this master, and the shaykh produces for him a codex bearing a certificate in the hand of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (who, al-Bisṭāmī has told us elsewhere in the book, took the science of letters from al-Būnī), recording his having read/heard the work with al-Shādhilī. He "hears" the work from that codex and thus joins the chain of transmission:

> In the year 807 when I was in Cairo I saw in a dream the shaykh of the wayfarers and imam of the ascetics, the scholar, the learned one Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūrānī. He was sitting in the prayer niche in Qanāṭir al-Sabāʿ and surrounding him was a group and they were reading *Ḥizb al-baḥr* by the shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. I awoke from the dream and verily I had memorized it [the *Ḥizb*] and verily I had witnessed the beneficent powers of its secrets, the wonder of wonders... For a very long time my soul was in anticipation of acquiring it by means of audition [through a line of transmission leading back] to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, until the hand of divine wisdom and eternal gnosis guided me to a meeting with the shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Shādhilī. I asked him about the Shādhilī chain *[silsilah],* and about *Ḥizb al-baḥr* and other such things, and he showed me a book upon which was the signature [i.e., on an audition certificate] of the shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mursī in Cairo [who had auditioned the work] in the presence of the shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. I was joined to the chain with it [the book, or with him, Ibrāhīm] through audition, and he licensed me with a comprehensive license

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[75]On whom see Ahmed El Shamsy, "Returning to God through His Names: A Fourteenth-Century Sufi Treatise," in *Essays in Islamic Philology, History, and Philosophy,* ed. William Granara et al. (Berlin, 2016), 204–28.

for everything that he could transmit. To God belongs grace and charity.[76]

Soon thereafter, in the final month of 826/1423, he has a dream in which he sees the Prophet sitting in a house in dream-Cairo. He asks the Prophet to speak to him about *Ḥizb al-baḥr.* The Prophet points to the letter *bāʾ,* and in that moment al-Bisṭāmī comprehends the Mystery of union with divine, and loses himself in the beauty and luminosity of the Prophet's face. He then separates from the Prophet, and—still in the dream—encounters "one of the Shādhilī shaykhs," and informs the shaykh that the Prophet has given him permission to speak on behalf of the Shādhilīs. The shaykh replies: "I shall write for you a proclamation *[manshūr],*" which is to say a certificate, a license to transmit. Only then does al-Bisṭāmī awake, in flesh and stone Cairo, and in that moment realizes he has taken complete knowledge of the science of letters and names, a knowledge he explains in an ecstatic series of paired rhymes, culminating in the assertion that his knowledge of the science was transmitted on the authority of the Prophet, "he who unveiled the structure of the letters prior to the coming into being of the cosmic conditions of existence":

> In the wake of my auditioning of that mighty *ḥizb* I saw the Messenger of God (God's blessings and peace be upon him). It was in Cairo in the last part of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of 826. He was seated prominently in a house, and when I saw him I said, "O Messenger of God, speak of the discourse *[lisān]* of the Shādhilīs [i.e., *Ḥizb al-baḥr*]." He pointed to [the letter] *bāʾ* emphatically, and it was as eloquent an explanation as if he had spoken. I understood that he alluded to *bāʾ* as the union of the mystery of being and the mystery of the *logos.* And my breast opened and my heart expanded from the sublime beauty of his delicate brow and the luminosity of his splendid complexion that is the *qiblah* of all desires and the *kaʿbah* of all fervent prayers. When I parted from him (God's blessings and peace be upon him) I saw one of the Shādhilī shaykhs and I said to him, "Verily the Prophet (God's blessings and peace be upon him) has given me leave to speak on behalf of the Shādhilīs *[adhana lī bi-al-kalām ʿalá lisān al-Shādhilīyah].*" And he said to me, "I shall write for you a proclamation." I awoke from the sleep blameless. God had made of it [the dream] a genuine *taʾwīl* and a truthful discourse. And those sublime sciences and beautiful mysteries— verily I took [the knowledge of] their lettrist subtleties, numerical cryptograms, combinatory benefits, isolated and combinatory

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[76] Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 10b.

> workings [i.e., working with single letters or conjoined ones], and other such things from among the advantageous uses and greater goals. [All this] by means of the letters of their speech, the clues to their puzzles and the signposts to their treasures, and the chapters of their verses and the forms of their outermost limits. [All this] on the authority of the shaykh of shaykhs, the basis of the firmly-rooted foundations *(al-thābit li-qawāʿid al-rusūkh),* He who unveiled the structure of the letters prior to the coming into being of the cosmic conditions of existence *(wujūd kawnīyat al-ẓurūf).*[77]

Thus al-Bisṭāmī, through his readings in authorized lines of transmission of books by al-Kūmī, al-Būnī, and the other shaykhs and gnostics, achieves a beatific vision of the beauty of the Prophet's face, and with it comes the complete knowledge of lettrism, the basis of his authority to write *Shams al-āfāq.*

The spiritual experiences al-Bisṭāmī claims in his account of his initiation into lettrism—encounters with discarnate Sufi shaykhs of centuries past, a beatific vision of the Prophet, a dramatic experience of *kashf*—are noteworthy, but are hardly unprecedented in Sufi thought. What is extraordinary, however, is al-Bisṭāmī's intertwining of these tropes with the rituals of book-transmission and their accompanying bureaucracy of licenses to transmit texts—an admixture that manifests most fully in his dreaming and waking readings of *Ḥizb al-baḥr,* and in the figure of the dream-shaykh who promises to write a license declaring al-Bisṭāmī's authority to represent the knowledge of the Shādhilīyah following his climactic encounter with the Prophet.

Conclusion

In the phenomenology of revealed religions, there are inevitable eschatological implications to the disclosure of sacred knowledge that formerly had been held back from all but the most elect among the believers. In the *Zohar* and the culture of readers that surrounded it, for example, the secret Kabbalistic teachings of the great sages were represented as having been passed down covertly for a thousand years, such that, as Rachel Elior notes, "their revelation in the end of the thirteenth century and their dissemination in the following period signified the emergence of the messianic era."[78] Al-Bisṭāmī likewise invokes the impending end of time as licensing his encyclopedic project of synthesizing and making available teachings on the science of letters and names, a tradition represented as having been passed down in secret from the prophets and thence through lines

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[77] Chester Beatty MS 5076, fol. 10b–11a.

[78] Rachel Elior, "Not All Is in the Hands of Heaven: Eschatology and Kabbalah," in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition,* ed. Henning Ravenlow (Sheffield, 1997), 49–61.

of Sufi adepts. That this redounded to his benefit as someone who made a career of advising on lettrism and related topics to Mamluk and Ottoman elites speaks only to his divine election to the role of revelator, or so al-Bisṭāmī would have us think. In a period replete with *mahdī*s, and with the *hijrī* millennium an impending—if not quite near—event, this was his small but significant part in the closing acts of the cosmic drama.

I would argue that al-Bisṭāmī's efforts to authorize his synthesis and disclosure of lettrism are reflective not only of the rising millenarian sentiments of his time, but also of shifts taking place over the course of the Mamluk period in Muslim learning and Arabic-Islamic manuscript culture. The Arabic book, which throughout the earlier medieval period had been something of a material epiphenomenon of the teacher-student/master-disciple relationship, seems by the latter part of the Mamluk period to have gained a new integrity as a standalone source of knowledge. The great encyclopedias of the age, Mamluk-era copies of which typically were arranged for ease of use through nested arrays of headings and subheadings and by new habits of *mise-en-page* that allowed the eye to more quickly navigate the page, facilitated quick access to vast volumes of information for a reading public of busy scholar-bureaucrats.[79] Likewise, the ever increasing production of digests, commentaries, and anthological codices devoted to particular mystical, theological, and philosophic topics and viewpoints helped break the spell of the authoritative old codex filled with transmission certificates.

One area where this shift in the status of the book is most evident is with regard to the use of "audition" *(samāʿ)* and related practices of formal text-transmission. While such practices had their roots in early methods of hadith transmission, their use peaked in popularity between the sixth/twelfth and eighth/fourteenth centuries—particularly in the Bilād al-Shām and Egypt, where audition sessions became popular events attended not just by scholars, but by literate elites, craftspeople, and others wishing to extract some *barakah* from being read into lines of transmission linked to great scholars and mystics, and of course to the Prophet himself.[80] The ninth/fifteenth century, however, seems to have witnessed a decline in their use. This was due in part, perhaps, to the rise in popular-

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[79]Maaike Van Berkel, "The Attitude towards Knowledge in Mamlūk Egypt: Organisation and Structure of the Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā by Al-Qalqashandī (1355–1418)," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996,* ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden, 1997), 159–68.

[80]On the rise and decline of audition practices, see *Muʿjam al-samāʿāt al-Dimashqīyah: al-muntakhabah min sanat 550 ilá 750 H/1155 M ilá 1349 M,* ed. Stefan Leder, Yāsīn al-Sawwās, and Maʾmūn al-Ṣāgharjī (Damascus, 1996); Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh:, 2012), 60–70; Noah Gardiner, "Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad Al-Būnī and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2014), 125–31.

ity of the issuing of various types of *ijāzah* that relaxed the necessity for hearing books in their entirety, and that could license a student or disciple to teach whole corpora of their masters and masters' masters at the tic of a pen—a loosening of the more rigorous forms of transmission through which al-Bisṭāmī claims to have taken the science of letters and names from his earthly teachers.[81] Nonetheless, his assent to this more relaxed model of knowledge transmission with regard to his own works is evidenced by the *ijāzah* he wrote on the final leaf of Süleymani-ye MS Hekimoğlu 533, in Shawwāl 837/1434, for one Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Shāfiʿī al-Tirmidhī, granting him a license not only for *Shams al-āfāq,* which he had read in al-Bisṭāmī's presence, but for "all of my works and what is mine through knowledge and transmission *(mālī min dirāyah wa-riwāyah),* in accordance with the usual rules of the scholars *(ʿalá al-shurūṭ al-maʾlūfah bayn al-ʿulamāʾ),*" which is to say a license for the entirety of his corpus.[82]

As a key text in al-Bisṭāmī's larger project, *Shams al-āfāq* helps marks a crucial point in the history of lettrism, and indeed of Islamic occultism more broadly, wherein a science that had formerly been the reserve of small and discreet communities of practitioners was being mainstreamed, i.e., being made available to a much wider audience of literate and devout readers, as well as Turkish military-political elites. His lettrism might thus best be characterized as "post-esotericist" in the sense that its secret history—which is to say its history of having long been secret—was what rendered its exposure so significant. The encyclopedic nature of *Shams al-āfāq* was an indispensable element of this transition, a rendering limpid and accessible in book-form of what previously had been obscure, hidden, and scattered. As scholars such as Fleischer, Binbaş, and Melvin-Koushki have begun to show, lettrism and other of the occult sciences would go on to be essential to the "sacral power"[83] many early modern rulers sought to claim in constituting their authority to rule in a new, apocalyptic age. More broadly, they were key elements of what Shahab Ahmed describes as the "Sufi-philosophical amalgam" that characterized much early modern Islamic thought,[84] an emerging conviction of the accessibility of the powers of the visible and invisible worlds to human knowledge and agency.

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[81] On various types of *ijāzah* see George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981), 140–52; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 31–33. The gradual (and by no means total) replacement of the audition certificate (sometimes called *ijāzat al-samāʿ*) with these broader, looser forms of *ijāzah* is an area of inquiry that remains to be explored in detail.

[82] Hekimoğlu 533, fol. 151b.

[83] Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Astrology, Lettrism, Geomancy: The Occult-Scientific Methods of Post-Mongol Islamicate Imperialism," *The Medieval History Journal* 19, no. 1 (2016): 142–50.

[84] Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, 2016), 31 and passim.

Appendix: Al-Bisṭāmī's Occult Booklist in *Shams al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq*

The following is the list of 238 occult works that al-Bisṭāmī claims to have read during his studies in Egypt and the Shām. The versions of the list given in the two recensions of *Shams al-āfāq* vary in length, with only the first 128 titles being given in the earlier recension, as represented by Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 533, and the last 100 titles being added in Chester Beatty MS 5076, for a total of 238. Some variations in the titles themselves also occur between the two versions of the list, probably arising from the errors of copyists. As such, for the first 138 titles preference has been given to the spellings in Hekimoğlu 533—an authorial holograph—and variants from CB 5076 have been included in parentheses. The final 100 titles are given as they appear in CB 5076. Footnotes address instances where the author of a work is known to the present author or indicated in the title. It should be noted that several of these works are mentioned in Ḥājjī Khalīfah's *Kashf al-ẓunūn;* however, given the dearth of additional information in these listings, it is quite likely that Ḥājjī Khalīfah simply copied the titles from *Shams al-āfāq.*[85] *Nota bene* that another lengthy list of works on occult subjects appears at fol. 14b–17b of Süleymaniye MS Nuruosmaniye 4905, the unicum MS of al-Bisṭāmī's "Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil wa-ghurrat minhāj al-wasāʾil." Many of the titles overlap, but the list in "Durrat tāj al-rasāʾil" differs to the degree that it will require a separate study.

1. Shams maṭāliʿ al-qulūb wa-badr ṭawāliʿ al-ghuyūb
2. Nūr anwār al-qulūb wa-asrār al-ghurūb (al-ghuyūb)
3. Kaʿbat al-asrār wa-ʿArafāt al-anwār
4. Al-Sirr al-khafī wa-al-jawhar al-ʿalī
5. Sajanjal al-arwāḥ wa-nuqūsh al-alwāḥ
6. Al-Washy al-maṣūn wa-al-luʾluʾ al-maknūn fī maʿrifat ʿilm al-khaṭṭ alladhī bayn al-kāf wa-al-nūn
7. Al-Sirr al-khafī fī ʿilm al-ātá (al-ʿilm al-ālī)
8. Qāf al-anwār wa-jīm al-asrār
9. Ṭilsam al-ashbāḥ fī kanz al-arwāḥ
10. Laṭāʾif al-asmāʾ fī ishārāt al-musammá
11. Sitr al-asrār wa-nūr al-anwār (Sīn al-asrār wa-nūn al-anwār)
12. Al-Sirr al-bāhir fī ramz al-fākhir (Al-Sirr al-fākhir fī ramz al-bāhir)
13. Ḥall al-rumūz fī fatḥ al-kunūz
14. Al-Sirr al-makhzūn fī al-ʿilm al-maknūn
15. Laṭāʾif al-āyāt wa-nuqūsh al-bayyināt
16. Nayl al-ishrāq fī ʿilm al-awfāq

[85]Confusingly, however, he mistakenly notes for many of them that they are mentioned by al-Būnī, by which he almost certainly means al-Bisṭāmī!

17. Kanz al-alwāḥ fī sirr al-afrāḥ
18. Laṭāʾif al-khafīyah fī al-asrār al-ʿĪsawīyah
19. Ḥadāʾiq al-asmāʾ fī ḥaqāʾiq al-musammá
20. Al-Durr al-manẓūm fī al-sirr al-maktūm
21. Asrār al-adwār wa-tashkīl al-anwār
22. Tanzīl al-arwāḥ fī qawālib al-ashbāḥ
23. Sirr al-asrār wa-baṣāʾir al-anwār
24. Yāʾ (Ṭāʾ) al-taṣrīf wa-hullat al-taʿrīf
25. Sirr al-jamāl fī anwār al-jalāl
26. Al-Nasamāt al-fāʾiḥah fī asrār al-Fātiḥah
27. Fakk al-rumūz al-suryānīyah fī fatḥ al-kunūz al-furqānīyah
28. Al-Saʿd al-akbar fī al-sirr al-anwar
29. Al-Sirr al-rabbānī fī ʿālam al-jismānī
30. Tuḥfat al-abrār fī daʿawāt al-layl wa-al-nahār
31. Al-Sirr al-asná fī asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusná
32. Kaʿbat al-jamāl wa-ʿArafāt al-kamāl
33. Bahjat al-asrār fī sharḥ lumʿat al-anwār
34. Al-Adwiyah al-shāfīyah wa-al-adʿiyah al-kāfīyah
35. Barqat al-anwār wa-lumʿat al-asrār
36. Kanz al-asrār wa-dhakhāʾir al-abrār
37. Al-ʿIlm al-akbar wa-al-sirr al-afkhar
38. Rawḍat al-asrār wa-nuzhat al-abṣār
39. Qabs al-anwār wa-jāmiʿ al-asrār
40. Al-ʿIqd al-manẓūm wa-al-sirr al-maktūm (second title-element missing in CB 5076)
41. Al-Bāqiyāt al-ṣāliḥāt fī burūz al-ummahāt
42. Salāsil al-anwār fī natāʾij al-afkār (al-adhkār)
43. Al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar wa-al-tiryāq al-akbar
44. Al-Laṭāʾif al-abjadīyah fī asrār al-aḥmadīyah
45. Al-Kanz al-bāhir fī sharḥ ḥurūf al-Malik al-Ẓāhir[86]
46. Nūn (Nūr) anwār al-maʿārif wa-sīn (sanan) asrār al-ʿawārif
47. Qalam al-asrār wa-lawḥ al-anwār
48. Sirr (Sayr) al-ṣarf fī sirr al-ḥarf
49. Washy al-asmāʾ wa-luʾluʾ al-musammá
50. Al-Ism al-aʿẓam wa-al-nūr al-aqwam
51. Ramz al-ḥaqāʾiq al-ʿibrānīyah wa-kanz al-maʿārif al-suryānīyah

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[86]By Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kūmī al-Tūnisī; see p. 17 supra.

52. Qabs al-iqtidāʾ ilá wafq al-saʿādah wa-najm al-ihtidāʾ ilá sharaf al-siyādah[87]
53. Kayfiyat al-ittifāq fī tarkīb al-awfāq
54. Ḥall al-rumūz fī fatḥ al-kunūz
55. Sawāṭiʿ al-anwār fī lawāmiʿ al-asrār
56. Manbaʿ al-farāʾid (al-fawāʾid) wa-ʿuyūn al-fawāʾid (al-farāʾid)
57. Al-Sirr al-abhar fī al-qamar al-anwar (al-azhar)
58. Ṣuwar al-arwāḥ (al-riyāḥ) al-nūrānīyah fī suwar al-ashbāḥ al-ẓulmānīyah
59. Mawāqif al-ghāyāt fī asrār al-riyāḍāt[88]
60. Hidāyat al-qāṣidīn wa-nihāyat al-wāṣilīn[89]
61. Kanz al-qāṣidīn ilá asrār al-saʿādah wa-ramz al-wāṣilīn ilá anwār al-siyādah
62. Fatḥ al-kunūz al-ḥarfīyah wa-fakk al-rumūz al-ʿadadīyah
63. Laṭāʾif al-wafqīyah al-nūrānīyah wa-al-maʿārif al-ʿadadīyah al-rūḥānīyah
64. Al-Lumʿah al-nūrānīyah fī awrād al-rabbānīyah[90]
65. Al-Barqah al-rabbānīyah fī al-asrār al-furqānīyah
66. Mashriq al-anwār fī maghrib al-asrār
67. Fawātiḥ al-jamāl wa-rawāʾiḥ al-kamāl
68. Miftāḥ al-kunūz fī ḥall al-rumūz
69. Majmaʿ al-aqlām al-rasmīyah wa-manbaʿ al-asrār al-ḥikmīyah
70. Mawāhib al-Raḥmān wa-ʿaṭāyā al-Mannān
71. Washy al-jamāl wa-luʾluʾ al-kamāl
72. Rawḍ al-maʿārif wa-riyāḍ al-laṭāʾif
73. Shams al-saʿādah wa-qamar al-siyādah
74. Ghāyat al-maghnam fī al-ism al-aʿẓam
75. Kanz al-anwār wa-ramz al-asrār
76. Rawḍ al-asrār al-ʿadadīyah wa-hawḍ al-anwār al-ḥarfīyah
77. Lawāmiʿ al-burūq fī salṭanat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq[91]
78. ʿArūs al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-awfāq
79. Al-Nūr al-lāmiʿ wa-al-sirr al-jāmiʿ
80. Al-Hayʾah al-jāmiʿah wa-al-barqah al-lāmiʿah
81. Shams al-asrār al-rabbānīyah wa-qamar al-anwār al-ʿirfānīyah

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[87] A work commonly, though falsely, attributed to Aḥmad al-Būnī. See Gardiner, "Esotericism in a manuscript culture," 26; Jean-Charles Coulon, "La magie islamique et le «corpus bunianum» au Moyen Âge" (Ph.D. diss., Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2013), 1:500ff.

[88] By Aḥmad al-Būnī. See, for example, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Aya Sofya 2160/2.

[89] By Aḥmad al-Būnī. See, for example, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Aya Sofya 2160/1.

[90] By Aḥmad al-Būnī. See, for example, Chester Beatty MS Ar. 3168/5.

[91] By Abī Muḥammad Makhlūf ibn ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Ḥintawī al-Jannātī al-Mālikī. See pp. 16–17 supra.

82. Mishkāt al-asrār wa-misbāḥ al-anwār
83. Sirr al-uns wa-al-jamāl wa-nūr al-basṭ wa-al-kamāl
84. Falak al-saʿādah wa-quṭb al-siyādah
85. Al-Ramz al-aʿẓam wa-al-kanz al-muṭalsam
86. Kashf al-sirr al-maṣūn (al-maknūn) fī waṣf al-nūr al-makhzūn
87. Narjis al-asmāʾ wa-yāsmīn al-musammá
88. Shawāriq al-anwār wa-bawāriq al-asrār
89. Taysīr al-maṭālib wa-sakhīr(?) al-maʿārib
90. Fakhr al-asmāʾ wa-ṣubḥ al-musammá
91. Al-Durr al-munaẓẓam fī sharḥ al-ism al-aʿẓam[92]
92. ʿUmdat al-ishrāq fī ʿilm al-awfāq
93. Al-Ṭilsam al-maṣūn wa-al-luʾluʾ al-makhzūn
94. Al-Laṭāʾif al-ʿulwīyah fī al-asrār al-ʿĪsawīyah
95. Miftāḥ al-raqq al-manshūr wa-miṣbāḥ al-bayt al-maʿmūr
96. Badr riyāḍ al-maʿārif wa-shams samāʾ al-laṭāʾif
97. Al-Nafhah al-qudsīyah wa-al-fayhah al-miskīyah
98. Shams ruqūm al-dawāʾir wa-qamar rusūm al-baṣāʾir
99. Mustawjibat al-maḥāmid fī sharḥ khātim Abī Ḥāmid
100. Al-Īmāʾ ilá ʿilm al-asmāʾ[93]
101. Kanz al-durar fī ḥurūf awāʾil al-suwar
102. Lawāmiʿ al-taʿrīf fī maṭāliʿ al-taṣrīf
103. Al-Kashf al-bayān fī maʿrifat ḥawādith al-zamān
104. Risālat al-khafāʾ fīmā ẓahara wa-baṭana min al-khulafāʾ
105. Sirr al-jamāl wa-laṭāʾif al-kamāl
106. Al-Lawḥ al-dhahab fī asrār al-ṭalab
107. Sirr al-ṣawn fī ḥawādith al-kawn
108. Al-Ism al-maktūm wa-al-kanz al-makhtūm
109. Lumʿat al-anwār wa-barakat al-aʿmār
110. Al-mabādiʾ wa-al-ghāyāt fī asrār al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwīyāt
111. Al-??? (al-Manḥ) al-wahbīyah al-rabbānīyah fī al-??? (al-milḥ) al-ismīyah
    al-muḥammadanīyah al-nūrānīyah
112. Al-Sirr al-amjadī fī al-durr al-aḥmadī
113. Shifāʾ al-ṣudūr wa-al-abadān(?) (wa-al-aydhān) fī manāfiʿ al-Qurʾān
114. Badr riyāḍ al-maʿārif wa-shams ʿiyāḍ (ghiyāḍ) al-ʿawārif
115. Miftāḥ asrār al-ghuyūb wa-miṣbāḥ anwār al-qulūb
116. Ḥullat al-kamāl wa-hilyat al-jamāl
117. Iẓhār al-asrār wa-ibdāʾ al-anwār

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[92]Perhaps the work by Ibn Ṭalḥah, on whom see Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition."

[93]By Abū ʿAbd Allāh Kūmī. See, for example, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS Taṣawwuf 1954.

118. Shams al-arwāḥ wa-qamar al-ashbāḥ
119. Mabhaj(?) al-jamāl wa-manhaj al-kamāl
120. Al-Laṭāʾif al-laṭīfah
121. Kanz al-saʿādah al-ʿirfānīyah fī ramz al-siyādah al-rūḥānīyah
122. Al-Sirr al-jāmiʿ fī al-durr al-lāmiʿ
123. Sirr al-saʿādah fī ʿālam al-ghayb wa-al-shahādah
124. Al-Sirr al-khafī al-maknūn wa-al-nūr al-ʿalī al-makhzūn
125. Sirr al-jamāl al-bāhir (al-zāhir) wa-durr al-kamāl al-ẓāhir
126. Shams al-jamāl wa-badr al-kamāl
127. Al-Sirr (al-ism) al-afkham fī al-ism (al-sirr) al-aʿẓam
128. Nasīm al-ishārāt al-ṣūfīyah wa-sirr al-ʿibārāt al-kashfīyah
(LIST IN HEKIMOĞLU 533 ENDS HERE)
129. Al-Ḥadīqah al-sundusīyah wa-al-rawḍah al-narjisīyah
130. Al-Laṭāʾif al-khafīyah fī al-asrār al-muḥammadīyah
131. Rawḍat al-asrār al-zāhirah wa-dawḥat al-anwār al-bāhirah
132. Al-Adwiyah al-shāfīyah al-ṭāhirah wa-al-adʿiyah al-kāfīyah al-zāhirah
133. Shams al-asrār wa-ins al-abrār
134. ʿIlm [ʿAlam?] al-hudá fī asrār asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusná
135. Qalam asrār al-maʿārif wa-lawḥ anwār al-ʿawārif
136. ʿAlam al-hudá wa-asrār al-ihtidāʾ fī fahm sulūk maʿná asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusná[94]
137. Al-Durr al-munaẓẓam fī al-sirr al-aʿẓam
138. Kanz al-alwāḥ al-rūḥānīyah wa-sirr al-afrāḥ al-nūrānīyah
139. Ḥall rumūz al-asmāʾ wa-fakk kunūz al-musammá
140. ʿIlm [ʿAlam?] al-hudá fī sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusná
141. Al-Taraqqī ilá manāzil al-abrār fī kayfiyat al-ʿamal fī al-layl wa-al-nahār
142. Washy al-asrār al-jamālīyah wa-naqsh al-āthār al-jalālīyah
143. Maʿārif al-qulūb al-nūrānīyah wa-laṭāʾif al-ghuyūb al-rabbānīyah
144. Al-asrār al-shāfīyah al-rūḥānīyah wa-al-āthār al-kāfīyah al-nūrānīyah
145. Shams al-wiṣāl wa-ghurūs al-jamāl
146. Al-Ḥaqāʾiq al-subbuḥīyah wa-al-daqāʾiq al-quddūsīyah
147. Al-Barqah al-nūrānīyah fī al-asrār al-sulaymānīyah
148. Baḥr al-fawāʾid al-ḥarfīyah wa-sirr al-fawāʾid al-adadīyah
149. Zayn al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-awfāq
150. Bahjat al-āfāq fī ʿilm al-awfāq
151. Al-Sirr al-afkhar wa-al-kibrīt al-aḥmar
152. Mawāqīt al-baṣāʾir wa-laṭāʾif al-sarāʾir
153. Al-Laṭāʾif al-farīdah fī al-maʿārif al-mufīdah
154. Al-Kanz al-bāhir fī asrār ḥurūf al-ism al-Ẓāhir

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[94]By Aḥmad al-Būnī. See, for example, Süleymaniye MS Hamidiye 260/1.

155. Durrat tāj al-saʿādah wa-barqat minhāj al-siyādah

156. Iẓhār al-rumūz wa-ibdāʾ al-kunūz

157. Sirr al-jalāl

158. Al-Asrār al-khāfīyah wa-al-risālah al-murḍīyah fī sharḥ duʿāʾ al-Shādhilīyah

159. Sirr al-asrār wa muntahá ʿulūm al-abrār

160. Jāmiʿ al-laṭāʾif fī asrār al-ʿawārif

161. Lawāmiʿ al-anwār al-ʿirfānīyah wa-jawāmiʿ al-asrār al-rabbānīyah

162. Durrat al-āfāq fī asrār al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq

163. Munyat al-ṭālib li-aʿazz al-maṭālib

164. Risālat al-hū[95]

165. Al-Laṭāʾif al-rabbānīyah fī sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-nūrānīyah

166. Fawātiḥ al-asrār al-ilāhīyah wa-lawāʾiḥ al-anwār al-rabbānīyah

167. Asās al-ʿulūm

168. Kanz al-maʿānī fī asrār al-mathānī

169. Kashf asrār al-maʿānī wa-waṣf anwār al-maghānī

170. Shifāʾ al-qulūb bi-liqāʾ al-maḥbūb

171. Kanz al-saʿādah fī sharaf al-siyādah

172. Shams al-jamāl

173. Kīmīyāʾ al-saʿādah al-rabbānīyah wa-sīmīyāʾ al-rūḥānīyah

174. Laṭāʾif al-asmāʾ

175. ʿAjāʾib al-ittifāq fī gharāʾib al-awfāq

176. Durrat al-maʿārif fī asrār al-ʿawārif

177. Ḥadāʾiq al-iḥdāq fī ʿilm al-awfāq

178. Al-Mabādiʾ wa-al-ghāyāt fī asrār al-ḥurūf wa-al-asmāʾ wa-al-daʿawāt

179. Al-Ghāyah al-faṣwī(?) fī asrār al-ḥurūf wa-al-asmāʾ

180. Al-Maṭlab al-asná fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-asmāʾ

181. Ghāyat al-adhwāq fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-awfāq

182. Al-Sirr al-ismī fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-al-asmāʾ

183. Al-Sirr al-akbar fī al-ʿilm al-afkhar

184. Zubdat al-muṣannafāt fī al-asmāʾ wa-al-ṣifāt

185. Al-Durr al-naẓīm fī al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm

186. Kitāb al-Malakūt

187. Jawāhir al-asrār fī bawāhir al-anwār

188. Baḥr al-wuqūf fī ʿilm al-awfāq wa-al-ḥurūf

189. Durrat al-asrār li-fakhr al-amṣār

190. Yawāqīt al-asrār fī mawāqīt al-anwār

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[95] By Abū ʿAbd Allāh Kūmī. See, for example, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Resid efendi 608/3.

191. Al-Tawassulāt al-kitābīyah wa-al-tawajjuhāt al-ʿaṭāʾīyah[96]
192. Shifāʾ al-maʿānī bi-laṭāʾif al-mathānī
193. Dhawāt al-dawāʾir wa-al-ṣuwar
194. Kitāb al-Lawḥ wa-al-qalam
195. Kitāb al-Ajnās
196. Kitāb Shādhān
197. Kitāb Sirr al-sirr
198. Kitāb al-Jamharah
199. Kitāb al-Muṣḥaf al-khafī
200. Kitāb al-ʿAhd al-kabīr
201. Kitāb Ghāyat al-ḥakīm[97]
202. Kitāb al-Zurqān(al-Zaraqān?)
203. Kitāb Muṣḥaf al-qamar[98]
204. Kitāb Kīnāss(Kanāʾis?) al-rūḥānī
205. Kitāb al-Ushūṭās[99]
206. Kitāb al-Hādīṭūsh[100]
207. Kitāb al-Afālīq(?)
208. Kitāb al-Ṭawāliq(?)
209. Kitāb al-Malāṭīs[101]
210. Kitāb Ṭumṭum al-Hindī[102]
211. Kitāb Ṣaṣah(?) al-Hindī
212. Kitāb Iṣṭimākhīs[103]
213. Kitāb Tankalūshā al-Bābilī[104]

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[96] A work probably falsely attributed to Aḥmad al-Būnī; see Gardiner, "Esotericism in a manuscript culture," 39; Coulon, "La magie islamique," 506ff. See, for example, Süleymaniye MS Hamidiye 260/2.

[97] The famous *Picatrix,* by Maslamah ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī. See footnote 25 supra.

[98] Manfred Ullmann discusses two works by this name; *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden, 1972), 380 and 402.

[99] Probably *Kitāb al-Ustuṭās* (also known as *Kitāb al-Ustūwaṭas*); see Burnett, "Arabic, Greek and Latin Works," 86. As discussed by Burnett, this is part of a complex of pseudo-Aristotelian Hermetic works on astrological magic that includes *Kitāb al-Istimakhīs, Kitāb al-Istimṭatīs, Kitāb al-Malātis, Kitāb al-Hadīṭush* (*al-Hadīṭūs),* and perhaps the work attributed to Thābit ibn Qurrah, all of which appear in al-Bisṭāmī's list, infra.

[100] See previous footnote.

[101] On which see Burnett, "Arabic, Greek and Latin Works," 86.

[102] See footnote 25 supra.

[103] See footnote 25 supra.

[104] Tankalūshā = Teukros of Babylon (in Egypt). See Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften,* 278-79; David King, *A Survey of the Scientific Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library* (Winona Lake, 1986), Author 23A and Plate LXXVIIa.

214. Kitāb al-Qamar li-Baṭlīmūs[105]
215. Kitāb Tafsīr al-rūḥānīyah li-Buqrāṭīs[106]
216. Kitāb Kazkah(?) al-Hindī
217. Kitāb Arsmīdis[107]
218. Kitāb Wazdāsht(?) al-Fārisī
219. Kitāb Balīnās[108]
220. Kitāb Samʿūn(?)
221. Kitāb Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī[109]
222. Kitāb Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq al-ʿIbādī[110]
223. Kitāb Sharāshim al-Hindī[111]
224. Kitāb al-Isṭimāṭīs[112]
225. Kitāb al-Sirr al-khafī li-Qālīs(?)[113]
226. Kitāb Ḥayāt al-nufūs
227. Kitāb al-Idhn
228. Kitāb Kharqīl[114]
229. Kitāb Khafīyat al-Aflāṭūn[115]
230. Kitāb Khafīyat Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq[116]
231. Khafīyat Hirmis[117]
232. Sifr Ādam
233. Sifr Shīt[118]
234. Sifr Idrīs

[105] Baṭlīmūs = Ptolemy.

[106] Buqrāṭīs = Hippocrates.

[107] Arsmīdis (usually Arshmīdis) = Archimedes.

[108] Balīnās = Pseudo-Apollonius of Tyana. This may refer to *Kitāb Sirr al-khāliqah wa-ṣanʿat al-ṭabīʿah.*

[109] Thābit ibn Qurrah.

[110] Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq.

[111] Almost certainly the work more commonly known as *Kitāb Sharāsim al-Hindīyah,* an edition of which is currently under preparation by Jean-Charles Coulon of Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.

[112] On which see footnote 25 supra.

[113] Qālīs should perhaps be Wālīs, i.e., the astrologer Vettius Valens, on whom see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften,* 281ff.

[114] Kharqīl = Dhū al-Kifl, i.e., Ezekiel.

[115] Aflāṭūn = Plato. This may be *Kitāb Nawāmis Aflāṭūn/Liber Vaccae,* on which see Liana Saif, "The Cows and the Bees: Arabic Sources and Parallels for Pseudo-Plato's *Liber Vaccae (Kitāb Al-Nawāmīs),*" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 79 (2016): 1–47.

[116] Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

[117] Hirmis = Hermes.

[118] Shīt = Biblical Seth.

235. Sifr Nūḥ
236. Sifr Ibrāhīm
237. Sifr Irmiyā[119]
238. Sifr Dhī Qarnayn

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[119]Irmiyā = the prophet Jeremiah.

Abdelkader Al Ghouz

Annemarie-Schimmel-Kolleg

Recasting al-Bayḍāwī's Eschatological Concept of Bodily Resurrection: Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Aḥmad al-Ījī in Comparative Perspective

Introduction

In "Islamicate"[1] intellectual history, Muslim theologians have engaged in intense debate about the nature and the form that the human body will take in the afterlife. The debate centered on whether the soul or the body—or both—will be restored, a doctrine crucial in Islam that represents the fifth cornerstone of the faith *(arkān al-īmān).*[2] In Ashʿarite theological texts, the belief in the resurrection is associated with an understanding of punishment and reward for one's actions.[3] To explain the process of punishment and reward, Muslim philosophers and Ashʿarite theologians developed different ontological theories of the human body and its material constituents. The topic of resurrection is one of three main subjects that were debated among philosophers and theologians.[4]

The present article explores resurrection according to the "post-classical Ashʿarite" anthropology which was based from the twelfth century onwards on a corporeal theory of "man"[5] and inspired to a certain extent by the Avicennan understanding of the relationship between essence *(māhīyah)* and existence *(wujūd).*[6]

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Dr. Robert Moore for reading and commenting on the present article. All remaining errors are my own.

[1]In this work, I am borrowing the term "Islamicate" from Marshall Hodgson. Idem, *The Venture of Islam,* vol. 1: *The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago, 1974), 59.

[2]Faith in Islam is based on six key principles: belief in God *(al-īmān billāh),* belief in the angels *(wa-malāʾikatihi),* belief in the revealed books *(wa-kutubihi),* belief in resurrection and the last day *(wa-al-yawm al-ākhir),* and belief in predestination, both good and bad *(wa-al-qaḍāʾ khayrih wa-sharrih).*

[3]For the Islamic tradition concerning punishment and reward, see, for instance, Jon Hoover, "Islamic Universalism: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Salafī Deliberation on the Duration of Hell-Fire," *The Muslim World* 99 (2009): 181–201; Christian Lange, *Justice, Punishment and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge, 2008); idem, *The Discovery of Paradise in Islam* (Utrecht, 2012); idem, *Locating Hell in Islamic Tradition* (Leiden, 2016); idem, *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Tradition* (Cambridge, 2016).

[4]Thomas Würtz, *Islamische Theologie im 14. Jahrhundert: Auferstehungslehre, Handlungstheorie und Schöpfungsvorstellungen im Werk von Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī* (Berlin, 2016), 87.

[5]For a definition of "man" *(al-insān),* see Ayman Shihadeh, "Classical Ashʿari Anthropology: Body, Life and Spirit," *The Muslim World* 102, nos. 3–4 (2012): 433–77.

[6]For the relationship between essence and existence, see for instance Heidrun Eichner, "Essence and Existence: Thirteenth-Century Perspectives in Arabic-Islamic Philosophy and Theology," in

In this article, "post-classical Ashʿarism" refers to the period that succeeded the earlier phase of Baṣran Muʿtalism and early school of Ashʿarism.[7] The transition from "classical" to "post-classical" Ashʿarite anthropology was initiated by the Sunni theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), who integrated Hellenistic philosophy into his *kalām*. As a case study in post-classical Ashʿarite anthropology, the following article examines how two Sunni-Ashʿarīte theologians recast the eschatological concept of resurrection in two different cultural loci of the Islamicate world, Ilkhanid Tabriz and Mamluk Cairo, by the beginning of the fourteenth century. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī's (d. 1316)[8] concept of resurrection is described in his work *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār* (The Rising light from far horizons, hereafter *Ṭawāliʿ*),[9] composed in Tabriz between the years 681/1282 and 704/1303–4.[10] In this article, I will focus on two commentaries: (1) Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1348), and (2) Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. early fourteenth century).[11]

Academic Context of the Present Article

Until the end of the twentieth century, both Arab and Western scholars of Arabic philosophy held that the Sunni Muslim philosopher Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī effectively ended Arabic philosophy through his condemnation of it in his work *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The Incoherence of the philosophers).[12] One of the first to make this

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The Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Reception of Avicenna's "Metaphysics" (Berlin, 2012), 123–51.

[7] See Shihadeh, "Classical Ashʿari Anthropology," 434.

[8] Unfortunately, there is no evidence concerning the date of al-Bayḍāwī's birth. There is only a minor reference explaining that he was born in a village called al-Bayḍāʾ before his family moved permanently to nearby Shiraz. Like van Ess, W. Montgomery Watt concludes that al-Bayḍāwī died probably in 1308 or 1316. See Josef van Ess, "Das Todesdatum des Baidawi," *Die Welt des Orients* 9 (1978): 261–70; W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1962), 137.

[9] Al-Bayḍāwī, *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār,* ed. ʿAbbās Sulaymān (Cairo, 1991).

[10] This imprecise timeframe is due to the fact that bio-bibliographical dictionaries do not provide us with a detailed survey of his works. From these sources, we know that al-Bayḍāwī's scholarly activities began after his trip to Tabriz in 1282. Since the first commentary on his *Ṭawāliʿ* appeared in 704/1304, he must have finished it between 1282 and 1303–4.

[11] To the best of my knowledge, there is no biographical evidence concerning Aḥmad al-Ījī's life. The only evidence available indicates that he was a contemporary of al-Bayḍāwī and that he was connected to a Tabrizian network of scholars, as he states in the introduction of his commentary. Al-Ījī, "Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ," Chester Beatty Library MS 5198, fol. 2.

[12] See Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology* (New York, 2009), 3–17. In contemporary scholarship, the claim that Islamic intellectual history entered into a phase of "intellectual stagnancy" after the death of al-Ghazālī is considered outdated. See, for instance, Dimitri Gutas, "The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000-ca. 1350," in *Avicenna and his Heritage: Acts of the International Colloquium*, ed. Jules Janssens and Daniel De Smet (Leuven,

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claim was Ernest Renan, who argued in his book *Averroes et l'Averroïsme*[13] that the Islamic world adopted al-Ghazālī's "anti-philosophical" attitude and in turn rejected Averroes' (d. 1198) fascination with philosophy. Ignaz Goldziher, another pioneer in Islamic studies, claimed that al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifah*[14] marked the beginning of the end of Arabic philosophy in the Islamicate world.[15] William W. Montgomery claimed that after the *Tahāfut* "there was no further philosopher of note in the eastern Islamic world."[16] As a consequence, Islamicate intellectual history from the twelfth century onwards was associated with an ever-growing trend towards hadith studies and speculative theology *(kalām),* on the one hand, and a widespread and growing "hostility" towards philosophy, on the other. However, during the last two decades, many innovative and critical studies have challenged the assertion that Arabic philosophy continued with "little originality" in post-Ghazālian times.[17] Dimitri Gutas, for instance, questioned the assumed disappearance of Arabic philosophy in his article entitled "The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000–ca. 1350."[18] This was one of the first critical studies that challenged the assumption that al-Ghazālī's critique of the philosophers was the "death blow" to the Avicennan philosophical heritage in both the eastern and western halves of the Islamicate world. Frank Griffel asserts:

2002), 81–97; idem, "The Study of Arabic Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: An Essay on the Historiography of Arabic Philosophy," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (2002): 5–25; Robert Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-classical (ca. 1100–1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations," in *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, ed. Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen, and Martin W. F. Stone (London, 2004), 2:149–91; Ayman Shihadeh, "From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī," *Muslim Philosophical Theology, Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15 (2005): 141–79; Frank Griffel, "'… and the killing of someone who upholds these convictions is obligatory!' Religious Law and the Assumed Disappearance of Philosophy in Islam," in *Das Gesetz-The Law-La Loi,* ed. Andreas Speer and Guy Guldentops (Berlin, 2014), 226.

[13] Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme: Essai historique* (Paris, 1852).

[14] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifah,* ed. Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo, 1980).

[15] Ignaz Goldziher, "Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften," *Abhandlung der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 8 (1915): 3–46.

[16] For a detailed description of prominent figures who have spread the idea of the alleged disappearance of Arabic philosophy after the death of al-Ghazālī see Griffel, *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology,* 3–17.

[17] See for instance Heidrun Eichner, "The Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy: Philosophical and Theological Summae in Context" (habilitation thesis, Halle, 2009), 285.

[18] Gutas, "The Heritage of Avicenna," 84.

> There is clear evidence that even after al-Ghazālī there were enough of the latter circles [circles that favored and encouraged philosophers to write books] to safeguard that philosophy in Islam did not appear after 1100.... If my field of study, that is Islamic studies, has given a wrong impression about this in the past one-hundred and sixty years since the appearance of Ernest Renan's *Averroes et l'Averroïsme* it is now high time to rectify this mistake.[19]

Unlike Dimitri Gutas, who characterizes the period between 1100 and 1350 as the "Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy," George Saliba, who has written many works on "*kalām* atomism"[20] between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, considers this period the "Golden Age of Arabic Astronomy."[21] Generally speaking, recent scholarship on the reception of Avicenna's (d. 1037) philosophy after the death of al-Ghazālī has broken with the European scholarly tradition of the twentieth century. The present article is part of this revisionist approach that attempts to reconsider the mainstream opinion of the alleged "hostility" of Muslim scholars toward philosophy after al-Ghazālī's death, as well as to re-read Islamicate intellectual history on its own terms. It fits into the aforementioned narratives because it tries to show the scholarly dynamic and the interest of Muslim scholars in philosophy in the late Middle Period.

The Sources

Al-Bayḍāwī's *Al-Ṭawāliʿ*

After acting as a chief judge *(qāḍī al-quḍāh)* in Shiraz, al-Bayḍāwī moved to Tabriz in 1282, where he began his scholarly activities and composed the largest corpus of his writings, including *Minhāj al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilm al-uṣūl, Al-Tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl, Nidhām al-tawārīkh,* and the *Ṭawāliʿ.* He also wrote a few commentaries, such as *Sharḥ al-maḥṣūl min ʿilm al-uṣūl,*[22] *Sharḥ al-tanbīh,*[23] and *Sharḥ al-fuṣūl.*[24]

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[19]Frank Griffel, "'… and the killing of someone who upholds these convictions is obligatory!'" 226.

[20]Concerning the notion of "*kalām* atomism," see for instance Salomon Pines, *Beiträge zur Islamischen Atomlehre* (Berlin, 1936); Abdelhamid Sabra, "The Simple Ontology of *Kalām* Atomism: An Outline," *Early Science and Medicine* 14 (2009): 68–78; Alnoor Dhanani, *The Physical Theory of Kalam: Atoms, Space, and Void in Basrian Muʿtazili Cosmology* (Leiden, 1994); idem, "The Impact of Ibn Sīnā's Critique of Atomism on Subsequent *Kalām* Discussion of Atomism," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 25 (2015): 79–104.

[21]George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam* (New York, 1994).

[22]This is a commentary upon al-Rāzī's *Al-Maḥṣūl.*

[23]This is a commentary upon Abī Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī's *Al-Tanbīh.*

[24]This is a commentary upon al-Ṭūsī's work *Al-Fuṣūl.*

Many copies of the *Ṭawāliʿ* have survived: a copy at Princeton University Library (Garrett no. 283B) consists of about 67 folios, and a copy in the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (Vollers 0132) consists of 90 folios. In the *Ṭawāliʿ,* al-Bayḍāwī develops his eschatological concept of resurrection. The structure of the *Ṭawāliʿ* is to a certain degree inspired by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *kalām* work *Al-Mulakhkhaṣ.*[25] Concerning this influence, Heidrun Eichner states:

> We might describe the arguments of al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* as primarily based on that of the *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-ḥikma.* Al-Bayḍāwī gives an epitomized version of important arguments of the *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-ḥikma,* and he supplements this by doxographical details. Partly, his reorganization of the argument is guided by a dichotomy between 'philosophers' and 'theologians'.

The *Ṭawāliʿ* is divided into an introduction *(muqaddimah)* and three parts *(thalāthat kutub):*[26]

> Introduction: Studies in logical reasoning
> Book 1: Possible Realities:
>   Section 1: Universals
>   Section 2: Accidents
>   Ch. 1. General
>   Ch. 2. Quantity
>   Section 3: Substances
> Book 2: Divine Realities
> Book 3: Prophetic Realities (prophecy, imamate, practical theology,
>   the last day)

Al-Bayḍāwī praises *ʿilm al-kalām* as the noblest science that God recommends in the holy Quran for the following reasons: the greatness of its subject-matter, the straightness of its components, the strength of its arguments, and the obviousness of its methods.[27] His lines of reasoning are very concise. This style of argumentation can be explained by the length of the *Ṭawāliʿ,* which al-Bayḍāwī conceptualizes as a brief theological treatise used only by advanced scholars.[28]

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[25]Eichner, "The Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy," 394.

[26]*Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam: ʿAbd Allah Baydawi's Text, Tawaliʿ Al-anwar Min Mataliʿ Al-anzar, Along with Mahmud Isfahani's Commentary, Mataliʿ Al-anzar, Sharh Tawaliʿ Al-anwar,* ed. and trans. Edwin E. Calverley and James W. Pollock (Leiden, 2002).

[27]*Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam,* 1:5. Cf. Eichner, "The Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy," 285.

[28]Eichner argues that al-Bayḍāwī did not elaborate his arguments because of "the very shortness of the text, and possibly also due to its character as a textbook." "The Post-Avicennian Philo-

In the introduction, al-Bayḍāwī argues that rational reasoning is necessary for the acquisition *(kasb)* of knowledge about God, the creation of the world, and human acts. In the third book of the *Ṭawāliʿ,* al-Bayḍāwī devotes an entire subsection to the resurrection of the vanished non-existent. As Heidrun Eichner states, al-Bayḍāwī refers in the *Ṭawāliʿ* to theoretical approaches that are based on a synthesis of astronomy and theology. This can be explained by the fact that al-Bayḍāwī belonged in Tabriz to a scholarly network of Muslim astronomers and physicians who worked in the Marāgha observatory.[29] The many commentaries written on his *Ṭawāliʿ* in different parts of the Islamicate world over the course of three centuries (from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries) bear witness to its continued importance, as Table 1 shows.[30]

Al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on the *Maṭāliʿ*

The Ashʿarite theologian Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1348) composed a commentary upon al-Bayḍāwī's work titled *Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār: Sharḥ ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* (Insider's lights: A Commentary on the work *The Rising Light,* hereafter *Maṭāliʿ*) in Mamluk Cairo. Like al-Bayḍāwī, al-Iṣfahānī started his career in Tabriz.[31] Though there is no historical evidence available that demonstrates a direct relationship between ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī, al-Iṣfahānī, and Aḥmad al-Ījī, they belonged to Rashīd al-Dīn's (d. 718/1318) scholarly network in Tabriz until the execution of the latter in 1318.[32] It should be mentioned that al-Bayḍāwī and al-Iṣfahānī were trained in astronomy *(ʿilm al-hayʾah)* and natural philosophy because they belonged to the Marāgha scientific tradition.[33] This also explains why al-Iṣfahānī's commentary, the *Maṭāliʿ,* shows sympathy to astronomy, while other scholars of his time in Cairo would not have included it. After

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sophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy," 395.

[29] Ibid., 285.

[30] For a detailed survey of the commentaries on the *Ṭawāliʿ* see Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-classical (ca. 1100–1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History," 2:177. Wisnovsky's survey is a translation of Carl Brockelmann's survey of commentaries on al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ* in *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur,* 1:533. I added Aḥmad al-Ījī's commentary *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ.* I further deleted the commentary of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Taḥtānī entitled *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār,* because the latter is a commentary upon a work on logic and philosophy written by the judge Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr al-Urmawī.

[31] Al Ghouz, "Brokers of Islamic Philosophy in Mamlūk Egypt: Shams ad-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn ʿAbdelraḥmān al-Iṣfahānī as a Case Study in the Transmission of Philosophical Knowledge through Commentary Writing," *Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study* II (Bonn, 2016), 154.

[32] Ibid., 169.

[33] Ibid., 153–54. See also Josef van Ess, *Der Wesir und seine Gelehrten: Zu Inhalt und Entstehungsgeschichte der theologischen Schriften des Rašīddudšn Fażlullāh (718/1318)* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 24.

Table 1. Commentaries on ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī's
Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār

1.	Aḥmad al-Ījī: *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ* (completed in Tabrīz, 704/1304). One copy is available at the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art.
2.	Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī: *Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār: sharḥ ṭawāliʿ al-anẓār*
3.	Ḥājjī Bāshā al-Aydīnī (d. ?): *Masālik al-kalām fī masāʾil al-kalām.* Composed for ʿĪsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Āydīn (d. 816/1413)
4.	Al-Burhān ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUbaydalī al-Sharīf al-Farghānī, known as al-ʿIbarī (d. 743/1342). Al-ʿIbarī was a judge in Tabriz, and he composed this *sharḥ* for Shihāb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.
5.	Yūsuf Ḥallāj. Completed in 772/1370.
6.	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Basṭāmī (d. 843/1439)
7.	Khawājah Zādah (d. 893/1487)
8.	Zakarīyāʾ ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520)
9.	ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarāyinī (d. 943/1536)
10.	Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī (d. 979/1571)
11.	Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanadī al-Ḥaṣnakīfī (d. ?)
12.	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 907/1501): *Sharḥ awāʿil dībājāt al-ṭawāliʿ*
13.	Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafá al-Ṭāshakbirī (d. 969/1561)
14.	Sāçaqlīzāde (1150/1737): *Nashr ṭawāliʿ al-anwār*
15.	Humām al-Dīn al-Kilnārī (d. ?)
16.	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Baḥrābādhī (d. ?)
17.	Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Tūnī (d. ?)
18.	Humām al-Dīn al-Kilnārī (d. ?)
19.	Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan (d. ?), known as Ibn Shaykh al-ʿArabīyah al-Mūṣilī
20.	Shams al-Dīn al-Āmilī (d. ?): *Tanqīḥ al-afkār*
21.	Mīr Ghayāt al-Dīn Manṣūr (d. ?). Completed in 807/1014.

**Table 2. Commentaries and glosses on Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī's *Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār: sharḥ ṭawāliʿ al-anẓār*
(Here, SH2; Sharḥ 2 in Table 1, above.)**

Ḥ: *Ḥāshīyah* (gloss)	T: *Taʿlīq* (super-gloss)
	T1 on Ḥ1 by Muʿīn Ibn Ḥasan al-Tūnī al-Iṣfahānī
	T2 on Ḥ1 by al-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501)
Ḥ1 on SH2 by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)	T3 on Ḥ1 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Dashtāqī al-Shīrāzī (d. 949/1542)
	T4 on Ḥ1 by Dāʾūd al-Shirwānī (d. ?)
Ḥ2 on SH2 by Abū al-Qāsim al-Laythī al-Samarqandī (d. 888/1483)	
Ḥ3 on SH2 by Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Ṭibl Bāz (d. 906/1500)	
Ḥ4 on SH2 by Ḥamīd al-Dīn ibn Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ḥussaynī, known as Ibn Afḍal (d. 908/1502), with a special focus on substance	
Ḥ5 on SH2 by Afḍal Zādah (d. ?)	
Ḥ6 on SH2 by al-Ṣārūṣīdī (d. ?)	
Ḥ7 on SH2 by Maḥmūd Ibn Niʿmat Allāh al-Nukhārī (fl. ca. 909–37/1503–30)	
Ḥ8 on SH2 by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf, known as Ṣārī Karismāt (d. ?), completed in 934/1527	

the execution of Rashīd al-Dīn and his eldest son in 1318, al-Iṣfahānī made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324. He then travelled to Mamluk Damascus, attracting the attention of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[34] Therefore, in 1332 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sent him an official letter of invitation, through the *khānqāh* office[35] of Majd al-Dīn al-Aqṣurāʾī (d. 1340), to come to Cairo.[36] Al-Iṣfahānī accepted the invitation and moved to Cairo in the same year.[37] In the dedication of the *Maṭāliʿ,* al-Iṣfahānī explains why he wrote his commentary:

> A man—whom I would not contradict, and with whom I only agree—commissioned me to compose for him this commentary [on *Ṭawāliʿ*]. My task is to explain it in a way that clarifies its doctrines; confirms its fundamentals; discloses its purposes; strengthens its benefits; particularizes its generals; completes its details, solves its problems, and unravels its mysteries. I completely accepted the request he set to me. Hence, I exposed its unclear expressions and explained its meaning and structures *(mabānīh).* I gave this [commentary] the name *Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār: Sharḥ Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār.* … I have dedicated it to the one who is free of bad properties and has noble characters; a man who is generous, believes in good deeds, and is rightly guided by the merciful lord.[38]

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[34]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah* (Beirut, 1993), 4:327; Abū al-Fidāʾ Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 2nd ed., ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭī et al. (Damascus, 2010), 16:181.

[35]For the history of the *khānqāh* in Mamluk Egypt see, for instance, Donald Little, "The Nature of Khānqāhs, Ribāṭs, and Zāwiyyas under the Mamlūks," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams,* ed. Wael Hallaq and Donald Little (Leiden, 1991), 91–105; Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988); idem, "Between Qadis and Muftis: To Whom Does the Mamluk Sultan Listen?" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 95–108; idem, "The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History and Architecture," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 21-42; idem, "Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya," *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 87–98; idem, "Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th century Waqfiyya," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1981): 141–56; Nathan Hofer, *The Popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1325* (Edinburgh, 2015), 1–102.

[36]Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed Majd al-Dīn al-Aqṣurāʾī at the beginning of Jumādá I 725/1325 as the Chief *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh* at the Nāṣirīyah Khānqāh in Siryāqūs. See, for instance, Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah,* 16:182.

[37]See Al Ghouz, "Brokers of Islamic Philosophy in Mamlūk Egypt," 149, n 3.

[38]Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, "Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār," University of Leiden MS Or 933, fol. 3. There is a slight difference between my own translation and that of Calverley and Pollock. The difference consists in the equivalence of some notions and terms. Cf. *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam,* ed. Calverley and Pollock, 7. My translation appears also in Al Ghouz, "Brokers of Islamic Philosophy in Mamlūk Egypt," 161.

This quote demonstrates the close patronage relationship between al-Iṣfahānī and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during the latter's third reign (r. 709–41/1310–41). As the survey in Table 2 shows, al-Iṣfahānī's *Maṭāliʿ* attracted the attention of many scholars.[39]

Aḥmad al-Ījī's Commentary *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ*

Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. early fourteenth century) composed his commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ* at the beginning of the fourteenth century, calling it *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ*. His only reference concerning the genesis of *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ* explains that he had first written only few commentary fragments on the *Ṭawāliʿ*, but that some friends asked him to write a complete commentary:

> After having commented on most parts of it *[Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār]* some friends asked me to complete my commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* and I named it *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ*.[40]

The colophon of the manuscript available at the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art (MS 5198) indicates that the name of the copyist is Zakarīyāʾ ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Khalkhālī (d. ?), who finished this copy at Tabriz in Ṣafar 704/September 1304. This date corresponds to the reign of the seventh ruler of the Ilkhanid dynasty, Ghāzān (r. 1295–1304). The copyist did not quote the entire *matn*-text passage of the *Ṭawāliʿ*. His quotation pattern is as follows:

Qāla (he said) + the first few words of the *matn*-text passage to be commented upon + *ilá qawlihi* (till he said) + the last few words of the *matn*-text passage to be commented upon + *aqūlu* (I say).

Because this style of quotation eliminated much of the source text, the copyist could keep the number of the folios of *Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ* to a minimum. Zakarīyāʾ al-Khalkhālī may have used this abbreviated pattern rather than the entire *matn*-text because the *Ṭawāliʿ* was readily available at the Marāgha observatory or because the *Ṭawāliʿ* was well known among theologians. Another explanation could be that the copyist was asked to keep the costs of copying the *Ṭawāliʿ* down because the production of a "book"[41] as a physical object entailed high costs in pre-modern times.

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[39]This table is based on Wisnovsky's translation of Carl Brockelmann's survey of commentaries on al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ* in *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur,* 1:533. Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-classical (ca. 1100–1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History," 177.

[40]Al-Ījī, "Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ," fol. 2. My own translation.

[41]Concerning the discussion about the understanding of what a book is, see Konrad Hirschler, "'Catching the feel'—Documentary evidence of the Arabic book in the Middle period," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 224–34.

Recasting al-Bayḍāwī's Concept of Bodily Resurrection: Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Aḥmad al-Ījī in Comparative Perspective

The following analysis focuses on the contentious debate over God's restoration of the human body. In general, one can identify four scholarly trends in the discussion on the resurrection:

1. The body is the essence of the human being; the soul does not exist as an independent entity. It is perceived as a condition for other accidents of life. According to this classical Ashʿarite doctrine, all mental activities such as smell, speaking, thinking, feeling, etc., are animate components that God inheres in the atomic constituents of the human body right after he forms *(taṣwīr)* the fetus in the womb.
2. Resurrection pertains to both the body and the soul alike because they are two constituents of the human being. According to this post-classical Ashʿarite concept of resurrection, God re-creates the atoms of the original body and inheres life in it. Post-classical *mutakallimūn* talked only of bodily resurrection, but they also meant the resurrection of the soul.
3. The body and the soul are two constituents of the human being. God resurrects the soul and incorporates it not in the original body, but in any body that he will create out of non-existence. The difference between trend 2 and trend 3 is that the latter described creation of a new human body in the afterlife out of non-existence, while the former talked of creation of the body out of its original atoms.
4. The constitutive element of the human being is its soul, and God will only resurrect the soul. According to this Avicennan view, the resurrection of the original body is inconceivable since the physical elements of the human body are changeable from its birth until its death and annihilation.[42]

In the section about the ontology of the resurrection of the body, al-Bayḍāwī's aim is twofold. First, he confirms bodily resurrection; second, he denies the Avicennan rejection of the bodily resurrection. Al-Bayḍāwī's eschatological concept of resurrection is mainly based on the restoration of the body's atomic particles. In contrast to the Avicennan ontological approach to the body,[43] that "the soul

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[42]For Avicenna's understanding of the soul, see, for instance, Dimitri Gutas, "Avicenna: The Metaphysics of the Rational Soul," *The Muslim World* 102, nos. 3–4 (2012): 417–25.

[43]For Avicenna's approach to body and soul, see Richard Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy,* ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge, 2005), 93–136.

does not need the body to subsist,"[44] al-Bayḍāwī's concept of resurrection confirms that God will restore the body out of its original atoms *(ajzāʾ aṣlīyah),* then he will inhere life *(ḥayāh)* in it. This means in turn that there is a material continuity between the original atoms of a human being and the atoms out of which God will restore the body of the same human being in the afterlife. Al-Bayḍāwī explains this position by referring to Avicenna's concept of essence *(māhīyah,* literally "whatness") and its relationship with "existence" *(wujūd).* In this regard, it should be mentioned that Avicenna employs other terminologies as synonymous for the *māhīyah,* e.g., "thingness*" (shayʾīyah),* "self" *(dhāt),* "inner reality" *(ḥaqīqah),* "form" *(ṣūrah),* "nature" *(ṭabʿ).*[45] As Wisnovsky states, Avicenna highlighted three types of relationships between the *māhīyah* and the *wujūd:*

> By now it will have become clear that Avicenna's discussions of the relationship between essence and existence are quite underdetermined. In fact three different Avicennian positions have been articulated: (I) thing and existent, and by implication essence and existence, are extensionally identical and intensionally distinct, with neither enjoying any kind of priority over the other; (II) essence and existence are extensionally identical and intensionally distinct, but essence enjoys a logical priority over existence; and (III) essence is extensionally broader than existence and each is intentionally distinct from the other.[46]

Al-Iṣfahānī, who consistently refers to Avicenna in the *Maṭāliʿ,* describes the latter as "Shaykh" and praises him. The fact that al-Iṣfahānī uses the epithet "Shaykh" to characterize Avicenna reflects his respect for him and for his philosophical positions. Al-Iṣfahānī argues that the concept that "existence is an addition to the quiddities in the cases of both the necessary existent and possible realities" is originally an Ashʿarite concept that goes back to al-Ashʿarī (d. 941), whom al-Iṣfahānī calls "Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan."[47] Indeed, the theory that essence and existence are intentionally identical was widespread among the classical Sunni-Ashʿarite *mutakallimūn.* However, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, an epistemological turn marked the *falsafah-kalām* debate on essence and existence. In the post-classical age, *mutakallimūn* called into question the theory

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[44]Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works.* Second, revised and enlarged edition, including an inventory of Avicenna's authentic works (Leiden, 2004), 103.

[45]Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 110.

[46]Ibid., 110.

[47]*Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam,* ed. Calverley and Pollock, 1:191. See also Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 112.

that essence and existence are similar, as they realized that distinguishing essence from existence could serve them as a theoretical basis in proving the existence of God.[48] As for the position concerning the distinction between existence and essence (compositeness), one can argue that there is no distinction between al-Bayḍāwī's and al-Iṣfahānī's positions. Both point out that al-Ashʿarī was the first scholar to show that existence is additional to essence.[49]

Like most *mutakallimūn* of post-classical Ashʿarism, e.g., the Sunni-Ashʿarite *mutakallimūn* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210), ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355), and the Sunni-Māturīdī *mutakallim* Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 1390), al-Bayḍāwī believed in the restoration of the human body in the afterlife out of non-existence. However, this does not mean that they rejected belief in the restoration of the human body out its original atoms.[50] They use the notion of "gathering the originals parts" (*jamʿ aʿḍāʾihi al-aṣlīyah*) as an alternative to resurrection out of non-existence.[51]

Al-Bayḍāwī uses the following argument that he borrows from the Quran: "destruction means also annihilation" (*al-tafrīqu ayḍan halākun*).[52] In this way, al-Bayḍāwī presents a second option that the original parts of a dead human body could be turned to vanished non-existence (*halāk*). This option would mean that God could also restore a human body—whose original particles have been turned to vanished non-existence—out of new atoms that God creates again out of non-existence.

According to al-Bayḍāwī, there are two arguments that this act of bodily resurrection is conceivable: (1) the act of resurrecting a human body and inhering life in it is conceivable "by means of demonstrative analogy" (*ʿaqlan*), and (2) the above-mentioned possibility (*imkān*) is "confirmed through transmitted narratives (*thubita bi-al-tawātur*)."[53] In the following, I will refer to the first type of argument

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[48] Wisnovsky characterizes this distinction between essence and existence as "compositeness" in this fashion: "every being is a composite of essence and existence; every composite requires a composer to bring its composite parts together; therefore every composite is caused; and in order to avoid an infinite regress of composites and composers, and hence of effects and causes, we will need to terminate at some being which is not composed; this being is God." Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 112.

[49] *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam,* ed. Calverley and Pollock, 1:192–97. Cf. Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 112–13.

[50] Würtz, *Islamische Theologie im 14. Jahrhundert,* 114–15.

[51] Ibid.

[52] The Quranic verse is: "everything is destructible except His countenance" *[kullu shayʾ hālik illā wajhuh*] [Q 28:88]." Translated by Calverley and Pollock, *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam,* 2:1042.

[53] Ibid., 1040.

as *ʿaql*-argument, and to the second type of argument as *tawātur*-argument. The *ʿaql*-argument is based on two premises:

- Premise 1: Since God created the human being out of atomic particles and endowed them with life
- Premise 2: and since he knows everything related to the human being's original atoms
- Conclusion: He is able to restore new atoms of the human body, and to inhere life in them once again.

The adjective "new" is crucial in al-Bayḍāwī's understanding of eschatology. It indicates that God restores the human body not out of its original atoms that were turned to vanished non-existence after death, but rather out of new atoms (once again).

In contrast to al-Bayḍāwī's two-step process, al-Iṣfahānī adopts a three-step process in his commentary:

1. Distinguishing the Islamic model of resurrection from the Christian and Jewish models of resurrection.
2. Confirming both spiritual and bodily resurrection in Islam.
3. Denying Avicenna's rejection of bodily resurrection.

First, al-Iṣfahānī provides his audience with a comparative study on resurrection in Christianity and Judaism. His aim is to point out that Islam, Christianity, and Judaism believe in resurrection. In a second step, he distinguishes the meaning of resurrection as attested in Islam from the meaning of resurrection in Judaism and Christianity.[54] By means of this comparative approach, al-Iṣfahānī presents the Islamic concept of bodily resurrection as a concept that combines both the Jewish and the Christian concept of resurrection. Al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's concept of bodily resurrection is not a response to criticism written by Christian or Jewish scholars. However, al-Iṣfahānī's commentary demonstrates consistent concern with Christianity and Judaism in different parts of the *Maṭāliʿ*. For instance, in his commentary on the qualities that cannot be attributed to God, he explicitly highlights, once again, the difference between Islamic, Christian, and Jewish understandings of God's attributes. He pays much more attention to the Christian understanding of the three hypostases, the nature of man, and the divine nature of the Messiah. There are many other examples of his comparative approach. However, it should be noted that I am not claiming that al-Iṣfahānī composed his commentary in order to defend Islam against Judaism and Christianity. There is no evidence that he stirred popular antagonism against

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[54] Ibid., 1038.

Christian Copts or Jews holding public offices and political influence in Cairo. He appears to be much more concerned with Muslim-Christian and Muslim-Jewish theological polemics across the Mediterranean that characterized the literary and the politico-religious climate of fourteenth-century Egypt.[55] In contrast to these, al-Bayḍāwī shows no interest in defending Muslim beliefs against Jewish and Christian doctrine.

