

## Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History

# Islamic History and Civilization

STUDIES AND TEXTS

*Editorial Board*

Hinrich Biesterfeldt  
Sebastian Günther

*Honorary Editor*

Wadad Kadi

VOLUME 143

The titles published in this series are listed at [brill.com/ihc](http://brill.com/ihc)





# Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History

*Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*

*Edited by*

Yuval Ben-Bassat



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Glazed frit bowl, Beth Shean, Mamluk Period, 13th–14th century (IAA 2002–1828).  
Photograph by Ofrit Rosenberg, the Israel Museum.  
Frontispiece: Amalia Levanoni by Photo Faraj, Tel Aviv.

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 0929-2403

ISBN 978-90-04-34046-6 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-34505-8 (e-book)

Copyright 2017 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

# Contents

Professor Amalia Levanoni's Contribution to the Field of Mamluk  
Studies IX

*Michael Winter*

Preface XI

Acknowledgments XXI

List of Figures XXII

Notes on Transliteration XXIV

Notes on Contributors XXV

## PART I

### *Social and Cultural Issues*

- 1 **Already Rich? Yet 'Greed Deranged Him'**  
*Elite Status and Criminal Complicity in the Mamluk Sultanate* 3  
*Carl F. Petry*
  
- 2 **Usages of Kinship Terminology during the Mamluk Sultanate and the  
Notion of the 'Mamlūk Family'** 16  
*Koby Yosef*
  
- 3 **Medieval Middle Eastern Court Taste**  
*The Mamluk Case* 76  
*Limor Yungman*
  
- 4 **Du sang et des larmes**  
*Le destin tragique d'Aşalbāy al-Jarkasiyya (m. en 915/1509)* 97  
*Bernadette Martel-Thoumian*
  
- 5 **The Office of the *Ustādār al-Āliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era** 115  
*Daisuke Igarashi*

## PART 2

*Women in Mamluk Society*

- 6 Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities 145  
*Yaacov Lev*
- 7 Slave Girls and Learned Teachers  
*Women in Mamluk Sources* 158  
*Yehoshua Frenkel*
- 8 On Marriage in Damascus, 1480–1500 177  
*Boaz Shoshan*

## PART 3

*Literary and Poetic Genres*

- 9 Songs, Poetry, and Storytelling  
*Ibn Taghrī Birdī on the Yalbughā Affair* 189  
*Li Guo*
- 10 Maqriziana XIII: An Exchange of Correspondence between al-Maqrīzī  
and al-Qalqashandī 201  
*Frédéric Bauden*
- 11 Sultan Selīm's Obsession with Mamluk Egypt according to Evliyā  
Çelebi's *Seyāhatnāme* 230  
*Michael Winter*

## PART 4

*The Politics of Material Culture*

- 12 Mamluk Coins, Mamluk Politics and the Limits of the Numismatic  
Evidence 245  
*Warren C. Schultz*
- 13 Mamluk Patronage, Crusader *Spolia*  
*Turbat al-Kubakiyya in the Mamilla Cemetery, Jerusalem*  
(688/1289) 269  
*Hana Taragan*

- 14 **The Struggle over Water**  
*Evaluating the ‘Water Culture’ of Syrian Peasants under Mamluk Rule* 287  
*Bethany J. Walker*
- 15 **What was there in a Mamluk *Amīr*’s Library?**  
*Evidence from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript* 311  
*Élise Franssen*
- PART 5**  
***Regional and Local Politics***
- 16 **Post-Crusader Acre in Light of a Mamluk Inscription and a *Fatwā***  
**Document from Damascus** 335  
*Reuven Amitai*
- 17 **Favored by the Sultan, Disfavored by his Son**  
*Some Glimpses into the Career of Ṭashtamur Ḥummuṣ Akḥḍar* 352  
*Joseph Drory*
- Bibliography** 365  
**Index** 403



# Professor Amalia Levanoni's Contribution to the Field of Mamluk Studies

*Michael Winter*

For over thirty years, Amalia Levanoni, Professor (Emerita) of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa, has contributed, through her vast expertise, devotion, and tireless efforts to the preservation and expansion of studies on the political, social and cultural history of the Mamluk state (1250–1517). She is one of the outstanding scholars in this fascinating and growing academic chapter of the Middle East in the later Middle-Ages. While drawing on the solid foundations of Israeli and international Mamluk scholarship, she continually finds new and pioneering themes and approaches.

Amalia Levanoni has organized multiple international conferences in Haifa and other universities in Israel. She has also cultivated collegial ties with Mamlukists abroad and has been a very active participant in international conferences on the Mamluks. She has visited and lectured in many universities and centers where Mamluk and related subjects are researched, notably Oxford, Bonn and other German universities, as well as in Belgium, France and North America.

Amalia Levanoni has numerous publications on the Mamluk regime and the military which examine the Mamluk concepts of the sultanate, Shajar al-Durr, the only woman sultan in medieval Islam, the Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt that presents a paradigmatic historical event in Mamluk historical narratives, and many others. Her book, *A Turning Point in the Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* is a thoughtful analysis of his sultanate. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was one of the greatest Mamluk sultans, probably second only to Baybars, the actual founder of the state. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was a strong and energetic ruler and peace prevailed during his reign. He was an avid builder and spendthrift, and as Levanoni writes "he pawned the future" by his recklessness. His economic and financial policy led directly to the social, monetary, and moral decline of the state after his death.

Amalia Levanoni has also published countless articles on cultural and social subjects and about daily life during the Mamluk period, such as the cooking and cuisine of the elite, relationships between the rulers and the '*ulamā*', women in the Mamluk elite, religion and theology, Mamluk travels and pilgrimages, and the water supply in medieval Cairo. The list of Levanoni's articles is impressive in terms of their number, the originality of the subjects,

and the journals in which they were published. These include the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Studia Islamica*, *Der Islam*, and *Arabica*. She has also written several articles for the *Mamluk Studies Review*, the leading journal in the field, which is published by the University of Chicago. In addition, Levanoni has contributed many items on Mamluk history to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (E12), and to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition (E13). Amalia Levanoni's many book reviews of scholarly works about Mamluks and related issues testify to her authority in the field.

Last but not least, Amalia Levanoni is an active and involved educator and colleague at the University Haifa, beyond Mamluk and Middle Eastern studies. Between 2013 and 2016 she served as President of the Middle East and Islamic Studies Association of Israel, the first woman to hold this prestigious position.

## Preface

This collective volume incorporates 17 papers in the field of Mamluk studies written by a set of leading historians of this period, both from the younger generation of scholars as well as more established ones, in honor of Prof. Amalia Levanoni, one of the most influential scholars of Mamluk society and culture, who recently retired from the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa.

The articles in this volume are divided into five thematic categories covering social and cultural issues, women in Mamluk society, literary and poetic genres, the politics of material culture, and finally regional and local politics. Obviously in a project of this nature there is a certain element of eclecticism which has to do with the interests of the scholars participating, and some of the papers could very well fit into more than one category. I have nonetheless tried to group them in categories which best suit the main themes discussed and allow different perspectives and comparisons on given subjects. For the most part the articles deal with topics their authors have already dealt with in the last decade or two, in previous projects and publications. Their current work can thus be seen as a statement about the field of Mamluk studies today and a review of its recent developments. This field has been changing very rapidly in recent decades and today includes hundreds of active researchers worldwide who write in numerous languages and constitute a lively, strong community. Amalia Levanoni has been a prominent member of this community since the 1980s and many of the contributions in this volume in fact correspond with her research and reflect her wide range of interests and research projects as well as her vast influence on the field of Mamluk studies. Among Amalia's varied research topics one can find the importance of the Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt, the role of the *'ulamā'* in the Mamluk state, Mamluk food and its meaning, women in the elite of the Mamluk state, the water system in Mamluk Cairo, the writing of historians, travelers, and pilgrims during the Mamluk period, research about specific Mamluk sultans such as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, everyday practices in Mamluk Cairo, governance, rulership, religion, and theology during the Mamluk period, and more. All of these issues are widely discussed in the 17 articles presented in this volume.

In the first section, *Social and Cultural Issues*, Carl Petry, in his article "Already Rich? Yet 'Greed Deranged Him': Elite Status and Criminal Complicity in the Mamluk Sultanate," explores elite complicity in criminal activity as reported by contemporary observers. Students of crime in several medieval cultures have noted the ties between profitable criminal activity and individuals

or groups socially situated at the apex of their societies to wield military force, police regulation, political influence and financial coercion. Why were these individuals or groups so motivated, when they already exercised hegemonic levels of control and oversaw assets in excess of what the great majority of the populace could hope to acquire? This question raises issues as complex and diverse as the social contexts in which they pursued their activities. In late medieval Egypt and Syria, writes Petry, on-site observers who commented in detail on the behavior of local elites they regarded as illicit did not offer a uniform or consistent set of explanations for their complicity in crime for profit. But the frequency with which these observers reported what they regarded as elite complicity in crime reveals the significance they attributed to it. The article considers the range of explanations these observers put forward and tries to find continuities and contrasts in their assessments of elite complicity in profitable crime. The article presents illustrative cases from criminal categories predictably associated with profitable gain such as larceny, theft, fraud, corruption, and counterfeiting. Other categories less associated with fiscal gain, such as religious deviance, but which also led to criminal incidents involving elite complicity for profit are also discussed.

Koby Yosef, in his article “Usages of Kinship Terminology during the Mamluk Sultanate and the Notion of the ‘*Mamlūk* Family,’” challenges the standard perception of the family during the Mamluk period as primarily based on *mamlūk* connections. Most students of the Mamluk Sultanate, writes Yosef, tend to underestimate the importance of relationships based on blood ties and marital ties. Instead, they emphasize the importance of *mamlūk* connections such as the relationship between a master and his *mamlūks*, or the connections among *mamlūks* of the same household serving the same master (*khushdāshiyya*), generally referred to as “pseudo-familial ties.” According to Ayalon, for example, the *mamlūk*’s period of enslavement determined his affiliations for life and, therefore, the structure of Mamluk society was based on what he called the “*mamlūk* family.” The patron and his freedmen developed relationships very similar to those of a biological family, and the terminology characterizing their relations was identical to terms used for the biological family. The patron was the ‘father’ (*wālīd*) of his *mamlūks*, and they his ‘sons’ (*awlād*, sing. *walad*), and the freedmen regarded each other as ‘brothers’ (*ikhwa*, sing. *akh*). The *khushdāsh* of a master was considered an ‘uncle’ by the master’s *mamlūks*, and the master of the master was considered the ‘grandfather.’ According to Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Rāziq, the *mamlūks* did not understand “the true meaning of family” since their social relationships were based on *mamlūk* ties. Like Ayalon, he also emphasizes the fact that the terminology for these relationships was identical to that of the biological family. Yosef argues instead that the terminology of the

biological family was used to express hierarchy at least as much as it was used to express affinity. Such metaphorical usages of biological familial terms are also attested for non-*mamlūks* and for periods other than the Mamluk Sultanate. Moreover, in many cases during the Mamluk Sultanate, when biological family terminology is employed with respect to *mamlūks*, the usage does not fit the structure of the “*mamlūk* family” as envisioned by Ayalon. In addition, many times the terminology of the biological family is used to express relationships between *mamlūks* who were in-laws or even blood relatives. Yosef concludes that scholars’ emphasis on usages of biological family terminology with respect to *mamlūks* thus reflects their tendency to emphasize the importance of *mamlūk* connections during the Mamluk Sultanate to a greater extent than it reflects social reality.

Limor Yungman, in her article “Medieval Middle Eastern Court Taste: The Mamluk Case,” examines the formation of the “Mamluk taste” as a culinary, cultural, and political choice constituting one unique example of medieval Middle Eastern court proclivities. Class formation and social status are shaped and determined, among other things, by food preferences. This article explores the idea of the taste of medieval “haute cuisine” literally and symbolically in terms of what factors shaped it, and how it was regarded and practiced. Yungman reconstructs the tastes of the Mamluk court by investigating various sources, mainly cookbooks, chronicles, and reports on imports of food articles and ingredients that could not be found locally in Egypt such as rare and exotic spices. The “Mamluk taste” was based on two factors. The first is external and has to do with the Mamluks’ background going back to the Golden Horde; i.e., the “taste” with which they came to Egypt. Remnants of Central-Asian cuisine can be found, such as the *qūmiz* (mare’s milk) and horsemeat frequently gracing the sultan’s table. The second was the internal influence of earlier court cuisines, such as the Abbasid-Baghdadi and the Fatimid, which in turn were influenced by pre-Islamic cuisines; for instance, the Persian-Sassanid. These two axes define the unique combination of Mamluk cuisine associating “nomad” cuisine and urban Caliphial “haute cuisine.” In addition, the “Mamluk flavor” was also defined as “sweet” (Amalia Levanoni) and “seasoned and unrefined” (Paulina Lewicka), two features which are also investigated in the article. Yungman’s examination and analysis of historical recipes and other sources, especially in comparison to the nutrition of the rest of the population, leads to a better understanding of Mamluk taste even beyond the “culinary,” beyond the “eaten,” and beyond the Mamluk context.

Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, in the only French article in this volume, “Du sang et des larmes: Le destin tragique d’Aṣalbāy al-Jarkasiyya (m. en 915/1509),” [Blood and Tears: The Tragic Fate of Aṣalbāy al-Jarkasiyya (died

1509], discusses the story of a Circassian concubine, whose tragic and fascinating life story reflects the fate of Mamluk elite women. Aşalbāy al-Jarkasiyya was a concubine of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy (r. 1468–96) and gave birth to his son and successor al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1496–98). She witnessed the rise to power of his murderer al-Zāhir Qānṣūh min Qānṣūh (1498–1500), who was his maternal uncle. In 1500 she married *atābak al-‘asākir* Jānbalāṭ who in the same year revolted against Qānṣūh min Qānṣūh and dethroned him, making the former concubine the sultanness for a short period of a few months. She then witnessed his imprisonment in Alexandria where he was executed and the vindication of his two successors Ṭūmānbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. She made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1508, which gave the sultan an opportunity to exile her, where she died and was buried about a year later.

Finally in this section, Daisuke Igarashi, in his article “The Office of the *Ustādār al-Āliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era,” discusses the role of chief of the *al-Dīwān al-Mufrad*, a special financial bureau entrusted with providing monthly wages (*jāmaḳiyya*), clothing allowances (*kiswa*), fodder (*‘alīq*) for horses, and other provisions to the sultanic *mamlūks* (*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*). Al-Zāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluk dynasty, founded the *dīwān* to increase and maintain his *mamlūk* corps. The bureau was meant to fortify the sultan’s position in the throes of political instability and financial difficulties. Consequently, the newly established *dīwān* rapidly expanded its role, and the Mamluk state structure was reorganized. In principle, the *ustādār al-āliya* was held by a high-ranking military man, usually an *amīr* of a hundred (*amīr mi‘ah muqaddam alf*), although the duties were not military. Rather, they comprised financial management, which was usually the responsibility of the civil services. However, sources show that the actual careers and backgrounds of appointees varied as a function of the transition of the status and importance of the *dīwān* in the governmental system, which changed throughout the Circassian Mamluk period. The article lists all appointees to the office of *ustādār al-āliya* and investigates the reasons for their appointment and dismissal. It systematically examines their careers and backgrounds as well as the political and financial situations of the Mamluk state in which each appointment was made. This detailed investigation reveals the development of the function of the office of *ustādār al-āliya* and helps contextualize the transition of the status of *al-Dīwān al-Mufrad* in the fiscal administration of the Mamluk state as a whole.

In the second section of this volume, *Women in Mamluk Society*, Yaacov Lev, in his article “Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities,” addresses the issue of women in the socio-economic life of medieval Muslim urban society and how to read sources about them. The examination of literary

sources, especially from Mamluk Egypt, has led scholars to the conclusion that there was a considerable disparity between concepts of the ideal position of women in society and the actual reality of their everyday lives. The methodology adopted by some scholars can be described as a “reverse reading” of the sources. Among other things, the article examines the wider ramifications of this methodology and its potential pitfalls.

Yehoshua Frenkel, in his article “Slave Girls and Learned Teachers: Women in Mamluk Sources,” concentrates on two groups of women during the Mamluk period, slave girls (concubines) and educated women. He highlights the dualism in writing about women as reflected in male dominated sources and the multifaceted conditions existing in urban centers of the Mamluk Sultanate. Chronicles, biographies, legal texts, and inscriptions, writes Frenkel, shed light on both the ideal social position of women and their image, as well as on historical reality throughout the long Mamluk dominion. These sources describe free or slave women who were engaged in a variety of domestic and non-domestic forms of labor. The prevailing social attitudes, which are reflected in legal writings, indeed reinforce their image as a marginal component of Mamluk society. As they were prevented from holding leading legal, political or military positions they were forced into the background. This articulated, common arrangement is visible in accounts of social gatherings (*majālis*) in which the wives did not participate, but professional female performers took an active part. However, although women are underrepresented in Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries, it should be emphasized that these sources offer rich accounts that highlight their lives and conditions. Hence, readers of Mamluk documentation should not accept any overstated popular generalization and should reject a-historical statements about “Muslim women, Islam and the woman, etc.” The information on the social position of Mamluk women and their textual image reflects, in contrast to a simplified and idealistic picture of past societies, a complex reality. This stems from varying conditions, including their status and roles. The sources depict polar opposites from the pious ascetic woman to the shameless adulteress. Mamluk *‘ajā’ib* accounts (*mirabilia*), for example, transport their readers, as accepted in this literary genre, into realms of fantasy. Women in these stories often have irresistible seductive power and play the role of the destructive temptress.

Boaz Shoshan, in his article “On Marriage in Damascus, 1480–1500,” the last article in this section, discusses the practices of marriage in Mamluk Syria. While the basic customs associated with the act of marriage in Islam are well known, marriage customs in the pre-modern Middle East are less well explored. Among the hundreds of notarial documents included in Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq’s *Ta’līq*, a sort of “diary” (*yawmiyyāt*) recorded between 1480

and 1503 CE containing detailed and variegated information about the social fabric of Damascus at the end of the Mamluk era, there are reports of about 150 marriage contracts, 65 of which contain relatively rich information. This is undoubtedly the best set of data on this subject one could hope to find for a pre-Ottoman Islamic society anywhere. The article analyzes the marriage data and comments on the pattern of marriages among the Damascene population at the end of the Mamluk era.

In the third section, *Literary and Poetic Genres*, Li Guo's "Songs, Poetry, and Storytelling: Ibn Taghrī Birdī on the Yalbughā Affair" discusses two *ballīq*-songs originally composed as a *mu'āraḍa*-duet between a court poet, Ibn al-Kharrāṭ, and a street entertainer, Ibn Mawlāhum. Medieval Arabic vernacular poetry developed alongside the classical crown jewel, the *shī'r*. The staples of the "popular" kind—*muwashshaḥ*, *mawāliyā*, *dū-bayt*, *zajal*, and *kān wa-kān*—further developed into several sub-genres which display discernable timely features and regional flavors. The *ballīq*-ballad, a spin-off of the *zajal*, is one example: it was Mamluk and Cairene. Medieval and modern sources tend to juxtapose the term *balālīq* (pl.) with *azjāl* (pl.) as a general reference to "songs and ballads"; often the two terms are used interchangeably—a testimony to the popularity of this particular *zajal* form throughout Ottoman times, and extending to modern day Egypt. However, while Mamluk poetry production, including the *zajal* in general, has attracted steady interest in recent years, little has been written about the *ballīq*. The topic of the poetic debate discussed in Guo's article was the status and state of a soldier versus that of a scholar. What makes this even more interesting is that these ballads were performed for Sultan Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (r. 1347–51, 1354–61) in a song-and-dance format. After a close reading of the texts (the songs and the accompanying materials), this article examines the artistic features of the Egyptian Mamluk *ballīq* (continuity and discontinuity versus earlier Iraqi samples provided by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī), and aspects of Mamluk courtly performance (the tension between the vernacular verses and "low-brow" entertainment and the high *madḥ*-panegyric courtly ritual).

Frédéric Bauden, in his article "Maqriziana XIII: An Exchange of Correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī," examines correspondence between two prominent Mamluk authors at the beginning of the fifteenth century: al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī. Correspondence between scholars in the Mamluk Sultanate has not yet received the attention it deserves although several collections of letters are available to researchers. In the case discussed here both scholars worked together at the chancery in Cairo, before their ways parted when al-Maqrīzī opted for a different career. However, an exchange of two letters between them shows that they kept in touch. These two letters (an

inceptive letter and its answer) were quoted by al-Qalqashandī's son, Ibn Abī Ghudda (d. 1471) in his own chancery manual which is still unpublished. This text indicates that a few years before al-Qalqashandī's death, al-Maqrīzī sent him a letter in which he consulted him about the use of the verb *rasama* in the meaning of *amara* (to order, to decree), a connotation which was not found in dictionaries. Beside the significance of al-Qalqashandī's answer for the field of Mamluk diplomacy, the two letters, writes Bauden, also provide crucial information about the works of these two authors. The article describes the letters, analyzes their content, and determines their significance for Mamluk diplomacy, epistolography, lexicography, and the authors' bibliographies.

In the third article in this section, Michael Winter, in his article "Sultan Selīm's Obsession with Mamluk Egypt according to Evliyā Çelebi's *Seyāhatnāme*," discusses the writings of this famous Ottoman 17th-century traveler who produced a ten-volume travelogue (*Seyāhatnāme*) describing the countries he visited. The tenth volume of his work, the topic of this article, is a depiction of Egypt and Habesh (Ethiopia). Most of this volume is devoted to Egypt as Evliyā Çelebi saw it, but there is also a section on the history of Egypt, including the events leading to the war between the Mamluk sultans and Sultan Selīm I, who led his army against the last two Mamluk sultans, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and Ṭūmān Bāy. Evliyā Çelebi's writing is problematic historically, but is nevertheless fascinating because it raises numerous social and cultural issues. His narrative presents several key figures and events of the early sixteenth century in a different light than what we know from various Arab and Ottoman chroniclers. The article explores several episodes involving Sultan Selīm I's conquest of Egypt as discussed by Evliyā Çelebi which are often anachronistic, and attempts to determine their origin. These include the discovery by the Ottomans of the tomb of Ibn al-'Arabī, the great but controversial mystic who died in Damascus in 1240, the circumstances surrounding the death of the Mamluk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, the last days of Ṭūmānbāy, the Mamluk ruler who spoke with Selīm before he was hanged at the Zuwayla Gate in Cairo, administrative changes the Ottoman sultan introduced before his return to his capital, and others.

In the fourth section, *The Politics of Material Culture*, Warren C. Schultz, in his article, "Mamluk Coins, Mamluk Politics and the Limits of the Numismatic Evidence," examines the surviving corpus of Mamluk coins to identify and analyze the patterns that emerge. The article focuses on four case studies of Mamluk coins. While coins are primarily economic in nature in that they were minted to facilitate trade and commerce, they are also documents. Their two sides, writes Schultz, provide small billboards for the conveyance of information. Since the right of *sikka* was a royal prerogative, it is not unusual to find

names, claims, and titles on coins that supported a ruler's claim/right to rule. However, there are no surviving mint manuals or similar documents from the Mamluk era that provide insights as to what sultans or their mint supervisors intended, let alone how the coins were made. Although Mamluk-era historians frequently mention coins, they rarely shed direct light on why Mamluk coins bear certain legends. The only surviving evidence is the coins themselves. To date, there has been no systematic examination of this large corpus of numismatic evidence on political topics, and the numismatic evidence itself is limited. Coins by themselves seldom prove anything above and beyond their material characteristics. That said, their legends may support hypotheses arrived at from other evidence. They may also suggest new avenues of inquiry. But they usually serve as additional building blocks of an argument, and seldom as the foundation.

Hana Taragan, in her article "Mamluk Patronage, Crusader *Spolia*: *Turbat al-Kubakiyya* in the Mamilla Cemetery, Jerusalem (688/1289)" discusses the modes of use of columns, gates, stones and marble sarcophagi taken by the Mamluks from Crusader shrines (generally under violent circumstances) in 13th-century *Bilād al-Shām*, and recycled or reused in their own buildings such as mosques, *madrāsas*, and *mashhads*. Spoliation, plunder or the transfer of valuable material including architectural components and treasury pieces from one culture/sphere to another to reuse them was a common practice in Late Antiquity and during the Middle Ages. They often reflected ideological, political and/or cultural messages. In the case discussed here, these plundered architectural material or *spolia* were recontextualized in the buildings of the victors, the Mamluks. They reflected a display of dominance, while concomitantly "defacing" the holy buildings (churches, shrines, etc.) of the defeated enemy.

Bethany J. Walker, in her article "The Struggle over Water: Evaluating the 'Water Culture' of Syrian Peasants under Mamluk Rule," evaluates the success and failure of the Mamluks' irrigation projects, as well as their long-term impact on villages. On the village level, conflicts over water created some of the worst tensions between local communities and Mamluk officialdom. Changes in land tenure and imperial agricultural policies, combined with political struggles within the Mamluk elite, exacerbated these troubled relations. The special conditions of administering rural lands, however, required a flexibility of governance that allowed a give-and-take in enforcing imperial projects related to agriculture. The results were unpredictable. Walker shows that village communities could modify imperial water programs in ways that had political repercussions and could transform land use and settlement. This article investigates the complex relations between state and local society as reflected in

struggles over control of local water resources—their harvesting, storage, and use. It highlights the evolving water politics in villages in two regions of southern Syria: the Jordan River Valley and the Madaba Plains of central Jordan. In both cases, the Mamluk state intervened in local agriculture through an aggressive irrigation program which interfered with local cultures of resource management. In the Jordan River Valley, this ultimately led to armed conflict, and in the Madaba Plains to the revival of traditional water harvesting and the physical restructuring of the village. The article reviews narratives from contemporary chronicles and revisits the results of archeological fieldwork in these regions, in particular an ongoing interdisciplinary water systems research project at Tall Ḥisbān, where state-sponsored renewal of ancient *qanāts* has created new agricultural regimes and markets.

Élise Franssen, in her article “What was there in a Mamluk *Amīr*’s Library? Evidence from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript,” the last paper in this section, examines a poorly known Arabic manuscript housed in the University of Liège, a religious work entitled *Manāfi’ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā wa-manāfi’ al-ism al-a’zam wa-kalām aṣ-ṣaḥāba ... wa-manāfi’ al-Qur’ān* that was copied upon the request of the Mamluk *amīr* Taghribarmish. The article addresses the question of the intellectual training of the *mamlūks*, and more specifically their religious education. In addition, it touches on the issue of biographical dictionaries and provides the full codicological analysis of the volume, which enhances our knowledge of book production in the Mamluk period.

In the last section in this collection, *Regional and Local Politics*, Reuven Amitai, in his article “Post-Crusader Acre in Light of a Mamluk Inscription and a *Fatwā* Document from Damascus,” examines the role of Acre after the Mamluk conquest in 1291. In spite of the widespread willful destruction of the coastal area by the Mamluks in the aftermath of their conquests, there is some evidence of economic activity in Acre’s environs and some minimal Mamluk presence in the city. The topic also serves as a valuable opportunity to revisit David Ayalon’s thesis on the Syrian coast, as well as conclusions drawn by other prominent scholars, such as Aziz Suryal Atiya and Eliyahu Ashtor.

In the second article in this section, Joseph Drory in his article “Favored by the Sultan, Disfavored by his Son: Some Glimpses into the Career of Ṭashtamur Ḥummuṣ Akhḍar,” examines the rise of one senior *amīr* in the Mamluk Sultanate during the fifth decade of the fourteenth century, to better understand the main machineries of power in Egypt during that period. The political history of the Mamluk Sultanate during the period following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign (died in 741/1341) has been more widely discussed by historians in recent years. The political vicissitudes of the next four decades of the fourteenth century (1340–80), although defined, perhaps rightly, as devoid

of outstanding sultans, do not lack interest and sometimes even tension. The dominant impression of a generation led by potentates who did little more than drain each other's resources by endless strife and violent struggles may not alter this view, but still provides a better window on Mamluk polity, especially in eras undistinguished by famous names. It is often stated that the overly autocratic Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad left his inheritors too feeble for a sultanate, or for effective governing. Not only were non-Mamluk political personalities ill-equipped regardless of their formal high credentials because of the unique structure of the Mamluk state, but first-generation Mamluks who usually proved far better capable of guiding the reins of power failed to survive the cruel struggles of leadership. A concise depiction of Ṭashtamur's activities can thus help understand the main power mechanism in Egypt at that time, and thus corroborate the conventional model where powerful *amīrs* replaced petty, weakly authoritative rulers. It also provides a glimpse into the political arguments and motives exploited by the ruling classes.

## Acknowledgments

I first met Amalia Levanoni while I was a graduate student at the University of Chicago in 2003 and she was on sabbatical. After graduating I joined the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa in 2007, where our paths would cross once again. Amalia was of great help to me during the difficult years every new academic must confront before getting established in the field, and made my integration a much friendlier and welcoming experience. I was thus thrilled to have the opportunity to edit this volume in honor of Amalia's retirement, even though Mamluk studies are not my specialization. This volume brings together 17 of Amalia's peers and friends who were all delighted to contribute a chapter to this project illustrating Amalia's long, innovative, and successful career as a prime mover in furthering the growing field of Mamluk studies. I want to thank each and every one of the contributors for all their patience, good will and cooperation along the way. We all wish Amalia many more years of research and innovative work.

I would like to especially thank Fruma Zachs for her excellent advice and support during the early stages of the project, when its shape had yet to be fully defined. Fruma helped put the project on track and ensure its successful completion. Esther Singer did a remarkable job of language editing this long and complicated volume and unifying the text. I am grateful to Joelle Hansel for editing the French article included in the volume. The staff of Brill, above all Teddi Dols, Kathy van Vliet, Pieter te Velde and Laylan Saadaldin were very helpful and accommodating in preparing the book for printing very rapidly and professionally, and they deserve every possible thanks.

Dr. Sarah Büssow-Schmitz did an incredible job proofing the manuscript in its final stages, by unifying the text, adding important comments and correcting mistakes. I am indebted to her for her professional and accurate work.

Finally, noteworthy financial aid for the publication of this book was obtained through the concerted efforts of the Division of Humanities and the Research Authority at the University of Haifa and I am thankful to them for making the publication of this book a reality.

## List of Figures

- 10.1 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 27b 225
- 10.2 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 28a 226
- 10.3 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 28b 227
- 10.4 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 29a 228
- 10.5 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 29b 229
- 12.1 A Damascene dinar of al-Naṣīr Faraj and a Cairene dinar of Barsbāy 247
- 12.2 A dirham struck in Damascus during the reign of Al-Ẓāhir Baybars and a dirham minted in Damascus during the reign of Barsbāy 248
- 12.3a–b A line drawing of a reconstruction of the dies used to produce a coin struck by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 685 265
- 12.4a–b A dirham minted in Damascus during the time of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn 266
- 12.5 A Damascus dirham of Saladin, dated 586 267
- 13.1 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's Arabic inscription on the façade of Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya, Jerusalem 272
- 13.2 A general view of the Kubakiyya mausoleum (*turba*), Jerusalem 274
- 13.3 Façade of the Kubakiyya mausoleum (*turba*), Jerusalem 275
- 13.4 Elbow columns of the Kubakiyya mausoleum (*turba*), Jerusalem 278
- 13.5 al-Aqsa mosque, Jerusalem Ayyubid portico with elbow columns 279
- 13.6 A drawing of Barakāt Khan mausoleum (*turba*), Jerusalem 283
- 13.7 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, southern façade 284
- 14.1 Citadel at Tall Ḥisbān, Main Gate 302
- 14.2 Interior of Covered Cistern, Front Room Facing Southeast—3-D Model 305
- 14.3 Floor Plan of Covered Cistern 306
- 14.4 Entrance to the Covered Cistern 307
- 14.5 Covered Cistern, Vaulted Chamber of Second Floor—3-D model 307
- 15.1–15.7 Folios from a Mamluk *codex*, a *majmūʿ* containing two texts, found in the collections of the University of Liège, Belgium 312, 314, 316, 318–320, 323

- 16.1 Burj al-Sulṭān (“The Tower of the Sultan”), Acre 341
- 16.2 Entrance to Burj al-Sulṭān 343
- 16.3 Mamluk inscription found *in situ* in Burj al-Sulṭān 343
- 17.1 General view of Ṭashtamur’s Mausoleum in the  
Northern Cemetery 363
- 17.2 Inscription of Ṭashtamur’s Mausoleum with his blazon 364

## Notes on Transliteration

We have closely followed Brill's transliterations guidelines, which is also the transliteration used in the Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān. The main transliteration features in Arabic, the main transliterated language used in this book, are as follows:

Consonants: ʾ, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ʿ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n,  
h, w, y

Short Vowels: a, u, i

Long Vowels: ā, ū, ī

Diphthongs: aw, ay

We have transcribed *alif maqṣūra* at the end of words as long ā.

In general, we use the term Mamluk to describe the Mamluk Sultanate, the Mamluk system in general, and Mamluk official officeholders. Occasionally, however, we use the term *mamlūk* to refer to military slaves, the act of serving as a military slave, etc.

While adhering to the guidelines, for the most part we did not transliterate or use simplified transliterations for proper names and geographic places that are common in English, for example: Cairo, Sunni and Sunnites, 'Abbasids, Shi'i, and Mamluk. The term *mamlūk* occurs when referring to the phenomenon of being part of the slave system and not to the Mamluk Sultanate.

In the footnotes we have used shortcuts but full details can be found in the final bibliography at the end of the book. Articles, for example, are written in this manner:

Lutfi, Manners and customs of fourteenth-century Cairene women.

Books, on the other hand, are written following this example:

Petry, *The criminal underworld*.

Words appearing after the word *Kitāb* in the footnotes and bibliography start with a capital letter.

## Notes on Contributors

### *Reuven Amitai*

Ph.D. (1990), Hebrew University, is Eliyahu Elath Professor of Islamic History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Among his publications are *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War 1260–1281* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate* (Ashgate, 2007); and *Holy War and Rapprochement: Studies in the Relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Ilkhanate (1260–1335)* (Brepols, 2013).

### *Frédéric Bauden*

Ph.D. (1996), is Professor of Islamic Studies (University of Liège). His research focuses on Mamluk historiography, diplomatics, and codicology. He is the editor of the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* (Leiden: Brill) and has recently completed a book on al-Maqrīzī's collection of opuscles.

### *Joseph Drory*

Ph.D. (1984), Bar Ilan University, is emeritus Professor of Medieval Islamic History at that University. His main areas of interest are Arabic geographers, the medieval history of Jerusalem, Ayyubid and Mamluk politics. He is the co-editor of *Jerusalem under the Mamluks* (Jerusalem 2012, in Hebrew).

### *Élise Franssen*

Ph.D. (2012), Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research (F.R.S.-FNRS), is Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Liège. She has published several articles in the field of Arabic manuscripts studies, especially codicology, and she is currently preparing the publication of her Ph.D. dissertation.

### *Yehoshua Frenkel*

University of Haifa, is professor of Islamic History. In recent years he has published extensively on Mamluk society and history. His current research interests embrace popular culture, social history and legal discourse and the environmental history of Egypt and Syria (1100–1700).

### *Li Guo*

Ph.D. (1994), Yale University, is Professor of Arabic at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana. He has published monographs and articles on Mamluk historiography, Arabic documents, and Egyptian popular culture. His latest book

is *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow play and popular poetry in Ibn Daniyal's Mamluk Cairo* (Brill, 2012).

*Daisuke Igarashi*

Ph.D. (2006), Chuo University (Tokyo), is Associate Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at Waseda University in Tokyo. He has published monographs and articles on Mamluk political, social, and economic history, including *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Middle East Documentation Center, U. of Chicago, 2015).

*Yaacov Lev*

Ph.D. (1978), University of Manchester, is Professor of Medieval Islamic History at Bar Ilan University, Israel. Currently, he is working on a book about the administration of justice in medieval Egypt (7th–12th centuries).

*Bernadette Martel-Thoumian*

Ph.D. (1990), is a Professor of Medieval History at the University of Grenoble-Alpes. She has published articles and books on the Mamluks including *Délinquance et ordre social. L'État mamlouk syro-égyptien face au crime à la fin du X<sup>e</sup>/XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Ausonius 2012).

*Carl F. Petry*

Hamad ibn Khalifa Al Thani Professor of Middle East Studies, Department of History, Northwestern University. His research focuses on pre-modern Egypt, with an emphasis on political economy. His publications include: *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1982), and *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society: Narratives from Cairo under the Mamluks* (Middle East Documentation Center, U. Chicago, 2012). He edited *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517 C.E.* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

*Warren C. Schultz*

Ph.D. (1995), The University of Chicago, is a Vincent de Paul Professor of History at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois. He has published several works on Mamluk numismatics, metrology, and the monetary history of Egypt and Syria.

*Boaz Shoshan*

Professor of History and Middle East Studies at Ben Gurion University of the Negev. His most recent book *The Arabic Historical Tradition and the Early*

*Islamic Conquests: Folklore, Tribal Lore, Holy War*, was published by Routledge in 2016.

*Hana Taragan*

Ph.D. (1993), Tel Aviv University, is Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture at the Department of Art History, Tel Aviv University. Her fields of research focus on the Umayyad, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in *Bilād al-Shām* as well as the art of the object in medieval Islam. She has published numerous articles and a book (in Hebrew).

*Bethany J. Walker*

Ph.D. (1998), University of Toronto, is Research Professor of Mamluk Studies at the University of Bonn. A historically trained archaeologist, she directs projects in Jordan and Israel. Her publications include monographs on Mamluk Jordan and Ottoman ceramics.

*Michael Winter*

Ph.D. (1973), UCLA, is Professor emeritus in the Department of History of the Middle East at Tel-Aviv University. His main research and publications deal with the Arab lands under the Mamluks and the Ottomans, and education and political thought in Islam.

*Koby Yosef*

Ph.D. (2011), Tel-Aviv University, is Lecturer of Islamic History in the Department of Arabic at Bar-Ilan University. He has published several articles on the Mamluk Sultanate focusing on social ties and identity.

*Limor Yungman*

Ph.D. candidate, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) Paris. Her thesis is entitled "Cookbooks in the Medieval Middle East" under the direction of Houari Touati. Her research interests include culinary history, practices, and evolution in the medieval Middle East. She wrote the "Food" entry for *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture; An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God* (ABC-CLIO, 2014).



**PART 1**

*Social and Cultural Issues*





# Already Rich? Yet ‘Greed Deranged Him’

## *Elite Status and Criminal Complicity in the Mamluk Sultanate\**

Carl F. Petry

### Introduction

The late medieval Egyptian chroniclers Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn al-‘Aynī (d. 855/1451) and Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900/1495) describe the demolition of three churches in the town of al-Ṭūr that reveals the underlying motives behind those responsible for an act that, on its face, violated precepts protecting extant places of Christian worship.<sup>1</sup> The incident occurred at the end of Dhū al-Qa‘da 849/February 1446. The reigning sultan, al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, had received petitions from local Muslim clerics who claimed the churches’ height exceeded that of a mosque minaret located nearby. Sultan Jaqmaq sent a delegation of deputy judges with a senior military officer, formally to ascertain the veracity of the clerics’ complaint.

Al-‘Aynī and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī note that one of Jaqmaq’s senior fiscal counselors, Abū al-Khayr al-Naḥḥās, whose own pious motives were suspect,<sup>2</sup> had informed his patron that the ceilings in all three churches were embedded with valuable lead. Reducing their height would necessitate their demolition and extraction of the precious metal. Its quantity was estimated to exceed 2,000 *qinṭārs*

---

\* The prominent place of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (third reign 710–41/1310–41) in the following discussion is not coincidental. This essay was composed to recognize the contributions of Professor Amalia Levanoni, whose perceptive erudition has, in large measure, focused on the multifarious career of this remarkable individual, and has gone so far to elucidate it. To what extent the preceding modest commentary has sharpened our understanding of the complexities behind transgressive activity in the medieval Islamic World is the reader’s to judge. But the commentary was presented in recognition of Professor Levanoni’s penetrating insights into this intriguing subject specifically, and to the broader field more generally.

- 1 al-‘Aynī, *Ṭqd al-jumān*, ed. al-Qarmūṭ, ii, 644, line 5; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* iv, 326, line 4: 30 Dhū al-Qa‘da 849/27 February 1446. The reference is presumably to the site in south Sinai, named for the mountain on which Moses received the Commandments.
- 2 See Behrens-Abouseif, *Craftsmen, upstarts and Sufis in the late Mamluk period 375–95*; Mortel, *The decline of Mamluk civil bureaucracy 173–88*. Al-Naḥḥās himself faced charges of apostasy when he was tried for fiscal malfeasance before a Mālikī *qāḍī* (for which he was acquitted after the intervention of a Shāfi‘ī magistrate).

(1 q. = 100 Egyptian *ratls*, at 44.93 kg/*ratl*) conservatively valued at 10,000 dinars. Al-ʿAynī asserted that when Jaqmaq was so informed, “greed deranged him” (*gharruhu al-ṭamʿ*). The sultan immediately pressed the senior *qāḍīs* of all four madhhabs to rule on the legality of demolishing the churches. When the jurists balked after convening twice, presumably over tampering with the licit status of churches standing prior to construction of an adjacent mosque, regardless of proportion, Jaqmaq pressured the Hanafi *qāḍī*, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Dayrī, to legitimate complete razing of the highest, al-Kanīsat al-Sayyida, and lowering the remaining two: al-Mārī Yūhanna and al-Kirḥ (alt. Kirkh). These procedures would require the removal of the lead.

Jaqmaq’s fiscal counselor advised him that material salvaged from Christian structures razed in consequence of violations of *sharʿa* were subject to confiscation by the State Treasury (*bayt al-māl*). Agrarian lands held in trust for the churches were similarly vulnerable and constituted a windfall for the regime if it could finesse the procedure. Jaqmaq promised the four adjutants bonuses if they conducted their investigation in accordance with his designs. Al-ʿAynī named one, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭabbānī al-Ḥanafī, as chief facilitator. He allegedly circumvented legal protocol and abrogated statutes acknowledging construction of the churches before the mosque was built, in the presence of their clerics and monks. The demolition and reductions then commenced on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijja/9 March. Al-ʿAynī and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, former magistrates themselves, disclosed the Hanafi adjutant’s annulment of the legal precept to fulfill the sultan’s ulterior objective: confiscation of a lucrative asset. While the distress experienced by the affected clerics and monks can only be surmised (since the chroniclers did not dwell on it), the sovereign’s fixation on fiscal gain emerged as his single motive. Neither author comments on any indication of pious ire on Jaqmaq’s part over the Christian effrontery expressed in structures that overshadowed their Muslim counterparts.

While al-ʿAynī and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī may have attributed Sultan Jaqmaq’s action solely to greed, they provided no context for his possible adulteration of legal principle. But it was there. Al-Zāhir Jaqmaq was fully cognizant of the financial dilemmas that confronted the Mamluk regime during the ninth / fifteenth century. Monies accruing from licit sources of revenue were no longer sufficient to meet the ever-inflating demands of his officers and troops for stipends. Keenly aware that their support was crucial to his continued tenure in office—not to mention his effective application of policy—the ruler concluded that requisite funds would be forthcoming somehow. But was open seizure a suitable means? As the supreme guardian of *sharʿa* as licit upholding of justice, Jaqmaq rarely stooped to naked expedients, preferring to concoct legal maneuvers to

achieve his ends. It was these maneuvers, and the complicity of senior jurists in their implementation, that attracted historians' notice in this and similar incidents.

The sultan's conception of the services they owed him in return for their appointments clearly focused on his expectation that they interpret the law to legitimate actions that would fulfill his fiscal requirements. Since the jurists concocted these procedures, formal responsibility for manipulation of *sharī'a* fell on them rather than on their sovereign. But al-'Aynī and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī did not attribute ultimate culpability to them, despite their detailed depictions of how the *qādīs* plotted their maneuvers. It was the sultan who had impelled them to do so, and his motive was avarice. The phrase al-'Aynī chose is revealing. The verb *gharra* literally translates "to deceive," and its use here implies that avarice drove the ruler to misinterpret the law. But both attributed greed to Jaqmaq alone: final culpability stopped with him.

This incident vividly exposes the phenomenon of complicity in transgressive acts that narrative chroniclers active during the Mamluk period unmasked as an abiding flaw in the quality of administration over which the military elite presided. This essay explores the context of complicity on the part of high-status individuals positioned to abet transgressive activity, either by personal involvement or by empowerment of those who were. The sources frequently offer nuanced statements about elite complicity in crime, as a means to convey their broader goal of indicting those charged with curbing criminality and safeguarding their subjects' assets. The essay considers several incidents from other categories of malfeasance that illustrate this indirect, "veiled" criticism.

### **Alleged Connivance with Non-Muslims**

Imputation of persons at the apex of the ruling hierarchy was not restricted to manipulation of *sharī'a* for avarice. Alleged connivance with non-Muslims that compromised the hegemonic status of Islam provoked more incendiary reactions. The eminent historian Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) discusses an event that occurred more than a century earlier in which Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, regarded as an architect of the mature Mamluk state, reacted explosively to charges of unduly abetting Christian worship and promoting the advancement of Coptic converts to key positions in the fiscal bureaucracy. The furor in this case initially erupted over claims by a vocal critic of Christian preferment generally, who complained that clerics at

the Hanging Church (al-Mu‘allaqa) in Old Cairo had borrowed candles from the Ibn al-‘Āṣ Mosque nearby.<sup>3</sup>

A *shaykh*, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Wārith al-Bakrī, found this seemingly trivial act of generosity repugnant, and led a mob to the church to reclaim the candles (with the ulterior threat of disrupting services). When the church clerics asserted that the mosque’s *khaṭīb* had provided them, Shaykh al-Bakrī threatened him physically. The *khaṭīb* informed the army intendant (*nāẓir al-jaysh*) that he had loaned out the candles only at the request of a convert official in al-Nāṣir Muhammad’s service. Shaykh al-Bakrī then led his mob to the citadel to demand an audience with the sultan, who agreed to hear him in the presence of the senior *qāḍīs*.

The session quickly became heated. Shaykh al-Bakrī recited Quran verses and Prophetic Hadiths confirming innate Christian treachery and a latent desire for restored hegemony over Islam. He audaciously accosted al-Nāṣir personally, asserting that the sovereign had sullied his government by appointing Coptic converts to high positions in preference over qualified “legitimate” Muslims. The *shaykh* inferred that al-Nāṣir had done so to extract revenues he was squandering on “structures and rash applications that are not permissible” (*wa-‘aḍa‘ta amwāl al-muslimīn fī l-‘amā’ir wa-l-iṭlāqāt allatī lā tajūz*).

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was enraged and confronted al-Bakrī as to whether he was branding him a tyrant (*jā’ir*). When al-Bakrī replied in the affirmative, al-Nāṣir seized a sword (presumably from one of the *amīrs* in attendance) and moved to strike his detractor. After an *amīr* stayed his hand, al-Nāṣir turned to one of the *qāḍīs* and queried him about the *shaykh*’s accusation.

This incident revealed undercurrents of latent opposition at this juncture when the *qāḍī* responded that al-Bakrī had said “nothing for which he merits repudiation, nor anything for which he is accountable. He transmitted a sound Hadith.” At this, al-Nāṣir ordered the *qāḍī* out of the hall, and then demanded the opinions of those remaining. The chief Shāfi‘ī *qāḍī* stated that “God the All-High commanded Moses and Aaron, when he sent them to confront Pharaoh (a thinly disguised jab at al-Nāṣir) to speak moderately. Perhaps he (Pharaoh) would heed them and be afraid. He (al-Bakrī) has indeed affronted you, yet nothing remains save our Lord the sultan’s mercy.” At this admonition, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad again lost his composure and rose to assault al-Bakrī. Upon being restrained by the *amīrs* a second time, the sultan ordered al-Bakrī’s tongue cut out. He was conveyed to the citadel square to suffer the mutilation publicly (tongue-cutting symbolizing physical excision of the organ that had demeaned a sovereign in his subjects’ presence). But the *amīr* who had stayed al-Nāṣir’s

3 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 135: 15 Muḥarram 714/1 May 1314.

hand now urged al-Bakrī to call on Divine aid. Al-Bakrī shouted repeatedly “I am near God’s Messenger!” The other *amīrs* relented and returned to al-Nāṣir, whom they persuaded to forebear and send al-Bakrī into exile.

Al-Maqrīzī’s rendition of this event that took place more than a century before his time (and therefore known to the historian through previous transmitters), but replete with quoted insults and recriminations, bespeaks its notoriety and complexity. Shaykh al-Bakrī’s insolence, while undisguised, did not elicit condemnation from either the attending magistrates or officers. The magistrates confirmed the validity of al-Bakrī’s Hadiths and thus indirectly endorsed his denunciation of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s alleged preference for Coptic converts. It was the *amīrs*’ intercession that finally dissuaded al-Nāṣir from inflicting the mutilation which symbolically removed the instrument of insult. He remitted al-Bakrī’s sentence to exile, a penalty that left open the possibility of return after a cooling-off period. Al-Nāṣir could not risk angering the officers on whose support his own security relied. The impression conveyed by al-Maqrīzī’s rendition of this affair was the ambivalence shared by the jurists and *amīrs* (and possibly the historian?) over their sovereign’s penchant for placing converts in high fiscal offices at the expense of ‘bona fide’ Muslims.

The actual incident that provoked this confrontation became almost incidental to the more serious implication of malfeasance and sectarian preference on the ruler’s part that erupted during the audience. The church clerics who had borrowed the candles were apparently let off when they extricated themselves by placing responsibility on one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s convert appointees.

The chroniclers’ depictions of complicity by militarists with convert Muslims were not restricted to a sovereign conniving with fiscal bureaucrats. Three historians commented on an incident that is intriguing because of the apparent empathy of a district governor and *iqṭāʿ* holder with local converts who had allegedly abused Muslim clerics in a town under his jurisdiction. The incident occurred during the early years of Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq’s reign in Birmā, a village in the Delta province of Gharbiyya with a substantial Christian population. It was included in the fief or *iqṭāʿ* of the Amīr Jarkas al-Khalilī.<sup>4</sup> Several convert Muslims described as fullers (*mubayyiḍī*) were reveling during a Christian wedding celebration marked by miming, singing and copious consumption of alcohol. Late in the evening, the revelers, heavily intoxicated, noticed a *muʾadhdhin* climbing the minaret of the village mosque to call night

4 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 492, line 1; 493, line 8; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥabashī, i, 273, line 15; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat* i, 67, line 7; Ṣafar-Jumādā I 785/April–June 1383.

prayer. They allegedly dragged him down and beat him almost to death. When the mosque *khaṭīb* attempted to intervene, they trammelled him as well.

The *khaṭīb* led a delegation to complain about the converts' abuse before the viceroy (*nā'ib al-sultān*) Sūdūn in Cairo. The viceroy demurred, referring them to the *muqta'* Jarkas himself. The latter rudely dismissed the *khaṭīb*'s complaint and threatened to jail the entire delegation (his action possibly linked to delayed rent payments owed to his *iqṭā'*). When al-Khalilī's imprisonment of the *khaṭīb* and his entourage came to the notice of prominent *'ulamā'*, they brought the affair to Sultan Barqūq's attention. Barqūq summoned al-Khalilī, compelled his release of the delegates, and sent his own chamberlain (*ḥājib*) to investigate the allegations of abuse by the converts on site in Birmā.

When the chamberlain confirmed their veracity and conveyed the fullers back to Cairo, Sultan Barqūq put them on trial before the Mālikī *qāḍī*. The *qāḍī* ruled the converts' conduct to be apostasy (*zandaqa*), and sentenced them to decapitation. The historians Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 853/1449) and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī observed that their death sentences did not go unchallenged by the jurists who had witnessed the case. Dissension was acrimonious among the Mālikīs, one of whom asserted that the presiding judge had overstepped constraints on capital punishment upheld by his own *madhhab*. Nonetheless, the fullers' executions were carried out.

But Jarkas, the *muqta'* who had dismissed the *khaṭīb*'s complaint, suffered no penalty, apparently, and was permitted to retain his fief. His own death soon after, from an infected abscess in his leg, resulted from stress aggravated by loss due to a fire in the sugar mill that he owned. While the historians noted popular rumors that al-Khalilī's painful end represented divine retribution for reprehensible conduct, no legal sanction was imposed on him.

The chroniclers' depictions of this case were rife with implicit complicity nonetheless. The *muqta'* Jarkas al-Khalilī collected rents from a village divided demographically between Christians and Muslims. Their detailed descriptions of Christian merrymaking after the wedding, exacerbated by alcohol use, signaled an undercurrent of latent tensions between the two communities that likely predated the incident itself. The converts' alleged assault on the *mu'adhdhin* while he was performing his religious duties lent credence to the charge of apostasy leveled against them by the Mālikī *qāḍī* in Cairo.

What stands out in this case was the *muqta'* Jarkas's abuse of the *khaṭīb* and his delegation. Despite his own status as a Muslim, Jarkas's sympathies seemingly lay with the converts, however criminal their behavior toward the *mu'adhdhin* may have been. Described only as fullers, the converts went otherwise unnamed in the chroniclers' accounts. Presumably identified during the trial, their paths to conversion went undiscussed in the surviving narratives.

But their status as converts remains significant, since it may have been linked to the covert roles they played in support of the *muqta*'s fiduciary extractions from Muslims in the village, and the *amūr*'s disinclination to prosecute them for their assaults on bona fide Muslim clerics.

The case also merits consideration in light of Sultan Barqūq's shrewdly cultivated stance as a stalwart defender of orthodox Sunni belief, as defined by the judicial and clerical establishments. Barqūq, who presided over the carnage among competing factions that resulted from the transfer of power to the Circassian cadres who had backed him, assiduously sought to keep the *'ulamā*' in his camp throughout the infighting. The Birmā incident reveals a minute glimpse into his larger strategy.

### Alcohol and Abusive Behavior

Intoxication aggravated the abusive behavior reported in the preceding incident. Use of alcohol was prohibited for Muslims, formally without qualification and was defined as an offense against *sharī'a* of the first rank. Yet alcohol and inebriation emerged as vices ubiquitous among Muslim elites and commons alike. The chroniclers' numerous depictions implied the impossibility of eliminating the consumption of alcohol from society. Its licit production among the Christian and Jewish communities alone assured access to alcohol among Muslims who wished to acquire it.

Because members of the ruling caste were seen as particularly susceptible to this vice, their involvement as both perpetrators and victims figured prominently in the historians' discourse. While intoxication might rank as an offense against religion, the extent of its appeal made its profitability irresistible. These factors converged in the chroniclers' descriptions.

A case of illicit wine selling sanctioned by the reigning sultan (once again, the avaricious al-Nāṣir Muḥammad) taken up by an alienated viceroy whom the chroniclers regarded as a zealous interloper, to stymie a host of vices abetted by the sovereign, stands out as one of the most vivid examples of elite complicity with crime reported by the narrative sources. The details of this incident are well known, and have been considered elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> A summary of issues germane to this discussion suffices here. The historians al-Maqrīzī and Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Taghrī Birdī dwell at length on

5 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 88, line 5: 25 Šafar 743/30 July 1342; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 640, line 12: Muḥarram 744/May–June 1343; 646, line 15: 4 Rabī' 1 744/27 July 1343; Petry, *The criminal underworld* 126–8.

Viceroy Āl Malik's confrontation of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad over the latter's tacit (but lucrative) endorsement of wine selling by his Armenian clients in the Storehouse of Banners (*khizānat al-bunūd*), a structure dating to the Fatimid period. Now notorious as a haven for drunkards and prostitutes, the *khizāna* was an embarrassment to devout believers like Āl Malik since Mamluk troops figured prominently among its clientele.

When Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad brusquely dismissed the viceroy's complaints, Āl Malik retired from active duty until his superior's death. But when two of al-Nāṣir's sons and successors recalled him to the viceroyship, Āl Malik ordered the *khizāna* razed, the Armenians dispersed, and similar "corrupting" activities in the Citadel precincts terminated. The viceroy then presided over a wholesale assault on graft and vice throughout the city—as he interpreted them. Trade fairs on Jazīra Island in the Nile were closed down, due to allegations of inappropriate comingling of the sexes. The issuance of court briefs by notaries who ruled in favor of plaintiffs for fees prior to initial hearings before a *qāḍī* was prohibited.

Āl Malik abolished animal fighting, fortune telling, wrestling, swordplay, and gambling—putting out of business the agents who charged gamblers special tariffs in lieu of permits. A fixer in the former monarch's service who had pocketed bribes from run-away chattel slaves for paying him to ignore their former owners' demands of restitution was dismissed (the fixer had shared the bribes with the sultan). Āl Malik went so far as to repeal edicts issued during the previous reign by officials in Syria that allegedly bore forged signatures of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's sons (apparently not those who had recalled the viceroy). The viceroy regarded these as licenses to extort funds from the civil populace under the guise of enforcing lapsed statutes. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī enumerated this lengthy list of prohibitions to underscore Amīr Āl Malik's revulsion over al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's covert agenda to raise revenues from illicit sources. We must thus weigh possible motives of both the sultan and his alienated viceroy in the broader context of complicity.

The vices described in this incident aroused the former viceroy's umbrage in part because of the masses' addiction to them. Muslims and non-Muslims alike craved them and would not do without them. Yet despite their ubiquity, they were formally illegal and required unofficial sanction to facilitate their operation. Such sanction of course came at a price—a lucrative return to those offering protection. The issue of complicity thus turns on whether the sovereign, committed to a costly agenda of loyalty purchased from powerful subordinates that secured his tenure (of acute concern due to his two previous depositions), and edifice construction that glorified his regime, was truly violating

*sharī'a*, or pragmatically profiting from graft and vice that were irrepressible in any case.

If al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was guilty of complicity—which the historians made him out to be—should his behavior be regarded as transgressive or even criminal? The sultan's immediate objective was obviously fiscal gain. But al-Nāṣir also showed himself genuinely astute in practical politics by validating activities desired by a substantial percentage of his subjects, however illicit under *sharī'a*. In this light, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad provided services appreciated by many, and enhanced his popular support from those who traded in these vices.

Al-Nāṣir's disaffected viceroy, who opposed his previous sovereign's program with a vengeance, leaves a more enigmatic impression: his motives are more problematic to unravel. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī clearly depicted (and possibly admired) Āl Malik as a devout believer profoundly offended by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's exploitation of graft and vice for gain. Yet they also noted that al-Nāṣir's sons and successors, whose relationship with their powerful father varied from subservience to ambivalence, restored Āl Malik to the viceroyship and granted him a free hand to dismantle their parent's profitable apparatus of fee collecting for vice protection. The historians did not comment, at least in this instance, on the sons' own possible motives. Nor did they elaborate on how Āl Malik may have reshaped the contours of these programs.

What personal scores, on the sons' behalf, did the restored viceroy help them settle? The historians do not inform us about possible paybacks for past grudges or slights, the dispersal of cadres loyal to their father's legacy, or the appointment of their own partisans to posts of lucrative fee collection that likely accompanied Āl Malik's sacking of their predecessors from the former reign. Logs of graft and vice in Cairo during subsequent reigns do not reveal a significant diminution of these activities.

Nor can we determine whether Āl Malik himself felt cheated by his former sovereign's decision to deny his own access to such lucrative revenues. To be sure, the sources contradict such an impression. They depict Āl Malik as a pious believer and committed reformer, immune to graft and incorruptibly opposed to illicit fiduciary gain. But would these sources readily acknowledge some degree of shared culpability on Āl Malik's part, if by so doing their underlying critical stance towards elite complicity in malfeasance would be compromised? If convinced that ultimate responsibility lay with the monarch, were they inclined to acknowledge accomplices even among his enemies? Once again, from the surviving record, this question eludes definitive resolution.

### Criminal Complicity Extended to Judicial Proceedings

The chroniclers' disclosure of criminal complicity extended to judicial proceedings, ideally resistant to corruption but in practice highly vulnerable to it—especially during the later Mamluk period. The historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī, who was familiar with interference in civil litigation by militarists because of personal connections to accomplices, concluded his summation of the year 861/ ca. November 1457 with a statement about strong-arm tactics they applied from this time.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Taghrī Birdī asserts that the year closed with a weakening of the authority of Egypt's judges. Those who brought suit against their peers among the "respected" classes (*al-nās*) first contacted a Mamluk soldier to intimidate their opponent, thus bypassing the judiciary which was formally mandated with resolving such cases. If the adversary refused to yield the sum demanded by the soldier on his client's behalf, the soldier applied physical abuse to force payment. All of this was done without judicial oversight. Ibn Taghrī Birdī goes on to highlight the consequences of this intimidation. Claimants with reason to suspect the licitness of their suits took their cases to Mamluk interlocutors straight away, with the expectation that the latter would produce a favorable outcome—for a negotiated settlement.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī laments the decline in status of the civil judiciary stemming from such strong-arming. He attributes it pointedly to Sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl's reign, an interval of passive irresponsiveness by a ruler unwilling—or incapable—of reining in his soldiers' profiteering. Ibn Taghrī Birdī regarded this development as the beginning of an irreversible decline in the effectiveness of the judiciary as an autonomous institution, which no longer served as the tribunal of first resort on behalf of litigants. With their loss of confidence, and reliance on agents tied to the military class for positive outcomes, Ibn Taghrī Birdī believed that the civil judiciary, in theory esteemed as the incorruptible intermediary between the civilian masses and their elite oppressors, was permanently discredited. Whether the vehemence of Ibn Taghrī Birdī's castigation is borne out by verifiable evidence can be debated.<sup>7</sup> But his indictment of militarists as complicit in the corruption of civil litigation during the late sultanate is credible.

Brigandage and theft, crimes of primary rank as confirmed by scripture, attracted the chroniclers' attention in part because of the implicit dilemma they

6 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Popper viii, 307, line 22; Petry, *The criminal underworld* 34.

7 Irwin, *The privatization of 'justice'* 61–70.

posed for the ruling authorities. The authorities pledged to uphold the law and provide security for their subjects were perforce dependent on subordinates who sporadically perpetrated these crimes themselves, or abetted those who did. Even if groups closely tied to the ruling establishment were complicit in brigandage and theft, the regime was bound to make a show of reprisal. If such “cardinal” crimes went unpunished, the authorities’ own security was jeopardized—as was their credibility as guardians of the realm. The rigor of reprisals thus varied according to the stations of both perpetrators and victims.

Civilians who, either as individuals or members of gangs, robbed markets or homes of their peers were pursued vigorously or slackly according to the magnitude of losses incurred. If militarists plundered estates of their patrons’ rivals, they posed a palpable menace to senior officers and the sovereign himself if their predation was prosecuted too zealously. The relative immunity of line soldiers who engaged in brigandage represented an insoluble quandary for the regime that began before the founding of the Mamluk Sultanate, and would continue after its demise. Although Mamluk recruits, whose training made them skilled predators, inflicted significant damage on their superiors, they remained vital to the regime’s hegemony and its capacity to defend its borders from foreign invaders. The latent potential for banditry on their part persisted as a threat the regime had to tolerate as a fact of *realpolitik*.<sup>8</sup>

---

8 The quandary of regime dependence on soldiers who engaged in brigandage did not diminish the lucrative prospects of mutual profit. Gain as a motive for power among elites generally has been widely observed in other medieval societies. In both the Mamluk Sultanate and Plantagenet England, for example, individuals or groups who effectively monopolized the institutions of law enforcement created numerous devices to make money from them illicitly. At the summit of society, rulers extracted large portions of forfeited assets by controlling their respective judicial systems (for the situation in Britain, see Hanawalt, *Crime and conflict* 62, 142–3). Influential people in subordinate positions mimicked their behavior, pressuring those most vulnerable in their particular jurisdictions to turn over a portion of the assets stolen from them in return for prosecution of their predators. Historians of the Mamluk Sultanate were similarly disposed to denounce abuse by the elites of their enforcement agencies, depicting their tactics in terms often used by *shari’a* jurists to condemn banditry outright.

Yet inference by chroniclers of overt complicity in brigandage or theft by individuals at the summit of Egypt’s ruling classes was less distinct than in Plantagenet England. Hanawalt discerned rampant, overt involvement by England’s nobility in profitable banditry (*Crime and conflict* 206–21). Their open rivalry to the monarch as opponents of royal justice was undisguised. In the Mamluk Sultanate the context of lawful authority was different. No nobility as a formal estate distinct from the ruling authority existed in a legal sense. The Mamluk hierarchy culminated in the office of sultan, who emerged from his subordinates’ ranks. Rivalry with the sultan was ubiquitous, to be sure, but no legal distinction separated the ruler,

## Monetary Speculation and Debasement of Coinage

A specialized dimension of elite complicity can be discerned in the murky context of monetary speculation and debasement of coinage. The potential destabilization of the economy was counterbalanced by lucrative opportunities for profit. And once again, the multifarious involvement of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was evident. The historian al-Maqrīzī discusses a case of weight reduction and debasement that occurred during the sultan's third reign.<sup>9</sup> The ratio of copper coins (*fulūs*) to a silver *dirham* had, by long-standing policy, been set at forty-eight to one in Cairo and Damascus. Counterfeiters (*zaḡhaliyya*) in the Syrian capital covertly introduced a lightened specimen crafted to resemble a Damascene copper coin known as a *qartās*<sup>10</sup> that already circulated in Cairo at a value equal to that of a standard regime issue. As the quantity of *fulūs* traded in Cairo increased, and the counterfeit specimens came to outnumber official coins, commodity prices inflated dramatically. The prefect (*wālī*) of police fixed blame initially on merchants, grocers and grain dealers. They protested their innocence by shutting down their markets until the government clarified exchange rates between the competing issues. Only then were the authorities alerted to the potential for destabilization and panic.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had been touring provinces in Upper Egypt, and was unaware of the crisis until the *wālī* informed him when he returned to Giza. When warned that all copper coinage in circulation—licit or debased—was now widely rejected by the commercial establishment, the sultan immediately held accountable several of his senior officers, whose stewards he suspected of complicity with the counterfeiters. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad compelled the officers to reopen their granaries (which they had closed to hoard grain stocks until prices climbed even further) and sell wheat stocks at whatever currency purchasers of all stations had on hand to relieve a bread shortage.

Al-Nāṣir then ordered a massive issuance of copper coins at the official ratio of forty-eight to one (al-Maqrīzī claimed that 80,000 *ratls* of coins were struck)

---

as supreme law enforcer and guardian of the realm, from his potential rivals. Although he relied on them to fulfill these formal duties, all might potentially seek to supplant him. In the Mamluk case, therefore, elite complicity with brigandage or theft, crimes without mitigating circumstances according to *sharīʿa*, was described more obliquely than in Plantagenet England with less explicit indictment of individual offenders. The chroniclers' discourse often hinted at elite collusion with brigandage, but exposed fewer high-status perpetrators by name.

9 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 205, line 10: Rabīʿ 11 720/May-June 1320.

10 Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* ii, 339.

to restore public confidence and alleviate the emergency. Al-Maqrīzī reported some reduction of alarm, but claimed that fraud and elite complicity continued, obviating a return to the original ratio. Al-Maqrīzī attributed the steady erosion in value of coinage that lasted for the sultanate's duration and beyond to this incident. Complicity exacted a heavy cost.

### Conclusion

The preceding episodes, culled from a larger store of kindred incidents reported in chronicle narratives composed during the Mamluk period, reveal a pattern of elite complicity in transgressive, if not explicitly criminal, activity that appeared consistently throughout the sultanate's trajectory. The chroniclers' reference to Sultan Jaqmaq's "derangement" when alerted to the prospect of lucrative gain by manipulating legal process to confiscate a valuable resource paralleled other instances when avarice motivated similar interference by people positioned to assert their influence, overtly or clandestinely. The prospect of profit linked these incidents to a common motive.

Yet one must interrogate the particulars of these incidents to ascertain whether greed applied simplistically to them all in the same way. A tension between blatant pecuniary desire and keen political acuity can be discerned in these narratives. Both sultans—al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during the regime's so-called ascendant period, and al-Zāhir Jaqmaq during its alleged recession later on—showed themselves adept at gauging popular sentiment and exploiting it for aggrandizement of their personal stature along with opportunistic grasping at profit. Both proved themselves skilled at coopting subordinates, civil or military, whose services were essential to the realization of their designs. Their cognizance of these subordinates' complicity in transgressive acts in pursuit of their own fortunes thus complicates this consideration of mutual involvement and culpability.

# Usages of Kinship Terminology during the Mamluk Sultanate and the Notion of the ‘*Mamlūk* Family’

*Koby Yosef*

## Introduction

Inspired by the work of David Ayalon, most students of Mamluk politics and society have tended to focus on *mamlūk* ties such as the relationship between a master and his *mamlūks*, or the connections among *mamlūks* of the same household serving the same master (*khushdāshīyya*), and underestimated the role of non-*mamlūk* elements in Mamluk politics and society, and the importance of non-*mamlūk* relationships such as blood ties and marital ties.<sup>1</sup> Although not uncontested, Ayalon’s notion of a ‘one generation nobility’ is still very persuasive, and the Mamluk Sultanate is still sometimes perceived as a political entity dominated by a non-hereditary principle in which any influence of non-*mamlūk* elements “was the result of the breaking of some ‘basic law’.”<sup>2</sup>

Amalia Levanoni was one of the first specialists to challenge the perception of the Sultanate’s ruling elite as exclusively, or almost exclusively, *mamlūk*. In her *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–41)*, published in 1995, she drew attention to the role of marital ties and non-*mamlūk* elements including the *mamlūks*’ descendants (*awlād al-nās*) and *mamlūks*’ relatives, in Mamluk politics and society during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn’s third reign (709–41/1310–41).<sup>3</sup> In her “*Awlād al-Nās in the Mamluk Army during the Baḥrī Period*,” published in 2006, Levanoni further explored the position of *mamlūks*’ descendants during the Turkish period of the Sultanate (648–784/1250–1382), and showed that even in the early Turkish period (648–709/1250–1310) *mamlūks*’ descendants at times held high-ranking military positions.<sup>4</sup> In the last three decades, students of the Mamluk Sultanate have gradually come to acknowledge the role played in Mamluk

1 See for example Northrup, *The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate* 256–9; see also *ibid.*, 243, 245, 263.

2 Richards, *Mamluk amirs* 32; see also Fuess, *Mamluk politics* 95–6.

3 Levanoni, *A turning point* 34–72.

4 *Idem*, *Awlād al-nās* 96–105.

politics and society by *mamlūks*' descendants and *mamlūks*' relatives, and the importance of marital ties in consolidating networks of dependencies and loyalties between sultans and their *amīrs*, and in transferring status, privileges, and property, thus challenging Ayalon's notion of a 'one generation nobility' and the exclusive nature of the Sultanate's ruling elite.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, Ayalon's notion of the '*mamlūk* family' has received less attention and has been less contested. According to Ayalon, the *mamlūk*'s period of enslavement determined his affiliations for life; therefore, the structure of Mamluk society was based on what he called the '*mamlūk* family' or 'slave family.' This was not a family based on blood relations but on relations of slavery and patronship. The patron and the comrades in servitude formed the family of the *mamlūk*. The patron and his freedmen developed relations very similar to those of a biological family, and the terminology marking the relations among them was identical to biological family terminology.<sup>6</sup>

Some scholars have argued that the concept of *khushdāshiyya*; i.e., the horizontal bond of loyalty between the *mamlūks* of one master, was at most a "moral ideal, which never actually managed to defeat individual interests" rather than "a historical reality,"<sup>7</sup> and have emphasized the materialistic nature of the relationship between a master and his *mamlūks* (i.e. patron-client ties).<sup>8</sup> Nasser Rabbat even suggested that:

[T]he relevance of these presumed relational structures in accounting for the shifting loyalties of the Mamluks after their manumission is at best mixed and often disappointing....[T]he number of incidents reported by the chroniclers in which a *khushdāsh* came to the assistance of his

5 Haarmann, *The sons of Mamluks* 141–68 (esp. 142); idem, *Joseph's law* 55–84; Petry, *A paradox of patronage* 199–203; idem, *Class solidarity versus gender gain* 122–6; Richards, *Mamluk amirs* 32–54; Behrens-Abouseif, *Waqf*'s remuneration 55–67; Van Steenbergen, *Mamluk elite* 192–4; idem, *Order out of chaos* 76–85; Bauden, *The sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad* 78–9; Yosef, *Ethnic groups*; idem, *Mamluks and their relatives* 55–69; Broadbridge, *Sending home* 1–18; D'hulster and Van Steenbergen, *Family matters* 61–82; Sievert, *Family* 81–103.

6 Ayalon, *Mamlūk: Military slavery* 14–5; idem, *Mamlūk military aristocracy* 206–7; idem, *Mamlūkiyyāt* 327–8; idem, *Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks* 42–3.

7 Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos* 86; and see also Sievert, *Family* 93.

8 Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos* 57–75; Sievert, *Family* 101–2; Irwin, *Factions in Medieval Egypt* 237. However, Van Steenbergen emphasizes that the *mamlūks* of a master should be considered as more than mere calculating clients. See Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos* 88–9.

*khushdāsh* or an *ustādh* was unquestionably backed by his Mamluks are only exceeded by the incidents in which the exact opposite occurred.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, the relationships between a master and his *mamlūks* and among the *khushdāshīyya* are often described as ‘fictive kinship’ ties (or ‘pseudo-kinship’ ties),<sup>10</sup> and a master and all his *mamlūks* are sometimes referred to as a ‘Mamluk family’ without qualifying.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, there is a tendency to view usages of kinship terms in Mamluk sources with regard to *mamlūks* as related to the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ and fictive kinship.<sup>12</sup>

In fact, an examination of usages of kinship or family terminology is a typical starting point for inquiry into constructed social structures.<sup>13</sup> Ayalon’s most elaborate statement regarding the terminology employed in describing the relationships among members of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ can be found in his “Mamlūk Military Aristocracy: A Non-hereditary Nobility” published in 1987. There Ayalon wrote that “the relations between the Mamlūk and his colleagues in servitude and manumission under the same patron were similar to the ones which are common among brothers. And, indeed, a considerable part of the terminology marking those relations is identical with the family terminology: ‘son’ (*walad* or *ibn*), ‘father’ (*wālid* or *ab*), ‘brother’ and ‘brothers’ (*akh*, *ikhwa*).” Ayalon added that when he refers to the “family” of a *mamlūk* he does not mean only his “father” and “brothers,” but also “the ‘sons’ (i.e. the Mamlūks) of the selfsame Mamlūk, as well as his ‘uncles’ (i.e. the colleagues in servitude and manumission of his patron, in case that patron had been a Mamlūk), and sometimes even his ‘grandfather’ (i.e. his patron’s patron).”<sup>14</sup> According to Ayalon’s latest statement on the subject in his “Mamlūk: Military Slavery in Egypt and Syria” published in 1994, “[t]he patron and his freedmen developed relations very similar to those of a family. He was considered to be their father (*wālid*), and they his sons (*awlād*, sing. *walad*), and the freedmen regarded each other as brothers (*ikhwa*, sing. *akh*).”<sup>15</sup> He does not refer there to “uncles” and “grandfather,” but adds the special relations between “senior and junior

9 Rabbat, The changing concept of *Mamlūk* 95.

10 See, for example, Van Steenberg, *Order out of chaos* 78, 86, 89; Marmon, Domestic slavery 18–9.

11 See, for example, Conermann and Saghbini, *Awlād al-nās* as founders 22.

12 See, for example, Van Steenberg, *Order out of chaos* 87–8, 114; Little, Notes on Aitamiš 395–6; Sievert, *Der Herrscherwechsel in Mamlukensultanat* 114.

13 See, for example, Moxnes, What is a family 16–8; Busch, Over the bounding domains 415.

14 Ayalon, Mamlūk military aristocracy 206–7. This view was later summarized in Ayalon, Bahri Mamlūks, Burji Mamlūks 42–3.

15 Idem, Mamlūk: Military slavery 14.

brothers" (*aghawāt*, sing. *aghā*, and *iniyyāt*, sing. *inī*).<sup>16</sup> One gets the impression that according to Ayalon, during the Mamluk Sultanate, an elaborate family terminology was used with regard to members of the 'mamlūk family'; however, one has to go to Ayalon's "Studies in al-Jabartī" published in 1960 to realize that perhaps this was not the case. There Ayalon writes that the terms *wālid* (father), *walad* (son), *amm* (uncle), and *jadd* (grandfather) are not mentioned by Mamluk historians in connection with *mamlūk* relations.<sup>17</sup>

Be that as it may, it is Ayalon's later and more elaborate statements that have had a great influence on students of the Mamluk Sultanate and on the notion of the 'mamlūk family.' After Ayalon there have been no systematic examinations of the terminology relating to *mamlūk* relations and its implications regarding the notion of the 'mamlūk family.' Henning Sievert's recent and excellent study on social ties in the Mamluk Sultanate "Family, Friend, or Foe? Factions, Households, and Interpersonal Relationships in Mamluk Egypt and Syria" is a case in point. On the one hand, Sievert emphasizes that "artificial kinship" did not replace "genealogical kinship" but rather coexisted with it and both mattered, that only a small part of the master's *mamlūks* became part of his family, and that family terms were sometimes applied only metaphorically.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, he accepts without re-examination the opinion that the relationship between a master and his *mamlūks* was often expressed in family terminology which implies that manumission "quite literally created a new relative," and reflects the creation of "artificial kinship ties" which could become almost indistinguishable from "genealogical kinship," and the creation of a "fictitious family" with the master in its head as a "pseudo-father."<sup>19</sup> He also argues that "creating kin by de-facto adopting slaves ... belonged to the main characteristics of Mamluk society,"<sup>20</sup> and even suggests that "slave kinship" may have even entitled *mamlūk* kin to inheritance.<sup>21</sup>

It would be useful at this point to differentiate between two basic kinds of usages of family terminology that appear in Mamluk sources in connection with relationships involving *mamlūks*. The first, that can be called external, covers usages employed by Mamluk historians when they themselves refer

---

16 Ibid.

17 Idem, Studies in al-Jabartī 290. For the use of these terms in connection with *mamlūk* relationships during the Ottoman period in Egypt, see *ibid.*, 285–90; Fay, Women and *waqf* 44–5.

18 Sievert, Family 90–1, 102–3.

19 *Ibid.*, 89–90 (esp. footnote no. 47).

20 *Ibid.*, 97.

21 *Ibid.*, 90 (footnote no. 56).

to *mamlūks*' relationships in the course of their historical narrative. The second kind is usages of family terminology in connection with *mamlūk* relationships reported to have been employed (normally by *mamlūks*) in oral and written communication that are typically presented in Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries in the form of (ostensible) dialogues and correspondence.<sup>22</sup> Whereas the first kind is restricted by definition to terms of reference, the second includes both terms of reference and forms of address. The first kind of usage has more to tell about constructed kinship structures, and the second is more likely to be metaphorical or rhetorical.<sup>23</sup> In between these two kinds of usages, closer to the external references of historians, are sayings of historians that *mamlūk* X was known as the son of Y, the brother of Y etc., or that *mamlūk* X was like a son of Y, etc. In between but closer to usages of family terminology in dialogues and correspondence are sayings of Mamluk historians that X used to call Y "my father," "my brother," "my son," etc. Perhaps when Ayalon noted that the terms *wālid* (father), *walad* (son), 'amm (uncle), and *jadd* (grandfather) are not mentioned by Mamluk historians in connection with *mamlūk* relationships, he was referring to external usages of family terminology made by Mamluk historians. Such usages are indeed rare enough and they are almost entirely limited to the 'brothers' terminology.<sup>24</sup> More common are usages of family terminology in oral and written communication that involve *mamlūks*. In fact, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, who argued that the *mamlūks* did not understand "the true meaning of family" since their social relationships were based on *mamlūk* ties, based his claim that the relationship between a master and his slaves was like the relationship between a father and his sons on a few cases of usages of 'father-son' terminology with respect to master-slave in oral and written communication.<sup>25</sup>

22 I use 'dialogues' and 'correspondence' here purely for the sake of convenience. At times, the content and wording of oral communication are paraphrased and a dialogue is only implied; see a detailed discussion in section 2.1.3 below, and see also section 2.2 below.

23 Linguists who have researched forms of address have come to the conclusion that "the social meaning of a word when used as an address does not necessarily have a close connection to that word's literal meaning." See Dickey, *Forms of address* 255–7. Because usages of kinship terms in dialogues and correspondence in the Mamluk context tend to be metaphorical, whether they are forms of address or terms of reference, for the purposes of this chapter I differentiate between them and external references made by historians, and not between forms of address and terms of reference.

24 Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 335–62; idem, *Masters and slaves* 578.

25 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Alāqāt al-usriyya* 155–61; and see discussion in sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.5 below.

Of course, as has been often noted in different contexts, in pre-modern societies there was a common tendency to wrap nonkin associations in kin terminology. All human contacts tended to appear in the garb of kinship terms.<sup>26</sup> It is, however, almost only with respect to *mamlūks* and, more specifically, the Mamluk Sultanate, that usages of kinship terminology have led scholars to construct a notion of a ‘*mamlūk family*’ and thus diminish the importance of non-*mamlūk* ties. Hence it is only appropriate to reexamine usages of kinship terminology in the Mamluk Sultanate, and reevaluate the notion of the ‘*mamlūk family*.’ Since I have dealt elsewhere with external references by Mamluk historians to a master and his slaves as ‘father’ and ‘sons’ and to *khushdāshīyya* as ‘brothers,’<sup>27</sup> the focus of this chapter will be on other usages of family terminology, mainly in dialogues and correspondence. It will be argued that in most cases of usages of kinship terminology in dialogues and correspondence that involve *mamlūks*, the usage of the kinship terminology does not fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ as envisaged by Ayalon. Moreover, usages of kinship terminology in dialogues and correspondence that either correspond or fail to correspond to the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ were often metaphorical and were meant to express hierarchy, seniority in age, rank or status, service (*khidma*), subordination, loyalty, and obedience (*tā’ā*), at least as much as they were meant to express affinity. Such metaphorical usages of kinship terminology are also attested for non-*mamlūks* and for periods other than the Mamluk Sultanate. In addition, at times, although the terminology of the biological family is used in connection with relationships between *mamlūks*, what emerges beyond the usage is not the notion of the ‘*mamlūk family*,’ but rather a more profound relationship (for example, blood tie, marital tie, or milk kinship relationship). Although the number and scope of usages of kinship terminology involving *mamlūks* that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ as envisaged by Ayalon is fairly restricted, the fact that usages of kinship terminology in Mamluk sources are relatively common seems to have contributed to the impression that such usages reflect a notion of a ‘*mamlūk family*.’

26 Gottlieb, *The family in the western world* 190; Vásáry, *The institution of foster-brothers* 549. In Europe family terminology (or metaphors of the family) was used in godparent ties, and by members of religious organizations and communities. Such ties are usually referred to as “spiritual kinship” ties. See Gottlieb, *The family in the western world* 190–1; Houlbrooke, *The English family* 39; Moxnes, *Introduction* 1–4; Lassen, *The Roman family* 103; in the languages of the ancient Near East, “kinship terms were employed outside of the realm of the family for all manner of social, commercial, and legal relations.” Westbrook, *Patronage in the ancient Near East* 213.

27 Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 335–62; idem, *Masters and slaves* 578.

Before discussing in detail the usages of kinship terminology in dialogues and correspondence, it is worthwhile differentiating between categories of social ties that are relevant for *mamlūks*, and discuss external usages of kinship terminology employed by Mamluk historians in connection with each of these ties. As mentioned, such usages have more to say about constructed kinship structures.

## 1 Social Ties and External Usages of Kinship Terminology

Referring to all ties between a master and his *mamlūks* and among the *khushdāshīyya* in terms of fictive kinship is not very useful, because it does not differentiate between several categories of kinship that are not based on blood (consanguineal) or marriage (affinal),<sup>28</sup> among which the most important in the Mamluk context are milk kinship (sometimes referred to as foster kinship), fictive kinship created by adoption, fictive kinship created by (other kinds of) fosterage, fictive kinship created by patronate (*walāʿ*), and fictive kinship created by friendship (*ukhuwwa* and *khushdāshīyya*). Each of these categories had different socio-legal implications, two of which have often been used in analyzing notions of family: inheritance rights and the incest taboo (or in other words, restrictions on marriage).<sup>29</sup>

### 1.1 Marital Ties (Affinal Kinship)

Like consanguineal kinship, affinal kinship entailed inheritance rights and restrictions on marriage.<sup>30</sup> In fact, in-laws were considered family members; thus when al-Zāhir Baybars (d. 676/1277) married his son to al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's (d. 689/1290) daughter it is said that he made Qalāwūn an in-law and a relative (*jaʿalahu nasaban wa-ṣihran*);<sup>31</sup> and at times it is said that a marriage created an in-law relationship (*ṣahāra*) and family relationship (*nisba*) at the same time.<sup>32</sup> It is reported that after the death of al-Zāhir Baybars, his

28 Blood relatives and in-laws are considered real kin according to most definitions of kinship. For a definition of kinship as an "abstraction relating to the network of relationships based upon birth (real or fictive) and marriage" see Moxnes, *What is a family* 17.

29 Houlbrooke, *The English family* 39; Alston, *Searching for the Romano-Egyptian family* 139.

30 Yosef, *Masters and slaves* 567; for inheritance rights of *mamlūks'* relatives, see *ibid.*, 567, 570–3; *idem*, *Ethnic groups* 265–80; *idem*, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 337–40, 350–2.

31 Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *al-Faḍl al-maʿthūr* 28.

32 al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 36; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍāʿil, *al-Nahj al-sadid* 385; according to al-Shujāʿī, the Amīr Maḥmūd (d. 742/1341) was Janklī ibn Albābā's (d. 746/1346)

in-law al-Mansūr Qalāwūn treated Baybars' orphans like his own children (*nazzalahumā manzilat awlādihī*).<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, although there is a differentiation in Arabic between terminology of consanguineal kinship and affinal kinship,<sup>34</sup> Mamluk historians report that in-laws were sometimes known by appellations that draw on consanguineal kinship terminology. For example, Quṭlūbughā Ḥājjī al-Bānaqūsī al-Turkmānī al-Ḥalabī (d. 837/1433), the father-in-law of the Sultan al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar (d. 824/1421) and the maternal grandfather of Fāṭima bint al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar who was married to al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841/1438), is reported to have been known as “the father of the Sultan” (*abū al-sultān*) during the reign of these two Circassian Sultans.<sup>35</sup>

Mamluk historians themselves often refer to the *mamlūk* husband of a woman as a “paternal uncle” (*‘amm*) of his wife’s son from previous marriages. Thus, according to Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 874/1470), when al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar married Sa‘ādāt bint Ṣaghartamush (d. 833/1429–30), the widow of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (d. 824/1421) and the mother of al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad ibn al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (d. 833/1430), he became the ‘paternal uncle’ of the Sultan al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, that is, “his mother’s husband” (*fa-ṣāra ‘amm al-sultān zawj ummihi*);<sup>36</sup> and Qurqmās al-Ashrafī al-Jalab (d. 873/1468–9) who married Malikbāy al-Jarkasiyya al-Ashrafiyya (d. 860/1456), the widow of al-Ashraf Barsbāy and the mother of Aḥmad ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 868/1463), is referred to by Ibn Taghrī Birdī as Aḥmad’s ‘paternal uncle’, that is, the husband of Aḥmad’s mother (*‘ammihī zawj ummihi*).<sup>37</sup> Since Aḥmad was a baby at that time and Qurqmās was in charge of his upbringing (*tarbiya*),<sup>38</sup> he is referred to as the “stepson” (*rabīb*)

---

“relative” (*qarāba*). See al-Shujā‘ī, *Ta’rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 153; other historians, however, refer to Maḥmūd as Janklī’s in-law (*ṣihr*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 30; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, ed. Cairo 1934–73, ii, 576. It seems possible that the word *qarāba*, which usually denotes blood relatives, was sometimes also used in reference to in-laws. During the Ottoman period, *sihriyet* (relationship by marriage) was widely used in the sense of kin (*akraba*), see Bouquet, *The sultan’s sons-in-law* 335.

33 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* xxxi, 29.

34 On the lack of this differentiation in some other languages, see Houlbrooke, *The English family* 40.

35 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* iv, 116, 341; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, ed. Hyderabad 1967–76, vii, 464.

36 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 190.

37 Ibid., xv, 107; and see also al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 461.

38 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 107; xvi, 329.

of Qurqmās;<sup>39</sup> Khalīl ibn Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 778/1376) is referred to as a “stepson” of Shaykhū l-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357) who married his mother (*kāna rabībahu li-anna Shaykhū tazawwaja bi-ummihī*);<sup>40</sup> al-Kāmil Shaʿbān ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 747/1346) and his brother al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (d. 746/1345) are each referred to as a “stepson” of Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 748/1347–8) who became the husband of their mother, originally al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s *umm walad*;<sup>41</sup> and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 778/1377) is referred to as a “stepson” of Aljāy al-Yūsufī (d. 775/1373) who married his mother Baraka, another *umm walad* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After Baraka’s death, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān wanted to marry his daughter to Aljāy, but the legal scholars ruled that Aljāy was not allowed to marry Shaʿbān’s daughter because “the daughter of the stepson is like a stepdaughter” (*bint al-rabīb rabība*).<sup>42</sup>

Even more interesting is the case of Baykhūn (d. 866/1462) the daughter of Shukurbāy al-Jarkasiyya al-Nāṣiriyya al-Aḥmadiyya (d. 870/1465–6) and the Amīr Abruk al-Jakamī (died shortly before 840/1436–7). After Abruk’s death, Shukurbāy was married to the future Sultan al-Zāhir Khushqadam (d. 872/1467),<sup>43</sup> and Baykhūn eventually became known as the Sultan’s stepdaughter (*rabībat al-sultān*).<sup>44</sup> Baykhūn was buried in al-Zāhir Khushqadam’s mausoleum, and her son Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī (d. 908/1503) was raised by Khushqadam after his father’s death because “he was the son of Khushqadam’s stepdaughter” (*li-kawnihī ibn rabībatihī*).<sup>45</sup> Moreover, although there was no blood relation between al-Zāhir Khushqadam and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, during al-Zāhir Khushqadam’s reign Aḥmad lived in the citadel as a son of a king, and it was decreed that he would be addressed as *sīdī* and as a descendant of al-Zāhir Khushqadam in a cognate line (*sibṭ al-maqām al-sharīf*).<sup>46</sup>

During the Circassian period of the Sultanate (784–923/1382–1517), the decline of the nuclear biological family and the agnate lines was counterbalanced

39 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vi, 180–1. Note that no *mamlūk* that is said to “have been raised” by his master (*tarbiya*) is ever referred to as his *rabīb*, although the word has also a meaning of a foster son. On *mamlūks* raised by their master and *tarbiya* in *mamlūk* context, see section 1.4 below.

40 Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Khaldūn* v, 514; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* ii, 523.

41 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 185–6; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 677.

42 Yosef, *Masters and slaves* 567. On the prohibition to marry a stepdaughter, see Giladi, *Fosterage*.

43 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʾ* xii, repr. edition Beirut 1992, 68.

44 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vi, 147.

45 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʾ* xii, 161–2; i, 345.

46 *Ibid.*, i, 345.

by importation of *mamlūks*' relatives (*qarāba*, sing. *qarīb*), and by a fuller incorporation of in-laws into the family. *Mamlūk amūrs* who were in-laws of the sultan were often buried in the mausoleum of the sultan, together with their sons who were given a royal title (*sīdī*).<sup>47</sup>

## 1.2 *Milk Kinship*

Milk kinship (*riḍā'*) entails restrictions on marriage but does not entail inheritance rights.<sup>48</sup> I have only come across two cases of milk kinship that involve *mamlūks*,<sup>49</sup> and both are cases of milk-brothers. In both cases the relationship was established in the *mamlūks*' homeland, so, in fact, there are no attested cases of milk kinship involving *mamlūks* that were established within the Sultanate, which makes sense, because as far as we know *mamlūks* usually did not come to the Sultanate as babies. According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī and al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) who relied on him, Qurqmās al-Ashrafī al-Jalab (d. 873/1468–9) was probably the milk-brother (*raḍī'*) of al-Ashraf Barsbāy who brought him to Egypt shortly after he became sultan. Importantly, they add that he was known as al-Ashraf Barsbāy's brother (*ma'rūf bi-akhī al-Ashraf Barsbāy, yuqālu la-hu akhū al-Ashraf*).<sup>50</sup> Even more importantly, Khalīl ibn 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Zāhirī (d. 920/1515) refers to Qurqmās as al-Ashraf Barsbāy's relative (*yudhkaru bi-qarāba lil-Ashraf Barsbāy*);<sup>51</sup> according to Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285), Baysarī al-Shamsī (d. 698/1299) was the milk-brother of al-Zāhir Baybars when they were children (*kāna zī'r la-hu fī l-riḍā' ḥāl al-ṭufūla*). Then, the two were separated but were reunited as slaves of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249).<sup>52</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār (d. 725/1325) refers to Baysarī as al-Zāhir Baybars' brother<sup>53</sup> and also says that he was "like a son" to Baybars

47 Yosef, *Mamluks and their relatives* 60–3 (esp. 63); idem, *Ethnic groups* 304–8, 314–7.

48 Landau-Tasserion, *Adoption* 188; Mattson, *Adoption and fostering* 2; Giladi, *Lactation*; idem, *Wet-Nursing*.

49 Sons of sultans seem to have been reared at times by a child-nurse (*dāda*); however, there is normally no evidence regarding their breastfeeding. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 232. For a rare reference to a milk-sister of a sultan's son, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* xii, 92. Al-Yūnīnī seems to refer to a milk-brother of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (*raḍī' al-sultān*), but he does not provide details. See Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian historiography* ii, 106.

50 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 63; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* vi, 218.

51 Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vi, 377.

52 Ibn Shaddād, *Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Zāhir* 290.

53 Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rikh al-hijra* 162.

(*bi-manzilat al-walad min al-wālid*).<sup>54</sup> This evidence suggests that milk-brothers were considered “true kin.” Like ties with blood relatives of *mamlūks*, the milk kinship ties were imported into the Sultanate and there is nothing specifically *mamlūk* about them.

### 1.3 Adoption

As was noted by Ella Landau-Tasseron in a different context, “Islamic law prohibits adoption (*tabannī*) and the classical law books do not in fact discuss it” and indeed, adoption was rare. Therefore, the legal and social implications of such a procedure are not entirely clear. At least in pre-Islamic times, although adoptees used the patronym of their adopting father, they were not legally the equals of biological sons. There is also no specific evidence of inheritance as an outcome of adoption.<sup>55</sup> Ella Landau-Tasseron’s findings seem to hold true as well with respect to adoption of *mamlūks* by their masters during the Mamluk Sultanate. Mamluk historians report only four cases of a master adopting his *mamlūk*: Jaraktamur al-Manjakī (d. 777/1375) adopted by his master Manjak al-Yūsufī (d. 776/1375), Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī (d. 731/1331) adopted by his master al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, Buzlār al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 791/1389) adopted by his master al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 762/1361), and Jānībak al-Ashrafī Barsbāy (d. 831/1427) adopted by his master al-Ashraf Barsbāy. As I have noted elsewhere, information regarding the adoption of Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad should be treated with caution.<sup>56</sup> All these *mamlūks* were adopted by their master

54 Idem, *Mukhtār al-akhbār* 64. Baysarī al-Shamsī was slightly younger than Baybars. He was about seventy years old when he died in 698/1299, and Baybars was probably fifty-one years old when he died in 676/1277. See al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Duwal al-islām* ii, 201; Thorau, *The lion of Egypt* 27–8. Interestingly, it is said that Baybars used to say that Baysarī was the son of their sultan in their homeland (*hādihā ibn sultāninā fi bilādinā*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 185. Perhaps it suggests that the milk relationship between Baybars and Baysarī was a case of “tributary foster relations” often found in western Eurasia, in the course of which children were delegated to alien households for purposes of political allegiance, see Parkes, *Fosterage, kinship, and legend* 316; on the institution in the Chingisid states, see Vásáry, *The institution of foster-brothers* 549–62; on the institution in Circassia, see Quelquejay, Čerkes.

55 Landau-Tasseron, *Adoption*, 169–71, 186, 189.

56 Yosef, *Masters and slaves* 562–4; Arghūn was probably raised together with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and apparently belongs to the category of *mamlūks* fostered by their masters but not adopted by them (see section 1.4 below). For rare cases of adoption that do not involve *mamlūks* but rather *mamlūks*’ descendants, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* viii, 403; and see also idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 232; but

before the latter had sons and seem to have been raised by him from a young age. Importantly, historians note that two of the *mamlūks* adopted by their masters were known as their sons (i.e., the use of a patronym). After his adoption, Jaraktamur al-Manjakī was “known as the son of Manjak” (*ṣāra yuʿrafu bi-ibn Manjak*), and Buzlār al-ʿUmarī was sometimes said to have been the son of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (*wa-rubbamā qīla innahu ibnuhu*).<sup>57</sup> There is no evidence, however, that adoption entailed inheritance rights. There is also no unequivocal evidence that the adoption of *mamlūks* entailed restrictions on marriage. In fact, in 722/1322 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married his eldest daughter to the Amīr Abū Bakr ibn Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī;<sup>58</sup> however, as already noted the evidence on the adoption of Arghūn by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is not conclusive. I will have more to say about restrictions on marriage below in the context of the more general discussion of kinship created by fosterage.

Because adoption is prohibited by Islamic law, and because all adopted *mamlūks* were eventually freedmen of their masters, it is tempting to consider the cases of (alleged?) adoption as simple cases of fosterage; however, *mamlūks* fostered by their masters that are not said to have been adopted by them are never said to have been known as their sons (see section 1.4 below). The fact that two of the four *mamlūks* (probably even only three) adopted by their masters were known as their sons is thus significant. Therefore, instances of adoption should be considered as special cases of fosterage, whose mechanism and legal implications are, admittedly, not entirely clear.<sup>59</sup>

---

see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 745; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* i, 155. According to al-Yūnīnī, it was said that Ibrāhīm ibn Aybak al-Muʿazzamī (d. 654/1256) was not the biological son of Aybak al-Muʿazzamī, but rather a son of his slave girl whom he adopted (*walad jāriyatīhi ... tabannāhu wa-laysa bi-waladihi*). See al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirʾat al-zamān*, ed. Hyderabad 1954–61, i, 15–7 (esp. 17); this, however, seems to be a case of acknowledgment of paternity (*istilhāq*) which should not be confused with adoption. See Landau-Tasseron, *Adoption* 172.

57 Yosef, *Masters and slaves* 563–4.

58 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxii, 198; xxxiii, 206, 217; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍāʿil, *al-Nahj al-sadiḍ* 439; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 249.

59 Interestingly, al-Ashraf Barsbāy buried his adopted *mamlūk* Jānībak al-Ashrafī in a mausoleum (*turba*) that he had built for him in the vicinity of his own mausoleum (*bi-l-qurb min turbatīhi*). Al-Ashraf Barsbāy also raised Jānībak’s daughter and married her to one of his *mamlūks*. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 234. The burial of Jānībak in the vicinity of Barsbāy’s mausoleum is perhaps an indication that adopted *mamlūks* were certainly considered closer than simple *mamlūks*; however, they were not considered as close as in-laws (or relatives) who were often buried in the sultan’s mausoleum. See section 1.1 above; and see also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* x, 280. The other adopted *mamlūks*, all from the Turkish period of the Sultanate, were apparently not buried in the

#### 1.4 *Fosterage*

By kinship created by fosterage I refer mainly to the relatively few cases of *mamlūks* that are said to have been raised by their master in his harem (*ḥarīm* or *ḥaram*) sometimes alongside his sons, and those that are said to have had the status of a son in their master's household.<sup>60</sup> Ayalon did not discuss the *mamlūks* that are said to have had the status of a son in their master's household; however, he did refer to *mamlūks* who were raised by their master in his *ḥarīm* alongside the master's sons. Under this category, Ayalon lumped together cases of adoption with three other cases of *mamlūks* who are only said to have been raised in the *ḥarīm*.<sup>61</sup> Ayalon did not differentiate in a clear-cut manner between adopted and fostered *mamlūks*, and he seems to refer to all of them as "adopted sons."<sup>62</sup> The three *mamlūks* who according to Ayalon are said to have been raised in the *ḥarīm* alongside the master's sons are Kūndak al-Sāqī (d. 680/1281) the *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Baybars, Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325) the *mamlūk* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, and Yalkhujā min Māmish (d. 850/1446) the *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Barqūq (d. 801/1399).<sup>63</sup> As for

---

vicinity of their masters' mausoleums. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 307; al-Ṣafādī, *A'yān al-ʿaṣr* i, 455. It is perhaps an indication that with the decline of the biological nuclear family during the Circassian period, the status of adopted *mamlūks* in their master's household was enhanced (on their status as substitute sons see section 1.4 below).

60 These are the cases of fosterage that impinge on the analysis of the 'mamlūk family' as envisaged by Ayalon. There are, of course, other attested cases of fosterage. There were cases of *mamlūk amīrs* who raised a fellow *mamlūk's* (many times a *khushdāsh*) young orphan, at times in their capacity as guardians (*awṣiyā'*, sing. *waṣī*). See al-Ṣafādī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi*, ed. Ritter et al. 1962–2004, xiii, 398, 245; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* i, 320; we also hear of *mamlūks* who raised their master's young orphans, at times in their capacity as guardians. See *ibid.*, iii, 295; viii, 171–2; in other cases, in-laws were involved in the fosterage of a young orphan who was a *mamlūk's* descendant. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* vii, 131, 145; *ibid.*, ii, 268; and see also *ibid.*, x, 305; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 237. In rare cases it is reported that the fosterage relationship was established in the *mamlūks'* homeland. Qurmush al-Zāhirī al-A'war (d. 840/1436) is quoted as saying: "I have carried Jānibak al-Ṣūfi [al-Zāhirī, d. 841/1437] on my shoulders in the homeland of the Circassians and raised him as a son" (*ḥamaltu Jānibak al-Ṣūfi 'alā katifi fi Bilād al-Jārkas wa-rabbaytuhu ka-l-walad*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 64. Note that Qurmush al-Zāhirī and Jānibak al-Ṣūfi were *khushdāshiyya* and not master and slave. On fosterage in Circassia, see footnote no. 54 above.

61 Ayalon, *Lesclavage* 22–3.

62 *Ibid.*, 24.

63 *Ibid.*, 22–3. Ayalon includes Baybars al-Zāhirī (d. 811/1408–9) and Sūdūn al-Zāhirī (d. 803/1401) who were al-Zāhir Barqūq's relatives and not his slaves in this category as

Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Ayalon was relying on the Circassian-period historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī, according to whom Qalāwūn raised Baybars al-Manṣūrī alongside his children (*rabbāhu maʿa awlādhi*);<sup>64</sup> however, according to the testimony of Baybars al-Manṣūrī himself, he was bought by Qalāwūn in 659/1261 and was accommodated in Qalāwūn's household (*bi-l-dār*) under the supervision of the lady Qutqūṭayh, the future mother of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn (d. 693/1293). Baybars al-Manṣūrī does not mention that he was raised together with Khalīl or another son of Qalāwūn.<sup>65</sup> In fact, this makes perfect sense, because in 659/1261 Baybars al-Manṣūrī was about fourteen years old,<sup>66</sup> and Khalīl was born ca. 666/1267–8,<sup>67</sup> when Baybars was already about twenty-one years old.<sup>68</sup> We are left then with only two *mamlūks* who were raised in their master's *ḥarīm* alongside the master's sons but not adopted by him.<sup>69</sup>

Unlike adopted *mamlūks*, *mamlūks* who were only raised by their master in his *ḥarīm* are never said to have been known as their master's sons. Naturally, they did not enjoy inheritance rights. Moreover, Kūndak al-Sāqī married the divorcee of his master al-Zāhir Baybars,<sup>70</sup> a marriage that would not have been

---

well. Fayrūz al-Khāzindārī al-Rūmī al-Sāqī (d. 814/1411), who is said to have “grown up together with al-Nāṣir Faraj from a young age” (*tarabbā maʿa al-Nāṣir Faraj min ṣigharihi*), may perhaps be added to the list. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* vi, 175. Interestingly, he was buried in al-Zāhir Barqūq's mausoleum.

64 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 477.

65 Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-fikra* 98–9.

66 He was about eighty years old when he died in 725/1325. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 480; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* ii, 80; idem, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* x, 352.

67 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* v, 271.

68 ʿAlī, Qalāwūn's first-born son, was also born ca. 666/1267–8. See Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya* 119; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh* i, 115.

69 Ayalon seems to assume that all *mamlūks* said to have been raised in the *ḥarīm* were raised together with their master's sons, but this is not necessarily the case. Jānībak al-Ashrafī Barsbāy is said to have been raised in his master's *ḥarīm* but it is not mentioned that he was raised together with Barsbāy's sons. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 232. Barsbāy bought him, raised him from a young age, and adopted him when he was still *amīr*. When Jānībak al-Ashrafī died in 831/1427 he was less than thirty years old. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 232, 234; idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 254; xv, 148; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* iii, 54–5. Al-Ashraf Barsbāy's first-born son was born ca. 820/1417–8. See *ibid.*, vii, 150; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 331–2. If we estimate Jānībak al-Ashrafī's age to be twenty-seven when he died, then he would have been about seventeen years old when al-Ashraf Barsbāy's son was born; the same seems to be the case as well with Baybars al-Zāhirī and Sūdūn al-Zāhirī. See *ibid.*, iii, 482; vi, 112; on Buzlār al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 791/1389), see Yosef, *Masters and slaves* 564–5.

70 Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-fikra* 164; idem, *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya* 87.

allowed if he was considered his 'son'. As mentioned, it is more reasonable that Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī was raised by Qalāwūn alongside his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, rather than adopted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (see section 1.3 above). If this was the case, two out of three *mamlūks* raised by their master alongside his sons had established marital ties with the family of their master. It strongly suggests that restrictions on marriage did not apply to these *mamlūks* and that they were not considered to be "true kin."<sup>71</sup> By establishing marital ties and becoming in-laws, however, they were integrated into the family of their master. On the other hand, if this is so, there are no attested cases of marriages between adopted *mamlūks* and the families of their masters. It is worth speculating whether colactation and the creation of milk kinship ties were involved in the case of the latter. However, there is no positive evidence for such a practice within the Sultanate. Moreover, for this to have occurred the *mamlūks* would have had to be extremely young when they were made part of their master's household. In addition, if colactation was involved, we would have expected to find references to these *mamlūks* as 'brothers' of their masters' sons, because such references characterize milk-brothers (see section 1.2 above), but there are no such references. It is reasonable that although adopted *mamlūks* were not considered the equals of biological sons, it was not considered appropriate that an adopted *mamlūk* who was referred to as his master's son would establish marital ties with women of his master's family.<sup>72</sup>

I now turn to a discussion of *mamlūks* who are said to have had the status of a son in their master's household (*maḥall al-walad*, *manzilat al-walad*, *a'azz min al-walad*). Mamluk sources mention only five *mamlūks* who are said to have enjoyed the status of a son in their master's household: Kundaghdi the *mamlūk* of Lājīn al-Jūkandār al-'Azīzī (d. 662/1263), Mankūtāmūr al-Ḥusāmī (d. 698/1299) the *mamlūk* of al-Manṣūr Lājīn (d. 698/1299), Bīlīk al-Khāzīndār

71 Among scholars of the Roman family "[t]here seems to be a growing consensus that the most typical family form was that of the 'core nuclear family', and that the father-son relationship had social and affective qualities that set it apart from that of the master-slave relationship." See Moxnes, *What is a family* 29; and see also Rawson, *Families* 3; although slaves may have been members of the household, and although the relationships of power and sentiments between slaves and masters were sometimes compared with, and sometimes described by means of family concepts, the relationship of slaves to their master was different from that of father and son. See Moxnes, *What is a family* 36; Lassen, *The Roman family* 109; Roman jurists did not acknowledge a proper kinship between patron and freedmen, since they considered the establishment of a marital tie that related them as legally valid and not incestuous, and did not consider a former slave as entitled to his patron's inheritance. See *ibid.*

72 This is a refinement of my argument in *Masters and slaves*.

al-Zāhirī (d. 676/1277) the *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Baybars, Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342) and Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342) the *mamlūks* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.<sup>73</sup> Like the *mamlūks* adopted by their masters, they all became *mamlūks* of their masters before the latter had sons and they seem to have been among the first *mamlūks* purchased by their masters, and some are reported to have been raised by them from a young age.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the *mamlūks* adopted by their master, they are never said to have been known as their master's sons but are only said to have been "like a son" (*maḥall al-walad*, *manzilāt al-walad*) of their master. As will be discussed in detail below, the mere fact that a master is said to "have raised" (*rabbā*) his *mamlūk* does not necessarily mean that the *mamlūk* was fostered. Moreover, statements about one's "status as a son" are characteristic of the language of service (*khidma*),<sup>75</sup> and references to slaves as "dearer than sons" may be tropes.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that the cases of *mamlūks* that are said to have had the status of a son in their master's household are rare, and all seem to involve *mamlūks* who were among the first *mamlūks* purchased by their master, when they were relatively young and their master was still sonless, may indicate that these were indeed cases of fosterage.

Following Shaun Marmon's observation that a slave could be taken as a "substitute son" by a childless master,<sup>77</sup> I have suggested that the relationship between a sonless master and especially favored *mamlūks* who enjoyed a special status in his household (i.e. adopted ones and those who are said to have had the status of a son) should be designated as 'substitute kinship.'<sup>78</sup> Although not considered the equals of biological sons, they enjoyed privileges, especially if

73 Yosef, Masters and slaves, 560–2. Qujḡār al-Manṣūrī (d. 686/1287–8), the *mamlūk* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, who is said to have been raised by his master from a young age like a son (*wa-kāna al-sultān qad rabbāhu fi ṣigharihi ka-l-walad*) can also perhaps be added. See *ibid.*, 562–3 (footnote no. 28). For a rare case in which a *mamlūk*'s son was raised by his father's master as a son, see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 836; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxi, 332, 334.

74 Yosef, Masters and slaves 560–2.

75 For a detailed discussion of *khidma*, see section 2.1.4 below.

76 Kumar, Service, status and military slavery 91.

77 Marmon, Domestic slavery 13.

78 Yosef, Masters and slaves 558–63. Conermann and Saghbini refer to a "substitute family" that grouped around a master, without qualifying, and refer to a master as a "foster-father" of all his *mamlūks*. See Conermann and Saghbini, *Awlād al-nās* as founders 22; Mathieu Eychenne refers to the master as a "substitute father" or "adoptive father" of all his *mamlūks*. See Eychenne, *Le Sultan al-Aṣraf Ḥalil* 253; discussing military slavery during the Buyid period, Mottahedeh referred to the master as a "foster-parent" of all his

their master remained sonless.<sup>79</sup> Regardless, like adopted *mamlūks*, those who had the status of a son in their master's household did not enjoy inheritance rights. The sources do not report on marriages between these *mamlūks* or their descendants and the families of their masters, but there is no unequivocal evidence that restrictions on marriage applied to them. The lack of marriage ties between these *mamlūks* and their masters' families could be mere happenstance, and there are other possible explanations.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, there is no reason to believe that the status of *mamlūks* who were "like sons" of their masters with regard to restrictions on marriage was different from that of *mamlūks* who were raised in their master's *ḥarīm* alongside the master's children.

As Ayalon noted, the number of the "privileged *mamlūks*" adopted by their masters or raised in his *ḥarīm* is extremely small.<sup>81</sup> This is also true for the number of *mamlūks* who are said to have had the status of a son in their master's household. More common are references to a master who 'raised' (*rabbā*) his *mamlūk* (or *mamlūks*) sometimes from a young age, and to a *mamlūk* (or *mamlūks*) who 'was raised' (*tarabbā/rubbiya*) by his master, again, sometimes from a young age, or was the product of his master's *tarbiya*. Although one of the basic meanings of the verb *rabbā* and its verbal noun *tarbiya* is "raising" or "upbringing," such instances should not automatically be considered cases of fosterage.<sup>82</sup> The contexts in which the verb *rabbā* and its verbal noun *tarbiya* appear in Mamluk texts make clear that it may also refer to "educating," "tutoring," "instructing," "guiding," "training," "disciplining," or "grooming," "bestowing favors and benefits," and perhaps even "promoting."<sup>83</sup> Thus, it is said that one of the virtues of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn was "disciplining [and educating]

---

*mamlūks*. See Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership* 84; and see Forand, The relation of the slave and the client 60.

79 For such possible privileges, see Yosef, *Masters and slaves* 567–70; for similar observations regarding the Ottoman period, see Shaham, *Masters* 162–88; Wilkins, *Slavery and household* 379–82.

80 Five out of the six *mamlūks* who are said to have been "like sons" were *mamlūks* of the following Sultans (Qujḡār al-Manṣūrī included): al-Zāhīr Baybars, al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, al-Manṣūr Lājīn, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. Al-Manṣūr Lājīn did not have daughters, and until the peace agreement with the Ilkhans in 722/1322 sultans were reluctant to marry their daughters to their *mamlūks*.

81 Ayalon, *Lesclavage* 23.

82 For domestic slaves who are said to "have been raised" by their master, cases which are more likely related to fosterage, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* iii, 3, 17, 62, 177; x, 166; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 409; and see also Marmon, *Domestic slavery* 13, 16–7.

83 As nicely put by Jürgen Paul, *tarbiya* is "something which the master does for his slave in order to make him a career." Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 394.

(*tarbiya*) his *mamlūks* and preventing them from harming the people” (*tarbiyat mamālīkihi wa-kaff sharrihim ‘an al-nās*),<sup>84</sup> that the eunuchs in charge of the barracks were punished because “they neglected the disciplining [or educating] of the *mamlūks*” (*farraṭū fi tarbiyat al-mamālīk*),<sup>85</sup> or that al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh “used to train [and tutor or educate] his *mamlūks* thoroughly and promote them only after a long period [of training]” (*kāna yuḥsinu tarbiyat mamālīkihi ilā al-ghāya wa-lā yuraqqihim illā ba‘da mudda ṭawīla*). Before he died, al-Zāhir Barqūq decreed that his son al-Nāṣir Faraj (d. 815/1412) would be appointed sultan and that the *atābak* Aytamush al-Bajāsī (d. 802/1400) would run the affairs of the state and “instruct/guide/tutor (*yurabbī*) the new sultan until he comes of age” (*yurabbī al-sultān al-jadīd ilā an yakbura*).<sup>86</sup> The *mamlūks* of al-Ṣālīḥ Ayyūb are quoted as saying to Shajar al-Durr (d. 657/1259) that “we are *tarbiyat ni‘matiki*,”<sup>87</sup> and the word *tarbiya* in this case does not refer to upbringing but to grooming by bestowing favors and benefits which is closely related to service given to the master or patron (*khidma*).<sup>88</sup> In a similar manner it is said that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn bought several *mamlūks*, “groomed them (*rabbāhum*), bestowed on them favors and promoted them” (*rabbāhum wa-khawwalahum fī l-ni‘am wa-raqqāhum*);<sup>89</sup> and Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī “grew up (*tarabbā*) from a young age in the sultan’s service” (*wa-kāna qad tarabbā fī khidmat al-sultān min ṣigharihi*). While the word *tarabbā* in this case perhaps keeps its basic meaning of “growing up,” it also apparently relates to the tutoring of a young *mamlūk* in his master’s service, his grooming, and probably also to bestowing favors on him and slowly promoting him.<sup>90</sup>

Some of the *mamlūks* said to “have been raised” by their masters were sold or given as a gift by their masters, which makes it less likely that these were

84 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* vii, 328; and see also *ibid.*, viii, 28.

85 *Ibid.*, ix, 73.

86 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iv, 26.

87 al-‘Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, ed. Amīn, i, 141.

88 For the association between *tarbiya* and the bestowing of favors (*ni‘ma* or *iḥsān*), see also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 246; x, 314; xiii, 149.

89 *Ibid.*, x, 314.

90 al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxi, 331; for the association between *tarbiya* and *khidma*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Ya‘lāwī 1987, ii, 24, 284, 457; for the association between *tarbiya* and promotion, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ed. ‘Alī, i, 205–6; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* viii, 255; *idem*, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 85; x, 243; Kumar, When slaves were nobles 41, 43.

cases of fosterage.<sup>91</sup> In addition, some *mamlūks* who are said to “have been raised” by their master, sometimes even from a young age, could not, in fact, have been raised by him at all. For example, according to the historian ‘Alī b. Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900/1494), Ināl al-Jakamī (d. 842/1439), originally a *mamlūk* of the Amīr Jakam min ‘Awḍ (d. 809/1407), was “raised from a young age” by al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (*rabbāhu ṣaghīran*).<sup>92</sup> According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, however, after the death of his master in 809/1407, Ināl al-Jakamī served several masters until finding himself in the service of the future Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (*tanaqqala ba’da mawt ustādhihi fī ‘iddat khidam ilā an ittaṣala bi-khidmat al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh fī ḥāl imratihī*), which seems to suggest that he was not the slave of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh but rather his servant (as his *nisba* also seems to suggest).<sup>93</sup> Moreover, according to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Ināl al-Jakamī was about fifty years old when he died in 842/1439;<sup>94</sup> therefore, he was about seventeen years old when his master died. Given that he served several masters before finding himself in the service of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh it can safely be assumed that he was not at all young at that time; similarly, Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 742/1342) is said to have been given by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333) for the latter to “raise him” (*a’tāhu ‘inda Baktamur al-Sāqī yurabbihī*).<sup>95</sup> Qawṣūn, however, was about eighteen years old when he arrived in Egypt in 720/1320.<sup>96</sup>

Like Qawṣūn, other *mamlūks* are said to “have been raised” by a proxy of their master. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī (d. 742/1341) to Qawṣūn, for the latter to “raise him” (*sallamahu li-Qawṣūn li-yurabbīyahu*).<sup>97</sup> Although it is said that al-Muzaffar Baybars al-Jāshankīr (d. 709/1310) ‘raised’ Baktamur al-Sāqī from a young age (*rabbāhu wa-huwa ṣaghīr*),<sup>98</sup> he was,

91 al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* ix, 317; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* v, 28–9; vi, 230; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 145–6; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 56; Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* ii, 354.

92 al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* iv, 132.

93 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 197; idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 469; but see ibid., xiv, 195.

94 Ibid., xv, 470.

95 al-Shujā’ī, *Ta’rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 222.

96 Ibid., 160; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* ii, 278. Similarly, data on Burdbak al-Ashrafī’s (d. 868/1464) age suggest that al-Ashraf Ināl (d. 865/1461) could not have actually “raised” him (*rabbāhu*). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 4–5; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vi, 196; but see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xvi, 336.

97 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* ii, 264; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna* i, 281; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 423.

98 al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzir* 148; and see also al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 468.

in fact, given to another *mamlūk* of al-Muzaffar Baybars by the name of Qaramān, so that the latter “would educate (or tutor) him and teach him the ways of good conduct and service, and horsemanship” (*li-yurabbiyahu wayu'allimahu al-adab wa-l-khidma wa-amr al-furūsiyya*);<sup>99</sup> and although it is said that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad “raised” Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī (d. 744/1343) from a young age (*rabbāhu ṣaghīran*),<sup>100</sup> he was, in fact, given to Bahādur al-Timurtāshī (d. 743/1343) who trained, tutored, and educated him (*kharrajahu wa-rabbāhu*).<sup>101</sup> Such instances should not be considered as cases of fosterage, but as cases of favored *mamlūks* who were exempt from normal training in the barracks, and were given to a senior *mamlūk* who personally trained, tutored, and educated them. Starting from the 1350s or 1360s, the personal tutor seems to have been referred to as an *aghā*. Such cases are forerunners of the more generalized relationship between a senior *mamlūk* called *aghā* in charge of cadets (*inīyyāt*) in the barracks, which is only attested starting from the late Turkish period.<sup>102</sup>

That said, a large number of *mamlūks* (roughly almost half) who are said to “have been raised” by their master were married to their master’s daughter, or to other women from their master’s family.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, although *mamlūks*

99 al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* 148.

100 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 284.

101 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* i, 606.

102 Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 354–5 (unfortunately, there is a typographic error in the article, and instead of “1350s” and “1360s” it is written “1450s” and “1460s”); on *aghā* and *inīyyāt*, see also section 1.6 below. During the Turkish period of the Sultanate, the eunuch in charge of training and educating young *mamlūks* in the barracks was sometimes referred to as *aghā*. In rare cases, however, it seems that a young *mamlūk* was given to a eunuch who personally trained and educated him (*rabbāhu*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 244; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 30. This practice is perhaps also attested during the Circassian period of the Sultanate. Al-Zāhir Barqūq is said to have given his *mamlūk* Yalbughā al-Sālimī al-Zāhirī (d. 811/1408) to the eunuch Bahādur al-Shihābī (d. 802/1400) who was *muqaddam al-mamālik al-sultāniyya*, and the latter is said to have “raised” Yalbughā (*rabbāhu*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xi, 358. Interestingly, Yalbughā al-Sālimī claimed that he was of Muslim origin and that he was stolen and sold, and may have thus been exempt from normal training in the barracks on this account. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl al-durar al-kāmina* 200. Sultans sometimes appointed a personal tutor (*lālā*) for their sons, who is said to have “raised” them, see for example al-ʿAynī, *Iqd al-jumān* iv, 116; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 482.

103 On Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī, Qawsūn al-Nāṣirī, and Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, see al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrikh al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 160; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 284–5; idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 536; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 52–3; on Aghurlū al-ʿAdilī (d. 719/1319–20), see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 224; al-Birzālī, *Taʾrikh al-Birzālī* iv, 140;

who are said to “have been raised” by their master should not in general be considered as fostered *mamlūks*, they were clearly favored *mamlūks* who were singled out sometimes from a relatively young age, groomed, and many times integrated into the family of their master by marital ties, enjoying the privileges attached.<sup>104</sup> The biographical entry of Ṭaḡsubā al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 751/1350) the *mamlūk* of the ruler of Ḥamāt in al-Ṣafadī’s (d. 764/1363) *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr* provides a case in point. According to al-Ṣafadī, his master bought him when he was young (*ishtarāhu ṣaghīran*), “raised him” (*rabbāhu*) and educated him well (*aḥsana tarbiyatahu*), and married him to his daughter. Al-Ṣafadī also mentions that his master “loved” him (*kāna maḥbūban*), bestowed favors on him (*yun‘imu ‘alayhi*), signaled him out as a favored *mamlūk* and preferred him over his comrades (*yu‘thiruhu wa-yakhtāruhu bi-khilāf bāqī khūshdashīyyatīhi*).<sup>105</sup>

### 1.5 Patronate (*Walā’*)

As Donald Richards noted, whereas “especially favored *mamlūks*” could often be treated as “quasi-kin” in that they were brought up as part of the family, the relationship of a master with the mass of his *mamlūks* “must have been of a more contractual nature, based on the satisfaction of maintenance expectations on the one hand, and the performance of ... duties on the other.”<sup>106</sup> Debora G. Tor, who questioned the assumption of superior loyalty of slave-soldiers during the late Seljuq period, concluded that slave soldiery exhibited the same type of self-interest and limited loyalty as did free soldiery.<sup>107</sup> More importantly, she noted that while the personal element is frequently posited as having occupied a key place in the system of military slavery, “it is not clear that a slave soldier in training could have forged any kind of personal ties with

---

on Ṭaḡsubā al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 751/1350), see al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 609; on Arghūn a *mamlūk* of Sūdūn al-Zāhirī, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 342–3; on Burdbak al-Ashrafī, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xvi, 336; on Arghūn al-Kāmīlī (d. 758/1357), see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-durar al-kāmīna* i, 205–6; on Arghūn Shāh al-Nāshīrī (d. 750/1349), see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 243; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-kalām* i, 47; on al-Mansūr Lājīn, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 85, 101; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxi, 329.

104 On the privileges of *mamlūks* integrated by marital ties into the Qalāwūnid family, see Yosef, *Mamluks and their relatives* 56–60; on the integration of *mamlūks* into their master’s family by marital ties, see also Richards, *Mamluk amirs* 35; on the grooming and integration of favored *mamlūks* into their master’s family by marital ties during the Ottoman period, see Fay, *Unveiling the Harem* 95.

105 al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 609–10.

106 Richards, *Mamluk amirs* 34–5; see also Sievert, *Family* 98–103.

107 Tor, *Mamlūk loyalty* 769.

a ruler who possessed hundreds or even thousands of slave soldiers. It is probably unlikely that the ruler had personal contact with any of them, other than perhaps for sexual exploitation purposes, until after they have spent many years in servitude and had risen to an unusually high station.”<sup>108</sup> She added that the exploitative aspect “would appear to have been at least as typical of a master-slave relationship as the theoretical paradigm of mutual loyalty—and both were probably non-representative of the actual level of personal contact and fealty between any given ruler and his hundreds or even thousands of his *mamlūks*.”<sup>109</sup>

Sexual exploitation in the relationship between master and his *mamlūks* is sometimes hinted at in Mamluk sources as well. For example, it is reported that the Amīr Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī asked the eunuch in charge of the barracks to send him a good-looking *mamlūk* from the barracks. The *mamlūk*'s comrades in the barracks resented the demand but eventually the *mamlūk* spent the night with Qawṣūn (*bāta 'indahū*). The day after, Qawṣūn is said to have asked for four or five other *mamlūks*. This time the *mamlūks*' comrades were not willing to comply and they are reported to have said that they were the *mamlūks* of the sultan who bought them with his private money (*mamālīk al-sultān mushtarā mālihi*), and thus were not willing to be sent to Qawṣūn, originally a *mamlūk* of the sultan like them, who “will use us as he wills and shame us” (*yanālu gharadahu minnā wa-yafḍahunā bayna al-nās*).<sup>110</sup> It is implicit that their master the sultan could (and probably did at times) use them however he wanted. According to al-Ṣafadī, Junghāy (d. 741/1340) enjoyed a close relationship with his master Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī (d. 740/1340) who “did not leave him alone” (*wa-lam narahu kāna 'inda ustādhihi a'azz minhu wa-lā aqrab wa-mā kāna yada'uhu fī l-khalwa*).<sup>111</sup> According to some, Junghāy was the relative of Tankiz (*kāna yuqālu innahu dhū qarābatihī*), and al-Ṣafadī writes that “this claim seems to be true, because Junghāy was not someone to covet since he was not young nor good-looking” (*wa-l-ẓāhir anna hādihā huwa al-ṣaḥīḥ li-anna hādihā Junghāy mā kāna fī maqām man yu'shaqu li-annahu lam yakun amrad wa-lā malīḥ al-wajh*).<sup>112</sup> It is implicit in his words that a master had no reason to have a close relationship with a *mamlūk* who was not his relative other than for sexual purposes.

