

**STATE AND RURAL SOCIETY
IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM**

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STATE AND RURAL SOCIETY IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM

Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun

BY

SATO TSUGITAKA



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PREFACE

Islamic society has been evolving new systems in the Middle East since around the tenth century. The rise of the *mamlūks* or slave soldiers, who were employed to replace the Arabs and the Khurāsānīs, led to the decline of the Abbasid caliphate and the independence of local rulers. This change of circumstances brought about new political systems under the great amirate and the sultanate. On the other hand, privileged landownership by the amirs, in addition to the development of large-scale landownership by rich merchants and high officials since the ninth century, increased the financial difficulties of the Abbasid government which had relied for its existence on land tax (*kharāj*). In response, the Buwayhid great amir, Mu‘izz al-Dawla (reigned 334–356/946–967), who entered Baghdad at the end of the year 334/beginning of the year 946, introduced the *iqṭā‘* system for allocating revenue from land to his soldiers.

In Islamic society under the *iqṭā‘* system, which covers the period from the middle of the tenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the soldiers or the *iqṭā‘* holders expanded their rule over both rural and urban society, while the Sufi orders organized both townspeople and peasants through their religious organizations and activities. It was an age of the formation of a traditional social order which became the object of reform by the modernists after the nineteenth century. We may thus evaluate the age as a long “knot” connecting the early Islamic period to modern times in the Middle East. In spite of this important historical link, social and economic evolution under the *iqṭā‘* system has not been fully studied by modern scholars. In particular, the scarcity of studies on rural life and the peasantry is remarkable. This book is one attempt to fill the gap.

The *iqṭā‘* system was not only a land system, but also had close connections to both state and society of Islam. Under the *iqṭā‘* system, two important social relationships appeared: the relationship between the sultan and *iqṭā‘* holders (*muqṭa‘*), and the relationship between *iqṭā‘* holders and peasants (*fallāḥ*, pl. *fallāḥūn*). That is to say, the soldiers who were granted *iqṭā‘*s were obliged to provide military service to the sultan and were granted authority to levy taxes on peasants and local townspeople. This work will take up not only these peasants and townspeople, but also the Bedouins (*‘Urbān*) who had various kinds of

close connections with the settled people.

Some European scholars, as will be indicated in Chapter One, have regarded the *iqṭā'* system as "Islamic feudalism" in comparison with medieval European feudalism. Though views differ as to the origins of Islamic feudalism, these studies intend to make clear differences between European and Islamic societies via the term "Lehen" or "feudalism." On the other hand, some scholars in the Arab countries, influenced by European studies, apply themselves even today to the study of Islamic feudalism, but, as revealed in the recent critical research on the topic, there exists an inevitable distortion in the attempt to compare Islamic and European societies. I have observed that it is not necessary to apply "feudalism" to the *iqṭā'* system and its society, for we can find various important aspects peculiar to Islamic society which are very difficult to explain using conventional European concepts. For example, Islamic cities continued to flourish under a monetary economy even under the *iqṭā'* system, and social institutions were rather unique, as indicated by the fact that slave soldiers could rise to become political rulers.

This book deals with the period from the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system in Iraq in the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt and Syria. It attempts to show that the Mamluk regime that was to be inherited by the later Mamluk sultans was established by the middle of the fourteenth century through the reformation of the *iqṭā'* system. Regionally speaking, the book is mainly concerned with what is today Iraq, Syria and Egypt, but it does not aim to describe uniformly the history of the *iqṭā'* system throughout all these districts. The introductory chapter deals with the historical origins of the *iqṭā'* system and reviews the research to date in order to provide a bird's-eye view of the development of the system in Islamic history. Chapter Two discusses the evolution of Iraqi society from the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, while chapters that follow deal with the history of the system in some detail in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties. Chapter Eight, in particular, examines systematically the rural life and peasantry in Egypt under the *iqṭā'* system.

The primary sources used in this study comprise printed Arabic and Persian books in addition to Arabic manuscripts. These sources, which are cited in the bibliography, include geographies, topographies, travel accounts, encyclopaedias, biographies and works of literature, as well as chronicles and local histories. The characteristics of these sources will be investigated minutely in each chapter. The research done on Arabic manuscripts was carried out during the years 1969-70, 74, 84,

86–87, 88, 92, 93–94 under funding from The University of Tokyo, The Japan Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and The Japan Foundation.

I would like to express my gratitude to the librarians of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya in Cairo, Maktabat al-Zāhiriya & Maktabat al-Asad in Damascus, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and The British Library in London for their kind help and advice in the course of my study. My thanks go out to the staff of the libraries of the University of Washington at Seattle, the University of California at Berkeley, Princeton University, and Harvard University for the warm hospitality I received during my stay in the United States from March to August, 1993. I would like also to acknowledge my debt to Dr. Şāliḥ Aḥmad al-‘Alī (University of Baghdad), who helped me to find the importance of Buwayhid dynasty in Islamic history, Dr. Sa‘id ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Āshūr (University of Cairo), who first taught me how to read Arabic manuscripts, and Prof. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Sharaf, who took time out during his seven year stay in Japan to tutor me patiently on the difficult idioms found in those manuscripts.

Further, I am grateful for the gracious help provided to me by Mr. Otoshi Tetsuya (Associate Professor, Kyushu University), who read the whole manuscript, and gave me invaluable suggestions and corrections. A special word of appreciation is also due to Mr. John Wisnom (Language Adviser, Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, The Toyo Bunko) for his careful proofreading of the manuscript, and Mrs. Hayashi Kayoko (Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) for her elaborate work on the maps and index. Last but not least, the writing of this book could never have been accomplished without the constant encouragement and understanding of Professor Peter M. Holt since we first met at the University of London in 1970.

7 April 1996
SATO Tsugitaka
The University of Tokyo

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	<i>Asian and African Studies (Haifa)</i>
Annales: ESC	<i>Annales: economies, société, civilizations</i>
AI	<i>Annales islamologiques</i>
AIEO	<i>Annales de l'institut d'études orientales (Alger)</i>
BEO	<i>Bulletin d'études orientales de l'institut français de Damas</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 8 vols., Leiden, 1870-94; repr., 1967.</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BSRGE	<i>Bulletin de la société royale de géographie d'Égypte</i>
EI	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition, 4 vols. and supplement, Leiden, 1913-38; repr., 1987.</i>
EIⁿ	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, Leiden, 1954-.</i>
IC	<i>Islamic Culture</i>
IQ	<i>The Islamic Quarterly</i>
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
JAAS	<i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JASP	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JMES	<i>Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSAI	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
MTB	<i>Memoirs of the Research Department of The Toyo Bunko</i>
MW	<i>The Muslim World</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
REI	<i>Revue des études islamiques</i>
SI	<i>Studia Islamica</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

The following table gives Roman equivalents of the Arabic and Persian letters used in the text.

' , b, p, t, th, j, ch, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, zh, s,
sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, z, ' , gh, f, q, k, g, l, m, n, w, h, y,
ā, ī, ū, aw, ay, iy

The Arabic definite article and the Persian *ezāfe* are always represented by al- and -i respectively. Words commonly cited in English (e. g. Damascus, Jerusalem, Mecca, sultan, amir, qadi) are generally not transliterated except to express such official posts as Ṣāhib Dimashq and Nā'ib al-Quds.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE IQTĀ' SYSTEM: AN INTRODUCTION

The *iqṭā'* system, which was first instituted in mid-tenth century Iraq, spread gradually to Iran and Afghanistan in the East, and to Syria and Egypt in the West. And if we consider that *soyūrghāl* and *tuyūl* in Safavid and Qajar Iran or *timār* in Ottoman Turkey had essentially the same characteristics as *iqṭā'*, we can therefore say that the *iqṭā'* system continued to exist until the early nineteenth century in Iran, and until around the seventeenth century in Turkey. Even in Egypt and Syria, when these regions were conquered by the Ottomans, the *muqāṭa'a* system was introduced anew taking features from the *iqṭā'* system. The *iqṭā'* system proper was utilized by rulers for controlling Islamic states and societies from the tenth to the sixteenth century.

The *iqṭā'* systems throughout Islamic society possess some common features, but on the whole are different according to both historical and regional peculiarities. As mentioned above, this study does not aim to describe uniformly the history of the *iqṭā'* system throughout the Islamic world; rather the origins and development of the *iqṭā'* system will be first summarized by reviewing the research to date. This will reveal the significance of studying *iqṭā'* institutions in Islamic history.

1. *Qaṭī'a in the Early Islamic Period*

According to legal opinions,¹ the *iqṭā'*s in Islamic law are classified into two types. The first is an "*iqṭā'* of private ownership" (*iqṭā' al-tamlīk*), which means privately owned land assigned by the state, provided that owners pay the land tax (*kharāj*) or the tithe (*'ushr*). The second type is an "*iqṭā'* of usufruct" (*iqṭā' al-istighlāl*), by which revenue from a piece of land is apportioned in place of a salary. For example, the barren land (*mawāt*) which was granted by the Prophet Muḥammad to Zubayr b.

¹ *Māwardī*, 190-198; *Abū Ya'ālā*, 227-236; *EI*,ⁿ s.v. *Iḳṭā'*.

al-‘Awwām belongs to the first category,¹ while the military *iqṭā’*, which will be covered later in detail, comes under the second category.² Because the concept of *iqṭā’* was widened gradually after the time of Muḥammad, it came to include assignments of tax-farming in addition to land grants, and after the tenth century *iqṭā’* meant properly military *iqṭā’* assigned to cavalrymen. Considering its usage in the historical sources, *iqṭā’* in the early Islamic period is termed “*qaṭī’a*,”³ and the military *iqṭā’* after the tenth century is named simply “*iqṭā’*” in the passages that follow.

C. H. Becker asserts that “Lehen” in the early Islamic period includes even the sovereign state of the Tulunids in Egypt in addition to *qaṭī’a* and tax-farming. He recognizes the first characteristic of this Islamic Lehen system in the fact that Lehen holders were not required to provide military service. He thus differentiates the Islamic from the European Lehen system according to the presence or absence of military service.⁴ Cl. Cahen, who set out to understand the historical origin of *iqṭā’*, did a more concrete study of the land system in the early Islamic period. The lands conquered by the Arabs were classified into two types: the land owned by non-Muslims who should pay the *kharāj*, and land for the Muslim community. The latter was apportioned to various persons as *qaṭī’a*, on which the *‘ushr* was levied. The *qaṭī’a* might be inherited, but it differed from the fief in medieval Europe in that its holder (*muqṭa’*) could claim no other right than land proprietorship. Besides, the privately owned land which was valid for the duration of life was called “*tu‘ma*,” and other privileged landownership appeared, such as “*īghār*,” carrying with it partial immunity from taxation, and “*taswīgh*” having complete immunity from taxation. Based on such privileged landownership, large scale landownership developed gradually during the Abbasid period.⁵

¹ *Balādhurī*, 31.

² According to Shams al-Dīn al-Asyūṭī, Muḥī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), a Shāfi‘ite jurist, relates that a soldier is entitled to benefit (*manfa‘a*) from his *iqṭā’* (*Jawāhir al-‘Uqūd*, I, 272).

³ For example, *Kindī*, 101, 225; *Balādhurī*, 126-127, 199, 360-361; *Nishwār*, III, 30; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, I, 125. Al-‘Alī also gives many examples of *qaṭī’a* formed in the surrounding countryside of Baghdad during the early Abbasid period (S. A. al-‘Alī, *Baghdād Madīnat al-Salām*, Baghdad, 1985, vol.1, pp.147-157; vol.2, pp.5-13).

⁴ C. H. Becker, “Steuerpacht und Lehenswesen,” *Islamstudien*, vol.1, Leipzig, 1924, pp.234-247.

⁵ Cl. Cahen, “L’évolution de l’iqṭā’ du IX^e au XIII^e siècle,” *Annales: ESC*, 8(1953), pp.25-32. F. Løkkegaard also discussed in detail the land and tax system in the early Islamic period (*Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, Copenhagen, 1950), but his

Cahen's research, though more concrete than that of Becker, was characterized by a survey of the land system which appeared typically in Islamic history. A. A. al-Dūrī advanced further this topic showing that the land system was connected closely with the origin of the *iqṭā'* system. According to his article, "The Origins of Iqṭā' in Islam,"¹ there rose a new aristocracy who held the *qaṭī'a*² assigned from treasury lands (*ṣawāfi*). During the Umayyad period the acquisition of land by the Arabs increased significantly through such means as reclamation, purchase and promise of protection. Since the cultivated land was evaluated as a source for stable income during the Abbasid period, tax collectors aimed at obtaining private domains (*ḍay'a*), and merchants invested their commercial profits to purchase private domains. The state coffers thus suffered as privileged landownership by the Turkish commanders developed after the ninth century.

J. Shimada, who published two articles following al-Dūrī's study, made clear the realities of *qaṭī'a* and *ḍay'a*. In the first article "Qaṭī'a and Ḍay'a in the Early Islamic Period,"³ he explains that large scale *ḍay'as* were invented by such means as reclamation, promise of protection and enclosure (*ḥawz*), while small scale *qaṭī'as* were apportioned according to superiority in rank. In his second article, "The Tribal Qaṭī'a and the Military Qaṭī'a in the Early Islamic Period,"⁴ he points out that the Arab tribes in al-Jazīra were granted *qaṭī'a* as a means of livelihood, and that soldiers stationed at the Byzantine border were assigned *qaṭī'a* to reclaim the frontier. Furthermore, he asserts in his work, *State and Society in Islam*,⁵ that *qaṭī'a* and *ḍay'a* in the early Islamic period possessed common features with the military *iqṭā'* after the tenth century.

Shimada concludes that after the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, the peasants on *ḍay'a* only came to pay the equivalent of *kharāj* not to

understanding of the subject seems inconsistent.

¹ A. A. al-Dūrī, "The Origins of Iqṭā' in Islam," *Abḥāth*, 22(1969), pp.3-22.

² In this article both *qaṭī'a* in the early Islamic period and military *iqṭā'* are designated as *iqṭā'*.

³ *Oriental Studies Dedicated to Dr. Yamamoto on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1972, pp.231-242. An anthology entitled *Studies on the Early Islamic State (Shoki Isuramu Kokka no Kenkyu)* which collected Shimada's important articles was recently published in Tokyo, Chūō Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1996.

⁴ *Historical Studies Dedicated to Professor Egami Namio on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1977, pp.625-641.

⁵ J. Shimada, *State and Society in Islam* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1977.

the *ḍay'a* holders, but to the *iqṭā'* holders.¹ On the other hand, B. Johansen thinks that from the implementation of the *iqṭā'* system the rural society of the Near and Middle East underwent fundamental changes; and what is most important is the fact that the distinction between tax (*kharāj*) and rent (*ujra*) first became vague through the spread of the system.² In any case, the differences between *qaṭī'a* (including *ḍay'a*) and *iqṭā'* should be recognized:

- (1) Even though *qaṭī'a* holders were not only soldiers but also the caliph's kinsfolk (including women)³ and high officials, most of the *iqṭā'* holders were soldiers.
- (2) *Qaṭī'a* was privately owned land (*milk*), on which was levied the '*ushr*, but *iqṭā'* was the assignment of landed revenue in return for military service.
- (3) The *iqṭā'* system, as it was carried out for managing state and society, differed from *qaṭī'a*, which was privately owned land within the land holding system.

As to the third point, the Buwayhid great amirs (or the later sultans, for that matter) organized the military system and the state order through *iqṭā'* assignments, while *iqṭā'* holders exercised authority over their peasants, and intervened even in town life through the economic powers they amassed.

2. The Establishment and Development of the Iqṭā' System

As Turkish soldiers (*mamlūk* or *ghulām*) extended their power after the middle of the ninth century, the authority of the Abbasid caliphate declined significantly. Also, the independence of local governors – for example, the Samanids in Iran and the Tulunids in Egypt – led to decreases in state revenue, which caused great fiscal difficulties. As mentioned above, privileged landownership and pecuniary waste by the court added to these difficulties. In the early Islamic period, salaries ('*aṭā'*) were usually

¹ "What is new in the Military Iqṭā'," *Oriental and Indian Studies Dedicated to Dr. Ashikaga Atsuuji on the Occasion of His Seventy Seventh Birthday* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1978, pp.229-237.

² B. Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent*, London, 1988, pp.80-81.

³ *Dhakhā'ir*, 238-240.

paid to the soldiers and officials out of the state treasury.¹ However, these serious problems made it even more difficult to maintain the 'atā' system by the early tenth century. Accordingly, when the Buwayhid army entered Baghdad in 334/946, the *iqṭā'* system was first introduced in Islamic history.²

Mu'izz al-Dawla assigned *iqṭā'*s to his Turkish and Daylamite troops when he conquered Iraq, but the assignees (*muqṭa'*) were still confined to Turkish and Daylamite officers (*qā'id*) and Turkish cavalymen, while Daylamite enlisted soldiers continued to receive the same salary as before from the government. Then, when the whole of Iraq came to be apportioned into *iqṭā'*s, small *iqṭā'*s were granted to Daylamite soldiers, too. The peasants under the *iqṭā'* system, who now paid the land tax not to the government, but to their *muqṭa'*, had to bear the hardships of the *muqṭa'*'s unjust rule.

As for the research on the *iqṭā'* system under the Buwayhids, H. F. Amedroz first translated Miskawayh's text into English,³ and then A. A. al-Dūrī, who studied the economic history of Buwayhid Iraq, described the characteristics of *iqṭā'*, comparing it with *milk* (privately owned land) and *waqf* (endowment), though the actual conditions of *iqṭā'* holding remained to be investigated in future.⁴ On the other hand, Cl. Cahen published a general survey of *iqṭā'* within the history of Islamic landholding, and thus gave us a lot of useful information concerning the rights and obligations of soldiers, and the subsumption of peasants by way of *himāya* (protection) and high interest lending.⁵ H. B. Abdallah, who regards this new phase in Islamic history as a transition from "iqṭā' étatique" to "iqṭā' militaire," focussed his research on the social and

¹ *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 95. According to al-Maqrīzī, the state system in the early Islamic period will be designated here as the "atā' system."

² H. Busse asserts that 'Imād al-Dawla, who conquered Fars, confiscated land and gave it to his officers at a time earlier than the conquest of Iraq, since Mu'izz al-Dawla would not have introduced it into Iraq without a precedent in Iran (*The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol.4, 1975, p.260); but he does not cite any source for it. Consequently it is doubtful that Mu'izz al-Dawla could not have introduced *iqṭā'*s without a precedent in Iran.

³ H. F. Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration in its Decay, from the Tajārib al-Umam," *JRAS*, 1913, pp.823-842.

⁴ A. A. al-Dūrī, *Ta'rīkh al-'Irāq al-Iqtisādī fī al-Qarn al-Rābi' al-Hijrī*, Baghdad, 1948; 2nd ed., Beirut, 1974.

⁵ Cahen, "L'évolution, pp.25-52.

economic conditions in Baghdad under the *iqṭā'* system.¹ We also find a general description of *iqṭā'* in the study of H. Busse and M. S. Khan on the Buwayhids in Iraq,² but all of these studies have not necessarily attempted a strict and comprehensive analysis of the main source, *Tajārib al-Umam* of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), dedicated to his master, 'Aḍud al-Dawla.³ Chapter Two in this book deals in some detail with the structure of the *iqṭā'* system and the evolution of rural society in Iraq under the new regime.

The areas granted as *iqṭā'*, despite M. Ismā'il's opinion,⁴ spread from Iraq to Iran by the middle of the Buwayhid period. To cite some examples, *iqṭā'*s were granted at Qumm in 353/964,⁵ Azerbaijan in 355/966,⁶ and al-Ahwāz in 363/973.⁷ The Seljuqids, who entered Baghdad in 447/1055, inherited the Buwayhid *iqṭā'* system almost as it was. When Tughril Beg advanced from Nishāpūr to Baghdad, he consolidated his authority through *iqṭā'* assignments to the local rulers and their subordinates.⁸ Accordingly, Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), notwithstanding the accounts in *Husaynī* and *Khiṭaṭ*,⁹ was not the first to assign *iqṭā'*s during the Seljuqid period.¹⁰ But unfortunately, we cannot find sufficient sources to clarify the differences between the late Buwayhid and the early Seljuqid *iqṭā'*s. According to Cahen, the Seljuqid *iqṭā'*s were assignments of land revenue to the cavalry who were subordinate

¹ H. B. Abdallah, *De l'iqṭa' étatique à l'iqṭa' militaire*, Uppsala, 1986.

² H. Busse, *Chalif und Großkönig—Die Buyiden im Iraq*, Wiesbaden, 1969; M. S. Khan, "The Effects of the *Iqṭā'* (land-grant) System under the Buwayhids," *IC*, 58(1984), pp.289-305.

³ M. Arkoun, *Contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme arabe au IV^e/IX^e siècle: Miskawayh*, Paris, 1970, p.121; T. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge, 1994, pp.173-176; *EI*,² s.v. Miskawayh.

⁴ M. Ismā'il holds that the *iqṭā'* system started from the Seljuqid period because the Buwahid government abolished it after the consolidation of the regime (*Sūsiyūlūjiyā al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, vols.1-2, Cairo, 1988, pp.455-456). However, his understanding is contrary to the historical facts described in the contemporary sources.

⁵ *Ta'riḫ-i Qumm*, 53, 132.

⁶ *Tajārib*, II, 229-230.

⁷ *Tajārib*, II, 328.

⁸ For example, in 442/1050-1 Tughril Beg, who conquered Iṣfahān, assigned Bilād al-Jabal (al-Jibāl) as *iqṭā'* to his soldiers, and allocated Yazd and Abarqūh to its lord (*ṣāhib*), Abū Maṣnūr (*Kāmil*, IX, 562-563). See also *Kāmil*, IX, 570.

⁹ *Husaynī*, 68; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 95.

¹⁰ Cahen, "L'évolution," p.38.

to the government, and thus were similar to Buwayhid *iqṭā'*s.¹

As to the study of the Seljuqid *iqṭā'* system, A. K. S. Lambton has been most prolific. She observes that the *iqṭā'* system in Islamic society was quite different from feudalism in Western Europe, in the sense that the element of mutual obligation inherent to European feudalism was notably absent in the *iqṭā'* system.² In her valuable work, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, she gives the following explanation for the Seljuqid *iqṭā'* system. The administration by the government was focussed on such *iqṭā'*s as the one held by the sultan and his families, the military *iqṭā'*s inherited from the Buwayhid dynasty, and the administrative *iqṭā'*s where both rights of administration and tax collection were granted. Though the number of the administrative *iqṭā'*s was limited during the Buwayhid period,³ the grants of the administrative *iqṭā'* to amirs were generalized from the time Seljuqid rule over Iran and Iraq stabilized. These amirs with full fiscal powers were able to exercise the right to grant *iqṭā'*s to their followers.⁴ Niẓām al-Mulk tried to supervise the *iqṭā'* holders more carefully through the unification of administrative *iqṭā'*s and military *iqṭā'*s; but, as the sultan's authority decreased after Malik Shāh died in 485/1092, the atabegs and amirs gained independence by means of inheriting *iqṭā'*s from their ancestors.⁵

Lambton's study is correct about Niẓām al-Mulk unifying the military *iqṭā'*s and the administrative *iqṭā'*s,⁶ but she does not give an exact explanation of the process of unification. Shimada, in his work entitled *State and Society in Islam*, describes this process as follows: unification means that the right of the administrative *iqṭā'* holders was weakened relative to that of the military *iqṭā'* holders, and as a result, the

¹ Cahen, "L'évolution," p.39. He presents also a general view of the *iqṭā'* system in *EI*,^a s.v. *Iḳṭā'*. On the other hand, O.Turan, who focussed on the Seljuqid and Rum Seljuqid periods, describes the process from the *iqṭā'* system to the *timār* system (*Islam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. *Iktā*).

² A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London, 1953, pp.53-54; id., "Reflections on the *Iḳṭā'*," in G. Makdisi ed., *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden, 1965, pp.364-365.

³ Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Seljuq Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol.5, 1968, p.233.

⁴ Lambton, "The Internal Structure," p.237. See also Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia*, Albany, N.Y., 1988, pp.97-129.

⁵ Lambton, *Landlord*, pp.61-62. See also, C. L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, p.10

⁶ On the unification of the administrative *iqṭā'* and the military *iqṭā'*, see Lambton, *Landlord*, pp.61, 63; "The Internal Structure," pp.231-234.

administrative *iqṭā'* holders also became obligated to provide military service.¹ According to *Siyāsat Nāma*, Nizām al-Mulk's intention was to clarify the *muqṭa*'s' rights and duties, to change their *iqṭā*'s every two or three years, and to send, if needed, supervisors to the local provinces.² This seems to confirm Shimada's view, but, during the time even before Nizām al-Mulk, it is doubtful that the administrative *iqṭā'* holders were exempt from military service to the sultan. Furthermore, Lambton says that administrative *iqṭā*'s were called *wilāya*, *riyāsa* and *niyāba* in the eastern provinces, while they were called *iqṭā*'s in the western countries.³ However, the Buwayhid *wālīs*, whom Lambton regards as administrative *iqṭā'* holders, were granted *iqṭā*'s no larger than part of the district they were in charge of. Moreover, among the Seljuqid historical sources the term *wālī* is distinguished carefully from *muqṭa*'.⁴ What, then, actually were the reforms implemented by Nizām al-Mulk? What was the real situation of administrative *iqṭā*'? These problems need to be reconsidered.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century, the Il-Khānids, who had established rule over Iran and Iraq, suffered losses due to laxity in the taxation system. The salaries of the Mongol army remained unpaid to the tune of more than 20% of the amount designated in the money drafts (*barāt*).⁵ Furthermore, the rural areas were left in ruins because of a decrease in productivity following the devastation wrought by the Mongol conquest.⁶ Ghāzān Khān's grants to the Mongol army of crown lands and pasture as *iqṭā*'s were to improve this deteriorated economic condition. While high officials had already held *iqṭā*'s before his reign, Ghāzān Khān expanded *iqṭā'* grants to cover the whole of his imperial army.⁷

M. Honda, who studied the authorization of *iqṭā'* grants (issued in

¹ Shimada, *State and Society*, pp.262-265.

² *Siyāsat Nāma*, 58, 111, 156, 252.

³ "The Internal Structure," p.236; "Reflections," p.370.

⁴ *Ḥusaynī*, 41-42; *Kāmil*, X, 70, 338-339; *Rāwandī*, 129-130; *Atabat al-Kataba*, 20, 31-32, 68; *Ta'rīkh al-Wuzarā'*, 123, 135, 162.

⁵ Lambton, *Landlord*, p.89; M. Honda, "On the Taxation Reform of Ghāzān Khān (in Japanese)," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Hokkaido University*, 10(1961), pp.87-124.

⁶ I. P. Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the Il-Khānids," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol.5, 1968, pp.483-490. On agriculture in medieval Iran, see also A. K. S. Lambton, "Reflections on the Role of Agriculture in Medieval Persia," A. L. Udovitch ed., *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900*, Princeton, 1981, pp.283-312.

⁷ Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition," pp.518-519. See also Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, pp.124-126.

703/1303), describes the characteristics of the Il-Khānid *iqṭā'* system as follows: the government assigned the amir of a thousand a large size *iqṭā'*, which was in turn distributed to amirs of hundreds and amirs of tens in hierarchical order. Though the sizes of *iqṭā'*s were limited, the villages were granted along with their peasants, and the grantees had principally the right to inherit them. These *muqṭa'*s were required to take care of cultivation other than for military service (*qalān*) and maintain grain supply to the government.¹ According to I. P. Petrushevsky, the Iranian peasants under the *iqṭā'* system, despite their free legal status, were bound to the land in reality and were prohibited from moving to new locations.²

The *iqṭā'* holders (*iqṭā'dār*) during the Il-Khānid period had the right to act independently only in financial affairs. The next Jalāyirid period (736–814/1336–1411), however, knew another type of *iqṭā'* called *soyūrghāl*, which was granted to the military in the state. We may well consider *soyūrghāl* to be the same as *iqṭā'*, since it was granted in exchange for military service to the government. After the latter half of the fourteenth century, allotments of *soyūrghāl* expanded to cover all the Iranian provinces in place of *iqṭā'*. This system was continued by the following Tīmūrid and Safavid dynasties.³ During the Safavid period *tuyūl* (the right to levy temporary taxes) as well as *soyūrghāl* were granted and can be traced back to the Il-Khānid *iqṭā'*.⁴ Accordingly, as Lambton states,⁵ the transfer from the *iqṭā'* system to the *soyūrghāl* or *tuyūl* system did not bring about any fundamental change in either landholding or village life in Iran. It was only in the nineteenth century that signs of change began to appear in Iranian society.

In Syria and al-Jazīra, *iqṭā'* grants by the Zangid rulers followed the breakup of the Seljuqid empire. 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (521–541/1127–46), who entered Mosul in 521/1127, allocated *iqṭā'*s to his amirs and soldiers, and introduced similar allotments into al-Jazīra and Northern Syria, as he expanded his rule over these districts. The Zangid *iqṭā'* system still

¹ M. Honda, "On the Iqṭā' in Iran under the Mongol Domination (in Japanese)," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Hokkaido University*, 7(1959), pp.35-54.

² Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition," pp.522-524.

³ Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition," p.520; Honda, "On the Iqṭā' in Iran," p.50.

⁴ Lambton, *Landlord*, pp.105-108; V. Minorsky, "A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-quyunlu (903/1499)," in *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages*, London, 1978, p.960.

⁵ Lambton, *Landlord*, p.101.

needs serious study, however. I. Khalil relates that each amir was assigned a district including local towns, while soldiers were granted small-size *iqṭā'*s, and, in some cases, influential amirs were able to allocate *iqṭā'*s to their followers.¹ The *iqṭā'* holdings were controlled both by the military office (*dīwān al-jaysh*) and provincial governors (*wālī*).

The rights of *muqṭa'* during the Zangid period, as in the Seljuqid period, was legally restricted to the levying of taxes on their *iqṭā'*s; but soldiers, who wished to hold stable *iqṭā'*s, insisted that *iqṭā'*s were privately owned land (*milk*) to be inherited from father to son. Accepting this argument, Nūr al-Dīn (541–569/1146–74) consented to the inheritance of *iqṭā'* holdings, and ordered that a guardian be chosen if the heir was still a child.² This Zangid *iqṭā'* system, as is widely known, was soon introduced into Egypt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin).

In Fatimid Egypt, amirs and high officials held privately owned lands called *qaṭī'a*, or *iqṭā'*. The *muqṭa'*s, i.e., *qaṭī'a*, or *iqṭā'* holders, were not required to provide military service, but had to pay the tithe (*'ushr*) to the government.³ Though Y. Lev asserts that during the twelfth century part of the Fatimid army was paid through the *iqṭā'* system,⁴ the Fatimid *iqṭā'* system was still different from the military *iqṭā'* system of the Buwayhid or Seljuqid period. However, the tradition that the office of the *iqṭā'* (*dīwān al-iqṭā'*), based on the calculation of annual revenues (*'ibra*), had managed the *iqṭā'* assignment must have been the important factor which enabled Saladin to introduce the *iqṭā'* system easily into Egypt.⁵ After Saladin established his rule over Egypt through *iqṭā'* assignments, he proceeded to Syria with his army on the occasion of Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569/1174 and authorized the new allocation of *iqṭā'*s to his followers and the Syrian amirs he subjected.

A. N. Poliak attempted to understand the Ayyubid and Mamluk

¹ I. Khalil, *Imād al-Dīn Zangī*, Beirut, 1967, pp.212-225. See also S. A. Muḥammad, *al-Aḥwāl al-Ijtīmā'īya wal-Iqtisādīya fī Bilād al-Jazīrat al-Furātīya khilālat al-Qarn al-Sādis al-Hijrī al-Thānī 'Ashar al-Milādī*, Baghdad, 1989, pp.235-247.

² *al-Ta'rikh al-Bāhir*, 169; *Rawdatayn*, I, 20; *Mufarrij*, I, 280; *Kawākib*, 30; *Uyūn al-Rawdatayn*, I, 367-368. See also Cahen, "L'évolution," p.44; N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, 3 vols., Damascus, 1967, p.727.

³ H. Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H.564–741/A.D.1169–1341*, London, 1972, pp.26-27. On the Fatimid *iqṭā'* system, see also A. F. Sayyid, *al-Dawlat al-Fāṭimīya fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1992, pp.330-331.

⁴ Y. Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden, 1991, p.125.

⁵ *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn*, 42.

iqṭā' systems in Egypt and Syria in terms of "Islamic feudalism." He rejected the idea of an evolution from a non-military to the military "Lehen" system proposed by Becker, and stressed the clarification of similar and different characteristics among the various feudal systems in Islam.¹ For example, *muqṭa'*s in the Ayyubid period who had special domain (*khāṣṣa*) allocated *iqṭā'* revenues to their followers, whose number was not necessarily proportional to the scale of their *iqṭā'* holding. On the other hand, during the Mamluk period the number of cavalymen under a *muqṭa'* was fixed according to his *iqṭā'* revenue, two-thirds of which was customarily allocated to his followers.² Poliak's criticism of Becker was useful in the sense that it emphasizes the importance of studying the differences among *iqṭā'* systems in various areas and periods in the Islamic world; but he regarded peasants under the *iqṭā'* system as "serfs," because they were attached to land under the *muqṭa'*'s jurisdiction and were forced to borrow seed from their "lord" and pay a land tax to him.³ As Lambton states in criticism of Poliak, this may be an European explanation of Islamic history.

Cahen, who was in agreement with Lambton's view, studied the *iqṭā'* system and European feudalism more closely from a comparative perspective. He pointed out the following four characteristics of the *iqṭā'* system in Egypt: (1) the acquisition of *iqṭā'* revenue by the *muqṭa'*s and their military service to the sultan were strictly controlled by the government, (2) *iqṭā'* holdings were not inherited, (3) even *iqṭā'*s held for life were rare, and (4) independent rules were not formed by *muqṭa'*s in the local provinces.⁴ Cahen regards that the *iqṭā'* system is similar to feudalism when the independent rules established by the Syrian *muqṭa'*s were inherited by their sons, as was the case in the latter part of the Seljuqid period;⁵ but the *iqṭā'* system in Egypt was quite different.

H. Rabie tried to study the Egyptian *iqṭā'* system more concretely in his book *The Financial System of Egypt in the Ayyubid Period* (in Arabic).⁶

¹ A. N. Poliak, "La féodalité islamiques," *REI*, 10(1936), pp.247-265.

² A. N. Poliak, "The Ayyubid Feudalism," *JRAS* (1939), pp.431-432.

³ A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon, 1250-1900*, London, 1939. N. A. Ziadeh states also that the condition of Syrian peasants under the *iqṭā'* system coincides with the description made by Poliak (*Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamlūks*, Beirut, 1953, pp.43-44).

⁴ Cahen, "L'évolution," p.45.

⁵ Cahen, "L'évolution," p.43. See also id., "Réflexions sur l'usage de mot 'Féodalité,'" *JESHO*, 3(1960), pp.2-20.

⁶ H. M. Rabī', *al-Nuzum al-Mālīya fī Miṣr Zaman al-Ayyūbiyin*, Cairo, 1964.

The *muqta'* was regarded as a feudal lord (*ṣāhib al-arḍ al-iqtā'īya*), a view similar to that of S. B. al-'Arīnī and I. A. Ṭurkhān, who were influenced by Poliak.¹ However, in his next treatise *The Financial System of Egypt A.H.564–741/A.D.1169–1341*,² Rabie expresses a new idea opposing the application of such terms as “feudalism,” “fief” and “lord” to Egyptian society under the *iqtā'* system. Based on the available Arabic manuscripts and documents, he found out a plentiful amount of historical data valuable for understanding fiscal institutions in medieval Egypt. Concerning the *iqtā'* system, he elaborately traced its development from its introduction into Egypt by Saladin to the cadastral survey of Sultan al-Nāṣir in 715/1315;³ but, as R. Irwin indicates,⁴ he does not explain distinctly the importance of the land tax (*kharāj*), which is a necessary premise for a workable *iqtā'* system. Furthermore, to understand fully the Ayyubid and Mamluk states, it is necessary to consider the *iqtā'* system of Syria in comparison with that of Egypt.

On the other hand, I. M. Lapidus intended to understand Islamic society from a new point of view. His main work, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*,⁵ discusses the political and social mechanism by which the various small communities (*hāra*) in Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo were integrated into the Mamluk regime. He concludes that the *mamlūks*, who had ruled over rural society by virtue of their *iqtā'* holdings, also came to control trade and commerce, and established a stable Mamluk regime in cooperation with the '*ulamā'* in urban society.⁶ Though the

¹ S. B. al-'Arīnī, *al-Iqtā' al-Ḥarbī bi-Miṣr Zaman Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*, Cairo, 1966; I. A. Ṭurkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqtā'īya fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fī al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā*, Cairo, 1968. Ṭurkhān gave a general description of the Ayyubid *iqtā'* system, but unfortunately without fully utilizing the available contemporary sources (pp.32-47).

² H. Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H.564–741/A.D.1169–1341*, London, 1972.

³ Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.26-72.

⁴ R. Irwin, “Iqtā' and the End of the Crusader States,” in P. M. Holt ed., *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, Warminster, 1977, p.70. On the Ayyubid *iqtā'* system, see also R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany, N.Y., 1977. This work provides us interesting information on amirs' political activities originating from their desires to hold better *iqtā'*s during the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods.

⁵ I. M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass., 1967. The purport of his work is summarized in “Muslim Urban Society in Mamlūk Syria,” in A. H. Hourani & S. M. Stern eds., *The Islamic City*, Oxford, 1970, pp.195-205.

⁶ *Muslim Cities*, pp.185-191. On the relationship between rural and urban societies

management and control of *iqṭā*'s by the *mamlūks* is not fully understood, we are now in a better position to reconstruct state and society during the Mamluk period.

In Lapidus's work, however, cases were chosen from among the great cities in Syria and Egypt without reflection upon the local provinces characterized by mid- and small-sized towns. J. C. Garcin has advanced our knowledge in this respect considerably.¹ He describes the history of the province of Qūṣ in Upper Egypt from the Arab conquest to the end of the Mamluk period, and while the systematic study of the *iqṭā*' system was not his intent, he provides us with information on concrete relationships between amirs, *muqṭa*'s and '*ulamā*' in Qūṣ. Concerning local history, we can cite some important works in Arabic which have referred to the *iqṭā*' system to some extent, particularly focussing on Syrian towns during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.² To better our understanding of provincial society, we still need to study systematically the relationship between town and village in addition to the role of the Bedouins ('*Urbān*). Chapters Seven and Eight will investigate rural society in Syria and Egypt from this viewpoint. Cl. Cahen, as already mentioned above, introduced such important historical sources as *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm* by al-Nābulusī and *Minhāj fi 'Ilm Kharāj Miṣr* by al-Makhzūmī to elucidate the economic history in medieval Egypt.³ His work, however, was focussed on the taxation system, with no attempt to analyze systematically Egyptian rural society. I. A. Ṭurkhān, in his above-mentioned work *al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭā'īya fi al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fi 'Uṣūr al-*

under the *iqṭā*' system, see also I. M. Lapidus, "The Grain Economy of Mamlūk Egypt," *JESHO*, 12(1969), pp.1-15. As to the economic activities by amirs in Cairo, see B. Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*, Cambridge, 1993, pp.52f.

¹ J. C. Garcin, *Une centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ*, Cairo, 1976.

² For example, M. A. al-Bakhīt, *Mamlakat al-Karak fi al-'Ahd al-Mamlūkī*, Amman, 1976; Y. H. D. Ghawānma, *Imārat al-Karak al-Ayyūbiya*, Amman, 1980; S. Zakkār, *Imārat Ḥalab*, Damascus, n.d.; U. A. Tadmurī, *Ta'rikh Ṭarābulus al-Siyāsī wal-Ḥaḍārī 'abrat al-'Uṣūr*, 2 vols., Beirut, 1978-81; A. Gh. Sabānū, *Mamlakat Ḥamā al-Ayyūbiya*, Damascus, 1984; M. A. Kh. 'Aṭā Allāh, *Niyābat Ghazza fi al-'Ahd al-Mamlūkī*, Beirut, 1986.

³ Cl. Cahen, "Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm Ayyūbide," *Arabica*, 3(1956), pp.8-30; "Un traité financier inédit d'époque fatimide-ayyubide," *JESHO*, 5(1962), pp.139-159; "Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Égypte médiévale," *JESHO*, 5(1962), pp.244-278; "Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minkhādī d'al-Makhzūmī," *JESHO*, 7(1964), pp.217-314.

Wuṣṭā, intends to give a general description of the mode of cultivation as well as the irrigation and tax collection systems.¹ While the important factors of Egyptian economy in the Mamluk period have been discussed briefly, the subjects of rural society and the system under which the peasants cultivated still remain to be investigated in a more substantive manner. We may therefore conclude that state and society under the *iqṭā'* system have been discussed until now without knowing the reality of Egyptian rural society.

The Mamluk sultan, al-Nāṣir (693–694/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–741/1310–41), concentrated his efforts on domestic administration and carried out cadastral surveys (*al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī*) in Syria and Egypt following the Sultan Ḥusām's survey (*al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī*). It could be said that up to now the research of H. Halm and H. Rabie on these surveys are the most comprehensive, and also have achieved definite results.² Particularly, in Rabie's study use is made of many manuscripts apart from published materials, and a number of new facts are pointed out concerning the object and result of the two surveys. These facts, however, are on the whole merely set out one by one, and there is no mention whatever of the question of how the basis of the sultan's power or the structure of the *iqṭā'* system was altered by means of these surveys. As P. M. Holt showed in his analysis of the Ḥusāmī rawk,³ it would seem absolutely essential, while taking into account the tendencies of the amirs and *mamlūks*, to examine the question of the relationship between the sultan's power and the cadastral surveys.

The policy to increase *iqṭā'* revenue for the royal Mamluks led to the economic decline of non-Mamluk cavalrymen (*ajṅād al-ḥalqa*). Since their *iqṭā'* revenue was sharply reduced after the cadastral surveys, they were hard-pressed to maintain their *iqṭā'*s.⁴ In 793/1393 when amir Sūdūn, Nā'ib al-Salṭana of Egypt, reviewed *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*, he found that the annual *iqṭā'* revenue of a *ḥalqa* cavalryman was nominally estimated at 600 dīnārs, but his real income was only 3,000 dirhams

¹ I. A. Turkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭā'īya fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fī al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā*, Cairo, 1968.

² H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, vol.1, Wiesbaden, 1979, pp.17-30; Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.52-56.

³ P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn," *BSOAS*, 36(1973), pp.527-530.

⁴ The importance of the *iqṭā'* holdings by amirs and the Nāṣirī rawk in the policy of Sultan Nāṣir is fully discussed in the recent work by A. Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310-1341*, Leiden, 1995.

(150 *dīnārs*), of which 2,000 dirhams had to be paid to cover a debt that he had incurred.¹ The *ḥalqa* cavalymen thus abandoned their *iqtā'* holdings, selling them off to such commoners (*'amma*) as merchants and craftsmen. In this process the principle of granting *iqtā'*s in exchange for military service gradually began to collapse. However, what resulted from this change was not only the downfall of the *ḥalqa* cavalymen, but also an attempt by the *mamlūks* to transform their *iqtā'*s into privately owned lands (*milk*) or donated lands (*waqf*), the owners of which had no military obligations. The *muqta'*s would first return their *iqtā'*s to the state treasury, then buy them back as privately owned lands.²

Al-Nāṣir's cadastral surveys brought about great changes in the construction of the *iqtā'* system and prescribed the land system for the middle of the Mamluk period, as shown in H. Halm's important work.³ However, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, repeated plagues decreased the population significantly in both rural and urban society. To this was added an intense struggle for power between the leading Mamluk amirs. The age of copper coin circulation began in Egypt and Syria due to the outflow of silver coins to Europe, revealing an inevitable decline of the Egyptian role in Mediterranean trade. Accordingly, the Mamluk regime started to collapse before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 922/1517.⁴

When Sultan Selim I (918–926/1512–20) entered Cairo, all the *iqtā'*s held by *mamlūks* were confiscated, and Egypt was soon integrated into the Ottoman empire. As S. J. Shaw relates,⁵ cadastral surveys were carried in districts all over Egypt immediately after the conquest, for the purpose of introducing the *muqāṭa'a* system to replace the *iqtā'* system.

¹ *Ibn al-Furāt*, IX, 362-363.

² Poliak, *Feudalism*, pp.36-39. See also *Ta'rīkh Jalīl*, fols.481, 488-489; *Muqaffā*, II, 427.

³ Halm, *Ägypten*.

⁴ On the decline of the Mamluk state, see the following studies. A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus, 1961, pp.57-110; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, pp.25-43; E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976, pp.301-331; J. L. Bacharach, "The Dinar Versus the Ducat," *IJMES*, 4(1973), pp.77-96; D. Ayalon, "Some Remarks on the Economic Decline of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *JSAI*, 16(1993), pp.108-124; Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, pp.133f.

⁵ S. J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517–1798*, Princeton, 1962, pp.11, 26-27. Though Poliak states that new *iqtā'* was called *iltizām* in Egypt and *muqāṭa'a* in Syria (*Feudalism*, pp.48-49), here I take Shaw's view.

The *muqāṭa'a* system included three types of land-holding: *timār*, *emānet* and *iltizām*. *Timār*, like an *iqṭā'*, was a temporary land holding in usufruct, by which holders were granted all the revenues from the land. *Emānet* was the land from which revenue was to be sent to the state treasury by the officials, while *iltizām* was the land from which revenue was divided between the government and tax-farmers (*multazim*). However, even after the establishment of this new regime, those who held power in the provinces were still amirs originated from the *mamlūks* and their followers. Furthermore, the *muqāṭa'a* system ceased to function effectively after the first half of the seventeenth century, and in 1069/1658 the government was forced to change the *muqāṭa'a* system into a full-blown *iltizām* system.¹ Eventually the Ottoman government, like in the case of the grand pasha in Syria, permitted the independence of *multazims* in Egypt, provided that they pay a large fee (*ḥulwān*) annually to the state treasury in Istanbul.

In the districts of Anatolia and the Balkans during the Ottoman period, *timārs*, which had been *iqṭā'*s in the earlier period, were apportioned to cavalymen (*sipāhī*), *khāṣṣ*s were allocated to the sultan, his princes and high officials, and *zeāmets* were granted to military officers and mid-level bureaucrats. The *timār* holders, who were under obligation to support their followers (*cebeli*) based on their tax revenues, had no right of jurisdiction over the people who resided in their *timārs*. Though *timārs* were not in principle inherited, some were occasionally inherited by the same family for two or three generations.² The *sipāhīs* who had *timārs* were responsible for keeping the peace and guaranteeing prosperity in rural society. They, together with the footsoldiers of *Yeniçeri*, also formed the core of the Ottoman army from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The *timār* system, however, began to dissolve from

¹ A. 'Abdul Raḥīm, *al-Rif al-Miṣrī fī al-Qarn al-Thāmin 'Ashar*, Cairo, 1974, pp.74-75; A. 'Abdul Raḥīm & Nagata, "The Iltizām System in Egypt and Turkey," *JAAS*, 14(1977), pp.169-170; K. M. Cuno, *The Pasha's Peasants*, New York, 1992, pp.25-27. The *Sipāhīs* who were granted *timārs* in Syria had the duty to protect the Meccan pilgrims (B. Lewis, "Ottoman Land Tenure and Taxation in Syria," *SI*, 50(1979)). According to A. Abu-Husayn, the *iltizām* system was introduced into Syria almost immediately after the Ottoman conquest ("The *Iltizām* of Manṣūr Furaykh; A Case of *Iltizām* in Sixteenth Century Syria," in T. Khalidi ed, *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut, 1984, pp.249-250).

² S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol.1, Cambridge, 1976, pp.26, 101; N. Beldiceanu, *Le timar dans l'état ottoman*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p.69.

the middle of the sixteenth century. Owing to the repeated revolts against the *sipāhīs* in the local provinces and the development of the new *iltizām* system, it gradually lost its role in controlling Turkish state and society.¹

¹ H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, London, 1973, pp.104-118; ‘Abdul Raḥīm & Nagata, “The Iltizam System,” pp.179-182; H. İnalcık & D. Quataert eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, Cambridge, 1994, pp.411f.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IQTĀ' SYSTEM IN IRAQ UNDER THE BUWAYHIDS

Mu'izz al-Dawla (334–356/946–967), who established his authority in Baghdad in Jumādā II 334/January 946,¹ allocated *iqṭā'*s in Lower Iraq (al-Sawād) to his commanders, his associates, and his Turkish slave soldiers. This was the formation of the so-called “military” *iqṭā'* system in Islamic history. The appearance of the military *iqṭā'*s started not only the evolution of the Islamic state, but also a transformation of Iraqi society during the tenth and eleventh centuries, leading to similar changes in other lands during the subsequent periods. Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) understood this a change from *bīstāgānī* (cash payment) to *iqṭā'*,² while al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) described it as a similar change from *'aṭā'* to *iqṭā'*.³

The present chapter will discuss the enforcement of the *iqṭā'* system, the significance of *iqṭā'* grants, the struggle between the *muqṭa'* and *wālī* concerning protection right (*ḥimāya*), and the evolution of the Iraqi society⁴ based on such contemporary sources as *Tajārib al-Umam* of

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 84–85; *Muntaẓam*, VI, 340. Ibn al-Athīr (d.630/1233), Ibn Khallikān (d.681/1282) and al-Hamadānī (d.521/1127) relate that Mu'izz al-Dawla entered Baghdad in Jumādā I 334/ December 945 (*Kāmil*, VIII, 449; *Ibn Khallikān*, I, 158; *Takmila*, 334), but I take the account given by the contemporary historian, Miskawayh (d.421/1030). To give some examples of modern studies, M. Kabir and J. L. Kraemer regard the date as January 946, while Cl. Cahen considers it as 945. See M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta, 1964, p.6; J. L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, Leiden, 1992, p.35; *Et*,ⁿ s.v. Buwayhids (Cl. Cahen).

² *Siyāsat Nāma*, 153.

³ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 95. H. B. Abdallah regards this a transition from “*iqṭā'* étatique” to “*iqṭā'* militaire”. See *De l'iqṭa' étatique*. On Islamic society during this period, see also R. P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Period*, Princeton, 1980.

⁴ According to the Arab geographers, al-'Irāq is approximately the area of al-Sawād, i.e. the district surrounded by Takrīt in the north, 'Abbadān in the south, al-Qādisiya in the west, and Ḥulwān in the east. See *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 208; *Iṣṭakhrī*, 56; *Najāti*, fol.30r; al-Dūrī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, pp.5-7; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, London, 1905, pp.24f.; N. A. Ibrāhīm, *Rif Baghdād: Dirāsāt Ta'rikhiya li-Tanzimātih al-Idāriya wa-Aḥwālīh al-Iqtisādiya 575–656H./1179–1258M.*,

Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), *Nishwār al-Muḥādara* of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), and *al-Hafawāt al-Nādira* of Ghars al-Ni'ma al-Ṣābī (d. 480/1087). Among these sources the chronicle entitled *Tajārib al-Umam* is the most important since Miskawayh could use freely the official documents as a scribe serving his master, 'Aḍud al-Dawla.¹

1. *The Establishment of the Iqṭā' System*

What is the historical moment that led to the implementation of the *iqṭā'* system in Iraq in the middle of the tenth century? Becker says that Turkish slave soldiers, who were organized in place of the Arabs, came to claim the main part of the state's income, and as a result the *iqṭā'* system (Lehnswesen) was introduced.² On the other hand, Cahen explains that new *iqṭā'* developed from *ighār*, land with partial immunity from taxation, the holders of which had neglected paying contract-fees to the government from the ninth century on.³ However, A. K. S. Lambton, who attached importance to the aspect of state finance, claims that the *iqṭā'* system was enforced as a result of the progressive deterioration in the fiscal stability of the Abbasid state.⁴ In contrast, al-Dūrī considers that to attribute the rise of this new *iqṭā'* to a crisis of the treasury is not tenable. He pays attention to the background of the Buwayhid conquest of Iraq, whose troops with their feudal semi-tribal tradition looked at the land as being theirs by right of conquest.⁵

I have my doubts about the explanation offered by al-Dūrī, since it was always the Turks, not the Daylams, who organized riots demanding *iqṭā'*s in the early Buwayhid period.⁶ In order to comprehend this problem fully, we should rather take into consideration the social and economic conditions which led to the failure of state finance, as well as the

Baghdad, 1988, pp.21-23.

¹ M. S. Khan, "The Personal Evidence in Miskawayh's Contemporary History," *IC*, 11(1967), pp.55f.; *El*, s.v. Ibn Miskawayh.

² Becker, "Steuerpacht," pp.234-247.

³ Cahen, "L'évolution," pp.28-32.

⁴ Lambton, *Landlord*, pp.53-76; id., "Reflections," pp.358-376.

⁵ al-Dūrī, "The Origins," p.17; id., "Nash'at al-Iqṭā' fī al-Mujtama'āt al-Islāmiya," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī*, 20(1970), p.21. Though the contents of two articles are almost the same, to the first one is added some corrections.

⁶ For example, *Kāmil*, VIII, 514; *Tajārib*, II, 235-236; *Muntaẓam*, VII, 172.

development of *ighār* and *iljā'* (commendation).¹ For example, the merchants such as crop brokers (*simsār*) and money changers (*jahbadh*), who had played important roles in tax collection during the Abbasid period, emigrated to Khurāsān and Syria for fear of civil disturbances (*fitna*) and property confiscations (*muṣādara*) from the beginning of the tenth century.² This must have caused serious damage to the Abbasid monetary and marketing systems, as well as disorder to the tax collection system.³ It is also important that the owners of landed property (*ṣāhib al-day'a*) came to employ such household members as *aṣḥāb* (fellows), *asbāb* (familials), *ḥasham* (entourages), *ḥāshiyas* (servants) and *kātibs* (scribes) for managing their holdings, members who were responsible for 'imāra (cultivation of land) and *ḥimāya* (protection of roads and people).⁴ This is because the *iqṭā'* holders after the establishment of the system had to employ these household members for collecting their tax revenues.

Let us return to Mu'izz al-Dawla, who, having been granted the title "great amir" (*amīr al-umarā'*) by Caliph al-Mustakfī, began to grant the *iqṭā'*s to his commanders and soldiers. About these grants Miskawayh states:

In this year (334/946), the Daylams rioted against Mu'izz al-Dawla, and openly reviled him and called him stupid. So he guaranteed the payment of their stipends (*amwāl*) within the fixed period, and thereby was forced to mistreat the people by collecting taxes other than what was proper. Therefore, to his officers (*quwwād*), his associates (*khawāṣṣ*) and his *Atrāk* he granted as *iqṭā'* the state domain (*diyā'*

¹ H. B. Abdallah asserts that the ineffectiveness of the early *iqṭā'* as a mode of production is the prime mover in the transition from the state *iqṭā'* to the military *iqṭā'* (*De l'iqṭa' étatique*, p.50).

² According to al-Iṣfahānī, when the disturbances continued in Baghdad since the year 308/920-1 under the Abbasids, the people began to emigrate (*Sinī*, 152). To take some examples, in 315/942-3 the people, attacked by the vagabonds ('*ayyār*), fled from Baghdad to Ḥulwān, Khurāsān and Wāsiṭ (*Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, 49). And in 332/942-3 when the severe battles happened in Baghdad and the government confiscated their property, many people emigrated to Syria and Egypt together with the Meccan pilgrims (*Muntaẓam*, VI, 331). See also *Tajārib*, II, 83-84; *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 244; *Kāmil*, IX, 370; E. Ashtor, "Un mouvement migratoire au haut moyen âge," *Annales: ESC*, 27(1972), pp.185-214.

³ *Tajārib*, II, 83-84. See also Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance*, pp.49-50.

⁴ *Faraj*, I, 105; *Ṣīla*, 55, 128; *Takmila*, 65; *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 82-83, 108, 147, 239-240, 242-243.

al-sulṭān), the landed property of persons who had gone into hiding (*ḍiyā' al-mustatirīn*) and of Ibn Shīrẓād, and also the levies of the state treasury (*ḥaqq bayt al-māl*) on the private estates of subjects (*ḍiyā' al-ra'īya*). As a result of this, the greater part of the Sawād was closed and passed out of the control of the tax-collectors ('*ummāl*'). Small portions exempted from *iqṭā'* were contracted out as tax-farming (*ḍamān*).¹

A similar account is given by '*Uyūn* and *Kāmil*, which apparently copied this passage.² Since it was after his description in 340/951 that Miskawayh wrote down his own experience or the information he had ascertained from others,³ he might have written the above passage based on some other document or book. Though its source is not clear, there is no doubt that the description of *Tajārib* is the most reliable one concerning the implementation of the *iqṭā'* system.

In what month of 334/946 were the first *iqṭā'*s granted? One clue to this problem is that the landed property (*ḍay'a*) of Ibn Shīrẓād was included in the granted *iqṭā'*s. According to Miskawayh, Ibn Shīrẓād abandoned the position as Mu'izz al-Dawla's secretary (*kātib*) and took sides with Nāṣir al-Dawla at the beginning of Sha'bān during that year.⁴

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 96 (*Tajārib F*, I, 135-136). Lambton translates "ḍiyā' al-mustatirīn wa ḍiyā' Ibn Shīrẓād" in this paragraph as "the estates of persons who had gone into hiding, i.e. those of Shīrẓād" (*Landlord*, p.50). This is an incorrect translation. M. Ismā'il also makes a major error in his understanding of the passage "ṣāra akthar al-Sawād muḥlakān" as that the greater part of the Sawād was closed against the soldiers (*Sūsiyūlūjiyā*, vols.1-2, p.454). On al-Maqrīzī's explanation about the practice of the *iqṭā'* assignment by Mu'izz al-Dawla, see *al-Durar al-Muḍīya*, fol.221r-v.

² '*Uyūn*, IV-2, 181-182; *Kāmil*, VIII, 456. Al-Hamadānī simply says, "Mu'izz al-Dawla allocated *ḍiyā' al-sulṭān*, *ḍiyā' Ibn Shīrẓād* and *ḍiyā' al-mustatirīn* to his followers as *iqṭā'*" (*Takmila*, 152).

³ *Tajārib*, II, 136-137. See also Khan, "The Personal Evidence in Miskawayh's Contemporary History," p.50.

⁴ *Tajārib*, II, 89. Ibn Shīrẓād Abū Ja'far Muḥammad was appointed the chief of expenditure office (*ḍiwān al-naḥaqāt*) in 323/935 after he had served al-Muqṭadir's uncle, Hārūn b. Gharīb, as scribe (*kātib*) (*Tajārib*, I, 163-164, 324-325). Then, he took office of wazīr under Bajkam, the great amir (*Kāmil*, VIII, 355), but was arrested on a charge of alliance with al-Barīdīs in al-Baṣra next year (*Kāmil*, VIII, 362). However, in 330/941-2 he was entrusted again with the provincial administration by Ibn Rā'iq (*Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 219), and in 331/942-3 when Tūzūn came to power, he assumed the reins of government under him (*Kāmil*, VIII, 399, 448). After Tūzūn's death he took office of the great amir for about four months (*Tajārib*, II, 81, 84), and in 334/946 when Mu'izz al-Dawla entered Baghdād, Ibn Shīrẓād was appointed his scribe managing tax collection for him (*Tajārib*, II, 85). In Sha'bān

Also al-Hamadānī (d. 521/1127) states that *iqṭā'*s were allocated before the floods of the Khālīṣ and Nahrawān canals during the same month of Sha'bān.¹ Adding to this the fact that Mu'izz al-Dawla went into battle against Nāṣir al-Dawla at the end of Sha'bān leads us to the conclusion that the *iqṭā'* system was implemented during Sha'bān 334/March 946, just before the harvest season of that year.²

The passage quoted above states that the persons who were assigned *iqṭā'*s were *quwwād*, *khawāṣṣ*, and *Atrāk*. *Quwwād* (sing. *qā'id*) were sometimes called "the amīrs of Daylam" or "the amīrs of Atrāk,"³ but it is not clear whether they were the same *qā'ids* as those in the early Abbasid period who commanded legions of 100 soldiers.⁴ The *khawāṣṣ* (sing. *khāṣṣa*) were composed of Mu'izz al-Dawla's kin, and perhaps also of high officials and soldiers.⁵ Finally, *Atrāk* means Turkish slave soldiers other than the Turkish *qā'ids* mentioned above. Accordingly, *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*) in the early Buwayhid period, we can suppose, were Daylamite and Turkish officers, and Turkish soldiers. However, Daylamite soldiers continued to be paid stipends (*māl*, *riṣq*) only.

Concerning the lands granted as *iqṭā'*, *ḍiyā' al-sultān* (also known as *ḍiyā' al-khalīfa*, *al-ḍiyā' al-khāṣṣa*, or *al-ḍiyā' al-furātīya*) consisted of the large private estate of the Abbasid caliphs and were mainly located in the Sawād.⁶ However, since this land had been sold to finance the

334/March 946 he forsook Mu'izz al-Dawla for Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Hamdānī (*Tajārib*, II, 89), but was arrested before he arrived at Mosul (*Tajārib*, II, 109; *Kāmil*, VIII, 466). See also I. S. al-Kurawī, *al-Buwayhīyūn wal-Khilāfat al-'Abbāsīya*, Kuwait, 1982, pp.189-193.

¹ *Takmila*, 152.

² Accordingly, it is not correct that al-Dūrī wrote "in 334/945 Mu'izz al-Dawla granted his followers large *iqṭā'*s" (*Ta'riḫ al-'Irāq*, p.29). M. Kabir also says that Mu'izz al-Dawla assigned fiefs to his soldiers after the retreat of Nāṣir al-Dawla to Mosul (*The Buwayhid Dynasty* p.146). This is a mistake because it was in Muḥarram 335/August 946 that Nāṣir al-Dawla retreated to Mosul, defeated by Mu'izz al-Dawla (*Tajārib*, II, 94).

³ *Takmila*, 203; *Abū Shujā'*, 261.

⁴ *Ṭabarī*, III, 1798-1799. cf. R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1962, p.426.

⁵ *Wuzarā'*, 16, 21, 99, 112, 156, 305; *Tajārib*, I, 137; *Fakhrī*, 233; Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, p.115. During the Abbasid period wazīr had the duty to take care of caliph's *khāṣṣa* (*Wuzarā'*, 376), and wazīrs also had their own *khāṣṣa* (*Wuzarā'*, 130, 307, 344, 385).

⁶ *El*,ⁿ s.v. Ḍay'a; al-Dūrī, *Ta'riḫ al-'Irāq*, pp.25-26.

state treasury from the early tenth century on,¹ the larger part of it had already been handed over to officers and merchants by the time Mu'izz al-Dawla confiscated the caliphal domain. *Ḍiyā' al-mustatirīn* was the private property of persons in hiding, as was the *Ḍiyā'* of Ibn Shīrẓād. Finally, *ḥaqq bayt al-māl*, which was also called *ḥaqq al-sultān*,² was the tax due to the state, while *ḥaqq al-akrawa* and *ḥaqq al-raqaba* were respectively the income to tenants (*akara*) and *Ḍiyā'* proprietors.³ According to *Hafawāt*, the state's share in *Ḍiyā'* was 1/3 the same as that of manager (*wakīl*) dispatched from the *Ḍiyā'* proprietor as his agent.⁴ However, since al-Būzjānī (d. 388/998) gives examples of the state's share from 1/5 to 9/20,⁵ it may be supposed the share was different according to districts and times.

The above-mentioned *Ḍiyā'* and the due from the *Ḍiyā'* were allotted as *iqṭā'*, and as a result most of the Sawād passed out of the control of the tax-collectors, as Miskawayh described. But it is not true that most of the Sawād passed out of their hands, because the districts of al-Baṣra, Wāsiṭ and al-Baṭā'ih were not yet granted as *iqṭā'* at that time. Since al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ had been under the control of al-Barīdīs since 325/937, Mu'izz al-Dawla had to be content with a tax-farming contract of 1.6 million dirhams per year with Abū al-Qāsim al-Barīdī before the grant of *iqṭā'* in 337/948-9.⁶ As to al-Baṭā'ih, 'Imrān b. Shāhin, who was called *Abū al-'Urbān* (father of the Arabs), assembled fishermen (*ṣayyād*) and thieves (*liṣṣ*) around him, and enjoyed independent rule there from the advent of Buwayhids, profiting by his control of the commercial route from Baghdad to al-Baṣra and the cultivation of rice (*aruzz*).⁷ It

¹ *Takmila*, 33, 75, 92; *Tajārib*, I, 200, 270, 329; *Ṣila*, 144. cf. al-Dūrī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, p.27; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg, 1922, pp.105-106.

² *Būzjānī*, 322.

³ Al-Būzjānī describes the dues of tenants *ḥaqq al-akrawa* or *ḥaqq al-akkār*. He also says that the share placed between *ḥaqq bayt al-māl* and *ḥaqq al-akrawa* was called *ḥaqq al-raqaba* (*Būzjānī*, 316-323). According to al-Khwārizmī, if the sultan grants land to somebody, he acquires the proprietary right (*raqaba*) over the land, and this is called *qaṭā'i'* (*Mafātiḥ*, 60); that is, *ḥaqq al-raqaba* means the due to be paid to the *ḏay'a* holder. See also *Wuzarā'*, 66; *Nishwār*, VIII, 158-159; *Māwardī*, 191; Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration," pp.828-829.

⁴ *Hafawāt*, 287.

⁵ *Būzjānī*, 316-323.

⁶ *Tajārib*, II, 88, 115; *Kāmil*, VIII, 456, 480; 'Uyūn, IV-1, 177, 186.

⁷ *Nishwār*, VIII, 158-159; *Faraj*, I, 57-58; *Muqaddasī*, 119; *Yāqūt*, I, 450-451; *al-Durar al-Muḏīya*, fol.222r. See also M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History 2*, Cambridge, 1976, p.168; H. Q. El-Sāmarrāie, *Agriculture in Iraq during the 3rd Century A.H.*,

was only after 349/960 that Mu'izz al-Dawla was able to overcome 'Imrān b. Shāhīn and grant this district as *iqṭā'*.¹

2. The Significance of the *Iqṭā'* Assignment

The army of the Buwayhid dynasty was composed of Turkish cavalymen and Daylamite foot-soldiers. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) relates that both commanders (*qā'id*) of the Turks and Daylams were granted prosperous villages (*al-qarya al-'āmira*), which gradually increased their *iqṭā'* revenue.² Unfortunately, the size and value of *iqṭā'*s held by these *qā'ids* in Iraq are not clear. From the example of Iran, the Daylamite *qā'ids* held *iqṭā'* in Khūzistān, the annual revenue of which varied between 200,000 and 300,000 dirhams, while in Rayy and Jibāl Daylamite influentials (*wajh al-Daylam*) held *iqṭā'* whose revenue was 1/10 of those in Khūzistān.³ Cahen estimates the value in al-Rayy and al-Jibāl as the average revenue of the amir's *iqṭā'* during the Buwayhid period, but it would be rather difficult to determine the average value based on this account only.⁴

In the same way as the soldiers under the *qā'ids*, the Turks were assigned both *iqṭā'* and stipends from the early Buwayhid period on, while the Daylams were paid stipends only. This is evident from the fact that the Turkish and Daylamite commanders sometimes made trouble in demanding both *iqṭā'* and stipends, while the Daylamite soldiers always claimed their stipends (*riṣq*).⁵ It is only after the year 376/986 that we can confirm *iqṭā'* holding by the Daylamite soldiers in the historical sources.⁶ However, it seems that these soldiers, in fact, had held *iqṭā'*s previous to this year, since Sābūr b. Ardashīr, wazir of Bahā'

Beirut, 1972, p.88; Ibrāhīm, *Rif Baghdād*, p.268.

¹ *Uyūn*, IV-2, 214; *Tajārib*, II, 181; *Kāmil*, VIII, 532.

² *Kāmil*, VIII, 456.

³ *Abū Shujā'*, 165-166.

⁴ Cahen considers that the amir's *iqṭā'* revenue was between 1,300 and 2,000 dinārs, and the value up to 20,000 dinārs in al-Ahwāz was unreasonable ("L'évolution", p.34). On the contrary, C. E. Bosworth, quoting the same account, supposes that the *iqṭā'* revenue of the fertile agricultural districts such as Iraq and al-Ahwāz was higher than that of Iran ("Military Organisation under the Buyids of Persia and Iraq," *Oriens*, 18-19 (1965-66), pp.153-154).

⁵ *Kāmil*, VIII, 514, 576-577; *Muntaẓam*, VII, 172; VIII, 104.

⁶ *Abū Shujā'*, 137.

al-Dawla (388–403/998–1012), controlled *iqṭā'* he confiscated from the Daylams.¹ In 376/986, 500 minor Daylams and 300 Kurds held *iqṭā'*, the total revenue of which was under 100,000 *dīnārs*.² This shows an average revenue of under 125 *dīnārs* per soldier, which without a stipend is rather low compared with al-Dūrī's estimate the standard of living of the middle class in the tenth century was about 360 *dīnārs* per year.³

C. E. Bosworth and M. Kabir have already made clear that the great amir transformed the basis of his political power from the Daylams to the Turks in the early Buwayhid period.⁴ We can trace a similar process concerning *iqṭā'* holdings during this period. In 345/956, Mu'izz al-Dawla arrested the Daylams who took part in Rūzbahān's revolt in al-Ahwāz and granted their large *iqṭā'* to the Turks in Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣra.⁵ Miskawayh also informs us that the status of the Daylams decreased gradually because of Mu'izz al-Dawla's granting many *iqṭā'*s to Turkish slave soldiers.⁶ The next Bakhtiyār (356–367/967–978) confiscated the *iqṭā'* of the Daylamite high officers in 356/967, and gave *iqṭā'* to the high officers among his attendants, an especially large one going to Subuktīn, a Turkish officer.⁷ Then in 388/998, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla (Kirmān: 372–388/983–998, Fārs and Khūzistān: 380–388/990–998) confiscated *iqṭā'* from Daylams whose origins were obscure and who lacked loyalty, and allocated them to the Turks.⁸ This policy, of course, called forth violent reactions from the Daylams. It is said that in 362/972–3 the battles between the Turks and the Daylams began and then spread all over Iraq.⁹ However, as written in Mu'izz al-Dawla's last will to his son Bakhtiyār, "Even if the Daylams rise in revolt against you, you

¹ *Abū Shujā'*, 137.

² *Abū Shujā'*, 294–295.

³ al-Dūrī, *Ta'rīkh al-'Irāq*, pp.258–259. Based on the account of *Abū Shujā'* (294–295), Cahen estimated the *iqṭā'* income of a cavalryman was between 1,000 and 1,250 *dīnārs* on the average ("L'évolution", p.34), but this is a mistake in calculation.

⁴ Bosworth, "Military Organisation," pp.153–159; Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty*, pp.138–144.

⁵ *Tajārib*, II, 166; *Kāmil*, VIII, 516; *Mukhtār*, 43f.

⁶ *Tajārib*, II, 99–100, 173–174.

⁷ *Tajārib*, II, 234–236. See also J. Ch. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz 'Aḍud ad-Daulas*, Wiesbaden, 1965, p.38.

⁸ *Abū Shujā'*, 312, 320.

⁹ *Kāmil*, VIII, 634–635. A serious struggle occurred also between the Turks and the Daylams in 365/975–6 (*Munqaṭi'a*, 33)

could suppress them with the Turks because they are the core (*jamra*) of the army,"¹ the status of the Turks in whom the great amir put such firm confidence did not change for a long time. In fact, the power of the Turks became so great that the kingdom (*mamlaka*) came under their rule by the early eleventh century.²

It is generally said that a Buwayhid *iqṭā'* granted the right to collect taxes directly from peasants instead of receiving stipends, which corresponds with *iqṭā' al-istighlāl* in the works of the jurists.³ However, a mere financial study of the *iqṭā'* system is insufficient for a full understanding of it. We find the following examples concerning *iqṭā'* assignments in the contemporary sources.

- (1) In 335/946-7 Mu'izz al-Dawla allotted *iqṭā'* with revenue of 40,000 dirhams to Takīn al-Shirzādī, who was sent from Nāṣir al-Dawla as a peace envoy.⁴
- (2) Abū al-Qāsim al-Barīdī, desiring the protection (*amān*) of Mu'izz al-Dawla in 337/948-9, was granted *iqṭā'* in Nahr al-Malik with a revenue of 120,000 dirhams.⁵
- (3) In 349/960, after the suppression of the revolt in al-Baṭā'ih, Mu'izz al-Dawla gave Aḥmad b. Shāhīn an *iqṭā'* of 300,000 dīnārs, and also gave an *iqṭā'* to his brother 'Imrān b. Shāhīn totalling 200,000 dirhams.⁶

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 234.

² Ibn al-Jawzī says, "In 422/1031, the kingdom (*mamlaka*) of Jalāl al-Dawla was among al-Ḥaḍra (Baghdad), Wāsiṭ and al-Baṭīḥa, but there remained no right to him except *khuṭba*. As for the tax (*amwāl*) and tax-report (*a'māl*), these were divided among the Arabs and Kurds, while the environs of the kingdom were under the Turkish *muqṭa's*" (*Muntaẓam*, VIII, 60).

³ *El*,ⁿ s.v. Buwayhids; Lambton, *Landlord*, p.50; Bosworth, "Military Organisation," pp.159-160; al-Dūrī, "The Origins", p.15; Busse, *Chalif und Großkönig*, pp.339-340.

⁴ *Tajārib*, II, 110-111; *Takmila*, 158.

⁵ *Tajārib*, II, 115; *Takmila*, 160; *Kāmil*, VIII, 480; 'Uyūn, IV-1, 186. Nahr al-Malik was the large district (*kūra*) of Baghdad south of the 'Isā canal and consisted of 360 qarya (*Yāqūt*, V, 324). Suhrāb also says that the district of Nahr al-Malik was a fertile agricultural field, and many *ḍay'a* and *qarya* existed there (*Suhrāb*, 124).

⁶ 'Uyūn, IV-2, 214; *Tajārib*, II, 181; *Kāmil*, VIII, 532. According to Miskawayh, in 321/933 1 dīnār was equal to 15 dirhams (*Tajārib*, I, 278), while 1 dīnār Ibrizī, which was minted in Baghdad by Nāṣir al-Dawla, was equal to 13 dirhams (*Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 231; *Takmila*, 130; *Kāmil*, VIII, 385). During the early Buwayhid period, al-Hamadānī gives an account that 1 dīnār equals 14 dirhams (*Takmila*, 221). According to this, Aḥmad's *iqṭā'* revenue amounts to 4.2 million dirhams, which is

- (4) In 368/978-9 'Aḍud al-Dawla (367–372/978–983) proposed to grant an *iqtā'* to the Hamdanid prince, Abū Taghlib 'Uddat al-Dawla (358–369/969–979), on condition that he surrender, but the prince rejected the offer.¹
- (5) In 375/985-6 Aḍud al-Dawla gave Wāsiṭ and Shaqī al-Furāt as *iqtā'* to the two Qarmatians, Ishāq and Ja'far, who captured al-Kūfa.²
- (6) In 380/990 Bahā' al-Dawla (Iraq: 379–403/989–1012) made peace (*ṣulḥ*) with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla (Fārs: 380–388/990–998), who was granted *iqtā'* in Iraq. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn was sent to Baghdad as Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's agent to manage the *iqtā'* there.³
- (7) In 395/1004-5 Bahā' al-Dawla, who had made peace with Abū al-'Abbās b. Wāsiṭ, the ruler of al-Baṭā'ih, increased his *iqtā'*.⁴
- (8) In 411/1020-1, after the suppression of Ibn Sahlān's revolt in Wāsiṭ, Musharrif al-Dawla (412–416/1021–25) made a pact (*ḥilf*) with his Daylams and granted them *iqtā'*.⁵

Among these examples, (1) and (6) are grants of *iqtā'* to rulers outside Iraq, while (2), (4), (5) and (7) are *iqtā'* grants to the influentials of such districts as al-Baṭā'ih and al-Baṣra. Examples (3) and (8) also indicate that the leaders of revolts and their followers were allocated *iqtā'* on condition that they surrender to the great amir. That is, before receiving these *iqtā'* grants, the grantees had to make peace (*ṣulḥ*) or a pact (*ḥilf*), ask for protection (*amān*), or surrender to the great amir at

too high compared to the revenue of *qā'id* in Khūzistān, i.e. 300,000 dirhams. Perhaps "dīnār" was written by mistake instead of "dirham". *Hāwī* reads, "Now in al-'Irāq (Baghdad) dirham is rarely used and the *kharāj* is collected in dīnār. But in Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣra and Diyār Fārs dirham is used as in Diyār Rabī' and al-Shām" (*Hāwī*, fol.37r).

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 391; *Kāmil*, VIII, 696.

² *Muntaẓam*, VII, 126; *Kāmil*, IX, 42. Shaqī al-Furāt perhaps designates Saqī al-Furāt in the work of Ibn Khurdādhbeh (*Khurdādhbeh*, 7-8); that is, the district south-west of Baghdad irrigated by the Euphrates. cf. El-Sāmarrāie, *Agriculture*, pp.14-19.

³ *Abū Shujā'*, 184-185. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla (lord of Fārs) and Bahā' al-Dawla (lord of Khūzistān) agreed to the peace treaty on condition that each had an *iqtā'* in another's domain (*al-Durar al-Muḍīya*, fol.227v).

⁴ *Kāmil*, IX, 183-184.

⁵ *Kāmil*, IX, 318; *Muntaẓam*, VII, 300-301. To give another example of *iqtā'* assignments, al-Sa'id Abū Ṭāhir, Sharaf al-Dawla's chamberlain (*ḥājib*), who died in 408/1017-8, was granted an *iqtā'* with the annual revenue of 100,000 dīnārs (*Mir'āt B*, 306).

Baghdad. This reveals that these persons were integrated into the Buwayhid regime via *iqṭā'* grants. As Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, wazir of Mu'ayyad al-Dawla (Jibāl: 366–373/977–983), said, "If you respond to the call for integration and walk on the right path, you are guaranteed your status before the majesty and granted *iqṭā'*." ¹ After the breakdown of the Abbasid caliphate, *iqṭā'* assignments from the great amir thus played an important role in the formation of his state order.

3. *The Management and Control of Iqṭā'*

Miskawayh criticizes the *iqṭā'* assignment of Mu'izz al-Dawla and its result in his *Tajārib al-Umam* as follows:

Among this (evil result), there was the practice of allocating many lands in the Sawād when they were in a desolate state with small productivity and before they were restored to cultivation. Moreover, the wazirs gave the *muḥta*'s easy terms, in some cases in return for bribes, doing them a favour or giving them a recommendation, so that the *iqṭā'*s were granted on inconsistent annual estimates (*'ibra*). Accordingly, in some *iqṭā'*s the revenue rose with increased productivity as a result of the advance of cultivation, but in others the revenue decreased with the fall of prices. This originated from the unusual rise in prices due to the above-mentioned famine² when *iqṭā'*s were granted to the soldiers.³

As I mentioned above, Mu'izz al-Dawla granted *iqṭā'*s three months after his entrance into Baghdad, when his political power was still uncertain just before the battle with Nāṣir al-Dawla. This situation left him unable not only to carry out any tax surveys beforehand, but also to rebuild ruined villages which had existed since the early tenth century. That is to say, *iqṭā'*s were allocated under the condition that the estimated annual revenue (*'ibra*) did not coincide with the actual gross revenue (*irtifā'*). The passage "on inconsistent annual estimates" (*bi-'ibar mutafāwīta*) quoted above should be understood in such a meaning.

¹ *Rasā'il Ibn 'Abbād*, 174.

² In 334/946 both troops of Mu'izz al-Dawla and Nāṣir al-Dawla levied crops severely in and around Baghdad. Since this led to a shortage of crops and the unusual rise in prices, people had to eat hay and the corpses (*Tajārib*, II, 91, 95).

³ *Tajārib*, II, 97.

According to Ibn al-Athīr, those who were granted *iqṭā'* whose revenues increased with prosperity of the villages over several years, were of the officer class;¹ but as has been already mentioned, it is not clear which size and value of *iqṭā'* these officers possessed in Iraq. Anyhow, these profiteers (*rābiḥūn*) grew in power by such means as forced protection, which I will take up later.

