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The Proposers and Supervisors of *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Mamluk Egypt

The Nāṣirī cadastral survey (*al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī*) in Egypt and Syria during the years 713-725/1313-1325 was significant in that it determined state structure during the early and middle years of the Mamluk period (648-922/1250-1517). The Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315, in particular, brought about great changes in the *iqṭā'* system through comprehensive land surveying and drastic taxation reform. In my recent book I investigated the object, content, and result of the Nāṣirī *rawk*, based on contemporary Arabic sources.¹ However, the names of the proposers and supervisors of the survey were cited without mentioning their origins, careers, or official duties.²

The present paper therefore will discuss in detail the proposers and supervisors of the Nāṣirī *rawk* in Egypt in order to better our understanding of this important survey. Using the biographical descriptions of the Coptic officials and the Mamluk amirs involved with the survey, the following questions will be addressed: (1) To what extent were the Coptic financiers responsible for *iqṭā'* administration in Mamluk Egypt? (2) Were there any criteria for choosing *rawk* supervisors from among Coptic officials and Mamluk amirs?

The primary sources are four biographical dictionaries: *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt* by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr* by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mī'ah al-Thāminah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), and *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfi* by Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470). In addition to these sources, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān* by Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī (d. after 725/1325), *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*

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¹Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's, and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 124-61. Other studies of the cadastral surveys during the Mamluk period include: A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900* (London, 1939), 36-39; Ibrāhīm 'Alī Ṭarkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭā'iyah fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fī al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* (Cairo, 1968/1388), 91-114; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A. H. 564-741/A. D. 1169-1341* (London, 1972), 52-56; P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696-8/1296-9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1973): 521-32; Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1979, 1982); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, 1310-1341* (Leiden, 1995); Heinz Halm, "Rawk," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:467-68.

²Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 138-40.



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by al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* and *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, both by al-Maqrīzī, also provide us with valuable information on the persons concerned with the survey. Al-ʿAynī's (d. 855/1451) description of the Egyptian *rawk* in his *Iqd al-Jumān fī Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, of which parts are still in manuscript, is unique in offering the most detailed list of the supervisors dispatched to the provinces.³

THE PROPOSERS OF THE RAWKS IN MAMLUK EGYPT

In his third reign (709-741/1310-1341), Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn carried out four comprehensive cadastral surveys: in central and southern Syria (713/1313), Egypt (715/1315), Tripoli (717/1317), and Aleppo (725/1325). Prior to these surveys, Sultan al-Manṣūr Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn (696-698/1296-1299) had carried out an Egyptian survey in 697/1298, known as *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī*. The person who proposed the *rawk* to Sultan Lājīn was Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl (d. 711/1312), a Coptic convert to Islam.⁴

His full name was Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Sīrajī al-Miṣrī, but he was widely known as Tāj al-Ṭawīl.⁵ He was a Coptic Muslim (*Muslimānī al-Qibt*), who had converted to Islam in the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn (689-693/1290-1293). Even after his conversion, it is said that he strongly favored the Coptic people.⁶ However, he was skilled in accounting (*ḥisāb*) and finance (*istifāʾ*), and understood well the characteristics of every Egyptian district. According

³On Mamluk historiography, see the following works: Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1968); Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1970); Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography* (Wiesbaden, 1970); idem, *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* (London, 1986); Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah, *al-Muʿarrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis ʿAshar al-Milādī* (Cairo, 1954).

⁴Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1975-92), 31:346; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah (Cairo, 1939-58), 1:842-43; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963-72), 8:92. On the Ḥusāmī *rawk*, see A. N. Poliak, "Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamlūks," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1937): 97-107; Rabie, *The Financial System*, 52-53; Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn," 521-32; Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 124-34.

⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966-97), 2:50; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:114. According to Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, Tāj al-Dīn's personal name was not ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, but ʿAbd Allāh; a mistake was made by the copyist; see *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 110.

⁶Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842-43; Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī*, 110. The behavior of the Coptic converts to Islam is described vividly by Donald P. Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam during the Bahrī Mamluk Period," in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi J. Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990), 263-88.



to al-Nuwayrī, Tāj al-Ṭawīl also had full knowledge of the *iqṭāʿ*'s held by the amirs in his time.⁷

When Tāj al-Ṭawīl proposed the implementation of the Egyptian *rawk* to Sultan Lājīn, the sultan appointed two amirs, Badr al-Dīn Bilīk al-Fārisī al-Ḥājib and Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Zāhirī al-Barīdī, as supervisors of the survey.⁸ We are not well informed about Badr al-Dīn Bilīk's career, but in 679/1298 he was cited as one of three chamberlains (*ḥājib*) supervising Mamluk military affairs.⁹ Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh was appointed as governor (*wālī*) of Qūṣ in 680/1281, but his *iqṭāʿ* was later granted to the Mongol amir, Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, who emigrated to Egypt from Āmid in 703/1304.¹⁰

Together with these two amirs, Tāj al-Ṭawīl joined the Ḥusāmī *rawk* as a chief of finances (*mustawfī al-dawlah*). When the *rawk* was completed, Tāj al-Ṭawīl distributed the land according to the order of Sultan Lājīn and Vice-Sultan Mankūtāmur. However, the distribution of *iqṭāʿ*'s in favor of the two rulers caused a violent reaction by the amirs against the government, and the Ḥusāmī *rawk* ended in the assassination of Sultan Lājīn and his *mamlūk* Mankūtāmur by these amirs.¹¹ When Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Jāshankīr (708-709/1309-1310) ascended the throne in 708/1309, Tāj al-Ṭawīl was dispatched to Tripoli to manage its financial affairs. However, as soon as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad started his third sultanate in 709/1310, he was called back to Cairo and was appointed superintendent of the central administration (*nāẓir al-dawāwīn*).¹²

From the very beginning of his third reign, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was annoyed with the increasing power of the Maṣṣūrī *mamlūks*, that is, the Burjī *mamlūks* formed by his father, Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.¹³ A man called As'ad al-Shaqqī

⁷Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:364-65. See also al-'Aynī, "Iqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Hacı Beşir Ağa 457, fol. 292v.; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1991), 4:23.

⁸Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842; see also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 127.

