MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual, Open Access, refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books.

Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatawa* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. An article or book review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* makes its author a contributor to the scholarly literature and should add to a constructive dialogue.

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January. Beginning with volume XIII, no. 1, *Mamlūk Studies Review* no longer appears in conventional print format, but continues as an open-access online publication. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to The Chicago Manual of Style, 15th edition. Submissions should be composed with current word-processing software, and if possible should use a Unicode font, such as Charis SIL (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors must also send a printed copy and a labeled CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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The logo that appears on the cover and title page was created by John E. Woods.
Olaf Nelson, Gregg Reynolds, and Basil Salem are providing valuable technical and conceptual assistance in the journal's transition to online format.

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The Bruce D. Craig
Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2010 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2010, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2011. Submissions should be sent to:

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2005: Zayde G. Antrim, Harvard University, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries."

2006: Nahyan A. G. Fancy, University of Notre Dame, "Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection: The Interaction of Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)."

2007: No prize was awarded.

2008: No prize was awarded.

2009: No prize was awarded.

Preface

I am honored to introduce this, my first issue as editor of *Mamlūk Studies Review*. I am excited to assume this role and will strive to maintain the high standards established by MSR's founding editor, Bruce Craig, who will continue as editor emeritus.

I am particularly pleased that this issue constitutes a Festschrift for the eminent Mamlukist (and member of MSR's editorial board), Carl F. Petry. For most readers of this journal, Carl needs no introduction. His groundbreaking studies on the social and political history of the Mamluk Sultanate have provided a foundation on which all subsequent work has been based. I join with his colleagues who have contributed to this issue in dedicating it to him with respect and affection.

Marlis J. Saleh
Editor

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Jonathan P. Berkey
Davidson College

Al-Subkī and His Women

The historiography of the Mamluk period has over the past four decades developed more thoroughly than that of most other eras of pre-modern Islamic history. There are a number of reasons for this, not least of which is the extraordinary literary legacy of the period. Chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and other sources relevant to the reconstruction of social, political, and cultural life survive from the Mamluk period in numbers that dwarf those of most earlier periods. No less important, perhaps, is the intrinsic interest of the Mamluks themselves. Several important Western historians have found themselves captivated by these slave soldiers who established a state in the middle of the thirteenth century that dominated much of the Middle East until they were eclipsed by the Ottoman Turks at the beginning of the sixteenth century. With the passing of David Ayalon and Ulrich Haarmann, no one has done more to advance our understanding of the Mamluk regime than Carl Petry, to whom this volume of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* is dedicated.

Of late, Petry's contributions have been devoted principally to political history. His studies of the Mamluk sultans Qaytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī[1] are models for a type of book—that of the reigns of particular sultans—which now includes detailed investigations of Baybars, Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Barsbāy.[2] But his first book was arguably more influential because it contributed to and served to strengthen an important emerging field of historiography. *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*[3] was one of several monographs published in the wake of Ira Lapidus's ground-breaking study of *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*.[4] These were the first books to bring to pre-modern Islamic studies the

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[1] *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994); *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyt Bāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993).

[2] Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars of Egypt and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1992); Linda Northrup, *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); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995); Ahmad Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbāy, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961).

[3] Princeton, 1981.

[4] Cambridge, Mass., 1967. Other important works included Richard Bulliet's *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), and Roy Mottahedeh,

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disciplines and conventions of social history as it was then developing, especially among historians of medieval and early modern Europe.

The Civilian Elite of Cairo concerned those individuals who represented and led the city's Muslim inhabitants in their religious and academic lives, and also those who administered the offices and institutions of the state under the rule of the mostly foreign-born Mamluk military caste. Essentially, the "civilian elite" represented the social group which Richard Bulliet, discussing a different medieval Islamic society, had earlier identified as the "patriciate." They included prayer leaders, preachers, and Quran readers in the mosques, professors and other functionaries in the city's many institutions of higher education, judges of the shariʿah courts, and leaders of the Sufi organizations which, by the later medieval period, played a dominant role in the spiritual lives of many if not most Muslims. They also included a cadre of men employed as scribes and administrators, both in the various offices of the government and also by the religious endowments *(awqāf,* sing. *waqf),* which supported religious and academic institutions and which proliferated throughout the Mamluk period.[5]

Obviously, this constituted a broad range of people, in terms of their background, training, wealth, status, and power. Indeed, the group is so varied that the term "elite" might be a little misleading. It is a fair question to ask whether the prayer leader of some minor mosque and the holder of a valuable and prestigious "chair" in, say, Shafiʿi jurisprudence at the grand madrasah established by Sultan Ḥasan below the Cairo citadel shared a sufficient community of interests that we can identify both as members of an analytically distinct social group. Beyond "vertical" social distinctions such as that separating the prayer leader and the professor lies an even more significant range of "horizontal" differences. Most importantly, the "civilian elite" included both those whose activities defined the religious and academic life of the city (i.e., those known in Arabic as the ʿ*ulamāʾ,* sing. ʿ*ālim*) and those whose careers focused on scribal and bureaucratic tracks.[6] Those two domains were not necessarily distinct; there was some overlap between them. But by the Mamluk period, there was a fair degree of specialization and

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Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society (Princeton, 1980).

[5] These endowments are not directly relevant to this essay, but it is worth pointing out that the fortuitous survival of several hundred of them from Mamluk Cairo has been in the last several decades a leading catalyst behind the flourishing of historical studies of the city, and also that Petry has both pioneered their investigation and championed the use of the *awqāf* by other historians. The present author is not the only one who has benefited tremendously from his knowledge of and experience in the archives in which the endowment deeds are preserved.

[6] Cf. Petry's comment about the term "civilian elite," which included all "the nonmilitary personnel whom the biographers regarded as notables, but who may not be classified solely as ʿulamaʾ." *Civilian Elite,* 4.

professionalization, so that a religious scholar and a bureaucrat, although they might share their initial training, would soon find their career paths diverging.[7] Indeed, in the Egyptian case, the distinction between ulama and bureaucrats might be especially sharp since many of the latter were from Coptic families, and although they were generally formally converted to Islam, their credentials as Muslims, let alone as students and scholars of the Islamic religious sciences, were often suspect.

Nonetheless, there are good reasons for thinking of the "civilian elite" as a meaningful category of historical analysis. Not the least is the fundamental social division between the Mamluks and the local population. Of course, even here the boundary was sometimes blurred. Some Mamluks became learned in the religious and legal sciences; others served as administrators of *awqāf*.[8] Some offices, especially that of *muḥtasib* or "market inspector," were held at different times by both religious scholars and high-ranking amirs.[9] And of course the Mamluks often married into local families, and their sons and descendants were eventually assimilated into local social groups. Still, the social and cultural gap between the foreign-born, mostly Turkish or Circassian ruling elite, who held a virtual monopoly on political power, and their Arabic-speaking subjects was real and fundamental. In the Mamluks' case it was widened by their slave origins, but in its essence the gap which separated rulers and ruled in Mamluk Egypt and Syria was paralleled by others which cut across most Middle Eastern societies in the Middle Ages. Leading social groups from the "ruled" side of the divide—ulama and scribes, for example—thus found themselves in structurally similar relationships to the wielders of political power.

A more positive reason for thinking of the civilian elite as an identifiable if not unified social group has to do with the centrality of education and the transmission of the Islamic religious sciences to social and cultural life in Cairo, and indeed in all medieval Islamic cities.[10] Participation in the informal networks through which religious knowledge was transmitted carried value as a pious activity and conveyed considerable social prestige. Consequently, it was not simply professional academics who engaged in it; ulama status was widely shared

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[7] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 312f.; cf. Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in Transition: The Sunni ʿUlamāʾ of Eleventh-Century Baghdad* (Albany, 2000), 95–124.

[8] On the Mamluks and education, see Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 128–60. On Mamluks as *nāẓir*s of charitable endowments, see Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 214.

[9] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 224; Jonathan P. Berkey, "The Muhtasibs of Cairo Under the Mamluks: Towards an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 243–76.

[10] Cf. Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 312.

throughout the population.[11] As this last point might suggest, it was the ulama, broadly speaking, who constituted the central component of the "civilian elite" and to whom the indigenous Muslim population looked most naturally for local leadership. This point has been recognized for some time. To some degree, the importance of the ulama may be an optical illusion produced by the fact that the biographical dictionaries *(tarājim),* which constitute one of the major literary sources for medieval Islamic history, dwell principally on the lives and careers of the ulama. Indeed, as Roy Mottahedeh once observed, we had better appreciate the social history of the ulama, as it is "almost all the Islamic social history we will ever have for this [pre-modern] period."[12] But the central social role of the ulama, in Mamluk Egypt and elsewhere, can hardly be doubted. For this reason, the strain of social history to which *The Civilian Elite of Cairo* was such an important contribution has sometimes been (lovingly) called "ulamalogy."

As preparation for what follows, I wish to draw attention to two themes that have emerged from the literature on the "civilian elite" as it has developed over the last several decades. The first—what we might call a "major theme"—concerns the persistent informality of Islamic education. The proliferation of institutions devoted to the transmission of religious knowledge was one of the most important and widespread developments in the cities of the medieval Islamic world. Madrasahs and their cognate institutions, especially Sufi convents and mosques with endowments that made provisions for instruction in the religious sciences, became a ubiquitous feature of the medieval Islamic urban fabric.[13] Nonetheless, the standards by which an education was measured remained informal and personal. No system of institutional degrees was ever established; rather, the ulama sought to control the transmission of knowledge through the personal attestation that a person had acquired command of (or at least exposure to) a text or a body of knowledge. That attestation, usually in the form of an *ijāzah,* could only be given by an individual who was himself already recognized as an authority over the text.[14] Consequently, the regulation of the transmission of knowledge, and also of access to ulama status, depended on a variety of mechanisms by which those personal relationships linking one authority to another, and linking teacher to student, were identified, recorded, and published to the wider community.

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[11] On this, see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 210–18.

[12] Roy Mottahedeh, review of *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History,* by Richard Bulliet, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975): 495.

[13] On the madrasah, see George Makdisi's ground-breaking work, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981).

[14] On the persistent informality of education and on the networks of relationships which characterized the ulama, see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* passim, and Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994).

This was the public face of what was otherwise a very private matter (that is, the acquisition of knowledge), and its centrality to the system by which religious knowledge was preserved and handed on has enabled modern social historians to investigate the lives and experiences of the medieval ulama in some detail.

The second or "minor" theme has to do with the surprising importance of women in the social, institutional, and intellectual world of higher education. As with most other public activities, the transmission of religious knowledge was dominated by men. And in certain areas, women were excluded entirely: no woman, for example, was ever appointed *mudarris* in one of the many madrasahs in Cairo or, presumably, other medieval Islamic cities. Nonetheless, some women were able to carve out important roles for themselves. Women as well as men might possess wealth and develop the charitable instincts that led an individual to establish and endow a madrasah in the first place, and quite a few schools, in Cairo and elsewhere, owed their origins to acts of charity by women.[15] Perhaps more surprisingly, many women served as financial controllers of the endowments that supported the activities of madrasahs and other religious institutions.[16] But most importantly of all, women played an active and important role in the transmission of religious knowledge, especially of hadith. What made this possible was the persistent informality of the process, and the importance of those personal relationships by which authority over texts was transmitted. If a woman had, for example, acquired an *ijāzah* over a text from a particularly reputable individual, she as well as any man might become a valued link in the "chain" *(isnād)* of authorities stretching back to the original author of the text. Especially if the woman survived to become one of the last living people connected to that individual, she might acquire a reputation of her own and become someone with whom younger students sought to study.[17]

These two themes provide the framework for this minor contribution to the social history of the "civilian elite" of the Mamluk period. The fundamental importance of the networks between scholars and between teachers and pupils required that medieval Muslims, in various ways, preserve a memory of those networks and of the individuals who formed them. The most important mechanism for doing so was, of course, the biographical dictionary. These compilations

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[15] Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 162–64.

[16] Carl Petry, "A Paradox of Patronage During the Later Mamluk Period," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 182–207.

[17] Jonathan P. Berkey, "Women and Education in the Mamluk Period," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender,* ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1992), 143–57. For a fuller exploration of the careers of two prominent female scholars of the Mamluk period, see the splendid article by Asma Sayeed, "Women and Hadith Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002): 71–94.

of short biographies of prominent men (and some women) have a long history in the Islamic world; they were not new to the Mamluk period, nor did they focus only on scholars.[18] But quite a few compilations were published during the Mamluk era, including major works by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī,[19] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī,[20] and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī,[21] who is the subject of this piece. Some recorded biographical data about many members of the ruling elites; that by Ibn Taghrībirdī is an essential source for the study of the Mamluks themselves. But by and large the authors of these books were scholars of hadith and jurisprudence, and so were interested especially in the interlocking lives of the ulama.

A related genre of works was the *muʿjam* or *mashyakhah*.[22] These were essentially lists of an individual's teachers or of those on whose authority he transmitted texts.[23] They were compiled by the individuals in question themselves, or by their students, or by some other interested party. Not every scholar compiled such a list, but many did; al-Sakhāwī, writing in the late fifteenth century, estimated that more than a thousand were extant.[24] These constitute a well-known but underutilized source for the social history of the ulama in the medieval period.[25] At first glance they seem to be somewhat superfluous as a source for social history. The biographical notices they contain tend to be fairly short and usually simply repeat or summarize accounts from the more comprehensive biographical dictionaries. There is, for example, little if any information about Ibn Ḥajar's teachers in his *muʿjam* that is not available in his better known account of academic and other luminaries of the eighth/fourteenth century, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*.

Yet the very fact that scholars found it expedient not simply to write but to *publish* these collections—publish, that is, in the pre-printing sense of the term—is significant. They were not simply compiled for the personal use of the author, to record his own private account of his education. We know that the *muʿjams* themselves were copied; even more, they were formally transmitted from the author

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[18] On the biographical dictionary as genre and on its origins, see Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of al-Maʾmūn* (Cambridge, 2000).

[19] *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67).

[20] *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934).

[21] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1992).

[22] Other terms used to indicate comparable works include *fahrasah, barnamaj,* and *thabat.* See *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., articles "Fahrasa" and "Idjāza."

[23] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī compiled one as a list of the *books* he had studied, as well as one of the more usual type that listed his shaykhs.

[24] Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1968), 451.

[25] Georges Vajda was their most enthusiastic student; his previously-published studies of several different *muʿjams* are collected in *La transmission du savoir en Islam (viie–xviii siècles),* ed. Nicole Cottart (London, 1983).

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to others, from teacher to pupil, for many years after the original compilation.[26] Indeed, they continue to be read and studied; those compiled by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, for example, have recently been printed.[27] At a minimum, they are a compelling witness to the importance of those networks of personal relationships on which the authority of the ulama rested. For the modern social historian, they provide the most comprehensive account of the training, the intellectual development, and the social networking of prominent scholarly members of the civilian elite.

The Dār al-Kutub in Cairo preserves a copy of the *muʿjam* of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), perhaps the most illustrious member of a well-known family of Shafiʿi ulama from the Mamluk period.[28] His father, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), had been born in the family's ancestral village of Subk in the Nile Delta in Egypt but was raised in Cairo, where his own father taught hadith in a number of madrasahs. Taqī al-Dīn's teachers included some of the most prominent religious scholars of the day, such as the Shafiʿi qadi Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, and the famous Shādhilī Sufi Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh. Taqī al-Dīn acquired an impressive reputation in a number of fields, and held professorships in several institutions of higher learning in the Mamluk capital. His most lasting work, perhaps, was a collection of fatwas which has been reprinted several times in recent decades. In 739/1338–39, the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad appointed Taqī al-Dīn Shafiʿi qadi in Damascus. During his service there over the next sixteen years, he also held teaching appointments as professor of *fiqh* and hadith in a number of the city's most prominent schools.[29]

The Subkī family was prominent in the intellectual life of Cairo and Damascus for six generations or more in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—a point of some relevance here. An academic career of course required an independent reputation. A scholar seeking preferment had to establish his bona fides through the usual channels: by publishing commentaries on legal and religious topics, and by acquiring status within the informal networks through which the ulama

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[26] See, for example, Georges Vajda, "La transmission de la Mašyaḫa d'Ibn al-Buḫārī d'après le manuscrit Reisülküttab 262 de la Bibliothèque Süleymaniye d'Istanbul," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 18 (1974): 55–74. See also Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm (# 13), below.

[27] *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassas li-Muʿjam al-Mufahras* (Beirut, 1992), and *Al-Muʿjam al-Mufahras, aw, Tajrīd Asānīd lil-Kutub al-Mashhūrah wa-al-Ajzāʾ al-Manthūrah* (Beirut, 1998).

[28] Compiled by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿd [or: Saʿīd] al-Maqdisī (on whom see Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:54). Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Aḥmad Tīmūr Pāshā Collection, "Tārīkh" ms. 1446. I consulted a microfilm copy preserved at the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah, "Tārīkh" ms. 490.

[29] On Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī, see Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1992), 10:139–70; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931–32), 6:180–81.

supervised the transmission of religious knowledge. Nonetheless, having an ʿ*ālim* for a father or grandfather or other close relative could be of enormous advantage to an individual seeking to carve out an academic career, not least because it gave an individual a head start in constructing those networks of personal and intellectual relationships through which a reputation was established. The proliferation of endowed institutions of learning in the medieval period gave an especially sharp edge to the advantage held by the sons and grandsons of established scholars. It was frequently possible for a scholar who held a teaching appointment in a madrasah or mosque to ensure that his position—that is, the income he drew from the institution's endowment—be inherited by his sons or other chosen relations.[30] More generally, an accomplished scholar was naturally more likely to ensure that his sons received the sort of training on which an academic career depended. This training would include instruction in the Quran, hadith, jurisprudence, and the other disciplines relevant to scholarly and academic life.

Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī was born in Cairo in 727/1327 or 728/1328, and like other sons of the ulama, he was educated at first by his father and then by some of the leading scholars of his day. When he was eleven, his father moved to Damascus, and Tāj al-Dīn naturally accompanied him there. It was principally in the Syrian capital that al-Subkī received the education that would establish him as one of the leading scholars of his age. His teachers included the great historian Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī and the jurist Shams al-Din Ibn al-Naqīb. Tāj al-Dīn was a precocious student. Already before the age of 18, he had begun to teach as a substitute for his shaykh Ibn al-Naqīb. In 754/1353, he began to assist his father as qadi of Damascus, and within two years he had been formally vested in the office. For most of the rest of his life, he served as chief qadi in the Syrian capital, although his tenure was controversial, and at one point he was dismissed and spent eighty days in jail, apparently on accusations that he had misappropriated funds intended for the support of orphans. He died at a relatively young age in 771/1370.

The education of Tāj al-Dīn is relatively familiar to historians of medieval Egypt and Syria, because in many resects it was typical of those of the leading ulama of the Mamluk period. But the survival of al-Subkī's *muʿjam* allows us to examine it in greater detail than most. One of the most striking things about the names recorded in that document is the number of women it includes, confirming the prominent position that female hadith scholars managed to carve out for themselves. Of the 172 names of shaykhs with whom al-Subkī had studied and on whose authority he transmitted texts, 20 belong to women. That proportion was

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[30] See Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 119–27.

not, in fact, atypical for the leading scholars of the day.[31]

What follows is an inventory of the women listed in al-Subkī's *muʿjam.* The list includes their names, as they appear in the *muʿjam,* and basic biographical information drawn from the *muʿjam* or (as indicated) other sources. The entries in the *muʿjam* itself include considerably more information concerning the women's teachers and their own pupils than is recorded here. I have included only the names of especially prominent shaykhs, or others worthy of note for one reason or another, and other information requiring comment. The number in brackets at the beginning indicates the number of the page (the manuscript has been paginated by hand) on which the biographical entry appears.

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(1) Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad ibn Sālim ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibbat Allāh ibn Maḥfūẓ ibn Ṣaṣrā al-Rabʿī al-Taghlibī, Umm Muḥammad, al-Dimashqīyah.[32] Born in 638/1240–41 or 639/1241–42, she died in Damascus in 733/1332–33. She issued an *ijāzah* to al-Subkī in 728/1327–28. She had begun to recite hadith already in the year 683/1284–85, and continued to do so until her death.

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(2) Āminah bint Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl ibn al-Wāsiṭī, al-Dimashqīyah, Umm Muḥammad.[33] She was born around the year 664, and died in 740/1340 in Damascus. She held a *samāʿ* (a certificate of audition) from her father dated 665. She heard hadith from a number of prominent scholars, including the Hanbali scholar Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim (d. 668/1270)[34] and Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688/1289).[35] Among those who recited hadith on her authority were her contemporaries the prominent *muḥaddithūn* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348),[36] who was also among al-Subkī's teachers (and who was also the author of the monumental *Tārīkh al-Islām*),

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[31] Cf. Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 176.

[32] See also ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ fī ʿĀlamay al-ʿArab wa-al-Islām,* 4th ed. (Beirut, n.d.), 1:63–64; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:384–85.

[33] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 1:8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:441–42.

[34] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:325–26.

[35] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Jinān wa-ʿIbrat al-Yaqẓān fī Maʿrifat Mā Yuʿtabaru min Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1337 A.H.), 4:207–8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:404; Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:116–19.

[36] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 9:100–123; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 6:153–57.

and al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339).[37]

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(3) Ḥabībah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Manṣūr al-Maqdisī, Umm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[38] Born around the year 650/1252–53,[39] she died in 733/1333. She heard Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others recite hadith, and she received *ijāzahs* from scholars throughout the Muslim world, including Baghdad, Egypt, Mecca, and Medina, as well as from towns in Syria. Both al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī heard her recite hadith. Al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1327–28.

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(4) Zāhidah bint Abī Bakr ibn Ḥamzah ibn Maḥfūẓ al-Ṣaḥrāwī, Umm Abī Bakr, al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[40] Born in 682/1283–84, she died during the plague in 749/1348–49. She also heard Zaynab bint Makkī recite hadith, and al-Dhahabī in turn heard her recite traditions.

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(5) Zahrah bint ʿUmar ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abī Bakr al-Khuthnī.[41] Al-Subkī heard her recite traditions in 729/1329.

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(6) Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Manṣūr al-Maqdisī, Umm ʿAbd Allāh, known as Bint al-Kamāl.[42] One of the most prominent female hadith scholars of the medieval period, she was born in 646/1249–50 and died in 740/1339. She heard hadith recitations from numerous scholars in Damascus, including Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, and received *ijāzahs* from "many people" *(khalq kathīr)* from Baghdad, Mosul, Mardin, Harran, Aleppo, and Egypt, as well as her home town of Damascus. Those

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[37] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:321–23.

38 Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 1:241; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:85–86.

[39] Ibn Ḥajar gives her year of birth as 654/1256–57.

[40] I have not been able to locate other biographical notices for Zaynab bint Abī Bakr.

[41] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:208.

[42] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:46–51; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:209–10.

who heard her recite included, again, al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī. Al-Subkī himself transmitted many volumes *(ajzāʾ)* of hadith and other subjects, on her authority, *bi-al-samāʿ wa-al-ijāzah*. She distinguished herself as the last person to relate traditions from the prominent *muḥaddith* Sibṭ al-Silafī and others *bi-al-ijāzah*.

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(7) Zaynab bint Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sālim ibn Saʿd ibn Rikāb al-Anṣārīyah al-Dimashqīyah, Umm ʿAbd Allāh and Umm Muḥammad.[43] Born in 659/1261, she died in 749/1349. She heard Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others recite hadith, and she herself recited on the authority of a large number of shaykhs; al-Birzālī was among those who heard her do so. Al-Subkī says that he heard her recite a "volume" *(juzʾ)* by al-Anṣārī,[44] which she recited on the authority of twenty-eight different shaykhs whose recitations of the text she had heard *(samāʿan)*.

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(8) Zaynab bint Yaḥyá ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muhadhdhib al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī.[45] Born in 648/1250–51, she died in 635/1335. As a five-year-old girl, she attended hadith sessions with a number of shaykhs, and in 650/1252–53 she received *ijāzahs* from Egypt from Sibṭ al-Silafī *(ajāza la-hā . . . min al-diyār al-miṣrīyah)*—that is, apparently without her actually travelling to Egypt. Al-Birzālī heard her recite traditions, and al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1327–28.

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(9) Safrā bint Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Dimashqīyah, Umm Muḥammad, whose grandfather was known as Ibn Qāḍī al-Yaman.[46] Born sometime after 660/1261–62, she died in Damascus in 745/1245. Al-Birzālī heard her recite hadith. Al-Subkī heard her recite traditions on a chain of authority going back through her famous grandfather.

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[43] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:54–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:211–12.

[44] It is not clear to whom this refers.

[45] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:122–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:215.

[46] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:197; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:232.

(10) Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, Umm Aḥmad, whose father was the grandson of the famous Hanbali jurist Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah (d. 620/1223).[47] She died in 741/1341. She heard Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim recite the entirety of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, one of the principal Sunni collections of hadith. She issued an *ijāzah* to al-Subkī in 728/1328–29.

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(11) Ṣafīyah bint Abī Bakr ibn Ḥamzah ibn Maḥfūẓ al-Ṣaḥrāwī, Umm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[48] She died of the plague in 749/1348–49, and was buried in the tomb of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah. She heard Zaynab bint Makkī and others recite traditions. Al-Subkī heard her recite a volume by al-Anṣārī.

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(12) ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad ibn Musallam ibn Salāmah ibn al-Bahāʾ al-Ḥarrānī, Umm Muḥammad, al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[49] Born in 648/1250–51,[50] she died in 736/1336. She heard hadith from a number of scholars and recited them herself; al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī were among those who heard her. Ibn Saʿd[51] compiled her *mashyakhah*. She issued an *ijāzah* to al-Subkī in 728/1328–9.

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(13) Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī, Umm Ibrāhīm[52]—like Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad above, from the famed Banū Qudāmah dynasty of Hanbali scholars. Born in 654/1256–57, she died in 729/1329. She heard hadith from Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others; both al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī heard her recite in turn. She received *ijāzahs* from her relation Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 658/1260).[53] As she aged, she became known as the last surviving individual to transmit hadith from several of those on whose authority she relied, including Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī

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[47] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:230–31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:306–7.

[48] I have not been able to locate other biographical notices for Ṣafīyah bint Abī Bakr.

[49] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 3:189; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:342.

[50] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 647/1249–50.

[51] The same Ibn Saʿd who compiled al-Subkī's *muʿjam*? See note 28.

[52] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:23–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:300.

[53] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, also from the Banū Qudāmah. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:295.

"by *ijāzah*." According to al-Subkī, "she recited frequently, and many benefited from her." Al-Subkī read to her the *mashyakhah* of Shahdah bint Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj al-Dīnawarīyah (d. 574/1178),[54] a female Baghdadi hadith scholar of such prominence that she was known as "the support of Iraq" *(masnadat al-ʿirāq),* with Fāṭimah's *ijāzah* from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, who was himself the last person to transmit "by *ijāzah*" from Shahdah.

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(14) Fāṭimah bint Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Turkhān ibn Abī al-Ḥasan ibn Raddād al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī, Umm Aḥmad.[55] Born around the year 653/1255–56, she died in 729/1329. She attended classes lead by Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, and received *ijāzahs* from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, among other scholars. She recited hadith, and al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī both heard her do so. In his own *mashyakhah,* al-Birzālī noted that he heard from and recited hadith on the authority of this woman, and also her brothers, as well as their father and mother. She apparently distinguished herself by writing *ijāzahs* "in her own hand" *(bi-khaṭṭihā).* Al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1328–29.

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(15) Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿIwaḍ ibn Rājiḥ ibn Bilāl al-Maqdisī, Umm ʿAlī al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[56] Born in 650/1252–53, she died in 729/1328[57] after returning from the hajj. She heard traditions from Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, and she recited them in turn to al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī, among others. Al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1328–29.

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(16) Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĪsá ibn al-Musallam ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, Umm Muḥammad, al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[58] Born in the 650s,[59] she died in 740/1339 and was buried in the tomb of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah. Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim was among those from whom she heard traditions, and she received

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[54] Al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Jinān,* 3:400; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 4:248; Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:309–12.

[55] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:36–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:303–4.

[56] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:305.

[57] Ibn Ḥajar gives a date of death of 734/1333.

[58] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:72; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:304–5.

[59] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 656/1258.

*ijāzah*s from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī as well as his brother ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Al-Birzālī heard her recite hadith, and al-Dhahabī mentioned her in his *muʿjam*.

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(17) Fāṭimah bint Fakhrāwar ibn Muḥammad ibn Fakhrāwar ibn Hindawīyah *[sic]* al-Kunjī al-Ṣūfī, Umm Maḥmūd.[60] Born in 659/1261,[61] she died in 733/1333 outside Cairo. Unlike most of the other women cited by al-Subkī, she lived in the Egyptian capital, where her father was a pious ascetic. She received *ijāzah*s from a number of scholars in the year 663—that is, when she was a young girl. She recited hadith, and also had a reputation for preaching to women. In Cairo in 731/1331, that is when he was four, al-Subkī heard her recite the *Kitāb al-Jumʿah* from the hadith collection of al-Nasāʾī (author of one of the six "canonical" collections of hadith) according to an *isnād* going back through al-Muʿīn [Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf] al-Dimashqī[62] and Ismāʿīl [ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī ibn Abī al-ʿIzz] ibn ʿUzūn [?] (d. 667/1268)[63] to [Hibbat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Masʿūd] al-Būṣīrī (d. 598/1201).[64]

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(18) Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad ibn Jamīl ibn Ḥamīd ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī ʿAṭṭāf ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādīyah al-Ṣāliḥīyah, Umm Muḥammad.[65] Born in 646/1248–49,[66] she died in 730/1330. She attended recitations given by her father in Baghdad when she was just a year old. She received *ijāzah*s from a number of prominent Iraqi scholars and later recited hadith to al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī among others.

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(19) Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Jibrīl ibn Abī al-Fawāris ibn Jibrīl ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Darbandī, Umm al-Ḥasan, known as Sitt al-ʿAjam.[67] Born in 661/1263, she died in Cairo in 737/1337. She heard hadith from numerous scholars and received *ijāzah*s from Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others "from Damascus"—she herself lived in Cairo. In turn, she recited hadith to many people.

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[60] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:89–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:308.

[61] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 658/1260.

[62] See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:331.

[63] Ibid., 5:324.

[64] Ibid., 4:338.

[65] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:100; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:308–9.

[66] 656/1258, according to Ibn Ḥajar.

[67] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:309.

When he was four, al-Subkī heard her recite al-Nasāʾī's *Kitāb al-Jumʿah* according to the same *isnād* held by Fāṭimah bint Fakhrāwar, above.

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(20) Nāranj bint ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmīyah, the ʿatīqah of al-Ḥājj Mufliḥ, the ʿatīq of al-Ḥājj ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Manāʿ al-Takrītī al-Tājir, Umm ʿĀʾishah.[68] She died in 741/1340. She heard recitations by Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim in 659/1261; al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1328–29.

In many respects, much of the information contained in these short biographical notices in al-Subkī's *muʿjam* is unremarkable. That is, it parallels accounts of the lives of other (male) scholars, not just in this text, but in the biographical dictionaries more generally. This in itself is worthy of note, for it reaffirms just how thoroughly integrated women were into the world of textual, and especially hadith, transmission, both as teachers and as pupils.[69] A fuller reading of these notices in the context of a larger analysis of the entire *muʿjam* would provide the basis for a comprehensive intellectual biography of this major Mamluk-era scholar and jurist. But even a preliminary analysis confirms several important points.

The standards of hadith transmission recognized several different methods by which a pupil could acquire authority over a text. Close reading and analysis of the text in the presence of the shaykh was obviously preferred, but one could receive an *ijāzah* with less intimate contact. It was even possible to request and receive an *ijāzah* without actually encountering the individual issuing the certification, and when Zaynab bint Yaḥyá received an *ijāzah* from Sibṭ al-Silafī "*min al-diyār al-miṣrīyah,*" it is possible that she had not left her Damascene home.[70] Al-Subkī himself appears to have included the names of several women from whom he received *ijāzahs* in a similar way, the Damascene Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad, for example, who issued him an *ijāzah* in 728/1327–28, when he was an infant in Cairo.[71] This does not mean, however, that all transmission between women and men was accomplished at a distance, and it is clear from al-Subkī's *muʿjam* that many of his *shaykhahs* transmitted from their teachers *bi-al-samāʿ,* that is,

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[68] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 5:158; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:129.

[69] At least one of the women listed in al-Subkī's *muʿjam* had a *mashyakhah* of her own compiled; see ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad (# 12).

[70] # 8. Cf. Ḥabībah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (#3) and others, who received *ijāzahs* from scholars in cities throughout the Muslim world.

[71] #1. Cf. Zaynab bint Yaḥyá (# 8), Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad (# 10), ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad (# 12), Fāṭimah bint Abī Bakr (# 14), Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd Allāh (# 15), and Nāranj bint ʿAbd Allāh (# 20).

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having themselves "heard" texts from male transmitters, and that al-Subkī himself physically encountered many of his female teachers and heard them recite texts. But virtually all of the women listed here were elderly at the point of contact, and al-Subkī himself was quite young—sometimes, as in the case of Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad, an infant. The advantage of hearing the recitation of hadith or receiving an *ijāzah* at such a tender age is that, all things being equal, it shortened the *isnād*—i.e., it reduced the number of links in the chain of transmission. Several of the women listed here died shortly after the young al-Subkī arrived in Damascus, meaning that he would be among the last individuals to recite texts on their authority.[72] In a similar vein, several of al-Subkī's *shaykhah*s distinguished themselves by aging until they became the last surviving transmitter from a particular shaykh of an earlier generation.[73] It is partly for this reason that, in general, older teachers were preferred. In the case of a superannuated woman transmitting a text to a very young male pupil, an added advantage was that the sexual tension implicit in an encounter between non-*maḥram* individuals was lessened.

A second point reaffirmed by al-Subkī's *muʿjam* is the advantage that birth into an academic family gave an individual seeking to establish a scholarly career. The infant al-Subkī did not think to request an *ijāzah* from Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad and others; it was his father's foresight which took the steps to lay the foundation for his son's later reputation. The young al-Subkī was also able to take advantage of his father's posting as qadi in Damascus in 739/1338–39 to make more direct contact with scholars, both male and female, in that city. On the "supply" side, it is striking how many of the women whom al-Subkī listed as *shaykhah*s themselves came from established and reputable scholarly families: those, for example, from the famous Banū Qudāmah dynasty of Hanbali scholars.[74]

It is clear, finally, that in a certain sense the community of scholars actively engaged in the transmission of hadith was a small world: small, that is, in the sense that the individuals who populated it formed a close-knit group. It is striking how frequently certain data replicates itself in most of the biographical notices: for example, that al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī listed the *shaykhah* in question among those on whose authority they related traditions. Similarly, a high proportion of the women listed here included particular shaykhs of an earlier generation—especially Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī—among their teachers. At their base, the networks through which the educated class established its reputation were broad and inclusive: they were broad and inclusive enough to

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[72] See for example Āminah bint Ibrāhīm (#2), Bint al-Kamāl (#6), and Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (#16).

[73] See, for example, Fāṭimah bint Aḥmad (# 13).

[74] For example, Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad (# 10) and Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm (#13).

include members of social groups that might otherwise be marginalized, such as women. But the values and principles that governed the transmission of religious knowledge also brought certain individuals to the fore. The women listed in the *muʿjam* of al-Subkī had reached that exalted place, and in the process made an important contribution to the shaping of the "civilian elite."

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"Our Sorry State!" Al-Būṣīrī's Lamentations on Life and an Appeal for Cash

Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī is the most celebrated poet of the Mamluk period, having composed *Al-Burdah,* the "mantle ode" to the prophet Muḥammad. The *Burdah* has been the focus of many commentaries, imitations, and translations, and it is arguably the most famous poem in the Arabic language today.[1] Its author was born on 1 Shawwāl 608/7 March 1212 in Upper Egypt, at either Abū Ṣīr or Dalāṣ. As a young man, al-Būṣīrī studied Arabic and some religious sciences in Cairo, while following the Sufi teachings of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) and the Shādhilīyah order. He settled for a time in the Delta city of Bilbays, where he was a minor administrator, serving as a steward *(mubāshir).*[2] Al-Būṣīrī later returned to Cairo, where he composed poems in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, al-Mursī, and various Mamluk officials. He died there sometime between 694/1294 and 696/1297.[3]

Al-Būṣīrī was regarded as a fine poet by several of his contemporaries, and his poems were collected in his *Dīwān.* This work contains over fifty poems employing a range of rhymes and meters as well as various literary devices *(badīʿ)* for clever word-plays. The influence of earlier poets, particularly the Egyptian Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), is apparent in several poems, including the *Burdah* in praise of the prophet Muḥammad.[4] In this poem's 160 verses, al-Būṣīrī recounts events in the life of Muḥammad including his birth, the washing of his heart by

angels, his receiving revelation from God, his ascension to heaven on the mythical steed al-Burāq, and his struggles with the infidel Meccans. Al-Būṣīrī also relates many of the Prophet's miracles and blessed virtues and then ends his poem by praising the Prophet's family and companions, while praying for Muḥammad's intercession on Judgment Day. As Suzanne Stetkevych has argued persuasively, al-Būṣīrī's *Burdah* lauds the eternal triumph of Islam over unbelief as manifest destiny.[5] More significantly for believers, perhaps, is that the poem also presents a ritual spiritual exchange, as the poet offers his prayers and praise to the Prophet, who in turn may grant his intercession on Judgment Day. The intercession invoked by the *Burdah* was extended to others in a frame story that came to accompany the poem within a century of its composition, no doubt enhancing the poem's popularity.[6]

According to this story, al-Būṣīrī once suffered a debilitating stroke. He prayed and cried out to God for help, and composed a new ode praising Muḥammad. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of the Prophet Muḥammad, who touched his face and wrapped him in his cloak *(burdah)*. Upon waking, al-Būṣīrī found that the effects of the stroke had vanished, and he had been restored to health. As he walked out of his house for the first time after his dream, he was met by a Sufi who asked him for a copy of his poem in praise of Muḥammad. Al-Būṣīrī had composed several such odes, so he asked the man which poem he meant. The Sufi replied that he wanted the poem that al-Būṣīrī had composed during his recent illness. Al-Būṣīrī was stunned because he had told no one about the new ode or the miracle. The Sufi replied that the night before he had dreamed of the Prophet and saw him listening to and enjoying the poem. After the recitation, the Prophet threw his cloak over its author. Al-Būṣīrī gave the man a copy of his new ode, and as word spread of this miracle, others made copies and recited the poem. Soon, more instances of prophetic intercession occurred after the poem's recitation; copies of al-Būṣīrī's ode, now named the *Burdah,* were believed to possess miraculous healing powers. As a result, this poem has been copied many times, and its verses have been used in amulets and inscribed on walls to ward off misfortune.[7]

In one of the earliest biographies of al-Būṣīrī, the biographer and litterateur Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363) cited the frame story of the *Burdah* in which al-Būṣīrī speaks in the first person. Unfortunately, al-Ṣafadī did not give a source for the story, though he did note that he had learned all of al-Būṣīrī's

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[5] Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "From Sīrah to *Qaṣīdah:* Poetics and Polemics in al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (Mantle Ode)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 38 (2007): 1–52.

[6] Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman: al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (Mantle Ode) and the Supplicatory Ode," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37 (2006): 145–89.

[7] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:112–13. Also see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:666–67, and Stetkevych, "Text to Talisman," 146–53.

poetry from his teacher Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān (654–745/1256–1354), who had received the poems directly from al-Būṣīrī. Abū Ḥayyān also related that al-Būṣīrī was of Berber ancestry and was "short in stature, but of great nobility."[8] Al-Ṣafadī and most later biographers present al-Būṣīrī as an accomplished poet and pious supplicant blessed by the Prophet, but some sources also reveal another side to the man. The historian and biographer al-Maqrīzī depicted al-Būṣīrī as a frustrated poet who was forced to work as a scribe because he could not find sufficient patronage for his verse.[9] Significantly, al-Būṣīrī does not appear to have ever held one of the many teaching positions in the various educational establishments in Cairo or elsewhere in Egypt, suggesting that he either lacked an extensive training in the religious sciences or the proper contacts to secure a position as a religious scholar. As a result, he was forced to adapt his extensive Arabic poetic skills to menial secretarial work, which he hated. Supporting this view is one of al-Būṣīrī's poems in which he declared that he served as an administrator only to support his family. He then offered a scathing critique of minor bureaucrats, particularly Christians and Jews who, he claimed, were rapacious in order to support their opulent lifestyles replete with wine and fine clothes.[10]

Al-Būṣīrī harshly criticized the beliefs and practices of Jews and Christians in other verse as well, and perhaps this was due to a professional rivalry with Christian and Jewish scribes. But al-Būṣīrī's polemics may also reflect the religious tensions in Syria and Egypt during his lifetime, resulting from on-going Crusades and the Mongol invasion of Iraq and Syria.[11] Nevertheless, Muslims, too, felt the wrath of this misanthrope. Invective poetry was among al-Būṣīrī's specialties, and al-Maqrīzī quoted one of al-Būṣīrī's contemporaries, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd,[12] as saying: "Despite (al-Būṣīrī's) many virtues, he was loathed for loosing his tongue against people with any insult, and he would say

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[8] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:111. For Abū Ḥayyān see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 3rd ed., 1:40–41 (S. Glazner/T. E. Homerin). Al-Ṣafadī's account of al-Būṣīrī was slightly abridged by al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1974), 3:362–69.

[9] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:666, 669.

[10] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 266–71, and see Kīlānī's introduction to it, 11–16.

[11] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 175–219. Also see Carl Petry, "Copts in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Coptic Encyclopedia,* ed. Aziz S. Atiya (New York, ca. 1991–), 3:618–35, esp. 618, 622–25; Norman A. Stillman, "The Non-Muslim Communities: The Jewish Community," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 198–210, esp. 208–9; Linda S. Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamluk Sultanate," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 242–89, esp. 265–73, and Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages* (London, ca. 1986), 54.

[12] This may be the poet and scholar Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Shaybānī, known as Ibn Daqīqah (564–635/1169–1238). See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931), 5:177, and ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (Damascus, 1957), 12:185.

bad things about them in the company of amirs and viziers."[13] Moreover, when Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd visited al-Būṣīrī, the latter complained bitterly about his poverty and many needs, and how one of his patrons was haughty and thought little of the scribal class.[14] In line with his account, al-Būṣīrī depicted himself in some of his poems as penniless and hen-pecked, with hungry children to feed and a nagging wife who gave him little respect:[15]

> *in zurtuhā fī-l-ʿāmi yawman antajat*
> *wa-atat li-sittati ashhurin bi-ghulāmi*

> If I visit her for only a day per year, she gets pregnant
> and brings forth a boy in six months!

Not surprisingly, al-Būṣīrī directed such poems and their complaints to perspective patrons among the Mamluk ruling elite, including Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, known as al-Ṣāḥib Ibn Ḥannā. He had served as a vizier to the Ayyubids and was reappointed to that position by the Mamluk sultan Baybars I in 659/1261; Ibn Ḥannā held the position until his death in 677/1278.[16] Ibn Ḥannā was said to have been quite wealthy and generous, and this, together with his position and power, undoubtedly drew al-Būṣīrī to him. According to the frame story of the *Burdah,* al-Būṣīrī would compose poems in praise of the prophet Muḥammad for Ibn Ḥannā, who greatly admired the *Burdah.*[17] Moreover, al-Būṣīrī addressed several poems to him and recited a short elegy at the funeral of one of Ibn Ḥannā's sons.[18] In the following poem to Ibn Ḥannā, al-Būṣīrī describes his troubled family life and his desperate need for support, for which he begs the vizier:[19]

> *yā ayyuhā-l-mawlá-l-wazīru-lla-dhī*
> *ayyāmuhu ṭāīʿatun amrah*[20]

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[13] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:664.

[14] Ibid., 5:664–66, and also see Kīlānī's introduction to al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* 8–11.

[15] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 254, and also Kīlānī's introduction, 22–24.

[16] Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt,* 3:76–78; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–58), 1:2:447, 649; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt,* 5:358; and Irwin, *Middle East,* 20.

[17] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:112–13.

[18] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 135–44, 164–67, 280, and al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Baghdad, 1970), 2:299.

[19] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 164–67; al-Ṣafadī also gives an abridged version of the poem, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:108–9.

[20] I follow al-Ṣafadī's reading of *ṭāīʿatun* for *ṭāʾiʿatun* to fit the meter *sarīʿ*. For the Arabic text, see

O my lord, the vizier,
 whose days obey his command,

Whose rank on high
 exhausts the mind to describe!

Your spotless character called us
 to make a plea unexpectedly,

For you still pardon those who offend
 and deem forgiveness with power to be wise.

So, perhaps, people do not know   *5*
 what it is you love and what you despise.

To you we appeal about our state:
 we are a family big as can be.[21]

I will speak to my lord in pen and ink
 telling the tale of what came to pass.

They fasted like others,
 but they are a warning for all who see.

When they drink, their well remains
 earthen jugs and jars of clay.

Everyday they eat boiled bread   *10*
 like dead grass revived by rain.

Whenever they gather round it, I say:
 "Tarry awhile amid the water on the green!"

The holiday drew near, and they had
 no pastry, no bread, no wheat.

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the appendix.

[21] I follow al-Ṣafadī's reading of ʿā*ilatun* for ʿā*ʾilatun* to fit the meter.

Have mercy on them, for when they spy a child
 with a little cake in hand, or see a date,

Their eyes fix on it, gasping,
 followed by a sigh.

How oft I have suffered their torment;   *15*
 how often I have felt their grief.

How often they have said: "Daddy,
 You've cut off our bread again!

"You never give us money,
 not a dollar, not a dime, not a cent.

"And you're in service to the folk, daddy.
 How can you serve them? You're a joke!

"O, what a waste it is if we never get
 your wages or the rent."

I am amazed how sharp this boy is;   *20*
 it comes to him so naturally.

Yet why shouldn't he be clever,
 for everyone born has their nature.

One day their mother called on her sister,
 who is as jealous as a second wife,

And she came in complaining of her state
 and her patience with me in our poverty.

Her sister said: "Why do women act with their husbands so?
 O, such a disgrace![22]

"Get up and demand your rights from him.   *25*
 Do it now; don't wait,

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[22] Following al-Ṣafadī who gives *yā ʿurrah* in place of *yā ghirrah.*

"And if he says no, then grab his beard,
 and hair by hair jerk it out!"

Their mother said: "That's not my way;
 my husband gets annoyed.

"I fear if I say a word, he'll divorce me."
 "Bullshit!" her sister said.

So my wife thought less and less of me,
 and when she came home was she ticked,

When she got in my face, I threatened her,   *30*
 so she bashed my head with a brick.

Then from early eve till morning light,
 we went round and round in a fight.

The slave never sees his salvation
 until he cries himself dry,

So on one whose sorry state is this,
 O, my lord, please cast your eye!

   Al-Būṣīrī begins his poem in praise of the vizier whose authority is so grand that time itself submits to his decree.[23] Though powerful, the vizier rules with forbearance and forgiveness, and so the poet takes the liberty to plead his case to him (vv. 1–7). Al-Būṣīrī depicts his large family as destitute, lacking even fresh water, and forced to eat stale, moldy bread. Though they fast during Ramaḍān, this is due more to poverty than piety, and when the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr occurs, his family cannot enjoy the festivities and sweets because they have no flour; they can only look on in envy of others (vv. 8–14). Al-Būṣīrī concludes this section and moves to the next with his lamentations on their dire condition (vv. 15–17). Then one of his young children complains of their plight and their penniless father. His son points out that al-Būṣīrī is poorer than the Sufi ascetics *(qawm)* whom he claims

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[23] Cf. a verse by Abū Tammām cited in S. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām & the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age* (Leiden, 1991), 24, from Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Kitāb al-Badīʿ,* ed. I. Kratchkovsky (London, 1935), 23, and also see Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1989), 9–27.

to serve, making him a laughingstock (*sukhrah;* vv. 17–19). Al-Būṣīrī marvels at how perceptive his son is at such a young age, and then he ends this section with an allusion to the hadith that all children are born with a natural disposition (*fiṭrah;* vv. 20–21).[24]

Al-Būṣīrī next moves from his children to their mother, who visits her sister and bemoans her impoverished life with her husband. Her sister denounces such ne'er-do-well men in general and tells his wife to stand up and demand her rights. When his wife frets that he may then divorce her, her sister rebukes her and urges her to disgrace al-Būṣīrī publicly by pulling out his beard (vv. 22–28). Buoyed by her sister, al-Būṣīrī's wife returns home angry and fired up, and when al-Būṣīrī does indeed threaten her with a divorce, she clobbers him with a brick, and they fight throughout the night (vv. 29–30). Al-Būṣīrī then concludes his poem, citing another maxim—that the slave is never set free until he has suffered greatly, perhaps unto death—and he begs the vizier to look upon him with mercy (vv. 32–33).

Although al-Būṣīrī's begins this poem as an ode of praise and supplication, his focus quickly shifts from the vizier and his exalted rank to al-Būṣīrī's own debased and desperate condition. The editor of al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, cites this poem as evidence that al-Būṣīrī's home life was a living hell.[25] While that is always a possibility, al-Būṣīrī clearly intended the poem to be a humorous parody, as he reverses various family roles and relationships. Ideally, fathers should be wealthy and wise, and children happy and innocent; yet here the poet is poor and powerless, as his young son sagaciously discerns when he worries about the family's lack of food and rent. Traditionally, husbands are to be in charge of obedient wives and family members; yet here al-Būṣīrī is demeaned by his sister-in-law, who riles up his wife, leading to a nasty fight that leaves the poet reeling and feeling not like a king in his castle, but like a suffering servant desperately in need of the vizier's beneficence. The poem, then, is not so much a panegyric *(madīḥ)* as it is an example of a witty poem *(mulḥah),* which tells of a disagreeable wife and harried husband.[26] Given the references to fasting and the ʿĪd, perhaps al-Būṣīrī offered Ibn Ḥannā this poem as an amusing tale at the end of Ramaḍān, when Muslims are to give alms and be generous to the less fortunate. While the *Burdah* sought prophetic intercession on the Judgment Day, this poem on al-Būṣīrī's sorry state aimed for intercession of a more material sort. For al-Būṣīrī's sake, I hope he received it.

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[24] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān (Medina, n.d.), 2:249–50 ("*janāʾiz,*" 78, #443).

[25] Kīlānī's introduction to al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* 22–24.

[26] See Geert Jan van Gelder, "Against Women and Other Pleasantries: the Last Chapter of Abū Tammām's Ḥamāsa," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985): 61–72.

Aᴘᴘᴇɴᴅɪx

يا أَيُّها المَولَى الوَزيرُ ٱلَّذى   أَيّامُهُ طايِعةٌ أَمرَه

وَمَن لَهُ مَنزِلَةٌ في العُلَى   تَكِلُّ عَنْ أَوْصافِها الفِكرَه

أَخلاقُكَ الغُرُّ دَعَتْنا إِلَى ٱلْـ   ـإِدْلاءِ في القَولِ عَلى غِرَّه

إِذْ لَمْ تَزَلْ تَصفَحُ عَمَّنْ جَنَى   وَتُؤْثِرُ العَفوَ مَعَ القُدْرَه

حَتَّى لَقَد يَخفَى عَلَى النّاسِ ما   تُحِبُّ مِن أَمرٍ وَما تَكرَه

إِلَيكَ نَشكُو حالَنا إِنَّنا   عايِلَةٌ في غايَةِ الكَثرَه

أُحَدِّثُ المَوْلَى ٱلحَديثَ الذى   جَرَى لَهُم بالخَيطِ وَالإِبرَه

صامُوا مَعَ النّاسِ وَلَكِنَّهُمْ   كانوا لِمَن يُبْصِرُهُم عِبْرَه

إِن شَرِبُوا فالبِئْرُ زيرٌ لَهُمْ   ما بَرِحَتْ وَالشَّرْيَةُ الجَرَّه

لَهُمْ مِنَ الخُبَّيْزِ مَسْلوقةٌ   في كَلِّ يَومٍ تُشْبِهُ النَشْرَه

أَقولُ مَهما ٱجْتَمَعُوا حَولَها   تَنَزَّهُوا في الماءِ وَالخُضرَه

وَأَقبلَ العيدُ وَما عِندَهُم   قَمْحٌ وَلا خُبْزٌ وَلا فَطرَه

فَأَرْحَمْهُمُ إِن أَبْصروا كَعْكَةً   في يَدِ طِفْلٍ أَوْ رَأَوْا تَمْرَه

تَشْخَصُ أَبْصارُهُمْ نَحْوَها   بِشَهْقَةٍ تَتْبَعُها زَفْرَه

فَكم أُقاسِي مِنهُمُ لَوْعَةً   وَكم أُقاسِي مِنهُمُ حَسْرَه

كَم قائلٍ يا أَبَتا مِنهُمُ   قَطَعْتَ عَنّا الخُبْزَ في كَرَّه

ما صِيرْتَ تَأْتِينا بِفَلْسٍ وَلا   بِدِرْهَمٍ وَرِقٍ وَلا نُقْرَه

وَأَنتَ في خِدْمَةِ قَومٍ فَهَلْ   تَخْدُمُهُمْ يا أَبَتا سُخْرَه

يا خَيْبَةَ المَسْعَى إِذا لم يَكُنْ   يَجْرِي لَنا أَجْرٌ وَلا أُجْرَه

لَقَد تَعَجَّبْتُ لَها فِطْنَةً   أَتى بِها الطِّفْلُ بِلا جَرَّه

وَكَيفَ يَخْلُو الطِّفْلُ مِن فِطْنَةٍ   وَكُلُّ مَولُودٍ عَلَى الفِطْرَه

وَيَومَ زارَتْ أُمُّهُمْ أُخْتَها   وَالأخْتُ في الغَيرَةِ كالضَرَّه

وَأَقْبَلَتْ تَشْكو لَها حالَها   وَصَبْرَها مِنِّي عَلَى العُسرَه

قالتْ لَها كيفَ تَكونُ النِّسا   كذا مَعَ الأزواجِ يا عُرَّه

قُومي اطْلُبي حَقَّكِ مِنهُ بِلا   تخَلُّفٍ مِنكِ وَلا فَترَه

وَإنْ تَأَبَّى فَخُذِي ذَقنَهُ   ثمَّ انْتِفيها شَعْرَةً شَعْرَه

قالتْ لَها ما عادَتي هكذا   فإنَّ زوجي عِندَهُ ضُجْرَه

أَخافُ إنْ كَلَّمْتُهُ كِلْمَةً   طَلَّقَني قالتْ لَها بَعْرَه

فَهَوَّنَت قَدْريَ في نَفْسِها   فَجاءَتْ الزَّوْجَةُ مُحْتَرَّه

فَقابَلَتْني فَتَهَدَّدْتُها   فَاسْتَقْبَلَتْ رَأْسِي بِآجُرَّه

وَباتَتْ الفِتْنَةُ ما بَينَنَا   مِن أوَّلِ اللَيلِ إلى بُكْرَه

وَما رَأَى العَبْدُ لهُ مَخْلَصاً   إلا وَما في عَينِهِ قَطْرَه

فَحَقُّ مَن حالتُهُ هذِهِ   أنْ يَنْظُرَ المَولَى لهُ نَظْرَه

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Spy or Rebel? The Curious Incident of the Temürid Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's Defection to the Mamluks at Damascus in 803/1400–1

The warlord Temür (d. 807/1405) is a figure who inspires not only great interest among historians, but usually a host of additional reactions ranging from admiration to revulsion. Reasons for these reactions include his ability to fuse the disparate political elements of late fourteenth-century Transoxanian society into an effective whole, the decades he spent and thousands of miles he covered in pursuit of military goals, and his complicated, charismatic, and probably magnetic character with its odd mix of contrary traits. Among these were the ability to express both great affection to his family and great cruelty to his enemies. Equally important was Temür's endless obsession with the history, legacy, and ideological challenge posed by the family of the Mongol conqueror Chingiz Khan (d. 1227), which occupied many of Temür's waking thoughts even though—or perhaps because—he did not rank among their number. It is no surprise, therefore, that much has been written about Temür's life and exploits, and scholarship on these topics will surely continue. Far less work, however, has been done on Temür's sons and grandsons, to say nothing of his wives, concubines, and daughters, who have been virtually ignored by historians so far. Yet these family members deserve attention too, both for their own activities and lives, and for the fact that they were often on the receiving end of Temür's complex interests, prejudices, and desires. This article will therefore present some ruminations on the life and stunted career of one of Temür's grandsons, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, in an effort to demonstrate the effect Temür may have had on the people closest to him.

In the winter of 803/1400–1, a curious incident happened in the Mamluk city of Damascus. At the time, the city lay caught between the fearsome attacking armies of Temür on one side and the defending armies of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (first r. 801–8/1399–1405) on the other.[1] Temür had arrived in Syria in the autumn, and in a bold and startlingly successful strike, had captured both Aleppo and all the Syrian Mamluk commanders who had gathered in the city to defend it. Temür had then worked his way south towards Damascus, acquiring the now helpless smaller Syrian cities along the way. Although Faraj and his advisors and

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[1] For the locations of the respective forces see Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's "Autobiography," with a Translation into English, and a Commentary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), 57, notes 18, 19.

armies had set out from Cairo too late to help Aleppo, they at least managed to arrive in Damascus first on 6 Jumādá I 803/23 December 1400, followed shortly thereafter by Temür's forces.[2] Once there, the two armies observed one another warily, exchanging messengers and demands and skirmishing periodically.

Many of the commanders in Temür's army were his sons and grandsons, whom he liked to provide with military opportunities. It is therefore no surprise that the Temürid forces in one skirmish on 25 December/8 Jumādá I were led by Temür's grandson through his daughter Agha Beki, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.[3] The curious incident mentioned above took place a few days after the skirmish, possibly on 13 Jumādá I/30 December, when Sulṭān-Ḥusayn suddenly defected to Mamluk Damascus. Unfortunately, the details of his flight are completely unknown: did he leave his grandfather's camp openly or in secret? During the day or at night? Alone or accompanied, and if the latter, by whom? The histories do not reveal how Sulṭān-Ḥusayn made his way from his grandfather's camp into the city. What we do know, however, is that once in Damascus he was swiftly brought to meet with Sultan Faraj.[4]

It is not surprising that the sources present disparate views of this event. Temürid authors suggest variously that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn engaged in this strange behavior because he was drunk, misled by poor advisors, or simply reckless and foolish.[5] By contrast, Mamluk sources make no mention of alcohol, bad advice or stupidity, but they unfortunately do not attribute any other motive to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, either. But both sides can agree that the Mamluks were thrilled to see their unexpected guest, perhaps not only because of his identity, but also because

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[2] For the date see Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn,* 55–56, note 15.

[3] ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Khaṭīb al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 2:82. Persian sources do not mention the raid.

[4] The sources merely say, vaguely, that he went (Persian) or came (Arabic) to Damascus. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82–83 (no date); Aḥmad Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAjāʾib al-Maqdūr fī Nawāʾib Tīmūr,* ed. Aḥmad Fāʾiz al-Ḥumṣī (Beirut, 1987), 243; and idem, *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir,* trans. J. H. Sanders (Lahore, 1936, repr. 1976), 140 (hereafter Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane*); Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–), 4:165, possible date of 13 Jumādá I/30 December 1400; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah: Tārīkh-i Futūḥāt-i Amīr Tīmūr Kūrkānī,* ed. Felix Tauer (Prague, 1937), 230–31, date of Jumādá I/December 1400–January 1401; Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī,* ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran, 1957), 376, and ibid., ed. Parvīn Istakhrī (Tehran, 2004), 278–79 (no date); Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 3:1039 (news in a letter that arrived in Cairo in Jumādá II /January–February 1401), 3:1042 (date of 13 Jumādá I/30 December for the actual defection); Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī (Tehran, 1957–58), 228.

[5] For drunkenness see Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 228, and Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278; for bad advisors see Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231; for recklessness see Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

of his reportedly favorable appearance—he was tall, handsome, and, according to some, even wearing a jeweled crown (?).[6] At any rate, the Mamluks welcomed Sulṭān-Ḥusayn with high honors and gave him a glorious ceremonial robe, as well as a horse with a golden saddle and other impressive trappings.[7] Such gifts, especially the bedecked animal, were typically reserved for elevated members of the Mamluk aristocracy or extremely important foreign diplomats. In this context they demonstrated the great enthusiasm the Mamluk commanders felt about Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's arrival.[8] Then, in an unusual step during or perhaps after the gift-giving ceremony, the Mamluks cut off Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's hair, thereby making him conform to Mamluk norms. They may also have hoped to dissuade him from going back to his grandfather by providing visible evidence of his change of sides.[9] While meeting with Faraj and his commanders, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn provided them with intelligence about Temür's army—its numbers, its morale, and whether it might be defeated.[10] We may assume the Mamluks were very interested in this information, although they ultimately made poor use of it.

Meanwhile, messengers continued to pass back and forth between Faraj and Temür. Shortly after Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection (according to the Persian sources) or before it (according to the Mamluks), Temür wrote demanding the return of a prisoner the Mamluks had held in Cairo for several years, but the letter does not appear to mention Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.[11] At any rate, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn himself continued to live under Mamluk patronage during these few days.[12] The skirmishes between the two armies also continued until one larger battle took place on 19 Jumādá I 803/5 January 1401, during which Sulṭān-Ḥusayn fought for the Mamluks. On the Temürid side were none other than his own uncles, Temür's sons Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh. During the skirmish the Temürid forces encountered the runaway among the Mamluk soldiers. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may have been unusually visible because of his height and because he was using his own standard; just in case,

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[6] For the crown see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:165; for the warm welcome see Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278; Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 228; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:165; Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

[7] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1042.

[8] See Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), 23.

[9] Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140; V. V. Bartold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia II: Ulugh Beg,* trans. V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden, 1963), 31.

[10] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82–83, Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278–79; Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

[11] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82; Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 228.

[12] His host was the financial official (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ,* controller of the sultan's fisc) Saʿd al-Dīn Ibn Ghurāb. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:165.

however, he identified himself to them once the fighting grew hot.[13] Eventually, a Temürid commander maneuvered close enough to seize the reins of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's horse and drag it and the prince over to the Temürid side.[14]

Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was swiftly sent back to Temür, who had him and some of his advisors chained and imprisoned.[15] It is unclear whether Agha Beki tried to help her son, but a few days after Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's capture Shāh Rukh interceded on behalf of his nephew. Temür accepted the intercession, pardoned Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, and reinstated him in the Temürid armies. Temür does not appear to have shown similar leniency to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's advisors, although their ultimate fate is unclear.[16] This is consistent with the scholarly claim that when Temürid princes behaved badly, Temür preferred to punish advisors, particularly bureaucratic ones, more harshly than the Temürids themselves.[17] Later Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was permitted to take part in campaigns on his grandfather's behalf throughout Iraq and Anatolia, although he was always accompanied by other Temürid princes.

Meanwhile, after Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's return to the Temürid side, the Mamluk leadership unexpectedly fled for Cairo on the eve of 21 Jumādá I 803/7 January 1401 to avert a potential coup there.[18] This forced the Mamluk armies to follow the next morning in great haste and disarray, while the helpless city of Damascus surrendered to Temür and thereafter suffered his detailed, painful and systematic methods of plunder.[19]

The curious incident of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection is no more than a tiny sub-plot in the larger narrative of Temür's devastation of Damascus and the complete Mamluk failure to defend the city. Small wonder, then, that the story earned no more than a few lines at most, and often considerably less, in the Persian and Arabic historical works. And yet the incident deserves more attention than this from modern historians, since it illuminates not only the ways in which Temür

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[13] For the height see Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 377/279, for the standard see Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234; for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn identifying himself see Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 233.

[14] Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234.

[15] Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234–35.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1989), 114; for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's advisors see Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 233; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 377/279; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234–35.

[18] This was the night between January 6 and 7; see Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn,* note 22 on pp. 59–60 for the date.

[19] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:83; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:166; Fischel/Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane,* 30 and note 19 on p. 57; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1045; Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 233–34; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah*; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 378/279; Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 245/141. For Temür's methods of plunder see Jean Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963): 83–122.

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asserted and maintained control over his offspring, but also the way in which the question of succession to Temür as ruler of his empire—and especially the role played by women in determining that succession—affected the Temürid princes' opportunities for meaningful career advancement.

Before we examine these issues, however, we must first determine what Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was doing. It is possible that he was sent either to spy on the Mamluks or to spread falsehoods in order to demoralize and weaken them, since Temür routinely used such techniques to enhance the effectiveness of his military campaigns. This hypothesis, however, soon proves to be untenable. Temür preferred to employ religious men for this purpose, especially mystics, who could be highly mobile and whose frequent wanderings therefore were unlikely to seem unusual.[20] They were also generally not Temür's own relatives. In addition, the Mamluks were convinced that Temür had previously sent agents to Mamluk lands, and they thus had executed an entire embassy from Temür in 796/1394 on the suspicion that it was composed of spies. Mamluk territory was therefore a particularly dangerous place to anyone working for Temür.[21] It is out of the question that Temür would assign such a risky task to his grandson in this perilous region, especially when there were more expendable persons to do it.

Furthermore, if Sulṭān-Ḥusayn had gone to the Mamluks as Temür's agent of confusion, this would have rendered Temür's punishment of him after his return inexplicable, to say nothing of the disapproving tone used by the Temürid chroniclers when they described the incident: Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī (fl. 806/1404), author of an official history of Temür's career, pointed out how strange Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's behavior was and explained that it had been brought on by the bad counsel of corrupt advisors *(mufassidān)*.[22] Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 858/1454), writing for Temür's grandson Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān ibn Shāh Rukh (d. 838/1435), echoed Shāmī regarding the advisors but added that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was drunk, while Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī (fl. 816–17/1413–14), employed by Temür's grandson Iskandar ibn ʿUmar Shaykh (d. 818/1415), ignored the bad advisors and attributed Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's rash behavior entirely to drunkenness.[23] Given that these authors worked either for Temür or for his grandsons, it seems unlikely that they would have criticized Sulṭān-Ḥusayn so clearly if he had gone to Damascus on Temür's orders. Even a Temürid-era author who was hostile to the warlord, Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450), attributed Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection not to any subterfuge from

[20] H. R. Roemer, "Tīmūr in Iran," *Cambridge History of Iran,* ed. P. Jackson (Cambridge, 1968), 6:49–50.

[21] Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 180.

[22] Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231.

[23] Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:228; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278. For these authors see Woods, "Timurid Historiography," 89, 99–100.

Temür, but to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's own foolish and reckless personality.[24] It is therefore more likely that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn went to Damascus of his own volition. If so, then a better hypothesis is that he was seeking the patronage of the Mamluk sultan in hopes of improving his opportunities for career advancement. But why might one of Temür's grandsons do such a thing? The answer lies in the complex ways in which Temür related to his family, especially the men in it, and the way Temür tended to squash the career opportunities of his offspring.

Like many of the other Temürids, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was an ambitious young man. The clearest proof of this appeared in 807/1405, that is, a few years after his defection at Damascus, when he tried to take over Samarqand soon after his grandfather's death. But Sulṭān-Ḥusayn failed to capture the city, which became the possession of his cousin Khalīl-Sulṭān instead. Nevertheless Sulṭān-Ḥusayn remained undaunted, arranged to work for Khalīl-Sulṭān, and then later tried to use an army that Khalīl-Sulṭān gave him, not for Khalīl-Sulṭān's business but for his own purposes. Unfortunately for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, he failed here, too, and fled to his uncle Shāh Rukh, who put a definitive end to his nephew's hopes by having him killed.[25] Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's ambitions were therefore unmistakable, although his ability to achieve them was low. It is reasonable to assume that he had been similarly ambitious those few years earlier when he found himself outside Damascus with his grandfather's armies.

In Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's case, however, the opportunity to pursue ambition was just as important as the mere presence of ambition itself. It is in this realm of opportunity that Temür's personality may have helped spur Sulṭān-Ḥusayn to his rebellious behavior. Temür appears to have loved his children and grandchildren, but does not seem to have trusted them. As a result, opportunities for the Temürids in general, and for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn in particular, were constrained because Temür liked to control his family members just as he controlled his followers and his forces.

Beatrice Forbes Manz has discussed this phenomenon at some length. Temür frequently gave his sons and grandsons important administrative and military positions, but while doing so he always took pains to limit their independence so that none could establish a base of support to rival his own. Thus, although he appointed some of his offspring as governors to rule particular regions in his absence, he also transferred them periodically to keep them from establishing themselves in any one place. Similarly, he furnished all the Temürids with appropriate entourages, including advisors, but then always ensured that some of

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[24] Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

[25] Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 132; see also H. R. Roemer, "The Successors of Tīmūr," *The Cambridge History of Iran,* volume 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods,* ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge, 1986), 100.

these advisors were his own followers, often related to him by marriage, whose status and authority rivaled that of the princes themselves. This allowed the advisors to keep the princes in line. Temür also gave armies to some of his sons or grandsons, especially those whom he made governors, but he then borrowed these armies to use on campaign and left temporary forces in their place. This limited the princes' ability to establish durable ties with the fighting men who worked for them, but strengthened the connections between the fighting men and Temür himself.[26] Likewise, when Temür sent out a military campaign under the leadership of his offspring, he usually appointed several different Temürid princes, each of whom was accompanied by advisors, which created a system of checks and balances not only on each prince, but among them as well. In this context of balanced opportunity and control, therefore, a Temürid like Sulṭān-Ḥusayn could win appointments or fight in campaigns, but only with other Temürids and advisors present to keep him in line. Surely Sulṭān-Ḥusayn knew that he, along with his cousins and uncles, was unlikely to realize any greater ambitions while his grandfather kept such a grip on them all.

To make matters worse, the limitations the Temürids felt were not merely a problem during their grandfather's lifetime, for the larger challenge they faced was the way they would still be restricted even after his death. But how could Temür control his relatives from beyond the grave? The answer lies in the question of succession to Temür as ruler of his empire. Succession was a thorny problem in Central and East Asian nomadic society, since an unusually wide range of factors made a man eligible for consideration as the next ruler when a beg or khan died. One important element of succession was the concept of seniority within a family, which meant that a dying or dead ruler's brothers, uncles, or cousins could legitimately assert their right to rule.[27] (In some cases a senior woman might also enter the fray, albeit not for herself but only acting as regent for a son.) This elder generation could therefore be pitted against the deceased ruler's sons, and the elders' superior experience and resources could give them an advantage over the ruler's younger, less practiced, and less powerful offspring. It was this principle of seniority that Temür's own role model and idol, Chingiz Khan, avoided by choosing to limit succession to his sons, which he did at a gathering of Mongol notables *(quriltay)* in 1218, and which effectively excluded the conqueror's brothers from consideration. Although Chingiz Khan's heir, his third son, Ögedei (r. 1229–41), ruled without challenge, it is not surprising that when Ögedei died, Chingiz Khan's brother Temüge-Otchigin sought to reestablish the principle of seniority and override the claims of Ögedei's sons and grandsons

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[26] For details see Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 84–88.

[27] Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy,* trans. T. N. Haining (Oxford, 1991), 125.

in favor of his own right to rule. Although Temüge-Otchigin's claim fit squarely within the structure of nomadic inheritance by following the principle of seniority, however, he failed to achieve his goal for military reasons, and this failure led to his censure, trial, and ultimate death.[28] Similarly, Chingiz Khan's grandson Batu (d. 1255), ruler of Central Asia and Russia, was seen as the senior member of his generation among Chingiz Khan's grandsons, and his word therefore carried great weight in struggles over succession in the 1240s. Batu helped delay the coronation of his cousin Güyük (r. 1246–48) for years, then allowed another cousin, Möngke, to become Great Khan (r. 1251–59) even though Möngke was from the weakest branch of the family and should not have had a chance.[29] Batu's seniority therefore helped him control the politics of the empire, although Batu never proposed himself as a candidate for Great Khan.

But even when succession deviated from the principle of seniority and was limited to a ruler's sons and grandsons, the wealth of possibilities here, too, made selection difficult. Khans could invoke primogeniture, ultimogeniture, or simply their own choice to determine their heir. Chingiz Khan used this last option, ruler's choice, in 1218 when designating Ögedei to be the next Great Khan, and Ögedei followed suit in selecting his grandson Shiremün (although Shiremün never actually managed to hold the position).

To complicate matters still further, one additional requirement for a man's sons to succeed him, which modern scholars sometimes fail to enumerate, was the identity of a son's mother. In nomadic ideology not all mothers were created equal, and thus the sons of some mothers enjoyed opportunities that the sons of other mothers did not, even when all the sons shared the same father. In general, the children of a principal wife (or principal wives) held greater status than the sons of secondary wives or concubines, and therefore enjoyed better career opportunities.[30] Thus, at the meeting of 1218, Chingiz Khan was not in fact choosing a new Great Khan from among all his sons, but was rather limiting his choice to those sons borne by his principal wife, Börte—his sons with other women did not enter into consideration. It was thus Börte's identity as Chingiz

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[28] Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan,* 125; Anonymous, *The Secret History of the Mongols,* trans. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden, 2006), 1:182–88; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAtāʾ Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā,* trans. J. A. Boyle as *The History of the World-Conqueror* (Seattle, 1997), 248, 255; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan,* trans. J. A. Boyle (New York, 1971), 178, 182; Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia and the Islamic Lands 1251–59* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), 20.

