Piety and power: Pious endowments in the Bahrī Mamlūk period, 1250-1382

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PIETY AND POWER: PIOUS ENDOWMENTS IN THE Bahrī Mamlūk Period, 1250-1382

A Thesis Submitted to

the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Arabic Studies

by

Muhammad Hafez Shaaban
Bachelor of Arts in History

(under the supervision of Dr. Nelly Hanna)

December 2015
The American University in Cairo

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has been approved by

Dr. Nelly Hanna
Thesis Committee Chair / Advisor  
Distinguished Professor of Middle East History, The American University in Cairo

Dr. Leonor Fernandes
Thesis Committee Reader / Examiner  
Associate Professor of Middle East History, The American University in Cairo

Dr. Amina Elbendary
Thesis Committee Reader / Examiner  
Associate Professor of Middle East History, The American University in Cairo

_________________________    _______  
Department Chair                Date                Dean                Date
Dedication

To the fourteenth-century scribes who have made my eye sight a little poorer.
Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been completed without the help and encouragement of many people that I have had the pleasure of meeting during my time at AUC. I have benefited immensely from their kind mentorship and support while completing my thesis, which would not have been possible without them.

My time as a graduate student was made much easier with the help and kindness of Mrs. Maggie Daoud and Mrs. Marwa Sabry. Mrs. Marwa Sabry in particular endured my endless requests and was always there when I needed help. Professor W. Matt Malczycki was one of the professors that made graduate studies at AUC worthwhile. His course on historiography my first year at AUC was one of the toughest classes and the most rewarding as well. Professor Saiyad Nizamuddin Ahmad continually provided advice and introduced me to Islamic and Arabic codicology that helped me navigate the sources used in this thesis. My life as a graduate student was made easier due to his kindness and helpfulness. Professors Amina ElBendary Leonor Fernandes deserve special thanks for reading my thesis and providing me with insights on how to improve it. Professor Fernandes especially deserves special thanks for her assistance in my understanding of Mamluk period endowments. This thesis would not have been possible without the support of Professor Nelly Hanna. Not only did she wade through my thesis and make corrections during the length process, it was her enthusiasm for my academic endeavors that really helped me see the light at the end of the tunnel. Her unyielding support and mentorship made my time at AUC rewarding.

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I owe special thanks to my parents who have supported my academic endeavors and my expensive habit of collecting books. I have been very fortunate to be their son. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Rudina Ahmed Helal. My life has been made immeasurably better by your constant support.
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**Abbreviations**

*AI  Annales Islamologiques


*MSR  Mamlūk Studies Review

Transliteration follows the practice of Mamlûk Studies Review. Arabic words are in general italicized and those that are not well known include diacritical marks. Words used throughout the book and therefore not requiring diacritical marks, or italicization, include sultan, amir, Mamluk, and or the various dyanasties (Fatimid, Ayyubid, Bahri Mamluk) with the exception of official titles or document headings. The term mamluk refers to a manumitted military slave, while Mamluk refers to the regimes from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries.
Piety and Power: Pious Endowments in the Bahrī Mamlūk Period, 1250-1382

Muhammad Hafez Shaaban
Chapter 1

Introduction: The Importance of Waqf Studies

The narrative chronicles that document the Mamluk Empire frequently mention the various religious endowments of their day. Their importance to the social, political and economic spheres of the Mamluk Empire is evident by the numerous treatises written about them.\(^1\) The impressive amount of endowed buildings built from the mid-thirteenth century till the early sixteenth century ultimately poses a serious question to modern historians, why did endowed buildings become so prominent during the Mamluk Empire? As the majority of these complexes were funded by pious endowments (sing. waqf, pl. awqāf) founded by the Mamluk military and civilian elite, the answer can be investigated through their use of pious endowments and their objectives. This institution offers historians a unique opportunity to study the Mamluk power structure since it has left copious amounts of historical sources in the form of a legal document: wagfiyya or hujjat waqf (endowment deed). Almost every major Mamluk sultan or amir endowed a religious establishment of some sort and left behind legal documents allowing historians an opportunity to view an institution, and therefore power structures related to it, over a long period of time with ample data. The stipulations within these documents provide a wealth of

information: salaries, land tenure patterns, social and/or political networks, and even dynastic
ambitions. This data points to a key element: an informal mechanism to obtain, assert or
legitimize power. Pious endowments provided a highly flexible mechanism, outside of the formal
power structure of the Mamluk state, which allowed the Mamluk military elite to achieve
political goals.