As for the second step, al-Iṣfahānī draws on al-Bayḍāwī's two types of arguments (ʿaql-argument and tawātur-argument), and confirms first the "restoration of the spirit" *(maʿād rūḥānī)* and the "restoration of the body" *(maʿād jismānī).*[56] As for the ʿaql-argument, al-Iṣfahānī's statement indicates that he was a proponent of the ontological approach of *kalām*-atomism that was conceptualized as an alternative to the Hellenising *falsafah* tradition.

In contrast to al-Iṣfahānī, who focused on the difference between Islamic, Jewish, and Christian concepts of resurrection, Aḥmad al-Ījī highlights the difference between the following trends:[57]

1. Those who believe in bodily resurrection. This was the case of the early *mutakallimūn*. He means prominent figures of classical Ashʿarism, like al-Ashʿarī and al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013).
2. Those who believe in the resurrection of the soul. This was the case of the *falāsifah*. Aḥmad al-Ījī is referring here to Avicenna.
3. Those who believe in both *(li-kilayhimā)*. This was the case of his contemporary *mutakallimūn*. Here he alludes to the prominent figures of postclassical Ashʿarism, such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.
4. Those who do not believe in resurrection. This was the case of the physicians.
5. Those who held that the possibility of resurrection can be neither confirmed nor denied *(al-ḥukm ʿalayhi mawqūf)*. This was the case of Galen because of his theory that "everything is possible" *(li-iḥtimāli al-kulli)*.

Aḥmad al-Ījī then turns to the question of why the resurrection of the body and the soul are attested in scriptural evidence. The chain of his argument shows that he accepts both the restoration of the body out of its original atoms and also

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[55] See, for instance, Sarrio Cucarella, *Muslim-Christian Polemics across the Mediterranean: 684-1285: The Splendid Replies of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285)* (Leiden, 2015); Nimrod Luz, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture, and the Urban Landscape* (New York, 2014).

[56] As for his arguments, he cites plentiful scriptural evidence for the resurrection of both body and soul, e.g., Q 32:17; Q 10:26; Q 9:72; Q 36:78–79; Q 36:51; Q 17:51; Q 75:3–4; Q 79:11; Q 41:21; Q 4:56; Q 50:44; Q 100:9–10; Q 56:49–50. *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam,* ed. Calverley and Pollock, 2:1038–39.

[57] Al-Ījī, "Al-Maṭāliʿ fī sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ," fol. 119.

out of non-existence. Aḥmad al-Ījī's concept of bodily resurrection corresponds to al-Ghazālī's eschatological concept of bodily resurrection as described in his *kalām* work *Al-Iqtiṣād fī al-iʿtiqād.* This stance occupies a position between that of Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), who holds that everything except God will become vanished non-existence, and that of al-Bayḍāwī, who argues that the individual atoms will disintegrate and will not vanish to non-existence *(wa-laysa iʿdāmuhā).*

Conclusions

In this article, we have seen that al-Iṣfahānī's recasting of al-Bayḍāwī's concept of resurrection aspired to establish the necessity of revealed knowledge for rational *kalām* arguments. His critique targeted not only Avicenna's anti-*kalām* arguments, but even Christian and Jewish models of eschatology. Unlike al-Iṣfahānī, Aḥmad al-Ījī's recasting of al-Bayḍāwī's eschatological concept of bodily resurrection centered neither on Muslim-Christian nor on Muslim-Jewish theological polemics. Furthermore, al-Iṣfahānī did not criticize the Sufi understanding of eschatology. His silence on some Sufi understandings of the bodily resurrection—like al-Suhrawardī's (d. 1168) theory of "individuation"[58] or Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 1240) theory of "creative imagination"[59]—can be explained by his patronage relationships. The Mamluk autocracy that supported al-Iṣfahānī also provided many Sufi orders with endowments, including the followers of Ibn al-ʿArabī. Additionally, al-Iṣfahānī served as *shaykh al-shuyūkh,* the chief Sufi shaykh, in the *khānqāh* of the Mamluk amir Qawsūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 1341).[60]

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[58] Eiyad S. Al-Kutub, *Mulla Sadra and Eschatology: Evolution of Being* (London and New York, 2015), 42–49.

[59] Ibid., 96–99.

[60] Al Ghouz, "Brokers of Islamic Philosophy in Mamlūk Egypt," 159.

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Between Beirut, Cairo, and Damascus: *Al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* and the Sufi/Scholar Dichotomy in the Late Mamluk Period (1480s–1510s)

Introduction

Late Mamluk Damascus saw its share of social unrest and upheavals. The Mamluk hold over the city was tested repeatedly during the final decades of the Sultanate, both by criminal gangs who exploited the situation for their own gain, and by groups who strove for a more pious version of communal life. In the face of waning Mamluk unity, power, and abilities to negotiate the interests of different status groups, some of these groups rose to—however short-lived—prominence in local politics, in particular where they cooperated with each other.[1] It is difficult to ascertain how far the appearance of gangs commonly known as *zuʿar* (sometimes also simply as *ghawghāʾ*) was connected to the resurgence of groups engaging in commanding right and forbidding wrong in the last two decades of the ninth century. As Miura Toru has shown, there were intricate codependencies between the *zuʿar* and residents of Damascene quarters, Mamluk officials, and religious scholars. The rise of these actors from once-marginal groups depended upon creating networks, factions, and alliances across the different status groups.[2] At the same time, it led to challenges of the status quo.

Likewise, several cliques of Sufis argued their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs both on the streets and in writing. One such clique, which was influenced by a stricter, originally Maghribī version of the sunnah and strove for a recognition (and institutional support) of their approach to religion, had one of its most colorful proponents in ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn al-Maghribī (d. 917/1511). ʿAlī developed

[1] Miura Toru, "Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era was Ending," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 157–93; James Grehan, "Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (2013): 215–36; Carl F. Petry, *The Criminal underworld in a medieval Islamic society: narratives from Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks* (Chicago, 2012); idem, "The Politics of Insult: The Mamluk Sultanate's Response to Criminal Affronts," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011): 87–115.

[2] Miura, "Urban Society," 176–78; see also Henning Sievert, "Der Kampf um die Macht im Mamlūkenreich des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann, 1942–1999,* ed. Anja Pistor-Hatam and Stephan Conermann (Hamburg, 2003), 335–66.

a strict stance on policing communal spaces *(al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar),* which he expressed in the spoken and the written word. Ibn Maymūn has been the subject of a number of studies, ever since Ignaz Goldziher presented an article on his late work *Bayān ghurbat al-Islām fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (The Absence of Islam from Egypt and Syria) in 1874. Notably, Michael Winter has dedicated two publications to his biography and role within Syrian Sufism.[3] Winter situates Ibn Maymūn primarily within a framework of opposition between his Sufis on one side and either the local rulers (Winter 2014) or local jurists (Winter 1977) on the other. In both cases, Winter argues that Ibn Maymūn acted and spoke out against "the establishment." Winter illustrates this in his later publication with an account of ʿAlī's attacks on the Shafiʿi *shaykh al-islām* Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn: "Ibn Maymūn picked up a *fitna,* a public and angry quarrel, with Taqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī ʿAğlūn…. Ibn Maymūn rudely insulted him, accusing him of unlawful behavior *(fisq)* and of financial corruption in administering a *waqf*-supported institution."[4]

In this contribution I would argue for another interpretation of the animosity Ibn Maymūn showed towards Taqī al-Dīn other than mere opposition between (local) ulama or rulers and (foreign) Sufis.[5] Instead, I would propose that the ulterior motive behind Ibn Maymūn's attacks was the wish for social advancement, in particular through access to endowment revenues, which local ulama families had indeed monopolized to a great degree by that time. The concept of commanding right was all but as all-encompassing as that of shariʿah, whose safeguarding from corruption and wrongful innovation was its main aim. At the same time, the discourse over this issue offered a terminology by which one could argue for their social advancement and connect it with larger social grievances and questions of justice. It had the ability to divide or unite different status groups (like

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[3]Ignaz Goldziher, "ʿAlī Ibn Mejmūn al-Maġribī und sein Sittenspiegel des östlichen Islām: Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte," *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 28 (1874): 293–330; Michael Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn and Syrian Sufism in the Sixteenth Century," *Israel Oriental Studies* (1977): 281–308; Michael Winter, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire (and in Early Ottoman Egypt and Syria) as a focus for religious, intellectual and social networks," in *Everything is on the move: The Mamluk Empire as a node in (trans-) regional networks,* ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen, 2014), 145–64.

[4]Winter, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire," 152.

[5]My way of identifying the different figures in the course of this article might seem unusual. With regard to Ibn Maymūn's side of the conflict, I will use the *ism* whereas for the Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn side, the *laqab* will be applied more often. In this, I follow the sources. As will be demonstrated below, the different approaches to naming were one area which was contested. Moreover, since the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn were rather well represented in the contemporary sources, there are a lot of them to be distinguished. As is to be expected, the *ism* Muḥammad (as well as some others) shows up frequently. Thus, the *laqab* is often more helpful in identifying individuals without resorting to full names.

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ulama, Mamluks, Sufis, "the common people") and create (often short-lived) alliances across these social strata. I would argue that this concept was willingly mobilized by Ibn Maymūn and others within social competition over dwindling resources, in particular of endowments. Whereas chronicles or biographies often spell out or hint at personal feuds, other treatises would rather utter their critique in more general terms of "commanding right." Thus, Ibn Maymūn lamented the innovative practices among Syrian ulama and Sufis in general, instead of attacking individuals openly. In some of his works—as of those of some of his students—social advancement stands out clearly as an ulterior motive in his discourse on "commanding right": his Sufi clique attempted to break the grip of local scholars and mystics over *waqf* resources, in the hope of making them accessible for themselves. The discourse of commanding right and forbidding wrong permitted them to connect this issue with larger questions of justice.

This article attempts to show that conflicts such as the one between Ibn Maymūn and Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn were not conflicts between ulama and Sufis—although Ibn Maymūn framed it as such in his *Ghurbah*—but occurred between different (often short-lived) and changing alliances that involved Sufis and scholars on both sides, in addition to Mamluks and, possibly, other actors.[6] Moreover, these confrontations revolved around concrete issues that related to or were framed in a language referring to the issue of commanding right and the question how it should be approached.

The article is organized in six sections. It sets out with two sections that introduce both Ibn Maymūn and Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn in more detail, followed by an overview of debates over *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf*. The remaining three sections are concerned with the historical practice of commanding right and forbidding wrong in three areas: measures against alcohol (and drug) trade and consumption; debates over definitions of right and wrong; and the defense of the Syrian littoral against foreign raids. Michael Cook has pointed toward the entanglement of the notions of *jihād* and *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf,* and as Malika Dekkiche demonstrated in a talk held in Ghent in 2014, by the fifteenth century defensive *jihād* came to be eclipsed by and incorporated into *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* even in Mamluk diploma.[7] Since Taqī al-Dīn was more active than the Maghribī Sufi in fighting public vices and the defense of the coast, I would argue that Ibn Maymūn chose him as the target for

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[6]In this way already Michael Chamberlain has systematized opposition between different actors over certain positions; Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), e.g., 96–98.

[7]Malika Dekkiche, "State recognition in the service of state formation? Legitimacy in 15th-century Mamluk Egypt" (conference presentation, "Whither the Early Modern State? Fifteenth-century State Formations across Eurasia: Connections, Divergences, and Comparisons," Ghent, 10–12 Sept. 2014).

his attacks for two other interconnected reasons: first, their respective notions of *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* and under which conditions one should perform it stood at odds with each other; and second, Taqī al-Dīn was a proponent of both the pragmatic Ashʿarī mainstream position towards commanding right and a member of one of the great local scholarly families, who had monopolized the largest share of *waqf* revenues in the region.

ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn al-Maghribī

Since Winter (1977) has already provided an elaborate biography of ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn, I will restrict myself here to some basic outlines as they pertain to his activities in Mamluk Syria. As al-Ghazzī tells it, ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Maghribī came from the province of Fez and held a judgeship, from which he resigned "to occupy himself with the *ghazwah* on the coasts as an officer *(raʾs al-ʿaskar)*." Following this involvement, he became inclined to Sufism in Tunisia, and reached Damascus for the first time by 894/1488–89.[8] His rise to local prominence, however, only occurred in the last decade of his life, following a long journey to the Ottoman Empire, reaching Bursa in 895/1489–90.[9] Other biographies indicate that Ibn Maymūn had already made a name for himself in the Ottoman realms. Several students apparently sought him out in Bursa.[10] Although sources on that period of his life are rather scarce, studies on his own opus might unearth new results.[11] Following his return to Bilād al-Shām in 911/1505–6[12] Ibn Maymūn quickly became a central figure in Damascus well beyond the confines of the small Maliki community:

> When [ʿAlī] arrived to Damascus for the last time in 913 [1507–8], ten people came together [to greet him]: the Maliki *muftī* shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī, the Hanafi *muftī* Muḥammad Ibn Ramaḍān, also [the

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[8]Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-sāʾirah bi-aʿyān al-miʾah al-ʿāshirah* (Beirut, 1945), 1:271. Michael Winter speculates that Ibn Maymūn in fact only reached Damascus after 905/1500; Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 286. However, Ibn Ṭūlūn cites Ibn Maymūn's "Tanzīh al-ṣadīq ʿan waṣf al-zandīq" stating that he reached Damascus in the year 894: Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Al-Naṭq al-Munabbiʾ ʿan Tarjamat al-Shaykh al-Muḥyawī Ibn al-ʿArabī," Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS Or. Sprenger 791, fol. 39v.

[9]MS Or. Sprenger 791, fol. 39v. Al-Ghazzī, however, writes that he embarked on a five-year journey to the Ottoman Empire around 1500, immediately after his return from the pilgrimage. *Kawākib,* 1:56–68, 274.

[10]For instance ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Mālikī and ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Kīzawānī; *Kawākib,* 2:183, 201–3.

[11]The incipit of his work "Taʿẓīm al-shaʿāʾir min al-ṣawāmiʿ wa-al-masājid wa-al-manābir" immediately refers to a scene that occurred in Bursa on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 905; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 147 Majāmīʿ Muṣṭafá Fāḍil (http://www.al-furqan.com/our_is_item/manid/690118/groupid/1).

[12]Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 290.

Hanafi deputy judge] Aḥmad Ibn Sulṭān, the Shafiʿi *muftī* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥamawī, the preacher of the Ḥanbalī Mosque Ismāʿīl al-Danānī, the caretaker of said mosque Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [father of the one before?], ʿĪsá al-Qabāqabī al-Miṣrī, Aḥmad Ibn Shaykh Ḥasan, the *mujāwir* Ḥasan al-Ṣawwāf, and shaykh Dāwud al-ʿAjamī. Then three of the Maghribīs: ʿĪsá al-Muftī, the *ḥājjī* ʿAlī al-Zuʿrī, and the teacher of children, shaykh Masʿūd [al-Maghribī].[13]

Although Ibn Maymūn repeatedly reprehended both military and civilian officials for their conduct, he gathered followers from all four law schools and had influence on both Malikite and Hanafite *muftīs* and on the governor Sībāy (r. 912–22/1506–16).[14] Besides the juridical and administrative establishment, he enjoyed close ties to central members of the local Qādirīyah and Shādhilīyah Sufis, and he formed his own Sufi circle, among whose members ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī, and Muḥammad Ibn ʿArrāq were the most important ones.[15]

Ibn Maymūn's prominence was partly a result of his asceticism and partly of the efficacy of his supplicatory prayers. He and Ibn Ḥabīb often had joint nightly visions *(ashbāḥ)*.[16] In 913, an important year also for the following discussion, Ibn Maymūn read out a scroll *(darj)* in the Umayyad Mosque, in which he "cautioned the Turks and their likes against committing injustice" and warned "the jurists and judges" against "eating the funds of the endowments." Immediately after he had finished his presentation, long awaited rain started falling.[17] As one can see from the topics he addresses in this scroll, his stance on forbidding wrong had tightened after his return from the Ottoman realms. Nonetheless, he withdrew from Damascus to the Syrian littoral for the last years of his life, where he joined the defense of the coastal town of Batrūn and later settled in Majdal Maʿūsh. In Batrūn he returned to his earlier engagement in defensive Holy War. His student Ibn ʿArrāq likewise settled in the area of Beirut for a period, where he built

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[13] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:49. On the Banū Sulṭān, see Kristof D'hulster, "Caught Between Aspiration and Anxiety, Praise and Exhortation: An Arabic Literary Offering to the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 44, no. 2 (2013): 181–239.

[14] On Sībāy's two terms as governor, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām al-warā bi-man wulliya nāʾiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1984), 199–227.

[15] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:59–68, 2:148, 206–13, 242–46. See also Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn."

[16] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:59, 244.

[17] Ibid., 1:274–76.

a *zāwiyah/ribāṭ* (around 923/1517–18), which played a role in the defense of the coast.[18]

To depict ʿAlī ibn Maymūn as an exceptional character, Winter (2014) makes use of Nathan Hofer's recent typology of different emanations of Sufism in Mamluk Egypt. Hofer distinguishes between four diverse groups of Sufis: state-sponsored, state-sanctioned, non-state-sanctioned, and subaltern Sufism.[19] Winter situates ʿAlī ibn Maymūn within the third group, for it resembles those Sufi networks Hofer finds in Upper Egypt, which were characterized by their low degree of institutionalization[20] and an active antagonism to Shiʿites, Christians, and by an enforcement of "Islamic" norms, inspired by Malikite influences from the Maghrib. Furthermore, both authors describe these groups as "anti-state," "whose [armed] antagonism to the Mamluk regime led to violence that was quickly crushed by the state."[21] In my opinion, Hofer goes too far in his conclusions; or rather, he portrays the involvement of those Sufis only from one side. The presence of more aggressive Sufis on the frontiers of the Sultanate, be they in Upper Egypt or on the Syrian littoral, was well within the interests of the Mamluk state. They constituted a counterweight to other local actors, especially in times when the sultans had to concentrate on establishing or maintaining their power "at home."[22] Moreover, the *ribāṭ*s in which they gathered were often endowed by members of the Mamluk caste. The involvement of Sufis in border zones also helped to stabilize the Sultanate. Occasional tensions with Mamluk amirs should therefore be regarded as an integral part of the system of rule itself.[23]

Contrary to Winter's assessment that "Sufis in the East had no war-like qualities whatsoever,"[24] Daphna Ephrat has shown that other Syrian mystics enacted their faith both in prayer and warfare. Operating from their respective *zāwiyah*s in Jaffa and Arsuf, the Qādirī Sufis Aḥmad Ibn Arslān (d. 844/1440) and Muḥammad Abū al-ʿAwn al-Jaljūlī (d. 910/1504) combined prayer, instruction in religious doc-

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[18] Winter calls the structure a *ribāṭ*. In contrast, Howayda Al-Harithy denotes it as a *zāwiyah*. The differentiation between these two categories became increasingly blurred during the fifteenth century. Winter, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire," 154–55; Howayda Al-Harithy, "Weaving Historical Narratives: Beirut's Last Mamluk Monument," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 215–30.

[19] Nathan C. Hofer, "Sufism, State, and Society in Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1309" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2011), 16–21.

[20] For Hofer's discussion on the use of this term, see ibid., 21–40.

[21] Winter, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire," 150.

[22] Meloy makes a convincing argument about the connections between Barsbāy's measures against economic elites in the capital and the rise of local powers in the peripheries; John Meloy, "Economic Intervention and the Political Economy of the Mamluk State under al-Ashraf Barsbāy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2005): 85–103, in particular 86.

[23] Cf. the introductory remarks of Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 1–2.

[24] Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 288.

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trine and practice, and a defensive interpretation of *jihād* to shape (and defend) local communities on the littoral of southern Bilād al-Shām.[25] Although Ephrat does not address the issue of commanding right at length, her study demonstrates that Ibn Maymūn was no exceptional case in his insistence on nor in his approach to it. Local Sufis—and ulama—had been involved in the defense of the coast for several generations before his arrival. Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn himself was, if not the only, certainly the most visible Damascene proponent in the refortification of coastal towns (see below).

A second important aspect addressed by Ephrat is the *madhhab* change from Hanbalism to Shafiʿism undergone by the two Qādirīs. It allowed them to be integrated "into the scholarly circles and state-supported institutions of the *madhhab*" and "provided the Qādirī shaykhs with an additionally meaningful resource of authority which facilitated their social ascent," even where they did not create familial ties with established scholarly families.[26] Ibn Maymūn's strategy was indeed more "anti-establishment" than that. However, he pursued similar goals as those Syrian Sufis. Winter concedes that the institutionalization of his circle into an "order" only occurred under his student Ibn ʿArrāq and thus only under the altered conditions after the Ottoman conquest. Although he was able to create a network which contested that of the *shaykh al-islām* Taqī al-Dīn, both in its outlook on *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* and in its reach into different segments of society and institutions, and his name appears in more than thirty biographies in al-Ghazzī's *Kawākib al-sāʾirah* alone, Ibn Maymūn withdrew from Damascus after a mere decade. This can be interpreted as a capitulation in the face of his failed attempt at breaking the "intellectual integration of Ashʿarism, late-Sunni madhhabism, and Sharīʿa-bound Sufism," in which "theological, legal, and mystical elements" would be entangled to such an extent that critique of one element would affect the whole edifice.[27]

Finally, Winter states that "Ibn Maymūn did not make much of his Mālikī identity."[28] While this proves partly correct in terms of *madhhab* identities—his closest allies in Damascus were mostly Malikis *and* Maghribīs—it does not ac-

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[25]E.g., Daphna Ephrat, "The Shaykh, the Physical Setting and the Holy Site: The Diffusion of the Qādirī Path in Late Medieval Palestine," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (2009): 13, 15. I disagree, however, with Ephrat's interpretation (pp. 12–13) that by the early 1500s the ideal of a Sufi "as a zealous warrior" would have disappeared. Christian pirate attacks and the increasing activities of the Ottoman navy did still pose threats, and indeed the Mamluks even increased their own coastal defenses at that time (see below).

[26]Ibid., 3.

[27]Matthew Ingalls, "Recasting Qushayrī's Risāla in Fifteenth-Century Egypt," *Journal of Sufi Studies* (2013): 93–120, 462; cf. Hofer, "Sufism, State, and Society," 17, who restricts this notion to state-sponsored Sufism.

[28]Winter, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire," 151.

count for the adherence to creeds and their attitudes towards commanding right. Already Hofer draws attention to the specific (Maghribī) Malikite attitude towards the *amr bi-al-maʿrūf,*[29] which often stood at odds with the mainstream Ashʿarī position in Egypt.[30] Winter (1977) even declares that Ibn Maymūn's Sufis were the successors of earlier Hanbalis in their approach to commanding right and forbidding wrong.[31] As will be demonstrated below, in terms of creed, Ibn Maymūn did pay great attention to his Maliki-Maghribī identity.

Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn

"Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ṣidq Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharaf ibn Manṣūr ibn Maḥmūd ibn Tawfīq ibn ʿAbd Allāh, known as Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn al-Zuraʿī, then al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī"[32] still awaits a study of his life and opus, although he was a central scholarly and—as the Shafiʿi *shaykh al-islām*—also political figure not only in Damascus, but in the Mamluk Sultanate more generally. Despite his visibility in chronicles and biographical works from his time, only occasionally has he been mentioned in publications focused on other figures or aspects of late Mamluk Damascus. The absence of studies on his person and the Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn family in general has led to misidentifications and may result in misconceptions of larger processes.[33]

Although Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn cannot be counted among the polymaths of the period per se (in numbers, his oeuvre ranks even behind that of Ibn Maymūn), his influence as a scholar and teacher was compared by al-Ghazzī to that of the Cairene chief judge Zakariyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520).[34] He was counted

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[29]Hofer, "Sufism, State, and Society," 151–52.

[30]I have not found any mention of proponents of Maṭūrīdī positions, perhaps because this position was especially strong among Hanafis?

[31]Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 302.

[32]ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Beirut, 1982), 8:157.

[33]For instance, Pierre Moukarzel misidentifies him as Taqī al-Dīn, a son of the actual judge of ʿAjlūn. Admittedly, Moukarzel's interest was in the city of Beirut but a closer reading of Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Mufākahah,* in which Taqī al-Dīn is a recurring figure, would have easily remedied this mistake. Pierre Moukarzel, *La ville de Beyrouth sous la domination mamelouke (1291–1516) et son commerce avec l'Europe* (Hadath-Baabda, Lebanon, 2010), 113.

[34]Most recently, Matthew Ingalls has published extensively on al-Anṣārī. In addition to his article cited in footnote 27, see idem, "Between Center and Periphery: The Development of the Sufi Fatwa in Late-Medieval Egypt," in *Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200–1800,* ed. John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander, 146–63; idem, "Reading the Sufis as Scripture through the *Sharḥ Mamzūj*: Reflections on a Late-Medieval Sufi Commentary," *Oriens* 41, no. 3–4 (2013): 457–77; idem, "Šarḥ, Iḫtiṣār, and Late-Medieval Legal Change: A Working Paper," *ASK Working Papers* 17 (2014).

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among the three outstanding jurists of his times, and around the time of the Ottoman conquest, the Shafiʿite *mashhad* of the Damascene Umayyad Mosque was known as "the *mashhad* of shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn."[35] While a full-fledged intellectual biography is beyond the scope of this article, it seems thus appropriate to introduce him in more detail than his counterpart. Moreover, his biography may serve as a fitting example of the impact of family connections on a person's career opportunities, and thus illustrates the background against which Ibn Maymūn's complaints should be seen.[36]

The Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn apparently reached Damascus in several waves from the provincial town of ʿAjlūn during the first half of the fifteenth century.[37] They seem to have been part of a larger influx from that region, which in turn perpetuated preexisting networks and enabled faster promotion in the political center of Mamluk Syria. For example, Taqī al-Dīn and both his brothers studied with the prominent jurist Zayn al-Dīn Khaṭṭāb (808–78), who also originated from ʿAjlūn.[38] Through links established either by his father (and possibly uncles) or older brothers, Taqī al-Dīn was able to study with eminent authorities, especially in the field of law *(fiqh):* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shirwānī (d. 873/1468), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459), Ṣāliḥ al-Bulqīnī (d. 868/1464), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 842/1438), and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Bardis (d. 846/1442) had all taught at least one of his relatives before. Both jurists in their own right, his father Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 865/1461) and his oldest brother Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 876/1472) also ranked among his teachers. Moreover, they had already established networks of mutual assistance in Cairo from which Taqī al-Dīn profited.[39] In these aspects, the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn

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[35] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān: tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Shām,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1964), 2:73; idem, "Dhakhāʾir al-qaṣr fī tarājim nubalāʾ al-ʿaṣr," Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS Orient A 1779, fol. 77v. Ibn Ṭūlūn also counted him among his teachers and frequently refers to his studies with him throughout his corpus. See, e.g., idem, "Al-Fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn," ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Rasāʾil Tārīkhīyah* 1 (1929): 7, 10.

[36] Cf. Irmeli Perho, "Climbing the Ladder: Social Mobility in the Mamluk Period," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011): 19–35.

[37] For more information on this family see Torsten Wollina, "The Banu Qadi ʿAjlun: Family or Dynasty?" *Dyntran Working Papers* 19 (Dec. 2016) (https://dyntran.hypotheses.org/1623).

[38] See their biographies: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1936), 4:87–88, 8:96–97, 11:38–39.

[39] Al-Sakhāwī mentions his first journey in 860 but it seems possible that he had already accompanied his oldest brother Najm al-Dīn when the latter was introduced to Egyptian scholars ten years earlier. On the mentioned journey, he might have accompanied his uncle ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who returned from Cairo in 862. Ibid., 9:96; ʿAbd al-Qādir Ibn Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris* (Damascus, 1948), 1:640.

resembled other great Damascene families such as the Banū Jamāʿah, the Banū Furfūr, or the Banū Mufliḥ.

Taqī al-Dīn further profited from his kinship ties in his appointments to positions in religious institutions. On the one hand, these positions were transmitted within the lineage or the wider family: from father to son, from brother to brother, from uncle to nephew, or from father- to son-in-law.[40] Thus, his father left teaching posts in the Falakīyah, Bādarrāʾīyah, and Dawlaʿīyah madrasahs to be shared by his sons. On the other hand, the above-mentioned creation of teacher-student relations in earlier generations added to the accumulation of offices in the hands of several members of the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn. Zayn al-Dīn Khaṭṭāb appointed Najm al-Dīn as his successor in the ʿUmarīyah madrasah in Ṣāliḥīyah and Taqī al-Dīn as the one in the Shāmīyah al-Barrānīyah. Badr al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah also left one post each to Najm al-Dīn and Taqī al-Dīn—and four to their cousin Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 891/1486).[41] Most of these posts seem to have been accumulated in Taqī al-Dīn's hands after his two brothers' untimely deaths (876/1472 and 878/1473).[42]

By Taqī al-Dīn's time, the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn were thus well established in Damascus. They also had established marriage ties with the Ḥusaynī, Ikhnāʾī, Ṭībī, and the prominent Hanbali Ibn Mufliḥ families.[43] These connections played into Taqī al-Dīn's widespread acceptance as a religious or legal authority. On the other hand, they made him an obvious target of Ibn Maymūn's complaints about the closedness of the system of appointments to religious institutions.

Family ties also played a role in the transmission of knowledge. Family members would proliferate works through teaching, copying, or endowing copies. They would also exchange ideas and might inherit one another's notes, if not books. Taqī al-Dīn's own oeuvre was to a large degree influenced by his oldest brother's works. The following list names those of Najm al-Dīn's works I could identify by name and (where possible) by surviving manuscript copies (in addition to personal and place names, the first words of book titles within the titles are capitalized, and also italicized).

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[40] Cf. Joseph Escovitz, *The office of qâḍî al-quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), 102–3.

[41] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:175–76, 381, 428, 440, 484; 2:109, 295–96.

[42] In this, if only accidentally, the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn contrast with Chamberlain's discussion of property transmission in Damascene families; cf. idem., *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 27–28.

[43] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq: Mudhakkirāt kutibat bi-Dimashq fī awākhir al-ʿahd al-mamlūkī,* ed. Shaykh Jaʿfar al-Muhājir(Damascus, 2000–7), 1:536; 2:616; 4:1734, 1792, 1861.

1.   1. Badīʿ al-maʿānī fī sharḥ ʿaqīdat al-Shaybānī [44]
2.   2. Al-Taḥrīr [45]
3.   3.–5. Taṣḥīḥ *Al-Minhāj* al-muṭawwal (or al-kabīr)/al-mutawassiṭ/al-mukhtaṣar [46]
4.   6. Al-Futūḥ [47]
5.   7. Asʾilah fiqhīyah maʿa ajwibatihā [48]
6.   8. Al-Tāj fī zawāʾid *Al-Rawḍah* ʿalá *Al-Minhāj* [49]
7.   9. Mughnī al-rāghibīn fī *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* [50]
8.   10. Masʾalah fī ḥukm al-sujūd li-al-sahw idhā ṣallá man lam yunqaṭ [51]
9.   11. Fatāwá Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn [52]

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[44] Where possible, I have not only identified the manuscripts in which works of Najm al-Dīn can be found but, set apart by a /, also the item they constitute within any given manuscript. Manuscript copies: Algiers, Maktabat Shaykh al-Mawhūb MS KA 29; London, British Library, British Museum MSS Or. 4264, 1253, 4375/3; Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MSS 99/13 (fols. 98–105, 970 H.), 661 (34 fols.); Istanbul, Süleymaniyye Kütüphanesi MS Fatih 3095/2, MS Şehid A. 637, MS Reşid 318/1; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale MS Or. 3204; Princeton, Firestone Library MSS Garrett 224Y, Garrett 1563, New Series 2096/3; Tokyo, Daiber Collection MSS 2412, 2423; Yale, Beinecke Library MS Arabic MSS suppl. 124; Yemen, Majmūʿat ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad […] ibn Ḥusayn Ghamḍān: MS Majmūʿat 84. There are also another four copies held in King Saud University, Saudi Arabia, according to the so-called grey website (of unclear legal status) http://al-mostafa.us/.

Furthermore, it was published in Baghdad in the early 1920s; see Fuʾād Afrām al-Bustānī, "Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn," *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif: Qāmūs ʿĀmm li-Kull Fann wa-Maṭlab 3: Min Ibn al-Khaṭīb ilá Ibn al-Mājishūn* (Beirut, 1960), 446. A summary of this work was done by Ibn Maymūn's student ʿAlwān ibn ʿAṭiyah al-Ḥamawī in 925/1519; Hans Daiber, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Daiber Collection II: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo* (Tokyo, 1996), 420 (no. 2095); Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–2010), 1:431–43.

[45] "This is a great commentary; should it be written in clean copy it would fill volumes." Al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:347f.

[46] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:97.

[47] "A commentary on the *minhāj* about ʿ*qadr al-ʿājila*'"; al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:347f.

[48] MS copy: Dār al-Kutub MS 861 Majāmīʿ.

[49] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:347f.; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:97. MS copy: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MS 3839. A facsimile of fol. 72v is included in Arberry's catalogue. It "contains the author's autograph reading-certificate dated, at Cairo, 27 Ramaḍān 869 (31 August 1465)." Arthur John Arberry, *The Chester Beatty library: A handlist of the Arabic manuscripts* (Dublin, 1955–64), 4:plate 112.

[50] MS copy: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MS 3290.

[51] "[O]n the sacrifices among the people of the Book"; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:97. MS copy: Maktabah al-Khālidīyah MS 1074 (fiqh wa-uṣūluh 415/12).

[52] MS copy: Maktabah al-Khālidīyah MS 242. I did not have a chance to look at this manuscript. It could, in fact, be the below-mentioned collection of Taqī al-Dīn's *fatāwá,* compiled by Ibn Ṭawq.

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10. 12. Naṣīḥat al-aḥbāb fī lubs farw al-sinjāb[53]
11. 13. Risālah fī dhabāʾiḥ al-mushrikīn[54]
12. 14. [Versification of *Al-Murabbaʿ fī al-muthallath al-lughawīyah* by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dīrīnī (d. 694/1295].[55]
13. 15. [Collection of *ijāzah*s].[56]

Taqī al-Dīn wrote considerably fewer works, most of which are rather modest in size. Judging by the number and geographical dispersion of manuscript copies, none of his works had an impact like his brother's work on al-Shaybānī's creed (no. 1). This list continues the one before and follows the same premises.

14. 16. Iʿlām al-nabīh bi-mā zāda ʿalá *Al-Minhāj* min *Al-Ḥāwī* wa-*Al-Bahjah* wa-*Al-Tanbīh*[57]
15. 17. Iʿlān dhawī al-albāb bi-anna subḥānaka mā ʿarafnāka ḥaqqa maʿrifatika huwa al-ṣawāb[58]
16. 18. Al-Kifāyah fī taṣḥīḥ *Al-Ghāyah*[59]
17. 19. Kitāb mukhtaṣar taṣḥīḥ *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*[60]
18. 20. Risālat ʿimāmat al-nabī[61]
19. 21. Al-Zawāʾid ʿalá al-minhāj al-faraʿī[62]

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[53]MS copies: Leipzig, Refaiya Library MS Vollers 876/2; Dār al-Kutub MS 861 Majāmīʿ; Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqṣá MS 1073, MS mutafarriqāt labās 415/11; Daiber Collection MS Or 9767/3; British Library MS Or. 9767/3.

[54]See Kātib Çelebī, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum = Kashf al-ẓunūn* (Leipzig, 1842), vol. 3 (http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/ssg/content/pageview/1397611) (accessed 15 April 2016). See also al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:347f: "on the prohibition of silk brocade for Jews and Christians in these times."

[55]Sezgin, *GAS,* 8:65.

[56]According to ʿUmar Riḍá Kaḥḥālah, the manuscript was in the Ẓāhirīyah library in Damascus; idem, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* (Damascus, 1960), 224.

[57]MS copies: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS Or. A 977; Alexandria, Maktabat al-Baladīyah MS Alex. Fun. 1981; Dār al-Kutub MS 6/fiqh shāfiʿī/m (copy from 921 H = ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl, Beirut, 2005).

[58]MS copy: Chester Beatty Library MS Ar. 3296/11.

[59]According to al-Sakhāwī, it only consisted of a quire *(kurrāsah)*; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 11:39. MS copy: Maktabat Masjid al-Aqṣá MS 990 (fiqh wa-uṣūluh 330/2).

[60]MS copies: Firestone Library MS Garrett 1843Y (from 911/1505); Dār al-Kutub MS 351 Majāmīʿ Taymūr, vol. 2; originally also in Chester Beatty Library MS Ar. 3317, now lost (see index, f. 1r). The latter two are autograph multiple text manuscripts penned and compiled by Ibn Ṭūlūn.

[61]MS copy: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana MS Arab. 259/2.

[62]Mentioned by Ibn Ṭūlūn in the account of his death: *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-yawmīyah ghadāt al-ghazw al-ʿuthmānī lil-Shām, 926–951 H: ṣafaḥāt mafqūdah tunsharu lil-marrah al-ūlá min Kitāb Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān li-Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī,* ed. Ahmad Ibish (Damascus, 2002), 143.

20.   22. ʿUmdat al-nuẓẓār fī taṣḥīḥ *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*[63]
21.   23. An untitled [*mansak laṭīf*].[64]
22.   24. [Collection of *fatāwá*][65]
23.   25. [Work on Bāb Jayrūn/*Al-Kanz al-akbar fī al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*][66]

Yet, a comparison by numbers does not do justice to the entanglement of both brothers' writing. Indeed, the *ʿUmdat al-nuẓẓār* (no. 22) is ascribed in different catalogues to both brothers.[67] This should not be dismissed as an honest mistake nor as sloppy cataloguing; rather it shows the amount of work Taqī al-Dīn put into the edition and publication of his brother's writings. Al-Sakhāwī suggests that Taqī al-Dīn undertook his second journey to Mecca with the single aim of editing Najm al-Dīn's *Taḥrīr* (no. 2) into a published work, "but allegedly he could not do it accurately *(lam yastaṭiʿ al-ḥurr)*."[68] This work had remained a draft of "about 400 quires *(kurrāsah)*."[69] Nonetheless, Taqī al-Dīn's interventions secured large parts of his works and, at the same time, recreated them as they were perceived by later generations—and certainly increased their relevance within the subsequent tradition. Without him, who taught and commented upon his brother's works,

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[63]MS copies: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS Or. A 102/2; British Library MS Or. 9589/1. The cataloguer of the Princeton manuscript collection is of the opinion that this title is identical with no. 19 but the title is not used by either of the contemporary copyists of the text (see footnote 59); see "Kitāb mukhtaṣar Taṣḥīḥ Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār," notes (https://pulsearch. princeton.edu/catalog/4782613).

[64]Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab,* 8:157.

[65]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:116; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-yawmīyah,* 143. Some of his fatwas can also be found in BNF MS arabe 5054, fols. 212–13, 221–22. I thank Kristina Richardson for that information.

[66]According to Ibn Ṭawq, Taqī al-Dīn wrote one work about both the Bāb Jayrūn and about commanding right, *Taʿlīq,* 2:842. It appears that a part of this work concerned with Bāb Jayrūn is preserved in Ibn Ṭūlūn's work *Qurrāt al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār Bāb Jayrūn* (ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Majallat Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* 39, no. 1 [1964]: 276–94). The second title derives from the Damascene MS 3745, which apparently is a copy made by Ibn Ṭawq and dates to 894/1488–89—the same year in which he notes Taqī al-Dīn's composing this work. See Wollina, "Traces of Ibn Ṭawq" (https://thecamel.hypotheses.org/94). Another albeit untitled manuscript copy seems to be British Library MS Or. 9589/4.

[67]The Gotha copy of a commentary to this work attributes it to Najm al-Dīn, whereas the entry for a Cairene copy (MS Majāmīʿ Taymūr 351) names Taqī al-Dīn as the author. Interestingly, the latter is to be found in the same item as many of Ibn Ṭūlūn's minor works. See http://www.al-furqan.com/our_is_item/manid/728378/groupid/1 (accessed 5 May 2016).

[68]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 11:39.

[69]Ibid., 8:97; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī: Ṣafaḥāt majhūlah min tārīkh Dimashq fī ʿaṣr al-mamālīk (min sanat 871 h li-ghāyat 904 h),* ed. Akram Ḥusayn al-ʿUlabī (Damascus, 1988), 52–53.

Najm al-Dīn's influence on the further tradition would thus have been clipped decisively by his untimely death.

Even Taqī al-Dīn's active involvement in commanding right and forbidding wrong seems to have followed in the footsteps of older family members. About Najm al-Dīn's activities in this area, nothing is recorded, but al-Sakhāwī states that he rejected work as a judge (although al-Sakhāwī ascribes his refusal to an act of pride). Their brother Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's engagement is made more explicit in al-Buṣrawī's obituary: allegedly he had a lot of disputes with the Mamluks and even the sultan over issues of commanding right. Al-Buṣrawī further portrays their uncle Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn in a similar way *(mudārīyan lil-nās).*[70] Taqī al-Dīn's own involvement centered on campaigns against the alcohol trade and the refortification of Beirut, and both aspects are repeatedly emphasized by several contemporary chroniclers (although less so by his biographers). In contrast, Ibn Maymūn is rarely mentioned in these contexts but rather when he (as well as other Maghribīs) attacked jurists such as Taqī al-Dīn.

Al-Amr bi-al-Maʿrūf

Michael Cook's monograph *Commanding right and forbidding wrong in Islamic thought* (2000) is to date the most exhaustive study on the subject. Cook applies a large array of sources to unearth the debates within (and across) different law schools throughout Islamic history. Its applications range between admonition of individual believers to observe the prayer and organized action against public digressions; in exceptional cases it would even legitimate revolts against an (unjust) ruler. The most frequently mentioned "evils" were the performance of music, the consumption of alcohol, and sexual misconduct.[71]

With the exception of the Hanbalites, no law school developed its own concept of the duty. Commanding right was not an issue debated between *madhhab*s but between creeds *(ʿaqīdah)*. Yet, there are tendencies, and while the Hanafites tended rather towards an accommodationist stance, many Shafiʿites and Malikites turned towards Ashʿarism, which often had a critical perspective on a ruler's abilities and willingness to forbid wrong, although its proponents differ in how far criticism of a ruler can go. As the main points of discussion, Cook thus identifies three interrelated issues: first, who was allowed to declare something to be "wrong"; second, who should enforce the prohibition; and third, how far can one go in performing it. This triad was developed into a "tri-partite division of labor" which distinguished that "performance 'with the hand' is for rulers (imāms and

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[70]Ibid., 28, 58.

[71]Michael Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong in Islamic thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 90.

sulṭāns), performance 'with the tongue' for scholars (ulamā) and performance 'in (or with) the heart' for the common people (āmma)."[72] Not all scholars, however, agreed on this division of tasks. On the first point, positions ranged between a restriction to the learned class, and a wider definition, which was also held by the important Shafiʿite/Ashʿarite author al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), that conceded that "lay people" could forbid wrong, "as long as they do not use force and as long as their activity does not lead to the spread of violence or *fitan*."[73] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) restricted their involvement to "open-and-shut cases such as wine-drinking, adultery and failure to pray."[74]

Following a Hanbalite acquiescence with the state by the thirteenth century, mainstream opinion in all four Sunni law schools held that the performance of the duty was a ruler's prerequisite, at least as far as armed conflict was concerned. One exception to the rule was when a ruler was found to be unjust: "If the ruler of the time *(wālī al-waqt)* acts in a manifestly unjust fashion, and does not respond to verbal admonition, then it is for 'the people of binding and loosing' [i.e., the people in power] (*ahl al-ḥall wal-aqd*) to prevent him, even if this means doing battle with him."[75] Interesting for our purposes is that the great Sufi master Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) was among those who favored the observance of the duty under any circumstances.[76]

The third question of how far one could or should go in the performance of the duty is perhaps the most essential one to understand historical practice. When or whether one should engage in the violent aspects of the duty was, for those authors who would not outright deny it to people other than the rulers, subject to what Cook calls "the efficacy-harm matrix."[77] It is well summarized in the doctrinal statements of the early Maliki Ashʿarite al-Bājī (d. 474/1081). He distinguishes three conditions for proceeding with the duty. The first one makes it possible to proceed, whereas only the last one makes it obligatory. The efficacy-harm matrix enters the picture twice. Al-Bājī's first condition is that a person has to be able to tell right from wrong. The second one is "that his action will not bring about a wrong equal to or greater than the one he is acting against," either against himself (killing him) or against society more general (sedition/*fitnah*). The third condition, which obligates the believer to act, is that he can be sure of the success

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[72]Ibid., 138.

[73]Khaled Medhat Abou El Fadl, "The Islamic law of rebellion: The rise and development of the juristic discourses on insurrection, insurgency and brigandage" (Ph.D. diss, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1999), 210.

[74]Cook, *Commanding right,* 433.

[75]Ibid., 346.

[76]Ibid., 366.

[77]Ibid., 359, 446.

of his intervention.[78] Al-Bājī speaks here only about verbal reprimands but it ap-plies even more to the use of violence. At the heart of the Ashʿarī position stood the concern that, "in most cases, the harm of rebellion is greater because it leads to the shedding of blood and the creation of various disasters."[79] Which is why, in general, Ashʿarī scholars would advise against the performance of the duty if it meant a confrontation with the rulers.

While Cook acknowledges the divergence between debates and historical prac-tice, he does not deal with the latter in detail. Nonetheless, these debates provide a sufficient backdrop against which the contemporary practices can be examined. In Hofer's typology, this "shariʿah-bound Sufism" would correlate to the first two groups of state-sponsored and state-sanctioned groups, whereas the non-state-sponsored groups contested this edifice. Groups such as the Upper Egyptian Sufis described by Hofer or Ibn Maymūn's circles did not agree that commanding right depended on a balancing of benefits *(maṣlaḥah)* and risks *(mafsadah)* but rather were influenced by a different tradition, reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah's or Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥalīmī al-Jurjānī's (d. 403/1012) equation of commanding right and Holy War *(jihād),* thus permitting the use of violence.[80] Local non-(Sunni) Mus-lims in particular were likened to external enemies.[81] Although Ibn al-ʿArabī does not make the link to Holy War explicitly, he allowed for the forbidding wrong to be considered an individual obligation (under certain conditions) and one that brought the reward of martyrdom.[82] These points must have thus contributed to Ibn Maymūn's understanding, which was to a large degree based on Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings. His practice also responds in great parts to al-Ghazzālī's doc-trine, in particular in two points. The first point is that a ruler's permission is not necessary to perform the forbidding of wrongs—verbal reprehension can even be used against the ruler himself.[83] The second point is an analogy with *jihād,* which justifies its performance even against difficult odds:

> A lone Muslim may hurl himself at the ranks of the enemy and be killed where this will be to the advantage of the Muslims, as by damaging the morale of the enemy. In the same way, it is permis-sible and indeed virtuous for someone forbidding wrong to expose himself to being beaten up or killed where such action will be ef-

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[78] Ibid., 363.

[79] Abou El Fadl, "The Islamic law of rebellion," 211.

[80] Cook, *Commanding right,* 152, 341. However, none of these authors leaves the discourse on *maṣlaḥah* and *mafsadah* completely.

[81] Albrecht Fuess, "Ottoman Ġazwah Mamluk Ǧihād: Two Arms on the Same Body," in *Everything is on the move,* ed. Conermann, 269–82, 373–75.

[82] Cook, *Commanding right,* 366.

[83] Ibid., 430–32.

fective in righting the wrong, discrediting the wrongdoer or en-
couraging the faithful.[84]

The main fault lines between Ibn Maymūn's (as well as other Malikites') and
Taqī al-Dīn's (as well as other Ashʿarī scholars') notions of commanding right
and forbidding wrong revolved around these three major questions: Who should
perform it, under which conditions should they perform it, and by which means
could they perform it? As will be shown in the following, Taqī al-Dīn vouched
for an approach that was informed by consensus between scholars (and Sufis),
Mamluks, and the populace. As will be demonstrated below, he aimed at avoiding
armed conflicts, while, at the same time, protecting those who forbade wrong. I
cannot say how far his practice resembled those ideas he penned in *Al-Kanz al-
akbar fī al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (no. 25). I have not yet been
able to consult any manuscript of this text (see above, n. 66). Ibn Ṭawq takes note
of the work's composition in his diary:

> [14.4.894/17.3.1489] Our master the *shaykh al-islām* [Taqī al-Dīn Ibn
> Qāḍī ʿAjlūn] compiled a work about the Bāb Jayrūn of the Umayyad
> Mosque—may his life time be expanded for the sake of the Mus-
> lims—in about one quire *(kurrās)* of paper in half-*baladī* format [i.e.,
> quarto format]. It contains the words *(kalām)* of the famous ancient
> and later learned imams, and those whose words have been heard
> in this time and who have known the place [i.e., the Bāb Jayrūn]
> after the invasion of Tīmūr. [It contains also] what was said about
> the attraction of *(targhīb)* and the intimidation against *(tarhīb)* com-
> manding right and forbidding wrong, among other things [invoca-
> tion]. He wrote several copies of the work.[85]

Ibn Ṭawq's synopsis of the work itself is more than terse but nonetheless the
entry indicates the centrality of the concept within legal discourse and how Taqī
al-Dīn approached the issue through opinions of earlier authorities. I assume that
the terms *targhīb* and *tarhīb* bespeak Taqī al-Dīn's acknowledgement of the impor-
tance of the duty but cautions against extreme interpretations of it at the same
time.[86]

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[84] Ibid., 433.

[85] Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 2:842. As mentioned above in footnote 65, Ibn Ṭawq copied this work as well.
His copy (in Damascus MS 3745) amounts to seven folios. I have not yet had the chance to see
this manuscript.

[86] These terms could also be an allusion to the work *Al-Targhīb wa-al-tarhīb min al-ḥadīth al-sharīf*
by Zakī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī (1185–1258), several editions of which
have been published.

Ibn Maymūn's stance, on the other hand, is depicted by the sources as rather unrelenting and, indeed, very critical of the Mamluk commitment to forbidding wrong. His involvement, however, seems to have focused on his own clique of followers. In particular, he forbade his followers to engage with either rulers or the populace, and even the Hanafite *muftī* Ibn Ramaḍān eventually complied *(inʿazala ʿan al-nās).*[87] In this position, Ibn Maymūn resembled the earlier Hanbalites. When his students diverged from (his narrow version of) the Sunnah, he would also resort to violent reprimands: "he got extremely angry when he saw his followers *(murīdīn)* commit vices and he would beat them with a stick."[88] Ibn Maymūn's position on the matter is attested better in words than in deeds, however, as is evidenced by the title of his work *Bayān ghurbat al-Islām fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (The absence of Islam from Egypt and Syria). The work's primary target was the Damascene jurists and what Ibn Maymūn declaimed as their innovative practices. In fact, it seems that the work's main argument appears to address the Mamluk sultans (and governors). Since the jurists (or rather pretend jurists—*mutafaqqihūn*) committed *bidʿah* in many of their practices, the rulers should intervene (likewise, the activities of popular preachers should be curtailed). Ibn Maymūn even prioritized this "internal *jihād*" over wars against foreign kings.[89]

Although this work was composed only during his self-imposed exile in Majdal Maʿūsh, it reflects his approach during his involvement "on the scene" in Damascus as well. In the above-mentioned *fitnah* between him and Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn, he had brought up a similar accusation of the jurists "eating the funds of the endowments" before the governor Sībāy and the Shafiʿi chief judge Ibn al-Furfūr.[90] Ibn Maymūn did not even attend the session intended to solve the issue, for which he was first "disciplined with words and threatened." But then, "the governor was friendly towards him."[91] Winter (1977) also emphasizes the Sufi's hold over this governor and his calls for Mamluk intervention against scholarly practices that he deemed wrong.[92] I would thus maintain that Ibn Maymūn, unlike other Maghribīs of his time, was not anti-establishment per se, but rather sought to advance his own position within the hierarchy in place. After all, interrelations between the different status groups were simply too complex to advocate the entire system's downfall.[93] This interpretation is supported by the target of Ibn Maymūn's attacks: It is indeed striking that Maghribī Sufis directed their attacks

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[87] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:49.

[88] Ibid., 1:272.

[89] Goldziher, "ʿAlī Ibn Mejmūn," 324.

[90] On Ibn al-Furfūr, see Miura, "Urban Society."

[91] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:322.

[92] Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 305.

[93] Jonathan F. Berkey, "Mamluk Religious Policy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* (2009): 8.

against Taqī al-Dīn, who, for a long time, had been one of the most active figures in the fight against the alcohol trade in Damascus and also was involved in the defense of the Syrian littoral—both important areas of commanding right.

Campaigns against the Alcohol Trade

The duty to command right and forbid wrong encompasses a large number of areas, but, as Michael Cook states, the most frequent invocation of the duty happened in relation to making music, drinking alcohol, and sexual misconduct.[94] In late Mamluk Damascus, alcohol seems to have been the most prevalent issue of the three. Sexual misconduct was, of course, an issue, albeit one that never incited any large-scale retaliation. As two of Ibn Ṭūlūn's works demonstrate, it still raised controversies.[95] One major point of concern was the use of drums in mosques by the Sumādīyah Sufi order, which will be addressed in the following section. At the same time, the attitude towards music seems to have shifted in relation to earlier centuries. Tambourines and other instruments appear as customary elements in wedding celebrations, processions of troops, and festivities for the *khatm* in Ramaḍān.

The abuse and trade of alcohol and drugs as well as initiatives against them, however, are recurrent themes in the contemporary accounts. Moreover, while music was a subject that was debated, the issue of alcohol was "negotiated" on the streets, in several cases violently. Ibn Maymūn does not appear at all in this context, whereas Taqī al-Dīn was an important rallying point for a number of groups who took up the duty to abolish this wrong. Until the later 890s, the base of these operations was the Turābīyah *zāwiyah* in the Shāghūr quarter, which had been established by the Sufi shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥiṣnī (d. 829/1426) and had been run by his nephew Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 889/1485), whose obituary summarizes the dual character of the duty: "He taught the *fuqarāʾ* and recited for them the Quran and law. For a long time he performed the duty of commanding right and forbidding wrong, being an aid for the concerned and a defeat to the oppressors."[96]

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[94] Cook, *Commanding right,* 90.

[95] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Tashyīd al-ikhtiyār li-taḥrīm al-ṭabal wa-al-mizmār,* ed. Muḥammad Fatḥī al-Sayyid (Ṭanṭā, 1993); idem, "ʿUddat al-ḥirābah li-taḥrīm al-duff wa-al-shabbābah," in Dār al-Kutub MS 373 Taymūr Majāmīʿ.

[96] Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh,* 99; Muḥibb al-Dīn's involvement is also mentioned by al-Sakhāwī: *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 11:38. The Turābīyah appears to have fulfilled similar functions as those *zāwiyahs*/*ribāṭs* on the coast (see below). Among other things, it housed an important lending library of allegedly around 1,000 volumes "in the handwriting of shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī and others." But during the *dawādār* Āqbirdī's rebellion in 903/1497, a fire destroyed the building and the books burned or were looted. See Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:190; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 4:1555. On the rebellion, see

Occasionally, Taqī al-Dīn led raids on taverns and brothels himself, but more often he aided certain Sufi shaykhs who fit Hofer's definition. Taqī al-Dīn was repeatedly able to intercede on their behalf were they to be imprisoned by a Mamluk official. In 885/1480, he worked towards the release of one shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Naḥḥās (the coppersmith) whose group had apprehended a man carrying hashish,[97] and between 897/1492 and 899/1494 he interceded on behalf of Mubārak al-Qābūnī al-Ḥabashī, who led a very successful campaign against Christian alcohol traders.[98] However, this later campaign came to an abrupt end in Ramaḍān 899/June 1494, when Mubārak's short-term imprisonment led to a demonstration of his followers in front of the Bāb al-Barīd jail and subsequently to a brutal crackdown by the governor's troops, which left more than a hundred people dead.[99] It seems that this experience shook Taqī al-Dīn's resolve to go up against armed opposition (his house was also attacked in the aftermath).[100] In this, he shared a majority view among both scholars and the populace more generally. When Mubārak tried to continue his attacks on alcohol traders a few years later, the inhabitants of Qābūn, where his *zāwiyah* was situated, attacked him for disregarding their interests.[101] Until his death in Damascus in 944/1537, Mubārak henceforth all but disappears from the contemporary accounts.[102]

It would be convenient to frame the debate over the alcohol and drug trade in terms of an opposition between Sufis and "the state." Ibn Ṭawq even quotes Taqī al-Dīn saying: "The governor would save us the trouble if he [just] proclaimed an end to the places of vice *(maḥramāt)* and the taverns. Then neither [the Sufi shaykh] Mubārak nor anyone else would do a thing."[103] However, Taqī al-Dīn's involvement betrays that he tried to keep open as many channels as possible. When ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Naḥḥās was imprisoned, he first sent his own representative (a

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Miura, "Urban Society," 176–77; Torsten Wollina, "News and rumor—local sources of knowledge about the world," in *Everything is on the move*, ed. Conermann, 300–3.

[97] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:8–9.

[98] On him and his campaign, see Petry, 129–31; Torsten Wollina, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt- und Selbstbild im Journal des Aḥmad Ibn Tawq* (Göttingen, 2014), 178–81; idem, "News and Rumor," 306; idem, "The Changing Legacy of a Sufi Shaykh: Narrative Constructions in Diaries, Chronicles, and Biographies (15th–17th Centuries)," in *Mamluk historiography revisited: narratological perspectives,* ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen, 2017). Surprisingly these clashes over the fight on vices are excluded in Grehan's typology of "street violence"; Grehan, "Street violence."

[99] Wollina, "Changing Legacy."

[100] Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 3:1288–89.

[101] Ibid., 1512; 4:1531.

[102] Ibn Ṭūlūn only mentions him once again on the eve of the Ottoman conquest—albeit in a prominent position, as will be shown below—whereas he has two more appearances in Ibn Ṭawq's text; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 2:28; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 3:1513; 4:1531.

[103] Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 3:1273.

deputy judge) to the citadel but in vain. Then he consulted with the *ḥājib kabīr,* who would attempt twice to free ʿAbd al-Qādir, again without result.[104] By nightfall, Taqī al-Dīn called for a meeting in the *mashhad* of the Umayyad Mosque which included a number of religious functionaries. Also present was a number of *fuqarāʾ* (Sufis) "at the gates of the *mashhad.*" They agreed they would "convene with the gangs (*ghawghāʾ*) on the next day and shout Allāhu Akbar to free ʿAbd al-Qādir."[105] The situation was solved in the meantime by a change in leadership within the citadel: ʿAbd al-Qādir was released and even received apologies. In the following days, the new *muqaddam amīr* of the citadel—also named ʿAbd al-Qādir—ordered decorations, salutes by cannon shots, and a nightly procession for the occasion.[106]

At the time, *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* appears as a shared discourse by most actors involved. No mention of violence on either side is made. The Sufis did not harm the hashish seller but made him sign a written certification *(ishhād) t*hat he would abstain from further sales. He, in turn, went to the citadel to complain about the destruction of his property, a legal claim that was frequently acknowledged by jurists throughout the ages.[107] ʿAbd al-Qādir's imprisonment could be justified on these grounds.

However, the push-and-pull of, on the one hand, political and economic concerns of the Mamluks and, on the other, a more unyielding moral position of some Maghribī elements soon tested this fragile equilibrium. In 890/1485, Mamluk authorities reacted quite differently when a certain shaykh Maḥmūd led a group into the Qanawāt quarter "to end vices, alcohol *(khamr),*" responding immediately with military might (*fa-ṭalaʿa ʿalayhim mamālīk wa-ghulām … wa-rakaba baʿḍ Turk*). Likewise, during Mubārak's campaign the Mamluks became increasingly fickle.[108] On several occasions, armed conflict could only be averted narrowly. In Rabīʿ I 898/Jan. 1493, the capture of 20 loads of alcohol led to a siege of his *zāwiyah* in Qābūn, where the *dawādār*'s soldiers "taunted and provoked" Mubārak's followers. They also captured one of them and tortured him over the

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[104]It appears as if the *amr bi-al-maʿrūf* more generally fell into the tasks of the *ḥājib kabīr*. In 906/1500, Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions another case when he closed down taverns. In contrast, the *muḥtasib* is rather absent from such accounts. In 885/1481, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn had been consulted by the amir Uzbek about the appointment of the *muḥtasib*. He replied that "they should select him from among the men of the turban." Perhaps that shift could explain why this office deceased in importance? Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:31, 230.

[105]Ibid., 1:9.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Ibid., 1:8; Cook, *Commanding right,* 309, 324, 440.

[108]Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:459.

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next few days.[109] In the following month, another clash occurred just as Mubārak had closed down two taverns. Several people were injured, when the Mamluks attacked his entourage with lances, and four people were imprisoned. Taqī al-Dīn was able to release the prisoners on the same day. However, Mubārak's followers returned the following day and occupied the minarets of the Umayyad Mosque, shouting "Allahu Akbar" and raising a banner. The Shafiʿite chief judge urged Taqī al-Dīn to join them in the mosque and somehow get the situation under control. He refused to give the protest this legitimation and instead pleaded that they lower their voices, for he knew that the *dawādār* had already assembled his troops to subdue the protesters.[110]

Among the four captives was a peasant of the Muzalliq plantation *(mazraʿah).* While Hofer argues that the Upper Egyptian Sufis had clear group identities, this and other reports by Ibn Ṭawq of peasants and artisans joining the *fuqarāʾ* rather supports Tamer El-Leithy's interpretation that the *ḥarafīsh* probably took part in such attacks.[111] In Damascus, the *zuʿar* formed another element that was often coopted for street brawls, although not exclusively *against* the vices. Mubārak's immediate following was certainly important but often they would acquire additional help from the populace. In the case mentioned above, Ibn Ṭawq says Mubārak "was accompanied by a large force," in another "many folk gathered around him," and in his description of the largest clash, he elaborates that "many of the riffraff and bystanders without any work flocked to [the Sufis]."[112] Ibn Ṭūlūn also distinguishes between the Sufis, "the people of Ṣāliḥīyah, *al-nudrah,* and others," whereas Ibn Ayyūb denounces Mubārak's followers in general as "unruly youth *(ʿutūrat al-shabāb)."*[113] Thus in none of these events we can discern "the Sufis" as a clear-cut and distinct group.

Moreover, the inclusion of unruly elements did risk the public peace that Taqī al-Dīn had attempted to uphold as a mediator between the formal factions of the Shafiʿite qadi and the Mamluk factions on one side and several Sufi factions on the other. Yet, he was unwilling to put himself in the middle of a heated situation. The final straw was probably the escalation in Ramaḍān 899, which resulted in unrest that shut down public life in the city for several days. It is also the latest

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[109]Ibid., 3:1167.

[110]Ibid., 1174.

[111]Tamer El-Leithy, "Sufis, Copts and the Politics of Piety: Moral Regulation in Fourteenth-Century Upper Egypt," *Cahiers des Annales Islamologiques* (2006): 110–12; Hofer, "Sufism, State, and Society," 193–95.

[112]Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 3:1288.

[113]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:158; Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá Ibn Ayyūb, "Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir fīmā tayassiru min akhbār ahl al-qarn al-sābiʿ ilá khitām al-qarn al-ʿāshir," Staatsbibliothek Berlin MS Wetzstein II 289, fol. 285v.

instance in which Taqī al-Dīn is mentioned as interceding on behalf of Sufis for-bidding wrong. It might be that before the background of the political instability following sultan Qāytbāy's death, the risk of large-scale campaigns weighed too heavily against their possible gains, both for himself and the people of Damascus in general. Al-Ghazzī states that his experience of the massacre "led shaykh Mubārak to abandon this [i.e., the duty] and seclude himself in the *zāwiyah*s";[114] the same applies to Taqī al-Dīn, as well.

There is no evidence that Ibn Maymūn took up the injunction to forbid it on his own outside of his inner circle of followers, whereas there is evidence for their shared withdrawal from society. He neither participated in the campaigns against the alcohol trade nor did he share the experience of the massacre of 899, due to his absence in Bursa. This might account for why he admonished Taqī al-Dīn for having given up on forbidding wrong, evidence of which he saw in other aspects of his public conduct. He and other Maghribī Malikis raised these issues publicly for over a decade.

Public Debates on Right and Wrong

The immediate conflict between Ibn Maymūn and Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn erupted after the former's return from the Ottoman Empire in 911/1505 and the latter's resignation from active involvement in the fight against the alcohol trade. The hierarchical relations between the two figures had changed in the meantime, since Ibn Maymūn had achieved his own position as a Sufi shaykh and scholar of standing. The opposition between the two figures should be understood within the framework of a wider opposition between Taqī al-Dīn and Malikites, in particular of Maghribī origin, which is made explicit in the contemporary accounts throughout. In the face of Ibn Maymūn's extensive ties within this community, it makes sense to include in this account also debates that led up to their confrontation, but occurred before Ibn Maymūn's return to Damascus.

These debates concerned more difficult issues than the alcohol trade and were no "open-and-shut cases" but referred to "fine points *(daqāʾiq)* [that] are a matter of judgment *(ijtihād)*."[115] While these could relate to the practice of common believers, decisions over them were restricted to the jurists and higher authorities of the Mamluk hierarchy.[116] Among the best-known debates were those kicked off

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[114] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 2:246.

[115] Cook, *Commanding right,* 433.

[116] For instance, when Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn proposed a compromise after believers had approached him over the question of the correctness of a Friday prayer, they were dissatisfied with his ruling and instead turned to the *malik al-umarāʾ.* Other debates were eventually brought before the sultan, such as Taqī al-Dīn's opposition against the Sufi Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī, who

by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) over the monistic philosophy of al-Ghazzālī and Ibn al-ʿArabī or over the correct prayer call.[117] Taqī al-Dīn vehemently opposed him in all, even though he had originally received al-Biqāʿī well, when he arrived in Damascus.[118] Wensinck's definition of Ashʿarism fits well to describe Taqī al-Dīn's position and the reasons behind it: "the masses who are occupied with handiwork and crafts must be left alone with their sound dogmas …. To teach them the *kalām* would be utterly harmful. For often it arouses doubts in them and shakes their faith beyond recovery."[119] While Taqī al-Dīn did not reject Ibn al-ʿArabī's popular teachings in general, he was anxious about lay people who took the Sufi master's highly technical discourse literally.[120]

Three debates have to be considered which took place between 908/1502–3 and 915/1509–10 and betray a growing visibility of the Malikite community (and their animosity towards Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn), even though Ibn Maymūn would enter the scene as a doyen only in the last case. The first one was the above-mentioned controversy over the Sumādīyah order, whose practice of accompanying the *dhikr* with musical instruments came under the Malikis' scrutiny. This debate is not mentioned in Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle, but in another work he reproduces Taqī al-Dīn's ruling when approached on the matter in 908.[121] Very much true to his usual direction in religious matters, he sanctified the Sumādīyah way of ritual use:

> This question about the use of drums *(ṭabl)* of the Sumādīyah in *dhikr* sessions reaches me when I am in Jerusalem in the months of the year 908: Are they prohibited or not? Should it be distinguished between the mosques and other places? My answer is that the mentioned drum, its beating and listening to it, are equally permitted in the mentioned meetings in the mosques and elsewhere. Forbid-

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gained the ear of Sultan Qāytbāy. Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:31, 116; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 11:39; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:43, 103.

[117]On al-Biqāʿī's disputes, see Walid Saleh, "A Fifteenth-Century Muslim Hebraist: Al-Biqāʿī and His Defense of Using the Bible to Interpret the Qurʾān," *Speculum* (2008): 629–54, 635 (with the literature cited there); Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab poet to Muslim saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his verse, and his shrine* (Cairo; New York, 2001). On Taqī al-Dīn's involvement, see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab,* 8:157; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 11:39. See also Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:23.

[118]Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab,* 8:158.

[119]McDonald's translation from al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* quoted after Arent Jan Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development* (London, 1965), 98.

[120]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:328. Cf. al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:116.