[29] Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror,* 249; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors,* 180, 200–5; Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism,* 19–20. For the origins of the strife between Batu and Güyük see Anonymous, *Secret History,* 201–2, 205–9.

[30] On this point see Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror,* 40.

Khan's most important wife that determined which of his progeny were eligible to inherit the empire; the choice did not extend to all of Chingiz Khan's sons unilaterally.[31] At the other end of the spectrum, the Ottomans also recognized the importance of a mother's status in the politics of succession, but they responded by working to eliminate the question entirely. This they did by stipulating that the reproductive partners of the sultans be concubines, not wives, which meant that the status of these "royal mothers" depended entirely on their ability to bear sons of the Ottoman house, and not either on their marital positions or on their links to outside families. In fact, after the early years of the dynasty the Ottoman sultans stopped marrying anyone, since the presence of wives in the Ottoman family might have complicated succession by subjecting the imperial house to unwanted stresses from outside powers.[32]

It is this final principle, that of mother's identity, that seems to have most strongly affected Temürid succession, and through it, the opportunities available to individual Temürid princes like Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. Unlike the Ottomans, who required that the mothers of heirs be concubines, Temür appears to have required the opposite, namely that the mothers of heirs be wives (and therefore free). Although Temür had four sons who survived to adulthood—ʿUmar-Shaykh (d. 796/1394), Jahāngīr (d. 777/1376), Mīrānshāh (d. 810/1408), and Shāh Rukh (d. 850/1447)—only Jahāngīr's mother, Turmish Agha Khatun, was Temür's wife; the mothers of the other three sons were concubines. But Jahāngīr could not succeed his father as ruler, since he died during Temür's lifetime (as did Temür's oldest son, ʿUmar-Shaykh). This meant that when Temür came to choosing an heir he was left with only two sons, Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh, and numerous grandsons. Unfortunately for Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh, however, the fact that both of their mothers had been Temür's concubines appears to have eliminated them from consideration. Instead, Temür seems to have combined the principles of mother's identity and ruler's choice to skip over Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh entirely and designate a grandson as heir: Jahāngīr's son Muḥammad-Sulṭān.

Temür seems to have decided that Muḥammad-Sulṭān was the best candidate to succeed him for two reasons. First, as explained above, his father Jahāngīr was the only one of Temür's sons whose mother was free and an actual wife to Temür. Second, Muḥammad-Sulṭān's own mother, Sevin Beg, was herself a free woman and lawful wife to Jahāngīr, and as an added attraction, she was

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[31] Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror,* 40, claims that Chingiz Khan had many sons and daughters from Börte and from other wives and concubines, but specifies that only Börte's sons were eligible to succeed their father. On two sons of concubines who were never even considered for succession see Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism,* 18, note 1.

[32] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1993), 28–31, 37–42.

Partial Temürid Family Tree(s)

Traditional View
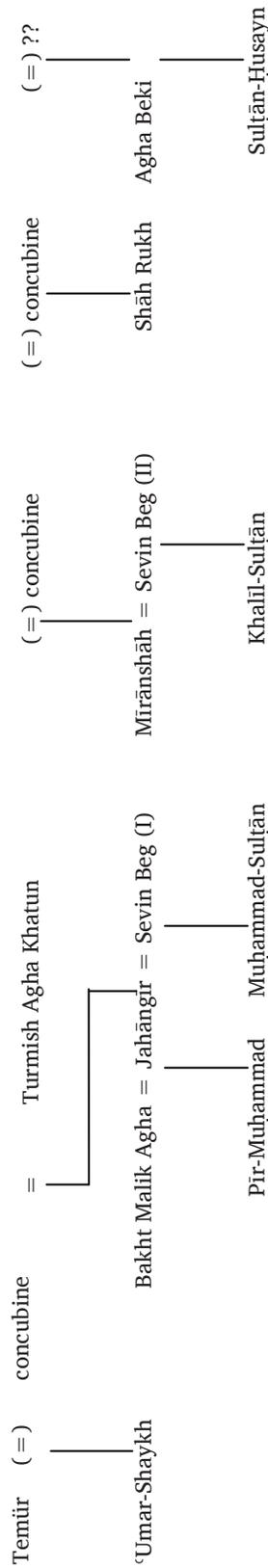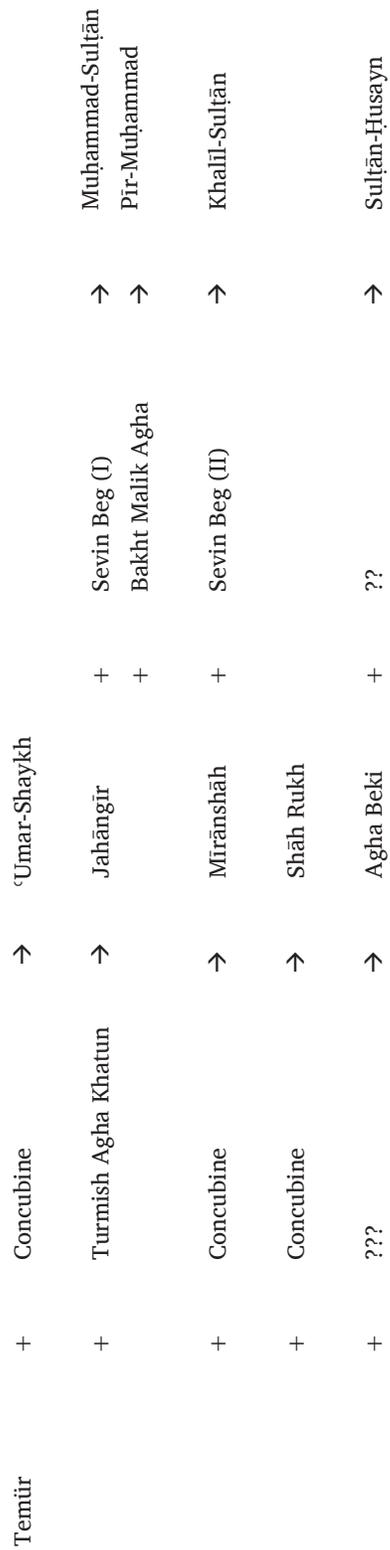
Temür (=) concubine → ʿUmar-Shaykh

Temür = Turmish Agha Khatun

Bakht Malik Agha = Jahāngīr = Sevin Beg (I)
→ Pīr-Muhammad   → Muhammad-Sultān

Mīrānshāh = Sevin Beg (II) (=) concubine
→ Khalīl-Sultān

(=) concubine → Shāh Rukh

(=) ?? → Agha Beki
→ Sultān-Husayn

Revised View

Temür						
+	Concubine	→	ʿUmar-Shaykh			
+	Turmish Agha Khatun	→	Jahāngīr	+	Sevin Beg (I)	→ Muhammad-Sultān
				+	Bakht Malik Agha	→ Pīr-Muhammad
+	Concubine	→	Mīrānshāh	+	Sevin Beg (II)	→ Khalīl-Sultān
+	Concubine	→	Shāh Rukh			
+	???	→	Agha Beki	+	??	→ Sultān-Husayn

maternally descended from the Jochid line of the Chingizid family, which Temür revered.[33] After Jahāngīr died, Sevin Beg married his brother Mīrānshāh and with him had another son, Khalīl-Sulṭān. Unfortunately for Temür, however, the heir Muḥammad-Sulṭān died in 805/1403, and he was forced to look for another candidate. When he did so, Temür did not choose Sevin Beg's second son Khalīl-Sulṭān (i.e., the deceased heir's uterine half-brother). Rather he settled on Pīr-Muḥammad, Jahāngīr's other son by a different wife who was also, of course, free, but who was not a Chingizid.[34] By limiting his choices to Jahāngīr's line, Temür demonstrated the importance of Jahāngīr's mother's status as a free and married woman; by choosing Muḥammad-Sulṭān before Pīr-Muḥammad, Temür demonstrated the importance of a Chingizid wife over a non-Chingizid. We may assume that Temür skipped over Khalīl-Sulṭān entirely, even though his mother was Muḥammad-Sulṭān's mother and a Chingizid, because Khalīl-Sulṭān's father, Mīrānshāh, had already been disqualified from succession as a result of his concubine mother's slave status.[35]

Clearly, therefore, the status of a son's mother in the question of succession was just as much a problem for the Temürids as for the Chingizids and other nomadic dynasties. Even though Temür had two experienced, full-grown sons, to say nothing of his numerous grandsons, the succession ideology to which he subscribed meant that very few members of the family actually qualified as contenders for rule. Since this was true for those Temürids who were connected to the conqueror in a direct paternal line, i.e., his sons and their sons, then how much more true was it for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, whose relatively low status as the son of Temür's daughter Agha Beki surely disqualified him even more? Certainly Sulṭān-Ḥusayn himself felt he was a worthy candidate to rule his grandfather's empire, as his first major act after Temür's death was to try to take over the capital city, Samarqand. But it is likely that during Temür's lifetime Sulṭān-Ḥusayn understood that Temür's ideas about succession meant he had no real opportunity for overall rule. This hard truth must have been clear by 800–1/1398, at which point Temür had chosen Muḥammad-Sulṭān to succeed him, and which was at least two years before Sulṭān-Ḥusayn saw his opportunity to escape the system by running away at Damascus.[36]

Supporting the idea that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was trying to defect to the Mamluks to

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[33] Her own mother was Shakar Beg, daughter of the Jochid Janibeg Khan. See Woods, "Genealogy," 112.

[34] This was Bakht Malik Agha. See Woods, "Genealogy," 113, for a family tree.

[35] The details come from Woods, "Genealogy," 112–14; the concepts about the role of the mother in succession come from John Woods himself during class discussions in 1997 at the University of Chicago.

[36] Woods, "Genealogy," 113.

gain greater career opportunities is the fact that he was not the first or only prince to seek to elude Temür's control. A slightly earlier and more famous example of a rebellious Temürid had been Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's uncle Mīrānshāh, whose suddenly erratic behavior as governor of Azerbaijan around 801–2/1399 was characterized by official Temürid sources as a form of temporary insanity resulting from a fall from his horse.[37] The reality, however, was probably that Mīrānshāh was trying to establish himself as an independent ruler.[38] At the time of this episode Mīrānshāh was in his early thirties, and like Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, he already knew that Temür was passing over him as an heir to rule the entire empire. But Temür heard of his son's behavior from the advisors whom he had set to check the prince, as well as from Mīrānshāh's wife, and returned to Azerbaijan from campaigning in northern India to replace Mīrānshāh as governor and take him along on his final campaign in Iran, the better to keep an eye on him.[39] Similarly, Temür's grandson Pīr-Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Shaykh avoided going on a campaign in 802/1399–1400, even though Temür had directly ordered him to do so; he, too, was punished for this insubordination.[40] Like Mīrānshāh and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, Pīr-Muḥammad may have felt his opportunities under Temür to be limited because of the slave status of his grandmother, ʿUmar-Shaykh's mother, who had been Temür's concubine, not wife. And even Shāh Rukh, also passed over for rule because of his concubine mother, but who became Temür's unintended heir by defeating the other princes and taking control of a smaller version of the empire (r. 1411–47), deliberately rejected many of Temür's Turko-Mongol pretensions in favor of Islamic ideas in a sort of quiet rebellion against his father after his death.[41]

When we set Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection to the Mamluks at Damascus in the proper context of Temürid family ideology, therefore, it becomes clear that the opportunities for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn under the Mamluk sultan may have looked far more promising than they did under his own grandfather. Surely the situation must have seemed particularly appealing during the reigns of Faraj's father, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99), who was a strong sultan and ruled for nearly seventeen years. Those of Barqūq's exploits that arose from his interactions with Temür were hardly secret, and it can therefore be reasonably assumed that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn knew about them. For example, during

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[37] John Woods, "Turco-Iranica II: Notes on a Timurid Decree of 1396/798," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (1984): 333–35; also see Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 72–73, 114. Bartold does not question the insanity conclusion in *Ulugh Beg,* 33–34.

[38] Woods, "Genealogy," 113.

[39] Bartold, *Ulugh Beg,* 34–35.

[40] See ibid., 35; Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 114.

[41] For Shāh Rukh's preference for Islamic norms and deliberate rejection of the Turko-Mongol ideas that Temür favored see Woods, "Genealogy," 115–16.

Barqūq's sultanate Temür had threatened to approach the northern Mamluk city of Aleppo, but had not actually done so because Barqūq demonstrated his own warlike qualities by leading out a sizable army and spending part of the summer of 796/1394 in Syria, simply waiting for Temür to appear. Barqūq also opposed Temür by being the single most important patron of other regional rulers; he counted among his protégés Qara Yusuf, leader of the Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen in northern Iraq, whom Temür fought multiple times during his second major Iran campaign (794–98/1392–96) without ever capturing him or permanently defeating his men. To add insult to this injury, Qara Yusuf later seized Temür's man Atlamish, commander of a fort near Tabriz, and sent him to Barqūq to show the Mamluk sultan his loyalty. Barqūq kept Atlamish in Cairo for years and refused to return him to Temür, despite Temür's repeated demands.[42] Another of Barqūq's protégés was the Jalayirid Sulṭān-Aḥmad, who fled from Temür at Baghdad in 795/1393 and ran directly to Cairo for help, where Barqūq welcomed him lavishly, housed him in style, showered him with gifts and honors, married his niece, and sent him off with an army to reinstate himself in Baghdad.[43] Barqūq also extended his patronage to other regional rulers like the Artuqids at Mardin, Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn at Sivas, and the Ottoman ruler Beyazid in Anatolia, although with less dramatic results.[44] It was therefore clear that Barqūq was a sovereign of significant stature, enough to oppose Temür successfully when many others failed. Furthermore, the Mamluk Sultanate had a long history of welcoming refugees and immigrants, especially Turko-Mongol military men, who were generally incorporated into some level of the military forces. Certainly, many of these refugees to Mamluk territory had belonged to an earlier time period, that of Ilkhanid rule in Iran (1258–1335).[45] Nevertheless, if Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's knowledge of Mongol history was similar to Temür's, he is likely to have known something about these men and the fact that they were almost always welcomed into Mamluk society. It is understandable that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may have rightly deduced that Mamluk territory was a place that held some promise, and Barqūq was surely a man who could protect and promote him, if only he could reach him.

Unfortunately for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, however, by the time the opportunity for flight presented itself at Damascus, the situation had changed dramatically. Barqūq was dead, his son Faraj was not yet a teenager, and Faraj's advisors were of a far

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[42] Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 186–87, 189, 190, 192, 193.

[43] Ibid., 176, 180–81, 185–86.

[44] Ibid., 174–76.

[45] David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951): 89–104, reprinted in his *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517)* (London, 1977); Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 108–9; Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 31, 70–73, 102, 105, 106–7, 117–24.

lesser caliber than Barqūq had been. At the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection, the Mamluk leadership's sorry decision to run back to Cairo to forestall a coup was still a few days away, but certainly the Mamluks had already demonstrated a significant lack of decisiveness by waiting so long to respond to rumors of Temür's advance that their delay had contributed to the loss of Aleppo and all the Syrian Mamluk commanders with it. For all we know, therefore, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may indeed have been drunk, as Naṭanzī and Yazdī suggest, if only to give himself the courage to take such a drastic step when the rewards were suddenly so uncertain. And he was fortunate that Temür preferred to punish his family members only lightly when they disobeyed him, since otherwise the consequences of his flight and recapture might have been much more severe.

In sum, then, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's curious defection earned little attention in either the Persian or Arabic histories, especially when considered against the dramatic backdrop of events at Damascus. Nevertheless, this tiny sub-plot in the larger narrative is important for what it can illuminate about the dynamics of the Temürid family. In particular it suggests that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may have been seeking career advancement among the Mamluks, that is, outside the confines of his grandfather's system. This could have been a result not only of Temür's general policies of control, but also of his rigid and limited views on the question of legitimacy, rule, and succession. Nor was Sulṭān-Ḥusayn the only Temürid who chafed under the warlord's policies: Mīrānshāh, Pīr-Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar-Shaykh and, much later, Shāh Rukh all made attempts to resist Temür's dominance. Unfortunately for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, his opportunity for flight came too late, after his would-be patron had died. His recapture sent him back to his grandfather for punishment, but he emerged relatively unscathed, only to wait until Temür's death to make yet another unsuccessful bid for power.

The incident also raises a question: why was Temür so lenient with his rebellious offspring? The repercussions for Mīrānshāh's attempt to establish himself independently were mild, as he was merely removed from office and forced to accompany Temür on campaign. This may have posed an emotional challenge—was it galling? Infuriating? Something to accept with resignation?—but Mīrānshāh's life and physical health do not appear to have been in danger from his grandfather. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection at Damascus may even have been colored by his knowledge of this leniency, and his hope that if his attempt failed, his grandfather might not punish him too much. The reasons for Temür's complicated treatment of his sons and grandsons—encouraging them with jobs and opportunities, limiting them with watchdog advisors, and refusing to punish them seriously when they misbehaved—also deserve further study.

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Mamluk Historical *Rajaz* Poetry: Ibn Dāniyāl's Judge List and Its Later Adaptations

It is commonly held that one of the major sources for the study of the institution of judgeship in medieval Islam is Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 1449) biographical dictionary *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr.*[1] Little attention, however, has been paid to the fact that it was inspired by, and based on, a poem: Ibn Dāniyāl's (d. 1311) "The Ode on the Judges of Egypt,"[2] which consists of a roster of judges from the Muslim conquest of Egypt to his own time. "Commissioned" by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʿah (d. 1333), the Shafiʿi chief judge in Mamluk Egypt and Syria,[3] the poem became hugely popular among later historians writing on the subject. Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 1401), for example, in his *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār fī Quḍāt al-Amṣār,* and al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), in his *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* all made direct use of it as a source and, more importantly, as a model of presentation. It is no surprise to have a chief judge commission an homage to law enforcement, and by extension, to his own legacy. But Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* is not a typical panegyric: with little verbal fanfare, it is basically a list of names in strict chronological order. Moreover, its success among historians of no less stature than Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī is not the kind of reception a normal panegyric would usually command. To the modern student, the *urjūzah* in question amounts to no more than a laundry list wrought in formulaic, and mostly dull, verses. But the reception of Ibn Dāniyāl's poem in its own time must have been quite different.[4] So it boils down to two related questions: why did Ibn Dāniyāl's *rajaz*

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[1] Joseph Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), especially 5–7, 17–19; Rhuvon Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt; or, Kitâb el ʾumarâ' (el wulâh) wa Kitâb el quḍâh of el Kindî, together with an appendix derived mostly from Rafʿ el iṣr by Ibn Ḥajar* (Leiden, 1912); Mathieu Tillier, *Vies des cadis de Miṣr 237/851–366/976: Extrait du* Rafʿ al-ʿiṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr *d'Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī,* edition with annotated translation (Cairo, 2002).

[2] Various "titles" are given: *Rajaz fī Dhikr Man Waliya al-Qaḍāʾ bi-al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah* (Ibn Ḥajar), *Urjūzah fī Man Waliya Qaḍāʾ Miṣr* (al-Suyūṭī), and *Jawharat al-Niẓām (al-naẓẓām) fī Man Waliya Miṣr min al-Ḥukkām* (Ibn al-Mulaqqin).

[3] For his career and the prominent Ibn Jamāʿah "dynasty" of jurists, including his son ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1366) and grandson Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 1388), see "Ibn Djamāʿa" (K. S. Salibi), in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.; also Escovitz, passim.

[4] In some ways, our poet's legacy became the victim of his own success: he was erroneously identified as a "prominent judge" by medieval scribes; see Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 4880, fol. 131a, a *dīwān* attributed to "*al-qāḍī al-ajall* Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl." I thank Alidost Numan and Bruce

become popular among historians, and what do we know about historical *rajaz* poetry produced during the time? In the following pages an attempt will be made to answer these questions in the context of Mamluk historiography and literary culture. We will examine the historians' experimentations with new forms of presentation and trace possible traits, or trends, in the development of *rajaz* poetry as a narrative tool for historical discourse.

Name-Dropping in Style: Ibn Dāniyāl's *Urjūzah:*
The poem opens with a prologue (verses 1–15) in praise of the patron, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, and concludes with more praise of him (verses 105–112). The main content, the judge list, begins as follows:

> 16. The first man to preside over the judgeship was
> Qays, the servant of ʿAdī ibn Sahm.

> 17. It was then passed on to Kaʿb ʿAbs,
> then to ʿUthmān, without any doubt.[5]

The roster runs up to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, who rose to become Shafiʿi chief judge of Egypt for three terms, starting from the year 1291, under the Mamluk sultan Khalīl Ashraf, for whom Ibn Dāniyāl served as a court panegyrist.[6] The poem in question was, therefore, most likely composed during this time. Altogether, one hundred fifty names—some with multiple appearances—are enumerated in one hundred twelve verses. Overall, the list is straightforward. As a panegyric, its functionality is accompanied by some, albeit minimal, rhetorical embellishments. Some textual devices are employed, and they involve some kind of wordplay between personal names and laudatory descriptions. Typical is the following:

> 93. Then Muḥyī al-Dīn held the office,
> and then Ibn Razīn, with a judicious mind *(dhū al-ḥijā al-razīn)*.[7]

Craig, of the University of Chicago, for helping me obtain a digitized version of the manuscript.

[5] Qays: Ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣī; Kaʿb ʿAbs: Ibn Yasār ibn Ḍabbah; ʿUthmān: Ibn Qays ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣī. The focus here is on artistic features of the poem; therefore references to the persons, especially those prior to the Mamluk era, will be kept to a minimum. Brief biographical information for the Mamluk judges will be supplied when necessary. Verse numbers have not been given in the editions.

[6] For Ibn Dāniyāl's association with Khalīl, see Li Guo, "Reading *Adab* in Historical Light: Factuality and Ambiguity in Ibn Dāniyāl's 'Occasional Verses' on Mamluk Society and Politics," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East,* ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 387–89.

[7] Muḥyī al-Dīn: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAyn al-Dawlah (Fusṭāṭ

The name Ibn Razīn is paired with the adjective *razīn,* "judicious." More often, one finds the following:

> 59. Qāsim, then Abū al-Fatḥ, held the office;
> he was by no means isolated, even without the divider *(bi-ghayr qāsim).*[8]

The name Qāsim and the word *qāsim,* "divider," are punned, but with a twist. Oftentimes one verse contains more than one name, and the adjectives then end up being applicable to other persons who happen to be "close by." In this case, the praise is actually for Abū al-Fatḥ, but the pun is on Qāsim. Again, consider the following:

> 23. After him, the office was held by ʿAbd al-Aʿlá,
> then Ibn Ḥudayj, who commanded the highest esteem *(dhī al-fakhr al-aʿlá).*[9]

The reason for the use of *aʿlá,* "the highest esteem," for Ibn Ḥudayj seems only to be that it rhymes with the name of ʿAbd al-Aʿlá, who appears earlier. In a similar vein, we read the following:

> 32. Then the post went to Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Yasaʿ,
> succeeding him was Ghawth, again, the best successor *(khayr tabaʿ).*

> 33. After that he who occupied the office was al-Mufaḍḍal,
> then it was Abū al-Ṭāhir; he was the best *(al-afḍal)!*

> 34. After him it was al-Tujībī,
> and then al-ʿUmarī; how excellent he was *(najīb)!*

> 35. Succeeding him was al-Bakrī, and Ibn al-Bakkā,
> then Ibn ʿĪsá; he was the most pious *(azká nuská)!*[10]

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[8] Qāsim: Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Nuʿmān; Abū al-Fatḥ: ʿAbd al-Ḥākim ibn Saʿīd al-Fāriqī.

[9] ʿAbd al-Aʿlá: Ibn Khālid al-Fahmī; Ibn Ḥudayj: ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muʿāwiyah.

[10] Ismāʿīl ibn al-Yasaʿ ibn al-Rabīʿ; Ghawth: Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī; al-Mufaḍḍal: Ibn Faḍālah;

(continued from previous): only, 665–76 A.H.); Ibn Razīn: Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (al-Qāhirah only, 665–76 A.H., then Egypt, 676–78 A.H.); see Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 62, 121.

Even someone who does not read Arabic can see the rhyme pattern here. Of the *urjūzah muzdawijah* type, the poem consists of rhyming couplets;[11] as a result, a concluding adjective is often used to describe any person's name that rhymes with it, no matter what. This kind of randomly-generated praise abounds.[12] All sorts of additional phrases and words are inserted to fill in the space with the rhyming scheme. An example can be seen in line 17, cited above, between the name ʿAbs and the word *labs,* "[without any] doubt." The following are also typical:

> 19. His successor was ʿĀbis al-Murādī,
> and then Ibn al-Naḍr, in the country *(fī al-bilādi).*[13]

> 29. During the time of the Abbasids *(banī ʿabbās),*
> Naʿīm[14] returned to enforce law and order *(al-asās).*

> 75. Then it was Ibn Badr; and Abū al-Faḍl ruled *(qaḍá),*
> prior to al-Ṣiqillī. This Abū al-Faḍl did a satisfactory job *(al-riḍā).*
> 76. After him Ibn Ẓāfir was in charge of the office *(tawallá),*
> and Ibn al-Ḥusayn, who enjoyed the highest esteem *(al-aʿlá).*[15]

> 87. Then Ibn ʿAṣrūn took over *(tawallá al-ḥukmā),*
> then Ṣadr al-Dīn was re-appointed; he was the most superb *(al-asmá).*[16]

> 95. Then Ibn Razīn was re-appointed to the office *(fa-ḥakam),*

Abū al-Ṭāhir: ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Ḥazm; al-Tujībī: Muḥammad ibn Masrūq; al-ʿUmarī: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh; al-Bakrī: Hāshim ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bakrī; Ibn al-Bakkā: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bajalī; Ibn ʿĪsá: Lahīʿah ibn ʿĪsá ibn Lahīʿah.

[11] With regard to rhyme requirement, the *rajaz* comes in two types: conventional monorhyme (*a a a* . . .) and rhyming couplet (*muzdawij, a a b b c c* . . .); see "Radjaz" (M. Ullmann and W. Heinrichs), in *EI²*; "Rajaz" (W. Stoetzer) in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* ed. Julie Meisami and Paul Starkey (New York, 1988).

[12] For examples, lines 28 (Khayr / *khayr*), 38 (Shaddād / *jād*), 65 (Asad / *dhū al-ḥukm al-asad*), 70 (al-Yāzūrī / *bi-ghayr zūri*), 72 (al-Qāsim / *khayr ḥākim*), 74 (Dhakā / *dhū dhakā*), 80 (al-Ruʿaynī / *bi-lā mayni*).

[13] Ibn Rabīʿah al-Murādī; Ibn al-Naḍr: Bashshār ibn al-Naḍr al-Muzanī.

[14] Khayr ibn Naʿīm.

[15] Ibn Badr: Muḥammad al-Ḥurrānī; Abū al-Faḍl: Niʿmah ibn Bashīr al-Nābulsī; al-Ṣiqillī: Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn Yazīd; Ibn Ẓāfir Muẓaffar.

[16] Ibn ʿAṣrūn: Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Saʿd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Muẓhir; Ṣadr al-Dīn: ʿAbd al-Malik.

after Ṣadr al-Dīn; both did a superb job for the state *(al-umam)*.[17]

Taken together, it is hard to judge whether this kind of "commentary" bears any significant weight. Occasionally, though, statements like the following seem to reveal something substantial:

21. Yūnus was then put in charge *(waliya al-qaḍā),*
and then it was Aws, with a relentless grip *(bi-ʿazmin muntaḍá)*.[18]

26. Then ʿIyāḍ had a second go *(thāniya),*
then it was ʿAbd Allāh, in a tireless fashion *(ghayr wāniya)*.[19]

60. They replaced him with Abū Muḥammad,
and, prior to him, with Abū ʿAlī, the Fixer *(al-musaddid)*.[20]

88. Al-Sukkarī, to be followed by Abū Muḥammad,
before Ibn ʿAyn al-Dawlah, the Glorious One *(al-mumajjad)*.[21]

91. Then they brought back Yūsuf al-Sanjārī;
succeeding him was Tāj al-Dīn, the Magnificent *(dhū al-fakhāri)*.[22]

The glowing adjectives and flattering nicknames seem to suggest some kind of appraisal and judgment, but in light of the overall tendency of putting prosodic needs over narrative functionality, it is safe to say that they are more collective, formulaic, and generic than individual, genuine, and personal. In this connection, it is noted that the last part of the poem, covering the Mamluk period, is more "chatty" in that some details about the circumstances surrounding the judges' appointments and dismissals are provided (for example, verses 97–101; see Appendix). But overall, the historical value of the poem is, by today's standards,

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[17] Ibn Razīn, see note 6 above (reappointed for the third time, 679–80 A.H.); Ṣadr al-Dīn: Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (678–79 A.H.).

[18] Yūnus: ibn ʿAṭīyah; Aws: ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAṭīyah.

[19] ʿIyāḍ: ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī; ʿAbd Allāh: ibn Yazīd ibn Khudhāmir.

[20] Abū Muḥammad: al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Yāzūrī; Abū ʿAlī: Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥākim Ibn Saʿīd al-Fāriqī.

[21] ʿImād al-Dīn: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Ibn al-Sukkarī; Abū Muḥammad: uncertain; Ibn ʿAyn al-Dawlah: Sirr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Iskandarānī.

[22] Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan al-Sanjārī; Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (663–65 A.H.).

questionable. What, then, was the use of such a text?

Why *Rajaz?*

In general terms, the goal of Ibn Jamāʿah's "commission" of the poem is obvious: a tribute to the institution of the Muslim judicial system, the evolution of the office of the qadi, reaching a milestone upon his own arrival. With regard to its particular contents, name-dropping *was* important. In an era of no government publications and archives, the record of appointments and dismissals constitutes an integral part of the written history. Considering that these names were associated with the court decisions tendered by the judges involved, the list is, in a way, part and parcel of the medieval Muslim legal tradition.

But why poetry, and why *rajaz* in particular? Our poet, Ibn Dāniyāl, had this to say:

> 5. I hereby present this poem, to recount
> the careers of all who have ruled the court in Egypt;

> 6. Of all the judges and magistrates *(al-quḍāh wa-al-ḥukkām)*
> since the Islamic era;

> 7. I mean, from the Muslim conquest,
> led by ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, onwards to this day.

> 8. I have chosen the form of *rajaz,*
> making the accounts short and concise *(lafẓan mūjazan)*.

"Short and concise," *lafẓan mūjazan,* says it all. Information contained in rhyming verses is easy to memorize, and the *rajaz* is an ideal vehicle for such purposes, due to its short meter and flexible rhyme requirements. Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* went on to become a model of presentation for later Mamluk historians. It has all the trimmings of a panegyric, but with more substance; it is informative, yet compact. Herein lies its popularity, which is attested by at least three later adaptations known so far. While overall the functionality of the *urjūzah* as a genre should be acknowledged, Ibn Dāniyāl's Shafiʿi-centric model of presentation must be seen here as the key to its appeal to later historians.

Among these historians is Ibn al-Mulaqqin, who, in concluding his biographical dictionary of Egyptian judges, remarked that when he was finishing up this book, he became aware *(raʾaytu)* that someone had put together materials about judges

of Egypt in the form of an *urjūzah.* He then went on to quote its full text.[23] Ibn al-Mulaqqin, nevertheless, did nothing with the material itself: he simply quoted it on the authority of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (in office 1340–65), the son of Badr al-Dīn, Ibn Dāniyāl's patron, who in turn quoted on the authority of Ibn Dāniyāl himself *(anbaʾnā).* Ibn al-Mulaqqin's decision to cite the poem is a testimony to its attractiveness, in spite of his candid admission that the poem had come to his attention too late to be incorporated into the main narrative of his work and that its account differs somewhat from his own.[24] The appeal of the *rajaz* form, "short and concise," was good enough for the seasoned historian-cum-hadith scholar.

Ibn Ḥajar's and al-Suyūṭī's Adaptations

The other two historians involved in the business of adopting the *urjūzah,* namely Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī, apparently intended to do something more with it. Instead of being merely an afterthought, as in the case of Ibn al-Mulaqqin, the poem takes center stage.

Ibn Ḥajar, himself a long time Shafiʿi chief judge, revealed that he once had come across *(waqaftu ʿalá)* a copy of the *rajaz* by Ibn Dāniyāl and was asked to supply biographical sketches *(suʾiltu an utarjima)* of the judges mentioned therein, hence his work.[25] In other words, Ibn Ḥajar, the consummate historian, was convinced that the widely circulated poem was a perfect springboard upon which to launch a grand program.

After a brief statement on structure and method, Ibn Ḥajar, a onetime student of Ibn al-Mulaqqin, goes on to list his sources. The bibliography further sheds light on why he decided to embark upon the project: the need to update monographs devoted to the lives and careers of judges. The "classics" of the genre, al-Kindī's (d. 961) *Kitāb al-Quḍāh* and Ibn Zūlāq's (d. 997) *Akhbār Quḍāt Miṣr,* a *dhayl,* were all written prior to the fourth/twelfth century. Of the Mamluk authors, only Ibn al-Mulaqqin's work, arranged in the *ṭabaqāt* fashion, followed the old genre of topical biographical presentation, but with unsatisfactory results in Ibn Ḥajar's

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[23] *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār fī Quḍāt al-Amṣār,* ed. Madīḥah M. al-Sharqāwī (Cairo, 1996), 211–17. It is arranged in eight *ṭabaqah*s in chronological order, ending at the year 1384.

[24] *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār,* 211.

[25] I use the edition of *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr* by Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Majīd et al. (Cairo, 1957). The more recent edition by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo, 1998) was based on different manuscripts and did not fully consult the Fayzullah MS, Istanbul, the only manuscript that contains line-by-line prose gloss of the verse. The poem is not found in Ibn Dāniyāl's anthology, edited by al-Ṣafadī in his *Al-Tadhkirah al-Ṣafadīyah.* The modern edition of the anthology, titled *Al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn Dāniyāl,* ed. al-Dulaymī (Mosul, 1979), included the poem, based on *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* and collated with the *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* as a supplement, 289–99. Al-Dulaymī's "edition" contains several printing errors, while the biographical notes were largely taken from al-Majīd's edition.

view.[26] The remaining sources utilized by Ibn Ḥajar are all of the regional history type, namely the history of Islamic Egypt with bibliographical materials on the side, the likes of Ibn Muyassar (d. 1278), al-Ḥalabī (d. 1334–35), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442).[27]

The appeal of Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* can be noted at various levels. As far as the roster is concerned, it is far more accurate and complete than others. It fills the huge gap between the Ayyubid historian Ibn Muyassar and later Mamluk authors such as al-Ḥalabī and al-Maqrīzī. For the early Mamluk period, it is *the* most authentic, given Ibn Dāniyāl's personal involvement with the court. Then there is its form: the "short and concise," memorable, and hymn-like *rajaz*. Ibn Ḥajar liked it so much that not only did he quote the text verbatim, but also cited a *dhayl,* or continuation, modeled after it *(ʿalá minwāl).*[28] Picking up where Ibn Dāniyāl left off and running all the way to Ibn Ḥajar's time, the end of the eighth/fifteenth century, the *dhayl* attests to the continuing enthusiasm for Ibn Dāniyāl's model. However, if Ibn Dāniyāl's poem is, as the analysis above reveals, mediocre artistically, the continuation is, in my opinion, quite bad. Its author was one Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1471), of whom little is known. It retains Ibn Dāniyāl's laundry list format, but is even plainer and simpler. Stripped of any embellishments, it is more functional than flowery.

But there is one remarkable development in the *dhayl,* insofar as the verses are divided into four segments, according to the four branches of the judgeship, which had become official during Baybars' time. We may recall that in Ibn Dāniyāl's poem, the representation of the four law schools did not seem to be an issue at all: only the Shafiʿi chief judges are listed. One may argue that perhaps this was because it was too soon after the establishment of the four-part judiciary for the poet to have time to observe and reflect upon this new reality. Joseph Escovitz's thesis of an "evolutionary process" of the establishment of the four-judge system is tested here.[29] An alternate argument would be that Ibn Dāniyāl wrote the poem this way on purpose, if only because his project was a holistic overview of Egypt's judicial history, crowned at the Shafiʿi triumph with the blessing of Baybars. As far as his Shafiʿi patron is concerned, there was no need to share the spotlight with others. Given our poet's consistent critical stands regarding Baybars,[30] this Shafiʿi-centric homage can be read, in my opinion, as yet another indirect critique

[26] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 3.

[27] Ibn Muyassar, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr;* al-Ḥalabī, *Akhbār Miṣr* (in some 20 volumes, and a four-volume abridged version by "the two Muḥammads" (*Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 2).

[28] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 14–20.

[29] Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 27–28, 258.

[30] See Li Guo, "Paradise Lost: Ibn Daniyal's Response to Baybars' Campaign against Vice in Cairo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 2 (2001): 219–35.

of the sultan's policy and legacy.

But with Ibn Ḥajar, this must have been a trickier endeavor. Despite his own Shafiʿi favoritism, there was the savvy side of Ibn Ḥajar when it came to preserving his own legacy: his self-projection as a "consensus builder" among all the Sunni legal scholars.[31] The *dhayl* starts with the Shafiʿis and proceeds to deal with each group separately. Altogether, thirty-eight names—some with multiple appearances—of the Shafiʿis are listed in nine verses, thirty-five Hanafis in eight, thirty-eight Malikis in nine, and eighteen Hanbalis in merely four. And, lo and behold, after the list in verse come the biographies in prose.

Ibn Ḥajar wrote that he had arranged the material in the *ṭabaqāt* fashion, "dividing them according to annals (ʿalá al-sinīn),"[32] in accordance with the poem. A quick check, however, reveals that the organization of the biographical material is actually alphabetical. This obvious discrepancy was so scandalous that al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497) found it necessary to attach a note to the colophon of several manuscripts, which he personally copied (or supervised their copying).[33] According to the note, one of Ibn Ḥajar's students named ʿIzz [al-Dīn] al-Ḥanbalī was responsible for rearranging the entries from an earlier draft *(musawwadah)* by the author—who was too ill to revise it—into the current form, with Ibn Ḥajar's approval.[34] If this episode tells us anything, it is the fact that the *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* was completed near the end of Ibn Ḥajar's career, before his sudden death.

The *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* itself is a well-known and often-cited work that needs no introduction. It is the little-studied verse portion that interests us here. The first *dhayl* begins where Ibn Dāniyāl left off, that is, at Ibn Jamāʿah:

> 1. Al-Zarʿī and al-Badr and al-Qazwīnī
> and al-ʿIzz and al-Bahā and ʿIzz al-Dīn.

The verse reads like a riddle, with nothing but a barrage of shorthanded honorifics. Even for those who might have some familiarity with the first-name-only celebrity status of the judges, this verse may prove to be a little too enigmatic.

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[31] To this day we still do not have a monograph treatment of Ibn Ḥajar's life and work in a Western language. The most detailed account remains "Ibn Ḥadjar" (F. Rosenthal), in *EI²*.

[32] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 1.

[33] The 1998 Cairo edition, by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, is based on, among others, a manuscript hand-copied by al-Sakhāwī; see the editor's introduction, 22.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī's explanation should be viewed as credible insofar as not only was he a protégé of Ibn Ḥajar, but also, more importantly, the author of a continuation of *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* entitled *Bughyat al-ʿUlamāʾ wa-al-Ruwāh.* Judging from the title alone, al-Sakhāwī's continuation, in prose only, expanded Ibn Ḥajar's original scope to a much broader canvas. The question of sources and the "incompleteness" of *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* was discussed in Guest, 42–44.

Ibn Ḥajar was therefore compelled to supply, in at least one manuscript, a parallel text in prose underneath each verse. For the above verse, we have the following explanation:

> Sulaymān *al-Zarʿī* was put in charge [of judgeship], replacing Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, for a year. Then he resigned, and *Badr* [al-Dīn] returned. Then Jalāl al-Dīn *al-Qazwīnī* ruled, then he was dismissed and ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah ruled instead. Then he, too, was dismissed, and *Bahāʾ* al-Dīn Ibn ʿAqīl decided [the cases] for eighty days, then *ʿIzz al-Dīn* Ibn Jamāʿah was brought back.[35]

Things got much worse later on. The revolving-door turnovers in the office of chief judge, which had intensified during this period, play out right in front of us,[36] in a repetitive verbal tango:

> 5. Then al-Ṣāliḥī with Jalāl al-Dīn,
> And al-Ṣāliḥī with Shams al-Dīn.
>
> 6. Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Ikhnāʾī,
> Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Ikhnāʾī.
>
> 7. Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Shams.
> Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Shams.

Only four men, in fact, are involved here: (1) Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1403), who was replaced by (2) Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī (d. 1421), of the famous al-Bulqīnī clan,[37] who was replaced, for the second time, by the same al-Ṣāliḥī, who suddenly died and was succeeded by (3) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ikhnāʾī (b. 1356), who was replaced by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, and made it back again, for the second, third, and fourth time, each time against

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[35] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 14. The manuscript is MS Istanbul, Feyzullah. The years these judges occupied the office are as follows (after Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 62): Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zarʿī (710–11 A.H.), Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (711–27 A.H.), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (727–38 A.H.), ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (738–59 A.H.), Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAqīl (759 A.H.), ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (759–66 A.H.).

[36] Escovitz has identified nepotism, *nāʾib* succession, patronage, and merit as the four main factors in a judge's appointment; among the reasons for end of tenure are death, retirement, resignation, and dismissal through political intrigue (*The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 250, 259–60). His study deals with the early period (ending with Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, 781–84 A.H.), but his findings should apply here as well.

[37] See "al-Bulḳīnī," (H. A. R. Gibb), in *EI².*

the same al-Jalāl, who in turn was eventually replaced by yet another Shams al-Dīn, namely (4) Muḥammad ibn ʿAṭāʾ al-Harawī (d. 1426). Perhaps the author of the *dhayl* was enjoying doing this; and one can almost detect a playful grin lurking behind the tedious repetitions. In this regard, he may have had too much fun in this entangling "Jalāl vs. Shams" wordplay, such that he left a factual flaw in the list: he dropped Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Bāʿūnī (d. 1413), who was appointed but did not actually rule between the last round of this never-ending saga.[38] Al-Bāʿūnī's name is mentioned in the prose text, presumably by Ibn Ḥajar who, probably having realized the nearly incoherent nature of the verse, supplied some intelligible background information.

After nearly thirty rounds of the ups and downs of the Badrs, Jalāls, Shamses, and Walīs, this portion of the poem ends with Shihāb al-Dīn, a.k.a. Ibn Ḥajar. In the manner of Ibn Dāniyāl, the author of the *dhayl* also attempted to pay homage to the master. Thus one reads at the end of the very dry and stoic poem a flowery panegyric in which Ibn Ḥajar is described as "the essence of being *(ʿayn al-wujūd),*" "he who consoles the weak heart *(muwāsī al-qalb al-ḍaʿīf),*" one who "offers rescue at crises *(awṣala al-ijdāʾ fī al-ijdāb)*" and "shows forbearance for annoyance *(istaʿmala al-ighḍāʾ fī al-ighḍāb),*" and "the persistent [star] rising high in the sky of bliss / as long as thunderstorms may bring pouring rains." (Ibn Ḥajar might have felt a little uncomfortable about these glowing paeans, insofar as some manuscripts of the *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* do not contain the panegyric. Or perhaps al-Sakhāwī, who was responsible for handling some of the surviving manuscripts of the text, deleted it.) The remaining three segments on the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali judges proceed more or less in the same fashion, but without panegyric. The author of the *dhayl* also made a remarkable omission here, in that he downplayed Ibn Ḥajar's own saga of being repeatedly in and out of the office, which, as we will see later, was quite dramatic. In al-Suyūṭī's version, the story is given a whole new about-face, with many more details. It is to this version we turn now.

Al-Suyūṭī's project is different from Ibn Ḥajar's in many ways.[39] While both were inspired by Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah,* their final products differ in genre: Ibn Ḥajar's monograph is a biographical dictionary dedicated to the lives and careers of Egyptian judges, whereas al-Suyūṭī's treatment of the subject represents only a chapter of his encyclopedic history of Egypt. The chapter, entitled *Dhikr Quḍāt Miṣr,* constitutes one segment of his topical descriptive presentations of all things Egyptian: from climate, geography, and flora and fauna, to maliks, sultans, viziers, amirs, judges, madrasahs, and shaykhs.[40] While Ibn Ḥajar gives

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[38] For his career, see "al-Bāʿūnī" (W. A. S. Khalidi), in *EI².*

[39] I am using Khalīl al-Manṣūr's edition of *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* 2 vols. (Beirut, 1997).

[40] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:133–74.

detailed biographical information on each person, al-Suyūṭī's chapter consists of a slightly annotated checklist of names. The two also differ in their use of Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah.* Instead of the *urjūzah* being a starting point of the discourse, as in Ibn Ḥajar's case, it is, quoted in full by al-Suyūṭī, sandwiched between the two blocks of the narrative: (1) a holistic overview of Egypt's judges from the Muslim conquest to the last Shafiʿi chief judge in al-Suyūṭī's lifetime and (2) a separate presentation of the judges from the other schools of law since Baybars' time to al-Suyūṭī's days. In other words, in al-Suyūṭī's presentation, Ibn Dāniyāl's poem sums up the mainstream narrative and ushers in a new era in which the four Sunni legal schools shared the spotlight, along with supplementary materials.

As far as the original *urjūzah* is concerned, al-Suyūṭī's version, compared with that of Ibn al-Mulaqqin and Ibn Ḥajar, shows heavy-handed editing. Entire lines were omitted (the panegyric to Ibn Jamāʿah, for example) and others added (lines 34, 75). Slight variants appeared in names as well (for which scribes might take the blame): Ibn Jurayḥ for Ibn Hudayj (line 23), Ibn al-Jalīs for Ibn al-Ḥusayn (line 76), and ʿUmar for ʿUthmān Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (line 95).[41] In this connection, as far as the history of the transmission of the text goes, there are at least two recensions: one shared by Ibn al-Mulaqqin and Ibn Ḥajar, and another handed down by al-Suyūṭī. Ibn al-Mulaqqin's pedigree is solid, himself having been a student of ʿIzz al-Dīn, the son of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah. Ibn Ḥajar's source of the *urjūzah* is a *ḥāfiẓ* named ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr ibn Sulaymān, who received the orally transmitted *(mushāfahatan)* material from one Abū ʿUmar ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Kinānī, who, in turn, had heard the verses from Ibn Dāniyāl in person. Despite the variety in chains of transmission, a collation reveals that the texts of Ibn al-Mulaqqin and Ibn Ḥajar are virtually the same, with a few variants that might well be attributed to scribal errors.[42] In contrast, al-Suyūṭī's version must have taken a somehow different trajectory, coming from a very different codex tradition, as our analysis above has demonstrated.

Al-Suyūṭī did not care very much for Ibn Ḥajar's verse sequel to Ibn Dāniyāl's original, either, and decided to write his own instead.[43] There are a couple of things noticeable about al-Suyūṭī's verse *dhayl.* First, it deals only with the Shafiʿi chief judges, as judges from the other three legal schools are treated in prose only. Second, as far as the Shafiʿi list goes, it is much longer and more elaborate than

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[41] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* has ʿUmar ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, but Tāj al-Dīn's son's name was ʿUthmān according to *Rafʿ al-Iṣr;* the surname al-ʿAllāmī was attributed in *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibn Khalaf.

[42] *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār* lists the *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* (1957 edition) as a main reference; therefore it's hard to say whether it has been "corrected." (The only significant variant is the verb *yanfaʿuhu* for *yunfiṣuhu,* line 9.)

[43] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:166–67.

Ibn Ḥajar's. A total of twenty-five lines (vs. Ibn Ḥajar's nine) cover all the Shafiʿi chief judges up to his time. Since Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī lived not far apart, the two lists overlap for the most part; but al-Suyūṭī's longer version is much more interesting. Among his additions are some names that are missing from Ibn Ḥajar's list, such as al-Bāʿūnī, but also a more elaborate version of the Ibn Ḥajar vs. al-Bulqīnī saga, this time ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, the younger brother of the aforementioned Jalāl al-Dīn; this saga was perhaps a little embarrassing for Ibn Ḥajar, who gave a much watered-down version in his own telling. Here, in al-Suyūṭī's pen, it becomes the epitome of revolving-door high dramas of the hiring and firing of Egyptian judges; Ibn Ḥajar becomes a main, and somehow burlesque, character:

> 16. Then al-ʿAlam al-Bulqīnī was appointed;
> then the *ḥāfiẓ* of the age, Shihāb al-Dīn [Ibn Ḥajar].

> 17. al-Harawī was then brought back and stayed on;
> after his dismissal, it was al-Shihāb Ibn Ḥajar.

> 18. Then our shaykh [ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī], then Ibn Ḥajar;
> then our shaykh was back, and then Ibn Ḥajar.

> 19. Appointed after him was al-Qāyātī;
> then the *ḥāfiẓ* of the *Sunnah* [Ibn Ḥajar] was reappointed.

> 20. Then our shaykh al-Bulqīnī was back again;
> following him came Walī al-Dīn al-Safaṭī.

> 21. Ibn Ḥajar was called back again;
> then our shaykh [al-Bulqīnī] made it back and stayed on.

Except for short intervals of al-Qāyātī and al-Safaṭī, here again we witness the playful rendering of the repeated dismissal from, and restoration to, office of Ibn Ḥajar and ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 1464), al-Suyūṭī's own teacher.[44] In this episode, the prose narrative precedes the verse and contains the dates of each round of hiring and firing.[45] In contrast to the version in verse, its utilitarian

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[44] See "al-Bulḳīnī" (H. A. R. Gibb), in *EI²;* ʿAlam al-Dīn (d. 1464) was the brother of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 1421), also a Shafiʿi chief judge. ʿAlam al-Dīn's own record of appointment and dismissal was eight times. As for Ibn Ḥajar's saga, see Franz Rosenthal's amusing recounting in "Ibn Ḥadjar," in *EI².*

[45] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:162–63.

blandness appears even more dull and tedious. It is the verse version that makes an impression on the reader, hence the special function of the *urjūzah* narrative: it sings. The high drama is perhaps always better when played out loud, in verse. Al-Suyūṭī continued Ibn Dāniyāl's, and Ibn al-Mulaqqin's, Shafiʿi-centric approach in presentation: his quotation of Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* and his own *dhayl* of it serve as the grand finale of the historical survey, while treating the three schools of law as lesser appendages. In doing so, al-Suyūṭī reaffirmed his long-held position of reproaching Baybars' four-chief-judge policy, considering it as a factor that had weakened the Shafiʿi rite, and ultimately, Islam. [46]

There is another element that makes al-Suyūṭī's project remarkable for our present investigation. Ibn Dāniyāl's is not the only *urjūzah* that was incorporated into al-Suyūṭī's work. One also finds there other similar texts, such as the *urjūzah* by al-Jazzār (d. 1280) on military generals. [47] Like Ibn Dāniyāl's paradigm, al-Jazzār's amir list starts with the Muslim conquest of Egypt led by ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ and runs all the way to Baybars al-Jashnakīr (a.k.a. Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, r. 1309). The *urjūzah*, again, was utilized effectively by al-Suyūṭī as a narrative tool for his manual-like project, in which name-dropping was a key exercise.

Concluding Remarks: *Rajaz* as Historical Narrative

In concluding, now it is time to answer the two questions posed at the beginning of this study. Although our discussion is confined to one single case, some general observations still may be drawn, given the proliferation of the sample text, Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah,* through multiple adaptations by major Mamluk historians.

Scholars have long observed the special features of the simple, rhythmical *rajaz* poetry as a vehicle for composing didactic and descriptive narratives. Up until recently, however, research has almost exclusively focused on the "classical period." [48] With regard to themes of the genre, the didactic *urjūzah*s (on astrology and astronomy, divination, music, alchemy, and medicine) and the descriptive

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[46] See "al-Suyūṭī" (E. Geoffroy), in *EI*²; also Elizabeth Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge, 1975).

[47] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:60–64. For Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyá ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, known as al-Jazzār, "The butcher," see Aḥmad al-Ṣādiq al-Jammāl, *Al-Adab al-ʿĀmmī fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1966), 191–200. He is known to have written panegyrics to Mamluk amirs and viziers but returned to his original career as a butcher (hence his nickname), having realized that writing poetry could not sustain his livelihood. Al-Jammāl lists al-Jazzār, along with Ibn Dāniyāl and ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn, as the representatives of the school of "self-mocking" *(al-mutaḥāmiqūn)* in Mamluk popular literature.

[48] The recent *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* entry stops at the Abbasid period before jumping to the modern era, whereas the more extensive treatment of the subject to-date, the *EI*² entry (with extensive bibliography), mentions only one Mamluk poet, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1349), for his *ṭardīyah*-hunting poems in the *rajaz* meter.

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*urjūzah*s (such as the *ṭardīyah*-hunting poems) have received the most scrutiny,[49] whereas historical *rajaz* poetry has, to my knowledge, largely been overlooked.

It is true that the literary techniques of *naẓm* (versification) and *ḥall* (prosification), often used in popular religious manuals and dream manuals, had been deeply rooted in Arabo-Islamic culture from early on. But it is also safe to say that the Mamluk era saw a surge, or perhaps a proliferation, of such techniques. In this regard, one may argue that the period witnessed a flourishing of versified historical narratives, in both the *qarīḍ* and *rajaz* forms. Of the former, al-Buṣīrī's (d. 1296?) classic *al-Burdah* comes to mind immediately;[50] and of the latter, Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* sheds light on the influence of this lesser verse genre on mainstream historiography. Ibn Dāniyāl's historical *urjūzah* and its adaptations must have had a wide audience, given the numerous copies known to exist—a testimony to the demand, and perhaps market, for such material. For some reason, Who's Who in the *rajaz* form seems to be particularly popular. With regard to judges, we may add the *urjūzah* titled *Dhikr Quḍāt al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah* by Aḥmad al-Kinānī (d. 1471), a Hanbali jurist,[51] among others. And the versified list is by no means confined to judges: al-Jazzār's aforementioned *urjūzah* on amirs aside, Ibn Ḥajar's father was the author of a hagiographical account of the saintly al-Ṣanāfirī (d. 1371) in the *rajaz* form.[52] Our case study demonstrates Mamluk historians' efforts to try new forms of presentation in order to reach out to a larger audience, or perhaps catering to the mass consumption of their products. In a sense, this is Mamluk Cairo's counterpart to today's paperback history-for-dummies. Mamluk historical *urjūzah*s emerged to meet the need of new changing cultural landscapes.

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[49] For didactic *rajaz*, see Charles Burnett, "Learned Knowledge of Arabic Poetry, Rhymed Prose, and Didactic Verse from Petrus Alfonsi to Petrarch," in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke,* ed. John Marenbon (Leiden, 2001), 29–62, especially 42–47; for hunting *rajaz,* see Rex Smith, "Hunting Poetry," *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: ʿAbbasid Belles-Lettres* (Cambridge, 1990), 167–84 (primarily on Abū Nuwās's hunting *urjūzah*s); Philip Kennedy, in his *Abu Nuwas: A Genius of Poetry* ([Oxford, 2007], 109–20), mentions the hunting *urjūzah* by the Mamluk poet Ibn Nubātah (d. 1366); for "the *urjūza* miniatures," namely illustrated manuscripts with didactic *urjūzah*s as the main texts, see Anna Contadini, "A Question in Arab Painting: The Ibn al-Sufi Manuscript in Tehran and its Art-historical Connections," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 47–84. I have yet to see Livnat Holtzman's conference paper, "The Literary Value of Didactic Verses in the Islamic Scholarly Circles of the Mamluk Era," Arabic and Islam—Language, Culture, History—Conference, Bar-Ilan University, 21 June 2006.

[50] The poem is much studied in both Arab and Western scholarship; for the most recent attempt, see Suzanne Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman: al-Busiri's *Qasidat al-Burdah* (*Mantle Ode*) and the Supplicatory Ode," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 2 (2006): 145–89; idem, "From *Sirah* to *Qasidah*: Poetics and Polemics in al-Busiri's *Qasidat al-Burdah* (*Mantle Ode*)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 38, no. 1 (2007): 1–52, especially 17–45 (versified historical narrative).

[51] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1989–1949)*,* S2:57.

[52] See "Ibn Ḥadjar" (F. Rosenthal), in *EI*².

In this respect, the rising status of the profession of the historian and the growing demand for teaching material might well be viewed as yet another driving force behind the efforts. The Mamluk era is renowned for producing major historical-administrative manuals catering to the practical needs of the ever-expanding state bureaucratic apparatus. Within this context, the historical *urjūzahs* might have been designed as textbook material, similar to the *urjūzahs* produced at the time on Arabic grammar, *fiqh,* and medicine,[53] among other subjects.

More research is needed with regard to Mamluk patronage of literary activities. In our case, the circumstances under which Ibn Jamāʿah "commissioned" Ibn Dāniyāl to write the *urjūzah* remain unclear; the verb used here, *saʾala,* does not reveal much, if anything. But it is curious that he was the person responsible for putting *rajaz* as a historical/educational tool on the map, insofar as several historical *urjūzahs* known to have existed are associated with him: in addition to the poem in question, Ibn Jamāʿah also "commissioned" an *urjūzah* on Damascene judges (reported, again, by Ibn al-Mulaqqin), and another one on caliphs.[54] To think of the Shafiʿi chief judge as a history buff might be a stretch, but there is good reason to believe that the practical purposes of such a demand or request, other than the need for some ceremonial panegyric, could not be ruled out. Among these, his Shafiʿi-centric presentation of historical facts was apparently one major draw. After all, knowledge of, and schooling in, history was becoming essential for one's bureaucratic career advancement as far as the Mamluk era is concerned. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332?), a contemporary of Ibn Dāniyāl, names five "arts" *(funūn),* or expertise in five areas, as the qualifying requirements for a candidate applying for lucrative state job such as the *kātib*-clerk. Among the five, history tops all as the crown jewel. "The *kātib* [needs to know history]," al-Nuwayrī writes, "because he draws from it precedents and examples (*yastashhidu bihi*) in drafting communiqués and correspondence; also, he expands the scope of his writing by using it as a narrative tool."[55] Going through al-Nuwayrī's job description for a *kātib,*[56] one thing becomes clear: all the five "arts" were technical in nature; thus the *rajaz* was an ideal, and proven effective, narrative tool for transmitting knowledge in these fields.

However, as our analysis has amply shown, the *urjūzah* as a historical narrative mode has serious limits. It is evidently more effective and functional in displaying

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[53] For example, Ibn Dāniyāl's own *urjūzah* on medicine: Istanbul MS Ayasofya 3645, fols. 84b–114a.

[54] *GAL* S2:80–81.

[55] *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964–98), 13:1.

[56] The other four "arts" are: geography (*fī al-samāʾ wa-al-āthār al-ʿalawīyah wa-al-arḍ wa-al-maʿālim al-suflīyah,* namely astrology and astronomy, climate, seasons, etc.), humanities (*fī al-insān,* including language, physiology, etc.), zoology (*fī al-ḥayawān al-ṣāmit),* and botany (*fī al-nabāt*).

simple facts, such as names, but less so in in-depth discourse. Perhaps this is why the *rajaz* as a didactic narrative tool was largely confined to fields other than "history." In other words, the *rajaz* verse alone never really took off to rival prose historical narrative. Of the more than one hundred *urjūzah*s listed by Carl Brockelmann,[57] only a handful can be perhaps categorized as of a historical nature. Among these, three were associated with Ibn Jamāʿah, whereas the others were all written in the pre-Mamluk era: one is a versified history of the Abbasids,[58] one a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad,[59] and one a list of the prophets.[60] Our present case study has proved that it is Ibn Dāniyāl, through the patronage of Ibn Jamāʿah, who revived the interest in using the *rajaz* form for historical narrative purposes, and that the later hybrid mode inspired by it, combining *rajaz* and prose—as seen in Ibn Ḥajar's and al-Suyūṭī's adaptations—became a popular form for "name dropping," a continuation of the thematic preoccupation of the lives and careers of the notables in medieval Muslim historiography.

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[57] The sampling is based on the index entry *urjūzah* in *GAL*. It is by no means conclusive, insofar as some poems might bear titles other than *urjūzah*. But the sampling should be seen as representative of the trend and tendency of the narrative *rajaz*. Understandably, of the twenty *urjūzah*s listed in Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*—on astrology and astronomy, medicine, *fiqh*, grammar and language, and music—only two, *Urjūzah fī Ahl Badr* by al-Tirmidhī and *Urjūzah fī Tārīkh al-Muʿtaḍid* by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, are remotely "historical."

[58] *Urjūzah fī al-Tārīkh,* by Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Naṣībī (d. 1265); see *GAL* S1:590.

[59] *Urjūzah fī Sīrat al-Nabī,* by ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Hamadhānī (d. 1243); see *GAL* 1:410.

[60] *Urjūzah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Anbiyāʾ, GAL* SN2:111.

APPENDIX: TRANSLATION OF THE PART OF IBN DĀNIYĀL'S *URJŪZAH* THAT COVERS THE MAMLUK PERIOD[61]

91. Then Yūsuf al-Sanjārī was brought back,
succeeding him was Tāj al-Dīn, the magnificent.

92. He was followed by Burhān al-Dīn, namely, al-Khaḍr,[62]
then Tāj al-Dīn made a comeback.

93. Then Muḥyī al-Dīn held the office,
and then Ibn Razīn, with a judicious mind.

94. After his dismissal, ʿUmar,
I mean al-ʿAllāmī, took over. He ruled for justice.

95. Then Ibn Razīn was re-appointed,
after Ṣadr al-Dīn [ʿUmar]; both men did a super job for the state.

96. Then Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī[63] presided over the court,
having been put in charge to succeed Taqī al-Dīn.[64]

97. When he [the former] resigned, claiming that Cairo was too far
from his hometown, he [the latter] presided over in his stead.

98. Then Shihāb al-Dīn[65] was promoted,
and was summoned from his post in al-Maḥallah.

99. He stayed on until his death;
[Shihāb al-Dīn] Ibn Aḥmad had been a judge of Syria when young.

100. Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Khalaf[66] then held the office,
succeeding the by-now-gone Wajīh al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn.

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[61] Cf. Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 62.

[62] Al-Khaḍr ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sanjārī.

[63] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn al-Ḥusayn.

[64] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī al-Qāsim Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz.

[65] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Khalīl ibn Saʿādah al-Khūbī.

[66] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

101. He was fired from the post in Cairo,
and replaced by the gentleman from al-Sanjār.[67]

102. Then Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took over,
and it was time for Badr al-Dīn, the full moon, to shine!

103. Badr al-Dīn returned back to Syria,
the young al-ʿAllāmī[68] then presided over the judgeship.

104. He stayed on until his death,
and was succeeded by Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ.[69]

105. Then all of a sudden he passed way,
Badr al-Dīn rose [again].

*   *   *

106. A luminous full moon,
a spring of fresh, pure water.

107. The judges' judge, and magistrates' magistrate,
the mediator of contracts for the legal system.

108. The window of his rulings remains open.
The flowering days during his tenure will be everlasting.

109. The full moon will never go away,
its crescent will never vanish from sight.

110. Praise be to God for His grace,
for His blessings manifested in just rulings.

111. The best prayers and greetings,
go to the Prophet, the Master of the mankind,

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[67] Burhān al-Dīn al-Khaḍr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sanjārī.

[68] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Maḥmūd Ibn Badr.

[69] Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, known as Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd.

112. To his household, his companions, and his clan,
to everyone who loves him!

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Who Were the "Salt of the Earth" in Fifteenth-Century Egypt?

I

The ulama class, the religious scholars, in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, as in other medieval Muslim communities, was not monolithic. Professionally it was a ramified class comprising numerous subgroups such as jurists, theologians, grammarians, and Quran commentators.[1] Rivalry and competition among the ulama over positions in the judicial system and academe, and their patronage relations with the Mamluk elite, fueled schisms and increased this sector's vulnerability to Mamluk oligarchic rule and its great political, military, and economic power, as the studies by Carl Petry, Jonathan Berkey, and Michael Chamberlain have shown.[2] In theory, however, the jurists continued to adhere to the fictive model of polarization in government between religion and power, or between ulama and *umarāʾ*. According to the traditional model of rulership, the ulama were granted the role of guardians of the Sacred Law and qualified guides for both the rulers and the population at large.

Prose narratives and archival materials have been the main source for the study of Mamluk society and culture, but only a scant part of the huge corpus of other literary texts, among them the *taqārīẓ* (s. *taqrīẓ*),[3]

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[1] U. Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing *ʿulamāʾ* Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 73.

[2] Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981); idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), chapters 5–6; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994).

[3] *Taqrīẓ* (pl. *taqārīẓ*) was a statement praising a literary work. Works of this kind were generally written by obliged scholars of high reputation of the time in praise of their friends' newly published works. The purpose of the *taqārīẓ*, much like today's blurbs, was to promote the publication of the new work and its author. Franz Rosenthal, "'Blurbs' *(taqrīẓ)* from Fourteenth-Century Egypt," *Oriens* 27–28 (1981): 177–78.

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has been utilized for this purpose.[4] The *taqārīẓ* are literary texts that can provide valuable information about the dynamics within the ulama social and educational networks.[5] In some cases, the *taqārīẓ* contain details that, together with others gleaned from the historical narrative sources, enable us to reconstruct events from which we can learn more about the strategies the ulama employed in their struggles for social survival. Such are the *taqārīẓ* written in praise of a panegyric biography composed by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāhiḍ (757–841/1356–1438) in 819/1416 for the Mamluk sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815–21/1412–21) entitled *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah.*[6] Thus far we know of twenty one *taqārīẓ* composed for Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah* and this number is not exhaustive.[7] Ibn Nāhiḍ's case is intriguing because of the unusually large

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[4] Li Guo has impressively explored the dynamics between literary texts, poetry in particular, and historical reality, through the inquiry of the relevance of Ibn Dāniyāl's verses to specific historical events: "Reading Adab in Historical Light: Factuality and Ambiguity in Ibn Daniyal's 'Occasional Verses' on Mamluk Society and Politics," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East,* ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 383–403.

[5] Amalia Levanoni, "'Sīrat al-Muʾayyad Shaykh' by Ibn Nāhid," in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards,* ed. Chase Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 211–33.

[6] Two copies exist of *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah;* one is included in the manuscript of *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshāʾ* housed in Tubingen Library (Handschrift Ma VI 70) and was therefore mistakenly attributed by C. Brockelmann to Ibn Ḥijjah. See edited version: Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* ed. Rudolf Vesely (Berlin and Beirut, 2005). The second copy of *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah,* together with a collection of the *taqārīẓ* written for it, is found in the Raza Library in Rampur under the title *Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah fī Taqārīẓ al-Sīrah,* a microfilm of which is housed in the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts of the Arab League in Cairo: *Fihris al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Muṣawwarah, Tārīkh, al-Qism al-Thālith* (Cairo, 1959), S. 151. For the edited version of Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah* see: Rudolf Vesely, "Ibn Nāhiḍʿs As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya (Eine Lebensgeschichte des Sultans al-Muʾayyad Šaykh): Ein Beitrag zur *Sīra*-Literatur," *Archiv Orientalni* 67 (1999): 149–220. For the discussion on *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah,* see: idem, "Eine verkannte Sultansbiographie, As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya," in *Zafar nāme, Memorial Volume of Felix Tauer,* ed. Rudolf Vesely and Eduard Gombar (Prague, 1996), 271–80; idem, "Ein Skandal in Kairo," *Ex Oriente: Collected Papers in Honour of Jiří Bečka (*Prague, 1995), 182–90.

[7] Sixteen of the *taqārīẓ* written for Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah* are gathered in yet another manuscript by an anonymous author housed in the National Library in Berlin under no. 8645 (it was formerly included in the Imperial Museum under MS no. 1473). The manuscript bears the cumbersome title of "Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah ʿan al-Fatāyā al-Muʿtabirah allatī Anshaʾahā ʿAllāmat ʿAṣrihi wa-Farīd Shāmihi wa-Miṣrihi Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī." See: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1883), 9:580–81 (hereafter *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah*). The manuscript of *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* generally deals with the famous polemics between Mamluk period authors, the majority of whom were religious scholars, who opposed or supported the writing of rhymed prose or panegyrics and in particular their inclusion in the historical narrative. Each of the

number of *taqārīẓ* composed by well-known ulama for an unsophisticated and unimportant work composed by a lower-ranked peer, and even more so because they united to mock him instead of to praise his work, as was the norm in their circles. The purpose of this article is to investigate the reasons for such unfair mockery by an elitist groups of scholars, especially the indigenous Shafiʿi leading class of scholars, who were partisans of Arabo-Islamic culture, against those they ranked as their lower-class peers like Ibn Nāhiḍ. An attempt will be made to place this case in the general context of the ulama rivalry over the hegemony of knowledge and religious power in the state and their struggle for social hierarchy and status.

II

Ibn Nāhiḍ was born in Aleppo in 757/1356 or thereabouts to an Arabized family of Kurdish origin. He became a passionate devotee of belles-lettres *(adab)* and attained adequacy in writing poetry and prose *(fa-balagha naẓman wa-nathran).*[8] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) mentions in Ibn Nāhiḍ's entry that at a certain point in his life, he moved to Cairo where he joined *(tanazzala,* which also means to humble oneself) the Sufi order, or *khānqāh,* of al-Jamālīyah. He wrote panegyrics to the *khānqāh* leaders and composed *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah,* for which he received *taqārīẓ* from a number of his colleagues.[9] Quoting the historian ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441), al-Sakhāwī relates that Ibn Nāhiḍ also lived for some time in Damascus where he made a living selling

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three polemics included in our manuscript is constructed from a collection of short essays, mainly written in rhymed prose, that touch upon a specific controversial event. The manuscript title is drawn from the first collection of polemic between the famous poet and scholar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah (686–768/1287–1366) and Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (686–768/1287–1366), nephew of the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (620–92/1223–92), who like his uncle was in charge of *dīwān al-inshāʾ,* the correspondence bureau. The third collection of polemics was written in Egypt in 795/1393 and dedicated to the work *Nuzūl al-Ghayth* by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī al-Iskandarī al-Mālikī, known as Ibn al-Damāmīnī. The second collection, the most interesting for my part, deals with Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah* and covers seventeen folios of the manuscript (Nos. 9–25). The author of *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* mentions two other *taqārīẓ* that he knew of but could not find. Three *taqārīẓ* appear also in *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshāʾ* by Ibn Ḥijjah (Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 137–45). One of them, Ibn Ḥijjah's, does not appear in the Berlin Manuscript. Four of the *taqārīẓ* included in *Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah fī Taqārīẓ al-Sīrah,* those of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Baʿūnī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Rabbānī, and Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Zuʿayfrānī, do not appear in *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* nor in *Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah fī Taqārīẓ al-Sīrah* (Vesely, "Ibn Nāhiḍ's As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya," 150–51).

[8] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, n.d.), 10:67.

[9] Ibid.

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pottery. On his return to Cairo, he subsisted on donations he received for the panegyrics he composed for local dignitaries, until his death on 11 Shaʿbān 841/31 January 1438.[10] Al-Sakhāwī mentions neither the names of the religious scholars who wrote *taqārīẓ* for Ibn Nāhiḍ nor the fact that they had organized to mock him. Al-Sakhāwī does provide a comment about the *Sīrah* in one brief sentence: "he composed al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's biography and excelled in what he wanted" (*ʿamala Sīrat al-Muʾayyad Shaykh fa-ajāda mā shāʾa),*[11] probably implying Ibn Nāhiḍ's lack of competence in the art of history and his exaggerated flattery for Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah (d. 837/1434), the fifteenth-century writer, poet, and historian, relates that in 818/1415 Ibn Nāhiḍ composed a book written in a "strange manner" *(namṭ gharīb)* in which he included the events related to the Victorious al-Muʾayyad in unprecedented (*abdaʿa* means also to invent, implying heresy) prose and verse.[12] Upon completion of the book, Ibn Nāhiḍ approached Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Damāmīnī, who was a prominent figure among the scholars and intellectuals surrounding al-Muʾayyad, for a panegyric. With the purpose of keeping him away, al-Damāmīnī swore that he would not write a word for him unless Ibn Ḥijjah wrote first. However, al-Damāmīnī, who was a man of his word, could not evade writing the *taqrīẓ* for Ibn Nāhiḍ because the latter went to Ibn Ḥijjah with a number of scholars to intercede for him, leaving him no choice but to grant them their request.[13]

Let us now see who were the learned scholars who took part in the practical joke against Ibn Nāhiḍ. No distinction has been made between persons who held administrative or bureaucratic offices *(al-waẓāʾif al-dīwānīyah)* and religious offices *(al-waẓāʾif al-dīnīyah),* because all persons involved were trained, at least to a certain level, in the Islamic religious sciences and because it was quite normal during the Mamluk period to shift about among offices in search of advancement in any branch of the government bureaucracy.[14]

1. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān Ibn al-Bārizī (769–832/1367–1428) was born in Ḥamāh to a Shāfiʿī family of well-known scholars going back several generations. He received a traditional education in his native city and excelled in belles-lettres and composition. In

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[10] Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 137–45.

[11] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:67.

[12] Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 137.

[13] Ibid., 137–38.