108 Ibid., 771.

109 Ibid., 771 (footnote no. 15).

110 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 24–5.

111 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 161.

112 Ibid., 162.

In general, until manumission, *mamlūks* were treated as property. Military slaves are quite often mentioned as part of a deceased master's estate. The master's domination over his *mamlūks* was total. Cases of disobedience by *mamlūks* were considered a severe breach of the master's honor. There are instances of *mamlūks* who fled from their masters out of fear. At times, *amīrs* are praised for not cursing their *mamlūks*; it can thus be assumed that cursing, humiliation and even beating of *mamluks* were not that rare.<sup>113</sup>

Although according to most legal scholars manumission creates a relationship (*walā'*) that is compared to natural kinship (i.e. a fictive kinship tie),<sup>114</sup> some legal scholars did not consider the patronate as kinship,<sup>115</sup> and almost all emphasized that blood ties and marital ties are stronger than ties of patronate.<sup>116</sup> More importantly, Mamluk historians never refer to a master as the father of his *mamlūks* or to a *mamlūk* as the son of his master solely on the basis of ties of patronate. According to Sunni classical law, freed slaves are not entitled to inherit from their master even if the latter dies without heirs. On the other hand, the manumitter has a claim to his freedman's inheritance by rights of patronate; however, he only takes the place of the last male agnate (*'aṣaba*). Therefore, he is excluded from inheritance by any male agnatic relative of his freedman, but in turn excludes the cognates (*dhawū al-arḥām*).<sup>117</sup> The fact that a master can function under certain conditions as a substitute for his freedman's kin, but the freedman is never entitled to substitute for his master's kin, has more to say, I think, about the domination of a master over his slave, remnants of which still exist even after manumission, than the creation of fictive-kinship ties between master and slave after manumission.<sup>118</sup> However, in cases or times when the master was sonless, his freedmen had a better chance to enjoy his favors.<sup>119</sup>

### 1.6 Friendship (*Ukhuwwa and Khushdāshiyya*)

A 'bond of brotherhood' (*ukhuwwa* or *muwākhāt*) is a stronger and more individualized derivative of the *khushdāshiyya* tie. Normally, it is seen as a dyadic relationship between two *mamlūks* (but also attested for civilians). Such

113 Yosef, The term *Mamlūk* 19–21.

114 Marmon, Domestic slavery 15–6; Shaham, Masters 163; Cilaro, The transmission 31–3.

115 Ibid., 40, 52.

116 See, for example, *ibid.*, 37.

117 Yosef, Masters and slaves 570–1.

118 As noted by Marmon, "[t]he discussion of slavery in the context of family law may say as much about the hierarchical structure of families as it does about the relationships between masters and slaves." See Marmon, Domestic slavery 18; see also Kumar, Service, status and military slavery 91.

119 Yosef, Masters and slaves 567–70.

bonds were of two types. One type was established between two *mamlūks* at a young age (perhaps in the barracks) and is usually characterized as involving closeness/companionship (*ṣuḥba*), affection/love (*mawadda/wadd/maḥabba*) and friendship (*ṣadāqa*). The second type of ‘brotherhood bond’ was not one of long-lasting friendship but rather an alliance consolidated by an oath. Ibn Taymiyya’s (d. 728/1328) legal definition of a ‘brotherhood bond’ (*muwākhāt*) situates it under the category of alliances, and does not mention inheritance rights or restrictions on marriage. Evidence from Mamluk sources shows that in practice *mamlūks* involved in a ‘brotherhood bond’ (*muwākhūn*, sing. *muwākhī*) did not enjoy inheritance rights and restrictions on marriage were not applicable to them. Whenever Mamluk historians report that one *mamlūk* inherited the property of another *mamlūk* there is a mention of a biological connection between them. A ‘bond of brotherhood’ could however entail some obligations, the most important of which was perhaps guardianship over the *muwākhī*’s orphans.<sup>120</sup>

Most cases of ‘brotherhood bonds’ are attested until the 1350s or 1360s. Until that time, there was a clear distinction between biological brothers and *muwākhūn*. The latter were generally not referred to by Mamluk historians as “brothers” (*ikhwa*, sing. *akh*), but as “friends” (*aṣḍiqāʾ*, sing. *ṣadīq*). Until the 1350s or 1360, not only *muwākhūn* but also the *khushdāshīyya* in general are generally not referred to by Mamluk historians as brothers but as friends. This, of course, should come as no surprise, since *ukhuwwa* was clearly deemed a stronger relationship than *khushdāshīyya*.<sup>121</sup> Starting from the 1350s or 1360s, two changes that are related to each other can be observed with respect to the relationships between *khushdāshīyya* and the terminology marking it. On the one hand, the number of dyadic ‘brotherhood’ ties among *mamlūks* declined significantly, and on the other hand, exactly at the same time, references to

120 Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 335–45; see also Sievert, Family 96–7; Eychenne, Le Sultan al-Aṣraf Ḥalil 254–7. Eychenne sometimes confuses *ukhuwwa* (‘brotherhood bond’) with *ikhwa* (‘brothers’).

121 Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 336–45. Until the 1350s or 1360s, in rare cases Mamluk historians refer to *muwākhūn* or *khushdāshīyya* as “brothers.” Quṭlubughā al-Fakhri the *muwākhī* of Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī is sometimes referred to as his “brother.” See *ibid.*, 340–1; Mamluk historians refer to al-Fāris Aqtāy (d. 652/1254) and Sunqur al-Ashqar (d. 691/1291) the *khushdāshīyya* of al-Zāhir Baybars as his “brothers.” See Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir* 79; Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-fikra* 162. It is probably not a coincidence that the two references to *khushdāshīyya* as “brothers” up to the 1350s or 1360s involve al-Zāhir Baybars. As part of building his legitimacy (a main consideration of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s treatise that enumerates his virtues) al-Zāhir Baybars aimed to depict himself as loyal to his comrades in arms; thus he is said to have avenged the death of his “brother” al-Fāris Aqtāy (*akhīhi*). See Holt, The virtuous ruler 33–4.

the *khushdāshīyya* in general, or to *mamlūks* who grew up together in the barracks as brothers (*ikhwa*) became quite common. It should be noted that even then, the number of cases in which two *mamlūks* who were *khushdāshīyya* are referred to as each other's brothers (A *akhū* B) remains limited. At the same time when *khushdāshīyya* in general start being referred to as 'brothers', Mamluk historians begin to refer to a senior *mamlūk* in charge of cadets in the barracks as *aghā* (literally, "big brother") and to his cadets as *iniyyāt* (sing. *inī*, literally, "little brother"). It should be emphasized that also after the 1350s and the change in terminology marking the relations between the *khushdāshīyya*, they did not enjoy inheritance rights, and restrictions on marriage still did not apply to them.<sup>122</sup>

### 1.7 *A Hierarchy of Social Ties*

What emerges from the survey of social ties and external usages of kinship terminology, whose main results are summarized in Table 2.1 below, is a clear hierarchy of social ties. Like blood relatives, in-laws and milk-relatives were considered "true kin" (*qarāba/nasab*), and Mamluk historians refer to both by kinship terms. In-laws were probably considered closer to the blood family than milk-relatives, since although restrictions on marriage were applicable to both, only in-laws enjoyed inheritance rights.<sup>123</sup> Adopted *mamlūks* ranked lower than in-laws and milk-relatives in the hierarchy of social ties. They were not considered true kin, and Mamluk historians do not refer to them by kinship terms; however, they do mention that some of them were known as kin. Although adopted *mamlūks* did not enjoy inheritance rights, it is possible that restrictions on marriage were applicable to them. Moreover, they seem to have functioned as substitute sons for their masters. Fostered *mamlūks* who were not adopted ranked even lower. They were not known as kin, did not enjoy inheritance rights, and restrictions on marriage were not applicable to them. However, *mamlūks* fostered by a sonless master functioned as substitute sons and are said to have been "like kin." The few adopted *mamlūks* and fostered *mamlūks* were what may be called "true fictive kin." Some of the fostered *mamlūks* and other favored *mamlūks* that were singled out, sometimes from a young age, were related to their master by marital ties and integrated into his family, thus becoming real kin. The mass of freedmen ranked the

<sup>122</sup> Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 346–55.

<sup>123</sup> A common social hierarchy in Islamic law books places blood (*nasab*) over affinity (*muṣāhara*) over milk (*raḍā'a*). See Parkes, *Alternative social structures* 5; for anthropological research showing a similar hierarchy, see Ensel, *Colactation and fictive kinship* 83, 87.

lowest.<sup>124</sup> They were not referred to as kin, not known as kin, and were not said to have been “like kin.” Most of them probably did not enjoy a personal relationship with their master at all. All this would seem to belie somewhat Dror Ze’evi’s claim that in the Mamluk household “the differences between surrogate family and ‘real’ family were blurred beyond recognition.”<sup>125</sup> Judging by terminology, for most *mamlūks* the relationship with the *khushdāshīyya* was more significant than the relationship with the master.<sup>126</sup> Up to the 1350s, the more personal ‘brotherhood bond’ played a more important role. Up to that time however, the *khushdāshīyya* in general and more specifically *muwākhūn* were only rarely referred to by kinship terms. Starting from the 1350s, the relationship with the *khushdāshīyya* in general grew in importance and references to *khushdāshīyya* as ‘brothers’ became common, but even then it can be assumed that the more significant relationships were personal ties forged in the barracks by the *aghā* and his *inīyyāt*.<sup>127</sup>

TABLE 2.1 *Social ties and external usages of kinship terminology by Mamluk historians*

	<i>Nasab/ qarāba</i>	Kinship terms	Known as kin	Restrictions on marriage	Inheritance rights
<b>In-laws</b>	+	+	+	+	+
<b>Milk-relatives</b>	+	+	+	+	–
<b>Adopted <i>mamlūks</i></b>	–	–	+	+?	–
<b>Fostered <i>mamlūks</i></b>	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Freedmen in general</b>	–	–	–	–	–
<b><i>Khushdāshīyya/ ukhuwwa</i></b>	–	Up to the 1350s rare; after 1350s common	–	–	–

124 Another common hierarchy in Islamic law books ranks blood ties (*qurbā/rahīm*) over marital ties (*muṣāhara*) over patronate ties (*walāʾ*). See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* x, 402.

125 Ze’evi, *My slave* 80.

126 In the Seljuq context, Deborah Tor noted that “one can perhaps more safely assume that bonds of loyalty did form between the slave-soldier and those with whom he was in close and regular contact, including his comrades, trainers, and fellow slave-soldiers—the phenomenon that Ayalon identified as *khushdāshīyya*.” See Tor, *Mamlūk loyalty* 772; see also *ibid.*, 787.

127 See also Levanoni, The sultan’s *laqab* 93–4, 109; Sievert, *Family* 93–4.

## 2 Usages of Kinship Terms in Oral and Written Communication

After this analysis of the categories of social ties and external usages of kinship terms by Mamluk historians, we can now turn to a detailed exploration of the usages of kinship terms in oral and written communication. This section is divided into three parts: usages of ‘father-son’ terminology, usages of ‘brothers’ terminology, and usages of other kinship terms which are in fact limited to usages of the term ‘uncle’. At the beginning of each part, I survey the cases of usages of kinship terminology that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ as envisaged by Ayalon, and then also examine usages that do not fit this structure and their contexts, some involving *mamlūks* and others not.

### 2.1 ‘Father-Son’ Terminology

#### 2.1.1 Usages of ‘Father-Son’ Terminology that Fit the Structure of the “*Mamlūk* Family”

I have only come across five cases of usages of ‘father-son’ terminology in oral and written communication that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ as envisaged by Ayalon (see Table 2.2 below). Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn is reported to have addressed each of his *mamlūks* Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī al-Nāṣirī, Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī al-Nāṣirī, and Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī as “my son”; Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (d. 728/1327) is said to have addressed his *mamlūk* Bikhān as “my son”; and Bulāṭ al-Nāṣirī (d. 815/1412) is reported to have said to his master al-Nāṣir Faraj “you are ... my father.”

As mentioned, Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī and Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī (nos. 1, 2 in Table 2.2) were among the few fostered *mamlūks* who are said to have had the status of a son in their master’s household (see section 1.4 above). Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (no. 3 in Table 2.2) was one of the favored *mamlūks* who are said to “have been raised” by their master. He was married to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s daughter and thus became his son-in-law (see section 1.4 above). Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is said to have addressed him as his son on his deathbed when he made him a guardian (*waṣī*) over his children, and he is quoted as saying to him: “take my children as your own and raise them as I have raised you” (*taḍummahum ilā awlādika wa-turabbīyahum mithla mā rabbaytuka*).<sup>128</sup> In all three cases, the ‘father-son’ terminology is not employed out of simple patronate ties, but expresses a closer tie between the master and his *mamlūks*.

128 al-Shujāʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 160.

TABLE 2.2 *Father-Son' terminology in oral and written communication that fits the structure of the 'mamlūk family' as envisaged by Ayalon*

1.	Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341) addressed his <i>mamlūk</i> Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342) as “my son” ( <i>yā waladī</i> ) <sup>a</sup>	<b>fostered <i>mamlūk</i></b>
2.	Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn addressed his <i>mamlūk</i> Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1342) as “my son” ( <i>yā ibnī</i> ) <sup>b</sup>	<b>fostered <i>mamlūk</i></b>
3.	Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn addressed his <i>mamlūk</i> Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 742/1342) as “my son” ( <i>yā waladī</i> ) <sup>c</sup>	<b>son-in-law</b>
4.	Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (d. 728/1327) addressed his <i>mamlūk</i> Bikhān as “my son” ( <i>yā waladī</i> ) <sup>d</sup>	<b>context of <i>khidma</i></b>
5.	Bulāṭ al-Nāṣirī (d. 815/1412) said to his master al-Nāṣir Faraj (d. 815/1412) “you are ... my father” ( <i>anta ... abī</i> ) <sup>e</sup>	<b>total submission</b>

a al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* iv, 115.b al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'riḫ al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 82.c Ibid., 160; Qawṣūn was also referred to by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's *mamlūks* as their master's son (*ibn ustādḥ*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 14, 25–6.d Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* ix, 225.e Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 119.

### 2.1.2 Usages of 'Father-Son' Terminology Relating to In-Laws that do not Fit the Structure of the “*Mamlūk* Family”

There is, of course, nothing specifically Mamluk or *mamlūk* in addressing an in-law, or referring to him as a son or father in the course of dialogue and other communication.<sup>129</sup> Yūsuf ibn Ṣārūjā al-Ḥijāzī (d. 836/1432–3), who married a daughter of Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī al-Zāhirī (d. 818/1415), used to call his father-in-law “my father” (*abī*), and eventually became known by the *kunya* Abū Ṭūghān;<sup>130</sup> al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar, who married a daughter of Sūdūn al-Faqīh, is

129 For such a usage in the Ilkhanid context, see Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-fikra* 311.130 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* x, 318.

reported to have addressed his father-in-law as “my father” (*yā abī*);<sup>131</sup> al-Nāṣir Faraj (d. 815/1412), who married a daughter of Taghrī Birdī min Bashbughā al-Zāhirī (d. 815/1412),<sup>132</sup> is reported to have addressed his father-in-law as “my father” (*yā abī*),<sup>133</sup> or to have referred to him as “my father” (*abī*).<sup>134</sup> The Amīr Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī is reported to have said to Taghrī Birdī: “you are ... the father-in-law (*ḥamū*) of the Sultan [al-Nāṣir Faraj] and the most senior among his father’s *mamlūks*, therefore you are like his father Barqūq to him” (*fā-anta indahu fī maqām Barqūq*).<sup>135</sup> Shaykh’s words make it clear that Taghrī Birdī’s status as al-Nāṣir Faraj’s ‘father’ was related to the fact that he was his father-in-law. It is also implicit in his words that after the death of a biological father, a father-in-law could function as a substitute for a father.<sup>136</sup> Shortly after Taghrī Birdī’s death, al-Nāṣir Faraj, who became one of the guardians of Taghrī Birdī’s minor orphans, is quoted saying about them: “they are my children, my in-laws, and my brothers” (*ḥā’ulā’i awlādī wa-aṣḥārī wa-ikhwatī*).<sup>137</sup> In this case a brother-in-law functioned as a substitute for a dead father.<sup>138</sup> Because al-Nāṣir Faraj was the brother-in-law of Taghrī Birdī’s orphans, and because he was about their age, he also referred to them as his brothers. It should be noted that Taghrī Birdī was not only al-Nāṣir Faraj’s father-in-law but also his relative (perhaps his maternal uncle),<sup>139</sup> which most certainly also contributed to al-Nāṣir Faraj addressing him, or referring to him, as a father, and referring to Taghrī Birdī’s children as his own children or as his brothers.<sup>140</sup>

131 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 176.

132 Idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 39, 42.

133 Ibid., 40.

134 Ibid., viii, 398. He even used to address him as “*aṭā*” (father in Turkish). See idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiii, 83.

135 Ibid., 85.

136 For a representative example of a father-in-law who is referred to as a substitute for a biological father, see Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos* 83.

137 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiii, 139.

138 Al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 745/1344) is reported to have referred to his brother-in-law Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī as “his father after [the death of] his [biological] father” (*wāliduhu ba’da wālidihī*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 30; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 578; for the context of this statement, see below; for in-laws other than fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law referred to as a substitute for a biological father, see also section 2.3 below.

139 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xii, 106; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vi, 316; viii, 401; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 81.

140 There is evidence that at times relatives addressed each other, or were referred to, as sons or fathers. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* v, 324; viii, 384; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vi, 219. Relatives could become a substitute for a dead parent. For example, Ibn

2.1.3 Oral/Written Communication, Official/Non-Official  
Communication, and Usages of ‘Father-Son’ Terminology  
Reflecting Hierarchy, and Seniority in Age, Rank, or Status

Whereas al-Nāṣir Muḥammad addressing Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī as a son comes in the context of what is presented as an oral communication between the two (no. 3 in Table 2.2), the addressing of Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī and Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī as sons is presented as part of what is said to have been a written communication (nos. 1, 2 in Table 2.2). Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who was planning to arrest the Amīr Tankiz al-Nāṣirī, is said to have written letters to his two *mamlūks*: “The Sultan secretly wrote to al-Fakhrī asking him to arrest Tankiz telling him—‘my son’ ...” (*kataba al-sultān ilā al-Fakhrī fī l-bāṭin fī imsāk Tankiz wa-qāla la-hu yā waladī ...*);<sup>141</sup> and “he wrote a letter to the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur ... informing him what should be done with Tankiz, telling him—‘my son’ ...” (*kataba kitāb al-amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur ... yu‘arrifuhu fī-hi akhbār Tankiz wa-mā jarā minhu wa-yaqūlu la-hu yā ibnī ...*).<sup>142</sup>

While some historians had access to the official correspondence of sultans and *amīrs* that are sometimes quoted verbatim in their history books, and the chancery men among them even composed such letters, it is less likely that historians had access to personal, non-official, and less formal communication between *amīrs*, or the sultan and his *amīrs*. Historians or their informants could have been present when a sultan or *amīr* received such letters and could have been informed about the content of such letters, but the exact wording of such letters are not likely to have been preserved and must have been paraphrased. At other times, the wording of the alleged communication was probably totally invented by historians or their informants. The exact content of the above-mentioned letters that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is said to have sent to Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī and Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī, if such letters were sent at all, could not have been known to historians or their informants; the letter to Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī is said to have been secretly written. They appear to be presented as a paraphrase of letters that take a form very similar to that of a dialogue (*qāla la-hu/yaqūlu la-hu*), and it is very likely that the wording was invented. In this sense, such “quotations” from correspondence are not very different from quoted dialogues whose wording is paraphrased by historians or their informants, or totally invented by them. This is part of a phenomenon that has often been referred to as a “literarization” of history writing which

---

Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī says that his sister was like a mother to him after his mother’s death (*ummī ba‘da ummī*). See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 302.

141 al-Ṣafādī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* iv, 115.

142 al-Shujā‘ī, *Ta’rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 81–2.

took place during the Mamluk period.<sup>143</sup> Nevertheless, even if paraphrased or totally invented, we may safely assume that dialogues and correspondence in Mamluk history books reflect actual contemporary usages. Even when inventing content and wording, historians must have had in mind what could have been said or written in these dialogues or correspondence. Therefore, the fact that a communication between two persons is presented by historians as a correspondence is perhaps not insignificant since in such cases they were probably inclined to take into consideration the norms of the writing of correspondence.

As in preceding periods, part of the protocol employed in official communication during the Mamluk period drew on kinship terminology. According to Mamluk protocol, such usages of kinship terminology were carefully employed in accordance with the position, status, and rank of the sender and recipient, and were meant to express hierarchy and seniority in age, rank or status at least as much as they were meant to express affinity. According to al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), “the fatherly” (*al-wālidī*) is one of the titles used in reference to seniors (*al-musinnīn min al-akābir*). It metaphorically refers to the addressee as a father (*ka-annahu ja’alahu wālidan la-hu*), but it may also refer to a biological father (*al-wālid ḥaqīqatan*). The title is normally used in correspondence (*mukātabāt*).<sup>144</sup> Similarly, the title “the sonly” (*al-waladī*) which is normally used in correspondence is one of the titles used in reference to juniors (*al-aḥdāth*). It metaphorically refers to the addressee as a son (*ka-annahu ja’alahu waladan la-hu*), but it may also refer to a biological son (*al-walad ḥaqīqatan*).<sup>145</sup> The title “the brotherly” (*al-akhawī*) is normally used in correspondence among equals (*al-mukātabāt al-ikhwāniyya*); that is, correspondence among friends (*wa-l-murād al-mukātabāt al-dā’ira bayna al-aṣdiqā’*), and, sometimes, in correspondence among rulers (*al-mukātabāt al-mulūkiyya*) if the status of the two sides is similar (*idhā kāna qadr al-malikayni al-mutakātibayni mutaḥariban*). It metaphorically refers to the addressee as a brother (*ka-annahu ja’alahu akhāhu*),<sup>146</sup> it can, however, be used with reference to a biological brother.<sup>147</sup> When addressing another ruler, the sultan may alternatively use “he who has the status of our son/brother/father” (*maḥall*

143 See Little, *Historiography* 425–7; Hirschler, *Studying Mamluk historiography* 168; but see Irwin, *Mamluk history and historians* 165.

144 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā* vi, 34.

145 *Ibid.*, 35; and see also *ibid.*, vii, 148.

146 *Ibid.*, vi, 5; viii, 130.

147 *Ibid.*, vi, 121.

*waladinā/akhīnā/wālidinā*) according to the status of the addressee.<sup>148</sup> When addressing a senior *amīr* (*al-akābir al-umarāʾ*) the ruler may open the letter by referring to himself as “his brother” (*akhūhu*), and when addressing a junior *amīr* (*man dūnahum*) or *mamlūk* he may refer to himself as “his father” (*wāliduhu*). “His brother” may also be used when addressing other rulers, bedouin *amīrs*, high ranking *qādīs* and Sufis, and high-ranking persons and seniors in general (*al-akābir*).<sup>149</sup> When appointing clerks, the chief secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) may honor the appointee by referring to him as “the brother” (*al-akh*), but if the appointee is junior (*ṣaghīr*) he may refer to him as “the son” (*al-walad*).<sup>150</sup>

Actual examples of official letters sent to foreign rulers or received from them that contain such usages of kinship terminology which reflect hierarchy and seniority can be easily found in al-Qalqashandī’s *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* or in other Mamluk sources.<sup>151</sup> As for actual official communication within the Sultanate, a good example of how such usages were meant to express hierarchy and seniority can be found in letters that al-Zāhir Baybars is reported to have sent to his *amīrs*, parts of which are cited by al-Maqrīzī. ‘Abd al-Rāziq saw evidence in the terminology employed in these letters that the master was considered to be the father of his *mamlūks*. According to ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-Zāhir Baybars sent a letter from Damascus to his *mamlūks* (*mamālikihī*) in Egypt opening with “your father sends his regards and longs for your presence” (*wālidukum yusallimu ‘alaykum wa-yatashawwaqu ilaykum*).<sup>152</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, however, does not mention *mamlūks* at all. According to al-Maqrīzī, al-Zāhir Baybars sent letters to senior *amīrs* (*akābir al-umarāʾ*) in which he addressed them by referring to himself as “your son” (*waladukum*), and letters to more junior *amīrs* (*baqiyyatihim*) in which he addressed them by referring to himself as “your brother” (*akhūkum*), or “your father” (*wālidukum*).<sup>153</sup> While some of the junior *amīrs* were probably al-Zāhir Baybars’ *mamlūks*, the terminology employed in these letters has nothing to do with the structure of the so-called ‘*mamlūk family*.’ It

148 Ibid., vii, 41. Al-‘Abbāsī (flourished during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign) puts more emphasis on the age of the rulers. See al-‘Abbāsī, *Āthār al-uwal* 101–2.

149 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* viii, 23; and see also *ibid.*, vii, 235.

150 Ibid., vi, 201.

151 Ibid., vii, 250, 272–3, 429; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* ii, 68; v, 96; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 204, 354; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* ii, 186; Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-fikra* 219; on the careful manner in which the terminology was chosen in order to reflect the proper hierarchy and seniority, see for example, al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* ii, 68.

152 ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Alāqāt al-usriyya 156.

153 al-Maqrīzī *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 599. Al-Maqrīzī is citing Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir* 395.

is clearly employed according to a formal protocol of hierarchy and the relative seniority of the addressees.<sup>154</sup>

There are few examples for usages of the titles “the fatherly” (*al-wālidī*) and “the sonly” (*al-waladī*) in actual correspondence within the Sultanate.<sup>155</sup> The title “the sonly” (*al-waladī*) is mostly attested when addressing biological sons or when referring to them.<sup>156</sup> It is also attested once when addressing a *mamlūk*'s descendant who is not the biological son of the addresser. Al-Şafadī quotes verbatim a letter which he wrote in the name of Tankiz al-Nāşirī to Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1332) in order to congratulate the latter for receiving the rank of *muqaddam alf*, in which Aḥmad is addressed as “the sonly.”<sup>157</sup> Note, however, that Tankiz al-Nāşirī was Aḥmad's father-in-law.<sup>158</sup> The title “the fatherly” (*al-wālidī*) is even less commonly attested. According to al-Şafadī, the Amīr Janklī ibn Albābā (d. 746/1346) was addressed as “the fatherly” (*al-wālidī*) during the reign of al-Şāliḥ Ismā'īl ibn al-Nāşir Muḥammad (d. 746/1345, r. 743–746/1342–1345). Al-Şafadī mentions this right after he mentions that al-Nāşir Muḥammad married his son Ibrāhīm (d. 738/1338) to Janklī's daughter, which seems to suggest that there was a connection between the fact that Janklī was an in-law of the Qalāwūids and the fact that he was addressed as “the fatherly.”<sup>159</sup> In all these cases, while not unrelated to seniority, the usages of kinship terminology mainly express affinity.

Still, there are examples of actual usages of the title “the fatherly” which were mainly meant to express seniority. During the days of al-Zāhir Baybars,

154 Moreover, the “longing for the presence (*ishtiyāq*), although, interestingly expressed in this case by the superior, situates the letters in the context of a relationship of service (*khidma*). See Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 408; on *khidma* and kinship terminology expressing subordination, loyalty, and obedience, see section 2.1.4 below.

155 I have not come across any actual usages of the title “the brotherly” (*al-akhawī*) in official correspondence within the Sultanate. For a usage of “his brother” (*akhūhu*), see Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* viii, 324–5.

156 al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 183; xii, 221–3 (esp. 223); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abşār*, ed. al-Sariḥī et al., xii, 358. The title “the daughterly” (*al-waladīyya*) is attested in a letter sent by al-Nāşir Muḥammad to his daughter. See al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 182.

157 al-Şafadī, *A'yān al-'aşr* i, 185.

158 Ibid., 184. Al-Şafadī wrote a letter to 'Alī ibn Tankiz, the brother of Aḥmad's wife, in the name of Aḥmad's father the Amīr Baktimur al-Sāqī, in which 'Alī is said to have the status of a son (*bi-manzilāt al-walad*). See *ibid.*, iii, 322.

159 Ibid., ii, 165. The title “the motherly” (*al-wālidīyya*) is attested as an address in a letter sent to Sitt Ḥadaq by al-Nāşir Ḥasan. See al-Qalqashandī, *Şubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 183. Sitt Ḥadaq was the child-nurse (*dāda*) of al-Nāşir Ḥasan whose mother died when he was young. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm al-zāhira* ix, 196; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* i, 155.

the *wazīr* Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā (d. 677/1278) was addressed in a letter of appointment as “the fatherly” (*al-wālidī*).<sup>160</sup> According to al-Kutubī (d. 765/1363), al-Zāhir Baybars respected him and used to call him “my father” (*kāna al-Malik al-Zāhir yu'azzimuhu wa-yad'ūhu yā abī*),<sup>161</sup> which suggests that Ibn Ḥannā was addressed as “the fatherly” in official communication because he was considered to be senior. It is possible that al-Kutubī's claim that al-Zāhir Baybars used to call Ibn Ḥannā “my father” is actually based on official communication that al-Kutubī was aware of in which Ibn Ḥannā was addressed as “the fatherly.” It is more likely that usages of kinship terminology in more personal, non-official, and less formal communication were not unrelated to official usages; however, the former took a less formal and more familiar form.

Further evidence that usages of kinship terminology in informal communication were not unrelated to official usages comes from the following. Ibn Taghrī Birdī quotes parts of a letter sent by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to the Amīr Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī, in which the latter is addressed as “the fatherly” (*al-abawī*).<sup>162</sup> As far as I know, the title *al-abawī* is not attested otherwise, but there is no reason to think that it differs much from the title *al-wālidī*. At that time, Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī is said to have been the most senior (*akbar*) among the freedmen of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn,<sup>163</sup> and, as mentioned, according to al-Qalqashandī, *al-wālidī* was one of the titles used in reference to seniors (*akābir*). Ibn Taghrī Birdī relates that when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave the letter to the envoy he told him: “send my regards to my father” (*sallim 'alā abī*), that is to Qarā Sunqur.<sup>164</sup> Here we have side by side the formal usage in a correspondence and the informal usage in an oral communication. Both, however, are meant to express Qarā Sunqur's seniority.<sup>165</sup> While this shows that oral communication (and dialogues in history books that reflect them) was affected by official usages, it would seem reasonable to assume that when historians presented a communication as a correspondence they were more inclined to employ kinship terms when relating the content of the communication.

There are other examples of usages of ‘father-son’ terminology in what is presented by historians as dialogue or oral communication that were meant

160 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 265–8 (esp. 267).

161 al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* ii, 153.

162 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 241.

163 *Ibid.*, 242.

164 *Ibid.*, 241.

165 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Qarā Sunqur did not have a close relationship, and the kinship terminology in this case has nothing to do with the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ as envisaged by Ayalon.

to express seniority, mostly seniority in age. Some cases involve *mamlūks*, but they have nothing to do with the structure of the so-called ‘*mamlūk* family.’ When al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was coronated he is reported to have addressed the Vice-Sultan Ariqtāy al-Qibjaqī (d. 750/1349) as “my father” (*ya abati*), and his young age (*ṣiḡhar sinnihi*) at that time is being emphasized.<sup>166</sup> During the reign of the young Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān (r. 764–778/1363–1377), the eunuch Ṣabīḥ al-Khāzin was considered to be so senior (*muqaddam*) that al-Ashraf Sha‘bān and the senior *amīrs* (*al-akābir*) used to address him as “my father” (*yā abī*).<sup>167</sup> During the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār in 699/1299, the Amīr Lājīn al-Ustādār al-Rūmī (d. 702/1302) accompanied the minor Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and was in charge of his safety.<sup>168</sup> In that context, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is said to have addressed Lājīn as “my father” (*yā abī*).<sup>169</sup> A shaykh by the name of ‘Alī is reported to have referred to the Sultan al-Muẓaffar Ḥājījī (d. 748/1347) as “my son” (*ibnī*).<sup>170</sup> At times addressing someone as “my son” (*yā waladī*) is clearly meant to express disrespect.<sup>171</sup>

#### 2.1.4 Usages of ‘Father-Son’ Terminology in the Context of *Khidma* (Service): Authority, Loyalty, Obedience, Subordination, and Conflict

More generally, kinship terms were used in the context of *khidma* relationships. *Khidma* is “a generic term for a relationship between two people in a hierarchy.”<sup>172</sup> As noted by Michael Chamberlain, in its broadest sense, *khidma* means service given in the domestic or political sphere, “[w]ithin the household it included the service of wives to husbands, the young to the old, and

166 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 187; see also al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* i, 155; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 745.

167 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Imbā’ al-ghumr* i, 86; see also al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-kalām* i, 203.

168 al-‘Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* iv, 13.

169 Ibid., 25.

170 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 758. In this case the ‘father-son’ terminology is probably also used to express a close relationship, since the shaykh was al-Muẓaffar Ḥājījī’s boon companion. At times a shaykh is reported to have addressed a student or a young man, or to have referred to him, as “my son” (*yā ibnī/yā waladī/ibnī*). In such cases, the kinship terminology often expresses a close relationship as well as seniority, see for example al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān* i, 30; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* i, 164; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vi, 89; ix, 308 (a shaykh is quoted saying to his student’s father: “this is your biological son but he is my spiritual son” [*ibnuka hādhā min al-ṭīn wa-huwa ibnī fi l-dīn*]); and see Chamberlain, *Knowledge* 108–10; and see section 2.1.4 below (esp. footnote no. 188).

171 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 416.

172 Brentjes, The language of ‘patronage’ 15.

servants to masters; outside it many forms of subordination were presented as *khidma*.<sup>173</sup> During the Ayyubid and Mamluk period, both military and civilian elites understood their ties of loyalty, dependence, and reciprocal obligations as a voluntary service (*khidma*).<sup>174</sup> *Khidma* referred to service at courts, *dīwāns*, and the retinues of powerful men. Everyone who received stipends from the ruler were said to be in his service. Political support during a struggle for power (*fitna*) was also conceived in terms of service.<sup>175</sup>

In a detailed study on *khidma* in eastern Iran in the twelfth century, Jürgen Paul defined *khidma* as “the binding subordination of a slave or a free-born noble to a lord, master, or patron—often the ruling sultan, but sometimes lesser figures—involving mutual obligations and mutual loyalty.”<sup>176</sup> While the extended meaning of *khidma* is a “relation between a patron and his client, a master and his slave and freedman, and a lord and his vassal,”<sup>177</sup> the focus of Paul’s study is *khidma* that involves a direct link between a ruler and his retainers (slaves/freedmen and vassals), and, more specifically, the ruler and his subordinated vassals.<sup>178</sup> The term *khidma* could also be employed in reference to

173 Chamberlain, *The Crusader era* 238–9.

174 Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 116; see also Brentjes, *The language of ‘patronage’* 15: “*Khidma* seems to cover all sorts of ‘services’, military as well as civilian ones, religious as well as secular types.”

175 Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 116–8; Eychenne, *Le sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalil* 256–7.

176 Paul, *Khidma in the social history* 392.

177 *Ibid.*, 407.

178 *Ibid.*, 394–6 (esp. 394), 417. In fact, according to Paul’s narrower definition of *khidma*, it only involves the relationship between a ruler and his retainers. Patron-client relations, on the other hand, “are contracted between free-born individuals and concern mostly the links between the administration and local ... notables.” See *ibid.*, 394. The complicated issue of the definition of patronage is beyond the scope of this chapter. It should be noted, however, that according to Marina Rustow, “[t]he word patronage refers to at least three things in the context of medieval Islamicate courts and societies: granting political and economic benefits in exchange for cultural production; the formal legal institution of *walāʾ*; and more broadly, the bonds of benefaction and dependence between all kinds of patrons and clients.” See Rustow, *Formal and informal patronage* 350. As noted by Sonja Brentjes, *khidma* terminology gradually became the dominant language of patronage. The increasing application of this terminology in Ayyubid and Mamluk sources, however, “poses serious problems for the understanding of what constitutes ‘patronage’ and what belonged to other categories of social relationships, if we do not wish to inflate the usage of the term ‘patronage’ to any and sundry kind of *khidma*.” See Brentjes, *The language of ‘patronage’* 15. However, many scholars use the term “patron” in a broad sense. For example, Michael Chamberlain speaks of warriors trading service (*khidma*) for benefits (*nīma*)

the presence of the royal person or his court. It also conveyed the encounters between the superior and the subordinated party.<sup>179</sup> In return for service, the superior is expected to bestow benefits (*ni'ma*) on his subordinates, which in turn obliges the subordinates “to offer ever more thanks and service, so that a dynamic process is set in motion.”<sup>180</sup> The correct practice of *khidma* is called *wafā'* (loyalty, fidelity), which involves reciprocity—“not only does it require the retainer to be loyal to his king—or, more generally, the recipient of benefits to be loyal to his benefactor—but it also obligates the king to keep his promises and act according to the rules [of *khidma*].”<sup>181</sup> *Khidma* relations often included a contractual element, and generally concluded by taking an oath.<sup>182</sup> *Khidma* is also “a formal ceremony in which a man accepts a subordinate status with regard to a superior who from then on (whether for the first time, or again, after a ‘rebellion’) is his lord.” The ceremony regularly involves dismounting and kissing the ground and sometimes the giving and receiving of gifts, or the swearing of an oath.<sup>183</sup> Giving gifts was an integral part of establishing a *khidma* relationship, and presents called *khidma* were meant sometimes to reestablish a *khidma* relationship between a rebellious group or person and a ruler.<sup>184</sup> A rebel could ask to be reintegrated into the ruler's *khidma* after a military defeat through negotiations. To do so, he had to obtain a letter of safe conduct (*amān*).<sup>185</sup> A change of allegiance would normally also involve some ceremonial elements, and sometimes a declaration of obedience (*tā'a*) to the new lord.<sup>186</sup>

---

of their patrons. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 43; in his detailed study on patronage, conflict and Mamluk socio-political culture, Van Steenbergen described the socio-political structure of the Mamluk Sultanate as a “pyramid of vertical patron-client ties,” comprised of a ruler, senior *amīrs*, junior *amīrs* and *mamlūks*. The relationship between a patron and his client, basically a relationship of power, always concerned the exchange of patronage. The patron's favor (*ni'ma*) was granted in exchange for a client's service (*khidma*), subordination and assistance. See Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos* 57–62; I myself have used the word patron in this broad sense. See Yosef, The term *mamlūk* 10–1; on *khidma*, *ni'ma*, and patronage, see also Rustow, Formal and informal patronage 352–7; Stewart, Professional literary mendicancy 41–2; Sievert, Family 94–5; Cohen, A partnership gone bad 237.

179 Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 407; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 116.

180 Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 402–3.

181 *Ibid.*, 404.

182 *Ibid.*, 401.

183 Paul, Sanjar and Atsız 91; *idem*, *Khidma* in the social history 408–9.

184 *Idem*, *Khidma* in the social history 408.

185 *Ibid.*, 411–3; *idem*, Sanjar and Atsız 92, 121.

186 *Idem*, *Khidma* in the social history 414–5.

As noted by Chamberlain, military and civilian elites experienced their critical bonds as ties of intimacy and affection. These ties, including bonds of *khidma*, were expressed in the language of personal affection and household intimacy, and conceived of in terms of “love.”<sup>187</sup> Chamberlain, however, did not refer to usages of kinship terminology in the context of *khidma*.<sup>188</sup> Paul noted that the “*khidma* relationship is linked to servitude on the one hand, and kinship on the other. It is thus seen in a patrimonial way.”<sup>189</sup> All the ‘servants’ in the *khidma* of the ruler are treated rhetorically as if they were slaves, or, alternatively addressed in terms of kinship (“rhetorical kinship”).<sup>190</sup> Because Paul’s main focus is the relationship between a ruler and his vassals, all the examples he provides for usages of kinship terminology involve free-born nobles. He does mention briefly, however, that “[s]laves, especially, if they had served for a long time, could be elevated to ranks in ‘kinship’.”<sup>191</sup> In what follows, it will be shown that during the Mamluk period, the ‘father-son’ terminology was used in varied contexts related to *khidma* (civilian and military). The ‘father-son’ terminology was employed with respect to free-born and *mamlūk* ‘servants’ alike. Many times, the ‘father-son’ terminology is used in situations of conflict (*fitna*) and/or contested authority or loyalty. Such cases, however, are not restricted to the relationship between a ruler and his ‘servants’. Usages of kinship terminology in such cases are meant to express service, subordination, loyalty, and obedience.

I start with the few examples of usages of ‘father-son’ terminology related to *khidma* that do not appear in the context of contested authority or loyalty. Right after it is reported that a certain Sharaf al-Dīn Dā’ūd “used to serve” a Hanafi religious scholar (*kāna ... yakhdumuhu*), the latter is reported to have addressed him as “my son” (*yā ibnī*) in the course of dialogue between the two (taking place in a dream).<sup>192</sup> It is reported that a religious scholar “became

187 Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 43, 113–4.

188 Usages of kinship terminology in military context are not mentioned at all. Chamberlain does mention that civilians used “language taken from the family” to represent their ties, but not in the context of his discussion of *khidma*. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice* 109–10.

189 Paul, *Khidma in the social history* 417.

190 Ibid., 405; see also *ibid.*, 396: “[T]erms relating to slavery or kinship ... are used with regard to slaves and free-born nobles alike.”; for concrete examples of usages of servile terminology mainly with reference to free-born vassals, see *ibid.*, 400, 405–6, 413, 415; on *khidma* and servile terminology, see also Stewart, *Professional literary mendicancy* 42; on patronage and kinship terminology, see Westbrook, *Patronage* 213–5.

191 Paul, *Khidma in the social history* 405.

192 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān* iii, 205.

attached to the service" (*lāzama khidmatahu*) of the inspector of the sultan's private treasury (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*). The inspector started trusting him, and relying on him, and eventually started referring to him as a son.<sup>193</sup> It is reported that in 711/1311 al-Nāẓir Muḥammad wanted to arrest several *amīrs*. The Amīr Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī decided to escape to Ilkhanid territories and said his goodbyes to his sons and his *mamlūk* Bikhān. In that context it is reported that Bikhān told Qarā Sunqur that he wanted to accompany him and die in his service (*lā amūtu illā fi khidamika*). In response, Qarā Sunqur told him "my son (*yā waladī*), do as my children do [and stay]."<sup>194</sup> These examples show that the 'father-son' terminology related to *khidma* was used in civilian (religious or bureaucratic) and military contexts,<sup>195</sup> and that it involved free-born and *mamlūks* alike. In fact, the case of Qarā Sunqur and Bikhān is the only instance in which the 'father-son' terminology employed in the context of *khidma* fits the so-called structure of the '*mamlūk* family' (no. 4 in Table 2.2). While the 'father-son' terminology in these cases is not unrelated to subordination and loyalty (especially the case of Qarā Sunqur and Bikhān), it is used mainly to express a close relationship based on personal service.

While the case of Qarā Sunqur and Bikhān concerns a relationship between a *mamlūk* 'servant' and a superior who is not the ruler, other examples of usages of 'father-son' terminology involve a relationship between a ruler and his free-born 'servants'. Such usages appear mainly when a subordinating bond of *khidma* is being established or reconfirmed. After the death of the ruler of Ḥamāt al-Manṣūr Muḥammad II in 683/1284, Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn is reported to have traveled to Damascus in order to reconfirm the status of al-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd II (d. 698/1299) the new ruler of Ḥamāt as his subordinated vassal. Al-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd is said to have "entered the service of the sultan [i.e. encountered him, in this case in order to establish a *khidma* bond]" (*dakhala ilā khidmat al-sultān*), and in that context al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn is reported to have said to him "you are my son (*anta waladī*), and you are more dear to me (*a'azz*) than my own son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ['Alī]."<sup>196</sup>

193 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* vi, 10 (the text reads *šāra yaṣifuhu bi-l-wālid*. It is more likely that the word *wālid* should, in fact, be *walad*).

194 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* ix, 225.

195 For a case involving a chief *qādī* and a *mamlūk amīr*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 741.

196 Ibn al-Wardī, *Ta'riḫ Ibn al-Wardī* ii, 225–6; see also Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Cairo 1907, iv, 20; Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl mufarrij al-kurūb* 211. For a usage of "the fatherly" (*al-wālidī*) accompanied by the "longing for the presence" (*ishtiyāq*) of the superior expressing the subordination of a free-born vassal, see Broadbridge, *Kingship and ideology* 188–95; see also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* vii, 343–4, 350; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 358; Fischel, New latin source 212; on *ishtiyāq* as a

In other cases, the ruler offers a free-born noble to become his subordinated 'servant'. It is reported that al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn wanted to release from prison a son of the former Ayyubid ruler of al-Karak, and offer him to become an *amīr* in charge of one hundred horsemen and enter his service, telling him: "serve me and become one of my sons" (*takūnu ma'ī wa-īndī wa-min jumlat awlādī*).<sup>197</sup> Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb is reported to have used similar words when offering al-Zāhir Shādhī (d. 681/1282), the son of al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd (d. 656/1258), to become his subordinated 'servant'. After al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd, the ruler of al-Karak, left for the East leaving al-Karak in the hands of Shādhī, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb wrote a letter to Shādhī telling him: "I am your father after your father (*anā abūka ba'da abūka*). I will not take al-Karak from you by force, but if you want to sell me al-Karak I will make you in charge of one hundred horsemen and you will enter my service (*takūnu 'indī*) in Egypt and become one of my sons (*min jumlat awlādī*) instead."<sup>198</sup> Shādhī, who realized that this 'offer' should not be refused, wrote a reply to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb telling him: "I am your slave and son (*anā mamlūkuka wa-waladuka*), and I will sell you al-Karak." Then it is mentioned that Shādhī became *amīr* in Egypt in the service (*fi khidmat*) of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.<sup>199</sup> In this case, servile terminology and kinship terminology are used to express subordination (and obedience), and the words *mamlūk* and *walad* both denote a 'servant'.<sup>200</sup>

Other usages of the 'father-son' terminology appear in the context of conflict (*fitna*) and contested loyalty or authority. After the murder of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293, his minor brother al-Nāṣir Muḥammad became the sultan and the Amīr Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī the *atābak*. Kitbughā suspected that the *mamlūks* of al-Ashraf Khalīl, supported by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, would try to assassinate him during one of his encounters with the sultan (*khidma*), and his *mamlūks* advised him to depose al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. They decided to send gold and silver coins to the senior *amīrs* to win their support. Apparently, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad became suspicious and Kitbughā decided to send him 2,000 dinars with one of his *mamlūks* in order to show his loyalty. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad received the money, he is reported to have asked Kitbughā's *mamlūk* what it was for. Kitbughā's *mamlūk* is said to have replied: "[it is] a gift

---

standard element in letters addressed to superiors with whom one has concluded a bond of *khidma*, see Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 408.

197 al-Khāzindārī, *Ta'riḫ majmū' al-nawādir* 266–8 (esp. 268).

198 *Ibid.*, 100.

199 *Ibid.*, 100.

200 On the word *mamlūk* denoting a 'servant' and its relationship to subordination and obedience, see Yosef, The term *mamlūk* 9–14; and see below.

from your slave and son [i.e. obedient servant] (*hadiyya min mamlūkika wa-waladika*).<sup>201</sup> Eventually, however, Kitbughā deposed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. In this case the servile and kinship terminology are meant to express (dissimulated) subordination, obedience, and loyalty; in 708/1309 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad became fed up with Baybars al-Jāshankīr’s domination over him, and decided to retreat to al-Karak and abdicate from the Sultanate, leaving it to Baybars. In al-Karak, however, he tried to garner the support of the *amīrs* in order to reinstall himself as a sultan, this time with effective powers. Baybars became suspicious of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and in that context it is reported that the latter sent the former a letter saying “the slave Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn is kissing the ground ... our Lord the Sultan raised me and I know no father except for him” (*al-mamlūk Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn yuqabbilu al-arḍ ... mawlānā al-sultān huwa allādhi rabbānī wa-lā a’rifu wālid ghayrahu*).<sup>202</sup>

Other cases do not concern subordination to a ruler, but rather to a prominent *amīr* that runs the affairs of state. After Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 745/1344) abdicated and retreated to al-Karak, the Amīr Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī appointed the minor al-Ashraf Kujuk ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 746/1345) sultan, and became himself the *de facto* ruler. When Qawṣūn suspected that al-Nāṣir Aḥmad was trying to make a move on the throne from al-Karak, the latter is reported to have sent a letter to the former in which he confirmed his subordination and obedience by saying that Qawṣūn is “his father after his father” (*wāliduhu ba’da wālidihī*);<sup>203</sup> in 802/1400 the governor of Damascus Tanibak (Tanam) al-Ḥasanī al-Zāhirī (d. 802/1400) who was one of the guardians of the minor sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj rebelled (*al-khurīj ‘an ṭā’at al-sultān*).<sup>204</sup> During the negotiations to resolve the *fitna*, the Egyptian senior *amīrs* are reported to have sent Tanam a safe conduct (*amān*) from the sultan. They offered him to keep his position as a governor in Damascus or come to Egypt and run the affairs of state (*tadbīr mulk*), writing to him: “you are our father, brother, and master (*anta abūnā wa-akhūnā wa-ustādhunā*). If you want to remain in Damascus as a governor, very well, but if you want

201 al-‘Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* iii, 268; The name of the recipient of Kitbughā’s gift of 2,000 dinars could not be read from the manuscript but he is referred as *khuwand* so it must be al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

202 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 52.

203 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 30; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 578; footnote no. 138 above.

204 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 123–4.

[to run the affairs of state in] Egypt, we will all be your slaves, in your service (*kunnā mamālīkaka wa-fī khidmatika*).”<sup>205</sup>

### 2.1.5 The Unique Case of Bulāt al-Nāṣirī and Conclusion

To conclude this section I now return to the last case of a usage of ‘father-son’ terminology that fits the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ as envisaged by Ayalon (no. 5 in Table 2.2). It is reported that Bulāt al-Nāṣirī used to say to his master the Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj: “you are my master, my father, my god, and my prophet” (*anta ustādhi wa-abī wa-rabbī wa-nabiyyī*).<sup>206</sup> ‘Abd al-Rāziq saw evidence in this statement that the master was considered to be the father of his *mamlūks*.<sup>207</sup> A few comments, however, are in order. First, the report on Bulāt’s statement is meant to show that he was a sinner (*fāsiq/yurmā bi-‘azā’im fi dīnihi*) and heretic (*zindīq*). Clearly, referring to his master as a god and prophet was not considered appropriate religious conduct.<sup>208</sup> His choice of words, therefore, should not be considered representative at all. Second and more importantly, this is the only attested case in which a *mamlūk* addresses, or refers to, his master as a father; in all other cases of usages of ‘father-son’ terminology that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ the master addresses

205 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xii, 105; see also idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* viii, 385; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 1009; by referring to Tanam also as their “brother,” the *amīrs* probably wanted to remind him that they were his peers. For another example of a usage of father-son terminology in the context of *fitna*, see al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-jumān* iii, 444; for a safe conduct given to a free-born noble vassal, which is accompanied by usages of kinship terminology reestablishing his subordination, see Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-bashar* iv, 15; for an example of a usage of ‘father-son’ terminology in a context of contested authority involving the submission and obedience (*tā’a*) of an *amīr* to a chief *qāḍī* in the words “your son the *amīr* wishes to encounter you and be at your service” (*al-amīr waladuka yakhtāru al-ijtimā’ bi-ka li-khidmatika*), see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 848; and see also al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-jumān* iii, 384; for a case in which a Turkmen *amīr* expresses his submission and obedience to a *qāḍī* who was a ruler’s envoy by saying to him “you are my father ... and I will do as you say” (*anta wālidī ... fa-anā mā ukhālīfuka*), see Ibn Ajā, *Ta’rīkh al-amīr Yashbak al-Zāhiri* 121; for a senior *amīr* granting this *qāḍī* authority to negotiate a peace agreement and saying about him in this context “he is our father” (*huwa wālidunā*), see *ibid.*, 87.

206 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 119.

207 ‘Abd al-Rāziq, al-‘Alāqāt al-usriyya 161.

208 Nevertheless, as noted by Paul, serving the ruler was sometimes compared to worshiping god. See Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 399; there is evidence that the ruler was also referred to as the father of all his subjects. See al-Biqā’ī, *Ta’rīkh al-Biqā’ī* iii, 293.

his *mamlūk* as a son. Bulāṭ's statement was perhaps considered inappropriate not only on the religious level, but also on the socio-political level.

The cases in which a master is reported to have addressed his *mamlūk* as his son mostly involve *mamlūks* with whom the master had a close relationship (fostered *mamlūks*, and a son-in-law).<sup>209</sup> The address in such cases takes an informal and more familiar form ([*yā*] *ibnī/waladī*). There are no attested cases, however, of a *mamlūk* addressing his master as a father in an informal and familiar form ([*yā*] *abī*). This would seem to reflect the asymmetry inherent in the relationship between a master and his slaves, no matter how close it was. While the master was in a position to address his favored *mamlūks* as intimates, it is quite possible that it was considered inappropriate for *mamlūks* to address their master as a father in an informal or intimate way. Usages of 'father-son' terminology that express subordination, obedience, and loyalty normally take a less familiar form. In such cases, the superior may offer someone to become his "son" (*takūnu 'indī wa-min jumlat awlādī*).<sup>210</sup> After the bond of subordination is established (or reconfirmed) the superior may say to the subordinate "you are my son" (*anta waladī*),<sup>211</sup> and the subordinate may say to the superior "I am your son" (*anā waladuka*).<sup>212</sup> More specifically, in cases of contested authority or loyalty, the submitting party may use "your son" (*waladuka*) when referring to itself,<sup>213</sup> or "father" (*wālid*) when referring to the superior.<sup>214</sup> The submitting party may also say to the superior "you are our father" (*anta abūnā*).<sup>215</sup> None of the cases of usages of 'father-son' terminology in the context of contested loyalty or authority involve a *mamlūk* confirming his loyalty and obedience to his master. Bulāṭ's statement to his master al-Nāṣir Faraj takes a form that characterizes situations of contested loyalty (*anta abī*). It is not reported, however, that Bulāṭ said this in a specific context, but rather that he used to say it to al-Nāṣir Faraj. *Mamlūks* were the 'servants' of their master by definition, their submission was a default, and their loyalty was expected. Confirming loyalty means that the loyalty was contested. Bulāṭ's statement to his master was clearly meant to reflect total submission (the master is referred

209 See items nos. 1–3 in Table 2.2 above.

210 See section 2.1.4 at footnotes nos. 197–8.

211 See section 2.1.4 at footnote no. 196.

212 See section 2.1.4 at footnote no. 199.

213 See section 2.1.4 at footnote no. 201 and see footnote no. 205.

214 See section 2.1.4 at footnotes nos. 202–3.

215 See section 2.1.4 at footnote no. 205.

to as a ‘father’, prophet, and a god), but coming in a context of uncontested loyalty must have been seen as strange, and probably inappropriate.

On the one hand, it is a reminder that *mamlūks* “have to be considered more than mere calculating clients that would shift their loyalties accordingly,”<sup>216</sup> and that “[e]ven if we think that slave-generals ... had a clear tendency to follow their own interest above all, *khidma* provided the forms in which these interests could be pursued.”<sup>217</sup> On the other, it is a reminder that the master-slave relationship was basically a relationship of domination, remnants of which continued to exist even after manumission. It also means that Bulāṭ’s statement cannot be considered evidence for the existence of a ‘*mamlūk* family.’ In any case, taking into consideration the wide scope of usages of kinship terminology in Mamluk sources and the varied contexts in which this terminology was employed, the number of usages of the ‘father-son’ terminology that fit the structure of the so-called ‘*mamlūk* family’ is, in fact, strikingly small. Out of many dozens of usages of ‘father-son’ terminology only five fit the structure of the so-called ‘*mamlūk* family’ (see Table 2.2 above). Only three of them are not related to the context of *khidma* or the articulation of loyalty (nos. 1–3 in Table 2.2). Importantly, in all these three cases the ‘father-son’ terminology is not employed out of simple patronate ties, but expresses a closer and more unique tie between the master and his *mamlūks* (fostered *mamlūks* and a son-in-law).

## 2.2 The ‘Brothers’ Terminology

Usages of the ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ as envisaged by Ayalon are slightly more frequent than usages of the ‘father-son’ terminology that fit this structure (see Table 2.3 below). What perhaps partially accounts for this is that judging by external usages of kinship terminology employed by Mamluk historians in reference to *mamlūk* relationships, and especially starting from the 1350s or 1360s, for most *mamlūks* the relationship with the *khushdāshiyya* was more significant than the relationship with the master.<sup>218</sup> In history books written up to the 1350s or 1360s, usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in dialogues and correspondence that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ are extremely rare.<sup>219</sup>

<sup>216</sup> Van Steenberghe, *Order out of chaos* 88–9 (esp. 89).

<sup>217</sup> Paul, *Khidma* in the social history 412.

<sup>218</sup> See section 1.7 above.

<sup>219</sup> See item no. 2 in Table 2.3 (Shāfi‘ Ibn ‘Alī), and possibly also item no. 3 (Ibn Ḥajar citing al-Tujibi).

TABLE 2.3 *'Brothers' terminology in oral and written communication that fits the structure of the 'mamlūk family' as envisaged by Ayalon [Khushdāshīyya who are biological brothers not included]*

1.	al-Zāhir Baybars (d. 676/1277) is reported to have said to Sunqur al-Rūmī (d. 676/1277): "you are my brother" ( <i>anta akhī</i> ) [al-Maqrīzī]. <sup>a</sup>	<b>conflict/contested loyalty, <i>muwākhūn</i></b>
2.	A <i>wazīr</i> is reported to have referred to al-Zāhir Baybars as al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's (d. 689/1290) brother ( <i>akhīhī al-Malik al-Zāhir</i> ) when talking to Qalāwūn [Shāfi' Ibn 'Alī (d. 730/1330)]. <sup>b</sup>	<b>in-laws</b>
3.	al-Manṣūr Lājīn (d. 698/1299) is reported to have referred to al-'Ādil Kitbughā (d. 702/1302) in a letter as "one of our brothers" ( <i>min ikhwatinā</i> ) [Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī citing al-Tujībī (d. 730/1329)]. <sup>c</sup>	<b>conflict/contested loyalty, in-laws, <i>muwākhūn</i></b>
4.	Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (d. 728/1327) is reported to have addressed al-Manṣūr Lājīn as "my brother" ( <i>yā akhī</i> ) [al-Maqrīzī, borrowed from al-Yūsufī without mentioning his name]. <sup>d</sup>	<b>conflict/contested loyalty</b>
5.	Salār al-Manṣūrī (d. 709/1309) is reported to have addressed Baybars al-Jāshankīr (d. 709/1310) as "my brother" ( <i>yā akhī</i> ) [al-'Aynī citing al-Yūsufī]; <sup>e</sup> he is also reported to have referred to Baybars al-Jāshankīr as "my brother" ( <i>akhī</i> ) [al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, possibly borrowed from al-Yūsufī]. <sup>f</sup>	<b>conflict/contested loyalty</b>
6.	Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī's envoy is reported to have said to Aqūsh al-Manṣūrī al-Afram (d. 716/1316–7?) "your brother [i.e. Qarā Sunqur] sends his regards" ( <i>akhūka yusallimu 'alayka</i> ) [al-Ṣafadī]. <sup>g</sup>	<b>conflict/contested loyalty</b>
7.	Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī (d. 742/1341) is reported to have referred to Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī (d. 743/1342) as "my brother" ( <i>akhī</i> ) [al-Ṣafadī]; <sup>h</sup> Ṭashtamur used to call Quṭlubughā "my brother" ( <i>akhī</i> ) [al-Ṣafadī]. <sup>i</sup>	<b><i>muwākhūn</i></b>
8.	Yalbughā al-Nāshīrī (d. 793/1391) is reported to have referred to al-Zāhir Barqūq (d. 801/1399) as "our brother" ( <i>akhūnā</i> ). <sup>j</sup>	<b>conflict/contested loyalty</b>

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 9.  | Buṭā al-Ṭūlūtāmūrī al-Zāhirī (d. 794/1391–2) is reported to have addressed Taghrī Birdī min Bashbughā al-Zāhirī (d. 815/1412) as “my brother” ( <i>yā akhī</i> ). <sup>k</sup> | <b>conflict/contested loyalty</b>       |
| 10. | al-Ashraf Barsbāy (d. 841/1438) used to call al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar (d. 824/1421) “my brother” ( <i>akhī</i> ). <sup>l</sup>   | <b>milk-brothers or blood relatives</b> |

- 
- a al-Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiz*, ed. Kh. al-Manṣūr, iii, 151.
- b Shāfiʿ Ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-manāqib al-sirrīyya* 281–2.
- c Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna* iii, 159; Ayalon, *L'esclavage* 36.
- d al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 861; al-ʿAynī presents a very similar passage cited from al-Yūsufī, see al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* iii, 434–5.
- e al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* iv, 234.
- f Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 234; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 543; idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 46; the style is reminiscent of al-Yūsufī's and no other Turkish-period source provides similar materials.
- g al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* i, 566.
- h Ibid., iv, 119.
- i Ibid., ii, 587.
- j Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xi, 285; Ayalon, *L'esclavage* 37.
- k Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 380; idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xi, 378.
- l al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* iv, 95.

Most such usages appear in history books written in the 1350s or 1360s (mainly in al-Ṣafadī)<sup>220</sup> or in history books written in the Circassian period, whose material on the period up to the 1350s or 1360s that contain such usages are mostly taken from history books written in the 1350s or 1360s: al-ʿAynī is citing al-Yūsufī (d. 759/1358),<sup>221</sup> al-Maqrīzī and perhaps Ibn Taghrī Birdī borrow from al-Yūsufī without mentioning his name.<sup>222</sup> This, however, does not necessarily mean that the ‘brothers’ terminology that fits the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ was hardly used in actual oral and written communication until that period. The fact that such usages are rare in history books up to the 1350s or

220 See items nos. 6, 7 in Table 2.3.

221 See item no. 5 in Table 2.3.

222 See items nos. 4, 5 in Table 2.3; on borrowed material from al-Yūsufī in al-ʿAynī and al-Maqrīzī, see Little, *An analysis* 252–68.

1360s is perhaps related to the nature of our sources. Quotations from (alleged) oral and written communication in the form of dialogues or correspondence are much more characteristic of Mamluk history books written starting from the 1350s which are generally more “literarized.” Al-Yūsufī’s *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir*, which probably contained most usages of the ‘brothers’ terminology in dialogues and correspondence that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ is considered a conspicuous representative of the “literarized” Mamluk chronicles.<sup>223</sup> However, in two chronicles that were written before the 1350s that abound with dialogues and are generally considered very “literarized,” namely, Ibn al-Dawādārī’s *Kanz al-Durar* and Qaraṭāy al-‘Izzī al-Khāzindārī’s *Ta’rīkh Majmū‘ al-Nawādir*,<sup>224</sup> there is not even a single usage of ‘brothers’ terminology in dialogues that fits the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family.’ Therefore, it is hard to reach any definitive conclusions regarding usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication before the 1350s. Other than a few more comments, this issue will not be further addressed in this chapter.

Be that as it may, usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that involve *khushdāshīyya* cannot be considered evidence for the existence of a ‘*mamlūk* family’ comprised of all the *khushdāshīyya* and their master. First of all, there is nothing specifically *mamlūk* or Mamluk in usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication. While there are only ten attested cases of usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that involve *khushdāshīyya*, there are many dozens more that do not. The ‘brothers’ terminology was commonly used by rulers (*mamlūks* and free-born alike) when addressing or referring to each other in oral and written communication;<sup>225</sup> it was also used by rulers when addressing, or referring to, their senior *amīrs* or *wazīrs* who were not necessarily *mamlūks*;<sup>226</sup> even when usages of ‘brothers’ terminology involve two *mamlūk amīrs*, they are not necessarily *khushdāshīyya*, and more generally ‘brothers’ terminology may involve Mamluk *amīrs* that are not *mamlūks*;<sup>227</sup> usages of ‘brothers’

223 Little, *Historiography* 426–7. Only a small part of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* is extant.

224 Little, *Historiography* 424–5; Irwin, *Mamluk history* 164–5.

225 See for example al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* v, 96; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxii, 324; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 354; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 186; Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* iv, 15.

226 al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb referred in his will (*waṣīyya*) to his senior Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh (d. 647/1249) as “the brother” (*al-akh*) and advised his son Tūrān Shāh to take him as a ‘father’ after his death (*ij’alhu ‘indaka ka-l-wālid*). See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxix, 341; see also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* viii, 324–5.

227 For examples, see below.

terminology may involve a *mamlūk amīr* and a civilian,<sup>228</sup> and may involve two civilians;<sup>229</sup> sometimes usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral or written communication involve two *mamlūks*’ descendants;<sup>230</sup> perhaps most commonly, usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in dialogues involve religious scholars,<sup>231</sup> and religious scholars many times refer to one of their peers as “our brother in religion” (*akhūnā fi Allāh*),<sup>232</sup> or simply as “our brother” (*akhūnā*) or “the brother” (*al-akh*).<sup>233</sup>

In addition, in five out of ten cases of usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family,’ the two *mamlūks* involved were not only *khushdāshīyya* but also had a more profound relationship (nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 10 in Table 2.3). Two cases involve in-laws (nos. 2, 3 in Table 2.3)<sup>234</sup> and, as mentioned, in-laws were considered family.<sup>235</sup> One case seems to have involved milk-brothers or perhaps even blood relatives (no. 10 in Table 2.3).<sup>236</sup> In any case, as mentioned, milk-brothers were

228 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 814.

229 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhāyḥ mir’āt al-zamān* iv, 103.

230 al-Ṣafādī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* i, 707–9 (esp. 707); iv, 378; Ibn Taghārī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 401; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 285; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaḥḥā al-kabīr* ii, 459.

231 See for example al-Birzālī, *Ta’rīkh al-Birzālī* ii, 227; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’* i, 237–8.

232 Ibid., ii, 203; vii, 236; Ibn Tūlūn, *Mufaḥḥat al-khillān* i, 326.

233 See, for example, *ibid.*, 329, 404, 413.

234 It was already mentioned that al-Zāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (no. 2) were in-laws and that Mamluk historians sometimes relate to them in terms of family. See section 1.1 at footnotes nos. 31, 33. It is perhaps significant that it is possibly the only case of a usage that fits the structure in chronicles written before the 1350s. Perhaps before the 1350s such usages were more restricted (see detailed discussion above). Al-Manṣūr Lājīn and al-‘Ādil Kitbughā (no. 3) were also in-laws. Lājīn was married to a daughter of al-Zāhir Baybars, whose sister was married to Anaṣ ibn al-‘Ādil Kitbughā (d. 723/1323). See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxi, 329; xxxiii, 64; al-Birzālī, *Ta’rīkh al-Birzālī* iv, 140.

235 See sections 1.1 and 1.7 above; for a usage of the ‘brothers’ terminology that concerns in-laws who were not *khushdāshīyya*, see section 2.1.2 above at footnote no. 137.

236 According to Khalīl ibn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Zāhirī, al-Ashraf Barsbāy was one of al-Zāhir Ṭatar’s “old acquaintances” and therefore he used to call him “my brother” (*min kibār ma’ārif Ṭatar ḥattā kāna yaqūlu la-hu yā akhī*). See al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* iv, 95. According to al-Maqrīzī, the two were relatives (*qarāba baynahumā*) and he refers to Ṭatar as Barsbāy’s brother (*akhīhi*). See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 607–8. Mamluk historians do not commonly refer to a *mamlūk* as one of the acquaintances (*ma’ārif*) of a fellow *mamlūk*. However, Qurqmās al-Ashrafī al-Jalab who, as mentioned, is said to have probably been the milk-brother (*radī*) of al-Ashraf Barsbāy and was referred to as his relative (*qarāba*) or brother (see section 1.2 above), is also said to have been “one of the acquaintances of his master [i.e., al-Ashraf Barsbāy] from their Circassian homeland” (*min ma’ārif ustādhihi fi*

considered true kin.<sup>237</sup> Three cases involve *mamlūks* who were *muwākhūn* (nos. 1, 3, 7 in Table 2.3). Importantly, Quṭlubughā al-Fakhrī and Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī (no. 7 in Table 2.3), are said to have been *muwākhūn* from a young age (*muwākhīn min al-ṣighar*) and the bond of ‘brotherhood’ between them is described as an especially strong one and should not be considered representative. It is reported that Ṭashtamur used to call Quṭlubughā “my brother” (*akhī*), but such a practice is not attested with respect to other *muwākhūn*. They are also the only Turkish-period *muwākhūn* who were not biological brothers. Mamluk historians refer to as ‘brothers’.<sup>238</sup>

Most *muwākhūn* were *khushdāshīyya*; however, usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that involve *muwākhūn* are not restricted to *khushdāshīyya*.<sup>239</sup> At times the *muwākhūn* were not even *mamlūks*, and participants in a ‘brotherhood bond’ could even be Christians.<sup>240</sup> Whether *khushdāshīyya* or not, in most cases the usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that involve *muwākhūn* are employed in the

---

*Bilād Jarkas*). See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vi, 218. It would seem that in *mamlūk* context the word *ma’ārif* may denote people not related by blood with whom one already had a close relationship in the homeland, and more specifically, milk-brothers.

237 See sections 1.2 and 1.7 above. The fact that the two Circassian Sultans al-Ashraf Barsbāy and al-Zāhir Ṭatar were probably related by milk or blood ties is also important for the broader issue of succession practices during the Circassian period of the Sultanate. It turns out that *mamlūk amīrs* that ascended the throne were often related to their predecessors by marital ties, sometimes by blood ties, and in the specific case of al-Ashraf Barsbāy and al-Zāhir Ṭatar perhaps by milk ties. The issue of succession cannot be discussed in detail here; however, as mentioned, the decline of the nuclear biological family and the agnate lines during the Circassian period was counterbalanced by an increase in the importance of extended family ties and marital ties, see section 1.1 above.

238 Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 340–1; and see also footnote no. 121 above. The other two pairs of *muwākhūn* are al-Zāhir Baybars and Sunqur al-Rūmī (no. 1) referred to by Mamluk historians as “friends” (*aṣḍiqā*) [see *ibid.*, 338, 341; al-Maqrīzī, *Mawā’iz* iii, 151], and al-Manṣūr Lājīn and al-‘Ādil Kitbughā (no. 3) [see Yosef, *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* 338, 341], who, as mentioned, were also in-laws [see footnote no. 234 above].

239 For example, the eunuchs Jawhar al-Julbānī (d. 842/1438) and Jawhar al-Qunqabā’ī (d. 844/1441) each had several masters but they cannot be considered *khushdāshīyya* even in a broad sense. Still, they established a ‘brotherhood bond’ and Jawhar al-Julbānī is reported to have referred to Jawhar al-Qunqabā’ī as “my brother” (*akhī*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* v, 36–42. In an unusual manner, al-Maqrīzī himself refers to the two as “brothers.” See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 1149.

240 See item no. 1 in Appendix A.

context of conflict (*fitna*) and/or contested loyalty or authority.<sup>241</sup> In fact, two out of three cases of usages of 'brothers' terminology that involve *muwākhūn* who were *khushdāshiyya* appear in the context of a conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority (nos. 1, 3 in Table 2.3).<sup>242</sup> It would be advised in such cases not to give too much weight to the 'brotherhood bond' in accounting for the usages of the 'brothers' terminology.

Moreover, all the cases of usages of 'brothers' terminology that fit the structure of the '*mamlūk* family' but do not involve *mamlūks* who had a more a profound relationship than the *khushdāshiyya* tie appear in the context of conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority (nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 in Table 2.3).<sup>243</sup> In fact, the context of conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority accounts for seven out of ten usages of 'brothers' terminology in oral and written communication that fit the structure of the '*mamlūk* family' (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 in Table 2.3).<sup>244</sup> Importantly, the other three usages involve *mamlūks* who had an especially close relationship: in-laws (no. 2 in Table 2.3),<sup>245</sup> milk-brothers or perhaps even relatives (no. 10 in Table 2.3),<sup>246</sup> and *muwākhūn* who had an exceptionally close 'brotherhood bond', one of whom used to call the other "my brother" (no. 7 in Table 2.3).<sup>247</sup>

Usages of 'brothers' terminology in oral and written communication in the context of conflict (*fitna*) and/or contested loyalty or authority are not restricted to *khushdāshiyya*. In such a context the 'brothers' terminology may involve *amīrs* who were not *khushdāshiyya*, and at times *amīrs* who were not even *mamlūks*. Appendix A contains a chronologically arranged survey of usages of 'brothers' terminology in the context of conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority that either correspond or fail to correspond to the structure of the '*mamlūk* family' as envisaged by Ayalon. When such usages fit the structure, a reference is made in the Appendix to table 2.3. The 'brothers' terminology employed in the context of conflict (*fitna*) is related to loyalty, obedience, and subordination. It is sometimes used to express mutual loyalty (establishing it,

241 For an example regarding *muwākhūn* who were not *khushdāshiyya*, see item no. 1 in Appendix A.

242 For the context, see items nos. 2, 4 in Appendix A.

243 For the context, see items nos. 5, 6, 8, 12, 14 in Appendix A.

244 For the context, see items nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14 in Appendix A.

245 See footnotes nos. 234–5.

246 See footnotes nos. 236–7.

247 See footnote no. 238.

confirming it, or invoking it).<sup>248</sup> Sometimes it is also used to express the subordination of one *amīr* to his peer,<sup>249</sup> and sometimes it is also used to express the subordination of peers to a superior.<sup>250</sup> Most cases of usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that involve *amīrs* appear in two periods of incessant struggles for power; namely, the period between the murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl and the consolidation of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s effective rule (693–709/1293–1310),<sup>251</sup> and the period between the murder of al-Ashraf Sha’bān and the reconsolidation of al-Zāhir Barqūq’s rule (778–792/1377–1390).<sup>252</sup>

The usages surveyed in Appendix A illustrate that ‘brothers’ terminology that involves *amīrs* (not necessarily *khushdāshīyya*) appears most of the time in situations of a conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority. Paradoxically, the fact that usages of ‘brothers’ terminology in oral and written communication that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ are more common than usages of ‘father-son’ terminology that fit this structure is related to the fact that the loyalty of the *khushdāshīyya* was more precarious than the loyalty of *mamlūks* to their master. It was more precarious because unlike the relationship between *mamlūks* and their master, the relationship between the *khushdāshīyya* lacked an inherent element of subordination and domination. Like usages of the ‘father-son’ terminology in oral and written communication, usages of the ‘brothers’ terminology cannot be considered evidence for the existence of a ‘*mamlūk* family’ comprised of a master and all his *mamlūks*. Out of many dozens of usages of ‘brothers’ terminology only ten fit the structure of the so-called ‘*mamlūk* family’ (see Table 2.3). The context of conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority accounts for seven of these usages. Importantly, in all other three cases (nos. 2, 7, 10 in Table 2.3) the ‘brothers’ terminology is not employed out of simple *khushdāshīyya* ties, but expresses a closer and more unique tie between the *mamlūks* (in-laws, milk-brothers or relatives, and *muwākhūn* with exceptionally close ‘brotherhood bond’).

### 2.3 The ‘Uncle’ Terminology

There is not even a single case of a usage of the ‘uncle’ terminology in oral and written communication that fits the structure of the ‘*mamlūk* family’ as envisaged by Ayalon (i.e. a *mamlūk* addressing, or referring to, his master’s *khushdāsh* as an “uncle”). Nevertheless, it has been suggested that al-Zāhir

248 For representative examples, see items nos. 3, 5, 8 in Appendix A.

249 For representative examples, see items nos. 4, 6 in Appendix A.

250 For representative examples, see items nos. 7, 13, 15 in Appendix A.

251 See items nos. 3–8 in Appendix A.

252 See items nos. 9–14 in Appendix A.

Ṭaṭar is referred to as a “paternal uncle” (*‘amm*) of al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad ibn al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh due to a “metaphorical relationship” between al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar and al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh; i.e., Ṭaṭar was the *khushdāsh* of Shaykh, and therefore considered his ‘brother’, since both were the *mamlūks* of their ‘father’ al-Zāhir Barqūq.<sup>253</sup> Fortunately, Ibn Taghrī Birdī explicitly says that al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar married the widow of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh and the mother of al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, and therefore became the “paternal uncle” of al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad (*fa-ṣāra ‘amm al-sultān zawj ummihi*),<sup>254</sup> thus eliminating any doubts as to why the ‘uncle’ terminology was employed in this case. This underscores the influence of Ayalon’s notion of the ‘*mamlūk* family.’ It is so influential that when it comes to explain usages of kinship terminology in the *mamlūk* context, *mamlūks*’ descendants are incorporated into the ‘*mamlūk* family’ just so the kinship terminology can be tied to the relationship between the *mamlūk* fathers.

There are examples of usages of the ‘uncle’ terminology in dialogues that involve in-laws other than a husband of a woman and her son from a previous marriage. In 739/1339, Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī the governor of Damascus visited al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Cairo. His daughter, who was married to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was also present at their meeting. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is reported to have called for all his daughters and ordered them to kiss the hand of Tankiz, saying to each one of them: “kiss the hand of your uncle (*‘ammiki*).” Then, it was decided that two daughters would be married to sons of Tankiz.<sup>255</sup>

After al-Manṣūr Lājīn deposed his *khushdāsh* al-‘Ādil Kitbughā in 696/1296, the latter disappeared and there was a rumor that he had been killed. Some of the *amīrs* wanted to instate Anaṣ ibn al-‘Ādil Kitbughā as sultan and give him an oath of allegiance. Anaṣ refused saying that he was blind and unfit to rule, and if he were appointed sultan he would probably be murdered. He waited until Lājīn’s proxy came to take his oath of allegiance and told him: “Even if my [biological] father is dead, I still have a father as long as my uncle lives—meaning Lājīn” (*in māta abī fa-mā māta mahmā kāna ‘ammī ya’īshu—ya’nī Lājīn*).<sup>256</sup> As mentioned, al-Manṣūr Lājīn was married to a daughter of al-Zāhir Baybars, whose sister was married to Anaṣ.<sup>257</sup> While the ‘brothers’ terminology may be employed in reference to in-laws who were about the same age,<sup>258</sup> and the

253 Sievert, *Der Herrscherwechsel* 114 (footnote no. 637).

254 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 190.

255 Ibid., ix, 129.

256 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 300–1.

257 See footnote no. 234.

258 See footnotes nos. 137, 234.

'father-son' terminology may involve a father-in-law and his son-in-law,<sup>259</sup> the 'uncle' terminology may involve in-laws who are not of the same age but who are not a father-in-law and his son-in-law.

In the case of Lājīn and Anaş, the 'uncle' terminology was employed when it was thought that Anaş' father was dead; therefore, it is similar to other cases of usages of kinship terminology that reflect a notion of an in-law functioning as a substitute for a blood relative who died.<sup>260</sup> By referring to Lājīn as a 'father' and an 'uncle', Anaş was also expressing his subordination, obedience, and loyalty in a situation of a conflict and contested loyalty and authority. As mentioned, al-Manşūr Lājīn and al-Ādil Kitbughā were also *muwākhūn*.<sup>261</sup> It would be advised, however, not to give too much weight to the 'brotherhood bond' in accounting for the usage of the 'uncle' terminology in this case. The 'uncle' terminology is not attested otherwise when a *mamlūk's* son is addressing, or referring to, his father's *muwākhī* or *khushdash*. In any case, the usage of the 'uncle' terminology in the case of Lājīn and Anaş comes as close as it gets to fitting the so-called structure of the '*mamlūk* family' as envisaged by Ayalon—a son of a *mamlūk* is referring to his father's *muwākhī* who is also an in-law as an 'uncle' when his father is thought to have died in a situation of a conflict and contested loyalty and authority in order to express his subordination, obedience, and loyalty.

Like "my father" (*abī/yā abī*), "my uncle" (*yā 'ammī/'ammī*) was sometimes used to express seniority in age. Al-Nāşir Faraj is reported to have addressed the *atābak* Aytamush al-Bajāsī who ran the affairs of the state as "my uncle" (*yā 'ammī*) when he claimed that he had reached mental maturity (*rushd*) and wanted to rule independently;<sup>262</sup> al-Nāşir Muḥammad is reported to have addressed, or referred to, each of his father's two senior *mamlūks* Baktamur al-Jūkāndār al-Manşūrī (d. 711/1311)<sup>263</sup> and Sanjar al-Shujā'ī (d. 693/1293)<sup>264</sup> as

259 See section 1.1 at footnote no. 35; item no. 3 in Table 2.2; section 2.1.2 at footnotes nos. 129–34; and section 2.1.3 at footnotes nos. 157–9.

260 See section 2.1.3 at footnotes nos. 136, 138; Ayalon noted that during the Ottoman period in Egypt, "[T]he *khushdash* of the patron, who is only an 'uncle', may also be called 'father', especially when the patron is dead." Ayalon, *Studies in al-Jabartī* 285.

261 See item no. 3 in Table 2.3, and footnote no. 238.

262 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xii, 182; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 67; and section 1.4 above at footnote no. 86.

263 al-Şafadī, *A'yān al-aşr* i, 707–9 (esp. 708); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-şāfi* iii, 401; idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* ix, 29; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 285; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 459.

264 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 801; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr*, ed. Muşţafā 1960–75, i, 110.

“my uncle” (*yā ‘ammī/‘ammī*) in oral or written communication. In any case, the ‘uncle’ terminology that involves a son of a patron and his father’s *mamlūks* has nothing to do with the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ as envisaged by Ayalon.

### Conclusion

Most usages of kinship terminology in oral or written communication do not fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ as envisaged by Ayalon. Usages of kinship terminology in oral or written communication that either correspond or fail to correspond to the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ were often metaphorical and were meant to express hierarchy, seniority in age, rank or status, service (*khidma*), subordination, loyalty, and obedience (*tā’a*). Many of the usages of kinship terminology appear in the context of a conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority. There is nothing specifically Mamluk or *mamlūk* in such usages of kinship terminology in oral or written communication. The number of usages of kinship terms that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ is very highly restricted (15 usages—see Tables 2.2 and 2.3). The number of such usages that do not appear in a context of service (*khidma*), and, more specifically, of a conflict and/or contested loyalty or authority is even smaller. In fact there are only six instances of kinship terminology in oral or written communication that fit the structure of the ‘*mamlūk family*’ and indeed express mainly affinity. In all these cases, however, what emerges beyond the usage is not the notion of a ‘*mamlūk family*’ comprised of a master and all his *mamlūks*, but rather a more profound and personal relationship (marital tie, milk relationship or blood tie, fosterage, or an unusually strong ‘brotherhood bond’).<sup>265</sup> The idea that a master and his *mamlūks* developed relationships that were very similar to those of a family, and that a considerable part of the terminology marking those relationships is identical with the family terminology (the ‘*mamlūk family*’) thus reflects a tendency to emphasize the importance of *mamlūk* connections during the Mamluk Sultanate more than it reflects a social reality. This is not to say, however, that *mamlūk* relationships were not of great importance during the Mamluk Sultanate.

---

<sup>265</sup> See items nos. 1–3 in Table 2.2, and items 2, 7, 10 in Table 2.3.

## Appendix A: Usages of 'Brothers' Terminology in the Context of Conflict and/or Contested Loyalty or Authority

1. A Syrian Mamluk *amīr* by the name of al-Sābiq Shāhīn had a 'brotherhood bond' (*kāna mu'ākhiyan*) with the Crusader prince of al-Jubayl. Al-Zāhir Baybars asked for his help in killing the prince and made him choose between his loyalty to the Muslims and his loyalty to the Crusaders. Al-Sābiq Shāhīn decided to collaborate with Baybars. In this context of conflict (*fitna*) and contested loyalty, al-Sābiq Shāhīn sent a letter to the prince using servile and kinship terminology (*min 'inda akhūhī wa-ghulāmihī/ya akhī*) in order to express (dissimulated) loyalty to him, which was later on expressed also by an envoy declaring that al-Sābiq Shāhīn "is kissing your hand and sending his regards" (*yuqabbilu yadaka wa-yusallimu 'alayka*).<sup>266</sup>
2. Al-Zāhir Baybars and Sunqur al-Rūmī (no. 1 in Table 2.3) were *muwākhūn* who supported each other, but when Baybars became sultan, Sunqur refused to receive his gifts and benefits (*al-in'ām al-sulṭānī*), apparently to express his unwillingness to subordinate himself. Moreover, Sunqur used to give gifts to *amīrs*, thus contesting Baybars' authority. Sunqur ended up in prison, where Baybars is reported to have addressed him as "my brother" in what seems to be an apologetic manner (i.e. while invoking their loyalty in the past, Baybars was actually saying to Sunqur that due to his behavior he had no alternative but to imprison him).<sup>267</sup> Prison seems to be a place where mutual loyalty was often invoked and 'brothers' terminology used.<sup>268</sup>
3. In 696/1296 during a struggle for power between Sultan al-Ādil Kitbughā and the vicegerent Lājīn al-Manṣūrī, Lājīn gathered the senior *amīrs*, (some his *khushdāshīyya* but others not), and asked to be recognized as sultan. The *amīrs* demanded and obtained terms from him as a precondition for their allegiance. This covenant, or "accession-compact" as it was called by Holt, was sealed by a reciprocal oath (*ḥilf*) between the *amīrs* and the new sultan (later on ignored by Lājīn).<sup>269</sup> In this context, Lājīn is reported to have said to the *amīrs*: "you are

266 al-Khāzindārī, *Ta'rīkh majmū' al-nawādir* 214–7; Qaraṭāy's al-Sābiq Shāhīn is probably the Syrian Amīr al-Sābiq al-Maydānī (d. 691/1292). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* v, 378–9. On servile terminology employed by *khushdāshīyya* in order to express loyalty and obedience, see Yosef, *The term Mamlūk* 10; and see also item no. 4 below.

267 al-Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iz* iii, 151.

268 For 'brothers' terminology employed in prison in times of conflict (*fitna*) and contested loyalty (*khurūj 'an al-ṭā'a*), see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 281; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ix, 62; and see also item no. 5 below.

269 Holt, *The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn* 525–6, 531–2; on *ḥilf* and covenants, see idem, *The position and power of the Mamlūk sultan* 241–2.

- like brothers to me" (*maḥall ikhwatī*).<sup>270</sup> The 'brothers' terminology here seems to express Lājīn's (disingenuous) loyalty towards the *amīrs*, and confirming their loyalty towards him.
4. In a letter announcing his Sultanate al-Manṣūr Lājīn is reported to have said: "had I wanted to arrest [and eliminate] Kitbughā I could have done it, but I have decided to spare him because he is one of our brothers" (*min ikhwatinā*). In this case the 'brothers' terminology aims to reestablish the mutual loyalty between Lājīn and his *khushdāsh* Kitbughā (no. 3 in Table 2.3) after their conflict (see no. 3 in Appendix A), and at the same time to subordinate Kitbughā. Kitbughā's obedience and submission (*ṭā'a*) was clearly expressed in his words on Lājīn: "he is my comrade and I am his *mamlūk* who obeys him" (*huwa khushdāshī wa-anā mamlūkuhu wa-taḥta ṭā'atihi*).<sup>271</sup>
  5. After he became sultan, al-Manṣūr Lājīn arrested his *khushdāsh* Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (no. 4 in Table 2.3). Qarā Sunqur was one of the *amīrs* who made Lājīn swear that he would not betray them after ascending the throne (see no. 3 in Appendix A). Moreover, the two participated in the murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293, after which Qarā Sunqur made Lājīn take a personal oath on the Qur'ān that he would not betray him (*ḥalafa la-hu annahu lā yakhūnuhu*) and the two made a pact (*taḥālafā*). Still, Qarā Sunqur was afraid of betrayal.<sup>272</sup> According to al-Maqrīzī, when Qarā Sunqur was in prison he "used to send an envoy to Lājīn" saying to Lājīn "my brother" (*yā akhī*).<sup>273</sup> In a similar but paraphrased passage al-'Aynī mentions that Qarā Sunqur used to send an envoy to Lājīn who reminded Lājīn of the oaths taken (*yudhkiruhu al-aymān*).<sup>274</sup> Clearly, the 'brothers' terminology in this case was meant to invoke the oaths and the mutual loyalty they should have entailed.
  6. In 708/1309 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad became fed up with Baybars al-Jāshankīr and Salār al-Manṣūrī's domination over him and decided to abdicate. Salār made the *amīrs* swear on the Qur'ān (*ḥallafahum 'alā al-muṣḥaf*) that they would give him their total obedience as sultan. The Burjī *amīrs*, however, were not willing to comply and a conflict (*fitna*) brewed. Salār agreed to annul the oaths and said, referring to his *khushdāsh* Baybars: "only my brother (*akhī*) is fit to rule" (no. 5 in Table 2.3). The *amīrs* then agreed that their loyalty and obedience would be given to Baybars and entered his service (*ijtima'a al-umarā' alā ṭā'atihi wa-dakhalū ilā*

270 Blochet, Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazail, 596–7; Ayalon, *L'esclavage* 36.

271 Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane* 42.

272 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 861; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* iii, 434.

273 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 861.

274 al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* iii, 435.

- al-khidma*).<sup>275</sup> The ‘brothers’ terminology, while invoking mutual loyalty, seems to express Salār’s submission and obedience to Baybars as well.
7. After Baybars al-Jāshankīr became sultan (see item no. 6 in Appendix A) envoys were sent to obtain oaths (*ḥilf’aymān*) from the Syrian *amīrs*. Some, among them Aqūsh al-Afram, swore, but others made a pact to reinstate al-Nāṣir Muḥammad that was consolidated by mutual oaths (*ḥalaḥa ‘alā ḥādhā al-ittifāq*). In this context of conflict (*fitna*), Qarā Sunqur is reported to have said to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s other supporters: “my brothers (*yā ikhwatī*) we are bound by oaths (*aymān*) given to our master’s son [i.e. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] and we will not betray him and swear fealty (*nahlifū*) to another person.”<sup>276</sup> In this case the ‘brothers’ terminology expresses mutual loyalty on the one hand, and submission and loyalty to a superior on the other.
  8. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad returned to power in 709/1310, he wanted to eliminate his father’s senior *amīrs*, among them Aqūsh al-Afram and his *khushdāsh* Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (no. 6 in Table 2.3). The two decided to escape to Ilkhanid territories. In that context, Qarā Sunqur is said to have sent an envoy to Aqūsh with a gift (*ḥadiyya*), and the envoy is reported to have said to Aqūsh “your brother sends his regards” (*akhūka yusallimu ‘alayka*).<sup>277</sup> The ‘brothers’ terminology was meant to establish (or reestablish) mutual loyalty between the two *amīrs* after they had supported different contenders in the conflict (see item no. 7 in Appendix A).
  9. In 779/1377 a conflict (*fitna*) broke out between the *atābak* Aynabak al-Badrī (d. 779/1377) and the governor of Damascus Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 786/1384). The former was supported by Baraka al-Jūbānī (d. 782/1380), Barqūq, and Yalbughā al-Nāsirī (d. 793/1391) and the latter by Syrian governors who conspired (*khāmarū*) against Aynabak. Loyalties, however, became very unstable. Baraka, Barqūq, and Yalbughā who were sent to Syria to fight the rebels joined forces with Ṭashtamur. In that context, Yalbughā is reported to have addressed Aynabak as “my brother” (*yā akhī*), expressing (dissimulated) loyalty to him (*makīda*).<sup>278</sup>
  10. Aynabak al-Badrī, who was afraid that some of the *amīrs* were planning to assassinate him, ran away (see item no. 9 in Appendix A). In the meantime, Aynabak’s supporters in Egypt wanted to depose the Qalāwūnid sultan and appoint one of

275 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 233–5; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr* ii, 543; idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 46.

276 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* viii, 235–9.

277 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* i, 566–7. The expression “sends his regards” accompanied by usage of kinship terminology seems to be related to the delivery of a letter or message. See at footnotes nos. 152, 164, and item no. 1 in Appendix A.

278 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* i, 227–35 (esp. 232); Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya* 222–4.

the *amīrs*. Quṭluqtamur al-‘Alā’ī (d. 779/1377), Aynabak’s supporter, refused saying: “we will wait until our brothers (*ikhwāninā*) the *amīrs* return to Egypt” (i.e. the *amīrs* who are still loyal to us). Eventually, Ṭashtamur al-‘Alā’ī was appointed *atābak* with the support of Baraka, Barqūq, and Yalbughā, only to be deposed by Baraka and Barqūq shortly afterwards.<sup>279</sup> Barqūq became *atābak* and later on, after a struggle with Baraka, sultan.<sup>280</sup>

11. In 789/1387 the governor of Malat̄yā the Amīr Tamurbughā al-Afdālī al-Ashrafi (d. 795/1393), known as Mintāsh, rebelled and contested the authority of al-Zāhir Barqūq (*kharaja ‘an al-ṭā’a*). In 791/1389 he was joined by the governor of Aleppo Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī (*kharaja ... ‘alā al-Malik al-Zāhir Barqūq*). During this *fitna*, the loyalties of the Syrian governors became unstable. It is reported that Ṭurunṭay al-Ḥājib (d. 792/1390) was afraid that Ināl al-Yūsufi (d. 794/1392) was planning to kill him. Ṭurunṭay sent a *qāḍī* to Ināl to offer reconciliation (*ṣulḥ*) and a covenant (*an yatahālafā*), and take Ināl’s oath (*li-yuḥallifahu*) saying: “your brother (*akhāka*) ... took an oath (*halafa*) ... and he wants you to do the same,” and Ināl complied.<sup>281</sup>
12. In 791/1389, al-Zāhir Barqūq required a renewal of oaths from the *amīrs* in Egypt so that they would remain loyal (*ḥallafahum ‘alā ṭā’atihi*), and one of them, Qarā Dimurdāsh al-Aḥmadī (d. 794/1392) is reported to have said to him on that occasion that he was at his service (*fī khidmatika*). Shortly afterwards, however, the Egyptian *amīrs*, including Qarā Dimurdāsh, decided to join forces with Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī. Although his *mamlūks*, among them Buṭā al-Ṭūlūtamurī al-Zāhirī and Taghrī Birdī min Bashbughā al-Zāhirī, promised to die in his service, al-Zāhir Barqūq decided to surrender. He retreated to a hiding place and asked Yalbughā for a safe conduct (*amān*). In this context, Yalbughā is reported to have said about his *khushdāsh* Barqūq (no. 8 in Table 2.3): “he is our brother (*akhūnā*) and comrade (*khushdāsh*), but it is better for him to remain in his hiding place until the conflict (*fitna*) is over, because it is hard now to trust the loyalties of the *amīrs*.”<sup>282</sup> The ‘brothers’ terminology, while invoking their mutual loyalty from the past (see items nos. 9, 10 in Appendix A), is also meant to accept Barqūq’s submission.

279 Ibid., 224–7 (esp. 224); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xi, 158.

280 Barqūq’s authority as *atābak* was contested in 781/1379 by the Amīr Ināl al-Yūsufi. When it appeared that Barqūq was about to be defeated in the struggle, one of the *amīrs* who supported Barqūq is reported to have mobilized the common people (*‘amma*) by saying to them “this is your brother (*akhūkum*) Barqūq.” Barqūq himself addressed the common people in that context as “my brothers” (*yā ikhwatī*). See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 365.

281 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 263–7; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 192; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Nafha al-miskīyya* 246, 248; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 130.

282 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xi, 281–5.

13. After al-Zāhir Barqūq's overthrow (see no. 12 in Appendix A), Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī and Minṭāsh reinstated a Qalāwūnid sultan and Yalbughā became *atābak*. Minṭāsh wanted to kill Barqūq, but Yalbughā wanted to imprison him. In this conflict (*fitna*), Minṭāsh was supported by his *mamlūks* and *khushdāshīyya*. Eventually Minṭāsh also earned the support of Yalbughā's *khushdāshīyya* and offered a safe conduct (*amān*) to the *amīrs* who still supported Yalbughā. Yalbughā offered Minṭāsh reconciliation (*ṣulh*) and an end to the conflict (*fitna*). Minṭāsh is reported to have replied: "I obey the Sultan (*anā fi ṭā'at al-sultān*) who is my master and the son of my master, and the *amīrs* are my brothers (*ikhwatī*) and my only rival is al-Nāṣirī, because he gave me an oath (*ḥalāfa lī*) ... that we would be loyal to each other (*nakūnu shay' wāḥid*) and that the sultan will rule as he wishes [an oath which he later reneged on]."<sup>283</sup> Minṭāsh eventually became *atābak* instead of Yalbughā. In this case, the 'brothers' terminology is meant to express the establishment of mutual loyalty between Minṭāsh and the *amīrs*, excluding the former 'brother' Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, and at the same time to convey the *amīrs*' submission to the sultan, and in fact to Minṭāsh who became the *de facto* ruler.
14. Meanwhile (see item no. 13 in Appendix A), Barqūq was gathering supporters in the Syrian provinces where in 792/1390 his faction got the upper hand over Minṭāsh. Some of Barqūq's *mamlūks*, among them Buṭā al-Ṭulūtāmūrī al-Zāhirī managed to take hold of Cairo.<sup>284</sup> At this point, Taghrī Birdī min Bashbughā al-Zāhirī reached Cairo announcing Barqūq's victory in Syria. When Taghrī Birdī met his *khushdāsh* Buṭā (no. 9 in Table 2.3) he became suspicious that Buṭā intended to grab power for himself. One of the things that kindled Taghrī Birdī's suspicion the most was that Buṭā asked him: "my brother (*akhī*), does Barqūq have brave supporters or just a few *mamlūks* that he managed to gather together?"<sup>285</sup> Given Buṭā's intentions, the 'brothers' terminology in this case is meant to express (fake) mutual loyalty and submission to a superior (the two were Barqūq's loyal supporters in preceding conflicts, see item no. 12 in Appendix A).
15. In 876/1471, the Mamluk Amīr Yashbak min Mahdī (d. 885/1480) waged a campaign against Shāh Siwār (d. 877/1472), a rebellious Dhū al-Ghādirid prince

283 Ibid., 332–6 (esp. 336). Minṭāsh is reported to have said to the common people (*'amma*) who entered his service (*fi khidmatihī*): "I am one of you and you are our brothers" (*ikhwāninā*). See *ibid.*, 337. On the common people and 'brothers' terminology, see also footnote no. 280.

284 Ibid., xi, 367–77.

285 Ibid., 378; *idem*, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 380.

(*kharaja 'an al-ṭā'a*) who was supported by Syrian Mamluk *amīrs*.<sup>286</sup> When these *amīrs* realized that they had been defeated they asked for a safe conduct (*amān*). After that, Shāh Siwār started negotiating the terms of surrender and Yashbak took an oath (*ḥalafa*) that he would guarantee his safety (*amān*). Shāh Siwār sent a gift (*hadiyya*) for Yashbak and asked to reestablish his bond of subordination (*al-dukhūl fī l-ṭā'a*). Then, Yashbak sent an envoy to Shāh Siwār with a present. The envoy told Shāh Siwār that the other rebellious *amīrs* thought that it would be best if Shāh Siwār would subordinate himself (*al-dukhūl fī l-ṭā'a*) in return for money and a landed estate. Shāh Siwār is reported to have said that “the *amīrs* are my brothers” (*al-umarā' hum ikhwatī*), seemingly confirming the mutual loyalty between him and the *amīrs* and their subordination to the Mamluk sultan at the same time.<sup>287</sup>

---

286 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* iii, 6, 274–5; Irwin, *Gunpowder and firearms* 129–31.

287 Ibn Ajā, *Ta'rikh al-Amīr Yashbak* 78, 81, 86, 89–91.

# Medieval Middle Eastern Court Taste

## *The Mamluk Case*

*Limor Yungman*

### Introduction

Food has always contributed to forming an identity, through taste and the memory of food. Taste forms identity and is formed by identity, class, ethnicity, religion, and gender. Sharing these tastes in commensality is one way to preserve group identity, or even create one. In the flux of political changes that occurred in the Middle East in the mid-thirteenth century with the rise of the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria, certain changes occurred in the eating habits of the Cairene court. Coming to Egypt as slaves from the Kıpçak steppes and later from Circassia, the Turkic and Circassian sultans were distinct from the local population not only in terms of their social class, but also in their ethnicity and certain habits.

This chapter examines how taste can be formed, changed, expanded or limited as a result of political, geographic and cultural transformations.<sup>1</sup> Two main sources will be used: a “theoretical,” source, namely cookbooks from the Mamluk era, and a “practical” one, namely chronicles that can shed some light on the Mamluk elite’s food practices and habits. Nevertheless, given that the Mamluk taste did not evolve linearly, the contemporary sources only allow us glimpses into the Mamluk culinary realm.

---

1 Even though cookbooks in medieval times circulated in certain social milieus and their dishes were popular among the higher social classes there is still a theoretical dimension to these books, since we still do not know who read them and to what extent they were used in real kitchens, or how often. Like Paulina Lewicka and Bert Fragner before her, the author is well aware of the limits of the sources for historical investigation regarding food and culinary customs. Therefore, a certain degree of speculation, or deduction, was needed in the preparation of this chapter. I draw on culinary history, where changes and other transformations of trends in food articles and food habits occur over long periods of time, in what the *Annales* School has called as the “long durée.” See Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 23–64; Fragner, *From the Caucasus to the roof of the world* 58; Braudel, *Histoire et sciences sociales* 725–53.

## The Concept of Taste

Taste<sup>2</sup> as an idea incorporates two main features:<sup>3</sup> the biological-sensory and the socio-cultural. Biological-sensory taste mainly evolved to help hominids differentiate between edible and inedible or poisonous, fresh and unripe or rotten. Biological taste or gustation “occurs when chemicals stimulate taste receptors on the tongue and other parts of the oropharynx. [...] Taste stimuli are often separated into a small number of ‘primary’ tastes: sweet, salty, bitter, sour, and perhaps savory (umami).”<sup>4</sup>

The second facet of taste is cultural. It can be defined as the ensemble of preferences and choices that are socially and culturally conditioned. Taste in the culinary sense draws on both the biological and the cultural. This is the art of fine eating, the gastronomic taste that has differentiated social classes since antiquity, in reality and in fiction.<sup>5</sup> Taste not only differs across classes, but among various peoples and ethnic groups; according to Kant, “taste is an acquired disposition to ‘differentiate’ and ‘appreciate.’”<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, taste is a matter of choice, or the lack of it. Especially in medieval times, the elites had the choice of what food to put on their tables whereas the lower classes did not have this privilege.<sup>7</sup> Depending on geographic, social and political conditions, socio-cultural taste can change over time.

The uniqueness of culinary taste lies in the fact that it combines sensory and socio-cultural taste. Culinary taste, unlike visual and auditory preferences, is a “productive” taste, an “active participant.” When eating food, people activate all their senses including sight, smell, taste and touch.<sup>8</sup> The tastes of food are in fact the bridge, or the meeting point between the two facets of taste. There can be no experience or appreciation of food without the sense of taste; on the one hand, it is sensory and composed of the primary flavors that

---

2 According to Pierre Bourdieu, “taste is the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs, of continuous distributions into discontinuous oppositions; it raises the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of significant distinctions.” Bourdieu, *Distinction* 174–5.

3 Ibid., 99.

4 Mennella and Beauchamp, The early development of human flavor preferences 83–4.

5 Hume, Of the standard of taste; Bourdieu, La métamorphose des goûts 161–72; idem, *Distinction*. For a description of food in the eschatological literature in Islam, see al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* 3006–8; for food and drinks in Greek mythology, see Wright, The food of the gods 4–6.

6 As quoted in Bourdieu, *Distinction* 466.

7 Idem, La métamorphose des goûts 30–2; on “the science of taste,” see idem, *Distinction* 6–7.

8 Marin, Beyond taste 205–14.

people experience when eating. On the other hand, it is also socio-cultural; it is used, prepared, conditioned and consumed by and in society. It is a status and cultural signifier by making distinctions between classes, ethnicities, gender, and religions.<sup>9</sup>

### Mamluk Taste

The Turkic-Baḥrī Mamluk sultans came from the steppes of Eastern Europe, the territory between the Danube Vinto and the Caspian called *Dasht-i Kıpçak*, the “Kıpçak Desert.”<sup>10</sup> Most of the sultans in the Circassian-Burjī period came from Circassia. The Mamluks, who were former slaves or their descendants, came to rule Egypt and Syria from a different environment and different culinary tradition. The uniqueness of the Mamluks as former slaves distinguished them from other Muslim rulers in the medieval Middle East. By being former slaves, the Mamluks’ perception of power was distinct as were some of their culinary choices as well.<sup>11</sup>

### A Taste for Horsemeat: An Imported Taste

Horses in the Golden Horde and the Circassian steppes played an important role in people’s daily lives. For riding, bearing burdens, eating, or in warfare, horses were precious to their Cuman/Kıpçak and Circassian masters.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, in Central Asian and Siberian traditions the horse had shamanic significance, which included funerary rituals where the master was buried with his horse, and the sacrifice to Tengri, the Sky God.<sup>13</sup>

---

9 Hume, *Of the standard of taste* 208–9; Rozin, *Sociocultural influences* 235.

10 Korobeinikov, *A broken mirror* 380. According to Korobeinikov, “the Turkic society in Egypt was by no means entirely kipçak” (tribal confederation, 900–1220). Nevertheless, he argues, “it is difficult to say whether, and to what extent, the Turkic society in Egypt mirrored the ethnic and tribal structures of the Dasht-i Kıpçak.” See *ibid.*, 386.

11 Levanoni, *The Mamluk conception of the sultanate* 373–92; Harari, *Sapiens* 138.

12 Kelekna, *The politico-economic impact of the horse* 1; Irwin, *Eating horses* 1–7. Because of the limited sources on the subject, most sources are focused on the Turkic sultans and their eating habits.

13 Irwin, *Eating horses* 5–6.

This tight man-horse relationship can be traced back to ca. 4,000 BCE, the estimated date of the first domestication of horses in the Eurasian steppes.<sup>14</sup> To better understand this relationship, Edmund Leach suggested differing degrees of proximity or distance between humans and specific animals in different cultures.<sup>15</sup> These proximities, or preferences, were based on the utility and the use of the animal, here the horse, and the myths and rituals that were imagined, and related to it. The importance ascribed to the horse in the *Dasht-i Kıpçak* social organization can to some extent explain the Mamluks' relationship to horses in their newly conquered lands of Egypt and Syria.

Thus the Turkic and Circassian Mamluks imported their liking for horse-meat and the custom of drinking koumiss (also *qūmiz*), fermented mare's milk, a popular practice among the Cuman/Kıpçak<sup>16</sup> and the Circassian people as of the establishment of the Mamluk Sultanate.

Horsemeat was in great demand on the Mamluk court table, Turkic as well as Circassian, particularly during banquets. One such banquet held by Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Şalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn (r. 689–93/1290–3) in 692/1293 combined the celebration of three occasions: the inauguration of the Ashrafiyya palace and the circumcision of his brother Muḥammad (the Sultan-to-be al-Nāşir Muḥammad) and that of his nephew Mūsā ibn al-Şāliḥ 'Alī ibn Qalāwūn. In addition to 3,000 sheep and 600 head of cattle, 500 horses were slaughtered for the festivities.<sup>17</sup> Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, although not at all born and raised in the Cuman/Kıpçak steppes, but in Arab urban Cairo, recreated his ancestors' socially-acquired food habits.

At another banquet held in 737/1336–7 for the seven-day wedding celebration of Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Qawşūn to one of Sultan al-Nāşir Muḥammad's daughters, fifty horses were served to the guests. There were also dishes made with a total of 5,000 sheep, 100 head of cattle, and abundant numbers of fowl and geese, in addition to sweets and beverages made from 11,000 *ablija* (cones) of sugar.<sup>18</sup>

14 Kelekna, The politico-economic impact of the horse 1–31; idem, *The horse in human history* 21–64.

15 Leach, Anthropological aspects of language 23–63.

16 Cumans and Kıpçaks were two Turkic nomadic tribes from the Eurasian steppe. These two tribes constituted the Cuman-Kıpçak confederation (900–1220) from which most of the Turkic mamlūks were brought to Egypt.

17 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz (Khitāt)*, repr. edition Cairo 1987, ii, 211; Levononi, Food and cooking 215–6.

18 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 288; Levononi, Food and cooking 216; Irwin, Eating horses 1.

Bourdieu points out that the food served on special occasions like these “is an indicator of the mode of self-presentation adopted in ‘showing off’ a lifestyle class,”<sup>19</sup> and reflects the “taste-makers” themselves.<sup>20</sup> Although most of the evidence concerning horsemeat consumption in the Mamluk milieu suggests it was for special occasions such as marriage, circumcision, or the dedication of an edifice, there are other instances where Mamluks consumed horse flesh on a more daily basis. One example is that of Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī, who was renowned for his pride, wealth (and apparently his looks), who according to Ibn Taghrī Birdī had to have his daily portion of horsemeat.<sup>21</sup>

Methodological problems and primarily the unwritten history of the Golden Horde (ca. 1241–1502), make it difficult to compare the favorite dishes and foodstuffs of the Cuman/Kıpçak to those of the Mamluk sultans.<sup>22</sup> In terms of exterior sources, the sole known contemporary testimony concerning Cumania and Circassia confirms the Turkic Mamluks’ eating habits. Archbishop Johannes de Galonifontibus in his “*Libellus de notitia orbis*” (*The Little Book on the Knowledge of the World*, completed in 1404) wrote about the Kıpçak territories and Circassia as part of the description of his mission in the Orient. A Dominican monk and the Bishop of Nakchivān in the South Caucasus from 1377, Johannes de Galonifontibus, was later appointed to be the Archbishop of Sultanieh in 1398. In his accounts concerning the Cuman people he relates that:

---

19 Bourdieu, *Distinction* 79.

20 Ibid., 255. Eating habits cannot be separated from general lifestyle. In fact, many other aspects of Mamluk lifestyle corresponded to their status such as expensive garments, etc. See for lifestyles *ibid.*, 185.

21 Irwin, *Eating horses* 1. Some of the Mamluks’ habits disappeared over time. For example, the ceremony of drinking koumiss was last reported to have been practiced by Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (ruled 784–801/1382–9, with interruptions). See *ibid.*, 3; for the notion of changing preferences according to supply and demand see Bourdieu, *La métamorphose des goûts* 167.

22 The reports about Circassians in medieval times come from exterior sources, such as Christian missionaries. One example is *Codex Cumanicus*, a language manual that was composed to facilitate communication between the Catholic missionaries and the Cumans. See Kuun, *Codex cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*. According to Amjad Jaimoukha, “up until the 19th century there had been no account of the Circassians by a native historian owing to the unfortunate circumstances that there had never been a writing system adopted by them.” See Jaimoukha, *The Circassians* 37. As for second-hand records, although Arab chronicles wrote about the Mamluk races and genealogies, they did not describe the situation in the countries from which they came. See Ayalon, *The Circassians in the Mamlūk kingdom* 135.

As to their eating habits, they do not consume much bread or wine, they are content with what they have; some meat and a little milk. The *élite* [*sic*] would eat horse-meat and drink coumiss [*sic*], prepared so that it will get into your head, cheer you up and have a nutritive quality.<sup>23</sup>

This valuable first-hand testimony suggests that the custom of eating horse-meat and drinking mare's milk was apparently commonplace among the Cuman/Kıpçak elite, and nothing else was remarkable about their eating customs, besides an apparent modest and simple diet. Koumiss was said to be nutritious and from Johannes de Galonifontibus' description, it inebriated ("it will get into your head"). Therefore, although they were the elite in Syria and Egypt which historically were Arab lands with a different culinary tradition, the Mamluk elite was in fact reproducing some of the *élite* customs of the Cumin/Kıpçak people. Unfortunately, although referring to Circassia, Archbishop Johannes de Galonifontibus does not tell us anything about the eating habits there.<sup>24</sup>

There are two possible explanations for the Mamluks' apparent preference for Kıpçak or Circassian tastes. One is cultural and suggests that "food habits and preferences are said to be among the last characteristics of a culture to be lost during immigration of an individual or group into a new culture."<sup>25</sup> The second explanation is social. David Hume relates taste to the familiar, to the known. Thus taste is based on a familiar set of customs and rituals.<sup>26</sup> Nostalgia also plays an important role in shaping tastes in food; it encompasses and goes back to the "native world" which is the symbol of the maternal, the archetypal embodied in food.<sup>27</sup>

To fill in the gaps in the historical accounts from Cuman/Kıpçak lands, another possible clue to the inter-cultural and culinary exchanges and influences between the Mamluks and their surroundings can be found in dictionaries. One is the *Rasūlid Hexaglot*, an eight/fourteenth-century six-language *vocabulary*.<sup>28</sup> No fewer than 170 culinary-related terms appear in these

23 Tardy, The Circassian peoples 92. In his article, Tardy provides English translation of chapters 8–12 from *Libellus de notitia orbis* (originally in Latin).

24 *Ibid.*, 92–3.

25 Mennella and Beauchamp, The early development 103.

26 Hume, Of the standard of taste 218.

27 Bourdieu, *Distinction* 79.

28 Golden (ed.), *The King's dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot*. The *Rasūlid Hexaglot* is a six-language glossary listing words in Arabic with their equivalent entries in Persian, Turkic, Byzantine Greek, Armenian, and Mongol. All entries are transcribed in Arabic script.

dictionaries, which give an idea to the importance of terminology taken from the cooking and eating worlds in the international medieval arena and suggests what produce, plants, and spices circulated in the area.<sup>29</sup> The glossaries are a reflection of the cultural dissemination of economic, technological, and linguistic knowledge, as well as culinary information in the larger Eurasian context.<sup>30</sup> Through its glossaries we can learn about the social opportunities created by food in this region, and the ways in which it functioned as a bridge between different cultures and societies.

The *Hexaglot* is primarily composed of two sections. One section is a dictionary that consists of entries in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek and Armenian (A),<sup>31</sup> and the second section contains entries in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and Mongol (B).<sup>32</sup> Both sections echo contemporary chronicles and cookery books concerning the steppe foods of the medieval period seen in Archbishop Johannes de Galonifontibus's account: cheese (*al-jubn*), milk (*al-laban*, *al-ḥalīb*), bread (*al-khubz*, *nān*), meat (*al-laḥm*), wine (*al-khamr*).<sup>33</sup>

Horsemeat was not the only meat praised in the court cuisine. The numerous entries for meat and the various modes of preparation in the *Rasūlid Hexaglot* indicate its importance in the people's nutrition and include raw meat (*al-laḥm al-nī'*), cooked meat (*al-laḥm al-maṭbūkh*), roasted meat (*al-mashwīyy/al-musaffad*), and chopped meat (*al-mudaqqaq*).<sup>34</sup>

The *Hexaglot* dictionaries also include terms related to Mamluk eating habits such as meats, mare's milk—*laban al-rimāk* (in Mongol: *airan qimiz*),<sup>35</sup> and sweets and sweetmeats (*al-ḥalwā'*).<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the *Hexaglot* devotes a great deal of space to horses, their types, colors, and different terms connected to grooming and handling horses, a clear indication of the importance of horses in Eurasia.<sup>37</sup>

---

It was compiled by or prepared for the sixth Rasūlid king of Yemen, al-Malik al-Afḍal al-'Abbās (r. 1363–77).

29 Ibid., passim. In addition to the *Rasūlid Hexaglot*, the Mamluk-Kıpçak glossary *al-Tuḥfa al-zakiyya fi l-lughat al-Turkiyya* should be mentioned. See Halasi-Kun, *La Langue des Kiptchaks*. A more in-depth philological-linguistic analysis is needed to examine the origins of these terms and their influences on the social history of the period.

30 Allsen, *The Rasūlid Hexaglot in its Eurasian cultural context* 48.

31 Golden (ed.), *The King's dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot* 186–97, A.

32 Ibid., 197–205, B.

33 Ibid., 151–4, 294–5.

34 Ibid., 153, 293.

35 Ibid., 81.

36 Ibid., 152, 296.

37 Ibid., 161, 165, 175, 276–7.

As was the case for many other rulers in history, extravagant banquets with luxurious, rich and complex dishes, delicacies and drinks functioned as a means of communication between members of the Mamluk elite, and between the Mamluk sultans and their subordinates. Moreover, the rich foods served during these feasts functioned as markers of social status that distinguished the Mamluk elite from the lower classes, and differentiated the court from the people.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the Mamluk's apparent taste for horsemeat, the local Cairene population disliked it.<sup>39</sup> No horsemeat is mentioned in contemporary cookbooks associated with the Arab and Sassanid traditions, and when there is a reference to horsemeat eaten by the locals, it is in a context of crisis. Horses are only mentioned alongside animals that were rarely eaten, such as cats, dogs, and donkeys and indicates that eating horsemeat was rare among the population, who apparently only resorted to this practice at times of great distress.<sup>40</sup> Overall this suggests that the Mamluk taste was not absorbed into the Arab-local taste, and certainly not into the Arab-Muslim medieval culinary canon as found in cookbooks.

Beyond the social practices of eating horsemeat, it also had a religious dimension, as a meat eating habit.<sup>41</sup> Eating horsemeat did not comply with the Islamic dietary laws. Despite Abū Ḥanīfa's (80–150/699–767) prohibition on eating horse meat, the Mamluks, who were followers of the Hanafi School

38 Levanoni, *Food and cooking* 221.

39 Lewicka, *Food and foodways*, 57–64, 82, 175, 179–80. Despite the local people's distaste for eating horse flesh, Irwin claims that "eating horse meat was not restricted to the Mamluk elite." He cites the example of an Italian traveler to Egypt, Simone Sigoli, who noticed that horsemeat was sold in the Alexandria market in 785/1384. Irwin, *Eating horses* 2. Generally, recipes for meat dishes rarely mention the type of meat to use, regardless of the clear preference for mutton and the ranking of meats above other kinds of dishes. Ibn al-Ḥajjār, *Kitāb al-Ḥarb* in Marin, *Sobre alimentación y sociedad* 83–122; partial trans. in Finkel, *King Mutton*. See, for example, the recipe for *Mušūšīyya* where it is stated: "This dish is made from the meat of suckling kid [*sic*], and some people make it with mutton [etc.]" Anonymous, *Kitāb Waṣf* 320.

40 For example, the 696/1296–7 agricultural disaster led to a rise in prices and famine, and the people were forced to eat dogs, cats, donkeys, mules, camels and horses. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā 1960–75, i/1, 390–1; Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 179, no. 200.

41 In general, Islamic dietary laws are mainly concerned with four prohibitions, all related to the consumption of animals: first, the prohibition against eating animals that have died natural deaths; second, the prohibition against flowing blood; third, the prohibition against consuming pork, the flesh of swine; and fourth, the prohibition against eating meat that was dedicated to anyone other than Allāh. See al-Qaradawi, *The lawful and the prohibited in Islam* 40–2.

of Islamic law, kept eating it. They used a debate (*ikhtilāf*) over the consumption of horse flesh among Hanafi scholars as a loophole;<sup>42</sup> some scholars saw horsemeat as “*makrūh*,” disliked, but not completely “*ḥarām*,” forbidden by the Islamic dietary laws.<sup>43</sup> In this way, the Mamluks found a way to enjoy both worlds: their culinary heritage and their newly-adopted Islamic religion and culture. As Robert Irwin concluded, it would seem that the consumption of horsemeat and the custom of drinking koumiss was not Mamluk defiance of Muslim laws but perhaps a way to recreate their past, and preserve their previous cultural identity through taste.<sup>44</sup>

These food classifications and the debate over horsemeat were part of the creation and shaping of boundaries in the Islamic religion and involved defining what was included and excluded from it, using the categories of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*. The Mamluks’ part in this process was cardinal. As new converts to Islam and as rulers who represented and protected Islam, they did so on their terms.<sup>45</sup>

### The Arab-Muslim Acquired Culture: An Inherited Taste

The Mamluks were influenced culinarily by two factors. The first, as was discussed above, was their ancestral food habits, and the second was their status as Muslim rulers in a foreign land in what could be defined as social and cultural inheritance. Their “Arab” taste, as shown in lavish banquets and other customs taken from Arab-Muslim traditions can be seen as actions that Bourdieu defines as “the effect of assignment by status” (“l’effet d’assignation statutaire;” *Noblesse oblige*), which compels individuals having a certain social position to adhere to certain practices that are part of their social definitions (e.g., *haute cuisine*), and acquire certain culinary preferences, among other customs.<sup>46</sup> In

42 Irwin, *Eating horses* 2.

43 The authorization to eat horse flesh was based on *ḥadīths* according to which Muḥammad and his companions ate the flesh of horses. For example, “Narrated by Asma bint Abū Bakr: ‘We slaughtered a horse (by Nahr) during the lifetime of the Prophet and ate it.’” Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* vii, book 67, no. 418; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* no. 1942.

44 Irwin, *Eating horses* 7. Regarding the self-image of Kıpçak Mamluks, see Korobeinikov, *A broken mirror* 379–412. On the other hand, Korobeinikov claims that “with time, the incoming Turks inevitably lost their tribal identity and became members of the powerful Mamlūk military machine and of the complex social network of Egyptian society.” See *ibid.*, 386.

45 Douglas, *Deciphering a meal* 71–2; Benkheira, *Islam et interdits alimentaires*.

46 Bourdieu, *La métamorphose des goûts* 169.

other words, perhaps it was part of the “rules of the game” since organizing luxurious, rich banquets with large amounts of prestigious, expensive foods and beverages was a sign of high social status as early as the Umayyad Caliphate<sup>47</sup> and the Mamluks followed suit.

Traces of these “rules of the game” in the Mamluk court can be found in the banquets descriptions above, as well as in cookbooks written in Mamluk times.<sup>48</sup> These can be regarded as culinary “bridges” between the culinary Arab past and the Mamluks’ present.

However, the greatest difficulty when reading these cookbooks is disparity between what is written and what was really eaten,<sup>49</sup> especially when considerable time had elapsed since they were first written in the Abbasid era.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, some phrases or expressions suggest that certain dishes were actually served on the Mamluk elite table.<sup>51</sup>

The elite taste as reflected in these cookbooks was also savory and rich in flavor, through the generous use of various combinations of spices, such as *aṭrāf al-ṭīb*.<sup>52</sup> For example, for the preparation of *Ibrāhīmīyya*<sup>53</sup> the recipe requires meat (*lahm*), salt, water, coriander, ginger, pepper and galangal (blue ginger), Chinese cinnamon, mastic (resin obtained from the mastic tree, gum Arabic), onions, lean meat (*lahm aḥmar*, literally red meat), aged verjuice (highly acidic

47 Hillenbrand, *La Dolce Vita in early Islamic Syria* 1–35.

48 Five cookbooks written in the Mamluk era are known to us today; in fact there are more of them than for any other political era in the medieval Middle East. See Anonymous, *Kitāb Waṣf* 273–450; Ibn al-Mibrad, *Kitāb al-Ṭībākha* 370–6; English translation in *Kitāb al-Ṭībākha: A fifteenth-century cookbook*, Trans. Charles Perry 467–75; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā*; Ibn Mubārak Shāh, *Kitāb Zahr al-ḥadīqa*; Anonymous, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*.

49 Hume, *Of the standard of taste* 209.

50 Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*; English translation in Nasrallah, *Annals of the caliphs’ kitchens: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq’s tenth-century Baghdadi cookbook*; al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*; Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*.

51 The cookbook inventory represents the Mamluk choices only to a limited extent; these choices were adapted from and based on a longstanding culinary tradition in previous Muslim courts.

52 “Definition of *aṭrāf al-ṭīb*: A spice mixture frequently used in cooking, made of lavender, betel, bay leaves, nutmeg, mace, cardamom, cloves, rosebuds, beech-nuts, ginger and pepper, the latter must be ground separately.” Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine* 132.

53 A dish named after Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (162–224/779–839), who was a poet, gourmet, anti-caliph and the son of the third Abbasid caliph, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Mahdī (r. 158–169/775–85). See Sourdél, *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī*.

juice made by pressing unripe grapes), pounded sweet almonds, white sugar, and rosewater.<sup>54</sup>

### Recipe Analysis

Not much can be deduced historically from the recipes written in cookbooks from the Mamluk era. The fact that most of the recipes were copied from recipes in Abbasid-period cookbooks makes it harder to assess the importance and use of these recipes in the Mamluk court. Medieval recipes circulated in the medieval Middle East from about the fourth/tenth century with *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq) until the ninth/fifteenth century with *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha* (Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī [al-Mibrad]) but most of them are generic.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, some recipes can yield historical information, such as specific references to certain rulers and cooks. The most frequently mentioned are Abbasid caliphs; however, one recipe mentions a Mamluk sultan: al-Ashraf Khalīl. Even though he was born in Cairo, al-Malik al-Ashraf’s father was Sultan al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90), a Kıpçak Turk. The recipe appears in chapter seven of the seventh/thirteenth century *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā al-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa-l-ṭīb* (“Book of the Bonds of Friendship or a Description of Good Dishes and Perfumes”) as the third recipe for *Māmūniyya* (also: *Ma’mūniyya*)[named after the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma’mūn, r. 198–218/813–833]. The recipe reads:

The third recipe, better than the second. Boil fattened chickens and fry them in sesame oil. Take the breasts and separate them into threads. Wash rice, pound it fine and sieve it, and on every pound of rice put the shredded breasts of two chickens and enough sugar to make it as sweet as you want. Then take milk, boil it and dissolve the sugar in it, so that it tastes extremely sweet. Put the chicken breasts in and bring to the boil two or three times, then sprinkle the rice and stir it so that it doesn’t stick. When it becomes like porridge, or a little more liquid than that, put tail fat on it. Keep cooking it on a low fire until it exudes fat and turns brown. You want to keep stirring it until it will spread out in a dish. Ladle it out and put peeled whole pistachios in the middle. It comes out agreeable,

54 Anonymous, *Kitāb Waṣf* 306.

55 Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*; Ibn al-Mibrad, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*.

surrounding the chicken breasts. This is how it was done in the house of my uncle al-Malik al-Ashraf, God's mercy upon him.<sup>56</sup>

This recipe calls for several comments. First, interestingly, this dish was well known and cooked as early as in the Abbasid caliphate.<sup>57</sup> Second, the person who wrote the recipe down or described the recipe was apparently the nephew of the Sultan ("my uncle"), but the latter had already been assassinated (693/1293) by the time the recipe was written: the saying "God's mercy upon him" (*rahmihu Allāh*) indicates that the recipe was written after the death of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf. The nephew's part in the recipe is a puzzle; was he only reporting the recipe, was he the copyist, or was he perhaps a cook himself?