On the other hand, the lower class soldiers, who were assigned *iqṭā'*s with poor conditions, exchanged their *iqṭā'*s frequently as Miskawayh says:

The losers (*khāsirūn*) returned their *iqṭā'*s in exchange for another *iqṭā'*, but the result was a decrease in revenue and extensively ruined fields. It thus became the regular practice for soldiers to let their *iqṭā'*s go to ruin, and then return them when receiving other *iqṭā'*s they chose for taking profits. As the returned *iqṭā'*s (*al-iqṭā'āt al-murtaja'a*) were allotted anew to persons whose object was to get what they could by raising the calculation, any attempt at cultivation (*'imāra*) was given up entirely.²

Here the unlawfulness of *iqṭā'* holding is described in such a way that the soldiers took illegally the surplus revenue without promoting cultivation (*'imāra*), and claimed new *iqṭā'* when the villages were ruined. The *'imāra*, before the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, was the responsibility of tax-collectors (*'āmil*) or tax-farmers (*ḍāmin*).³ However, after the villages were allocated as *iqṭā'*s, the collection of the revenue and attempts at cultivation were to be practiced by the *iqṭā'* holder (*muqṭa'*). This led to a weakening of the *'āmil*'s right as seen in Miskawayh's description of *'ummāl al-maṣāliḥ* (*'āmil*s charged with the furtherance of cultivation)⁴ being released from the management of

¹ *Kāmil*, VIII, 456.

² *Tajārib*, II, 97. Ismā'il uses the term "*al-iqṭā'āt al-murtaja'a*" as denoting such conditions as the fall of the unified control by the government and the stagnation of economic activities, which is completely different from the terminology found in *Tajārib* (*Sūsiyūlūjiyā*, vols.1-2, p.330).

³ *Tajārib*, I, 415; *Wuzarā'*, 40-41; El-Sāmarrāie, *Agriculture*, pp.109-110.

⁴ Amedroz translates *maṣāliḥ* (sing. *maṣlaḥa*) as "useful institutions" (Amedroz, "Abbasid Administration," pp.825, 833), but it rather means the maintenance or furtherance of prosperity by means of *'imāra*. For example, in 369/979-80 when the government intended to further *maṣāliḥ al-Sawād*, the peasants were ordered to cooperate with *'imāra* in repairing bridges and basins (*Tajārib*, II, 406, 407). See also *Tajārib*, I, 415; *Abū Shujā'*, 137; *Muntaẓam*, VII, 260, 286.

the districts, and their obligation restricted to calculating what was needed and distributing the burden (*taqsīṭ*) among the *muqṭa*'s.¹

Taqsīṭ was a temporary land rent allotment in lieu of financial stipends. For example, in 334/945 Ibn Shīrẓād, who was assigned to the post of the great amir after Tūzūn, levied (*qassaṭa*) a tax on the tax-collectors, the scribes and merchants to alleviate financial difficulties.² Furthermore, in 417/1026 it is said that the Turks, who were increasing their power in Baghdad, levied 100,000 dinārs as *taqsīṭ* on the merchants of al-Kalkh.³ We may thereby suppose that the government allotments to the *muqṭa*'s in the above passage were in all cases made temporary. In any case, the rights of 'āmils as tax-collectors, being weakened by the power of the soldiers, decreased gradually. Against this tendency the 'āmils resisted in vain by means of discontinuing the tax register (*uṣūl al-'uqūd*), on occasions when the Turkish soldiers usurped the due of the state treasury (*ḥaqq bayt al-māl*) by the rule of Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣra and al-Ahwāz.⁴ As Cahen says, under the new regime these agents of the state treasury should see that they can not enter into a soldier's land and therefore could no longer estimate the correct revenue.⁵

Now let us turn to those persons who managed the soldier's *iqṭā'* in the Buwayhid Iraq. There is an interesting description of them in *Tajārib al-Umam*:

The result was that 'imāra was given up, the *dīwāns* were closed, and the traditions of clerkship (*kitāba*) and administration ('*amāla*) were cancelled. Those skilled therein died off and others arose who were unskilled, and anyone who was in charge of one thing thereof behaved as a rude intruder. The *muqṭa*'s managed their *iqṭā'*s through their own slave soldiers (*ghulām*) and agents (*wakīl*), who did not account for what was under their hands, and did nothing to further productiveness and cultivation.⁶

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 98.

² *Kāmil*, VIII, 448-449.

³ *Kāmil*, IX, 353. The merchant Ibn Muqallad went to Egypt for fear of confiscation (*muṣādara*) by the government, and after a year returned to Baghdad, where he was deprived of his property in this *taqsīṭ* on al-Kalkh in 417/1026 (*Kāmil*, IX, 370).

⁴ *Tajārib*, II, 175-176.

⁵ Cahen, "L'évolution," p.33. According to Abū Shujā', the actual revenue (*irtifā'*) of al-Ahwāz and Rayy was surveyed by the *kātibs* in 379/989, while in Iraq such a survey was not practiced at all (*Abū Shujā'*, 171).

⁶ *Tajārib*, II, 97-98.

This account shows that the unskilled *ghilmān* or agents of *muqṭa*'s, came to manage the *iqṭā*'s in place of the above-mentioned 'āmils. In this period, Turkish slave soldiers (*ghilmān Atrāk*) were called generally *ghilmān*,¹ who were also called *mamālīk* in some sources.² These *ghilmān*, before the time of the Buwayhids, managed the landed property (*ḍay'a*) of high officials or influential officers, as well as serving as the private soldiers of these influentials. The sources call these persons variously *aṣḥāb*, *asbāb*, *ḥasham* and *ḥāshiya*.³ And also, after the establishment of the *iqṭā*' system, the *muqṭa*'s had *ghilmān* who were the core of their military force and the managers of their *iqṭā*'s. For example, when Subuktikīn was stripped of his *iqṭā*' in 363/974, his followers (*aṣḥāb*) in al-Baṣra were arrested with his agent (*wakīl*).⁴ And Nāṣir Khusraw (d. 453/1061), who visited al-Baṣra in 443/1051, relates that the ruler, Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Alī, had his own entourage of kin and followers (*ḥāshiya*).⁵ Furthermore, Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, wazir of Mu'izz al-Dawla, was attended also by his private scribes (*kātib*) and followers (*asbāb*).⁶

On the other hand, the *wakīls* were already being employed as the agents of the holders of landed property from the Abbasid period.⁷ Though the above-mentioned *ghilmān* were also used as agents, among the *wakīls* there were other persons different from the *ghilmān* who were actually a

¹ *Yatīma*, II, 226; *Ṭabarī*, III, 1017, 1180-1181; *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, III, 346; *Kāmil*, VI, 452; *Thimār al-Qulūb*, 401; *Nishwār*, IV, 227; *Ta'riḫ-i Bayhaqī*, 158; *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 189; *Najāṭī*, fol.58r. We find also such examples as *ghulām Khazarī* and *al-ghulām al-'Irāqī* (*Ṭabarī*, III, 1383; *Ta'riḫ al-Ṣābī*, 416). On Turkish slave soldiers in this period, see Bosworth, "Military Organisation," pp.143-167; Busse, *Chalif und Großkönig*, pp.329-339; S. A. Ismail, "Mu'taṣim and the Turks," *BSOAS*, 29(1966), pp.12-24; P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, Cambridge, 1980; D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam*, New Haven, 1981.

² Concerning the eastern Islamic world, we find the examples of "mamlūk" or "mamālīk" in the following sources; *Faraj*, I, 56; *Fakhrī*, 231, 240; *Wuzarā'*, 19, 156; *Ṭabarī*, III, 1353; *Muntaẓam*, VI, 2, 180; *Nishwār*, V, 254; *Tajārib*, II, 122, 231; *Takmila*, 72, 222-223; *Abū Shujā'*, 162; *Kāmil*, IX, 164, 487; X, 128, 526; *Ta'riḫ-i Qumm*, 256; *Mir'āt B*, 369; *Najāṭī*, fol.49r; *Dhakhā'ir*, 188.

³ *Faraj*, I, 105; *Ṣila*, 55, 128; *Takmila*, 65; *Akhbār al-Rādī*, 82-83, 105, 147, 239, 239-240, 242-243.

⁴ *Takmila*, 214. See also Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz*, p.30.

⁵ *Safar Nāma*, 129.

⁶ *Tajārib*, II, 197. See also *Tajārib*, II, 187, 242, 303; *Nishwār*, I, 206, 215; *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 185. It is said that Bahā' al-Dawla had the Daylamite followers (*aṣḥāb*) at al-Baṣra (*Abū Shujā'*, 271).

⁷ For example, see the following sources; *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, IX, 334-335; *Ṭabarī*, III, 1735-1736, 1741, 1773, 1775-1776, 1901-1902; *Wuzarā'*, 128, 150-151.

military force. They were the private scribes (*kātib*) of the *muqta'*.¹ Here are some examples of them.

- (1) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Qummī was *kātib* of Rūzbihān b. Windā Khūrshīdh,² grandfather of amir al-Daylam. He was the manager of Rūzbihān's *iqṭā'* in the Sawād as well as his agent at Mu'izz al-Dawla's court.³
- (2) Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qummī was also the *kātib* of Abū Manṣūr Rādharwayh, *mamlūk* of Mu'izz al-Dawla. When Rādharwayh claimed the surplus in the *iqṭā'* revenue (*fāḍil iqṭā'*), Abū al-Ḥasan complained of it to wazir Abū al-Faḍl al-Shīrāzī.⁴
- (3) Abū al-'Arāqil al-Ṭahārī was the *kātib* of Banjāsib, the Daylamite officer. Once before, Abū 'Ubayd Allāh (chief of *dīwān al-Ahwāz*) called him out and said, "Your master should pay back the excess in the *iqṭā'* revenue (*fāḍil al-iqṭā'*)."⁵
- (4) One Daylamite officer said, "My *kātib* has talent exceeding other *kātib*s for managing cattle and landed property, and for purchasing what is needed. That is to say, he has no defect, but unfortunately he can not write and read."⁶

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qummī, mentioned in examples (1) and (2), was a type of scribe who changed his master frequently using his talent of writing and calculation. And their right, against our supposition, was strong enough to repulse claim of taking excess *iqṭā'* revenue, as expressed in examples (2) and (3). Example (4), which was one of the humorous stories in the folk tradition, teaches us how *kātib* was during this period. Taking these examples into consideration, we can understand that those who came to manage the *iqṭā'*s were not only unskilled *ghilmān* and *wakīls* as Miskawayh described in his *Tajārib al-Umam*. Skilled *kātib*s,

¹ On the *kātib*s during the Abbasid and Buwayhid periods, see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'Abbaside de 749 à 936*, 2 vols., Damascus, 1959-60; H. Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā*, Cambridge, 1928; Mez, *Die Renaissance*, pp.68-129.

² In *Nishwār*, he was described as Rūzbihān b. Windād Khūrshīdh (VII, 226). Mu'izz al-Dawla banished the Daylams when Rūzbihān revolted against him in 345/956. On the banishment of the Daylams, see Bosworth, "Military Organisation," pp.153-159; Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty*, pp.138-144.

³ *Hafawāt*, 271; *Nishwār*, VII, 226.

⁴ *Hafawāt*, 324.

⁵ *Hafawāt*, 298.

⁶ *Nishwār*, VII, 173; *Hafawāt*, 224.

who had once served the *'āmils* or managed the landed property of the influential figures, joined in the management of *iqṭā'*s under the new regime.

4. The Spread of Private *Ḥimāya*

Now, how did Iraqi society change by the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system? Miskawayh states after his description of the frequent exchange of *iqṭā'*s by the soldiers:

And in several years [the institution of the *dīwān*] *al-uṣūl*¹ melted away, the old estimate of revenue disappeared, irrigation (*mashārib*) was corrupted, and any attempt at cultivation was given up. This brought *tunnā'* (sing. *tānī*) into misfortune and poverty, and as a result they had to either leave the village, or endure injustice without getting redress, or take the means of surrendering (*taslīm*) their landed property (*ḡay'a*) to the *muḡta'* to escape his ill treatment and come to terms with him.²

The *tānī* in the above quotation appeared in the Abbasid period as the owner of a small village private estate (*ḡay'a*), different from the landed property of the high officials and officers. For example, one *tānī* in the Nahrawān complained to a wazir about the results of a land survey (22 jarībs), and after a resurvey it was recognized that his cultivated land was 21 jarībs and 1 qafiz (about 3.36 hectares).³ And in the early tenth century, both *tunnā'* and tenants (*muzāri'ūn*) in Diyār Rabi'a accused the tax-collector (*'āmil*) before the caliph that he had collected dues of 1/4 (*ḡaqq al-tarbī'*), more than the ordinary rate of 1/10 (*ḡaqq al-a'shār*), from their private estates.⁴ That is to say, the *tānī* had *ḡay'a* as his private land (*milk*) paying to the government *ḡaqq al-a'shār* or *ḡaqq*

¹ Amedroz translates *al-uṣūl* as "principles" ("Abbasid Administration," p.825), but it seems to denote the *dīwāns* other than the inspection office (*dīwān al-azimma*). See *EI*,ⁿ s.v. *Dīwān*; Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, pp.148-149.

² *Tajārib*, II, 97.

³ *Tajārib*, I, 29-30; *Wuzarā'*, 372-373. During this period 1 jarīb (=10 qafizs) was equal to 1,592 square meters (W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden, 1955, pp.65-66). According to this, his cultivated land (21 jarībs and 1 qafiz) covered an area of about 3.36 hectares.

⁴ *Wuzarā'*, 363.

bayt al-māl.¹ Furthermore, Abū al-Faḍl ‘Awn, Caliph al-Ma’mūn’s scribe, having marital ties to the *tānī* in Baradān near Baghdad, came to be one of the local notables (*wujūh*).² This reveals that the *tānī* was also an upper class farmer in village society as well as a landowner.³

The above account by Miskawayh shows also that there were *tānīs* who took to surrendering (*taslīm*) their estates to the *muqta’*, as well as *tānīs* who left their villages or endured injustices. Concerning the *taslīm*, Miskawayh mentions as the event of 348/956 that the Atrāk destroyed privately owned lands (*amlāk*) and protected the people by means of commendation (*talji’a*), and thus withheld dues to the state treasury.⁴ This indicates that *taslīm* meant *talji’a*, and the *muqta’*s protected (*hāmū*) the *tānīs* in return for taking protection money from them. That is to say, the *muqta’*s assumed the protection rights over the *tānīs* having forced them the commendation of their private land. Abū Shujā’ al-Rūdhrawārī (d. 488/1095) relates the following story:

One *tānī* said, “In the time of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, my *ḍay’a* was integrated into the *iqṭā’* of Asfār b. Kurdawayh. Though Asfār’s injustice was well known, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla permitted Asfār and Shahrākawayh al-‘Adawī everything that they wished, which brought me into devastation and made me unable to get what was enough to pay the land tax (*kharāj*). In contrast, Asfār collected more than 3,600 dirhams, which I was forced to pay, and moreover he arrested me and took control over my agent. Accordingly, I had to remain in his prison for seven months.⁵

In this story, the *muqta’*’s rule over the peasantry by force is described vividly. Furthermore, in *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) we find the account of people who wanted the protection (*yaltaji’ūna*) of Muhadhhab al-Dawla, Ṣāhib al-Baṭā’ih.⁶ And it is said that as a result

¹ *Faraj*, II, 298-299; *Tajārib*, II, 175-176; *Būzjānī*, 316-323; *Mafāṭih*, 60; *Wuzarā’*, 66. cf. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, pp.67, 91, 169-170.

² *Nishwār*, VIII, 46. Baradān was a qarya belonged to the Dujayl district, at 5 farsakhs from Baghdad (*Yāqūt*, I, 375).

³ According to Hilāl al-Ṣābī, the people of upper class (*khawāṣṣ al-nās*) in the reign of al-Mu’taḍid included *tānīs* and *tājirs* other than the wazirs and amirs (*Rusūm*, 21).

⁴ *Tajārib*, II, 175.

⁵ *Abū Shujā’*, 47-48.

⁶ *Muntaẓam*, VII, 290-291. Muhadhhab al-Dawla Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Naṣr,

of the abandonment of government control, the provincial administration was entrusted to the influentials among Daylamite officers (*wujūh min khawāṣṣ al-Daylam*), who made of the districts their homes and private land (*tu'ma*).¹ This also indicates that the soldiers ruled villages privately on the basis of *iqṭā'* holding. According to Miskawayh, during the latter half of the tenth century, chieftains (*ra'īs*) appeared in the villages and fought with each other.² I suppose this means that village society in Iraq was being reformed after the above-mentioned fall of the *tānīs* and the fall of the *dihqāns* who had already lost their privileges as the Arabs expanded their large landownership.³

When in 345/956 Mu'izz al-Dawla decided to exile the Daylams, he sent one group of them who were his followers (*aṣḥāb*) to al-Ahwāz, where his wazir al-Muhallabī appointed them to the districts.⁴ Mu'izz al-Dawla did the same to the Atrāk who had no *iqṭā'*. That is to say, he ordered "*tasbīb*" according to what they had demanded as their rights in Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣra and al-Ahwāz.⁵ During the Abbasid period, the *tasbīb* was already used as the means of paying the stipends for *ghilmān*, *wakīl* and *hāshiya* (bodyguard), and for paying back the government's loans from merchants.⁶ Al-Khwārizmī (d. 387/997) explains the term *tasbīb* as an order to a third person (*musabbab*) to help the *'āmil* in collecting

nephew of 'Alī al-Muzaffar who had ruled over al-Baṭā'ih from 373/983-4 succeeding Banū Shāhīn, took over the rulership from al-Muzaffar in 376/986-7 (*Kāmil*, IX, 30-31). Though in 394/1003-4 he was deprived of the Baṭā'ih by Abū al-'Abbās b. Wāṣil, he took it back the next year, and kept it until his death in 408/1017-8 (*Kāmil*, IX, 180, 183, 302). It is said that his *iqṭā'* revenue was 9,600 kurr of wheat, 13,370 kurr of barley, 8,000 kurr of rice, and 175,000,000 (dirhams?) in cash (*Muntaẓam*, VII, 290-291). cf. *Su'ālāt*, 5.

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 98.

² *Tajārib*, II, 314. See Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, p.150.

³ al-Dūri, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, p.59 ; id., "The Origins," p.9; Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, pp.76, 95-96, 139, 168-169; Lambton, *Landlord*, pp.13-14; *EI*,^a s.v. *Dihqān*. During the Abbasid period some *dihqāns* still retained their former influential positions in rural society. For example, when the struggle for water took place, they explained the circumstances to the government officials; and when the influentials visited the village, the *dihqāns* were to invite them to serve meals (*Wuzarā'*, 278-279; *Ta'rikh Wāsiṭ*, 290). Further, Ibn Marwān, *dihqān* of al-Jāmida, when the tax-collector dispatched from Nāṣir al-Dawla deprived him of 40 kurrs of rice, regained it making a night attack with his kinsmen (*Nishwār*, VIII, 158-159; *Faraj*, I, 57-58). However, we find scarcely any description on the *dihqān* during the Buwayhid period.

⁴ *Tajārib*, II, 173.

⁵ *Tajārib*, II, 173-174.

⁶ *Tajārib*, I, 70, 164, 213, 329. cf. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, p.63.

difficult taxes.¹ The *tasbīb* was also used in the case of the Atrāk, who were sent to Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣra and al-Ahwāz, where they took in cash or kind the equivalent of their stipends. Miskawayh states that the daily shares they took were 10 dirhams for *ghulām*, and 20 dirhams for *naqīb* (an officer).²

This *tasbīb*, which was used also in later periods for tiding over during financial difficulty, was really no different from an *iqṭā'* grant. Further, this provisional policy made still stronger the soldier's rule over the districts as Miskawayh relates about the result of *tasbīb* in 347/958:

Mu'izz al-Dawla had to increase the burden on the original share (*uṣūl*) of the Atrāk. That is to say, they wanted the money from *tasbīb* to be paid over an extended period to prolong their terms of occupation, and caused the principal tax (*uṣūl*) to include merchandise which passed through there. Even if the money of *tasbīb* was made ready, they thought that it had no relation to the *uṣūl*, because if they did, there remained indeed one dirham for them even after that preparation. The *'āmil*s abandoned their right one by one for decreasing oppression, while the soldiers remained there for two or three years. As a result, trade (*tijāra*) was brought into their bosom, and on what was carried to them neither tax nor burden was levied on the way. Moreover, they extended their rights to include *talji'a*, ruled over the districts, overcame the *'āmil*s, and protected the merchants.³

According to this description, the Turkish soldiers tried to stay as long as possible in the districts of *tasbīb* to increase their incomes, and for that purpose they extended their interests to merchandise and also protected the merchants there. E. Ashtor and H. Busse, quoting the same source, conclude that the soldiers of the Buwayhid period came to take part in trade themselves.⁴ However, we should put stress rather on the fact that the soldiers protected merchants in the districts, because it

¹ *Mafātīh*, 62. See also C. E. Bosworth, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khwārizmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," *JESHO*, 12(1969), pp.139-140.

² *Tajārib*, II, 174. On the *tasbīb* in the Abbasid and Buwayhid fiscal administration, see R. P. Mottahedeh, "A Note on the 'TASBĪB'," in W. al-Qāḍī ed., *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Beirut, 1981, pp.347-351.

³ *Tajārib*, II, 174.

⁴ E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976, p.178; Busse, *Chalif und Großkönig*, p.340.

means that the soldiers came to exercise private protection (*ḥimāya*) over the merchants as well as the *tānīs* by means of commendation (*taljī'a*).

The port town of al-Baṣra was also well known as the producing center of shoes (*na'layn*) and silk goods, and dates (*tamr*) from its surrounding countryside were transported to Baghdad and other cities by special merchants (*tammār*).¹ Wāsiṭ in central Iraq, as al-Muqaddasī and Ibn Ḥawqal state, was a prosperous town with extensive cultivated fields, and was still favored with an ample supply of wheat and dates.² In particular, as the private domain (*ḍay'a*) developed during the Abbasid period, rice (*aruzz*, *ruzz*) production spread in the provinces of al-Jāmida and Kaskar,³ which activated the rice merchants (*razzāz*) dealing with it.⁴ Furthermore, since al-Ahwāz and al-Baṣra were connected by rivers, both cities had, politically and socially, maintained close relationships from the early Islamic period. The province of al-Ahwāz during that period flourished in one of the most important sugar-producing centers in the Islamic world.⁵

These cities functioned as "markets" (*sūq*) for their surrounding country sides⁶ as well as bases of commercial activity connecting other remote cities. Since al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ were, in particular, stopping points for ships (*qārib*, *zawraq*) transporting commodities from Indian and Southeast Asian countries to Baghdad,⁷ it may well be said that the above-mentioned Turks were able to gain not a small profit by protecting the commercial activities in al-Baṣra, Wāsiṭ and al-Ahwāz.

¹ *Muntaẓam*, VI, 51; *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, X, 422; XIV, 124-126; *Nishwār*, III, 60; *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 213.

² *Ḥudūd*, 151; *Muqaddasī*, 118-119; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 214.

³ *Khurdādhbeh*, 10-12; *Muqaddasī*, 128-129; *Ibn Waḥshīya*, fol.16r; *Wuzarā'*, 257-258; *Muntaẓam*, VI, 330; *Nishwār*, VIII, 158-159; M. Canard, "Le riz dans le Orient aux premiers siècle de l'Islam," *Arabica*, 6(1959), pp.113-131; S. A. al-'Alī, "Mintaqat Wāsiṭ," *Sūmer*, 27(1971), pp.154-155; al-Dūri, *Ta'riḫ al-'Irāq*, pp.67-69; Mez, *Die Renaissance*, p.405; M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasid*, London, 1979, pp.90-92.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, III, 354; X, 287; XI, 330.

⁵ *Wuzarā'*, 245; *Tabaṣṣur*, 32; *Muqaddasī*, 405, 407; Mez, *Die Renaissance*, p.410.

⁶ al-Dūri, *Ta'riḫ al-'Irāq*, p.138.

⁷ *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, 244; al-Dūri, *Ta'riḫ al-'Irāq*, pp.142-143.

5. *The Struggle between the Wāli and Muqta'*

When Mu'izz al-Dawla allocated *iqṭā'*s in the Sawād, small portions exempted from *iqṭā'* were contracted out to tax-farmers.¹ These tax-farmers (*dāmin*) were influential officers (*qā'id*) and soldiers (*jund*), high officials (*aṣḥāb al-darārī'*), and local officeholders (*mutaṣarrifūn*).² In their own self-interest, the first military group opposed the government by force, while the latter official groups carried out their intrigues more skilfully. Here are some examples.

In 336/947-8, having driven the Barīdīs from al-Baṣra, Mu'izz al-Dawla farmed out this district to Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān in cooperation with Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī.³ Then in the time of Bakhtiyār, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, who was governor (*mutawallī*) of al-Baṣra, also became the *dāmin* there.⁴ According to the contemporary sources, this is the last account of any *dāmin* in al-Baṣra. On the other hand, Ibn Baqīya, who was born at Awānā north of Baghdad, became the *dāmin* of Takrīt, and then in 361/972 was appointed wazir of Bakhtiyār.⁵ As for the district of Wāsiṭ, we may suppose that *dāmins* were appointed there intermittently from the time of Abū al-Qāsim al-Barīdī.⁶ In 359/970 Abū Qurra, who was born at Dayr Qunnā south of Baghdad and gained influence in Wāsiṭ, became the *dāmin* of this district and accumulated great wealth,⁷ but he neglected to pay the amount contracted with the government, resulting in increased difficulties for the state treasury.⁸ The districts of al-Baṣra and al-Ahwāz were also under the rule of Turkish soldiers as a result of the above-mentioned *tasbīb*. In response to such a state of

¹ *Tajārib*, II, 96, 98.

² *Darārī'* (sing. *durrā'a*) were the mantles which wazir and high officials took on from the early Abbasid period. However, R. Dozy says that the wazirs of the Buwayhid dynasty had no custom of taking this mantle (*Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, pp.177-181). See also Sourdell, *Le vizirat 'abbaside*, pp.89, 423, 687. Al-Dūrī translates *aṣḥāb al-darārī'* and *mutaṣarrifūn* as civilians (scribes and merchants) ("The Origins", p.15), but it is doubtful whether the *mutaṣarrifūn* were in fact merchants.

³ *Nishwār*, III, 250.

⁴ *Tajārib*, II, 322.

⁵ *Tajārib*, II, 285, 310.

⁶ *Takmila*, 160; *Tajārib*, II, 260.

⁷ *Tajārib*, II, 260.

⁸ *Tajārib*, II, 267.

affairs, from the 970s the tax-contracts of *dāmin* became rare, and tax-farming by governors (*wālī*) increased steadily.¹ This leads us to suppose that the government changed its policy during this period by appointing *wālīs* anew on behalf of *dāmins*.²

Concerning the *wālī* and his office (*wilāya*), Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 448/1056) relates the following story dated 390/1000:

Abū Ṭāhir Yaghmā, who had a large *iqṭā'* in Bādūrayā, was appointed *wālī* of this district, which brought him into conflict with Qarrād b. al-Ladīd. At that time, the person who controlled and managed affairs as his steward (*mudabbir*) was his scribe (*kātib*), Abū al-Ḥasan Rishā al-Khālīdī. He managed all the problems which arose there with Abū Ṭāhir and Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardashīr. But, as order was lost and the burden increased on the *muqṭa'* and the peasants (*akara*), Abū Ṭāhir decided to return the protection-fee (*khifāra*, *ḥimāya*) he had already collected.³

According to this account, Abū Ṭāhir became *wālī* of Bādūrayā on the basis of his *iqṭā'* holding and levied protection fees on the *muqṭa'* and the peasants. As for Banū Thimāl in al-Kūfa, it is related that 'Alyān b. Thimāl al-Khafāji established his rule there only after he was given *ḥimāya al-Kūfa* in 374/984-5.⁴ Furthermore, 'Imrān b. Shāhīn, who was entrusted *ḥimāya* of al-Baṭā'ih from 338/949-50 to 373/983-4, held power as "*ṣāhib al-nizām*" (holder of the order) as well as having *iqṭā'* there.⁵ Generally speaking, the holder of *ḥimāya* was obliged to defend the frontiers (*thughūr*) with his military force, take care of procuring materials, and protect travellers and caravans.⁶ Accordingly, we may conclude that the above-mentioned examples describe exactly the character of a *wālī* as the holder of public *ḥimāya*.

But the appointment of such governors elicited a reaction from the *muqṭa'*s who had exercised the right of private *ḥimāya* over the peasants

¹ *Abū Shujā'*, 83, 254, 283-284, 293; *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 38; *Kāmil*, IX, 126, 224, 241, 304, 306, 467-468.

² Bürgel also says, "Aḡud ad-Daula nahm auch sogleich eine Neuordnung der Provinz-verwaltung vor" (*Die Hofkorrespondenz*, p.66).

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Ṣābī*, 364-365.

⁴ *Kāmil*, IX, 39.

⁵ *Kāmil*, VIII, 481; IX, 30-31; *Muntaẓa'*, 70-71.

⁶ *Mukhtār*, 155-156. See also Cl. Cahen, "Notes pour l'histoire de la HİMĀYA," *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, vol.1, Damascus, 1956, p.294.

and the merchants. Here are some examples concerning the opposition or struggle between *wālī* and *muqṭaʿ*.

- (1) In 372/982-3 Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Rāʿī was killed at Naṣībīn in al-Jazīra. He was the *wālī* of this district as well as the tax-collector (*ʿāmil*) there.¹
- (2) Al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab al-ʿUqaylī, who was entrusted the *ḥimāya* of Gharbī al-Furāt, was granted Mosul, al-Kūfa, Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra, and al-Jāmiʿayn as *iqṭāʿ* in 386/996. But, as the complaint of the *muqṭaʿ*'s increased in Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra and its environs, he abandoned his *iqṭāʿ* and was content with taking protection-fees (*rusūm al-ḥimāya*) [from Gharbī al-Furāt].²
- (3) When Fakhr al-Dawla conquered Dayr ʿĀqūl [south of Madāin] in 402/1011-2, three children of Thimāl al-Khafājī came to him and farmed the *ḥimāya* of Saqī al-Furāt. As a result, Banū ʿUqayl was banished from this district.³
- (4) In 441/1049-50 [the great amir] al-Malik al-Raḥīm (Iran and Iraq: 440–447/1048–55) entrusted to Dubays b. Mazyad the *ḥimāya* of Nahr al-Ṣila and Nahr al-Faḍl [in al-Sawād]. But, as these districts were the *iqṭāʿ*'s of the Atrāk stationed at Wāsiṭ, a battle took place between Dubays and the Atrāk. Dubays came out the victor and confiscated the Atrāk's property.⁴

In example (1), though the reason of Abū ʿAlī's murder is not stated, we may suppose with probability the existence of *muqṭaʿ*'s or his rival's opposition against the *wālī*. Banū ʿUqayl in example (3) were Arabs who lived a nomadic life mainly in northern Iraq, and al-Muqallad in example (2) was also from this Banū ʿUqayl. It is not clear whether Banū ʿUqayl in Saqī al-Furāt were granted *iqṭāʿ* or not. However in Mosul, they were assigned *iqṭāʿ* in 377/987-8,⁵ and amir Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab from this tribe was also allocated Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Naṣībīn and other districts as *iqṭāʿ* in 380/920-1.⁶

¹ *Abū Shujāʿ*, 83.

² *Abū Shujāʿ*, 283-284; *Kāmil*, IX, 126.

³ *Kāmil*, IX, 235.

⁴ *Kāmil*, IX, 557-558. Both Nahr al-Ṣila and Nahr al-Faḍl were districts (*nāḥiya*) in Wāsiṭ (*Yāqūt*, V, 321, 322).

⁵ *Kāmil*, IX, 55.

⁶ *Kāmil*, IX, 70-71.

In any case, from these examples we may conclude that the *muqṭa*'s regarded the appointment of *wālīs* as an invasion of their right of private *ḥimāya*, which was the basis of their incomes. As for the above examples, including that of Abū Ṭāhir Yaghmā, they all pertain to the age of the later Buwayhids period, but the great amirs after 'Aḍud al-Dawla did not have sufficient political power to put down these struggles between *wālī* and *muqṭa*'. The Seljuqids, the next rulers of Iraq and Iran, inherited the Buwayhid *iqṭā'* with little change.¹ Therefore, it is necessary to re-examine the historical relationship between these two dynasties carefully in terms of the issue of *ḥimāya*.

But unfortunately, we cannot find sufficient sources to clarify the differences between the late Buwayhid and the early Seljuqid *iqṭā'*s. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Seljuqid *iqṭā'*s were assignments of land revenue to the subordinate cavalry, and thus were similar to the Buwayhid *iqṭā'*s. However, the grants of the administrative *iqṭā'*s to amirs, which were limited during the Buwayhid period, were generalized as the Seljuqid rule over Iran and Iraq came to be stable. After the breakup of the Seljuqid empire the Zangid rulers introduced similar *iqṭā'* grants into the provinces of al-Jazīra and Northern Syria. The rights of *muqṭa*' during the Zangid period, as in the Seljuqid period, was legally restricted to the levying of taxes on their *iqṭā'*s. But Nūr al-Dīn consented to the inheritance of *iqṭā'* holdings, complying with soldiers' request to hold stable *iqṭā'*s. The Zangid *iqṭā'* system was soon introduced into Egypt by Saladin.

¹ Cahen, "L'évolution," p.39.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IQTĀ' SYSTEM IN EGYPT AND SYRIA UNDER THE AYYUBIDS

The amirs and high officials in Egypt had held the *iqṭā'*s since the Fatimid period; but the areas assigned as *iqṭā'* were comparatively small and its character was, in various respects, different from the Buwayhid and Seljuqid *iqṭā'* systems.¹ Saladin's new regime based on the *iqṭā'* system, therefore, also took on different features from the ancient Fatimid regime.

Generally speaking, most of the previous studies discuss the Ayyubid *iqṭā'* system of Egypt in particular², but it is also certainly necessary to study the Syrian *iqṭā'*s, too, in order to make clear the *iqṭā'* system which existed in this period. There remains also the problem of discovering the causes of the disputes among the *muqṭa'*s, one feature peculiar to the Ayyubid *iqṭā'* system only. Furthermore, we need to reveal more concretely the way the duties were levied on the peasants and the management of irrigation by the *muqṭa'*s. In this chapter I propose to study the character of the Ayyubid state and the realities of *muqṭa'*s' rule over both Egyptian and Syrian societies through an investigation of the *iqṭā'* system.

The primary sources may be summarized as follows. 'Imād al-Dīn al-İşfahānī (d. 597/1201) wrote a chronicle in seven volumes, *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, of which the manuscripts only of vols.3 and 5 have survived.³ Though *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn* by Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268) is mainly based on *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, his other work, *al-Dhayl*

¹ Y. Lev states that the sources indicate the emergence of military *iqṭā'* in Egypt in the early twelfth century (*State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden, 1991, p.124). But we can not still ascertain that the Fatimid *iqṭā'*s were allocated to the troops in return for military service.

² See pp.10-12.

³ MS. Bodleian Library, vol.3 (Bruce 11), vol.5 (March 425). For the study of this work, see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, Oxford, 1973, pp.2-4; id., "The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin," *Speculum*, 25(1960), pp.58-72; B. Lewis and P. M. Holt eds., *Historians of the Middle East*, London, 1962, pp.79-107.

'*alā al-Rawḍatayn* contains valuable information on Ayyubid history after the reign of Saladin. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) is a well-known history of the Islamic world, which relates vividly Egyptian and Syrian affairs, as well. However, it does quote not in small part from *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, and offers a critical view concerning the earlier part of Saladin's life. Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298), qadi (judge) of Ḥamā, compiled a voluminous and important Ayyubid history, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, the last part of which is still in manuscript form.¹ Al-Khazrajī (d. 656/1258), who was born in Tilimsān and lectured on ḥadīth at Alexandria, wrote a valuable Ayyubid history, *Ta'rikh al-Dawlat al-Akrād wal-Atrāk*, which includes original accounts, though it quotes repeatedly from *al-Barq al-Shāmī*.² Concerning Syrian local history, two works of Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262), *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Ta'rikh Ḥalab* and *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta'rikh Ḥalab*, are indispensable, as is *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭira fī Dhīkr Umarā' al-Shām wal-Jazīra* by Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285).³

1. The Formation of the Iqtā' System

The Implementation of the Iqtā' System

On 25 Jumādā II 564/26 March 1169 Saladin was installed as the Fatimid wazir after his uncle, Shīrkūh, died in Cairo. Though he was still deputy (*nā'ib*) of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus, Saladin took control over military and financial affairs, and assigned confiscated lands to his followers in the form of *iqtā'*s. About this Abū Shāma relates:

Saladin began to confiscate the *iqtā'*s held by the Fatimid soldiers (*iqtā' al-Miṣrīyīn*) to root them out for his followers. But, there was an eunuch (*khaṣī*) named Mu'tamin al-Khilāfa, who still held power at court. He intended to arrest al-Asadiya and al-Ṣalāḥiya groups in conspiracy with the Franks.⁴

¹ MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 1702.

² MS. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha 695. On the life of al-Khazrajī, see *Şafadī*, I, 357-358; U. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol.8, Damascus, 1959, p.206.

³ For the study of Ibn al-'Adīm and his works, see D. Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and His World: Ibn al-'Adīm and Aleppo as Portrayed in his Biographical Dictionary of People Associated with the City*, Leiden, 1994.

⁴ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 450. See also *'Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 294.

Al-Asadiya and al-Ṣalāḥiyya refer to the military forces formed by Shirkūh and Saladin.¹ According to *al-Kāmil*, the *iqṭā'* assignment to the Syrian army immediately followed confiscation of the *iqṭā'*s from the Egyptian amirs.² And it was on 28 Dhū al-Qa'da 564/13 August 1169 that Saladin defeated the black slave soldiers of Mu'tamin al-Khilāfa, who had intended to cooperate with the Franks for fear of their degradation due to the confiscation by Saladin.³ Abū Shāma's description quoted above indicates that the *iqṭā'* assignment was carried out before the battle between Saladin and the black slave soldiers. Therefore, we may be fairly certain that the *iqṭā'* system was instituted by Saladin between March and August 1169, probably around the harvest season of that year.⁴

Saladin's predecessor, Shirkūh, however, had already granted *iqṭā'*s to the Syrian soldiers.⁵ This indicates that the *iqṭā'* allotment by Saladin was not the first case in Egypt; but since al-Maqrīzī relates that from the reign of Saladin, all the Egyptian lands have been distributed to the sultan, amirs, and soldiers as *iqṭā'*s,⁶ Saladin's *iqṭā'* assignment was

¹ Saladin's Syrian army, at first, was composed of al-Asadiya, al-Ṣalāḥiyya and al-Nūriyya, the total number of which was 8,500. But *al-Umarā' al-Nūriyya*, like Yārūk and Jardik, returned to Syria, consented to the advice of Nūr al-Dīn who did not recognize the authority of Saladin in Egypt (*Rawḍatayn*, II, 440). cf. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany, N.Y., 1972, p.72. As to al-Asadiya, it was composed of 500 *mamlūks* and other troopers (*Rawḍatayn*, II, 438).

² *Kāmil*, XI, 344; *Ibn Abī al-Hayjā'*, fol.166v.

³ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 451-452; *Kāmil*, XI, 345-347; *Shifā'*, 71. Saladin who forestalled Mu'tamin's attempt killed him first, and then destroyed his black slave soldiers (al-Sūdān) at the battle of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. It is said that the black slave soldiers, from this time on, was not adopted in the Egyptian regular army till the eighteenth century (B. Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*, New York, 1990, pp.67-68).

⁴ Accordingly, Cahen was in error to relate that Saladin introduced the *iqṭā'* system into Egypt in 1171 ("L'évolution," p.45). The same mistake is found in the work by G. Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, Cairo, 1986, p.69.

⁵ *Majmū'at al-Wathā'iq*, I, 172; *Ibn Abī al-Hayjā'*, fol.165v; *Itti'āz*, III, 304. Abū Shāma relates that Saladin was the person in charge (*mubāshir*) of allocation when Shirkūh granted *iqṭā'*s to the Syrian army (*Rawḍatayn*, II, 402). Based on this account, Ehrenkreutz says that even before Shirkūh's death Saladin had begun to distribute feudal assignments to the Syrian commanders and their troops (*Saladin*, p.70). But this would be a view to make vague who had the sovereignty of the state. cf. M. C. Lyons & D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin*, Cambridge, 1982, pp.53-54; Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, p.728.

⁶ *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 97. Al-Maqrīzī further relates that the Egyptian army was dissolved and the Syrian amirs, instead, became to possess their families, estates, horses,

therefore clearly more important than that of Shirkūh.¹ Thus Saladin was able to bring the provinces under his control through his *iqṭā'* system, and the dignity of the last Fatimid caliph, al-'Āḍid (555–567/1160–71), decreased in proportion.²

Saladin, by defeating the black slave soldiers and forming the *iqṭā'* system in Egypt, succeeded in establishing a new regime based on the Syrian troops. He was also prudent in Syrian affairs. It was after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in Shawwāl 569/May 1174 that Saladin proceeded to Syria with his troops. When he entered Damascus in Rabi' I 570/October 1174, he entrusted its rule to his brother, Ṭuḡhdikin b. Ayyūb, and then set out to conquer Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā.³ Concerning Saladin's conduct after he seized both cities, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* has the following to say:

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Saladin) advanced his troops from Ḥamā to Bārīn over which a subordinate of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Za'frānī had been appointed as its deputy (*nā'ib*). But he held nothing other than this. Saladin continued to besiege the town until the deputy surrendered it out of fear for his life. When Saladin returned to Ḥamā, he granted it to his maternal uncle, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Tuksh al-Ḥārimī, as *iqṭā'*. Then he granted Ḥimṣ to his nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, before he returned to Damascus.⁴

As mentioned above, in 570/1174 Saladin first allocated the provinces of Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ to his relatives as *iqṭā'* in Syria. Both Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ before Saladin's conquest were *iqṭā'*s held by the Zangid amir, Fakhr al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Za'frānī.⁵ That is to say, Saladin redistributed the confiscated lands to his followers in order to establish his authority. He did the same when he conquered the provinces of Ba'labakk, al-Bira,

slaves and *iqṭā'*s. The Egyptian amirs consequently turned to be the gatekeepers (*bawwāb*), or the grooms (*sā'is*) of the houses where they had lived, or the managers (*wakīl*) of *iqṭā'*s which they had held (*Itti'āz*, III, 321).

¹ *Abū al-Fidā'*, III, 50.

² *Kāmil*, XI, 415–417; Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, pp.126–128.

³ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 24. The similar accounts are found in the following sources: *al-Ta'rīkh al-Ṣāliḥī*, fols.198v–199r; *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 193; *Shamārīkh*, fol.155v; *Kanz*, VII, 58–59.

⁴ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 24; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 640; *Kāmil*, XI, 422. See also M. Y. A. al-Takrītī, *al-Ayyūbiyyūn fī Shimāl al-Shām wal-Jazīra*, Beirut, 1981, p.352. According to Aḥmad al-Ḥanbalī, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā, Qal'at Ṭārīn, Salamiya, Tall Khālīd and al-Ruhā' were the *iqṭā'*s held by Mas'ūd al-Za'frānī (*Shifā'*, 85).

⁵ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 20; *Kāmil*, XI, 422; *Mufarrij*, II, 22.

Beirut and other Syrian cities.¹

The *iqṭā'* assignment thus became the most crucial factor for maintaining the Ayyubid state order. For example, when al-Malik al-ʿĀdil inherited the sultanate in Shawwāl 596/July–August 1200, he ascertained at first the amirs' *iqṭā'*s and inquired of them one after another about the number of soldiers they should maintain.² And in Aleppo, after al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, Ṣāhib Ḥalab, died in 613/1216, the right to grant *iqṭā'*s was given to al-Malik al-Manṣūr b. al-ʿAzīz, while the power to appoint and dismiss the religious officials (*al-manāṣib al-dīniya*) was held by Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭuḡhril, a trusted *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Zāhir. Soon, however, Ṭuḡhril assumed all the powers to administrate the town and the citadel and to grant wages and *iqṭā'*s.³ Both of these examples point out clearly that the right to grant *iqṭā'*s was very important to Ayyubid dynasty rule. On the other hand, in 591/1195 al-ʿAzīz in Egypt formed an alliance with the Asādiya amirs by means of granting *khubz*, i.e., *iqṭā'*, to them.⁴ *Khubbz*, which originally means “bread,” was used also to mean *iqṭā'* during this period.⁵ These examples indicate that the sultan or the provincial rulers had to allocate suitable *iqṭā'*s to their followers in order to maintain stable regimes.

Iqṭā' Holders

We can classify the *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*) of this period as follows:

(a) *Ayyubid Kinsfolk*

In 565/1170, following the institution of the *iqṭā'* system in Egypt, Saladin assigned Alexandria, Damietta and al-Buḥayra to his father, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, and Qūṣ, Aswān and ʿAydhāb to his brother, al-Malik

¹ Saladin distributed Baʿlabakk to Shams al-Dawla Tūrānshāh in 574/1178-9 (*Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.3v; *Mufarrij*, II, 71; *Aʿlāq-Lubnān*, 48), al-Bīra to Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 578/1182-3 (*Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.6r), and Beirut to ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma in 583/1187-8 (*Aʿlāq-Lubnān*, 102).

² *Kāmil*, XII, 156.

³ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 175-178. See also Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p.155.

⁴ *al-Taʿriḫ al-Ṣāliḫī*, fol.214r-v.

⁵ Poliak, “The Ayyubid Feudalism,” p.431. Though *khubbz* in the Ayyubid period sometimes means allowance of pay (Gibb, “The Armies of Saladin,” p.86), it was used also the same meaning as *iqṭā'* as revealed in the following sources: *Mufarrij*, V, 68, 205-206, 277, 337-338; *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fols.161v-162r, 169v; *Aʿlāq-Lubnān*, 74-75; *al-Taʿriḫ al-Ṣāliḫī*, fol.220r-v; *Ibn Mammātī*, 233; *Tuḡfat al-Albāb*, II, 121.

al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh, all in the form of *iqṭā'*.¹ Alexandria and Damietta were the most important commercial harbors in Lower Egypt; and given the attack on Damietta by the Crusaders stationed at Sicily early in the year,² the *iqṭā'* assignment to his father was probably made to fortify the coastal region against the enemy. The *iqṭā'* grant to his brother, on the other hand, certainly demonstrates the sultan's intent to control the Red Sea route, as well as to consolidate political affairs in Upper Egypt.³ In 569/1174 al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh invaded Yemen to conquer Aden. It may well be supposed that through this move the Ayyubid government principally aimed at monopolizing the commercial profits from the Red Sea route.⁴

Saladin allocated the main districts in Syria also among his kinsfolk. As I have mentioned above, after the conquest of Bārīn he granted Ḥamā to his uncle, Shihāb al-Dīn, and Ḥimṣ to his nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn. In 583/1187, following the victory at Ḥiṭṭīn, Saladin granted 'Akkā to his son, al-Malik al-Afḍal,⁵ and distributed the province of Jerusalem among his sons immediately upon obtaining it.⁶ Concerning al-Jazīra, in 587/1191 he initially gave Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā' and Mayyāfāriqīn to al-Afḍal, but then granted them to al-Malik al-'Ādil the next year.⁷ Saladin thus made efforts to consolidate his authority in Syria and al-Jazīra through *iqṭā'* assignments to his kinsfolk; but, after he died in 589/1193 there occurred internal conflicts among these kinsfolk, which were finally resolved in 591/1195 with the peace treaty between al-Afḍal and al-'Ādil. The terms of the treaty read as follows: "Jerusalem, Palestine, Ṭabariya, al-Urdunn and all he (al-Afḍal) possessed belong to al-Afḍal, while

¹ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 466; *'Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 301; *Muqaffā'*, II, 380.

² *Kāmil*, XI, 351-352; Lyons & Jackson, *Saladin*, pp.76-77.

³ For example, against the assault of the Nubian troops on Aswān in 586/1173, Tūrānshāh advanced his troops to Upper Egypt in order to return public order (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 37; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 530-533; Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, p.109). Two years later, the black slave soldiers attacked Qūṣ under the command of 'Abbās b. Shādhī (*Rawḍatayn*, II, 601-602; *Itti'āz*, III, 317; Lyons & Jackson, *Saladin*, p.77).

⁴ Ashfor, *A Social and Economic History*, p.237. About the Ayyubid rule in Yemen which continued from 569/1174 to 626/1229, see the following works: G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and Early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, vol.2, London, 1978; M. A. Ḥmad, *al-Ayyūbiyyūn fī al-Yaman*, Alexandria, 1980.

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 94.

⁶ *A'alāq-Lubnān*, 221.

⁷ *Mufarrij*, III, 271; *Kāmil*, XII, 82-83. According to al-Nu'aymī, in 587/1191 Saladin granted Ḥamā, al-Ma'arra, Afāmiya and Manbij to his beloved nephew, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar 'Umar (*Dāris*, I, 217).

al-‘Ādil, who is to remain in Egypt with al-‘Azīz, keeps the same *iqṭā’*s as in former times.”¹ The *iqṭā’*s kept by al-‘Ādil were Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā’ and Mayyāfāriqīn. Notwithstanding such a treaty, however, conflicts continued to occur repeatedly in later years. In 599/1202-3 a new treaty was concluded between al-‘Ādil in Egypt and al-Zāhir in Aleppo. It resulted in the following partitioning of political rule:

Al-‘Ādil Ayyūb controlled Damascus, the Syrian coastal towns, the province of Jerusalem, and Egypt, while al-Zāhir b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ruled over Aleppo and its surrounding countryside. Al-Manṣūr b. Tūrānshāh controlled Ḥamā, al-Ma‘arra (Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān), Salamiya and Bārin. Al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh ruled over Ḥimṣ, al-Raḥba and Tadmur. And al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh took possession of Ba‘labakk and its surrounding countryside.²

Since they were not *iqṭā’* holders, but rather provincial lords, al-Malik al-Zāhir and other princes were able to wield their power partly independent from the Egyptian sultan. The Ayyubid princes thus came to rule the important Syrian towns and their surrounding areas quasi-independently, a political situation which continued until the time of Sultan Baybars (658–676/1260–77).³

(b) *The Amirs*

Cases in which the amirs were allocated *iqṭā’*s in Egypt were relatively few in number. The first allocation was made in 572/1176-7 when Dāwūd b. ‘Isā, amir Mecca, was granted the *iqṭā’* in Upper Egypt valued at 8,000 ardabbs per year on condition that he gave up the right to levy tax from the pilgrims.⁴ The province of al-Fayyūm, however, was from

¹ *Kāmil*, XII, 120.

² *al-Ta’rikh al-Ṣāliḥī*, fol.220r.

³ The political condition in Syria as of 637/1239 was as follows (*Kanz*, VII, 335; *Fawā’id*, fols.209-210):

Ṣāḥib al-Shāmal-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn
Ṣāḥib al-Karakal-Nāṣir Dāwūd
Ṣāḥib Ḥamāal-Muzaffar Taqī al-Dīn
Ṣāḥib Ḥimṣal-Mujāhid Asad al-Dīn
Ṣāḥib Ba‘labakkal-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘il
Ṣāḥib Ḥalabal-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn

⁴ *Barq*, III, fol.72r-v; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 693; *Sulūk*, I, 64; A. ‘Abd al-Ghanī, *Ta’rikh Umarā’ Makkat al-Mukarrama*, Damascus, 1992, pp.451-454. According to *Majma’ al-Akḥbār*, the abolition of the tax levied on the Meccan pilgrims took place in the

earlier times granted as *iqṭā'* *khāṣṣ*. For example, in 577/1181-2 amir Ṣārim al-Dīn Khuṭlubā was entrusted with the governorship of al-Fayyūm, which was then considered to be his special domain (*al-khāṣṣa*).¹ Two years later, the total revenues of al-Fayyūm and al-Buḥayra were granted to Saladin's nephew, Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar b. Shāhanshāh.² In 619/1222 al-Fayyūm was given to amir Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān as "*iqṭā' darbastā*" (complete *iqṭā'*).³ Accordingly we may conclude that the province of al-Fayyūm used to be granted as *iqṭā'* to the influential amirs and the Ayyubid kinsfolk, with the exception that it was registered in the sultan's domain.⁴

As for the *iqṭā'* assignment in Syria, the conquered lands were distributed among the amirs as well as to the Ayyubid kinsfolk. For example, Saladin gave Ba'labakk to amir Ibn al-Muqaddam as *iqṭā'* after he conquered it in 573/1177-8,⁵ and granted also Ṣafad to amir Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd in 584/1188.⁶ Furthermore, he gave Rāwandān and Kafar Ṭāb in Aleppo to Qarāqūsh, Ibn al-Muqaddam's deputy in Afāmiya, provided that he surrendered to the sultan.⁷ Also, in contrast to the *iqṭā'* holdings in Egypt, the amirs' *iqṭā'*s in Syria were frequently inherited by their sons, as already indicated by some scholars.⁸

year 573/1177-8 (fol.378r), but here I took the account of the contemporary source, *Barq*. See also R. T. Mortel, "Taxation in the Amirate of Mecca during the Medieval Period," *BSOAS*, 58(1995), p.4; id., "The Origins and Early History of the Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna to the End of the Ayyūbid Period," *SI*, 74(1991), pp.68-69.

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 72; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 120.

² *Barq*, V, fol.120r; *Sanā al-Barq Q*, 234; *Rawdatayn*, II, fol.33v; *Sulūk*, I, 82.

³ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, 134-135. About "*iqṭā' darbastā*," we will mention it afterwards in this chapter..

⁴ For example, in 577/1181-2 Saladin intended to appropriate the revenues levied from al-Fayyūm for the expenses to construct battleships. He, thereby, reduced two-third of the *iqṭā'*s held by the Arabs to provide lands for the former *muḥta'*s of al-Fayyūm. The entire province of al-Fayyūm thus turned to be in the sultan's domain, and its revenue was to be expended by the office of battleship (*dīwān al-uṣṭūl*) (*Sulūk*, I, 73; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 194; Ehrenkretz, *Saladin*, p.156; id., "The Place of Saladin in the Naval History of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages," *JAOS*, 75(1955), pp.106-110).

⁵ *Barq*, III, fol.61v; *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 292-293; *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 48.

⁶ *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 147.

⁷ *Mufarrij*, III, 131.

⁸ *Mufarrij*, II, 250-253, 410-411; V, 63-64; *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 47, 161; *Abū al-Fidā'*, III, 160. See also Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization*, p.75; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp.17, 28, 51.

Three cases which indicate the size of *iqṭā'* holdings by the Ayyubid amirs are known to us:

- (1) In 599/1202-3 al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, lord of Diyār Muḍar, granted Mārdīn to 'Imād al-Dīn b. Mashṭūb, who was an amir commanding 400 cavalrymen.¹
- (2) Shams al-Dīn Ṣawāb al-'Ādilī, who was an amir of al-Ṭawāshī, held an *iqṭā'* of 250 cavalrymen in Ikhmīm, Qāy, al-Qāyāt and Dujwa [in Egypt]. In 627/1229-30 he was also given an *iqṭā'* of 100 cavalrymen.²
- (3) In 644/1246-7 amir Bahā' al-Dīn Rashīd al-Ṭawāshī was granted an *iqṭā'* of 200 cavalrymen, and amir al-Kāfirī an *iqṭā'* of 100 cavalrymen, both in Syria.³

In each case the size of the *iqṭā'* was designated not by its annual revenue ('*ibra*), but by the number of cavalrymen the *iqṭā'* holder should support with its income. The number varied, revealing that the amirs were not yet ordered into ranks like in the Mamluk period.⁴

(c) *Mamlūks and the Kurds*

Saladin, after he disbanded the Fatimid army, formed a new army called "al-Ṣalāḥīya" which he recruited from the Turks and the Kurds.⁵ Among them were included the sultan's royal army (*ajnād al-ḥalqat al-sultāniya*) and slave soldiers (*mamlūks*).⁶ While *ajnād al-ḥalqa* in the Ayyubid

¹ *al-Ta'rikh al-Ṣāliḥī*, fol.220r-v.

² *Sulūk*, I, 238-239. The *ṭawāshī* we found here does not mean eunuch but a trooper belonging to the upper class of regular troops (Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," p.87). Both Qāy and Qāyāt in the passage were located in the province of Bahnasā (M. Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfi lil-Bilād al-Miṣriya*, vol.2-iii, Cairo, 1960, pp.162, 245), and Dujwa was a village on the east bank of the Rosetta branch of the Nile (*Yāqūt*, II, 443).

³ *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.158v.

⁴ In contrast to the well ordered ranks of amirs in the Mamluk period, the influential amirs in the Ayyubid period were only called "al-amīr al-kabīr" or "al-amīr al-isfahsalār." See R. S. Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," *SI*, 45(1972), pp.87-88; p.86.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 94. See also Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," p.74.

⁶ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 326; *Rasā'il 'an al-Ḥarb*, 228. cf. Humphreys, "The Emergence," 45(1977), pp.82-83; 46(1977), p.147.

period were not granted *iqṭā'*s,¹ the *mamlūks* had *iqṭā'* since the reign of Saladin.² It was Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (637–647/1240–49) who promoted positively a policy to give the *mamlūks* important positions and *iqṭā'*s. He had already bought 1,000 Turkish *mamlūks* during the reign of his father, al-Kāmil (615–635/1218–38). He had paid for them with estates confiscated from merchants.³ *Kanz al-Durar* describes al-Ṣāliḥ's policy after he acceded the throne:

Al-Ṣāliḥ purchased more Turkish *mamlūks* than all the previous sultans combined. Consequently, the *mamlūks* came to form the majority of his army. The reason why he bought so many *mamlūks* was that the Kurds and the Khwārizmiya turned out to be disloyal to him. When a *mamlūk* died, the sultan gave his *iqṭā'* to his son and, if he did not have a son, the sultan granted it to one of his comrades (*khushdāsh*).⁴

The Ṣāliḥiyya or Baḥriyya army thus was able to gradually increase its influence with the acquisition of *iqṭā'*s and amir ranks.⁵

The account quoted above shows that the Kurds and the Khwārizmiya formed the Ṣāliḥ's army before the recruitment of the *mamlūks*. During Saladin's time the four Kurdish tribes of al-Hakkāriyya, al-Ḥumaydiyya, al-Zarzāriyya and al-Mihrāniyya played an important role,⁶ but, during the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ, al-Qaymariyya became the most influential. They came

¹ In 642/1244-5 *ajnad al-ḥalqa* were given Nābulus and other provinces as *iqṭā'*s by Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ (*Dawlat al-Akrād*, fols.152v-153r). This is a single instance of granting *iqṭā'*s to the Ayyubid *ḥalqa* cavalrymen.

² *Barq*, V, fol.12r-v; *Sanā al-Barq Q*, 267. The Ayyubid princes and amirs also held their *mamlūks* (*Dawlat al-Akrād*, fols.87v, 127r; *Mufarrij*, III, 184; IV, 269; V, 187; *Kāmil*, XII, 140; *Kanz*, VII, 124), but there remains no account of these *mamlūks* holding *iqṭā'*s. It may be supposed that they probably received stipends (*jāmakiya*, *rātib*) from their masters.

³ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, 148; *Akhbār al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*, fols.74v-75r; *Mufarrij*, IV, 277-278.

⁴ *Kanz*, VII, 370-371. cf. *Mukhtār al-Akhbār*, 166.

⁵ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, 152; *Mufarrij*, V, 277; *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.159r. See also Humphreys, "The Emergence," 45(1977), pp.94f; D. Ayalon, "Le regiment bahriya dans l'armée mamelouke," *REI* (1951), pp.133-141.

⁶ Humphreys, "The Emergence," 45(1977), p.91. In 578/1182-3 Saladin assigned *iqṭā'*s to the Kurds and the Turks in the eastern provinces (*Barq*, V, fol.12r-v). Then in 581/1185-6, he sent the Kurdish amir Ibn al-Mashṭūb al-Hakkāri to al-Jazīra to increase the *iqṭā'*s for the Kurds (*Sanā al-Barq Q*, 258). Incidentally, Saladin and his uncle, Shirkūh, were from al-Rawādiyya Kurds who lived in one of the eastern provinces, Armenia (*Nawādir*, 6; *Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 262-263).

to Ḥamā in 641/1243-4 to serve al-Şāliḥ, then proceeded to Damascus with the Khwārizmiya.¹ About them we find the following in *Dawlat al-Akrād*:

In 642/1244-5 al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb sent amir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh and amir Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā to give gowns, cash and clothing to the amirs and khāns of both al-Qaymariya and al-Khwārizmiya. Further, he granted al-Khalīl and its surroundings to amir Najm al-Dīn and Ghazza to amir Nāşir al-Dīn. The other amirs and the cavalry of *al-ḥalqa* were granted villages as *iqṭā*'s, and the Khwārizmiya were given the entire province of Damascus with the exception of Nābulus.²

Though al-Şāliḥ intended to use the military strength of these tribes through *iqṭā*' assignments, he had to be worried about controlling them, in particular the Khwārizmiya, who were given to pillaging.³

(d) *The Arabs*

According to al-Maqrīzī, thirteen Arab tribes, including Ṭalḥa and Ja'far, had already completed their emigration to Egypt when Şirkūh reached there in 564/1169.⁴ Among them Judhām was the earliest tribe to settle there.

(Judhām) held many *iqṭā*'s in Hurbayt, Tall Başa, Nuwab, and Ramm [located in the province of al-Sharqīya]. All the *iqṭā*'s of Tha'laba were included in the authorization of *iqṭā*' grant to Judhām. Sultan Saladin increased the Tha'laba's lands in the territory of Judhām, and Fāqūs and its surroundings belonged to Halbā' Suwayd tribe, some of

¹ *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.152r-v; *Kanz*, VII, 352. In 634/1236-7 Ḥusām al-Dīn Birka Khān, after he was defeated by the Mongols, took refuge in the court of the lord of the Rum Seljuqs, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubādh, leading 12,000 Khwārizmīs. Afterwards they entered into the protection of al-Şāliḥ at Ḥişn Kayfā, and were given *iqṭā*'s there with the consent of Sultan al-Kāmil in Egypt (*Mufarrij*, V, 134-135; *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 232; *A'lāq-al-Jazīra*, I, 98; *Nuzhat al-Anām*, fols.34r, 69r).

² *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fols.153v-154r.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 321, 324; *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, II, 130-131; *Dāris*, I, 21, 316; II, 282-285.

⁴ *Bayān*, 22-23. Thirteen tribes, i.e., Ṭalḥa, Ja'far, Balī, Juhayna, Lakhm, Judhām, Shaybān, 'Adhr, 'Udhra, Ṭayyi', Sunbis, Ḥanifa and Makhzūm, are cited here by al-Maqrīzī. Concerning their emigrations to Egypt, see A. Saleh, "Le migrations bédouines en Egypte au moyen âge," *Annali* (Istituto Orientali di Napoli), 41(1981), pp.1-33.

whom he appointed amirs with trumpet (*būq*) and flag ('*alam*).¹

Since al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349) also relates that Saladin gave Hurbayt, a Judhām's *iqṭā'*, to the Tha'laba,² the sultan had evidently adopted a policy in the Tha'laba's favor. Tha'laba once battled the Crusaders in Syria under the command of the sultan, and afterwards emigrated to Egypt.³ Saladin intended certainly to entrust the rule over the Bedouins ('*Urbān*) in the province of al-Sharqiya to Tha'laba through the apportionment of *iqṭā'*s and amirates. According to al-Makhzūmī, the *iqṭā'* of the '*Urbān* during the Fatimid period was called "*iqṭā'* of reliance" (*iqṭā' al-i'tidād*), which was exempt from military expedition (*kharj*);⁴ but, as we find the '*Urbān* in the province of al-Fayyūm being forced to provide 400 cavalry,⁵ we may well suppose that during the Ayyubid period military service was occasionally levied on the '*Urbān* in return for their *iqṭā'* holdings.

The '*Urbān* in Syria, as well as the '*Urbān* in Egypt, were granted *iqṭā'*s by the sultan. For example, Hawta in the province of Aleppo was an *iqṭā'* held by the Arab tribe, Khishshāb. Though it was once confiscated after Nūr al-Dīn's death, it was restored again when Saladin conquered Aleppo in 579/1183.⁶ Then in 638/1240-1, Ḍayfa Khātūn, princess of Aleppo, gave *iqṭā'* and the right to rule over the Arabs to Ṭāhir b. Ghannām from Rabī'a tribe for taking sides with her.⁷ As I have mentioned above, the *iqṭā'* held by the '*Urbān* was called "*iqṭā'* of reliance,"

¹ *Bayān*, 23.

² *Masālik*, III, fol.33r-v. cf. *Qalā'id*, 58.

³ *Nihāya*, 183; *Qalā'id*, 84.

⁴ *Minhāj*, fol.112r; *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn*, 86. Cl. Cahen translates "*i'tidād*" as "dénombrement," but, at the same time, admits that it is difficult to understand how *iqṭā' al-i'tidād* was formed actually ("L'administration financière de l'armée fatimide d'après Al-Makhzūmī," *JESHO*, 15(1972), pp.166-167, 173). See also Sayyid, *al-Dawlat al-Fātimīya*, p.287. Al-Qalqashandī explains that *iqṭā' al-i'tidād* in the Fatimid period did not give any estimation of the number of soldier (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 489).

⁵ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 177-178.

⁶ *A'lāq-Halab*, 124; Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, p.74. On the Khishshāb tribe, see U. R. Kahḥāla, *Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, vol.1, Beirut, 1968, p.344.

⁷ *Mufarrij*, V, 288; *Zubdat al-Halab*, III, 254-255. Al-'Ādil's daughter, Ḍayfat Khātūn, married al-Zāhir Ghāzi, lord of Aleppo, and bore him a son named al-'Azīz Muḥammad. When al-'Azīz who had succeeded al-Zāhir died in 634/1236, she became in charge of managing the internal and external affairs as a guardian of her infant grandson, al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris, 1941, p.135; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp.155, 229, 287)

which indicates a special relationship between the government and the 'Urbān. Concerning this we find an interesting summary by al-Bundārī:

If these 'Urbān (the 'Ibād tribe who participated in the sieges of al-Karak and al-Shawbak in 586/1190) wished to live in Egypt, Saladin should have brought them to Egypt. But they desired to remain in Syria. If the lord entrusts the 'Urbān with the local provinces granting them *iqṭā'*s, it should be the best policy to keep them out of the villages and towns, resulting in a decrease in burdens on the Muslims. If they are made to render service (*khidma*) in the provinces providing information on the borders and the roads, they will neither pillage the provinces nor slaughter the people.¹

According to this account, the *iqṭā'* grants to the 'Urbān were designated to prevent them from pillaging the villages and towns, together with inducing them to provide information on the borders and the roads. Sultan al-Kāmil also requested the Rabī'a tribe to provide camels for the transportation of cereals during his campaign to Armenia.² As M. A. Hiyari relates, it was in the reign of al-'Ādil (596–615/1200–18) that *amīr al-'Arab* was first appointed to command the 'Urbān.³ The first amir was Hadītha b. Faḍl from Rabī'a, and when Hadītha died, the amirate was held jointly by Mānī b. Hadītha, his son, and Ghannām b. Ṭāhir. The policy to appoint *amīr al-'Arab* was inherited successively by the later Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans.

Ṣāhib and Wālī

In Syria there had existed since the Zangid period the *ṣāhibs*, who were more independent than *iqṭā'* holders.⁴ When Saladin advanced to Syria

¹ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 126.

² *Masālik*, III, fol.26r. In 629/1231-2 al-Kāmil advanced his army to take 'Āmid (*Mufarrij*, V, 12), and in 631/1233-4 he left Egypt to conquer al-Rūm (*Mufarrij*, V, 47). Further, in 633/1235-6 he went toward east to regain Ḥarrān and al-Ruhā' (*Mufarrij*, V, 100). But we can not ascertain which expedition among these corresponds to the one described by al-'Umārī. About al-Kāmil's management of the eastern provinces, see H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp.181f.

³ M. A. Hiyari, "The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries," *BSOAS*, 38(1975), pp.512-516.

⁴ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 65. Both in Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, which were granted to amir Fakhr al-Dīn Mas'ūd as *iqṭā'*, *dizdār* similar in meaning to *ṣāhib* was assigned to each

in 570/1174, he allocated the conquered lands as *iqṭā'*s and, at the same time, allowed some of these *ṣāhibs* to keep their previous positions. For example, al-Ṣāliḥ b. Nūr al-Dīn, who came from Damascus to Aleppo in 569/1173-4, was allowed to retain his right to rule there in a treaty (*muhādana*) concluded with Saladin the following year.¹ From this time on, al-Ṣāliḥ continued to rule over the province of Aleppo as “Ṣāhib Ḥalab” until his death in 577/1181-2.² All the contemporary sources, however, do not necessarily distinguish the term “*ṣāhib*” from “*muqṭa'*” in any strict sense. Ibn al-Muqaddam, *muqṭa'* of Ba‘labakk, was also called its *ṣāhib*;³ and Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Saladin’s maternal uncle, who was granted Ḥamā as *iqṭā'*, was also designated “Ṣāhib Ḥamā.”⁴ It is said that amir Sa‘d al-Dīn Kumshutakīn, Ṣāhib Ḥiṣn Ḥārim near Antioch, was envied by other amirs because he exercised his power freely.⁵

Now, let us look at these rights which the *ṣāhibs* were granted in their territories. Concerning al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, who took the position of Ṣāhib Ḥalab in 583/1187-8, Ibn al-‘Adīm (d. 660/1262) relates as follows:

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Saladin) sent a letter to his son, al-Malik al-Zāhir, in which he gave him the right to order and to sanction. The sultan told him also to allocate *iqṭā'*s and to conduct his affairs as if Aleppo was his own country.⁶

This reveals that the *ṣāhibs* had the right to grant *iqṭā'* as well as to issue proclamations and sanctions in their territories. In fact, al-Zāhir gave Latakia to ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar as *iqṭā'* when he came to serve him in 592/1196.⁷ Tūrānshāh, who was allowed to hold Ba‘labakk on

citadel for its management (*Mufarrij*, II, 22).

¹ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 164-165; *Rawdatayn*, II, 639.

² *Kāmil*, XI, 472. See Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, p.122.

³ *Kāmil*, XI, 437.

⁴ *Kāmil*, XI, 436. After Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar, Saladin’s nephew, was granted Ḥamā as *iqṭā'* in 575/1178-80, his descendants remained masters of the town during the Ayyubid period. See *Mufarrij*, II, 74, 108; A. Gh. Sabānū, *Mamlakat Ḥamā al-Ayyūbiya*, Damascus, 1984, pp.43f.; *EI*,^a s.v. Ḥamāt; D. S. Richards, “The Crusade of Frederick II and the Ḥamāh Succession,” *BEO*, 45(1993), pp.183-200.

⁵ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 264-265.

⁶ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 90. See also *Shifā'*, 212-213.

⁷ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 136. Let us give some examples of *iqṭā'* assignment by al-Zāhir; He distributed respectively ‘Azāz to Sayf al-Dīn b. ‘Alam al-Dīn in 587/1191

his request, also allocated *iqṭā*'s to his followers (*aṣḥāb*).¹

The *ṣāhibs* were thus half independent, but they, like the *muqta*'s, were forced to provide military service (*khidma*) to the sultan. In 584/1188-9, when Saladin proceeded to Aleppo to conquer Jabala, al-Malik al-Zāhir, Ṣāhib Ḥalab, joined him with his army.² When Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, who served Saladin as Ṣāhib Irbil, died in 586/1190, his brother, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, requested and was granted Irbil.³ Furthermore, 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, Ṣāhib Sinjār, and Mu'izz al-Dīn Sinjārshāh, Ṣāhib al-Jazīra, asked the sultan to return to their countries when the war (*baykār*) was prolonged till the winter.⁴ This indicates that even *ṣāhib* could not leave the battlefield without the sultan's permission.

On the other hand, there were no independent *ṣāhibs* in Egypt like in Syria. While governors (*wālī*) were appointed by the sultan to control local provinces, we find only three instances of *wālīs* during this period: Wālī Qūṣ, Wālī al-Sharqiya and Wālī al-Gharbiya.⁵ This is probably due to the fact that the *muqta*'s held the right to rule over most of the Egyptian provinces. However, in Syria, provincial deputies (*nā'ib*) or governors (*wālī*) were appointed by the sultans in addition to the aforementioned *ṣāhibs* or *muqta*'s. For example, a *nā'ib* with administrative power had been assigned to Damascus since its conquest by Saladin in 569/1174.⁶ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī relates that Ibn al-Muqaddam, Nā'ib Dimashq, was responsible for preventing the *muqta*'s from behaving unfairly vis-à-vis their villagers.⁷

We find other instances in which *wālīs* were appointed to Ḥimṣ and Ghazza,⁸ but, generally speaking, the rulership of towns and their surrounding countryside in this period was usually assigned to an amir other than the one who had the right to control the citadel.⁹ For example,

(*A'lāq-Shimāl Sūriyā*, 383), Bārīn to Manṣūr in 595/1198-9 (*Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 148-149). Further, he allocated *iqṭā*'s to *al-umarā' al-Ṣalāhiya* in Aleppo in 598/1201-2 (*Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 152). Al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn, Ṣāhib Mayyāfāriqīn, also gave Bālis as *iqṭā'* (*A'lāq-Shimāl Sūriyā*, 397).

¹ *Barq*, III, fol.120v. See also *Fawā'id*, fol.217.

² *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 103; *Asjad*, 275.

³ *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.132v; *Mufarrij*, II, 340.

⁴ *Mufarrij*, II, 340-341. See also *Fawā'id*, fols.153-154.

⁵ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 113; *Sulūk*, I, 74-75.

⁶ Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp.48-50.

⁷ *Barq*, V, fol.47v.

⁸ *Mufarrij*, II, 177; *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 265; *Barq*, V, fol.120r.

⁹ *Mufarrij*, II, 22; *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 69; Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, p.788.

al-Ādil, lord of Aleppo, entrusted amir Ṣārim al-Dīn Bazghush with the citadel, and his son, Muḥammad b. Bazghush, with town administration (*dīwān*), the *iqṭā'*s, military and financial affairs, and maintaining public order (*shahnakīyat al-balad*).¹ Also in 582/1186-7 Saladin gave the right to rule over the town of Ḥimṣ to Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, while conferring the governorship of the citadel (*wilāyat al-qal'a*) on the Kurdish amir, Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Hakkārī.² R. S. Humphreys has argued that *wālīs* were synonymous with *muqṭa'*s, thus criticizing Cl. Cahen who considered these terms to be different;³ but in fact, as can be clearly seen from the instances mentioned above, the *muqṭa'*s in this period were actually different from the *wālīs* or *nā'ibs* who held administrative authority within the provincial government.

2. The Reformation of the Iqṭā' System

Disputes Over and Demands Made Concerning Iqṭā' Holdings

One of the characteristics peculiar to the Ayyubid *iqṭā'* system was that demands to the sultan were often made concerning *iqṭā'* holdings and frequently brought about various disputes among the *muqṭa'*s. Let me cite some examples. Saladin's brother, Tūrānshāh, who in 565/1169-70 was given Qūṣ, Aswān and 'Aydḥāb as *iqṭā'*s valued together at 266,000 dīnārs, demanded the following year a quarter of the *iqṭā'* which was held by the Fatimid wazīr's son, Kāmil b. Shāwar. In response to this, Saladin granted him Būsh in Upper Egypt and Ṭuwwa and Sūs al-Manūfiya in Lower Egypt as *iqṭā'*s.⁴ Moreover, in 573/1177-8 Tūrānshāh requested Saladin to be granted Ba'labakk, where he grew up;⁵ but this brought about a dispute with the *muqṭa'* of Ba'labakk, amir Ibn al-Muqaddam Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik. Concerning this state of affairs the following is recorded in *Barq* :

¹ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 75.

² *Mufarrij*, II, 177; *Asjad*, 195-196.

³ Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp.373-374. In 533/1138-9 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī entrusted the governorship of Ba'labakk to Saladin's father, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who had the right to receive a third of its revenue (*Nawādir*, 6; *Ibn Khallikān*, I, 234; *Dāris*, II, 176-177).

⁴ *Ibn al-Furāt*, IV, 130.

⁵ *Mufarrij*, II, 171; Lyons & Jackson, *Saladin*, pp.126, 131.

When we (the sultan and his followers) arrived at Syria, Ibn al-Muqaddam did not come to us to render service (*khidma*) or greeting (*salām*), in violation of the usual practice. This is because he knew well that, if he had rendered service to the sultan, he would have had to return Ba‘labakk, which was being strongly demanded by al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam (Tūrānshāh).¹

Ibn al-Muqaddam (d. 584/1189), who was appointed commander of the Syrian army by Nūr al-Dīn, cooperated willingly with Saladin when he advanced into Syria in 570/1174. As mentioned above, he was given Ba‘labakk in 573/1177-8 for his distinguished service to the sultan. Saladin feared accordingly that this influential amir would be alienated from him if he consented to Tūrānshāh’s demand;² but in the end the sultan ordered Ibn al-Muqaddam to leave Ba‘labakk, giving him instead Bārīn, Kafar Tāb, and al-Ma‘arra and their surroundings. According to Ibn Wāsil, Ibn al-Muqaddam held out against the order on the ground of his treaty (*‘ahd*) with the sultan, which guaranteed him the district of Ba‘labakk;³ but when he found the town to be besieged by the sultan’s army, he finally left it against his will.⁴

In 579/1183-4, a similar dispute occurred at Hārim, west of Aleppo. Amir Sarkhak, who had been appointed ruler of the citadel by Nūr al-Dīn’s son, al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā‘il, refused to surrender it to Saladin. The sultan then proposed that Sarkhak be given another *iqṭā‘* on his request; but due to the gravity of the demand, Saladin had to continue negotiating with Sarkhak over the conditions of its surrender for nearly a month.⁵ When Saladin died in 589/1193, one after another of his amirs from the *mamlūks* (*al-Umarā‘ al-Šalāḥīya*) became alienated from his successor, al-Afḍal. Two of them, Maymūn al-Qaṣrī and Sunqur al-Kabīr,

¹ *Barq*, III, fol.62r. See also *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 293; *Ibn Abī al-Hayjā‘*, fol.177r.

² *Barq*, III, fols.62v-63r; *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 293-294; *Rawḍatayn*, II, fol.1v; Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, pp.118f; Lyons & Jackson, *Saladin*, pp.79-80.

³ *Mufarrij*, II, 71.

⁴ *Barq*, III, fol.107v; *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.3v; *Kāmil*, XI, 450-451; *Mir‘āt*, VIII-1, 351; *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, 93; *Dāris*, I, 594-595; Lyons & Jackson, *Saladin*, pp.130-133. But after two years Ba‘labakk was granted anew to Saladin’s nephew, Farrukhshāh, because Tūrānshāh requested Alexandria instead of it (*Asjad*, 176, 181). As to the later career of Ibn al-Muqaddam, he was appointed governor of Damascus after he came to terms with Saladin. It is said that Ibn al-Muqaddam, when he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 584/1189, hoisted Saladin’s flag on ‘Arafāt (*Šafadī*, IV, 39; *Dāris*, I, 594-595).

⁵ *Mufarrij*, II, 146; *A‘lāq-Šimāl Sūriyā*, 387.

desired to serve al-'Aziz in Egypt on condition that their *iqṭā'*s were guaranteed by him. In response to this, al-'Aziz granted Nābulus to them, but since it was an *iqṭā'* held by amir Ibn al-Mashṭūb, he changed sides in al-Afḍal's favor and rejected its surrender to them.¹

These three instances were disputes originating from *muqṭa'*'s refusals to surrender their *iqṭā'*s in violation of the sultan's order. Among them only Ibn al-Muqaddam refused the request to surrender his *iqṭā'* on the strength of his treaty with the sultan. In every case, however, the amirs assumed firm attitudes towards the sultan, and if their demands were not met, they would even dare to change sides in favor of another lord. We also find not a few instances where amirs claimed to have been granted *iqṭā'*s they had designated themselves. Let me cite some examples.