[121]Another treatise by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ṣarkhadī (fourteenth century) defending the practice might also have been used in this debate. The copy of Chester Beatty Library MS Ar. 3296/12 was made on 3 Jumādá 906/25 Dec. 1500. The *majmūʿah* codex includes a majority of texts of Damascene provenance about Sufi topics, including one on gnosis by Taqī al-Dīn (no. 11); Arthur John Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library,* 19–22.

den is the drum of amusement and it is a large drum *(kawbah).* …
[O]ther kinds of drums are permitted.[122]

His interpretation was widely supported by Shafiʿi and other scholars, including Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Maqdisī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Qārī (or Qāriʾ), and Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, and was even invoked in another controversy on the same issue fifty years later.[123] However, it also deepened the break between them and the Maghribīs. Ibn Maymūn was absent from Damascus at the time, but he alludes to the issue in the *Ghurbat al-Islām,* betraying his antagonistic attitude to musical practices in general.[124]

Around the same time (907–8/1502–4), a perhaps more damaging dispute occurred between two of Taqī al-Dīn's sons, the deputy judge Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad and his half-brother ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (b. 885/1480) from the Egyptian wife Suʿādāt bint al-Mālījī (d. 905/1499):

> ʿAbd al-Raḥīm went to the Shafiʿi chief judge's house and reported repulsive things about his brother. Among them was that he … [drank] jugs of wine with his groom. When he is craving thirst, he says to him: Give me drink. And he gives it to him from the jug. Another one is that the governor Īnāl al-Faqīh, who could not enter Damascus, stored great wealth with him, about 12,000 dinars.[125]

These accusations had far-reaching consequences, for they were taken up by other interested parties: "Among the enemies of his brother [Najm al-Dīn] are the Malikite qadi Shams al-Dīn Ibn Yūsuf al-Andalusī and his son. He [i.e., the qadi] wanted to confirm his words about his brother."[126] Al-Andalusī (d. 928/1522) had been appointed for the first time in 905/1499 and, leading a group including armed *zuʿar,* openly opposed the governor in 907/1502.[127] He completely resigned from the judgeship in 911/1505.[128] The issue was first brought before the governor,

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[122]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Tashyīd al-ikhtiyār,* 43–44.

[123]Al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 2:219–21; Fritz Meier, "Die Ṣumādiyya, Ein Zweigorden der Qādiriyya in Damaskus," in *Die Islamische Welt Zwischen Mittelalter Und Neuzeit: Festschrift Für Hans Robert Roemer Zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Beirut, 1979), 445–70.

[124]ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn al-Maghribī, "Bayān ghurbat al-Islām bi-wāsiṭat ṣinfay min al-mutafaqqihah wa-al-mutafaqqirah min ahl Miṣr wa-al-Shām wa-ma yalīhimā min bilād al-Aʿjām," Refaiya Library MS Vollers 849, fol. 51v.

[125]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:248–49.

[126]Ibid., 1:249.

[127]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 120, 161–62.

[128]For his terms as a judge, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Al-Thaghr al-bassām fī dhikr man wulliya qaḍāʾ al-Shām," Princeton, Firestone Library MS Garrett 196B, fols. 83v.–84v. For the identification of this manuscript, see Kristina Richardson, "Reconstructing the Autograph Corpus of Shams Al-Dīn

who then sent "a sacred decree which contains the claims of both sons of shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn" to the sultan. We do not know who the governor supported in this case, but his opinion of the accused Najm al-Dīn certainly did not improve when a letter, which the latter had sent to his father, fell into his hands. In it, "he belittled most Egyptians and Syrians, among them the governor, his own brother [ʿAbd al-Raḥīm] who is in Egypt, and the Shafiʿite chief judge."[129] While there is no mention of direct repercussions on any of Taqī al-Dīn's sons by the sultan, the interception of this letter might have driven a wedge between their family and some of the most important actors in local politics.

Only in the third case does Ibn Maymūn appear as an accuser. Events unfolded in 913/1507–8 with the death of the son of the *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus, Ibrāhīm Ibn Salāmah,[130] when the legitimacy of building a tomb over his grave was contested on the grounds that "it was in a public *(musābilah)* graveyard."[131] How exactly the crisis built up is not discernible from the sources, which deal with the affair only after Ibn Maymūn made his accusations against Taqī al-Dīn's *waqf* administration (see above). Al-Ghazzī openly blames Ibn Maymūn for the escalation: "I believe that the dispute between Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn and his nephew Kamāl al-Dīn and the rest of the notables over the demolishment of the *turbah* happened because ʿAlī ibn Maymūn hated them and was angry."[132] On the other hand, in the context of Ibn Maymūn's recitation cited above, which occurred at about the same time, al-Ghazzī excuses Ibn Maymūn by saying that "he did not mean to expose Taqī al-Dīn and others by naming them but wanted to offer advice."[133] A reconciliation of both figures remained problematic until his time. It appears that Kamāl al-Dīn was approached first by those people who wanted to tear down the mausoleum in early Ramaḍān 913/Jan. 1508 and decided for its demolition. After gaining his concession, they set to work immediately. Only after the deed was done, the deceased's father approached Taqī al-Dīn, who opined that the construction was actually only the renovation of an older build-

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Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 135, no. 2 (2015): 319–27, in particular 322–24.

[129]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:260.

[130]On this debate, see Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Muḥibb al-Dīn Salāma b. Yūsuf al-ʿAslamī, un secrétaire à Damas sous les derniers sultans mamlouks," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk eras: proceedings of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd international colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993, and 1994,* ed. Urbain Vermeulen (Leuven, 1995), 259–63; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 206–9; idem, "Ghāyat al-bayān fī tarjamat al-shaykh Arslān," Süleymaniyye MS Esat Effendi 1590, fols. 10r.–v.; idem, "Dhakhāʾir al-Qaṣr," fols. 10r.–11r., 95v.

[131]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:107.

[132]Ibid., 1:275.

[133]Ibid.

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ing which "had been there since old times."[134] The affair was not solved for about a year. When the situation in Damascus reached a stalemate by the end of 913, it was submitted to the sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, in whose *majālis* it was finally decided in Ibn Salāmah's favor during the next year.[135] It proved to be one of the main controversies of the time, which is reflected in the different versions that the biographer Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī gives in the biographies of people involved.[136] In addition to *fitnah* he also coins it a *miḥnah,* "a severe trial."[137] Both Taqī al-Dīn and his nephew Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī suffered severe financial burdens from it. For the journey to Cairo, Taqī al-Dīn "had to sell most of his books."[138] Two years later, he was approached to give up the entirety of his offices for the comparatively low sum of 1,000 dinars.[139] Furthermore, after this affair, he all but disappears from Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle.

Yet, the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn were not the only ones who lost in this debate. In fact, Taqī al-Dīn returned from Cairo without any major blemish. His son Najm al-Dīn even received an appointment as Shafiʿi chief judge of Damascus, although he kept the office only for roughly one year.[140] For this appointment, he submitted a "gift" of 12,000 dinars—much more than his father was later offered for his resignation from his positions.[141] On the other side, Ibn Ṭūlūn denounces the Maghribīs themselves as innovators, and the position of Maliki chief judge was transferred to Khayr al-Dīn of the local, predominantly Shafiʿi al-Ghazzī family.[142] This event might even have provoked Ibn Maymūn to leave Damascus and to settle in the vicinity of Beirut. While his retreat to Majdal Maʿūsh is described as the result of having been "overcome by a shudder *(qabṭ),* a reaction against popularity,"[143] his last visit to Damascus coincided with the controversy over the mausoleum. Thus, it could be interpreted as an emigration "in order to get away from evil-doers who cannot be restrained."[144] It could also be regarded as an act of

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[134]Ibid., 1:107.

[135]Ibid., 1:118, 275.

[136]The incident is treated or mentioned in five entries: Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Maghribī, Ibrāhīm al-Burhānī, Najm al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn; ibid., 1:40–46, 107, 114–18, 271–78, 2: 21.

[137]Ibid., 1:41.

[138]Ibid., 1:116.

[139]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:342.

[140]Ibid., 1:337.

[141]1,000 of the 12,000 dinars came from Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī in exchange for half the supervisor post of a *waqf* in ʿIrbīl; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 4:1911.

[142]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 210.

[143]Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 290.

[144]Cook, *Commanding right,* 341.

frustration, for Ibn Maymūn had been unable to make much headway in terms of gaining access to institutional resources. This frustration was shared by several other Malikis, including the Malikite mufti ʿAbd al-Nabī who also attacked Taqī al-Dīn publicly.[145] It seems probable that the network of Ibn Yūsuf al-Andalusī was at the heart of it, although he himself had lost his office a few years prior.[146]

Ibn Maymūn penned his own views in the *Ghurbah,* which has been mentioned before and which clearly bespeaks his concerns and frustration in dealing with the nepotism among the great Syrian families.[147] It should not be easily dismissed as another Maghribī lament over the corruption of Eastern Islamdom; it rather is a testimony to the hierarchical structure of Damascene society at large and the obstacles to advancement of outsiders in religious-administrative circles, in particular.[148] Ibn Maymūn certainly made a case for his own betterment, as well as for the acknowledgement of Maghribī Sufis more generally. That is not to say that Sufis in general can be considered in any way peripheral or marginal at the time. However, Ibn Maymūn argued for an academic equality between Sufism and *fiqh,* which should be reflected in equal institutional provisions (as well as, probably, authority over religious and ritual issues). A similar tone is struck in the treatise *Al-Amr al-dāris fī aḥkām al-mutaʿalliqah bi-al-madāris* by his student ʿAlwān (or ʿAlawān) al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1529–30). The accuracy of al-Ḥamawī's complaints notwithstanding, he argues that if a jurist was allowed to partake of a Sufi convent's (both *ribāṭ* and *khānqāh*) resources, a Sufi should be allowed the same with regard to a madrasah.[149] Thus, the conflict between certain Sufis and certain ulama, which so often was framed in terms of righteousness and morality, had at least an economic facet, which is understandable in the face of dwindling

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[145] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:328.

[146] Interestingly, Ibn Yūsuf was a close neighbor of Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn. They both lived in the Qaymarīyah quarter, east of the Umayyad Mosque; Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Al-Thaghr al-Bassām," fol. 83v.; Torsten Wollina, "A View From Within: Ibn Ṭawq's Personal Topography of 15th century Damascus," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 61 (2012): 293.

[147] About the date of writing, see Goldziher, "ʿAlī Ibn Mejmūn," 300.

[148] Cf. Perho, "Climbing the Ladder."

[149] Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 303–4.

waqf resources.[150] These claims should be viewed in conjunction with other developments such as the emergence of the "Sufi fatwa" during the fifteenth century.[151]

In the *Ghurbah,* Ibn Maymūn then proceeds to discredit his local opponents, first by addressing them as *mutafaqqihūn* and *mutafaqqirūn,* both rather uncommon terms, which could be interpreted as "those who pretend to be jurists/Sufis,"[152] and second by listing the various ways in which they have digressed from the true path: by prioritizing the *laqab* over the *ism* (in particular, with regard to the name Muḥammad), in their overcomplicated formulas of greeting, their love for titles and convoluted hierarchies, and in their practices of money-lending and exchanging gold and silver coins for profit.[153] Like other Maghribī critics, Ibn Maymūn particularly objected to luxurious clothing (also for women, and he might not have much original to say on that topic). More interesting are his sermons on the jurists' failure to educate their "spoiled brats," their errors in writing books and using paper economically, and his attacks on their plagiarizing others (him!). Once he has laid out all these faults of his opponents, Ibn Maymūn attacks their ethics in *waqf* administration.[154]

The complexity of social interaction, as Ibn Maymūn depicts it in his work, most certainly served to assure the cementation of social distinction, and thus the perpetuation of the Syrian great families' leading role.[155] The donning of specific

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[150] Al-Buṣrawī writes about the year 871 that the *waqf* of the Ṭawāshī Mosque (also known as *masjid al-ʿumarī*) outside Bāb al-Naṣr suffered from such a decrease in revenue. While it was "more than 1,000 [dirhams or dinars?] at first," by this year it had dropped to 400 dirhams. In the face of diminished resources to be distributed among the beneficiaries and employees, al-Buṣrawī argued for every stakeholder to be paid a part that correlated to the ratios between their respective salaries. (The alternative was, according to him, that the imam, the two muezzins, the *khaṭīb,* and the *bawwāb* would be paid in full, after which the remaining money was to be shared by the remaining employees.) See al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh,* 25–26.

[151] Ingalls, "Between Center and Periphery."

[152] This grammatical form is frequently applied to indicate "pretenders." In fact, the Shafiʿi author and deputy judge al-Nuʿaymī used a similar form against Ibn Maymūn, when he calls him "someone who pretends to perform a Sufi *dhikr*" *(mutamadhkir);* Winter, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire," 152. Chamberlain, however, finds *mutafaqqih* to apply to students of law; idem, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 77, 79.

[153] Goldziher, "ʿAlī Ibn Mejmūn," 306–12, 324–25. According to Ibn Maymūn money lending brought 30 percent profit. The general practice of taking interest is also attested by Ibn Ṭawq in 906/1500. Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 4:1891–92; Goldziher, "ʿAlī Ibn Mejmūn," 311–12.

[154] Goldziher, "ʿAlī Ibn Mejmūn," 312–16, 319–20. According to Chamberlain, such accusations were a common tactic to take hold of a position among ulama; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 97.

[155] For earlier examples of controversies between office-holders and those who refused them, cf. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 100–6. In Ibn Maymūn's case, however, his abstinence from positions seems to be not an entirely voluntary choice, to say the least.

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clothing on the outside, as much as the internalization of greeting formulas and the appropriate use of titles and *alqāb* on the inside, obstructed Ibn Maymūn's own advancement to the point of frustration. Indeed, Winter has it that his network was never institutionalized during his lifetime, but only under his student Ibn ʿArrāq.[156] The situation might have changed after the Ottoman reorganization, as evidence on even the sultan's patronage of several (hitherto marginal) Sufis indicates.[157] But under the late Mamluks, the creation of a new Sufi order or suborder was not probable without support and sponsorship from one of the local families. The above-mentioned shaykh Mubārak is a case in point, who, through the patronage of Taqī al-Dīn, could claim two *zāwiyah*s in Qābūn and Ṣāliḥīyah.[158] Following the dismissal of Yūsuf al-Andalusī, Ibn Maymūn had apparently no such patronage in Damascus. Because of this, I would even say he was relegated to the margins, despite his alleged popularity among the common people. His reclusion to Majdal Maʿūsh was his visible recognition of that situation.

Nonetheless, it is interesting that Ibn Maymūn chose the district of Beirut for his retreat. Incidentally, this town was not only an important place for his student Ibn ʿArrāq but also the second area of Taqī al-Dīn's activity, who had been occupied with refortifying it over several decades.

Another Dimension? The Defense of the Syrian Coast

As Albrecht Fuess has shown, Mamluks and Ottomans applied divergent notions of *jihād.* The Mamluk *jihād* was, following the reconquest of Jerusalem from the Crusaders, predominantly conceived as defensive, focused on the peripheries of the sultanate, among them the Syrian littoral.[159] The Ottoman concept of *ghazwah* had a stronger "aggressive expansive side" to it and could even be applied against other Muslim states, if considered obstacles to the true goal of (Ottoman) *jihād.*[160]

Fuess has described the Mamluk maritime defense strategy as a "'scorched earth' policy" that built upon the razing of fortified footholds and on treaties with seafaring powers.[161] By the early sixteenth century, this policy had been modified in the Red Sea to meet the threat of the Portuguese. The Mamluks recruited "Tur-

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[156] Winter, "Sheikh ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn," 294.

[157] See Torsten Wollina, "Sultan Selīm in Damascus: The Ottoman appropriation of a Mamluk metropolis (922–924/1516–1518)," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century,* ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen, 2016), 199–224.

[158] Wollina, "Changing Legacy."

[159] Albrecht Fuess, "Beirut in Mamluk Times (1291–1516)," *ARAM* 9/10 (1997): 85–101.

[160] Fuess, "Ottoman Ġazwah," 276–77.

[161] Albrecht Fuess, "Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 46, 63–65.

comans, black slaves and Maghribis" as sailors for their Red Sea fleet.[162] Whereas a similar counteroffensive is not visible for Syria, where Christian pirates still harassed coastal towns repeatedly and the Ottoman fleet constituted a novel threat, a change is visible there as well. On the one hand, a certain amount of refortification is discernible; on the other, also on the Syrian coasts Maghribīs were engaged in the coastal defenses. In this context, they were not mercenaries but Sufis. Nonetheless, they might have had military experience. Much like Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465) in the Maghrib, Sufi shaykhs organized their following into forces of "religion-inspired fighters" who exchanged "quietist religious contemplation" for "active resistance against the unbelievers."[163] Ibn Maymūn was known to have taken part in "*ghazwah* on the coasts" before his arrival to Syria.[164] The term *ghazwah* is intriguing in this context for it could entail offensive operations (on ships).

As Ephrat has shown, Syrian Sufis had defended the Syrian littoral during the fifteenth century, where they combined prayer with engagement in holy war.[165] Their activities concentrated on the defense of places which had remained unfortified, and often their *zāwiyah*s were among the first fortified places available to the local population. In these places, the *zāwiyah* carried the fortified features of the *ribāṭ* and, as Ibn Arslān had done in Jaffa and Abū al-ʿAwn al-Jaljūlī in Arsuf, they often entailed "a tower *(burj)* for the purpose of holy war."[166] Also, Ibn Maymūn's successor Ibn ʿArrāq would build his *ribāṭ* close to one of Beirut's derelict watch towers, which he renovated and for which "he organized the watch and the *mujāhidīn*."[167] At the same time, these structures functioned as both a ritual and communal center "in which Sufis and non-Sufis alike could conduct their communal devotional life. As mosques, they provided facilities for prayer and sermons; as *ribāṭ*s, they provided food and shelter for the poor."[168] At this stage, the reclaiming of the coast seems not to have been state-sanctioned. The *zāwiyah*s were rather a rallying point for those who wanted "to avoid the patronage of the ruling elite and distance themselves from an establishment founded by the pow-

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[162]Ibid., 66.

[163]Jan Just Witkam, "The battle of the images: Mekka vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*," in *Theoretical approaches to the transmission and edition of Oriental manuscripts: proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul, March 28–30, 2001*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Beirut, 2007), 68.

[164]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:218.

[165]Ephrat, "The Shaykh," 12.

[166]Ibid., 13, 15.

[167]Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Dhakhāʾir al-qaṣr," fol. 68v.

[168]Ephrat, "The Shaykh," 10.

erful and closely associated with the official sphere."[169] Ibn Maymūn followed in their footsteps as much as in those of Maghribī antecedents.

Likewise, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn was involved in the refortification, most notably through his supervision of the construction of a watch tower close to Beirut, which, as it was completed by 904/1498, was known as the "*burj* Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn."[170] Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn mention his journeys to Beirut frequently from the late 880s until at least 916/1510.[171] In contrast to Ibn Maymūn, Taqī al-Dīn cooperated with "the state" in this endeavor,[172] and by 907/1501 the watch tower was officially integrated into the Mamluk defense strategy, when the sultan appointed Taqī al-Dīn "to make it a *waqf* and enlarge it."[173] Taqī al-Dīn's proximity to the Mamluk establishment did antagonize his Maliki adversaries, for on the littoral they had been mostly left to their own devices by the Mamluk authorities. But Taqī al-Dīn's cooperation allowed for a larger Mamluk influence on society in these peripheral spaces, as well. Taqī al-Dīn's meeting with the governor of Damascus shortly after the latter had committed "injustice" in the region was also seen critically by Ibn Ṭūlūn.[174] There is thus reason for speculation that Taqī al-Dīn's interventions in Beirut were connected to the attacks by Malikites in Damascus.

I would argue further that the "branding" of the littoral as a border region was in the interest of the Mamluk sultans as well, and might even have been deliberately supported by them. In this context, the Maghribīs and other Sufis were a valuable asset for the Mamluks, forming a first line of defense against external aggression without any—immediate—costs to the state. These Sufis guarded strongholds which could hold out and offer refuge during pirate raids. At the same

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[169]Ibid.

[170]The *burj* was one of five watch towers in and around Beirut. Muḥammad ʿAdnān Bakhīt, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century* (Beirut, 1982), 94, n. 14; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:245, 252, 463; 2:835; 4:1714, 1735.

[171]Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:202, 257–59, 261, 263, 265, 452, 455, 463; 2:710–12, 714, 727, 731, 735, 737, 770–73, 804–7, 809–11, 931, 935, 1065, 1069; 4:1663, 1672, 1687, 1704, 1706, 1712, 1716, 1719, 1735, 1741, 1749, 1752, 1805, 1815, 1830, 1857; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:339.

[172]On Mamluk coastal defenses, see Fuess, "Beirut"; idem, "Rotting Ships."

[173]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:246; Moukarzel, *Beyrouth sous la domination mamelouke,* 113. It bespeaks the once minor but growing importance of Beirut as the port of Damascus that it was refortified later than Jaffa and Arsuf. It also serves to show that Ibn Maymūn could be considered a late-comer in this development, which might explain his first choice of the minor coastal city of Batrūn as the base for his activities.

[174]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:214–15. Ibn Ṭūlūn even complains about the seizure and unlawful taxation of Venetian properties. Following Albrecht Fuess' argument, this would mean that he acknowledged their role in the defense of the Mamluk coasts as more important than their status as foreigners and Christians. Fuess, "Rotting Ships."

time, the littoral seems to have provided a valve for social or religious pressures. ʿAlī Ibn Maymūn and other Sufis could apparently muster considerable popular support, created unrest against the status quo, and might even prove a threat to Mamluk superiority (as did Shaykh Mubārak). The concept of commanding right was at par with that of *jihād* and at times even superseded it, both on part of the Sufis and in the Mamluks' own strategies of legitimization.[175] In this light, redirecting the Sufis' efforts to the coastal plains might have served the safeguarding of peace in more than one way.

Yet, in the face of the rising Ottoman-Mamluk rivalry it must have seemed necessary to the Mamluk sultans to reconsider the coastal defenses against a superior Ottoman navy. While the main route of incursion was certainly the north of Syria, anxieties about a naval attack had become prevalent by the turn of the sixteenth century.[176] In 909/1503, a governor of Tripoli even defected to the Ottomans by ship.[177] The Maghribīs betray a certain inclination towards the Ottoman notion of *ghazwah* since in its more aggressive and expansive characteristics it came closer to contemporaneous approaches in the Maghrib. After all, Ibn Maymūn spent years in the Ottoman realms and even met with sultan Bayezid in Bursa. There he would also have seen an inscription denoting the Ottoman rulers as "Sultân, son of the Sultân of the Ghâzis, Ghâzî, son of Ghâzî, marquis of the horizons, hero of the world."[178] Himself a former *ghāzī,* would he not be attracted by the Ottoman notion of state policy, which put "the real goal" of Holy War before other considerations and even utilized it in the guise of *ghazwah* against fellow Muslim states? Whereas Taqī al-Dīn opted for cooperation with the forces that be for the best of his community, Ibn Maymūn seems to have pursued a "real goal" that went beyond the *maṣlaḥah* of the people living at his particular time (from whom he aimed to withdraw anyway). Another commonality was the Ottoman affinity to and support for Sufism in general and to Ibn al-ʿArabī in particular, which is well-attested for the time after their conquest of Syria.[179]

While I do not mean to insinuate that Ibn Maymūn or other Maghribī Sufis actively interfered in the Mamluk-Ottoman rivalry, the Ottoman Empire nonetheless features as a better alternative to the Mamluk Sultanate in Ibn Maymūn's biographies. In the former he appears as an esteemed shaykh, whereas in Damascus, let alone Majdal Maʿūsh, he was delegated rather to the margins. In Syria, only with the generation of his students did his teachings become more widely accepted and the biographies written by them grant him a larger influence on

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[175]Dekkiche, "State recognition."

[176]Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 2:617; Wollina, "News and Rumor," 300–1.

[177]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 176.

[178]Cited after Fuess, "Ottoman Ġazwa," 277.

[179]See, e.g., Wollina, "Sultan Selīm in Damascus."

Syrian Sufism than he actually had in his own time. Indeed, when the Ottoman envoy reached Damascus in 922/1516, one Malikite Sufi from among Ibn Maymūn's following was among those shaykhs who surrendered Damascus to the new rulers, while judges and jurists are strangely absent from the account:

> Before that day [on which the Ottoman envoy arrived] our shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī [al-Mālikī al-Maghribī], shaykh Ḥusayn al-Jinnānī,[180] shaykh Mubārak al-Qābūnī, and a crowd assembled in the *muṣallá* [square] in Mīdān al-Ḥaṣṣā. They and the shaykhs of the quarters agreed on surrendering the city.[181]

Furthermore, his successor Ibn ʿArrāq received substantial financial support from the Ottoman sultan.[182] One possible reason for Ibn Maymūn's own marginal positions were his unrelenting views, which did not sit well with the fragile Mamluk system, whose functioning depended upon compromises between the interests of different status groups. While earlier Sufis chose to adapt to the prevailing situation and to the nepotism of the leading scholarly families to forward their own aims, Ibn Maymūn did not concede to any visible degree. His allegedly exalted position in the Ottoman Empire and popularity among common people in Syria notwithstanding, he showed himself unable or unwilling to make headway with those people who could have granted him positions in or revenues from one of the many endowments. The criticism he utters in his late work *Ghurbat al-Islām* betrays that this situation did not change until the end of his life.

Conclusions

The last decades of Mamluk rule witnessed a rise of Maghribī visibility, if not influence, in Damascus. The shrine of Ibn al-ʿArabī was as much a pull-factor as the Christian conquest of Granada was an additional (and more recent) push-factor for this migration, which built upon older travel patterns. The Maghribīs' self-assured positioning with regard to *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* and (defensive) *jihād*

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[180]On him, see al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:185; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq*, 4:1555. At least his son belonged to the Saʿdīyah/Jabāwīyah order, a sub-order of the Rifāʿīyah founded in thirteenth/fourteenth-century Jabā in the Hawrān. It gained ground in Damascus in the second half of the fifteenth century with its own chanting circle *(ḥalqah)* in the Umayyad Mosque and the establishment of a *zāwiyah* in Qubaybāt, allegedly by Sultan Selīm himself; Richard Blackburn, *Journey to the Sublime Porte: The Arabic Memoir of a Sharifian Agent's Diplomatic Mission to the Ottoman Imperial Court in the Era of Suleyman the Magnificent* (Beirut, 2005), 63, n. 166.

[181]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah*, 2:28.

[182]Ibn Ṭūlūn recounts that Ibn ʿArrāq requested a loan but received through the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha a gift of 15,000 dinars; "Dhakhāʾir al-qaṣr," fol. 69r.

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led, as has been demonstrated, to temporary upheavals within the local balance of power.

Yet, figures such as Ibn Maymūn could base their approach to *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* in conjunction with involvement in a defensive *jihād* on both Maghribī and local precedents. Ibn Maymūn's activities differed from those of earlier, Syrian Sufis in that he did not accept a change in either *madhhab* or creed to accommodate the Mamluk religious establishment. The Maghribī activities could be interpreted as a protestation against the amalgam of "Ashʿarism, late-Sunni madhhabism, and Sharīʿa-bound Sufism."[183] To the Ashʿarī mainstream in Damascus Ibn Maymūn's ideas must have appeared as "an excessive creed"; his resoluteness certainly curtailed his attempts at securing *waqf* revenues.[184] In addition, a certain Ottoman influence should be further explored. Nonetheless, his interpretation also attracted Sībāy, who, in addition to being governor of Damascus, married the sultan al-Ghawrī's daughter and belonged among his firmest followers.[185]

The connection between socially upward mobility and engagement in commanding right should also be explored on a more general level. It certainly played a role in the social integration of the Qādirī Sufis analyzed by Ephrat. It is also visible in the biographies on several members of the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn. Thus, it is possible that a (limited?) public engagement in commanding right and forbidding wrong could be regarded as a promising way for social ascent, if it could be translated into positions.[186] Chamberlain has argued for the twelfth to fourteenth centuries that rulers were able to take over control of associations of young men *(aḥdāth)* from the local ulama or *aʿyān* and thus weaken their "command of organized violence."[187] It appears that by the later fifteenth century these bonds had once again gained in strength, and a rhetoric of commanding right was certainly one means of mobilizing such groups.

It is important to note that both Ibn Maymūn and Taqī al-Dīn belonged to, if they themselves did not create, networks that transcended *madhhab* affiliations and status groups (as well as localities). To describe Mamluk networks, Henning Sievert starts out from an ideal typology of relations the establishment of such a network presupposes: kinship, common geographical origin, friendship and patronage: "Kinship and common [geographic] origin are ascribed relationships

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[183] Ingalls, "Recasting Qushayrī's Risāla," 462.

[184] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:276.

[185] Herbert Jansky, "Die Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn als Geschichtsquelle über den Feldzug Sultan Selīm's I. gegen die Mamluken: Mit Bemerkungen zum Problem der Quellen für die Geschichte jener Epoche im Allgemeinen," *Der Islam* (1929): 25; Herbert Jansky, "Die Eroberung Syriens durch Sultan Selim I," *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 3–4 (1926): 213, 221, 223.

[186] Cf. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, chapter 3 (pp. 91–107).

[187] Ibid., 61.

that can be, but are not necessarily, activated by explicitly forming ties. By contrast, friendship and patronage are purposefully formed for mutual benefit, often with considerable effort."[188] As the present study has demonstrated, networks outside the Mamluk caste proper likewise relied heavily on the primary "ascribed relationships," albeit in different ways. Whereas Ibn Maymūn's core network took shape around its members' shared geographical origin, Taqī al-Dīn's network revolved rather around kinship (and, by extension, marriage) ties. Furthermore, the network of the Banū Qāḍī ʿAjlūn had a "head start" of almost one century, during which its members had established lasting relationships with other scholarly lineages, most notably with the Ḥusaynī family, with whom they were connected both through the above-mentioned Kamāl al-Dīn's mother (Taqī al-Dīn's older sister) and wife (daughter of Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn).[189] Without any familial or marital connections into this sphere, Ibn Maymūn was unable to gain access to the Damascene *waqf*-funded institutions and thus to solidify his own network.

The alliances that usually appear in the sources, however, do not resemble the networks but rather, to continue with Sievert's terminology, "patronage factions" which involved also "clients of the clients and other indirectly connected followers recruited along network ties that were now activated" and even "less committed supporters."[190] Although it most certainly led to recurrent internal tensions, both factions competed over support from other scholars, Sufis, Mamluk amirs, *zuʿar* gangs, and the wider population. While the two protagonists were both able to harness short-term support over certain issues, their cooperation with other groups should be understood as temporally restricted phenomena. Allegiances would shift between conflicts and, as shown above, sometimes blur the composition of groups involved in any specific event.[191] Ibn Maymūn's influence on the long-term governor Sībāy might have been closer to this type of relation than to network connections, since it apparently did not translate into the creation of a—however minor—endowment for the Sufi's benefit (again, in contrast to Taqī al-Dīn's support for Mubārak).

Finally, these controversies over *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* seem to have subsided (for a time) around the Ottoman conquest. The increased recognition of the Sufis' position by the new rulers was certainly one cause of this. Yet, the new rulers also

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[188]Henning Sievert, "Family, friend or foe? Factions, households and interpersonal relations in Mamluk Egypt and Syria," in *Everything is on the move,* ed. Conermann, 89.

[189]Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh*, 111; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:275.

[190]Sievert, "Family, friend or foe?," 107; see also Miura, "Urban Society."

[191]Cf. Dana Sajdi's short but informed excursus on the motivation of Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Mufākahah* in this respect (strongly informed by Naila Kaidbey): idem, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford, 2013), 134–35.

made it clear that commanding right was their prerequisite.[192] Along the same lines, their concept of *ghazwah* was succeeded by an imperial notion of state.[193] This was further connected to a decisively Hanafi prevalence at the expense of the hitherto dominant Damascene Shafiʿi jurists.[194] One important symbol for legitimizing their claim was the Takīyah al-Salīmīyah complex, which had been constructed around Ibn al-ʿArabī's grave in Ṣāliḥīyah.[195] In contrast to the debate about the mausoleum cited above, the construction did not stir apparent discontent from any Maghribīs, even though older graves were dug up for it.[196] The intended enlargement of the revered Sufi's shrine might have influenced them to remain silent as much as the impression of their opponents' downfall. While these Maghribīs were at odds with the ancient regime, they had found a comfortable position with the new rulers.[197] When the very last Mamluk governor of Damascus, Janbardī al-Ghazzālī, sought to gain the support of scholars and Sufis by enforcing the *amr bi-al-maʿrūf,* for instance through restorations of the Umayyad Mosque, a number of Shafiʿi madrasahs and the Maliki Mankilānīyah Madrasah, enforcing close control of *waqf*-administration, and even by killing the wild dogs in the city,[198] the Malikis rejected his incentives altogether (as did the Shafiʿis). In

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[192] Also, ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī's composition of his commentary of al-Shaybānī's *ʿaqīdah* falls into this period. He finished it in 925/1519, and in this work he "used the commentary by [Najm al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī] Ajlun, which he summarized and supplemented" and which still exists in several manuscript copies; Daiber, *Catalogue,* 420.

[193] Fuess, "Ottoman Ġazwa," 280–81.

[194] Guy Burak, *The second formation of Islamic law: the Hanafi school in the early modern Ottoman empire* (Cambridge, 2015); Wollina, "Sultan Selīm in Damascus."

[195] See Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann, and Amy Singer, *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, 2007); in particular Astrid Meier, "For the Sake of God Alone? Food Distribution Policies, *Takiyyas* and Imarets in Early Ottoman Damascus," 121–50.

[196] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 2:72.

[197] When, for instance, the seventh Ottoman governor, Luṭfī Pasha, arrived in Damascus in late 931/mid-1525, he demonstrated his piety and commitment to the duty. On the first Friday, he prayed in the Umayyad Mosque and visited the Quran of ʿUthmān. On the second Friday in Damascus, he prayed in the Salīmīyah and visited the grave of Ibn al-ʿArabī, where he hosted a feast for the students. Following these displays of ostentatious piety, he set to work: dispatching work crews to restore the markets, subduing the Bedouin on al-Marj, and finally by killing off the wild beasts which were kept in a special courtyard (*ḥawsh*) of the stables at the Dār al-Saʿādah. Among them were panthers, peacocks, cranes, and gazelles. Some of the tamer animals were included in the contemporary Venetian painting *Reception of the Ambassadors* (Anonymous. Courtesy of the Louvre, Paris) and thus seem to have been kept there since the Mamluk period. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 259; for a discussion of the painting, see Albrecht Fuess, "Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 80–81, reproduction: 90.

[198] Bakhīt, *Ottoman province*, 26–27; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 2:113, 116–17, 118.

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both cases, it seems, the Maghribīs opted for an accommodationist position that took the efficacy-harm matrix into account and found their chances of success wanting in the face of the Ottoman army.

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Theft, Plunder, and Loot: An Examination of the Rich Diversity of Material Reuse in the Complex of Qalāwūn in Cairo

One of the most interesting architectural traditions known from Egypt is the reuse of elements from monuments erected during earlier periods and their re-incorporation as adornment, apotropaia, and material for foundations and fillings in newer structures. This type of reuse has always played a significant role in the formation of Egypt's built environment, with countless well-documented examples stretching back to antiquity. Blocks from Old Kingdom (ca. 2649–2150 BC) pyramid temples, for example, were reused in Middle Kingdom (ca. 2030–1640 BC) pyramid complexes;[1] and decorated sandstone blocks *(talatāt)* from the dismantled temple of King Amenhotep IV (r. 1353–1336 BC) at Amarna in Middle Egypt were recovered at complexes in Karnak, and other sites as well, where they were reused because they provided good fill for the pylons.[2] This practice was not exclusive to antiquity, since the reuse of architectural elements was ubiquitous in Egypt.

In the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings,* one of the most important research tools for Egyptologists and archaeologists, bibliographer Bertha Porter (1852–1941) and Egyptologist Rosalind Moss (1890–1990) analyzed, illustrated, researched, and transcribed a plethora of both published and unpublished ancient artifacts, monuments, and sites in Egypt and the Sudan, as well as in museum collections around the world. In volume four of this indispensable reference series, a list of Old Kingdom to New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1070 BC) monuments and stone blocks reused in Islamic contexts in Cairo, Fustat, and their environs is provided.[3] Some of the listed vestiges were found in known Islamic monuments, while the provenance of others are vague unnamed domestic settings. Subsequently, some of these artifacts were transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where they are currently housed.

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[1] Dieter Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (New York, 2008), 63–64.

[2] Construction at Karnak began in the Middle Kingdom with the greatest period of expansion occurring during the New Kingdom, and later additions and alterations through the Roman period. To read more about the program of reuse at Karnak, see: Gun Björkman, *Kings at Karnak: A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom* (Uppsala, 1971), 124–41; and for more on the reuse and recovery of *talatāt* blocks at Karnak, see the first volume of Donald Redford and Susan Redford, *The Akhnaten Temple Project* (Warminster, 1976).

[3] Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* (Oxford, 1968), 4:69–73.

While the list in Porter and Moss' bibliography is essential, it certainly is not exhaustive. A number of the most acclaimed examples of ancient materials and artifacts in reuse during the Mamluk period in particular are not included, such as the columns forming the porticoes (*riwāq*s) of the mosque of Amir Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī (740/1339–40) in Darb al-Aḥmar. These columns previously supported the mosque of Rāshidah (393–95/1002–5) that was built by the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 386–411/996–1021) on the site of an earlier Jacobite church in the vicinity of Fustat.[4] When the Rāshidah mosque fell into ruins ca. 738/1337, the columns were reused in the mosque of al-Māridānī. In her thesis on this significant Mamluk building, Diana Bakhoum suggested that while some of those architectural elements certainly came from the Jacobite church, the variety of reuse—both chronological and stylistic—indicates that other sites were quarried for their finished stone as well.[5]

One can learn about other examples of reuse by parsing the medieval Arabic sources, which can be supplemented by an empirical inquiry into Cairo's monuments. For example, the Andalusian geographer and traveler Ibn Jubayr (540–614/1145–1217) wrote in his *Rihlah* that the enclosure walls of the Upper Egyptian Roman city of Antinopolis (built by Emperor Hadrian ca. 130 AD) were destroyed by Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 564–89/1169–93) and the stones were shipped upstream to Cairo,[6] presumably to build the Ayyubid walls and citadel of Cairo (ca. 572–79/1176–83). A century later, also at the citadel, four ancient monolithic granite columns were incorporated into Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl's (r. 689–93/1290–93) ceremonial palace, al-Qāʿah al-Ashrafīyah (692/1292), which is now in ruins.[7] Perhaps the most famous example of ancient materials reused in a building from the pre-modern period is the Rosetta Stone, a stele that helped unlock and decipher the hieroglyphic script. It was discovered by the French in 1799 in the foundation of the citadel commissioned by Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) in Rosetta (al-Rashīd), although its original provenance is unknown.[8] During a saunter through the medieval city one will notice that reuse of ancient materials

[4]Aḥmad Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 2003), 4:1:126–27.

[5]Ibid., 4:1:129, note 1, and 4:1:227; and Diana Bakhoum, "The Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani in Light of Mamluk Patronage Under al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun" (master's thesis, The American University in Cairo, 2009), 40–41.

[6]Tarek Swelim, "Antinopolis," *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Kathryn A. Bard (New York, 1999), 140; and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Abī al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr al-Kinānī al-Andalusī al-Balinsī,* 2d ed. rev. by M. J. de Goeje (New York, 1973), 58.

[7]Nasser Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 156.

[8]Richard Parkinson, *Rosetta Stone* (London, 2005), 26.

in Mamluk architecture was very common, deliberate, impressive, and notice-able. Inscribed Pharaonic blocks were reused as thresholds to mark the entrance to the *khānqāh* of Sultan Baybars al-Jāshankīr (709/1309–10), the mosque of Amir Āqsunqur (747/1346–47) and the *wikālah* of Amir Qawṣūn (741/1341), to name a few; an inscribed cornice from a monument of the Saite King Amasis (r. 570–526 BC) in Memphis surmounts the entrance of the *khānqāh* of Amir Shaykhū (755–56/1355);[9] while a pair of beautiful granite jambs define the monumental entrance to the complex of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21), located at the intersection of one of the most significant crossroads in Cairo. In fact, when the Islamic monuments of Cairo are carefully surveyed it becomes obvious that there was a great interest on the part of the builders and elite patrons of the city to repurpose valuable ancient stone.

The largest piece of Christian *spolia* used in an Islamic context in Cairo is the Gothic portal that was removed from a church in Acre and reinstalled in the ma-drasah of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (694–703/1295–1303) in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (Fig. 1).[10] It was brought to Cairo after the siege of Acre in 690/1291 by ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujāʿī (d. 693/1294), an influential vizier active during the reigns of sultans al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) and al-Ashraf Khalīl. Sanjar al-Shujāʿī had a particular interest in collecting objects from antiquity, for it is known from the sources that he sent a plaque from a sarcophagus in-scribed in Greek or Latin *(Rūmī)* to Damascus for decipherment, and he collected Roman marble from throughout Syria to reuse in the citadel of Damascus he was charged with restoring in 690/1291.[11] There are also documented instances of intra-Mamluk reuse, such as when, on 27 Shawwāl 819/17 December 1416, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh purchased a set of beautifully worked bronze doors from the madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan (757–64/1356–62) to be encased by the aforementioned granite jambs, creating an interesting visual interplay between ancient and me-dieval Egypt.[12]

Given this chronological, geographic, and material diversity, how should we define building and material reuse of this type, especially since no specific term seems to have entered the medieval Arabic lexicon to describe such activity? In his

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[9]Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: the Practical Guide* (Cairo, 2008), 61.

[10]Wolfgang Mayer, "The Madrasa of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad: The Portal," in *A Future for the Past: Restorations in Islamic Cairo 1973–2004*, ed. Wolfgang Mayer and Philipp Speiser (Mainz, 2007), 95.

[11]Julien Loiseau, "Frankish Captives in Mamlūk Cairo," *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediter-ranean* 23, no. 1 (April 2011): 39–40; Donald P. Little, "The Fall of Akka in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon,* ed. Moshe Sharon (Leiden, 1986), 177; and Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *La chronique de Damas d'al-Jazari, années 689–698 H.,* ed. J. Sauvaget (Paris, 1949), 11, no. 54.

[12]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:1:342.

seminal work on the monuments, topography, and urbanism of Egypt, *Khiṭaṭ,* the late Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī (ca. 766–845/1364–1442) used the verbs *akhadha* (to take) and *naqala* (to transfer) when referring to architectural reuse, effectively stripping them of any intended agency or efficacy. The term loosely used in English by scholars today to describe this practice derives from the Latin *spolia* (sing. *spolium*), literally meaning "spoils of war." However, although the physical and technical changes denoted by reuse are similar, the intention behind each specific case had a wide net of meanings that were different in form and could, therefore, be categorized into separate groups.[13] Depending on the circumstance, a reused artifact/element could be a case of appropriation or usurpation. The understanding is that material from a building was "reused" in order to economize on time and reduce expenses in the construction of another one, although there were surely other motives as well. Another incentive—as suggested by the etymology of the Latin term connoting political victory and triumph—was to demonstrate the superiority of one political regime over another. To understand the nuances of this phenomenon one should not reduce it to merely efforts to cut building costs, for political messages were conveyed too. In a recent article on the subject, Dale Kinney differentiated between "reuse" and "*spolia,*" emphasizing that they should not be treated as one and the same: the former is value-laden and waste-reducing, whereas the latter marks "the forcible transfer of ownership where an object is taken as booty or salvaged."[14] In other words, to use these terms interchangeably without providing clarification of the terminology or consideration for potential theoretical problems is inaccurate.

The Complex of Qalāwūn: a Case Study

Having briefly presented different examples and described some of the reasoning behind architectural reuse (or *spolia*) in Egypt, an investigation of the practice in one building would allow for a more nuanced discussion on the topic. The complex of Qalāwūn (683/1284–85)—best known to specialists today for its monumentality and for introducing the concept of the multifunctional urban space—is a fitting case study because of the rich variety of decoration and stones employed.[15] It remains one of the most powerfully emphatic and imposing buildings in the

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[13]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Between Quarry and Magic: the Selective Approach to Spolia in the Islamic Monuments of Egypt," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence,* ed. Alina Payne (Leiden, 2014), 402.

[14]Dale Kinney, "Introduction," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine,* ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Burlington, 2011), 2–4.

[15]The complex included a charitable hospital *(bīmāristān),* a madrasah, a mausoleum, and a *maktab-sabīl:* Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah fī tārīkh al-hijrah,* ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 248; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa-al-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-*

city, besides epitomizing architectural grandeur (Fig. 2). To build his complex, Qalāwūn acquired one of two palaces built by the Fatimid caliphs in the ceremonial and commercial heart of Cairo, Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, specifically the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk of the Western Palace (al-Qaṣr al-Gharbī).[16] By building the complex on this site, elements from the palace were reused as building material.

While scholars have examined some of the relics from the Fatimid palace, a comprehensive study and look at the breadth and scope of reuse in the complex has not been carried out. Why is this exercise important and what can be learned from it? Close inspection of the specific history of a building could provide a synchronic reading of Mamluk economy, politics, and society; and since the subject of reuse/*spolia* has often revolved around the aesthetics of the reused/spoliated artifact, art historians have prioritized visually appealing examples over others, leaving gaps in how both a building and its material culture are studied. Moreover, there are many questions that could be asked by putting the later life of these artifacts into broader contexts: what made reuse/spoliation desirable or not; were reused materials of different heights and periods a problem for the architects of a building; what were the logistics behind acquiring such material; and how were these reused artifacts received over time?

Returning to the complex of Qalāwūn, al-Maqrīzī cited two specific instances of reuse in this monument in his *Khiṭaṭ*. At the center of both stories is the aforementioned Sanjar al-Shujāʿī, the Superintendent of Royal Constructions (*shādd al-ʿamāʾir*), who supervised the building of this complex.[17] He is identified in the sources as the key figure responsible for the acquisition of the *qāʿah* and the fourteen-month period during which the complex was built. To that point, one anecdote refers to marble and granite taken from the citadel of Qalʿat al-Baḥr, built by al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb on Roda Island.[18] When this citadel was initially built in 638–41/1240–43, a Jacobite church, houses, mosques, temples *(barābī),* and palaces on Roda were demolished and the debris was integrated into it.[19] While

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Manṣūr: wa-tatanāwalu al-ḥiqbah mā bayna sanatay 678H.–689H., ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 56; and K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (New York, 1978), 2:204.

[16] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:495 and 499.

[17] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat,* 248; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām,* 56; and al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:1:513.

[18] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:581–88.

[19] Ibid., 3:581–82. The Ayyubids had a huge reserve of material on Roda Island, where it is believed Frankish prisoners of war worked as craftsmen: Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur von Kairo," in *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel: Symposium anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, am 10. und 11. Oktober 1982* (Cairo, 1985), 136. Loiseau has noted that *corvée* labor by Frankish captives can be traced back to the Ayyubid period, when many of them were tasked with hard labor and worked as craftsmen at building sites in Cairo: "Frankish Captives in Mamlūk Cairo," 38–39.

efforts were made by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658–75/1260–77) to restore the Ayyubid citadel, Qalāwūn ordered its demolition, leaving Sanjar al-Shujāʿī to siphon off all that he needed in columns, sills, and capitals. Sanjar al-Shujāʿī reportedly rode to the ruins of Roda daily to carry off the spoils.[20] In a twist of fate, just as the landscape of Roda was permanently changed and the architecture recycled to build the citadel, the latter was similarly destroyed and the site used as a quarry to build one of the most splendid and grandiose buildings erected during the Mamluk period.

Al-Maqrīzī rather briefly informs the reader of this incident, so it is not known how much material was taken, where it was placed, or whether all of the marble and stone employed came only from Roda. Judging from the variety and capaciousness of the material integrated into the complex of Qalāwūn, we find a combination of capitals and columns reused whole, as well as columns that were possibly cut down for the pavement and the dado (Figs. 3–4). Clearly these elements were intended to enhance the appearance of the complex since they were included in a very concise, organized, and systematic manner, like the similar, if not identical, composition of their display on the Gothic-inspired facade (Fig. 2). The chronological spread and rich materiality of these artifacts—as evidenced in the mausoleum today—unequivocally added to the beauty and magnificence of the complex's perception over the *longue durée*. Thus, the main purpose of the inclusion of such material in these areas was not only to facilitate the speed of construction, but to maintain a specific aesthetic principle.

Fatimid Relics

The second account relayed by al-Maqrīzī regards the site on which the complex was erected, the *qāʿah* built by the second caliph-imam al-ʿAzīz (365–86/975–96) in 358/972 for his daughter Sitt al-Mulk.[21] With the ascendency of the Ayyubids in 567/1171, this *qāʿah* was passed on to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn, which then went to his son Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad, hence the eponymous Dār al-Quṭbīyah in some of the later sources. Once possession of the *qāʿah* was sealed, it was Sanjar al-Shujāʿī who kept the existing layout of the four-*īwān* plan "as is" (*ʿalá ḥālihā*). In fact, what he appears to have done was simply insert the *bīmāristān* on the foundation of the Fatimid *qāʿah*.[22] A number of ulama

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[20] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:586 and 4:2:698; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (Cairo, 2007), 134.

[21] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:495 and 499. On the east side of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn stood the Eastern Palace built by Caliph al-Muʿizz (r. 341–65/953–75).

[22] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍah al-bahīyah al-zāhirah fī khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizzīyah al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996), 60–61; and al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:499 and 4:2:692 and 695.

were furious with Sanjar al-Shujāʿī's decisions, accusing him of forcibly extracting the *qāʿah* by hastily evicting the occupants and stealing materials to build the complex.[23] The usurpation of space and architectural elements was certainly not uncommon in Cairo, so there might have been other reasons why the ulama felt provoked by Sanjar al-Shujāʿī's actions.

What can be inferred is that the *qāʿah* was in a relatively good state of preservation at the end of the thirteenth century, which might explain why parts of the Fatimid *qāʿah* survived in the complex. In her study on the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk, Sabiha al-Khemir proposed that some of the walls of the *qāʿah* were not totally destroyed and that the stucco windows with Quranic inscriptions in the *bīmāristān* might well be from the tenth century.[24] She was specifically referring to the stucco window on the north wall of the *bīmāristān*'s south-east *īwān* (Fig. 5), and another currently in the Museum of Islamic Art (4046) that is thought to have been removed from the south wall as per a photograph taken by Creswell (cf. Figs. 6 and 7). Al-Khemir's reasoning is two-fold: the windows feature the same type of floriated *kūfic* inscription that is in keeping with the Fatimid spirit and period,[25] which she connected to a reference by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir ([620–92/1223–92], the private secretary [*kātib al-sirr*] under Baybars, Qalāwūn, and al-Ashraf Khalīl) to Quranic inscriptions executed in stucco that decorated the walls of Dār al-Quṭbīyah.[26]

In the nineteenth century, Egypt's medieval monuments were in a poor state of preservation. Consequently, the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* (Comité)—a committee established in 1881 by Khedive Tawfīq (r. 1296–1309/1879–92) to oversee the preservation of Egypt's Islamic and Coptic monuments—surveyed, documented, excavated, photographed, and carried out restoration and repair work in the complex of Qalāwūn from 1884 to 1961.[27] The greatest

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[23] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:2:698.

[24] The Comité also suspected that some of the walls of the *qāʿah* were incorporated into the *bīmāristān: Bulletin du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*, Fascicule XXVII (1911), 144; and Creswell, *MAE,* 2:208.

[25] The window currently in the MIA was removed when the wall supporting it disappeared (was destroyed). Creswell indicated that the decoration of these two windows are similar to those in the madrasah and mausoleum: *MAE,* 2:207 and 210. Al-Khemir concluded that the quality of the carving and style of decoration on the *in situ* and MIA windows differ from those elsewhere in the complex: Sabiha al-Khemir, "The Palace of Sitt al-Mulk and Fatimid Imagery" (Ph.D. diss., London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990), 1:73–78. It should also be stated that there is a stucco window inscribed with the same type of floriated *kūfic* on the south wall of the mausoleum.

[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍah al-bahīyah,* 60–61; and al-Khemir, "The Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:78.

[27] This time frame was identified by culling all of the Comité's published bulletins, as well as their unpublished notes and correspondence, that are preserved in the Ministry of Antiquities'

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and most intense period of activity in the complex was from 1903 to 1914 under the supervision of Max Herz (1856–1919), a Hungarian architect, conservator, and scholar, who was appointed the chief architect and de facto head of Comité during this period.[28] In 1910, during the course of routine renovation work, a number of elaborately carved wooden panels were discovered by Herz in the rooms behind the *bīmāristān*'s north-east *īwān*, more specifically the short branches of the T-plan space.[29] The carvings on many show princely and daily life scenes, while others are decorated with geometric patterns, vegetal motifs, and inscriptions in *kūfic* reminiscent of Fatimid carving and decoration (Figs. 8-9).[30] So, in addition to the previously mentioned stucco windows that al-Khemir attributed to the earlier Fatimid *qāʿah,* there was now solid evidence of Fatimid woodwork repurposed in the building of the complex. Most of these panels were discovered with their decorated Fatimid side inverted and the exposed face showing designs from the Mamluk period.[31]

Edmond Pauty (1887–1980), a French architect who worked as an expert under the auspices of the Comité,[32] found more panels in the long branch of the same T-shaped space in 1933, which went unnoticed by Herz in 1910 because they were obstructed by a wall at the time.[33] While the overwhelming majority of the panels were transferred to the Museum of Islamic Art (MIA), a few remain *in situ* in the north-east *īwān* (Fig. 10). This impressive corpus of richly decorated woodwork has been the subject of numerous publications, primarily because they add to our knowledge about Fatimid palatial decoration and furnishing and because they defy misconceptions regarding figural representations in Islamic art. These representations have been compared to iconography in other branches of

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Department of Islamic and Coptic Archives in Cairo.

[28] István Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919): His Life and Career* (Cairo, 2009), 1:255.

[29] *Bulletin du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe,* Fascicule XXVII (1911), 15, 144–46; al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:20, 51–52, and 56; and Creswell, *MAE,* 2:208, Fig. 124 for the floor plan.

[30] Fig. 8 (MIA 441) was published in Edmond Pauty, *Catalogue general du musée arab du Caire: les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'èpoque Ayyoubide* (Cairo, 1931), 47–47, pl. XLIV; and Bernard O'Kane, *Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo* (Cairo, 2007), 74, no. 64.

[31] Al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:20–21.

[32] Donald Malcolm Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo, 2015), 186. In the minutes of the 1927–29 bulletin, Pauty is listed as the technical expert of the Comité: *Bulletin du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe,* Fascicule XXXV (1934).

[33] Al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:58–59. Pauty published most of the panels in 1931 and 1933: Pauty, *Catalogue general du musée arab du Caire,* and idem, "Un dispositif de plafond fatimite," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte* 15 (1933): 99–107. All of the panels, those *in situ* or in museum collections, were studied more recently by al-Khemir in her dissertation.

Fatimid art and ultimately provide us with insights into contemporary taste and aesthetics.[34] Despite these publications, there are some limitations to any thorough study due to the paucity of archival data: the Comité did not leave accurate records documenting how the woodwork transferred to the MIA was arranged,[35] so the order of the panel's original display sequence is not known, making it even more difficult to reconstruct an accurate narrative cycle.[36] Besides, there are other panels in museum collections outside of Egypt with similar motifs, themes, deep carving, and openwork that might have been removed from the complex.[37]

More Relics from the Fatimid Palace?

When and how were these panels collected? Between the Comité bulletins and the MIA register books, it is easy to determine when the panels were transferred to the museum in Cairo.[38] The chain of possession of the panels in museums outside of Egypt is less well documented. Unfortunately, the records of the al-Sabah Collection in Kuwait were destroyed during the Iraqi invasion of 1990, so the museum no longer has the complete provenance or acquisition history of their two panels.[39] One of them, LNS55W (Fig. 11), was published in a catalogue on the al-Sabah collection in which it is stated that the panel was purchased on the art market in the 1970s–1980s and was formerly in the collection of Sharif Sabri Pasha, brother of Queen Consort of Egypt Nazli Sabri (tenure 1919 to 1936).[40] It has the same theme of two addorsed gazelles flanking a central palmette as two other

[34] Al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:23.

[35] Ibid., 1:84. The 1910 Bulletin of the Comité discusses the discovery of the panels, but makes no mention of their arrangement: *Bulletin du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe,* Fascicule XXVII (1911), 15 and 144.

[36] The themes depicted in the Fatimid wooden panels discovered in Qalāwūn's complex are similar to those in the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina erected a century later (1134–42); however, since the former were reused during the Mamluk period and collected during the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, we cannot make any literary or useful associations since it is not known how the panels were originally displayed. Pauty and al-Khemir attempted to reconstruct some of the panels: Pauty, "Un dispositif de plafond fatimite," 99–107; and al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:53–64.

[37] The Metropolitan Museum of Art (11.205.2); the Sabah Collection (LNS 6W and LNS 55W); Musée du Louvre (OA 4062; Fig. 13); the Victoria and Albert Museum (785A–1896, 785B–1896, 785C–1896, 785D–1896, 785E–1896, 785F–1896, and 785G–1896); and unnamed private collections: al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:22, 54, and 126–27.

[38] Unfortunately, a careful review of the register books was difficult at the time of writing as the MIAwas closed to the public from January 2014 to February 2017.

[39] As per correspondences with The Sabah Collection curatorial staff members.

[40] Giovanni Curatola, *Art from the Islamic Civilization: the al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait* (Milan, 2012), 83, no. 59.

panels in the MIA (4061 and 4062) that were recovered from Qalāwūn, safely attributing it to the complex and the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk before.[41]

In The Metropolitan Museum of Art there is another panel (11.205.2) with two symmetrically arranged addorsed bridled horse heads carved in deep relief, that was purchased from Lucy Olcott Perkins (1877–1922) in 1911.[42] It is almost identical to a panel bearing a similar composition currently in the collection of MIA (3391) that was purchased in 1909 from a Syrian antiquities dealer named Ilyās Khātūn al-Tajī (Elias Hatoun) (Fig. 12).[43] Although both museums list an unknown provenance for these respective panels, Richard Ettinghausen believed the one in New York to be from the Western Palace and al-Khemir narrowed down the attribution of both to the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk by comparing the style of carving with other known panels removed from the complex.[44] The museum's records do not reveal how Perkins acquired this piece, although she did have connections to Egypt around the time of the sale.[45] She began her career as a collector and historian of Sienese art who studied under the tutelage of Bernard Berenson, an authority on Renaissance art, and later worked as his first secretary. Perkins seems to have broadened her experience during her affiliation with The Metropolitan Museum of Art (ca. 1905–11), where she worked in education, in addition to collecting pho-

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[41]Pauty, *Catalogue general du musée arab du Caire,* 44 and pl. XXXVIII.

[42]In addition to this wooden panel there appear to be four other objects with an Egyptian provenance in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection that have a connection to Perkins: 11.194, 11.205.1, 11.205.3a–d, and 11.138.1. Textile fragment 11.194 is listed in the 1912 bulletin as a gift of Mrs. L. O. Perkins: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7, no. 1 (Jan. 1912): 16.

[43]O'Kane, *Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo*, 88, no. 80. Khātūn donated other objects to the MIA in 1904: Gabriel Leturcq, "Jeau de miroirs et orientalisme dans les arts de l'islam: Le Musée national de l'art arabe du Cairo, 1869–1914" (Diplôme d'études approfondies, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en sciences sociales, 2003–4), 150. A third panel, MIA 3552, recovered from the complex has a very similar composition of addorsed horses: Pauty, *Catalogue general du musée arab du Caire,* 45, pl. XLI.

[44]Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250* (New Haven, 2001), 201; Bernard O'Kane, *Treasures*, 88, no. 80; Maryam D. Ekhtiar, Priscilla P. Soucek, Sheila R. Canby, and Navina Najat Haidar, *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2011), 163, no. 122; and al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 1:199–202 and pls. 88–89.

[45]The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Department Archives, Letter from Herbert E. Winlock to Albert M. Lythgoe, 17 March 1911: refers to a Mrs. Perkins who was actively "…looking for Arab stuff in Cairo…" Another correspondence from the same year reveals that Lucy Olcott Perkins had "…a small appropriation from Brooklyn to purchase for them in Egypt some of the material Mr. Lythgoe very kindly…" informed her of: Letter from Lucy Olcott Perkins to Edward Robinson, 3 January 1911, Perkins, Lucy Olcott (Mrs.) - Personal, Office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York.

tographs and purchasing artifacts.[46] She appears to have traveled to Egypt thrice: first in 1904–5, in 1911, then again in 1913, when she joined J. P. Morgan on his last expedition. During her third visit she worked as the Egyptian agent for the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the eclectic objects she purchased in preparation for the museum's June 1916 inauguration became the foundation of the Egyptian Art Collection.[47]

The Musée du Louvre has a rectangular panel (OA 4062; Fig. 13) with an even more interesting provenance history, that shows a musician and gazelle on a field of delicately carved scrolls.[48] It was acquired from French architect and early collector of Islamic art Ambroise Baudry (1838–1906), who relocated to Egypt in 1871 and was active there for 15 years. Baudry received many commissions during this period, both private and royal, and belonged to a group of mostly European connoisseurs of art who actively campaigned for the conservation of Cairo's architectural heritage and built environment, which eventually led to the formation of the Comité.[49] According to the Louvre's inventory register, the panel was found in 1874 in the demolition area of the Western Fatimid place, presumably from the complex of Qalāwūn and not one of the adjoining madrasahs built along Bayn al-Qaṣrayn decades to a century later. Baudry subsequently sold part of his collec-

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[46] As per communications in the archives of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the position of "Instructor" was alternatively referred to as School Supervisor and Museum Supervisorship, and was designed for an individual who would act as an intermediary between public schools and the museum: Letters from Kent to Perkins, 3 December 1905 and 11 December 1905, Perkins, Lucy Olcott (Mrs.) - Personal, Office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York. On 1 June 1906, she was appointed the Purchasing Agent of Photographs, authorized to select and purchase photographs on the museum's behalf, and appears to have traveled abroad for this purpose: Letter from Edward Robinson, Acting Director, 1 June 1906, Perkins, Lucy Olcott (Mrs.) - Personal, Office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York. This appointment corresponded exactly with the reorganization of the Department of Photography: Letter from Balliard to H. W. Kent, 13 September 1906, Photograph Department Reports, Office of the Secretary Subject Files, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York.

[47] David Cox, "The Strange Case of Lucy Olcott Perkins," *Apollo: the International Magazine of Arts* 394 (December 1994): 43–44; and Cleveland Art Museum, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Art Museum* (Cleveland, 1999), 3–4.

[48] Sophie Makariou, *Islamic Art at the Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 2012), 56–57. Since al-Khemir was more focused on the imagery of the panels, she did not research the provenance history of those currently in museum collections outside of Egypt.

[49] Mercedes Volait, "Appropriating Orientalism? Saber Sabri's Mamluk Revivals in late 19th c. Cairo," in *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation and Eclecticism*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit (Leiden, 2005), 132–33. Baudry is listed as a member (architect) in the very first bulletin of the Comité and remained through 1886 when he left Egypt, after which he was made an honorary member until his passing in 1906: Leturcq, "Jeau de miroirs et orientalisme dans les arts de l'islam," 126.

tion to the Louvre in 1898, including this panel, although he had no particular or direct connection with the museum.[50] Thus, according to this chronology, Baudry acquired the panel some years before the Comité was founded in 1881, confirming that the complex was in a regrettable state prior to their intervention. Certainly by the end of the eighteenth century, the *bīmāristān* was in a poor state of preservation until it was repurposed by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha (r. 1220–64/1805–48). After attempts were made to restore it, parts of the *bīmāristān* were demolished and replaced with a modern ophthalmic clinic that was built in the center of the courtyard in 1910.[51] In the interim, the ruins of the *bīmāristān* must have been an ideal quarry site for collectors and art dealers alike, just as the Ayyubid citadel had been plundered by Sanjar al-Shujāʿī six centuries earlier to build the complex.

This leaves us with eight rectangular wooden panels in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), probably from a door, that are stylistically very similar to others in the MIA (441/Fig. 8 and 554) that were recovered from the complex. They share the same composition: a central motif enclosing animals from which spiraling scrolls are symmetrically set against a deeper carved ground.[52] According to the V&A's records, these panels were purchased on 10 December 1896 for £25 from an English painter, ceramics expert, and author named Henry Wallis (1830–1916).[53] Aside from these details the records do not provide any earlier provenance information, so it is not known when Wallis acquired them or from whom. Yet, some conclusions can be inferred from his biography. Besides his interest in ceramics, Wallis was an assiduous collector who visited Egypt regularly to buy antiquities to sell in England. With the help of other leading British artists and Egyptologists, he was the prime mover for the Society for the Preservation of Monuments of Ancient Egypt (SPMAE was active from 1888 to 1910), which lobbied to raise funds for this purpose.[54] Accordingly, he was both concerned with the preservation of Egyptian monuments and a connoisseur of Egyptian artifacts. However, his name does not appear in connection with the Antiquities Service (first in-

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[50] Thanks are due to Carine Juvin (Curator for Medieval Near East in the Department of Islamic Art at the Musée du Louvre) for providing me with this information from the register book.

[51] Creswell, *MAE,* 2:206; al-Khemir, "Palace of Sitt al-Mulk," 21; and Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 73.

[52] Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1998), 113, and pls. 51 and 53A–E; and Pauty, *Catalogue general du musée arab du Caire,* 51, pls. LX–LXI.

[53] The papers relating to the acquisition of these wooden panels are in the V&A Archive: MA/1/W330, nominal file: Wallis, Henry, registered papers RP/1896/107278.

[54] Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology from Antiquity to 1879* (Cairo, 2014), 255; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?: Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Cairo, 2002), 182–83; Warren R. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1995), 431; and Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (London, 2014), 199.

carnation of the Ministry of Antiquities) or the Comité: a search though Wallis' personal papers in Oxford University's Bodleian Library and SPMAE's archives at the Egypt Exploration Society in London produced no reference to connections that might shed more light on his acquisition habits and associations.[55]

Unfortunately, despite these limitations, scholars of Islamic art and architecture have highlighted these Fatimid carved wooden panels to the detriment of other interesting relics in the complex that warrant further inquiry. For instance, discreetly fixed above the entrance on the south wall of the mausoleum is a rectangular plaque inlaid with small pieces of colored stone and mother-of-pearl forming a geometric composition. Carved on two bone/ivory inserts on the short sides of the plaque is a verse of poetry that reads (Fig. 14):

<div dir="rtl">

ألا يا دار يدخلك حزن

ولا يغدر بساكنك الزمان

</div>

"O, home, may no sorrow enter you; and fate
will not betray your inhabitant"[56]

The renowned Egyptian scholar and historian of Islamic art and architecture Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1898–1967) authored an article on *spolia* in Egypt's Islamic monuments in which this plaque was published and where he claimed it was a relic from the Fatimid palace; however, he provided no reference or context for it.[57] Perhaps this is a detail that he was privy to given his previous work as an Inspector with the Comité from 1919 to 1958, during which time he was credited with making many important discoveries in the field.[58] Yet, when one looks at the plaque more closely, one notices that it is poorly executed and the geometric pattern does not look particularly Fatimid: the quality of the craftsmanship is not in keeping with the refinement of artifacts from a palatial context; and the asymmetry of the composition is also questionable.[59] On the contrary, the plaque looks like a crudely assembled piece that does not resemble any of the other geometric

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[55]C. Parker, "Catalogue of the papers of Henry Wallis, 1846–1952, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford" http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500-1900/wallis/wallis.html (2002). Carl Graves of the Egypt Exploration Society was very helpful in providing insight into the activities of SPMAE.

[56]I would like to thank Noha Abou-Khatwa (independent scholar of Islamic art and architecture) for helping with this translation.

[57]Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, "Al-Āthār al-manqūlah wa-al-muntaḥalah fī al-ʿimārah al-Islāmīyah," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte* 38, no. 1 (1955): 246.

[58]Muḥammad Fawzī Rahīl, "Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb wa-kitābuhu: Tārīkh al-masājid al-atharīyah," *Al-Hayāt,* 14 November 2014, http://www.alhayat.com/m/story/5701820.

[59]With thanks to Eric Broug (independent researcher specializing in Islamic geometric design) for examining a photo of this panel and casting doubt on its Fatimid authenticity.

panels in the mausoleum, so it is rather odd that a scholar of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's re-
pute would make assertions about its origin without any additional explanation.

If this panel is not from the Western Fatimid palace, is it still evidence of
spolia? The inscription is a verse from an anonymous couplet that is found in
several classical *adab* literary works, such as the well-known canonical anthol-
ogy *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf* (*A Quest for attainment in each fine art*) by
Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ibshīhī.[60] Although al-Ibshīhī died in 850/1446, the
verse can be traced back to Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 130/747–48), the narrator of the
anecdote cited in the anthology, giving us an eighth-century *terminus ante quem*.
The inscription is definitely out of place in the mausoleum and is more suited
for domestic contexts,[61] which might be why ʿAbd al-Wahhāb attributed it to the
Fatimid palace.[62] Nevertheless, it was surely appropriated from a domestic setting.