The third point is the fact that the main ingredient used in the recipe is chicken, contrary to the claim that mutton was preferred in the court's kitchen. Apparently, it was a recipe made from chicken breast that made it distinctive in the author's opinion.<sup>58</sup> He also classified it, for unknown reasons, as "better" than the second recipe for *māmūniyya*.<sup>59</sup> Although made mainly from chicken, some indications show that it was not for the simple peasant: the recipe includes fat tail (*alya*), pistachios, rice, and another luxurious ingredient—sugar.

### On Sugar and Power

As part of the Mamluks' appreciation of Abbasid culinary practices and their use of the same recipes for the same dishes, one ingredient stood out: sugar.

Sweetness is one of the most ancient, most demanded tastes in nature: both humans and other primates sought it out for hundreds of thousands of years, mostly in fruit.<sup>60</sup> Biologically, sweet means energy and almost all substances that provide nourishment. With the emergence of civilizations and the first

56 Anonymous, *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā*, trans. Perry in *Scents and flavors: A Syrian cookbook* 147. I would like to thank Charles Perry for his great help and willingness to share this translation before the publication of his book. See also Rodinson, *Ma'mūniyya East and West* 190.

57 Ibid., 186–90. For *māmūniyya* recipe in al-Warrāq's cookbook, see: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, 247, 249. English translation in Nasrallah, *Annals of the caliphs' kitchens* 389–90, 392–3.

58 Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 198–207.

59 Perhaps it was related to the richness of the recipe. The first two versions of *māmūniyya* are not as rich as this one, the only version that includes chicken breast.

60 Ulijaszek, *Human eating behaviour in an evolutionary ecological context* 521.

production of the sweet flavor from sugar cane, it became a signifier of status. This was also the case in the Mamluk Sultanate, where the sultans adored sugar and sweetmeats.<sup>61</sup>

The production of sugar from sugar cane reached the Middle East from New Guinea through India and Iran.<sup>62</sup> Sugar was cultivated in Egypt from roughly the second/eighth century,<sup>63</sup> and up to the discovery of the New World and the new opportunities for cheaper and more massive cultivation of the plant in the Caribbean, Brazil, and other Western colonies in the fifteenth century.<sup>64</sup> It was vital for providing the elite with their large sugar consumption habits.<sup>65</sup> Later, Arab traders and the sugar manufacture in Egypt in particular played an important role in the expansion of sugar to Europe, its introduction, cultivation and fabrication.<sup>66</sup> These changes both created and shaped the preference for the sweet taste of sugar, especially among members of the elite.<sup>67</sup>

As an industry, the sugar plantations and factories were regulated by the state and flourished until the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>68</sup> According to

- 
- 61 Levanoni, *Food and cooking* 214. Among other things, sugar was also considered to have medicinal properties. For its use in medical treatments, see Chipman, *The world of pharmacy and pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo* 106–7; Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the economic life of Mamluk Egypt* 100–3. See also Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the social life of Medieval Islam* 91–113; Ouerfelli, *Le sucre*, 503–67.
- 62 Mintz, *Sweetness and power* 19; Ouerfelli, *Le sucre* 20–4.
- 63 On the debate over the exact date of the arrival of sugar cane to Egypt, see Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 300, fn. 823.
- 64 For the major sugar producing areas in the Mediterranean between the years ca. 700–1700, see chart and discussion in Galloway, *The Mediterranean sugar industry* 180–1.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 177, 180.
- 66 Ouerfelli, *Le sucre* 429–99.
- 67 Mintz, *Sweetness and power* 23; Ashtor, *Levantine sugar industry in the late Middle Ages* 91–132; Northrup, *From slave to sultan* 278–9; Galloway, *The Mediterranean sugar industry* 177. Before it shifted to the tropical New World, the Mediterranean was the preferred environment for sugar cane cultivation for almost 800 years given its optimal climate and soil conditions. See *ibid.*, 182. For the growing, milling, manufacturing, crystallization and purification of the sugar crystals see *ibid.*, 184–8. After ca. 1470, these latter stages of sugar refinery were transferred to Europe, a shift that according to Galloway “placed the producer in a dependent or ‘colonial’ relationship with the manufacturer, a relationship that has survived with little change to this day.” See *ibid.*, 188.
- 68 Northrup, *From slave to sultan* 279–80; Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the economic life* 106; Galloway, *The Mediterranean sugar industry* 177, 191. For the various reasons for the decline of the Egyptian sugar industry, see Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the economic life* 106; Galloway, *The Mediterranean sugar industry* 190–4. Sato Tsugitaka argues that Eliyahu Ashtor is mistaken in his argument, and that the decline occurred not due to Levantine technological

Chapoutot-Remadi, Goitein and Northrup, the sugar cane plantations and refineries were, at least in part, in the hands of the ruling elite in Mamluk Egypt.<sup>69</sup> Even when it was cultivated locally, as in the Egyptian case, sugar was always an expensive food item, “beyond the reach of the poor” (“hors de la portée des pauvres”).<sup>70</sup>

Accounts of refineries shed light on the importance of sugar in politics, culture and medicine in Mamluk Egypt until mid-eighth/fourteenth century and the changes it went through. In 724/1324 sixty-six refineries were recorded in Fustât while only nineteen were still operating a century later.<sup>71</sup>

The Mamluk elite, the sultan and his *amîrs*, like many of the elites in the medieval world, loved sweets and sweetmeats. It was a significant part of their diet.<sup>72</sup> Highly demanded, white, refined sugar became popular among the elite primarily because of its sweetness. That is why even before mass production of sugar and the modern sugar industry, sugar was closely linked to power. It had power over people on its own as an addictive substance and as a way to differentiate between social classes. Later in history it became one way the Western empires exercised power over their colonies.<sup>73</sup>

The combination of the control on sugar production and its consumption in the medieval Middle East was the practical equivalent of power. Did the Mamluks like sugar because of its rareness, because it was a costly commodity, or was it simply because of its sweetness? The answer is probably all the above.

---

inferiority compared to the Sicilian and the Cypriot sugar industries, but because of combination of political corruption and natural disasters. Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the economic life* 107. According to Galloway, this claim is based on the date the three-cylinder mill was invented, which is attributed by one historical school to Pietro Speciale of Sicily in 1449. However, another school argues that the mill first appeared in Peru and was then adopted by the Brazilian sugar industry between 1608 and 1612. See Galloway, *The Mediterranean sugar industry* 186.

69 Northrup, *From slave to sultan* 279; Chapoutot-Remadi, *L'agriculture dans l'empire Mamluk* 35; Goitein, *A Mediterranean society* 1, 81. Linda Northrup is cautious to conclude that “this information is insufficient to allow us to draw the conclusion that sugar refineries were increasingly coming under the control of the ruling establishment.” See Northrup, *From slave to sultan* 279.

70 Ashtor, *Essai sur l'alimentation* 1024.

71 Galloway, *The Mediterranean sugar industry* 191; Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 301.

72 Besides a clear liking for the sugary taste, sugar as commodity had a value and thus was given by the sultan as grants to his *amîrs* or as gifts to people who he chose to favor. See Tsugitaka, *Sugar in the economic life* 104–5.

73 Mintz, *Sweetness and power* 28–9.

One way to evaluate the popularity of the sweet taste in the Mamluk elite is to examine cookbooks and the inventory of recipes for sweetmeats.<sup>74</sup> As early as al-Warrāq's cookbook there is a large number of recipes for sweetmeats and pastries. These recipes and others were copied and transmitted to cookbooks written in the Mamluk period. In *Kitāb Waṣf al-aṭ'ima al-mu'tāda* ("The Description of Familiar Foods") there are thirty-six recipes for sweetmeats plus fifty-two recipes for pastries, for a total of eighty-eight recipes for sweet dishes out of 420 in this book.<sup>75</sup> Sugar as an ingredient was also used in meat recipes, such as *Ibrāhīmīyya*, to balance out the sourness in the dish: "[...] then sweeten it with a little with [sic] white sugar, for it should not be strongly sour" (*thumma yuḥallan yasīran bi-l-sukkar al-abyaḍ wa-lā yakun shadīd al-ḥumūḍa*).<sup>76</sup>

*Kanz al-fawā'id fī tanwīr al-mawā'id* ("The Treasure of Valuable Knowledge on the Classification of Foodstuffs"), unlike its previous homologue, is constructed differently. It starts with general guidelines for the cook, followed by chapters on bread and water, and only then comes the chapter that details food recipes "On the Types of Foods, from the Sweet, the Sour and the Plain" (*fī anwā' al-aṭ'ima min al-ḥilū wa-l-ḥāmiḍ wa-l-sādhiḥ*).<sup>77</sup> Out of 143 recipes in this chapter, eighteen are recipes for non-meat dishes. For example, it includes one for "sweet sanbousak" (*al-sanbūsak al-ḥilū*),<sup>78</sup> and another for the preparation of dried apricots (*al-mishmish al-yābis*).<sup>79</sup> In *Kanz al-fawā'id* eighty-two recipes are found under the chapter of sweetmeats, "On [what] is Made of Sweetmeats and Other Kinds" (*fīmā yu'malū min al-ḥalwa min sār aṣnāfiha*).<sup>80</sup> Some recipes still include poultry (*harīsat al-fustuq*, for example).<sup>81</sup> Out of

74 The chronicles tell us as well about the Mamluks' love for sweets. For examples see, Levanoni, *Food and cooking* 215–7.

75 Anonymous, *Kitāb Waṣf* 415–39.

76 Ibid., 306. There were no fewer than 211 recipes for meat dishes in this cookbook, in four different categories, divided according to the cooking method or the taste: sour dishes (*ḥawāmiḍ*); plain dishes (*sawādhij*); fried dishes and dry dishes (*qalāyā wa-nawāshif*); meat porridges and oven dishes (*harā'is wa-tannūriyyāt*); and fried dishes, cold dishes and samosas (*muṭajjanāt, wa-bawārid, wa-sanbūsak*). This suggests that most of *Kitāb Waṣf* was composed of meat or sweet (299 recipes). See *ibid.*, 305–87.

77 Anonymous, *Kanz al-fawā'id* 13–63.

78 Ibid., 49.

79 Ibid., 51.

80 Ibid., 103–31.

81 Ibid., 112.

these recipes, sixty explicitly contain sugar (*sukkar*) or even “white sugar” (*sukkar abyad*) as an ingredient.<sup>82</sup>

*Kitāb Zahr al-ḥadiqa fī l-aṭ‘ima al-anīqa* (“Blossoming Garden of Elegant Dishes”) resembles *Kanz al-fawā'id* in terms of its structure.<sup>83</sup> It includes twenty-two sweet recipes (*al-ḥalāwāt*), fourteen of which are made with sugar, alongside other sweeteners, such as molasses and honey.<sup>84</sup> In *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣla ilā al-ḥabīb fī wasf al-ṭayyibāt wa-l-ṭīb* one chapter “On Sweetmeats and Pastries” (*fī l-ḥalāwāt wa-l-makhbūzāt*) and no fewer than twenty-five sugary recipes are dedicated to sweetmeats.<sup>85</sup>

The last medieval Arabic cookbook known today, dated to the ninth/fifteenth century *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha* (“The Book of Cookery,” or as suggested by Charles Perry, *Kitāb al-Ṭabbākha*, “The Book of the Female Cook”),<sup>86</sup> may be less representative of the rich culinary Arab tradition than the previous cookbooks. This compilation of recipes possibly mirrors the political situation of the Mamluk State and its struggle to stay in power. It contains only forty-four recipes, in alphabetical order instead of themed chapters: meat dishes are mixed in with pastry, the sour with the sweet. There are only four recipes for candies and other sweet dishes. Interestingly, in the recipe for *ḥalwā* (sweets), which has “very many” varieties (“*anwā'ihā kathira jiddan*”), sugar is an optional ingredient, and could be replaced by other sweeteners perhaps as a cheaper alternative for the lower classes: “you put *dibs* (date molasses), honey, sugar, or *rubb* (boiled-down fruit syrup) [etc.]”<sup>87</sup>

These cookbooks show that similar to the wide choice of meats and sweets in Mamluk banquets reported by the chronicles, most of the recipes were for meat, poultry, or sweetmeat dishes.

As to tastes in the wider historical-linguistic sense, interestingly, all four tastes appear in the dictionaries of the *Rasūlid Hexaglot*: sweet (*al-ḥulw*), sour (*al-ḥāmiḍ*), bitter (*murr*) and salty (*māliḥ*).<sup>88</sup> Despite the appearance of the terms “sweet” and “sweetmeats” in the *vocabulary*, there is no mention of

82 See, for example, the recipe for *aṣābī' Zainab* (“Zainab’s fingers”) where the use of white sugar is explicit. Anonymous, *Kanz al-fawā'id* 109.

83 Lewicka claims that “Ibn Mubārak Shāh [...] copied a significant number of recipes and instructions he found in *Kanz* into his *Zahr al-Ḥadiqa*.” See Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 273.

84 Ibn Mubārak Shāh, *Kitāb Zahr al-ḥadiqa* 28–54 (on foods), 74–82 (on sweetnesses).

85 Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣla*; Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine* 139–41.

86 Ibn al-Mibrad, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*, trans. Perry, 469.

87 Ibid., 471; idem, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha* 372.

88 Golden (ed.), *The King’s dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot* 152–3, 269–70.

the word sugar in any language. Nonetheless, other sweeteners and sweetening agents appear in it, notably dates (*al-tamr*), honey (*al-ʿasal*), and molasses (*al-dibs*).<sup>89</sup>

Three additional food categories appear to have been included in the core nutrition of this vast region: dairy products, wheat (*al-hinṭa*), rice (*al-aruzz*), and vermicelli/noodles (*tutumāj* or *tutamač* [sic. in the *Hexaglot*], *iṭriya*, *al-rishta*).<sup>90</sup> These grains correspond to two of the three main crops worldwide: rice (Asia), wheat (Middle East), and corn (Americas), given that the Middle East was a crossroad between Asia and the West.

Meat and sweets, features of the inherited and borrowed-culture tastes, were prominent in the Mamluk kitchen to such an extent that they were identified with “the food of the kings.”<sup>91</sup> Levanoni explains this as follows:

The special attention paid by the chroniclers of the Mamluk period to the varieties and quantities of meat and sweets consumed at the ruling elite’s social events also attests to the role of these foodstuffs as signifiers of class status.<sup>92</sup>

### Food as a “Social Entity”<sup>93</sup>

All these factors that created and enabled the “Mamluk taste” were eventually societal and contributed to the socialization, adaptation, and acceptability processes of the Mamluks as the ruling elite. Since eating is mostly a social activity the Mamluk case should be seen in this light as well. As Rozin argues: “[...] almost all cases of eating could be fully understood entirely only in a social context.”<sup>94</sup>

89 Ibid., 152, 162, 296, 326. The reason for the absence of the term “sugar” from this dictionary is unclear. Although compiled by (or for) the sixth Rasūlid king of Yemen (see above fn. 28) it could have reflected the absence of sugar trade in the region at the time of the compilation of the book (fourteenth century) when the production of sugar in Egypt had declined.

90 Ibid., 80–1, 137, 151–2, 256, 292. For more on the origins of noodles and pasta in Muslim cuisine see Perry, *The oldest Mediterranean noodle* 42–5; idem, *Notes on Persian pasta* 251–5. Recipes for both *iṭriya* and *al-rishta* appear in cookbooks. See al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabikh* 53–4.

91 Levanoni, *Food and cooking* 15.

92 Ibid.

93 Rozin, *Sociocultural influences* 235.

94 Ibid., 233.

Thus, social factors played an influential role in Mamluk culinary traditions, as in the case of the horsemeat and sugar consumption. Although it seems that the Arab chroniclers misunderstood the cultural significance of Mamluk habits regarding horses,<sup>95</sup> these customs were motivated by a complex set of beliefs, traditions and rituals.<sup>96</sup> Food also served to establish social connections through sharing, or to create social distinctions through food taboos.<sup>97</sup> Here, the taste for horsemeat created a kind of distance between the local population and the Mamluks not only on a class but also on an ethnic and cultural level. The social context in which the horsemeat was presented also affected its acceptance in society since horsemeat, not all of which raised locally, was as foreign as the elite itself.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, the banquet as a form of elite “ritual” was vital for the acceptance of horsemeat; the court environment enabled the Mamluks to maintain these food habits without any apparent problems.<sup>99</sup>

Similarly, the transmission and adaptation of food customs were dependent on the Mamluk Sultanate as a political entity.<sup>100</sup> The ruling elite played a crucial role in influencing the food habits not only of their peers, but primarily that of the population at large. One form of influence involved control over agriculture and the maintenance of dams and canals. Indirectly, collecting taxes on crops and hoarding grains also impacted food habits. In addition, the elite at times operated a patronage system through supervision of the bread market. Finally, they controlled the trade of staple foods and imported ingredients such as spices.<sup>101</sup> Therefore the Mamluks as rulers and consumers of certain rare and exotic food items can be considered “taste-makers” (*arbiter elegantium*).<sup>102</sup> They defined the “higher” taste for the lower classes which over the course of history evolved from “luxurious” to “common.”<sup>103</sup>

---

95 Irwin, *Eating horses* 6.

96 Rozin, *Sociocultural influences* 235–6, 242.

97 *Ibid.*, 236.

98 Rozin, *Sociocultural influences* 243.

99 *Ibid.*

100 Fagner, *From the Caucasus to the roof of the world* 51.

101 Shoshan, *Grain riots and the ‘moral economy’* 459–78; Fagner, *From the Caucasus to the roof of the world* 50–1.

102 Bourdieu, *Distinction* 255.

103 For example, the title of *Kitāb Wasf al-aṭʿima al-muʿtāda* (“The description of familiar foods”) may indicate that the same recipes, once consumed by the Abassid caliphes, went through a popularization process and in time became more common among wider social strata. This might be the case for other cookbooks that circulated in the Middle East during these times. Lewicka suggests that the food of the Cairene society in the medieval

Food habits were influenced socially on the local and transnational scales. The larger culinary context was not solely the Arabic cuisine of the time; it was massively influenced by previous culinary traditions from other “political superstructures”<sup>104</sup> such as the Baghdadi Caliphal *haute cuisine* and the Sassanid, Roman and Mesopotamian cuisines before it.<sup>105</sup> Accordingly, the Mamluk kitchen should be regarded as a mixture of local varieties of food-stuffs, the importation of eating practices and the mutual exchange of traditions, preferences, and tastes.<sup>106</sup> In this respect, the medieval Muslim world played an important role in mediating between the East (China and India through Iran) and the West (Europe) in the transfer and diffusion of plants and spices such as eggplant, pepper, cinnamon, and rice.<sup>107</sup>

### Conclusion: The Uniqueness of the Mamluk Taste

As rulers, the Mamluks’ culinary preferences were created in accordance with the laws of supply and demand of food items. By determining what ingredient was valued, they created and controlled the food market.<sup>108</sup> Beyond the consumption of food for eating, food preferences also affected other food-related fields, such as economy and trade through the importation of rare, exotic food articles.<sup>109</sup> Thus, the Mamluks not only made history on the battlefields, but also “made history,” to use Bourdieu’s words, by making food choices in the social field.<sup>110</sup>

The banquets and celebrations, reported at times in detail by contemporary chroniclers, were ways for the ruling elite to establish and manifest their wealth, pride, status, and power. The main way to do so was through food, especially meat dishes and sweetmeats, both in quantity, since thousands of animals were slaughtered to prepare the food for each celebration meal, and

---

period was in fact consumed by a wider group of people. See Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 20–22.

104 Fagner, *From the Caucasus to the roof of the world* 53.

105 Dalby, *Tastes of Byzantium*; Waines, Introduction: The formation of the classical Islamic world xxxii–xxxiii; idem, *Luxury foods in Medieval Islamic societies* 574.

106 Fagner, *From the Caucasus to the roof of the world* 52–3.

107 Ibid., 53.

108 Bourdieu, *La metamorphose des goûts* 167.

109 The Mamluk food choices could also have influenced the prosperity of the Kārimī traders (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) under the Mamluk Sultanate. See Ashtor, *The Kārimī merchants* 45–56; Fischel, *The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt* 157–74.

110 Bourdieu, *La metamorphose des goûts* 168.

in quality since the more meat dishes, sweetmeats and sweet beverages compared to other foodstuffs were served, the richer and more luxurious the celebration was considered to be. In addition, the use of rare and more “valued” foodstuffs that were regarded as out of reach of the lower classes made the banquet even richer.<sup>111</sup> The qualities and quantities of foodstuffs selected to appear on the sultan’s table were determined by various socio-cultural factors.<sup>112</sup>

To some extent, the Mamluks’ food preferences were contradictory. On the one hand, the Mamluks saw themselves as the successors of former Muslim rulers, and as such they adopted the *haute cuisine* institutionalized under the Abbasid caliphate.<sup>113</sup> This cuisine mainly consisted of meat, poultry, and sweet dishes. The taste for meat and sweets was not exclusive to the Mamluks; sweet was a favorite flavor and meat was a symbol and a signifier of the higher classes in society.<sup>114</sup> However, these preferences for the savory and the sweet had a different interpretation in the Mamluk court: the meats included horse-meat, and the sweets, especially transformed sugary sweetmeats and sugary beverages were consumed by the Mamluks in abundant amounts.<sup>115</sup> The Arab Caliphal tradition was adopted by Mamluks as well as by many other non-Arab peoples. These peoples continued to support, develop and spread this tradition much after the Muslim Caliphate itself had collapsed and the Arabs as an ethnic group had lost their hegemony in the Middle East. On the other hand, the Mamluks introduced other tastes and choices deriving from their nomadic heritage which were necessarily simpler and more modest than the luxurious *haute cuisine*. In so doing they unintentionally created a new culinary mix that is not traceable further in time and space, and remained their distinctive culinary profile.<sup>116</sup> This reflects the dichotomy of the urban versus the nomadic, the refined versus the wild, and the “Eurasian” versus the “Arab.”

Although tastes for food changed over time and space, the appreciation of certain of these tastes continued as part of the accumulation of knowledge

111 Bourdieu, *Distinction* 247, 249; Levanoni, Food and cooking 213.

112 Rozin, Sociocultural influences 233.

113 Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence regarding the Umayyad court cuisine, and the earliest medieval cookery book known today dates from the fourth/tenth century *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq).

114 Levanoni, Food and cooking 214–5.

115 Ibid., 215. Levanoni distinguishes between “natural” sweets, such as honey, dates, and fruits, and “processed” sweetmeats that were considered luxury foods. See *ibid.*, 217.

116 There was most likely a culinary discontinuity with the Ottomans, the next sovereigns in the Middle East after the Mamluks, because late-medieval Ottoman *haute cuisine* was characterized by more refined taste. Artan, Aspects of the Ottoman elite’s food consumption 107–200; Lewicka, *Food and foodways* 339, no. 1017.

and the establishing of power and power institutions, like the sultanic kitchen (*al-maṭbakh al-sulṭānī*).<sup>117</sup>

This Mamluk case study is informative as to the ways in which taste in medieval times was “constructed.” It shows that the primary sources are crucial to exploring theoretical versus actual food habits. Food practices and choices were also a means of power and the Mamluks, throughout their rule, knew how to use it for their own purposes. Finally, taste is a matter of identity, culture, and tradition. It can be inherited, adopted, or both, as in the Mamluk case.

---

117 Hume, *Of the standard of taste* 219.

## Du sang et des larmes

*Le destin tragique d'Aşalbāy al-Jarkasiyya (m. en 915/1509)*

*Bernadette Martel-Thoumian*

Dans le monde arabo-musulman médiéval, l'écriture de l'Histoire étant une affaire d'hommes, la place de la femme y est fonction de l'intérêt que ce dernier veut bien lui accorder. Si des personnes appartenant à la gent féminine ont droit de cité dans les chroniques historiques et les dictionnaires biographiques, c'est uniquement parce qu'elles répondent à certains critères, plus précisément aux qualités recherchées ou attendues chez elles, telles la beauté, la piété, la chasteté etc.<sup>1</sup> Quant aux femmes appartenant à l'oligarchie mamlouke, ce sont leurs liens familiaux – elles sont mères, femmes, sœurs, filles de sultans ou d'émirs – qui leur ont donné une visibilité. À l'inverse, les concubines qui peuplent les harems sont quasiment toutes anonymes. La circassienne Aşalbāy, qui fut l'une d'elles, ne doit sa postérité qu'à son statut de mère, de sœur et d'épouse de sultans. Favorite d'al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy (872–901/1468–96), elle lui donne un fils et successeur, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (901–904/1496–8). Elle assiste à l'accession au trône de son meurtrier, al-Zāhir Qānṣūh (904–905/1498–1500) – qui n'est autre que l'oncle maternel de Muḥammad – puis épouse en 905/1500 l'*atābak al-ʿasākīr* Jānbalāt avant qu'il ne s'empare à son tour du pouvoir. Ibn Iyās et Ibn al-Ḥimṣī évoquent à maintes reprises ce destin hors du commun ponctué, à l'instar de bien d'autres itinéraires féminins de l'époque, de sang et de larmes.

### Concubine, mère et sœur de sultans

C'est la naissance de son fils Muḥammad en Shawwāl 897/Novembre 1482 qui permet à Aşalbāy de faire une apparition remarquée sur la scène privée et politique. En effet, même si cette dernière n'est qu'une des concubines (*surrīya min sarārīy*) de Qā'itbāy, Ibn Iyās s'empresse de signaler l'événement d'autant que le garçon succédera à son père. Ce n'est donc pas tant l'enfantement qui donne

1 Lutfī, *al-Sakhāwī's Kitāb al-Nisā'*; Martel-Thoumian, *Ibn Iyās et les chanteuses* 425–34; Giladi, *Toutes les femmes d'al-Saḥāwī* 548–66.

à Aşalbāy une existence publique que l'avenir du nouveau-né<sup>2</sup>. Par ailleurs, si elle est émancipée en tant qu'*umm walad*, le Sultan Qā'itbāy ne l'épouse pas pour autant. Ibn Iyās insiste bien sur ce point, le souverain n'eut qu'une épouse (*zawja*), Fāṭima bint 'Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak<sup>3</sup>. Or rien ne permet dans les textes de déceler si cette décision relevait du seul désir de Qā'itbāy ou s'il s'agissait d'une exigence de Fāṭima<sup>4</sup>.

Toutefois, il est difficile d'adhérer entièrement aux dires de l'auteur. En effet, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī qualifie Aşalbāy de "*zawjat al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy*" lorsqu'il évoque le transport de son trousseau au domicile de son époux Jānbalāṭ<sup>5</sup> et elle est dite "*jihat al-Malik al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy*" sur le bandeau épigraphique qui orne la mosquée qu'elle a fait ériger au Fayyum. Le terme *jiha* désigne "une relation de parenté noble, notamment d'épouse, sens qui manque aux dictionnaires<sup>6</sup>."

2 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, repr. édition 1982–84, 197. Tous les garçons nés de son union avec Fāṭima étaient morts en bas âge. D'après Rapoport, *Women and Gender* 30, citant Ibn Taghrī Birdī et al-Şayrafi, Qā'itbāy épousa Fāṭima bint 'Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak en 862/1458 et fut monogame, mais s'il a bien eu une seule épouse, la question des concubines fait débat. En effet, en 873/1469 son fils Aḥmad décède. Selon al-Şayrafi, l'enfant âgé d'environ deux ans était son seul fils, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr* 60. Ibn Iyās donne une autre version, il prétend que le garçon avait environ quatre ans et qu'il était l'aîné [de ses garçons], *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 30. Il recopie probablement 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Naḥl al-amal* vi, 366, n. 2766. Les chroniqueurs signalent également le décès d'une fille, Sitt al-Jarākisa le même mois. S'ils s'accordent sur l'identité de la mère qui n'est autre que Fāṭima, ils sont muets sur l'existence d'éventuelles concubines. Qu'est-il advenu des autres enfants ? Est-ce à la suite du décès d'Aḥmad que Qā'itbāy a acheté Aşalbāy ? Compte tenu de la forte mortalité infantile, on peut penser que le sultan avait plusieurs esclaves féminines ainsi que l'indique l'expression *surrīya min sarārīy*. D'ailleurs, lorsque Fāṭima fait le pèlerinage en 879/1475, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Zāhirī signale la présence de concubines dans le convoi, *Naḥl al-amal* vii, 122 et Ibn Iyās mentionne en 897/1492, le décès d'une fille née d'une concubine, portant elle aussi le nom de Sitt al-Jarākisa, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 288. Finalement, les chroniqueurs ne s'accordent que sur un point, Qā'itbāy n'a eu qu'une seule épouse. Il est donc difficile de se prononcer sur la question des concubines et sur le nombre de ses enfants. En effet, ces personnes ne font pas systématiquement l'objet d'un signalement dans les sources et les auteurs divergent sur le sujet.

3 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 326 ; al-Şayrafi, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr* 60.

4 Elle porte le prénom de la fille du Prophète, or cette dernière avait exigé de 'Alī d'être monogame. Qā'itbāy étant d'origine circassienne, il est fort possible que l'interdiction d'épouser une ex-esclave n'ait pas été respectée. Cf. Aḥmad ibn al-Jī'ān et Shahddār dans Martel-Thoumian, *Ibn Iyās et les chanteuses* 428.

5 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 93–4. S'agit-il d'un lapsus de l'auteur ? Qā'itbāy a-t-il épousé secrètement Aşalbāy, cette union n'ayant été dévoilée qu'après le décès de ce dernier ?

6 Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicum: Égypte* 558 ; al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya fi l-ta'riḫh, "al-jiha,"* 248–50.

Quoi qu'il en soit, ayant donné naissance à l'héritier du trône, elle porte le titre de *khawand* lorsque ce dernier accède au pouvoir et l'éventualité d'un mariage tardif reste envisageable. Grâce à son fils, elle rejoint officiellement l'univers des princesses.

Cette naissance, qui a transformé son statut légal et social, a-t-elle également eu des répercussions sur ses relations avec l'épouse légitime ? Ibn Iyās mentionne lors du décès de Fāṭima survenu en 909/1504 l'attitude ambiguë de son beau-fils Muḥammad. En effet, il lui avait offert sa protection tout en la spoliant d'une partie de sa fortune<sup>7</sup>. Quelle a été la position d'Aṣalbāy face aux agissements équivoques de son fils ? A-t-elle intercédé en faveur de l'ex-sultane ou s'est-elle cantonnée dans la neutralité ?

Certes, la maternité l'extrait de l'ombre du harem, toutefois on sait bien peu de choses sur elle. Si Ibn Iyās dévoile son nom ainsi que son origine circassienne, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Zāhirī se borne à signaler que "la mère est une esclave"<sup>8</sup>. Il faut attendre le décès de Qā'itbāy et l'accession au trône de son fils Muḥammad le 26 Dhū l-Qa'da 901/6 Août 1496 pour la connaître un peu mieux. Ibn Iyās mentionne qu'Aṣalbāy avait été achetée par Qā'itbāy et le fait qu'elle fut circassienne y était sans doute pour beaucoup. Par ailleurs, fait surprenant, aucun auteur n'évoque son âge, son physique ou d'éventuelles qualités morales<sup>9</sup>. Même Ibn Iyās reste muet sur le sujet. Son attitude est d'autant plus curieuse qu'il signale dans la notice nécrologique de la *khawand* Jānkaldī al-Jarkasiyya (une des épouses du Sultan Qānṣūh) que cette dernière était une femme intelligente, pieuse et de bonne moralité, qualités dont semble avoir été dépourvue Aṣalbāy, du moins qu'il ne lui attribue pas<sup>10</sup>.

Ces informations qui constituent d'ordinaire l'essentiel des notices consacrées aux femmes sont absentes. Autre point important, Ibn Iyās est le seul à utiliser son nom, tous les autres auteurs privilégient sa position familiale. Ainsi, dans la notice nécrologique qu'Ibn al-Mallā consacre à son époux Jānbalāṭ, elle n'a d'autre identité que celle d'être la sœur (*ukht*) d'al-Zāhir Qānṣūh et la mère (*umm*) d'al-Nāṣir Muḥammad<sup>11</sup>. Le procédé est similaire lorsque l'auteur évoque Qānṣūh, ce dernier est présenté comme étant l'oncle maternel (*khāl*)

7 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 427 ; iv, 64–5.

8 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fi dhayl al-duwal* vii, 325.

9 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 334.

10 Ibid., iv, 205–6.

11 Ibn al-Mallā, *Mut'at al-adhhān* i, 384–5, n. 378. L'éditeur du texte Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī vocalise Mallā, alors qu'al-Ziriklī dans le *A'lām* i, 133 opte pour Ibn al-Mullā et qu'Ibn al-'Imād dans le *Shadharāt al-dhahab* viii, 440–2 l'appelle Ibn al-Munlā.

d'al-Nāṣir Muḥammad et Jānbalāṭ n'est que le mari de sa sœur (*zawj ukhtihi*)<sup>12</sup>. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī reprend la même terminologie lorsqu'il mentionne le transfert de son trousseau de la Citadelle du Caire au domicile de son époux Jānbalāṭ situé dans le quartier de l'Azbakiyya. Aṣalbāy est évoquée en tant qu'*umm al-Malik al-Nāṣir* [Muḥammad], *ukht al-Malik al-Zāhir* [Qānṣūh] et *zawjat al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy*<sup>13</sup>. Cette femme est donc constamment ramenée à son rôle de génitrice, de sœur, puis d'épouse. Elle est reléguée à un semi-anonymat, alors que Fāṭima, l'épouse de Qā'itbāy, est évoquée nommément dans les ouvrages<sup>14</sup>. Cette attention est sans doute due à son statut de femme libre et bien née.

Les auteurs passent également sous silence sa régence informelle, gommant l'aide et les conseils qu'elle prodigua à son fils pendant son court règne. Or elle a exercé sur Muḥammad, âgé de 14 ans, une grande influence. Jeune et inexpérimenté, il dut affronter des révoltes qui faillirent lui coûter le trône et la vie<sup>15</sup>. Et ce fut elle qui prit les choses en main en Rajab 903/Février 1498. Craignant que son frère Qānṣūh ne fomentât un complot contre son fils, elle prit l'initiative de réunir les deux hommes et elle leur fit jurer sur le Coran une mutuelle fidélité<sup>16</sup>. Son ascendant sur Muḥammad n'était un secret pour personne, et en Rabī' I 904/Octobre 1498 le gouverneur de Damas Kurtbāy déclarait en plein conseil : "Nous sommes gouvernés par un adolescent (*ṣabī*) et une femme (*imra'a*)<sup>17</sup>." Cette situation ne devait guère le réjouir<sup>18</sup>.

Toutefois, si elle parvint à raisonner et à guider le jeune souverain dans la conduite de l'État, il semble bien que dans le domaine privé, elle ait eu beaucoup de mal à se faire entendre. En Ṣafar 904/Septembre 1498, passant outre l'opposition maternelle, Muḥammad épousa la circassienne Miṣrbāy, veuve du commandant de mille (*muqaddam alf*) Kurtbāy<sup>19</sup>. Cet émir avait pris part à la révolte fomentée par son frère Aqbirdī min 'Alibāy en Dhū l-Qa'da 901/Juillet

12 Ibn al-Mallā, *Mut'at al-adhhān* i, 316–7, n. 289.

13 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 93. Doit-on voir dans cette omission une marque de respect ou, au contraire, du mépris vis-à-vis d'une concubine ?

14 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iv, 64–5 ; Ibn al-Mallā, *Mut'at al-adhhān* ii, 880–1, n. 1028.

15 Martel-Thoumian, *Du bon gouvernement* 227–313.

16 Ces serments restèrent d'ailleurs lettre morte, Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 387.

17 Ibid., 406.

18 Les femmes ne peuvent détenir des fonctions d'autorité et intervenir dans la vie publique, elles doivent se cantonner à leurs foyers. Cf. ce que dit à ce propos El-Mawerdī, *Les statuts gouvernementaux* 53, 131.

19 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 399. On remarquera que les mots *ayyima* et *armala* qui signifient veuve ne sont jamais employés, mais que les auteurs privilégient systématiquement les termes afférents au mariage, *zawj* et *zawja*. Kurtbāy était le frère du *dawādār* Aqbirdī min 'Alibāy. Nommé gouverneur (*nā'ib*) de Safād en Rabī' II 900/Décembre 1494, il fut

1496 et était décédé lors de sa fuite en Rabī' I 903/Octobre 1497. Muḥammad prenait pour épouse la femme d'un homme qu'il avait vaincu, Miṣrbāy représentait-elle à ses yeux un trophée ou s'agit-il d'une focade d'adolescent<sup>20</sup> ? Or cette union fut une erreur. En effet, si le doute n'est pas de mise quant aux ambitions politiques de Qānṣūh, il n'est pas impossible que des motivations d'ordre sexuel l'aient également conduit à commanditer l'assassinat de son neveu en Rabī' I 904/Octobre 1498. Un an plus tard, Qānṣūh devenu sultan convolait avec Miṣrbāy<sup>21</sup>. Quelle fut la réaction d'Aṣalbāy à l'annonce de cette union dont les protagonistes n'étaient autres que le commanditaire de l'assassinat de son fils et la veuve de ce dernier ? Si les auteurs relatent l'information, ils ne la commentent pas.

Par ailleurs, quand Aṣalbāy a-t-elle adopté l'islam ? Sa pratique religieuse n'est jamais mise en avant par les auteurs, cependant l'archéologie révèle qu'elle ordonna la construction d'une mosquée à Madīnat al-Fayyūm. Cette information est légèrement erronée. C'est son fils Muḥammad qui, en Shawwāl 903/Mai 1498, avait lancé les travaux, ce qu'attestent deux cartouches au nom du souverain. D'ailleurs, Ibn Iyās lui attribue la construction<sup>22</sup>. Toutefois, la mosquée et les arches qui tombaient en ruine furent déblayées en Dhū l-Qa' da 903/Juin 1498 ; l'édifice fut achevé en Rabī' II 905/Novembre 1499. Sur le linteau, on peut lire : "A bâti cette mosquée et ces arches de pont la *khawand*, *wālidat* al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Abū l-Sa'ādāt ibn al-Malik Qā'itbāy<sup>23</sup>."

---

révoqué en Dhū l-Qa' da 901/Août 1496, cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 306, 335, 362 et suiv, 381 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 11–14, 33–4.

20 Ibn Iyās évoque un jeune sultan à la sexualité débridée, Martel-Thoumian, *Du bon gouvernement* 264.

21 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 426. Le même mois, son épouse Jānkaldī lui avait donné un fils, *ibid.* Qānṣūh a-t-il épousé Miṣrbāy uniquement parce qu'elle était la femme de son neveu défunt ? Si cette union avait pour seul objectif la légitimation de son accession au trône, pourquoi n'a-t-il pas convolé avec Fāṭima, la veuve de Qā'itbāy, ainsi que le fera Ṭūmānbāy ? Est-ce parce qu'approchant de la soixantaine, cette dernière était trop âgée pour enfanter ? Par ailleurs, les émirs l'ayant sollicité, Qānṣūh n'a pas eu à combattre pour accéder au trône. Il est difficile dans ce cas précis d'adhérer totalement à ce qu'écrivent D'Hulster et Van Steenberg, *Family Matters* 74–7. Cf. également Onimus pour les stratégies matrimoniales mises en œuvre par les Barqūqides, *Les émirs dans le sultanat mame-louk* i, 340–388 ; iii, 736–44.

22 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 392.

23 Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus* 557–9. Selon van Berchem, "l'omission répétée du nom propre de la fondatrice pourrait bien être intentionnelle. Est-ce parce qu'elle n'était qu'une favorite ou parce que son mari et son fils étaient morts ?" 560, n. 3.

L'inscription du minbar est également sans équivoque : "A fait ériger ce minbar *al-sitt al-maṣūna*, *al-khawand al-kubrā*, *jihat al-Malik al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy*, *wālidat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, *ukht al-Malik al-Zāhir Qānṣūh*<sup>24</sup>." Même si son nom (*ism*) n'est pas mentionné, Aṣalbāy est bien l'ordonnatrice de la construction ainsi que l'attestent ses titres. La seconde inscription renferme des informations capitales : en effet, outre le terme de *jīha* évoqué précédemment, en étant qualifiée d'*al-sitt al-maṣūna*, ce sont ses qualités morales et en particulier sa chasteté, qui sont mises en avant<sup>25</sup>. Le titre de *khawand al-kubrā* se justifie si on prend en considération son statut de mère de sultan<sup>26</sup>. Aṣalbāy a-t-elle constitué des *waqfs* pour garantir l'entretien et la pérennité de cette construction ? On n'a rien trouvé à son nom ni à celui de son fils<sup>27</sup>.

Si Aṣalbāy a rapidement compris que son frère Qānṣūh représentait un danger pour son fils, elle ne put le dissuader de recourir à l'assassinat le 15 Rabī' I 904/31 Octobre 1498<sup>28</sup>. Ayant éliminé son neveu Muḥammad, Qānṣūh monte sur le trône le 17 Rabī' I 904/2 Novembre 1498. Les sources sont muettes sur la réaction d'Aṣalbāy face à cette tragédie, elles ne laissent rien filtrer de sa douleur, de son attitude vis-à-vis de son frère. Si la *khawand* retourne brusquement à l'anonymat, elle réapparaît au grand jour à l'annonce de la signature du contrat de mariage qui va lier sa destinée à celle de l'*atābak al-'asākir Jānbalāṭ*.

### Fiançailles et mariage

Aṣalbāy porte encore le deuil de la mort tragique de son fils lorsque ses fiançailles avec l'émir Jānbalāṭ sont annoncées publiquement le 7 Jumādā I 905/10 Décembre 1499<sup>29</sup>. Où vit-elle après l'assassinat de Muḥammad ? Si elle a séjourné à la Citadelle pendant le court règne de ce dernier, a-t-elle quitté les lieux après le drame ? Compte tenu de son statut particulier de concubine, mais également de mère de son unique héritier, Qā'itbāy avait assuré son

24 Situé à l'extrémité ouest de Madīnat al-Fayyūm, au bord du canal appelé Baḥr Yūsuf, cet édifice est bâti sur le plan des mosquées et repose en partie sur un vieux pont traversant le canal, *ibid.*, 556, pour le bandeau épigraphique, 557 et le minbar, 559.

25 'Abd al-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks* 116–7 ; al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb*, "al-sitt," 317 et "al-maṣūna," 472–3.

26 Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus*, 559–60.

27 Cf. Amin, *Catalogue des documents d'archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516*.

28 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 401–2 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 58–9 ; Ibn al-Mallā, *Mut'at al-adhḥān* i, 420–2, n. 429.

29 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 428.

avenir financier par testament<sup>30</sup>. Il lui avait probablement légué ou accordé la jouissance de la demeure (*bayt*) située sur la rive de l'étang de l'Éléphant, et c'est dans ce lieu qu'en Dhū l-Ḥijja 905/mai 1500 son époux Jānbalāt, qui vient d'accéder au trône, lui rend visite<sup>31</sup>. Il est possible qu'elle y ait séjourné après le meurtre de son enfant et avant son retour à la Citadelle en tant qu'épouse du Sultan Jānbalāt, ce dernier ayant dû laisser le palais de l'Azbakiyya au nouvel *atābak*.

Quoi qu'il en soit, depuis Rabī' I 904/Octobre 1498, Aşalbāy n'a plus d'enfant et sa famille se résume à son frère. Pour ce dernier, son mariage s'impose<sup>32</sup>. Certes, le futur époux doit appartenir au sérail, avoir un rang élevé et être fortuné, mais l'esprit superstitieux des mamlouks, tous grades confondus, peut les amener à refuser cette alliance, si prestigieuse soit-elle. En effet, une femme a vite la réputation de porter malheur, ce qui la rend immariable<sup>33</sup>.

Or le prétendant idéal existe en la personne de Jānbalāt. Mamlouk de Qā'itbāy et compagnon d'armes (*khushdāsh*) de Qānṣūh, il occupe à ce moment-là la fonction de maréchal des armées. Le poste lui a d'ailleurs été attribué en Dhū l-Ḥijja 904/Juillet 1499 par Qānṣūh, avec probablement une arrière-pensée, faire de lui son beau-frère<sup>34</sup>. Ibn al-Mallā est clair sur ce point quand il écrit : "Il lui fit épouser sa sœur, mère d'al-Nāṣir (*wa zawwajahu ukhtahu umm al-Nāṣir*)<sup>35</sup>." Cette union a en apparence tout pour satisfaire les deux hommes. Qānṣūh poursuit un double objectif : il accomplit son devoir en mariant sa sœur et il espère brider les éventuelles ambitions de l'*atābak* en le faisant entrer dans sa famille, ce dernier devenant son obligé. Quant à Jānbalāt, il convole avec une des concubines de son maître Qā'itbāy. Cette pratique n'a rien d'exceptionnel ; en Rajab 906/Janvier 1501, Ṭūmānbāy devenu sultan épouse la veuve de Qā'itbāy, Faṭīma bint 'Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak.

Toutefois, l'affaire s'avère plus complexe qu'il n'y paraît. En effet, l'*atābak* a déjà charge d'âmes, ayant épousé en Sha'bān 899/Mai 1494 une des filles de

30 *Le Coran*, traduction R. Blachère ii, 241. Barqūq avait établi un testament dans lequel il léguait à ses femmes et à ses concubines 220 000 dinars, al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jumān*, ed. Bīnū, 95. Information reprise par Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* i/2, 525.

31 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 443. Qā'itbāy avait fait construire cette demeure.

32 Cf. Q 2:234 ; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *La femme* 164–71.

33 C'est du moins ce qu'écrit Ibn Iyās à propos de Mişrbāy, l'épouse d'al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 426.

34 Ibid., iii, 422 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 83 ; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām al-warā'* 99 ; idem, *Mufākahat al-khillān fi ḥawādith al-zamān* i, 221 ; Ibn Şbāt, *Ta'riḫ* ii, 923. Jānbalāt était auparavant gouverneur (*nā'ib*) de Damas où sa conduite, d'après Ibn Ṭūlūn, avait été des plus déplorables.

35 Ibn al-Mallā, *Mut'at al-adhhān* i, 316–7, n. 289.

Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir, le puissant secrétaire du secret (*kātib al-sirr*) de Qā'itbāy<sup>36</sup>. Aussi émet-il des exigences lors des transactions. D'après Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, le souverain lui remet 7,000 dinars et lui offre deux étalons avec leur harnachement complet (selles, éperons et bâtons d'acier que l'on porte à cheval) lors de la signature du contrat de mariage qualifié d'important (*aqd ḥāfil*) dans la mosquée de la Citadelle<sup>37</sup>. Quant à Aṣalbāy, rien n'est dit sur un éventuel acquiescement, apparemment elle laisse faire, mais a-t-elle le choix ?

Témoins oculaires des différentes étapes des cérémonies, Ibn Iyās et Ibn al-Ḥimṣī les consignent méticuleusement, énumérant nommément bon nombre de participants. Ils sont éblouis par la somptuosité des événements aussi l'expression *yaum* ou *nahr mashhūd* (jour mémorable) revient-elle comme un leitmotiv dans leurs descriptions. Le 7 Jumādā I 905/10 Décembre 1499, le contrat de mariage est signé dans la mosquée de la Citadelle en présence du sultan, des émirs et des quatre grands *qādīs*<sup>38</sup>. Puis Jānbalāṭ demande que l'on apporte le présent nuptial (*mahr*). Ce dernier se compose de 800 plateaux sur lesquels sont déposés de la soie, du sucre, des étoffes, des objets précieux (non identifiés) et bien d'autres articles encore. Les auteurs ne chiffrent pas ce magnifique cadeau de noces, mais on peut l'estimer à plusieurs milliers de dinars<sup>39</sup>.

La cérémonie terminée, le Sultan Qānṣūh, qui officie en tant que tuteur matrimonial ainsi que le veut l'usage, remercie les différents participants, puis on procède à la distribution de robes d'honneur (*khil'a*). Sont honorés le prédicateur (*khātib*) qui n'est autre que le contrôleur de l'armée (*nāzir al-jaysh*) Zayn al-Dīn al-Qaṣrawī, les deux témoins (sg. *shāhid*), l'imam du sultan, Majd al-Dīn, et le suppléant du *qādī* hanafite (*naqīb al-ḥanafī*) Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Raqqād, ainsi que le notaire (*āqid*) qui a dressé le contrat, le grand qadi hanafite (*qādī l-quḍāt ḥanafī*) Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī. La présence des deux représentants hanafites est liée à l'appartenance des mamlouks à ce *madhhab*. Une collation composée de pâtisseries, de fruits et de melons d'été adoucis avec du

36 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 302. Pour l'importante famille des Banū Muzhir, cf. Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamlūk* 267–81.

37 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādīth al-zamān* ii, 90–91. Tous les contrats de mariage concernant les personnes issues de la famille sultanienne ou du milieu des magnats étaient conclus et célébrés dans la Citadelle.

38 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 428 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī mentionne que les grands *qādīs* n'étaient que trois, le shaféite étant souffrant, *Ḥawādīth al-zamān* ii, 91.

39 Cf. 'Abd al-Rāziq, *La femme*, 129–38 ; pour les périodes précédentes, Mouton et Sourdel, *Mariage et séparation à Damas au Moyen Âge* ; Rapoport, *Marriage, money and divorce* ; Frenkel, *Marriage and Family*.

sucré est servie dans la mosquée de la Citadelle. Pour les participants ce jour fut inoubliable<sup>40</sup>.

Le temps qui s'écoule entre les fiançailles et la consommation du mariage est très court, environ deux mois. Le Samedi 15 Rajab 905/Samedi 15 Février 1500, le cortège transportant le trousseau (*jihāz*) de la fiancée part de la Citadelle et traverse Le Caire en direction de l'Azbakiyya où réside Jānbalāṭ. C'est un impressionnant défilé formé de quatre cents porteurs et environ deux cents mulets d'après Ibn Iyās ou de nombreux porteurs et sept cents mulets d'après Ibn al-Ḥimṣī qui emprunte les grandes artères, la Qaṣaba, puis Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. Abasourdi par un tel déploiement, Ibn Iyās note qu'il "est difficile de décrire les nombreux meubles et objets précieux transportés"<sup>41</sup>. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī également impressionné consigne que le trousseau comprend "des coussins et des matelas dorés, ornés de perles et d'ambre, des objets précieux, des boîtes dorées et des bancs en cuivre incrustés d'or et d'argent ainsi que des litières dorées." Une foule importante assiste au spectacle qui dure la matinée entière<sup>42</sup>. Des émirs, des administrateurs et des eunuques prennent part au défilé.

Quand tous les participants arrivent à destination, le maître des lieux les accueille et il honore d'une *khil'a* quelques invités. Parmi les personnes distinguées figurent son beau-frère, le *kātib al-sirr* Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Muzhir ainsi que les émirs Qānṣūh, Tānībak et Kasbāy appartenant à la *khāzindārīyya*, le gardien du harem (*zimān*) Jawhar al-Mu'īnī, le commandant des mamlouks (*muqaddam al-mamālīk*) 'Anbar ainsi que des eunuques. Par ailleurs, les chefs des métiers d'art ayant participé à la réalisation du trousseau – les orfèvres (*al-ṣuyyāgh*), les personnes travaillant l'ambre (*al-'anbarānīyya*) et les tireurs d'or (*al-zarākisha*) –, reçoivent chacun dix dinars<sup>43</sup>. Par ce geste, Jānbalāṭ exprime sa satisfaction et reconnaît le travail exceptionnel des artisans.

Le 18 Rajab/18 Février, Jānbalāṭ convie à un banquet (*walīma*) dans la cour située devant le palais de l'Azbakiyya des émirs, des *khāṣṣakīyya*, des notables et des administrateurs. Les agapes terminées, les invités sont priés d'entrer dans le palais afin d'admirer le trousseau exposé dans plusieurs pièces<sup>44</sup>. Le lendemain, Aṣalbāy quitte la Citadelle et se rend à son tour à l'Azbakiyya dans un palanquin broché d'or, précédée de quelques fonctionnaires civils dont le

40 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādīth al-zamān* ii, 90–1.

41 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 429.

42 Ibid., 93 ; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *La femme*, 138–52.

43 "On se servait aussi de l'ambre pour les coussins (*maḥādd*), les stores (*kīlal*), les rideaux (*sutār*) et d'autres [tentures]." Raymond et Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire* 192 ; pour les *zarākisha*, ibid., 97 et n. 1.

44 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādīth al-zamān* ii, 93–4.

secrétaire du secret Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Muzhir, le contrôleur de l'armée Zayn al-Dīn al-Qaṣrawī, l'adjoint du secrétaire du secret (*nā'ib kātib al-sirr*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn al-Ji'ān, d'eunuques, de plusieurs émirs de dix ainsi que de nombreux *khāṣṣakiyya*.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī ajoute que de nombreuses femmes (princesses, suivantes) montées sur des ânes suivent la litière de l'épousée tandis que des chanteurs et des chanteuses les divertissent de leurs mélodies. À l'entrée du palais de l'Azbakiyya, on a étendu des tapis de soie sur lesquels passent les mulets qui soutiennent le palanquin, et des piécettes d'or et d'argent sont lancées au-dessus de la tête de la *khawand*<sup>45</sup>. Anasbāy, le responsable de la salle des boissons (*shādd al-sharābkhānāh*), Jānbalāṭ le gouverneur de la Citadelle (*nā'ib al-qal'a*), Qānībak le porteur de l'écritoire (*dawādār*), Zayn al-Dīn al-Qaṣrawī le contrôleur de l'armée ainsi que Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Muzhir le secrétaire du secret sont gratifiés d'une robe d'honneur<sup>46</sup>.

Cette longue description minutieuse donne une idée du faste qui caractérisa les noces de Jānbalāṭ et d'Aṣalbāy. L'ex-concubine eut un mariage digne des filles de sultans ou de grands émirs. On comprend par ailleurs qu'une telle magnificence ait fasciné tant les auteurs que les spectateurs, car ils avaient rarement l'occasion de contempler un étalage semblable de richesses. Or ce mariage coûta très cher et on peut s'interroger sur le financement des diverses cérémonies. Certes, le sultan s'acquitta de certains frais, mais Jānbalāṭ prit en charge le banquet donné à l'Azbakiyya ainsi que les robes d'honneur distribuées aux convives. Peut-être puisa-t-il dans les 7,000 dinars que son beau-frère lui avait octroyé.

Aṣalbāy est désormais mariée ; toutefois, un nouveau bouleversement la guette. Le 26 Dhū l-Qa'da 905/26 Juin 1500, Jānbalāṭ destitue son beau-frère, le Sultan Qānṣūh et s'empare du trône<sup>47</sup>. Il s'octroie la titulature de son maître (*ustādh*) al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qā'itbāy, puis il va se recueillir sur le tombeau de ce dernier. Il est sans doute désireux de montrer son attachement à son défunt *ustādh*, toutefois cette attitude n'est pas dépourvue de superstition<sup>48</sup>. Le fils et le beau-frère de Qā'itbāy étant restés peu de temps au pouvoir, le nouveau souverain espère échapper à ce destin funeste. Quant à Aṣalbāy, cette promotion

45 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 429 ; Berhens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and its environs from Azbak to Ismail* 25. Jānbalāṭ occupe le palais de son prédécesseur, l'*atābak* Azbak décédé en 904/1499.

46 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 429 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 94.

47 Qānṣūh règne du 17 Rabī' 1 904/2 Novembre 1498 au 29 Dhū l-Qa'da/26 Juin 1500, cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 405, 435, 442 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 59–60, 101–3.

48 Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 104.

sociale la plonge à nouveau dans le drame familial, car ironie du sort, si cette passation de pouvoir lui permet d'accéder au rang de *zawjat al-sultān*, elle se fait au détriment de son frère qui a pris la fuite. Pour le retrouver, Jānbalāṭ n'hésite pas à faire arrêter sa belle-sœur, la *khawand* Jānkaldī qui, d'après l'eunuque Misk, connaissait la retraite de son époux. Elle est soumise à un interrogatoire, on lui comprime les pieds dans un étau tandis que son personnel et ses servantes sont torturés<sup>49</sup>. Cette façon de procéder choque profondément Ibn Iyās, aussi rappelle-t-il dans la notice nécrologique qu'il lui consacre en Dhū l-Qa'da 916/Février 1511 les mauvais traitements dont elle fut l'objet<sup>50</sup>. Qānṣūh est finalement arrêté, puis emprisonné dans le fort (*burj*) construit par Qā'itbāy à Alexandrie<sup>51</sup>.

Jānbalāṭ s'installant à la Citadelle, le transfert de la *khawand* a lieu le Mercredi 4 Dhū l-Qa'da 905/Mardi 1<sup>er</sup> Juillet 1500. D'après Ibn Iyās, le spectacle est à la hauteur de son nouveau rang. Elle arrive par la rue Ṣalība dans un palanquin broché d'or, accompagnée d'une centaine de suivantes montées sur des mules. Des eunuques, des hauts fonctionnaires civils, quelques *khāṣṣa-kīyya* ainsi qu'une centaine de mamlouks l'escortent ; tous sont magnifiquement vêtus. Les militaires sont chargés d'écarter la foule qui se presse sur le parcours et de frayer un passage au convoi<sup>52</sup>.

Ce récit est d'autant plus curieux que Jānbalāṭ a au moins une autre épouse, à propos de laquelle Ibn Iyās ne dit mot. Aṣalḃāy est à ses yeux la plus importante, la seule digne d'être mentionnée. Cette attention est-elle due à ses liens familiaux ou est-ce parce qu'elle est la plus âgée des femmes de Jānbalāṭ, *al-khawand al-kubrā* ? Par ailleurs, doit-on voir dans cette manifestation une mise en scène légitimante destinée au peuple et au milieu militaire ? Cette hypothèse n'est pas à écarter compte tenu de la charge émotionnelle et symbolique attachée à cette femme. En effet, n'est-elle pas la mère du fils et successeur de Qā'itbāy, éphémère sultan au destin tragique ainsi que la sœur du souverain qui vient d'être déchu ?

Les descriptions des festivités permettent de mesurer le chemin parcouru par la jeune circassienne achetée par Qā'itbāy, et ayant été réduite malgré son statut d'*umm walad* au rang de concubine pendant des années. Comment vécut-elle ce nouveau rebondissement ? Quel rôle joua-t-elle ? A-t-elle plaidé la

49 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 441 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 105.

50 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 205-6.

51 Al-Zāhir Qānṣūh resta en prison à Alexandrie de nombreuses années ; ce sont les Ottomans qui le mettent à mort en Ṣafār 923/Février 1517, Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* v, 163.

52 Ibid., iii, 444. Ce passage est absent dans les *Ḥawādith al-zamān*, l'année 906/1500 commence en Jumādā 11/Décembre alors que l'événement a lieu en Muḥarram/Août 1500.

cause de son frère auprès de son époux ? Toutefois, Jānbalāṭ avait été poussé sur le trône par le puissant émir Ṭūmānbāy et ce dernier avait bien l'intention d'accéder à son tour à la magistrature suprême.

### Veuve et exilée

Ibn Iyās, qui anticipe les événements à venir, clôt la description des festivités sur une douloureuse et triste remarque : “ Cette noce mémorable eut de pénibles lendemains. ” En effet, Aṣalḃāy est sultane très peu de temps puisque son époux ne règne que six mois et six jours<sup>53</sup>. Le 18 Jumādā 11 906/9 Janvier 1501, Jānbalāṭ est évincé, son remplaçant le circassien Ṭūmānbāy est lui aussi un ancien mamlouk de Qā'itbāy. Le choc est d'autant plus rude pour la *khawand* que le nouveau détenteur du trône n'est autre que celui qui a porté le coup fatal à son fils al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Après une courte accalmie, le sort semble à nouveau s'acharner sur elle. Ṭūmānbāy s'empresse d'envoyer Jānbalāṭ en prison à Alexandrie, puis il donne l'ordre de l'étrangler et de l'enterrer dans un des cimetières de la ville<sup>54</sup>. Si Aṣalḃāy n'a pas suivi son époux dans la disgrâce, c'est parce que Ṭūmānbāy a d'autres projets la concernant. Désormais veuve et sans protecteur, son avenir s'avère incertain.

Et le nouveau sultan est bien décidé à profiter de la situation. Le somptueux trousseau et le superbe cadeau de noces qui ont défilé au Caire constituent une preuve éclatante de la richesse de l'ex-sultane. En Jumādā 11 906/Décembre 1500, Ṭūmānbāy ordonne son arrestation. Ibn Iyās estime que cette action est odieuse, et il s'empresse de rappeler que le nouveau maître du Caire ose s'en prendre à la femme et à la sœur de deux de ses anciens camarades et ex-sultans, puisqu'il qualifie Aṣalḃāy d'épouse d'al-Ashraf Jānbalāṭ et de sœur d'al-Zāhir Qānṣūh. Mais Ṭūmānbāy n'a cure du passé. Elle est riche et il n'a qu'un désir : s'approprier ses biens. Dans un premier temps, il tente l'intimidation en la confiant à la surveillance de dix eunuques. La *khawand* est alors coupée du monde et probablement déstabilisée et apeurée. Puis quand il estime qu'elle est prête à rendre gorge, il la condamne à une amende d'environ 50 000

53 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Nuzhat al-asāṭīn* 153. Six mois et 18 jours d'après Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 439 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 104.

54 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iii, 462, 469 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 113. Toutefois, ses émir et ses mamlouks demandèrent que sa dépouille fut rapatriée au Caire, ce fut chose faite en Shawwāl 906/Avril 1501. Il fut d'abord enterré dans le mausolée d'al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy, mais ses mamlouks demandèrent qu'il soit enseveli dans le mausolée qu'il avait fait construire près de Bāb al-Naṣr. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 124–5.

dinars. Toutefois, Ibn Iyās doutant de la fiabilité de cette information ajoute que “d’autres (?) disent 20 000.” Pour payer, Aşalbāy en est réduite à vendre bon nombre d’étoffes précieuses<sup>55</sup>. On ne dispose d’aucun élément concernant les biens d’Aşalbāy, il est toutefois certain qu’elle était moins fortunée que la veuve de Qā’itbāy, Fāṭima bint ‘Alī ibn Khāşşbak qui, d’après Ibn Iyās, disposait encore à sa mort d’une immense fortune<sup>56</sup>. Ironie du sort, peu de temps après, en Sha‘bān 906/Février 1501, Ṭūmānbāy se fiance avec cette dernière et l’épouse le mois suivant<sup>57</sup>.

Pendant Ṭūmānbāy n’a tiré aucune leçon des brefs règnes de ses prédécesseurs et il va par sa conduite sanguinaire très vite s’aliéner le milieu émiral qui n’aura plus qu’une idée en tête, se débarrasser de lui. Son règne éclair se solde dans le sang, il est assassiné et décapité en Dhū l-Qa‘da 906/Mai 1501 par Arazmak, un mamlouk de Jānbalāt. À l’annonce de la nouvelle, les proches d’Aşalbāy exultent. Ils se précipitent sur le cadavre, plongent leurs mains dans la plaie béante et se frictionnent le corps avec le sang de Ṭūmānbāy, tout en laissant exploser leur joie. Ibn Iyās ne condamne pas cet acte barbare, au contraire il va jusqu’à l’excuser en rappelant que l’ex-sultan avait à son compte deux assassinats (ceux de Muḥammad et de Jānbalāt) et une destitution (celle de Qānşūh)<sup>58</sup>. Aşalbāy trouve-t-elle un quelconque réconfort dans cette liturgie du sang ? Il est difficile de répondre à la question, car les événements ne vont pas s’arrêter en si bon chemin.

Si la *khawand* a versé une grosse somme d’argent à Ṭūmānbāy, elle n’est pas pour autant complètement démunie. Or le nouveau sultan, Qānşūh al-Ghawrī est lui aussi un mamlouk de Qā’itbāy. Lors de son arrivée au pouvoir, il a constaté que les caisses de l’État étaient désespérément vides. Il lui faut donc trouver de l’argent et vite afin de distribuer le don de joyeux avènement aux troupes. Il y va de sa tranquillité. Qu’importe qu’Aşalbāy ait déjà versé une contribution conséquente à son prédécesseur, il la pressure à son tour. En Şafar 907/Août 1501, Qānşūh al-Ghawrī ordonne qu’on la conduise à la Citadelle et qu’on la place pendant quelques jours sous la surveillance d’un certain nombre d’eunuques. Bien décidé à obtenir rapidement satisfaction, le souverain opte pour une attitude extrême, il lui fait infliger de mauvais traitements dans l’espoir qu’elle souscrive une somme importante. Toutefois, le cas d’Aşalbāy n’est pas isolé. Le mois précédent le souverain avait ordonné que toutes les femmes quelles que fussent leurs conditions qui possédaient des *rizaq* (domaines) se

55 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* iii, 466.

56 Ibid., iv, 64–5. Cf. Petry, *The estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khāşşbakiyya* 277–94.

57 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* iii, 469, 472–3 ; Ibn al-Ḥimşī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 114–5, 117–8.

58 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* iv, 11.

présentassent au domicile du fondé de pouvoir sultanien (*wakīl bayt al-māl*), le *qāḍī* Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī<sup>59</sup>.

Ibn Iyās ne donne aucun détail, mais la *khawand* est probablement battue et peut-être même soumise au supplice de la compression. Cependant Aṣalbāy ne cède pas, soit parce qu'elle espère qu'il n'osera pas aller plus loin, soit parce qu'elle ne possède pas la somme réclamée. À bout d'arguments, le sultan décide de la reléguer à La Mecque, mais la mesure est annulée suite à l'intervention (*shafā'a*) de l'émir des armes (*amīr silāḥ*) Qurqmās min Walī al-Dīn et de l'émir Tarābāy al-Sharīfī<sup>60</sup>. Cette surprenante intercession constitue une preuve irréfutable de la notoriété de la *khawand*. En effet, il est rare qu'un homme en appelle au souverain pour la gent féminine, il privilégie généralement ses semblables. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux anciens mamlouks de Qā'itbāy et compagnons d'armes de Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī arrivent à convaincre ce dernier que la manœuvre n'est pas acceptable, pire qu'elle est susceptible de créer des remous. Tous au Caire, petits et grands, suivent depuis des années ce que l'on pourrait appeler la "saga d'Aṣalbāy." Aucune femme dans l'histoire mamlouke n'a connu de tels revers de fortune. Sa vie est un drame permanent dont elle est, à son corps défendant, l'héroïne. Le souverain accepte, mais en échange, elle consent à régler une partie de la contribution qui lui était imposée. Ibn Iyās ne dit mot sur le montant, probablement parce qu'il l'ignore<sup>61</sup>.

Toutefois, la décision de l'envoyer en exil à La Mecque montre le désir de Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī d'écartier une femme qui, au cours des ans, a certainement gagné le respect du milieu émiral. Cette position permet à la *khawand* de connaître quelques années de répit, le sultan craignant peut-être qu'une action de trop ne provoque une fronde. Il préfère attendre le moment opportun et c'est Aṣalbāy elle-même qui va le lui fournir. En Shawwāl 913/Février 1508, elle effectue le pèlerinage<sup>62</sup>. Prudent, le sultan attend qu'elle soit sur le chemin du retour et, lorsqu'elle arrive à Yanbo, il lui fait signifier qu'elle doit rebrousser

59 Ibid., 15.

60 Qurqmās min Walī al-Dīn (m. en Ramaḍān 916/Décembre 1510) et Tarābāy al-Sharīfī (m. en Muḥarram 917/Mars 1511) avaient été achetés et affranchis par Qā'itbāy. Pour Qurqmās, cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 197–8 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 204 ; pour Tarābāy, cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 208–9 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 211.

61 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 20 ; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 136–7.

62 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 128. On ignore s'il s'agit de son premier pèlerinage ou du second. En effet, en Shawwāl 879/Février 1475, Fāṭima bint 'Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak avait effectué le *ḥājj* en compagnie de sa parenté et de concubines. Aṣalbāy était-elle du voyage ? al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-kalām* ii, 856 ; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 122 ; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 104. Cf. Behrens-Abouseif, *The mahmal tradition* 87–96 ; Johnson, *Royal pilgrims* 107–31.

chemin et qu'elle est désormais assignée à résidence à La Mecque. Personne ne semble s'être élevé contre la volonté sultanienne et, en Muḥarram 914/Mai 1508, elle commence une nouvelle vie dont on ne sait rien<sup>63</sup>.

Puis en Rabīʿ II 915/Juillet 1509, la nouvelle de son décès parvient au Caire. Ibn Iyās qui s'en fait l'écho, sans toutefois en divulguer la cause (âge, maladie, dépression), rappelle à nouveau que la *khawand* Aṣalbāy fut la mère d'al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, la concubine d'al-Malik al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy, la sœur d'al-Malik al-Zāhir Qānṣūh et l'épouse d'al-Malik al-Ashraf Jānbālāt. Il évoque également les causes de sa présence dans la ville sainte et la disgrâce qu'elle a encourue ; toutefois, il se trompe quand il écrit qu'elle y a séjourné plusieurs années<sup>64</sup>. Aṣalbāy est inhumée sur place. Née en Circassie, elle meurt au Ḥijāz, loin des siens. Même dans la mort, sa vie n'aura été qu'un long exil.

Comment expliquer une telle animosité, pour ne pas dire une si grande animosité ? Cette femme ne disposait apparemment pas d'un grand pouvoir, même si ses liens avec quatre sultans en faisaient un personnage hors du commun. Toutefois, dans le milieu sultanien Aṣalbāy fait figure d'"outsider". Esclave étrangère, elle n'est jamais décrite comme une personne remarquable. On ignore tout de son éducation, voire d'éventuelles dispositions artistiques ; par ailleurs, il est difficile d'évaluer son patrimoine. Néanmoins, les chroniqueurs lui reconnaissent un mérite, celui d'avoir enfanté un garçon. Le ou les fils issus de son union légitime étant décédés, la naissance de Muḥammad a probablement comblé Qā'itbāy. Toutefois sa joie fut de courte durée, car Ibn Iyās écrit que les relations entre le père et le fils, un adolescent difficile, étaient tendues. Par ailleurs, en 901/1496 ce furent les grands émirs qui prirent l'initiative de faire proclamer Muḥammad sultan alors que son père agonisait<sup>65</sup>. Les auteurs ne disent pas clairement si Qā'itbāy avait émis le vœu de voir son fils lui succéder ni si Aṣalbāy a joué un rôle quelconque dans l'accession de ce dernier au pouvoir. Quoi qu'il en soit, pour les magnats, Muḥammad était un pis-aller en attendant qu'un des leurs le remplace.

Ainsi Aṣalbāy a-t-elle peu de points communs avec les autres femmes de sultans étudiées par D'Hulster et Van Steenbergen<sup>66</sup>. Pourtant, ses liens familiaux avec la sphère politique sont uniques. Par ailleurs, si on se penche sur le parcours des autres *khawandāt*, on note que désormais les souverains n'ont aucun scrupule à spolier, voire à user de violences envers les épouses de leurs

63 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iv, 131. L'exil féminin est peu présent dans les sources, cf. Martel-Thoumian, *L'exil : un châtement paradoxal dans l'État des Mamlouks 163–86*.

64 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iv, 159.

65 Martel-Thoumian, *Du bon gouvernement* 243–5.

66 D'Hulster and Van Steenbergen, *Family Matters*.

prédécesseurs. Ces pratiques sont entrées dans les mœurs. Aşalbāy, à l'instar de Fāṭima bint 'Alī ibn Khāşşbak et de Jānkaldī, fut maltraitée. Ces riches femmes esseulées attisèrent les convoitises et dans la mesure où elles n'avaient plus d'hommes pour les protéger, elles furent des proies faciles pour les nouveaux puissants<sup>67</sup>. Que Fāṭima et Aşalbāy fussent liées avec Qā'itbāy n'aura dissuadé ni son fils de dépouiller la première ni ses mamlouks de violenter la seconde. Car si Fāṭima et Aşalbāy, Muḥammad, Qānşūh, Jānbalāt, Ṭūmānbāy et Qānşūh al-Ghawrī ont un dénominateur commun, c'est bien Qā'itbāy, mari de l'une, père et maître des autres. Cette figure tutélaire est omniprésente jusqu'à la fin de la période mamlouke, elle guide post-mortem la vie matrimoniale, mais également la conduite politique des derniers souverains circassiens.

D'ailleurs Ibn Iyās qui vécut ces années difficiles l'a bien compris. Quand Aşalbāy effectue le pèlerinage, il la présente à nouveau comme la mère d'al-Malik al-Nāşir et la concubine d'al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy, comme si seuls le fils et le père avaient compté pour elle. Il renvoie au néant le frère Qānşūh et l'époux Jānbalāt. La *khawand* Jānkaldī qui est également du voyage est évoquée sur un mode identique. Elle est qualifiée de *zawjat* al-Zāhir Qānşūh, et rappelle l'auteur, Qānşūh était le *khāl* d'al-Malik al-Nāşir<sup>68</sup>. Ibn Iyās, qui ne s'est pourtant pas privé de critiquer sévèrement le court règne de Muḥammad, opère une sorte de réhabilitation en l'associant à son père, le grand Sultan Qā'itbāy, un peu comme si les liens du sang l'emportaient sur ceux de la fraternité des armes (*khushdāshiyya*)<sup>69</sup>.

Aşalbāy disparue, le sultan s'en prit immédiatement à son entourage. Il le fit jeter en prison, le suspectant d'avoir connaissance de richesses considérables et d'objets de valeur que la *khawand* aurait dissimulé. Les suivantes furent emprisonnées et soumises à de cruels traitements, elles endurent le supplice de la compression et bien d'autres tortures<sup>70</sup>. Paradoxalement, cette conduite odieuse n'entama en rien la fidélité de Qānşūh al-Ghawrī vis-à-vis de son maître et de ses anciens compagnons d'armes et, en Dhū l-Qa'da 915/ Mars 1510, il fit une tournée des mausolées. Allant se recueillir sur les tombeaux d'al-Ashraf Qā'itbāy, d'al-Ādil Ṭūmānbāy et d'al-Ashraf Jānbalāt, il procéda

67 Auparavant, Khushqadam avait spolié la veuve d'Īnāl, *ibid.*, 74. Seule Mişrbāy ne semble pas avoir été inquiétée.

68 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iv, 128.

69 Martel-Thoumian, *Du bon gouvernement* 253–6.

70 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iv, 159–60. Sur l'emprisonnement des proches et du personnel, cf. Martel-Thoumian, *De l'équité à l'arbitraire* 205–46.

chaque fois à une distribution d'aumônes<sup>71</sup>. Que l'argent prodigué résultât de confiscations lui importait peu, seule comptait la charge émotionnelle et politique véhiculée par ces visites. Elles étaient autant de signaux envoyés à ses propres mamlouks et à ses émirs, mais également à ceux de ses prédécesseurs pour leur signifier, mais surtout leur rappeler qu'ils appartenaient tous à une seule et même famille, celle des mamlouks. En agissant ainsi, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī tentait de les rassembler autour de sa personne en des temps difficiles.

### Conclusion

Ce ne sont ni la beauté ni des qualités recherchées ou attendues chez la gent féminine et exaltées dans les dictionnaires biographiques et les chroniques historiques qui ont permis à la circassienne Aṣalbāy de passer à la postérité, mais son entourage masculin. Les auteurs ignorent son nom et renvoient l'image d'une femme à l'identité floutée, une femme dont l'existence se résume à celle de concubine, de génitrice, de sœur et enfin d'épouse. Même Ibn Iyās, qui est le seul à mentionner son *ism*, évoque de manière anecdotique le rôle politique qu'elle pût jouer aux côtés de son fils Muḥammad. Et quand il la met en scène, c'est l'image maternelle qui prime, c'est une Aṣalbāy craignant pour la vie de son enfant, essayant de le protéger et tentant de le réconcilier avec son oncle Qānṣūh et avec les grands émirs. Toutefois, ces informations, aussi succinctes soient-elles, accordent à la *khawand* une place dans l'organigramme social et permettent d'appréhender les stratégies matrimoniales et politiques des derniers Circassiens.

Par ailleurs, tous les hommes qui ont gravité autour d'Aṣalbāy, que ce soient son fils Muḥammad, son frère Qānṣūh et son mari Jānbalāṭ, mais également ses persécuteurs Ṭūmānbāy et Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī sont liés au grand sultan mamlouk Qā'itbāy, érigé par ses successeurs en figure totémique. Le destin à la fois exceptionnel et tragique de la *khawand* est digne de celui d'une héroïne de roman. En effet, peu de femmes connurent le malheur de survivre à l'assassinat de leur fils, suivi de celui de leur époux, puis de finir leur vie en exil. Toutefois, Aṣalbāy ne fut pas la seule à être maltraitée, les sultanes Fāṭima et Jānkaldī eurent également leur lot de souffrances.

Les différentes informations recueillies dans les chroniques jettent un éclairage cru sur la vie de ces femmes que l'on aurait volontiers imaginé paisible dans la quiétude des harems, ainsi que le donnent à voir les tableaux des

71 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* iv, 169.

peintres orientalistes du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. La réalité semble bien loin de cette imagerie empreinte de luxe et de volupté. Ces femmes ne furent pas uniquement l'objet de maltraitances, elles furent méprisées, souvent assimilées à des pions sur l'échiquier du jeu politique. En fonction de leur utilité, les puissants les épousèrent ou les spolièrent. Prises dans ce jeu trouble, elles ne semblent pas avoir eu leur mot à dire et elles n'eurent apparemment d'autre alternative que de subir en silence.

## The Office of the *Ustādār al-‘Āliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era

*Daisuke Igarashi*

The *Dīwān al-Mufrad* (the Independent Bureau) was a special financial bureau charged with providing monthly salaries (*jāmakīyya*), clothing allowances (*kiswa*), fodder (*‘alīq*) for horses, and other provisions to the Sultan Mamluks (*al-mamālīk al-sultāniyya*). Al-Zāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluk dynasty, founded the *dīwān* in 797/1395 for the purpose of increasing and maintaining his Mamluk corps. The bureau was meant to fortify the sultan’s position in the midst of political instability and financial difficulties. Consequently, the newly established *Dīwān al-Mufrad* rapidly expanded its role, and the Mamluk State structure also came to be reorganized owing to its growth.<sup>1</sup>

The *ustādār al-‘āliya/al-sultān* (the supreme/sultanic majordomo; hereafter the supreme *ustādār*) was the chief of the *dīwān*. Although the management of financial affairs generally was the responsibility of the civil bureaucracy, the position was principally filled by senior military men and was therefore classed as a military office. The ruling elite of the Mamluk dynasty were split between the “Men of the Pen” (*arbāb al-aqlām*), or civilian officials, and the “Men of the Sword” (*arbāb al-suyūf*), or military officers, with a strict delimitation between different government offices (in theory, although in practice there were exceptions).

The civil bureaucracy was itself further divided into the bureaucrats (*arbāb al-wazā‘if al-dīwāniyya*) working for various government offices responsible for financial affairs and clerical duties, and the religious officials (*arbāb al-wazā‘if al-dīniyya*) serving as judges and administrators of religious institutions.<sup>2</sup> The Mamluk State was a “martial state” in which Mamluks—the military elite of slave origin—occupied a dominant position in the government, yet the cooperation of the expert knowledge and techniques provided by the civil bureaucracy was indispensable for the actual running of the administration. The

1 Igarashi, The establishment and development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 117–40; idem, *Land tenure*, chap. 2.

2 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, repr. edition 1985, iii, 273–4; iv, 16, 28, 34.

Mamluk dynasty's bureaucrats and civil bureaucracy have been investigated by the likes of C.F. Petry and B. Martel-Thoumian,<sup>3</sup> but because the supreme *ustādār* was considered a military official, it has been largely left out of such analyses.<sup>4</sup> However, when we consider that the supreme *ustādār*'s role overlapped with that of the civil bureaucracy, it is essential to consider the position of the supreme *ustādār* to have a complete picture of governance during the Mamluk dynasty. Additionally, an analysis of the supreme *ustādār* as a military official responsible for civil governance provides new insights into the actual patterns of mutual interpenetration of military officials and civil bureaucracy that were fundamentally or theoretically separated within this "martial state."

This article is based on an analysis of the 52 individuals who held the office of the supreme *ustādār* 91 times from the foundation of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* to the Mamluk dynasty's collapse, and clarifies the nature of the supreme *ustādār*'s office, its role in the financial and administrative system of the Mamluk dynasty and changes over time. In so doing, it reveals the existence of a group of what can be called "military financiers" with military standing who were predominantly engaged in civil administration.

A list of the names and periods in office of the supreme *ustādār*s is appended to the end of this article. During the eight months in which Barqūq was driven from the sultanate by Amīr Miṅṭāsh's rebellion (from Jumādā 11 791/June 1389 to Ṣafar 792/January 1390), three different individuals served as supreme *ustādār*, but the supreme *ustādār*s seem to have lost their function during this period, due to the expropriation of the land, which funded the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*'s,<sup>5</sup> and have been omitted from this analysis.

### The Foundation of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* and the Office of the Supreme *Ustādār*

Prior to the foundation of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, the supreme *ustādār* was a military office filled by an *amīr* of a hundred (*amīr mi'a muqaddam alf*), the highest rank, whose role was to manage the sultan's stores and servants in the

3 Petry, *The civilian elite*; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk*.

4 More recently, J. Loiseau has shown the growing importance of the supreme *ustādār* in the sphere of financial administration during the early Circassian Mamluk era. Loiseau, *Reconstruire la maison du sultan* i, 206–7.

5 al-'Aynī, *Ta'rikh al-Badr*, fols. 139r, 145r.

Citadel of Cairo.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, originally, the office of the supreme *ustādār* had no authority over financial matters. However, *amīrs* employed private staff to manage their personal *iqṭāʿ*s and those responsible for this were known as private *ustādārs*.<sup>7</sup>

When Barqūq became sultan in 784/1382, he granted his former private *ustādār* Bahādūr al-Manjakī the rank of *amīr* of forty (*amīr al-ṭablkhāna*) and appointed him officially as the supreme *ustādār*. Barqūq also entrusted Bahādūr with the *iqṭāʿ* held in the name of his son Muḥammad as well as continuing to manage the *iqṭāʿ* that Barqūq had held as *amīr* before his accession. That is, rather than allocating these two *iqṭāʿ*s to other *amīrs*, Barqūq effectively retained them as a private source of income held independently of the state's finances. Thus, the role of Bahādūr at this time was a continuation of managing an *iqṭāʿ* as an *amīr*'s private *ustādār*, rather than the storekeeper role to which the title of "the supreme *ustādār*" had been attached up to this point. Subsequently, in 797/1395, Barqūq formally established the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* to pay his personal Mamluks with income from these two *iqṭāʿ*s. Barqūq also established the *nāẓir al-Dīwān al-Mufrad* (the deputy chief of the *Dīwān*) as a bureaucratic office, but his role was to aide the supreme *ustādār* and therefore the supreme *ustādār* continued to have responsibility for the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* as a military official.<sup>8</sup>

The *Dīwān al-Mufrad* was well staffed, with the supreme *ustādār* at its apex. The *nāẓir al-Dīwān al-Mufrad*, the supreme *ustādār*'s adjunct and number two in the bureau, was appointed directly by the sultan. Along with the supreme *ustādār*, he oversaw the collection of tributes in cash and kind, and dealt with various matters.<sup>9</sup> He would receive the financial audits (*ḥisābāt*) of regional officials (*mubāshirū al-bilād*) and audits for salaries and fodder, along with reports on their increase or shortfall. Based upon these, a stream of orders would be issued, allowances calculated (as either full or reduced), agricultural villages allocated for the support of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* administered, both public and private irrigation embankments (*al-jusūr al-sulṭāniyya wa-l-baladiyya*) and canals (*masāqin*) managed, and Egypt's local governors (*al-kushshāf wa-l-wulāt*) prevented from overtaxing their districts.

6 al-'Umari, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Sayyid 57–8; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iv, 20.

7 al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am* 26.

8 Igarashi, The establishment and development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 125–7; idem, *Land tenure* 57–60.

9 al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim* i, 394, 419–20.

Aiding the *nāẓir al-Dīwān al-Mufrad* in overseeing finance and issuing orders was the *ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Mufrad* (intendant of the *dīwān*), a role frequently allocated to two people, who would fulfill the role of *nāẓir al-Dīwān al-Mufrad* when that position was vacant. Beneath the *ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Mufrad* was the *mustawfī Dīwān al-Mufrad* (accountant of the *Dīwān*), a post normally filled by two or three individuals. Below them was the *ʿāmil al-bāb wa-l-shūna* (keeper of the gate and the warehouse), who supervised the delivery of tributes. Tributes in kind were delivered to the warehouse and cash was delivered to the “gate” (*bāb*)<sup>10</sup> by each village (*nawāḥī*). The appointment of the *mustawfī Dīwān al-Mufrad* and the *ʿāmil* was by the supreme *ustādār*. Additionally, two *shāhids* (notaries) were appointed to the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* to oversee the bureau’s receipts and payments. They would also later become responsible for auditing payments in kind of goods such as sugar (*sukkar*), molasses (*aʿsāl*), lumber (*akhshāb*), and animals (*ḥayawān*).

The *Dīwān al-Mamālīk* (the Bureau of Mamluks), a subordinate office of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, was authorized to undertake the payments noted above, and was headed by the *ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Mamālīk*, who was generally called the *kātib al-mamālīk* (scribe of the *mamlūks*).<sup>11</sup> As well as confirming the numbers of Sultanic Mamluks and descendants of the sultans and *amīrs* receiving pensions, the *kātib al-mamālīk* also supervised those entitled to payments at court and among its departments. This included payments to imams, religious scholars and intellectuals (*al-aʿimma wa-l-mutaʿammimūn wa-l-muʿallimūn*), as well as to the servants (*khuddām*) and members of the harem, providing them with monthly stipends, rations, clothing allowances, and sacrificial sheep. The *kātib al-mamālīk* paid salaries by calling the Mamluks in order of rank from their barracks and distributing the funds.<sup>12</sup>

10 It is unclear what specifically this “gate” refers to, but it is thought to be either the central government in Cairo or the office of the supreme *ustādār*.

11 The *Dīwān al-Mamālīk* had originally been a branch of the *Dīwān al-Jaysh* (the Army Bureau). It is probable that with the establishment and development of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, which took charge of providing the salaries and other allowances and materials to the Sultanic Mamluks, the *Dīwān al-Mamālīk* was put under the control of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*. al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* iv, 31.

12 As for the staff of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, see al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim* i, 419–21; Ibn Kannān, *Ḥadāʾiq al-yāsmīn* 122–4.

### The Supreme *Ustādār* and the Financial Administration

Subsequently, the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* was expanded with the addition of further sources of revenue, and the state finances of the Mamluk dynasty came to be restructured around the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*. As a result, the state's financial administration was divided among the three financial bureaus of the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*, *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ*, and *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, each of which was responsible for different incomes and expenditures. The *Dīwān al-Wizāra* was funded by particular districts such as Giza and al-Manfalūṭ and miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs*), and was responsible for the provision of meat and rations to the Sultanic Mamluks and the supply of the sultan's kitchens. The office of *wazīr* responsible for the *dīwān* was granted to both military officials and bureaucratic administrators. The *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ* was headed by a bureaucrat called the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, was funded by Alexandria and other Mediterranean port cities, and was responsible for the procurement of and payment for robes of honor (*khil'a*) and funding the two Islamic feasts (*Īdayn*). The *Dīwān al-Mufrad* was funded through income from the great majority of Egypt's farming villages, and was responsible for providing the Sultanic Mamluks with their monthly salaries, clothing allowances, and provision of fodder for horses. They were also responsible at a later stage for provisioning the court's servants.<sup>13</sup>

These developments in the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* raised the status and expanded the authority of the supreme *ustādār*. During Barqūq's second period as sultan, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd (no. 2 in the Appendix) was appointed as the supreme *ustādār*, presiding simultaneously over all three financial bureaus as the *mushīr al-dawla* (counselor of the financial bureaus), and the importance of the position dramatically increased. Speaking of the supreme *ustādār*, al-Maqrīzī adjudged him equivalent to the *wazīrs* in the early Abbasid Caliphate who held great powers and executive authority.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the role of the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*, which had functioned as the Mamluk dynasty's finance ministry, decreased, and the ranking and authority of its *wazīr* declined. When the supreme *ustādār* simultaneously held the post of *wazīr*, the position increased in rank, but when the post was held independently, and particularly by bureaucrats, the *wazīrs* found themselves at the beck and call of the supreme

13 Igarashi, The establishment and development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 127–8; idem, *Land tenure* 60–1.

14 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 719.

*ustādār* from morning to night and carried out duties solely according to their instructions.<sup>15</sup>

Prior to the financial reforms of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy in 873/1468–9 (mentioned below), in six instances (nos. 2, 4, 18, 20, 22, 29 in the Appendix) the supreme *ustādār* took over the office of *mushīr al-dawla*, presided over the three financial bureaus of the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*, *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ*, and *Dīwān al-Mufrad* and exercised overall control of the state's financial affairs.<sup>16</sup> The fact that all of these occasions were prior to the end of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign (815–24/1412–21) suggests that the supreme *ustādār* played a pivotal role in financial administration during the early period of the Circassian Mamluk era. While the supreme *ustādār* also simultaneously held the post of *wazīr* a total of eight times (nos. 12, 18, 20, 22, 29, 35, 41, 44 in the Appendix),<sup>17</sup> the circumstances were very different. On four occasions (nos. 18, 20, 22, 29), as well as *wazīr*, the supreme *ustādār* was also the *mushīr al-dawla*, with direct control of both the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* and *Dīwān al-Wizāra* as the “generalissimo” of the state's financial affairs. However, on three occasions, this was due to the fact that the *wazīr* temporarily fulfilled the office of supreme *ustādār* when the previous supreme *ustādār* had been forced out of office due to difficulties in the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, with no obvious successor lined up (nos. 12, 41, 44). This was a temporary measure until the next supreme *ustādār* was appointed.

There were also four examples of the supreme *ustādār* serving simultaneously as the *nāzīr al-khāṣṣ* (nos. 14, 16, 20, 22).<sup>18</sup> However, as three of these (nos. 14, 16, 20) were during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–8/1399–1405,

15 Ibid., 724. Ibn Khaldūn also states that the *wazīr* of the Mamluk dynasty was subordinate to the military “*ustād̄h al-dār*,” i.e., the supreme *ustādār*. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* ii, 20–1.

16 No. 2: al-'Aynī, *Ta'riḫ al-Badr*, fol. 129v; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* ix, 30; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 580. No. 4: *Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* ix, 209; *Ta'riḫ al-Badr*, fol. 167v; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 335. No. 18: Ibid., iv, 312. No. 20: Ibid., iv, 359. No. 22: Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥabashī, ii, 380, 446; *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 90. No. 29: Ibid., 359; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 364.

17 No. 12: al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 14; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 965; no. 18: Ibid., 1106; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 169. No. 20: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 401. No. 22: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 39; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* ii, 446. No. 29: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 372; *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 100; *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 367; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, ed. Qarmūṭ, i, 265. No. 35: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 623; *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 279; *Iqd al-jumān* ii, 185. No. 41: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 834; *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 436; *Iqd al-jumān* ii, 377. No. 44: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 881; *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 490; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, ii, 426.

18 No. 14: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 1056; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 181. No. 16: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 1070; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 119. No. 20: *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 401. No. 22: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 39; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* ii, 446.

808–15/1405–12) when the influential *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb (no. 14) also served as the supreme *ustādār*, it seems that the combination of supreme *ustādār* and *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* was rarer than that with the *wazīr*. One possibility is that although the *wazīr* was a post that went to both military officers and civil administrators, the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* was a civil bureaucrat. In addition, there are four examples of the supreme *ustādār* serving concurrently as the private *ustādār* for the sultan's son (nos. 1, 29, 52, 53),<sup>19</sup> and a further two where they also managed the sultan's personal financial affairs as the *ustādār al-amlak wa-l-awqāf wa-l-dhakhīra* (the director of the sultan's private and *waqf* properties and *al-dhakhīra*; nos. 15, 16),<sup>20</sup> showing that there were supreme *ustādārs* handling the sultan's own finances.<sup>21</sup>

### The Supreme *Ustādār* and Provincial Administration

Because the vast majority of Egypt's agricultural villages were allocated to the resources of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, the supreme *ustādār* developed great authority in regional administration.<sup>22</sup> According to al-Saḥmāwī, during the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj the office of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* (vice-roy of Lower Egypt) and its *iqṭā'* were allocated to the office of the supreme *ustādār*.<sup>23</sup> Up to this point, the post of *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* had been located in Damanhūr, the chief city of the Buḥayra region,<sup>24</sup> but rather than permanently residing here, the supreme *ustādār* would dispatch a representative (*nā'ib*) to the Buḥayra region.<sup>25</sup> During the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, jurisdictional authority over the Bedouin tribes (*'urbān*) and their military units (*jaysh*) was assigned to the supreme *ustādār*.<sup>26</sup> In Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy's

19 No. 1: al-'Aynī, *Ta'rīkh al-Badr*, fol. 116v; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 478; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* i, 49. No. 29: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 423; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 134; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān* i, 298. No. 52: Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Shaltūt, i, 414. No. 53: Ibid.

20 No. 15: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 1067–8. No. 16: Ibid., 1070. For more on the office, see Igarashi, *The evolution* 85–96; idem, *Land tenure* 115–29.

21 The supreme *ustādār* also served as *muhtasib* (market inspector) on one occasion. No. 49: Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr* i, 219; idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 397; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 291.

22 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz* iii, 724.

23 al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim* i, 394–5.

24 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iv, 25.

25 al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim* ii, 679.

26 Ibn Kannān, *Ḥadā'iq al-yāsmīn* 121.

time (825–41/1422–38), the supreme *ustādār* oversaw the appointment of local governors made by the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Qiblī* (viceroy of Upper Egypt).<sup>27</sup> By the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the supreme *ustādār* had acquired jurisdictional responsibility over the agricultural villages allocated to the resources of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* and administered the greater part of Egypt's regions.<sup>28</sup>

However, according to the chronicles, there was only one occasion when the supreme *ustādār* served contemporaneously as the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*. On 26 Ramaḍān 799/22 June 1397, Sultan Barqūq appointed Yalbughā al-Majnūn (no. 8 in the Appendix), who successively held local governorships such as *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* (governor of Lower Egypt) and *nā'ib al-wajh al-Qiblī*, as the supreme *ustādār* and granted him the office of *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*. The post of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* was based in Damanhūr in the Buḥayra district, but Yalbughā al-Majnūn authorized the Amīr 'Alī, the *wālī al-Buḥayra* (governor of al-Buḥayra), to act as his agent (*nā'ib*) in fulfilling the duties of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* while he himself remained in Cairo.<sup>29</sup> This increased role of the supreme *ustādār* in provincial administration may have been due to the fact that the majority of Egypt's agricultural villages in the provinces were allotted to the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, and in this instance the appointment of Yalbughā al-Majnūn as *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* indicates that by the end of Barqūq's reign, the financial resources of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* had extended that far. Moreover, his continued residence in Cairo shows both the impossibility of stationing the supreme *ustādār* in the provinces if he was to fulfill his duties and the role of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* in overseeing the activities of the local governors from the center.<sup>30</sup>

There are no further examples of the supreme *ustādār* serving simultaneously as the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* in the chronicles. Moreover, the name of the office of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* itself virtually disappears from them. However, this does not disprove the reports recorded by al-Saḥmāwī, that the supreme *ustādār* also held the post of *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*. The chronicles do not record that the supreme *ustādār* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh

27 al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim* i, 394.

28 al-Zāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat kashf al-mamālik* 106.

29 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* ix, 466; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 619.

30 The stationing of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* in Cairo was visible prior to the joint appointment as the supreme *ustādār*. On 4 Ṣafar 798/18 November 1395, Barqūq appointed the then *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* Yalbughā al-Majnūn to the post of *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*, and when the latter was made an *amīr* of a hundred, he was ordered to tour the regions and promote their development while still residing in Cairo. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* iv, 428; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 850.

(no. 32) also served as the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*. Yet, in the *Qahwat al-inshā'* of Ibn Ḥijja, who served in the *Dīwān al-Inshā'* (the Bureau of Documents) during al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign, it is made clear in the commission (*taqlīd*) extending Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh's term as supreme *ustādār* issued on 19 Jumādā I 824/21 May 1421, that this included the office of *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, successive supreme *ustādārs*, even if not recorded as being appointed as *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* or to other local governorships, are still found heading out to the provinces to collect taxes, requisition property, animals, and livestock and leading troops into battle to put down Bedouin rebellions.<sup>32</sup> In light of the above, it seems likely that after Yalbughā al-Majnūn, the supreme *ustādār* was assumed to hold the position of *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* and the functions of the office were absorbed into those of the supreme *ustādār*. This is surely the reason why the office of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* is no longer mentioned in the chronicles after the death of Barqūq.

There were frequent instances where the supreme *ustādār* held governorships in Lower Egypt. In descending order, a joint appointment as *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* occurred five times (nos. 8, 9, 22, 29, 37),<sup>33</sup> followed by twice as *kāshif al-Sharqiyya* (governor of al-Sharqiyya; nos. 27, 35) and once as *kāshif al-Gharbiyya* (governor of al-Gharbiyya; no. 27).<sup>34</sup> The *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* was an office that oversaw all the regions of Lower Egypt which had been placed under the command of the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* by Barqūq's establishment of this office. The office was located at Minyat Ghamr in the Sharqiyya district.<sup>35</sup> Why was the supreme *ustādār* appointed to the position of *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* when the office already had unitary authority over all of Lower Egypt's regions as the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*? It is not impossible to imagine that it would have been difficult for the supreme *ustādār* to assume regional governance when based in Cairo, while actual authority for local administration in Lower Egypt would fall to the *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* who outranked the other local governors and was based in the Sharqiyya region. We can assume

31 Ibn Ḥijja, *Kitāb Qahwat al-inshā'* 327.

32 No. 28: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 317, 325. No. 33: Ibid., 594–5. No. 44: Ibid., 887–889; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* iii, 256–7. No. 47: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 1219; 1224; *Nuzhat al-nufūs* iv, 212. No. 51: Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādīth al-duḥūr*, i, 385. No. 58: al-Biqā'ī, *Izhār al-ʿaṣr* ii, 351.

33 No. 8: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 891. No. 9: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* ii, 21. No. 22: Ibid., 446. No. 29: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 356; *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 92; al-Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān* i, 262; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 364; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiv, 42–3. No. 37: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 662; *Iqd al-jumān* ii, 225; *Nuzhat al-nufūs* iii, 47.

34 No. 27: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 12; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 330. No. 35: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 644.

35 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iv, 65.

that granting the office of *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* to the supreme *ustādār* was intended to bolster his authority over the administration of the Lower Egyptian regions. The first supreme *ustādār* to be the *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* was the above-mentioned Yalbughā al-Majnūn. A year after being appointed as both the supreme *ustādār* and the *nāʾib al-wajh al-Baḥrī*, he was made *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* on 19 Rabīʿ 1 800/10 December 1397.<sup>36</sup> At the time, Lower Egypt was wracked with the plague, and the appointment of the supreme *ustādār* as *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* can be seen as an effort to deal with this issue.

Moreover, the supreme *ustādār* was granted supreme authority over Upper Egypt on five occasions (nos. 31, 43, 50, 52, 58).<sup>37</sup> In such instances, the supreme *ustādār* was given the title of the “*kāshif al-kushshāf* (the supreme governor)” or the “*malik al-umarāʾ* (king of the *amīrs*; another title for the *nāʾib al-saltāna*)” of Upper and Lower Egypt (*al-wajhayn al-Qiblī wa-l-Baḥrī*) or all the Egyptian provinces (*jamīʿ bilād Miṣr*), and had unified authority over all of the country’s local governors and the *amīrs* of its Bedouin tribes, and was responsible for their appointment and dismissal.<sup>38</sup>

In each of these instances, the intention seems to have been to enhance tax collection in the regions, pay bonuses to the Sultanic Mamluks on the accession of a new sultan or seek out and resolve serious financial issues within the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*. Yashbak al-Ānālī (no. 31), the first supreme *ustādār* to occupy this position, was appointed the supreme *ustādār* in the final years of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh’s reign (823/1420). When Shaykh died the following year, on the accession of his son Aḥmad as sultan, Yashbak al-Ānālī was made both *malik al-umarāʾ bi-l-wajhayn al-Qiblī wa-l-Baḥrī* and *kāshif al-kushshāf*, responsible for the appointment of all local governors, the levying of cash from them and its payment into the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*. This was done on the orders

36 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 891. The office of *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* had been temporarily suspended when Yalbughā al-Majnūn, who had formally occupied it, was promoted to *nāʾib al-wajh al-Baḥrī* in 798/1395. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* ix, 428; *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 850.

37 No. 31: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 568; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 498; no. 43: *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 866–7; *Nuzhat al-nufūs* iii, 232. No. 50: al-Biqāʾī, *Izhār al-ʿaṣr* i, 317. No. 52: Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duḥūr* i, 387. No. 58: *Izhār al-ʿaṣr* iii, 5.

38 However, there is no mention of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aqbughā al-Jamālī (no. 43) presiding over the other governors, or being called the “*malik al-umarāʾ*” or “*kāshif al-kushshāf*.” He was originally the *kāshif al-wajh al-Qiblī* and continued in this office after becoming the supreme *ustādār*, while also assuming the title of *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī*. Although he therefore appears to have had supreme authority over Upper and Lower Egypt, it seems that his status was not considered on a par with the other four holders of the office.

of Amīr Ṭaṭar, the *nizām al-mulk* (regent) and true power behind the throne.<sup>39</sup> Yet each term in office was particularly brief,<sup>40</sup> and up until the financial reforms initiated by Sultan Qāyṭbāy described below, this appointment of the supreme *ustādār* as *malik al-umarā' bi-l-wajhayn al-Qiblī wa-l-Baḥrī* | *kāshif al-kushshāf* was exceptional.

### The Supreme *Ustādār* in Financial Crises

Since the Sultanic Mamluks formed the basis of the sultan's political power, stable management of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* responsible for paying their salaries was an issue of great importance to successive sultans. Therefore, a supreme *ustādār* with insufficient funds who delayed Mamluk salaries would soon find himself dismissed and his assets seized. Throughout the Circassian Mamluk era, the state's finances suffered chronic difficulties and in such a situation, the position of the supreme *ustādār* was a particularly insecure one. Over the course of the Circassian Mamluk era, the average term of service for the supreme *ustādār* was 18.2 months (about a year and a half), and each individual had a total of 31.8 months (just over two-and-a-half years) in office.

However, terms of service varied hugely, with on the one hand a group of exceptional supreme *ustādār* spending long terms in office, and another group suffering almost instant dismissal on the other. In contrast to twelve examples of comparatively long terms of service of over three years (with two of those over ten years (nos. 49, 77 in the Appendix), three over five years (nos. 1, 74, 90) and seven over three years (nos. 6, 22, 39, 45, 58, 78, 89), there were 22 terms of less than three months (of which seven did not even see out a month).

Looking at the number of terms, of the 52 individuals, 23 (44.2%) of them held the office of supreme *ustādār* more than once, showing that those with experience were appointed on multiple occasions. Of these, Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar (no. 49) was appointed an astonishing eleven times, another person on four occasions (no. 5), five people three times (nos. 2, 14, 24, 59, 60) and the remaining sixteen individuals on two separate occasions (nos. 8, 9, 13, 26, 32–3, 38, 40–1, 46, 55, 71, 74, 77–9).

Starting from the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy, the economic situation of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* consistently worsened, and mentions of the financial difficulties of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* emerge in the sources at a much greater

39 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 567–8, 574.

40 No. 31: one month; no. 43: seven months; no. 50: one month; no. 52: four months; no. 58: one year and ten months.

frequency.<sup>41</sup> This may account for the switching of supreme *ustādārs*. Of the forty changes in supreme *ustādār* from the accession of the Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825/1422) until the Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reforms in 873/1468 (from no. 30 to no. 69), the reasons for twenty of these changes, resulting in dismissal, resignation, or flights from office, were financial problems (nos. 32, 35–9, 44, 46, 48, 52–3, 55–8, 61–2, 64, 67–8). Over the course of the Circassian Mamluk era, there were 24 instances in which the switch was necessitated by financial issues, so the vast majority of these were concentrated in this period.

Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53) put great emphasis on the stable management of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* that had succumbed to financial chaos, and put words into action by strengthening the authority of the supreme *ustādār*, publically supporting him and evaluating the performance of his subordinates.<sup>42</sup> The man filling the office of the supreme *ustādār* for a decade was the same Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar mentioned above. Under these circumstances, he managed the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* as well as possible using all the means within his power, such as seizing *iqṭā's* and *rizqas* (pension lands) for the *dīwān's* resources.<sup>43</sup>

Once al-Ashqar lost power and was dismissed in the turmoil following the death of Sultan Jaqmaq in 857/1453, the financial situation worsened and the financial bureaus, including the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, became totally dysfunctional. The 16 years between the dismissal of al-Ashqar and Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reforms saw 26 appointments of a supreme *ustādār*, whose average length in office of 7.7 months (0.6 years) was less than half the average term of service noted previously. It is clear that financial difficulties were responsible for the frequent changes of supreme *ustādār*. Even the previously dismissed al-Ashqar was reappointed supreme *ustādār* in an attempt to halt the *Dīwān al-Mufrad's* financial difficulties. Clearly, this was in light of his previous experience, but without the backing of Sultan Jaqmaq, it proved impossible to drastically reform the financial situation, and when the salaries owed were not forthcoming, the cycle of swift dismissal, confiscation, and flight began again.

With the arrest, torture, and seizure of property of the supreme *ustādārs* becoming a regular event, the post itself became one to avoid. In many positions under the Mamluk dynasty, those desirous of the posting would approach the sultan or other power-holders and pay them considerable sums to make it

41 Igarashi, The establishment and development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 132–3; idem, *Land tenure* 66–8.

42 Ibn Kannān, *Ḥadā'iq al-yāsmīn* 122.

43 On his biography, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii 80–4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, ed. Cairo 1934–6, x 233–4; al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr* 172–5.

happen.<sup>44</sup> Since the post of supreme *ustādār* was one with authority over vast financial assets, this form of appointment occurred.<sup>45</sup> However sources seem to show far more examples that suggest that even when the sultan was applied pressure for an appointment, no candidate could be found,<sup>46</sup> or candidates would reluctantly accept the post after receiving numerous guarantees from the sultan (such as of financial support to run the post).<sup>47</sup> These are the circumstances that explain how Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar was appointed the supreme *ustādār* eleven times.

The supreme *ustādār's* position continued to degrade amidst these difficulties in the supreme *ustādār's* operations and instability in the post. As noted above, the post of the supreme *ustādār* had been reserved for an *amīr* of a hundred, and from the time of Barqūq until that of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, it was customary for those inaugurated to be made *amīr* of a hundred upon taking up or while in office. However, this granting of *amīr* of a hundred to the supreme *ustādār* declined, and in 824/1421 when the *amīr* of forty Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh (no. 32) was appointed the supreme *ustādār* by Sultan Aḥmad ibn Shaykh, it was the final occasion on which the candidate was simultaneously made the *amīr* of a hundred.<sup>48</sup> After him, minor military men such as *amīrs* of ten (*amīr 'ashara*) or rank-and-file mamluks were appointed supreme *ustādār*, and as noted below, from the time of Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar onwards, it was not unusual for civilian officials to be appointed to the post. The decline of the post of the supreme *ustādār* appears to have reflected a change in fiscal administration during and after the reign of Sultan Barsbāy; that is, the sultanic fisc expanded and took on more importance in the fiscal administration, thus supporting the operation of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* and the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*.<sup>49</sup>

44 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Badhl wa-l-barṭala* 25–39; Miura, Administrative networks 44–55.

45 al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān* ii, 369; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 866–7.

46 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 21; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 14; iii, 284; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 913–4; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 516; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vi, 156–7; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Popper, ii, 753.

47 Ibid., 757.

48 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 574; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iii, 242.

49 Igarashi, The evolution 103–5; idem, *Land tenure* 138–41.

## The Role of the Supreme *Ustādār* and Sultan Qā'itbāy's Financial Reforms

On Sultan Qā'itbāy's accession in 872/1468, large-scale financial reform was undertaken to counter this deteriorating financial situation.<sup>50</sup> The position of the supreme *ustādār* was also greatly affected. Together with drastic cuts in expenditures, from 873/1468–9, the sultan simultaneously appointed the *dawādār kabīr* (executive secretary) Yashbak min Mahdī, a high military official and his close confidante, to the positions of supreme *ustādār*, *wazīr* and *malik al-umarā' bi-l-wajhayn al-Qiblī wa-l-Baḥrī* | *kāshif al-kushshāf*,<sup>51</sup> thus integrating Egypt's regional and financial administration. Under his direction, the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* began to be administered under his handpicked officials.<sup>52</sup> Yashbak min Mahdī was further appointed *amīr silāḥ* (*amīr* of the arms) in 883/1478.<sup>53</sup> The *amīr silāḥ* was the highest post in the Egyptian military hierarchy after the *atābak al-ʿasākīr* (the commander in chief). Sultan Qā'itbāy appointed Yashbak min Mahdī to the post so as to both raise his status and bring the *iqṭā'* attached to the post of *amīr silāḥ* within the sources of revenue controlled by the two financial bureaus to fund their operations.

After Yashbak min Mahdī, it became customary for the *dawādār kabīr* (occasionally the *amīr silāḥ* or an *amīr* of a hundred) to hold the positions of supreme *ustādār*, *wazīr* and *malik al-umarā' bi-l-wajhayn al-Qiblī wa-l-Baḥrī* | *kāshif al-kushshāf*.<sup>54</sup> From Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reforms until the fall

50 For more on the financial reform, see Igarashi, The financial reforms; idem, *Land tenure* chap. 5.

51 In the chronicles (especially Ibn Iyās's *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*), the title of "*kāshif al-kushshāf*" is used more frequently than "*malik al-umarā' bi-l-wajhayn al-Qiblī wa-l-Baḥrī*," but other sources such as *waqf* deeds attest that both titles refer to the same position. For example, ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī (ed.), *Wathā'iq al-sultān al-ashraf ʿĪmānānbāy* 222; al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr* 58.

52 Igarashi, The financial reforms 36–8; idem, *Land tenure* 157–60.

53 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 219; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, ed. Muṣṭafā 1960–75, iii, 149.

54 From Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reforms until the fall of the Mamluk dynasty, there were 18 appointments of supreme *ustādār*, of which 13 were of powerful military officials such as the *dawādār kabīr*. The pattern of simultaneous office holding was as follows: three examples of the following five posts being held—*dawādār kabīr*, *amīr silāḥ*, *wazīr*, *kāshif al-kushshāf* and supreme *ustādār* (nos. 76, 80, 83); three examples of the following four posts being held—*dawādār kabīr*, *wazīr*, *kāshif al-kushshāf* and supreme *ustādār* (nos. 74, 82, 84); two examples of the following three posts being held—*dawādār kabīr*, *wazīr* and supreme *ustādār* (nos. 78, 85); one example of the following three posts being held—*dawādār kabīr*, *kāshif al-kushshāf* and supreme *ustādār* (who subsequently oversaw the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*) (no. 90); one example of the following three posts being held—*amīr*

of the Mamluk dynasty, there were 18 appointments to the post of supreme *ustādār* who served an average of 32.9 months (2.7 years) in office, twice as long as the average noted earlier. Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reforms and accompanying appointments of powerful military officials to the post of supreme *ustādār* served to stabilize the state's finances and consequently extend the supreme *ustādār*'s term of service.<sup>55</sup> By controlling the state's finances and Egypt's regions, the *dawādār kabīr* was the most important office after the sultan's, and the ascent of *dawādār kabīr* to sultan continued with men like al-Zāhir Qānṣūh (no. 82), al-Ādil Ṭūmānbāy (no. 83) and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (no. 84).

In Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's reign (906–22/1501–16), the method of appointing the supreme *ustādār* underwent a change. When Ṭuṭṭabāy (no. 86), the *amīr* of a hundred who had combined the posts of supreme *ustādār* and *wazīr* died in Rajab 908/January 1503, there was a succession of three men only holding the post of supreme *ustādār* (nos. 87, 88, 89). Until the accession of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, the most powerful man in each reign had served simultaneously as *dawādār kabīr*, the supreme *ustādār*, *wazīr*, and *kāshif al-kushshāf*, and then became sultan through a coup d'état. After his accession, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī apparently halted the simultaneous holding of many posts to prevent threats to his own position, and the supreme *ustādār* was appointed solely to that office.

At the same time, during his reign, the role of financial officials who were close associates of the sultan and directly under his orders, such as the *bardadār al-sultān* (the sultanic bailiff), in the state's finances was greatly expanded. While the supreme *ustādār* was theoretically appointed above them, the reality was that these officials had considerable influence over the management of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*.<sup>56</sup> From 908/1502 onwards, the *bardadār al-sultān* Ibn

---

*silāh*, *wazīr* and supreme *ustādār* (no. 81); two examples of the following four posts being held—*amīr* of a hundred, *wazīr*, *kāshif al-kushshāf* and supreme *ustādār* (nos. 79, 91); one example of the following three posts being held—*amīr* of a hundred, *wazīr* and supreme *ustādār* (no. 86).

55 However, Taghrī Birdī min Yalbāy al-Zāhirī (no. 77), the supreme *ustādār* in the latter half of Sultan Qāyṭbāy's reign and at twelve years the longest-serving among all supreme *ustādār*s, was never made *dawādār kabīr*. He had been Yashbak min Mahdī's private *khāzindār*, and after the latter's death in 885/1481 was appointed the supreme *ustādār* in his stead. It seems likely that Taghrī Birdī's long period in office was made possible because he was part of Yashbak min Mahdī's personal staff of financial administrators whom under his guidance had stabilized the operations of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* while Sultan Qāyṭbāy had steadied the political situation.

56 Igarashi, The financial reforms 50–1; idem, *Land tenure* 174–6.

Abī al-Jalūd presided over the management of the three financial bureaus of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ* and *Dīwān al-Wizāra*.<sup>57</sup> Subsequently, in 914/1508, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī appointed his nephew Ṭūmānbāy (the future sultan al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy) to the position of *dawādār kabīr* together with those of supreme *ustādār* and *kāshif al-kushshāf*. However, this can clearly be seen as indicating that his close relative was being singled out for succession by being appointed to a post from which so many sultans had emerged. In 918/1512, Ṭūmānbāy presided over all the bureaus including the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*, and became *nizām al-mulk* (regent).<sup>58</sup> However, as can be seen with the subsequent *bardadār al-sultān* Ḥājj ‘Alī al-Barmāwī who took on the management of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*,<sup>59</sup> the direct oversight of the sultan over the operations of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* continued.

### The Career Patterns of those Appointed Supreme *Ustādār*

Among the 52 appointees to the post of supreme *ustādār*, 41 were military men, and the remaining 11 were civil officials (nos. 14, 23, 38, 41, 49, 57, 59, 60, 71, 75, 89 in the Appendix).<sup>60</sup> As already noted, the supreme *ustādār* was a military office, and while civil officials such as Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar were appointed to the post, in fact over 80% of its holders were military officers.

The first civil administrator to be appointed as supreme *ustādār* was Sa’d al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb (no. 14) in 803/1401. At the time, he was an important figure serving concurrently as *nāzīr al-khāṣṣ* and *nāzīr al-jaysh* (the chief of the military bureau), two of the highest positions in the civil bureaucracy, and with the downfall of the supreme *ustādār* Yalbughā al-Sālīmī (no. 13), he was also appointed supreme *ustādār* while retaining his previous positions.<sup>61</sup> At his inauguration, it was noted that he was in civilian robes, thus signaling that the post of supreme *ustādār* was essentially for military officials.<sup>62</sup>

57 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* iv, 44.

58 Ibid., 284.

59 Ibid., 380–1, 390–1; v, 5, 67.

60 Those in the sources who had *al-amīr* appended to their name, those who were *amīrs* at the time of their appointment, and those who in previous positions had military titles such as *wālī* and *kāshif* were categorized as military officials. This does not necessarily mean that such individuals spent their entire career as military men.

61 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 1056.

62 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 144. However, at the time he held an *iqṭā’* as military men did. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 1067.

Later, when Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn al-Haysam (no. 23) became the supreme *ustādār* in 812/1409, al-Maqrīzī says that during his inauguration ceremony “he wore an *amīr*’s robes (*zayy al-umarā’*), with a sword at his waist and a *kalaftāh* cap,” hence taking office as a military official.<sup>63</sup> When he later took office as a *wazīr* in 816/1413 after his dismissal from the office of the supreme *ustādār* in 814/1411, he once again became a civil official and returned to his bureaucrat’s robes.<sup>64</sup> Ibn Taghrī Birdī also says that Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar was considered an “*amīr*” despite continuing to wear the *farajīya* robes and turban of a civil official after becoming the supreme *ustādār*.<sup>65</sup> The above suggests that even when someone had made their career as a civil official and became the supreme *ustādār*, the post was treated as a military one and its occupant considered a military official.<sup>66</sup>

In Ṣafar 838/September 1434, in the midst of a worsening economic situation at the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, the Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy forcibly appointed Jānibak al-Zaynī ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ (no. 45) supreme *ustādār*, a *mamlūk* serving as private *dawādār* to the *nāzir al-jaysh* Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, the most powerful man in the civil bureaucracy at the time.<sup>67</sup> In reality, this was to give control of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* to Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, but the official appointment of a *mamlūk* rather than the civil official Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ as the supreme *ustādār* seems to have been due to the principle that it was a military post.

While serving as a civil official, Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar controlled the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* for ten years as the supreme *ustādār*. He was followed by a succession of civilian supreme *ustādārs*, which suggests that his long period in office had weakened the military principle. However, if we look at the careers of the eleven civil officials who took up the post of supreme *ustādār*, nine of them had experience working within the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, of whom eight had been

63 Ibid., iv, 110.

64 Ibid., 264.

65 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Shaltūt, i, 46.

66 Not just the supreme *ustādār* but an *amīr*’s private *ustādār* was also thought of as a military office. For example, when Sulaymān ibn al-Kuwayz, who came from a family that had produced a great number of bureaucrats and who himself had held the post of *kātib* (scribe) in the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*, became *ustādār* for Amīr Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (Sultan Shaykh’s son), it was noted he “threw away the appearance of his father and siblings, wearing military garb and a sword,” signaling his switch from civil to military official. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 372; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Imbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 100.

67 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Imbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 537; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 51–2; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 56. As for Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, see Igarashi, *Madrasahs*, their shaykhs, and the Civilian Founder 80–3.

*nāzir al-Dīwān al-Mufrad* (nos. 14, 23, 41, 49, 57, 59, 71, 89). It is therefore clear that those civil officials who became supreme *ustādār*s were appointed to the post due to their familiarity with the operations of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*.<sup>68</sup>

Now let us examine the careers of those military men appointed supreme *ustādār*, a military post requiring financial acumen. Prior to Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reforms of 873/1468–69, a total of 29 individuals became the supreme *ustādār* (nos. 1–3, 5, 7–9, 11–13, 22, 24–26, 30–34, 36, 39, 40, 45–48, 50, 52, 55), of whom 13 had experience in financial operations as the personal staff of *amīr*s, such as being their private *ustādār* (nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 22, 25, 26, 33, 36, 39, 40, 52); as noted above, these included the first supreme *ustādār* Bahādur al-Manjakī (no. 1). Furthermore, 11 of these 29 had experience as local governors (*wālī*, *kāshif*) in Egypt prior to becoming the supreme *ustādār* (nos. 8, 11, 12, 24, 30, 31, 39, 40, 48, 50, 55). The first individual to make the transition from local governor to supreme *ustādār* was the aforementioned Yalbughā al-Majnūn (no. 8). Having served as the *nā'ib al-wajh al-Qiblī* (appointed in 793/1391)<sup>69</sup> and *nā'ib al-wajh al-Bahrī* (appointed in 798/1395)<sup>70</sup> successively, he was made supreme *ustādār*, and subsequently served concurrently as *nā'ib al-wajh al-Bahrī*. As already noted, the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*'s income was supplied by the majority of Egypt's agricultural settlements, and as the role of the supreme *ustādār* in the governance of Egypt's regional administration expanded, an increasing number of people with experience as local governors were made supreme *ustādār*.

Following Sultan Qā'itbāy's financial reform, two individuals were appointed solely to the post of supreme *ustādār* (nos. 77, 88), but both already had experience with the position because they had served as private *khāzindār* (treasurer) to previous appointees who had combined the posts of the supreme *ustādār* with that of *dawādār kabīr*. The above suggests that the position of supreme *ustādār* was one in which the practical experience of candidates in finance and local government was prioritized, rather than one to which they were simply promoted, in the manner of other top military offices.

On the other hand, there are suggestions that an influential group coalesced within the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* due to the large number of appointees to the post of supreme *ustādār* from among the Ibn Abī al-Faraj family and those

68 Cf. Loiseau, *Reconstruire la maison du sultan* i, 207.

69 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* ix, 248; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 369.

70 Ibid., i, 573; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* ix, 428.

connected with them.<sup>71</sup> Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 12),<sup>72</sup> the patriarch of the family, who had originally served as *kātib* (scribe) in the commercial town of Qaṭyā in Lower Egypt, became head of finance in the town as *nāẓir Qaṭyā* and then switched from being a civil to a military official when appointed *wālī Qaṭyā* (governor of Qaṭyā). Subsequently appointed a *wazīr* in the central government in Cairo, he was made the supreme *ustādār* in 801/1399.<sup>73</sup> On this occasion, he was dismissed from the post of supreme *ustādār* within a month, but the family subsequently became deeply involved in the position.

In 814/1411, his son Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 24), having been *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī* and *nā’ib Qaṭyā*, was appointed the supreme *ustādār*.<sup>74</sup> He was to be appointed supreme *ustādār* on a total of three occasions (nos. 24, 27, 29), and it is notable that during his third period of service, the entire financial administration was within his hands, as he was granted the amirate of a hundred and combined the post with those of *mushīr al-dawla*, *wazīr*, *kāshif al-wajh al-Baḥrī*, and *nāẓir waqf al-ashraf* (administrator of the *waqf* dedicated to the Prophet’s descendants) and served also as the private *ustādār* of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh’s son Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm.<sup>75</sup>

After his death, his sister’s husband Abū Bakr ibn Quṭlūbak ibn al-Muzawwaq (no. 30), who had already served as Fakhr al-Dīn’s representative in the latter’s posts of *kāshif al-wajh al-Qiblī* and *kāshif al-Gharbīyya*, was appointed the supreme *ustādār*.<sup>76</sup> In 828/1425, Fakhr al-Dīn’s son Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir (no. 39) was appointed the supreme *ustādār* and served for four and a half years,<sup>77</sup> whereas his younger brother Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad was twice made the supreme *ustādār* (nos. 46, 54).<sup>78</sup>

71 For more on the family, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration* 226–37. However, it should be noted that appointments to the post of the supreme *ustādār* were undertaken on the sultan’s initiative, and did not become an inheritance of the Ibn Abī al-Faraj family.

72 For more on this figure, see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 26; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* xi, 128; iv, 249; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration* 232–3.

73 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, 965.

74 Ibid., iv, 180; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 483; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 285.

75 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 356, 359, 372, 423, 440, 444; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān* i, 262, 265, 298; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 92, 100, 134, 158, 161–2.

76 Ibid., 175; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān* i, 391; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 418–9.

77 al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān* ii, 249. For his biography, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 320–2; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iv, 272; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 693.

78 Ibid., iv, 1147; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān* ii, 535; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iv, 131.

The aforementioned Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar was also known to be “a relative of Ibn Abī al-Faraj (*qarīb ibn Abī al-Faraj*),”<sup>79</sup> but the connection remains opaque and it does not appear that the rise of the former was due to the actions of the family.<sup>80</sup> However, it seems appropriate to consider his close association with the Ibn Abī al-Faraj family as the background for his connection with the operations of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*. In any case, on becoming the supreme *ustādār*, he began to form his own private network within the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, separate from that of the Ibn Abī al-Faraj family. As a result, the individuals appointed supreme *ustādār* after al-Ashqar were those who had worked under him and to whom he was related by marriage.

After al-Ashqar’s downfall, his daughter’s husband Shams al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn al-Ṣafiy,<sup>81</sup> who he had made *nāzīr al-Dīwān al-Mufrad*, was appointed supreme *ustādār* three times (nos. 59, 63, 69). In addition, he was related by marriage to Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Kātib Gharīb,<sup>82</sup> who was twice appointed supreme *ustādār* (nos. 71, 73) and even after Sultan Qā’itbāy’s financial reforms continued to manage the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* under Yashbak min Mahdī.<sup>83</sup> The aunt of Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Naṣr Allāh ibn al-Maqṣī (no. 75), who was appointed supreme *ustādār* in place of Yashbak min Mahdī when the latter temporarily resigned the post in 882/1477,<sup>84</sup> was married to al-Ashqar, and their daughter was married to Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>85</sup> Based on the above, it seems likely that Sultan Qā’itbāy’s financial reforms sought to strengthen the sultan’s control over the operations of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad* by taking the initiative away from Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar’s faction that maintained its influence in the *dīwān*.

79 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii, 80.

80 According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, al-Ashqar failed as both *nāzīr al-dīwān al-mufrad* and *nāzīr al-iṣṭabul* (the controller of the Sultanic stable) and was in great poverty, and was only appointed *nāzīr al-Dīwān al-Mufrad* through Qīz Tūghān (no. 47) who made his appointment to the post of supreme *ustādār* conditional on giving al-Ashqar the post. This paved the way for his later success. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii, 81.