The power structure of the Mamluk state was derived in theory from the authority of the
sultan. His ability to assign military and administrative positions to various amirs along with the
financial rewards those positions entailed, provided him with the ability to dominate this power
structure. Royal patronage was awarded to various Mamluk amirs in return for loyalty and
service to the ruler. The main financial reward for these positions was the \( \text{iqṭā́} \).\(^2\) Its importance
in financially maintaining the political structure of the Mamlūk state is shown through the
literature of the period in which it was commonly referred to as \( \text{khubz} \) (bread).\(^3\) However, this
assignment could be revoked or reassigned since it did not come with hereditary rights as in the
case of medieval European fiefs. The scholarly consensus has been that this insecurity encouraged

\(^2\) Although not truly equivalent to the European fief there are some general similarities. The \( \text{iqṭā́} \) provided the
financial means for a warrior to equip himself and his entourage. However during the Mamlūk period it was not
generally hereditary, although there were exceptions to the rule. For research on this feudal system see: A. N. Poliak,
*Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon*, 1250-1900 (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1939). Also see:
Hasanayn Muhammad Rabīʿ, "The Size and Value of the \( \text{iqṭā́} \) in Egypt 564-741 A.H./1169-1341 A.D," in *Studies in
more recent studies of the \( \text{iqṭā́} \) system see: Tsugitaka Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta’s,

\(^3\) The word \( \text{khubz} \) (sing.) or \( \text{akhbāz} \) (plural) is used to mean \( \text{iqṭā́} \). See: Felicita Tramontana, “Khubz as Iqtā in Four
Authors from the Ayyubid and Early Mamlūk Periods,” *MSR* XVI (2012): 103-122.
the Mamluk elite to create endowments in order to maintain a more permanent control of these limited assets for their offspring. However, it was the political machinations by members of the Mamluk elite that drove this phenomenon in the fourteenth century. Those political actors that sought what van Steenbergen termed “effective power” created endowments and fueled an unprecedented urban development in Cairo’s history. This study intends to investigate how pious endowments were used as a mechanism to strengthen a political actor’s position by investigating endowments in their entirety not just a single aspect (financial, symbolic, etc.) as most studies have done in the past.

**Awqāf and Political Objectives**

The sultan in theory could enforce his authority through several mechanisms found in the formal power structure: through the use of force (utilizing his control of the army and especially his own household mamluks), through influence (appointing supporters to offices within the state) and by granting favors or gifts. In addition to these, the sultan and the Mamluk elite would use an institution found in Islamic law, *waqf*. Although its concepts and legal parameters were determined by *fiqh* (jurisprudence), which gave it the added benefit of legal and religious protection, the institution provided flexibility that was used to generate various forms of capital: political, economic and cultural. Outside the formal power structure of the Mamluk state, the institution of *waqf* offered a mechanism to accumulate these different types of capital and utilize

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them towards the *waqif*'s or founder's political aspirations. Changes in the formal power structure of the Mamluk state during the fourteenth century were mirrored in the ways which pious endowments were used. As the power of sultan was continually tested, especially after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (741/1341), endowments were employed to garner power outside of the formal power structure. This study will illustrate how during times of political and economic stability, the Mamluk elite used pious endowments to expand their influence and mark their dominance on the physical landscape, while at times of instability or of crisis they used pious endowments to financially and politically stabilize their regime, with varying degrees of success. By investigating mainly the institutions of *waqf sulṭāni* (*royal waqfs*) of the fourteenth century, it will become apparent that pious endowments were actively used by the Mamluk elite to cope with the changing power structure of the fourteenth century.

**New Land Tenure Patterns**

The first chapter will show how the finances of pious endowments evolved over the course of the fourteenth century. The restructuring of the land tenure system during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 709-41/1310-41) would have unintended consequences. With the consolidation of power in the hands of the sultan, he controlled the lifeline of the aristocracy and state, *iqṭāʿ* (fiefs). However, after his passing the Qalāwūnid rulers lacked this control. Coupled with the changing economic situation during the fourteenth century, the Mamluk elite had to develop new ways of obtaining the necessary financial resources to maintain their power.
They created pious endowments in order to cope with the changing political and economic situations. As nāẓir (administrator) of a pious endowment, they would have access to any revenue not spent on salaries or other stipulations they themselves wrote in the endowment deed. The Qalāwūnids used this institution to build private reservoirs of financial resources as well as to bind powerful senior Mamluk officials to their cause, by ensuring them hefty financial rewards through positions in their royal endowments. These efforts might not have created a permanent hereditary system but it would create a lasting idea of Qalāwūnid regal stature for much of the fourteenth century. In order to understand these changes, this study will analyze landholding patterns of the royal endowments, alongside the sultan’s milk (private) landholdings as well, to ascertain if the narrative sources are correct that during the latter half of the Bahri period endowments began to generate larger excess financial capital. The stipulations of the royal endowments will also be studied to show how later Qalāwūnids tried to pass financial resources to their heir(s) and bind high ranking Mamluk officials to their cause.