Crusader Spolia

In addition to the use of ornament, media, and material from the Fatimid palace
and the Ayyubid citadel, the complex of Qalāwūn bears witness to the deliberate
despoliation of other artifacts from the contemporary and ancient Mediterranean
world. The impact of Latin (Romanesque and Crusader) architecture on the com-
plex is very obvious in the rendering of the tall arched recesses that undulate on
the mausoleum and madrasah's facade overlooking Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (Fig. 2). A
more subtle and less obvious reference to Latin architecture is the double-arched
window above the main entrance (Fig. 15), which Creswell attributed to contem-
poraneous French workmanship due to the similarity in the hammering of the
iron grille work. The grille is probably Crusader loot that made its way back to
Cairo subsequent to wars fought with the Mamluks,[63] making it a clear case of
literal "spolia." Qalāwūn was at the height of his power by the time his complex
was built, having suppressed internal and external threats to his reign. Like other

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[60] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf,* ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Beirut, 2004), 2:327.

[61] Adam Talib (Assistant Professor of Classical Arabic Literature at Durham University) identified this line and directed me to several sources, including a story in *Alf laylah wa-laylah* (One Thou-sand and One Nights) in which the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (148–93/766–809), a great epigrapher according to classical Arabic literary works, found a building with this inscription on it. For more on the caliph's investigation of old buildings and reading their inscriptions, see: Adam Talib, "Topoi and Topography in the histories of al-Ḥīra" in *History and Identity in the Late Antique East (500–1000),* ed. P. Wood (New York, 2013), 141.

[62] According to Mamdouh M. Sakr (architect and architectural historian) this verse is still com-monly used in the same way on doorways in Egypt today.

[63] Creswell, *MAE,* 2:191; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "European Arts and Crafts at the Mamluk Court," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 45.

examples of Latin spoils embedded in Mamluk monuments in Cairo, this grille is a tangible reminder of the sultan's authority over the Crusaders, who were gradually being evicted from the eastern Mediterranean.[64] Qalāwūn and Sanjar al-Shujā'ī were probably making a profound statement establishing the Mamluks as new conquerors by placing the grille above the entrance portal, while simultaneously expressing a symbolic continuity with the Fatimid caliphs vis-à-vis the choice of site, the Western Palace. The Mamluk ascension to power, after all, occurred only decades before Qalāwūn erected his centerpiece of royal Mamluk architectural patronage.

Pre-Islamic Spolia

Equally ignored are the examples of pre-Islamic *spolia* found throughout the complex, namely the large variety of reused columns, capitals, sills, and thresholds that might have come from the Ayyubid citadel and the other buildings that were demolished on the island of Roda to erect it. It can be very difficult at times to differentiate between material re-used in a secondary context vs. that which was newly quarried for a building. One solution is to try to identify the stone type of the architectural element in question, which will lead to an identification of the quarry from where it came.[65] For example, according to a study by James A. Harrell, Professor Emeritus of Geology in the Department of Environmental Sciences at the University of Toledo, some of the stone *(marmor luculleum, marmor celticum, marmor lesbium, fossiliferous marble, marmor carium, marmor phrygium, marmor thessalicum)* used for the wall veneer, columns, capitals, and pavement are native to France, Greece, Italy, and Turkey.[66] Unless there was a marble import business active in the thirteenth century between Egypt and these regions, it can be conclusively established that these architectural elements were reused from

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[64]Behrens-Abouseif, "Between Quarry and Magic," 415. For more examples of Crusader spolia inserted in Cairene monuments of the Mamluk period, see: Cathleen A. Fleck, "Crusader Spolia in Medieval Cairo: the Portal of the Complex of Sultan Ḥasan," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1, no. 2 (December 2014): 249–99; and Behrens-Abouseif, "European Arts and Crafts at the Mamluk Court," 45–49.

[65]James B. Heidel (architect and epigraphic artist for the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago in Luxor, Egypt) carefully reviewed photos of the stones employed in the complex and suggested this methodology, and offered other pointers for identifying reused Roman stone as outlined in this article.

[66]Prof. Harrell has already identified the different types of Roman ornamental stones reused in the complex of Qalāwūn and several other medieval buildings in Cairo: http://www.eeescience. utoledo.edu/faculty/harrell/egypt/mosques/survey_intro.htm

earlier Greco-Roman period buildings and are in secondary use position because they are standing in a building dating to 683/1285.[67]

Attached to several columns is a bell-shaped piece of marble used in the *bīmāristān* and madrasah alternately as a capital and as a base that also suggests reuse (cf. Figs. 16–17). This shape is unknown in any classical style building from the Greco-Roman period anywhere around the Mediterranean littoral,[68] so as with the Fatimid woodwork these are most probably examples of intra-Islamic reuse. Moreover, in the medieval period architectural elements taken from earlier buildings were often cut down into smaller elements, and in these cases it is difficult to tell by style if the material is spoliated; but, again, if the stone type is known and if its quarry was closed by the Mamluk period, then these elements are spolia. This supposition can be applied to the small stone elements, inlays, and colonnettes in the *mihrab*s of the madrasah, as well as the porphyry discs in the pavement of the mausoleum: they were likely all cut down from larger, older pieces (Figs. 3–4).[69]

Where did the other columns and capitals throughout the complex come from? There are six identical pink granite columns with a loop supporting the madrasah (Fig. 18). Called palm capital columns because the shafts mimic palm fronds bound at the top by several cords forming a loop, the prototype for this type of column was first used in pyramid complexes of Abusir and Saqqara and can be traced back to the Old Kingdom, where they were exclusively carved in granite. Egyptologists have suggested that to identify the origin of these columns they would have to be properly surveyed and inspected for the remains of inscriptions that might have been erased and are no longer visible to the naked eye.[70] Monolithic granite columns also support the dome of Qalāwūn's mauso-

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[67]The importation of marble was already scarce during the Mamluk period and there was no market supplying it, although reused marble "...was sold in the form of columns, large or small, intact or broken, with or without bases": Nelly Hanna, *Construction Work in Ottoman Cairo (1517–1798)* (Cairo, 1984), 32–33.

[68]There are five orders of classical architecture—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite—and the bell-shaped capital is not known in any of them. For a description of the features in each of the five orders, see: Robert Chitham, *The Classical Orders of Architecture* (New York, 1985), 45–94.

[69]Porphyry ceased to be quarried in the Eastern Desert of Egypt during Late Antiquity, limiting builders to stone kept in reserves or previously carved for older buildings: William Tronzo, "Medieval Porphyry: The Subliminal Narratives of a Material," in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Age: commande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art: mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet,* ed. Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 2012), 45.

[70]Deiter Arnold, "Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdoms?" in *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson,* ed. Peter Der Manuelian and Rita E. Freed (Boston, 1996), 1:39, 44. Two palm columns with the same diameter of 183 cm support the *qiblah riwāq* in the mosque of al-Māridānī.

leum, but as they have no distinguishing features it would be difficult to postulate where they originally stood.

Unmentioned in any of the modern sources on the complex of Qalāwūn is the supposed discovery of a significant ancient *naos* over a century ago (Fig. 19) that was registered in the *Journal d'Entre* (JE 35128) when it entered the Egyptian Museum in 1901.[71] As per the incomplete inscription on the front of the *naos,* it was dedicated to the God Onuris, Son of Ra, Lord of Sammanud (Sebennytos), and is dated to the time of Nektanebo II (r. 360–343 BC). It was published several years later in a cursory fashion in the *Catalogue Général* (CG 70012) volume on *naoi* in the museum's holdings.[72] According to its author, the German Egyptologist Günther Roeder (1881–1966), it was brought to the museum from the *Muristan Kala'un*:[73] "Herkunft: 1901 aus dem *Muristan Kala'un (Krankenhaus in Kairo)* ins Museum gebracht; Maspero vermutet als Herkunft Sebennytos."[74] However, there are several issues that loom over this particular object. In the first edition of the *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire,* French Egyptologist and director of the Antiquities Service Gaston Maspero (1846–1916)[75] wrote: "Il a été trouvé dans les fondations d'une maison du Caire."[76] The JE entry specifically states that the *naos*

Egyptologist Stephen Harvey was instrumental in identifying this column type, and suggesting that the columns should be surveyed.

[71] I would like to thank Nicholas Warner (architectural historian) for alerting me to this find, and David Klotz (Egyptologist) and Cynthia May Sheikhoeslami (Egyptologist/independent scholar) for guiding me to relevant references.

[72] Günther Roeder, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*: *Naos* (Leipzig, 1914), 1:42–43, and pls. 14, 47b–c and e: it is erroneously listed as CG 70015 whereas in fact it is CG 70012.

[73] The Egyptian Museum in Cairo has three separate sets of catalogues: the *Journal d'Entre* (JE) is the main register book of the Egyptian Museum, in which objects are registered as soon as they enter the museum and the numbering system is serial; the *Catalogue Général* (CG) is a series published according to the typology of objects, where those published receive a number that is also treated as an official museum number; and the *Special Register* (SR) is the registration book that is organized according to the objects in the custody of each section head.

[74] Roeder, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*: *Naos,* 1:42–43. Neal A. Spencer states that it was actually found in a Cairo hospital in 1901: "The Epigraphic Survey of Samanud," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999): 82, n. 113. I suspect "Muristan Kala'un" became "Krankenhaus in Kairo," which was then translated into "Cairo hospital."

[75] Maspero headed the Antiquities Service from 1881 to 1886 and again from 1899 to 1914, and was a member of the Comité during his second term: Leturcq, "Jeau de miroirs et orientalisme dans les arts de l'islam," 128.

[76] Gaston Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1902), 102; and idem, *Guide to the Cairo Museum,* tr. by J. E. and A. A. Quibell. (Cairo, 1903), 173, no. 657: this is the English translation of the 1902 French *Guide* and the provenance is stated as "It was found in the foundations of a house in Cairo."

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was found in "Le Caire moristan," but does not specifically name the *moristan* (hospital) of Qalāwūn. The term "*bīmāristān*" and variants of the word (*muristan* and *moristan*) have always been a specific reference to Qalāwūn's hospital since the complex was founded in 683/1284–85; and at times "*bīmāristān*" has referred to the entire campus of buildings in the medieval and modern sources. The fact that the JE is the official register of the Egyptian Museum, which Roeder consulted, lends some credibility to the content of the CG entry.[77]

The Egyptian Museum's third catalogue, the *Special Register* (SR 5/9088), only lists a Cairo provenance, and the record in the Museum's Registration, Collections Management, and Documentation Department's (RCMDD) database mentions that it was found in Cairo and originally came from Tel Atrib (ancient Athribis) in the Delta.[78] Even more problematic, to date, this author has been unable to uncover any trace of the unearthing of the *naos* in the published bulletins or unpublished notes of the Comité, since they were certainly actively restoring the complex in 1901 when the shrine was supposedly transferred. This possible omission is not surprising given that the Comité did not always fully document all of their activities, as was the case with the arrangement of some of the Fatimid woodwork when first discovered in 1910.

Regardless of where this *naos* was found, there are two pieces of evidence that suggest it was positioned lying on its back. First, the projecting cavetto cornice at the top was clumsily removed (Fig. 20). This would make sense if the *naos* was installed on a floor, whereby removing the cornice would allow it to fit flush with the rest of the surface or against a wall. One could imagine that the *naos* was analogously reused as a basin or trough of a fountain in the complex, even though there are no holes for drainage at the bottom or back as one might expect for an object of this size that was reused in such a way. The uninscribed right jamb is definitely slightly worn down in a way that suggests long repeated contact as when feet wear down thresholds. If the *naos* was indeed used as a basin, people reaching down into it would wear one edge like the right jamb. Another indication that it might have been re-used as a basin is a sarcophagus of Nectanebo II now in the collection of the British Museum (EA10, dated to 345 BC) that has drilled drainage holes at the bottom and was re-used as a ritual bath in Alexandria's Mosque of a Thousand Columns (ex-Church of St. Athanasius built

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[77] In his preface to the 1903 English *Guide,* Maspero admitted that there were errors in the first edition due to the rush to publish in advance of the inauguration of the Egyptian Museum on 15 November 1902: *Guide to the Cairo Museum,* III–VI.

[78] With thanks to the RCMDD for providing me with details on the *naos* and furnishing photographs for publication.

ca. 282–300).[79] Perhaps the *naos* was also associated with ritual since Qalāwūn's complex was a site of several significant royal ceremonies,[80] or it could have been put to more practical use in the *bīmāristān.*

Concluding Remarks

In addition to the "reuse" vs. "*spolia*" debate there are other considerations that need to be fleshed out. The fact that the complex of Qalāwūn features so much *spolia* is fascinating in and of itself, resulting in a visual cacophony of a harmonious, discriminating, and sophisticated display where attention was paid to the quality of material and detail. If one wants to delve even deeper into specific aspects of the broader concept of reuse/*spolia,* there are a number of avenues to pursue. One could examine the sources, manners of acquisition, and transport patterns of architectural elements over great distances from different parts of Egypt to be reused in buildings in Cairo. Judging by the distance of locations from which the architectural elements were taken, we can speculate on their worth to the medieval builders. Such elements were not simply picked up from the nearest ruin as one might gather from al-Maqrīzī's bland account of the Roda citadel. On the contrary, they were selectively procured because there was an obvious appreciation for finely cut and precious materials that were no longer mined or readily available during the Islamic period. The matching columns and capitals throughout the complex also suggests that care was taken to select material with suitable dimensions and uniformity.[81]

What was the selection process or motives? In other words, to borrow from Esch, why were certain remnants of a previous culture chosen (or discarded) out of the rich repertoire of stone available in Egypt?[82] All the *spolia* found in the complex of Qalāwūn, regardless of period, were incorporated for different purposes resulting in the co-existence of, and a distinction between, architectural elements that were salvaged (Fatimid woodwork) and those that were purposefully removed from intact buildings (Ayyubid citadel), ultimately disfiguring them permanently. The most obvious reason for integrating material from older buildings is practical, coupled with the relatively quick access to stone from Egypt's rich Pharaonic, late antique, and early Islamic heritage. Patrons and builders made use of dis-

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[79]Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography,* 4:3–4. I would like to thank Tom Hardwick for bringing this sarcophagus to my attention.

[80]Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks,* 138; and al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭat,* 4:2:518–22.

[81]Arnold Esch, "On the Reuse of Antiquity: the Perspectives of the Archaeologist and of the Historian," in *Reuse Value,* ed. Brilliant and Kinney, 15; and Behrens-Abouseif, "Between Quarry and Magic," 405.

[82]Esch, "On the Reuse of Antiquity," 22–23.

carded secondhand structural elements in order to speed building projects and reduce their cost, making labor-intensive quarrying inessential. One should keep in mind, though, that ancient monuments were not only selected because they were ancient, but because they were impressive, monumental, and sturdily built out of precious, valuable materials (including wood). As is evident in Qalāwūn's complex, pre-Islamic monuments were not the only ones exploited: with the fall of the Fatimids in 567/1171, additional materials from the caliphal palaces located in the heart of the city became available, as well as objects brought to Cairo from the conquered Crusader cities in Syria.[83]

Was the practice of reuse ideologically charged? Perhaps one could argue that Sanjar al-Shujāʿī looked to antiquity with a gaze that was both approbative and exploitative. To methodologically recycle architectural material from the citadel on Roda when masons were available seems to reflect a conscious choice, especially given his discerning eye and predilection for collecting impressive pieces that were ancient and contemporary.

As previously mentioned, modern scholarship has emphasized and fixated on the Fatimid woodwork found in the complex, leaving Creswell and others to focus on reconstructing the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk. However, that the woodwork was given priority by scholars of the last century because of their decoration does not imply that the Mamluk-period builders felt the same way. Proof of this lies in the fact that the decorations of the Fatimid panels were purposefully obscured or placed in areas that were not particularly visible to the visitor because they valued the precious wood. Contrast this with the columns, capitals, and sills, none of which appear to have been plastered over, that contributed to the grandeur and efficacy of the space over time. It is the latter that are commented on in the sources and continue to impress visitors to the complex today.

In response to these oversights, this study aims to reflect a different kind of reconstruction: to draw equal attention to all of the reused elements and their later multiple contexts and lives; but also to have a meaningful discussion about how some of these elements were received in the modern period, which ultimately led to their "reuse" as artifacts in museum collections. Should we, for example, distinguish between the large variety of reused elements that are still *in situ;* the provenanced and unprovenanced Fatimid "objects" in museum collections; and the ancient *naos* said to have come from the complex but with inconsistent documentation? A closer look into the biographies and travels of the collectors and dealers associated with these artifacts will certainly show a connection between them—they belonged to the same art historical and social milieu—and their role in supplying museums in Europe and the US with unique "objects." Moreover, this has not been an exercise in futility, rather an attempt to explore the fabric

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[83] Meinecke-Berg, "Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur von Kairo," 131.

of *spolia* in order to fill holes in the scholarship by assembling and interpreting evidence from medieval and archival records in the complementary disciplines of history, archaeology, art history, and Egyptology.
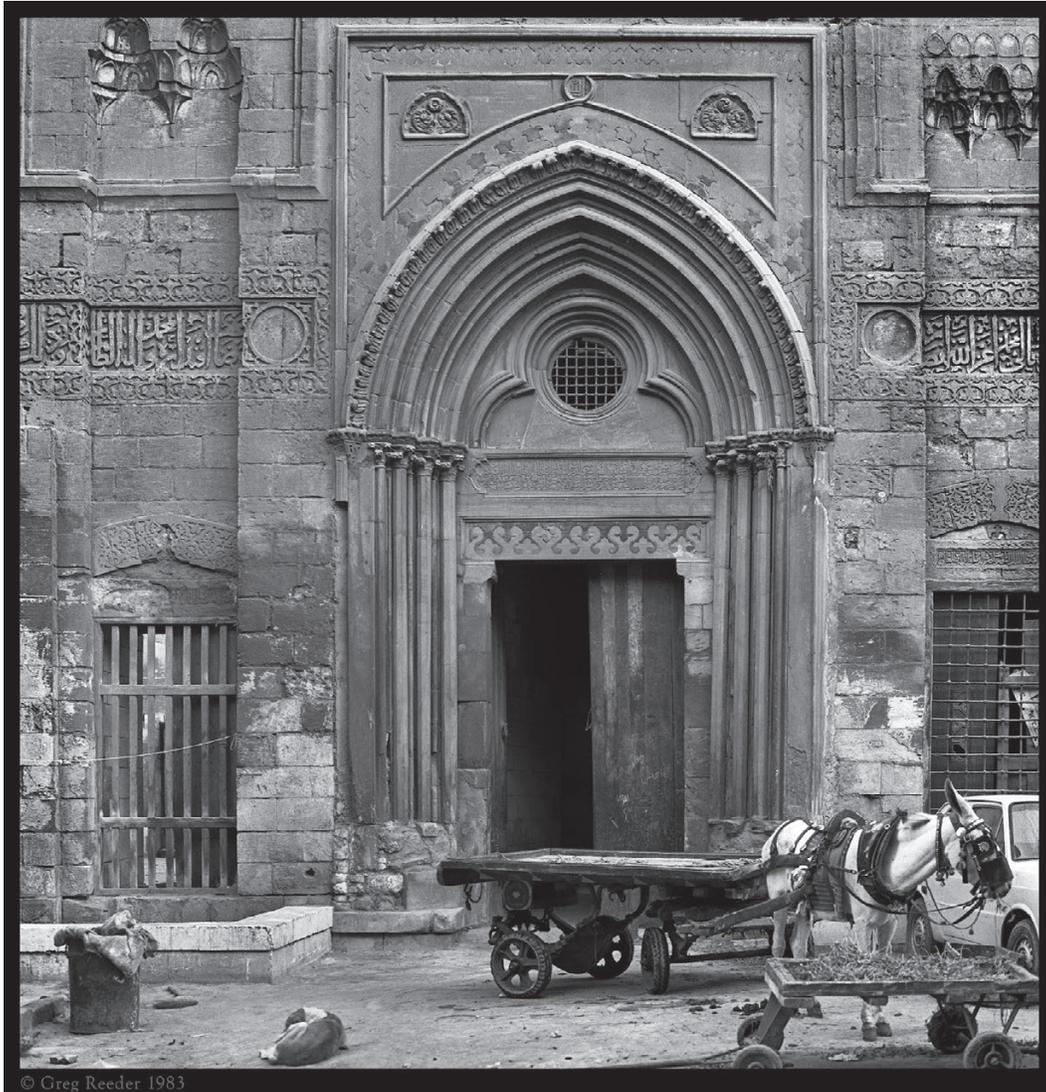
Figure 1: Gothic portal, madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. (© Greg Reeder, 1983)
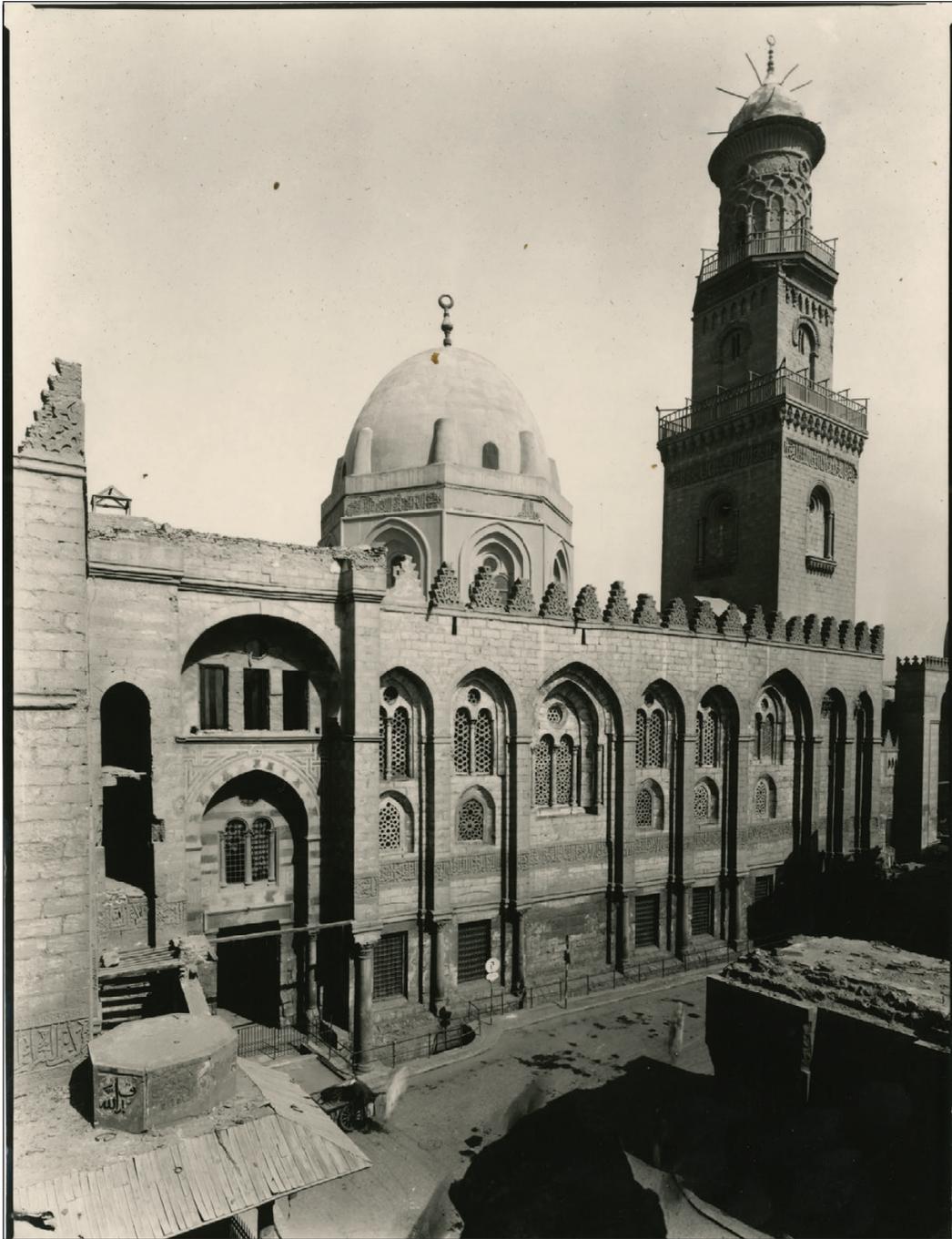
Figure 2: Exterior, complex of Qalāwūn. (© Rare Books and Special Collections Library, The American University in Cairo)

Figure 3: Decoration in the *mihrab* of the mausoleum, complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)

Figure 4: Detail of pavement in the mausoleum, complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)
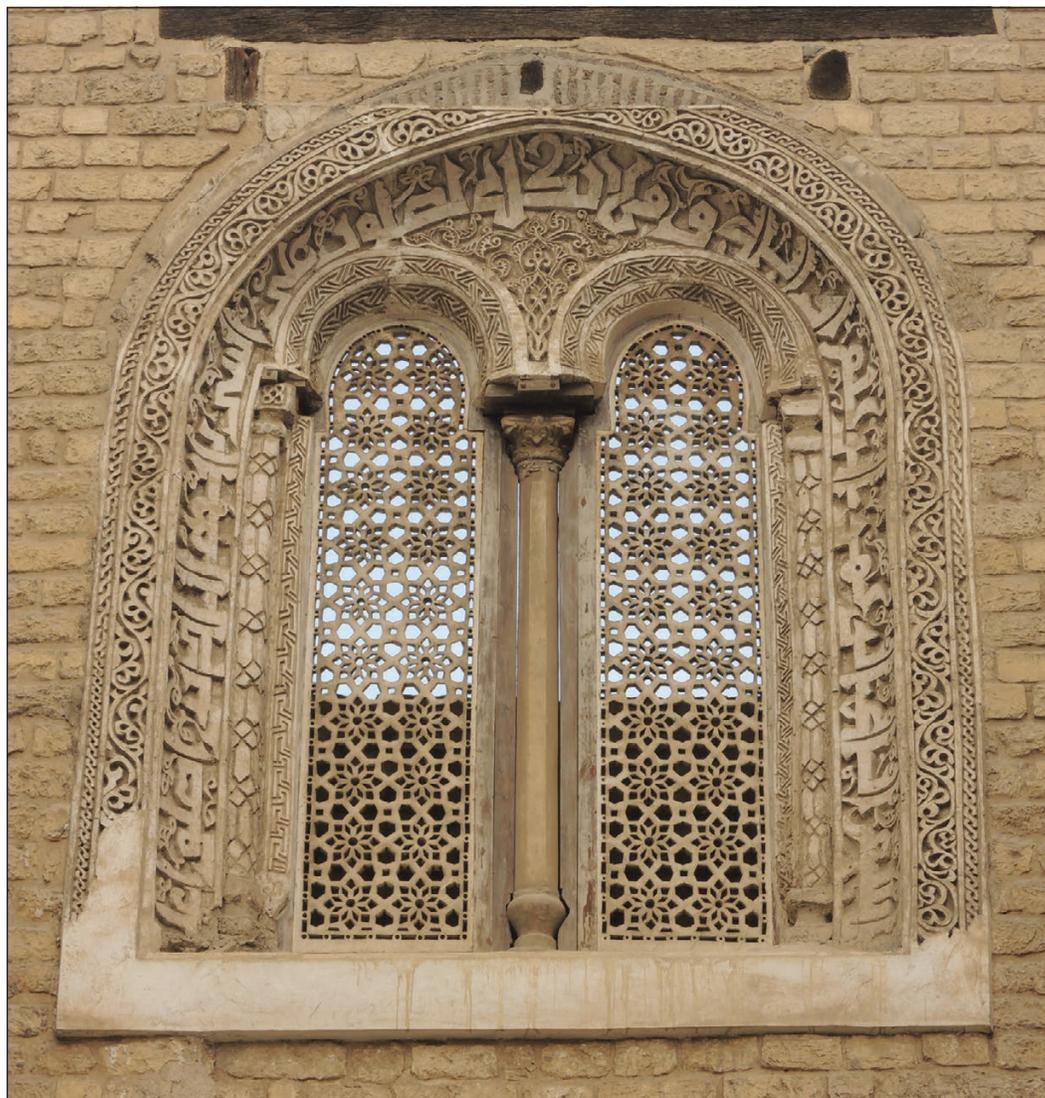
Figure 5: Stucco window on the north wall of the *bīmāristān*'s south-east *īwān,* complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)

Figure 6: Stucco window in the Museum of Islamic Art, Accession No. 4046. (© Sandro Vannini/Laboratoriorosso)

Figure 7: Stucco window, complex of Qalāwūn. (© Rare Books and Special Collections Library, The American University in Cairo)

Figure 8: Fatimid wooden panel from the palace of Sitt al-Mulk, Museum of Islamic Art, Accession No. 441. (Photograph by Boulos Isaac from *The Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo*, edited by Bernard O'Kane, copyright © 2005 by the American University in Cairo Press)

Figure 9: Fatimid wooden panel from the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk. (© Center for the Documentation of Islamic and Coptic Antiquities, Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt)

Figure 10: In situ Fatimid wooden panels, complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)

Figure 11: Fatimid wooden panel from the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk, Accession No. LNS 55W. (© The al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait)

Figure 12: Fatimid wooden panel from the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk, Museum of Islamic Art, Accession No. 3391. (© Sandro Vannini/Laboratoriorosso)

Figure 13: Fatimid wooden panel from the *qāʿah* of Sitt al-Mulk, Accession No. OA 4062. (© 2007 Musée du Louvre /Claire Tabbagh/Digital Collections)
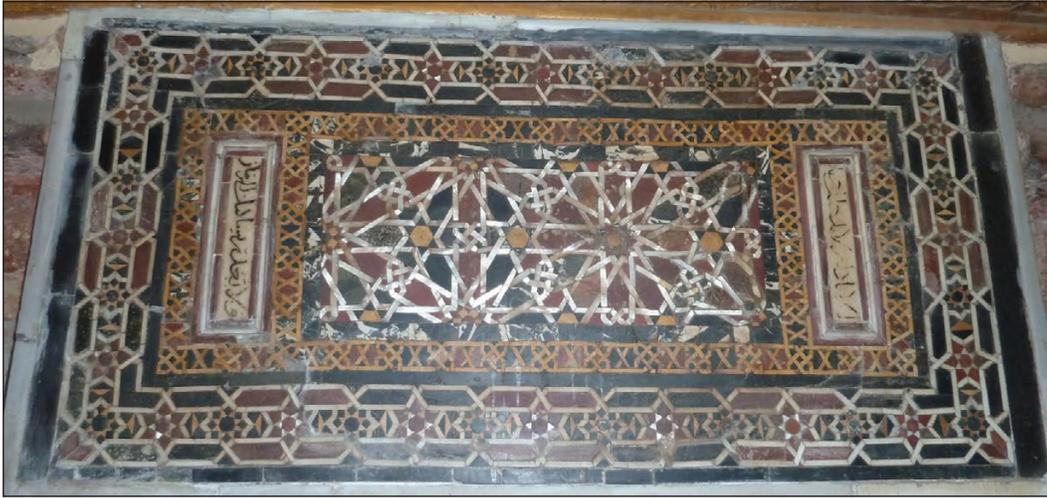
Figure 14: Inscribed plaque on the south wall of the mausoleum, complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)
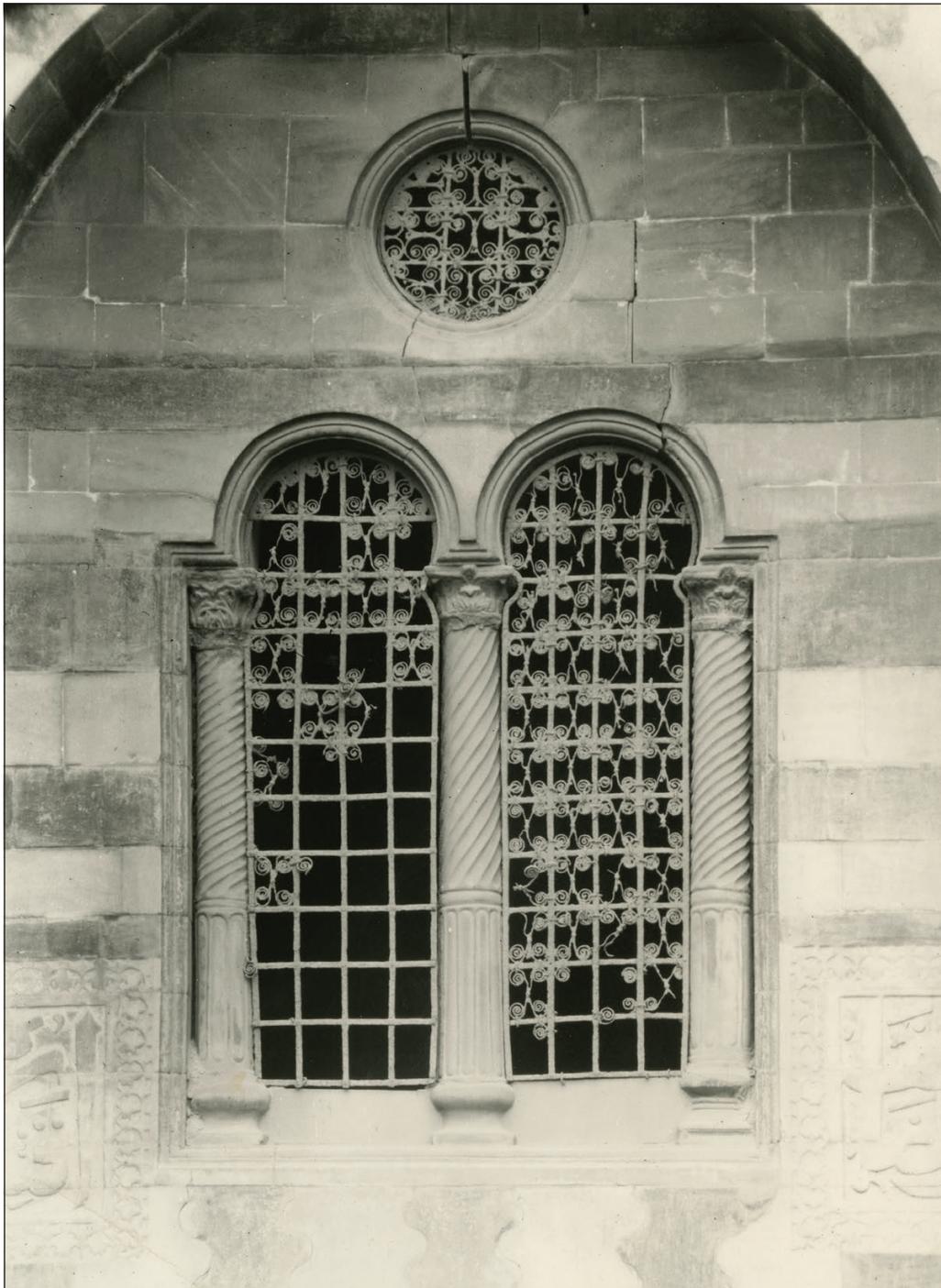
Figure 15: Iron window grille above the entrance, complex of Qalāwūn. (© Rare Books and Special Collections Library, The American University in Cairo)

Figure 16: Bell-shaped capital in the *bīmāristān,* complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)

Figure 17: Bell-shaped base supporting a column in the madrasah, complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)

Figure 18: Palm columns in the madrasah, complex of Qalāwūn. (Photo by the author)

Figure 19: *Naos* of Nectanebo II, Accession No. JE 35128. (© The Egyptian Museum in Cairo)

Figure 20: Cornice, *naos* of Nectanebo II, Accession No. JE 35128. (© The Egyptian Museum in Cairo)

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The Turbah of Sitt Sutaytah: A Funerary Foundation for a Mamluk Noblewoman in Fourteenth-Century Damascus

Introduction

Nestled within a densely built-up quarter in the heart of the old city of Damascus, amidst famous historical monuments, shops, and residential buildings, stand the remains of a small but elegant structure of the early Mamluk period. So narrow is the alley fronting it and so festooned its facade with pennants and posters, one could almost walk past without taking particular notice of it. However, some feature of its worn façade—perhaps the finely dressed masonry of the lower walls, the handsome epigraphic band, or the exquisite stalactite hood above the entrance niche—would alert the observant passer-by to the presence of a significant memento of the city's distant past. In fact, this façade represents nearly all that remains of the Turbah of Sitt Sutaytah, the funerary foundation of one of the highest ranked women in the land at the time of its construction: the "first lady"— as it were—of the Mamluk province of Bilād al-Shām in the early decades of the fourteenth century. However, in spite of the notability of its sponsor and the refinements of its construction, the building has attracted relatively little scholarly attention.[1] This study will examine the history of the building and its site, survey its structural and decorative remains, and analyze its place within the architectural and social context of Mamluk Damascus and Bilād al-Shām.[2] Ultimately, it

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[1]Several modern surveys mention or briefly describe the building remains. These include Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus: Die islamische Stadt* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), 43, 71f., pl. 8; Jean Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), 69, no. 42; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq: Nuṣūṣ wa-Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh Dimashq al-Tubughrāfī wa-Āthāruhā al-Qadīmah* (Beirut, 1949), 136f.; Muḥammad A. Duhmān, *Wulāt Dimashq fī ʿAhd al-Mamālīk* (Damascus, 1981), 170 ff.; Dorothée Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisch-islamischen Stadt* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), 103, no. 3.41; Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Glückstadt, 1992), 1:87, 99; 2:155, no. 9C/262; Qutaybah Shihābī, *Mushayadāt Dimashq dhawāt al-Aḍriḥah wa-ʿAnāṣiruhā al-Jamālīyah* (Damascus, 1995), 194; Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden, 2009), 4:99. The building is discussed at length only in Sabri Jarrar, "Suq al-Maʿrifa: An Ayyubid Hanbalite Shrine in al-Haram al-Sharif," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 71–100.

[2]My work on this paper has progressed in fits and starts. Preparing *Power and Patronage* for publication, I recognized that questions surrounding Sutaytah's *turbah* and its patronage deserved more consideration than I could dedicate to it there (Ellen Kenney, *Power and Patronage in Medieval Syria: The Architecture and Urban Works of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī* [Chicago, 2009], 62, n. 253). The stimulating keynote lecture at the 2012 Historians of Islamic Art Association symposium deliv-

will consider the foundation as an example of architecture sponsored by and for females of the Mamluk period. In doing so, it will draw on the boom in scholarship dedicated to better understanding medieval women both as patrons and as end-users that has emerged over the last few decades.[3]

Biography

Sutaytah was born into Mamluk nobility.[4] Her father, Sayf al-Dīn Kawkāʾī al-Manṣūrī al-Silāḥdār, originally served as a mamluk of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. He fought at the Battle of Shaqḥab, held the ceremonial post of arms-bearer *(silāḥdār)* for the sultan, and attained the rank of amir of one thousand.[5] He amassed great wealth, and owned many palaces, horses, textiles, and other riches. Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions that Kawkāʾī erected a minaret and a *turbah* in Cairo's northern cemetery at Rās al-Hadfah, near where Barqūq's funerary monument would later be built. When it came to marrying off his daughter, Kawkāʾī—like most of his fellow Manṣūrī amirs—secured an alliance with another high-

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ered by my Ph.D. advisor, Priscilla Soucek, entitled "Wives, Concubines, Daughters and Mothers: the Multiple Paths to Female Patronage of the Visual Arts," reignited my interest in researching the question further. By that time, it was impractical for me to do further field research in Damascus because of unrest in Syria. The same reason spurred me to finish preparing for publication the findings of my fieldwork (conducted 1997–99), in hopes that I can augment them through further research *in situ* in the near future.

[3]Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo, 1973); Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron, eds*., Women in Middle Eastern History (*New Haven, 1991); *Asian Art* 6, no. 2 (1993), an issue devoted to women and Islamic art; Ruth Roded, *Women in Islamic Biographical Collections* (Boulder and London, 1994); Annemarie Schimmel, *My Soul is a Woman: The Feminine in Islam,* trans. Susan H. Ray (New York, 1997); Gavin R. G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* (New York, 1998); D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany, 2000); Amira el-Azhary Sonbol, ed., *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societie*s (Syracuse, 2005); Therese Martin, ed., *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 2012); and Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam* (New York, 2013).

[4]Entries for Sutaytah are found in Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Damascus, 1998), 2:403, no. 695; Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1932–39), 14:151.

[5]Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Aḥmad al-Arnāʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafá (Beirut, 2000), 24:282; idem, *Aʿyān,* 4:162–63, no. 1409; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1961–73), 10:241; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, 1993), 3:270, no. 700; Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat al-Mulūk,* ed. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 4:103, 359, 360; Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–94), 2:625. On Kawkāʾī's *turbah* in Cairo, see Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:212, and Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Costa Mesa, 2001), 26.

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ranking amir associated with the Manṣūrī regiment. He married Sutaytah to Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, originally the mamluk of Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī. Kawkāʾī managed to survive the purge of Manṣūrī amirs at the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign that resulted in the arrest of over forty of his comrades. His good fortune may well have been due to Sutaytah's marriage alliance, since many of these arrests were preceded by quarrels with her husband, Tankiz.[6] In fact, Kawkāʾī lived an exceptionally long life, surviving both his daughter and his son-in-law. He died in 749/1349, succumbing as an old man to the bubonic plague. In spite of his social prominence and longevity, Kawkāʾī's obituary is relatively short, and the family tie between his daughter Sutaytah and Tankiz is one of the main points highlighted in it.

While Sutaytah began life in the upper echelons of Mamluk society, her marriage to Tankiz elevated her even higher. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad returned to the throne for the third time, he conferred upon Tankiz a series of promotions culminating in an appointment in 1312 to the office of *nāʾib al-shām*. Tankiz retained this post for an unusually long period—until his ultimate downfall in 1340.[7] During his long governorship, Sutaytah's husband distinguished himself as a politician, diplomat, and cultural patron. He contributed widely to the built environment of Bilād al-Shām with religious and charitable constructions, civic works, and palaces. Tankiz survived Sutaytah by a decade.

Sutaytah appears to have been the only legal wife of Tankiz, but she shared his attentions with a large cast of concubines. Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) reports that at one point there were nine concubines in Tankiz's household and that each was provided with her own staff of servants and slaves.[8] According to her obituary, Sutaytah was the mother of two daughters. One, Fāṭimah, became the wife of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Biljik, who himself was the nephew of the great amir, Qawṣūn, and one of several of Qawṣūn's relatives who attained high rank in Mamluk society (he became an amir of one hundred).[9] Sutaytah's other daughter,

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[6] Amir Mazor, *The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment: The Mansuriyya in the First Mamluk Sultanate, 678/1279–741/1341* (Bonn, 2015), 172, and 202–3.

[7] For biography on Tankiz, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1973). For discussion of his life, see Kenney, *Power,* 9–13; Stephan Conermann, "Tankiz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī (d. 740/1340) as Seen by His Contemporary al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–24; "Tankiz," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.; Michael Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (London, 1987), 223; Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī, "Al-Amīr Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī: Nāʾib al-Shām fī al-Fitrah 712–741/1312–1340 M," in *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh Salṭanat al-Mamālīk fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (Kuwait, 1985), 199–283.

[8] Al-Ṣafadī reports this information in the context of an entry about Tājār al-Dawādār and his astonishment at the scale of Tankiz's wealth (al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:565).

[9] Ulrich Haarmann, "Joseph's Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp

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Quṭlūmalik, rose even higher on the social ladder, eventually becoming queen: she first married amir Aḥmad ibn Baktimur al-Sāqī (713–33/1313-14–1332-33) in 727/1327,[10] and later, after Aḥmad's death in 733/1332, married Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 738/1337–38 and produced a son who would himself eventually become sultan, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ.[11]

The death notices for Sutaytah do not list any sons among her progeny. However, al-Ṣafadī's biographical entry for ʿAlī ibn Tankiz tentatively identifies her as his mother. Although ʿAlī was a sickly child, he was a favorite of Tankiz, upon whom the boy's ill health weighed heavily. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad proclaimed him an amir in 732 (thus, about one year after Sutaytah's death), ʿAlī was still quite young. A procession in Damascus from the madrasah of Nūr al-Dīn to the Dār al-Saʿādah attended by all the important figures in town marked the event. Within a year from his instatement, however, ʿAlī had died and was buried at his father's mausoleum.[12] According to the chronicle of Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, a son—Muḥammad—was born to Tankiz in the same year as Sutaytah's death—but Muḥammad's mother is not identified there.[13] In 738/1337–38, two of Tankiz's sons were married off to two of the daughters of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Although this event figures prominently in the chronicles, the mother (or mothers) of the two grooms goes unnamed. It is possible that Sutaytah also bore one or both of these sons of Tankiz and that the historians neglected to mention her maternity of them, as was the case with ʿAlī ibn Tankiz. Alternatively, the two grooms may have had another mother (or other mothers).[14]

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and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 66. There is some discrepancy about whether Biljik (also rendered as Baljak) is the son of Qawṣūn's brother Susun or his sister (Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun,1310–1341* [Leiden, 1995], 39, n. 57. See also Jo van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), 81).

[10] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:289.

[11] On the suspicious circumstances surrounding Aḥmad's death, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Waqf as Remuneration and the Family Affairs of al-Nasir Muhammad and Baktimur al-Saqi," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York, 2000), 58.

[12] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 537.

[13] Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd* (Freiburg, 1973), 143.

[14] On the relatively equal prospects for offspring of wives and those of concubines, see Carl F. Petry, "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Keddie and Baron, 122–42, and 141, n. 37. See also Yossef Rapoport, "Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 10.

"Generous, upright (or: virtuous), and pious": this is how al-Ṣafadī describes al-Khātūn Sitt Sutaytah in his biographical work.[15] Although his notice on Sutaytah is brief and concentrates mainly on establishing her next-of-kin, it includes the frank claim that "she dissuaded her husband from many things"—suggesting, perhaps, that she played some kind of advisory role in Tankiz's affairs of state. Contemporary historians characterize Tankiz as being strong-willed and sometimes impetuous. Al-Ṣafadī's remark may indicate that Sutaytah provided a check to her husband's impulsivity.

When Sutaytah conducted her pilgrimage in 729/1329, departing Damascus on 9 Shawwāl/August 6, an entourage of important notables accompanied her.[16] She died several months later on 3 Rajab/22 April the following year, but none of the sources explicitly mention the cause of her death.[17] If Sutaytah was the mother of Muḥammad ibn Tankiz, born in the same year as her death, her death may have been related to childbirth. Whether the hajj journey precipitated her death or she undertook the hajj when she did because of an impending sense of mortality is impossible to surmise. As we will see below, by the time of her death she had already purchased the land for the mausoleum and expressed her wishes about the charitable functions to be associated with it. However, no explicit connection between her pilgrimage and her foundation is made in the historical sources—as it is, for example, in accounts of the commission by one of Sutaytah's contemporaries, Sitt Hadaq, of a mosque in Cairo to commemorate her pilgrimage.[18]

Sutaytah's birth year is not provided, so her age at death is open to speculation; but given that her daughter had reached a marriageable age by 727/1327,[19] she probably was not younger than thirty when she died in 730/1330. Accounts dealing with her funeral convey the sense that she was widely respected as well as highly positioned. Her death occurred at the grand palace known as Dār al-Dhahab that her husband had recently constructed in "al-Khaḍrā'" quarter just

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[15] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:403. Sutaytah's piety and generosity are echoed in all later accounts as well. See, for example, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-ʿIlmawī, *Mukhtaṣar* ("Description de Damas"), ed. Henri Sauvaire, *Journal Asiatique,* 9. Ser. (5 vols.), 4:255. On the usage of female titles, see ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 107–8.

[16] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:144.

[17] The absence of this information is not exceptional. On the general shortage of mortality causes in biographical literature, see William Tucker, "Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 111–12.

[18] On this monument, see Caroline Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 55–64.

[19] On customary marriage age, see Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005), 39.

south of the Umayyad Mosque.[20] According to al-Birzālī's contemporary account, funerary prayers were conducted for the "great, honorable lady" at the Umayyad Mosque.[21] As a funeral venue, this mosque was the most prestigious and venerated in all Damascus, and her commemoration there serves as an index of her elevated social standing. The funeral was followed by Sutaytah's interment at "the place she had bought for her burial" followed by a wake held nearby in the Madrasah al-Qilijīyah. Al-Birzālī makes a point of mentioning the attendance of "a great many people" among them qadis, amirs, notables, and common people— further testimony to Sutaytah's stature in the community.

Location and Site

The Turbah of Sitt Sutaytah is located inside the city walls of Damascus, southwest of the Umayyad Mosque (Fig. 1). We are told that Sutaytah purchased the plot upon which it was built, but not from whom she bought the property or what purpose it had previously served. The source, al-Birzālī, refers to it simply as a *makān.*[22] This is striking, because the plot Sutaytah had acquired was in a prime, central location: near the Khaṭṭ al-Khawwāṣīn, which ran north-south between the commercial zone outside the western entrance of the Umayyad Mosque, Bāb al-Barīd, and the main east-west artery of the city, Sūq al-Ṭawīl. The block within which the foundation was situated is bounded on the north by a street intersecting Khaṭṭ al-Khawwāṣīn known as Darb Maʿan. On the east side of the block, a street cuts diagonally to the southwest, linking with a north-south cul-de-sac. The area comprising this cul-de-sac and the zone just to its north was known as Ḥārat al-Balāṭah. Bounding the block on the south is a street running perpendicular to Khaṭṭ al-Khawwāṣīn, known as Darb al-Labbān and later as Zuqāq al-Maḥkamah, named after the eighteenth-century law court that was housed in a building on the south side of the street.[23]

Within this block, the plot available for the new construction was constrained by the presence of a number of pre-existing buildings (Fig. 2). The largest and most famous of these earlier monuments was the twelfth-century Madrasah al-Nūrīyah al-Kubrá. That building, together with the smaller tomb and madrasah of amir Jamāl al-Dīn Āqqūsh al-Najībī built contiguous with it around 677/1278,

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[20]Kenney, *Power,* 55–61; Mathieu Eychenne, "Toponymie et résidences urbaines à Damas au XIVe siècle: Usage et appropriation du patrimoine ayyoubide au début de l'époque mamelouke," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 31 (2012): 246ff.

[21]Qtd. in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 2:211.

[22]Qtd. in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 2:211.

[23]That building was largely destroyed in 1925. Remains can be seen in plate 18 of Sack, *Damaskus.* See also: Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus,* 72; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723–1783* (Beirut, 1966), 309.

still occupy all of the north-east segment of the block in question. Abutting the Nūrīyah to the west was the nearly contemporaneous Madrasah al-Rayḥānīyah (565/1169–70), now lost.[24] Just to the south of the Nūrīyah was a madrasah that dated to the thirteenth century known as the Madrasah al-Ṭayyibah (alternatively known as "al-Shumānīyah"), a building no longer extant today but operational at least until the fifteenth century. Thus, on three sides of Sutaytah's *turbah* site there would have been clear, pre-existing boundaries: to the south, Darb al-Labbān/Zuqāq al-Maḥkamah; to the east, the Madrasah al-Ṭayyibah; and to the north, the southwest corner of the Nūrīyah and the Rayḥānīyah.

Less certain is the disposition of the western segment of the block on which the *turbah* is sited. A topographical source (al-Nuʿaymī, on which more below) mentions two buildings west of it. An institution known as the Madrasah al-Ukuzīyah, erected by 587/1191–92, is described as lying west of the Ṭayyibah and the "Tankizīyah" (i.e., the Turbah of Sitt Sutaytah) and—rather confusingly—to the west of the Madrasah of Umm Ṣāliḥ, which was situated across the Ḥārat al-Balāṭah lane.[25] There appears to be general (though tacit) consensus among modern topographers that this latter coordinate is erroneous and that the Ukuzīyah belongs east of Umm Ṣāliḥ, either on the north side of Darb al-Labbān/Zuqāq al-Maḥkamah, occupying the corner with Ḥarat al-Balāṭah, or farther east along Darb al-Labbān/Zuqāq al-Maḥkamah on its south side.[26] The Madrasah al-Shiblīyah (constructed by 623/1226) is described simply as facing the Ukuzīyah.[27] According to either of the two aforementioned theories for the Ukuzīyah site, this could situate the Shiblīyah at the far west end of the *turbah*'s block.

Today, the Nūrīyah-Najībīyah structure, its northern *īwān* lopped off and paved over for parking, is the only pre-modern monument surviving on the block, aside from Sutaytah's *turbah*. The remains of the *turbah* are surrounded on all three sides by modern buildings. A multi-story residential structure rises to its west, the roof of which affords a birds-eye view of the vicinity. To the east, the *turbah*'s façade is contiguous with a modern building containing shops and businesses. Opposite Sutaytah's building, a modern construction has encroached into the street. Presumably, when the *turbah* was first built one would have been able to admire its façade from a more distant vantage point than is possible at present.

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[24]This building was still extant in the early twentieth century, when Wulzinger and Watzinger included it in their survey (*Damaskus,* 70). See also al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:522; E. Combé, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Cairo, 1931–56), 9:3342; Jean Sauvaget et al., *Les Monuments Ayyubides de Damas* (Damascus, 1938–50), 2:51–56.

[25]Al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:274.

[26]Sack suggests the former *(Damaskus)* and al-Munajjid *(Khiṭaṭ),* the latter.

[27]This building is not extant (al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 1:537; Sauvaire, "Description," 4:265; ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Munādamāt al-Aṭlāl wa Musāmarat al-Hayāl* [Damascus, 1960], 178).

Construction History

As soon as Sutaytah's wake concluded, construction of her funerary building began. Al-Birzālī provides a contemporary account: "(They) buried her in the place that she bought for her burial next to Madrasah al-Ṭayyibah, near to al-Khawwāṣīn, inside Damascus …(here he gives the above-mentioned information about the funeral and wake)… and they embarked on construction of the place that she was buried in, and the equipment and the craftsmen were brought and the work was completed. I was informed that she had requested that the dome *(qubbah)* be constructed on top of the tomb *(ḍarīḥ)* and nearby it a *masjid* and *ribāṭ* for women were built."[28] Another contemporary, Ibn al-Wardī, distinguishes the *turbah* with the descriptor "*ḥasanah.*"[29] Ibn Kathīr and al-Nuʿaymī both claim that she also ordered the construction of a *maktab aytām* (orphans' school) as part of the foundation, and al-Nuʿaymī specifically situates the *ribāṭ* and *maktab* to the west of the *turbah* and *masjid.* Ibn Kathīr's account emphasizes that these works were carried out according to Sutaytah's order.[30]

Thus, although Sutaytah purchased the property for her *turbah* and communicated her intention for the foundation of a *masjid, ribāṭ,* and perhaps also a *maktab* at it, she had died before construction began. The project took only about five months and the following foundation inscription commemorates its completion (Fig. 7):

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The construction of this blessed mausoleum *(turbah)* was ordered by His Noble and High Excellency, our Master, the Great Amir, the Defender of the Faith, the Holy Warrior, al-Malikī, the Well-served, Sayf al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Tankiz, Viceroy of the Magnificent Sultanate in Syria the Well-protected, may his victory be glorious! The achievement took place in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 730 (Sept.–Oct. 1330).[31]

Subsequent History

Later-written sources refer to Sutaytah's funerary foundation by various names. Some are based on her father's name, which itself has been transcribed in different ways by different writers. Thus, in some places the establishment is referred to as the "Kawkīyah" or the "Kawkabīyah" (also erroneously tran-

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[28] Qtd. in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 2:211.

[29] Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Beirut, 1970), 2:419.

[30] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:151; al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 2:274f.

[31] Combé et al, *Répertoire,* 14:267–68, no. 5589.

scribed as Qawqabīyah), while elsewhere it appears as the "Tankizīyah" or the "Khātūnīyah".[32] In the eighteenth century, another burial was added under the western dome for Shaykh Aḥmad al-Naḥlawī, a religious scholar who died in 1744. Subsequently, the building came to be known by his name.[33] In his topography of Damascus published in 1855, Alfred von Kremer refers to the monument as "Medreset-en-Nih'lawi" and describes it as a beautiful building.[34] Badran, publishing in the 1940s, reports that in his time the building was referred to—erroneously, he remarks—as "Zāwiyat al-Naḥlawī."[35] Evidently, the establishment had changed in function from one serving as a *ribāṭ* for women, to one serving as a madrasah or *zāwiyah*—presumably for men.[36]

The monument's twentieth-century past reflects the tensions between historical preservation and modern use that characterize the histories of innumerable medieval buildings in the region. The files of the Buildings Department *(Qism al-Mabānī)* under the Ministry of Antiquities record repeated attempts by neighborhood residents or shopkeepers to appropriate portions of the monument for residential or commercial purposes and repeated demands from the Department that such actions be discontinued or reversed. Around the turn of the last century, when Wulzinger and Watzinger recorded the monument, the twin domes still stood (Fig. 3). However, by 1973, an Antiquities Ministry inspector describes the eastern chamber and its dome in good condition, but the western chamber inhabited by a family and its dome replaced with a flat roof. The west dome may have come down as early as 1916, when Herzfeld conducted his survey of Damascus.[37] Despite a 1975 letter from the Antiquities Ministry to the Awqāf Department addressing the illegality of renting cultural property, the western chamber was being put to commercial use in the late 1980s, when Akram al-ʿUlabī published his description of the site. Al-ʿUlabī decries this adaptation, carried out in spite of the general knowledge of the property's status as an endowment and a registered antiquity, and predicts that the day when the *turbah* itself would disappear was not far away. Just over a decade later, Shihābī's publication reports both domes lost, although this development is not reflected in the Qism al-Mabānī reports (Fig. 4).

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[32] Ibn Kathīr: "Karakay"; al-Nuʿaymī and al-ʿIlmawī: Kawkabaʾī.

[33] Shihābī, *Mushayadāt,* 194.

[34] Alfred von Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus* (Vienna, 1855), 2:13.

[35] Badrān, *Munādamāt,* 350.

[36] According to Rapoport's overview, by the Ottoman period women's *ribāṭ*s are no longer found ("Women and Gender," 44).

[37] Stefan R. Hauser and Ann C. Gunter, *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1909–1950* (Leiden, 2004), xiv.

Description

The surviving elements of Sutaytah's funerary foundation are a façade, a vestibule, and partial remains of two square spaces flanking it.[38] This configuration is represented in drawings of the building as seen around 1910, published by Wulzinger and Watzinger (Fig. 3). The façade of the *turbah* is composed of a central portal, set within a recess and framed with an elevated, rectangular wall *(pishtaq),* flanked by a pair of windows on either side (Fig. 5). A stone molding traces the central *pishtaq* frame, and runs horizontally over the wall on either side before turning ninety degrees to run vertically, jogging outward about halfway at a height corresponding to that of the windows before running vertically again to the street level. The drawing published by Wulzinger and Watzinger demonstrates that this molding once ended in volutes that curled outward.[39] The masonry of the façade within the molding is finely dressed and slightly set back from the surrounding masonry, which consists only of two narrow strips of more roughly dressed ashlars to the left and right. Two large grilled windows on either side of the portal, each surmounted by a lintel and relieving arch, open into the two square chambers flanking the vestibule. At the west end of the façade extends a wall that is likely of a later date: constructed of stone masonry in its lower courses and plastered brick in its upper story, its masonry does not course through evenly with that of the *turbah* façade.

All four of the window openings have been altered to some extent (Fig. 6). The masonry below the two eastern windows has clearly been disturbed. It appears that two courses of ashlars were added at the bottom of these windows to raise the height of their sills. This alteration was done with care: the ashlars chosen for the job are well cut, they match the scale of the surrounding masonry, and are laid in such a way as to coordinate with the surrounding coursing, even though they do not course through precisely. The two windows on the west side of the portal have been converted into shop entrances and are filled with metal doors.[40]

The portal niche, approximately 1.2 meters deep and about 8.5 meters high, has undergone only minor alterations. The entrance is in-filled on the right side and the top with brick and cement block to enclose a small metal door. The original opening rises to a height of slightly over three meters and extends to nearly a

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[38] This description is based on my partial survey of the building, conducted in 1997. At that time, most of the building and its surroundings were inaccessible.

[39] These volutes are visible in the drawing published by Wulzinger and Watzinger, but are lost today (*Damaskus,* pl. 8).

[40] The documents do not appear to provide a date for this alteration, but an inspector from the Antiquities Department in 1964 reports that the property was being rented to individuals by the Awqāf Department, and the Qism al-Mabānī files contain an undated letter containing a request to make one of the windows into a large door, from which to sell products.

meter and a half in width. A monolithic lintel spans the entire width of the recess and bears the above-mentioned foundation inscription. Over it curves a relieving arch, surmounted by a large roundel of joggled masonry around a small oculus. One course above this roundel begins the springing of the recess hood, composed of three tiers of *muqarnas* terminating in a ribbed crown with a scalloped outer profile (Figs. 5 and 8).

The portal opens into a narrow, rectangular vestibule measuring 5.5 by 2.5 meters (Fig. 9). Here, as on the façade, the masonry is finely dressed. In some places, the ashlars are bare, while in others they are covered with a crumbling coat of plaster and paint. On the south wall of the vestibule, a circular niche corresponds to the oculus seen on the exterior and below it a pointed-arched recess encloses the entry door. At the north end of the vestibule, doorways pierce the east and west walls and lead into the flanking chambers. Roughly midway along both of these walls, windows opened into the side chambers as well, both of which are now blocked. Traces of the eastern window jamb and holes there indicate that it was once grilled. Originally, flat lintels and relieving arches surmounted all four of these openings. However, on the west wall, an arch has been inserted below the lintel, perhaps because of damage to the lintel, which is severely cracked down the middle. The masonry coursing around this window is disturbed. The door lintel on the west wall is also badly damaged, its cracks filled in with wood and plaster. The vestibule leads back to an exit on the north wall, leading through a narrow, pointed-arched doorway out to a small modern courtyard.

The uppermost courses of the vestibule walls bear traces of a carved plaster frieze, divided into two registers by three slender moldings. The lower register is decorated with roundels alternating with lobed cartouches, the central roundels on each wall bearing the representation of a footed and ringed goblet, the heraldic emblem *(rank)* of Tankiz *nāʾib al-shām*. The upper register is decorated with a continuous inscription in a stacked cursive script, much of which is lost (Fig. 10). While most of this plasterwork is barely legible, it survives in slightly better condition on the west wall. Although scholars were aware of this interior inscription long ago, when it might have been better preserved, no one published its content and I have yet to find any record providing a transcription. L. A. Mayer, whose primary interest was the goblet emblems, characterizes the epigraphic content as an "unhistorical inscription."[41] It is similarly passed over in the descriptions published by von Kremer, Wulzinger and Watzinger, and Sauvaget.[42] Mayer's de-

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[41]L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1953), 221.

[42]Von Kremer, *Topographie,* 2:13; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus,* 71. Sauvaget, *Damas,* 69, no. 42. Badrān, *Munādamāt* (350), ʿUlabī (411), and Shihābī (194) also provide no information about the interior inscription; Duhmān (74) published a photograph taken by Michael Meinecke of the vestibule interior but makes no attempt to read the inscription.

scription suggests that the *rank* emblems "intersect" the inscription, but no trace of text is visible in the cartouches between the *rank* roundels. It's possible that Mayer did not view the frieze first-hand, but rather relied upon correspondence for this description. While much of the inscription is barely legible, it survives in somewhat better condition on the east wall of the vestibule. There, several discernable words identify the extant text as fragments of Quran Surah 52:17 and 18: "… [*al-muttaq*]*īna fī jannātin wa-naʿīmin fākihīna bi-mā āt*[*āhum*]…"[43] Presumably, the text preceding and following these fragments would have continued with the same surah.

The vestibule is roofed over with a barrel vault bisected by a central folded cross vault. These roofing elements appear to have been plastered or whitewashed relatively recently, but reflect the same superstructure indicated in Wulzinger and Watzinger's plan drawing. The cross vault culminates in an octagonal opening, which provides light to the relatively gloomy vestibule. In both barrel-vaulted sections, simple metal fixtures probably once served to hang lamps. The Wulzinger and Watzinger drawing indicates that the two chambers flanking the vestibule were surmounted by identical domes. The transition from the square spaces below the domes was effected by octagonal drums, in which small openings were pierced on alternate faces. The drawing depicts cornices along the upper edges of the drums matching the height of the façade *pishtaq.* Today, there is no longer any trace of the domes, which have been replaced by flat roofs over both chambers.

The layouts of the two chambers also appear to have been nearly identical, but both were inaccessible at the time of my survey. The eastern chamber retains more of its original construction than the western one. It was pierced on three sides: on the south wall, windows flanked a central mihrab; on the west wall, a door and window (now blocked) opened into the central vestibule; and on the north wall, two openings let into a modern room built against the *turbah.*[44] These may have originally been windows, but both have been converted into doors, today blocked up by planks. Of these openings, the only one that is not blocked or inaccessible is the east window on the south façade. From this, it is possible to see that on the interior, all of these windows and doors are framed within pointed-arched recesses. A central, rectangular niche articulates the eastern wall. This niche is partly blocked by a later pier that supports a transverse arch spanning the room and ending with a second pier built against the blocked vestibule window. This transverse arch supports the flat roof that currently covers the space.

[43]I am very grateful to Dr. Abdullah Ghouchani for his assistance with reading and identifying this inscription fragment.

[44]Wulzinger and Watzinger's drawing indicates that the wall between the windows on the north side of this chamber dates later than the rest of the construction; I was unable to examine this wall myself.

At the center of the room, components of a large cenotaph are visible within a mound of debris, refuse, and stored goods. The Wulzinger and Watzinger drawing depicts central mihrabs located at the center of the south walls in both chambers, although it indicates that the western mihrab may belong to a modern phase.

Analysis

The plan adopted for the *turbah*'s construction conforms closely to local building tradition. Its double-domed layout had been employed in the region since at least the Ayyubid period and is especially well represented in Damascus architecture. In the case of an earlier example of a similarly planned monument in Damascus, the Madrasah al-Jarkasīyah, the double-domed configuration was the result of incremental construction phases: the first domed chamber was erected around 608/1211 as a mausoleum for the amir Fakhr al-Dīn Jarkas al-ʿĀdilī al-Nāṣirī, while the second domed chamber was added seven years later for his son.[45] Sutaytah's *turbah*, on the other hand, was clearly conceived as a double-domed building from its inception. Typically, buildings in this double-dome category include a central vestibule separating the two *qubbah*s, as is the case here. An antecedent of this configuration is found in Damascus at the mausoleum constructed by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā (d. 702/1303). As at Sutaytah's *turbah*, its two domed chambers share the street frontage and are united by a symmetrically arranged façade.[46]

Such double-domed funerary buildings were not necessarily designed for double burial. Sometimes one of the domed chambers contained a tomb while the other served a non-funerary function.[47] This would have been the case with Sutaytah's mausoleum. The description of the space in historical sources is sketchy, but ʿIlmawī's wording is suggestive. He states that in the *turbah* is a *masjid,* and to its side is the women's *ribāṭ* and orphans' school. This supports the theory that one of the domed chambers served as the funerary space (probably the eastern room, in which the remains of a cenotaph are still visible), while the other (the western chamber) functioned as the prayer hall or *masjid*. A number of these double-domed funerary buildings were fitted with a minaret surmounting the central unit and portal. Wulzinger and Watzinger—probably on the basis of comparison with other examples with this configuration—posit that a minaret

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[45]Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture, III," *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946): 50.

[46]Jean Sauvaget, "L'Architecture Musulmane en Syrie," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 8 (1934): 43, and fig. 15.

[47]On the development of these mausoleum types, see Sabri Jarrar, "Suq al-Maʿrifa: An Ayyubid Hanbalite Shrine in al-Haram al-Sharif," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 71–100.

once rose above the portal niche at Sutaytah's *turbah.*[48] However, no evidence of a minaret in this position survives and none is mentioned in any of the early reports about the building. It should be noted that the current superstructure of the vestibule, culminating in a folded cross-vault with an octagonal oculus at its summit, compares with the arrangement at several roughly contemporaneous monuments in greater Syria, although it appears to be one of the earliest extant instances in Damascus.[49] Tankiz's builders employed this roofing device—on a much grander scale—at his madrasah in Jerusalem. Frequently, the vault oculus is surmounted by some kind of lantern or cowl element, permitting the entrance of light and circulation of air into the interior. This is the case at the Jerusalem madrasah and at the same patron's *khān* in that city, where it appears in a smaller vestibule vault not unlike Sutaytah's. Had a minaret once surmounted the vault instead of an oculus, this vestibule would have been gloomy indeed and its stucco decoration would have required lamplight to be legible.

The only remaining evidence of applied decoration at the *turbah* is the stucco work, which survives only in fragments. The historical literature consulted makes no reference to decoration of the building and modern reports mention only the stucco. A more thorough survey of the building than has been published to date, investigating the interiors of the two square chambers as well as the vestibule, might reveal further evidence of decoration. Judging from contemporary analogues, this might include evidence of additional stucco work, marble dado revetment, or other applied ornament such as the glass mosaic employed at the *turbah* and mosque of Tankiz in the same city and many other commissions associated with him and his contemporaries.[50] This evidence could take the form of fragmentary remains of decorative material, fallen or *in situ,* or indications of priming of the mural masonry to receive decoration.