- (1) In 579/1183-4 Saladin proceeded to 'Ayn Ṭāb, which Ibn Khumārīkin had been granted by Nūr al-Dīn. He wrote a letter to Saladin requesting 'Ayn Ṭāb on condition that he serve the sultan obediently. The sultan responded to the request and assigned him the *iqṭā'*.²
- (2) In 582/1186-7 when al-'Ādil demanded *iqṭā'* in Egypt, Saladin sent him to Egypt as his deputy and granted the province of al-Sharḳīya to him.³
- (3) Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who was the brother of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, Ṣāhib Irbil, continued to serve Saladin, and was allocated Irbil upon his request when his brother died in 586/1190.⁴
- (4) In 587/1191 when Ibn Shāhanshāh died, his son, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, claimed his father's estates;⁵ but the sultan (Saladin) granted them to al-'Ādil, and assigned al-Ruhā', Ḥarrān, and Sumaysāt to him instead.⁶
- (5) In 607/1210-1, despite the fact that amir 'Izz al-Dīn Usāma demanded al-Fayyūm instead of the two Syrian citadels, 'Ajlān and Kawkab, al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā, lord of Damascus, rejected the demand and took two citadels by force.⁷

¹ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 130; *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 243-244.

² *Mufarrij*, II, 139.

³ *Mufarrij*, II, 179.

⁴ *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.133r.

⁵ Ibn Shāhanshāh's estates mentioned here designate Ḥamā and Salamiya which were granted by Saladin in 575/1179-80 (*Mufarrij*, II, 74, 108).

⁶ *Bar Hebraeus*, 338.

⁷ *al-Ta'rīkh al-Ṣāliḥī*, fol.222r.

While the first three instances reveal cases in which demands were consented to by the sultan, in the latter two cases requests were refused once and for all. In any case, we find that the disputes over and the demands made concerning *iqṭā'* holding were concentrated during the reign of Saladin. This custom probably originated from his intention to mobilize the army in as great number as possible against the Crusaders by meeting the demands made by the Ayyubid kinsfolk and various amirs. On the other hand, it was also partly due to the fact that the rules and regulations of granting *iqṭā'*s were not yet established at the early stages of the Ayyubid period. At any rate, in order to allocate sufficient *iqṭā'*s to the amirs or the soldiers, the annual revenues, levied mainly from the peasantry, had to be evaluated exactly according to cadastral surveys (*rawk*).

The Ṣalāhī Cadastral Survey

H. Rabie relates, "The Ṣalāhī *rawk* was ordered by Saladin in the year 572/1176. He chose Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh to supervise the work on the Ṣalāhī *rawk*, the duration of which is not specified by the known sources;"¹ but, how can we be certain that the Ṣalāhī *rawk* was carried out in the year 572/1176?

Let us look first at two historical accounts on which Rabie based his view of the cadastral survey ordered by Saladin:

- (1) The land tax (*kharāj*) on wheat, which was 3 ardabbs per faddān till 567/1171-2, was changed to 2.5 ardabbs in 572/1176 when the land survey (*misāḥa*) was carried out.²
- (2) In 565/1169-70, Saladin began to construct the city walls connecting

¹ Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.51. He also says in his *al-Nuẓum al-Mālīya* that the land tax (*kharāj*), which rate was 3 ardabbs per faddān in the Fatimid period, was changed to 2.5 ardabbs at this cadastral survey (pp.42-43). According to H. Halm, the most important reform in the Ṣalāhī *rawk* was "Abschaffung des *qabāla*-systems" (*Ägypten*, vol.1, p.15); but I have my doubt about this because the *qabāla* system was practiced even in Mamluk Egypt. See Chapters 4 (pp.89-90) and 8 (pp.192-197). About Saladin's survey, we find brief accounts in the following works, too: Ṭurkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭā'īya*, p.96; Şeşen, *Salāhaddīn*, p.160; *EI*,² s.v. *Rawk*.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 259. Al-Maqrīzī relates, "While the tax on wheat in Upper Egypt was 3 ardabbs per faddān in the Fatimid period, it was fixed on 2.5 adabbs at the land survey (*misāḥa*) in 572/1176, and then was changed to 2 ardabbs" (*Khiṭāṭ*, I, 107). Incidentally in the Hijra year 567, the *kharāj* year 565 was transferred to 567 according to the old practice of *taḥwīl* (*Khiṭāṭ*, I, 281).

Cairo with al-Fuṣṭāṭ. The work was supervised by Qarāqūsh, who was the first to enforce the *rawk* in Egypt.¹

The first account reveals that what was carried out in the year 572/1176 was not a *rawk* but a *misāḥa*. As we know both from the Ḥusāmī *rawk* and the Nāṣirī *rawk* carried out by the Mamluk sultans,² the *rawk* involves the ascertainment of annual revenues (*'ibra*) and the redistribution of *iqṭā*'s other than what was determined by the *misāḥa* (land survey). The second account designates only that the construction of the city wall was supervised by Qarāqūsh, who carried out the first *rawk* in Egypt. That is to say, we can not conclude from these accounts that Qarāqūsh actually implemented the Ṣalāḥī *rawk* in 572/1176.

Saladin certainly had consolidated his authority in Syria by 572/1176 through entering into peace treaties (*ṣulḥ*) with al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in Aleppo and the Ismā'īliya stationed at Maṣyāf.³ He returned to Egypt after an absence of three years and began to construct the citadel (*Qal'at al-Jabal*) at Cairo, as well as ordering Qarāqūsh to build the city walls.⁴ But it is clear that he did not carry out a cadastral survey (*rawk*) or redistributed *iqṭā*'s during that year.

According to al-Bundārī, in Sha'bān 576/January 1181, when Saladin returned to Egypt from Syria, he remained there to promote the public welfare (*maṣāliḥ*) of Islam and the state. He preferred to sit with the Egyptian '*ulamā*' and to work at the office of justice (*Dār al-'Adl*).⁵ Ibn Wāṣil relates that Saladin also watched over the public welfare of Egypt after he returned from Syria.⁶ Concerning his policy to promote the public welfare, al-Maqrīzī relates as follows:

Qādī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200) gave the following account in his diary

¹ *Kanz*, VII, 41-42. The date of 565/1169-70 for the construction of the walls is incorrect (N. D. MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, Cairo, 1992, p.53).

² See Chapter 6.

³ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 679; *al-Ta'rīkh al-Ṣāliḥī*, fols.198v-199r; '*Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn*, II, 30.

⁴ *Mufarrij*, II, 47-49; *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 231, 239; *Kanz*, VII, 61; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 201; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 687; *Bar Hebraeus*, 307; *Mukhtār al-Akḥbār*, 3. cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1898, p.153; Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, pp.151-154; Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, pp.19-20; MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, pp.52-53.

⁵ *Sanā al-Barq Q*, 182-183.

⁶ *Mufarrij*, II, 101.

(*mutajaddidāt*) dated Rajab 577/November 1181. This year inquiries concerning *iqṭā'*s, ascertainment of the annual revenues, making sure of the acts to be praised, and increasing conduct to be thankful for were carried out according to the sultan's order. As a result the total number of cavalymen belonging to the sultan's army was calculated at 8,640 (111 *amīrs*, 6,976 *ṭawāshīs*, 1553 *qaraghulāms*), and their income at 3,670,500 *dinārs*.¹

One of "the acts to be praised" or "conduct to be thankful for" may be indicated in a letter that Saladin sent to the governor of Qūṣ ordering him to abolish miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs*) levied both on the pilgrims and the merchants coming from Yemen.² In any case, we may ascertain from al-Maqrīzī's account that the government inquired about *iqṭā'* holdings in Egypt, resulting in a calculation of the sultan's army at 8,640 strong. On the other hand, it was in 567/1171-2 that Saladin abolished miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs*) and transferred the *kharāj* year from 565 to 567 (*taḥwīl*), which is practiced customarily at the *rawks* during the Mamluk period.³ We may therefore conclude that the Ṣalāḥī cadastral survey was probably completed in 577/1181, through the tax reform of 567/1171-2 and the land survey of 572/1176.

As for Qarāqūsh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Asadī, he was said to be an eunuch (*khādīm*) under either Shīrkūh or Saladin.⁴ Although he was a Turk who knew nothing about books, he was appointed as the deputy (*nā'ib*) to the sultan for administering the political affairs of Egypt after the victory over the black slave soldiers of Mu'tamin al-Khilāfa in 564/1169.⁵ He introduced the "*dīnār jayshī*" as a unit to designate the annual revenues of the *iqṭā'*, probably after supervising a cadastral survey. This unit, which was also called "*al-dīnār al-qarāqūshī*," equaled 13 1/3 dirhams or the price of one *ardabb* of wheat, barley or broad beans.⁶

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 86-87.

² *Sulūk*, I, 75; Şeşen, *Salāhaddīn*, pp.160-161.

³ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 522; 'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh, I, 321; *Itti'āz*, III, 324.

⁴ *Ibn Khallikān*, III, 254; *Mundhirī*, I, 389.

⁵ *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 234; *Kāmil*, IX, 346, 368; *Ibn Khallikān*, II, 254; Lyons & Jackson, *Saladin*, pp.118, 323. Ibn Mammāti later wrote a book titled *al-Fāshūsh fī Ḥukm Qarāqūsh* (Cairo, n.d.) to criticize Qarāqūsh's impolite administration in Egypt.

⁶ *Kanz*, VII, 42. Ibn Mammāti did not call this "*dīnār jayshī*," but "*dīnār jundī*," and explained that its exchange rate to dirham was different according to the ranks of troops (*Ibn Mammāti*, 369. cf. Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," p.76).

Qarāqūsh allocated *iqṭā'*s estimated on this unit, and it continued to be used even in the Mamluk period.¹

3. Duties of the *Iqṭā'* Holders

Military Service (khidma)

The service rendered by *muqṭa'* to the sultan was generally called "khidma." It contains various kinds of duties, among which military service was certainly the most important. For example, in 569/1174 when the Crusaders stationed at Sicily attacked Damietta and Alexandria we find:

(On Tuesday, 28 Dhū al-Ḥijja/30 July) we (the sultan and his followers) ordered the army to proceed to two cities, Alexandria and Damietta. Two amirs named Badr al-Dīn Ayyūb and Fāris al-Dīn Tamīrak first advanced to Alexandria in command of their soldiers (*rijāl*). On Tuesday and Wednesday, the cavalymen (*mafārīd*) and others from the *iqṭā'* in al-Buḥayra joined the amirs' party. Part of the 'Urbān under Taqī al-Dīn ('Umar b. Shāhanshāh) returned also from al-Barqa to continue the battle with the Crusaders.²

According to this account, two amirs first advanced their army to defend Alexandria on the sultan's order, and the cavalymen from their *iqṭā'*s also joined them without delay. As for the *mafārīd* (sing. *mufrad*) in the Ayyubid period, we can not identify them from contemporary sources; but, judging from some examples in the early Mamluk period, they were probably not *ajnad al-ḥalqa*, i.e. free-born cavalymen, but part of the *mamlūks* before promotion to the rank of amirate.³

¹ *Kanz*, VII, 42.

² *Sanā al-Barq*, I, 172. Ibn al-Athīr also relates that on the second day the Muslim army arrived, everyone who had stayed at his *iqṭā'* near to Alexandria (*Kāmil*, XI, 413).

³ *Sulūk*, I, 493, 507, 518. D. Ayalon, quoting instances in the early Mamluk period, relates that it is not clear whether the troop of *mufradiya* belonged to the *ḥalqa* or the other ("Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army - II," *BSOAS*, 15(1953), p.450, n.3). But, according to Ibn Shaddād, 400 *mamlūks* held by Sultan Baybars were composed of *amīr isfahsalār*, *mafārīda*, *khāṣṣakiya*, *silāḥdārīya* and *kuttābiya* (*Ta'rikh al-Zāhir*, 244). We may suppose from this account that the *mufrad* also was part of the royal Mamluks in the later Ayyubid period. See also *Futūḥ*

The *muqta*'s, when they were requested to render military service to the sultan, usually entered under his command with their followers, to whom they had already provided armor and provisions from the "Market of the Army" (*Sūq al-ʿAskar*) in Cairo.¹ We also find an example of an amir participating in a campaign leading the common people (*ʿamma*) and the peasants (*fallāhūn*).² The sultan, when necessary, provided retired cavalymen (*al-ajnad al-baṭṭālūn*) with stipends to mobilize them to the Egyptian or Syrian border.³ In 615/1218-9 when al-Ashraf Mūsā, lord of Damascus, advanced to Aleppo to do battle with Kay Kā'ūs, prince of the Rum Seljuqs, several amirs came to him with military service. Al-Ashraf thereby contracted with them and granted them gowns;⁴ but the sultan did not usually contract with amirs or *muqta*'s who offered their military service, because it was an absolute duty required of *muqta*'. If a *muqta*' rejected military service, he was considered to be a rebel in the eyes of the sultan.⁵

The number of cavalymen the *muqta*' should lead to the battlefield was estimated according to their *iqṭā'* revenue,⁶ but the actual term of their service was still uncertain during this period. The *muqta*', therefore, had to beg the sultan's permission (*dustūr*) in order to leave the battlefield. Let me quote some related examples.

- (1) In 571/1175-6 when the Syrian provinces were visited by a crop failure, the sultan gave permission to the Egyptian army to return to their lands for harvesting crops there.⁷
- (2) When Saladin entered Aleppo after the conquest of Ḥārim in Rabī' I 579/June 1183, he gave permission to his soldiers to leave. They returned to their countries while the sultan managed political affairs

al-Naṣr, fols.177, 201, 222-223; *Muqtafā*, II, fol.200v.

¹ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 697; *Barq*, III, fols.8r-v, 15v; *Kāmil*, XI, 471.

² *Akhbār al-Diyār al-Miṣrīya*, fols.76v-77r.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 73.

⁴ *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, III, 182. Ibn Wāṣil relates that the Arabs under the command of Mānī entered Aleppo and stationed there (*Mufarrij*, III, 266). But what I described here is based on the contemporary source, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*.

⁵ *Kāmil*, XI, 437-438. On the other hand, *muqta*' who offered earnest services to the sultan would be praised as "a model (*quḍwa*) to all the cavalymen" (*Sanā al-Barq Q*, 254).

⁶ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 558.

⁷ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 643. cf. Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.69.

and maintained order in Aleppo.¹

- (3) In 586/1190 Saladin, while besieging 'Akkā, gave his soldiers permission to leave when winter came. While they were on leave, he faced the enemy with a small group of followers. When the winter season was over, he called the soldiers back and advanced to Tall Kaysān in Rabi' I 586/ May 1190.²

These instances reveal that amirs and their soldiers were permitted to return to their countries for amassing provisions or for rest; but, whenever there was the fear of attack by the enemy, they were not permitted to leave the battlefield.³

On the other hand, whenever a *muqta'* left the battlefield without the sultan's permission, he was punished for it. Ibn Mammātī says, "For example, if a soldier, whose annual income is 600 dīnārs, was absent for two months without permission (*idhn*), his income is cut down by 100 dīnārs. This is called "*ghaybānāt*."⁴ Moreover, when a soldier who received *iqtā'* instead of a stipend (*jāmakīya*) did not offer military service during the period, he had to return the amount appropriate to the period as an "unproportionate payment" (*tafāwut*).⁵ We may well suppose from these instances that the Ayyubid *iqtā'* holders were strictly bound to offer the military service proportionate to their *iqtā'* revenues.

'Imāra and Other Duties

Muqta' during the Ayyubid period had to share in the responsibility for constructing public facilities ('*imāra*) in addition to rendering military service. This was regarded also as service (*khidma*) to the sultan as well

¹ *Nawādir*, 60; *Mufarrij*, II, 147.

² *Hulā al-Qāhira*, 162. Tall Kaysān was a pasture near 'Akkā (*Yāqūt*, II, 43). According to Ibn Wāṣil, dissatisfaction increased among the soldiers at this time because the term of battle (*muddat al-baykār*) had been prolonged (*Mufarrij*, II, 340). As to the dissolution of military service in the winter season, see further *Mufarrij*, II, 124; *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.137v.

³ *Dawlat al-Akrād*, fol.49r; *Mufarrij*, II, 340-341; *Hulā al-Qāhira*, 166-167. For example, Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, lord of Irbil, was not permitted to return to his country even though he had taken illness at the sultan's military camp (*Mufarrij*, II, 355).

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 355.

⁵ *Ibn Mammātī*, 354-355. cf. *Minhāj*, fols.112v-113r. The custom was still kept in the *iqtā'* system during the Mamluk period (*Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, III, 89; *Muqaffā*, II, 455; *Sulūk*, II, 633-634).

as presence at the sultan's banquet (*simāṭ*).¹ The construction work in the year 604/1207-8 is described by Ibn Wāṣil:

This year, Sultan al-ʿĀdil went to Damascus for a while. He ordered the reconstruction of the citadel and assigned a tower (*burj*) to each of the Ayyubid princes and his grand amirs (*akābir umarā'ih*). They performed this work, bearing the expenses as a service to al-ʿĀdil.²

According to this description, the Ayyubid princes and the grand amirs shared in the responsibility of reconstructing the citadel. And in 605/1208-9 when al-Malik al-Zāhir, lord of Aleppo (*Ṣāhib Ḥalab*), undertook the waterworks stretching from Ḥaylān to the Aleppo gate, the construction works were allocated also to the amirs. At that time, al-Zāhir himself gathered together craftsmen (*ṣunnā'*) and laborers (*fā'il*), as well as providing lime (*kils*), oil (*zayt*), stones (*hijāra*), baked bricks (*ājurr*) and so on.³ The *muqta'*s thus did not always bear all the expenses for these projects, but the practice of assigning the work to *muqta'*s was inherited by the later Ayyubid sultans, and continued even in the Mamluk period.

The *muqta'*s had another important duty, namely to maintain the irrigation system in each of their *iqṭā'*s. Ibn Mammāṭi relates, "As for the local irrigation dikes (*al-jusūr al-baladīya*) in Egypt, the *muqta'* and his peasants should manage them at their own expenses for the profit of each district."⁴ This indicates that the maintenance of the local irrigation dikes were entrusted to the *muqta'* and his peasants after the formation of the *iqṭā'* system, while the sultan's irrigation dikes (*al-jusūr al-sultānīya*) were under the control of government officials. And if a *muqta'* was transferred to another *iqṭā'*, the new *muqta'* replacing him was obligated to return the value of the outlays he had made for maintaining

¹ *al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkīya*, fol.35r; *Mufarrij*, V, 13-14; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 87-88.

² *al-Ta'riḫ al-Ṣāliḫī*, fol.221v. Ibn Shaddād says, "At this time twelve towers (*burj*) were constructed at the citadel of Damascus" (*A'lāq-Dimashq*, 39). When Saladin repaired the wall of Jerusalem in 588/1192, the Ayyubid princes and soldiers (*ajnād*) shared in its construction, too (*Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn*, II, 265).

³ *A'lāq-Ḥalab*, 144-145. See also *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, I, 53. Ḥaylān was a village (*qarya*) belonging to the city of Aleppo, where there was a spring of Fawwāra with plentiful water. The water was brought to Aleppo through the canal which length was 35,000 dhirā' al-najjārīn (27.125 kilometers) (*Yāqūt*, II, 332).

⁴ *Ibn Mammāṭi*, 232. See also Chapter 8-(3).

the irrigation system.¹ Ibn Mammātī further relates that the *muqṭa*'s and their peasants in the province of al-Fayyūm do not pay even a dirham for the control of those dikes and canals belonging to the sultan.² The *muqṭa*'s, moreover, were not eager to promote agricultural production under conditions where their *iqṭā*' holdings were not stable. This is reflected plainly in what occurred in 590/1194, when the Egyptian amirs abandoned their effort to promote the prosperity of their districts ('*imārat al-bilād*), when a rumor spread to the effect that their *iqṭā*'s would soon be confiscated.³

As already mentioned above, *amīr al-'Arab*, who was granted *iqṭā*', was obligated to provide various information and camels over and above his military service to the sultan. And *muqṭa*' who held *iqṭā*' where some valuable resources were discovered was required to supply quantities of them to the government. About this al-Maqrīzī relates as follows:

In al-Wāḥāt,⁴ the valley near Udfū, white alum (*al-shabb al-abyaḍ*) was mined. Both al-Kāmil and his son, al-Ṣāliḥ, put the *muqṭa*'s in al-Wāḥāt under an obligation to bring 1,000 qintārs (45,000 kilograms) of white alum annually to Cairo. In reward for this, they were granted the right to collect a poll tax (*jawāli*). But this right was later cancelled because the *muqṭa*'s in al-Wāḥāt were not diligent in its supply.⁵

In this period, alum, which was used for dyeing textiles and leather, was exported in large amounts to Europe as well as being consumed in Egypt.⁶ According to *Sulūk*, Saladin constructed a tower (*burj*) at Suways to guard the Upper Egypt road, on which alum was carried to Cairo for export to Europe.⁷ Ibn Mammātī says, "Alum was transported from

¹ *Ibn Mammātī*, 232-233.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 229.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 119.

⁴ Al-Wāḥāt includes three provinces (*kūra*) in the west of Upper Egypt (*Yāqūt*, V, 341-342). It probably indicates "al-Wāḥāt al-Khārja" as described by M. Ramzī in *al-Qāmūs al-Juḡhrāfi*, II-iv, pp.244-245.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 236. Also in the later Mamluk period, al-Wāḥāt was allocated as *iqṭā*' to several amirs (*Ta'rif*, 224).

⁶ Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.82-83; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol.1, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, p.45; E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1983, pp.6, 108, 194; S. Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp.35, 96; Īnalcik and Quataert eds., *An Economic and Social History*, pp.38, 40, 340-341.

⁷ *Sulūk*, I, 72.

al-Wāhāt to Qūṣ, Ikhmīm and al-Bahnasā by the Arabs, from where it was carried further on to Alexandria. The carriers were not trusted until its price was fixed at the market (*matjar*).¹ Alum, in some cases, was used also as a means of payment for goods imported from Europe.² The *muqta*'s of al-Wāhāt thus were granted the right to collect a poll tax, provided that they offered alum, an important export good to Europe. This indicates that the right to collect poll taxes was not commonly granted to *muqta*'s, except in the "complete *iqṭā'*," which I will mention later on.

As Cahen and Rabie state, the Ayyubid *iqṭā'* was more economically free than the Fatimid *iqṭā'*, in the sense that it was no longer subject to the tithes;³ but, according to al-Nābulusī, Sultan al-ʿĀdil II (635–637/1238–40) levied a tax of 10 *dīnārs* per 1,000 *dīnārs* of *iqṭā'* revenue, which was lower than the tithes.⁴ Such a policy, however, seems not to have been common, since we can not find another similar recorded instance in the Ayyubid period.

4. Management and Control of *Iqṭā'*

Tax Assessment

In contrast to *muqta*'s obligation to offer various services to the sultan, his most important right was to collect the taxes estimated in the *'ibra*.⁵ For example, the *'ibra* of Tūrānshāh's *iqṭā'* located at Qūṣ, Aswān and ʿAydhāb was 266,000 *dīnārs*.⁶ The Kurdish amir Sayf al-Dīn Masḥūb was allocated Nābulus in Palestine as *iqṭā'*, whose *'ibra* was estimated at 300,000 *dīnārs*.⁷ As mentioned above, the *'ibra* was usually expressed

¹ *Ibn Mammātī*, 328.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 327.

³ Cl. Cahen, *El*,^a s.v. Ayyūbids; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.29.

⁴ *Luma'*, 12.

⁵ In this sense, M. Chamberlain relates that the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers prevented amirs from controlling the agricultural surplus directly (*Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*, Cambridge, 1994, p.40).

⁶ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 466; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 37.

⁷ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 225; *Shamārīkh*, fol.166r. When amir Masḥūb died in 588/1192, Saladin kept two-third of Nābulus for the *waqf* of Jerusalem, and distributed the remainder to his son, ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Masḥūb, and two amirs of his comrades (*Mufarrij*, II, 410-411; *Sulūk*, I, 196; *Shamārīkh*, fol.166r; *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 243-244). Incidentally, when Sultan al-ʿAziz advanced his army to

in “*dīnār jayshī*” from the cadastral survey by Saladin.

The Ayyubid *'ibra* was estimated based on the gross receipts (*irtifā'*), including cash (*'ayn*) and crops (*ghalla*), revealed in *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī.¹ Take the example of Iṣā, a village south of Madīnat al-Fayyūm:²

<i>'ibra</i>	1,000	dīnār jayshī
<i>irtifā'</i>		
<i>'ayn</i> (cash)	2	dīnārs (<i>marā't</i>)
	10	dīnārs (<i>kharāj al-rātīb</i>)
<i>ghalla</i> (crop)	432	ardabbs (<i>kharāj al-munājaza</i>)
<i>zakāt</i>	6	dīnārs
<i>rusūm</i>	110	dirhams + 19 ardabbs

This shows that *'ibra* was estimated based on gross receipts (*irtifā'*), including the land tax in cash (*kharāj al-rātīb*) and the land tax in kind (*kharāj al-munājaza*), other than *zakāt*, which was levied on fruit trees and cattle, and miscellaneous taxes (*rusūm*). The land tax (*kharāj*) in cash and in kind thus was evidently the main *iqṭā'* revenue, though Rabie does not explain it distinctly as such in his work.³

Al-Nābulusī includes a poll tax (*jawālī*) in his estimation of *'ibra* based on his investigation of each village in the province of al-Fayyūm.⁴ Nevertheless, the poll tax during this period was usually regarded as the sultan's income,⁵ except in the “complete *iqṭā'*” (*iqṭā' darbastā*). Let us quote some examples:

- (1) In 577/1181-2 Ṣarīm al-Dīn Khuṭlubā, who was entrusted with the governorship (*wilāya*) of al-Fayyūm, went there to collect its revenue

Damascus in 591/1195, an amir of ten (*al-jundī al-'ashara*) held an *iqṭā'* whose revenue was about 1,000 dīnārs (*Bustān*, 155).

¹ Cl. Cahen, “Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm ayyūbide,” *Arabica*, 13(1956), pp.12-14.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 43-44. About the tax collection in the province of al-Fayyūm, see further Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden, 1977.

³ Irwin, “*Iqṭā'* and the end of the Crusader state,” p.70. According to Rabie, until 715/1315 the taxes like *marā't* and *hilālī* were levied by *muqta*'s, while *zakāt*, *jawālī* and *mawārīth ḥashrīya* were collected by government officials (Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.41). See also Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, p.42.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 46, 47, 53, 63, 64, 83.

⁵ See pp.142, 150.

- as his private income (*rusūmuh al-khāṣṣa*).¹
- (2) In 579/1183-4 Saladin, who entrusted his nephew, Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Shāhanshāh, with the governorship of Egypt, granted him *iqṭā’* in Egypt, in addition to the Syrian *iqṭā’*’s. That is to say, he gave him all the revenues including the poll tax levied in al-Fayyūm, other than the districts of al-Qubaybāt and Būsh.²
- (3) In 587/1191 Saladin assigned the Eastern province (al-Bilād al-Sharqīya) to his brother, al-‘Ādil, on condition that he abandon all the Syrian *iqṭā’*’s except al-Karak, al-Shawbak, al-Ṣalt, and al-Balqā’ and that he abandon half of his private lands (*khāṣṣa*) in Egypt. Further, al-‘Ādil had to carry 6,000 sacks (*ghirāra*) of crops from Ṣalt and al-Barqā’ every year.³
- (4) In 619/1222 Sultan al-Kāmil gave all (*darbastan*) of the province of al-Fayyūm to amir Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Uthmān, including its revenues, sugar cane, oxen and farm implements.⁴

The private income found in example (1) means probably all the revenue in al-Fayyūm province including the poll tax, as example (2) indicates. Example (3) should also be understood similarly. *Iqṭā’ khāṣṣ* was usually regarded as privately owned land, which need not be allocated to the holder’s followers.⁵ On the other hand, as to the income of the holder, he was given all the revenues just like *iqṭā’ darbastā* in example (4). The examples quoted above are all concerned with Egypt, and we find no example of private land, or *iqṭā’ darbastā*, having been granted in Ayyubid Syria.

According to Rabie, only three cases of the actual inheritance of an *iqṭā’* are to be found in Ayyubid Egypt, because the sultans were sure that hereditary *iqṭā’* would have an adverse influence on military service;⁶ but in Syria, we find not a small number of instances in which *iqṭā’*’s were passed from father to son. For example, in 570/1174-5 when Saladin conquered Ḥimṣ, the *iqṭā’* held by Shīrkūh, he gave it to Shīrkūh’s son,

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 72; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 120.

² *Barq*, V, fol.120r; *Sanā al-Barq Q*, 234; *Sulūk*, I, 82. Al-Qubaybāt was a well with scarce water on the road to Mecca (*Yāqūt*, IV, 308), and Būsh was a town in Upper Egypt on the west bank of the Nile (*Yāqūt*, I, 508).

³ *Abū al-Fidā’*, III, 80-81.

⁴ *Akhhbār al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, 134.

⁵ Poliak, “The Ayyubid Feudalism,” p.431; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.42.

⁶ Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.59.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad,¹ and in 581/1185-6 when Nāṣir al-Dīn died, Saladin ordered Nāṣir's son, Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, to inherit his father's *iqṭā'*s, i.e. al-Raḥba and Salamya.² Ṭabariya, which had been held by amir Sa'd al-Dīn Mubārak, was also inherited by his son, Faṭḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad, when Mubārak died in 583/1187-8.³ Further, we find that Ṣaydā', Bāniyās and Shayzar were inherited from father to son or from brother to younger brother over three generations.⁴

Also concerning the Syrian *iqṭā'*s, the sultan, of course, had the right to confiscate them or to exchange them for other *iqṭā'*s according to his own discretion. However in Syria, as mentioned above, there seems to have still remained the Zangid tradition of inheriting *iqṭā'*s.⁵ On the other hand, in Egypt an *iqṭā'* held by a cavalryman was frequently granted to another even during the former's lifetime. This practice perhaps resulted in strict regulations being established concerning *iqṭā'* transfers in Egypt, as revealed in the following description by Ibn Mammātī:

Take the example of a district where sugar cane (*qaṣab sukkar*) was cultivated being given to a soldier (*jund*) in the Hijra year 588. If it were transferred to another soldier at the beginning of 589, the right to press sugar cane was still retained by the first *muḥṭa'*; and he would be deprived of the right on 10 Tūt/5 January when the sugar cane is harvested in the second year (*khilfa*), or on 10 Bashnas/6 May when it is in the first year (*ra's*). If the first *muḥṭa'* does not intend to press it, the second *muḥṭa'* takes over the right since the first *muḥṭa'* is no longer rendering service (*khidma*). On the other hand, when the first *muḥṭa'* is still concerned with the land after a certain period, he must pay 2+15/24 dīnārs per faddān to the second *muḥṭa'* as compensation (*'uqr*). When he has paid it, he can press the sugar cane at the government pressing factory (*al-ma'ṣarat al-dīwānīya*) using its oxen and tools. And when he leaves the *iqṭā'*, he must restore it to its former state and return everything he had borrowed from the government. If he is unable to return it, he is forced to pay its price.⁶

¹ Kanz, VII, 58-59.

² Dawlat al-Akrād, fol.12v; Kāmil, XI, 518.

³ Mufarrij, II, 252.

⁴ A'lāq-Lubnān, 99, 142; Mufarrij, V, 63-64. cf. Lyons & Jackson, Saladin, p.367.

⁵ Rawḍatayn, I, 20; Mufarrij, I, 280; 'Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn, I, 258, 367-368.

⁶ Ibn Mammātī, 366.

The sugar cane of *khilfa* was usually harvested in the Coptic month Kīhak (27 November–26 December), while the sugar cane of *ra's* was cut in Ṭūba (27 December–25 January), i.e. four months before Bashnas (26 April–25 May).¹ We find no distinct reason why the term for an extension to press *ra's*, as quoted above, was granted for a longer time than usual. In any case, this indicates that the right of the *muqta'* who was concerned with the cultivation of the commercial crops (i.e. sugar cane) was assured for a certain period, even when the *iqṭā'* was delivered to another person. It is also interesting to find the condition that the *muqta'* had to restore his *iqṭā'* to his former state before leaving it. *Muqta'* also customarily left wheat straw to the next *muqta'* for his finding a way to prosperity (*'imāra*).²

Even though we may not assume that these regulations were enforced also in the Syrian *iqṭā'*s, it is noteworthy that careful consideration was given to prosperity in both the cultivation of sugar cane and in dealing with wheat straw. This is because the *iqṭā'* system was only maintained when agricultural production was made stable under a policy to promote *'imāra*.

Real Conditions of Iqṭā' Management: The Case of Amir Fakhr al-Dīn

The Ayyubid *muqta'* usually sent a deputy (*nā'ib, wakīl*) to his *iqṭā'* to manage it.³ For example, Abū Shāma gives the following account in the year 565/1170:

Shams al-Dawla Tūrānshāh went to Qūṣ to entrust its management to Shams al-Khilāfa Muḥammad b. Mukhtār. Before the sultan gave Qūṣ to Shams al-Dawla, he sent Rislān b. Daghmush to levy taxes there, but 'Abbās b. Shādhī revolted against him in league with the Arabs

¹ *Ibn Mammātī*, 242, 244. The cultivation of sugar cane (*qaṣab al-sukkar*) had already diffused in Lower Egypt during the Abbasid period, and it spread further to Upper Egypt from the tenth century on. As the sugar production increased, it became one of the most important goods to be exported to Europe; it was also consumed in plenty by the Egyptian rich. About the cultivation of sugar cane in Egypt, see the following works; E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Leipzig, 1890; J. Mazuel, *Le sucre en Egypte*, Cairo, 1937; A. M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge, 1983. See also pp.211f.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 344. As a rule, wheat straw was divided into three shares, one of which was given to the *dīwān*, the *muqta'* and the *muzāri'ūn* (cultivators) respectively.

³ *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 63; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 661; *Kāmil*, VI, 468-469; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.65.

and the slaves ('*abīd*) living in Marj Banī Humaym.¹

Other than Qūṣ, Tūrānshāh also held Aswān and 'Aydhāb as *iqṭā'* where he may have likewise sent his deputies. Al-Nābulusī says, "When he investigated into the province of al-Fayyūm, he requested documents from the executive (*mustajidd*) in the sultan's domain and from the deputy (*nā'ib*) in the *waqf*land. In the case of *iqṭā'*, he requested documents from the *muqṭa'*'s clerk (*kātib al-muqṭa'*) or from the village chiefs (*mashāyikh al-bilād*) when the clerk was absent."² This reveals that the *muqṭa'*'s clerk, in practice, took charge of levying taxes and managing affairs in the *iqṭā'*. However, as Gibb relates, the *muqṭa'*'s in this period used to visit their *iqṭā'*'s to manage the spring harvest by themselves.³ Their purpose was mainly to levy taxes and to procure provisions for future expeditions.⁴ They, at the same time, attached importance to refreshing their fatigued horses by putting them out to pasture from winter to spring;⁵ but, in some cases, the sultan could not mobilize the *muqṭa'*'s immediately when they were pasturing their horses in their *iqṭā'*'s.⁶

Some Ayyubid lords or amirs lived at the towns located in their *iqṭā'*'s to administer the regions by themselves. Tūrānshāh in al-Fayyūm, Ibn al-Muqaddam in Ba'labakk, Shīrkūh in Ḥimṣ, and Abū al-Hayjā' in Jerusalem were known as amirs who, except for their military services, stayed at their *iqṭā'*'s.⁷ These *muqṭa'*'s made efforts to construct convents for *ṣūfīs* (*khānqāh*), caravansaries (*khān lil-sabīl*) and citadels as well as erecting mosques and schools.⁸ As they exercised leadership over residents

¹ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 466. cf. *Ibn Abī al-Hayjā'*, fol.167r; *Itti'āz*, III, 317. Marj Banī Humaym was a village located near Qūṣ at the east bank of the Nile (*Yāqūt*, V, 101; Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-Jughurāfi*, I, p.409).

² *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 23.

³ Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," p.75.

⁴ *Rawḍatayn*, II, 643.

⁵ Ibn Wāṣil says, "When al-Malik al-Afḍal reached the entrance of Egypt with his army in 596/1200, most of them left him and dispersed to their countries for putting their horses out to pasture. Al-Malik al-Afḍal, then, entered Cairo with a few of his troops" (*Mufarrij*, III, 108).

⁶ *Kāmil*, XII, 155; *Mufarrij*, III, 108.

⁷ *Ilmām*, IV, 49; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 669; *Mufarrij*, II, 174; *Kāmil*, XII, 125, 218; *Asjad*, 239-240; *al-Durar al-Muḍīya*, fol.270v.

⁸ *Ilmām*, IV, 49; *Ibn al-Furāt*, IV-2, 47-48; *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 169; *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 155; *A'lāq-Dimashq*, 191; *A'lāq-Shimāl Sūriyā*, 292, 303-304, 378; *Nujūm*, VI, 42.

in their *iqṭā'*s, they sometimes were called the rulers of the districts.¹ For example, Ibn al-Muqaddam, *muqṭa'* of Ba'labakk, was regarded both as its governor (*mutawallī*) and controller (*mudabbir*).²

We can observe more concretely the real conditions of *iqṭā'* management by taking the case of amir Fakhr al-Dīn. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān b. Qizil al-Bārūmī al-Kāmili was born at Aleppo under the rule of Nūr al-Dīn in the year 551/1156. After changing service (*khidma*) to various masters, he seized the rank of amir in Egypt and became the Sultan al-Kāmil's chief steward (*ustādār*) in charge of state politics (*amr al-mamlaka*).³

When amir Mufaḍḍal Quṭb al-Dīn, Ṣāhib al-Fayyūm, died in 619/1222, the sultan gave the province of al-Fayyūm completely (*darbastan*) to Fakhr al-Dīn, including the tax revenue (*ḥāṣil*), sugar cane, oxen, and farm implements.⁴ If he was truly born in 551/1156, he had already reached the age of sixty-eight years. According to al-Nābulusī, he intended personally to produce significant results everywhere he ruled. He, thereby, investigated into the factors which would lead to prosperity for the province of al-Fayyūm, and dredged the Canal Yūsuf to increase irrigation water.⁵ However, when he did not find any good results in this, he went to al-Lāhūn⁶ by himself to remove the earth piled at the dam, recruiting engineers (*muhandis*) among from the villagers.⁷ He also opened the Canal Tanbaṭwiya to transport the water of the Canal Yūsuf to the south part of al-Fayyūm, and succeeded, as a result of it, in reviving the village of Ṭalit, which had been in ruins since the Fatimid

¹ *al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkiya*, fol.77v.

² *Rawḍatayn*, II, 669.

³ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 367; *Sulūk*, I, 260; *Ṣafadī*, XIX, 503-504. Fakhr al-Dīn's title is described as "*Wakīl al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muẓaffar al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār*" by Ibn Abī al-Damm (*Shamāriḥ*, fol.179r-v), and his nisba as "*al-Kāmili*" after Sultan al-Kāmil (*Mundhiri*, III, 324). *Ustādār* or *ustādh al-dār*, as a chief steward, had the duty to manage all the affairs related to the sultan's court (Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p.429; Şeşen, *Salāhaddīn*, pp.107-108). On the *iqṭā'* holding by Fakhr al-Dīn during that time, see *Rawḍ R*, 83.

⁴ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 134-135; *Shifā'*, 275. According to al-Nābulusī, the *iqṭā'* grant to Fakhr al-Dīn was in the year 620/1223 (*Ta'riḥ al-Fayyūm*, 15).

⁵ *Ta'riḥ al-Fayyūm*, 15-16.

⁶ Al-Lāhūn was located at the entrance of al-Fayyūm and had a dam (*qīṭ'a*) which controlled water from the Nile (*Ta'riḥ al-Fayyūm*, 11-12, 15). See Chapter 8-(3).

⁷ *Ta'riḥ al-Fayyūm*, 16.

period.¹ Fakhr al-Dīn, who thus personally managed his *iqtā'*, did not always stay at al-Fayyūm, however. Al-Maqrizī relates in his *Khiṭaṭ*:

At al-Barqīya outside Cairo, there is a tower known as the "Tower of al-Fayyūm" (*Burj al-Fayyūm*). This was constructed by amir Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān b. Qizil, *ustādār* of al-Malik al-Kāmil. The name of the "Tower of al-Fayyūm" originated from the fact that the whole province of al-Fayyūm was held by Ibn Qizil as *iqtā'*. When he received a letter (*biṭāqa*) from al-Fayyūm, he would send a reply from the tower.²

Fakhr al-Dīn, who constructed a tower outside Cairo, managed his *iqtā'* using carrier pigeons connecting Cairo and al-Fayyūm. Ibn al-'Amīd says, "Fakhr al-Dīn sent his deputies (*wālī*) and followers (*mustakhdam*) to al-Fayyūm and assigned 200 cavalymen (*fāris*) for carrying cash to his treasury (*khizāna*) and crops to his granary (*hury*)."³ Accordingly, we may consider that those who were in charge of reporting necessary news to Fakhr al-Dīn at Cairo were like his deputies and followers sent to al-Fayyūm. The cavalymen mentioned above did not always stay at al-Fayyūm, but probably took charge in carrying the revenues to Cairo only at the time of collecting taxes. It is not clear whether crop transportation was carried out by land or river, but if the Nile was used, a boat called "*darmūna*" was commonly used. According to al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (d. after 775/1372), four kinds of boats were sailing the Nile at that time; that is to say, *ḥarrāka* for lords and amirs, *markab* for merchants, *shakhtūr* for villagers, and *darmūna* for transporting revenues in kind from the *iqtā'*s.⁴ *Darmūna* carried crops to Ṣāḥil al-Ghalla at Būlāq, where a tax (*maks Ṣāḥil al-Ghalla*) was levied on them before being taken to the granary called "*ahrā*" or "*shūna*."⁵

Fakhr al-Dīn, like other amirs, appropriated his income from this tax for various public works. Concerning this, we find the following account given by Ibn al-'Amīd:

Fakhr al-Dīn, not only constructed *madrasa* and *masjid*, but also built a school (*maktab*) for orphans setting up a vast fund (*waqf*) for it. He

¹ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 128.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 231.

³ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 134-135.

⁴ *Ilmām*, II, 249.

⁵ *Husn*, II, 294; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; II, 130-131; *al-Tadhkirat al-Harawīya*, 85-86;

also used to give cash, clothes and crops to the Šūfī saints (*arbāb al-buyūt*) and the poor (*munqaṭi'ūn*).¹

We can not tell, however, from this account whether these *madrasa*, *masjid* and *maktab* were constructed in the town of al-Fayyūm or in Cairo; but al-Maqrīzī relates that Fakhr al-Dīn built al-Madrasat al-Fakhrīya and a mosque opposite to it in Cairo, and further constructed a public bath (Hammām al-Sulṭān) and a convent (*ribāṭ*) for the Šūfī saints also in Cairo.² On the other hand, al-Nābulusī gives an account of two great mosques (*jāmi'*), nine small mosques (*masjid*) and five schools (*madrasa*) which existed at the town of al-Fayyūm, but says nothing about their constructors.³ Since he describes explicitly the irrigation works performed by Fakhr al-Dīn in al-Fayyūm, lack of specific reference to the constructors of the mosques and schools probably means that they were built by someone else.

Historical sources do not tell us up until what time Fakhr al-Dīn held the province of al-Fayyūm as *iqṭā'*. Even after he resigned his post as *ustādār* in 622/1225, he continued to serve the sultan.⁴ For example, in 626/1229 he participated in Sultan al-Kāmil's campaign to besiege Ḥamā,⁵ and in 629/1232 he followed the sultan to conquer the Eastern provinces, but he was befallen by disease on the way and died at Harrān north of Aleppo on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 629/6 October 1232.⁶ He was praised as a "noble and great amir" for his just management of state affairs as *ustādār* and construction of many mosques and schools.⁷

Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.103-104; Lapidus, "The Grain Economy," pp.6-8.

¹ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, 135.

² *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 46, 81, 367-368. Al-Šafadī relates that Fakhr al-Dīn constructed *kuttāb* and *ribāṭ* in Mecca and another *ribāṭ* at the foot of al-Muqaṭṭam in Cairo (Šafadī, XIX, 503-504).

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 29.

⁴ *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 367.

⁵ *Kāmil*, XII, 486-487; *Abū al-Faḍā'il*, 374. He dispatched his army to Ḥamā because when al-Manšūr, Šāhib Ḥamā, died in 626/1229, his second son, Qilij Arslān, ruled Ḥamā disregarding the first son, al-Muzaḥḥar. See Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, pp.167-171.

⁶ *Abū al-Faḍā'il*, 445; *Kanz*, VII, 306; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 367; *Sulūk*, I, 244; *Dāris*, I, 431.

⁷ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, 27. His son, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, was also one of the influential amirs in the reign of Sultan al-Kāmil (*Sulūk*, I, 261, 281).

CHAPTER FOUR

IQṬĀ' POLICY OF SULTAN BAYBARS I

The Mamluk state (648–922/1250–1517) in Egypt and Syria inherited the *iqṭā'* system almost intact from the Ayyubid period. Al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (658–676/1260–1277), who seized power immediately after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt in 658/1260, organized his regime through the assignment of *iqṭā'*s, which resembled the Ayyubid tradition to no small extent. During the next year of his reign, Sultan Baybars invested a kinsman of the Abbasids into the caliphate at Cairo, and in 663/1265 added chief qadiships of the three leading law schools to the already existing Shāfi'ite post. On the other hand, he was able to achieve brilliant military victories against the Mongols as well as the Crusaders in Syria.

The political history of the early Mamluk period has already been studied in detail,¹ but unfortunately scholars have not yet directed their attention to how important *iqṭā'* assignments were in the formation of the Mamluk state during the reign of Sultan Baybars. This applies also to the recent important works of R. Irwin and R. Amitai-Preiss.² Therefore, in order to make clearer its historical role and meaning, it may be useful to investigate the *iqṭā'* system during the early Mamluk period in more concrete fashion.

The main sources to be used in this investigation are two biographies of Baybars: *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir* written by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 691/1292); and *al-Rawḍat al-Zāhira fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir* by 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285), which was published recently under the title *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*.³ *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra*

¹ S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca, 1956, pp.1-73; A. A. Khoweiter, *Baibars The First*, London, 1978; P. Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I von Ägypten*, Wiesbaden, 1987. English tr. by P. M. Holt, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I & the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1987.

² Irwin, "Iqṭā' and the End of the Crusader States," pp.62-77; id., *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, London, 1986; R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhānid War, 1260–1281*, Cambridge, 1995.

³ *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, Wiesbaden, 1983; Turkish tr. by S. Yaltkaya, *Baybars Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1941. Here I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. A. Khoweiter

fi Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wal-Jazīra by the same author, Ibn Shaddād, is unique in its useful information on the Syrian provinces. The chronicle *Zubdat al-Fikra fi Ta'riḫ al-Hijra* is also important to our study because its author, Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), participated himself in the battles of Antioch and Cilicia under the command of the sultan.¹

1. *The Establishment of the Provincial Administration*

The Nā'ibs of Syria

Since the Zangid period (521–619/1127–1222) governors, called *nā'ib* or *wālī*, had been appointed to the main districts in Syria and al-Jazīra.² According to Cl. Cahen, the *wālī*'s income was to be registered in the central *dīwān*, while the *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*) were allowed free disposal of the revenues from their *iqṭā'*s.³ R. S. Humphreys criticized this view, saying that the positions of *wālī* and *nā'ib* were sometimes held by the same person, and furthermore the *ṣāhibs*, who were Ayyubid princes in most cases, ruled independently in some districts.⁴ These *ṣāhibs* retained their former rights even after the establishment of the Mamluk sultanate, by obtaining reassurance documents (*taqlīd*) from the sultan. For example, in 659/1261 the following princes submitted requests to Sultan Baybars for *taqlīd*: al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Mosul, al-Malik al-Ashraf of Ḥimṣ and al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā.⁵ However, al-Malik al-Mughith of al-Karak continued to rule his domain independently until 661/1263, thus refusing to recognize the sultan's authority.⁶ The government of Cairo, as we shall see later, sent *nā'ibs* to districts of decreed *ṣāhibs* who had submitted to the sultan.

For example, in 658/1260 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the last Ayyubid prince in Damascus, was appointed Nā'ib Dimāshq by Sultan

who was kind enough to send me the two primary sources edited by him: *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir* of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and *Ḥusn al-Manāqib* of Shāfi' b. 'Alī.

¹ *Muqaffā*, II, 531-534. See also D. P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography*, Wiesbaden, 1970, pp.4-10; *EI*,ⁿ s.v. Baybars al-Manṣūrī.

² On the political situation in Syria during this period, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp.49-56.

³ Cl. Cahen, "La correspondance de Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr," *BSOAS*, 14(1952), p.38.

⁴ Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp.373-374.

⁵ *Rawḍ*, 44, 45, 47; *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 108; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.47r-v.

⁶ Khoweiter, *Baibars*, p.31.

Quṭuz (657–658/1259–60), but was soon arrested by the Mongols and killed after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt.¹ During Ramaḍān 658/August 1260, Quṭuz appointed amir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Şāliḥī as Nā'ib Dimashq,² but the next sultan, Baybars, chose 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī for this position.³ Since the next nā'ib, Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Şāliḥī, was also a Mamluk amir,⁴ we know that the line of nā'ibs in Damascus were mostly amirs from among the *mamlūks* in that period.

Al-Malik al-Ashraf, Şāḥib Ḥimş, was the last grandson of Saladin's uncle Şīrkūh; but he died without a son, brother or heir-apparent (*walī al-'ahd*) in 662/1264, a few years after he submitted to Baybars. Consequently, Baybars ordered amir Badr al-Dīn Baylık al-'Alā'ī to rule over Ḥimş, and later appointed amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Zāhiri as Nā'ib Ḥimş.⁵ When al-Malik al-Manşūr, Şāḥib Ḥamā, died in 683/1284, his son al-Malik al-Muẓaffar succeeded him until 698/1299. Then the Mamluk amir Qarāsunqur was appointed Nā'ib Ḥamā,⁶ but in 710/1310 the rulership was restored to the Ayyubid princes until the Mamluk amirs began to administer the region directly in 742/1341.⁷

Baybars found shelter with al-Malik al-Mughīth (Şāḥib al-Karak)

¹ *Baybars al-Manşūrī*, fols.38r-40r; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p.33.

² *Sulūk*, I, 433; *I'lām al-Warā*, 4.

³ *Rawḍ*, 47; *Mufarrij*, fol.399r; *I'lām al-Warā*, 5; *Muqaffā*, IV, 9-10. 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭaybars al-Wazīrī al-Najmī was appointed governor of the citadel (*nā'ib al-qal'a*) in Damascus when Baybars came to power. After a while he was promoted to Nā'ib Dimashq (*Tālī*, 93).

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 60-61; *Mufarrij*, fol.410r; *Nuzhat al-Anām*, fol.130r; *Manhal*, III, 25. When Aqūsh was appointed Nā'ib Dimashq, he was granted *iqṭā'* in Syria (*Rawḍ*, 60-61).

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 505-506. Ibn Wāşil states that al-Ashraf died in 661/1263 (*Mufarrij*, fol.422v), but the description of al-Maqrīzī is preferred here. Rule over Ḥimş by the grandsons of Şīrkūh continued for about hundred years, but was interrupted by Baybars (*Ibar*, IV, 180).

⁶ *Durrat al-Aslāk*, I, fol.284; *Sulūk*, I, 726, 881; *Abū al-Fidā'*, IV, 43; *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, I, 214.

⁷ When al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ismā'il, Şāḥib Ḥamā, died in 732/1331, his son al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad succeeded him. But after ten years he was exiled to Damascus where he died in 742/1341 (*Sulūk*, II, 354, 615; *Şubḥ*, IV, 173-174; *Tathqīf*, 20-21; *Şifā'*, 464-465; *Manhal*, VI, 421). According to al-'Umārī, though Şāḥib Ḥamā had the right to grant amirate and *iqṭā'āt* as well as to appoint wazīrs and officials, he, in reality, did not exercise such grave right as to grant amirate before he consulted with sultan ('*Umārī*, 66). Incidentally, when the şāḥib's status was inherited by his son, it had to be authorized by the sultan (*Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 121-122).

for a while when he was still a Mamluk amir; but, after his accession to the sultanate, Baybars conquered al-Karak because of al-Mughīth's opposition to his authority, and appointed amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur as *nā'ib* in 661/1263, assigning al-Khalīl (Hebron) his *iqṭā'*.¹ As to Aleppo, its *ṣāhib al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh*, a son of Saladin, died a few days after the conquest of Hulagu in 658/1260.² When Quṭuz won the battle against the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt during that year, he appointed al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, *Ṣāhib Sinjār*, as *Nā'ib Ḥalab*, although he had promised the position to Baybars previously.³ During the reign of Baybars, the *mamlūks* in Aleppo revolted against al-Muẓaffar and succeeded in installing their leader, Ḥuṣām al-Dīn al-Jūkandār al-'Azīzī as *nā'ib*. A little while later, however, Baybars appointed 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Ḥalabī, one of the *Baḥrī* Mamluks, in place of al-Jūkandār, granting an *iqṭā'* adequate to his stature.⁴

Thus, by the end of the reign of Baybars Mamluk amirs had been sent to all the main districts of inner Syria, except Ḥamā, resulting in the establishment of a provincial administration system of *nā'ibs* replacing the Ayyubid *ṣāhibs*.

Now, what about the Syrian coastlands of al-Sāhil, which stretched from Ghazza to Ṣafad? When the Kurdish amir Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qaymarī (*nā'ib al-salṭana bil-Futūḥāt al-Sāhiliya*) died in 662/1264, his position and an *iqṭā'* of one hundred horsemen were inherited by his son and later by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Qaymarī, the Kurdish amir.⁵ Sultan Baybars, who conquered Ṣafad in 664/1265, appointed amir 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kababī as its *nā'ib*, while giving the position of *wālī al-qal'a* (governor of the citadel) to amir Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭawrī.⁶ After the conquest of Shaqīf in

¹ *Rawḍ*, 76; *Muḥarririj*, fol.420r; *Sulūk*, I, 482, 492; al-Bakhīt, *Mamlakat al-Karak*, p.48. Al-Khalīl was also granted as *iqṭā'* to 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydaki al-Dimyāṭī, who became *Nā'ib al-Karak* in succession to Aydamur (*A'lāq-Lubnān*, 242).

² *Sulūk*, I, 422.

³ *Rawḍ*, 47; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.47r-v; *Sulūk*, I, 433. Khoweiter considers al-Malik al-Muẓaffar as *Ṣāhib al-Mawṣil* on the account of *al-Nujūm (Baibars)*, p.24, but Baybars al-Manṣūrī relates that he was *Ṣāhib Sinjār*.

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 33-34; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.42v; *Sulūk*, I, 451; *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 105; *Muqaffā*, IV, 23. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, at this time amir Sanjar was granted an *iqṭā'* of sixty horsemen (*Rawḍ*, 20).

⁵ *Rawḍ*, 96; *Sulūk*, I, 509, 562; *Durrat al-Aslāk*, I, fol.76; *Manhal*, V, 159-160.

⁶ *Sulūk*, I, 547. Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il describes the governorship as *niyābat al-barr* in contrast to *niyābat al-qal'a* (*Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il*, 149-150). See also *Kanz*, VIII, 117. Although al-Yūnīnī informs us that 'Alā' al-Dīn was appointed to *niyābat al-salṭana bil-qal'a* (*Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 343), he probably mistook it for

666/1267-8, Baybars appointed Ṣārim al-Dīn Qāymāz al-Kāfirī as *nā'ib al-qal'a* of this city,¹ and then in 669/1270-1 he appointed several *nā'ibs* in Ḥiṣn al-'Akkār following its conquest.² The examples described above illustrate that the government adopted a policy towards al-Sāhil similar to inner Syria, appointing a *nā'ib* to each district whenever it was conquered.³

Among these Syrian *nā'ibs* the status of Nā'ib Dimashq or Nā'ib al-Shām was the highest. Al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) relates it as follows:

He [Nā'ib Dimashq] is the viceroy of the sultan in Damascus, attending to various matters connected with its viceroyship (*niyāba*). The official documents (*tawāqī'*) and the documents (*murabba'āt*)⁴ to allot *iqṭā'āt* to soldiers are written by him and sent to the central government for the sultan's signature..... He confidently writes everything related with viceroyship, that is, the authorizations of *iqṭā'* assignments (*manāshir*), official documents (*tawāqī'*), and the orders (*marāsīm*). He is also responsible for inspection of the Nūrī hospital and the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, just as *atābek al-'asākir* is responsible for the inspection of the Maṣṣūrī hospital in Cairo.⁵

This shows that the main duties of Nā'ib Dimashq were drawing up the various official documents and inspecting the main public facilities in Damascus. When he was away from his office, for example, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, a viceroy for his absence (*nā'ib al-ghayba*) was

niyābat Ṣafad .

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 566.

² *Kanz*, VIII, 155.

³ cf. A. Levanoni, "The Mamluks' Ascent to Power in Egypt," *SI*, 72(1990), p.128.

⁴ This document was called "*murabba'a*" because it was written on a square sheet of paper (*waraqat murabba'a*), on which authorizations of *iqṭā'* assignments (*mithāl* or *manshūr*) were composed (*Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 154-155). We find no original document of *mithāl* or *manshūr* except one in the reign of Sultan al-Ghawrī (906-922/1501-16) which was introduced by M. M. Amīn. See "Manshūr bi-Manḥ Iqṭā' min 'Aṣr al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī," *Ḥawliyat Islāmīya*, 19(1983), pp.1-23.

⁵ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 184. Al-'Umarī also relates that Nā'ib al-Shām had the highest status among the Syrian *nā'ibs* (*Ta'rīf*, 96-97). According to al-Ṣafadī, amir Tankiz, who was Nā'ib Dimashq during the reign of al-Nāṣir, practiced his authority to assign the rank of *amīr ṭablkhāna*, *iqṭā'*s, and the positions of *nā'ibs* and *qāḍīs* (*Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, II, 232-233). See also *Dāris*, II, 155-156.

appointed during that time.¹ Since Nā'ib Ḥalab was also responsible for authorizing *iqṭā'* assignments and the documents related to public offices (*wazīfa*) in Aleppo,² we may conjecture that these were duties common to all *nā'ibs* in Syria.³ Among the above-mentioned *nā'ibs*, those who held *iqṭā'*s were Nā'ib Dimashq, Nā'ib al-Karak, Nā'ib Ḥalab and Nā'ib al-Sāḥil. Of course, these *nā'ibs* were not assigned the whole district of their viceroys as *iqṭā'*, but were allocated *iqṭā'* adequate to the post of viceroy, just as the successive *nā'ibs* in al-Karak held al-Khalīl as their *iqṭā'*s.⁴

Wālis in Egypt

Egypt had been divided into administrative districts (*wilāya*) since the early Islamic period. For example, during the Fatimid period four governors (*'āmil* or *wālī*) were appointed to the districts.⁵ Although the following Ayyubid dynasty probably inherited the Fatimid provincial administration system, we find no description showing that the districts were governed by *wālis*, except Wālī Qūṣ, Wālī al-Sharqiya and Wālī al-Gharbiya.⁶ As Rabie states, this means the Egyptian provinces were ruled in reality by *muqṭa'*s.⁷ Even for the early Mamluk period, there are sources showing that the whole district was under the governorship of a *muqṭa'*. For example, in 652/1254 the province of Damietta was assigned as an *iqṭā'* for amir Aydughdī al-'Azīzī,⁸ and in 658/1260 Qalyūb and its environs were likewise given to amir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī as his *iqṭā'*.⁹ According to al-Qalqashandī, both Damietta and Qalyūb were

¹ *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, II, 245, 280, 282.

² *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 217. See also *'Umarī*, 54. H. Lutfi says that neither judges nor their assistants were appointed through the local military viceroy (*nā'ib*) at Jerusalem in the latter part of the Mamluk dynasty (*al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya*, Berlin, 1985, p.192).

³ According to al-'Aynī, amir Sūdūn, who was appointed as Nā'ib Ḥalab in 713/1313-4, made peace with the peasants (*fallāḥūn*) and had access to the district (*'Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.295r).

⁴ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 105; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.136r.

⁵ *'Umāra*, 109, 123; *Kindī*, 258; *Nujūm*, III, 145; K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period*, Kyoto, 1981, pp.195-197; H. I. Hasan, *Ta'rikh al-Dawlat al-Fāṭimiya*, Cairo, 3rd ed., 1964, p.289.

⁶ See p.56.

⁷ *Rabī'*, *al-Nuzum al-Māliya*, pp.89-90.

⁸ *Mukhtār al-Akhbār*, 234; *Sulūk*, I, 394; *Kanz*, VIII, 24.

⁹ *Kutubī*, I, 161; *Sulūk*, I, 420.

provinces where *wālīs* came to be appointed in the later Mamluk period.¹ Consequently, during the early Mamluk period there seems to have been still no established organization of *wālīs* supervising *muqta*'s in their districts.

However, during the reign of Baybars, we find the following account in *Sulūk*:

On 3 Rajab 664/10 April 1266 the sultan sent messengers to call out the soldiers from *iqṭā'āt* in Egypt for a raid (*ghazw*). But it was late. He sent *silāḥ dārīya* to all districts to punish the *wālīs* for three days due to its delay.²

That is to say, Baybars wanted the *wālīs* to call out the soldiers from the *iqṭā*'s promptly. This illustrates that the *wālīs* may have already been appointed to all districts in Egypt, but we can not substantiate this fact from other sources. Taking account of the fact that 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram, the first *wālī* of Qūṣ under the Mamluk dynasty, was appointed in 651/1253-4,³ we may assume that the provincial administration by *wālīs* in Egypt was organized gradually from the beginning of Mamluk period to the reign of Baybars.

According to "A Memorandum to Amir Kitbughā" issued in 679/1281,⁴ the duties of Egyptian *wālīs* included mainly control and management of the irrigation system, maintenance of public order, collection of government revenues, and the supervision of *muqta*'s. In reality, the historical sources from the Mamluk period inform us of examples of *wālī* mobilizing *muqta*'s and their peasants for irrigation works.⁵ As for the *wālī* of Qūṣ, al-Udfuwī (d. 748/1347) says that he was given a warning because of the lateness of a salary (*rātib*) for one

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 26-28.

² *Sulūk*, I, 544; *Ibn al-Furāt C*, I, 107-108. *Silāḥ dārīya* or *ṣilāḥdārīya* (sing. *silāḥdār*) meant the officers who provided arms to the sultan when he needed them. See S. F. Sadeque, "The Court and Household of the Mamluks of Egypt," *JASP*, 14(1969), p.281; Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," p.69.

³ Garcin, *Qūṣ*, p.242. In 660/1262 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥawwāsh, Wālī Qūṣ, was killed by the 'Urbān who attacked the town of Qūṣ (*Rawḍ*, 52; *Mufarrij*, fol.402v; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.55r).

⁴ On the Memorandum, see the next Chapter.

⁵ *Sīrat al-Manṣūr*, 25; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 171; II, 145, 170-171; *Nujūm*, IX, 217-218; *Sulūk*, II, 111, 261-262, 449-450, 463.

of the notables (*a'yān*) in the town of Qūṣ.¹ This reveals that the *wālī* here was responsible not only for the collection of government revenues, but also for the payment of salaries to local officials. Al-Udfuwī also states that the *wālī* of Isnā in Upper Egypt consulted with the *qādī* concerning problems arising among the common people and the notables there.² Moreover, al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) relates that *wālīs* responsible for the control of thieves (*liṣṣ*) and wine merchants (*khammār*) had the right to whip these criminals.³ Therefore, we know that *wālīs* in Egypt at that time, who were originally military governors like *nā'ibs* in Syria, expanded their role even to fiscal and civil affairs.

2. *Iqtā'* Holdings of the Amirs

The Actual Conditions of Iqtā' Holdings

First, we will summarize the *iqtā'* holdings of Baybars before his accession to the sultanate. In 652/1254-5 Baybars, fearing domination by Sultan Aybak (648-655/1250-57), fled with his comrades, *al-Mamālīk al-Bahrīya*, to Ghazza where he submitted to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Ṣāḥib Dimashq.⁴ Al-Nāṣir welcomed him and proposed to grant him Aleppo as *iqtā'*, but Baybars requested Zar'in and Jinin in Palestine; and it was so approved.⁵ When a peace treaty was concluded between al-Nāṣir and Aybak, Baybars, who probably held Nābulus at that time, sought protection from al-Mughith at al-Karak;⁶ but in 657/1259, when the relation between the two worsened, Baybars returned to al-Nāṣir again, on condition that he be granted an *iqtā'* of 120 cavalymen that included Nābulus, Jinin and their environs.⁷ The next year when the Mongol

¹ *Udfuwī*, 23.

² *Udfuwī*, 419-420.

³ *Mu'id*, 43-45.

⁴ *al-Tuḥfat al-Mulūkiya*, 35-36; *Sulūk*, I, 392; Khoweiter, *Baibars*, pp.13-14.

⁵ *Kutubī*, I, 160; *al-Tuḥfat al-Mulūkiya*, 35; *Nujūm*, VII, 97-98.

⁶ *Rawd*, 8.

⁷ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyin*, 169. On this *iqtā'* grant, the sources give different accounts. Al-Dawādārī relates that Baybars was given Nābulus and Jinin (*Kanz*, VIII, 38), while al-Kutubī and Ibn Taghrībirdī state that he was also granted Zar'in (*Kutubī*, I, 161; *Nujūm*, VII, 99). Al-Maqrīzī relates that he was given half of Nābulus and Jinin (*Sulūk*, I, 415), and according to al-Dawādārī it was an *iqtā'* of 100 cavalymen (*Kanz*, VIII, 38), while *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyyin* informs us that it was an *iqtā'* of 120 cavalymen.

army advanced to Northern Syria, Baybars made an alliance (*hilf*) with Sultan Qutuz and was granted Qalyūb and its environs as *iqṭā'*.¹

Incidentally, the town of Qalyūb (Qaṣabat Qalyūb) was assigned to him as his special domain (*al-khāṣṣa*), meaning that he was given all revenues without allocating any income to his followers.² It is generally believed that this is a custom specific to the Ayyubid *iqṭā'* system, while in the following Mamluk period, amirs came to allocate two-third of *iqṭā'* revenues to their followers, taking one-third for themselves.³ However, similar examples of *al-khāṣṣa* in Syria during the reign of Baybars confirms that the Ayyubid tradition of *iqṭā'* holdings survived in the early Mamluk period.⁴

Among the examples of *iqṭā'* grants before and during the reign of Baybars, we find an interesting characteristic peculiar to this period, in which some amirs were granted *iqṭā'*s as they requested. Six cases of such an *iqṭā'* grant are known to us:

- (1) In 650/1252-3 when the Baḥrī Mamluks under Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy rose to power, they acquired cash and *iqṭā'* as they wished. Aqṭāy requested Alexandria and it was granted as *iqṭā'*.⁵
- (2) In 652/1254-5 al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Ṣāhib Dimashq, intended to assign Aleppo to Baybars, but he insisted upon holding Zar'in and Jinin; and it was approved.⁶
- (3) In 657/1259 amir Baybars returned to al-Nāṣir on condition that he hold the *khubz* (i.e. *iqṭā'*) of 120 cavalymen that included Nābulus, Jinin and their environs.⁷
- (4) In 659/1260-1 or 660/1261-2 two governors of the Ismā'īlite strongholds (Huṣūn al-Ismā'īliya), Raḍī al-Dīn Abū al-Ma'ālī and Najm al-Dīn Ismā'īl, sent an envoy to Sultan Baybars requesting the same *iqṭā'*s and stipends (*rasm*) as before, and their conditions were accepted.⁸

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 420.

² *Kutubī*, I, 161; *Sulūk*, I, 426; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.42.

³ *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 216; Poliak, *Feudalism*, p.6; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.37.

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 71; *Sulūk*, I, 844.

⁵ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 164; *Sulūk*, I, 384; *Nuzhat al-Anām*, fols.90v-91r.

⁶ *Kutubī*, I, 160; *Nujūm*, VII, 97-98.

⁷ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 169. See also p.84, n. 7.

⁸ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 114, 162-163. The same account is described both in the years 659/1260-1 and 660/1261-2.

- (5) In 661/1263 when Shams al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Burli, governor of al-Bīra,¹ was granted an *iqṭā'* of 60 cavalrymen, he requested an increase in his *iqṭā'* holding somewhere at Nābulus or al-Ṣalt or Ba'labakk or Dānā instead of being relieved (*nuzūl*) of his *iqṭā'* at al-Bīra. Baybars first refused him, but later relented in response to his repeated requests.²
- (6) The Kurdish amir Tāj al-Dīn b. Manklān al-Hakkārī, who had submitted to Baybars at Mosul, was granted Irbil according to his request.³

Through the Nāṣirī rawk in later years, the government intended to negate the local character of *muqṭa'* and to promote alternating *iqṭā'*s. However, as the above six examples indicate, *iqṭā'*s were often granted according to the amirs' requests in the early Mamluk period. We have already mentioned that the Ayyubid amirs likewise had their requests fulfilled both concerning *iqṭā'* grants and holding transfers. Concerning the number of followers (*mamlūk* or *jund*) an amir was required to maintain, we find varying numbers of 300, 120, 100, 60 and 30 cavalrymen, which contrast with the established military system after the early fourteenth century; i.e., amirs of 100 (*amīr mi'a*), of 40 (*amīr ṭablkhāna*) and of 10 (*amīr 'ashara*).⁴ Accordingly, we may conclude that *iqṭā'* assignments and the military system during the reign of Baybars had features rather similar to those of the Ayyubid period.

¹ Al-Bīra was a town on the Euphrates, north of Aleppo. During the Mamluk period it played an important role, being located on the frontier (*thaghr al-Islām*) facing the Mongols. See *Yāqūt*, I, 526; *Taqwīm*, 269; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, p.423; Khoweiter, *Baibars*, p.204.

² *Rawḍ*, 55-56; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.56r-v; *Mufarrij*, fol.404v. Al-Maqrīzī says that what was granted at this time was an *iqṭā'* of not 60 but 70 cavalrymen (*Sulūk*, I, 475-476). But other sources relate that it was an *iqṭā'* of 60 cavalrymen. According to Amitai-Preiss, it is from the time of al-Burli's submission that al-Bīra came under the sultan's control (*Mongols and Mamluks*, p.61).

³ *Ta'rikh al-Zāhir*, 332.

⁴ Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," p.471. During the Bahrī Mamluk period, the Turkish soldiers, when they were given the ranks of amir and allocated *iqṭā'*s, had the custom to put on tall headgears (*sharbūsh*) granted by the sultan (*Khīṭaṭ*, II, 99). For example, in 705/1306 when three soldiers at Damascus were given the ranks of amir and granted the *iqṭā'*s of Jibāl al-Jardhayin and al-Kisrwanīyīn, they paraded on horse with *sharbūsh* (*'Iqd al-Jumān*, IV, 380). See also R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845; repr., Beirut, n.d., pp.220-224.

The Management and Control of Iqtā'

How did amirs manage the *iqtā'*s granted to them by the sultan? Take the following account from *Ṣubḥ* by al-Qalqashandī.

The empire is based on the principle (*qā'idat al-mamlaka*) that soldiers serving amirs (*ajnād al-umarā'*) are all registered at the military office (*dīwān al-juyūsh*), where their names are classified and arranged. That is to say, these soldiers have been controlled directly by the central office, but now [end of the fourteenth century] the related documents have been scattered and lost. Consequently, the lists of soldiers have come to be drawn out by the amir's office (*dīwān al-amīr*), which submits a copy to the central office. When a soldier dies or is omitted from military service (*khidma*), a substitute is found through registration at the amir's office.¹

This citation reveals a transformation in the registration of soldiers, which had originally been put under the direct control of the central office, but which came to be carried out by *dīwān al-amīr*. According to al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), the soldiers' names, their *iqtā'* holdings, income in cash and kind, and amir's private domain (*khāṣṣa*) were written down in the registration documents.² Therefore, whether they were composed by the central office or the amir's office, the documents were of sufficient value to inform the authorities of the real conditions of the soldiers supported by the amirs.

On the other hand, al-Subkī relates that *dīwān al-amīr* was required to treat the peasants fairly,³ meaning that the amir's office was the core mechanism for managing his *iqtā'* and the peasants who resided there. On the origin of *dīwān al-amīr*, an early account is given by al-Maqrīzī.

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 62. On the *dīwān al-amīr*, see *Muqaffā*, I, 328, 338, 562, 585; II, 19-20; IV, 11; *Manhal*, I, 75; III, 389; V, 349.

² *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 206-207. Al-Maqrīzī relates that during the Mamluk period amirs took one-third of their *iqtā'* revenue, while two-third of it went to their soldiers (*jund*) (*Khīṭaṭ*, II, 216). However, the account cited here shows that the soldiers were granted either *iqtā'* or stipends in cash and kind. On the *iqtā'* holdings by soldiers serving amirs, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir says that when Baybars arrested two amirs, i.e. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī and Shams al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Burli, he approved of *iqtā'* holdings by their *mamluks* and attendants (*Rawḍ*, 80).

³ *Mu'id*, 29. To take an example of *dīwān al-amīr* in Syria, Shādhī al-Malik al-Awḥad Ibn al-Amīr Taqī al-Dīn (d.705/1305-6), who had served amir Aqūsh al-Afram al-Jarkasi in Damascus, was appointed as manager of his *dīwān* to administer his personal affairs (*Dāris*, II, 248; *Durar*, I, 424-426).

The sultan (Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn) abolished the amirs' protection rights (*himāya*), returned the *iqṭā'*s to the original holders, and placed them all outside the jurisdiction of the amir's office (*dīwān al-amīr*). The first to establish *dīwān al-amīr* was Sayf al-Dīn Mankūtāmūr, the vice-sultan (*nā'ib al-salṭana*).¹

The passage refers to the Ḥusāmī rawk in 698/1298, to which Mankūtāmūr was appointed as superintendent. Since it was in 696/1297 that he was granted the rank of amir,² we may well suppose that Mankūtāmūr set up his *dīwān* between 696/1297 and 698/1298. However, Ibn al-Furāt has the following to say in 692/1293:

When ṣāhib Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Sal'ūs investigated Upper Egypt, he found that the *dīwān* of amir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā claimed incomes from *iqṭā'*, commodities (*mushtarawāt*) and protection fees (*himāya*), which exceeded the government's income. He found also that Baydarā's granary (*shūna*) was filled with crops, while the government granaries (*al-shuwan al-sulṭāniya*) were empty.³

This account confirms that *dīwān al-amīr* was evidently set up before Mankūtāmūr. Since amir Baydarā was appointed governor of Upper Egypt except al-Fayyūm in 680/1281,⁴ he probably held his *dīwān* fairly before the year 692/1293. On the other hand, we can not overlook the possibility that *dīwān al-amīr* had been already set up during the reign of Baybars; but the first instance we can find in the historical sources is in the year of 692/1293.

According to Rabie, *dīwān al-amīr*'s staff was composed of *wakīl* (tax collector), *shādd* or *mushidd*, who had the duties of collecting unpaid taxes, managing cultivation and punishing criminals, and *khawlī al-baḥr*, who managed the local irrigation system.⁵ *Khawlī al-baḥr*, however, should be considered not as an *iqṭā'* manager, but as a local

¹ *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 88.

² *Sulūk*, I, 826-827.

³ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 154. On Baydarā's *dīwān* in Egypt, see also *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fols.174-175; *Muqaffā*, II, 563. He had also his *dīwān* at Damascus (*Muqaffā*, IV, 11).

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 699; *Tālī*, 58; *Ṣafadī*, X, 360-362. Al-Maqrīzī calls him Badr al-Dīn Baydar al-Manṣūrī, but he probably mistook Baydar for Baydarā.

⁵ Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.66-67.

official, because he was assigned *rizaq* land in the village.¹ Among the sources during the Mamluk period we can find the following other staff members: director (*ṣāhib*) or supervisor (*nāzir*),² steward (*ustādār*),³ granary manager (*shādd al-shūna*),⁴ scribe (*kātib*),⁵ notary public (*shāhid*)⁶ and financier (*mustawfi*).⁷ This personnel, as well as the government officials, were generally called “*mubāshirs*.”⁸ For example, we find the following in *Ṣubḥ*:

This (land survey) custom is as follows: the scribe responsible for the land tax in a district (*kātib kharāj al-nāhiya*) calls out *khawlī al-qānūn* in the village to register the basin (*aḥwād*, pl. of *ḥawḍ*) for peasants per every fixed area. Based on these documents registration certificates (*awrāq al-musajjil*) are composed, and these are sent to the *iqṭā'* holder's office (*dīwān ṣāhib al-iqṭā'*) for safe keeping. When the crops are ripe, the *mubāshirs* go out from the *muqṭa'*'s gate and survey the land contracted in *qabāla*⁹ to peasants. Then they record the principal tax (*aṣl*) in the land register (*fundāq*).¹⁰

The *mubāshirs* found in the above passage seem to indicate the staff members of *dīwān al-amīr*, who were in charge of collecting *iqṭā'* revenue from peasants. Other than tax collection, they were also responsible for

¹ *Rizaq* was that assigned to such persons as the village headman (*shaykh*), overseer (*khawlī*), carpenter (*najjār*) or preacher (*khaṭīb*). On this kind of land holding, see Chapter 8-(1).

² To give an example, the great qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad was *nāzir dīwān al-amīr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Kāfi (d.738/1337-8) in Damascus (*Ta'rikh Jalil*, III, fol.602). See also *Manhal*, VI, 16; *Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, I, 291.

³ *Sulūk*, II, 401. Rabie relates that after 679/1281, the *wakīl* seems to have been replaced by the *ustādār* (*The Financial System*, p.66). But it is doubtful whether such a drastic change took place after the year 679/1281.

⁴ *Sulūk*, II, 401.

⁵ *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 23; *Muqaffā*, I, 250; II, 19-20.

⁶ *Sulūk*, II, 401-402.

⁷ *Manhal*, V, 21.

⁸ According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, amir Sayf al-Dīn Baktamur (d.738/1337), who had many estates (*milk*) in every town in Egypt and Syria, held *dīwān* there with *mubāshirūn* (*Manhal*, III, 389).

⁹ *Qabāla* indicates the contract for cultivation done by peasants after the annual irrigation project in Egypt. See Chapter 8-(2).

¹⁰ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 454. Ibn Mammāṭī calls *fundāq* as *qundāq* (*Ibn Mammāṭī*, 305). cf. Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, pp.39, 50. Frantz-Murphy says that *qundāq* may be a Arabization of the Greek *kontagion* (roll) (*The Agrarian Administration*, p.36).

lending seed (*taqāwī*) to peasants and maintaining the irrigation system in the district. Among the *mubāshirs* the *muqta*'s agent (*wakīl* or *nā'ib*) was given the principal duty for managing his master's *iqṭā'* like in the Ayyubid period.¹ This will be discussed also in Chapter Five.

Most amirs resided in such big cities as Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus and Aleppo, but they did not always leave *iqṭā'* management to their agents. Not a few instances in this period show that amirs, as well as other *muqta*'s, visited their *iqṭā*'s whenever necessary, thus, inheriting an earlier practice. For example, Baybars during his amirate went to his *iqṭā'*, Nābulus, with the sultan's permission,² and amir Sanjar stayed at his *iqṭā'*, Ba'labakk, for ten years until his death in 669/1270.³ Sultan Khalīl (689–693/1290–93), while he was enjoying hunting (*ṣayd*) with his *mamlūks* in 693/1293, gave permission to the great amirs to visit their *iqṭā*'s.⁴ This was a conventional practice to prevent coup d'états by amirs in the sultan's absence.⁵ Furthermore, al-Udfuwī gives accounts that an amir conciliated a land dispute which occurred at Jabalayn in Upper Egypt,⁶ and another *muqta*' set about to investigate land rent disputes raised by the *qāḍī* of the village of Damāmīn near Qūṣ.⁷

These cases reveal that amirs during the early Mamluk period maintained rather close contact with their *iqṭā*'s, participating in the everyday life of villagers in various ways. Consequently, in order to keep their rulerships, *muqta*'s were required to render justice (*'adl*), without which they could not rely on the *'ulamā*'s support in provincial society. For example, Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was co-holder (*sharīk*) with his father of an *iqṭā'* in the district of Beirut, lost his share to his brother, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, because he was unsuccessful in attaining support from the people in their *iqṭā'*.⁸ Al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338) also gives a critical account of amir Lājīn al-Jūkandār, who held two

¹ See pp.72-73.

² *Rawḍ*, 8.

³ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 459; *Manhal*, VI, 67. Amir Aqūsh al-'Atrīs, who was granted Aswān as *iqṭā'* in 719/1319, stayed at 'Aydhāb (*Muqaffā*, II, 231-232). See also *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fols.224, 265.

⁴ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 167.

⁵ *Sulūk*, II, 196-197, 351. In 731/1330-1 when Sultan al-Nāṣir visited for hunting the provinces of Lower Egypt, he ordered to investigate the provinces of Siryāqūs, al-Manūfiya, al-Buḥayra etc. (*Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.264).