⁹Karl Wilhelm Zetterstéén, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Hīgra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 43. The text reads Aylīk, not Bilīk.

¹⁰Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:703; idem, *al-Muqaffā*, 3:76. Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, also known as Badr al-Dīn Jankalī, was sent to the region of al-Gharbīyah on the occasion of the Egyptian survey of 715/1315.

¹¹Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842-44; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:346. See also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 129-34.

¹²Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī*, 110; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842-43, 2:114.

¹³Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 145-63; David Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks: Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamluk Sultanate," *Tārīḥ* 1 (1990): 36-37.



(d. 716/1316), who had been appointed superintendent of the central administration (*nāzir al-dawlah*) after the death of Tāj al-Ṭawīl, proposed to the sultan that a cadastral survey be carried out. Al-Maqrīzī has the following to say about this in his *Kitāb al-Muqaffá*:

[As‘ad al-Shaqqī] advised Sultan [al-Nāšir] to carry out the cadastral survey of Egypt, because the sultan was disturbed by [*al-mamālīk*] al-Burjīyah, the core of the Egyptian army. Because they had taken control of most of the districts [as *iqṭā‘*s], there remains no income to cover the sultan’s expenditures. When he was informed of this, As‘ad met the sultan secretly and discussed the *rawk* with him in order to regain and increase districts which might cover his expenditures.¹⁴

Like Tāj al-Ṭawīl, As‘ad al-Shaqqī was also a Coptic convert to Islam. His full name was Taqī al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Amīn al-Mulk, generally known as *al-shaqqī al-aḥwal* (Squint-eyed the Oppressive) due to his “evil” conduct.¹⁵ As already mentioned by Donald P. Little,¹⁶ he was forcibly converted to Islam by his Mamluk employer, the amir Burulghī al-Tatarī. After he served Burulghī as his scribe (*kātib*), As‘ad al-Shaqqī was appointed financier of the sultan’s servants (*mustawfī al-ḥāshiyah*). In 711/1311, when al-Nāšir Muḥammad’s senior officer Tāj al-Ṭawīl died, As‘ad al-Shaqqī was appointed *nāzir al-dawlah* and administered state affairs single-handedly after the abolition of the vizirate (*wizārah*).¹⁷

Al-Nāšir Muḥammad was pleased with As‘ad’s advice about a cadastral survey. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh (d. 732/1332), supervisor of military affairs (*nāzir al-jaysh*), was ordered to draw up the documents according to As‘ad’s specification. When the documents were about to be read before the sultan, however, Fakhr al-Dīn opposed As‘ad’s plan, saying that his aim was to sow dissension between the sultan and his *mamlūks*. Although Fakhr al-Dīn persisted, al-Nāšir Muḥammad did not change his favorable view of As‘ad’s plan until the amirs and soldiers began criticizing him after the cadastral survey.¹⁸ However, al-Maqrīzī

¹⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:77.

¹⁵Ibid., 78; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:383. According to Ibn Ḥajar, As‘ad was called al-Shaqqī al-Aḥwal because the Muslims hated him.

¹⁶Little, “Coptic Converts to Islam,” 264.

¹⁷Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:383; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:76. Burulghī al-Tatarī (d. 711/1311) was arrested by Muḥanná ibn ‘Īsá, *amīr al-‘arab* in Syria, and presented to al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl; however, he later married the daughter of Sultan Baybars al-Jāshankīr and was put in a position of prestige under him; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:9-10.

¹⁸Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:77-78.



says in his *Khiṭaṭ*, "The sultan agreed with Fakhr al-Dīn about the implementation of the cadastral survey."¹⁹ If this account is correct, it might suggest that Fakhr al-Dīn, though unwillingly, gave in to As'ad al-Shaqqī and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Incidentally, when the Syrian cadastral survey was completed in 713/1314, the sultan bestowed robes of honor on both Fakhr al-Dīn and his associate, Quṭb al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Sallāmīyah.²⁰

Al-Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh was also a Coptic convert to Islam. After his conversion he would not allow any Christian to come near him, lest he associate with his former co-religionists. He made pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem many times and built many mosques in Egypt. Since he enjoyed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's full confidence, not a few notables, such as amirs, *qāḍīs*, and provincial governors, visited his house hoping to receive favors from him.²¹ One day al-Nāṣir said to a soldier who requested an *iqṭā'*, "Don't worry. If you are the son of the Qalāwūnid family, al-Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn will grant you a *khubz* ("bread"; that is, *iqṭā'*) with revenue exceeding 3,000 dirhams."²²

As mentioned above, three Coptic converts to Islam—Tāj al-Ṭawīl, As'ad al-Shaqqī and Fakhr al-Dīn—all acquired high positions in the central government and made the most of their superior knowledge of fiscal affairs. They exerted great influence on state policy through their advice to the sultan, particularly in *iqṭā'* administration. Although they were not favored by the common Muslims, the fiscal administration did not function well without their knowledge and efforts. According to Little's study, besides the sultan's privy purse, many other offices were often filled by Copts and Coptic Muslims. All of them were connected with finances and accounting during the Baḥrī Mamluk period.²³

THE SUPERVISORS OF THE *RAWK*

As stated above, upon the advice of As'ad al-Shaqqī, Sultan al-Nāṣir ordered the Egyptian *rawk*. During Sha'bān 715/November 1315, therefore, the government dispatched amirs and Coptic officials as supervisors to five regions of Lower Egypt and six regions of Upper Egypt. Al-'Aynī lists the names of these supervisors in the most detail in "Iqd al-Jumān." The following is the list quoted in my book with some revisions.²⁴

¹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853, repr. Baghdad, 1970), 1:88.

²⁰ Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 160-61.

²¹ Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Sven Dederling (Wiesbaden, 1959), 4:335; see also Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam," 277, 285.

²² Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 6:516-17.

²³ Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam," 270.