[14] J. H. Escovitz, "Vocational Patterns of the Scribes of the Mamlūk Chancery," *Arabica* 23, no. 1 (1976): 59–62.

796/1393 he was appointed as qadi of Ḥamāh and later as the secretary of its governor, Yashbak min Uzdamur. He became part of the coterie of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh when the latter was still governor of the province of Tripoli. Al-Muʾayyad extricated Ibn al-Bārizī from Yashbak who dismissed him from his posts and confiscated his property. Upon al-Muʾayyad's rise to power, Ibn al-Bārizī was appointed to the office of secretary to the sultan and became his close confidant. This relationship yielded much property to Ibn al-Bārizī and accorded him "reverence and prestige that no one of his kind [i.e., ulama or *fuqahāʾ*] had attained *(wa-nāla min al-ḥurmah wa-al-wajāhah mā lam yanalhu ghayruhu min abnāʾ jinsihi)*." Up to his death he held the office of preacher, *khaṭīb,* in the mosque built by al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, and was the curator of his library. Upon Ibn al-Bārizī's death, al-Muʾayyad nominated his son Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bārizī in his place as the Shafiʿi chief qadi. Al-Sakhāwī mentions among Ibn al-Bārizī's intellectual talents his being a man of belles-lettres and a special talent in prose and poetry *(bāriʿan naẓman wa-nathran)*.[15]

2. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bārizī (796–856/1394–1452) was the son of Ibn al-Bārizī mentioned earlier. He was born in Ḥamāh and started his education with his father. He emigrated with his father to Egypt where he studied *fiqh* from the famous ulama of the age such as Aḥmad al-ʿIrāqī (see no. 5 below) and al-Bisāṭī (see no. 7 below). He served as chief officer *(kātib al-sirr)* of the correspondence bureau *(dīwān al-inshāʾ),* apparently thanks to his father.[16]

3. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī (783–824/1361–1421), who was also a Shafiʿi scholar, was born in Cairo to an Egyptian family from Bulqīnah. His father, ʿUmar, had held numerous high religious offices, and his close relations to men of power paved the way for his sons to attain high office as well. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān belonged to the close circle of al-Muʾayyad's confidants. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān served as an official in the bureau of correspondence and later as *qāḍī al-ʿaskar*. After his father's death he was appointed chief *muftī,* the jurist authorized to hand down opinions in matters of religious law. He gained fame for his erudition in the various branches of religious law, his writing skills, and fluent style in prose and poetry.[17]

4. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Jamāʿah al-Shāfiʿī (749–819/1348–

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[15] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 9:137–39.

[16] Ibid., 9:236–39.

[17] Ibid., 4:106–13; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1984–99), 7:197; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1943–72), 4:600.

1416) was born in Cairo. He was among a third generation of religious scholars in a Kinānī family from Ḥamāh. Among his teachers was ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī, father of the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. His education was broad-ranged to the extreme; apart from the various fields of traditional Muslim law, it included medicine, astrology, philosophy, literature, and arts such as fencing, archery, and juggling *(shaʿūdhah)*. As a result of his encyclopedic education and tranquil disposition, he gained the admiration of his contemporaries. He was among Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's confidants and took part in the social gatherings he used to hold. Although he wrote excellent prose and poetry, he concealed this talent, and this is perhaps the reason the panegyric he wrote for Ibn Nāhiḍ does not appear in the manuscript, despite the fact that both the manuscript's author and al-Sakhāwī note its existence.[18]

5. Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-ʿIrāqī Abū Zurʿah, known as Ibn al-ʿIrāqī (762–826/1361–1423), was born in Cairo in a Kurdish family of religious scholars. His father insisted that his son be educated by the best of the contemporary religious scholars. His father used to take him to his academic and social gatherings, and it was in his early childhood that he was exposed to prominent and outstanding intellectuals in Cairo such as the above-mentioned jurist al-Bulqīnī, the father of the aforementioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Ibn Jamāʿah and the famous poets Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār and Ibn Nubātah. At the age of three, his father took him to Damascus and then to Jerusalem to study with the best Quran reciters and other renowned teachers in the various branches of the religious sciences. He also stayed several times with his father in Mecca and Medina, where he benefited from famous teachers residing there at the time. Like the scholars mentioned earlier, his father ensured his advancement in various offices through his friend ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī. When the young Abū Zurʿah was left in Cairo to replace his father, who was nominated as the qadi and preacher of Medina, in all his teaching posts, ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī came to his aid against one of his father's opponents, who tried to extract the prestigious post of hadith teacher in al-Kāmilīyah. Abū Zurʿah's assertive struggle to retain this post brought him great prestige and consolidated his authority within the academe.[19] After his father's death, he was given his teaching posts in several colleges *(madāris)* in Cairo and became an authority on religious matters and an object of admiration for his knowledge and noble bearing. He was considered one of the best jurists and teachers in Cairo,

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[18] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 7:171–74.

[19] Ibid., 1:338.

so much so that students from all schools of law gathered to learn from him. In 824/1421, he was appointed the Shafiʿi chief qadi in Egypt. His works cover religious issues and history. As was the norm in contemporary literary circles, he wrote poetry as well. It is worthy of mention that he was very offended when he was dismissed from his post as a Shafiʿi chief qadi and replaced by one of his students. Al-Sakhāwī relates that Abū Zurʿah said that he would have been much less offended had another scholar of his stature taken his post.[20] This case shows the importance attributed to hierarchy within scholarly circles.

6. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) was born in the small town of Qalqashandah, in the eastern Delta. It is unclear when he settled in Cairo. He was a Shafiʿi scholar who excelled in *fiqh,* and Arabic literature and language. He served as a qadi and a clerk in the correspondence bureau. He is best known as the author of *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ,* the vast encyclopedia on the art of clerkship in the Mamluk administration. Like the other scholars mentioned earlier, he was also outstanding in writing prose and poetry.[21]

7. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Bisāṭī (760–842/1358–1438) was a Maliki scholar, born in the town of Bisāṭ in the Gharbīyah district located in the west Nile Delta. With the help of his uncle, he received education from the best scholars in Cairo, among them ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn and the above-mentioned Ibn Jamāʿah, who was his admired teacher. He was considered unique in his generation *(farīd dahrihi)* and as one "who had no peers." He specialized in Muslim law, linguistics, logic, medicine, mathematics, and architecture. His teacher in architecture was the Mamluk amir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Māridānī, who nominated him in 811/1408 as *fiqh* lecturer in the college he established in Cairo. With the mediation of Amir Ṭaṭar, who served at the time as vicegerent for the absent sultan, al-Bisāṭī was nominated as shaykh of the *khānqāh-turbah* al-Nāṣirīyah, established by Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj and in 823/1420 as the Maliki chief qadi in Egypt. He served at the same time as head of the *madāris* of al-Barqūqīyah, al-Fakhrīyah, and al-Qamḥīyah.[22]

8. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh. The identity of this scholar is unclear. A certain Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Ḥanafī is mentioned as one of Ibn Jamāʿah's venerated teachers.[23]

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[20] Ibid., 1:336–44; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī al-Tarājim al-Mufīdah* (Beirut, 1992), 1:356–57.

[21] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:8; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd,* 2:361–63.

[22] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:5–8.

[23] Ibid., 7:172.

9. Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-ʿAjmī (777–833/1375–1429) was a Hanafi scholar with origins in Qaysarī in Anatolia. Like the others in our group of scholars, he was given the best traditional education. He was educated first by his father and later by teachers and educators, Persian *(ʿajam)* and others, brought in especially for this purpose. In his youth he was employed as, among other things, an official in the bureau of correspondence, an inspector of the army in Syria, and as a *muḥtasib* (market inspector) in Cairo; he was dismissed from the majority of his posts for embezzlement. Apart from these flaws in his character, he was a talented, eloquent literary person who stood out at the gatherings of intellectuals convened by Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. He was the sultan's drinking partner *(nadīm)* until his star waned because of a conflict with Ibn al-Bārizī. He was forced to go into hiding until al-Ashraf Barsbāy rose to power.[24]

10. Faḍl Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Makānis (769–822/1367–1419) was a Hanafi scholar. He grew up in a wealthy and intellectual atmosphere in a family of Coptic origin. His father was vizier of Damascus and "one of the excellent poets *(aḥad fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ)*."[25] His father and his friend Badr al-Dīn al-Bashtakī,[26] who was a renowned poet and belonged to the extreme *ẓāhirī* school of law, were his teachers, and thus from a tender age he excelled in prose and poetry. In Cairo, after his father's death, his financial situation deteriorated, and he resorted to making a living as a junior clerk in the bureau of correspondence. However, Ibn al-Bārizī (mentioned above), his long-standing friend, assisted him, and it was through his mediation that he became one of Sultan al-Muʾayyad's circle of confidants. He gained the sultan's special interest thanks to the panegyrics he wrote in his honor.[27] It is noteworthy that he had an enduring friendship *(mawaddah akīdah)*[28] with Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, the renowned historian and jurist of the time who also belonged to this group (see below).

11. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Makhzūmī, known as Ibn al-Damāmīnī (763–827/1361–1424), was born in Alexandria to a Maliki family with origins going back to the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh. His education began in his family, and later he was among the pupils of well-known teachers in Alexandria and Cairo. He specialized in law, Arabic, and belles-lettres.

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[24] Ibid., 2:223–24.

[25] Ibid., 6:172.

[26] Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarḥān (Cairo, 1970), 15:143–44.

[27] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 6:172; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* (Haydarabad, 1974), 7:368.

[28] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ,* 7:368.

He taught syntax at al-Azhar and on his return to Alexandria tried to make a living as a weaver and preacher. Following a fire that broke out in his home, destroying his looms, he was forced to flee his creditors to Upper Egypt. He was the only member of this group of scholars who tried his hand at manual labor in addition to his intellectual pursuits, but without success. When he returned to Cairo in 819/1416, like Ibn Makānis he was assisted by the mediation of Ibn al-Bārizī in obtaining the post of chief judge of the Maliki school of law in Egypt. In this way he became one of Sultan al-Muʾayyad's confidants and took part in the literary gatherings he held. It was in the same year that he wrote the derisory essay on the biography written by Ibn Nāhiḍ. It appears that he did not find much success in Cairo, and a short time later he went on the hajj. From Mecca he traveled to Yemen and on to India, where he taught and dabbled in commerce. He fell into debt there, but his death saved him from his creditors.[29]

12. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ (790–852/1388–1448) was the most famous member of the al-Wafāʾ family of noted Maliki religious scholars. He was also a member of the Shādhilī Sufi order. He was born in Cairo, where he received a traditional education with the most notable ulama of the time, among them Ibn Jamāʿah and al-Bisāṭī who, as noted above, belonged to the same social circle. He gained particular fame as a poet, and many, including these two scholars, came to hear his poetry at the literary gatherings he held.[30]

13. Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1371–1448) was born in an Arab Kinānī family in Cairo. He was considered the greatest scholar of the fifteenth century in every field of Muslim law. Like other scholars in this group, he too was born into an educated family, which despite his being orphaned at a young age, ensured that he was educated by the best scholars in Egypt, Syria, and al-Ḥijāz. His principal teacher was Ibn Jamāʿah, who was his long-standing tutor in most sciences. He was also a student of Abū Zurʿah and the Mamluk amir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Māridānī, who taught him arithmetic and time keeping. He quickly gained prominence among his colleagues and became the guide and mentor of generations of students, among whom were prominent ulama from all schools of law and famous historians such as al-Sakhāwī and Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1469). Thanks to his eloquence, he served as preacher in the central mosques of al-Azhar and ʿAmr and served as lecturer in most of the important colleges in Cairo. He refused nominations for the post

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[29] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:184–87.

[30] Ibid., 7:92–93.

of chief Shafiʿi qadi until he finally relented in 827/1423. He held this post alternately for about twenty-one years.[31] Among his historical works are *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr, Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* and *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah.*[32]

14. Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (789–853/1387–1449) is the famous Shafiʿi jurist and poet whose family origins allegedly go back to the old tribe of Tanūkh. He was born in al-Karak, southeast of the Dead Sea, to a father who held an administrative office in the household of the Mamluk amir Maʾmūr al-Qalamṭāwī (d. 792/1389), who served as governor of the provinces of Ḥamāh and then al-Karak. Orphaned at the age of three, he moved to Cairo where he received his education in the same circles mentioned above, and among his teachers were Ibn Jamāʿah and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī. He made no special achievements in his religious studies, but he did gain prestige because of his connection through marriage to Ibn al-Bārizī (the latter's two sons, Kamāl al-Dīn and Aḥmad, were married to his brother's two sisters), who treated him like a son and worked towards his advancement. At first he tried to gain an entrée into the military service, and when that failed he took on, without much success, bureaucratic and teaching posts at various colleges that taught Muslim law in Cairo. Thus, he needed the al-Bārizī family's support for a long time. On the other hand, his fame rests on his literary merits, for he was renowned as "one of the most perfect in poetry, prose, and calligraphy *(wa-huwa aḥad al-kamalah fī al-naẓm wa-al-nathr wa-al-khaṭṭ).*" He was considered to be the successor of the poet Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah (686–768/1287–1366).[33]

15. Aṣīl Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Khaḍrī al-Mālikī. His biography is not found in the sources, but he is mentioned in Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʿah's biography as one of his teachers.[34]

16. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (760–845/1359–1441) was born in Cairo to a prestigious family of intellectuals on both his father's and his mother's side. His paternal grandfather, ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad (d. 732/1331), whose origins allegedly go back to the Fatimids and the tribe of Tamīm, was a Hanbali religious scholar from Syria, and his maternal grandfather, Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh (d. 776/1375), was a wealthy philologist and traditionist who served as a Hanafi judge. From an early age al-Maqrīzī was

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[31] For his appointment decree as Shafiʿi chief qadi see: Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 412–17.

[32] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:36–40

[33] Ibid., 10:217–21; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:544–45.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:172.

groomed to be a religious scholar, as befitted a wealthy, educated family, but he gained the lion's share of his fame and achievements from his work in history, to which he devoted all his time after withdrawing from public life in his last years. Al-Sakhāwī cites him as saying that his writings reached a hundred volumes that included history works, describing contemporary and preceding events, relying on first-hand evidence and earlier compilations. He held several religious posts in Cairo and Damascus such as *muḥtasib,* preacher in the ʿAmr mosque, the imam of the Ḥasan Madrasah, inspector of the al-Ḥākim mosque, and as lecturer of the Hanbali school of law in al-Muʾayyadīyah.[35]

17. Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Bakr al-Mawṣilī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 844/1440). His father was a Shafiʿi scholar from Mosul who settled in Damascus, where ʿAbd al-Malik was born. ʿAbd al-Malik became a Sufi scholar, and many people came to believe in his holiness and visited him to receive his blessing *(al-istishfāʿ bi-hi).*[36]

18. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sindī. No information on this writer was found in the sources.

19. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah (d. 767–837/1366–1434) was a Hanafi jurist and poet who was born in Ḥamāh and grew up as an apprentice of a silk and button maker. On reaching adolescence he started his religious education with the famous ulama in Ḥamāh, and soon he excelled in poetry, prose, and composition. He gained fame for his poems in *zajal* (pl. *azjāl*—popular Arabic poem in strophic form) and *mawwāl* (pl. *mawāwīl*—poem in colloquial language) and the panegyric he wrote for local dignitaries. Later he moved to Damascus, where he entered the circle of the qadi Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamāʿah and composed a panegyric for him for which he received excellent *taqārīẓ.* Equipped with the panegyric and the *taqārīẓ,* he went to Cairo to the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Makānis and his son Majd al-Dīn, who approved of his work and made him a member of their literary circle. During his stay in Cairo he composed a *qaṣīdah* (pl. *qaṣāʾid*—an Arabic poem having, as a rule, a tripartite structure) in praise of Ibn Makānis and his son. The sources show that he also had good relations with Muḥammad Ibn al-Damāmīnī. In 791/1389 he left Cairo for Ḥamāh, where he served as a clerk in the correspondence bureau through the good offices of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī, who served as the head of the bureau. He returned to Cairo during al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's reign, and it was through Ibn al-Bārizī's mediation that

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[35] Ibid., 2:21–25; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:490; idem, *Manhal,* 1:415–20.

[36] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 5:84.

he was nominated as a scribe in the Egyptian correspondence bureau and introduced into the sultan's close circle of confidants. He became one of the well-known poets and writers of his time, but his star set when Dāwud Ibn al-Kuwayz was nominated as the new head of the correspondence bureau after al-Muʾayyad's and Ibn al-Bārizī's deaths. He returned to Ḥamāh in 830/1427 and died there in 837/1434.[37]

20. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Bāʿūnī (777–870/1375–1465) was a Shafiʿi scholar and poet who was born in Safad. He started his religious education with local scholars and then moved with his father to Syria, where he was educated by well-known scholars. He served as a preacher in the Umayyad Mosque and head of the Sufi al-Basiṭīyah in Damascus, and as inspector of the Holy Places in Mecca and Medina (al-Ḥaramayn). He adamantly refused the chief qadiship in Egypt in 812/1409 and dedicated his life to scholarship.[38]

21. Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Zuʿayfrānī (767–830/1365–1426) was a talented poet and a Shafiʿi scholar. He won the favor of the Mamluk amirs in Cairo by pretending to have the ability to foresee their future through the divine secrets hidden in the Quran, sought by the science of numerology *(ʿilm al-ḥurūf)*. He fell out of favor in Cairo in 812/1409 after he deceived the majordomo Jamāl al-Dīn into believing that the heroic poem *(malḥamah,* pl. *malāḥim)* he offered him was an ancient one forecasting his ascent, and that of his son after him, to rule in Egypt.[39] His misconduct with the amirs demonstrates how ulama often took advantage of the great reliance of the Mamluks on them in matters related to religious literature.

As we can learn from this list of ulama, the majority belonged to the Shafiʿi and Maliki schools of law, the dominant schools in Lower and Upper Egypt. Most of them were of Arab origin in Syria and Egypt, going back to pre- and early Islamic times. Thus, Ibn Jamāʿah's origin goes back to the Kinānah tribe and al-Damāmīnī's to the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh. Al-Maqrīzī claimed to be a descendant of the Fatimids, and Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār of the Tanūkhīs, the Yemeni tribe who dominated the area along the Euphrates in pre-Islamic and Umayyad times. There were only three Hanafis in this group of scholars, Ibn Makānis, al-ʿAjmī, and Ibn Ḥijjah, two of them of non-Arab origin, but their command of Arabic reached such a degree that they were considered among the best poets of their time, and their broad education and connections, so it seems, brought them into this elitist

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[37] Ibid., 11:53–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:189–92.

[38] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 1:26–29.

[39] Ibid., 2:250–51.

circle of intellectuals. Most of these scholars were connected to one of two prominent ulama, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī, and it was through their connections that they were brought to al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's close circle of confidants and associates. Thus, Kamāl al-Dīn (Ibn al-Bārizī's son), Ibn Makānis, Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, al-Damāmīnī, and Ibn Ḥijjah were identified with Ibn al-Bārizī. Al-Bulqīnī's group cohered around their acquaintanceship in academe. Al-Bulqīnī, Ibn Jamāʿah, and Abū Zurʿah all were students of al-Bulqīnī's father, ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī, who was a close friend of Abū Zurʿah's father. ʿUmar was a close confidant of al-Muʾayyad, and it was through his mediation that all three became his close associates. Al-Maqrīzī was a student of ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī and Abū Zurʿah's father. Al-Bisāṭī, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Khaḍrī were all students of Ibn Jamāʿah and Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ was al-Bisāṭī's student. Ibn Ḥajar was also a student of Abū Zurʿah. Besides his connections with al-Muʾayyad, al-Bisāṭī had close connections with the Mamluk amirs Ṭaṭar and al-Mārīdānī. It was through these connections inside academe and with the Mamluk elite that these ulama and *fuqahāʾ* attained academic posts and judicial and bureaucratic appointments. Some of these families, such as al-Bulqīnī, Ibn Jamāʿah, and Ibn Makānis, amassed great fortunes while holding key positions in the *qaḍāʾ* and *awqāf* management. Al-Bulqīnī owned one of the most splendid houses in Cairo. [40]

It would appear that all members involved in Ibn Nāhiḍ's case were born into educated, competitive families who gave them a broad education of the highest standard. Indeed, they were tuned into their unique position as a leading class among the local intellectuals. In a way their *taqārīẓ* are a bombastic declaration on the breadth of their education, literary skills, and refinement. Their style is replete with florid language and allusions to the Quran, hadith, and the vast body of Arabic literature through the generations. From the dates of most of the panegyrics noted in the manuscript, it is also evident that the writers responded to one another's words with no small measure of competitiveness. The *taqārīẓ* convey, to a certain measure, a statement of what they considered the true model of knowledge a Muslim scholar should possess. Obviously, scholars with education of a lower standard, certainly including foreigners, or *aʿjām,* could hardly measure up to this model. It was the domain preserved for the elitist Arab ulama, the true agents of the indigenous Muslim culture, or to use Haarmann's words, "the salt of the country." [41] It is in this context that

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[40] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1987), 2:54.

[41] Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs," 65.

the Syrian and Egyptian ulama's obsession with digging into their peers' works for faults in grammar, style, and content can be explained. Thus, for example, Ibn Ḥajar mentions that in spite of the fine poetry of Ibn Makānis, who was of Coptic origin, minor and grave grammatical faults *(alḥān, s. laḥn)* slipped into it.[42]

The case of al-Muʾayyad's peace agreement with Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (d. 815/1412), the governor of Damascus and his enemy and protagonist in the civil war of 815/1412, confirms the disrespect the Arab scholars felt towards their non-Arab peers, especially the Turks.[43] Ibn Taghrībirdī presents the case as first-hand information he heard from Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārizī, the son of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī. This ceremony was held to confirm with an oath Nawrūz's surrender and al-Muʾayyad's commitment to restore him to his position as governor of Damascus. Ibn Taghrībirdī reports that Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī administered the oath of allegiance, deliberately inserting linguistic errors that twisted its meaning and impaired its validity. When the Hanafi qadi turned to the Shafiʿi qadi al-Bulqīnī, who is also one of our *taqārīẓ* authors, and commented on al-Bārizī's mistakes in Arabic language and style, he was silenced immediately. Ibn Taghrībirdī clarifies that the Mamluk messengers and Turkish qadis who acted as Nawrūz's representatives at the ceremony did not catch on to the trick because of their lack of practice in Arabic. They brought the oath of allegiance to Nawrūz, confident of its validity. In this context, Ibn Taghrībirdī complains about the meager knowledge the Turkish jurists had in the various branches of Islamic science, not to speak of jurisprudence *(fiqh)*. This story clearly reveals the idea the Arab ulama sought to convey about their position compared with the ruling Mamluks and the foreign ulama they employed. No matter how powerful the Mamluk *umarāʾ* were, the validity of their rule depended on the Arab ulama, who held the powerful key to knowledge.

III

Ibn Nāhiḍ was clearly not a member of that exclusive group of scholars. He did, after all, make a living only by writing panegyrics for local dignitaries. We do not know of any salaried position he held in the religious bureaucracy. Ibn Nāhiḍ's panegyric biography for al-Muʾayyad Shaykh is written with quite a simple vocabulary but in a manneristic style. It is written in rhymed prose, particularly florid language, rhetorical expressions from the sources,

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[42] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ,* 7:368.

[43] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:20–21.

and exaggerated flattery of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, to the level of using the most sacred metaphors in Islam such as the Kaʿbah to describe his character and deeds or calling him the imam of the community, a role normally reserved for the ulama.[44] Important for the present discussion is that rhymed prose was rejected by the Arabs and continued to be considered as a typical Persian literary genre. The compiler of *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* does not leave room for guesswork and mentions clearly that Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Sīrah* offended "the kings among the distinguished scholars" *(mulūk al-ʿulamāʾ al-aʿlām)*. Lacking the self-criticism to realize his fault and tongue slips *(wa-lam yashʿur bi-khaṭʾihi wa-zalalihi),*[45] he requested "every religious scholar, litterateur, historian, and friend" *(kull ʿālim wa-adīb wa-muʾarrikh wa-ḥabīb)*[46] to write its praises. Moreover, when they "used double-edged language" *(istaʿmalū al-ibhām)*[47] that only appeared to praise his work, he accepted their words at face value. However, in spite of his recognition of Ibn Nāhiḍ's lack of sagacity, the manuscript's author criticizes the *taqārīẓ* as treatises of "low poetry and mean prose and poor and disgraceful style" *(naẓam sāfil nāzil wa-ʿibārah rakīkah mustahjanah)* written in "a respite from the pens" *(ʿalá ḥīn fatrah min al-aqlām),* i.e., *taqārīẓ* written while their pens rested from their truly worthy writing.[48] The question is: what caused so many distinguished scholars of the time to unite and attack Ibn Nāhiḍ so meanly and mercilessly? In other words, what they were actually defending?

Rivalry over leadership and hegemony over the judicial system and resources of pious endowments arose between the Mamluk elite and the local ulama and *fuqahāʾ,* especially the Shafiʿis, as early as the establishment of the Mamluk regime. The Shafiʿi *madhhab* (school of law) that had enjoyed absolute dominance in the Egyptian judicial system became, with the introduction of Baybars' reform of 665/1265, one of the four schools of law.[49] Baybars' reform was designed to increase the prestige of the Hanafi school of law, to which the Mamluks belonged, and to enhance approval

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[44] Vesely, "Ibn Nāhiḍ's As-Sīra aš-Šaykhiyya," 174, 184.

[45] *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah,* fol. 9L.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief Qāḍīs, 663/1265," *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984): 169–76; Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Berlin, 1984), 53–61, 235–39; idem, "The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamluk Empire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 529–31; Yaacov Lev, "Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 14–17.

of their policies and alien life style. This reform did not stop in Egypt and Aleppo: Tripoli, Ḥamāh, and Safad followed suit.[50] In 749/1348 a Hanafi qadi was nominated next to the Shafiʿi in the army too.[51] Upon his ascension to power, Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–99) initiated the post of Hanafi chief qadi in Jerusalem and Gaza. To these posts he appointed two foreign Sufis residing in the Shaykhūnīyah in Cairo.[52] We learn that in 812/1409, four chief qadis also stood at the head of the judicial system in Damascus.[53] Further erosion in the jurists' situation came when the social leveling of the religious and judicial institutions brought persons from the lower classes to prominent positions, such as the vizierate, *ḥisbah* inspection,[54] and qadiships, through patronage relations and the practice of payment for appointments.[55] The sources reveal that "people from respectable families *(dhūwī al-buyūtāt)*"[56] felt that they were discriminated against during Barqūq's reign, for he conducted a deliberate policy of advancing persons of lowly position to high offices that had been previously their privilege. The position of the qadis was also impinged upon when the jurisdiction of the *ḥujjāb* was extended to deal with matters beyond the military elite and the *dīwān*s, to matters traditionally dealt with according to the shariʿah. For this reason the number of *ḥujjāb* consistently increased during the fifteenth century, and by the middle of the century, senior amirs holding high posts such as *dawādār* acquired judicial knowledge and acted as judges among the civilian population. Even the *julbān,* the non-commissioned Mamluks, also accumulated judicial power and acted as arbiters in disputes between civilians who eschewed the *sharʿī* courts. Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's (r. 906–22/1501–16) attempts to recentralize the judicial system and ban all courts but the *sharʿī* failed due to the amirs' pressure.[57] These processes

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[50] Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars," 171; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:519–20; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1984), 1:2:349.

[51] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:772.

[52] Ibid., 3:480; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:228.

[53] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:91.

[54] Jonathan Berkey, "The *muḥtasib*s of Cairo under the Mamluks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 245–76.

[55] Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "The Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 49–83.

[56] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:291; Kosei Morimoto, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 119–20.

[57] Robert Irwin, "The Privatisation of 'Justice' under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 63–70.

of popularization and privatization in the academe and judicial systems obviously eroded the local *fuqahāʾ*'s position. It is not a coincidence that the local Shafiʿi ulama were the sharpest critics of the Circassian regime.

When Baybars tried to include in his reform the division of the supervision over the *awqāf* in Egypt and Syria among the four *madhāhib,* he met stiff opposition from the Shafiʿi legists. Henceforth the Mamluk sultans and other figures of authority would repeatedly try to lay their hands on the great fortunes amassed in the *awqāf*.[58] In 775/1373 the supervision of the *aḥbās* (*awqāf* lands)[59] and *awqāf* in Egypt was given to the amir Manjak al-Yūsufī, one of the prominent Mamluk amirs of the time.[60] By Jaqmaq's reign (842–57/1438–53), the *aḥbās* lands and *waqf* institutions such as the colleges al-Muʾayyadīyah and al-Ashrafīyah were regularly put under the *dawādār*'s supervision.[61] In 844/1440 the inspection of the Ḥākimī Mosque and the *awqāf* donated for its maintenance, which were by long tradition in Shafiʿi hands, were given to the *dawādār* Dūlāt Bey.[62] During the fifteenth century, the inspection of the prestigious *waqf* of the Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī, the hospital constructed in Cairo by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 682–83/1283–84, was given regularly to the *atābak al-ʿasākir.* Furthermore, lands of pious endowments were increasingly transferred to the sultan's treasury. From Barsbāy's reign (825–42/1422–38) onward, legal techniques were used to transfer state lands, *iqṭāʿ,* into private hands and turn them into *awqāf.* The sultans benefited from these transactions because it was through *awqāf* manipulation that they channelled public funds to their families and gained covert incomes for their extra expenses in the army and maintenance of the important civilian sectors' support, as Carl Petry has shown in his seminal works on the reigns of Qāytbāy (873–901/1468–95) and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī.[63]

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[58] Morimoto, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw," 117–19; Nicolas Michel, "Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya, terres agricoles en mainmorte dans l'Egypte mamelouke et ottomane: Etude sur les Dafātir al-Aḥbās ottomans," *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996): 114–17; Lev, "Symbiotic Relations," 22–26.

[59] *Rizaq* (s. *rizqah*) were the lands donated by sultans to prominent figures in their regime only for their lifetime. After their death the land returned to the sultan's treasury. Part of these lands were turned into *aḥbās* or *waqf* lands dedicated for the maintenance of urban religious and charitable foundations established by the Mamluks. See: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:166; Michel, "Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya," 107–8.

[60] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:65.

[61] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk,* ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bek (Cairo, 1896), 122.

[62] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1223.

[63] Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?;* idem, *Twilight of Majesty, The Reign of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993). See also Michel, "Les rizaq aḥbāsiyya," 118–19.

It should be noted that the ulama and *fuqahāʾ* laid their hands on the *awqāf* to a no lesser extent than the Mamluk ruling class, for in addition to their formal remuneration, they embezzled great fortunes from the incomes of public charitable endowments. An indication of the wealth they amassed is the large sums of money confiscated from them upon their dismissal. The sources are replete with such confiscation cases. Furthermore, the ulama often neglected the upkeep of the *awqāf* under their responsibility, and when the estates were priced much below their true value, they would lay their hands on them and buy them cheaply.[64] In 838/1434 Ibn Ḥajar, who it should be remembered served as the chief Shafiʿi judge and is the author of one of the *taqārīẓ* for Ibn Nāhiḍ, was summoned by Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–42/1422–38) and ordered to check the *waqf* stipulations of *madāris* and *khānqāh*s in Cairo and see how they were carried out in practice, with the intention to dismiss the unnecessary office-holders. Accompanied by the other three chief judges, Ibn Ḥajar began investigating the *awqāf* and found that the office-holders took possession of their incomes and disposed of them as they wished. Obviously, part of the incomes disappeared into their own pockets and most probably into their patrons'. Under pressure exerted by the office-holders and their patrons, the sultan had to back down and leave the *awqāf* untouched. Ibn Taghrībirdī complains that if Barsbāy had sent one of the *fuqahāʾ* serving in the *umarāʾ* administration (he is probably implying the foreign Hanafi jurists) for this task instead of Ibn Ḥajar, his favor to the public would have measured up to his conquest of Cyprus.[65] However, al-Maqrīzī's comment on this case is positive. He mentions that the sultan did not like the way Ibn Ḥajar inspected the *awqāf,* but had to give up his plan. The people rejoiced when they learned that the sultan abolished his order of the *awqāf* inspection, for they anticipated "great changes" *(taghayyurāt kabīrah)* in them had it been carried out.[66] The increasing scrutiny of the informal *awqāf* management on the part of the sultans put the ulama under continuous risk of confiscation of their wealth and dismissal from their positions.

The Mamluks, as aliens, were generally interested in the moderation of orthodox Islam and the introduction of Sufism as an alternative to the indigenous Shafiʿi school of law. They invested particularly in the instruction of the Hanafi *madhhab* in the colleges they established for

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[64] See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:82.

[65] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:58–59.

[66] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:939.

the teaching of Muslim law, or *madāris,*[67] and in Sufi orders, due to their reverence for the Sufi shaykhs and also because they sought the support of the masses who preferred the practice of popular (Sufism) over orthodox Islam. Nevertheless, the Mamluks could not ignore the position held by the Shafiʿi *fuqahāʾ* and ulama as the leading upper class. Therefore, while the Mamluks dedicated *khānqāh*s for the instruction and rituals of Sufism, they stipulated their desire for an orthodox curriculum and invited mostly foreign ulama, generally Hanafis, to teach in them, and Sufis to instruct in the *madāris,* as Leonor Fernandes has shown.[68] Consequently, both orthodox and Sufi institutions underwent a process of moderation, and by the end of the fourteenth century the differences between them were blurred. Local *fuqahāʾ* and ulama were obviously the victims of this trend of popularization in academe, as increasing numbers of newcomers, especially Turkish and Persian Sufis from Anatolia and Iraq who had not mastered Arabic, were brought in by the Mamluks to take their place. Furthermore, interest in Turkish literature, both translated from Arabic or originally written in Oghuz Turkish, grew among the Mamluks during the Circassian period because of the increasing literary and intellectual influence from Turkish Anatolia.[69] Thus, for example, Muṣṭafá ibn ʿUmar al-Ḍarīr, the blind Mawlawi from Anatolia, was accepted in Cairo as a religious writer, irrespective of his confessed deficiency in learning. He composed for al-Ẓāhir Barqūq the Turkish biography of the Prophet Muhammad which is still appreciated in today's Turkey.[70] The Hanafi shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sīrāmī was invited from the east (probably from Iraq) to serve as the head of the newly established Sufi order and college of the same sultan.[71] Yaʿqūb Shāh of Arzenjān, who studied in Ṭabrīz and held the post of chief of the chancellery of the Qaraqoyunlu ruler, was nominated as the director of the foreign chancellery in Egypt through the mediation of the grand *dawādār* Yashbak min Mahdī. Another Turk, Ḥusayn ibn Pīr Ḥājjī Abū Bakr from Shirāz, gained favor with Yashbak through his musical accomplishments and was nominated as administrator of his *qubbah* in Cairo. As a reward for composing the Turkish version of the *Shāhnāmah* for Sultan al-Ghawrī,

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[67] Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth-Century Waqfiyya," *Annales islamologiques* 23 (1987): 87–98.

[68] Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanaqah* (Berlin, 1988).

[69] B. Fleming, "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 251–52.

[70] Ibid., 252.

[71] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:243.

Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan was appointed, over the heads of the Dayrī family, as the shaykh of the al-Muʾayyad Mosque.[72] Among the Arab ulama, the Mamluks held in high esteem those who were bilingual. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, the fifteenth-century historian who was the Hanafi chief qadi and drinking companion of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy, mastered Arabic and Turkish. During their gatherings, he used to read to the sultan the history of Islam in Arabic and translate it into Turkish and answer Barsbāy's many questions on matters of religion "in words close to his understanding" *(bi-ʿibārah taqrubu min fahmihi).*[73] Barsbāy admitted, Ibn Taghrībirdī contends, that without al-ʿAynī's guidance his knowledge of Islam would have been imperfect. Against this background, it is unsurprising that extremist Shafiʿi ulama opposed the Hanafis and the low Sufi orders that the Mamluks supported and were zealous to introduce their adherents to the judicial system and academe. Al-Maqrīzī was renowned for his fanatic opposition to the Mamluks, Sufis, and Hanafis in general.[74] Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī was known for being extremely hard on his enemies and a zealous benefactor to his friends and adherents.[75]

To cling to their continuously diminishing share in the power structure and the division of the country's resources, the upper class ulama thus had to navigate between contradicting tendencies: between cooperation with the Mamluks and criticism of their moderate and popular understanding of Islam and their rejection of the inequity of the division of the country's wealth. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, a scholar highly esteemed for his knowledge and piety, encapsulates the embarrassing experience these ulama had in the *sharʿī* judicial system. He testifies that he had much regret at his decision to accept the position of chief Shafiʿi qadi and felt he had denied his conscience *(janá ʿalá nafsihi).* Among the reasons he mentions for his discomfort, he refers in the first place to the lack of distinction *(farq)* between the ulama and others. In the second and third place he mentions the Mamluks' interference in his judicial decisions and the necessity to treat them with flattery *(mudārāh).* To soften the dissonance in his conduct, Ibn Ḥajar would apologetically announce that "there was not one hair on his body that approved his name" *(lam tabqá shaʿrah fī badanihi taqbal ismahu).*[76] It is worthy of mention that in spite of these declarations, Ibn Ḥajar served

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[72] Fleming, "Literary Activities," 252.

[73] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:10. See also: A. Schimmel, "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the Later Mamluk Period," *Islamic Studies* 7 (1965): 356–57.

[74] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:417.

[75] Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 9:138.

[76] Ibid., 2:38.

for over twenty-one years as a Shafiʿi chief qadi, and at least one example of the compromises he had to make during his service has already been mentioned.

IV

Some of the scholars who criticized Ibn Nāhiḍ for his exaggerated flattery of those in power were guilty of the same sin. Ibn Makānis wrote poems of praise *(qaṣāʾid)* to Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh[77] without incurring the censure given to Ibn Nāhiḍ. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī wrote the biography of al-Muʾayyad under the title *Al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Muʾayyad.* Moreover, writing biographical pieces of a clearly literary nature was an accepted norm, and works of this kind were written under the aegis of the sultan and those in positions of power throughout the Mamluk period. P. M. Holt has noted the literary characteristics of works of this kind, defining them as a "genre of courtly literature."[78] Contemporary historians found no flaw in the words of praise for the heroes of such biographies, nor in the selectivity employed in the presentation of the events recounted in them. What made the difference between a praiseworthy and disgraceful panegyric then? It was a matter of the right measure of flattery disguised as historical fact by a good knowledge of history, and above all proficiency in Arabic language and literature and religious sciences. These intellectual skills were the symbols of the upper class ulama's social distinction and certainly part and parcel of the code of conduct they adopted and used as a self-regulating standard that was so necessary for their social survival.[79] It fostered their image as independent religious scholars and men of letters and conveyed their ethical principles, and at the same time it left room for them to enjoy the privileges that close relations with the ruling Mamluks brought them.[80] They could not allow others, especially lower-grade peers like Ibn Nāhiḍ, who were not as fluent and eloquent in Arabic as they were, to use their distinctive symbols without compromising their already weakened sociopolitical status.

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[77] Ibid., 6:172; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ,* 7:368.

[78] P. M. Holt, "Literary Offerings: A Genre of Courtly Literature," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 3–16.

[79] See for example Ibn Iyās' criticism of al-Ṣayrafī's historical works: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:309–10.

[80] Lev, "Symbiotic Relations," 9–10.

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The Evolution of the Sultanic Fisc and *al-Dhakhīrah* during the Circassian Mamluk Period

I have shown in a previous article that al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluks (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99), possessed several private properties, especially landed estates, in such forms as *milk* (pl. *amlāk;* privately-owned land) or *waqf* (pl. *awqāf;* Islamic endowment) land, and that he organized their management through the establishment of a new bureau, the *Dīwān al-Amlāk wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dhakhīrah.*[1] Although it is unsurprising that the Mamluk sultans possessed private assets that were independent of the state purse, their inclination to hold private property—especially in the shape of agricultural lands—only became popular in the late fourteenth century. From Barqūq's reign onwards, successive sultans developed a variety of ways to increase the financial resources of the sultanic fisc. Eventually, the scale of the sultanic fisc would reach its apogee under the reigns of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16), two prominent sultans from the late Mamluk period.[2]

Al-Dhakhīrah, a term that is frequently found in the sources from the Circassian Mamluk period, is key for understanding the sultanic fisc. *Al-Dhakhīrah,* which originally meant "treasure" in Arabic,[3] was a technical term that related to the sultan's finances during the Circassian Mamluk period, and which accrued new meanings over time. However, because little attention has been given to the term, the meaning of the term and its transformation are not clear. I believe that a more detailed investigation of *al-Dhakhīrah* is essential if we are to arrive at a proper understanding of the fiscal system of the Circassian Mamluk sultanate.

To this end, this article considers the state, role, and development of the sultanic fisc under the Circassian sultans, as well as the background that necessitated its establishment and development. Throughout the course of the article, I will

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[1] Igarashi Daisuke, "The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq," *Orient* 43 (2008).

[2] Igarashi Daisuke, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* (*MSR*) 13, no. 1 (2009): 27–51; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), chaps. 6, 7; Miura Toru, "Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era was Ending," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 158, 168–76.

[3] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:302–3; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Cairo, 1306 A. H.), 2:34; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London and Edinburgh, 1863–93), 3:956.

demonstrate that significant changes occurred in the financial system during the Circassian Mamluk period. I will make clear that the difficulties, restructuring, and eventual bankruptcy of the state's finances arose against the same background as the expansion and increasing role of the sultanic fisc—both phenomena were organically united and mutually influential. In addition, I will also outline the overall historical development that occurred in the structure of the Mamluk sultanate.

What is *al-Dhakhīrah*?

To begin, I will investigate how the term *al-Dhakhīrah* has been interpreted by contemporary scholars, and how it is explained in the chancery manual sources of the Mamluk period. As I indicated above, little attention has been given to the term; what is agreed upon is that some members of the sultan's financial staff bore *al-Dhakhīrah* in their titles (such as *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah*), and they have been regarded, somewhat obscurely, as managers of the sultan's own treasures.[4] However, beyond this rather vague common ground, scholars have presented differing interpretations of the meaning and role of *al-Dhakhīrah*. For instance, A. N. Poliak says, "The vacant fief (i.e., *iqṭāʿ*) was managed and exploited by the department designated as *dīwān al-dhakhīrah* until its grant by the sultan to another feudatory."[5] ʿĀmir Nāṣir has a different interpretation of this *dīwān* and suggests that it was a department responsible for managing the sultan's *iqṭāʿ* lands—all the revenues from which were designated to the sultan himself.[6] In addition, several studies that have been conducted on the spice trade between Mamluk Egypt and Venice have identified the "dacchieri"—the Mamluk governmental office that was in charge of the trade and that appears several times in the Venetian documentary sources—as cognate with the Arabic term *al-Dhakhīrah*.[7]

Disparate descriptions of *al-Dhakhīrah* also occur in the chancery manual sources from the Mamluk era. Judging from the fact that al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik* (written in

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[4] William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955–57), 1:93, 98; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 54; Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.* (Cairo, 1980), 119–21; Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 72.

[5] A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (London, 1939; repr. Philadelphia, 1977), 22.

[6] ʿĀmir Najīb Mūsá Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 2003), 116–17.

[7] John Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (*BSOAS*) 24 (1961): 206, 211, note 7; idem, "A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507," *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 528, note 3.

the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century)[8] and al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ* (written in 814/1412)[9]—two of the most important chancery manual sources—do not mention any offices or works that related to *al-Dhakhīrah,* it seems that, in the period of the late Bahri Mamluks and the beginning of the Circassian Mamluks, when these two sources were composed, *al-Dhakhīrah* had not yet been established as an organization or an office. Thereafter, there is an abridged description of the *Dīwān al-Dhakhīrah* which is found in al-Ẓāhirī's *Zubdah* (written in 846/1422),[10] as follows: "The *Dīwān al-Dhakhīrah.* This is one of the most important bureaus *(dawāwīn).* The money *(māl)* of *al-Dhakhīrah* was collected from various resources *(jihāt)* to it. It has a *nāẓir* (manager) and members of staff *(mubāshirūn).*"[11] We are given no specific information about the institution in this simple explanation. However, another source—known as al-Khālidī's "Al-Maqṣad al-Rafīʿ" (hereafter cited as *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ)*—provides a more detailed description, as follows:

> The *naẓar al-amlāk wa-al-dhakhīrah.* These two (i.e., *amlāk* and *dhakhīrah*) are income sources bound together *(humā jihatāni mutaqāranatāni). Al-amlāk* means [the assets] that are purchased for the sultan or his relatives *(aqāribhu),* such as arable lands *(ḍiyāʿ),* houses *(ribāʿ),* and others relating to them. *Al-Dhakhīrah* means [the assets] that are rented *(mā yustaʾjar)* for the sultan such as tax districts *(nawāḥī),* agricultural lands *(mazāriʿ),* water wheels *(dawālīb),* and others. A person appointed to this office takes charge of incomes such as [those from the assets that were] purchased for the sultan and [were] sold from [his hand], and those rented for him and leased out from him. He is an administrator *(mutaṣarrif)* who disburses [the money for] that which should be disbursed, and conveys [the money for] that which should be conveyed to the treasury *(khazāʾin).* A military man sometimes holds the office.[12]

According to this description, *al-amlāk* referred to "the sultan's private real

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[8] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1985).

[9] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–22). As for its date of composition, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., "Al-Ḳalḳashandī."

[10] As for its date of composition, see ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, "Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʿUmr wa-al-Tarājim," Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MSS Vaticano Arabo 728, 729, 1: fol. 64r.

[11] Al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 110.

[12] An anonymous chancery manual known as al-Khālidī's "al-Maqṣad al-Rafīʿ," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 4439 (hereafter cited as *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*), fol. 137v. As for the source, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 16.

estates" and *al-Dhakhīrah* referred to "the sultan's leasehold lands."

To sum up, there are discrepancies in the interpretation of *al-Dhakhīrah* among scholars and among sources. However, if we accept that *al-Dhakhīrah* underwent a transformation, then most of the interpretations presented above may be regarded as true. I will show in this article that, as the sultanic fisc evolved throughout the Circassian Mamluk period, so too did the term *al-Dhakhīrah,* taking on new meanings with time. I will start by examining instances where the word appears in the sources from the period between the late eighth/fourteenth century and the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century.

During the period under consideration, the term *dhakhīrah* (pl. *dhakhāʾir*) usually connoted "movable property," in the ordinary sense of the word—cash, gold, silver, jewels, luxurious textiles, and other luxury items—and especially referred to the movable property held by sultans and amirs. On the other hand, private real estate such as lands and houses were distinguished from these goods and were referred to as *amlāk*. As for the sultan's *dhakhīrah,* the descriptions of the *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah,* i.e., the controller of the sultan's *dhakhīrah,* emerged during Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's reign (764–78/1363–77). After this, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, who was enthroned in 784/1382, strived to increase his private wealth through the acquisition of private lands and the transformation of these into *waqf,* and then set up an organization for the management of the properties. Following the establishment of *Dīwān al-Amlāk*—a bureau responsible for administering his private lands—in 797/1395, he established the office of *ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf wa-al-dhakhīrah* in 799/1397. Consequently, his movable, unmovable, and *waqf* properties were regarded as "the sultan's private property" and thus came to be managed exclusively within this office.[13]

Judging from these examples, we may say that, during this period, the term *dhakhīrah* was used to refer to the private movable goods of powerful figures, especially the sultans. However, according to the description of *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* mentioned above, after this time, the term came to be applied to "the sultan's leasehold lands." We shall now examine the circumstances under which the meaning of the word changed, by considering the problem of the land system in this period.

Starting in the late Bahri Mamluk period, the governmental domains—lands from which the Mamluk government collected land tax *(kharāj)*—came to be leased by powerful amirs for negligible amounts. This issue was seen as one of the main causes of the financial difficulties that the government of the time was experiencing. These leased lands *(mustaʾjarāt)* are often identified in the sources as one of the financial resources of powerful figures. For example, Shaykhū al-

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[13] Igarashi, "The Private Property and *Awqāf,*" 171–75.

Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357), the *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander-in-chief) of the late Bahri Mamluks, earned an income of over 200,000 dirhams per day from his *iqṭāʿ, amlāk,* and *mustaʾjarāt.*[14] The leasing of governmental domains seems to have become popular during the unstable political and economic circumstances that occurred during the reign of the late Bahri Mamluks, in the wake of changes such as the weakening of the sultan's power and the decrease of agricultural production caused by the Black Death and its adverse effect on the *iqṭāʿ* system.[15] If we consider that the lease of the governmental domain was popularly adapted by amirs as a way of supplementing their personal income, it is no wonder that the sultan—who himself was originally a Mamluk amir—held lands by lease just as other amirs did. Actually, Barqūq seems to have acquired leasehold land both before and after his enthronement as sultan.[16] His son Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–8, 808–15/1399–1405, 1405–12) also had a special *dīwān* administering his *mustaʾjarāt* and *ḥimāyah* (protection fee; this will be discussed latter) "in the same way as other amirs do."[17]

How then did the term *al-Dhakhīrah* come to mean "the sultan's leasehold land"? The first instance where it clearly relates to agricultural land can be seen in the following description, which concerns the land survey that was carried out in 799/1397, late in Barqūq's reign: "On 2 Jumādá I 799 (1 February 1397), the sultan (Barqūq) ordered Amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Gharsī, the *shādd al-dawāwīn* (superintendent of bureaus), to go to Upper Egypt and to survey *(misāḥah)* the state lands *(bilād al-dawlah al-sharīfah),* privately-owned lands *(amlāk),* and [lands of] *al-Dhakhīrah* [of the area]."[18]

It is clear that the term *al-Dhakhīrah* in this description does not refer to "the sultan's movables," the general meaning of this term in this period; however, it is unclear what the term actually does refer to here. While it is possible that it referred to "the sultan's leasehold land," this must be regarded as unlikely as the evidence suggests that it had not acquired such a meaning around this time. Table 1 lists those people who held the post of *ustādār* (director) or *nāẓir* (vice-director) in the *dīwān,* who were responsible for administering the sultan's private financial resources, such as *amlāk, awqāf,* and *dhakhīrah* during the period between Ibn al-Ṭablāwī's first appointment as *ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf wa-al-dhakhīrah* in

[14] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1985–2006), 6:260.

[15] Igarashi Daisuke, "The Establishment and Development of *al-Dīwān al-Mufrad:* Its Background and Implications," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 123.

[16] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–72), 3:402, 858–59; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:580, 621; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* vols. 7–9 (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:438.

[17] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–4), 1: 299.

[18] Ibn al-Furāt, *Duwal,* 9:461.

799/1397 (mentioned above) and 844/1441, the beginning of the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. However, as the table indicates, the historical sources written by roughly contemporary authors, such as Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Ḥijjī, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-ʿAynī, as well as those written by historians of a later generation, such as Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Ṣayrafī, and al-Sakhāwī, disagree with each other over the title of their posts. Moreover, inconsistencies are found within different sources written by the same author, and sometimes even within a single source. In addition to *dhakhīrah,* this post was also associated with one or more of the types of agricultural property, such as *amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt,* and *ḥimāyah.* In a few cases, the post is simply referred to as *"ustādār al-khāṣṣ al-sulṭānī,"* i.e., the director of the sultan's private property. By way of example, Ibn al-Ṭablāwī, the first appointee of the post, is described as *"ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf wa-al-dhakhīrah"* by Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah; in contrast, he is described as *"ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf"* by al-Maqrīzī, as *"ustādār al-dhakhīrah wa-al-amlāk"* by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī, and simply as *"ustādār al-dhakhīrah"* by al-ʿAynī and al-Ṣayrafī. He is also described as *"ustādār al-khāṣṣ"* by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, as *"ustādār al-khāṣṣ al-sulṭānī"* by Ibn Ḥajar, and as *"ustādār khāṣṣ lil-sulṭān"* by al-Sakhāwī. To prevent confusion of the titles of the post, hereafter I will designate this office as "the sultan's private financier." Judging from the fact that this office was sometimes designated *"ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-dhakhīrah wa-al-mustaʾjarāt wa-al-awqāf al-sulṭānīyah,"* writing both *dhakhīrah* and *mustaʾjarāt* (Nos. 4, 7, 8) together, we cannot say that the term *dhakhīrah* was always used according to the particular sense of "leasehold land."

Among the 57 instances in which the sultan's private financiers are mentioned in the sources, most frequent are the cases in which only the two terms *amlāk* and *dhakhīrah* are attached to the title of office, such as *ustādār* or *nāẓir al-amlāk wa-al-dhakhīrah* (27 cases); the next most frequent are the cases in which only the term—*dhakhīrah*—is attached (8 cases). Among the 9 cases in which only one type of term is attached to the title of office, 8 cases include *dhakhīrah*. In contrast, there are rare cases in which the *dhakhīrah* is not mentioned in reference to the office (9 of 57). Such trends seem to be clearer in the sources that were written in the later period. From these examples, it seems reasonable to suppose that during the process through which various types of properties and resources were being administered under the sole control of the sultan's private financier, the term *dhakhīrah* lost its original sense of treasure (movables) and came to be used as a term that represented the sultan's properties, especially agricultural lands that were held in various ways and forms. We shall see each type of the sultan's financial resources in the following section.

The Sultan's Private Property and Its Administration

As my previous article made clear, Barqūq held a large amount of real estate in the shape of *amlāk* and *awqāf*. This way of holding private assets became popular for those sultans who succeeded him, too. Table 2 lists the *milk* and *waqf* assets that were held by Barqūq, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21), and al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–42/1422–38), three sultans of the early Circassian period, on the basis of the archival sources. As the table shows, the number of each sultan's assets steadily increased (Barqūq: 33 → Shaykh: 43 → Barsbāy: 81). The list shows that all of these early Circassian Mamluk sultans held farm lands, urban estates, and other assets such as water-use facilities in villages throughout Egypt and Syria. The proportion of farm lands that each successive sultan held increased particularly sharply (Barqūq: 30.3% → Shaykh: 46.5% → Barsbāy: 50.6%). This is especially the case for farm land in Egypt; Barqūq held only three tracts (9.1%); however, Barsbāy's farm land accounted for about half the number of his total assets (39; 48.1%). It is possible that these assets included some that had been acquired personally in the period when they were amirs, before their enthronements, or that were acquired through fair transactions; however, I believe that their status as sultan facilitated their acquisition of assets on such a large scale, especially in the case of farm lands. As I described in my previous article, Barqūq acquired state lands *(amlāk bayt al-māl),* including governmental domains and *iqṭāʿ* lands, as his private property, or he converted them into his *waqf* properties.[19] The fact that the proportion of assets that were farm land continuously rose under the reigns of Shaykh and Barsbāy indicates that the conversion of state land into *amlāk* and *awqāf* steadily continued. In Rabīʿ II 835/December 1431 under Barsbāy's reign, some ulama (Islamic intellectuals) objected to the legality of Barsbāy's purchase of state lands through the *wakīl bayt al-māl* (the agent of the state treasury), who was appointed by Barsbāy himself, and the successive conversion of these lands to his *waqf* property. As the *waqf* deeds indicate, this episode also shows that the scale of state land privatization and transformation into *waqf* undertaken by Barsbāy was on a larger scale than any of his predecessors had engaged in. Indeed, it seems that it was on such an unprecedented scale that the ulama could not overlook it, despite the fact that they were dependent on the income generated from *awqāf* and usually tended to protect the *waqf* system. However, the objection was rejected and the legality of the sultan's establishment of *awqāf* through such means was confirmed.[20] The sultans' holding of property through *waqf* endowment would continue after him until the end of the Mamluk sultanate.

In common with other powerful figures of the government, such as amirs and

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[19] Igarashi, "The Private Property and *Awqāf*," 172–79.

[20] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Cairo, 1969–98), 3:477–79.

civilians, the sultans leased the governmental domains for themselves. A large proportion of the sultan's *musta'jarāt* had existed in al-Ghawr, a fertile agricultural region in Syria, since the beginning of the Circassian period, although it seems likely that there were probably many leasehold lands in various regions across Egypt and Syria.[21] In addition, the *nāẓir al-musta'jarāt al-sulṭānīyah bi-al-Shām*—the controller of the sultan's leasehold lands in Syria—was appointed in 824/1421.[22] *Dīwān al-Inshā',* which identified the *dhakhīrah* as the sultan's leasehold land, is likely to have been written around the reign of Barsbāy,[23] at the same time as the controversy about the legitimacy of the sultan's purchase of state lands and transformation of them into *waqf* arose. It is likely that, under such circumstances, the land that was accumulated through the lease of the state lands—the legality of which was unchallenged on the whole—constituted an increasingly large proportion of the sultan's private property. This seems to be an underlying cause of the transformation of these personally-held lands into "the sultanic domain," as will be discussed later. However, it is unlikely that the sultan actually paid the relevant rental fees or the cost of purchase to the financial bureaus of the Egyptian or Syrian government, even for land that was ostensibly "*musta'jarāt*" or "*amlāk.*"

The *ḥimāyah* was another important source of revenue connected with agricultural land. The sultan's private financier was also in charge of the sultan's *ḥimāyah*. The *ḥimāyah* represented powerful figures' private protection over local areas, and it involved their collecting protection fees in exchange for protecting the village against the "exploitation" of local governors *(wālī, kāshif),*[24] resulting in the exclusion of the governmental supervision by the local governors from the protected areas.[25] This was one of the private income sources of powerful figures

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[21] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:190. It is reasonable to suppose that special financial agents and civilians appointed to al-Ghawr were in charge of the sultan's *musta'jarāt* in the region. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:268, 462, 603, 608; 4:150, 266; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1008; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 3:390; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1990) (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith¹*), 1:224.

[22] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:249–50. Barqūq also assigned a person to take charge of his own *musta'jarāt* and *matjar* (mentioned later) to Damascus (Ibn al-Furāt, *Duwal,* 9:438; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:858–59; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:580).

[23] Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 16.

[24] The *ḥimāyah* also represented powerful figures' personal protection over commercial activities. As for the *ḥimāyah,* see al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-I'tibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajib min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār* (Cairo, 1968), 95–96, 135–36; John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004).

[25] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley,

such as amirs and high-ranking civilians that increased after Shaykh's reign.[26] This indicates the sultan's conflicting positions; while he dominated the Mamluk state through the governmental machinery in his official capacity, he himself gave private protection to the specific areas in his private capacity, interrupting the governmental supervision over the area.

We are now able to see that the Circassian sultans strove to accumulate agricultural land in various ways for their private income sources, and the scale of this accumulation grew steadily. The circumstances that led to their acquisition of private income sources were the chronic financial difficulties of the times, which were mainly caused by the alienation of the state lands since the late Bahri Mamluk period.[27] Despite this, the sultans took countermeasures against this alienation of state lands in their capacity as the head of the government, while simultaneously trying to acquire state land personally and transform it to *amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt,* and *ḥimāyah,* just as other amirs were doing, thereby contributing to the alienation of state land. How can we explain this baffling and contradictory behavior? It is hardly surprising that the sultans, who were originally amirs, continued to pursue the holding of private property, as the other amirs did. More noteworthy is the reorganization of the financial system of the government that occurred in the beginning of the Circassian Mamluk period. With the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, the state's finances began to be administered by three independent *dīwāns,* namely, the Dīwān al-Wizārah, the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, each of which was responsible for providing certain allowances from its own resources.[28] Although in theory, after paying expenses, the remainder of each *dīwān*'s income should have been delivered to the sultan, in practice this was actually impossible, due to the chronic financial difficulties of the times. Inevitably, in order to raise money that they needed for themselves for things such as purchasing slaves to increase the Royal Mamluk corps *(al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah),* paying bonuses, and granting rewards to political supporters, the sultans needed to generate their own revenue sources independently of the state's finances.

Next, we will examine the office that held control over the sultan's private properties. The *Dīwān al-Amlāk wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dhakhīrah* was the special financial bureau that was established under Barqūq's reign for this purpose. However, as Table 1 indicates, the *ustādār*s or *nāẓir*s of this *dīwān* were not mentioned in the sources until over twenty years after the death of Taqī al-Dīn

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1930–42) (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith²*), 458.

[26] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 16:160.

[27] Igarashi, "Establishment and Development," 120–24.

[28] Ibid., 127–28.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī Shākir in 819/1417; in fact, they do not occur until late in Barsbāy's reign. I suggest that this was due to the fact that the sultanic treasury *(al-khizānah al-sharīfah/khizānat al-sulṭān;* pl. *khazāʾin),* which kept the incomes in custody, only gradually became organized into its final form as its role expanded into the sphere of financial affairs and it came to supervise the sultan's private property directly. Although the term *khizānah*—meaning "treasury" in Arabic—occurs frequently in the sources throughout the Mamluk period, that to which the term actually referred transformed over time. In the Bahri Mamluk period, the state's income was delivered to the public coffers *(Bayt al-Māl/al-Khizānah [al-Kubrá])* in the Citadel *(Qalʿat al-Jabal)* in Cairo. Then, with the establishment of Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ in the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41), a large amount of tax revenue flowed into the private coffers *(Khizānat al-Khāṣṣ),* which were under the jurisdiction of *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ,* the director of the *dīwān.* As the result, the public coffers became redundant and were finally converted into a warehouse for the robes of honor *(khilʿah)* that the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* was responsible for procuring and providing.[29] However, when the *majlis al-mashūrah* (the Supreme Council), consisting of seven high-ranking amirs, assumed the reins of government in 748/1347 in the wake of the sultan's loss of real political power, the private coffers were put under the jurisdiction of the *raʾs nawbat al-umarāʾ* (the head of guards of amirs).[30] Consequently, the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ lost its original role as the special organization that was responsible for administrating the sultan's "private property," as the name indicated; hereafter, it became one of the official financial bureaus of the government.

Conversely, in the Circassian Mamluk period, the sultanic treasury was put under the direct control of the sultan, holding its own revenue sources independently of the financial bureaus of the government. This sultanic *khizānah* was located inside the sultan's private area in the Citadel and was superintended by a *khāzindār* (treasurer), a eunuch who had been appointed to the role, which acquired further importance as the treasury came increasingly under the sultan's direct control.[31] This office of *khāzindār* originated from the office of *khāzindār al-dhakhīrah,* which had been occupied by a eunuch, Sandal al-Manjakī, under

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[29] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik,* 61; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:734; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 144. After its conversion to the warehouse for *khilʿah*s, the public coffers came to be called "the supreme coffers *(al-Khizānah al-Kubrá),*" then "the coffers of the *Khāṣṣ (Khizānat al-Khāṣṣ)*" because it was under the jurisdiction of the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:472). The coffers disappeared, being converted into a prison by Amīr Minṭāsh in 791/1389 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:674; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:734–35).

[30] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:750–51.

[31] Ibid., 3:1067–68; *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ,* fol. 127r.

Barqūq;[32] we must discriminate between this office and that of the *amīr khāzindār* (it is also usually referred to in the sources simply as *khāzindār*), a position which was filled by an amir of ten *(amīr ʿasharah)* or amir of forty *(amīr al-ṭablkhānah)* and was included among the military functionaries.[33] Thus, the sultanic treasury of the Circassian sultans was a new treasury in which the sultan's personal money and property, which had increased through Barqūq's establishment of the *Dīwān al-Amlāk,* were deposited, independent of the financial bureaus of the state.

Incidentally, with the enlargement of the sultan's private property in the period during and after Barqūq, the eunuch *khāzindār* in charge of the sultanic treasury gained importance and became influential over the government; this was especially the case when Zayn al-Dīn Marjān al-Hindī assumed the office of the *khāzindār* under Sultan Shaykh.[34] During his term of office, the sultanic treasury gained exclusive income sources and assumed new roles.[35] Around this time, the sources frequently mention the office of *nāẓir al-khizānah,* the accountant of the sultanic treasury.[36] In particular, members of the Jīʿān family (Banū al-Jīʿān) were employed in this area until the very end of the Mamluk sultanate.[37] The fact that the post of *nāẓir al-mustaʾjarāt al-sulṭānīyah bi-al-Shām* was concurrently held by

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[32] Ibn al-Furāt, *Duwal,* 9:128, 429; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:28; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:48; Igarashi, "The Private Property and *Awqāf*," 173.

[33] Whereas a eunuch held the post of *khāzindār,* at the same time another person was at the post as *amīr khāzindār.* For example, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:29–30, 106, 195, 333–34, 409–10.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–37), 10:153–54.

[35] In 816/1413, the Dīwān al-Mawārīth (the bureau of inheritances) was separated from the jurisdiction of the Dīwān al-Wizārah and the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ; henceforth heirless estates came to be delivered directly to the sultanic treasury (al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ [Cairo, 1985], 164; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:257; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:8; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:325). In 818/1415–16, the *nāẓir* of the sultanic treasury assumed the role of providing the *kiswah* for the Kaʿbah (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:382). In 823/1419, the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ was put under the jurisdiction of Marjān (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:224, 238; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:153–54). The first obvious instance wherein the sultanic treasury held its own revenue source was seen in 803/1401 under Sultan Faraj. At this time, a vacant *iqṭāʿ* piece of land was converted into an income source of the sultanic treasury. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1067–68.

[36] With the assumption of the post of *nāẓir al-khizānah* under Sultan Shaykh as a beginning, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ henceforth held many offices such as *nāẓir al-jaysh* and became the most influential civilian under the reign of Sultan Barsbāy (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 7:137–39). We must discriminate between this office and the different office with the same name mentioned in the sources such as *Khiṭaṭ* and *Masālik al-Abṣār,* which had taken charge of the public coffers (mentioned earlier) but lost its role after the establishment of the office of *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:734; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik,* 61; cf. Rabie, *Financial System,* 143–44).

[37] As for the Jīʿān family, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 295–319.

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the *khāzindār* under Sultan Shaykh indicates that this sultanic treasury became actively involved in the administration of its sources of revenue, in addition to the work of keeping the sultan's money in custody.[38] Under Sultan Barsbāy, who strove to accumulate private assets in various ways, the sultanic treasury acquired additional income sources, and the *khāzindār* exerted increasing influence over the government. A eunuch, Jawhar al-Qunuqbāʾī (d. 844/1440),[39] who served as *khāzindār* throughout Barsbāy's long reign, advised the sultan to establish a monopoly over the spice trade, in order to increase the flow of money into the sultanic treasury.[40] During Jawhar al-Qunuqbāʾī's term of office, the sultanic treasury assumed responsibility for the Mint Bureau *(Dār al-Ḍarb),* which originally belonged to the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ.[41] Finally, he also assumed responsibility for *al-Dhakhīrah* and collected the money that was generated from it.[42] He acquired an additional post, known as *zimām* (the chief-eunuch), under Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53), and he held these two posts until his death in 844/1440. Apart from the short time after his death when the sultan's private financier was appointed once again (Table 1, No. 9), the *khāzindār* serving concurrently as *zimām* continued to be in charge of *al-Dhakhīrah* and to assume the responsibility over the sultanic fisc throughout the greater part of Jaqmaq's reign.[43]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SULTANIC FINANCES

As we have seen above, the meaning of the term *al-Dhakhīrah* changed over time, from "treasure," to the sultan's sources of income—especially those relating to agricultural land during the reign of Sultan Barsbāy. However, the sultan's categorization of these properties as his "private property" gradually became obscured, as a large proportion of these properties were originally the state's property. After 844/1441 when Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz was appointed as the sultan's private financier (Table 1, No. 9), the sources came to refer to *al-Dhakhīrah* independently, without referring to it together with *awqāf,*

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[38] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:249–50.

[39] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:38–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 4:167–69; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:82–84.

[40] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:423.

[41] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:345. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, "Rawḍ," 1: fol. 14v.

[42] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1234; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:40; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 4:225–26; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, "Rawḍ," 1: fol. 14v. I interpret *al-Dhakhīrah* here to represent the sultan's lands privately held in the various shapes as we have seen above.

[43] Fayrūz al-Nūrūzī, who was the *zimām-khāzindār* during the period between the reigns of Jaqmaq and al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67), entrusted the work of *al-Dhakhīrah,* which was within his jurisdiction, to Yūnus ibn ʿUmar ibn Jarabughā, his private *dawādār,* as its *mutakallim* (the staff in charge of the work) (al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* [Cairo, 1970], 467).

amlāk, or others. This is because it became the generic term for various kinds of official financial resources that were under the direct control of the sultan. In the period of Jaqmaq's reign in the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah (bilād al-dhakhīrah)* referred to the sultanic domains, i.e., lands officially designated as the sultan's exclusive financial resources, independent of the state's finances. According to Ibn al-Jīʿān's *Tuḥfah,* the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* in Egypt were composed of forty-eight districts *(nāḥiyah)* around 885/1480, under Sultan Qāytbāy.[44] We have no definite information about how and when this development occurred. However, in view of the fact that the vast private holdings of the sultan consisted of *amlāk, mustaʾjarāt,* and other lands that had originally been diverted from the state domains, it seems reasonable to suppose that these lands gradually came to be recognized as under the sultan's direct control and for his exclusive use. That is, as the sultan collected ever more state lands for his own use, eventually all pretence was dropped, and these lands were acknowledged as belonging to the sultan himself rather than the state.

The sultans added various kinds of land (such as *milk, waqf,* and *mustaʾjarāt)* to *al-Dhakhīrah* at opportune times to increase their income sources.[45] The *iqṭāʿ* land was also targeted for this purpose.[46] However, some *iqṭāʿ*s were occasionally granted to amirs and mamluks from the land of *al-Dhakhīrah.* The first instance of this that appears in the sources involves al-Manṣūr ʿUthmān, who succeeded his father Jaqmaq as the sultan in 857/1453. He granted three of the *iqṭāʿ*s of the amirs of ten derived from the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* to military men.[47] Henceforth, especially during the distribution of honors and reshufflings of personnel, or when the new sultan was enthroned, *iqṭāʿ*s were often distributed from the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah.*[48] When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy (r. 901–4/1495–98) was enthroned after the death of his father Qāytbāy in 901/1495, he distributed about one thousand *iqṭāʿ*s to amirs and mamluks—these were all the *iqṭāʿ*s which had been included in the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* under his father's reign. He did

[44] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 40–41.

[45] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār al-ʿAṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (Riyadh, 1992–93), 1:211–12, 218; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:300–1; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, n.d.), 386; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:13–14.

[46] In 863/1459: al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:94. In 865/1461: ibid., 3:258. In 867/1463: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 770. In 882/1477: Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf fī Safr Mawlānā al-Malik al-Ashraf* (Ṭarāblus, 1984), 74–75.

[47] Al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr,* 427–28; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:339; idem, *Nujūm,* 16:29. Cf. Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah,* 116.

[48] In 865/1461 (al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam's enthronement): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:258; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* (Sidon and Beirut, 2002), 6:118–19; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:383. In 872/1467 (al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā's enthronement): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:381. In 874/1470 (al-Ashraf Qāytbāy's enthronement): al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr,* 159–60.

not keep any of them in reserve.[49] Furthermore, if the sultan's power became unsettled, then he became obliged to distribute some of the land of *al-Dhakhīrah* as *iqṭāʿ*s among the troops to placate them.[50] These examples, in which *iqṭāʿ*s were included in *al-Dhakhīrah* and distributed from it, provide the basis for Poliak's interpretation of the *Dīwān al-Dhakhīrah* as a department that was responsible for managing and exploiting the vacant *iqṭāʿ*s, as is mentioned above. However, these phenomena arose from circumstances wherein on the one hand, the sultan strove to add *iqṭāʿ*s into *al-Dhakhīrah* in order to increase his financial resources, yet on the other hand he was forced to use it as a pool from which he could distribute land depending on the political situation. In short, these phenomena resulted from the competition between the sultans and other ruling elites regarding the acquisition of land and the balance of power between them. To put it another way, the strength of the sultan's power base and the relationship between the sultan and other ruling elites, such as amirs and mamluks, decided the scale of *al-Dhakhīrah*'s land and whether the sultan was able to establish a firm source of revenue.

Because of the diversification that was occurring in the land held by Circassian Mamluks, *al-Dhakhīrah*'s land included many types of land. For example, many *rizqah*s (pl. *rizaq*) were added to *al-Dhakhīrah*[51] in addition to water wheels *(dūlāb,* pl. *dawālīb),* which were indispensable to agriculture.[52] Furthermore, when powerful figures who held a large amount of land in various forms, such as *iqṭāʿ, amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt,* and *ḥimāyah,* died or fell from power, these lands were often added to *al-Dhakhīrah*. Without returning these "leased" or "protected" lands to the governmental domain, these lands were continuously administered en bloc by an independent *nāẓir* who was newly appointed by the sultan, and the income generated from them was delivered to *al-Dhakhīrah*.[53] Moreover, the posts of the *nāẓir*s of various *awqāf* were often added to *al-Dhakhīrah*. For example, when two prominent amirs, Jānībak Nāʾib Juddah, the *dawādār kabīr,* and Tanam Ruṣāṣ, the

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[49] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:335; Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir fī Nuṣrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy* (Beirut, 1983), 51.

[50] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:292. Cf. Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah,* 116.

[51] See note 49. *Rizqah* was the land assigned from the state land to retired amirs, widows and orphans of mamluks, religious institutions, and so on. See Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt,* 32–34; Ito Takao, "Aufsicht und Verwaltung der Stiftungen im mamlukischen Ägypten," *Der Islam* 80 (2003): 55–61.