**Power, Legitimacy and Architecture**

The second chapter will illustrate how the physical remains of pious endowments, i.e. the buildings themselves, were used to strengthen claims of kingship. The Qalāwūnid sultans were particularly adept at this particular usage to bolster their claim of hereditary right. Narrative sources provide us with examples of how endowed institutions, like the complex of Sultan

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5 The use of pious endowments was not invented by the Qalāwūnids or even the Mamluks but was adopted by previous regimes dating back to the Saljuqs, who influenced the Zangids who in turn influenced the Ayyubids. This influence, which is important, is beyond the scope of this study.
Qalāwūn, were used as places for state ceremonies tying Mamluk amirs to the Qalāwūnid sultan. They were also used as propaganda tools, expressing to the public both their political power and pious intentions, operating along the same lines as modern billboards with their inscriptions influencing public opinion. Royal pious endowments created a familiar bond not only between direct heirs of the endower, or waqīf, but with those of his political allies or subordinates. Their use of endowed institutions to build and strengthen claims of kingship will be established by studying the epigraphic evidence of these endowments and their physical presence within the urban fabric of Cairo. While several scholars, who will be discussed later, have already studied the financial rewards that the ruling elite solicited from endowments, the power they generated from their architectural works has not received as much attention since Humphrey’s study on the “expressive intent” of Mamluk architecture in 1972. The amount of effort expended to create these works of art meant the patrons considered the building(s) just as important as the financial aspects, therefore it is just as important to understand the context in which these monuments were created and their intent. These monumental constructions arguably provided as much incentive for their patrons to create them, as did the financial ones.

Sources

Waqfiyyas as a Source

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6 R. Humphreys, “The Expressive Intent of the Mamlūk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay,” Studia Islamica 35 (1972): 69-119. There have been a few studies that use architecture to discuss the political history of the Mamlūk state. For one of the most important, see: Nasser Rabbat, Mamluk History through Architecture: Monuments, Culture, and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).
One of the reasons that makes such a study feasible is that the Mamluk period has left a large amount of documentary sources for historians in the form of endowment deeds, also known as a waqfiyya or hujjat waqf. Some forty-six waqf documents from the Bahri period alone are cataloged by Muḥammad Muḥammad ‘Amin in the Egyptian National Archive. It is a legal document in which a founder (waqīf), who meets the requirement of ‘compos mentis’, immobilizes legally owned property and the revenue generated from it towards a charitable institution or cause in perpetuity. In order for it to be inviolable, it would follow a formula set out in legal works, required the approval of the Qādī al-Qudāt (chief judges) of each of the four madhhabs and its registration with the diwān al-awqāf. It should be kept in mind that there were several types of endowments, each of which deserves a separate study for this period. However, the main type of endowments discussed here is the awqāf al-ahliyya. In theory, the document should minutely document the properties endowed, the day to day operations of the institution, the salaries of employees of the foundation, and the succession of its administration, usually beginning with the founder and then his or her descendants. However, waqf documents remain to be thoroughly examined and utilized and need to be viewed with caution. As with all legal documents, what is not written is just as important as what is.

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8 For information on the various forms of pious endowments see: al-Maqrīzī, al-Khīṭāt (I), 2:294-296.

9 An exhaustive research on the surviving waqf documents presented in Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin’s catalog has yet to be done.
Several issues develop once any waqf document is closely examined. It must be remembered that a *waqfiyya* is a legal document meant to protect the institution and ultimately the founder’s wishes. The regulations and requests of the founder speak just as loud as the lack of information on other aspects of the endowment structure. The document is minutely descriptive in documenting certain aspects such as the property endowed or the salaries and benefits of the institution’s employees, but remains aloof on subjects such as projected income. Although it would have been impossible to inscribe the specific income of each property since it would naturally vary, specific information about it was left out which might have been purposely done to protect capital accumulation.

Another concern is that several endowments grew in size or shrank over periods of time. Many founders included clauses within the *waqfiyya* allowing the supervisor of the waqf to use surplus money to expand the endowment (or in periods of financial strain, a clause allowed the *naẓir* to judicially make cuts). These later additions undoubtedly occurred but are often found accidently by scholars studying other documents, but more will probably found with more thorough studies. An example is found in the waqf of Ḥammām al-Sukkariyya which had originally been part of Sultan Qalāwūn’s endowment. Overall, the *waqfiyat* provide reliable data for early period of an endowment’s history.

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11 For a more in-depth analysis as to why waqfiyyas provide a reliable source of information about endowments in their early stages see: Leonor Fernandes, "Notes on a New Source for the Study of Religious Architecture during the
Thirdly the *waqfiyat* that have survived till the present day are highly skewed in favor of endowments created by sultans or powerful amirs. This might be a result of selective bias of the Ottomans and their adaptation of local waqf policy to enhance their own position within a newly conquered territory.\(^\text{12}\) In other words, certain endowments might have survived due to the new situation under Ottoman authority. The larger and more financial robust endowments would have been desirable for the new authorities to keep running. Another probability was that these institutions, with their larger endowments and symbolic status within society, were able to survive longer than those endowments created by individuals with much smaller means. There are surviving documents from the *awlād al-nās*, literally the “children of the people” which was a term used for the offspring of mamluks, which provide an interesting insight into a little understood sub-section within Mamluk society.\(^\text{13}\) However, since the aim of this investigation is to understand how *waqf* was used by the Mamluk elite, particularly the sultan or the amirs at the apex of the hierarchy, this skewed selection of documents will not harm investigation but should

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\(^\text{12}\) Several of the *waqf* documents we have actually were for more information on pious endowments in Ottoman Egypt see: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

be remembered as the nature of these endowments are discussed. These particular endowments were different and had much wider intentions that those founded by less influential individuals.