A comparison of the building's remains with the description of Sutaytah's foundation in written sources suggests that a significant element of this building has been lost—namely, the area serving as the women's hospice *(ribāṭ),* presumably containing cells for residents. Sources mention that this element and the orphans' school were located to the side of the *turbah*—one specifying the west side.[51] This would dovetail with the topographical reconstruction of the urban

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[48] However, they did not draw it into their elevation sketch (Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus,* 71).

[49] The nearly simultaneous appearance of the folded cross-vault in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Tripoli is a notable development, closely connected with Tankiz's patronage (Hayat Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* [Cambridge, MA, 1983], 210f.).

[50] Kenney, *Power,* 205–22.

[51] Ibn Kathīr, qtd. in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 2:211, specifies the west side as the location of the *ribāṭ* and *maktab.*

block outlined above. Sources report that an earlier building—the Shumānīyah—was situated to the east of Sutaytah's foundation. The topographical descriptions leave the plot immediately to the west of the twin-domed building unaccounted for. No pre-modern construction survives to the north of the domed chambers and Wulzinger and Watzinger reported "recent" outbuilding on the north side of the eastern chamber.[52] In fact, there is very little space between the northern wall of the existing structure and the southern edge of the Nūrīyah and the adjacent site of the Rayḥānīyah. Perhaps a small court north of the domed rooms provided access on its west side to annexes that could have accommodated the functions of *ribāṭ* and *maktab,* conceivably on more than one floor.

In the absence of the original endowment document, information is lacking about the number of women the institution was meant to house, what the stipulations were for eligibility, how space was allocated, or how the institution was funded and administered. For a general idea of such arrangements, we can consult the *waqfīyah* that Tankiz drew up only one month prior to Sutaytah's date for a multi-function foundation in Jerusalem, which included a women's *ribāṭ.*[53] There, the endowment provided for twelve female residents who were required to be pious and devoted Muslims, elderly, poor, or unmarried. According to Tankiz's stipulations, his own freedwomen were to be given priority at the institution. One of the Jerusalem *ribāṭ* residents was designated as the *shaykhah:* she earned a salary of twenty dirhams per month and a half *raṭl* of daily bread and was responsible for leading a prescribed set of daily prayers, including benedictions in honor of the patron, Tankiz, and Quran readings to the assembled women in one of the building's *īwān*s. Another one of the residents, designated as the *bawwābah,* was tasked with a long list of housekeeping chores for which she was compensated ten dirhams per month and a half *raṭl* of daily bread. The other residents had an allowance of seven and a half dirhams per month and one-third *raṭl* of daily bread.[54] Ibn Kathīr reports that at Sutaytah's foundation in Damascus prayers were made in Sutaytah's name, and it is likely that an endowment document would have stipulated specific readings and devotional schedules for the *ribāṭ* residents.[55]

Ibn Kathīr claims that in addition to the *ribāṭ* function, the foundation also supported an orphans' school *(maktab aytām).*[56] Winter has noted that a standard

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[52]Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus,* 71.

[53]Kenney, *Power,* 89–109.

[54]The salaries for the corresponding male functionaries and residents at the same patron's madrasah were double those at the *ribāṭ.*

[55]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:151.

[56]Ibid.

number of students to be supported through a *maktab aytām* was ten.[57] Typically, the endowment provided these orphans with a small allowance and daily bread, and sometimes with clothing as well.[58] The orphans received instruction in reading, arithmetic, and Quran. According to Ibn Kathīr, Sutaytah's institution was also a place for the dispensation of voluntary alms *(ṣadaqah)* and charitable deeds *(birr).*

The building's poor state of preservation and the institution's limited documentary record leave many unanswered questions about the original form and function of the establishment. However, they provide sufficient information to partially reconstruct a case study of elite Mamluk architectural and institutional patronage. This case study can be profitably analyzed in light of recent scholarship on the subject of patronage as it relates to women and the characteristics of institutions founded specifically for women. The text of the building's foundation inscription offers a natural starting point for this discussion. First, it is notable that only the funerary purpose of the building is mentioned there. The text contains no reference to any of the other institutional functions—*masjid, ribāṭ,* or *maktab*—attributed to the foundation in Mamluk-period literary sources. However, such discrepancies between the epigraphic record and the chroniclers' accounts are not uncommon—especially in connection with building function. Another discrepancy warranting examination relates to the attribution of the commission. It is clear that Tankiz, in carrying out this construction, was both following up on an initiative begun by Sutaytah with her purchase of the property and fulfilling her ante mortem wishes. While the literary texts explicitly state that Sutaytah ordered the foundation, the inscription credits Tankiz with the order. The verb formula used, *amara bi-inshāʾ* ("ordered constructed"), is the same phrase frequently used in inscriptions naming two individuals—one who did the ordering and another who instigated or supervised the project. For example, the foundation inscription at the *dār al-qurʾān* that Tankiz constructed later in Damascus employs this phrase with Tankiz as the subject but concludes by naming a second individual, with the following phrase: "*bi-mubāsharat* (at the behest of) *al-ʿabd al-faqīr* Aydamur al-Muʿīnī."[59] Inscriptions on building commissions begun by one patron and completed posthumously by another sometimes

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[57] Michael Winter, "Mamluks and their Households in Late Mamluk Damascus: A Waqf Study," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 307.

[58] Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 110–11.

[59] Ellen Kenney, "A Mamluk Monument 'Restored': The *Dār al-Qurʾān wa-al-Ḥadīth* of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī in Damascus," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 85–118, especially 108, note 85, re: al-Muʿīnī.

record only the later figure. However, such cases often are interpreted as expressions of competitive supersession, as at the funerary madrasah of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Cairo, the construction of which was initiated by al-Nāṣir's predecessor and perceived pretender, al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, but was completed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who is credited in the foundation inscription's text.[60]

However, when a posthumously erected mausoleum was purpose-built in commemoration of a relative or associate, the name of the deceased generally figures in the foundation inscription—even if its construction order is attributed to a survivor of the deceased. Leonor Fernandes addresses this scenario with respect to the funerary *khānqāh* of Sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq in Cairo, which presents some interesting parallels with our more modest Damascus establishment although it is several decades later in date.[61] There, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq conveyed his wish to erect a funerary monument in the northern cemetery, chose and purchased the property, and set aside funding for the project. Like Sutaytah, he was buried at his selected site before construction began on his mausoleum, by order of his son, Faraj. However, the foundation inscription at his *turbah* recognizes both the initial order of the deceased and his son's subsequent execution of that order.[62]

Why doesn't the foundation inscription on Sutaytah's building convey the same kind of joint participation reflected in al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's mausoleum? While there are instances in which a female patron endowed her foundation in the name of a male relative, we can't know if this would have applied to Sutaytah's establishment: does the inscription's attribution to Tankiz perhaps reflect that she had arranged for the foundation to be endowed in his name?[63] The absence of Sutaytah's name in the building's extant epigraphy is puzzling. In connection with this question, Sheila Blair argues that the name of the person being commemorated usually constitutes an integral component of any funerary inscription—even when the actual construction is ordered by a second party, as is the case here.[64] Blair points out that in such instances, sometimes two inscriptions are found: one documenting the building foundation and the other containing the commemorative information. Given the partial state of preservation of Sutaytah's funerary complex, it may well be the case that a second inscription, now

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[60]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (London, 2007), 152–56.

[61]"Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 114–15.

[62]Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks,* 231.

[63]Marina Tolmacheva, "Female Piety and Patronage in the Medieval 'Hajj'," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World,* ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York, 1998), 165.

[64]Sheila Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions* (New York, 1998), 45ff. Cf. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Maḥmal Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 94–95.

lost, which mentioned Sutaytah's name, once decorated the building. This explanation may also pertain to similar cases, such as the mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn (Umm al-Ṣāliḥ) in Cairo built by Sultan Qalāwūn for his wife around a year before her death in 683/1284. There, however, the queen has no documented role in the foundation: the sultan ordered its foundation, funded its endowment, and commissioned his supervisor amir ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujāʿī to oversee its construction.[65]

There are two aspects of the foundation about which there is little doubt of Sutaytah's agency, based on the historical sources. First, she likely would have been involved in the selection of the establishment's location, since she had already purchased the property on which it was to be constructed. Second, it was she who determined the spiritual and charitable functions that the foundation was to serve. Regarding location, sources explicitly refer to her purposeful acquisition of property for the establishment, so this was not a case of a property that she has already long owned being transformed for a new usage. As the historical site survey above demonstrates, Sutaytah's decision to situate her foundation where she did dictated limitations to the scale of the project. Presumably, had she acquired property outside the city walls where space was available at less of a premium she might have been able plan a larger establishment without greater expenditure. Space inside the walled city was becoming increasingly scarce and extramural neighborhoods, such as the Midan district southwest of the walled city and the nearby cemetery zone, the Upper and Lower Sharaf district west of the city, and the northern suburb of Ṣāliḥīyah, had long attracted investment of this kind.

However, rather than locating in any of these peripheral zones, Sutaytah selected a building site in the heart of the walled city for her *turbah-ribāṭ* complex, co-located with a group of earlier institutions, many of them madrasahs. Several attributes of this neighborhood would have offset the disadvantage of the restricted space it provided. The foot traffic generated by the nearby Umayyad Mosque and the surrounding markets would have guaranteed a steady stream of passers-by to offer blessings for the deceased princess. The sanctity of the Umayyad Mosque may well have benefited the spiritual lives of the *ribāṭ* residents and the scholarly character of the neighboring institutions may have expanded their educational opportunities. Furthermore, although the trend at the time of Sutaytah's foundation may have been shifting in favor of extramural sites, it seems that the century preceding it established an entrenched tradition of intramural *ribāṭ*s.

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[65]Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks,* 129–31.

Of the twenty Damascene *ribāṭ*s tabulated by al-ʿIzz al-Irbilī some time in the 720s/1320s, only five were located outside the city walls.[66]

Perhaps just as important as the spiritual associations of the neighborhood of Sutaytah's foundation would have been the social prestige connected with it. By building in the midst of the city's north-west quadrant, Sutaytah was grouping herself as a builder and charitable patron with some of the most prominent luminaries of the Damascene past, whose institutions crowded the narrow streets in the quarter between the Citadel, the Umayyad Mosque and the Sūq al-Ṭawīl. In the Zangid and Ayyubid periods, this quarter acquired the character of an almost exclusive preserve for patronage of the royal household. The most famous of its royal foundations would have been the funerary madrasah of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, with which Sutaytah's site shares a city block, in a diagonally adjacent position. Nūr al-Dīn's renowned hospital and his *dār al-ḥadīth* stood approximately two hundred meters to the north, and his great bath complex lay about one hundred meters to the east.

Moreover, it may well have been relevant to Sutaytah's site selection that women of the Zangid and Ayyubid royal households were well represented as architectural and institutional patrons in this neighborhood. Establishments attributed to them include the Hanafi madrasah known as al-Khātūnīyah al-Juwwānīyah founded by a wife of Nūr al-Dīn around 1178 in a location between the Citadel and Nūr al-Dīn's hospital; the madrasah and the *ribāṭ* located south of the Citadel founded by Saladin's niece, ʿAdhrāʾ Khātūn, in the late twelfth century; one of three of the institutions sponsored by Saladin's sister, Sitt al-Shām Zumurrud Khātūn, which was located near Nūr al-Dīn's hospital and opened posthumously around 1231; the funerary madrasah founded by the mother of the Ayyubid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (r. 1239–45) by 638/1241; the Madrasah Dammaghīyah, located in the same zone, attributed to a female courtier of the Ayyubid sultan, al-ʿĀdil I (r. 1200–18), donated around 638/1240–41; and the Madrasah al-ʿĀdilīyah al-Ṣughrá, also in the vicinity, founded by the daughter of the same sultan by 1257.[67] Prior to Sutaytah's commission, another Mamluk noblewoman had evidently thought to capitalize on this long tradition of female patronage in the city with the construction of the only madrasah to have been sponsored in Damascus in the Mam-

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[66]Rapoport, *Marriage,* 40. In Cairo, women's *ribāṭ*s were commissioned for sites both within the city and in the Qarāfah cemetery zone (Jonathan P. Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender,* ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron [New Haven, 1991], 150–51).

[67]R. S. Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 42–48.

luk period by a woman.[68] That institution, known as Madrasah al-Ṭayyibah/al-Shumānīyah, was located immediately to the east of Sutaytah's building site.[69]

In carrying on the strong local building tradition established by women of the Ayyubid family in this particular sector of the city, Sutaytah would have been positioning herself by association on a par with these royal women of history and with their legacies of largess and piety.[70] This linkage with earlier traditions of elite female patronage is further expressed in Sutaytah's choice of foundation type, the second of the two arenas identified above in which her antemortem agency in the patronage process finds expression. Her decision to sponsor both a *maktab aytām* and a women's *ribāṭ* also echoed patronage choices popular among Ayyubid princesses and other early Mamluk noblewomen. Charity to orphans counted among the most frequently cited qualifications of piety in Mamluk women.[71] In fourteenth-century Egypt and Syria, *maktab*s, usually incorporated within larger institutions, were established by both male and female sponsors. However, of Mamluk-period foundations sponsored by women, *maktab*s represent a high proportion of the overall number of commissions. In at least one case, the decision of a male patron to sponsor a *maktab aytām* was attributed to feminine influence, the wish of his late mother.[72]

The propensity of female patrons in the Mamluk period to provide for orphans and to establish women's *ribāṭ*s can be explained as a practical matter as well as an expression of religious virtue. It may have reflected their disposable wealth relative to men's: as we've seen in the specific case of Tankiz's foundation, and as Sabra's survey of charitable works confirms, *ribāṭ*s and *maktab*s could be funded with a fraction of the expenditure invested in madrasahs.[73] Furthermore, just as Tankiz reserved priority at his Jerusalem establishment for his own protégées, Sutaytah may also have intended her foundation to provide for her own relatives or favorites.[74] The sources on Sutaytah's foundation specify that her *ribāṭ* served women, but in Damascus this was the norm—there, the term *ribāṭ* specifically

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[68]Hatem Mahamid, "Waqf and Madrasas in Late Medieval Syria," *Educational Research and Reviews* 8, no. 10 (2013): 609.

[69]H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas (Chaptre III)," *Journal Asiatique* (Mai–Juin 1894): 94, 101.

[70]Sitt al-Shām in particular was renowned for her charity works (Yaacov Lev, "Charity and Gift Giving in Medieval Islam," in *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions,* ed. Lev and Miriam Frenkel [Berlin, 2009], 246).

[71]See, for example, Rapoport, *Marriage,* 31.

[72]Yehoshua Frenkel, "*Awqāf* in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 159–60 (citing Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat* [Cairo, 1962], 1:137).

[73]Sabra, *Poverty,* 92–93.

[74]Kenney, *Power,* 108. As for the other practical incentive, that of confiscation avoidance, there seem to be two schools of thought about women and property security: Behrens-Abouseif argues that women were less likely than their male amiral counterparts to have their property confis-

connoted a women's hostel.[75] As Chabbi and Rabbat amply demonstrate, the significant of the term *ribāṭ* is contingent on the time and place of its usage.[76] In early Mamluk Cairo and Jerusalem, *ribāṭ*s served as hostels for either male or female residents. Male residents might be Sufis or pilgrims. The qualifications for residence in a women's *ribāṭ* were that the candidates lived pious lives and were either widowed or divorced.[77] Al-Maqrīzī's remarks about the Ribāṭ al-Baghdādīyah in Cairo make it clear that female *ribāṭ* residents were eligible for remarriage.[78] Indeed, Annemarie Schimmel's far-reaching survey of women's hostels in medieval Islam demonstrates that such an institution could house a widowed or divorced woman while she waited out her *ʿiddah*—the forty-day period required before entering into a new marriage.[79]

In the absence of a *waqf* document, we have no way to know what religious obligations were required of the residents at Sutaytah's *ribāṭ,* although some idea might be gleaned from those stipulated for the women at Tankiz's Jerusalem *ribāṭ* discussed above and also from the ideal curriculum sketched out in al-Asyūṭī's fifteenth-century formulary manual for women's *khānqāh*s.[80] The latter recommends that the institution be staffed by both a resident *shaykhah,* whose duty was to lead Sufi devotional ceremonies, and a "learned woman" *(imraʾah ʿālimah),* who could instruct the residents in religious knowledge. Evidently, the *ʿālimah* was not expected to be resident at the establishment. Considered in the context of Asma Sayeed's recent examination of the role women played in hadith transmission, which demonstrates a resurgence in women's participation in Mamluk

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cated *(Cairo of the Mamluks),* whereas Sabra maintains that women's foundations would have had as much confiscation-dodging purpose as men's *(Poverty*, 93).

[75]Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: vie et structures religieuses d'une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1988), 211.

[76]J. Chabbi and Nasser Rabbat, "Ribāṭ," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. edition (Brill Online, 2015). Consulted 27 July 2015 (http://www.brillonline.nl.library.aucegypt.edu:2048/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ribat-COM_0919). However, it should be noted that this essay contains no reference to the usage of *ribāṭ* for a women's residence. Similarly, Robert Hillenbrand's *Islamic Architecture* essentially passes over this building category.

[77]Rapoport, *Marriage,* 40; D. P. Little, "The Nature of *Khanqahs, Ribats,* and *Zawiyas* under the Mamluks," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams,* ed. Wael B. Hallaq and D. P. Little (Leiden, 1991), 99–102.

[78]Cited in Jonathan Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in Keddie, *Shifting*, 150–51, n. 24.

[79]Schimmel, *My Soul,* 48.

[80]Little, "Nature," 101–2.

Damascus, the *ʿālimah*s at Sutaytah's *ribāṭ* might have been any of a great number of qualified female scholars active in that city.[81]

However, in addition to the spiritual and intellectual occupations undoubtedly stipulated in the foundation's endowment contract, at least some of the residents of Sutaytah's *ribāṭ* likely occupied themselves with the more prosaic work of spinning, embroidering, and possibly working the loom. The date of the *ribāṭ*'s commission coincides with an upturn in the patronage of female *ribāṭ*s, which Rapoport links directly to the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century boom in textile production.[82] He argues that the growing demand for textiles, most of which involved female labor, contributed to "the emergence of new forms of female piety," which extolled women's spinning as an occupation of virtue.[83] This probable linkage between the *ribāṭ* residents and textile manufacture could shed further light on the foundation's urban siting. In addition to the ambient *barakah* of the sacred sites nearby and the collateral prestige dispensed from the other noble commissions in the neighborhood, the location of Sutaytah's *ribāṭ* would have offered a practical benefit: its proximity to the urban marketplaces in which textile products were sold and individuals involved in textile production and trade circulated. It would have eased the acquisition of the necessary raw materials for *ribāṭ* residents to execute their tasks and the transmission of the piecework they generated back to the marketplace.[84]

Considering the speed with which Sutaytah's *turbah* was executed, and given that we know she had already purchased the property and dictated its use, she—or a building supervisor acting on her behalf—may well have already embarked on planning the layout as well as the administrative stipulations attached to the endowment. Her mobilization of social position and financial resources to match the location and function of her proposed foundation so optimally reflects the same canny approach to urban development that her husband Tankiz displayed time and again in his building and infrastructure commissions. Indeed, given his personal interest in governing both the construction process and the urban environment of his own foundations and commercial establishments as well as the works he oversaw on the sultan's behalf, Tankiz most certainly would have been

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[81] Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam* (Cambridge, 2013), 159–80.

[82] Rapoport, *Marriage,* 31–50.

[83] Rapoport builds his argument here largely on the studies of Bethany Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 167–217, and Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlūkīyah* (Berlin, 1985).

[84] Such attention to urban planning and usage is evident in the later urban clearance and restructuring works that Tankiz ordered in the streets between the Umayyad Mosque and Sūq al-Ṭawīl which rationalized traffic flow and market accessibility between the sanctuary and the market zone (Kenney, *Power,* 38–44).

involved in shaping Sutaytah's establishment even before her death left him with the task of its completion. For this reason, it is illuminating to examine Sutaytah's *turbah* not simply as a stand-alone project but also as part of the larger building program involving Tankiz and its context. Here, I will focus on three aspects of this broader context: Tankiz's focus on women's concerns, his evident patronage of select building professionals, and the expressive use of epigraphy in his commissions.

One of the first commissions that Tankiz undertook after his appointment as *nāʾib al-shām* was to construct a *qaysarīyah* for the sale of women's goods, known as Dahshat al-Nisāʾ, which he established to generate revenue for the endowment of the Umayyad Mosque. Completed in 715/1315 in the area west of the Umayyad Mosque, the merchants of women's sewn textiles ("*qimāsh al-mukhayyaṭ*") operated from there, until their removal to a different *sūq* in 1326.[85] With this project, Tankiz recognized the important role of female consumption in the booming textile economy of the fourteenth century and designed a way for it to contribute to the city's most sacred *waqf.* In Jerusalem, in addition to founding the women's *ribāṭ* described above, Tankiz created a *ṭahārah* for women and may have dedicated one of the two bathhouses that he established nearby for their use.[86] These works seem designed to support women's pious activities in the holy city. Another expression of the *naʾib*'s interest in sustaining female piety is evident in his attentions to a famous ascetic named Umm Yūsuf Fakhrīyah al-Busrawīyah (d. 753/1352), who lived a life of seclusion and voluntary poverty in Jerusalem. According to al-Ṣafadī, Tankiz "visited her several times bearing gold."[87]

Tankiz's patronage of two women's *ribāṭ*s gains further significance in light of the prevalence of divorce in Mamluk society and the role these establishments played in providing respectable accommodations for divorced women. Even more intriguing is the direct involvement of Tankiz with the heated debate concerning divorce driven by Ibn Taymīyah.[88] The *nāʾib*'s support of these women's *ribāṭ*s might be seen as a means to ameliorate the harm imposed on women by the official divorce policy that he helped uphold.

Although Tankiz—independently and together with Sutaytah—sponsored these works for the benefit of women, it should be recalled that they represent a small

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[85] ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rihāwī, "Khānāt Madīnat Dimashq," *Les Annales archéologiques Arabes syriennes* 25 (1975): 54; on the transfer, see Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:122.

[86] Kenney, *Power,* 109–16.

[87] Cited in Megan H. Reid, *Law and Piety in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 2013), 115–16. Umm Yūsuf always refused these offerings, however, for reasons Reid discusses (115–17).

[88] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:97. On this campaign by Ibn Taymīyah, see Yossef Rapoport, "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Winter Levanoni, 191–217.

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proportion of the overall building projects that he undertook. There is some indication that the expenditure on the women's projects was not commensurate with that invested in male institutions. As noted above, the stipends allocated for the women measure considerably lower than those for the men. Furthermore, there is little evidence that Tankiz employed any of the specialized building experts that he cultivated for his other projects to work on the commissions destined exclusively for female use. In Jerusalem, the women's *ribāṭ, ṭahārah,* and bath were allocated privileged urban locations and large sites, given their prime real estate. However, they appear to have been executed with less attention to design and ornament than were other foundations of his, such as the Jerusalem madrasah or his Damascus mosque. At Sutaytah's *turbah* in Damascus, this impression may be partly an accident of preservation. However, its poor preservation may in part be a function of the building's original function: since the foundation appears to have dissolved by the late sixteenth century, as were other women's hostels in Damascus under the Ottomans,[89] its portable furnishings and transferrable building materials might have been removed and re-used elsewhere.

Only the façade survives in a condition close to its original state. Although rendered with expertise, its treatment is somewhat restrained. It lacks the eye-catching verve of the black and white *ablaq* façade at Tankiz's Damascus mosque, the sculptural drama of the more ornate *muqarnas* portals featured there and at his Jerusalem madrasah, and any evidence of the glass mosaic and marble revetment lavished there and elsewhere. Michael Meinecke has explained this differential in terms of the movements of artisans, positing—for example—that the specialized *ablaq* masons formerly working in Damascus were employed in Hama during the time that Sutaytah's *turbah* was being erected.[90] Indeed, around the same time that the *turbah* was being constructed, several other buildings sponsored or supervised by Tankiz in other cities were either in progress or recently completed, and may have been engaging the mosaic and marble experts whom Tankiz had previously supervised on the Umayyad Mosque restoration.[91] On the other hand, a subdued aesthetic may correspond to the ascetic lifestyle that the residents of the *ribāṭ* would have been expected to lead. This would correspond to the tendency that Doris Behrens-Abouseif traced in the architecture of Mamluk Cairo of a differential in scale and opulence in the mausoleums built by the same patron for holy men versus those they built for themselves.[92]

Where the decoration of Sutaytah's *turbah* does correspond to that of other buildings connected with Tankiz is in its program of inscriptions. The profusion

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[89] Rapoport, "Women and Gender," 44.

[90] Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:87.

[91] Kenney, *Power,* 205–22.

[92] *Cairo of the Mamluks,* 17–20.

of the *nāʾib*'s titles and epithets employed in the exterior foundation inscription,[93] the repetition of his heraldic *rank* in the stucco frieze decorating the vestibule interior,[94] and the specialized content of the Quranic text above it are particularly characteristic of his epigraphic decoration elsewhere. The Surah inscribed in the upper band of the frieze deals primarily with the resurrection and a description of the rewards that await the deserving in Paradise. As a general theme, this connects directly with the funerary function of the *turbah* and points to the eligibility of the deceased patroness to receive these rewards.[95] It also relates indirectly with the objectives of women's *ribāṭ*s, as spaces to safeguard the reputations, enrich the spiritual lives, and expand the religious knowledge of the inhabitants, thereby preparing them to share the same heavenly destination. In general, this theme is a perennial favorite for funerary settings, a point that reflects the frequency with which inscriptions in Islamic art and architecture refer to the purpose of the object or monument upon which they appear. Quranic paradise descriptions appear frequently on mausoleums;[96] on many of the inscriptions recorded from the cenotaphs at the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr Cemetery in Damascus;[97] and on the cenotaph from the nearby Mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, where Quran Surah 39:73 evoked Paradise.[98] In fact, Surah 39:73 was one of the "go-to" passages for expressing this theme.

Much less common—actually, unique, in my survey of inscriptions to date—is the use found in Sutaytah's *turbah* of Surah 52. Why this particular Quranic selection was made remains unknown. Even the question of who made the selection is unanswered: was it the deceased, her husband, a religious advisor, a building supervisor, or even a craftsman? Without knowing this, it is difficult to ascribe special significance to the Surah selection. What we can say with certainty is that the selection was unconventional, if not singular, making it more likely that the selection bore special meaning to the person who chose it. This personalized approach to epigraphic content is also reflected in the inscription program at the Tankizīyah in Jerusalem: there too a rarely-inscribed Surah is included

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[93] Kenney, *Power*, 223.

[94] Ibid., 220.

[95] On the use of Quranic verse in funerary architecture, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Beyond the Secular and the Sacred: Qurʾanic Inscriptions in Medieval Islamic Art and Material Culture," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qurʾan and its Creative Expressions: Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London, 18–21 October 2003,* ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford, 2007), 41–42.

[96] Dina Montasser, "Modes of Utilizing Qurʾanic Inscriptions on Cairene Mamluk Religious Monuments," in *Creswell Photographs Re-Examined: New Perspectives on Islamic Architecture,* ed. Bernard O'Kane (Cairo and New York, 2009), 205.

[97] Khaled Moaz, *Inscriptions arabes de Damas: les steles funéraire* (Damascus, 1977), 176–77.

[98] Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture I," *Ars Islamica* 9 (1942): 41.

(5:5), along with an unconventional paraphrasing and truncation of more common verses (3:90 and 9:18).[99] Why would Surah 52 have been chosen for Sutaytah's *turbah* rather than a more conventional option, like Surah 39? Perhaps this has to do with the fact that, while Surah 39 deals more with Judgment Day and the Gates of Heaven, Surah 52 dwells more on descriptions of Paradise, including a reference in the *āyah*s following those inscribed in Sutaytah's stucco frieze to the deceased being joined with their families there. This image of a family reuniting in Heaven seems especially suitable, and poignant, for the funerary monument of a woman who died early in life, before her father and husband and before seeing all her children reach adulthood.[100]

Conclusion

Until further evidence comes to light from literary sources, documents, or a proper archaeological survey at the building, our questions about the exact nature and extent of Sutaytah's agency in the project remain unanswered. Likewise, the precise scale of the foundation, its income sources, and the dictates established for its denizens' use of the building elude our grasp. However, revisiting the Turbah of Sutaytah in the present study has repaid the effort in other respects. The architectural remains and historical references that do survive point to an impressive monument, with a refined—if subtle—external aesthetic. Investigating the previously overlooked Quranic inscription of the *turbah*'s vestibule has provided a contribution to the sorely neglected corpus of "unhistorical" building inscriptions of Damascus, and one that signals a degree of intentionality in selection that might challenge the prevailing notion of standardization for such text selection. Exploring the history, urban setting, and social context of the foundation, especially its *ribāṭ* component, demonstrates the sharp planning acumen of its patrons, Tankiz and Sutaytah, in terms of site selection and institutional function. Together, these interpretations suggest that in Mamluk Damascus, a woman's "place"—both as a locus for commemorating Sutaytah and as an environment serving the needs of the *ribāṭ* residents—was in the historical, religious, and commercial heart of the city.

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[99] Kenney, *Power,* 107.

[100] Nerina Rustomji, *The Garden and the Fire: Heaven and Hell in Islamic Culture* (New York, 2009), 44–45.
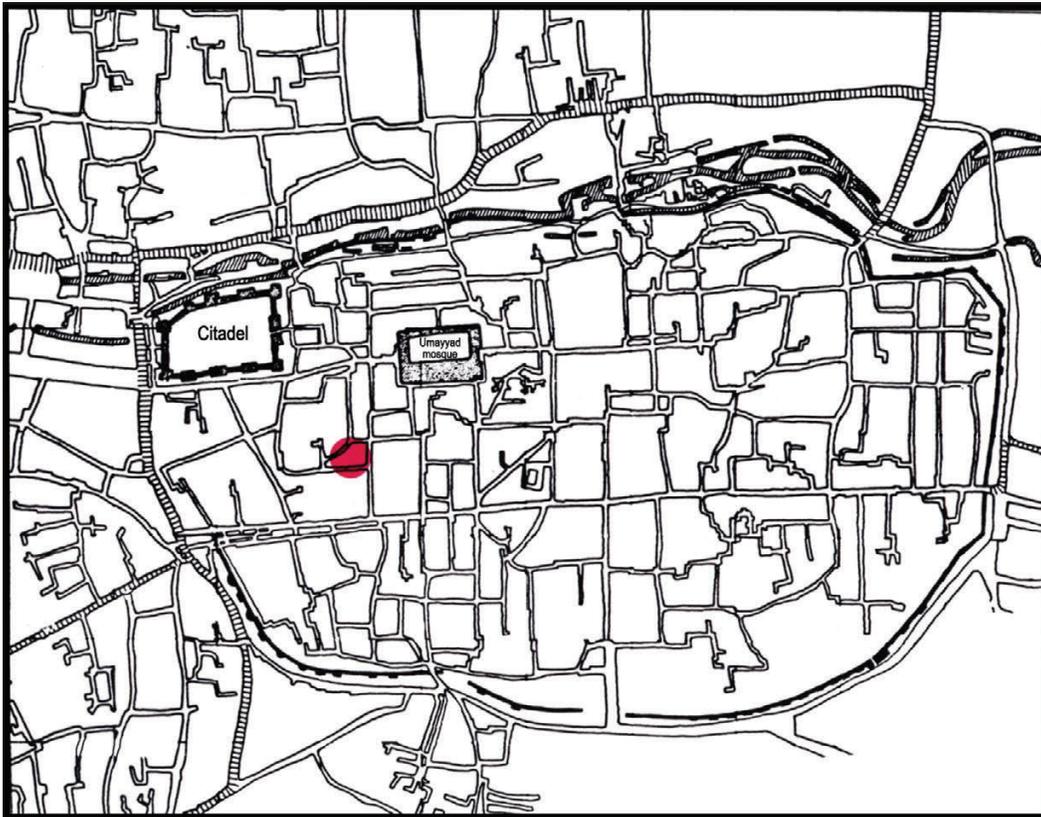
Figure 1. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, location map. (Redrawn by Dalia Reda, after Sack, *Damaskus,* Beil. 1)
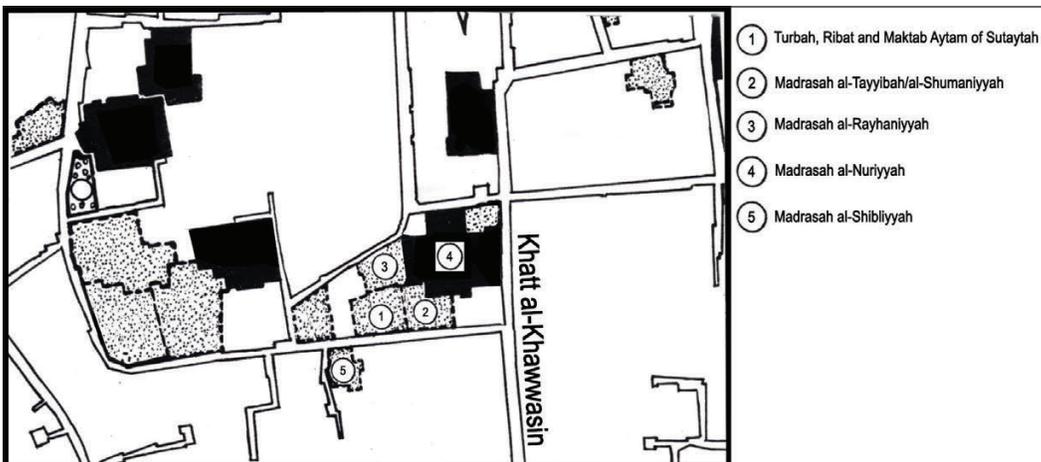
Figure 2. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, site map. (Redrawn by Dalia Reda, after Munajjid, *Khiṭaṭ*)
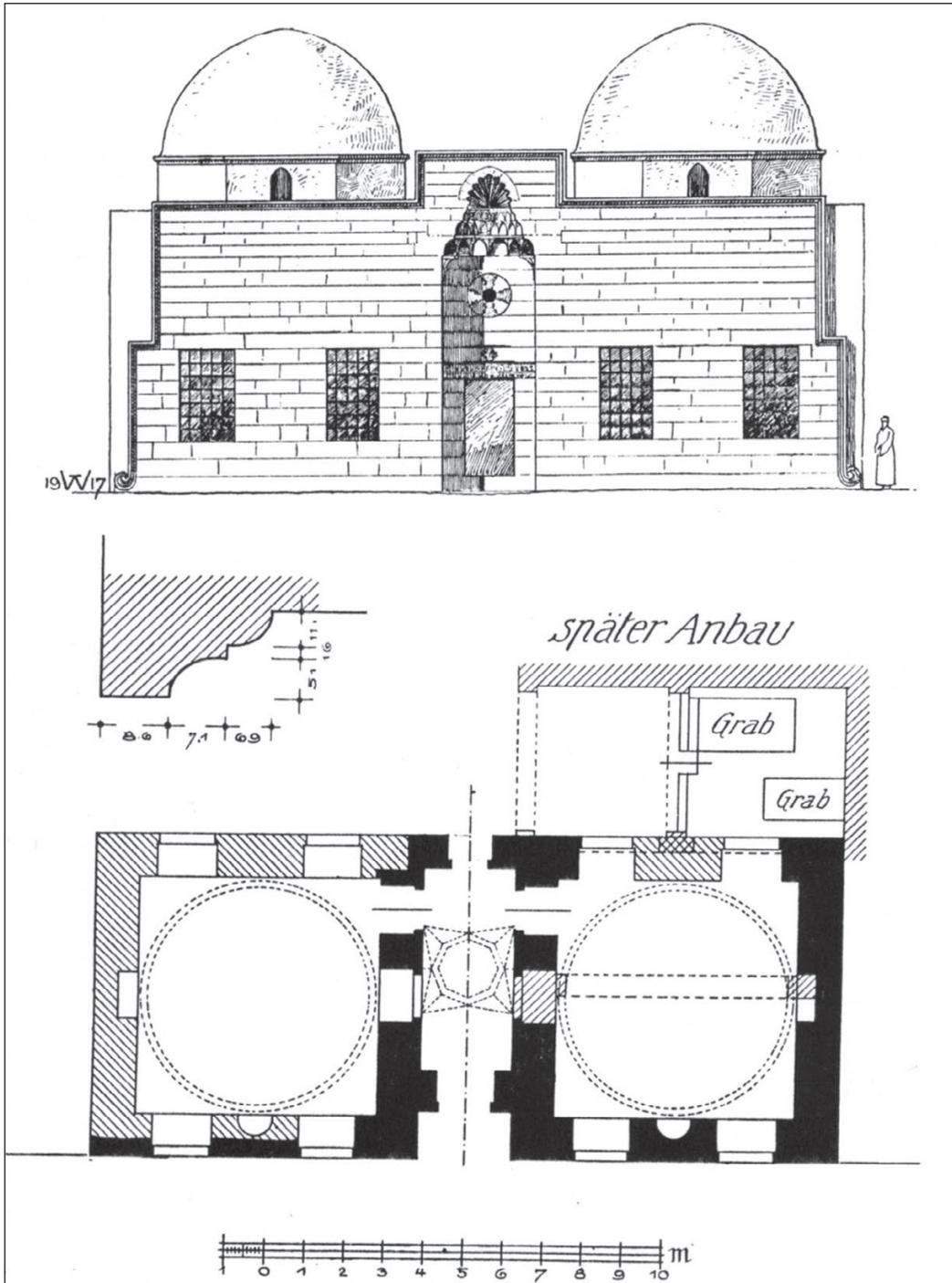
Figure 3. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, plan and elevation. (After Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus,* Abb. 8)

Figure 4. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, view of façade. (©Manar Hammad; used with permission; courtesy of archnet.org)

Figure 5. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, view of portal hood. (©Manar Hammad, used with permission; courtesy of archnet.org)

Figure 6. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, detail of façade masonry, west side. (Photo by the author)

Figure 7. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, foundation inscription. (©Michael Greenhalgh, used with permission; courtesy of archnet.org)

Figure 8. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, detail of *muqarnas* hood. (©Michael Greenhalgh, used with permission; courtesy of archnet.org)

Figure 9. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, interior of vestibule.
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Figure 10. Damascus, Turbah of Sutaytah, interior of vestibule, detail of inscription. (Photo by the author)

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Did the Mamluks Have an Environmental Sense?: Natural Resource Management in Syrian Villages

The economic changes of Sultan Barqūq's reign and the post-Barqūqī era have increasingly come under scrutiny in recent years, changing the way we understand the transition to the Circassian Mamluk Sultanate.[1] The erosion of the *iqṭāʿ* system, through the transformation of state lands to private property, and the "wave of *waqf*" that emptied the Bayt al-Māl by Barqūq's reign (and then again at the end of the Mamluk Sultanate), necessitating a reorganization of the state fiscal administration and the creation of new financial bureaus, are topics that have generated a respectable body of scholarship.[2] In the background of these trends is the ever-changing status of land tenure and land use.

[1] For analysis of the political changes of this transformative period, see Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006); Koby Yosef, "Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)," *ASK Working Paper 6* (https://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/working-paper/ask-wp-6.pdf); and idem, "Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 16 (2012): 55–69.

[2] Carl 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 Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri According to their Waqf Deeds," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 41, no. 1 (1998): 96–117; idem, "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security or Profit?" in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study,* ed. Miuru Toru and J. E. Philips (New York, 2000), 95–115; ʿI. B. Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah fī Miṣr al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1988); 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; Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation*

One cannot separate land tenure from land use, as they belong to the same economic system, so the study of agrarian culture, and—to rephrase it in modern parlance—natural resource management, is a natural outgrowth of this growing scholarship on the "waqfization of the countryside." Yet, we have much to learn about how the widespread changes in land tenure of the post-Barqūqī era translated into sowing strategies, such as diversification of cropping, intensification of cultivation, shifts in hydrological practice, and diversification of animal husbandry. Agricultural history, in its widest sense, is relatively underdeveloped in our field.[3]

Mamluk scholarship has tended to focus in this regard on tax administration, and specifically on its application in the flood-basin irrigation regimes of Egypt (and namely the Fayyum), as the written record is most amenable to such research.[4] We know precious little, however, about agricultural practice in Syria, where grain cultivation, at least, was largely rain-fed and constantly susceptible to drought. Bilād al-Shām and Egypt are—culturally, environmentally, geographically—very different worlds. The Syrian landscape is topographically and ecologically fractured, creating distinctly different soils and ecological niches. This geographical regionalism is reflected in Syria's agricultural diversity and the many localized responses to environmental stress.[5]

of the Mamluk Frontier (Chicago, 2011); Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Chicago, 2015).

[3] This scenario is, fortunately, changing. See the following recent works on Mamluk agriculture: Mathieu Eychenne, "La production agricole de Damas et de la Ghūṭa au XIVe siècle: Diversité, taxation et prix des cultures maraîchères d'après al-Jazarī (m. 739/1338)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56 (2013): 569–630; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Agriculture, Land-tenure and Peasants in Palestine during the Mamluk Period," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 193–208; Sofia Laparidou and Arlene Rosen, "Intensification of production in Medieval Islamic Jordan and its ecological impact: Towns of the Anthropocene," *The Holocene* 25, no. 10 (2015): 1685–97; and Noha Muḥammad Ḥussein Mukahalah, "Al-Zirāʿah fī Bilād al-Shām fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī" (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1992). On agriculture, food, and food distribution in Cairo, see Anthony Quickel, "Farm to Fork: Cairo's Food Supply and Distribution During the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)" (M.A. thesis, American University in Cairo, 2015).

[4] On flood-basin agriculture in Egypt, see Stuart Borsch, "Nile Floods and the Irrigation System in Fifteenth Century Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 131–45; idem, "Environment and Population: The Collapse of Large Irrigation Systems Reconsidered," *Comparative Studies in Society & History* 46, no. 3 (2004): 451–68; and Yossi Rapoport and Ido Shahar, "Irrigation in medieval Islamic Fayyum: Local Control in a Large Scale Hydraulic System," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012): 1–31.

[5] For environmental and anthropological perspectives on these regional differences, see Bethany J. Walker, "Homeland and Heimweh: Rural Perspectives on the 'Syrian Experience,'" in *Between Saladin and Selim the Grim: Syria Under Ayyubid and Mamluk Rule,* ed. Reuven Amitai and Bethany J. Walker (Bonn, 2017), forthcoming.

Mamluk-era historians, in both Egypt and Syria, were well aware of the impact of environmental pressures, in their various forms, on their societies. Drought, for example, was a constant preoccupation of medieval Arab historians. The chroniclers demonstrate a real understanding of and concern for a wide range of climatic and environmental conditions (rainfall, temperature, land use and abuse), which they regularly cite as the direct cause of famines, revolts, and political decline. The annals of Damascene historians, in particular, are full of detailed references to rainfall, road conditions, prices of foodstuffs, and peasant and Bedouin riots, which they suggest were all interrelated.[6] Many of these historians gained their income from managing rural endowments, and others maintained close contact with family in villages: they were sensitive to the relationship between man and his physical landscape and the potential of the natural elements in bringing economic suffering. That there was a relationship among the political, social, and natural orders was duly acknowledged by contemporaries. Al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthat,* an Egyptian treatise on famine, is a veritable lament of the state's misuse of natural resources and mis-action in times of drought.[7] Mamluk officials, as well, had a vested interest in the environment, natural resources, and particularly the viability of agricultural land and maintenance of water systems. There were clear agricultural interests, in certain sectors of that regime, and conflicts over natural resources were important flash points at times with local communities.[8] Contemporaries were, in modern parlance, environmentally aware. To what degree officialdom actively imposed itself on agricultural practice, however, is not entirely clear.

This study is concerned with the agricultural policies, practices, and priorities of the Mamluk state in the fourteenth century, a period we are coming to associate with a "boom" in agricultural production and rural prosperity.[9] It attempts, through a combined archaeo-historical method, to distinguish between imperial priorities and local practice, and to evaluate the "environmental sense" of Mamluk officialdom.[10] This is a collaboratively written study that aims at an interdis-

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[6] The chronicles of Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Ṭawq, discussed below, are particularly rich sources in this regard. They are the focus of several on-going monograph projects concerned with climate, agriculture, and diet in Mamluk Syria.

[7] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-ummah bi-kashf al-ghummah,* ed. Saʿd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1990).

[8] Boaz Shoshan, "Mini-Dramas by the Water: On Water Disputes in Fifteenth-Century Damascus," in *Histories of the Middle East,* ed. Eleni Margariti (Leiden, 2011), 233–44; Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 207ff.

[9] Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan: A 'Boom and Bust' Economy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 119–47.

[10] The local perspective is beyond the scope of this article, but will be addressed in Walker's forthcoming "It Takes a Village: Local Know-How and Interdependencies in Syrian Agriculture,

ciplinary view of the policies and culture(s) of the Mamluk Sultanate in regards to agriculture and animal husbandry.[11] It collectively represents the methods and intertwined interpretations of a range of textual, archaeological, micro- and macro-botanical, and faunal data to reconstruct patterns of land use (and particularly crop choice), water use, diet, and agro-marketing as experienced in a single community in central Jordan.[12]

A field of research new to Mamluk Studies, archaeobotany, also known as palaeoethnobotany, is the study of human-plant relationships in the past. Phytolith analysis, which once began as a sub-field of archaeobotany but has developed into a field of its own, is the study of microscopic silica structures deposited in certain live plant tissues, such as the leaves, chaff (palea/lemma, also referred to as the "husk"), and straw. For our purposes, this method facilitates identifying grasses (Poaceae, the family that includes cereals) and evidence of irrigation of such crops down to the sub-family taxonomic level. It also allows identification of general families of plants that may or may not be detectable using other methods of analysis.[13] Macro-botanical analysis is the study of seeds and fruits, including grasses that are associated with arable fields, cereal culm (or straw), chaff (palea/lemma), rachis internodes, glumes and other plant parts, and wood charcoal that can be identified to the genus, species, or sub-species levels. Based

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the Late Medieval Era," in *Environmental Approaches in Pre-Modern Middle Eastern Studies,* ed. Bethany J. Walker (Bonn, 2017).

[11] Collaborative writing, which should be distinguished from jointly authored writing, can take many forms. What the authors tried to avoid in this article is to write individual specialists' reports, written without taking into consideration one another's data, or to relegate technical studies to appendices, which is typical of many archaeological reports. The four authors worked from four different countries on a Google Drive base document (an archaeo-historical narrative that was subsequently revised multiple times), and consulted by email and Skype meetings, as well as visiting one another's laboratories for consultation on data interpretation.

[12] While the analysis of seeds and animal bones has been part of the research design of excavations at the site since its inception four decades ago, the last three seasons are the first time the archaeological, historical, archaeobotanical, and zooarchaeological methods have been integrated in a manner to address specific questions about Islamic society. For the earlier archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological reports, see Øystein S. LaBianca, *Sedentarization and Nomadization: Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan* (Berrien Springs,1980); Øystein S. LaBianca and Larry Lacelle, *Hesban 02: Environmental Foundations: Studies of Climatical, Geological, Hydrological, and Phytological Conditions in Hesban and Vicinity* (Berrien Springs, 1986); and Øystein S. LaBianca and Angela von den Driesch, *Hesban 13: Faunal Remains: Taphonomical and Zooarchaeological Studies of the Animal Remains from Tell Hesban and Vicinity* (Berrien Springs, 1995).

[13] Phytolith analysis is also an integral part of our larger study of long-term climatic and environmental change, in conjunction with palynology (pollen analysis). The relationship between long-term environmental change and settlement shifts on the Madaba Plains is one objective of the Madaba Plains Project, of which the Tall Ḥisbān excavations are a component.

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on the identification of rachis internodes, furthermore, cereals can be identified down to the sub-species taxonomic level. Beyond this, charred dung may be identified in macro-botanical samples that can help point to the use of animal dung as fuel in cooking contexts.[14] Together the study of phytoliths and macrobotanical remains can help us reconstruct crop selection and crop processing, the use of cereal by-products, watering regimes, manuring, and diet on both site and regional levels. Zooarchaeology is the study of animal remains from archaeological sites and aims at understanding past human-animal interactions. It provides essential information on diet, social status, animal husbandry, economy, and landscape exploitation.

None of this evidence, "read" independently from one another or interpreted without consideration of their spatial (archaeological) context, can offer us an authoritative picture about agrarian culture. On their own, each source of data is open to multiple interpretations. In dialogue with one another, however, archaeobotanical, zooarchaeological, and stratigraphic methods (the spatial documentation used by archaeologists) can offer nuanced narratives about land use. The textual record provides the political and economic backdrop for understanding the factors behind the patterns of resource exploitation that are revealed in this way in a single community, as well as contextualizing the decision-making process behind it.

The community that forms a case study for this article is a living one—the modern village of Ḥisbān—and the site of Tall Ḥisbān has been the focus of long-term excavation by American teams since 1968.[15] The multi-period site of Tall Ḥisbān is located in the Madaba Plains of central Jordan (Fig. 1), which is today, as in the past, a highland plateau largely dedicated to grain cultivation (Fig. 2).[16] It was one of the "bread baskets" of southern Syria in the Mamluk period, providing cereals in times of dearth both in Syria and Egypt and generating great income for the Mamluk state. This was the ancestral home of the Damascene historian

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[14] See A. M. Hansen, "The agricultural economy of Islamic Jordan, from the Arab conquest to the Ottoman period" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Groningen, in preparation).

[15] The Tall Hisban Cultural Heritage Project is part of the larger Madaba Plains Project, an American initiative begun nearly fifty years ago by Andrews University. The current project, which includes restoration, site presentation, and community development, is under the senior direction of Øystein LaBianca of Andrews University (Department of Anthropology). The excavations are under the direction of Bethany Walker. The study of diet and land use was included in the design of the excavations from their start in 1968, namely in the analysis of animal bones and plant seeds. For years the focus of excavations was the summit of the tell (the location of the citadel), with only intermittent excavations on the slopes (the location of the medieval village). Since 2013, excavations have been limited to the medieval village.

[16] The agricultural landscape of the village today is a patchwork of grain fields alternating with olive groves.
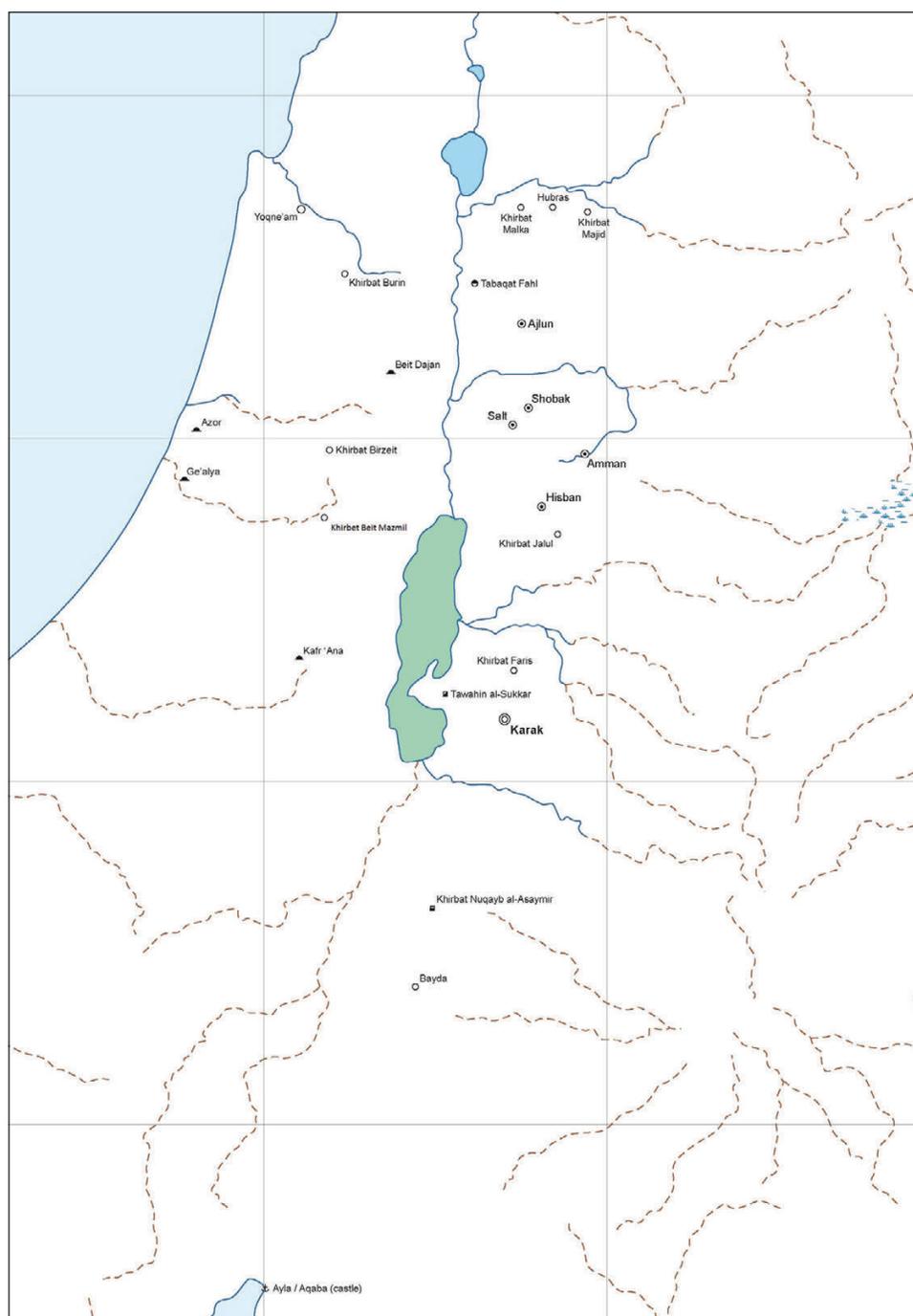
Figure 1. Mamluk-era sites in Bilād al-Shām known archaeologically. Tall Ḥisbān sits in the center. (Courtesy Martin Grosch, Beuth Hochschule für Technik, Berlin)

Figure 2. Modern village and tell of Ḥisbān surrounded by grain fields and olive orchards. (Courtesy Prof. David Sherwin, Andrews University, USA)

Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413), and the village retained familial and professional ties to Damascus for many generations. It is an important Mamluk-era site, and with its reasonably well-preserved citadel and the extensive standing remains of the farmhouses of the fourteenth-century village (Fig. 3),[17] it provides a unique opportunity to study the relations between state and local society in a rural setting, and to potentially differentiate between imperial and local decision-making in relation to land, water, and animal management.

Mamluk Ḥisbān was the administrative capital of the Balqā District of central Jordan during the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709–41/1309–40), and housed a modest garrison at the top of the hill for several decades. The status of the settlement that supported the garrison vacillated between a village and a town over the course of the fourteenth century. At its height it commanded the markets of some 300 neighboring villages and housed a madrasah (built in the Ayyubid period), court (with its own qadi), and regional *sūq*. Its demise and gradual abandonment over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be tied to changes in the Mamluk state's land tenure policies and concomitant shifts

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[17] The eight-hectare site is defined by a fence, built by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities to protect it. The medieval site likely extended well beyond this fence, but the modern village sits on top of those potential remains. It consists of a small castle on top of a hill and a dense configuration of stone-built, single-room, barrel-vaulted farmhouses, most of which are organized in clusters that form a line of several houses and storerooms, all fronting a common, walled courtyard and shared cisterns. For detailed, technical reports on these farmhouses, which have only recently been the focus of excavations at the site, see Bethany J. Walker, "Planned Villages and Rural Resilience on the Mamluk Frontier: A Preliminary Report on the 2013 Excavation Season at Tall Hisban," in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517),* Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Research College I, ed. Stephan Conermann (Bonn, 2014), 157–92; and Bethany J. Walker, Robert D. Bates, Jeffrey P. Hudon, and Øystein S. LaBianca (with contributions by Tarina Greer, Aren LaBianca, Stuart Borsch, Warren Schultz, Chiara Corbino, Annette Hansen, and Sofia Laparidou), "Tall Ḥisbān 2013 and 2014 Excavation Seasons: Exploration of the Medieval Village and Long-Term Water Systems," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 58 (2017): 483–523.

Figure 3. Aerial photo of Tall Ḥisbān. Square, walled citadel sits at center of photos. Wall lines of farmhouses visible around it downslope. (Courtesy APAAME_20090930_MJN-50 ©Michael John Neville, Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East)

in the agrarian regime. Large-scale cultivation of cereals, and the kinds of lands that supported it, were transformed to the greatest degree in this latter period.

While this study centers heavily on the cereal regime at Ḥisbān, the rural economy of most of Syria was a mixed one, combining the cultivation of different kinds of cereals, pulses, vegetables, fruits, and nuts in irrigated orchards; and raising animals for labor, meat, and dairy products. The focus on wheats(s) and barley, however, is conditioned by both the textual and archaeobotanical data. Grain fields were the most valuable of the agrarian *iqṭāʿāt* assigned to military and administrative officers; they were the financial underpinning of the medieval Islamic state. The history of cereal production, in short, is one lens through which to study the development of governance in the Mamluk Sultanate. The micro- and macro-botanical remains of wheat(s) and barley are also well preserved at Ḥisbān, permitting a finer grained study than is possible for other parts of the rural, agrarian economy.

The authors of this article have sustained interests in local, communal responses to water scarcity and variable soil conditions and the ways that official-dom has molded resource use. It is the result of their having worked decades in the fifth most water-starved country in the world: Jordan.[18] It is a country where today the wheat harvest fails once out of every five years because of insufficient rainfall, and where management of natural resources is as much a political as a communal matter.[19] This study reflects a long-term effort at integrated archaeological-textual-environmental research, which is the foundation of environmental archaeology. These efforts are now producing tangible results.

Concept-Building: What Do We Know, Historically, about Agriculture in Mamluk Syria?

To differentiate the agrarian policies of a regime from the traditional practices of local communities is not a simple matter, once we leave the realm of tax collection. The biggest challenge, of course, is to differentiate between the imperatives of government officials and the initiatives and ingenuity of the *fallāḥīn* in grain cultivation. In this regard, we can learn much from the better documented nineteenth century. Grain production in Transjordan was part of a market economy,

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[18] Jordan's limited water resources are notorious: its ranking as one of the most water-starved in the world is constantly adjusted by international agencies. "Water-starved" is defined as countries that run out of water for basic needs each year. It overlaps with, but it is not synonymous with the "drylands," those arid and semiarid lands in which the index of aridity is less than 0.65. See James Reynolds, "Desertification," *Encyclopedia of Biodiversity* 2 (2001): 61.

[19] Carol Palmer, "'Following the Plough': The Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan," *Levant* 30 (1998): 132.

Figure 4. Nineteenth-century grain and flour storage facilities (shunahs) and flour mill, Wadi Ḥisbān: Shunats Saqr and Diyāb, photo of 1875. (Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund [APES (American Palestine Exploration Society) 76/77 and PEF/P 1698/1699], London)

reaching a peak in the Tanzimat era (Fig. 4).[20] Local landowners controlled sowing, storage, processing (through flour mills), and marketing. Ethnographic studies in Greece, Cyprus, and Syria have highlighted the control that local peoples had, as well, over the cultivation of cereals from the sowing to harvest stages.[21] State intervention occurred at the threshing floor, which became a symbol of the conflict between peasant communities and the state.[22] It was here that taxes on cereals were collected in-kind, and guards hired by the government stood watch over the cereals still on the floor to make sure nothing was taken by the cultivators overnight.

Alan Mikhail's research has documented similar dynamics in Ottoman Egypt and current work by Wakako Kumakura promises to add much to our understanding of the agrarian culture in Egypt during the Mamluk-Ottoman transition.[23] The developing narrative is that the Ottoman state relied heavily on local

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[20] Martha Mundy and Richard Saumarez Smith, *Governing Property, Making the Modern State: Law, Administration and Production in Ottoman Syria* (London, 2007); Lynda Schilcher, "The Grain Economy of Late Ottoman Syria and the Issue of Large-Scale Commercialization," in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, ed. Ç. Keyder and F. Tabak (Albany, 1991), 173–95.

[21] Palmer, "'Following the Plow'"; Michael Given, "Agriculture, Settlement and Landscape in Ottoman Cyprus," *Levant* 32 (2000): 209–30; Susan Sutton, *Contingent Countryside: Settlement, Economy, and Land Use in the Southern Argolid since 1700* (Stanford, 2000).

[22] Michael Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (Routledge, 2004).

[23] Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (Cambridge, 2011). Wakako Kumakura, "The Early Ottoman Rural Government System and Its Development in Terms of Water Administration," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change*

peasant know-how in flood-basin cultivation and left much of the pre-harvest decision-making on land use to them, intervening only in the cultivation of important cash crops, and only under extreme conditions of financial need and environmental disasters.

But can we say the same for the Mamluk period? Gladys Frantz-Murphy's and Sato Tsugitaka's classic studies of agriculture in Egypt describe a complex system of tax administration and documentation aimed at maximizing revenues and preventing fraud and oppression of peasants. [24] Based largely on al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab* (which likely reflects practice in Syria), al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk,* al-Qalqashandī, and Fatimid and Ayyubid-period sources on the Fayyūm (namely al-Makhzūmī, Ibn Mammātī, and al-Nābulusī), they argue convincingly for a largely autonomous agrarian economy. Cairo played little direct role in any rural land administration, delegating cadastral surveys, record-keeping, and tax collections to provincial and local officials. The most important in this regard was the *muqṭaʿ*'s estate manager *(wakīl)* and assistant *(mushidd/shādd)* who oversaw cultivation, collected taxes in kind, and maintained the irrigation canals; the director of the granaries *(mubāshir);* and the guard *(khafīr/ḥāris),* who kept watch over the uncollected cereals on the threshing floor and oversaw water distribution. The village shaykh and *khawlī* (overseer) had the greatest knowledge of local practice and reported to provincial officers on the land cultivated and general agricultural conditions. Peasants had contact with these officials only, not with the central *dīwān.* Of these officials, it seems that only the village shaykh played any role in deciding what was sown, where and when, with the exception of sugar cane. [25] Cropping otherwise fell to local practice, which relied on traditional crop-rotation.

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in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Bonn, 2017), 95–122.

[24] Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans* (Cairo, 1986); Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs, and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997).

[25] This seemed to have been the practice all along in Egypt, and it certainly was in Syria, particularly in the Mamluk period. According to al-Nuwayrī, a range of village officials were responsible for tax assessments in early Mamluk times, and the only official of the central government involved in tax collection on the local level was the *mubāshir,* who worked directly with them (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 70; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (Cairo, 1931), 8:245ff. This distancing of the central government from local administration is confirmed by other Mamluk-era sources (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 105ff). In a memorandum *(tadhkirah)* to Amir Kitbughā (his Vice Sultan) on managing business in Egypt while he was away on campaign, Sultan Qalāwūn asserts the responsibilities of village shaykhs in this area (transmitted by Ibn Furāt and al-Qalqashandī, and published and translated by Sato, p. 114). Further study of al-Nuwayrī's narrative about the role of peasants and their community leaders in the administration of their own resources is forthcoming in Walker, "It Takes a Village."

These textual sources, however, give us no indication of kinds of cereals beyond "wheat" *(qamḥ/ḥinṭah)* and "barley" *(shaʿīr)* as broad categories. Wheat straw is mentioned, exceptionally, as a commodity in itself, shared among the *dīwān, muqṭaʿ,* and cultivators *(muzāriʿūn),* at least in the Ayyubid period (according to Ibn Mammātī). We learn, as well, that the *muqṭaʿ* paid 10% of his revenues for transport of cereals from the threshing floor to state granaries and to cover the customs duties levied at the river ports at Cairo (according to al-Maqrīzī). Nonetheless, we do not know where sowing seed was stored or how it was distributed, how the transport of cereals to granaries and storage was organized, or any other details on the local logistics of the grain "business."

Was the state's involvement in its own agricultural sector limited to tax collection and distribution of those revenues? In other words, can we see the hand of the Mamluk government in agriculture beyond the mechanics of *iqṭāʿ* administration and taxation? Did the "state" (for want of a better term) play any meaningful role in managing its own natural resources; did it have a viable agrarian policy?

If we turn to contemporary almanacs and documentary sources, as well as Syrian chronicles and agrarian manuals, which record many local practices, a clearer picture of local realities emerges. It is beyond the scope of this article to go into detail about the contents of these sources, but we can make here quick reference to the kind of information we can glean from them. Coptic almanacs, for example, describe a wide range of cereals cultivated in Egypt at this time, going well beyond the general categories of "wheat" and "barley."[26] Village flour mills, granaries *(shunāt,* often in the form of modified natural caves), and small, family-run bakeries are occasionally cited in the revenue-generating institutions that belong to rural endowments in southern Bilād al-Shām in the fragmentary Mamluk-period *waqfīyāt* that can be identified, every now and then, in the archives of Cairo and Damascus. Many of these institutions also appear in the tax registers of the early Ottoman period, which cite the general categories of "wheat" *(ḥinṭah)* and "barley" *(shaʿīr)* as taxable commodities.

Local narrative sources are particularly useful in this regard. Ottoman-period texts may be culled for potential information regarding local baking traditions that reveal patterns of grain production even in earlier periods. To cite one example, the eighteenth-century scholar Ibn Kannān devotes a section of his historical geography of Damascus and its hinterland, *Al-Mawākib al-Islāmīyah fī al-Mamālik wa-al-Maḥāsin al-Shāmīyah,* to the topic of village bread. He classifies breads (all of which have their own name) on the basis of whether they were made primarily of wheat or barley flour (or a mixture of the two), and in what kind of oven they were baked. He occasionally describes the quality of the flour (by color, texture)

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[26] Charles Pellat, *Cinq calendriers Égyptiens,* Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques (Cairo, 1986). We thank our anonymous reviewer for this reference.

and provides full recipes for baking breads and pastries. Interesting in this regard is a kind of barley bread to which is added a small amount of wheat flour "for taste."[27] The specific wheat to be used is specified as "the kind of wheat called *'al-sult.'* It is, in fact, a type of barley that resembles wheat, as it has no husk, and is often considered a type of wheat, as a result."[28]

Agrarian manuals are an underutilized source on rural life. Unlike many medieval Arabic encyclopedias, the authors of *kutub al-filāḥah* were not mere compilers (at least in this period), but practitioners in the field, many with personal experience in farming and crop experimentation. While it is not clear for whom such manuals were written, it is plausible that one audience were gentleman farmers, the proprietors of new estates and gardens, as the texts make regular reference to the preparation and levelling of new fields, excavating new wells, and the reclamation of marginal lands.[29] The last flowering of this genre was in Mamluk Syria (and specifically Damascus), where at least three major manuals were composed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[30] These manuals were also written for sultans and were exchanged among heads of state: the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II, for example, asked the Mamluk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī for a copy of Rādī al-Dīn al-Ghāzī's *Jāmiʿ farāʾiḍ al-milāḥah fī jawāmiʿ fawāʾiḍ al-filāḥah*

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[27] Muḥammad ʿĪsá Ibn Kannān, *Al-Mawākib al-Islāmīyah fī al-Mamālik wa-al-Maḥāsin al-Shāmīyah,* ed. Ḥikmat Ismāʿīl (Damascus, 1992), 260. Contemporaries appear to have been divided on the culinary value of barley flour. Ibn Ṭūlūn transmits the complaints of one Damascene scholar who was served "only barley bread and some leben" for breakfast during Ramadan at one city mosque (Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1949–56), 2:553. Clearly not everyone liked the taste of barley!

[28] والسُّلْتُ، بالضم: ضرب من الشعير؛ وقيل: هو الشعير بعينه؛ وقيل: هو الشعير الحامض؛ وقال الليث: السُّلْتُ شعير لا قِشْرَ له أَجْرَدُ؛ زاد الجوهري: كأنه الحنطة؛ يكون بالغَوْر والحجاز، يَتَبَرَّدون بسَويقه في الصَّيْف. وفي الحديث: أَنه سئل عن بيع البَيْضاء بالسُّلْت؛ هو ضرب من الشعير أَبيضُ لا قشر له؛ وقيل: هو نوع من الحِنْطة؛ والأوّل أَصح، لأن البيضاء الحنط.

(Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr [1232–1311], *Lisān al-ʿArab*). Reference courtesy of Daniel Varisco.

[29] The development of these manuals from encyclopedias (for scholars) to practical manuals (for practitioners) must be understood as the shifting interests of the ulama themselves, who came to manage (and own) farmland with the expansion of rural endowments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ibn Ṭawq and al-Ghāzī were such scholar-gentleman farmers.