81 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Popper, ii, 587–9; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 170–1.

82 Ibid., 192.

83 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 54; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* iii, 79.

84 Ibid., 130; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 190.

85 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* v, 71–3.

### Conclusion: The Life of a Military Financier

The post of the supreme *ustādār* was a military one, but required financial acumen, and thus was difficult for purely military men steeped in battle. The result was a strong tendency toward the appointment of individuals with experience in provincial and financial offices. Moreover, a close look at the careers of the appointees to the supreme *ustādār* shows that many had prior knowledge and experience of bureaucratic and financial administration, with backgrounds that meant they could not be pigeon-holed as “Men of the Sword.” Many had spent their careers within the civil bureaucracy before shifting their status to that of military officers.

One case in point is Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Abī al-Faraj, who was raised from a *kātib* in Qaṭyā to *wālī Qaṭyā* and military status. Other examples include the powerful supreme *ustādār* during Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj’s time, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Bīrī (no. 22 in the Appendix), whose father had been *khaṭīb* (preacher) in Bīra in Asia Minor, and who had received the education of an *‘ālim* “in the garb of jurists (*bi-zayy al-fuqahā*),”<sup>86</sup> studying the Quran, jurisprudence and Arabic from a young age and demonstrating his learning to well-known scholars. However, when he moved to Damascus and was reduced to extreme poverty, “he wore soldier’s robes” (*tazayyā bi-zayy al-jund*)<sup>87</sup> by joining the military class, and began his career as a military officer as a *ballāṣī* (tax collector) to the *kāshif* of the suburbs (*barr*) of Damascus, and subsequently was the private *ustādār* to Amīr Bajjās and many other powerful *amīrs*.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥibb al-Dīn (no. 26), who was appointed the supreme *ustādār* in al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh’s reign, was originally the *kātib al-sirr* (confidential secretary) of Tripoli, where his father was a bureaucrat. He deepened his relationship with the then *nā‘ib* (viceroy) of Tripoli, Shaykh, subsequently took military office as his private *ustādār* and then became supreme *ustādār* when the latter became sultan.<sup>89</sup>

Others made their careers in the army, despite coming from bureaucratic families that had produced many civil officials. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh (no. 32) was a scion of the Ibn Naṣr Allāh family that counted many *nāzīrs* and *kātib*s,<sup>90</sup> and whose father had served as *wazīr* and *nāzīr*

86 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 445.

87 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii, 189.

88 Ibid., xii, 189–90; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 294–5; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 445.

89 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 102.

90 For more on the family, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration* 212–25.

*al-khāṣṣ*. However, he alone made a career in the military, rising from the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj to *amīr* of ten, and then to supreme *ustādār*.<sup>91</sup> Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz (no. 48) was also from the Ibn al-Kuwayz family that had produced many bureaucrats,<sup>92</sup> whose father had been a *kātib al-sirr* and *nāẓir al-jaysh*, yet he “grew up in a soldier’s robes” (*nasha’ alā zayy al-jund*)<sup>93</sup> and was a member of the *dawādārīyya ṣighār* (inkstand holders) during Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy’s reign, and became the supreme *ustādār* via a stint as *nā’ib* of Alexandria.<sup>94</sup> In these cases, they probably learned their bureaucratic skills and techniques at home while they were young. Following Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Abī al-Faraj, the Ibn Abī al-Faraj became a martial family that produced numerous military officers, mostly employed as local governors throughout Egypt, and three of whom became the supreme *ustādār*. However, judging from the fact that Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Abī al-Faraj himself changed status from a civil office to a military one, it is probable that they also had acquired knowledge of the ins and outs of bureaucracy rather than merely being military officers.

Even though they had a Turkish name and appeared as Mamluks, those appointed supreme *ustādār* were often individuals who had unique careers. Yalbughā al-Sālimī (no. 13) was originally a Muslim freeman named Yūsuf, who studied *taṣawwuf* (Sufism), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), arithmetic (*ḥisāb*) and astrology (*nujūm*), and acquired the seven readings of the Quran. His owner Sultan Barqūq took notice of this knowledge and appointed him administrator (*nāẓir*) of the troubled *Ṣāliḥīyya Khānqā*, whose finances he resurrected; he was then appointed the executor (*waṣī*) in Barqūq’s will.<sup>95</sup> Taghrī Birdī min Yalbāy al-Zāhirī’s background is uncertain but he received an Islamic education in the Hanafi School and later was a Sufi of the Qādiriyya order (no. 77).<sup>96</sup> Jānibak Nā’ib Jidda (no. 50) worked for many years as the *shādd* (superintendent) of Jeddah, an important commercial port on the coast of the Red Sea.<sup>97</sup>

The Mamluk dynasty was a military government, but its financial administration saw a great deal of cooperation between military officers and civilian officials. There were many military posts connected with finance, such as the private *ustādārs* of *amīrs*, the *ustādārs* of the Syrian provinces, or the various

91 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* x 23–4.

92 For more on the family, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l’administration* 238–48.

93 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 168.

94 Ibid., 168–9.

95 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz* iv, 159–63.

96 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 30–1.

97 As for him, see Mortel, *Grand Dawādār* 437–56.

*shādds* such as the *shādd al-dawāwīn* who were responsible for tax collection at the *Dīwān al-Wizāra*.<sup>98</sup> The supreme *ustādār* during the Circassian Mamluk era was at the apex of these military offices connected to the administration of finance. From the careers of those appointed to the supreme *ustādār*, we can surmise that there were a certain number of military officers who dealt with financial matters who were equipped with the knowledge and expertise related to clerical and financial administration; I have provisionally called these individuals “military financiers.” Studying their roles, which spanned both sides of the basic official framework of “Men of the Sword” and “Men of the Pen,” is clearly essential to deepening our understanding of the Mamluk dynasty’s politics and administration.

### Appendix: The Supreme *Ustādārs* (*ustādār al-‘āliya*) of Egypt

1. Bahādur al-Manjakī:<sup>99</sup> Ramaḍān 784–Jumādā II 790
2. Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī:<sup>100</sup> Jumādā II 790–Šafar 792
3. Qurqumās al-Ṭashtamūrī:<sup>101</sup> Šafar 792–Rabī‘ II 792
4. Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī (no. 2; 2nd. appointment): Rabī‘ II 792–Rajab 794
5. Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāyīmāz:<sup>102</sup> Rajab 794–Ramaḍān 794
6. Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī (no. 2; 3rd. appointment): Ramaḍān 794–Šafar 798
7. Quṭlūbak al-‘Alāī:<sup>103</sup> Šafar 798–Ramaḍān 799
8. Yalbughā al-Aḥmadī al-Majnūn:<sup>104</sup> Ramaḍān 799–Dhū l-Qa‘da 800
9. Nāšir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sunqur al-Bakjarī:<sup>105</sup> Dhū l-Qa‘da 800–Rajab 801
10. Yalbughā al-Majnūn (no. 8; 2nd. appointment): Rajab 801–Shawwāl 801
11. Zayn al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh al-Zāhirī:<sup>106</sup> Shawwāl 801–Shawwāl 801
12. Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Abī al-Faraj:<sup>107</sup> Shawwāl 801–Dhū l-Qa‘da 801

98 al-Qalqashandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘shā* iv, 22.

99 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 254; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi* iii, 435–6.

100 Ibid., xi, 213–4.

101 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 362.

102 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi* viii, 312; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 289–90; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 417.

103 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* iv, 385.

104 Ibid., iv, 138–9.

105 Ibid., i, 665.

106 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi* ix, 192; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vi, 237.

107 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 26; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* xi, 128; iv, 249.

13. Yalbughā al-Sālimī:<sup>108</sup> Dhū l-Qa‘da 801–Rajab 803
14. Sa‘d al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb:<sup>109</sup> Rajab 803–Dhū l-Qa‘da 803
15. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sunqur (no. 9; 2nd. appointment): Dhū l-Qa‘da 803–Dhū al-Ḥijja 803
16. Sa‘d al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb (no. 14; 2nd. appointment): Dhū l-Ḥijja 803–Ramaḍān 805
17. Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Qāymāz (no. 5; 2nd. appointment): Ramaḍān 805–Dhū l-Qa‘da 805
18. Yalbughā al-Sālimī (no. 13; 2nd. appointment): Dhū l-Qa‘da 805–Muḥarram 806
19. Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Qāymāz (no. 5; 3rd. appointment): Muḥarram 806–Rabī‘ 1 806
20. Sa‘d al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb (no. 14; 3rd. appointment): Rabī‘ 1 806–Jumādā 1 807
21. Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Qāymāz (no. 5; 4th. appointment): Jumādā 1 807–Rajab 807
22. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Bīrī:<sup>110</sup> Rajab 807–Jumādā 1 812
23. Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn al-Haysam:<sup>111</sup> Jumādā 1 812–Rabī‘ 11 814
24. Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj:<sup>112</sup> Rabī‘ 11 814–Rajab 814
25. Mankalī *ustādār* Jarkas al-Khalīlī:<sup>113</sup> Rajab 814–(Ṣafar 815)
26. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī:<sup>114</sup> Ṣafar 815–Jumādā 11 816
27. Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 24; 2nd. appointment): Jumādā 11 816–Ramaḍān 817
28. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī (no. 26; 2nd. appointment): Ramaḍān 817–Rabī‘ 11 819
29. Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 24; 3rd. appointment): Rabī‘ 11 819–Shawwāl 821
30. Abū Bakr ibn Quṭlūbak ibn al-Muzawwaq:<sup>115</sup> Shawwāl 821–Rabī‘ 1 823

108 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā‘iẓ* iv, 159–63; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii, 174–8; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 289–90.

109 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* i, 104–12; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* i, 65–7.

110 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 445–8; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii, 189–96; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x 294–7.

111 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 462; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iv, 191; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 254–5.

112 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iii, 182–4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iv, 249–50; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 314–8.

113 As for his assumption of office as the supreme *ustādār*, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 485; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 187. The exact date of his dismissal is unknown.

114 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* v, 85–8; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 102.

115 *Ibid.*, xi, 66.

31. Yashbak Ānālī (Īnālī) al-Mu‘ayyadī:<sup>116</sup> Rabī‘ I 823–Rabī‘ I 824
32. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Naṣr Allāh:<sup>117</sup> Rabī‘ I 824–Dhū l-Ḥijja 824
33. Arghūn Shāh al-Nūrūzī:<sup>118</sup> Dhū l-Ḥijja 824–Ramaḍān 825
34. Aytamish al-Khaḍrī:<sup>119</sup> Ramaḍān 825–Dhū l-Qa‘da 825
35. Arghūn Shāh al-Nūrūzī (no. 33; 2nd. appointment): Dhū l-Qa‘da 825–Shawwāl 826
36. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Būwālī (Abī Walī):<sup>120</sup> Shawwāl 826–Jumādā I 827
37. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Naṣr Allāh (no. 32; 2nd. appointment): Jumādā I 827–Jumādā I 828
38. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Naṣr Allāh:<sup>121</sup> Jumādā I 828–Ramaḍān 828
39. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj:<sup>122</sup> Ramaḍān 828–Rabī‘ II 833
40. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aqbughā al-Jamālī:<sup>123</sup> Rabī‘ II 833–Dhū l-Qa‘da 833
41. Karīm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Kātib Manākh:<sup>124</sup> Dhū l-Qa‘da 833–Rabī‘ II 835
42. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Naṣr Allāh (no. 38; 2nd. appointment): Rabī‘ II 835–Jumādā II 835
43. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aqbughā al-Jamālī (no. 40; 2nd. appointment): Jumādā II 835–Muḥarram 836
44. Karīm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Kātib Manākh (no. 41; 2nd. appointment): Muḥarram 836–Ṣafar 838
45. Jānibak al-Zaynī ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ:<sup>125</sup> Ṣafar 838–Dhū l-Ḥijja 842
46. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Faraj:<sup>126</sup> Dhū l-Ḥijja 842–Muḥarram 844 (or Dhū l-Ḥijja 843)
47. Qiz Tūghān (Tūghān al-Sayfī ‘Allān Raqz):<sup>127</sup> Muḥarram 844 (or Dhū l-Ḥijja 843)–Rajab 845

116 Ibid., x, 275; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xii, 134.

117 Ibid., x, 23–6.

118 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iv, 56; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* ii, 267–8.

119 Ibid., 224–5; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 139–41.

120 Ibid., xi, 17–8; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 644–5; al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān* ii, 196.

121 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* iv, 202–3; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 130–1; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* v, 141–4.

122 Ibid., vii, 320–2; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iv, 272.

123 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ii, 485–6.

124 Ibid., vii, 340–4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iv, 313–4.

125 Ibid., iii, 56.

126 Ibid., viii, 55–6; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* x, 115–6.

127 Ibid., vii, 26–8; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* iv, 10–1.

48. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Kuwayz:<sup>128</sup> Rajab 845–Rabī‘ 11 846
49. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj:<sup>129</sup> Rabī‘ 11 846–Muḥarram 857
50. Jānibak al-Zāhirī Nā‘ib Jidda:<sup>130</sup> Muḥarram 857–Rabī‘ 1 857
51. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 2nd. appointment): Rabī‘ 1 857–Shawwāl 857
52. Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ahnāsī:<sup>131</sup> Shawwāl 857–Ṣafar 858
53. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 3rd. appointment): Ṣafar 858–Dhū l-Qa‘da 858
54. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 46; 2nd. appointment): Dhū l-Qa‘da 858–Muḥarram 859 (or Dhū l-Ḥijja 858)
55. al-Zaynī Qāsim:<sup>132</sup> Muḥarram 859 (or Dhū l-Ḥijja 858)–Rajab 859
56. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 4th. appointment): Rajab 859–Jumādā 11 860
57. Zayn al-Dīn (Sa‘d al-Dīn) Faraj ibn al-Naḥḥāl:<sup>133</sup> Jumādā 11 860–Shawwāl 861
58. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 5th. appointment): Shawwāl 861–Dhū l-Qa‘da 864
59. Shams al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn al-Ṣafīy:<sup>134</sup> Dhū l-Qa‘da 864–Jumādā 1 865
60. Majd al-Dīn Ismā‘īl ibn al-Baqarī:<sup>135</sup> Jumādā 1 865–Shawwāl 865
61. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 6th. appointment): Shawwāl 865–Rabī‘ 1 867
62. al-Zaynī Qāsim (no. 55; 2nd. appointment): Rabī‘ 1 867–Jumādā 1 867
63. Shams al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn al-Ṣafīy (no. 59; 2nd. appointment): Jumādā 11 867–Rajab 867
64. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 7th. appointment): Rajab 867–Rabī‘ 1 868
65. Majd al-Dīn Ismā‘īl ibn al-Baqarī (no. 60; 2nd. appointment): Rabī‘ 1 868–Shawwāl 868
66. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 8th. appointment): Shawwāl 868–Shawwāl 868

128 Ibid., iv, 76–8; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 168–9.

129 Ibid., 80–4; al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-ḥaṣr* 172–5; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 233–4.

130 Ibid., iii, 57–9.

131 Ibid., v, 296; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xvi, 334.

132 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Shaltūt, i, 442.

133 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vi, 169; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vi, 105.

134 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Popper, ii, 587–9; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 170–1.

135 Ibid., xi, 165–6; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* viii, 103; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* iii, 248–9.

67. Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn al-Baqarī (no. 60; 3rd. appointment): Shawwāl 868–Dhū l-Ḥijja 868
68. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 9th. appointment): Muḥarram 869–Muḥarram 869
69. Shams al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn al-Ṣafīy (no. 59; 3rd. appointment): Ṣafar 869–Rabī' I 870
70. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 10th. appointment): Rabī' II 870–Rajab 870
71. Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Kātib Gharīb:<sup>136</sup> Sha'bān 870–Ṣafar 871
72. Zayn al-Dīn Yahyā al-Ashqar, *qarīb* Ibn Abī al-Faraj (no. 49; 11th. appointment): Ṣafar 871–Shawwāl 871
73. Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Kātib Gharīb (no. 71; 2nd. appointment): Shawwāl 871–Sha'bān 873
74. Yashbak min Mahdī:<sup>137</sup> Sha'bān 873–Rabī' I 882
75. Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn Naṣr Allāh ibn al-Maqṣī:<sup>138</sup> Rabī' I 882–Rajab 883
76. Yashbak min Mahdī (no. 74; 2nd. appointment): Rajab 883–Ramaḍān 885<sup>139</sup>
77. Taghrī Birdī min Yalbāy al-Zāhirī al-Qādirī:<sup>140</sup> Dhū l-Ḥijja 885–Dhū l-Qa'da 897
78. Āqbirdī min 'Alī Bāy:<sup>141</sup> Dhū l-Qa'da 897–Dhū l-Ḥijja 901
79. Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar:<sup>142</sup> Dhū l-Ḥijja 901–Rajab 902
80. Āqbirdī min 'Alī Bāy (no. 78; 2nd. appointment): Rajab 902–Ramaḍān 902
81. Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar (no. 79; 2nd. appointment): (Ramaḍān 902)<sup>143</sup>–Rabī' I 903
82. Qānṣūh Khāl al-Nāṣir Muḥammad:<sup>144</sup> Rabī' I 903–Rabī' I 904

136 Ibid., 127; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* x, 192; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 188.

137 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii 173–4; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 267–8; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* x, 272–4.

138 Ibid., v, 71–3.

139 When Yashbak min Mahdī left Cairo commanding a military expedition against Aqquyunlu in Rabī' I 885/May–June 1480, the then *nāzir al-dīwān al-mufrad*, Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn al-Baqarī (no. 60), provisionally undertook the duties of the supreme *ustādār* on behalf of Yashbak during his absence. He continued to execute these duties after Yashbak's death in battle in Ramaḍān 885/November 1480 and then was dismissed when Taghrī Birdī min Yalbāy al-Zāhirī al-Qādirī, the *khāzindār* of Yashbak, was officially appointed as the supreme *ustādār* in Dhū l-Ḥijja 885/February 1481. Ibid., iii, 166–7, 177; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 256, 274–5.

140 Ibid., iii, 30–1; idem, *Majma' al-mufannan*, musalsal 5 Ta'rīkh, fols. 235b–236b; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 82.

141 Ibid., iii, 421; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* ii, 315.

142 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iii, 406; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, ed. Jabbūr, i, 300.

143 The exact date of his appointment is unknown.

144 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* iv, 404.

83. Ṭümānbāy al-Ashrafī:<sup>145</sup> Rabīʿ I 904–Jumādā II 906
84. Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī:<sup>146</sup> Jumādā II 906–Shawwāl 906
85. Miṣrbāy:<sup>147</sup> Shawwāl 906–Muḥarram 907
86. Ṭuḡtabāy min Walī al-Dīn:<sup>148</sup> Muḥarram 907–Rajab 908
87. Taghrī Birdī min Yalbāy al-Zāhirī al-Qādirī (no. 77; 2nd. appointment): Rajab 908–Muḥarram 911
88. Timurbāy:<sup>149</sup> Muḥarram 911–Rabīʿ II 911
89. Sharaf al-Dīn Yūnus al-Nābulusī:<sup>150</sup> Rabīʿ II 911–Rajab 914
90. Ṭümānbāy Ibn Akhī Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī:<sup>151</sup> Rajab 914–Ramaḍān 922
91. Abrak al-Ashrafī:<sup>152</sup> Ramaḍān 922–Dhū l-Ḥijja 922

---

145 Ibid., iii, 463–4; al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Muʿat al-adhhān* i, 388–9.

146 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ al-zuhūr* iv, 2–3; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 112–3; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʿirai*, 294–7.

147 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ al-zuhūr* iv, 27–8.

148 Ibid., 46; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* ii, 166.

149 As for his assumption of office as the supreme *ustādār*, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ al-zuhūr* iv, 80.

150 As for his assumption of office as the supreme *ustādār*, see *ibid.*, 82.

151 Ibid., v, 102–3.

152 As for his assumption of office as the supreme *ustādār*, see *ibid.*, 109.

**PART 2**

*Women in Mamluk Society*





# Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities

*Yaacov Lev*

## Introduction

The examination of literary sources, especially from Mamluk Egypt, has prompted scholars such as Huda Lutfi and Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi to the conclusion that the disparity between the notions of what the position of women in society should be and the realities of their everyday lives was very great indeed. The methodology adopted by both Lutfi and Chapoutot-Remadi can be described as a “reverse reading” of the sources. In other words, if a certain account refers to restrictions imposed on women then, according to their approach, it shows that the social realities were very different, otherwise why mention these restrictions at all? In her work, Lutfi relies almost exclusively on the works of a fourteenth century Egyptian writer, Ibn al-Ḥajj (d. 737/1336–7) and states that his book *Kitāb al-Madkhal* “allows us to explore the discrepancy between the ideal and real in medieval Egyptian society, showing that prescriptive religious literature should not necessarily be taken as a reflection of reality.”<sup>1</sup>

Chapoutot-Remadi draws on a wider selection of sources but she also views the references of Mamluk chroniclers to women as a distortion of actual social realities. Her approach is best illustrated by the following statement: “Les *‘ulamā’* sont unanimes, la rue est proscrite aux femmes: pourtant elle est tout le temps occupée. Si l’éviction de la rue se retrouve dans tous les traités de *fikh*, les interdits répétés ne sont que la preuve d’une liberté exercée.”<sup>2</sup> In this article I argue that this approach is methodologically problematic and that the writings referred to by both Lutfi and Chapoutot-Remadi cannot be systematically treated as a distorting mirror of medieval social realities.

1 Lutfi, Manners and customs of fourteenth-century Cairene women 102.

2 See Chapoutot-Remadi, Femmes dans la ville Mamluke 146.

My first point concerns the choice of sources. I would like to begin with a remark about Ibn al-Ḥajj and his *Kitāb al-Madkhal*. Despite the prestige it enjoys among scholars, our knowledge of the author and his life is very restricted. He apparently was not appreciated by his contemporaries and is barely mentioned in the biographical dictionaries of the Mamluk period. Ibn al-Ḥajj was born in Fez and received his early education there. Apparently, at a young age he went to Egypt where he acquired further education, and eventually became a teacher. He was highly influenced by the teachings of an Andalusī shaykh named Abū Muḥammad Abū Jamza (d. 675/1276–7) who had a *zāwiya* in Cairo. Al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) characterized Ibn al-Ḥajj as a person with a tendency towards mysticism who became known for his asceticism (*zuhd*), *waraʿ* (i.e., strict adherence to what is permissible in food and drink, for example), and charitable deeds (*khayr*). Al-Maqrīzī presents a fair description of Ibn al-Ḥajj's book *Kitāb al-Madkhal* and says that it deals with the issue of *niyya* (a good moral intention) that must accompany actions (*ʿamal*) and warns against unlawful innovations (*bidaʿ*) by explaining their hideous nature. Al-Maqrīzī, who during his career also served as a market supervisor (*muḥtasib*), appears to have been highly impressed by Ibn al-Ḥajj's work, since he says that it is a most illustrious and useful book that contains extraordinary, unique things. Yet al-Maqrīzī's appreciation of Ibn al-Ḥajj's work was exceptional. By contrast, the great mystic Shaʿrānī (1493–1565) is very laconic when referring to Ibn al-Ḥajj and defines his book as dealing with unlawful innovations, although he refrains from commenting about its quality or value. He is more appreciative of Ibn al-Ḥajj's personality and says that he was a learned and pious person who (through his conduct) set an example for others. As befitting his religious views, Ibn al-Ḥajj's grave in the Qarāfa cemetery was simple with no superstructure over it (this type of burial was consistent with the *taswīyat al-qubūr* doctrine that advocated the leveling of graves with the surrounding earth). But most certainly to Ibn al-Ḥajj's strong dislike, it became a place of pilgrimage and people believed that a divine blessing (*baraka*) emanated from it.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn al-Ḥajj belonged to the Mālikī School of law and developed a strong dislike of the religious and social practices of the Egyptians. Judging from his writings, Ibn al-Ḥajj's views concerning Jews and Christians were characterized by bigotry and he advocated strict social segregation between Muslims and non-Muslims. His remarks about women and many other issues were no

3 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabūr*, 1987–91 ed., vii, 90–1; Ibn Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra* 320. For the *taswīyat al-qubūr* doctrine, see Taylor, *In the vicinity of the righteous* 181–2.

less vehement and he can be described as a puritan and stern moralist. It is worth inquiring to what extent his book reflects social realities or his own idiosyncratic views. However, his idiosyncrasies may have tallied with the Muslim moral vision and perceptions of an ideal society and the disparity between the two would not have been that great.

Elsewhere, while examining the responses to the 822/1419–20 and 833/1429–30 outbreaks of plague, I have argued that the measures taken to combat these calamities such as the destruction of wine jars, banning prostitutes from the streets, the imposition of distinctive colors and garments on the non-Muslims and, in 833–843/1429–39, the proclamation of a total ban on women in the public space, were aimed at a “moral reorientation of society,” an effort inspired by the *‘ulamā’* and implemented by the sultan.<sup>4</sup> Hence, Muslim society had a well-defined moral vision that must not be belittled by a “reverse reading” of the sources. However, the topic requires more than just a discussion of a major source and reflections on what the medieval Muslim perception of morality in the public space could have been; rather, a sound methodology must be suggested.

### Women in Medieval Islam

In a ground-breaking article on “Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview,” Yossef Rapoport described his methodological goal as “to identify basic social and legal structures that appear crucial to the understanding of gender practices in urban Mamluk society. These include, in following order: slave-girls and concubines, women in urban economy, marriage, divorce and polygamy; educational and religious activities.” The author adds that he attempts “to cover all classes of urban society, from the royal palace to the poor, as obviously men and women interacted differently at different levels of society.”<sup>5</sup> As important as “social and legal structures” may be, I would shift the emphasis to social stratification within urban society. Given the medieval realities marked by the chasm between the “haves” and the “have nots” and the very thin and unstable middle class, it can be argued that every aspect of human life was class related; i.e., access to wealth, power, education, medicine

---

4 Lev, Symbiotic relations: Ulama and the Mamluk sultans 18–21.

5 Rapoport, Women and gender in Mamluk society 5.

and charity.<sup>6</sup> Women's seclusion and their involvement in urban economic life was also class-related.<sup>7</sup>

When going beyond the narrow topic of women in the urban space of medieval Muslim cities and its methodological considerations to the broader subject of women in medieval Islam, two other variables must be taken into account: the socio-ecological modes of life and geography. Regardless of Muslim religious imperatives, feminine labor was needed and valued differently across the socio-ecological divide. It separated the sedentary, rural and nomadic populations, and had significant repercussions on the seclusion of women from the public space.<sup>8</sup> Geography must also be taken into account, even within the Mediterranean world, and the question whether evidence from the Muslim West is applicable to the Muslim East must always be asked.<sup>9</sup>

---

6 The precarious existence of the middle class is best illustrated in the modern concept of "conjunctural poverty" or its medieval counterpart of "uncovering of face." See Cohen, *Poverty and charity in the Jewish community of medieval Egypt* chap. 2. For women and education, see Ávila, *Women in Andalus* biographical sources 149–65. For women's involvement in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, see Berkey, *al-Subkī and his women* 1–17; Sayeed, *Women and the transmission of religious knowledge in Islam*. Actually, the book is about female *muḥaddithas*. For women as founders of *madrasas*, their exclusion from academic life in those institutions, and the education of women of *'ulamā'* families within the confines of the family, see Berkey, *Women and Islamic education in the Mamluk period* 143–61. References to female transmitters of *ḥadīth*, including information on their teachers, students and towns where they taught *ḥadīth* and on pious women who accomplished the pilgrimage, lived for while in holy cities of Arabia and distributed charity when they had access to wealth, are common in pre-Mamluk and Mamluk sources. See for example, Abū Shāma, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābi'*, ed. Kawtharī, repr. 1974, 63, 108; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ta'rikh ḥawādith al-zamān* 631–2, 647; Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr wa-awān al-naṣr* ii, 387–93, 402–3, 553, 639–40; iv, 26–8, 30–1, 31–3 (referring to a poetess), 34–5. For another biographical dictionary from the Mamluk period which provides information on the social and economic history of Muslim women during the fifteenth century, see Lutfi, *al-Sakhawī's Kitāb al-nisā'* 104–24.

7 Some European visitors to the Ottoman Empire were well aware of the association between high social status and the seclusion of women from the public arena. See Seng, *Invisible women* 241–69; for an insightful discussion of women's access to the public space, see Khoury, *Slippers at the entrance* 105–28.

8 With the exception of the *Mamluk bibliography Online*, there are no bibliographical guides for any aspect of medieval Islamic history or for Ottoman history. Thus any attempt to provide a bibliography to support these broad observations is difficult. See, for example, Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan and the women in his family* 153–77, relying on Chinese sources. For women in eighteenth century Istanbul and the Anatolian countryside, see Faroqhi, *Ottoman men and women* chaps. 8–10.

9 Women's work, in a certain range of occupations, was important in the urban societies of both the Islamic west and the Mamluk Sultanate, see Shatzmiller, *Women and wage labour in*

Finally, a long-term view should be adopted and a study focused on dynastic history, Fatimids, Ayyubids and Mamluks (in the case of Egypt), is not the best approach to this topic.

### Women's Access to the Public Space

When focusing on Egypt and taking a broad chronological approach, one can begin with the edict proclaimed in the markets of Fuṣṭāṭ in Rajab 414/September-October 1023, which prohibited unlawful customs during the two consecutive holy months of Rajab and Shaʿbān. Some of these customs, which were referred to as morally reprehensible (*manākir*), involved women going out to visit cemeteries in the evenings, while other prohibitions referred to public gatherings and playing instruments other than the flute. We owe this report to Musabbiḥī (977–1029) the author of a huge *History of Egypt* of which only small fragments have survived.<sup>10</sup> When other accounts concerning the celebrations of Rajab are examined it becomes evident that the Fatimid authorities had difficulties making up their minds how Rajab should be celebrated.

It seems that the custom of visiting cemeteries was considered questionable by the Fatimid regime. In 378/988–9 in Cairo, the people gathered on the Friday nights of Rajab and in mid-Rajab at the al-Azhar mosque instead of the cemeteries.<sup>11</sup> In 402/1011–2, the Fatimid ruler al-Ḥākim (r. 996–1021), known for his reign of terror and inconsistent policies, ceased the distribution of food and sweets to people who gathered at al-Azhar during the Friday nights of Rajab and the night of mid-Rajab. The people apparently reverted to the old customs of celebrating Rajab and went to the cemeteries, had fun and amused themselves.<sup>12</sup> The accounts concerning Rajab reveal the degree of control that the Fatimid regime could exercise over the population. Cairo was a walled town established by the Fatimids and served as the seat of the ruler, the court, the army, and the administrative elite of the state. It had an unmistakable Shīʿī-Ismaʿīlī character and al-Azhar was the congregational mosque of the Fatimid regime. The authorities, as illustrated by the events of 1023, could impose their will on the population of Cairo and provide an alternative way of celebrating Rajab. However, when people were given the choice they joined

---

the medieval Islamic west: Legal issues in an economic context 174–206; Rapoport, *Marriage* 32–8. For European women, see Reyerson, *Urban economies* 295–311.

10 Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr* 14.

11 al-Maqrīzī, *Iṭtiʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ* i, 267.

12 *Ibid.*, ii, 89.

the crowds or, one might say, the popular way of celebrating Rajab. The edict of 1023 published in Fuṣṭāṭ, the densely populated Sunnī town, was aimed only at controlling certain aspects of the Rajab festivities, not to impose an alternative way of celebrating the festival.

The 1023 edict was a manifestation of the Fatimid authorities' continuous preoccupation with the norms of conduct in the public domain and involved a twofold effort: to control the appearance of women and the way Muslim and non-Muslim festivals were celebrated. One good example is Epiphany (*'id al-ghitās*), which was celebrated by ritual bathing in the Nile. The first recorded edict concerning Epiphany is from 367/977–8 and it prohibited bathing in the Nile. In this case we need no “reverse reading” since how Epiphany was usually celebrated is well attested in the sources. In 388/998, the powerful Christian administrator Fahd ibn Ibrāhīm celebrated Epiphany with his family. People gathered along the Nile and were entertained by musicians and singers, and alcohol was publicly consumed. In 415/1024–5 the celebrations of Epiphany were watched by the Fatimid ruler al-Zāhir who ordered both the illumination of places in the capital and the separation of Muslim and Christian bathers. The Melkite Christians held a procession from a church at Qaṣr al-Sham' (the remaining section of the old Byzantine town) to the Nile where a sermon in Arabic in the name of the ruler was delivered.<sup>13</sup>

Al-Zāhir was not the first Muslim ruler who watched the Epiphany. In 330/932, Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj, the semi-independent ruler of Egypt, did the same. Al-Zāhir also attended the celebrations of Pasha in 415/1024–5 which attracted both Christians and Muslims. Tents were set up on the Nile at Maqs and people entertained themselves with music, alcohol was consumed, and women, some drunk, mixed freely with men. Musabbiḥī comments that “things too ugly to be mentioned [took place].”<sup>14</sup> This remark is crucial testimony that challenges the presumed distinction between the so-called “prescriptive religious literature” and the chronicles used by Chapoutot-Remadi and occasionally Lutfi as well. This distinction, if not downright misleading,

13 al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'* i, 242; ii, 17; Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr* 70.

14 Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr* 19–21. During the reign of al-Ḥākim (in the years 398/1007–8 and 401–5/1010–14–5), edicts were proclaimed forbidding women to appear in the public altogether. Without going into the debate about al-Ḥākim's policies and the rationale or lack of rationale behind them and the way his deeds are portrayed in or distorted by the sources, the general tenor of the accounts concerning women is believable. Some of al-Maqrīzī's accounts about al-Ḥākim's policies are undoubtedly derived from Musabbiḥī and more significantly al-Ḥākim's ordinances concerning women were part of a broader effort to bring conduct in the public domain in line with the Muslim moral vision.

is tenuous at best. The chroniclers were also scholars who wrote on subjects such as jurisprudence and Prophetic tradition and their worldview was religiously inspired. Their historical writings are not some kind of unbiased objective reporting of realities. The accounts provided by chroniclers are as tainted as “prescriptive religious literature.” They do not reflect some “real” reality but their authors’ moral vision and perceptions of reality.

Musabbiḥī’s report expressing apprehension about the outcomes of unsupervised encounters between men and women is significant since it reflects a worldview that was also shared by the Jews and Christians. The Jewish communal authorities, for example, imposed regulations on the behavior of pilgrims to the sanctuary at Dammuh, on the western bank of the Nile south of Fustāṭ. The edict they published included the demand that women, except the elderly, should be accompanied by a family relative, while another instruction referred to the proper behavior of boys in the company of men. Although our knowledge of Christian attitudes toward women in the lands of medieval Islam is very limited, the author of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church* says that women should be submissive to their husbands, be confined to their homes and not mingle with men in church.<sup>15</sup>

The preoccupation of the Fatimid authorities with the conduct of women in the public domain reflects a certain frame of mind and deeply embedded anxiety. In 363/973–4, regulations were proclaimed regarding the way women wore pants (*sarāwīl*) and in 395/1004–5 women were forbidden to unveil their faces when attending funerals or walking on the public pathways. In 517/1123–4, the Fatimid vizier ordered the inspection of all of the halls in which wedding ceremonies were held to ensure that the modesty of the women attending these events was not violated. His intervention came after a brawl had erupted between a proprietor of a hall who had ogled women coming to a wedding and his guests. These repeated references to women in the public domain reflect deeply rooted and commonly shared concepts about women and their sexuality. Women were viewed as endowed with dangerous sexuality that was socially disruptive and could lead to *fitna* (disorder, corruption). Thus, from the viewpoint of Muslim jurists, scholars, moralists, chroniclers and the authorities, women’s access to the public space had to be regulated and sometimes even denied.<sup>16</sup>

15 For Dammuh, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society* v, 20–3; Ibn al-Muqaffa’, *History of the patriarchs* ii, pt. 3, 250–1.

16 For women’s sexuality and proper attire, see Adang, *Women’s access* 75–95; Goitein, *The sexual mores of the common people* 43–61.

These medieval concepts and realities are neatly expressed by S.D. Goitein's characterization of the Mediterranean society of the high middle ages as "a sex-conscious society."<sup>17</sup> These attitudes were persistent and enduring. Ruth Lamdan, who writes about the late medieval Levant notes that in both the Jewish and Muslim societies any association between men and women was perceived as having sexual overtones.<sup>18</sup>

### Women in the Mamluk Public Sphere

The transition from the Ismā'īlī-Fatimid *imāms*-caliphs to the Sunnī Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans has no bearing on the issues under discussion since they reflect a shared cultural outlook which goes beyond the Sunnī-Shī'ī divide. Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (1135–1200), the historian of Saladin and member of his inner circle, shared Musabbiḥī's concern about how people should behave during Rajab and Sha'bān and his condemnation of intermingling between the sexes during public festivals. In 592/1196, for example, the ceremonies associated with the cutting of the canal; i.e., the opening of the dam on the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful during the inundation of the Nile, coincided with Ramaḍān. Qāḍī al-Fāḍil was dismayed at the sacrilege of the holy month by the intermingling of the sexes during these ceremonies.<sup>19</sup>

The medieval mood of the time is illustrated by the obituary of the viceroy (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Turkī who died in 776/1374–5. The historian Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī positively assessed his building of religious and educational institutions as well as his utilitarian projects such as the improvement of roads, the maintenance of irrigation dams and aqueducts. In the same breath, however, he alludes to his regulations on the appearance of women in public and his insistence on observing modesty at the bathhouses.<sup>20</sup>

The participation of women in religious festivals and festivities was a constant source of social tension and Mamluk authorities repeatedly attempted to control the conduct of women. In 825/1421–2, the towns of Fustāṭ and Cairo

17 Goitein, *A Mediterranean society* v, 202.

18 Lamdan, *A separate people* 127.

19 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, i, 283; idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda and 'Ashūr 1934–73, i, 136.

20 See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* i, 148. See also *ibid.*, iii, 75–6 (referring to Ramaḍān 793/1391); al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, pt. 2, 619 (referring to 825/1422). For Ibn al-Ḥajjī's views on women visiting the cemeteries, see Tetsuya, *Cairene cemeteries as public loci in Mamluk Egypt* 113.

were decked out to celebrate the departure of the *maḥmal* (a richly decorated camel-borne litter that was sent annually to Mecca by the Muslim rulers of Egypt and symbolized their rule and power). The market supervisor (*muḥtasib*) forbade women to stay overnight at the vendors' shops to watch the *maḥmal* parade the next morning. Al-Maqrīzī is very appreciative of the actions of the *muḥtasib* and critical of women's tenacious adherence to their customs and practices. Al-Maqrīzī's attitude toward women is more than critical; in fact it can be characterized as disparaging. He defines their conduct as stubborn heedlessness and a refusal to follow sound moral advice. The *muḥtasib* was extremely zealous in his attempts to control women's conduct and during Ramaḍān of the same year he forbade women to visit the cemeteries and many yielded to his threats and stayed at home.<sup>21</sup>

The efforts of the authorities to regulate women's activity in the public space were motivated by both moral deliberations and the wish to maintain what was perceived as desirable hierarchical social structure and gender identities. The wish to preserve social hierarchies was behind several edicts published throughout the fourteenth century in Cairo. In 750/1349–50, for example, two wives of the sultan invented a new fashion trend of wearing two very long and costly outer garments (*qamīṣ*) one on top of the other. This fad spread from the confinement of the sultan's harem and was whole-heartedly adopted by Cairene women. The authorities; i.e., the Mamluk military establishment (the sultan and *amirs*), the vizier and the Chief *Qāḍī*, felt obligated to intervene and to halt the spread of the two *qamīṣ* fashion in Cairo. They also took severe measures to combat another Cairene female dress fad: the wearing of a costly silk over garment (*izar*) instead of the common Baghdadi type of *izar*. The authorities exercised heavy pressure on women and the price of the silk *izar* dropped sharply, reflecting the lower demand for this forbidden cloak.<sup>22</sup>

In the eyes of the rulers, concerns about proper interactions between sexes and adherence to the hierarchal social order were interwoven, and the edict proclaimed in Cairo in 793/1391 can be regarded as the embodiment of this mindset. The edict forbade women to wear a wide long *qamīṣ*. Al-Maqrīzī puts forward an explanation which seems to be his own observation as to the

21 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, pt. 2, 614, 619. For the procession of the *maḥmal* in early nineteenth-century Egypt, see Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* 436–42.

22 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, pt. 3, 810–1. For an unusual case (1436) of adopting the head-wear of the lower classes and turning it into a marker of the mamlūk military class, see Fuess, *Sultans with horns* 82.

rationale behind the edict: by wearing wide long *qamīš* simple women (*‘awwām al-nisā’*) resembled women of the ruling class (*nisā’ al-mulūk wa-l-‘ayān*).<sup>23</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī’s remark illustrates broader social thinking and not just his personal convictions and class bias. The notion of a hierarchical social structure permeated medieval Muslim views about society. Within this vision of the social order was also embedded the perception of the elite as a social class that was vital to the proper functioning of society. It is true that these rigid hierarchical views of society never developed along the lines of a caste system and both commerce and learning served as powerful means of social mobility, but garments served as social markers and the social order had to be maintained. The Jews also shared these views and the Jewish communities in their charitable distributions of clothes to the poor adhered to the principle that garments indicate social status.<sup>24</sup> Thus attempts to control women’s conduct reflected a wide spectrum of religious beliefs, social values and moral considerations. Gender identities were, for example, zealously guarded in medieval societies and garments had clear gender identifications; unisex clothing was vehemently criticized. Chapoutot-Remadi discusses several cases in which Mamluk authorities forbade women to wear turbans of the *shāsh* type. This issue came again to the fore of public attention in 793/1390–1, when the Prophet revealed himself to a Cairene woman in a dream and explicitly forbade her to wear a wide *shāsh*. The Prophet revealed himself to her in yet another dream and declared that since she disobeyed him she would die as a Christian, a warning that materialized. The notion that a dream is a plain or encoded divine message to humans was widespread in medieval Islam and inspired extensive literature dealing with the interpretations of dreams.<sup>25</sup> In 876/1471–2, the authorities again tussled with a fashion trend created by women. On the orders of the sultan, the *muhtasib* of Cairo determined what kind of head scarf (*‘iṣāba*) and kerchief (*sarāqūsh*) women should wear. Subsequent to these edicts women began wearing different kerchiefs at homes and in the public sphere.<sup>26</sup>

23 See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, pt. 2, 750. While the term *‘ayān* (notables) is well understood, the term *mulūk*, in this context, is vague. The question is whether it should be understood as referring to the Mamluk rulers in general.

24 Goitein, *A Mediterranean society* ii, 109, 111.

25 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iii, pt. 2, 534–5; Chapoutot-Remadi, *Femmes dans la ville Mamluke* 152. For notions of social hierarchies and gender relations in dream literature, see Lutfi, *The construction of gender symbolism* 141–8.

26 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’*, ed. Muṣṭafā 1960–75, iii, 67–8.

### Women in the Mamluk Urban Economy

Khalīl Ibn Shāhīn al-Malaṭī's (1440–1514) description of the 841/1437–8 plague refers to an edict that prohibited women from leaving their homes. This prohibition was even applied to old women and female artisans and, as stated by Ibn Shāhīn, adversely affected sellers of perfumes, women's clothes and other goods demanded by women. One can easily use this account to support the interpretation that women took active part in economic life and that certain market activities were dependent on their buying-power. In contrast to Ibn Shāhīn's account, it is worth quoting a remark *en passant* in a Genizah letter in which the writer described himself by saying: "I am hiding out in my house like the women." The writer of the letter was fleeing from a debt and in his appeal for communal charity he described his plight in terms well understood by his contemporaries.<sup>27</sup> This remark can be related to social practice and, for example, to the notion that the appearance of women before the *qāḍī* was class related permeated Islamic "prescriptive literature" (the *adab al-qāḍī* genre) and governed the conduct of the *qāḍī*. It was understood on the level of theory and practice that women of the upper class did not appear at the *qāḍī*'s court.<sup>28</sup>

In this case the use of Jewish sources is justified since the Jews and Christians also shared a moral vision that excluded women from public life. References to the question of freedom of movement of women and the extent of social contacts permitted to them can be found in Jewish marriage contracts. In a document dated 521/1127, for example, a wife agreed to amend her marriage contract by including the stipulation that she would obey her husband even if he banned her from leaving the house. In another document that reconciled husband and wife, the wife was allowed to go to the synagogue, the public bath and to visit her sister, or in the language of the document "to go to all places suitable for a virtuous Jewish woman."<sup>29</sup> Jewish attitudes as embodied by "prescriptive religious literature" and the social practices of the Genizah society have recently been discussed by Eve Krakowski. On both levels, Jewish society

27 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl* v, 24; Cohen, *The voice* 244.

28 Tillier, *Women before the qāḍī* 294–300, including references to Byzantine and Late Antiquity realities.

29 Weiss, *Legal documents*, documents no. 112, 123. For a broader discussion of the question of women's freedom of movement in medieval Jewish Middle Eastern society, see Friedman, *The ethics of medieval Jewish marriage* 90–2; Goitein, *A Mediterranean society* iii, 154–5.

adopted the position that women's movements should be controlled, but total social isolation, unless self-imposed, was not part of the Jewish moral vision.<sup>30</sup>

I would argue that the reference in the eleventh-twelfth century Genizah letter is probably a reasonable reflection of medieval realities and the contradiction with Ibn Shāhīn's remark is more apparent than real since both references can be harmonized when the question of social stratification is taken into account. Working women worked in female professions or were part of the vast urban underclass.<sup>31</sup> For many of them, their involvement in economic life was not an acquired freedom but a necessity and Ibn Shāhīn's remark refers to them.

The main question that remains to be answered is to what extent women of the upper urban class, for example the merchants and leading *'ulamā'* families, played a role in the urban economy. I would argue that these classes emulated the lifestyle of the rulers and prevented women of their households, i.e., daughters, wives and concubines, from active participation in urban life. The women belonging to this class had no need to take an active part in market life and they managed their property through agents; thus the writer of the Genizah letter had those women in mind.

### Conclusion

The disparity between prescriptive ideology concerning the position of women and social realities also figures in the discourse on the position of women in Byzantium. It seems to me that in the context of the parameters discussed by Lutfi and Chapoutot-Remadi, it was Angeliki E. Laiou who neatly posed the questions that really ought to be addressed: "Did women in the market place (referring to Constantinople) overcome the barriers of a restrictive ideology, or did they work within the ideological parameters of the society?"<sup>32</sup> As Laiou points out, the fact that ideology and reality were not necessarily congruous does not mean that ideological constraints were overcome. The same cautious approach is adopted by Lynda Garland who notes that: "While it is dangerous

30 See Krakowski, *Female adolescence* 131–41, with ample references to a variety of sources and literature. For the term *Genizah* society, see her discussion *ibid.*, 5–10.

31 For women's professions in the high and late Middle-Ages, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society* i, 127–30; iii, 141; Shatzmiller, *Labour in Islam*; Lamdan, *A separate people* chap. 7. For legal and social aspects involved in women's participation in the work force and the right to keep their earnings, see *ibid.*, 123–6.

32 See Laiou, *Women in the market place* 261.

to accept conventions as reality, it is equally so to ignore their implications.”<sup>33</sup> I would argue that the vast majority of medieval Muslim women shared the accepted belief system about their role and place in society and their conduct reflected their total immersion in this religiously inspired worldview.

The method of a “reverse reading” of the sources as adopted by Lutfi and Chapoutot-Remadi blurs the fact that social realities were complex and women’s participation in social and economic life was frequently a question of necessity rather than choice. These complex realities are reflected in conflicting reports and accounts that do not tally with a scholar’s perceived vision of medieval realities should not be dismissed out of hand.

The issue of women in the urban space of medieval Muslim cities, or more broadly their role in the economic and social spheres, must also be approached from the angle of the envisioned ideal moral order. When approached from this point of view, women were regarded as inferior to men and their presence in public was seen as socially disruptive. We should not jump to the conclusion, as suggested by Lutfi and Chapoutot-Remadi’s “reversed reading” of the sources, that urban realities were necessarily more powerful than religious and cultural values. Only women of certain classes, namely, the working class and the urban underclass, were active in the urban setting. This class distinction also explains why the writing of jurists, moralists and historians are so vehement in their condemnation of this social reality which clashed not only with the ideal moral vision but also offended their own class susceptibilities. Going back to the methodology proposed by Laiou, it would be prudent to say that the sources strongly suggest that women worked within the ideological parameters of the society and adjusted to the barriers of a restrictive ideology.

---

33 Laiou, *The role of women* 244; Garland, *The life and ideology* 365. For changes in the position of women between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Kazhdan and Talbot, *Women and iconoclasm* 391–408.

## Slave Girls and Learned Teachers

### *Women in Mamluk Sources*

*Yehoshua Frenkel*

The social and gender histories of the Middle Islamic Period are now engaging an increasing number of scholars.<sup>1</sup> Their work has led to a better understanding of the social position and image of women in these societies, and of Mamluk women in particular.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, some of these cutting-edge studies, often heavily influenced by the growing feminist hermeneutics literature, employ too wide a brush in painting a portrait of the gender history of past Islamic societies.<sup>3</sup>

Chronicles, biographies, legal texts, and inscriptions cast light on both the ideal social position of women and their image, as well as on the historical reality of women throughout the long Mamluk centuries. These sources describe free or slave women who were engaged in a variety of domestic and non-domestic forms of labor.<sup>4</sup> Aside from al-Sakhāwī's volume on girls and women, and the comparatively few women with a scholarly reputation to merit an entry in Mamluk biographical dictionaries,<sup>5</sup> most of the data on women are found in writings that aimed initially at confining them. Undoubtedly these texts reflect the prevailing social position of their authors' circles and audiences.

A long ode (*qaṣīda*) dedicated by Abū Shāma to his wife Sitt al-'Arab constitutes a contribution to the history of medieval Islamic emotions. It illustrates the great affection that he felt towards her and did not hesitate to demonstrate. It opens with the declaration:

---

1 Waines, *Through a veil darkly* 642–59; Keddie and Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history*.

2 Rapoport, *Marriage*; and see the critical remarks by Meisami, *Writing medieval women* 49, 67, 74.

3 Mahmood, *Politics of piety*.

4 Ayyubid and Mamluk authors devoted books or volumes to the history of women. This is also the main topic of several *adab* works. The earliest are two volumes by Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, and al-Malāqī al-Ma'āfirī's *al-Ḥadā'iq al-ghīnā' fi akhbār al-nisā'*. The latter tells stories about pre-Islamic and Muslim women. On this author and others, see Kilpatrick, *Some late 'Abbāsīd and Mamlūk books about women* 56–78.

5 Homerin, *A bird ascends the night* 247–80; idem, *Writing Sufi biography* 389–99.

I married a beloved woman from the household of Danw  
 she is blessed with outstanding qualities that confused even the wise  
 all her features, her characteristics and stature, are superb  
 she is loveliness and most welcomed  
 fertile, adored, free woman from the tribe of Quraysh  
 modest. Despite her beauty she respects [me] her husband.<sup>6</sup>

The dominant social values as reflected in juridical writings<sup>7</sup> indeed reinforce women's image as a marginal component of Mamluk society. This seems to be the aim of the North African Maliki juriconsult (*faqih*) Ibn Ḥajj al-'Abdarī. Reports in the chronicles about dress code follow a similar line. In his satirical shadow-theater, Ibn Dāniyāl plays down Baybars' moralistic campaign.<sup>8</sup> As women were prevented from holding leading juristic, political or military positions, they were forced into the background. This articulated common arrangement is visible in accounts of social gatherings (*majālis*) in which wives did not participate, but professional female performers took an active part in transmitting religious knowledge and values.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, a great number of Mamluk chroniclers were keen to report on the merits of women who belonged to their own social milieu.<sup>10</sup> They often described them as modest and learned women.<sup>11</sup> Yet only rarely do we come across rich accounts, such as Ibn Ṭawq's description of ordinary women. In his "diary" we read reports on women who earn their living or are sticklers when negotiating the conditions of re-marriage. Hence the data at our disposal on the great majority of common women are still partial and imperfect.<sup>12</sup> However, although women are underrepresented in Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries, it should be emphasized that these sources offer rich accounts that shed light on their lives and conditions.<sup>13</sup>

6 Abū Shāma, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābiʿ*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, 301–2.

7 However, in this chapter I will not dwell on legal texts that depict an ideal (in Weberian terms) social reality.

8 Guo, *The performing arts in Medieval Islam*.

9 Ḥassan, *Ṭāʾifat al-maghānī fi Miṣr fi l-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī* 376–416.

10 al-Khazrajī, *Akhbār awliyāʾ wa-manāqibuhum* 26–7.

11 The origins of this historical tradition can be found in earlier centuries. See, for example, al-Sulamī, *Dhikr al-niswa al-mutaʾabbidāt al-ṣūfiyyāt*; Sayeed, *Women and the transmission of religious knowledge* 70, 129, 133.

12 Guo, *Tales of a Medieval Cairene harem* 101–21; Shoshan, *On the marital regime in Damascus* (refers frequently to Ibn Ṭawq).

13 Lutfi, *al-Sakhāwī's Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*; idem, *Manners and customs of fourteenth century Cairene women* 99–121; Rapoport, *Women and gender in Mamluk society* 1–47.

Therefore, I will not try to narrate the story of women over a lengthy period (1250–1517) or over the vast territory stretching from the first cataracts of the Nile to Anatolia. To demonstrate the potential of future research, and considering the complex reality of the past and the source data, two social groups were selected: slave girls (concubines) and learned women. Although these prototypes could be placed on either end of the social spectrum, they were not chosen to represent the Weberian “ideal type.” Readers of Mamluk documentation should not accept any overstated popular generalization. Parameters such as class and changing local conditions should restrict our investigation to a concrete place and time. The information on the social position of Mamluk women and their literary image reflects, in contrast to a simplified and idealistic picture of past societies, a complex reality. This stems from varying conditions, including these women’s status and roles. Thus, a colorful picture can be composed from multiple layers that eschew a one-dimensional picture.

The present study inspects a limited number of case studies and deals with concrete data on a handful of women. What I aim to highlight for the purposes of the present paper is that we should reject a-historical statements about “Muslim women, Islam and the women, etc.”<sup>14</sup> By narrating their story, my intention is to demonstrate, inter alia, that the popular talk on “Muslim women” is misleading. This research strategy points to the dualism reflected in male dominated sources, and the multifaceted conditions in urban centers of the Mamluk Sultanate.

In fact it is possible to argue that the sources paint a polar spectrum of images, from the pious ascetic woman to the shameless adulteress. Mamluk *‘ajā’ib* accounts (*mirabilia*) transport their readers, as is accepted in this literary genre, to realms of fantasy. Women in these stories often have uncontrollable seductive power and play the role of destructive temptresses. An example of these fables is the story of the imaginary al-Wāqwaq Island.<sup>15</sup> This threatening representation of women even led several writers to express views that, in hindsight, we can term misogynistic.<sup>16</sup>

Several lines by the jurist and man of letters (*adib*) Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī are examples of this. He wrote (in 944/1538):

The very character of [this] one [woman] resembles the horse you are riding. If you loosen her reins slightly she will remain ungovernable. If

14 Meisami, *Writing medieval women* 47.

15 Malti-Douglas, *Woman’s body, woman’s word* 87–95; however, compare with the critical remarks by Meisami, *Writing medieval women* 52, 66.

16 For a plea to use this term carefully, see Meisami, *Writing medieval women* 48, 52, 65.

you lighten up the cheek-strap of her bridle a little she will pull you for a long time, but if you curb her and control her firmly when it is needed you can rule over her.<sup>17</sup>

He even goes on to say: "A bad nature characterizes most women who are shallow-minded." To make his point Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī tells a story about the caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who scolded his wife: "You are merely a toy in the backyard of the house, if need arise [we call you], and if not, remain seated."<sup>18</sup>

Despite these harsh sayings, women were clearly visible in the streets of the large urban centers of the sultanate. The regular calls to seclude women and efforts to force them to behave according to the imagined codes of the female ideal actually reflect the failure of these measures. Prostitutes (*qihāb*) and brothels are regularly mentioned in the chronicles.<sup>19</sup> They are a conspicuous theme in the script of Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow play, which tells the story of Cairo's peripheral social circles.<sup>20</sup> One main character in this milieu is Umm Rashīd the procuress:

So summon Umm Rashīd, the marriage agent (*khāṭiba*) even though she is one who goes out at night into the bush (*ḥātiba*). But she knows every honorable woman and every adulteress and every beauty in Miṣr and al-Qāhira. For she lets them leave the baths disguised in servant's clothes, and finds secret hideouts for the prostitutes the police are looking for, and provides them with clothes and jewelry for free.

... She also knows how to deal in a friendly way with the hearts of lovers, and she sells the pleasures of love only on a trial basis. She does not break her promise, she does not haggle over the price. She does not visit an inn to collect the wax that drips down from the candles, nor does she ransack the clothes of the guests for money. And she does not take the fragrant flowers round the bottles, pretending it is to decorate the clothes of the sinful women. And she does not filch the pieces of meat from the plates, nor does she pour together what has cleared from the dregs of the wine. She does not exchange an old slipper for a new one, and she does not criticize the clothes of customers, as a housewife would do.

17 al-Ghazzī, *al-Murāḥ fi l-muzāh* 53–4.

18 *Ibid.*, 54.

19 Elbendary, *The sultan, the tyrant, and the hero* 143; Lev, *Symbiotic relations* 19–20.

20 Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three shadow plays* 7–13; Guo, *The performing arts in Medieval Islam* 11, 32, 79, 126, 167–72 (translation).

Mostly she goes round the houses of the women of rank and sells bolts of fabric, raw and bleached, and all kinds of spices and incense. She sells on credit and makes appointments for Thursdays and Mondays. And she does not haggle over the price. And she keeps her appointments even if it is the night of fate (*laylat al-qadr*).<sup>21</sup>

This vague description in the shadow play should be viewed with caution in terms of its ability to represent social reality, as it may be only a fragmentary picture of urban society. Yet, the popular image of women as intriguers who cunningly try to manipulate men is found in other literary genres. The following historical story (797–8/1395–6) confirms this argument. Ibn al-Nashū (murdered in 799/1397), a wealthy grain-broker from Damascus,<sup>22</sup> divorced his wife ‘Ā’isha, who claimed to be pregnant. The divorcé made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Meanwhile, back at home she was still said to be expecting a child, until one day she sent word to her former husband that she had delivered a baby boy. Ibn al-Nashū acknowledged that he was the father and organized a party. Soon, however rumors spread that ‘Ā’isha was not the mother. The investigation revealed the infant was born to a poor woman, who was paid to claim that her fetus had died and handed the baby to the fictitious mother. At the *qāḍī*'s court, beautiful ‘Ā’isha admitted that her child was stillborn and that she pretended that this stranger's baby was her child.<sup>23</sup>

There are noticeable misogynic stances in a number of genres. This can be seen in an *adab* composition by ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar Ibn al-Batanūnī, who is said to have lived in Egypt during the last years of the sultanate (900/1495).<sup>24</sup> He takes the story of Joseph in the Qur’ān as his point of departure, a position that is in line with remarks voiced by some of his contemporaries.<sup>25</sup> In the introductory section of his work, Ibn al-Batanūnī states that “I will depict women's guile and

21 Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three shadow plays* 22–3; Ḥamāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-tamthīlīyāt Ibn Dāniyāl* 161–2; Kahle, *The Arabic shadow play in Egypt* 32–3; Buturović, *Sociology of popular drama in Mediaeval Egypt* 162–3; idem, *The shadow play in Mamlūk Egypt* 170; Guo, *The performing arts in Medieval Islam* 184 (translation).

22 Brinner, *The murder of Ibn An-Našū* 207–10; not to be confused with Shams al-Dīn the Egyptian who had a similar (in transcription) nickname (and who died in 740/1339). See Levanoni, *The al-Nashw episode* 207–20.

23 Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* 164–5.

24 Marjiyya, *Shakhṣīyat al-mar’a* 175 (based on Ibn al-Batanūnī's *al-‘Umwān fī l-iḥtirāz min makāid al-niswān*, including translation of this work). I was not able to consult Jiyad's *Anti-women sentiments in Arabic literature*.

25 Particularly Mamluk exegeses of Q 12:28. See, for example, al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-jalīl* ii, 524; al-Shirbīnī, *Sirāj al-munīr* ii, 104.

their cunningness despite their weak intellects.”<sup>26</sup> Towards the closing chapter of his work, Ibn al-Batanūnī tells a brief story about the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭīlāwī,<sup>27</sup> the *qādī*’s daughter and a Jew. It describes an event that took place in the woman’s house, where she was drinking wine and amusing herself with a Jewish companion. Informed of the event, the officer hastened to the crime scene, only to find himself fooled by the young woman who ordered her slave girls to beat up the intruder.<sup>28</sup>

### Slave Girls and Concubines

Slaves were a key constituent of urban societies in lands governed by the Mamluk aristocracy.<sup>29</sup> Concubines and eunuchs were a visible component in their palaces as well as in elite civilian households. They were brought to Syria and Egypt from the four corners of the earth.<sup>30</sup> Al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī provides a long list of nationalities that were traded in the slave markets and appends evaluations of their qualities. There is a short account of the physical features of each nation accompanied by an assessment of their characters and potential behavior.

Selecting a slave, al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī says, requires more than knowledge of geography and ethnography. Physiognomy (*fīrāsa*) was one additional tool that his and other guidebooks encouraged.<sup>31</sup> This so-called “science” was widely accepted among Muslims including the learned Mamluk classes,<sup>32</sup> as shown

26 See reasoning by Ibn al-Batanūnī, *al-Unwān fī l-iḥtirāz* 18, 268; Marjiyya, *Shakhṣīyat al-mar’ā* 212, 447.

27 So is the reading of Ibn al-Batanūnī by al-Tūnjī (ed.), *al-Unwān fī l-iḥtirāz* 423; but Marjiyya, *Shakhṣīyat al-mar’ā*, reads al-Ṭāblāwī. In fact, early Ottoman documentation from Egypt mentions a jurist by the name of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭāblāwī, but this author passed away in 966/1559 half a century after the presumed time of Ibn al-Batanūnī. See al-Ṭāblāwī, *Murshīd al-mushtaghilīn*.

28 Ibn al-Batanūnī, *al-Unwān fī l-iḥtirāz* 423–6; Marjiyya, *Shakhṣīyat al-mar’ā* 243–6.

29 Hodgson, *The venture of Islam* ii, 140–1, 400.

30 Ayalon, *Eunuchs, caliphs and sultans* 15, 18, 24.

31 al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī, *al-Qawl al-sadīd* 75–8.

32 Manuals and books of physiognomy provide a rich catalogue of characteristics and physical features, which give the potential buyer tools of reference, or so they claim. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Fīrāsa* 20, 24, 31, 39; al-Dimashqī, *al-Siyāsa fī ‘ilm al-fīrāsa* 19–20; al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī, *al-Qawl al-sadīd* 75, 80–1; Ghaly, *Physiognomy* 163.

for instance in al-Ibshihī's encyclopedia.<sup>33</sup> Inspecting a slave or slave girl who was put up for sale at the market should begin with a careful look at her color, which breaks down into red, yellow, green or white. Skin complexion was assumed to define the individual's qualities and was a powerful indication of invisible defects, diseases and hidden syndromes. The inspection of the organs and the limbs comes next, from the head downwards.

An example of this methodology is the account of slaves sold in the markets of the sultanate from Black Africa. According to these authors, the shape of the African head explains their inferiority as compared to the Arabs, Persians and Byzantines.<sup>34</sup> In portraying these peoples, al-'Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī quotes Galen, who is said to have claimed that blacks have ten peculiar features. Relying on this claim, he concludes that African women are suitable for taking care of babies and supervising children, dancing and playing music, but because of the odor of their skin they have no qualities or skills that encourage men to marry them.<sup>35</sup> He adds that East African slave girls who were not removed from their homeland before the age of puberty are unqualified sexually because they undergo excision.<sup>36</sup>

The slaves who did reach the lands of the sultanate were purchased in slave markets by civilians and soldiers.<sup>37</sup> They had a range of duties. Mamluk texts often mention female slaves<sup>38</sup> with menial or sexual roles,<sup>39</sup> or both,<sup>40</sup> although certainly none of these slave girls played the crucial role of Shajar al-Durr in the transformation of the political order in the Nile Valley from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks.<sup>41</sup>

33 Ibn Buṭlān, *Risāla fi shirā' al-raqīq wa-taqlīb al-'abīd* 388; reproduced by al-Ibshihī, *al-Mustaṭraf fi kull fann mustaṭraf* ii, 88.

34 al-'Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī, *al-Qawl al-sadīd* 83.

35 For more on this, see Gordon, *Female circumcision and genital operations in Egypt and the Sudan* 3–14; Berkey, *Circumcision circumscribed* 19–38; Giladi, *Normative Islam versus local tradition* 251.

36 al-'Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī, *al-Qawl al-sadīd* 50, 52, 59, 61.

37 Frenkel, *Some notes concerning the trade and education of slave-soldiers*.

38 Keddie claims that "little study has been done on female slaves." This evaluation reflects an early stage in scholarship. See Keddie, *The past and present of women in the Muslim world* 92.

39 al-Azmeh, *Rhetoric for the senses* 215–31 (replace Ibn Sayyuda with Ibn Sida).

40 'Abd al-Nabī, *al-Zawāj fi usar salāṭīn al-mamālik* 30–1; and cf. Frenkel, *Marriage and family in Mamluk palaces* 239–48.

41 Levanoni, *Šagar ad-Durr* 209–18.

The Sultan Barqūq (fl. 784–801/1382–99) had six children, three of whom were boys whose mothers are named in the sources.<sup>42</sup> A Greek concubine named Shīrīn<sup>43</sup> gave birth to Barqūq's eldest son, the prince Faraj (in 791/1398),<sup>44</sup> while another concubine, a Turkish slave girl named Qunnuq-Bey (d. 835/1432), bore al-Malik al-Manšūr 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>45</sup> a second prince and heir of Barqūq. The Sultan Khushqadam acquired several concubines.<sup>46</sup> One of these, a slave girl named Siwar-Bāy, gave birth to a daughter. He married his concubine who in turn was promoted to the highest position that a woman in the royal harem could have (in 870/January 1466).<sup>47</sup> Khawand Aşalbāy was one of the concubines in the harem of the Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy (873–901/1468–98).<sup>48</sup> She bore him a son who inherited the throne.<sup>49</sup>

This social strategy was not limited solely to the governing military elite. Civilians who had the financial resources purchased slave girls in markets.<sup>50</sup> A few examples suffice to support this claim. It is said that Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Zirī preferred Turkish concubines. The maids even taught him Turkish.<sup>51</sup> The Cairene historian al-'Aynī reports on incidents of death in his house and mentions that slave girls passed away together with his children.<sup>52</sup> Additional cases are mentioned below.

There are several explanations for this social reality: demographically, it contributed to the construction of patrimonial households and increased the likelihood of progeny in an environment that experienced high mortality rates of newborns and mothers; politically, the concubines strengthened male dominance in society, even if the man himself was a manumitted slave. This feature is clearly seen in reports on the awarding of a slave girl to a colleague or a subordinate. These “gifts” fortified males' alliances.

42 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xii, 81, describes the circumcision of two of Barqūq's sons. At the citadel, the sultan held a party that was open only to women.

43 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, repr. edition Beirut 1992, xii, 69 (no. 427 where Shīrīn claims that she was Barqūq's cousin “*wakanat ibn!* [read *bint!*] *āmm sayyidihā*”).

44 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xii, 168 (line 6); xiii, 149 (line 20).

45 On her reaction to the coup that led to her son's enthronement, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xii, 331.

46 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* xii, 68–9 (no. 417).

47 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xvi, 292.

48 A mosque bearing Khawand Aşalbāy's name still stands in Fayyūm, Egypt.

49 Rice, *Studies in Islamic metal work-I* 574–5.

50 al-Subkī, *Qaḍā' al-arab fi as'ilat Ḥalab* 304 (question 21).

51 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna*, ed. al-Karnakawī, i, 16.

52 al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, ed. Qarmūt, i, 397 (833)..

Recorded reactions by women and their relatives to the prospects that a husband would purchase a concubine constitute a different form of evidence for the prevalence of slave girls in patriarchal households, both military and civilian.<sup>53</sup> This phenomenon is vividly described in a *responsum* by al-Subkī:

A question: what is your opinion regarding the prevailing custom amongst religious scholars, Sufi mendicants and others of purchasing concubines, although they know categorically that this slave girl was Muslim already in her land of origin and she cannot be enslaved?<sup>54</sup>

### Women Teachers

Whereas slave girls started their career at the bottom of the social ladder, the highest rung was occupied by learned women, both freeborn as well as enslaved. These women participated in learning sessions and transmitted traditions and books. The following pages support this claim.

Mamluk period authors were aware of the outstanding role of women in the spread of religious knowledge, and highlighted the role and image of the female scholar in their writings.<sup>55</sup> These sources shed light on the significant contribution of women in the transmission of *ḥadīth* and in the dissemination of other branches of religious knowledge.<sup>56</sup> In contemporary chronicles and biographical dictionaries, many of their names are mentioned. One example is Sitt al-Wuzarā bint ‘Umar, who died in Damascus at age 93 (716/1316).<sup>57</sup> ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, an eminent Damascene historian and jurist, even dedicated a short tractate to women’s position in the transmission of the canonical volumes of *ḥadīth*.<sup>58</sup> It is worth mentioning that the six women he names in this

53 Guo, *Tales of a medieval Cairene harem* 109–10; Shoshan, *On the marital regime in Damascus* 11.

54 al-Subkī, *Qaḍā’ al-arab fi as’ilat Ḥalab* 544; idem, *Fatāwā al-Subkī* ii, 281.

55 The female voice is also heard in other genres, as well. Ibn al-Mibrad, *Nuzhat al-musāmīr fi akhbār majnūn Banī ‘Amīr* 33, 49, 69, 101 (*akhbaratnī Fāṭima bint al-Ḥarastānūjāzat<sup>an</sup>*); on Laylā and her love story, see al-Sajdi, *Trespassing the male domain* 121–46.

56 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 366–8; Berkey, *Women and Islamic education in Mamluk period* 143–57; idem, *al-Subkī and his women* 5; Sayeed, *Women and hadith transmission* 71–94; idem, *Women and the transmission of religious knowledge* 163–75.

57 al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Jabūrī 2010, xxvii, 337, 343 (722/1322 Umm Muḥammad Zaynab in Jerusalem), 347 (726/1326 Sitt al-Fuqahā’ in Damascus), 352, 354, 358.

58 al-Birzālī, *Juz’ fihī min ‘awālī al-shaykhāt al-sitt* 87 ff.

context were offspring of learned families. They served as a node in various religious chains of transmission.<sup>59</sup>

Often the names of participants in reading sessions are written on the first or last page of the book that was studied during these gatherings. Several scholars have investigated the documentation that attests to this social and intellectual practice.<sup>60</sup> They have studied certificates (*samā'āt*) of oral transmission and permits authorizing the transmission of a certain chapter, book or tradition (*ijāzāt*). The great majority of these women were daughters of learned families. The role of Ḥanbalī women from the Ṣāliḥiyya neighborhood in Damascus is particularly striking.<sup>61</sup> Yet several certificates name concubines who actively participated in learning circles and transmitted texts, either written books or orally memorized.<sup>62</sup> Certainly this attests to their social ascension.

A quick look at Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (773–852/1372–1449) academic curriculum vitae reveals the strong presence of women among his teachers. He names several women with whom he learned *ḥadīth* including Asan bint Muḥammad (720–98/1320–95)<sup>63</sup> and Amat al-Qāhir (793/1391).<sup>64</sup> He also studied with Umm al-Ḥasan Fāṭima bint Muḥammad ibn al-Munajjā al-Tanūkhiyya (712–803/1319–1400)<sup>65</sup> and Fāṭima bint Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥiyya and her sister ʿĀ'isha (719–803/1319–1401).<sup>66</sup> In addition he learned *ḥadīth* with Ruqayya bint ʿAli from the Ṣāliḥiyya quarter of Damascus.<sup>67</sup> At the Damascus courthouse, he met with the aging scholar Ruqayya bint Sharaf al-Dīn.<sup>68</sup> Next in alphabetical order, under Zaynab, he names several teachers.<sup>69</sup> Among them was Zaynab, the daughter of Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad.<sup>70</sup>

59 Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Nazm al-iʿqyān fī aʿyān-aʿyān* 19, 101, 103 (three daughters of the judge Abū al-Faḍl al-ʿIrāqī), 114.

60 Frenkel, The chain of traditions 165–84.

61 Toru, The Salihyya quarter in the suburbs of Damascus 129–82; Talmon-Heller, *ʿIlm, shafāʿah, and barakah* 34–5; Sayeed, *Women and the transmission* 161–3.

62 The term was coined by Robert Darnton to describe the printing and reading culture of 18th century Europe. See Darnton, What is the history of books? 67.

63 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis* i, 470.

64 *Ibid.*, i, 471–3.

65 *Ibid.*, ii, 389–434; iii, 134 (no. 1041), 136; *idem*, *al-Amālī al-mutlaqa* 9, 20.

66 *Idem*, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis*, ii, 368–88.

67 *Ibid.*, i, 592.

68 *Ibid.*, 594.

69 *Ibid.*, 596–8.

70 *Ibid.*, 559–60 (biography no. 71); iii, 212 (no. 587), 215 (no. 592 and 593 two teachers, both named Fāṭima, of Rābiʿa, who is another daughter of Ibn Ḥajar), 360 (721 Hind, the teacher of Rābiʿa).

During his stay in Damascus, Ibn Ḥajar also studied with Sitt al-Qudāh, the niece of the well-known historian Ibn Kathīr.<sup>71</sup> He reports on a tradition that he transmitted from Tatar (734–803/1334–1401), the daughter of Aḥmad al-Tanukhī and adds: “I saw her signature of authorization dated 738/1338. Muḥammad al-Suruḥī said: she [Tatar] aged four at that date.” In addition to this information from Ibn Ḥajar’s intellectual biography, other sources contain dozens of women’s names.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar mentions that Sāra bint Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī taught his daughter Khātūn.<sup>73</sup>

Examination of other contemporary sources supplies additional cases.<sup>74</sup> Ibn Ṭawq mentions in *Dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafiyya* the death of an unnamed woman who was nicknamed al-Nāsikha (the transcriber or copyist).<sup>75</sup> A year later he states that he gave the shaykh ‘Alī ibn Nāṣir two pamphlets of *Ghāyat al-Ikhtisār* (presumably the Shafi‘ī legal compendium of Abū Shujā‘ Aḥmad al-Isfahānī). It was a gift to Umm Hānī, the shaykh’s daughter, who started to study this juridical text the following day.<sup>76</sup>

Elsewhere I have described Bulbul, a slave girl of Ibn al-Mibrad, who mothered a boy to her master. She is represented as a devote Muslim who participated in learning cycles.<sup>77</sup> Ibn al-Mibrad wrote a booklet that he dedicated to his beloved slave girl (*Laqṭ al-Sunbul fī akhbār al-Bulbul*):

Many years ago, I bought a slave girl (*ama*) and named her Nightingale (*bulbul*). She was a blessed woman, strictly religious. She gave birth to my son ‘Abd al-Hādī and to a daughter named ‘Ā’isha. Bulbul passed away in an epidemic (in 883/1430). She was with me for ten years. During all these years she never left our house. She did not even attend my brother’s wedding, although he expressed his wish to see her participate. I told him: speak to her. She was approached but declined the invitation. My brother insisted but she refused categorically, saying: “I swore that I would depart this house in a coffin.” She told many stories about abstaining from leaving the house; some of them were fabulous tales. Anyhow she did not go out.

71 Ibid., i, 615.

72 al-‘Aẓm, *al-Ṣubābāt fīmā wajadtuhu ‘alā zuhūr al-kutub min al-kitābāt* 41.

73 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assis* i 612.

74 Idem, *al-Durar al-kāmina* i, 9 (bint Jawhar in biography no. 11), 12 (no. 15 *wa-samī‘a min ukht jiddatihi Karīma al-Zubayrīyya*), 21 (no. 45 *sitt al-fuqahā’ bint al-Wāsiṭī*).

75 Ibn Ṭawq, *al-Ta’līq* i (885–90/1480–85), 296 (888/1483).

76 Ibid., 410 (889/1484).

77 Frenkel, *Women in late Mamluk Damascus* 409–24.

One story about her is the following: One day she asked me to buy her fabric made of silk that she would sew. One day I stumbled upon a man in the market who sold squirrel fur (*sinjāb*). I bought it for the price of 88 (silver coins?). When I returned home I handed it to her, but she responded disapprovingly. She asked me what it was and I answered that this is what she asked for. So she said: “But you are the one who insisted that the squirrel is a forbidden animal (*ḥarām*). By God I will not sew it, return it.” I disregarded her words and told her just to leave it as it was. Several days later I noticed that she had unstitched the fur. She told me: “Leave the lining here and go and sell the fur.” I took it and sold it for two (?). The lining was left at home. Ten days before her death she told me: “Please sell the lining and with the money buy me a bale of cotton. I will spin it into yarn and weave it. Then you will sell the material and the income will serve me to arrange a meal for the poor. They will pray for me.” I told her: “Leave it, I will buy you the cotton.” But she insisted that she would only use the income from the sale of the lining.

However the next day she became sick and developed a high fever that led to her death. We sold the lining and used the money to provide food for the poor.

After a while I bought another slave girl and because of the above-mentioned experience named her Ḥarām. She is the mother of my sons Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar. She did only good deeds. God will bless her.<sup>78</sup>

The image of Bulbul is that of a strict and devoted woman, who was involved in performing religious rituals and the commandments to fulfill her role in transmitting knowledge. This role is shown in the following certificate:

I read aloud this book to my son Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and his mother Bulbul bint ‘Abd Allāh and to his brother Abū Aḥmad, four days old, and [to my son] Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh. This was affirmed and confirmed on Thursday 2nd Jumādā the First 897 (1 March 1492). I, Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī [i.e. Ibn al-Mibrad], authorized them to transmit this booklet.<sup>79</sup>

78 Ibn al-Mibrad, *Akhbār al-nisā* 16–7; Murād and al-Sawwās (eds.), *Fihris makhṭūṭāt dār al-kutub al-zāhūrīyya* ii 109–10. Due to the current conditions in Damascus, it is impossible to consult the original document, which should be on the shelves of the Syrian National Library.

79 Ibn ‘Asākir, *Sa‘at rahmat Allāh* 106; cf. idem, *Faḍl umm al-mu‘minīn ‘Ā’isha* 45 (session in the year 877/1472).

This is not the only case where the young were present at *ḥadīth* and creed reading sessions.<sup>80</sup> Ibn al-Mibrad informs us that he read chapters from the *Kitāb al-I'tiqād* to his children Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh and Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn (read Ḥasan), the sons of Bulbul bint 'Abd Allāh and to 'Alī (on Wednesday 11th Jumādā the Second 897/April 1492).<sup>81</sup> Two years later Ibn al-Mibrad read a selection of forty *ḥadīths* in his house in the al-Ṣālīḥiyya quarter of Damascus. Among the audience were:

My son 'Abd al-Hādī, his brother 'Abd Allāh Abū Bakr, and their brother [Badr al-Dīn] Ḥasan, aged five, his mother Bulbul, my concubine Ḥulwa (sweetie) and Ibrāhīm the son of my uncle 'Umar.<sup>82</sup>

In the list of the *samā'āt* of Ibn al-Mibrad's selection of forty traditions (read on 897/April 1492), we read:

I ['Abd al-Hādī ibn Yūsuf] heard this collection [*al-mukhtār min al-Tirmidhī*] whose composer, my father Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī [Ibn al-Mibrad] read. Together with me were: 'Abd Allāh and Badr al-Dīn, my two brothers, and my sister 'Aysha (i.e. 'Ā'isha), Bulbul the concubine of my father and the mother of Badr al-Dīn, and Fāṭima the daughter of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Hādī.<sup>83</sup>

From another list of listeners (889/1484), it is abundantly clear that the aforementioned 'Abd Allāh was the son of Jawhara (Jewel), a third concubine that Ibn al-Mibrad obtained.<sup>84</sup> A fourth concubine by the name Ghazal (Gazelle; 897/December 1491) is also mentioned.<sup>85</sup> Among the audience in another reading session in his house was Fāṭima, the daughter of his uncle 'Umar, who was the wife of his son 'Abd al-Hādī, and their daughter Maryam, aged three.<sup>86</sup>

80 Ibn Hījī, *Ta'rikh Ibn Hījī* 342 (Umm 'Isā Sitt al-Qudāt d. 801/1399).

81 Abū Ya'lā al-Farrā', *Kitāb al-I'tiqād* 20 (*samā'āt*); cf. al-Azharī, *al-Fihris al-wasfī* 42, 46.

82 Abū Ya'lā al-Farrā', *Kitāb al-I'tiqād* 17, and other transmissions on 24, 27, 30, 39.

83 *Ibid.*, 14–15.

84 *Ibid.*, 21, 56, 66.

85 *Ibid.*, 35, 77, 80.

86 *Ibid.*, 27, 32, 51, 73, 103.

The presence in the audience of listeners of a tender age is mentioned in several transmission certificates.<sup>87</sup> Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, for example, read a session of Ibn ‘Asākir’s lectures on “refuting anthropomorphism.” He attested that his two daughters Umm Kulthūm and Ruqayya, aged four and his young son, Anār, were in the audience (in 626/May 1229).<sup>88</sup>

There is abundant additional evidence that women brought their children to sessions, which were mostly convened in private homes. The young age of the students<sup>89</sup> and the advanced age of the women-teachers can be explained by regulations of modesty in Muslim patriarchal families. The boys were accompanied to the mansions of the elderly ladies. The social openness of this practice actually eliminated a major obstacle that might have prevented mothers from learning and teaching assemblies. The reasons why parents were encouraged to bring a three—to five-year old boy or girl to a reading class should be clarified in another study; here, it is sufficient to show that this practice supports the suggestion that mothers took part alongside men in learned circles. These learning sessions created a familial atmosphere. In this manner, the assemblies deepened transmission networks. Owing to this role of “woman teacher,” no social objection to that practice is reported.

Few women teachers gained the prominence achieved by ‘Ā’isha al-Bā’ūniyya from Damascus. She was an outstanding author and spiritual leader, teaching and travelling in Syria and Egypt during the final years of the Mamluk Sultanate. Her exceptional position is attested both by the respect that her contemporaries showed her, and the reception of her writing by later generations. ‘Ā’isha al-Bā’ūniyya was a scion of a prominent Damascene family.<sup>90</sup> Her Sufi writing reflects her mastery of different genres of Islamic literary styles, both in prose and poetry.<sup>91</sup> A condensed survey of her “Selection from the

87 See the intellectual biography of Zaynab bint al-Kamāl from Damascus (646–740/1248–1339), who received *ijāzas* in the first year of her life. Sayeed, *Women and the transmission* 163–4.

88 Ibn ‘Asākir, *Thalātha majālis li-Ibn ‘Asākir* 120.

89 See al-Birzālī’s account of the birth and death of his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who lived for forty days (714/1314): “I wrote an *ijāza* for him and asked several shaykhs to sign it as an act of validation.” And similar words in the account of his son ‘Abd Allāh aged nineteen months. See al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtaḍī ‘alā Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* ii/2, 154–5 (no. 312), 311–12 (no. 635).

90 Frenkel, *Between Mongols and Ottoman* 19–38; idem, *al-Bā’ūnī*, *EI*<sup>3</sup>.

91 Homerin, *Living love* 211–34; idem, *Writing Sufi biography* 389–99.

principles of the path to master Sufi wisdom” reveals her world-view and style.<sup>92</sup> As is so commonly styled in this genre, the treatise is constructed as an epistle that concentrates on the four major stages of the Sufi path toward Allāh: repentance, sincerity, remembrance and love. Each branch is discussed in light of God’s commandments (*Qurʾān*), the sayings of the Prophets (*ḥadīth*) and practices of early Muslim forebears (*salaf*) and Sufi masters.<sup>93</sup> No wonder that she fortifies her position by naming the sources of the maxims she quotes, and even stories from the well-established genre of *Isrāʾīliyyāt*, which in the Mamluk period came under attack.

In her book, ʿĀisha al-Bāʿūniyya says that repentance means, lexicographically, to return. There is both outward and inner repentance; the latter is the Sufi. There are many traditions about repentance. She quotes a tradition that reads: “The Messenger of Allāh said: Every human being is a wrongdoer, but the best of the wrongdoers are those who turn in repentance.” She continues and claims that the third stage in repentance is the returning (*tawba*) to Allāh.<sup>94</sup> She concludes by quoting a poet and verses from her own *dīwān*. “Sincerity is dedicating faith to God alone. Even in the Bible, one is ordered to worship Him sincerely.” Then she mentions several didactic stories about self-control and morality, as well as sayings by the Prophet Muḥammad. Her conviction is that all acts are judged on intention and dedication. God looks not at corporality (qliphoth) but rather into the heart. Based on their intention and not actions He rewards His servants. She concludes with the line: “The chosen is the people who worship in concealment.”

The third principle is remembrance. ʿĀisha al-Bāʿūniyya constructs her theory on a Quranic verse (Q 2:152) and on the theology of Sufi masters such as al-Qushayrī and al-Sulamī. Remembering God means to love Him. This ensures the peace of the heart. Following al-Sulamī she distinguishes four types of hearts: the common people’s heart, the hearts of religious scholars, the hearts of the spiritual elites and the hearts of true Unitarians (*muwaḥḥadūn*). “Know,” she states, “that innumerable prophetic traditions point to the benefits of remembrance, as well as the statements by the pious forebears among Muḥammad’s companions, their followers and the favored saints.” As in the previous chapters, she concludes this section by several verses from her *dīwān*:

92 al-Bāʿūniyya, *Kitāb al-Muntakhab* 374 (second treatise) ff. 7r–33v; this work was recently published by Homerin, who uses a manuscript that was copied in 1074/1661. See al-Bāʿūniyya, [*al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-rutab fī ʿilm al-Taṣawwuf*] *The principles of Sufism*, ed. and trans. Homerin.

93 Among them she mentions Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and Abū Naṣr al-Sarāj.

94 *Awwāb* and *maʿāb* in the *Qurʾān*.

“All of the rules of recollection, I will tell you, so listen, remember, and choose success: repentance, humility, ecstasy, friendship, and fear, truth, presence, purity, fidelity, and flowing tears.”

The fourth foundation of the Sufi path is to love God (*maḥabba*). This means total effacement of the believer until he consumes himself in God the Beloved. This totality makes the difference between the beloved (*ḥabīb*) and the dear friend. It indicates purity. One of its signs are intimacy with God and estrangement from all else. She advises her readers who are searching for mystical truth and divine knowledge to follow the instructions of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309). This section concludes with an epilogue on the love of God, which is followed by a poem that ends the book.

Women such as ‘Ā’isha al-Bā‘uniyya and the others mentioned above were agents in the diffusion of traditions and texts. They transmitted knowledge, mostly orally, to small audiences that gathered in closed spaces. It is also significant that the traditions that women teachers taught did not deal with specific issues, or with particular feminine topics, although one of them is an Islamic version of the biblical narrative of the judgment of Solomon.<sup>95</sup> In this version of the story, the two mothers were attacked by a wolf that snatched one of the babies.<sup>96</sup>

The role of Ayyubid and Mamluk women in pious charities and the construction of learning institutions has been studied by several scholars.<sup>97</sup> Their database can be complemented by a short reference to Ibn al-Mibrad.<sup>98</sup> In his booklet on immovable property he discusses the Ayyubid princess, the lady (*khātūn*) Zumurrud (green emerald), nicknamed *Sitt al-Shām* (the great-mother of Syria), who bought land. She used the profits from this transaction to construct the *al-Shāmiyya* school in Damascus (in 628/1231).<sup>99</sup> In a similar manner, although with limited resources, Rābi‘a Khātūn bint Najm al-Dīn (d. 643/1245), another sister of Saladin, built the *Sāḥiba* institution for the Hanbalites in the Ṣālihiyya suburb of Damascus.<sup>100</sup>

It should not be difficult to draw a dividing line between the two ends of the social spectrum suggested in the introduction, that of highly admired learned

95 I Kings 3:16–28.

96 al-Birzālī, *Juz’ fihī min ‘awālī al-shaykhāt al-sitt* 102–3.

97 Humphreys, *Women as patrons of religious architecture in Ayyubid Damascus* 35–54.

98 Ibn al-Mibrad, *al-Ikhtiyār fī bay‘ al-‘aqār* 18–20.

99 al-‘Almawī, *Mukhtaṣar tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris*, trans. Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” 409–10; Melčák, *Reconstruction of the lost Ayyubid waqf* 1–39.

100 Ibn al-Mibrad, *Thimār al-maqāṣid fī dhikr al-masājid* 149 (note 3); Herzfeld, *Damascus: Studies in architecture* 9–12.

women on the one hand and slave girls on the other. The concubines were slave girls that were bought to enhance the status of the patriarchal households. The women teachers were mostly daughters of learned men.<sup>101</sup> Their social background and their families improved their prospects of strengthening the image of learned Muslim women.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, by their very place in the chain of learning, these women increased the symbolic capital of their families.<sup>103</sup> The sobriquets of some of these teachers, such as *Sitt al-Wuzarā'* or *Sitt al-Fuqahā'* (The Lady of the Ministers or the Lady of the Jurists) support this claim. This was symbolic capital that could be manipulated to reinforce their status. Their families, brothers and sons benefited from their intellectual achievements. Moreover, women did not only gain prominence in the field of religious studies and welfare. 'Azīza bint al-Saḥī (d. 909/1503) was a famous performer who maintained close ties with the ruling echelons.<sup>104</sup> There are additional reports on singers, but this topic is beyond the scope of the present study.

Nevertheless this historical picture should be counterbalanced by calling attention to voices and measures against women. Efforts to subdue women to male codes of behavior are more strikingly visible in instructions aimed at restricting what seems to be subversive fashion. For example at the very early stages of the sultanate's history, Baybars issued an order that women should not cover their heads with turbans. They also should not walk the streets of Cairo dressed in men's garb. It seems that the sultan and several religious scholars interpreted this attire as a subversive mode adopted by women to challenge the hegemonic measures that men attempted to enforce.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, on occasion, those in charge of the public order tried to limit women's freedom of movement in the public space.<sup>106</sup> Using moral propaganda, the governing male elite tried, from time to time, to eradicate the streets of women.

101 Berkey, *al-Subkī and his women* 1–17.

102 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. 'Abbās, ii, 1273.

103 al-Birzālī concludes several obituaries with the statement: "I acquired an *ijāza* certificate from her." See *al-Muqtafi* i/1, 379 (no. 552; 576/1277), 406 (no. 571), 416 (598 "she wrote and read"), 435 (no. 647; 677/1278); ii/1, 52 (no. 74); ii/2, 12–13 (no. 12; 711/1311), 21–2 (no. 26), 73–4 (no. 129; 712/1312 "I read the *ḥadīth* collection of al-Darimi in Jerusalem, 'Ajlun, Hebron and near the Damiya bridge with her and traveled with her from Damascus to Jerusalem"), 132 (no. 248), 138 (no. 258), 174–5 (no. 367), 265–6 (no. 555), 289–90 (no. 598), 301–2 (no. 618 "we read with her, with her father, with her sons and with her daughter"), 399–400.

104 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, repr. edition Cairo 2008, iv, 8.

105 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk*, repr. edition Cairo 2007, i, 503; ii, 810; iv, 594, 619.

106 Ibid., iv, 614; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* xiv, 160.

## Conclusion

This study began with a condensed description of misogynic voices and concluded with several examples of women's presence in the public sphere. However, even these limited data clearly depict the complexity of Mamluk women's status in patriarchal society.<sup>107</sup> In fact, some slave girls (concubines), such as Bulbul for example, were placed in inferior social positions, as the property of an affluent patriarch for whom they bore children (*umm walad*) but even for them, knowledge (*'ilm*) was a form of social capital that enriched their household.

Although only a handful of examples of women's roles in the chains of transmission were analyzed above, I nevertheless believe that these accounts are sufficient to make the point that women teachers and transmitters were perceived by their environment as charismatic authorities who empowered the community (*baraka*),<sup>108</sup> regardless of their gender. Yet, despite being accepted as a source of blessing, women did not gain a foothold in the religious establishment. They were not appointed to official positions and were blocked from legal or teaching (i.e., paid) positions.

In the past it was quite common to read academic studies on the domestication of Muslim women and their low position in the social hierarchy of Islamic societies.<sup>109</sup> This is particularly visible in studies of legal compendia, which were dominated in the past by male scholars. Recently, with the growing number of women scholars and the shift from women's history to gender studies the pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme. For example, Abou Bakr constructs her arguments on the assumption that women played a role in the interpretation of the *Sharī'a* and particularly in the implementation of rational exegesis (*'aql*).<sup>110</sup>

107 Ibn al-Batanūnī, who was quoted above, states that he will conclude his book with stories about righteous women. See Ibn al-Batanūnī, *al-'Unwān fī l-iḥtirāz min makā'id al-niswān* 18; Marjiyya, *Shakhṣiyat al-mar'a* 213.

108 See, for comparison, the obituary of 'Ābida (the worshipper) the blind virgin who dwelled in a female lodge in Damascus. al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'āt al-zamān* ii, 239 (662), 780 (703/1303); Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta'rikh Ibn Ḥijjī* 314 (Zaynab bint 'Uthmān 800/1398), 319 (801/1398 Ṣafīyya bint 'Imād al-Dīn).

109 For an earlier consideration of the debunked myth of the passive Arab Muslim woman who is subjugated without recourse, see Marin and Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine*.

110 Abou-Bakr, Teaching the words of the Prophet 306–28, as well as her other publications.

Often modern popular Muslim feminist readings of medieval sources reflect political reactions to contemporary challenges. An integrated reading of various literary genres and material leads me to conclude that the social position and image of Mamluk women cannot be depicted in large brush strokes. Rather, and in order to achieve a more balanced perspective of past societies, the complex picture should be favored. Further careful investigation is needed before generalizing on “the status of Muslim women” or oversimplifying under a single and a-historic title of “women in Islam,” both of which positions are slowly fading away from academic texts but still are paramount in popular as well as in apologetic writings.

## On Marriage in Damascus, 1480–1500\*

*Boaz Shoshan*

### Introduction: Ibn Ṭawq's *Ta'liq*

While the basic customs associated with contracting marriage in Islamic society are well known,<sup>1</sup> marriages as practiced in pre-modern Islam are much less so. This is especially true as regards marriages among the population in general outside the social elite. One highly useful source of material that sheds some light on this largely intractable topic is Ibn Ṭawq's *Ta'liq*, a record (*yawmiyyāt*)<sup>2</sup> written in Damascus between 1480 and 1503. Out of the hundreds of notarial documents it contains, there are about 150 marriage contracts (*'aqd*), 65 of which are relatively rich in details. This is undoubtedly the best set of data on marriage one could hope to find on a pre-Ottoman Islamic society anywhere. What does it teach us?

First, and this should come as no surprise, in cases where the parties to the marriage can be identified in terms of their social status, equality can often be demonstrated. Examples abound. The prominent Shāfi'ite *Shaykh al-Islām* Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qādī 'Ajlūn married Sārah, the daughter of the *kārim* merchant Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Muzalliq.<sup>3</sup> This marriage took place when the shaykh was 62 years of age and it followed his lengthy strained relationship with his first wife, known as “the Egyptian,” over the course of which they once separated but shortly afterwards reunited.<sup>4</sup> In fact, about sixteen months after his marriage to Sārah, the marriage to the “Egyptian” was terminated once again.<sup>5</sup> As

---

\* *Author's note:* Research for this article was conducted during the author's stay as a visiting scholar at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg, Bonn University, in the spring of 2014.

1 See Heffening, 'Urs, *EI*<sup>2</sup> x, 970–9. For an analysis with specific references to the Mamluk period, see Frenkel, Mamluk 'ulamā'. For a special custom to prove the bride's virginity prior to marriage, see Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 638.

2 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq*.

3 *Ibid.*, 1586–7, 1599. For Sārah, see 1345–6. Most probably, she was a widow. For *kārim*, see Labib, *Kārimī*, *EI*<sup>2</sup> iv, 640–3.

4 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 744, 833. He spent a night with her sometime after his marriage to Sārah. See 1591.

5 *Ibid.*, 1729. For their earlier reconciliation, see 1629. For its failure, see 1631, 1636, 1655. This wife, known as Umm 'Abd al-Raḥīm, died in 905/1499. See 1762.

we shall see, this was not Taqī al-Dīn's last marriage. Another Shāfi'ite, the *qāḍī* Bahā' al-Dīn (d. 910/1504–5), of the famous Bā'ūnī family, married the daughter of *kabīr al-ḥarāfīsh*, the leader of an enigmatic social group in Damascus.<sup>6</sup> Muḥammad Rāḍī al-Dīn ibn al-Ghazzī (d. 935/1528–9), the son of *shaykh al-Islām* and himself a prolific Shāfi'ite scholar and a deputy *qāḍī*, married the daughter of another *shaykh al-Islām*, Zayn al-Dīn Khaṭṭāb (ibn 'Umar ibn Mihnā al-Ghazzāwī), who had served as his guardian after his father's death when he was barely two years old.<sup>7</sup> Ḥasan ibn al-Naḥḥās, apparently a wealthy man, married the granddaughter of the *qāḍī* of Adhrū'āt.<sup>8</sup>

Of the 150 marriage contracts that Ibn Ṭawq recorded, about a dozen were to widows.<sup>9</sup> The status of the widow, whether she had been married to a *qāḍī*, for example, or herself descended from a family of *qāḍīs*, could have improved her chances for a second marriage. About two dozen cases are listed as marriages between first degree cousins or more distant relatives.<sup>10</sup> In about a dozen marriages the bride was a divorcee.<sup>11</sup> Here, as required by law, three menstrual cycles needed to have elapsed to ascertain that no pregnancy was involved in the dissolved marriage.<sup>12</sup> On occasion, the newly-wed who had been a divorcee was allowed to reside in her home. If she had young children from her previous marriage, maintenance money (*nafaqa*) could be demanded from the new husband.<sup>13</sup>

6 Ibid., 1197. For *ḥarāfīsh*, see Brinner, Ḥarfūsh, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iii, 206.

7 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 27; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufaḥkahāt al-khillān* i, 21. For Raḍī al-Dīn, see *ibid.*, i, 116–7. He has a biography in al-Ḥaṣḥāfi, *Mut'at al-adhhān* ii, 771–2.

8 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ṭa'liq* 154. For Ḥasan, see Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufaḥkahāt al-khillān* i, 169. For Badr al-Dīn, *ibid.*, 21; Ḥaṣḥāfi, *Mut'at al-adhhān* ii, 748, note. There are further examples in Ibn Ṭawq of equality between the parties. For example, the son of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Buṣrawī, the Shāfi'ite deputy *qāḍī*, and a sister of the merchant Ibn al-Ma'ārikī (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 109–10; for al-Buṣrawī, see *ibid.*, 53, 72); the scholar Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Yāsūfi and the divorcee of the merchant Ibn Takritī (*ibid.*, 114; for al-Yāsūfi, see al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rikh al-Buṣrawī* 237); the son of Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad, probably the *kātib al-sirr*, and Aṣil, the granddaughter of the Adhrū'āt *qāḍī* (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 287, 446; for Muḥibb al-Dīn, see al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rikh al-Buṣrawī* 173). The marriage contracts and the related social status could be laboriously mapped based on the details in Ibn Ṭawq.

9 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 186, 503, 767, 1230, 1273, 1301, 1350, 1361 (or divorcee), 1545, 1591, 1678 (or divorcee), 1842. See also Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufaḥkahāt al-khillān* i, 3, 12, 16, 21, 25, 29.

10 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 430, 536, 545, 612 (two cases), 666, 704, 730, 734, 851, 925, 929, 1057, 1376, 1436–7, 1488, 1511, 1532, 1580, 1605, 1713, 1793 (two cases), 1812, 1858, 1864, 1883.

11 *Ibid.*, 114, 626, 1114, 1192, 1436, 1452, 1653, 1662, 1672, 1678 (or widow), 1728.

12 *Ibid.*, 1452.

13 See, for example, *ibid.*, 1267, 1281, and further below.

Some men married manumitted female slaves. For instance, less than one year after marrying his second wife, the aforementioned Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn married Zahrā’, an Ethiopian slave whom he met in Beirut.<sup>14</sup> Yūsuf ibn al-Khālid (unidentified) married an-ex slave of one Ummat Sulṭān.<sup>15</sup> The son of ‘Īsā al-Qārī, a leading merchant, married a black slave in addition to his wife.<sup>16</sup> Sa‘īd, the *ḥājī*, married a manumitted slave; his marriage gift was the nice sum of 12 (*dinār*) *ashrafi*, half of which he paid at the time of the marriage.<sup>17</sup> A manumitted concubine, especially one who had served in the household of a prominent man, could attract a good match. Thus, Mubāraka, who was of Christian origin or, alternatively, an Anatolian (*rūmiyya*), and served in the house of Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn, married Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Fāmī, the *mu’adhdhin*, and authorized the Shāfi‘ite deputy *qāḍī* Muḥyyi al-Dīn al-Ikhnā‘ī to represent her. The marriage gift she received was 300 *dirhams*, 100 of which was paid upon marriage, a sum that equaled about 6 *ashrafi* and thus was significantly lower than the *ṣadāq* paid by middle-class men to free-born women (see below). She bore al-Fāmī a son, but, about two years later, appears to have been married to one Abū Daqn.<sup>18</sup>

### Polygamy

Most marital relations recorded by Ibn Ṭawq were monogamous. This finding tallies with Yossef Rapoport’s conclusions based on a smaller dataset.<sup>19</sup> It also conforms to the situation in Ottoman Damascus around 1700, where about 90 per cent of the recorded households were monogamous.<sup>20</sup> Still, despite its marginality, polygamy is an intriguing topic and a few cases can be noted.

14 Ibid., 1272.

15 Ibid., 449.

16 Ibid., 922. ‘Īsā (d. 895/1490), appears to have been a major entrepreneur (see *ibid.*, 957), and referred to as *khawājā* (*ibid.*, 937). He also enjoyed good relations with the scholarly elite (*ibid.*, 851). For more on this figure, see, for example, Ḥaṣkafī, *Mut’at al-adhhān* i, 567–8; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Muḥākahāt al-khillān*, s.v. ‘Īsā al-Qārī in the index. For his death under the dubious circumstances of a financial scandal, see Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’līq* 969–70.

17 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’līq* 943.

18 Ibid., 192, 417. I discuss this in a book currently in preparation. For another case, see 1683.

19 For his somewhat impressionistic view, see Rapoport, *Women and gender* 30–1.

20 Establet and Pascuel, *Familles et fortunes à Damas* 55–7.

One Ibn al-Banyāsī, who was married to the sister of the *qāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Mu'tamid, took as a second wife Burhān al-Dīn's widow.<sup>21</sup> The prominent Shāfi'ite Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ḥamza (*sīdī al-sayyid*, as Ibn Ṭawq refers to him throughout) had two wives who, curiously, gave birth on the same day.<sup>22</sup> One 'Abd al-Qādir, who at some point occupied the post of *shaykh al-sāgha* (head of the goldsmiths), married Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who was allowed to reside in her home.<sup>23</sup> This provision and a reference to her mature son indicate that this was not her first marriage. Three years later, 'Abd al-Qādir divorced (*talāq*).<sup>24</sup> However, his wife complained to the Māliki *qāḍī* and demanded remarriage. The *qāḍī* put pressure on 'Abd al-Qādir, which proved effective. The source does not relate the details in this case but, obviously, as a divorcee, Zayn al-'Ābidīn had to be married to someone else before her remarriage. Be that as it may, she now literally paid a price for her reunion with her former husband, as the financial terms were now clearly to her disadvantage: she was promised only 1 *ashrafi*, compared to 19 plus an annual *kiswa* of 300 *dirhams* in her first marriage, and she forfeited another 500 *dirhams*.<sup>25</sup> Then, once again, the couple divorced and remarried for a third time,<sup>26</sup> with the marital scene changing substantially once again: 'Abd al-Qādir had by then taken a second wife, granddaughter of the *qāḍī* Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (see above), although at some point at a court hearing there was some uncertainty about the legitimacy of their marriage.<sup>27</sup> In any case, we further learn that 'Abd al-Qādir had yet another wife named Bnt. Karūrū (?) whom he married either as a third wife or following one of his acts of divorce from Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Later he also divorced Bnt. Karūrū when she was pregnant.<sup>28</sup>

The marital history of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, better known as Abū al-Yumn, the son of Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī 'Ajlūn, the nephew of *shaykh al-Islām* Taqī al-Dīn and a scholar in his own right, receives a great deal of attention from Ibn Ṭawq.<sup>29</sup> His first wife was Suryāy, his uncle's (that is, Taqī al-Dīn's) manumitted white slave and the mother of his daughter. The nice sum of 25 *ashrafi* she received as a marriage gift from Abū al-Yumn can be considered

21 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 1546.

22 Ibid., 423.

23 Ibid., 1156.

24 Ibid., 1403.

25 Ibid., 1504.

26 Ibid., 1725.

27 Ibid., 1317.

28 Ibid., 1673.

29 He died in 935/1528–9. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira* ii, 8; his age at death given there is obviously erroneous.

somewhat unusual for a woman of her status. Less than two years later, we learn of the death of Umm Sitiyatiya (?), Abū al-Yumn's other wife.<sup>30</sup> The widower did not wait very long, however, and two months later married Khadija, also known as Sitt al-'Ulamā', the daughter of the wealthy Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Lu'lu'ī.<sup>31</sup> She also died less than three years after their marriage, following birth complications that resulted in the death of their prematurely born son as well.<sup>32</sup> Ten days later, the property of the deceased woman was sold at their home in the presence of Abū al-Yumn himself, her mother and most of the merchants of the Barrānī and Juwwānī (?) markets.<sup>33</sup> Another three years went by and Abū al-Yumn married a woman from the prestigious al-Ikhnā'ī family and a granddaughter of the former *nā'ib al-qal'a*.<sup>34</sup> She also died, a victim of the severe plague of 897/1492, leaving two daughters behind.<sup>35</sup> Not even four months had elapsed before our protagonist married Sārah, the daughter of Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shaybānī (unidentified).<sup>36</sup> After five more years Abū al-Yumn contracted one more marriage, this time to his cousin Āmina, also known (like the aforementioned Khadija) as Sitt al-'Ulamā', the daughter of his distinguished uncle Taqī al-Dīn the 'Ajlunīd. It appears that a year earlier she had been the wife of another of her cousins.<sup>37</sup> In any case, her marriage to Abū al-Yumn did not last more than a couple of years, but produced a son.<sup>38</sup> It appears that tension within the extended family was the reason for the divorce and the insults exchanged thereafter. Possibly due to these circumstances, Abū al-Yumn did not pay any compensation to her (*ṭalāqan majānan bi-ghayr 'iwad*).<sup>39</sup> All in all, he appears to have been extremely active in marital affairs: he had at least six wives and part of the time he was polygamous.

One of Abū al-Yumn's marriage contracts as cited by Ibn Ṭawq is the most detailed of its kind and is worth being quoted in full:

30 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 638.

31 Ibid., 659. He died in 891/1486 and bore the title of *shaykh sūq al-kutub* (head of the book market). See Ḥaṣkafī, *Mut'at al-adhhān* i, 463–4.

32 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 816.

33 Ibid., 819–20. I am unable to identify these markets; possibly the terms refer to the "inner" and "outer" markets respectively. However, for a possible identification of the latter with the Bimāristān (hospital) Market, see al-Buṣrawī, *Ta'rikh al-Buṣrawī* 90.

34 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 821, 831, and see further below.

35 Ibid., 1122.

36 Ibid., 1142–3.

37 Ibid., 1436.

38 Ibid., 1757.

39 Ibid., 1532, 1909.

On the blessed Saturday, [which occurred on] the 14 Şafar 894 [18 January 1489] a marriage contract (*ʿaqd*) was signed between Abū al-Yumn and a virgin of sexual puberty, who had not been engaged before, who is free of any legal constraints (*khāliya ʿan al-mawānī al-sharʿiyya*), and who has no family relative to represent her (*khāliya ʿan walī wa-ʿaṣāba*), the daughter of Fāṭima, [herself] daughter of [the deceased] Bardabek al-Şayfī Sūdūn al-Muḥammadī, the *nāʾib al-qaʿa*. Witnesses for the bride are Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Khayyāṭa and her great uncle Badr al-Dīn [ibn al-Khayyāṭa] and his son. Witnesses for the groom are Shihāb al-Dīn the Shāfiʿite ...[other names are effaced]. The agreement takes place in the presence of the bride's mother at her residence at the "little market" (*suwayqa*) Sārūja, near the place known as al-Sharaf al-Aʿlāʾ al-Shāmī. The representative (*mutawallī*) for the bride is the chief Shāfiʿite *qāḍī* Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Ikhnāʿī. The groom is represented (*tawkil*) by his uncle Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn. The marriage gift (*ṣadāq*) is 60 *ashrafī*, paid upon request (*al-ḥāll*), of which 40 are paid in advance (*muqaddam*). Badr al-Dīn, the witness for the bride, and the bride herself, as well as the groom's mother, all testify that the bride received that sum from Badr al-Dīn. In addition, the annual 500 *dirhams* of Damascus currency are vouched for the bride's various expenses (*kiswa*), to which the bride is entitled by law. She agrees to that.<sup>40</sup>

### Rights of Women

As hinted at in the case of Abū al-Yumn's history of polygamy, general observations based on Damascene marriage contracts suggest that anxiety about the possibility of a husband taking other wives or concubines would occasionally surface when concluding the marriage or at some other point. In some cases, the husband had to promise not to remarry his divorcee,<sup>41</sup> not allow a concubine to reside in the bride's neighborhood,<sup>42</sup> or not leave his newly-wed wife for more than a year without a legally acceptable reason.<sup>43</sup> Failure to adhere to such stipulations could provide sufficient grounds for divorce.<sup>44</sup> A good example is that of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Raqāwī, at one point a *waqf* supervisor (*mutakallim*).<sup>45</sup> After quarreling (*waqaʿat baḍʿ* [sic! spelling error apparently on

40 Ibid., 821.

41 Ibid., 121, 1051, 1187–8, 1276–7, 1281, 1488, 1539.

42 Ibid., 121.

43 Ibid., 1653.

44 For an interesting case, see Powers, Four cases.

45 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufaḥkahāt al-khillān* i, 8.

Ibn Ṭawq's part] *umūr*) with his wife, who had left their home for two nights, he vowed (*ḥalaḥa bi-l-ṭalāq*) in the presence of Ibn Ṭawq that he had not taken a concubine (*yatasarrā 'alayhā bi-jāriya*), "neither white nor black," during his recent journey to Cairo, and furthermore, that he had never taken such a concubine in the past, nor had he had sexual relations with any concubine except for the one residing in his household. Only then did his wife return home.<sup>46</sup> About two years later, Ibn Ṭawq, in his professional capacity, was called upon to certify that Shihāb al-Dīn owed his wife the sum of 130 *ashrafi* as a deferred *ṣadāq*. The man vowed that any wife he took in addition would be a cause for *ṭalāq* and that his wife could free herself of the marriage after only one pronouncement (*ṭalqa*) instead of three, forfeiting as little as 1 *ashrafi*.<sup>47</sup>

Occasionally, other rights of women were insisted upon. Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Darāminī (unidentified) announced that his wife, a manumitted concubine of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mustawfī (unidentified), was entitled to his share in a house that originally belonged to her former husband, which he had received through her daughter's intermediacy. At the same time, however, he made sure that both the wife and the daughter had no claims against him.<sup>48</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (unidentified), who remarried Sityata (?) (not to be confused with Abū al-Yumn's aforementioned wife), agreed that in case he beat her, or forced her to move out of Eastern 'Anāba,<sup>49</sup> she would be entitled, upon forfeiting her deferred *ṣadāq*, to walk out of the marriage after only one pronouncement of divorce (*ṭalqa*).<sup>50</sup>

### Marriage Gifts Promised by Grooms

As regards marriage gifts promised by grooms, Ibn Ṭawq provides about fifty different quotations, ranging from 12 to 300 *ashrafi*, although the majority were less than 100. Obviously, the lowest sums were quoted for marriages to manumitted concubines or widows. In two cases, the quotations are not

46 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 198. Rapoport, *Women and gender* 31, n. 148, erroneously cites this example in the context of polygamy.

47 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 402.

48 *Ibid.*, 1023.

49 Possibly situated below the Samaritans' Quarter? See Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahāt al-khillān* ii, 122.

50 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'liq* 911–12. For a single pronouncement of *ṭalāq*, see also 1726.

even in terms of gold, but in silver.<sup>51</sup> As could be expected, the highest sums were vouched for by grooms from families of merchants or *qāḍīs*. Part of the *ṣadāq*, varying from case to case, was designated as a due debt, “payable upon demand.”<sup>52</sup> For instance, for his marriage to Sārah, the daughter of Ibn Muzalliq, the wealthy merchant (see above), Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn promised a marriage gift of 200 *ashrafi*, 150 of which he paid at the time of signing the contract.<sup>53</sup> Ibn Ṭawq’s own son vouched for 69 gold coins, of which he paid 50 immediately. It so happened that his wife ‘Ā’isha died two years later, falling victim to the plague, and the young man then married again. This time he promised 60 *ashrafi*, “paid upon demand,” of which he paid 40 at the time of concluding the contract.<sup>54</sup>

Ibn Ṭawq’s figures are generally in line with Rapoport’s conclusion, based on a much smaller data base, that top government officials and other members of the elite promised *ṣadāqs* that rarely exceeded several hundred *dinārs*,<sup>55</sup> and that middle-class grooms paid less.<sup>56</sup> More specifically, however, the Damascus data differ from the average sums of marriage gifts that are quoted in the Jerusalem so-called Ḥaram documents. There, the sums only range from 5 to 20 *ashrafi*.<sup>57</sup> This difference, if not accidental, could indicate a better economic situation in late fifteenth-century Damascus than in fourteenth-century Jerusalem.

Ibn Ṭawq also tells us that the implementation of the financial terms specified in marriage contracts could on occasion be subject to dispute. For example, Ḥalīma bnt. al-Turkumānī had financial claims against her husband referred to as al-Bustānī. Another woman, a widow residing in al-Mizza, claimed that her second husband failed to pay the sums due her orphaned son.<sup>58</sup> Muḥyyi al-Dīn Yaḥyā, the son of Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Inbarī, who was the educator of the

51 Ibid., 192, 1452. For a hypothesis that generally speaking, *sadāqs*, even when designated in *dinārs*, in practice were paid in silver, see Rapoport, *Marriage*, 54–5.

52 See also Rapoport, *Marriage*, 53 and his reference to legal manuals; 56 and footnote 33. For Tarsūsī’s discussion in the first half of the fourteenth century, see *ibid.*, 57.

53 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’liq* 1589. His bride was entitled to count the coins!

54 *Ibid.*, 1415, 1604, 1736, 1855, 1856, 1858.

55 Rapoport, *Marriage* 14, and eight cases for the latter in footnote 15.

56 In a Genizah marriage contract dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century, the groom’s marriage gift is 50 *dinārs*, and in a contract dated 1301 it is 30. See *ibid.*, 17. For Rapoport’s argument about the tendency to inflate sums for the sake of enhancing social prestige, see *ibid.*, 54 and footnotes 14–15.

57 *Ibid.*, 20.

58 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’liq* 531, 1272–3. For Sitt Sa’adāt, see *ibid.*, 801–2.

sons of *shaykh al-Islām* Taqī al-Dīn, and his wife, the daughter of the deputy Shāfi‘ite *qāḍī* Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥimṣī, disputed the groom’s payment of the annual *kiswa* for their first year of marriage.<sup>59</sup> In such cases, a representative (*sā’ī*) would speak for the wife and an agreement between the couple would result in disavowal (*barā’a shar‘iyya*).<sup>60</sup> One exceptionally detailed case involved ‘Imād al-Dīn, the *khaṭīb* of the Saqīfa Mosque, and ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Bazrāwī as representatives for the two parties. As a result of negotiation and a compromise (*muṣālaḥa*), ‘Imād al-Dīn agreed to pay to his daughter-in law (she was ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ’s sister) a sum of 800 [*dirhams*] as *ṣadāq*. According to the agreement, she was expected to receive 600 immediately, and the rest was deferred to four months later, at interim monthly payments of 30 each (which would practically mean a deferment for seven months!) plus paying a *kiswa*. However, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ objected and demanded 45 per month while forfeiting the *kiswa* in return, which would fall on the wife’s family.<sup>61</sup>

### “Payable upon Demand”

Finally, a comment is in order as regards the “payable upon demand” clause, which appears in virtually all contracts with reference to the *ṣadāq*. The formula is open to more than one interpretation concerning its practical significance. On the one hand, it should come as no surprise that it was to the dissatisfaction of someone like Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, the leading Ḥanbalite scholar in Damascus during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Clearly, he had an interest in preserving the ideal of a harmonious marital regime at all costs, especially when such costs fell on women’s shoulders. His solution was to claim that the clause was not normally put into practice, except when there was discord.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps to Ibn Qayyim’s chagrin, however, some wives did not fit his rosy picture and forced their husbands to appear in court, which at times led to their imprisonment.<sup>63</sup>

59 Ibid., 213, 338. For al-‘Inbarī, see *ibid.*, 25. For al-Ḥimṣī, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahāt al-khillān* i, 49.

60 Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’līq* 801–2.

61 *Ibid.*, 1239.

62 Rapoport, *Marriage* 57.

63 *Ibid.*, 57–8.

On the other hand and at the other extreme, Rapoport, in tandem with his thesis about the weakening patriarchal regime in the Mamluk period, argues that the clause in question undermined the traditional assumption about marriage as a harmonious and non-monetized relationship. This interpretation seems to me to go much further than the material allows. One need not consider the clause of “payable upon demand” as a symbol of harmony or the lack thereof, but as an indication of some improvement in women’s initial status when entering marriage. The formula enabled the bride and her family to be on improved financial terms or, alternatively, to back down on the marriage contract in cases of financial disagreement or when disputes on the deferred *ṣadāq* were not resolved.<sup>64</sup>

---

64 For examples, see Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta’līq* 1303; Rapoport, *Marriage* 58.

**PART 3**

*Literary and Poetic Genres*





## Songs, Poetry, and Storytelling

### *Ibn Taghrī Birdī on the Yalbughā Affair*

*Li Guo*

Distrust is a matter of mind, not fact.

MICHAEL DOBBS, *House of Cards* (177)



When describing the spectacular fallout between the Qalāwūnid scion, Sultan Ḥasan (r. 1347–51, 1354–61), and his kingmaker, Amīr Yalbughā al-‘Umarī al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366), the historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī cites an anecdotal account of a debacle when the malicious performance of a satirical ballad in the vernacular form of *ballīq* was rumored to have kicked off a firestorm. While the historian seems coy about this kind of spin on the cause of the ensuing bloody rebellion, he includes it in his grand narrative anyway.<sup>1</sup> Gossip and conspiracy theory, after all, make good stories, and they abound in Mamluk chronicles. What interests me here is the supposition that a poem, a vernacular song at that, could have been construed within the frame of a narrative as a catalyst of a major political crisis. What is so special about this ballad? What made it offensive to some while entertaining to others? What role, if any, does poetry play in Mamluk historians’ efforts to construct a narrative? In this essay, I engage in a literary analysis of Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s Yalbughā narrative in an attempt to answer these questions.

---

1 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 317–8. For an analysis of the political factors and personality clashes surrounding the lead-ups to the revolt, see Van Steenberghe, *The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī*.

## The Show That Went Wrong

This is how Ibn Taghrī Birdī describes the scene:

It was rumored (*qīla*) that the reason for Yalbughā's change of heart (*taghyīr khātīr*) towards his master (*ustādh*) al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan—it was so reported (*'alā mā qīla*)—stems from a ballad (*ballīqa*) composed by 'Umar Ibn Mawlāhum.<sup>2</sup> Here are the opening lines.... Dancing to its tune (*raqaṣū bi-hā*) in front of Sultan Ḥasan, on cue of the lyric, 'I'm a soldier, wrapped in a piece of junk,' they (the performers) pointed at Yalbughā, who was standing by the sultan. Bursting into laughter, the sultan asked them to repeat the lines (*yasta'īdu-hā*). Yalbughā became very upset and started to resent his master, the sultan. This claim is of course far-fetched; but it is what has been said (*qad qīla*).... Only God knows!

Ibn Taghrī Birdī is cautious about the validity of his tale, in that the word *qīla* is repeated three times; yet there is no denial that the presumed insult, whether malicious or prankish, had been so widely circulated that Ibn Taghrī Birdī considered it to be worth mentioning.<sup>3</sup>

A quick reading of the ballad reveals a straightforward theme-and-variations presentation of the trope of *al-shakwā*, or “complaint of one’s hardship,” on behalf of an ill-equipped and mistreated Mamluk soldier. The opening verse (*maṭla'*) headlines the topic; namely, the “junk (*khalaq*)” that the soldier was forced to endure. It runs through twenty-four stanzas, ranting about everything: his uniform (stanzas 1–10), weaponry (stanzas 11–17), and mounts (stanzas 18–24) (For a full translation, see Appendix).

Linguistically, the ballad features a jumble of everyday expressions and colloquial elements, peppered with Persian and Turkish words. There is little verbal fanfare either, such as the *badī'*-rhetoric embellishments, a hallmark of Mamluk poetry. The “poor me” theme is largely amplified by grotesque exaggerations through the excessive use of easy-to-understand simile, or analogy,

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3</sup> The chronicle only cites the opening line and first stanza. The full text can be found in Ibn Taghrī Birdī's biographical dictionary, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, in the entry for Ibn al-Kharrāṭ (d. 1436), a poet-cum-scholar, who wrote a rebuttal in response to Ibn Mawlāhum. True to the form of the *mu'āraḍa*, or poetic duel, his was a thirty-four stanza satire aimed at *faqīh*, or schoolteacher; *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 213–22.

in nearly every line, along with the occasional use of irony, such as in the poignant “binging on hunger” (*shab‘ān ... jū’*) imagery at the end.

As satire, the ballad touches on a sore spot in the Mamluk psyche; namely, the welfare of soldiers. Its theme runs head-on against the state propaganda machine (chronicles, court panegyrics) that spared no ink describing, in minute details, the Mamluk warriors’ colorful attires, shining swords and armors, and pure-bred horses. One can imagine that when Sultan Ḥasan’s performers put on the show, the “crap” and “junk”—shabby clothing, ridiculous weaponry, horrible horses and mules (in some acts of mimicking, or puppetry?)—were to be envisioned as costumes and props. And they literally pointed fingers at the *amīr*, poking the beast. Shortly afterward, he killed the sultan during a hunting trip, by his own hands.

Throughout Yalbughā’s career, one of the major grievances against him was his cruel mistreatment of his soldiers and fellow *amīrs*, a recurrent theme that came back to haunt him later during the violent mutiny by his own subordinates. There is so much for historians to ponder as regards the cause and effect of this vicious circle of violence. For now, let me focus on the show that went wrong.

One would have thought that in a typical scenario, the blame for mistreating troops should be directed at the sultan, who was ultimately responsible for feeding, clothing, and arming them. But the twist in this version of storytelling is that the sultan somehow turned the table on his opponent by his clever maneuver that transformed a generic banal poem of self-deprecating humor into a provocative insult. Keep in mind that the original poem was a generic lampoon with *no* specific target at all. It was in the impromptu performance that words did things.

And Ibn Taghri Birdī took notice.

### The Making of a Narrative

It would be naive to hang the entire saga, known in Mamluk historiography as “the Yalbughā affair,” on the tune of a song. The political roots that lay behind the crises between the sultan and his “over-favored” *amīr*, in Robert Irwin’s words, ran deep.<sup>4</sup> The commonly accepted king-maker-turned-usurper narrative highlights the revolving-door pattern in Mamluk successions. In this case, the kingmaker was a king *de facto* for eight years during a particularly chaotic

4 Irwin, *The Middle East* 143–9.

period after the death of the Qalāwūnid scion al-Malik al-Nāṣir. Changes of hearts and minds, by all indication, took place on both sides.<sup>5</sup>

There is certainly more to the standard story line than Ibn Taghrī Birdī lets on. A literary analysis of compositional structure, tropes, images and metaphors of his account of the Yalbughā affair reveals a narratological paradigm by which the Mamluk historian arranged his themed presentation of “facts,” trends, and patterns with his own spins. In this enterprise, two features are noteworthy. The first is the overall *fragmentary narrative structure*. The *amūr*, a villain, did not deserve a formal *tarjama*-biography in Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s chronicle. So his story, a fascinating one nevertheless, was divided into two phases: his feud with Sultan Ḥasan, and his downfall during Sultan Sha‘bān’s reign spread over four chapters in the annuals from the years 755/1354–5, 762/1360–1, 764/1362–3, and 768/1366–7. This is because in the chronicle a sultan’s biography starts the year of his inauguration rather than the date of his death. As a result, the “show incident,” which took place in the year 762/1360–1, was narrated in the chapter on the year 755/1354–5, the beginning of Ḥasan’s second reign,<sup>6</sup> whereas the gory killing of Yalbughā at the hands of his own soldiers in 768/1366–7 forms the core of another *tarjama*-narrative about al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha‘bān in the chapter on the year 764/1362–3.<sup>7</sup> Cross-reference notes tie all the loose ends together.<sup>8</sup>

This fragmentary narrative is further interrupted by an internal *backward progression*. Instead of a linear narrative line, it follows a thematic compositional plan. The story begins with the end; when the *amūr*’s name first emerges, he is introduced as a regicide, “he, who killed the sultan.”<sup>9</sup> The narrative then proceeds in loose chronological order with topic rubrics. The first is the *amūr*’s role in “laying the cornerstones for” the sultan’s restoration;<sup>10</sup> the next is his rise at the court as the “go-to person (*al-mushār ilayhi*)”<sup>11</sup> and then the fallout; i.e., the events that led to the showdown between the two. A lengthy reflection

5 Ibid.; Levanoni, Rank-and-file Mamluks 17–31, especially 25–6.

6 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 302–18 (year 755/1354–5).