**Mamluk Architecture as a Source**

In addition to the legal documentation of each endowed institution are the physical remains, the actual extant buildings. These provide context and clues to the founder’s motivations that are missing with the endowment deed. The epigraphic data provides researchers with information as to how the buildings were meant to be perceived by the public. These medieval institutions provided a propaganda medium similar to today’s billboards. The expressive intent of these structures will provide tantalizing clues as to the complex purpose of each endowment.  

**Chronicles and Historical Narratives**

The final set of primary sources that will be used are the chronicles written by what Nasser Rabbat described as the *literati* of their period. This group, made up of the ‘*ulamā*, provide a rich historical source for modern historians. As Rabbat points out however, this class which regarded itself as the preserver of Islamic and Arab culture probably viewed their foreign overlords with disdain. It also should also be taken into consideration that this class was co-opted into the power structure and this too was reflected in their writings and should be

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analyzed accordingly. Scholars, such as al-Maqrizī (764-845/1364-1442), had access to
documents that no longer survive and might provide tantalizing clues to modern historians. Al-
Maqrizī and other scholars often provide detailed information on endowments that prove the
validity of these sources.\(^\text{16}\)

**Modern Scholarship**

Although the issue of pious endowments has long been a part of Arabic scholarly
literature it is not until the last several decades that in-depth analysis of this institution has
occurred. L. A. Mayer’s published monograph on the endowment of Sultan Qāytbāy offered the
possibility to study these important documents for various fields, especially architectural
studies.\(^\text{17}\) During the 1950’s at Cairo University, the Egyptian scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm
began modern studies on Mamluk pious endowments with his seminal and pioneering studies.
His encouragement of graduate students in this field led to research of several institutions.\(^\text{18}\)
Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin’s work in the 1980’s on waqf during the Mamluk period remains
the authoritative work in the field.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{16}\) A study on the validity of such information has yet to be done, although they would have intimate knowledge and
access to such records due to their training and the positions they held. The historian al-Maqrizī in particular often
states figures and stipulations from endowment deeds.


\(^{18}\) Unfortunately many of these were never published and sit waiting to be used at Cairo University’s Central
Library. See bibliography in: Muhammad Muhammad Amin, *Fihrist wathāʾiq al-Qāhirah hathā nihāyaʾ asr Ṣalāṭīn al-

\(^{19}\) Muhammad Muhammad Amin, *al-Awqāf wa-al-hayāh al-ijtimāʿiyah fi Misr, 648-923 H / 1250-1517: dirāsah
More recent scholarship has shown an increased use of endowment documents which generally tend to follow four different trends. The first trend generally utilizes a wider range of endowment deeds to study institutions and urban areas. Examples of this type of scholarship are Leonora Fernandes’ authoritative work on the khānqāh institution during the Mamluk period,20 Adam Sabra’s dissertational work on poverty and charity in Mamluk Egypt,21 and Jonathan Berkey’s engaging study on educational institutions in Mamlûk Cairo.22 The second trend in waqf scholarship focuses more on its political and financial aspects. Carl Petry’s study on the endowments of sultans Qāytbāy and al-Ghūrī have shown that the institution of waqf was manipulated for personal financial gain.23 Lucian Reinfrandt’s study of al-Mu‘ayyad Aḥmad, son of sultan al-Ashraf İnāl, who succeeded his father as sultan for a few months enabled modern documents in Cairo archives see his: Fihrist wathā‘iq al-Qāhirah hatṭā nīḥayat asr Ṣalātīn al-Mamālīk (al-Qāhirah: al-Māḥad al-Ilmī al-Firinsī lil-Āthār al-Sharqīyah, 1981).