[30] They are *Miftāḥ al-Rāḥah* (author unknown, but probably Syrian), *Mināhij al-Fikr wa-Manāhij al-ʿIbr* (by Ibn Yaḥyá [d. 1318], known as "al-Waṭwāṭ al-Warrāq"), and *Kitāb al-Durr al-Multaqaṭ fī Akhbār Filāḥatī al-Rūm wa-al-Nabaṭ* (by al-Dimashqī [d. 1326], also known as "Shaykh al-Rabwa"). For more information on these manuals and the genre in general, see A. H. Fitzwilliam-Hall, "An Introductory Survey of the Arabic Books of Filāḥa and Farming Almanacs," 2010 online publication of The Filāḥa Texts Project: The Arabic Books of Husbandry. Accessed on 10 January 2017, http://www.filaha.org/introduction.html.

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for his personal library.[31] The sudden revival of interest in Syria in this kind of knowledge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may be related to the widespread endowment and privatization of agricultural lands at the time. These manuals remain largely in manuscript form and are only now coming under serious scholarly study. They have untapped potential for documenting the realities of local agricultural practice.[32]

Many of the manuals of this period pull from earlier texts, in an encyclopedic fashion, and focus on water and soil conditions, what crops are best suited to sowing under these conditions, and preparation of soils.[33] *Miftāḥ al-Rāḥah,* written in the fourteenth century by a Syrian whose identity has not yet been confirmed, is one example. In a passage that pulls from Ibn Waḥshīyah's *Filāḥah al-Nabaṭīyah,* the anonymous author of this compilation describes "best practices" in wheat cultivation, that require soaking the sowing seeds in advance in water, sowing and harvesting as early as possible, and sowing in deep soil, in order to produce "fat" cereals.[34] Though based on an earlier Egyptian text, it nonetheless transmits the kind of traditional knowledge still valued by peasants of the day. By contrast, other contemporary manuals are based on peasant know-how of the day (the compilers acknowledging as much in their introductions). They may have functioned more as "how-to" books than mere compilations of knowledge.[35]

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[31] Aleksandar Sopov, "The Transformation of Agricultural Knowledge and Urban Space in Ottoman Istanbul and Mamluk Cairo at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century" (Paper presented at the international conference "The Long 15th Century: Deep Transformations and New Possibilities," American University of Cairo, 20–21 March 2015); idem, "Between the Pen and the Fields: Books on Farming, Changing Land Regimes, and Urban Agriculture in the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1500–1700" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2016).

[32] *Mināhij al-Fikr* and *Jāmiʿ farāʾiḍ* are, apparently, based on contemporary peasant practice. In the case of the latter work, the author (al-Ghāzī, d. 1558), himself a farmer, interviewed local peasants to ask them about local practices. The section on plants in Ibn Yaḥyá's *Mināhij al-Fikr* pulls on village knowledge of the day (al-Mukahalah, "Al-Zirāʿah fī Bilād al-Shām," 5–6).

[33] One notable exception—*Jāmiʿ farāʾiḍ*—is discussed later in this article.

[34] Anonymous, *Miftāḥ al-Rāḥah li-Ahl al-Filāḥah,* ed. Muḥammad ʿĪsá Ṣāliḥīyah and Iḥsān Ṣidqī al-ʿAmad (Kuwait, 1984), 125.

[35] At some point the function of the agrarian manuals changed from encyclopedias (for scholars) to practical manuals (for practitioners), mixing local knowledge with earlier texts. This development is recognizable in the fourteenth–sixteenth--century Syrian texts and may be related to the increasing privatization and endowment of land of the period, privileging, in particular, members of the ulama who came to manage these estates and financially benefit from them. Among the compilers of these manuals such scholars who owned (or managed) land and were actively developing fields and gardens (such as al-Ghāzī). This was true, as well, in Rasulid Yemen. The thirteenth-century Yemeni sultan al-Mālik al-Ashraf wrote in his agricultural text that he collected knowledge from farmers (personal communication, Daniel Varisco).

As such they offer great potential in describing for us local knowledge about soils, water, and plants.

Syrian chronicles provide a different level of information about local traditions in grain cultivation. One of the richest is that of Ibn Ḥijjī.[36] The historian Ibn Ḥijjī "al-Ḥisbānī" (d. 816/1413) was born in Damascus in 751/1350. His father, Ḥijjī ibn Mūsá, was born in the village of Ḥisbān in today's central Jordan, where he served as a qadi.[37] His chronicle is full of references to letters he exchanged with family and colleagues in Ḥisbān and other Transjordanian villages and his many trips to his family home. His brief, but all too frequent, references to village agriculture reflect a preoccupation with village affairs that goes beyond an urban concern for endowment revenues. Among the information he provides on the local grain cultivation are references to confiscations (and forced sales) of village and urban barley stores during military campaigns,[38] peasant transport of cereals from the threshing floor to storage facilities,[39] local clerics with great knowledge of agriculture (and who are considered sources of authority on grain cultivation),[40] and the transport of cereals by camel and storage in repurposed cisterns.[41] He also describes the business of grain cultivation: the career of a *mubāshir* who worked his way up from low employee of a mill (sifting flour) to a crop broker (*simsār fī al-ghallah*) and who became wealthy by hoarding grain,[42] the price of "clean" wheat (the most expensive grain, paid in silver per sack),[43] and the price of cereals purchased at the threshing floor (wheat was half the price than in town, and barley 1/3).[44] The latter point likely refers to brokerage of cereals. The wealthiest

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[36] Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Saʿīdī al-Ḥaṣbānī al-Dimashqī Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī*, ed. Abū Yaḥyá ʿAbd Allāh al-Kanadārī (Beirut, 2003).

[37] Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1979), 2:223; 3:18. For an analytical biography of the historian, see Sami G. Massoud, *An Analysis of the Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007), 180ff.

[38] Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 1:173.

[39] Ibid., 1:330.

[40] Ibid., 2:693. This is a particularly interesting, and lengthy, entry, as it describes in some detail a rural cleric, who would not normally have appeared in a chronicle. The biographical entry is of an ʿalīm from a village in the Hawran, who settled in Adhriʿāt (modern Deraʿa, on the Jordanian-Syrian border) and farmed there the rest of his life. He served as qadi in that village, and his son became qadi of the villages of Irbid and Ḥubrāṣ, continuing in that office to the time of Ibn Ḥijjī's writing. See also ibid., 2:343, for another biography of a judge to whom peasants turned for advice on farming.

[41] Ibid., 2:642.

[42] Ibid., 1:221–22.

[43] Ibid., 2:670.

[44] Ibid., 1:420.

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ulama, on passing away, are said to have left behind hundreds of bags of wheat in their stores.[45]

   Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭawq was a Damascene notary, who maintained close friendship ties with people from the village of Ḥisbān. His *Al-Ṭaʿlīq* stands at the border of chronicle and diary and has attracted considerable interest by Mamluk scholars in recent years. Ibn Ṭawq travelled frequently between Damascus, its suburbs, and more distant villages, mostly on business: he was involved in real estate, commercial agriculture, and small-scale brokerage.[46] He often travelled with peasants and seems to have even worked with them in the fields occasionally. Relevant to this discussion are his brief descriptions of village grain cultivation. By the time of his writing (early sixteenth century) the ulama came to own many small plots of land in scattered villages, mostly as the recipients of endowment revenues. They regularly inspected these fields, and met frequently with peasants and village leaders in getting information about land conditions and harvests. This land included orchards but also modest-sized grain plots—a relatively new development in the topography of grain cultivation in the region and one that is also reflected in the early Ottoman tax registers. He speaks, as well, of the "*sultī*" wheat mentioned in Ibn Kannān's geography of the same city two hundred years later.[47] By the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, the ulama had come to be mediators, for better or worse, between villagers and the government, and as they did, indigenous knowledge of agriculture became more important than ever.

Integrated Methods from Five Disciplines

What we get from the textual sources is some sense of local knowledge and land use traditions, but primarily state priorities in the agricultural sector and the structure of its administration. What we miss in them is the peasant (or "cultivator's") perspective, evidence of local initiative in land use, and the decision-making process (why people sowed what did they and how they did). The archaeological record has much to offer in this regard, as it bears physical witness to cropping practices in meaningful spatial contexts. It is difficult, though, to make any statements about state policies in natural resource management based on the organic remains from excavations in themselves: they do not convey whether the farmer grew a particular crop, for example, out of his own free will (because they

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[45] Ibid., 1:253.

[46] Torsten Wollina, "What is a City? Perceptions of Architectural and Social Order in 15th-Century Damascus," in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period,* ed. Conermann, 221.

[47] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, 834–915H/1430–1509M,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000), 1:158.

Area: B, C, M, O, P,R
Tall Hisban 2016
Surveyor : Qutaiba
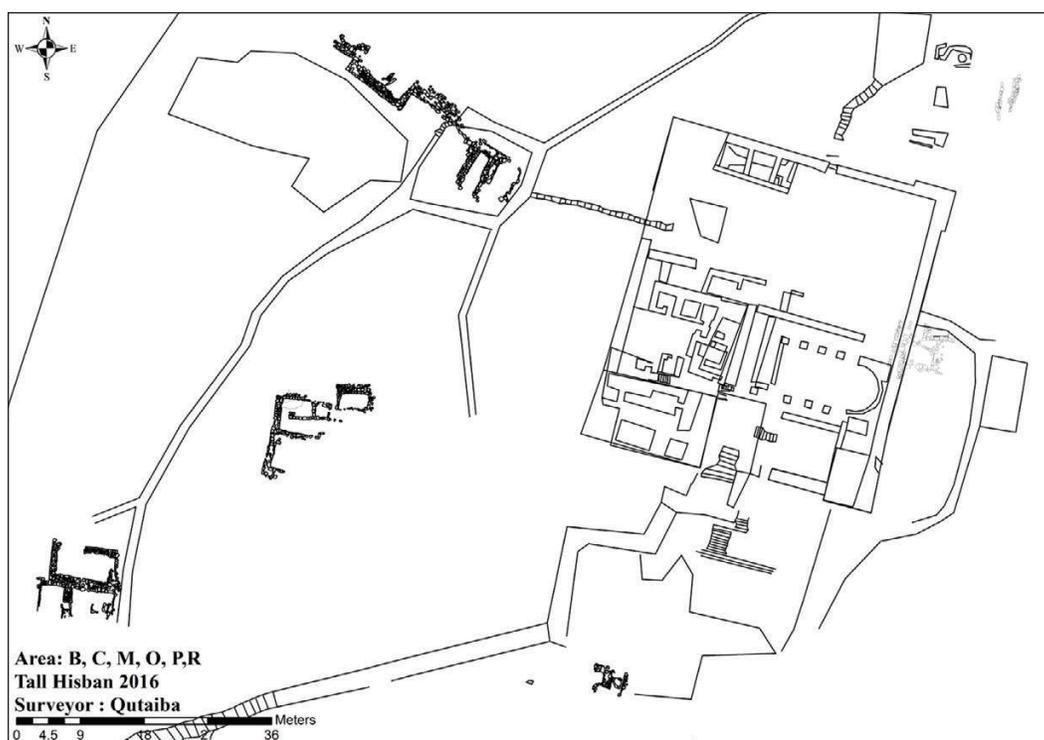
Figure 5. Floor plans of farmhouse clusters site-wide, Tall Ḥisbān. (Courtesy Qutaiba Daisuke, Municipality of Dubai, Department of Archaeology)

helped him achieve certain goals or operated within certain environmental re-straints) or whether "the state" had made that decision for him. For that we need a critical reading of relevant textual sources, with which one could test interpreta-tions of the archaeobotanical and faunal record. In other words, only by combin-ing textual and archaeological data, we can begin to reconstruct the intersection of decision-making and practice and differentiate between the implementation of governmental policies and autonomous peasant action.

This multi-disciplinary investigation pulls from data collected during the ex-cavation seasons of 2013, 2014, and 2016, which were concentrated in the farm-houses and courtyards of the medieval village. This data is compared to that of previous excavations in the Mamluk citadel (living quarters, storage facilities, and kitchens), with limited work in farmhouse remains (Fig. 5).[48] While the stra-tigraphy of most medieval Islamic rural sites tends to be poor, the Mamluk-period occupational levels at Tall Ḥisbān are comparatively good, with collapsed barrel roofs sealing deposits in the houses and citadel storeroom, and thick plastered floors providing stratigraphic separation of occupational sequences in the houses.

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[48] The specific field seasons are 1998, 2001, 2004, and 2007.

Figure 6. Soil sampling for macrobotanical and phytolith remains at Tall Ḥisbān, occupational surface, Field P farmhouse (2016 excavation season). (Walker, project files)

Figure 7. Post-abandonment domestic use of citadel entrance at Tall Ḥisbān (2010 excavation season). Note stone-lined hearth and secondary wall delimiting stable. (Courtesy Tarina Greer, Missouri State University)

Figure 8. Citadel storerooms, with barrel vault collapse removed (2007 field season). (Walker, project files)

Moreover, not only is the architectural preservation here quite good, but so is that of the phytolith, archaeobotanical, and zooarchaeological remains, as attested by the soil samples collected from domestic and storage contexts. This rich data allows us to systematically pursue an intensive study of the agrarian and animal husbandry regimes at a single settlement.

The three environmental scientists who are co-authors of this article have sampled together and from the same contexts: the citadel storeroom and the floors and pits of the farmhouses and built spaces associated with them (such as *ṭābūn* houses, storage facilities, and stables). The sampling of soils was done at regular intervals across the floors of these built spaces, in order to prevent missing areas of activity that may have been devoted to grain processing (such as dehusking), storage for later use (laying aside of dung cakes for cooking, fodder for animals, fuel for the household, for example), and use (baking and cooking, slaughtering, animal bedding, use as construction material, etc.) (Fig. 6). The samples have been taken from the most important food processing, cooking, storage, and disposal (middens—trash pits) contexts in both the citadel (Fig. 7) and village farmhouses and include the citadel storeroom (Field L, Fig. 8), citadel midden (Square M1—a pit on the north slope just outside the northeast corner tower), a house on the north slope divided into two in a later phase of use and repurposed as a kitchen (Square M8, Fig. 9), the middens and floors of interior rooms and exterior courtyards of a cluster of farmhouses to the southwest of the tell (Field O, Fig. 10), the middens

Figure 9. Middens in Square M8 on the northern slope of the tell. Note the layers of red and gray in section, the possible result of repeated firing or cooking. (Walker, project files)

Figure 10. Field O farmhouse with plastered floors (2014 excavation season). (Walker, project files)

Figure 11. Field P farmhouse with walled, exterior courtyard (2016 excavation season). (Courtesy Nicolò Pini, University of Köln)

and floors of interior rooms and exterior courtyards of a stand-alone farmhouse to the extreme southwest of the tell (Field P, Fig. 11), and the kitchen of a farmhouse (Square C102, Figs. 12a and b) in a cluster of similar structures on the west slope of the tell (Field C). The strata (depositional layers) are securely dated to the fourteenth century, the period when the site was at its peak of occupation and prosperity.

Methods and Sampling

Phytoliths

Phytoliths (plant stones) are diagnostic of different plant families and economic crops. They are also diagnostic of different plant parts, thus they provide plant anatomical information. Plants produce single-cell and multi-cell phytoliths. Single-cells are individual cells silicified within the plant. Multi-cell phytoliths are conjoined single-cells that form "silica skeletons" of adjacent cells of the epidermal tissue of grasses.[49] Single-cell and multi-cell phytoliths have the potential to

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[49] Arlene M. Rosen and Steve Weiner, "Identifying ancient irrigation: a new method using opaline phytoliths from emmer wheat," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 21 (1994): 125–32.

Figure 12a. Field C Byzantine-era farmhouse reused in fourteenth century. Mamluk-era kitchen space walled off just inside arched doorway. (Walker, project files)

Figure 12b. Detail of cooking space in room corner (excavated in 2007, freshly sampled in 2016). Note alternating red, white, and black layers of soil and ash. (Walker, project files)

identify large-scale agriculture via irrigation,[50] agricultural activity areas[51] such as crop processing areas, areas for animal husbandry practices, crop and fodder storage areas; and more.[52]

In order to investigate medieval land use at both "state" and village level, the areas chosen for phytolith sampling and analysis were peasant households and the Mamluk citadel and garrison at Tall Ḥisbān. The phytolith record from the peasant village provides a direct line of evidence for studying the agro-pastoral practices at the village level during the period that the citadel housed the Mamluk garrison. The phytolith record from the citadel provides direct evidence for the control of the cereal production and management of grain cultivation under Mamluk rule.

Samples were collected from Area L, the fourteenth-century residence of the governor of al-Balqa, at the western part of the citadel. Samples were collected from a storeroom (Field L), dated to the same period, from Square Q5, which is an open-air courtyard used in a "squatter" period of occupation after the mid-century earthquake, and from Square Q2, a hearth/ashy deposit inside the storeroom (Field L). In addition, samples were collected from Field M1 that is located at the upper slopes of the tell below the northeast corner tower of the citadel and the fortification wall. This area was identified as a midden, or a refuse area of the residential complex inside the citadel. In addition, samples were collected from buildings located on the slopes of the tell where the medieval village was located

[50] Emma Jenkins, "Phytolith taphonomy: a comparison of dry ashing and acid extraction on the breakdown of conjoined phytoliths formed in Triticum durum," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36 (2009): 2402–7; Marco Madella, Martin K. Jones, Patrick Echlin, Alix Powers-Jones, and Michael Moore, "Plant water availability and analytical microscopy of phytoliths: implications for ancient irrigation in arid zones," *Quaternary International* 193: 32–40; Rosen and Weiner, "Identifying ancient irrigation"; Alison Weisskopf, Emma Harvey, Eleanor Kingwell-Banham, Mukund Kajale, Rabi Mohanty, and Dorian Q. Fuller, "Archaeobotanical implications of phytolith assemblages from cultivated rice systems, wild rice stands and macro-regional patterns," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 51 (2014): 43–53.

[51] Phillipa Ryan, "Plants as material culture in the Near Eastern Neolithic: perspectives from the silica skeleton artifactual remains at Çatalhöyük," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 30 (2011): 292–305; Marta Portillo, Rosa M. Albert, and Donald O. Henry, "Domestic activities and spatial distribution in Ain Abū Nukhayla (Wadi Rum, Southern Jordan): The use of phytoliths and spherulites studies," *Quaternary International* 193 (2009): 174–83; Sullivan and Lisa Kealhofer, "Identifying activity areas in archaeological soils from a colonial Virginia house lot using phytolith analysis and soil chemistry," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31 (2004): 1659–73.

[52] Emma Harvey and Dorian Q. Fuller, "Investigating crop processing using phytolith analysis: the example of rice and millets," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32 (2005): 739–52; Dolores R. Piperno, *Phytoliths: a comprehensive guide for archaeologists and paleoecologists* (Lanham, MD, 2006); Jean Dominique Meunier and Fabrice Colin, *Phytoliths: Applications in earth science and human history* (Lisse, Netherlands, 2010).

and from one of the barrel-vaulted structures, namely M8, on the slopes of the tell where the medieval village was located. Several samples were taken across the floor of M8, which was a hard compact floor surface, retaining plaster in certain areas, and from a midden in the room. In addition, samples were collected from two Mamluk-era farmhouses at the southwestern slopes of the tell (Field O), from across the floors, a storage bin, hearths, and a midden excavated in one of the farmsteads.

Sediment samples were processed at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, and at the Environmental Archaeology Lab, at the Anthropology Department at the University of Texas at Austin, using a protocol as adapted from Rosen.[53] A well-established plant phytolith reference collection regionally specific to the Near East was available for the purposes of plant and crop identification. Eight mg of archaeological sediment was sieved using a 0.5mm sieve and a 10% HCl solution to remove pedogenic carbonates. Any remains of HCl were removed using a centrifuge at 2000rpm for five minutes. Clays were removed by settling using a Calgon solution (sodium hexametaphosphate) to disperse the clay. Air dried samples were then burned in a 500 degree furnace for 2 hours in order to remove organic matter. Finally, 3ml Sodium polytungstate solution was added to the samples and they were centrifuged in order to extract the phytolith content. Phytolith remains were then left to dry and 2mg of phytoliths per sample were mounted on microscope slides using Entellan (Merck) mounting solution.

Slides were scanned and phytoliths were counted using a light transmitting microscope at x 400 magnification. For statistically significant results, a minimum of 200 single-cell and 100 multi-cell phytoliths were identified and counted. Absolute counts of phytoliths per gram of sediment are used in order to make comparisons possible between samples acquired from across contexts and were used for graphic representation of phytolith densities. Phytolith results are presented in bar charts that display absolute counts of phytoliths per gram of sediment. Bar charts illustrate the distribution of certain phytolith forms within various archaeological contexts.

Macrobotanical Remains

The archaeobotanical investigation at Tall Ḥisbān aims to elucidate changes in agricultural practices from the Byzantine-Islamic transition through the early Ottoman period, the Mamluk period being of particular interest.[54] Both archaeobotany and phytolith analysis ultimately focus on plant-derived materials and

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[53] Arlene M. Rosen, "Phytolith indicators of plant and land use at Çatalhöyük," in *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük, Reports from the 1995–99 Seasons,* ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge, 2005), 203–12."

[54] Hansen, "The agricultural economy of Islamic Jordan."

crop-husbandry activities at an archaeological site. Archaeobotany, however, focuses on organic plant materials, most notably seeds and fruits, whereas phytolith analysis studies non-organic materials.[55] Archaeobotany, or the study of macrobotanical remains, can assess many key features in the agricultural economy of a site: it can identify economic crops and determine their relative importance, identify crop-processing activities and methods, and identify crop processing byproducts and determine their function within different industries such as ceramic production. It can also identify weed species that reflect both signals from the arable fields and the local environment. Furthermore, the study of the proportion of different macro-botanical materials, cereals, cereal by-products, wild species, and wood charcoal can be investigated within their respective archaeological contexts to assess their use or role in various economic activities: threshing, the use of dung and cereal by-products (straw, chaff, glume bases, and rachis internodes) as fuel, the use of cereal by-products as temper in ceramics or binder in dung, cooking and baking activities, building materials, and many more. Though archaeobotanical studies have a long tradition in the Near East and particularly in Bilād al-Shām,[56] the Islamic periods have received less attention; this study aims to help close this gap in knowledge and shed more light on agricultural practice in the Mamluk period.

In order to coordinate the sampling of macro-botanical and phytolith samples, a sampling protocol was established by Hansen and Laparidou in 2014. Soil samples for macro-botanical analysis were collected and their volume was measured prior to processing through flotation. Samples are poured into the flotation machine and the botanical remains, being less dense than water, float to the top of the flotation tank and are collected and dried in chiffon bags; heavy plant remains (alongside sand, rock, glass, pottery, and other materials) sink to a lower sieve (1.0 mm) where they are collected.[57] This material from the heavier fraction is dried, after which it is dry-sieved over 1.0 and 0.5 mm sieves. The plant remains from these two fractions are then combined and the volume is measured, after which each sample is sieved over 4.0mm, 2.0mm, 1.0mm, and 0.5mm sieves in order to separate larger and smaller fractions for efficient analysis. Archaeobotanical materials are then sorted, identified to the lowest possible taxonomic level (genus, species, or sub-species) and quantified (if applicable to the type of remains) using a light binocular microscopic with magnification up to 40x.

Macro-botanical remains were processed at the Laboratory of Palaeobotany and Palynology at the Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) in the Nether-

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[55] See Laparidou, phytoliths sections of this article.

[56] The pioneering work of Daniel Zohary, Maria Hopf, Ehud Weiss, and Avinoam Danin is of particular note.

[57] Deborah M. Pearsall, *Paleoethnobotany: A Handbook of Procedures* (London, 2015).

lands. This laboratory is home to one of the largest archaeobotanical reference collections in the world of over 36,000 accessions, including archaeological and modern specimens from numerous locations, including the Levant. In order to make precise identifications, the following atlases, including Flora Palaestina[58] and The Digital Plant Atlas,[59] are consulted, while modern or archaeological examples from the reference collection are checked for comparison.

The studied samples come from domestic contexts, including the inside of houses, outside courtyards, and nearby middens. Further contexts include beaten earth surfaces, plaster surfaces, pits, middens or domestic discard fills, jar fills, and cooking areas (hearths, areas associated with *ṭābūn* fragments). The macro-botanical remains were mostly preserved in charred (also known as carbonised) and mineralised conditions, with very few desiccated remains. The majority of samples were from stratigraphically secure contexts, with most of the pottery comprised of Mamluk-era HMGP (Handmade Geometric-Painted Ware) sherds, a locally produced pottery. A few control samples were taken to be able to record the "settlement noise" signal at the site, which reflected some of the main crops, such as barley and olive. Clay oven fragments from 20 contexts, likely from *ṭawabīn,* were also analysed for their macro-botanical impressions and the different pathways, which produced those impressions.[60] Wood charcoal samples were taken and will be discussed in a separate study.[61] Each of the Mamluk contexts from which samples were taken will be briefly discussed.

Field L

Much of the excavation of Field L1, the storeroom on the citadel, occurred prior to the 2013 excavation season, and the bulk of the surface (Loci 10 and 12) had been removed before macro-botanical samples could be taken, with the exception of a small section (less than 0.25 x 0.25 m square). The sample that could still be obtained was just over 1 litre (for comparison, samples taken from other, smaller, floor-contexts measured over 100 litres). As this sample is not representative, the macro-botanical evidence on its own cannot support the interpretation of storage of cereals in this context. The surface had been well sampled for zooarchaeological remains and has yielded a lot of information on meat consumption of the

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[58] M. Zohary and N. Feinbrun-Dothan, *Flora Palaestina,* volumes 1–4 (Jerusalem, 1966).

[59] R. T. J. Cappers, R. Neef, R. M. Bekker, F. Fantone, and Y. Okur, Y. *Digital atlas of traditional agricultural practices and food processing* (Groningen, 2016); R. T. J. Cappers and R. Neef, *Handbook of Plant Palaeoecology* (Groningen, 2012); R .T. J. Cappers, R. Neef, and R. M. Bekker, *Digital Atlas of Economic Plants* (Groningen, 2009).

[60] A. M. Hansen, B. J. Walker, and F. B. J. Heinrich, "'Impressions' of the Mamluk agricultural economy: Archaeobotanical evidence from clay ovens *(ṭābūn)* at Tall Hisban (Jordan)," *Tijdschrift voor Mediterrane Archeologie* 56 (2017), in press.

[61] See Hansen, "The agricultural economy of Islamic Jordan."

garrison residents, which can be contrasted with meat consumption within the village.[62] In this context, only a few hard/bread wheat grain kernels, hard wheat rachis internodes, straw remains, and wild seeds were encountered. Future excavation of similar and other contexts (e.g., cooking areas) from the citadel will help create a fuller image of the range of crops and foodstuffs that were available to the elite that inhabited the citadel. Such botanical finds may well include more luxury or "exotic" items, analogous to the zoological finds in the citadel.

Field O

O13, a continuation of O9, is believed to be a courtyard outside of a Mamluk house and was excavated in the 2016 field season. One main context (Locus 5) was a deposit that contained a high concentration of ash along with ṭābūn fragments; other ṭābūn fragments were found on a surface (Locus 16) that was on the same level as the bottom of the pit. Because of the nature of the finds, similar to the case of M1, we may assume that this area held the function of an outside cooking area for some time and then functioned as an area for domestic cooking waste. Reed culm was found most often in contexts in O13; possibly this material was used as a type of fuel. Samples from O9 consisted of beaten earth surfaces (such as Locus 18) and the finds indicate domestic cooking waste.

O14, a continuation of O10, is an archetypical, barrel-vaulted farmhouse from the Mamluk period, where "living surfaces" could be sampled. This includes a beaten earth surface in the southeast quadrant of the square (Locus 6) that lies directly above a plaster surface (Locus 7), both of which were sampled.

Contexts from O9/O13 and O10/O14 all reflect signals of domestic cooking waste. Cooking and discard could have taken place during the summer months, while in the winter cooking could have taken place indoors, also helping to heat the house, while food waste was discarded outside the house.

Field M

Squares M1 and M8 were particularly rich in archaeobotanical finds. M1 is a waste disposal area located outside the north wall of the tell that was excavated in 2014, rich in well-preserved ṭābūn fragments,[63] food waste, and cereal processing waste, including straw/culm, rachis internodes, and charred chaff (the palea/lemma, also known as the hull or husk). An ash layer (Locus 10) revealed extremely rich macro-botanical deposits that included ṭābūn fragments and some of the site's best preserved botanical remains, including two complete *Vicia faba* seeds. Alongside rich archaeobotanical remains ṭābūn fragments were also found in a trash deposit (Locus 12) and in a possible cooking area (Locus 13). Though many of the features in this square were disturbed, and it is difficult to locate the

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[62] See Corbino, this article.

[63] Hansen, Walker, and Heinrich, "'Impressions' of the Mamluk agricultural economy."

original position of the *ṭābūn,* there seems to be evidence of burning, either for the purpose of cooking, trash disposal, or both.

M8 is a narrow vaulted chamber (ca. 2.5m wide) situated mid-slope on the northern slope of the tell that was excavated in the 2014 and 2016 field seasons. The chamber was a Mamluk-era repurposing of a much larger Early Islamic domestic structure (a room or perhaps a full building) built on top of the bedrock. In the Middle Islamic period, this larger structure was divided by a large wall (Wall 3), which was supported by a barrel vault, thus creating M8. The chamber opens downslope into a cistern and is built against a row of similar narrow, vaulted chambers oriented downslope towards water collection installations. M8 is built on top of a subterranean vaulted chamber of an unknown date. The space went out of use sometime in the late Mamluk period after the vault collapsed, likely the result of the mid-fourteenth-century earthquake, which led to the abandonment of the citadel on the top of the tell.

The function of M8 would appear to be related to cooking activities, since there was a *ṭābūn* built against Wall 3 and because of the finds in Locus 7 (Pail 36)[64] and Locus 19 (Pail 52).[65] These loci could either represent two separate phases, a chamber for cooking and subsequent use of the space as a domestic waste area, or both a part of the same activity (cooking) since they're located in different parts of the excavation square. The combination of high concentrations of botanical remains both in phase with *ṭābūn* fragments (Locus 19) and in later phases, found alongside (macro- and micro-) botanical remains indicate cooking waste (florets, seeds, endocarps) and fuel use (/waste), including dung, threshing remains (cereal culm/

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[64] Locus 7 (pail 36), which was sealed off by collapse of the vault, was a beaten earth surface which was cut by a possible pit that was filled with loose earth containing large pockets of ash (Locus 8) and terra rossa soil (Locus 9), in some places up to 30cm thick. Sherds from this context date from the Late Byzantine and Early Islamic to the Middle Islamic, including glazed wares, while the Early Islamic wares were dominant. Locus 7 also contained many nari pockets of eroded limestone. From this context, we have interpreted that chamber M8 was used in the Mamluk period for an activity that generated a lot of ash, but it was in a space that was originally built much earlier, with earlier debris moved aside. The room was likely exposed to repeated winter rains, which may have created the extensive nari pockets. What is an alternative interpretation is that the nari was the result of repeated heat from cooking activities.

[65] Locus 19 (pail 52) was a soil layer right on top of the bedrock, and perhaps functioned, in part, as a levelling layer for the western divisions wall (Wall 3). The earth contained many ash concentrations, midden and ash lenses, and terra rossa (similar to Locus 7), including sherds ranging in date from Late Byzantine to Middle Islamic periods. The Middle Islamic wares were dominant and included mostly HMGP jars, bowls, and cooking pots; many complete glazed vessels were present and entire domestic assemblages were represented. This context also includes *ṭābūn* fragments and many tesserae. Though the tesserae were not burned, a possible interpretation is that some of them could be part of an erosional collapse from the tell summit from the mosaics of the Byzantine basilica upslope from this chamber. However, see discussion in the section on Field A.

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straw and culm bases/roots, and rachis internodes). It follows from the phasing that some time after the *ṭābūn* fell out of use, the chamber was converted to a refuse disposal area as attested by the pottery of a typical domestic assemblage and many coins, perhaps combined with occasional erosion debris sliding downslope. The presence of discolored crème green-colored HMGP Ware sherds indicate that the collapse of the barrel-vaulted roof, likely caused by an earthquake, resulted in the chamber being regularly waterlogged during the winter rainy season.[66]

Animal Bones

The zooarchaeological investigation at Tall Ḥisbān aims to define social status indicators and food supplies in fourteenth-century Mamluk society. Furthermore, attempts are made to identify evidence of landscape exploitation and environmental changes in the site's surroundings at that time. Although zooarchaeology is a well-developed research field, studies of animal remains recovered from Mamluk sites are still rare. However, the results that can be achieved by zooarchaeological analyses are particularly suited to enquire into the environmental and cultural changes that occurred throughout the Islamic period.

The animal bones and teeth analyzed here were recovered during four excavation seasons at Tall Ḥisbān.[67] Samples dated to the fourteenth century, corresponding to the Mamluk occupation of the site, were collected from the citadel as well as from the village located on the tell slopes. More specifically, the archaeological remains from the citadel come from two adjacent squares, 1 and 2, of Field L, investigated in 2001. They are located near the main gate of Ḥisbān's Mamluk citadel. The faunal materials were recovered from a barrel-vaulted storeroom in the area of the Mamluk governor's palace inside the citadel. The ceramics collected suggest this was a high-status site; indeed, local wares were associated with imported glazed ware. The inscriptions on vessels indicate that they were made-to-order for military officials. The room was probably used by the garrison stationed there during the fourteenth century.[68]

In the village, archeological investigations demonstrate a long-term occupation. The animal remains dated to the Mamluk period were recovered from contexts located in fields C, M, and O. These areas show remains of Mamluk structures probably associated with domestic activities. Field C was investigated in

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[66] For a full description of the pottery and scientific analyses, see Bethany J. Walker, Tarina Greer, Reem al-Shqour, Aren LaBianca, Robert D. Bates, Jeffrey P. Hudon, Warren Schultz, Julian Henderson, Chiara Corbino, Sofia Laparidou, Annette Hansen, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "Tall Ḥisbān 2016 Excavation Season: Household Archaeology in the Medieval Village," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 59 (2016–17): in print.

[67] The analyzed remains were collected in 2001, 2004, 2013, and 2014.

[68] Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages.*

2004. The analyzed remains were collected from square 102. C102 would appear to have been a kitchen in the Mamluk period. All the analyzed specimens come from contexts associated to the use of the kitchen: a plaster floor (locus 12), the deposit below the plaster floor (locus 13), and a *ṭābūn* (locus 15). The animal remains collected from field M come from square 8. M8 is a narrow vaulted chamber investigated in 2013 and 2014.[69] The analyzed remains come from a beaten earth surface corresponding to the loci 5, 6, and 7. They covered the entirety of the M8 square. Square 9 and 10 from field O were investigated in 2013.[70] O9 is probably a courtyard outside of a Mamluk house. Faunal remains collected from locus 10 are associated with a number of pottery sherds and a Mamluk coin. O10 is a barrel-vaulted Mamluk farmhouse. A few faunal remains come from a plaster floor (locus 13).

The identification of faunal remains was based on specific atlases[71] as well as on the project reference collection held in Madaba. When the distinction between sheep and goat was not possible, the bones were attributed to the sheep/goat group. The number of identified specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) were used to assess the relative abundances of taxa. MNI counts were obtained taking into account ontogenetic age and size.[72] The frequencies of anatomical elements have been tallied to calculate the minimum number of skeletal elements (MNE). The MNE was obtained considering the selected diagnostic zones for each bone,[73] corrected by the age and side.

The age-at-death estimations of sheep/goat and cattle were based on long bone epiphyseal fusion,[74] as well as on tooth eruption and wear stages.[75] Teeth ontoge-

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[69] For further information about field M8 see Hansen in this article.

[70] For detailed information about field O9 and O10 see Hansen in this article.

[71] Joachim Boessneck, Hanns-Hermann Müller, and Manfred Teichert, "Osteologische Unterscheidungsmerkmale zwischen Schaf (Ovis aries Linné) und Ziege (Capra hircus Linné)," *Kühn-Archiv* 78 (1964): 1–29; Elisabeth Schmid, *Atlas of Animal Bones* (Amsterdam, 1972); Robert Barone, *Anatomia comparata dei mammiferi domestici: Osteologia* (Bologna, 1976); and Alan Cohen and Dale Serjeantson, *A Manual for the identification of bird bones from archaeological sites* (London, 1986).

[72] Sandor Bokonyi, "Archaeological problems and methods of recognizing animal domestication," in *The domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals,* ed. Peter J. Ucko and G. W. Dembley (Chicago, 1969), 219–29.

[73] Simon Davis, *The Archaeology of Animals* (New Haven, 1987), 35.

[74] Elisabeth J. Reitz and Elisabeth S. Wing, *Zooarchaeology* (Cambridge, 1999).

[75] Annie Grant, "The use of tooth wear as a guide to the age of domestic ungulates," in *Ageing and sexing animal bones from archaeological sites*, ed. Bob Wilson, Caroline Grigson, and Sebastian Payne, British Archaeological Reports 109 (Oxford, 1982), 91–108.

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netic ages were obtained adapting Grant's[76] wear-scoring technique to Payne's,[77] following Greenfield and Arnod's[78] schemes for sheep/goat. Bird bones were divided into two broad age groups: "immature" and "mature," depending on the observed skeletal level of ossification. Sexing animal bones is important for reconstructing past husbandry practices. For mammal bones, sexing was based on morphological criteria. Female domestic fowls were identified by the presence of medullary bone, which forms during the egg-laying period. The distribution of osteopathologies was recorded. They have been grouped in three broad categories: pathologies of the oral cavity, those associated to keeping/working stresses, and traumas.[79] Different types of bone-surface alterations have been tallied: weathering,[80] trampling, root etching, abrasion/polishing, carnivore and rodent ravaging evidence (bites, gnawing marks) and human-derived modifications. The last modifications include carcass processing marks, such as intentional fracturing, evidence of skinning, defleshing, and portioning through cutting and chopping, as well as combustion traces.

What follows is an analysis of three components of agrarian culture best suited to such a coordinated, multi-disciplinary approach: land use (what to sow, how to water), diet (differentiating between that of the soldiers' garrison in the citadel and the peasants living in the village below), and agricultural economy. Because of the differences in methods, and even greater differences in the scholarly language used by archaeologists and natural scientists, these sections will begin with the historio-archaeological perspective, as it has been filtered by the archaeologist's understanding of the archaeobotanical and faunal record, followed by the perspectives of the archaeobotanists and zooarchaeologist, as they have been rewritten after many months of conversations with the co-authors and in consultation with the archaeologist for interpretations of stratigraphic contexts.

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Sebastian Payne, "Kill-off patterns in sheep and goats: the mandibles from Aşvan Kale," *Anatolian Studies* 23 (1973): 281–305.

[78] Haskel J. Greenfield and Elisabeth R. Arnold, "Absolute age and tooth eruption and wear sequences in sheep and goat: determining age-at-death in zooarchaeology using a modern control sample," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35 (2008): 836–49.

[79] Laszlo Bartosiewicz, "Pathological lesions on prehistoric animal remains from southwest Asia," in *Archaeozoology of the near east V,* ed. H. Buitenhuis, A. M. Choyke, M. Mashkour, and A. H. Al-Shiyab (Groningen, 2002), 320–36.

[80] Anna K. Behrensmeyer, "Tophonomic and ecologic information from bone weathering," *Paleobiology* 4 (1978): 150–62.

Land Use

The Culture(s) of Grain Cultivation

We focus here on the differentiation between wheat and barley, which, as the textual record suggests, served different purposes in the local and imperial economies and was the tax foundation of the Mamluk state. Wheat (and apparently we mean here "hard" wheat, or durum wheat, although it is not specified as such in period textual sources) was the most efficiently processed and transported and was, thus, the most marketable. It was also taxed at the highest rate, reflecting its market value on the state level. Barley was used for both human consumption and as fodder; during military campaigns in the region, Syrian villages were required to provide certain quantities of barley for the amirs' horses. Multiple wheat and barley sub-species are clearly distinguishable in the archaeobotanical record and are often retrieved at the site from differentiated spatial contexts, suggesting different economic functions. At Tall Ḥisbān, hard wheat was the most common of wheats, but hulled barley was the dominant among all cereals.

The results thus far of the on-going phytolith analysis, on their own, suggest a couple of important trends in local grain production and consumption. From mid-fourteenth-century deposits on the site, it appears that there was considerably more wheat stored in the citadel storerooms than barley (a spatial context suggestive of tax collection and transport), while in the village itself the relative importance of the two cereals was less pronounced. (The barley phytoliths recovered from the farmhouse courtyards may reflect use as fodder, and in the households as family consumption, as the crop processing of the samples suggests.) The second pattern is equally important: both wheat and barley husk phytoliths with multiple cells (a formation that can result from excessive intake of water) were recovered from both citadel (midden, or trash deposits) and village (farmhouses and village storage facilities) contexts of the mid-fourteenth century. In other words, as far as the phytolith evidence is concerned, for a brief period (perhaps a decade or more), cereals were irrigated at Ḥisbān.[81] However, this date range will need to be further confirmed with radiocarbon dating of material from the same context. These irrigated cereals were marketed and also locally consumed. In other words, both wheat and barley were "economic plants" that played important, though arguably different, roles in the Mamluks' agricultural economy. Whether irrigation for agricultural intensification was under imperial order (to increase revenues) or

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[81] The chronology is based on the stratigraphic context. The phytolith samples with irrigation signals in the citadel come from the storeroom, the vault of which collapsed in an earthquake in mid-century, essentially sealing the contents of the room. In the village, the contexts are similar, sampling under collapsed vaulting and on floors. The irrigation signals have not been identified in samples of earlier or later periods (that is, strata below or above these loci).

peasant resolve (as a resilience strategy to guarantee a harvest during dry periods) will be discussed below.

The analysis of macrobotanical remains allows us to refine our picture of cultivation. Barley (2-row hulled barley) was the most important local crop, namely for use as fodder, in the building of ṭābūns for baking bread, and for human consumption. We can argue that, in contrast to Egypt, at this particular site in Syria barley was the most important economic crop, from both a state and local perspective. There were at least four different kinds of cereals produced in the fields at Ḥisbān in the fourteenth century, including three different kinds of wheat: durum (or "hard") wheat (which was dominant in the citadel storeroom), emmer wheat, and "bread wheat." This kind of diversification of grain production leaves no trace in the textual record, thus far in our study. From the perspective of a government official, it is all "wheat" *(qamḥ/ḥinṭah)*. Today Jordanian farmers cultivate five different kinds of wheat and barley. It is a stress response, as certain kinds of wheat perform better under certain soil and hydrological conditions. They also have different market values; durum wheat has been since Roman times the grain-of-choice, for its hardness (facilitating grinding/milling), transportability, and, we might argue, taste. It also pulled the highest prices.

In a recent study, economic historian and archaeobotanist Frits Heinrich has made a case for the relationship between the shift from emmer wheat to hard wheat and the shift from (primarily) subsistence-based production strategies to increasingly market-oriented ones. Emmer wheat is a hulled wheat and its husk (colloquially the chaff) is tough and well attached to the kernel; therefore the husk does not come off during threshing and has to be removed during a separate step, dehusking, which is followed by a second winnowing. As dehusking may damage the kernel, this process is usually only executed in small batches prior to further processing (e.g., milling) or food preparation. While the husk protects the kernel from fungus and animal infestations during storage, it also makes the grain bulky, as the inedible husks take up much space. In transport this is a disadvantage, as the edible weight of a transported volume is fairly low. In naked wheats, such as durum wheat, on the other hand, the chaff is very loosely fitted around the kernels and it comes off during threshing. Therefore the processing steps dehusking and a second winnowing are unnecessary. Logistically important is that kernels without chaff are far more compact (giving a greater weight to volumes) while the entire volume is edible. This difference in transport efficiency, as Heinrich has shown through measuring and weighing modern samples, in the case of emmer and durum wheat amounts to 50%, making durum wheat far more attractive for transport (interestingly even hulled barleys exhibit a similar attractiveness). Therefore, a commercial farmer who wishes to produce and export for the market, or a state (in this case study, the Roman state) that seeks to move

and redistribute tax-grain may prefer durum wheat due to its lower processing and transport costs, while a farmer who produces for the subsistence of his family (and who is neither concerned with transport nor wage costs) may give preference to emmer wheat, as its husks improve storability and reduce the risk of loss through spoilage and predation. Heinrich does note that many Roman farmers likely combined these two strategies, producing emmer wheat for their own consumption and durum wheat for the market. Based on the study of published data and a discussion of various crop-chronologies (in which shifts in cereal-selection are documented) Heinrich has argued that the historical trend shows that the shift from emmer to hard wheat in the Mediterranean, including Egypt and the Levant, took place between the Hellenistic period and Late Antiquity under the influence of increased economic integration, globalization, and economic growth.[82] According to textual records, however, emmer wheat was grown in Yemen in the fourteenth century.[83]

The purely archaeological evidence for grain cultivation, outside of the spatial context of the archaeobotanical samples, is minimal. We cannot identify the grain fields of the Mamluk period: the agricultural land around the site is still "under the plow," and there is as yet no archaeological technique (such as identifying "relic field lines" in aerial photos or the presence of abandoned terrace walls during archaeological surveys) to allow us to find and explore the ancient fields under these conditions. The hydrological systems that might have watered these fields, however, have survived.

The entire site of Tall Ḥisbān sits atop what is best described as a vast bedrock-cut, underground water tank: a system of caves and interconnecting tunnels that have been modified for use as cisterns, canals, and a reservoir since the Iron Age.[84] While a detailed study of the Mamluk water systems is currently underway, a few preliminary observations can be made at this point.[85] If the holding capacity of the cisterns and reservoirs is a fair indication, water use and

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[82] F. B. J. Heinrich, "Modelling Crop-Selection in Roman Italy: The Economics of Agricultural Decision Making in a Globalizing Economy," in *Rural Communities in a globalizing economy: new perspectives on the economic integration of Roman Italy,* ed. Tymon de Haas and Gijs W. Tol (Leiden, in press). Cf. F. B. J. Heinrich and W. P. van Pelt, "Graantransport en graanprijzen in Ramessidisch Egypte: Het recto van P. Amiens en P. Baldwin gekwantificeerd," *Tijdschrift voor Mediterrane Archeologie* 56 (in press) for an example from Ramesside Egypt. For a discussion of what this means for Watson's theory of the Arab Agricultural Revolution, see Hansen, "The Agricultural Economy of Islamic Jordan."

[83] We are grateful to Dan Varisco for this information.

[84] Many of these caves have, historically, been repurposed for grain storage when the installations went out of use for water storage.

[85] More comprehensive studies of this water system can be found in Walker et al., "Tall Ḥisbān 2013 and 2014 Excavation Seasons," and Bethany J. Walker, "The Struggle over Water: Evaluating

development at Ḥisbān peaked in the Iron Age, Roman, Byzantine/Umayyad, and Mamluk periods. Many of the cisterns and feeder channels built in the Late Antique and Early Islamic periods either continued to be in use or were renovated and put back into use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This was particularly true for the household cisterns of the farmhouses on the tell slopes and immediately downslope. Two large, "urban" cisterns south of the tell, originally Byzantine constructions, were cleaned, re-plastered, and put again to use during the Mamluk era.[86] At least three cisterns (two on the summit and one on the west slope) were built anew at this time.

Preliminary mapping and study of the hydrological system of the citadel and medieval village suggest more intensive water harnessing and coordinated distribution, and perhaps investment in larger-scale irrigation, at least for a period, in the fourteenth century. While most of the fields beyond the tell relied on the run-off irrigation characteristic of rain-fed agriculture, the settlement itself, the garrison, and it seems some nearby fields were serviced by a complex and vast system of cisterns and channels, fed from rooftops and connecting the citadel with the village. These may have supplemented the traditional methods of run-off irrigation practiced in dry farming communities (a kind of rainwater irrigation management). The water survey, cistern mapping, and preliminary study of soil deposits from the subterranean chambers together provide evidence of fast-moving water and irrigation in the fourteenth century, potentially corroborating the phytolith evidence for short-term irrigation of cereals at the site.

There is no archaeological or textual evidence, however, that the heightened investment in irrigation was a state initiative, though it likely was.[87] This renewed interest in irrigation cannot be separated from the larger picture of revitalization

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the 'Water Culture' of Syrian Peasants under Mamluk Rule," in *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History,* ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat (Leiden, 2017), 287–310.

[86] They are a cave-cistern complex found at the southern base of the tell and connected with the Iron Age reservoir in Field G (dubbed the "Abu Nur Cave" in most preliminary field reports) and Adīb Abu Shmeis, "Taqrīr Kashf Arḍī: Khizān Māʾ min al-ʿAṣr al-Bīzānṭī al-Mubakkir (Ḥisbān)" (unpublished report, Department of Antiquities of Jordan, April 2005).

[87] With the exception of *waqfīyāt,* there are practically no textual references to rural irrigation systems beyond urban centers, as their financial status was ambiguous. Although water was a commodity in the Ottoman period, the shares of which (periods of time of irrigated water could be used) could be bought and sold, the physical facilities for water capture, transport, and storage were, apparently, not. Thus, cisterns and canals do not appear in tax registers. The defters provide only indirect evidence for irrigation, by enumerating crops requiring irrigation, such as fruits and viticulture, or taxable facilities or installations, including water mills and mill stones. Family cisterns, however, raised the value of the land they were on, were of high social value, and could be bequeathed. (For more on the archaeology of the family cistern, see Walker, "Struggle Over Water.")

of the hydrological systems site-wide, which indicate increased water demand.[88] Although cereals in Syria are occasionally irrigated during years of drought, under the initiative of local farmers, the expansion of irrigation systems at Ḥisbān coincided with a "wetter" climatic period (higher rainfall, lower temperatures).[89] Irrigation of cereals in the fourteenth century was not necessitated by climatic conditions, but it may have been a response to increased demands by the government for higher yields of both wheat and barley. In brief, the grain culture of fourteenth-century Ḥisbān can be characterized by diversification of grain cultivation (a resilience strategy maintained by local communities to address market and subsistence needs), occasional irrigation of cereals in support of intensification of grain production, or to guarantee a certain level of production (local practice under state pressure), and an economic importance of barley.

Physical Evidence of Land Use

A Phytolith Narrative

Phytoliths derived from Tall Ḥisbān identified two major economic plants of this period of study, wheat and barley, given that their identification is possible using specific morphological criteria of multi-cell phytoliths. Of the economic plants that could be identified in the phytolith record, *Triticum* sp. (Wheat) and *Hordeum* sp. (Barley), these were further clarified with the macro-botanical data, which attested three subspecies of wheat and one subspecies of barley (see Hansen, this article). Irrigation signals were identified in many samples of the same period from both the citadel and farmhouses (Graphs 1a and b).

Graph 1a shows the numbers per gram sediment of wheat (*Triticum* sp.) and barley (*Hordeum* sp.) husk phytoliths from the citadel, present within the storeroom of the Mamluk governor's residence, Field L, Field Q2, and Field Q5. Wheat husk silica skeletons are present in large numbers within all samples derived from the governor's storeroom. This could suggest that hulled wheat was brought to the site and stored in storerooms in the husk. As in the macro-botanical samples the dominant wheat was the free-threshing wheat, most notably hard wheat, the large quantities of wheat cereal chaff in the storeroom may suggest two further scenarios: that wheat was stored before coarse and/or fine sieving of the

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[88] Whether this demand was the result of population growth, agricultural intensification, or both, can only be determined by further study of the water systems at Ḥisbān and comprehensive mapping of them. The sudden growth of the village, and the spatial differentiation of its development, are not organic and should be considered against the backdrop of the needs of the citadel in the fourteenth century (Walker, "Planned Villages"). One could argue the same for development of the water systems that provided the settlement infrastructure.

[89] This should be contrasted with cycles of drought at the end of the century. For a review of the literature on climatic history, see, Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages*, 225, n. 341.
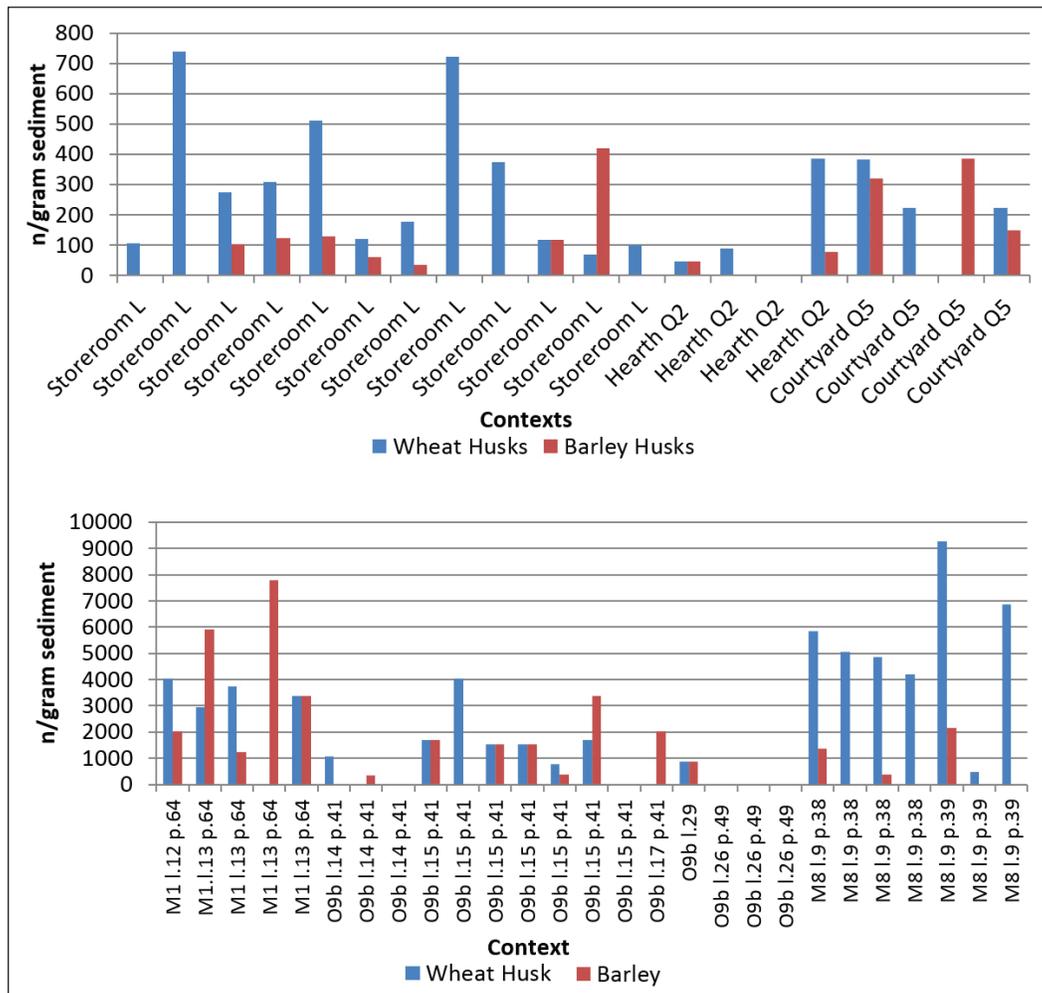
Graphs 1a and b. Wheat and barley husk multi-cells phytoliths.

free-threshing wheats, or that storage areas were also used for certain periods for the storage of threshing remains from durum wheat. Threshing remains of free-threshing wheats are collected on the threshing floors (see Walker in this paper) and are used to make dung-cakes used for fuel.

The macro-botanical samples collected from the site are also dominated by hulled barley. Barley and wheat husks phytoliths were also recovered from the storeroom, although barley husks were present in smaller quantities. Barley husks of hulled barleys are far more tightly fitted around the kernel and do not come off during threshing (and are therefore not included in threshing waste). Such material would therefore largely not end up in a threshing-remains storeroom in bulk. However, the presence of smaller quantities of barley husks, and the presence of

both wheat husks (which according to the macro-botanical evidence derived from free-threshing wheats) and barley husks (which derived from hulled barley), two very different crop types to be grown and/or processed together,[90] may indicate that some kind of mixing took place after their processing for the production of dung pies or the storage of animal fodder.

The phytolith record from Tall Ḥisbān, derived from the farmstead (Field O9), revealed that peasants had access to wheat and barley crops. Wheat and barley husk phytoliths are present in high densities in the midden found inside the single-room farmhouse (Graph 1b). Graph 1b shows the numbers of grass husk phytoliths from Fields M1, M8, and O9. The phytolith records showed that wheat and barley husks are found in all fields sampled, including the citadel midden (Field M1), the vaulted building (Field M8), and the farmhouse (Field O9). The barrel-vaulted structure of Mamluk date, Field M8, contains large amounts of wheat husk phytoliths, while barley husk phytoliths are found in smaller amounts in Field M8 than in Field M1. Field M1 is rich in wheat husk phytoliths, although these are present in slightly lower amounts than in Field M8. On the contrary, barley husk phytoliths are present in higher amounts in the fill layers of Square M1, compared to Square M8 (Graph 1b). Barley husk phytoliths are present in all of the samples derived from the two fill layers in Square M1, while wheat husk phytoliths are absent from one sample. Also, high densities of identified wheat and barley husks and lower relative absolute counts of wild grass husks inside the barrel-vaulted structure (Square M8) indicated the deposition, processing, and/or storage of clean cereal crop in this context.

Also, it appears from the phytolith records that local state officials depended on the storage and management of the agricultural grain crops (Graph 1a), but also on the production and management of agricultural crop by-products such as fodder (Graph 1a). These were valuable commodities that would sustain livestock for meat consumption at a subsistence level in the citadel, for the production of animal by-products, and for the storage of animal dung used for fuel and manure (see Corbino and Hansen in this paper).

Phytolith evidence for irrigated cereals showed that irrigated cereal crops were present in high densities on site (Graph 1). Large multi-cell cereal phytoliths in-

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[90] Glynis Jones and Paul Halstead "Maslins, mixtures and monocrops: on the interpretation of archaeobotanical crop samples of heterogeneous composition," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 22 (1995): 102–14; R. T. J. Cappers, F. B. J. Heinrich, S. Kaaijk, F. Fantone, J. Darnell, and C. Manassa, "Barley Revisited: Production of Barley Bread in Umm Mawagir (Kharga Oasis, Egypt)," in *Current Research in Egyptology 2013: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium,* ed. K. Accetta, R. Fellinger, P. Laurenço Gonçalves, S. Musselwhite, and W. P. van Pelt, (Oxford, 2014), 49–63.

dicate some level of irrigation.[91] Interestingly, large multi-cell cereal phytoliths were present in higher densities in the governor's storeroom (Field L) (Graph 1a) and the citadel's midden (Square M1) than in the domestic contexts in the medieval village. Whether the presence of larger amounts of wheat husk phytoliths in the storage room (Field L) inside the citadel indicates that the distribution of irrigated cereal crop was managed and controlled by the local governor remains an interesting line of future research.

A Macrobotanical Narrative

Cereal cultivation, probably in conjunction with pulse cultivation, was the primary activity that took place on the arable land, likely followed by the cultivation of fodder crops. Vegetables would have been cultivated on smaller plots, or possibly on the edges of fields. Fruit and nut trees could either have been scattered throughout the agricultural landscape or have been concentrated on the hillsides of the tell. Future studies, such as the analysis of the wood charcoal, indicating the most common available wood sources for fuel at the site, will add to the narrative on the microenvironment at Tall Ḥisbān.[92] What follows is a preliminary analysis of the macrobotanical remains, as they reveal patterns in land use.

Taphonomy

What kinds of archaeobotanical remains are found in the assemblage are a result of the formation processes (i.e., human activities) and the type of preservation of the remains (i.e., taphonomy). There are four main ways in which macro-archaeobotanical remains can be preserved: charring/carbonisation, mineralisation, desiccation, and waterlogging.[93] The most common type of preservation at Tall Ḥisbān is carbonisation (or charring), followed by mineralisation and desiccation (although the latter is only very limited). There are no waterlogged archaeobotanical remains at the site. Because of this, more robust remains are recovered here most often in assemblages, which include seeds, fruits, glume bases, rachis internodes, culm/straw, and wood charcoal. Nevertheless, more fine plant parts,

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[91] It can also indicate a wetlands environment. In Jordan, however, this is not likely the case. One should note that the Jordanian landscape, as throughout Greater Syria, is characterized by a diversity of micro-environments; thus engaging in (some) irrigation practices in order to grow crops efficiently is a fairly common prerequisite. Subsequently, at most sites there will be species that are indicative of irrigation being practiced without conveying much on the absolute "dryness" or "wetness" of the natural environment. We may thus conclude that the environment, like most of Jordan, was dry enough to warrant irrigation or other rainfed/dryland watering strategies, at certain times and under certain conditions.

[92] Hansen, "The Agricultural Economy of Islamic Jordan."

[93] For a detailed description on the types of preservation and how they occur, see Pearsall, *Paleoethnobotany*.

such as cereal awns and grape pedicels, can also be recovered. In contrast to this, extremely arid environments such as found in much of Egypt allow for more plant remains and plant products to be preserved in very good condition. Among the latter are textiles and other fibrous materials, papyri, and even breads.[94] In areas where desiccation is not the prevalent preservation mode, archaeobotanical evidence for bread is generally scarce. Though rare and difficult to recognize, charred bread remains can survive in areas where cooking or baking took place. Several food remains from Mamluk Ḥisbān are being analysed to ascertain if they can be positively be identified as bread.

Daily life activities ranging from the harvest to the processing and consumption of plant remains (either as food, fodder, or fuel, and whether intentional or unintentional), and the function of a context and the activities that took place there, determine the formation of its archaeobotanical assemblage. For example, the archaeobotanical assemblage of a hearth may consist of elements originating from cooking waste (seeds, processed food stuffs), or fuel (dung, wood, cereal processing waste, charcoal), but may also include accidental inclusions in the food or fuel (e.g., plant material in dung that survived the digestive tract).[95]

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[94] For a discussion on the taphonomy of archaeological bread and a survey of where archaeological bread has been found so far, see Delwen Samuel, "Bread in Archaeology," *Civilizations* 49 (2002): 27–36.

[95] Hansen, Walker, and Heinrich, "'Impressions' of the Mamluk agricultural economy." For a relevant discussion, see Michael Wallace and Michael Charles, "What goes in does not always come out: The impact of the ruminant digestive system of sheep on plant material, and its importance for the interpretation of dung-derived archaeobotanical assemblages," *Journal of Environmental Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (2013): 18–30, and Mans Schepers and Henk Van Haaster, "Dung matters: An experimental study into the effectiveness of using dung from hay-fed livestock to reconstruct local vegetation," *Journal of Environmental Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (2015): 66–81.

Table 1. Identified plant taxa from macro-botanical analysis in Mamluk contexts

Crop species have been divided into three categories, cereals, pulses, and fruit/nuts, while common arable grasses, wild species, and other economic plants have also been listed in their respective categories. Note that some families, genera, and species have more than one growing season.

CEREAL CROPS

Scientific Name	Common Name	Archaeobotanical Evidence: Plant Part
Hordeum vulgare (hulled)	Hulled Barley	Florets, rachis internodes
Hordeum vulgare cf. ssp. distichum (hulled)	2-row Hulled Barley	Florets, rachis internodes
Triticum turgicum ssp. durum	Durum/Hard Wheat	Grain kernels, rachis internodes
Triticum turgidum cf. ssp. dicoccon	Emmer Wheat	Grain kernels, glume base
Triticum aestivum ssp. aestivum	Bread Wheat	Grain kernels, rachis internodes
Triticum turgidum ssp. durum/ Triticum aestivum ssp. Aestivum	Hard/Bread Wheat	Chaff (Palea/Lemma), Rachis internodes
Hordeum vulgare/ Triticum turgicum ssp. durum/ Triticum aestivum ssp. aestivum	Barley/Wheat sp.	Culm/Straw and Culm bases/Roots
Cerealia	Cereals	Indeterminate grain kernels

PULSE CROPS

Scientific Name	Common Name	Archaeobotanical Evidence: Plant Part
Pisum sativum	Common Pea	Seed
Vicia faba	Faba bean	Seed
Vicia ervillia	Bitter Vetch	Seed

Cicer arietinum	Chick Pea	Seed
Lens culinaris	Lentil	Seed
Lathyrus sativus	Grass Pea	Seed
cf. Lupinus albus	White lupine	Seed

FRUIT/NUT CROPS

Scientific Name	Common Name	Archaeobotanical Evidence: Plant Part
Olea europaea	Olive	Endocarp, seed
Vitis viniferra	Grape	Seed
Ficus carica	Fig	Seed
Prunis dulcis	Almond	Endocarp
Prunis persica	Peach	Endocarp
cf. Prunis domestica	Plum	Endocarp
Juglans regia	Walnut	Endocarp/fruit

COMMON ARABLE GRASSES

Scientific Name	Common Name	Archaeobotanical Evidence: Plant Part	Season	Climate zone
Bromus tectorum	Drooping brome	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
Hordeum vulgare ssp. spontaneum	Wild barley	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
Lolium temulentum	Darnel	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
Phalaris sp.	Canary grass	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate

WILD SPECIES

Scientific Name	Common Name	Archaeobotanical Evidence: Plant Part	Season	Climate zone
Alkanna sp.	Dyer's alkanet / Alkanet	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
cf. Capparis spinosa	Caper bush / Flinders rose	Seed	Winter	Arid/Semi-arid

Celtis cf. australis	Mediterranean Hackberry	Seed/fruit	Fall / Winter	Temperate
Centaurea sp.	Centaury	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
Echium sp.	Bugloss*	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
Galium sp.	Bedstraw*	Seed/fruit	Winter	Temperate
Medicago cf. sativa	Medick / Alfalfa	Seed	Late summer / Winter	Temperate
Silene sp.	Catchfly	Seed	Winter	Temperate
Ajuga / Teucrium sp.	Bugle weed / Germanders	Seed/fruit	Fall / Winter	Temperate
Brassicaceae	Crucifers / The Cabbage Family	Fruit, seed	Winter	Temperate
Chenopodium sp.	Goosefoots	Seed	Spring / Fall	Temperate
Calendula sp.	Marigold	Seed/fruit	Sown in Winter	Temperate
Malva nicaeensis	Bull Mallow	Fruit	Winter	Temperate
Malvaceae	Mallows	Seed	Winter	Temperate

OTHER ECONOMIC PLANTS

Scientific Name	Common Name	Archaeobotanical Evidence: Plant Part
Carthamus tinctorius	Safflower	Seed/fruit
Coriandrum sativa	Coriander/Cilantro	Seed
Phragmites australis	Common Reed	Culm/Straw

*This name is associated with most but not all species within this genus.

The Archaeobotanical Assemblage

This section briefly discusses the crops and wild plants that have thus far been identified in the Tall Ḥisbān samples (see Table 1). Previous archaeobotanical studies conducted at the site are considered alongside this study.[96] We will compare the data on the presence and absence of species with that of other archaeobotanical studies for Mamluk-period sites in the area to better interpret the site's macrobotanical assemblage. This data will also aid in expanding upon, and better interpreting, the encompassing, and somewhat limiting, terms used in Mamluk-era textual sources describing common crop species grown in Bilād al-Shām, such as *burr* (wheat), *shaʿīr* (barley), and *ḥummus* (chickpea).[97]

Cereals

Four different cereals were encountered at Tall Ḥisbān: 2-row hulled barley *(Hordeum vulgare* ssp. *districho*n), hard wheat *(Triticum turgidum* ssp. *durum),* bread wheat *(Triticum aestivum* ssp. *aestivum),*[98] and possibly emmer wheat *(Triticum turdigum* ssp. *dicoccon).* Most commonly encountered in the samples were the kernels and rachis internodes of hulled barley *(Hordeum vulgare).* In those cases where the rachis internodes allowed further identification, it was clear these were

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[96] Patricia Crawford and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Flora of Ḥesbân," in *Heshbon 1974: The Fourth Campaign at Tell Ḥesbân: A Preliminary Report,* ed. James J. C. Cox and Lawrence T. Geraty (Berrien Springs, 1976), 177–84; Patricia Crawford, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Robert B. Stewart, "The Floatation Remains: A Preliminary Report," in ibid., 185–87; Dennis R. Gilliland, "Paleoethnobotany and Paleoenvironment," in *Hesban 02,* 123–42. It should be noted that since these studies were conducted, the methodology for archaeobotanical sampling, flotation, and identification of macro-botanical remains has much advanced, leading to the better retrieval of such remains and their precise identification to a higher taxonomic level. These more advanced methods have been employed in this study.

[97] Al-Nuwayrī discusses four types of chickpea: white, red, black, or vetch. It could be the case that the "vetch variety" refers to a different pulse all together, and this should be carefully reconsidered when associating the term used by the translator with the most likely choice for the scientific species; see Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī, *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition: A Compendium of Knowledge from the Classical Islamic World,* ed. and trans. Elias Muhanna (New York, 2016), 185.