²⁴ Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 138-40; al-'Aynī, "Iqd al-Jumān," fol. 318r.-v.; their names are



Lower Egypt

- (A) al-Gharbīyah
 (1) Amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (Janghalī)²⁵
 (2) Naqīb al-Jaysh Ṭaybars
 (3) Ḥājib Āqūl (A‘zal)²⁶
 (4) Kātib Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnah (Farawītah)²⁷
- (B) al-Daqahlīyah and al-Murtāḥīyah
 (5) Qullī al-Silāhdār
- (C) al-Sharqīyah
 (6) Amir ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur
 (7) Aytamish al-Muḥammadī (al-Majdī)²⁸
 (8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ
 (9) Sanjar Khāṣṣ Turkī
- (D) al-Manūfīyah
 (10) Wābiyār Sāṭī
 (11) Balabān al-Muḥassin (al-Muḥassinī)²⁹ al-Zarrāq
- (E) al-Buḥayrah
 (12) Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis
 (13) Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy³⁰
 (14) Balabān al-Şarkhadī (al-Şarkhatī, al-Sarkhadī)³¹
 (15) Ṭurunṭāy al-Qulanjiqī (al-Qalījī)³²
 (16) Baybars al-Jamdār

Upper Egypt

- (A) al-İtfihīyah

listed also in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:146-47, and idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, in an abbreviated form.

²⁵Zetterstéén has Janghalī (*Mamlūkensultane*, 128). On the etymological explanation of Mamluk names, see Jean Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de mamlouks," *Journal asiatique* 238 (1950): 31-58.

²⁶Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, has A‘zal.

²⁷Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, has Makīn ibn Farawītah.

²⁸Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, lists Aytamish al-Majdī. According to al-Yūsufī, Aytamish carried out an inspection (*kashf*) in the year of the *rawk*; *Nuzhat al-Nāzir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāşir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 331.

²⁹Both Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:28, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:37, 385, have al-Muḥassinī.

³⁰Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, and idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:147, list Ibn Ṭurunṭāy.

³¹Zetterstéén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 134, lists al-Şarkhaṭī; al-Şafadī (*A‘yān al-‘Aşr wa-A‘wān al-Naşr*, ed. Fuat Sezgin [Frankfurt am Main, 1990], 1:261), lists al-Sarkhadī.

³²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, lists al-Qalījī.



- (17) Bahādur al-Karakī (al-Karkarī)³³
 (18) Ṭanqish ibn al-Ḥimṣī
 (B) al-Fayyūm
 (19) Ṭuquṣbā al-Zāhirī
 (20) Sanjar al-Damīrī (al-Dumaytrī, al-Dumaythrī)³⁴
 (21) Baybars al-Sāqī
 (22) Mughulṭāy al-Martīnī
 (C) al-Bahnasāwīyah
 (23) Aydughdī al-Talīlī (al-Balīlī)³⁵
 (24) Uzbek al-Jarmakī
 (25) Khaḍir ibn Nūkīyah (Nūkāy, Nūghīyah)³⁶
 (26) Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī
 (27) Sanjar al-Marzūkī
 (D) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwīyah
 (28) Azuktamur al-Silāhdār
 (29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī
 (E) al-Ikhmīmīyah
 (30) Qijlīs
 (31) Sunqur al-Sa‘dī
 (F) al-Qūṣīyah
 (32) Ṭuquṣbā

Among these supervisors the following nine persons cannot be identified from any Arabic biographies and chronicles: (9) Sanjar Khāṣṣ Turkī, (10) Wābiyār Sāṭī, (15) Ṭurunṭāy al-Qulanjiqī, (18) Ṭanqish ibn al-Ḥimṣī, (21) Baybars al-Sāqī, (24) Uzbek al-Jarmakī (27) Sanjar al-Marzūkī, (28) Azuktamur al-Silāhdār and (32) Ṭuquṣbā. We find that two Coptic officials, (4) Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnah and (8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ, were appointed as supervisors of the *rawk* in Lower Egypt. According to al-Nuwayrī, the sultan dispatched one or several amirs into each region.³⁷ Most of the other supervisors, therefore, must have been chosen from among the Mamluk or Mongol amirs.

³³ Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 10:300-301, lists al-Karkarī.

³⁴ Zetterstéén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 165, lists al-Dumaytrī, and al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:407, al-Dumaythrī.

³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, lists al-Balīlī.

³⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 7:192, and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:173, list Nūkāy, while al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:63, lists Nūghīyah.

³⁷ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:299; see also al-‘Aynī, “Iqd al-Jumān,” fol. 318r.-v.



THE SUPERVISORS DISPATCHED TO LOWER EGYPT

First, let us look at the careers of the supervisors dispatched to the regions of Lower Egypt.

(A) al-Gharbīyah

(1) Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā al-Tatarī (d. 746/1346)³⁸ migrated with his family from near Āmid, then under the rule of the Mongols, to serve al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 703/1304.³⁹ He was granted an amirate of a hundred cavalymen (*imrat mi' at fāris*) and enjoyed prestige and the favor of the sultan. He came to sit at the right hand of the sultan (*ra's al-maymanah*) at banquets (*simāṭ*), following the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh.⁴⁰ His daughter married al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's son, the amir Aḥmad.⁴¹ Because Jankalī was talented in poetry and enjoyed amusements, he was said to have been loved by everyone. When al-Nāṣir died in 741/1341, Jankalī was reported to be the leader of twenty-five amirs of the rank of *muqaddam al-alf* (commander of a thousand).⁴² Two years later he was designated vice-sultan (*nā'ib al-salṭanah*) by these grand amirs to administer state affairs under the newly installed sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (743-746/1342-1345).⁴³

³⁸Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:76, has Jankalī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bābā ibn Jankalī ibn Khalīl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ijlī. See also al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:300.

³⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 3:75-76; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:143-44.

⁴⁰For example, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, author of *Zubdat al-Fikrah*, held *ra's al-maysarah* until 725/1325 when the post was transferred to the amir Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (6). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:266, 269. The editor of *al-Nujūm* explains that *ra's al-maysarah* designated an older amir holding the rank of amir of a hundred, who gave advice to the sultan (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:274, note 2). According to al-Qalqashandī, at the sultan's banquets the *nā'ib al-salṭanah* sat first in line before the sultan, then the *qādī al-quḍāh* sat on his right side, and the *kātib al-sirr* (chief secretary) on his left side. Amirs of *ra's al-maymanah* sat behind the *wazīr*, and amirs of *ra's al-maysarah* behind the *kātib al-sirr*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1963), 4:195-96; cf. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, *Dimashq fī 'Ahd al-Mamālīk* (Damascus, 1964), 29.