21 Adam Sabra, Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250-1517 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).


scholars to understand how pious endowments created a security buffer for royal offspring.\(^{24}\) Finally, Jean-Claude Garcin and Mustafa Taher’s work on the endowment of Jawhār al-Lāla illustrated how endowments were used as a complex financial tool.\(^{25}\) More importantly their work illustrates that Mamluk donors, or more likely their administrative staff, were able to calculate intricate financial equations in order to create lucrative endowments. The third trend uses endowment deeds to enrich architectural studies. These studies usually focus on a single institution and only provide partial publishing of waqf documents.\(^{26}\) The fourth trend focuses on jurisprudence issues regarding endowments. These generally focus on early legal opinions before the Mamlûk period, with the exception of Yehoshua Frenkel’s recent work.\(^{27}\) The final trend is usually a detailed study of a single entire waqf deed (i.e. as a legal deed).\(^{28}\) However, there is

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general consensus that the Mamluk elite had mainly materialistic motives for creating pious endowments. However, these studies have not yet exhausted all the avenues of inquiry into how this malleable institution operated with such frequency and for such a monumental duration. This is most likely due to the small number of published waqf documents in their entirety and the obsessive effort needed to transcribe an entire endowment deed. The majority of those that are published are not published in their entirety usually only referring to the physical descriptions of the institution’s building(s), property endowed or salaries of employees.\textsuperscript{29}

However several scholars have argued for a more inclusive approach to the complex phenomena of awqāf. Yehoshua Frenkel has argued that not only was awqāf used by the Mamluk elite to generate prestige but also used as “a device to establish its hegemony.”\textsuperscript{30} This device was used in a variety of ways: to gather political support from the religious establishment\textsuperscript{31}, providing social services and providing for the general welfare\textsuperscript{32}, creating networks linking urban areas


\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 153.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 160-161.
with rural, but most importantly to finance the embodiment of the regime’s ideology and image of power.\footnote{Ibid., 161-162.} Igarashi Daisuke also put forth a similar argument that the “waqfization” of \textit{iqtā‘āt} was “a vehicle for sustaining their power and rule, through which they acquired financial and social influences.”\footnote{Ibid., 163.} However Daisuke argues that it is during the Burji period and the declining \textit{iqtā‘} system that forced the Mamluks to utilize pious endowments to sustain their declining resources.

This study’s thesis examines how pious endowments were used as a mechanism to gain power or influence by the donor but argues it was the centralizing forces of the late thirteenth century and the political developments of the fourteenth century that drove the Mamluk elite to increasingly utilize pious endowments. The growing use of endowments created the “waqfization” trend that became so pronounced during the Burji period. The Bahri period is particularly relevant for such a study because it offers a unique view on the development of this institution because of the large amount of documentary evidence (in the form of endowment deeds and contemporary histories) and the constant change in state politics. While some scholars argue that the Islamic world reached its nadir before the disintegration of the Abbasid caliphate and Islamic law became static, the Mamluk period refutes this. Mamluk period legal experts wrote treatises discussing the legality of creating private endowments \textit{(awqāf al-ahliyya)} from state lands, ones that benefit family members, and the validity of the new state structure (i.e. rule

\footnote{Igarashi Daisuke, \textit{Land Tenure and Mamlūk Waqfs} (Bonn: EB Verlag, 2014), 40.}
by convert former slaves). These hotly contested issues and the development of socio-political system attest to a vibrant and confident society.

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The Political Milieu of the Late Bahri Period

It is impossible to understand the development of pious endowments in the Mamluk Empire without understanding the political system in which they developed. As an institution, which naturally revolved around the issue of power, it is important to understand how it was affected by contemporary issues to understand its development. One of the primary components of the endowment was the agricultural land that provided financial and material support for the endowment. Since assignment of agricultural land was the prerogative of the state, the fate of endowments would always be inextricably tied to the political situation of the period. The evolving political structure of the Mamluk state would influence the evolution of pious endowments, at least in regards to the endowments made by the Mamluk elite. After the death of the last Ayyubid sultan in 647/1249, the Mamluk “state” had been adapting [ad-hoc] to the situation on the ground. In fact, this “consciously perceived and carefully formulated Mamluk system, (which) became the structural backbone of a new and long lived polity and political culture”, was not developed until the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Mamluk state actually began to take shape.37

The fourteenth century would be largely influenced by the reigns of two thirteenth-century rulers, Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658-676/1260-1270) and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī (r. 678-689/1279-1290). The evolving Mamluk political structure

they consolidated during their respective reigns would heavily influence the next century.\textsuperscript{38} In this evolving political structure, the sultan theoretically held supreme power alongside a new institutionalized Mamluk seniority. Qalāwūn’s investiture diploma (as well as those of his two sons: al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAli and al-Ashraf Khalīl) was also a contract between the sultan and the Šāliḥī amirs, whom had brought him to power in the first place, that guaranteed their status in return for their support.\textsuperscript{39} This balance could be mastered by someone in Qalāwūn’s position coming to the throne matured and battle tested.\textsuperscript{40} But this balance could not be maintained if one of either group became overly powerful as would be the case for much of the fourteenth century. The descendants of Qalāwūn would be placed on the throne by generally more experienced amirs, causing the delicate political structure that evolved from the policies of Baybars and Qalāwūn to unravel causing political instability.\textsuperscript{41} The next sultan, al-Ashraf Khalīl was murdered when the Mamluk magnates felt their status threatened. The following seventeen years saw political

\textsuperscript{38} Linda Northrup, \textit{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: F. Steiner, 1998), 162-166. The centralization and militarization of the state by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb provided a model for Sultan Baybars. This model would be expanded upon by Sultan al-Qalāwūn.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 302-303.