7 Ibid., xi, 30–41 (year 764/1362–3). For a reexamination of the 1366 mutiny, see Van Steenberghe, On the brink of a new era? 117–52.

8 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xi, 8 (year 762/1360–1); xi, 92 (year 768/1366–7).

9 Ibid., x, 307.

10 Ibid., 308.

11 Ibid., 311.

on the sultan's legacy centered around the Yalbughā controversy rounds up the sultan's biography.<sup>12</sup>

This topical presentation is greatly assisted by Ibn Taghrī Birdī's technique of inserting "hearsay" (*wa-qīla*) and his own comments (*qultu*) into the main story line. One "hearsay" account, for example, deals with the reason for the quick collapse of the sultan's defense,<sup>13</sup> and another with the cause of the feud between the two, namely the "show incident." With Ibn Taghrī Birdī, this conventional source-verification device also allows him to volunteer his judgment and manipulate his massive data, including non-historical material such as poetry, songs, and wise sayings in his attempt at crafting enticing stories.

Concluding the account of the sultan's murder, the narrator ("I," namely Ibn Taghrī Birdī) quotes a saying, "Rather fighting the smart than appeasing the stupid" (*mu'ādāt al-āqil wa-lā muṣāḥabat al-jāhil*). Who represents the smart and who the stupid, he leaves to the reader to figure out. The proclamation that "God will treat the *amīr* in the manner by which he did to his master,"<sup>14</sup> only highlights the obvious pattern; but the meaning of the saying runs much deeper (he repeats a similar one later, in the closing of the account on the *amīr*'s own death).<sup>15</sup> The sayings, often rhymed regarding lessons one can learn from history, underscore the function of verses and rhymed utterances cited there, which I deal with now.

### Verse as a Narratological Device

It is in the flashbacks-and-comments segment of the Yalbughā narrative that verses are presented: three poems to be precise. They not only form an integral part of the narrative, but also serve as an effective narratological device to streamline the piecemeal and sometimes confusing story.

In the concluding summation of the sultan's legacy, the reader is faced with a potpourri of staple royal trivial tidbits, devoid of empty adjectives and superlatives, with loose ends. On closer examination, however, three discernable themes hold the whole narrative together: his extravagant tastes for fine things (and lavish patronage of art and architecture), his weakness for women

12 Ibid., 311–8.

13 Ibid., 313.

14 Ibid., 314.

15 Ibid., xi, 40.

and peculiar fondness for eunuchs, and his questionable fiscal and personnel policies. Not surprisingly, the ghost of the regicide, Yalbughā, hovers over throughout.

Each theme (sub-plot) concludes with a poem. Each performs a different task. Commenting on the first theme, the sultan's achievements in building projects (after all, he is the namesake of the magnificent mosque in Cairo) and indulgence in luxury, is a panegyric praising the excessively expensive royal tent, of which the poet, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maghribī, readily admits: "As if my tongue were tied (*al-taqṣīr*), or cut short (*muqaṣṣīr*), bragging ceaselessly about its largess" (*fī aṭnābi-hā bāta yuṭnib*).<sup>16</sup>

It is curious that the panegyric appears somehow compromised by a thinly veiled wink. "Speechless, tongue tied" could mean different things: shock and awe, or disgust and dismay. The root meaning of the key verb in the second hemistich, *ṭ-n-b*, "to brag," "to exaggerate," in a *jinās*-paronomasia, does not exactly convey enthusiasm. This root also forms a contrast opposing the root *q-ṣ-r*, "cut short," "fall short of," itself a *jinās* in the first hemistich of "long" and "short," namely the long, expensive luxuries and the praises in short supply. Commenting later on the extensive wealth the sultan had accumulated, the historian pointedly remarks, "it was now controlled by Yalbughā, who squandered it as he wished."<sup>17</sup>

Although a trace of cynicism can be detected in the panegyric, the next poem that highlights the second theme of the sultan's "women" is an outright lampoon. Composed according to Ibn Taghrī Birdī by "Yalbughā's supporters (*aṣḥāb*),"<sup>18</sup> the poem makes fascinating reading (meter: *kāmīl*):<sup>19</sup>

16 Ibid., x, 315.

17 Ibid., x, 316.

18 Ibid., 315; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, ed. Amīn, ii, 36 ("by some literati").

19 Idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 315–6.

When he ran into trouble (*al-ʿādiyāt*),<sup>20</sup> and things fell apart (*zulzila*),<sup>21</sup>  
 he stuck with the women (*al-nisāʾ*),<sup>22</sup> unprepared for combat  
 (*al-wāqīʿa*).<sup>23</sup>

For that, gone was the kingdom (*al-mulk*).<sup>24</sup>  
 The killing struck;<sup>25</sup> catastrophe (*al-qārīʿa*)<sup>26</sup> fragmented the realm  
 (*fuṣṣilat*).<sup>27</sup>

Had he negotiated with the Merciful (*al-raḥmān*),<sup>28</sup> His cave (*kaḥf*)<sup>29</sup>  
 he won;  
 till the victory (*naṣr*),<sup>30</sup> of his time (*ʿaṣr*),<sup>31</sup> in the seventh [heaven?].<sup>32</sup>

Amidst the singing girls in his bands (*aḥzāb*),<sup>33</sup>  
 were Noisy,<sup>34</sup> alongside Smokey (*al-dukhān*);<sup>35</sup> all blazing fires!

They burned the hand of the guy careless with divine invocations.  
 Stumbling in the night (*al-layl*),<sup>36</sup> he fell into carnal inclinations  
 (*al-nāziʿa*).<sup>37</sup>

20 Quran 100 (*al-ʿĀdiyāt*).

21 Ibid., 99 (*al-Zalzala*).

22 Ibid., 4 (*al-Nisāʾ*).

23 Ibid., 56 (*al-Wāqīʿa*).

24 Ibid., 67 (*al-Mulk*).

25 That is, the murder of the sultan.

26 Quran 101 (*al-Qārīʿa*).

27 Ibid., 41 (*Fuṣṣilat*).

28 Ibid., 55 (*al-Raḥmān*).

29 Ibid., 18 (*al-Kaḥf*).

30 Ibid., 110 (*al-Naṣr*).

31 Ibid., 103 (*al-ʿAṣr*).

32 The text has *al-sābiʿa*, the “seventh” (feminine), ruling out the possibilities of “day” or “sleeper” (masculine).

33 Quran 33 (*al-Aḥzāb*).

34 *ʾAṭʾaṭ*, “to shout, to yell,” is also the name of a singer.

35 Quran 44 (*al-Dukhān*); the word alludes to a male singer named Mushabbib, “sizzling”; both were male singers famous in Egypt and Syria; Ibn Taghri Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 316 (note 1).

36 Quran 92 (*al-Layl*).

37 Ibid., 79 (*al-Nāziʿāt*).

The poem is a brilliant intertextual exercise of wordplay: words that appear as chapter titles of the Quran are now used to form a new syntax and a new narrative. This is just another example of the excessive use, for better or worse, of the *tawriya*-double-entendre in poetic production. This is deconstruction at work, Mamluk style.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī explains that the sultan's habit of taking "women" on excursions was his answer to a well-known practice many of his predecessors were fond of; namely, the company of pretty boys on the road. "He (Ḥasan) was not into that at all," Ibn Taghrī Birdī notes matter-of-factly, "so he took women with him whenever he traveled."<sup>38</sup> Blaming women for men's fall is a universal trope. Here the anonymous poet makes it clear that the sultan's fiasco in the *wāqi'a*, "The Feud," the same term used in Mamluk sources to refer to the Yalbughā affair, was a sign of divine intervention where the rebel, the *amīr*, was somehow doing God's work. This turning-the-regicide-to-dynasty-savoir scheme certainly stems from certain quarters in town. Ibn Taghrī Birdī duly adds this "revisionist" version alongside the official story line.

For the present interests, this poem also sheds light on other things. It turns out that the "women" in question were musicians (at least part-time?), and that prominent male singers were performing in the royal "bands" (*aḥzāb*, "parties") as well. In all likelihood, they could be the same performers of the *ballīq*-ballad in question.

This lampoon was evidently composed after the sultan's death, marking the finale of the first phase of the Yalbughā affair. However, to close his biography of Sultan Ḥasan, Ibn Taghrī Birdī next throws in the melodramatic "show incident," about a *ballīq*-ballad that was supposed to have triggered the whole thing in the first place. The story of "in the beginning" now closes a narrative that begins from the end. Ibn Taghrī Birdī's narrative of conspiracy, mutual distrust, and conflict of interests between the young sultan and his overly powerful mentor is complete. In this storytelling, Yalbughā's anger, fueled by paranoia, reaches a boiling point through the mockery instigated by the sultan and carried out by his raucous performers. The audience already knew of the doomed end; there were no more skeletons in the closet to divert the inquisitive attention of sober eyes and detached minds.

In the larger picture, a recurrent theme in Mamluk politics was the pivotal roles played by personal animosity and mutual dislikes among soldiers in the already messy and muddy mix, often resulting in open hostility and eventual mutiny. In Ibn Taghrī Birdī's storytelling, mistrust, the moral and theme of the whole story, is fomented by various ingredients. Of the rivaling parties, none

38 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 315.

emerge undamaged. The sultan, it seems, takes more blame than the regicide—a narrative that pushes the reader/audience to contemplate, soberly, the lessons learned from history. By highlighting the weaknesses of both feuding figurers, the sultan *and* the *amīr*, this story critiques the vulnerability of the Mamluk power structure as the historian saw it.

Strikingly, this multi-layered narrative is accomplished partially through the use of poetry, which adds delicate shadings and personal touches to the prose storyline. As a matter of fact, all three poems put the sultan in the lime-light more negatively. Poetry thus serves as a narratological device and a teaching tool.

### Concluding Remarks

Poetry has been embedded in Arabic historical narrative from the very beginning. What we learn from verses that prose does not let on are sub-lines, alternate versions, allusions, color, sound, and atmosphere. Verses supplement the prose narrative with highly stylized morals in memorable rhymed snapshots.

In the annual model established by al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234), poems were mostly used to close a narrative unit (an event, or a person), or inserted in the middle, as an afterthought note. Most of these verses were composed on an *ad-hoc* basis, either by a contemporary or a later person on an occasion, so they may be termed “occasional verses.” There were also generic verses, such as the timeless lines attributed to the greats such as al-Mutanabbī, or quotes from proverbs and wise sayings. One way or the other, these verses perform a commentary task with descriptive flavor. But they were mostly kept to a minimum on account of their own limitations.

In the Mamluk era, a noticeable phenomenon was an out-of-proportion increase in poetry found in history books. Most Mamluk chronicles comprise obituary sections, with poetry the deceased had left, that oftentimes overshadow the chronicle proper in length and detail. Independent biographical dictionaries offer even more: not only poems by the deceased, but also those about him are duly collected *en masse*. The verse material embedded in Mamluk historical narratives makes a multi-layered reading possible. Applying literary analysis proves to be productive in that it treats all the elements in a given text as forming a holistic whole, instead of scattered pieces for cherry-pick data farming. In this reading, poetry emerges as a valuable venue, on account of its performance agency that opens up new vistas from which to purview human behavior and social interactions.

From the preceding pages of the three poems featured in Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Yalbughā narrative, two are "occasional," whereas one, the *ballīq*-ballad, is not. In fact, it does not fit the "generic" category either. Rather, this is an originally generic text transformed into a politically charged performance, which in the process became *the* story itself. No matter what actually happened, a good historian such as Ibn Taghrī Birdī was mindful of the power of words and was keen on spinning it. In his storytelling, verses perform themselves, one way or the other, adding delicate shadings to the canvas of this colorful, and often-times confusing, episode in the Mamluk past.

### Appendix: "A Soldier's Song"<sup>39</sup>

(Attributed to Ibn Mawlāhum and performed for Sultan Ḥasan at the Cairo Citadel)

The *ballīq* is a sub-type of the *zajal*. A *ballīq*-ballad begins with two common rhyme lines (*maṭla'*, opening), followed by several stanzas. Each stanza consists of three lines with a separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme (AA, bbbA, cccA...). The verse-form features shorter lines (fewer syllables than classical meters) and a quick tempo. I tried my best to render the verses as literally as possible, with a simple English rhyming scheme (aa bb cc...).

man qāla nā jundī khalaq	la-qad ṣadaq
‘indī qabā min ‘ahd nūḥ	‘ala l-futūḥ
law ṣādafū shamsu s-suṭūḥ	kāna ḥtaraq

The guy said: "I'm a soldier, wrapped in a piece of junk";  
He is damn right, on the mark!

"I've got a uniform, from the age of Noah,	for battle.
When touched by the sun, it burns,	a little.

Below a loose shawl is the thing—	so shredded,
as if by saliva the pieces were	patched.

Over the robe made of peel, there ain't silk	for wrapping.
When one washes it, the thing soaks in gravy,	melting.

39 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vii, 213–22.

A piece of flesh, ripped off of fat, <sup>40</sup> if it were a painting, only the blank paper	is my helmet— is left.
On it are iron hooks, like straps made of cuts Rusty, having soaked	of dried meat. in sweat.
Over it is a white cloth for a nametag; when you write, Nah, not that kind of shit wrap; <sup>41</sup> but it too deserves	nothing appears.  no glance. <sup>42</sup>
I've got a leather belt, with no dye, in the jewelry market it ain't worth	no tanning; an earring.
My boot, having been lurking for years, its heel, off the right leg,	is torn apart— broken off.
Long tassels dangling, like a Everything I have, as they say, is	sand seller's radish (?). <sup>43</sup> crap and trash!
On it there are long sticks, rotten on the strings—left by	made of bones; old wearers.
My sword, its leather quiver crumbles like Of donkey's skin, or a piece of paper, I wish it	crusts of bread. were made.
The quiver is patched with tendons; as firewood On it are tens of loose threads, results of	they serve better. wear-and-tear.
My bow is broken; for battle it is not for a horse, or a	useless— braying ass.

40 Literally, "fat flew off flesh"; cf. English, "flesh flying off bone." The helmet was skin-thin.

41 *Qumāsh*, a *tawriya*: "rubbish, trash," and "fabric, cloth."

42 The terms *shāsh* and *qumāsh* appear in Mamluk sources to indicate formal military attire; cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī' al-duhūr* iii, 429, describing a parade (*wa-hum bi-l-shāsh wa-l-qumāsh*).

43 *Fujl al-rammāl* (also "geomancer"); the exact meaning is unclear. It perhaps alludes to the shape of the boot.

This spear—a bunch of green shrub, when we assault the Turkic slaves,	with no teeth; it doesn't pierce.
I've got this mace: dissolving into I'm just like that—a soldier cut into pieces.	teeny-tiny parts. My name is Rotten Balls. <sup>44</sup>
The horse armor <sup>45</sup> is hit by a bullet, it got easily	way old; pierced.
That suits those weak soldiers; is doomsday for those fearful	time for battle, of the shackle. <sup>46</sup>
My horse needs fodder bad; he's a fella Damn it if the roads were	full of misery! slippery.
His back is galled, due to constant hunger, All that is left is a hollow—	long journeys. scurvy, hairless.
The horse saddle is made of About that nose ring—there is no ring on it,	bare bones, alas!
I've also got a disgusting nag, I raced against a crippled donkey, won nothing	old and useless. but loss.
The mule is a wonder—for the retarded; If the saddle flips, only a leaf falls in	nothing wrong with that! your sight. <sup>47</sup>
His torso is a rope made of palm fibers; well, our appetite totally ruined by raw bread	I've got a mate— on the plate.
On mishap, poverty, and hunger our neighbor is Even he would cry for us, tears	binging; bursting!

44 *Ṭashaq*, Turkish *tashaq*, “a testicle,” “one afflicted with inguinal hernia in the scrotum.”

45 *Qarqal ma' birkistivān* (Turkish), literally, “sleeveless gown and armor for a horse neck,” that is, the whole set of horse armor.

46 The edition has *ṭ-l-ṭ-l-q*, which could not be identified. I read it as a compound term, with the base meaning of *ṭalaq*, “shackle, leather bound.”

47 Thin and fragile.

## Maqriziana XIII: An Exchange of Correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī

*Frédéric Bauden*

### Introduction

In an article published in 2008, Werner Diem emphasized that “the problem connected with Arabic letters in pre-modern times is their great number and variety on the one hand and regional and chronological disparity on the other.”<sup>1</sup> Although letters predating the modern period have been preserved in great numbers for Islamic civilization, regardless of content, there remains a sharp discrepancy between two categories of letters; i.e., what Diem categorized as original letters, and letters preserved in copied or literary transmission.<sup>2</sup> Diem noted that the original letters that have reached us are mostly either official letters dealing with taxes in the broadest sense or private correspondence of the middle class related to commercial or private issues. In terms of the latter category, we are better informed thanks to documentary witnesses that provide useful details about the shape and dispatch of this kind of correspondence.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, letters exchanged by members of the upper class (scholars for the most part) have only survived in the form of collections where these copies serve as models of elegant prose and poetry or *inshāʿ*. These collections were at times assembled by a contemporary, usually an admirer, or by the author himself. Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) in particular collected letters he exchanged with friends and colleagues in book form (*Alḥān al-sawājiʿ*)

1 Diem, Arabic letters 843. In addition to his bibliography, see Grob, *Documentary Arabic private and business letters*.

2 Diem considered scholarly letters preserved in literary transmission to be a third category termed “pseudo letters”; i.e., “scholarly texts in the form of letters which, however, in contrast to real letters, were never intended to be sent to an individual addressee.” Diem, Arabic letters 852.

3 A rare example of a contract between a Venetian and a courier in Alexandria at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century has recently been published. The dispatch by a courier of the letter to Damascus and his return with the answer within a specified amount of time throws some light on the parallel activities that were linked to the exchange of commercial correspondence in the Mamluk realm. See Bauden, *D’Alexandrie à Damas et retour*.

where the material is organized according to the alphabetical order of the correspondents.<sup>4</sup> Such letters were in fact first copied by al-Şafadī in his commonplace book (*al-Tadhkira*) together with his response. This enabled him to later recover the material for the preparation of his epistolary collection.

Although several collections of letters written by scholars who were mostly active at the chancery from the ‘Abbāsīd to the Mamluk period have been published and studied,<sup>5</sup> epistolography in general, and the correspondence exchanged by the upper class in the Mamluk period in particular, have received little attention. Recently, Gully tackled the issue of letter writing in pre-modern Islam, but he mainly dealt with the correspondence produced by secretaries of state and only touched upon the private formal and informal letters of scholars in broad terms.<sup>6</sup> The present study aims to tackle the question of correspondence between scholars during the Mamluk period through the lens of one typical example found by chance in a chancery manual of the same period: a letter addressed by the famous historian al-Maqrīzī to al-Qalqashandī and the latter’s answer. Both letters are edited and translated here for the first time. Though only preserved as copies, they allow us to analyze their structure in diplomatic terms whereas their contents throw light on some of al-Maqrīzī’s works and the nature of the relationships between the two scholars.

### The Source

I came across the texts of the two letters exchanged by al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī in a rather overlooked text. My interest in this text was sparked by the fact that it deals with diplomatics and that it has never been the subject of a thorough study, though it was known to have been written by al-Qalqashandī’s son. In a recently published article, I addressed the question of the identity of the author and assessed the value of his chancery manual in the light of those already published for the Mamluk period.<sup>7</sup> The text, entitled

4 al-Şafadī, *Alḥān al-sawāji’*.

5 The following references can be added to Diem’s bibliography: Hachmeier, *Die Briefe Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Şābi’*’s; Pomerantz, *Licit magic and divine grace*. As for letters exchanged by scholars, see Nwyia, Note sur quelques fragments inédits; Haque, A letter of Ibn Taimiyya; Berjak and Iqbal, Ibn Sinā—Al-Bīrūnī correspondence translated [English translation of *al-As’ila wa-l-ajwiba* which was edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Mohaghegh]; Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*.

6 Gully, *The culture of letter-writing*.

7 Bauden, Like father, like son. The information provided in this section is summarized from this article.

*Qalā'id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān* (The pearl necklaces regarding the conventions of present-day epistolography), is preserved in an unicum found in the collections of the British Library (London, MS OR.3625) where it has been housed since 1888, the date of its acquisition at an auction. Composed of 165 leaves and dated 868/1464, it is remarkable in that besides the title indicated on the title page and in the author's introduction, the name of its author does not appear. However, thanks to several hints by the author in the body of the text, he can be identified as the son of al-Qalqashandī. The first clue relates to a document issued by the author (fol. 108a: *min inshā' mu'allifihī*), an expression followed by his name (Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Qarqashandī [sic]). In another place (fol. 96b), he quotes a document composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Qarqashandī [sic] al-Shāfi'ī, who is described as the author's father (*wālid mu'allifihī*). The identification is further corroborated by another passage (fol. 125a) where he quotes his father, who was dead at the time he was writing (*fa-inna wālidī raḥimahu llāh*), and his book entitled *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. On this occasion, he specifies that he produced two copies of his father's work for the libraries of two important secretaries of state: one in eleven volumes for Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārīzī (d. 823/1420) and another in seven volumes for Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muzhir (d. 832/1429). All these elements leave no doubt that the author was al-Qalqashandī's son, identified as Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī, better known as Ibn Abī Ghudda. Born in 796/1394, he was active as a deputy judge, an administrator of *waqf* properties, and as a secretary in the service of various *amūrs*. He drowned in the Nile flood of 876/1471. His contemporary biographers (al-Biqā'ī and al-Sakhāwī) scarcely mention any book titles he might have composed but three works have come down to us in manuscript form. Beside *Qalā'id al-jumān*, there is an amplification (*takhmīs*) of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Burda* and a work on the genealogy of the Arabs, *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat ansāb al-'arab*, which is, as I have tentatively demonstrated in the article referred to above, a plagiarized copy of his father's *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat qabā'il al-'arab*.<sup>8</sup>

The *Qalā'id al-jumān* can be described as a manual aimed to be a *vade mecum* for secretaries working for *amūrs*. Though it deals with official correspondence in general, including that related to caliphs and sultans, its focus is clearly on the letters exchanged by state officials at various levels; i.e., letters described as *ikhwāniyyāt*.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 201–3.

## The Correspondence

In the section where the question of the decrees (*marsūm*) issued in answer to petitions (*qiṣṣa*) is addressed (fols. 27b–31a), the author quotes two letters. Having stated that the decrees can be issued either as a separate document or on the back of petitions,<sup>9</sup> he introduces the topic with a letter (*ruqʿa*)<sup>10</sup> “received by my father—may God the Sublime have mercy upon him—from the Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqlīzī l-Shāfiʿī.” The spelling of al-Maqlīzī’s name with a *lām* is of course remarkable. A similar feature appears in the manuscript with regard to al-Qalqashandī’s name, where the *lām* is replaced by a *rāʾ* (see above, al-Qarqashandī), though not systematically. It is difficult to ascertain whether these orthographic peculiarities are to be attributed to al-Qalqashandī’s son or to the copyist. However, it is interesting to note that al-Maqlīzī always wrote al-Qalqashandī’s name with a *rāʾ* in the biographies he devoted to him in his various writings.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the village where al-Qalqashandī was born and from which his *nisba* stems is nowadays spelled with a *rāʾ*, a form that was recorded as early as the seventh/thirteenth century by Yāqūt al-Rūmī in his *Muʿjam al-buldān*,<sup>12</sup> which may account for al-Maqlīzī’s spelling of al-Qalqashandī’s name with a *rāʾ*. In fact, the substitution of both letters (*rāʾ* for *lām* and vice versa) is attested from al-Andalus to Iraq.<sup>13</sup>

The incipit of al-Maqlīzī’s letter consists of an excursus that looks like an entry in a dictionary, as it provides the meaning of words derived from the root *r-s-m*. Al-Maqlīzī lists several words whose meaning is connected to the notion of trace (*rasm*: relic; *rasama*: to erase something, leaving only a trace on the ground; *tarassama*: to observe a mark; *rawsam*: stamp or mark; *rasama/ar-sama*: to leave/to cause to leave marks on the ground, speaking of a she-camel; *rasm*: a well filled up with earth; *irtasama*: to pronounce *Allāh akbar* and seek

9 For the first, I have used a free translation. The author speaks of decrees that are *muqtaḍab* (i.e., extracted) or *mulakkhkhaṣ* (i.e., summarized). He has in mind petitions whose contents are too long to allow the issue of a decree directly on their back, as is the case for the second category. For this, see al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā*, repr. ed. Cairo 1964, vi, 212–6.

10 In his article, Werner Diem noted that this word is one term, among others, that was used by a sender either to describe his/her letter or the letter received. See Diem, Arabic letters 857.

11 al-Maqlīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 312–3 (no. 222); idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda and ʿAshūr 1934–73, iv, 473–4; idem, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 1991, i, 512–3 (no. 496) = *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 2006, i, 312 (no. 496), though in the latter source, the editor restored the name with a *lām*.

12 Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* iv, 327–8.

13 Maṭar, *Laḥn al-ʿamma* 229–30.

refuge in Him). This excursus is obviously related to the word *marsūm*, which is the main topic of the section where the letters were inserted; this is a word that stems from the same root and that was used by the chancery in a technical sense (literally “ordered” and, by metonymy, “decree”). Though al-Maqrīzī does not quote the dictionary he borrowed these lines from, it is quite easy to identify it, as in fact he is summarizing the entry devoted to this root in Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘arab*: there, the data are presented in the same order and with the same words.<sup>14</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī’s letter then starts properly with the usual expression “the slave kisses the ground and reports.”<sup>15</sup> The reason he was compelled to address this letter to al-Qalqashandī relates to some words derived from the root *r-s-m* that had come to be taken, in a technical sense in chancery terminology, to mean “order” (*amr*). Al-Maqrīzī gives the following examples: *marsūm sharīf* (noble, i.e., issued by the sultan, decree), *rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf* (the noble order has been issued), and *al-marsūm marsūmukum* (the decree is yours). Referring to the lexicographical excursus that preceded his letter, al-Maqrīzī presents his request: he enjoins al-Qalqashandī to defend or justify (*nāḍala*) the use the chancery makes of these words given that there is absolutely no indication of such a meaning in the dictionary. Al-Qalqashandī is invited to explain the meaning of these words in the terminology used by the chancery (*mā ma’nā dhālika fī ṣṭilāḥ al-inshā’*), and provide an answer that is coherent with the lexicon (*mimmā lā tukhālifuḥu al-lughā*); i.e., the etymology of the root. Al-Maqrīzī was prompted to contact him about such an issue, he says, because of the fame of his correspondent, whose book he does not name but which can easily be identified as *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā fī ṣinā’at/kitābat al-inshā’* (The daybreak of the night-blind on the craft/art of chancery writing). His interest in the issue, he says, was prompted by the fact that he plans to prepare the fair copy of his book on secretaries, an ambition he is now able to fulfill as he has neared completion of his other book entitled *al-Mawā’iẓ wa-l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*.

Al-Qalqashandī’s answer is structured in a manner that was fashionable for responses to an inceptive letter (*ibtidā’*) such as al-Maqrīzī’s letter.<sup>16</sup> First, he repeats, in his own words, the contents of his correspondent’s letter and then proceeds with the answer he is able to provide to al-Maqrīzī’s request; he does so after stressing, with the expected expressions of modesty, that he

14 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* v, 215–6.

15 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalā’id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 27b (for a discussion of this expression, see below).

16 Ibid., fols. 28a–29b.

is unfamiliar with the issue and far from being as competent as al-Maqrīzī implies. He starts by stating that the meaning of “order” taken by words derived from the root *r-s-m* and used by the chancery secretaries, like *rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf* and its derivatives, is, contrary to what most people think, far from being a recent practice, because he found this very expression with that meaning in the production of secretaries of the Ayyūbid period, more precisely after the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century. These secretaries, al-Qalqashandī underlines, were capable and knowledgeable men in the art of writing who would never have used such words without ensuring that they were consistent with the Arabic language. This statement allows him to demonstrate how this technical meaning of “order” came to be ascribed to words derived from the root *r-s-m*. He thus puts forward several hypotheses. Unfortunately, the manuscript presents a lacuna of half of one leaf in that part of the letter:<sup>17</sup> there is no doubt that the copyist had to deal with a mutilated passage (as shown by the last three words he penned on the leaf before the blank which do not make any sense) which he hoped he would be able to fill in later on, something that never happened. Nonetheless, it seems that al-Qalqashandī proposed no more than four possible etymologies. In such a case, only the end of the first and the beginning of the second are lacunar.

The first proposal regards the expression *rasamtu la-hu kadhā fa-rtasamahu* where the verb *rasama* means “he ordered” and *irtasama* “he executed.”<sup>18</sup> This meaning is attested in the source al-Maqrīzī relied on; i.e., Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘arab*, right at the end of the entry: *wa-rasamtu la-hu kadhā fa-rtasamahu idhā mtathalahu* (“I ordered him so and so and he carried it out, i.e. he executed it”).<sup>19</sup>

The second etymology, though lacunar for the most part, seems to rely on the principle of metonymy.<sup>20</sup> The end of the passage that has been preserved suggests that al-Qalqashandī is comparing the use of *marsūm* as meaning “decree”; i.e., the document issued and not only the meaning of “ordered,” with that of *tawqī‘*; i.e., the endorsement. The latter was originally used to designate the inscriptions written on the margins of petitions before its meaning was extended to the whole writ. In other words, *marsūm* as a word featured in documents issued in answer to petitions where it meant “ordered” came to be used for the whole document.

17 Ibid., fol. 29b.

18 Ibid., fol. 29a.

19 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* v, 216.

20 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 29b.

The third hypothesis, a metaphorical one, relies on the word *rawsam* that defines the seal used to stamp the mouth of a jar: in this case, the object of the *marsūm* (decree) is comparable to the seal that guarantees that the contents (the beverage in the case of the jar, the function granted in the case of the decree) are reserved for the person who disposes of it.<sup>21</sup>

The fourth proposal is connected to the same word as above, *rawsam*, though it has a different meaning: something used to polish dinars. In this case, the decree (*marsūm*) is assimilated to something that makes the contents comprehensible to the recipient because of the recommendations that it contains or because rulers elucidate the difficulties which the recipient will have to face in the frame of his new function.

Al-Qalqashandī concludes his answer with a further expression of modesty, repeating his incompetence in this matter. He is also fully aware that the question was asked by a person who was supposed to already know the answer, something he expresses very powerfully, through a verse attributed to al-Badī' al-Ašturlābī (d. 534/1139–40) and which can be rendered by the Latin proverb: *Solem lucerna non ostenderent*—you don't show the sun with a lantern.

Despite al-Qalqashandī's protest that he is not credentialed, it appears that he had already addressed the issue of the etymology of the word *marsūm* in his *magnum opus*.<sup>22</sup> There, he pointed out two possibilities: the first tallies with the first proposal found in his answer to al-Maqrīzī (*akhḍhan min qawlihim rasamtu la-hu kadhā fa-rtasamahu idhā mtathalahu*, "taken from the expression: 'I ordered him [to do] so and so and he carried it out'; i.e., he executed it") whereas the second does not appear there (*aw min qawlihim rasama 'alayya kadhā idhā kataba*, "or from the expression: 'He drew up so and so for me'; i.e., he wrote"). He further adds that the technical meaning could derive from both expressions taken together (*wa-yuḥtamal an yakūn minhumā jamī'an*).

### Structure of the Letters in Diplomatic Terms

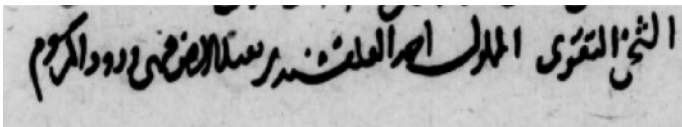
As an example of letters exchanged between two peers, i.e. two scholars who were active in the state chancery at some point in their lives, the two texts contain enough elements to allow for an analysis of their structure, both external and internal. In diplomatic terms, al-Maqrīzī's letter was an inceptive (*ibtidā'*) which called for an answer (*jawāb*). Furthermore, the letters follow a structure that was typical of letters produced by the chancery in the Mamluk period.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* xi, 107.

In fact, letters that were not produced in the sultan's name or addressed to him (*sulṭāniyyāt*) were called *ikhwāniyyāt* (literally “fraternal,” i.e. “friendly”). Generally, it was thought that *ikhwāniyyāt* only described letters exchanged in a personal tone between friends or colleagues, but recently it has been shown that this term was also applied to official correspondence exchanged by functionaries (e.g., the secretary of the privy writing to a governor).<sup>23</sup> On the basis of the level of both the sender and the addressee, several elements, such as the address and the *intitulatio*, were adapted as a function of different patterns.<sup>24</sup> From the Ayyūbid period onwards, this kind of letter was in many respects similar to petitions (*qiṣṣa, ruqʿa*):<sup>25</sup> It started, after the *basmala*, with the expression “the slave kisses the ground and reports ...” (*al-mamlūk yuqabbilu l-arḍ wa-yunhī ...*), proceeded with the request (*wa-l-masʿul ...*), and ended with “he has reported this if God the Sublime will” (*anhā dhālika in shāʿa llāh taʿālā*).

All these features are present in al-Maqrīzī's inceptive letter and in al-Qalqashandī's answer for the simple reason that they follow the pattern of the *ikhwāniyya* letter. Though the originals have been lost, the copy found in the manuscript displays enough elements to permit a comparison with the *ikhwāniyyāt* issued in the frame of the chancery and to reconstruct them as they were originally. As the manuscript of al-Qalqashandī's answer shows, the copyist left some space between the name of the addressee (*al-shaykhī l-taqawī*) and the incipit of the letter.



In so doing, the copyist wanted to give an indication of the original place of these words in the letter. According to the rules, the addressee's *laqab* should be written in the space between the *basmala* and the incipit of the letter in such a way that it would start in the right margin and end below the beginning of the word *bism* in the *basmala*. The name of the sender had to be preceded by *al-mamlūk* and placed below the incipit; i.e., *yuqabbil*. All this can be represented as follows:

23 Bauden, *Ikhwāniyyāt* letters.

24 Several examples are detailed in the preceding reference.

25 Stern, *Petitions* 241–2.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
 الشیخی التقوی  
 یقبل الأرض ینهی ...  
 المملوک  
 أحمد القلقشندی

Though in the case of al-Maqrīzī's letter Ibn al-Qalqashandī did not note the addressee's *laqab*, it can be deduced quite easily, as it paralleled the one found in his father's answer: *al-shaykhī l-shihābī*, al-Qalqashandī's *laqab* being Shihāb al-Dīn. Of course, both scholars addressed each other with the title *shaykh*, which was reserved for their rank; i.e., 'ulamā'. They also used the hyperbolic form with the final *yā*.<sup>26</sup>

Obviously, there was no reason for al-Qalqashandī to mention letters exchanged by scholars that follow the patterns of the *ikhwāniyya* category, as these were not issued in the frame of the chancery. Nevertheless, he devoted some space at the very end of his encyclopedia to documents, including letters that were unrelated to the chancery such as epistles (*rasā'il*), licences (*ijāzāt*), and certificates of pilgrimage (called *ʿumurāt*).<sup>27</sup> Of these, he mentions letters that consist of questions and answers (*al-asʿila wa-l-ajwiba*), which he classifies into two categories, the first of which is defined as dealing with challenging or testing questions (*al-asʿila l-imtihāniyya*).<sup>28</sup> He further indicates that respectful belletrists (*mashāyikh al-adab*) and erudite secretaries often forwarded questions to each other about some topic either for the sake of inquiry (i.e., to enrich their knowledge by benefitting from the addressee's science) or simply for the pleasure of testing and disqualifying a peer. Al-Qalqashandī points out that some of these letters are answered, but others are not. The category is exemplified by a letter composed by Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) and directed to the chief secretary of the chancery in Damascus who had taken his side against some contender active at the chancery. The letter thanked him and presented

26 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* vi, 17.

27 They are found in the last volume of the edition. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 110–365. (These are literary productions by secretaries; they have no relationship to the secretariat of the chancery).

28 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 240.

some questions for the secretaries regarding the art of writing (*ṣanʿat al-inshāʿ*) and history (*fann al-taʾrīkh*).<sup>29</sup> Al-Maqrīzī's inceptive letter can hardly compete with Ibn Nubāta's but it is an interesting example of the category described by al-Qalqashandī.

### Al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī

Both letters are not only significant in terms of diplomatics, literature, and cultural history, but also provide detailed information about the authors themselves, the nature of their relationship, and their respective works. All the scholars who wrote about al-Qalqashandī's biography acknowledged that the entries devoted to him in the biographical dictionaries of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods were not very helpful and that, in this respect, his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* was more instructive.<sup>30</sup> Among his contemporaries who dedicated lines in their works to him (al-Maqrīzī, al-ʿAynī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī), al-Maqrīzī appears to be the most well-informed, and it is not surprising that most of the later authors relied on him when referring to al-Qalqashandī.

The two letters studied here reveal that they were in contact and that al-Maqrīzī valued al-Qalqashandī's opinion on a technical issue regarding chancery norms. It should be noted that al-Maqrīzī also worked for the state chancery, though for a shorter period before al-Qalqashandī started his own career as a secretary. According to al-Maqrīzī, he himself was active at the chancery, where he was responsible, until about the year 790/1388, for decisions regarding petitions (*tawqīʿ*).<sup>31</sup> His superior, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn

29 For more details, see Bauer, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah 194–5.

30 Bosworth, *A maqāma* 292 ("Little is known of al-Qalqashandī's life beyond that information which we can glean from his *Ṣubḥ*"); idem, al-*Ḳalkāshandī*, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iv, 509 ("It is remarkable how little notice was taken of al-*Ḳalkāshandī* by contemporaries or near-contemporaries. [...] Hence we do not know much about al-*Ḳalkāshandī*'s legal and professional life beyond the salient points and dates of his official career, let alone about his early years, education and private life"); van Berkel, al-Qalqashandī 333 ("However, these references contain no extensive description of the author's life, education or literary production. [...] Therefore, modern historians too have to rely primarily upon the data provided by the author himself").

31 *Ayyām mubāsharatī l-tawqīʿ al-sultānī ilā naḥw al-tisʿin wa-l-sabʿimīʿa*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʾitibār*, ed. Cairo 1853–4, ii, 225 (where one reads *al-sabʿin*, which is a mistake) = *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʾitibār*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 730 (correct reading).

Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 796/1394), was the Chief Secretary of the Chancery at that time.<sup>32</sup>

As for al-Qalqashandī, he states that he started to work at the chancery around the year 791/1389.<sup>33</sup> It is thus unlikely that the paths of these scholars crossed at the chancery at that time but they certainly had other opportunities to strike up an acquaintance as both remained close to the central power in subsequent decades.

Beside their exchange of correspondence the data gathered by al-Maqrīzī about his peer and reproduced in the biography he penned about him in three of his works is further confirmation that they knew each other quite well. The three works are *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*, and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.<sup>34</sup> It is in the latter, devoted to the author's contemporaries, that more precise details emerge on the nature of their relationship; this source is all the more significant as it has been overlooked by all the scholars who have written about al-Qalqashandī though it was available as early as 1992.<sup>35</sup> In it, al-Maqrīzī reveals sides of al-Qalqashandī that are not found in the other sources on his beginnings in Alexandria. Born in Qalqashanda/Qarqashanda, a village located in the province of Qalyūbiyya in the southern Delta, he moved to the harbor city where after his education, he served the governor Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿArrām. The latter occupied this position at several intervals (bef. 766/1365 to 767/1365; 768/1367 to 769/1367; 770/1369 to 772/1371; 774/1373 to 775/1373; 777/1376 to 779/1378; and in 782/1380, the year he was executed), which helps to reasonably date this employment to the penultimate or ultimate of Ibn ʿArrām's governorship and at the very beginning of al-Qalqashandī's career since he was born in 756/1355.<sup>36</sup> Shortly

32 He held this function from 4 Dhū l-Hijja 786/17 January 1385 to 14 Ṣafar 792/1 February 1390. See Wiet, *Les Secrétaires* 273–4.

33 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* i, 8 (*wa-kuntu fī ḥudūd sanat iḥdā wa-tisʿin wa-sabʿimīʾa ʿinda stiqrārī fī kitābat al-inshāʾ bi-l-abwāb al-sharīfa al-sulṭāniyya*), xiv, 111 (*anshaʾtuhā fī ḥudūd sanat iḥdā wa-tisʿin wa-sabʿimīʾa ʿinda stiqrārī fī dīwān al-inshāʾ bi-l-abwāb al-sharīfa*).

34 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 473–4; idem, *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 1991, i, 512–3 (no. 496) = *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 2006, i, 312 (no. 496); idem, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, ii, 361–2 (no. 181) = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Darwīsh and Miṣrī, ii, 75–6 (no. 223) = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 312–3 (no. 222).

35 ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Qalqashandī*, is the only exception: he even edited al-Qalqashandī's biography in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* at the end of his book (p. 141).

36 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *Les Gouverneurs* 133 (no. 18), 135 (no. 21), 136 (nos. 24 and 27), 138 (no. 33), 139 (no. 37). Al-Qalqashandī mentions him in relation to the issue of gold coins in Alexandria in the late eighth/fourteenth century, something he may have witnessed when he was in his service. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* iii, 440.

after al-Qalqashandī settled in Cairo where, thanks to his access to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Faḍl Allāh, he secured a position at the chancery.

Here, al-Maqrīzī specifies that al-Qalqashandī worked in the capacity of *kātib al-darj pro bono* (*bi-ghayr ma'lūm*). This statement is curious because it is contradicted by al-Qalqashandī himself in the *maqāma* he composed in the same year he was employed at the chancery.<sup>37</sup> In this “autobiographical postscript,”<sup>38</sup> al-Qalqashandī stresses his quandary between proceeding further in his academic research and earning his living:

I became distressed, unable to do anything properly, as I remained perplexed, not knowing which of the two courses would be more profitable to me. For if I should make the pursuit of knowledge my living, I should be acting reprehensibly in my recourse to this, and if I should spurn earning my living in favour of study, I should perish of need and die of hunger.<sup>39</sup>

And further on, “as I became assured that I am established in his *dīwān*, and listed as one of his pages, I refrained from further search for gain.”<sup>40</sup> In introducing the *maqāma*, he further underlines that a man must have employment and ensure his subsistence.<sup>41</sup> It would be rather surprising that he would have accepted the job without a salary given his statement. On the other hand, why would al-Maqrīzī state that he worked *pro bono*? If there is any truth in this, it may have applied to the beginning of his career at the chancery. Al-Maqrīzī declares that afterwards he worked for many years as a deputy judge in an office of notaries (*shuhūd*).<sup>42</sup> As Bosworth emphasized, when he died, “it is not

37 He inserted it in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (xiv, 112–28) and refers to it in his introduction (i, 8–9). See Bosworth, *A maqāma*, and al-Musawi, *Vindicating a profession*.

38 al-Musawi, *Vindicating a profession* 112.

39 Bosworth, *A maqāma* 295.

40 al-Musawi, *Vindicating a profession* 115.

41 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* i, 9 (*anṣa'tu maqāma banaytuhā 'alā annahu lā budda lil-insān min ḥirfa yata'allaq bi-hā wa-ma'tsha yatamassak bi-sababihā*) and xiv, 111 (*wa-ja'altu mabnāhā 'alā annahu lā budda lil-insān min ḥirfa yata'allaq bi-hā wa-ma'tsha yata-massak bi-sababihā*).

42 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 313 (*thumma nāba fi l-ḥukm bi-markaz min marākiz al-shuhūd 'an qāḍi l-quḍāt Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bulqīni muddat sinīn*). This is confirmed by all the other sources, but the difference here is the chronological presentation: first, he worked at the chancery, then as a deputy judge for many years.

known whether he was still employed in the *dīwān* at that date.<sup>43</sup> If we rely on the information given by al-Maqrīzī, it is clear that he was not.

On a more personal note, al-Maqrīzī declares, after having said that he was a learned man who had memorized works on law, grammar, and literature and that he was also a poet, that al-Qalqashandī frequently visited him and took dictation. He was even, according to al-Maqrīzī, a great talker and babbler. The biographical entry concludes with an anecdotal report in which al-Maqrīzī talks about a geometry experiment that al-Qalqashandī described to him; namely how to measure the height of an object, like a palm tree, a minaret, or a mountain. The technique deployed is a simple wood stick and the method to calculate the height is fully detailed by al-Maqrīzī.

This is undoubtedly the most personal biography that we have about al-Qalqashandī. It also contains two pieces of information that confirm that al-Maqrīzī was well acquainted with him. The first concerns the date of his death: al-Maqrīzī was the only contemporary who established that it took place on the night of Saturday 10 Jumādā II 821 [15 July 1418].<sup>44</sup> Both al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, who belonged to the next generation and did not know al-Qalqashandī, had to rely on al-Maqrīzī for this detail.<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-ʿAynī, and al-Ṣayrafī, on the contrary, simply mention that it occurred in the month of Jumādā II and do not indicate the day.<sup>46</sup>

The second relates to the name of al-Qalqashandī's father. Most of the sources, including the modern ones, give al-Qalqashandī's name as Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad. Al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, mentions that his father's name was ʿAbdallāh.<sup>47</sup> Al-Sakhāwī does not miss an opportunity to criticize both al-Maqrīzī and al-ʿAynī for providing what he considers a mistake.<sup>48</sup> In this, he blindly follows his master, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who indeed indicates that the father's name was ʿAlī. Notwithstanding al-Sakhāwī's confidence, it seems that al-Maqrīzī was right, a fact that strengthens the impression that he knew al-Qalqashandī quite well. Al-Qalqashandī does not quote his full name in any

43 Bosworth, *al-Qalqashandī*, *ET* iv, 509, echoed in van Berkel, *al-Qalqashandī* 339 ("Whether he was still employed in the Mamluk chancery is unknown to us").

44 The time (night) is only indicated in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. The date fell on a Friday, but the night of Saturday starts after sunset on Friday according to the Muslim calendar. Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī should have said 11 instead of 10 Jumādā II.

45 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* i, 352; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, Cairo 1934–6, ii, 8.

46 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥabashī, iii, 179; idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis* iii, 54; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumʿān*, ed. Qarmūṭ 1985, 339; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 432.

47 He was followed in this by al-ʿAynī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, and al-Ṣayrafī.

48 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* ii, 8 (*wa-sammā l-ʿAynī wa-l-Maqrīzī wālidahu ʿAbdallāh wa-huwa wahm*).

of his books. However, it is mentioned on the title pages of some manuscripts of his works. One of these is *Ma'āthir al-ināfa*. As the editor noticed, the title page of the unique copy, which moreover is a presentation copy,<sup>49</sup> bears the following name: Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī.<sup>50</sup> The same holds true for the manuscript of another work (*Daw' al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jary l-dawḥ al-muthmir*), which is once again a presentation copy and probably a holograph as well, that shares the same features.<sup>51</sup> On the title page the name is given, without *laqab*, as Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Fazārī al-Qalqashandī.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, in the biography al-Sakhāwī dedicated to al-Qalqashandī's son, the name of his grandfather is 'Abdallāh. Al-Sakhāwī thus contradicts himself. All these elements seem to invalidate al-Sakhāwī's claim that the name of al-Qalqashandī's father was 'Alī.<sup>53</sup>

All the above clearly show that al-Maqrīzī was the only contemporary author who provided personal details that only he could know from his acquaintance with al-Qalqashandī. The correspondence studied here further supports this impression.

49 And maybe even the holograph: the title page gives the author's name without the *laqab*, a practice authors adhere to when they write their own name, and the invocation that follows shows that he was still alive (*qarana Allāh maqāṣidahu bi-l-qubūl*).

50 al-Qalqashandī, *Ma'āthir al-ināfa* i, bā'. The editor underlined that this contradicted al-Sakhāwī's allegation.

51 Tehran: Kitābkhānah-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān, ms 'Ayn 1122. The text is a summarized version in two volumes (the manuscript corresponds to the first volume) of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* made at the request of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārīzī, who was the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad. Nāṣir al-Dīn was chief secretary of the chancery from 815/1413 to 823/1420, the date of his death. His son inherited his position upon his father's death, though only for a period of three months (823/1420–824/1421). He was reinstated on two occasions later on. See Wiet, *Les Secrétaires* 286–8. Several details show that this copy of *Daw' al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* was produced when Kamāl al-Dīn's father was still living, hence corroborating the hypothesis that this is a holograph copy: Nāṣir al-Dīn's name in the introduction is followed by the invocation *zīdat 'aẓamatuhu*, indicating that he was still living; his title is *al-Maqrarr al-ashraf* and he is described as being the *ṣāhib dawāwīn al-inshā' al-sharīf* whereas his son's title is *al-Maqrarr al-karīm* on the title page and *al-Maqrarr al-sharīf* in the introduction; the colophon reads *najīza mu'allifuhu hadhā [l-ta'līf] fi l-'ashr al-awākhir min rabī' al-ākhir sanat ihdā wa-'ishrīn wa-thamāni mi'a* and someone added *raḥimahu llāh* above *mu'allifuhu*. The edition of the first volume of this abridgement was published in Cairo in 1906 (and reprinted in 2009) and does not contain the details of the title page, as the editor worked from another manuscript preserved in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya, ms *Adab* 65).

52 The invocation is *laṭāfa [A]llāh bi-hi*.

53 All the modern sources repeat this mistake with the exception of 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *Abū l-'Abbās al-Qalqashandī* 24.

### Significance of the Correspondence

Besides the personal relationship between al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī, the letters are also important for the history of the literary production of both authors. In his letter, al-Maqrīzī justifies his request by the fact that al-Qalqashandī is the author of “that unattainable book of unprecedented example” (*wa-qad katabtum fihi* [i.e., *muṣṭalaḥ al-inshāʾ*] *dhālika l-kitab al-badīʿ al-mithāl wa-l-baʿīd al-manāl*).<sup>54</sup> Though he does not quote the title of the book, here he is clearly referring to *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*. Al-Maqrīzī knew the title, since he mentions it in the three biographies he dedicated to its author. In *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, he says that al-Qalqashandī composed *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, in which he gathered very useful material.<sup>55</sup> Both in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* and in *al-Muqaffā*, the second part of the title is given as *fī qawānīn al-inshāʾ*, an indication that he was probably quoting from memory.<sup>56</sup> In the first, he also specifies that this is a huge book, but he never states the number of volumes. This detail is provided by another contemporary, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who indicates that it was in four volumes,<sup>57</sup> which is hardly credible: the copies preserved are in seven volumes and, as we saw, al-Qalqashandī’s son made two copies of his father’s book, one in seven volumes and the other in eleven. This is not the only discrepancy: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī also cites the second part of the title in two different ways not attested for the book: *fī maʿrifat al-inshāʾ* and *fī fann al-inshāʾ*. All this strengthens the impression that in fact he had not seen a copy of the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, in contrast to al-Maqrīzī.

Al-Maqrīzī’s implicit reference to this book makes it possible to roughly date the letter and its response. In general, when al-Qalqashandī completed his works, he provided his reader with chronological indications to help them to date his output fairly precisely toward the end of his life, as is shown in the following list:

- 
- 54 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 28a.  
 55 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 474 (*jamaʿa fihi jamʿan kabīran muḥīdan*).  
 56 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 1991, i, 512 = *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 2006, i, 312; idem, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, ii, 362 = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Darwīsh and Miṣrī, ii, 75 = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 313.  
 57 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 178–9 (*fī maʿrifat al-inshāʾ*); idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis* iii, 54 (*fī fann al-inshāʾ*). It is important to stress that al-Qalqashandī always calls his book *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshāʾ* and not *fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*. See his introduction to *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* i, 10. His references to the book in his other works, such as in *Maʾāthir al-ināfa* (i, 272; iii, 98, 183, 279) and *Ḍawʿ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* (MS ʿAyn 1122) = *Ḍawʿ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* (ed. Salāma), further confirm this. The version of the title with *ṣināʿat* appears only on the title page of the latter.

*Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿArab*: 812/1409–10<sup>58</sup>

*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshāʾ*: 28 Shawwāl 814/12 February 1412<sup>59</sup>

*Qalāʾid al-jumān fī l-taʿrīf bi-qabāʾil ʿArab al-zamān*: 13 Rajab 819/6

September 1416<sup>60</sup>

*Maʾāthir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa*: 819/1417?<sup>61</sup>

*Ḍawʿ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jany l-dawḥ al-muthmīr*: 20–29 Rabīʿ II 821/27

May–5 June 1418<sup>62</sup>

Thus the exchange of correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī can be dated roughly between 814/1412 (completion of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*) and 821/1418 (al-Qalqashandī's death). The *terminus post quem* must however be reconsidered in view of the fact that the oldest copy of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* is dated 1 Muḥarram 817/23 March 1414.<sup>63</sup> It is likely that it took time, perhaps several years, for al-Maqrīzī to learn of the existence of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* and even before the book became known in Cairo. To narrow the temporal window suggested by the two termini, it is useful to turn to al-Maqrīzī's mention of two of his books related to his request; he states that both would greatly benefit from al-Qalqashandī's answer.

The first is cited without its title, but al-Maqrīzī indicates that it dealt with the history of secretaries and that he was determined to prepare the fair copy. Thus it is easy to identify it with his *Khulāṣat al-tibr fī akhbār kuttāb al-sirr*. We know that this work was started before the year 803/1400–1, because in that year al-Maqrīzī consulted a holograph copy of a volume of *al-Mughrib fī hulā l-Maghrib* by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) and left a dated note of consultation on the title page, as per his habit. He also scribbled a note in the margin of one leaf where the author speaks of a secretary from the Fatimid period. In this note, al-Maqrīzī says that he mentions the same person in the book he was compiling

58 See Bauden, Like father like son 200 and note 99.

59 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 404; van Berkel, al-Qalqashandī 336, is wrong when she says that this took place in 821/1418.

60 al-Qalqashandī, *Qalāʾid al-jumān* 206.

61 al-Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthir al-ināfa* ii, 21 (*ilā ḥin taʿlīf ḥādhā al-kitāb fī mabādiʾ sanat tisʿ ashara wa-thamānimīʾa*). The date of completion is not mentioned in the preserved manuscripts but the sentence quoted above helps to place it in the same year given that he had still roughly one third to compose at the beginning of 819/1416.

62 al-Qalqashandī, *Ḍawʿ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* (MS ʿAyn 1122) 659. Björkman, *Beiträge* 73, says that the date of completion is unknown; he just notes that, given that some parts are better formulated, it must have been composed after *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*.

63 Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS A2930/7.

at that time on individuals who were in charge of the chancery.<sup>64</sup> Though no copy of this work has been discovered so far, we may assume that al-Maqrīzī indeed made a fair copy of it in the end because he quotes it in *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār* with its full title.<sup>65</sup>

The second work referred to by al-Maqrīzī is *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*. He declares that it was almost finished (*fa-qad yassara llāh bi-muqārabat al-firāgh min kitābī [...]*) at the time he was writing his letter.<sup>66</sup> We still lack a precise dating for al-Maqrīzī's oeuvre thus far and the mention of these two titles and the phase of their redaction is essential to place them on a timeline. First, it provides a confirmation that al-Maqrīzī's work on the secretaries was his first major book since he started it before 803/1400–1 and completed it before what is considered his *magnum opus*, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*. In spite of this precedence, al-Maqrīzī preferred to work on the latter before taking time to prepare the fair copy of the former. As for *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, it has been recently established that the first version was composed between 811/1408–9 and 816/1413–4, with some updates dateable to 818/1415–6.<sup>67</sup> This fits perfectly with the letter in which he states that it is on the verge of being completed. Considering that the letter could not have been written before 814/1412 at the earliest and after 821/1418, as we saw, it may be concluded that the first version of that work must be located within this lapse of time and that the chronological window when the letter was composed must be narrowed between 814/1412 at the earliest and 818/1415–6 at the latest. This passage also provides evidence that al-Maqrīzī valued his work, and even felt smug complacency about the outcome (“if I were not its author, I would have praised it as it deserves”).<sup>68</sup> This is a unique expression of self-satisfaction with regard to his *magnum opus*.

Given the significance of the letters for both authors and their work, it remains to be established whether al-Maqrīzī made use of the answer provided by al-Qalqashandī. The answer cannot be ascertained, since his work on the secretaries of state has not been preserved. Consequently, we do not know if he ever exploited the material. Certainly there is no indication of a semantic

64 *Wa-qad dhakartuhu fīmā anā jāmiʿuhu min al-taʿrīf li-man wulliya waẓīfat al-inshāʾ wa-kitābat al-sijllāt fi Miṣr in shāʾa llāh yassara llāh fi itmāmihi wa-aʾāna ʿalā tabyīdihī. See Ibn Saʿīd, al-Nujūm al-zāhira 249 (note 2).*

65 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, ed. Cairo 1853, ii, 63 = *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 204 (*wa-qad dhakartuhu bi-absaṭ min hādihā [...] wa-fī kitābī Khulāṣat al-tibr fi akhbār kuttāb al-sirr*).

66 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fi mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 28a.

67 Bauden, *Maqriziana* IX 205.

68 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fi mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 28a.

shift in the meaning of the word *marsūm* and its derivatives in *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, although he devoted some space to the chancery and its practices.<sup>69</sup>

### Conclusion

The field of epistolography in general and the correspondence exchanged by members of the upper class, including scholars in the Mamluk period, in particular, certainly deserve more attention. There have been no studies of the genre for this period and the two letters discussed here show that such examples can be tackled from a variety of research angles, including the nature of the relationship between correspondents, and the fact that they convey new information on their authors' output. This type of study should certainly include a diplomatic and rhetorical approach given that the rules prevailing at the chancery thoroughly permeated letter writing in the Mamluk period.

Edition<sup>70</sup>

[٢٧ب] النوع الخامس: 71 المراسيم الشريفة ومنها ما يكون مقتضبا ومنها ما يكون على ظهور القصص.  
ورد على والدي رحمه الله تعالى رقعة من الشيخ تقي الدين المقلبي [sic] الشافعي تغمده الله برحمته مضمونها:

الرسم بقية الأثر وقيل ما ليس له شخوص من الآثار وقيل هو ما لصق بالأرض منها والجمع أرسمُ {ورسوم} 72 ورسم الغيث 73 الدار عفاها وأبقى فيها أثر الاصقا بالأرض وترسم الرسم نظر إليه والرسم كالرسم والرسم خشبة فيها كتاب 74 يختم به الطعام والرسم الطابع والشين

69 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, ed. Cairo 1853, ii, 225–7 = *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 730–4.

70 Ibn Abī Ghuddah, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, London, British Library, MS OR. 3625.

71 MS: corrected on السادس by the scribe.

72 MS: ورسم. The correction is made on the basis of Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* v, 215.

73 MS: الغيث.

74 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, *ibid*: + منقوش (inscribed).

لغة فيه وخص بعضهم به الطابع الذي يطبع به رأس الخابية وقد جاء في الشعر [قرحة]<sup>75</sup>  
بروسم أي بوجه الفرس وإن عليه لروسما أي [علامة حسن أو قبح ورسمت الناقاة ترسم]<sup>76</sup>  
رسيما أثرت<sup>77</sup> في الأرض من شدة وطئها وأرسمتها أنا والرسم الركبة<sup>78</sup> تدفنها [الأرض]<sup>79</sup>  
والجمع رسام والارتسام التكبير والتعود<sup>80</sup> وقال الشاعر<sup>81</sup>: [متقارب] [١٢٨]

وقابلها الريح في دنها وصلّى على دنها وارتمت<sup>82</sup>

المملوك أحمد المقلبي يقبل الأرض وينهي أن مما يتداوله أهل الإنشاء اليوم قولهم مرسوم  
شريف ورسم بالأمر الشريف والمرسوم مرسومكم ونحو ذلك يشبه أنهم يعنون بذلك أمر  
واشتقوا منه وهذا جميع ما أعلمه في مادة رسم رسم م وليس فيها من ذلك شيء وعهدي  
بكم تناضلون عن مصطلح الإنشاء وقد كتبت فيه ذلك الكتاب البديع المثال<sup>83</sup> البعيد المثال  
والمسؤول<sup>84</sup> إفادة المملوك ما معنى ذلك في اصطلاح الإنشاء مما لا يخالفه<sup>85</sup> اللغة وإلا فقد  
صدق قول المملوك في واضعه ولم يرد المملوك بالسؤال عن ذلك إلا الفائدة فإني عازم على  
تبييض ما كتبت من أخبار كتاب السر فقد يسر الله بمقاربة الفراغ من كتابي المسعى بكتاب  
المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الحطط والآثار الذي لو وضعه غيري لقلت فيه ما يستحقه من  
الثناء غير أن المثل القديم يعجب بابه<sup>86</sup> وما هو إلا بنات صدري ووسواس فكري والله  
إني لكم المشتاق فالله بمن بالتلاقي بمنه وكرمه. أنهى ذلك إن شاء الله تعالى.

75 There is a lacuna here. The necessary addition is from *ibid.*

76 There is a lacuna here. The necessary addition is from *ibid.*, 215–6.

77 MS: انزت.

78 MS: الركبة.

79 There is a lacuna here. The necessary addition is from Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* v, 216.

80 MS: التعود.

81 In Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* v, 216, the name of the poet is al-A’shā. See al-A’shā, *Dīwān* 35 (verse 11).

82 The whole paragraph stems from Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* v, 215–6.

83 MS: المثال.

84 MS: والمسؤول.

85 MS: يخالفه.

86 This proverb does not appear in the classical repertoires that I have consulted. It is echoed however in the introduction Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn ‘Umar al-Qarāfi (d. 1009/1601) wrote for his *Tawshīḥ al-dibāj wa-ḥiyat al-ibtihāj* 14: *wa-t-mar’ yu’jabu bi-bnihi wa-bi-shi’rihi wa-bi-ṣun’ihi.*

فأجابه والدي رحمه الله تعالى:

الشيخ التقي المملوك أحمد القلقشندي يقبل الأرض وينهي ورود المرسوم [٢٨] الكريم العالي أعلاه الله تعالى على المملوك يأمره بالنظر في مادة قول كتاب الإنشاء مرسوم شريف ورسم بالأمر الشريف وما يجري هذا المجرى ومن أين أخذ ذلك من كلام أهل اللغة بعد إيراد ما سمح به القلم مما وقع عليه اطلاع سيدي الشيخ أمتع الله الوجود ببركته رسم على اختلاف معاني ذلك ونجوى<sup>87</sup> الخطاب يشير إلى أنهم يعنون بقولهم رسم أمر مع أنه ليس في المادة المذكورة ما يطابق هذا المعنى ثم كان من فضل سيدي الشيخ نشأ الله في أجله أنه أجرى تلهينه المستمنح من فضله والمغترف من بحر فوائده على عادة تفضلاته من التنويه بذكر تأليفه في كتاب الإنشاء الشبيه في الحقيقة بحديث خرافة بعد التصدير بعهد المملوك المناضلة عن مصطلح الإنشاء والذي يطالع به المملوك العلوم الكريمة أنه ليس من فرسان هذا الميدان ولا من رجال هذه الحلبة<sup>88</sup> غير أن أمر السادة لازم للعيد وعزيمة الموالي لا يبرح الخروج عن عهدها إلا بالامثال والمملوك يدي بين يدي سيدي ما سنح له من ذلك على ما هو عليه من جمود الفكر وكلاية القريحة والمسؤول<sup>89</sup> من جزيل الإحسان ووافر الامتنان النظر فيما يديه من ذلك بعين المجاملة والإغضاء عما في المعائب والمثالب [٢٩] ومما يقدمه المملوك أمام جوابه أن ما جرى عليه الاصطلاح مما يكتب فيه رسم بالأمر الشريف وما في معنى ذلك ليس مما استحدثه أهل العصر ولا من قارب زمانهم من بني فضل الله ومن دانا هم كما يقع في ظن كثير من أهل العصر بل قد ألقى المملوك ذلك في كتابة كتاب الدولة الأيوبية بعد الخمس مائة والكتاب إذ ذاك من قد علم سيدي الشيخ من ذوي الفضل والمعرفة بأصول الكتابة مما لا يظن به أنه يصطلح على المهمات المجانبة للغة العرب وإذا تأمل المتأمل مادة رسم وجد هذا المصطلح في رسم والمرسوم وما انحط في سلكهما مينا على عدة أصول من اللغة موجودة في كتبها:

الأول أن يكون مأخوذاً من قول القائل رسمت له كذا فارتسمه إذا امتثله ويكون المراد منه الأمر كما أشار إليه سيدي الشيخ أبقاه الله تعالى في كلامه + كما إذ ينحل +<sup>90</sup> إلى قولك أمرته بكذا فاتممه [blank of five lines] [٢٩ب]

87 MS: ونجوى.

88 MS: + لا crossed out.

89 MS: المسؤول.

90 This passage is corrupted: The copyist seems to have tried to reproduce his model but this is meaningless and I cannot propose any alternative solution.

أن يكون مأخوذاً من [...] [...] في معنى التوقيع أنه الأثر الخفيف أخذاً من قولهم ناقة موقعة الجنب إذا تأثر جنبها بالجنب تأثراً خفيفاً والتوقيع وإن كان في الأصل اسماً لما يكتب على حواشي القصص ونحوها فقد توسع فيه حتى صار يطلق على جميع المكتوب كما في المرسوم ونحوه  
 91 [blank] أن يكون مأخوذاً من الرسم بمعنى الطابع الذي يطبع به على رأس الخاتمة ونحوها إذ المرسوم في الولاية وما يجاريها كالطابع الذي يطبع به على تلك الجهة حتى لا يسوغ التصرف فيها لغير متوليها

92 [blank] أن يكون مأخوذاً من الرسم أيضاً وهو شيء تجلي به الدنانير إما بمعنى أن الأمور تجلي لصاحب الولاية ونحوها بالوصايا التي تكتب في المرسوم أو بمعنى أن الأمور تجلي لصاحب الولاية الذي يكتب له المرسوم إذ بالحكام تجلي مدلهمات الأمور وتتضح<sup>93</sup> مشكلاتها هذا ما ظهر للمملوك على قصوره في هذا الباب وقلة بضاعته فإن كان خلل فمثل المملوك يعذر وإن وافق الصواب أو قارب فمن ندور سيدي حصل ويكون المملوك فيه كمثل التمر إلى هجر: [كامل]

وَالْبَحْرُ يَمْطُرُهُ السَّحَابُ وَمَا لَهُ فَضْلٌ عَلَيْهِ لِأَنَّهُ مِنْ مَائِهِ<sup>94</sup>

أنهى ذلك إن شاء الله تعالى.

### Translation

[Fol. 27b] The fifth category: The noble decrees among which there are those that are extracted and those that are [written] on the back of the petitions.

A letter (*ruq'a*) whose contents follow was received by my father—may God the Sublime have mercy upon him—from the Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqlīzī [sic] al-Shāfī'ī—may God encompass him with His grace—.

91 The space left blank should have been filled in with the number of the proposal to be added in red ink as for the first one.

92 The space left blank should have been filled in with the number of the proposal to be added in red ink as for the first one.

93 MS: ويتضح.

94 Attributed to al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī (Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī, d. 534/1139–40). See 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* ii, 127–46 (142 for the poem); Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Irshād al-arīb* vi, 2769–71 (no. 1200; 2771 for the poem). In both sources, al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī's verse starts with *ka-l-baḥr* instead of *wa-l-baḥr*.

A relic (*al-rasm*) is the remains of the trace (*al-athar*), or those traces that have no substance, or those of them that cleave to the ground. The plural is *arsum* and *rusūm*. The rain razed (*rasama*) the house, [i.e.,] it erased it leaving a relic thereof cleaving to the ground. He observed (*tarassama*) the mark (*al-rasm*), [i.e.,] he looked at it. The sign (*al-rawsam*) is similar to the trace (*al-rasm*). It is also a piece of wood upon which is an inscription with which food is stamped. It is also the stamp. [The form with] the *shūn* (*rawsham*) is a variant. Some use it particularly for the seal with which the mouth of the jar (*al-khābiya*) is stamped. It occurs in poetry “a blaze on the face of a horse” (*qurḥa bi-rawsam*) meaning the face of a horse. [In] “Verily upon him is a sign (*rawsam*),”<sup>95</sup> it means a mark of beauty or of ugliness. The she-camel left marks (*rasamat, tarsim, rasīman*) [means] she made marks upon the ground by the vehemence of her tread and I caused her to leave such marks (*arsamtu*). It (*al-rasm*) is also the well that the earth filled up, the plural being *risām*. *Al-Irtisām* is to say “God is great” (*Allāh akbar*) and to seek protection by God. The poet [al-A’shā] says:<sup>96</sup> [*mutaqārib*]

He exposed it [the wine] to the wind, in its jar,  
and he prayed over its jar, and petitioned (*irtasama*) for it.

The slave Aḥmad al-Maqlīzī [sic] kisses the ground and reports that among the words of which the people of the chancery make frequent use nowadays, there are “a noble decree” (*marsūm sharīf*), “the noble order has been decreed” (*rusīma bi-l-amr al-sharīf*), “the decree is yours” (*al-marsūm marsūmukum*), and the like. It would seem by this that they mean “it has been ordered” (*umīra*) and they derive from it [various expressions]. This [the definitions that precede] is all that I know with regard to *rasam* [root] *r-s-m* and there is nothing in it of this kind. I enjoin you to defend the terminology (*muṣṭalah*) of the chancery as you have written about it in that unattainable book of unprecedented example. What is asked [from you] is to inform the slave of the meaning of this [term] in the usages (*iṣṭilāḥ*) of the chancery provided that it is not incompatible with the lexicon (*luḡha*). Otherwise, what the slave has said regarding the person who instituted this term will be true. In inquiring about this, the slave only wishes to gain knowledge as I am determined to make a fair copy of what I have written on the stories of the secretaries and God has made it possible [for me] to almost finish my book entitled *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* [Admonitions and reflections on the mention of the quarters and monuments] which, if I were not its author, I would have praised as it deserves, were it not for the old saying “He is proud of his son” because it would only be the result of my anxieties and my concerns. By God! I am longing for you. God bestows the encounter by His grace and favor. He reported this, if God the Sublime will.

95 This is taken from a poem by Khālid ibn Jabala.

96 Fol. 28a.

My father—may God the Sublime have mercy upon him—answered him:

The Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn

The slave Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī kisses the ground and reports the reception, by the slave, of the gracious and elevated decree<sup>97</sup>—may God the Sublime exalt it—where he [al-Maqrīzī] instructs him to examine the issue of the secretaries of the chancery saying “noble decree” (*marsūm sharīf*), “the noble order has been decreed” (*rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf*), and the like, as well as from where the lexicographers consider that this was taken after having listed what the pen permitted our master the shaykh—may God make him enjoy existence through His benediction—to discover regarding [the root] *r-s-m* according to the various meanings of this [root]. The letter (*khiṭāb*) implicitly indicates that what they mean by *rasama* is “to order” (*amara*) though there is nothing in the mentioned root that corresponds to this meaning. Then it was part of the graciousness of our master, the shaykh—may God increase his term—, to bestow upon his disciple, who desires to be granted his grace and who scoops out from the sea of his useful teachings, his usual favors in extolling the mention of his work on the secretaries of the chancery which is, in reality, commensurate with the story of Khurāfa,<sup>98</sup> after he expressed to the slave his admonishment to defend the terminology of the chancery.

What the slave reports to [his] eminent cognizance is that he is not competent in this field and he is unfamiliar with it.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, the master’s order is a duty for the slave and the only way to be released from the obligation to the lord’s decision is to execute it. The slave brings his master what has entered his mind about this as it comes from a lethargic mind and a weak talent. What is asked for from profuse benevolence and abundant bounteousness is to examine what he expresses about this with a friendly eye and with indulgence for the shortcomings and defects.<sup>100</sup>

What the slave answers is that the usage which consists in writing “the noble order has been decreed” (*rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf*) and other expressions of similar meaning

97 Fol. 28b.

98 This is a reference to the story of a ‘Udhri whose tales of adventures after being abducted by demons were not believed; hence the use of the expression found here to designate entirely fictitious talk. However, the meaning can be seen as positive because “the Prophet himself vouches for the existence of the character and the authenticity of his statements” (Pellat, *Ḥikāya*, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iii, 369). Al-Qalqashandī is thus probably alluding to the Prophet’s judgment in favor of the veracity of Khurāfa’s story on one hand and, on the other, to the fact that al-Maqrīzī’s forthcoming book will be as wonderful as this story, as suggested by the use he makes of “in reality” (*fī l-ḥaqīqa*).

99 Literally “he is not one of the horsemen of this playing field nor one of the men of this arena.”

100 Fol. 29a.

is not something that the people of this time nor those of the Banū Faḍl Allāh who were almost their contemporaries nor those who were close to them introduced as our contemporaries believe. On the contrary, the slave found this in the production of the secretaries of the Ayyūbid dynasty after the year 500. At that time, the secretaries, as our master the shaykh knows, were men of erudition and knowledge in the principles of the art of writing so that there is no reason to think that it would have been applied to important matters by digressing from the language of the Arabs.

If someone looks attentively at the root *r-s-m*, he will find this technical meaning of *rasama* (“he decreed”), *al-marsūm* (“the decree”), and the like<sup>101</sup> clearly explained according to numerous etymologies found in the lexicons:

[1] [It could have] been taken from *rasamtu lahu kadhā fa-rtasamahu* when he executes it. What is meant here is the order as our master, the shaykh,—may God the Sublime spare him—indicated in his speech ...<sup>102</sup> when you say “I ordered him [to do] this and he executed it.”<sup>103</sup>

[2] [It could have been taken] [lacuna] in the sense of an endorsement (*tawqīr*), which is the shallow mark stemming from “a she-camel whose flank is galled” when the rope left a slight trace on its flank. Even if the endorsement (*al-tawqīr*) was originally a name applied to what is written on the margins of the petitions and the like, its meaning was extended until it was applied to the whole writ as for *al-marsūm* (the decree) and the like.

[3] [It could have] been taken from *al-rawsam*, meaning the seal that is stamped on the mouth of the jar and the like given that the decree (*al-marsūm*) of appointment and similar [deeds] is comparable to the seal that is stamped to this end in such a way that only the person who is in charge of it is allowed to dispose of it.

[4] [It could have] been taken from *al-rawsam* again, which is something that is used to polish the dinars, meaning either that the affairs reveal themselves to the owner of the position and the like through the recommendations that are written in the decree (*al-marsūm*), or that the affairs become clear to the owner of the position for whom the decree is written given that obscure affairs become plain and difficult ones appear clear through the rulers.

This is what has come to the view of the slave, notwithstanding his inability in this matter and his lack of knowledge. If he is mistaken, the one who is like a slave asks for forgiveness; if he is right or is close [to the truth], it is thanks to our lord’s vows

101 Literally “what descends their thread.”

102 The three words that follow are corrupted in the MS.

103 Fol. 29b.

that he succeeded. In this case, the slave is comparable to the one who brings a date to Hajar:<sup>104</sup> [*kāmīl*]

The cloud waters the sea  
No merit for this as it is made of the sea's water

He reported this if God the Sublime will.



FIGURE 10.1 *The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 27b.*

104 Hajar was the name of the capital of Bahrayn and the surrounding area (i.e., Eastern Arabia). It was reputed for its dates. A variant of this proverb is listed by al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl* ii, 152 (no. 3080): *ka-mustabqī' al-tamr ilā Hajar* (like the one who brings dates as merchandise to Hajar).

وَقَابِلَهَا الِارْح فِي ذَنْبِهَا وَصَلَّى عَلَيْهَا وَارْتَسَمَ  
 الْمَلَكُ أَحَدَ الْمُقَلِّدِي قِبَلِ الدُّرِّ قَمِي لِرَحْمَتَيْهَا وَلِأَهْلِ  
 الْأَنْشَاءِ الْبُرْمِ قَوْلُهُمْ قَرَسَمُ شَرِيفٌ وَرَسَمٌ بِالْأَمْرِ لِيُزَيِّنَ وَالْمَرْسُومُ  
 مَرْسُومٌ وَكَوْدَالِي سَيْتُهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ يُعْنُونَ بِذَلِكَ الْأَمْرَ وَاسْتَقْوَاهُمْ هَذِهِ  
 جَمِيعٌ مَا أَعْلَمُهُ فِي مَادَّةِ دَسَمٍ رَسَمٌ وَوَلَيْسَ فِيهِمَا ذَلَالَةٌ وَعَمْدٌ كَمْ  
 تَنَاوَلُونَ عَنْ مَصْطَلَحِ الْأَنْشَاءِ وَقَدْ كُنْتُمْ فِيهِ ظَالِمًا لِكِتَابِ الْبَدِيعِ الْمُنَالِ  
 الْبَعِيدِ الْمُنَالِ وَالْمُنَالُ إِفَادَةُ الْمَلُولِ أَوْ مَعْنَى ذَلَالَتِهِ فِي أَصْلِهِ الْأَنْشَاءُ  
 مَا لَا يَخَالِفُ اللَّغَةَ وَالْأَفْعَدُ صَدَقَ قَوْلُ الْمَلُولِ فِي وَاقِعِهِ وَلَمْ يَرِدِ الْمَلُولُ  
 بِالسُّؤَالِ عَنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا الْفَائِيزُ فَانِي عَادَ عَلَى تَبْيِضِ مَا كُنْتُمْ مِنْ أَحْبَابِ  
 كِتَابِ السَّرْفِ دَسِيرٌ لِنَهْ مَعَادِيهَا الْفِرَاعُ مَرْكَابِي الْمَسْمِيِّ كِتَابِ الْمَوَاعِظِ  
 وَالْأَهْبَارِ فِي ذِكْرِ الْخَطِّ وَالْأَمَارِ الدَّلِيلُ وَضَوْعِي غَيْرِي لَعَلَّتْ فِيهِ مَا تَسْتَكْتُمُ  
 سَرَاتِنَا غَيْرَ أَنْ الْمَثَلَ الْعَدِيمُ بِمُحِبِّ بَابِنْدِهِ وَمَاهُو الْأَبْنَاءُ صَدْرِي  
 وَوَسْرَاسُ فِكْرِي وَوَأَسْهُ انِّي لِكَمْ شَتَاؤُكَ فَالِدِي يَمِينُ الْبَلَاءِ عَنْهُ  
 وَكَلِمَةُ انِّي ذَلَالَتِي تَدِينُ نَعَالِ فَاجَابَهُ وَالَّذِي رَحِمَهُ لَعْنَةُ تَعَالَى  
 الشَّيْءُ الْمُتَقَرَّى الْمَلِكُ أَحْمَدُ الْعَلَفِيُّ رَسَمَ الدُّرِّ قَمِي وَرَوَاهُ الْكُرْمُ

FIGURE 10.2 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 28a.

الكرم الحال اعلاه لانه تعالى على الملوك باسمه بالنظر في مادة قول  
 كتاب الانشا من مكرم شريف ووسم بالاسم الشريف وما جرى هذا الجرى  
 ومن انما اخذ ذلك من كلام اهل اللغة بعد اراد ما سمح به القامح ما وقع  
 عليه الخلاج سيدي الشيخ المنع الله الوجود بمرثته رسمه على  
 اختلاف معاني ذلك ونحو الخطاب ليشير الى الفهم بعنون بقولهم  
 رسم اسمع انه ليس في المادة المذكورة ما يطابق هذا المعنى ثم كان من  
 فضل سيدي الشيخ فشا لانه في اجله انه اجري بلبس المستمع من فضل  
 والترقي من محرواين على مادة تفضلا من التوحيه بتوكله ليلفقه  
 نادر الانشا الشبيهة على الحتمه بحدت خرافه بعد التصدير بعصده  
 بالملك المناضلة من مصطلح الانشا والدرجات به الملوك العلوم  
 الحكمه انه ليس في رسال هذا الميدان وان اردنا ان هذا كلبه لا غير ان  
 امر اساده لاذم للمعبيد وعزومة الهوا الى ابرج الخروج عن عمدتها الا  
 بالاعتقال والملك سيد يبردى سيدي ما سمح له من الدليل هو ان محمود  
 الفكر وكلاله الترجمة والمسؤل فرج بل الاحسان وواقر الانشا  
 النظر في سيده من ذلك بين الجملة والاعضاء عامه من العايش والمطالب

٢٨

FIGURE 10.3 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 28b.

29

وما تقدمه الملوك عام جوابه ان ما جرى عليه الاضطراب حمله في رسم الامر  
 الرثين وما في معنى اللبس ما استمدت ما عمل العمر ولا من كتاب زمانهم في  
 فضل له وفتح امامه في نظر كثير من الملوك العرب بل قد انزل الملوك لك كتاب  
 كتاب الدول لا يورثه بعد الخساره والكتاب اذ ان في قوله سيد الخساره في  
 الفضل الحرفه باصول الكتاب مما انظر به انه مصطلح على المصطلحات الجاهليه  
 للغة العرب واذا تأمل المتأمل ما ده وسر وجه هذا المصطلح في رسم  
 والمرسوم وما اعطاني سلمهما مبدئنا على عدل اصول من اللغة موجوده في  
 كتبنا **الاول** ان يكون ما حوذا من قول القائل وصمت له قد افادته اذا  
 استعمله ويكون المراد منه الامر كما اشار اليه سيد الخساره في قوله لغيره  
 كما اذ نخل الى قول امرئ القيس بكه افادته

FIGURE 10.4 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 29a.

في معنى التوقيع انه الاثر الخفيف احد من قوتهم نأى موقعه الجنب في ان اثر  
 جنبها بالقبس نأى اخفيا و التوقيع وان كان في الاصل اسما لما يكتب على  
 هو اى القمص ونحوها قد توسع فيه حتى صار يطلق على جميع الكتب كالتوقيع  
 ونحوه ان يكون مأخوذا من الرسم بمعنى الطابع الذي يطبع به على اس  
 الخايه ونحوها اذ الرسوم في الولاية وما جاء بها كالطابع الذي يطبع به على تلك  
 الجهد حتى لا يبرغ القرف فيها لغير متوليها ان يكون مأخوذا  
 من الرسم ايضا وهو شئ تجلي به الدنيا يبره اما بمعنى ان الامور تجلي لصاحب  
 الولاية ونحوها بالوصايا التي يكتب في الرسم او بمعنى ان الامور تجلي لصاحب  
 الولاية الذي يكتبه الرسم اذ بالحكام تجلي مد لهجات الامور وينصح  
 مشكلاتها هذا ما ظهر للملوك على تصوره في هذا الباب وقلة  
 بضاعه فان كان خلال نسل الملوك يعجزون وان وافق الصواب او فادب فرز  
 مدو سير حصل ويكون الملوك فيه كما قل القمرا الى حجر  
 والحسن مطر السحاب وماله فضل عليه لانه من مائه  
 انزل ان شالته جار قل

FIGURE 10.5 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 29b.

## Sultan Selīm's Obsession with Mamluk Egypt according to Evliyā Çelebi's *Seyāhatnāme*

*Michael Winter*

### Introduction

The history of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm's conquest of Egypt and the overthrow of the Mamluk Sultanate is well known from many Arabic and Turkish chronicles and other sources. In his early career, Selīm was a crown prince in Trebizond, the most distant province from the capital, with the least likelihood of taking the Ottoman throne than his two half-brothers. He was the least popular with Sultan Bāyezīd II, his aging father, and his grand vizier 'Alī Pasha. Selīm established his power base locally, fighting Georgia, his Christian neighbor in the East, but planning to move his forces to the West, with the excuse of fighting the infidels on the Danube. It is undeniable that although the conquest of Egypt was Sultan Selīm's greatest achievement for the Empire, this had not been his plan or ambition during his early career. It was the result of complicated political and strategic developments that no one could have predicted in advance.

In this chapter I discuss Evliyā Çelebi's version of Selīm's conquest of Egypt. In the tenth volume of his famous travelogue *Seyāhatnāme*, Evliyā Çelebi devotes only 20 pages to Selīm, each printed in two columns. The whole volume has 537 pages that are mostly about Egypt (and some on the Sudan and Habesh/Ethiopia), all printed in very small letters. I discuss only those parts that are pure fantasy, where the author attempts to show that Selīm was obsessed with Egypt from the start. All these chapters are based on the mystical and the supernatural.<sup>1</sup>

Klaus Kreiser describes the *Seyāhatnāme* as a valuable source for many aspects of Ottoman politics, society and culture.<sup>2</sup> Even though Evliyā Çelebi compares his work to that of "other historians" and is classified by the two modern scholars and bibliographers of Turkish history and literature Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir (d. 1926) and Franz Babinger (d. 1967) among others as a historian, the *Seyāhatnāme* cannot be regarded as 'history.' However the quality

1 Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme* x.

2 Kreiser, Evliyā Çelebi.

of the work as a first-rate 'historical source' is beyond question. According to Rhoads Murphy, Evliyā Çelebi's "partisan remarks enrich rather than distort our understanding of Ottoman realities. Moreover, precisely by recording controversial and deeply felt contemporary opinion Evliyā's account achieves its unique standing and value as a source for the study of seventeenth-century Ottoman society and politics."<sup>3</sup> In this regard, Kreiser notes, "he clearly discriminates the Ottoman *Rūm* elite from the other subjects of the Sultan, a feature which is particularly noticeable in the tenth volume of the *Seyāhatnāme* focusing on Egypt."<sup>4</sup>

The tenth volume of Evliyā Çelebi's great travelogue *Seyāhatnāme* is mainly a detailed description of Egypt. He presents a panoramic view of the country as he saw it in the second half of the seventeenth century. As an Ottoman patriot and a deeply religious Muslim, the author was a keen, observant traveler who was a foreigner, but not a stranger to Egyptian culture. He paid attention to the local color, social and cultural subtleties, rules, and the ways the country was governed by the Ottomans. In particular, he was interested in local practices of Islam.

The aim of the present article is not to trace the history of the important Ottoman Sultan Yāvūz Selīm (r. 1512–20), and the political and military events in which he took part. His dynamic personality in leading, and even saving, the Ottoman Empire has been described in other more reliable and accurate sources than Evliyā Çelebi. Rather, my purpose is to document Evliyā Çelebi's unique approach as a mystic and fascinating writer, who brazenly mixes the real Selīm, as he was known to contemporary historians, with mysticism, imagination and naïve techniques that attribute the power of divination of future events (*kashf*) to historical figures like famous Sufi saints. These events were known to Evliyā Çelebi because he had the advantage of living a century and a half later. His most daring device is to involve the Prophet himself, either in appearances in a dream, or in one case, when he speaks to Selīm from his grave in Medina.

Despite these literary contraptions, the figure of Selīm emerges as credible. Not surprisingly, he appears to be very similar to Evliyā Çelebi himself. Both were deeply religious, with a tendency toward superstitions. Selīm respected and admired Muslim scholars; Kemālpāşāzāde Aḥmed, his chief Mufti, had a strong influence on him. At the same time, he had extreme faith in living and dead Sufis, regardless of their kind of mysticism. His admiration of the figure

3 Murphy, *The historical setting* 24.

4 Kreiser, *Evliyā Çelebi*.

of the controversial mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī is perhaps the best example of his obsession with Sufism.

### Şehzāde Selīm’s Fantastic Journey to Mecca and Medina

Many “facts” that Çelebī presents to his readers diverge from what is known from Arabic and Turkish contemporary sources. One example is his detailed description of Selīm’s journey from Baghdad to Mecca and Medina. It is reported that after fulfilling the duties of the *ḥajj*, the then-Prince Selīm went to Medina, and visited the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad. There he had a personal conversation with the Prophet, which Evliyā Çelebī recounts to his readers. Selīm says:<sup>5</sup>

Oh God’s Messenger, You are said to have established Muḥammadan law (*nāmūs*, or sense of honor) on earth. So which kind of *nāmūs* it is, if the infidel Circassians of Egypt behave as they do? By the covenant and treaty that we have with you, if I am able to conquer Egypt, I will be a clerk of the imperial pantry. I will send to your people (the Muslims) a *kiswa* (the decorated cloth for the Kaaba) and *şurra* (the traditional funds and presents to be distributed among the poor of Mecca and Medina). But at present in Egypt there are suffering and moans.

Selīm repeated his entreaties seven times and heard a voice from below: “Oh Selīm, I guarantee it. Go, do your work. Do not do injustice to the Muslims; take care of the ‘*ulamā*’ of Egypt. Go, go!” Thus we are told by Evliyā Çelebī that the holy tomb gave Selīm permission (*dustūr*) to leave.

Selīm went with the Egyptian pilgrims to Egypt, and stayed forty days in a Sufi *tekke* (convent) in the Great Qarāfa (graveyard near Cairo). Two well-known Sufi shaykhs, Abū Su‘ūd al-Jāriḥī and Marzūq al-Kafāfi, visited him. They described the oppressive rule of Sultan al-Ghawrī whom they accuse of mistreating men of religion and being unable to control his army. They addressed Selīm prophetically (by *kashf*) as:<sup>6</sup>

The friend of the Prophet, the ruler of the *al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*, the ruler of Egypt. Hasten to *Bilād al-Rūm*, and sit on your father’s throne. From there go to Persia. When we call you, go to Egypt. Do not stay here.

<sup>5</sup> Evliyā Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme* x, 59–60.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Egypt is the worst country in the world, due to the injustice that al-Ghawrī commits.

### A Concluding Note on the Mystical Voyage of Şehzāde Selim

This mystical voyage is almost totally a-historical. The setting is the final days of the Mamluk Sultan Qānşūh al-Ghawrī. The title of the chapter calls Selim *Şehzāde*, “the “Sultan’s son.” When Selim was *Şehzāde*, he was focused on his career in the Ottoman Empire. His interest in Egypt came much later. Even as fantasy, Selim would not have started his conversation with the Prophet by a complaint about the tyranny of the Mamluks in Egypt. Obviously, here as elsewhere, Evliyā Çelebī took advantage of the information that was known to all the Ottomans and Egyptians interested in history. As far as we know, Selim never set foot in Egypt before his arrival there as the conqueror.

#### Evliyā Çelebī: “Selim the First turns his Brothers and their Children into Şehīds (Martyrs)”<sup>7</sup>

As said, according to Evliyā Çelebī, Selim returned and began his maneuvers to take the Ottoman throne from his father and brothers. He did so with extraordinary shrewdness and ruthlessness. He forced his father Bāyezīd II to abdicate. Then he killed his two brothers, Aḥmed and Qorqud, and had them buried in Konya near the early sultans of the dynasty. Several princes tried to resist or escape, even to the Safavids. All were killed mercilessly. In order to ensure his full control of the Empire, he ordered the execution of all the princes and their small children. According to Evliyā Çelebī’s version, two royal infants were taken to Istanbul, but died of the plague. In the end, Selim had no opposition to worry about. After his untimely death in September 1520, his only son Süleymān, who had already shown his remarkable abilities and character, during the campaign in Egypt when he was in charge of the Anatolian units, succeeded him without difficulty.<sup>8</sup>

Evliyā Çelebī describes how Selim made a religious visit (*ziyāra*) in Konya to the sepulcher of Amīr Sultān, a famous Sufi saint and scholar from Bukhāra who lived during the reign of Bāyezīd I. Selim addressed the tomb: “Peace on

7 Ibid., 62–3.

8 İnalçik, Selim I, *ET* IX, 127–31.

you, the people of the graves!" A voice was heard from below: "And peace on you, the master of the sword and the pen. Enter Egypt in security!" All those who were present, we are told by Evliyā Çelebî, were astonished and perplexed. Then Kemâlpâşâzâde said: "My Sultan, this is good news. It has been announced to you that you will conquer Egypt safely!"<sup>9</sup>

### The Road to Marj Dâbiq

Selîm proved that among the ruling family, he alone could save the state from the followers of the charismatic Shi'î Shâh Ismâ'îl, the Kızılbâş, who threatened Ottoman rule in Anatolia. First, he massacred or imprisoned tens of thousands of them. Then, in August 1514, he defeated Shâh Ismâ'îl himself on the plain of Chaldiran near Tabriz. The superiority of the Ottomans was clearly due to their possession of firearms. The Safavid threat was removed for the time being. Then Selim killed 'Alâ' al-Dawla, the ruler of the Turcoman principality of Albistan, who was al-Ghawrî's vassal, and prevented provisions from reaching the Ottoman army. Selîm killed him and his sons and sent their heads to the Mamluk Sultan, while their principality was annexed to the Empire. These actions were crucial in the war against the Mamluks.<sup>10</sup>

In the meantime, Evliyā Çelebî adds, the prominent Sufis and other religious figures of Egypt, led by Abū Su'ūd al-Jārihî and Marzūq al-Kafāfi, convened in secret to decide which power Egypt should best support against Qānşūh al-Ghawrî's rule which seemed both oppressive and unstable. He states that a number of alternatives were weighed and dismissed for religious and strategic reasons. They considered the Maghribis, India, the Persians and the Kurds. Finally, they decided that the Ottomans were the best, since they were monotheists and abided by the *Sharī'a* law, they were favorable to the '*ulamā*' and Sufis, and at war they were always victorious. They called three times: "Oh Selîm, go and sit on your father's throne! *Yâ Selîm, ta'âl!*"<sup>11</sup>

Far away, Sultan Selîm and his commanders were relaxing in Amasye. Two pashas heard the call from Egypt. Selîm remembered that when they called him, he was to go to Egypt. Selîm decided that the time had come to prepare for a campaign against Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Kemâlpâşâzâde called the *fātiha*. Selim summoned the '*ulamā*' of Rûm and the chief *qāḍîs* of the four *madhhabs* to obtain

9 Evliyā Çelebî, *Seyâhatnâme* x, 62–3.

10 Ibid.

11 Evliyā Çelebî, *Seyâhatnâme* x, 62.

12 Ibid., 63–4.

*fatwās* authorizing the campaign by Muslim law. The official legal school in the Ottoman Empire was the Hanafi school, but since the *fatwās* were meant for Egypt, the Ottomans needed all four *madhhabs*. The *fatwās* accused the Kızılbaş, and particularly the Safavids, of cursing the Rightly-Guided Caliphs. It was a duty incumbent on every Muslim (*farḍ 'ayn*) to remove these Shi'is. It was necessary to kill them, take their women and their property.

The essence of these documents was that the Mamluk Sultan was guilty of aiding and abetting the Kızılbaş. Selīm appointed twelve envoys to deliver the *fatwās* to Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. When he read the documents, he ordered the ten envoys killed, and sent two with a message of war to Selīm. He wrote that the killing of the ten envoys was revenge for the blood of 'Alā' al-Dawla, the chief of Dhūlqādir, and his sons. He called Selīm to meet him at Marj Dābiq. Selīm was understandably infuriated and summoned the *'ulamā'* for consultation. It was agreed that killing the envoys, even if they came from lands of the infidels, was a sin.

Selīm received the visit of Ramaḗānođlu Khalil Bey, the ruler of the principality of the Ramaḗānođlu, controlling the plain of Cilicia at the foot of the Taurus. He committed all his resources to the Ottoman war effort against Egypt, thereby boosting Sultan Selīm's morale. He promised to contribute all his property and the assets that he controlled as *awqāf*. He said that he would send to battle 20,000 elite soldiers, and a large navy consisting of *kadrgas* (galleys), *şaykas* (a type of boat used on the Black Sea), and much ammunition and equipment.

There is little doubt that the enthusiastic support for Selīm from the Ramaḗānođlu chief should be understood in the light of the destruction that their neighbors the Dhūlqādirids suffered at the hands of Selīm less than two years earlier for their hostile attitude at the order of al-Ghawrī. Selīm hurriedly left Bursa for Konya to visit the sepulcher of *sultān al-'ulamā'*, Jalāl al-Dīn Mevlānā (*Rūmī*), to be inspired by its holiness.

As Selīm and his army came near the plain of Marj Dābiq, a mysterious dervish appeared, and spoke to the Sultan: "Oh Selīm! If you wish to be victorious, know that God ordered Dāwūd (David) to fight Jālūt (Goliath) in this place. The site of Dāwūd is here. Stay here before al-Ghawrī arrives. Here a Quranic verse descended on Prophet Muḗammad: 'Dāwūd killed Jālūt and God gave him the kingship.'<sup>13</sup> Go, Selīm, to this place, surround yourself with guards."<sup>14</sup> Selīm did as the dervish told him. The dervish disappeared.

13 Q 2:251.

14 Evliyā Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme* x, 63–4.

### Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Grave in Damascus

Another story deals with Selīm’s visit of the grave of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī, who, for centuries, was admired in Turkish religious circles. The monistic doctrines of this mystic thinker appealed to the Turks, but generally less so to the legalistic Arabs (with several notable exceptions). Ibn al-‘Arabī was born in Spain, and died in 1240 in Damascus, and was buried in al-Şāliḥiyya, outside the city walls. He spent some time in Konya. He was praised for prophesying the advent of the Ottoman Empire. His grave was neglected, since the orthodox Damascenes disapproved of his ideas.

When the Ottomans conquered Damascus, Sultan Selīm was determined to repair the ruined grave. However, it was Kemālpāşāzāde who initiated the search for the saint’s grave. While studying a book by Ibn al-‘Arabī, he came across an enigmatic Arabic statement: “When the letter *sīn* comes, then enters the letter *shīn*, then the letter *mīm* appears.”<sup>15</sup> Kemālpāşāzāde interpreted this by *jifr* (onomancy); i.e., divination based on names or letters. He decided that *sīn* stood for Selīm, who entered *shīn*, al-Shām, Damascus, and *mīm* stood for Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī. This means that Ibn al-‘Arabī’s grave would be revealed.

In his dream, Ibn al-‘Arabī spoke to the Sultan. The message was: “I have been expecting your arrival in Syria. I herald your Egypt campaign. Tomorrow you will ride a black horse that will carry you to me. Then build for me in al-Şāliḥiyya a sepulcher, a Sufi convent, a mosque, a soup kitchen, a *madrasa*, a children’s school, a bath, a law court, a hospital, a fountain with running water and more.”<sup>16</sup> That was quite a wish list from a saint who had died almost three hundred years earlier.

The following day Selīm rode a black horse to the graveside. It brought him to the site of the grave. The Sultan saw a stone with the inscription: “This is the grave of Muḥyī al-Dīn.” The place was littered with refuse. People had decided that the mystic’s writings were contrary to Muslim faith and had accused him of infidelity (*takfīr*). Selīm summoned workers and builders to remove the garbage and to start building the complex according to his plan. The Sultan himself participated manually in the clean-up of the grave.<sup>17</sup>

Selīm became an ardent believer in the science of *jifr*. He asked several experts in this field to reveal the chances of the Egypt campaign. For example, a

15 Evliyā Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme* x, 65–7.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

shaykh cited a saying attributed to Caliph 'Alī: "It is certain that the Ottoman Sultan Selīm will be the master of Rūm, 'Ajam, and then of Jazīrat al-'Arab."<sup>18</sup> The shaykh interpreted the last term as referring to Egypt, citing an ancient Coptic leader. Quranic verses were also interpreted to give the Sultan hope. Many sources describe Selīm as intelligent and learned, and it is thus doubtful that he in fact believed in these prophecies.

The rebellion of Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, the former Mamluk *amīr* whom Selīm had appointed governor of Damascus, is worth mentioning at this juncture. He recklessly rebelled against young Sultan Süleymān after Sultan Selīm's death. The revolt was suppressed quickly. But al-Ghazālī destroyed the dome of the newly constructed mosque of Ibn al-'Arabī's tomb because it was a symbol of the Ottoman regime and the unpopular saint.<sup>19</sup>

### Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's Death according to Evliyā Çelebī<sup>20</sup>

Another example proves that Evliyā Çelebī distorted historical facts. In his description of the battle in which the Ottomans under Selīm defeated the Mamluks in Marj Dābiq north of Aleppo, he insists that Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī was not killed during the battle, "as some historians mistakenly claim," but escaped and continued organizing the Mamluk forces resisting the Ottomans. According to Ibn Iyās, the aged Sultan al-Ghawrī was killed when he fell from his horse and stricken with apoplexy.<sup>21</sup> The fact that his body was never found may have fueled the legend that he survived. According to Evliyā Çelebī, al-Ghawrī was killed during a fierce battle between the Ottomans and the Mamluks in the desert plain of Bilbays. Al-Ghawrī was beheaded by a soldier, as he was praying on the field. His head was wrapped in his prayer rug, and was brought to Selīm, but there were doubts whether this was al-Ghawrī. After seventeen years, his ring and an ear with a wound that had been made by a sword were found. A *mekteb* teacher found al-Ghawrī's will.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 65–7; Masters, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire* 117. About the rebellion of Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, see Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922* 46–7.

20 Evliyā Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme* x, 68.

21 Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922* 38 (according to Ibn Iyās, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire* 67).

### Ṭümānbāy's Death: Evliyā Çelebî's Version<sup>22</sup>

Another example of Evliyā Çelebî's vivid imagination has to do with the tragic (and well known) fate of Ṭümānbāy, the last Sultan of the Mamluk state. It was chronicled by Ibn Iyās, an eyewitness to the events before and after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. All the chroniclers of the period, as well as modern historians, describe him as a courageous, religious and just ruler. His only weakness was that he was unable to control the hotheads among his *amîrs* and was unable to stop unwise measures that could have prevented the complete destruction of the Mamluk state, and perhaps his own hanging at Selîm's order. Even Evliyā Çelebi agrees with early sources that he was a noble man.<sup>23</sup>

After several hopeless attempts to continue fighting the Ottomans, Ṭümānbāy fled to seek shelter with the Arab shaykh of Buḥayra. Here he was betrayed to Sultan Selîm by two Arab chiefs to whom he had sworn loyalty. Selîm ordered him hung at the Zuwayla Gate. It seems certain that it was Khā'ir Bey, the former governor of Aleppo, who convinced the Sultan to hang Ṭümānbāy. Khā'ir Bey had betrayed Qānṣūh al-Ghawrî during the battle of Marj Dābiq and convinced Selîm to march on Egypt. As a previous military commander and a governor under the Mamluks, he gave Selîm valuable information and advice on the way and in Egypt after the conquest.

So far, this narrative adheres to the traditional version of Ṭümānbāy's personality and death. What makes his version fantastic and bizarre is the way Ṭümānbāy is described as meeting the Sultan. Selîm ordered Khā'ir Bey to destroy Ṭümānbāy. Khā'ir Bey bestowed rewards and presents on Ibn Khabîr, the Arab chief in whose house Ṭümānbāy was hiding. Ibn Khabîr informed Selîm about Ṭümānbāy.

The Prophet Muḥammad appeared in one of Ṭümānbāy's dreams. He told him that for the sake of his honor he should go to Selîm. The Prophet would soon be with him; i.e., Selîm would die soon. Ṭümānbāy woke up, prayed, and rode to the officer who was charged to arrest him. Selîm also saw the Prophet in his dream. He said: "Oh Selîm, send Ṭümānbāy to me. Prepare his funeral. By your pledge, make Egypt *waqf* for me. When you get to Istanbul, you also will be with me." When Selîm questions "To whom will I leave Egypt?" the Prophet reassures him that Egypt will be in God's trust; Selîm should not worry. If around the year 1003/1594–5, Egypt's conditions become unstable, he should not worry since his dynasty will continue to control Egypt.<sup>24</sup> It is not clear which events

22 Evliyā Çelebî, *Seyāhatnâme* x, 69–70.

23 Holt, Ṭümān Bāy, in *ET*<sup>2</sup> x, 621; see also Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* v, ed. Muṣṭafā 1960–75, 174–7.

24 Evliyā Çelebî, *Seyāhatnâme* x, 69–70.

Evliyā Çelebî had in mind, but we know that this period was a time of social and economic upheaval.

When Selim woke up and completed his prayers, Ṭümānbāy arrived. Here Evliyā Çelebî cites a conversation between the Sultan and his prisoner. The exchange of accusations and arguments between them is narrated as follows. Ṭümānbāy complains that the Ottomans called the Circassians of Egypt infidels in their *fatwās* because they stole their property and harmed the Muslims. Selim responds that the Mamluks should be killed for helping the Persians, a charge vehemently denied by Ṭümānbāy. Selim says that the Egyptians killed his messengers. Ṭümānbāy explains that the messengers whom al-Ghawrî executed spoke insolently in his presence; the two who behaved well were allowed to go free. Selim asks: "Why have you fought us so violently?" Ṭümānbāy: "You attacked our families and took their property." Selim: "Why have you come to me?" Ṭümānbāy: "God's messenger told me to come." Selim realized that all Ṭümānbāy's words were true. Finally he asked: "Why were the people calling out to you 'May God give victory to Sultan Ṭümānbāy'?" Ṭümānbāy replied: "I was treating the poor with justice. If you do justice, and stop making war, they will also follow you."<sup>25</sup>

Selim signaled to Khā'ir Bey, and Ṭümānbāy was hanged at the Zuwayla Gate. After seven hours, he was taken down. Sultan Selim walked at the funeral, and even carried the coffin on his shoulders for a while. Ibn Iyās witnessed the execution and presents a touching description of his courage.<sup>26</sup> Ṭümānbāy was buried at the Ādiliyya Madrasa in an impressive building with a high dome and a nice mosque nearby. It was surrounded by buildings for guests. A tall spacious building, like a palace, it was later used by *amīrs* who came to Cairo and stayed there for three days then left in a parade. High officials on their way back to Istanbul did the same. They stopped at Ṭümānbāy's tomb to be inspired by its holiness, hence making the tomb a popular pilgrimage and excursion site. Nevertheless there was still unrest in Cairo and more armed clashes followed, because the status of al-Ghawrî and Ṭümānbāy was still great. Hence, Khā'ir Bey was considered a traitor to the Mamluk cause.

### Selim in the Palace of Umm al-Qiyās in Cairo<sup>27</sup>

The mysterious adventure of the Sultan's night in the ancient palace may be the most fantastic event described by Evliyā Çelebi. It is a horror story with

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* v, 174–7; see also Holt, Ṭümān Bāy, in *EI*<sup>2</sup> x, 621.

<sup>27</sup> Evliyā Çelebî, *Seyāhatnāme* x, 70–1.

a happy ending, thanks to yet another personal intervention by the Prophet Muḥammad. After the execution of Ṭūmānbāy and the transfer of all Egyptian affairs to Khā'ir Bey, Selīm wanted to relax before heading back to Istanbul. He moved to the Palace of Umm al-Qiyās, a tall ancient building where Ma'mūn, the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, had spent a few nights. It is described as "a garden of paradise." However, the guards failed to protect Selīm. He was sleeping peacefully, but at dawn he woke up and saw a huge frightening naked man in his room drawing a big sword to attack him. The Sultan screamed loudly, and the attacker jumped from the top of the building. He escaped on a boat that was waiting for him. Selīm realized that his bodyguards were asleep. The furious Sultan was determined to execute all of them for their negligence.

Ḥilmī Çelebi, a friend of Selīm, told a fantastic story which changed Selīm's view of what had happened to him. Pervīz Āğā, one of the just men of Egypt, said to Selīm: "First listen to me, and then you can put them to death. Tonight, the Prophet appeared at the door." This is followed by a detailed description of Prophet Muḥammad's shape and clothes. "He greeted me, and I responded." The Prophet said: "We have a bond with Selīm. He serves me, and I reciprocate by protecting him in times of danger. When the man was about to kill him, I woke up my Selīm."<sup>28</sup>

Selīm was impressed. He summoned learned people of religion; they likened the sleeping guards to the Quranic "people of the cave, whom God made sleep for a very long time."<sup>29</sup> Then Selīm sent a crier to announce his decisions: The guards are pardoned, and their salaries will not be affected. Forty Egyptian Beys will get large, tall palaces, and other valuable presents. Finally, the man who tried to kill the Sultan can come to meet him without fear of punishment.

The attacker introduced himself as Çerkes Ğāzī Kurtbay and admitted that he intended to kill the Sultan. Selīm asked him why he wanted to do so. Kurtbay explained that the Ottomans had killed many Muslims, including his seven sons. They stole enormous amounts of property and money. Selīm has put to death Ṭūmānbāy, who was God-fearing and courageous. Nevertheless, Kurtbay told Selīm that he had come to the conclusion that Allāh had turned His face away from the Circassians, and His face had turned now towards the Ottomans. He advised Selīm: "Do not stay in Egypt. What ties do you have here? Go away! I will not kill you, but here there are [others who hate you] and one of them will kill you." Selīm was touched by Kurtbay's words. He gave him precious presents and took him to Istanbul with him.

---

28 Ibid.

29 Q 18:1–26.

### Selim Introducing His Laws for Egypt<sup>30</sup>

Before leaving Egypt on his way back to Istanbul, Selim travelled to the important ports of Rashīd, Damietta and Alexandria to assess what he could take away. Then he convened a large rally in Cairo to announce the basics of his policy for Egypt. It took place at the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ in old Cairo. Abū al-Su'ūd al-Jāriḥī and Marzūq al-Kafāfi, the most illustrious Sufis whom Evliyā Çelebī mentioned several times before, were present. They allowed a preacher to deliver a sermon in which the Sultan's full titles were declared.

Selim heaped much honor, titles and gifts on Khā'ir Bey for his services to the Sultan and the Egyptian campaign. He appointed him vizier and the deputy of this land. Selīm declared that he had no wish to take anything from Egypt. All the produce of Egypt would be *waqf* for the Prophet, and Khā'ir Bey was appointed as the trustee to the *waqf*.

Selim ordered the appointment of numerous competent servants and personnel, among them a hundred Circassian Beys (clearly, Selim wanted to establish trust with his former enemies). The Sultan instigated a weekly routine of divan sessions, modeled after the divan in Istanbul. The personnel were entitled to food rations, as decreed by the Sultan. Egypt was divided into districts (*aqālīm*) administrated by eighteen governors (*kushshāf*) who received their allotted food from the divan. The various military units, the infantry and the cavalry are listed. Their income was to be taken from the Egyptian treasury. The income for soldiers and their orphans was to be paid as *jawālī*, the taxes imposed on the religious minorities for the sake of soldiers or pious Muslims. The minorities mentioned are Jews, Copts, Armenians and Europeans (Franks).

Finally, much is said about the preparation of the *kiswa* for the *ka'ba* and the collection of money from the villages of Egypt for the people of the holy cities in the Ḥijāz.<sup>31</sup> The function of the *amīr al-ḥājj*, the commander of the pilgrims' caravan, is also discussed in the *Seyāḥatnāme*. In this regard, Kemālpāṣāzāde was named in a sermon as *Mıṣır Mollası*, the chief *qāḍī* of Egypt. He was charged with registering many Egyptian villages to send funds to the Ḥaramayn. Another point of interest concerning religion is the mention by the Sultan of four *madhhabs* in Egypt.<sup>32</sup> It is not surprising, but it refutes the

30 Evliyā Çelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme* x, 73–5.

31 Ibid.

32 The rumor among some Arab *ulamā* was the (erroneous or mistaken) suspicion that the Ottomans were planning to abolish the Shafī'i *madhhab*, since it was known that the Hanafī legal school was the formal *madhhab*. It is true that the Ottomans referred to all

rumors that the Ottomans intended to abolish the four law schools and leave only the Hanafi.

### Concluding Notes

This chapter is far from exhausting Evliyā Çelebî's writings on Sultan Selîm. The anecdotes chosen for this study were based on mysticism and fantasy. The involvement of the Prophet develops to a degree that could be considered disrespectful by certain Muslims. It ranges from an exchange of words with the Prophet from his grave, to his orders in dreams to Tûmânbây and Selîm, and even a personal appearance to keep his bond with "my Selîm," in order to save him from danger. In this instance, the Prophet did not appear directly to Selîm, but rather to his loyal friend. The Prophet walks in and greets this man. His appearance and clothes are minutely described. Selîm believes in this encounter and acts accordingly, but not before consulting men of religion. In the last chapter on the laws that Sultan Selîm imposed on Egypt, no supernatural elements are involved, but there are anachronisms in the details of the organization of Egypt. It is uncertain whether the writer was aware of them.<sup>33</sup>

Further studies are needed on the other historical features of Evliyā Çelebî's reporting of the Sultan's actions, some of which are extremely interesting and deal with highly intriguing issues, although the veracity of the facts is always in doubt, perhaps even in the writer's own mind.

---

four *madhhabs* for the provinces, although of course all the *qādîs* who were appointed in the provinces were Hanafis.

- 33 There is no contemporary evidence that Selîm went into detail concerning the divan, the military, the bureaucracy, the provincial organization, or the *waqf*. It is also not clear whether the ceremony of introducing the Ottoman laws to Egypt happened at all, or whether it was invented by Evliyā Çelebî. The Sultan was in a hurry to leave Egypt. It is true that he appointed Khâ'ir Bey to be the governor of Egypt with full authority and that the Khâ'ir Bey style of government reflected the attitude of someone who was brought up in the Mamluk Sultanate, but his loyalty to the Ottomans was unshakable. In addition, the Sultan declared that he had no wish to take anything from Egypt. All the produce of Egypt was *waqf* for the Prophet. According to Evliyā Çelebî, the young Selîm had already made the same pledge during his conversation with the Prophet at his tomb. Now Evliyā Çelebî was aware that the Ottoman treasury accepted huge annual cash tributes from Egypt that contributed to the strength of the Empire. In addition, the Ottomans demanded food-stuffs and other valuable goods from Egypt.

**PART 4**

*The Politics of Material Culture*





# Mamluk Coins, Mamluk Politics and the Limits of the Numismatic Evidence<sup>1</sup>

Warren C. Schultz

## Introduction

Among the oft-cited reasons provided for the minting of coins is that they facilitate trade and commerce. Numismatic evidence is therefore acknowledged as an important source for the history of economic matters. As is well known, however, coins can also be important resources for other inquiries. The images found on coins as well as the coins themselves can be used to investigate topics ranging from art to technology. In particular, however, the two sides of a coin provide small billboards for the conveyance of information of many different types. The presence of words on coins make these objects small inscriptions. Indeed, for many regions and periods of the pre-modern Islamic world, coins make up the biggest surviving corpus of inscriptions that we have. That is certainly the case for the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, 648–923/1250–1517. Furthermore, since *sikka*—the right to mint coins bearing one's name—was considered a royal prerogative in the medieval Islamic world, it is common to find names, claims, and titles on Mamluk coins which appear to have supported a ruler's claim to rule. Due to the size of these coins, however, there was a limited canvas on which such claims could be made. Thus it is safe to assume that for most words found on a coin there was at some point an overt decision made by someone to include those words and by extension exclude others, although the possibility of the vestigial survival of a word or phrase due to previous practice cannot be discounted. While these introductory comments and Mamluk coins themselves have been known for some time, I am not aware of any previous systematic examination of the Mamluk numismatic evidence for its political content. In this chapter I examine the surviving corpus of Mamluk gold and silver coins to identify the range of titles and other political

---

1 A version of this paper was presented at the Middle East Studies Association annual conference in New Orleans, LA, October 11, 2013.

themes found on them, and then analyze the patterns which emerge from that survey.<sup>2</sup>

This analysis contains three sections, two of which address patterns in the coin legends of probable political import. The first is a pattern of linking the sultan whose name appears on the coin to other individuals or groups of importance. There are three variations on this theme. The second and longest section explores the use of royal titles such as the *laqab*, the construction of an active participle plus the phrase *al-dunyā wa-l-dīn*, and the *kunyā* to convey possession of a desired quality. I argue that the patterns that emerge from this examination lend additional support to Amalia Levanoni's conclusions regarding the *Zāhiri*/*Ashrafi* rivalry seen in the Circassian period of the Mamluk sultanate. The third section is based on curious and rare items found on Mamluk coins that raise the possibility, among other things, that the coins may have been minted in response to a particular event or situation. This section is the shortest and admittedly the most speculative. Finally, in the conclusion I address the limits of the numismatic evidence for Mamluk political history and identify how this evidence suggests further avenues of inquiry.

Before advancing to those subsections it is necessary to provide a caveat and a visual orientation. The caveat concerns the limits of the numismatic evidence base. Mamluk coins survived in large numbers. The first systematic typology of these coins was published by Paul Balog in 1964 and updated in 1970.<sup>3</sup> These two studies, while of fundamental importance, are not complete. Many more coin specimens have come to light in the decades since they were published. Another limiting factor is that for the vast variety of Mamluk coins which have survived it is difficult to identify a specific occasion or reason for their minting.<sup>4</sup> This is due not only to the inconsistent and imprecise dating of coins—Mamluk coins when dated are almost always by year and only

---

2 For reasons of space, this chapter does not address Mamluk copper coins, nor the possible use of heraldic devices in their design. This discussion is based on circulating coins and not presentation pieces.

3 Balog, *Coinage of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria* and *Coinage of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria: Additions and corrections* 113–71. These works are subsequently referred to as *CMSES* and *A&C*, respectively. An additional challenge to comprehensive coverage of these issues is that the publication of subsequent new coins is irregular and occasionally in obscure locations.

4 For an exploration of some of the challenges faced when attempting to match literary passages with specific numismatic events and vice versa, see my *Counterfeits, forgeries, and imitations in Medieval Islamic numismatics*. There are of course exceptions such as the case discussed in my *Mahmud b. 'Ali and the 'new fulūs'* 123–44.

occasionally by month—but to the fact that unlike the Ayyubid period, we have no surviving document or other text from the Mamluk era devoted to their mints and mint operations. Thus when it comes to the political import of coin legends, the prime evidence base is the coins themselves.

In terms of visual orientation, a quick perusal of the breadth of Mamluk coins over the chronological span of the sultanate reveals that a substantial change in appearance took place in the early decades of the ninth/fifteenth century. Briefly put, Mamluk dinars and dirhams before that transition were almost always larger and heavier than those found afterwards. The transition to smaller gold and silver coins was firmly established by the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38) and remained in place until the end of the sultanate. The chronology of these changes has been established by Bacharach in two important studies.<sup>5</sup> Figures 12.1 and 12.2 provide a general visual overview of these changes. Figure 12.1 illustrates the transition in gold. The coin on the left is a Damascene dinar of al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–8/1399–1405 and 808–15/1405–12), weighing 8.19 grams, while the one on the right is a Cairene dinar of Barsbāy weighing 3.41 grams.<sup>6</sup>



FIGURE 12.1 *On the left a Damascene dinar of al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–8/1399–1405 and 808–15/1405–12), weighing 8.19 grams; on the right a Cairene dinar of Barsbāy weighing 3.41 grams.*

PICTURE TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR.

5 Bacharach, *Circassian monetary policy* 267–81; and *The dinar versus the ducat* 77–96.

6 The dates for both coins are off flan. For an overview of the heavier dinars of the pre-ninth/fifteenth century, see my *Medieval coins and monies of account* 29–33.



FIGURE 12.2 *On the left a dirham struck in Damascus during the reign of Al-Zāhīr Baybars [I] (658–76/1260–77) weighing 2.78 grams; on the right a dirham minted in Damascus during the reign of Barsbāy weighing 1.04 grams.*  
 PICTURE TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR.

The coin on the right is a dirham minted in Damascus also from the reign of Barsbāy which weighs 1.04 grams. The size differential is clearly observed in both figures. An obvious repercussion of the smaller size of the later coins is that the space available for written messages was significantly reduced.<sup>7</sup>

### Survey of Names and Titles Found on Mamluk Coinage

Table 12.1 contains a list of the names, claims and titles found on the coins of the Mamluk rulers. Included here are examples of the *ism* (personal name), *naṣab* (lineage), *laqab* (title), and *kunyā* (pairings of *Abū* with either a name or a desired quality), as well as other titles. All are derived from the numismatic evidence alone. Any titles found elsewhere but not yet known to appear on coins are not included. This list is composite in that not all coins have all elements. It is organized chronologically by sultanic reign. The personal names of all individuals who were sultan are capitalized, even when their names appear

<sup>7</sup> Figures 1 and 2 provide a relative size differential only. They are not meant to imply that every pre- or post-Barsbāy coin is the exact size and weight of the specific specimens shown.

on coins after their respective deaths. The overlap between political legitimacy and public piety is a wider topic not addressed here, and thus Table 12.1 does not include pious phrases and invocations such as *mā tawfīqī* (or *mā al-naṣr*) *illā min ʿinda Allāh, khallada Allāh sultānahu, khallada Allāh mulkahu, ʿazza naṣrahu, ʿazza Allāh anṣārahu*, etc.

TABLE 12.1 *Names, claims and titles of the Mamluk ruler found on their coins*<sup>8</sup>

648/1250	(Shajar al-Durr); <sup>a</sup> <i>al-Mustaʿsimiyya al-Šālihiyya Malikat al-Muslimīn; Wālidat al-Malik al-Manṣūr Khalīl; al-Imām al-Mustaʿsim.</i>
648–50/1250–4	MŪSĀ; <i>al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Faṭḥ; ibn al-Malik al-Šāliḥ AYYŪB; al-Imām al-Mustaʿsim.</i>
648–55/1250–7	AYBAK; ( <i>al-Malik al-Muʿizz</i> ); <i>al-Imām al-Mustaʿsim.</i> <sup>b</sup>
655–7/1257–9	ʿALĪ (1); <sup>c</sup> <i>al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Nūr al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Muʿizz AYBAK; al-Imām al-Mustaʿsim.</i>
657–8/1259–60	QUṬUZ; <i>al-Malik al-Muẓaffar; Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn.</i>
658–76/1260–7	BAYBARS (1); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir; Rukn al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; al-Imām al-Mustaṣhir; al-Imām al-Ḥākim; Qasīm Amīr al-Muʿminīn; al-Šāliḥ.</i>
676–8/1277–9	BARAKA QĀN; <i>al-Malik al-Saʿīd; Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Zāhir BAYBARS; Qasīm Amīr al-Muʿminīn.</i>
678/1279	SALĀMISH; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; Badr al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Zāhir; Qasīm Amīr al-Muʿminīn; al-Šāliḥ.</i>
679/1280	SUNQUR (rebel); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Kāmil; Shams al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; al-Šāliḥ; Qasīm Amīr al-Muʿminīn.</i>
678–89/1279–90	QALĀWŪN; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Qasīm Amīr al-Muʿminīn; al-Šāliḥ.</i>
689–93/1290–3	KHALĪL; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Šalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Nāṣir al-Milla al-Muḥammadiyya; Muḥyī al-Dawla al-Abbāsīyya; Qasīm Amīr al-Muʿminīn; ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr QALĀWŪN.</i>

8 A table such as this is by nature inevitably out of date upon publication, as the discovery of new coin types may result in subsequent additions. An additional challenge to comprehensive coverage of these issues is that the publication of new coin types is irregular.

TABLE 12.1 *Names, claims and titles of the Mamluk ruler found on their coins (cont.)*

693-4/1293-4	MUḤAMMAD (I), first reign; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir; Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr QALĀWŪN al-Ṣāliḥ; Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn.</i>
694-6/1294-6	KITBUGHĀ; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ādil; Zayn al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Nāṣir al-Milla al-Muḥammadiyya; Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn; al-Manṣūrī.</i>
696-8/1296-9	LĀJĪN; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Ḥusām al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Abū al-Faḥ; Nāṣir al-Milla al-Muḥammadiyya; al-Manṣūrī.</i>
698-708/1299-1309	MUḤAMMAD (I), second reign (see first reign).
708-9/1309-10	BAYBARS (II); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Muẓaffar; Rukn al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Abū al-Faḥ; Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn; al-Manṣūrī.</i>
709-41/1310-41	MUḤAMMAD (I), third reign (see first reign).
741-2/1341	ABŪ BAKR; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD.</i>
742/1341-2	KUJUK; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf; 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn.</i>
742-3/1342	AḤMAD (I); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir; Shihāb al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD.</i>
743-6/1342-5	ISMA'ĪL; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ; 'Imād al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD ibn QALĀWŪN.</i>
746-7/1345-6	SHABĀN (I); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Kāmil; Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD.</i>
747-8/1346-7	ḤĀJJĪ (I); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Muẓaffar; Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD.</i>
748-52/1347-51	ḤASAN, first reign; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir; Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn Mawlānā al-Sultān al-Shahīd al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr QALĀWŪN.</i>
752-5/1351-4	ṢĀLIḤ; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ; Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Sultān al-Shahīd al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr QALĀWŪN.</i>
755-62/1354-61	ḤASAN, second reign (see first reign).
762-4/1361-3	MUḤAMMAD (II); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ḤĀJJĪ ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD ibn QALĀWŪN.</i>
764-78/1363-77	SHABĀN (II); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn Ḥusayn<sup>d</sup> ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD ibn QALĀWŪN.</i>

- 778–83/1377–81 ‘ALĪ (II); *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; ‘Alā’ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Ashraf SHA’BĀN ibn Ḥusayn ibn MUḤAMMAD ibn QALĀWŪN.*
- 783–4/1381–2 ḤĀJJĪ (II), first reign; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ; Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; ibn al-Malik al-Ashraf SHA’BĀN ibn Ḥusayn ibn MUḤAMMAD ibn QALĀWŪN.*
- 784–91/1382–9 BARQŪQ, first reign; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir; Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Abū Sa’īd.*
- 791–2/1389–90 ḤĀJJĪ (II), second reign; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn or Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn.*
- 792–801/1390–9 BARQŪQ, second reign (see first reign).
- 801–8/1399–1405 FARAJ, first reign; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir; Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; Abū al-Sa’ādāt ibn al-shahīd al-Malik al-Zāhir BARQŪQ.*
- 808–9/1405–6 ‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir.*
- 809–15/1406–12 FARAJ, second reign (see first reign).
- 815/1412 *al-Musta’in Billāḥ; Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad; al-Imām al-A’zam; Amīr al-Mu’minīn; al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-‘Abbās.*
- 815–24/1412–21 SHAYKH; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad; Abū al-Naṣr; Sulṭān al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn.*
- 824/1421 AḤMAD (II); *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar; Shihāb al-Dīn; ibn al-Sulṭān al-shahīd al-Mu’ayyad; Abū al-Sa’ādāt; Sulṭān al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn.*
- 824/1421 ṬAṬAR; *al-Malik al-Zāhir; Abū al-Faḥ.*
- 824–5/1421–2 MUḤAMMAD (III); *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.*
- 825–41/1422–38 BARSBĀY; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Naṣr.*
- 841–2/1438 YŪSUF; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-‘Azīz; Abū al-Maḥāsīn; ibn BARSBĀY.*
- 842–57/1438–53 JAQMAQ; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir; Abū Sa’īd.*
- 857/1453 ‘UTHMĀN; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr; Abū al-Sa’ādāt.*
- 857–65/1453–61 AYNĀL; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Naṣr.*
- 865/1461 AḤMAD (III); *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad; ibn AYNĀL; Abū al-Faḥ.*
- 865–72/1461–7 KHUSHQADAM; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir; Abū Sa’īd.*
- 872/1467 YALBAY; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir.*
- 872–3/1467–8 TIMURBUGHĀ; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir; Abū Sa’īd.*
- 873–901/1468–96 QĀYTBĀY; *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Naṣr.*

TABLE 12.1 *Names, claims and titles of the Mamluk ruler found on their coins (cont.)*

901–4/1496–8	MUḤAMMAD (IV); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir; Abū al-Saʿādāt; ibn QĀYTBĀY</i> <sup>e</sup>
904–5/1498–1500	QĀNṢŪH; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir; Abū Saʿīd.</i>
905–6/1500–1	JĀNBALĀṬ; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Naṣr.</i>
906/1501	ṬŪMĀNBĀY (I); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; Abū al-Naṣr.</i>
906–22/1501–16	QĀNṢŪH AL-GHAWRĪ; <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Naṣr.</i>
922/1516	ṬŪMĀNBĀY (II); <i>al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf; Abū al-Naṣr.</i>

- a The use of parentheses indicates that the inclosed term does not appear on coins. The name Shajar al-Durr does not appear on her coins, nor did the son named on these coins, al-Manṣūr Khalīl, ever sit on the throne.
- b Aybak only included his name on his coins, maintaining instead the title of his former lord, “*al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil.*” See Balog, *CMSES* 75. His regnal *laqab al-Malik al-Manṣūr* is not found on his coins but on those of his son, ‘Alī. See *ibid.*, 78.
- c Roman numerals used to differentiate between multiple rulers bearing the same *ism* are in parentheses since this practice is a modern usage.
- d Balog incorrectly has Ḥasan rather than Ḥusayn. This mistake is repeated in subsequent genealogies in his *CMSES* 208.
- e One of this sultan’s coin types features the phrase *raḥmat Allāh* immediately after the name of his father, Qāyṭbāy, Balog, *CMSES* type 848.