⁶ *Udfuwī*, 185.

⁷ *Udfuwī*, 28.

⁸ *Ta'rikh Bayrūt*, 149.

villages in Lebanon, Baṭnā and Zibdīn, as *iqṭā'*, gave luxury banquets (*simāt*) repeatedly even in the lean year of 659/1261.¹ Incidentally, *dīwān al-amīr*'s staff was often chosen from among the Copts who had inherited the knowledge and techniques of administration,² and at the same time the '*ulamā*' were also employed to collect *iqṭā'* revenue as well as serving as representatives for the state treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*).³ That is to say, the '*ulamā*' played a positive role even in the local provinces to support the Mamluk regime. As Garcin states,⁴ Egyptian amirs constructed many schools and mosques in the provincial towns and donated money and goods to local influentials, which actions were apparently the means for getting support from the '*ulamā*'.

3. Measures Taken against the Mamluks and Ajnād al-Ḥalqa

The Mamluks in Syria

Although the local cities and their environs were distributed to amirs in Egypt and Syria, the typical character of the *iqṭā'* system during that period may be observed in the *iqṭā'* holdings of the *mamlūks* and *ajnād*

¹ *Mukhtār min al-Jazarī*, 265-266.

² Rabie takes an example of the Copts employed by amir Arghūn (*The Financial System*, pp.67-68). Here I give other examples of the Coptic officials: al-Tāj Ibn Sa'īd al-Dawla, who was employed by amir Baybars, managed all the affairs with his talent for secretariat (*kitāba*) (*Nuzhat al-Umam*, fol.93v). Karīm al-Dīn al-Bakīr Abū al-Faḍā'il (d.724/1324), who was a Coptic convert to Islam, served also amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh as his scribe (*kātib*) and changed his service to amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Ashrafī, Wālī Qūṣ ('*Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.383r-v). See also *Nuzhat al-Anām*, fol.78v; *Muqaffā*, IV, 426-433; VI, 516-520. D. Richards also relates that many a Coptic official, who began in the *dīwān* of an emir's household, rose to the highest positions in the state in proportion as his master's position improved ("The Coptic Bureaucracy under the Mamlūks," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, Cairo, 1969, p.374).

³ *Udfuwī*, 74, 75, 81, 114, 177-178, 187, 191, 227, 339, 386. To give some examples, al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā studied law from Tāj al-Dīn al-Qushayrī, and became a notary public ('*ādil*') at Qūṣ. He had acquired also the knowledge of land survey (*misāha*) (*ibid.*, 114). And qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, who died at al-Fayyūm in 735/1334-5, was a notary public (*shāhid*) to the government sugar refinery (*maṭbakh al-sukkar al-sultānī*). He had full knowledge of calculation (*ḥisāb*) and writing (*kitāba*) as well as experience and manliness (*murū'a*) (*Ta'rikh Jalil*, III, fol.435). Further, we find the same examples in the provincial administration in Syria under the Mamluks (*Durrat al-Aslāk*, I, fols.220, 224, 281).

⁴ Garcin, *Qūṣ*, pp.257-258.

al-ḥalqa. In 652/1254 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Ṣāḥib Dimashq, recognized that the *iqṭā'*s in the Syrian coastlands of al-Sāḥil continued to be held by the Baḥrī Mamluks.¹ Amir Baybars's comrades (*khush-dāshīya*) were also *iqṭā'* holders in Ghazza and al-Sāḥil, when he himself became the *muqṭa'* of Nābulus.² This shows that the Baḥrī Mamluks had close connections with the district of al-Sāḥil from the early Mamluk period.

However, the Baḥrī Mamluks were not the only *muqṭa'*s in the district of al-Sāḥil. Al-'Azīziya (the old *mamlūks* formed by al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad, prince of Aleppo) and al-Nāṣiriya (the new *mamlūks* formed by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-'Azīz) also found their way to al-Sāḥil. That is to say, al-'Azīziya and al-Nāṣiriya, who had been *muqṭa'*s of Aleppo and its surrounding villages, revolted against Nā'ib Ḥalab in 659/1261 to make their leader Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Jūkandār al-'Azīzī its new governor.³ However, al-Jūkandār, hearing the news of the Mongol's return to Aleppo, fled to Egypt alone, thus forcing al-'Azīziya and al-Nāṣiriya to retreat from Aleppo. It is said that some fled to al-Sāḥil and were granted *iqṭā'*s there.⁴ As stated above, amir Baybars also came to Ghazza with the Baḥrī Mamluks fleeing Sultan Aybak's pursuit.⁵ Consequently, it may well be thought that the various Mamluk groups were, in most cases, assigned al-Sāḥil as *iqṭā'* during their "dark days." Also, quite a number of Mongols called *al-Wāfidiya*, as we shall see later, settled in al-Sāḥil; and Kurdish and Turkman emigrants were also forced to seek refuge there. From these examples we learn that the early Mamluk government maintained a consistent policy forcing unwelcome groups into al-Sāḥil, which faced the Crusaders.⁶

However, the *mamlūks* during the reign of Sultan Baybars held *iqṭā'*s in other places as well. For example, in 659/1261 Baybars assigned Baysān to amir Shams al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Burli, and an *iqṭā'* to his *mamlūk*

¹ *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 164; *Sulūk*, I, 393.

² *Rawḍ*, 8.

³ *Rawḍ*, 33-34; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.42v. On the *mamlūks* of al-'Azīziya and al-Nāṣiriya, see Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp.316-317.

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 33-34; *Nuwayrī*, XXVIII, fol.10.

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 392; Khoweiter, *Baibars*, pp.13-14.

⁶ Concerning 300 Turkmans settled on the coast between Beirut and Antioch, Amitai-Preiss relates that the governor of Damascus gave them *iqṭā'āt*, so that they would patrol the shorelands and roads (*Mongols and Mamluks*, p.70).

Qijqār.¹ According to al-Maqrizī, the amir's *mamlūk* received an *iqṭā'* from the sultan in 678/1280, the first of its kind in the history of the *iqṭā'* system of Egypt and Syria.² Therefore, the above example does not coincide with al-Maqrizī's description. Similar accounts are found in other historical sources: Baybars al-Manṣūrī relates that he himself was first granted *khubz* (*iqṭā'*) in place of stipends in 671/1272-3 when he was about twenty-five years old.³ Furthermore, when Baybars arrested two amirs, (i.e. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī and Shams al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Burli) he approved the *iqṭā'* holdings by their *mamlūks* and attendants (*khāṣṣa*).⁴

As for Baybars's own *mamlūks*, we know of only one example of an *iqṭā'* grant after his conquest of Ṣafad in 664/1265-6:

He (Baybars) disposed fifty-four horsemen from his *mamlūks* there and gave them *iqṭā'*s. Then he appointed amir 'Alā' al-Dīn Kundughdī as their leader, Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭawrī as the *wālī* of the citadel, and 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-'Alā'ī as the *nā'ib* of this district.⁵

The Mamluk corps organized by Baybars was called "al-Zāhiriya" after his title "al-Malik al-Zāhir". As their leader 'Alā' al-Dīn Kundughdī had the same *nisba*,⁶ he was evidently an amir from the Zāhirī Mamluks. According to al-Qalqashandī,⁷ most of the sultan's *mamlūks*, though rarely holding a village or less individually, shared a village or more cooperatively. Unfortunately, there remains no information to show exactly the amount of *iqṭā'* revenue which went to the *mamlūks* during the reign of Baybars. To take an example from later times, the *iqṭā'* revenue of a sultan's *mamlūk* varied from 800 to 1,000 dīnār jayshī just before the Nāsirī rawk in 715/1315.⁸ In any case, one learns from the

¹ *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.50v. At this time amir Shams al-Dīn Aqūsh was the *muqta'* of Nābulus, while Baybars prior to the enthronement also held Nābulus until he was reconciled with Quṭuz in 658/1260 (*Akhhār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 169; *Kutubī*, I, 161). Consequently, it may be thought that Aqūsh became the *muqta'* of Nābulus after the year 658/1260. But it is also possible that Baybars held half of Nābulus while Aqūsh held the remainder, as al-Maqrizī relates (*Sulūk*, I, 415).

² *Sulūk*, I, 673.

³ *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.78r.

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 80.

⁵ *A'lāq-Lubnān*, 150. cf. *Kanz*, VIII, 117; *Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il*, 149-150; *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 343.

⁶ *Ibn al-Furāt C*, I, 103.

⁷ *Ṣubh*, III, 453-454.

⁸ *Sulūk*, II, 146. See also pp.133, 156.

available sources that *iqṭā'*s of the *mamlūks* during the reign of Baybars were mainly located in Syria, while most of the *mamlūks* in Egypt received their stipends in cash. Therefore, during this period, it was not necessarily urgent for the sultan to give *iqṭā'*s to the *mamlūks* in order to establish his authority.

Employment of Ajnād al-Ḥalqa and the 'Urbān

Ajnād al-ḥalqa, whose power was at its height during the reign of Saladin, maintained their influence even in the early Mamluk period.¹ For example, al-Maqrīzī describes an account of the year 680/1281:

[*Ajnād*] *al-ḥalqa* of Sultan Qalāwūn, whose number increased to 4,000, were most influential, while the sultan's *mamluks* remain at only 800. Moreover, many of the Kurdish and Turkman amirs were included in the army (*'askar*) along with the Egyptian and Syrian amirs.²

The *iqṭā'* revenue of a *ḥalqa* cavalryman varied from 1,000 to 3,000 *dīnār jayshī*,³ indicating that *ajnād al-ḥalqa* in that period surpassed the *mamlūks* in *iqṭā'* holdings. Although we have no information concerning the *iqṭā'* revenue of *ajnād al-ḥalqa* during the reign of Baybars, it should not be conjectured that the status of *ajnād al-ḥalqa* was inferior to what it was during the later Qalawunid period (678–689/1279–90), because the influence of *ajnād al-ḥalqa* decreased gradually as time went on.

This is confirmed also by the examination of the *iqṭā'* holdings of amirs from *ajnād al-ḥalqa*. To give a few examples, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Hakkārī, the Kurdish amir, was granted *khubz* (i.e. *iqṭā'*) in Aleppo and Damascus in 659/1261,⁴ and in 663/1265 was appointed Nā'ib Ḥalab, a position which he kept until 677/1279.⁵ When another Kurdish amir Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qaymarī died in 662/1264, his *iqṭā'* of hundred horsemen (*iqṭā' mi'at ṭawāshī*) was inherited by his son.⁶ Shihāb al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Qaymarī, who was also one of the influential Kurdish amirs during

¹ Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," pp.448-449.

² *Sulūk*, I, 693.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 846; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 88.

⁴ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 91.

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 540, 650.

⁶ *Rawḍ*, 96; *Sulūk*, I, 509.

the last years of the Ayyubid dynasty, was gradually forced to become an unemployed soldier (*baṭṭāl*) allotted 20 dirhams every day, but in 673/1274-5 Baybars gave him the *iqṭā'* of forty horsemen in the district of Damascus.¹ Added to these examples, the *iqṭā'* holdings of the 'Urbān and *al-Wāfidīya*, some of whom were included in *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*, illustrate that the *iqṭā'* holdings of *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* amounted to a considerable number of the examples we know of.

According to A. N. Poliak, the 'Urbān were Arabs who maintained a half sedentary and half settled life in hamlets (*kafr*, pl. *kufūr*) around the villages;² but, since al-Qalqashandī or al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) uses the term in a broad sense to include the pure Bedouins,³ it would probably be more appropriate to consider the life-style of the 'Urbān as varying in reality from cattle breeding to agriculture. In 651/1253 Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Tha'lab al-Ja'farī revolted in Upper Egypt in command of 13,000 'Urbān, cutting off the roads and interrupting the activity of merchants.⁴ In opposition to the newly established Mamluk regime, he insisted that the 'Urbān were the very owners of the country, and therefore had more right to rule than foreign slave *mamlūks*.⁵ In 660/1262, the 'Urbān revolted again in Upper Egypt killing 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥawwāsh, the governor of Qūṣ.⁶

Sultan Baybars, despite sending armies to suppress these revolts, tried to involve the 'Urbān in the new regime with various measures. He gave them cash ('*ayn*), provisions (*iqāma*) and clothing (*qumāsh*),⁷ but the most important was the grant of *iqṭā'* and the rank of amir

¹ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, III, 85; *Nathr al-Jumān*, II, fol.156r-v. Karāy, a Mongol amir, when al-Nāṣir resigned from the sultanate in 708/1309, abandoned his *iqṭā'* and stayed at Jerusalem to make a living on his privately owned land (*milk*) (*Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, II, 223).

² A. N. Poliak, "Les révoltes populaires en Égypte à l'époque des Mamelouks," *REI*, 8(1934), p.258.

³ Concerning the 'Urbān in Egypt and Syria, see the following sources and articles: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān*; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 67-72, 203-215; id., *Nihāyat al-Arab*; id., *Qalā'id al-Jumān*; al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, III; A. Saleh, "Les migrations bédouines en Égypte au moyen âge," *Annali (Istituto Orientale di Napoli)*, 41(1981), pp.1-33.

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 5; *Bayān*, 9-10, 38; Garcin, *Qūṣ*, pp.184-185; Poliak, "Les révoltes," p.260. The Tha'lab tribe under Ḥiṣn al-Dīn had influence in Ushmūnayn in Upper Egypt (*Ṣubḥ*, IV, 68; Kahḥāla, *Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, vol.1, p.143).

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 386.

⁶ *Rawḍ*, 52; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.55r; *Mufarrij*, fol.402v.

⁷ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 204.

(*imāra*). As has already been pointed out by M. A. Hiyari, the Ayyubid Sultan al-‘Ādil (596–615/1200–18) first granted *imāra* to the chief of the ‘*Urbān* in Syria.¹ To give some examples in the Mamluk period, in 658/1260 Baybars appointed a group of ‘*Urbān* to the amir status of *ṭablkhāna*,² and in the next year he gave the amirs of al-Zubayd tribe in Syria both gifts (‘*aṭā*’) and *iqṭā*’ after the suppression of their revolt.³ He also granted *iqṭā*’s in Egypt and Syria to the amirs of the ‘*Urbān* in al-Ḥijāz after they swore allegiance to the sultan.⁴ According to al-Qalqashandī,⁵ *iqṭā*’s granted to the ‘*Urbān* were called “*iqṭā*’ of reliance (i’*tidād*),” where the holder was not required to go on a military expedition under the command of the sultan. However, the above-mentioned examples of amir appointment to the *ṭablkhāna* (amir of 40 horsemen) show that in reality they did not always follow the ordinary rule of non-expedition.

Baybars, who suppressed the revolt of the Zubaydī tribe in 659/1261, carried out the following policy concerning the ‘*Urbān*:

In this year the sultan wrote up a document assigning the leadership (*manshūr al-imra*) of all the ‘*Urbān* [in Syria] to amir Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Īsā b. Muhannā. Then he called out amirs (*umarā’ al-‘Arab*) to give them *iqṭā*’s and stipends. In return for this, duties of the provincial guard (*khafṛ al-bilād*) and the maintenance of the roads leading to the border of al-‘Irāq were imposed on them.⁶

Ibn Shaddād states that Baybars granted to ‘Īsā b. Muhannā Sarmin and half of Salamiya as *iqṭā*’.⁷ ‘Īsā was the chief of the Faḍl family, which

¹ M. A. Hiyari, “The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries,” *BSOAS*, 38(1975), pp.512-516.

² *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.47r.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 464-465. The Banū Zubayd, Yamanite Arabs who emigrated to Syria, branched off into Zubayd al-Ghūṭa, Zubayd Ḥawrān and Zubayd al-Aḥlāf (*Ṣubḥ*, IV, 214). See Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam Qabā’il al-‘Arab*, vol.2, p.464.

⁴ *Ta’rikh al-Zāhir*, 330.

⁵ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 489.

⁶ *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.51r. See also *Nuwayrī*, XXVIII, fol.11; *Qalā’id*, 74, 79; *Ta’rīf*, 111-112. Al-Maqrīzī also describes the guard of the local districts not as “*khafṛ al-bilād*” but as “*darak al-bilād*” in the account of the same policy by Sultan Baybars (*Sulūk*, I, 465).

⁷ *Ta’rikh al-Zāhir*, 291, 333-334. See also *Masālik*, III, fols.14v, 16r. According to al-Maqrīzī, Sultan Qūṭuz granted Salamiya to ‘Īsā b. Muhannā in 658/1260 (*Sulūk*,

had branched off from the Rabī'a tribe, and their pasturelands extended from Ḥimṣ to the Furāt basin near al-Raḥba.¹ The Rabī'a tribe in Syria had two branch families other than the Āl Faḍl: one was the Āl Mirā who pastured from al-Jawlān to the Arabian peninsula, the other the Āl 'Alī who settled in al-Ghūṭa outside Damascus.² Among these three families, the Āl Faḍl was the most esteemed, since its chief had been granted the rank of amir since the Ayyubid period. It is said that he used to put on a satin gown (*tashrif atlas*) like a governor (*nā'ib*) when he went to see the sultan.³ Baybars, by assigning the leadership of the Syrian 'Urbān to the chief of this distinguished family, entrusted him with guarding and controlling Northern Syria. After 'Īsā b. Muḥannā died in 683/1284-5, his status, *amīr al-'Arab*, was inherited by his son, Ḥusām al-Dīn Muḥannā, who kept control of the 'Urbān successfully until the first half of the fourteenth century.⁴

As mentioned above, the 'Urbān were required to send auxiliary troops to the sultan in times of emergency. For example, when Baybars made an expedition to Khaybar in 662/1264, he ordered the governor of al-Karak to mobilize the amirs of 'Urbān and the Baḥrī Mamluks stationed at al-Karak.⁵ Westwards, in 669/1270-1 Baybars, receiving the news of the Crusaders' attack on Tūnis, commanded the 'Urbān in al-Barqa to send reinforcements and to dig wells on roadsides.⁶ In 672/1273-4 he gave orders to mobilize the Egyptian army and the 'Urbān against the Mongols under Abaghā.⁷ However, the duties of the 'Urbān during that time were not confined to military service. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir relates in an account of the year 661/1263:

I, 433; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p.47). In the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir, his grandson, Muḥannā b. 'Īsā, was also granted the village Dūma in Ghūṭat Dimashq as *iqṭā'* (*Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 208-210, 337-338; *Iqd al-Jumān*, IV, 343-344; *Durrat al-Aslāk*, II, fol.73r).

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 204; *Masālik*, III, fol.15v; *Qalā'id*, 76; *Nihāya*, 98; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, vol.3, p.922.

² *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 208-210; *Qalā'id*, 80-81; *Ta'rīf*, 111-112.

³ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 205.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 120-121; *Ibar*, V, 344; *Durrat al-Aslāk*, I, fols.152, 246; *Muqaffā*, VI, 437; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.247; *Manhal*, II, 237.

⁵ *Rawḍ*, 118. It is said that at the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt (658/1260) Sultan Quṭuz prepared for war collecting horsemen and infantry from the 'Urbān other than the regular army (*Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.38v; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p.36).

⁶ *Sulūk*, I, 590.

⁷ *Sulūk*, I, 610.

Sultan [Baybars] investigated the Turkman amirs and gave them gowns. Then he called out the amirs of the 'Ābid, Jarm and Tha'laba tribes to levy taxes ('*idād*) on them. He also imposed on them postal duties (*barīd*), for which they had to provide horses.¹

Here the 'Ābid refers to a family belonging to Āl Faḍl in Syria,² and the Jarm were also '*Urbān* living in the mountains stretching from Ghazza to the coastland of al-Sāhil.³ The Tha'laba was a family belonging to the Ṭayyi', who settled on the coastland from Egypt to Kharrūba near 'Akkā.⁴

The Egyptian '*Urbān*, as well as the Syrian '*Urbān*, were also required to provide horses for the post (*barīd*). This may be inferred from al-Qalqashandī's description that the '*Urbān* in al-Buḥayra and al-Sharqīya undertook the defence (*darak*) of their own districts and the supply of horses for the postal service (*barīd*).⁵ From the Ayyubid to the Mamluk periods, Sunbis, a branch of the Ṭayyi', lived in the province of al-Buḥayra,⁶ while Tha'laba and Judhām exerted influence in the province of al-Sharqīya.⁷ It is therefore probably these '*Urbān* who undertook to provide horses for the *barīd* in Egypt.

It was in 659/1261 that Sultan Baybars began to reform the *barīd* system connecting Egypt and Syria. Postal horses (*khayl al-barīd*), stablemen (*sā'is*) and drivers (*sawwāq*) were assigned to every station. This enabled riders to go, for example, from Cairo to Damascus in four days, and from Cairo to Alexandria in two days.⁸ The sultan in Cairo,

¹ *Rawḍ*, 65. The '*idād* meant zakāt collected from the Arabs and Turkmans (*Sulūk*, I, 481, n.6). That 'Īsā b. Muhannā provided horses to Baybars is also mentioned in *Masālik*, III, fol.15r. cf. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p.67.

² *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 205; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, vol.2, p.699.

³ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 211. Near Arsūf in al-Sāhil there was an extensive pastureland regarded as suitable for giving horses rest in winter (*al-Tuḥfat al-Mulūkīya*, fol.20v).

⁴ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 212. Kharrūba was the citadel looking down on 'Akkā (*Yāqūt*, II, 362; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p.485).

⁵ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 211; *Ḥusn al-Manāqib*, 55-56. Al-Nuwayrī also states, "Horses and camels to be provided for the sultan's stables (*al-iṣṭablāt al-sulṭānīya*) and the camel stations (*munākhāt*) are registered in the name of Turkmans and Arabs. On the other hand, the '*Urbān* in Egypt are ordered to supply provisions imposed for the exchange of *iqṭā'* grants and horses for the *barīd* in the centers of the districts" (*Nuwayrī*, VIII, 201).

⁶ *Bayān*, 9; *Nihāya*, 276; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, vol.2, p.557.

⁷ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 69; *Nihāya*, 183.

⁸ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 227; *Rawḍ*, 32; *Ta'rīf*, 245-246. Al-'Umārī says that his uncle, Sharaf

via the news sent to him twice a week through the *barīd* system, could know exactly what was happening in the provinces, leading to the establishment of the centralized political system.¹ It was indispensable for the maintenance of this regime that the 'Urbān continue to provide horses and camels. Since the 'Urbān often rose in rebellion, it may well be said that in order to strengthen his power, it was very effective for the sultan to include the 'Urbān in the regime by imposing on them the defence of the boundaries and the supply of horses and camels for the *barīd*.

Adoption of the Wāfidiya

The Mongols and other foreigners who emigrated to Syria and Egypt around the middle of the thirteenth century were called *al-Wāfidiya*, or *al-Musta'minūn*. Baybars as well as the last Ayyubid sultans received them more or less cordially, and introduced Mongol customs into Mamluk military society.² D. Ayalon, who first studied the *Wāfidiya* in detail, was not all that thorough in his analysis of their *iqṭā'* holdings.³ Therefore, let us first look at their *iqṭā'* holdings chronologically.

In 641/1243-4 the Khwārizmiya, who fled to Syria from the Mongols, were granted the district of Jerusalem as *iqṭā'*;⁴ but, when they were transferred to al-Sāhil two years later, the Khwārizmiya, who were not content with their reward, plundered the Syrian cities and villages repeatedly. Consequently, they were attacked by the sultan's army and forced to disperse into the provinces of al-Karak, Nābulus and Aleppo.⁵

al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad, advised Sultan Baybars to reform the *barīd* system giving example in the Abbasid period (*Ta'rif*, 242).

¹ *Rawḍ*, 32; *Sulūk*, I, 446-447; 'Uqūd al-Jumān, fol.13r-v; *Nashq*, I, fols.131v-132r. As for the reformation of the *barīd* system by Sultan Baybars, see the following studies: J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris, 1941, pp.10-41; S. F. Sadeque, "Development of al-Barid or Mail-post during the Reign of Baybars I of Egypt (1260-1276A.D.)," *JASP*, 14(1969), pp.167-183; Khoweiter, *Baibars*, pp.42-43; *EI*,^a s.v. Barīd.

² A. N. Poliak, "The Influence of Chingiz-Khān's Yāsa upon the General Organisation of the Mamluk State," *BSOAS*, 10(1942), pp.862-875; D. Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz-Khān; a re-examination," *SI*, 33-34, 36, 38(1971-73), pp.97-140, 151-180, 113-158, 107-156.

³ D. Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *IC*, 25(1951), pp.89-104.

⁴ *Ibn al-Furāt C*, I, 77.

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 321, 324; *Ibar*, V, 181-182; *Tuhfat al-Albāb*, II, 130-131; *Nuzhat al-Anām*, fols.56v, 62r-v; *Dāris*, I, 21, 316; II, 282-285; *Mukhtār al-Akhhār*, 197-198, 201-202. It is said that in 644/1246-7 when Baraka Khān, chief of the Khwārizmiya,

Next, in 657/1259, 3,000 Kurdish Shahrazūriya, who emigrated to al-Karak from Hulagu's domain, were ordered to go to al-Sāhil.¹ According to Ibn Shaddād, over 40,000 families of Turkman tribes were allowed to settle at al-Sāhil on condition that they recover their *iqṭā'* lands from the Crusaders.² From the above examples we come to the same conclusion as these reached previously concerning the *iqṭā'* holdings of the *mamlūks*: *iqṭā'* grants and settlement policy concerning the *Wāfidiya* were not always the result of the sultan's favorable treatment. It is probably more accurate to say that the sultan confined them to the Syrian coast both for fear of revolt and to dispatch them against the Crusaders there.

It was in Dhū al-Ḥijja 660/November 1262 that the Mongols³ first emigrated into the domain of the Mamluk state. In this year 200 Mongols, who had been sent as reinforcements from Berke to Hulagu, arrived at Cairo with their families.⁴ Baybars rejoiced at their arrival and gave them a hearty welcome.

On Saturday the 26th of the month (Dhū al-Ḥijja) a grand feast was given for the Mongols at al-Lūq. Robes of honor were brought to them, and they played polo with the sultan. Then he appointed the influentials among them amirs of a hundred horsemen or less, and settled the rest among the Bahri Mamluks and his own *mamlūks*. Each one of them became like an independent amir attended by soldiers and slaves (*ghilmān*). Benefits were bestowed on them openly and secretly, and lands (*jihār*) from which their stipends were collected were specially allocated to them. Thus they all converted to Islam.⁵

Al-Lūq, where the feast was held, was located near the Zāhiri hippodrome built by Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars on the east bank

was killed, the countries restored safety (*Nuzhat al-Anām*, fol.69r).

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 414; *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 169. The Oirats who emigrated to the Islamic world in 695/1295-6 were also ordered to settle at al-Sāhil (*Rawḍat al-Manāẓir*, fol.123r).

² *Ta'rikh al-Zāhir*, 335. The Arabic text reads "mā yunif 'alā arba'in alf bayt," but we do not understand what "bayt" means exactly.

³ The Mongols were called "al-Mughūl," "al-Mughul" or "al-Tatār," "al-Tatar" in the Arabic sources. See, for example, *Rawḍ*, 58-59; *Nuzha*, 170, 175, 277.

⁴ *Rawḍ*, 58; *Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il*, 100-101; *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 156; *Sulūk*, I, 473-474; *Kanz*, VIII, 91. Ibn Wāṣil alone states that the number of the *Wāfidiya* was not 200 but over 300 (*Mufarrij*, fol.406v).

⁵ *Rawḍ*, 58.

of the Nile.¹ According to the order of the sultan, houses were newly constructed for the *Wāfidiya* there.² As to the lands (*jihāt*) from which their stipends were collected, this probably means, as al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326) says, *khubz*, that is, *iqṭā'*.³ Impressed with such benefits, the second group of Mongols arrived at Cairo in Rajab 661/May 1263,⁴ and then a third group led by Karmūn Aghā, who numbered over 1,300, reached there in Dhū al-Ḥijja 661/November 1263.⁵ Karmūn and fifteen other influentials were granted *iqṭā'*s, and at the same time were appointed *amīr ṭablkhāna*.⁶ Afterwards the Mongols, claiming security (*amān*) under the sultan, continued to emigrate to Egypt until their number increased to approximately 3,000 during the reign of Baybars.⁷

Ayalon says that Baybars's reign is marked by the absence of a single *Wāfidiya* appointed to the rank of amir of a hundred, although several were appointed amir of forty, amir of ten and other lesser ranks.⁸ However, the account of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir quoted above clearly refers to the appointment to the rank of amir of a hundred, and the same is also described in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*.⁹ Consequently, although the example of such an appointment was indeed rare, it would be a mistake to think that not one single appointment was made to that rank during the reign of Baybars. Some of the *Wāfidiya* other than the newly appointed amirs were incorporated into the Mamluk corps, as is revealed in the above-

¹ W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382-1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicle of Egypt*, 2 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955-57, vol.1, p.24, Map 12; D. Ayalon, "Notes on the *Furūsiyya* Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate," in U. Heyd ed., *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, Jerusalem, 1961, p.38.

² *Rawḍ*, 58; *Sulūk*, I, 474; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 345.

³ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 156.

⁴ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 195.

⁵ *Rawḍ*, 85-86. According to Baybars al-Manṣūrī, however, the number of Tartars led by Karmūn Aghā was less than 1,000 (*Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.61r-v). cf. *al-Tuḥfat al-Mulūkīya*, fol.13r.

⁶ *Rawḍ*, 87-88; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.61r-v; *Mukhtār al-Akhbār*, 24. The names of the influentials are listed as follows: Karmūn, Amṭaghay, Nukay, Jabrak, Qanān, Nāshighay, Ṭayshūr, Nabtū, Suḥtay, Jūjlān, Ajqarqā, Arqarq, Karāy, Ṣulāghay, Minqadam and Ṣurāghān.

⁷ *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, II, 195; III, 256-257; *Ta'rīkh al-Zāhir*, 337; Ayalon, "The Wafidiya," p.98.

⁸ Ayalon, "The Wafidiya," pp.98-99.

⁹ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 117.

mentioned account, and others into *ajnad al-ḥalqa*;¹ but it is not clear whether the Mongols who were incorporated into the Mamluk corps became slaves or not.

Incidentally, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir describes in his account that all the *Wāfidiya* in the first group converted to Islam after the grant of *iqṭā’*.² This leads us to the question, in the Mamluk state of those days; was *iqṭā’* granted on condition that the new comers converted to Islam? It is mentioned that the third group of the *Wāfidiya* also converted to Islam and that all of them were circumcised prior to the *iqṭā’* grants.³ According to Ibn Shaddād, Sultan Baybars urged the *Wāfidiya* also to accept Islam persistently.⁴ On the other hand, as to the emigrants of the Crusaders, there remains the following account in *Rawḍ* by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir:

In this year (662/1264) many of the Mongols who had arrived in Egypt embraced Islam at the hand of the sultan. The Franks, who surrendered and were taken prisoners, as well as the Nubians who arrived from their kingdom, did the same. Every day new converts increased to the extent that amir Badr al-Dīn al-Khazindār allocated *iqṭā’*’s totalling 180 horses (cavalrymen) in one hour.⁵

Badr al-Dīn Bilik al-Khazindār al-Zāhirī, who allotted *iqṭā’*’s, was one of the influential amirs acting as the vice-sultan (*nā’ib al-sultān*) for a while after Baybars died in 676/1277.⁶ The account mentioned above shows that the Crusaders who had submitted to the sultan (*al-Firanjīyat al-Musta’minūn*), as well as the Mongols, converted to Islam before any *iqṭā’* was granted to them. In 663/1265 the Crusaders who submitted after the fall of Qaysāriya were also granted *iqṭā’*,⁷ though we have no reliable information whether they became Muslims or not. During the same year, however, when Arsūf was conquered, the son of its ruler and 300 horsemen submitted to the sultan, and after their conversion to Islam, they were assigned *iqṭā’*’s corresponding to those of *ajnad al-ḥalqa*.⁸ After the fall of Ṣafad the next year, one of the two survivors who

¹ *Ta’rikh al-Zāhir*, 335-336; Ayalon, “The Wafidiya,” p.90.

² *Rawḍ*, 58.

³ *Rawḍ*, 87-88; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.61r-v.

⁴ *Ta’rikh al-Zāhir*, 338.

⁵ *Rawḍ*, 99.

⁶ *Ibn al-Furāt C*, I, 215; *Tālī*, 52-53; *Ṣafadī*, X, 365-367.

⁷ *Ibn al-Furāt C*, I, 90; *Sulūk*, I, 528.

⁸ *Ta’rikh al-Zāhir*, 338.

wished to remain under the sultan accepted Islam also and was granted *iqṭā'*.¹

These examples indicate that most of the Mongols and the Crusaders who submitted to the sultan were granted *iqṭā'*'s only after their conversion to Islam. There seems to be no doubt that, if a foreigner converted to Islam, a more profitable grant than otherwise would be given, since the sultan and the '*ulamā*' considered conversion to be preferable. Baybars, as a supporter of a relative of the Abbasids to the caliphate in Cairo, declared himself to be the ruler of the Islamic state. Accordingly, it may well be conjectured that the adoption of the *Wāfidiya* in great numbers and their conversion to Islam led to an increase in his authority as a Muslim ruler.

* * *

Baybars, having established his sovereignty in Egypt, legitimized the authority of the Ayyubid princes (*ṣāhib*) in Syria and al-Jazīra; but he waited for the chance to send Mamluk *nā'ibs* from Cairo to replace any Ayyubid *ṣāhibs* who may have died of natural causes. As for the coastlands under the Crusaders, he also appointed his *nā'ibs* to a city every time it was conquered by force. It was in this manner that Baybars established his rule via his *nā'ibs* throughout Syria by the end of his reign. Small cities and their environs were governed by *wālīs*, who were controlled by these *nā'ibs* through fiscal and administrative authority. On the other hand, in Egypt the Mamluk sultans, like Qūṭuz and Baybars, restored control of the provinces to the *wālīs*, and entrusted them with supervising the *muqṭa*'s and maintaining the irrigation system. Concerning the *iqṭā'* holdings, the *nā'ibs* in Syria, as well as the *wālīs* in Egypt, were allocated *iqṭā'*'s appropriate to their positions.

During this period the amirs were certainly the most important group among the *muqṭa*'s, but we can find besides them the sultan's *mamlūks*, *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, the '*Urbān* and the *Wāfidiya* holding small *iqṭā'*'s in Egypt and Syria. It may be concluded from the contemporary sources that the *iqṭā'* holdings of the *mamlūks* were not politically motivated either in size or number, despite the fact that amirs from the *mamlūks*

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 547-548. Ibn Shihna gives an account that about 10,000 Oirats, who emigrated to the Islamic world in 695/1296, were granted *iqṭā'*'s by Sultan Kitbughā after their conversion to Islam (*Rawḍat al-Manāzīr*, fol.123r; *Durrat al-Aslāk*, I, fol.257).

already held important positions in the central and provincial administration. If anything, during the reign of Baybars it was more important for the sultan to give *iqṭā'*s to the 'Urbān and the *Wāfidiya* in order to make the 'Urbān submit through *iqṭā'* allocations, while at the same time entrusting them with boundary defence and the supply of horses and camels for the *barīd*. It was also generally regarded as preferable that the sultan receive the *Wāfidiya* from the east and advise them to accept Islam prior to any *iqṭā'* grants.

Baybars was first and foremost a distinguished military commander, but he also made the most of his political talents. It is said that he took an interest in history and used to say: "To heed history (*ta'rikh*) is to surpass experience (*tajārib*)."¹ However the predecessor on whom he tried to model himself was not Saladin, but his previous master, Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb.² It is true that he followed in Saladin's path in terms of implementing the *iqṭā'* system and conducting the war against the Crusaders. But he regarded the custom of al-Ṣāliḥ's reign more important in terms of how to rule the conquered lands and establish a regime through *iqṭā'* assignments. Given the Mongol pressure from the east and the immigration of the *Wāfidiya*, the situation confronted by Baybars was very different from that which Saladin had faced.

¹ *Nujūm*, VII, 182; Khoweiter, *Baybars*, p.78.

² *Rawḍ*, 2; *Rawḍ R*, 46-47, 70-71; Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa," *SI*, 36(1972), pp. 157-158. Ibn Taghrībirdī says that the predecessor on whom Baybars tried to model himself was Chinghiz Khān (*Nujūm*, VI, 268-269; VII, 182-183), but it is impossible for us to corroborate this account from the available contemporary sources.

CHAPTER FIVE

A MEMORANDUM TO AMIR KITBUGHĀ

On 1 Dhū al-Ḥijja 679/23 March 1281 al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, the eighth Mamluk sultan (678–689/1279–90), set out from the capital of Cairo to Syria with his whole army to conquer the Hospitallers stationed at al-Marqab. He left his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Alī, in Egypt with amir ‘Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā‘ī as his assistant and appointed amir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī as vice-sultan (*nā’ib al-salṭana*).¹ Sultan Qalāwūn issued a memorandum (*tadhkira*) to amir Kitbughā indicating how to manage and control state affairs in Egypt. This is what is called “A Memorandum to Amir Kitbughā.” The full text is quoted by Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) in his *Ta’rīkh al-Duwal wal-Mulūk*, and part of it by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) in *Ṣubḥ al-A’shā*.² Since the Mamluk state inherited the *iqṭā’* system almost intact from the Ayyubid dynasty, it is interesting to note that the text deals directly and precisely with the *iqṭā’*s and their management. Furthermore, we find crucial problems in the formation of the Mamluk state expressed in the memorandum text, since the memorandum was issued within four years after Baybars’s death.

1. *The Character of the Memorandum*

According to Ibn al-Furāt, the memorandum was composed according to the instruction of Sultan Qalāwūn by qāḍī Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mukarram al-Anṣārī and addressed to amir Kitbughā in 679/1281.³ Al-

¹ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 195-196; *Strat al-Manṣūr*, 80-81; *Sulūk*, I, 684; H. N. al-Ḥajjī, “Salṭanat al-‘Ādil Kitbughā,” *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb wal-Tarbiya*, Kuwait University, 15(1979), p.29. At this expedition, the truce (*hudna*) was conceded to a deputation of the Hospitallers who came to the sultan at al-Ruḥā in the Palestine coastlands. See P. M. Holt, “Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Qalāwūn (678–89/ 1279–90),” *JRAS* (1989), pp.280-281.

² *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 196-200; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 91-98.

³ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 196.

Qalqashandī states, however, that the memorandum was entrusted to amir Kitbughā by Sultan al-Şāliḥ b. Qalāwūn in 699/1299-1300, and that its writer was Aḥmad b. al-Mukarram b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Anşārī.¹ In other words, Ibn al-Furāt considers it Qalāwūn's memorandum, issued in 679/1281, while al-Qalqashandī thinks it is al-Şāliḥ's memorandum, issued in 699/1299-1300. Since the contents of both texts more or less coincide, except for the missing parts in *Şubḥ*, we may assume that both originated from the same document. Now, which text is more reliable? And who is Ibn al-Mukarram, the writer of the memorandum?

Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā al-Manşūrī was a Mongol (al-Mughūlī) who hailed from among the Oirates (al-Ūyrātiya).² He served first in Hulagu's army, and then was arrested by the governor of Ḥimş at the end of the year 658/1260.³ After he was purchased by Sultan Qalāwūn, Kitbughā was granted the rank of amir, and was appointed *nā'ib al-salṭana* in 679/1280-1.⁴ He held the same position in the first reign of al-Malik al-Nāşir (693-694/1293-94) and proclaimed himself Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil when al-Nāşir resigned the sultanate to go to al-Karak. In 694/1294, when Kitbughā acceded to the sultanate, inflation began in Egypt and he was regarded as an "ill-omen sultan."⁵ His rule ended a short time later due to challenges from such influential amirs as Lājīn al-Manşūrī and Qarāsunqur al-Jarkasī. He was exiled from Cairo to Damascus in 696/1297, but was permitted to rule Ḥamā, where he died in 702/1302-3. It is said that he was a short, brown-skinned man with a short beard.⁶

Kitbughā apparently held the position of *nā'ib al-salṭana* in both the reign of Qalāwūn and the first reign of al-Nāşir. Accordingly, he could never have held the position in 699/1299-1300. Furthermore, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Qalāwūn, though he was appointed heir

¹ *Şubḥ*, XIII, 91.

² On Kitbughā's career, see *Kutubī*, II, 282-283; *Baybars al-Manşūrī*, fol.188r-v; *Durar*, III, 348-350; *Zetterstéen*, 33; *Tālī*, 131-132; *Şafadī*, XXIV, 318-319. According to *Durar*, Kitbughā was arrested in 648/1250-1, but it was actually 658/1260 after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt (*Tālī*, 131).

³ *Tālī*, 131.

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 684.

⁵ *Kanz*, VIII, 356-357; *Tālī*, 132; M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "Une grande crise à la fin du XIII^e siècle en Égypte," *JESHO*, 26(1983), pp.227-229.

⁶ *Kutubī*, II, 283; *Şafadī*, XXIV, 318; *Durar*, III, 350; *Shadharāt*, VI, 5; *Tālī*, 132; al-Ḥajjī, "Salṭanat Kitbughā," pp.48-49; Chapoutot-Remadi, "Une grande crise," pp.217-245.

apparent (*walī al-‘ahd*) in 679/1281, had no chance to become sultan before his death in 687/1288.¹ Al-Qalqashandī might have confused these facts and thus mistaken the year 679/1281 for 699/1299-1300.²

As for qāḍī Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram b. Abī al-Hasan b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, we find almost the same name in *Durar al-Kāmina* by Ibn Hajar: i.e., qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Ifriqī al-Miṣrī (630–711/1233–1311-2).³ Since he worked in the chancery (*diwān al-inshā’*) in Egypt for a long time, he was well qualified to have been the memorandum’s writer. There is also the fact that the name given by Ibn al-Furāt bears the position of “*kātib*” at the end. Concerning the *laqab* of Jamāl al-Dīn, Ibn al-Furāt gives another account that the writer had the same *laqab* as this.⁴ One problem still remains, however, in that the person in *Durar* has the *kunya* of Abū al-Faḍl, while the writer is called Abū ‘Abd Allāh by Ibn al-Furāt. However, fortunately, we find in the account of *al-Muqaffā* by al-Maqrīzī that qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad had two *kunyas*, i.e. Abū ‘Abd Allāh and Abū al-Faḍl.⁵ We may therefore conclude that two persons whose position, personal name (*ism*), title (*laqab*), attribution (*nisba*) and patronymic (*kunya*) coincide totally can be identified as the same person. If our supposition is correct, he, as al-Suyūṭī and other writers relate, is Ibn Manẓūr, author of *Lisān al-‘Arab*.⁶

To summarize the above discussion, the memorandum was composed by Ibn Manẓūr, scribe of the chancery, in Dhū al-Ḥijja 679/March 1281, and addressed to amir Kitbughā, the new vice-sultan. According to al-Qalqashandī, during the Mamluk period whenever the sultan left Egypt,

¹ Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was appointed *walī al-‘ahd* in Dhū al-Ḥijja 679/March 1281 (*Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 195). However, as he died in Sha‘bān 687/September 1288, Sultan Qalāwūn appointed another son, al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl, his heir apparent (*Ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 69-70).

² Although H. Rabie indicates that al-Qalqashandī has mistaken 679 for 799, the year described by al-Qalqashandī is not 799 but 699. See Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.66, n.1.

³ *Durar*, V, 31-33; *Ṣafadī*, V, 54-57; *Kutubī*, II, 524; *Shadharāt*, VI, 26; *Husn*, I, 388; *Yāfi’i*, IV, 251.

⁴ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 247.

⁵ *Muqaffā*, VII, 285. In Islamic society some people had more than one *kunya*, which was regarded to be a mark of dignity (A. Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp.5-6; J. Sublet, *Le voile du nom*, Paris, 1991, p.41; *EI*,ⁿ s.v. *Kunya*).

⁶ *Husn*, I, 534; *Bughya*, 106-107; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol.2, Leiden, 1949, p.21; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, vol.8, Leiden, 1982, p.20.

a memorandum (*tadhkira*) was customarily composed for vice-sultans, who gave their orders (*al-marāsīm al-sharīfa*) according to it. Although this memorandum was addressed to amir Kitbughā, the text reads that it was to be read at each pulpit (*minbar*), and every person should act according to it.¹ This indicates that the memorandum was proclaimed to the Muslims as a sultanic edict as well as instructions for basic policy to be followed by amir Kitbughā.

2. An English Translation

We have translated the “Memorandum” into English based on the text quoted by Ibn al-Furāt, while referring to the text found in *Ṣubḥ* by al-Qalqashandī. Both texts have been checked anew according to the Arabic manuscripts preserved at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya.² The “Memorandum” is composed of twenty eight articles (*faṣl*), each of which will be numbered for convenience sake. To wit:

This is a useful and comprehensive memorandum (*tadhkira*) on proper governorship (*khayrāt*). The Sublime Council (*al-Majlis al-‘Ālī*) of amir Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī, *nā’ib al-salṭana* – May God prolong his power – relies on it to settle important affairs (*muhimmāt*) in Egypt and its environs, to preserve its general welfare and order, and to make decisions for Cairo, al-Fuṣṭāt and all the Egyptian countries – May God preserve them. The council will refer to it to promulgate government orders (*marāsīm*)³ concerning such matters as legal affairs, governance, tax collection, public safety (*khifruhā wal- ḥifzuhā*)⁴ and innovations as we will explain them.

(1) The Canonical Law (*al-Shar‘ al-Sharīf*). Judges (*ḥākim, qāḍī*) try lawsuits and execute decisions based on it, rejecting (*naqḍ*) or approving (*ibrām*).

(2) Justice (*‘adl*), fairness (*inṣāf*) and righteousness (*ḥaqq*). These

¹ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 200; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 98.

² Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh al-Duwal wal-Mulūk*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, MS. Ta’rīkh 3197; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, MS. Adab 1519.

³ The edited text of Ibn al-Furāt reads “*al-marāsīm* (etiquette)” (VII, 196), but the manuscript reads “*al-marāsīm* (orders)” (fol.130b), which seems more appropriate for understanding of the passage. *Ṣubḥ* has also “*marāsīm*” (XIII, 91).

⁴ *Ṣubḥ* reads “*ḥafīruhā wa-ḥifzuhā*” (XIII, 91), but “*ḥafīr*” (dug) is a copyist’s error.

are to be observed in all the towns, villages, districts and provinces of the empire because these virtues are concerned with all the subjects (*ra'īya*), be the notables (*khāṣṣ*) or ordinary people (*'āmm*), persons in remote or near places, absent or present peoples, and arrivers or departers. He (Kitbughā) will collect proper petitions (*al-ad'iyat al-sāliha*) from all the people to discuss them in order to preserve that golden age. Justice (*'adl*) is evidence of God's presence, the road to goodness, which protects us from evil, and rejects any harm.

(3) Bloodshed (*dimā'*). This is to be entrusted to the decision of the Sacred Law. Those who should be subjected to revenge (*qiṣāṣ*) are to be extradited to their enemies, who are to take revenge according to the Sacred Law. Those who are to subject to amputation (*qaṭ'*) should be so dealt with also according to the Sacred Law.

(4) Affairs proper to Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ – May God protect both cities. One should not deal rudely with others,¹ the strong must not use their power to dominate the weak, and one never does violence to others.

(5) He orders as follows: At night no one should walk needlessly or loiter around Cairo (*al-madīna*) and its suburbs (*ḍawāḥī*) of al-Ḥusayniya and al-Aḥkār,² or leave his house (*bayt*) except for urgent necessity. Women in particular should not be allowed to conduct themselves as they please, and not wander around at night.

(6) Prisons (*ḥubūs*). Their surveillance and guard are to be carried out both night and day. The beards (*liḥan*) of the Crusaders (*Firanj*), the Antiochians and all the other prisoners are to be shaved, and when their beards grow, they are to be shaved again. Attention should be paid to the insides of the prisons, those prisoners who are forced to labor, and the guards who go out with them. Neither foreigners nor suspicious persons, but only reliable persons are to be appointed as *jāndāriya* to keep watch over the prisoners. And prisoners used in labor should not pass the night except at their prisons, and are not permitted to go out for

¹ The words "with others (*'alā aḥdīn*)" are omitted in *Ṣubḥ* (XIII, 92).

² Al-Ḥusayniya was the suburb of Bāb al-Naṣr, where a quarter called Hārat al-Ḥusayniya had a population of 7,000 at its height (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 20-23). *Aḥkār* (sing. *ḥikr*) originally meant "rent" (*ujra*), but it came to be used as *waqf* since around the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir (M. M. Amīn, *al-Awqāf wal-Hayāt al-Ijtimā'iya fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1980, p.95). Al-Maqrīzī explains it as the land of fruit gardens (*bustān*) and the amir's residences where, if it is the monopolized land (*ḥikr*) belonging to one person, another person is prohibited from constructing a house there (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 114-121; *Sulūk*, II, 518). Here al-Aḥkār probably indicates the district of gardens and amir's residences outside Bāb al-Naṣr. See MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo*, pp.36-39.

private business, bath (*ḥammām*), church (*kanīsa*, i.e. prayers) or pleasure (*furja*). Their fetters (*quyūd*) are to be checked as firm at all times. The prison “*Khizānat al-Bunūd*,” as well as “*Khizānat Shamā’il*” and other prisons (*ḥubūs*),¹ is to be watched both on its inside, outside and upper side in two-fold severity at night.

(7) A group of soldiers (*jund*) are to be appointed to patrol the city of Cairo and investigate lanes (*zuqāq*) and narrow alleys (*darb*). They are to inspect the night watchmen of the streets (*aṣḥāb al-arbā’*), and those who are absent from their posts² are to be punished. [At night] alleys are to be closed. The same order is to be given to al-Ḥusayniya, al-Aḥkār and all the other parts of the city. This order must be observed. Those who are found walking about at night against the order will be arrested and punished.

(8) The city gates (*abwāb*) are to be guarded most carefully. Each time they are opened [in the morning] or closed at night, the gates are to be inspected both from the inside and outside.

(9) Peoples are prohibited to go day or night to places where young people (*shabāb*), lawless people (*ulū al-da’āra*) or idlers (*man yata’ānā al-‘abatha*³ *wal-zanṭarata*) assemble. Lawless people and idlers (*ahl al-baghy*⁴ *wal-‘abath wal-‘ayth*) should be driven away completely in order to keep the peace and enhance the [sultan’s] greatness.

(10) Guards (*mujarrad*) are to be customarily stationed both at Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ, as well as at al-Qarāfa, the area behind the citadel, the district of al-Baḥr⁵ and outside of al-Ḥusayniya. It should not be omitted even for one night. The guards are not to leave their positions except at dawn or in broad daylight.

(11) On Thursday night (*layālī al-juma’*), people, especially women, are not to assemble at the two Qarāfas.

(12) The important affairs of absentees serving their sultan on the victorious battlefield (*al-baykār al-manṣūr*). Their representatives perform their duties for benefits (*maṣāliḥ*). That is to say, revenue (*ḥuqūq*) collections are to be entrusted to these representatives (*nā’ib*), slave

¹ *Ṣubḥ* reads “*juyūsh*” (soldiers), which is a copyist’s mistake (XIII, 93; VII, fol.54).

² The word “*qaṣṣawahu*” (be absent from it) is omitted in *Ṣubḥ* (XIII, 93).

³ *Ṣubḥ* reads “*aytha*” (ravage) (XIII, 93) which has almost the same meaning.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ* reads “*ahl al-ghayy*” (sinful people) which has the same meaning.

⁵ Al-Baḥr was the district located between the Nile and the western wall of Cairo. See Popper, *Egypt and Syria*, vol.1, map.6.

soldiers (*ghulām*) or managers (*wakīl*). Those who hold their shares (*jiha*) and exercise their rights freely and independently may reject any interference as long as their rights are recognized [by the government]. For these representatives certificates (*ḥujja*) are to be drawn up and delivered concerning their collection duties. This is in order that the mandators (*muwakkil*) who serve in the battlefield will not dispute their representatives' actions in complaining that they (*wukalā'uhum*) have sent letters to inform they have not yet collected anything for their masters. This will be a means to reject their (absentees') complaints.

(13) The canal (*khalīj*) flowing through the cities of Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Its construction should be completed on time and so as not to cause damage to anyone, and so that everyone will perform his duties successfully.

(14) The irrigation dikes in the suburbs of Cairo (*jusūr dawāhī al-Qāhira*). He (Kitbughā) is to make haste to complete and enlarge them, and endeavors to construct more and dig canals (*masārib*).¹ He is to keep the dikes strong until the flood of the Nile and protect them from destruction. Our order should be kept according to custom. Everyone is to do his duty with harrow (*jarrāfa*) and large plough (*muqalqila*) according to what was ordered² both on near and distant dikes.

(15) Public works (*a'māl*) and administration (*wilāya*). He (Kitbughā) is to issue government notifications (*al-amthilat al-sharīfat al-sultānīya*) – May God exalt them – for the construction of dikes, their repair and extension, the investigation of the bridges (*qanāṭir*) and small canals (*tura'*), the reconstruction of those in ruin, the repair of the weak portions and broken water gates, and the collection of various taxes required at the time of the flood of the Nile. Concerning these works the government orders should be obeyed and also practiced without admitting any exception [literally “protection” (*himāya*)]. Harrow (*jarrāfa*) and large ploughs (*muqalqila*) are to be furnished according to these orders.³ However, everyone will do his duty not according to authority (*jāh*), but to custom (*'āda*), as in the days of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (637–647/1240–49). He is to assure that governors (*wālī*) act themselves, and not to entrust work to representatives (*mushidd*). If defect or damage is found anywhere,

¹ *Ṣubḥ* has “*mashārib*” (fountains) (XIII, 197).

² The edited text of Ibn al-Furāt reads “*al-marāsīm*” (etiquette), but the “*al-marāsīm*” (order) in the manuscript is better for the present text (VII, fol.131v).

³ The text from “without protection” (*fihā min ghayri ḥimāya*) to “these orders” (*al-marāsīm al-sharīfa*) is omitted at al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ*.

the *wālīs* who have managed the work and its financing are responsible for it. They shall be most severely punished and warned. The *wālīs* are to write themselves that the dikes have been completed remaining no defect in accordance with the order, and that they are not worried about the result, because the work was done according to what was ordered.

(16) The government notifications are to be issued to the *wālīs* instructing them to station guards (*khafīr*) between the towns as in the days of al-Zāhir [Baybars]. They are to stay in tents (*bayt sha'r*) on the roads watching the passersby, and arresting loiterers. It is to be announced to the districts that no person may travel or sneak in¹ at night. No one may travel except from sunrise to sunset. This should be obeyed most strictly.

(17) The borders (*thughūr*). Regarding their importance, government notifications are to be issued concerning various affairs such as their protection, a watch on the prisons, calling attention to important details, and attracting merchants (*tājir*) by dealing with them in a friendly and fair treatment (*mu'āmala*). This is for the purpose of prosperity with the arrival of many merchants. The merchants are to be given certification for paying their taxes, accumulating cash and goods, keeping treasure vaults (*khazā'in*) and warehouses (*hawā'ij khānāh*). Suggestions are also to be given to them concerning the times for such things as the opening of the sea (*infūtāh al-bahr*), the arrival of merchants, money circulation, the suitable conditions for trade, and increase in the supply of goods. Merchants are to be notified that they should come with ample goods, make certain to pay taxes on ships (*huqūq al-marākib*), and bring them to the state treasury according to custom without decrease² in their amounts. They are also to be notified that they should transact to bring the various kinds of textiles and goods without making excuses. This is to be done to avoid stagnation in transactions and the loss of opportunities. Taxes are to be levied according to custom, whenever there is the arrival of such goods as male and female slaves (*mamālik, jawārin*), silk (*harīr*), cash (*'ayn*),³ satin (*aṭlas*), silver bullion (*al-fidḍa al-ḥajar*) and gold brocades (*aqṣāb al-dhahab*).

(18) He (Kitbughā) is to make certain that the provincial governors (*wālī al-'amal*) collect the government taxes (*al-ḥuqūq al-dīwāniya*)

¹ *Ṣubḥ* reads "*lā yugharriru*" (not to expose to danger) (XIII, 95).

² *Ibn al-Furāt* reads "*lā yufadhliku*" (not to be settled) (VII, 198); but "*lā yuqallalu*" (not to be decreased) which occurs in *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 96 seems preferable.

³ *Ṣubḥ* reads not "*'ayn*" but "*wabar*" (fur) (XIII, 96).

levied on various items and bring them [to the central government] at the proper time. He is to entrust them with the management of sugar cane cultivation, sugar cane pressing and all other things concerned with the operations. That is to say, the *wālīs* are responsible for managing social benefits (*maṣlaḥa*), like tax collection in cash and kind, its transportation, agricultural production, transactions and expenditure. He is to remind the governors about unbalanced tax collection, incapacity, slackness of will, imprudence, and of what shall be rejected. He is to inform the governors of this and all other things to be practiced whatever they confront.

(19) The government's land tax (*al-kharāj al-dīwānīya*). The governors are to defend and maintain it as well as increase it. Even the smallest part of it will not be exempted without government approval. Whenever they are informed that such and such question has arrived [from the government], they have a duty to give a reliable answer.

(20) The income (*ḥuqūq*) of the amirs, the Baḥrī Mamluks, the *ḥalqa* cavalrymen, and the soldiers. Their shares (*jiha*) are to be entrusted to their representatives (*nā'ib*)¹ and managers (*wakīl*). These representatives or managers are to collect cash and crops, about which certification (*shahāda*) is to be delivered in order to quell any dissatisfaction. Even if some of them come to their masters in the battlefield to reduce the amount of revenue, the gate of postponement shall be closed to them.

(21) He (Kitbughā) is to order the provincial governors (*wālī*), superintendents (*nāzīr*) and officials (*mustakhdam*) that in every village they are to draw up income documents of *al-muqta'ūn al-aṣliya*, *muqta' al-jiha* and the person whose *jiha* is granted in land (*tīn*) or tax (*marsūm*). This is to be done in order to know the *muqta's* situation and their income under both kinds of calendars (*al-sanat al-jayshīya wal-jihātīya*). No governors will be permitted to break² or neglect this order. They are prohibited also from treating managers (*wakīl*) greedily and taking advantage of the amirs' or *muqta's* absence due to their service on the battlefield (*baykār*). Evil and injustice should be avoided and *muqta's* are not to complain about the delays [in delivery of their income revenues].

(22) '*Urbān* in the local provinces.³ Their sustenance (*mawādd*) is to be cut off, hostages (*rahā'in*) are to be taken from them, and a close

¹ The words "*li-nuwwābihim*" (to their representatives) are omitted in *Ṣubḥ*.

² The edited text of *Ṣubḥ* reads "*mukāshara*", but the manuscript reads "*mukāsara*" (being broken) (VII, fol.56) as in *Ibn al-Furāt*.

³ Articles (22) to (24) are omitted in *Ṣubḥ*.

watch is to be kept on them. He (Kitbughā) is to write a letter to the *nā'ibs* or *wālīs* in the provinces ordering that they notify the 'Urbān not to carry swords, spears and weapons of any other kind. They are to be prohibited from purchasing them in Cairo. Those who flout this order and travel with weapons from village to village will have them confiscated and will be punished.

(23) Managers (*wakīl*). It is said that they have managed the *muqta*'s estates freely just like landowners (*mālik*) freely dispose of their privately owned lands (*milk*). He (*wālī*), thereby, will investigate every *wakīl* managing his master's estates and compose documents for delivery to the central government.

(24) Government revenues (*al-ḥuqūq al-khāliṣa lil-dīwān*) borne by villages (*ḍay'a, balad, qarya*). He (*wālī*) is to confirm these revenues by calling out the village *shaykhs* to take their oaths as to how many dirhams and ardabbs each village owes the central office (*dīwān*) for the proper place or proper season. However, it is not required that envoys (*rasūl*) or representatives (*mushidd*) be dispatched repeatedly for collecting them from peasants (*ra'īya*). This is to prevent the doubling of a peasant's burden from one to two dirhams. The purpose is to lighten that burden. The revenues should be sent to the central office without injustice.

(25) When the *jāndār* goes from Cairo to the local province, he is to be granted no more than two dirhams. The revenue there belongs to the proper holder (*mustahiqq*). If the *jāndār* takes it, people will spread rumors about this, and it will be the cause of injustice and disorder. Once the revenue is assigned, the right to take it belongs to its holder. Accordingly, when the *jāndār* comes and behaves such and such, it is to be reported exactly and his income is to be decreased to that amount.

(26) When *wālī* sends the *jāndār* as his envoy (*rasūl*) to a village in the district for tax collection, the amount which is given to the *jāndār* for travel is to be half a dirham (*nuqra*)¹ each day; i.e., a dirham every two days. Any *jāndār* who takes more than that is to be punished and dismissed from that district.

(27) Certification document (*ḥujja*) is to be delivered to every *muqta*'s manager (*wakīl*) who has taken crops (*mughall*)² and cash

¹ On the term of "nuqra," see A. Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of Al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah*, Salt Lake City, 1994, p.94.

² While *Ibn al-Furāt* reads "of his act" (*fi'lih*) (VII, 200), *Ṣubḥ* reads "of his crops" (*mughallih*) (XIII, 98), which is correct.

(*jīha*) for his master, either from the office (*dīwān*) or from the peasants (*fallāhūn*). If this certification has no witness (*shahāda*), nothing will be provided to him. Concerning the revenues levied from the district or *iqṭā'*, a copy of the certification is to be preserved at the office. This is so in order that when one *muqṭa'* complains to us, we can go to the office and explain to him who has complained about a delay in his revenue, and investigate the *wakīl* and the revenues collected by him. The witness to a *wakīl*'s act is to be sent [to the central office], being enclosed with the document composed concerning his collection duties. Thus, through the certification documents, we can confirm the *muqṭa'*'s revenue (*mutahaṣṣil al-muqṭa'*) levied from each village and district, the whole situation of every *muqṭa'*'s income in cash and kind, and any delay in his revenue. We can also understand by it the present situation of villages or *muqṭa'*s and therefore avoid complaints. We can thus attain correct knowledge of a *muqṭa'*'s situation.

(28) Each article of this memorandum is to be read on the pulpits (*minbar*). Both distant and near persons are to hear of it, and both present and absent persons are to know of it. Everyone is to act according to its contents. Those who disobey it shall know our power and authority. Let it be done.

3. Notes and Comments on the Text

The "Preface" indicates that the memorandum is to be regarded as the basis of Egyptian administration. *Maṣāliḥ* (sing. *maṣlaḥa*, welfare) is a term used repeatedly in the articles that follow, and contrasts with *fasād* (calamity). Article (18) explains that *maṣlaḥa* includes tax collection in cash and kind, its transport, agricultural production, transactions and expenditure. *Maṣlaḥa* hence indicates not only social welfare, but also a situation in which both cultivation and transactions become stable, and tax collection goes well with just administration. At the beginning of his book, *Kitāb Ighāthat al-Umma*, al-Maqrīzī suggests that if the rulers neglect *maṣāliḥ*, *fasād* will inevitably increase.¹ In Buwayhid Iraq during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the *maṣlaḥa* was generally understood as the prosperity of rural society brought about through cultivation (*'imāra*): that is, the management of the irrigation system, the provision

¹ *Ighātha*, 3-4.

of seed for the peasantry and so on.¹ We may therefore conclude that the *maṣlaḥa* indicates social welfare and the measures taken to produce it.

Articles (1)–(3) deal with law and justice. Al-Shar‘ al-Sharīf in article (1) is of course synonymous with al-Sharī‘a al-Islāmiya (Islamic Law). On the distinction between *ḥākim* and *qāḍī*, al-Udfuwī relates that ‘Abd Allāh al-Isnā‘ī (d. 719/1319) was appointed *ḥākim* of Afyū at the province of Qūṣ after he had served as *qāḍī* of Ikhmīm.² Al-Udfuwī, however, states also that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Aswānī (d. 654/1256) was both *qāḍī* and *ḥākim* of Aswān at the same time.³

Articles (4)–(14) are all concerned with urban life in Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ. *Khizānat al-Bunūd* in article (6) was originally a weapon warehouse constructed in the Fatimid period, located north-east of Cairo between Shawk palace and ‘Īd gate. After it burnt down during the reign of al-Mustanṣir (427–487/1036–94), it came to be used as a prison, specifically for Crusaders from the rise of the Ayyubid dynasty.⁴ *Khizānat Shamā’il* was a prison located near Zuwayla gate, where thieves (*sarrāq*) and highwaymen (*quṭṭā’ al-ṭarīq*) were imprisoned.⁵ During the Mamluk period Cairo had three more prisons, *Ḥabs al-Ma’ūna*, *Ḥabs al-Daylam* and *Ḥabs al-Raḥba wal-Jibb*, while al-Fuṣṭāṭ had two prisons, *Ḥabs al-Ma’ūna* and *Ḥabs al-Ṣiyār*.⁶ The superintendent of these prisons was called the *jāndār*, who was appointed from among the amirs of 100 or 40. His duty was to introduce the amirs who had arrived to serve the court of the sultan, manage the prisons, and execute criminals. Since the *jāndār* always served near the sultan, his position was regarded as one of the most important amirates up to the middle of the Mamluk period.⁷

¹ See p.29.

² *Udfuwī*, 145.

³ *Udfuwī*, 170.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 362, 423-425; II, 188; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 354; *Husn al-Manāqib*, 138. Sultan Baybars, who conquered Antioch in 660/1262, returned to Cairo with over 300 prisoners (*Mufarrij*, fol.403v). Some of the Frankish prisoners engaged in wine production at the prisons in Cairo (S. Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy in the Middle Ages,” in M. A. Cook ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, London, 1970, pp.73-74). According to al-Maqrīzī, the prison was destroyed in 744/1343 after a Frankish amir and his family had lived there (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 188).

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 188.

⁶ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 187; S. A. ‘Āshūr, *al-Mujtama’ al-Miṣrī fī ‘Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*, Cairo, 1962, p.97.

⁷ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 20; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 222. See also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l’époque des Mamelouks*, Paris, 1923, pp. LIX-LX; Sadeque, “The Court and

Articles (7) and (8) deal with public safety in the city. Both *zuqāq* and *darb* were lanes a group of which formed a quarter (*hāra*), as seen in the example of Darb al-Atrāk in Cairo, which was the lane formed at the time when Ḥārat al-Daylam was laid out.¹ As the night watchmen of the quarters were called *aṣḥāb al-arbā'*; *arbā'* (sing. *rab'*) originally indicated the town quarters. I. M. Lapidus states that the town quarters in Egypt and Syria did not have standing gates during the Mamluk period.² However, articles (7) and (8) demonstrate that apparently at the end of the thirteenth century the alleys and lanes in Cairo had gates (*bāb*), which were required to be closed at night. Furthermore, we may well consider that these gates were set up not only to defend Cairo against the invaders, but also to maintain public safety in the city in the same way as the curfew seen in the articles (5) and (9).

In contrast to the *aṣḥāb al-arbā'*, who were night watchmen within the city, the guards (*mujarrad*) seen in article (10) had the duty to keep watch at night outside the city. According to al-Maqrīzī, when soldiers were granted goods from the sultan at the ceremony in 662/1264, the following answer was given to a question by the invited foreign envoys as to whether they were the whole army ('*asākir*) of Egypt and Syria. "This is the whole Egyptian army with the exception of the soldiers stationed at such cities as Alexandria, Damietta, Rashīd and Qūṣ, the *mujarradūn*, and those who have gone to their *iqṭā's*."³ This shows that the *mujarradūn* were at least one of the components forming the Mamluk regular army ('*askar*). The five *mujarradūn* who died in Aleppo in 698/1299 – amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Buṣṭī, Aḥmad Shāh, Muḥammad b. Sunqur al-Aqra', 'Ayn al-Ghazāl and Kaykaldī b. al-Surriya – may be considered also as the soldiers including amirs and *mamlūks*.⁴

The two Qarāfas shown in article (11) indicate the great Qarāfa between Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ, and the small Qarāfa near the Citadel. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) relates that [the great] Qarāfa was the sacred place where the prophets and the family of Muḥammad were buried.⁵ Ibn

Household," p.276; Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," pp.63-64.

¹ *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 37.

² Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, pp.94-95.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 519.

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 882. Among these *mujarradūn*, 'Ayn al-Ghazāl and Kaykaldī were *mamlūks* judging from their names. Furthermore, Kaykaldī may have had the rank of amir since he was appointed Wālī al-Bahnasā (*Sulūk*, I, 722).

⁵ *Ibn Jubayr*, 20.

Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368-9 or 779/1377) gives an account that the people of Cairo had the custom of strolling around these sacred mausolea with their children on Thursday night.¹ According to al-Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), al-Qarāfa was a graveyard with big buildings and markets, which was used by the people of Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ as a place of amusement (*mutafarraja*) and for excursions (*nuzha*).² Al-Maqrīzī tells us, “The notables (*ru’asā*)” customarily sit in the court of the mosques at al-Qarāfa enjoying the moon in the summer night and sleep at the *minbars* in winter. The common people are also fond of visiting al-Qarāfa. Especially on moon-lit nights (*al-layālī al-muqmira*), many people assemble with drinks and sweets.”³ Accordingly, “Thursday night” in the article indicates the night for strolling around the mausolea or the night for enjoying the moon. The government intended to prohibit such meetings for amusement in order to preserve public safety and morality. This may be considered similar to regulation (9) against assemblies of the lawless and idlers.

Articles (13) and (14) are concerned with water control outside of Cairo. During the Mamluk period the Cairo Canal (Khalij al-Qāhira) ran along the west wall of the city,⁴ around which dikes (*jisr*) were built both for irrigation and flood control.⁵ When the Nile rose to sixteen dhirā’s, called the “sultan’s water” (*mā’ al-sulṭān*), the sultan or his representative would descend the Citadel to open the dam of the Cairo Canal. On that day the amirs were given gifts by the sultan, and splendid festivals were held by the Cairene people to thank the Nile for rewarding them with annual plenitude (*wafā’ al-Nīl*).⁶

¹ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 74-75.

² *Yāqūt*, IV, 317.

³ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 444. Al-Maqrīzī also says that the visit to al-Qarāfa (*ziyārat al-Qarāfa*) was originally on Wednesday, and the first visitor was Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāri’ī al-Shāfi’ī (d. 638/1241). The person who first visited there on Thursday night was Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn al-Jabbās, together with the Ayyubid Sultan al-Kāmil (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 460-461). See also *Ḥusn*, II, 334; *Itti’āz*, I, 267; Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p.35.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 71.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 165-170.

⁶ Al-Qalqashandī relates that when the Nile rose to 16 dhirā’s, i.e. the sultan’s water, the water gate of Khalij al-Qāhira was opened. It is a day when many festivals were held (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 289-290). Nāṣir Khusraw who visited Cairo in 439/1047 says, “On that day the sultan (caliph) went to the entrance of the Canal with his wazir, the great *qāḍī*, ‘*ulamā*’ and other notables, where tents had been pitched. After he stayed there for an hour, a halberd was handed to the sultan. Then people opened the Canal with picks, shovels and baskets in order to make water flow in.

Article (15) is concerned with irrigation in the local provinces. It shows that provincial governors (*wālī*) had the duty to construct and repair dikes, bridges, canals and watergates. As to the dikes, Egypt had a tradition of classifying them into those under government control (*al-jusūr al-sulṭānīya*) and local dikes (*al-jusūr al-baladīya*) under the control of *muqṭa*'s and peasants.¹ Since canals may be put into the same classification, what *wālīs* were concerned with must have been the dikes and canals under government control. *Wālīs* had, like *muqṭa*'s,² their own officials (*mubāshīr*) who support them, like representatives (*shādd* or *mushidd*), tax collectors (*āmil*) and notaries (*shāhid*).³ The article, however, indicates that *wālīs* were prohibited from entrusting their representatives with irrigation works, which were vital to the prosperity of Egyptian society.

Articles (16) and (17) also deal with the duties of provincial governors (*wālī*). Article (16) orders the stationing of guards (*khafīr*) to check travellers except in the daytime. This regulation coincides with the order to prohibit walking around the city at night as shown in articles (5) and (11). Article (18) shows that *wālīs* were also entrusted with the management of sugar cane cultivation and processing, because sugar cane (*qaṣab al-sukkar*) was mostly cultivated in state domains (*awāsī*).⁴ However, sugar cane, which spread from Lower Egypt to Upper Egypt during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was cultivated on land other than state domain, as well. The *muqṭa*'s were ardent in cultivating sugar cane, since it was an important commercial crop, and the richer merchants also invested much money in constructing sugar refineries (*maṭbakh al-sukkar*).⁵

Articles (24) and (26) also regulate the behavior of the *wālīs*. Their duties as contained in the Memorandum were:

People in Cairo and al-Fusṭāṭ assembled there to look at the Canal opening and held various kinds of festivities" (*Safar Nāma*, 68-69). On this festival, see 'Āshūr, *al-Mujtama' al-Miṣrī*, pp.197-200; Shoshan, *Popular Culture*, pp.72-73.

¹ See pp.225-226.

² *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 298; *Mu'īd*, 41-42; Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.66-67.

³ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 458, 460; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 396.

⁴ See pp.217-219.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 369; *Ibn Duqmāq*, I, 41-46; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol.1, pp.126, 264.

- (a) Construction and repair of the dikes, canals and water gates under government control (15).
- (b) Stationing of guards to watch over passersby and travellers at night (16).
- (c) Assessment and collection of taxes for the government (18), (19), (24), (26).
- (d) Management of sugar cane cultivation and pressing (18).
- (e) Writing up the income documents for the *muqta*'s (21).
- (f) Investigation of the *muqta*'s' managers (*wakīl*) and drawing up of the documents related to them (23).

These points reveal the actual duties of *wālīs* who were responsible for the provincial administration of Egypt during the early Mamluk period. Incidentally, articles (25) and (26) deal with regulations concerning *jāndārs*, who were different from the amir *jāndār* in (6), in that they were petty officials employed by *wālīs* for tax collection.

Article (12) is concerned with tax revenues (*huqūq*) of soldiers, i.e. *muqta*'s. The *baykār*, which originated from the Persian *biḡār* meaning corvée, was used specifically for denoting the battlefield or military service during the Mamluk period.¹ Since the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, military service to the great amir or the sultan was usually called *khidma* in Arabic. However, we do find some examples of *baykār* instead of *khidma* among the historical sources, as seen in *al-Sulūk* where soldiers are irritated because the terms of their military service (*muddat al-baykār*) was prolonged and they had therefore to fight many battles.² While the *khidma* was the military service rendered in return for *iqṭā'* holdings, the *muqta*'s share is expressed as *jiha* in the article. A. N. Poliak says that *jiha* indicates the villages within the authorizations of *iqṭā'* assignments as well as the tax revenues such as land taxes and customs.³

Ibn Mammātī explains the *jiha* as such taxes as alms (*zakāt*), the poll tax (*jawālī*) and the one-fifth tax (*khums*).⁴ On the other hand, we find an example in *Nihāyat al-Arab* by al-Nuwayrī showing *jiha* indicating

¹ Poliak, "The Influence of Chingiz-Khān's Yāsa," p.869; Lambton, *Landlord*, p.424; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1967, p.136; M. Q. al-Baqlī, *al-Ta'rif bi-Muṣṭalahāt Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, Cairo, 1984, p.70.

² *Sulūk*, I, 105.

³ Poliak, "Les révoltes populaires," p.258.

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 308-329.

the district taken charge of by tax collectors.¹ Hence, we may understand that article (21) distinguishes the *jiha* of land (*tīn*) from the *jiha* of tax (*marsūm*). According to article (12), the soldiers' shares were managed by representatives like *nā'ib*, *ghulām* and *wakīl*; and concerning these representatives' collection duties certificates (*huġja*) were to be drawn up and delivered as indicated repeatedly in articles (20) and (21). Furthermore, according to article (27), the certificate needed a witness (*shahāda*). Among the articles we may thus observe the positive intention of the Mamluk government to control the *iqṭā'* holdings of amirs and soldiers.

Article (20) reveals that the *muqṭa'*s in this period were composed of amirs, *al-Bahrīya*, *al-ḥalqa* and *jund*. *Al-Bahrīya* indicates of course *al-Mamālīk al-Bahrīya* organized by the Ayyubid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ, while *al-ḥalqa* were non-mamluk cavalymen including the sons of *mamlūks* (*awlād al-nās*), freeborn Kurds and Turkmans.² What kind of soldiers were the *jund*? According to H. A. R. Gibb, the *ajṅād* (pl. of *jund*) during the reign of Saladin indicated the regular army, the whole army of a district, and the foot soldiers in the provinces.³ On the other hand, al-Qalqashandī states that the *ajṅād* in the Mamluk period are classified into the sultan's *mamlūks* (*al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīya*) and the *ḥalqa* cavalymen (*ajṅād al-ḥalqa*).⁴ Furthermore, the amir's followers were sometimes called *jund* as well as '*Urbān*, who were formed as auxiliary *jund*.⁵ From the instances cited above we may understand that the *junds* during the Mamluk period indicate (a) *jund al-ḥalqa*, (b) *jund al-amīr*, (c) '*Urbān* formed as auxiliaries, and (d) soldiers without rank from the amirs including *al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīya*. The *jund* in the article probably belong to military groups (b) and (c).

It is a little difficult for us to gain a full understanding of article (21). The first sentence classifies the *muqṭa'*s into *al-muqṭa'ūn al-aṣliya* (sing. *al-muqṭa' al-aṣlī*), *muqṭa' al-jiha* and the person whose *jiha* was granted in land (*tīn*) or tax (*marsūm*). The passage "*muqṭa' al-jiha* and

¹ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 217, 247.

² Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," pp.448, 459; Irwin, "Iqṭā' and the End of the Crusader States," p.71. R. S. Humphreys rejects the idea of regarding the Ayyubid *ḥalqa* in the same category as the *ḥalqa* in the Mamluk period. See "The Emergence," p.163. Against this view Ayalon presents a counterargument in his article "From Ayyubids to Mamluks," *REI*, 49(1981), pp.43-57.

³ Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," p.83.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 15-16.

⁵ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 454; *Manḥal*, III, 31; Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," p.459.

the person” is apparently mistaken for “*muqṭa’ al-jiha*; that is, the person.” The original text probably intends to show that *muqṭa’ al-jiha* is the *muqṭa’* granted in land or the *muqṭa’* granted in tax. How different was *muqṭa’ al-jiha* from *al-muqṭa’ al-aṣlī*? The term *al-muqṭa’ al-aṣlī* is not found in the available sources, but *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm* by al-Nābulusī has some descriptions closely related to it. Take the example of the village of ‘Udwa on which were levied the following taxes:¹

cash (‘ayn)	(289+1/3+1/8) dīnārs
(a) <i>māl al-hilālī</i>	28 dīnārs
(b) <i>kharāj al-rātīb</i>	(215+ 1/6+1/8) dīnārs
<i>al-aṣl</i>	181 dīnārs
<i>al-iḍāfa</i>	(22+2/3) dīnārs
<i>zā’id al-qaṭī’a</i>	(11+1/4+1/8) dīnārs
(c) <i>kharāj fudun al-zirā’a</i>	(4+5/24) dīnārs
<i>al-aṣl</i>	(3+1/2+1/4) dīnārs
<i>al-iḍāfa</i>	(1/3+1/8) dīnār
(d) <i>mushāṭarat al-maqāt</i>	37+1/16) dīnārs
(e) <i>qurṭ</i>	(2+1/6+1/48) dīnārs
crops (<i>ghalla</i>).....	(1907+1/6) ardabbs

According to this table, *kharāj al-rātīb* (land tax for salary), or *kharāj fudun al-zirā’a* (land tax on cultivated faddāns) is classified into the principal tax (*aṣl*) and additional taxes (*iḍāfa*, *zā’id al-qaṭī’a*) respectively. From this classification we may suppose that *al-muqṭa’ al-aṣlī* held the principal tax share, probably in addition to crops, while *muqṭa’ al-jiha* held the shares of *māl al-hilālī* (taxes collected according to the lunar calendar) and additional taxes.

Article (21) orders that the income documents of *muqṭa’* are to be drawn up in each military calendar (*al-sanat al-jayshīya*) and *jiha* calendar (*al-sanat al-jihātīya*). However, the solar calendar for collecting the land tax was called in general *al-sanat al-shamsīya* or *al-sanat al-kharājīya*, and the lunar calendar was for collecting poll and alms taxes *al-sanat al-qamarīya* or *al-sanat al-hilālīya*.² We may possibly conclude that *al-sanat al-jayshīya* and *al-sanat al-jihātīya* in the article indicate *al-sanat al-kharājīya* and *al-sanat al-hilālīya* respectively; and if this

¹ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 32-34. See also Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, pp.202-203.