\textsuperscript{40} Qalāwūn became sultan at the age of 60 as well.

\textsuperscript{41} Jo Van Steenbergen, “"Is Anyone My Guardian ...?" Mamlūk Under-Age Rule and the Later Qalāwūnids,” \textit{Al-Masāq} 19, no. 1 (2007): 55-65. Van Steenbergen offers an in-depth study of the age and situation of enthronement for each of the Qalāwūnid rulers from the death of al-Nāṣir Muhammad till the reign of Barqūq. Although the main point of his article is to articulate the “Qalāwūnid reflex” and and to dispel the idea that weak and young Qalāwūnid offspring installed on the throne, it is impossible to escape the fact they were always much less experienced than the amirs. For a look at the succession machinations of various actors at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign see: Jo Van Steenbergen, "Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics," \textit{MSR} IX, no. 2 (2005): 173-199.
instability with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad being enthroned and dethroned twice along with three usurpations by ambitious amirs (al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, al-Manṣūr Lājin and Baybars al-Jāshankīr).

The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 709-41/1310-41) saw the strengthening of the position of the Mamluk sultan vis-à-vis the Mamluk amirs after his cadastral survey of Egypt and Syria. The cadastral survey, which was conducted between 713/1313 and 725/1325, resulted in the redistribution of *iqṭāʿat* to the advantage of the sultan. This redistribution saw the share of the sultan rise from 4/24 percent to 10/24 percent of all cultivated land. During his first two previous reigns, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was barely an equal to the powerful Mamluk amirs of his father, al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, and brother, al-Ashraf Khalil, making him dependent on them to maintain his hold on the throne. He was therefore removed when he was no longer useful to the powerful Mamluk amirs. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sought to remove the power of his predecessors’ amirs while strengthening his own position by redistributing the *iqṭāʿat*. Al-Maqrīzī noted that,

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The cadastral survey of Egypt began at the end of Sha'ban. The reason for this was the sultan (al-Nāşir Muḥammad) deemed the large amount of akhbāz (or iqṭāʿāt) of supporters of Baybars al-Jāshankīr and Salār al-Nā'ib and the other Bahri mamlūks too much. Their akhbāz ranged from 1000 mithqāl per year to 800 mithqāl which the sultan wanted to take.

His cadastral survey and the redistribution of iqṭāʾs created a highly centralized land tenure system benefiting the reigning sultan. It allowed al-Nāşir Muḥammad to reward his own royal mamlūks with larger iqṭāʾūt and offsetting the power of the amirs from his predecessors by reducing their share. The sultan would also gain better control of the Mamluk hierarchy as it weakened the muqṭaʾs control over their lands since it was non-hereditary (at least in theory) and contingent on the sultan’s allocation.46 His triumphant return to Cairo and resumption of power in 709/1310 saw him quickly eliminate or sideline the amirs which had played a hand in his previous removals and the implementation of the new iqṭâʿ system.47 Although this system


46 One of the motivations of his cadastral survey was to find out which lands had become hereditary from previous muqṭaʾs. See: al-Maqrizi, Sulūk, 2:153.

47 Reuven Amitai, A Turning Point in Mamluk History, 28.
benefited him enormously during his final reign, it ultimately produced unintended consequences for his descendants.

This centralized iqṭā’ institution had several unintended consequences. First, the centralization of the Mamluk hierarchy’s economic lifeline pushed them to find a mechanism to control land outside the iqṭā’ system. This centralized institution coupled with the lack of any external threats by the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, which freed up financial capital spent previously on military expenditures, led to the creation of numerous endowments far beyond the populace’s need for religious, educational, and social institutions. Secondly, this new control mechanism in the formal power structure of the Mamluk state benefited a ruler with a firm grip on the throne. An inexperienced young sultan however, as many of his successors would be, was not able to control this and other mechanisms of the power structure. The amirs too looked outside the formal power structure for a way to enhance their position vis-à-vis the amirs. During the financially and politically stable period of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, endowments were funded mainly by urban rental properties and endowed institutions built by amirs received financial support from the sultan. The last decade of his reign saw eighteen mosques and madrasahs built, more than the next two decades after his reign together (See Figure A). However, during the late Bahri period as competition for power intensified and the economic situation of the Mamluk Empire changed, fewer mosques were built but they were funded by vastly larger endowments. These funds largely came from the “waqfization” of state

lands, a phenomenon mostly thought to have taken place during the fifteenth century. However it was during the politically turbulent fourteenth century that powerful individuals were able to acquire state lands and place them in their endowments.

**Figure A: Endowed Mosques and Madrasahs during the Fourteenth Century**

![Bar chart showing the number of endowed mosques and madrasahs per decade from 1279-1382.]