When viewed in its entirety, these data reveal patterns. One such pattern is the frequent reference to individuals or groups other than the sultan himself.

### Reference to Others

There are three sub-categories to this pattern found in the coin legends. One is the reference to patrilineal ancestors who themselves had been sultan. The second is the referencing of the Abbasid Caliph, either by name or by linking to the caliphal office via the use of a title. The third and final sub-category is use of an adjective based on the Sultan’s *khushdāshīyya*, which links that sultan to both the ruler in whose retinue he trained as well as to others from that same group.

### Claiming Descent: Genealogies

The practice of referring to royal descent by including the name of the current ruler's sultanic father in coin legends was quite common over the course of the sultanate.<sup>9</sup> While it was perhaps most emphasized during the mid-eighth/fourteenth century when the coins of some of the Qalāwūnid scions listed multiple generations of royal descent, it continued into the ninth/fifteenth century even after the transition to smaller coins reduced the space available for legends. Of the Qalāwūnids only the coins of al-Ashraf Kujuk ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (I) lack this reference, while during the era of small coins only the coinages of al-Şāliḥ Muḥammad (III) ibn al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar and al-Manşūr Uthmān ibn al-Zāhir Jaqmaq lack mention of their royal descent.

### Reference to the Abbasid Caliphate

The last 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad was al-Musta'şim (640–56/1242–58), and the title *al-Imām al-Musta'şim* is found on coins from the first four Mamluk rulers listed above. In doing so, the mint-masters of Şajjar al-Durr, al-Ashraf Mūsā, al-Mu'izz Aybak, and al-Manşūr 'Alī (I) were following established Ayyubid practice. Al-Musta'şim's name is not found on the coins of al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, which is not surprising given the events of 656/1258 in Baghdad. However when the caliphate re-emerges in the Mamluk domains in the persons of al-Mustanşir (659–60/1261 in Cairo) and al-Ḥākīm [I] (659–60/1261 in Aleppo and 661–701/1262–1302 in Cairo), the names of those caliphs are found on the coins of al-Zāhir Baybars (I).<sup>10</sup> After that, however, the name of a caliph does not appear on Mamluk coins again until the brief interval in 815/1412 when the caliph al-Musta'in Billāh held the sultanate. Instead, for several decades after al-Zāhir Baybars' death, the position of caliph was referenced on Mamluk coins by the use of two titles.

9 There are several recent studies focusing on family and households in the Mamluk sultanate. See, for example, the works of Bauden, Broadbridge, Holt, van Steenberg, and Yosef listed in the bibliography.

10 The numismatic history of the Mamluks and their Abbasid caliphs is considerably more complex than what one would conclude from the discussion found in Balog, *CMSES* (see types 37–8, 42–8, 49–51). The definitive study is that of Heideman, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261)*, especially 205–323.

The most commonly encountered of these two titles is *Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.<sup>11</sup> It first appeared on the coinage of al-Zāhir Baybars (I).<sup>12</sup> It is found subsequently on the coins of al-Sa'īd Baraka Qān, al-Ādil Salāmish, al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn,<sup>13</sup> al-Ashraf Khalīl, al-Ādil Kitbughā, al-Muẓaffar Baybars (II), and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (I). It has not yet been found on any surviving specimens of the coinage of al-Manṣūr Lājīn. Since the last sultan to include the title *Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn* was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (I) ibn Qalāwūn, this likely means that cessation of its use occurred during the caliphate of al-Mustakfī [I] (701–40/1302–40). The reasons for this are not clear. Finally, there is one more 'Abbāsīd-related title that is found on Mamluk coins. This is the honorific *Muḥyī al-Dawla al-Abbāsīyya*. Thus far it has only been encountered on the coinage of one sultan, al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn, which is discussed further below.

### Khushdāshīyya

The final sub-category of this pattern is the use of an adjective identifying the ruler's *khushdāshīya*. This adjective links a defined group of Mamluks to the individual who purchased, trained or otherwise formed the group as well as identifying any individual Mamluk as a member of that cohort. There are two such terms which are encountered on Mamluk coins, and both labels refer to Mamluk groups that played crucial roles in the establishment of Mamluk rule. The earliest term encountered is *al-Ṣāliḥī*, which refers to the *Baḥrīyya* corps assembled by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (637–47/1240–9).<sup>14</sup> In retrospect, only three individuals both achieved the position of sultan and were eligible to claim the identity of *al-Ṣāliḥī*, yet it appears on the coins of four rulers. The sultans with the right to use this word on their coins were al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, al-Zāhir Baybars (I), and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. The term is found on the coins of the latter two but has not yet been found on the coins of

11 This title is also encountered in monumental inscriptions, such as the one found at al-Ṣubayba fortress, and analyzed by Amitai in Hartal's *The Al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress* 109–23. A thorough inventory of the use of this title in the Mamluk era would be useful.

12 Baybars was also the first Mamluk ruler to have the title *Sulṭān* appear on his coins.

13 The title was also used in 679/1280 on the coins of al-Malik al-Kāmil Sunqur, an unsuccessful rival to Qalāwūn. See Balog, A&C type 141D.

14 It is worth noting that Shajar al-Durr and al-Ashraf Mūsā also link to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb on their coins via their familial connections of wife and son, respectively.

the first, which are rare. The other two rulers upon whose coins the word appears are al-ʿĀdil Salāmish and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (I) ibn Qalāwūn. The latter is easy to understand, since the term unambiguously refers to his father and not to him. The curious example is that of al-ʿĀdil Salāmish. This free-born sultan was obviously not a *Ṣāliḥī* but his father al-Zāhir Baybars (I) was. However the word *al-Ṣāliḥī* appears on a type of al-ʿĀdil Salāmish’s coins that did not mention his father’s name.<sup>15</sup>

The second example of a *khushdāshīya* label is the adjective *al-Manṣūrī*, the use of which identifies the sultan as emerging from the Mamluk corps of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. All three individuals who came to the sultanate and were eligible to use the term did. They were al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, al-Manṣūr Lājīn, and al-Muẓaffar Baybars (II), all of whom competed for the sultanate with a young al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (I). After the reign of al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, however, the reference to the sultan’s *khushdāshīya* is not found again on Mamluk coins.

### Royal Titles: Laqab; Active Participle + al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn; and Kunyā

From al-Zāhir Baybars (I) onwards, with only a few exceptions, Mamluk rulers included the royal *laqab* of *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-\_\_\_\_\_* on their coins.<sup>16</sup> Table 12.1 revealed that there were twelve different combinations of *al-malik*-plus-an-adjective utilized on the coins of ruling sultans. These are listed in Table 12.2.

TABLE 12.2 *Clusters of royal Alqāb*<sup>17</sup>

---

#### Three with *al-Malik al-ʿĀdil*:

SALĀMISH

KITBUGHĀ

ṬŪMĀNBĀY (I)

---

15 Balog, *CMSES* type 113.

16 The exceptions are al-Saʿīd Baraka Qān, al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad, and al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar, all of whose coins also do not include the word *sulṭān*.

17 Table 12.2 is organized first by alphabetical order of the *alqāb*, and then chronologically by reign of the sulṭān bearing the *alqāb*. For regnal dates, see Table 12.1.

TABLE 12.2 *Clusters of royal Alqāb (cont.)***Ten with *al-Malik al-Ashraf*:**

MŪSĀ

KHALĪL

KUJUK

SHA'BĀN (11)

BARSBĀY

AYNĀL

QĀYTBĀY

JĀNBALĀṬ

QĀNŞŪH AL-GHAWRĪ

ṬŪMĀNBĀY (11)

**One with *al-Malik al-ʿAzīz*:**

YŪSUF

**One with *al-Malik al-Kāmil*:**

SHA'BĀN (1)

**Nine with *al-Malik al-Manşūr*:**

ʿALĪ (1)

QALĀWŪN

LĀJĪN

ABŪ BAKR

MUḤAMMAD (11)

ʿALĪ 11

ḤĀJJĪ (11), second reign

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ

ʿUTHMĀN

**Two with *al-Malik al-Muʿayyad*:**

SHAYKH

AḤMAD (111)

**One with *al-Malik al-Muʿizz*:**

AYBAK

**Four with *al-Malik al-Muẓaffar*:**

QUṬUZ

BAYBARS (11)

---

ḤĀJJĪ (I)  
AḤMAD (II)

**Five with *al-Malik al-Nāṣir*:**

MUḤAMMAD (I)  
AḤMAD (I)  
ḤASAN  
FARAJ  
MUḤAMMAD (IV)

**One with *al-Malik al-Saʿīd*:**

BARAKA QĀN

**Four with *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ*:**

ISMĀʿĪL  
ṢĀLIḤ  
ḤĀJJĪ (II), first reign  
MUḤAMMAD (III)

**Seven with *al-Malik al-Zāhir*:**

BAYBARS (I)  
BARQŪQ  
ṬAṬAR  
JAQMAQ  
KHUSHQADAM  
TIMURBUGHĀ  
QĀNṢŪH

---

In an essay published in 2004, Amalia Levanoni drew attention to the *Zāhirī/Ashrafi* rivalry of the Circassian Period.<sup>18</sup> Based on her close reading of the Mamluk chronicles, Levanoni identified a multi-generational factionalism where there were predictive markers of group membership in these two *laqabs*. In her words, “all the sultans who came to power within the ranks of the Mamluk army, rather than inheriting power from their father (with the exception of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh and Ṭūmānbāy), have one of two regnal titles:

---

18 Levanoni, *The Sultan's laqab* 79–115.

*al-Zāhir* or *al-Ashraf*.<sup>19</sup> Levanani concluded that this new system of group identity was far more flexible than the *khushdāshiyya* system found in the earlier Mamluk sultanate, and helped contribute to the lessening of violent succession struggles in the later period. At the center of her argument were two lists. The first was of those rulers who used the title *al-Malik al-Ashraf*; namely, Barsbāy, Aynāl; Qāyrbāy, Jānbalāt, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and Ṭūmānbāy (11). The second included those rulers who took *al-Malik al-Zāhir*: Barqūq, Ṭaṭar, Jaqmaq, Khushqadam, Timurbughā, and Qānṣūh. What light if any does the numismatic evidence shed on this issue? I believe it corroborates Levanoni's analysis. Demonstrating this corroboration, however, requires a detour to the presence of two other honorifics on many Mamluk coins: the title consisting of an active participle plus *al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn* and the non-kinship use of the *kunyā*.

Table 12.3 lists the thirteen different versions of this first titular combination found on Mamluk coins and the sultans who used them, as well as a list of those sultans whose coins did not feature this combination.

TABLE 12.3 *The clusters of active participle + al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn*<sup>20</sup>

---

***‘Alā’ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Ashraf KUJUK  
al-Manṣūr ‘ALĪ (11)

***Badr al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-‘Ādil SALĀMISH

***Ḥusām al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Manṣūr LĀJĪN

***‘Imād al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Ṣāliḥ ISMĀ‘ĪL

---

19 Ibid., 79.

20 Table 12.3 is organized first by alphabetical order by the first word of the honorific, and then chronologically by the reign of the sultan using that honorific. For regnal dates, see Table 12.1. Whether there is a larger import to these 13 clusters is not clear to me.

***‘Izz al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Mu‘izz AYBAK

***Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Sa‘īd BARAKA QĀN

al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD (I)

al-Nāṣir ḤASAN

al-Ashraf SHA‘BĀN (II)

al-Nāṣir FARAJ

***Nūr al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Manṣūr ‘ALĪ (I)

***Rukn al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Zāhir BAYBARS (I)

al-Muẓaffar BAYBARS (II)

***Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Ashraf KHALĪL

al-Ṣāliḥ ṢĀLIḤ

al-Manṣūr MUḤAMMAD (II)

al-Ṣāliḥ ḤĀJJĪ (II), first reign

al-Manṣūr ḤĀJJĪ (II), second reign

***Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Muẓaffar QUṬUZ

al-Manṣūr QALĀWŪN

al-Manṣūr ABŪ BAKR

al-Kāmil SHA‘BĀN (I)

al-Muẓaffar ḤĀJJĪ (II)

al-Zāhir BARQŪQ

***Shams al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Kāmil Sunqur

***Shihāb al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:***

al-Nāṣir AḤMAD (I)

al-Muẓaffar AḤMAD (II)<sup>a</sup>

TABLE 12.3 *The clusters of active participle + al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn (cont.)***Zayn al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn:**

al-‘Ādil KITBUGHĀ

**Sultans without this title on their coins:**

al-Manṣūr ‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ

al-Mu‘ayyad SHAYKH

al-Muzaffār AḤMAD (II)

al-Zāhir ṬAṬAR

al-Ṣāliḥ MUḤAMMAD (III)

al-Ashraf BARSBĀY

al-‘Azīz YŪSUF

al-Zāhir JAQMAQ

al-Manṣūr ‘UTHMĀN

al-Ashraf AYNĀL

al-Mu‘ayyad AḤMAD (III)

al-Zāhir KHUSHQADAM

al-Zāhir TIMURBUGHĀ

al-Ashraf QĀYTBĀY

al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD (IV)

al-Zāhir QĀNṢŪH

al-Ashraf JĀNBALĀṬ

al-‘Ādil ṬŪMĀNBĀY (I)

al-Ashraf QĀNṢŪH AL-GHAWRĪ

al-Ashraf ṬŪMĀNBĀY (II)

a A shortened version of just *Shihāb al-Dīn* appears on a copper coin of this sultan, Balog, *CMS ES* type 699.

What emerges from a perusal of this subset of the numismatic evidence is that after the reign of al-Zāhir Barqūq the use of the title active-participle-plus-*al-Dunyā-wa-l-Dīn* no longer appeared on Mamluk coins. When the list of titles of the sultans on whose coins it does not appear is examined, it is clear that in several instances it was replaced by a different title. This was the *kunyā* referring not to sons but to the possession of a desired quality. It is seen with increasing frequency over the course of the ninth/fifteenth century, although there

are a few instances dating from earlier in the sultanate. A list of these *kunyās* and the sultans who used them is provided in Table 12.4.

TABLE 12.4 *The Kunyā used in the sense of possessing a quality*<sup>21</sup>

***Abū al-Faḥḥ:***

al-Ashraf MŪSĀ  
 al-Manṣūr LĀJĪN,  
 al-Muẓaffar BAYBARS (II)  
 al-Zāhir ṬAṬAR  
 al-Mu'ayyad AḤMAD (III)

***Abū al-Maḥāsīn:***

al-'Azīz YŪSUF

***Abū al-Naṣr:***

al-Mu'ayyad SHAYKH  
 al-Ashraf BARSBĀY  
 al-Ashraf AYNĀL  
 al-Ashraf QĀYTBĀY  
 al-Ashraf JĀNBALĀṬ  
 al-'Ādil ṬŪMĀNBĀY (I)  
 al-Ashraf QĀNṢŪH AL-GHAWRĪ  
 al-Ashraf ṬŪMĀNBĀY (II)

***Abū al-Sa'ādāt:*<sup>a</sup>**

al-Nāṣir FARAJ  
 al-Muẓaffar AḤMAD (II)  
 al-Manṣūr 'UTHMĀN  
 al-Nāṣir MUḤAMMAD (IV)

21 Table 12.4 is organized first by alphabetical order of the second word of the *kunyā* pair, and then chronologically by reign of the sultan using that honorific. For regnal dates, see Table 12.1.

TABLE 12.4 *The Kunyā used in the sense of possessing a quality (cont.)****Abū Saʿīd:***

al-Zāhir BARQŪQ  
 al-Zāhir JAQMAQ  
 al-Zāhir KHUSHQADAM  
 al-Zāhir TIMURBUGHĀ  
 al-Zāhir QĀNŞŪH

- a All the sultans who utilized *Abū al-Saʿādāt* were the non-Mamluk descendents of previous rulers. The significance of this observation is unclear.

For the ninth to fifteenth-century coins, the removal of the title active-participle-plus—*al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn* and the appearance of the *kunyā* may be a repercussion of the coins' size and subsequent loss of space for the longer honorific phrase. Since the increased frequency of *kunyā* usage emerged at the same time as the *Zāhirī/Ashrafī* split identified by Levanoni, however, this phenomenon deserves further attention. Table 12.5 lists the *kunyās* of the sultans identified in Levanoni's analysis.

TABLE 12.5 *The Kunyās of the sultans in Levanoni's analysis*<sup>22</sup>***Abū al-Faṭḥ:***

al-Zāhir ṬAṬAR

***Abū Saʿīd:***

al-Zāhir BARQŪQ  
 al-Zāhir JAQMAQ  
 al-Zāhir KHUSHQADAM  
 al-Zāhir TIMURBUGHĀ  
 al-Zāhir QĀNŞŪH

22 Not included in Table 12.5 are the two groups of sultans excluded by Levanoni: the military sultans al-Muʿayyad Shaykh and al-ʿĀdil Ṭümānbāy (I); and the sons of previous rulers, al-Muzaffar Aḥmad (II) ibn Shaykh, al-Manşūr ʿUthmān ibn Jaqmaq, al-Muʿayyad Aḥmad (III) ibn Aynāl, and al-Nāşir Muḥammad (IV) ibn Qāyṭbāy.

*Abū al-Naṣr:*

al-Ashraf BARSBĀY

al-Ashraf AYNĀL

al-Ashraf QĀYTBĀY

al-Ashraf JĀNBALĀṬ

al-Ashraf QĀNṢŪH AL-GHAWRĪ

al-Ashraf ṬŪMĀNBĀY (11)

The table illustrates that with the exception of Ṭaṭar, all those rulers who shared the title *al-Malik al-Zāhir* also took the *kunyā Abū Saʿīd*, and all the sultans identified as *al-Malik al-Ashraf* used the *kunyā Abū al-Naṣr*. This correlation could be the result of coincidence, but I think that is unlikely. Rather, it is more likely a case where the numismatic evidence provides an additional element of support to Levanoni's conclusions.

### Possible Reference to Specific Events?

Finally, there are four cases where either the use of uncommon titles or an unexpected difference encountered in other aspects of the coin's appearance suggest that the coins in question may have been minted in response to specific events or situations. The difficulty, of course, is in identifying what the specific referent is, if any.

The first example is the title *Nāṣir al-Milla al-Muḥammadiyya*, which was used only in the last decade of the eighth/thirteenth century. It appears on the coins of three sultans: al-Ashraf Khalīl, al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, and al-Manṣūr Lājīn. While all three of these rulers were connected to al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn—Khalīl was his son and the other two were *Manṣūrī* mamluks—it is hard to see how that would explain the use of this title. While admittedly speculative, given that the phrase is used just as the Latin Crusaders were expelled from the region, it might be related to that development, thus reflecting the Mamluk desire to be portrayed as protectors of the Muslim community.<sup>23</sup>

The second rare title to appear only in a short time period is *Sulṭān al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn*. This title is currently known only on coins issued in the name of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21) in Alexandria from 818 onwards, and

23 See Humphreys, Ayyubids, Mamluks and the Latin East in the thirteenth century 1–17.

from a Cairene dinar of his son al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad (824/1421).<sup>24</sup> On the coins of the infant Aḥmad the title is clearly part of the titlature of his father. Balog has argued that the presence of this title “is a revival of the honorary title adopted by Saladin on his Damascus coinage in and after 583H, probably to commemorate his victory over the Crusaders.”<sup>25</sup> While such a revival is a possibility, it is difficult to identify a comparable victory or opponent for Shaykh’s reign. His notable military victories were against co-religionists, whether internally over his rival Nawrūz or externally, such as those over the principalities bordering the Anatolian frontier of the sultanate.<sup>26</sup>

The last two examples are not titles but are unique variations found in other features of the respective coins. As Elisabeth Puin has pointed out, in 685/1286–7 al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn struck coins with the legend *ḍuriba bi-l-Marqab* shortly after his conquest of the Crusader castle of Margat in the preceding year.<sup>27</sup> Figure 12.3 is a line drawing of a reconstruction of the dies used to produce this coin type. This is the first and as yet only appearance of this place name among known Mamluk mints. The mint name is clearly read at the top of the coin face pictured on the right. Other than this feature, however, the coin differs little in appearance from the dirhams of this sultan minted in Damascus. This mint name is thus the only unusual thing about this new type. While it is tempting to view this coin as a commemorative piece, as Puin pointed out, the presence of an unusual mint name on the edge of a coin die “can hardly claim to be an efficient mass media” for broadcasting the news of a significant victory, and may reflect either the need to render the treasure from the conquest into useable coinage or a desire to establish a mint in northern Syria.<sup>28</sup>

24 Balog, *CMSES* types 682–5 and 696 respectively.

25 Idem, Unusual honorific title on a Mamluk coin 135–8.

26 Ibid. The title *Sultān al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn* also appears on a large and heavy gold piece al-Muʿayyad Shaykh minted in Cairo published by Balog, which bears the additional and hitherto unseen phrase on Mamluk-coins, *Qātil al-Kufara wa-l-Mushrikīn*. It is similarly difficult to identify a specific victory over non-Muslims to which this title may be attributed. The weight of 21.80 grams suggests that this was a special presentation piece.

27 Puin, Silver coins of the Mamluk sultan Qalawun 75–129, esp. 123–9.

28 Ibid., 127.

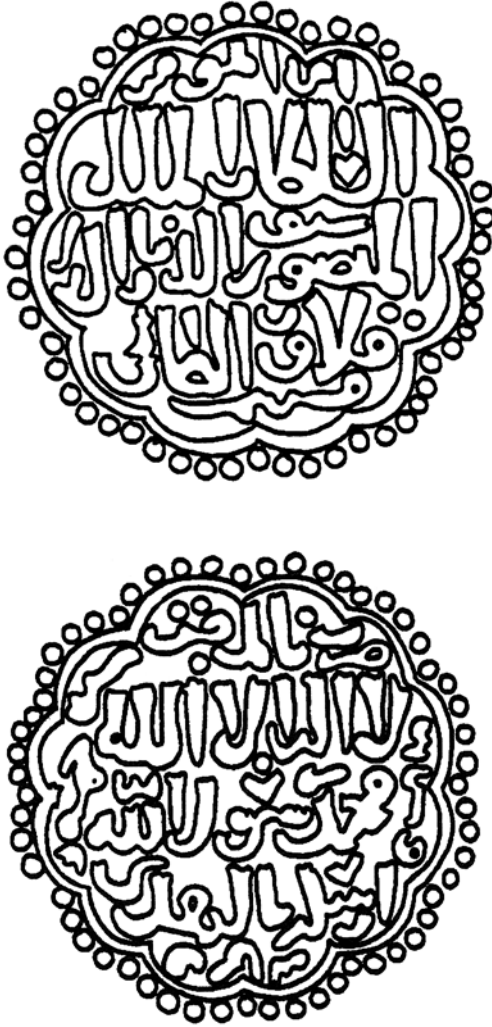


FIGURE 12.3A–B

A line drawing of a reconstruction of the dies used to produce a coin struck by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 685 with the legend *ḡuriba bi-l-Marqab*.

The second case of possible commemoration of a victory over the Crusaders on a coin is perhaps less tenuous. At the heart of the matter is a curious coin of al-Ashraf Khalīl. His coinage contains many of the features already discussed: the use of a *laqab*, *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf*; a link to an ancestor, *ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn* as well as a reference to the caliph, *Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn*; the honorific *Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn*; and the presence of two uncommon titles for Mamluk coins, *Nāṣir al-Milla al-Muḥammadiyya* and *Muḥyī al-Dawla al-Abbāsiyya*. The coin type discussed here, however, features an odd combination of inscriptional content and design. It is illustrated in Figure 12.4. This

dirham was minted in Damascus and bears an incomplete date of (6)9X.<sup>29</sup> The combination of names and titles found in the central three-line legend of the coin face on the left, *al-Sultān al-Malik / al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā / wa-l-Dīn Khalīl b ...*, and in that side's margins, *al-Manṣūr Mawlānā ...*, identify it as a dirham of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. The external border of a double linear dodekalobe on both faces is similar to the border seen on the coin of his father discussed above, as is the style of the script used on the coin. These features combined mark the coin as a Mamluk issue. However the use of the design device of a central square containing a three line inscription on both sides of the coin is reminiscent of Ayyubid dirhams struck in Damascus, as illustrated in Figure 12.5 of a Damascus dirham of Saladin, dated 586.<sup>30</sup> Prior to its use on this coin of al-Ashraf Khalīl, the central square design motif had not been used in Mamluk coinage since early in the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (I), nor have any examples of this design been encountered after al-Ashraf Khalīl's reign. The coin is thus a stylistic anomaly which begs the question of why was it minted. Al-Ashraf Khalīl is best known for the Mamluk conquest of Acre which took place in his reign. He also bore the honorific title of *Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn*. It is tempting to suggest that this coin could have been struck after the fall of Acre and that its throwback appearance was a stylistic nod to that earlier successful counter-Crusader of great reknown, *Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb*. The absence of any literary references to corroborate this suggestion, however, places that possibility squarely in the realm of speculation.



FIGURE 12.4A–B

*A dirham minted in Damascus during the time of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.*

PICTURES TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR.

- 29 See my An Ayyubid-style dirham of al-Ashraf Khalīl 6. The usage (6) indicates that the first digit of the date is missing but can only be a 6 due to the known limits of his reign. The X signifies that the last digit of the date is missing on the coin. While al-Ashraf Khalīl's death in 693 limits the options to 690, 691, 692, or 693, we cannot be more specific.
- 30 Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids* type 97. There is a marked difference in the style of the script used on each coin, however.



97



FIGURE 12.5

*A Damascus dirham of Saladin, dated 586.*

SOURCE: BALOG, *THE COINAGE OF THE AYYUBIDS*  
TYPE 97.

### Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the examples discussed above lead to three observations on the impact of Mamluk numismatic evidence in historical research. The first is that numismatic evidence is of a complementary nature, best used in comparison with other material. Examined in isolation, coins themselves seldom prove anything above and beyond their material characteristics, something exacerbated by our inability to determine exactly when most Mamluk coin types were first minted. The second is that coins may suggest new avenues of inquiry. This is seen in particular in the section *Possible Reference to Specific Events?* where the short-term usage of titles such as *Nāṣir al-Milla al-Muḥammadiyya* and *Sulṭān al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn* begs the question of why these titles were utilized in those limited time periods and not others. It is also seen in the case

of Al-Ashraf Khalīl's reign, where several of the patterns discussed above are encountered. Could it have been that this son of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn utilized these titles and unusual coin design to bolster his right to rule over and against his father's mamluks? The third observation is that the coins can corroborate existing understandings and interpretations. Sometimes the corroboration is obvious. One need not rely on nor need the numismatic evidence to conclude that the concept of *khushdāshiya* was important. Sometimes, however, that corroboration may lead to additional questions. It is no surprise that the numismatic evidence confirms the already known development that the prestige of the Abbasid caliph declined after the reestablishment of that office in the Mamluk sultanate. But was the cessation of numismatic references to the caliphs during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (I) due to internal or external developments? The numismatic evidence alone is not able to provide an answer. In other instances, however, the numismatic evidence can serve as additional building blocks in support of an argument. This is demonstrated above by how the pattern of use of *kunyās* on coins lends additional credence to Levanoni's analysis of the *Zāhiri/Ashrafi* phenomenon of the Circassian period.

## Mamluk Patronage, Crusader *Spolia*

*Turbat al-Kubakiyya in the Mamilla Cemetery, Jerusalem (688/1289)\**

*Hana Taragan*

Architecture played a decisive role in the struggle between Muslims and Crusaders that took place in *Bilād al-Shām* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The accelerated construction of religious buildings advocated by Islam sought to expunge the Crusader memory and establish a new Muslim order in the public sphere. Patrons such as sultans, *amīrs* and '*ulamā'* erected mosques for prayer, *madrasas* for Islamic education, *zāwīyas* and *khānqās* for the Sufis to preach and disseminate Islam, *mashhads* and *maqāms* which accorded legitimacy to religious revival by commemorating seminal events and exemplary figures from the glorious Islamic past, as well as graves that perpetuated the memory of fighters who had died in the Holy War.<sup>1</sup>

Architecture also played a role in conveying both overt and covert messages and concepts which the Ayyubid and Mamluk patrons sought to transmit to their subjects. Overt messages were conveyed, *inter alia*, by means of inscriptions on the facade of religious buildings as well as inside them declaring the patron's glory and his legitimacy as a Muslim ruler. Covert and sometimes subversive messages were conveyed by means of visual images that concealed a hidden code: in the present case, by means of non-figurative signs and symbols from the spheres of art and architecture which the intended beholders of the time and place, whether Muslims or Christians, were able to decipher and internalize.

One of the concepts much discussed by art historians and archeologists in the context of intercultural encounters is the *reuse* by rulers of architectural fragments appropriated from buildings of past periods and then incorporated into their own buildings.<sup>2</sup> This practice, which had its beginnings in Ancient Rome, continued with increased intensity throughout the Middle Ages and

---

\* *Author's note:* I am grateful to my friends and colleagues without whom this study would not have been possible: Prof. Amalia Levanoni, Dr. Koby Yosef, Mr. Uri Tal and my students: Amit, Assaf, Dekel, Ariel, and Noa who took part in an advanced seminar where we discussed the topic of this article.

1 Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade*.

2 Brilliant and Kinney (eds.), *Reuse value spolia* 1–4.

the Renaissance in Europe, while also penetrating the world of Islamic art. To a great extent the aims of reuse are often ambiguous and open to dispute. Historical research on this subject, which in recent years has become increasingly intensive, has attempted to address some of these aims.<sup>3</sup> These include pragmatism born of a desire to exploit valuable building materials found in abundance after the destruction of buildings, aesthetics stemming from wonder at the beauty of the materials discovered such as marble,<sup>4</sup> apotropaic, or the belief in magical powers attributed, *inter alia*, to the columns standing on either side of the entrance to a holy building which were thus transferred from one culture to another, and finally, in the present context, reuse in the sense of *spolia*, which refers to parts of buildings and architectural fragments that were stripped from defeated enemy's buildings and put on display as trophies in the victor's buildings to be recontextualized there.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, *spolia* (*spolia in re* and *spolia in se*)<sup>6</sup> are charged with ideology and are employed by victorious rulers for their political ends. The term *spolia* does not simply mean reuse. As Dale Kinney recently noted, "Spoliation entails a forcible transfer of ownership." She also stressed "the violence encoded by *spolia*."<sup>7</sup> Hence in cases of reuse, *spolia* can be seen as a context-dependent phenomenon and that the plunder or adoption of *spolia* is grounded in the concrete time of "post-battle," or a violent encounter in which one side triumphs and the other is vanquished.

This article deals with the use of *spolia* in Jerusalem during the Ayyubids and the Early Mamluk period. More specifically, it is about reuse of building components such as marble columns, capitals, panels and sarcophagi, wood and iron stripped from Crusader buildings and incorporated into either newly erected, existing, or remodeled Muslim buildings. With regard to the short reign of the Ayyubids in Jerusalem (1187–1250),<sup>8</sup> immediately after his armies entered Jerusalem in October 1187, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn set about remodeling the city by eradicating the Crusader identity and recasting the face of Jerusalem as a

3 Flood, *An ambiguous aesthetic* 202–3. See also, Hillenbrand, *The Ayyubid Aqsa* 302–7.

4 Marble was a much sought-after material in Antiquity and the Middle-Ages. See, Goodwin, *The reuse of marble* 17–30.

5 Kinney, *Introduction* 2; *idem*, *Spolia* 117–48.

6 Richard Brilliant extended the field by making a distinction between *spolia in se* (material objects) and *spolia in re* (virtual objects). Brilliant, *I piedistalli del giardino di Boboli* 2–17; Kinney, *Spolia* 137.

7 Kinney, *Introduction* 4.

8 Except for a short period between 629/1229 and 641/1244, a decade during which the Crusaders controlled the city (but not the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* where the holy shrines remained under Muslim control). See Little, *Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks* 177–86; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* 309–63.

Muslim city through building activities.<sup>9</sup> According to ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn vowed to purify the Holy City “of the filth of the hellish Franks, to strip off her vile garments and to put on the robe of honor.”<sup>10</sup> Thus, after the Latin population had left the city at his orders, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took action in the area of *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* to convert the *Templum Domini* back to the Dome of the Rock, and the *Palatium Salomonis* to the al-Aqṣā Mosque. To do so he removed all the Christian symbols: crosses, figurative sculpture and paintings, altars, and Latin inscriptions. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī notes that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn used the stones and Crusader marble panels that remained after destroying the Crusader palace built by the Templars as an adjunct on the western side of the al-Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>11</sup>

The use of *spolia* on *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* was both immediate and intensive. Leading craftsmen who had previously worked in the Latin City selected the carefully and skillfully carved marble panels, and translocated them into the al-Aqṣā Mosque, mainly in liturgical locations like the *qibla*, the *diqqa*, and the *mīhrābs*. The choice of these locations was not random since they wanted the *spolia* to be seen by the maximum number of worshippers, thus ensuring high visibility.<sup>12</sup> The Arabic inscription on the *qibla* wall is an Islamicizing and unifying factor, and those who observed it understood the message.

However, according to the *waqf* deed (*waqfiyya*) of Ribāṭ or Khānqa al-Ṣalāḥiyya, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his Ayyubid successors did not seek to physically destroy the Crusader religious buildings in Jerusalem and particularly those bordering on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the Christian Quarter, but rather to alter their status by converting them into Muslim religious institutions by means of endowments which supported them.<sup>13</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn did not make any changes to the façade of the Crusader Saint Anne Monastery Church when he converted it into the Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya of the Shāfi‘ī school, but rather added a dedicatory inscription in Arabic, thus turning the original Crusader façade into a Muslim one (see Figure 13.1).

Like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, his successors committed themselves to protecting and maintaining the sanctuaries of the Holy City. These include al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, the Ayyubid governor of Jerusalem from 579–615/1201–18,

9 Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*. See also Frenkel, Political and social aspects 1–20.

10 al-Isfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-qussī* 50–3; Gabrieli, *Arab historians* 163. See also Frenkel, Political and social aspects 4–5.

11 al-Isfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-qussī* 61–2; idem, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine* 51, 54–8.

12 Flood, An ambiguous aesthetic 202–3. For the inscription above the *Mīhrāb* of the al-Aqṣā Mosque, see van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem “Ville”* 403, no. 280.

13 Frenkel, The establishment of the *waqf* 25–7.



FIGURE 13.1 *Madrasa al-Şalāhīyya, Jerusalem: Şalāh al-Dīn's Arabic inscription on the façade (1187/583).*  
 PICTURE TAKEN BY AMIT SHEMMA.

who in 604/1207–8 built the Qubbat al-Naḥwiyya, a school for grammar and recitation of the Qurʾān on the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf*, located southwest of the Dome of the Rock on the corner of the *Ḥaram* platform. Later, in 614/1217–8, he rebuilt and remodeled the portico of the al-Aqṣā Mosque by adding “elbow columns” which were adapted as *spolia* from Crusader buildings, as we shall see later.<sup>14</sup> In both cases, al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā continued building on the *Ḥaram* using Crusader *spolia* both for ideological reasons and *jihād* propaganda.

The Mamluks carried on this Ayyubid activity. It was the Mamluk period which in fact shaped the city’s appearance and its urban character as a Muslim city as can still be seen today. Once the Latin population had left the city, the Muslim population, which had been a minority under Crusader and Ayyubid rule, gradually increased, and with it the presence of Muslim symbols and landmarks, especially in the Jerusalem area. Mosques, *ribāṭs*, minarets, *madrasas* and other buildings were constructed and highlighted the city’s mounting Islamic character. *Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* became a focal point where the sultans and their governors erected buildings of both a religious and ideological nature. Construction also commenced on the western and northern slopes of the *Ḥaram*, in the Muslim Quarter, and later in the heart of the Christian Quarter.<sup>15</sup> It seems that the greater the proximity to the *Ḥaram*, the greater the number of *madrasas* built there. Building on the *Ḥaram* was carried out and funded through *awqāf* by patrons from the Mamluk elite. In contrast, in the areas more distant from the *Ḥaram* as well as those outside the city line and in the Christian Quarter, the number of *zāwīyas* and *khānqās* built exceeded that of the *madrasas*. Moreover, the greater the distance from the *Ḥaram* the greater the relative part played by other patrons, among them ‘*ulamā*’ and private individuals who, through their limited financial means, endowed religious buildings.<sup>16</sup>

Like the Ayyubids, the Mamluks also used Crusader *spolia* for ideological reasons in their buildings in the city, mainly up to 1292, but later as well. The attitude towards *spolia* during the Mamluk period in Jerusalem can be seen for instance in the use made of materials that the Mamluks appropriated from Crusader architecture in the city, and then translocated to the Kubakiyya Mausoleum (688/1289).<sup>17</sup>

14 Korn, The structure of architectural patronage 82–5. Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā was also the ruler of Damascus in 615–24/1218–27.

15 Luz, *The Mamluk city* 163–72.

16 Ibid.

17 Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 141–3. See also Ollendorff, Two Mamluk tomb chambers 246–50.



FIGURE 13.2 *The Kubakiyya mausoleum (turba), Jerusalem (1289/688): A general view.*  
PICTURE TAKEN BY DEKEL EDUT.

This free-standing mausoleum (*turba*) of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Kubakī (see Figure 13.2) is situated on the eastern side of the Mamilla Cemetery outside the Old City, about one kilometer to the west of today’s Jaffa Gate.<sup>18</sup> Its cubic shape supports a cylindrical drum topped by a dome. The drum is built on four courses. The upper course contains a series of brackets that support a projecting cavetto cornice at the base of the dome. The windows are situated on three sides, and the doorway recess is on the north western side. Zigzag stone voussoirs are set above the doorway forming a small relieving arch. This type of relieving arch is also seen above the windows. A pointed horseshoed trifoliated arch spans the doorway. A hoodmould with short lateral extensions runs around the extrados of the arch, carved with a nail-head pattern on the outer register, and intricate diaper work of intersecting circles and semicircles on the inner register.<sup>19</sup> On either side of the doorway recess there are elbow columns (or consoles) of different sizes supporting a deeply modeled archivolt (see Figure 13.3). The two plain stone benches (*maṣṭaba*) that used to flank the

18 Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem* 31.

19 Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 142.



FIGURE 13.3 *The Kubakiyya mausoleum (turba), Jerusalem (1289/688): Details of the façade.*

PICTURE TAKEN BY DEKEL EDUT.

entrance have recently disappeared, and both the entrance and windows were blocked up by the Jerusalem Municipality in 1975 to protect the building from squatters.

Inside the building, in the center beneath the dome, there is a stone Crusader sarcophagus. In the *qibla* wall is a bare *mihrāb*. The transition from square base to circular drum is seen in two stages. The first stage is from a square to an octagon by means of duplex corner arches, one inside the other, with *muqarnas* niches cut into springers and little fluted conches set into the corners.<sup>20</sup> Some of the building stones bear the marks of Crusader tooling, and several have masons' markings.

A dedicatory inscription is located above the entrance door set into the trifoliated arch, and an inscription on a rectangular panel in characteristic *nashkī* script records the name of the deceased and the date of his burial:<sup>21</sup>

In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. This is the mausoleum (*turba*) of the needer of God, the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī ibn 'Abdallāh, known as al-Kubakī. He died on Thursday, 5 Ramaḍān 688 (22 September 1289). May Allāh cover him with His grace and lodge him in His paradise.

(1) بسمه... وصلوته (sic) على نبية محمد وآله (2) هذه تربة العبد الفقير  
إلى الله تعالى الأمير علاء (3) الدين ايدغددي ابن عبد الله المعروف بالكمكي  
توفى (4) في يوم الخميس الخامس من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة (5) ثمانية وثمانين  
وسمائة تغمده الله برحمته وأسكنه (3) جنّته.

The Kubakiyya building combines typical Crusader architectural elements with those taken from the original Ayyubid and Mamluk architectural language. Briefly, the arcuated relieving lintel with the voussoirs above the monolithic door and windows, the plain stone benches (*masṭabas*) that used to flank the entrance, and the dedicatory inscription above the door are all typical Mamluk features. In contrast, the two arches that span the recess, the pointed arch and the horseshoe trefoil arch, the impostes and the elbow columns below them, the hoodmould with the short lateral extension that runs around the extrados and the series of brackets that support a projecting cavetto cornice at

20 Ibid.

21 The Arabic excerpt is taken from van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem "Haram"* 204, section 68.

the base of the dome are all *spolia* (*in re* or *in se*) of Crusader origin that later appeared on Ayyubid buildings in Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup>

For instance, the elbow column element (see Figure 13.4) which originally served as a basis for the arches supporting church vaults and were designed to transfer the mass of the vaults onto the wall, can be “isolated.”<sup>23</sup> This architectonic support, which is actually a sort of corbel, was “invented” in Jerusalem by Crusader artists in the workshop of the Augustine cloister adjoining the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and executed by the highly skilled builders and stonemasons in the employ of the Crusader Queen Melisende in 1140.<sup>24</sup> This is unquestionably an original creation of Crusader art which embodies different traditions (Hellenic, Roman, and Byzantine, for instance), and which at the same time is a product of the time and place of its creation: “These ‘elbow corbels’ became a hallmark of Crusader architecture.”<sup>25</sup> From there, elbow columns came into common use in the architecture of churches in Crusader Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> In turn, the Ayyubids adopted them as *spolia*, and they appear, *inter alia*, in Jāmi‘ al-Maghāribā (590/1194),<sup>27</sup> Siyaqāt al-Malik al-‘Ādil (589/1193), and in the portico of the al-Aqṣā Mosque that was redesigned in 614/1217–8 by al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā (see Figure 13.5).<sup>28</sup>

22 A series of brackets that support a projecting cavetto cornice at the base of the dome can be found, for instance, in the dome crowning the western chamber of the Ayyubid *Qubbat al-Naḥwīyya*, founded in 604/1207–8 and situated within the *Haram*, to the southwest of the Dome of the Rock platform.

23 The “elbow column” embodies a unique hybridization in form and function between two utterly different methods of support that were well known before the twelfth century. Functionally it is a corbel, but whose external protruding part is sculpted as an engaged column bearing a capital on top and ending at the base in a horizontal projection perpendicular to the wall. See Grabiner, *From raw material* 121. See also, idem, *La Colonnnette coudee*.

24 “During the twelfth century the Holy Sepulchre undoubtedly housed the most flourishing and influential Crusader scriptorium, a bureau of architects and at least three other workshops. One responsible for the wall mosaics, one of stone carving ... A workshop responsible for church furniture, marble and stone carving existed on the Temple Mount...” See Kuhnel, *Crusader art of the twelfth century* 165.

25 Korn, *Ayyubid Jerusalem in perspective* 395.

26 Some 70 examples of this architectural *mélange* have been identified in Jerusalem in religious buildings dating from the first Crusader kingdom, mostly in situ or in the original context of their building. These were the Augustine, Hospitaller, Templar, Teuton, and Armenian knights’ buildings.

27 Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem* 65, 68 pl. 6.3.

28 Hamilton, *The structural history of the Aqsa Mosque*, pls. XXII/3–XXIV/4.



FIGURE 13.4 *The Kubakiyya mausoleum (turba), Jerusalem (1289/688): Elbow columns.*  
PICTURE TAKEN BY DEKEL EDUT.



FIGURE 13.5  
*al-Aqsa mosque, Jerusalem:*  
*Ayyubid portico with elbow columns*  
 (614/1217–1218).

PICTURE TAKEN BY DEKEL EDUT.

The appearance of these elbow columns in the Kubakiyya demonstrate a good example of *spolia*. The perfection and precision of the work of the Crusader and the Ayyubid buildings, and the slovenly work in the Mamluk Kubakiyya, tend to raise questions about the origins of these two elbow columns. Were they plundered from the ruins of Crusader buildings in the city or from the cemetery itself? Were they specially engraved for the Kubakiyya, and if so, can we learn something from them about the quality of the artists' workshops that developed in Jerusalem during the early Mamluk period? Whatever the case, the elbow columns in the Kubakiyya are definitely *spolia* either *in re* or *in se*.

The entrance to the Kubakiyya with its Muslim and Crusader architectural elements is in full view of passersby and seems somewhat hybrid to the modern eye. However, this begs the question of whether this façade conveyed a message to the medieval viewer. Salvatore Settis argued that ancient fragments of *spolia* which were removed from their original context left a defacement behind. When they were translocated to a new building, their odd, foreign form caught the viewers' attention and invited them to interpret their new surroundings.<sup>29</sup> In other words, I believe that the medieval beholder "decoded"

29 Settis, *Continuità, distanza, conoscenza* 373–486.

the symbols or emblems on display on the façade as a message of the triumph of Islam over the Crusaders.

Thus, it is likely that the Kubakiyya façade in Mamilla in Jerusalem was indeed decoded by thirteenth-century Jerusalemites, at least the city's Muslim residents, since they knew who was buried in the *turba* and were acquainted with his role and place in the counter-Crusade war. According to the inscription above the entrance he is "Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī ibn 'Abdallāh, known as al-Kubakī, who died in Thursday, the 5th of Ramaḍān, in the year 688" [22 September 1289].

Two hundred years later, Muḡīr al-Dīn called this building in the Mamilla cemetery "Zāwiya al-Kubakiyya" and noted the name of the deceased and the year he was buried, exactly as it appears in the inscription above the entrance.<sup>30</sup> However, although Sufis were very dominant agents in the Islamization of Jerusalem at the time, and the graves of martyrs and *jihād* warriors became sites for pilgrimage and prayer, it cannot be confirmed or disconfirmed that in the second half of the thirteenth century this building actually served as a Sufi *zāwiya*.

'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī ibn 'Abdallāh al-Kubakī is mentioned in the sources as being appointed governor (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) of Safed by Baybars in 1266 after the city was taken from the Crusaders,<sup>31</sup> and was later appointed governor of Aleppo by Qalāwūn for a short period (in 678/1279–80), but in October of that year he was transferred and replaced by Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh. Later, al-Kubakī was imprisoned, released, and sent to retirement (*baṭṭāl*) to Jerusalem, where he died in 688/1289 at the age of sixty, and was buried, as the inscription shows, in the building bearing his name in the Mamilla cemetery. 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī is well known in Mamluk history<sup>32</sup> and is mentioned in

30 al-'Ulaymī, *al Uns al-jalīl* ii, 65.

31 See for example Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 143, no.6; van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem "Ville"* 210, n. 1; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxi, 16; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'at al-zamān*, ed. Hyderabad, ii, 343, ix 31, 59; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 164–5; al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi*, ed. Ritter 1931, ix, 484–5.

32 The same name, Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kubakī, but without the addition of "Aydughdī," first appears in the sources in 1280. A short time after Qalāwūn appointed Sunqur al-Ashqar governor of Syria in Damascus, in March 1280, he appointed al-Kubakī governor of Safed. In an uprising, al-Kubakī joined Sunqur al-Ashqar but later resumed his post as one of Qalāwūn's *amīrs*. He died in Jerusalem in 1289. Without going too deeply into the question of identity, it would seem that both these individuals are mentioned as serving at one point or another in their lives as senior *amīrs*, first under Baybars and later under Qalāwūn. It is said of both of them that they were governors of Safed and other places

both medieval and modern Arab sources in several variations which are beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>33</sup>

The Mamilla cemetery was chosen to be the place where the remains of *shuhadā'* from the bloody conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 would be laid to rest.<sup>34</sup> From approximately the twelfth century on, with the heightening of tension between Muslims and Franks, when the figure of the *jihād* warrior who fought to the death was considered an exemplary role model, many such fighters were buried in the Mamilla cemetery. Tawfiq Da'adli contends that the earliest burial recorded by Mujīr al-Dīn took place in 585/1189, when Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Īsā ibn Muḥammad al-Hakkārī, the renowned jurist (*faqīh*), one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's *amīrs*, was buried in the Mamilla cemetery.<sup>35</sup>

In this era of religious devotion during the twelfth and thirteenth-century *Bilād al-Shām*, a counter-Crusade *jihād* was consistent with the general climate of piety and was not unrelated to the building of *mashhads* and visits to graves, as well as the massive founding of mosques, *madrasas*, and other religious institutions. "Graves of martyrs became sets for pilgrimage and prayer, and their deeds and merits were spelled out on paper and on stone."<sup>36</sup> One of

---

and that both died in Jerusalem in 1289. This appears to suggest that they are one and the same person.

- 33 In his book, al-Nuwayrī mentions no less than fourteen 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdīs (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxx, 61). Clermont-Ganneau contends that al-Kubakī is actually 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Ruknī, who served as a *mamlūk* under Baybars and Qalāwūn, and was governor of Jerusalem in 1267, where he built numerous buildings, and died in 1293. According to Clermont-Ganneau, al-Kubakī was buried in the *ribāṭ* of 'Alā' al-Dīn located near the *Ḥaram* gate, *Bāb al-Nāzīr*, and he considers the sarcophagus in the Kubakiyya, which was found empty, to support his hypothesis. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archeological researches in Palestine* 286. Regarding the *ribāṭ* of 'Alā' al-Dīn, see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 117–26. Moshe Sharon refers to him as "the famous blind *amīr*, 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī ibn 'Abdallāh al-Kubakī." See Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* v, 15, 115. I tend to think that what is written on al-Kubakī's tomb in the Mamilla cemetery is the correct version. See Tal, *Eretz Israel in medieval Arabic sources* 364, 422, 475. I would like to thank Uri Tal for his enlightening comments regarding this issue.
- 34 Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* v, 164. Abū Shāma says that the cave in the Mamilla cemetery contained the heads of those who had been martyred by the Crusaders in 1099, including that of his great-great-grandfather. See also Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* iii, 218–9.
- 35 Da'adli, *Mamluk epitaphs* 78. See also, al-'Ulaymī, *al Uns al-jalīl* ii, 143–144. Abū Shāma mentions an *amīr*, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Hakkārī, who was martyred on Mt. Tabor in 614/1217 and was buried in the Mamilla cemetery. Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* 108.
- 36 Talmon-Heller, *Muslim martyrdom* 133, 137.

the consequences of the glorification of the *mujāhidūn* coupled with the assurance of a place in paradise for those who fell in the wars against the Crusaders, was the debate on the “quest for martyrdom” which elicited counter-reactions such as that of ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Sulamī (d.660/1262), one of the leading moral and legal authorities of thirteenth-century Syria and Egypt, who stressed that martyrdom was not a reward for death, but for being prepared to die. According to al-Sulamī, political rulers who instigated *jihād* against the Crusaders and did not die in battle would also be rewarded with a place in paradise.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the burial of the Amīr al-Kubakī in the Mamilla cemetery in Jerusalem is likely to be connected with his engagement as a *jihād* warrior, and the promised reward of paradise appears in the engraved inscription on the stone at the entrance to the mausoleum: “May Allāh cover him with His grace and lodge him in His paradise.”

Medieval Muslim Jerusalemites were familiar with Crusader *spolia*. As noted above, they saw and remembered such traces and characteristics in buildings on *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* dating from the Ayyubid period, even though they may not have been aware of them or defined them as *spolia*. There is a striking resemblance between the al-Kubakī façade and the mausoleum of Ḥusām al-Dīn Baraka (Berke) Khān (644/1246?), located in the Street of the Chain (Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila), which is known today as the Khālidī Library. The building bears a monumental funerary inscription which probably belongs to the first phase of the building,<sup>38</sup> but contains no construction date. Baraka Khān, who commanded the *Khwārazmīān* army, was ordered by Sultan Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb to retake Jerusalem from the Crusaders.<sup>39</sup> He was killed in battle near Ḥimṣ in 644/1246 and buried in Jerusalem. Van Berchem believes that the mausoleum was built either by the Ayyubid ruler Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who allied himself through marriage to Baraka Khān, or even by his daughter, Sultan Baybars’ wife, who built the burial site to honor her father.<sup>40</sup>

37 Ibid., 137. See also idem, *Graves, relics, and sanctuaries* 610–1.

38 Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem “Ville”* 185–90. See also Combe et al. (eds.), *Repertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe* xi, 169–70, no. 4254; Hillenbrand, *Some reflections* 286–7; Korn, *The structure of architectural patronage* 86–7, note 84.

39 Tal, *Eretz Israel in medieval Arabic sources* 335, note 181.

40 Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Syrie du sud, Jerusalem “Ville”* 187, n. 2. See also Hillenbrand, *Some reflections* 286–7.

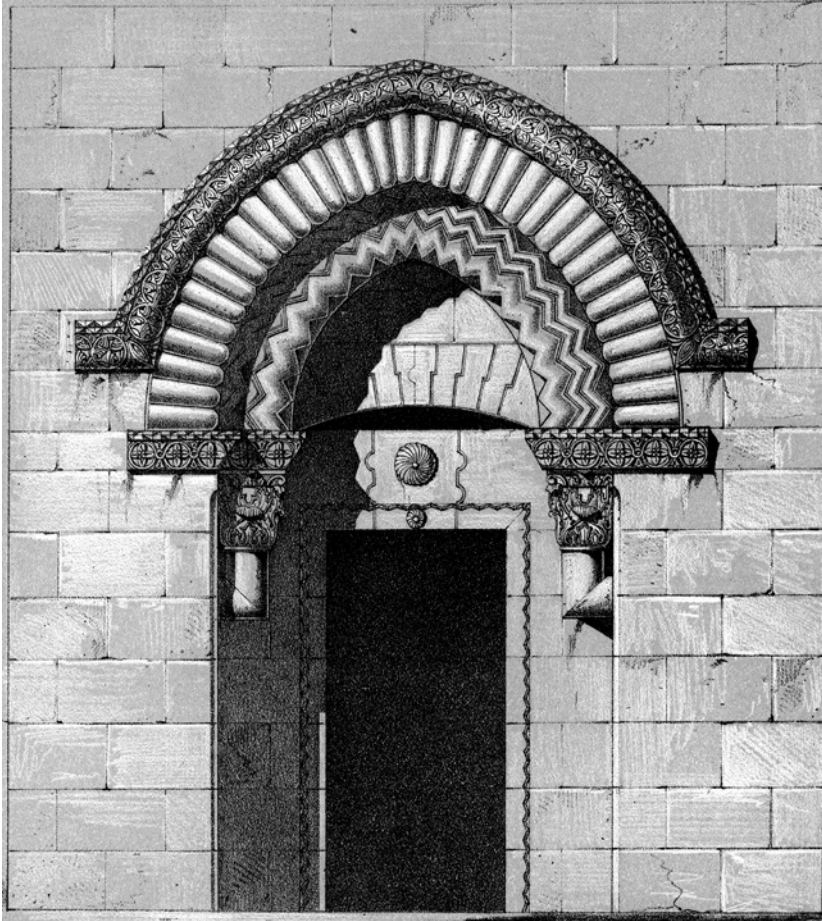


FIGURE 13.6 A drawing of Barakāt Khan mausoleum (turba), Jerusalem: Façade doorway, earliest phase of construction (644/1246?).

AFTER PIEROTTI ERMETE, *JERUSALEM EXPLORED*, LONDON 1864, II, PL. XLV.

The façades of these two mausolea of Baraka Khān and the Kubakiyya are very similar in size and design and have much in common (see Figure 13.6).<sup>41</sup> The main similarities are in the elements identified as Crusader *spolia*: the mouldings, the recessed portals in both, the arch of the doorway in each which is

41 Walls, *The Turbat Barakāt Khān* 25–50, esp. 49–50. See also Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 109–16.



FIGURE 13.7 *Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, southern façade: Details of portals and windows, 12th Century.*

PICTURE TAKEN BY AMIT SHEMMA.

supported by two Crusader elbow columns, the extensions along the façade of the impost blocks, etc. Archibald G. Walls argued that the recessed doorway of the Baraka Khān effectively expresses what he calls “the influence on the local masons in Jerusalem of the twelfth-century entrance doors to the Holy Sepulcher.”<sup>42</sup>

In fact the Crusader elements which appear on the façades of Baraka Khān and the Kubakiyya, as in many other Ayyubid buildings mentioned above,<sup>43</sup> all have a close stylistic connection with the twin portals and double windows of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (see Figure 13.7) that was rebuilt in 1145 by the Crusader Queen Melisende: the church that is believed to represent the site of Christ’s crucifixion, entombment and resurrection. In other words, the church was constructed upon the most important site in Christendom.<sup>44</sup> It

42 Walls, *The Turbat Barakāt Khān* 26.

43 See for example, the Crusader window above the façade of the Saint Anne Monastery, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn converted into the Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya.

44 Ousterhout, *Architecture as relic* 16.

is therefore not surprising that the Ayyubids chose to reuse the southern façade's portals of the Holy Sepulcher shrine as a formative model for *spolia*. "Plundering" the Crusaders' most sacred site and translocating the plunder as *spolia* to Muslim religious buildings thereby constituted a type of triumph over the Crusaders.

The Kubakiyya links the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Jerusalem. Its style is fully reminiscent of the Baraka Khān façade, and both express the Ayyubid concept of reuse of Crusader fragments in Muslim buildings in Jerusalem. From this standpoint, the Kubakiyya, even though chronologically it was built in the Early Mamluk period (688/1289), can certainly be attributed stylistically to the Ayyubid period, or more precisely, to the transitional period between the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. The Mamluk style that was to develop in Jerusalem in the first half of the fourteenth century would find its stylistic origins in Cairo, with the planned integration of local Jerusalem architectonic elements. Two façades, for example, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (Gate of the Cotton Merchants, [737/1336]), and the gate to the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya (729/1328–9) have monumental proportions and portray government resilience and power. *Ablaq* and *muqarnas* are just two of the prominent "innovations" in these Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem,<sup>45</sup> and even though they use Crusader *spolia* (*in re* or *in se*) this merges into the composition and presents a visual coherence to the viewer.

Can the Kubakiyya façade be interpreted as having any significance whatsoever, or is this simply the use of a local "Ayyubid—Crusader" style that characterizes Jerusalem and endows its buildings with a uniform appearance, which Walls describes as a result of "the influence on the local masons in Jerusalem on the twelfth-century entrance doors to the Holy Sepulcher"?<sup>46</sup> Flood contends that "any triumphal connotations attaching to Crusader *spolia* in Jerusalem are more plausible for monuments built in the wake of victory, and are unlikely to have survived long beyond the period of Ayyubid rule."<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, in an attempt to explain the use of Crusader fragments in Ottoman *sabils* (public water fountains) in Jerusalem, he states: "To suggest that they were identified as "Crusader," let alone re-used, assumes not only a fixed identity that

45 Burgoyne claims that the two gates were planned by the same architect. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 278.

46 Walls, *The Turbat Barakāt Khān* 26.

47 Flood, *An ambiguous aesthetic* 213.

is problematic, but a rather modern (and art historical) sense of style.”<sup>48</sup> In other words, Flood argues that with the conquest of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the reuse of Crusader fragments indeed functioned as *spolia* whose aim was to demonstrate the triumph of Islam over the Crusaders, but with time this use of a blend of Crusader and Ayyubid elements became a local Jerusalem style that “forgot” its original role as *spolia*.

It is entirely possible that the incorporation of Crusader fragments into Ottoman *sabils* was not identified as “Crusader” since the struggle against the Crusaders was already a distant history.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, in Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period and certainly the Mamluk (and perhaps even the Ottoman period), fragments of Crusader origin (in *re* or in *se*) were experienced by Jerusalemites if not as a specific historical “truth” in the city’s history, then as objects that were bearers or transmitter of the memory of Islam’s victory over the Crusaders and Christians.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the entrance to the Kubakiyya Mausoleum would appear to reveal an intentional use of Crusader *spolia* as a challenge, opposition, and a declaration of the Muslim rulers’ triumph over Christianity.

---

48 Ibid.

49 If so, Flood’s version may also apply to Mamluk Cairo before 1382. During the Early Mamluk period and certainly at the time of Baybars and Qalāwūn, Crusader *spolia* were regarded as a declaration of triumph over the enemy, and this also appeared in the written sources. Baybars actually brought Crusader *spolia* from Jaffa to Cairo which were incorporated into the Great Mosque he had built, and Qalāwūn used virtual *spolia* in a building he erected in 1248 on Cairo’s main thoroughfare. See Ibn Shaddād, *Ta’rīkh al-Malik al-Zāhīr* 346. See also, Taragan, *Sign of the times* 54–66.

50 Burke, *History as social memory* 97–113. See also Grabar, *crusades and the development of Islamic Art* 236; Grossman, *On memory* 481–517.

## The Struggle over Water

*Evaluating the ‘Water Culture’ of Syrian Peasants under Mamluk Rule\**

*Bethany J. Walker*

### On Moral Economy and “Water Culture”

In 799/1396, acting on the repeated (verbal and written) complaints by local peasants and administrators, Sultan Barqūq had his supervisor of the Jordan River Valley (*mushidd al-aghwār*), Amīr Iyās al-Jarkashī, arrested and killed. The man was truly despised. He was corrupt, forcing sales of “his” sugar at inflated prices (*ṭarḥ*) on local residents, and tyrannical, amputating the hands of men accused of theft. Worst of all, however, he interfered in local water practices by diverting communal water to his own plantations. From the local perspective, and that of the Damascus-based historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, the local economy collapsed as a result.<sup>1</sup> Al-Jarkashī’s behavior was unethical, culturally disrespectful, and financially irresponsible.

Peasants and the urban poor frequently rebelled against the Mamluk state during times of limited resources, famine, and extreme poverty.<sup>2</sup> Urban riots and the filing of formal complaints constituted a kind of communal action that expressed the moral indignation of the marginalized and otherwise powerless against the overwhelming power of a militarized state. These forms of social protest, when the terms of fairness and justice were breached by a seemingly indifferent officialdom, were manifestations of the moral economy of local society and, as such, give us a glimpse into the social norms and political culture of the non-elite. Land and water were critical flash points in encounters between Mamluk officials and peasants. Although land and water really constitute a single unit, and should not be conceptually separated from one another, limited and irregular access to water, as was the case for the dry-farmed

---

\* The topic of this essay pays tribute to Amalia Levanoni’s 2008 article on Cairo’s water supply. Not only a fine piece of scholarship, it demonstrates the wide range of intellectual interests that this highly influential scholar has explored over the course of her career and demonstrates quite clearly the rich narratives about water systems that can be culled from the historical record, if one is so inclined!

1 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* i, 630–1.

2 Shoshan, Grain riots 459–78.

agricultural regimes of *Bilād al-Shām*, was a lightning rod of social conflict (intra-communal and with the state), the leading factor behind migration (that is, the permanent abandonment of villages), and one of the most important catalysts of social change in the rural sphere during the waning decades of Mamluk rule. Repeated years of drought, the collapse of irrigation systems, and neglect of the water-heavy industries (such as sugar) in which the state had so heavily invested in the past pushed peasants to more traditional forms of water and land use—specifically more localized water systems, the return to indigenous hydro-technologies, and cropping more appropriate to those systems.

The role of water as a political factor is readily recognized in Ottoman studies, where local water conflicts have become a focus of research in their own right and “peasant agency” in natural resource management has become a grand theme.<sup>3</sup> Alan Mikhail’s pioneering monograph, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt* (2011), raises important questions about the ways that the management of water—in this case the irrigation networks of Ottoman Egypt—can be a prism that helps clarify the complex interactions between officialdom and peasant society.<sup>4</sup> Relying on the archives of the rural *Sharī’a* courts (*al-mahākīm al-shar‘īyya*), Mikhail argues that peasants exerted considerable influence over the way Egyptian lands were irrigated and, until the modernization and centralization efforts of the late 18th and 19th centuries, the Egyptian government relied heavily on their expertise to manage and develop provincial water systems. The “imperial coordinated localism”<sup>5</sup> of these systems created an ecological balance and assured sustainable water and land use. The local actors were what Mikhail refers to as “communities of water,” which are small-scale, tightly-knit rural communities that survive through cooperation, share common assumptions about equitable water use, and evolve social practices and group identity around them. These assumptions include “right of use” (defined by customary practice, continuous cultivation of a piece of land tied to a water course, and the presence of structures claimed to have been built by an individual or group), responsibility for the maintenance of water courses, and equitable development of water systems (with the interests of the group trumping that of the individual).<sup>6</sup> The Ottoman *Kanunname-i Mısır* of 1525, which drew heavily on Mamluk law and practice (and particularly those of

3 Mikhail, *Nature and empire*.

4 For Syria, Amy Singer’s influential *Palestinian peasants and Ottoman officials* (1994) was one of the first systematic studies of Ottoman *Bilād al-Shām* to consider peasant agency in rural administration, which included acts of vandalism against imperial water facilities.

5 A phrase coined by Mikhail in his *Nature and empire* 62.

6 *Ibid.*, 47 and 58.

Sultan Qāyṭbāy's reign), reinforced in many ways these water ethics.<sup>7</sup> Similar concepts regarding "right of access" and "equitable development and use" permeate modern international water laws as well, bearing witness to the deep cultural roots and longevity of rural water practices.<sup>8</sup>

Among Mamluk historians, the revived interest in large-scale irrigation systems reflects, in part, the growing impact of environmental history on the field. Recent scholarship has covered topics ranging from the structure of urban irrigation systems and the social dynamics of water conflicts there (based on chronicles, administrative manuals, travelers' accounts, *fatwā* collections, and water treatises)<sup>9</sup> to the economics, organization, and management of imperial water systems (supported by chronicles and tax registers).<sup>10</sup> Cairo and Damascus loom large in these studies, and the perspective on water that emerges is that of officialdom and the urban elites. The majority of the population, however, lived in villages and small towns beyond these urban centers, and their experiences are not captured by a reading of these sources alone.<sup>11</sup> A purely rural water history of the Mamluk period, which would be a Mamlukist's equivalent to Mikhail's work, has yet to be written.

Scholarship on Mamluk water systems has traditionally focused on the politics of water in Egypt; in other words, state managerial practices and administration. Egypt's riverine-based water regime, however, was quite different from the spring and rain-fed regimes of Syria. The vast irrigation systems of Egypt pulled rural and urban society, peasants, and Mamluk officials into a tight network of collaborations, conflicts, and mutual dependencies which, one can

7 Ibid., 12. On water development, the law code specified, as well, when and under what conditions the state would step in to help local communities finance the repair of irrigation canals.

8 The "Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses," signed at the United Nations headquarters in May of 1997, upholds the "principle of equitable utilization," in which the integrity of the river basin supersedes the territorial sovereignty of a nation-state. The full text of the UN law can be found online at: [http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/8\\_3\\_1997.pdf](http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/8_3_1997.pdf).

9 Levanoni, Water supply in Medieval Middle Eastern cities 179–205; Shoshan, Mini-dramas by the water 233–44; Frenkel, The management of water in fourteenth century Damascus.

10 Tsugitaka, *State and rural society in Medieval Islam*, especially 220–33; Borsch, Nile floods and the irrigation system 131–45; idem, Environment and population 451–68. For the late Ayyubid period, see Rapoport and Shahar, Irrigation in the Medieval Islamic Fayyum 1–31; idem, Rural society in Medieval Islam site, accessed on 27 December 2014 <http://www2.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam/index.html>—raw data on revenues from the Fayyum from Nabulsi for 1245 CE.

11 Mikhail makes a similar argument in his *Nature and empire* 17.

argue, created a political-ecological culture that contrasted significantly with the one that developed in *Bilād al-Shām*. The different water systems fostered different cultural codes and ethics of natural resource management. Syrian agriculture was, and largely remains, rain-dependent. This was particularly true of grain fields. Localized hydrological and topographical conditions impacted the ability of springs to water gardens and orchards; the uneven, broken topography of the Syrian landscape exacerbated regional differences in water availability and accessibility. The result was a complex configuration of localized eco-zones, with significant differences in frequency, quantity, and quality of rainfall and soil quality.<sup>12</sup> Because annual rainfall throughout many regions of Syria was, and is, unpredictable, agriculture here was highly susceptible to drought.<sup>13</sup>

The rain-fed, spring-dependent regimes of Syria led to the development of water systems that were more localized, smaller-scale and more diverse, and less dependent on state intervention than the systems in Egypt. Of course, larger, more complex and coordinated irrigation systems certainly existed in Damascus and the Jordan River Valley, for example, but these should not be confused with the indigenous, traditional systems comprised of springs, cisterns, check dams, and small canals that collected water from various sources, channeled them to fields and homes, and saved the remainder for future use (in dry periods). These systems remain largely outside the coverage of the textual sources available to us for this period: they were not (directly) taxed, were of such a small scale to escape the attention of the chroniclers (no matter how interested they were in rural affairs), and are, surprisingly, not the focus of formal (documented) legal action. These systems are, in comparison to the large irrigation networks of Egypt and those of Syrian urban centers, largely invisible textually. Archeological evidence, though, in conjunction with environmental

---

12 On the conditions in northern Jordan, in particular impacting soil development historically, see Lucke et al., Questioning Transjordan's historic desertification 100–26.

13 Grain harvests in today's Jordan, for example, fail an average of once of every five years for lack of rainfall. See Palmer, Following the plough 132. Jordan's limited water resources are notorious: its ranking as one of the most water-starved in the world is constantly adjusted by international agencies. "Water-starved" is defined as countries that run out of water for basic needs each year. It overlaps with, but is not synonymous with, the "drylands," those arid and semiarid lands in which the index of aridity is less than 0.65. See Reynolds, Desertification 61. The country of Jordan suffers a water deficit on an annual basis, although much of the climate of many parts of the country can be described as "Mediterranean," with evaporation rates well below that of semi-arid regions. The need to import water is as much tied to infrastructure, land use, and the national economy as to purely climatic conditions.

proxy data, alludes to their presence, function, and development, and the pivotal roles that resilience, buffering strategies, and sustainability played in the water culture of the peasants of Mamluk *Bilād al-Shām*.

This paper provides preliminary thoughts on a topic that has become a focus of the author's archeological research in recent years: the water culture of rural Transjordan in the Mamluk era. It is also part of a much larger, long-term, interdisciplinary study on peasant culture in Mamluk Syria and the mental universe in which they conducted their daily lives. By "water culture" I refer to traditional practices related to water collection, use, distribution, sharing, and storage that were embedded in the social ethics of small-scale communities. It refers to practices and the reasons for these practices, rather than the social forms that it generated (or the "communities of water" described by Mikhail). For our purposes, water culture is comprised of four components, three of which will be briefly explored in this essay:

1. Political ecology (the struggle for control over water that defined part of peasants' relations with the Mamluk state).
2. The ethics of natural resource management (such as water-sharing and sustainable water use).
3. Traditional knowledge and practice.
4. Household-level management.

The focus in this project remains rural Syria; i.e., those villages and fields too far from Damascus to have belonged to the city's irrigation network or to have caught the attention of local scholars, and the peasants' perspectives on the most precious of the resources under their care: water. The research behind it is a methodological mix and one that, by necessity, draws on a range of textual sources (documentary and narrative), but quite heavily on recent archeological research, with current excavations at Tall Ḥisbān in Jordan as a case study. This essay offers thoughts on the viability of a study of rural water systems in Mamluk Syria and the peasant culture that supported them, through a combined reading of the textual and archeological record.

### **Political Ecology: Water as a Legal and Economic Category**

The legal and economic status of water in the Mamluk administration was ambiguous, in comparison to the notably clearer categories of agricultural land. While quantities of water itself, shares in water use, built water facilities (canals), water-driven industries (mills), and irrigated lands (the fruit trees of

orchards) were subject to taxation, could be bought and sold, and were points of contention in the courts, the sources of the water (rivers, springs, water courses) themselves were not. This is a central precept of Islamic thought concerning natural resources: water belongs to God, but its development (water courses, storage and distribution installations, etc.), however, is a human act and the facilities associated with that activity are private property, liable to taxation, confiscation, and inheritance.

The so-called Ḥaram documents, the private papers of a late 14th-century Shafiʿī judge in Jerusalem, are the only known collection of court-related documentation for Mamluk Syria.<sup>14</sup> The Arabic and Persian documents in the collection make rare references to water: an estate and its water allotment as collateral against a cash loan, the purchase of shares in water and the land irrigated by it, the lease of *waqf* villages and the waters allotted to them, and an attestation that certain men have no legal claim to two wells that belong to a Jerusalem endowment.<sup>15</sup> This would suggest, again, that water had a market value solely in connection with land, and that only the development of waters (through built facilities) were privatized. Water was used, but built facilities and irrigated lands were held in tenure. What are missing from these files are cases of water disputes. Apparently no such litigation took place in this court, or involved this judge. Turning to the earliest of the series of Ottoman *sijillāt* in the same city offers little more: there is no reference to water or water facilities in the court files that otherwise include marriage contracts, sales of real estate, and documentation related to inheritance and the payment of debt.<sup>16</sup>

Syrian chronicles and *fatwā* collections, fortunately, supplement what is missing from the urban courts; their occasional reference to localized disputes over water are informative for the juridical culture and local ethics that guided “water culture” in Damascus and the nearby villages that were part of its riparian system. The descriptions of water conflicts in Ibn Ṭawq’s *al-Taʿlīq*, a text rich in rural details that is as much personal memoirs as a chronicle, provide a unique opportunity to study the ways urban and suburban water conflicts

14 The two main monograph-length studies of these documents today are Little, *A catalogue of the Islamic documents* and Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen*.

15 Little, *Catalogue of the Islamic documents* 379–80 (doc. #861, 712/1312), 383 (doc. #859, 742/1342), 384 (doc. #873, 721/1321), 242 (doc. #38, 765/1364).

16 Microfilms of these registers are accessible at the University of Jordan, and the detailed catalogue of the first series has been published as Muhtadī, *Sijill mahkamat al-Quds*. A general catalogue of the entire series available in Amman appears in al-Bakhīt et al., *al-Quds al-Sharif: Wathāʾiq wa-sijillātuhā wa-makhṭūṭātuhā*. The earliest document in this series dates to 929/1523. Given this early date, it can be assumed that the documents reflect legal practice in the late Mamluk period as well.

evolved and the (formal and informal) mechanisms used to settle them.<sup>17</sup> Shoshan's 1980 article on this topic discusses in detail several cases transmitted by Ibn Ṭawq from the 880s/1480s that involve diversion of water from canals, blockage of canals, and the rights to divert or use Damascus' irrigation water.<sup>18</sup> The disputes involved not only peasants, but Mamluk officials and members of Damascus' 'ulamā', who had financial interests in the lands watered by the branch canals of the Barada River. Qadis, in particular, intervened and interfered, maneuvering the solution of conflicting claims to urban and suburban water to their best advantage. Conflict resolution was seldom straightforward, with frequent changes of opinion by officials and judges alike, and took place in the urban courts, the *dār al-niyāba*, or the physical locale of the disputes (in the villages, at the blocked or broken canals). *Fatwā* collections reveal a similar approach to problem-solving in the same city a century earlier. Citing such *muftīs* as Ibn Qudāma, al-Subkī, and Ibn Sirāj al-Andalūsī, Frenkel provides examples of juridical opinions of the day concerning such conflicts as the rights of downstream riparians, the right to sell water, access to public water facilities for professional water-carriers, and the right of tenure in rural canals.<sup>19</sup> Together, such sources paint a picture of water ethics, conflicts, and resolution through formal, institutionalized channels for Mamluk-era Damascus and its rural hinterland.

The kinds of textual sources available to historians of Mamluk and Ottoman Cairo, Jerusalem, or Damascus and their suburbs are not available for more remote Syrian villages since the archives of the local courts either no longer exist or have not been identified. In Mamluk Syria, rural communities were well provided with local courts for the registration of marriage and transfer of property, approval of deeds and other documents, and the settlement of inheritance squabbles. Biographical dictionaries and chronicles attest to a hierarchy of these courts and suggest that judges travelled frequently between them, in circuit-court style.<sup>20</sup> We do not know, however, exactly how these courts were used, who frequented them, and what roles they actually played in resolving the kinds of communal disputes that would have arisen over water rights, and which are attested in Ottoman sources. For the breaking of local canals and the siphoning off of neighbors' water, taking more than one's allotted daily share of

17 Ibn Ṭawq, *al-Ta'liq*. See also the recent study of the work by Wollina, *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag*.

18 Shoshan, Mini-dramas by the water.

19 Frenkel, Management of water.

20 For a discussion of the rural courts of Mamluk Transjordan, and a review of the related Arabic sources, see Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages* 178–86. On the hierarchy of local courts, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-nabih* iii, 115.

irrigated water, claiming rights of tenure over cisterns and wells, and disputes over responsibilities for collective maintenance of canals and dams on *iqta'āt*, peasants would have turned to the estate managers (*mutawallīs*). On private or *waqf* land, peasants could have made use of the local courts, but in the absence of court records, this remains speculation. The reference in the Ḥaram papers to the resolution of conflicting claims to a well in Jerusalem (doc. #38, cited above) suggests that in localized conflicts, problem-solving may have largely taken place within the village community and through more traditional and informal (non-institutional) channels. As is the case today in many villages, the parties to the dispute go to court only to have the terms of the resolution formally documented and notarized in the presence of witnesses. If so, most such conflicts would have left no textual trace. How the nature of water conflicts in remote villages compared to those in the rural suburbs of Cairo or Damascus, however, is unclear.

It is equally difficult to define the economic status of water. In the absence of formal tax registers for the Mamluk period, one must turn to the registers issued by the Ottomans after the conquest of Syria and Egypt.<sup>21</sup> The earliest *tapu defteri* for Liwā' 'Ajlūn (modern Jordan) likely represent the ways the Ottomans generally surveyed their Arab territories after their conquest of the Mamluk state: tax categories and expected revenues were largely based on data from late Mamluk times and are, thus, informative about Syria's rural tax administration in the 15th and early 16th centuries.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, rural proprietors were required to provide documentation of any fields, orchards, and other rural real estate held in tenure by them; these are frequently the only documentation we have of rural endowments and private land (and how it was acquired) in late Mamluk Syria. The Ottomans, at least initially, adopted local practices as regards rural tax administration for the region. Unfortunately, as was the case in other regions of the Ottoman Empire, there is no direct reference to water in the tax registers: it was not taxed as such, and neither were canals.<sup>23</sup> The development of waterways, however, was indirectly tax-liable, in

21 Although there were several important cadastral surveys done of Egypt and Syria by Mamluk sultans, the most famous of which was the series by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad from 713/1313, no detailed tax registers actually exist. Ibn Jī'ān's *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa* and Ibn Duqmāq's *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* only provide a summary of the results of the Egyptian survey (as lists of places and *iqta'āt*, but not tax categories or expected revenues); nothing comparable remains for Syria. For a discussion of the scant textual evidence for these surveys, see Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages* 201–4.

22 al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kīnāna*, as cited in Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages* 55.

23 Fruit-growing trees, vineyards, rice cultivation, water mills, and millstones were tax-liable, according to the tax registers for 16th-century Anatolia. See İslamoğlu-İnan, *State*

the form of irrigated lands (the numbers of fruit-bearing trees in orchards, the produce from gardens) and water-powered industries (mills and millstones, presses). According to both the tax registers for the sub-province of 'Ajlūn and the Kanunname of the Province of Damascus/Syria, the law code guiding the local tax administration, the only other categories of taxes were on urban markets (*bāj bazār*), khans, sulfur, falcons' nests (*ashyāan shāhīn*), the registration of marriage, *tapu* registration, shops, and wood.<sup>24</sup>

Water in itself was, apparently, not a taxable commodity. It did, however, lend tax liability to land. This is one way, perhaps, in which the perspective of the state and that of local peoples coincided. As a commodity, land was categorized by the way it was watered and the quality of the watering. Water laws and contemporary books of husbandry use much of the same terminology. The court documents and water law (*qanūn al-riyy*) of Ottoman Egypt, for example, differentiated between lands that were *shārqī* (parched because the Nile flood did not reach them, but potentially cultivable if watered another way) and those that were *būr* (dry and uncultivable wastelands).<sup>25</sup> Water was also the invisible hand behind the shape and status of lands, by reclaiming formerly abandoned fields, diverting waters and creating islands, submerging others, and making once flourishing land a desert.<sup>26</sup> The anonymous author of the 14th-century book of husbandry, "*Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-filāḥa*" ("The key to comfort for the people of agriculture"), describes agricultural land in many of the same terms. If properly watered by hand or by building diversion canals, for example, people could easily cultivate the good soils of "*sharāqī*" land.<sup>27</sup> The manual is divided into different soil types, defined as such by the methods, quantity, and quality of their watering: rainfall, irrigation, garden watering (rain, dew, rivers, cisterns and wells), springs, rain that is light, heavy, or deeply penetrating. Advice is given on how to best increase watering, given the type of soil, how to drain this kind of soil, and what crops are best suited for it. The tax registers and water law reflect the end result of such indigenous

---

*and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire* 154, #34. Other parallels exist for earlier periods. In his "History of the Fayyum" of 1245, Nabulsi's only water-related references are to the fees paid to the "supervisor of the canals" (*rasm khawli al-bahr*), commercial taxes on urban water mills, ferry boats, and fisheries. See Rapoport and Shahar, "Irrigation in the Islamic Fayyum."

24 al-Bakhit and Ḥammūd, *The Detailed Defter of Līvā' 'Ajlūn* 22; idem, *Tapu defteri no. 185* 30–1; Anonymous, *Kanunname-i Şam*—as "Qānūn Nāmeḥ wilāyat al-Shām," tr. Halil Sahillioğlu—manuscript in the microfilm archive of the University of Amman.

25 Mikhail, *Nature and empire* 11.

26 Ibid., 71.

27 Anonymous, *Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-filāḥa* 102–3.

knowledge: the crops that result, and their tax categories, summarize such locally recognized categories of land, soil, and water. In other words, the type of soil determines the crop, which ultimately creates a taxable category.

### Traditional Knowledge as Reflected Textually

*Miftāḥ al-rāḥa*, although a rich source of information on indigenous knowledge about soil and water, is largely dependent on Ibn Mammāṭī's 12th-century book of husbandry for Egypt, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-dawāwīn*.<sup>28</sup> It is of limited use for a study of Mamluk Syria in its details, but is useful in its generalities: like most texts of its genre, it transmits the kind of traditional knowledge (no matter how old) still valued by peasants of the time. As for the ethics of water use, a common theme runs through the text: all kinds of water can be used for cultivation (even muddy and salty waters), and most lands can be revived if sufficiently watered and properly maintained.

The manual falls into a genre of literature generally known as "*kutub al-filāḥa*," which are agrarian manuals or, more properly, books of husbandry.<sup>29</sup> Combining practical husbandry, based on years of peasant know-how (*ʿilm al-riyāfa*), with something akin to botanical science, these manuals can be classified as part-instructional, part-theory, and part-scientific treatise.<sup>30</sup> The origins of the genre date back to al-Andalus in the 9th and 10th centuries, where there was a scholarly effort to "synthesize the accumulated knowledge and theories of the past with practical husbandry on the ground, thereby systematizing a new science of agriculture."<sup>31</sup> Unlike many medieval Arabic encyclopedias, the authors of *kutub al-filāḥa* were not mere compilers, but practitioners in the field, many with personal experience in farming and crop experimentation. While the intended audience of these manuals is not clear, it is plausible that one was gentleman farmers, the proprietors of new estates and gardens, as the

28 al-Muqābala, al-Qarya fi Bilād al-Shām 6–7; "The Filāḥa Texts Project," Anonymous, *Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-filāḥa* ([http://www.filaha.org/author\\_anon\\_14c\\_syrian.html](http://www.filaha.org/author_anon_14c_syrian.html)).

29 These should be differentiated from a similar kind of text, the medieval Arabic farmers' almanacs.

30 The "Filāḥa Texts Project: The Arabic Books of Husbandry" ([www.filaha.org](http://www.filaha.org)) is an online community of scholars interested in this genre and constitutes a collective effort at making information about manuscripts available, as well as public-access translation efforts.

31 Fitzwilliam-Hall, An introductory survey of the Arabic Books of Filāḥa and Farming Almanacs, 2010 online publication of "The Filāḥa Texts Project: The Arabic Books of Husbandry," accessed on 27 December 2014, <http://www.filaha.org/introduction.html>.

texts make regular reference to the preparation and levelling of new fields, excavating new wells, and the reclamation of marginal lands.<sup>32</sup>

The last appearance of this genre was in Mamluk Syria (and specifically Damascus), where at least three major manuals were composed.<sup>33</sup> While most of the Syrian and Egyptian manuals compile data from earlier manuals, Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī's (d. 1528/9 CE) *Jāmiʿ farāʿid al-milāḥa fī jawāmiʿ farāʿid al-filāḥa* ("The complete rules for elegance in all the uses for agriculture") is based on first-hand knowledge, acquired during his travel to the Hijāz, Palestine, and Egypt to observe peasant practices and compare them to those at home in Damascus.<sup>34</sup> They yield detailed and rich information about a range of practices related to augmenting water supplies (how to predict rainfall and to find springs and extract water from them), descriptions of the tools and mechanisms used to raise water, the general terms of water-sharing, and how to dig a well and clean a canal. Water treatises of the period, such as Ibn al-Mibrad's (d. 1503) *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār* ("Copious ideas on river reports"), displays a real interest in preserving and transmitting water-relevant information, even if the texts draw heavily on earlier ones.<sup>35</sup>

The sudden revival of interest in Syria in this kind of knowledge in the 14th and 15th centuries calls for explanation. The recurrent droughts of the period and the many crises of agriculture noted in the narrative sources (and more recently documented archeologically) may be one factor.<sup>36</sup> On a more positive note, the greater privatization of rural lands which, in the eyes of this author is one of the most important economic phenomena of the later Mamluk period, may be another. The growing interest in such texts likely went beyond the interests of scholarship. The texts generally reflect an insider's

32 Ibid.

33 These include al-Dimashqī's (d. 728/1327), *al-Durr al-multaqaṭ fī ʿilm filāḥatay al-Rūm wa-l-Nabaṭ*; *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-falāḥa*, written sometime in the 14th century by an anonymous scholar, who some have identified as al-Dimashqī; and *Kitāb Jāmiʿ farāʿid al-milāḥa* by Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī, whose life spanned the end of the Mamluk and the beginning of the Ottoman periods. For a survey of these works, see Mukāḥala, *al-Zirāʿa fī Bilād al-Shām fī l-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī* 5–7.

34 Filāḥa website: [http://www.filaha.org/author\\_al\\_ghazi\\_al\\_amiri.html](http://www.filaha.org/author_al_ghazi_al_amiri.html). The work is known only in manuscript form in Damascus, Cairo, London, and Tunis. Study of the text is ongoing by the author.

35 Ibn al-Mibrad frequently cites Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn Shaddād in his treatise on the rivers and canals of Damascus, for example. For published texts, see Ibn al-Mibrad, *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār*, in *Rasaʿil Dimashqīyya*, ed. al-Khiyāmī, 13–16, first edition by idem as *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār li-Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī*, in *BEO* 34, 196–206.

36 This is a theme that runs through Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages*.

knowledge of agriculture. These scholar-agrarian specialists-gentleman farmers may have had more than one reason to experiment with plants, soils, and water to revive lands for cultivation and secure yields.

The books on husbandry and water treatises reflect an interest in and extensive insiders' knowledge of the local Syrian water regimes and the diverse soil environments watered by them. The key component of the rural water system was the cistern (*ṣahrjī, bī'r*). More than any other water installation, and unlike the emphasis on canals in Egypt or Damascus, the village cistern appears with the greatest frequency in textual sources of the period.<sup>37</sup> Chroniclers frequently note the presence of cisterns in the villages through which they travel (particularly if there are many of them and the village seems well supplied with water). The richest descriptions of the physical structure of villages, however, are to be found in rural *waqfiyyāt*, which document the income-producing components of endowed villages, such as mills, presses, irrigated gardens and orchards, baths (*hammāmāt*), and rental houses equipped with cisterns and wells.<sup>38</sup> Though they are few and largely incomplete, the documents describe in some detail the layout of villages, scale, amenities, and water provisions (sources of water such as springs and wadis and installations). They were also drawn up, in part, through interviews with local villagers, who provided place names and information regarding what buildings were still in use and what their functions were.<sup>39</sup> The *waqfiyyāt* differentiate between two kinds of cisterns: the freshly-built family cistern and "ancient" ones that have been rehabilitated (*ṣahārjī rūmāniyya*) for various uses; the cisterns are often given nicknames by the villagers that find their way into the documents. Together the two kinds of water collection facilities form a village-based water system that includes stand-alone cisterns (rain-fed or filled by hand with jars and waterskins)<sup>40</sup> and those filled by and networked with one another by spring-fed canals. Cisterns are among the most prominent landmarks of the rural landscape in these *waqfiyyāt*.

37 The Egyptian sources are quite rich in this regard. For example, the over 120 villages and hamlets listed in Nabulsi's 13th-century tax registry for Egypt includes details on their canals: their local names, plastering, and village water quotas from each. See Rapoport and Shahar, *Rural society in Medieval Islam*.

38 For a survey of Mamluk-era *waqfiyyāt* for villages and farmland in the Transjordan, see Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Age*, 154–64.

39 These documents also include local terminology for the natural landscape and the built environment. It is important to note, as well, that cisterns and wells that went out of use for water storage were often reused by peasants for grain storage, as they have been in recent history.

40 Ghawanmeh, *al-Qarya fī junūb al-Shām* 366.

One of the best preserved *waqfiyyāt* of this kind is for the endowment of rural properties throughout Syria by Sultan Sha‘bān in 777/1375, which includes a garden in Wādī Karak and the nearby Transjordanian village of Ādar.<sup>41</sup> The garden seems to be something of a rural resort, with a well-endowed orchard (producing a wide variety of fruit including lemons, apples, apricots, figs, grapes, and pomegranates) in a larger garden setting with roses and white poplars. The property also included three rental houses and a multi-room bathhouse. A focal point of the garden is the large cistern, which gathers water from the spring called Muḥayṣ. The cistern is described in some detail. The structure is covered with a stone-built vault (held in place by a mud mortar), with a domed room on the roof at one end. The latter was apparently something of a curiosity to the local villagers, which, according to the document, was once known as “the mill” (*al-ṭāḥūna*) but at the time of endowment had gone out of use. As for the village of Ādar, it was endowed in its entirety: its lands (cultivable and not), the peasants’ houses (83 in total), and the cisterns and wells and the lands they watered. The 157 cisterns (127 of which were still in use as water facilities) were distributed throughout the village and are described as *ṣahārīj rūmānīyya* that collected the “flowing water” (*mā’ al-asīla*). One of the cisterns belongs to the village mosque, and the remainder to households.

Though central to Syrian villages’ sustainable water use, cisterns and wells, which were the kinds of water facilities generally built by and for local people, rarely caught the attention of Mamluk officials. Such installations were apparently not subject to taxation and brought the state, at least directly, no income. However, they were invaluable to the local village community.<sup>42</sup> A product of the Tanzimat-inspired Ottoman Land Code of 1858 for Syria, the *tapu* registration of lands in northern Jordan in 1880 illustrates well the value placed on village cisterns by peasants. Although required only to register land with the state, the residents of the village of Bayt Ra’s voluntarily registered everything they felt was potentially valuable in their village, including cisterns and wells both functioning and defunct.<sup>43</sup> Fifty-five entries of *mülk* (private property) are listed in the 1880 land register: 19 of these were houses, but 36 were cisterns or

41 The manuscript can be found in Cairo’s Dar al-Wathā‘iq, Waqfiyya 8/49, *Hujaj Umarā’ wa-Salāṭīn*. Parts of it have been published in Ghawanmeh, *al-Tā’rikh al-ḥaḍarī li-sharq al-Urdunn fi l-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī* 290–2 (the garden) and “al-Qarya” (the village). The larger document has been studied by the author, the Transjordanian parts of it are discussed in Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages*, 154–61.

42 On the importance historically of the family cistern in villages near Salt (Jordan), see Wählin, *The family cistern* 233–49.

43 Mundy and Smith, *Governing property* 111.

wells. Most of the cisterns listed, though, were no longer used for water storage, but for storage of wheat, barley, and chaff. As for monetary value, the estimated value of the land was 96,000 *guruş*, while that of cisterns was 21,900. It was the peasants themselves who recognized the value of their cisterns. Another interesting pattern emerges from this late Ottoman registry, which reflects the kind of spatial patterning described in the Ādar *waqfiyya* discussed above. Cisterns were not necessarily tied to individual households: not every household had a cistern (or even a shared one), some households had more than one, and the cisterns could be found throughout the village and in the fields. Data from the land registers of the village of nearby Hawwāra from 1876–83 show that one of the most affluent families, the members of which resided in the same house, had five wells and two cisterns to their name.<sup>44</sup> The number of cisterns may have, at least within the community, reflected the relative wealth of the family.

### Traditional Knowledge and Ethics “On the Ground”: The Case of the Mamluk—Era Town of Ḥisbān, Jordan

Village cisterns, however, did not function as isolated units. They were generally part of a larger village—and basin-wide water system that functioned mainly as run-off irrigation of fields and the capture of rain water for households. The cisterns were fed by mostly open diversion channels that led water from seasonal rivers, naturally flooded fields (in the winter), and the roofs of houses, as today.<sup>45</sup> Aqueducts and underground tunnels (*qanāts*) led water from springs to reservoirs and pools. Check dams and sumps were also part of this system; man-made wells in the Ḥawrān and many regions of the Transjordan, though, were relatively rare.<sup>46</sup> It was the water channels and canals that tied the entire system together. The nature of these conduits, however, cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the texts such as tax registers, water treatises,

44 Ibid., 129.

45 In the southern *Bilād al-Shām*, water is drawn seasonally from temporary water courses (wadis through which water runs only during the winter). These wadis frame many ancient settlements.

46 The underground water canals—*qanawāt*, s. *qanāt*—are the ones mentioned in texts on Damascus' urban water systems. See Shoshan, Mini-dramas by the water 240; Ibn al-Mibrad, *Ghadaq al-afkār* 200), even if not necessarily for Cairo's (Levanoni, Water supply in Medieval Middle Eastern cities 188). In archeological terms the largest of these are underground aqueducts and have a very long history of use in *Bilād al-Shām*, as is discussed below. On run-off irrigation in the Ḥawrān, see Braemer et al., Long-term management of water in the central Levant 36–57.

books of husbandry, and *waqfiyyāt* alone, as the systems of transporting water, and certainly those in villages unconnected with urban irrigation systems, are rarely noted.

All of these components, fortunately, have been identified archeologically. Recent excavations of rural sites in southern *Bilād al-Shām* are shedding light on the textually invisible aspects of daily life in Mamluk-era villages; those in Jordan, where water scarcity is a daily reality, have had a particular engagement with the study of traditional water use.<sup>47</sup> Most of the Mamluk-era villages and farmsteads identified in the region share a common history of settlement: they are either reoccupations of earlier settlements or have been continuously occupied since the Byzantine or Early Islamic (Umayyad/Abbasid) periods. Dilapidated structures have been refurbished and frequently expanded as farmhouse complexes for extended families and stables, and defunct water systems have been revitalized. Roman and Byzantine cisterns, in particular, are reused, though often only partially, for household water use.<sup>48</sup> For much of Syria, run-off irrigation and check dams, which imply a simpler but functional technology, satisfied the needs of field irrigation throughout much of the pre-modern Islamic periods. However, dating these systems, as well as the field terraces they watered, and differentiating between pre-Islamic, Early Islamic, and Mamluk-era (“Middle Islamic,” in archeological terminology) phases of use are the biggest challenges in doing archeologically-based water research. Reservoirs and cisterns are regularly cleaned: a mixed assemblage of non-joining pottery sherds found inside such facilities represents a period when the installation was no longer in use for water storage, but rather when the space became a refuse pit. In other words, the pottery in this case does not indicate when the cistern was built or held water. Cisterns were, however, generally plastered and regularly re-plastered for maintenance: the practice in the Byzantine period of reinforcing cistern plaster with broken ceramic vessels dates at least one phase of the cistern’s use to that period. Fragments of mendable water jars, on the other hand, may indicate when a cistern functioned, as jars were dropped there in antiquity in the process of drawing water. Otherwise, a cistern, like any water facility, must be dated by its functional and stratigraphic relationship with other architecture for which a chronology is obtained independently. At a site like Tall Ḥisbān, with its complicated stratigraphy, a history of occupation

47 See Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages* 145–53; idem, From ceramics to social theory 109–57; idem, Planned villages and rural resilience on the Mamluk frontier 157–92.

48 For recent studies on Early Islamic water technology in Syria, based on archaeological research, see Blanc and Genequand, *Le développement des moulins hydrauliques à roue horizontale à l'époque Omeyyade* 295–306; Braemer et al., Long-term management.



FIGURE 14.1 Citadel at Tall Ḥisbān, Main Gate, *project files, Phase II, 2010*.  
PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

extending back to the Early Bronze Age, and an extensive, diverse, and multi-phase water system, the difficulties in dating its many cisterns are daunting.

Tall Ḥisbān is a multi-period archeological site located in the village of the same name in central Jordan, between Amman and Madaba, and with a view to the north end of the Dead Sea, the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, and Jericho. The main archeological site sits atop a quasi-tell on the Madaba Plains, which was one of the granaries of *Bilād al-Shām* in the Mamluk period. The Mamluk-era settlement has been the focus of excavations since 1998 and consists of two components: the Mamluk citadel at the summit of the tell (a square fortification with four corner towers and the fourteenth-century CE residence of the governor of the Balqā, cf. Figure 14.1), and the densely settled village below.<sup>49</sup> The site has been excavated on and off since 1968, first by the

49 It is one of the best preserved rural sites of Mamluk Syria and is ideal for the study of Mamluk rural water systems. Because the grounds belong to the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, and are fenced off and cannot be developed, the remains of both the citadel and medieval village are extant.

Andrews University Seminary (Berrien Spring M1) until 1976 (The Heshbon Expedition—Phase I), Andrews University’s Anthropology Department from 1996–2010 (Phase II), and the current collaboration of various universities as the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project from 2013 (Phase III).<sup>50</sup> The water systems of summit of the tell and the vast reservoir on the south slope were a focus of investigations by the Phase I project.<sup>51</sup> Since 2010 excavations have targeted the smaller-scale networks of the Mamluk-era village.<sup>52</sup>

The entire site sits atop what is best described as a vast bedrock-cut, underground water tank: a system of caves and interconnecting tunnels that have been modified for use as cisterns, canals, and a reservoir since the Iron Age. The water serving these installations comes from three sources: winter rainfall (carefully collected from rooftops and fields to cisterns), seasonal diversion of waters from two nearby wadis that flank the tell (Wādī Majār and Wādī al-Marbat), and one permanent (‘Ayn Ḥisbān, lying three kilometers northwest of the tell) and several seasonal (Fariyya, al-Fedheyli, Sumiyya, al-Fallāḥ, al-Mushaqqar, and Ṭīn) springs in Wādī Majār. These systems provided water for the Mamluk Citadel on the hill (and the Roman temple and basilica that occupied that space before it), the individual households, and the vast grain fields and orchards of the Ḥisbān hinterland. The history of water development is a key to understanding the settlement history and function(s) of the site.

While a detailed study of the Mamluk water systems is currently underway, a few preliminary observations can be made at this point. If the holding capacity of the cisterns and reservoirs is a fair indication, water use and development at Ḥisbān peaked in the Iron Age, Roman, Byzantine/Umayyad, and Mamluk periods.<sup>53</sup> Many of the cisterns and feeder channels built in the

50 The current excavations are under the direction of the author and are part of the larger Hisban Cultural Heritage Project (under the senior direction of Øystein LaBianca of Andrews University), which combines archeology with community development (led by Elena Ronsa).

51 For previous water studies, see Herr, Area G.5 107–8; Merling, The ‘Pools of Heshbon’; al-‘Amoush, Geoelectrical investigation of an ancient dam; and Abu Shmeis, Taqrīr kashf ‘ardī.

52 Preliminary reports can be found in Walker, Tall Hisban excavation—2013; idem, Tall Hisban excavation—2014; Walker and LaBianca, Tall Hisban 716–7; and Walker and LaBianca, Hisban Cultural Heritage Project 645–6. The following data draws on the unpublished field reports by Walker, Tall Hisban Excavation—2010; idem, Planned villages and rural resilience on the Mamluk frontier; and Borsch, Tall Hisban Excavation May–June 2014.

53 The storage capacities of the cisterns and reservoirs excavated during Phase I, and which were built anew (not simply reused) compared as follows: 2,202,530 liters (Iron Age I);

Roman and Byzantine/Umayyad period either continued to be in use or were renovated and put back into use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This was particularly true for the household cisterns of the farmhouses on the tell slopes and immediately below them. A large reservoir located a half kilometer to the southeast of the tell, and originally a Byzantine construction, was cleaned, re-plastered, and put again to use during the Mamluk era.<sup>54</sup> At least three cisterns (two on the summit and one on the west slope) were built anew at this time.<sup>55</sup> The farmhouses below the tell, which seem to have housed nuclear families, had their own cisterns located outside the doorway and in the courtyard. Clusters of houses on the southwest slope shared a cistern, possibly reflecting an extended family arrangement. All of these cisterns, as well as the houses they served, were constructed at a much earlier date (Roman or Byzantine/Umayyad) and were renovated for use in the early Mamluk era. Their holding capacities, however, have yet to be determined. Finally, textual sources allude to the growing importance of the village and the Madaba Plains for its wheat fields and orchards in the fourteenth century. Phytolith analysis from recent excavations suggests a spike in irrigation of wheat (which was normally dry-farmed in *Bilād al-Shām*) in the same period, suggesting that an effort was made locally to increase yields through irrigation, or to use irrigation as a risk-buffering strategy in years of low rainfall, but whether under state or local initiative is unclear.<sup>56</sup> There is some evidence that the water facilities of the Citadel and the village were interconnected, raising important questions about the relationship between the garrison serving there and the local community.

One of the greatest anomalies of this water system is the vast covered cistern, created from a modified cave, just beyond the southwest base of the tell. Dubbed the “Abu Nur Cave” by the excavation team, mapping and dating the extensive complex of rooms, tunnels, cisterns, and connecting chambers have been daunting tasks. As is the case with many subterranean water systems and caves, collapsing ceilings, heavy erosional overburden, and extremely narrow

---

15,000 liters (Iron Age II/Persian); 598,000 (Roman); 3,341,000 (Byzantine); and 18,540 (Ayyubid/Mamluk) (Merling, Pools of Heshbon 212–3).

54 Herr, Area G.5; Merlin, Pools of Heshbon 219–20.

55 Merling, Pools of Heshbon 220–1. They are of bell-shaped (Cistern A.2:11), pear-shaped (C.4:7), and vaulted (A.3:8) forms and represent a real variation in construction techniques. Their holding capacities have been estimated at 6,300, 2,600, and 9,640 liters, respectively.

56 Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages*; Laparidou, Changing land use strategies in Islamic Syria.



FIGURE 14.2 *Interior of Covered Cistern, Front Room Facing Southeast—3-D Model.*  
CREDIT: THOMAS MEWES AND HENNING NITSCHKE, BEUTH TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE, BERLIN.

passageways have made it difficult over the years to determine the full extent of the complex and its function(s). Nonetheless, through strategically placed excavation probes and an intrepid subterranean survey in 2010, preliminary soil sampling for geomorphological study in 2013, and laser and 3-D mapping by engineers in 2014, the cistern complex has begun to shed light on the very complex technologies of water harvesting at the site and its transformation during the Mamluk period.

The covered cistern is constructed with a stone vault, and at its western end is supported by four arches (Figure 14.2), each of which lead to other chambers and from there via tunnels to smaller cisterns of possible bell-shaped form (Figure 14.3); monumental cisterns of this covered form are known from the Roman and Byzantine periods in the Ḥawrān, for example, where they are part of larger monuments (temples, churches, or baths).<sup>57</sup> The larger complex is entered by a series of steps and a built doorway (Figure 14.4), above which is a second chamber, which is barrel-vaulted and once stood above ground (Figure 14.5). In construction style the upstairs vaulted chamber appears to be Crusader (or Ayyubid/Mamluk) in date and echoes the description of the garden cistern in Wādī Karak in the *waqfiyya* discussed earlier in this essay. One of the side chambers leads directly to the monumental reservoir of the tell's south slope, which was built in the Iron I period, enlarged in the Iron II (11th/10th centuries), and is thought to have gone out of use sometime

57 Braemer et al., Long-term management 43.





FIGURE 14.4 Entrance to the Covered Cistern, *project files, Phase II, 2010.*  
PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.



FIGURE 14.5 *Covered Cistern, Vaulted Chamber of Second Floor—3-D model.*  
CREDIT: THOMAS MEWES AND HENNING NITSCHKE, BEUTH TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE, BERLIN.

in the Hellenistic period, when it was filled in.<sup>58</sup> The covered cistern complex appears to be connected through the reservoir (and possibly another tunnel) to the expansive network of tunnels that feed the cisterns under at least two of the fortifications' corner towers on the tell and several of the cisterns in the center of the citadel. During the Mamluk period, the cistern of the two corner towers were still used for water collection, as was the southern end of the covered cistern. Many other parts of this latter complex went out of use and were used as refuse pits.

It remains unclear exactly how the covered cistern was filled with water. If the reservoir was, in fact, filled in with debris in the Hellenistic period, the water could not have come from that source; alternatively, some part of the reservoir may have continued to function, and this filled the cistern. The cistern may have been filled by hand, with water carried in goat skin bags or jars from the wadis below or from their feeder springs, though the complex is too large to have made this an effective solution. This was certainly the practice in the village until recent times, and it is documented by Mamluk historians, as well.<sup>59</sup> A brief visit and preliminary sampling by a soil genesis specialist in 2010 indicated that water flowed through the cistern with some speed and quantity during at least one period of its use, suggesting that perhaps the complex functioned as a kind of *qanāt* (underground aqueduct).<sup>60</sup> Although such systems are known from northern and southern Jordan, their peak of construction and use was the Byzantine and Umayyad periods.<sup>61</sup> There was clearly more water available in the past than now, and we have much more to learn about this complex and the diverse hydrological organization supporting it.

The Ḥisbān Citadel was abandoned by Mamluk officialdom in the mid-14th century, when the entire garrison (as well as the *qāḍī* and marketplace) were moved to Amman. The water system in the citadel and on the upper slopes went out of use first. The village thereafter slowly declined in size until it was gradually abandoned by its residents sometime in the early Ottoman period, and with it the cisterns at the base of the tell. While the village was occupied

58 Ray, *Tell Hesban and vicinity in the Iron Age* 93, 137.

59 The Citadel of Ṣafad was supplied with water in this manner: it was carried up from the wadi below by pack animals. See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-absār* iii, 372. I am grateful to Prof. Yehoshua Frenkel for this reference.

60 I thank Dr. Bernhard Lucke of Erlangen University for this suggestion. The project plans for a more comprehensive geomorphological study of the complex in a future season.

61 Lightfoot, *Qanats in the Levant* 432–51; idem, *The origin and diffusion of qanats in Arabia* 215–26; idem, *Jordanian Qanat Romani*; idem, *Syrian Qanat Romani*; Abudanh and Twaissi, *Innovation or technology immigration?* 67–87.

sporadically and perhaps seasonally after the 16th century, it was not permanently resettled until the 19th.<sup>62</sup> Many other villages of the Transjordanian highland plateaus suffered the same fate at the end of the Mamluk period. Water scarcity, exacerbated by political conflicts and, ironically, encouraged by economic opportunities, may have been the cause of the population shifts of the 15th and 16th centuries.<sup>63</sup> With the greater privatization of farmland in this period, and years of droughts destroying rain-fed grains, local peasants had the opportunity to leave the plateaus for other locales, in lands made newly available for purchase and development. These had better hydrological conditions, more appropriate to market-oriented, irrigated agriculture. The kinds of water systems developed previously at Ḥisbān may not have been suited for the economic and environmental challenges of the time.

### Conclusion

To conclude I would like to make a full circle, returning to a point made in the introduction of this essay. Traditional water culture consists, in part, of a communal understanding of the best ways to manage water and preserve it for all. The message of sustainable water harvesting and use is woven throughout the Mamluk-era books of husbandry, and preliminary archeological investigations suggest ways in which peasant knowhow developed diversified water systems capable of weathering the inconsistencies of Syrian rainfall. In the 1980s an NGO initiative was launched in the modern village of Ḥisbān to revive the ancient cisterns for modern household and agricultural use.<sup>64</sup> The spirit of the project now permeates other archeological development projects

---

62 For a bibliography of recent publications on the site, see the University of Bonn's project website at: <http://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/islamic-archaeology/field-projects/tall-hisban>.

63 For a full discussion of this argument, see Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages* 211–32.

64 LaBianca, On-site water retention strategies 771–6. Project Rainkeep is a community development initiative inspired by archeological research on past water management practices in Jordan that seeks to heighten awareness among present-day local villagers and the public of the importance of household and agricultural cisterns as a means to assure year-round supplies of fresh water for families and farms in Jordan. A grant from the Canadian Embassy in Amman helped launch the initiative as a community development project in 1986 when 30 cisterns were restored.

in Jordan which have medieval Islamic water technology and culture as their research focus.<sup>65</sup>

Future studies of Mamluk-era water systems might benefit from such an anthropological approach, by centering on the household dimension of “water culture.” One could make use of ethnographic reports and travelers’ accounts of the nineteenth century, for example, that describe the water practices of the past.<sup>66</sup> Communal cisterns as women’s meeting places, the division of space in the home to accommodate water storage and use, the use of special surface decoration on water jars to denote family or tribal affiliations, how labor is organized to retrieve and store water are all localized expressions of water-centered behavior.<sup>67</sup> Identifying such practices archeologically is one of our goals for future excavations at Tall Ḥisbān.

---

65 Note the current initiatives at Dhiban ([www.dhiban.org](http://www.dhiban.org)) and Umm el Jimal (<http://www.ummeljimal.org/>).

66 For the use of such texts in reconstructing the historical food systems at Ḥisbān, see LaBianca, *Sedentarization and nomadization*. For an excellent example of the kinds of early twentieth-century accounts that could aid such an approach, see Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*.

67 For a survey of best practices in the archeological study of the household, see Routledge’s thoughtful survey, *Household archaeology in the Levant 207–19*.

## What was there in a Mamluk *Amīr*'s Library?

*Evidence from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*

Élise Franssen

The image of the Mamluks as coarse barely islamized brutes who were only interested in archery and horses has been invalidated for several years now. We know that some, in all layers of society, were learned and had an interest in various scholarly disciplines ranging from the noble religious sciences, to court poetry, and the more popular *adab* works.<sup>1</sup> Some were even book collectors.<sup>2</sup> This contribution to the fascinating question of the education and cultural level of the Mamluks, which is one of Prof. Levanoni's concerns, discusses a manuscript intended for a Mamluk *amīr*. It aims at being holistic and thus will not only deal with the text, but also with its container: the manuscript is described here as an archeological object that will be subjected to a thorough codicological analysis, and as a text whose content, language and history will be analyzed. Precise descriptions of dated and localized manuscripts are required to make advances in codicology, and for our practical knowledge of books.

The library of the University of Liège, Belgium, possesses nearly 500 manuscripts in Arabic.<sup>3</sup> One of these is the small Mamluk *codex* that constitutes the subject of this article.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript is a *majmū'* containing two texts,<sup>5</sup> and consequently two title pages, on ff. 1 and 157. F. 1 is very damaged (Figure 15.1). One reads there, on 5 lines, the first two in red ink, the next ones in black ink:

- 
- 1 Flemming, *Literary activities* 249–60; Haarmann, *Arabic in speech* 81–114; Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge*; idem, *Mamluks and the world of higher Islamic education* 93–116; idem, *The Mamluks as Muslims* 163–73.
  - 2 Flemming, *Literary activities* 260; Haarmann, *Arabic in speech* 93–4.
  - 3 An insight into the collection can be found in Bauden, *Les Manuscrits arabes* 150–8, and in Franssen, *A magribī* copy 61–4. F. Bauden and I are working on a detailed catalogue of the collection. A handlist was recently published by Bauden, *Catalogue*.
  - 4 Université de Liège, ALPHA (Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire, Arts), Fonds Dargent [ms 5029].
  - 5 Additions by readers and/or owners are found after these two texts, see below, "Glimpses into the manuscript's history." Using the spare space of the guard leaves to record more or less anything—poetry, the birth of a child, an earthquake, talismanic or magical formulae, etc.—is a very common practice. See Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 331, 335, 350–1; Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 20, 127.



FIGURE 15.1  
Folio 1.

*Kitāb majmūʿ | fihi manāfiʿ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā | wa-manāfiʿ al-ism al-aʿzam wa-kalām | al-ṣaḥāba raḍīya Allāh ʿanhum fī | l-ikhtilāf fihi wa-manāfiʿ al-Qurʾān*

[Book of miscellanies in which are the benefits of the beautiful names of God, the benefits of the supreme name in its variety and statements of the companions—may God be pleased with them—and the benefits of the Qurʾān].

After these words, an inscription by the same hand, in red ink was added, going up almost vertically and saying:

*wa-fihi al-arbaʿīn [sic] isman wa-manāfiṭuhā lil ...*

[and in which are the forty names and their benefits for ...—*lacuna*]

Under this inscription is a note of patronage,<sup>6</sup> in red ink, reading:

*bi-rasm al-janāb al-ʿālī al-mawlawī al-amīrī al-kabīrī | al-ghāzī al-dhukhrī Taghribarmish<sup>7</sup> shādd al-silāḥ khānā al-sharīfa al-malakī al-ashrafi aʿazzahu Allāh*

6 About notes of patronage, see Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 197. On commissioned and non-commissioned manuscripts, see *ibid.*, 78, 173; Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 191–4.

7 Vocalized like this in the manuscript, see below.

[Intended for his excellency, the elevated, the lordly, the great master, the warrior champion, the treasure [of the community] Taghribarmish, superintendent of the noble royal armory of al-Ashraf—may Allāh fortify him]

The dedication is repeated under the colophon (f. 156b, Figure 15.2) in red ink, on one line going up:

*bi-rasm al-janāb al-'ālī al-sayfī Taghribarmish shādd al-silāh khānā*

[Intended for his excellency, the elevated, Sayf al-Dīn<sup>8</sup> Taghribarmish, superintendent of the armory],

and under this, in red ink, as well, a *ḥamdala* (*ḥamdu li-llāh ta'ālā*). These dedication notes were added during a second phase, as suggested by the lack of space to write the full dedication horizontally. The colophon of the first text, two lines in black ink, reads:

*hadhā mā wujida fī l-nuskha al-manqūl minhā hadhihi al-nuskha | wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh waḥdahū*

[This is what is found in the copy from which this copy was made—praised be God—Praise be to God].

The title page of the second text (f. 157) simply reads, in red ink on two lines:

*Kitāb fīhi al-arbaʿīn [sic] isman wa-sharḥuhā<sup>9</sup>*

[Book in which are the forty names and their commentary];

its colophon (f. 188b) is not informative and does not present any dedication note:

8 “al-Sayfī” stands for Sayf al-Dīn, the most frequent *laqab* for Mamluk *amīrs* by the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century and until the end of the Mamluk period; see Ayalon, Names 192 and fn. 11.

9 Under the title, another hand added *Kitāb fīhi* in black ink, without any dots and in a very compact way (superscripted letters and word). This is a kind of calligraphic exercise.

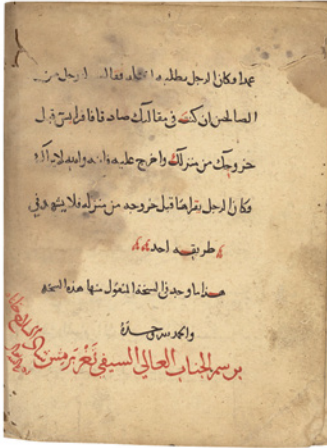


FIGURE 15.2  
Folio 156b.

*wa-hadhā mā tayassara min khawāṣṣ al-arbaʿīn ism wa-naʿūdhu bi-Allāh min al-zīyāda wa-l-nuqṣān wa-min al-khaṭaʾ wa-l-zalal. Ghafara Allāh li-muṣannifihī wa-qārʿihī wa-l-ʿāmil bihī wa-kātibihī wa-man daʿā lahum bi-l-raḥma wa-l-maghfira wa-li-jamīʿ al-muslimīn wa-ṣallā Allāh ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-[ā]lihī wa-ṣaḥbihī wa-sallama*

[This is what was made available of the particularities of the forty names, may God protect us from the additions and the losses, from the mistakes and the errors. May God forgive its composer, its reader, its maker, its scribe and whoever prays for them, by clemency and forgiveness, and all the Muslims. May God pray for our master Muḥammad, his kin and companions, and preserve [them]].

### Codicological Features

The manuscript (172 mm high, 135 mm wide, 192 ff.) is protected by a simple dark brown leather binding, without a flap.<sup>10</sup> The two covers, on the upper and lower board, are identical and decorated with a blindstamped polylobed

10 Nevertheless there could have been a flap and envelope earlier in the history of the manuscript: one of the board covers is cut along its entire height, as though a yapp cover and flap had been cut out. The fact that the upper board has this particularity, though the flap and yapp cover are normally attached to the lower board, is not a decisive argument against this hypothesis since oriental bookbindings were often re-mounted upside down by poorly informed restorers. On the fragility of Islamic bookbindings, see fn. 13 below.

mandorla (62 mm high, 48 mm wide), filled with whirling *tchi* clouds, vegetal and floral motifs.<sup>11</sup> The mandorla is centered in a rectangular frame formed by a double fillet following the limits of the covers. Several restorations are observable, mainly on the spine, which is flat. The headband and tailband are no longer visible. Many wormholes make the reused sheets of paper pasted to each other to form the boards visible. There are three guard leaves, one before the text and two after it. The first and last ones (A and D) are made of modern green paper, and the penultimate and antepenultimate guard leaves (foliated 191 and 192, but which should be referred to as B and C) are made of European watermarked paper.<sup>12</sup> The binding was made at a later date than the copy of the manuscript, during the Ottoman period.<sup>13</sup>

An inscription in black ink is legible on the tail and reads *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Ism al-Aẓam* (Figure 15.3). The Arabic manuscripts were stored horizontally, one upon the other, the tail being often the only edge visible when the manuscripts were on the shelf. This is why an indication of the title and/or author and/or volume number was often written there.<sup>14</sup>

The 192 ff. are made of whitish-beige paper (a warm color, tending more toward yellow than grey), with a fairly homogenous pulp (only a few fibers per page are visible).<sup>15</sup> The chain-lines are horizontal and as far as I can tell on such

- 
- 11 This decoration is similar to the NA6 type in François Déroche's typology of central almond-shaped panels. See Déroche, *Catalogue* 18; and Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 302.
  - 12 Part of the watermark is visible in the fold of f. 192. It is the lower part of a shield, with a star and a moon crescent beneath, on its vertical axis of symmetry, which corresponds to a chain-line of the paper. Chain-lines are horizontal and distributed very regularly every 30 mm; 20 laid lines occupy 24 mm. Note that f. 191 is not the second part of the original sheet of f. 192, although it is made of the same paper.
  - 13 As was commonly the case: Islamic bindings are fragile and need to be replaced or fixed relatively often. The decoration here is clearly Ottoman. Furthermore, the watermarked paper of the penultimate guard leaf was not in use before the seventeenth century. For more information, see Guesdon, *Reliures* 142 or Berthier, *Reliures ottomanes* 153. Regarding the watermark, see Nikolaev, *Watermarks*.
  - 14 Evidence of this arrangement can be found in illustrated manuscripts, such as a thirteenth-century manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France [ar. 5847], f. 5b (see [<http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>] and the image on [<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=8&M=imageseule>] last consultation: 27 October 2014). See also Rosenthal, *Technique and approach* 11; Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 316, fn. 9; Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 37–8 (illustration 38); Déroche and Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti* 198, fn. 20.
  - 15 To date, there is still no best practice for describing the color and pulp of papers. A very good study of medieval Arabic papers, especially the quality and nature of their pulp, can be found in Kropf and Baker, *A conservative tradition* 1–48.



FIGURE 15.3 *Inscription on the Manuscript's Tail which reads Kitāb Sharḥ al-Ism al-A'zam.*

a small surface as a folio, they seem to be clustered in threes. Within a group, the three chain-lines are distributed every 8–10 mm. The groups are spaced out every 40 mm, so that two groups and the first chain-line of the third one are generally visible on a folio. The laid lines are vertical, thin, close to each other and hardly distinguishable—I could scarcely count them: 20 of them seem to occupy more or less 20 mm.

This type of paper, with chain-lines in groups of threes, was very common from the fifth/eleventh century in a vast geographical area (*Bilād al-Shām*, Egypt, Asia Minor, Iran, Mecca) and was still in use, practically without any competition, up to the ninth/fifteenth century; therefore, it is not helpful for dating or localizing the production of the manuscript, unfortunately.<sup>16</sup> Another very common feature of the paper manufactured in the Mamluk period and

16 Humbert, *Le Manuscrit arabe* 64; Humbert, *Les Papiers non filigranés* 21–2, 33–8 (tableau iv), especially 37, ms Arabe 3423 (8–11 mm between chain-lines within a group, 38 to 46 mm between 2 groups, 20 laid lines on 20 mm); nevertheless the original format of the paper does not fit the example, as we will see.

territory is the delamination of some sheets. This is the case, among others, for f. 140.<sup>17</sup>

The format of the original sheet of paper can be estimated: folios measure 172 mm high and 135 mm wide, bifolios are twice as wide: 172 × 270 mm. Since the chain-lines are horizontal, bifolios are actually half of an original sheet<sup>18</sup> and thus measure 344 × 270 mm. The folios were trimmed in the course of the binding operations, so we need to add 10 to 20 mm to each side,<sup>19</sup> yielding 354/364 × 280/290 mm. These measurements correspond to the small format of paper described by Irigoín: 320/370 × 235/280 mm.<sup>20</sup>

The folios are bundled in twenty quires, mainly quinions, with the exception of two quaternions and one ternion.<sup>21</sup> For the first text (ff. 1–156), there are seventeen quinions, the first and last ones are missing one folio, and one quaternion. The second text (ff. 157–190) is made up of four quires: two quinions, one quaternion and one ternion, and followed by three singletons: the guard-leaves (ff. 191–192 = B–C + D). The lack of a folio in the last quinion of the first text (ff. 146–156) can be easily explained: having finished the copy of the text before the end of the quire, the copyist cut the last folio of the quire to reuse it elsewhere; this was a very common practice due to the relatively high price of paper. Irregular quires in the beginning of a text are typical as well: quires of a different type (such as the last ternion of the second text, ff. 185–90) or irregular quires are commonly found in the first and last position of a manuscript.<sup>22</sup> The presence of two quaternions among the majority of quinions is not

17 On paper delamination, see Irigoín, *Les Papiers non filigranés* 293; Beit-Arié, *Quantitative typology* 41–53; Loveday, *Islamic paper* 46, Figures 7, 50; Kropf and Baker, *A conservative tradition* 34, fn. 68.

18 Chain-lines are parallel to the small side of the original sheet, see for example Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*, accessible online: <http://vocabulary.irht.cnrs.fr/pages/vocab2.htm> or <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr>, 133.12, 133.13, and Figure 24 (last consultation October 18th, 2014); Irigoín, *Les Papiers non filigranés* 283–94, 299, Figure 37; Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 54–6 (Figure 13); Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 187, 189, 191 (Figure 137).

19 The exact quantity of paper trimmed off in the course of binding operations is still subject to question. Irigoín estimates a minimum of 10 mm (Irigoín, *Les Papiers non filigranés* 302), but some remains of trimming have been preserved and measure around 20 mm wide.

20 Irigoín, *Les Papiers non filigranés* 303–4.

21 Here is the complete sequence of quires: 1 (A) + [V-1 (9) + 2V (29) + IV (37) + 11V (147) + V-1 (156)] + [V (166) + IV (174) + V (184) + III (190)] + 1 (191 = B) + 1 (192 = C) + 1 (D).

22 Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 84.