⁴¹Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 195.

⁴²Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 11:199-201; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:76-77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfī*, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1988), 5:22-25; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:425; 2:116, 134, 305; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādih*, ed. and trans. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1978), 121, 191, 235; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī 'alā al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Mecca, 1983), 251; al-Yūsufī, *Sirat al-Nāṣir*, 145, 387; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:300-301. According to Zetterstéén (*Mamlükensultane*, 222), Jankalī was one of four grand amirs at the end of al-Nāṣir's reign. Furthermore, al-Ṣafadī relates that he derived his origin from Sultan Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, a famous Sufī saint in the early Abbasid period; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:301.

⁴³Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:425; however, in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*, 1:620, the amir who was



(2) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ṭaybars (d.719/1319), an amir of forty (*amīr al-ṭablahānah*), held the post of chief of military police (*naqīb al-jaysh*) for the long period of twenty-two years until his death.⁴⁴ He was also called al-Khāzindār, since he originally came from the *mamlūks* of Badr al-Dīn Bilīk al-Khāzindār, vice-sultan during the reign of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (658-676/1260-1277).⁴⁵ Ṭaybars designed the Khashshāb garden along the bank of the Nile, used for excursions, and constructed a school (*al-Madrasah al-Ṭaybarsīyah*) adjacent to the Azhar Mosque, where he was buried.⁴⁶

(3) Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Ḥājib (d. 738/1337-1338). In 725/1325 when al-Nāṣir ordered the amir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars to organize an army, Āqūl al-Ḥājib participated in it as an *amīr al-ṭablahānah*. In 731/1331 Āqūl was also dispatched to the province of al-Buḥayrah as a supervisor (*mushidd*) to repair the Alexandria Canal.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he was appointed to the post of chamberlain in charge of the military administration under the grand chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*),⁴⁸ although we cannot ascertain the exact year of his appointment. In 734/1334 Āqūl went to Damascus to assume the office of grand chamberlain.⁴⁹

(4) Al-Qādī Makīn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Qarawīnah (d. 771/1370)⁵⁰ was a Coptic official who served al-Nāṣir, as did his brother, Mājid ibn Qarawīnah.⁵¹ After the Egyptian cadastral survey in 715/1315, Makīn al-Dīn took the office of chief financial administrator (*mustawfī al-ṣuḥbah*), following Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm.⁵² In 725/1325 he was appointed supervisor of the cadastral survey in Aleppo, together with the amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī.⁵³ After he held the successive

designated as vice-sultan was not Jankālī, but Āqsunqur al-Salālī.

⁴⁴Zetterstéén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 149; according to al-Maqrīzī (*al-Sulūk*, 2:199), Ṭaybars held the post of *naqīb al-jaysh* for about twenty-four years.

⁴⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:330; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 4:11-12.

⁴⁶Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:330-31; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 4:11-12; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:194, 199; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:304, 383, 426; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi‘ al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960-72), 9:295; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:246.

⁴⁷Zetterstéén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 183.

⁴⁸On the position of *ḥājib*, see David Ayalon, “Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army-III,” *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 60.

⁴⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:260, 371, 457; al-Shujā‘ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 91; Zetterstéén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 188.

⁵⁰As to the year of his death, we have other accounts: 749/1348 (al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:27), 750/1349 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:243), and 751/1350 (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:812).

⁵¹Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:54. Mājid served Sultan al-Nāṣir as *wazīr* in Syria and Egypt; see *al-Durar*, 3:361.

⁵²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:247.

⁵³Al-Fayyūmī, “Nathr al-Jumān fī Tarājim al-A‘yān,” Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS Ta’rīkh 1746, vol. 3, fol. 190r.; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:264, 812; al-‘Aynī, “Iqd al-Jumān,” fol. 423v.; see also Sato,



posts of *wazīr*, *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (supervisor of the sultan's estate), and *mustawfī al-ṣuḥbah*, Makīn al-Dīn was appointed supervisor of military affairs in 740/1339-1340.⁵⁴ He constructed a grand mansion at the Khashshāb garden;⁵⁵ however, his entire estate was soon confiscated and he died of plague in 749/1348 as an unemployed person (*baṭṭāl*).⁵⁶

(B) al-Daqaḥlīyah and al-Murtāḥīyah

(5) Sayf al-Dīn Qullī al-Silāḥdār (d. 717/1318). In 711/1311 when he went to Syria with Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (1) and other amirs to subjugate Qarāsunqur al-Manṣūrī, the most prominent Manṣūrī (or Burjī) amir in Aleppo,⁵⁷ Sayf al-Dīn Qullī commanded an army as *ra's al-maymanah*.⁵⁸ When he died in 717/1318, his *iqṭā'* was granted to his comrade, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī.⁵⁹

(C) al-Sharqīyah

(6) 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (d. 737/1337) was a *mamlūk* of Sharaf al-Dīn Awhād al-Khaṭīr. Then he became one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's *mamlūks* and was given the rank of amir when al-Nāṣir ascended to his second sultanate in 698/1299. He served the sultan as majordomo (*ustādār*), administering the distribution of monthly salaries and rations to the Royal Mamluks.⁶⁰ In 708/1309 he traveled to Mecca together with al-Nāṣir. He was promoted to the rank of amir of a hundred as well as the holder of the left-hand seat at the sultan's banquets (*ra's al-maysarah*). People saw his favored status in the fact that he stayed at the Citadel in Cairo with al-Nāṣir even at night.⁶¹

State and Rural Society, 144-45.

⁵⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:54-55; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 62.

⁵⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:132.

⁵⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:812; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:55; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 71; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:27; see also al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 307, 381. According to al-Shujā'ī (*al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 231, 238), he held the post of *nāẓir al-jaysh* again from 742/1341-1342 to 743/1342.

⁵⁷ Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Kitāb al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durar al-Farīd*, published as "Histoire des sultans Mamlouks (III)," ed. and trans. E. Blochet, *Patrologia Orientalis* 20 (1929): 208; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382* (Carbondale, 1986), 105-6.

⁵⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:109; Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 156.

⁵⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:177, 180.

⁶⁰ David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," 61-62.