[98] It should be noted that in the 1974 study conducted by Patricia Crawford, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Robert B. Stewart on pre-Islamic archaeobotanical material the grain kernels identified as "common wheat" were associated with *Triticum aestivum* ssp. *aestivum.* However, as the features of the grain kernels of both bread wheat *(Triticum aestivum* ssp. *aestivum)* and hard wheat *(Triticum turgidum* ssp. *durum)* are indistinguishable when charred and the presence of bread wheat rachis internodes were not attested in this study, this identification is not verifiable. Based on the high frequency of hard wheat rachis internodes compared to bread wheat rachis internodes in Mamluk contexts, we can deduce that hard wheat (not bread wheat) was more economically important in that period.

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of the "2-row" sub-species.[99] The second most commonly encountered cereal in the studied samples was hard wheat. Hard wheat is a naked or free-threshing cereal, which means its chaff (palea and lemma) is easily removed during threshing so it does not require a separate processing step, dehusking, to remove this material as is the case for the hulled cereals. Charred kernels of hard wheat are morphologically indistinguishable from the charred kernels of bread wheat; therefore, they are normally identified as hard/bread wheat. However, charred rachis internodes of these wheats are distinguishable; of all the rachis internodes encountered so far in the assemblage, only one could be identified as bread wheat whereas the others were identified as hard wheat. Emmer wheat is a hulled wheat, and a small number of glume bases and grain kernels that were encountered likely belong to this subspecies. Without a complete glume it is very difficult to make a definitive identification, as the glume bases of emmer wheat and einkorn wheat *(Triticum monococcon* ssp. *monococcon)* when charred may in some cases be indistinguishable.[100] As sampling continues at the site, and more specimens become available, a more definitive conclusion may be reached. The low frequency of emmer wheat, however, is consistent with results from the Mamluk sites of Khirbat Fāris[101] and Tall Abu Sarbut in Jordan.[102] This is also an observable trend for the Early Iron Age site of Khirbat al-Mudayna al-ʿAliya.[103]

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[99] In the 1974 study conducted by Patricia Crawford, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Robert B. Stewart on pre-Islamic archaeobotanical material, a quantity of 51 grain kernels were identified as 6-row barley *(Hordeum vulgare* ssp. *vulgare).* However, as the features of grain kernels of both 2-row and 6-row barley are indistinguishable and the presence of 6-row barley rachis internodes were not attested, this identification is not verifiable. For more detailed discussion on the identification of sub-species of wheats and barleys, see Cappers and Neef, *Handbook of Plant Palaeoecology.* The identification of 2-row barley rachis internodes in Mamluk contexts was based on this up-to-date methodology.

[100] Cappers and Neef, *Handbook of Plant Palaeoecology.*

[101] It was attested in a few samples in C. Hoppé, "A Thousand Years of Farming: Agricultural Practices from the Byzantine to Early Ottoman Period at Khirbat Faris, the Karak Plateau, Jordan" (Ph.D. diss., Sheffield, 2001) and was absent from all samples analysed in A. M. Hansen, "Evaluating archaeobotanical material from Khirbat Faris: a comparative analysis and review of archaeobotanical data from early to medieval Islamic sites in the Levant and Africa" (M.Sc. diss., Oxford, 2012).

[102] R. Neef, "Plants," in *Picking up the threads--: A continuing review of excavations at Deir Alla, Jordan,* ed. G. van der Kooij and M. M. Ibrahim (Leiden, 1989), 30–37; Ellis Grootveld, "Archaeobotanical Report of the Excavations of Tell Abu Sarbut," in *Sacred and Sweet: Studies on the Material Culture of Tell Deir ʿAlla and Tell Abu Sarbut,* ed. Margreet L. Steiner and Eveline J. van der Steen (Leuven, 2008), 197–210.

[103] Alan Farahani, Benjamin W. Porter, Hanna Huynh, and Bruce Routledge, "Crop Storage and Animal Husbandry at Early Iron Age Khirbat al-Mudayna al-ʿAliya (Jordan): A Paleoethnobo-

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As at Tall Ḥisbān, hard wheat commonly was the most important wheat in the region during the Mamluk period; bread wheat and emmer wheat tend to be found only in smaller quantities, suggesting these were secondary cereal crops. Of einkorn wheat, only one regional occurrence is known for this period, at Caesarea Maritima.[104] Hulled barley was a common crop throughout the region in the Mamluk period, though in addition to the 2-row barley found at Tall Ḥisbān, at some sites also the 6-row type was encountered (Dhibān[105] and Khirbat Fāris[106]). The apparent importance of barley at Tall Ḥisbān seems to be in line with the situation at other sites in the area (cf. Dhibān[107]). Other cereals that are attested at other sites within the region, such as broomcorn millet (*Panicum milliaceum* at Dhibān[108] and at Tall Abu Sarbut[109]) and sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor* at Khirbat Fāris[110] and at Tall Abu Sarbut[111]), have not been encountered at Tall Ḥisbān. Macrobotanical remains of rice *(Oryza sativa)* are thus far also absent.

Pulses

Pulses are leguminous grain crops whose members are in the Fabaceae family. This group of crops is often underrepresented in the archaeobotanical assemblage because they can almost solely be identified to the genus and species level through their seeds and not their processing waste, such as is the case for

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tanical Approach," in *The Archaeology of Agro-Pastoralist Economies in Jordan,* ed. Kevin M. McGeough (Boston, 2016).

[104] Jennifer Ramsay and Kenneth Holum, "An archaeobotanical analysis of the Islamic period occupation at Caesarea Maritima, Israel," *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 24, no. 6 (2015): 655–71.

[105] For Dhibān, see Alan Farahani, "Sustaining Community under Empire: An Archaeological Investigation of Long-Term Agricultural Production and Imperial Interventions at Dhiban, Jordan, 1000 BCE–1450 CE" (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley, 2014), and Daniel Steen Fatkin, Katherine Adelsberger, Alan Farahani, Sarah Whitcher Kansa, Justin Lev-Tov, Colleen Morgan, Benjamin Porter, Bruce Routledge, and Andrew Wilson, "Digging deeper: Technical reports from the Dhiban Excavation and Development Project (2004–2009)," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 55 (2011): 249–66.

[106] It was attested in samples analyzed by Hoppé, "A Thousand Years of Farming"; however, it was not attested in samples analysed in Hansen, "Evaluating archaeobotanical material from Khirbat Faris."

[107] A high proportion of barley to wheat crops in all phases at Tall Abu Sarbut; see Grootveld, "Archaeo-botanical Report of the Excavations of Tell Abu Sarbut." For Dhibān, see Farahani, "Sustaining Community under Empire," and Fatkin et al., "Digging deeper."

[108] For Dhibān, see Farahani, "Sustaining Community under Empire."

[109] Neef, "Plants"; Grootveld, "Archaeo-botanical Report of the Excavations of Tell Abu Sarbut."

[110] Hoppé, "A Thousand Years of Farming"; Hansen, "Evaluating archaeobotanical material from Khirbat Faris."

[111] Neef, "Plants"; Grootveld, "Archaeo-botanical Report of the Excavations of Tell Abu Sarbut."

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cereals. The standard processing and preparation methods for pulses also do not offer many opportunities for preservation. This applies in particular to the larger-seeded species, which do not get lost as easily as the small-seeded species during processing.[112] The pulses encountered so far are pea *(Pisum sativum),* bitter vetch *(Vicia ervillia),* faba bean *(Vicia faba),* cf. white lupine *(Lupinus albus),* lathyrus *(Lathyrus sativus),* lentil *(Lens culinaris),* and chickpea *(Cicer arientinum).*

Fruit trees

Remains of various fruit trees were encountered in the Tall Ḥisbān samples. These included walnut *(Juglans regia),* almond *(Prunus dolcis),* peach *(Prunus persica),* plum *(Prunus domestica),* fig *(Ficus carica),* grape *(Vitis vinifera),* and olive *(Olea europaea).* Partial or complete endocarps were found of walnut, almond, peach, plum, and olive; in stone fruits the endocarp is the hard shell that houses the seed and can preserve well under charring. Grape, fig, bramble, and olive seeds were found as well. Perhaps more surprising than the presence of these species is the absence of the seeds of date palm *(Phoenix dactylifera),* which has been found at other sites, such as Khirbat Fāris.[113] It is interesting that it is also absent at Dhibān, and at Humayma, it is attested only in pre-Islamic contexts.[114] Its large seeds preserve well and are easily recognizable, and finds are therefore ubiquitous, though generally in small numbers and not in large concentrations, on sites of all periods throughout the Levant and Egypt. This is because after they are consumed, their seeds are discarded, resulting in a scatter throughout the site. Its absence thus far is surprising and was also noted in an earlier archaeobotanical study of "Islamic period" contexts at Tall Ḥisbān.[115] However, three date palm seeds were attested at Tall Ḥisbān in macro-botanical samples from unspecified pre-Islamic contexts, and evidence for date palm appears in the form of leaf phytoliths in Mamluk contexts.[116] Therefore, the position of the date palm in the diet and agricultural economy at Mamluk Tall Ḥisbān in the Mamluk period, and Islamic periods more

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[112] For instance, in the case of chickpea vs. lentil, see Cappers et al., "Barley Revisited."

[113] Hoppé, "A Thousand Years of Farming"; Hansen, "Evaluating archaeobotanical material from Khirbat Faris."

[114] See discussion for Dhibān in Farahani, "Sustaining Community under Empire," and for Humayma in Megan Perry, Mahmoud Y. el-Najjar, Michael Finnegan, David S. Reese, and Jennifer Ramsey, "Human, Animal, and Plant Remains," in John Peter Oleson and Robert Schick, *Humayma Excavation Project, 2: Nabataean Campground and Necropolis, Byzantine Churches, and Early Islamic Domestic Structures,* ed. Kevin M. McGeough (Boston, 2013), 321–80.

[115] Gilliland, "Paleoethnobotany and Paleoenvironment." It should be noted that in this paper, "Islamic period" is not specified to a particular period.

[116] Crawford, LaBianca, and Stewart, "The Floatation Remains"; Gilliland, "Paleoethnobotany and Paleoenvironment." It should be noted that there were only 3 date seeds present in the 1974 study of pre-Islamic contexts, and none were attested in any of the contexts studied by Gilliland, including Islamic contexts. See Laparidou, this article on the phytolith evidence.

generally, is not yet clear. More generally for Bilād al-Shām, however, it has been documented ethnographically that date seeds along with cereal straw and olive waste are animal fodder in the winter season besides being one of the foodstuffs in the local diet.[117] The presence of palm trees as crops, especially the use of leaves for production of basketry, attested in written sources, may be gleaned through phytolith evidence, but will require further investigation.[118] With respect to the few seeds of grape that were encountered, they might represent fruit for the table rather than winemaking, though wine presses are well attested at the site for earlier periods.[119]

Oil Crops

The only attested oil crop at Tall Ḥisbān thus far is the olive. While olives may be pickled and used as fruit for the table, they are also a common and important oil supplier and have been attested for the Mamluk period in Bilād al-Shām, both archaeologically and in written sources.[120] In the macro-botanical remains, there is evidence of whole and half olive endocarps (or olive stones), which indicate that they were consumed and then discarded; breakage in the endocarp is likely to have been caused during post-depositional processes. Simultaneously, there are many endocarps that have been broken into smaller fragments and seem to have been crushed, which would be caused by pressure of oil-pressing rather than table consumption;[121] this evidence may point to olive oil production at the site.[122] The waste of the olive-pressing, so-called pressing-cakes, were possibly used as fuel source in bread-ovens, as was still documented in the region by the early twentieth-century ethnographer Gustaf Dalman.[123] Another attested oil and fiber (see below) crop in the region is flax *(Linum usitatissimum),* of which the seed (often referred to as linseed) can be used to produce an oil; there is evidence of its

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[117] William Lancaster and Felicity Lancaster, *People, Land and Water in the Arab Middle East: Environments and Landscapes in the Bilâd ash-Shām* (Amsterdam, 1999), 44.

[118] See discussion in Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 170; Laparidou, this article.

[119] Project archives, Andrews University.

[120] Bethany J. Walker, "From Ceramics to Social Theory: Reflections on Mamluk Archaeology Today," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010): 109–57.

[121] Olive presses have been identified at the site, but they date to earlier (pre-Islamic) periods of occupation (project archives, Andrews University).

[122] Cappers et al., "Barley Revisited." For further discussion of olive oil production, its by-products and their use, and preservation of those by-products in archaeological contexts, see Erica Rowan, "Olive Oil Pressing Waste as a Fuel Source in Antiquity," *American Journal of Archaeology* 119, no. 4 (2015): 465–82. For context, see Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 189.

[123] Gustaf Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* vol. 4, *Brot, Öl und Wein,* 2nd ed. (Hildesheim, 1987), 17. Olive pressings or other waste could also be used as a fuel source in the winter as well, as documented by Lancaster and Lancaster, *People, Land and Water in the Arab Middle East,* 44.

presence in the Jordan Valley from the Iron Age period.[124] It is, however, absent at Tall Ḥisbān. Finds of oil crop seeds, however, are rare under charred preservation conditions, as the oil-rich seeds typically explode rather than char when exposed to fire. However, specimens of linseed have been found at Khirbat Fāris[125] and in Middle Islamic contexts at Tall Abu Sarbut[126] as well as from the Iron Age at Deir ʿAlla.[127]

Fiber Crops and Sugar Cane

Fiber crops are used to make fabrics, rope, and basketry. Flax, in addition to being an oil crop (above), is used to produce linen and has been encountered at other sites in the region, but is absent at Tall Ḥisbān.[128] Regionally (Old World) cotton was a fiber crop of commercial importance,[129] but it also has not yet been encountered at this site. It is not clear if cultivation of fiber crops, therefore, was an important aspect of the agricultural economy in southern Bilād al-Shām, with the exception of the Jordan Valley and to a certain extent at Khirbat Fāris. This could indicate that local cultivation of fiber crops, and consequently the local textile industry, was tailored to local needs or exchange. It is clearer from written sources that the major cotton industry for the region was based in northern Bilād al-Shām, and there is evidence pointing to a European demand for "Levantine cotton."[130] Perhaps the demands for textiles from southern Bilād al-Shām were met by supply from there or from imports from Persia or elsewhere.[131] It could be worth investigating if this implies a preference for plant-based textiles in the region for this period.

[124] See E. B. Grootveld, *Het zaad der beschaving: Botanisch material van Tell Abu Sarbut nader bekeken* (Leiden, 2000); data in Eva Kaptijn, *Life on the Watershed: Reconstructing Subsistence in a steppe region using archaeological survey: a diachronic perspective on habitation in the Jordan Valley* (Leiden, 2009).

[125] A few samples of linseed attested in Hoppé, "A Thousand Years of Farming"; however, linseed was not attested in samples analysed by Hansen, "Evaluating archaeobotanical material from Khirbat Faris."

[126] Grootveld, "Archaeo-botanical Report of the Excavations of Tell Abu Sarbut."

[127] See Grootveld, *Het zaad der beschaving;* data in Kaptijn, *Life on the Watershed.*

[128] Irrigated flax cultivation and the linen textile industry are well attested at Bronze Age and Iron Age sites in the Jordan Valley; see Kaptijn, *Life on the Watershed,* and Jeannette H. Boertien, "Unravelling the Threads: Textiles and Shrines in the Iron Age," in *Sacred and Sweet,* ed. Steiner and van der Steen, 135–51. However, studies about flax cultivation in the Middle Islamic periods have not yet been published.

[129] It has been encountered at Mamluk Khirbat Fāris (Hoppé, "A Thousand Years of Farming").

[130] See Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1600* (Cambridge, 1981), and also Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn* (Leiden, 1995), for a discussion.

[131] Hansen, "The Agricultural Economy of Islamic Jordan."

Another important commercial crop of the region that has not been attested at Tall Ḥisbān is sugar cane *(Saccharum officinarum)*. The reason for this absence may lie in the nature of the contexts that thus far have been excavated at the site for the Mamluk period. The archaeobotanical samples come from largely domestic contexts which, pertaining to plant materials, were likely mostly used for activities such as the storage, preparation, consumption, and disposal of food. More "industrial" activities related to the processing of sugar cane and fiber crops could have taken place in other areas.[132] Another explanation for the absence of sugar cane may lie in Ḥisbān's position within the Mamluk sugar trade. During this period, the production of sugar was concentrated in the Jordan Valley, the Ghor, where micro- and macrobotanical remains attest its presence.[133] As at the Mamluk sites of Faḥl,[134] Tall Abu Sarbuṭ,[135] and Kerak Castle,[136] concentrations of sugar jars have been discovered at Tall Ḥisbān that would have been used to transport (semi-) refined sugar products (e.g., as a type of "sugary syrup").[137] This may imply that the village was a consumer rather than a producer of sugar, and/or played a role in the distribution or "export" of sugar further afield (see further discussion below).

For both sugar, as well most fiber crops, the fact that not the seed but other plant tissues (for instance the culm) were processed and used may have reduced the chance of being preserved through charring. Products such as ropes, basketry, and textiles typically primarily survive through desiccation (such as at some Egyptian sites), but do not survive charring. Other plants that were not specifically cultivated as fiber crops could also supply fiber. An example are the

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[132] Surveys in the village's hinterland, and along the region's wadis, have identified only flour mills of the nineteenth century, however, and no medieval sugar mills, of the form familiar to the Jordan Valley (R. D. Ibach, *Hesban 5: Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods* (Berrien Springs, 1987).

[133] Laparidou and Rosen, "Intensification of production in Medieval Islamic Jordan," 1685–97, and Hansen, "The Agricultural Economy of Islamic Jordan."

[134] Stephen McPhillips and Alan Walmsley, "Faḥl during the Early Mamluk Period: Archaeological Perspectives," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 119–56.

[135] H. E. LaGro, "Ayyubid–Mamluk Sugar Pottery from Tell Abu Sarbut, Jordan," *Leiden Journal of Pottery Studies* 25 (2009): 63–102, and H. E. LaGro and H. de Haas, "Sugar Pots: a preliminary study of technological aspects of a class of medieval, industrial pottery from Tell Abu Sarbut, Jordan," *Newsletter of the Department of Pottery Technology, Leiden* 7/8 (1989/1990): 7–20; 9/10 (1991/1992): 55–69.

[136] Marcus Milwright, *The Fortress of the Raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (Leiden, 2008).

[137] Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* and Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Islamic Qusur of Tall Hisban: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003): 443–71.
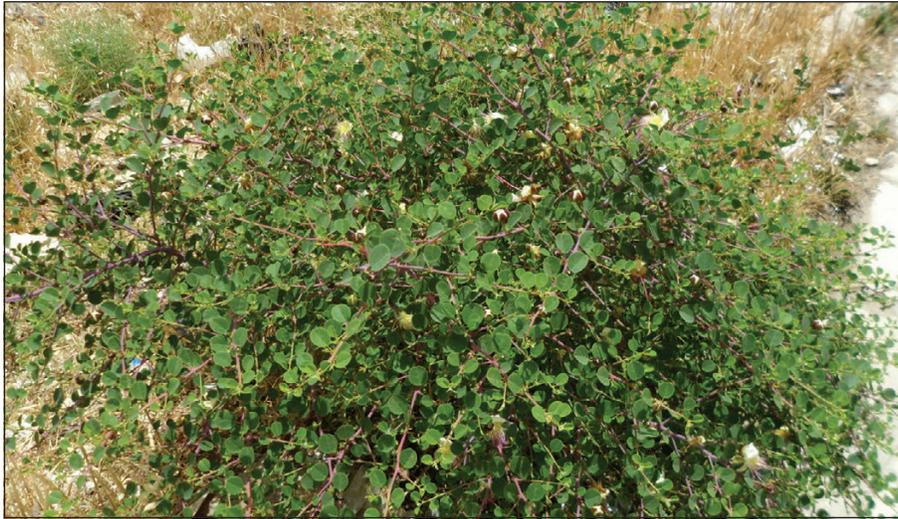
Figure 13. Caper plant (Capparis spinosa) in front of the Salome Hotel, Madaba, Jordan. (Courtesy Annette Hansen)

leaves of the date palm *(Phoenix dactylifera),* which were widely used for basketry. Wicker-like materials could be made from wild grasses and reed (*Phragmites australis*—which was encountered at Tall Ḥisbān) and even cereal straw.

Vegetables and Condiments

Besides a potential find of caper seeds *(Capparis spinosa),* also found at Mamluk Khirbat Fāris, and some coriander seeds *(Coriandrum sativum),* also found at Mamluk Tall Abu Sarbut, no vegetable or condiment crops were encountered in the studied samples. Most certainly the inhabitants at Ḥisbān would have cultivated a variety of species that fit within these categories. Vegetables, as well as some condiments, are however underrepresented in charred assemblages as humans generally process and eat tissues that do not preserve as well as seeds; they eat for instance the bulbs (e.g., onion and garlic), roots (e.g., beet and carrot[138]) or leaves (e.g., spinach and lettuce). Beet *(Beta vulgaris)* has been attested at Mamluk Tall Abu Sarbut.[139] Interpreting archaeobotanical finds of vegetables is difficult as many potential "vegetables," including beet, may also occur as weeds that infest cereal fields and may not have been eaten (especially not as these are often underdeveloped or feral types). Similarly, various other potential vegetables, such as caper, can occur as ruderal plants in settlements (see Fig. 13).

[138] Al-Nuwayrī mentions many vegetables, including the carrot (*The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition,* 183–92), though for the specified reasons of preservation, recovery in the archaeobotanical record can be difficult to impossible.

[139] Neef, "Plants," and Grootveld, "Archaeo-botanical Report of the Excavations of Tell Abu Sarbut."

Vegetable and herb cultivation tend to be ubiquitous both in past and present rural communities. While larger scale cultivation for the (local) market could have occurred, many households would have grown at least some of their vegetables in kitchen gardens or even on miniscule plots of only a few square meters.[140]

Fodder Crops

In addition to grazing or browsing, the diet of domestic animals is often supplemented with fodder crops, which sometimes are actively cultivated for this purpose. Fodder crops have the advantage that fodder can be stored and used in part of the year during which areas suitable for grazing or browsing do not regenerate. Moreover, the amount of biomass obtained from an area where plants can grow undisturbed (such as the arable for fodder crops) is greater than grazing areas, since with grazing a lot of biomass is unproductively trampled. One fodder crop encountered in the Tall Ḥisbān assemblage was alfalfa (cf. *Medicago sativa*). Additionally, the pulse bitter vetch *(Vicia ervillia)* that was often used as a fodder crop, though it was suitable for human consumption, may have served in this capacity at Tall Ḥisbān. Crop-processing waste (also known as cereal by-products), such as threshing remains of cereals, likely also played an important role as a source of fodder. In his early twentieth-century ethnography, Gustaf Dalman made extensive note of this practice in the region.[141] The use of grain kernels, in particular barley, as fodder for draught animals during times of intensive labour (e.g., ploughing oxen) is attested for many areas and periods and may also have occurred at Tall Ḥisbān, though grain kernels would first and foremost have been a human food.

Wild Plants

The study of wild plants within the macrobotanical samples has yielded several insights so far on the micro-environment of Mamluk Tall Ḥisbān. Firstly, all identifiable wild plant species encountered in the Tall Ḥisbān assemblage are typical for dry, temperate, or "Mediterranean,"[142] climates and today still grow throughout Bilād al-Shām (see Table 1).

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[140] Cappers and Neef, *Handbook of Plant Palaeoecology.*

[141] Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 4:15–17.

[142] Many of the weed species belong to several "vegetations" (e.g., Omni-Mediterranean, East [sub-East] Mediterranean, South Mediterranean, Mediterranean and Irano-Turanian, East Mediterranean and Irano-Turanian, and Irano-Turanian), which are discussed in detail in M. Zohary, "The Segetal Plant Communities of Palestine," *Vegetation* 2 (1950): 387–411. He mentions that the "local segetal flora owes its existence to migration processes rather than to introduction (intentional or unintentional) by man" and that for many species it is difficult to determine whether these plants originated within the segetal habitat or in their primary habitats that were "later conquered by agriculture" (387–88). Since Zohary's study there have been additions made in the species known for each vegetation.

Secondly, the wild grasses encountered are typical examples of species that can be invasive of cereal fields. These species are drooping brome *(Bromus tectorum)*, wild barley *(Hordeum vulgare* ssp. *spontaneum)*, darnel *(Lolium temulentum)*, and canary grass *(Phalaris* sp.). The morphology of the growing plants for darnel, also known as the poison darnel because of its toxicity to humans, is particularly difficult to differentiate from wheat plants. Its seeds, to the untrained eye, closely resemble domesticated barley seeds.[143] The presence of these wild grasses, particularly *Phalaris* sp. and *Hordeum vulgare* ssp. *spontaneum,* in cereal fields is not new. Evidence from Jordan from the Neolithic onwards has shown they are very much a part of the "cereal growing culture" in Bilād al-Shām.[144]

The presence of these species in the form of charred seeds is noted at Tall Ḥisbān, as well as all other archaeobotanical studies, in Bilād al-Shām in the medieval and late medieval periods, including at Khirbat Fāris and Dhibān. Evidence for wild grasses has also been encountered in the phytolith assemblage.[145]

Today, canary grass, particularly *Phalaris minor,* still is a pest that forms a "constraint" on the productivity of wheat fields worldwide, for example, in contemporary India[146] and Morocco,[147] though they mention *Phalaris* spp.[148] and *Bromus rigidus* explicitly. *Phalaris paradoxa* and *Phalaris minor* are mentioned as pests and

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[143] Mark Nesbitt, *Identification Guide for Near Eastern Grass Seeds* (London, 2006).

[144] Chantel E. White and Cheryl A. Makerewicz, "Harvesting practices and early Neolithic barley cultivation at el-Hemmeh, Jordan," *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 21 (2012): 85–94; *Phalaris paradoxa* and *Lolium temultenum* have also been found in assemblages in Predynastic Maadi (Egypt); also linking them to the Neolithic revolution in Egypt, see Ahmed Gamal-El-Din Fahmy, "Review Insights on Development of Archaeobotanical and Palaeo-ethnobotanical Studies in Egypt," in *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams: Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State: Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," Krakow, 28th August–1st September 2002,* ed. S. Hendrickx, R. F. Friedman, K. M. Cialowicz, and M. Chlodnicki (Leuven, 2004), 723.

[145] See Laparidou, this article.

[146] R. S. Chhokar, R. K. Sharma, and I. Sharma, "Weed management strategies in wheat—A review," *Journal of Wheat Research* 4, no. 2 (2012): 1–21, and R. Chatrath, B. Mishra, and J. Shoran, "Yield Potential Survey–India," in *International Symposium on Wheat Yield Potential: Challenges to International Wheat Breeding,* ed. M. P. Reynolds, J. Pietragalla, and H. J. Braun, (Mexico, 2008), 49–53.

[147] R. Dahan, M. Jlibene, and N. Nasralah, "Challenges to Wheat Production in Morocco," in *International Symposium on Wheat Yield Potential,* 70–73.

[148] Spp. is an acronym for *Species pluralis,* meaning multiple species. When this term is applied, it is meant to apply to all species within the genus being discussed.

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constraints on barley yields by Burleigh et al.[149] and for Nepal,[150] whereas *Bromus* sp. and *Hordeum vulgare* ssp. *spontaneum* are similar constraints in Iran.[151] *Bromus* spp. are listed as constraints in Turkey.[152] Separating these species from the grain product is not always deemed efficient, and the wild plants, or potential crops that may occur as "weeds" (e.g., bitter vetch) on arable fields, always make up a percentage of this product.[153] Common reed *(Phragmites australis),* which has been attested in the macrobotanical evidence in the form of carbonised (fragmented and complete) culm nodes, is found frequently at the edges of arable fields, for instance in drainage ditches and irrigation canals.

Thirdly, of the other wild plants identified so far, they also become mature and produce seeds in the winter season, which also corresponds to the time of the cereal harvest and are likely all segetal plants. In an earlier study, some of the species, including *Lolium temulentum, Hordeum* spp. (weed species), *Bromus* spp., *Silene* spp., *Malva* spp., *Galium* spp., *Phalaris* spp., *Alkanna* spp., and *Teucrium* spp. have been associated with cereal fields in Palestine.[154] While these may have been collected accidently with the arable crop during the harvest and ended up on the threshing floor, others may be deliberately collected and used as extra "brush-fuel" during cooking or bread-baking. Dalman makes specific reference to the use of wild species as fuel in rural villages in Palestine and Jordan in the early twentieth century.[155] When community baking is the standard, each baker using the oven must provide her own fuel,[156] which beyond wild plants would have consisted of olive pressings, processing waste from cereal cultivation, or dung.

Fourthly, some fodder crops like alfalfa can also be winter crops. For example, cf. *Medicago sativa* can be grown in the springtime or the late summer, thus maturing (fruiting) and seeding either in the late summer or winter. *Ajuga / Teucrium* sp., especially when preserved in a carbonised state, are very difficult to identify to a lower taxonomic level; however, these too are likely to have been plants that

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[149] J. R. Burleigh, M. Tajani, and M. Seck, "Effects of *Pyrenophora teres* and Weeds on Barley Yield and Yield Components," *Phytopathology* 78, no. 3 (1988): 295–99.

[150] M. R. Bhatta, R. C. Sharma, and G. Ortiz-Ferrara, "Challenges to Wheat Production in Nepal," in *International Symposium on Wheat Yield Potential,* 74–78.

[151] M. R. Jalal Kamali and E. Duveiller, "Wheat Production and Research in Iran: A Success Story," in *International Symposium on Wheat Yield Potential,* 54–58.

[152] Ü. Küçüközdemir, T. Yildirim, S. Taner, A. Yilmaz, R. Ünsal, N. Bolat, M. Kalayci, E. Dönmez, S. Yazar, N. Zencirci, I. Özseven, I. Öztürk, A. K. Avçin, N. Dinçer, E. Kün, B. Akin, S. Karahan, H. Kiliç, A. Ilkhan, Turkish Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, General Directorate of Agricultural Research, "Wheat in Turkey," in *International Symposium on Wheat Yield Potential,* 91–94.

[153] See Heinrich, "Modelling Crop-Selection in Roman Italy," for a discussion on this topic.

[154] Zohary, "The Segetal Plant Communities of Palestine."

[155] Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 4:12–15.

[156] Ibid., 76.

matured in the winter season. *Celtis australis* can bear fruit from the fall into the winter months, which makes it possible for seeds to be discarded alongside the other winter weeds in the assemblage. Where wild plants have only been identified to the family level, such as *Brassicaceae,* it should be noted that there are several plants within this family that grow alongside or near arable fields that can be (unintentionally) collected with cereal crops during the harvest, and thus end up in the archaeobotanical assemblage

A faunal narrative

The investigation of everyday life, through the analysis of animal remains, provides a deeper understanding of the exploitation and management of local resources during the Mamluk period. In these assemblages from Tall Ḥisbān, domestic and wild species were identified at both the citadel and the village (Table 2). The list of taxa shows a larger variety of wild species in the citadel, corresponding to 8% of the total NISP. In the village it is only 3% of the NISP.

Environmental Indicators
Animal remains, and in particular wild species, play a relevant role in the reconstruction of past environments, as some of them can be very sensitive indicators of change.

Both the analyzed samples show wild taxa that can be mainly associated with a semi-arid environment. A considerable exception is represented by the presence of roe deer among the remains from the citadel. This species usually lives in woods and occasionally in grasslands and spare forests. The ancient distribution of roe deer in the Levant was drastically reduced in recent times, partially due to a combination of hunting pressure and progressive deforestation of its natural habitat. At the present, roe deer are extinct in Jordan, although in the 1980s some individuals from Turkey were introduced in the western highlands of the country, north of Ajlun.[157] Current environmental conditions in the surroundings of Tall Ḥisbān are not suitable for the roe deer, but probably during the Middle Ages woodlands extended south of Ajlun, which is located about one hundred kilometers from the site. The scarcity of roe deer remains in the sample indicates that this species was not available near Ḥisbān, but it was probably hunted in the territories north of the site and then traded as a high-status product.

Fallow deer remains are also rare and recovered only in the assemblage from the citadel. This species prefers open woodlands and grasslands. It was not pos-

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[157] Marco Masseti, "Note on the Near-Easters relic population of roe deer, Capreolus capreolus (L., 1758), (Mammalia, Artiodactyla)," *Biogeografia dell'Anatolia* 21 (2000): 619–24. The author (Corbino) is grateful to Marco Masseti for the interesting discussions about the past distribution of roe deer in Jordan.

Table 2: NISP (Number of Identified Specimens) and MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) frequencies of taxa for the two areas investigate

Taxa	Citadel		Village	
	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI
Dromedary	1	1		
Horse	2	1	2	2
Donkey	1	1	2	1
Pig/Wild Boar			5	3
Cattle	12	2	5	3
Sheep/Goats	963	28	87	12
Sheep	22	11		
Goats	33	9	2	1
Gazelle	60	7	1	1
Roe Deer	1	1		
Fallow Deer	2	2		
Nubian Ibex	2	2	1	1
Ibex/Bezoar	16	3		
Dog	9	2		
Cat	1	1	1	1
Fox	9	2		
Sand Fox	1	1		
Honey Badger	1	1		
Cape Hare	2	1		
Chicken	401	35	16	6
Chukar	2	1		
Goose	14	2		
Swan	2	1		
Pigeon	3	1		
Eurasian Thick-knee	2	1		
Macqueen's Bustard	1	1		
Barn Swallow			1	1
Emberiza sp.			1	1
Parrotfish	3		7	
TOTAL	**1566**		**131**	

sible to identify the sub-species; however, it suggests the existence of a humid and green environment, probably some kilometers north of Ḥisbān. The occurrence of this species has similar implications to that of roe deer remains, and probably played an analogous economic and social role at Tall Ḥisbān in the Mamluk period.

The majority of the identified wild species (in particular: gazelle, ibex, foxes, honey badger, and cape hare) indicates a semi-arid environment similar to that which characterizes the region today. The gazelle occurs in both areas, although in the citadel it is the second most abundant mammal. Nowadays the gazelle survives only as remnant populations in protected areas of the Near East; however, they used to be more widespread in the past and have been hunted since Prehistory. Three species lived in Jordan in the past: *Gazella dorcas, Gazella subgutturosa,* and *Gazella gazella.*[158] Currently, it is not possible to distinguish these three species on the basis of bone and teeth morphological criteria; therefore, the remains identified in the Ḥisbān assemblage were generically attributed to the genus *Gazella.* The large size range of the gazelle bones observed at Ḥisbān suggests the occurrence of more than one species. The high frequencies of gazelles in the archaeological assemblages attest that they were largely available in the vicinity of the settlement at that time; in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, indiscriminate hunting and rapid habitat loss had a major impact on the distribution of the three species of gazelle in southwest Asia,[159] causing the drastic reduction of the number of individuals.

Remains of ibex have been collected in both the citadel and village areas. They probably belong to the Nubian ibex sub-species (*Capra nubiana*, Cuvier, 1825), which live in rough dry mountainous terrains. In Jordan, this ungulate is still present on the remote hill slopes of the Rift Valley, Dead Sea (e.g., Wadi Mujib), and in the arid southern desert.[160] The occurrence of ibex attests the exploitation of a large territory in the site surroundings that extended to the nearest mountain ranges.

The frequency of domestic species is influenced by human choices and preferences. However, the local environment contributes to the selection of the species raised at a site. Bone assemblages from fourteenth-century Mamluk contexts in southern Jordan show a slight increase in goat frequencies compared to sheep in

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[158] Marco Masseti, "Fauna of southern Jordan: Notes on 22 endangered or extinct mammal and bird species," *Studi per l'Ecologia del Quaternario* 12 (1990): 133–46.

[159] Guy Bar-Oz, Melinda Zeder, and Frank Hole, "Role of mass-kill hunting strategies in the extirpation of Persian gazelle (Gazella subgutturosa) in the northern Levant," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 108, no. 18 (2011): 7345–50.

[160] Masseti, "Fauna of southern Jordan."

Citadel

Village
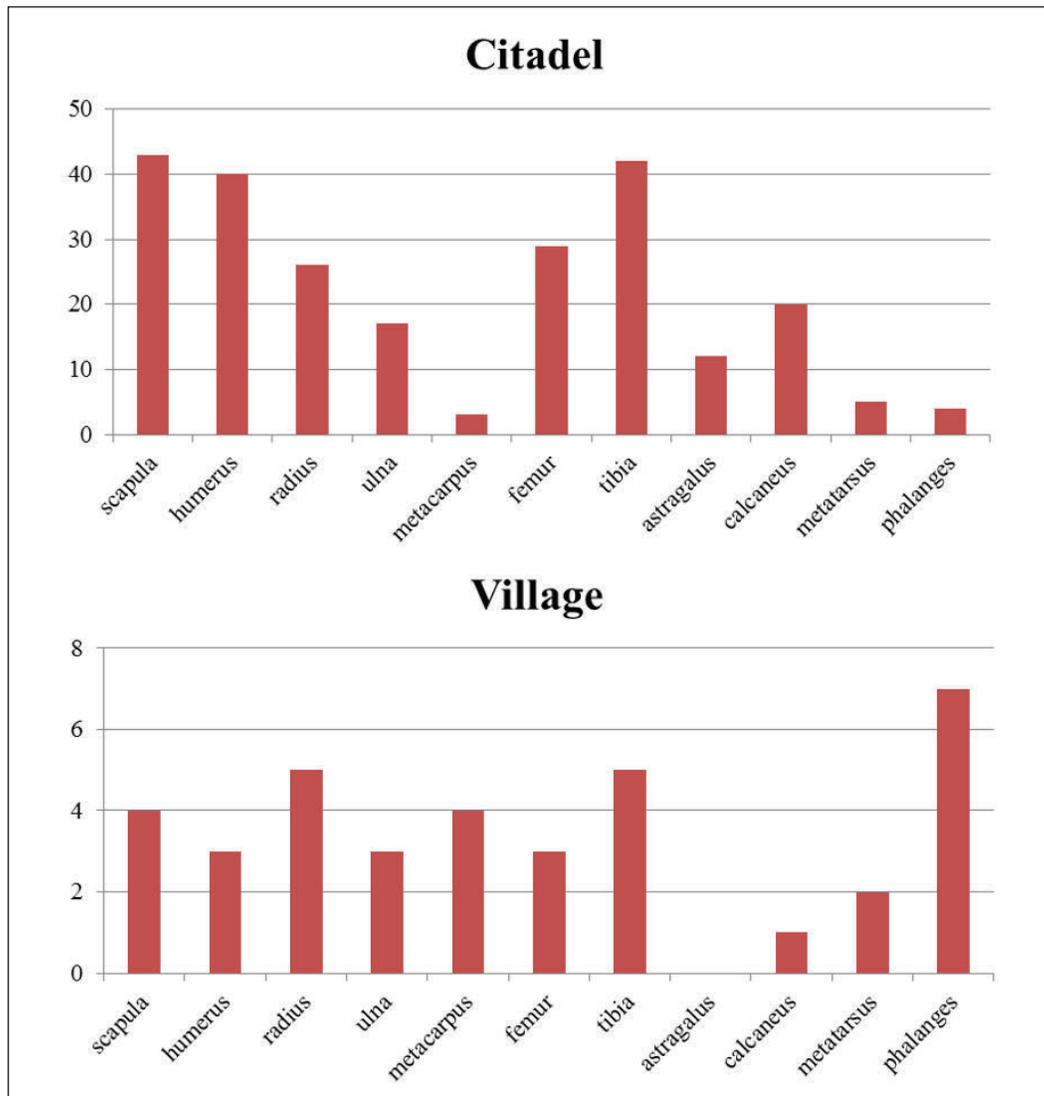
Graph 2. Anatomical frequencies of sheep/goat based on MNE for the two areas investigated.

terms of NISP.[161] Goat is more adaptable than sheep to semi-arid environments. It requires grass for grazing, but can live in areas of thin growth that would not support other grazers such as sheep or cows; it could be also kept in very dry

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[161] Robin Brown, "The faunal distribution from the Southern Highlands of Transjordan: Regional and Historical Perspective on the Representative and Roles of Animals in the Middle Islamic Period," in *Landscape of the Islamic World: Archaeology, History and Ethnography,* ed. Stephen McPhillips and Paul D. Wordsworth (Philadelphia, 2016), 71–93.
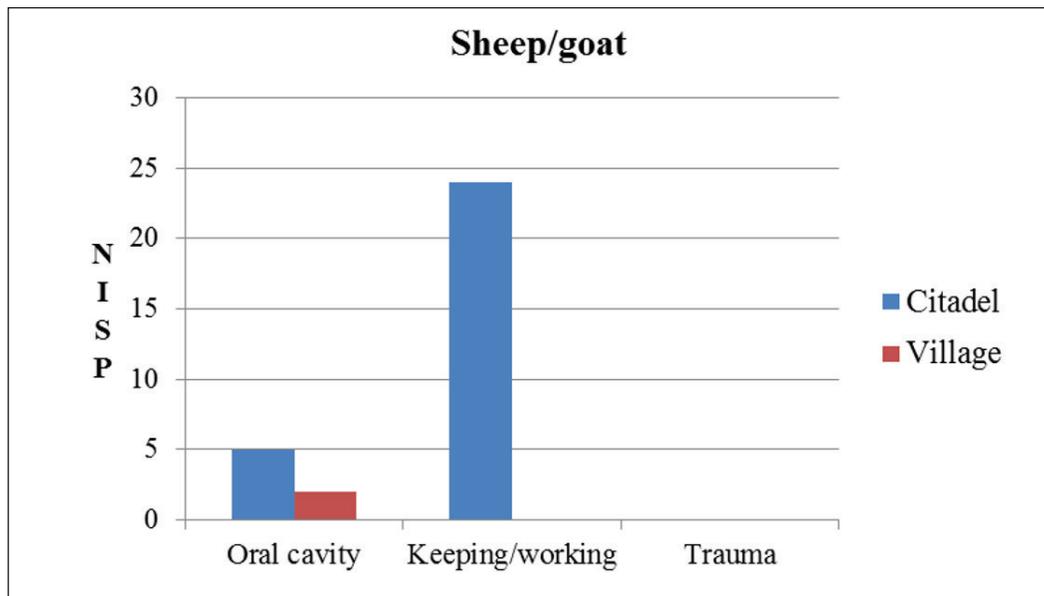
Graph 3. Pathological evidence for sheep/goat based on NISP.

environments if constantly fed by humans.[162] The sheep/goat proportion of NISP in the Ḥisbān assemblage appears in line with the general trend of the Mamluk period. The apparent increase in the incidence of this taxon could be indicative of a change, in environmental conditions or in human subsistence strategies.

Space Management

The distribution of the anatomical elements of sheep/goat based on MNE (Graph 2) shows higher frequencies of meat-bearing bones and high-quality cuts in the assemblage from the citadel. In this area, anatomical elements usually associated with primary butchery, such as phalanges, are rare. On the other hand, the small assemblage collected in the village displays a good number of phalanges and tarsal bones besides meat-bearing bones.

Bones from the lower limb do not provide much meat; therefore, they are usually discarded during the butchery process. High frequencies of these anatomical parts could indicate primary carcass processing rather than consumption. The comparison between the analyzed archaeological contexts suggests that sheep/goat were preferentially slaughtered outside the citadel, probably in the village, and then taken to the citadel already divided in portions.

The abundant remains of gazelle from the citadel show a good representation of all anatomical elements. Carcasses of this small ungulate were probably

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[162] José R. Castelló, *Bovids of the World: Antelopes, Gazelles, Cattle, Goats, Sheep, and Relatives* (Princeton, 2016).

processed directly at the citadel. Furthermore, due to its economic value, perhaps only a few anatomical parts were discarded before consumption.

Spatial organization can be investigated also through the study of the pathological evidence. Domestic animals can be affected by different types of pathologies related to husbandry practices.

In the citadel, pathologies resulting from keeping/working are the most abundant (Graph 3). The absence of this evidence in the remains from the village could be related to the small sample size or to specific differing management choices. On a speculative basis, it is possible to hypothesize that the animals consumed at the citadel were bred in larger flocks outside the settlement and under intensive husbandry practices that would have caused a higher incidence of pathologies related to keeping/working. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the village would have relied on small flocks of a few individuals, probably kept in the village.

Diet

Was There a Village Cuisine?

Rarely do we read in Mamluk-era sources what rural peoples ate. We do not know much, either, about the daily diet of soldiers stationed in garrisons. We have rich documentation, however, of the diet and cooking culture of Cairo and Damascus.[163] The autobiographical account of Ibn Ṭawq has increasingly attracted attention for its detailed descriptions of food. The author, who had to be careful with his own household budget, relished his many meals as a guest at the homes of other scholars in Damascus at the turn of the sixteenth century. He described an urban cuisine that centered on meat (lamb was the most expensive), bread (socially ranked on the basis of the grain type), and milk products. Rice became a key component of the diet. Fish played a marginal role in that cuisine, and vegetables appear only as complements to meat dishes.[164]

How different from this the rural diet must have been, and how great the regional variations. The diet of Ḥisbānīs was, unsurprisingly, bread-heavy: the site is covered with bread ovens *(ṭābūn/*pl. *ṭawābīn),* which can be found in every household, in the citadel kitchen, and in what appear to be public buildings for communal-baking of bread.[165] Both wheat and barley in their many varieties

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[163] Amalia Levanoni, "Food and Cooking during the Mamluk Era: Social and Political Implications," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 201–22; Paulina B. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes: Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2011); Torsten Wollina, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt- und Selbstbild im Journal des Ahmad Ibn Ṭawq* (Bonn, 2014), 156–70.

[164] Wollina, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag.*

[165] Hansen, Walker, and Heinrich, "'Impressions' of the Mamluk agricultural economy."

were consumed not only in the form of bread, but also as (and alongside) other foodstuffs. The by-product of cereal processing, both from wheat and barley, along with barley kernels, bitter vetch, and other weeds would have also been used as animal fodder. Despite its perception as being less desirable as a foodstuff in urban consumption, barley was a staple for inhabitants of rural sites. But the faunal record also attests to a diversified meat diet, with a preference for sheep and goat, in addition to chicken, wild game, and fish. For most anatomical parts, the skeletal remains of sheep cannot be differentiated from goats. In the village the only remains identified at the species level belong to goat, though sheep and goat were consumed in both the citadel and village. Most of the meat was probably supplied by the village itself; the domestic animals, and in particular sheep and goats, were butchered in the village,[166] and the meat distributed on an unequal basis within the settlement, with the best cuts of meat being sent to the citadel. However, the needs of the citadel, which was an extra burden on the village in the fourteenth century, may have necessitated going beyond the ability of the local community to "feed the garrison." Local Arab and Turcoman tribesmen supplied the city of Damascus with meat and milk products, and Syrian "Bedu" regularly supplied the Mamluk army with sheep.[167] It is possible that the Banū Mahdī of the Madaba Plains, who maintained a very close relationship with the village, the local governor, and the sultans al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Barqūq, did the same.[168] They may have also been the source of the wild game consumed by the garrison, if the soldiers were not hunting game on the Madaba Plains and the forests to the north for themselves.[169]

Cooking pots are among the best artifacts for reconstructing cooking culture and diet. One kind of cooking pot dominates the assemblage of the Mamluk levels

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[166] The association of lithic tools with animal bones in farmhouse deposits suggests that meat processing was largely done in the village and may have been done, to some degree, with stone tools. A use-wear analysis of the stone tools (an archaeological method to identify tool function through examination of their working surfaces and edges) to compare to the cutting patterns on the bones is underway. The same tools will be subjected in the future to residue analysis and phytolith sampling, in order to determine whether they were also used for processing of cereals and vegetables.

[167] Wollina, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag,* 160; Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1997), 4:397.

[168] Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 124ff; idem, "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 82–105.

[169] Notably, the remains of wild game (ostrich, gazelle) were also recovered from houses of the Mamluk-era village, excavated in the 1970s (Thomas S. Parker, "Tell Hesban 1976: Area C.4, 6,8,9, 10," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 [1978]: 71–108). Either hunting game was not necessarily a Mamluk privilege (or it was not enforced), or wild game was available to all, perhaps provided by local pastoral nomadic tribes.

at Tall Ḥisbān: a deep, globular form, covered in a burnished red slip. The popular name for the ware refers to the shape of the handle: "elephant-eared cook pots." They have a long history in rural Bilād al-Shām, spanning the thirteenth–early twentieth centuries. Their appearance in the thirteenth century (when frying pans disappear) may be associated with changes in diet, cooking, and dining culture after the Crusader interlude. Changes in cooking pots can be related to changes in diet (perhaps a deep, globular bowl for a stew with greater meat content or for serving), food preparation traditions (a different shaped handle might reflect changes in cooking time, globular forms are best suited for boiling food), or dining culture (family members eating from the same bowl). Without residue analysis (discussed below), one cannot be sure what was cooked in these vessels, but they are ideally suited to the slow boiling of meat and may have been used in the preparation of lamb stews, as described in Ibn Ṭawq's account. Mutton was an important part of the diet in Transjordan in this period, as it is in modern Jordan. The national dish *(mansaf)*—boiled lamb and goat piled on rice served in a yogurt sauce—is described in narrative accounts about Transjordanian tribes in the fourteenth century.[170]

Previous archaeozoological research at Tall Ḥisbān[171] indicates that unlike Damascus, fish appears to have been a considerable element in the diets of people living at Ḥisbān. The fish-based diet was, moreover, rather diverse, being supplied by both the Red Sea (parrot fish and grey mullet, possibly through a Christian network based in the Sinai) and Mediterranean (drums/croakers, likely in dried form). Such a "delocalized diet" also characterizes that of the fortified settlements at Shobak and Karak.[172]

The local diet beyond cereals and meat is more difficult to reconstruct. Vegetables are not readily identifiable archaeologically, the result of poor preservation of vegetable matter in the archaeobotanical record (the soft tissues of plants are consumed).[173] Vegetables appear in sixteenth-century tax registers under the category of "summer crops" *(māl sayfī),* but there was no attempt by the tax authorities to distinguish specific crops within that category. Scattered references to specific fruits and nuts cultivated in Ḥisbān do appear in Mamluk- and Otto-

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[170] The *mansaf* is the national dish of Jordan: rice and boiled lamb (or sheep and goat) served in a heavy yogurt sauce on a large tray. It is often mentioned in Mamluk-period sources in the context of entertaining by and for tribal shaykhs and amirs.

[171] LaBianca and von den Driesch, *Hesban 13: Faunal Remains.*

[172] Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 177–78.

[173] One archaeological method for identifying vegetable traces is organic residue analysis, through which vegetable proteins are recovered from artifacts (like cooking and storage pots, basketry, and mortars and pestles). We have only begun to apply this method in the excavations, as we have only now reached stratigraphically meaningful levels in the medieval farmhouses.

man-era sources. According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, a flood in 787/1385 destroyed 18 gardens (devoted to what crops, we do not know) and 1200 walnut trees.[174] Ibn Ḥijjī makes regular reference to the general concern that the vegetable crops would fail because of unseasonable cold and rain.[175] By 1538, the only commodities taxed by the new Ottoman authorities at the village of Ḥisbān were olive oil and grapes.[176] What role they played in the local economy, however, cannot be determined on these sources alone. A list of fruit and nut seeds recovered from the site appears below.

As for the rice, which was such an important component of the Damascene diet in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we can say little for this site. The morphology of rice cannot be distinguished from other cereals, and cannot be identified as such in the archaeobotanical record. There is, as well, no known textual reference, to date, of cultivation or consumption of rice at Ḥisbān in this period.

A couple of important trends emerge from this survey of local diet. First, that what we think we know about urban diet cannot be applied to rural ones. Moreover, there are considerable regional differences in Bilād al-Shām in food production and consumption, with local production and economic and social ties to production centers being important factors in provisioning a settlement. The second trend has to do with the spatial distribution of food (in plant and animal form) throughout the site. While the diets of the soldiers stationed in the Ḥisbān citadel and the residents of the village overlapped to a large degree, meat consumption in the citadel reveals that the soldiers had access to the best cuts of meat and to wild game.[177] We are only beginning to understand the mechanisms of food (and water) distribution at the site, and this will remain a focus of archaeological research in the future.

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[174] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:157.

[175] The references are scattered throughout his chronicles and are too numerous to mention here, but to cite a single one, see Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh,* 3:776. In this entry, the chronicler specifies that what threatened the crops was a sudden drop in temperatures and heavy rains, after a spell of hot, dry weather.

[176] *The Detailed Defter of Liwaʾ ʿAjlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 970,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and Noufān Raja Ḥmoud (Amman, 1989), 30. Olive and grape seeds were retrieved from Mamluk-era contexts at the site during the excavations in the 1970s (LaBianca, *Sedentarization,* 231).

[177] Comparison of the material culture in the citadel and farmhouses reveals the same patterns: similar consumption of the same assemblages of local and imported ceramics and glass, and even collaboration in water use and maintenance of water facilities (Walker, "Planned Villages"). The "special relationship" between citadel and village still needs to be explained.

Food Remains at Tall Ḥisbān

Phytoliths

According to the phytolith records, a cereal-based diet was followed at Tall Ḥisbān. Phytolith evidence derived from the citadel and the farmhouses in the village indicated that cereal production and management of cereal grain, cereal by-products, and livestock played an important role in local diet. The phytolith records picked up the use and storage of wheat and barley based on the cereal husks found in all Fields sampled, including the citadel midden (Square M1), the vaulted building (Square M8) and the farmhouse (Square O9) (Figs. 1a and b). Large amounts of wheat husk phytoliths, and smaller amounts of barley husk phytoliths, were found in smaller amounts in Square M8. Square M1 was rich in wheat husk phytoliths, although these are present in slightly lower amounts than in Square M8. On the contrary, barley husk phytoliths are present in higher amounts in the fill layers of Square M1, compared to Square M8 (Fig. 1b). Barley husk phytoliths are present in all of the samples derived from the two fill layers in Square M1, while wheat husk phytoliths are absent from one sample. Also, high densities of identified wheat and barley husks and lower relative absolute counts of wild grass husks inside the barrel-vaulted structure (Square M8) indicated the deposition, processing, and/or storage of clean cereal crop in this context. The phytolith records picked up the use and storage of date palms too, which were present in sediment samples derived from the citadel and from the farmhouse (Square O9), showing that dates *(Phoenix dactylifera)* were also locally consumed. The date palms were likely grown in the Jordan Valley and the dates transported to the village of Ḥisbān.

Macrobotanical Remains

From the archaeobotanical assemblage from Tall Ḥisbān, cereals were the dominant staple followed by pulses. Cereals and pulses were consumed in a variety of forms—bread, porridge, gruel, barley-water, stews—and the two categories were often combined in producing flours and dishes. Barley and pulse porridges are even recommended in health remedies to balance the humors.[178] In the scholarly tradition on ancient and medieval diets, there is a negative assessment of such a staple-based diet.[179] However, new studies are bringing to light that the variety of staple crops that were accessible to farming communities like at Ḥisbān could have met the daily requirements of macro- and micronutrients and amino acids.[180]

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[178] Al-Nuwayrī, *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition,* 184.

[179] Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1999).

[180] See A. M. Hansen and F .B. J. Heinrich, "Pulses," in *Diet and Nutrition in the Roman World,* ed. P. Erdkamp and C. Holleran (London, in press), and F .B. J. Heinrich, "Cereals," in ibid.

These staples were supplemented by olive oil, fruits and nuts for the table, milk, cheese, and varying amounts and qualities of meat. This well-rounded diet is also attested at other contemporary village sites such as Khirbat Fāris and Dhibān.

Animal bones

The meat diet of the inhabitants of Ḥisbān relied mainly on sheep/goat and chicken during the Mamluk period. Wild birds and mammals contributed to a lesser extent to the meat intake. They were mainly consumed in the citadel and only occasionally in the village. Although fish occurs in small quantities in both areas, it indicates a really varied food regime. Remains of pig were identified in the village assemblage only. It is likely that a small Christian community lived in the village during the Mamluk period.[181] Indeed, Madaba, a city in Jordan well known for the presence of a large Christian community, is located a few kilometers away from Ḥisbān. The assemblage from the citadel did not present any remains of swine; this area was occupied by Mamluk soldiers, who may have maintained a Muslim diet.

The variety of domestic and wild species, the frequencies of anatomical parts, and kill-off patterns indicate high-quality meat consumption in the citadel. Sheep/goat and cattle remains are represented by the best cuts. Most sheep/goats were slaughtered by the second year of life and several of them within the first year. Only a few individuals reached adulthood. Teeth frequencies highlight the abundance of the fourth deciduous lower premolar in the citadel sample, while the most numerous teeth in the village are fully-formed third permanent lower molars. This could indicate the prevalent consumption of adult individuals in the village, where animals would have been exploited for secondary products for longer, and the preference for juveniles in the citadel. The consumption of young sheep and goat is typically shown as a "luxury" but in some poetry/stories, their meat is associated with gluttony as well;[182] however, these two concepts are not often separate from each other.

A relatively wide range of modifications was identified in the analyzed sample, which include root etching, weathering, butchery marks, combustion features, bites, and gnawing (Graph 4). In the citadel cut marks can be associated to the

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[181] A group burial of the fourteenth century in the northern church (which was then in ruins) is suggestive of funerary practices of Orthodox Christians in contemporary Cyprus. See Bethany J. Walker, "Islamization of central Jordan in the 7th–9th centuries: lessons learned from Tall Hisban," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013): 143–75.

[182] For reference to its association with gluttony see: "A Day in the Life of Abū al-Qāsim" by Abū al-Mutahhar al-Zadī (eleventh century) (Geert Jan van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food* [Richmond, 2000], 74–79), and a satirical poem by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bunanī (ninth century), discussed by van Gelder, ibid., 85–86.
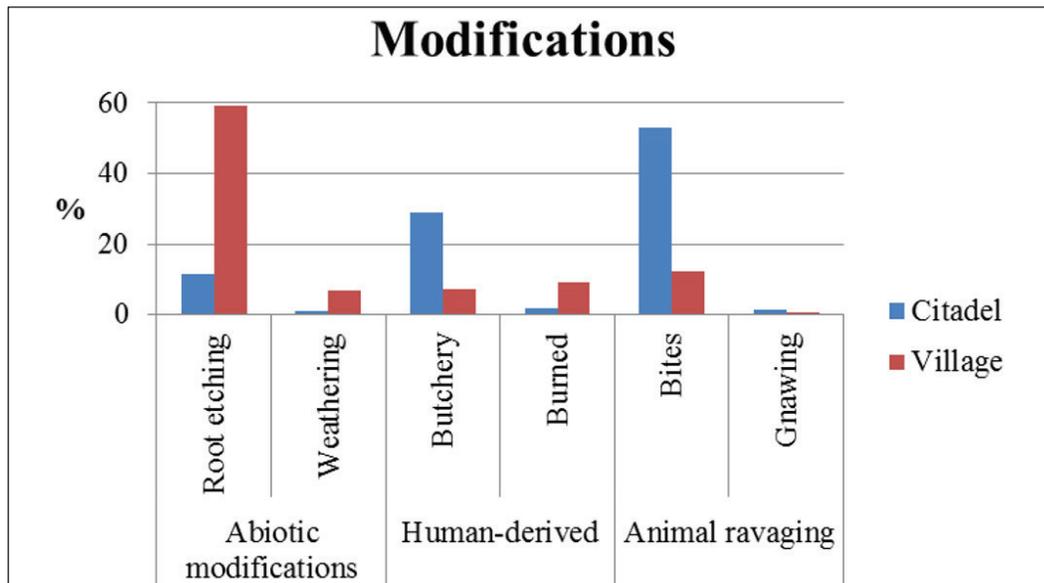
Graph 4. Relative frequencies of post-mortem modifications for the two areas investigated.

work of experienced butchers. There is evidence of the use of a heavy blade, possibly an axe. The vertebrae are largely chopped in half sagittally, while the ribs are chopped transversally. The few striae denote possible defleshing before cooking. Only little butchery evidence was identified in the village assemblage, due to the small size of the sample.[183]

Burned fragments are very rare in the citadel, while they are proportionally abundant in the village. Although there are some limitations due to differences in the dimensions of the samples, it is possible that different cooking methods were adopted in the two investigated areas. Indeed, the coriaceous meat of older individuals, such as those identified in the village assemblage, requires multiple cooking steps to become edible.

Indicators of social differences in diet, highlighted in the analyzed assemblages, provided evidence for differences in diet between the two social strata at Tall Ḥisbān: the local population (the residents of the village—a mixed population which must have included *fallāḥīn,* scholars, and merchants)—and mamluks (soldiers and officers stationed in the citadel). It seems that the inhabitants of the citadel had a much more varied and higher-quality meat diet compared to the villagers, although the assemblage from the village is quite small.

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[183] See notes above for the study of butchery in the village.

Economy

Food Markets

Clearly grain cultivation dominated agricultural production in the village of Ḥisbān in the fourteenth century. While the textual record suggests that this production was, at least in part, market-driven, the choice for hard wheat as the preferred wheat over emmer and bread wheats, attested in the archaeobotanical evidence, may also reflect this observation.[184] The macrobotanical analysis suggests that barley production was greater than that of wheat, and that it was more valuable locally as an "economic plant"; this is fairly consistent with macrobotanical studies of contemporary rural sites throughout Jordan that show that barley and wheat were cultivated in similar ratios.[185] It is not clear why this would be the case. Barley was generally a less expensive grain than wheat.[186] Urbanites believed wheat flour tasted better. Barley was fed to animals. Nonetheless, barley was valuable and marketable, not only locally but on the regional level. We regularly read of confiscations of barley (presumably for fodder for horses) during military campaigns, and Ibn Ḥijjī records the harvest of barley as often as he does that of wheat.[187] Payments in barley, and additional demands of sacks of barley, by landowners caused great hardship to peasants and led to conflict.[188] Confiscation of barley seems to have been more commonplace than that of wheat. Though wheat was arguably the preferred grain in Egypt,[189] this was not necessarily the case in Syria. We still do not fully understand food hierarchies, and the place different cereals occupied in the agrarian economies of different regions. Crop selection was conditioned by many factors, natural and cultural. The choice of sowing wheat or barley often depended on the timing and quality of the early rains. Early harvests of barley as a result of rains that arrived too late, moreover, resulted in insufficient quantities of the grain entering the markets too early, and high prices for bread resulted.[190]

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[184] See further discussion in the section *Land Use*.

[185] The macrobotanical samples point towards a slight dominance of 2-row hulled barley over primarily durum wheat and the rarer emmer and bread wheats combined. See the cited studies in this paper on Tall Abu Sarbut, Dhibān, and Khirbet Fāris. See also further discussion on Ghor as-Safi, Shuqayra al-Gharbiyya, and Bayda in Hansen, "The Agricultural Economy of Islamic Jordan."

[186] Occasionally barley would reach the price of wheat, but this was exceptional (Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh*, 1:420).

[187] To cite two examples: ibid., 2:606, 675.

[188] Ibid., 2:759.

[189] Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 201.

[190] Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh,* 1:102.

Different cereals in most cultures had a different cultural connotation and economic appreciation. Most consistent is the preference for wheats and wheaten-bread over barley and barley-bread. This preference usually resulted in a higher price for wheat, making it a relative luxury.[191] Wheat and wheat-products also in the Mamluk period were seen as a luxury item compared to barley. Those who wanted to express modesty and piety through showing moderation in their dietary practices—such as various philosophical writers during the Mamluk period—therefore advocated eating "simple" products such as barley bread. Al-Ghuzūlī, a Berber contemporary of the Mamluks, made a classification of the wheat and barley breads consumed by various socioeconomic classes, and also stresses the consumption of barley by ascetics.[192] This moral connotation of consuming modest cereals or foodstuffs in general, or refraining from consumption in general through fasting, is not limited to the Mamluk period, but was also practised by Christian monks and ascetics. In his *Maqāmāt,* al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144) reproaches those who eat lavish food and moralistically argues that two loaves of barley bread are sufficient to sustain oneself.[193] In the fourteenth century, in a less favorable appraisal of barley's status, al-Ghazzālī, in his *Book of Hope and Fear,* regales an anecdote of Jesus, who advises his disciples that living a pious life, which he expresses as "the eating of barley and sleeping on the middens with the dogs is a small price in the quest for Paradise."[194]

Long before that, for Roman authors, it was also fashionable to contrast the simple food-ways and simple ways in general of their mythic forbears with the "corruption" and opulence of their own day. In antiquity barley and millets, though sometimes viewed in a negative light or as a food for the poor, could also be presented in a positive light indicating that when prepared in a certain way, not even the "richer" classes could refuse them.[195] On the other hand, to be given barley instead of wheat was a punishment for military units that had underperformed or to the other nine-tenths of those who survived decimation.[196] Barley, and in particular barley-waters or gruels, were however also seen as a remedy for stomach and intestine-related maladies. Such references are found in Greek and Roman accounts. Al-Nuwayrī mentions these remedies as well a cure for scabs,

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[191] For a discussion, see Heinrich and van Pelt, "Graantransport en graanprijzen in Ramessidisch Egypte."

[192] Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse,* 99.

[193] Ibid., 45.

[194] William McKane, *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope* (Leiden, 1965), 85.

[195] See M. S. Spurr, "The Cultivation of Millet in Roman Italy," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983): 1–15.

[196] G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier: Aspects of Greek and Roman Life* (Ithaca, 1969), 119.

wounds, and even gout.[197] In parts of the modern Islamic world the use of barley-waters for their (alleged) curative properties is still practiced.[198]

Regardless of these cultural and moral appreciations, it is unlikely that these were a consideration that carried much weight for the Ḥisbān consumers and producer-consumers. To be able to restrict one's choice of staple crops is already a luxury. A rich man may choose not to eat wheat and eat barley instead with pious intentions, but the poor had to consume barley as it was cheapest. For small farmers, who also consumed part of their crop, the environmental (and other economic) considerations would have been the main determinant in selecting their crop. What role local and regional markets had to play in the decision-making process, and to what degree the *fallāḥīn* were aware of the economic realities of these markets, remains a line of future research.

Economic factors, though, were at play in the cultivation and consumption of other crops. One economic plant, not documented by the archaeobotanical record but which nonetheless played a very important role at Ḥisbān, was sugar cane. Sugar cane was not grown on the Madaba Plains, but it was in the nearby Jordan Valley. Dozens of sugar molasses jars, which were used to store and transport the liquid molasses from sugar processing, were recovered in the excavations of the citadel storeroom in 1998 and 2001. The citadel clearly served as a storage place and redistribution point for a commodity that might have functioned as a side-business for the governor serving there.[199] This seemed to have served as the primary sweetener in the local diet, as the same jars have been recovered in subsequent excavation seasons from small storerooms attached to the farmhouses on the western slopes of the tell (Field C).[200]

For what markets, exactly, local wheat(s), barley(s), mutton, and sugar molasses were produced requires further study. Baybars al-Ẓāhirī's reference to the vil-

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[197] Al-Nuwayrī, *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition,* 184.

[198] Personal comment (to Hansen), F. B. J. Heinrich on rural Sudan.

[199] On the molasses jars in the citadel storeroom, see Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Qusur* of Tall Hisban"; Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilad al-Sham* in the Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 3 (2003): 241–61; and idem, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline? Agriculture as an Economic Barometer for Late Mamluk Jordan," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 173–99. Citadels routinely provided storage spaces for agricultural goods, for both garrison consumption and to send on to other markets, as also served as temporary treasuries, during military campaigns and times of political turmoil.

[200] For brief field reports on the storage of molasses in the farmhouses, Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, "Tall Hisban, 2004: An Investigation in Medieval Rural History," *Newsletter of the American Center of Oriental Research* 16, no. 2 (2004): 1–3; idem, "Tall Hisban," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, no. 3 (2005): 536–39; and idem, "Tall Hisban," pp. 516–18 in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2007 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage, Donald R. Keller, and Christopher A. Tuttle, *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, no. 3 (2008): 509–28.

lage's control of 300 villages in the region gives us no details about the functional relationship, although it is arguably an economic one. What kinds of exchanges, through what mechanisms, operated in the movement of consumable goods from one village to the next is unknowable textually for Ḥisbān, though one can document it for the villages of the Damascus hinterland.[201] In the same vein, we do not know the nature of the local market *(sūq),* the merchants of which *(ahl al-sūq)* were moved to Amman by Amir Sarghatmish in the later fourteenth century, though one can assume agricultural goods, meat, and animal by-products were important components of it.[202] It may have functioned as an entrepôt for exchanges between Bedouin and village communities, as so many of the larger, interconnected regional markets did in Transjordan in the Mamluk period.[203] Rural market structures can be partially reconstructed through late Mamluk- and Ottoman-era Syrian chronicles and travelers' accounts, and this will be a focus of our future research.