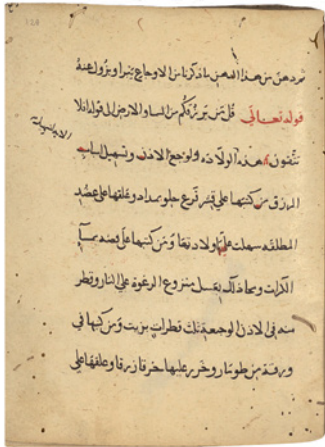


FIGURE 15.4  
Folio 128.

unusual either.<sup>23</sup> The two texts were copied by the same scribe, on the same paper, with the same inks and in accordance with the same *mise en page*. In any case, they were already in order when a liquid was spilt on the pages (see the stains from f. 137 to the end of the volume).

Different systems are used to indicate the order of the folios. I will not dwell on the foliation, which was done in the 1990s at the University of Liège library; but other marks are worth mentioning. For instance, in the upper corner of ff. 30, 48, 58, 68, 98, 108, 118, 128, 138 and 148, all of which form the first folio of a quire, a short inscription has been partly cut off (Figure 15.4, f. 128). Apparently the number of the quire was written in letters there—on ff. 30 (fourth quire) and 128 (fourteenth quire), the letters رابع are clearly legible, on f. 118 (thirteenth quire), there is a succession of undotted letters, most probably ثالث عشر—and was cut off during (one of the) binding operations of the manuscript.

This practice of numbering quires in full on their first recto was very common from the second half of the fifth/eleventh century.<sup>24</sup> Another device to indicate the change of quire can be found in the outer margins of ff. 29b and 30, respectively the last and the first folios of two successive quires; this consists of a mark resembling a *mūm* (Figure 15.5, f. 29b) traced in the outer margin facing

23 Ibid., 88; Déroche and Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti* 104.

24 Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 9; Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 213–5; Déroche and Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti* 109–10. Even though the time span covered does not comprise the epoch of copying of this manuscript, the following article is worth consulting: Guesdon, *La numérotation des cahiers* 101–15 (esp. 105–6).



FIGURE 15.5  
Folio 29b.

the seventh line of the page.<sup>25</sup> The same mark can be seen in the outer margin of ff. 42 and 53b, facing the second line of the page; these folios are in the middle of a quire. Mid-quire notations are very frequent in Arabic manuscripts, but are generally double, on each page of the central bifolium of a quire; i.e., respectively on the verso and recto of the first and second folios of the central *bifolium*. Here, the contrary is true: f. 42 is the first of a central bifolium, but the mark is traced on its recto, and f. 53, the second folio of a central bifolium, bears the mark on its verso. The same mark is observable on ff. 35b–36, which is not and has never been in the middle of a quire. Hence, it is probably another type of mark, resembling a mid-quire mark without being one.

Catchwords are another device to keep the folios in the right order.<sup>26</sup> The scribe wrote them in the lower margin, not further than the inner limit of the writing frame, and following a descending line. Catchwords are accurate, generally consist of only one word, and are found on all the versos of the first half of the quires and on the last verso of each quire alone.<sup>27</sup> Another hand, probably one of the readers of the manuscript—who was responsible for some marginal glosses too, see below—traced catchwords on the versos of the

25 The letter *mīm* is known to have been used as a mid-quire mark, see Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 101; Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 159.

26 “The catchword is a word (or phrase) written at the bottom of a page that repeats the first word(s) or phrase(s) of the following page,” Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 97. It is an “[...] isolated word at the bottom of the b-page (verso),” Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 51. See also Déroche and Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti* 117–9.

27 System attested in Guesdon, *Les Réclames* 69–70.

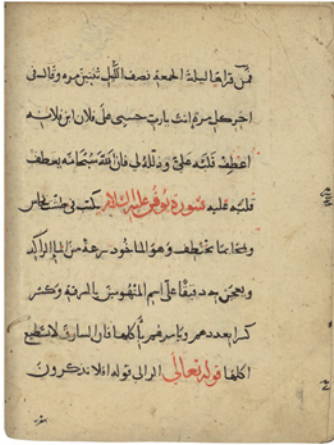


FIGURE 15.6  
*Folio 126b.*

second half of the quires. These are written horizontally and lower in the bottom margin.

The layout of the pages is constant throughout the whole manuscript:<sup>28</sup> the text is justified in an untraced rectangular frame 118 mm high by 90 mm wide and has eight lines per page. A few words are superscripted at the end of a line because of lack of space (as on f. 11b). The main part of the text was written in black ink,<sup>29</sup> but some words were enhanced by red details after the text was copied: the scribe left a blank space to be filled in afterwards with the word(s) in red ink. The fact that red ink was added after copying the main text in black ink is obvious on many folios, see f. 56b, for instance, where too much space was left for the word to be written in red, or f. 57b where indications in red are rewritten over the black ink. To remember which words he had to write in red, the scribe would write them as far in the margin of the page as possible and in the smallest writing he could so that these indications would be trimmed away when the book was bound. Parts of these indications remain, see ff. 117, 117b, 119b, 199b or 126b (two occurrences) (Figure 15.6). Textual dividers (*hā'*-shaped, single or treble, see f. 19b, l. 6), chapter headings (*faṣl*: see f. 56b, for instance;

28 Except for the later additions after the second text of course, on ff. 189–91, see below, “Glimpses into the manuscript’s history.”

29 It is very difficult to be more precise regarding the nature of the ink (carbon, mixed, metallo-gallic ink) without any further investigation. Its color, very black, resembles a carbon or mixed ink. It does not attack the paper at all, so if it is a mixed ink, it is not very acidic. About black inks, see primarily and among many others: Schopen, *Tinten und Tuschen*; Rabin et al., Identification 26–30; Zerdoun-Bat Yehouda, *Les encres noires*; and the classical Levey, *Medieval Arabic bookmaking*.

*qawluhu ta'ālā*, very frequent from f. 119b to the end of the first text, see f. 124; sura titles, see for instance f. 136b: *sūrat Ibrāhīm*) and charts or magic squares<sup>30</sup> (ff. 27b, 62, 79–80, 83, 85, 105b, 143b etc.) were traced in red as well.

The scribe's handwriting is very regular. This writing can be described as a composed script, in Déroche's classification:<sup>31</sup> the words follow a horizontal axis and the movement of the hand from one letter to the next is not discernable. The writing module is rather large: the height of the lines is between 21.2 and 23.4 mm;<sup>32</sup> as previously noted, there are only eight lines per page; as often the case with large module script, the counters are open. Almost no serifs are observed, or unconventional ligatures. The ascenders are larger than the descenders and are slightly inclined towards the left. The nib used to trace the script was bevelled—as was usual in the Mashriq—but the contrast between upstrokes and downstrokes is not very pronounced. Many words are vocalized, but not always by the scribe. Most of the letters bear their diacritics.

Unsurprisingly, the *lāmālif* is always *warrāqīyya*.<sup>33</sup> The *kāf* is most of the time *mashkūla* (traced in two strokes, the upper one, diagonal, was written in the later stroke), but can be *mabsūta* too (one stroke, flattened). The final *hā'*, when attached to the previous letter, is always *mardūfa* (traced in two moves: one oblique stroke to the left, and then a loop in the shape of a drop); median, most of the time *mulawwaza* (two loops). The final *mīm* is normally *maqūbūla makhtūfa* (its descender tends to be oblique towards left), but when there was not enough space, it can be *musbala* (vertical descender) or even have a curved tail towards the right. The same occurs with the final *yā'*: normally *muḥaqqāqa* (usual shape), it is *rāji'a* at the end of the lines, in order to respect the writing frame. The final *nūn* is very open and bears its dot above its right upstroke and not above the center of its bowl. Actually, this handwriting is very similar to the Mamlūk *naskh* penned by al-Ṭayyibī in his holograph work about the bookhands written on 12 Rajab 908/11 January 1503, which is only barely more than fifty years after the copying of the manuscript we are interested in,

30 On magic squares see Sesiano, *Wafk*, *ET*<sup>2</sup> xi, 28–31.; Ährens, *Studien über die ‚magischen Quadrate‘* 186–250; Ährens, *Die ‚magischen Quadrate‘* 157–77; Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten* 227–35; Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 150–1; Gardiner, *Esotericism*.

31 Déroche, *Les Études de paléographie* 376–8.

32 A good way to accurately measure line height is to divide the distance between the first and last lines of writing by the number of lines plus one. See Déroche, *Les Études de paléographie* 375.

33 This is the form of *lāmālif* used by professional scribes, with its typical triangular base. See Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 139–40.

and was commissioned for Sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī.<sup>34</sup> Hence, the term *naskh*, which should be used very cautiously because of its lack of precision since almost any script written by a Mashriqī hand can be said to be *naskh*,<sup>35</sup> is perfectly appropriate for qualifying this script.

The identity of the scribe is unknown: the colophon is not signed. Nevertheless, one reasonable supposition is that this manuscript was copied—or even compiled<sup>36</sup>—by one of the young military slaves of Taghribarmish, the dedicatee, during his training. Flemming showed that this practice was widespread, and had a double purpose: besides the pedagogical goal of the exercise, its result would fill the master's library.<sup>37</sup> The fact that the dedication notes were added afterwards is not a decisive argument refuting this hypothesis.

Some marginal glosses are found; they comprise corrections and additions by the scribe, ending with the typical *ṣahḥa* or *ṣahīḥ* sign<sup>38</sup> (there are many instances, see Figure 15.7, f. 164b, with a reference mark in the text, in red: during the rubrication, the scribe noticed that this word was unclear and decided to rewrite it clearly; he crossed it out with the nib and ink he was using at that moment, but went back to black ink to rewrite the word in the margin) or by a reader (f. 124b, ending with *ṣahḥa*), comments (see f. 9, two different hands, or f. 11b), and different kinds of annotations (see f. 10: *ḥikāya*). In several places, a “*qif*” (“stop”) was added in the margin to call the reader's attention to a certain passage in the text (f. 98b). In sum, in addition to the scribe's hand, two other hands are observable: an “Eastern” hand, the same reader who added catchwords, and a *maghribī* hand, and pen: not bevelled as in the Mashriq, but cut into a point (f. 11b).

34 al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi' maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb* 64–6 (illustrations of *naskh* hand; the text penned is transcribed by the editor p. 25). For a very clear and precise description of this writing, see Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 163 (who erroneously cites pages 63–7 of Ṭayyibī).

35 As eloquently shown in Witkam, *Seven specimens* 18.

36 This is doubtful since the verb *naqala* (in the form *manqūl*), to copy (see Gacek, *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary* 144), was used in the colophon. For the reading of the colophon, see above.

37 Flemming, *Literary activities* 249–60, esp. 260.

38 Gacek, *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary* 82; Gacek, *Taxonomy* 217.

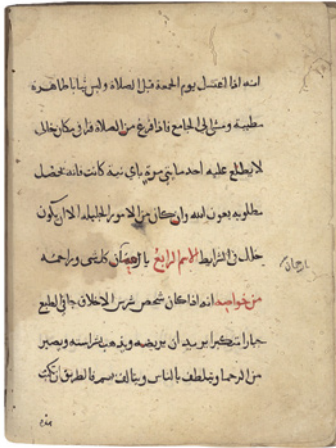


FIGURE 15.7  
Folio 164b.

## Content

Textually speaking, two main units can be observed. The first text, which is also the longest (ff. 1–156b), is entitled *Manāfi‘ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā wa-manāfi‘ al-ism al-a‘zam wa-kalām al-ṣaḥāba raḍīya Allāh ‘anhum fī l-ikhtilāf fīhi wa-manāfi‘ al-Qur’ān* (f. 1). It consists of a collection of information about the different beautiful names of God, and particularly the supreme one (*al-a‘zam*), which is in some dispute:<sup>39</sup> presenting the different opinions on the question is precisely one point of the book. It is composed of texts, *ḥadīths* and Quranic quotations. Several authors are cited, such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,<sup>40</sup> Ibn Iṣḥāq,<sup>41</sup>

39 For an overview of the Muslim scholars' main opinions regarding the *ism al-a‘zam*, see Anawati, *Le Nom suprême* 7–58.

40 Abū Sa‘īd ibn Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), preacher and theologian, founder of the qadarism movement. Ritter, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iii, 247–8; Brockelmann and Sezgin, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (henceforth *GAL*) i, 66; *GAL Supplement* (henceforth *GAL S.*) i, 102.

41 Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Yasār ibn Khiyār (d. 150/767), one of the three major Arabic historical sources about the *sīra* of Muḥammad. See Jones, Ibn Iṣḥāq, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iii, 810–1; *GAL* i, 141; *GAL S.* i, 205–6.

Abū Ḥanīfa,<sup>42</sup> Abū Dāwūd,<sup>43</sup> al-Ghazālī,<sup>44</sup> Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī,<sup>45</sup> al-Būnī,<sup>46</sup> and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī,<sup>47</sup> to mention only a few of the most important ones. Interestingly, the titles of their works are sometimes mentioned, as for instance, quoting al-Būnī “...*fī kitābihi Shams al-ma‘ārif*” (f. 74), without being necessarily accurate: I have not found any mention of a “*Kitāb al-Muqni*,” by “al-qāḍī Abū al-Ṭayyib” (f. 12a), better known as Muḥammad ibn Salama,<sup>48</sup> nor a “*Kitāb Marāthī (?) al-zalaf*,” by Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī (f. 31).<sup>49</sup> Prophets and important Islamic figures (Muḥammad, Ayyūb, Sulaymān, Yaḥyā, Ibrāhīm, ‘Ā’isha, ‘Alī, Mūsā) are referred to as well. Alongside the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet, ‘Alī and ‘Umar, for instance, are cited as well. No author or compiler is mentioned.

A leitmotif of this first text is that invoking God using the *ism al-a‘zam*, under certain circumstances (you should be pure, fast or eat certain foods for a certain time, write the correct letters, do so at a certain time of night, etc.), is always efficient: you will obtain what you are praying for—this is actually part of the definition of this supreme name of God—, or primordial secrets, secrets

- 
- 42 Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān ibn Thābit (d. 150/767), theologian, founder of the eponymous juridical school. Schacht, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān, *ET*<sup>2</sup> i, 123–4; *GAL* i, 176–7; *GAL* S. i, 284–7.
- 43 Sulaymān ibn al-Ash‘āth Abū Da‘ūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), a traditionalist, author of one of the six main *ḥadīth* collections of the Sunnites. Robson, Abū Dā‘ūd al-Sijistānī, *ET*<sup>2</sup> i, 114; *GAL* i, 168–9; *GAL* S. i, 266–7. We have evidence that his *Sunan* was read and studied in the Mamluk period, see the biography of the Amīr Taghrī Birmish al-Nāṣiri al-Faqīh, in Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 68–74; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’* iii, 33–4. This information is also mentioned in Berkey, Mamluks and the world of higher Islamic education 110, 115.
- 44 Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), preeminent theologian, jurist, mystic and philosopher. Montgomery Watt, al-Ghazālī, *ET*<sup>2</sup> ii, 1038–41; *GAL* i, 535–46; *GAL* S. i, 744–56.
- 45 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘āfirī ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148), jurist in the Almoravid al-Andalus. Not to be confused with the famous Ṣūfī master Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240). *GAL* i, 525; *GAL* S. i, 663; *GAL* S. ii, 732; Lagardère, Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī 91–102.
- 46 Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Ṣūfī Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), author of many works on magic, lettrism and the occult sciences. Dietrich, al-Būnī, *ET*<sup>2</sup> xii, 156, and above all Gardiner, *Esotericism*, esp. 70–77 for his biography and *passim*; *GAL* i, 655–6.
- 47 Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1295), important shāfi‘ī jurist and traditionalist. Bauden, al-Ṭabarī, *ET*<sup>2</sup> x, 16–7; *GAL* S. i, 217–8.
- 48 (Abū al-Ṭayyib) Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl (or al-Mufaḍḍal) ibn Salama ibn ‘Āṣim al-Baghdādī (or al-Dubbi) (d. 308/920), was a shāfi‘ī jurisprudent, the son of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama; see Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifin* iii, 588; Sellheim, al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, *ET*<sup>2</sup> xii, 631–2; Ibn Khallikān, *Ibn Khallikan’s biographical dictionary* ii, 610–2.
- 49 This title does not appear in Lagardère, Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī; nor in *GAL*.

of God will be revealed to you. The importance of the isolated letters beginning some suras<sup>50</sup> and their numerical value according to *abjad*<sup>51</sup> is also mentioned, with magic squares (for instance on f. 27b according to al-Būnī; magic squares may include letters or figures, see f. 85 for example of both),<sup>52</sup> and combinations of letters. The efficacy of a certain name, seen as the supreme one for the person(s) cited, is highlighted with stories, and its value according to the *abjad* system is recorded. Different prayers are mentioned, as well as procedures to follow to make efficient talismans and to use them proficiently. A division into chapters (*fāṣl*) is given, although their content is not always easily differentiated: they all deal with these same questions.

The second text is entitled *Kitāb fīhi al-arbaʿīn [sic] isman wa-sharḥuhā* (ff. 157b–188b). It deals with the same issues, but looks more thoroughly at forty of the most important names of God, systematically arranged and numbered. As with the first text, no author or compiler is mentioned.

The level of language used throughout the manuscript is Middle Arabic, which comes as no surprise.<sup>53</sup> Some of the features attesting to this are: the *nunation* instead of *tanwīn*, the use of the unnecessary epenthetic *alif* (for instance in the end of “*Abū*”), the inaccurate use or inexistence of dual forms (very clear in the considerations about the story of *Hārūt wa-Mārūt*,<sup>54</sup> ff. 11–12), and the replacement of a fricative by a dental: use of *tāʾ* instead of *thāʾ* in many frequent words, such as *thumma*, *akthar*, *mīthl*, or even *ḥadīth*; or *dāl* instead of *dhāl* (like in *dhikr*). These are actually phonological phenomena related to the pronunciation of the scribe, who mentally utters what he is about to write.<sup>55</sup>

The content of these texts deserves a closer look by a specialist in this kind of literature. What can be said at this stage is that this manuscript seems to be

50 Suras 2, 3, 7, 10–15, 19–20, 26–32, 36, 38, 40–6, 50 and 68.

51 On *abjad*, see Doutté, *Magie et religion* 172–95; Anawati, *Le Nom suprême* 34–5; Weil and Colin, *Abjad*; Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 96; Gacek, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum* 11–3, 245–6.

52 About magic squares, see fn. 29 above.

53 On Middle Arabic, see Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*; Larcher, *Moyen arabe* 578–609; Lentin and Grand'Henry, *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe*, esp. xxv–lxxxvii; Bettini and La Spisa (eds.), *Au-delà de l'arabe standard*.

54 Fallen angels who sinned while on Earth for a test. They could choose their punishment: eternal hell or a punishment on Earth; they chose the latter. Cited in Q 2:102. See Vajda, *Hārūt wa-Mārūt*, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iii, 236–7.

55 Dain, *Les Manuscrits* 41–6. Another very frequent orthographic feature is the addition of points to the *alif maqṣūra*. It was so common that it may not be indicative of the level of language.

part of what was recently described as the *corpus bunianum*:<sup>56</sup> without pretending to be by al-Būnī the manuscript nonetheless deals with matters placing it fairly well within this frame of Būnian literature. There was a peak in the production of works about magic and particularly the science of letters in the ninth/fifteenth century; Haarmann linked this interest in magic, alchemy and divination to the shamanistic background of the Mamluks,<sup>57</sup> whereas Berkey saw it as a “point of contact between Mamluks and locals,”<sup>58</sup> and Shoshan as a corollary of the growing importance of Sufism in this period.<sup>59</sup> Gardiner states: “Būnian works thought to deal specifically with the science of letters were sought after by the kind of people who could expend great wealth on books, which is to say people at the upper end of the social ladder,”<sup>60</sup> exactly the kind of people like Taghribarmish. This manuscript coincides with the demand for practical works about lettrism;<sup>61</sup> nevertheless, it is not as adorned as some copies of “Būnian works produced for court settings”<sup>62</sup> in that there is no chrysography or blue ink. This is a carefully copied, partially vocalized manuscript, but it remains in the category of common manuscripts. This may be because it is an anonymous miscellany, which is less prestigious than an authorial text. As mentioned earlier, this *codex* could be one of these manuscripts copied as an exercise by a young *mamlūk* for his *amīr*, like the ones described by Flemming that comprised many anonymous works and abridged versions of authorial texts.<sup>63</sup> In this case, in addition to showing a beautiful hand, the exercise would have been to gather documentation about the names of God, and their usefulness for magic purposes, an important concern at the time. If Taghribarmish was really miserly, as suggested by the chronicles,<sup>64</sup> this was a good way of widening, or even setting up his library at a reasonable cost since he only had to pay for paper and ink.

---

56 This expression was coined by Witkam, *Gazing at the sun* 183 and is so accurate that it has had great success. See, for example, two recently defended PhD dissertations: Coulon, *La Magie islamique*; and Gardiner, *Esotericism*.

57 Haarmann, Arabic in speech 97.

58 Berkey, *The Mamluks as Muslims* 170.

59 Shoshan, *Popular culture* 18.

60 Gardiner, *Esotericism* 261; see also Chart 1, 347.

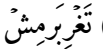
61 *Ibid.*, 263–8.

62 *Ibid.*, 261.

63 Flemming, *Literary activities* 260.

64 See fn. 89 Below.

### Bi-rasm ... Taghribarmish shādd al-silāḥ khāna—Who was the Dedicatee?

The name and function of the dedicatee clearly point to a *mamlūk*.<sup>65</sup> The vocalization and spelling of the name of the dedicatee are a bit different from what is found in the sources: the manuscript shows  (see Figure 15.1 and 15.2)—so this is the form in use here—instead of the more common Taghrī Birmish or Taghrī Barmash.<sup>66</sup> This name denotes a Rūmī origin;<sup>67</sup> since the Arabic alphabet is unable to accurately render some Turkish sounds, these variations of spelling come as no surprise.<sup>68</sup>

Regarding his function, in the *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'* (completed in 814/1412), al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) defines the *silāḥkhāna* as the “*bayt al-silāḥ*” and notes that it is often called the *zaradkhāna*.<sup>69</sup> According to Popper, after Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, the title *shādd al-silāḥkhānā* means “superintendent of the armory.” This is a regular office for a “man of the sword” (an *amīr* or a simple trooper), linked to the bureau of the *nāzir khazā'in al-silāḥ*. Popper notes that this title occupies the thirty-ninth rank after the sultan in the Mamluk society.<sup>70</sup> This function is under the authority of the *amīr silāḥ*, also called *al-zaradkāsh al-kabīr*, who runs the royal armory, and the *shādd al-silāḥkhāna* is one of the ten *zaradkāshs* (or *zardkāsh*) in the service of the *amīr silāḥ*.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, Taghribarmish's

65 Ayalon, Names 193; Yosef, The names of the *Mamlūks* fn. 2 (pagination unknown).

66 Even if the vocal harmony of Turkish is not adhered to in this form and hence if this form could be mistaken, my choice is to follow the vocalization of the manuscript, since I have no evidence of the correct vowels. According to Sauvaget, it should be Taghrī Birmish, see Sauvaget, Noms et surnoms 44, fn. 72. In all the sources consulted, his name is spelled as two words, and with a long *ī* ending the first. One reads Taghrī Barmash in Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 430; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl al-tāmm* ii, 62; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 323. The *mīm* is not vocalized in Ibn Fahd, *al-Durr al-kamīn* i, 661; or in Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi* i, 218, whereas the preceding and following entries are vocalized with a *fatha*. This is informative only if the editors followed the vocalization found in the most accurate manuscripts they used, of course.

67 Sauvaget, Noms et surnoms 44 fn. 72, who cites Wiet, *Les biographies* 756, 757, 759; Yosef, The names of the *Mamlūks*, part D (“Names of the Mamlūks in the transition period”) and fn. 112 (pagination unknown).

68 On this issue and the problems it raises, see Sauvaget, Noms et surnoms 31–32; Ayalon, Names 203–6.

69 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iv, 11–2.

70 Popper, *Egypt and Syria* 95, 98.

71 *Ibid.*, 91, 93–4; Ayalon, Studies III 60 fn. 1; Har-El, *Silāḥdār*, *EI*<sup>2</sup> ix, 609–10.

chain of *laqabs* as it appears in the manuscript<sup>72</sup> reflects a very high rank: only very important persons are called *al-mawlawī*,<sup>73</sup> or *al-janāb*.<sup>74</sup> According to al-Qalqashandī, *al-janāb* is the second degree *laqab* for *arbāb al-suyūf*, “men of the sword” (after *al-maqarr*), and *al-ālī*, the third category in this second degree (after *al-sharīf* and *al-karīm*).<sup>75</sup> Therefore we can assume Taghribarmish was actually the *amīr silāhī* when the manuscript was copied.

Taghribarmish (ibn ‘Abd Allāh)<sup>76</sup> al-Yashbakī<sup>77</sup> Yashbak min Uzдумur<sup>78</sup> was a *mamlūk* of the Amīr Yashbak min Uzдумur, and was placed under the authority of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy after the death of his master. This explains the *nisba* “*al-Ashrafī*” mentioned in the dedication note on f. 1. Ibn Fahd (812–85/1409–80),<sup>79</sup> Ibn Taghrī Birdī (812–74/1411–70),<sup>80</sup> al-Sakhāwī (831–902/1427

72 This chain of *laqabs* coincides with what is found in Mamluk diplomatics; see Dekkiche, *Le Caire*. Her conclusions are exposed more briefly in eadem, *Correspondence* 131–60, esp. 149–52.

73 al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmīyya* 516–22, esp. 518.

74 Gully, *The culture of letter-writing* 169, 182–3; al-Bāshā, *Alqāb al-islāmīyya* 241–7. The *laqab* “*al-janāb*” was used to address third class sovereigns in the Circassian period. See Dekkiche, *Le Caire* 363, 365 and idem, *Correspondence* 150. According to al-Bāshā, the expression *al-janāb al-‘ālī al-sayfī* was even used to refer to Sultan Barsbāy, see al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmīyya* 246 fn. 6, where van Berchem, *Matériaux* fn. 202 is cited. Nevertheless, this is a mistake: the inscription in question (on the portal of the Amīr Sūdūn Mir Zādeh’s mosque in Cairo) does not comprise any *laqab* or name. See the reproduction of its text in Kalus and Soudan, *Thésaurus d’épigraphie islamique* number 1272, online <http://www.epigraphie-islamique.org/epi/consultation.php>. All the persons referred to as *al-janāb al-‘ālī* in this database are important officials of the Mamluk state, see for instance number 1402, the text commemorating the restoration of a hospital in Aleppo by the *shādd al-awqāf*, dated 819/1416.

75 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā* vi, 136.

76 This filiation is only found in Ibn Taghrī Birdī; see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 65; idem, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr* i, 314. It is very likely fictitious, see Ayalon, *Names* 210.

77 Ibn Fahd gives “Ayshbakī,” see Ibn Fahd, *al-Durr al-kamīn* i, 661.

78 The precision “min Uzдумur” in the title of the entry is only given by al-Sakhāwī. See his *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmī* iii, 34. In Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* one finds “bn Uzдумur”; the editor may have abusively corrected an original “min” into an expression of filiation; on this practice, see Ayalon, *Names* 223–8, esp. 227.

79 Ibn Fahd, *al-Durr al-kamīn* i, 661 (record number 572).

80 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 65–8 (record number 768); idem, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi* i, 218–9 (record number 766); idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 430–1; idem, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr* i, 314.

or 1428–97)<sup>81</sup> and al-Malaṭī (844–930/1440–1514)<sup>82</sup> give biographical information about him, although Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *Manhal* is the most profuse. This tall redheaded<sup>83</sup> *mamlūk* was *zaradkāsh ṣaghīr* “for a long period”<sup>84</sup> under al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–42/1422–38), who appointed him *zaradkāsh kabīr* in 833/1429–30, and *amīr* of ten. Under Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53), Taghribarmish was appointed *amīr* of *ṭablkhāna*, that is *amīr* of forty,<sup>85</sup> and received a new *iqṭāʿ* on this occasion. He took part in numerous military campaigns and is said to have been brave and courageous.<sup>86</sup> He travelled to the Ḥijāz in Rajab 854/August–September 1450, fell ill and died in Mecca during the night of 24 Shawwāl 854/30 November 1450.<sup>87</sup> He was more than eighty years old (between 77 and 86 solar years old). He was rich—he commissioned a Friday mosque in Būlāq along the Nile bank<sup>88</sup>—and all the sources agree that he was miserly.<sup>89</sup>

The sources do not say anything about Taghribarmish's level of education.<sup>90</sup> Since the works of Flemming, Haarmann, Berkey, and recently Mauder,<sup>91</sup> we know that the Mamluks—or at least some of them—could have a relatively high level of education. This argument is also supported by the numerous Turkish names mentioned in *samāʿ* or *ijāzāt* statements. These Turkish name bearers could be slaves, like Asanbughā ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkī, who attended the reading of *al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī l-Mawlid al-Sharīf* by al-Ṣafadī, finished on 23

81 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* iii, 34–5; idem, *al-Dhayl al-tāmm* ii, 62; idem, *Kitāb al-tibr al-masbūk* iii, 59.

82 al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* v, 323, fn. 2232; idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-mufannan*, ed. al-Kandarī, ii, 760–1, fn. 1071.

83 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 67; idem, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr* i, 314.

84 Idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 66 (where one reads he was “part of the *jumla zaradkāshīyya*,” instead of “*zaradkāsh ṣaghīr*”).

85 Ayalon, *Studies* II 469.

86 al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-mufannan* ii, 761.

87 The precise date is given by Ibn Fahd, *al-Durr al-kamīn* i, 661; al-Malaṭī, *al-Majmaʿ al-mufannan* ii, 761, says end of Dhū al-Ḥijja 854/January 1451.

88 This is the first information cited after the mention of his death in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl al-tāmm* ii, 62. Mentions of this mosque are also found in Ibn Fahd, *al-Durr al-kamīn* i, 661; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 66; idem, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr* i, 315; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* iii, 35; idem, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-masbūk* iii, 59.

89 Only Ibn Taghrī Birdī adds he would secretly give money to the poor. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 67.

90 On the contrary, we have a great deal of information about his homonym Taghrī Birmish al-Nāṣirī al-Faqīh's education, see Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iv, 68–74; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* iii, 33–4. He is also mentioned in Berkey, *Mamluks and the world of higher Islamic education* 109–10.

91 Mauder, *Gelehrte Krieger*. For the other authors cited, see fn. 1 above.

Şafar 759/4 February 1358.<sup>92</sup> Yet they could also be *mamlūks*, as in an audition certificate for ‘Abd al-Mu’min al-Dimyāṭī’s *Kitāb Faḍl al-Khayl*, in al-Maqrīzī’s presence dated Sha’bān 845/January 1442, where a Taghrī Birmish is cited, among others.<sup>93</sup>

### Glimpses into the History of the Manuscript

After the two texts, on ff. 189–90 which were originally blank, readers of the manuscript added invocations and formulas to win a woman’s love (f. 189–189b, ending with *tamma wa-kamula*) and recipes for different kinds of talismans (f. 190–190b). These were written by a *mashriqī* hand. On f. 191 a *maghribī* hand recorded the *mashriqī abjad* code; in fact another code is used in the Maghrib, so this key was needed to understand the text and to carry out the practices promoted in the text in the Maghrib.<sup>94</sup> On the verso of this folio, the same reader, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥammūda al-Ḥashā’ishī (or “the herb seller,” if his *nisba* still refers to his occupation), explained he bought the book for two riyals and a quarter from a certain Ibn al-Ḥājj ‘Abd Allāh the bookseller on 9 Sha’bān 1235<sup>95</sup>/22 May 1820.<sup>96</sup> Under these four lines, someone drew

92 Ms PUL Garrett 3570 Y, f. 31a. Asanbughā was actually al-Şafadī’s slave (“*fatāya*”). This text was edited: al-Şafadī, *al-Faḍl al-munif*, ed. ‘Āyish (for the *ijāza*, see 19–20).

93 The same as the one already mentioned: Taghrī Birmish al-Nāşirī al-Faqih, see fn. 90 above. About this *samā’*, see Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī’s collection of opuscles* 2, who cites Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min ibn Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī, *Kitāb fihi Faḍl al-khayl wa-mā yustahabb wa-mā yukra min abwānihā wa-shiyātihā wa-mā ghā’a fi karāhat akl luḥūmihā wa-ibāḥatihā wa-mā warada fi sibāqihā wa-sihāmihā wa-şadaqatihā*, Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, formerly in the Aḥmadiyya Library in Aleppo.

These paratexts—texts found in manuscripts that are not part of the main text to be transmitted—are essential to our grasp and information on many facets of the book culture and intellectual life of the medieval Middle East. They are the subject of the project *Ex(-)Libris ex Oriente* (ELEO), led by Prof. F. Bauden and myself at the University of Liège. For more details, see <http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/islamo/portfolio-item/ex-libris-ex-orient/>

94 The *maghribī* reader made good use of this, as attested by the small piece of paper inserted between ff. 187 and 188, where he drew magical squares. On *abjad*, see fn. 48 above.

95 Note that the word for year is *‘ām*, which is more often found than *sanna* in the Maghrib. See Gacek, *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary* (2001) 104.

96 *Mimmā an’ama Allāh bihi ‘alā al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā rabbihi al-mu’tarif bi-dhanbihi al-ḥājj Muḥammad ibn Ḥammūda al-Ḥashā’ishī bi-l-shirā’ al-şahīḥ wa-l-thaman al-mundafī’ wa-qaḍruhu riyālāni wa-rub’ ‘alā yad al-şaghīr Ibn al-Ḥājj ‘Abd Allāh al-kutubī yawm 9 Sha’bān ‘ām 1235* (Among what Allāh accorded to the servant, the poor towards his Lord,

a flower inscribed in a circle and several concentric circles; it is very likely a test of a pair of compasses.<sup>97</sup>

As stated earlier, this manuscript was copied in Cairo for the Amīr Taghribarmish. It can be assumed that it remained there for a while; the hand of one of the readers who left *marginalia* has a “ta’liqish” or “nasta’liqish” style:<sup>98</sup> a non-horizontal ductus, with the words descending under the baseline that was in vogue during the Ottoman period. Then the book travelled to the Maghrib. A *Maghribī* may have bought it in Cairo on his way to or from Mecca. He brought it back home to the Maghrib. A Tunisian—Ḥammūda is a Tunisian name<sup>99</sup>—bought it, and we may assume the book remained in Tunisia, before it was sold to Juliette Dargent. Dargent was a former librarian of the University of Liège, who then became a civil servant for Unesco and, as such, worked in various Arab countries. She amassed an important collection of manuscripts in Arabic script while working there; she loved books and the look of Arabic writing, but she could not read Arabic. Most of her manuscripts were purchased in Tunisia.<sup>100</sup> She bequeathed all of them—four hundred thirty-eight volumes—to the University of Liège library in the 1980s.<sup>101</sup> This is how Taghribarmish’s manuscript ended up in Belgium.

### Conclusion

This manuscript is material evidence from a ninth/fifteenth century Mamluk *amīr*’s library. It is a book of miscellanies about the beautiful and supreme names of God, a subject in vogue then. It was commissioned by the Amīr Taghribarmish, and probably copied by one of his young *mamlūks* during his training. The latter began working on the beautiful names of God and added his list of the forty names afterwards—as shown by the later addition of the indication “*wa-fīhi al-arbaʿīn [sic] isman wa-manāfīʿuhā lil- ...*” on the

---

confessing his sins, the *ḥājj* Muḥammad ibn Ḥammūda al-Ḥashāʿishī/the herbseller, [is] th[is] valid purchase, and the price paid, its amount is two riyals and a quarter, in the hand of the poor Ibn al-Ḥājj ‘Abd Allāh the bookseller, on 9 Shaʿbān 1235/22 May 1820).

97 See fn. 5 above.

98 On *nastaʿliq* and *taʿliq*, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A vademecum* respectively 166–7, 263.

99 See the examples of Tunisian Ḥammūda in al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* ii, 282.

100 See the incomplete list of prices and manuscripts bought by her: Université de Liège, Bibliothèque ALPHA [Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire, Arts], Fonds Dargent, [ms 5438], 14 ff., 272 cards.

101 Opsomer-Halleux, *Trésors manuscrits* 11; Bauden, *Les Manuscrits arabes* 152.

first title page of the volume. Apparently the topic was interesting enough for the manuscript to have been carefully preserved: it is still in an excellent state of conservation six centuries after its production and despite travelling from Cairo to Tunisia, and then from Tunis to Liège—and these are only the peregrinations we know of. Only its binding had to be replaced: the volume is now protected by an Ottoman binding, with no trace of its genuine Mamluk binding.<sup>102</sup> We do not know whether it was made in Egypt or in Tunisia—the watermarked paper of the guard leaves was used in both countries, and we do not know how long the manuscript stayed in Tunisia before being sold to Ḥammūda.

Codicologically speaking this Mamluk *codex* is not out of the ordinary: typical paper, habitual distribution of the inks, black and red, regular *mise en page*, and common type of handwriting. It is not an exceptionally beautiful manuscript: there is no gold, but not a careless copy either since the handwriting is conscientious and the very limited number of lines per page, as well as the wide and high margins indicate that the scribe had enough paper at his disposal.

Many manuscripts kept in a Mamluk *amīr*'s library must have been like this one, both in terms of look and content; paradoxically this is what makes this particular copy interesting. It gives us a glimpse into the “normal” books of an *amīr* at the end of the Mamluk period.

This manuscript appears in the aforementioned *Ex(-)Libris ex Oriente* database<sup>103</sup> because of its dedication note. Other manuscripts dedicated to Mamluk *amīrs* are recorded in *ELEO* as well. This project thus provides a valuable opportunity to get a better picture of different *amīrs*' personal libraries, but also those of other individuals such as scholars.

---

102 If it had one: even if this was the normal thing to do, not all the manuscripts were necessarily bound. We may assume that manuscripts in a wealthy *amīr*'s library were preserved in beautiful bindings—but this has probably never been a too expensive one, since our Taghribarmish was stingy.

103 See fn. 92 above.

**PART 5**

*Regional and Local Politics*





## Post-Crusader Acre in Light of a Mamluk Inscription and a *Fatwā* Document from Damascus\*

*Reuven Amitai*

### The Taking of Acre and its Immediate Results

Acre (Arabic ‘Akkā, Hebrew ‘Akkō) played a major role in early Mamluk history. It was first the center of Frankish politics in the Levant, and thus the focus of a great deal of attention by the Mamluk leadership. Second, it was the most important port on the Syrian coast, and much of the trade passing through it was destined for, or coming from, the territories of the Mamluk Sultanate. Finally, Acre and its environs were targets of military activities, and suffered from frequent Mamluk raids that culminated in the massive campaign launched by the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 1290–93), who set out from Cairo in March 1291. After “forty-four days of siege and fighting,”<sup>1</sup> Acre was taken on May 18, with much killing and destruction; survivors fled the city, mostly to Cyprus. In the aftermath of this conquest, almost all of the remaining Frankish cities—Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, ‘Athlīth, etc.—on the coast were abandoned, and all this territory thus fell to the Mamluks with hardly any fighting.<sup>2</sup> This was the virtual end of the Frankish (or Crusader, as it is perhaps more popularly known) presence in the Levant, although there remained a vestigial existence on the island of Arwād (Ruad) across from Tortosa for a few more years.

---

\* *Author’s note:* I am delighted to be a contributor to this jubilee volume in honor of Amalia Levanoni, a dear friend and colleague from the north of Israel, who lives and works not far from the focus of this study. This article was prepared with the support of the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research (GIF), grant no. 1172–190.4/2011, and also while I was a fellow at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg (ASK) at the University of Bonn. I am grateful to the directors and staff of the ASK for their assistance and encouragement. Earlier versions of this study were presented at the annual conference “The Middle Ages, Now!” held at Bar-Ilan University on April 3, 2014, and at the colloquium of the Medieval Circle of the University of Trier, Germany, on January 20, 2015.

- 1 Praver, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* ii, 557.
- 2 For the taking of Acre and its aftermath, see *ibid.*, 539–57; Runciman, *A history of the Crusades* iii, 410–23 (for a particularly vivid account); Little, *The fall of ‘Akkā 159–82*; Cobb, *The race for paradise* 236–9.

The Arabic sources—contemporary and later—clearly state that the fortifications of these cities were destroyed after they were taken. For instance, the chronicle of Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl, also known as al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad (1273–1331, who became governor of Hama in 1310, and two years later, its autonomous ruler) indicates the following information after the description of the conquest of Acre, in which he participated as a junior officer:

Then at [the sultan's] command, the city of Acre was demolished and razed to the ground ... When Acre was conquered, God Most High cast alarm into the hearts in the coastlands of Syria. They forthwith evacuated Sidon and Beirut ... The inhabitants of Tyre likewise fled, and the sultan sent to receive its surrender in late Rajab [July 1291]. The inhabitants of the city of Tyre likewise fled, and the sultan sent to receive its surrender. Then 'Athlith surrendered at the beginning of Sha'bān [30 July] ... [The sultan] commanded and [these forts] were utterly destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

This evidence of an eyewitness is tersely confirmed by the Maghribi traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1368–9 or 1377), who visited Palestine in 1326. This author devotes a few words to Acre's important status under the Franks. As to its state at the time of his reputed visit, he merely notes that the city "is a ruin" (*wa-hiya kharāb*).<sup>4</sup>

A long-term perspective on this subject is provided by the early fifteenth century Egyptian encyclopedist al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418):

In the aftermath of the conquest [of Acre in 1291], Sidon, Beirut and 'Athlith surrendered that same year. With this conquest, all of the coast was liberated. When these cities were taken, they were completely destroyed, out of fear that the Franks would again gain control of them. They have remained in Muslim hands until this day.<sup>5</sup>

3 Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār*, ed. Dayyūb, ii, 360–1; translation taken from Holt, *The memoirs of a Syrian prince* 17.

4 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* 57. Cf. idem, translated by Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* vol. i, 83: "I then journeyed along the coast to the town of 'Akka [Acre], which is lying in ruins."

5 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, repr. edition 1964, iv, 178.

### Mamluk Policy vis-à-vis the Palestinian Coast

Al-Ashraf Khalil's actions in 1291 were the final stage of a long-term Mamluk strategy of deliberate destruction of coastal fortifications initiated by Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–77), with precedents already from the time of Saladin.<sup>6</sup> The clear expression of this policy can be seen in the proclamation issued by Baybars in 1265, in the aftermath of the conquests of Arsūf (Apollonia) and Qaysāriyya (Caesarea) from the Franks. In this document, the Sultan divided up the villages that had been in the territories of these two cities among many of his officers, granting them as private property. In the long introductory section, Baybars states *inter alia*:

One part [of the Muslim armies] uproots Frankish fortresses, and destroys [their] castles, while [another] part rebuilds what the Mongols destroyed in the east and increases the height of their ramparts.<sup>7</sup>

The late David Ayalon was the first to discuss this policy, which was designed to preempt the possibility—seen as a very real one—that the Franks would return in force to the Syrian coast—as stated by Qalqashandī above—and then perhaps strike inland.<sup>8</sup> It was subsequently discussed from a different perspective by John H. Pryor, who put it the general context of Mediterranean shipping.<sup>9</sup>

6 This issue is examined in some detail by Anne-Marie Eddé in her new biography of the founder of the Ayyubid state. See Eddé, *Saladin* 230, 251, 262–3.

7 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* viii, 109 (who notes that the famous Damascene scholar Ibn Khallikān wrote this missive). Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1406) also provides the full text, without mentioning its author; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders* i, 99 (Arabic text); ii, 79 (translation); al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* i, 531, surely took this directly from Ibn al-Furāt, as he does for all of his material for the annals of these years. The text was undoubtedly first conveyed in the biography of Baybars by his trusted secretary Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (d. 1292), *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, but this section was missing in the manuscript (see p. 234 of the edition). David Ayalon (as cited in the next note) was the first to bring this passage to the attention of modern scholars, but did not provide a reference for this quote.

8 Ayalon, *The Mamlūks and naval power 1–12* (reprinted in Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt*).

9 Pryor, *Geography, technology and war* 130–4. Within the framework of the current study, it is worth noting that Pryor mentions that commerce was maintained in the Palestinian ports even after the destruction wrought on the coast by the Mamluks.

In the early 2000s, Albrecht Fuess returned to this issue in an exhaustive study that generally remains the last word on the subject.<sup>10</sup>

All three of these scholars placed this destructive strategy in the wider context of the Mamluks' lack of a credible naval force (a situation inherited from their Ayyubid predecessors) to resist, or even hinder, any Frankish raid or campaign on the Mediterranean coast. Ayalon suggested that there were two main reasons for this long-term unwillingness or inability to establish and maintain a credible navy. The first was a lack of wood and other necessary raw materials (iron, pitch, etc.) within the Mamluk realm, and the second was the basic inability of a caste of mounted archers of Eurasian Steppe provenance to take the naval option seriously, let alone agree to man the ships. Fuess raises some convincing reservations about the former, while firmly agreeing with the latter. Pryor, on the other hand, questions the psychological-cultural explanation (without necessarily rejecting it out of hand), and notes that other groups of Turks at different times and places took to the water when circumstances warranted it.

I, for one, am not yet ready to throw out this psychological approach, and generally concur with both Ayalon's and Fuess' argument that the cultural background of the Mamluks hindered their efforts to establish and keep up a serious navy. But I do not think that this is a sufficient explanation for the strategy that might be considered, at least in some ways, to be counter intuitive: Why destroy fortifications that were taken with such efforts? There is, however some clear reasoning here in this preemptive strategy, beyond the psychological and cultural dimensions. The fortifications would have to be repaired, since they were damaged in the conquest, and then maintained and manned; to do all of this would require an investment of great resources. It is clear from the reading of the historical register that from the outset, the Mamluk leadership decided that the defense of the realm would be based on a large mobile field army, composed mainly of mounted archers. Most of the resources of the state were directed to meet this goal. To split up much of the army into garrisons would strategically weaken the military capabilities of the Sultanate. Likewise, to invest in naval forces, which was not the strongpoint of the Mamluks, was probably also considered an unwise use of limited resources.<sup>11</sup> Yet, the Sultan and his advisors still thought that there was a good chance that the Franks would try to return to Syria in force. There was no Mamluk naval force to stop or hinder them, and the fortified cities with their harbors left standing, even in a damaged or undermanned state, could be a beachhead for any future attacks. Thus, it makes sense that Baybars and his successors initiated a systematic

10 Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer. Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik*; idem, Rotting ships 45–71.

11 This continues the line of thought suggested in Amitai, *Dealing with reality* 127–44.

program of destroying coastal cities, meaning that the fortifications and harbors were at least partially dismantled. The aim was clearly to deny the Franks potential facilities for bringing troops, horses and supplies on shore. This was the case in Arsūf and Caesarea in 1265, Jaffa and Antioch in 1268, Tripoli in 1289, and finally Acre and 'Athlith in 1291. In this connection, I will make three additional comments.

First, both Şafad (Safed) and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers), both large inland fortresses conquered in 1266 and 1271 respectively, were not only not destroyed, they were repaired and garrisoned with large forces. Şafad became a provincial capital and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād remained an important regional center with a substantial garrison, as did Marqab (Margat) after it was taken by Qalāwūn (r. 1279–90) in 1285. Selected inland fortresses or cities did not suffer the same fate as their coastal counterparts.<sup>12</sup> Coastal Frankish Tripoli was destroyed, but a new Mamluk Tripoli was built several kilometers further inland. There was a need for a regional center in that area, and the general location of Tripoli could not be completely abandoned.<sup>13</sup>

Second, as I have suggested in the past, part of the aggressiveness of the Mamluks towards the Franks of the Levant, certainly more so than their Ayyubid predecessors, is due to the Mamluk perception that the Franks, both in the Levant and across the sea, were possibly in cahoots with the Mongols of Iran. The Mamluk leadership certainly knew about the ongoing correspondence, if not negotiations, with the Mongols. This is not the place to expand on what I think is a particularly interesting issue, but it gave some urgency to the Mamluks in their effort to take the Frankish coastal cities and then make them militarily unusable.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the statements of the written sources—such as the three authors that we just saw—to the effect that these fortifications were totally destroyed is belied by the extant fortifications today. Take for example Arsūf, surrounded by Herzliyya today, just to the north of Tel Aviv. Supposedly, the city was completely razed down to the foundations,<sup>15</sup> but any casual visitor today will soon see that at least the citadel is still partially standing (and impressive). So, when we learn from the sources that a coastal city was wholly destroyed, we can safely assume that this a literary exaggeration. In reality, some towers were pulled down, gates were removed and their surroundings wrecked, at least in part,

12 On this in general, see Raphael, *Muslim fortresses in the Levant*.

13 Luz, Tripoli reinvented 53–71.

14 Amitai, Mamluk perceptions 50–65 (reprinted in Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic lands*).

15 Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ* 243 [the basis for the parallel text in Ibn al-Furāt, ed. Lyon i, 97 (Arabic text); ii, 78 (translation)].

here and there gaps were made in the curtain walls, and the port was rendered unusable to this or that degree. Time, and the need for building materials elsewhere might have exacerbated this situation. All of this should not come as a surprise: the willful destruction of large fortifications is no trivial matter, but requires the attention and efforts of a large group of men, directed by professionals. There is also only so much time and so many resources that the sultan and his officers could devote to this demolition effort, and the results are partly seen in what we find today.

### The Inscription of Sultan Barqūq

As we have seen, Acre also suffered extensive destruction in the conquest and its immediate aftermath. Yet, probably much of it, including some fortifications, were left standing, even in a dilapidated state. It seems likely that some people resided there, even if no Franks were left. Perhaps locals moved in, or people came from afar. As we will see, there was a governor there of the second rank. In fact, the encyclopedia by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349) mentions that Acre still has some purpose in the Mamluk scheme of things:

Acre has already been destroyed, but it remains the city (*madīna*) of this coastal region, and its important town (*qāʿida*).<sup>16</sup>

With this in mind, we can now turn to the inscription that is mentioned in the title of this paper, the one extant inscription from Acre in the 225 years of Mamluk rule. For comparison's sake note that Gaza has 69 Mamluk era inscriptions, and Jerusalem about 70; some towns in Palestine of the second order, such as Ramla, Nablus and Hebron, each have more than a handful of inscriptions.<sup>17</sup> Since it is unique in Acre, the inscription has special importance, but this uniqueness is also telling. The inscription is found clearly *in situ*, in a

16 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, partial edition by Sayyid as *Masālik al-abṣār fī l-mamālik al-amṣār: Mamālik Miṣr wa-l-Shām wa-l-Ḥijāz wa-l-Yaman* 134. I have translated *qāʿida* following Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* 2: "En parlant d'une ville non-seulement *capital* ..., mais aussi *ville importante, grande ville*...."

17 The number from Gaza was tabulated from the inscriptions published in Sharon, *Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (henceforth *CIAP*) iv. The number in Jerusalem is based on my own notes. Mamluk inscriptions (up to 783 AH) from Nablus and Ramla are found in Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* xii-xviii (vol. xix was not available to me at the time of the writing of this paper). Hebron's inscriptions are found in vol. v of *CIAP*.

building referred to as *Burj al-Sultān*, or “The Tower of the Sultan,” adjacent to the *Khān al-Shawārda* (at the latter’s southwest corner), not far from the port of Acre (see Figure 16.1). It was published in 1997 in volume I of the ongoing series, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (henceforth: *CIAP*), written and edited by Moshe Sharon of the Hebrew University; to date, seven



FIGURE 16.1 *Burj al-Sultān* (“The Tower of the Sultan”), Acre.

PICTURE TAKEN BY REUVEN AMITAL.

volumes have been published.<sup>18</sup> The relatively long entry on Acre opens with a concise, but fairly detailed history of the city, and then a chronological review of all of the Arabic inscriptions. There are two (known) Arabic inscriptions from the city from the early Muslim period up to the coming of the Crusaders at the end of the eleventh century; these inscriptions, from the mid-eighth century, are not extant, but there is evidence for them from a literary source.<sup>19</sup> Inscriptions from the Crusader period in Latin are not covered in *CIAP*.<sup>20</sup> From the Ottoman period there are some two dozen inscriptions up to the last decades of their rule in Palestine. Among these late Ottoman inscriptions in Acre are many related to the Bahá'í movement, whose founder Bahá'ulláh died and was buried there.<sup>21</sup>

However, with all of this epigraphic activity in Acre over the centuries, as noted above, there is only one inscription from the Mamluk period in the city. This inscription (see Figures 16.2–16.3) contains six lines of handsome, standard *naskhī* script, with a round cartouche in the middle; this text is enclosed in a relatively complex frame (the layout, however, is not particularly well planned, and at the bottom this framework was not strictly maintained). The inscription is on five stones over the gate of a modest, but well-built tower. The two outside stones at the top are of coastal limestone (*kurkar*), while the middle three are of grey marble; the size of the inscription is 1.45 × 0.46m. Part of the inscription has unfortunately been obliterated, including the part that mentions the goal of the inscription; i.e., what construction project was commemorated in the text. However, Moshe Sharon has made reasonable suggestions for a good part of the lacuna, which make perfect sense to me; I will note these below. This is the Arabic text of the inscription, as found in the *CIAP*:<sup>22</sup>

18 Besides an exact transcription of each inscription and a translation, the *CIAP* provides a philological and historical commentary on each inscription, and there is often a presentation of some archeological aspects of the building where the inscription is found; large and important sites, certainly cities, are preceded by detailed historical surveys. The volumes published so far of the *CIAP* have already revolutionized the study of the archeology, history, and historical geography of medieval and early modern Palestine.

19 *CIAP* i, 30–1.

20 For these, see Pringle, Notes on some inscriptions from Crusader Acre 191–210; De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum crucefigantorum Terrae Sanctae* 299–318.

21 *CIAP* i, 34–77 (on the Bahá'ís in Acre, see *ibid.*, 66–9).

22 *CIAP* i, 31–4; to the best of my knowledge, this inscription has not been published elsewhere.



FIGURE 16.2 *Entrance to Burj al-Sulṭān.*  
PICTURE TAKEN BY REUVEN AMITAI.



FIGURE 16.3 *Mamluk inscription found in situ in Burj al-Sulṭān.*  
PICTURE TAKEN BY REUVEN AMITAI.

- (1) أمر بإنشاء [هذا البرج (؟) المبارك... (؟) الفقير الى الله]  
 (2) تعالى مولانا السلطان [الملك] الأشرف سيف  
 (3) الدين سيدنا ومولانا [أبو النصر برسباي خلد]  
 (4) الله ملكه [ينظر الأمير... إينال العلائي الناصري (؟)]  
 (5) ... أدام الله أيامه (؟)  
 (6) وذلك في سنة أربعين وثمان مائة من الهجرة النبوية

*Cartouche:*

عزّ لمولانا السلطان [الملك الأشرف أبو النصر برسباي]

*The translation:*

1. Ordered the building [of this blessed tower ... the needy of Allah?] the magnificent.
2. Our lord the Sulṭān [al-Malik] al-Ashraf Sayf
3. Al-Dīn, our master and lord, [Abū al-Naṣr Barsbāy, May]
4. Allāh [immortalize] his reign. [Under the supervision of the commander (*amīr*)...Īnāl al-‘Alāī al-Nāṣirī?]
5. ... May Allāh extend his days (?)
6. This was in the year 840 from the Prophetic Hijra (=1436–7 CE).

*Cartouche:* Glory to our Lord, [the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Barsbāy].

There are several things worth noting from an epigraphic and philological point of view. First, this text is almost unique among sultanic inscriptions of the Mamluk period in that it is missing the *basmala*; i.e., *bi-ʾsmi ʾllāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, “In the name of Allah, the Merciful and the Compassionate” at the beginning. For some reason, the author of this inscription was looking to be terse here. In fact, overall this is a relatively jejune text, with hardly any of the many sobriquets and honorifics that are usually found in sultanic inscriptions (and even those of governors and other important officers). The use of *mawlānā* twice is also unusual, and this may have been a mistake. *Burj* (“tower”), as suggested by Sharon, makes sense here, but this could have been another word, such as *makān*, “place.” The use of the term *inshāʾ* almost always refers to a new construction (cf. *ʾimāra*, or other variants of the verb *ʾammara*,

which imply rebuilding, repair or expansion of an existing structure).<sup>23</sup> Here, however, the tower in question may well have been built on the remnants of a Frankish building, as suggested by Sharon. Additional research by archeologists or experts in *Baugeschichte* will surely further elucidate this matter.

The insertion of the commander Sayf al-Dīn Īnāl al-ʿAlāʾī al-Nāṣirī, who was nicknamed al-Ajrūd (“the Beardless”), was suggested by Sharon, since he became the governor of Şafad during this year (remaining on the job for two years), and would have been the right official to have been responsible for such a building. Īnāl al-Ajrūd went on later to become Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf (r. 1453–61), and this governorship was an important station in his career.<sup>24</sup> However, we should remember that this is just a reasonable suggestion, nothing more, and it may well be that one of Īnāl’s predecessors in Şafad (two of whom served in AH 840, i.e. 1436–7),<sup>25</sup> was actually responsible for this project, or perhaps another local Mamluk official.

We have before us a nice inscription adorning a small, but well-constructed, stout building near a port that had surely seen better days. To understand more fully the context in which this project might have been conceived and carried out, we now have recourse to another document, a *fatwā* from the previous century.

### Evidence from a Legal Source

As is well known, a *fatwā* is an opinion on a point of law, written in reply to a direct question. In Mamluk times, the procedure was somewhat easy-going: a person asking for the *fatwā* could turn to any prominent jurist to get his thoughts on this or that question with legal overtones. The petitioner would strive to get the attention of a respected legal authority, who would give the *fatwā* much more clout, and perhaps even a reasonable chance of being

23 For more on this expression in the sense of “to rebuild, renovate, or reconstruct,” see the comments in van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem “Ville”* and *Jerusalem “Haram”* i, 64 (note 2), 89, 96.

24 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 1007; Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xv, 329; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* iii, 209–12; Tekindağ, Īnāl (or Aynāl) al-Adjrūd, *EI*<sup>2</sup> iii, 1198–9. I am grateful to Jo van Steenberg, who provided information about this figure.

25 These names are conveniently provided by al-Ṭarāwina (*Mamlakat Şafad fi ʿahd al-mamālīk* 295): Tamurāz al-Muʿayyadī, April/May 1436–18 July 1436; Yūnus al-Aʿwar (“The One-eyed”) al-Ruknī, 18 July 1436–November/December 1436.

executed. In major cities there were probably many such recognized authorities, albeit unofficially, and even in smaller towns there must have been local jurists to whom people could turn. Overall, these *fatāwā* (pl. of *fatwā*), like rabbinical *responsa*, are seen as valuable sources not only for legal history, but also for social, economic and cultural affairs, especially since they generally address concrete issues that are raised by the petitioners. Important information can be gleaned not only regarding the topic, but also incidental matters mentioned in the text.<sup>26</sup> This is the case for information here.

This document was written by the well-known scholar Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī, who was born in Egypt in 1284–5 and died there in 1355; he was from an illustrious family of scholars, continued by his own son, Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1368). A good chunk of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī’s career was spent in Damascus, where he was Chief Qadi, or judge, from 1338–9 to evidently shortly before his death (with a possible hiatus around 1345–6). Taqī al-Dīn’s fame as a scholar derives from the large number of *fatāwā* that he composed; after his death, these were collected in four volumes by his son.<sup>27</sup> The relevant *fatwā* was found, however, in a small collection of legal and ethical tracts, and was edited by the well-known Egyptian Coptic scholar Aziz Soryal Atiya (d. 1988), who published it with translation and commentary in the Paul Kahle *Festschrift* in 1935.<sup>28</sup> This particular document, which dates from 754/1353, has several parts:

1. The title: “An Event in ‘Akkā, a town of [the province of] Ṣafad in the time of the Shaykh al-Islām, the *mujtahid*<sup>29</sup> of his time, the Chief Judge, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, may Allāh be pleased with him.”

26 For more on *fatāwā* in general and their relationship to social reality, see the comments in Hallaq, From *fatwās* to *furū’* 31–8.

27 Schacht [and C.E. Bosworth], al-Subkī, *EI*<sup>2</sup> xi, 744, and the biographical information in the next note.

28 Atiya, An unpublished XIV<sup>th</sup> century *fatwā* on the status of foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria 55–68. I am grateful to Yehoshua Frenkel who drew my attention to this article some years ago. This interesting *fatwā* and the article that brought it to light are mentioned in several studies: Nielson, The political geography and administration of Mamluk Palestine 129, note 66; Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Age* 87–88; Constanble, *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world* 116, note 18; Bauden, Mamluk era documentary studies 27, note 49; Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer*, 439, note 215.

29 *Mujtahid* “denotes, in contemporary usage, one who possesses the aptitude to form his own judgment on questions concerning the *sharī’a*, using personal effort (*idjtihād*) in the interpretation of fundamental principles (*uṣūl*) of the *sharī’a*.” Calmard, *Mudjtahid*, *EI*<sup>2</sup> vii, 295–6.

2. An introduction (Atiya suggests that it is by the copyist, who evidently also adds a commentary; see below), which summarizes in some detail the question submitted to the *mufti*. The questioner was the Mamluk governor of Şafad,<sup>30</sup> who turns to both the governor in Damascus and to al-Subkī. The matter at hand was that a group of Frankish merchants in Acre had behaved in a reprehensible fashion by holding religious processions (apparently connected to Easter) in which local Muslim officials (including the sub-governor) and other Muslims took part. What was to be done, especially regarding the Franks? Do they still enjoy protection traditionally offered to foreign traders?
3. Al-Subkī's detailed response, in which he discusses at length the fate of such offending Franks. The bottom line: his suggestion to the governor and sultan to imprison these Franks, and then use them to have Muslim prisoners in the hands of unnamed Franks released.
4. A commentary written seventeen years later, evidently by one Abū al-Barakāt (see the next section), who copied the document and can probably be identified with a judge in Aleppo who died in 1376 (as suggested by Atiya).
5. Details of composition and authorship (Atiya calls this the "Explicit"); the *fatwā* was first written by al-Subkī on 25 Şafar 754 (1 April 1353); it was copied, along with commentary, by Abū al-Barakāt with the date of 4 Shawwal 771 (1 May 1370).

The entire document covers five pages of Arabic text. For our purposes, we can concentrate on a few lines from the second section; namely, the request of the governor of Şafad (N.B. the text in boldface):

**The town of 'Akkā on the coast of the province of Şafad has a harbor to which the merchants of the Franks resort by sea to sell what they bring with them and buy other goods instead and return to their homeland.** And it was not their custom to celebrate their festivities publically in 'Akkā, nor did they practice the usages of their native countries. Then one day the Franks gathered together and engaged persons who cut down olive branches for them, and they laid these on the shoulders of Muslim carriers with beams of wood. Then the Franks mounted on the beams a number of boys with drums and flutes. And the said boys, while

---

<sup>30</sup> Until the end of 754 (January 1354), the governor of Şafad was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Şubḥ al-Kurdī (al-Ṭarāwina, *Mamlakat şafad* 280). He was most surely the petitioner in this case.

in the harbor, publically prayed for the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ [Şāliḥ ibn al-Nāşir Muḥammad, 1351–4]. **Then all went to the ruins of ‘Akkā**, and at the head of the procession were the Muqaddam (commander) of the sub-province (*wilāya*) and the harbor and a bunch of Muslims with unsheathed swords ...<sup>31</sup>

There is plenty to consider here, without looking at the judicial response with its extended discussion of the rights of the foreign Christian merchants. This will be left for another analysis, most probably to a specialist in legal matters. For our purposes, what I find important and relevant here is first, that the ruins of Acre are noted clearly: this indicates the state of the city in general. Secondly, we find information passed on casually (since it was not the main concern of our author) that the unnamed Franks come to Acre to trade on a regular basis. That itself does not seem to cause too much excitement nor the opposition of the secular and religious authorities, and perhaps the opposite: this was a regular and expected occurrence (unlike the ceremonies that were considered highly improper).

Who might these unspecified Frankish merchants be? Following Eliyahu Ashtor and David Jacoby, we can identify them most surely with Venetians, although traders from Genoa or other places outside Italy, especially Catalonia, might also have had a presence here. We have some information on Venetian merchants who went to Acre to trade in raw cotton that was grown *inter alia* in the nearby Esdraelon/Jezreel Valley, or Marj Ibn ‘Āmir. As early as 1304 Venetian envoys negotiated with the governor of Şafad over concessions for the cotton trade, which evidently became more important in the latter half of this century. Cotton was grown extensively throughout Palestine from this time on, and raw cotton and cotton products (thread and cloth) were exported from Acre; this trend became stronger over the years, certainly in the fifteenth century. In fact, in the middle of that century, the Venetians even had a consul in the city.<sup>32</sup> One interesting piece of information regarding the extent of the cotton trade from northern Palestine (and perhaps beyond) is seen in the work of the chief judge Şadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-‘Uthmāni from Şafad, who wrote a short monograph on this province in the 1370s: according to him, 50,000 dirhams

31 Atiya, An unpublished XIVth century *fatwā* 64 (Arabic text) 58–9 (translation).

32 Ashtor, The Venetian supremacy in the Levantine trade 22, 30, 40–5 (see p. 13 for a mention of Genoa’s declining trade in the region); idem, The Venetian cotton trade in Syria 675–715, esp. 677, 680, 692; both of these articles were reprinted in Ashtor, *Studies on the Levantine trade in the Middle Ages*. See also Jacoby, The rise of a new emporium in the eastern Mediterranean 145–79, esp. 148; reprinted in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader states*. See also Arbel, Venetian trade in fifteenth-century Acre, for an extended study of the crucial Venetian involvement in the export of local cotton.

(equaling about 2,000 dinars), were collected in taxes from the cotton trade in Acre;<sup>33</sup> with the rising trade in this commodity, tax revenues doubtless also increased.

This is the context of the *fatwā* text above. Many, perhaps most of the merchants who came to Acre were engaged in the cotton trade, which meant raw cotton, cotton thread and even some cotton cloth. They were not there by chance; rather this was a long-term Venetian effort to export this important product from Palestine, as they did from regions further north in the Levant. This meant at least an annual visit in Acre, and perhaps even some year-round residents, maybe not as early as the second half of the fourteenth century, but most probably later on. The presence of a number of Franks around Easter is attested to in al-Subkī's text, and they felt secure enough, both numerically and with regard to their local standing (at least *vis-à-vis* the local Mamluk officials), to publically celebrate their holiday in a demonstrative manner. This is not the time or place to review Muslim-Christian (locals or foreigners) relationship in general, but this *fatwā* provides important information on the boundaries between the communities and the interactions between them.

Now we can also better understand the function of the tower constructed by Sultan Barsbāy, some 70 years after this *fatwā* document. This modest fortification, a small tower, was surely not meant to provide protection for the harbor, or intended to ward off raids against it and the surroundings. Rather, the sultan and his provincial representative probably constructed (or reconstructed) it in order to keep a firmer eye and hand on the important Venetian trade (and that of other Franks, even if it was less significant) through the city, including, of course, a somewhat robust commerce in cotton and cotton products.<sup>34</sup>

Barsbāy, the patron of this project (which was completed in the year of his death), has traditionally suffered from a negative image in the economic realm: he is accused of initiating shortsighted policies motivated by personal avarice that greatly weakened the economy of the sultanate, not least in the realm of

33 Lewis, *An Arabic account of the province of Safed*-I 483; cited by Ashtor, *The Venetian cotton trade* 68o.

34 Cf. Sharon, *CIAP* i, 32, who writes that after the Mamluk takeover of Cyprus (or most of it) in 1426, "it seems natural that [Barsbāy] would want to establish a military post in Acre, and hence the building of the tower. This inscription is, however, the only evidence for such a policy, which must have been related to Barsbāy's policy of controlling all foreign commerce, and bringing it to a complete standstill in the process." This tower was, however, not much of a military post, and it seems to me at best only tangentially connected to the Mamluk conquest of Cyprus.

foreign commerce.<sup>35</sup> In the last few years, some scholars have begun to question this overly deleterious (and usually unequivocal) assessment.<sup>36</sup> Barsbāy was confronted with a whole array of economic and political problems, and if this newer group of scholars are correct, he handled them with energy and ingenuity. To my mind, the picture is still murky, both regarding Barsbāy's reign and the late Mamluk period in general, but it is clear that the total condemnation that this sultan received in the older research literature is too simplistic and now unacceptable.<sup>37</sup> Even in this somewhat modest post of Mamluk foreign trade, Barsbāy arguably wanted to control and strengthen commerce, while making sure that the state's cut, and also his own, was secure. If nothing else, the sultan's presence was symbolically strengthened in this port with the erection of this tower, along with the inscription to commemorate it.

We might, however, set our sights a little lower, and conclude with a few words about Mamluk Acre. The evidence that we have adduced here, together with that of earlier scholarship on foreign trade, leads us to modify a little that still common scholarly appraisal describing the completely sorry state of the city under the Mamluks. Thus, in the short article written by the late Danish Orientalist Frants Buhl in the Second Edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* it is stated:<sup>38</sup>

- 
- 35 See, e.g., the citation in the previous note, as well as: Wiet, Barsbāy, *EI*<sup>1</sup> i, 1053–4; Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle East* 301–31; Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay* 436–9, who attributes much of this negative economic policy to personal motives; this author uses terms such as rapacity, cupidity, and avarice to explain Barsbāy's actions in this sphere; this unequivocally negative view is seen in the title of chapter 4: “La décadence économique.”
- 36 This new approach to Barsbāy's economic policy and its outcomes is already briefly pre-saged in the chapter by Garcin, *The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks* 293–4. For a more positive evaluation of his reign, and Mamluk economic activity in general in the fifteenth century, see Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens en Syrie à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Apellaniz Ruiz de Galarreta, *Pouvoir et finance en Méditerranée pré-moderne*.
- 37 See the measured remarks in the introductory sections of Christ, *Trading conflicts*, who looks at Barqūq's activities in a new light but does not seem ready to reject out of hand the old assessment of the Mamluk economy in the fifteenth century.
- 38 Buhl, ‘Akkā, *EI*<sup>2</sup> i, 341. Actually, this is exactly the same text found in the first edition of the *EI*. Unfortunately, Acre in the Mamluk period gets one line in the third edition of *EI*. “Under the Mamlūks, the city and its fortifications were razed. By the end of the seventeenth century only a few hundred people lived among its rubble, making a living as fishermen.” See Philipp, Acre, *EI*<sup>3</sup> (online edition).

In 690/1291 the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf gained possession of ‘Akkā and put an end to Christian domination of Palestine. The town was completely destroyed and for long remained a heap of ruins, with few inhabitants.<sup>39</sup>

This terse description of over two hundred years of history gives short shrift to everything that was going on there. True, most of the city probably remained in ruins until much later, in the Ottoman period. And, yes, it probably was sparsely populated. But it continued to be a focus, albeit a relatively modest one, of foreign trade, and played an important role in the economy of northern Palestine and perhaps beyond. I hope that in the aftermath of this short study, where we examined two pieces of extant evidence, known for some time, but hitherto not fully integrated in the study of the economic and social history of the region, we have a better idea of the somewhat vibrant local economy under the Mamluks.

---

39 This opinion is seconded in the historical introduction to the entry on “Akko, ‘Akka” in Sharon, *CIAP* i, 26. On p. 32, we find: “The Tower [Burj al-Sultan] is believed to be the only Crusader building to escape the systematic destruction of the city after the Mamluk occupation in 1291. **It has also become common knowledge that the city remained in total ruins** [emphasis mine, RA] until its rebuilding by Zāhir al-‘Umar [in the eighteenth century].” These views apparently need to be modified given the inscription on the gate of the tower and other information. In fact, the process of reconsideration already began in the work of Schur, *A history of Acre* 159–65. He writes (in my translation, RA): “In short, it is worthwhile emphasizing that the fanatical Islam [*sic*] of the Mamluk period exterminated here one of the big centers of commerce and trade of the Middle Ages, and left in its place a ghost town empty of people. During the entire Mamluk period, Acre was not a city, and not even a real place of settlement, but a maze of exposed walls and barriers. On the other hand, the area around Acre was not destroyed, and its farmers continued to grow cotton. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Venetians returned to this area, and used the destroyed port of Acre as an anchorage for their ships, in order to buy the cotton crops and to bring this to Europe. In addition, Christian pilgrims from Europe came again via the port of Acre on their way to Jerusalem.” In other words, Schur repeats the usual statements about Acre being destroyed, but provides substantial evidence that its port was in use. That this belies his first statement about the total destruction does not seem to bother him.

## Favored by the Sultan, Disfavored by his Son

*Some Glimpses into the Career of ʿAṣṣam al-Ḥammūṣ Akḥḍar*

*Joseph Drory*

The political history of the Mamluk Sultanate during the period following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign (died in 741/1341) has been better covered by historians in the last few years. The works of Robert Irwin (*The Middle East in the Middle Ages*) and Peter M. Holt (*The Age of the Crusades*) devote more space and provide more details and depth in their depictions of this erratic period. There have also been notable contributions by Jo Van Steenbergen<sup>1</sup> and Frédéric Bauden.<sup>2</sup> The political vicissitudes of the years from 1341 to 1382, although they have been defined perhaps rightly as devoid of outstanding sultans, do not lack interest, sometimes even tension. A survey of the political events and protagonists, along with their overt or covert motives that captures the ambiance of suspicion, scheming and mistrust can shed light on the tendencies, inclinations and procedures that shaped the Mamluk State. The dominant impression of a generation led by potentate magnates who did no more than drain each other's resources by endless strife and violent struggles can give way to a better comprehension of Mamluk polity, especially in a period of time bereft of famous names.

It is often claimed that the overly autocratic Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad left his heirs too feeble to govern efficiently.<sup>3</sup> Accumulating massive potentialities to effectively succeed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was a monumental challenge that was born to fail. Not only were non-Mamluk political personalities in an inferior position because of the unique structure of the Mamluk State regardless of their formal high credentials, but first-generation Mamluks who usually proved far better able to carry out the duties of ruling failed to survive the cruel struggles for leadership.

A cursory but probing glance at the whereabouts of ʿAṣṣam al-Ḥammūṣ, one senior *amīr* who lived in the mid-1300s can help shed light on the main power mechanisms in Egypt during that period, and can corroborate the conventional model of powerful *amīrs* replacing petty, poorly authoritative rulers. It also provides

1 Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos*.

2 Bauden, *The sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*.

3 For instance, see Holt, *The age of the Crusades* 121.

a glimpse into the political squabbles and aims fomented and exploited by the ruling classes.

•••

Ṭashtamur (titled both al-Badrī, most likely after his first owner, a certain Badr al-Dīn and al-Sāqī, the cup-bearer, presumably after his first job at the Mamluk court) was one of the few *amīrs* favored (*aḥabbahu wa-ḥaẓīya 'indahu*) by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.<sup>4</sup> Notorious though this sovereign was for liquidating many talented *amīrs* who could have served his state in a far useful way had he not stripped them of power, he nevertheless manifested a benevolent attitude towards Ṭashtamur. In 712/1312 (between Jumādā I and Rajab) al-Malik al-Nāṣir appointed him *amīr*. At that time Ṭashtamur was probably just out of his twenties. Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur was one of the few newly-favored young *amīrs* untainted by former liaisons who replaced the less trustworthy *ancien régime* officers who were removed in 712/1312. One indication of this preferred status was the financing by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad of Ṭashtamur's son's circumcision feast held in Sha'bān 722/1322,<sup>5</sup> as well as the 2,000 dinars in addition to clothes, jewels, robes of honor and agricultural assets al-Nāṣir bestowed him upon returning from the Ḥajj (in 723/1323).<sup>6</sup> The sultan also built a resplendent dwelling in Cairo that was exceptional for its splendor. This lavish building, known as Dār al-Baqar, served as the official residence for notable *amīrs*, Ṭashtamur among them.<sup>7</sup> A spacious garden on the shore of the Nile bought by the sultan for Ṭashtamur for a considerable sum also attests to the favorable attitude of al-Nāṣir.<sup>8</sup>

One episode nicely captures al-Nāṣir's appreciation of Ṭashtamur. On one occasion, Ṭashtamur, a victim of informants, was taken into custody.<sup>9</sup> This was not uncommon given al-Nāṣir's extreme lack of confidence even towards his inner entourage. Only rare and minor *amīrs* escaped his harshly-punished suspicions. Together with Ṭashtamur another high officer named Quṭlūbughā

4 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 131. As of the early days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as an independent sultan, after returning from Karak (711), Ṭashtamur was treated with elevated esteem (*ghāya min rifʿat al-qadar ... 'inda makhdūmihi*). See al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi*, ed. Ritter, Dederich et al., xvi, 437.

5 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, ed. Cairo 1934–73, ii, 237.

6 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 131; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 53.

7 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār* (henceforth *al-Khiṭaṭ*), ed. Cairo 1854, ii, 68; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 131, 540.

8 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 131, 540.

9 *Ibid.*, 281.

al-Fakhrī (later to become an influential figure in the Mamluk State) was detained.<sup>10</sup> When both Ṭashtamur and Quṭlūbughā were released through the mediation of Tankiz,<sup>11</sup> the then-governor of Damascus, al-Nāṣir advised Tankiz to take the “foolish one” (alluding to Quṭlūbughā) to his capital in Syria but to leave the “clever one” (referring to Ṭashtamur) with him in Cairo.<sup>12</sup> The periods (two at least) in which Ṭashtamur were apprehended were fortunately brief. When released he lost neither grace nor reliability. Some striking evidence of the sultan’s unshaken trust is al-Nāṣir’s decision to leave four officers in charge of the Cairo Citadel while he went on the pilgrimage in 732/1322. Ṭashtamur was among those entrusted with this duty.<sup>13</sup>

His contemporary Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. not prior to 736/1335) noted in his inimitable fashion the special status conferred by the ruthless sultan on Ṭashtamur (as well as on Quṭlūbughā mentioned above) “These *amīrs* were like sons to him, and he watched over them with the eye of a sympathetic trainer” (*yulāḥizuhum bi-‘ayn al-tarbiya wa-l-shafaqa*).<sup>14</sup>

In 736/1335 Ṭashtamur, nicknamed “green chickpeas” (*Ḥummuṣ Akḥḍar*) after his fondness for that food,<sup>15</sup> was appointed ruler of Safed. He replaced Aytāmish, a former governor who did not get along with Tankiz, the mighty strongman of the Syrian capital, Damascus. In order to avoid similar conflicts the sultan gave Ṭashtamur a special assignment and made him directly responsible to Cairo, rather than going through Damascus, as before. Granted full authority in Safed, Ṭashtamur was ordered not to communicate with Tankiz

10 Ṭashtamur and Quṭlūbughā regarded themselves “brothers” since their youth (*mutawākhayn min al-ṣighar*). See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 131; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 241, 268, 278; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 587. The term *mu’ākhāt* is rather ambiguous and can signify either deep friendly bonds, closeness, affection or serving under the same master or connection, or alliance consolidated by an oath, see Yosef, *Ikhwa, Muwākhūn and Khushdāshiyya* in the Mamlūk sultanate 340–41.

11 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 587; Zettersteen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane* 178.

12 al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 437; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 131; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 268; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 587.

13 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* ii, 293; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, iv, 222; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba *Ta’rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 268; al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 587.

14 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* ix, 343.

15 al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* ii, 587.

and to consult his sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir on current problems.<sup>16</sup> Little wonder that Tankiz, who was similarly instructed and was sent a special directive (*waṣīyya*) telling him to adopt a lenient attitude towards Ṭashtamur,<sup>17</sup> considered the latter an obstacle to his omnipotent clout in Syria and somewhat of a threat to his rule.

There is little information on Ṭashtamur's five-year term (736–41/1335–39) as governor in Safed. When he fell sick and was nearing death, he prepared a burial plot for himself in the rocky grotto known as "Jacob's cave."<sup>18</sup> Fortunately, Ṭashtamur recovered and the tomb in Jacob's cave, which still exists, was left empty.

It is also said that Ṭashtamur built a public bath (*ḥammām*) in Safed, thus contributing considerably to the welfare of its citizens.<sup>19</sup> This beautifully-designed public facility<sup>20</sup> may have been prompted by his rivalry with Tankiz who had recently founded a public hospital (*māristān*) in that Galilean center. This initiative went hand in hand with expanded construction activity by senior officers and functionaries encouraged, at times even financed, by the initiative-taking Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>21</sup>

16 al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* 321.

17 Ibid., 343. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is believed to have instructed Tankiz when Ṭashtamur took office in Safed "this is your big comrade (*khūshdāsh*), now he has become your neighbor, treat him gently, unlike former Safedi governors." See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 588; idem, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 439. According to an observation by al-Ṣafadī, Ṭashtamur upon hearing of being sent to Safed (dated 738, erroneously or referring to a second shift), expressed unwillingness and implored for exemption. One reason for this lack of enthusiasm may have been the move from central Cairo to a distant Syrian city. Van Steenberghe, *Mamluk elite* 185.

18 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 588. This medieval site was, according to a late tradition, the place where the Patriarch Jacob was given the joyous message that his beloved son Joseph was still alive (Quran 12:96 and additionally elaborated on in the Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' literature). On the identification of the cave with the Quranic allusion, see the inscription of 815/1412 in Mayer, *QDAP*, 2 (1932) 127–31.

19 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 591; *Zakkār*, *Ta'rikh Ṣafad* 133.

20 al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 442.

21 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 432. Consistent with the general conduct of *amīrs* who competed in building initiatives, Ṭashtamur built a spacious dwelling in Cairo close to that offered to him by al-Nāṣir, as well as a caravanserai serving silk-vendors (*qaysārīyyat al-ḥarīrīyyin*). See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 544; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 587–8, 591. A century later it housed tailors' apprentices from among the deteriorated ranks of the *mamlūks'* sons. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo 1854, ii, 91. A third monument erected

Public investment requires a fair amount of wealth. Several indications of Ṭashtamur's fortune can be cited. Biographers describe his generosity (*wāsi' al-ṣadr*; *jazīl al-amwāl*, *kathīr al-jūd wa-l-ifḍāl*, [*dhū*] *kaff sakhīyya*).<sup>22</sup> Ṣafadī (who knew and appreciated him)<sup>23</sup> was impressed by his wealth.<sup>24</sup> 'Uthmānī, the Ṣafedī judge and preacher [d. circa 1370], testifies that during the month of Ramaḍān he slaughtered many cows and sheep and gave them as alms.<sup>25</sup> As a fugitive in the Anatolian Kayseri (in 742/1341), Ṭashtamur conferred charity gifts (*ayādī*) on his Seljuq host.<sup>26</sup> During several stages in his career Ṭashtamur supported a talented financial secretary, a converted Samaritan named Ibrāhīm. At the beginning of their mutual relationship it was Ṭashtamur who covered the much sought-after employee's immense debts.<sup>27</sup> Ṭashtamur, who represented the sultan's power directly in Syria independently of Tankiz's involvement, was commissioned to play a special role in the arrest of the resolute governor of Damascus (in Dhū al-Ḥijja 740/June 1340).<sup>28</sup> The mere appearance of Ṭashtamur armed and in uniform in Damascus was ominously interpreted by Tankiz. The immediate events proved his worries to be founded. Ṭashtamur was the man ordered to detain Tankiz and escort him chained to Egypt.<sup>29</sup>

---

by Ṭashtamur is his domed richly-decorated mausoleum (built in 735/1334) in the north-eastern part of the Cairo cemetery. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, iv, 919; for its inscription, see *Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe* 15, 45 no. 5665 and Figures 1 and 2 below. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī adds a mosque in the desert and a bath in the fashionable area of Zarība to the list. See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 132 and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vi, 394. Ṣafadī refers to two baths in Zarība. See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 591.

22 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 132; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 271; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 586; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-aslāk*, ms. Bodleiana 381 fol. 228a.

23 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* vi, 393.

24 He had numerous properties (*zādat amlākuhu*) and his treasury depots were enormous (*'aẓumat khazā'inuhu*). See al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 586.

25 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 270–1.

26 *Ibid.*, 269.

27 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* i, 338–9.

28 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* xiv, 187; al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* x, 426; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 268–9.

29 *Ibid.*, 152–3. Typical of the suspicious atmosphere that prevailed in the times of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is the statement that Ṭashtamur feared a trap or ruse (*makīda*), and that his mission to jail Tankiz was actually designed to jail him. See *ibid.*, 269 (*innamā huwa al-gharaḍ fī l-imsāk*); See also al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 440.

In 741/1340, Ṭashtamur, after a short period officiating in Damascus<sup>30</sup> to replace the arrested Tankiz, was promoted, and was handed the governorship (*niyāba*) of Aleppo replacing its former ruler, Ṭarghāy al-Jāshinkīr.<sup>31</sup> Soon, he was to join a contingent of the Syrian army, reinforced by Turkomans and Bedouins that planned to invade Tabriz. Ṭashtamur made all the preparations, and led his forces out of town to wait for additional Egyptian troops to reconnoiter. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's poor health forced him to cancel the whole operation. Several days later the sultan perished (21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 741/7 June 1341).

The year 742/1341–2 was ultimately turbulent for Ṭashtamur, who was left with no dominant political backing. As governor of Aleppo, on the northern boundaries of the Mamluk Empire, Ṭashtamur was aware of the dangers to its territorial cohesiveness from beyond the border. Prospects or rumors of alliance between a certain Seljuk leader and the neighboring Turkuman ruler of Dulgadir (named Zayn al-Dīn Qarājā) suggested it might turn its might towards Aleppo, and expand into some of its areas. Ṭashtamur asked for auxiliary forces from Egypt but failed to receive a positive reply.<sup>32</sup> In the climate of distrust that prevailed in Egypt in the aftermath of al-Nāṣir's demise there were some decision-makers who suspected Ṭashtamur of plotting a military coup and thus judged his request for assistance to be a trick to disguise his true intentions. The Egyptian military commanders were wary. In fact, the events proved their attitude was not overly cautious.

Meanwhile in post—al-Nāṣir's Egypt the person who emerged as the most influential was Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī. Bold, suspicious and hungry for power, he deposed young Abū Bakr (aged roughly twenty), al-Nāṣir's son and immediate heir, after only two months of office and sent him together with seven other petty princes to Upper Egypt. This move was exploited to its utmost by Ṭashtamur, against Qawṣūn, its instigator.<sup>33</sup> The relations between the incumbent head of state (Qawṣūn) and his Aleppian governor worsened. Ṭashtamur was reluctant to cooperate with Qawṣūn<sup>34</sup> on the grounds of this mistreatment. The banishment of the children of the patron (*ustādh*) from the capital was deemed a violation of a Mamluk's primary duty, that of strict loyalty to

30 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* xiv, 187.

31 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 508; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* xiv, 188; although he was only in office in Aleppo for a few months, Ṭashtamur is identified in biographies as *nā'ib Ḥalab*. See al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 438.

32 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 566; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 11.

33 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 579; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* xiii, 31, 33.

34 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 581.

one's master (and to his progeny). Besieging Aḥmad at Karak or nominating the six year old Kujuk as ruler (instead of the deposed Abū Bakr) were additional accusations corroborating Ṭashtamur's criticism.<sup>35</sup>

What generated the final rupture was the al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad) affair. During the last decade of his father's rule, prince Aḥmad (born 716/1316) lived in arid and desolate Karak where he was on friendly terms with its profligate local youngsters and the surrounding tribes. Regarded by his father as frivolous and unlikely to sit on the throne,<sup>36</sup> Aḥmad himself seemed to be poorly equipped to rule.<sup>37</sup> However, Aḥmad must have been shocked by Qawṣūn's harsh attitude toward his younger brothers or perhaps was warned by rival generals that a similar fate awaited him. His personal animosity towards Qawṣūn can also account for his attitude. In any case Aḥmad refused to abide by Qawṣūn's orders. Qawṣūn regarded him a rebel and sent troops to Karak to subdue the recalcitrant prince. Aḥmad on the other hand asked the governors of Syria for political assistance and military aid.<sup>38</sup> Ṭashtamur, who disliked Qawṣūn and criticized him openly,<sup>39</sup> was ready to help Aḥmad, scion of his master and benefactor.<sup>40</sup> Not all the officers in Syria followed suit.

The opposing elements in Syria in 742/1341 were deemed easy for Qawṣūn to subdue. Aḥmad was not reckoned to be a military obstacle and his supporters were expected to yield to Qawṣūn's writs. What spoiled the original plan was the principal Egyptian officer's behavior. This general, Quṭlūbughā, instead of fighting with determination to crush his opponent Aḥmad in Karak as he was commanded to do, switched allegiances and became one of Aḥmad's supporters. Sources point to social and financial difficulties to account for his change of camp. If, however, Quṭlūbughā's relations to Aḥmad's father are examined,

35 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 215; see also Van Steenberg, *Order out of chaos* 67, 72 (about al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's underestimation of the political capabilities of his son Aḥmad and his refusal to let him come back from Karak to Egypt).

36 It is said that al-Nāṣir warned the officers in his entourage on his deathbed to deny Aḥmad the sultanate: "As for Aḥmad who is (habitually) in Karak let him not shift into Egypt neither confer upon him anything, lest he be a cause of the destruction of the state" (*wa-ammā Aḥmad alladhī bil-Karak fa-lā tada'ūhu ya'buru Miṣr wa-lā tuwallūhu shay'ān fa-yakūnu sababan li-kharāb al-mamlaka*). See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* i, 636.

37 *Ibid.*, 632.

38 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 577; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 29–30.

39 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* ii, 289; al-Ṣafādī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 440.

40 When asked why he sided with al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, Ṭashtamur's reply was that "God has implanted in him the obligation to support his master's scions (*nuṣrat awlād ustādhihi*) besides the agony (*ḍiḳ*) he felt when seeing that they had been abandoned by every affectionate friend (*shafīq wa-ṣadiq*).” See al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'riḫ al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 161.

it is clear that Mamluk extended bonds of loyalty, similar to those advocated by Ṭashtamur, were the key reasons for his conduct. Aḥmad's (poor and precarious) chances notwithstanding, commitment to the memory of his majestic father was the crucial driver.

At that critical moment, when Egypt had no incumbent sultan and the Mamluk army was besieging a disinclined prince in Karak, it was Ṭashtamur who reprimanded Quṭlūbughā (for yielding to Qawṣūn's scheme), forced him to have a change of heart, and to proclaim Aḥmad, despite his serious shortcomings, as sultan.<sup>41</sup> Backed by several Syrian officers, and invigorated by Ṭashtamur, the highest royal function was no longer vacant.

A violent struggle for the future direction of the state was in the air. Opposing Ṭashtamur, Quṭlūbughā and the governor of Ḥamāt, who supported the young Sultan Aḥmad (titled: al-Nāṣir), was Qawṣūn in Egypt who was working hand in glove with the governors of Damascus, Safed, Tripoli and Ḥimṣ.<sup>42</sup> Aḥmad's proclamation as sultan received weak support in Syria and was not generally acknowledged. But it created an unbearable threat to Qawṣūn, who could not afford to disregard it. Qawṣūn, as a reprisal, gave orders to his governor in Damascus (Alṭūnbughā) to drive away Ṭashtamur from Aleppo. Stripped of Ṭashtamur's support, al-Nāṣir Aḥmad constituted no obstacle to Qawṣūn. Troops from Damascus headed towards Aleppo in Jumādā 11 742/ November 1341.<sup>43</sup>

Failing to rely on local forces or frightened of a cruel defeat Ṭashtamur left town. Outside Aleppo he sought refuge or military support from the Turkomans of Dulğadir (in the town of Abulustayn/Elbistan) in addition to a certain regional Seljuk leader named Ertene (in the Anatolian town of Kayseri).<sup>44</sup> Taking advantage of Ṭashtamur's departure from Aleppo, the governor of Damascus

41 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 581. The main argument cited by Ṭashtamur to defy Qawṣūn rather than cooperate with him was that this officer "kills the progeny of our master." See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 214–5; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'riḫ al-Malik al-Nāṣir* 162. This harsh attitude toward the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, as Ṭashtamur accused Quṭlūbughā of having, did not correspond to the Mamluks' ideals, who swore to be kind, caring and attentive to them. See al-Ṣafādī, *A'yān al-'aṣr* ii, 588; idem, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 440.

42 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 581; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 34.

43 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* ii, 289–90.

44 al-Ṣafādī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 441; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50/ 1340–49) 216, 269.

invaded northern Syria (2 Rajab 742/12 December 1341) and expropriated Ṭashtamur's wealth, arms and horses.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, Damascus, without Qawṣūni officers at its defense, surrendered to Aḥmad's other henchman Quṭlūbughā (29 Rajab 742/8 January 1342). The Syrian capital then recognized Aḥmad as sultan and rejoined the Syrian governors of Safed and Tripoli, who had been pro-Qawṣūni.

A decisive fray between Alṭūnbughā, who had just come back from northern Syria, and Quṭlūbughā, who had just occupied Damascus, ended with the latter's victory.<sup>46</sup> The route was now paved for Ṭashtamur to return in Ramaḍān (February 1342) from two wintry months of (Anatolian) exile<sup>47</sup> to Damascus. Soon he was to earn the full wage of his loyalty to Aḥmad.

When matters settled down for Aḥmad in Egypt, i.e. after the successful popular revolt against Qawṣūn, and he was poised to come into Cairo as a full-blown Mamluk sultan, third heir to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Aḥmad asked Ṭashtamur to join him. Ṭashtamur's experience, relations with other senior *amīrs*, devotion and loyalty to the Qalāwūni family were assets which Aḥmad was reluctant to give up. He announced almost unconditionally that Ṭashtamur had to escort him to Egypt. If the devoted follower declined, Aḥmad preferred to stay in the desolate but less threatening Karak.<sup>48</sup>

Upon returning to Egypt, Sultan al-Nāṣir, saved from the trials of deposition by irritated *amīrs* who loathed him,<sup>49</sup> appointed Ṭashtamur his vice-sultan (*nā'ib al-saltāna*), the highest post in the Mamluk government hierarchy.<sup>50</sup>

In this very influential office Ṭashtamur lasted for roughly five weeks. His conduct, if we are to believe the sources, proved autocratic, insensitive and

45 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 582–3; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 34; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffā* ii, 289.

46 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 585; al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* ix, 362–3; Levanoni, *A turning point* 84.

47 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-ʿaṣr* ii, 586, 589.

48 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 597; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-ʿaṣr* ii, 590.

49 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 600, 602.

50 *Ibid.*, 604; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 269.

outrageous.<sup>51</sup> Şafadī<sup>52</sup> defines his performance as “ultimate overconfidence.”<sup>53</sup> ʿAṣṣam avoided his sultan’s decrees or promises, cancelled official letters which were not signed by him and treated high *amīrs* in a derogatory manner.<sup>54</sup> ʿAṣṣam aimed to destroy the link between Aḥmad and his protectors, the people of Karak (town and citadel) which had proved so meaningful in the previous months and who had given al-Nāṣir backing and confidence. The impression at the Cairene Citadel was that ʿAṣṣam alone ran the state regardless of other potentates.<sup>55</sup> Within several weeks he had amassed a host of rivals.

A decree issued by ʿAṣṣam which prohibited an *amīr* from entering the palace escorted by his soldiers almost brought about his demise. Several rebellious officers exploited the opportunity once ʿAṣṣam was found defenseless, abiding by his own writs, arrested him<sup>56</sup> and placed him in custody.<sup>57</sup> Later, when Aḥmad left Cairo for Karak of his own volition, prompted by feelings of foreignness and inattentiveness, he took chained ʿAṣṣam with him. The ex-vice sultan remained incarcerated in Karak for another month and by the end of 742/1341, after a failed escape, was executed (by being cut into two) in the main square of the Karak Citadel.<sup>58</sup>

51 al-Şafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 440.

52 One episode can refute the antagonistic image ascribed to ʿAṣṣam. The Hanafī chief judge of Cairo, who hailed from Baghdad, behaved differently from what was expected in his position, treated his colleagues disrespectfully, spoke Turkish in the official court hall and sided with a woman in a family dispute. He was condemned by his peers to death. Only ʿAṣṣam’s intervention, in his role as *nāʾib al-saltāna*, softened the death sentence and the unruly *qādī* was expelled from Egypt instead. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* iii, 453.

53 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 606 (cited in Levanoni, *The Mamluk conception* 381).

54 “He carried out [his office] with excessive arrogance to the extreme limit” (*wa-bāshara bi-ʿazama zāʾida ilā al-ghāya al-quṣwā*). See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 269; al-Şafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi* xvi, 441; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* x, 63.

55 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 238.

56 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 607; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 241.

57 For an estimate of ʿAṣṣam’s rapid loss of grace, see Van Steenbergen, *Order out of chaos* 135. Levanoni explains that “Mamluk functionalism” was the mainspring of Mamluk politics. Failure to recruit or adhere to a suitable, loyal, and efficient faction almost doomed one’s chances of surviving or hold an influential authority in that regime. See Levanoni, *The Mamluk conception* 374–5.

58 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* ii, 617; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, repr. edition 1982–4, i, 497; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba* (741–50) 277. The execution caused Aḥmad to be detested (*naḥarat al-qulūb minhu wa-(i)stawḥashat al-nās minhu*). See Ibn Taghrī Birdī,

The news of Ṭashtamur's execution was welcomed joyously in Egypt. People depicted him as an oppressor (*ẓalūm*), unjust (*'asūf*), bad-mannered (*ṣayyī' al-khulq*), harsh (*ṣalb*) and tyrannical (*jā'ir*) toward the Egyptian people.<sup>59</sup> A popular poet wrote the following verses:

By bribery you amassed money    from which you replenished the treasury  
Oh, how the hearts against you    you, Ḥummuṣ Akhḍar, are charged

Yet even though Ṭashtamur was ill-liked by many,<sup>60</sup> Ibn Iyās believed that Sultan Aḥmad could have treated him differently. Even if found unfit and unsuitable for rule he did not deserve such a humiliating end. After all, without Ṭashtamur's determination and fidelity Aḥmad could never have reached the throne. He portrayed Aḥmad as ungrateful and argued that this caused him a loss of credibility and sympathy in public opinion and popularity. The execution of Ṭashtamur in Ibn Iyās' opinion was a mistake only a lunatic could have ordered (*man fī 'aqlihi khalal / majnūn / laysa fī ra'sihi 'aql*).

The career of a staunch supporter of the Qalāwūni's right to reign was thus terminated. Ṭashtamur was promoted from exile to the highest post in the sultanate in too brief a time, and achieving this goal was paradoxically the start of his abrupt downfall. Mamluk *amīrs* were generally stronger and more resolute than novice sultans but not immune to their whims.

---

*al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ii, 163. Though executed in Karak his imposing mausoleum is located in Cairo. See below Figures 1 and 2.

59 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir al-Zuhūr* i, 497.

60 Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 779/1377) voices a positive opinion of Ṭashtamur. In his panegyric one reads: "[Ṭashtamur was] of vast esteem (*wāfir al-ḥurma*), of great decency (*ẓāhir al-ḥishma*), aspiring to greatness (*rafi' al-himma*), a savior from calamity (*'awn 'alā al-mulimma*), a strong soul (*naḥs qawīyya*), charitable towards beggars (*ya'tifū 'alā al-sā'ilīn*), benevolent to the poor and needy (*yuḥsinu ilā al-fuqarā' wa-l-masākīn*)."<sup>61</sup> See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-aslāk* fol. 228a.

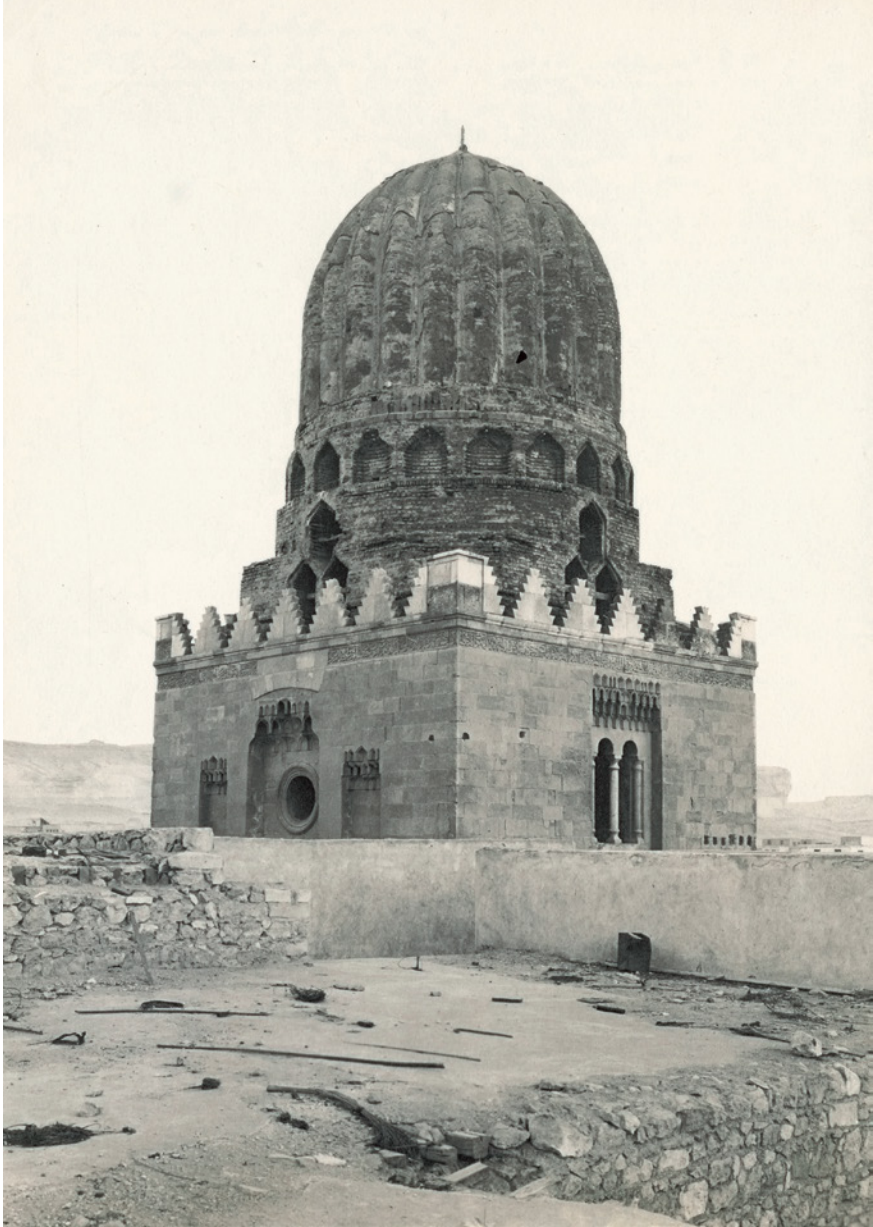


FIGURE 17.1 *General view of Tashtamur's Mausoleum in the Northern Cemetery.*  
SOURCE: CRESWELL'S ARCHIVE, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM:  
<http://archnet.org/sites/2284>; Photographer: Keppel Archibald Cameron  
Creswell.



FIGURE 17.2 *Inscription of Tashtamur's Mausoleum with his blazon.*  
SOURCE: CRESWELL'S ARCHIVE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM:  
[http://archnet.org/sites/2284/media\\_contents/33439](http://archnet.org/sites/2284/media_contents/33439); Photographer: Keppel  
Archibald Cameron Creswell.

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

- al-‘Abbāsī, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh, *Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra, Beirut 1989.
- al-‘Almawī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Mūsā, *Mukhtaṣar tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris*, trans. Henri Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” in *Journal Asiatique* 3 (1894), 385–501.
- Abū al-Fidā’, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī, [*Kitāb*] *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 4 vols., Cairo 1907.
- Abū al-Fidā’, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī, [*Kitāb*] *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Maḥmūd Dayyūb, 2 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-Nūrīyya wa-l-Ṣalāḥīyya*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 2002.
- Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābi‘*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1947, repr. Beirut 1974.
- Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābi‘*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 2002.
- Abū Ya‘lā al-Farrā’, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, *Kitāb al-I‘tiqād*, Riyad 2002.
- Anonymous, *Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-filāḥa*, eds. Muḥammad ‘Īsā Ṣāliḥīyya and Iḥsān Ṣidqī al-‘Amad, Kuwait 1984.
- Anonymous, *Kanz al-fawā‘id fī tanwī‘ al-mawā‘id*, eds. Manuela Marin and David Waines, Beirut 1993.
- Anonymous, The description of familiar foods [*Kitāb Waṣf al-aṭ‘ima al-mu‘tāda*], trans. Charles Perry, in Maxime Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, Devon, UK 2001, 273–465.
- Anonymous, *Qānūn Nāmeḥ wilāyat al-Shām [=Kanunname-i Şam]*, trans. Halil Sahillioğlu, University of Amman, manuscript in the microfilm archive.
- Anonymous, *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā al-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa-l-ṭīb*, trans. Charles Perry as Scents and flavors: A Syrian cookbook, New York 2017.
- al-‘Ašhā, Maymūn b. Qays, *Dīwān al-A‘shā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Cairo 1950.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *‘Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūt, 2 vols., Cairo 1985–89.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *‘Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*. ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, 4 vols., Cairo 1987–92.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *‘Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. Islām Yūsha‘ Bīnū, Amman 2012.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Ta’rīkh al-Badr fī awṣāf ahl al-‘aṣr*, London, British Library, MS Add. 22350.

- al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī, Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, *al-Qawl al-sadīd fī ikhtiyār al-imā’ wa-l-‘abīd: Risāla nādīra fī sharā wa-taqīb al-‘abīd*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Īsā Ṣālihiyya, Beirut 1996.
- al-‘Aẓm, Jamīl b. Muṣṭafā, *al-Ṣubābāt fīmā wajadtuhu ‘alā zuhūr al-kutub min al-kitābāt*, ed. Ramzī Sa’d al-Dīn Dimashqīyya, Beirut 2000.
- al-Bā’ūniyya, ‘Ā’isha, *Kitāb al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-rutab fī ‘ilm al-Taṣawwuf*, Jerusalem, Jewish National Library, AP. Ms. Ar. Majmū’a 374 (second treatise).
- al-Bā’ūniyya, ‘Ā’isha, [*al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-rutab fī ‘ilm al-Taṣawwuf*] *The principles of Sufism*, ed. and trans. T.E. Homerin, New York 2014.
- al-Baghdādī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, trans. A.J. Arberry as A Baghdad cookery-book, in *IC* 13/1 (January 1939), 21–47 and *IC* 13/2 (April 1939), 189–214.
- al-Bakhīt, Muḥammad ‘Adnān and Nūfān Rajā’ Ḥammūd (eds.), *The Detailed Deftor of Liwā’ ‘Ajlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Difteri No. 970*, Amman 1989.
- al-Bakhīt, Muḥammad ‘Adnān and Nūfān Rajā’ Ḥammūd (eds.), *The Detailed Deftor of Liwā’ ‘Ajlun (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Difteri No. 185, Ankara 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.*, Amman 1991.
- Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn, *Mukhtār al-akhbār: Ta’rīkh al-dawla al-Ayyūbiyya wa-dawlat al-Mamālik al-Baḥriyya ḥattā sanat 702H.*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān, Cairo 1993.
- Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya fī l-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān, Cairo 1987.
- Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta’rīkh al-hijra*, ed. Zubayda Muḥammad ‘Aṭā’, Cairo 2001.
- al-Biqā’ī, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar, *Izhār al-‘aṣr li-asrār ahl al-‘aṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Sālim b. Shadīd al-‘Awfī, 3 vols., Cairo 1992–3 [= *Ta’rīkh al-Biqā’ī*].
- al-Birzālī, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, *Juz’ fīhi min ‘awālī al-shaykhāt al-sitt*, ed. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-‘Ajāmī, Beirut 2011.
- al-Birzālī, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, *al-Muqtafī ‘alā Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, 4 vols., ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, Beirut 2006 [= *Ta’rīkh al-Birzālī*].
- Blachère, Régis (trans.), *Le Coran*, Paris 1966.
- al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: The translation of the meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: Arabic-English*, trans. Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān, 9 vols., Medina 1981.
- al-Buṣrawī, ‘Alī b. Yūsuf, *Ta’rīkh al-Buṣrawī: Ṣafaḥāt majhūla min ta’rīkh Dimashq fī ‘aṣr al-Mamālik; min sanat 871H. li-ghāyat 904H.*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-‘Ulābī, Damascus 1988.
- al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb Duwal al-islām*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, 2 vols., Cairo 1974.
- al-Dimashqī, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib [known as Shaykh al-Rabwa], [*Kitāb*] *al-Siyāsa fī ‘ilm al-firāsa*, Beirut 2005.
- al-Dimyāṭī, ‘Abd al-Mu’min, *Kitāb Faḍl al-khayl wa-ajnāsihā wa-awṣāfiḥā wa-maḥāsiniḥā wa-faḍā’ilihā*, ed. Maḥmūd Khalaf al-Bādī, Damascus 2001.

- Evlüyâ Çelebî, *Evlüyâ Çelebî seyahatnâmesi*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman et al., 10 vols., Istanbul 1999–2007.
- al-Fakhr al-Râzî, Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, [*Kitâb*] *al-Firâsa*, ed. Muşţafâ Ashûr, Cairo 2002.
- al-Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid, *Ihyâ’ ‘ulûm al-dîn*, ed. Muşţafâ al-Bâbî, 3 vols., Cairo 1939.
- al-Ghazzî, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Murâh fi l-muzâh*, ed. al-Sayyid al-Jumaylî, Cairo 1986.
- al-Ghazzî, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Kawâkib al-sâ’ira bi-a’yân al-mi’a al-‘âshira*, ed. Jibrâ’îl Sulaimân Jabbûr, 3 vols., Beirut 1945–58, repr. 1979.
- al-Ghazzî, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Kawâkib al-sâ’ira bi-a’yân al-mi’a al-‘âshira*, ed. Khalîl al-Manşûr, 3 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Golden, P.B. (ed.), *The King’s Dictionary: The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*, trans. Tibor Halasi-Kun et al., Leiden 2000.
- al-Ḥaşkafî, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mullâ (Munlâ), *Mut‘at al-adhḥân min al-tamattu’ bi-l-iqrân bayna tarâjim al-shuyûkh wa-l-aqrân*, ed. Şalâh al-Dîn Khalîl al-Shaybânî al-Mawşîlî, 2 vols., Beirut 1999.
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Zâhir, Muḥyî al-Dîn, *al-Rawḍ al-zâhir fî sirat al-Malik al-Zâhir*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azîz al-Khuwayţir, Riyad 1976.
- Ibn Abî Ghudda, *Qalâ’id al-jumân fi mukâtabât ahl al-zamân*, London, British Library, MS OR. 3625.
- Ibn al-‘Adîm, ‘Umar b. Aḥmad, *Kitâb al-Wuṣla ilâ al-ḥabîb fî wasf al-ṭayyibât wa-l-ṭîb*, eds. Sulaymâ Maḥjûb and Durriya al-Khaṭîb, 2 vols., Aleppo 1986–8.
- Ibn Ajâ, Muḥammad b. Maḥmûd, *Ta’rikh al-Amîr Yashbak al-Zâhirî*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qâdir Aḥmad Ṭulaymât, Cairo 1974.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Faḍl umm al-mu’minîn ‘Ā’isha*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Ḥaddâdî, Beirut 2005.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Sa’at rahmat Allâh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Hâdî Manşûr, Beirut 1996.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Ta’rikh madînat Dimashq wa-dhîkr faḍlihâ wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahâ min al-amâthil*, ed. ‘Umar al-‘Umrawî, Damascus 1998.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Thalâtha majâlis li-Ibn ‘Asâkir fî sa’at rahmat Allâh wa-nafy al-tashbih wa-ṣifat Allâh*, ed. ‘Āşim al-Kiyalî, Abu Dhabi 1996.
- Ibn al-Batanûnî, ‘Alî b. ‘Umar, *al-Unwân fi l-ihtirâz min makâ’id al-niswân*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tünjî, Beirut 1989.
- Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallâh, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, 3 vols., Cambridge 1958.
- Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallâh, [*Tuḥfat al-nuzzâr fî gharâ’ib al-amṣâr wa-‘ajâ’ib al-asfâr*] *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭûṭa*, Beirut 1968.
- Ibn Buṭlân, *Risâla fî shirâ’ al-raqiḳ wa-taqlîb al-‘abîd*, in ‘Abd al-Salâm Hârûn (ed.), *Nawâdir al-Makhtûṭat*, vol. 1, Beirut 1990, 381–420.
- Ibn Dâniyâl, Muḥammad, *Three shadow plays*, ed. Paul Kahle, Cambridge 1992.

- Ibn al-Dawādārī, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh, [*Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi‘ al-ghurar*] *Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī*, various editors, 9 vols., Cairo 1960–82.
- Ibn Duqmāq, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ‘iqd al-amṣār*, ed. K. Vollers, 2 vols., Cairo 1893.
- Ibn Duqmāq, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fi l-dawla al-Turkiyya*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut 1999.
- Ibn Fahd, ‘Umar b. Muḥammad, *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-‘iqd al-thamīn fi ta’rikh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abdallāh b. Duhaysh, 3 vols., Beirut 2000.
- Ibn al-Furāt, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Ta’rikh al-Duwal wa-l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, trans. and eds. Ursula Lyons and Malcom Cameron Lyons, 2 vols., Cambridge 1971.
- Ibn al-Furāt, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, *Ta’rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, eds. Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā ‘Izz al-Dīn, vols. 7–9, Beirut 1936–42.
- Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar, *Durrat al-aslāk fi dawlat al-Atrāk*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, n. 381.
- Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar, *Tadhkirat al-nabih fi ayyām al-manṣūr wa-banīh*, eds. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Āshūr, 3 vols., Cairo 1976–86.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Amālī al-muṭlaqa*, ed. Ḥamdī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ismā‘īl al-Silfī, Beirut 1995.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Dhayl al-durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī, Beirut 1998.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*, ed. Sālim al-Karnakawī, Beirut 1993.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wārith Muḥammad ‘Alī, 2 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Abī ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Bāz, 14 vols., Beirut 1990.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-‘umr fi l-ta’rikh*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu‘īd Khān, 9 vols., Hyderabad 1967–76, repr. Beirut 1986.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-‘umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 3 vols., Cairo 1969–72, repr. in 4 vols., Cairo 2009–2011.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assis lil-mu‘jam al-mufahris*, ed. Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ashlī, 4 vols., Beirut 1992–4.
- Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb Qahwat al-inshā’*, ed. R. Veselý, Beirut 2005.
- Ibn Ḥijjī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, *Ta’rikh Ibn Ḥijjī: Ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 796–815H.*, ed. Abū Yaḥyā ‘Abdallāh al-Kundarī, 2 vols., Beirut 2003.
- Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-wafayāt al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 3 vols., Beirut 1999.
- Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols., Beirut 1979.

- Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75, repr. 1982–84, 2008.
- Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire: chronique d'Ibn Iyās*, traduit et annoté par Gaston Wiet, Paris 1955.
- Ibn al-Jawharī, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī.
- Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'riḫ ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbā'ihi wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-l-a'yān min abnā'ihi*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 3 vols., Beirut 1998.
- Ibn Jī'ān, Yahyā b. al-Maqarr, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya bi-asmā' al-bilād al-miṣriyya*, ed. Bernhard Moritz, Cairo 1898.
- Ibn Kannān, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, *Ḥadā'iq al-yāsmūn fī dhikr qawānīn al-khulafā' wa-l-salāṭīn*, ed. 'Abbās Ṣabbāgh, Beirut 1991.
- Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Umar, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols., Cairo 1932–39.
- Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. E. Quatremère, 3 vols., Paris 1858.
- Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Khaldūn al-musammā Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-'arab wa-l-'ajam wa-l-barbar wa-man 'āṣarahum min dhawī al-sulṭān al-akbar*, eds. Suhayl Zakkār and Khalīl Shaḥāda, 8 vols., Beirut 2000–1.
- Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary*, trans. William MacGuckin de Slane, 2 vols., repr. Beirut 1970.
- Ibn al-Mallā, see al-Ḥaṣkafī.
- Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram, *Lisān al-'Arab*, ed. 'Alī Shīrī, 18 vols., Beirut 1988.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Akhbār al-nisā' al-musammā al-rusā lil-ṣāliḥāt min al-nisā'*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, Homs 1993.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *al-Fihris al-waṣfī lil-nusakh al-khaṭṭiyya*, ed. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq, Kuwait 2012.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār*, ed. Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Khiyamī, in *Rasā'il dimashqiyya*, Damascus and Beirut 1988, 13–16 [first edition as: Ṣalāḥ al-Haymī (ed.), *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār li-Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī*, in *BEO* 34 (1982), 196–206.]
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *al-Ikhtiyār fī bā' al-'aqār*, ed. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Kamālī, Damascus 2007.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*, ed. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in *al-Mashriq* 35 (1937), 370–6.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*, trans. Charles Perry as *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha: A fifteenth-century cookbook*, in Maxime Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, 467–75.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-musāmīr fī akhbār majnūn Banī 'Āmir*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, Beirut 1994.

- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Thimār al-maqāsid fī dhikr al-masājid*, ed. Muḥammad As'ad Ṭalas, Beirut 1943.
- Ibn Mubārak Shāh al-Ḥanafī, Aḥmad, *Kitāb Zahr al-ḥadiqa fī l-aṭ'ima al-anīqa*, 2007.
- Ibn al-Mughayzil, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *Dhayl mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut 2004.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', Sāwirus, *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church*, edited, translated and annotated by 'Azīz Suryal 'Atiyya et al, 3 vols., Cairo 1948–59.
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, ed. 'Adnān Darwish, 4 vols., Damascus 1977–97.
- Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, 'Alī b. Mūsā, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī ḥulā ḥadrat al-Qāhira: al-Qism al-khāṣṣ bi-l-Qāhira min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā l-Maghrib*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1970.
- Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 'Alī b. Dāwūd, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, Cairo 1970.
- Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 'Alī b. Dāwūd, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-l-abdān fī tawāriḫ al-zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1970–94.
- Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, al-Muzaffār b. Naṣr, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, eds. Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh, in *Studia Orientalia* 60, Helsinki 1987.
- Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, al-Muzaffār b. Naṣr, *Annals of the caliphs' kitchens: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's tenth-century Baghdadi cookbook*, trans. Nawal Nasrallah, Leiden 2007.
- Ibn Sbāt (Ibn Asbāt), Hamza b. Aḥmad, *Ṣidq al-akhbār: Ta'riḫ Ibn Asbāt*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 2 vols., Tripoli 1993.
- Ibn Shaddād, (Ibn Asbāt), Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *Ta'riḫ al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Wiesbaden 1983.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi 'alā l-manhal al-ṣāfi*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, 2 vols., Mecca 1983.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semetic Philology vol. VIII, Berkeley 1930–42.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, 2 vols., Beirut 1990.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, vol. 1, Cairo 1990.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa-l-mustawfā ba'da al-wāfi*, eds. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al., 13 vols., Cairo 1948–2011.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, eds. Aḥmad Zakī al-La'rūwī et al., 16 vols., Cairo 1929–72.
- Ibn Ṭawq, Aḥmad, *al-Ta'līq: Yawmiyyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, 834–915H/1430–1509M*, ed. Ja'far al-Muhājir, 4 vols., Damascus 2000–7.

- Ibn ʿUyūn, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *I’lām al-warā bi-man waliya nā’iban min al-atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus 1964, <sup>2</sup>1984.
- Ibn ʿUyūn, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols., Cairo 1962–4.
- Ibn al-Wardī, ‘Umar b. al-Muzaḥḥar, [*Ta’riḥ Ibn al-Wardī*] *Tatimmat al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-baṣhar*, ed. Aḥmad Rifā‘at al-Badrāwī, 2 vols., Beirut 1970.
- Ibn Zayyāt, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra*, Cairo 1907, repr. Baghdad 1967.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1992.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-qudsī*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ, Cairo 1965.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, [*al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-qudsī*] *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. Henri Massé, Paris 1972.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-‘aṣr: al-Qism al-‘Irāqī*, eds. Muḥammad Baḥjat al-Atharī and Jamīl Sa‘īd, 3 vols., Baghdad 1955–72.
- Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, see al-Malaṭī.
- al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-jalīl al-musammā lubāb al-ta’wīl fī ma‘ānī al-tanzīl*, 4 vols., Cairo 1910.
- al-Khāzindārī, Qaraṭāy al-‘Izzī, *Ta’riḥ majmū‘ al-nawādir mim mā jarā lil-awā’il wa-l-awākhir*, eds. Horst Hein and Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī, Berlin and Beirut 2005.
- al-Khazrajī, al-Ḥusayn b. Jamāl al-Dīn, *Akhbār al-awliyā’ wa-manāqibuhum*, ed. Khālīd Aḥmad al-Mullā al-Suwaydī, Damascus 2005.
- al-Kutubī, Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols, Cairo 1951.
- al-Malāqī al-Ma‘āfirī, Abū al-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad, *al-Ḥadā’iq al-ghinā’ fī akhbār al-nisā’*, ed. ‘Āida al-Ṭībī, Tunis 1978.
- al-Malaṭī, Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse, Paris 1894, repr. Cairo 1988.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *al-Majma‘ al-mufannan bi-l-mu‘jam al-mu‘anwan*, Alexandria, Maktabat Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyya, MS 4448/800b, musalsal 5 Ta’riḥ.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *al-Majma‘ al-mufannan bi-l-mu‘jam al-mu‘anwan*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Kandarī, 2 vols., Beirut 2011.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, 9 vols., Sidon and Beirut 2002.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nuzhat al-aṣāṭīn fī man waliya Miṣr min al-salāṭīn*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, Cairo 1987.
- al-Maqrizī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a‘yān al-mufīda*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, 2 vols., Beirut 1992.

- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda*, eds. ‘Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, 2 vols., Damascus 1995.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut 2002.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’ bi-akhbār al-a’imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā’*, eds. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, 3 vols., Cairo 1967–73.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa-l-‘itibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār (Khiṭaṭ)*, 2 vols., Cairo 1853–4; repr. 1987.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa-l-‘itibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār (Khiṭaṭ)*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, 4 vols., Beirut 1998.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa-l-‘itibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār (Khiṭaṭ)*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, 5 vols., London 2002–4.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rikh al-Muqaḫḫā al-kabīr: Tarājim Maghribiyya wa-Mashriqiyya min al-fatrah al-‘Ubaydiyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya‘lāwī, Beirut 1987.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rikh al-Muqaḫḫā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya‘lāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991; rev. ed. 2006.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma’rifat duwal al-mulūk*, eds. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda and Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Ashūr, 4 vols., Cairo 1934–73; repr. 2006–7.
- al-Māwardī, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles du droit public et administratif*, trans. Edmond Fagnan, Beirut 1982.
- al-Maydānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Majma‘ al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., Cairo 1955.
- Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā’il, [*al-Nahj al-sadīd wa-l-durr al-farīd fī mā ba‘da ta’rikh Ibn al-‘Amūd*] *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā’il*, ed. and trans. S. Kortantamer, Freiburg im Breisgau 1973.
- al-Musabbihī, Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, [*Akhbār Miṣr*] *Tome quarantième de la chronique d’Égypte de Musabbihī*, eds. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, Cairo 1978.
- al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, 33 vols., Cairo 1964–98.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *al-Awwal min Ḍaw’ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jany l-dawḥ al-muthmīr*, Tehran, Kitābkhānah-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān, MS ‘Ayn 1122.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ḍaw’ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jany l-dawḥ al-muthmīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Salāma, Cairo 1906.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ma‘āthir al-ināfa fī ma‘ālim al-khilāfa*, ed. ‘Abd al-Saṭṭār Aḥmad Farrāj, 3 vols., Kuwait 1964.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma’rifat ansāb al-‘arab*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1959, sec. ed. Beirut 1980.

- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī l-ta'rif bi-qabā'il 'arab al-zamān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1963, sec. ed. Cairo and Beirut 1982.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī kitābat al-inshā'*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS A2930/7.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šinā'at al-inshā'*, 14 vols., Cairo 1913–19, repr. Cairo 1964; 1985.
- al-Qarāfī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Tawshīḥ al-dībāj wa-ḥilyat al-ibtihāj*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Umar, Cairo 2004.
- al-Qushayrī, Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, trans. ‘Abdu Ḥamīd Šiddiqī, 4 vols., New Delhi 1978.
- Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-‘Āmirī, *Jāmi‘ farā'id al-milāḥa fī jawāmi‘ fawā'id al-filāḥa*. London, British Library, Or. 5951 DL. 55.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *Alḥān al-sawāji‘ bayna al-bādī' wa-l-murāji‘*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Sālim, 2 vols., Cairo 2006–7.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *A'yān al-aṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. ‘Alī Abū Zayd, et. al., 6 vols., Beirut and Damascus 1998.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *al-Faḍl al-munif fī l-mawlid al-sharif*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Āyish, Beirut 2007.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Hellmut Ritter, Wiesbaden 1931.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. Hellmut Ritter, Sven Dederling et al., 30 vols., Wiesbaden and Beirut 1962–2004.
- al-Saḥmāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim fī šinā'at al-kātib wa-l-kātim*, ed. Ashraf Muḥammad Anas, 2 vols., Cairo 2009.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Daw' al-lāmi‘ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi‘*, 12 vols. in 6, Cairo 1934–6, repr. Beirut 1966; 1992.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Dhayl al-tāmm ‘alā duwal al-islām lil-dhahabī*, ed. Ḥasan Ismā'īl Marwa, 2 vols., Beirut 1992.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, eds. Najwā Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Labiba Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, 4 vols., Cairo 2002.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Wajiz al-kalām fī l-dhayl ‘alā duwal al-islām*, 4 vols., ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma'rūf et al., Beirut 1995.
- Shāfi' Ibn ‘Alī (Ibn ‘Asākir al-‘Asqalānī), [*Kitāb*] *al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr min sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut 1998.
- Shāfi' Ibn ‘Alī (Ibn ‘Asākir al-‘Asqalānī), [*Kitāb*] *Ḥusn al-manāqib al-sirrīyya al-muntaza'a min al-Sira al-Zāhirīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuwayṭir, Riyad 1989.
- al-Shirbinī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Sirāj al-munīr fī l-i'āna ‘alā ma'rifat ba'd ma'ānī kalām rabbīnā al-ḥakīm al-kabīr*, 4 vols., Cairo 1869.
- al-Shujā'ī, Shams al-Dīn, [*Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Šālīḥī wa-awlādihī*] *Die Chronik aš-Šujā'īs*, ed. Barbara Schäfer, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1977.