⁶¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:365-68; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:312; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 10:17-18; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:458; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 12, 15; Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 193. According to both al-Ṣafadī (*al-Wāfi*) and al-Maqrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*), Aydamur led one hundred twenty cavalrymen.



(7) Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī (d. 736/1336). He was originally one of Qalāwūn’s *mamlūks* (*al-Manṣūrīyah*) and then served al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After holding the post of governor (*nā’ib*) of Karak for a period, Aytamish was called back to Cairo in 711/1311. The next year he took charge of the Citadel as acting sultan (*nā’ib al-ghaybah*) during al-Nāṣir’s pilgrimage to Mecca. He was appointed *amīr al-rakb* or leader of the pilgrims to Mecca three times, in 724/1324, 731/1331, and 734/1334. He was a well-educated Mongol, fully literate in his native language, and had full knowledge of Mongol customs. Perhaps because of his abilities and reputation for truthfulness, Aytamish was made an emissary between the Mamluk sultan and the Ilkhanid ruler, Abū Sa‘īd, at the conclusion of a peace treaty (*ṣulḥ*) in 723/1323.⁶² In 736/1336 he was appointed governor (*nā’ib*) of Ṣafad where he died five months later.⁶³

(8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ (d. ?) was a Coptic financier from the sultan’s treasury (*mustawfī fī al-khizānah al-sulṭānīyah*). In 734/1333-1334 he was ordered by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nashw, the Coptic supervisor of the sultan’s estates (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), to confiscate the sultan’s property in order to reduce the Sultan to financial difficulties. However, in 738/1337-1338 Qarmūṭ’s property was confiscated by al-Nāṣir.⁶⁴

(D) al-Manūfīyah

(11) Balabān al-Muḥassin al-Zarrāq (d. 736/1336) was given an amirate of ten (*imrat ‘asharah*) in 707/1307-1308 during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After he held the posts of the supervisor of the central offices (*shādd al-dawāwīn*) and the governor (*wālī*) of Cairo, Balabān was appointed governor (*nā’ib*) of Damietta, probably in 735/1335.⁶⁵

⁶²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:335-42; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:242; al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 329-34; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:454; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:138; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī*, 164; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 166, 168, 175, 182; al-Shujā‘ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 3. On the career of the amir Aytamish, an article by Donald P. Little is the most informative: “Notes on Aytamish, A Mongol Mamlūk,” in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Wiesbaden, 1979), 387-401 (reprinted in Little’s *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* [London, 1986]); see also Reuven Amitai-Preiss, “Ghazan, Islam and Mongol Tradition: A View from the Mamlūk Sultanate,” *BSOAS* 59 (1996): 5.

⁶³Al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 287-88, 332; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 191, 192.

⁶⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:370, 455; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:165. On ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nashw, see Little, “Coptic Converts to Islam,” 270, 285.

⁶⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:28; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:37, 385.



(E) al-Buḥayrah

(12) Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis (d. ?) is not to be confused with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Jamālī (d. 732/1331), majordomo of al-Nāṣir.⁶⁶ The first account of Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis says that he advanced into Syria as the commander of a thousand in 712/1312.⁶⁷ When the bedouin captured ‘Aydhāb in 716/1316, Mughulṭāy was dispatched to regain it with five hundred troops.⁶⁸ However, he was then ordered to go to Syria in 718/1318, retaining the same post of commander, and his *iqṭā’* of eighty cavalry in Egypt was granted to Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī.⁶⁹

(13) Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Nā’ib (d. 731/1331). The Arabic sources give us very little information on his career. We know only that his father Ṭurunṭāy was vice-sultan and that he was promoted to commander of a thousand.⁷⁰

(14) Balabān al-Ṣarkhadī (d. 730/1330) was an amir of forty, and it is said that he was diligent in observing everyday prayer. In 725/1325 he participated in the expedition to Yemen under the command of the amir Baybars al-Ḥājib.⁷¹

(16) Baybars al-Jamdār al-Ruknī al-Muẓaffarī (d. 740/1339-1340). In 729/1329 the amir Baybars was appointed governor (*wālī*) of Alexandria.⁷² The city of Alexandria was included administratively in the province of al-Buḥayrah where Baybars took charge of the *rawk* of 715/1315. He held the post of governor until the year of 740/1339, when all his property was confiscated. He died in Alexandria.⁷³

THE SUPERVISORS DISPATCHED TO UPPER EGYPT

(A) al-Itfīḥīyah

(17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Sa’idī al-Karakī (d. 749/1348). In 710/1310 Sultan al-Nāṣir arrested the *mamlūks* of the amir Salār al-Manṣūrī, who, together with the amir Baybars al-Jāshankīr, actually controlled state politics during al-Nāṣir

⁶⁶Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī was appointed supervisor of the *rawk* in Aleppo together with Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnah (4).

⁶⁷Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 157.

⁶⁸Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:162; Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 165.

⁶⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:185; Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 167-68. On the career of Baybars al-Dawādār, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 10:352.

⁷⁰Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 4:79; al-Shujā’ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 121; according to al-Ṣafadī (*A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 3:27), he made his pilgrimage to Mecca four times.

⁷¹Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:27; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:522; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:260.

⁷²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:309; Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 180. Al-Maqrīzī relates that he was also governor of the frontier (*nā’ib al-thaghr*) in *al-Sulūk*, 2:319.

⁷³Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:487, 505; Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 205.



Muḥammad's second reign (698-708/1299-1309). Al-Nāṣir then bestowed the rank of amir on some of his own *mamlūks*, including this man, Bahādur al-Karkarī (al-Karakī), as well as Baybughā al-Ashrafī and Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī (29).⁷⁴ Bahādur first served the sultan as an amir of the banner (*amīr 'alam*), which corresponded to an amir of ten. He was in charge of managing the storehouse for drums and trumpets.⁷⁵ In 717/1317 he went to the Hijaz together with the amir Aytamish al-Muḥammadī (7) and returned to Cairo after an absence of one hundred days.⁷⁶ He was then appointed chief of administrative offices in Ḥimṣ under the rule of Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz. He afterwards changed his post to that of an amir of forty in the local provinces of Syria, and died at Tripoli in 749/1348.⁷⁷

(B) al-Fayyūm

(19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquṣbā al-Zāhirī al-Nāṣirī (d. 745/1344) often transferred his services from one amir to another and was himself granted an amirate by Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn. During the Egyptian *rawk* in 715/1315, Ṭuquṣbā held the post of governor (*wālī*) of Qūṣ.⁷⁸ He made two expeditions to Nubia in 705/1305-1306 and 716/1316. In 733/1332-1333 he was appointed *amīr al-rakb* of the year.⁷⁹ He lived over 120 years, and died as an amir of forty in Cairo in 745/1344.⁸⁰ This information implies that he was over ninety years old when the cadastral survey was carried out.