The link between the political power and endowments is illustrated by the large proportion of endowments created by the Mamluk elite. Obviously it was only they who could have the financial and political clout to endow such massive institutions. The relationship

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49 The reader will notice that the time periods in this table are not uniformly divided. This was intentionally done to illustrate the massive building program of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The period from 1331-1341 was the last decade al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was in power which was also when the power of the sultan was at its zenith. The amount of endowed mosques and madrasahs built during this decade is more than other decade in the fourteenth century.
between large endowments and the Mamluk elite has been noted by several modern researchers and contemporary Mamluk sources. Al-Suyūṭī commented that:

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”اعلم أن الأوقاف في الغالب لا تصدر إلا من ملك أو سلطان، أو كافل مملكة شريفة، أو أمير من أعيان الأمراء، و من في درجتهم."
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“Know that endowments are not founded except by kings or sultans, or by heads of state, or high ranking amirs or men of those rank.”

Looking at Table A, there is a correlation between rulers of the Mamluk state and their creation of endowments. Of the twelve sultans who reigned from 1250 till 1341, eleven of them are known to have created endowments. The only one, al-ʿAdil Salamish, who did not create an endowment, had a short insignificant reign. The number of religious institutions endowed during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad alone is staggering. Again this is not to suggest that civilians did not create endowments, they of course did. However, the size and position of these endowments within their respective urban settings denote their small scale, lack of political clout,

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51 Igarashi Daisuke, Land Tenure and Mamlūk Waqfs, 17.
53 For an example of an endowment by a member of the civilian elite see: Hani Hamza, “Turbat Abū Zakariyya Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Mūsā (chief surgeon of al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī) and his social status according to his endowment deed (waqfiyya),” in Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Muslim Middle East, ed. Daniella Talmon-Heller and Katia Cytryn-Silverman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1:315-340.
and different motivations. Nimrod Luz’s study of endowments in Jerusalem has shown that those
closest to the Ḥaram al-Sharīf belonged to the Mamlūk elite. Those found further and further
away from the Ḥaram al-Sharīf belonged to founders of smaller stature or means.54 These
spacious, richly endowed, institutions and their central location are proof that pious endowments
were used an expression of power and legitimacy. It is this particular and pervasive use of
endowments that shall be investigated in order to understand its evolution and importance in the
late Bahri period.

54 Nimrod Luz, Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture, and the Urban Landscape (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 2014), 166.
**Table A: Early Mamluk Rulers and Their Endowments, 1250-1341**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sultan</th>
<th>Created An Endowment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shajar al-Durr</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250/648</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu'izz Aybak</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1257/648-655</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muzzafar Quṭūz</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1259-1260/657-658</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Zahir Baybars</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1260-1277/658-676</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sa'id Baraka Khan</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1277-1279/676-678</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-'Adil Salamish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1279/678</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Manṣūr Qalāwûn</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1279-1290/678-689</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ashraf Khalīl</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290-1293/689-693</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nāṣir Muḥammad</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1293-1394/693-694, 1299-1309/698-708, 1310-1341/709-741</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-'Adil Kitbughā</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1294-1296/694-696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 Many of these sultans listed here created multiple endowed, like al-Manṣūr Qalāwûn.

56 His endowed structure no longer exists. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 116-117.


58 His endowment lacks the grandeur of the others, but he did endow positions for the madrasa the Ayyubid sultan Śāliḥ Negm al-Din Ayyūb. See: al-Maqrizī, al-Khiṭṭāṭ (I), 2:374.

"ثم إن الملك السيد ناصر الدين محمد بركة خان ابن الملك الظاهر بيرس، وقف الصاغة التي تجاها، وأماكن بالقاهرة ومدينة المحلة الغربية، وقطع أراضي جزائر بالأعمال الجيزية والأطفيحية على مدرسين أربعة، عند كل مدرس معيدان وعدة طبئة."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Manṣūr Lājīn</td>
<td>1296-1299/696-698</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muẓẓafar Baybars al-Jāshankīr</td>
<td>1309-1310/708-709</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

New Land Tenure Patterns and Endowments

The Mamluk power system was based on land tenure. Control over agricultural property fed, clothed and trained the mamluks who provided the powerbase for the military aristocracy. This chapter will show how after the decline of the power system set up by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the Qalāwūnid sultans and elite Mamluk officials were forced to find alternative paths to maintain power (i.e. control over agricultural lands). They accomplished this by manipulating the institution of waqf to provide a counter balance to the changing political and economic situations. They did this by endowing larger proportions of agricultural property in their endowments and attempting to link powerful Mamluk officials to them. As the Mamluk state’s finances became more problematic, the Qalāwūnids attempted to provide financial assets to their heirs through endowments by stipulating that their male heirs gain control of these large and rich endowments. This strategy was linked to the growing allocation of iqtāʿāt to Qalāwūnid sidis (princes) which was meant to strengthen a Qalāwūnid sultan’s position.59 After the early fourteenth century, the political environment continually shifted and the link between power and endowments became more evident.