² *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 54, 60, 69, 71. R. S. Cooper, “The Assessment and Collection of Kharāj Tax in Medieval Egypt,” *JAOS*, 96(1976), pp.374-375.

supposition is correct, the income of *muqṭa' al-jiha* was principally composed of taxes levied according to the lunar calendar. This supposition agrees with the results of the above discussion on the terms *al-muqṭa' al-aṣlī* and *muqṭa' al-jiha*.

* * *

As already mentioned above, the Memorandum issued in 679/1281 indicates the principles of state administration to be followed by amir Kitbughā, the vice-sultan, while Sultan Qalāwūn was absent from Egypt. The twenty eight articles deal with such important affairs as law and justice, public safety in Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ, management of the water control system, duties of the provincial governors, protection and control of commercial activities, and government control of *iqṭā'* holdings. The Memorandum thus gives us invaluable information that allows us to better our understanding of Egyptian society under the Mamluk regime in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Concerning the *iqṭā'* system itself, the Memorandum provides with us new information. For example, *wālīs* were obliged to issue certificates on the *muqṭa'*'s acquisition of revenues as well as manage irrigation systems. It shows also two kinds of *muqṭa'*s, *al-muqṭa' al-aṣlī* and *muqṭa' al-jiha*, which have been absent from previous studies of the *iqṭā'* system. This classification of *muqṭa'*s suggests that their income revenues were fairly complicated because they were closely connected with the local taxation system. The Nāṣirī cadastral survey (713–725/1313–25), which we will discuss in the next chapter, was carried out specifically to reform this complicated situation involving tax assessment and collection.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EVOLUTION OF THE IQṬĀ' SYSTEM: AN ANALYSIS OF *AL-RAWK AL-ḤUSĀMĪ* AND *AL-RAWK AL-NĀŞIRĪ*

From the Ayyubid period to the beginning of the Mamluks, the power of the non-mamluk cavalrymen (*ajnād al-ḥalqa*) was not yet on the decline, and the clearly defined military organization, with commanders of hundreds, forties and tens, had not yet been established.¹ However, by about the end of the thirteenth century the power of the royal Mamluks (*mamālik al-sultān*) was gradually emerging, and the sultans found themselves under the necessity of getting rid of the former amirs, and strengthening the basis of their power by means of the *mamlūks*. In order to achieve this objective they twice carried out country-wide cadastral surveys: that is, *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī* and *al-Rawk al-Nāşirī*.²

1. *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī*

The brief reign of Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn al-Manşūrī (696–698/1296–99) ended without his having achieved any spectacular success, but his name has come down to posterity on account of one decisive political act. This was the cadastral survey of the whole territory of Egypt, which he had carried out in the year after his accession. Some 120 years has passed since the cadastral survey of Saladin in 567–577/1171–2–81. In this section I hope first to give an account of the object and content of the survey, and then examine its results.

The Object and Content of the Cadastral Survey

It is generally said that the reason for the Ḥusāmī rawk was that the amirs, on the pretext of safeguarding (*himāya*) the rights of *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, were misappropriating their *iqṭā'* revenues.³ Certainly as al-Maqrīzī (d.

¹ See p.86.

² On the studies of these surveys to date, see pp.14-15.

³ Poliak, *Feudalism*, p.25; Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh al-Mamālik*, p.435; Rabie, *The Financial*

845/1442) says,¹ "because the amirs seized much of the *iqṭā'*s from the *ajṅād* [*al-ḥalqa*], nothing finally came into their hands. Their *iqṭā'*s were placed under the control of the amir's office (*dīwān al-amīr*), and it was possible by this means to circumvent depredators, but disputes arose which gave rise to violent disturbances." The *ḥalqa* cavalry at this time were allotted each their own *iqṭā'*, and it is reckoned that the annual revenue, apart from tribute in kind (*diyāfa*), was between 10,000 and 30,000 dirhams.² However, because their *iqṭā'*s were under the protection of the amirs, it became impossible to bring in enough revenue, and this was the reason for the disputes and outbreaks of violence.

The amirs referred to here were not, as Poliak says, confined to amirs of a hundred,³ and it would seem natural to suppose that amirs of various grades were included. This is explicitly set out in the following record of *Khiṭaṭ*, which gives a concrete account of the protection relationship in question: "The *ḥalqa* cavalryman goes with his horse to where the inhabitants of the *iqṭā'* are, and the commander (*muqaddam*) of *al-ḥalqa*, amir of ten, also goes there. When the cavalymen are assembled round the *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*, seats are placed for a meal, and many eat meals at these banquets (*simāṭ*). But so long as the full strength of the cavalymen was not assembled, they could not take a meal."⁴ Thus, the amirs who had placed the *iqṭā'*s of the *ḥalqa* cavalymen under the control of his office, had the custom of taking meals with these cavalymen; but even so, it is said that the appearance of the *ḥalqa* cavalymen was wretched and their clothes shabby.⁵ It would therefore seem certain that the immediate reason for carrying out this survey was to improve the condition of the *ḥalqa* cavalymen, and also to reorganize

System, p.52. On the etymology of *rawk*, see also Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.49-50; *El*,² s. v. *Rawk*.

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Sulūk*, I, 864-865. Baybars al-Manṣūrī simply explains the cause as follows: the military *iqṭā'* (*al-iqṭā'āt al-jayshīya*) has changed because its system had decayed and the conditions of villages (*balad*) and peasants (*fallāḥ*) had been stagnant (*Mukhtār al-Akḥbār*, 105).

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 87. One also finds here, "in the case of the difficult *iqṭā'* (*al-iqṭā' al-thaqīl*) annual income, it went down to as far as 5,000 dirhams," but to judge from the context, this may be regarded as an exceptional income.

³ Poliak, *Feudalism*, p.25.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 87-88.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88. According to this account, those who were in a pitiful condition were clearly the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*. So Rabie is wrong in writing that the survey was carried out in order to investigate the pitiful condition of the *mamlūks* of amir (*The Financial System*, p.52).

the *iqṭā'* system which was the basis of the state.

I think it somewhat inadequate to regard the abolition of *ḥimāya* as the sole objective of the Ḥusāmī rawk. We should not forget that apart from this there was a greater objective, namely to strengthen the basis of the sultan's power by means of *mamlūk* soldiers. In *Sulūk*, after the account of the survey, the following is recorded:

The amir Mankūtāmūr, the sultan's representative (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) was heavily fettered by the pressure of the amirs of Egypt and Syria. He thereupon sought to remove these amirs, and in their stead to raise the status of the sultan's *mamlūks* with the intention of administering of his own free will (*murād*). He went so far as to arrest the Egyptian amirs and remained under the sultan, next setting his hand to countermeasures against the Syrian amirs.¹

It may be said that this situation also existed in the same form before the cadastral survey. When he was enthroned to the sultanate, Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn had to accept the conditions proposed by the amirs that he would not put his own young *mamlūks* over the elders, and not entrust the administration with his *mamlūk*, Mankūtāmūr.² But the sultan needed to remove the existing amirs and consolidate his authority by means of his own *mamlūks*. Whereas the part occupied by the *ajnād al-ḥalqa* in the armed forces was as great as ever,³ the number and power of *mamlūk* troops was gradually increasing at this time. For example, when the power of the Burjī Mamluks, created by Sultan Qalāwūn, became great in 698/1298, it is related that there was soon an accumulation of many protection rights (*ḥimāya*) under them.⁴ Thus, it became an urgent duty from the sultan's point of view to incorporate *mamlūks* he had fostered and those of previous sultans into a structure, and thereby establish a Mamluk regime in the true sense.

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 852; *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 352-357; Holt, "al-Manṣūr Lāchīn," pp.526-528. Sayf al-Dīn Mankūtāmūr al-Ḥusāmī was a *mamlūk* of Sultan Ḥusām, and was appointed *nā'ib al-salṭana* in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da of 696/September 1297 (*Sulūk*, I, 826-827, 829).

² *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fols.186-187.

³ Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," pp.449-451.

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 875-876; *Mukhtār al-Akhhbār*, 89-90. D. Ayalon states that he could not ascertain the close connection between the creation of the Burjiya and Sultan Qalāwūn. See "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks – Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Tārīḥ*, 1(1990), p.36.

So Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn accepted a proposal of his chief financier (*mustawfi al-dawla*), al-Tāj 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭawīl,¹ and implemented the *rawk* of Egypt. There are four views as to the date of the start of this *rawk*: (1) 6 Jumādā I 697;² (2) 16 Jumādā I 697;³ (3) Rajab 697;⁴ (4) Dhū al-Ḥijja 697.⁵ The first and third of these, handed down by *Ibn Iyās* and *Nujūm*, as well as the account of *Ṣubḥ*, are extremely brief records of the survey, while it would seem that in the fourth the date of the end of the survey appears in error for that of its start. I therefore think that we may choose the second view, that of *Sulūk*, which is the most concrete surviving account of the Ḥusāmī *rawk*, and so conclude that the survey started in 16 Jumādā I 697/1 March 1298 just before the harvest season of that year. No material can be found giving definite information as to the date of the inquiry, but in *Sulūk* it is recorded that the redistribution of *iqtā'*s began upon the conclusion of the inquiry on the 8th of Rajab/21 April.⁶ According to this account, the inquiry itself was carried out in a short period amounting to less than fifty days; examination of the method of carrying the survey may throw light on the reason for this short period. Thus the complete conclusion of the survey, after the redistribution of *iqtā'*s and also the change of the *kharāj* year from 697 to 698, took place in Dhū al-Ḥijja of this year/September–October 1298.⁷

¹ Al-Tāj 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭawīl (d.712/1312-3), who was a Coptic convert to Islam, had full knowledge of the *iqtā'*s held by the high officers of amirs (*Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 31, 364-365; *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.292v; *Muqaffā*, IV, 23). Another converted official, al-Fakhr Ibn Faḍl Allāh (d.732/1331-2), gained the Sultan Nāṣir's credit to exercise power arbitrarily in *iqtā'* grant (*Muqaffā*, VI, 516-517). As for the financial official (*mustawfi*), see *Ṣubḥ*, V, 466; *Ibn Mammātī*, 301; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928, p.33; D. P. Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam during the Bahrī Mamluk Period," in M. Gervers & R. J. Bikhazi eds., *Conversion and Continuity*, Toronto, 1990, pp.263-288.

² *Ibn Iyās*, I, 137; *Uqūd al-Jumān*, fol.30r; *Nujūm*, VIII, 90.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 843; *Zetterstéen*, 45.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 432.

⁵ *Nujūm*, VIII, 92. Al-Dawādārī simply says that it began in Jumādā I 697/March 1298 (*Kanz*, VIII, 371).

⁶ *Sulūk*, I, 844.

⁷ *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.199r; *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100. In order to correct the discrepancy between the solar and lunar calendars, it was customary to advance the solar calendar one year every 33 years the Hijra calendar. See Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.133-134; Türkhan, *al-Nuḥum al-Iqtā'īya*, p.106; S. H. Taqizadeh, "Various Eras and Calendars Used in the Countries of Islam," *BSOAS*, 9(1937-39), pp.903-922.

Two amirs, Badr al-Dīn Baylīk al-Fārisī and Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Zāhirī, were appointed responsible for the execution of the survey.¹ Along with the scribes (*kātib*) of the various departments and the financial officials (*mustawfī*), they mobilized the various local governors (*wālī*), and proceeded with the inquiry.² Thus, under the direction of the two amirs, the whole of this survey was carried out by making use of central and regional governmental organizations. It is to be supposed that this method of operation was one reason for the short time in which the inquiry was concluded. By comparison with the next cadastral survey, i.e. the Nāshirī rawk, the concrete contents of this survey are, unfortunately, not very clear. Let us quote the *Zubda* of Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), where there is a relatively detailed account:

[Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn] al-Manṣūrī and his representative, Mankūtāmur, were unanimous in their views as to the *rawk* of the villages, the lunar year taxes (*mu'āmalā*)³ and the *iqṭā*'s, and the reform of its organization. Thereupon they mobilized the scribes of the various departments (*dīwān*) and the financial officials, and orders were given to record the survey inquiry (*al-muqtarahāt al-rawkīya*), examine Egypt's real revenues (*irtifā*'), then verify the land registers (*qānūn*) and tax registers (*mukallaḥāt*) of the villages, together with their revenues (*mutahaṣṣilāt*) and the amounts of their *mu'āmalāt*, as well as the totals of the revenues in cash and kind.⁴

In short, an inquiry was carried out with the intention of examining the land and tax registers of each village, and so establishing the amount of the revenues. It may be said that these inquiries were essential for establishing the annual revenue (*'ibra*) of the *iqṭā*'.⁵ According to al-

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 841-843; *Nujūm*, VIII, 91; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198v; *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100.

² *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198r; *Sulūk*, I, 841-843.

³ According to al-Maqrīzī, the "*mu'āmalāt*" indicates some kinds of the lunar calendar taxes levied on the rich like merchants and men of property, i.e. *zakāt* and the taxes levied on such things as inherited property (*mawārith*), merchandise (*matjar*), alum (*shabb*), fruit garden (*bustān*), sugar cane (*qaṣab*), post station (*barīd*) and so on (*Khiṭaṭ*, I, 105, 107). See also *Sulūk*, II, 646-647; *Ibn Mammāti*, 307-308.

⁴ *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198r-v. The passage is quoted by al-'Aynī in his *Iqd al-Jumān*, III, 393.

⁵ Ibn Taghrībirdī also says, "The financial official, Tāj al-Ṭawīl, ordered all the department to draw up the documents concerning the *'ibra* of the *iqṭā*' of the amir and *jund*, and the land registers" (*Nujūm*, VIII, 92-93).

Nuwayrī, at the same time as this survey "there were carried out measurements of the land (*misāḥat rawk*) of every village";¹ but it seems that in practice these inquiries were not uniformly carried out for villages throughout Egypt. The reason for this lack of uniformity was that those responsible for the survey had been required to make a rapid inquiry; and so, "in some villages they really carried out inquiries, in others, they based themselves on conjecture."² It can probably be said that such an inadequate method of inquiry was another reason for the short time in which the inquiry was concluded. Despite any inadequacy, the survey documents (*awrāq al-rawk*) compiled in this way were all sent to Cairo, and on them were based decisions on the rate of land distribution and the redistribution of the *iqtā'*s.

Results of the Survey

The government examined the survey documents returned from all over the country, and started by deciding on the overall rate of land distribution. In *Khiṭaṭ* we find, "Under this survey, the sultan distributed 11 *qīrāṭs* (11/24) to the amirs and *junds*, and took 9 *qīrāṭs* (9/24) to apply to the *iqtā'*s of the newly introduced troops. Subsequently the sultan obtained the consent of the amirs and *junds* to 10 *qīrāṭs* (10/24) and applied the remaining 1 *qīrāṭ* (1/24) to the troops who had demanded an increase on the ground of the insufficiency of the *iqtā'*."³ That is to say, the 11 *qīrāṭs* were given to the existing troops, and the 9 *qīrāṭs* were designated as the portion of the *iqtā'* destined to the newly introduced troops; i.e., the *mamlūks*. The remaining 4 *qīrāṭs* not mentioned here were probably retained as the sultan's domain, just as before the survey.

However, there are two other accounts in *Nujūm* in regard to this distribution of land in Egypt. The first is that after the distribution of 11 *qīrāṭs* to the amirs and *junds*, 1 *qīrāṭ* from among them was allotted to troops whose *iqtā'* revenue was small; but at this time Sultan Ḥusām and his representative (*nā'ib*), Mankūtamur, were assassinated.⁴ The second is that when 14 *qīrāṭs* had been distributed to the amirs and *junds*, and 4 *qīrāṭs* to the sultan, then 2 *qīrāṭs* to soldiers of small *iqtā'*

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100.

² *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198v.

³ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88. In *Sulūk* only the same result is briefly stated, "10 *qīrāṭs* were apportioned to the amirs and *junds*, while the 11th *qīrāṭ* was granted to those who suffered from too small a *khubz* (*iqtā'*) revenue" (I, 843-844).

⁴ *Nujūm*, VIII, 92.

revenue, the sultan was assassinated.¹ The truth is, however, that the decision on the distribution of Egyptian arable land and the redistribution of the authorizations of assignment (*mithāl*) took place in Rajab 697/April 1298, while the successive assassinations of Sultan Ḥusām and Mankūtamur took place after the beginning of 698/January 1299.² In fact, the two accounts given by *Nujūm* may both be regarded as giving chronologically confused versions of the facts. Further, Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524) says, “13 *qīrāṭs* were left for the sultan,”³ but this may well be regarded as the sum of the figures of 4 *qīrāṭs* for the sultan’s domain and 9 *qīrāṭs* for the *mamlūks*, given by *Khiṭaṭ*. From the foregoing consideration we may reach the following conclusions as to the land distribution based on the Ḥusāmī rawk, as given by Rabie or Holt:⁴

- 4 *qīrāṭs*: sultan’s domain⁵
- 9 *qīrāṭs*: *iqṭā’* of the sultan’s *mamlūks*
- 10 *qīrāṭs*: *iqṭā’* of the amirs and *junds*
- 1 *qīrāṭ* : supplementary land for troops with small *iqṭā’* revenue

Before this cadastral survey, the sultan’s domain had been 4 *qīrāṭs*, the *junds* had 10 *qīrāṭs* and the amirs 10 *qīrāṭs*;⁶ it is therefore clear, simply from a comparison of the land distribution, that the amirs and *junds* (*ajnād al-ḥalqa*) received a severe blow as a result of the survey.

At this time, then, the right of protection (*ḥimāya*) of the amir in respect of the *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, which was the direct cause of the survey,

¹ *Nujūm*, VIII, 93.

² *Sulūk*, I, 844, 856-859; *Iqd al-Jumān*, III, 395; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 138.

³ *Ibn Iyās*, I, 137.

⁴ Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.52; Holt, “al-Manṣūr Lāchin,” p.528. Al-‘Aynī relates that the consent was obtained to that 14 *qīrāṭs* were applied to the whole army, 4 *qīrāṭs* to the sultan, 2 *qīrāṭs* to the *waqf*, and the remaining 4 *qīrāṭs* to unemployed soldiers (*baṭṭālūn*) (*Iqd al-Jumān*, III, 397). But we can not ascertain the passage “2 *qīrāṭs* were applied to the *waqf*” from the other historical sources.

⁵ At this time the areas previously maintained as the sultan’s domain (*khāṣṣ al-sulṭān*) were the provinces of al-Jīziya, al-Itfīhiya, Manfalūt and its surrounding villages, Huww and al-Kawm al-Aḥmar (all in Upper Egypt), and Thaghr al-Iskandariya and Thaghr Dimyāt (both in Lower Egypt) (*Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 346; *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100; *Sulūk*, I, 843-844; *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198v; *Iqd al-Jumān*, III, 395; *Nujūm*, VIII, 94). See also Halm, *Ägypten*, vol.1, pp.17-22.

⁶ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Sulūk*, I, 841; *Nujūm*, VIII, 920; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 137; *Jawhar*, 324; Poliak, *Feudalism*, p.28.

was abolished. At this point, *Khiṭaṭ* has the following to say:

The sultan abolished this (*ḥimāya*), returned the *iqtā'*s to the original holders, and placed them all outside the jurisdiction of the amir's office (*dīwān al-amīr*). The first to establish the *dīwān al-amīr* was Sayf al-Dīn Mankūtāmūr, the *nā'ib al-salṭana*, but the sultan removed the *iqtā'* there from its jurisdiction – it may be mentioned that the annual revenue of Mankūtāmūr, based on the *ḥimāya*, was 100,000 ardabbs. Then the other amirs similarly had removed the *iqtā'* under their right of protection from their own *iqtā'*s, and the *ḥimāya* was thus completely abolished.¹

Sulūk, too, gives a simplified account of this same matter.² Again, Baybars al-Manṣūrī says, "The *iqtā'* revenue of the *jund* was added to the revenues from their villages,"³ and this may probably be taken to signify the abolition of the *ḥimāya*. In any case, we can take it that the Ḥusāmī rawk carried through with the abolition of the *ḥimāya* in accordance with its objective.

Thus the Mamluk government, which had decided on the rates of land distribution and abolished the *ḥimāya*, proceeded on 8 Rajab 697/21 April 1298 to begin the distribution of the authorizations of assignment (*mithāl*). The order was the amirs on the first day, the *muqaddam al-ḥalqa* on the second day, then the *ajnad al-ḥalqa* on the third day.⁴ It is not clear when the turn of the Sultan's *mamlūks* for the *iqtā'* allocation came, but, under the Nāṣirī rawk, their *iqtā'*s were allocated after that of the *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*. Anyhow, at this time, all the *iqtā'* was allocated in a "complete form (*darbastan*)."⁵ When the *iqtā'* is described as *darbastan* at this time, the meaning is that all the rights to levy taxes within the *iqtā'* were allocated,⁶ but here what this actually means is

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88. On the *dīwān al-amīr*, see pp.87-90; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.64; B. Martel-Thomian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk (IX^e/XV^e siècle)*, Damascus, 1992, pp.131-132. According to Ibn Bassām, 100,000 ardabbs of crops cover amounts enough to provide for over 27,000 persons annually, while the maximum *iqtā'* revenue of 10,000 dirhams granted to a *ḥalqa* cavalryman, if one ardabb of wheat equaled to 15 dirhams, provides only for about 180 persons (*Akhbār al-Tinnīs*, 188).

² *Sulūk*, I, 865.

³ *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198v.

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 844.

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 844; *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100 (*Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 348).

⁶ *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 156; *Ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 123; *Sulūk*, I, 770; *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 217;

somewhat different. The reason is that under the Ḥusāmī rawk the poll tax (*jawālī*) and property of heirless persons (*al-mawārith al-ḥashrīya*) became the sultan's revenue, and at the same time *al-rīzaq al-aḥbāsīya* was also excluded from the *muqṭa*'s' rights, such as *waqf* for the sake of mosques, Sufi convents, preachers and the poor.¹ In fact, even after the survey, various possessors of special rights, from the sultan down, were concerned in the *iqṭā'*, apart from the *muqṭa'*.

The *mithāl* allocations were thus concluded, but, as a result, according to *Sulūk*, "it was clear that they (the amirs and *muqaddams*) changed color as a result of the smallness of the *iqṭā'* revenue ('*ibra*)."² An almost identical account is given by Ibn Taghribirdī,³ where it emerges that the allocations of the *iqṭā'* to the amirs and *muqaddam al-ḥalqa* were not up to their expectations. The situation was the same in respect of the *ajnad al-ḥalqa*. Some of them threw the *mithāls* away and demanded of Mankūtāmūr an increase of the *iqṭā'*:

We can not rely on a result like this. Give us sufficient *iqṭā'*s decreasing your *akhbāz* [i.e. *iqṭā'*s]. If not, permit us either to serve [not the sultan but] the amirs or to become unemployed soldiers (*baṭṭāl*).⁴

It is said that Mankūtāmūr confined their discontent by throwing them into prison.⁵ What then was the extent of the actual diminution of *iqṭā'* revenue for the amirs and *junds* as a result of this survey? The *iqṭā'* revenue per head after the survey is tabulated by *Khīṭaṭ* and *Ḥusn* in the following '*ibra table* (1).

There is no material now available giving concrete evidence as to the *iqṭā'* revenue of the amir and *muqaddam al-ḥalqa* before the survey. It is therefore impossible to investigate the change in their *iqṭā'* revenue resulting from the survey; but the following account in *Sulūk* in regard

Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.43.

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 844; *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100 (*Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 348); Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.52. A. I. Ḥasan says that only the *jawālī* and *al-mawārith al-ḥashrīya* were excluded (*Ta'rīkh al-Mamālīk*, p.344), but it would seem that *al-rīzaq al-aḥbāsīya* should also be added to these.

² *Sulūk*, I, 845.

³ *Nujūm*, VIII, 94; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.188.

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 846.

⁵ *Sulūk*, I, 846; *Nujūm*, VIII, 95; *Ma'āthir*, II, 122. Some soldiers who were granted "weak" (*da'if*) *iqṭā'* would not offer farm seed to their peasants (*'Uqūd al-Jumān*, fol.30r).

of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* has survived:

The *iqtā'* revenue [of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*] was reduced by comparison with their income at the time of Sultan Qalāwūn. In the past their minimum had been 10,000 dirhams, and their maximum had been more than 30,000 dirhams, but in no time did their maximum amount to only 20,000 dirhams. Then under this survey the maximum *iqtā'* revenue was fixed at 10,000 dirhams, and this was oppressive to the *ajṅād* [*al-ḥalqa*].¹

'ibra Table (1)

rank	'ibra (dīnār jayshī)
amir of hundred	80,000 ---- 200,000
amir of ṭablkhāna	23,000 ---- 30,000
amir of ten	7,000 or less
muqaddam al-ḥalqa	1,500 or less
mamlūk al-sulṭān	800 ----- 1,000
jund al-ḥalqa	250 ----- 1,000

On the other hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī says that the *iqtā'* revenue of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* was held at 20,000 dirhams or less;² but according to 'ibra table (1), the *iqtā'* income of the *muqaddam al-ḥalqa* was 1,500 dīnār jayshī or less; that is, 15,000 dirhams or less; so it would probably be right to suppose that the *iqtā'* revenue of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*, of rank inferior to the former, was not 20,000 dirhams or less, but 10,000 dirhams or less. This means, in fact, that, under the Ḥusāmī rawk, the maximum *iqtā'* income of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* was reduced by half, from 20,000 dirhams to 10,000 dirhams.³

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 846. See also *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Iqd al-Jumān*, III, 397. Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, who was among the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*, relates that he was granted most unfruitful *iqtā'* after the survey because his father, Aybak al-Dawādārī, was politically opposed to Mankūtāmūr (*Durar al-Tijān*, fol.229v).

² *Nujūm*, VIII, 94-95.

³ A. I. Hasan and D. Ayalon, who indicate no specific sources, both say that the *iqtā'* revenue of the *jund al-ḥalqa* after the survey was 20,000 dirhams or less, but they probably based themselves on *Nujūm*'s account, judged to be wrong at this point (Hasan, *Ta'riḫ al-Mamālik*, p.437; Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," p.452).

We can no doubt easily read into this that the government's intention was to raise the status of the sultan's *mamlūks* by sacrificing the *ajnad al-ḥalqa*. This was the first step in the decline of the *ajnad al-ḥalqa*, becoming even more evident after the Nāṣiri rawk.¹ And it is certain that, even in the case of the amirs and *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*, not only the *ḥimāya*, which had been one of their sources of revenue, was seized from them, but the *iqṭā'* allocation was not made according to their expectations. Thus, the distribution of the *iqṭā'*s was enough to arouse instantly in the amirs and *ḥalqa* lack of confidence in the government. Moreover, Mankūtāmūr, who was the most senior person responsible for the survey, made use of his special prerogative to seize on a vast amount of *iqṭā'*s,² and the reaction against the government was thereby strengthened. And so, on Rabi' II in 698/ January 1299, Sultan Ḥusām and Mankūtāmūr were assassinated by soldiers grouped round amir Qibjaq al-Manṣūrī, who was the Nā'ib Dimashq, and Sayf al-Dīn Kurjī, who was the commander (*muqaddam*) of *al-Mamālik al-Burjīya* (or *al-Manṣūrīya*) organized by Sultan Qalāwūn.³ I will not go into the details of the assassinations, but it is necessary for us to pay attention to the participation of such *mamlūk* troops, previously created by the sultan, as *al-Mamālik al-Manṣūrīya* and *al-Mamālik al-Ashrafiya*. These Mamluk troops remained an effective military body, even after the death of the sultan, though some of them were killed and exiled.⁴ So it was impossible for the sultan to establish and maintain a unified authority if he ignored them. Accordingly, on the occasion of the following Nāṣiri rawk, the most important question was how to place these *mamlūk* troops within the *iqṭā'* system.

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 846; *Zetterstéen*, 45. Al-Jazarī says that the rawk was a hard measure taken against the *ḥalqa* soldiers (*Mukhtār min al-Jazarī*, 389). See also Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," pp.451-457; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.53.

² Al-Nuwayrī says, "The *iqṭā'*s of the *nā'ib al-sultān* (Mankūtāmūr) are Marj Banī Humaym and the surrounding villages in Qūṣ, and Samhūd and its surrounding villages, as well as the water-mills (*dawālib*) and sugar cane pressing factories (*ma'āṣir*) in those districts, and then there are Ḥaraja Madīna Qūṣ and Udfū, and the revenue in cereals alone exceeds 110,000 ardabbs" (*Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fol.100). See also *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, fol.198v. According to al-'Aynī, Mankūtāmūr's *iqṭā'* revenue ('*ibra*) exceeded 100,000 dinārs after the rawk ('*Iqd al-Jumān*, III, 397).

³ *Abū al-Fidā'*, IV, 39-40; *Sulūk*, I, 855-856, 859; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 138; *Kanz*, VIII, 376f.; *Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il*, 611f.; *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 176; *Durar al-Tijān*, fol.229r.

⁴ On the measures taken against the old amirs from *al-Mamālik al-Manṣūrīya* and *al-Ashrafiya*, see R. Amitai, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad B. Qalāwūn," *SI*, 72(1990), pp.145-163.

2. *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī*

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn three times ascended the sultan's throne in Cairo (693–694/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–741/1310–41). Al-Nāṣir, who ascended the throne at a time when the power of the Mamluk dynasty was firmly established, concentrated his efforts on domestic administration, and, through the settlement of internal economic affairs, the power structure of the *mamlūks* was established. The Nāṣirī rawk, which began in 713/1313, was carried out four times. The dates and regions of the cadastral survey may be tabulated as follows:

- (a) 713/1313: al-Shām
- (b) 715/1315 : Miṣr
- (c) 717/1317 : Ṭarābulus
- (d) 725/1325 : Ḥalab

These are generally referred to collectively as *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī*, the Nāṣir's cadastral survey. I propose below first to set out the circumstances of each *rawk*, and then to examine the object and result of the surveys.

The Circumstances of the Nāṣirī Rawk

(a) The Rawk of 713/1313

We have no certain information as to the month of 713 in which this survey started. However, the dispatch of amir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwalī, Nā'ib Ghazza, to Damascus on account of the survey was in Dhū al-Ḥijja 712/April 1313 also just before the harvest season;¹ and the journey to Cairo of qadi Mu'in al-Dīn Hibat Allāh, who was head of the Syrian department of military affairs (*nāẓir al-jaysh bil-Shām*) on completion of his inquiries in Damascus was in Ramaḍān 713/January 1314.² Judging from these facts, the Syrian survey would have been carried out from around the middle of 1313 to the beginning of 1314.

¹ *Durar*, II, 266-267. See also *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Wardī*, II, 374. The person who proposed to the sultan carrying out the *rawk* was a Coptic convert to Islam, As'ad al-Shaqī, who had inherited the position of *nāẓir al-dawla* after the death of Tāj al-Ṭawīl, proposer of the Ḥusāmī rawk (*Muqaffā*, II, 77).

² *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.289-290; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.104r.

If we next look into who was responsible for the survey, we find that the most senior person appointed was not amir Tankiz, Nā'ib al-Shām, but Sanjar al-Jāwalī, Nā'ib Ghazza, mentioned above. The definite reason for making this choice is not known,¹ but it may well be supposed that, since this survey was centered on the province of Damascus, the government may have wished to avoid having a local person directly involved in it. On the other hand, Sultan al-Nāṣir himself went to Damascus on the way back from the Meccan pilgrimage in Muḥarram 713/May 1313, probably to supervise the survey.² Then, for the cadastral survey, the officials (*mubāshir*) of the departments of military affairs of Egypt and Syria as well as all the troops of Damascus and Ghazza were mobilized under the leadership of amir Sanjar al-Jāwalī and the other amirs.³ As to amir Sanjar, the person responsible for the survey, he was arrested in 720/1320 because of the claim that he had abused power in taking favorable *iqṭā*'s for his *mamlūks* and himself at the time of the cadastral survey.⁴

In all the material we find, "the survey of al-Bilād al-Shāmiya was carried out";⁵ but in fact this was not a *rawk* embracing the whole of Syria, from Ghazza in the south to Aleppo in the north. According to al-Nuwayrī, who lived at the time of the survey, "he (Sultan al-Nāṣir) ordered inspection of the villages of Syria; that is to say, Damascus and its surrounding country, and the regions of Ḥimṣ, Ba'labakk, Ghazza and Ṣafad."⁶ Again, in *Nujūm*, there is "the sultan carried out a survey in Damascus,"⁷ and also in *Ta'riḫ Bayrūt* there is " 'Alā' al-Dīn Ma'bad carried out a survey in the Ṣaydā' and Beirut regions."⁸ From these descriptions it appears that the principal towns of Northern Syria and the villages in the surrounding regions were not included in the area

¹ Before he was appointed Nā'ib Ghazza, amir Sanjar al-Jāwalī had served Sultan al-Nāṣir in supervising the state affairs (*Ṣafadī*, XV, 482; *Durar*, II, 266).

² *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.232; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.102r-v.

³ *Durrat al-Aslāk*, I, fol.412; *'Uqūd al-Jumān*, fol.45r-v; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols. 289-290; *Sulūk*, II, 127; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 158-159.

⁴ *'Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.345r-v; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.136r. Alṭunbughā al-Jāwalī served Sanjar al-Jāwalī, holding *iqṭā*' which revenue was about 20,000 [dirhams]. But when he was granted a lesser *iqṭā*' after the Syrian survey, he was dissatisfied with it and left for Egypt (*Manhal*, III, 72-73; *Kutubī*, I, 205).

⁵ *Sulūk*, II, 127; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 158; *Zetterstéen*, 160-161; *'Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.310r-v.

⁶ *Nuwayrī*, XXIX, fols.289-290.

⁷ *Nujūm*, IX, 36.

⁸ *Ta'riḫ Bayrūt*, 86.

covered by the survey. The fact that, as will be recounted below, surveys were carried out of the region of Tripoli in 717/1317 and that of Aleppo in 725/1325 may be imputed to their having been excluded from the scope of the survey under consideration at this time.

The survey documents composed at the time of the Nāṣirī rawk, as well as in the Ḥusāmī rawk, have not been found to survive even fragmentarily up to the present day. It is consequently extremely difficult to know anything about the actual content of the investigations in the case of this survey, but let us introduce the account of the year 713/1313 given by al-Maqrīzī:

Until [Sanjar] al-Jāwalī, having gone to Damascus, had drawn up the documents for every village of the 'ibra and *mutaḥaṣṣil*, the *iqṭā'* and *waqf* within the villages, as well as those of the privately owned land (*milk*), he remained there with the amir Tankiz, the *nā'ib*. When it was finished in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the *kharāj* year changed from 712 to 713, and these documents (*awrāq*) were presented to the sultan [in Cairo].¹

The *mutaḥaṣṣil* was the actual annual revenue made up of cash and kind, and the 'ibra was the annual revenue expressed by the conversion of the former into dīnār jayshī.² According to this account, the annual revenue was ascertained within village units, after which separate investigations were made into the *iqṭā'*, *waqf* and *milk* within the villages. According to Ibn Yaḥyā (9/15 c.), author of *Ta'riḫ Bayrūt*, the *iqṭā'* held by the ancestors (*al-salaf*) had in practice become the private land owned by their descendants, and one objective of this survey was to investigate this privately owned land and redistribute the *iqṭā'*s.³

The survey documents drawn up in the various localities of Syria were sent to the capital, Cairo, where the government issued new

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 127. On amir Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, Nā'ib al-Shām, see *Muqaffā*, II, 607-622; *Durar*, II, 55-62; *Dāris*, I, 123-125.

² Poliak says that the *mutaḥaṣṣil* was the *iqṭā'* revenue expressed in dirham which was the currency of the time ("Some Notes," p.99), but it should probably be regarded as the tax revenue in general, made up of cash and kind (*Khīṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Sulūk*, I, 844; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 438; *Zubda*, 14).

³ *Ta'riḫ Bayrūt*, 85-86. As to the privately owned land (*milk*), its ownership was guaranteed by law even under the *iqṭā'* system. For example, when Baybars took over a fruit garden (*bustān*) at Damascus, it is said that he was reviled as an unbeliever by the chief qadi (*Dāris*, I, 577-578).

authorizations of assignment (*mithāl*) based on them. Quṭb al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh, who was appointed head of the department of military affairs (*nāzir al-jaysh*) in Syria, carried these authorizations to Damascus, and then assigned them to every soldier. I propose to go into the result of the distribution of these *mithāls* later, and would at this point like to add that the opportunity of this cadastral survey was taken to abolish the miscellaneous taxes (*maks*). That is to say, there was total abolition in Syria of the prison tax (*muqarrar 'alā al-sujūn*), the bow-making tax (*muqarrar ḍamān al-qawwāsīn*), corvée on peasants (*sukhra*), and the sugar cane tax (*muqarrar al-aqṣāb*), together with the various miscellaneous taxes (*rusūm al-shādd wal-wilāya*) levied by the inspectors of official departments (*shādd*) and governors (*wālī*).¹ As regards the significance of this abolition, I propose to examine it when considering the abolition of miscellaneous taxes in the Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315.

(b) *The Rawk of 715/1315*

Sultan al-Nāṣir, who had put in order the military structure of Syria through this survey and redistributed the *iqṭā'*s based on it, next proceeded to put in hand a cadastral survey of Egypt. This was in the 17th year since the Ḥusāmī *rawk*, which had also covered Egypt. Before the survey, the government sent amirs all over Egypt, and ordered that the irrigation dikes (*jīsr*) and watercourses (*tur'a*) be put in good order.² This would seem to tell us that the survey on this occasion was carried out after thorough preparations. In fact, the Mamluk government used the occasion of this survey to carry through an important evolution in the *iqṭā'* system.

In Sha'bān 715/November 1315, the government divided Egypt into five regions of Lower Egypt and six regions of Upper Egypt: al-Gharbiya, al-Daqahliya and al-Murtāḥiya, al-Sharqiya, al-Manūfiya, and al-Buḥayra (Lower Egypt); al-Itfihīya, al-Fayyūm, al-Bahnasāwiya, al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwiya, al-Ikhmīmiya, and al-Qūṣiya (Upper Egypt). Into each region it sent people responsible for the survey,³ whose names are listed

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 136-137.

² *Sulūk*, II, 137-138; *'Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.314r-v; *Nujūm*, IX, 38-40; See also p.227.

³ *Sulūk*, II, 146-147; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Nuzha*, fol.80v; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.299-300; *Kanz*, IX, 286. There is also the view that the beginning of the survey took place in the month of Shawwāl of 715 (*Zetterstéén*, 164), but I prefer the view that it began in the month of Sha'bān. Also, al-Qalqashandī takes the year to be 716/1316 (*Subh*, III, 432), but this would seem to be wrong.

by al-Maqrizī and al-'Aynī:¹

Lower Egypt:

- (a) al-Gharbiya
amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī, naqīb al-jaysh Ṭaybars,² ḥājib Āqūl,³ kātib Makīn al-Dīn b. Qarawīna.⁴
- (b) al-Ḍaqahliya and al-Murtāḥiya
Qullī al-Silāḥdār
- (c) al-Sharqiya
amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur, Aytamish al-Muḥammadī,⁵ Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ, Sanjar al-Khāṣṣ Turki.
- (d) al-Manūfiya
Wābiyār Sāṭī, Balabān al-Muḥassin al-Razzāq.
- (e) al-Buḥayra
Mughultāy b. Amīr Majlis, Muḥammad b. Ṭurunṭāy,⁶ Balabān al-Ṣarkhadī, Ṭurunṭāy al-Qulanjiqī, Baybars al-Jamdār.

Upper Egypt:

- (a) al-Iṭfiḥiya
Bahādur al-Karakī, Ṭanqish b. al-Ḥimṣī.
- (b) al-Fayyūm
Ṭuquṣbā al-Zāhiri, Sanjar al-Damirī, Baybars al-Sāqī, Mughultāy al-Martīnī.
- (c) al-Bahnasāwiya
Aydughdī al-Talīlī,⁷ Uzbek al-Jarmakī, Khaḍir Ibn Nūkiya, Bahādur al-Ibrāhimī, Sanjar al-Marzūki.

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 146-147; *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.318r-v. Al-Qalqashandī quotes the first half of the document (*manshūr*) addressed to a Turkish amir at the Nāṣirī rawk (*Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 181-182), but unfortunately the actual order by the sultan might be included in the latter half of the document.

² Ṭaybars al-Khazindār 'Alā' al-Dīn was from *mamlūks* of Baylik al-Khazindār, *nā'ib al-salṭana*, in Egypt (*Durar*, II, 330-331).

³ *Khiṭaṭ* has A'zal (I, 88).

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ* has al-Makīn b. Farawīta (I, 88). We may suppose that he was the same person as Makīn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Qarawīna who was responsible for the *rawk* of 725/1325 in Aleppo.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ* has Aytamish al-Majdī (I, 88). Al-Yūsufi also says that amir Aytamish al-Muḥammadī was entrusted with the investigation (*kashf*) in the year of *rawk* (*Sirat al-Nāṣir*, 329-331).

⁶ *Khiṭaṭ* has al-Qalījī (I, 88) and *Sulūk* has al-Qalanjaqī (II, 147).

⁷ *Khiṭaṭ* has al-Balīlī (I, 88).

- (d) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwīya
Azuktamur al-Silāhdār, Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī.
- (e) al-Ikhhimīya
Qajlīs, Sunqur al-Sa'dī
- (f) al-Qūṣīya
Ṭuquṣbā

It is not recorded in these sources whether some of the persons, who were sent to Lower and Upper Egypt, were soldiers with the title of amir; but it would probably be right to suppose that at least one or two of them sent to the different regions were amirs.¹ Further, in addition to these in charge of the survey, there were sent from the government scribes (*kātib*), financial officials (*mustawfī*) and surveyors (*qayyās*) to deal with the actual inquiries, the land measurement and the preparation of the account books.² Moreover, it is related that Sultan al-Nāṣir himself proceeded to Upper Egypt to preside over the amirs and the scribes.³ Here too it may be said that there was an expression of great interest attached by the sultan to this cadastral survey.

Thus, with the amirs principally in charge, this survey was begun all over Egypt. Let us look at the actual content of the investigations according to *Khiṭaṭ*:

When those responsible for the *rawk* proceeded to the first district, they first summoned the village's *shaykh*, *dalīl*,⁴ notaries public ('*ādil*'), magistrates (*qāḍī*) and surveyors (*qayyās*); they then ordered that the registration certificates (*sijill*)⁵ in the keeping of the *muqta'* be produced.

¹ According to al-Nuwayrī, the sultan dispatched one or several amirs into a single region (*Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.299). See also '*Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.318r-v.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88. The *mustawfī* was an official responsible for the financial affairs, ordering the employees (*mustakhdam*) to submit accounts and notifying the chief of *dīwān* to start tax collection (*Ibn Mammātī*, 301). See also Martel-Thomian, *Les civils et l'administration*, pp.31, 48; H. Lutfī, *al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya*, Berlin, 1985, pp.64, 188, 190.

³ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.299-300.

⁴ The *dalīl* (pl. *dullā'*) was an official resident in a village, and it was his duty to compile the land registers and tax registers, and to determine the taxes on the peasants (*Sulūk*, II, 149, n.3; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.160).

⁵ The *sijill* (pl. *sijillāt*) were called *awraq al-sijillāt*, and on them were entered the peasant's name and the areas of his cultivating land, copies being held in the office (*dīwān*) of the *muqta'* (*Minhāj*, fols.98v-99r, 101r; *Ibn Mammātī*, 237, 305; *Ta'rif*, 153; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 250; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 458).

Next they investigated the taxes of the village in cash and kind, the nature of the kind, the area of the land, sown and unsown separately, then the *bāq*, *barā'ib* and *khars* in the village, together with the *mustabhar*.¹ Then they carried out an investigation of the *'ibra* of the district, and the tribute goods (*diyāfa*) like grain, fowl, goats, clover, dough, cakes and other items, to be presented to the *muqṭa'*.

Once these had all been recorded, the survey (*qiyās*) of the district began, and they proceeded to carry out a complete land survey, with the notaries public, surveyors and magistrates. They then decided on each village's tax registers (*mukallaḥa*) and land register (*qundāq*), as well as the sultan's domain, that of the amirs, the troops' *iqṭā'* and the profits of the *rizaq* land in the village. Then they moved on to another area. They came back after 75 days. In the documents collected were recorded the circumstances of ploughed land, the *'ibra* of the land of all the villages in Egypt, together with the cash and kind, and the nature of the kind, levied on every village.²

Sulūk and *Nujūm*, too, give an abbreviated similar accounts.³ Summing up the account given, we may analyze the content of the survey investigation as follows:

- (1) An investigation to obtain the tax situation, hitherto based on the *sijillāt*. On this basis were ascertained the amount of tax for a village, its land area and kinds of cultivated land, together with the tribute goods to be presented to the *muqṭa'*.
- (2) Establishment of the tax registers and land registers based on the land survey, together with decision on the ownership of the land. On this basis were determined the sultan's domain, that of the amirs, the troops' *iqṭā'* and then the *rizaq* revenue.

The first thing to be noticed in the above investigation, compared with the Ḥusāmī rawk, is its extreme thoroughness. In the Ḥusāmī rawk,

¹ *Bāq* was land suitable for the cultivation of wheat; and the year after the wheat crop, clover or beans were grown on it. *Khars* was uncultivated land, unsuitable for sowing; *mustabhar* was low land from which the water did not drain until the end of the sowing season. See Cl. Cahen "Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Égypte médiévale," *JESHO*, 5(1962), pp.258-260; Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, pp.80-85.

² *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 88. Ibn Khalil al-Asadī says that the Nāṣirī rawk in Egypt took four months (*Taysīr*, 72).

³ *Sulūk*, II, 149; *Nujūm*, IX, 43.

as has been said above, an investigation was carried out in order to ascertain the tax revenue for each village, and then, by a fresh but incomplete land survey, the *iqṭā'* revenue was established. The second special feature of the Nāṣirī rawk is that the types of tribute goods (*diyāfa*) to be presented by the peasants to the *muqṭa'* were itemized. This investigation of the *diyāfa* did not enter into the matter in the Ḥusāmī rawk. Ascertaining what was the intention of the government in carrying out such an investigation of the *diyāfa* may be regarded as the first step towards understanding the basic character of the Nāṣirī rawk. On this point there is the following account in *Sulūk*:

He (the sultan) added the *'ibra* of each village the *diyāfa* for which the peasants (*fallāḥūn*) were assessed, and the *jawālī* (poll tax) of each village. Previously, until the *rawk*, an independent *dīwān*, attached to the sultan, had been set up for the *jawālī*. But at this time, the *jawālī* of each village was added to its *kharāj* (land tax) revenue.¹

That is to say, to the *'ibra*, which had hitherto been calculated on the basis of the *kharāj*, were now added the *diyāfa* and *jawālī*. This may be said to have been a completely new method of calculating the *'ibra*, hitherto unknown under the *iqṭā'* system. There is no doubt that in the detailed investigation of the *diyāfa* in the survey of all Egypt, such a subsequent reformation was envisaged. Moreover, in the sense that as a result of this reformation, as will be explained later, the multifarious authorities which had to do with the *iqṭā'* so far were unified, a very great change was brought about in the *iqṭā'* system and indeed in the very structure of the Mamluk state.

After the survey had been carried out, the government abolished 29 kinds of miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs*), starting with customs duties on cereals transported to the port at Būlāq (*maks Sāḥil al-Ghalla*) and the tax levied on brokers' commissions (*niṣf al-samsara*),² after which it proceeded to decide on the general rate of distribution of arable land. That is to say, 10 *qirāṭs* (10/24) of the entire cultivated land of Egypt

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 150. See also *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Nujūm*, IX, 50. The *jawālī* tax was a state income also in the Ayyubid period (*Ibn Mammātī*, fol.12).

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88-89; *Sulūk*, II, 150-152; *Kanz*, IX, 286; *Nujūm*, IX, 44-48; *Nuzha*, fols.80r-81r; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.320-321; *Jawhar*, 350-351. The charter which ordered the abolition of miscellaneous taxes after the survey was discussed by A. S. Atiya, "A Mamlūk 'Magna Carta'," in G. N. Atiya and I. M. Oweiss eds., *Arab Civilization*, Albany, N.Y., 1988, pp.128-139.

became the sultan's domain, and the *iqṭā'* destined to the *mamālik al-sulṭān* was allocated therefrom. Then the portion of the *iqṭā'* for the amirs and *ajnād al-ḥalqa* was determined from the remaining 14 *qīrāṭs* (14/24).¹ The sultan's domain and the *iqṭā'* for the royal Mamluks totalled 13 *qīrāṭs* (13/24) under the Ḥusāmī rawk, so that on the occasion of this survey it was reduced by 3 *qīrāṭs* (3/24). I propose to discuss later the influence this reduction had on the *iqṭā'* granted to each soldier, and the results. In any case, the survey was completed, with the final distribution of about 200 authorizations (*mithālāt*) at the end of Muḥarram 716/April 1316.²

(c) *The Rawk of 717/1317*

As has already been pointed out, the cadastral survey of 713/1313 did not in fact cover the whole of Syria, but the central and the southern regions, omitting the northern part. *Rawks* were carried out in 717/1317 in respect of the region of Tripoli, and in 725/1325 in respect of the region of Aleppo, which were omitted on that occasion. At present there is no study to be found of what has so far been ascertained as to the execution of these two surveys or of statements as to their actual content.³ I will now try to give an account of the circumstances of these two surveys, while bearing in mind the *rawk* of 713/1313 in Syria.

First, the *rawk* of Tripoli. Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb al-Ḥamawī, who was chief of the military department of Aleppo (*nāzir Ḥalab*), was made responsible for this survey.⁴ Ya'qūb alternated several times between being chief of the military department of Tripoli and of Aleppo,⁵ but, at the time of this survey, he was chief of the military department of Aleppo. It may be conjectured that, as in the case of the survey of 713/1313, the chief of the military department of Aleppo was chosen for the survey

¹ *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 90. At this time the regions regarded as the sultan's domain were al-Jiza, al-Kawm al-Aḥmar, Manfalūt, al-Marj and Khuṣūṣ and the others. Among them some villages were allotted to the persons close to the sultan (*khāṣṣ*), his followers (*ḥāshiya*) and for the officials' stipends (*jāmakīyat al-mubāshirīn*) (*Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.235; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.111r). Concerning the accounts on the *rawk*'s result given by Ibn al-Jī'ān and Ibn Duqmāq, see Halm, *Ägypten*, vols.1-2.

² *Sulūk*, II, 155; *Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il*, 761-762.

³ Ṭurkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭā'īya*, p.101; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.53, n.5.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.363-364; *Sulūk*, II, 176; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.239; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.118r; *'Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.329r.

⁵ *Durar*, V, 209-210; *Tālī*, 181. Since Ya'qūb had been the financial official of Ḥamā (*mubāshir istifā' Ḥamā*) for a while, he was called Ya'qūb al-Ḥamawī.

of the region of Tripoli in order to avoid unfairness on the part of a local chief official.

The paucity of materials makes it very difficult to ascertain the actual content of the investigations; but in a general way, “a *rawk* was carried out of the region of Tripoli (al-Mamlakat al-Ṭarābulusīya), the surrounding areas (*a‘māl*) and strongholds (*qilā‘*, *ḥuṣūn*), and the limitrophe zones (*thughūr*).”¹ There is no doubt that on this occasion, as in the surveys of 713/1313 and 715/1315, investigations of the ‘*ibra* revenue to be levied on the villages of Tripoli and its surrounding country were carried out. This is because “as a result of this *rawk* the *iqṭā‘*s were secured for six commanders of 40 (*amīr ṭablkhāna*), three commanders of 10 (*amīr ‘ashara*), as well as fifty men of the Baḥrī Mamluks and *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*.”² Thus, when the investigations were concluded, Sharaf al-Dīn Ya‘qūb went to Cairo with the survey documents (*awrāq al-rawk*), and on the basis of them “the government began to decide on the distribution of the *iqṭā‘*s and the sultan’s domain, to apportion financial resources for the maintenance of fortresses (*qal‘a*, *ḥiṣn*), as well as to calculate the outgoings of the area in question.”³ With the conclusion of these operations in Ramaḍān 717/November 1317, *kharāj* year was changed, according to custom, from 716 to 717. And, in the case of this Tripoli survey also, various taxes, amounting to an annual sum of 110,000 dirhams, starting with the fowl tax and the prison tax, were abolished.⁴

(d) *The Rawk of 725/1325*

The cadastral survey of the region of Aleppo in Northern Syria began in Jumādā II 725/June 1325.⁵ For this *rawk*, too, material is scarce and it is very difficult to ascertain the actual content of the investigations. According to *Nathr al-Jumān* and *Sulūk*, those responsible for this survey were Muḡhulṭāy al-Jamālī, commander of 10 (*amīr ‘ashara*), and Makīn

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.363-364; *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.329r.

² *Sulūk*, II, 176-177; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.363-364. According to these sources, the *muqṭa‘*s total was 59, but *Khiṭaṭ* says, “The sultan fixed on 60 cavalry” (II, 171).

³ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.363-364.

⁴ *Sulūk*, II, 177; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.363-364; *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 82; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.118r.

⁵ *Sulūk*, II, 264. There is also the view that this survey was carried out in 724/1324 (*Ibn Iyās*, I, 164), but here I prefer to accept the view of *Sulūk*, which specifies the year and month.

al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Qarawīna, a chief financial official (*mustawfi al-ṣuḥba*).¹ Mughultāy was a *mamlūk* of the sultan and, at the time of this survey, held simultaneously the offices of *ustādār* and *wazīr*.² Makīn al-Dīn had been a secretary responsible for the survey in the al-Gharbiya region at the time of the survey of 715/1315 in Egypt, and was probably employed again for the survey in Aleppo on the strength of that experience.

We are told that they, accompanied by secretarial officials (*mubāshir*), proceeded to Aleppo and carried out investigations of the fortresses (*qal'a*) and the revenues (*ḥāṣil*) there for three months. As a result of this *rawk*, the *iqṭā'*s were assigned to a group of *mamālīk al-sulṭān* and *ajnād al-ḥalqa*.³ No further details are known of the content of their investigations, but I would like to draw attention to the fact that "they carried out the Aleppo *rawk* by the same method as in Syria."⁴ This is because we can conjecture, at least in respect of the Syrian region, that the same methods were used for the three surveys. This question will arise again when we examine the nature of the surveys later.

As al-'Aynī and Ibn Iyās say,⁵ the *rawk* of Aleppo concluded all the Nāṣirī *rawk* conducted over the principal regions under the Mamluk rule. Over ten years were needed from the Syrian *rawk* of 713/1313. However, records survive to the effect that two more cadastral surveys were carried out under Mamluk rule,⁶ after the Nāṣirī *rawk*; but we may suppose that these were not surveys on the scale of the Nāṣirī *rawk* and that they brought about no fundamental change in the nature of the *iqṭā'*s.

The Causes of the Surveys and Their Basic Principles

It may be said that the basic structure of the Mamluk state consisted of a regime with the sultan as its summit and the *iqṭā'* system which constituted its social and economic basis. Consequently, in order to bring out here

¹ *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.190r; *Sulūk*, II, 264, 812; *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.423v.

² *Durar*, V, 124.

³ *Sulūk*, II, 264; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.190r; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.253.

⁴ *Ibn Iyās*, I, 164.

⁵ *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.423v; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 164; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.253.

⁶ Under the year 791/1389, Ibn al-Furāt has, "the amir Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī ordered a *rawk* of every village, and again distributed *mithāls* to amirs who had become commanders of 100, of 40 and of 10" (IX, 109). Again, this same Ibn al-Furāt records under the year 798/1396 that Sultan Barqūq confiscated the *iqṭā'*s of three amirs, and carried out a *rawk* (IX, 437).

the causes and basic principles of the Nāṣirī rawk, I propose first to look into the Mamluk regime, and then to examine the interior structure of the *iqṭā'* system. The "Mamluk regime" is a general term to cover the organization of political power in the Mamluk state, but here I would like to define it as "an organization in which troops of *mamlūk* origin occupy the pivotal position in the state, and in which they control, through their holding of the *iqṭā'*s, the agricultural communities and the cities."

The sultan purchased *mamlūks* through slave-traders, and placed them in a military school (*ṭibāq*) where they were given religious instruction, manners required for the Muslim rulers and military training, after which they were released from slave status and incorporated into the army units directly subordinate to him.¹ Upon graduation from the military school, the *mamlūks* were given such weapons as bows and swords, and at the same time a certificate of release from slave status (*'itāqa*); and then they were allocated *iqṭā'*s from the sultan's domain. From this relationship between the sultan and the *mamlūks*, D. Ayalon extracts the next two points.² The first is the *mamlūks*' feeling of loyalty to the sultan as their purchaser, their instructor, their liberator from slave status, and, finally, the donor of the *iqṭā'*s. The second is the strong feeling of comradeship among the *mamlūks* (*khushdāshīya*) in belonging to the same group as a result of having been given instruction in the same school and serving the same master. This feeling of loyalty to the sultan and the *mamlūks*' consciousness of mutual comradeship resulted in the Mamluk military units maintaining an incomparable esprit de corps.

However, it may well be that the creation of such a Mamluk regime was not simultaneous with the creation of the Mamluk dynasty. If we are to speak of the Mamluk regime having been created, we must recognize that it involved the extension of the political and social power of the *mamlūks* as *iqṭā'* holders, instead of the fallen *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, and thus the establishment of control of the agricultural communities and the cities by the *mamlūks*.

It has already been said that as a result of the Ḥusāmī rawk, the *iqṭā'*

¹ D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem, 1951. For the structure of the army under the Mamluk dynasty, see also Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure I-III."

² Ayalon, *L'esclavage*, pp.27-31. When the *mamlūks* died with their master (*ustādh*) in the battlefield, they were buried together in the same graveyard (*'Iqd al-Jumān*, IV, 252). See also *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 160-161.

revenue of the *ajnad al-ḥalqa* was sharply reduced, and their military status began to decline gradually. The general reason adduced for this is that in point of military prowess they were inferior to the *mamlūks*. That is to say, the *ajnad al-ḥalqa* may be said to have been lacking in the consciousness of comradeship and feeling of loyalty attributed above to the *mamlūks*.¹ Even so, behind such direct causes, as was pointed out in the course of the analysis of the Ḥusāmī rawk, importance must be attached to the following clear intention of the government in addressing itself to carrying out the survey. That is, because the power of the old amirs was in the course of becoming a force in opposition to the government, the sultan intended to change the basis of his authority to the *mamlūks* he had purchased.² It may be said that the political and social standing of the *mamlūks*, by maintaining such a policy, extended gradually, and their consequent economic stabilization through the grant of the *iqtā*'s to them, was, for the Mamluk sultan of the time, absolutely indispensable measures. In fact, even if we examine the reasons for the Nāširi rawk given by contemporary historians, its purpose was somehow to find the *iqtā*'s for the royal Mamluks. For example, we find the following in *Sulūk*:

The reason for this survey was as follows. The sultan regarded the *akhbāz* (that is, the *iqtā*'s) of the *mamlūks* who were the retainers of Baybars al-Jāshankīr and *al-nā'ib* Salār, and of the surviving *al-Mamālik al-Burjīya* to be excessive. That is to say, this was because one *iqtā*' was between an annual revenue of 1,000 mithqāls (1,000 dīnārs)³ and 800 mithqāls, but the sultan was afraid of provoking riots by confiscating their *khubz*.⁴

Almost identical accounts are also given us by *Khiṭaṭ* and *Nujūm*.⁵

¹ See, for example, Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-I," 'al-Ḥalqa'.

² Amitai demonstrates that Sultan al-Nāšir intended to consolidate his rule based on his *mamlūks*, eliminating the old amirs from *al-Mamālik al-Manṣūrīya* ("The Remaking of the Military Elite," pp.145-163).

³ In the time of Sultan al-Nāšir, 1 mithqāl was equal to 1 dīnār (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 436-437; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.193; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics*, pp.89-90; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, p. 360).

⁴ *Sulūk*, II, 146. Al-Maqrīzī also says, "As'ad al-Shaqī, an ex-Coptic official, proposed the sultan to carry out the *rawk* for the reason that *al-Mamālik al-Burjīya*, who formed the majority of the Egyptian army, had held most of the countries [as *iqtā*']" (*Muqaffā*, II, 77).

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Nujūm*, IX, 42. *Nujūm* also says that the *iqtā*' of the *mamlūks*

In short, the political and social power of the *mamlūks* left over from the reign of the previous sultan was gradually increasing, and the sultan could not establish and maintain his own authority if he ignored them. From the above account it may be concluded that the first reason for the Naṣirī rawk was that, in order that the government should grant the *iqṭā*'s to the *mamlūks*, it was under the necessity to increase the number of *iqṭā*'s. For the authority of the sultan it became absolutely necessary to carry out a policy whereby, through the grant of the *iqṭā*'s, the *mamlūks* should be situated within the state organization, in other words, that, in the true sense, the Mamluk regime be established.

Even so, an increase in land by means of the survey was not alone sufficient for the establishment of the Mamluk regime; it was necessary that there be a fundamental reformation in the complicated power relationships connected with the *iqṭā*'. The reason was that it was otherwise difficult to bring about an increase in the tax revenue of a given region, and therefore impossible to ensure adequate *iqṭā*'s for the *mamlūks*. However, according to al-Qalqashandī, in general, the amir's *iqṭā*' in the time of the Mamluk dynasty was 1–10 villages, that of the sultan's *mamlūks* one village or a half, while that of the *jund al-ḥalqa* was made up of part of a village.¹ Further, the amir held multiple *iqṭā*'s, and in quite a number of cases these were dispersed over a number of different places.² This being so in many cases, how could the *muqṭa*', to whom were granted such village units of *iqṭā*', exercise their rights in respect of it before the Naṣirī rawk? In order to examine this question, let us here consider the facts of the right to levy taxes within the *iqṭā*'.

The principal rights possessed by the *muqṭa*' were the revenues from the land tax (*kharāj*) and the livestock tax (*marā'ī*) as shown in the 'ibra.³ And, as al-Qalqashandī too defines the *iqṭā*' as "the distribution of the *kharāj* land,"⁴ one may say that the basis was in fact the *kharāj*. As will be shown later, the 'ibra expressed in dīnār jayshī was not necessarily the same as the actual revenue, but in Upper Egypt and Syria, in the first half of the Mamluk period, taxes in kind were levied, and the rates were from 2–3 ardabbs per faddān, according to the

varied between 1,000 and 300 mithqāls, but this would seem to be wrong.

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 453-454; Poliak, *Feudalism*, p.19; Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks," pp.37-38.

² For example, *Sulūk*, I, 394; *Sīrat al-Zāhir*, 25; *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 228; VIII, 154; *Nujūm*, VIII, 80.

³ *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 218-219; *Sulūk*, II, 149-150; *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 50.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 104. See also *Najāṭī*, fol.19r.

classification of wheat or barley. In Lower Egypt cash collection was already in operation, and the levy was at the rate of 30–40 dirhams per faddān according to the classification of the arable lands.¹ In any way, the *muqta*'s administered urban economy through turning rural wealth to the cities where they lived.²

The second right held by the *muqta*' was that of levying the *ḍiyāfa*. The *ḍiyāfa* meant tribute goods presented to the *muqta*' by the peasants at irregular intervals, and it did not originally include cash. But it seems that, in practice, there were cases in which cash was paid in lieu of kind.³ As has already been said in the account of the circumstances of the Nāṣirī rawk, this *ḍiyāfa* consisted of fowl, goats, clover, dough, lentils, cakes and so on. Before the Nāṣirī rawk, this was not calculated in the annual estimates (*'ibra*).

The third right of the *muqta*' was that of levying forced labor (*sukhra*). For example, in 723/1323, the amirs shared responsibility for given lengths, and undertook the construction of the dikes (*jīsr*). "The amirs mobilized their peasants from various places," we are told.⁴ Apart from this, there are accounts scattered in the sources which show that when canals were dug or dredged, the amirs requisitioned peasants within the *iqtā*'.⁵ However, we have no details about the rate of this forced labor, apart from the fact that, according to the rank of the amirs, the *muqta*' had a specified duty to provide peasants labor for the state. No doubt labor was levied somewhat arbitrarily, according to the will of the *muqta*'.

Next, there is the poll tax (*jawālī*) levied from the *Dhimmīs*. As was said above, even before the Nāṣirī rawk, this was entirely devoted to the state treasury, and was levied by officials of the *dīwān al-jawālī*. However,

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 453–455; Lapidus, "The Grain Economy," p.3; Lutfi, *al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya*, p.123.

² Lapidus, "The Grain Economy," pp.1–15; Shoshan, *Popular Culture*, pp.52f.

³ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 245; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 103; Poliak, "Some Notes," p.106; Ḥasan, *Ta'riḥ al-Mamālīk*, p.440. Also, these tribute goods were called *ḍiyāfa* in Egypt, but in Syria they were called *rasm al-a'yād wal-khamīs*, literally "tax of feasts and Thursday" (*Nuwayrī*, VIII, 245). When the sultan passed through a great amir's *iqtā*' on his hunting, such tribute goods as sheep, goose, chicken, sugar cane and barley were presented customarily by him to the sultan (*'Umarī*, 31).

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 130, 166; *Sulūk*, II, 251. See also pp.229–230.

⁵ *Sīrat al-Manṣūr*, 25–26; *Sulūk*, II, 111–113; *Nujūm*, IX, 217–218. We find an example that the Ayyubid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ levied the *sukhra* on the Syrian peasants to transport a large number of mangonels (*manjanīq*) from Damascus to Ḥimṣ; this caused criminal damage to the Syrian countries (*Nuzhat al-Anām*, fol.73r; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p.295).

on the occasion of the cadastral survey in 715/1315, this *jawālī* also was added into the *'ibra*. As a result of it, the right to levy the poll tax became that of the *muqṭa'* instead of that of the officials.¹

How, then, were the miscellaneous taxes (*maks*) handled within the *iqṭā'*? Al-Qalqashandī says that the *maks* levied from the *iqṭā'* became the revenue of the *muqṭa'*, while the *maks* levied from the sultan's domain was the income of the government.² Even so there is some doubt whether, even before the Nāṣirī rawk, there existed in fact such a clear distinction in respect of the *maks* revenue. So, in order to examine this point, let us take up once more the *maks* abolished on the occasion of the survey. First, let us look at the cereal customs duty (*maks Sāhil al-Ghalla*): this was a miscellaneous tax levied at Būlāq port of call on all cereals collected from all over the country. While this revenue was a principal financial resource for the government, it was also distributed as *iqṭā'*s to 400 soldiers and a few amirs.³ According to al-Maqrīzī, apart from this, there were also a number of *muqṭa'*s severally assigned for the governor's tax (*rusūm al-wilāyāt*), the tax on girth-straps and mules (*muqarrar al-hawā'iṣ wal-bighāl*), the tax of prisons (*muqarrar al-sujūn*), the fowl tax (*muqarrar ṭarḥ al-farārīj*) and the tax of water-course tools (*mutawaffar al-jarārīf*).⁴

From this it is clear that, at least before the Nāṣirī rawk, the government's rights, or those of the *muqṭa'*s who received the revenue as *iqṭā'*, were involved in a number of miscellaneous taxes. Again there remained such miscellaneous taxes as those on broker's commissions (*niṣf al-samsara*), commercial goods, prisons, fowl, transit (*muqarrar al-fursān*), slaves (*shadd al-zu'amā'*), water-course tools, houses (*muqarrar al-buyūt*), those levied on military commanders and diplomats (*muqarrar 'alā al-muqaddamīn wal-rusul*) or on salts (*ḍamān al-milḥ*), which were levied by government officials throughout the country, irrespective of whether the land was the sultan's domain or *iqṭā'*.⁵

¹ Al-Asadī explains that the principal rights possessed by the amirs during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir were revenues as shown in the *'ibra*, the *ḍiyāfa* presented by the peasants, and the *jawālī* levied from the *Dhimmīs* (*Taysir*, 72). See also *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fols.146v-147r.

² *Ṣubḥ*, III, 467.

³ *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 88; *'Iqd al-Jumān*, IV, 360. On Būlāq port, see Popper, *Systematic Notes*, p.34; N. Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*, Cairo, 1983, pp.3-7.

⁴ *Sulūk*, II, 149-153; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 89-90; *Kanz*, IX, 286; *Nujūm*, IX, 44-48.

⁵ *ibid.* On the miscellaneous taxes, see *EI*,^a s.v. *Maks*.

Accordingly, it should be clear that there existed a large number of *maksēs* which do not agree with the description given by al-Qalqashandī, mentioned above. Also in the Syrian *rawk* of 713/1313, as in Egypt, a large number of *maksēs*, levied by inspectors or secretaries of government departments, were abolished. From all this we may conclude that, in fact, there existed three cases of *maksēs* levied for the *iqṭā'*: where they became the revenue of the *muqta'*, or the revenue of the government, or allocated to another soldier as *iqṭā'*.

It has emerged from the foregoing examination that, setting aside a few *iqṭā'*'s *darbastā*, in the ordinary *iqṭā'* there were not only the rights of the *muqta'*, but a complicated combination of poll taxes or the various kinds of miscellaneous taxes, levied as the sultan's, and then the second *muqta'*'s right to revenue from these miscellaneous taxes. As a result of this complex intermingling of various rights within the *iqṭā'*, it may be said that the people were subjected to severe oppressions, and as a consequence they contracted loans for large sums and fell into a kind of bankruptcy.¹ To put the system of distribution centered on the royal Mamluks into order, an increase in the number of *iqṭā'*'s and a procedure for making *iqṭā'* allocation functional were necessary. And there was also the requirement that the amount of revenue shown in the authorization (*mithāl*) be definitely obtained. For the simultaneous solution to these problems confronting the government, it was necessary that order be introduced into the complicated relationships of the rights connected with the *iqṭā'*, and that all the rights to levy the *kharāj*, *jawālī*, *ḍiyāfa* and so on, be placed under the *muqta'* alone. Also, by this means it should have become possible to obtain the *'ibra* as before from the smaller *iqṭā'*. We may thus probably conclude that the basic principles of the execution of the Nāṣirī *rawk* were to bring order into the complicated rights within the *iqṭā'*, in fact to unify the control of the *iqṭā'*'s.

Rabie lists four objectives of the Nāṣirī *rawk*: (a) establishing the revenue from each kind of tax by investigations on site; (b) abolition of taxes allocated as *iqṭā'*; (c) abolition or reduction of the large *iqṭā'*'s; (d) increase of the sultan's domain.² But we should not, I think, forget the existence of the clear and, indeed, consistent intentions of the government, as outlined above, lying behind these objectives. If we compare the

¹ Al-Maqrīzī says during the time of the Nāṣirī *rawk*, the people had suffered severities because of much debts (*maghārim*), burden (*ta'ab*) and evil administration (*zulm*) (*Sulūk*, II, 150).

² Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.53.

Ḥusāmī rawk and the Nāṣirī rawk, we find that the character of the two surveys coincides in the point of basing the royal Mamluks on the power of the sultan. But we can find important differences between the two surveys in that whereas the first objective of the Ḥusāmī rawk was the abolition of the protective relationship between the amir and the *jund*, that of the Nāṣirī rawk was the unification of the control of *iqṭā'*.

3. *The Establishment of the Mamluk Regime*

In the case of the Nāṣirī rawk, as in that of the Ḥusāmī rawk, the authorizations of assignment (*mithāl*) were distributed to each soldier at the conclusion of the investigations in each case. Taking the survey of 715/1315 as example, this distribution was made to the amirs, *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*, *mamālik al-sulṭān* and *ajnād al-ḥalqa*, in that order.¹ After Sultan al-Nāṣir had ascertained the name, birthplace, race and the date of arrival in Egypt of each soldier, since it was "just as if God made His distribution, he allocated the *mithāl* with his own hand without further special consideration."² That is to say, no consideration was given by the sultan to the connection between the location of the *iqṭā'* granted and the *muqṭa'*. This principle ran through the Syrian *rawks* too, and we are told that Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā Ibn Shaykh, who was chief of the military department (*nāzir al-jaysh*) at Syria, drew the *mithāls* from under a cloth, and handed them over without reading them, one by one.³ This would seem to have been a measure negating the local character of the *muqṭa'* and making the alternation of the *iqṭā'* free.

After the conclusion of the *rawk* of 715/1315, the value of the '*ibra* was fixed in detail in accordance with the ranks or appointments of the soldiers. This is displayed in tabulated form in '*ibra table (2)*.⁴ Before examining this table we must first explain the units of the '*ibra* used there, *dīnār jayshī*. This is because the way in which these *dīnār jayshīs* are explained is connected essentially to the way in which we may

¹ Zetterstéen, 164; *Sulūk*, II, 154-157; *Nujūm*, IX, 51-53. On the strength of the army during the Nāṣirī rawk, see Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," pp.70-71.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 90; *Sulūk*, II, 154.

³ *Ta'rikh Bayrūt*, 90. According to al-Maqrīzī, amir Tankiz, Nā'ib al-Shām, who found that *iqṭā' al-niyāba* increased against the custom after the Syrian rawk, ordered the *nā'ibs* of Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ṭarābulus, Ṣafad, and other provinces to write an answer to him about this increase (*Muqaffā*, II, 609).

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 218-219. cf. Poliak, "Some Notes," p.103.

apprehend the basic character of the *iqṭā'* system. The crucial question is how to interpret the fact that the rate of exchange from *dīnār jayshī* to dirhams differed according to the ranks of the amirs and soldiers (see '*ibra table (2)*').

H. A. R. Gibb mentions the *dīnār jundī*, which was the unit of *iqṭā'* revenue in the time of the Ayyubid dynasty, pointing out that the rate of conversion from *dīnār jundī* into kind or cash varied according to the rank of the soldier; but he maintains that this was for a different reason, which is unknown.¹ Cahen, too, quoting the same sources as Gibb, mentions the *iqṭā'* revenue under the Ayyubid dynasty, but he passes over the reason in silence.² For Poliak, too, the reason for such differing values of the *dīnār jayshī* is inexplicable, but he conjectures that the reason for the value of the *dīnār jayshī* being low in the case of the *wālī* was that he hoped to make use of his political position to make a profit.³ Rabie also takes up this question, saying that the value of the *dīnār jayshī* was always changing according to fluctuations in the value of gold or cereals, but he leaves the matter without explanation of the question of why the value of the *dīnār jayshī* of the *iqṭā'* varied in the cases of specific soldiers.⁴

It must therefore be said that up to now no adequate explanation of the *dīnār jayshī* has been produced. In order to study this question, let us first see what is said by one of the encyclopaedists of the time, al-Qalqashandī. His account in *Ṣubḥ* may be summed up in the following two points:⁵

- (1) The *dīnār jayshī* was adopted as the unit for expressing the '*ibra* of the *iqṭā'*, and before the conversion rate differed according to the ranks of the soldiers, it had already differed according to the *iqṭā'*.
- (2) In the past, 1 *dīnār jayshī* had been 13 1/3 dirhams, but, with the passage of the time, the value changed, and the '*ibra* expressed in *dīnār jayshī* came not necessarily to correspond with the size of the *iqṭā'*.

¹ Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," pp.74-90.

² Cahen, "L'évolution de l'iqṭā'," pp.45-48.

³ Poliak, "Some Notes," p.100.

⁴ Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.49.

⁵ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 438-439. See also '*Umarī*, 14; *Ibn al-Jī'ān*, 3.

'Ibra Table (2)

military rank	d.n.j./ soldier	dirham/ d.n.j.	dirham	outgoings (dirham)	true revenue (dirham)
amir of 100					
(a) khāṣṣakiya	100,000	10	1,000,000	100,000	900,000
(b) kharjiya	85,000	10	850,000	70,000	780,000
nā'ib	100,000	10	1,000,000	100,000	900,000
wazīr	100,000	10	1,000,000	100,000	900,000
amir of 40					
(a) khāṣṣakiya	40,000	10	400,000	35,000	365,000
(b) kharjiya	30,000	8	240,000	24,000	216,000
kāshif	20,000	8	160,000	15,000	145,000
wālī	15,000	8	120,000	10,000	110,000
amir of 10					
(a) khāṣṣakiya	10,000	10	100,000	7,000	93,000
(b) kharjiya	7,000	10	70,000	5,000	65,000
wālī	5,000	7	35,000	3,000	32,000
muqaddam					
mamālik al-s.	1,200	10	12,000	1,000	11,000
muq. al-ḥalqa	1,000	9	9,000	900	8,100
naqīb alf	400	9	3,600	400	3,200
mamlūk al-s.					
(a) 400 men	1,500	10	15,000		
(b) 500 men	1,300	10	13,000		
(c) 500 men	1,200	10	12,000		
(d) 600 men	1,000	10	10,000		
jund al-ḥalqa					
(a) 1500 men	900	10	9,000		
(b) 1350 men	800	10	8,000		
(c) 1350 men	700	10	7,000		
(d) 1300 men	600	10	6,000		
(e) 1300 men	500	10	5,000		
(f) 1100 men	400	10	4,000		
(g) 1320 men	300	10	3,000		

d.n.j.: dinār jayshī

s.: sulṭān

That is to say, as the result of the *iqṭā'* allocation of which the *'ibra* was not proportionate to the real revenue, it was to be expected that differences between soldiers in the value of the *dīnār jayshī* would begin to occur. Let us next examine the actual manner of computing the *'ibra*. According to *Khiṭaṭ*, wheat was reckoned at 20 dirhams per ardabb, and other cereals at 10 dirhams, then the *'ibra* was reckoned at the rate of 1 *dīnār jayshī* to 10 dirhams.¹ Unfortunately we do not know the conversion rate of *ḍiyāfa*, apart from cereals, like fowl or clover, which were reckoned in the *'ibra* after the Nāṣirī rawk. However, it seems clear from the above considerations that in the course of converting from dirhams to *dīnār jayshī* in respect of the *iqṭā'*, conversions were made at the rate of 9 dirhams or 8 dirhams per *dīnār jayshī* in order to increase the apparent *'ibra*. So those who were allocated *iqṭā'*, estimated above the real revenue – that is to say, *iqṭā'* under bad conditions – were like commanders of 40 or *muqaddam al-ḥalqa* in group (b) of the *'ibra table (2)*.

It is clear from the *'ibra table (2)* that about 10 % of the *iqṭā'* revenue of each amir was deducted as outgoings (*kalaf*). What would this mean? After telling us that the *jawālī* and *ḍiyāfa* were added to the calculation of the *'ibra* at the Nāṣirī rawk, al-Maqrīzī says, "He (the sultan) wrote the authorizations of *iqṭā'* grant (*mīthāl*) for the soldiers according to this regulation, and added there the costs of transporting cereals (*kalaf ḥiml al-ghilāl*) to the river port at Cairo from elsewhere, and the customs duties (*maks*) levied on them."² According to this, there is no doubt that "outgoings" in the *'ibra table (2)* additionally included the transport costs of grains levied as kind and the customs duties assessed on them.³ We do not know what percentage of the *'ibra* the customs duties and transport costs respectively amounted to, but it is important that for the *muqṭa'* these outgoings had previously been reckoned in the *'ibra*. According to such considerations as these, the reason was the undoubted intention of the government to raise the nominal *'ibra*.

Let us next compare *'ibra table (1)* summarizing the Ḥusāmī rawk, and the *'ibra table (2)* summarizing the Nāṣirī rawk. The minimum *iqṭā'* revenue for amirs of one hundred increased from 8,000 *dīnār jayshī* to 8,500, but the maximum is halved from 200,000 *dīnār jayshī* to

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 218.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88. In fact, the government, instead of abolishing the *maks Sāhil al-Ghalla*, had previously added it into the *'ibra*.

³ Poliak, "Some Notes," p.103, n.1.

100,000. Amirs of forty and of ten, to whom were granted *iqṭā'* of higher *'ibra* than before, belonged to the Khāṣṣakiya group, which we may suppose to have been the amirs who formed the sultan's bodyguard.¹ Furthermore, the *iqṭā'* of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*, whose *'ibra* was limited to less than 1,000 dīnār jayshī after the Ḥusāmī rawk, was further reduced after the Nāṣirī rawk, when their *'ibra* was brought below 900 dīnār jayshī. Moreover, those *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* who, by reason of age or disability, were judged unfit for military service, were paid, on the occasion of this survey, an annual income of 3,000 dirhams instead of *iqṭā'*.² On the other hand, the *'ibra* of the sultan's *mamlūks*, which was 800 – 1,000 dīnār jayshī before the cadastral survey, increased sharply to 1,000 – 1,500 dīnār jayshī after the survey. Here too the government's intention to make the *mamlūks* the direct basis of the sultan's power emerges clearly.