(20) 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Damīrī (d. 732/1331). We know only that he participated in the campaign against the town of 'Aydḥāb together with the amir Muḡhulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis (12) in 716/1316.⁸¹

(22) 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡhulṭāy ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Martīnī (d. 749/1348). The sources give us no information on his origins. He was first appointed to the governorship (*niyābah*) of Bahnasā in Upper Egypt and was transferred to Syria

⁷⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:87; see also idem, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:535-36.

⁷⁵Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 3:689. On the *amīr 'alam*, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:13.

⁷⁶Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 166.

⁷⁷Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 10:300-301; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:33. Al-Ṣafadī in *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:265, has Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur ibn al-Karkarī.

⁷⁸Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:128.

⁷⁹Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 187. Every year during the month of Shawwāl the camel-borne litter (*maḡmal*) departed from Cairo leading the Muslims to Mecca. An *amīr al-rakb* was chosen annually from among the influential amirs to guard them from raids by the bedouins; see F. Buhl and Jacques Jomier, "Maḡmal," *Et*², 6:44-46. The *amīr al-rakb* was also called *amīr al-ḥājj* during the Mamluk period; see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 7:74-75.

⁸⁰Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:326-27; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:177-78, 236, 673; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:189; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḡammad*, 274. The person who was sent to Qūṣ in the survey was also called Ṭuquṣbā (32), who seems to be different from this *wālī* Qūṣ.

⁸¹Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 165; see also al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:407.



as the governor (*nā'ib*) of the citadel in Damascus. Then he was given the post of chamberlain, also in Damascus, but was arrested in 747/1346 and died of the plague in 749/1348.⁸²

(C) al-Bahnasāwīyah

(23) 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Talīlī al-Shamsī (d. 728/1328) was one of the amirs in Damascus. In 705/1305-1306 during the second reign of al-Nāṣir, he was sent to the ruler of the Maghrib with the amir Aydughdī al-Khwārizmī. In 710/1310 Aydughdī was also chosen to be *amīr al-rakb*.⁸³ He died unemployed in Damascus.⁸⁴

(25) Jamāl al-Dīn Khaḍir ibn Nūkīyah al-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357). His father, Nūkīyah or Nukāy al-Silāḥdār al-Tatarī, also had a daughter named Urdukīn. Khaḍir was made an amir in 709/1309-1310 by Sultan al-Nāṣir. His sister, Urdukīn, married al-Ashraf Khalīl, then after his death married his brother, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and gave birth to a son. When she died in 724/1324, Khaḍir was allowed to inherit her property.⁸⁵

(26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī (d. ?) changed service and was promoted to the rank of *naqīb al-mamālīk*, which was restricted to the Royal Mamluks.⁸⁶ Although he was relieved from this post in 716/1316, Bahādur still held an amirate and was repeatedly appointed *amīr al-rakb*. However, he failed to quell the revolt of Ḥumaydah ibn Abī Numayy, lord of Mecca, against the Mamluk regime in 718/1318. When he returned to Cairo the next year, Bahādur was arrested and imprisoned at Alexandria until 720/1320.⁸⁷ However, he still held the rank of amir of forty when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad died in 741/1341.⁸⁸

(D) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥāwīyah

(29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī (d. ?), together with Bahādur al-Karakī (17), was given the rank of amir when al-Nāṣir, as mentioned above, arrested amir Salār al-Manṣūrī and his *mamlūks* in 710/1310.⁸⁹

(E) al-Ikḥmīmīyah

⁸²Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 5:125; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfi*, 738; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:717; Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 209; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 3:276.

⁸³Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 132, 154.

⁸⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:345; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:454.

⁸⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:370, 2:173; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 7:192; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:63.

⁸⁶David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," 65.

⁸⁷Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:504; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:31; Zetterstéén, *Mamlükensultane*, 165, 167-68.

⁸⁸Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:305.

⁸⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:87.



(30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirī al-Silāhdār (d. 731/1330) was one of the *mamlūks* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and was first appointed *amīr silāḥ* (amir of arms), which was customarily held by an amir of forty;⁹⁰ that is, it was an exceptional promotion for the Bahrī Mamluk period. He was said to have dressed well and to have had a sense of camaraderie. When the Mamluk army succeeded in conquering the town of Malatyah, Qijlīs returned from Syria with 350 captives in Rabī‘ I 715/June 1315, four months before the start of the Egyptian *rawk*.⁹¹ After the *rawk* was completed, he was chosen *amīr al-rakb* for 717/1317. Qijlīs became the supervisor of the Ibn Ṭulūn mosque in Cairo in 723/1323.⁹² When al-Nāṣir dispatched his son, al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, to Karak in 726/1326, Qijlīs and other amirs accompanied him.⁹³ Since Qijlīs had been given great prestige under al-Nāṣir, it is said that he was always ready to manage the important affairs entrusted to him.⁹⁴ Furthermore, he was well known as an expert in the making of time-pieces (*mawāqīt*), astrolabes (*aṣṭurlāb*), and quadrants (*arbā’*).⁹⁵

(31) Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Sa‘dī (d. 728/1328) came from the non-Mamluk cavalry (*ajnad al-ḥalqah*). When al-Nāṣir went to Mecca in order to avert the threat of Amir Salār and Sultan Baybars al-Jashankīr in 708/1309, Sunqur accompanied him, as well as the amir Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (6).⁹⁶ In Cairo Sunqur held the post of *naqīb al-mamālīk*,⁹⁷ but was exiled to Tripoli in 723/1323. He was greatly interested in the development of agriculture, and single-handedly established a village in the province of al-Gharbīyah.⁹⁸

THE PRINCIPLES FOR CHOOSING SUPERVISORS

We have described the origins, careers and official posts of the supervisors appointed for the Egyptian *rawk* in 715/1315. Now we will examine whether any principles

⁹⁰Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfi*, 535. According to Ayalon, the office of *amīr silāḥ* was held not by an amir of forty, but by an amir of a hundred (“Studies on the Structure-III,” 60). This amir’s duty was to bear the sultan’s arms during public appearances.