[52] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 442–43; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 318.

[53] The case of the *kātib al-sirr* (chief secretary) Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bārizī (in 854/1450): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:297; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr,* 384. The case of the viceroy *(nāʾib al-salṭanah)* of Damascus Julbān al-Muʾayyadī (in 859/1455): al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 2:93–94. The case of the *dawādār kabīr* Jānībak Nāʾib al-Juddah, the amir of a hundred *(amir miʾah muqaddam alf),* and the *muḥtasib* Tanam Ruṣāṣ, the amir of forty (in 867/1463): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 770.

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muḥtasib, were killed during a political struggle in 867/1463, their *awqāf* were added to *al-Dhakhīrah* along with their *iqṭāʿs* and other properties.[54] The post of the *nāẓir* of Nuri hospital *(al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī)* in Damascus, which had been in the hands of the Shafiʿi judge of Damascus, was also included in *al-Dhakhīrah* before 917/1511.[55] *Al-awqāf al-zimāmīyah,* i.e., the *awqāf* established by the successive *zimām-khāzindār*s, were administered by the *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah.*[56] In these cases, these *waqf* properties were not "confiscated" and transferred to *al-Dhakhīrah;* on the contrary, by keeping their status as *waqf,* the posts of their *nāẓir*s, having the authority to collect fees from the *waqf*-endowed properties and to manage their own income, were put under the control of *al-Dhakhīrah* with regard to their financial interests. These posts were not permanently included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* but were given to other people according to their specific circumstances. At this stage, we should pay attention to one case when Sultan Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy was enthroned in 901/1495. As we have seen above, as soon as he ascended to the sultanate, he allocated a large amount of *iqṭāʿ* lands that had been included in *al-Dhakhīrah* to amirs and mamluks, for the purpose of gathering support from them. At the same time, he also allocated to them the posts of the *nāẓir*s of various *awqāf* that had been included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* as they were similar to *iqṭāʿs.*[57] This fact implies that the posts of the *nāẓir*s of *awqāf* were treated as a kind of income source, which was freely transferred among people.

The financial interests concerning commercial activities were also included in *al-Dhakhīrah.* We will begin by considering the spice trade, one of the most important income sources for the Circassian Mamluk sultans. As soon as Sultan Shaykh was enthroned in 815/1412, he started forcing Venetian merchants, who were visiting Alexandria to trade in spices, to purchase a fixed amount of spice from the sultan's private stock at a higher price than the market price.[58] Then, Sultan Barsbāy advanced this policy and set up a spice monopoly, excluding ordinary merchants from the spice trade. Although this monopoly did not continue to work long term, this way of forcing Venetian merchants to purchase the sultan's spices continued until the very end of the Mamluk sultanate, and the spice trade became one of the most important income sources for subsequent sultans.[59] In

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[54] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 770.

[55] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* (Beirut, 1999), 2:218.

[56] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:35, 82, 197. As for the eunuchs' *awqāf* of the times, see C. F. Petry, "From Slaves to Benefactors: The Ḥabashīs of Mamlūk Cairo," *Sudanic Africa* 5 (1994): 63–66.

[57] Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir,* 52.

[58] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:521; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 276–77.

[59] As for the commercial policy of Sultan Barsbāy, see Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbāy* (Damascus, 1961), chap. 6; John L. Meloy, "Imperial Strategy and Political Exigency: The

the late Mamluk period, after the enthronement of Sultan Qāytbāy, the sultan's merchants *(tājir al-sulṭān),* who were involved in spice dealing on behalf of the sultan, were also called "the *Dhakhīrah*'s merchants" *(tājir al-dhakhīrah al-sharīfah).*[60] Moreover, as is noted above, the term "dacchieri" (i.e., *al-Dhakhīrah*) was often used in the documents when describing the commercial agreements that were concluded between Venice and the Mamluk government. According to studies using the documentary sources, Venetian merchants who were permitted to stay in Alexandria during a fixed period of time every autumn were obliged to purchase 210 sporte[61] of pepper from *al-Dhakhīrah* and to pay the price that had been allotted to it.[62] The price of *al-Dhakhīrah*'s pepper was decided after a consultation undertaken between four merchants, who were appointed by the Venetian consul in Alexandria, and the staff of *al-Dhakhīrah*. This committee then discussed the matter with the *tājir al-dhakhīrah.*[63] In exchange, precious metals that had been brought by the Venetians were exclusively bought by *al-Dhakhīrah.*[64] In addition to these agreements, *al-Dhakhīrah* also laid claim to a part of the customs that had been levied on imported and exported goods, the additional fees that had been levied for the extension of Venetians' permitted stay in Alexandria, and the confiscated property of offenders who overstayed the period of their resident permit.[65] The *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* stayed in Alexandria to supervise the trade during the period,[66] and the keys of the coffers in which quality-checked

Red Sea Spice Trade and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (2003); Eliyahu Ashtor, "Le monopole de Barsbay d'après des sources vénitiennes," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1974–79); idem, *Levant Trade,* 277–83. As for the spice trade between the Mamluk sultanate and Italian city-states, see Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* chap. 5; Nājlā Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Nabī, *Miṣr wa-al-Bunduqīyah: al-ʿAlāqāt al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 2001), 131–34; Horii Yutaka, "The Mamlūk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501–16) and the Venetians in Alexandria," *Orient: The Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 38 (2003).

[60] See Horii, "Mamlūk Sultan," 180–81. For example, the case of Muḥyī al-Dīn (or Zayn al-Dīn) ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn ʿUlaybah (d. 890/1485), the *tājir al-dhakhīrah* in Alexandria under Qāytbāy's reign: ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 7:429; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 4:259–60; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:221.

[61] Sporta (pl. sporte) is a unit of mass, equivalent to 536 or 480 pounds (Wansbrough "A Mamluk Ambassador," 525, note 4). The unit "coufe" was also used (M. Reinaud, "Traités de commerce entre la république de Venise et les derniers sultans mamloucs d'Égypte, traduits de l'italien, et accompagnés d'éclaircissemens," *Journal Asiatique* 4, no. 19 [1829]: 25, 27, 35, 39).

[62] Reinaud, "Traités de commerce," 27, 33 (art. 4, 12); Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador," 525–26 (art. 2).

[63] Reinaud, "Traités de commerce," 24–25 (art. 1).

[64] Ibid., 35–36 (art. 14).

[65] Ibid., 26–27, 41, 42.

[66] Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador," 528 (art. 12). There was a secretary for *al-Dhakhīrah* *(kātib al-dhakhīrah)* in Alexandria regularly (Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf [WA], j483, v. [document

peppercorns were stored were kept by him and the Venetian consul.[67] These facts indicate that it was not only the revenues from the sultan's transactions in spice that came to be included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* but also some of taxes on commercial activities,[68] despite the fact that tax revenues collected from foreign merchants in Alexandria were originally a part of the income sources of the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ.[69] In addition to spice, the sultans earned a high income from commercial activities such as speculation in grain, and by participating in trade in sugar, timber, etc. The sultan's warehouses *(al-ḥawāṣil al-sulṭānīyah)* and the granaries *(shuwan, ahrāʾ)* in which these goods were stored[70] came to be called "*Ḥawāṣil al-Dhakhīrah*" and "*Shuwan al-Dhakhīrah*" in the late Mamluk period, and special staff members were appointed for their administration.[71] The monthly tax *(mushāharah)* and the weekly tax *(mujāmaʿah)* that were collected from the markets *(sūq)* in Cairo also contributed to the revenue of *al-Dhakhīrah.*[72] Although the first obvious instance of a payment of these taxes to *al-Dhakhīrah* occurred in a case in 907/1502,[73] it is clear that merchants had been obliged to pay some taxes to *al-Dhakhīrah* regularly prior to that.[74]

Incidentally, although successive sultans intervened actively in commercial activities throughout the Circassian Mamluk period,[75] the term *al-Dhakhīrah*

on 15 Ramaḍān 899]).

[67] Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador," 528–29 (art. 15).

[68] In addition, "*al-Dhakhīrah*'s pepper *(filfil dhakhīratnā al-sharīfah)*" was mentioned in Qāytbāy's letter sent to Venice in 877/1473 (Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Letter," 206, 211). These spices were procured from merchants visiting Jiddah, a Red Sea port, through various ways such as the compulsory purchase of a third of their load of spice at their buying cost in Calcutta in India (Gabriel Ferrand, "Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des du Sud aux XVe et XVIIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique,* série 11, tome 16 [1920]: 19). Three decrees dated in 891/1486 and 892/1487, included in the documents of the monastery of St. Catherine, mention Sultan Qāytbāy's orders to his staff in al-Ṭūr, a coastal port at the Red Sea, to store "*al-Dhakhīrah*'s spice *(bahār al-dhakhīrah al-sharīfah)*" in warehouses *(ḥawāṣil)* (Hans Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters* [Wiesbaden, 1960], 182, 184, 188).

[69] Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 108.

[70] Ibid., 122–23.

[71] WA, j714, r. (document on 28 Jumādá II 906); al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 971; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:413. As for the monopoly and the speculative buying, see al-Asadī, *Taysīr,* 138–46.

[72] As for the taxes, see Jonathan Berkey, "The Muḥtasibs of Cairo under the Mamluks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. M. Winter and A. Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 269–70.

[73] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:145. Cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:25.

[74] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 8:73–74.

[75] The latest study on Barsbāy's intervention in transactions in wheat and sugar is John L. Meloy's "Economic Intervention and the Political Economy of the Mamluk State under al-Ashraf Barsbāy,"

rarely appears in the contemporary sources in relation to the sultans' commercial activities before Qāytbāy's reign.[76] The first instance where the term *al-Dhakhīrah* was used in this way is, to my knowledge, Ibn ʿUraybah's assumption of the office of *tājir al-sulṭān* and *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* in 877/1472 under Qāytbāy.[77] On the contrary, *al-Matjar al-Sulṭānī*,[78] an office that had been in charge of the sultan's private commercial activities beforehand, is rarely mentioned in the sources after Qāytbāy's enthronement. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that the function and role of *al-Matjar* was included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* and that, as a result, *al-Dhakhīrah* became the generic term for all the sultanic financial resources. Moreover, the payment for the sale of governmental offices, and the confiscation of the property of officials who had died or lost their office, are usually expressed in the sources as money or property that had been "paid to the sultanic treasury." However, sometimes, especially in the sources written after the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, they are referred to as being "paid to *al-Dhakhīrah,*"[79] where the term *al-Dhakhīrah* is used in the same way as *khizānah*. It seems that the sultanic treasury was regarded as a part of *al-Dhakhīrah*. Sometimes, other financial interests belonging to the government or officials, such as the rights and interests of the Mint Bureau, were added to *al-Dhakhīrah*.[80] Moreover, *al-Dhakhīrah* had many sources of income from various regions in Syria. For instance, in Ṣafar 857/February 1453, 95,000 dinars that had been collected from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s income sources in Syria were delivered to Cairo.[81] *Al-Dhakhīrah* had many financial interests, especially in the Nabulus region.[82] Yūnus ibn ʿUmar ibn Jarabughā, who was responsible for *al-Dhakhīrah* as *mutakallim* under the supervision of the *zimām-khāzindār* Fayrūz al-Nūrūzī during Jaqmaq's reign, and then officially assumed the office of *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* at a certain time during al-Ashraf Īnāl's reign, took a tour of the Syrian regions and appointed a financial

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MSR 9, no. 2 (2005).

[76] The sources written after the late ninth/fifteenth century mention the term "*al-Dhakhīrah*" with relation to the sultans' commercial activities in the earlier times (cf. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, "Rawḍ," 2: fol. 230r; idem, *Nayl,* 5:80) probably because this term was used in the new meaning given in the authors' days.

[77] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr,* 489–90. He was also referred to as *tājir al-dhakhīrah* (ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 7:429). At the time of his death, a part of his estate was confiscated by *al-Dhakhīrah* as its share (al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz,* 959–60, 965–66). As for him, see note 60.

[78] Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 283.

[79] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 1:322, 372, 440; 3:177, 381, 398–99, 436; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 2:15; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:245–46.

[80] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:145.

[81] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:317.

[82] Ibid., 3:241.

agent *(ustādār)* for *al-Dhakhīrah* in every region.[83]

Al-Dhakhīrah was usually administered by the *zimām-khāzindār,*[84] but the sultans sometimes entrusted it to an independent official[85] or a powerful figure in the government.[86] This was probably to consolidate its operation. After Qāytbāy's enthronement and the introduction of his policies on the expansion of the sultanic fisc, the responsibility for the sultanic finances was divided among people who were of a relatively low rank in the government but who had personal connections with the sultan.[87]

Ever since the sultans began accumulating land as their own private property, the main purpose in establishing the sultanic fisc had been to secure and increase independent revenue sources for the sultanate. Therefore, the income was basically distributed at the sultan's own discretion.[88] Although the specific details of its distribution are rarely mentioned in the sources, it seems reasonable to suppose that the income was used to award bonuses *(nafaqah)* for personnel involved in the ongoing military expeditions (which used to be distributed directly from the sultanic treasury),[89] for the purchase of slaves in order to organize the *mushtarawāt* (mamluks who were trained by the present ruling sultan), and for political funds to help secure and exercise his political power, etc.[90] However, under the deteriorating financial circumstances that occurred after the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the sultanic fisc extended its role in the administration and finance of the state; I believe that it was this that prompted the development

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[83] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr,* 431–32, 467–68. See note 43.

[84] For example, Fayrūz al-Nūrūzī, who took the two posts of *zimām* and *khāzindār* in 846/1442 and kept them under the five sultans until his death in 865/1461 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:29; idem, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:340; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr,* 428; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:300).

[85] For example, Abū al-Khayr al-Naḥḥās (d. 864/1459): al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:65; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 326, 392; idem, *Nujūm,* 16:132, 210–11; Richard T. Mortel, "The Decline of Mamlūk Civil Bureaucracy in the Fifteenth Century: The Career of Abū l-Khayr al-Naḥḥās," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1995).

[86] For example, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Kātib Jakam (d. 862/1458), the *nāẓir al-jaysh wa-al-khāṣṣ* under Jaqmaq and Īnāl: al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:297, 300, 350; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:370.

[87] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 42–45.

[88] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:453. Cf. Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah,* 116–17.

[89] Cf. al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 3:266.

[90] According to *Sulūk, nafaqah*s for the Royal Mamluk corps, presents *(ṣilāt)* for amirs and Turkmen, and the expenses of the purchase of mamluk slaves and of military expeditions were referred to as "the sultan's expenditures *(nafaqāt al-sulṭān)*" paid by Sultan Jaqmaq (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1228–29). According to another source, the expenses of military expeditions, the purchase of mamluk slaves, arms, horses, arrows, and lancers, constructions and repairs of buildings, rewards *(inʿām),* presents, charities *(birr),* and *ṣadaqah* were derived directly from the sultanic treasury (anon. "Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy," British Library MS Or 3028, fol. 15r–v).

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of the sultanic fisc—the change in its character from the sultan's private property to the official revenue sources that were directly assigned to the sultanate. Compensation for the deficits of the financial bureaus of the government, such as the Dīwān al-Wizārah and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, came from *al-Dhakhīrah.* The first instance of this can be seen in a case in Ṣafar 860/January 1456, under Īnāl. At this time, the vizier (*wazīr;* the chief of the Dīwān al-Wizārah) Faraj ibn al-Naḥḥāl had disappeared because of his failure, due to insufficient funds, to pay for the daily meat supplies that were required by the Royal Mamluk corps, for which the Dīwān al-Wizārah had responsibility. After returning, Īnāl requested that he stay in office on the condition that 40,000 dirhams per day were supplied to the Dīwān al-Wizārah from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s fund.[91] As the result of further cash injections from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s fund, the amount per day reached 70,000 dirhams.[92] The injection of *al-Dhakhīrah*'s money into al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which was responsible for the monthly stipends and other essentials required by the Royal Mamluk corps, had been carried out since before 863/1459.[93] In addition to this, in 867/1463, Sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam agreed that 10,000 dinars per month would be injected from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s fund into al-Dīwān al-Mufrad.[94] Although this agreement was not fulfilled in the end, the injection of 8,000 dinars per month was maintained, as it had been before.[95] In 888/1484, Sultan Qāytbāy covered the deficit of the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ that had been accrued by distributing sheep for sacrifice on the occasion of ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá.[96] While previous sultans had sometimes made temporary compensation for the deficits of these financial bureaus of the government,[97] it became far more commonplace during and after the reign of Īnāl.[98] This shows that *al-Dhakhīrah* had become indispensable for the management of the financial bureaus, especially as financial difficulties had reached their limit by this time.

Furthermore, *al-Dhakhīrah* undertook the responsibility of paying regular salaries and stipends. For instance, around 850/1446–47, a qadi regularly

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[91] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:492–93; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 5:455. The next month, from the earnings from ex-*iqṭāʿs* of amirs, 35,000 dirhams per day were added to the amount of money being injected into the Dīwān al-Wizārah. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:494–95. Cf. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 5:456–57.

[92] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 321.

[93] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:65, 93; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 392.

[94] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 757.

[95] Ibid., 449, 477, 770.

[96] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 7:363.

[97] Igarashi, "Establishment and Development," 130–31; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:966; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 3:370; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:420–21.

[98] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 292.

received 3,000 dirhams per month from *al-Dhakhīrah.*[99] During Qāytbāy's reign, *al-Dhakhīrah* was responsible for granting pensions to retired amirs *(ṭarkhān)* and was partly responsible for providing the meat supplies to the military, civilians, and scholars during ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá. Moreover, many amirs, including some amirs of a hundred, regularly came to receive monthly stipends and wheat rations from *al-Dhakhīrah* instead of holding *iqṭāʿ*s.[100] Such an expansion of the role of *al-Dhakhīrah* in the spheres of administration, finance, and military affairs shows the limitations of the traditional structure of the Mamluk state, which was based on the *iqṭāʿ* system and the state's landholding. Although the various endeavors of successive sultans to reconstruct state finances throughout the Circassian Mamluk period were successful to a certain degree, they tended to lack a long-term outlook and clearly never solved the fundamental financial difficulties, i.e., the weakening of the state's control over land management and the alienation of the state land. Under these circumstances, the sultanic fisc, which covered the revenue shortage of the government's purse, gradually came to be indispensable for the smooth management of the administration. Consequently, the financial burden placed on *al-Dhakhīrah* was growing,[101] and its financial troubles directly affected the state's finances,[102] inducing the expansion of the financial resources of *al-Dhakhīrah.* Finally, especially after the succession of Qāytbāy, and with the state's finances becoming increasingly subordinate to the sultanic finances, the latter came to play a pivotal role in the administrative, financial, and military affairs of the Mamluk state.[103]

However, it must be noted again that these phenomena occurred in parallel with the accumulation of properties by powerful amirs, who were anxious to hold onto their personal revenue sources, in addition to their *iqṭāʿ*s; they did this in various ways including holding *amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt, ḥimāyah,* and commercial activities, just as the sultans did. There was no essential difference between the form and character of the sultanic fisc and that of the amirs' private resources, aside from their scale. In other words, the expansion of the sultanic fisc that we have investigated in this article did not reflect a unilateral strengthening of the sultan's power, or a radical change of its character. Rather, it may be assumed that these trends were advancing in the wake of a situation wherein the ruling elite of the Mamluk state—the amirs, and the sultan as the principal among them—were personally accumulating various rights and interests and

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[99] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 2:176.

[100] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 50–51.

[101] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:258.

[102] Ibid., 3:67–68.

[103] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 39–45, 49–51.

were forming their power bases outside the framework of the traditional state structure. The evolution of the sultanic finance system and *al-Dhakhīrah* resulted in the weakening of the ruling system of the government machinery; as the process developed, *al-Dhakhīrah* functioned as a means of maintaining the rule of the Mamluk regime.

Table 3 Names of People Who Were Appointed the Sultan's Private Financier and the Title of Their Posts[1]

Date of Appointment	Name	U/N[2]	Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807)	Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816)	al-Maqrīzī (d. 845)	Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851)	Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852)	al-ʿAynī (d. 855)	Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874)	al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900)	al-Sakhāwī (d. 902)
1 8/?/799	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ṭablāwī	U	A/W/D [9:468]		A/W [3:878]	A/W/D [1:616] al-Khāṣṣ [4:129]	D/A [IG, 1:528; 2:172] al-Khāṣṣ al-Sulṭānī [Dh, 105]	D [ʿIqd(3), 412]		D [1:448]	Khāṣṣ lil-Sulṭān / D/A [D, 5:252]
2 1/?/800	Faraj al-Ḥalabī	U		A/M [244]	A/D [3:928]	A/M [1:621] A/D [1:646-47; 4:14, 233]		A/D [ʿIqd(3), 440, 485]	D/A [12:98; 13:22]	A/D [1:457, 486]	A/D [D, 4:170]
3 5/?/801	Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz	N						A/D [ʿIqd(3), 494]		A/D [1:485]	
4 7/22/801	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sunqur	U		D/M [892]	A/W/D [3:930] D/A [3:1007]	A/W/D [4:15]	A [IG, 2:44]	D/A [ʿIqd(3), 493]	D/A [12:99]	D/A [1:487; 2:49] D [2:98]	Ustādār [D, 7:263]
5 9/29/801	Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Samakh	N						A/D [ʿIqd(3), 487]		A/D [1:490]	
6 12/?/807	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī	U				D/A [4:416]					
7 5/?/812	Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī Shākir	U			A/W [4:110] D/A [4:268]		A/D [IG, 2:432] D [IG, 3:10] A/D/M/W [IG, 3:110] A/D [Dh, 249]	D [ʿIqd(1), 168] A/D/M/W [ʿIqd(1), 278]	A/W [13:96]	D/A [2:255]	A/D/M/W [D, 5:102-3]
8 (?/?/841)	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Fāqūsī	N									al-Khāṣṣ bi-Khāṣṣ al-Sulṭān /M/D [D, 7:222]
9 8/7/844	Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz	U			D [4:1220]		al-Khāṣṣ bi-Khāṣṣ al-Sulṭān /M/D [IG, 4:85]	D/H [ʿIqd(2), 562-3]	D [15:345]	D/A/H [4:209]	D/A [T, 45] D [D, 3:82]

[1] Abbreviations: A: Amlāk / D: Dhakhīrah / H: Ḥimāyah / M: Muzajjarāt / W: Awqāf

The sources were as follows: Ibn al-Furāt: Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk, vols. 7-9 (Beirut, 1936-42)./ Ibn Ḥijjī: Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī, ed. Abū Yaḥyá ʿAbd Allāh al-Kundurī (Beirut, 2003)./ al-Maqrīzī: Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk (Cairo, 1939-72)./ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah: Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (Damascus, 1977-97)./ Ibn Ḥajar: Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr (Cairo, 1969-98) (IG)./ Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah, ed. ʿAdnan Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992) (Dh)./ al-ʿAynī: ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān (1): ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1985)./ (2): ed. Idem (Cairo, 1989)./ (3): ed. Imān ʿUmar Shukrī (entitled Al-Sulṭān Barqūq: Miʾrassis Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah 784-801 A.H. /1382-1398 A.D.) (Cairo, 2002)./ Ibn Taghrībirdī: Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah (Cairo, 1963-72)./ al-Ṣayrafī: Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān (Cairo, 1970-94)./ al-Sakhāwī: Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ (Cairo, 1934-37) (D)./ Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk (Cairo, n.d.) (T).

[2] U: ustādār / N: nāẓir

Table 2: Private and *Waqf* Assets of the Sultans

Name of Sultan	Egypt				Syria				Total			
	Farm Land	Urban Property	Other	Total	Farm Land	Urban Property	Other	Total	Farm Land	Urban Property	Other	Total
Barqūq[1]	3 (9.1)	17 (51.5)	3 (9.1)	23 (69.7)	7 (21.2)	3 (9.1)	0	10 (30.3)	10 (30.3)	20 (60.6)	3 (9.1)	33
Shaykh[2]	13 (30.2)	12 (27.9)	4 (9.3)	29 (67.4)	7 (16.3)	6 (14.0)	1 (2.3)	14 (32.6)	20 (46.5)	18 (41.9)	5 (11.6)	43
Barsbāy[3]	39 (48.1)	33 (40.7)	0	72 (88.9)	2 (2.5)	7 (8.6)	0	9 (11.1)	41 (50.6)	40 (49.4)	0	81

The figures in parentheses are the percentage of total assets

[1] Waqf Deeds, Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah (DW), 9/51; Wizārat al-Awqāf (WA), j51, j67, j562, j704, j728, j736; Igarashi Daisuke, "The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq," *Orient* 43 (2008): 175-76, 194-95.

[2] WA q938; partially edited by Fahmī ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, *Al-ʿImārah al-Islāmīyah fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Charākisah: ʿAṣr al-Sulṭān al-Muʾayyad Shaykh* (Cairo, 2003), 113-69.

[3] *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy*, ed. Aḥmad Darrāj (Cairo, 1963).

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From Ceramics to Social Theory: Reflections on Mamluk Archaeology Today

Nearly seventy publications by Carl Petry appear in the Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies, covering themes as diverse as gender and economic reform.[1] Anyone with some anthropological or sociological training will immediately recognize and appreciate the degree to which a curiosity about all things "social" permeates his work. From *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981) to his more recent studies on crime and punishment,[2] Petry has sought to describe the structure of Mamluk-era societies, and the functions of and relations among their components, by using a range of textual sources. It is in the spirit of his contributions to Mamluk social history that the following review article is presented. The value of archaeology today in Mamluk studies lies clearly in the realm of socio-economic history and social theory. Decade-long efforts at developing field methods and interpretive theory are resulting in a kind of archaeology that is meaningful to text-based historians and is fostering

[1] For the former, note his "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 122–42, and "Conjugal Rights Versus Class Prerogatives: A Divorce Case in Mamluk Cairo," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety,* ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York, 1998), 227–40. For the latter see "Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: The Holdings of al-Ashraf Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri According to their Waqf Deeds," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 1 (1998): 96–117, and "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security or Profit?" in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study,* ed. Toru Miura and John Edwards Philips (New York, 2000), 99–115.

[2] For example, his "'Quis Custodiet Custodes?' Revisited: The Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 13–30; "Crime in Mamluk Historiography: A Fraud Case Depicted by Ibn Taghrībirdī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 141–51; and "The Hoax of the Miraculous Speaking Wall: Criminal Investigation in Mamluk Cairo," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter,* ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (New York, 2006), 86–95.

dialogue between the two disciplines.

Islamic archaeology as a whole has undergone a process of self-critique and growth. Insoll's *The Archaeology of Islam,* published ten years ago, was appropriately critical of the narrow focus and theoretical weaknesses of the discipline at the time, too often producing technical reports that failed to engage the theoretical debates of the day and ceramic studies that rarely went beyond the technical issues of chronology and provenance.[3] Insoll was particularly concerned about the following, which in his mind threatened to marginalize Islamic archaeology within its own discipline and render it irrelevant to area studies and history:

> 1. the narrow, one-dimensional emphasis of contemporary research (p. 4);

> 2. its near obsession with monuments and elite art, which led it to neglect entire categories of data that did not service the study of art (p. 5);

> 3. the general lack of interest by the archaeologists themselves in the environment and land use (p. 5).

In order to address these problems, Insoll called for multi-disciplinary research projects (with deliberate attempts to incorporate the methods, models, and paradigms of anthropology, history, and sociology); development of an archaeologically sound social theory; expanding data sets to include such things as botanical and faunal remains and coarse wares relevant to analyses of climate, diet, and consumption; and expanding research agendas to include economic, demographic, landscape, and environmental studies. Moreover, Insoll expressed concern about "a perceived inferiority of archaeological evidence to the written word,"[4] referring to attitudes towards archaeological research among many text-based historians of the medieval periods. This latter point is an important one, as it reflected not only on the inability of archaeologists to articulate the relevance of their research but also on their circumvention of textual data. Their preference for cultural theory over textual analysis stems from differences in scholarly training between historians and archaeologists in the U.S., who usually receive their

[3] Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam* (Oxford, 1999). For similar critiques, see Donald Whitcomb, "Mamluk Archaeological Studies: A Review," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 97, 105, and Marcus Milwright, *An Introduction to Islamic Archaeology* (Edinburgh, 2010).

[4] Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam,* 4, referring to Timothy Champion, "Medieval Archaeology and the Tyranny of the Historical Record," in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology,* ed. David Austin and Leslie Alcock (London, 1990), 79–95.

training in anthropology and art history programs, rather than history, although this is changing.

Ten years later a different picture of the field is developing, one that is especially promising for new directions of research in Mamluk studies. Something that we may call a bona fide "Mamluk archaeology" has emerged: it more actively engages written sources; encourages cross-disciplinary and collaborative research; is genuinely concerned with issues related to the environment and resource management (reflecting the personal interest of many project directors in the contemporary issues of development and sustainability); is committed to developing theory; and is actively exploring the complex dynamics of local societies. In doing so, the archaeology of today is better equipped to make the written record more "human" by giving voice to the silent masses that are largely invisible in narrative and documentary sources. In combination with ethnographic analogy and anthropological theory, archaeological fieldwork can produce a more intimate picture of local (and particularly rural) society than ever before. Moreover, it has the potential of exploring, on a very human level, how poor the poor really were; what "luxury" meant to most people; what the common man ate and how he lived and died; what a drought could do to a settlement physically, economically, socially; and how people were impacted, in very tangible ways, by political turmoil. On the level of social theory, archaeology can document long-term developments (the *longue durée* of the Annalistes) in a way that written sources alone cannot. An archaeology of Mamluk society also delivers a spatial dimension for studying social structures and change. Most of the field projects described below are concerned not only with chronological depth but also spatial breadth, exploring the physical landscape of rural societies and their management of natural resources. Such issues as the degree to which the state invested in rural areas, the physical and functional relationships of centers of officialdom (forts, large mosques and shrines, aqueducts, roads, agricultural factories) with villages and towns, and what physically happened to settlements during periods of imperial collapse are best explored through landscape archaeology. As for economic history, new trends in Mamluk archaeology prioritize identifying producers and consumers and describing more clearly their complex relationships with one another, defining market structures and the local and regional networks that supported them, and highlighting ways in which local communities were economically dependent on the state and under what conditions they were most self-sufficient. Archaeology is, in essence, a history of "the social" that provides cumulative, deep-time, and spatial evidence, raising issues about the societies of the day that may not emerge from the written record. Ultimately, it has the potential to offer a very local perspective on the Mamluk state.

Some of the most innovative research along these lines is coming out of

projects based in the southern Bilād al-Shām. This is especially true for Jordan, which offers a particularly interesting and valuable environment for exploring the Islamic eras. Since the Transjordan was never the political center of a medieval Islamic state, scholars working here have naturally gravitated towards the study of local society—indigenous culture, the history of local villages and families, provincial and "frontier" studies—that is, micro-history at its best. And certainly in this sense, the archaeology of Jordan can deepen our understanding of Mamluk societies by providing this uniquely local perspective on social and political change. In recent years a renewed appreciation for written sources has enabled projects operating throughout southern Syria to incorporate Arabic sources into their research in more meaningful and creative ways, transforming their fieldwork into historically sound anthropology. Crossing disciplinary boundaries is, in my mind, quite healthy, and I believe the best field projects have taken this discipline in exciting new directions by doing "good history."

The following is a critical review of today's Mamluk archaeology, and it builds on the efforts of Whitcomb in his initial "state of the art" article of 1999.[5] This is not meant to be comprehensive in any sense; rather, it highlights research themes that illustrate the trends towards social and economic history described above. All of the projects described here make use of medieval Arabic sources, though to different degrees and to different purpose. They are collaborative and cross-disciplinary and have contributed new information on the rural societies of the Mamluk Levant.[6] My focus on the southern Bilād al-Shām is deliberate: archaeologists working today in Jordan, Palestine, and Israel, precisely because of their location on the "Mamluk frontier," are largely concerned with rural settlements and the cultures of the non-elite. Their work represents recent

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[5] Whitcomb, "Mamluk Archaeological Studies."

[6] Several recent conferences have fostered collaborations between archaeologists and historians, with a special emphasis on the "Middle Islamic" (or Ayyubid-Mamluk) period. Noteworthy among these are the 3-year "Exercising Power in the Age of the Sultanates" project, jointly sponsored by the French and American research centers in Cairo. The Amman conference of 2005 (http://www.caorc.org/highlights/acor/acor-2005-05-16b.htm) tied to this initiative has been recently published as Bethany J. Walker and Jean-François Salles, ed., *Le pouvoir à l'âge des sultanats dans le Bilâd al-Shâm*, as *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 57 (2008), supplément. In a similar vein, volume 11, no. 1, of *Mamlūk Studies Review* (2007), the "Syria issue," highlighted cross-disciplinary work on Mamluk Syria. More recent international projects in this vein include the November, 2008, conference "La Transgiordania nei Secoli XII–XIII e le 'Frontiere' del Mediterraneo Medievale," sponsored by the University of Florence (http://www.frontierarchaeology.eu/); and the June–July, 2009 workshop on "Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of Islamic Societies," under the sponsorship of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

research; many of the field projects are ongoing, and their publications largely span the last decade.

On "Text and Tell": Methods and Theory (Fig. 1)

The archaeology of the Mamluk period, as practiced today, is a form of historical archaeology heavily informed by anthropological models. One methodological development of the last decade has been in the engagement with the written record. The combination of written and material sources is the greatest challenge of any archaeology of historical periods, particularly so with the Mamluk period, which produced a wealth of texts. Many excavation and survey reports now include an explanation, however brief, of how historical sources are used. There has been a very gradual shift from dependence on texts for interpreting archaeological data to creating a dialogue between the two in ways that inform project design. Because written sources and archaeological data answer different sets of questions about human behavior and can differ in chronological scale of inquiry, they can and should be used in tandem to write a multi-faceted history of Mamluk societies. In short, one data set can inform the other. The challenge is to decide which kinds of sources are most appropriate to the subject at hand and to write a coherent, analytical narrative that uses them in complement with one another.

Archaeologists of the Mamluk period ("Middle Islamic" period in archaeological terminology)[7] have generally relied on written sources that are geographically and chronologically useful and readily available in print form (and frequently translated into European languages): narrative sources (primarily chronicles and geographies) and administrative manuals that help identify sites and provide a historical framework for their physical development. When used responsibly, such sources, in combination with archaeological evidence, can produce a rich narrative of Mamluk history.[8] What has been largely missing is an engagement

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[7] The terminology was first suggested by Whitcomb, who advocated an archaeological periodization over a political one in describing material culture (Donald Whitcomb, "Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the Abbasid Period," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992): 386–87).

[8] Some very readable surveys of the Mamluk period in this line for southern Syria include Jeremy Johns, "The *Longue Durée:* State and Settlement Strategies in Southern Transjordan across the Islamic Centuries," in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan,* ed. Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell (New York, 1994), 1–31; Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "Between Cairo and Damascus: Rural Life and Urban Economics in the Holy Land During the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman Periods," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land,* ed. Thomas Levy (New York, 1994), 512–23; Bethany J. Walker, "Militarization to Nomadization: The Middle and Late Islamic Periods," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62, no. 4 (1999): 202–32; Alan Walmsley, "Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Jordan and the Frankish Interlude," in *The Archaeology of Jordan,* ed. Burton MacDonald, Russell Adams, and Piotr

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with contemporary documentary sources. One notable exception is the early Ottoman tax registers (singular, *daftar-i mufassal*) of the ninth/sixteenth century.[9] During the first century of Ottoman rule in Syria, many elements of the Mamluks' administration in the region were retained, including the general administrative structure, some personnel, and many of the larger landed endowments *(awqāf)*.[10] The registers document anticipated income from taxable commodities, though not actual taxes collected, and describe in some detail the status of rural property, whether a settled village *(qaryah),* a village formerly settled but now abandoned *(kharāb),* a piece of cultivated land (such as a garden, *qiṭ'ah*), or a tract of cultivated land not associated with a village *(mazra'ah).* Tax-liable commodities (summer crops, winter crops, livestock, processed agricultural goods and animal by-products such as honey, endowments) are listed along with their estimated revenues. Specific references to land tenure and use, along with incidental information, such as how a plot of land was acquired and what its access was to water, are occasionally included. The registers, moreover, are organized according by tax districts, yielding important details on the administrative structure of the region. The registers of 940/1534, 945/1538–39, 958/1551–52, and 1005/1596–97 are preserved in manuscript form, and from these several segments have been published for Palestine and Jordan. The majority of the publications are in Turkish with Arabic summary and commentary;[11] the most widely cited one, though, is in

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Bienkowski (Sheffield, 2001), 515–59; Jum'a Mahmoud H. Kareem, *The Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley in the Mid- to Late Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2000), 11–17, 294–95; and Marcus Milwright, *The Fortress of the Raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (Leiden, 2008), 42–48. Such surveys are convenient entrées into the archaeological literature and should be consulted by text-based historians for accessible archaeological narratives on Mamluk history.

[9] Among the earliest registers relevant to southern Syria is *daftar* #340 of ca. 930/1523 in Istanbul (Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah [Shamālī al-Urdunn] fī al-Qarn al-'Āshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis 'Āshir al-Mīlādī* [Amman, 1989], 6).

[10] It is possible that part of the tax structure was retained as well, but until written documentation of the late Mamluk tax system is identified, this cannot be verified. Certainly what were taxable commodities did not change from the end of the Mamluk to the beginning of Ottoman rule, so one can assume some degree of continuity in the kind of taxes collected and the method of collection.

[11] Those specific to Jordan (Liwa 'Ajlun) include Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt, *Tapu Defteri No. 275, Detailed Register of the Private-Khass of the Governor of the Province of Damascus 958 A.H./1551–2 A.D.* (Amman, 1989); Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt and Noufan Raja Hmoud, *The Detailed Defter of Liwa' 'Ajlun (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 970, Istanbul* (Amman, 1989); and idem, *The Detailed Defter of Liwa' 'Ajlun (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 185, Ankara 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.* (Amman, 1991). For the Hawran, see al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah;* idem, "Nāḥiyat Banī al-'Aṣr fī al-Qarn al-'Āshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis 'Āshir al-Mīlādī," *Al-'Ulūm wa-al-Insānīyah* 15, no. 4 (1988): 149–266; and idem,

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English.[12]

Unfortunately, these sources have not been used as fully as they could be: the general trend has been to look up an individual site name and determine whether the place was inhabited and its land continued to be cultivated after Ottoman annexation. The registers, however, yield much more important place-specific data than this. The estimated number of households in each location is included and the *dhimmī*s liable for the *jizyah* are mentioned in each entry of a *qaryah*. Although the numbers are not reliable for population statistics,[13] they do reflect the religious composition of villages, a demographic characteristic that is not readily recognizable in the archaeological record. The registers note, though inconsistently, abandoned villages, the location of roads and waterways, and the existence of facilities such as mills. In spite of this, their potential for studying environmental and land use changes has not been realized. Furthermore, because the Ottomans taxed many landed *awqāf* at a rate of 10%, endowments made during Mamluk rule that were retained as such by the Ottoman state are also named in the registers. In many cases these are the only references we have to these local endowments of grain fields, orchards, and gardens, as they have not been thus far identified in Mamluk-era *waqfīyāt* or chronicles. They attest to the continued economic viability of agricultural land in the region and provide invaluable data on cropping patterns during the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule; the value of this data has been largely overlooked.[14] The archaeological use of these

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"Nāḥiyat Banī Juhmah fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ʿĀshir Mīlādī," in *Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt Muhdāh ilá ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥmūd Ghuraybah bi-Munāsabat Bulūghihi al-Khāmisah wa-al-Sittīn* (Damascus, 1989), 497–588. For those useful for Palestine, see Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and Nūfān Rajā Ḥamūd, *Daftar Mufaṣṣal, Nāḥiyat Marj Banī ʿĀmir wa-Tawābiʿihā wa-Lawāḥiqihā allatī Kānat fī Taṣarruf al-Amīr Ṭurahbāy Sanat 945 A.H./1538 A.D.* (Amman, 1989).

[12] Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977).

[13] For critiques on calculating population size on the basis of Ottoman tax surveys, see Bekir Kemal Ataman, "Ottoman Demographic History (14th–17th Centuries): Some Considerations," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 187–98, and Heath W. Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations," in *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul, 1992), 3–18.

[14] I have pulled heavily from the registers' endowment data for my own fieldwork, which is described later in this article. Some key publications in this regard include Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 4 (2003): 241–61; idem, "Mamluk Investment in Transjordan: A 'Boom and Bust' Economy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 119–47; idem, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline?: Agriculture as an Economic Barometer for Late Mamluk Jordan," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007):

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registers is challenged by two other trends: site-specific focus and overreliance on a single published register in English. Identifying the tax status of a single site is less meaningful for a regional study, where one would trace the development of the larger geographical region or compare sites. Johns appropriately warns against expecting the registers, which describe a fiscal landscape, to reproduce a physical landscape recognizable archaeologically.[15] They are nonetheless useful in reconstructing that very fiscal landscape on a regional level in a way that reflects the economic life of sixteenth-century rural Syria. In short, such financial data can help refine the interpretation of the archaeological record and make site-specific studies much more relevant for regional history. On a final note, dependence on the English translation of the register of 1005/1596–97[16] is an issue of accessibility: the 1977 edition is in English, its data conveniently transformed into charts and maps by historical geographers. Nonetheless, reliance on a single register robs one of the opportunity to trace the development of a place or region over time (a full century, to be precise, is covered by these registers), the *longue durée* perspective most valued by archaeologists. One should also note that the reliability of this register has been questioned for Transjordan, at least, as it was not under direct government control after mid-century and may have pulled much of its data from an earlier register.[17]

These critiques aside, archaeological scholarship today is looking to Mamluk-era texts to answer broader questions than ever before about contemporary societies. Rural settlement history, which considers when and under what conditions villages emerge and disappear, is a case in point. Survey data suggests cycles of growth and abatement in settlement in the Islamic period as a whole (seventh through early twentieth centuries C.E.), with pronounced "gaps" in the archaeological record when there is no (generally ceramic) evidence for occupation. The Mamluk period, in this sense, is largely characterized by a spike in the number and size of villages in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, followed by a marked demographic decline by the fifteenth. Contemporary texts do not fully support this scenario, and instead suggest continued agricultural productivity in some regions. Reconciling the textual and archaeological records on this point has been

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173–99; and idem, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations," in *Le pouvoir à l'âge des sultanats,* 77–96. For a non-archaeological study of the same data for Palestine, see Mehmed İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn* (Istanbul, 1982).

[15] Jeremy Johns, "Islamic Settlement in Arḍ al-Karak," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992): 366.

[16] Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*.

[17] Robert Schick, "The Archaeology of Palestine/Jordan in the Early Ottoman Period," *ARAM* 10 (1998): 563–75.

a goal of many field projects in Jordan. In his review of survey data for the Kerak Plateau, Johns offers reinterpretations of the ceramic data on which this history is based that bring the archaeological record more in line with the picture painted by literary sources. What had been seen previously as "gaps" in the record of settlement after the Islamic conquest, at the end of the Mamluk period, and during the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries (when the region was nominally under Ottoman control) have been accounted for by: (1) inadequate knowledge of the ceramics of these periods (suggesting "gaps" in occupation where none exist), (2) a dispersal of population rather than merely demographic decline, and (3) different models of settlement that describe a range of options from sedentarism to nomadism (his "pre-settlement," "proto-settlement," and "full settlement"), respectively.[18] The result suggests agricultural productivity through the sixteenth century, and a generally prosperous rural economy, with episodes of disruption.[19] In this case, the literary sources are taken at face value, while the archaeological record is refined by anthropological models and new ceramic typologies.

Accounting for the marked and relatively rapid growth of villages in the Mamluk period is equally challenging. In her analysis of the settlement of southern Jordan in this period, Hamarneh draws on literary sources, pre-Islamic settlement data, and survey and excavation reports relevant to the Middle Islamic period to describe the settlement morphology of rural Mamluk Jordan and its transformation from Late Antiquity to the later medieval eras.[20] In her interpretation of both written and archaeological sources, she suggests that the Mamluks' settlement strategy in southern Jordan was initially economically motivated and primarily geared towards control of agricultural resources. She further analyses the use of legal terms in Arabic texts related to landed property to describe the function, administration, and tenure of rural land, with the ultimate goal of assessing to what degree the state adapted pre-existing land use structures and to what extent they introduced something new. Future research in this vein will address to what

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[18] Johns, "Islamic Settlement." His work pulls on the work of many earlier archaeological projects in Jordan. The Mamluk sources that he consults directly include al-ʿUmarī (Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf), al-Ẓāhirī (Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik), and Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper's notes to Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah).

[19] This is an idea developed more fully in Johns' "The Longue Durée."

[20] Basema Hamarneh, "Rural Settlements in Southern Transjordan Prior and Throughout the Ayyubid-Mamluk Periods," unpublished conference paper, international conference on "La Transgiordania nei Secoli XII–XIII e la 'Frontiere' del Mediterraneo Medievale," Florence, Nov. 7, 2008. As the excavation of Nakhl near Kerak is a new project, the results have not yet been published. I am grateful to Dr. Hamarneh for sharing with me information regarding her project. (For a similar approach to urban development in Mamluk Palestine, with different results, see Andrew Petersen, The Towns of Palestine under Muslim Rule, AD 600–1600 [Oxford, 2005], 379–89.)

degree a combination of factors—state-imposed and uniquely local—was behind the rise in the number and size of villages in the Mamluk period.

The archaeological record can, alternatively, breathe new life into the texts themselves. In their study of the northern Jordan Valley, Walmsley and McPhillips considered the socio-cultural context of the administrative structure imposed by the Mamluks on this region.[21] The map of provinces and districts described by al-Dimashqī and al-Qalqashandī is explored from the perspective of Ṭabaqat Faḥl (Pella), one of the districts (iqlīm) of the Sawad in the Province of Syria (Mamlakat Dimashq). Excavations here revealed an important rural center with an extensive village, mosque, and cemetery and a material culture that reflected the town's position as the "gateway" between coastal Palestine and the Jordanian highlands. The excavations, in my mind, reveal an administrative structure that was founded on communal structures predating the Mamluk period; the districts and their centers of administration reflect local identities, localized social and economic networks, and their own distinctive cultures (reflected in architecture and ceramics) that cannot be reconstructed from the written record alone. Mamluk administration in the region did grow out of the Ayyubid one, but both systems reveal a deeper cultural cohesiveness that could serve state interests. For the function(s) of smaller centers such as Faḥl, one must go beyond the literary sources and study the site itself, its physical relationship to the landscape and other sites around it. Its hot climate and good soil, ample water supplies, and easy access to transport corridors connecting the Jordanian interior with Mediterranean ports, in addition to a long history of village and urban development rooted in Antiquity, suggest the multiple strategic and economic functions of this rural center for the Mamluk state. Much can be learned about the structure and function of the Mamluks' rural administration in this manner.

Ultimately, a dialectical relationship exists between textual and archaeological sources in this kind of social history, with a critical "reading" of one source frequently resulting in a "re-reading" of the other. This kind of give-and-take can allow us to explore new themes not readily accessible from one source used alone. The Northern Jordan Project (hereafter the NJP), based in the hill country between Irbid and the Syrian border, has demonstrated ways in which the dialogue between "text and tell" refines our understanding of Mamluk social history. In order to more fully explore the nature and long-term impact of Mamluk rule in Jordan, the NJP has adopted a methodology that is rather new to Mamluk archaeology: research on contemporary documents in archives, done simultaneously with

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[21] Alan Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan: Views of the Jordan Valley from Faḥl (Pella)," *ARAM* 9 (1997): 129–43; Stephen McPhillips and Alan Walmsley, "Faḥl during the Early Mamluk Period: Archaeological Perspectives," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 119–56.

archaeological fieldwork and environmental studies. In addition to the regular mix of narrative (chronologies, geographies, and travelers' accounts, along with biographical dictionaries and legal treatises) and administrative (secretaries' manuals) sources, research designs aim at identifying and analyzing documentary sources (Mamluk-era *waqfīyāt*[22] and court documents related to property exchange and inheritance, as well as Ottoman-era shariʿah court documents, tax registers, and land settlement registers) to address a range of questions related to land use and local society that emerge from a critical "reading" of both texts and archaeological remains.

One focal research problem of the project has been identifying factors behind the settlement shifts of the fifteenth century. Outside of political events, climatic change (identified by long episodes of drought) has frequently been cited in archaeological literature as a catalyst behind the abandonment of villages and fields in this period. Fieldwork has aimed, in part, at determining whether climatic changes coincided with any decline in settlement and agricultural productivity on the village and regional levels and whether land use changed with the collapse of the Mamluk state.[23] The preliminary results have presented a different settlement history for the late Mamluk period than that which pervades the archaeological

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[22] Endowment documents for rural land can be rich sources on village and agricultural history, as they frequently describe the physical limits of the village, location of roads that serviced it, sources of water, crops grown, local industries and public buildings, and buildings and fields that have fallen into neglect. Identifying Jordanian locales in these *waqfīyāt* is extremely difficult, a veritable "finding a needle in the haystack" experience. These documents do exist, however, and are already yielding important data relevant to village, economic, and agricultural history in the region. For published studies, see my "Sowing the Seeds" (and references therein) and my forthcoming *Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier.*

[23] The archaeological reports can be found in: Bethany J. Walker, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003–Agriculture in Late Islamic Malka and Hubras Villages: A Preliminary Report of the First Season," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Studies* 339 (2005): 67–111; Bethany J. Walker, Ellen Kenney, Laura Holzweg, Lynda Carroll, Stéphanie Boulogne, and Bernhard Lucke, "Village Life in Mamluk and Ottoman Hubras and Saham: Northern Jordan Project, Report on the 2006 Season," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 51 (2007): 429–70. For the specifically textual studies, which include analyses of other Jordanian *waqfīyāt* in manuscript form, see Bethany Walker, "The Politics of Land Management in Medieval Islam: The Village of Malka in Northern Jordan," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 9 (2007): 253–61; idem, "Sowing the Seeds"; idem, "Boom and Bust"; and idem, "The Role of Agriculture." A project summary and list of project publications can also be found in my "Peasants, Pilgrims, and the Body Politic: The Northern Jordan Project and the Landscapes of the Islamic Periods," in *Crossing Jordan: North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, P. M. Michèle Daviau, Randall W. Younker, and May Shaer (London/Oakville, CT, 2007), 473–80.

and historical literature. Rather than the disruption of settlement viewed in other parts of Jordan, the villages of the northern hill country continued to be occupied and generally productive. Climatic conditions did change in the late Mamluk period, with dryer conditions than before, and some fields were abandoned for cultivation. Nonetheless, local villages appear to have adjusted by transforming their agricultural regime, through diversification of crops and smaller scale of production. (This latter point will be examined below.) In short, the collapse of the Mamluk state may have disrupted village life in some districts, but it certainly did not lead to the widespread decline of rural society or general dispersal of population, as suggested by archaeological surveys elsewhere. There is, in fact, evidence for a change in climatic conditions less conducive to export-oriented agriculture, but local communities in some areas were able to adapt effectively.

What, then, are the implications of such results for the use of Mamluk-era texts in local studies? The chronicles weave beautiful, heart-rending narratives about the immediate impact of drought and war. However, they seldom describe the recovery. They describe abandonment of villages, for example, but more often than not do not explain that the residents returned to them when conditions returned to normal. Documents such as *waqfīyāt* and tax registers describe land use and productivity at a moment in time but cannot trace, on their own, change or continuity on the long term. They do not account for the "whys" of land use. The benefit of the archaeological narrative, in this case combined with historical environmental studies, is in its potential to contextualize events and document their long-term impact. Together the written and archaeological narratives suggest that no single history of settlement can be written for southern Bilād al-Shām as a whole; rather there were distinctly regional patterns of growth and decline, adaption and dispersal.

A research theme intimately tied to that of settlement is agricultural history. Agricultural studies have recently taken two approaches. The first is concerned with the spottiness of the settlement record indicated by archaeological surveys and its disconnect with the written record. The inability to recognize different kinds of food systems (pastoralism, for example)[24] and diverse agricultural regimes (outside of village-based agriculture) has created a settlement map for the Mamluk period with geographical and temporal voids. McQuitty's study of vernacular architecture in Mamluk and Ottoman Jordan is one attempt to identify architecturally the various econo-residential strategies adopted by rural peoples, addressing these "voids" in the process.[25] Her work highlights the ambiguity

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[24] For more on food systems, see Øystein S. LaBianca, *Sedentarization and Nomadization: Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1990).

[25] See, for example, Alison McQuitty, "The Rural Landscape of Jordan in the Seventh–Nineteenth Centuries AD: the Kerak Plateau," *Antiquity* 69 (2005): 327–38.

of medieval architecture in this region: not every stone building in the rural landscape is a farmhouse, and peasants do not always require a built environment. Agricultural communities in southern Syria have relied as much on caves, tents, and cisterns—which leave little trace on surveys—for residence and storage as stone buildings. Identifying cultivated fields is more problematic, as they leave an even fainter footprint in the landscape of the region. Nonetheless, documenting the more ephemeral remnants of settlement and farming will provide a more comprehensive picture of the rural landscape than is currently available from traditional archaeological surveys and most narrative sources.

In a second approach, the struggle for control over natural resources becomes an object of study in itself, as this struggle was a key factor in molding society and determined the destiny of settlements. Land was a mediator between village communities and the state, thus the study of land tenure and use sheds light on rural-imperial relations and Mamluk objectives in the region. It is an approach to agricultural history and settlement studies that necessitates the combination of texts and archaeological data. Political ecology—a research orientation that considers the political, social, and environmental factors in this struggle—provides one way of exploring the complexities of Jordanian-Mamluk relations. The NJP has adopted political ecology to frame several lines of inquiry related to the history of land use in northern Jordan, including such issues as evaluating the effectiveness of imperial administration and land use policies in the region;[26] assessing the local impact of *iqṭāʿāt* and *awqāf* and the extent of peasant prerogatives in land use;[27] and determining to what degree agricultural markets, and the financial incentives promised by them, impacted cropping and ultimately settlement in Mamluk Jordan.[28] For the latter, published studies on sustainable agriculture by NGOs in Jordan provided the intellectual and methodological framework for the project's focus on peasants' subsistence and marketing strategies during the Mamluk period. The preliminary results of this kind of research suggest that Jordanian peasants retained a large degree of autonomy in the management of their land throughout Mamluk rule (outside of the large "estates" in the Jordan Valley and *waqf* land), shifted to more traditional land use patterns with the collapse of the Mamluk state (diversified production for local markets; emergence of modest-sized privately held land, on the one hand, and the possible return to communally-held land, on the other), and were relatively self-sufficient in most periods. To what extent this

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[26] Walker, "Sowing the Seeds."

[27] Walker, "The Role of Agriculture."

[28] Bethany J. Walker, "Regional Markets and their Impact on Agriculture in Mamluk and Ottoman Transjordan," in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies,* ed. Benjamin Saidel and Evelyn van der Steen (Oxford, 2007), 117–25.

is true for the rest of Bilād al-Shām has yet to be determined.

Exploring how the state controlled rural lands and peoples is another promising venue of archaeological research requiring careful use of texts. Excavations at Faḥl, described above, suggested ways in which fieldwork can give meaning to Mamluk administrative structures. Ongoing excavations at another rural administrative center, Tall Ḥisbān in central Jordan, have demonstrated ways in which "text and tell" can provide a history of place that makes imperial administration come alive. I cite a single example from a recent field season.[29] Hisbān was the capital of the Balqāʾ region of the southernmost district of Mamlakat Dimashq during the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century. In 757/1356 the governorship of the district passed to Amman, along with its courts and bureaucracy. What is not clear from the chroniclers' brief accounts is why Ḥisbān lost its special administrative status, though they hint at financial reasons. Excavations present another possible scenario. The summit of the tell is dominated by the remains of a fourteenth-century complex, which has been identified as the residence of the governor of the Balqāʾ *(wālī al-Balqāʾ)*. This complex was destroyed in what appears to have been a mid-century earthquake, the contents of its storeroom abandoned in the rubble. There was no attempt to rebuild it, although the village below continued to be occupied and many homes were subsequently repaired. The fluidity of the Mamluks' provincial administration, with borders of provinces and districts changing and their capitals frequently transferred to other places, may, in part, be explained by local circumstances such as these, not retrievable from the written record.

How did Ḥisbān function as a rural "county seat"? Again, the written sources are silent on the matter; while narrative sources describe the multiple functions of large castles like Kerak and ʿAjlūn, smaller centers do not capture the attention of the chroniclers. The medieval site of Ḥisbān consists of a village at the base of the tell and the citadel at its summit. The tell in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries took the form of a fortified hilltop with four corner towers and two gates. Inside the walled compound were domestic quarters, storerooms, a bathhouse, kitchen, and a raised *īwān* that may have served as an official meeting room. The storeroom is of particular interest for its contents: everyday kitchen ware, monumental-

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[29] For detailed textual and archaeological analyses of the Ḥisbān citadel, see my "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Hisban," *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13, no. 2 (2001): 29–33; "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 249–51; and "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 13–14, as well as Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2004): 447–53. The conclusions that follow pull from these studies.

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sized bowls with militarized inscriptions and blazons, fragments of a bronze bowl with the fragmentary name of an amir, bits and pieces of spear points and ballistas, and dozens of sugar storage/transport jars. Structurally, the complex and its constituent storeroom combine the characteristics of a fortification and a public administrative building. It appears to have served as a garrison, tribal meeting place (in the fashion of the traditional Early Islamic *quṣūr* of the region), and distribution point for sugar and sugar by-products. The Ḥisbān citadel illustrates the multiple functions administrative centers played in the control and development of rural areas of Bilād al-Shām. Current scholarship on the function of "castles" in the medieval Mediterranean is coming to appreciate the role of such rural fortifications in the administration of the imperial frontier.[30]

MAKING POTTERY RELEVANT: POTENTIALS FOR REFINING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

Research on settlement, administrative centers, and land use is not only served by critical use of texts. Ceramics analysis, while still occupied with the meat-and-potato concerns of typology, chronology, trade, and provenance, is today expanding to investigate topics of relevance to non-specialists, such as networks of production and exchange, site function, and standards of living and diet. Because pottery played such an important role in food preparation, domestic storage, and certain agricultural industries in the pre-modern Middle East, it is uniquely positioned to describe the distribution of settlements, the operation of households, the workings of village industries, and the rural economy in general.

Debates over one ware in particular are impacting the way we understand settlement history: the Handmade Geometric Painted Ware (referred to as HMGP in most ceramic reports) that has come to be associated with rural Mamluk Syria. Wheel-thrown pottery throughout Bilād al-Shām was largely supplanted in the twelfth century by handmade jars and bowls with painted basket-weave patterns. The production and distribution of this pottery peaked in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at a time of demographic and economic growth, a phenomenon likely tied to a thriving rural economy, safe roads, and expanding local and regional markets—all beneficiaries, in one way or another, of state initiative. On archaeological surveys, the ware is the most readily recognizable marker of Mamluk occupation, so that the distribution of HMGP ware has come to be more or less synonymous with Middle Islamic settlement. The growing prominence of this kind of pottery, which happened at a rapid pace during the Mamluk period, is considered by Johns to be "of potentially the greatest significance for the social

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[30] The Florence conference on Transjordan and the Mediterranean frontier mentioned earlier addressed this theme. For published works on this topic see Roni Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007).

and economic history of the region."[31] Debates over the reason(s) for its sudden and widespread popularity, the mechanisms by which it was distributed (through trade, imitation of a trade item in another medium, or itinerant potters), and its specific chronology (did it disappear, and when, or did it simply evolve into other handmade wares of the modern era, as Johns has argued) are relevant to furthering our understanding of village consumption, local and regional trade networks, and the factors behind settlement location and longevity.

As for its chronology, there is a general consensus today that HMGP ware (of the variety associated with the Mamluk period) likely continued to be produced into the sixteenth century, although stratigraphic evidence is largely lacking.[32] A notable exception, and one frequently cited in the archaeological literature, is the medieval village of Tiʿinnik, located 13 km west of Jenin. The excavations of Birzeit University in 1985–87 produced a stratified sequence of HMGP ware spanning the Mamluk and Ottoman periods and dated by smoking pipes (introduced into Palestine in the early seventeenth century) and thermoluminescence.[33] The pottery demonstrated continued occupation of the site from the fourteenth and fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Recent studies such as those on HMGP ware are relevant to Mamluk studies, as they suggest new avenues of inquiry on settlement history and the rural economy.

Moving from the scale of regional settlement to the individual village, a ceramic assemblage can illustrate site function and how it changed over time. Some of the most interesting work on Mamluk pottery in recent years has addressed this subject. A comparison of three sites in Syria, Jordan, and Israel and the pottery associated with them is informative in this regard. Recent French excavations inside the Damascus Citadel have identified stratified contexts for Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman ceramics.[34] François' analysis of the later Islamic wares is sophisticated, pulling from typological studies of the ceramic remains and a range of medieval Middle Eastern and European texts describing contemporary

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[31] Jeremy Johns, "The Rise of Middle Islamic Hand-made Geometrically Painted Ware in *Bilad al-Sham* (11th–13th Centuries AD)," in *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique, IFAO, le Caire, 3–7 fevrier 1993,* ed. Roland-Pierre Gayraud (Cairo, 1998), 84.

[32] For very recent studies on Ottoman HMGP ware, see Bethany J. Walker, ed., *Reflections of Empire: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on the Pottery of the Ottoman Levant* (Boston, 2009).

[33] Ghada Ziadeh, "Ottoman Ceramics from Tiʿinnik, Palestine," *Levant* 27 (1995): 209–45.

[34] Preliminary reports can be found in Sophie Berthier and Edmond El-Ajji, ed., *Études et travaux à la citadelle de Damas 2000–2001: Un premier bilan,* as *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 53–54 (2000), supplement. The final field reports on the French excavations in the Citadel, including analyses of the Mamluk pottery, are forthcoming.

pottery to raise important questions about the nature of ceramic assemblages.[35] In a recent study on ceramic exchange in the Frankish through Ottoman periods, she attributes the appearance of Italian imports in the Citadel after the fifteenth century to political networks, but the presence of Chinese imports to cultural factors.[36] The presence of imports, thus, is more than the mere measure of wealth; it has political and cultural/aesthetic meaning. The same could be said of the much smaller provincial capital of Kerak. In his analysis of the unstratified pottery from the Citadel and the Kerak survey, Milwright suggests multiple functions of the town, indicated by the wares themselves. Taking ceramics as "indicators of levels of economic activity and social complexity," he categorizes the Kerak assemblage by those wares with local (within southern Jordan), inter-regional (in Palestine and Jordan), and international distribution.[37] These, in turn, reflect the different economic roles of Kerak during the Middle Islamic period: as an economic center for rural communities in southern Jordan, as one of many regional markets servicing Palestine and Jordan in raw materials and manufactured goods, and a minor node in the larger exchange networks of the eastern Mediterranean, respectively.

How do these compare to rural assemblages? One expects in villages fewer imports and less diversity in wares and forms. This appears to be the case at several village sites excavated by the Israeli Antiquities Authority. Stern's systematic study of assemblages combines quantitative (comparing percentages of different wares in the assemblages, based on rim counts) and petrographic analyses (to determine provenance and thereby trace exchange networks) in describing the socio-economic networks of individual villages and changes in diet and cooking customs with Mamluk annexation. Khirbat Dinʿila is considered a "typical" Galilean village of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[38] The assemblage as a whole consisted largely of locally made pottery (both hand-made and wheel-thrown, the latter more expensive to produce), although many shapes of the latter were inspired by foreign wares. Imports are rare and limited to a few Syrian (underglaze-painted "frit") and Italian (miscellaneous glazed) wares. The locally produced tablewares, interestingly enough, came from different workshops. Stern

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[35] Véronique François, "Réalités des échanges en Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVIIIe siècles: l'apport de la céramique," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 241–49.

[36] The assemblage thus raises issues not apparent before that must be addressed by an analysis of the texts themselves. She suggests: "L'archéologue, à travers la présence ou l'absence de ces objets, pose alors des questions nouvelles aux historiens" (ibid., 249).

[37] Milwright, *Fortress of the Raven,* 20.

[38] The following pulls from Edna J. Stern, "Khirbat Dinʿila: The Crusader and Mamluk-Period Pottery," forthcoming in ʿ*Atiqot* (2009). This is the first petrographic study of Mamluk pottery in the Galilee and one of only a handful of such studies for the southern Levant. I am grateful to Dr. Stern for sharing her manuscript with me.

highlights in her study decentralized production, the scarcity of imports, and the preference for wheel-thrown jugs and jars (22% of the assemblage, apparently manufactured at inland sites in the region). In comparing the pottery of the later Mamluk period with that of the earlier Frankish-era occupation, she notes that Mamluk-era bowls got bigger, cooking pots were of a different fabric and form, and jugs were also of a different form. These indicate important changes in dining customs, namely communal meals that required larger bowls and spouted jugs (for "cleaner" group use). The rural Mamluk assemblage, then, suggests active local ceramic industry, the introduction of new foods, and communal dining.

She makes similar conclusions about the assemblage at Khirbat Burin, a slightly earlier village (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) in the eastern Sharon.[39] Here pottery was largely of local production, with the few imports at the site of an earlier (thirteenth-century Cypriot, Aegean, Syrian, and Italian—typical Frankish wares) or later (fourteenth–fifteenth century Italian wares) period. 42.2% of the pottery was handmade, but wheel-thrown jars and jugs were an important component (24%). 22% of the assemblage consisted of locally made glazed wares. The greater presence of imports, however, indicates that Burin had access to larger exchange networks than the residents of Dinᶜila did. A comparison of the assemblages of several Mamluk-era villages in Israel (sites discussed in more detail below) reflects different scales and kinds of exchanges. Stern ranks rural sites accordingly: (1) rural sites with international connections (Givᶜat Yasaf, near the port of Acre), (2) more isolated rural sites (largely inland) without international connections (Givᶜat Dani, near Lod), and (3) rural sites that are somewhere in between, with limited international and intra-regional connections (such as Khirbat Burin). The typological scheme parallels that projected for Kerak and is a useful way to conceptualize village networks in the region.

At rural sites that contain both fortifications and "civilian" neighborhoods, a comparison of the ceramic assemblages associated with each can be informative about the relationship between the two communities, Mamluk and indigenous, or site transformations from defensive to domestic. Yoqneᶜam (Frankish "Caymont"), located in northern Israel at a roughly equal distance between Haifa and Tiᶜinnik, illustrates the latter. The Frankish fort here was abandoned by the time of Mamluk annexation in 1268. Mamluk occupation of the site began with the reuse of the old Frankish fort in the thirteenth century (Stratum IIb) with subsequent new construction in the fourteenth century (Stratum IIa) and abandonment, once again, in the fifteenth century. The Mamluk-era constructions transformed the former military structures into a farmhouse with mangers, silos, and tabuns. Avissar's ceramic evidence supports this scenario: the HMGP ware bowls and jars,

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[39] Raz Kletter and Edna J. Stern, "A Mamluk-Period Site at Khirbat Burin in the Eastern Sharon," *ᶜAtiqot* 51 (2006): 173–214.

Syrian fritwares, wheel-thrown and handmade cooking pots, and lamps are all appropriate to a domestic assemblage in a rural settlement within the Damascus exchange network.[40] Ḥisbān, on the other hand, presents a very different case. The pottery excavated in the Mamluk-era village below the tell and that recovered from the regional survey of the village's hinterland did not differ significantly from that in the Citadel storeroom, except in the relative percentages of glazed imports to locally produced wares. HMGP ware jars (normally associated with Syrian village life) were stored in the Citadel; small glazed relief ware bowls (considered "army issue") were identified in village homes. Only the most expensive luxury goods were restricted to the Citadel, such as pseudo-celadons and inscribed bowls of monumental size. Overall, the division between officialdom and the village is not so clear cut at Ḥisbān, the "military" and "civilian" assemblages suggesting participation in the same exchange networks and comparable consumption. From this observation, we might gather that the kind of relationship that existed in Ḥisbān between the local community and the state officials stationed in the Citadel was different than the community-state relationship at larger administrative centers, but at this preliminary stage of ceramic analysis such a notion remains conjectural.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of ceramics analysis is in the evidence it can provide for lifestyle on the household level. This is a relatively new area of inquiry in Mamluk ceramics research. Much can be learned in this regard from contemporary work on Ottoman pottery, where consumerism has been a focus of scholarship for many years.[41] Little is known about the diet and general standard of living of rural communities in the Mamluk Empire, so this is a promising direction of future research. In differentiating between Ottoman and Mamluk assemblages in Damascus, François notes the change in form and decoration in monochrome-glazed and underglazed-painted fritwares.[42] A change in form frequently indicates changes in diet, and the shift from deep bowls (a Mamluk form) to wider but shallower serving bowls (an Ottoman form) may reflect new dining/serving

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[40] Miriam Avissar, *Tel Yoqneʿam: Excavations on the Acropolis* (Jerusalem, 2005).

[41] On diet and foodways in medieval and Ottoman Cyprus, see Ruth Smadar Gabrieli, "Under the Surface: Decoration and Shape in the Coarse Ware of Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyprus," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17 (2004): 287–98, and idem, "Silent Witnesses: The Evidence of Domestic Wares of the 13th–19th Centuries in Paphos, Cyprus, for Local Economy and Social Organisation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sydney, 2006). For consumption measured by the Ottoman pottery in Damascus, see Véronique François, "Production et consummation de vaisselle à Damas, à l'époque ottoman," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 54 (2002): 157–74.

[42] Véronique François, "*Tabak, ibriq, fincan* et autres pots d'époque ottoman au Bilâd al-Châm," *Turcica* 37 (2005): 292–93.

customs or new foods (more soups, fewer stews).[43] Another way to approach the study of ceramics and consumerism is to comb literary sources for descriptions of vessels purchased in the markets and used in cooking and serving, as well as depictions of the same in illuminated manuscripts. Initial steps have been taken in this direction for Mamluk Egypt[44] and Syria.[45] The study of diet from non-ceramic sources, such as floral (pollen and microbotanical remains) and faunal (animal bones) evidence, combined with analysis of pottery from archaeological contexts, also holds promise, but this kind of data collection has been under-utilized to this point.[46]

Surveys and Settlement: Where Did All the People Go?

No narrative dominates the archaeological history of Mamluk Syria more than the decline of the countryside in the fifteenth century. There is a general consensus, based largely on contemporary chronicles and later tax registers (both selectively cited) and survey data (most of it generated by fieldwork done in central and southern Jordan),[47] that there was general demographic decline and abandonment of many (though not all) villages for full-time occupation, most pronounced in the

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[43] My suggestion—and a tentative one at that.

[44] Bethany J. Walker, "Ceramic Evidence for Political Transformations in Early Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 1–114. (This study pulls from my 1998 doctoral dissertation.)

[45] Marcus Milwright, "Pottery in the Written Sources of the Ayyubid-Mamluk Period (c. 567–923/1171–1517)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999): 504–18.

[46] See LaBianca, *Sedentarization and Nomadization,* for one relevant study of diet based on the faunal data from Tall Ḥisbān.

[47] Robert D. Ibach, Jr., *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1987); J. Maxwell Miller, *Archaeological Survey of Central and Southern Moab* (Atlanta, 1981); idem, *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau* (Atlanta, 1991); Udo F. Worschech, *Northwest Ard el-Kerak 1983 and 1984* (Munich, 1985); Burton MacDonald, *The Wadi el-Hasa Archaeological Survey, 1979–1983, West-Central Jordan* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988); idem, *The Southern Ghors and Northeast ʿArabah Archaeological Survey* (Sheffield, 1992); idem, *The Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey 1999–2001, West-Central Jordan* (Boston, 2004); and MacDonald et al., "The Ayl to Rās an-Naqab Archaeological Survey, Southern Jordan, Phase I (2005): Preliminary Report," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 49 (2005): 277–98. Recent data from the Madaba Plains Project hinterland survey is available on the web at: http://www.casa.arizona.edu/MPP. For the Dhībān Plateau Regional Survey, see Chango-Ho Ji and Jong Keun Lee, "A Preliminary Report on the Dhībān Plateau Survey Project, 1999: The Versacare Expedition," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 44 (2000): 493–506, and Chang-Ho Ji, "The ʿIraq al-Amir and Dhiban Plateau Regional Surveys," in *Crossing Jordan,* 137–42, and published field reports cited therein.

Transjordan.[48] However, there has been little systematic study of the issue in order to determine to what degree population levels dropped from the fourteenth century and how many settlements "disappeared." We have no population estimates at all, in fact, for rural regions, and no site numbers from different periods to compare. Statistics on settlement are impossible to obtain without thorough surveys in other regions of Syria; in Jordan, at least, the projection of survey data from the south to other parts of the country presents a picture of demographic decline that simply cannot be sustained there by either the historical or archaeological records. Another challenge has been the chronology of the HMGP ware described above, which is the most important dating criteria on surveys; it is likely that some of this pottery, previously dated to the Mamluk period, may be early Ottoman in date, in which case villages once thought to have been abandoned from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have continued to be occupied.