Economic Plants and the Business of Animal Husbandry

A Botanical Perspective: Phytoliths

It appears from the phytolith records derived from the citadel that local state officials depended on the storage and management of grains (Graphs 5a and b), but also on the production and management of cereal by-products such as straw (Graph 5a). These were valuable commodities that would sustain livestock for meat consumption at a subsistence level in the citadel, for the production of animal by-products and for the storage of animal dung used for fuel and manure. Phytolith evidence for animal dung used for fuel derived from the hearth context inside the governor's residence (Graph 5). Phytolith evidence for the storage of animal fodder and penning of livestock derived from the governor's courtyard (Field Q5) (Graph 5a). Wheat straw was of economic value for the inhabitants of Tall Ḥisbān village but was also a commodity which in the historic records is

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[201] For accounts of bread production in local village bakeries and mosques, *takīyah,* madrasah, and monastery kitchens, and the distribution of flour and bread between villages of the Ghūṭah, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah,* 1:53, 81, 82, 123, 166, and 267.

[202] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:550.

[203] S. S. M. Khalīl, "Al-Tijārah al-Dakhilīyah fī Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thanīyah (784–922 A.H./1382–1516 C.E.)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Jordan, 1992); Bethany J. Walker, "Regional Markets and their Impact on Agriculture in Mamluk and Ottoman Transjordan," in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies,* ed. Benjamin Saidel and Evelyn van der Steen (Oxford, 2007), 117–25; Reem al-Shqour, "Aqaba Castle, origin, development and evolution of Khans in Jordan: An Archaeological Approach" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ghent, 2015).
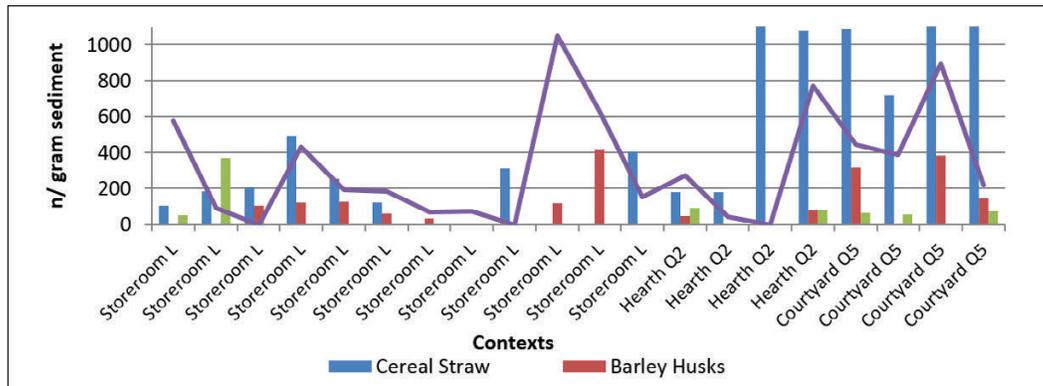
Graph 5a. Cereal straw, barley, weed, and dicot leaf phytoliths.
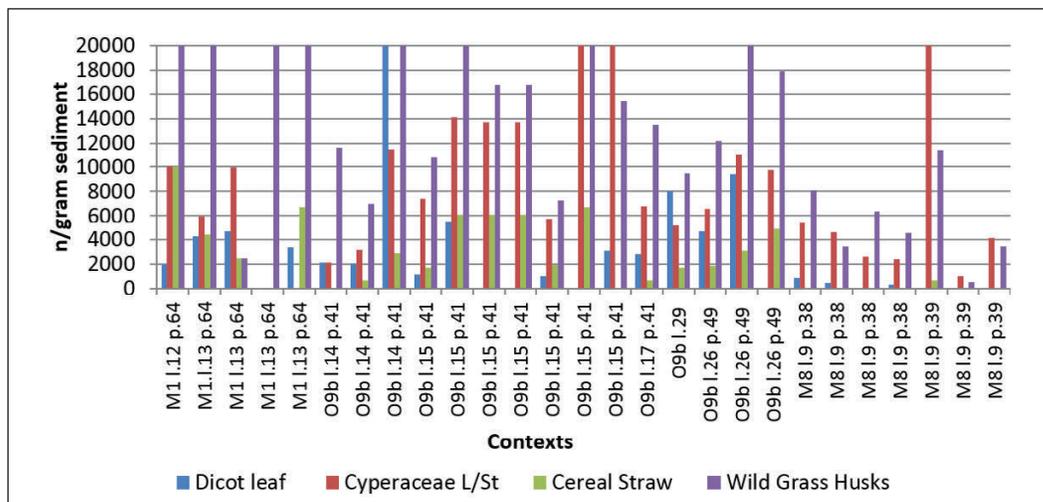
Graph 5b. Dicot leaf, sedges, cereal straw, and wild grass husk phytoliths.

mentioned as being shared among the *dīwān, muqṭaʿ,* and cultivators *(muzāriʿūn)* (see above).

However, phytolith results derived from the farmhouses (Squares O9, M8) demonstrated that peasants at Ḥisbān relied on livestock for animal dung and animal by-products, which had an important role in the household economy. The presence of crop-processing by-products, fodder, and/or dung, such as cereal husks, cereal straw, wild grass husks, and dicot leaf phytoliths, was shown in the phytolith records from the medieval farmhouse (Square O9) (Graph 2b). The phytolith record picked up the presence of dung that could possibly have been used as fertilizer. High densities of straw, wheat, barley, and weeds in the samples derived from the hearth could imply that animal dung may have been used

for fuel, as well.[204] The phytolith evidence from the medieval village indicated the production and storage of agricultural by-products, such as cereal chaff and straw, and showed evidence for the exploitation of domestic livestock. Phytolith, macro-botanical, and zooarchaeological data derived from the site, of a variety of crops and animal species, suggest that a variety of crops were produced at Ḥisbān and that livestock played an important role in the local and state economy. The environmental data indicated that a diversified, and arguably sustainable, agricultural economy was practiced on the state and village-level.

A Botanical Perspective: Seeds and More

Demographic data, which is highly important for understanding a local agricultural economy, is limited at best for rural southern Bilād al-Shām in the Mamluk period. For instance, there are no Mamluk-era census reports or tax records for the area.[205] Some indication of demography follows from the settlement's size: not including the agricultural land, the Mamluk-era settlement is about six hectares, but the town/village likely extended well beyond that.[206] This lack of demographic data makes an understanding of the agricultural (and animal husbandry) productivity[207] an even more significant economic proxy.

Some historical sources contain information on villages in southern Bilād as-Shām, in which taxes are exacted by the state or local authority. For example, we

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[204] Michael Charles, "Fodder from dung: the recognition and interpretation of dung derived plant material from archaeological sites," *Environmental Archaeology* 1 (1996): 111–22; Georgia Tsartsidou, Simcha Lev-Yadun, Rosa-Maria Albert, Arlene Miller-Rosen, Nikos Efstratiou, and Steve Weiner, "The phytolith archaeological record: strengths and weaknesses evaluated based on a quantitative modern reference collection from Greece," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (2007): 1262–75; Marijke Van de Veen, "The economic value of chaff and straw in arid and temperate zones," *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 8 (1999): 211–24. The macro-botanical samples at Tall Ḥisbān also attested charred dung; see Hansen (macrobotanical sections), this article.

[205] Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 136.

[206] Ibid., 149. To date seven village houses have been excavated. The surface of the tell slopes and base, however, are covered by the undulating patterns of wall stubs and collapsed vaults. It is not possible, at this time, to estimate the number of extant structures within the Department of Antiquities fence.

[207] Agricultural productivity is defined as the ratio of agricultural outputs to agricultural inputs. Agricultural inputs include labor, land yield (also increased yield per plant), agricultural tools/implements, fertilizers (e.g., manure and manuring practices), irrigation, "pesticides" such as urine to discourage predation (also from unwanted grazers), animal fodder efficiently processed for better digestion, keeping animals indoors in cold weather, and maintaining good health of beasts of burden for maximum work efficiency and of other animals for high meat quality. Agricultural outputs are measured by the market value of the final output (products produced); they can include the crop yield and its market value (based on supply/demand, and market manipulation).

know from historical records that a percentage of the grain crop (or tax-in-kind) was collected and stored in state storage facilities (*shunahs*), and grains for household consumption were likely stored in repurposed caves and defunct cisterns, though the archaeological record has yet to be fully studied.[208] Beyond this, bioarchaeological data helps provide a more complete picture of the village economy of Mamluk Tall Ḥisbān within the site and between other sites. The rich deposits of bioarchaeological material, such as food waste and cereal-processing waste, attest to the farming and animal husbandry at and around the site. Ceramic (local and foreign), metal and flint (from farming implements and medical tools), and glass evidence attest to the participation of the villagers in local industries and also in regional trade. While clay ovens for bread-baking and other cooking wares were produced locally, sugar jars indicate the import of processed sugar in the form of a molasses from the Jordan Valley, and parrot fish bones indicate the import of parrot fish from the Red Sea region.[209] All of this attests to their participation in a wider market economy.

This may be in contrast with previous periods at Tall Ḥisbān and throughout Jordan, mainly during the Iron Age, when it was not uncommon for groups of agro-pastoralists to occupy a settlement only for the duration of the harvest, corresponding to a less developed economy. Such seasonal settlement seems also to have occurred later in the Tanzimat Ottoman period at and around Tall Ḥisbān.[210]

Activities such as the construction of a bread oven,[211] involving resource management and specialized labor, can help one understand the microeconomics of a village site, while understanding the crop regime and animal husbandry[212] helps one understand their macroeconomics as well, mainly through their participation in regional (within Bilād al-Shām) and "imperial" (within the Mamluk empire) markets and trade.[213] Therefore, the archaeobotanical record reflects the region's (al-Balqaʾs) reputation as the "bread basket of Jordan." Because of the wide range of cereals produced at the site, this indicates that farmers could spread risk over multiple cereal crops. Barley and durum wheat are more adaptable to drier

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[208] See historical discussion above.

[209] See zooarchaeological report below.

[210] Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 216–17.

[211] Hansen, Walker, and Heinrich, "'Impressions' of the Mamluk Agricultural Economy."

[212] See Corbino (zooarchaeology sections), this article.

[213] In 1336 Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ordered the surplus grains from Karak, Shobak, Damascus, and Gaza to be shipped to Cairo during a grain shortage (Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages*, 87, from Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt 1250–1517* [Cambridge, 2000], 144, citing al-Yūsufī and al-Maqrīzī). The extent to which this fairly dramatic event would have affected the local economy of Tall Ḥisbān, and if the Ḥisbānī community would have been called upon to help resupply these regional centers or even contribute to the "global effort," is not clear at this point.

environments than bread and emmer wheat, while barley is also adaptable to saline soils. Although durum wheat can produce high yields, hulled barley and emmer wheat store more securely, as the presence of their husks protects the grain kernels from pests.[214]

The high proportion of barley to hard wheat is also interesting and could mean different things. While barley is suited to drier, more saline environments, it does not necessarily mean that the preference for cultivating barley over hard wheat is (only) due to environmental stimuli. In fact, when irrigation is practiced, soil salinity increases (efficient drainage or washing out by river floods like in Egypt may negate this effect). In addition, barley does not require much manure to produce a good yield. Manure was a valuable resource for fuel in villages in this period. Therefore, the higher cultivation of barley would potentially allow the higher distribution of this resource for fuel. The cultivation of barley could also mean that this is a deliberate strategy to maintain a reliable production yield to produce enough to meet the tax-in-kind, which could have been paid as a percentage of all cereals produced, as well as to feed the community. These factors could be an "indicator" or "response" to population pressure from a growing population in this period.[215]

A Zooarchaeological Perspective

Sheep/goats in the Tall Ḥisbān sample were primarily exploited for meat production. Forty-five percent of sheep/goats from the citadel were slaughtered when they were really young, less than six months old. The practice of killing juveniles could also be related to the production of milk and dairy products; however, so far no other evidence supports this hypothesis. The few adult and senile sheep/goats identified in both areas attest that some individuals were kept longer for breeding purposes, as well as for wool production. The faunal remains from Dhibān, a Mamluk village located a few kilometers south of Ḥisbān, confirm that the production of milk and wool was not of primary importance in the Middle Islamic period.[216] Milk and wool trade may have not been relevant in the economic system of this area of the Mamluk Empire. The demand for these two products was probably satisfied by small-scale or household production.

In the Mamluk period, goat husbandry spread in Jordan.[217] This species is more adaptable to semi-arid environments and a climatic change in this direction may

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[214] Heinrich, "Modelling Crop-Selection in Roman Italy."

[215] Cf. Robert Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca, 1991).

[216] Sara W. Kansa, "Fauna evidence from Middle Islamic Dhibān: interim report on the 2005 season," in "Digging Deeper," 256–59.

[217] Robin Brown and Kevin Reilly, "Faunal remains from Mamluk and Ottoman Occupations in the Middle Islamic Period Palace at Karak Castle (Qalʿat al-Karak)," in *The Archaeology of Agro-*

have caused a change in its frequency. In sheep/goats, the prevalence of pathological evidence on juveniles from the citadel associated to arthritic deformations (not related to senescence) in the Ḥisbān assemblages could be related to intensive breeding and poor grazing in semi-arid environments. These animals were bred for local elite consumption, and probably also for trading in the region. Large flocks were likely kept in the site's surroundings, exploiting the nearby caves as natural shelters. The intensification of agricultural activities in the Mamluk period[218] probably reduced the available pastures. In this case, the animals would have needed to cover greater distances in search of food, crossing rough terrains, which contributed to the occurrence of arthritic deformations. For this reason, the diet of domestic animals at Tall Ḥisbān was probably supplemented with fodder crops, pulses, and cereal processing by-products. One such fodder crop, alfalfa, has been identified among the archaeobotanical remains recovered at the site.[219]

Parrotfish remains collected from both the citadel and medieval village at Tall Ḥisbān suggest economic links with the Red Sea region. Whole fish, not only fillets, were acquired, as confirmed by the presence of all anatomical parts of the skeleton. It was traded as a dried, smoked, or salted product. The occurrence of parrotfish remains in the Petra valley proves that it was a common source of food in settlements from the Early Roman to the Mamluk period.[220] The high incidence of this fish in medieval contexts is suggestive of trade routes that moved northwards from Aqaba along the King's Highway. Distribution and consumption of fish in the Petra Valley was favored by the relatively close distance of the region from the Red Sea. Indeed, more distant settlements, such as Karak, Dhibān, and Ḥisbān, show lower proportions of fish.[221] In addition, the abundance of fish remains was probably also related to the abstinence from meat on specific days of the Christian calendar.[222] In the late thirteenth century, dried fish from the Red Sea was obtained by Christian merchants from Karak and Shawbak in exchange for raisins, olives, and olive oil.[223] Although the drastic reduction of this taxon in

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pastoralist Economies in Jordan, ed. McGeough, 91–134.

[218] See Laparidou, in this article.

[219] See Hansen, in this article.

[220] Stephan G. Schmid and Jacqueline Studer, "Products from the Red Sea at Petra in the medieval period," in *Natural Resources and Cultural Connections of the Red Sea,* ed. J. Starkey, P. Starkey, and T. Wilkinson, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1661 (Oxford, 2007), 45–56.

[221] Brown and Reilly, "Faunal remains."

[222] Ibid.

[223] Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, *Das Königreich von al-Karak in der mamlūkischen Zeit,* trans. A. Scheidt (Frankfurt, 1992), 35.

the archaeological assemblages of the Mamluk period needs further investigation, current data suggest that it gradually disappeared from the diet.[224]

The frequencies and variety of wild species in the citadel assemblage confirm that hunting activities and game meat were a prerogative of the Mamluks. Some of the wild taxa identified in the citadel sample may have been directly hunted by the residents of the garrison. The natural habitats of roe and fallow deer could be found some kilometers from Ḥisbān; this raises the question of how the carcasses of these animals reached the site. Hunting in this manner required covering long distances. However, it is also possible that this game meat reached the site through trade with local pastoral communities.[225] The few remains of gazelle and ibex collected from the village indicate that the farming population also occasionally engaged in hunting activities, as hypothesized by Brown.[226]

A further economic indicator in the analyzed assemblages is the evidence for animal ravaging (Fig. 3). High frequencies of bites in the citadel sample are probably linked to the presence of dogs. Indeed, dog bone remains have only been recovered from the citadel. They were likely involved in hunting activities. In the village, evidence of bites is considerably lower and dog remains are not present. Therefore, in this specific case the presence of dogs could be considered a further indicator of social status. Although it is a useful animal, not everyone could have afforded keeping a dog.

Differences in status between the citadel and the village at Ḥisbān, highlighted by the study of animal bones, suggest the existence of two different food production systems. The meat diet of the garrison was based on large-scale production and wild game, while the villagers relied mainly on small-scale husbandry. In this perspective, variations in the exploitation of animal resources at the site could highlight differences in the garrison's and villagers' relationship with the local environment.

Concluding Thoughts: Ethics of Land Use vs. a Moral Economy

We return, in conclusion, to the main theme of the article: the effectiveness and impact of Mamluk management of agricultural resources. Did the Mamluk state ("body politic") have an "environmental sense?" Did it behave ethically in this regard? What concerns ultimately drove decisions about land use (cropping), and who made those decisions?

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[224] Brown and Reilly, "Faunal remains."

[225] See historical discussion above.

[226] Brown, "The faunal distribution from the Southern Highlands of Transjordan."

The term "moral economy" was originally devised by Harvard Professor Ralph Barton Perry in 1909, to study the importance and function of morality within society and in governance, both on the individual and community level. His thesis, which would be taken up by scholars in other fields, was based on the concept of reciprocity. He argued individuals and communities were responsible for upholding the practice of reciprocity, both for themselves and society at large, and carefully managed everyday exchange through the concepts of prudence, moderation, and veracity. In his view, this was the "best" means of achieving and maintaining balance in the individual and interdependence within society as a whole.[227]

Perry's concept was picked up and developed further in social science and anthropology by scholars like James C. Scott. Scott adopted the concept to better understand how peasant economies distribute resources in the presence of scarcity. Scott focused specifically on how peasant society is affected by land tenancy and taxation through case studies in Burma and Vietnam, and his work offers a helpful analogy for their social structure and also how these groups perceive reciprocity and their determination to acquire it through social justice. In his case studies, Scott observes social and economic behaviors that have been adapted in the work of (ethno-) archaeologists, such as Paul Halstead and John O'Shea and especially H. Forbes, whose fieldwork centered on Greek farmers in the 1960s.[228] Scott summarizes these typical behaviors as the following:

> [m]any of the seeming anomalies of peasant economies arise from the fact that the struggle for a subsistence minimum is carried out in the context of a shortage of land, capital, and outside employment opportunities. This restricted context has at times driven peasants...to choices that defy standard bookkeeping measures of profitability. Peasant families which must feed themselves from small plots in overpopulated regions will (if there are no alternatives) work unimaginably hard and long for the smallest increments in production....Because labor is often the only factor of production the peasant possesses in relative abundance, he may have to move into labor-absorbing activities with extremely low returns until subsistence demands are met. This may mean switching crops or techniques of cultivation (for example, switching from broadcasting to transplanting rice) or filling the slack agricultural season with petty crafts, trades, or marketing which return very little

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[227] Ralph Barton Perry, *The Moral Economy* (Cambridge, 1909), 87–88.

[228] *Bad Year Economics: Cultural Responses to Risk and Uncertainty*, ed. Paul Halstead and John O'Shea (Cambridge, 1989). H. Forbes, "Of grandfathers and grand theories: the hierarchized ordering of responses to hazard in a Greek rural community," in ibid., 87–97.

> but are virtually the only outlets for surplus labor....The overriding importance of meeting family subsistence demands frequently obliges peasants not only to sell for whatever return they can get but also to pay more to buy or rent land than capitalist investment criteria would indicate. A land-poor peasant with a large family and few labor outlets is often willing to pay huge prices for land... so long as the additional land will add *something* to the family larder. In fact, the less land a family has, the *more* it will be willing to pay for an additional piece: a competitive process that may drive out capitalist agriculture which cannot compete on such terms... The continued application of labor to poorly compensated farming or handicrafts...is a product of the low opportunity cost of labor for the peasant (that is, few outside employment possibilities) and the high marginal utility of income for those near the subsistence level. It makes sense, in this context, for the peasant to continue to apply labor until its marginal product is quite low—perhaps even zero.[229]

Scholarship on the Mamluk "moral economy," on the other hand, has tended to focus on the shared expectations of the government by the urban poor, which were grounded in a common sense of fairness and justice.[230] The biggest issues in this regard relate to speculation on wheat prices, hoarding of cereals, and forced purchases of cereals at artificially high prices *(ṭarḥ)* during times of famine.[231] Contemporaries were quick to identify the sources of their suffering: the avarice attributed to corrupt amirs, grain brokers, and *waqf* administrators, the officials with whom rural peoples had direct contact and who collected taxes. Illegal diversions of water (and monopolization of irrigation canals) were not only flashpoints of dissent within communities but also constituted some of the most heated conflicts between villagers and amirs.[232] There were more localized conflicts, as well, that reveal expectations of local communities of ethical practice in production and distribution of food. The mixing of cereals in bread and marketing them as

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[229] James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, 1976), 13–14. See also Alexander V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy* (Homewood, 1966) for theoretical background on this topic.

[230] The opposition of the ulama to the sultans' confiscation of endowments (that brought them considerable financial gain by the late Mamluk period) will not be dealt with here.

[231] Boaz Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10, no. 3 (1980): 459–78; Amalia Levanoni, "The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of 'Moral Economy,'" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 1 (2005): 207–20.

[232] Shoshan, "Mini-Dramas by the Water"; Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 207–11.

"pure," for example, is regularly addressed in *ḥisbah* manuals.[233] These conflicts center, then, on distribution of food and water. Governmental interference in land use—what to sow and how to sow it—is never an issue.

"Environmental sense" is the connection (or disconnection) between knowledge about "best agricultural practices" (in terms of sustainability, not profit) and its application. In this way, one needs to differentiate between the "state" as policy-maker, and individuals as either government officials or private entrepreneurs. The privatization of land from the mid-fourteenth century is a pivotal factor in transforming these relationships. The Mamluk state, as a political body, did not play a direct or active role in agrarian matters, outside of the sugar industry.[234] Its main concern, as always, was effective tax assessment and collection. Private land owners, on the other hand, were excellent pragmatists, and this is where one can identify careful thought to crop selection, knowledge of agricultural markets, and what we would call today an eye to sustainability. Officials who became private land owners, and scholars who were named as *waqf* administrators, relied heavily on local know-how, and many were careful custodians of the land, in an effort to develop their estates and make them profitable on the long-term. The case of Tall Ḥisbān illustrates the intersection between two forces: evolving state priorities and time-tested local practice. Intensified grain production in the fourteenth century was a governmental priority but one executed by local hands using local knowledge. One reads of no direct conflicts between Ḥisbānīs and officials over this matter or any other one related to local agriculture, tax collection, or water use. The inability of the Mamluk regime to sustain grain cultivation on this scale, in this manner, over the long run, which is suggested by the abandonment of grain fields across the Transjordan in the fifteenth century, does not appear to have been the result of poor land management, but of economic and climatic factors that were beyond the control of local officials.

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[233] To cite one example, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurshī "Ibn al-Ukhūwah"(d. 729/1329), *Maʿālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah,* ed. Robin Lowry (Cambridge, 1937).

[234] This topic is beyond the focus of this paper, as there was no cultivation of sugar cane at Tall Ḥisbān. One should note, however, that sugar cultivation, which was generally under the control of the Mamluk government and high ranking officials, disrupted traditional water sharing arrangements, planting schedules, and organization of labor. For more on this topic, see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 213ff; Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages*, 207–8.

Book Reviews

Tsugitaka Sato, *Sugar in the Social life of Medieval Islam.* Islamic Area Studies, vol. 1 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015). Pp. xii, 232.

Reviewed by Mohamed Ouerfelli, Aix Marseille Université

Tsugitaka Sato is not unknown in the world of research on medieval Islam; he devoted many years of research to the system of *iqṭāʿ,* to tax matters in the Muslim East, and especially to the rural history of Egypt in the late Middle Ages.

His latest project, completed shortly before his sudden death in 2011, was to publish a book on the history of sugar in the medieval East, that is, a revised version of a book he published in Japanese in 2008 under the title *Sato no Isuramu seikatsushi* (Sugar in the social life of medieval Islam).

The book includes an extensive bibliography on the East in general, but it is flawed on the subject of sugar in the Mediterranean. Many studies were published, notably on the western Mediterranean, but the author was unaware of their existence.

The book consists of seven chapters with a prologue and an epilogue; five figures; and a map and a glossary complete it. We can only regret the absence of analysis of the archaeological material which is abundant in the Middle East. Many excavations have been carried out in sugar refineries, allowing comparisons to be made with the written sources[1].

In his introduction, the author announces the aim of the publication of this research: despite recently published works, including ours,[2] he believes that many aspects of the history of sugar in the Muslim East still have to be elucidated. First, the Iraqi and Iranian regions have not been sufficiently studied. Second, clay forms or barrels played a leading role in the refining of sugar; these should be studied in more detail. The third point requiring further research is Dār al-Qand in Fustat, which was the center of tax collection by the authorities in Egypt.[3] Finally, the author believes that in revisiting the Arab sources, he was able to bring about a better understanding of the relationship between sugar and power

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[1] P. Brigitte-Porëe, "Les moulins et fabriques à sucre de Palestine et de Chypre: histoire, géographie et technologie d'une production croisée et médiévale," in *Cyprus and the Crusaders: Papers given at the international conference "Cyprus and the crusaders," Nicosie, 6–9 septembre 1994,* ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosie, 1995), 377–510.

[2] M. Ouerfelli, *Le sucre, production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale,* The Medieval Mediterranean, vol. 71 (Leiden-Boston, 2008).

[3] On the role of this office, see M. Ouerfelli, "Organisation spatiale et répercussions de l'industrie du sucre sur le paysage urbain: Fustāt et Palerme (XIVe–XVe siècle)," in *Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge,* ed. É. Malamut and M. Ouerfelli (Aix-en-Provence, 2014), 199–200.

by examining the uses of this product during the celebrations and the banquets organized by caliphs and sultans, at which sugar was given as a gift, especially during the reigns of the Ayyubids and Mamluks.

The first chapter, devoted to "The Origin of sugar production and its expansion to West Asia," attempts to identify the origins of the expansion of this new plant and the routes it used to reach the Mediterranean world. But the author does not clearly explain the circumstances and dates of arrival of the Far East sugarcane to Persia nor the terms of its passage to the Middle East; he often merely cites the texts of chroniclers, geographers, and Arab travelers of the tenth century, whose limits we are all aware of. Few texts are selected by the author to build his analyses, which are mostly lacking in depth. The major changes that marked the sugar industry in the region are not addressed; the author is only following the conclusions of Elyahu Ashtor on the decline of the sugar industry, which were called into question long ago.[4]

Chapter 2 on production techniques does not bring anything new, except the translated text of al-Nuwayrī, actually known for a long time. The comparisons proposed by the author between the techniques used in China and those in Egypt are limited to the use of clay forms *(ublūgh).* Significant progress marked the sugar industry in Egypt and Syria, which reached China afterwards, and which literally contrasted with paper production techniques that took the opposite path, but the contexts are totally different, limiting the scope of the author's conclusions.

The comparison would be more relevant with the production centers of the western Mediterranean (Sicily, Valencia, Granada). In fact, the actual technical issues primarily relate to production efficiency, in which authorities had a special interest. It is also surprising that the author did not use other sources, particularly archaeological works, to complete the typology of sugar forms produced in the Middle East, as well as the categories of sugar, of which he provides a list that is far from complete. Why does he not mention the sugar of Damascus when it is the most common category and the most widely distributed in the major market places of the Mediterranean world?

"On camels and ships: sugar as commodity," the title given to Chapter 3, implies the transport of sugar on camels and ships, but the author gives no information on this issue. Similarly, the developments devoted to the Baghdadi district of Karkh also give the impression that in the Abbasid era this neighborhood became a center of sugar production and trade. However, there is nothing in the text that indicates the existence of production structures in this area; the few figures provided by chronicles show that this is a small production coming from southwestern Iran to supply the caliph's court and the princely mansions. We also know that sugar is exported from Egypt to Iraq. The Karkh district was certainly

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[4] Sato, 25.

prosperous thanks to the dynamism of the Baghdadi merchant bourgeoisie, and was full of products from all sources, but nothing allows the author to assume any development of the sugar trade and industry in Baghdad.

The titles of subchapters announced by the author often leave the reader disappointedly yearning for more; in "The Managers of sugar production in al-Fusṭāṭ,[5] the few texts presented on sugar refineries do not allow one to have a clue about the terms of their management and their location in the space of the city.

Likewise, the few lines written on "The Trade with Italian merchants in Alexandria" are very ordinary, reflecting a lack of familiarity with research on the Mediterranean trade, in which Egypt and Syria played a central role. The author should have read the many works of Ashtor and the present author's chapter on the actors of the sugar trade in the Mediterranean.[6] The same applies to the issue of sugar prices and their evolution, completely obscured, though it would help to determine whether sugar is a luxury product or not and whether its consumption is widespread enough to affect disadvantaged groups.

Regarding the commercial world, the author highlights the role played by Jewish businessmen in the trade of this luxury product, but the few texts taken from the work of Goitein are not enough to demonstrate how the involvement of the members of this community evolved in the stages of production and marketing of sugar.[7] Though they were among the first to invest in this activity and get involved in the sale of sugar and products made of sugar, they found themselves in the late Middle Ages relegated to a secondary position due to the limits of their financial means.

As for Kārimī merchants, discussed by many works that the author cites little or not at all, their role in the sugar trade is difficult to assess due to lack of statistics on the extent of the sugar business they conduct compared with the spice trade, which represents the heart of the activities of the siblings. Though the Kārimī have several sugar refineries and intervene in its traffic, we should not overstate this role, inasmuch as they are not the only actors and they are in competition with other merchants, the great amirs, and the sultan himself—the largest producer and consumer of sugar.

In the chapter on "Sugar as medicine," the author mainly uses the work of botanist Ibn al-Baytār, who summarizes the views of his predecessors, but does not explain the progress of the introduction of sugar into the pharmacopoeia and

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[5] Sato, 60–62.

[6] Ouerfelli, Le sucre, 435–42.

[7] M. Ouerfelli, "Le rôle des communautés juives dans la production et le commerce du sucre en Méditerranée au Moyen Âge: les exemples de l'Égypte et de la Sicile," *Chrétiens, Juifs et Musulmans dans la Méditerranée médiévale: Études en hommage à Henri Bresc,* ed. Benoît Grévin, Annliese Nef, and Emmanuelle Tixier (Paris, 2008), 57–74.

medicine from Persia, particularly to Baghdad, where the translation movement of Greek works and Indo-Persian happened. The influx of Nestorian practitioners and their entering into the service of the Abbasid caliphs allowed the introduction of new forms of drugs and especially the use of sugar in the preparation of medicines. Long before Ibn al-Baytār, many practitioners had written formularies originally inspired by a format of organization established by Galen in his *De Compositione medicamentorum,* like that of Ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī or that of Sabūr Ibn Sahl.

In the last chapter on the kitchen, the author has partially exploited culinary treatises drafted in the East. One is surprised by the absence of the *Kitāb al-wuṣlá ilá al-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa-al-ṭīb,* studied in 1949 by Maxime Rodinson, whose eleven extant manuscripts clearly show a wide distribution in the Muslim world. Sugar is present in this treatise; it is used in 33% of recipes.[8] The same applies to the anonymous *Kanz al-fawāʾiḍ fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾiḍ,*[9] which draws its information on medical-pharmaceutical treatises in earlier cookbooks. This treatise provides materials of remarkable interest for a study of the uses of sugar, not only in cooking but also in the preparation of drinks and cosmetics.

Ultimately, the aims announced by the author are far from being achieved; the subjects to which he thought he would bring something new were well known before this publication. Discussions on Iraq and Iran remain at the level of mere description, without any real reflection on the evolution of production structures, trade, and sugar consumption. We do not learn more about the role of *ublūgh;* the author has ignored the archaeological works, although they are many and are likely to provide accurate information about the production of clay forms and their typology based on the packaging of different sugar varieties.

The expansion of the sugar industry from East to West and the consumption of this product underwent important developments that the author ignored, instead merely juxtaposing texts on various aspects of sugar in the East, resulting in a lack of clear and firm conclusions. The synthesis the work offers suffers from numerous methodological problems.

The imbalance of treatment between Iraq and Syria on the one hand, and Egypt on the other hand, is obvious. It is more marked for Iran, although the author announced plans to conduct a further study on it. How can one speak of origins without giving dates or specify the context and the actors of the introduction of sugar cane?

Undeniably, Sato ignored an entire sector of research on many aspects of the history of sugar in the Muslim East; in addition, he did not read enough of the

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[8] "Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine," *Revue des études islamiques* 17 (1949): 95–165.

[9] Ed. M. Marín and D. Waines (Beirut, 1993).

present author's work, from which he could have drawn some benefit allowing him to make his work more clear in its objectives and more rigorous in its methodology.

Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden, edited by István Zimonyi and Osman Karatay (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016). Pp. 445.

Patrick Wing, University of Redlands

Peter Golden's contribution to the field of Turkic studies and history cannot be overstated. Had he published only his classic *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (1992), his place among the great scholars of the field would have been assured. We are fortunate, however, that Golden is as prolific as he is skilled, having published fourteen books and close to one hundred articles, in addition to co-founding the journal *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi.* Peter Golden's career as a scholar and teacher is celebrated by his colleagues and students in the recently published festschrift entitled *Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden,* co-edited by István Zimonyi and Osman Karatay, published by Harrassowitz in 2016. The volume is a testament to the wide range, chronologically, geographically, and thematically, of work currently being done in Inner Asian studies, Turkic studies, and medieval history in the United States, Hungary, Russia, Turkey, and elsewhere.

The volume consists of 31 mostly short- to medium-length articles in English and Russian (regrettably this reviewer could not read the four articles in Russian). The contributions are organized alphabetically by their authors' last names, without any thematic or chronological division. This editorial choice leaves the reader with a bit of intellectual whiplash, as he or she is carried back and forth across time, space, and topic. Although editorial categorizing of themes can tend to feel arbitrary and overly broad in collections such as this one, nevertheless some attempt to systematically organize the contributions in some way would have improved the overall presentation. On a more positive note, the volume features a thorough catalog of all of Peter Golden's publications.

In my remarks that follow, I will not go into detail about every article, but instead will discuss a selection of contributions likely to be most interesting to readers of this journal, i.e., those articles dealing with topics or the time period pertinent to the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517). For scholars of the Mamluk Sultanate, Golden's work on the Qipchaq Turks is particularly important for insight on the group that became the military and ruling elite in Cairo in the thirteenth century. The Qipchaqs receive attention in this volume from Thomas Allsen, whose article, "The Qipchaqs, An Alcohol History, 900–1400," is a masterful survey of the changing patterns of alcohol consumption and drinking rituals among the Qipchaqs from the period before and during the formation of the Chinggisid Mongol Empire. Allsen traces the drinking culture of the Qipchaqs from

their time in the southern Ural region (900–1050), through their migration to the Pontic Steppe (1050–1240) and the period of their subjugation by the Golden Horde (1240–1400). The Qipchaqs, like other steppe nomads, drank koumiss (or qimiz), fermented horse milk, as well as millet beer. As they migrated west, they came into contact with societies that drank mead, or honey wine, and subsequently adopted this beverage themselves. In addition, Allsen describes the ways in which Qipchaq drinking culture changed as a result of contacts with the Mongols in the thirteenth century, adopting aspects of Mongol drinking rituals, as well as a prestigious and particularly pure form of koumiss (called "qara qimiz") produced from Mongol mares. Allsen has previously demonstrated[1] the links between changes in alcohol consumption and political changes brought on by the expansion of the Chinggisid Empire from a Mongol perspective. His contribution in this volume is a thorough and fascinating complement to this topic from the Qipchaq perspective. Although not part of the Mongol Empire, the Qipchaqs on the steppe, as well as in the barracks and citadels in Syria and Egypt, adapted their drinking to changes in their geographic surroundings and socio-political circumstances.

Allsen's is the only article about the Qipchaqs, and there are no contributions on the Mamluks specifically. However, readers of this journal will certainly find several enlightening studies on societies contemporary with the Mamluk Sultanate, as well as other compelling historical studies. Devin DeWeese examines encounters between Muslims and non-Muslims in Timurid Mawarannahr in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as presented in a Persian text called *Hasht Ḥadīqah*. The subject of this work is a Sufi holy man named Sayyid Ahmad Bashiri. DeWeese explores four stories from the *Hasht Ḥadīqah* reflecting Bashiri's role between the "infidel" Mongols and the Muslims of central Asia at a time when many Mongols were converting to Islam. The stories provide insight on the cultural and communal differences among the populace of Mawarannahr, which are explained through the miraculous deeds of the saint Bashiri. The article is representative of DeWeese's best work on communal identity and religious conversion, and is a standout in this volume.

Two articles deal directly with the Mongols. The first is Tatiana Skrynnikova's article "Hierarchy of Identities in Chinghis-Khan's Mongolian Ulus." Here the author takes on the question of the meaning of the term "ulus," a concept central to the socio-political organization of the Mongols, but which can be quite slippery to define precisely. Skrynnikova argues that rather than thinking of ulus as a "state," ulus is more usefully thought of in terms of ethnic identity, and that political consciousness for the Mongols was inseparable from ethnic consciousness. The other article on the Mongols is a contribution by İsenbike Togan, titled "Otchigin's Place in the Transformation from Family to Dynasty." Togan argues

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[1] Thomas T. Allsen, "Ögedei and Alcohol," *Mongolian Studies* 29 (2007): 3–12.

that the name of Chinggis Khan's son Tolui was actually a title, corresponding to the more well-known term *"otchigin,"* denoting the youngest son in the family. Tolui's name can be traced back to the sixth- and seventh-century Turk empire's title of *tuli kaghan,* or the person second in order of succession. Togan argues that the disappearance of the names *otchigin* and *tuli* after Chinggis Khan was a consequence of the political changes that occurred under the Mongols. In the new Chinggisid era, the entire imperial family was eligible for rulership, and there was no longer a "Tolui Khan," i.e., *tuli,* or second-in-line successor waiting in the wings. Togan's article offers an astounding interpretation of the voluntary death of Tolui in 1232 as the symbolic end of the *tuli* successors in Mongol society. Togan has offered a completely new way of thinking about Tolui Khan and changes to social political culture among the Mongols as they built their empire in the thirteenth century.

A contribution of interest to scholars and students of the Mamluks is Mohamed Meouak's "Multiple Affiliations, Emancipation, and Empowerment: The Abna' at the Service of the Umayyad State in Cordoba (10th Century)." Significant parallels can be drawn between the royal mamluks of the Cairo citadel in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries, and the *abna'* at the court of the Umayyad rulers of Cordoba in the tenth century. Meouak demonstrates that the *abna'* could climb through the ranks of political power as administrators, yet they were always dependent on the fate of their Umayyad master for their power and prosperity.

In addition to these discussed above, there are several articles less directly relevant to the Mamluks, but which nevertheless demonstrate excellent scholarship on a range of interesting topics. Farda Asadov argues that, despite scholarly claims otherwise, Jurjan in Khurasan, from the seventh to the tenth century, had a close relationship with the Khazar Khanate, and was a place from which Jews migrated to the Volga. A second article related to Khazar history by Roman Kovalev demonstrates that Volga Bulgars and Rus both started minting their own coins ca. 950 as part of competition over who would inherit the legacy of the Khazar state. Christopher Beckwith explains that the meaning of A-shih-na, a name attributed to the clan of the Turk empire, is actually a title from Tokharian, meaning "the noble kings." The volume also features two articles on disease, by Ruth Meserve on leprosy, and Uli Schamiloğlu on the plague. Meserve traces outbreaks of leprosy in central Asia, from ancient to late medieval periods, while Schamiloğlu shows that the plague in the time of Justinian (sixth century) had to have come from the Qinghai-Tibet plateau, and not from Africa, as commonly assumed.

Overall, there are two ways of looking at this volume of more than four hundred pages. On one hand, the book's lack of chronological or thematic organization leaves the reader at a loss at times to synthesize common elements across

articles, a task made all the more difficult by the absence of an index. There are some editorial oversights, although the editors have done a commendable job in corralling such a wide range of topics. And, as with any collected volume, the quality of the contributions varies quite a bit. On the other hand, what have been presented here as possible shortcomings are at the same time a testament to the scholarly and pedagogical legacy of Peter Golden. It is difficult to imagine a scholar whose students and colleagues represent such a wide range of historical periods and geographical areas. Yet, Peter Golden's influence on the fields of Turkic and Islamic history and linguistics is extraordinary, an achievement captured magnificently in this volume in his honor.

Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt.* Chicago Studies on the Middle East, 10 (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2015). Pp. V + 264.

Reviewed by Albrecht Fuess, Philipps-Universität Marburg

The so-called *waqfization* of the Egyptian economy in the fifteenth century, especially concerning land tenure, has been noticed by several scholars in recent decades.[1] By this term is meant the increase of *waqf* land (religious endowments) issued by Mamluk authorities to members of the military and urban elite to the detriment of the traditional *iqṭāʿ* system. While we have known since the work of ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī that almost half of the cultivable land was transformed into *waqf* land at the beginning of the sixteenth century,[2] we still are fumbling in the dark about the actual reasons which triggered the process and when it started.[3] Another critical term used in the context of changes in the form of land tenure in the Mamluk era is *privatization,* which Abū Ghāzī used in this respect and which Robert Irwin and John Meloy employed for comparable developments in the legal sector where amirs acquired more direct control over certain procedures instead of the sultan.[4]

Therefore the terms *waqfization* and *privatization* present important matters of debate in current Mamluk studies. It is also left to an open scientific discussion if these processes are responsible for the Mamluk downfall, as this argumentation might draw too much of a conclusion from the fact that the Mamluks actually fell at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But what if we regard especially *waqfization* as measures of transformation which Mamluk officials took deliber-

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[1] See, for example: Carl F Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994); Lucian Reinfandt, "The Administration of Welfare under the Mamluks," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World (7th–19th Centuries),* ed. Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter-Hartung (London, 2011), 263–72; Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000).

[2] ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī: Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah Zamān al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (On the social history of Egypt: the development of landholding in the age of the Circassian Mamluks) (Cairo, 2000).

[3] Adam Sabra, for example, despite finding the work in itself very useful, is critical about the reasons Abū Ghāzī's work is providing. "Indeed, it is not really an explanation so much as a laundry list of economic woes which are assumed to have reduced the income of the Mamluk state." See: 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.

[4] Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī,* 103; Robert Irwin, "The Privatization of 'Justice' under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 63–70. John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004): 195–212.

ately as they saw it as a factor for stabilization which postponed the end of their empire? However, I will come back to this later.

While these discussions will continue among scholars of the history of the Mamluk Empire for the time being, our knowledge on the development of Mamluk financial administration has now increased tremendously due to Daisuke Igarashi's work on land tenure and fiscal policy in the Mamluk Empire. He presents us a concise and impressive work on the history of Mamluk fiscal administration. In it he argues that the transformation processes towards an increase of *waqf* lands already started during the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1310–41) and his famous land reform *(al-rawk).*[5]

In contrast to previous research Igarashi states that the financial system inaugurated by al-Nāṣir did not outlive its founder and therefore he calls it the *al-Nāṣir regime,* "because I believe that the al-Nāṣir regime was realized only under al-Nāṣir, a peculiar sultan who achieved autocratic power under exceptional circumstances" (p. 5).

In the following pages Igarashi is very keen on contextualizing his descriptions of fiscal administrations and reforms into the actual political history in which they took place, so one can see the changes over time and see the adaptions of the system and its actors to new circumstances. In Chapter 1 Igarashi explains the practices of the post-al-Nāṣir phase, i.e., the Qalāwūnid phase. This phase was especially marked on the one hand by the Black Death of 1348–49 and the decay of the agricultural infrastructure which meant a loss of income for *iqṭāʿ* holders. On the other hand, no son or grandson of al-Nāṣir was strong enough to form a new autocratic rule. "Hence, the establishment of a new political system that could adjust to the current circumstances was required" (p. 32). Instead of the sultan a special council of powerful amirs *(majlis mashūrah)* took over deciding on financial matters. The office of "viceroy of Egypt" was in charge of military and *iqṭāʿ* affairs, the office of *wazīr* oversaw the general financial affairs of the state, and the so-called "head of the guards" *(raʾs nawbah)* controlled the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ, where Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had regrouped the sultan's household income. With the creation of the *majlis mashūrah* the power had passed from the sultan to the amirs, and the separation of different financial sectors was meant to maintain a system of check and balances.

However, soon thereafter the *raʾs nawbah* Shaykhū, helped by the financial power of the *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ,* took over completely and ruled the land effectively as *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander-in-chief). Therefore Igarashi refers to him and subsequent de-facto rulers as the *atābak regime,* as the office of *atābak al-ʿasākir* designated afterwards the strongest member of the Mamluk military elite (p. 38).

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[5] See for these reforms: Tsugitaka Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997).

This *atābak* period came to an end when the *atābak al-ʿasākir* Barqūq declared himself sultan in 1382. He then initiated financial reforms which constitute the core of Chapter 2 of the present work. At that time the financial system of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had already witnessed important changes. Much of the land which had been designated originally as *iqṭāʿ* had in fact been rented out to Mamluk amirs and in some cases even become their de-facto property. As a result, less *iqṭāʿ* land was available for other Mamluk soldiers.

Barqūq then founded the so called *Dīwān al-Mufrad* ("chancery for singular matters") to pay out monthly wages, clothing allowances, etc., in cash, to compensate for the decrease of *iqṭāʿ* land. In order to fill the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* special land and its income was especially allotted to it (p. 57). In addition, the *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ* and other financial units with different competencies continued to exist. The introduction of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* proved to be a success story, as is explained in detail by Igarashi, but at a certain point it became dysfunctional and bankrupt so that Sultan Qāytbāy initiated another financial reform in 1468.

While it is understandable that Igarashi wants to describe the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* and its functioning throughout its existence it is a little bit disorienting for the reader that after having finished Chapter 2 with the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* under Sultan Qāytbāy, in Chapter 3 Igarashi comes back to Barqūq seventy years earlier and the second part of his great financial reform. Apparently Sultan Barqūq had initiated, besides *Dīwān al-Mufrad,* the so-called *Dīwān al-Amlāk* (the bureau of private real estate) with which he managed the (private) royal real estate and other belongings of the sultan's household (p. 90) The *Dīwān al-Amlāk* unified the income Barqūq received through the channel of his *waqf*s, his *milk* property, and his so-called *dhakhīrah* (provisions). The *Dīwān al-Amlāk* now became the second pillar of the sultan's fiscal administration beside the *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ,* through which the sultan could hand out royal *iqṭāʿs* to the royal Mamluks. In order to create more income for the Mamluk royal treasury apparently Barqūq tried to bring *waqf* land which had been "illegally" endowed back under the control of the sultanic fisc. So we have a clear hint already that *waqfization* had been going on since the fourteenth century and that land did change its status, between *iqṭāʿ, waqf,* leased land, and *milk,* on a regular basis.

Chapter 4 then deals with the aftermath of Barqūq's reign, and again transformation processes of financial institutions are witnessed. The ambiguous term of *al-dhakhīrah* (treasure/provision) gains prominence in Mamluk sources and even entered Venetian sources. Igarashi reviews the scholarly discussion about the term and then discusses in detail the different explanations from "moveable property" to "the sultan's leasehold land."

However, he then describes convincingly that after Barqūq's reign the term came to designate exclusively "the sultan's leasehold land," meaning that pow-

erful amirs could lease the land from the sultan against an advance cash payment and were therefore entitled to collect the taxes themselves. The difference between what they paid and what they collected was their profit. Apparently it functioned comparably to the Ottoman "Iltizām system," which started around the same time.

At a certain time later *al-dhakhīrah* came to designate the sultan's property in general, still mostly connected with land (p. 134), but also special spice merchants of the sultan, for example, were called under Sultan Qāytbāy "*tājir al-dhakhīrah.*"

The *al-dhakhīrah* therefore, as depicted by Igarashi in Chapter 5, played under Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī an increasing role in Mamluk financial matters: "Consequently, after around 860/1442–43, the financial *dīwān*s of the state could not function properly without financial support from *al-dhakhīrah*" (p. 151).

The *al-dhakhīrah* had by then developed into the financial back-up system of the Mamluk Empire. However, the empire needed even more money, preferably in cash, as the increasing military challenge posed by the Ottomans was realized.

When Qāytbāy ascended the throne in 1468 he took a close look at the finance situation and he did cut down on the money handed out to soldiers. He tried to increase his cash reservoir by removing all unprofessional people from the payroll, for example, by having them draw a bow to prove their military abilities. This of course impressed his contemporaries and bettered the financial situation a bit, but it increased as well the complaints of people who felt their income was arbitrarily taken from them. He also resorted to the taxation of *waqf* properties as a special measure (p. 155).

This was due to the fact that sultans themselves as well as Mamluk amirs had transformed large parts of the cultivable lands from *iqṭāʿ* land into *waqf* (religious endowments) to the benefit of their personal households—a process which is well described by Igarashi. Financial reforms and confiscations then abounded under Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–16), who had to fight several exterior threats such as the Portuguese, the Ottomans. and the Safavids. At that time one gets the impression that a coordinated fiscal policy became increasingly difficult, as the military had to be equipped with modern firearms and cannons and a new navy had to be put on the Red Sea. Still the empire coped with the financial situation to a certain extent, and it is arguably not mainly because of financial reasons that it collapsed in 1517.

Igarashi really provides in his work an excellent and meticulous study which presents a real milestone for our understanding of the financial structure of the Mamluk Empire. He not only used the "usual suspects" of Mamluk historiography, but also less-known authors and a large array of documentary evidence, especially *waqf* documents. On the formal side a glossary of terminologies would have been helpful.

Now coming back to the initial discussion, I started my review by stating I would think in this context that Igarashi could have analyzed the processes he described so brilliantly somewhat more thoroughly. For example, he uses several times the argument that financial reforms were driven by the fact that the *iqṭāʿ*-system had fallen into disarray (p. 47: collapse; p. 149: dysfunctional). I am not really convinced here. Perhaps we should rather see the whole financial administration of the Mamluk state as a system of adjustment, containing many trials and errors, just like our modern-day financial systems.

Carl Petry already suggested in 1994: "Do all these disparate phenomena, once pieced together, reveal a budding master plan by which the *iqṭāʿ* system would be scrapped outright once the sultan garnered the means to replace it?"[6] I would not go that far, as a master plan would have appeared in the sources, but I think we are dealing with a flexible system of adjustments where different financial components were used and complemented each other.

Still, as Igarashi has shown, there was an overall tendency away from the granting of land income from *iqṭāʿ* towards direct payments of Mamluk soldiers. The first amir of one hundred received a direct payment of 1000 dinars in 1481 instead of an *iqṭāʿ* (p. 140). As we observe similar tendencies and also the leasing of land in the contemporary Ottoman Empire, a comparison of both systems might prove useful in this regard.

A similar question for me lies in the argument that an increase of *waqf* land was somehow negative to the overall financial situation, but as Heidemann has argued about the late Abbasid and Ayyubid periods, *waqf*s always played an important role in the overall process of generating wealth.[7] Therefore it was perhaps the diversification of the Mamluk financial system, so well described by Igarashi, that the Mamluk Empire really needed. So it is not a question of *iqṭāʿ* vs. *waqf,* but maybe more about the right ratio between the two.

Another point where I would be cautious is the use of the terms private vs. state land or private vs. state income which also occur throughout Igarashi's work (State treasury vs. private coffers). Maybe the terms like *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ* are misleading us, but I personally do not think that a Mamluk sultan nor the Mamluk military elite thought in terms of private and state income when it came to the sources to pay soldiers or equip the military. They wanted to be competitive with

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[6] Petry, *Protectors,* 208–9.

[7] See Stefan Heidemann, "Charity and Piety for the Transformation of the Cities: The New Direction in Taxation and Waqf Policy in Mid-Twelfth-Century Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," in *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions,* ed. Miriam Frenkel and Yaacov Lev (New York, 2009), 153–74; idem, "How to Measure Economic Growth in the Middle East? A Framework of Inquiry for the Middle Islamic Period," in *Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Middle East,* ed. Daniella Talmon-Heller and Katia Cytryn-Sylverman (Leiden, 2015), 30–57.

their neighbors and did not everything belong to God in the long run? Therefore I am really not sure about the usage of these terms, especially in the case of the meritocratic slave elite which administered the Mamluk Empire. I think it is difficult to determine how they actually understood property or income in terms of private or state, but it would be worthwhile to find out.

However, the last issues raised are matters for future debates. That these debates can now be held on much firmer grounds is very much due to the sophisticated research and excellent work of Daisuke Igarashi. This book represents in any case a must-have for readers interested in Mamluk political, social, and economic history.

Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī, *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition: A Compendium of Knowledge from the Classical Islamic World* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2016). Pp. 318.

Reviewed by Robert Irwin, London

Al-Nuwayrī (667–732/1279–1332) was born in Upper Egypt and studied in Cairo under some distinguished teachers before pursuing a career in financial administration in Egypt and Syria. Late in life he turned to writing and produced the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. The *Nihāyat* ranks with al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* and al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshá* as one of the great encyclopedias of the Mamluk era. It is divided into five books: (1) The heavens and the earth, (2) The human and what relates to him, (3) Animals, birds, and fish, (4) Plants, perfumes, and various concoctions, (5) History. The published Arabic edition of the *Nihāyat* (1923–97) runs to over 9,000 pages in thirty-three volumes.

In his introduction to the selection under review, the translator and editor, Elias Muhanna, captures the flavor of the book perfectly: "The world that appears in *The Ultimate Ambition*'s pages is not a plain reflection of al-Nuwayrī's quotidian reality but rather a medieval imaginary of warped dimensions, a dreamworld inhabited by real and fantastical creatures, living and long-dead monarchs, the sights and sounds of fourteenth-century Cairo alongside scenes from once glorious Baghdad during its golden age."

Muhanna has chosen to draw most of his material from the first four books and there is plenty to amuse the reader in this selection. In the first book al-Nuwayrī presents a vision of the cosmos that is based on contradictory and often crackpot speculations. The cosmology on offer is an uncritical kind of lucky dip which draws on pre-Islamic poets, Muslim theologians, and Greek philosophers: "It is said that the earth lies upon the water, and the water upon a rock, the rock upon a hump of a bull, the bull upon a sand dune on the back of a fish, the fish on the water, the water on the wind, the wind on a veil of darkness, and the darkness upon moist earth. Here ends the knowledge of created beings." This sort of cosmology will remind some readers of Terry Prachett's *Discworld* novels. Angels are behind the weather, thunderbolts, the movements of the stars, and much else. Their activities are a substitute for causation as it is normally understood. In this part of the *Nihāyat* al-Nuwayrī was writing to entertain rather than to instruct.

His topographical survey naturally gives precedence to Egypt. Among its many excellences *(faḍāʾil)* is that Socrates and Alexander came from Egypt. Yet perhaps Tibet has more to offer: "Tibet, which is in the land of the Turks, has a unique quality: whoever lives in it is overcome with inexplicable happiness and cannot stop smiling and laughing." In al-Nuwayrī's display of barmy erudition

mirabilia take precedence over common sense and observation. This is evident in his survey of flora and fauna, which is a rich source of misinformation. The cowardly lion is frightened of many things "including the sight of a black rope, a white rooster, a cat, and a mouse." (The cowardly lion is something of a trope in world culture, its most famous manifestation being the one in *The Wizard of Oz*.) The hyena, like the rabbit, changes its sex. When it is female it likes to dig up graves and have sex with human corpses. In his introduction to the fourth book, on plants, he explicitly disclaims any scientific purpose: "My intention in presenting it has been to relate literary descriptions by poets and literary epistles by eloquent litterateurs, because that is what the attendant of literary gatherings is in need of and depends upon."

Literary culture of this sort features largely in the second book. Here what is striking is the pastness of the *adab* that al-Nuwayrī celebrates. The quotations and anecdotes almost all hark back to Umayyad Damascus and Abbasid Baghdad and Samarra. He has almost nothing to say about the high culture of his own time. Instead what seems to be going on is a literary version of rescue archaeology in which the aim was to revive the wit and wisdom of old Baghdad in the Mamluk Sultanate. It is difficult to assess how successful this mission was. Did al-Nuwayrī actually attend literary causeries in Cairo, Damascus, and Tripoli in which the aim was to rekindle the wit, style, and erudition of the Abbasid cultural elite? He is reticent on the matter.

But the fifth book is twice as long as the first four books put together and al-Nuwayrī's introduction to this book is a panegyric to history: "The study of history is required for the king and the minister, the general and the prince, the scribe and the counsellor, the rich man and the poor man, the desert dweller and the city dweller, the sedentary and nomadic. The king gains experience by contemplating former states and peoples..." History was a serious subject and the fancifulness that was such a feature of his cosmology, zoology, and botany is largely absent in the chronicle section of the *Nihāyat*. It is the tail which wags the encyclopedic dog. Al-Nuwayrī was unusual among Mamluk chroniclers in that he did not adopt a strictly annalistic form and he preferred to structure his narrative around dynasties and to present events as they developed over more than a single year. Only as he comes to record events in his own lifetime does it begin to deteriorate into a dry annals. The trouble is that the chronicle part of his encyclopedia will strike most readers as rather dull—apart from, that is, the dedicated Mamlukists who will be reading this review and those Mamlukists may be frustrated by the few selections from book five.

The Ultimate Ambition has an extremely useful appendix which gives a detailed breakdown of the entire contents of the Arabic *Nihāyat* and this is followed by a listing of the volume and page references to what has been translated in this en-

tertaining paperback. Al-Nuwayrī wrote fluently and clearly and this is reflected in Muhanna's prose.

Julien Loiseau, *Les Mamlelouks XIIIe-XVIe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2014). Pp. 287 with dénouement, notes, bibliography, and index.

Reviewed by Yehoshua Frenkel, University of Haifa

This is a book on a long moment in the history of the Islamic Near East. It starts with a unique institution, that of slave soldiers recruited to build up the battalions that ruled over Egypt and Syria, and narrates the history of this military aristocracy.

Chapter 1 deals with slavery and trade ("les commerce des hommes"). It opens with a scene from the popular account of the life of Baybars, the de facto founder of the Mamluk Sultanate, moves to the history of slavery in Muslim societies, [1] and then turns to examine the impact of the Mongol advance on the demographic history of the Eurasian Steppe. The diplomatic relations between Cairo and the Qipchaq Khanate (the so-called Golden Horde in the Crimean Peninsula) constitute an important element of this stage of Mamluk history, as do also the role of Genoese and Venetian merchants and vessels in the naval history of the eastern Mediterranean. Human trafficking in that part of the world during those decades was shaped by three elements: exporters, transmitters, and markets. The advance of the Ottomans, both in the Balkans and the Black Sea, considerably affected this commerce in slavery. These are well-known historical episodes, but summarized and presented in a clear and eloquent style.

Chapter 2 opens with a condensed account of the slave markets in Cairo and Damascus and continues with remarks on the relationship between the sultan and the slave dealers. The author rightly mentions that the acquisition of slaves was not restricted to members of the military aristocracy. The price of slave soldiers and the volume of trade in the various slave markets is the next topic that Loiseau endeavours to clarify, reemphasising that they were obtained not only by the sultan but also by military commanders and governors. This element of his work indeed challenges scholars who try to establish the size of the slave population in Mamluk Egypt and Syria. The section on slave soldiers who were handed over as gifts or inherited after their master's death[2] contributes to the scholarly debate on the social position of the Mamluks and the notion of slavery in the

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[1] A tangled topic that still stirs up heated debate. Most recently, see Rick Morris in The American Thinker (February 12, 2017); Paul Crookston, The Corner in The Nation Review (February 15, 2017); Jonathan A. C. Brown in Muslim Matters (February 16, 2017).

[2] For a theoretical paradigm see Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study (Cambridge, MA, 1982).

context of the military aristocracy that governed the Nile Valley and Syria.[3] This discussion is followed by an account of Mamluk houses (families), an institution which actually should be seen as a solidarity group *(khushdashīyah).*[4]

From an account of the nurturing of children who were transported from the "Abode of War" to the "Abode of Islam," this second chapter moves to the story of the training of the Mamluk novices. The author rightly dwells upon the question of the languages spoken in the barracks of these fresh recruits. He illuminates the linguistic diglossia that characterised the Mamluk mansions, as well as the centrality of fighting games and equitation in the army officers' lives.[5] The Mamluk military aristocracy reproduced itself through a condensed network of symbolic means.[6]

Chapter 3 investigates the structure and history the Mamluk bureaucracy. The history of Mamluk food consumption has attracted the attention of several scholars. Loiseau opens a new angle. He concentrates on the food ration that constituted a share of the payment to the military *(dīnār jayshī).* This leads him logically, at least for those readers familiar with Claude Cahen's studies, to describe and analyze the Mamluk system of land tenure *(iqṭāʿ)* in the Nile Valley and in the farmed dry-lands of Syria. The next section illuminates the apex of the Mamluk political system, that of the king-sultan. The author emphasizes the relatively high number of those army commanders who ascended to the throne in the citadel. He casts light on regicide and "the Law of the Turks" as criteria to legitimize this highest position.[7] An epilogue that looks into the collective qualities and characteristics of the Mamluks closes this chapter. Its point of departure is Machiavelli's view regarding the essence of the sultanate as entirely in the hands of soldiers, such that the sons of the old prince are not the heirs, but rather he who is elected to that position by those who have authority.

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[3] Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society (Princeton, 1980), might contribute useful insights to the study of patron-client relations.

[4] Cf. Andre Wink, Al-Hind: the making of the Indo-Islamic world (Leiden, 1990–2004), vol. 2, The Slave Kings and the Islamic conquest, 11th–13th centuries, 194–98; to this add the recent discussion about ini and agha: Amir Mazor, The Rise and Fall of a Muslim Regiment: The Mansuriyya in the First Mamluk Sultanates 678/1279–741/1341 (Bonn, 2015), 41.

[5] Cf. Housni Alkhateeb Shehada, Mamluks and Animals: Veterinary Medicine in Medieval Islam (Leiden, 2013).

[6] For a theoretical paradigm based primarily on David Ayalon see Robert A. Paul, Mixed Messages: Cultural and Genetic Inheritance in the Constitution of Human Society (Chicago, 2015), 224–29.

[7] Michael Winter, "Inter-madhhab competition in Mamluk Damascus: al-Tarsusi's counsel for the Turkish Sultans," Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 25 (David Ayalon Memorial Volume) (2001): 195–211.

Chapter 4 opens with a section on mature Mamluks who changed sides, due to defection, capture, or other causes. Its central pillar is Bourdieu's *habitus*. Mamluk costumes and heraldry have attracted the attention of several fine scholars. Loiseau's clear summary of the state of the art is a useful introduction to a colorful topic. He illuminates the importance of animals as symbols of power among the Mamluk military aristocracy.[8] The next section delves into sport and horsemanship.

The wars between the Mongols and the Mamluk Sultanate, as well as the diplomatic liaison between their khanates *(ulus),* have been the subject of several studies. Loiseau vividly illuminate this chapter in the history of the Near East. His point of departure is a condensed story of the life and death of Baybars, the true founder of the Mamluk regime.[9] Next he deals with the Mongol tribes that migrated to the lands governed by the Mamluks and analyzes their impact on gender perceptions and social taste. Looking into the question of socio-political solidarity the author inspects the recruitment of slave-soldiers and emigration to the land of the sultanate. This is accompanied by in-depth study of the Circassians. It seems useful to mention that Qānıṣav (Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī), the last Mamluk sultan, helped disseminate the idea that the Mamluks of Egypt had originated from an Arab tribe that had migrated to the Caucasian mountains. This was a key element of his ideology. He claimed that he should be recognized as the caliph of the Muslims and the commander of the believers.

"The Domicile of the Emirs" is the title of the fifth chapter of the book under review. This title notwithstanding, it is not limited to the architecture of the palaces, a topic that occupied Loiseau in an earlier book, but deals primarily with the political, social, and financial dimensions of the Mamluk houses. Those who are familiar with Ottoman studies know that this subject is well researched by historians of Ottoman Egypt. Loiseau describes the urban landscape and the salient visibility of religious institutions that were constructed by military commanders to whom the treasury allocated parcels of farming lands and serfs. The first part of this chapter describes the officers' housing during the years of economic growth, which were ended by the brutal impact of the Black Death. The second part turns to the military society at the foot of the citadels.

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[8] Although the visualization of them was prohibited at a certain moment. Y. Frenkel, "Animals and Otherness in Mamluk Egypt and Syria," in Animals and Otherness in the Middle Ages: Perspectives across Disciplines, ed. Francisco de Asís García García, Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo, and María Victoria Chico Picazabar (Oxford, 2013), 49–62.

[9] Denise Aigle, The Mongol Empire between Myth and Reality: Studies in Anthropological History (Leiden, 2014); and the recent study by Reuven Amitai, "Echoes of the Eurasian Steppe in the Daily Culture of Mamluk Military Society," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Series 3, 26, no. 1 (2016): 261–70.

Readers of Mamluk chronicles and biographies are well aware of the reloca-
tion, often wanton, of army officers and governors who were accompanied by
their soldiers. This transition affected the urban history of Cairo, Damascus,
Aleppo, and other cities of the sultanate. Then the author discusses the question
of particular Mamluk architecture.[10]

Chapter 6, "The Settlement of the Mamluks," opens with an account of nine
generations of Manjak's family. The founding father of this lineage was an army
commander in the battalions of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His offspring
lived in Ottoman Damascus. The next section concentrates on the religious prac-
tices of the Mamluks, who were born in the Abode of War and were converted
by their Muslim masters upon their arrival in the Abode of Islam. Their financial
contributions, their support of Islamic institutions, and the numerous construc-
tions that were built by them are clear evidence of their religious commitments.
Loiseau first examines the popular aspects of Mamluk religiosity. He looks into
pilgrimage reports and into their communication with Sufis, who were not al-
ways welcomed by the religious establishment. Rightly, he dwells in great de-
tail on the numerous mausoleums that are still visible in Egypt and Syria. These
constructions were supported by pious endowments. As their number increased,
so the volume of fertile lands that were administrated by the army bureau de-
creased. The author should be acclaimed for not turning a blind eye to the role
played by the wives, mothers, and concubines of the Mamluk elite. This leads him
to describe the families and progeny of army officers.

In conclusion, the book reviewed here is a good introduction to the Mamluk
phenomenon. It clearly presents the major aspects of this exceptional institution.
The reader gains a useful familiarity with the primary narrative sources of this
era, as well as with the major secondary literature. For the political and military
history of this unique regime students should consult other works.

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[10] This issue was addressed by Nimrod Luz, The Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Cul-
ture, and the Urban Landscape (Cambridge, 2014).

List of Recent Publications

ʿAbbāsī, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. *Uns al-Arwāḥ bi-ʿUrs al-Afrāḥ*. Edited and researched by ʿAbd al-Rāziq Ḥuwayzī. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2016. Pp. 118.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muḥammad Fatḥī. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah fī Bilād al-Sūdān, 731-754 H/1331-1353 M.* Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīnīyah, 2017. Pp. 391.

ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, Muṣṭafá Ibrāhīm. *Mawqif Ibn Taymīyah min Ibn ʿArabī al-Ṭāʾī*. Riyadh: Dār al-Fāḍilah, 2016. Pp. 559.

ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Rāʾid Muṣṭafá Ḥasan. *Athar al-Ghazw al-Maghūlī fī al-Thaqāfah al-ʿArabīyah fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī, 648-803 H.* Amman: Dār Kunūz al-Maʿrifah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2017.

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ء	ʾ	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	ʿ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

‸	a	‸	u	‸	i
‸	an	‸	un	‸	in
آ	ā	وُ	ū	يِ	ī
اَ	ā	وُّ	ūw	يِّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	وَ	aw	يَ	ay
				يَّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for *ʿayn* and *hamzah*. Instead, use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

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 or a title. 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-sultān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and 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 terms which are found in English dictionaries, such as Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

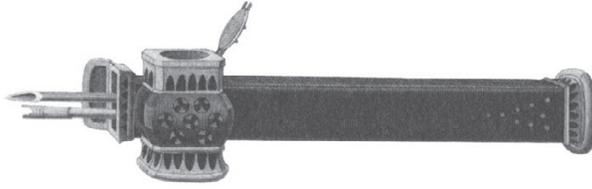For information about fonts and Unicode, see mamluk.uchicago.edu.

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