⁹¹Zetterstéén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 162-63.

⁹²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:247.

⁹³Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1976-86), 2:161.

⁹⁴Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 3:328.

⁹⁵Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 2:350.

⁹⁶Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 7:190.

⁹⁷According to Ibn Ḥajar (*al-Durar*, 2:273), he held the post of *niyābat al-jaysh* (supervisor of military affairs).

⁹⁸Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:273; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:246; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:226. He also constructed al-Madrasah al-Sa‘dīyah outside Cairo in 715/1315; see *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:250.



or criteria governed the way these twenty-three persons were chosen. Let us examine the above accounts from several points of view.

First, let us compare these men with the supervisors dispatched to the Egyptian regions to survey the irrigation system in 714/1314. According to al-Maqrīzī, the supervisors for the irrigation survey were:⁹⁹

Lower Egypt

- (A) al-Gharbīyah:
Amir Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Ḥājib
- (B) al-Sharqīyah:
Amir ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī
- (C) al-Buḥayrah:
Amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Talīlī
- (D) al-Qalyūbīyah:
Amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā

Upper Egypt

- (A) al-Fayyūm:
Amir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī
- (B) al-Bahnasāwīyah:
Amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr
- (C) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwīyah:
Amir Sayf al-Dīn Qullī
- (D) Asyūṭ and Manfalūṭ:
Amir Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥaydar (Jandar)¹⁰⁰
- (E) Ikhmīm:
Amir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī
- (F) Qūṣ:
Amir Bahā’ al-Dīn Aṣlam

Among the above-mentioned ten amirs, those who were re-appointed for the cadastral survey the next year were the following five persons: Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl, ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Talīlī, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (in Lower Egypt), and Sayf al-Dīn Qullī (in Upper Egypt). Among them, Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl (dispatched to al-Gharbīyah) and ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur (to al-Sharqīyah) were sent to the same regions as in the cadastral survey. However, the above accounts of their careers show that the two amirs had no close connection to either region.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:137-38; see also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 227.

¹⁰⁰Al-Maqrīzī in *al-Muqaffá*, 3:649, has Jandar.

¹⁰¹In 712/1313 Sultan al-Nāṣir dispatched the Mamluk army to Syria against the Mongol invasion. Among the twenty-one amirs of a hundred who led the army, the following eight amirs were



Among the five amirs who were not chosen as supervisors in the cadastral survey in 715/1315, two—Aydughdī Shuqayr (al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥāwīyah) and Bahādūr al-Mu‘izzī (Ikhmīm)—were arrested with the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughāy under suspicion of a plot to assassinate al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Rabī‘ I 715/July 1315,¹⁰² just after the irrigation survey. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr (d. 715/1315) originally came from the Mamluk corps formed by Lājīn. During al-Nāṣir’s reign he was promoted to a high position through the good offices of his comrade (*khushdāsh*), the amir Ṭughāy, and became one of the sultan’s favorites.¹⁰³ Sayf al-Dīn Bahādūr al-Mu‘izzī (d. 739/1339) was also one of the *mamlūks* fostered by Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, and was given the rank of amir when Lājīn ascended to the throne in 696/1296.¹⁰⁴ Thereafter Bahādūr was arrested, but was later released. In 730/1330, he was promoted to commander of a thousand.¹⁰⁵

Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Jandar al-Rūmī (d. 729/1329), who was dispatched to Asyūṭ during the irrigation survey, came to Cairo from al-Rūm with his father and served al-Manṣūr Lājīn in Egypt and Syria. When al-Nāṣir ascended to the sultanate for the third time in 709/1310, Ḥusayn was appointed amir of a hundred because of his talent for hunting (*ṣayd*). Although he had belonged to Ṭughāy’s group of suspected plotters, he was found blameless when Aydughdī, Bahādūr, and Ṭughāy were arrested.¹⁰⁶ However, the fact that Ḥusayn was one of Ṭughāy’s intimate comrades (*min khawāṣṣ Ṭughāy*) might explain why he was passed over for the position of supervising the *rawk* in 715/1315. It is not clear why the two remaining amirs, Baktūt al-Shamsī and Bahā’ al-Dīn Aṣlam,¹⁰⁷ were not chosen as supervisors of the *rawk*. However, we may say that the way in which the supervisors

chosen again as supervisors of the irrigation survey in 714/1314: ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī, Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr, Sayf al-Dīn Qullī, Sayf al-Dīn Bahādūr al-Mu‘izzī, Bahādūr Aṣlam, and Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn; cf. Amitai-Preiss, “The Remaking of the Military Elite,” 149.

¹⁰²Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 162; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:144; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:214-15. Aydughdī Shuqayr, accused of plotting to murder the sultan, was killed on the day of his arrest. In 713/1313 a dispute over *iqṭā’* holdings occurred between Aybak al-Manṣūrī and Aydughdī Shuqayr. Sultan al-Nāṣir arrested Aybak al-Manṣūrī, grand amir of the Manṣūrī *mamlūks*, on the pretext that Aybak and his comrade intended to usurp the sultanate; see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:128.

¹⁰³Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:342-43; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:455; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:214.

¹⁰⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:501.

¹⁰⁵Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘Aṣr*, 1:264.

¹⁰⁶Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 3:649-50; *al-Sulūk*, 2:177-78, 313-14.

¹⁰⁷Bahā’ al-Dīn Aṣlam ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirī (d. 747/1346) was originally a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and was promoted to amir of a hundred by him, a rank he held until he lost it to the sultan’s anger after the cadastral survey; see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:455-56; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 9:285.



were chosen was closely connected to the movements of the Mamluk factions competing around the sultanate in Cairo.