From *'ibra table (2)*, we learn that as a result of the Nāṣirī rawk and the accompanying changes, progress was made to render functional an allocation of the *iqṭā'*s corresponding to soldiers' ranks or to the offices of such persons as governors (*wālī*) or tax inspectors (*kāshif*). Hereafter, allocation or alternation of the *iqṭā'*s by the sultan became easy to carry out, and this was a further step in strengthening the government's control over the *muḥṭa'*s.

The foregoing is an account of the results of the surveys as seen in the relationship between the sultan and the *iqṭā'* holders. I next propose to examine what sort of changes were brought about in the relationship between the *iqṭā'* holders and the peasants. As was said above, a basic principle of the operation of the Nāṣirī rawk was to bring order into the multifarious rights connected with a single *iqṭā'* and bring about uniformity. Acting on this principle, the government brought about a reformation in the taxation system by returning to the *muḥṭa'* all the rights to levy the land tax (*kharāj*), poll tax (*jawālī*) and tribute goods (*diyāfa*), and it also proceeded to abolish as many as some dozen miscellaneous taxes (*maks*). This series of measures necessarily involved a withdrawal of the officials sent out all over the country. Al-Maqrīzī continues his account of the abolition of the miscellaneous taxes as follows:

[With the abolition of these taxes], there was a withdrawal of officials

¹ See Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-I," pp.213-216.

² *Sulūk*, II, 156; *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 90; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.54.

(*mubāshir*) from all over the country. In the past there had been no town or village (*balad*), whether in Upper Egypt or Lower Egypt, whether large or small, in which there had been no scribe (*kātib*) or superintendent (*shādd*) or such. The sultan abolished these officials (*mubāshir*), and then removed them from all districts apart from those villages where there was government revenue.¹

There is an almost identical account in *Sulūk*, and *Nujūm* also gives an account which seems to have been based on that of *Khiṭāṭ*.² The officials sent out by the government were generally termed *mubāshirs*, but this appellation, in fact, covered such persons as heads of regional departments (*nāzir*), secretaries (*kātib*), inspectors (*kāshif*), tax collectors ('*āmil*), notaries public ('*ādil*), local controllers (*mutaḥaddith*) and money changers (*ṣayrafi*).³ On the occasion of the Nāṣirī rawk, these officials were removed from districts which provided no governmental revenue: that is to say, districts outside the sultan's domain. As a result of this, one may state that it became possible for the *muqta*' to control his own *iqtā*' uniformly without the intervention of another authority. According to al-Nuwayrī, this meant that all the *iqtā*' in Egypt became *iqtā*' *darbastā*.⁴

Then, was this reformation, whereby all the *iqtā*' became *iqtā*' *darbastā*, also put into operation in the same way in Syria? It has already been said that the *rawks* of Tripoli and Aleppo were basically of the same character as the Syrian *rawk* of 713/1313. However, it is not clear whether, in the case of the Syrian *rawk*, the *jawālī* and *diyāfa* were added into the '*ibra* in the same way as in the case of Egypt. But al-Nuwayrī does say, in the course of his account of the Tripoli *rawk*, "the *diyāfa* in regard to hay (*hashīsh*) and salt (*milḥ*), over which, before the survey, there had not customarily been rights, now came to be levied

¹ *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 89-90.

² *Sulūk*, II, 153-154; *Nujūm*, IX, 48. The account of *Sulūk* which corresponds to that of *Khiṭāṭ*, quoted in my text here, is as follows: "The sultan abolished the duties of inspection and financial supervision throughout the regions. Hitherto there had been inspectors (*nāzir*), financial officials (*mustawfi*) and other officials (*mubāshir*) placed in every village. The sultan did not employ a single official in regions where there was no governmental revenue, and even in cases where there was such revenue, he gave orders that none should be appointed but *nāzir* and *amīn ḥukm*."

³ *Sulūk*, II, 360; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 452. Also, since there were cases where *mubāshir*, unlike government officials, meant private officials of the *muqta*'s, who managed the *iqtā*', it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the two (*Sulūk*, II, 18-19, 82; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 454; '*Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.346r).

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.299-300.

from the peasants in the *iqṭā'* of the amir."¹ I believe this to be simply, in fact, a change aimed at bringing uniformity into the management of the *iqṭā'*. In fact, as a result of the *rawk* of 713/1313, apart from *milk* (privately owned land), *waqf*, and *al-mawārith al-ḥashrīya* (property of persons without heirs), Syrian territory was distributed as *iqṭā' darbastā*.² Moreover, since the *jawālī* (poll tax) was not included in the three items excepted at this time, it may be conjectured that levying was allocated to the *muqṭa'* in the same way as in Egypt. One would therefore not be far wrong in concluding that changes were put into effect under the Syrian *rawk* in much the same way as in Egypt.

Anyway, as a result of the above unification of control of the *iqṭā'*, the right of levying the poll tax was transferred from the government to the *muqṭa'*s. As a result of this, the *Dhimmīs* of each village came to pay *jawālī* to their *muqṭa'*.³ However, we are told that thereupon the *Dhimmīs* – almost all of them were the Copts in the case of Egypt – evaded this payment by moving from village to village.⁴ Since the *muqṭa'*'s *jawālī* revenue was thus reduced, *muqṭa'*s everywhere, to prevent this, were obliged to improve the treatment of Egyptian Copts.⁵ Even so, there is no doubt that it was very difficult for the *muqṭa'*s anywhere independently and, indeed, completely to supervise and control their own *iqṭā'*s.

It is certain that the unification of the control of the *iqṭā'*, described above, did not immediately lead to the *muqṭa'*s becoming independent. This is because *muqṭa'*s had the duty to register the number of soldiers under them with *dīwān al-jaysh*, and they did not have the right to employ and dismiss these soldiers of their own free will.⁶ Also, if we look into the question of whether the *iqṭā'* was hereditary or non-hereditary, no material can be found to show that, under Mamluk rule,

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.372. Ibn Duqmāq relates also that the sultan abolished *diyāfat al-rawk* in the Syrian survey in 713 (*Jawhar*, 349).

² *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 87.

³ According to Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī (d. after 770/1368), in 721/1321 the government ordered to double the poll tax in Upper Egypt: the ordinary one is for the *muqṭa'*s according to the decision at the Nāṣirī Rawk, and the increased one is for the government (*Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fols.146v-147r).

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 90; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.320-321; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.55; Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, p.143.

⁵ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.321.

⁶ *'Umarī*, 47-48; Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," p.459; Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.39-41; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration*, pp.47-49.

the right to *iqtā'* was invariably hereditary by law. But it does seem that in the case of Syria, as compared with Egypt, *iqtā'*s were frequently inherited.¹ Relatively speaking, however, it is to be supposed that both in Egypt and in Syria, the local character of the *muqta'* was weakened after the survey, and that, as a result, the tendency for the *iqtā'* to be non-hereditary was further strengthened. This would seem to be endorsed by the frequent mention, in materials dealing with events subsequent to the Nāṣirī rawk, of changes in the *iqtā'* due to transfer (*naql*), death or loss of position. For example, soon after the *rawk* of 725/1325, many Syrian amirs were transferred to other posts with new *iqtā'* assignments.² In spite of the unification of the *iqtā'* as a result of the survey, the existence of a state authority with centralized powers stood in the way of *muqta'* independence and the right to allocate or remove *iqtā'*s was placed under the absolute power of the sultan in the form of his indivisible right to appoint or dismiss amirs or other soldiers.

As a result of the Nāṣirī rawk, then, as already mentioned, the *ajnād al-ḥalqa* were placed in a conspicuously disadvantageous position concerning *iqtā'* holding. However, as Ayalon says, the status of the *ajnād al-ḥalqa* was not lowered all at once after the survey, nor was the preeminence of the royal Mamluks confirmed.³ And also, since the *ajnād al-ḥalqa* of Syria held *iqtā'* of higher 'ibra than those of Egypt,⁴ there was probably a certain amount of difference between their history in Syria and Egypt. But in 722/1322, two amirs of 40 were ordered to go to Ṣafad, where they were granted *iqtā'*s confiscated from eighty *jund al-ḥalqas*.⁵ Furthermore, after the survey the *ajnād al-ḥalqa* found themselves in difficulty over the management of the *iqtā'*s: some of them made abolition (*nuzūl*) of it, and some of them were ruined when taking measures to buy and sell (*muqāyada*) it.⁶ In particular, on the

¹ For example, see *Ta'riḫ Bayrūt*, 174, 176, 189, 191, 193, 197, 202; *Ta'riḫ Jalīl*, I, fol.66; II, fol.245; III, fol.598.

² *Ta'riḫ Jalīl*, III, fol.506.

³ Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-II," p.474.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 216.

⁵ *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.157v. In 721/1321 the sultan put about seventy *ajnād al-ḥalqa* into prison at Cairo confiscating the *akhbāz (iqtā')* because of their neglect of managing *iqtā'*s (*Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.143v). Furthermore, in 728/1327-8 when 260 *mamlūks* of the sultan arrived at Damascus, some of them were also allocated *iqtā'*s confiscated from *ajnād al-ḥalqa* (*Ta'riḫ Jalīl*, I, fol.107).

⁶ *Sulūk*, II, 597, 643; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 219; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.157v; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris, 1923, pp.XLIV ff.; Poliak,

occasion of the great plague of 749/1348-9, there was an increasing number of cases of ordinary people (*'amma*), such as officials or merchants, obtaining *iqṭā'*s of *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* who had died.¹ It perhaps goes without saying that the course of this ruin of the *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* was paralleled, in reverse, by that of the establishment of the preeminence of the royal Mamluks, both in status within the army and in point of *iqṭā'* holding. These royal Mamluks operated advantageous *iqṭā'* holdings, which they used as a basis on which gradually to strengthen their control over agricultural communities. Through their *iqṭā'* holdings they levied taxes on the peasants, and, by accumulating in the cities what they received in kind, they brought the real economic power of the cities into their hands.² It is probably at this point that the Mamluk regime first took shape as I defined it at the outset.

Finally, in summarizing some of the various changes which accompanied the cadastral surveys, I would like to add the following points. The first is a change in the manner of dealing with farm seed (*taqāwī*). In the past the sultan's seed (*al-taqāwī al-sulṭānīya*) was regarded as a concomitant to the *iqṭā'* holding; but on the occasion of the *rawk* of 715/1315 in Egypt, this *taqāwī* was confined to the various villages.³ However, this does not seem to have involved doing away with the distinction between *al-taqāwī al-sulṭānīya* and *al-taqāwī al-baladīya* (seed belonging to village). This is because the *al-taqāwī al-baladīya* was "taqāwī for village cultivation," and so may be considered to have been customarily supplied to the villages.⁴ Secondly uncollected money (*bawāqī*) before and up through the end of 714/1314 was exempted.⁵ This was a benevolent measure, in line with the abolition of miscellaneous taxes. It was also decided, in conjunction with this measure, to levy the tax based on the lunar calendar (*al-māl al-hilālī*) from the month of Ṣafar of 716, and the tax based on the solar calendar (*al-māl al-kharājī*) from the first one-third of 715.⁶ Thirdly corresponding to

Feudalism, pp.28-29. In 746/1345-6, it was proclaimed that any *muṣṭa'* who wished *muqāyada* or *nuzūl* should pay the same amount of his *iqṭā'* revenue (*'ibra*) to the state treasury (*Sulūk*, II, 687; *Muqaffā*, II, 225-226).

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 783, 785-786, 830; *Dāris*, I, 640; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.56.

² Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, Chap.3; id., "The Grain Economy," pp.1-14.

³ *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 91; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.55.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 44, 48, 50, 79-80, 88, 90, 123, 154, 171. See also pp.200f.

⁵ *Sulūk*, II, 153; *Nujūm*, IX, 49.

⁶ *ibid.* In 746/1345-6, thirty one years after the cadastral survey, all the amirs and *ajṅād al-ḥalqa* were exempted from the remainder of both military service (*khidma*)

the designation of districts of al-Jiza and Manfalūṭ as the sultan's domain, certain villages were designated for the sultan's retainers (*ḥāshiya*) and officials, while the prime minister (*wazīr*) was entitled to the revenue of non-exempted miscellaneous taxes.¹ Finally the land which had been purchased from the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*) was bought back and allocated as *iqtā'*s.²

According to al-Maqrīzī, the new regime brought into being by these reforms persisted until the end of the rule of the house of Qalāwūn with the appearance on the scene of Sultan Barqūq in 784/1382. And even thereafter, this regime is said to have continued until the many changes made in the wake of the great disaster of 806/1404-5.³ Furthermore, al-Qalqashandī says that these surveys helped establish the basis of an empire (*qā'idat al-mamlaka*) which continued up to the reign of Sultan Ashraf Sha'bān (764-778/1363-77).⁴ On the other hand, Ibn Khalīl al-Asadī (9/15 c.) estimates that the Nāṣirī rawk brought about the prosperity of villages through fair administration promoting public welfare (*maṣāliḥ*), which continued until the reign of Sultan Barqūq.⁵ However, it just may be that the rawk also brought about great changes in the construction of the *iqtā'* system and determined the state structure for the middle of the Mamluk period. This may well be the most important historical significance of the Nāṣirī rawk.

and unproportionate payment (*tafāwut*) for the discrepant days resulted from the advancement of the solar calendar (*Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, III, 89).

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 153; *Nujūm*, IX, 50; *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.299-300; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.55.

² *Sulūk*, II, 153; *Nujūm*, IX, 50. As to the purchase of privately owned land by the amirs, see *Ta'riḥ Jalīl*, III, fols.481, 488-489.

³ *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 91. The barīd system which was established by Sultan Baybars was also abolished in 803/1400-1 under the rule of Sultan Faraj ('*Uqūd al-Jumān*, fol.13r). See also *Ighātha*, 41-47, on the disaster of the year 806/1403.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 14.

⁵ *Taysīr*, 74, 76-77. Levanoni also regards that *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* brought an improvement in the lot of the farmers who lived on the *iqtā'āt* (*A Turning Point*, pp.143-144).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REVOLT OF THE NUṢAYRĪ PEASANTS IN JABALA

The Nuṣayrīs (al-Nuṣayrīya), or the Alawīs, belong to one of the extremist Shī‘a sects formed in Syria during the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Holding to the original Shī‘ite idea, they came to consider the first Imam, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, to be the most important manifestation of the “hidden sense” (*ma‘nā*). It is said that they learned a secret way of teaching people from the Ismā‘īlīs stationed at Maṣyāf and Qadmūs, and took their liturgy from the native Christians. Though the name of al-Nuṣayrīs is attributed to one theologian, Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr ‘Abdī (d. 218/833-4), members of the sect called themselves simply “the Believers” (*al-Mu‘minūn*). Since they were a minority with a peculiar religious life, they experienced oppression and massacre by the Crusaders, the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (658–676/1260–77) and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (918–926/1512–20). Today, most of the Nuṣayrīs live in the mountainous areas, Jabal Anṣārīya or Jabal al-Nuṣayrīya,¹ east of Latakia and Jabala, and make up around 11% of the Syrian population.² This area has complex geographical features stretching from plains on the Mediterranean Sea to mountains over a thousand meters in height, overlooking the beautiful countryside around the coastal towns.

On 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja 717/20 February 1318 these Nuṣayrī peasants rose up against the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir and were led by a

¹ *Nukhba*, 209; *Taqwīm*, 232; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairīs*, Paris, 1900, p.2; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp.81-82; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London and New York, 1986, pp.2, 232; K. M. Setton ed., *A History of the Crusades*, vol.1, Madison, 1969, p.305, map.5.

² As of the year 1970 the number of ‘Alawīs or Nuṣayrīs was 690,000 in Syria, 185,000 in Turkey and 9,000 in Lebanon. See D. Gubser, “Minorities in Power: The Alawites of Syria,” in R. D. McLaurin ed., *The Political Role of Minority Groups in the Middle East*, New York, 1979, pp.17-18. For an account of their history and religion, see Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairīs*; *EI*, s.v. Nuṣairiyya; H. Halm, *Shiism*, Edinburgh, 1991, pp.156-161; M. M. Bar-Asher and A. Kofsky, “An Early Nuṣayrī Theological Dialogue on the Relation between the *Ma‘nā* and *Ism*,” *Le Muséon*, 108(1995), pp.169-180.

man who called himself the Messiah (al-Mahdī). His followers had once numbered 3,000 (or 5,000 according to other accounts).¹ When amir Qirtāy, governor of Tripoli, received the news that the Nuṣayrī peasants had attacked the town of Jabala, he dispatched 1,000 cavalymen to quell the revolt. The troops easily killed al-Mahdī, and the revolt ended within five days. We may therefore consider the revolt itself as having no serious effect on the Mamluk regime during the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir (709–741/1310–41). However, when we look a little closer, there appears to be a close relationship between the revolt and the government's policy to strengthen the Sunnite regime. U. Vermeulen explains it as a social revolt of peasants exploited and oppressed by the amirs; i.e., the *iqṭā'* holders.² This may possibly indicate the social background of their revolt; but, in order to understand the significance of the revolt in total, we still need to reconsider its concrete realities together with state policy toward the Nuṣayrīs.

In this chapter, I intend to trace the process of the revolt as correctly as possible, based on such contemporary sources as *al-Muqtafā li-Ta'rikh Abī Shāma* of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339), *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* of Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), and *Tuhfa al-Nuẓẓār* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368-9 or 779/1377) who visited Jabala eight years after the revolt. This is also an attempt to reconsider Arabic and Islamic history from the view point of local history.

1. Some Aspects of the Revolt

Among the contemporary historians, the one who gives the most detailed account on the Nuṣayrī revolt is Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī. He held the post of military office inspector (*nāẓir al-jaysh*) at Tripoli near Jabala during the years 710–712/1311–13, but he had been transferred to Egypt in

¹ As I mention later in detail, the Syrian historians like al-Dhahabī, al-'Umarī and Ibn Kathīr estimate their number to be 3,000, while the Egyptian historians like al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī put it at 5,000.

² U. Vermeulen, "Some Remarks on a Rescription of an-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un on the Abolition of Taxes and the Nusayris (Mamlaka of Tripoli, 717/1317)," *OLP*, 1(1970), p.200; U. A. Tadmurī, *Ta'rikh Ṭarābulus al-Siyāsī al-Ḥadārī*, vol.2, Beirut, 1981, pp.103-106; T. Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala: Its History and Present Situation*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1988, pp.61-66.

717/1318 when the revolt actually occurred.¹ Here is an account from the manuscript of *Nihāyat al-Arab* preserved at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya:

On 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja 717/20 February 1318, a man appeared at the village of Qirṭiyāwus in Jabala district calling himself Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī. He said to the people that as he worked in his field, a white bird entered his body, took out his soul and put the soul of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan in its place. People followed him in crying out, and soon 5,000 Nuṣayrīs gathered around him. When he ordered them to bow to him, they obeyed. Then he permitted them to drink [liquor] and abandon prayer. He recited together with them, “there is no god (*ilāh*) but ‘Alī, and no veil [to cover the glory of God] but Muḥammad.”²

Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), a later Egyptian historian, gives a similar account based on the description of *Nathr al-Jumān* by Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī (d. after 770/1368).³ According to them, the revolt rose on 17 Dhū al-Qa‘da 717/21 January 1318 in Jabala district. Since Abū al-Fidā’, lord of Ḥamā, relates, however, that the outbreak of the Nuṣayrī revolt was in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja,⁴ al-Fayyūmī and al-Maqrīzī were probably mistaken. We can not locate the village of Qirṭiyāwus, where the man who called himself al-Mahdī came from, among the contemporary Jabala districts. It may be supposed, however, that Qirṭiyāwus was somewhere in the mountain area north-east of Jabala, because Abū al-Fidā’ states that a man of the Nuṣayrīs appeared in the Balāṭunus mountains.⁵ According to the above Egyptian historians, the revolt’s leader called himself Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī, but the Syrian historians

¹ A. M. Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī wa-Kitābuh Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo, 1984, pp.64-70.

² *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.113-114.

³ *Sulūk*, II, 174-175; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fols.118v-119r. Ibn Bahādur al-Mu‘mini (d.877/1473) states his version almost in the same way, and thus was probably based on al-Maqrīzī’s account (*Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.240). See also Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣayrīs*, pp.24-25.

⁴ *Abū al-Fidā’*, IV, 83. Al-Birzālī relates also that the news of the Nuṣayrī revolt soon arrived at Damascus at the end of the year 717/1318 (*Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r).

⁵ *Abū al-Fidā’*, IV, 83. Balāṭunus or Balāṭunush was a strong citadel located in the mountain area north of Latakia. A port of the same name was constructed by Jabala b. al-Aytham during the Ghassanid period, and it was reconstructed later in the Islamic period. See *Yāqūt*, I, 478; *Dimashqī*, 208; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p.416.

give somewhat different accounts. For example, a Shāfi'ite scholar, al-Dhahabī (d. 745/1348) says:

A man appeared among the Nuṣayrīs and called himself al-Mahdī. His followers increased in the province of Latakia to number 3,000. He called himself on one occasion al-Muntaẓar (the Expected One) or 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and on another occasion Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā (the Chosen One).¹

The same account is given by *Masālik al-Abṣār* of al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349).² Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), disciple of al-Dhahabī, relates that this fellow called himself on one occasion 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the creator of heaven and earth, and on another occasion, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the "owner" of various countries.³ Al-Birzālī, who was in Damascus at that time, gives also another account that the man called himself Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī al-Qā'im bi-Amri Allāh, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, supervisor of heaven and earth, or Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh.⁴

According to the account of al-Nuwayrī, the rebels recited the phrase, "there is no god but 'Alī, and no veil but Muḥammad." The problem of how the first Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is related to the prophet Muḥammad in the religious ideas of the Nuṣayrīs is somewhat sensitive, so we will discuss it later in detail.

As to the number of the rebels, the accounts of Egyptian sources differ from that of the Syrian historians. While al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī put it at 5,000, al-'Umarī, al-Dhahabī and Abū al-Fidā', as well as al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367) from Yemen, estimate it to be 3,000.⁵ Al-Yāfi'ī, who travelled to Syria soon after the revolt was quelled, must have collected the related contemporary sources. Despite the difficulty of determining which figure is correct, it may well be considered that the

¹ *Duwal al-Islām*, 410. See also *Rasā'il Ta'rikhiya*, IV, 29.

² *Masālik*, fol.199v.

³ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 83. It may be supposed that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d.145/762) who was called "al-Mahdī" by his father. He stayed in Arabia leading the 'Alid rebels against the Abbasid caliphate. See *EI*,ⁿ s.v. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. According to Abū al-Fidā', the leader of the Nuṣayrī revolt called himself also Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (*Abū al-Fidā'*, IV, 83).

⁴ *Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r.

⁵ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114; *Sulūk*, II, 174; *Duwal al-Islām*, 410; *Masālik*, fol.199v; *Abū al-Fidā'*, IV, 83; *Yāfi'ī*, IV, 257. Al-Birzālī relates that the number of his followers was more than 3,000 (*Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r.).

rebels numbered around 3,000, since the Syrian historians received the news in places closer to Jabala.

Concerning the actual conduct of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, al- Nuwayrī states:

He hoisted both a red flag and a candle burning as brightly as day. Its holder was a young man without mustache calling himself Ibrāhīm b. Adham. His brother was named al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī, his father Salmān al-Fārisī, and another person Jibrīl. Muḥammad ordered the young man to go to the creator (*al-bāri*), 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ask him about such and such. Based on the creator's reply, they assaulted the town of Jabala after the Friday prayer on the 22nd of this month.¹

Al-Miqdād was one of the *Muhājirūn* who participated in the Battle of Badr in 2/624,² and Salmān was a well-known Persian who played an important role in the Battle of Khandaq in 5/627. Legend has it that Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who had inherited the status of sultan, enjoyed a luxurious life in Balkh. However, when he heard the warning voice of God during hunting, he set out to wander about Nishāpūr, al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa, Jerusalem, and Antioch meditating and praying, and finally died at Jabala in 161/777-8.³ People in later times estimated his personality highly, and his tomb became a famous shrine (*mazār*), attracting many visitors from all over the Islamic world.⁴ That the young standard bearer in the revolt was named Ibrāhīm b. Adham, therefore, indicates an attempt to win the popular Muslim saint to the Nuṣayrī's side.

The rebels attacked the town of Jabala from three sides. The first group approached the town from the east, but encountered a counter attack by the army stationed at Jabala. Although they wounded Jamāl

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114. Abū al-Fidā' relates that the attack took place on Friday 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja (*Abū al-Fidā'*, IV, 84), while al-Maqrīzī says that it was on Friday 20 Dhū al-Ḥijja (*Sulūk*, II, 174). We may consider the former account preferable on the basis of calendar days.

² Al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad was also called al-Miqdād b. 'Amr (*Ṭabarī*, I, 1300).

³ *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, VIII, 367-IX, 58; *Sulamī*, 27-38; *Kawākib*, 82-83, 117; *Abū al-Fidā'*, II, 9; *EI*,ⁿ s.v. Ibrāhīm b. Adham; Kh. Zirkli, *al-A'lām: Qāmūs Tarājīm al-Ashhar al-Rijāl wal-Nisā'*, vol.1, Beirut, 1986, p.31; R. A. Nicholson, "Ibrāhīm b. Adham," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 26(1912), pp.215-220; G. Saadé, "Un grand saint musulman – Ibrahim fils d'Adham," *Levante*, 15(1968), pp.25-44; M. Ghalāwanjī, "Ibrāhīm b. Adham," *al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, 1984, pp.177-185; Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, pp.39-40.

⁴ *Ishārāt*, 23; *A'lāq-Dimashq*, 59; *Durr*, 101; *Ibn Baṭṭūta*, I, 173.

al-Dīn, officer of the army (*muqaddam al-'askar*),¹ they were finally forced to retreat leaving 124 dead. But the second group from the west and the third from the north succeeded in invading the town. They captured women and children, while slaughtering the old men (*shaykh*) and plundering the estates of the Muslims. It is said that they shouted over again, "there is no god but 'Alī, no veil but Muḥammad, and no gate (*bāb*) [to the truth of God] but Salmān."² According to Ibn Kathīr, prior to his assault, Muḥammad al-Mahdī appointed a commander of 1,000 (*taqaddum alf*) to each of the three groups.³ If his account is reliable, this is a very interesting aspect of the rising. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates that al-Mahdī, at the time of his assault on Jabala, ordered each of his followers to hold two sticks of myrtle (*ās*) and gave a definite promise that these sticks would change into swords when battle began.⁴ This account reveals that their equipment, in reality, was extremely poor. The booty taken at the battle was soon distributed among the participants⁵ at the village of Busaysiyā,⁶ probably present day the village of Busaysin to the east of Jabala. The village is at a distance of about three kilometers from the town, located at a very convenient place for distributing booty.⁷

Ibn Kathīr's *Bidāya* contains the following explanation of the actual demands of the rebels:

He (al-Mahdī) said to his followers, "There remains neither renown (*dhikr*) nor state (*dawla*) among the Muslims. We, therefore, should rule over the whole land (*bilād*), even if only ten followers remain under my leadership." Then he proclaimed that the *muqāsama* in the district was to be changed to a 'ushr (tithe), and ordered his followers to destroy mosques (*masājid*) and to change them into wine shops (*khammārāt*).⁸

¹ *Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r.

² *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114; *Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r-v.

³ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 83.

⁴ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 178. We find a similar account in *Nihāyat al-Arab* that al-Mahdī said to his followers, "if you strike the enemy with the sticks of myrtle, they should be cut down together with their horses" (*Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114).

⁵ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 83.

⁶ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114.

⁷ Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, pp.30-32.

⁸ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 83. Since Ibn Kathīr was an adherent to Ibn Taymiya al-Ḥanbalī, we may consider that the account of changing mosques into wineshops shows a typical Hanbalite view against the Nuṣayrīs.

As al-Yāfi'ī relates, the Nuṣayrīs rejected openly the authority of the Mamluk state in declaring that al-Malik al-Nāṣir, king of Egypt, had already died.¹ *Muqāsama*, the tax in kind on the amount of harvest, was customarily levied at the rate from 1/6 to 1/2 according to the quality of land in Syria.² The rebels declared that it should be reduced to 1/10. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates that al-Mahdī demanded that the Nuṣayrīs hold the districts by themselves and divide the Syrian province (*Bilād al-Shām*) among them.³ However, most of the Syrian districts were, as the Egyptian districts, actually granted as *iqṭā'*s to amirs and cavalrymen.⁴ It is said that a Nuṣayrī peasant, when he followed al-Mahdī's order to show an olive leaf as his deed, was laughed off, beaten and imprisoned by the amir.⁵

The news that the rebels had proclaimed the Nuṣayrī doctrine, rejected the Mamluk regime and attacked the town of Jabala first reached the port town of Latakia about 30 kilometers north of it. Bahādur 'Abd Allāh, amir of the town,⁶ dispatched troops led by amir Badr al-Dīn al-Tājī, who arrived at Jabala on the same day and blockaded the town to prevent a second invasion by the rebels.⁷ A carrier pigeon was released to amir Shihāb al-Dīn Qirṭāy, governor of Tripoli, to inform him urgently of the Nuṣayrī revolt, which had occurred at a town under his jurisdiction.⁸ After receiving the news, Qirṭāy sent 1,000 cavalrymen led by three amirs: Badr al-Dīn Bayrīk al-'Uthmānī, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā al-Bartāy, and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Turkmānī. At Jabala they killed 600 rebels

¹ *Yāfi'ī*, IV, 257. The account says, "Al-Mahdī declared that only the Nuṣayrī creed is true, while other people are infidels; and al-Nāṣir, the Egyptian king, has already died." See also *Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r.

² Cl. Cahen, "Aperçu sur les impôts du sol en Syrie au moyen âge," *JESHO*, 18(1975), p.238.

³ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 177.

⁴ According to al-Birzālī, Muḥammad al-Mahdī allocated *iqṭā'āt al-umarā'* *wal-ḥalqa* among his followers (*Muqtafā*, II, fol.272r).

⁵ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 178.

⁶ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 178.

⁷ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114. We find the account of his dispatching the army from Latakia not in the Syrian sources but only in *Nuwayrī* and *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*.

⁸ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 178. Amir Qirṭāy al-Ashrafī (d.734/1333) was appointed Nā'ib Ṭarābulus twice, in 716/1316 (*Durrat al-Aslāk*, II, 4r) and in 733/1332-3. He was famous for his mastery of equitation (*furūsīya*) and decency (*hishma*) (*Durar*, III, 332; *Ṣafadī*, XXIV, 226). On the *barīd* system during the Mamluk period, see Sauvaget, *Le poste aux chevaux*; Sadeque, "Development of al-Barīd," pp.167-183; Khowaiter, *Baibars The First*, pp.42-43. See also Chapter 4-(3).

together with the leader in a battle that lasted less than one hour. It is reported that the survivors fled to their villages and returned to their former agrarian life. Five days had passed from the start of the revolt until al-Mahdī's death.¹

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, however, the Nuṣayrī rebels who had succeeded in escaping still continued to resist the Mamluk government in the mountain areas; but they soon proposed to the amirs that they would pay one dinār per man, if the government guaranteed their lives. Sultan al-Nāṣir, who had persisted in killing every last rebel, consented finally to the proposal, because he was persuaded that the economic conditions would be considerably damaged if he killed the Nuṣayrīs who were the agricultural laborers for the Muslims (*'ummāl al-Muslimīn fī ḥirāthat al-arḍ*) there.²

2. About the Cause of the Revolt

The contemporary sources do not give any distinct explanation for the cause of the Nuṣayrī revolt. For example, al-Dhahabī states in the *Duwal al-Islām*:

In this year (717/1317-8), when prostitution (*fāḥish*), gambling (*qimār*) and wine (*khumūr*) in the coastal region were abolished with a definite order, prayer (*du'ā'*) for the sultan [al-Nāṣir] increased [among the people]. Then a man appeared among the Nuṣayrīs and proclaimed himself a Messiah (al-Mahdī).³

This indicates the possibility that the abolition of prostitution, gambling and wine might have some connection with the revolt, but it does not seem to have any positive relationship between the causes or effects. Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1348), also a Syrian historian, gives a little different account:

In this year (717/1317-8) many miscellaneous taxes (*maks*), such as the taxes on wine and prostitution, were abolished in the coastal region.

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.114. cf. *Sulūk*, II, 175. According to Ibn Ḥabīb, the deads of the Nuṣayrīs numbered in about 600 (*Durrat al-Aslāk*, II, fols.7v-8r), while Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives the number 20,000 (*Rihla*, I, 179), which is apparently exaggerated.

² *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 179; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.240.

³ *Duwal al-Islām*, 410. cf. *Masālik*, fol.199r-v.

The Muslims were then glad to pray earnestly for the sultan.

In this year the sultan ordered the Nuṣayrīs to build a mosque in every village (*qarya*) and prohibited initiation (*khiṭāb*) into their creed.

In this year the Nuṣayrīs renounced their obedience to the sultan and followed a man who called himself a Mahdī.¹

In the above account, every passage is described separately, but we may suppose that the three passages are mutually related.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 717/1317 the cadastral survey (*rawk*) of the region of Tripoli (*al-Mamlakat al-Ṭarābulusīya*), following the *rawks* of Syria in 713/1313-4 and of Egypt in 715/1315-6, was carried out by the Mamluk government. Sultan al-Nāṣir appointed Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb, Nāzīr Ḥalab, to be the conductor of the *rawk*, and he surveyed Tripoli and its surrounding areas (including Jabala), as well as the citadels and the border areas. The documents drawn up by the surveyors were sent to the capital Cairo, and became the basis on which decisions were made on the ratio of the sultan's domain and the redistribution of the *iqṭā'*s. The survey was over by Ramaḍān of that year/November 1317, when miscellaneous taxes like the fowl tax (*rusūm al-afrāḥ*) and the prison tax (*rusūm al-sujūn*) were customarily exempted.²

We may well consider that the exemption of these miscellaneous taxes described by Ibn al-Wardī indicates that which followed the cadastral survey of Tripoli. Both al-Nuwayrī and al-Qalqashandī have left us copies of the original document which proclaimed this exemption, issued on 7 Shawwāl 717/12 December 1317.³ Since we find some trivial mistakes by al-Qalqashandī, we will discuss the document based on the manuscript of *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī. It reveals that the following nine taxes were ordered to be exempted after the survey:

fowl tax (<i>jihāt al-afrāḥ</i>).	70,000
prison tax (<i>sujūn</i>)	10,000
tax on sugar cane (<i>sajn al-aqṣāb</i>).....	2,000
tax on amir's sugar cane (<i>aqṣāb lil-umarā'</i>)	3,000
governor's tax (' <i>ifāyat al-niyāba</i>) ⁴	10,000

¹ *Ta'riḥ Ibn al-Wardī*, II, 380.

² On the Nāṣirī *rawk* in Egypt and Syria, see Chapter 6-(2).

³ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fols.106-108; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 30-35. See also Vermeulen, "Some Remarks," pp.195-199.

⁴ *Ṣubḥ* reads "'*ifāyat al-Shām*" while *Nuwayrī* reads "'*ifāyat al-niyāba*."

dīwān's tax (<i>ḥaqq al-dīwān</i>)	3,000
tax on threshing floor (<i>hibat al-bayādir</i>) ¹	1,000
tax on crops (<i>ḍamān al-mustaghall</i>) ²	4,000
taxes on grasses (<i>ḥashīsh</i>), salt (<i>milḥ</i>) and tribute goods (<i>diyāfa</i>) ³	6,000

total amount 109,000 dirhams

It is noteworthy that the issue of two orders concerning the religious life of the Nuṣayrīs followed the exemption of these taxes in the district of Tripoli. The first order concerns the construction of mosques, and the second is concerned with the doctrine of the Nuṣayrīs. The first order reads as follows:

The Nuṣayrīs should construct a mosque (*masjid*) in each village (*qarya*) and assign part of the village's land [for its management]. A manager is to be appointed as a representative of the governor of Tripoli, and has the responsibility to control the mosques – May God double his blessing. Reliable persons are required to allocate lands, confirm the border and transfer the mosques to imāms. Both the lands of *muqta'* and villagers (*ahl al-bilād*) should be allocated for the mosque. Related documents are to be drawn up and be preserved at the office (*dīwān*) to avoid objection by any *muqta'*. The order must be sent without fail to the *muqta'*s and their villagers.⁴

The Nuṣayrīs, who call the daily five prayers by the names of Muḥammad, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Muḥassin, had no tradition attaching importance on prayers at mosques.⁵ The Mamluk government, taking opportunity of the cadastral survey (the *rawk* in 717/1317), intended

¹ *Ṣubḥ* reads "*hibat al-shādd* (manager's tax)" while *Nuwayrī* reads "*hibat al-bayādir*."

² We find "*ḍamān al-mash'al* (lamp tax)" in *Ṣubḥ*.

³ The *diyāfa* means various kinds of tribute goods presented by the peasants when officials or amirs visited the village. On the occasion of the survey, grass, salt and tribute goods were separated from the miscellaneous taxes and were granted as new incomes of the *muqta'* (*Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.108; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 34). See also *Muqtafā*, II, fols.267v-268r.; pp.157-158.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.108; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 35; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fol.239; *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.329r; Vermeulen, "Some Remarks," pp.198-200.

⁵ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 176; Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairīs*, p.68; *EI*, s.v. Nuṣayriyya; Sato, *The Syrian Coastal Town of Jabala*, p.65.

to intensify their control over the Nuṣayrīs and ordered them to construct a mosque in each village. It may be reasonably assumed that the lands which *muqṭa*'s and their villagers were forced to offer were for the management of the newly constructed mosques.

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Sultan Baybars I had previously ordered the Nuṣayrīs to construct mosques.

Al-Malik al-Zāhir [Baybars] ordered the Nuṣayrīs to construct a mosque (*masjid*) in each village (*qarya*). They thereby constructed mosques far from their houses (*'imāra*). However, they neither performed the *ṣalāt* there nor repaired them, but used them only for the huts of their cattle (*mawāshī*) and beasts (*dawābb*). When a foreigner (*gharīb*) came to their villages, he customarily stayed at the mosque. When he recited *adhān* for prayer [in the morning], the villagers reproved him, telling not to neigh so loudly, for they would soon feed him his fodder.¹

It is very likely that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mistook al-Malik al-Nāṣir for al-Malik al-Zāhir; but the following discussion will, for the present, rest on the supposition that his account on it is reliable. Sultan Baybars invested a relative of the Abbasids into the caliphate at Cairo to exalt the sultan's authority, and intended to consolidate his regime through recognizing officially the four chief qadiships of the leading law schools, as well as reform the *barid* system connecting Egypt and Syria. However, in order to cope with the Mongols and the Crusaders, he also had to involve in the regime such minorities as the Ismā'īlites, the Nuṣayrīs, the Durzes and the Maronites, who were scattered around the mountain areas in Syria and Lebanon.² We may thus understand the order for the Nuṣayrīs to construct mosques as one measure taken against these minorities. However, as we have already seen in the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the result was not necessarily satisfactory for the government. The Nuṣayrīs, despite their obedience to Baybars's order to construct mosques, had no intention of changing their usual prayer customs. Rather, we may look at the resolute intention of the later Sultan al-Nāṣir, in his attempt to force the *muqṭa*'s and villagers to allocate their land for the management and control of mosques.

¹ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 177. However, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives no account on the problem of mosque construction following the Nāṣirī rawk.

² Khoweiter, *Baibars The First*, pp.118-120; Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, pp.49-50; Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I*, pp.224-226.

This intention is also revealed, I think, in the second order by Sultan al-Nāṣir, which reads as follows:

At the same time, we outlaw the “Nuṣayrīs’ *khiṭāb*.” After the issue of this order they may not perform any kind of *khiṭāb*. The influentials (*akābir*) and village *shaykhs* among them should bear witness not to restore their *khiṭāb*. Those who dare to do it will be punished most severely.¹

What was this *khiṭāb* prohibited by the order? The *khiṭāb* in Arabic means literally “discourse” or “letter,” but, from the second order, we see that the *khiṭāb* also refers apparently to the Nuṣayrī creed itself. Al-Maqrīzī gives an explanation of the Nuṣayrī *khiṭāb* in his chronicle, *Sulūk*:

When a youth (*ṣabīy*) grows to be an adult (*ḥulum*),² a banquet (*walīma*) is held for him. After eating and drinking they [the participants] make him swear forty times to keep the secrets of their sect (*madhhab*). Then they impart to him the knowledge: The deity (*ilāhīya*) is ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, drinking the wine (*khamr*) is permissible, the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh al-arwāḥ*) is true, the world (*‘ālam*) is eternal, resurrection (*ba‘th*) after death is false, Paradise (*janna*) and Hell (*nār*) are to be denied, the five daily prayers (*ṣalāt*) are called Ismā‘īl, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥassin and Fāṭima,³ and washing (*ghusl*) of the dead is not practiced. The above descriptions, however, are enough even if we except washing and ablution (*wuḍū’*). Furthermore, abstention (*ṣiyām*) means thirty men and women described in their books. Their God, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, is the creator of heaven and earth, the lord (*rabb*) [of all things], Muḥammad is the veil (*ḥijāb*) [covering the glory of God], and Salmān is the gate (*bāb*) [to the truth of God].⁴

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.108; *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.329r; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 35.

² According to al-Shāfi‘ī (d.204/820), both men and women were regarded as adults (*ḥulum*) when they became fifteen years old or were able to procreate (*Kitāb al-Umm*, II, 110-111).

³ Five prayers of the Nuṣayris are generally called Muḥammad, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥassin and Fāṭima (*EI*, s.v. Nuṣayrī), which is a little different from the explanation in *Sulūk*.

⁴ *Sulūk*, II, 178. We find the same explanation in *Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.329r. See also Halm, *Shiism*, pp.156-158.

According to the above order accounted by al-Nuwayrī, the influentials and village *shaykhs* among the Nuṣayrīs, who participated in the initiation banquet, were to bear witness not to restore the *khiṭāb*.¹ Since al-Maqrīzī was one of the Sunnite '*ulamā*', it is uncertain whether he had full knowledge of the secret Nuṣayrī doctrine which tended towards extremist Shī'ite beliefs. Anyway, the above-mentioned account shows evidently that the *khiṭāb* during the Mamluk period was the initiation ceremony into the Nuṣayrīs sect.²

The Nuṣayrīs had the custom of transmitting their creed through the *khiṭāb*, a rather peculiar doctrine influenced by the Ismā'ilites and the native Christians. That is to say, the *khiṭāb* was the core of their religious life, and they no doubt considered that its prohibition would lead to a negation of their long tradition. The revolt occurred at Jabala two months after the prohibition order was issued by the sultan. Consequently, we may be fairly certain that its real cause lay in the government's policy ordering the Nuṣayrīs to construct mosques and stop practicing their own *khiṭāb*, following the Nāṣirī rawk in Tripoli.

3. Historical Significance of the Revolt

As mentioned above, the Nuṣayrī revolt came to an end in a short time with the leader's death at the hands of the suppression army dispatched from the town of Tripoli. The revolt, therefore, neither swayed the Mamluk regime nor had any effect on the history of the Syrian coast around Jabala. However, it may provide us with a suitable means to better our understanding of the relationship between the Nuṣayrī sect and the Mamluk state.

The leader, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī, permitted his followers to drink wine and abandon prayer, while proclaiming that there was no god but 'Alī, and no veil but Muḥammad. This coincides approximately with the contents of the *khiṭāb* prohibited by the government within a month following the cadastral survey. According to Ibn Kathīr, Muḥammad al-Mahdī asserted that Muslims were non-believers (*kāfir*),

¹ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.105 states that the youth or his representative, who is invited to the initiation ceremony, customarily slaughters an ox and three sheep for the participants as well as serving them drinks.

² See also Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairīs*, p.117.

and the truth was on the side of the Nuṣayrīs.¹ Furthermore, he said, “We shall rule over the district (*bilād*), even if only ten followers remain under my leadership.”² This was an apparent proclamation rejecting the authority of the Mamluk state. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also relates, “Al-Mahdī promised them possession of the district (*bilād*) and division of the Syrian province among them.”³ The “district,” of course, indicates not the whole Syrian province, but the district from the town of Jabala to the eastern mountain areas.

The foregoing discussion shows that the rebels in reality had no real power to divide the area or to reduce the tax revenue. Rule of the Syrian province by *muqta*’s was thoroughly assured through *iqṭā*’ assignment following the cadastral survey taken at the end of the previous year. This is evident in that the amirs in Latakia and Tripoli were able to deal with the revolt rapidly and effectively. On the other hand, it may well be supposed that Muḥammad al-Mahdī had no careful, detailed scheme to organize his revolt against the Mamluk government. He must have made an emotional protest against the policy which was intended to control the religious life of the Nuṣayrīs.

The Mamluk government succeeded in containing the Ismā’īlites stationed at Maṣyāf, al-Munayqa and al-Qadmūs by the year of 671/1272 and mobilizing them against the Crusaders.⁴ Furthermore, the Mamluk regime first took shape through the expulsion of the Crusaders from the Syrian coast in 690/1291 and cadastral surveys (*rawk*) carried out all over the country (713–725/1313–25). The government also intended to control the Nuṣayrīs, against whom prejudice persisted among the Sunnite ‘*ulamā*’s. When he received the news of the revolt at Jabala, amir Qirṭāy, governor of Tripoli, asked Ibn Taymiya (d. 728/1328), who was at Damascus, whether he should attack and kill the Nuṣayrīs for challenging the sultan’s authority. Fortunately, we can find the answer in the collection of his *fatwās*.

Praise be to God. As long as the Nuṣayrīs refuse [to surrender], you should fight to submit them to Islamic law (*Sharā’i’ al-Islām*), because

¹ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 83.

² *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 83.

³ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 177.

⁴ Khowaiter, *Baibars The First*, pp.118-126; Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I*, pp.243-246. Baybars, who conquered the Ismā’īlites, did not show religious feeling as the Sunnites against them (Khowaiter, *Baibars The First*, p.120).

most of the Nuṣayrīs, other than the followers to the imposter (*dajjāl*), are non-believers (*kāfir*). As to the followers of the imposter, they are the most vicious renegades (*murtadd*). You may therefore kill the combatants (*muqātila*) and plunder their estates (*amwāl*). It is disputable whether you can take their children (*dhurriya*) captive or not.¹ Most of the 'ulamā', however, are against the view that the children of renegades be taken captive.

Ibn Taymiya is a famous Hanbalite scholar who advocated *jihād* against the Mongols and criticized acutely the popular Sufism which had prevailed among the Muslims.² As is apparent in the *fatwā* mentioned above, he violently criticized the Nuṣayrīs too, pronouncing them non-believers (*kāfir*) and renegades (*murtadd*). In another *fatwā*, he says, "The Nuṣayrīs are more unfaithful than the Jews and Christians,³ and those who would fight them are equal to the troops (*murābiṭ*) stationed at the coastal area against the Crusaders."⁴ Furthermore, his view had no small influence on the other Sunnite scholars. For example, Ibn Kathīr asserted that the man (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) who had turned heretic should be the first to suffer from the hellfire on the Day of Resurrection.⁵ We may well consider that Sultan al-Nāṣir, supported by such "public opinion," intended to regulate the religious life of the Nuṣayrīs; but the later historical sources give no information on how the policy was carried out after their suppression, or if and how they changed their daily customs.

¹ *Majmū' Fatāwā*, XXVIII, 553-555. This *fatwā* is not contained in the article by M. St. Guyard, "Le fetwa d'Ibn Taimiyyah sur les Nosairis," *JA* (1871), pp.158-198.

² Ibn Taymiya's article about the Mongol affairs is entitled *Risāla ilā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir fī Sha'n al-Tatār*, ed. S. al-Munajjid, Beirut, 1976.

³ *Nuwayrī*, XXX, fol.108.

⁴ Guyard, "Le fetwa d'Ibn Taimiyyah," p.166.

⁵ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 84. Ibn Kathīr (d.774/1373), who was born in Buṣrā under the Baḥrī Mamluks, had as his teacher Burhān al-Dīn al-Farazī al-Shāfi'i, then fell under the strong influence of Ibn Taymiya (*EI*,^a s.v. Ibn Kathīr).

CHAPTER EIGHT

EGYPTIAN RURAL SOCIETY UNDER THE IQTĀ' SYSTEM

The introduction of the *iqtā'* system by Saladin brought about important changes in Egyptian rural society. In the former Fāṭimid period, those who held private domains (*ḍay'a*) or land granted by the caliphs (*iqtā'* or *qaṭī'a*) were high officials and military officers from among the Arabs, the Turks and the Sudan (the black slave soldiers). They were large land owners, and, as tax-farmers (*dāmin*) for the government, had the right to collect revenues from peasants (*fallāhūn*). According to K. Morimoto, the peasants during this period, though tenants (*muzāri'ūn*), were members of the village community, and had the responsibility to pay the land tax (*kharāj*) to the government.¹ However, under the *iqtā'* system, large land owners decreased rapidly, and the peasants also came under the rule of *iqtā'* holders (*muqṭa'*). Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) describes the change as the peasants settling in their villages (*fallāh qarrār*) became degraded like "serfs" (*'abd qinn*) subordinate to their *muqṭa'*.²

This chapter will study Egyptian rural society and peasants from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, that is to say, from the beginning of the Ayyubid period to the middle of the Mamluk period. G. Frantz-Murphy's recent work, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt*,³ gives us valuable suggestions for analyzing the historical terminology related to the subject. However, the purpose of this chapter is, rather than stressing the taxation system, principally to describe the modes of agricultural production and peasant life in Egyptian rural society under the *iqtā'* system as concretely as possible. The reasons why I have chosen the

¹ K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period*, Kyoto, 1981, p.263.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 85. Al-Maqrīzī explains that "*'abd qinn*" is a slave for life who cannot expect to be sold or emancipated. Egyptian peasants under the *iqtā'* system, however, were not the slaves by law, but were likened to '*'abd qinn*'. B. Johansen states that with regard to the small peasant holdings, the difference between tax and rent ceased to exist under the *iqtā'* system (*The Islamic Law on Land Tax*, pp.80-81).

³ G. Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, Cairo, 1986.

period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century are as follows. First, in twelfth century Egypt, in addition to changes in international trade routes, various changes came about in the system for ruling rural society and in the agricultural mode of production due to the implementation of the *iqṭā'* system. Secondly, in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Nāṣirī rawk of 715/1315, as mentioned in Chapter Six, formed a new Mamluk regime that continued up to the reign of Sultan Barqūq (784–791/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99).

Despite the scarcity of sources referring to rural society, we may find a clue to analyzing it among the Arabic historical sources, as already indicated in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900* edited by A. L. Udovitch.¹ For example, *Minhāj fi 'Ilm Kharāj Miṣr* by al-Makhzūmī (6/12 c.) provides us information on the kinds of cultivated lands and crops, the agricultural calendar, the irrigation system and the *iqṭā'* system in Fatimid-Ayyubid Egypt. *Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn* by Ibn Mammāti (d. 606/1209) relates the same subjects more systematically than *Minhāj*, and gives us invaluable information based on his experiences as a government official.² On the other hand, al-Nābulusī (d. 660/1261) compiled a book entitled *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm* after he had investigated the town of al-Fayyūm and its countryside in detail for two years between 641/1243 and 642/1244. It describes faithfully the kinds of crops, revenues and the irrigation system village by village, showing the actual circumstances of local Egyptian society.³ Furthermore, *Nihāyat al-Arab* by al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), which is a crystallization of his experiences in various offices (*dīwān*), may be an indispensable source for obtaining a total understanding of Egyptian rural society.⁴

¹ A. L. Udovitch ed., *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*. Princeton, 1981.

² C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, vol.1, Strassburg, 1902, p.26; Lewis & Holt eds., *Historians*, pp.95-96; *EI*,ⁿ s.v. Ibn Mammāti; *Ibn Khallikān*, I, 189-192; *Muqaffā*, II, 83-87; *Mundhirī*, II, 180.

³ Cl. Cahen, "Kitāb Luma' al-Qawānīn," *BEO*, 16(1958-60), pp.119-129; Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, pp.15-16.

⁴ For the study of al-Nuwayrī, see *Durar*, I, 209-210; *Manhal*, I, 381; *Udfuwī*, 46-47; *Muqaffā*, I, 521-522; M. A. 'Inān, *Mu'arrikhū Miṣr al-Islāmiya*, Cairo, 1969, pp.62-67; Little, *An Introduction*, pp.24-32; Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī*.

1. An Overview of Egyptian Rural Society

The Egyptian Village

Here a brief description will be given of Egyptian rural society before going into the medieval mode of agricultural production. We can find the following terms for rural society among the Egyptian historical sources.

balad (pl. *bilād*): *Balad*, which was sometimes called *balda*, was a term used for ordinary villages, while *manshā* or *bulayda* was often used for small villages.¹ *Balad* under the *iqṭā'* system was an unit for calculating the annual revenue ('*ibra*) of the *iqṭā'*. *Qānūn al-balad* thereby signified a register for collecting the amount of '*ibra*.² Accordingly, *balad* was an administrative village, the smallest unit of Egyptian political organization. However, *balad* was used, in some cases, as a country distinct from a town (*madīna*), and it might also be considered more widely a district including several towns.³ The definition of terms designating rural or urban society was thus not very strict in those days. To take the example of Isnā in Upper Egypt, there were 13,000 houses, two schools (*madrassa*), two public baths (*ḥammām*) and several markets (*sūq*). Yāqūt calls it a *madīna*, while al-Udfuwī describes it as a large *balda*.⁴

qarya (pl. *quran*): While *balad* was often used in the meaning of an administrative village, *qarya* usually implied a village formed naturally, although in some cases *qarya* was completely synonymous with *balad*.⁵ When the Canal Alexandria was widened in 711/1311, the lands newly cultivated increased to over 100,000 faddāns with 600 water wheels (*sāqiya*), forming 40 new *qaryas*.⁶ This example shows that each *qarya* averaged 2,500 faddāns (about 1,592 hectares) of cultivated land.

ḍay'a (pl. *ḍiyya'*): In the early Islamic period *ḍay'a* was landed property forming the basis of large-scale landownership of the caliphs, soldiers

¹ *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 32, 43, 57, 58, 91, 172, 174; *Taqwīm*, 104, 111, 113, 115, 117; *Yāqūt*, IV, 398.

² *Nuwayrī*, VII, 192; Cahen, "Contribution," p.258.

³ *Ibn Jubayr*, 17-18; *Kāmil*, XI, 352; *Udfuwī*, 6-8.

⁴ *Udfuwī*, 16; *Yāqūt*, I, 189.

⁵ For example, see *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 16; *Sulūk*, II, 112; *Akhbār Miṣr*, 234; *Ighātha*, 30.

⁶ *Sulūk*, II, 112.

and high officials.¹ However, *ḍay'a*, as privately owned land (*milk*) became defined more clearly in Islamic law, came to be used as a village other than landed property from the tenth century on,² although we can not find many examples of *ḍay'a* with this meaning among the post-tenth century geographical and historical sources.

Minya or *shubrā* also indicated a village, but they were terms less popular than *balad*, *qarya* or *ḍay'a* during twelfth and fourteenth century Egypt.³ *Balad*, *qarya* and *ḍay'a*, despite their original meanings, but different nuances, had more or less the same characteristics, in the sense that they were terms to indicate rural communities where agrarian life was customarily reproduced.

Egyptian villages in those days can be found in various sizes. In the case of a large village, it was often surrounded by small hamlets called *kafr*, *manshā* or *manshīya*. For example, the village of Balāla in the province of al-Fayyūm had four *kafrs* and *manshās*, and Babīj Indīr in the same province had five *manshās*.⁴ These hamlets were not independent of taxation, because their revenue (*'ibra*) was calculated in addition to that of their original village. To take another example from the province of al-Fayyūm, the village of Minya Karbīs had a *kafr* called Abū 'Aṣīya, a small hamlet with less than ten houses. Its *'ibra* was 3,500 *dīnār jayshī* totalling the revenue of Minya Karbīs.⁵ Everyday life in these hamlets, however, was not totally dependent on their original village. For example, a hamlet called Sanhūr belonging to the village of Bamūya in the province of al-Fayyūm had a small *maṣjīd* apart from the *jāmi'* in Bamūya,⁶ indicating that everyday life in Sanhūr was semi-independent from Bamūya.

Egyptian villages, as mentioned above, were mostly complexes annexing their surrounding hamlets called *kafr* or *manshā*. On the other hand, larger settlements were often composed of several quarters (*hāra*, *maḥalla*, *nāhiya*), as indicated in the following examples:

¹ *EI*,^a s.v. *Ḍay'a*; Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration*, pp.197, 233.

² *Muqaddasī*, 206; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 123; *Minhāj*, fols.97v-98r; *Ibn Mammātī*, 84; *Ighātha*, 36; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol.1, pp.117f.

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 84-200; *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 163, 165.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 64, 77-78.

⁵ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 146. See also *Ibn Mammātī*, 84-200; *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 34, 77, 119, 141, 165, 174. However, the *manshā* belonging to the village of Ṭamā in the province of al-Fayyūm, which had two houses, was somehow or other regarded as an independent village (*Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 127).

⁶ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 71, 175.

- (1) Dhāt al-Şafā' [in the province of al-Fayyūm] is described as a large village composed of two *hāras*, with horses going to and from them, and villagers seem to be distinct from each other.¹
- (2) Ghāba Bāja is a middle-sized village south of the town of al-Fayyūm, where dates, lotus, sanṭ (acacia nilotica) and willow are grown. The village is divided into two parts, upper and lower *hāras*, by the Canal Dalya.²
- (3) During the reign of Saladin every Egyptian town (*madīna*) or village (*ḍay'a*) had an independent *maḥalla* for the Sudanese, that is, a protected quarter (*maḥmīya*) where police or government authorities could not intervene.³

Furthermore, al-Nābulusī relates that the village of Minyat Aqnā in the province of al-Fayyūm was composed of three *hāras*, and Fānū/Malā'id of two *nāhiyas*.⁴

When we observe these Egyptian villages in history, we find that they have, contrary to our expectation, experienced various changes. *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī has the following to say:

The village of Hīshat Dumūshīya is located in the low land of Dumūshīya, through which flows the Canal Tanbaṭwiya dug by amir Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān (d. 629/1232), when he was the *muqta'* of al-Fayyūm. He constructed a new hamlet (*manshīya*) on the periphery of the village, which has grown into a small village (*bulayda*) where dates and sanṭ trees are grown.⁵

This item shows an interesting example of a settlement which grew from a hamlet into an independent village. Furthermore, we can add to this case such villages as Ibn Kurdī, Ṭawwāḥīn and Hīsha in the province of al-Fayyūm.⁶ Al-Nābulusī gives another example:

¹ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 102.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 132.

³ *Ibn al-Furāt*, IV-1, 72; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 19.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 137, 151. See also *Ibn Hawqal*, 133.

⁵ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 172. For the study of amir Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān, see *Shamārīḫ*, fol.179r-v; *Mundhīrī*, III, 324; *Kāmil*, XII, 487; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 367; *Sulūk*, I, 244, 260; *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 15-16; *Akhhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 134-135; *Ibn Duqmāq*, I, 85. See also pp.72f.

⁶ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 55, 149, 150.

Ṭalit is a new village with small inhabitants, irrigated by the Canal Tanbaṭwīya, where grow still low-yield date trees, but also high-yield fig trees. It was once a large village, but it was buried under sand because of rising prices during the reign of Caliph al-Mustaṣir (427–487/1036–94). Then the present houses were constructed anew on the outskirts of the old village.¹

Because the Canal Tanbaṭwīya was dug by amir Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Uthmān, the construction of Ṭalit must have postdated the year 620/1223, when he was granted al-Fayyūm as *iqṭā’*.² Interestingly enough, this example shows that the new village was given the same name as the old one. From this we see that, although the same name may have been inherited for generations, a village could have actually experienced ruin and then reconstructed later. The villages of Taṭūn and Ḥaddāda in the province of al-Fayyūm were likewise reconstructed under the same names after they had fallen into ruin.³

The above knowledge concerning Egyptian villages is mainly based on the accounts of *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm* by al-Nābulusī. Although it is dangerous to generalize from these accounts of a province of al-Fayyūm, we may well consider that al-Fayyūm villages were not unique among Egyptian villages in general. For example, the following account by al-Nābulusī may just describe one village type in medieval Egypt:

Bamūya is a large village (*balda kabīra*) west of the town of al-Fayyūm, located two hours away for [donkey] riders (*rākīb*). It is surrounded by gardens (*bustān*) of various kinds of fruits including grapes, and by orchards (*ḥadīka*) of dates and olives. On every Thursday markets (*sūq*) are held, while medicine and spice merchants (*‘aṭṭār*) and cloth merchants (*bazzāz*) operate their own shops. Some notables, like a judge (*qāḍī*) of al-Fayyūm and a son of prayer (*walad ḥāmid*), reside in this village. Al-Ṭawāshī Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥassin, al-Ṭawāshī ‘Azīz al-Dawla al-Ṣāliḥī and other al-Ṣāliḥī soldiers hold it as their *iqṭā’*. The revenue amounts to 34,110 dīnār jayshī. The Canal Munhadam al-Ma‘ālim irrigates the village, but we have no clear definition of its usufruct. The village has a central mosque (*jāmi’*) and another small mosque (*masjid*) near the water wheel on its outskirts. It has two churches (*kanīsa*) and a monastery (*dayr*), too. The villagers, most of

¹ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 128.

² *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 15-16, 128; *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 134-135.

³ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 86, 90.

whom are cultivators, trust the guards of Bamūya to the Sammālūs tribe, the hamlets of Kawm al-Aḥmar and al-Bārīda to the Zummarān belonging to the 'Ajlān tribe, and the hamlet of Sanhūr to the Muṭayr tribe. Sanhūr hamlet has a sugar cane pressing factory (*ma'ṣara*) with old and new stone mills, while Bamūya has a pressing factory with one stone mill.¹

The Structure of Egyptian Rural Society

Egyptian rural society in medieval times was composed of villagers engaged in agriculture and villagers not so employed. This distinction is, however, for convenience sake only. As al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) explains, peasants can not cultivate without the farm implements made by carpenters (*najjār*) who need materials made by blacksmiths (*ḥaddād*).² Close connections between them thus existed due to a division of labor. Furthermore, we must take the following two points into consideration. First, social stratification had fairly advanced due to the acquisition of landed property since the early Islamic period. Secondly, in both production and consumption, Egyptian villages were not self-sufficient communities. Even in the pre-modern period, the activities of peddlers (*rakkād*), crop merchants (*simsār*) and seasonal workers (*nā'ūn*) must have improved social communication between towns and villages in Egypt.³

(a) Villagers Engaged in Agriculture

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*, *mashāyikh*): The *shaykh al-balad*, who was one of the local influentials as well as a mediator among villagers, was sometimes

¹ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 69. See also *Ibn Jubayr*, 29, 35; *Ibn al-Ukhuwwa*, 74; *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 109-110; *Ṣubḥ*, XI, 428. Al-Wahrānī gives an interesting account of al-Fayyūm during the reign of Saladin: "When I approached the town of al-Fayyūm and saw not a small persons coming up in the shadow of date trees and vines, I was filled with joy on hearing the sound of water wheels and the twitter of birds" (*Manāmāt*, 152-153).

² *Qazwīnī*, 7.

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 24, 26-27, 156; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 452-455; XI, 428. According to al-Nābulūsī, the province of al-Fayyūm in the year 642/1244-5 had 1,142 *Dhimmīs*, among whom 293 had emigrated from al-Fayyūm; 154 to Lower Egypt and 139 to Upper Egypt (*Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 24). These emigrants were called "*nā'ūn*," meaning literally "absentees." See also S. Labib, "Egyptian Commercial Policy in the Middle Ages," in Cook ed., *Studies in the Economic History*, pp.72-73; Lapidus, "The Grain Economy," p.3.

called *ra'is al-nāhiya*, or in Upper Egypt *'ayn al-balad*.¹ They were to be present at the annual allocation (*taḥḍīr*) of land to be cultivated,² and would also break the irrigation dikes (*jisr*) according to village custom after the Nile rose sufficiently.³ They were also required to report on the villagers' condition to the officials when the government carried out a tax or cadastral survey (*rawk*).⁴ Al-Nābulusī tells us interestingly that each village in the province of al-Fayyūm had several *shaykhs*,⁵ who were supposed to be the heads of the extended families in the village.

Each *shaykh*, as I will mention in detail later, held *rizaq* land of several faddāns⁶ within the village, and had to pay fodder barley in advance to the government.⁷ According to al-Maqrīzī, the members of the Sa'ūd family belonging to the Judhām tribe, after it had emigrated to Egypt, came to be the village headmen (*shaykh al-balad*) or guardmen (*khafīr*) holding large cultivated fields.⁸ This shows that the *shaykhs* were both influential land owners and mediators among the villagers.

tānī (pl. tunnā'): The *tānīs* in the early Islamic period are considered "farm managers," but their actual condition seems to be not necessarily clear yet.⁹ Among the sources after the tenth century, we find some examples of *tānīs*, but receive no concrete information on agricultural production carried out by them. Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188) relates in *Kitāb al-I'tibār* that the Turks robbed the *tānīs* living in his *iqṭā'*, Kawm Ashfīn in the province of Qalyūb, of 200 oxen.¹⁰ According to al-Nābulusī, the *tānīs* lived in Madīna al-Fayyūm together with the owners

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, IX, 277; XI, 432; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 294-295; Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, p.66.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 305; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 247.

³ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 61; H. Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt," in A. L. Udovitch ed., *The Islamic Middle East*, pp.67-68.

⁴ *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 23; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Sulūk*, II, 149; *Nujūm*, IX, 42.

⁵ For example, see the cases of the villages Akhṣāṣ al-'Ajmiyīn, Būrsaynarū, Qambashā and Sinnūris in the province of al-Fayyūm.

⁶ W. Hinz, relying on the account of al-Qalqashandī, estimates a faddān at 6,368 m² (*Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, p.65), but, according to Ibn Mammātī, 1 faddān = 400 qaṣabat al-ḥākimiya = (5x20 al-dhirā' al-najjārī)² = (100 x 0.775 meter)² = 6,006 m². See *Ibn Mammātī*, 279; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 422; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 249.

⁷ For example, 100 arbabbs of barley for the sultan's stables were paid in advance by the *shaykhs* of the village Daqlūh in the province of al-Fayyūm. See *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 154; Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," p.66.

⁸ *Bayān*, 20-21, 63.

⁹ Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, pp. 67, 91, 170.

¹⁰ *I'tibār*, 25.

of fruit gardens, cattle and farm seed;¹ and Ibn Ḥawqal also states that the *tānīs* lived in the town of Manūf in Lower Egypt.² These instances may indicate that the *tānīs* during that period were small absentee landlords inhabiting local towns adjacent to their farms.

fallāh (pl. *fallāhūn*): The *fallāhūn* were generally equivalent to such rural people as landlords, landed farmers and tenants, but in the historical sources they are often called *muzāri'ūn* (cultivators) and formed the majority of the villagers.³ The *fallāhūn* in the latter case were small landed farmers or tenants cultivating fields with their family labor. Since they resided through out the year at their villages, they were sometimes called "settled peasants" (*al-fallāhūn al-qarārīya* or *al-muzāri'ūn al-qarārīya*).⁴ Their mode of agricultural production will be discussed in detail later on.

murābi'ūn, mu'āmilūn: In thirteenth century al-Fayyūm province, the peasants called *murābi'ūn* or *mu'āmilūn* were engaged in the cultivation of sugar cane on crown lands. The latter *mu'āmilūn* seem to be a kind of agricultural laborers, while the former *murābi'ūn* probably had the right to receive one fourth of the crops they cultivated. In any case, poor peasants with no sufficient estates had to provide their labor to the landlords during sowing and harvest seasons. The absentees (*nā'ūn*) described in *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*⁵ must have been such seasonal workers who had to leave their villages temporarily.

(b) Villagers Not Engaged in Agriculture

Concerning the division of labor in rural society, *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm* provides us important information as well. In the accounts of twenty villages among a hundred in thirteenth century al-Fayyūm, we find such *rizaq* holders (*arbāb al-rizaq*) as village *shaykhs*, overseers (*khawlī*) or carpenters (*najjār*).⁶ They held several faddāns of land (rarely crops) as

¹ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 26.

² *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 130-131. See also *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 125-127; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 38.

³ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 248; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 85; *Rawḍatayn*, II, 390; *Kāmil*, XI, 335-336; *Lisān al-'Arab*, II, 548; *Ighātha*, 74-75. Ibn Iyās (d. ca.930/1524) relates that Egypt has 120,000 *muzāri'*s in total, 70,000 in Upper Egypt and 50,000 in Lower Egypt (*Nashq*, I, fol.76r), but we can not ascertain the truth of his statement.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 247, 249.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 24. See also *Ibn Mammātī*, 277; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 266-267.

⁶ According to Cahen, the term reads *rizaq* (pl. *arzāq*) which means generally 'stipend' ("Le règime des impôts," pp.25-26); but, in this case, it seems to be better to pronounce it *rizaq*, which means 'estate'.

their estates (*rizaq*, sing. *rizqa*), which were often called “the granted (*al-muṭlaq*) in the village.”¹ This indicates that the *rizaq* holders could enjoy their revenue freely, but unfortunately we have no evidence to prove that they had the right to be exempted from taxation. Furthermore, the historical sources give no account as to whether the *rizaq* lands were rented to tenants, cultivated by their family’s labor, or cultivated commonly by the villagers. However, since the area was limited, the *rizaq* lands were probably cultivated by family labor or a few tenant farmers. This kind of *rizaq* land, of course, differed from *al-rizaq al-aḥbāsīya*, i.e. *waqf* land, or *al-rizaq al-jayshīya* owned by soldiers and their families.² Let us examine *rizaq* holders, with the exception of *shaykh*, which has already been mentioned.

khawlī (pl. **khawala**): The *khawlī* (overseer), who had a good knowledge of cultivated fields and their crops,³ was responsible for managing cultivation and breaking irrigation dikes together with village *shaykhs*.⁴ Al-Nābulusī, during his investigation of the village of Minya Aqnā, found that the information provided by the *khawlī* should be highly valued.⁵ That is to say, the *khawlī* played a leading role in rural society as a village official whose status was probably next to that of the village *shaykh*. We find several *khawlīs* in a large village. To take a few examples from the province of al-Fayyūm, the village of Sinnūris had three *khawlīs*, each of whom held *rizaq* of six faddāns (about 3.6 hectares), and the village of Fānū/Naqlīfa which had two *khawlīs*, each of them holding *rizaq* of five faddāns (about 3 hectares).⁶ Furthermore, some villages had canal overseers (*khawlī al-baḥr*) and sugar cane overseers (*khawlī al-aqṣāb*).⁷ As to the canal overseers in the province of al-Fayyūm, each of forty five villages among one hundred had the duty to deliver 1/2–3 ardabbs of wheat or barley, which was called “tax for the canal overseer” (*rasm khawlī al-baḥr*).⁸

¹ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 33, 43, 110, 118, 122, 137, 154, 159.

² *Al-rizaq al-jayshīya* were granted not in return for military service, but as a favors from sultans to old and crippled amirs, amir’s widows and orphans, or the children of *mamlūks* (*awlād al-nās*). See Poliak, *Feudalism*, pp.32-33.

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 278.

⁴ *Minhāj*, fols.32v-33r; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 61; *Zubda*, 130; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.67; Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, pp.76-77.

⁵ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 152.

⁶ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 110, 137.

⁷ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 33, 71, 137.

⁸ For example, see *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 31, 33, 35, 43, 44. One ardabb was

khafīr, ḥāris : In the province of al-Fayyūm during the Ayyubid period, village guards were usually called *khafīr*, and rarely *khafīr al-nāḥiya* (quarter guard), or *khafīr al-ṭariq* (road guard).¹ The village of Qambashā had a guard over both mountains and roads (*ḥāris al-jabal wal-ṭariq*),² while several villages had guards over the place for water distribution (*ḥāris al-maqsīm*).³ Furthermore, Ibn Mammātī explains *ḥāyz* as a guard who watches peasants so that they do not steal grain from the threshing floor (*jurn*) at night.⁴ Most of al-Fayyūm villages were required to pay uniformly fifteen dirhams as the guard tax (*rasm al-khafīr*).

najjār : Concerning the carpenters (*najjār*) in the province of al-Fayyūm, al-Nābulūsī gives no account except that they held *rizaq* land. Al-Makhzūmī, however, says:

The *najjārs* who repair water wheels (*sāqiya*) are paid in cash, crops or land (*ṭin*). Other than repair works, they make water wheels, harrows (*jarrāfa*) and ploughs (*miḥrāth*).⁵

Ibn Mammātī says:

Every twenty five oxen (*baqar*) for water wheels requires one person who manages them, and for setting water wheels the *najjārs* are indispensable. The *najjārs*, who are paid in cash monthly or in land, should do everything to be required.⁶

Two accounts indicate that the *najjārs* were engaged in making harrows, ploughs and water wheels, as well as repairing the latter.

khaṭīb, mu'adhḥin, qāṣṣ, rāhib: The preachers (*khaṭīb*) and the persons who call the Muslims to prayer (*mu'adhḥin*) are well known and need no further explanation. The *qāṣṣ* was a storyteller on the roads or in the markets. In the early Islamic period they played an important role in explaining the meaning of the Quranic verses and relating the

equivalent to 90 liters in medieval Egypt. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, p.39; *Idāḥ*, 44, 46.

¹ *Khafīr al-nāḥiya* and *khafīr al-ṭariq* are found only in the village of 'Udwa (*Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 33).

² *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 142.

³ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 76, 142.

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 305.

⁵ *Minhāj*, fol.33v. See also *Qazwīnī*, 7; *Udḥwī*, 376.

⁶ *Ibn Mammātī*, 277.

life of the prophet Muḥammad plainly to the common people. However, they were expelled from the mosques and markets when the authority of the 'ulamā' was established during the Abbasid period.¹ However, the account of al-Nābulusī shows that the *qāṣṣ* still retained their position in Egyptian rural society under the *iqṭā'* system. The *rāhibs* were Coptic priests who lived in monasteries (*dayr*).² The Copts converted to Islam gradually from the Arab conquest and their number, according to O. Meinardus, was about one-tenth or -twelfth of the total population in Egypt by the fourteenth century.³ In thirteenth century al-Fayyūm the *Dhimmīs*, who had to pay the poll tax (*jawālī*), numbered only 1,142,⁴ though in some villages, such as Bāja, the Copts still held a majority.⁵

ṭarrādūn al-waḥsh, kallābūn: The *ṭarrādūn al-waḥsh* denotes literally "those who drive away beasts." In the province of al-Fayyūm their total number was forty-one, each of whom paid a poll tax of 1/2 dīnār. Since each of the *Dhimmīs* in the same province had to pay 2 dīnārs, the *ṭarrādūn al-waḥsh* were apparently different from the *Dhimmīs*.⁶ Al-Nābulusī relates that only the village of Būr Saynarū had *kallābūn* residents, who may have been trainers of dogs for hunting or the dog keepers, but we do not know exactly.⁷

2. *Fallāḥūn Cultivation*

Egyptian agriculture during the Islamic period, as in ancient Egypt, relied on the annual flood of the Nile. Accordingly, the peasants, called *fallāḥūn*, followed the tradition of agricultural production conforming to

¹ *Mu'id*, 113; *Quṣṣās*, 127f.; I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol.2, London, 1971, pp.150-159; *EI*,^a s.v. *Kāṣṣ*

² Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol.2, pp.150-159.

³ O. F. A. Meinardus, "The Coptic Church in Egypt," in A. J. Arberry ed., *Religion in the Middle East*, vol.1, Cambridge, 1969, p.426.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 24.

⁵ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 63; *EI*,^a s.v. *Dayr*, *Dhimma*; R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London, 1926, p.50; R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, pp.92-103.

⁶ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 24, 68, 95. According to Ibn Mammāti, three kinds of poll tax, (4+1/6) dīnārs, (2+1/12) dīnārs and (1+1/3+1/4) dīnārs, were levied in Egypt during the Ayyubid period (*Ibn Mammāti*, 317-318).

⁷ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 76.

the Coptic calendar.¹ Al-Makhzūmī, Ibn Mammātī, al-Maqrizī and the others provide us with five kinds of Coptic calendar used during the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, each with somewhat different contents. The texts and French translations have already been published by Ch. Pellat.² Here, I will introduce the essentials of the calendar quoted by Ibn Mammātī to show an example of the annual life cycles in rural Egypt during the Ayyubid period.³

Tūt (29 August – 27 September)

On the 17th small irrigation canals (*tur‘a*) are opened, and ripe dates (*ruṭab*) are harvested. Quince (*safarjal*) and winter grape (*al-‘inab al-shatawī*) grow, and citrus (*muḥammaḍāt*) begins to bear fruit. The 19th day is the beginning of autumn. The 17th is the festival of the Cross (*‘Īd al-Ṣalīb*).⁴ In this month balsam (*balsam*) is teared for taking out its oil, and land is to be registered, farm seed (*taqāwī*) provided [for peasants], and registration documents (*sijillāt*) submitted [to the government].

Bāba (28 September – 27 October)

The Nile rises to its height. When the water is drained from the field, trefoil (*qurṭ*) is sowed on its surface. Early-ripening crops are cultivated in the middle of the month, then the late crops in succession. Turnips (*saljam*) are cultivated in the land of *sharīb*.⁵ Rice (*aruzz*) begins to be harvested, and oil is pressed from myrtle (*ās*) and nenuphar (*nīlūfar*). It is required that documents be drawn up concerning the land tax (*kharāj al-rātīb*) in the province of Qūṣ and submitted to the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*).

Hatūr (28 October – 26 November)

On the 7th water is drained from the fields for flax (*kattān*). The

¹ On the Coptic calendar, see D. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen 'Abbāsidenzeit," *Der Islam*, 31(1954), p.184; Ch. Pellat, *Cinq calendriers égyptiens*, Cairo, 1986.

² Pellat, *Cinq calendriers*.

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 234-257. cf. *Minhāj*, fols. 34v-36v; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 269-273; *Ṣubḥ*, II, 383-389. Pellat, *Cinq calendriers*, pp.2-93.

⁴ It is said that when Emperor Constantinus was converted to Christianity, his mother Helena visited Jerusalem and searched the Cross (*al-Ṣalīb*) on which Christ was put. As the Cross was brought to her, she decorated it with gold. The day became to be an *‘īd* after this legend (*Ṣubḥ*, II, 429).

⁵ *Al-arādī al-sharīb* is land fully irrigated, adjacent to small irrigation canals (*tur‘a*) or larger canals (*khalīf*) (*Ibn Mammātī*, 456).

seeds are sown in the middle of the month and are fertilized. Tools for pressing sugar cane are to be checked. It is the season for wallflower (*mantūr*), violet (*banafsj*), narcissus (*narjis*) and horseradish (*bān*).

Kīhak (27 November – 26 December)

The 17th is the beginning of winter, when trefoil is sowed. Sugar cane in its second year (*khilfa al-qaṣab*)¹ is harvested and pressed. It is the harvest season for narcissus, citrus, green broad beans (*al-fūl al-akhḍar*), carrot (*jazar*) and white leek (*al-kurrāt al-abyaḍ*).

Ṭūba (27 December – 25 January)

It is the season for transplanting trees. Weeds (*hashīsh*), wild mustard (*labīsān*) and thorn (*shawk*) are picked from the crop fields. The first ploughing is done for such summer crops as runner crops (*maqāt*), cotton (*quṭn*) and sesame (*simsim*). The land for taro (*qulqās*) and sugar cane is ploughed, and the irrigation dikes (*jisr*) are broken and smoothed with harrows (*jarrāfa*).² Sugar cane in its first year (*al-qaṣab al-ra's*) is harvested and pressed after the cane for planting (*zari'a*) is set apart.³ In this month it is important to set up water wheels (*sāqiya*) for the cultivation of sugar cane, and oxen (*baqar*) should not be sold.

Amshīr (26 January – 24 February)

Turnips are picked and the land tax (*kharāj*) is levied from it. The second ploughing is done for the cultivation of summer crops. If a third ploughing is done, it is better. Summer crops begin to be cultivated. Tools for breaking irrigation dikes are made, and surveyors (*massāh*) are dispatched [to the local provinces]. It is the harvest season for grapes, almond (*lawz*) and lotus fruit (*nabq*).