Much of the debate on this issue among archaeologists working in Jordan centers on how to characterize the reconfiguration of settlement indicated by surveys and what exactly the factors were behind it. Pulling on data from the Central Moab and Kerak Plateau surveys, Brown in her M.A. and doctoral theses argued for a dispersal of settlement, rather than disappearance of villages.[49] The surveys indicated that sites dating between 1400 and 1600 C.E. (dated on the basis of ceramics) fell into two categories: those continuously occupied from the early Mamluk period and new settlements, the latter largely distinguished by rudimentary architecture (or none at all) and fewer ceramic remains. She interpreted these patterns as evidence of population dispersal, or a move towards pastoralism, at the end of the Mamluk and beginning of the Ottoman eras.[50] She cites a concern for security as one reason for the marked shift in settlement in the fifteenth century from the central Kerak Plateau to its southwest rim, as this region was less vulnerable to attacks by Bedouin tribes.[51] Situating such a scenario in the larger history of the Mamluk state, one could argue today that with the breakdown of the state politically and militarily, and the withdrawal of important resources from the provinces, rural security and prosperity could not be maintained on the open plateaus and in large villages. Dispersal of larger

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[48] There appears to have been less disruption of settlement in Palestine during this period. A systematic comparison of settlement on both sides of the Jordan River has yet to be done.

[49] Robin M. Brown, "Late Islamic Settlement Patterns on the Karak Plateau, Transjordan," (M.A. thesis, SUNY-Binghamton, 1984), and idem, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: a Socio-Economic and Political Interpretation," (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY-Binghamton, 1992).

[50] See Johns' review in his "Islamic Settlement in Ard al-Karak," 365.

[51] Brown, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production," 440–41.

villages, with migration to less favorable environmental zones, was one response of local peoples to imperial collapse.

Movement of peoples into such less desirable lands could, alternatively, reflect demographic growth, economic development, favorable climatic cycles, and security. Fieldwork by Israeli archaeologists is bringing to light possible evidence for the expansion of villages into environmentally peripheral zones during the Mamluk period. Mamluk occupation in the Negev, as limited as the material evidence is, seems to have been concentrated in the west, where there was a general hiatus of occupation between the Early and Middle Islamic periods.[52] Recent excavations at Horbat Maʿon have investigated Mamluk-era reoccupation of a Byzantine-era village, where the old water systems and one mudbrick farmhouse were reused and many new constructions erected in stone.[53] In a similar fashion, a Mamluk village at Tall Jammah, in the northwestern Negev Desert, recycled ruins of the preexisting village dated to the Byzantine period.[54] Other sites were reoccupied in this period: at Ein Gedi a Mamluk village was built over the Roman ruins[55] and at Mezad Zohar the Frankish fort was reused for domestic use.[56] This does not, however, appear to have been a concerted, state-led effort to resettle this region. The cities that once flourished here in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods appear to have been largely abandoned by the eleventh century. Outside of a single site south of Gaza,[57] there is no settlement yet identified large enough to be considered a "town" in the Negev in the Middle Islamic period. This has led Petersen, in his study of medieval Muslim towns of Palestine, to suggest that the Mamluk state may have discouraged permanent settlement here, using the Negev instead as a political buffer zone and channeling traffic along its margins.[58]

For the purposes of comparison, the neighboring northern Sinai experienced continuous but uneven occupation from the Islamic conquest through the Ottoman era. Surveys there have documented an intensification of settlement

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[52] Personal communication, Dr. Tali Erickson-Gini, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (12/25/08).

[53] Gregory Seriy and Pirhiya Nahshoni, "Horbat Maʿon," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 116 (2004). (electronic report www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id = 48&mag_id = 108).

[54] This was a Smithsonian Institution project of the 1970s: Jerry Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains from the Medieval Islamic Occupation of the Northwest Negev Desert," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 274 (1989): 33–60.

[55] Personal communication, Dr. Edna Stern, Israeli Antiquities Authority (12/24/08).

[56] Tali Erickson-Gini, Dov Nahlieli, and Edna Stern, "Mezad Zohar: A Crusader Fort near the Dead Sea," ʿ*Atiqot* (forthcoming).

[57] Sit3 81/83, at 5.6 hectares: Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains," 55, 60.

[58] Andrew Petersen, *The Towns of Palestine under Muslim Rule, AD 600–1600* (Oxford, 2005), 47.

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in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that, though not reaching the levels of the early Islamic period, may be related to the reorganization of the *barīd* route running parallel to the coast.[59] Characteristic of this region in the later Mamluk period was the dispersal of settlements from a handful of large centers to numerous smaller settlements, clustered together and many in the vicinity of *barīd* stops and contemporary fortresses. Qalʿat al-Tina represents the latter and was excavated by Ben Gurion University in 1974 and more recently by the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt.[60] An expansion in settlement is further attested by the hundreds of constructed tombs from the Mamluk period identified near Tall al-Muḥammadīyah, on the western end of Lake Bardawil. As expected, the ceramic record for all of these sites suggests strong ties to Egypt, with the notable presence of pilgrims' flasks, semi-luxury wares (such as pseudo celadons), and emblazed sgraffito wares (normally associated with garrisons).[61] The distribution of settlements, the diversity of site types, and the Egyptian character of the material culture indicate a settlement history that contrasts with that of the Negev and suggests state initiative.

As many of the relevant projects are as yet unpublished and period-specific research in this region is relatively new, it is premature to deduce from the limited data at hand anything concrete about Mamluk settlement in the southernmost areas of Bilād al-Shām. If the data does, indeed, reflect a deliberate attempt by local peoples to (re)settle parts of the Negev and cultivate lands there once again, one determining factor may be sought in climate change. A recent study of climate and culture in the Levant has documented recurring patterns of agricultural expansion into the Negev, and other marginal farming zones, when several factors coincided: years of dependable rainfall, population growth, political stability, and security of travel and trade.[62] This happened in the Byzantine period and then again in the Mamluk. Rosen here looks beyond the very real challenges presented by limited rainfall to consider the benefits that imperial systems offer peasants seeking opportunities in new lands: new technologies of production

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[59] The Northern Sinai Survey was conducted by Ben Gurion University in 1972–78; many project-related reports have only recently been published. For the study of the Islamic-era ceramics, see Katia Cytryn-Silverman, "The Settlement in Northern Sinai during the Islamic Period," in *Le Sinaï–de la conquête arabe à nos jours,* ed. J.-M. Mouton (Cairo, 2001), 3–36. My comments regarding the survey pull from this publication. The more complete ceramic study on which this article is based can be found in her "The Islamic Period in North Sinai: The Pottery Evidence," (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, 1996).

[60] Reports related to both projects are being prepared for publication.

[61] For the latter, see Cytryn-Silverman, "Settlement in Northern Sinai," 30, Pl. 15 (far right).

[62] Arlene Miller Rosen, *Civilizing Climate: Social Responses to Climate Change in the Ancient Near East* (Lanham, MD, 2007).

and transport, access to international markets, extensive trade networks, and an infrastructure that facilitates "the transfer of subsistence resources from areas with more abundant surpluses to regions suffering failed crops."[63] Shaefer, in his field report on Tell Jemmeh, echoes the same sentiment: "political and economic conditions, rather than specific ecological determinant, permit(ted) the growth of a settled population" in the Negev.[64] Climate studies have documented a general trend towards wetter conditions more favorable for intensive agriculture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This coincided with political and economic conditions that encouraged the expansion of settlement into formerly marginal zones.[65] The fifteenth century, on the other hand, is marked climatically by much drier conditions, punctuated by many years of drought (confirmed by written sources, as well).[66] The problems created by lack of rainfall were exacerbated by the political problems of the time. The emergence and disappearance of villages reflect these trends. Communities dissolve and individuals migrate for a variety of reasons. The settlement fluctuations of the Mamluk period were the result of many factors—political, socio-economic, climatic—that coincided in unpredictable ways.

Rural settlement, of course, was not limited to large villages occupied on a year-round basis. A range of residence strategies has been traditionally used by the populations of southern Syria, from seasonal campsites to residence in caves, permanently settled villages, and towns. Cemeteries, and most specifically those not found in association with village sites or any permanent structures, can act as windows on settlement in its various forms. Cemeteries were frequently used by tribes long after the local village was abandoned and may indicate not only that a settlement once existed nearby, but that the tribe maintained its associations with the locale, even if it had moved away or no longer cultivated the land.[67] The so-called Ottoman-era "Bedouin" graves fall into this category.[68] Recent

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[63] Ibid., 101.

[64] Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains," 56.

[65] Future research on this interesting phenomenon should include a systematic comparison of the data from the Negev with that from ongoing surveys in the southern and eastern deserts of Jordan, along with careful study of narrative and documentary sources.

[66] For a summary of this topic on the basis of historical sources, see Yūsuf Ghawānimah, "Al-Ṭāʿūn wa-al-Jafāf wa-Atharuhumā ʿalá al-Bīʾah fī Junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-Filasṭīn) fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1995): 315–22.

[67] Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains," 55.

[68] On the difficulty of differentiating village cemeteries from those used seasonally by transhumant populations, see St. John Simpson, "Death and Burial in the Late Islamic Near East: Some Insights from Archaeology and Ethnography," in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East,* ed. Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green (Oxford 1995), 240–51.

excavations by the Israeli Antiquities Authority have identified several Mamluk-period cemeteries on and near the southern coast and in the interior that are not physically associated with village ruins. The burials, according to the published reports, belong to two types: simple, individual cist graves, many of which were covered by beehive vessels (discussed below),[69] and built tombs lined and covered with clay bricks.[70] (There are no burial goods in either case.) Cemeteries such as these not only provide information on burial practices of the period, but they also may indicate settlement in regions where archaeological surveys have not identified villages, farmsteads, or pastoral presence.

Contemporary Archaeology and Alternative Narratives of Mamluk Society

Fieldwork at Mamluk sites in Syria has advanced in fits and spurts, mainly because the Middle Islamic period has not traditionally been a focus of research in the region. A specifically Mamluk archaeology has largely, and only recently, grown out of an interest in the Frankish era among Israeli scholars and in Ottoman societies among Palestinian archaeologists. In this regard, Jordan differs significantly from Syria. Targeted archaeological investigations on the Mamluk period have a twenty-year history in Jordan, and those of us in the field today certainly benefit from the important and pioneering work of a previous generation. These differences aside, archaeologists throughout southern Syria are exploring many of the same issues; interest in village life, industry and technology, and the impact of traditional and state-imposed agricultural practices on the land have generated much fieldwork in the last few years. Out of this research have emerged alternative narratives of Mamluk social history that challenge our traditional understanding of the state and its Syrian populations. We briefly consider four of these in what follows, citing examples from Jordanian, Palestinian, and Israeli excavations.

Narrative One: There was a dialectical and fluid relationship between the Mamluk state and local communities.

Scholarship on the Mamluk administration of Syria, aided by descriptions in contemporary chronicles and secretarial manuals, has been extensive.[71]

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[69] For the use of beehive vessels at Azor and Kafr ʿAna, both near Jaffa, see Itama Taxel, "Ceramic Evidence for Beekeeping in Palestine in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods," *Levant* 38 (2006): 208. For an example without the ceramic vessels, and dated by a single *fals* of Sultan Barqūq, consult Amir Gorzalczany, "Qanat Bint el-Kafir," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 116 (2004). (electronic report: www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=794&mag_id=114).

[70] Eli Yannai, "Bet Dagan," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 110 (2008). (electronic report: www.hadashot-esi.orgwww.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=867&mag_id=114).

[71] They include Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*

Archaeologists continue to cite such work, situating their individual sites within the larger administrative structure of Bilād al-Shām. While it has long been recognized that this structure developed over time, it has not been fully appreciated just how fluid it was and what accounts for the relatively frequent (and unexpected) changes of provincial and district borders and capitals. Recently, however, attention has been drawn to the possible factors behind and rationale for such fluidity.[72] Imperial administration reflects both state objectives in a region, which were more often than not captive to the vagaries of the Mamluk political scene, and relations between the state and local communities that ebbed and flowed with the currents of imperial politics. Decisions made in Cairo and Damascus to promote relations with a particular tribe, to promote one administrative center in order to strengthen its garrison in times of trouble, and to punish a recalcitrant village may have driven changes in administrative structure as much as long-term economic and military objectives. To illustrate, the promotion of al-Salṭ, the capital of the Balqāʾ, from a *wilāyah* to a *niyābah* in 678/1288 would have resulted in the stationing of a higher-ranking commander in the local garrison at a time when military reinforcements were needed to block the northward movement of rebel forces.[73] The interest of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Ḥisbān, which was Wilāyat al-Balqāʾ during his third reign, is illustrated through his personal visits to the town and construction projects, for which there is some archaeological evidence, and is likely tied to his active patronage of local tribes loyal to him during his return to the throne.[74] Textual sources imply that the later transfer of the district capital from Ḥisbān to Amman, in 757/1356, was an economic move—to serve the financial interests there of Amir Ṣarghatmish.[75] As noted earlier, excavations suggest that earthquake destruction of the Ḥisbān citadel was another factor in this decision. On the provincial level, the collapsing of the administrations of the province of Kerak with that of the District of Jerusalem (Niyābat al-Quds) in 912/1506, then with the District of Ṣafad in 916/1510, and finally with the District of Ghazah in 918/1512—all during a period of political chaos in the region—resulted in stripping Kerak of its independent status and pulling its rebellious tribesmen under regional military control.[76] The ultimate

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d'après les auteurs arabes (Paris, 1923); Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Westport, CT, 1970); Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī li-Sharqī al-Urdunn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1982); Ṭāhā Thaljī Ṭarāwinah, *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamluk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Irbid, 1987), 17–26.

[72] Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham."

[73] Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī,* 48.

[74] Ibid., 48–49.

[75] Walker, "Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," 14 (note 54).

[76] Shawkat Ramaḍān Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Minṭaqat Sharqī al-Urdun min Junūb al-*

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objective of controlling a province that had been so troublesome to Cairo in the past was thus resolved through administrative fiat.

The relations between the state and local communities and their elites permeate Syrian chronicles, if not Egyptian ones, indicating how important clientage was in achieving the state's objectives in a region dominated by fiercely independent-minded tribesmen. Clientage did not guarantee automatic compliancy with imperial programs, however. The tribesmen of southern Syria—townsmen, peasants, pastoralists—were independent actors and could, on their own initiative, influence officials and mold policy, although the chroniclers tend to mask the autonomy of local societies.[77] The give-and-take that always existed between the state and local society may be perceived in the physical and functional relationships of administrative centers with nearby settlements. Kerak, a provincial capital, consisted of the fortified castle and the town, which exhibited some degree of interdependence. Historically the town housed the principle marketplace of southern Jordan and was transformed by the building of a large castle in the Frankish period.[78] With the eclipse of the Mamluk state and the eventual abandonment of the castle by both Mamluk and Ottoman authorities, the town itself returned to its original status—a regional market town. The ceramic record has documented the economic cycles of the town's development as the fortunes of the citadel waxed and waned. The same could be said of Ḥisbān, which grew from a village, with a modest agricultural market serving other villages in the Balqāʾ, to a town with urban institutions, such as a court and madrasah, when the regional capital was transferred there and the citadel expanded in the early fourteenth century.[79] With the abandonment of the citadel, a half century later, the town resumed its previous function as a village with a farmers' market. The presence of the citadel/administrative center appears to have made little impact on the village or its environs on the long term.

The Ḥisbān citadel is suggestive in other ways about imperial-rural relations.

Shām fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyah (Irbid, 2002), 33. Ḥujjah attributes this action to an effort to strengthen the defenses of southern Syria, although he goes on to describe the redistricting of southern Syria at the end of the fourteenth century as an effort to better control them.

[77] For more on this topic from a Jordanian perspective, see Walker, "Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," and idem, "The Role of Agriculture."

[78] Milwright, *Fortress of the Raven,* 272.

[79] For a summary of the results of recent excavations at Ḥisbān and a bibliography of published reports, see Øystein S. LaBianca and Bethany J. Walker, "Tell Hesban: Palimpsest of Great and Little Traditions of Transjordan and the Ancient Near East," in *Crossing Jordan,* 111–20, as well as Walker and LaBianca, "Tall Hisban," in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2004 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage, Kurt A. Zamora, and Donald R. Keller, *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (2005): 536–39.

The small, three-room bathhouse that sits at the center of the acropolis has attracted scholarly attention, as it is an anomaly for Mamluk citadels. Most garrisons used public baths in nearby towns, as they were not equipped with their own. The *ḥammām,* moreover, does not fit in the overall organization of the "governor's house" of which it is one component: it occupies the space of what should have been an *īwān* facing the central courtyard and, moreover, faces the opposite direction. It, thus, appears to have been the remnant of an older complex. Its three-room linear plan belongs more to the local Roman-early Islamic forms of hypocaust bathhouses than the more familiar, centrally planned forms of the Mamluk period.[80] Excavations in 2007 have provided tantalizing evidence for dating this bath to the late Umayyad or early Abbasid period.[81] Its reuse and incorporation into the Mamluk governor's complex may be related to availability and necessity (as no other public baths have been identified in the medieval town)[82] or to other purposes. The early Islamic "desert castles" of Jordan combined administration with entertainment in reaching out to tribal leaders; recent excavation reports have suggested such a "*qaṣr* model" for the Ḥisbān citadel, the Mamluk governor stationed there entertaining tribal leaders in his residence and consolidating relations between the Mamluk state and the local elite in the process.[83] Although there is no textual evidence for such practice, the frequent meetings between Mamluk officials (including sultans) and local tribal leaders in this period suggest special arrangements to this end. The similarities among ceramic assemblages in citadel, village, and hinterland provide further support for regular exchanges between the administrative/military establishment and the Ḥisbāni community.

As important as co-opting and controlling Syrian tribes were, political programs in the region did not always translate into material investment in local communities. While textual sources laud the construction and repair of mosques, bridges, and markets by Mamluk sultans and amirs, there is little architectural evidence of committed and dependable investment in the region outside the large towns and castles. In rural areas, construction work appears to have been done

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[80] Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 463–64.

[81] A brief preliminary report on this season can be found in Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, "Tall Hisban," in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2007 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage, Donald R. Keller, and Christopher A. Tuttle, *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 516–18.

[82] According to al-Muqaddasī (d. 375/985), there was once a public *ḥammām* in Ḥisbān (Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī li-Sharq al-Urdunn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* [Amman, 1982], 148). However, I have come across no references to it in Mamluk sources, and no trace has been found of it archaeologically.

[83] Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 255.

by local masons and at the lowest cost. We return again to the Ḥisbān citadel for evidence from fieldwork. Everything about the fortifications and buildings inside suggest haste, minimum effort, and minimum expense. The ruins on the summit of the acropolis—which include a Roman temple, Byzantine basilica, and quite ancient fortification walls and towers and gates—provided much of the building material for repairs to the castle walls and in constructing the "governor's complex." When the ruins failed to provide enough building material, the local limestone (which is rather soft and friable) was hewn into roughly cut blocks. (There is a striking contrast between the quality of the reused stones and the Mamluk-era blocks.) Ancient structures were reused as much as possible, as were cisterns and the bathhouse. Few new buildings were erected; when walls were newly built or repaired they were roughly faced and rubble-filled. Reinforcements to defensive structures appear, to our eyes, to have been half-hearted. The quality of construction in the Ḥisbān citadel is really no different from farmhouses of the period in other villages in central Jordan (Ḥisbān village, Khirbat Fāris, Dhibān—described below); there is little technologically to separate the buildings of officialdom from those of the Jordanian countryside. The same can be said of contemporary administrative centers in Palestine, such as Khirbat Birzeit.

Defensive works by the Mamluks at the Ḥisbān citadel betray the same standards. In an initial stage of reconstruction, dating to the mid-thirteenth century, the ancient enclosure wall was restored, the southwest tower extended to surround two stories of rooms (including the storeroom), and the south gateway (the main entrance to the citadel) developed by extending the old Roman-Byzantine staircase to a new vaulted passage inside the entrance and adding a plastered courtyard (perhaps a tethering station) outside (Fig. 2). The 2007 excavation season documented the physical development of the south gate and its defensive structures in the mid-fourteenth century, in a third phase of much poorer construction.[84] At this stage the inner corner of the massive southwest tower was enlarged even further with a small guard room and curtain wall, narrowing the south gate in the process, and the room was almost immediately thereafter filled in with rubble. The work does not seem to have served any effective defensive purpose except to give the visual appearance of a heavily fortified tower-gate. This phase of construction appears to have followed an earthquake and may have been part of the post-trauma repairs. This restoration work was of little value in the long run, as the citadel was abandoned soon afterwards. The summit of the tell was then used on and off domestically, as the former storeroom and guard rooms were converted to kitchens and refuse areas.

A similar history of construction has been recently noted at Safed, the center

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[84] Walker and LaBianca, "Tall Hisban," (2008).

of commercial activity in the region and the administrative center of the Galilee.[85] Initial defensive reconstruction, initiated by Sultan Baybars after 1266, was done in earnest: a massive tower-gate complex with access ramp and a circular tower were built of solid masonry, adapting pre-existing building arrangements from the Frankish phase. An earthquake at the turn of the fourteenth century necessitated reconstruction and consolidation of walls, towers, and ramps, but maintenance from this point on was gradually neglected. By the end of the Mamluk period, the towers and gates were converted to installations for craft activities and cooking. Even at the most important Mamluk centers in the region, there is evidence for neglect of official structures, as military function gave way to domestic need.

Narrative Two: There was a marked regionalism in Syrian rural culture and a distinct autonomy in village life.

Village life has its own rhythm, interrupted here and there with the pressures, problems, and possibilities offered by the outside world. While the names of most medieval villages cannot be retrieved from the written record, and remain anonymous as a result, their rhythm can be partially recreated archaeologically. It is not easy, however, to describe the "typical" Syrian village of the period, as each region is culturally distinctive. They do, however, share characteristics that mark them as unique products of the Mamluk era. New villages emerged and old ones grew quite quickly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the mechanisms behind this demographic growth/settlement expansion are not fully understood, whether pushed by imperial policy or the local response to economic opportunity, it is an important marker of the period. The material culture, settlement configuration, building styles, and land use differ in significant ways from the Frankish and even Ayyubid periods that preceded it. Moreover, such an intensive use of land had not been experienced at these levels since the Byzantine era. (The reuse of Byzantine ruins, including water installations, might be seen in the context of the state's attempt to maximize agricultural production at minimum effort.) The success of this agricultural experiment is indicated by the continued occupation of many of these "new" villages well into the sixteenth century. As a result of targeted investigations of rural sites, the character of village life in the Middle Islamic period is coming into sharper focus.

Two projects in Jordan were designed from the start to investigate "ordinary" villages of the Middle Islamic period: Khirbat Fāris (excavated between 1988 and 1994) and Tall Dhibān (on-going since 2004). The ruins of Khirbat Fāris lie just

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[85] Final reports on the Israeli excavations at the Safed castle are not yet complete, but a preliminary field report can be found online: Hervé Barbé and Emanual Damati, "Zefat," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 117 (2005) (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng. asp&id=214&mag_id=110).

west of the King's Highway, on the Kerak Plateau some 17 km north of Kerak.[86] A multi-period site, with occupation spanning over 4,000 years, it is the village of the twelfth–sixteenth centuries that concerns us here. At the west end of the site, the ruins of several stone buildings identified as the remains of the medieval village were uncovered. The single-room peasant homes were made entirely of stone, with earthen floors, and covered with barrel vaults. They were quite small (4x3 m on the sides and 2 m high), which led the excavators to conclude they were entirely residential and not used for storage. The side walls were substantial (a meter thick), wide enough to support the heavy vaults, and their construction rather simple, faced with fieldstones and filled with rubble and mud. The dwellings were clustered around shared courtyards, narrow alleys, and cisterns. McQuitty notes the continuity of this form and its wide distribution, suggesting it represents for Jordan and the Palestinian hill country a typical village construction from the thirteenth through mid-twentieth centuries, where it was used alternatively as peasant home, storage facility, oven house, and stable. It represents a change in rural house form from the preceding period, when village homes included storage space in the thickness of their walls. The reason for this change may have to do with changes in the control of agricultural surplus that resulted from developments in agricultural administration,[87] a hypothesis that, however, requires reference to administrative and economic texts.

Indeed, this vernacular house form can be readily identified at Mamluk sites throughout Jordan. At the modern village of Dhibān, on the Dhibān Plateau 70 km south of Amman, the remains of a late Mamluk/early Ottoman (Phase 2) village have been identified.[88] Occupation took the form of reoccupation of the ruins of an Early Islamic complex (on the tell's southeast corner) and construction of new buildings on the tell's east side and on its acropolis (Field L). Recent fieldwork is focusing on the architectural remains of Field L, consisting of adjacent barrel-vaulted rooms and a well-preserved doorway. Mamluk-era ruins in other fields of excavation are characterized by the same vaulted constructions, external courtyards, and cisterns as documented on the acropolis and at Khirbat

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[86] The following summarizes the results reported in McQuitty, "Rural Landscape of Jordan"; idem, "Khirbat Faris: Vernacular Architecture on the Kerak Plateau, Jordan," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 157–72; and McQuitty et al., "Mamluk Khirbat Faris," *ARAM* 10 (1998): 181–226.

[87] McQuitty, "Vernacular Architecture on the Kerak Plateau," 164.

[88] The results of the Dhibān project can be found in Benjamin Porter et al., "Tall Dhiban 2004 Pilot Season: Prospection, Preservation, and Planning," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 49 (2005): 201–16; Benjamin Porter, Bruce Routledge, Danielle Steen, and Firas al-Kawamlha, "The Power of Place: The Dhiban Community through the Ages," in *Crossing Jordan,* 315–22.

Fāris. The excavators have identified three phases of occupation of the acropolis complex, the building used intermittently into the sixteenth century, suggesting a gradual abandonment of the site. The function of the acropolis is not entirely clear, although some indication of the status of the village in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is provided by textual sources: the lands of Dhibān constituted an *iqṭāʿ* bestowed by Sultan Baybars on the son of an Ayyubid prince in 1261,[89] and the village had a mosque beside which was built a shrine, the final resting place of two Mamluk amirs in the late fourteenth century.[90]

The Mamluk villages at Ḥisbān and Faḥl belong to the same tradition. Below the Ḥisbān citadel, on its western slopes and leading to the Wādī Majār (Field C), are the remains of the medieval village, occupied for the duration of the Mamluk period and perhaps through the sixteenth century. One structure, identified as a Byzantine farm house, was reoccupied in the Mamluk period. Other buildings, excavated in the 1970s, appear to have been fresh constructions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The stone houses are all barrel-vaulted (the vaults low-sprung and shallow, as on the summit) with thick walls (c. 1 m in diameter) and earthen floors, clustered around open courtyards and cisterns and divided by narrow alleys, indicating a settlement organized by extended families. In Field O, to the southwest, the same kinds of structures and spatial organization were associated with the nineteenth-century village, demonstrating longevity of this local settlement type. The Mamluk village at Faḥl (with cemetery) reveals similar patterns: courtyard houses (of stone and mudbrick) with beaten earth floors and enclosure walls and divided from one another by narrow streets.[91]

Mamluk village architecture in Jordan, as in Palestine and Israel, fell to two patterns: a distinctly regional style of vaulted stone farmhouse, and reuse of ancient structures. The reoccupation, and adaption, of Byzantine and early Islamic structures appears to have been particularly common, as they were frequently constructed of well-hewn blocks, their masonry ruins functional centuries later. At Shuqayrah al-Gharbīyah, 25 km southeast of Kerak, a fortified compound has been recently excavated, dated to the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.[92] After a

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[89] Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Riyadh, 1976), 123. The recipient of the grant was al-ʿAzīz, the son of al-Mughīth, who was reinstated at Kerak that year.

[90] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 1:390. The reference comes from an obituary of the year 793 A.H. for *amīr al-kabīr* Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak, the loyal officer of Sultan Barqūq, who chose to be buried with his brother (also a Mamluk officer) in a *turbah* beside the Dhibān mosque.

[91] McPhillips and Walmsley, "Fahl during the Early Mamluk Period."

[92] The following is based on a recent preliminary report: Younis M. Shdaifat and Zakariya N. Ben Badhann, "Shuqayra al-Gharbiyya: A New Early Islamic Compound in Central

conflagration sometime in the ninth century, the compound was abandoned for several hundreds of years, to be reoccupied in the thirteenth. Following a pattern familiar in Jordan, the occupants settled in and on top of the ruins, without fully clearing out the earlier debris. Newly built walls were readily distinguished by the excavators from their early Islamic counterparts by their masonry ("clumsy walls" comprised of roughly hewn boulders). The original rooms were subdivided into smaller ones, transforming a complex that probably functioned like the so-called "desert castles" of the steppe into a typical farmhouse with stables. A similar phenomenon has been noted in the Ḥisbān citadel, where an early Islamic building inside the northern gate, destroyed by earthquake in the ninth century, was reused as a kitchen in the early Mamluk period. In the nineteenth century, it was adapted for a stable.[93]

There have been few studies of sacred architecture in rural Jordan, largely because few examples have been preserved, and archaeological investigations of them are logistically and legally challenging. Nonetheless, two published examples in Jordan hint at the potential of using sacred space to reconstruct vernacular life: the mosques at Faḥl and Ḥubrāṣ. The Faḥl mosque (30.2 x 20.5 m) follows a construction style and plan identified in other regions of Jordan in the Mamluk period: stone construction with reused columns, sunk into the ground and supporting arches, the interior space divided by three aisles, a projecting mihrab, earthen floor, and an exterior courtyard.[94] Ruins of the attendant settlement, described above, have been excavated. Architectural survey of the medieval mosques in Ḥubrāṣ (in 2003) and subsequent excavation (in 2006) aimed at tracing village history through the physical and functional development of the local mosque and its associated buildings.[95] The ruins consist of a small square sanctuary (12 x 15 m) with a black and white mosaic floor and sunken columns, originally an Umayyad construction, which doubled in size (to c. 12 x 30 m) in the thirteenth century, presumably to accommodate a growing population. The

Jordan," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 71, no. 3 (2008): 185–88. The site has been excavated since 2002 by Muʿtak University.

[93] For the "Field N house," see Walker and LaBianca "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 453–55, and Walker, "Countering the Urban Bias in Islamic Studies: Final Report on MPP 2001: Tall Hisban, Jordan," *Newsletter of the American Center of Oriental Research* 13, no. 1 (2001): 3–4.

[94] Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan," 132–36.

[95] Field reports on the Ḥubrāṣ mosques can be found in Walker, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003"; Walker et al., "The Northern Jordan Project 2006"; Walker and Kenney, "Rural Islamic in Late Medieval Jordan"; Walker, "Imperial Transitions and Peasant Society"; and idem, "Sahm and Hubras," in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2006 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage and Donald R. Keller, *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007): 532–35.

Mamluk-era mosque received a minaret (that carried an inscription of dedication by Sultan Qalāwūn in 686/1287), a new floor, a cross-vaulted roof, and a second (and perhaps third) mihrab. It was built with a combination of semi-dressed block and blocks and columns reused from ruins nearby. It resembles, but does not mirror, the contemporary mosque at Faḥl. **The thirteenth-century mosque at Ḥubrāṣ appears to have remained in use for hundreds of years, belonging to a larger ritual complex (one room of which contained imported European porcelain) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1931 a smaller mosque was built in the interior of the medieval ruins, the construction and plan of which resembled the Mandate-era houses nearby, and the twentieth-century sanctuary remained in use until 1970, when the mosque was officially closed for prayers (Fig. 3). Although no trace of the medieval village has appeared, its presence, longevity, history of expansion and contraction, and material culture and economic potential are documented in the local mosque.

In the West Bank, excavations by Birzeit University at Tiʿinnik (1985–87) and Khirbat Birzeit (1996–99, and renewed in 2006) have offered a glimpse into village life in the Mamluk era. Although the final report from Tiʿinnik has yet to be published, an indication of the kind of village it was can be surmised from Ziadeh's 1995 ceramic report.[96] Located in the northern West Bank, 13 km west of Jenin, Mamluk and Ottoman Tiʿinnik was a reoccupation of the Byzantine ruins, with the densest settlement in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Stratum 6)—a period normally associated with demographic decline. Over 60% of the pottery from this period was handmade and locally produced, with a reduction in wheel-thrown wares by 40% from earlier periods. Local products also included green-glazed bowls and wheel-thrown jars—the kind of assemblage identified in contemporary sites throughout the region. Demographic growth and a reliance on local industries characterize late Mamluk occupation at this site.

Khirbat Birzeit, in the central West Bank on the outskirts of Ramallah, has a different history.[97] Excavations in the 1990s focused on a large, two-floor complex,

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[96] Final publication is now underway by Drs. Nancy Lapp (Concordia Seminary) and Hamed Salem (Birzeit University) and is affiliated with the Committee of Archaeological Policy of the American Schools of Oriental Research. For the ceramic report, see Ziadeh, "Ottoman Ceramics."

[97] Preliminary reports from the first phase of excavations can be found in Khaled Nashef, "Abḥāth wa-Tanqībāt fī Khirbat Bīrzayt 1996," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (January, 2000): 4–27 (of Arabic section); idem, "Khirbet Birzeit 1996, 1998–1999: Preliminary Results," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (January, 2000): 25–27; Khaled Nashef and Omar Abd Rabu, "Khirbet Birzeit Research and Excavation Project 1998: Second Season Excavation," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (January, 2000): 4–12; Khaled Nashef and Omar Abd Rabu, "Abḥāth wa-Tanqībāt fī Khirbat Bīrzayt 1999," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (July, 2000): 4–12. Ceramics reports can

dubbed the "Original Building" and tentatively identified during the first phase of excavation as the administrative center of a feudal lord (Fig. 4).[98] Built on top of and in the ruins of a Byzantine industrial complex (a wine press), the large stone building is Mamluk in date (Stratum III) and constructed of massive, well-dressed blocks forming 2-faced walls with a rubble and soil core, earthen floors, and vaulted superstructures. In the late Mamluk period (Stratum II) rooms were subdivided and floors replastered, as domestic or public spaces were converted to storerooms. Ottoman reuse of the building (Stratum I) consisted of the building of agricultural terraces in the upper floor, and the filling in of the ground floor. While the pottery included the same kind of assemblage described at Tiʿinnik and other rural sites in the region, the recovery of glazed relief bowls with formulaic inscriptions and glazed wares from Syria indicates wider exchange networks and perhaps a more formal function for the building. The "Original Building" is part of a larger settlement; more recent fieldwork (2006 and 2009 seasons) is investigating the physical and functional relationships between this building and the houses nearby, the results of which are forthcoming.[99]

Excavations by Israeli archaeologists have included such important sites as Safed (and the extra-mural settlement of al-Waṭṭah) and Jerusalem, where efforts have largely focused on fortifications and individual monuments. It is the research on village sites, however, that has described the character of local settlement, the longevity of occupation (not encountered in Jordan), and regional peculiarities that allow for comparison with other areas of southern Bilād al-Shām. Stern's categorization of rural sites on the basis of the exchange networks in which they participated is a useful one for describing settlement type. Givʿat Yasaf (Tall al-Raʾs) on the northern coast belongs to her first group: villages economically tied to coastal centers and international trade. The Mamluk village (Stratum 1) represents a reoccupation in the late thirteenth century of the Persian/Hellenistic site.[100] The settlement took the form of walled courtyards, a large central building (or complex of buildings), and numerous water channels (for irrigation, among other things). Wall construction appears quite similar to that noted throughout southern Syria: roughly hewn boulders of medium size. The central building yielded numerous imported glazed ceramics, to which it likely gained access by its proximity to Acre.

There were different types of villages in the southern Syrian landscape. However,

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be found in the same volumes.

[98] Nashef, "Khirbet Birzeit 1996, 1998–1999: Preliminary Results," 27.

[99] Personal communication (2/2/09), Dr. Hamed Salem, Birzeit University and Project Director.

[100] Arieh Rochman-Halperin, "Excavations at Givʿat Yasaf (Tell er-Ras): 1984–1985," ʿAtiqot 37 (1999): 84–121 (Hebrew), 172*–73* (English summary).

if one were to search for the "typical" village of the region, one might consider those with few international connections but that were nonetheless participants in regional socio-economic exchanges. Khirbat Burin, described earlier, falls into this category.[101] The late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century village appears to have consisted of clusters of well-built farmhouses surrounding shared outdoor courtyards and cisterns, a pattern repeated in villages in the region today. The houses were used for some time, with reduced occupation into the fifteenth century. The material culture associated with the structures betrayed regional (Greater Syrian), but no international, connections for the main period of occupation. The late Mamluk-era Galilean village of Khirbat Dinʿila, while small, reflected a common pattern: adaptation of Byzantine-era ruins (here the conversion of oil presses to housing, as at Khirbat Birzeit), continuous occupation (in this case well into the sixteenth century), and material culture characteristic of rural society (handmade cooking wares, wheel-thrown jars and jugs, and few, if any, imports). Stern's ceramic study demonstrated that households there acquired kitchen and table wares from different workshops throughout the Galilee and Golan.[102] On a final note, the site of Zuq al-Fauqani, in the Upper Galilee, contains the remains of a rural house occupied from the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries, transformed into a *khān* sometime in the seventeenth.[103] The architecture from the Mamluk levels is no longer extant—only the earthen floors remain—but the pottery as a whole reflects regional connections (reflected by pottery related to Rāshayyā al-Fukhkhār Ware of Lebanon, for example).

By comparison, the site of Givʿat Dani in central Israel, an agricultural settlement 7 km north of Lod, is more isolated economically and geographically. While the limited exposure of the excavations did not reveal architecture of the period, they did produce evidence of a "peripheral settlement" tied to a larger center: a meter and a half thick layer of refuse (Stratum 3—consisting of pottery, ash, and soil), was dated to the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries on the basis of the pottery and covered by a stone-paved floor in the Ottoman period.[104] The pottery revealed the typical range of glazed, handmade, and plain wheel-thrown vessels normally associated with a rural, landlocked site.

Archaeological investigations of Mamluk-era villages, as preliminary as they

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[101] Kletter and Stern, "Mamluk-Period Site at Khirbat Burin."

[102] For the ceramic report, see Stern, "Khirbat Dinʿila." The excavation report is forthcoming in the same volume.

[103] Moshe Hartal, "Zuq al-Fauqani," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 120 (2008): (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=858&mag_id=114). See also note #3 in Stern, "Khirbat Dinʿila."

[104] Dorit Lazar, "A Mamluk and Ottoman Settlement at Givʿat Dani in the Ayalon Valley," *ʿAtiqot* 38 (1999): 127*–136* (Hebrew), 231–32 (English summary).

are, reveal patterns in rural culture and settlement that are worth revisiting on the basis of text-based research. These villages were by and large self-sufficient, relying more on local and limited regional exchange networks than on the kind of international ones maintained by the state. Most communities appear to have followed a mixed subsistence regime and, when not pushed by state initiatives, diversified their choice of crops. The widespread abandonment of and demographic decline in villages, which happened gradually in many (but not all) parts of Transjordan, are not repeated to the same degree in Cisjordan. The physical, and apparently functional, structures of villages were maintained through the Ottoman and Mandate eras. House construction was modest and followed distinctly regional methods and styles, using local building materials and likely erected quickly; if architectural ruins and abandoned installations could be reused, they usually were, instead of constructing anew. In terms of its geography and intensity, the expansion of Mamluk-era settlement largely mirrored that of the Byzantine period, when land (and water) was used intensively and extensively. If any broad theme can be extrapolated from these patterns, one could be that Syrian villages were poised to function in the absence of a strong, activist state, and demonstrated considerable resiliency in the process. Village life represents, in this manner, the *longue durée* of the Annalistes.

NARRATIVE THREE: INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, BOTH LARGE- AND SMALL-SCALE, LARGELY FELL TO TRADITIONAL PRACTICE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS.

The Mamluk state was rarely directly involved in the day-to-day running of agricultural industries, outside of large-scale commercial enterprises such as sugar. Even there, the role of officials was limited.[105] For this reason, these industries reveal much about local social structure, organization of labor and resources, and traditional technologies and markets that provide another perspective on rural societies. Three agricultural enterprises—growing and processing cane sugar, producing olive oil, and making honey—have left strong archaeological footprints and speak to the strength of local traditions.

The lucrative sugar industry under the Mamluks became a state enterprise, as sultans and amirs came to monopolize production and some of the most fertile lands were dedicated to sugarcane cultivation. The best lands for growing sugarcane in Syria—well watered, well drained (the result of a combination of slope and soil texture), with light-textured soil (capable of holding water), and located in areas of abundant sunshine and warm temperatures[106]—are generally

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[105] On those occasions when officials attempted to interfere in the internal operations of the "estate"—diverting water and, in the process, disrupting traditional water sharing—peasants revolted (Walker, "The Role of Agriculture," 89).

[106] Effie Photos-Jones, Konstantinos D. Politis, Heather F. James, Alan J. Hall, Eichard E.

located in the Jordan Valley and its catchment system. They were among the most valuable *iqṭāʿāt,* and by the end of the fourteenth century they were converted to sultanic estates and *awqāf*.[107] Because the industry, when operating on a large scale, was so dependent on the state to provide adequate labor supplies, safe roads for transport, and dependable markets, its ups and downs reflected in many ways the economic health of the state and the region. Sugar production in Syria peaked in the Crusader and early Mamluk periods, declining significantly by the fifteenth century; evidence for production into the Ottoman period is rather rare but has been documented to the end of the sixteenth century.[108] The industry left behind the mills used to crush sugarcane, the refineries to convert juice to molasses, and the aqueducts that powered them[109]—some 43 sites in Israel alone[110]—as well as the earthenware vessels used to collect the crystals (called alternatively sugar pots, molds, or cones in the archaeological literature) and collect and store the syrup (molasses or syrup jars). Most archaeological studies of sugar production have focused on these architectural and ceramic remains.[111]

Jones, and Jerry Hamer, "The Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley: An Interim Report on the Pilot Season of Excavations, Geophysical and Geological Surveys at Tawahin as-Sukkar and Khirbat ash-Shaykh ʿIsa, in Ghawr as-Safi," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* 46 (2002): 611.

[107] For documentation of this process in Jordan, see my "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline."

[108] Edna J. Stern, "The Excavations at Lower Horbat Manot: A Medieval Sugar-Producing Site," *ʿAtiqot* 42 (2001): 277–308.

[109] The date and function of the medieval and post-medieval aqueducts that punctuate the southern Syrian countryside have remained problems for the archaeological study of sugar production. Usually their identification as components of sugar mills is made on the basis of associated sugar pots, though this practice is far from consistent. It is possible that many aqueducts originally attributed to Mamluk-era sugar mills may have been part of Ottoman-era flour mills. For some technological studies of mills in Jordan, see Muhammad S. Malkawi, "The Water Mills of Wadi Kufranjeh during the Period between Late Mamluk and Early Ottoman: A Technological Study" (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1994); Joseph A. Greene, "The Water Mills of the ʿAjlun-Kufranja Valley: The Relationship of Technology, Society and Settlement," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 757–65; and Alison McQuitty, "Water-Mills in Jordan: Technology, Typology, Dating and Development," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 745–51.

[110] Reference to Edna J. Stern's M.A. thesis, "The Sugar Industry in Palestine during the Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods in Light of the Archaeological Finds" (Hebrew University, 1999, in Hebrew) in Katherine Strange Burke, "A Note on Archaeological Evidence for Sugar Production in the Middle Islamic Periods in Bilad al-Sham," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 111.

[111] For an excellent summary of archaeological research on the Syrian sugar industry and a bibliography of published studies, see Burke, "Archaeological Evidence for Sugar

Five sugar mills have been excavated in southern Bilād al-Shām,[112] and several more have been architecturally and archaeologically surveyed in the wadis of Jordan.[113] The technology of these mills—how they operated and how sugar was physically processed—has been of focal interest in archaeological reports for many years. What is relatively new is the analysis of their industrial waste, which directly reflects technology, availability of natural resources, and exchange networks. It also can be a measure of the environmental impact of sugar refining, an issue not adequately investigated archaeologically. Excavation reports frequently mention the deposits of ash associated with sugar mills, but only recently has that ash been subjected to laboratory analysis. At Horbat Manot, a sugar production site north of Acre, palaeobotanical analysis of charred remains of wood and ash identified trees typical of Mediterranean zones (namely carob, evergreen oak, terebinth, and Cyprus oak—all local vegetation) as the fuel that fed the fireplace in the refinery.[114] Excavations at Tawāḥīn al-Sukkar, a contemporary sugar factory in Jordan southeast of the Dead Sea, included systematic analysis of the waste produced by sugar refining.[115] The purpose of the joint British-Greek project was to "place the sugar industry in the context of the landscape that generated and sustained it,"[116] producing some of the earliest comprehensive data on the technologies and resources that made sugar production possible in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. A large waste heap at the site (in Trench II) produced several layers of refuse, including charcoal and ash, sand and gravel, and a white powdery industrial waste. The latter was subjected to x-ray diffraction analysis, which

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Production."

[112] In addition to those cited in Burke, we should add the recent fieldwork near Safi in southern Jordan (Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 591–614) and the brief report on the Abu Sarbut mill in Margreet Steiner, "The Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut, a Mamluk Village in the Jordan Valley," *ARAM* 10 (1998): 141–51.

[113] Ṣāliḥ Ḥamārnah, "Zirāʿat Qaṣab al-Sukkar wa-Ṣināʿatuhu ʿinda al-ʿArab al-Muslimīn," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 22 (1977–78): 12–19; Rubá Abū Dalū, "Maʿāṣir al-Sukkar fī Ghawr al-Urdunn fī al-Qarnayn al-Thānī ʿAshar wa-al-Rābiʿ ʿAshar al-Mīlādiyīn fī Ḍawʾ al-Maṣādir al-Tārīkhīyah wa-al-Muktashafāt al-Athariyah" (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1991), and idem, "Taqnīyah Maʿāṣir al-Sukkar fī Wādī al-Urdunn khilāl al-Fitrāt al-Islāmīyah," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 37–48.

[114] Stern, "Lower Horbat Manot," 293; Uri Baruch, "Charred Wood Remains from Lower Horbat Manot, Western Galilee," *ʿAtiqot* 42 (2001): 309–10.

[115] 85–90% of the cane processed into crystallized sugar ends up as waste by-products (Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 593). For the potential environmental impact of the sugar industry, see Walker, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations."

[116] Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 591.

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identified several fine-grained minerals used in sugar refining: gypsum (an anti-caking agent), calcite (for the clarification of sugar crystals), bassanite, anhydrite, aragonite, and quartz, all of which occur naturally in the local Lisan sediments.[117] The laboratory results are historically relevant on two accounts: they demonstrate the use of local resources in sugar production, and they suggest ways in which sediments and refuse can help identify sugar refining sites where the architectural remains have disappeared.

As for the transport and marketing of sugar in Mamluk Syria, we know surprisingly little. Archaeologists have focused on production but not the subsequent processes of distribution and consumption. One site that has been identified as a sugar redistribution point is the Ḥisbān citadel. The storeroom of the governor's complex contained dozens of intact molasses jars. They appear to have been stored on wooden shelves and on the floor and were made in at least two standardized sizes. The shape of the jars is generally piriform, like the molasses jars found in sugar mills, but with a visible "waist" in the middle. The hourglass shape produced is ideal for wrapping ropes around the middle of the jar, and it is in this way that we should imagine how many sugar products were transported from mill to market: donkeys carried a jar or two on each side, secured by ropes.[118] It appears at this stage in fieldwork that sugar was transported here from some distance, the Jordan Valley being 24 km to the west as the crow flies but 101 km today by car (via the Allenby Bridge).[119] While Mamluk citadels functioned as repositories for weapons and food, the relatively large quantity of jars (in relation to the limited size of the storeroom and the estimated size of the garrison—likely only a handful of soldiers were stationed there) led the excavators to believe that the sugar, or molasses, was more likely brought to the citadel for redistribution to local markets (the one in Ḥisbān village included) than stored here for the

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[117] Ibid., 606, 611.

[118] On the basis of camel bones at Tell Abu Sarbut, the excavators suggest that sugar was transported overland by pack animals (Steiner, "Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut," 148–49). This kind of transportation may also have been supplemented by Dead Sea shipping; boats carried agricultural products between Transjordan and Palestine in this fashion throughout the Middle Ages (Joseph Greene, "From Jericho to Karak by Way of Zughar: Seafaring on the Dead Sea, Bronze Age to Ottoman," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 [2009] [forthcoming]).

[119] Ongoing fieldwork in the medieval village and its hinterland is contradicting earlier assumptions that sugar was grown and processed nearby: the water mills closest to the tell (in the Wādī Ḥisbān), at least, are Ottoman and Mandate-era in date and were almost certainly used for grinding grain (project archives, 2004 survey). The ash deposits on the acropolis will be subjected to palaeobotanical analysis shortly to determine what kind of industrial activity on site produced them. These deposits are described in Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 464, Fig. 32.

garrison or an *iqṭāʿ* holder.[120] Similar sugar jars were also found in the ruins of the village below the citadel. What were the contents of the storeroom worth?[121] A recent study, based on the holding capacity of the storeroom and that of the jars themselves, calculations of weight and density of processed cane sugar, and the price of Syrian sugar in fourteenth-century markets, estimated that the Ḥisbān stores, if full, potentially held 194 dinars worth of sugar at any one time. This alone would have contributed 10% of a cargo of sugar carried on a Venetian galley in this period.[122]

One important element in the success of the Mamluks' sugar production was securing an adequate work force in what was a very labor-intensive industry. The organization and size of the labor force cannot be determined on the basis of the mills/refineries alone. Burke appropriately highlighted the importance of studying sugar production in relation to supporting settlements, an area of inquiry that until very recently had not been systematically investigated.[123] Excavations at the sister sites of Tawāḥīn al-Sukkar (the sugar factory—hereafter TES) and Khirbat Shaykh ʿĪsá (its supporting village—hereafter KSI) in 1999–2002 were specifically designed to examine the relationship of sugar production to the villages and land that sustained it. A hybrid of landscape and industrial archaeology, the TES/KSI project demonstrated ways in which villages were pivotal to the maintenance and success of the industry. In addition to labor (and here the corvée labor of peasants is meant), villages supported the sugar mills by producing the sugar and molasses jars without which sugar crystal could not be generated from the syrup.[124]

Unlike the sugar industry, the production of olive oil was both a household industry and practiced commercially, as it is today. The processing of olive oil requires coordination of the efforts of cultivators, press owners, and merchants; study of the industry has real potential to reveal social patterns on the village level, if one can flesh this out in the archaeological record. The results of the 2003 season

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[120] For reports on the storeroom in general, see Walker, "The Late Ottoman Cemetery in Field L, Tall Hisban," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322 (2001): 1–19, and idem, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 249–50.

[121] It is not certain what products were stored in these jars—the sugar crystals or the molasses—as no residue analysis has been done on the vessels to date. We cannot automatically assume that the same vessels used for processing were used for transport and storage, although this is possible.

[122] Walker, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline," 191.

[123] Burke, "Archaeological Evidence for Sugar Production," 118. The sugar factory at Tell Abu Sarbut in the eastern Jordan Valley is a bit of an exception. Here excavators noted the transformation of the industrial site, after a period of abandonment, to a village engaged in a mixed agro-regime, with some continued cultivation of sugarcane, still in the Mamluk period (Steiner, "Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut"). Research has focused more on the earlier factory, however, than the later settlement.

[124] Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 610.

of the NJP in Malkā village produced some evidence of the social and economic mechanisms behind olive oil production in the fourteenth century.[125] Malkā was, according to an unpublished *waqfīyah* of 796/1393, the private property of Sultan Barqūq, who subsequently endowed the entire village in support of his madrasah in Cairo. The document describes in some detail the agricultural production of the village, emphasizing its extensive olive groves (apparently organized into numerous small plots among vegetable gardens) and presses *(maʿāṣir),* which remain the defining characteristics of Malkā's landscape today. Survey of the village and its hinterland resulted in the discovery of an underground, industrial-scale olive press, housed in a cave and used in the Byzantine and Mamluk periods. This "factory" was capable of producing a considerable profit. A recent economic study of the cave-press, based on calculations made for production capacity of presses in the western Galilee and export prices of the commodity provided by Ibn Kathīr, estimated the factory's annual income at 440 dinars, after the needs of the village were met, which was equivalent to 1/3 of a shipment of Spanish olive oil to Alexandria in 1405.[126] If modern production can be used to gauge the workings of the medieval industry, considerable cooperation was required to coordinate the harvest of olives and processing of oil produced on what were essentially family-run plots.

Wheat, olive oil, and sweeteners were staples of the average man's diet in the medieval Levant. Honey replaced sugar for families of limited means as a sweetener and was also used for medicinal purposes. Today beekeeping, and the sale of honey, is a common "small business" in Syrian villages, frequently supplementing incomes derived from other sources. The same was likely true in the Middle Islamic period. While perhaps a less prestigious product than sugar or olive oil, honey had ready markets and was essentially a local industry with no overt relation to state enterprise. Beekeeping is documented in Mamluk and Ottoman texts and is now appearing in unexpected archaeological contexts: cemeteries in Israel, as discussed earlier. [127] Ceramic beehives, in complete form, have been identified in several cemeteries of Mamluk and Ottoman date to mark graves, to seal graves, and (quite possibly) to bury infants. Although this phenomenon is not fully understood, it presents an opportunity to explore the study of household industry and traditions and taboos related to death in village society.

Narrative Four: The physical environment, local resources, and climate helped to mold rural societies in the Mamluk period in important ways.

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[125] The following relies on the field report found in Walker, "Northern Jordan Survey 2003."

[126] Walker, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline," 192–93.

[127] Taxel, "Ceramic Evidence of Beekeeping."

Limited and unpredictable rainfall is a reality in much of Syria, and this in a region that largely relies on rain-fed agriculture. In Jordan, even today the wheat crop fails once every five years for lack of rain.[128] Floods were equally a present and serious danger: Mamluk chronicles frequently describe the loss of life and property caused by heavy rains and flooding.[129] Climate changed in dramatic ways over the course of Mamluk rule: the wetter conditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries conducive to intensive agriculture contrast with the high temperatures and drier conditions that led to frequent droughts throughout the fifteenth. This has been documented by multiple lines of environmental research, but its impact on contemporary societies is not understood.[130] Similarly, we do not know how growing sugarcane, and other cash crop industries, transformed soils in the short or long terms or to what degree, if at all, deforestation and soil erosion have contributed to the vagaries of settlement and the rural economy in the Middle (Ayyubid-Mamluk) and Late Islamic (Ottoman) periods. Although the impact of climate change on the scale and intensity of settlement has been a fixture of archaeological literature on the Mamluk period for many years, new interest in the ecological aspects of cultural change has forced us to reevaluate

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[128] Carol Palmer, "'Following the Plow': the Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan," *Levant* 30 (1998): 132.

[129] To cite some examples for Jordanian towns and villages: two months of rain in the winter of 761/1359 caused flooding so severe in Ḥubrāṣ that the local qadi drowned and prices skyrocketed (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* [Damascus, 1994], 3:164); the great flood of 728/1328 destroyed much of the town of ʿAjlūn, taking away large sections of the marketplace (Yūsuf Ghawānimah, "Al-Tijārah al-Dawlīyah fī al-Urdun fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 [1987]: 328–29—citing al-Jazarī, Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, and al-Nuwayrī); and in 790/1388 heavy rains blocked roads near Ḥisbān, preventing travel for days (Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* [Beirut, 2003], 1:106–7). The chroniclers rarely mention the abandonment (however temporary) of a village as a result, but in their accounts of the washing away of entire neighborhoods and severe damage to crops, it was likely that residents relocated for a while until they had a chance to rebuild. (This topic is dealt with in more detail in ch. 2 of my forthcoming *Jordan in the Late Middle Age: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier*.)

[130] Methods of data collection have included palynology, sedimentology, dendrochronology, and isotope analysis. For a list of published studies relevant to Mamluk Syria, see B. Lucke, Z. al-Saad, M. Schmidt, R. Bäumler, S. O. Lorenz, P. Udluft, K.-U. Heussner; and B. J. Walker, "Soils and Land Use in the Decapolis Region (Northern Jordan): Implications for Landscape Development and the Impact of Climate Change," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* 124, no. 2 (2008) (forthcoming); Walker, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline," 197, note 119; and idem, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations," 90, note 38. More recently, two monographs on the topic of climate, land use, and landscape have been published with data sets taken from Jordan and Israel: Rosen, *Civilizing Climate,* and Carlos E. Cordova, *Millennial Landscape Change in Jordan: Geoarchaeology and Cultural Ecology* (Tucson, 2007).

climate and natural resources as variables in the socio-political-economic history of the Mamluk state. The result has been the development of new methods of data collection and revised models for assessing the complicated relationships between climate, land use, and settlement.

It was, in part, to explore social adaptation to limited resources that the Dhibān Excavation and Development Project was launched in 2004.[131] Dhibān is a bit of an anomaly for medieval settlement history. In spite of the challenges presented by its geography (surrounded by canyons, and physically isolated as a result) and environment (poor soils, barely enough annual rainfall for dry farming, no natural springs), the site continued to be settled and resettled since Antiquity. In order to account for this local connection to place, and in a larger sense to understand the phenomenon of large-scale sedentarization in locales with poor environmental conditions, the project has embarked on a focused study of Dhibān in the Mamluk period, when the village was revived, settlement expanded, and land use intensified. The role of the state in reorganizing agriculture, and indirectly settlement, is considered in light of this rural renaissance and its subsequent, and quite gradual, decline. As this project is relatively new, and the excavation component has only recently begun, the results of the cultural ecology study are not yet available.[132] Nonetheless, it is a promising approach to the study of Mamluk villages, introducing new venues of research on the effects of imperial policies in marginal lands.

Originally interested in the roles of climate and land use in the abandonment of the Decapolis region, the Brandenburg Institute of Technology has expanded its field and lab work to include much larger regions of Syria through the medieval periods.[133] Methodologically the Brandenburg project uses soil genesis studies (documenting the factors behind the creation and transformation of soils) to measure the impact of climate change and land use (ranging from intensive agriculture to pastoralism) in the physical transformation of the landscape and in settlement fluctuations. This project, led by Dr. Bernhard Lucke, has collaborated with the NJP since 2005 in documenting the dialectical relations among land use, settlement, and climate. The political ecology approach to Mamluk studies adopted by the NJP, highlighting the competition between state and local society over natural resources, has necessitated a combination of methods in gathering climate proxy data: palynology, phytolith studies, textual analysis, and now

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[131] See note 88 for project publications.

[132] We eagerly await the results of the 2009 field season.

[133] For an earlier report, see Bernhard Lucke, Michael Schmidt, Ziad al-Saad, Oliver Bens, and Reinhard Hüttl, "Abandonment of the Decapolis Region in Northern Jordan–Forced by Environmental Change," *Quaternary International* 135, no. 1 (2004): 65–82.

soil analysis and dendrochronology.[134] Preliminary results of soil study in 2006 eliminated soil erosion and deforestation as problems for local farmers in the Middle Islamic period, documented continuity in land use from pre-Mamluk times, and highlighted the role of winter floods in the transformation of the landscape and destruction of villages in pre-modern times.[135] The results of the other climate proxy studies are forthcoming.

The environmental approach is quite new in Mamluk studies. What is emerging from this Jordan-based fieldwork is an appreciation for how complex and ambiguous the Mamluks' management of natural resources was in southern Syria. Furthermore, the impact of climate on rural societies is not clear-cut, and local variations in the agricultural regime, the relation with state officials and local peoples, and the particular structure of local administration all came into play in determining the ways in which local communities responded to the limitations and possibilities offered by climatic variation. Of the research themes adopted in Mamluk archaeology today, this is arguably the most cross-disciplinary and theoretical.

Concluding Thoughts

It is not the purpose of archaeology to rewrite history or deliberately compete with narratives presented by written sources. The very tentative remarks about Mamluk Syria presented above have emerged from recent fieldwork that has sought to explain social change and settlement fluctuations, to flesh out the rural history not fully described by texts, and to acquire a greater knowledge of village life under Mamluk rule. The challenge for future archaeological research is to go beyond what has been done to include studies, for example, that identify more clearly the pastoralists of the rural landscape, consider the phenomenon of migration and resettlement in discourse on settlement "decline," and explore identity in the context of the distinctive regionalism in southern Syrian culture. In the process, it will deepen our understanding of Mamluk societies in their rich diversity and ability to adapt and develop.

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[134] For more on political ecology and Mamluk archaeology in Jordan, see Walker, "Peasants, Pilgrims, and the Body Politic."

[135] For Dr. Lucke's report, see Walker et al., "Village Life in Mamluk and Ottoman Hubras and Saham," 464–67.
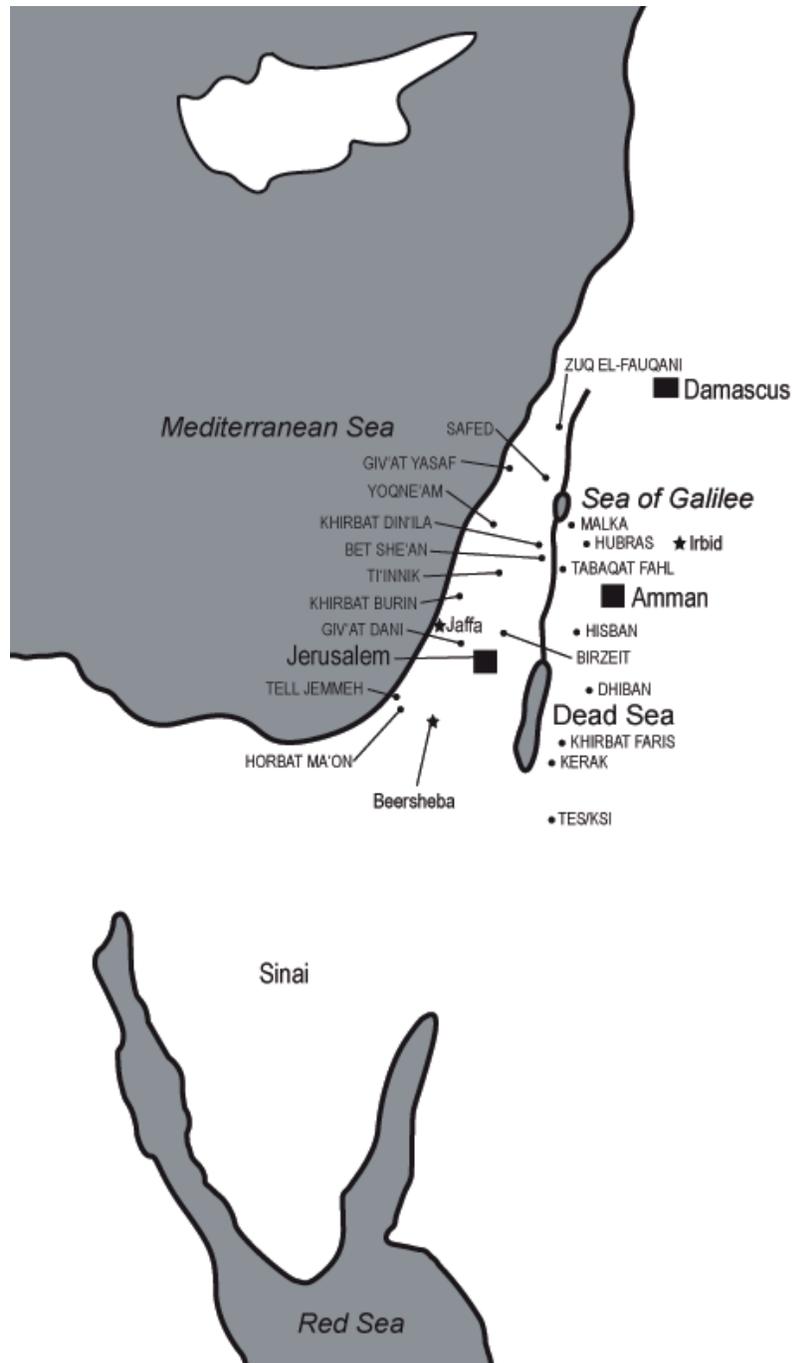
Fig. 1. Map of sites discussed in article.
(courtesy of Chris M. Cooper, Evolving Perspective, Springfield, MO)

Fig. 2. Entrance to Ḥisbān citadel, with enlarged southwest tower to the left.
(photo by author)

Fig. 3. View of Old Ḥubrāṣ to southeast, mosques (background, center) are in middle of the early twentieth-century village and surrounded by olive groves. (photo by author)

Fig. 4. "Original Building" at Khirbat Birzeit.
(courtesy of Dr. Hamed Salem, Institute of Archaeology, Birzeit University)

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Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out with the Bath Water? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence

Introduction

One of the most renowned scholars that Islamic civilization has produced, al-Maqrīzī is considered a major historian in his own right and is sometimes compared to the great thinker Ibn Khaldūn, with whom he was associated in the last years of the latter's life. Al-Maqrīzī's views on economics, history, and architecture still stimulate modern research in these fields; his ideas inform the way in which we look at certain questions, especially historiographical ones. His books are among the bestsellers of medieval literature, continuously copied in the age of manuscript culture, and then printed, reprinted, translated, and studied. As with every great figure, some criticisms, generated by contemporary envious colleagues or modern viewpoints based on anachronistic criteria, may tarnish the idyllic portrait. In this respect, al-Maqrīzī is no exception to the rule. Some scholars have questioned his integrity in historiographical terms. The case raised by Ayalon as regards al-Maqrīzī's position towards the *Yāsa,* the Mongol book of laws, probably surpasses all others in the modern period.[1] Ayalon's study did not stir up any controversy among the scholarly community because he based his aguments on irrefutable proofs, even though some remained conjectural.[2]

In his own time, al-Maqrīzī could not avoid the disparagement of his intellectual probity. The most derogatory remarks concern his alleged plagiarism of the work of his colleague and friend, al-Awḥadī. According to al-Sakhāwī, who vehemently

[1]David Ayalon, "The Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971): 99–140, 34 (1971): 151–80, 36 (1972): 113–58, 38 (1973): 107–56.

[2] The present writer recently produced indisputable evidence of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual dishonesty in the affair of the *Yāsa,* thus closing this case opened by Ayalon in 1971. See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the *Yāsa:* New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty," in *The Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria: Aspects of a Medieval Muslim State,* ed. Reuven Amitai and Amalia Levanoni (forthcoming).

repeated his accusation on several occasions, al-Maqrīzī had supposedly laid hands on his colleague's drafts upon his death (811/1408) and clean-copied the whole lot, adding some data, but publishing it in his own name under the title *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār.* The treatment al-Maqrīzī reportedly applied to al-Awḥadī's text would thus be similar to what we now call "plagiarism." Such a charge must be taken seriously, even more so in the case of al-Maqrīzī given that the resulting book is considered his magnum opus. Though first opened five centuries ago, this case engendered a lively debate that started with the beginning of the last century. Several scholars have endeavored to elucidate the validity of this charge on the basis of the elements they had at their disposal: al-Sakhāwī's accusation and al-Maqrīzī's text.[3] Most of the time, these efforts have resulted in a justification of al-Maqrīzī, best exemplified by F. Rosenthal's position: "the accusation of plagiarism is much too harsh."[4] In their scrutiny of this charge, most scholars were influenced by al-Sakhāwī's well-known vindictiveness towards almost everybody in his works, and they rebutted his allegations.

The aim of this article is to reexamine the question in the light of new evidence that has surfaced only recently. In one of the two extant volumes of the first draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* I noticed that 19 leaves are written in a different handwriting, though most of al-Maqrīzī's extant autograph manuscripts are in fact holograph.[5] Through a close analysis, both external and internal, I seek to

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[3] In chronological order: Ighnāṭyūs Yūlyānūvitsh Krātshkūvskī [I. Y. Kratchkovsky], *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfī al-ʿArabī,* trans. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim (Cairo, 1963), 2:483–85; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, "Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzī bayna al-Aṣālah wa-al-Naql," in *Dirāsāt ʿan al-Maqrīzī: Majmūʿat Abḥāth* (Cairo, 1971), 39–48; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927–1976* (Cairo, 1979), 2:231–58; Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, "Aḍwāʾ jadīdah ʿalá al-muʾarrikh Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābātihi," *ʿĀlam al-Fikr* 14, no. 2 (1983): 165–210; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʾarrikhīn wa-Arbaʿat Muʾallafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1992), 222–24; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ,*" in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 1993,* ed. Yasin Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101; idem, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiz wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–5), 1:59–66; Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn lil-Maqrīzī wa-al-Nāqilūn minhu," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah* (Beirut, 2002), 4:37–40.

[4] Franz Rosenthal, "al-Maḳrīzī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:194.

[5] In May 2003, I received a copy of the manuscript (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi [Istanbul] MS E. Hazinesi 1405) and noticed the difference in the handwriting. Given that a new edition of the section covered by this manuscript was in preparation by Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, I had to await its publication to see if he had established the same fact. When vol. 4 appeared at the end of 2003, I realized that he had apparently not noticed the difference in the handwriting. Moreover, several

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demonstrate that this section must be identified as the unique remnant of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* that has survived. As a consequence, this discovery allows me to reopen the case raised by al-Sakhāwī and to see whether or not the charge was justified. However, I do not claim to be an exponent or a proponent in this case: my aim is to try to answer the charge as fairly as possible, and for this, I will have to consider it in view of the perception of plagiarism in the context under study.

This newly-discovered section of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* needs further investigation: a critical edition together with a biography of al-Awḥadī and a study of the text will be published separately.[6]

The Charge

Without the charge brought by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) against al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the whole affair would have completely faded into oblivion. Indeed, al-Sakhāwī repeatedly accused al-Maqrīzī of having plagiarized a book written by one of al-Maqrīzī's colleagues whose name was al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408). On at least five occasions, he leveled this charge in different terms, but always in a very direct manner. The first of these is to be found in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, under the year in which al-Maqrīzī died, and in his biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* (al-Maqrīzī's entry):[7]

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passages found in al-Awḥadī's section and not included by al-Maqrīzī in his final version had been included in the edition, as supplementary data. A. F. Sayyid even reproduced the leaves where these additional data appear (4:123–29 of the introduction). Regarding the first two volumes, I had already stressed that this new edition could unfortunately not be considered as a critical one, due to the fact that A. F. Sayyid emended the texts with passages from the sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī or found in the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* instead of sticking to the manuscripts of the final version (see my review in this journal, 11, no. 2 [2007]: 169–76). This bias is more visible in the last two volumes of his edition and even more with the section in al-Awḥadī's hand.

[6] See F. Bauden, "From Draft to Palimpsest: A Critical Edition of the Unearthed Part of al-Awḥadī's Autograph Book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo," forthcoming in *Mamlūk Studies Review*.

[7] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, n.d.; reprint of Cairo, 1934–36), 2:22; idem, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. Najwá Muṣṭafá Kāmil and Labībah Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 2002–5), 1:73. The quotation is from the former, but both texts are almost identical.

And he remained in his hometown, devoting his time to occupying himself with history to such an extent that he became renowned and celebrated for this. A number of books in this [field] are attributed to him, such as *Al-Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo, which is a useful [book] given that he discovered al-Awḥadī's draft, as already stated in the latter's biography. He appropriated it and made brief additions to it.

وأقـام ببلده عاكفا على الاشتغال بالتاريخ حتى اشتهر به ذكره وبعد فيه صيته وصـارت له فيه جملة تصانيف كالخطط للقاهرة وهو مفيد لكونه ظفر بمسودة الأوحدي كما سبق في ترجمته فأخذها وزادها زوائد غير طائلة.

In a few words, al-Maqrīzī's reputation regarding the book that earned him fame until our time is demolished: it results from an appropriation of somebody else's work, only improved by adding a few data. The second denunciation is even more defamatory. Al-Sakhāwī wrote it, as he said, in al-Awḥadī's entry:[8]

He devoted his attention to history, of which he was passionately fond. He wrote a comprehensive draft about the topography of Miṣr[9] and Cairo on which he worked hard. [With this], he did a useful work and in an excellent manner. He made a fair copy of part of it. Then Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it [completely] and attributed it to himself [after he had made] additions.

واعتنى بالتاريخ وكان لهجا به وكتب مسودة كبيرة لخطط مصر والقاهرة تعب فيها وأفاد وأجاد وبيض بعضها فبيضها التقي المقريزي ونسبها لنفسه مع زيادات.

So, al-Maqrīzī had supposedly gotten hold of al-Awḥadī's draft—some parts of which had already been transcribed by the latter—made a fair copy of the whole thing, and finally written his name on the title page although he had only expanded it with a few additions. Moreover, we are told that al-Awḥadī's work, even though most of it still consisted of a draft, was a comprehensive book to which he devoted a lot of his time. Last but not least, it is clear that this was more than just a few notes scribbled on some quires: it constituted a really important contribution to the history of Cairo's architectural development. Not content with

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[8] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:358–59.

[9] To be understood as the quarter of Cairo and not as referring to Egypt.

these two attacks, al-Sakhāwī reiterated his allegation in another of his books devoted to the defense of history as a science, *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh,* where he provided the same details with, however, a reference to his informant in this affair:[10]

In the same way, al-Maqrīzī compiled [a history] of its topography, and it is a useful [book]. Our master told us that he discovered it in draft form through his neighbor Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Awḥadī who, however, had [already] made a fair copy of some parts. He [al-Maqrīzī] appropriated it after making some additions to what he [al-Awḥadī] had done and then attributed it to himself.