Now let us examine the accounts of the supervisors appointed for the cadastral survey in the following year. As mentioned above, among thirty-two supervisors we may identify twenty-three persons, including two Coptic officials. The biographical accounts do not reveal any close relation between the regions to which the twenty-one amirs were appointed and their posts or *iqṭā'*s. In the *rawk* of Tripoli in 717/1317, for example, Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb al-Ḥamawī, chief of military affairs (*nāẓir*) at Aleppo, was put in charge of the cadastral survey. In the *rawk* of Aleppo in 725/1325, Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī, who held the offices of *ustādār* and *wazīr*, was appointed supervisor; that is, he was neither governor of Aleppo nor chief of military affairs there. This method of appointment was to avoid unfairness on the part of local chief officials or *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*).¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, it may well be said that such a principle was also followed in the *rawk* of Egypt in 715/1315.

We know the following posts of the supervisors, except the two Coptic officials, at the time of the cadastral survey:

- (2) 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭaybars: *naqīb al-jaysh* (chief of military police)
- (3) Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl: *ḥājib* (chamberlain)
- (5) Sayf al-Dīn Qullī: *silāḥdār* (bearer of arms)
- (6) 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur: *ustādār* (majordomo)
- (11) Balabān al-Muḥassin: *shādd al-dawāwīn* (supervisor of central offices)
- (17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Karakī: *amīr 'alam* (amir of banners)
- (19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquṣbā: *wālī Qūṣ*
- (26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī: *naqīb al-mamālīk* (chief of *mamlūk* affairs)
- (30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs: *amīr silāḥ* (amir of arms)
- (31) Shams al-Dīn Sunqur: *naqīb al-mamālīk*

It is remarkable that only one local governor (*wālī Qūṣ*) was appointed supervisor. The other supervisors held posts that were closely connected to the sultan's privy council, the Royal Mamluks, or the central administration. This indicates that the cadastral survey was carried out under al-Nāṣir's strong leadership. Al-Nuwayrī says, "Sultan al-Nāṣir himself proceeded to Upper Egypt to preside over the amirs and scribes."¹⁰⁹ The sultan had to obtain good results from the cadastral survey in order to establish a stable Mamluk regime.

¹⁰⁸Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 143-45.

¹⁰⁹Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:299-300; see also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 140.



Finally, let us look at the origins of the amirs appointed as supervisors of the cadastral survey in 715/1315. Among the twenty-one amirs identified above, one, Shams al-Dīn Sunqur (31), was from the non-*mamlūk* cavalry, and two, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (1) and Khaḍir ibn Nūkīyah (25), were Mongol immigrants (*al-Wāfidīyah*) or the sons of such immigrants who came to serve al-Nāṣir. Both Mongol amirs were appointed to high positions through their relations by marriage to al-Nāṣir. From among the remaining supervisors, those who were *mamlūks* purchased and fostered by al-Nāṣir were (11) Balabān al-Muḥassin, (17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Karakī, (29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī, and (30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs. Those who had been originally bought by another sultan or by an amir, and who later switched service to al-Nāṣir were (2) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ṭaybars, (6) ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur, (7) Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish, (19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquṣbā, and (26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī. It is interesting that the same number of supervisors was chosen from among both the Nāṣirī and non-Nāṣirī *mamlūks*. However, even among these amirs we find no one who remained in his former faction, even after the accession of al-Nāṣir to the sultanate.

As I mentioned above, during al-Nāṣir’s second reign the Vice-Sultan Salār al-Manṣūrī and majordomo Baybars al-Jāshankīr actually controlled state politics. They were from the Burjī, or Manṣūrī, *mamlūks* formed by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, when al-Nāṣir ascended to his third sultanate after eliminating Baybars al-Jāshankīr and his followers in 709/1310, the first thing he had to do was eliminate the influence of the senior Manṣūrī and other amirs.¹¹¹ He immediately sent letters to the local *wālīs*, ordering them to seize the estates of these amirs and send them to the prison in Alexandria.¹¹² In 710/1310 Sultan al-Nāṣir captured Salār and his *mamlūks*,¹¹³ and in 712/1312 he arrested six amirs of a hundred, including three Manṣūrī amirs.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, just after the irrigation survey in 714/1314, he arrested those senior amirs, like ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr and Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī, who had been fostered by al-Manṣūr Lājīn.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī, *Tālī*, 57-58, 89-90; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:534-55.

¹¹¹Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1325), 4:58-59; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:71-72, 77-78; Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 145-150; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 112-13; Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, 106-7; Amitai-Preiss, “The Remaking of the Military Elite,” 106-7.

¹¹²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:77-78.

¹¹³Ibid., 2:87; Abū al-Fidā’, *Mukhtaṣar*, 4:60.

¹¹⁴Amitai-Preiss, “The Remaking of the Military Elite,” 154-55.

¹¹⁵Zetterstéen, *Mamlükensultane*, 162; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:144. As to the affiliation of these amirs, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 2:342-43, 501; see also Amitai-Preiss, “The Remaking of the Military Elite,” 149.



The next step was the execution of the cadastral survey, in order to decrease the *iqṭāʿ* revenue of those amirs left over from the reigns of the previous sultans.¹¹⁶ When al-Nāṣir resolved to establish a regime based on his own *mamlūks*, it was probably deemed proper that the *rawk* supervisors be chosen not from the Manṣūrī *mamlūk* amirs, but from his own confidants, including the Nāṣirī *mamlūk* amirs. After the cadastral survey, al-Nāṣir granted new *iqṭāʿ*'s to the amirs, his own *mamlūks* and the *ḥalqah* cavalrymen, and ordered that the land the Manṣūrī amirs had purchased in Giza be integrated into the sultan's domain. Furthermore he declared that anyone who returned his authorization (*mithāl*) of *iqṭāʿ* or complained of the survey results would be beaten and imprisoned after his *iqṭāʿ*'s were confiscated.¹¹⁷ This shows that al-Nāṣir evidently carried out the cadastral survey in order to implement his resolution to eliminate the senior non-Nāṣirī amirs.

¹¹⁶On the causes and objectives of the Nāṣirī *rawk*, see Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 145-52.

¹¹⁷Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:156. On the results of the Nāṣirī *rawk*, see Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 53-54; Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 152-61.