Barmahāt (25 February – 26 March)

The 17th is the beginning of Spring. Ships (*markab*) from Egypt, al-Maghrib and al-Rūm sail in the Mediterranean Sea. Special

¹ Pellat has doubts about the explanation in *El* ⁿ that *ra's* and *khilfa* designate the two successive harvests (s.v. *Ḥaṣab al-Sukkar*), but without giving his own view (*Cinq calendriers*, p.36). I consider that *ra's* is sugar cane in the first year, and *khilfa* in the second year. See below in this chapter.

² Rabie explains that *jarrāfa* was used for the repair of canal banks and pulled by two oxen ("Some Technical Aspects," p.64). It seems, however, that *jarrāfa* meant shovel other than harrow in some cases.

³ It is said that 1/8 faddān of sugar cane is required for planting 1 faddān (*Ibn Mammātī*, 266).

care is to be taken in disposing soldiers and fleets (*marākib al-uṣṭūl*) at the frontier for defence. Summer crops are cultivated, broad beans (*fūl*) and lentils ('*adas*) are harvested, and flax is picked. Sugar cane is to be planted in a fertile field (*al-najāba*) that has not been cultivated for several years.

Barmūda (27 March – 25 April)

Broad beans and barley begin to be harvested. Cereals are gathered, and flax seeds are threshed. In this month it is important to cut down saṇṭ trees and carry them to the shore at al-Fuṣṭāṭ through the Nile. Rose (*warda*) and cucumber (*khiyār*) grow.

Bashnas (26 April – 25 May)

Rice and sesame are sown, and crops are threshed. Seeds of flax are sorted out, some of which are to be set apart for sowing. Balsam is irrigated after sowing, and is cut down in the middle of Tūt for oil. If it is done at the beginning of this month, it is better. The moist days are preferable.

Ba'ūna (26 May – 24 June)

The 21st is the beginning of summer. The 18th is the festival of Angel Michael ('*Īd al-Malak Mikā'īl*'),¹ when the Nile begins to rise. Honey ('*asal*') is gathered, and the grape crop is estimated,² on which is levied the *kharāj* or *zakāt*. Flax is soaked in water and turned over four times during the months of Ba'ūna and Abīb. Indigo (*nīla*) is cultivated in Upper Egypt and is harvested after one hundred days. Fig (*tīn*), peach (*khawkh*), pear (*kummathrā*), prunes (*qarāṣiyā*), mulberry (*tūt*), dates (*balah*) and sour grapes (*hiṣrim*) grow.

Abīb (25 June – 24 July)

Flax is taken out of the water and exposed to the sun. The seeds of trefoil and flax are purchased for cultivating them in the sultan's domain (*nawāhī al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf*).

Misrā (25 July – 23 August)

The water of the Nile flows into the Canal Alexandria. Unripe dates (*busr*) are harvested, and the date crop is estimated for collecting *zakāt*. The taste of fruit differs according to how it has been irrigated. It is the time for harvesting lemons (*laymūn*).

¹ See *Ṣubḥ*, II, 430.

² Pellat considers that "*taḥrīd al-kurūm*" (incitement of grape) is mistaken for "*takhrīd al-kurūm*" (estimation of the grape crop), which seems to be better (*Cinq calendriers*, pp.74-75).

Five days (24–28 August) after the last month of Misrā, though Ibn Mammātī gives no account, are well known as “the forgotten days (*ayyām al-nasī*)” for adjusting the calendar to the solar year.

The Unit of Agricultural Production

As for the unit of agricultural production by the *fallāḥūn*, we find a clue as to how to approach it in the accounts of the tax assessment and collection by al-Nuwayrī. In medieval Egypt the allocation of land to the *fallāḥūn* after the annual flood of the Nile was called *taḥḍīr* (disposition), and the registration of their names in the documents was termed *tasjīl*.¹ Al-Nuwayrī, in his *Nihāyat al-Arab*, discusses in detail *taḥḍīr*, *tasjīl* and the methods of tax collection during the harvest season.²

(1) When the district controlled by a *mubāshir* (*iqṭā'* official or government official in the sultan's domain) is covered with water, he orders the village overseers (*khawlī al-balad*) to draw up irrigation documents (*qānūn al-riyy*). The form is as follows. “This is an irrigation document written by a certain *khawlī* and a certain *shaykh*. The number of faddāns irrigated by the Nile in a certain *kharāj* year is as follows.”

(2) Based on the irrigation documents, the *mubāshirs* classify lands into *al-riyy* and *al-sharāqī*. *Al-riyy* is the land irrigated by the Nile, and *al-sharāqī* is the land the Nile water did not reach. Irrigated land is classified further into *naqā'*, *mazrū'*, *khirs*, *ghalīb* and *mustabḥar*.³ This land is classified according to each cultivation contract (*qabāla*), and vice versa.

(3) After considering the level of the flood of the Nile that year, the settled peasants (*al-fallāḥūn al-qarārīya*) are given contracts to cultivate the land of the village. For each cultivator (*muzāri'*) his area and tax at every *qabāla* are witnessed, and the tax with *ḥuqūq* (fees) or without

¹ *Minhāj*, fols.97v-98v; *Ibn Mammātī*, 237.

² *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 247-250. cf. *Minhāj*, fols. 97v-100r; *Abū Ṣāliḥ*, 51-52; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 453-454; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 86. See also Cooper, “The Assessment and Collection,” pp.371-372.

³ *Naqā'* is black soil suitable for cultivation, and *mazrū'* is land cultivated every year. *Khirs* is land where alfa (*ḥalfā'*) grows, which must be picked for cultivation, *ghalīb* has more alfa, and *mustabḥar* is low land where water does not recede even in the sowing season (*Nuwayrī*, VIII, 247-248; Halm, *Ägypten*, pp.38-40). For the study of other kinds of cultivated lands, see Müller-Wodarg, “Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens,” *Der Islam*, 31(1954), pp.209-219; Cahen, “Contribution,” pp.258-261; Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, pp.80f.

ḥuqūq is specified. The *ḥuqūq* is 2–4 dirhams other than the crops levied on the cultivator.

(4) Having concluded the contracts with the settled and migrating cultivators (*al-muzārī'ūn al-qarāriya wal-ṭawāri'*),¹ the *mubāshir* classifies the *taḥḍīr* documents based on the cultivators' names, *qabāla* contracts, the lands irrigated by the Nile (*jazā'ir*), and the unirrigated lands (*jurūf*). Then he writes down his certification on the documents for the *taḥḍīr*.

The *mubāshirs* in the above accounts designate officials who worked in the sultan's domain or in the soldier's *iqṭā'*.² Al-Nābulusī states, however, that when he investigated the province of al-Fayyūm, he made the government officials (*mustajidd*) in the sultan's domain, the representatives (*nā'ib*) in *waqf*, and the scribes of *iqṭā'* holder (*kātib al-muqṭa'*) in the *iqṭā'* (*shaykh* when the *kātib* was absent) submit the documents to him.³ This shows that the *mubāshirs* during that time were actually government officials, the representatives in *waqf*, and the scribes of *muqṭa'*s.⁴ The irrigation documents were drawn up either by the *khawli* or by the recorder (*dalīl*). According to al-Makhzūmī, the *dalīl*, after he classified the land, wrote the name of the basin (*ḥawḍ*) and the number of faddāns under each kind of land.⁵ That is to say, the irrigated fields were customarily surveyed for every basin surrounded by dikes (*jīsr*).

The *qabāla* described in account (2) may be almost the same contract as the *qabāla* in the early Islamic period.⁶ Account (3), however, reveals

¹ We find also the terms of *al-ṭawāri'* and *al-nawābit* (minors) in *Nihāyat al-Arab (Nuwayrī, VIII, 242-244)*.

² *Minhāj*, fols.98v, 99r; *Ibn Mammātī*, 305; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 454; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 90; *Sulūk*, II, 18-19, 82, 360, 607, 614, 651; *'Iqd al-Jumān*, fol.346r; *Muqaffā*, II, 473, 480. According to al-'Umarī, the chief financial official (*mustawfi al-ṣuḥba*) was responsible for certifying the *tasjīl* in each village (*Ta'rīf*, 153). We can quote Hiba Allāh al-Qibṭī as a typical *mustawfi al-ṣuḥba*, who had excellent knowledge on the rural conditions of Egypt and Syria during the reigns of Sultan Baybars and Qalāwūn (*Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 94). See also *Ṣubḥ*, XI, 94; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration*, p.39; Little, "Coptic Converts," pp.263-288.

³ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 23. See also *Minhāj*, fol.99r.

⁴ According to al-Qalqashandī, the *mubāshirs* were actually superintendent (*nāzir*), financier (*mustawfi*), eye-witness (*shāhid*), money-changer (*ṣayrafi*) and so on (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 452).

⁵ *Minhāj*, fols.97v-98r.

⁶ Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, pp.91-94; Sayyid, *al-Dawlat al-*

that, in the *qabāla* contract during the early fourteenth century, both the area of arable land and its tax amount were mentioned, while the *qabāla* in the early Islamic period was a contract without survey. Al-Makhzūmī in the latter half of the twelfth century states that the *qabāla* was usually registered for cash.¹

The registration certificates (*sijillāt*) are issued by the *dalīl* with respect to the local customs of by-faddāns (*mufādana*), contracts at established rates (*al-qabālāt al-muqarrarat al-as'ār*), or negotiated contracts (*al-qabālāt al-munājaza*).²

Ibn Mammātī also has the following to say.

In the districts of Bahbīt, al-Amīriya and al-Minya on the east bank of the Nile [in Upper Egypt], the registers are issued to the cultivators (*muzāri'ūn*), not for crops but for cash by-faddāns. Surveys are made annually, and the *kharāj* on the crops cultivated there is proclaimed to the cultivators, who sell the crops to pay it On the other hand, in most of the Saft and Nahyā districts on the west bank of the Nile [in Upper Egypt], the registers are issued for *al-qabā'il al-munājaza*;³ i.e., a contract in cash and crops without survey (*misāha*).⁴

Frantz-Murphy asserts that al-Makhzūmī's negotiated contracts (*al-qabālāt al-munājaza*) correspond to the contracts without survey (*al-qabā'il al-munājaza*) as designated by Ibn Mammātī.⁵ Anyhow, both accounts reveal that the contract by-faddāns (*mufādana*) was still distinguished from the *qabāla* contract without survey in the late Fatimid and early Ayyubid periods. During the Mamluk period, however, every contract for cultivation came to be called *qabāla*, its document containing both the number of faddāns and the tax amount. Consequently, Egyptian

Fāṭimīya, pp.328-330. Al-Nuwayrī's account contradicts with Halm's consideration that the most important reform done by the Ṣalāḥī rawk was the abolition of the *qabāla* system (*Āgypten*, vol.1, p.15).

¹ *Minhāj*, fol.98v.

² *Minhāj*, fol.99r.

³ The text has *al-qabā'il al-muta'akhhira*, but *al-qabā'il al-munājaza* seems better for the present context.

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 336-338.

⁵ Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, pp.91-93, 96; Sayyid, *al-Dawlat al-Fāṭimīya*, p.330; Cahen, "Contribution," pp.262-265. According to Cahen, the *qabāla* meant the pre-payment of tax by the village influentials or the tenant contract

peasants under the *iqṭā'* system concluded contracts after the annual flood of the Nile with their *muqṭa'* to cultivate land and pay taxes. What ensured the right of cultivation for them was the registration document (*waraqat al-sijill*) or the register of land allocation (*sijill al-tahḍīr*).¹

Al-Nuwayrī's account (4) indicates that the cultivators from other villages, in addition to the settled peasants in the village, joined in contracting for cultivation. Even in thirteenth century al-Fayyūm, cultivation by the peasants from other villages was not unusual, as is shown in al-Nābulusī's account that the peasants in prosperous villages (*ahl al-bilād al-ʿāmira*) cultivated land in abandoned villages (*arāḍi al-bilād al-dāthira*) for several years.² Here are some similar examples found in the accounts of *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*.

- (1) The lands of the village al-Qubarā are registered in the names of the peasants in the adjacent village al-Akḫṣāṣ who actually cultivate them, while the peasants of al-Qubarā cultivate scattered lands in various districts. Those who abandon their lands and cultivate the lands owned by others are like ostriches (*na'āma*) that warm other eggs after leaving theirs.³
- (2) The villagers of Akḫṣāṣ al-ʿAjmiyīn hold part of the lands of the village Babīj Anshū. Accordingly, the tax revenue (*irtifā'*) of Akḫṣāṣ al-ʿAjmiyīn has increased, while that of Babīj Anshū has in contrast decreased.⁴
- (3) The cultivated land of the village al-Hīsha, like the village Umm al-Nakhārīr, belongs to al-Lāhūn. Al-Lāhūn and part of al-Hīsha are granted as *iqṭā'*, but another part is outside the *iqṭā'*. The *'ibra* of al-Hīsha is 1,501 dīnār jayshī. The Nile irrigates the village, whose cultivators are peasants from al-Lāhūn and other villages.⁵
- (4) The village of Būr Saynarū. The term *būr* originates from its abandonment and un-enclosed condition. This old village has been abandoned for three years. It does not have trees and fruit gardens, only trees for firewood and tamarisk. The villagers of Saynarū are

for the amirs and notables, but it is difficult to decide which meaning is proper for the *qabāla* found in *Minhāj*.

¹ *Minhāj*, fols.99r-v, 101v; *Ibn Mammātī*, 237, 305; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 88; *Sulūk*, II, 149; *Nujūm*, IX, 43; *Ṣubḥ*, III, 484.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 18.

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 40.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 42.

cultivating the arable land.¹

- (5) Kanbūt is a small village located along the Canal Dalya without villagers. The land is cultivated by the peasants (*fallāhūn*) who live in the adjacent villages, receiving wages (*murattab*) for their cultivation. The village has the established right to use water for irrigation.²

As these examples show, both peasants with surplus funds and labor and peasants who had lost their land would cultivate the land belonging to neighboring villages. When a peasant cultivated the land in another village, the revenue was customarily calculated in addition to that of his original village. This enables us to suppose that a peasant, in some cases, could possibly contracted several *qabālas*. When the crops grew, the *mubāshirs* conducted surveys (*misāḥa*) on which both the tax register (*mukallafa*) and land register (*fundāq*) were created annually.³ Al-Nuwayrī gives the following explanation for the tax register.

If the cultivator (*muzāri'*) is deficient in his register of his contract (*qabāla*) and superfluous [in the register of] another contract, he (*mubāshir*) writes it down in the tax register (*mukallafa*) as it is. That is to say, he does not transfer any increase to any reduction in registers, but is obliged to register the land tax (*kharāj*) on what was reduced in one contract (*qabāla*) and what increased in another. This is the custom (*muṣṭalaḥ*) for the peasants not compatible with the Sharī'a. I think, however, the reduction needs to be explained in detail for sake of justice and right. If uncultivated land is found in a *qabāla*, it is necessary to levy the land tax on the reduction, because the cultivator abandoned it, even though he had the right of usufruct and cultivation. As to the irrigated, but uncultivated, land in this *qabāla*, the reduction might be equivalent to the profit from the grass which grew in the land of this *qabāla*. However, if the reduction occurred even though he had cultivated completely the land in his *qabāla*, he would owe nothing for not delivering what was in his *qabāla*. It would be supplemented

⁵ *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 55.

¹ *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 75.

² *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 144.

³ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 250. Frantz-Murphy translates the *mukallafa* into "supplement" (*The Agrarian Administration*, pp.50-52), but al-Nuwayrī's account does not concern the supplement of taxes, but all kinds of taxes. See also Cooper, "The Assessment and Collection," p.372.

by the increase of another peasant in this *qabāla*.¹

This account shows that a peasant who had contracted several *qabālas* was not required to supplement his reduction in one *qabāla* by an increase in another. The reduction was in principle supplemented by increases by another peasants in the same *qabāla*.

Let us summarize the above discussion. The relationship of peasants (*fallāḥūn* or *muzārī'ūn*) to the arable land can not be fully explained in terms of landownership, usufruct or tenancy. Egyptian peasants under the *iqṭā'* system, after the irrigation by the annual flood of the Nile, were customarily allocated land to be cultivated through *qabāla* contracts with their *muqṭa'*. A peasant might contract several *qabālas*, so that his cultivated lands may be scattered over various districts, probably in neighboring villages. The important historical change brought about by the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system was that peasants came to contract not with the government or the tax-farmers, but with *muqṭa'*s or *iqṭā'* officials. Frantz-Murphy says that under the *iqṭā'* system, the village overseers (*khawlī*) and village notables (*shaykh*) were responsible instead of government officials (*mubāshir*) both for the estimated assessment of tax and for its final assessments.² However, according to al-Nuwayrī, the survey officials (*mubāshir al-misāḥa*), such as manager (*shādd*), notaries public (*'ādil*), scribes (*kātib*) and land surveyors (*qaṣṣāb*), were also in charge of the final tax assessment and collection for the *muqṭa'*.³

Seed and Farm Implements

Agricultural production in medieval Egypt, as in the other dry regions, included the five important factors of land, seed, farm implements, labor power and water. Since irrigation in Egypt requires more minute consideration than can be given here, it will be discussed separately in the following section.

¹ Nuwayrī, VIII, 251. See also Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, p.51.

² Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, p.70.

³ Nuwayrī, VIII, 247, 250.

Table (1) : Agricultural Products in 12th Century Egypt

A. Winter Crops

crops	sowing season	seed (ard/f)	harvest season	yield (ard/f)	tax (ard/f)
wheat (qamḥ)	m. of Bāba Hätūr(Upper E.) Kihak(Lower E.)	2/3-1	Bashnas	2-20	3(until567) 2+1/2(after 572)
barley (sha'ir)	a few days before wheat	2/3-1	Barmūda	2-20	do.
broad bean (fūl)	b. of Bāba	c.1/2	Barmūda	2-20	2+1/2-3
chick-pea (ḥimmiṣ)	Hätūr- Kihak	1- 1+1/3	Barmūda	4-10	2+1/2
grass pea (julubbān)	Hätūr- Kihak	2/3-1	Barmūda	under	2+1/2 10
lentil ('adas)	Hätūr- Kihak	unde 1/3	Barmūda	5-20	2+1/2
flax (kattān)	Hätūr	under 1+1/3	Barmūda	30 ḥabl 3-6(seed)	3 d.n.
trefoil (qurt)	Bāba- Ṭūba	under 5/12	e. of Kihak- Ba'ūna	2/3-2	1 d.n.
onion (baṣal)	Hätūr- m. of Kihak	1/8- 1/6	Barmūda	10-20 d.n.	2 d.n.
garlic (thūm)	Hätūr- m. of Kihak	100- 150 bundle	Barmūda	10-20 d.n.	2 d.n.
lupine (turmus)	Ṭūba	1	Barmūda	c.20	1+1/4 d.n.

ard: ardabb f: faddān d.n.: dinār

b: beginning m: middle e: end

ḥabl= 21.6 meters (Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, p.62)

B. Summer Crops

crops	sowing season	seed (ard./f)	harvest season	yield (d.n./f)	tax (d.n./f)
cumin (kammūn) caraway (karawyā) turnip(saljam)	Amshīr 10-e. of Amshīr	1/48	Barmūda	5-20	1
melon (baṭṭikh) green beans (lūbiyā)	m. of Barmahāt- m. of Barmūda	1/48	Bashnas	1-20	1-2 3
sesame (simsim)	Barmūda	1/6	Abīb- Misrā	1-6 ard.	1
cotton(quṭn)	Barmūda	2/3	Tūt	2-8 qinṭār	1
sugar cane (q. al-sukkar)	m. of Barmahāt	1/8f	Ṭūba-m. of Kihak	20-100 ublūja	5 2+5/24
taro(qulqās)	m. of Barmahāt	10 qinṭār	Hātūr	5-40	4
eggplant (bādhinjān)	Barmahāt- Ba'ūna	1-2 d.n.	Ba'ūna- Misrā	c.30	3
nile sesame (al-s. al-nīlī)	e. of Ba'ūna	1/24	Tūt	1-5 ard.	3
indigo (nīla)	Bashnas- Ba'ūna	1/8-1/6	Abīb- Misrā	under 26	3
radish(fujl)	all year	1/96-1/48	all year	4-6	1
turnip(lift)	Abīb-Bāba	1/96	after 40 days	4-6	1
lettuce(khass) cabbage(kurunb)	Ṭūba Tūt	1/4-1/2 d.n. under 2 d.n.	after 2 months Hātūr	under 10 & 20	2 2
onion(baṣal)	all year	6-7	after a month	under 4	2

Agricultural products in Egypt have been classified into winter crops (*al-aṣnāf al-shatawī*) and summer crops (*al-aṣnāf al-ṣayfī*). Ibn Mammāṭī provides us information on each kind, as well as its sowing and harvest seasons, the amount of seed required per faddān, and the tax levy as shown in *table (1)*.¹ Land irrigated annually was incorporated into the following crop rotation system.²

- (1) beans and melons → wheat and barley → beans and melons
 (2) beans and melons → flax → fallow or wheat

It may be conjectured, therefore, that two or even three crops a year could be planted on land of good quality.³ However, cotton and sugar cane, which require a little longer duration, are not included in this crop rotation system. Particularly, the diffusion of sugar cane, which tends to resist repeated cultivation in the same field, should have considerably affected the traditional rotation system.

(a) *Seed*

Nāṣir Khusraw (d. 453/1061), who visited Egypt in the middle of the eleventh century, relates that as soon as the Nile receded, peasants were free to cultivate any crops they wanted.⁴ Exceptions were cases of government or the *muqṭa*'s inducing them to cultivate a particular crop. However, Egyptian peasants during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods may have had the right to choose their own crops, but one important thing is that after land distribution (*taḥḍīr*), a considerable number of peasants had insufficient seed to cultivate their land. Planting seed (*taqāwī*, pl. *taqwīya*) was given in rent to them. Al-Nuwayrī gives the following account of *taqāwī* :

Then the *iqṭā*' official (*mubāshir*) customarily supplies *taqāwī* to the cultivators according to the area to be cultivated. What is supplied at this time should be seed of good and pure quality.⁵

¹ *Ibn Mammāṭī*, 258-270. cf. *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 101-103; 'Umarī, 16-17.

² Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 31(1954), pp.209-219; Cahen, "Contribution," pp.258-261.

³ Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 31(1954), p.195.

⁴ *Safar Nāma*, 56.

⁵ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 250. See also *Ibn Mammāṭī*, 237; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 221.

Taqāwī is generally understood as planting seed.¹ However, it was sometimes supplied in cash, and in some cases, it was supplied in kind to be used as a means of livelihood.² Let me take an example of the village Maṭar Ṭāris in the province of al-Fayyūm:

Until the end of 642/1244 the *muzāri'ūn* and *murābi'ūn* who cultivated sugar cane and vegetables have been supplied *taqāwī*; i.e., (42+17/24) dinārs in cash and (1328+5/6) ardabbs in crops. The crop items include 433 ardabbs of wheat, 150 ardabbs of barley, 350 ardabbs of broad beans, 395 ardabbs of unhulled rice and 5/6 ardabb of turnips.³

That is to say, the *muzāri'ūn* and *murābi'ūn* who cultivated sugar cane or vegetables might have been provided wheat, barley and other crops as provisions. We may therefore understand the *taqāwī* as not only seed for sowing, but also as provisions to be used as a means of livelihood during sowing. In any case, the seed provided for winter crops was to be of good quality to yield the largest harvest possible.⁴

The main crop in Egyptian agriculture was wheat (*qamḥ*), but our knowledge is still insufficient on the kinds of wheat cultivated. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/956) relates that *al-qamḥ al-yūsufī* was the largest, longest and heaviest kind of wheat, which was cultivated in such provinces as al-Bahnasā, Asyūt and Ikhmīm in Upper Egypt.⁵ Unfortunately, we have no further information on *al-qamḥ al-yūsufī*. Ibn Mammātī, however, states that the amount of wheat seed required per faddān was customarily 1–5/6 or 4/6 ardabb, but in Upper Egypt an amount less than that was sufficient.⁶ Furthermore, Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) relates that wheat cultivated at Manfalūt was of good quality, and is thus famous for being transported to al-Fuṣṭāṭ.⁷ Consequently, we may well consider that the

¹ For the study of *taqāwī*, see M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, 2 vols., Paris, 1837-45, vol.1, pp.141-142; vol.2, p.257; Cahen, "Le régime de impôts," p.26; Ṭurkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqtā'īya*, p.238; Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.55, 68; Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, p.103.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 30, 34, 110, 154, 159.

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 159.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 221.

⁵ *Tanbīh*, 20. See also *Buldān*, 87; *Ibn Ḍahīra*, 133, 159.

⁶ *Ibn Mammātī*, 258-259. Ibn al-Ṭuwayl al-Qaysurānī (d.617/1220) also says, "The crop carriers (*ḥammāl*) take various kinds of crops to al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo through the hands of captains (*ra'īs al-markab*) or chiefs (*amīn al-markab*) from all the sultan's domains, most of which are from Upper Egypt" (*Nuzha*, 139).

⁷ *Ibn Jubayr*, 35.

productivity in Upper Egypt was generally higher than that in Lower Egypt, and the districts in Upper Egypt produced wheat of better quality. Incidentally, al-Maqrīzī classifies *taqāwī* into two kinds:

Egyptian local provinces have traditional *taqāwī*, which is divided into two kinds: The sultan's *taqāwī* (*taqāwī sulṭānīya*) and village *taqāwī* (*taqāwī baladīya*). The sultan's *taqāwī* is the seed held by local lords (*al-mulūk fī al-nawāḥī*). Amirs and soldiers can profit from it only if they hold *iqṭā*'s. They should thereby return this *taqāwī* to the sultan when they are removed from their *iqṭā*'s.¹

However, al-Maqrīzī eschews any explanation of village *taqāwī*, and his explanation of sultan's *taqāwī* does not coincide completely with the accounts found in *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*. Here are some examples from among the accounts of sixty-two villages in the province of al-Fayyūm:

(1) Fānū/Naqlifa (sultan's domain)

The *taqāwīs* granted to the village and still remaining there until 642/1244-5 are $(58+1/12)$ dīnārs in cash and $(1189+2/3+1/4)$ ardabbs in crops. The crop items are $(760+1/4+1/6+1/8)$ ardabbs of wheat, $(210+1/2+1/4)$ ardabbs of barley, $(217+1/24)$ ardabbs of broad beans, $2/3$ ardabb of peas, and $(2/3+1/4)$ ardabb of green melon seed.²

(2) Nāmūsatayn (*iqṭā*')

The *taqāwī* granted customarily to the village is 66 ardabbs in crops: 40 ardabbs of wheat, and 26 ardabbs of barley and broad beans. The government *taqāwī* is $(1+1/3+1/8)$ ardabbs: $(1+1/6)$ ardabbs of wheat and $(1/6+1/8)$ ardabb of barley.³

(3) al-Ṭārima (*iqṭā*')

The *taqāwī* belonging to the village [as *iqṭā*'] of *maḥlūl* and *murtaja*⁴ is $(177+2/3+1/16)$ ardabbs: $(83+1/2+1/4)$ ardabbs of wheat, $(26+1/3+1/16)$ ardabbs of barley and $(67+1/2+1/3)$ ardabbs of broad beans. The government *taqāwī* granted customarily to the village is 506 ardabbs: 253 ardabbs of wheat and 253 ardabbs of barley and broad beans.⁵

¹ *Khiṭāṭ*, I, 91. See also *Sulūk*, II, 19-20.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 137.

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 171.

⁴ It may be conjectured that the *maḥlūl* and *murtaja*' are the vacant and the returned *iqṭā*'s respectively.

⁵ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 52.

(4) 'Anz (*iqṭā'*)

The *muqṭa'*'s *taqāwī* in the village is 124 ardabbs: 49 ardabbs of wheat, 50 ardabbs of barley, and 25 ardabbs of broad beans.¹

These four examples cover all the types of *taqāwī* found in *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*. The first is the government *taqāwī* as shown in example (1), which was sometimes called *al-taqāwī al-dīwānīya* or *al-taqāwī al-sulṭānīya*.² This type of *taqāwī* was supplied to the peasants not only in the sultan's domain, but also in the *iqṭā'*. Furthermore, the government *taqāwī*, compared to the other types of *taqāwī*, was granted more often in cash than in crops. The second *taqāwī* is the *muqṭa'*'s *taqāwī* as shown in example (4). As mentioned above, al-Maqrīzī, who did not differentiate the government *taqāwī* from the *muqṭa'*'s *taqāwī*, considered both belonging to the sultan's *taqāwī*. Since *iqṭā'*s were granted by the sultan, the *muqṭa'*s had the right to claim *taqāwī* only when they held *iqṭā'*s. For example, in 705/1305 amir Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, after passing eighty years old, had to return his *iqṭā'* to the sultan together with his *taqāwī*.³ However, al-Nābulusī gives us the following example:

The village Qambashā has (396+1/12+1/48) ardabbs of the government *taqāwī*, which includes (266+2/3) ardabbs of wheat, 47 ardabbs of barley, (82+1/6+1/8) ardabbs of broad beans, and (1/8+1/48) ardabb of sesame. The village also has 876 ardabbs of the *muqṭa'*'s *taqāwī*, which includes 584 ardabbs of wheat and 292 ardabbs of barley and broad beans.⁴

According to this account, the government *taqāwī* was apparently different from the *muqṭa'*'s *taqāwī*. Since the case of Mīnya Aqnā also shows that these *taqāwīs* were different, we had better, for the present, differentiate the two.

The third kind of *taqāwī* is the *taqāwī* belonging to villages as shown in examples (2) and (3). This is variously designated as "the *taqāwī* belonging to the village as custom (*'āda*),"⁵ "the *taqāwī* for the

¹ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 132.

² *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 30, 38, 76, 79-80, 83, 129, 131, 154, 171.

³ *Sulūk*, II, 18-19; *Nathr al-Jumān*, III, fol.76v. As he was liable to be ill, amir Baktāsh often paid the unproportionate payment (*tafāwūt*) according to his inability to offer military service during sixty years.

⁴ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 142.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 44.

cultivation of the village as custom,”¹ or “the *taqāwī* granted to the village as custom.”² We are still uncertain whether this *taqāwī* was exactly the same as the village *taqāwī* described by al-Maqrīzī; but, considering how it is expressed, we may conclude that it was apparently different from the *taqāwī* lent to peasants by the sultan or *muqṭa*’s with interest. Finally, the fourth kind is the *taqāwī* for *iqṭā*’s dissolved (*maḥlūl*) and returned (*murtaja*’) to the sultan as shown in example (4).³

Taqāwīs in thirteenth century al-Fayyūm could be classified into four types as mentioned above. Unfortunately, it is not certain where the seed for *taqāwī* was preserved from the harvest to sowing seasons, or how it was distributed to each peasant. What is certain was that *taqāwī* was allocated to cultivators according to their *faddāns* registered under their *qabāla* contracts.⁴ The peasants who had been allocated this seed had to pay it back with interest when the harvest season came around in April or May. Al-Nuwayrī has the following to say about this:

The *mubāshir* registers the total amount of revenue in cash and crops, and adds to it the *taqāwī*, loan (*qurūḍ*), tithe (*’ushr*) and surcharge for every peasant name. And if he finds the tax unpaid (*al-bāqī*) after the end of that year, he adds this also. Furthermore, he (*mubāshir*) adds the tithe of *taqāwī*, but it is unlawful because if one takes eleven after he lent ten, it should be considered *ribā*. However, in some districts, even the second tithe is levied on the first one. That is to say, one takes hundred and eleven after he lent hundred. Recently such a wicked *taqāwī* has become widespread.⁵

This account reveals that the interest rate of *taqāwī* during the Mamluk period was generally 1/10 or 11/100. In the case of the third type of village *taqāwī*, we have no reliable sources to ascertain whether Egyptian peasants were exempt from paying such a charge as this or not. In any case, “the *taqāwī* granted to the village as custom” might have been an indispensable element for agricultural reproduction by peasants (*fallāḥūn*).

¹ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 48, 50.

² *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 79-80, 88, 90, 123, 154, 171.

³ See also *Luma*’, 59.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 250.

⁵ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 252. See also *Muqaddasī*, 212; *Akhbār Miṣr L*, 254.

(b) Farm Implements

The following are the major cycles of main agricultural production based on calendars provided by Ibn Mammāṭī and al-Nuwayrī.¹

- (1) wheat (*qamḥ*)
irrigation (*riyy*) → ploughing (*ḥarth, barsh, shaqq*) → sowing (*zirā'a, badhr*) → weeding (*tanqiya*) → harvest (*darak, ḥaṣd*)
- (2) flax (*kattān*)
irrigation → ploughing → sowing → manuring (*tasbīkh*)² and weeding → harvest
- (3) sugar cane (*qaṣab al-sukkar*)
ploughing → planting (*dafn*) → irrigation → soil loosening (*'azqa*) and weeding → harvest

Concerning wheat cultivation, Ibn Mammāṭī relates that the amount of necessary seed differs according to the quality of the land to be sown, or the method of sowing (with or without ploughing).³ This shows that wheat and probably flax were sown on either ploughed or unploughed land. Sugar cane and other summer crops, as revealed in the calendars mentioned above, were planted or sown after several ploughings during the months from Ṭūba to Amshīr.

Accordingly, for agricultural production in Egypt, a plough and a pair of oxen (*baqar*) were quite indispensable. Al-Makhzūmī states that the area which a pair of oxen could plough in one day for sugar cane planting was:

less than 2/3 faddān at the first ploughing
about a faddān at the second ploughing⁴

Ibn Mammāṭī provides us with similar data on crop cultivation:

less than 2/3 faddān in case of hard soil

¹ *Ibn Mammāṭī*, 258-270; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 265. See also *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 271-272; *Akhbār Miṣr*, 258; *Ibn Sā'ī*, 50; *Ibn Iyās*, I, 76; *Nashq*, I, fols.82v-83r.

² During this period dung (*zibīl*), straw (*tibn*) and ashes (*ramād*) were used for manuring (*Miftāḥ al-Rāḥa*, 111-116). See also Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects," pp.72-73.

³ *Ibn Mammāṭī*, 258. See also *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 101.

⁴ *Minhāj*, fol.32v.

about a faddān in case of soft soil¹

We may therefore conclude that a pair of oxen could plough between 2/3 and 1 faddān per day for crops requiring cultivation, including sugar cane. Peasants who had no oxen for ploughing used camels (*jamaʿ*) or donkeys (*himār*). For example, in the year 700/1300, when plague (*wabāʿ*) prevailed in Egypt causing the death of many oxen, the peasants of the village Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ in the province of al-Daqahliya, where 1,003 among its 1,021 oxen had perished, had to use camels and donkeys for their cultivation.²

Cultivators during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods were divided into peasants with ploughs and oxen and peasants without them. Al-Nābulusī relates in his *Lumaʿ*:

The province of Qalyūb [in Lower Egypt] under a *mamlūk*'s rule had the following custom (*ʿāda*). If a cultivator's (*muzāriʿ*) cattle died, he would have no resources to buy them anew. He would then appeal to the *mamlūk* in order to cut down the stumbling sanṭ trees growing around his fruit garden and sell them to obtain money to buy cattle for the water wheel (*sāqiya*). The *mamlūk* would permit him to cut down the necessary number of trees, provided that it was certain he had really no other resources to buy cattle and that the stumbling sanṭ trees were growing there as he said.³

This indicates that the upper peasant class of *muzāriʿūn* or *fallāḥūn* had their own ploughs and oxen. This is ascertained also by the fact that in the villages of Akḥṣāṣ al-ʿAjmiyīn, Ihrīt and al-Mahmasī in the province of al-Fayyūm, the villagers cultivated sugar cane with their own oxen and labor.⁴

On the other hand, the peasants who had no farm implements and cattle had to borrow them from their *muqta*'s or the rich peasants. Although the rent was different according to provincial custom, in the case of fruit growing, the general rule was as follows:

When one borrows a pair of oxen (*zawj*) and a plough, the rent is 4

¹ *Ibn Mammātī*, 277; Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects," p.63.

² *Sulūk*, I, 913-914. See also *Iqd al-Jumān*, IV, 138; *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 416; *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fols.198-199; *Sulūk*, I, 733.

³ *Lumaʿ*, 49.

⁴ *Taʿriḫ al-Fayyūm*, 43, 46, 56. See also *Sulūk*, II, 36-37; *Lumaʿ*, 20.

dirhams a day, but the necessary fodder is provided by the lender. And if one hires a ploughman (*ḥarrāth*), the wage is 2 ardabbs of wheat per day.¹

Since the price of wheat per ardabb in thirteenth century Egypt was about 15 dirhams,² 4 dirhams was equal to about 1/4 ardabb of wheat. Compared to this, the wage of 2 ardabbs for a ploughman seems considerably high, the reason for which is still not clear.

Incidentally, as sugar cane plantation spread in Egypt from the Fatimid through the Mamluk period, a new type of plough was invented for its cultivation. Al-Nuwayrī records:

After getting rid of the alfa (*ḥalfā'*), the cleanly cut field is cultivated six times by *muqalqilāt* (sing. *muqalqila*), large-sized ploughs, and smoothed flat. Then the field is cultivated six more times and smoothed by harrows. Sugar cane is planted after ridging done by *muqalqilāt*.³

Khiṭaṭ also gives a similar account to this,⁴ but, as far as I know, "A Memorandum to Amir Kitbughā" issued in 1281 is the first to refer to this *muqalqila*, which was used for the construction of canals and irrigation dikes.⁵ Al-Makhzūmī and Ibn Mammāṭī, who describe sugar cane plantation in great detail, give no account of *muqalqila*. We may therefore conclude that the *muqalqila* was probably invented for sugar cane plantation or for irrigation work around the middle of the thirteenth century. Although its technical characteristics are not distinct, al-Nuwayrī's account mentioned above shows plainly that the *muqalqila* was a large-sized plough to cultivate fields more deeply.

In the case of sugar cane plantation, after ploughing the fields were

¹ *Ibn Mammāṭī*, 278.

² *Sulūk*, I, 108, 119, 121, 133. See also S. Ehrenkreutz, "Contribution to the Knowledge of the Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Middle Ages," *BSOAS*, 16(1954), pp.504-505; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris, 1969, p.293. In medieval Egypt it was customarily regarded that a person needed a *qadaḥ* of crops every day, that is to say, 1/96 ardabb (0.94 liter) (*Akhbār Tinnīs*, 188).

³ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 264-265; Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 32 (1956), pp.76-78.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 102. See also *Nuzhat al-Umam*, fol.116r-v; Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects," p.64; A. Y. al-Hassan and D. R. Hill, *Islamic Technology*, Cambridge, 1986, p.206.

⁵ *Ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 198; *Ṣubḥ*, XIII, 95.

smoothed by harrows (*jarrāfa*, *mijrafa*). However, we are given no account to ascertain that the same work was required in the cultivation of wheat or barley. Concerning the work after sowing or planting, weeding in the third month was required for wheat or barley, and soil loosening and weeding were done for sugar cane. Unfortunately, no information remains on the farm implements which were used for such work. Concerning straw Ibn Mammāti has the following to say:

In Egypt straw is divided into three parts: 1/3 is for the government, 1/3 for the *muqṭa'*, and 1/3 for the cultivator (*muzārī*) If a peasant wants to take the government's share, he must pay (4+1/6) dinārs per hundred loads.¹

This account indicates that wheat and barley were reaped from their roots with sickles (*minjal*), which was already used in the Pharaonic period.² The harvested crops were carried to the threshing floor usually not on horses, which were restricted exclusively to military use, but on camels and donkeys.³

The Diffusion of Rice, Cotton, and Sugar Cane Cultivation

(a) The Cultivation of Rice and Cotton

The main crops in medieval Egypt were winter crops, such as wheat, barley, flax and broad beans. According to Müller-Wodarg, the cultivation of rice (*aruzz*), a summer crop, had already spread from Iraq to Egypt by the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (136–158/754–775).⁴ The province of al-Fayyūm, in particular, where ample water was available in the seasons other than the flood of the Nile, was well known as the most important district for rice cultivation in Egypt. For example, al-Muqaddasī (4/10 c.) says, "Al-Fayyūm is a district for fine rice and

¹ *Ibn Mammāti*, 344. cf. *Mir'āt*, VIII, 706; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 110. According to Ibn al-'Adīm, straws used to be sold together with crops at a gate of Aleppo (*Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, I, 57).

² Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects," p.74.

³ *Akhbār Miṣr* L, 90-91; *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 267.

⁴ Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 32(1956), p.24. On the rice cultivation in the early Islamic period, see M. Canard, "Le riz dans le proche orient aux premiers siècles de l'islam," *Arabica*, 6(1959), pp.113-131; A. W. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge, 1983, pp.17-19.

excellent linen production,"¹ and Ibn Ḥawqal also relates that the main crop produced in al-Fayyūm is rice.² Furthermore, al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165) states that, since the fields of al-Fayyūm are fertile, fruit and grain are plentiful there, and rice cultivation is particularly popular among the peasants.³ In 641/1243, however, the land tax on the main crops in al-Fayyūm were as follows:

wheat	72,404 ardabbs
barley, broad beans	63,362 ardabbs
rice (with chaff)	2,960 ardabbs ⁴

Al-Nābulusī also gives the crop revenues of the village Sirsinā in the province of al-Fayyūm:

wheat	2,652 ardabbs
barley	801 ardabbs
rice	2,349 ardabbs ⁵

Together these accounts show that 80% of the rice cultivated in al-Fayyūm was grown in the village of Sirsinā using water from the Canal Dhāt al-Ṣafā'. In the village of al-'Udwa red rice (*aruzz aḥmar*) was cultivated, on which 155 ardabbs were levied.⁶ However, as rice cultivation declined in al-Fayyūm during the Mamluk period, it began to develop instead in the districts of Lower Egypt.⁷ According to S. J. Shaw, the main districts of rice cultivation in Egypt under Ottoman rule were Rosetta, al-Manṣūra, Damietta and their surrounding areas.⁸

As to cotton cultivation, D. Müller-Wodarg and A. M. Watson state that cotton textiles (*quṭn*, *'uṭb*) had been already produced in Egypt

¹ *Muqaddasī*, 201.

² *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 129, 130, 140. cf. *Ighātha*, 17.

³ *Idrīsī*, fol.124r.

⁴ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 23.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 111-112.

⁶ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 32.

⁷ *Yāqūt*, V, 94; *Akhbār Miṣr L*, 198-199; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 183; Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 32(1956), pp.23-24; W. Niemeyer, *Ägypten zur Zeit der Mamluken*, Berlin, 1936, pp.63-64; Watson, *Agricultural Innovation*, p.17.

⁸ Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization*, p.52.

since the early Islamic period.¹ However, the statement, “Linen (*kattān*) is popular in Egypt, while cotton is popular in Khurāsān,” shows that even in the Fatimid period the main textiles in Egypt were made from linen and wool.² On the other hand, among the miscellaneous taxes abolished by Saladin in 564/1169 we can find 2,000 *dīnārs* levied on the storage of cotton (*funduq al-quṭn*), in addition to a stamp-tax on fine linen (*Sharb*) and Dabīqī brocade.³ Furthermore, how to strengthen wooden shields with cotton is explained in a book on martial arts during the reign of Saladin.⁴ Consequently, we may conclude that cotton cultivation had already spread to some extent in Egypt around by the middle of the twelfth century. In the province of al-Fayyūm during the thirteenth century, cotton was cultivated in such villages as al-Mahmasī, Buljsūq, Taṭūn, Dafdanū, Dhāt al-Ṣafā’, Shalāla and Qambashā.⁵ Though we have no ample information on cotton cultivation during the Mamluk period, the Mamluk cavalry’s uniform (*kiswa*) was made from either cotton produced in Ba’labakk or unbleached linen produced in Damietta and Alexandria.⁶ Therefore, it seems that cotton cultivation had not exceeded flax cultivation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, probably because linen textiles were preferable in the hot climate of Egypt. Incidentally, it was after the middle of the Mamluk period that silk came to be popular in Egyptian society.⁷

Both rice and cotton were the familiar products in Egypt and had been well known since the early Islamic period, but it was only after the tenth century that these crops came to be cultivated in large scale as valuable commercial products. However, during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, sugar cane plantation spread into Upper Egypt and surpassed the former rice and cotton cultivation.

¹ Müller-Wodarg, “Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens,” *Der Islam*, 32(1956), pp.38-39; Watson, *Agricultural Innovation*, pp.40-41.

² *Iṣṭakhri*, 41; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 143, 148; *Muqaddasī*, 203; *Safar Nāma*, 51; *Akhbār Tinnīs*, 185, 188; Mez, *Die Renaissance*, pp.432-435; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, Beirut, 1972, pp.135-160; Ḥasan, *Ta’rikh al-Dawla al-Fāṭimīya*, p.582.

³ *Rawdatayn*, II, 443; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 104; Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p.144.

⁴ *Tabṣira*, 12.

⁵ *Ta’rikh al-Fayyūm*, 56, 82, 86, 97, 103, 121, 141.

⁶ *Sulūk*, II, 524, 528, 529, 671; *Jawhar*, 307-308; Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, p.145; L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Genève, 1952, pp.21-35.

⁷ *Ibn Bayṭār*, I, 95-96; IV, 24; *Sulūk*, I, 945; S. Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens in Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp.50, 307, 309.

(b) The Diffusion of Sugar Cane Cultivation

According to Watson, the first clear reference to the cultivation of sugar cane in Egypt comes from a papyrus of the mid-eighth century, and the crop is mentioned in several papyri of the ninth century.¹ Müller-Wodarg also states that sugar cane cultivation has already spread in ninth century Egypt.² However, the districts for sugar cane plantation mentioned by such geographers as al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Ḥawqal are Alexandria, Sanhūr, al-Şāfiya and Dumā Jumāl, which are all restricted to Lower Egypt.³ Nāşir Khusraw relates that the amount of sugar (*sukkar*) granted in Ramađān by the Fatimid caliph, al-Mustaşir, increased to 50,000 man (about 40,000 kilograms), and also refers to the outskirts of al-Fuşţāţ as its only producing district.⁴ Al-Idrīsī in the twelfth century says that sugar cane in Egypt is cultivated in al-Fuşţāţ and its surroundings: i.e., Ḥimā al-Kabīr, Mīnya Badr near Tinnīs, and Mīnya al-'Ulūq near Damietta.⁵ Furthermore, Ibn Mammātī, who regards sugar cane cultivation as most profitable, gives an account that it was planted in the province of al-Buḥayra.⁶ On the other hand, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) is probably the first to refer to the sugar cane cultivated in such districts as Asyūt and Qūş in Upper Egypt.⁷

In other words, the main producing districts for sugar cane found in the Arabic sources up to the end of the eleventh century were mostly restricted to the outskirts of al-Fuşţāţ and the villages in Lower Egypt. This may show that Lower Egypt was in a better condition than Upper Egypt both to dig new canals and set up water wheels required for sugar cane production.⁸ We may therefore conclude that sugar cane plantation spread to Upper Egypt on a large scale after around the twelfth century. Both al-Makhzūmī and Ibn Mammātī give detailed accounts of how to cultivate sugar cane, which indicates that sugar cane came to attract

¹ Watson, *Agricultural Innovation*, p.28.

² Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 32(1956), pp.47-48.

³ *Tanbih*, 20; *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 131, 134.

⁴ *Safar Nāma*, 74, 79. See also *Ta'rikh al-Musabbiḥī*, 70-71.

⁵ *Idrīsī*, fols.122r, 124v, 126r, 127v.

⁶ *Ibn Mammātī*, fol.30, 221. Al-Maqrīzī also says, "In 592/1196 when famine spread in Lower Egypt, people crowded around the wastes thrown from the sugar refineries (*maţābikh al-sukkar*)" (*Sulūk*, I, 131-132).

⁷ *Bakrī*, fols. 19-20; *Bakrī*, 81, 83.

⁸ Ibn Iyās says, "Most of the large canals (*khali*), small canals (*tur'a*), irrigation dikes (*jisr*) and inlets (*khawr*) are found in Lower Egypt, while they are scarce in Upper Egypt" (*Nuzhat al-Umam*, fol.95r-v).

people's attention as a new commercial product at that time.

Here we will trace the spread of sugar cane to Upper Egypt from a different aspect. The following account of the village Naqqāda in Qūṣ shows that the Ayyubid soldiers were eager to cultivate sugar cane:

Saladin granted the village of Naqqāda, together with one-third of the village Sandabīs, as *waqf* to 24 soldiers who were guarding the prophet's tomb. They set up a water wheel (*dūlāb*), constructed a sugar cane pressing factory (*ma'ṣara lil-qaṣab*) there, and guarded the water wheel by turns.¹

In the latter half of the Ayyubid period, amir Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, son of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān who was a *muqṭa'* of al-Fayyūm, had a small sugar refinery (*maṭbakh al-sukkar*) at al-Fuṣṭāṭ.² Al-Nābulusī gives a vivid description of the diffusion of sugar cane into the province of al-Fayyūm at the same time:

(1) The village Dahmā (*iqṭā'*)

In this village cotton had been cultivated until irrigation water was diverted to sugar cane. As sugar cane spread, all the water was devoted to its irrigation, which caused [the village] to abolish cotton cultivation.³

(2) The village Dhāt al-Ṣafā' (*iqṭā'*)

In this village sesame (*simsim*) had been cultivated, then rice (*aruzz*) was introduced as the land worsened in fertility. But rice was abandoned eventually because the water was diverted to sugar cane newly introduced into the village.⁴

(3) The village Shāna (*iqṭā'*)

As the population increased, the villagers went to the village of Lawāsī to cultivate there. But because Lawāsī was distant from their village, they emigrated to a nearby place. It is also said, however, that the cause of their emigration (*intiḳāl*) was the lack of irrigation water (*qilla al-mā'*) due to the increase of sugar cane plantation in

¹ *Ibn Duqmāq*, II, 33, 49.

² *Ibn Duqmāq*, I, 77, 108; *Sulūk*, I, 261, 281. In other passage, Ibn Duqmāq says that the sugar refinery was held not by Nūr al-Dīn but by Fakhr al-Dīn (I, 85). On amir Fakhr al-Dīn, see pp.72f.

³ *Ta'riḳh al-Fayyūm*, 101-102.

⁴ *Ta'riḳh al-Fayyūm*, 102.

the province of al-Fayyūm.¹

(4) The village Shadamūh (*iqṭā'*)

The village has fruit orchards of dates, grapes and sycamore. Winter crops are mainly cultivated, and summer crops also had been cultivated until sugar cane increased.²

These instances show that sugar cane plantation diffused to the extent of supplementing such summer crops as rice, cotton and sesame, because its cultivation required much water even after the Nile had receded. All the cases mentioned above are villages granted as *iqṭā'* to soldiers. However, sugar cane was also cultivated in the sultan's domain including such villages as al-'Udwa, Sinnūris, Fānū and Maṭar Ṭāris. According to a survey in 641/1243, the cultivated area of sugar cane in the province of al-Fayyūm amounted to 1,468 faddāns (about 881 hectares), while the area of wheat, for example, was 29,000 faddāns (about 17,400 hectares) in total.³

In the next Mamluk period the sultans had a custom to grant sugar to their soldiers and high officials.⁴ Al-Maqrīzī has the following to say:

At the beginning of Ramaḍān in 745/January 1345, the Mamluk state began to break down in every respect. The wazīr could not grant meat to the state craftsmen (*mu'āmil*), nor meet the monthly salary (*jāmakīya*) or the usual sugar allotment in Ramaḍān to the sultan's *mamlūks*. The annual amount of sugar granted to them during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir was 1,000 qinṭārs (about 90,000 kilograms), but it had exceeded 3,000 qinṭārs (about 270,000 kilograms) in this period.⁵

The grant of sugar in Ramaḍān is found also in the account by Nāṣir Khusraw who travelled to Egypt under the Fatimid rule.⁶ During the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir, the grant of sugar to the Mamluk soldiers came to be a custom (*'āda*) in every Ramaḍān for displaying the sultan's

¹ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 122-123.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 125-126.

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 23. See also Cahen, "Le régime des impôts," p.15.

⁴ *Sulūk*, I, 289-290, 474, 820; II, 80-81.

⁵ *Sulūk*, II, 671. According to Ayalon, the *jāmakīya*, which meant a monthly salary to the soldiers, was paid customarily on the 15th, 16th, or 17th day of every month (D. Ayalon, "The System of Payment in Mamlūk Military Society," *JESHO*, 1(1957-58), pp.50-56).

⁶ *Safar Nāma*, 74, 79.

authority.¹ Furthermore, the amount of the sugar grant had a tendency to increase every year as sugar cane plantation diffused into Upper Egypt.

The following accounts confirm that sugar cane plantation was already popular in the districts of Upper Egypt other than the province of al-Fayyūm in the first half of the Mamluk period. We find an account of the year 697/1289 in *Sulūk* by al-Maqrīzī:

[After the Ḥusāmī rawk] Mankūtamur, *nā'ib al-salṭana*, was granted vast *iqṭā'*s in Upper Egypt; that is to say, Marj Banī Humaym and its surroundings, Samhūd and its surroundings, Ḥarajat Qūṣ, Madīna Udfū, and water wheels (*dūlāb*) in these districts. The revenues were made up of over 110,000 ardabbs of crops, raw sugar (*qand*), molasses (*asal*), dates, sheep and firewood. He owned 27 sugar cane pressing factories (*ma'šara li-qaṣab al-sukkar*) there.²

Al-Maqrīzī gives another account of Mallawī in Upper Egypt:

During the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir, the cultivated area for sugar cane increased to 2,500 faddāns (about 1,592 hectares) in this district. [Amir] al-Nashw, inspector of the sultan's domain (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), seized all the sugar produced there in 738/1337-8 to send 14,000 qinṭārs (1,260,000 kilograms) of *qand* other than molasses to *Dār al-Qand* at al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Later he forced the people in the district to deliver 8,000 qinṭārs (720,000 kilograms) of *qand* in addition to it.³

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Mallawī at the beginning of the fourteenth century, states:

The town has 11 sugar cane pressing factories where even beggars (*faqīr*) can enter freely. They come to the factories with hot bread, put them into the pots which are boiling pressed juice, and go out with the bread steeped plentifully in sugar juice.⁴

¹ *Umarī*, 30.

² *Sulūk*, I, 843-844.

³ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 204. cf. *Ibn Duqmāq*, II, 21. Ibn Iyās says that after al-Nashw's seizures (*hawṭa*), sugar cane plantation declined in this district (*Nashq*, I, fol.114r-v; *Nuzhat al-Umam*, fols.177v-178r). See also E. Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Late Middle Ages: A Case of Technological Decline," A. L. Udovitch ed., *The Islamic Middle East*, p.99; Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, p.150.

⁴ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, I, 100-101. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls the town "Manlawī". It was also called "Mallawī," or "Maltawī" (Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfī*, II-4, pp.68-69).

According to Abū al-Fidā', Qamūla, a village located at south of Qūṣ, had many fruit gardens where sugar cane has been cultivated.¹ Al-Udfuwī relates also that he found 40 sugar refineries (*maṭbakh lil-sukkar*) and 6 sugar cane pressing factories in Qift, and in Samhūd there were many pressing factories with 17 stone mills (*ḥajar*) in total.²

These accounts reveal that sugar cane came to be cultivated on a large scale in the districts of Upper Egypt by the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. The large plough (*muqalqila*) must have been invented during the time of its diffusion. Sugar has been estimated as the most important export to European countries as well as luxury good consumed by sultans and amirs at their residences or public festivals.³ Al-Maqrīzī says, "When the water of the Nile flows into the Canal Alexandria in the month of Misrā (25 July–23 August), ships (*markab*) with various kinds of goods like crops (*ghalla*), spice (*bahār*) and sugar (*sukkar*) sail in it."⁴ Consequently, although the spread of sugar cane plantation promoted sugar consumption in urban life, most sugar was under the control of the Mamluk government and amirs. That is to say, common people found little chance to taste sugar except on festival days⁵ or at the time of their illness. They used sugar regularly as medicine to relieve pain in their breasts or throats, as well as a diuretic.⁶ In 695/1296 when the summer crops like rice, sesame and sugar cane were damaged severely by a hot wave, a druggist ('*aṭṭār*) in Cairo, it is said, could earn 32,000 dirhams a month by selling sugar and molasses to sick persons by epidemic.⁷

¹ *Taqwīm*, 103-104. Yāqūt says that Qamūla has many dates trees and much vegetables (*Yāqūt*, IV, 398-399).

² *Udfuwī*, 7-8, 9, 18; *Ibn Duqmāq*, II, 32-33. Yāqūt relates also that sugar cane cultivation is popular at Bahjūra in Upper Egypt (*Yāqūt*, I, 514). In 742/1341-2 amir Qūsūn granted much to his *mamlūks* because he held 500 faddāns of privately owned land for sugar cane cultivation (*Sulūk*, II, 561; *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 370-371). See also Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol.1, pp.125-126.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 289-290, 383-384, 474; II, 80-81; Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens*, pp.319-320; Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," pp.95-98; Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, pp.147-150.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 273.

⁵ According to Ibn Duqmāq, the Ayyubid Sultan al-'Ādil, when he held banquet (*simāt*) at the square under the citadel in 636/1238-9, provided 5,000 ublūjs (50,000 kilograms) of sugar for the common people (*Nuzhat al-Anām*, fol.35r-v).

⁶ *Ibn Bayṭār*, III, 22-23; IV, 23; *Sulūk*, I, 201; II, 55, 166; *Ighātha*, 34; *Safar Nāma*, 53.

⁷ *Ighātha*, 32-36.

(c) *Sugar Cane Cultivation Technology*

Al-Nuwayrī states that, although the kinds of sugar cane are different according to district or soil quality, no large differences can be found in the ways it is cultivated.¹ Sugar cane plantation exhausts land. After reaping the second year's crop (*al-khilfa*), it was necessary either to plant other crops or leave the land fallow. About this al-Makhzūmī relates:

Sugar cane prefers [the best qualified soil of] *al-bāq* or land left fallow for over four years. It should be also planted after broad beans and sesame, or on land called *al-barsh*, which was uncultivated [due to a surplus water in the previous year].²

Sugar cane, therefore, needs to be planted on uncultivated or well irrigated soft soil of good quality.³ The work required from planting to reaping is summarized by al-Nuwayrī with respect to his native land, Qūṣ:

In Barmahāt (25 February–26 March), after weeded fields are cultivated six times by large-sized ploughs (*muqalqila*), and smoothed by harrows after six more ploughings, sugar cane with two joints is planted by throwing (*ramy*) it into ridged fields. The second year sugar cane is irrigated after burning the old stubble. When seed leaves grow, soil loosening (*ʿazq*) is done to weed the fields, which continues until the end of Bashnas (26 April–25 May). During this period the plants are to be irrigated at intervals of fixed days, 28 times in total, every time for 2–3 hours. The second year harvest in Kīhak (27 November–26 December) and the first year harvest in Ṭūba (27 December–25 January) are reaped and carried on horses or donkeys to pressing factories, where the points and roots are cut off by a large sword. Then the sugar cane is pressed by a ox-driven stone mill (*ḥajar*), and its juice is boiled to produce raw sugar (*qand*) and molasses (*ʿasal*).⁴

¹ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 254–265, 271.

² *Minhāj*, fol.32r-v.

³ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 264; *Nashq*, I, fols.83v-84v; *Nuzhat al-Umam*, fols.116r-117r.

⁴ *Nuwayrī*, VIII, 264–267. See also *Ibn Mammātī*, 241–242, 244–245, 248, 266–267; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 102–103. Al-Nuwayrī says, “This explanation is about cultivation in the province of Qūṣ, but it is not much different from that of other provinces” (*Nuwayrī*, VIII, 271).

That is to say, sugar cane, in addition to the long term of cultivation (about 10 months), required complicated tasks, such as deep ploughing, weeding, soil loosening, irrigation at intervals, pressing and processing. Sugar production, therefore, was mostly under the control of the government from the Fatimid period on, and its cultivation, for example, in the province of al-Fayyūm was chiefly done on the crown farms (*wasiya*, pl. *awāsi*).¹ As shown in *table (2)*, among a total of 1,468 faddāns (about 881 hectares) for sugar cane plantation, the areas cultivated for government income amounted to 1,287 faddāns, including 795 faddāns (about 477 hectares) of crown farms.

Table (2): The Government Sugar Cane in 13th Century al-Fayyūm

village name		ra's (f)	khilfa (f)	total (f)	
al-Madīna	D/I	92	18	110	
al-'Udwa	D	65	15	80	awāsi
Abūksā	I	113	51	164	
Dumūshīya	D	34		34	
Dhāt al-Ṣafā'	I	53			awāsi
Sinnūris	D	245	73	318	awāsi
Saynarū	I	63	21	84	
Fānū	D	178	90	268	awāsi
Maṭar Ṭāris	D	51	25	76	awāsi
Minyat Karbis	I			100	
total		841	293	1,287	

(al-Nābulusī, *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*)

f: faddān, D: Diwānī, I: Iqṭā'

Awāsi, in the early Islamic period, designated a private domain (*ḍay'a*) mostly consisting of estates belonging to monasteries and great bishops,² while in Ottoman times it meant privately owned lands under the direct control of tax-farmers (*multazim*).³ On the other hand, *awāsi* during the

¹ *Safar Nāma*, 53.

² Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt* (in Japanese), p.342.

³ Poliak, *Feudalism*, p.72; H. A. R. Gibb & H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Oxford, 1950-57, vol.I-1, p.261; G. Baer, *A History of Landownership in*

Ayyubid and Mamluk periods have been regarded as state domains cultivated by corvée or as village common lands.¹ However, when we examine the terms provided by al-Nābulusī in detail, we find both explanations somewhat inadequate. Al-Nābulusī gives us various accounts: government income through cultivation of *al-awāsī al-dīwānīya*, *al-awāsī al-sulṭānīya* in the town of al-Fayyūm, and provisions from *al-wasīyat al-‘ādiliya*.² It is interesting to find *awāsī* not only in *iqṭā’*, but also in the villages belonging to the sultan.³ We may therefore conclude that *awāsī* under the *iqṭā’* system were, so to speak, crown farms controlled directly by the government or sultan.

Now, we will collate the accounts of al-Nābulusī to discover what was cultivated on *awāsī*:

- (1) *awāsī* where sugar cane is cultivated exclusively
 80 faddāns in al-‘Udwa
 53 faddāns in Dhāt al-Ṣafā’
 76 faddāns in Maṭar Ṭāris
- (2) *awāsī* where sugar cane is cultivated partly
 354 faddāns in Sinnūris
 sugar cane318 faddāns
 taro (*qulqās*)2 faddāns
 trefoil, broad bean.....34 faddāns
 309 faddāns in Fānū
 sugar cane268 faddāns
 trefoil, broad bean.....41 faddāns

On the other hand, at *awāsī* in the village Ṭalit, no sugar cane was cultivated, only barley and sesame.⁴ At any rate, these accounts show that sugar cane was cultivated exclusively on most of the *awāsīs*.

Now, who cultivated sugar cane on these *awāsī*? Al-Nābulusī gives us brief accounts of the cultivators:

- (1) sugar cane in al-‘Udwa (80 faddāns)

Modern Egypt, London, 1962, p.2.

¹ Cahen, “Le régime des impôts,” p.28; id., “Contribution,” pp.265-266.

² *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 25-26, 100; *Sulūk*, I, 110.

³ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 32-34, 100, 108, 134, 157, 158. See also *Minhāj*, fols.99r-100v.

⁴ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 32-34, 104, 108, 128, 134-136, 156-159.

- 80 faddāns cultivated by *murābi'ūn*¹
- (2) sugar cane in Sinnūris (318 faddāns)
 222 faddāns cultivated by *muzāri'ūn*
 96 faddāns cultivated by *murābi'ūn*²
- (3) sugar cane in Fānū (268 faddāns)
 95 faddāns cultivated by *murābi'ūn*³

There is another example of the village Maṭar Ṭāris, where both *muzāri'ūn* and *murābi'ūn* cultivated sugar cane and vegetables on 76 faddāns of *awāsī*.⁴ Furthermore, the town of al-Fayyūm had field of 110 faddāns for sugar cane cultivation in its surroundings, among them 28.5 faddāns cultivated by *muzāri'ūn*, and 81.5 faddāns by *murābi'ūn*.⁵

Muzāri'ūn, as previously mentioned, were peasants who cultivated the land allotted under *qabāla* contracts concluded with the government or *muqta's*. On the other hand, *murābi'ūn*, according to Cahen, meant peasants who had the right to take one-fourth (*rub'*) of what they produced, being levied the ordinary tax in cash on their cultivation of sugar cane.⁶ I have my doubts about *murābi'ūn* paying the ordinary tax in cash, but the following two points should be taken into consideration. First, most of the *murābi'ūn* cultivated sugar cane in *awāsī*, while *muzāri'ūn* cultivated wheat and barley as well as sugar cane. Secondly, *murābi'ūn* were provided both crops and cash every year, while the provisions to *muzāri'ūn* were restricted to seed only.⁷ That is to say, *murābi'ūn*, who might have formed a class of agricultural laborers, apparently had a status inferior to that of *muzāri'ūn*.

According to Ibn Mammātī, the output of sugar (*sukkar*) per faddān (0.6 hectare) was 40–80 *ublūjs* (about 400–800 kilograms), which was calculated at 20–100 *dīnārs* in cash.⁸ As regards the land tax (*kharāj*)

¹ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 32-34.

² *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 107-110.

³ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 156-159.

⁴ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 156-159.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 27, 174-175.

⁶ Cahen, "Le régime des impôts," p.23.

⁷ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 32-34, 107-110, 133-138.

⁸ *Ibn Mammātī*, 267; *Sulūk*, I, 45-46; *Nashq*, I, fol.84v. The *ublūj* originated from the Persian *āblūj* which meant a loaf of sugar. According to al-Maqrīzī, one *ublūja* (*ublūj*) was equal to about a ninth (*tus'*) *qīnṭār* [jarwī] (about 10 kilograms) (*Khiṭaṭ*, I, 103). Ashtor reads the words "*tīs'* (nine) *qīnṭārs*" (810 kilograms) ("Levantine Sugar Industry," p.123, 127), but the output of sugar per faddān based on it far

per faddān, (1) when sugar cane was cultivated by peasants using oxen and implements provided by the government or *muqṭa'*, *kharāj al-ra's* was 5 dīnārs, and *kharāj al-khilfa* (2+5/24) dīnārs; (2) when peasants cultivated sugar cane with their own farm implements, *kharāj al-ra's* was 2 dīnārs, and *kharāj al-khilfa* 3/4 dīnār.¹ The tax amount of sugar cane in *Table 1* (B) shows that of case (1); the land was mostly cultivated by *murābi'ūn*. Case (2), as already revealed in *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, seems to be a cultivation type of *muzāri'ūn*. That *kharāj al-khilfa* was lower than *kharāj al-ra's* was due to its poor harvest, one-fourth of *al-ra's*. A tax for using pressing factories (*rasm al-ma'sara*)² was also levied, the amount of which is not indicated in the available historical sources.

3. Irrigation and Rural Society

Egyptian agriculture has been dependent on the River Nile since ancient times. The Nilometer (*miqyās*) always precisely forecast what kind of harvest might be expected. If the Nile rose to a level of 16–18 dhirā's (about 9.3–10.4 meters) in the Coptic month of Tūt (29 August – 27 September), the price of wheat and barley would drop, although urban prices stayed high until that time.³ If, on the contrary, the Nile did not rise sufficiently, Egypt was doomed to suffer a crop failure. For example, the cause of the great famine which befell the country in 596/1199 and saw people so desperate they killed and ate their children, stemmed from the fact the Nile rose to only 13 dhirā' that year.⁴

Water was considered so vital to agricultural production that it was likened to wealth: "In Egypt a canal where water flows is the same as a

exceeds the figure as seen in modern Egypt. Cf. H. A. B. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p.146.

¹ *Ibn Mammātī*, 367-368; *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 38, 39-40, 43, 46, 86. Al-Nābulusī gives another account that 100 dīnārs were levied on 100 faddāns of sugar cane cultivation in the village of Minya Karbis (*Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 146).

² *Ta'rikh al-Fayyūm*, 50, 61, 72-74, 91, 94, 139; *Sulūk*, II, 151.

³ *Sulūk*, I, 55, 647, 829, 956. Cf. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 31(1954), pp.207-208. About the Nilometer, see W. Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951.

⁴ *Akhbār Miṣr*, 210; *Akhbār Miṣr L*, 223-255; *Sulūk*, I, 157-158; *Ta'rikh al-Khulafā'*, 455. See also W. F. Tucker, "Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamlūk Egypt," *JESHO*, 24(1981), pp.215-224.

canal where money flows.”¹ The efforts of a succession of sultans were directed to the problem of digging and arranging canals so as to maximize the use of Nile water. The present section will explore the following two aspects of the role of water in Egyptian agricultural production: (1) how was water utilized in the agricultural production of peasants (*fallāhūn*); (2) how did the custom (*‘āda*) of irrigation in rural communities change subsequent to the introduction of the *iqṭā’* system into Egypt by Saladin.

Some Problems of Irrigation in the Province of al-Fayyūm

(a) Features Unique to Irrigation in the Province of al-Fayyūm

I will begin with an investigation of the irrigation system in al-Fayyūm in the middle of the thirteenth century mainly on *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī. Saladin’s *iqṭā’* system was put into effect in al-Fayyūm as well as in the other provinces of Egypt. In 577/1181-2 al-Fayyūm became part of the state domain (*al-khāṣṣ al-sulṭānī*), and in 579/1183-4 it became the *iqṭā’* of al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqī al-Dīn Abū Sa’id, nephew of Saladin. At that time, tax amount (*‘ibra*) in this province were 300,000 dinārs.² In 619/1222 al-Fayyūm was given to amir Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Uthmān as *iqṭā’ darbastā*, who made an effort to effectively manage his *iqṭā’*, dredging the mud of al-Baḥr al-Manhā (the Canal Yūsuf, known as Baḥr Yūsuf at that time) and digging the Canal Tanbaṭwiya. As a result of this, productivity rose to a level where the *‘ibra* was 423,000 dinārs in 642/1244-5.³ But, according to Ibn al-Jī’ān (d. 885/1480), the *ibra* of al-Fayyūm decreased to 164,050 dinārs in the fifteenth century.⁴

Irrigation in the province of al-Fayyūm depended chiefly on Baḥr Yūsuf, which flowed from the Upper Nile to Lake Qālūn. From this main canal, 58 canals (*khalīj* or *nahr*) branched out to village fields.⁵ Al-Nābulusī describes the following features of irrigation in this province: (1) It is possible to irrigate the fields even when the highest level attained by the Nile is 12 dhirā’s, nor is there any flooding even when the water

¹ *Husn*, II, 191.

² *Midmār*, 154; *Mufarrij*, II, 152; *Sulūk*, I, 73; *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 364. According to Abū Šāliḥ, the amount of tax in al-Fayyūm was 620,000 dinārs in 355/966, 133,274 dinārs in 573/1178 and 100,046 dinārs in 576/1180 (*Abū Šāliḥ*, 52, 202-204).

³ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 15-16, 128. See also pp.72f.

⁴ *Ibn al-Jī’ān*, 5.

⁵ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 7; *‘Umari*, I, 69; *Abū Šāliḥ*, 50-51; *Yāqūt*, IV, 287; V, 217.

level rises to 20 dhirā' s.¹ (2) Unlike other provinces, water is available for agricultural production all year round. At al-Lāhūn, in the east of al-Fayyūm, there is a dam (*qiṭ'a*) which prevents water from flowing back into the Nile when it recedes.²

For these reasons, summer crops such as rice (*aruzz*), cotton (*quṭn*) and sugar cane (*qaṣab al-sukkar*) were possible with the use of a water wheel (*sāqiya, dūlāb*)³ or basket (*shādūf, qādūs*). Also possible, though less common, was the digging of wells (*bi'r*) by rich landowners for their own orchards (*bustān*).⁴ According to al-Nābulusī, there were 242 *sāqiyas* in thirteenth century al-Fayyūm, though of these 180 *sāqiyas* were in use and 62 *sāqiyas* were dysfunctional.⁵ Since al-Nābulusī investigated one hundred villages, each one on the average possessed 2 or 3 *sāqiyas*. In sum, then, the province of al-Fayyūm could boast an excellent system, giving it a high and stable productivity compared to the other Egyptian provinces.⁶

(b) Water Distribution

In the province of al-Fayyūm, there were not a few cases where several villages used a canal cooperatively (*shirka*). In such cases, shares of water were fixed for each village by customary right (*haqq*). To quote Ibn Mammātī: "Each village in al-Fayyūm has own right to use water (*shirb ma'lūm*)."⁷ Below are some examples from *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*.

(1) Abūksā

This village shares the last canal of Baḥr Yūsuf with the villages of

¹ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 14-15; Ali Shafei, "Fayoum Irrigation as Described by Nabulsi in 1245 A.D.," *BSRGE*, 20(1940), pp.283-327.

² *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 11-12, 15. According to al-Ḥimyarī (d.14c.), when the day for closing the dam at al-Lāhūn (*yawm sadd ḥajar al-Lāhūn*) came in the season of the flood of the Nile, amirs, engineers (*muhandis*) and the common people customarily assembled there with drums and banners to celebrate it (*al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār*, 445). See also *Iṣṭakhrī*, 40; *Abū Ṣāliḥ*, 50; Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens," *Der Islam*, 31(1954), pp.192-193.

³ On these water wheels were often levied miscellaneous taxes (*zakāt al-dawlaba*). For example, see *Nuwayrī*, XXXI, 82. See also Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects," pp.69-72; al-Hassan and Hill, *Islamic Technology*, pp.37-64.

⁴ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 94, 129.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 6-7.

⁶ *Yāqūt*, IV, 286-288; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 241-247; *El*,ⁿ s.v. al-Fayyūm.

⁷ *Ibn Mammātī*, 229.

Babij Anshū, Abshīya al-Rammān, Tubhār and Jirdū. Abūksā's share is 13 qabḍas, which is distributed by a board (*khashaba*).¹

(2) Būṣīr Dafdanū

Irrigation is done in cooperation with the villages of Dafdanū and Dumūshīya, with a water right of 1/3, i.e. (7+1/4+1/8+1/96) qabḍas.²

(3) al-Qubarā

This village has a sugar cane pressing factory (*ma'sara*). The sugar cane produced in the fields of Maṭar Ṭāris is calculated into the village tax amount (*irtifā'*). The water for both winter and summer crops – 4 qabḍas – flows from al-Maqsīm al-Shādhawān after it branches out from the Canal Sinnūris.³

(4) Ṣanūfar

This village uses a canal (*khalīj*) branched off from al-Barr al-Baḥrī. It does not have water rights for winter irrigation, since these crops rely on the height of the land and do not require water wheels. Two canals flow through the village, but there is no structure and no fixed right for their use.⁴

The unit of water distribution, the *qabḍa*, as in examples (1), (2), and (3), generally denotes the width of one fist, although in the present case of water distribution, I am somewhat in doubt as to exactly what is meant here. As in example (1), water distribution using a board was done in many other villages, while plaster (*jiṣṣ*) was utilized in some other villages.⁵ Example (3) does not give a clear indication of whether the village al-Qubarā used al-Maqsīm al-Shādhawān (place for water distribution) in cooperation with other villages. Al-Nābulusī further reports on several villages in which water rights were not established, as in example (4). Many al-Fayyūm villages did, however, use a canal in cooperation with other villages, and established customary water rights (examples (1) and (2)).

The result was an interdependency among villages deriving from

¹ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 46.

² *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 62.

³ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 40.

⁴ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 126.

⁵ For example, the water of the village Jirdū/lhrīt was distributed from the Canal Miya Aqnā with the *jiṣṣ*. The amount of it was 4 qabḍas (*Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 98). See also *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 48, 50-51, 59, 72, 167. Concerning the *qabḍa*, Ali Shafei explains that one *qabḍa* served the water for 333.3 faddāns ("Fayoum Irrigation," p.312).

the need to communally distribute and use water for agricultural production. Any breakdown of the communal system resulted in struggles for water among the villages. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the following decree was issued to the governors (*wālī*) of Upper Egypt:

Clarify the water rights for each village, and bring an end to the struggle over water. Notify the peasants (*fallāḥūn*) that each village shall have irrigation rights for a set of days. See that all who violate this prescription are punished.¹

The existence of this decree testifies to the prevalence of similar feuds over water in other provinces.

I have thus far discussed communal water distribution as it appeared among several villages. Now, I will investigate the distribution of water in one village. One problem, however, is that we lack the means of determining the methods by which the *fallāḥūn* distributed water among themselves for crop irrigation, especially for summer crops. As to water for the orchard (*bustān*) or *rizaq* lands, it seems that the quantity was determined as follows:

(1) Minyat Shushahā

This village uses water from the Canal Ṭurfā, a branch of Baḥr Dalya. The quantity of water is $(2+1/2+1/8)$ qabḍas, of which $1/2$ qabḍa is assigned to the *rizaq* of ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Ḥasan.²

(2) Sinnūris

This village has water right to 19 qabḍas of the canal known as al-Nāḥiya branched out from the distributor named as al-Shādhawān for its winter crops, sugar cane and summer crops as well as for privately owned land (*milk*). For many years 4 qabḍas have been assigned to *rizaq* owners: i.e., 1 qabḍa for the story-teller (*qāṣṣ*), $1/2$ qabḍa for the preacher (*khaṭīb*), 1 qabḍa for the watchman (*khafīr*), $1/2$ qabḍa for the village *shaykh*, $(1/2+1/4)$ qabḍa for the overseer (*khawlī*), and $1/4$ qabḍa for the monastery (*dayr*).³

(3) Shasfa

This village is entitled to $(3+1/2)$ qabḍas from the Canal al-Shādhawān, which branched out from Baḥr Sinnūris, for its winter

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, XI, 436-437.

² *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 161-163.

³ *Ta’riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 107.

and summer crops. The *bustān* of Zayn al-Dīn b. Abī Sulaymān is entitled to 1 qabḍa.¹

The *rizaq* owners, such as *shaykh*, *khawlī*, *khafīr*, *khaṭīb*, *qāṣṣ* etc., and the owners of *bustān* and *dayr*, had fixed water rights in accordance with village custom. We can assume that holders of private property in example (2) were also privileged with fixed water rights. As I shall mention shortly, village irrigation during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods was managed by the *iqṭā'* holder (*muqṭa'*) and the peasants (*fallāhūn*). Accordingly, the *fallāhūn* must have utilized water in accordance with the communal customs ('*āda*) of the village under the control of *muqṭa'*.

Village Rule by Muqṭa' and Irrigation

(a) Jisr of the Government and Jisr of the Village Community

As mentioned above, Egyptian agriculture consisted of winter crops, which were irrigated by the water of the Nile, and summer crops, which were irrigated with *sāqiya* or *shādūf*. Around the 17th of the Coptic month Tūt (14 September), a small irrigation canal (*tur'a*) would be opened, allowing water to enter the fields encircled by the dikes (*jisr*, pl. *jusūr*).² A break in the *jisr* would then enable the water to pass down to the next field. Thus, through utilization of the *jisr*, both irrigation and drainage could be carried out, making the control of *jisr* as critical a matter as excavation and repair of canals. Ibn Mammātī classifies *jisr* as follows:

Government dikes (*al-jusūr al-sultāniya*): This is for the public welfare; it keeps the water until there is enough for village use. In order to maintain the *jisr*, a fixed tax is levied upon the provinces of al-Gharbiya and al-Sharqiya. Government officials collect this tax and send the balance to the state treasury. Village community dikes (*al-jusūr al-baladiya*): This is for the benefit of the individual village, managed by *muqṭa'* and *fallāhūn*.³

An almost identical description is available from the later Mamluk

¹ *Ta'riḥ al-Fayyūm*, 119. cf. *Ta'riḥ al-Fayyūm*, 165.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 235, *Minhāj*, fols.32v-33r; *Khūṭaṭ*, I, 61; *Zubda*, 130; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.67; Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration*, pp.76-77.

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 232.

period, notably by *Ṣubḥ*, *Khiṭaṭ*, and *Zubda*.¹ This leads us to believe that these two categories of *jisr* (*al-jusūr al-sultāniya* and *al-jusūr al-baladīya*) date back to the Ayyubid period or the period previous to it. Since, under the *iqṭā'* system the managers of the village *jisr* were *muqṭa'* and *fallāḥūn*, the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system may be supposed to have at least led to a change in the control over this *jisr*. Concerning the government *jisr*, moreover, al-Maqrīzī says:

This *jisr* was maintained by funds from each district (*nāḥiya*); it was managed by the tax-farmer (*mustaqbalī*) who provided the money from the amount contracted for that purpose. Before long, however, government officials began to collect the tax from the provinces of al-Gharbiya and al-Sharqiya, sending the balance to the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*) after deducting the necessary expenses. Subsequent to that, it became the influential amirs of the state (*a'yān umarā' al-dawla*) who managed this type of *jisr*, and their administration continued up until the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–808/1399–1405, 808–815/1405–1412), who introduced a new system of management.²

In other words, after the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, Egyptian amirs (*muqṭa'*) came into control not only of the village *jisr*, but also of the government *jisr*.