وكذا جمع خططها المقريزي وهو مفيد. قال لنا شيخنا إنه ظفر به مسودة لجاره الشهاب أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن الأوحدي بل كان بيض بعضه، فأخذها وزاد عليه زيادات ونسبها لنفسه.

Though the words differ only slightly from the previous quotation, the mention of an informant is a clue to understanding on what grounds al-Sakhāwī presumed to bring forth this charge. The *shaykhunā,* in al-Sakhāwī's jargon, refers to the only person he ever considered his master and to whom he devoted a lengthy biographical monograph:[11] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). This is a significant point because al-Sakhāwī was born in 830/1427, which means that he was only 15 years old when al-Maqrīzī died. It is unlikely that al-Sakhāwī would have heard or witnessed anything relating to this case before al-Maqrīzī's death, given his young age. On the other hand, it is reasonable to think that his master would have told him what he knew about this story when al-Sakhāwī got older, probably after al-Maqrīzī's death. Given that Ibn Ḥajar died seven years after al-Maqrīzī, his disciple was 22 years old by that time, a more credible age for a divulgence of that kind.[12]

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[10] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh li-man Dhamma Ahl al-Tārīkh,* in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* rev. ed. (Leiden, 1968), 402; ibid., trans. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī (Beirut, 1407/1986), 266.

[11] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1999).

[12] For instance, al-Sakhāwī did not get access to Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* before 850/1447. As we will soon see, this was a major source for al-Sakhāwī's charge against al-Maqrīzī. His reading note on *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* together with two others by renowned scholars (Ibn Fahd and Taghrī Barmish), found in Ibn Ḥajar's autograph copy held in al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah, Cairo (MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 163a), is edited below.

Al-Sakhāwī confirmed that his informant in this case was Ibn Ḥajar in the biography he dedicated to his master, but he did not refer to an oral tranmission, asserting rather that he read Ibn Ḥajar's allegation in the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris:* [13]

I also read in his [Ibn Ḥajar's] handwriting, in the biography of the man of belles-lettres, the historian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī, what follows: "He devoted his time to working on the topography of Cairo but it was in draft form when he died. The shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it."

وقرأت بخطه أيضا في ترجمة الأديب المؤرخ الشهاب أحمد بن الحسن بن عبد الله بن طوغان الأوحدي ما نصه: اعتنى بعمل خطط القاهرة ومات عنه مسودة فبيضه الشيخ تقي الدين المقريزي.

Whatever the case may be, the charge is undoubtedly a very serious one, as he claims that al-Maqrīzī's achievement in this case must be credited to al-Awḥadī. Before investigating if al-Sakhāwī's assertion was grounded on serious evidence and thus justified, it is necessary to turn to al-Awḥadī's biography and study his connection to al-Maqrīzī. [14]

It can be argued that without the incident discussed here, al-Awḥadī would have remained an obscure scholar. He was indeed largely unnoticed, as the data provided by the sources to recount his life are only found in three sources written by contemporaries who were acquainted with him or by a later historian who relied on these testimonies. In fact, the main sources are the very protagonists of this affair: al-Maqrīzī himself, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Sakhāwī, the last not having had the opportunity to know al-Awḥadī, as he was born shortly after the latter's death. Thanks to the data provided by these authors, [15] we know that Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī was born in

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[13] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:394. This is the fifth time al-Sakhāwī exposes al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism.

[14] A fuller account of al-Awḥadī's life will be found in "From Draft to Palimpsest."

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah,* partial autograph copy in Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, MS 1771, fols. 47b–49a = ibid., ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī (Beirut, 1992), 1:232–37; ibid., ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:185–90 (no. 120); Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1994–98; reprint of Cairo, 1969–72), 2:406; idem, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992), 195 (no. 316); idem, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris,* ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut, 1992–94), 3:38–39; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:358–59.

Cairo in 761/1360 in a family of eastern origin (probably Iraq or Iran). It was his grandfather who had come to Cairo, where he settled in 710/1310–11. He then entered the service of an influential Mamluk, Baybars al-Awḥadī, the governor of the citadel, and the latter's *nisbah* was attached to him, as frequently happened in the Mamluk milieu.[16] His grandson, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, served in the army where he held several positions, after he had received a thorough instruction in the various Quranic readings. As a scholar, he compiled numerous notebooks (*majāmīʿ*) and composed at least two books: a *dīwān* of his own poetry and a topographical history of Cairo. The latter mostly remained in draft form, though he managed to make a fair copy of some parts of it before his death in his 48th year according to our calendar, in 811/1408. Incidentally, al-Maqrīzī, who was born in the sixties of the eighth century (probably in 766/1364–65, which means that al-Awḥadī was five years older than him), outlived him by more than 34 years, as he died in 845/1442. Even though al-Awḥadī died earlier, the two men were not strangers to one another: they were neighbors, living in the same quarter of Barjawān, in the Fatimid part of the city, close to the street of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, and they met each other in their respective homes for sessions of transmission (*imlāʾ*), and this occurred in 810/1407, a year before al-Awḥadī's death:[17]

Our fellow, the expert reader [of the Quran], the historian, the man of letters, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī, the soldier, the Shafiʿite, transmitted to me orally in my home of Cairo on Saturday, 7 [nights] before the end of Rajab in 810 [25 December 1407].[18]

وحدثني صاحبنا المقرئ المؤرخ الأديب شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن طوغان الأوحدي الجندي الشافعي إملاء بمنزلي من القاهرة في يوم السبت لسبع[19] أن بقين من شهر رجب سنة عشر وثماني مائة.

Their bonds can even be appreciated by the fact that al-Maqrīzī's nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, attended al-Awḥadī's lectures,

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[16] See J. Sublet, *Le Voile du nom* (Paris, 1991), 28–30.

[17] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd,* MS 1771, fol. 48b = ed. ʿAlī, 1:235–36 = ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:188.

[18]This is the reading in the autograph copy. In both ʿAlī's and al-Jalīlī's editions: + ليال and the following أن missing. This shows that al-Jalīlī did not rely on his complete copy of the text, which belongs to his family (see Dāwud al-Čelebī al-Mawṣilī, *Kitāb Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil* [Baghdad, 1927], 264, no. 5), and the partial autograph, but on ʿAlī's edition, at least for this part!

[19] See Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, *Tablas de conversión de datas islámicas a cristianas y viceversa* (Madrid, 1946), 42–43.

where he recited to him the Quran and another work he had learned by heart in 810/1407.[20] The relationship between the two scholars must have been friendly, as can be perceived in the biography al-Maqrīzī wrote about him, where some pieces of al-Awḥadī's poetry dedicated to him are provided. In these succinct examples of his mastery of the most appreciated literary genre in the Arab world, sympathy as well as kindness abound. Suffice it to quote the following distich:

شـرفـت قـدري إذ أتـيـت لمنزلي ومـلـكـتـنـي بـالـبـر والمعروف

يـابـن الـخـلـائـف أنـت عـاضـد عصرنا لا بـدع إن أنـعـمـت بالتشريف

You honored my rank when you came to my home
and conveyed to me kindness and friendliness.
O scion of the caliphs! You are the support of our times.
It is no heresy if you are vested in the title of sharīf.[21]

Reading the data, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī and al-Awḥadī struck up a strong relationship based on mutual respect and devoid of academic rivalry, as sometimes happened in other cases.[22]

Let us now come back to the charge brought by al-Sakhāwī against al-Maqrīzī, and more particularly to his source, Ibn Ḥajar, as he clearly indicated that he owed his knowledge of the case to him. Given this fact, it seems likely that al-Sakhāwī read something about the plagiarism in Ibn Ḥajar's writings. In three different places, Ibn Ḥajar devoted space to an account of al-Awḥadī's work on the *khiṭaṭ.* The first account appears in his chronicle entitled *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr:*[23]

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[20] See his biography in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:150. He was born in 801/1399. Al-Sakhāwī cast doubt on his birth in that year, given that he already knew two books by heart at the age of 8. He died in 867/1462.

[21] There is an evident play here on the double meaning of *tashrīf:* to bestow upon somebody the title of *sharīf* (descendant of the Prophet) or a robe of honor. In the first case, it is a clear reference to al-Maqrīzī's alleged Fatimid ancestry. On this, see Paul Walker, "Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 83–97, particularly 86–87. On *tashrīf* in the second meaning, see Werner Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid und erhendes Wort: Studien zu "tashrīf" in mamlūkischer und vormamlūkischer Zeit* (Würzburg, 2002). The first meaning fits better given the beginning of that verse.

[22] See Anne Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (2003): 85–107.

[23] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:406.

This Shihāb al-Dīn was passionately fond of history. He wrote a comprehensive draft on the topography of Miṣr and Cairo, parts of which he made into a fair copy. He did a useful work and in an excellent manner.

وكان شهاب الدين هذا لهجا بالتاريخ وكتب مسودة كبيرة لخطط مصر والقاهرة وبيض بعضه وأفاد فيه فأجاد.

As is noticeable, Ibn Ḥajar did not say a word about al-Maqrīzī and the possible use he might have made of al-Awḥadī's work. On the other hand, it confirms that al-Sakhāwī is quoting from his master's work when speaking of al-Awḥadī's book, as the words provided here to describe it are found in the entry he devoted to him in his *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*.[24] Ibn Ḥajar's silence on the affair persists in the second source, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah:*[25]

His grandson, Shihāb al-Dīn, who had nice handwriting, compiled a book on the topography of Cairo on which he worked hard and which was in draft form when he died.

وجمع شهاب الدين حفيده——وكان حسن الخط——كتابا في خطط القاهرة تعب عليه ومات وهو مسودة.

Here again, not a shadow of an accusation is to be found in Ibn Ḥajar's report; but once more, this report can be identified as a source of al-Sakhāwī's data (in the use of the phrase *taʿiba ʿalayhi*[26]). However, Ibn Ḥajar became more explicit in the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* and revealed a bit more information:[27]

He compiled notebooks in belles-lettres, among them the topography of Cairo. He worked hard on it, but it was in draft form when he died. His friend, the shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, made use of it.

وجمع مجاميع في الأدب منها خطط القاهرة تعب فيه ومات عنه مسودة فانتفع به رفيقه الشيخ تقي الدين المقريزي.

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[24] See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:358–59.

[25] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 195.

[26] See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:358–59.

[27] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:39.

Ibn Ḥajar has hit the nail on the head: "he made use of it" *(intafaʿa bi-hi)*. Interestingly, it must be noted that al-Maqrīzī probably knew what Ibn Ḥajar said about this in the dictionary of his authorities, given that he had read his own biography in it. This is proven by the corrections he added in the margins of the autograph manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis*.[28] It is not known whether Ibn Ḥajar asked al-Maqrīzī to read his own entry and make corrections, if necessary, or let him borrow his book upon its completion,[29] but al-Maqrīzī undeniably leafed through the pages.[30] It is unlikely that he would have failed to notice al-Awḥadī's entry that lies just a leaf before (fol. 129b). If this is the case, he agreed with the fact that he "made use of it [al-Awḥadī's draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*]" *(intafaʿa bi-hi),* as he apparently did not modify Ibn Ḥajar's text.[31] Still, nowhere did Ibn Ḥajar say that al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it and then appropriated it, making some additions to it, as did al-Sakhāwī *(bayyaḍahā wa-nasabahā li-nafsihi maʿa ziyādāt)!* Should we conclude that this charge is just the result of al-Sakhāwī's intellectual envy towards someone who, even after his death, was still in the limelight? Truly, al-Sakhāwī managed to build his own reputation as a mudslinger, as he often dipped

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[28] Cairo, al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a. This fact had not been noticed by the editor, al-Marʿashlī, who integrated these corrections in the text as if they were written by Ibn Ḥajar. The handwriting, though, is quite different. A critical edition of al-Maqrīzī's and al-Awḥadī's entries will be found in Appendix 1 at the end of this article. Al-Maqrīzī's additions are identified in the picture by a frame and an arrow. It must be added that Ibn Ḥajar also added, at a later date, at the end of al-Maqrīzī's marginal addition, some interesting data regarding his alleged Fatimid ancestry. These data had not been edited by al-Marʿashlī and were ignored by those who wrote on this subject.

[29] The actual copy was finished in Cairo on Thursday 16 Jumādá II 829/25 April 1426 (fol. 161a). Later on, Ibn Ḥajar added "save for what has been added after that" *(siwá mā ultuḥiqa fīhi baʿda dhālika),* which refers to the numerous marginal additions. It can thus be ascertained that al-Maqrīzī read his entry after 829/1426.

[30] His marginal notes are found on the following leaves: 11a (صوابه يوم الأحد ثالث عشر شوال), 12a (يوم), (الثلثاء ثاني صح), 50a (عبد الله بن), 111b (ولد في تاسع عشر شهر ربيع الأول سنة تسع عشرة وسبع مائة), 127a (ثاني عشري), 137a (أخبرني الثقة فتح الله عنه بما نسبح من ذكره), 135b (يوم الأربعاء عاشر ربيع الآخر), 128b اسمه يوسف بن محمد بن (عيسى ولقبه سيف الدين). One will conclude that al-Maqrīzī corrected mistakes and added data unknown to Ibn Ḥajar. Al-Sakhāwī noticed al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, as he says in the biography he gave of al-Maqrīzī in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* (1: 77): "*wa-qad dhakarahu shaykhunā fī al-qism al-akhīr min muʿjamihi alladhī waqafa ṣāḥib al-tarjamah ʿalayhi.*"

[31] One will notice on the leaf (see Appendix 1), to the left of this information, an additional note consisting of a few words, which was later cancelled with circles that render the decipherment impossible nowadays (the note is identified in the picture by a frame). It is hard to say if this is even Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting. It could have been related to the question of plagiarism. I will come back to this note below.

his *qalam* in vinegar when depicting others.[32] It can be said that he was not very fond of al-Maqrīzī, as the following extract demonstrates:[33]

He had a good memory for history, but his knowledge of the Ancients was tiny. This is why he often made mistakes in their names [phonetic distortions and slips of letters], and sometimes he misplaced the diacritical marks in the texts *(matn)*. . . . As for the events of Islam, the knowledge of the transmitters and their names, the declaration of [their] dishonesty and integrity, [their] ranks, [their] lives, and all sorts of things which are part of the mysteries and beauties of history, he was incompetent. He had a limited knowledge of *fiqh,* hadith, and grammar.

وكان حسن المذاكرة بالتاريخ لكنه قليل المعرفة بالمتقدمين ولذلك يكثر له فيهم وقوع التحريف والسقط وربما صحف في المتون. . . . وأما الوقائع الإسلامية ومعرفة الرجال وأسمائهم والجرح والتعديل والمراتب والسير وغير ذلك من أسرار التاريخ ومحاسنه فغير ماهر فيه وكانت له معرفة قليلة بالفقه والحديث والنحو.

This is a pretty harsh depiction, and it partly misled modern scholars who dealt with the charge of plagiarism he brought against al-Maqrīzī because they considered that it was additional proof of al-Sakhāwī's envy toward al-Maqrīzī.

Given that al-Maqrīzī is the accused in this affair, it would be interesting to know what he said about al-Awḥadī—his friend *(rafīquhu),* according to Ibn Ḥajar—and his work. In fact, he drew his portrait in two of his books. In his biographical dictionary devoted to Egypt, *Al-Muqaffá,* the only useful data is the following:[34]

He compiled notebooks and copied [a lot] in his own hand. He was skillful in the Quranic readings, belles-lettres, and history.

وجمع مجاميع وكتب بخطه وبرع في القراءات والأدب والتاريخ.

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[32] See Carl Petry, "al-Sakhāwī," *EI²,* 8:881.

[33] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 2:23.

[34] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 1:513–14 (no. 498), 514.

In the dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* he is more loquacious on the issue:[35]

He memorized a lot about history, particularly the history of Egypt, to such an extent that he hardly missed anything of the history of its rulers, caliphs, and amirs, of the events of its wars, the topography of its houses, and the biography of its notables . . . I have jotted down from him heaps of historical data, and I benefited from him a lot in the field of history. God assisted me in providing me with drafts in his own handwriting about the topography of Cairo that I incorporated in my comprehensive book entitled *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār.* He also offered me the collection of his poems, which is a nice volume in his own hand.

وكان . . . حافظا للكثير من التاريخ، لاسيما أخبار مصر، فإنه لا يكاد يشذ عنه من أخبار ملوكها وخلفائها وأمرائها ووقائع حروبها وخطط دورها وتراجم أعيانها إلا اليسير . . . علقت عنه جملة أخبار واستفدت منه كثيرا في التاريخ وأعانني الله بمسودات من خطه في خطط القاهرة ضمنتها كتابي الكبير المسمى بكتاب المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والآثار وناولني ديوان شعره وهو في مجلدة لطيفة بخطه.

Courtesy Forschungsbibliothek (Gotha), MS or. 1771, fol. 49a (featuring al-Maqrīzī's acknowledgment that he incorporated al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* in his own book)

Of course, this represents a praiseworthy confession, but does it answer the allegation of plagiarism put forward by al-Sakhāwī? The problem does not lie so much in the fact that al-Maqrīzī incorporated a draft treating of the same subject as the book he was writing, but rather in the fact that he simply made a fair copy of it *(bayyaḍahā)* and then attributed it to himself *(nasabahā li-nafsihi)* after having made some additions to it *(maʿa ziyādāt)*. What about this grievance?

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[35] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186.

Should we conclude, as some modern scholars have done, that al-Sakhāwī was liable to spin a yarn to bring such a scurrilous accusation? Here is how Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid appraised it:[36]

This confession . . . refutes the accusation brought by al-Sakhāwī and that many researchers have doubted. It confirms the malicious intent of al-Sakhāwī, who, in consulting al-Awḥadī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* was only interested in the quotation and garbled al-Maqrīzī's words to give more weight to the accusation he brought against him.

وهـذا الاعتـراف . . . ينفي الاتـهـام الـذي ساقه السخاوي وتشكك فيه الكثير من الباحثين ويؤكد سوء نية السخاوي الذي اطلع على ترجمة الأوحدي عند المقريزي في «درر العقود الفريدة» ولكنه توقف بالنقل وحرف كلام المقريزي ليؤكد الاتهام الذي ساقه ضده.

Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, who also dealt with the charge of plagiarism at about the same time as Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, interpreted the data in a similar way:[37]

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[36] Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–4), 1:64.

[37] Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn lil-Maqrīzī wa-al-Nāqilūn minhu," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* 4:38.

Furthermore, al-Sakhāwī had read the draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* given that he wrote on it: "Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī also consulted it and took advantage of it in 855," as it appears on the published photograph and as [it is confirmed] by the fact that he borrowed from *Durar al-ʿUqūd* for several biographies in his book. This establishes a malicious intent of alteration and omission towards al-Maqrīzī, because there is a big difference between copying from the sources and making a fair copy of a complete book and then appropriating it.

ثم إن السخاوي كان قد قرأ مسودة درر العقود الفريدة للمقريزي إذ أنه كتب عليها «وكذا طالعه واستفاد منه محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي سنة ٨٥٥» كما يظهر في الصورة المنشورة، كما نقل في تراجم كثيرة في كتابه عن درر العقود مما يدل على سوء القصد تجاه المقريزي بالتحوير والحذف، فهناك فرق كبير بين الأخذ من المصادر وبين تبييض كتاب كامل ونسبه لنفسه.

Both authors, writing at the same time, considered al-Sakhāwī's accusation to be a mere result of his "malicious intent" *(sūʾ al-nīyah/al-qaṣd)* given that, according to them, al-Sakhāwī made up the charge on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's confession in his biographical dictionary. Al-Jalīlī stressed that a proof of this maliciousness can be seen in the note of consultation al-Sakhāwī wrote on the title page of the autograph of *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* as is visible here:
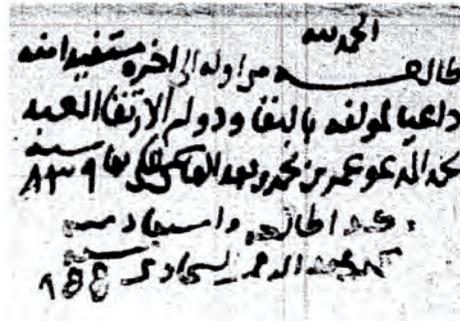

Courtesy Forschungsbibliothek (Gotha), MS or. 1771, fol. 1a

الحمد لله || طالعه من أوله إلى آخره مستفيدا منه || داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء ودوام الارتقاء العبد || محمد المدعو عمر بن محمد بن فهد الهاشمي المكي بها سنة ٨٣٩ [٣٦\١٤٣٥].
وكذا طالعه واستفاد منه || محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي سنة ٨٥٥ [٥٢\١٤٥١].

To this, two rebuttals can be made. First, al-Sakhāwī also read what Ibn Ḥajar had written in his *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* regarding the fact that al-Maqrīzī made use of al-Awḥadī's draft on the *khiṭaṭ,* and this five years earlier, as is shown here: [38]
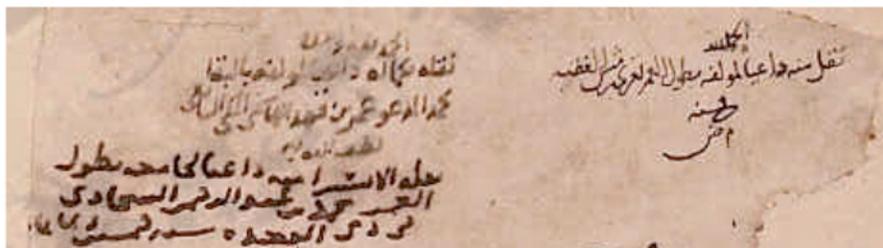
Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 163a

الحمد لله || نقل منه داعيا لمؤلفه بطول العمر تغري برمش الفقيه || في سنة م ض [= ٨٤٠\٣٧–١٤٣٦].

الحمد لله وحده || نقله بكماله داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء || محمد المدعو عمر بن فهد الهاشمي المكي الشافعي || لطف الله به.

نقله إلا يسيرا منه داعيا لجامعه بطول || العمر محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي || في ذي القعدة سنة خمسين وثمانما[ئة]
.[١٤٤٧\]

He was thus fully aware of the story thanks to these two sources. Second, it must be emphasized that al-Sakhāwī implicitly acknowledged his awareness of al-Maqrīzī's confession in the *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* a point apparently disregarded by Sayyid and al-Jalīlī: [39]

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[38] These reading notes were not published by the editor of this text, al-Marʿashlī. The first reader, Taghrī Barmish, was the *nāʾib al-qalʿah* and Ibn Ḥajar's student. Taghrī Barmish narrated a dream he had involving Ibn Ḥajar, on the same leaf, just above his reading note. This account, unpublished too, can be read in the biography of Ibn Ḥajar that al-Sakhāwī wrote, where he said he read it in one of his master's works (i.e., *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis*). See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:309–10. Al-Sakhāwī reveals in the same work that he managed to consult the manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* which was brought back by somebody else from Ibn Ḥajar's house, and that he took note of the biographies mentioned there in a very short time (maybe four days), before returning it to his master. See ibid., 3:1019 (ʿāda wa-al-muʿjam maʿahu fa-surirtu bihi kathīran wa-rajaʿtu min fawrī fa-fakaktuhu min al-jild wa-tajarradtu fa-katabtu minhu al-tarājim dūna al-asānīd iktifāʾan bi-al-fihrist maʿa tanbīhī fī kull tarjamah ʿalá asmāʾ mā dhakara fīhā min al-marwīyāt wa-tamma fī ayyām yasīrah aẓunnuhā arbaʿah wa-jiʾtuhu bi-hi fa-qaḍá al-ʿajab min dhālika wa-saʾaltuhu fī fihrist al-kitāb bi-khaṭṭihi fa-faʿala).

[39] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:359.

And there are interesting details in his [al-Awḥadī's] biography in al-Maqrīzī's ʿ*Uqūd* [= *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*], [where] he [al-Maqrīzī] admitted that he took advantage of his drafts on the topography.

<div dir="rtl">وفي ترجمته من عقود المقريزي فوائد واعترف بانتفاعه بمسوداته في الخطط.</div>

Furthermore, al-Sakhāwī never claimed that Ibn Ḥajar had reported the offense committed by al-Maqrīzī in his own writings. The only thing we are sure of is that he said that Ibn Ḥajar told him *(qāla lanā shaykhunā)*. From this, it may be inferred that this was a testimony by word of mouth, transmitted by a master to his pupil. No doubt, al-Sakhāwī's conviction was strengthened by what he read in al-Maqrīzī's own handwriting in 855/1451–52, ten years after the latter's death, though al-Maqrīzī did not confess he had plagiarized his colleague's draft, but only that he had incorporated it into his own work. Consequently, Ibn Ḥajar's oral disclosure was critical, as we will see. Now, the time has come to leave the world of conjecture and to bring forth evidence.

The Evidence

No autograph copies of the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* have been reported thus far. However, two volumes, probably out of four, of the first draft have been preserved.[40] It must be stressed that it is quite rare that a draft of a first version would be preserved when a fair copy of a fuller version had been prepared and the book published; when a fair copy of a work had been made, there remained no reason for the draft *(musawwadah)* to survive. Once published, the draft usually disappeared on the author's death, or even earlier if he destroyed it himself.[41] In this particular case, we can explain this idiosyncrasy by the fame gained by al-Maqrīzī during his own lifetime, which gave some value to his autograph manuscripts, even if they were drafts of works already published.[42] After his

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[40] They are now held in the library of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul under the shelfmarks E. Hazinesi 1405 and Hazinesi 1472. The latter was published by A. F. Sayyid under the title *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 1995).

[41] This kind of auto-da-fé is documented for Shujāʿ ibn Fāris ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dhuhlī al-Suhrawardī al-Ḥarīmī (d. 507/1113). A renowned copyist, he had written a supplement to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād,* but he "washed" *(ghasala)* the manuscript when he knew that he would die *(fī maraḍ mawtihi)*. By washing, it must be understood that the leaves were washed with water or that the book was immersed in water. In both cases, it caused the ink to fade and rendered the text illegible. In this case, no fair copy had been made. See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1990–2000), 35:161.

[42] Twenty-one holograph volumes representing twelve different works have been located so far.

death, they became collectibles.[43]

Logically, as we are speaking of drafts, both volumes are holograph manuscripts from the first to the last leaf—with one exception. In the second volume (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, MS E. Hazinesi 1405), nineteen leaves (82a–100b), corresponding to two quires[44] and dealing with the chapter devoted to the madrasahs, seem to bear both al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and a different one. The question is: does it correspond to the handwriting of a copyist hired by al-Maqrīzī to produce a fair copy of this section? We know indeed that al-Maqrīzī used a copyist for such a purpose at least once. At the end of his life, four years before passing away (841/1438), he hired a professional copyist[45] who was responsible for producing a fair copy of several small treatises, some of which al-Maqrīzī had finalized during his last stay in Mecca in 839/1435–36.[46] He was less than satisfied with the work accomplished, as he revealed in the comment he added to some colophons.[47] In any case, the handwriting of that copyist does not match with the one found in the section under study in the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Furthermore, neither of the volumes representing the draft was in any way a definitive version, as is shown by the numerous additions in al-Maqrīzī's hand found on slips of paper, in the margins, or in the body of the text itself.


See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Analysis," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 115–16.

[43] There is no other way to explain why two of his notebooks would have survived. On autograph manuscripts as collectibles, see Houari Touati, *L'Armoire à sagesse: bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003), 70–71.

[44] One leaf is obviously missing.

[45] The handwriting is clearly that of a clerk who worked at the chancellery. Some features are common with those found in documents produced at the same period. See, for instance, the closing formulas in the colophon on fol. 43a (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 560).

[46] The MS is now in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 560. It was accurately described for the first time by Reinart P. A. Dozy, "Notice sur le manuscrit 560 de la Bibliothèque de Leyde, contenant les Opuscules d'al-Makrízí," in *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes,* ed. idem (Leyde, 1847), 17–28.

[47] For instance, fol. 61b: انتهى تصحيحه جهد الطاقة مع كثرة سقم النسخة جامعه ومؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقريزي في شهر رمضان سنة إحدى وأربعين وثمانمائة
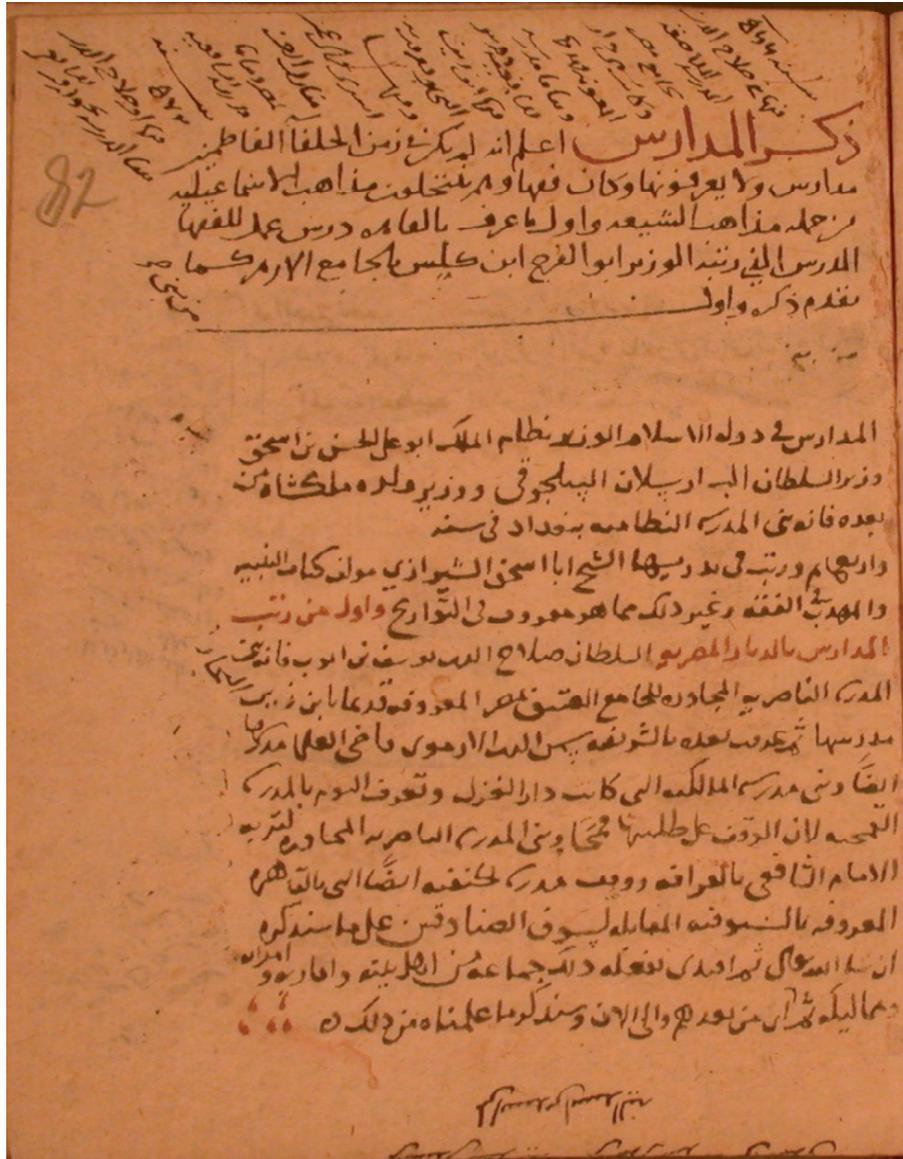
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 82a (featuring al-Awḥadī's handwriting in the lower part and al-Maqrīzī's in the upper part (the first five lines) after he rubbed out part of al-Awḥadī's introduction).

Al-Maqrīzī would hardly have asked somebody to recopy these nineteen leaves if they were only a draft, as the rest of the manuscript is.[48] In the following pages,

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[48] It must be remembered that none of the twenty-one autograph volumes mentioned earlier contains any handwriting other than al-Maqrīzī's—they are holograph manuscripts. The volume

I argue that this is al-Awḥadī's handwriting and that these two quires must be regarded as the unique surviving part of the book he devoted to the topography of Cairo, a fact that will have consequences for the question of al-Maqrīzī's alleged plagiarism. In support of my allegations, I will produce several external and internal elements.

Thanks to Ibn Ḥajar, whose role was of the utmost importance in this affair, as we will see, we know that al-Awḥadī's handwriting was a nice one *(kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ).* [49] By this, we must understand that he probably had an almost calligraphic script, as opposed to the more common scholar's *naskh.* Ibn Ḥajar wrote in a scholar's *naskh,* as did al-Maqrīzī, which means that the script was not so attractive:
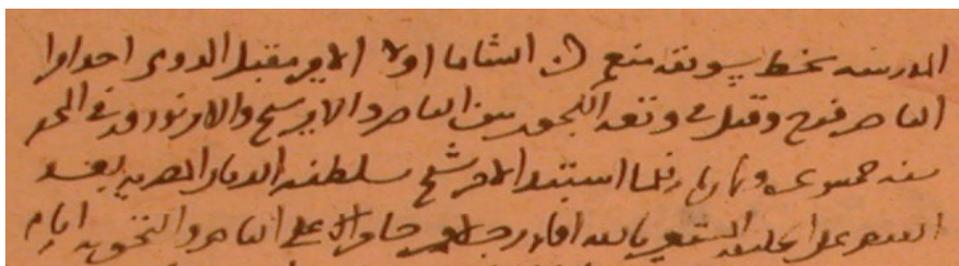
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 97a: al-Maqrīzī's scholar's *naskh*

The other handwriting featured on these nineteen leaves may indeed be described as beautiful:
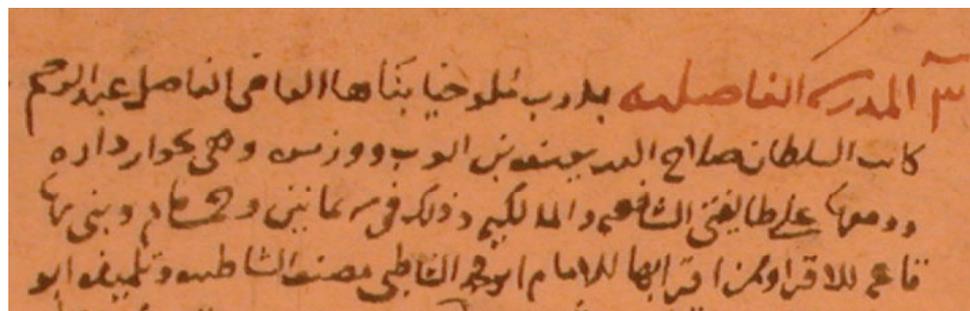
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 83a

One notices especially the final shape of the *kāf* (line 3: *wa-dhālika*) with its oblique stroke maintained and the curvy *wāw.* Some ligatures are also visible,

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of treatises in Leiden already referred to is excluded from this figure.

[49] Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 195.

most notably in words ending in a *tāʾ marbūṭah* or *hāʾ* (line 1: *al-madrasah,* line 2: *wazīruhu,* line 3: *al-shāfiʿīyah, al-mālikīyah,* line 4: *qāʿah, tilmīdhuhu*). But establishing that this is a pretty script and that it therefore corresponds to Ibn Ḥajar's description of al-Awḥadī's handwriting does not suffice to establish the truth. Ideally, it should be compared with a sample of al-Awḥadī's handwriting. Unfortunately, none of his autograph manuscripts are known to exist anymore,[50] but five very brief specimens of his script are still found on title pages of manuscripts he owned or consulted.[51] To these ownership and reading notes, he always appended the date, a practice also followed by his colleague, al-Maqrīzī.[52] They are all reproduced here:

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[50] His holograph *dīwān,* given to al-Maqrīzī (see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186 [*wa huwa fī mujalladah laṭīfah bi-khaṭṭihi*]), has not been discovered so far. Moreover, the resumé of the "Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf" (Afyon Karahisar, Gedik Ahmet Paşa Kütüphane Memurluğu, MS 17596), which is said to have been prepared by al-Awḥadī and later copied by Ibn Duqmāq, must in fact be attributed to Ibn Duqmāq. Al-Awḥadī only added a note to the original, complete manuscript of the "Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf," and Ibn Duqmāq took note of it at the end of his resumé. The attribution to al-Awḥadī is due to a misunderstanding of the note in question and is imputable to the editor of the text, Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (who also wrongly attributed the book to al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr): *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-al-Tuḥaf* (Kuwait, 1959). The same mistake was repeated by the translator: Ghādah al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Books of Gifts and Rarities* (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf): *Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996). For more detail about this, see my "From Draft to Palimpsest."

[51] These are: (1) Muḥammad ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, "Al-Hafawāt al-Nādirah," Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ahmet III 2631, fol. 137a (the text is known to me thanks to F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* 479, n. 4, where he states that the reading note is dated to 784/1382: طالعه جميعه فقير رحمة ربه تعالى أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن الأوحدي المقرئ الشافعي عفا الله عنه هـ سنة ٧٨٤); (2) Ibn Ḥamdīs, "Dīwān," Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a (لأحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة في جمادى الأولى سنة إحدى وثمان مائة); (3) Ibn Saʿīd, "Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (Cairo), MS tārīkh 103 mīm, fol. 1a (طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن [الحسن] بن الأوحدي سنة ٢[٨٠]); (4) al-Musabbiḥī, "Akhbār Miṣr," Biblioteca de El Escorial (El Escorial) MS 534, fol. 132a (طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة سنة ٨٠٣); (5) al-Kindī, "Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh," British Library (London), MS add. 23.324, fol. 134a (لأحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة في شهر رمضان المعظم من سنة خمس وثمان مائة). See also Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq" in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:61–62.

[52] To such an extent that al-Maqrīzī's reading notes are found on the title pages of two manuscripts consulted earlier by al-Awḥadī. On al-Maqrīzī's notes of consultation, see F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 117–18, where a list is provided.
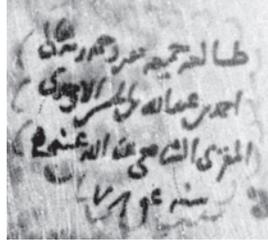
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ahmet III 2631, fol. 137a.
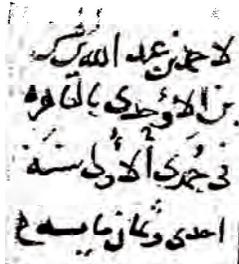
Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana
(Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a.
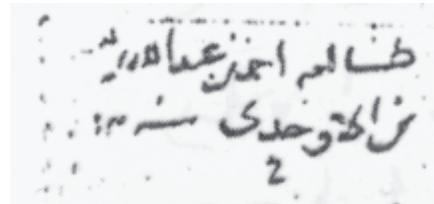
Courtesy Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah
(Cairo), MS tārīkh 103 mīm, fol. 1a.
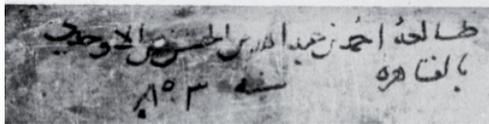
Courtesy Biblioteca de El Escorial
(El Escorial), MS 534, fol. 132a.
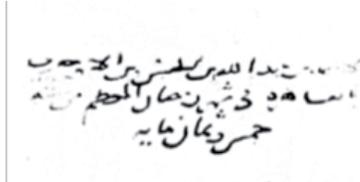
Courtesy British Library
(London), MS add. 23.324, fol. 134a.

The following sample must also be considered to be in al-Awḥadī's handwriting. It appears on the title-page of the copy of Ibn Ḥamdīs' *Dīwān* that al-Awḥadī owned (see ownership note above).


Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a.

A comparison between these brief specimens and the handwriting appearing in the draft allows us to notice a great similarity. The word *bi-al-Qāhirah* being present twice in these reading notes, it can be compared with the same word in the section of the draft bearing a different handwriting, for which two occurrences are also found:
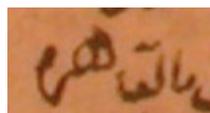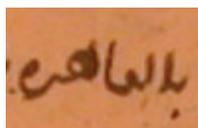
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fols. 82a and 93a.

Once again, the resemblance is striking. However, any specialist in Arabic paleography knows perfectly well how difficult and dubious it is to authenticate somebody's handwriting, even more so if the specimens compared are brief, as is the case here. To this *prima facie* evidence, it is thus necessary to bring forward other, internal, elements in order to corroborate the identification of this script as al-Awḥadī's. For this purpose, we must now turn to a textual analysis.

While reading this section, one notices cross references to other parts of the work. The author obviously planned to write a section dealing with houses *(al-ādur)*, and from the text it is understood that this section was to come after the one devoted to madrasahs.[53] But in the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* the section on houses precedes the one on madrasahs. Though one could argue that, in the draft, al-Maqrīzī had yet to write down the section on houses and that he later modified the order, how can it be explained that, in the second reference, the author of this section refers to his forthcoming study of the house of Ibn Wakīl al-Wazīr al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī and that this house is not even dealt with by al-Maqrīzī in his final version? If this is al-Awḥadī's script, it means that either he did not finish the section on houses or that, more probably, al-Maqrīzī ignored his data, as will become clear later regarding some of the madrasahs. Another cross reference, on fol. 99b, mentions the construction of al-Azhar mosque, and in this case, the author indicates that he had already dealt with this subject and the question of courses taught in that place.[54] Here again, the section is found neither

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[53] Fol. 87a: *wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālika in shāʾa Allāh taʿālá fī dhikr al-ādur;* fol. 99a: *wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālika fī al-ādur.*

[54] Fol. 99b: *qad taqaddama fī dhikr bināʾ al-jāmiʿ al-azhar mā kāna qarrarahu fīhi al-wazīr Abū al-Faraj ibn Killis min al-dars bi-hi baʿda ṣalāt al-jumʿah . . .*

in the draft nor in the final version.[55] In this case too, al-Maqrīzī did not bother with this cross reference made by al-Awḥadī, as he knew that he would produce a fair copy and that he could modify these references at that time.

Furthermore, several personal testimonies are found in this specific section, where the author confirms that he visited the monuments whose history he is detailing, in order to verify the historical facts reported in other books he used. For this, we can provide three enlightening examples.

On fol. 82b, one reads the following text:
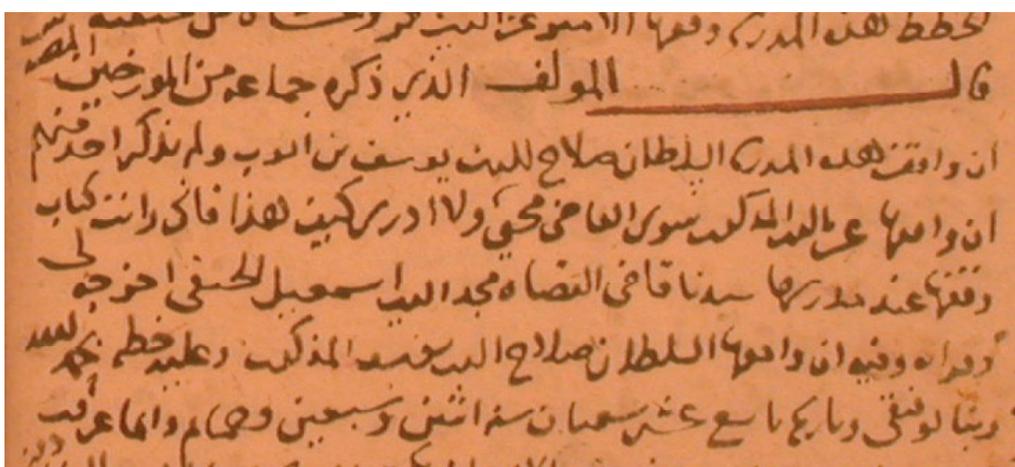
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 82b.

It is striking that the first words of this paragraph, until *alladhī,* have clearly been rubbed out by al-Maqrīzī, who replaced them with the convenient *qāla al-muʾallif,* an impersonal way to refer to himself, thus attributing to himself the following words. The author of these lines explains that he had the opportunity to see the document of the *waqf* of the said madrasah (al-Suyūfīyah) and that he read it, then giving details that corroborated what he declared at the beginning of the paragraph. Let us compare this text with the one appearing in al-Maqrīzī's final version of the *Khiṭaṭ:*

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[55] The draft just has a section entitled *dhikr al-jawāmiʿ allatī tuqām bi-hā al-jumʿah* (fol. 127a ff). That section has been reorganized in the final version.

المسودة، و ٨٢ب.

المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٥–٣٦٦ (طِ. بولاق).[56]

قـال المؤلف الـذي ذكـره جماعة من المؤرخين المصريين || أن واقف هذه المدرسة السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب ولم يذكر أحد منهم || أن واقفها عز الدين المذكور سوى القاضي محيي [الدين] ولا أدري كيف هذا فإني رأيت كتاب || وقفها عند مدرسها سيدنا قاضي القضاة مجد الدين إسمعيل الحنفي أخرجه لي || وقرأته وفيه أن واقفها السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف المذكور وعليه خطه بحمد الله ربنا توفيقي وتاريخه تاسع عشر شعبان سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة.

وقد وهم القاضي محيي الدين عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر فإنه قال في كتاب الروضة الزاهرة في خطط المعزية القاهرة مدرسة السيوفية وهي للحنفية وقفها عز الدين فرحشاه[57] قريب صلاح الدين وما أدري كيف وقع له هذا الوهم فإن كتاب وقفها موجود قد وقفت عليه ولخصت منه ما ذكرته وفيه أن واقفها السلطان صلاح الدين || وخطه على كتاب الوقف ونصه الحمد لله وبه توفيقي[58] وتاريخ هذا الكتاب تاسع عشري شعبان سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة.

The most conspicuous difference concerns his disregard of the name of the person who is supposed to have shown him the *waqf* document mentioned in the draft. We may wonder why al-Maqrīzī would have deleted such important data that would have confirmed his seriousness and scrupulousness, when he in fact resorted to this practice in other cases. The only possible interpretation is that al-Maqrīzī was reluctant to lie so explicitly about where he got his information (though the temptation to do so must have been strong); when he introduced al-Awḥadī's account with the vaguer and less authoritative "*qāla al-muʾallif,*" he felt no qualms about appropriating it as his own work. The same is true for the following passage, even more disturbing:

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[56]I am referring here to the Būlāq edition, given that A. F. Sayyid replaced the text of the final version with the one found in the draft in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (London, 2002–4), 4:461.

[57]Read فرخشاه.

[58]A. F. Sayyid, *Khiṭaṭ,* renders the text in his edition in this way: الحمد لله ربنا وبه توفيقي. One understands that he combined what he found in the draft with the reading given by the Būlāq edition, thus creating a new motto for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn!
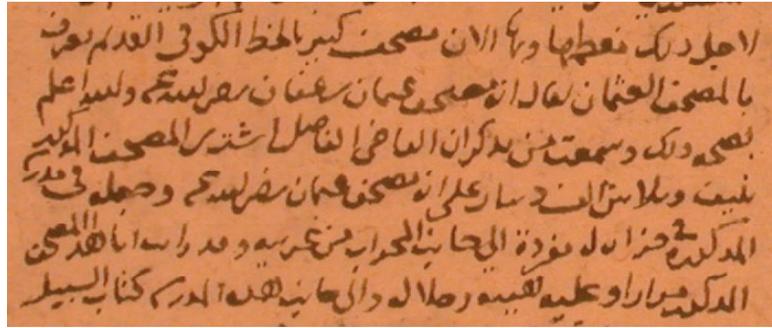
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 83a.

As can be seen, this passage is totally devoid of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting. The author of these lines attests that he saw a copy of the Quran attributed to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the madrasah al-Fāḍilīyah. If we compare this text with the one appearing in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* it appears that, in this case too, al-Maqrīzī neglected to mention these personal data:

المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٦ (ط. بولاق).[59]	المسودة، ص ٨٣ أ.
وبها إلى الآن مصحف قرآن كبير القدر جدا مكتوب بالخط الأول الذي يعرف بالكوفي تسميه الناس مصحف عثمان بن عفان ويقال إن القاضي الفاضل اشتراه بنيف وثلاثين ألف دينار على أنه مصحف أمير المؤمنين عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه وهو في خزانة مفردة له بجانب المحراب من غربيه وعليه مهابة وجلالة.	وبها الآن مصحف كبير بالخط الكوفي القديم يعرف || بالمصحف العثماني. يقال إنه مصحف عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه والله أعلم || بصحة ذلك وسمعت من يذكر أن القاضي الفاضل اشترى المصحف المذكور || بنيف وثلاثين ألف دينار على أنه مصحف عثمان رضي الله عنه وجعله في مدرسته || المذكورة في خزانة له مفردة إلى جانب المحراب من غربيه <u>وقد رأيت أنا هذا المصحف || المذكور مرارا وعليه هيبة وجلالة.</u>

If this section of the draft was composed by al-Maqrīzī, why would he withdraw such personal testimonies (indicated here with an underline) in the final version? One final example will demonstrate that he did so because he was not at ease with material he had not written himself.

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[59]A. F. Sayyid partially replaced the text of the final version with the one found in the draft in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:462.
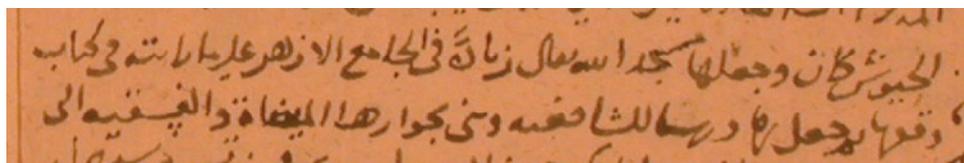
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 87b.

Here is one more personal testimony attributable to the author of these lines where he states that he saw the document of the *waqf* of the madrasah al-Ṭaybarsīyah. Again, the comparison between the two texts is illuminating.

الـمـواعـظ والاعـتـبـار، مـج ٢، ص ٣٨٣ (طـ. بولاق).[60]	المسودة، ص٨٧ب.
. . . الجيوش وجعلها مسجدا لله تعالى زيـادة في الجامع الأزهر وقرر بها درسا للفقهاء الشافعية وأنشأ بجوارها مِيضأة وحوض ماء سبيل . . .	. . . الجيوش كان وجعلها مسجدا لله تعالى زيادةً على ما رأيته في كتاب || وقفها ثم جعل بها درسا للشافعية وبنى بجوارها المِيضأة والفسقية التي . . .

Once more, the personal data have disappeared in al-Maqrīzī's version. This is upsetting because it betrays his determination never to refer to al-Awḥadī, as he could have simply introduced those words by *qāla al-Awḥadī.*

Last but not least, a decisive element in my opinion lies in the names of persons with whom the author of these lines cultivated a disciple-master relationship, calling them *shaykhunā.* Considering the nineteen leaves, four names are characterized in this way: Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (fols. 90a, 98b), Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (fol. 90b), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī (fols. 90b, 98b), and Taqī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (fol. 100a). If we consider those who were common masters of both al-Awḥadī and al-Maqrīzī, we find only two of them (al-Bulqīnī and al-ʿIrāqī). Moreover, the remaining two (al-Baghdādī and al-Bilbaysī) are explicitly listed as having played a major role in al-Awḥadī's education, particularly in the field of Quranic readings, in which he excelled,[61] but they do not appear in al-Maqrīzī's curriculum:[62]

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[60]A. F. Sayyid partially replaced the text of the final version in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* on the basis of what is found in the draft (4:536).

[61] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:406; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:358. Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:185–86.

[62] The four are mentioned by him in his dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 2:421–42 (al-Bilbaysī, no. 726), 254–55 (al-Baghdādī, no. 584), 234–37 (al-ʿIrāqī, no. 563), 431–36 (al-Bulqīnī, no. 740). It is noteworthy that he devoted less space to the

He [al-Awḥadī] recited [the Quran] according to the seven, and even the fourteen [readings] under the supervision of Taqī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī. Likewise, for twelve years, he was inseparable from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī, who was a master in this [field].

وتلا بالسبع بل بالأربع عشرة على التقي البغدادي وكذا لازم الفخر البلبيسي الإمام في ذلك اثنتي عشرة سنة.

How, then, should we interpret the following passage, where two names are provided?
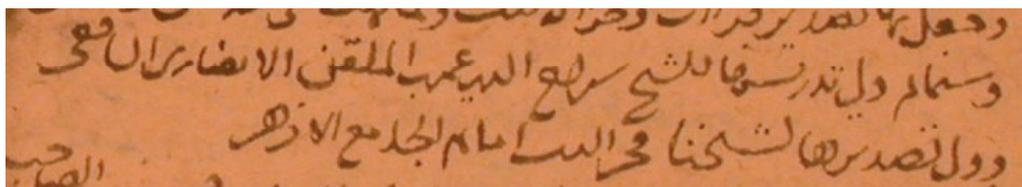
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 90b.

ولي تدريسها للشيخ سراج الدين عمر بن الملقن الأنصاري الشافعي || وولي تصديرها لشيخنا فخر الدين إمام الجامع الأزهر.

The first one, Ibn al-Mulaqqin, is simply designated as *al-shaykh,* while the second, Fakhr al-Dīn [i.e., al-Bilbaysī], as *shaykhunā,* although the latter does not appear among al-Maqrīzī's masters.[63] However, about the first, al-Maqrīzī declares:[64]

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first two men, who were not his masters, than the last two who were. About al-Bulqīnī, he says that he was "the most venerable man with whom I studied" *(ajall man akhadhtu ʿanhu al-ʿilm).* Ibid., 2:434. It is also worth mentioning that al-Maqrīzī wrote down al-Bulqīnī's death date on the first leaf of the first preserved volume of his draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 1a). See also the list of his masters established by al-Jalīlī on the basis of the information provided by al-Maqrīzī in his biographical dictionary: al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muqaddimah," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:21–27 (neither al-Baghdādī nor al-Bilbaysī appears in this list).

[63] The fact that the author of these lines referred to his master only by his *laqab* is rather illuminating, in that the author did not feel the need to clarify who his master was because this was evident in his eyes.

[64] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 2:431.

<div dir="rtl">
صحبته عدة سنين وأخذت عنه كثيرا من مروياته
ومصنفاته.
</div>

I was closely associated with him for several years and I studied with him numerous works he was authorized to transmit and several of his own books.

In this case, should he not have called Ibn al-Mulaqqin *shaykhunā* in his draft, rather than applying this title to a person with whom he never studied? Of course, there was no need for him to change these personal data particular to al-Awḥadī in the draft, as they would be modified in the final version.

Thanks to all these elements, we can establish that the fragment covering nineteen leaves preserved in al-Maqrīzī's autograph draft is part of al-Awḥadī's own draft of his book on the topography of Cairo. Yet, we still have to address the accusation of plagiarism brought by al-Sakhāwī ("he made a fair copy of it and attributed it to himself"). For this, it is necessary to consider how plagiarism, a rather modern concept, was understood in the historical context under consideration.

Plagiarism: A Nebulous Concept or a Clearly Apprehended Notion?

Though it is almost as old as literature, plagiarism remains a complicated issue.[65] Conceptualized mainly during the modern period with the impulse of the Romantic movement, which promoted the vision of the inspired writer whose originality was interpreted in aesthetic words, the concept has seen its definition evolving through the ages.[66] When used nowadays, it is understood with moral and aesthetic implications that were not necessarily valid in earlier times and different cultures. Plagiarism, in its modern meaning, may be defined as the act of appropriating, rather faithfully, a textual element written by another author, and doing this without acknowledgement. Moreover, the intent to deceive people into thinking that the borrowed text is the result of one's own work is essential. Plagiarism nonetheless remains a hazy concept in literary terms. Nowadays, plagiarism in literature is better defined as intertextuality, meaning by this that

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[65] The Latin word "plagiarius," designating a person who stole a slave or sold a free man as a slave, was used metonymically for the first time by the poet Martial (died in 104) for a person who had appropriated some of his verses. For Antiquity, see Anthony Grafton, "Plagiarism," in *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 315. From the very beginning, the ideas of alienation and swindling were thus present. See Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction," in *Le Plagiat: Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université d'Ottawa du 26 au 28 septembre 1991,* ed. Ch. Vandendorpe ([Ottawa], 1992), 7. The following book was not available to me before the publication of this article: *Remploi, citation, plagiat: Conduites et pratiques médiévales (Xᵉ–XIIᵉ siècle),* ed. Pierre Toubert and Pierre Moret (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009).

[66] M. Randall, "Critiques et plagiaires," in *Le Plagiat,* 91–104.

an author cannot help but find himself at the point where all his previous readings intersect, with each of them nurturing his ideas in their turn. In other fields, the term is perfectly well understood, and many universities around the world advise their students with regard to plagiarism and its negative effects.[67] It is thus important to keep in mind the difference that exists between the concept with its literary meaning and its use in the other fields such as the scientific, philosophical, or historical ones.

Looking at the past with this modern definition in mind may lead some scholars to identify striking similarities, either in words or in ideas, in works composed by contemporary (or non-contemporary) authors and, on that basis, to charge one of them—usually the one who wrote later—with plagiarism. When he read the *Disputa de l'Ase* of Anselm Turmeda (ca. 1352–ca. 1424), Miguel Asín Palacios, who knew the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ,* immediately saw the resemblance between the story developed by Turmeda and the structure of the 28th epistle of the Brethren of Purity ("The Case of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn"). He concluded that Turmeda had plagiarized the epistle and that, consequently, his work was not original.[68] Recent research has shown that Turmeda had undoubtedly read the said epistle, but that "he took what he found useful in their work, adapted it to his own message and his intended audience."[69] In other words, this is a perfect case of intertextuality.

Such accusations expressed by modern critics towards medieval scholars exist for other fields too, such as history and the sciences. Regarding history, and particularly early Muslim history where the facts are reported on the basis of pieces of information *(khabar)* and traditions *(ḥadīth)* that by definition should not be considered as belonging to a given author, the case raised by J. Horovitz is indicative of this modern trend to identify such practices as plagiarism. Horovitz, following his predecessor, Wellhausen, noticed that al-Wāqidī and Ibn Isḥāq's works shared identical reports both in content and shape, and he concluded that, given that al-Wāqidī never quoted Ibn Isḥāq in his book and that the latter wrote at an earlier date, al-Wāqidī consequently was guilty of plagiarism.[70] J. M. B. Jones

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[67] Speaking of my own experience, I have already identified some cases of plagiarism in M.A. theses I was asked to supervise. Furthermore, the University of Liège has recently made software available to professors that is supposed to detect plagiarism in the written material submitted by students.

[68] M. A. Palacios, "El original árabe de la *Disputa del asno contra fray Anselmo Turmeda,*" *Revista de filología española* 1 (1914): 1–51.

[69] See L. M. Alvarez, "Beastly Colloquies: Of Plagiarism and Pluralism in Two Medieval Disputations between Animals and Men," *Comparative Literature Studies* 39 (2002): 196.

[70] See J. Horovitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors," *Islamic Culture* 2 (1928): 518.

reevaluated this assumption and concluded that if both versions were similar, this was the result of the kind of material available at their time.[71] In other words, the story was transmitted by the *quṣṣāṣ,* and both authors shared a common corpus from which they selected the material they found interesting. Though they might slightly modify the form of the material (words, structure of the sentence), they usually did not alter the overall structure or content. Jones could establish, for instance, that al-Wāqidī's version was closer to the story as it was told by the *quṣṣāṣ* because it still contains the characteristics of the literary processes used by these storytellers, which have been reduced by Ibn Isḥāq in his own version. In any case, the charge of plagiarism was out of context, once again.[72]

Similarly anachronistic statements have also been made regarding scientific texts. In the field of medicine, the case recently publicized by Khader Musa is interesting.[73] A comparison between two texts—the *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn wa-Tadbīr al-Ḥabālah wa-al-Mawlūdīn* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī (d. 370/980) and the *Siyāsat al-Ṣibyān wa-Tadbīruhum* of Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369/979 or 360/970)—led him to conclude that 90% of the contents of the latter could be identified in the former, and this without quoting Ibn al-Jazzār at any time.[74] On the basis of the similarity he found in the contents and the fact that he tracked down one identical passage from the *Siyāsat al-Ṣibyān* in the *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn,* Musa reckoned that al-Qurṭubī had plagiarized his contemporary's work, a charge that nobody had dared to put forward during the author's lifetime, or any time thereafter.

As in every case, the key elements that drive modern scholars to charge medieval authors with plagiarism are: similarity in either expression or content, the absence of reference to the "plagiarized" source (which points to intellectual dishonesty of the "plagiarist"), and the desire to deceive the reader by pretending that the "plagiarist" is the real author of the book. This is the typically biased view that results from a comparison between two books produced in a given period of the past, judged by a definition of a concept that cannot but be anachronistic when applied to the period in which the said "plagiarism" is detected.[75] Undoubtedly,

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[71] See J. M. B. Jones, "Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī: The Dream of ʿĀtika and the Raid to Nakhla in Relation to the Charge of Plagiarism," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959): 41–51.

[72] Ibid., 51: "A more acceptable theory would be that the greater part of the *sīrah* was already formalized by the second century A.H. and that later writers shared a common corpus of *qāṣṣ* and traditional material, which they arranged according to their own concepts and to which they added their own researches."

[73] Kh. Musa, "La Paidología de ʿArīb al-Qurṭubī e Ibn al-Ŷazzār al-Qayrawānī: ¿Coincidencia o plagio?" *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 10 (1999): 97–132.

[74] Ibid., 127.

[75] As regards literature, see M. Peled, "On the Concept of Literary Influence in Classical Arabic

when dealing with books written in these times, an accusation of plagiarism remains controversial. In order to apprehend the phenomenon of plagiarism correctly, it is thus essential to try to understand how it was perceived in the context we are dealing with, i.e., the pre-modern Muslim culture. We have seen that there may be a difference in the way it was apprehended in literature and the non-literary fields, and we will therefore evaluate both situations independently.

As theorized by Muslim authors of the pre-modern period, plagiarism in literary criticism was a concept expressed through the word *sariqah*.[76] In this sense, it was mainly used for poetry and, to a lesser extent, epistolography.[77] Though many works have been devoted to this theme from an early period onwards,[78] a clear theory of what *sariqah* meant was never really developed.[79] Several works tried to categorize the different genres and the broader limits of plagiarism in poetry, but they resulted in a quite complicated and wide-ranging taxonomy of various kinds of "borrowings," from crude plagiarism to creative borrowing.[80] Even if crude

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Literary Criticism," *Israel Oriental Studies* 11 (1991): 37: "A discussion of the concept of literary influence in classical Arabic literature has to contend with several obvious difficulties. First, the very notion as conceived by present-day criticism was unknown to the Arab critics, just as it was unknown to their Greek predecessors, whose ideas on intertextual relations are often discernible in Arabic critical thinking. Consequently the phenomenon of literary influence is never explicitly discussed in Arabic works dealing with problems of poetics. If, in spite of this difficulty, we can attempt to reconstruct their attitude toward it, it is because the results of such influence are nevertheless apparent in Arabic poetry. This was recognized by the medieval critics within another conceptual framework, namely, that of plagiarism *(al-sariqah al-adabīyah)*."

[76] For a very broad presentation of plagiarism in poetry and a good bibliography, see W. Heinrichs, "Sariḳa," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Supplement*, fascicules 9–10, 707–10.

[77] W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa,*" *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987): 357: "One of the favorite pastimes of the medieval critic of arabic literature was to hunt for *sariqāt* ("thefts", "plagiarisms") in the works of the poets and, to a lesser extent, the epistolographers."

[78] The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, for instance, already listed several titles of books tackling this issue in poetry. See more particularly on this: D. Sturm, "Ibn an-Nadīm's Hinweise auf das Verhältnis zum geistigen Eigentum im Historikerkapitel des Kitāb al-Fihrist," *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 13 (1990): 65–70.

[79] See W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa,*" 367: "By now it will have become abundantly clear that the *sariqāt* literature is less important to us for what, on the surface, it purports to be, namely collections of plagiarisms."

[80] With several technical words being applied to each of these kinds of "borrowings." For this, see specially the work of S. A. Bonebakker on al-Ḥātimī (d. 998): "Sariqa and Formula: Three Chapters from Ḥātimī's *Ḥilyat al-Muḥāḍara,*" *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 46 (1986): 367–89; "Four Chapters from the *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*—Arabic Texts," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999): 29–52. See also his "Ancient Arabic Poetry and Plagiarism: a Terminological Labyrinth," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 15 (1997): 65–92; and A. Sanni, "From Value Judgment to Theoretical Formalism: The Development of Arabic Theory on *Sariqa* (Plagiarism)," *Proceedings of the 1989 International Conference on Europe and the Middle East held at the University of Durham,*

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plagiarism existed (quotation word for word of the verse[s] of another poet), most of the forms it took encompassed a broad range of literary devices, from borrowing to quotation through evocation, to cite just a few. The idea of blameworthiness conveyed by the word *sariqah* ("theft") was however not instinctive in the mind of those who used that term. Some kinds of *sariqah* were laudable, others reprehensible. Hence the development of the concept of *akhdh,* more neutral, and also divided into two ethical categories: laudable and blameworthy.[81] Arab critics who devoted their time to identifying and classifying the borrowings in poetry relied on a binary system: that of the *lafẓ* (expression) and *maʿná* (poetical idea). If the poetical ideas were considered to be common property, the way they were expressed by a poet was regarded as personal and thus not permissible to be copied and reused in the same context.[82] Furthermore, *sariqah* was never considered from the legal point of view, as Islamic law does not recognize any legal value for the "theft" of intellectual property.[83] Nonetheless, it remains true that "the idea of intellectual property seems to have been well developed."[84] To conclude with this part, *sariqah* in literary criticism, as conceptualized by Arab critics of classical literature, does not fully equate with the word "plagiarism." Most of the cases registered by the treatises on *sariqah* have to do with what is now called intertextuality, though this was not expressed in those terms by Arab critics. However, they knew that a poet or a littérateur is inspired by his previous readings and cannot avoid the repetition of a theme or a metaphor.[85] Plagiarism,

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9–12 July 1989 (Oxford, 1989), 384–94; idem, "Recomposition: An Aspect of Arabic Literary Theory," *Islamic Culture* 73 (1999): 105–20; idem, "The Arabic Theory of Originality and Imitation in a New Light," *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 54 (2000): 597–608.

[81] A. Sdiri, "Les théoriciens arabes et le plagiat," in *Le Plagiat,* 128. *Akhdh* was used for the taking over of a *maʿná* (poetical idea) of an earlier poet. See W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa*," 359.

[82] Peled, "On the Concept of Literary Influence," 37–38.

[83] It must be remembered here that in Western law, intellectual property was not recognized as such before the end of the eighteenth century (France, arrêts du Conseil du Roi, 30 August 1777), and was not protected by copyright before the end of the nineteenth century (the Bern convention of 1886). Even in this case, jurists prefer to speak of counterfeit rather than plagiarism. See A. Lucas, "Plagiat et droit d'auteur," in *Le Plagiat,* 199–200.

[84] W. Heinrichs, "Sariḳa," 707. The idea of the consciousness of intellectual property in Islam was expressed for the first time, as far as I know, by G. Schoeller, "Die Anwendung der oral poetry-Theorie auf die arabische Literatur," *Der Islam* 58 (1981): 222. For al-Ḥātimī's point of view, see also Sanni, "The Arabic Theory," 42–43: "He [al-Ḥātimī] dismisses the argument that all poetical ideas are common property and are therefore not subject to copyright. If this were so, he argues, al-Aʿshā (d. 7/629) would not have been imprisoned for his alleged appropriation of a work by another poet."

[85] Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) underwent such a situation: "This is something I have experienced myself and about which I have no doubt. Namely, I had composed something to

as we use the term nowadays, should rather be reserved for crude or slavish copying.[86]

If seldom established in literary works, especially poetry, this baser form of plagiarism is more likely to be recurrently used in the other fields of non-literary texts (hadith, history, sciences, etc.). And this is more pertinent for our purposes because the concept of intertextuality can hardly be invoked as a justification in these cases. Historical facts, for instance, would never be considered an author's intellectual property, but the words he chose to recount these facts could. We will see whether, in these cases, an author who slavishly copies from another without quoting his source is regarded as a plagiarist. It has repeatedly been said that authors in Islam very often quoted sources without paying their dues, i.e., citing the author or the title from which they were borrowing, but whether this behavior was evaluated, and if so in what manner (positively, neutrally, or negatively) has not really been approached from the point of view of the authors of these periods. For this, we will have to consider the evaluations and examples collected in several books dating to the period under consideration (eighth–ninth/fourteenth–fifteenth c.) and belonging to different genres, mainly hadith works, history and sciences.

The field of traditions (hadith) might appear to have eluded such practices, but the sources give a different picture. Here is what a renowned specialist of the field, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), had to say about *sariqah* with regard to hadith works:[87]

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describe women and said: '*safarna budūran wa-intaqabna ahlatā.*' I came to believe that nobody had already combined these two metaphors until I exactly found them [under the pen] of an author of Baghdad. I was really surprised and decided that I would never at all charge any modern poet of plagiarism regarding one of his predecessors" ("*wa-hādhā amr qad ʿaraftuhu min nafsī fa-lā amtarī fīhi wa-dhālika annī kuntu ʿamiltu shayʾan fī ṣifat al-nisāʾ fa-qultu 'safarna budūran wa-intaqabna ahlatā' wa-ẓanantu annī lam usbaq ilá jamʿ hādhayn al-tashbīhayn ḥattá wajadtu dhālika bi-ʿaynihi li-baʿḍ al-baghdādīyīn fa-kathura taʿajjubī wa-ʿazamtu ʿalá allā aḥkum ʿalá al-mutaʾakhkhir bi-al-sariqah min al-mutaqaddim ḥukman ḥatman*"). See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–20, reprint 1963), 2:303.

[86] See Sdiri, "Les théoriciens arabes et le plagiat," in *Le Plagiat,* 127.

[87] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 17:140.

Ibn Maʿīn said: "This [transmitter, i.e., al-Ḥusayn ibn Faraj], we know that he plagiarized traditions. I [al-Dhahabī] say: 'The plagiarism of traditions is less considerable than forging or inventing them. It consists in that a traditionist is the only one to transmit a given tradition, then the plagiarist comes and pretends that he heard it too from the same master. This is not similar to the plagiarism of the *ajzāʾ* [small compendia of hadith] and the books: this is far more disastrous than the plagiarism of the transmission, which is less wicked than the forgery of tradition because of his saying: "To tell a lie on my behalf does not equal a lie told on behalf of someone else."'"

قال ابن معين: ذاك نعرفه يسرق الحديث. قلت: سرقة الحديث أهون من وضعه أو اختلاقه وسرقة الحديث أن يكون محدث ينفرد بحديث فيجيء السارق ويدعي أنه سمعه أيضا من شيخ ذاك المحدث وليس ذاك بسرقة الأجزاء والكتب فإنها أنحس بكثير من سرقة الرواية وهي دون وضع الحديث في الإثم لقوله: إن كذبا علي ليس ككذب على غيري.

This very interesting passage posits several perceptions of the word *sariqah* not necessarily encountered so far in the context of literary texts. Thanks to it, we learn that traditionists identified people who attributed to themselves traditions that were known to be transmitted by only one person. This is similar to the appropriation of someone else's intellectual property.[88] However, it was regarded as less egregious *(ahwan)* than the forgery of traditions, which is more blameworthy because it implies that a lie is forged and put in the mouth of the Prophet. Obviously, to "steal" a tradition from someone who is its only transmitter is more easily forgiven. For the sake of understanding, al-Dhahabī wanted to make intelligible that there existed another kind of appropriation of someone else's words that was more harmful than the "theft" of a tradition: the plagiarism *(sariqah)* of works. Even speaking of *ajzāʾ*—the compendia of traditions (often on a certain theme) collected by a transmitter, which necessarily consisted only of hadiths and thus greatly obscured the transmitter's authorial voice—al-Dhahabī considered that to copy it and appropriate it was tantamount to an act of plagiarism. Authorship is nevertheless clearly discernible in these compendia because the transmitter selected those traditions, put them in a given order, and sometimes

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[88] Al-Dhahabī provides two examples in other places: "*thumma saraqahu qawm ḍuʿafāʾ mimman yuʿrafūn bi-sariqat al-ḥadīth*," *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 16:428; idem, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ,* ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ et al. (Beirut, 1401–9/1981–88), 10:601; "*uttuhima bi-sariqat ḥadīthayn*," idem, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 15:348.

appended a commentary for a difficult word found in a given tradition. Moreover, the personal approach is conspicuous in the *isnād,* which is very individualized.[89] Of course, he added that books *(kutub)* could be the subject of the same treatment, but this is far more to be expected. In al-Dhahabī's perception of the phenomenon, one understands that, on an ethical scale,[90] crude plagiarism (of compendia or books) is situated beneath the forgery of traditions (the worst) and above the appropriation of someone else's traditions (the least of all).

This perception concerning crude plagiarism emerges when reading the biography of a renowned ʿālim who was mainly a traditionist: Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401). Here is what a Syrian historian, himself a traditionist, had to say about him:[91]

After that, he wrote numerous books, but the Egyptians accuse him of plagiarism in his works. Indeed, he did not attend anything, he did not study thoroughly, and he composed many works in the sense that he copied the books of others.	ثم كتب بعد ذلك كتبا عديدة والمصريون ينسبونه إلى سرقة تصانيفه فإنه ما كان يستحضر شيئا ولا يحقق علما ويؤلف المؤلفات الكثيرة على معنى النسخ من كتب الناس.