- al-Subkī, Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Mu‘īd al-ni‘am wa-mubīd al-niqam*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Najjār et al., Cairo 1996.
- al-Subkī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi, *Fatāwā al-Subkī*, 2 vols., Beirut [1975].
- al-Subkī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi, *Qaḍā’ al-arab fi as’īlat Ḥalab*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Ālim al-Afghānī, Mecca 1992–3.
- al-Sulamī, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, *Dhikr al-niswa al-muta‘abbidāt al-ṣūfiyyāt*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī, Cairo 1993.
- al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Nazm al-i‘qyān fi a‘yān al-a‘yān*, ed. Philipp K. Hitti, New York 1927.
- al-Ṭablāwī, Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Murshid al-mushtaghilīn fi aḥkām al-nūn al-sākina wa-l-tanwīn*, ed. Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sarḥān, Baghdad 2002, repr. Cairo 2007.
- al-Ṭayyibī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, *Jāmi‘ maḥāsīn kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munajjid, Beirut 1962.
- al-‘Ulaymī, Mujīr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-ta’rīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, ed. Muḥammad Mūsā al-Muḥtasib, 2 vols., Amman 1973.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Sulaymān al-Jabūrī, 3 vols., Beirut 1971.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār: Mamālik Miṣr wa-l-Shām wa-l-Ḥijāz wa-l-Yaman*, ed. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, Cairo 1985.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Sarīḥī et al., 24 vols., Abu Dhabi, 2001–4.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jabūrī, 27 vols. in 15, Beirut 2010.
- United Nations, Convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses, New York, 7 May 1997, accessed on 29 December 2014, [http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/8\\_3\\_1997.pdf](http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/8_3_1997.pdf).
- Waqfiyya 8/49, *Hujaj Umarā’ wa-Salāṭīn* [endowments of Sultan Sha‘bān for his madrasa in Cairo], 777/1375, Cairo, Dār al-Wathā‘īq.
- Yāqūt al-Rūmī, b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 5 vols., Beirut 1979.
- Yāqūt al-Rūmī, b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’: Irshād al-arīb ilā ma‘rifat al-adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 7 vols., Beirut 1993.
- al-Yūnīnī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān*, 4 vols. in 3, Hyderabad 1954–61.
- al-Yūnīnī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān: Ta’rīkh al-sanawāt 697–711H/1297–1312M*, ed. Ḥamza ‘Abbās et al., 3 vols., Abu Dhabi 2007.
- al-Yūnīnī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, *Early Mamluk Syrian historiography: al-Yūnīnī’s Dhayl Mir’āt al-Zamān*, trans. and ed. L. Guo, 2 vols., Leiden and Boston 1998.
- al-Yūsufī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fi sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986.
- al-Zāhirī, see al-Malaṭī.

## Secondary Sources

- Ababsa, M. (ed.), *Atlas of Jordan: History, territories and society*, Beirut 2013.
- ‘Abd al-Nabī, H.M.S., al-Zawāj fī usar salāṭīn al-mamālīk, in *AI* 42 (2008), 25–47.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte*, Cairo 1973.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., al-‘Alāqāt al-usriyya fī l-muṣṭalaḥ al-mamlūkī, in *al-Majalla al-Ta’rīkhīyya al-Miṣriyya* 23 (1976), 155–81.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., *al-Badhl wa-l-bartala zaman salāṭīn al-mamālīk: Dirāsa ‘an al-rishwa*, Cairo 1979.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., Les gouverneurs d’Alexandrie au temps des Mamlūks, in *AI* 18 (1982), 123–69.
- Abou-Bakr, O., Teaching the words of the Prophet: Women instructors of the hadith (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), in *Hawwa* 1/3 (2003), 306–28.
- Abudanh, F. and S. Twaissi, Innovation or technology immigration? The qanat systems in the regions of Udhruh and Ma’an in southern Jordan, in *BASOR* 360 (2010), 67–87.
- Abū Ghāzī, ‘I.B. al-D., *Wathā’iq al-Sultān al-Ashraf Ṭīmānbāy: Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq wa-nashr li-ba‘ḍ wathā’iq al-waqf wa-l-bay‘ wa-l-istibdāl*, M.A. Thesis: Cairo University, 1988.
- Abu Shmeis, A., Taqrīr kashf ‘arḍī, unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2005.
- Adang, C., Women’s access to public space according to al-Muhalla bi-l-Athar, in M. Marin and R. Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine: Women in Arab sources*, London 2002, 75–95.
- Ährens, W., Studien über die ‚magischen Quadrate‘ der Araber, in *Der Islam* 7 (1917), 186–250.
- Ährens, W., Die ‚magischen Quadrate‘ al-Būnī’s, in *Der Islam* 12/3 (1922), 157–77.
- Akkach, S., *Letters of a Sufi scholar: The correspondence of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī (1641–1731)*, Leiden and Boston 2010.
- Allsen, T.T., The Rasūlid hexaglot in its Eurasian cultural context, in P.B. Golden (ed.), *The King’s dictionary: The Rasūlid hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*, translated by T. Halasi-Kun et al.; with introductory essays by P.B. Golden and T.T. Allsen, Leiden 2000, 25–49.
- Alston, R., Searching for the Romano-Egyptian family, in M. George (ed.), *The Roman family in the empire: Rome, Italy, and beyond*, Oxford 2005, 129–57.
- Amin, M.M., *Catalogue des documents d’archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516 (depuis le III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à la fin de l’époque mamlouke), suivi de l’édition critique de neuf documents*, Cairo 1981.
- Amitai, R., Mamluk perceptions of the Mongol-Frankish rapprochement, in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 (1992), 50–65.

- Amitai, R., *The Mongols in the Islamic lands: Studies in the history of the Ilkhanate*, Aldershot UK and Burlington VT 2007.
- Amitai, R., Dealing with reality: Early Mamluk military policy and the allocation of resources, in S. Leder (ed.), *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Frankish presence in the eastern Mediterranean (12th to 14th centuries)*, Würzburg 2011, 127–44.
- al-‘Amoush, H., Geoelectrical investigation of an ancient dam in Wadi al-Majarr, Hisban, Jordan, Unpublished project report, *Hisban excavation files*, 3 August 1998.
- Anawati, G.C., Le Nom suprême de Dieu (*ism Allāh al-a‘ẓam*), *Atti del terzo congresso di studi arabi e islamici, Ravello, 1966*, Naples 1967, 7–58.
- Antrim, Z., Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddād’s al-A‘lāq al-Khaṭīrah, in *MSR* 11/1 (2007), 1–18.
- Apellaniz Ruiz de Galarreta, F.J., *Pouvoir et finance en Méditerranée pré-moderne: Le deuxième état mamelouk et le commerce des épices (1382–1517)*, Barcelona 2009.
- Arbel, B., Venetian trade in fifteenth-century Acre: The letters of Fransesco Bevilaqua, in B.Z. Kedar and A.L. Udovich (eds.), *The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of Elyahu Ashtor (1914–1984)*, in *Asian and African Studies* 22/1–3 (1988), 227–288.
- Artan, T., Aspects of the Ottoman elite’s food consumption: Looking for ‘staples,’ ‘luxuries,’ and ‘delicacies,’ in a changing century, in D. Quataert (ed.), *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An introduction*, Albany NY 2000, 107–200.
- Ashtor, E., Essai sur l’alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l’Orient médiéval, in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23/5 (1968), 1017–53.
- Ashtor, E., *Levant trade in the Middle Age*, Princeton 1983.
- Ashtor, E., The Kārimī merchants, in *JRAS* (1956), 45–56.
- Ashtor, E., The Venetian supremacy in the Levantine trade: Monopoly or pre-colonialism? in *Journal of European Economic History* 3/1 (1974), 5–53.
- Ashtor, E., The Venetian cotton trade in Syria in the later Middle Ages, in *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976), 675–715.
- Ashtor, E., *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle East*, London 1976.
- Ashtor, E., *Studies on the Levantine trade in the Middle Ages*, London 1978.
- Ashtor, E., Levantine sugar industry in the late Middle Ages: A case of technological decline, in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in economic and social history*, Princeton 1981, 91–132.
- Atiya, A.S., An unpublished XIVth century *fatwā* on the status of foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, in W. Heffening and W. Kirfel (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens: Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag*, Leiden 1935, 55–68.
- Ávila, M.L., Women in Andalusī biographical sources, in Marin and Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine: Women in Arab sources*, 149–65.

- Ayalon, D., The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom, in *JAOS* 69/3 (1949), 135–47.
- Ayalon, D., *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951.
- Ayalon, D., Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army-II, in *BSOAS* 15/3 (1953), 448–76.
- Ayalon, D., Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army-III, in *BSOAS* 16/1 (1954), 57–90.
- Ayalon, D., Studies in al-Jabartī: Notes on the transformation of Mamlūk society in Egypt under the Ottomans, in *JESHO* 3 (1960), 275–325.
- Ayalon, D., The Mamlūks and naval power: A phase of the struggle between Islam and Christian Europe, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1/8 (1967), 1–12.
- Ayalon, D., The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A re-examination, in *SI* 36 (1972), 113–58.
- Ayalon, D., Names, titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks, in *IOS* 5 (1975), 189–232.
- Ayalon, D., *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250–1517)*, London 1977.
- Ayalon, D., Mamlūk military aristocracy: A non-hereditary nobility, in *JSAI* 10 (1987), 205–10.
- Ayalon, D., Mamlūkiyyāt: A first attempt to evaluate the Mamlūk military system, in *JSAI* 2 (1980), 321–49.
- Ayalon, D., Bahri Mamlūks, Burji Mamlūks: Inadequate names for the two reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate, in *Tārīḥ* 1 (1990), 3–53.
- Ayalon, D., Mamlūk: Military slavery in Egypt and Syria, in idem, *Islam and the abode of war: military slaves and Islamic adversaries*, Aldershot UK 1994, 1–21.
- Ayalon, D., *Eunuchs, caliphs and sultans: A study of power relationships*, Jerusalem 1999.
- al-Azmeh, A., Rhetoric for the senses: A consideration of Muslim paradise narratives of Arabic literature, in *JAL* 26/3 (1995), 215–31.
- Bacharach, J., Circassian monetary policy: Silver, in *The Numismatic Chronicle* 11 (1971), 267–81.
- Bacharach, J., The dinar versus the ducat, in *IJMES* 4 (1973), 77–96.
- al-Bakhīt, M.'A., *Nāhiyat Banī Kināna (shamālī al-Urdun) fī l-qarn al-āshir al-hijrī/ al-sādis 'ashar al-milādī*, Amman 1989.
- al-Bakhīt, M.'A., N.R. Ḥammūd, and A.'A. al-Q. Khuraysāt, *al-Quds al-Sharīf: Wathā'iq wa-sijillātuhā wa-makhṭūṭātuhā al-muṣawwara fī markaz al-wathā'iq wa-l-makhṭūṭāt fī Jāmi'a al-Urdunniyya (936H/1529M–1404H/1984M)*, Amman 1991.
- Balog, P., *Coinage of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria*, New York 1964.
- Balog, P., Coinage of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria: Additions and corrections, in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 16 (1970), 113–71.
- Balog, P., Unusual honorific title on a Mamluk coin, in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 28–29 (1978/9), 135–8.
- Balog, P., *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, Special Publication of the Royal Numismatic Society no. 12, London 1980.
- al-Bāshā, Ḥ., *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya fī l-ta'rikh wa-l-wathā'iq wa-l-āthār*, Cairo 1956, repr. 1989.

- Bauden, F., Les Manuscrits arabes dans les bibliothèques publiques belges: Une introduction, in J.N.Y. Chan and B.W. Lee (eds.), *International Association of Orientalist Librarians: Ninth General Meeting at the 34 ICANAS, 24–25 August 1993, Hong Kong, Proceedings*, Hong-Kong 1993, 149–70.
- Bauden, F., al-Ṭabarī, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, x, 16–7.
- Bauden, F., Mamluk era documentary studies: The state of the art, in *MSR* 9/1 (2005), 15–60.
- Bauden, F., The sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the politics of puppets: Where did it all start? in *MSR* 13/1 (2009), 53–81.
- Bauden, F., Maqriẓiana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī be thrown out with the bathwater? The question of his plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the documentary evidence, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 159–232.
- Bauden, F., D'Alexandrie à Damas et retour. La poste privée à l'époque mamlouke à la lumière d'une commission accomplie pour le compte d'un Vénitien (821 A.H./1418 È.C.), in U. Vermeulen and K. D'hulster (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, vi. Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2005 and May 2006, Leuven, Paris, Walpole MA 2010, 157–89.
- Bauden, F., Like father, like son: The chancery manual (Qalā'id al-Jumān) of al-Qalqašandī's son and its value for the study of Mamluk diplomatics (ninth/fifteenth century) (*Studia Diplomatica Islamica* 1), in *Eurasian Studies* 11 (2013), 181–228.
- Bauden, F., Ikhwāniyyāt letters in the Mamluk period: A document (muṭāla'a) issued by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's chancery and a contribution to Mamluk diplomatics, in A. Levanoni (ed.), *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk rule: Political, social and cultural aspects* (forthcoming).
- Bauden, F., *al-Maqrīzī's collection of opuscles: An introduction* (*Bibliotheca Maqriẓiana* 1), Leiden-Boston (forthcoming).
- Bauden, F., *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in Belgium*. Vol. 1: Handlist. Part 1: Université de Liège (*Islamic Manuscripts and Books*, 12), Leiden-Boston 2016.
- Bauer, T., Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah, in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden 2009, 184–202.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., *Azbakīyya and its environs from Azbak to Ismail, 1476–1879*, Cairo 1985.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., The mahmal tradition and the pilgrimage of the ladies of the Mamluk court, in *MSR* 1 (1997), 87–96.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., *Waqf* as remuneration and the family affairs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Baktimur al-Sāqī, in idem (ed.), *The Cairo heritage: Essays in honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, Cairo and New York 2000, 55–67.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., Craftsmen, upstarts and Sufis in the late Mamluk period, in *BSOAS* 74/3 (2011), 375–95.

- Beit-Arié, M., Quantitative typology of oriental paper patterns, in M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda (ed.), *Le Papier au Moyen-Âge: Histoire et techniques*, Turnhout 1999, 41–53.
- Benkheira, M.H., *Islam et interdits alimentaires: Juguler l'animalité*, Paris 2000.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, première partie: Égypte*, *MMFAC* 19 (1894), Paris.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte*, *MMFAC* 29 (1903), Paris.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem "Ville,"* *MMFAC* 43 (1922), Cairo.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem "Haram,"* *MMFAC* 44 (1925), Cairo.
- Bergsträsser, G., Zu den magischen Quadraten, in *Der Islam* 12/3–4 (1922), 227–35.
- Berjak, R. and M. Iqbal, Ibn Sīnā—al-Bīrūnī correspondence translated, in *Islam & Science* 1/1 (2003), 91–8; 2 (2003), 253–60; 2/1 (2004), 57ff.; 2/2 (2004), 181–6; 3/1 (2005), 57–62; 3/2 (2005), 166–71; 4/2 (2006), 165–73; 5/1 (2007), 53–60 [English translation of *al-As'ila wa-l-ajwiba*, eds. S.H. Nasr and M. Mohaghegh, Kuala Lumpur 1995].
- Van Berkel, M., al-Qalqashandī (1355–1418), in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden 2009, 331–40.
- Berkey, J.P., *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo: A social history of Islamic education*, Princeton 1992.
- Berkey, J.P., Mamluks and the world of higher Islamic education in medieval Cairo, 1250–1517, in H. Elboudrari (ed.), *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam* (TAEI 31), Cairo 1993, 93–116.
- Berkey, J.P., The Mamluks as Muslims: The military elite and the construction of Islam in medieval Egypt, in T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, Cambridge and New York 1998, 163–73.
- Berkey, J.P., Women and Islamic education in Mamluk period, in N.R. Keddie and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history: Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven 1991, 143–57.
- Berkey, J.P., Circumcision circumscribed: Female excision and cultural accommodation in the medieval Near East, in *IJMES* 28 (1996), 19–38.
- Berkey, J.P., al-Subkī and his women, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 1–17.
- Berthier, A., Ottomanes, in M.-G. Guesdon and A. Vernay-Nouri (eds.), *L'Art du livre arabe*, Paris 2001, 152–4.
- Bettini, L. and P. La Spisa (eds.), *Au-delà de l'arabe standard: Moyen arabe et arabe mixte dans les sources médiévales, modernes et contemporaines*, Rome 2012.
- Björkman, W., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928.

- Blanc, P.-M. and D. Genequand, Le développement du moulins hydrauliques á roue horizontale á l'époque Omeyyade: Á propos d'un moulin sur l'aqueduc de Bosra (Syrie du Sud), in *Syria* 84 (2007), 295–306.
- Blau, J., *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic: A study of the origins of Middle Arabic*, London 1965.
- Borsch, S., Nile floods and the irrigation system in fifteenth century Egypt, in *MSR* 4 (2000), 131–45.
- Borsch, S., Environment and population: the collapse of large irrigation systems reconsidered, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/3 (2004), 451–68.
- Borsch, S., Tall Hisban excavation May-June 2014: Water resources analysis (10 June 2014), unpublished report, *Hisban Cultural Heritage Project files*.
- Borsch, S., Medieval Egyptian economic growth: The Maryūt Basin, *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg, Working Paper* 14 (2014), <http://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/working-paper/ask-wp-14.pdf>.
- Bosworth, C.E., A Maqāma on secretaryship: al-Qalqashandī's al-Kawātib al-Durriyya fī l-Manāqib al-Badriyya, in *BSOAS* 27 (1964), 291–8.
- Bosworth, C.E., al-Ḳalkaḡhandī, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iv, 509–11.
- Bouquet, O., The sultan's sons-in-law: Analysing Ottoman imperial *damads*, in *JESHO* 58/3 (2015), 327–61.
- Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*, trans. R. Nice, Cambridge MA 1984.
- Bourdieu, P., La métamorphose des goûts, in idem, *Questions de sociologie*, Paris 1980, 161–72.
- Bourdieu, P., Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée, in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13/4 (1958), 725–53.
- Bramer, F. et al., Long-term management of water in the central Levant: The Hawran case (Syria), in *World Archaeology* 41/1 (2009), 36–57.
- Braudel, F., Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée, in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13/4 (1958), 725–53.
- Brentjes, S., The language of 'patronage' in Islamic societies before 1700, in *Cuadernos del Cemyr* 20 (2012), 11–22.
- Brilliant, R., I Piedistalli del giardino di Boboli: Spolia in se, spolia in re, in *Prospettiva* 31 (1982), 2–17.
- Brilliant, R. and D. Kinney (eds.), *Reuse value spolia and appropriation in art and architecture from Constantine to Sherri Levine*, Burlington 2011.
- Brinner, W.M., The murder of Ibn An-Našū: Social tensions in fourteenth-century Damascus, in *JAOS* 77/3 (1957), 207–10.
- Brinner, W.M., Ḥarfūsh, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 206.
- Broadbridge, A.F., *Kingship and ideology in the Islamic and Mongol worlds*, Cambridge 2008.

- Broadbridge, A.F., Sending home for mom and dad: The extended family impulse in Mamluk politics, in *MSR* 15 (2011), 1–18.
- Brockelmann, C. and F. Sezgin, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. and vol. 3 suppl., Leiden 1937–49.
- Buhl, F., 'Akkā, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, i, 341.
- Burgoynne, M.H., *Mamluk Jerusalem: An architectural study*, London 1987.
- Burke, P., History as social memory, in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory, culture and the mind*, Oxford 1989, 97–113.
- Busch, R.C., Over the bounding domains: The limits of kinship and kinship terms in Turkish, in *Anthropological Linguistics* 16/8 (1974), 415–9.
- Buturović, A., *Sociology of popular drama in mediaeval Egypt: Ibn Dāniyāl and his shadow plays*, Ph.D. Dissertation: McGill University 1993.
- Buturović, A., The shadow play in Mamlūk Egypt, in *MSR* 7 (2003), 149–76.
- Calmard, J., Mudjtahid, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, vii, 295–6.
- Chamberlain, M., The Crusader era and the Ayyūbid dynasty, in C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, vol. 1, Cambridge and New York 1998, 211–41.
- Chamberlain, M., *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*, Cambridge 2002.
- Chapoutot-Remadi, M., L'agriculture dans l'empire Mamluk au moyen âge d'après al-Nuwayri, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 22 (1974), 23–45.
- Chapoutot-Remadi, M., Femmes dans la ville Mamluke, in *JESHO* 38 (1995), 145–64.
- Chipman, L., *The world of pharmacy and pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, Leiden and Boston 2010.
- Christ, G., *Trading conflicts: Venetian merchants and Mamluks in the late medieval Alexandria*, Leiden 2012.
- Cilardo, A., The transmission of the patronate in Islamic Law, in F. de Jong (ed.), *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica: Dissertationes in academia ultrajectina prolatae anno MCMXC*, Leuven 1993, 31–52.
- Clermont-Ganneau, C., *Archeological researches in Palestine during the years 1873–1874*, London 1896.
- Cobb, P.M., *The race for paradise: An Islamic history of the Crusades*, Oxford 2014.
- Cohen, M.R., The voice of the Jewish poor in the Cairo Genizah, in L.H. Schiffman (ed.), *Semitic papyrology in context*, Leiden 2003, 239–55.
- Cohen, M.R., *Poverty and charity in the Jewish community of medieval Egypt*, Princeton 2005.
- Cohen, M.R., A partnership gone bad: Business relationships and the evolving law of the Cairo Geniza period, in *JESHO* 56/2 (2013), 218–63.
- Combe, E. et al. (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, 18 vols., Cairo 1931–64.

- Conermann, S. and S. Saghbini, *Awlād al-Nās* as founders of pious endowments: The *waqfiyya* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the year 870/1465, in *MSR* 6 (2002), 21–50.
- Constanble, O.R., *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world: Lodging, trade and travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2003.
- Coulon, J.-Ch., *La Magie islamique et le corpus bunianum au Moyen Âge*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Paris IV Sorbonne 2013.
- Da'adli, T., Mamluk epitaphs from Mamilla cemetery, in *Levant* 43/1 (2011), 78–97.
- Dain, A., *Les Manuscrits*, Paris 1997.
- Dalby, A., *Tastes of Byzantium: The cuisine of a legendary empire*, London 2010.
- Dalman, G., *Arbeit und Sitte*, Gütersloh 1928.
- Dankoff, R., *The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662) as portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels, with an historical introduction by Rhoads Murphey*, Albany NY 1991.
- Darnton, R., What is the history of books? in *Daedalus* 111/3 (1982), 65–83.
- Darrag, A., *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay 825–841/1422–1432*, Damascus 1961.
- Dekkiche, M., *Le Caire, carrefour des ambassades*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Liège 2011.
- Dekkiche, M., Correspondence between Mamluks and Timurids in the fifteenth century: An unpublished corpus of official letters (Bnf, Ms. Ar. 4440), in *Eurasian Studies* XI (2013), 131–60.
- Déroche, F., *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, deuxième partie: Manuscrits musulmans. Tome I, 2: Les Manuscrits du Coran, du Maghreb à l'Insulinde*, Paris 1985.
- Déroche, F., Les Études de paléographie des écritures arabes livresques: quelques observations, in *al-Qanṭara* 19/2 (1998), 365–81.
- Déroche, F. et al., *Islamic codicology: An introduction to the study of manuscripts in Arabic script*, London 2005.
- Déroche, F. and V. Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti in Caratteri Arabi: al-Makḥṭūṭāt bi-l-ḥurūf al-'arabī*, Rome 2012.
- D'hulster, K. and J. Van Steenberghe, Family matters: The 'family-in-law-impulse' in Mamluk marriage policy, in J. Loiseau (ed.), *Histoire de familles*, in *AI* 47 (2013), 61–82.
- Dickey, E., Forms of address and terms of reference, in *Journal of Linguistics* 33/2 (1997), 255–74.
- Diem, W., Arabic letters in pre-modern times: A survey with commented selected bibliographies, in E.M. Grob and A. Kaplony (eds.), *Documentary letters from the Middle East: The evidence in Greek, Coptic, South Arabian, Pehlevi, and Arabic (1st–15th c CE)*, Bern 2008, 843–83.
- Dietrich, A., al-Būnī, in *Et<sup>2</sup>*, xii, 156–7.
- Dobbs, M., *House of Cards*, Naperville IL 1989.
- Douglas, M., Deciphering a meal, in *Daedalus* 101/1 (1972), 61–81.
- Doutté, E., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909.

- Dozy, R.P.A., *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1881.
- Eddé, A.-M., *Saladin*, tr. by J.M. Todd, Cambridge MA 2011.
- Elbendary, A.A., The sultan, the tyrant, and the hero: Changing medieval perceptions of al-Zāhir Baybars, in *MSR* 5 (2001), 141–57.
- Ensel, R., Colactation and fictive kinship as rites of incorporation and reversal in Morocco, in *The Journal of North African Studies* 7/4 (2002), 83–96.
- Etablet, C. and J.-P. Pascuel, *Familles et fortunes à Damas: 450 foyers damascains en 1700*, Damascus 1994.
- Eychenne, M., Le Sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalil et son vizir: Liens personnels et pratiques du pouvoir dans le Sultanat Mamlouk, in *AI* 39 (2005), 249–73.
- Faroqhi, S., *Stories of Ottoman men and women: Establishing status, establishing control*, Istanbul 2002.
- Fay, M.A., Women and *waqf*: Toward a reconsideration of women's place in the Mamlūk household, in *IJMES* 29/1 (1997), 33–51.
- Fay, M.A., *Unveiling the harem: Elite women and the paradox of seclusion in eighteenth-century Cairo*, Syracuse 2012.
- Finkel, J., King Mutton: A curious tale of the Mamluk period (II), in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete* 9 (1933/4), 1–18.
- Fischel, W.J., The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt: A contribution to the economic history of medieval Islam, in *JESHO* 1/2 (1958), 157–74.
- Fischel, W.J., A New Latin Source on Tamerlane's Conquest of Damascus (1400/1401): (B. de Mignanelli's "Vita Tamerlani" 1416), in *Oriens* 9/2 (1956), 201–32.
- Fitzwilliam-Hall, A.H., An introductory survey of the Arabic books of *filāḥa* and farming almanacs, 2010 online publication of The *Filāḥa* texts project: The Arabic books of husbandry, last accessed on 27 December 2014, [<http://www.filaha.org/introduction.html>].
- Flemming, B., Literary activities in Mamluk halls and barracks, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 249–60.
- Flood, F.B., An ambiguous aesthetic: Crusader *Spolia* in Ayyubid Jerusalem, in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds.), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in context, 1187–1250*, London 2009, 202–15.
- Forand, P.G., The relation of the slave and the client to the master or patron in medieval Islam, in *IJMES* 2/1 (1971), 59–66.
- Fragner, B., From the Caucasus to the roof of the world: A culinary adventure, in S. Zubaida and R. Tapper (eds.), *A taste of thyme: Culinary cultures of the Middle East*, London 1994 and 2000, 49–62.
- Franssen, É., A *mağribī* copy of the *Kitāb al-Faraj ba'd aš-Šidda*, by the 'Irāqī *qāḍī* at-Tanūḥī: Study of a manuscript of Liège University (Belgium), in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1/1 (2010), 61–78.
- Frenkel, Y., The establishment of the *Waqf Hanqah al-Sallahiya* by Sallah ad-Din, in *Cathedra* 65 (1992), 25–7 [in Hebrew].

- Frenkel, Y., Political and social aspects of Islamic religious endowments (“awqāf”): Saladin in Cairo (1169–73) and Jerusalem (1187–93), in *BSOAS* 62/1 (1999), 1–20.
- Frenkel, Y., The chain of traditions (*Hadith*) or transmitting knowledge in medieval Damascus, based on *Samāʿāt* of Ibn al-Asākir, in U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenberghe (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV*, Leuven 2005, 165–84.
- Frenkel, Y., Women in late Mamluk Damascus in the light of audience certificates (*samāʿāt*), in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV* (2005), 409–24.
- Frenkel, Y., Some notes concerning the trade and education of slave-soldiers during the Mamluk Era, in C. Cluse and R. Amitai (eds.), *Slavery and the slave trade in the medieval Mediterranean 11th to 15th centuries*, Trier (forthcoming).
- Frenkel, Y., Mamluk ‘ulamā’ on festivals and rites de passage: Wedding customs in 15th century Damascus, in U. Vermuelen and K. D’hulster (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI: Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit*, Leuven 2010, 279–89.
- Frenkel, Y., Marriage and family in Mamluk palaces, in M. Morgenstern, C. Boudignon, and C. Tietz (eds.), *Männlich und weiblich schuf Er sie: Studien zur Genderkonstruktion und zum Eherecht in den Mittelmeerreligionen*, Göttingen 2011, 239–48.
- Frenkel, Y., The management of water in fourteenth century Damascus, paper presented at the Mamluk conference, University of Haifa, 2011.
- Frenkel, Y., Between Mongols and Ottoman: Nazareth in the Mamluk period, in M. Yazbak and S. Sharif (eds.), *Nazareth History and Cultural Heritage* 2 (2013), 19–38.
- Frenkel, Y., al-Bāʿūnī, in *ER*<sup>3</sup>.
- Friedman, M.A., The ethics of medieval Jewish marriage, in S.D. Goitein (ed.), *Religion in a Religious Age*, Cambridge MA 1974, 83–102.
- Fuess, A., *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517)*, Leiden 2001.
- Fuess, A., Rotting ships and razed harbours: The naval policy of the Mamluks, in *MSR* 5 (2001), 45–71.
- Fuess, A., Sultans with horns: The political significance of headgear in the Mamluk empire, in *MSR* 12 (2008), 71–94.
- Fuess, A., Mamluk politics, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus? Mamluk studies—state of the art*, Bonn 2012, 95–118.
- Gabrieli, F., *Arab historians of the Crusades*, trans. F. Gabrieli, London 1969.
- Gacek, A., *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary of technical terms and bibliography*, Leiden 2001.
- Gacek, A., Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts, in J. Pfeiffer and M. Kropp (eds.), *Theoretical approaches to the transmission and edition of oriental manuscripts: Proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul March 28–30, 2001*, Beirut 2007, 217–35, 313–19 (illustrations).

- Gacek, A., *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary of technical terms and bibliography, supplement*, Leiden 2008.
- Gacek, A., *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum for readers*, Leiden 2009.
- Galloway, J.H., The Mediterranean sugar industry, in *Geographical Review* 67/2 (1977), 177–94.
- Garcin, J-C., The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks, in Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, vol. 1, 290–318.
- Gardiner, N., *Esotericism in a manuscript culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and his readers through the Mamlūk period*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Michigan 2014.
- Garland, L., The life and ideology of Byzantine women, in *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 361–93.
- Ghaly, M.M., Physiognomy: A forgotten chapter of disability in Islam—the discourse of Muslim jurists, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 66 (2009), 161–97.
- Ghawanmeh, Y., *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥadārī li-sharq al-Urdunn fi l-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī*, Amman 1982.
- Ghawanmeh, Y., al-Qarya fi junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-Filistīn) fi l-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī fi dawʾ waqfiyyat adar, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982), 363–71.
- Giladi, A., Normative Islam versus local tradition: Some observations on female circumcision with special reference to Egypt, in *Arabica* 44/2 (1997), 254–67.
- Giladi, A., Toutes les femmes d'al-Saḥāwī: Quelques remarques sur le Kitāb al-Nisāʾ (“le Livre des Femmes”), comme source de “l’histoire intime” des sociétés musulmanes médiévales, in C. Müller and M. Roiland-Rouabah (eds.), *Les non-dits du nom: Onomastique et documents en terres d’Islam*, Beirut 2013, 548–66.
- Giladi, A., Fosterage, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe, Brill online.
- Giladi, A., Lactation, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, Brill online.
- Giladi, A., Wet-Nursing, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, Brill online.
- Goitein, S.D., *A Mediterranean society: The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols., Berkeley 1967–93.
- Goitein, S.D., The sexual mores of the common people, in A.L. Sayyid-Marsot (ed.), *Society and the sexes in medieval Islam*, Malibu 1979, 43–61.
- Goldziher, I., *Muslim studies*, edited and translated by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, 2 vols., London 1967–71.
- Goodwin, G., The reuse of marble in the Eastern Mediterranean in medieval times, in *JRAS* 1 (1977), 17–30.
- Gordon, D., Female circumcision and genital operations in Egypt and the Sudan: A dilemma for medical anthropology, in *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, New Series 5/1 (1991), 3–14.
- Gottlieb, B., *The family in the western world: From the Black Death to the Industrial Age*, Oxford 1993.

- Grabar, O., The Crusades and the development of Islamic Art, in A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, Washington D.C. 2001, 235–45.
- Grabiner, E., From raw material to a compound and back again: A look at one element of Crusader architecture, in *Assaph* 6 (2001), 119–38.
- Grabiner, E., *La Colonnnette Coudee: Diffusion d'un element architectural entre Orient et Occident aux XIIIe et XIIIe siecles*, Ph.D. Dissertation: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne 1994.
- Grob, E.M., *Documentary Arabic private and business letters on papyrus: Form and function, content and context*, New York and Berlin 2010.
- Grossman, H.E., On memory, transmission, and the practice of building in the Crusader Mediterranean, in *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 481–517.
- Guesdon, M-G., Reliures, in Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri (eds.), *L'Art du livre arabe*, 139–51.
- Guesdon, M-G., Les Réclames dans les manuscrits arabes datés antérieurs à 1450, in F. Déroche and F. Richard (eds.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Paris 1997, 65–75.
- Guesdon, M-G., La numérotation des cahiers et la foliotation dans les manuscrits arabes datés jusqu'à 1450, in G. Humbert (ed.), *La Tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe, première partie, REMM; série histoire, n° 99–100*, Aix-en-Provence 2002, 101–15.
- Gully, A., *The culture of letter-writing in pre-modern Islamic society*, Edinburgh 2008.
- Guo, L., Tales of a medieval Cairene harem: Domestic life in al-Biqā'ī's autobiographical chronicle, in *MSR* 9 (2005), 101–21.
- Guo, L., *The performing arts in medieval Islam: Shadow play and popular poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*, Leiden 2012.
- Haarmann U., The sons of Mamluks as fief-holders in late medieval Egypt, in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 141–68.
- Haarmann U., Arabic in speech, Turkish in lineage: Mamluks and their sons in the intellectual life of fourteenth-century Egypt and Syria, in *JSS* 33/1 (1988), 81–114.
- Haarmann U., Joseph's law: The careers and activities of Mamluk descendants before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 55–84.
- Hachmeier, K.U., *Die Briefe Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Šābi's (st. 384/994 A.H./A.D.)*, Zürich and New York 2002.
- Halasi-Kun, T., *La Langue des Kiptchaks d'après un manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul (al-Tuḥfa al-zakīyya fī l-lughat al-Turkiyya)*, Budapest 1942.
- Hallaq, W., From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*: Growth and change in Islamic substantive law, in *Islamic Law and Society* 1 (1994), 29–65.
- Ḥamāda, I., *Khayāl al-ẓill, wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963.
- Hamilton, R.W., *The structural history of the Aqsa Mosque*, Jerusalem 1949.

- Hanawalt, B.A., *Crime and conflict in English communities, 1300–1348*, Cambridge MA 1979.
- Haque, S., A letter of Ibn Taimiyya to Abū-l-Fidā', in J.W. Fück (ed.), *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, 155–61.
- Harari, Y.N., *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*, London 2014.
- Har-El, S., Silāḥdār, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ix, 609–10.
- Hartal, M., *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) fortress: Towers 11 and 9*, with contributions by R. Amitai and A. Boas, Jerusalem 2001.
- Ḥassan, M. U., *Ṭā'ifat al-maghānī fī Miṣr fī l-'aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, in *AI* 43 (2009), 376–416.
- Hawari, M.K., *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250): An architectural and archaeological study*, Oxford 2007.
- Heffening, W., 'Urs, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, x, 970–9.
- Heidemann, S., *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261)*, Leiden 1994.
- Herr, L., Area G.5, in R.S. Boraas and L.T. Geraty (eds.), Andrews University Heshbon expedition: The fourth campaign at Tell Ḥesbān (1974): A preliminary report, in *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 14/1 (1976), 107–8.
- Herzfeld, E., Damascus: Studies in architecture III, in *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946), 1–71.
- Hillenbrand, C., Some reflections on the use of the Qur'ān in monumental inscriptions in Syria and Palestine in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, in R.G. Hoyland and P.F. Kennedy (eds.), *Islamic reflections, Arabic musing*, Oxford 2004, 279–89.
- Hillenbrand, R., La Dolce Vita in early Islamic Syria: The evidence of later Umayyad palaces, in *Art History* 5/1 (1982), 1–35.
- Hillenbrand, R., The Ayyubid Aqsa: Decorative aspects, in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds.), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in context, 1187–1250*, London 2009, 301–26.
- Hirschler, K., Studying Mamluk historiography: From source-criticism to the cultural turn, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus?*, 159–86.
- Hodgson, M.G., *The venture of Islam*, 3 vols., Chicago 1974.
- Holt, P.M., *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922: A Political History*, Ithaca and London 1966.
- Holt, P.M., The sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696–8/1296–9), in *BSOAS* 36/3 (1973), 521–32.
- Holt, P.M., The position and power of the Mamlūk sultan, in *BSOAS* 38/2 (1975), 237–49.
- Holt, P.M., The virtuous ruler in thirteenth-century Mamluk royal biographies, in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24/1 (1980), 27–35.
- Holt, P.M., *The memoirs of a Syrian prince: Abu' l-Fidā', Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331)*, Wiesbaden 1983.
- Holt, P.M., *The age of the Crusades*, London and New York 1986.
- Holt, P.M., An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His ancestry, kindred and affinity, in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, Leuven 1995, 313–24.
- Holt, P.M., Ṭūmān Bāy, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, x, 621–2.

- Homerin, T.E., A bird ascends the night: Elegy and immortality in Islam, in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 58/4 (1991), 247–80.
- Homerin, T.E., Living love: The mystical writings of ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūniyah (d. 922/1516), in *MSR* 7 (2003), 211–34.
- Homerin, T.E., Writing Sufi biography: The case of ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūniyah (D. 922/1517), in *MW* 96/3 (2006), 389–99.
- Houlbrooke, R.A., *The English family 1450–1700*, London and New York 1984.
- Humbert, G., Les Papiers non filigranés utilisés au Proche-Orient jusqu’en 1450: Essai de typologie, in *JA* 286/1 (1998), 1–54.
- Humbert, G., Le Manuscrit arabe et ses papiers, in G. Humbert (ed.), *La Tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe, première partie, REMM, série histoire, n° 99–100*, Aix-en-Provence 2002, 55–77.
- Hume, D., Of the standard of taste, in C.W. Eliot (ed.), *English essays: From Sir Philip Sidney to Macaulay, The Harvard Classics* 27, New York 1910, 203–21.
- Humphreys, R.S., *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*, Albany NY 1972.
- Humphreys, R.S., Women as patrons of religious architecture in Ayyubid Damascus, in *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 35–54.
- Humphreys, R.S., Ayyubids, Mamluks and the Latin East in the thirteenth century, in *MSR* 2 (1998), 1–17.
- Igarashi, D., The establishment and development of al-Diwan al-Mufrad: Its background and implications, in *MSR* 10/1 (2006), 117–40.
- Igarashi, D., The financial reforms of Sultan Qāyṭbāy, in *MSR* 13/1 (2009), 27–51.
- Igarashi, D., The evolution of the sultanic fisc and *al-dhakhīrah* during the Circassian Mamluk period, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 85–108.
- Igarashi, D., *Madrāsahs*, their shaykhs, and the civilian founder: The Bāsiṭiyah *Madrāsahs* in the Mamlūk era, in *Orient* 48 (2013), 79–94.
- Igarashi, D., *Land tenure, fiscal policy, and imperial power in medieval Syro-Egypt*, Chicago 2015.
- İnalçik, H., Selim I, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ix 127–31.
- Irigoin, J., Les Papiers non filigranés: État présent des recherches et perspectives d’avenir, in M. Maniaci and P.F. Munafò (eds.), *Ancient and medieval book materials and techniques (Erice, 18–25 September 1992)*, i, Vatican City 1993, 265–312.
- Irwin, R., *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, Carbondale 1986.
- Irwin, R., Factions in medieval Egypt, in *JRAS* 2 (1986), 228–46.
- Irwin, R., The privatization of ‘justice’ under the Circassian Mamluks, in *MSR* 6 (2002), 63–70.
- Irwin, R., Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate reconsidered, in M. Winter and A. Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, Leiden and Boston 2004, 117–39.

- Irwin, R., Mamluk history and historians, in A. Richards (eds.), *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*, Cambridge 2006, 159–70.
- Irwin, R., Eating horses and drinking mare's milk, in idem, *Mamluks and Crusaders: Men of the sword and men of the pen*, Surrey and Burlington VT 2010, 1–7.
- İslamoğlu-İnan, H., *State and peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian power relations and regional economic development in Ottoman Anatolia during the sixteenth century*, Leiden 1994.
- ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAli, M.K. al-D., *Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Qalqashandī muʿarrīkhan*, Beirut 1990.
- Jacoby, D., The rise of a new emporium in the eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the late thirteenth century, in *Meletai kai Hypomnemata* 1 (1984), 145–79.
- Jacoby, D., *Studies on the Crusader states and on Venetian expansion*, Aldershot UK 1989.
- Jaimoukha, A., *The Circassians: A handbook*, Surrey 2001.
- Jiyad, M., *Anti-women sentiments in Arabic literature: The case of an eleventh i.c. manuscript*, Berlin 2011.
- Johnson, K., Royal pilgrims: Mamluk accounts of the pilgrimage to Mecca of the Khawand al-Kubrā (senior wife of the sultan), in *SI* 91 (2000), 107–31.
- Jones, J.M.B., Ibn Ishāq, in *Et*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 810–1.
- Kaḥḥāla, ʿU.R., *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn: Tarājīm muṣannifī l-kutub al-ʿarabī*, 12 vols., Beirut 1957–61; sec. ed. in 4 vols., [Riad]: n.d.
- Kahle, P., The Arabic shadow play in Egypt, in *JRAS* 1 (1940), 21–34.
- Kalus, L. and F. Soudan, *Thésaurus d'épigraphie islamique*, 15<sup>ème</sup> livraison, janvier 2015, online [<http://www.epigraphie-islamique.org/epi/login.html>].
- Kazhdan, A.P. and A.-M. Talbot, Women and iconoclasm, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991/2), 391–408.
- Keddie, N.R., The past and present of women in the Muslim world, in *Journal of World History* 1/1 (1990), 77–108.
- Keddie, N.R. and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history: Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven 1991.
- Kelekna, P., *The horse in human history*, Cambridge 2009.
- Kelekna, P., The politico-economic impact of the horse on old world cultures: An overview, in *Sino-Platonic Papers* 190 (2009), 1–31.
- Khoury, D.R., Slippers at the entrance or behind closed doors: Domestic and public spaces for Mosuli women, in M.C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1997, 105–28.
- Kilpatrick, H., Some late ʿAbbāsīd and Mamlūk books about women: A literary historical approach, in *Arabica* 42 (1995), 56–78.
- Kinney, D., Spolia. Damnatio and renovatio memoriae, in *Memories of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997), 117–48.
- Kinney, D., Introduction, in R. Brilliant and D. Kinney (eds.), *Reuse value spolia and appropriation in art and architecture from Constantine to Sherri Levine*, Burlington 2011, 1–11.

- Korn, L., Ayyubid Jerusalem in perspective: The context of Ayyubid architecture in Bilad al-Sham, in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds.), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: the Holy City in context, 1187–1250*, 388–407.
- Korn, L., The structure of architectural patronage in Ayyubid Jerusalem, in J. Pahlitzsch and L. Korn (eds.), *Governing the Holy City*, Wiesbaden 2004, 71–89.
- Korobeinikov, D., A broken mirror: The Kıpçak world in the thirteenth century, in F. Curta (ed.) and R. Kovalev (assisting), *The other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, Leiden and Boston 2008, 379–412.
- Krakowski, E., *Female adolescence in the Cairo Geniza documents*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Chicago 2012.
- Kreiser, K., Evliyā Çelebi, in C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, and C. Fleischer (eds.), *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, October 2005, online [[https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/evliya\\_en.pdf](https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/evliya_en.pdf)].
- Kropf, E. and C.A. Baker, A conservative tradition? Arab papers of the 12th–17th centuries from the Islamic manuscripts collection at the University of Michigan, in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 4/1 (2013), 1–48.
- Kuhnel, B., *Crusader art of the twelfth century: A geographical, an historical or an art historical notion?*, Berlin 1994.
- Kumar, S., When slaves were nobles: The Shamsī *Bandagān* in the early Delhi Sultanate, in *Studies in History* 10/1 (1994), 23–52.
- Kumar, S., Service, status and military slavery in the Delhi Sultanate of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, in I. Chatterjee and R.M. Eaton (eds.), *Slavery and South Asian history*, Bloomington 2006, 83–114.
- Kuun, G., *Codex cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*, primum ex integro edidit, prolegomenis, notis et compluribus glossariis instruxit, Budapest 1880.
- LaBianca, Ø.S., On-site water retention strategies: Solutions from the past for dealing with Jordan's present water crisis, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995), 771–6.
- LaBianca, Ø.S., *Sedentarization and nomadization: Food system cycles at Hesban and vicinity in Transjordan*, Hesban Final Reports 1, Berrien Springs, MI 1990.
- Labib, S.Y., Kārimī, in *Et<sup>2</sup>*, iv, 640–3.
- Lagardère, V., Abū Bakr ibn al 'Arabī, grand cadi de Seville, in *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40 (1985), 91–102.
- Laiou, A.E., The role of women in Byzantine society, in idem, *Gender, society and economic life in Byzantium*, Aldershot and Hampshire UK 1992, 233–60.
- Laiou, A.E., Women in the market place of Constantinople (10th–14th centuries), in N. Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, topography and everyday life*, Leiden 2001, 261–73.
- Lamdan, R., *A separate people: Jewish women in Palestine, Syria and Egypt in the sixteenth century*, Leiden 2000.

- Landau-Tasseron, E., Adoption, acknowledgment of paternity and false genealogical claims in Arabian and Islamic societies, in *BSOAS* 66/2 (2003), 169–92.
- Lane, E.W., *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, New York 1973.
- Laparidou, S., Changing land use strategies in Islamic Syria, in B.J. Walker (ed.), *Oxford handbook of Islamic archaeology*, Oxford (forthcoming).
- Larcher, P., Moyen arabe et arabe moyen, in *Arabica* 48/4 (2001), 578–609.
- Lassen, E.M., The Roman family: Ideal and metaphor, in H. Moxnes (ed.), *Constructing early Christian families: Family as social reality and metaphor*, London and New York 1997, 103–20.
- Leach, E., Anthropological aspects of language: Animal categories and verbal abuse, in E.H. Lenneberg (ed.), *New directions in the study of language*, Cambridge MA 1964, 23–63.
- Lentin, J. and J. Grand'Henry, *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire. Actes du premier colloque international (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 Mai 2004)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2008.
- Lev, Y., Symbiotic relations: Ulama and the Mamluk sultans, in *MSR* 13 (2009), 1–26.
- Levanoni, A., The Mamluk conception of the sultanate, in *IJMES* 26/3 (1994), 373–92.
- Levanoni, A., *A turning point in Mamluk history: The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341*, Leiden 1995.
- Levanoni, A., Rank-and-file mamluks versus amirs: New norms in the Mamluk military institution, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 17–31.
- Levanoni, A., Šagar ad-Durr: A case of female sultanate in medieval Islam, in U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenberghe (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* 3, proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th international colloquium, Leuven 2001, 209–18.
- Levanoni, A., The sultan's laqab: A sign of a new order in Mamluk factionalism? in Winter and Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, 79–115.
- Levanoni, A., Food and cooking during the Mamluk era: Social and political implications, in *MSR* 9/1 (2005), 201–22.
- Levanoni, A., The al-Nashw episode: A case study of 'moral economy'? in *MSR* 9 (2005), 207–20.
- Levanoni, A., *Awlād al-Nās* in the Mamluk army during the Baḥrī period, in D. Wasserstein and A. Ayalon (eds.), *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in honour of Michael Winter*, London and New York 2006, 96–105.
- Levanoni, A., Water supply in medieval Middle Eastern cities: The case of Cairo, in *al-Masāq* 20/2 (2008), 179–205.
- Levey, M., *Medieval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology*, Philadelphia 1962.

- Lewicka, P., *Food and foodways of medieval Cairenes: Aspects of life in an Islamic metropolis of the eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden and Boston 2011.
- Lewis, B., An Arabic account of the province of Safed-I, in *BSOAS* 15 (1953), 477–88.
- Lightfoot, D.R., Qanats in the Levant: Hydraulic technology at the periphery of early empires, in *Technology and Culture* 38/2 (1997), 432–51.
- Lightfoot, D.R., The origin and diffusion of *Qanats* in Arabia: New evidence from the northern and southern peninsula, in *The Geographical Journal* 166/3 (2000), 215–26.
- Lightfoot, D.R., Jordanian Qanat Romani, accessed 27 December 2014, [<http://www.waterhistory.org/histories/jordan/jordanqanat.pdf>].
- Lightfoot, D.R., Syrian Qanat Romani, accessed 27 December 2014, [<http://www.waterhistory.org/histories/syria/syrian.pdf>].
- Little, D.P., An analysis of the relationship between four Mamluk chronicles for 737–45, in *JSS* 19/2 (1974), 252–68.
- Little, D.P., Notes on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamlūk, in U. Haarmann and P. Bachmann (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1979, 387–401.
- Little, D.P., Religion under the Mamluks, in *MW* 73 (1983), 165–81.
- Little, D.P., *A catalogue of the Islamic documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Wiesbaden 1984.
- Little, D.P., The fall of ‘Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim version, in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Leiden and Jerusalem 1986, 159–82.
- Little, D.P., Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, 1197–1516, in K.J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, Brooklyn NY 1990, 177–86.
- Little, D.P., Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk epochs, in Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, 412–44.
- Loiseau, Julien. *Reconstruire la maison du sultan, 1350–1450: ruine et recomposition de l'ordre Urbain au Caire*, 2 vols., Cairo 2010.
- Loveday, H., *Islamic Paper: A study of the ancient craft*, London 2001.
- Lucke, B. et al., Questioning Transjordan's historic desertification: A critical review of the paradigm of 'empty lands', in *Levant* 44/1 (2012), 100–26.
- Lutfi, H., al-Sakhāwī's Kitāb al-Nisā' as a source for the social and economic history of Muslim women during the fifteenth century A.D., in *MW* 71 (1981), 104–24.
- Lutfi, H., Manners and customs of fourteenth-century Cairene women: Female anarchy versus male shar'ī order in Muslim prescriptive treatises, in Keddie and Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History*, 99–121.
- Lutfi, H., The construction of gender symbolism in Ibn Sīrīn's and Ibn Shāhīn's medieval Arabic dream texts, in *MSR* 9 (2005), 123–61.
- Luz, N., Tripoli reinvented: A case of Mamluk urbanization, in Y. Lev (ed.), *Towns and material culture in the medieval Middle East*, Leiden 2002, 53–71.

- Luz, N., *The Mamluk city in the Middle East*, Cambridge 2014.
- Mahmood, S., *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton 2005.
- Malti-Douglas, F., *Woman's body, woman's word: Gender and discourse in Arabo-Islamic writing*, Princeton 1991.
- Marin, M., Sobre alimentación y sociedad, in *al-Qanṭara* 13 (1992), 83–122.
- Marin, M., Beyond taste: The complements of color and smell in the medieval Arab culinary tradition, in S. Zubaida and R. Tapper (eds.), *A taste of thyme: Culinary cultures of the Middle East*, London and New York 2000, 205–14.
- Marin, M. and R. Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine: Women in Arab sources*, London 2002.
- Marjiyya, B., *Shakhṣīyat al-mar'a fī l-adab al-'arabī al-qadīm*, Amman 2001.
- Marmon, S.E., Domestic slavery in the Mamlūk Empire: A preliminary sketch, in idem (ed.), *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, Princeton 1999, 1–23.
- Martel, R.T., The decline of Mamlūk civil bureaucracy in the fifteenth century, in *JIS* 6/2 (1995), 173–88.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., *Les Civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk (IX<sup>e</sup>/XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Damascus 1992.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., Du bon gouvernement d'après la Hadiyat al-'abd al-qāṣir ilā al-malik al-Nāṣir de 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ṣāliḥī, in *AI* 34 (2000), 227–313.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., De l'équité à l'arbitraire: État des prisons et des prisonniers sous les derniers Mamlouks (872–923/1468–1517), in *AI* 40 (2006), 205–46.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., L'Exil: Un châtement paradoxal dans l'État des Mamlouks (872–923/1468–1517), in J.-M. Durand, T. Römer et J.-P. Mahé (eds.), *La Faute et sa punition dans les sociétés orientales* (Publications de l'Institut du Proche Orient ancien du Collège de France 1), Leuven and Walpole MA 2012, 163–86.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., Ibn Iyās et les chanteuses ou quand l'art s'introduit dans la chronique historique (872–923/1468–1517), in *JA* 301/2 (2013), 425–34.
- Masters, B., *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516–1918: A social and cultural history*, New York 2013.
- Maṭar, 'A. al-'A., *Lahṅ al-'amma fī ḍaw' al-dirāsāt al-lughawiyya al-ḥadītha*, Cairo 1966.
- Mattson, I., Adoption and fostering, in S. Josef (ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and Islamic cultures*, ii, Leiden and Boston 2005, 1–3.
- Mauder, Ch., *Gelehrte Krieger: die Mamluken als Träger arabischsprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen*, Hildesheim 2012.
- Mayer, L.A., Satura epigraphica arabica II, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 2 (1932), 127–31.
- Meisami, J.S., Writing medieval women: Representations and misrepresentations, in J. Bray (ed.), *Writing and representation in medieval Islam: Muslim horizons*, London 2006, 46–87.

- Melčák, M., Reconstruction of the lost Ayyubid waqf: Madrasa al-Shāmiya al-Juwwāniya in Damascus as depicted in the *fatāwā* of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), in *Archiv Orientalni* 80/1 (2012), 1–39.
- Mennella, J.A. and G.K. Beauchamp, The early development of human flavor preferences, in E.D. Capaldi (ed.), *Why we eat what we eat: The psychology of eating*, Washington DC 1996, 83–112.
- Merling, D., The ‘pools of Heshbon’ as discovered by the Heshbon expedition, in D. Merling and L.T. Geraty (eds.), *Hesban after 25 years*, Berrien Springs, MI 1994, 211–23.
- Mikhail, A., *Nature and empire in Ottoman Egypt: An environmental history*, Cambridge 2011.
- Mintz, S.W., *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*, New York 1986.
- Miura, T., Administrative networks in the Mamluk period: Taxation, legal execution, and bribery, in S. Tsugitaka (ed.), *Islamic urbanism in human history: Political power and social networks*, London and New York 1997, 39–75.
- Montgomery Watt, W., al-Ghazālī, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, ii, 1038–41.
- Mortel, R.T., Grand Dawādār and governor of Jeddā: The career of the fifteenth century Mamlūk magnate Ġānibek al-Zāhirī, in *Arabica* 43/3 (1996), 437–56.
- Mottahedeh, R.P., *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980.
- Mouton, J.-M., D. Sourdel and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Mariage et séparation à Damas au Moyen Âge: Un corpus de 62 documents juridiques inédits entre 337/948 et 698/1299*, Paris 2013.
- Moxnes, H., Introduction, in idem (ed.), *Constructing early Christian families: Family as social reality and metaphor*, 13–41.
- Moxnes, H., What is a family: Problems in constructing early Christian families, in idem (ed.), *Constructing early Christian families*, 1–9.
- Muhtadī, ‘A.S., *Sijill maḥkamat al-Quds al-shar‘iyya: Fajrasa taḥlīliyya*, vol. 1., Amman 2008.
- Mukāḥala, N.M.H., *al-Zirā‘a fī Bilād al-Shām fī l-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, M.A. Thesis: University of Yarmouk 1992.
- Müller, Ch., *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen: Studie der mamlukischen Ḥaram-Dokumente aus Jerusalem*, Wiesbaden 2013.
- Mundy, M. and R.S. Smith, *Governing property, making the modern state: Law, administration and production in Ottoman Syria*, London 2007.
- al-Muqabala, Ayman Aḥmad Ḥussein, *al-Qarya fī Bilād al-Shām fī l-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis: Yarmouk University, 1998.
- Murād, R.‘A. al-Ḥ. and Y.M. al-Sawwās (eds.), *Fihris makhtūṭāt dār al-kutub al-zāhirīyya*, 2 vols., Damascus 1982.
- Murphey, R., The Historical Setting, in R. Dankoff (ed.), *The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman*, 21–41.

- al-Musawi, J., Vindicating a profession or a personal career? Al-Qalqashandī's Maqāmah in context, in *MSR* 7/1 (2003), 111–35.
- Muzerelle, D., *Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits*, Paris 1985 [online <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/accueil/vocabulaire>].
- Nielson, J.S., The political geography and administration of Mamluk Palestine: The evidence of al-Qalqashandi, in H. Nashabe (ed.), *Studia Palaestina: Studies in honour of Constantine K. Zurayk*, Beirut 1988, 114–33.
- Nikolaev, V., *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire*, Sofia 1954.
- Northrup, L.S., The Bahārī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390, in Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, 242–89.
- Northrup, L.S., *From slave to sultan: The career of Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the consolidation of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)*, Stuttgart 1998.
- Nwyia, P., Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-'Arīf avec Ibn Barrajjān, in *Hespéris* 48 (1956), 217–21.
- Ollendorff, F., Two Mamluk tomb chambers in western Jerusalem, in *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982), 245–50.
- Onimus, Cl., *Les Émirs dans le Sultanat Mamelouk sous les Sultans Barqūq et Farağ (784–815/1382–1412)*, *Restauration sultanienne et conflits émiraux*, thèse en cours de publication soutenue à l'EPHE, Paris 2013.
- Opsomer-Halleux, C., *Trésors manuscrits de l'Université de Liège*, Liège 1989.
- d'Ottone, A., Il Manoscritto Vaticano Arabo 368: *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Ryād*. Il codice, il testo, le immagini, in *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 14 (2010), 55–70.
- Ouerfelli, M., *Le sucre: Production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Leiden 2008.
- Ousterhout, R., Architecture as relic and the construction of sanctity: The stones of the Holy Sepulcher, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62/1 (2003), 4–23.
- Palmer, C., 'Following the Plough': The Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan, in *Levant* 30 (1998), 129–65.
- Parker, T.S., Tell Hesban 1976: Area C.4, 6, 8, 9, 10, in *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978), 71–108.
- Parkes, P., Alternative social structures and foster relations in the Hindu Kush: Milk kinship allegiance in former mountain kingdoms of northern Pakistan, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43/1 (2001), 4–36.
- Parkes, P., Fosterage, kinship, and legend: When milk was thicker than blood, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/3 (2004), 587–615.
- Parkes, P., Milk kinship in Islam: substance, structure, history, in *Social Anthropology* 13/3 (2005), 307–29.
- Paul, J., *Khidma* in the social history of pre-Mongol Iran, in *JESHO* 57/3 (2014), 392–422.

- Paul, J., Sanjar and Atsız: Independence, lordship, and literature, in idem (ed.), *Nomad aristocrats in a world of empires*, Wiesbaden 2013, 81–129.
- Pellat, C., *Ḥikāya*, in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 367–72.
- Perry, C., The oldest Mediterranean noodle: A cautionary tale, in *Petits Propos Culinaire* 9 (October 1981), 42–5.
- Perry, C., Notes on Persian pasta, in M. Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, Totnes 2001, 251–5.
- Petry, C.F., *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981.
- Petry, C.F., A paradox of patronage during the later Mamluk period, in *MW* 73 (1983), 182–207.
- Petry, C.F., Class solidarity versus gender gain: Women as custodians of property in later medieval Egypt, in Keddie and Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history*, 122–42.
- Petry, C.F., The estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khaṣṣbakiyya: Royal spouse, autonomous investor, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, 277–94.
- Petry, C.F., *The Criminal underworld in a medieval Islamic society: Narratives from Cairo under the Mamluks*, Chicago 2012.
- Philipp, T., Acre, in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, i, 341.
- Philipp, T., Acre, in *EF*<sup>3</sup>.
- Pomerantz, M.A., *Licit magic and divine grace: The life and letters of al-Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbāb (d. 385/995)*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Chicago 2010.
- Popper, W., *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s chronicle of Egypt*, Berkeley 1955.
- Powers, D.S., Four cases relating to women and divorce in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, 1100–1500, in M.K. Masud, R. Peters and D.S. Powers (eds.), *Dispensing justice in Islam: qadis and their judgments*, Leiden 2006, 383–409.
- Prawer, J., *Histoire du royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. tr. G. Nahon, Paris 1969–70.
- Pringle, D., Notes on some inscriptions from Crusader Acre, in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *Laudem hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and medieval culture in honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Aldershot UK 2007, 191–210.
- Pringle, D., *The churches of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols., Cambridge MA 1993–2009.
- Pryor, J.H., *Geography, technology and war: Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 641–1571*, Cambridge 1988.
- Puin, E., Silver coins of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn (678–689/1279–1290) from the mints of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥamāh, and al-Marqab, in *MSR* 4 (2000), 75–129.
- al-Qaradawi, Y., *The lawful and the prohibited in Islam (al-Ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām fī l-islām)*, London 1985.
- Quelquejay, Ch., Čerkes, in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 21–3.

- Rabbat, N.O., The changing concept of *Mamlūk* in the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria, in M. Toru and J.E. Philips (eds.), *Slave elites in the Middle East and Africa: a comparative study*, London and New York 2000, 81–98.
- Rabin, I. et al., Identification and classification of historical writing inks in spectroscopy: A methodological overview, in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 3 (2012), 26–30.
- Raphael, K., *Muslim fortresses in the Levant: Between Crusaders and Mongols*, London 2011.
- Rapoport, Y., *Marriage, money and divorce in medieval Islamic society*, Cambridge 2005.
- Rapoport, Y., Women and gender in Mamluk society: An overview, in *MSR* 11/2 (2007), 1–47.
- Rapoport, Y. and I. Shahar, Irrigation in the medieval Islamic Fayyum: Local control in a large-scale hydraulic system, in *JESHO* 55/1 (2012), 1–31.
- Rapoport, Y. and I. Shahar, Rural society in medieval Islam, internet site, last accessed on 27 December 2014, [<http://www2.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam/index.html>].
- Rawson, B., Introduction: Families in the Greek and Roman worlds, in idem (ed.), *A companion to families in the Greek and Roman worlds*, Malden, Oxford and Chichester 2011, 1–11.
- Ray, P., *Tell Hesban and vicinity in the Iron Age (Hesban, 6)*, Berrien Springs, MI 2001.
- Raymond, A. and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire: Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Cairo 1979.
- Reyerson, K., Urban economies, in J.M. Bennett and R.M. Karras (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of women and gender in medieval Europe*, Oxford 2013, 295–311.
- Reynolds, J., Desertification, in *Encyclopedia of biodiversity*, vol. 2 (2001), 61–78.
- Rice, D.S., Studies in Islamic metal work-I, in *BSOAS* 14/3 (1952), 564–78.
- Richards, D.S., Mamluk amirs and their families and households, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 32–54.
- Ritter, H., Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 247–8.
- Robson, J., ‘Abū Dā’ūd al-Sidjīstānī, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, i, 114.
- Rodinson, M., Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine, in *REI* 18 (1949), 95–165.
- Rodinson, M., Ma’mūniyya east and west, trans. B. Inskip, in M. Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, Totnes 2001, 183–97.
- Rosen, A., *Civilizing climate: Social responses to climate change in the ancient Near East*, Lanham MD 2007.
- Rosenthal, F., *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947.
- Rossabi, M., Khubilai Khan and the women in his family, in W. Bauer (ed.), *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, Wiesbaden 1979, 153–77.
- Routledge, B., Household archaeology in the Levant: A review article, in *BASOR* 370 (2013), 207–19.

- Rozin, P., Sociocultural influences on human food selection, in E.D. Capaldi (ed.), *Why we eat what we eat: The psychology of eating*, Washington, DC 1996, 233–63.
- Runciman, S., *A history of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1951–4.
- Rustow, M., Formal and informal patronage among Jews in the Islamic east: Evidence from the Cairo Geniza, in *al-Qanṭara* 29/2 (2008), 341–82.
- al-Sajdi, D., Trespassing the male domain: The “qaṣīdah” of Laylā al-Akhyaliyyah, in *JAL* 31/2 (2000), 121–46.
- de Sandoli, S., *Corpus inscriptionum crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, Jerusalem 1974.
- Sauvaget, J., Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks, in *JA* 238 (1950), 31–58.
- Sayeed, A., Women and hadith transmission: Two case studies from Mamluk Damascus, in *SI* 95 (2002), 71–94.
- Sayeed, A., *Women and the transmission of religious knowledge in Islam*, Cambridge 2013.
- Schacht, J., Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, 123–4.
- Schacht, J., [and C.E. Bosworth], al-Subkī, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xi, 744.
- Schopen, A., *Tinten und Tuschen des arabisch-islamischen Mittelalters. Dokumentation—Analyse—Rekonstruktion: ein Beitrag zur materiellen Kultur des Vorderen Orients*, Göttingen 2006.
- Schultz, W.C., Mahmud b. ‘Ali and the ‘new fulus’: Fourteenth-century Egyptian copper coinage reconsidered, in *American Journal of Numismatics* 10 (1998), 123–44.
- Schultz, W.C., An Ayyubid-style dirham of al-Ashraf Khalil, in *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 161 (1999), 1–6.
- Schultz, W.C., Medieval coins and monies of account: The case of large-flan Mamluk dinars, in *al-‘Usur al-Wusta: Bulletin of the Middle East Medievalists* 12/2 (2000), 29–33.
- Schultz, W.C., Counterfeits, forgeries, and imitations in medieval Islamic numismatics: Four case studies, in Anne Regourd (ed.), *Proceedings of the international study day, documents & history III, Islam 7th/20th Centuries, held at CRNS, Paris, France (14–15/11/13) (forthcoming)*.
- Schur, N., *A history of Acre*, Tel-Aviv 1990 [in Hebrew].
- Sellheim, R., al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xii, 631–2.
- Seng, Y.J., Invisible women: Residents of early sixteenth-century Istanbul, in G.R.G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 241–69.
- Sesiano J., Wafk, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xi, 28–31.
- Settis, S., Continuita, distanza, conoscenza: Tre usi dell’antico, in idem (ed.), *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana* iii, Turino 1986, 373–486.
- Shaham, R., Masters, their freed slaves, and the *waqf* in Egypt (eighteenth-twentieth centuries), in *JESHO* 43/2 (2000), 162–88.
- Sharon, M., *Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP)*, 7 vols., Leiden 1997–2013.

- Shatzmiller, M., *Labour in the medieval Islamic world*, Leiden 1994.
- Shatzmiller, M., Women and wage labour in the medieval Islamic west: Legal issues in an economic context, in *JESHO* 40 (1997), 174–206.
- Shoshan, B., Grain riots and the ‘moral economy’: Cairo, 1350–1517, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10/3 (1980), 459–78.
- Shoshan, B., *Popular culture in medieval Cairo*, Cambridge 2002.
- Shoshan, B., Mini-dramas by the water: On water disputes in fifteenth-century Damascus, in E. Margariti (ed.), *Histories of the Middle East*, Leiden 2011, 233–44.
- Shoshan, B., On the marital regime in Damascus, 1480–1500 CE, *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg Working Paper* 15, Bonn 2014, 1–20.
- Sievert, H., *Der Herrscherwechsel im Mamlukensultanat: Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu Abū Hāmid al-Qudsī und Ibn Tagrībīrdī*, Berlin 2002.
- Sievert, H., Family, friend or foe? Factions, households and interpersonal relations in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Everything is on the move: The Mamluk Empire as a node in (trans-)regional networks*, Bonn 2014, 81–123.
- Singer, A., *Palestinian peasants and Ottoman officials: Rural administration around sixteenth-century Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1994.
- Sivan, E., *L’Islam et la croisade: Ideologie et propagande dans les reaction musulmanes aux croisades*, Paris 1968.
- Sourdel, D., Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 987–8.
- Stern, S.M., Petitions from the Mamlūk period (notes on the Mamlūk documents from Sinai), in *BSOAS* 29 (1966), 233–76.
- Stewart, D.J., Professional literary mendicancy in the letters and *maqāmāt* of Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, in B. Gruendler, L. Marlow (eds.), *Writers and rulers: Perspectives on their relationship from Abbasid to Safavid times*, Wiesbaden 2004, 39–47.
- Tal, U., *Eretz Israel in medieval Arabic sources (634–1517): Selected translations*, Jerusalem 2014 [in Hebrew].
- Talmon-Heller, D., Muslim martyrdom and quest for martyrdom in the crusading period, in *al-Masaq* 14/2 (2002), 131–9.
- Talmon-Heller, D., Graves, relics, and sanctuaries: The evolution of Syrian sacred topography (eleventh–thirteenth centuries), in *Aram* 18–19 (2006–2007), 601–20.
- Talmon-Heller, D., *‘Ilm, shafā‘ah, and barakah*: The resources of Ayyubid and early Mamluk *ulamā*, in *MSR* 13 (2009), 23–46.
- Taragan, H., Sign of the times: Reusing the past in Baybar’s architecture in Palestine, in D.J. Wasserstein and A. Ayalon (eds.), *Mamluks and Ottomans: studies in honor of Michael Winter*, London and New York 2006, 54–66.
- al-Ṭarāwina, Ṭ.Th., *Mamlakat Ṣafād fī ‘ahd al-Mamālīk*, Beirut 1982.
- Tardy, L., The Circassian peoples and their neighbours in 1404, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32/1 (1978), 83–111.
- Taylor, C.S., *In the vicinity of the righteous*, Leiden 1999.

- Tekindağ, M.C. Şehabeddin, Īnāl (or Aynāl) al-Adj̄rūd, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 1198–9.
- Tetsuya, O., Cairene cemeteries as public loci in Mamluk Egypt, in *MSR* 10 (2006), 83–116.
- Thorau, P., *The lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the thirteenth century*, trans. P.M. Holt, London and New York 1992.
- Tillier, M., Women before the qāḏī under the Abbasids, in *Islamic Law and Society* 16 (2009), 280–301.
- Tor, D.G., *Mamlūk* loyalty: Evidence from the late Seljuq period, in *Asiatische Studien/ Études Asiatiques* 65/3 (2011), 767–96.
- Toru, M., The Salihyya quarter in the suburbs of Damascus: Its formation, structure, and transformation in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 47 (1995), 129–82.
- Tsugitaka, S., *State and rural society in medieval Islam: Sultans, muqta's and fallahun*, Leiden 1997.
- Tsugitaka, S., Sugar in the economic life of Mamluk Egypt, in *MSR* 8/2 (2004), 87–107.
- Tsugitaka, S., *Sugar in the social life of Medieval Islam*, Leiden 2014.
- Ulijaszek J.S., Human eating behaviour in an evolutionary ecological context, in *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 61/4 (2002), 517–26.
- Vajda, G., Hārūt wa-Mārūt, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 236–7.
- Vallet, E., *Marchands vénitiens en Syrie à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1999.
- Van Steenberg, J., Mamluk elite on the eve of al-Nāšir Muḥammad's death (1341): A look behind the scenes of mamluk politics, in *MSR* 9/2 (2005), 173–99.
- Van Steenberg, J., *Order out of chaos: Patronage, conflict and Mamluk socio-political culture, 1341–1382*, Leiden 2006.
- Van Steenberg, J., On the brink of a new era? Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366) and the Yalbughāwīyah, in *MSR* 15 (2011), 117–52.
- Van Steenberg, J., The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the cultural matrix of Mamlūk society: A reassessment of Mamlūk politics in the 1360s, in *JAOS* 131/3 (2011), 423–43.
- Vásáry, I., The institution of foster-brothers (*emildäš* and *kökeldäš*) in the Chingisid states, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36 (1982), 549–62.
- Wählin, L., The family cistern: 3,000 years of household water collection in Jordan, in M. Sabour and K. Vikør (eds.), *Ethnic encounter and culture change*, Bergen 1997, 233–49.
- Waines, D., Through a veil darkly: The study of women in muslim societies, a review article, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24/4 (1982), 642–59.
- Waines, D., Introduction: The formation of the classical Islamic world, in D. Waines (ed.), *Patterns of everyday life*, Aldershot UK 2002, xi–xviii.
- Waines, D., Luxury foods in medieval Islamic societies, in *World Archaeology* 34/3 (2003), 571–80.

- Walker, B.J., From ceramics to social theory: Reflections on Mamluk archaeology today, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 109–57.
- Walker, B.J., Tall Hisban excavation—2010: Madaba plains project, unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 4 June 2010.
- Walker, B.J., *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk frontier*, Chicago 2011.
- Walker, B.J., What can archaeology contribute to the new mamlukology? Where culture studies and social theory meet, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus?*, 31–35.
- Walker, B.J., Tall Hisban excavation—2013: Hisban cultural heritage project, Unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 7 June 2013.
- Walker, B.J., Tall Hisban excavation—2014: Hisban cultural heritage project, Unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 11 June 2014.
- Walker, B.J., Planned villages and rural resilience on the Mamluk frontier: A preliminary report on the 2013 excavation season at Tall Hisban, in S. Conermann (ed.), *History and society during the Mamluk period (1250–1517): Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel research college I*, Bonn 2014, 157–92.
- Walker, B.J. and Ø.S. LaBianca, Tall Hisban, in D.R. Keller, B.A. Porter and C.A. Tuttle (eds.), *Archaeology in Jordan, 2010 and 2011 Seasons*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 116/4 (2012), 716–7.
- Walker, B.J. and Ø.S. LaBianca, Hisban Cultural Heritage Project, in D.R. Keller, B.A. Porter and C.A. Tuttle (eds.), *Archaeology in Jordan, 2012 and 2013 Seasons*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 118/4 (2014), 627–76.
- Walls, A.G., The Turbat Barakat Khan or Khalidi library, in *Levant* 6/1 (1974), 25–50.
- Weil G., and G.S. Colin, Abdjad, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, 97–8.
- Weiss, G., *Legal documents written by the court clerk Halfon ben Manasse (dated mo–1138): Study in the diplomatics of the Cairo Geniza*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Pennsylvania 1970.
- Westbrook, R., Patronage in the ancient Near East, in *JESHO* 48/2 (2005), 210–33.
- White, S., *The climate of rebellion in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2011.
- Wiet, G., Barsbāy, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, 1053–4.
- Wiet, G., *Les biographies du Manhal Šāfi*, Cairo 1932.
- Wiet, G., Les secrétaires de la chancellerie (Kuttāb-el-Sirr) en Égypte sous les Mamlouks Circassiens (784–922/1382–1517), in *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales* 1, Paris 1923, 271–314.
- Wilkins, C.L., Slavery and household formation in Ottoman Aleppo 1640–1700, in *JESHO* 56/3 (2013), 345–91.

- Witkam, J.J., *Seven specimens of Arabic manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Leiden presented to the 9th congress of Arabic and Islamic studies, Amsterdam, 1–6 September 1978*, Leiden 1978.
- Witkam, J.J., Gazing at the sun: Remarks on the Egyptian magician al-Būnī and his work, in A. Vrolijk and J. Hogendijk (eds.), *O ye gentlemen: Arabic studies on science and literary culture, in honour of Remke Kruk*, Leiden 2007, 183–200.
- Wollina, T., *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt-, und Selbstbild im Journal des Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq*, Bonn 2014.
- Wright, F.A., The food of the gods, in *The Classical Review* 31/1 (1917), 4–6.
- Yosef, K., *Ethnic groups, social relationships and dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Tel-Aviv 2011 [in Hebrew].
- Yosef, K., Mamluks and their relatives in the period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517), in *MSR* 16 (2012), 55–69.
- Yosef, K., *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* in the Mamlūk Sultanate, in *JSAI* 40 (2013), 335–62.
- Yosef, K., The term *mamlūk* and slave status during the Mamlūk Sultanate, in *al-Qanṭara* 19/1 (2013), 7–34.
- Yosef, K., Masters and slaves: Substitute kinship in the Mamlūk Sultanate, in U. Vermeulen et al. (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras VIII: Proceedings of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd international colloquium organized at the University of Ghent in May 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013*, Leuven, Belgium 2016, 557–79.
- Yosef, K., The names of the *Mamlūks*: Ethnic groups and ethnic solidarity in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517), in A. Levanoni (ed.), *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk rule: Political, social and cultural aspects (forthcoming)*.
- Zakkār, S., *Taʾriḫ Ṣafad*, Damascus 2009.
- Zeʿevi, D., My slave, my son, my lord: Slavery, family and state in the Islamic Middle East, in T. Miura and J.E. Philips (eds.), *Slave elites in the Middle East and Africa: A comparative study*, 71–80.
- Zerdoun-Bat Yehouda, M., *Les Encre noires au Moyen Âge (jusque 1600)*, Paris 1983.
- Zetterstéen, K.V., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hiğra nach arabischen Handschriften*, Leiden 1919.
- al-Ziriklī, K. al-D., *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 8 vols., Beirut 1979.

# Index

- al-‘Abbās al-Musta‘īn Billāh 251, 253  
Abbasids xiii, 85, 86, 87, 95, 119, 202, 254,  
268, 301  
‘Abd al-Hādī ibn ‘Umar 168, 170  
Maryam 170  
‘Abd al-Qādir 180  
‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn al-Haysam 131, 138  
Abruk al-Jakamī 24  
Abū Bakr ibn Arghūn al-Dawādār  
al-Nāṣirī 26, 27, 30, 33  
Abū al-Barakāt 347  
Abū Daqn 179  
Abū Dāwūd 324  
Abū al-Fidā’ Ismā‘īl  
(al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad) 336  
Abū Ḥanifa 83, 324  
Abulustayn (Elbistan) 234, 359  
Abū Muḥammad Abū Jamza 146  
Abū Shāma 158  
Abū Ṭūghān, *see* Yūsuf ibn Ṣārūjā al-Ḥijāzī  
Abū al-Yumn (Muḥammad ibn  
Muḥammad) 180–182, 183  
Acre, *see* ‘Akkā  
Ādar 299, 300  
Adhrū‘āt 178  
al-‘Ādil Kitbughā 55, 56, 60, 63 fn. 234, 67,  
68, 70, 254, 255, 260, 263  
al-‘Ādil Salāmish 249, 254, 255, 258  
al-‘Ādil Ṭūmānbāy 103, 108, 109, 112, 113, 129,  
255, 260, 261  
‘Ādiliyya Madrasa, *see* *madrasa* 239  
adoption 22, 26–27, 28  
Africa 164  
*aghā* 19, 35, 40, 41  
agriculture xviii, xix, 93, 289–290, 295, 296,  
297, 309  
Aḥmad ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy 23  
Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī 48  
Aḥmed ibn Bāyezid 233  
Aḥmad ibn Shaykh 127  
‘Ā’isha, wife of Muḥammad 324  
‘Ā’isha al-Bā‘ūniyya 171–173  
‘Ā’isha, wife of Ibn al-Nashū 162  
‘Ā’isha, daughter-in-law of Aḥmad Ibn  
Ṭawq 184  
‘Ā’isha bint Ibn al-Mibrad 168, 170  
‘Ā’isha bint Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥiyya 167  
‘Ajām 237  
‘Ajlūn 295  
‘Akkā (Acre) xix, 266, 335, 336, 339, 340, 341,  
342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351  
Burj al-Sulṭān xxiii, 341, 343, 351 fn. 39  
Khān al-Shawārda 341  
Āl Malik 9–11  
‘Alā’ al-Dawla 234, 235  
alcohol 7, 8, 9–11, 150  
Aleppo 73, 237, 238, 253, 280, 347, 357, 359  
Alexandria xiv, 83 fn. 39, 119, 136, 211, 241,  
263  
‘Alī, *shaykh* 50  
‘Alī, Amīr 122  
‘Alī, caliph 237  
‘Alī ibn Nāṣir 168  
‘Alī Pasha 230  
Aljāy al-Yūsufī 24  
Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī 35  
Alṭunbughā al-Ṣāliḥī 359, 360  
*amān* 52, 56, 73, 74, 75  
Amasye 234  
Amat al-Qāhir 167  
*‘amil al-bāb wa-l-shūna* 118  
*amīr sūlāḥ* 110, 128, 327, 328  
Amīr Sulṭān 233  
al-‘Āmirī, Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī 297  
‘Ammān (Amman) 302, 308  
Anār ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī 171  
Anaṣ ibn al-‘Ādil Kitbughā 63 fn. 234, 67, 68  
Anatolia, Anatoliens 160, 179, 233, 234, 264,  
294 fn. 23, 360  
‘Anbar 105  
al-Andalus 146, 204, 296  
Antioch 339  
apostasy 3, 8  
Aqbirdī min ‘Alībāy 100, 141  
al-Aqṣā Mosque, *see* *mosques*  
Aqūsh, Jamāl al-Dīn 280  
Aqūsh al-Mansūrī al-Afram 60, 72  
al-‘Arabī, Abū Bakr ibn 324  
Arazmak 109  
architecture 269, 273, 277, 301

- Arghūn al-‘Alā’ī 24  
 Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāşirī 26, 27, 30, 33  
 Ariqţay al-Qibjaqī 50  
 Armenia, Armenians 9, 10, 241, 277 fn. 26  
 Arsūf (Apollonia) 337, 339  
 Arwād (Ruad) 335  
 Aşalbāy al-Jarkasiyya xiii, xiv, 97–113, 165  
 Asan bint Muḥammad 167  
 Asanbughā ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Turkī 329,  
 330 fn. 92  
 al-Ashraf Abū l-Naşr Qā’itbāy, *see* Qāyrbāy  
 al-Ashraf Aynāl 251, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263  
 al-Ashraf Barsbāy, *see* Barsbāy  
 al-Ashraf İnāl 12, 344, 345  
 al-Ashraf Jānbalāt, *see* Jānbalāt  
 al-Ashraf Khalil 29, 55, 66, 71, 79, 86, 249,  
 254, 256, 259, 263, 265, 266, 268, 335, 337  
 al-Ashraf Kujuk 56, 250, 253, 256, 258, 358  
 al-Ashraf Mūsā 249, 253, 254 fn. 14, 256, 261  
 al-Ashraf Sha’bān 24, 50, 66, 192, 250, 251,  
 256, 259, 298  
 al-Ashraf Tūmānbāy xvii, 130, 142, 238, 239,  
 240, 242, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 263  
 Asia Minor 135, 316  
 assassination 55, 72, 87, 101, 102, 109, 113  
*Atābak (al-‘asākīr)* xiv, 33, 55, 68, 73, 74, 97,  
 102, 103, 128  
 ‘Athlith 335, 336, 339  
 ‘Ayn Ḥisbān 303  
 Aynabak al-Badrī 72  
 al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 3, 4, 5,  
 60, 61, 71, 165, 210, 213  
 al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī 163, 164  
 Aytāmish 354  
 Aytamush al-Bajāsī 33, 68  
 Ayyubids 149, 164, 270, 273, 277, 284, 285  
 Azbakiyya 100, 103, 105, 106  
 al-‘Aziz Yūsuf ibn Barsbāy 256, 260, 261  
 ‘Azīza bint al-Saṭḥī 174  
  
 al-Badrī al-Aşturlābī 207, 221 fn. 94  
 Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Khayyāta 182  
 Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā 49  
 Baghdad xiii, 94, 153, 232, 253  
 Bahādur al-Manjakī 117, 132, 137  
 Bahādur al-Timurtāshī 35  
 Bahā’ī movement 342  
 Bahā’ullāh 342  
  
 Bajjās 135  
 al-Bakrī, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd  
 al-Wārith 5–7  
 Baktamur al-Jūkandār al-Manşūrī 68  
 Baktamur al-Sāqī 34  
 Balqā 302  
*balliq*-ballad xvi, 196, 198  
 banditry 13, *see also* criminality  
 banquet 79, 83, 84, 85, 91, 93, 94, 95, 105, 106  
 Barada River 293  
 Baraka, *umm walad* of al-Nāşir  
 Muḥammad 24  
 Baraka al-Jūbānī 72  
 Bardabek al-Şayfi Sūdūn  
 al-Muḥammadi 182  
 Fāṭima 182  
*bardadār al-sultān* 129, 130  
 al-Barmāwī, Ḥājj ‘Alī 130  
 Barqūq, al-Ẓāhir xiv, 7, 8, 9, 28, 33, 44, 60,  
 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 80 fn. 21, 103 fn. 30, 115,  
 116, 117, 119, 122, 123, 127, 136, 165, 251,  
 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 287, 340  
 Barsbāy, al-Ashraf 23, 25, 26, 27 fn. 59, 61,  
 64 fn. 237, 121, 125, 126, 127, 131, 136, 247,  
 248, 251, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263, 328,  
 329, 344, 349, 350  
 Bashtāk al-Nāşirī 34, 80  
 al-Başrī, Ḥasan 323  
 al-Bā’ūnī, Bahā’ al-Dīn 178  
 Baybars al-Jāshankīr 34, 56, 60, 71, 72, 250,  
 254, 255, 256, 259, 261  
 Baybars al-Manşūrī 25, 28, 29  
 Bāyezīd I 233  
 Bāyezīd II 230, 233  
 Baysarī al-Shamsī 25, 26 fn. 54  
*Bayt al-māl* (State Treasury) 4, 110  
 Bayt Ra’s 299  
 al-Bazrāwī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ 185  
 bedouin / bedouin tribes / Arab shaykh 47,  
 121, 123, 124, 238, 357  
 Beirut 179, 335, 336  
 Bikhān 42, 43, 54  
*Bilād al-Rūm* 232  
*Bilād al-Shām* xviii, 269, 281, 287, 289, 290,  
 300 fn. 45, 301, 302, 304, 316  
 Bilbays 237  
 Bilik al-Khāzindār al-Ẓāhirī 30  
 al-Biqā’ī, Ibrāhīm Ibn ‘Umar 203

- Bīra 135  
 al-Bīrī, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf 135, 138  
 Birmā 7, 8, 9  
 al-Birzālī, 'Alam al-Dīn 166, 171 fn. 89,  
 174 fn. 103  
 Buḥayra 121, 122, 238  
 Bukhāra 233  
 Būlāq 329  
 Bulāṭ al-Nāṣirī 42, 43, 57–59  
 Bulbul bint 'Abd Allāh 168, 169, 170, 175  
 al-Būnī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad 324, 325, 326  
 Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī 104  
 Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Mu'tamid 180  
 Burj al-Sulṭān, *see* 'Akkā  
 Bursa 235  
 al-Būṣirī, Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd 203  
 al-Bustānī 184  
 Buṭā al-Ṭūlūtāmūrī al-Zāhirī 61, 73, 74  
 Buzlār al-'Umarī al-Nāṣirī 26  
 Byzantium, Byzantine period 150, 156, 164,  
 277, 301, 303, 304, 305, 308  
 Cairo xi, xvi, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14, 67, 74, 79, 86, 122,  
 123, 133, 146, 149, 152, 153, 154, 161, 174,  
 183, 194, 212, 216, 239, 241, 285, 289, 294,  
 331, 332, 335, 353, 354, 355 fn. 21, 360, 361  
 Bayn al-Qaṣrayn 105  
 Citadel 6, 10, 24, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105,  
 106, 107, 109, 117, 165 fn. 42, 198, 354  
 Dār al-Baqar 353  
 Qarāfa cemetery 146, 232  
 Zuwayla Gate xvii, 238, 239  
 caliph, caliphate, caliphal xiii, 85, 86, 87, 94,  
 95, 119, 152, 203, 235, 252, 253, 268  
 Caribbean 88  
 Catalonia 348  
 Çelebi, Evliyā xvii, 230–242  
 Çelebi, Ḥilmī 240  
 Çerkes Ğāzī Kurtbay 240  
 Chaldiran 234  
 China 94  
 Churches xviii, 3, 4, 5, 150, 151, 271, 277, 283,  
 284, 305  
 Cilicia 235  
 Circassia, Circassians xiv, 9, 24, 27 fn. 59,  
 28 fn. 60, 29, 35 fn. 102, 61, 64 fn. 237, 76,  
 78, 79, 80, 81, 115, 120, 125, 126, 137, 232,  
 239, 240, 241, 246, 257, 268, 328 fn. 74  
 Coast/ coastal regions xix, 335, 336, 337,  
 338, 339, 340, 347  
 Concubines/ slave girls xv, 26 fn. 56, 97,  
 98 fn. 2, 103, 147, 156, 160, 163–166, 167,  
 168, 169, 174, 175, 182, 183  
 Ghazal 170  
 Ḥulwa 170  
 Jawhara 170  
 Mubāraka 179  
 Qunnuq-Bey 165  
 Shīrīn 165  
 Siwar-Bāy 165  
 Suryāy 180  
 Zahrā' 179  
 Confiscation 4, 15, 113, 126, 292  
 Constantinople 156  
 cookbooks xiii, 76, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91  
 Copts 241  
 corruption *see* criminality  
 cotton 169, 348, 349, 351 fn. 39  
 Crac des Chevaliers, *see* Ḥiṣn al-Akrād  
 Criminality xi, xii, 5, 9, 12, 13 fn. 8, 163  
 Crusader xviii, 70, 263, 264, 265, 266, 269,  
 270, 271, 273, 276, 277, 279, 280, 282, 283,  
 284, 285, 286, 305, 335, 342, 351 fn. 39  
 Crusader castle of Margat 264, 339  
 Cyprus 335, 349 fn. 34  
 Damanhūr 121, 122  
 Damascus xvi, xvii, xix, 14, 47, 54, 56, 67, 135,  
 162, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 173, 175 fn. 108,  
 177–186, 209, 236, 237, 248, 264, 266,  
 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295,  
 297, 298, 300 fn. 46, 346, 347, 354, 356,  
 357, 359, 360  
 Şālīhiyya neighborhood 167, 170, 173, 236  
 al-Shāmiyya school 173  
 al-Sharaf al-A'lā' al-Shāmī 182  
 Damietta 241  
 Dammuh 151  
 Danube 230  
 Danube Vinto 78  
 Danw 159  
 Dār al-Baqar, *see* Cairo  
 dār al-niyāba 293  
 al-Darāminī, Shams al-Dīn ibn 183  
 Dasht-i Kıpçak (Kıpçak steppes) 76, 78, 79,  
 80, 81

- dawādār kabīr* 128, 129, 130, 132  
 al-Dayrī, Sa'd al-Dīn 4  
 Dead Sea 302  
 Dhūlqādir (Dulgadir) 235, 357, 359  
 al-Dīmīyātī, 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Khalaf 330  
*dīnār* (Dinar) 207, 224, 247, 264  
*diqqa* 271  
 Dirham 14, 247, 248, 264, 266, 267  
 divorce, divorcee *see* marriage  
*Dīwān al-Inshā'* 123  
*Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ* 119, 120, 130  
*Dīwān al-Mamālik* 118  
*Dīwān al-Mufrad* xiv, 115–134  
*Dīwān al-Wizāra* 119, 120, 127, 130, 137  
 Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra) 271,  
 273, 277 fn. 22  
 dream 53, 154, 231, 236, 238, 242
- Eastern 'Anāba 183  
 elbow columns 273, 274, 276, 277, 279, 283  
 elite ix, xi, xii, xiv, xviii, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13 fn. 8, 14,  
 15, 16, 17, 51, 53, 76, 77, 81, 83, 85, 88, 89,  
 90, 92, 93, 94, 115, 149, 154, 163, 165, 172,  
 174, 177, 184, 231, 273, 289
- Epiphany 150  
 Ertene, Seljuk leader 359  
 Esdraelon/Jezreel Valley 348  
 Ethiopia (Habesh) xvii, 179  
 eunuchs 33, 35 fn. 102, 37, 50, 163, 194  
 Eurasian steppes 79, 338  
 Europe, Europeans, *see also* Franks 88, 94,  
 241, 270, 315, 351 fn. 39  
 exile xiv, 6, 7, 108, 110, 111, 113, 357, 360, 362
- Fahd ibn Ibrāhīm 150  
 al-Fāmī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn  
 'Abdallāh 179  
 family xii, xiii, 17–22, 24, 25, 30, 35, 36, 40,  
 41, 42, 43, 47, 50, 54, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62,  
 63, 64 fn. 237, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 131 fn.  
 66, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 150, 151, 171, 178,  
 181, 182, 185, 186, 234, 298, 300, 304, 310,  
 346, 360  
 Fāṭima bint 'Alī ibn Khāṣṣbak 98, 99, 100,  
 103, 109, 112, 113  
 Fāṭima bint Muḥammad al-Sālihiyya 167  
 Fāṭima bint 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Hādī 170  
 Fāṭima bint al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar 23  
 Fatimids, Fatimid period xiii, 10, 149, 151,  
 152, 216
- fatwā*, pl. *fatāwā* xix, 235, 239, 289, 292, 293,  
 345, 346, 347, 349  
 Fayyūm (Fayyum) 98, 165 fn. 48  
 festivals and festivities 79, 107, 108, 150, 152,  
 347  
*fitna* 51, 53, 55, 56, 65, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 151  
 fortification 302, 308, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340,  
 349  
 Franks, *see also* Crusaders 241, 271, 281, 336,  
 337, 338, 339, 340, 347, 348, 349  
 Fustāṭ 89, 149, 150, 151, 152
- Galen 164  
 genealogy 203, 16–75  
 Genizah 155, 156, 184 fn. 56  
 Genoa 348  
 Georgia 230  
 Gharbiyya 7, 123, 133  
 al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad 324  
 Ghazza (Gaza) 340  
 al-Ghazzī, Badr al-Dīn 160, 161  
 Golden Horde xiii, 78, 80  
 grain 14, 92, 93, 162, 289, 298 fn. 39, 303, 309
- ḥadīth* (Hadith) 6, 7, 148 fn. 6, 166, 167, 168,  
 170, 172, 323, 324, 325  
*ḥājib* 8, 136  
 al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥammūda  
 al-Ḥashā'ishī 330  
 al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh, the sixth Fatimid  
 caliph 149  
 al-Hakkāri, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Īsā ibn  
 Muḥammad 281  
 al-Ḥalabī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 183  
 Ḥalīma bint al-Turkumānī 184  
 Ḥamāt 36, 54, 359  
*Ḥaram al-Sharīf* 270 fn. 8, 271, 273, 282  
*al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn* 232  
 Harem (*ḥarīm*) 28, 29, 32, 97, 99, 105, 113, 118,  
 153, 165  
 al-Ḥaṣkafī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad  
 (Ibn al-Mallā) 99, 103  
 Ḥawrān 300, 305  
 Hawwāra 300  
 Hebron 340  
 Hellenistic period 308  
 Ḥijāz 11, 241, 297, 329  
*ḥilf* (oath) 70, 72  
 Ḥimṣ (Homs) 282, 359

- al-Ḥimṣī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad 97, 98, 100, 104, 105, 106, 185
- Ḥisbān Citadel 302, 303, 304, 308
- Ḥiṣn al-Akrād 339
- Homs, *see* Ḥimṣ
- husbandry 295, 296, 298, 300, 309
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī [al-Mibrad],  
*see* Ibn al-Mibrad
- Ibn Abī al-Faraj family 132, 134, 136, 140, 141  
Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghanī 133, 138  
Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad 139  
Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq 133, 135, 136, 137  
Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir 139
- Ibn Abī Ghudda, Muḥammad, son of  
al-Qalqashandī xvii, 203
- Ibn Abī al-Jalūd 129–30
- Ibn al-‘Arabī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad, 324
- Ibn al-‘Arabī, Muḥyi al-Dīn xvii, 232, 236–237
- Ibn ‘Arrām, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn ‘Alī 211
- Ibn ‘Asākir, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan 171, 297 fn. 35
- Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad 197
- Ibn al-Banyāsī 180
- Ibn al-Bārīzī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn  
Muḥammad 203, 214 fn. 41
- Ibn al-Batanūnī, ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar 162, 163
- Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh 336
- Ibn Dāniyāl, Muḥammad 159, 161
- Ibn al-Dawādārī, Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abdallāh 62, 354
- Ibn al-Ghazzī, Muḥammad Rāḍī al-Dīn 178
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī 8, 44 fn. 140, 60, 152, 167, 168, 210, 213, 215
- Ibn Ḥajj al-‘Abdarī, Muḥammad ibn  
Muḥammad 159
- Ibn Ḥamza, Kamāl al-Dīn 180
- Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad 97, 98, 100, 104, 105, 106
- Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad 323
- Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 237, 238, 239, 362
- Ibn al-Jī‘ān, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 106
- Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidā’ Ismā‘īl ibn  
‘Umar 168
- Ibn Khabīr, Bedouin shaykh 238
- Ibn al-Kuwayz, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 136, 140
- Ibn al-Mallā, *see* al-Ḥaṣkafī
- Ibn Mammātī, As‘ad ibn  
al-Muhadhhdhab 296
- Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad ibn  
Mukarram 205, 206
- Ibn al-Mibrad, ‘Abd al-Hādī 168, 170
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Abū Aḥmad 169
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh 169, 170
- Ibn al-Mibrad, ‘Alī 170
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Ḥasan 169, 170
- Ibn al-Mibrad, ‘Umar 169
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd  
al-Hādī 168, 169, 170, 173, 297
- Ibn Muḥibb al-Dīn, Ḥasan 135, 138
- Ibn al-Mu‘tamīd, Burhān al-Dīn 180
- Ibn al-Muzallīq, Shihāb al-Dīn 177  
Sārah 177
- Ibn al-Muzawwaq, Abū Bakr ibn  
Quṭlūbak 133, 138
- Ibn Muzhir, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn  
Muḥammad 203
- Ibn Muzhir, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad 104, 105, 106
- Ibn al-Nashū, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad 162
- Ibn Naṣr Allāh, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn  
Muḥammad 122, 123, 127, 135, 139
- Ibn Nubāta, Jamāl al-Dīn 209, 210
- Ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn, Muḥibb al-Dīn 180
- Ibn Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn, Taqī al-Dīn 177, 179, 181, 182, 184  
Āmina (Sitt al-‘Ulamā’) 181
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad 287
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn  
Abī Bakr 185
- Ibn Qudāma, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn  
Aḥmad 293
- Ibn al-Raqqād, Badr al-Dīn 104
- Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, ‘Alī ibn Dāwūd 3, 4, 5, 8
- Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, al-Muzaffar ibn  
Naṣr 86
- Ibn Shaddād, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī 25
- Ibn Shāhīn, *see* al-Malaṭī
- Ibn Sirāj al-Andalūsī, Abū al-Qāsim  
Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad 293
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsīn 34, 49, 60, 61, 67, 80, 131, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 213, 327, 328, 329
- Ibn Ṭawq, Aḥmad xv, 159, 168, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 292
- Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad 39

- Ibrāhīm, a Samaritan 356  
 Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Zirī 165  
 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad 48  
 al-Ibshihī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad 164  
 al-Ikhnā'ī, Muḥyi al-Dīn 179, 182  
*ikhwāniyyāt* (letters) 46, 203, 208, 209  
 'Imād al-Dīn 185  
 'Ināl al-'Alā'ī al-Nāṣirī (al-Ajrūd), *see* al-Ashraf  
 'Ināl  
 'Ināl al-Jakamī 34  
 'Ināl al-Yūsufī 73  
 al-'Inbarī, Shihāb al-Dīn 184  
 al-'Inbarī, Muḥyi al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Shihāb  
 al-Dīn al-'Inbarī 184  
 India 88, 94, 234  
*inīyyāt* 19, 35, 40, 41  
*iqṭā'* 7, 8, 117, 121, 126, 128, 293, 329  
 Iran, *see also* Persia 51, 88, 94, 316, 339  
 Iraq xvi, 204  
 al-Isfahānī, Aḥmad Abū Shujā' 168  
 al-Isfahānī, 'Imād al-Dīn (Muḥammad Ibn  
 Muḥammad) 271  
 al-Iskandarī, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh 173  
 Istanbul 233, 238, 239, 240, 241  
 Italy 348  
 Iyās al-Jarkashī 287
- Jaffa 285 fn. 49, 339  
 Jakam min 'Awḍ 34  
 Jānbalāṭ xiv, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105,  
 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 252, 256,  
 258, 260, 261, 263  
 Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī 237  
 Jānibak al-Ashrafī Barsbāy 26, 29 fn. 69  
 Jānibak Nā'ib Jidda 136  
 Jānibak al-Zaynī, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ 131, 139  
 Jānkaldī al-Jarkasiyya 99  
 Jankli ibn Albābā 48  
 Jaqmaq 3, 4, 5, 15, 126, 251, 253, 257, 258, 260,  
 262, 329  
 Jaraktamur al-Manjakī 26, 27  
 al-Jārīhī, Abū Su'ūd 232, 234, 241  
 Jarkas al-Khalilī 7, 8, 138  
 Jawhar al-Mu'īnī 105  
 al-Jawharī, *see* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī  
 Jazīra Island 10  
 Jazīrat al-'Arab (Arabian Peninsula) 237  
 Jericho 302  
 Jerusalem xviii, 184, 269–286, 292, 293, 294,  
 302, 340
- Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (Gate of the Cotton  
 Merchants) 285  
 Jaffa Gate 274  
 Mamilla Cemetery 269, 274, 280, 281, 282  
 Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila (Street of the Chain  
 Gate) 282  
 Jidda (Jeddah) 136  
*jifr* (onomancy) 236  
*jihād* (Holy War) 273, 280, 281, 282  
 Johannes de Galonfontibus 80, 81, 82  
 Jordan xix, 290 fn. 13, 291, 294, 299, 300, 301,  
 302, 308, 309, 310  
 Jordan River Valley xix, 287, 290  
 Joseph 162, 355 fn. 18  
 al-Jubayl 70  
 Junghāy 37
- al-Kafāfī, Marzūq 232, 234, 241  
 al-Kāmil Sha'bān ibn al-Nāṣir  
 Muḥammad 24  
 al-Kāmil Sunqur 259
- Karak 55, 56, 358, 359, 360, 361  
 Kasbāy 105  
*kāshif* 122, 132, 135  
*kāshif al-kushshāf* 124, 125, 128, 129, 130  
*kātib* 133, 135  
*kātib al-mamālik* 118  
*kātib al-sirr* 47, 104, 105, 135, 136  
 Kayseri 359, 359  
 Kemālpāšāzāde Aḥmed 231, 234, 236, 241  
 Khadija (Sitt al-'Ulamā') 181  
 Khā'ir Bey 238, 239, 240, 241  
 Khalil ibn Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī 24  
 Khān al-Shawārda, *see* Acre  
*Khānqā* 269, 273  
 Khānqā al-Ṣalāhiyya (Ribāṭ  
 al-Ṣalāhiyya) 136, 271  
*khaṭīb* 6–8, 104, 135, 185  
 Khaṭṭāb, Zayn al-Dīn 178  
 Khātūn bint Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī 168  
*Khawand* 99, 101, 102, 106–113, 165  
*khāzindār* 105, 132  
*khidma* 21, 31, 33, 34, 35, 43, 48 fn. 154, 50–55,  
 57, 59, 69, 72, 73  
*Khizānat al-bunūd* (Storehouse of  
 Banners) 9  
*Khushdashiyya* xii, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 36,  
 38–40, 41, 59, 60–66, 70, 74, 112, 252,  
 254–255, 258

- Khushqadam 24, 165, 251, 257, 258, 260, 262  
*kiswa* see marriage  
 Kitbughā al-Manşūrī, see al-Ādil Kitbughā  
 Kızılbāş 234, 235  
 Konya 233, 235, 236  
 Korqud ibn Bāyezid 233  
 koumiss, see *qūmiz*  
 al-Kubakī, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī 274, 276,  
 280, 282  
 Kundaghdi 30  
 Kündak al-Sāqī 28, 29  
*kunya* 43, 246, 248, 255, 258, 260, 261, 262,  
 263, 268  
 Kurds 234  
 Kurtbāy 100  
 al-Kutubi, Muḥammad ibn Shākir 49
- Lājīn al-Jūkandār al-‘Azīzī 30  
 Lājīn al-Ustādār al-Rūmī 50  
*laqab* 208, 209, 214, 246, 248, 255, 257, 265,  
 313 fn. 8, 328  
 Levant 88 fn. 68, 152, 335, 339, 349  
 literarization 45, 62  
 loyalty 10, 17, 21, 36, 37, 50–59, 60, 61, 65, 66,  
 68, 69–75, 238, 357, 359, 360  
 al-Lu’lu’ī, Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf 181
- Madaba Plains xix, 302, 304  
 Madīnat al-Fayyūm 101  
 Madrasa xviii, 236, 269, 273, 281  
 al-Ādiliyya Madrasa 239  
 al-Şalāhiyya Madrasa 271, 272, 283 fn. 43  
 al-Tankiziyya Madrasa 285
- Maghrib 234, 322, 330, 331  
 Magic 270, 321, 325, 326  
 Maḥmūd, Jamāl al-Dīn 119, 137  
 maintenance money (*nafaqa*), see marriage  
 Majd al-Dīn, Imām 104  
 al-Malaṭī, Khalīl Ibn Shāhīn ‘Abd al-Başıṭ  
 al-Ẓāhirī 25, 155, 329  
 Malatyā 73  
*malik al-umarā’* 124, 125, 128  
 Malikbāy al-Jarkasiyya al-Ashrafiyya 23  
*Mamālik sulṭāniyya* (Sultanīc Mamluks) xiv,  
 115  
 al-Ma’mūn ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd, Abbasid  
 caliph 86  
 Mamilla Cemetery, see Jerusalem  
 Manjak al-Yūsufī 26  
 Mankūtāmūr al-Ḥusāmī 30
- al-Manşūr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Barqūq 165, 251,  
 256, 260  
 al-Manşūr Abū Bakr ibn al-Nāşir  
 Muḥammad 250, 256, 259, 357, 358  
 al-Manşūr ‘Alī ibn al-Ashraf Sha’bān 251, 258  
 al-Manşūr ‘Alī ibn al-Mu’izz Aybak 249, 253,  
 256, 259  
 al-Manşūr Ḥājji (al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Ḥājji) 251,  
 256, 257, 259  
 al-Manşūr Lājīn 30, 60, 67, 68, 71, 250, 254,  
 255, 258, 261, 263  
 al-Manşūr Muḥammad, grandson of al-Nāşir  
 Muḥammad 250, 256, 259  
 al-Manşūr Muḥammad II, Ayyubid amir of  
 Ḥamāt 54  
 al-Manşūr Qalāwūn, see Qalāwūn  
 al-Manşūr ‘Uthmān 251, 253, 256, 260, 261,  
 262 fn. 22  
 al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī xvi, xvii, 5, 6, 7,  
 9, 10, 11, 14, 47, 60, 61, 71, 119, 131, 146, 153,  
 154, 201, 202, 204–217, 330
- Maqs 150  
*māristān* (hospital) 236, 355  
 Marj Dābiq 234–237, 238  
 Marj Ibn ‘Amir 348  
 Marqab (Margat) 339  
 marriage xv, xvi, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 39,  
 40, 41, 67, 80, 134, 147, 155, 159, 177–186  
 divorce, divorcee 29, 162, 178, 180, 181,  
 182, 183  
*kiswa* (clothing) 182, 185  
*mahr* (dower/ morning gift) 104  
*nafaqa*, maintenance money 178  
 polygamy 179–182  
 restriction 22, 25, 27, 30, 32, 39, 40, 41  
 rights of women 182–183  
*şadāq* (marriage gift) 182, 183–186  
 wedding (festivities) 7, 8, 79, 105–106, 151  
 widows 23, 67, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184
- Mashriq 321, 322, 330  
*mashāba* 274, 276  
 mausoleum, see *turba*  
 Mecca xiv, 110, 111, 153, 162, 232, 316, 329, 331  
 Medina 231, 232  
 Melisende 277, 283  
*mihṛāb* 271, 276  
 Mīntāsh, see Tamurbughā al-Afḍalī al-Ashrafi  
 Mīnyat Ghamr 123  
 Misk 107  
 Mişrbāy 100–101

- al-Mizza 184  
Mongols 337, 339  
Mosques xviii, 3, 4, 7, 98, 101, 104, 149,  
165 fn. 48, 236, 237, 239, 269, 281, 299,  
329, 355 fn. 21  
al-Aqṣā 271, 273, 277, 279  
al-Azhar 149  
Ibn al-ʿĀṣ 5, 241  
Jāmiʿ al-Maghāriba 277  
Saḳīfa 185  
*muʿadhdhin* 7, 8, 179  
al-Muʿayyad Aḥmad 260, 261, 262 fn. 22  
al-Muʿayyad Shaykh 23, 33, 34, 44, 67, 120,  
121, 123, 124, 127, 133, 135, 251, 256, 257,  
260, 261, 262 fn. 22, 263, 264  
al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā 271, 273, 277  
*mufti* 231, 293, 347  
al-Muʿizz Aybak 249, 253, 256, 259  
Muḥammad, the Prophet 84 fn. 43, 133, 154,  
172, 231, 232, 233, 235, 238, 240, 241, 242,  
324  
Muḥammad ibn Barqūq 117  
Muḥammad ibn Qāyṭbāy, *see* al-Nāṣir  
Muḥammad ibn Qāyṭbāy  
Muḥammad ibn Salama, Abū al-Ṭayyib  
324  
Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj 150  
Muḥammad al-Suruḳī 168  
*muḥtasib* 146, 153, 154  
Mujir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān  
al-ʿUlaymī, 280, 281  
Mūsā ibn al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī ibn Qalāwūn 79  
Musabbiḥī, Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh  
al-Ḥarranī 149, 150, 151, 152  
*mushīr al-dawla* 119, 120, 133  
al-Mustakfi I, Abbasid caliph of Cairo 254  
al-Mustanṣir, Abbasid caliph of Cairo 253  
al-Mustanṣir, title of Mamluk sultans 249  
al-Mustaʿṣim, the last Abbasid caliph in  
Baghdad 253  
al-Mustaʿṣim, title of Mamluk sultans 249,  
253  
al-Mustawfi, Shihāb al-Dīn 183  
al-Mutanabbī, Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn  
al-Ḥusayn 197  
*mutawallī* 182, 293  
al-Muzaffar Aḥmad ibn al-Muʿayyad  
Shaykh 23  
al-Muzaffar Baybars al-Jāshankīr, *see* Baybars  
al-Jāshankīr  
al-Muzaffar Ḥājjī ibn al-Nāṣir  
Muḥammad 50, 250, 257, 259  
al-Muzaffar Maḥmūd II, Ayyubid ruler of  
Ḥamāt 54  
al-Muzaffar Quṭuz 249, 253, 254, 256, 259  
Nablus 340  
*nāʿib al-qaʿa* 106, 181, 182  
al-Naḥḥās, Abū al-Khayr 3  
Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb 282  
Nāsikha 168  
al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir  
Muḥammad 56, 250, 257, 259, 358–362  
al-Nāṣir Daʿūd 55  
al-Nāṣir Faraj ibn Barqūq 33, 42, 43, 44, 56,  
57, 58, 68, 120, 121, 247, 251, 257, 259, 261  
al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad xvi,  
26, 27, 33, 50 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 198,  
250, 257, 259  
al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn ix, xi,  
xix, xx, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26,  
27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50,  
54, 55, 56, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 79, 250, 254,  
255, 257, 259, 268, 352, 353, 355, 356 fn.  
29, 357, 358, 360  
al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāyṭbāy xiv, 97,  
99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 111, 252, 257, 260,  
261, 262 fn. 22  
*naskh* 276, 321, 322, 342  
Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī 264  
*nāẓir al-Diwān al-Mufrad* 117, 118, 132, 134  
*nāẓir al-jaysh* 104, 130, 131, 136  
*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* 54, 119, 120, 121, 130  
*nāẓir waqf al-ashraf* 133  
*niʿma* 33, 51–52  
Nile 10, 150, 151, 52, 160, 203, 295, 329, 353  
Nile Valley 164  
*niẓām al-mulk* 125, 130  
numismatics 245–268  
Ottoman Empire xvi, xvii, 197, 210, 230, 231,  
233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240,  
242, 285, 288, 292, 293, 294  
Palatium Salomonis 271  
Palestine 297, 336, 340, 342, 348, 349, 351

- Peasants xviii, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293, 296, 299, 300, 309
- Persia(n) xiii, 82, 164, 190, 232, 234, 239, 292
- Perviz Āgā 240
- pilgrimage xi, xiv, 98, 110, 112, 146, 162, 209, 239, 280, 281, 354
- poetry, poem xvi, 171, 173, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 201, 222, 311
- polygamy *see* marriage
- qāḍī* 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 47, 57 fn. 205, 73, 104, 153, 155, 162, 163, 178, 179, 180, 182, 184, 185, 234, 241, 293, 308, 346
- al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Asqalanī 152
- Qādiriyya order 136
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī xvi, xvii, 46, 47, 49, 201, 202–204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210–214, 215, 216, 217, 223, 327, 328, 336, 337
- al-Qalqashandī, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh, *see* Ibn Abī Ghudda
- Qalāwūn, al-Manṣūr 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 32, 49, 54, 55, 60, 86, 249, 254, 255, 256, 259, 263, 264, 265, 268, 280, 339
- Qalyūbiyya 211
- qanāt* xix, 300, 308
- Qānibak 106
- Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī xiv, xvii, 109, 110, 112, 113, 129, 130, 142, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 252, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263, 322
- Qānṣūh min Qānṣūh xiv, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 129, 141, 252, 257, 260, 262
- Qarā Dimurdāsh al-Aḥmadī 73
- Qarāfa cemetery, *see* Cairo
- Qaramān 35
- Qarā Sunqur al-Manṣūrī 42, 43, 49, 54, 60, 71, 72
- Qaraṭāy al-'Izzī al-Khāzindārī 62
- al-Qārī, 'Īsā 179
- Qarqashanda (also Qalqashanda) 211
- Qaṣaba 105
- Qaṣr al-Sham' 150
- Qaṭyā 133, 135
- Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī 34, 37, 42, 43, 45, 56, 357
- Qaysāriyya (Caesarea) 337
- Qā'itbāy, *see* Qāyṭbāy
- Qāyṭbāy, al-Ashraf xiv, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 120, 125, 165, 251, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263, 288
- Qubbat al-Naḥwiyya 273
- qūmiz* (mare's milk) xiii, 79, 80 fn. 21, 81, 84
- Quran, Qur'ān xix, 6, 71, 162, 135, 136, 172, 196, 235, 237, 240, 273, 312, 323
- Qurqmās al-Ashrafi al-Jalab 23–24, 25
- Qurqmās min Walī al-Dīn 110
- al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin 172
- Qutlūbughā al-Fakhrī al-Nāṣirī 31, 42, 43, 45, 60, 64, 353–4, 358, 359, 360
- Qutlūbughā Ḥājji al-Bānaqūsi al-Turkmānī al-Ḥalabī 23
- Qutluqtamur al-'Alā'ī 73
- Qutquṭayh 29
- Rābi'a Khātūn bint Najm al-Dīn 173
- Ramaḥānoğlu 235
- Ramaḥānoğlu Khalīl Bey 235
- Ramla 340
- al-Raqāwī, Shihāb al-Dīn 182–183
- Rashīd 241
- Rasūlid Hexaglot 81, 82, 91, 92
- Red Sea 136
- Rome 269
- Rūm, *see* Bilād al-Rūm
- al-Rūmī, Muḥammad Mevlānā 235
- al-Rūmī, Yāqūt, *see* Yāqūt al-Rūmī
- Ruqayya bint 'Alī 167
- Ruqayya bint Muḥammad al-Tamīmī 171
- Ruqayya bint Sharaf al-Dīn 167
- Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb 121, 130, 138
- Sa'ādāt bint Ṣaghartamush 23
- Ṣabīh al-Khāzin 50
- sabīl* 285
- al-Sābiq Shāhīn 70
- ṣadāq* (marriage gift) *see* marriage
- Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-'Uthmānī 348
- al-Ṣafadī, Khalīl ibn Aybak 36, 37, 48, 60, 61, 201, 202, 329, 356, 361
- al-Ṣafadī, Nāṣir al-Dīn 110
- Safavids 233, 235
- Ṣafad (Safed) 280, 308 fn. 59, 339, 345, 346, 347, 348, 354, 355, 359, 360

- ṣāhib Dōwān al-Mamālik*, see *kātib al-mamālik*  
*ṣāhib Dōwān al-Mufrad* 118  
*Sāhiba* 173  
 al-Saḥmāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad 121, 122  
 al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 25, 158, 203, 213, 214, 328  
 al-Sa’īd Baraka (Berke) Qān 254, 257, 259  
 Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) 152, 173, 264, 266, 267, 270–271, 272, 281, 283 fn. 43, 284, 285, 337  
 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh 122, 123, 127, 135  
 Salār al-Manṣūrī 60, 71–2  
 al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb 25, 33, 55, 62 fn. 226, 254, 282  
 al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājji (also al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḥājji) 251, 256, 257, 259  
 al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā’īl ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad 48  
 al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad ibn al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar 251, 253, 260  
 al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad 250, 257, 259, 348  
*samā’ pl. samā’āt* 167, 170, 329  
 Sanjar al-Shujā’ī 68  
 Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm 131 fn. 66, 133  
 Selīm (Yāvūz Selīm) xvii, 230–242  
 service, see *khidma*  
 Sha’bān ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, see al-Ashraf Sha’bān  
 Sha’rānī 146  
*Shādd* 106, 136, 137, 312, 313, 327  
*shafā’a* (intercession) 3 fn. 2, 7, 110, 361 fn. 52  
 Shāh Ismā’īl, founder of the Safavid dynasty 234  
 Shāh Siwār (Siwār ibn Sulaymān ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Dhū al-Ghādir al-Turkmānī) 74–75  
*Shāhid* 104, 118  
 Shajar al-Durr ix, 33, 164, 249, 253, 254 fn. 14  
 Shams al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn al-Ṣafīy 134, 140, 141  
 Sharaf al-Dīn Da’ūd 53  
 Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Kātib Gharīb 134, 141  
*Shar’ā* 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 175, 234  
*Shar’ā* courts 288  
 al-Sharqīyya 123  
 al-Shaybānī, Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd 181  
 Sārah 181  
 Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī, see al-Mu’ayyad  
 Shaykh al-Mu’ayyad, see al-Mu’ayyad  
 Shaykh Shakhū l-Nāṣirī 24  
 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maghribī 194  
 Shukurbāy al-Jarkasiyya al-Nāṣiriyya al-Aḥmadiyya 24  
 Baykhūn 24  
 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-‘Aynī 24  
 Sidon 335, 336  
*Sijillāt* 292  
*sikka* xvii, 245  
 Sitt al-‘Arab 158  
*Sitt al-Fuqahā’* 174  
 Sitt al-Qudāh 168  
*Sitt al-Wuzarā’* 174  
 Sitt al-Wuzarā bint ‘Umar 166  
 Siyaqāt al-Malik al-‘Ādil 277  
 Spain 236  
 spolia xviii, 269–286  
 al-Subkī, Sāra bint Taqī al-Dīn 168  
 al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb 346–347, 349  
 al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfi 346  
 Sūdūn 7  
 Sūdūn al-Faqīh 43  
 al-Sulamī, ‘Izz al-Dīn 172, 282  
 Sulaymān 324  
 Süleymān ibn Selīm, Ottoman Sultan 233, 237  
 Sunqur al-Rūmī 60, 70  
 Süq (market) 13, 14, 93, 149, 155, 156, 163, 164, 165, 169, 295, 308, see also *muḥtasib*  
 al-Sūq al-Barrānī 181  
 al-Sūq al-Juwwānī 181  
 Süq Sārūja 182  
*tā’a* (obedience) 21, 56, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75  
 al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr 197  
 al-Ṭabarī, Muḥibb al-Dīn 324  
 al-Ṭabbānī al-Ḥanafī, Sharaf al-Dīn 4  
 Tabriz 234, 357  
 Taghribarmish (ibn ‘Abd Allāh) al-Yashbaki  
 Yashbak min Uzдумur xix, 312, 313, 322, 326, 327–329, 331  
 Taghrī Birdī min Bashbughā al-Ẓāhirī 44, 61, 73, 74  
 Taghrī Birdī min Yalbāy al-Ẓāhirī 129 fn. 55, 136, 141, 142

- Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Naṣr Allāh ibn al-Maqṣī 134, 141
- Tall Ḥisbān xix, 291, 301, 302
- Tamurbughā al-Afḍali al-Ashrafī 73
- Tānibak 105
- Tānibak (Tanam) al-Ḥasanī al-Ẓāhirī 56
- Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī 37, 45, 48, 67, 354, 355, 356, 357
- Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Khayyāta 182
- Ṭaqṣubā al-Mu‘ayyadī 36
- Tarābāy al-Sharīfī 110
- tarbiya* 23, 32–33, 354
- Ṭarghāy al-Jāshinkīr 357
- Ṭashtamur al-‘Alāī 72, 73
- Ṭashtamur al-Sāqī al-Nāṣirī/ al-Badrī (Ḥummuṣ Akhḍar) xix, xx, 31, 42, 43, 45, 60, 64, 352–362
- Ṭaṭar, *see* al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar
- Tatar bint Aḥmad al-Tanukhī 168
- Taurus 235
- al-Ṭayyibī, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan 321
- Templum Domini 271
- Tengri 78
- al-Ṭilawī, Nāṣir al-Dīn 163
- Timurbughā 251, 257, 258, 260, 262
- Tortosa 335
- Trebizond 230
- Tripoli 135, 339, 359, 360
- Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī al-Ẓāhirī 43
- al-Tujibī, al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf 60
- Ṭūmānbāy, *see* al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy
- Tunisia 331, 332
- Ṭuqṭabāy 129, 142
- Ṭūr 3
- turba* (mausoleum) 24, 25, 27 fn. 59, 355 fn. 21, 361 fn. 58, 363, 364
- Turbat Barakāt Khān 282, 283
- Turbat al-Kubakiyya xviii, 273–286
- al-Turkī, Ibn ‘Abd Allāh 152
- Ṭuruntāy al-Ḥājib 73
- Tyre 335, 336
- ukhuwwa* (bond of brotherhood) 22, 38–39, 41, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70
- al-‘Ulaymī, Mujir al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *see* Mujir al-Dīn
- ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb 161
- ‘Umar Ibn Mawlāhum 190
- al-‘Umarī, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Faḍl Allāh 211, 340
- Umayyads, Umayyad period 85, 95 fn. 113, 301, 303, 304, 308
- Umm Hānī bint Ali ibn Nāṣir 168
- Umm al-Ḥasan Fātima bint Muḥammad ibn al-Munajjā al-Tanūkhiyya 167
- Umm Kulthūm bint Muḥammad al-Tamimī 171
- Umm al-Qiyās Palace 240
- Umm Rashīd 161
- Ummat Sulṭān 179
- ustādār al-‘āliya* (supreme *ustādār*) xiv, 115, 137
- ustādh* (master, patron) 18, 37, 56, 57, 106, 190, 357
- Venetian trade 348, 349
- viceroy (*nā‘ib al-sulṭān*) 7, 9, 10, 11, 121, 122, 135, 152
- Wādī Karak 299, 305
- Wādī al-Khaznadār, battle of 50
- Wādī Majār 303
- Wādī al-Marbat 303
- walā’* (patronage/patronate) 22, 36–38, 41 fn. 124
- wālī* 14, 122, 130 fn. 60, 132, 133, 135
- waqf*, pl. *awqāf* 102, 121, 133, 182, 203, 238, 241, 242 fn. 33, 271, 292, 293, 298, 300, 305
- al-Wāqwaq Island, an imaginary island 160
- water
- cisterns 290, 293, 295, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310
  - taxation 290, 291, 292, 294–295, 299
  - “water culture” xviii–xiv, 287, 290, 291, 292, 309, 310
  - water law 289, 295
  - wells 292, 293, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300
- widows, *see* marriage
- Yalbughā al-Majnūn 122, 123, 124, 132, 137
- Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī 60, 72 fn. 9, 73, 74
- Yalbughā al-Sālimī 35 fn. 102, 130, 136, 138
- Yalbughā al-‘Umarī al-Khāṣṣakī 189
- Yalkhujā min Māmish 28
- Yanbu‘ (Yanbo) 110
- Yāqūt al-Rūmī 204

- Yashbak al-Ānālī 124  
 Yashbak min Mahdī 74, 128, 134, 141 fn. 139  
 Yashbak min Uzduhur 328  
 Yūsuf ibn al-Khālīd 179  
 Yūsuf ibn Šārūjā al-Ĥijāzī (Abū Tūghān) 43  
 al-Yūsufī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad 60, 61, 62
- al-Zāhir Barqūq, *see* Barqūq  
 al-Zāhir Baybars, *see* Baybars  
 al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, *see* Jaqmaq  
 al-Zāhir Khushqadam, *see* Khushqadam  
 al-Zāhir Qānšūh al-Ghawrī, *see* Qānšūh  
     al-Ghawrī  
 al-Zāhir Shādhī 55  
 al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar 23, 43, 61, 64 fn. 237, 66, 67,  
     125, 251, 255 fn. 16, 257, 258, 260, 261,  
     262, 263
- al-Zāhir Timurbughā, *see* Timurbughā  
 al-Zāhir Yalbāy 251  
 al-Zāhiri al-Malaṭī, Khalīl ibn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ,  
     *see* al-Malaṭī  
*zajal* xvi, 198  
*zāwiya* 146, 269, 273, 280  
 Zayn al-‘Ābidīn 180  
 Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ 131  
 Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir 104  
 Zayn al-Dīn Qarājā 357  
 Zayn al-Dīn al-Qaṣrawī 104, 106  
 Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Ashqar 125, 126, 127,  
     130, 131, 134, 140, 141  
 Zaynab bint Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad 167  
 Zumurrud (Sitt al-Shām) 173  
 Zuwayla Gate, *see* Cairo