What this distinction between the two *jisrs* signifies is that management of the *jisr* was under government control when water happened to flow outside town's walls, but under the control of the householder when water flowed inside the walls.³ This might lead us to believe that this distinction was based on the scale of *jisrs*; but as Ibn Mammātī and al-Maqrīzī point out,⁴ government *jisrs* were limited to al-Gharbiya, al-Sharqiya and Jazīra Qūsinā in Lower Egypt. Accordingly, it is misleading to classify *jisr* by scale only, though "at that time many of the canals and *jisrs* were found in Lower Egypt, while only a few could be found in Upper Egypt."⁵ Having discussed the formal classification of the *jisr*, let us now proceed to a concrete investigation

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, III, 444-445; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 101; *Zubda*, 129.

² *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 101. Al-Qalqashandī also says, "This (the irrigation system of Egypt) is the one in the period of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/956) and his predecessors. And this condition has continued even after the year 700/1300-1" (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 296).

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 232-233. cf. *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 101; Rabie, *The Financial System*, pp.70-71.

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 343-344; *Sulūk*, I, 74-75.

⁵ *Ibn Mammātī*, 206; *Minhāj*, fol.49r.

how the canals and *jisrs* were created and repaired for agricultural production.

(b) Some Examples of Irrigation Works

From the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries many irrigation works, such as dikes (*jisr*), canals (*khalīj*) and small canals (*tur'a*), were created and repaired by sultans or amirs, and the productivity of Egypt increased gradually at the result of their works. For example, al-Malik al-Kāmil (615–635/1218–38) was a well-known Ayyubid sultan who made efforts to better the conditions of the irrigation system in Egypt. Al-Maqrīzī has the following to say in his *Sulūk* :

When the Nile began to rise, Sultan al-Kāmil used to go to some districts for supervising *jisrs*. For every *jisr* he appointed an amir who controlled it and provided laborers for its construction. He checked the *jisrs* once more again, and if he found any defectiveness, he strictly punished the person in charge.¹

During the Mamluk period Sultan al-Nāṣir also regarded irrigation works as important. Before he carried out the cadastral survey (*rawk*) in 715/1315, al-Nāṣir sent amirs all over Egypt to investigate the irrigation dikes and canals. About this we find also an account in *Sulūk* :

[In 714/1314] the sultan attached importance to the construction of *jisrs* and the digging of small canals (*tur'a*) in Egypt. He sent amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī to al-Sharqīya, amir 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī Shaqīr to al-Bahnasāwīya, amir Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn to Asyūṭ and Manfalūṭ, amir Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Ḥājib to al-Gharbiya, amir Sayf al-Dīn Qullī to al-Ṭahāwīya and al-Ushmūnayn, amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī to al-Qalyūbiya, amir 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Talīlī to al-Buḥayra, amir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī to al-Fayyūm, amir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādūr al-Mu'izzī to Ikhmīm, and amir Bahā' al-Dīn Aṣlam to Qūṣ.²

¹ *Sulūk*, I, 259-60; *Dāris*, II, 279. See also *Abū al-Fidā'*, III, 161; *Abū al-Faḍā'il*, 461.

² *Sulūk*, II, 137-138. *Nujūm*, IX, 38-40 gives almost the same account as this, omitting 'Alā' al-Dīn Talīlī and Badr al-Dīn Baktūt. See also *Muqaffā*, VII, 204.

Table (3): Irrigation Works in Egypt from the 12th to the 14th Centuries

period	contents of the irrigation works	operator	references
511/1117 577/1181	digging of Baħr Abi al-Manjā constr. of jisir in al-Gharbīya & al-Sharqīya	al-Afḍal Saladin	<i>Ibn Duqmāq</i> , II, 46 <i>Sulūk</i> , I, 74-75
620/1223	digging of Khalij Tanbatwiya	Fakhr al- Din	<i>Ta'rikh al-F.</i> , 15-16, 128
628/1231	digging of Baħr al-Nil	al-Kāmil	<i>Jawhar</i> , 237
642/1245	constr. of Jisir al-Muħraqa	al-Şāliħ	<i>Ta'rikh al-F.</i> , 178-9
662/1264	repair of Khalij al-Iskandariya	Baybars	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> , I, 171; <i>Mukhtār al-A.</i> , 28
663/1265	digging of Baħr Ushmūm	do.	<i>Dhayl Mir'āt</i> , II, 322
664/1266	repair of Khalij al-Iskandariya	do.	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> , I, 171
665/1267	constr. of Qanāṭir Baħr Abi al-M.	do.	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> , II, 151
676/1277	repair of Khalij al-Iskandariya	do.	<i>Sulūk</i> , I, 638-9
?	digging of Baħr Ṭannāħ	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	digging of Baħr al-Şamşām	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	digging of Khalij Sardūs	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	repair of Baħr Dimyāt	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	digging of Tur'at Şalāħ	do.	<i>Dhayl Mir'āt</i> , III, 258
?	digging of Tur'at Khürsarkhshā	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	digging of al-Mujāyri & al- Kāfūri & Tur'at Kansād	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	repair of Tur'at Abi al-Faql	do.	<i>ibid.</i>
?	digging of Khalij Nil al-Sharqī	do.	<i>Ibn Duqmāq</i> , II, 68-9
?	const. of qanāṭir at Jisir Shubrmant	do.	<i>Rawḍ</i> , 29
682/1283	digging of Khalij al-Ṭayriya	Qalāwūn	<i>Strat al-Manşūr</i> , 24-25
693/1294	constr. of Jisir al-Afram	Afram	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> , II, 303
708/1308	constr. of jisir at Dimyāt	al-Nāşir	<i>'Iqd al-J.</i> , fol.228v.
710/1311	repair of Khalij al-Iskandariya	do.	<i>Sulūk</i> , II, 111
713/1313	constr. of jisir at al-Jiza	do.	<i>Sulūk</i> , II, 120-1; <i>Zettersteen</i> , 160
723/1323	constr. of jisir at Būlāq	do.	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> , II, 166
724/1324	repair of al-Khalij al-Nāşiri	do.	<i>'Iqd al-J.</i> , fol.382v.; <i>Jawhar</i> , 356
725/1325	digging of Khalij al-Iskandariya	do.	<i>Futūħ al-N.</i> , fol.252; <i>'Iqd al-J.</i> , fol.421v.
735/1335	constr. of Qanāṭir Shubin	do.	<i>Jawhar</i> , 360
738/1338	digging of Khalij al-Iskandariya	do.	<i>Ta'rikh Jalil</i> , III, fol.592
741/1341	digging of khalij from al-Nil to Birkat al-Ĥabash	do.	<i>Ĥusn</i> , II, 390

Sultan al-Nāṣir thus succeeded in stabilizing Egyptian agriculture to increase productivity through fairness in water distribution and repairing watercourses.¹

Table (3) shows the irrigation works which are described in the various sources of this period. I will select some examples and investigate the character of these works.

(1) Excavation of the Canal Ṭayriya

Though the province of al-Buḥayra had been the granary (*mustaghall*) of Egypt, during the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn (678–689/1279–90) lands were by and large neglected, serving as pasture land for cattle. Accordingly, in 682/1283, Sultan Qalāwūn sent letters to governors (*wāli*) in Lower Egypt, ordering them to recruit workers (*rijāl*) and assemble oxen (*baqar*). On 8 Muḥarram/8 April, the sultan, amirs and soldiers arrived at Ṭayriya. Each amir was responsible for a set length of the excavation, for which he was supplied with money and food. In this way, the canal of 6,500 qaṣabas (about 26 kilometers) was completed in ten days, and the soldiers were permitted to return to their *iqṭā*'s.²

(2) The Repair of the Canal Alexandria

In 710/1311, amir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Khāzindāri, governor of Alexandria, advised Sultan al-Nāṣir as follows: Were the Canal Alexandria to be repaired, it would facilitate the transport of grain and various kinds of goods (*matjar*) to us, increase our tax revenue, and supply water for irrigating orchards (*bustān*). Acting upon this advice, al-Nāṣir appointed two amirs, Baktūt and Ibn al-Wazīri, as directors of this project, and ordered other amirs to recruit workers (*rijāl*) from their *iqṭā*'s. Within twenty days, about 40,000 workers had been assembled, and a length to excavate was assigned to each amir or *wāli*. The result of this effort led to additional fields of about 100,000 faddāns (about 63,680 hectares), 600 *sāqiyas*, and 40 villages (*qarya*).³

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 510-511, 541. Levanoni says that while successful in one respect, al-Nāṣir's construction was to be disastrous in another (*A Turning Point*, pp.165).

² *Sirat al-Manṣūr*, 25-26. cf. *Tatimma*, II, 329. Ṭayriya is a town on the west bank of the Rosetta Branch, south of Ṭanṭā (Ramzi, *al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfi*, II-2, p.333).

³ *Sulūk*, II, 111-113; *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 171; *Muqaffā*, II, 480; *Nujūm*, IX, 217-218. At the result of it, the saline land (*sibākh*) became to be the cultivated fields, where sesame and sugar cane were cultivated. This newly cultivated land was called "al-Nāṣiriya"

(3) The Construction of the Jisr from Būlāq to Minyat al-Shiraj

In 723/1323, granaries (*maṭmūra*, *makhzan*, *shūna*), orchards, and dwellings were much damaged because water did not recede from the regions of Būlāq and Minyat al-Shiraj, even at the usual period of recession. Sultan al-Nāṣir thereupon made the village overseers (*khawli al-balad*) to investigate previously the regions. When he found that the land around al-Jazīra was low, the sultan ordered the amirs to assemble peasants (*fallāḥūn*), oxen, and harrows from their villages, and assigned each a fixed length. In this way, the *jisr* of 4 qaṣabas (16 meters) in height and 8 qaṣabas (32 meters) in breadth was completed in twenty days.¹

These are some examples of large irrigation works which were carried out by the Mamluk government. Common to all three is the fact that the sultans called out amirs and *wālīs* of every province in Egypt, ordering amirs to collect peasants, oxen, and harrows from their *iqṭā*'s, and giving *wālīs* responsibility for recruiting workers in their own provinces. The *muqta*'s, like amirs and *wālīs*, were each assigned fixed lengths of a canal or *jisr*, probably according to the amount of their *iqṭā*' revenue. This was the practice based on the view that the *muqta*'s could benefit from the canals dug anew.² And, at that time, it would not have been unusual for peasants to be thus recruited for forced labor (*sukhra*). The fact that in 714/1314 Sultan al-Nāṣir prohibited amirs from illegally forcing peasants (*fallāḥūn*) and cultivators (*muzār'ūn*) to corvée is evidence that the custom was common in Egypt during that time.³ But the above-mentioned examples do not make clear on what basis the peasants or oxen were gathered. As to the division of work or offerings among the villages, al-Nābulusī gives the following description of al-Fayyūm:

When the sultan (al-Şāliḥ) constructed Jisr al-Muḥraqa at al-Jiza at the end of 642/1245, he ordered the province of al-Fayyūm to provide 100 harrows (*jarrāfa*). That is, (4+1/4+1/6) qit'as from Abshāyat al-Rammān, (1+1/2) qit'a from Ihrīt, ----- and 1/4 qit'a from Bāja.

where Miqdād b. Shamās settled with his family members, followers and slaves (*Sulūk*, II, 538; *Durar*, V, 126).

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 130, 166. See also Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, p.165.

² *Uqūd al-Jumān*, fol.48r.

³ *Ibn Kathīr*, XIV, 70; *Sulūk*, II, 510-511; *Minhāj*, fols.28v-29r; *Ṣubḥ*, XI, 36; *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, VIII, 770.

The total was said to be over 100 harrows, although only 95 *qit'as* were actually provided.¹

According to the above, 100 harrows were divided into a little over 100 *qit'as* and assigned to each village in accordance with its capacity. It is not clear whether the criterion used here was the number of peasants or the amount of tax revenue. In any case, we may suppose that this method of distribution applied not only in the collecting of harrows, but also in the collection of workers and oxen, etc.

The rare example of an irrigation work carried out by the *muqta'* is the excavation of the Canal Tanbaṭwīya by amir Fakh al-Dīn 'Uthmān, *muqta'* of al-Fayyūm in the reign of the Ayyubid sultan, al-Kāmil.² However, as mentioned above, both the *muqta'* and his *fallāhūn* were responsible for managing the village *jisr* (*al-jusūr al-baladīya*). For example, this Fakh al-Dīn, during the Coptic month Bashnas (26 April – 25 May) every year, would call out workers from the province of al-Fayyūm, and order them to dredge the mud of the Canal Yūsuf with the harrows (*jarrāfa*), and to carry this mud in baskets (*quffa*).³ He also had *sanṭ* and the willow growing on the banks of the canals in al-Fayyūm cut down.⁴ According to Ibn Mammātī, at Jazīrat Qūsīnā and Jazīrat Banī Naṣr in Lower Egypt, there were irrigation canals for the management of which maintenance expenses (*muwazzafa*) were levied on the *fallāhūn* of these districts, to then be collected and managed by the *muqta's*.⁵ At that time, these expenses were called "*rasm muwazzafa*" or "*muqarrar al-jusūr*." Concerning this tax Ibn Mammātī offers the following explanation:

When the time for levying tax comes, the ordinary tax (*qaṭī'a*), fodder (*'ulūfa*), food (*mūna*), *mudāmasīya*,⁶ herbage (*hashīsh*), straw (*tibn*) are assessed. Ten *dīnārs* [that is, *muwazzafa*] are levied per *qit'a*, and the collector is chosen. With the passage of time, however, this (ten *dīnārs*) has become the permanent duty of the *fallāhūn*, that is, something like a part of the land tax (*kharāj*). The amount of this tax on each

¹ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 178-179.

² See Chapter 3-(4).

³ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 16.

⁴ *Ta'rīkh al-Fayyūm*, 15-16. cf. *Akhbār al-Ayyūbiyīn*, 26-27; *Sulūk*, I, 259-260.

⁵ *Ibn Mammātī*, 208, 219-220.

⁶ Available sources give us no account which shows the exact meaning of "*mudāmasīya*."

fallāḥ is fixed according to the scale of his cultivation.¹

The *qiṭ'a*, a unit of taxation of 10 *dīnārs*, may be considered the same as that used in the collection of harrows mentioned above by al-Nābulusī. In any event, peasants were subjected to labor in the various irrigation work, and had to pay perennial taxes according to the scale of their cultivated fields. As for the *muqṭa'*, if he was taken up his *iqṭā'*, he could ask the amount next-coming *muqṭa'* (*al-muqṭa' al-thānī*) to pay the expenses that year for the construction of the *jīsr*.²

Thus sultan or *muqṭa'* was required to manage the large and small canals in order to govern his village. The *fallāḥūn*, however, did not entirely depend upon the sultan or amir for the maintenance of canals. As I have already pointed out, communal custom (*'āda*) regulated agricultural production and daily life in the village. The problem of water distribution in the province of al-Fayyūm, which I have investigated, was closely connected with customary irrigation order. Here is an example of a small canal (*tur'a*) in al-Buḥayra in Lower Egypt.

On the 6th of Tūt (3 September), Tur'at Iskinīda [in the province of Damanhūr] is opened. This small canal used to be opened three days after the opening of Tur'at Baṣṭrā. However, each *tur'a* of the Canal Damanhūr is kept open from the 20th of Misrā (13 August) to this day (6th) in Tūt.³

In other words, each canal had a set day on which it was opened for field irrigation. According to Ibn Mammātī, in the province of al-Buḥayra, Tur'at Baṣṭrā was the first to open, on the 15th of Misrā/9th of August, and Tur'at Yāṭīs and Samdīsa the last to open, on the 19th of Tūt/16th of September.⁴ In spite of the fact that the agricultural calendar stated that all *tur'as* were to be opened on the 17th of Tūt,⁵ in reality the day on which a *tur'a* was opened differed a little according to its location.

The date of breaking the *jīsr* after irrigation was also fixed by village custom, as al-Maqrīzī indicates:

After irrigation the peasants in the village used to break the *jīsr* in the

¹ *Ibn Mammātī*, 343.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 233. See also Ṭurkhān, *al-Nuzum al-Iqṭā'īya*, p.245.

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 223.

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 223-224.

⁵ *Minhāj*, fol.34v; *Ibn Mammātī*, 235; *Ṣubḥ*, II, 383; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 270.

presence of *shaykh* and *khawlī*. This is done on a fixed day, not too early and not too late, in accordance with the village regulations (*qānūn*).¹

Let me take some examples.

- (1) Jisr al-Gharbiya was cut just 5 days after the opening of Tur'a Basāt, allowing water to flow into Nastarūh.²
- (2) Jisr al-Madūra of Malij [in the province of al-Gharbiya]. When there is insufficient water, only al-Gharbiya is irrigated by breaking this *jisr* in the middle of the Coptic month Bāba (28 September – 27 October). When there is an overabundance of water, it is not cut open.³

When the *jisr* was cut opened, the village *shaykh* and *khawlī* (overseer) used to be customarily present there. Furthermore, in order to maintain order in the village community, a watchman (*khafīr*, *hāris*), who would be given land (*rizaq*) for his work, was hired to watch the canals.⁴

Egyptian rural society from the twelfth to the fourteenth century was a community based on the above-mentioned village customs ('*āda*). However, it was by no means a stable society in which no change in these customs occurred. As I have explained above, the spread of sugar cane plantation in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods brought about changes in the manner of water distribution and in the traditional method of crop rotation. From the twelfth century, the *muqta*'s gradually came to control the village and peasants by lending seed (*taqāwī*), collecting taxes and rent, and managing the canals, though they were subject to the central power of the sultan. The *muqta*'s might hope to utilize village custom to enhance their control, but on occasion they would attempt to change it by force. The example of the village Bushtā in al-Fayyūm, in which the *muqta*' deprived rebellious *fallāhūn* of their irrigation rights, giving them instead to obedient *fallāhūn*, indicates the true character of the *muqta*'s rule over the village and peasantry.⁵

¹ *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 61.

² *Ibn Mammātī*, 218.

³ *Ibn Mammātī*, 219.

⁴ *Ibn Mammātī*, 229, 305-306; *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 33, 142.

⁵ *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm*, 65.

CONCLUSION

The contemporary Arabic and Persian sources state that both amirs and soldiers were eager to hold better *iqṭā'*s in Iraq under the Buwayhids as well as in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyubids and Mamluks. Through *iqṭā'* assignments the government intended to form a military system as well as establish a state order. The *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*), who were requested to render military service (*khidma*) to the sultan, enjoyed rights to take revenue from *iqṭā'*s. The aim of this book has been to study the *iqṭā'* system by stressing the importance of two social relationships: that between the state and the *muqṭa'*s, and that between the *muqṭa'* and the peasantry (*fallāḥ*).

The military *iqṭā'* system in Islamic history was first established in Iraq during the Buwayhid period. Comparative analysis of the historical sources reveals some new aspects of the *iqṭā'* system: namely, that the new system was implemented in al-Sawād except al-Baṣra, Wāsiṭ and al-Baṭā'ih just before the harvest season of the year 334/946. While the officer class held *iqṭā'*s whose revenues increased with the prosperity of the villages, lower class soldiers, who were granted *iqṭā'*s of poor quality, were forced to exchange them frequently. The *muqṭa'*s employed personal agents to manage their *iqṭā'*s. These managers were often covetous of revenue without reflecting upon conditions of cultivation (*'imāra*). The sources show that in the course of time the *muqṭa'*s in Iraq came to exercise private protection rights (*himāya*) over merchants, as well as upper class peasants (*tānī*), by means of commendation (*talji'a*). This led to disputes between *muqṭa'*s and *wālīs* (governors) who were granted the right to collect protection-fees from the *muqṭa'*s and peasants.

The *iqṭā'* system was introduced into Egypt by the Ayyubid sultan, Saladin, through the Seljuqid and Zangid dynasties, which had inherited the Buwayhid *iqṭā'*. We find in the Ayyubid *iqṭā'* system characteristics not only peculiar to the Ayyubid period, but also common with the Mamluk period. For example, both Ayyubid and Mamluk *muqṭa'*s were in charge of managing the irrigation system as well as rendering military service according to their *iqṭā'* revenues (*'ibra*). We may also observe in the documentary evidence the actual conditions of *iqṭā'* management; for example, in the case of amir Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān (d. 629/1232). When he was granted the province of al-Fayyūm as a "complete *iqṭā'*"

in 619/1222, he endeavored to promote its prosperity by dredging the Canal Yūsuf and opening the Canal Tanbaṭwiya. He built a tower (*Burj al-Fayyūm*) in Cairo to manage his *iqṭā'* uniquely by means of carrier pigeons connecting Cairo and the town of al-Fayyūm.

Sultan Baybars I, who seized power immediately after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt (658/1260), organized his regime through *iqṭā'* assignments. During his reign amirs were of course the most important group among the *muqṭa'*s, but we can find besides them such groups as *mamālīk al-sulṭān*, *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*, the 'Urbān, and the *Wāfidīya* holding small *iqṭā'*s in Egypt and Syria. It may be concluded that the *iqṭā'* holdings of the *mamlūks* were not politically motivated either in size or number, despite the fact that amirs from the *mamlūks* had already held some important positions in central and provincial administrations. If anything, it was more important for the sultan to give adequate *iqṭā'*s to the 'Urbān and the *Wāfidīya* to make them submit to the government, while at the same time entrusting the 'Urbān with boundary defence and supplying horses and camels for the postal service (*al-barīd*).

When Sultan Qalāwūn set out to Syria in Dhū al-Ḥijja 679/ March 1281, he issued a "Memorandum" (*tadhkira*) to amir Kitbughā, vice-sultan, indicating how to rule Egypt. The Memorandum was composed of twenty eight articles dealing with public safety in Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ, duties of provincial governors (*wālī*), supervision of *iqṭā'* holdings by amirs, and other important state affairs. On the *iqṭā'* system it provides us with new information about how *wālīs* were obliged to issue certificates concerning the *muqṭa'*'s income and also manage the irrigation system. It reveals also two kinds of *muqṭa'*s, *al-muqṭa' al-aṣlī* and *muqṭa' al-jiha*, which have not been taken up in the research to date on the *iqṭā'* system.

By the end of the thirteenth century the power of the royal Mamluks (*mamālīk al-sulṭān*) had eventually emerged. The sultans saw the necessity of getting rid of the old amirs, and strengthening the basis of their power by means of their own *mamlūks*. In order to achieve this objective they twice carried out country-wide cadastral surveys, *al-Rawk al-Husāmī* (698/1298) and *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* (713–725/1313–25). These *rawks*, especially *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī*, resulted in the *iqṭā'* revenue ('*ibra*) of the royal Mamluks being increased sharply at the expense of *ajṅād al-ḥalqa*. Amirs from these *mamlūks* operated advantageous *iqṭā'* holdings, which they used as a basis of strengthening their control over the agricultural communities in Egypt and Syria. *Al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* thus has very considerable historical significance in the sense that it brought about great changes in the organization of the *iqṭā'* system and prescribed the

state structure during the middle of the Mamluk period.

Turning to Syrian rural society under the *iqṭā'* system, the historical sources show little about its actual conditions. However, we find a small revolt of Nuṣayrī peasants (*fallāḥ*) in Northern Syria just after the *al-Rawk al-Nāṣiri* in Tripoli (717/1317). They followed the call of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī and attacked the coastal town of Jabala, proclaiming that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the Creator of the World and Sultan al-Nāṣir was already dead. Following the completion of the *rawk*, Sultan al-Nāṣir had ordered the Nuṣayrīs to construct a mosque in each village and prohibited them from practicing the initiation rites (*khiṭāb*) which were the core of their religious life. Against this policy al-Nuṣayrī peasants protested by rejecting the authority of the Mamluk sultan.

Compared to Syria, we are favored with source materials that show the actual situation of Egyptian rural society. The peasants called *fallāḥūn* or *muzāri'ūn* were, after irrigation by the annual flood of the Nile, customarily allocated land to be cultivated according to *qabāla* contracts made not with the government, but with their *muqṭa'*. The *muqṭa'*s employed their private agents (*mubāshir*) to collect tax revenues as well as lend seed (*taqāwī*) to peasants. After the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, the *muqṭa'*s became responsible for the maintenance of the irrigation system using corvée (*sukhra*) levied on peasants every winter. They thus strengthened their rule over the peasantry through their *iqṭā'* holdings, and brought about an important change in which the village-based peasants (*fallāḥ qarrār*) came to be regarded as "serfs" (*'abd qinn*) subordinate to their *muqṭa'*.

As mentioned above, when the government loosened its control over the *muqṭa'*s, like in Buwayhid Iraq, the latter tended to increase taxes through their agents without reflecting the conditions of cultivation (*'imāra*). However, the sultans during the first half of the Mamluk period were able to consolidate rule over *iqṭā'* holdings by amirs and *mamlūks* both in Egypt and Syria. In particular, *al-Rawk al-Nāṣiri* led to the systematization of *iqṭā'* allocations, by which the sultan was able to grant and confiscate *iqṭā'*s more easily.

However, when Sultan al-Nāṣir died in 741/1341, law and order soon broke down, and power struggles between the Mamluk amirs began. The *'Urbān*, who had been obedient up till then, also abandoned their loyalty to the sultan and plundered Syrian villages and caravans,¹ which

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 651; *'Uqūd al-Jumān*, fol.55v; *Durrat al-Aslāk*, II, fol.153r-v; *Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, III, 98, 334.

weakened the *barīd* institution.¹ Ibn Bahādur al-Mu'minī (d. 877/1473), the author of *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, regards this state of affairs as “the start of evil and controversy” in the Mamluk dynasty.² It is stated that Sultan Ḥasan (748–752/1347–51, 755–762/1354–61) gave up trying to administer affairs when he could no longer find anyone in his state who feared “evil.”³ Furthermore, on the occasion of the great plague of 749/1348, not a small number of common people (*‘amma*), like artisans and merchants, took over the *iqṭā’*s of *ajnād al-ḥalqa* who had died.⁴ Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān (764–778/1363–77) favored his brothers and kin granting them enormous *iqṭā’*s,⁵ a practice that was also an apparent derivation from the principle of the *iqṭā’* system under the Mamluk state.⁶

In addition to this political disorder, the repeated spread of plague led to the decline of both Egyptian and Syrian society under the Burjī Mamluks. Al-Maqrīzī, in his work *Ighāthat al-Umma bi-Kashf al-Ghumma* written in 808/1405, gives the following explanation as to the causes of the famine and high prices in Egypt at the time. The first and most important is political corruption. Political posts such as *wazīr*, *qāḍī* and *wālī* could not be obtained without paying bribes (*riṣwa*), resulting in a weakening of government. The second is the rise in taxes (*ghalā’ al-aṭyān*) that took place. The managers of *iqṭā’* increased the land tax (*ujra*) every year, and during these two years the amount increased almost ten fold. The third and final cause is the circulation of copper coins (*rawāj al-fulūs*). During the reign of Barqūq (784–791/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99), *dīnārs* and *dirhams* disappeared from the market places, and all transactions came to be done with copper coins.⁷

¹ *Sulūk*, II, 656.

² *Futūḥ al-Naṣr*, fols. 278, 282, 288.

³ *Dhayl ‘alā al-‘Ibar*, I, 49.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 219; *Sulūk*, II, 783, 785–786, 830; Rabie, *The Financial System*, p.56.

⁵ *Manhal*, VI, 247.

⁶ D. Ayalon calls our attention to that sad state of things led the historians of the Circassian period to depict the earlier Turkish-Qipchaqi period in much brighter colors than it deserves. See Ayalon, “Some Remarks on the Economic Decline of the Mamlūk Sultanate,” *JSAI*, 16(1993), p.109. A. Levanoni also studies on the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir searching for the origins of decline of the Mamluk state. See *A Turning Point*, Chapter 4.

⁷ *Ighātha*, 71. A. Allouche discussed the Maqrīzī’s explanation of the economic crisis putting too much stress on the third factor, that is, the failure of the monetary policy by the Circassian sultans (*Mamluk Economics*, pp.1-20).

Ibn Khalīl al-Asadī (9/15c.), in *Taysīr wal-I'tibār wal-Taḥrīr* written in 854/1450, also attributes the disaster in Egypt to the following four causes: (1) neglect of 'imāra for promoting prosperity by cultivating lands and opening new canals, (2) increase of rebellious 'Urbān forcing the peasantry to abandon cultivation, (3) exploitation of peasants by officials and holders of rights to levy taxes (*aṣḥāb al-jibāya*), and (4) appointment of governors through bribery and the extension of this custom to *iqtā'* allocations.¹ Among the presentations of al-Maqrīzī and al-Asadī, we can find almost the same explanations; that is, both authors attribute the disaster in Egypt to the corruption of the central and provincial administrations, and the exploitation of peasants without reflecting the conditions of cultivation.

As opposed to the explanation of al-Maqrīzī, A. Udovitch² proposed that the repeated spreads of plague since the middle of the fourteenth century must have significantly decreased the population in Egypt, and if this supposition is right, we can explain the economy of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries in quite a different way. Namely, the population decrease due to the spread of plague led to the stagnation of economic activities in rural and urban society. Since agricultural products were generally priced lower than those of artisans, the *mamlūks* who relied on the land tax in kind should have suffered a great loss. Consequently, they had to resort to increasing taxes in order to recover their *iqtā'* revenues. This shows that "political corruption" may not have been the major cause of economic decline, but the result of it.

Egyptian peasants, however, were annually allocated land to be cultivated according to the *qabāla* contract with their *muqta'*s, and most of them were provided seed before cultivation. Moreover, the *muqta'*s were obliged to maintain the irrigation system by using corvée levied on their peasants every winter. These facts indicate that Egyptian agriculture was closely tied to administrative affairs (*tadbīr*). As Udovitch states in

¹ *Taysīr*, 92-96. The *iqtā'* holders exploited peasants under the pretext of protection (*ḥimāya*) in order to recover the amount which they had paid as bribery (*ibid.*, 135-136).

² A. Udovitch, "England to Egypt, 1350-1500: Long-term Trends and Long-distance Trade <IV. Egypt>," in M. A. Cook ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, London, 1970, pp.115-128. E. Ashtor also discusses the technological decline of sugar industry in the later middle ages, indicating some relationship between technological decline and demographic decline. See "Levantine Sugar Industry," pp.117-120.

his new article,¹ there was an intimate link between a just government and agricultural prosperity in the Islamic Middle East. Therefore, we can not easily reject al-Maqrīzī's proposal on the grounds that he took cause for result. It should be added that the fate of both Egyptian and Syrian society after the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir needs further, and more careful study from a comprehensive view based on the contemporary sources.

¹ A. L. Udovitch, "Technology, Land Tenure, and Rural Society," id. ed., *The Islamic Middle East*, p.23. A. K. S. Lambton also stresses that the absence of effective government often led to a decline in agricultural prosperity in medieval Iran ("Reflections on the Role of Agriculture in Medieval Persia," A. L. Udovitch ed., *The Islamic Middle East*, pp.283-312).

GLOSSARY

The terms included in the following list consist mainly of important expressions used in this book. Most of them are Arabic, but a few Persian words have also been included. Explanation is given based on the historical sources, but they have not been mentioned for the sake of space. The mark * indicates that the term is explained under its own, separate heading.

'abd qinn

Slave for life, not expected to be sold or emancipated. The term was applied to Egyptian peasants under the *iqṭā'* system. See also *fallāḥ* and *muzāri'*.

ablūj

See *ublūja*.

'āda, pl. 'ādāt

Customs regulating rural and urban life in Islamic societies. They were not adopted as foundations of Islamic jurisprudence, but were taken into consideration at the actual trials.

'ādil, pl. 'udūl

Notary public or witness; also called *shāhid*;* a local official who participated in land surveys together with surveyors and judges (*qāḍī*).

ajṅād al-ḥalqa

See *ḥalqa*.

akkār, pl. akara

Tenant farmers living in Iraqi villages. During the Abbasid and Buwayhid periods, their condition was worse than that of *muzāri'ūn*.*

'āmil, pl. 'ummāl

Tax-collector. In the early Islamic period they were the chief officials who were charged with provincial administration together with the *amīrs*.* After the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, their power and status decreased considerably.

amīr, pl. umarā'

While the term implied a military officer or provincial governor in the early Islamic period, under the *iqṭā'* system it meant exclusively the military officer who was obliged to hold a fixed number of soldiers based on the amount of his *iqṭā'* revenue (*'ibra**). It was in

the Mamluk period that amir ranks came to be systematized into amīrs of ten, forty and hundred, etc. See the term under *isfahsalār*.

amīr al-‘Arab

The title granted to the Arab chiefs who were loyal to the government. The title was first granted to a chief of the Syrian Arabs in the middle of the Ayyubid period. See also ‘*Urbān*’.

amīr al-umarā’

The great amir who, in place of the Abbasid caliphs, exercised authority in military and administrative affairs after the year 324/936. The Buwayhid sovereigns in Iraq were also granted the same title by the caliphs who retained no political power.

ardabb, irdabb

Unit of volume. 1 ardabb is equal to 6 waybas, or about 90 liters.

aruzz, ruzz

Rice cultivated mainly in the coastal areas south of the Caspian Sea, South Iraq, al-Fayyūm in Upper Egypt and later the provinces in Lower Egypt.

aṣl, pl. uṣūl

The land tax in medieval Egypt was usually divided into *aṣl* (principal tax) and *iḍāfa* (additional tax).

‘asal

Molasses obtained after the first boil of the pressed sugar cane juice. Refined molasses obtained after the second boil was called *quṭāra*.

‘aṭā’, pl. a‘ṭiya

The stipend paid in cash to the regular troops and government officials in the early Islamic period. The regime prior to the *iqtā’* system thus may be called ‘*aṭā’* system. See also *bīstagānī* and *jāmakiya*.

atābek al-‘asākir

The commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army during the Mamluk period. After the position of vice-sultan (*nā’ib al-salṭana**) was abolished at the close of Sultan al-Nāṣir’s reign, it became the highest rank. The amir who had been granted it would be chosen as the next sultan.

awlād al-nās

The children of *mamlūks*.* As they were free-born Muslims, they were usually integrated into the *halqa** cavalry. Their promotion was generally second to the *mamlūks*.

balad, pl. buldān, bilād

Its meaning varies regionally. It was often used to mean ‘administra-

tive village,' unit of tax-collection, while *qarya** usually implied a village formed naturally. See also *shaykh al-balad*.

baqar*, pl. *abqār

Oxen. A pair of oxen employed for ploughing was called *zawj*. See *fallāh* and *mihrāth*.

barid

An institution of the state postal service. On the main roads the post offices were set up at intervals where horses and camels were provided by the '*Urbān*.* In an emergency carrier pigeons (*ḥamām al-rasā'il*) were used, whose keeper was called *al-baridī*.

baṭṭāl*, pl. *baṭṭālūn

The amirs or soldiers who were removed from their *iqṭā'* and relieved of military service (*khidma**) to the sultan. They were paid small stipends in cash in place of *iqṭā'*. The term is often found in the historical sources of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

baydar*, pl. *bayādir

Threshing floor. On it was customarily levied the miscellaneous tax (*maks**).

baykār*, pl. *bayākir

A term, which originated from the Persian *bīgār* meaning corvée, was used specifically for denoting battlefield or military service in the era of the *iqṭā'* system. See also *khidma*.

bīstagānī

A Persian term meaning 'stipend in cash,' which is synonymous with the Arabic '*aṭā'*.*

dalīl*, pl. *dullā'

Local official who, after the flood of the Nile, drew up registration certificates (*sijillār**) for each peasant. See the terms under *taḥḍīr* and *qabāla*.

dāmin*, pl. *dummān

Tax-farmer. In the early Buwayhid Iraq the *dāmin* contracted the tax collection on a fixed district from the government. However, tax-farming was rarely found in Egypt and Syria under the *iqṭā'* system.

darmūna*, pl. *darāmīn

During the harvest season of winter crops, ships called *darmūna* transported the crops levied from *iqṭā'* to the *muqṭa'*'s granary (*shūna**) at Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

ḍay'a*, pl. *ḍiyā'

Private domains owned by the caliphs, military officers, high officials,

and merchants. During the Abbasid period these domains were created by such means as reclamation, protection and enclosure (*ḥawz*), which formed the basis of large scale landownership by influentials. The small landed property owned by village notables was also called *ḍay'a* in Abbasid and Buwayhid Iraq.

dhirā'*, pl. *adhru'

Unit of length. 1 *dhirā'* is equal to 24 *iṣba's*, or about 58 centimeters in Mamluk Egypt.

dihlīz*, pl. *dahālīz

The Persian term meaning 'vestibule'. In Arabic society it denoted a royal tent for the sultan when he was in the battlefield or hunting. The tents where the Bahri Mamluks lived were called *dahālīz al-sultān*.

dihqān*, pl. *dahāqīn

Native head of a village in Iran and Iraq. Soon after the Arab conquest, they converted to Islam to retain their status in rural society. In Iraq, however, they gradually disappeared as the Arabs acquired land during the Umayyad and Abbasid times.

dīnār*, pl. *danānīr

Unit of gold coin. 1 *dīnār* was equal to 14 dirhams* of silver during the Buwayhid period, around 38 dirhams during the Ayyubid period, and 20 dirhams in the first half of the Mamluk period. See also *mithqāl*.

dīnār jayshī

Unit expressing the amount of the *iqṭā'* revenue (*'ibra**) in the Mamluk period; also called *dīnār jundī* in the Ayyubid period. The exchange rate with dirhams differed according to the type of soldier; that is, the soldiers in lower ranks were granted *iqṭā'*s with a smaller exchange rate.

dirham*, pl. *darāhim

Unit of silver coin. For the exchange rate with gold coins, see *dīnār*.

dīwān*, pl. *dawāwīn

Originally this term meant a ledger where the Arab warriors were registered. From the Umayyad period, it came to denote an office both in central and local administrations. During the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, various kinds of *dīwāns* also played important roles in the central administration. See also *kātib* and *mubāshir*.

dīwān al-amīr

Private office to manage and control an amir's *iqṭā'*, originating

probably around the beginning of the Mamluk period. The actual staff (*mubāshir**) were *wakīl* who had responsibility in collecting tax revenues, *shādd* who had the right to punish criminals, *kātib** (scribe), *ādil** (notary public), etc.

diyāfa

Tribute goods like grain, fowl, goats, clover, dough, and cakes to be presented by peasants to their *muqta'*. In Syria it was called *rasm al-a'yād wal-khamīs*.*

dustūr*, pl. *dasātīr

Sultan's permission. When amirs or soldiers wanted to leave the battlefields, they were required to take permission from the sultan. See the terms under *khidma* and *baykār*.

fāḍil al-iqtā'

The surplus of the *iqtā'* revenue. It denotes the amount that exceeded the *iqtā'* revenue (*'ibra**) of a district estimated by the government.

faddān*, pl. *faddādn

This term originally meant a pair of cows for ploughing. In Egypt it was used as a unit of cultivated land equal to 6,006 m² during the Ayyubid period, and 6,368 m² during the Mamluk period.

fallāḥ*, pl. *fallāḥūn

Peasant; specifically an independent farmer or a tenant who cultivated the land under a *qabāla** contract by means of family labor. It was almost synonymous with *muzāri'*.*

fallāḥ qarrār

Peasants settled in the villages; regarded to be synonymous with *al-fallāḥ al-qarārī*. cf. *al-fallāḥ al-ṭawārī'* (the peasant immigrant from other villages).

Firanj*, *Ifranj

This is an Arabic term corrupted from Frank, meaning a Crusader. The term *al-Ṣalībīyūn* (the Crusaders) is not a classical usage, but a contemporary one.

furūsiya

Arabic equestration. A cavalryman was required to have not only bravery, but also know how to handle horses and arms. The *mamlūks* practiced *furūsiya* through playing polo (*kura**).

ghaybānāt

The income cut down according to a *muqta'*'s absence at the battlefield without sultan's permission.

ghulām*, pl. *ghilmān

Originally it meant youth, servant or page, but, after the Abbasid

period it was used as a slave soldier, a synonym of *mamlūk*.*

ḥalqa, jund al-ḥalqa

Arabic word meaning 'ring.' During the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, it denoted a free-born cavalryman like a Kurd, an Arab, or the child of a *mamlūk* (*awlād al-nās**). See also *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*.

ḥaqq al-akrawa

The income to a tenant (*akkār**) in Buwayhid Iraq. It was also called *ḥaqq al-akkār*, whose share was usually 1/3 of the products. See the term under *ḥaqq al-raqaba*.

ḥaqq al-raqaba

Raqaba denotes a right to own land. *Ḥaqq al-raqaba* was the income granted to a *ḍay'a* proprietor, while *ḥaqq bayt al-māl* was revenue paid to the state, and *ḥaqq al-akrawa** the income granted to a tenant respectively.

ḥāra, pl. ḥārāt

A quarter in urban areas; a synonym of *mahalla*. It was a small community which commonly had a mosque, markets, drinking fountains and bread ovens. The residential districts in larger villages were also sometimes composed of a few *ḥāras* or *nāḥiyas*.

ḥasham, ḥashma

Household members employed by the owners of landed property (*ṣāhib al-ḍay'a*) and the *iqṭā'* holders during the Abbasid and Buwayhid periods; also called *asbāb*, *aṣḥāb*, or *ḥāshiya*.*

ḥāshiya, pl. ḥawāshin

Household members; a synonym with *ḥasham*.*

ḥawḍ, pl. aḥwāḍ

Temporal basin for irrigation water formed after the flood of the Nile. After the mud settled, water would be returned back to the Nile through breaking the dikes (*jisr**).

ḥimāya

Protection right or protection fee. The *muqṭa*'s during the Buwayhid period induced peasants to commend (*iljā** or *talji'a*) the privately owned land, and took protection fees (*rusūm al-ḥimāya*) from them. The provincial governors (*wālī**) were also granted the right to levy protection fees on *muqṭa*'s and peasants. Moreover, the '*Urbān** were sometimes obliged to keep order in a district in return for protection fees from the government. See also *khifāra*.

'ibra

Annual revenue of a village, town, or *iqṭā'* estimated by the government. Its total amount, on an average of a few years, was

calculated in cash after the income in kind was converted into cash. See the terms under *mutahaṣṣil* and *dinār jāyshī*.

'idād

The *zakāt* tax levied on the 'Urbān* and the Turkman in Egypt and Syria.

iljā', talji'a

Commendation of the cultivated land. The *muqta*'s during the Buwayhid period induced small landlords (*tānī**) to demand *iljā'*, which degraded them to tenants (*muzāri**).

'imāra, pl. 'imārāt

Generally the term meaning 'building' or 'prosperous condition.' The *muqta*'s were required to practice '*imāra*'; that is, to construct hospitals, mosques, or schools as well as manage the irrigation system to promote cultivation. See also *maṣlaḥa*.

iqṭā', pl. iqtā'āt

The land or, rarely, taxes allocated by the great amir or sultan to soldiers in return for military service (*khidma**). *Khubz** (bread) was synonymous with this term. Its holder was called *muqta*'* in Arabic and *iqṭā'dār* in Persian.

iqṭā' darbastā

Darbastā is a derivative from the Persian *dar-basta* (complete). The *iqṭā' darbastā* was a privileged *iqṭā'* holding; that is, its holder had the right to receive all revenues including the poll tax and property of heirless persons (*al-mawārīth al-ḥashriya**).

iqṭā' al-istighlāl

'*Iqtā'* of usufruct' according to legal opinions; the right to receive the land tax or tithes in place of a salary. The military *iqṭā'* comes under this category.

iqṭā' al-i'tidād

'*Iqtā'* of reliance' assigned to the chiefs of the 'Urbān.* Its holder was principally not obliged to go on a military expedition.

iqṭā' al-tamlīk

'*Iqtā'* of private ownership' according to legal opinions. *Qaṭī'a** in the early Islamic period comes under this category.

isfahsalār

Derivative from the Persian *ispahsālār*, which meant a military officer; an influential amir in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyubids.

jāmakiya, pl. jawāmik

Monthly pay for the royal Mamluks. See also '*aṭā'*.

jāndār*, pl. *jāndārīya

Persian term for guard. During the Mamluk period the *jāndār* was chosen from among the amirs of hundred or forty. His duty was to introduce the amirs who had come to the court for rendering service to the sultan and to manage the prisons at Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Petty officials employed by the provincial governors (*wālī**) were also called *jāndār*.

jarīb*, pl. *ajriba

A unit of area used in Iraq and Iran. During the Buwayhid period 1 jarīb was equal to 10 qafīz (about 1,592m²).

jarrāfa*, pl. *jarārif

Harrow pulled by oxen for smoothing the cultivated land and constructing irrigation dikes; also called *mijrafa*.

jawālī*, sing. *jāliya

The poll tax levied on the *Dhimmīs*. This tax was usually levied by government officials and remitted to the state treasury, except in the case where villages were granted as *iqṭā' darbastā**.

jīha*, pl. *jihāt

Generally a geographical district or administrative district. In Egypt under the *iqṭā'* system, this term had two meanings: the district taken charge of by tax collectors and the taxes themselves like *zakāt*, *jawālī**, etc.

jīsr*, pl. *jusūr

Irrigation dike to store water forming a temporal basin (*ḥawḍ**) after the annual flood of the Nile. It was classified into *al-jusūr al-sulṭānīya* under government control and *al-jusūr al-baladīya* under the control of *muqṭa'*s and peasants.

jund*, pl. *ajnād

During the Mamluk period the *junds* indicated *jund al-ḥalqa**, *jund al-amīr*, the '*Urbān** formed as auxiliaries, and soldiers who held no rank, including *mamālik al-sulṭān*.

kafr*, pl. *kafūr

Small hamlets formed around the village; also called *manshā*. Concerning taxation these hamlets were subordinate to parent villages. See the terms under *balad* and *qarya*.

kātib*, pl. *kuttāb

A scribe. Some *kuttāb* worked at the *dīwāns** as being administrators, while others served the amirs in managing *iqṭā'*s. In Egypt the knowledge and techniques of the secretariat (*kitāba*) were inherited by some distinguished Coptic families.

kattān

Flax or linen. Linen textiles were still popular among the Egyptians even in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. Linen was a special product of Egypt to be exported to the Islamic world and beyond.

khafīr*, pl. *khufarā'

A village guard. The 'Urbān* sometimes contracted guards in return for *rizaq** land in the village.

khaltj*, pl. *khuljān

A canal larger than *tur'a**. To take the example of al-Fayyūm during the thirteenth century, 58 *khaltjs* branched off from the Canal Yūsuf. From these canals water was permitted to flow into the fields through smaller channels (*tur'a*).

kharāj

The land tax levied on peasants; the most important among the taxes which were collected by the government or *muqta'*. During the Mamluk period the *kharāj* in Lower Egypt was partly levied in cash. See also 'ibra.

khāṣṣa*, pl. *khawāṣṣ

The privileged class composed of caliph or sultan's kin, amirs, high officials, and wealthy merchants. It denotes also the private domains owned by caliphs, sultans or amirs.

khāṣṣakīya*, sing. *khāṣṣakī

Those close to the sultan. They were chosen from among the *mamlūks* fostered by the sultan (*mushtarawāt*, *julbān*) to serve as cup-bearers, costumers or arm-bearers. The sultan's *mamlūks* other than *khāṣṣakīya* were called 'outer groups' (*al-kharjīya*).

khawlī*, pl. *khawala

Overseer of agricultural production in Egypt who had good knowledge of cultivation and its products. He was responsible for maintaining cultivation and breaking irrigation dikes together with village *shaykhs*. He was also given *rizaq** land in the village.

khidma*, pl. *khidam

Services rendered to the sultan in return for *iqṭā'* holdings. Other than military service, *khidma* implied also duties to construct citadels, share irrigation works, and be present at the sultan's banquet (*simāṭ**).

khifāra

To keep order by guarding villages or roads. The protection fee paid in return for this service was called *rusūm al-khifāra* or *rusūm al-ḥimāya*. See also *khafīr* and *ḥimāya*.

khilfa

Sugar cane in the second year. It yielded less harvest than *al-ra's*,* but produced better quality sugar. See also *qaṣab al-sukkar*.

khiṭāb

Literally 'letter' or 'discourse'; specifically the initiation into the Nuṣayrī sect.

khubz, pl. akhbāz

Literally 'bread.' In Egypt and Syria after the Ayyubid period, it was often used to denote *iqṭā'*, in the sense of being a basis of a soldier's everyday life.

khushdāsh, pl. khushdāshīya

A corruption from the Persian *khawājatāsh* which means 'comrade.' During the Mamluk period it denoted comrades of *mamlūks* who had studied in the same school class and were serving the same sultan.

kura, pl. kurāt

Polo. Cavalrymen during the Mamluk period played polo to exercise the *furūsīya** at the hippodromes (*maydān*) in Cairo and Damascus.

mā' al-sulṭān

Literally 'the water of the sultan'; an adequate rise of the Nile increasing to around 16 dhirā's. See also *wafā' al-Nīl*.

madīna, pl. mudun

City or town; an administrative, economic, and cultural center of a provincial district. It was also called *balad** or *qaṣaba*. In some cases it denoted specifically a residential district in contrast to the citadel (*qal'a*).

maks, pl. mukūs

Miscellaneous taxes, such as the cereal custom duty (*maks Sāḥil al-Ghalla**), governor's tax (*rusūm al-wilāya*), the tax on prisoners (*muqarrar al-sujūn**), the tax on water-course tools (*mutawaffar al-jarārīf*), the tax on sugar cane (*sajn al-aqṣāb*) and so on.

maks Sāḥil al-Ghalla

Cereal custom duty levied on crops transported to the port at Būlāq (Sāḥil al-Ghalla) both from Lower and Upper Egypt. The tax revenue was granted as *iqṭā'*s to 400 soldiers during the Mamluk period. See also *maks*.

al-māl al-hilālī

A tax based on the lunar calendar (*al-sanat al-hilālīya*). See also *al-māl al-kharājī*.

al-māl al-kharājī

A tax based on the solar calendar (*al-sanat al-kharājīya*). See also *al-māl al-hilālī*.

malik, pl. mulūk

Sovereign like a great amir or sultan; also a title of sultan or provincial lord during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

mamlūk, pl. mamālik

An Arabic term denoting a male slave; a synonym with 'abd or *ghulām*.* Among the historical sources it meant slave and ex-slave soldiers from the Turks, Kurds, Mongols, Slavs, Cherkeses, and Greeks, etc. The royal Mamluks were called *mamālik al-sulṭān*. They formed the core of the regular armies under Islamic dynasties from the ninth to nineteenth centuries. See also *ghulām*.

manshūr, pl. manāshīr

The authorization of *iqṭā'* assignment during the Mamluk period. The sizes of the documents were different according to the ranks of *muqṭa'*.* It contained an account of the *iqṭā'*'s location, income, and the duties of *muqṭa'*. See also *tawqī'* and *mithāl*.

maqsim, pl. maqāsīm

The place for distributing water from a canal (*khalīj**) to a small irrigation channel (*tur'a**). It was also called *shādhawān*.

ma'ṣara lil-qaṣab

Sugar cane pressing factory located near a cultivated field. After cutting off the roots and leaves, the cane was pressed by a stone mill worked by oxen. Its juice was boiled to obtain raw sugar (*qand*) and molasses ('*asal*'). See also *maṭbakh al-sukkar*.

maṣlaḥa, pl. maṣāliḥ

Social welfare; the condition contrary to calamity (*fasād*). It meant administration to promote prosperity and welfare through the practice of '*imāra**'; that is, the management and control of the irrigation system and the construction of mosques, hospitals and markets. It was regarded as a duty required of government officials and *muqṭa'*'s.

maṭbakh al-sukkar

Sugar refinery where raw sugar was boiled repeatedly to produce various kinds of sugar (*sukkar**) from brown to white varieties. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ saw many refineries owned by the sultans, amirs and the Jewish merchants. See under the term *ma'ṣara lil-qaṣab*.

al-mawārith al-ḥashriya

The property of heirless persons. It became part of the sultan's revenue except in the case of *iqṭā' darbastā*.* See also *jawālī*.

mihna*, pl. *mihan

Calamity or severe blow brought about by the spread of crop failures, wind storms, locust, price inflation, plagues, etc. Contrary to *maṣlaḥa*.*

mihraṣh*, pl. *mahārith

A plough pulled by oxen or camels. An ordinary peasant would have a plough and a pair of oxen. See the terms under *baqar* and *muqalqila*.

milk*, pl. *amlāk

Privately owned land on which owners had to pay 'ushr to the government. It might be an object of purchase, inheritance or endowment. *Day'a* and *qaṭi'a* during the Abbasid and Buwayhid periods come under this category. See also *ḥaqq al-raqaba*.

miqyās

The Nilometer at Aswān or Rawḍa Island. Since the water level had a great effect on Egyptian society, it was not announced officially until the Nile rose to its height. See the terms under *mā' al-sultān* and *wafā' al-Nil*.

misāḥa

Land surveying carried out at the time of *rawk** or tax examination. The surveyor was called *massāḥ* or *qayyās*. It meant also the tax collection by *faddān vis-à-vis* a tax system based on the amount of the harvest (*muqāsama**).

mithāl*, pl. *amthila

Authorization of *iqṭā'* assignments; a synonym of *manshūr*.*

mithqāl

The legal weight of the gold *dīnār*.* 1 *mithqāl* was equal to 1 *dīnār* during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir.

mu'āmala*, pl. *mu'āmalāt

Transaction; also lunar calendar taxes levied on the rich, such as merchants and men of property.

mubāshir*, pl. *mubāshirūn

Officials working at the central and provincial *dīwāns*.* The *iqṭā'* officials employed in *dīwān al-amīr** were also called *mubāshirs*. Many of them were chosen from among the Copts.

muḥrad*, pl. *maḥārīd

Cavalrymen the *muḥta'* had to maintain with his *iqṭā'* income. When the sultan's order was given to a *muḥta'*, the latter was obliged to command his *maḥārīd* with full equipment in the battlefield.

muqaddam al-ḥalqa

Officer of the *ḥalqa* cavalrymen; a position assigned to the *mamlūks* of *al-khāṣṣakīya*.^{*} It was regarded as the rank of an amir of ten.

muqalqila, pl. muqalqilāt

Large plough; originally 'something that shakes or disturbs.' In the course of time when sugar cane plantation spread into Egypt, the *muqalqila* was invented for deeper cultivation. See also *miḥrāth*.

muqarrar al-sujūn

Miscellaneous taxes (*maks**) levied on the criminals in prison.

muqāsama

Tax collection system based on the amount of the harvest. See the term under *misāḥa*.

muqāyaḍa

Buying and selling *iqṭā*'s; alternative taken by the *ajnād al-ḥalqa*,^{*} who found themselves in difficulty over their *iqṭā*' holdings after the Nāṣirī Rawk. See also *rawk*.

muqṭa', pl. muqṭa'ūn

Iqṭā' holder; *iqṭā'dār* in Persian sources. He was obliged to render military service (*khidma**) to the sultan in return for his *iqṭā*' holding. See also *iqṭā*'.

murābi', pl. murābi'ūn

Tenant who had right to take a fourth of his yield. Most of them were engaged in cultivating sugar cane in Egypt during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. See also *wasīya*.

muṣādara

To confiscate property. The Muslim governments from the ninth century regarded *muṣādara* as a means of supplementing fiscal deficits. During the Abbasid period a special office (*dīwān al-muṣādara*) was instituted to manage and control confiscation by officials.

mushidd, shādd

An *iqṭā*' official; also called *mubāshir*.^{*} His duties were overseeing cultivation, collecting unpaid taxes, and punishing criminals.

Musta'minūn, sing. Musta'min

Those who sought sanctuary (*amān*). During the times from the end of the Ayyubids to the early Mamluks, many Khwārizmīs and Mongols emigrated to Egypt to claim protection and safety rights from the sultan. See also *Wāfidīya*.

mustawfi al-dawla

Chief treasurer. He served in the central offices (*dīwān**) to manage

fiscal affairs. He would be chosen from among the Copts, who had inherited the knowledge and techniques of administration.

mutahaṣṣil

The gross amount of *iqṭā'* income in cash ('*ayn*) and kind (*ghalla*). It formed the basis for calculating the '*ibra*' in Egypt and Syria.

muzāri'*, pl. *muzāri'ūn

Cultivator. In the early Islamic period it meant a tenant who made a *muzāra'* contract with the government or landlord. Under the *iqṭā'* system it was used as a synonym with *fallāḥ** (farmer or tenant). See the term under *qabāla*.

nā'ib*, pl. *nawwāb

Deputy or governor appointed by the sultan. As such terms as *nā'ib Dimashq* or *nā'ib Ḥalab* designate, he was entrusted to govern a province centered around a city. The manager of *iqṭā'* was also called *nā'ib*. See also *wālī*.

nā'ib al-salṭana

Vice-sultan. When the sultan was absent at Cairo, he was obliged to administer the Mamluk state in the sultan's place. See also *tadhkira*.

najjār*, pl. *najjārūn

Carpenter who produced and repaired water wheels (*sāqiya**) or ploughs (*miḥrāth**). In Egyptian rural society he was customarily given *rizaq** land in return for his services.

nakhkhās*, *jallāb

Slave merchants, who usually held the title *khwājā*, which used to be given to distinguished persons from abroad. They often acted as diplomatic missionaries to the border countries as well as slave transporters for the sultan in Egypt.

nāzīr*, pl. *nuzzār

Local superintendent of the taxes who belonged to the state treasury; also the manager of *dīwān al-amīr*.* *Nāzīr al-jaysh* indicates a superintendent of military affairs in the central and provincial administrations.

nuzūl

Derivative from an Arabic verb *nazala* (to dismount or descend), it meant abolishing an *iqṭā'* holding according to one's own accord or relieving an amir or cavalryman of his *iqṭā'*. See the term under *baṭṭāl*.

qabāla*, pl. *qabālāt

Annual cultivation contract made between proprietors (the government or *muqṭa'*) and peasants after the flood of the Nile. See also *taḥḍīr*.

qabḍa, pl. qabaḍāt

Unit of distribution for irrigation water; the width of one fist.

qā'id, pl. quwwād

Military officer or commander. During the Buwayhid period it meant the amirs of Daylams and Turks.

qamḥ

Wheat; also called *ḥinṭa*; sown in October and harvested in April to May.

qand, pl. qunūd

Raw sugar obtained after the first boil of the pressed juice. See the terms under *'asal* and *sukkar*.

qānūn, pl. qawānīn

Administrative law issued by the government; also a land register drawn up annually by officials (*mubāshir**).

qarya, pl. quran

Village formed naturally; often also called *balad**. *Shaykhs* were chiefs of a village community which consisted mainly of *fallāḥūn**.

qaṣab al-sukkar

Sugar cane; sometimes called briefly *qaṣab*; *nāy-shakar* in Persian; cultivated mainly in south-western Iran, southern Iraq, Syrian coastal districts and Egypt. The sugar cane in the first year was called *ra's**, and the harvest in the second year *khilfa**.

qaṣṭ'a, pl. qaṣṭ'i'

Privately owned land granted by the caliph. It, together with *day'a**, formed the basis of large scale landownership in the early Islamic period. See also *iqṭā' al-tamlīk*.

qinṭār, pl. qanāṣṭr

Unit of weight. 1 qinṭār was equal to 45 kilograms in medieval Egypt. Sugar was customarily weighed in *qinṭār jarwī* (about 90 kilograms).

qīrāṭ, pl. qarārīṭ

Originally 1/24 faddān. In Egyptian administration the total amount of cultivable land was divided into twenty four parts, each of which was called a *qīrāṭ*.

qundāq

Land register drawn up when crops grow; also called *fundāq*. It contains geometrical descriptions of the land, names of the cultivators and the tax figures given in the *sijills**.

rakkād, rakkādūn

A merchant coming and going between town and country (*rif*). Contrary to this kind of merchant, a bigger merchant, who had storehouses, was called *khazzān*, and an exporter who traded with faraway countries and employed agents was a *mujahhiz*.

ra's

Sugar cane in the first year. It yielded more than *khilfa*,* but produced lesser quality sugar. See also *qaṣab al-sukkar*.

rasm al-a'yūd wal-khamīs

Literally 'tax on festivals and Thursday'; tribute goods to be presented by Syrian peasants to their *muqta'* or the government officials. In Egypt it was called *diyāfa*.*

rawk

A cadastral survey; originated from the Coptic *rōsh* meaning 'land survey.' Actually it denotes a land survey (*misāḥa**), in addition to confirmation of *'ibra*,* and re-allocation of *iqṭā'*s. In Egypt and Syria under the *iqṭā'* system, three *rawks* were carried out: *al-Rawk al-Ṣalāhī* (567–577/1171–2–1181–2), *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī* (697/1298) and *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* (713–725/1313–1325).

rishwa, pl. rishan

Bribery; also called *badhl* or *barṭala*. During the latter half of the Mamluk period, it was often used as a means of obtaining such positions as judge (*qāḍī*), professor (*mudarris*) or governor (*wālī*,* *nā'ib**).

rizaq, sing. rizqa

Land or income in cash granted to such persons as village *shaykh*, overseers (*khawlī**), carpenters (*najjār**), village guards (*khafīr**), preachers (*khaṭīb*), monks (*rāhib*), etc.

ṣāhib, pl. aṣḥāb

Lords exercising semi-independent authority in Syria and al-Jazīra during the Zangid and Ayyubid periods. Although they had the right to allocate *iqṭā'*s, the Ayyubid princes and influential amirs called *ṣāhibs* were obliged to render military service to the sultan in Cairo.

ṣāhib al-arbā'

Night watchmen of the streets appointed to patrol the city of Cairo and close off alleys at night. See also *ḥāra*.

sāqiya, pl. sawāqin

Water wheel worked by oxen, donkeys or camels. See the term under *shādūf*.

shādd

See *mushidd*.

shādūf

Bucket for drawing up water by manpower; also called *qādūs*. See also *sāqiya*.

shāhid, pl. shuhūd

See 'ādil.

sharbūsh, sharābīsh

Arabic corruption from the Persian *sar-posh* which means tall headgear of a triangular form; granted by the sultan to soldiers when they were given the ranks of amir and allocated *iqṭā*'s.

shaykh al-balad

Village headman; also called 'ayn al-balad. Several *shaykhs* would exist in one Egyptian village under the *iqṭā*' system. They were required to be present at *taḥḍīr** after the annual flood of the Nile and maintain the irrigation customs in local provinces.

shūna, pl. shuwan

Granary; also called *hury* (pl. *ahrā*'). The amirs carried the crops collected from his *iqṭā*' to *shuwan* in Cairo using ships called *darmūna*.*

sijill, pl. sijillāt

Register of annual land allocation (*taḥḍīr**) to peasants after the flood of the Nile in autumn. The documentation was called *waraqat al-sijill* or *sijill al-taḥḍīr*. See also *qabāla*.

simāṭ, pl. simāṭāt

Originally table cloth; it was often used as banquets given by the sultans. To be present at such a banquet was regarded as a *muqṭa*''s service (*khidma**) to the sultan.

simsār, pl. samāstr

Broker; specifically engaged in dealing crops.

soyūrghāl

Land allocated to the military in the Jalayirid and the following Iranian dynasties in exchange for military service to the sovereign. See also *tuyūl*.

sukhra

Corvée levied on peasants for digging and repairing canals and constructing irrigation dikes. See the term under 'imāra.

sulṭān, pl. salāṭīn

Ruler. After the Seljuqid period a sovereign of the Sunnite dynasty was called *sulṭān*, who exercised political, financial and military

power in place of the caliph or *amīr al-umarā'*.*

ṭablkhāna*, pl. *ṭablkhānāt

Originally 'warlike music' in Persian. *Amīr ṭablkhāna* during the Mamluk period meant an amir of forty.

tadhkira*, pl. *tadhkir

Memorandum issued at the time when the sultan left Egypt. It contained principles of state administration.

tafāwut

The unproportionate payment; a *muqṭa'* should return it to the government when he could not offer military service appropriate to his *iqṭā'* holding.

taḥḍīr

Annual allocation of land for lease to peasants with *qabāla** contract after the flood of the Nile. The land to be cultivated was registered in the document called *sijill*.*

taljī'a

See *iljā'*.

tammār*, pl. *tammārūn

Merchant trading specifically in dates (*tamr*); often found in Iraq.

tānī*, pl. *tunnā'

Influential farmers who formed the upper class of villagers in medieval Iraq. They owned the small amounts of land (*ḍay'a**), but, after the establishment of the *iqṭā'* system, fell to the position of tenants to the *muqṭa'*. See also *iljā'*.

taqāwī*, sing. *taqwīya

Seed or cash provided or rented to peasants before sowing in autumn. See the term under *taḥḍīr*.

taqlīd*, pl. *taqālid

Documents given to the local lords (*ṣāḥib**) or provincial governors (*wālī** or *nā'ib**) to reassure their former positions.

tasbīb

Measures taken against fiscal difficulties during the Abbasid and Buwayhid periods. The government sent soldiers or officials to districts assigned for collecting taxes in proportion to their salaries.

tasbikh

Manuring. Dung (*zibī*), straw (*tibn*) and ashes (*ramād*) were used as manures (*sibākh*).

ṭā'ūn*, pl. *ṭawā'in

Plague; Egypt and Syria during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods were attacked repeatedly by *ṭā'ūn* and *wabā'* (epidemic).

tawqīʿ, *pl. tawqīʿāt*

Authorization of *iqṭāʿ* assignments in the Buwayhid and Ayyubid periods; called *manshūr** or *mithāl** during the Mamluk period.

timār

Land allocated to cavalrymen (*sipāhī*) under the Ottoman empire. It had characteristics similar to *iqṭāʿ* in Arabic society.

turʿa, *pl. turaʿ*

Small canal or watercourse carrying water from *khalīj** to cultivated fields.

tuyūl

Land granted by the sovereign during the Safavid and Qajar periods. Its holder had the right to levy provisional taxes.

ublūja, *ublūj*, *ablūj*

Loaf of sugar; corrupted from the Persian *āblūj* which means 'white sugar candy.' 1 *ublūja* was equal to about a ninth *qintār** jarwī (10 kilograms) in Egypt during the Mamluk period.

'Urbān, *sing. 'Arab*

Arabs with life-styles varying from cattle breeding to agriculture. They kept order in local provinces providing horses, camels, and information on the borders for the government, but had a tendency to plunder the Meccan pilgrims and caravans, and also lead peasants revolts against severe taxation. See also *amīr al-'Arab* and *ḥimāya*.

ustādār, *ustādh al-dār*

Chief steward of the Ayyubid court; during the Mamluk period the person who was in charge of paying salaries and provisions to soldiers.

wafā' al-Nīl

'Plenitude of the Nile.' When the Nile rose to the level of 16 *dirā'* s* at Rawḍa Island, the Cairenes used to hold gala festivals to celebrate it. See the terms under *mā' al-sulṭān* and *miqyās*.

Wāfidiya, *sing. Wāfidi*

Emigrants to Egypt from the eastern countries; also called *Musta'minūn*.* They were the Khwārizmīs, Kurds or Mongols, who emigrated from the end of the Ayyubid through to the early Mamluk period.

wakīl, *pl. wukalā'*

Agent or manager; also called *nā'ib*. A *muqṭa'* agent who went to the *iqṭāʿ* to collect the revenues and maintain the irrigation system. See also *mushidd*.

wālī, *pl. wulāt*

Provincial governor. Since the middle of the Buwayhid period, *wālīs*

were appointed to oversee the *muqta*'s and collect protection fees (*himāya**) from them. During the Mamluk period *wālīs* were assigned to the Syrian districts under the control of *nā'ibs*, while in Egypt *wālīs* were the same as *nā'ibs* in Syria; that is, in charge of keeping order, managing the irrigation system, and overseeing the *muqta*'s.

waqf*, pl. *awqāf

Donated property. According to the intentions of donation, it was classified into (1) a charitable donation (*al-waqf al-khayrī*) to maintain mosques, schools, or hospitals, and (2) a personal donation for descendants (*al-waqf al-ahli*). During the Mamluk period the first was called *al-rizāq al-ahbāsīya*, while the land granted to the old or disabled amirs was named *al-rizāq al-jayshīya*.

wasīya*, pl. *awāsi

Private domain (*day'a*) belonging to the Egyptian monasteries and great bishops in the early Islamic period, and crown farms controlled directly by the sultan in the period of the *iqṭā'* system.

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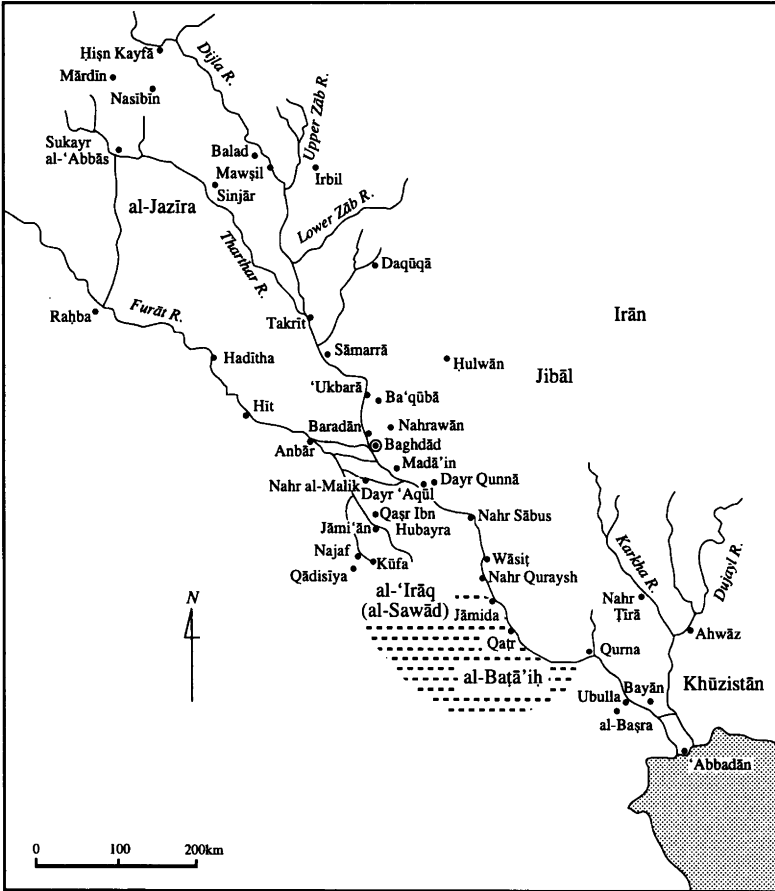
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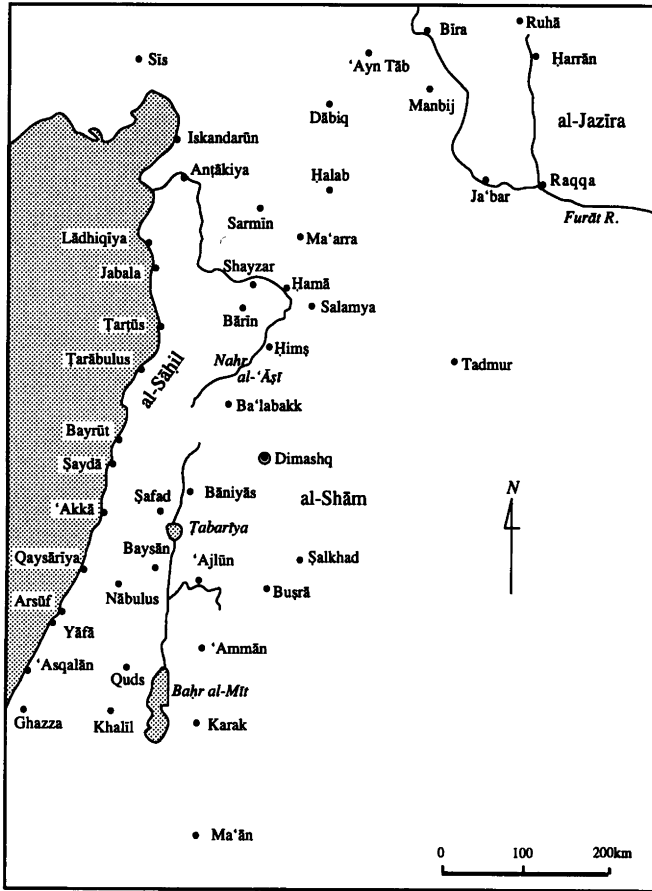
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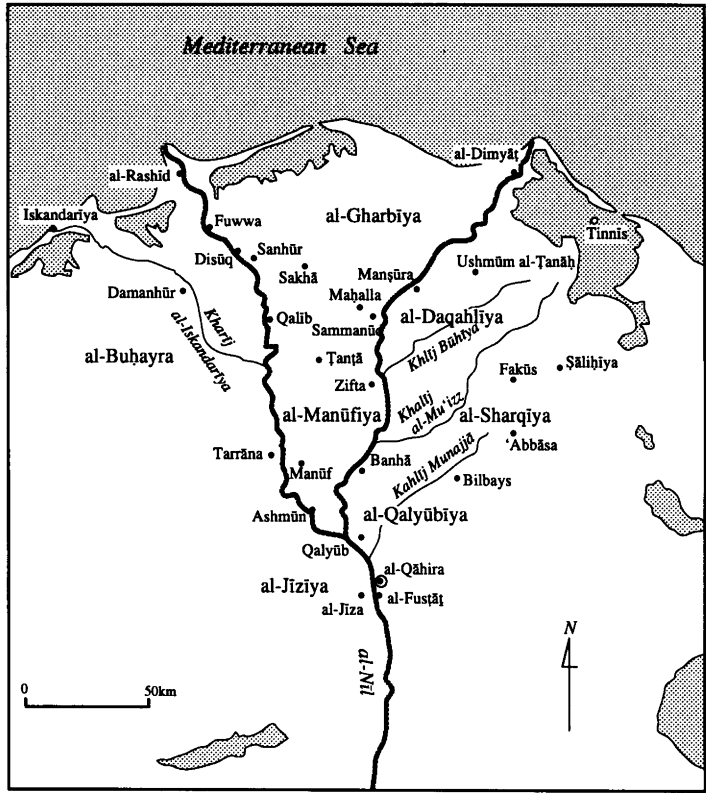
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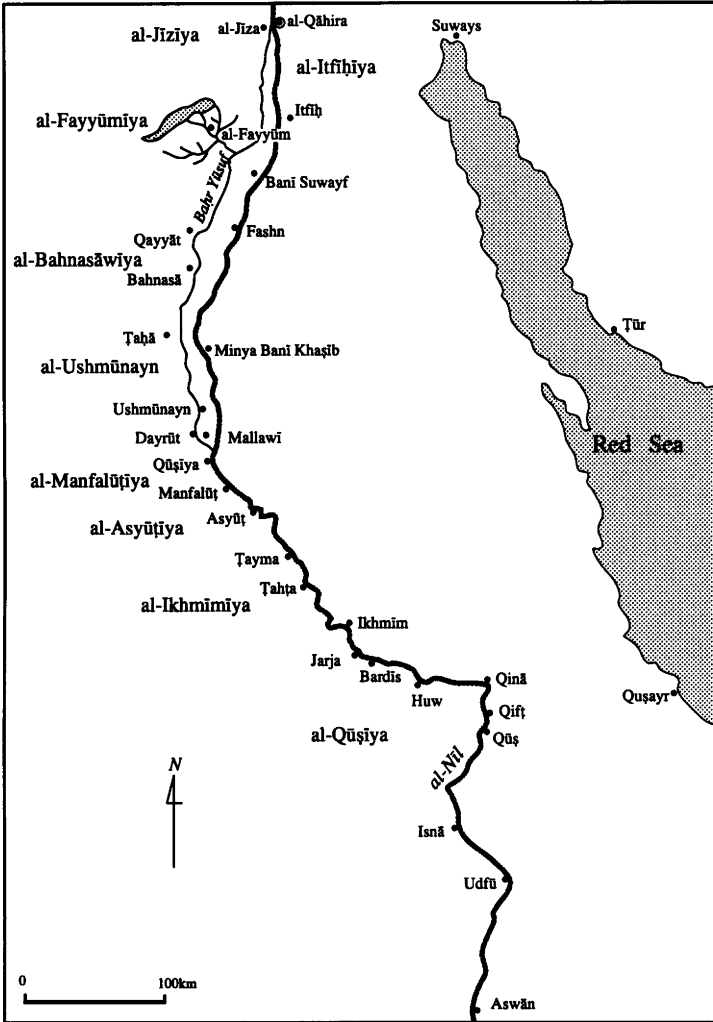
Map 1. Iraq and al-Jazira



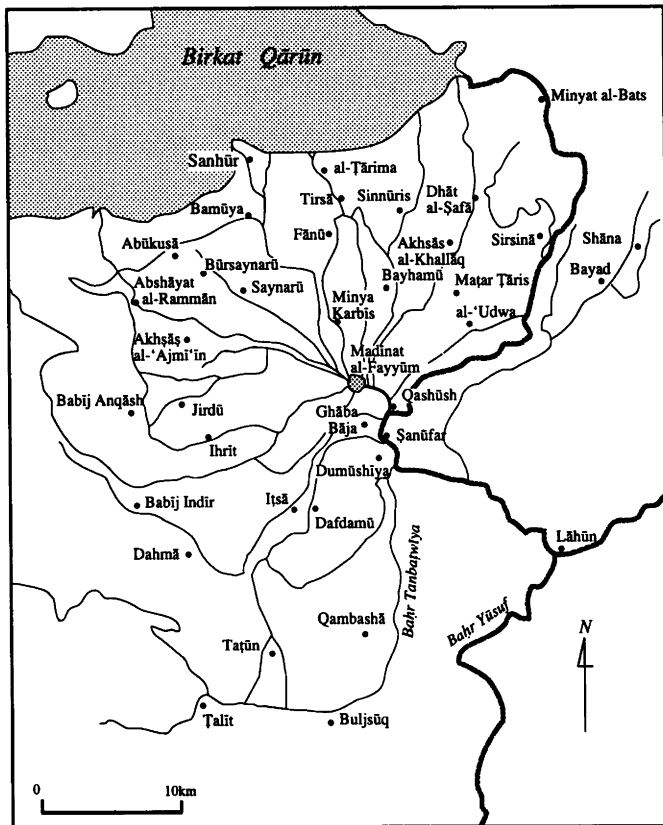
Map 2. Syria (al-Shām) and al-Jazīra



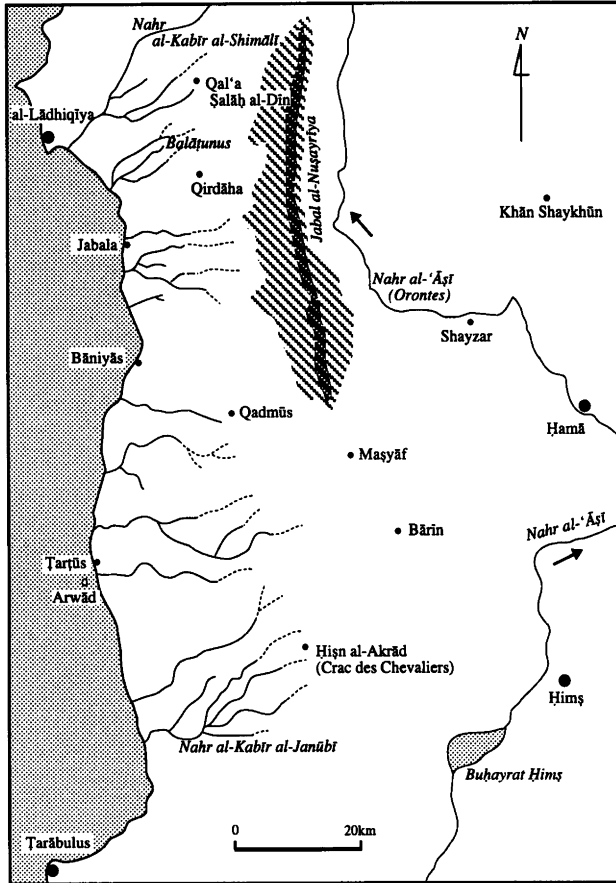
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