What several authors reproached Ibn al-Mulaqqin for was the fact that his numerous works, amounting to more than three hundred, could only be produced in such quantities because he composed them by stealing what others had already written. We understand that Ibn al-Mulaqqin's books were not necessarily completely borrowed from others, but that the material he put in them mainly stemmed from others' production. One of Ibn Ḥajar's comments enlightens us in this matter. It is reported by al-Sakhāwī in the biography he devoted to his

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[89] Al-Dhahabī elsewhere gives a telling example regarding Ibn Wadʿān (d. 494/1100) in this case: "*wa-rawá al-Arbaʿīn al-Wadʿānīyah al-mawḍūʿah allatī saraqahā ʿammuhu Abū al-Fatḥ ibn Wadʿān min al-kadhdhāb Zayd ibn Rifāʿah. . . . Wa-kitābuhu fī al-Arbaʿīn saraqahu min Ibn Rifāʿah wa-ḥadhafa minhu al-khuṭbah wa-rakkaba ʿalá kull ḥadīth rajulan aw rajulayn ilá shaykh Zayd ibn Rifāʿah wāḍiʿ al-kitāb.*" See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 34:200.

[90] Cf. the words he used: *anḥas* (calamitous) and *ithm* (sin).

[91] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān (Beirut, 1987), 4:43. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:218: "*wa-ishtahara bi-kathrat al-taṣānīf ḥattá kāna yaqūl innahā balaghat thalāthamiʾat taṣnīf wa-ishtahara ismuhu wa-ṭāra ṣīyatuhu wa-kānat kitābatuhu akthar min istiḥḍārihi fa-li-hādhā kathura al-qawl fīhi min ʿulamāʾ al-Shām wa-Miṣr ḥattá qaraʾtu bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Ḥijjī: ʿkāna yunsab ilá sariqat al-taṣānīf fa-innahu mā kāna yastaḥḍir shayʾan wa-lā yuḥaqqiq ʿilman wa-yuʾallif al-muʾallafāt al-kathīrah ʿalá maʿná al-naskh min kutub al-nās.*'" One will notice that in this case, the charge was uttered by a Syrian historian, Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413).

master, in a section entitled "Those who appropriated someone else's work and attributed it to themselves, adding or cutting out insignificant material, but the majority being mentioned in the words of the original." This section contains several cases of "plagiarism" or "borrowing" that Ibn Ḥajar could track down. Al-Sakhāwī gives the data regarding Ibn al-Mulaqqin on the basis of a note in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting found on a supplement *(dhayl)* Ibn al-Mulaqqin wrote to his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah:* [92]

I [al-Sakhāwī] saw in his [Ibn Ḥajar's] handwriting found on a Supplement of his master Ibn al-Mulaqqin . . . what follows:

"I examined this book from its beginning to its end and compared all the biographies it contains with *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Wusṭá* of the judge Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. I found that almost everything is copied, word for word, from it. Likely, the small amount of additional material does not exceed ten biographies."

وقرأت بخطه أيضا على ذيل لشيخه ابن الملقن . . . ما نصه:
نظرت هذا الكتاب من أوله إلى آخره وقابلت التراجم جميعها على كتاب الطبقات الوسطى للقاضي تاج الدين السبكي فوجدت الجميع إلا اليسير منقولا منها بحروفها والقدر اليسير الزائد لعله عشرة تراجم لا يزيد على ذلك.

As is noticeable, Ibn Ḥajar's comment, written directly on a copy of this book, [93] does not characterize Ibn al-Mulaqqin's borrowing as plagiarism *(sariqah)*. But for someone who reads between the lines, that is precisely what he is saying. Hence al-Sakhāwī's remark: [94]

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[92] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:391.

[93] Al-Sakhāwī explains, a few lines later (ibid., 392), that he managed to lay hands on a copy of Ibn al-Mulaqqin's *Ṭabaqāt* in the handwriting of someone who was acquainted with Ibn Ḥajar. The first volume consisted of the *Ṭabaqāt* while the second contained, among other things, the *Dhayl* Ibn Ḥajar examined. Al-Sakhāwī found Ibn Ḥajar's comment on that copy.

[94] Ibid., 392.

I remained astonished at my master's purpose in this matter. It would not have harmed him if he had said in his comment: "He gleaned it from the work of one of his predecessors." Did he think that Tāj al-Dīn's *Ṭabaqāt* would be buried with its author in his grave and would not be published? And that he would not have yet authorized another copy to be made? That is really strange!

ولقد طال تعجبي من شيخنا فيما اعتمده من ذلك فما كان يضره لو قال في خطبته: إنه التقطه من تصنيف من سبقه إليه. أتراه ظن أن طبقات تاج الدين تدفن معه في القبر فلا تظهر؟ وما جوز قط أن ينقل منها نسخة أخرى؟ إن هذا لشيء عجيب!

Even though al-Sakhāwī never speaks of plagiarism *(sariqah)* because the work contained some additional—albeit limited—original material, he considered that his master's judgment was too neutral and that he should have been more explicit in order to reveal Ibn al-Mulaqqin's bad behavior. Interestingly, his comment also demonstrates that a deceit such as this one would have been unmasked sooner or later, as copies usually survived their author and were always likely to be compared with someone else's work.

In the given section of Ibn Ḥajar's biography, al-Sakhāwī lists further cases of appropriation noticed by his master, most of the latter's comments having been found written on the incriminated books. In none of these comments does Ibn Ḥajar refer to the appropriation with the word *"sariqah,"* and his tone always remains almost neutral, with no hint of a moral judgment. He simply exposed what was wrong in the way they acted: the books they produced were just a collection of passages borrowed from others without quoting them; the material they added or omitted was insignificant in comparison with the amount of data they took from others; they copied almost word for word; and, finally, they deceived others by saying that this was their original work. Only once did he pour out his feelings about such behavior. Describing what al-Birmāwī (d. 816/1413) had done in a particular case, he declared: "This does not advance knowledge!"[95] which is, in our modern perception of the phenomenon, a justifiable criticism.

If Ibn Ḥajar was reluctant to use the word *"sariqah"* (plagiarism) in such cases, his remarks nevertheless imply that he did not at all appreciate the way these authors acted. His assessment of one of his colleague's books further corroborates that he felt this way even for verbatim quotations of passages without referring to the source, a practice generally observed in those days. This assessment, which

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[95] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:394 (*"wa-laysa dhālik min shukr al-ʿilm"*).

brings us to the historical field,[96] refers to al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) and his *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* and Ibn Ḥajar placed it at the beginning of his chronicle entitled *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr:*[97]

I have consulted for it the *History* of the judge Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, who mentioned that he based himself on the *History* of Ibn Kathīr, and that is indeed the case. However, when Ibn Kathīr['s *History*] ends, he relied mainly on the *History* of Ibn Duqmāq, to such an extent that he uninterruptedly copied almost a full page from it, sometimes following him blindly in his mistakes, even his grammatical mistakes like *"akhlaʿa ʿalá fulān."* Even stranger, Ibn Duqmāq mentions that he witnessed an event, and al-Badr [al-ʿAynī] blindly reproduces his words although this event happened in Cairo while he [al-ʿAynī] was far away from it, in ʿAyntāb. I have not busied myself with following his slips. Rather, I copied from him things I believe he was aware of, things I did not witness myself but he did, and that were not at my disposal [elsewhere].

وطالعت عليه تاريخ القاضي بدر الدين محمود العيني، وذكر أن الحافظ عماد الدين ابن كثير عمدته في تارخيه وهو كما قال؛ لكن منذ قطع ابن كثير صارت عمدته على تاريخ ابن دقماق، حتى يكاد يكتب منه الورقة الكاملة متوالية، وربما قلده فيما يهم فيه حتى في اللحن الظاهر مثل ''أخلع على فلان،'' وأعجب منه أن ابن دقماق يذكر في بعض الحادثات على أنه شاهدها فيكتب البدر كلامه بعينه بما تضمنه، وتكون تلك الحادثة وقعت بمصر وهو بعيد في عينتاب، ولم أتشاغل بتتبع عثراته، بل كتبت منه ما ليس عندي مما أظن أنه اطلع عليه من الأمور التي كنا نغيب عنها ويحضرها.

Even if this criticism must be gauged in the light of an academic rivalry between both scholars, as A. Broadbridge stressed,[98] this passage is remarkable because it can be placed in a broader context, i.e., all the other cases Ibn Ḥajar tried to track down: as such, it definitely confirms his own apprehension, in negative terms, of the phenomenon.

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[96] For the earlier periods, see particularly the following example mentioned by al-Masʿūdī about Ibn Qutaybah: *"wa-jarrada dhālika Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī fī kitābihi wa-qad salaba dhālika Ibn Qutaybah fa-naqalahu ilá kutubihi naqlan wa-jaʿalahu ʿan nafsihi wa-qad faʿala dhālika fī kathīr min kutub Abī Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī hādhā."* Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar,* ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1966–74), 3:359.

[97] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 1:4–5.

[98] See A. F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry," 98 ff.

Al-Maqrīzī himself did not refrain from revealing the bad behavior of colleagues, and his reaction is just as significant:[99]

He [Ibn Duqmāq] limited himself to copying what he found to such an extent that those who know the truth have accused him of negligence. Among this is that he borrowed my notebooks. When he died, I found the history of Timur Lang the tyrant in his handwriting and there, he had copied a section related to the seizure of Aleppo by Timur that I had written, where I said: "An unsuspicious person informed me that he witnessed" and he had written what he saw "An unsuspicious person informed," making the reader believe that he was the person who was telling this section though, by God, he did not find this section but in my handwriting.

حسبه نقل ما يقف عليه حتى ربما ينسبه من علم حقيقة أمره إلى الغفلة فمن ذلك أنه كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي فلما مات وقفت على أخبار الطاغية تيمورلنك من خطه فإذا هو قد كتب فصلاً في أخذ تيمور لحلب من خطي قد قلت فيه: "أخبرني من لا أتهم أنه شاهد،" فكتب هو كما رأى "أخبرني من لا أتهم" فصار يوهم الناظر أنه هو الراوي للجزء ولا والله وقف على ذلك الجزء إلا من خطي.

In al-Maqrīzī's words, the appropriation of one of his texts, quoted word for word, without even modifying passages considered to be personal, was tantamount to negligence (*ghaflah*).[100] If he was disturbed by the discovery of his own words attributed to someone else, he was more upset by seeing that a fact that was transmitted to him by a trustworthy informant, some sort of a scoop, was "stolen" from him because Ibn Duqmāq used the same words to introduce the informant. In this way, Ibn Duqmāq was becoming another possible source for this matter. Moreover, a comparison of both works would have raised the question of plagiarism and the conclusion reached by a reader would have been disadvantageous to al-Maqrīzī because he was younger than Ibn Duqmāq and

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[99] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:102.

[100] The same word is used to define the way Ibn al-Furāt acted with the same section on Timur Lang: "*thumma baʿda dhālik shāhadtu fī* al-ghaflah *aʿjab min dhālik wa-huwa anna . . . Ibn al-Furāt kataba tārīkh kabīr . . . wa-yanqulu ʿanhu fī tārīkhihi kathīran. Fa-lammā māta waqaftu ʿalá qiṭʿah min tārīkhihi bi-khaṭṭihi fa-marra bī minhu hādhā al-mawḍiʿ bi-ʿaynihi wa-qad katabahu immā min khaṭṭ Ibn Duqmāq aw waqafa ʿalá khaṭṭī ʿindahu fa-qāla huwa ayḍan: 'akhbaranī man lā attahim.' Fa-ṣāra al-nāẓir fī khaṭṭ Ibn al-Furāt yaḥsabu annahu huwa rāwī al-juzʾ ayḍan wa-mā dhāka illā* ghaflah." Ibid.

more likely to have borrowed it from his predecessor.

From all this, we may conclude that authors of non-literary texts were acquainted with the concept of plagiarism in the sense that a text appropriated by someone else is sometimes slightly modified but, nevertheless, remains identifiable for a vigilant mind. It became a pastime for several authors of the Mamluk period to recognize such hoaxes. Sometimes, they were themselves the victims and did not appreciate that the result of several years of thorough study could be stolen by a dilettante. In such cases, their reaction could be measured, as with Ibn Ḥajar, or vehement, as with al-Sakhāwī or al-Maqrīzī. An author like al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) went further and did not refrain from publicly denouncing another author he accused of having plagiarized several of his works.[101] The title and several passages of his book clearly refer to the theft and the thief as *sariqah* and *sāriq* respectively, demonstrating that he understood that the appropriation of his personal work, slightly modified or not, was plagiarism and the author of this act was a plagiarist.[102]

At this point, we probably need to make a distinction between two different situations. The first is the quotation of passages in the body of a work considered as original without referring to the source. Though not appreciated, it appears that this was a rather common practice at all times. But, in this matter, there was undoubtedly a difference between a book written several decades or centuries before and another one published by a contemporary. Old books were considered a common heritage and as such could be plundered without paying one's debts towards their authors.[103] Older sources sometimes circulated for several centuries and were consequently widespread and known to the general readership. Anyone

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[101] See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Fāriq bayna al-Muṣannif wa-al-Sāriq,* ed. H. Nājī (Beirut, 1998).

[102] In the field of the sciences, which was no exception in this matter, a similar example may be quoted. This is the *Faʿalta fa-Lā Talum* (You have done it, so do not condemn) of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who wrote this treatise partly to denounce the fact that his contemporary, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥimādhī, had substantially plagiarized his *Al-Tuḥfah al-Shāhīyah.* See J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa)* (New York, 1993), 1:60. I wish to express my thanks to the author for pointing me to this example.

[103] Cf. Charles Nodier's words: "Le plagiat commis sur les auteurs modernes, de quelque pays qu'ils soient, a déjà un degré d'innocence de moins que le plagiat commis sur les anciens." Ch. Nodier, *Questions de littérature légale* (Paris, 1828), 4 (quoted by Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction", in idem, *Le Plagiat,* 8). Cf. the attitude of some websites where electronic copies of copyrighted works and manuscripts are put at the disposal of everybody because they are considered to be part of a cultural heritage and as such *waqf lillāh.* An instance of this attitude as regards ancient material can be given for al-Maqrīzī, who extensively exploited al-Kindī's works, as well as Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr* and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār,* without quoting the source in most cases. For al-Kindī, see in particular G. Wiet, "Kindî et Maqrîzî," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 12 (1916): 61–73.

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sharing a common cultural heritage could identify the sources without problem, and in this sense, the phenomenon was in no way comparable to plagiarism: the idea of deceit was generally absent. On the other hand, contemporary works took time to be circulated and become well-known. They could be defended by their own authors or their disciples and were regarded as a personal work normally to be quoted with full attribution. The second situation is the slavish copying and appropriation of somebody else's work by a later author, whether or not he made additions to it, a practice most of the authors condemned. The terms they chose to express their discontent with the phenomenon varied greatly, from the explicit *sariqah* or neutral *akhdh* to a more ambiguous *ghaflah*. Nevertheless, they always referred to the same practice, to be identified as plagiarism.

As Ibn Ḥajar is the central witness in the case at the core of this article, what would he have thought of al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism of al-Awḥadī, given that we can now speak of plagiarism in the light of the aforesaid elements? What Ibn Ḥajar saw in this part of the draft is: that al-Maqrīzī took al-Awḥadī's draft and erased some parts of the text that he then replaced with his own words, to establish that he was the author of these words, as is discernible in the introductory part of the section on the madrasahs; that he modified the personal references made by al-Awḥadī, as is conspicuously evident on fol. 82b where he erased some words and replaced them with *qāla al-muʾallif;* that in most cases he copied al-Awḥadī's words almost verbatim, without citing him in his final version; finally, a close analysis of the layout of this section, I mean the order in which the madrasahs are enumerated, shows conclusively that al-Maqrīzī followed it almost exactlty:[104] only eight madrasahs appear to have been moved to another place in al-Maqrīzī's plan,[105] which means that he stuck to al-Awḥadī's general organization of the section on buildings. This is another upsetting element.

Undoubtedly, it must have been worrisome for a colleague like Ibn Ḥajar to notice that the text composed by al-Awḥadī had been appropriated by his colleague al-Maqrīzī. However, in these conditions, it is better understood why al-Maqrīzī never referred to al-Awḥadī as an author in his *Khiṭaṭ,*[106] not even in the list of

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[104] See Appendix 3.

[105] These are nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 25, 27, 67 according to their order of appearance in al-Awḥadī's draft and nos. 24, 25, 31, 30, 26, 41, 62, 71 according to their order of appearance in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Three additional madrasahs appearing in the draft have also been moved to another place in the final version, but these were added to al-Awḥadī's draft by al-Maqrīzī and must not be considered here, given that al-Maqrīzī placed them where he found blank spaces in the draft.

[106] Al-Maqrīzī mentioned al-Awḥadī only once for a *khabar* he transmitted to him on the authority of Ibn al-Furāt regarding the teaching sessions that took place in the mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ before 749/1348. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* Būlāq ed., 2:256 (see the Sayyid edition, 4:36, l. 22). The same *khabar* is given by al-Maqrīzī in al-Awḥadī's entry in his

authors who preceded him in this field, a list that he placed in his introduction to the book.[107] Sayyid recognized the unforgivable nature of this deliberate omission and noted that al-Maqrīzī should have mentioned al-Awḥadī's contribution, as he did in al-Awḥadī's biography in his biographical dictionary, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah.* Yet Sayyid justified al-Maqrīzī's behavior by claiming that al-Awḥadī's drafts at his death partly covered the material collected in al-Maqrīzī's own drafts: in other words, when al-Maqrīzī took possession of these drafts, he would have noticed that they were nothing more than a miscellany of unorganized extracts *(amshāj min al-nuqūl ulṣiqat janban ilá janb dūna mā ayy tamḥīṣ)*. Nonetheless, these extracts would have been indispensible for his own work, but rather than adding them to his own drafts, Sayyid argues that al-Maqrīzī would have gone back to the sources used by al-Awḥadī. Doing so, he was excused from quoting his name in the body of his work.[108]

Sayyid's argument belittles al-Awḥadī's work: nowhere is it said that his book was just a collection of notes, cards, slips, and extracts. On the contrary, we know for sure that he had already made a fair copy of part of it and that, according to al-Maqrīzī himself, there were several volumes of drafts.[109] Sayyid probably interprets the word *musawwadah* as designating a chaotic draft, but this was not the case. It already reflected the author's intentions toward his book. Consequently, the rough draft was more than a bunch of notes. Proof of this is that such drafts were sometimes prized by later authors. Several examples corroborate that drafts surviving their authors could be deemed useful enough to be sold and later on exploited.[110] The rough draft was often considered as a personal work and worth

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biographical dictionary. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* Gotha MS 1771, fol. 48b = ed. ʿAlī, 1:235 = ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:188.

[107] See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* Būlāq ed., 1:4–5. The same is true of Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407), another colleague with whom al-Maqrīzī was acquainted, and the author of an unfinished book dealing with the topography of Egypt entitled *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʿIqd al-Amṣār.* Vols. 4 and 5 of the autograph were discovered and published by K. Vollers in 1893 (Būlāq).

[108] A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:65.

[109] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186.

[110] Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh,* of which he had time to make a fair copy of the last third only (still 20 vols.), was sold as a *musawwadah* by his son, who had no interest in it. Several historians took advantage of it, among them al-Maqrīzī himself. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:51; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 2:515–16; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227. See another example reported by al-Sakhāwī, ibid., 6:328 ("*wa-sharaḥa al-Ḥāwī sharḥan ḥasanan mabsūṭan bayyaḍa thulthahu al-awwal wa-māta ʿan bāqīhi musawwadah yuntafaʿ bi-hā ka-al-intifāʿ bi-al-mubayyaḍah wa-in kāna fī tilka ziyādāt kathīrah*"). Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's rough draft of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was also sold, but probably for another reason: it became a collectible. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1993), 4:1719.

being quoted,[111] even when a fair copy of the work existed.[112] More relevant for our purposes, the rough draft could, in some cases, be fair-copied by someone else, a disciple or a colleague; this is what happened with al-Jawharī's famous dictionary, *Al-Ṣaḥāḥ,* which was still a draft when its author became convinced that he could fly like a bird and died as a result. A fair copy of the unrevised rough draft was prepared by his disciple, who was apparently less knowledgeable and introduced many mistakes.[113]

Rough drafts were thus considered personal works in their own right, even though they were not published. They were valued as sources and quoted by others who did not hesitate to refer to them. Thus al-Maqrīzī had several options at his disposal. He could have prepared a fair copy of al-Awḥadī's drafts, even cutting off some parts and adding others, but published it in the name of his colleague, as others did in such cases. This option was disregarded by al-Maqrīzī, who rather decided to start his work on the *khiṭaṭ* thanks to the material collected and already prepared by al-Awḥadī, as I will demonstrate in the following pages. In this case, he could have quoted al-Awḥadī's draft, a solution adopted by several of his predecessors, but he chose not to do so. On the contrary, he completely obliterated al-Awḥadī's contribution to the field, except in the biography he devoted to him in his *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah.* However, his decision indicates his intent to deceive the readers of his *Khiṭaṭ.* Consequently, Sayyid's justification hardly stands up, particularly in light of the section identified as being in al-Awḥadī's handwriting. Indeed, it shows that we are not dealing with disorganized cards bearing unverified data, in fact not even a mere draft.

AL-AWḤADĪ'S *KHIṬAṬ:* JUST A DISORGANIZED DRAFT?

A close analysis of the section on the madrasahs allows us to establish several facts, thanks to the external and internal elements it contains.

First of all, it may be argued that al-Awḥadī's work on the madrasahs was at a fairly advanced stage at the time of his death. The section begins with a preamble in which the author explains how and when the madrasah was instituted for the first time and who introduced this institution in Egypt.[114] Then, he proceeds

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[111] See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 45:421 *("muṣannif Tārīkh al-Shīʿah wa-huwa musawwadah fī ʿiddat mujalladāt naqaltu minhu kathīran");* Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1968–72, reprint 1994), 6:42 *("naqaltuhā min khaṭṭ al-qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm min musawwadat tārīkhihi").*

[112] See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 1:24 *("ṭālaʿtu musawwadat Tahdhīb al-Kamāl li-shaykhinā al-ḥāfiẓ Abī al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī thumma ṭālaʿtu al-mubayyaḍah kullahā").*

[113] See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb,* 2:658. For other examples, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:117; idem, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 1:345.

[114] This preamble was slightly modified by al-Maqrīzī. See the first five lines of text on fol. 82a

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with the list of the buildings arranged chronologically according to the year of foundation, starting with the Ayyubid period and proceeding further into the Mamluk period until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.[115] For almost every building, data about the location, the name of the founder, the year of construction, the furnishings, the *waqfs* dedicated by the founder, and the law schools to which it was devoted are provided. The section ends with an appendix dealing with the lessons that were also organized in the various mosques in Cairo, which demonstrates that, in al-Awḥadī's mind, the section on madrasahs dealt essentially with teaching.

Additionally, this section clearly indicates that al-Awḥadī's work was more than just miscellanies on the topic. In truth, it probably represents the partial fair copy referred to by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī, a fact confirmed by the following passage:
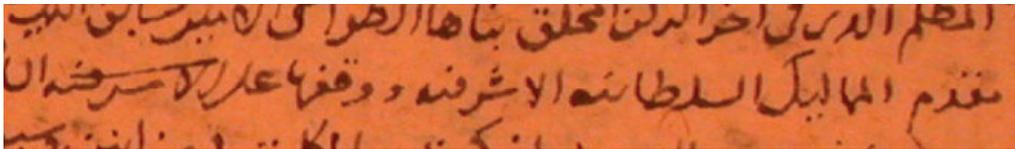
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 90b.

مقدم المماليك السلطانية الاشرفية ووقفها على الاشرفية الشافعية.

In this passage, the first occurrence of the word *al-ashrafīyah* was right, but it was repeated a few words further on instead of *al-shāfiʿīyah,* a mistake he noticed immediately given that he had not even had the time to add all the diacritical dots. He drew a line through the word and wrote at its end the correct reading. This phenomenon *(homoioteleuton),* typical of the copying process, shows that al-Awḥadī was clean-copying his text.

Thus, al-Awḥadī's work was far from being a draft or a collection of disorganized quotations. The author organized the material according to the date of foundation, as already stressed above, numbered the buildings accordingly,[116] and used red

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illustrated on p. 176.

[115] This chronological order is somewhat disrupted at the end with two madrasahs going back to the Ayyubid period that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir did not mention in his work, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah,* though he should have, according to al-Awḥadī (fols. 98b–99b: al-Madrasah al-Nābulusīyah *(lam yadhkurhā Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir);* al-Madrasah al-Kuhārīyah *(wa-lam yadhkurhā Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir fī kitābihi wa-hiya min sharṭihi).*

[116] In its current state, the manuscript bears only a few figures placed in front of the names of the madrasahs, starting with no. 3 up to no. 10, then no. 13, where it stops. The fact that the first numbers and those between 10 and 13 are missing may be explained by the fact that they were

ink to write their names. His sources are quoted in the body of the text, while no marginal note in his handwriting nor any addition on a slip of paper is found in the section. Nevertheless, in some cases, he left blank spaces at the end of a building for future additions. In summary, the text is the result of a preliminary version, but it obviously shows that the author intended to revise it in the future. Cross references also confirm that the author had already written more than this section by the time he clean-copied it. He indicates that the section on mosques had already been dealt with[117] and that the one on houses was still to come or to follow, meaning by this that he had already written it in draft form.[118]

Finally, this preserved section proves that al-Awḥadī used several kinds of sources: works by predecessors, oral witnesses, documents, and visits to the monuments described. With all these he was very critical, in that he always tried to corroborate second-hand data with primary information such as documents or inscriptions.

Furthermore, an analysis of the text in al-Awḥadī's handwriting reveals that his book must have been particularly detailed. Through the comparison of this section with the equivalent in the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* we notice that the latter decided, quite strangely, not to take advantage of all the material he had at his disposal: 72 madrasahs were recorded by al-Awḥadī[119] against 72 by al-Maqrīzī.[120] Yet, 23 madrasahs present in al-Awḥadī's census were omitted by al-Maqrīzī, which means that he replaced them with new ones: in fact, those built mainly after al-Awḥadī's death (811/1408).[121] If the entirety of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* was as detailed as this surviving part is, then we can only imagine how many buildings al-Awḥadī recorded in the remaining parts of his book and that

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presumably rubbed out by al-Maqrīzī. The lack of figures after no. 13 is either due to al-Awḥadī himself, who decided not to use this system until the end of the section, or must be attributed to al-Maqrīzī, who erased them in the same way he likely did at the beginning. Only a material analysis of the manuscript could reveal this.

[117] Regarding al-Azhar (fol. 99b): *"qad taqqadama fī dhikr bināʾ al-jāmiʿ al-Azhar mā kāna qarrarahu . . ."*; the mosque of al-Ḥākim (ibid.): *"qad qaddamnā mā rattabahu fīhi . . ."*; the mosque of Ibn al-Maghribī (fol. 89b): *"bi-jānib jāmiʿihi al-madhkūr."*

[118] On one occasion, he referred to this section in the past (fol. 86a): *"kamā qaddamnā sharḥahu fī dhikr al-ādur."* In the other cases, he always mentioned it in the future (fol. 87a): *"wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālik in shāʾa Allāh taʿālá fī dhikr al-ādur"* (the whole sentence has been cancelled with a stroke in red ink by al-Awḥadī himself); (fol. 99a) *"wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālik fī al-ādur."*

[119] This figure does not include the eleven buildings added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's manuscript.

[120] Actually, al-Maqrīzī listed 73 buildings, but his list includes a duplication (nos. 20 and 58: al-Madrasah al-Muhadhdhabīyah; see Appendix 3).

[121] It must also be said that al-Maqrīzī overlooked six of the eleven madrasahs he added to al-Awḥadī's work!

al-Maqrīzī decided to omit in his own work![122]

In light of what has been substantiated and of other elements to be considered shortly, another question arises, one which might have an answer as disturbing as the fact just established: when did al-Maqrīzī start working on the topography of Cairo? Or, more perniciously, did he hit upon the idea of writing a book on this topic before al-Awḥadī's death, as is generally believed, or afterwards, upon acquiring his deceased neighbor's draft?

Dating the Draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*

In order to try to answer this question, a chronologically arranged list of his writings would be necessary. Unfortunately, such a list does not exist, although proposals could be made on the basis of the autograph manuscripts and other elements.[123] Meanwhile, we must rely on the facts at our disposal, and these are al-Maqrīzī's biographical data, dated references in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* dated notes in the autograph draft of the first version, and the order of the data on some leaves therein.

The earliest date referred to in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* is 818/1415, seven years after al-Awḥadī's death, and the last one is 843/1439; it is generally assumed that al-Maqrīzī composed this work between 1415 and 1424.[124] But before composing it, he had to collect most of the data he needed, and this is more problematic. Sayyid is convinced that al-Maqrīzī started to record and organize the material just after the year 806/1404, the year al-Maqrīzī identified as corresponding to the beginning of Cairo's collapse from an architectural point of view.[125] This hardly stands up with al-Maqrīzī's agenda. As a matter of fact, a few pieces of information on his early life as a scholar gathered from various sources

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[122] That he meant not to include them in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* is clearly visible in the manuscript. The names of the neglected buildings are not accompanied by the sign indicating that the data were copied *(nuqila),* while those found in the *Khiṭaṭ* are. On this sign, see Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 109–12.

[123] The present writer will tentatively provide a chronology of al-Maqrīzī's works in his forthcoming study of al-Maqrīzī's working method.

[124] See Jean-Claude Garcin, "Al-Maqrîzî: un historien encyclopédique du monde afro-oriental," in *Les Africains,* ed. Charles-André Julien et al. (Paris, 1977), 9:210. According to Nasser Rabbat, the work was begun in 1417 and completed in 1439–40. See Nasser Rabbat, "Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat,* an Egyptian *Lieu de Mémoire,*" in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York, 2000), 22. According to Sabri Jarrar, the book was composed between 1415 and 1422. See Sabri Jarrar, "Al-Maqrizi's Reinvention of Egyptian Historiography through Architectural History," in ibid., 32. Obviously, al-Maqrīzī continued to add new material until very late in his lifetime, as shown by the elements added until three years before his death.

[125] A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:66.

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contradict this statement. First of all, the first work of history (more precisely, economic history) he wrote was published in 808/1405.[126] Secondly, we know for sure that, from 810 to 815, he was far away from Cairo (he lived in Damascus, sometimes travelling between the Syrian capital and his hometown).[127] Under these circumstances, he would hardly have had the time to produce a manuscript of the *Khiṭaṭ* in almost finished form, as represented by the two preserved volumes of the draft, before 811. It may be added that al-Maqrīzī knew perfectly well that Ibn Duqmāq and al-Awḥadī were working on that subject, as both of them were his colleagues. Eventually, Ibn Duqmāq died in 809/1407, leaving an unfinished draft, and al-Awḥadī followed him in 811/1408 with his work in the same stage. If al-Maqrīzī had ventured to write a book on the topography of Cairo shortly after 806/1404, the result would have been a third book on the topic, and at that time he obviously could not have known that the other two authors would die prematurely.

Yet, the two volumes of the draft can be accurately dated between 811[128] and 816, striking evidence that he had at his disposal most of his material at a very early date. For Sayyid, neither manuscript of al-Maqrīzī's draft help in this matter.[129] However, several autograph notes found at the beginning of the first volume, on the first leaves, provide a *terminus ante quem*. These notes refer to events that all took place in 816, although they are scattered on various leaves and were written at different moments as is shown by the color of the ink.[130] If we assume

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[126] *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah*. The date is provided by al-Maqrīzī himself in his treatise. See John L. Meloy, "The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 190.

[127] His stay in Damascus was generally thought to have lasted ten years, more or less between 810 and 820. It can now be fixed precisely thanks to the publication of his *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* where he states that he stayed in Damascus from 810 to 815. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:154 *(wa-lammā waradtu Dimashq min sanat ʿashr wa-thamānī miʾah wa-ilá sanat khamsah ʿasharah)* and 34–35.

[128] Even 814 if we consider that he prepared a resumé of the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Muyassar during that year and that this source is quoted in the body of the text of the first volume of the draft.

[129] A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:66 *(wa-lā tuʿīnunā musawwadat al-Maqrīzī lil-kitāb—wa-allatī waṣalat ilaynā minhā qiṭʿatayn* [sic] *maḥfūẓatayn* [sic] *fī matḥaf Ṭūbqabū Sarāy bi-Istanbūl—fī maʿrifat al-tārīkh al-ḥaqīqī li-bidāyat taʾlīf hādhā al-kitāb).*

[130] Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 1a (title-page providing the title in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: *Al-Juzʾ al-Thānī min Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*): note recording the death of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ādamī on 8 Ramaḍān 816; fol. 1b (containing a list of contents): note recording the death of *ṣāḥibunā* Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Birmāwī 11 nights from the end of Shaʿbān 816); fol. 4a (containing a list of contents for the *kharāj*): note regarding the insurgence of Ṭūghān al-Dawādār on 16 Jumādá I 816.

that al-Maqrīzī wrote down these events shortly after they happened, these notes allow us to establish that, at that date, the first volume of this draft was already finished. On the other hand, one will notice that these leaves contain several parts of the table of contents:[131] from this, it can be deduced that the plan was complete as early as 816, and given that this table refers to contents included not only in this first volume, but also in the second, and probably a third (now lost), we may infer that those parts were also finished by that date.

Proceeding now to the second volume of the draft and, more particularly, to the section now identified as al-Awḥadī's draft, we can draw the same conclusion and even determine that it was completed before 811, which further corroborates the identification of this part with al-Awḥadī's work, as he died during that year. This is proven by the following examples selected from the section in al-Awḥadī's handwriting:

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[131] These tables of contents were not published by A. F. Sayyid in his edition of this volume of the draft (al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār*). A critical edition of these tables will be found in Appendix 2.
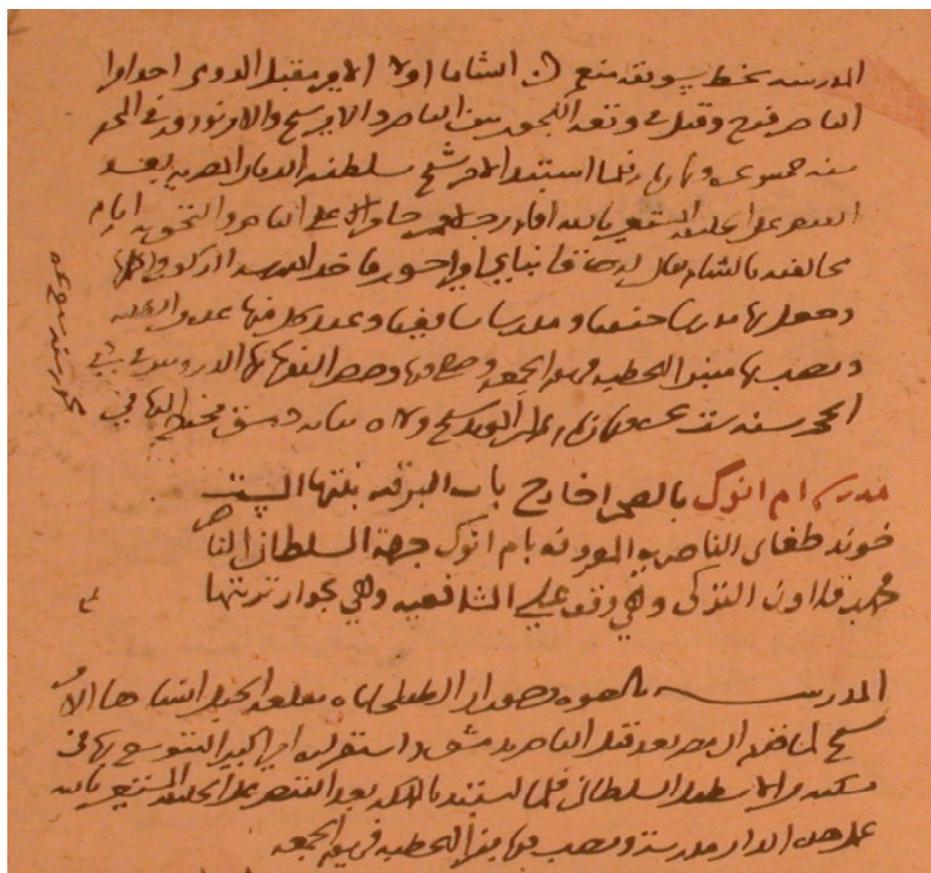
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 97a.

On leaf 97a, a few lines in al-Awḥadī's handwriting dealing with Madrasat Umm Ānūk (founded by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn's wife at the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century) can be read.[132] The space left blank, above and below, was used by al-Maqrīzī to add two madrasahs:[133] one in the quarter of the Suwayqat Munʿim for which a date is provided (817) and another one, the Madrasat al-Ṣuwwah, founded by the sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, who reigned from 815/1412 to 824/1421. From this, it may be inferred that both additions were made after these dates. But the dating of this section can be better narrowed with leaf 95b:

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[132] It is clearly visible that al-Maqrīzī rubbed out the space at the end of the first two lines as he completed the text afterwards (here in upper case: al-siTT; al-sulṭāN AL-NĀṢIR).

[133] In his final version, al-Maqrīzī neglected them. This is also confirmed by the absence, above each name, of the nuqila sign already referred to earlier.
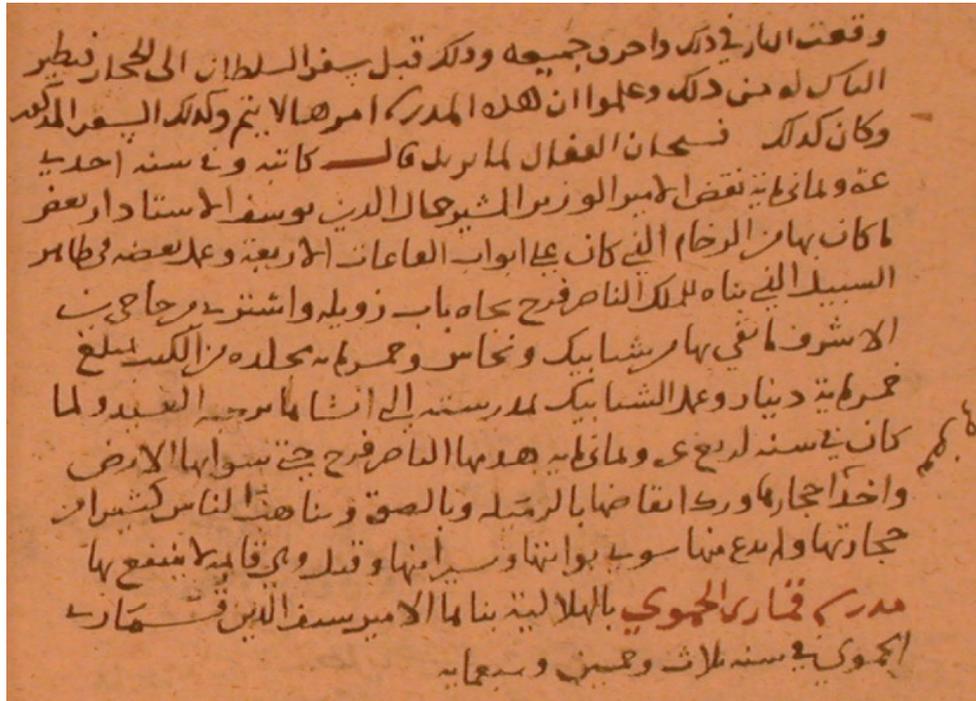
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 95b.

Here, al-Maqrīzī added a note at the end of al-Awḥadī's text, which ends in the middle of the third line: one is dated to 811 and the following one, added immediately after it, to 814! We can hardly say if the information regarding the year 814 was added at a later stage, but that referring to the year 811 provides us with a very useful *terminus ante quem:* the preceding data was definitely written before that date.[134] Be that as it may, we can now establish that this section was written before 811.

All this implies that, at a very early date, al-Maqrīzī already had in hand a comprehensive version of his book. On this basis, my conviction is that he did not start working on the *Khiṭaṭ* before al-Awḥadī's death. In this case, he would have made a fair copy of his colleague's draft, surely improving and developing it[135] his whole life long;[136] but he largely based himself on what had already been

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[134] Another case will strengthen this argument. Regarding the Madrasat Ibn al-Maghribī (fol. 89b), for which all the data is in al-Awḥadī's handwriting, al-Maqrīzī stated at the end that the madrasah was demolished and that its building material was sold in 814.

[135] The improvements are already visible in that section on the madrasahs.

[136] Though his efforts to expand his survey sensibly diminished roughly after 1420. See André

accomplished by another author, as was maintained by al-Sakhāwī.[137] There is insufficient evidence to prove this view, although the following striking features could help to bolster it.

One of the sources used by al-Awḥadī consisted of what he calls "the ancient books of estates" *(kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah),* likely some archival material.[138] On at least one occasion, he refers to these to confirm the existence of a madrasah that must have been replaced by another building later on.[139] A striking feature regarding this archival material appears elsewhere in the same volume of the draft (this time in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting). On fol. 1a of the same volume, for the Darb al-Ṣufayrah, reference is made to this very source in the first person: "*wa-raʾaytu fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah.*" In the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ,*[140] this became: "*hākadhā yūjad fī al-kutub al-qadīmah.*" The same applies to the other example, a little bit further down (fol. 8b): speaking about the Bāb al-Khūkhah, the author writes this time "*wajadtu fī kutub al-amlāk al-fāṭimīyah,*" which disappeared in the final version.[141] On fol. 39b, one reads: "*wa-raʾaytu fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah allatī bi-ḥārat Barjawān mā yadullu ʿalá dhālika . . . wa-hādhā muwāfiq li-qawl Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir,*" a personal testimony that was completely omitted in the final version![142]

Raymond, "Al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Urban Structure of Mamluk Cairo," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 148.

[137] It must be remembered here that al-Maqrīzī acknowledged (*Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186) that he became the owner of several *musawwadāt* of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ,* meaning by this several volumes.

[138] This source was also available to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 1:438, 445; 2:14. On one occasion, al-Maqrīzī referred to this source as *kutub ibtiyāʿāt al-amlāk al-qadīmah* (ibid., 1: 438) from which it may be concluded that these books recorded the sales of properties, probably dating back to the Fatimid period.

[139] Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 91b *(wajadtu dhikrahā fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah).*

[140] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:41.

[141] Ibid., 2:45. This precious piece of information has been added by A. F. Sayyid to al-Maqrīzī's text in his recent edition, once again against al-Maqrīzī's intention! See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 3:140.

[142] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:101. The whole passage was introduced by A. F. Sayyid into al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* though the author had decided not to insert it in his final version! See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 3: 334.

Another passage may be added to this list. It appears on fol. 53a: "*qāla wa-raʾaytu fī baʿḍ kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah.*" It is missing in the final version. See Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:115. Once again, it was included by A. F. Sayyid in the final version. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 3:381 (who erroneously attributed the passage to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir).

Another striking feature lies in the fact that on fol. 111b, a section completely in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, one reads: "*shaykhunā Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī,*" though he was not al-Maqrīzī's

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Now, the question is: why would al-Maqrīzī modify this information, written in the first person in the draft, into an impersonal one in the final version of his book? Apparently, al-Maqrīzī was not able to see these books, given that in such cases he always replaced the personal reference in the draft with an anonymous one in the final version, or he simply omitted it altogether. Undoubtedly, he did not feel at ease with a source to which he had no access. Still, in the sections of the draft in his own handwriting, he appropriated the fact that "he saw himself." What induced him to act this way? Personally, I think that these sentences come from al-Awḥadī's draft and that al-Maqrīzī felt uncomfortable, in the end, with these personal testimonies that belonged to someone else. He thus rendered them with more anonymous references in the final version of his *Khiṭaṭ.* Consequently, we may surmise that large parts of the data found in the two preserved volumes of the drafts are likely to be identified as al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ.*

In order to demonstrate that this view is credible, we need to provide further evidence, still on the basis of the second volume of the draft. We know that before his death in 811/1408, al-Awḥadī had already composed several parts of his book on the topography of Cairo, having already clean-copied part of it. It may thus be inferred that he started working on this topic at a much earlier date. This is confirmed by his reading notes, found on the title page of five manuscripts already mentioned that are dated from 801 to 805.[143] It is reasonable to think that he collected data even during the last decade of the eighth/fourteenth century and that he started to write his work several years before his untimely death.[144] On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī is generally believed to have started collecting data on that topic after the year 806. Turning back to the second volume of the draft, the following quotation in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting is quite disturbing (fol. 127a): "*wa-ammā al-ṭilasm alladhī bi-hi fa-innahu ṣaḥīḥ wa-huwa bāqin mustamirr al-ʿamal ilá waqtinā hādhā wa-huwa sanat thamānin wa-tisʿīn wa-sabʿimiʾah*"! It is found at the beginning of the section dealing with the mosques where the Friday

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master. On the contrary, he was al-Awḥadī's master, as stated earlier. If this material was also written by al-Awḥadī, this means that al-Maqrīzī copied it blindly, without taking pains to modify this word relevant only to al-Awḥadī.

[143] See note 51.

[144] Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1404) quoted al-Awḥadī in his *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* where he asserted, on several occasions, that he read the information in his handwriting, meaning that he had access to his notes or books. Among these quotations, some may be identified as stemming from al-Awḥadī's work on the *Khiṭaṭ,* which confirms that al-Awḥadī's book was already in an advanced stage before 807, the year of Ibn al-Furāt's death. See the list provided by A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:64 (read 9/2: 425 instead of 9/2: 417 and 9/2: 450 instead of 451). The following quotations were overlooked by Sayyid: Ibn al-Furāt, *Tarīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and N. ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1936–42, vols. 7–9), 4/1: 11, 9/1: 132, 9/2: 341, 354.

prayer was performed, starting with the al-Azhar mosque. In it, the author of these lines wanted to specify that the talisman *(ṭilasm)* that was found in that mosque to prevent birds from settling and nesting in the building, thus some sort of scarecrow, was still playing its role at the time he was writing those lines, i.e., in 798. How could al-Maqrīzī have written this at that time, as it would mean that he had already been working on the topography of Cairo well before the date of 798, given that this was part of a section dealing with the great mosques *(jawāmiʿ)?* However, al-Awḥadī could be the author of these lines, given that in the section on the madrasahs, still in his own handwriting, he stated that he had already discussed the great mosques, as we have already seen. Though in his preliminary draft al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied what he was reading, even if they were not his words, he totally disregarded this in his final version.[145]

This demonstration can be reinforced by a similar quotation found in the section on the madrasahs in al-Awḥadī's handwriting, a further element that will prove that this is part of his original clean-copied work. Speaking of al-Madrasah al-Suyūfīyah (fol. 82b), al-Awḥadī specified that he had access to the *waqf* document of this institution, which was shown to him by the scholar who was teaching there *(mudarris),* Majd al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Ḥanafī. This scholar must be identified as Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bilbaysī, who died in 802/1399.[146] In other words, al-Awḥadī saw this document before that date, proving, if still necessary, that he had been working on this topic well before 802. In the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ,* these personal details were forgotten, but al-Maqrīzī replaced them with his own personal testimony, as he stated that he had seen the very document; this is true, as he quoted some parts of it, though al-Awḥadī did not in his text. This establishes that al-Maqrīzī went back to the source exploited by his colleague and replaced al-Awḥadī's personal testimony with his own, but also that al-Maqrīzī worked on the topic of the *khiṭaṭ* well after 802.

So far we have established that, besides the section on the madrasahs now identified as being al-Awḥadī's autograph fair copy, some parts of the second volume of the draft in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting might originate in al-Awḥadī's work too: in this case, al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied data and left al-Awḥadī's personal testimonies unchanged until he elaborated the final version and the fair copy of the *Khiṭaṭ.* However, this same volume also includes material that was obviously drafted by al-Maqrīzī. The emendations added in the margins and on slips of paper must undoubtedly be credited to him. When a date is mentioned in these additions, it provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the main text to which it was added. Three cases may be put forward in this respect: two of them

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[145] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:273.

[146] See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:408–13.

are dated to the year 818 and one to the year 813.[147] If we consider now the dates provided by al-Maqrīzī in the body of the text, these never go further than 815 when they are explicitly given, or 815–18 when they must be surmised.[148] Thanks to these elements, we are in a good position to date the second volume of the draft as having been copied sometime between 815 and 818. As we saw, the first volume of the draft may be dated at the earliest to the year 816;[149] this means that al-Maqrīzī had already finished most of that first version by 815. In this context, it is better understood why his appropriation of al-Awḥadī's draft was pivotal: between 811 and 815–18, he expanded his colleague's draft, copying several parts of it into his own new work.[150]

In light of this, al-Sakhāwī's words ("[he] made a fair copy of it [completely] and attributed it to himself [after he had made] additions") are better understood. Of course, it does not mean that everything in the actual version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* comes from al-Awḥadī's draft, as we have seen. Obviously, he completed the book, expanded its plan, and added data regarding the period between al-Awḥadī's death in 811 and the date of his own death in 845. Nonetheless, this was not originally his work, and a great part had already been written by someone else.

To conclude this section, we should remember that in al-Sakhāwī's eyes no excuse of any kind could justify this reprehensible way of acting, though Ibn Ḥajar himself, the key witness in this case, did not seem to mind it. Ibn Ḥajar maintained a high opinion of his colleague, al-Maqrīzī, as confirmed by the

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[147] Fol. 40a: "*wa-jaddada hādhihi al-suwayqah al-qāḍī Fatḥ al-Dīn ibn Muʿtaṣim kātib al-sirr fī sanat thalāth ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 26b: "*fī sanat thamān* [sic] *ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 174a: "*wa-lammā kathura māʾ al-Nīl fī sanat thamān* [sic] *ʿasharah.*"

[148] Fol. 40b: "*wa-mā zāla kharāb ilá sanat iḥdá ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 77a: "*khaṭībuhu fīhā min ṣafar sanat 814*"; fol. 107b: "*ilá an qutila al-Malik al-Nāṣir fī sanat khamsah ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 152a: "*wa-baqiya qāʾim ilá shaʿbān sanat khamsah ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 27b: "*fa-lammā qutila al-Nāṣir Faraj* [815]"; fol. 18b: "*wa-kāna qabla zamaninā hādhā bi-naḥw thalāthīn sanah fī ḥudūd al-thamānīn wa-sabʿimiʾah qablahā* [circa 30 years earlier, at the end of the eighties]."

[149] See p. 206.

[150] When Ibn Ḥajar completed his work entitled *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* (his dictionary of authorities), he had already included a biography of al-Maqrīzī which the latter read and even corrected for some details (see above, n. 28). Though this dictionary was started in 803/1400, it was not finished before 829/1426. However, the only work Ibn Ḥajar deemed worthy of mention regarding al-Maqrīzī's production was *Al-Ightibāṭ*. Though we do not know when Ibn Ḥajar wrote al-Maqrīzī's biography (sometime between 803 and 829), this means that al-Maqrīzī's project for the *Khiṭaṭ* was already known to Ibn Ḥajar, as he confirmed that al-Maqrīzī benefitted from al-Awḥadī's draft, but that the book was not yet completed.

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following words:[151]

Our master, the most erudite, the scholar of his time [Ibn Ḥajar], revered him and showed him respect and awe. He used to go to his house and to spend time there with him.

كان شيخنا العلامة حافظ العصر [ابن حجر] يكرمه ويبجله ويعظمه ويتوجه إلى داره ويقيم عنده.

And indeed, in 829/1426, Ibn Ḥajar expressed his feelings towards al-Maqrīzī with warm words:[152]

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[151] ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 4:243.

[152] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:60.

The friendship that exists between us is beyond words. May God—he is exalted—prolong his benefits.

وبيننا من المودة ما لا يسعه الورق فالله تعالى يديم النفع به.

Yet, Ibn Ḥajar was also acquainted with al-Awḥadī, as they met together during lessons with common masters:[153]

I met him on several occasions and he accompanied me to attend the lessons of some of my masters.

اجتمعت به مرارا ورافقنا في السماع على بعض شيوخنا.

Truly, he must have known him quite well. In the end, is it not he who informs us that al-Awḥadī had nice handwriting *(kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ)?*

The question remains: how did Ibn Ḥajar know about the misdemeanor? Once again, sources and manuscripts come to our rescue. Scholars could lend their works, finished or not, to colleagues, if they trusted them. We have a fairly good example concerning al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407). Al-Maqrīzī declared in his biography, in the dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah:*[154]

He borrowed my holograph notebooks. . . . I was closely associated with him for a while and he was my neighbor for many years. He frequently visited me at home.

كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي . . . صحبته مدة وجاورني عدة سنين وتردد إلي كثيرا.

In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, it has already been established that he lent the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* to al-Maqrīzī, who did not hesitate to correct therein the data regarding his own biography or to make some marginal additions, which means that he had time to read it through at home. Al-Maqrīzī might have lent Ibn Ḥajar his own works too, but probably not his draft of the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ;*[155] it is unlikely that this is how Ibn Ḥajar discovered

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[153] Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 195.

[154] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:102–3. We have already seen that he was not at all pleased with the use Ibn Duqmāq made of his personal notes.

[155] In 829, he confessed that among al-Maqrīzī's writings he had consulted was *Al-Ightibāṭ bi-Aḥwāl al-Fusṭāṭ,* confirming that that book was already completed by that time, but did not say a word about *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār.* See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:60 (*"wa-mimmā waqaftu*

al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism.[156] On a scholar's death, his intellectual legacy could be coveted by his colleagues, particularly if he was a prolific author (the same thing can be said of his library). This is what happened, for instance, to the *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* of Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1404), who had not had enough time to make a fair copy of the draft, except for the volumes covering the last three centuries. The draft was sold because his son had no interest in this matter.[157] Al-Maqrīzī made use of it, he said, by which he meant that he summarized it, when he managed to lay hands on it.[158]

As for al-Maqrīzī's legacy, there is an indirect reference to it in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍawʾ*:[159]

He [al-ʿUryānī] compiled a commentary on the *shawāhid* of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* by Ibn Mālik, as I saw in our master [Ibn Ḥajar]'s handwriting. It is a nice commentary that demonstrates a thorough study in grammar . . ., even though some pretend that a commentary on the same book by al-Ghammārī was found in al-Maqrīzī's bequest. If he [al-ʿUryānī] laid hands on it, he might have appropriated it and expanded it.

وجمع شرح شواهد الكافية الشافية لابن مالك كما رأيته بخط شيخنا وهو شرح حسن يدل على اطلاع زائد في النحو . . . وإن زعم بعضهم أنه وجد بتركة المقريزي شرحها للغماري. فإن كان وقف عليه فيمكن أن يكون أخذه وزاد عليه.

ʿalayhi kitābuhu al-Ightibāṭ bi-Aḥwāl al-Fusṭāṭ").

[156] In *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:39 (al-Awḥadī's entry), he revealed that al-Maqrīzī took advantage of al-Awḥadī's drafts, which means that he already knew what happened, but he refrained from saying more about this. As already stated, al-Maqrīzī read the manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* but he did not correct Ibn Ḥajar's divulgation. He thus agreed with this view.

[157] About 20 volumes, out of 60 according to al-Sakhāwī, or 100 according to al-Maqrīzī. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:51.

[158] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227 ("*waqaftu ʿalayhā wa-istafadtu minhā*"). Hence his notes of consultation (dated 818 to 819) found in three volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's holograph copy. See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 117–18.

[159] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:70–71. Al-Maqrīzī's library, at least some of his holograph volumes, were inherited by his nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī (801–67/1399–1462). (On him see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:150). His mark of ownership (*malakahu Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī)* is found in the following holograph manuscripts of his uncle: "Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar," vol. 1, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ayasofya 3362, fol. 4a; ibid., vol. 3, MS Fatih 4338, fol. 1a; ibid., vol. 4, MS Fatih 4339, fol. 1a; ibid., vol. 5, MS Fatih 4340, fol. 1a; ibid., vol. 6, MS Fatih 4341, fol. 1a; "Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk," vol. 1, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Yeni Cami 887, fol. 3a.

In 845/1442, Ibn Ḥajar, who was to die seven years later, was probably the first to get access to al-Maqrīzī's private library (the drafts and the fair copies). The fact that he had access to the autograph manuscripts of his colleague is established by two elements: a report and material evidence. As for the report, it is provided by al-Sakhāwī:[160]

وترجمه شيخنا أيضا فيما استدركه على تاريخ مصر للمقريزي ولكنه عنده في عقوده.

Our master [Ibn Ḥajar] also wrote [al-Ḥusbānī's] biography in his additions to al-Maqrīzī's *History of Egypt [al-Muqaffá],* though [al-Ḥusbānī] is found in his *ʿUqūd.*[161]
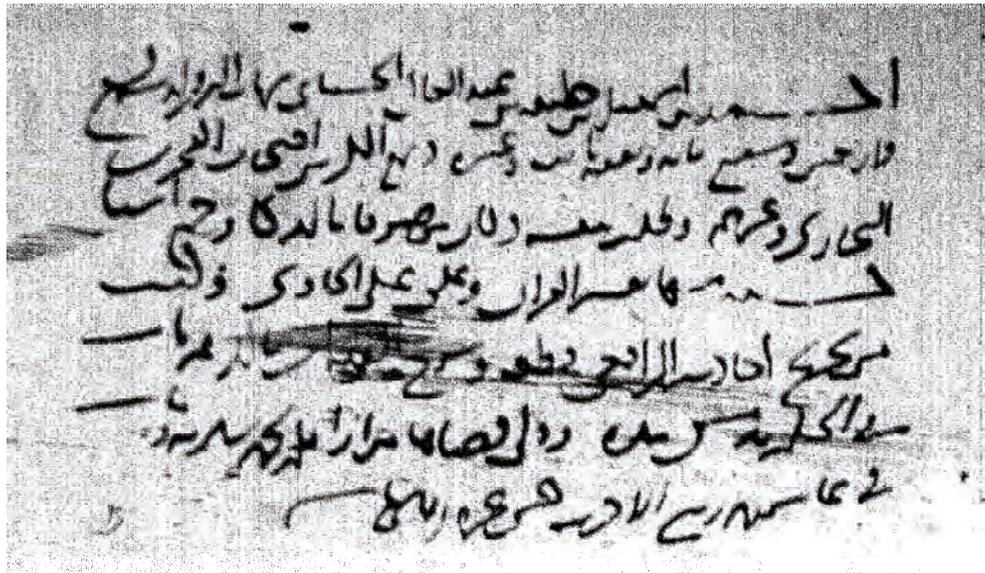
Courtesy Universiteit Leiden (Leiden), Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 14533, fol. 120b showing al-Ḥusbānī's biography in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting, confirming al-Sakhāwī's statement.

This information would seem ambiguous if Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting were not found in several of al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts, which definitely proves that he had access to them, most probably after the latter's death, as we are told that he supplemented *(istadraka)* his data. In at least three instances, Ibn

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[160] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:239.

[161] One must understand that Ibn Ḥajar's addition to *Al-Muqaffá* was not pertinent given that al-Maqrīzī devoted some space to the biographee in his dictionary of his contemporaries. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:366 (no. 286).

Ḥajar indeed added notes and data, consisting of additions and corrections, in the margins or in the body of the text: these are several volumes of *Al-Muqaffá,*[162] *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,*[163] and the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ.*[164] To his great surprise, he found (as did I) in a volume of the draft of the first version, nineteen folios in al-Awḥadī's handwriting where al-Maqrīzī had lined through, erased, and modified some words or sentences, adding some details in the margins or on slips of paper. Nevertheless, he hesitated to indicate his discovery in his writings, maybe because of his esteem for al-Maqrīzī. One must remark that Ibn Ḥajar revised his historical works almost until he passed away: al-Maqrīzī's death is recorded in his *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* and in this sense he could have added something about his discovery at that time.[165] Anyway, if he did not modify his appreciation of al-Maqrīzī in his books, he might have dropped a word into the ear of his pupil al-Sakhāwī, who had fewer scruples about writing the news down. Alternatively, al-Sakhāwī might have been content with Ibn Ḥajar's words found in his *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* which he interpreted as meaning, in his master's choice of words, that this was a case of plagiarism.[166] Whatever the case, al-Sakhāwī had

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[162] His handwriting is found in almost every volume preserved, hence al-Sakhāwī's comment quoted above, which also confirms that al-Sakhāwī managed to consult the autograph volumes of *al-Muqaffá.* For the list of these volumes, see F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 115–16.

[163] His handwriting is found on fol. 152 (a biography added) of al-Maqrīzī's partially preserved autograph (Forschungsbibliothek [Gotha], or. 1771).

[164] The autograph of the final version is considered lost, but the copyist of one of the manuscripts used by A. F. Sayyid identified Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting in these notes and indicated it. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 4:490 ("*wujida bi-khaṭṭ mawlānā qāḍī al-quḍāh Ibn Ḥajar ʿalá hāmish nuskhat al-muṣannif al-manqūl minhā mā naṣṣuhu*"). A. F. Sayyid did not indicate in which of the manuscripts he used he found this note.

[165] It is interesting to note that some words have been added to the right of the passage where he divulged that al-Maqrīzī benefitted from al-Awḥadī's drafts on the *khiṭaṭ* (Ibn Ḥajar, "Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis*,*" al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah [Cairo], MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 129b. See Appendix 1, al-Awḥadī's entry). These words were cancelled later on and are now illegible, and, as such, could have been related to this affair.

[166] That Ibn Ḥajar's words were understood in this sense is confirmed by two details. First, there is the fact that al-Sakhāwī included this case of plagiarism in the list of the other cases identified by Ibn Ḥajar himself. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:390–94 ("*faṣl fīman akhadha taṣnīf ghayrihi fa-iddaʿāhu li-nafsihi wa-zāda fīhi qalīlan wa-naqaṣa minhu wa-lākinna aktharahu madhkūr bi-lafẓ al-aṣl*"). Secondly, an anonymous reader of *Al-Muqaffá,* who had previously read al-Sakhāwī's words in his *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh,* added to *Al-Muqaffá* a short biography of al-Awḥadī, in which he mentioned al-Sakhāwī's accusation (attributed to Ibn Ḥajar), and he concluded: "*hākadhā wajadtuhu maktūban bi-khaṭṭ al-ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī raḥimahu Allāh wa-huwa thiqah fī dhālika li-annahu amīr al-muʾminīn fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*"! See al-Maqrīzī, "Al-Muqaffá," Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden), MS 14533, fol. 225b. This proves that al-Jalīlī's opinion that "*law kāna hunāka adná shayʾ min al-ṣiḥḥah fī ittihām al-Sakhāwī lil-Maqrīzī fīmā yakhtaṣṣu bi-kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ, la kāna ashāra Ibn Ḥajar ilá dhālika*" is mistaken. See al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn

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the merit to tell the truth, although Ibn Ḥajar probably never revealed to him all the details, which is why al-Sakhāwī could not give evidence to sustain his accusation. Whether jealousy *(ghayrah)* pushed him to reveal this *qīl wa-qāl* is not important: he did his job as a historian with professional integrity.

There remains one more worrying question: why did al-Maqrīzī not erase every bit of al-Awḥadī's handwriting in his draft by copying the only remaining section of al-Awḥadī's fair copy? And of course, we lay aside the possibility that this also occurs in the lost volumes of al-Maqrīzī's draft. The two-part answer, although completely conjectural, is quite simple. First of all, as already established, the draft was not meant to survive after al-Maqrīzī's death, as a fair copy of his work was already circulating in his lifetime. Secondly, al-Awḥadī died in 811, a long time before al-Maqrīzī's own death. With the passing of time, persons who were closely enough acquainted with al-Awḥadī to be able to identify his handwriting became rare. Even if the draft might have been seen by others, the probability of discovering the secret was almost nil.

Conclusions

The title of this article issues a challenge: should al-Maqrīzī be thrown out with the bath water? Obviously, the answer cannot but be negative. However he behaved, his work on the *khiṭaṭ* still remains the best source for the study of the history of the Egyptian capital from the very beginning down to his own period. This is partly because he used several sources that are now considered lost, but also because he benefitted from al-Awḥadī's work on which he built his own magnum opus. However, the modern historian must be conscious that his tremendous activity as a historian is partly explained by his having recourse to some dubious practices. Plagiarism was definitely one of them, and it is particularly noticeable in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

To conclude, I think that I have been able to establish that:

• the nineteen folios carrying a different handwriting in al-Maqrīzī's draft of the first version of his *Khiṭaṭ* represent one part of al-Awḥadī's fair copy on the *khiṭaṭ;*
• al-Maqrīzī utilized this part for his own book, sometimes modifying slightly al-Awḥadī's text;
• other parts of the *Khiṭaṭ* might have been based on other parts of al-Awḥadī's drafts;
• al-Maqrīzī did not begin working on the *Khiṭaṭ* prior to al-Awḥadī's death, and consequently he completed the work initiated by his colleague, without

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lil-Maqrīzī," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* 4:40.

crediting him;

- the charge of "plagiarism"—as perceived in those times—brought against him by al-Sakhāwī, who relied on his master Ibn Ḥajar, was justified because he made a fair copy of al-Awḥadī's drafts, later expanding them and deleting some parts, but the result owed a great deal to al-Awḥadī's work.[167]

Thus, five centuries later, this case can finally be closed. But I would like to conclude with an ironic twist. In his *Laṭāʾif al-Minan,* al-Shaʿrānī recorded the following information:[168]

I also read aloud to him the commentary to the *Alfīyah* of al-ʿIrāqī by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, the great scholar. It is said that, in fact, it was [written] by Ibn Ḥajar, the great scholar. Al-Sakhāwī discovered the draft in the legacy of Ibn Ḥajar or of someone else, corrected it, made a fair copy of it, and published it.	وقرأت عليه أيضا شرح ألفية العراقي للجلال الحافظ السخاوي ويقال إنه للحافظ ابن حجر ظفر به السخاوي مسودة في تركة الحافظ ابن حجر أو غيره فضبطه وبيضه وأبرزه للناس.

The general moral of this story could be: people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. But one may also conclude that even the harshest critics of plagiarism were not always above the practice themselves.[169]

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[167] It is noteworthy to mention that al-Sakhāwī opened another case against al-Maqrīzī regarding his *Tārīkh Miṣr* (i.e., *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*). See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1: 394 ("*qultu: wa-kadhā ʿamila fī Tārīkh Miṣr lil-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī. Fa-innahu lam yubayyiḍ minhu ghayr al-Muḥammadīn wa-baʿḍ al-hamzah. Fa-akhadha al-musawwadah bi-tamāmihā wa-lakhkhaṣa tarājimahā wa-lam yansub lahu fīmā raʾaytu wa-lā al-tarjamah al-wāḥidah*"). He is referring there to ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAbd al-Nūr al-Ḥalabī (d. 735/1334), who wrote a *History of the Egyptians* alphabetically organized. In his *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh*, he did not say a word about this plagiarism, but he advanced that he owned ten volumes of the draft and a fair copy of the Muḥammads in four volumes, which confirms that he could compare this work with al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Iʿlān,* in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* 401.

[168] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Laṭāʾif al-Minan wa-al-Akhlāq fī Bayān Wujūb al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat Allāh ʿalá al-Iṭlāq al-Maʿrūf bi-al-Minan al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1976), 64.

[169] Cf. Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction," in *Le Plagiat,* 10: "Mais, si traquer le plagiat est une façon pour le critique d'affirmer une culture infiniment supérieure à celle du lecteur naïf, cette activité ne laisse pas d'apparaître dérisoire et virtuellement sans fin, car, pour parodier une formule célèbre, un plagiat peut en cacher un autre et l'on risque toujours de découvrir, avec Anatole France, que 'le volé était lui-même voleur.'"

Appendix 1: A Critical Edition of al-Awḥadī's and al-Maqrīzī's Entries in Ibn Ḥajar's "Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris" (Cairo, al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah, MS Muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fols. 129b, 131a).

Al-Awḥadī's entry (fol. 129b)[170]
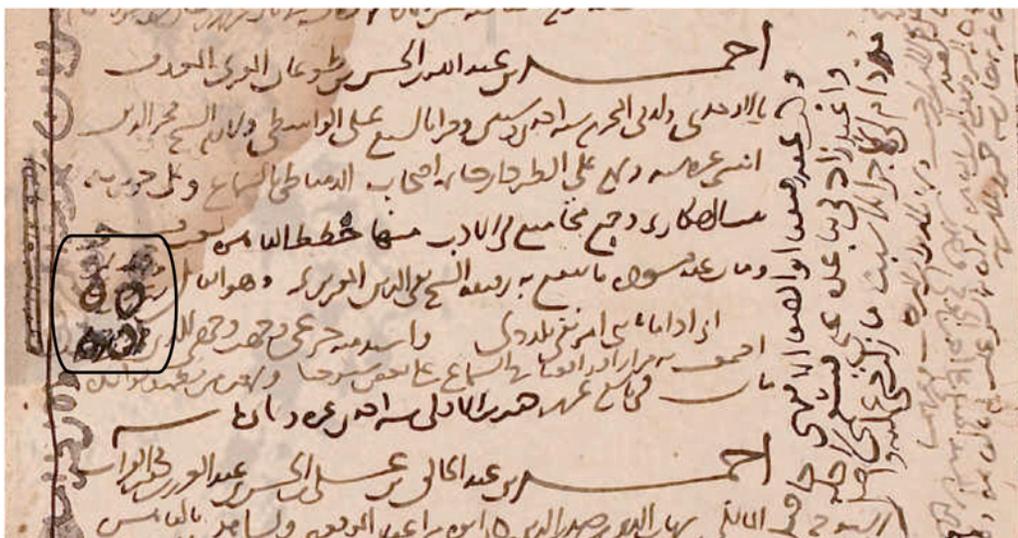
Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 129b.

أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن طوغان المقرئ المعروف || بالأوحدي. ولد في المحرم سنة إحدى وستين وقرأ بالسبع على الواسطي ولازم الشيخ فخر الدين || اثنتي عشرة سنة وسمع على الطبردار خاتمة أصحاب الدمياطي بالسماع وعلى جويرية || بنت الهكاري وجمع مجاميع في الأدب منها خطط القاهرة. تعب فيه || ومات عنه مسودة فانتفع به رفيقه الشيخ تقي الدين المقريزي. وهو القائل ||

إنــــــي إذا مـــا نـــابــنــي أمــــر نــفــى تلذذي واشتد منه[171] جزعـي وجـهـت وجـهـي للـذي

|| اجتمعت به مرارا ورافقنا في السماع على بعض شيوخنا وسمعت من نظمه وفوائده. || مات في تاسع عشري[172] جمدى الأولى سنة إحدى عشرة وثمانمائة.

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[170] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:38–39.

[171] In al-Marʿashlī's ed.: مني. The actual reading is confirmed by the quotation of the same verses by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:359, who relied on Ibn Ḥajar's *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* as evidenced by his reading note on fol. 163a.

[172] In al-Marʿashlī's ed.: عشر. The actual reading is confirmed by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:359.

Added at a later date, in the right margin:

<div dir="rtl">

وكتب عنه رفيقنا أبو الصفاء الأقهسي ||

وأغـــــيــــد زاد فــــي تـــبــاعـــده عذ ـــــي فـــســقـــمــي لأجـــلــــه حـــاصـــل

مـــــذ دام لـــــي هـــاجـــرا بـــلا سبب مـــا زلـــت حـــتـــى عـــمـــلـــتـــه واصـــل

</div>

Added at a later date, at the left of lines 5–6 (see the frame), are a few words on three lines that were later erased and are now illegible.

Al-Maqrīzī's entry (fol. 131a)[173]
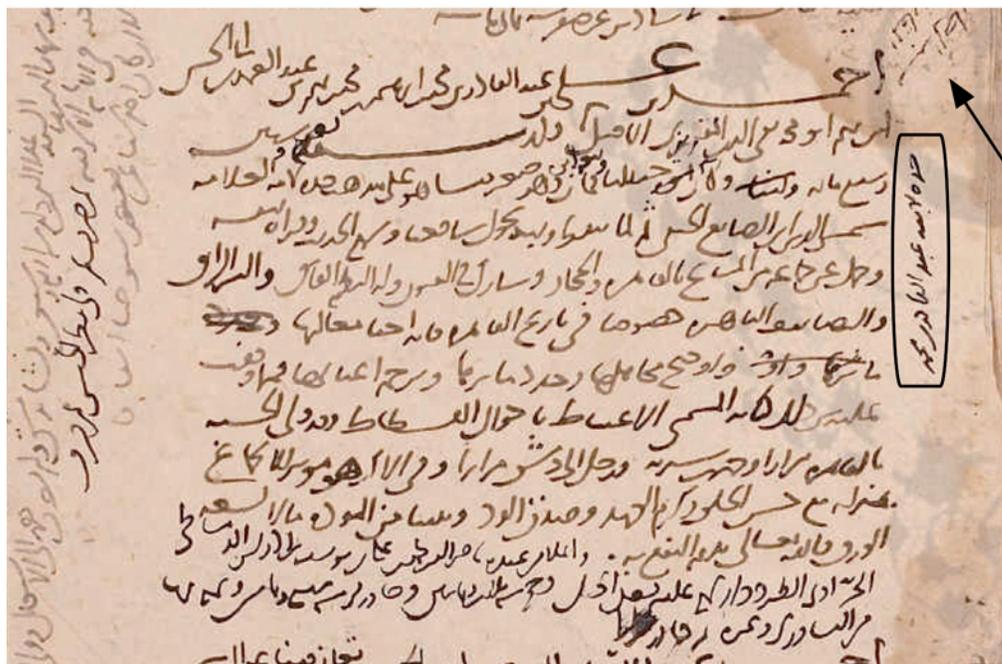
Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

<div dir="rtl">

أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن تميم بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن || إبراهيم أبو محمد تقي الدين المقريزي[174] الأصل

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[173] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:58–60.

[174] The letters *rāʾ, yāʾ,* and *zāy* rewritten by al-Maqrīzī.

Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

نسبة¹⁷⁵ إلى حارة || المقاررة ببعلبك. || نزل بها جدي¹⁷⁶ || الأعلى¹⁷⁷ || ابرهيم بن محمد. ||
وقرأت¹⁷⁸ || نسبه بخط-[ـه] || إلى تميم الثاني || وقرأت || بخط الشيخ تقي الدين || ابن رافع في ترجمة || عبد القادر نسبه || إلى
تميم الأول. ¹⁷⁹ ||
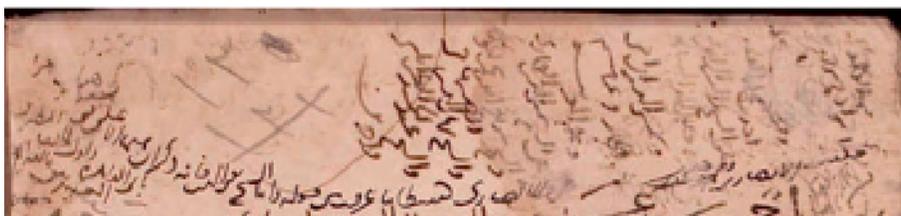
Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

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¹⁷⁵ From نسبة to محمد: this data in the right margin is in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

¹⁷⁶ Corrected by Ibn Ḥajar in جده.

¹⁷⁷ This word was added by Ibn Ḥajar later on.

¹⁷⁸ This data is found at the end of this note, still in the right margin, in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting and added at a later date.

¹⁷⁹ In al-Marʿashlī's edition, the last four words read: وقد نسبه أنصاريا!

فكتب 180 [؟] الأنصاري وتميم جد [؟] [...] [...]181الأنصاري. كتبه ظانا. عرفت من قوله وأما الشيخ تقي الدين فإنه ذكر أن تميما الأعلى في نسبه هو ا[بن] [...]182|| باني القاهرة وأول الخلفاء المصريين || العبيديين بالقا[هرة؟].

ولد سنة بضع و 183ستين || وسبع مائة ونيفا وكان أبوه184 جده لأبيه عبد القادر بن محمد 185 حنبليا وتبعه أبوه186 فمات وهو صغير فنشأ هو على مذهب جده لأمه العلامة || شمس الدين ابن الصائغ الحنفي ثم لما تيقظ ونبه تحول شافعيا وسمع الحديث وقرأه بنسفه وحمل عن جماعة من المشايخ بالقاهرة والحجاز وشارك في الفنون وله النظم الفائق والنثر الرائق || والتصانيف الباهرة خصوصا في تاريخ القاهرة فإنه أحيا معالمها وجدد || مآثرها وأوضح 187 وأوضح مجاهلها وجدد مآثرها وترجم أعيانها فمما وقفت || عليه من ذلك كتابه المسمى الاغتباط بأحوال الفسطاط وقد ولي الحسبة || بالقاهرة مرارا وحسنت سيرته ودخل إلى دمشق مرارا وفي الأكثر هو مؤثر للانجماع || بمنزله مع حسن الخلق وكرم العهد وصدق الود وبيننا من المودة ما لا يسعه || الورق فالله تعالى يديم النفع به.

وأعلى188 من عنده ناصر الدين محمد بن علي بن يوسف بن إدريس الدمياطي || الحراوي الطبردار سمع عليه فضل الخيل وحج سنة ثلاث وثمانين وجاور في سنة سبع وثمانين وسمع بها || من النشاوري وغيره ثم جاور مرارا. 189

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[180] This data up to [بالقا]هرة؟], added at a later date, is found in the top margin, in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting. It is missing in Marʿashlī's edition.

[181] Two words illegible now due to water stain.

[182] One or two words illegible now, as the ink has faded.

[183] بضع و: added at a later date by Ibn Ḥajar.

[184] This word cancelled by al-Maqrīzī.

[185] These words, from جده up to محمد, added by al-Maqrīzī in the right margin.

[186] وتبعه أبوه: added by Ibn Ḥajar, above the line.

[187] These words cancelled by Ibn Ḥajar during the writing process.

[188] The following words were added by Ibn Ḥajar at a later date.

[189] The last three words are missing in al-Marʿashlī's edition. The last word seems to be cancelled but this is due to the fact that the ink was not dry and it resulted in a blot as shown by the word that just precedes it.

Appendix 2: A Critical Edition of the List of Contents Found in the First Volume of the Draft of *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Kütüphanesi, MS Hazinesi 1472).[190]

fol. 1b:
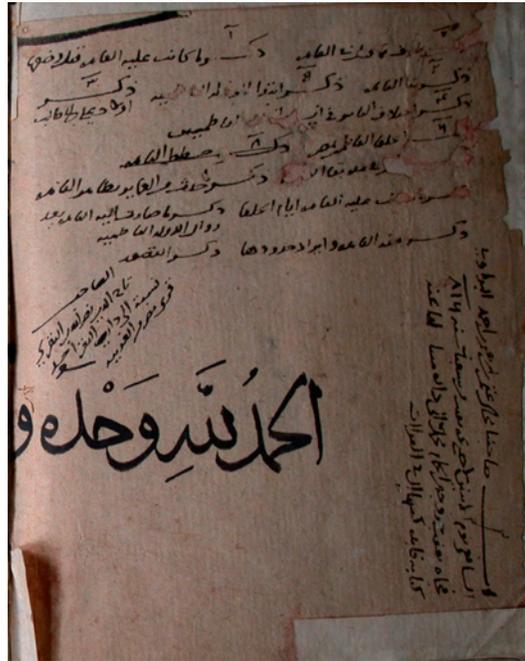
|	
٤) ذكر اختلاف الناس في انسـ[ـاب] الـ[خلفاء ا]لفاطميين	٧) [ذكر اختـ]ـلاف ما قيل في القاهرة
٦)[ذ]كر الخلفاء الفاطميين بمصر	١) ذكر ما كانت عليه القاهرة قبل وضعها
٨) ذكر خطط القاهرة	٢) ذكر بناء القاهرة
[ذكر] في مدة بقاء الـ[قاهرة]	٥) ذكر ابتداء الدولة الـ[فاطمـ]ية
ذكر [مـ]ـا حدث من العمائر بظاهر القاهرة	٣) ذكر اولاد علي بن أبي طالب

[ذكـ]ـر [ما كانـ]ـت عليه القاهرة ايام الخلفاء

ذكر ما صارت اليه القاهرة بعد زوال الدولة الفاطمية

ذكر حد [؟] القاهرة وإيراد حدودها

ذكر القصور

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[190] Not edited by Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid in his edition of this volume (al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* [London, 1995]), nor in his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (London, 2002–4, 5 vols. in 6).

fol. 3a:

in red (numbers in black)

<div dir="rtl">

الحمد لله وأسأله الإعانة والتوفيق

فهرست كتاب المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والآثار يسر الله

إتمامه ووفق للصواب فيه

ا[=١] ذكر طرف من هيأة الأفلاك؛

ب[=٢] ذكر صورة الأرض وموقع الأقاليم منها؛

ج[=٣] ذكر محل مصر من الأرض؛

د[=٤] ذكر فضائل مصر؛

ه[=٥] ذكر حدود مصر؛

و[=٦] ذكر محاريب مصر؛

ز[=٧] ذكر اشتقاق مصر؛

ح[=٨] ذكر نيل مصر؛

ط[=٩] ذكر كور مصر وقراها؛

ي[=١٠] ذكر خراج مصر وكيف كان يعمل في جبايته وما استقر عليه الأمر في ذلك. عدة عشرة.

</div>

black ink, numbers in red:

ا[١=] ذكر مدينة أمسوس؛
ح[٨=] ذكر خراب مصر على يد بخت نصر؛
ج[٣=] ذكر الطوفان؛
ب[٢=] ذكر الأهرام؛
د[٤=] ذكر مدينة منف؛
ط[٩=] ذكر الجيزة؛
ه[٥=] ذكر استنباط الفيوم؛
ي[١٠=] ذكر سجن يوسف.
و[٦=] ذكر عمل البرابي؛
عدة عشرة.
ز[٧=] ذكر تدمر الله مصر وغرق فرعون؛

red ink, *abjad* letters in black:

ا[١=] ذكر الحصن؛
يح[١٨=] ذكر الجبل؛
ب[٢=] ذكر فتح مصر؛
يز[١٧=] ذكر بركة الحبش[192]؛
ج[٣=] ذكر الفسطاط وخططه[191]؛
يو[١٦=] ذكر الروضة؛
د[٤=] ذكر جامع عمرو؛
يج[١٣=] ذكر القطائع؛
ه[٥=] ذكر طرف من اخبار الفسطاط؛
يا[١١=] ذكر الأصنام التي كانت بمصر[193] بمصر [كذا]؛
و[٦=] ذكر ما به الآن من المساجد الجامعة؛
يب[١٢=] ذكر الساحل؛
ز[٧=] ذكر ما به من المدارس؛
يد[١٤=] ذكر المقياس؛
ح[٨=] ذكر ما به من الزوايا والربط؛
يط[١٩=] ذكر غلاء المستنصر؛
ي[١٠=] ذكر ما به من الديارات والكنائس؛
ك[٢٠=] ذكر حريق مصر؛
ط[٩=] ذكر ما به من الحمامات؛
كا[٢١=] ذكر ما أدرك الفتح الإسلامي من عجائب مصر؛
يه[١٥=] ذكر القرافة؛
يب[٢٢=] ذكر من ولي مصر الفسطاط.
عدة عشرين.

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191 في الهامش بخط المقريزي + صح: وخططه.

192 في الهامش بخط المقريزي: يز) ذكر بركة الحبش.

193 في الهامش بخط المقريزي + صح: التي كانت بمصر.

fol. 4a:
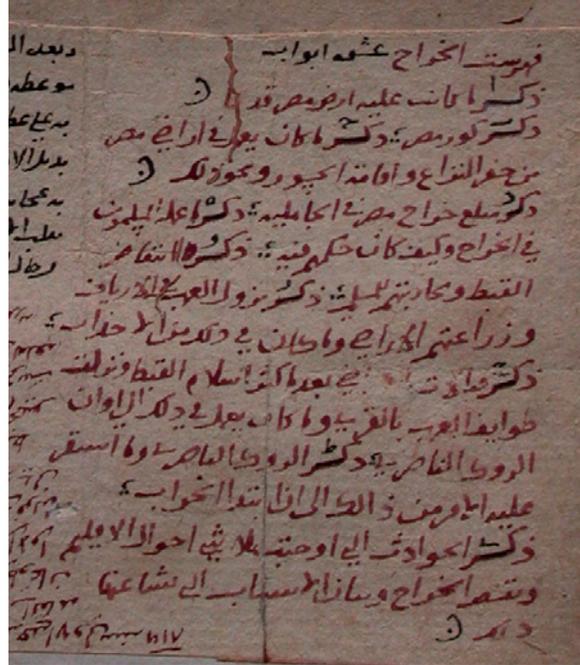
ز[=٧] ذكر نزول العرب في الأرياف وزراعتهم الأراضي وما كان في ذلك من الأجذاب؛

ح[=٨] ذكر قبالات ا[لأرا]ضـي بعد ما كثر إسلام القبط ونزلت طوائف العرب بالقرى وما كان يعمل في ذلك إلى أوان الروك الناصري؛

ط[=٩] ذكر الروك الناصري وما استقر عليه الأمر من ذالك إلى ان ابتدأ الخراب؛

ي[=١٠] ذكر الحوادث التي أوجبت تلاشي أحوال الإقليم ونقص الخراج وبيان الأسباب التي نشأ عنها ذلك.

فهرست الخراج عشرة أبواب

ا[=١] ذكر ما كانت عليه أرض مصر قد[يمـ]ـا.

ب[=٢] ذكر كور مصر؛

ج[=٣] ذكر ما كان يعمل في أراضي مصر من حفر التراع وإقامة الجسور ونحو ذلك.

د[=٤] ذكر سلع خراج مصر في الجاهلية؛

ه[=٥] ذكر ما عمله المسلمون في الخراج وكيف كان حكمهم فيه؛

و[=٦] ذكر انتقاض القبط ومحاربتهم للمسلمين؛

fol. 8b:
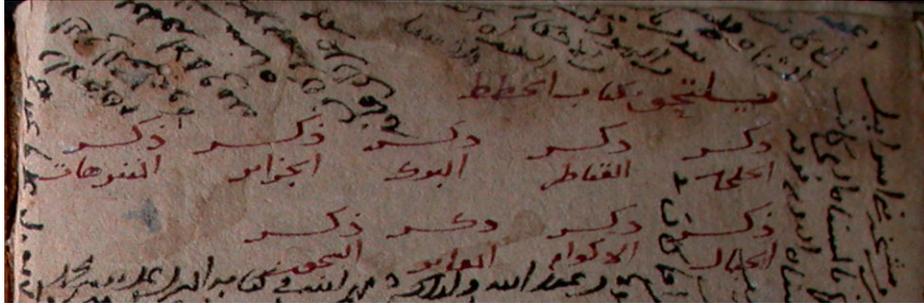
ذكر المنتزهات	يلتحق بكتاب الخطط
ذكر الجبال	ذكر الخلجان
ذكر الأكوام	ذكر القناطر
ذكر المقابر	ذكر البرك
ذكر السجون	ذكر الجزائر

fol. 14b:

دار سيف المقدم	ذكر الدور
دار عباس	حارة بهاء الدين
دار الحاجب بيبرس	دار الأحمدي
دار خوند	دار قراسنقر
دار كريم الدين	دار البلقيني
دار ابن قرقة	دار منكوتمر
دار فتح الله	حارة برجوان
دار الديوداري	دار المظفر
دار بيبرس	دار بنت السعيدي
دار كتبغا	دار آقوش
دار ابن فضل الله	دار [بياض] ابن عبد العزيز
دار كهرداش	دار البشمقدار
دار ابن كتيلة	دار السليماني
دار الهندي	دار[
دار السلامي	[دار] الكافوري
دار أوحد الدين	دار الحاجب بكتمر¹⁹⁴
دار بهادر العزي [كذا لـ "المعزي"]	دار ابن تنكز
دار السناني	خط باب سر المارستان وغيره
دار آملك	دار نائب الكرك
دار قشتمر	دار ابن صغير

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¹⁹⁴ فوق السطر: بكتمر.

Appendix 3: A Juxtaposition of the Sequence of the Madrasahs in al-Awḥadī's Draft and al-Maqrīzī's Final Version of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*

المواعظ والاعتبار، ط. بولاق، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٢ـ٤٠٥.[196]	المسودة، مخ طوب قبو سراي ١٤٠٥.[195]
٩) المدرسة القطبية	١) المدرسة القطبية العتيقة
١٠) المدرسة السيوفية	٢) المدرسة المعروفة بالسيوفية
١١) المدرسة الفاضلية	٣) المدرسة الفاضلية
١٢) المدرسة الأزكشية	٤) المدرسة الأزكشية
١٣) المدرسة الفخرية	٥) المدرسة الفخرية
٢٤) المدرسة الصاحبية	٦) المدرسة الصاحبية
١٤) المدرسة السيفية	٧) المدرسة السيفية
١٥) المدرسة العاشورية	٨) المدرسة العاشورية
٢٥) المدرسة الشريفية	٩) المدرسة الشريفة
٣١) مدرسة بحارة الديلم	١٠) المدرسة الحنفية
٣٠) المدرسة القوصية	١١) المدرسة القوصية*
٢٧) المدرسة الكاملية	١٢) المدرسة الكاملية
٢٨) المدرسة الصيرمية	١٣) المدرسة الصيرمية
٢٩) المدرسة المسرورية	١٤) المدرسة المسرورية
٢٦) المدرسة الصالحية	١٥) المدرسة الصالحية
٣٢) المدرسة الظاهرية	١٦) المدرسة الظاهرية العتيقة
٣٣) المدرسة المنصورية	١٧) المدرسة المنصورية
٣٤) المدرسة الناصرية	١٨) المدرسة الناصرية
	١٩) المدرسة الظاهرية المستجدة
٣٥) المدرسة الحجازية	٢٠) المدرسة الحجازية
٣٦) المدرسة الطيبرسية	٢١) المدرسة الطيبرسية
٣٧) المدرسة الآقبغاوية	٢٢) المدرسة الآقبغوية
٣٨) المدرسة الحسامية	٢٣) المدرسة الحسامية
٤٢) المدرسة البوبكرية	[المدرسة الأبوبكرية]
٣٩) المدرسة المنكوتمرية	٢٤) المدرسة المنكوتمرية
٤١) المدرسة الغزنوية	٢٥) المدرسة الغزنوية
٤٠) المدرسة القراسنقرية	٢٦) المدرسة القراسنقرية

[195] An asterisk indicates that the name of the madrasah has been modified by al-Maqrīzī in al-Awḥadī's text, while the square brackets point to the fact that the given madrasah has been added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's text. In the latter case, the madrasah is not numbered.

[196] Each madrasah is numbered according to its place in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Only those mentioned by al-Awḥadī or added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's draft are taken into consideration here.

٦٢) المدرسة الفارقانية	٢٧) المدرسة الفارقانية
٤٣) المدرسة البقرية	٢٨) مدرسة ابن البقري
٤٤) المدرسة القطبية	٢٩) المدرسة القطبية الجديدة
٤٥) مدرسة ابن المغربي	٣٠) مدرسة ابن المغربي
٤٦) المدرسة البيدرية	٣١) المدرسة البدرية
٤٧) المدرسة البديرية	٣٢) المدرسة البديرية
٤٨) المدرسة الملكية	٣٣) المدرسة الملكية
٤٩) المدرسة الجمالية	٣٤) المدرسة الجمالية
٥٠) المدرسة الفارسية	٣٥) المدرسة الفارسية
٥١) المدرسة السابقية	٣٦) المدرسة السابقية
٥٢) المدرسة القيسرانية	٣٧) المدرسة القيسرانية
٥٣) المدرسة الزمامية	٣٨) المدرسة الزمامية
٥٤) المدرسة الصغيرة	٣٩) المدرسة الصغيرة
٢٣) المدرسة الصاحبية البهائية	[المدرسة الصحابية]
٥٦) مدرسة ابن عرام	[مدرسة ابن عرام]
	٤٠) المدرسة القيسرانية
	٤١) مدرسة محمود بن علي المؤذن
	٤٢) مدرسة محمود الأستاذدار
٢٠ و٥٨) المدرسة المهذبية	٤٣) المدرسة المهذبية
٥٩) المدرسة السعدية	٤٤) المدرسة السعدية*
٦٠) المدرسة الطفجية (كذا)	٤٥) المدرسة الطقجية
٦١) المدرسة الجاولية	[المدرسة الجاولية]
٦٢) المدرسة الفارقانية	٤٦) المدرسة الفارقانية
٦٣) المدرسة البشيرية	٤٧) المدرسة البشيرية
٦٤) المدرسة المهمندارية	٤٨) المدرسة المهمندارية
٦٥) مدرسة ألجاي	٤٩) مدرسة ألجاي
٦٦) مدرسة أم السلطان	٥٠) مدرسة أم السلطان
٦٧) المدرسة الأيتمشية	٥١) المدرسة الأيتمشية
	٥٢) مدرسة الذهبي
	٥٣) مدرسة ابن آقبغا أص
	٥٤) المدرسة الدوادارية
٧٢) مدرسة الأمير جمال الدين الأستادار	[المدرسة الجمالية]

٥٥) المدرسة الأشرفية المستجدة
٥٦) مدرسة قماري الحموي
٥٧) المدرسة الصارمية
٥٨) المدرسة بميدان القمح
٥٩) مدرسة الحاجب بكتمر
[مدرسة قراجا]
٦٠) مدرسة بن كرائمي
[المدرسة الشميساطية]
[المدرسة بخط سويقة منعم]
٦١) مدرسة أم آنوك
[المدرسة بالصوة]
٦٢) مدرسة ابن غلامها
٦٣) مدرسة إبرهيم الزويمل
٦٤) مدرسة ألطنقش
٦٥) المدرسة الأشرفية

٧٣) المدرسة الصرغتمشية ٦٦) المدرسة الصرغتمشية
٧١) مدرسة إينال ٦٧) مدرسة إينال

[مدرسة ابن البابا]
٦٨) مدرسة أبي غالب
٦٩) المدرسة البلقينية
٧٠) المدرسة الشريفية
٧١) المدرسة النابلسية
٧٢) المدرسة الكهارية
[مدرسة مقبل الأشقتمري]

Book Reviews

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf wa-Yalīhi ʿIbrat al-Labīb bi-ʿAthrat al-Kaʾīb,* edited by Muḥammad ʿĀyish (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007). Pp. 136.

Zayn al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Dimashqī, *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,* edited by Samīḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2005). Pp. 134.

Reviewed by Everett K. Rowson, New York University

The boom in publication of works by the prolific littérateur al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), which I remarked upon in two previous reviews for this journal,[1] continues unabated, not least because of the ongoing productivity of Muḥammad ʿĀyish. The first of the two volumes under consideration here is particularly welcome, as in it ʿĀyish presents two texts by al-Ṣafadī that have never appeared before in print in any form; but he has been busy with others as well. According to his own count, these are in fact the ninth and tenth of al-Ṣafadī's works that he has edited, and in his introduction to this volume he duly includes the other eight in a full list of all of al-Ṣafadī's oeuvre that has been published to date.

While this list is of some help in keeping up with the flood of recent Ṣafadiana, however, it is not as useful as it might be, since ʿĀyish informs us of only *one* edition for each work, and in particular avoids any mention of alternative editions of the works he has edited himself. Thus, while al-Ṣafadī's critique of the celebrated lexicon *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by al-Jawharī (d. ca. 396/1006), the *Nufūdh al-Sahm fīmā Waqaʿa lil-Jawharī min al-Wahm* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2006) is an *editio princeps,* as is the thematic anthology *Rashf al-Zulāl fī Waṣf al-Hilāl* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Dār al-Awāʾil, in press), the other six are all works that had in fact already appeared under other editorial hands. The parodic *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Amman: Dār ʿAmmār, 2004) was edited by Fārūq Asalīm (Damascus: Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-ʿArab, 2000);[2] the rhetorical study *Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʿan al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Amman:

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[1] Review of al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʿalá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh,* edited by Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (Leeds: Majallat al-Ḥikmah, 1420/1999), and of Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Sharḥuhu ʿalá Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1421/2001), in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 315–23; and review of al-Ṣafadī (attributed), *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,* edited by Muḥammad ʿĀyish (Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2003), in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 222–26.

[2] See the review by Vanessa De Gifis in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 204–8.

al-Dār al-ʿUthmānīyah, in press) was published (in very defective form, to be sure) by al-Muḥammadī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥinnāwī (Cairo, 1979); the thematic anthology *Tashnīf al-Samʿ bi-Insikāb al-Damʿ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2004) was edited by Muḥammad ʿAlī Dāwūd (Alexandria: Dār al-Wafāʾ li-Dunyā al-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 2000);[3] the *maqāmah Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī* (of questionable authorship, as discussed below) has been repeatedly published in uncritical editions since the late nineteenth century; yet another thematic anthology, *Kashf al-Ḥāl fī Waṣf al-Khāl* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2006), has been previously edited twice, once by Sihām Ṣallān (Damascus: Dār Saʿd al-Dīn, 1999) and again by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-ʿAqīl (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabīyah lil-Mawsūʿāt, 2005); and al-Ṣafadī's extraordinary collection of his lifetime correspondence, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ bayna al-Bādiʾ wa-al-Murājiʿ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007), has also appeared in two previous editions, one by Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2004) and the other by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sālim (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-ʿĀmmah al-Miṣrīyah lil-Kitāb, 2006). One detects more than a hint of competitiveness here.[4]

Be that as it may, ʿĀyish's lists—he also surveys unpublished works by al-Ṣafadī surviving in manuscript, lost works, and works falsely attributed to him—provide us with some new and useful details, particularly about the false attributions. His treatment of al-Ṣafadī's biography is, on the other hand, perfunctory, although one would hardly expect him to include a detailed account of it in every single one of this galaxy of publications. The important thing is, of course, the two texts offered here themselves—which seem to be combined in a single volume purely as a matter of convenience, since al-Ṣafadī's monograph composed on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday really has nothing, except authorship, in common with the *maqāmah* he composed in his youth on a homoerotic theme.

That al-Ṣafadī did compose a work for *mawlid al-nabī* with the title *Al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf* has been known from bibliographical notices in later authors, but that the work survives in a Princeton manuscript (Garrett Yahuda 3570) has not. To my knowledge, only Marion Holmes Katz, in her recent monograph on the *mawlid,* has shown any awareness of it,[5] and it is certainly good to have the

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[3] It was first published in Cairo in 1321/1903. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Majīd Lāshīn announced in his major study *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Āthāruhu fī al-Adab wa-al-Naqd* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabīyah, 2005), 154, that he has prepared his own edition, which is "in the course of publication," but to my knowledge has not yet appeared.

[4] ʿĀyish makes no mention of Lāshīn's major study of al-Ṣafadī (see note 3 above), which offers (pp. 93–161) the most detailed survey of al-Ṣafadī's works that has appeared to date.

[5] Marion Holmes Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007). Katz has little to say about the work, but her fine study offers

text in print. ʿĀyish gives the essential information about the manuscript—which is an autograph, with a description of the occasion when it was read out publicly in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (Ṣafar 759/January–February 1358) and an *ijāzah* at the end—except for, frustratingly, any indication of what other works al-Ṣafadī included in this manuscript in his own hand. (The Princeton catalogues are not helpful in this respect, either; I did determine that the other works in the manuscript are not the author's own, but was unable to compile a full list.) The manuscript has suffered from some water damage, rendering some passages illegible—which, however, ʿĀyish has been able to restore (how accurately is debatable) from parallel passages in al-Nuwayrī's (d. 732/1332) *Nihāyat al-Arab*. In accordance with current scholarly norms, ʿĀyish provides facsimiles of the first and last pages, as well as one other random page, from the manuscript.

The content of the *Faḍl* is on the whole what one would expect, as is clear from Katz's investigation of the genre. The concentration is on the Prophet's birth and early life, with only cursory attention to later events. ʿĀyish has provided (in square brackets) headings that helpfully articulate the text. Primary topics are the Prophet's genealogy, predictions of his advent in the Old and New Testaments, miraculous events at the time of his birth, miracles associated with his mother's pregnancy and labor, his wet nurses, and his youthful journeys to Syria (and encounter with the monk Baḥīrā there, who recognized his prophetic status). Some attention is given to his marriage to Khadījah, the first revelation he received, his first public proclamation of the revelation, the first converts, his heavenly ascent *(isrāʾ* and *miʿrāj),* his letter to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius inviting him to convert to Islam, and the last verse of the Quran revealed to him. All of this is presented in fairly predictable style for al-Ṣafadī, heavily laden with *sajʿ* and interspersed with verses by both the author and others; the work ends with a 70-line poem by the author in praise of the Prophet, which is surprisingly jejune in style but also a bit startling in its explicit attacks on Shiʿis and Muʿtazilis, as well as its liberal use of wine imagery.

ʿĀyish can be presumed to have reproduced faithfully the text in the *unicum* on which he relies. The annotations he has supplied are, however, fairly minimal and occasionally embarrassing. When al-Ṣafadī quotes al-Kharāʾiṭī (d. 327/938) on the "trembling" of the Īwān Kisrā on the night of the Prophet's birth, ʿĀyish follows up appropriately with references to al-Kharāʾiṭī's *Hawātif al-Jinān* (albeit mispointing *al-jinān* as *al-jannān*). But he is completely at sea with the biblical prophecies, perhaps most distressingly when he misreads the place where Jesus grew up, al-Jalīl (Galilee), as al-Khalīl (Hebron), despite the fact that the text specifies the town there as Nazareth (al-Nāṣirah) and adds, in a touch of local

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valuable contextualization for it.

color, that it is less than a day's journey distant from Ṣafad (al-Ṣafadī's birthplace). For "Kedar" (*Qāydhār,* Isaiah 42:11–13) ʿĀyish refers only to entries in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and the *Tāj al-ʿArūs;* and for the Paraclete he footnotes a passage, again, in al-Nuwayrī.[6] While readers are thus left to do their own interpretive work, we can only be grateful that the text itself is now indeed available.

The *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is quite a different kettle of fish. It is a scandal that this text, also known as *Al-Maqāmah al-Aybakīyah,* has not until now been made available to scholars, despite the fact that it seems to have put the young al-Ṣafadī on the literary map and is available in some half dozen manuscripts. ʿĀyish has no problems acknowledging the work's homoerotic theme ("*adab al-ghilmānīyāt*"), whose popularity in the Mamluk period he grants while pointing out that this *maqāmah* differs from most treatments of the subject by avoiding an explicitly libertine tone *(mujūn),* and stressing that the *ʿibrah* ("lesson") of the title is meant to warn men off from falling into this fatal trap (which by implication is homosexuality, although in fact al-Ṣafadī was probably thinking only of love passion [*ʿishq]* in general, regardless of the sex of the beloved).

In his introduction to the text, ʿĀyish reproduces al-Ṣafadī's own account of its genesis, according to which upon his arrival in Egypt in 727/1327 (at the age of thirty) he discovered that the literati there were enthralled by a *maqāmah* (or *risālah*—the two words are used interchangeably in our sources from this period) by the late ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 717/1317) entitled *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān fī Waṣf al-Ḥisān min al-Ghilmān* ("Pastures for gazelles describing beautiful boys") and acceded to a request by a friend, or friends, to produce an emulative work on the same theme.[7] ʿĀyish adds some brief comments on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (who was the grandson of the famous chancery official, littérateur, and historian Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292)), noting that he was the author of *Al-Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Rumḥ*[8] and *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʿUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-*

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[6]Al-Ṣafadī's treatment of both Old and New Testament passages in this context is absolutely standard, as can easily be established by consulting the indices in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), and Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible from Ibn Rabban to Ibn Ḥazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[7]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 22, edited by Ramzī Baʿlabakkī (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), 54, and idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* edited by ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir and Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998), 3:496.

[8]On this text see Adrian Gully, "The Sword and the Pen in the Pre-Modern Arabic Heritage: A Literary Representation of an Important Historical Relationship," in *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam,* edited by Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 403–30. *Pace* Gully, I am not convinced that the attribution of a version of the text to al-Ṣafadī in al-Madanī's (d. 1066/1655) *Manhaj al-Tarjīḥ wa-al-Tajrīḥ* represents a *muʿāraḍah* rather than a simple misattribution (with a panoply of minor variants).

Manṣūr.[9] ʿĀyish points out that ʿAlāʾ al-Din's *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* is extant in a Cambridge manuscript, but it is not clear whether he (or anyone else) has actually looked at it; he in fact falls back on what he claims is an extract *(qiṭʿah)* from it in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab,* which he reproduces in full. This is an inference on ʿĀyish's part, and not necessarily a justified one.[10] Al-Nuwayrī presents, without title, what he simply calls a "*maqāmah ʿamilahā fī sanat 702,*" and the text (which runs to ten pages in the published *Nihāyah*) appears to be complete. Composed in a conventional mix of rhymed prose and poetry, it is put in the mouth of a "lover" who describes his quest for, and success at, finding a (male) beloved, identified (predictably) as a Turk, whose physical beauty is described at some length. The lover reveals his passion, which is initially welcomed by the beloved, until the "chaperone" *(raqīb)* discovers the affair and poisons the beloved's mind against his suitor, leading to separation. The disconsolate lover temporarily revives his hopes with the thought that the beloved's departure may have been coerced, but when his hopeful verses of "complaint" *(shakwá)* reach the latter they are rejected. Whether this is indeed the same *maqāmah* as the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* can only be confirmed by examination of the Cambridge manuscript.[11]

Nor is it entirely clear whether the text in the *Nihāyah* can be considered an appropriate model for al-Ṣafadī's *ʿIbrah.* (ʿĀyish does not comment on this question, and in fact offers no discussion at all after reproducing the former.) Both texts are first-person narratives, in alternating rhymed prose and verse, by someone who has fallen in love with a beautiful Turk and been rejected, but beyond that they have relatively little in common. The *ʿIbrah,* which is much longer, is prefaced by an account of how it was inspired by the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān,*[12] followed—in only one of the two manuscripts utilized by ʿĀyish for his edition—by a dedication (and accompanying thirteen-line panegyric) to an obliquely-named patron.[13] The

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[9]There has been some scholarly controversy about the authorship of this biography of the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn, but the predominant opinion seems to be that it was authored by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's grandfather Muḥyī al-Dīn.

[10]Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila draws the same inference, although without apparently being aware of the Cambridge manuscript, in his *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 386.

[11]And not necessarily then. The Cambridge catalogue assigns only the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* to the 168-folio manuscript (of which the first folio is missing), which can hardly be the case for a single *maqāmah.*

[12]Al-Ṣafadī here calls the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* a "*risālah*" and says he was asked to compose a "*risālah tumāthiluhā.*" In the *Wāfī* he refers to both works as *maqāmahs* and calls his own the "*naẓīr*" of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's. In the *Aʿyān* he says that he composed his own *risālah* on the "topic" *(māddah)* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *maqāmah.*

[13]"*Wa-qad khadamtu bi-hā khizānat al-maqarr al-ʿālī al-makhdūmī al-qaḍāʾī al-Shihābī.*" This is unquestionably Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), author

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narrator begins by expounding, with considerable elaboration, on his fascination with love stories and his resulting desire to fall in love himself.[14] For this purpose he seeks, and finds, an appropriate adviser, who one day tells him of having seen a particularly beautiful young man, describing him so vividly that the narrator falls in love with him, sight unseen, on the spot. Begged to arrange a viewing, the friend does so, but there is no indication of any interaction between lover and beloved before the latter "flees" like a gazelle. The friend then suggests that they go together to observe the beloved hunting with his Turkish friends, and they repair to a garden where they expect to find them. Seven young men *(ghilmān),* including the beloved, appear on horseback, pursuing a herd of gazelles; each is garbed in a different color and riding a horse of a different color, and these are described one by one. They ride off in pursuit of the gazelles and then return, each with his prey. Urged on by his friend, the narrator expresses his "complaint" to the beloved, who rebuffs him, and continues to do so as the narrator pleads ever more desperately for his attention. Finally, God leads the narrator aright: he recovers from his passion and resolves to put his efforts into preparing for the afterlife, turning away from all worldly passions.

Of course, the point of this composition is not the "plot" (such as it is), but rather the rhetoric, which is elaborate, variegated, and sustained. In his edition ʿĀyish is quite helpful in catching instances of *taḍmīn* (incorporation into the poetry of verses by earlier poets, or of Quran or hadith quotations or paraphrases) as well of *ḥall al-naẓm* (recasting well-known verses in prose). On the other hand, he seems to be quite oblivious to meter, and less than fully attentive to the demands of prose parallelism in rhyme (which al-Ṣafadī is in fact quite careful about, and which thus serves—or should serve—as a control on the text). The result is a distressingly high frequency of impossible readings, some but by no means all of which can be corrected by an attentive reader from the information presented.

But the larger problem with this edition of the ʿIbrat al-Labīb is a methodological one. ʿĀyish has relied on two manuscripts (for which he gives full descriptions), MS ʿĀrif Ḥikmat (Medina) *majmūʿ ʿāmm* 3065 (dated 1001, with the title "Al-Risālah al-Mawsūmah bi-Damʿat al-Labīb bi-ʿIbrat al-Kaʾīb"), and MS Bodleian Sale 34, fols. 103–13 (no date [eleventh/seventeenth century?], titled "ʿIbrat al-Labīb bi-ʿAthrat al-Kaʾīb"). He has taken the former, which he considers the better of the two, as his "*aṣl,*" supplementing it (in brackets) with phrases missing in

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of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* and al-Ṣafadī's patron and friend, to whom he refers as "*al-makhdūm al-Shihābī*" in a letter to the poet Ibn Nubātah (al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* [ed. Ṣāliḥ], 2:219).

[14] One of the very few parallels in phraseology between Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's text as cited in the *Nihāyat al-Arab* and the ʿIbrat al-Labīb occurs here at the beginning, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's "*ḥakā alīf al-gharām wa-khalīf al-saqām . . .*" being echoed by al-Ṣafadī's "*ḥakā ḥalīf al-ḍaná wa-al-ʿaná wa-alīf nayl al-manūn lā nayl al-muná.*"

it but present in the Bodleian text[15] and occasionally adopting a better reading from the latter, with a clearly presented apparatus in such cases. Having recently obtained a copy of the Bodleian manuscript (for which I thank the staff at the Bodleian library), I was able to check on ʿĀyish's use of it, and the results were not happy ones. To be sure, this is not an impressive manuscript—the scribe makes frequent egregious errors and clearly was often not understanding what he was copying. But in his devotion to his "*aṣl*" ʿĀyish has essentially *ignored* all variants from the Bodleian manuscript that are not either simple additions to the ʿĀrif Ḥikmat text or (to his eyes) clearly superior readings. Much valuable information is thereby lost, and no picture of what is actually in the Bodleian manuscript emerges. Some (in fact) superior readings from it are not recorded at all, and where (as frequently) the sequencing of phrases differs in the two manuscripts ʿĀyish's choices appear arbitrary and fail to make clear the actual reading in either manuscript.

Given these problems, it is difficult to say how good (or bad) the ʿĀrif Ḥikmat manuscript actually is, and in any case a truly critical edition of the text will have to take into consideration additional manuscripts (of which there are known to be two in Cairo, one in Istanbul, and one in Ṣanʿāʾ). In the meantime, the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is now available to scholars in a reasonably complete, readable text (although it gets rather messy—in both manuscripts—in the final pages). ʿĀyish appends to his editions of both *Al-Faḍl al-Munīf* and *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* (combined) indices of Quran quotations, hadith quotations, and poetry; these are useful, but also misleading since a single index refers to two very disparate works. (He also misses a few Quran quotations in the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb*.) The book concludes with a list of references.

ʿĀyish has nothing to say about the *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,* of which he published an edition in 2003, in his introductory material on the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb,* despite the questions raised by any juxtaposition of the two. Both are highly rhetorical narratives of a love affair (of sorts) with a Turkish young man. The *Lawʿat al-Shākī* is attributed to al-Ṣafadī in a majority of the many surviving manuscripts of the work, but in others it is attributed to no less than five other authors. In his edition of it, ʿĀyish argued that it actually does come from al-Ṣafadī's pen (and in my review of his edition I was inclined to agree, although I found his arguments inadequate). Surely the publication of the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* offers an occasion to reconsider this issue.

Meanwhile, however, Samīḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ has produced yet another edition of the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* attributing it without question—on his title page—to Zayn

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[15]Including the dedication to "al-Shihābī," noted above.

Dīn Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī (d. 967/1560).[16] In fact, being well aware of ʿĀyish's edition of the text—which he calls "the best so far"—he justifies his own re-edition precisely on the grounds of his re-attribution, although why an argument about authorship should be grounds for re-editing the text itself remains obscure. (There may be a clue to this in Ṣāliḥ's refutation of ʿĀyish's arguments for attributing the work to al-Ṣafadī, which include what he perceived as its stylistic similarity to al-Ṣafadī's letters in his collected correspondence, the *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, a similarity that Ṣāliḥ flatly denies. Ṣāliḥ questions how ʿĀyish could have compared the two anyway, since the *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* was at the time as yet unpublished—it appeared, in an edition by Ṣāliḥ's father, Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, in 2004. But there is no reason to believe that ʿĀyish—who in fact published his own edition of the *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* in 2007 [not available to me]—did not at the time have manuscripts of the work at his disposal.)

In the introduction to his edition of the text, Ṣāliḥ presents a fairly persuasive case for al-Ḥarīrī's authorship of it. Observing that it has been known all along that the bio-bibliographers Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) and Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1678) attribute a work of this title to al-Ḥarīrī (and that none of the bio-bibliographical sources on al-Ṣafadī do so, nor does al-Ṣafadī ever mention it in his own works, despite his predilection for cross-referencing his own works), he has traced al-Ghazzī's and Ibn al-ʿImād's entries to their primary source, the *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh Aʿyān Ḥalab* of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563). He reproduces Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's biography of al-Ḥarīrī, noting that he states clearly that al-Ḥarīrī "composed a nice romantic *(ghazalīyah) maqāmah* which he titled *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī*," and observes dryly that as al-Ḥarīrī's contemporary Ibn al-Ḥanbalī should know what he is talking about.

Ṣāliḥ also lists all previous printings of the *Lawʿat al-Shākī*—a dozen of them between 1857 and 1929, then nothing until ʿAbd al-Malik Aḥmad al-Wādiʿī's 1991 edition (Beirut: Dār al-Manāhil)[17] and ʿĀyish's 2003 edition—noting that they all attribute it to al-Ṣafadī. Concerned as he is to refute that attribution and to confirm al-Ḥarīrī's authorship, he pays scant attention to the other manuscript attributions, noting only two of them—Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and al-Māridīnī. This is inadequate, since the total number of manuscript attributions is in fact *six:*

1. al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363): so the majority of manuscripts and all printings prior to Ṣāliḥ's.

2. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 750/1349): one Cairo manuscript, possibly no others. No one has ever taken this attribution seriously.

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[16]ʿĀyish was more cautious: the title page of his 2003 edition of the work has "attributed to" *(al-mansūb li-)* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī.

[17]I have not seen this edition, and was unaware of it when I composed my review of ʿĀyish's 2003 edition.

3. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān, known as Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (d. 811/1408–9): one of the (Cairo?) manuscripts utilized by ʿĀyish for his edition; possibly also an Istanbul manuscript attributing the work to "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb" (but cf. no. 6 below).

4. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥusayn/al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Sharīf/al-Musharraf al-Māridīnī al-Ḥaskafī (d. 846/1442): one manuscript listed by Sarkīs, possibly identical with one of the manuscripts utilized by Ṣāliḥ for his edition.

5. Zayn al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Khaṭīb al-Saqīfah (d. 967/1560): authorship attested by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and his successors, so attributed in manuscripts in the British Museum and Patna.

6. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Khaṭīb al-Madanī al-Ṣāliḥī: so attributed in a Copenhagen manuscript that cites the year 988/1580.

We will probably never know why this work ended up being attributed to so many different people. Ṣāliḥ's case for al-Ḥarīrī is quite strong—the *only* external (non-manuscript) evidence points to him—and although his case against al-Ṣafadī is not as strong, it is supported by the evidence from Bodleian MS Sale 34, which he does not consider. That manuscript includes both al-Ṣafadī's *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* (whose authenticity there is no reason to contest), attributed explicitly to him ("*risālah ʿajībah laṭīfah gharībah lil-shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī*") and, immediately following it, the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* unattributed ("*Damʿat al-Bākī wa-Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-hiya risālah ʿajībah gharībah*"). A comparison of the two, furthermore, makes it clear that they are not by the same author. The *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is a rhetorically more sophisticated composition; the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* ties its prose and poetry together in a rather mechanistic fashion (prose passage usually followed by poetry expressing exactly the same thing with mostly identical vocabulary) that is foreign to the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb*. If the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* is not by al-Ṣafadī, surely al-Ḥarīrī is the most likely alternative candidate.

But comparing the two texts can also tell us more than this. As with the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* (if that is what al-Nuwayrī is reproducing) and the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb,* we have with the *ʿIbrah* and the *Lawʿah* two first-person narratives of love passion for a young male Turk; but in this case the parallels are much closer. Like the *ʿIbrah,* the *Lawʿah* begins with the narrator expressing his general views on love before launching into his narrative. He then describes how one day he went out to a garden with a friend, and while they were enjoying the natural beauty there suddenly appeared seven Turkish young men, or, as the *Lawʿah* puts it (p. 35), "young men of the number of the planets" *(ghilmān ʿadad al-kawākib al-sayyārah);* the young men in the *ʿIbrah* (p. 106) are described as *min al-ghilmah al-ḥisān ʿadad al-kawākib al-sayyārah.*" In the *Lawʿah* they "pushed aside the sun in (its) halo and shamed the moon in (its) halo" *(qad amālū al-shams fī al-hālah wa-akhjalū*

al-qamar fī al-dārah), while according to the ʿIbrah "among them was the source of my travail like the moon in (its) halo and the sun in (its) halo" *(wa-ṣāḥib balīyatī baynahum ka-al-qamar fī al-hālah wa-al-shams fī al-dārah).* The following page in both texts offers several more such parallels in phraseology, and there are a number of others (I have found about half a dozen) scattered throughout the two works.

Once the Turks have put in their appearance and the narrator has fallen in love with one of them in particular, the plots of the two works do diverge. The *Lawʿah* has no hunt, nor any detailed description of the Turks' clothing and horses; and the beloved is far more accommodating than his counterpart in the ʿIbrah. On first meeting he takes the narrator aside, enthusiastically grants him kisses and embraces, and arranges an appointment for a longer and more private tryst. The friend, who plays a major role in the *Lawʿah,* is commissioned to prepare a room for this private party, with the necessary wine and other accoutrements. The beloved is delayed, but does finally show up, and after enjoying the wine lover and beloved retire to a night of embraces in bed (described in only vague, if highly rhetorical, terms; the friend sleeps outside the door). The next morning the beloved departs, apparently forever, and the narrator returns to the copious weeping in which he has indulged throughout the entire episode.

Despite the divergence in plot, it would appear to be fairly clear that the *Lawʿah* is in fact a direct emulation *(muʿāraḍah)* of the ʿIbrah—most likely one by al-Ḥarīrī. (Some misunderstanding of the relationship between the two works could perhaps lie behind the common attribution of the *Lawʿah* to al-Ṣafadī himself, although quite how that happened remains obscure.) What will require further research, however, is a fuller contextualization of these texts. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, al-Ṣafadī, and al-Ḥarīrī (?) were certainly not the only authors during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods who cultivated what Thomas Bauer has called the "erotic *maqāmah,*"[18] and there is a history of this genre yet to be written. One wonders what to make of the fact that al-Ṣafadī mentions having studied with Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh (among other works) the latter's *Damʿat al-Bākī wa-Yaqẓat al-Sāhir,* no manuscripts of which appear to have turned up.[19] Bare titles can, of course, be deceptive, and in particular there is the difficulty of sorting out from "erotic *maqāmahs*" the quite distinct genre of anthologies of epigrams on beautiful boys (and sometimes girls), of which one well-known (but unpublished)

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[18]Thomas Bauer, "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 115.

[19]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm, 8:255; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 1:420; and cf. al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1973), 1:160. Josef van Ess, "Safadī-Splitter," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 259, considers these two separate titles, which seems unlikely (albeit possible) to me.

example by al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455) bears the title *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān fī al-Ḥisān min al-Jawārī wa-al-Ghilmān.* One wonders about the content of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's *Martaʿ al-Zibá wa-Marbaʿ Dhawī al-Ṣibá,* preserved in manuscript, and whether it has any connection with the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* that he admired by his contemporary al-Ḥarīrī. On the other hand, one might also wonder about the *Bushrá al-Labīb bi-Dhikrá al-Ḥabīb* by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), if it were not known that this (unpublished) work is in fact a collection of his own poems in praise of the Prophet. There remains much sorting out to be done.

As for the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* while Ṣāliḥ's arguments for al-Ḥarīrī's authorship of it appear to be strong, his edition of the text itself is a disappointment. There were reasons enough to try to improve on ʿĀyish's 2003 edition—but that does not seem to have been Ṣāliḥ's primary motivation, and he has certainly not succeeded in doing so. In fact, his edition may be considered a step backward. He relies on four sources: the 1301 Istanbul printing of the text, ʿĀyish's 2003 edition, and two Damascus manuscripts, one without a named author and the other attributing the work to al-Māridīnī. Why editors should treat published editions as independent text testimonies—and both ʿĀyish and Ṣāliḥ are guilty of this—remains inexplicable to me; but Ṣāliḥ has compounded the problem by taking the Istanbul printing, *de facto,* as his *aṣl.* (He says nothing about an *aṣl,* but from his apparatus it becomes clear that the Istanbul printing is his "default.") It gets worse: Ṣāliḥ not only treats the Istanbul printing as an independent witness to the text, he treats ʿĀyish's edition as one. This becomes very messy indeed, because ʿĀyish's edition included readings from a manuscript with a great many obvious interpolations (the scribe clearly prided himself on catching various allusions and interpolated his explanations of them into the text). ʿĀyish (unwisely) included much of this material in his edited text, although he did (prudently) put it in brackets; but Ṣāliḥ ignores the brackets and treats whatever appears in ʿĀyish's text as if it were an independent witness to the textual tradition. The Istanbul printing is almost as bad about interpolations, and Ṣāliḥ takes those at face value as well. The result is quite chaotic.

Where Ṣāliḥ has in fact made a real contribution is in tracking down attributions of the poetry cited in the *Lawʿat al-Shākī.* (An important question that no one, so far as I know, has addressed is the conventions of poetry in *maqāmāt,* specifically in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. When al-Ṣafadī wrote a *maqāmah*—the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb*—all the poetry seems to have been his own; in the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* the poetry seems to be all someone else's, without any explicit attribution. Was this a diachronic change?) ʿĀyish had managed to identify the authors of numerous previously-anonymous verses in the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* and Ṣāliḥ has gone much further in this regard, relying in particular on a number of recently published

late-Mamluk poetic anthologies.[20] What should be especially interesting is verses cited in the work that can be identified as being by poets who post-date al-Ṣafadī. But in fact the only such cases are one set of verses attributed to Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (of all people; see above) and another attributed to Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), and both come exclusively from manuscripts that are obviously larded with interpolations.

On the other hand, if in fact the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* can be assigned to a late tenth/sixteenth-century author, and yet quotes no poetry later than the early eighth/fourteenth century, that is in itself of great interest, in terms of tracking the history of canon in the "late medieval" and "early modern" periods. But obviously there is yet a great deal more work to be done before we can rely confidently on such evidence as this.

Ṣāliḥ's book provides conventional end matter: Quran quotations, hadith quotations, verse index, references. The last of these is very much up to date (although only Arabic-language sources are considered), and I found it valuable in that respect.

In sum, we should be happy to have available, from Muḥammad ʿĀyish, the texts of two works by al-Ṣafadī that have never been published before, even if those texts are presented in less than optimal form; and Samīḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ has given us the latest, and fairly convincing, word on who wrote the *Lawʿat al-Shākī*, even though his edition of the text itself gets us no nearer the original words of its author (whoever he was) than we were before.

ANNE F. BROADBRIDGE, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Pp. 232.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS T. ALLSEN

The Mongolian invasions resulted in the destruction or incorporation of numerous Muslim polities from Turkestan to Syria. When the dust settled in the mid-thirteenth century, there were only two Muslim states left standing along the frontiers of this enormous empire, the Delhi sultanate and the Mamluk kingdom. Not surprisingly, the subsequent history of these two "frontline states" became closely entwined with that of their Chinggisid neighbors. Their relationships with the Il-khans, Chaghadai Khanate, and the Golden Horde were multifaceted involving war,

[20]Most significantly al-Nawājī's *Taʾhīl al-Gharīb* (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAṭā, Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 2005).

diplomacy, trade, and considerable ideological posturing. Anne Broadbridge's fine volume examines the Mamluks' sustained but variable ideological response to the Mongolian challenge.

More specifically, she documents the concepts of political legitimacy advanced by both parties, and discusses their intended audience and the effects of ideology on the actions of ruling elites in the period from the Mongolian conquests to the death of Temür. This she does through a careful analysis of diplomatic messages and exchanges that reveal the subtle, and not so subtle, ideological competition between the Mamluks and their Chinggisid rivals and allies.

Properly, and most helpfully, she begins with the basics, the creation and delivery of ideological messages. Chancelleries, of course, crafted these diplomatic documents, but the messages conveyed were never limited to the written word: the quality and size of the paper, the kind and color of the ink, as well as the method of presentation made important statements about a ruler's legitimacy and majesty. So, too, did the method of dating documents, since calendars of every kind carry with them much political-ideological baggage. This is readily apparent in the long-time practice of Chinese courts, including the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty, who insisted that all subordinate states accept their calendrical system as a condition of their submission. Naturally, the language in which diplomatic documents were written was an equally crucial issue. The Mamluks, she finds, regularly sent their letters in Arabic, expecting that they would be understood or translated by foreign courts. The Mongols, in contrast, had in this respect an advantage, for their chancelleries contained many multi-lingual personnel and could produce documents in a variety of languages and scripts. However, because of the relatively high survival rate of the Mamluk documents and the comparative rarity of those produced in Chinggisid chancelleries, Broadbridge's study relies of necessity on the Arabic materials, and thus in many cases on the translation of originals from Persian, Mongolian, and Turkic. This situation points to the substantial influence wielded by translators and interpreters in such environments who could alter both the tone and substance of diplomatic messages either through error or by design.

The treatment accorded embassies was yet another opportunity for conveying important information about a ruler's intentions and mood. Receptions could be extremely denigrating, as when the Mongols, particularly in the early phases of the empire, required foreign envoys to be purified by fire and to bow before images of the founding father, Chinggis Khan, a singularly distasteful act for monotheists of any stripe. Or, receptions could be marked by acts of great generosity and shows of wealth involving extensive gifts of food, clothing, and exotic goods, and thus served as stages for Mongolian and Mamluk rulers to advertise their resources and reach to visiting embassies.

While offering a picture of the whole context of diplomatic exchanges, emphasis is placed on the more explicit ideological formulas found in the extant diplomatic documents. She begins with the fundamentals of Mongolian political doctrine, their claim of a divine mandate from heaven, *tenggeri,* to rule the face of the earth and the equally vital notion of a special good fortune, *suu* or *sutu,* which attached to the Chinggisid line and assured the success of their imperial venture. This package of ideas, Broadbridge rightly notes, arose in the years following Chinggis Khan's death in 1227. It should be stressed, however, that it was hardly unique to the Mongols. The notion of heavenly mandates resonated in China, where it was an age-old doctrine, while the bestowal of special good fortune was similar to the Turkic concept of *qut* and the Iranian *farr,* "royal glory."

For the Mamluks, the Mongols, more particularly the Il-khan state, were the most challenging of their neighbors, not only in terms of their military power but also in terms of their ideological pretensions. As Broadbridge shows, the Mamluk counter-package of political doctrines can be accommodated into the following periodization scheme.

1260–93: In the initial period, the Mongols simply asserted their mandate to rule and the superiority of Mongolian law, *yasa/jasaγ*, over the shariʿah, while the Mamluks emphasized their guardianship over Islamic society and holy places. In their relationship with the Golden Horde they emphasized religious kinship with their khan, Berke (r. 1257–66), a recent convert to Islam, and solidarity in the struggle against their common enemy, the Il-khans, and thus established a stable alliance which lasted for decades, even when dealing with Jochid rulers who were not Muslims.

1293–1316: The Il-khans' permanent conversion to Islam substantially altered the Mamluk ideological line, since Ghazan now used his adherence to Islam "to invite" Mamluk submission. He posed as a defender of Islam and at the same time invoked Chinggisid dynastic legitimacy and majesty, in pointed contrast to the lowly, slave origins of the Mamluks. His ideological pronouncements were directed at Mamluk subjects in Syria and senior commanders, which were countered by claiming religious "seniority" by reason of their earlier conversion or by disputing the sincerity of the Il-khan's embrace of his new faith.

1317–41: Following the rise of Özbek in the Golden Horde and Abū Saʿīd in the Il-khan realm, Muslim ideological formulas came to dominate in interstate exchanges. With peace established, Mamluks and Il-khans were now rival Muslim rulers and competed with each other over patronage of the holy places as well as in acts of piety and religious patronage. Still older tensions surfaced, the Mamluks stressing their religious seniority and the Il-Khans their dynastic-genealogical superiority.

1335–82: After the rapid disintegration of the Il-khan regime, the Mamluks,

largely by default, enjoyed a period of regional predominance and presented themselves to the contending Il-khan successors as senior sovereigns and guardians of the wider Islamic world. Starting in 1341, the Mamluks' own time of troubles, characterized by political in-fighting and decentralization, undercut their power and prestige but their principle rivals, the Chobanids and Jalayirids, were unable to take advantage.

1382–1404: The advent of Temür, however, posed a new and imposing military and ideological threat. He, like the Il-khans, fused Islamic and Chinggisid political notions and disparaged the Mamluks' slave origins. For their part, the Mamluks reverted to older formulas emphasizing their guardianship of Islam.

Broadbridge's portrayal of this century-and-a-half competition is extensively documented and her conclusions convincing: both the Mongols and the Mamluks took their ideological confrontation seriously; and, while there were frequent shifts in emphasis and novel elements introduced, there was continuous sparring about matters of legitimacy and supremacy; finally, these formulas, although flexible, did force rulers on many occasions to act out, or at least appear to conform to, their ideological pronouncements.

To my mind, the value of any scholarly endeavor can be usefully measured not only on its contribution to its principle theme and subject, but also for the light it casts on neighboring or related fields. Broadbridge, I believe, advances our knowledge on several significant fronts. Among other things, she provides the first full account in a Western language of the diplomatic relations between the Golden Horde and the Mamluks and in the process much improves upon the earlier work of Russian scholars such as Zakirov. She also adds to our understanding of the pivotal role of provincial governors and viceroys in Il-khan politics and diplomacy. As one primarily concerned with the history of the Mongolian Empire, her treatment of the Parvanah and of Choban help establish that these notable episodes in Il-khan history reverberated across the continent: the Parvanah's execution in 1277 is reported in the Chinese sources in some detail and it is now clear that Choban's "personal diplomacy," which led to his fall and death in 1327, extended from Cairo to Beijing. On a related issue, her examination of the more or less permanent place of political defections in Mamluk-Il-khan relations points up the need to study more closely similar movements elsewhere within the empire and along its borderlands, from western China to northwestern India and the Balkans. Further, her detailed descriptions of diplomatic receptions staged by the Mamluks and Mongols reveal that these were occasions on which cultural wares were put on eye-catching display for the benefit of foreign audiences. And, since lavish and competitive bestowals were a regular component of these encounters, such receptions constituted important mechanisms in the exchange of material culture among elites across Eurasia. Lastly, Broadbridge raises essential questions

concerning the purpose and audience for all the ideological jousting. To what extent was the message for external consumption and to what extent was it altered for internal politics? All this suggests a number of interesting comparative studies for which Broadbridge's monograph can serve as a point of departure.

To sum up, this is a high-quality work which, as the publisher's blurb maintains, will indeed "appeal to scholars of Middle Eastern and Central Asian history, Mongol history, and Islamic history, as well as historians of diplomacy and ideology." In other words, Broadbridge has successfully situated one facet of Mamluk history in a wider Eurasian context.

Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Qadḥāt, *ʿĀʾilat al-Bāʿūnī wa-Dawruhā fī al-Ḥayāh al-ʿĀmmah fī al-Qarnayn al-Thāmin wa-al-Tāsiʿ al-Hijrīyayn* (Amman: Dār Ward al-Urdunīyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2007). Pp. 125.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester

Over the past ten years, several books have been published in Arabic on the Mamluk Sufi poet and scholar ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (see MSR 6 [2006]: 191–92; 7, no. 1 [2003]: 236–39; 13, no. 2 [2009]: 161–63). While they vary widely in terms of scholarship, these books are testimony to the renewed interest in this very erudite woman and author of the Mamluk period. In ʿĀʾilat al-Bāʿūnī, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Qadḥāt widens the scope to provide a general overview of the family and its contributions to Mamluk society and culture over four generations.

Al-Qadḥāt sets the political and cultural scene in his brief depiction of the Mamluk sultans, their often violent rule and succession, and the general mayhem that they caused among the populace. He then contrasts this political instability with the flourishing intellectual life of the period. Al-Qadḥāt notes that Cairo, in particular, was a safe haven for many scholars who fled the Mongols in the east and the Reconquista in the west. These émigrés, together with native scholars, found ample support among the Mamluk sultans and amirs, who established pious foundations (*waqfs*) for madrasahs, *khānqāhs*, and other institutions that supported learning. Such patronage would well serve the al-Bāʿūnī family (pp. 7–16). Al-Qadḥāt then turns, in chapter one (pp. 17–23), to a quick survey of sources that have mentioned the town of al-Bāʿūn, located today in Jordan, a few kilometers northwest of ʿAjlūn.

In chapter two (pp. 24–48), al-Qadḥāt traces family members from four generations, beginning with al-Nāṣir (fl. ninth/fourteenth century) and ending with ʿĀʾishah (d. 922/1516), though without mentioning her five brothers and

many other nephews, nieces, and cousins. Al-Qadḥāt reviews the education that various family members received and some of their teachers, their subsequent positions as preachers, teachers, scholars of law, and judges, their membership in the Qadarīyah Sufi order, and the place of honor and respect held by the family among their peers. In chapter three (pp. 51–82), al-Qadḥāt lists some of the books written by family members, occasionally citing samples of prose and, especially, poetry composed by them. In his footnotes, al-Qadḥāt often lists existing manuscripts of some of these works, their locations and index numbers, but it is quite apparent that he has not accessed most or all of these sources, and that he has drawn all of his quotations from previously published works. This is most apparent when al-Qadḥāt deals with the works of ʿĀʾishah, as he relies heavily on Ḥasan Rabābiʿah's 1997 study of her, often repeating the latter's mistakes while adding a few more of his own.

Chapter four (pp. 83–104) is the most interesting portion of this short book, as al-Qadḥāt cites several occasions when members of the al-Bāʿūnī family had interactions with a Mamluk sultan and members of his court. These include Aḥmad al-Bāʿūnī (d. 816/1413), who, as chief qadi, refused to allow Barqūq to appropriate *waqf* funds, which resulted in Aḥmad's brief imprisonment, and ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, who had an audience with al-Ghawrī in Aleppo shortly before his death in battle with the Ottomans. Perhaps most interesting is al-Qadḥāt's re-telling of a protracted dispute between ʿĀʾishah's father Yūsuf and several al-Bāʿūnī relatives over legal positions in Syria. Here, al-Qadḥāt draws most of his information from al-Biqāʿī's *Iṭhār al-ʿAṣr,* but al-Qadḥāt never fully analyzes the incidents or several of the key players involved. This is typical for this book, for although al-Qadḥāt is to be commended for diligently citing his published sources, he never goes beyond them to form any opinions of his own. Moreover, as is apparent in his conclusion (pp. 105–10), al-Qadḥāt is often repetitive, some times repeating verbatim earlier statements and notes. In all, this book represents a wasted opportunity; al-Qadḥāt chose a family quite appropriate for a study of Mamluk intellectual and political history, yet, he failed to carry out the research and analysis required to make a significant contribution to Mamluk studies.

Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo*. Bibliotheca Iranica: Islamic Art & Architecture Series, no. 10 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2001). Pp. viii + 58 + 26 figures (maps and plans) + 35 photographic plates.

Reviewed by John Rodenbeck

Its generalized title might seem to imply that this remarkable monograph follows the fortunes of Cairo's busy and much-frequented Northern Cemetery from some discernible beginning down to our own time; and that it might thus include a consideration not only of its celebrated Mamluk monuments, but also of a few belonging to later periods, such as the Qubbat Afandīnā, for example, which was recently reopened (6 May 2008) following extensive repair and restoration. Mamlukologists will be gratified, however, by the fact that the author's interests here are historical rather than purely architectural. His specific subject is the cemetery only during its Mamluk heyday, the period from 1250 to 1517, and though his concern is with monuments, it is much more with buildings erected in that period that have since disappeared than with the handful that are still standing.

A chemical engineer who runs his own business in Cairo, the author is a student of Islamic art and architecture by avocation; and it was the outstandingly rigorous M.A. program in Islamic art and architecture at the American University in Cairo that provided the scholarly training of which this book is a direct result. He has since achieved a Ph.D. in the subject at Cairo University.

The Northern Cemetery of Cairo was published as the tenth in a distinguished series of monographs in Islamic art and architecture, a pioneering effort overseen by an editorial board that includes Abbas Daneshvari, Bernard O'Kane (who was presumably one of Hamza's mentors at AUC), Robert Hillenbrand, and Ali Modarres. Mazda, the California-based publisher of the Bibliotheca Iranica and its Islamic Art and Architecture Series, is primarily interested in Iran and Persian culture, but occasionally ventures into other parts of the Muslim world, as is instanced by this book.

Hamza has inherited his investigative method from two classic works of scholarship, one of which is Doris Behrens-Abouseif's elegant article "The North-Eastern Extension of Cairo Under the Mamluks" (*Annales islamologiques* 17 [1981]). This article creates a general picture of Mamluk-era urban development northeast of al-Qāhirah from Bāb al-Naṣr in the direction of al-Maṭarīyah, an axis along which many Mamluk notables built palaces and pleasure domes. Because of its different character, however, Behrens-Abouseif quite carefully excluded from her purview the area south of the mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil. Hani Hamza's attention, on the other hand, is turned precisely upon that portion of the *ṣaḥrāʾ*

that Behrens-Abouseif chose to omit, which became what we call the Northern Cemetery. It is bounded on the north by the tomb of Qānṣūh Abū Saʿīd, on the northeast by Jabal al-Aḥmar and the site of Qubbat al-Naṣr, on the northwest by al-Husaynīyah (with its own significant graveyard, al-Bayraqdār, last resting place of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, al-Maqrīzī, J. L. Burckhardt, and——presumptively——Badr al-Jamālī), on the southwest by the Barqīyah, on the east by the Muqaṭṭam, and on the south by Bāb al-Wazīr and the Citadel. A complete notion of the entire northeastern and eastern corner of Mamluk Cairo could be had by putting these two pieces of intensive research together.

Like Behrens-Abouseif, Hamza has combed through the sources, both Arab and non-Arab, with utmost industry. The Arab sources they use are of course in general the same, but Behrens-Abouseif cites twenty-five travelers' accounts and Hamza only five: al-Maṭarīyah, with its Christian sites, was on every European travel itinerary, the Northern Cemetery on virtually none, with the consequence that references to it by travelers are comparatively rare. (It might also be noted here that in the "Arabic Sources" section of Hamza's otherwise careful bibliography the entries have been transliterated, but have remained alphabetized according to the Arabic alphabet. Four of the entries are not properly "sources," but secondary studies; and the first two lines of the first entry have been printed twice.) The purpose of Hamza's impressive preliminary labor was to establish what exactly stood or was built in the Northern Cemetery in Mamluk times. For such historical purposes mere physical remains are deeply deficient; and it is the written record that must supply the evidence of what once was substantial and real.

Mamluk politics and Mamluk building activity being profoundly interlinked, Hamza's opening chapter offers an overview of construction in the ṣaḥrāʾ against the background of Mamluk political history. He is fully aware that any Muslim funerary structure in Cairo commonly housed and is still apt to house the remains of many people, some of them quite unrelated to the founder. The mere mention of someone in the sources as being buried in the Northern Cemetery he has therefore treated as insufficient evidence that a structure was actually founded by him or erected on his behalf. Despite the limitations imposed by such logical criteria, Hamza has nevertheless disclosed the existence of 106 structures, few of them still extant. Of 29 Bahri buildings, for example, all but one of them mausolea, only 4 now remain; of 77 Burgi buildings, a mere 28 are still standing. The Index of the Survey of Egypt identifies many of the buildings still extant, but whatever is standing at the present moment, quite obviously, is no guide to what was once the case. "It would be rash," Hamza writes,

> to claim that all the foundations in the *'sahara,'* whether surviving or not, have been listed, although it is probable that all the major

examples are covered. But the corpus of monuments and the related information outlined so far [are] ample for analysis and drawing conclusions on the geographical, topographical and social aspects of development of the *sahara'* (p. 18).

The second chapter is a topographical analysis. It begins with a historical survey of the various names that have been applied to the *ṣaḥrāʾ*, ranging from Maydan al-Qabaq to Eastern Cemetery *(al-qarāfah al-sharqīyah)* to the Tombs of the Mamluks; and fixes an approximate site for the Qubbat al-Naṣr, a vital historical landmark that unfortunately no longer exists. Hamza then indicates the main arteries and street patterns, which are conveniently mapped. He traces four phases of urban growth under four different régimes or phases of government: (1) Bahri (648–784/1250–1382); (2) al-Ẓāhir Barqūq to the accession of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (784–825/1382–1422); (3) al-Ashraf Barsbāy to the accession of Qāytbāy (825–73/1422–68); (4) al-Ashraf Qāytbāy to the end of the Mamluk sultanate (873–922/1468–1517).

Hamza's phase-by-phase listings of foundations follow. Each building is identified, if possible, by either a number in the Survey of Egypt's Index, showing that it is still extant, or by a reference to a second classic work in the field: the late and much-lamented Michael Meinecke's heroic two-volume survey, *Die Mamlukischen Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (1992), his last published work, a survey that was intended in large part to supplement the Index by locating monuments that had disappeared. Meinecke thus found 33 new entries to add to the Index's 32 in the Northern Cemetery. In completing his own survey, however, Hamza found more than 40 additional foundations clearly attested.

An interim chapter follows on the patronage and typology of the buildings. The most numerous buildings were mausolea, of which 25 are still standing, many supplied with the remarkable carved stone domes that are one of the special boasts of Mamluk architecture. Several were also used as *khānqāhs*, which gave the area, as Hamza remarks, its "distinctive character." The only other important building type in the *ṣaḥrāʾ* appears to have been the *zāwiyah*.

These three building types reflect major activities in the *ṣaḥrāʾ*, the subject of Hamza's fourth chapter. Such activities certainly included visitations to the tombs of saints and Sufis, especially that of ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī, though the *ṣaḥrāʾ* otherwise had much less claim to sanctity than the *qarāfahs* to the south. Nine *khānqāhs* are still extant in the *ṣaḥrāʾ*; however, three or four more are known from the sources, and many other buildings served as *khānqāhs* even if not designated as such, so that by the end of the fifteenth century Sufi activity must have been quite evident. Residential quarters housed inhabitants of other kinds, including a large proportion of foreigners, but an experiment in economic

development earlier in the century had failed and at the time of the Ottoman conquest the population was sparse. Hamza concludes by demonstrating that the period of greatest building activity was during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. An appendix examines in detail the ruined mausoleum of Mankalībughā al-Fakhrī, excluded from the Index because of its artistic mediocrity, but perhaps therefore all the more representative of architectural norms in an area presently known chiefly for its surviving handful of large-scale Mamluk masterworks.

This book may well be the definitive treatment of its subject. One could wish, though, that Mazda had taken much more editorial care. Apart from the bibliographic defects noted parenthetically above, there are frequent typographical errors and some sentences need straightening out, despite the author's excellent English. The graphic material is all informative, though here there are likewise a few mistakes that should have been corrected at an early stage. And why has the sketch map reproduced as Figure 2 not been formalized and thus made much more useful?

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ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ				

ة h, t (in construct)   ال al-

◌َ	a	◌ُ	u	◌ِ	i
◌ً	an	◌ٌ	un	◌ٍ	in
آ	ā	◌ُو	ū	◌ِي	ī
ا	ā	◌ُّو	ūw	◌ِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	◌َو	aw	◌َي	ay
				◌َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ʿ*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before "sun" letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.
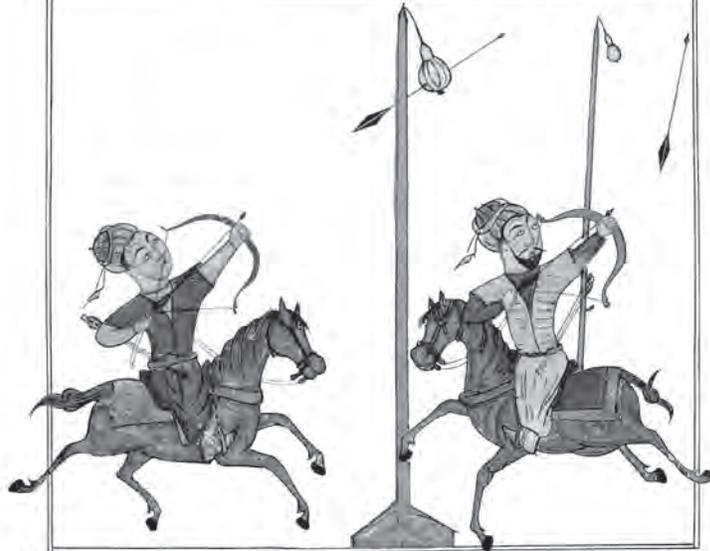
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