59 Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt," in Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East, ed. by Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984), 163. “The Bahri state, even in its frail last decade (for which we have Ibn al-Jran’s documentation for 777), had been solidly built on a disproportionate share of the house of Qalāwūn in the wealth of Egypt.” Haarmann continues by saying that contemporary observers might have regarded Barqūq’s reign as a new period because it resulted in new patterns of wealth distribution.
New Land Tenure Patterns

The amount of agricultural land that was endowed to fund the operations of endowed institutions began to sharply increase during the late Bahri period. The Qalāwūn complex in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn was mainly funded through commercial property located in the close vicinity of the complex itself.\(^{60}\) This offered easy management of the day to day running of the endowment and oversight of the commercial property that funded it. The same applied to the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muhammad where the endowed property was mainly commercial and in relative proximity to the establishment. This technique of endowing commercial property near the establishments helped to develop areas and which would in turn increase the income.\(^{61}\) The endowments of Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad relied on very little agricultural land to provide income for endowments.\(^{62}\) The political changes that occurred after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would change the nature of endowments. As the political situation became more complicated so did endowments.

\(^{60}\) There was some agricultural property endowed for the Qalāwūn complex. The village of Kôm al-Aswad in al-Giza which consisted of 160 feddans was endowed for his complex on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. See Heinz Halm, Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lebensregistern (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979) 2:224.

\(^{61}\) Baybars apparently did not plan an urban development project with his endowment. He only endowed the mosque with the surrounding land, to be leased on a long-term basis. See Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 122.

The period surrounding the two reigns of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan (r. 748-752/1347-1351, 755-762/1354-1361) illustrate the growing complexity of endowments and the changing nature of the type of properties endowed. This period saw not only a population change due to the decimation caused by the Black Death plague but also an unstable political situation.⁶³ This affected the land tenure system which financed the powerbase of the Mamluk state. The increase in *iqṭāʿat* becoming alienated and turned into *waqf* began during this period, not during the Burji period. We know this because when Barquq became *atābak al-ʿasākir* he held a meeting in 780/1379 to discuss the problem of turning state land into *awqāf* properties.⁶⁴ The issue had already become problematic before the Burji period had started. As discussed earlier, al-Nāṣir Ḥassan had to contend with the political ambitions of powerful amīrs such as Baybughā Rūs, Shaykhū, and Ṣarghitmish. This continued turbulence over power would see the rise in agricultural properties becoming part of endowments.

At his height, Ṣarghitmish held the powerful office of *atābak al-ʿasākir* roughly one year before his death in 759/1358 and had created an endowed complex, built in 756-7/1356. His endowment which is adjoined to the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque on Ṣalība Street in Cairo illustrates a different trend from that of the early Mamluk generation.⁶⁵ His endowment consisted of large tracts of agricultural land (See Table B), whereas the endowments of Sultan Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad consisted of mostly commercial property. The agricultural properties endowed

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by Şarghitmish amounted to 837 feddans, a massive amount considering that Qalāwūn’s endowment consisted of 160 feddans in the village of Kôm al-Aswad in Giza.\textsuperscript{66} Although these properties were technically owned legally so that they could be endowed, how he came to possess them is unknown. Like other leading amirs who controlled the government, he had the power of distributing \textit{iqṭāʿāt} and had the power to enforce his will.\textsuperscript{67} These agricultural properties were located near Cairo, which benefitted the administrators of the endowment. It would also have given him a supply cash and foodstuffs in times of need or emergency since he was the first administrator of his endowment which was one of the most common stipulations in endowment deeds. The amir Shaykhū al-Nāṣirī, who had been the leading amir before Şarghitmish, had amassed massive property holdings amounting to an income 200,000 dirhams per day!\textsuperscript{68} It must be kept in mind that the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan saw continual conflicts between the various factions seeking hegemonic power over rivals. This bitter conflict which saw both sultan and the highest Mamluk amirs murdered stimulated the growing trend in larger more complex endowments. However the endowment of Şarghitmish and its agricultural property would be dwarfed by later Bahri period endowments.

\textsuperscript{66} For agricultural property endowed by Şarghitmish, see Table B. For the property endowed by Qalāwūn see: Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 134. Also for the agricultural land endowed by Qalāwūn see: Heinz Halm, \textit{Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern} (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979 & 1982), 1:224.


\textsuperscript{68} al-Maqrizi, \textit{al-Khiṭaf (II)}, 4:262.
Table B: Agricultural Properties Included in Amir Ṣargitmish’s Endowment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Area in Feddans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Page 9</td>
<td>Minyat Ḥalfā</td>
<td>529 feddans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages 12-13</td>
<td>Qalyūb</td>
<td>268 feddans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages 13-14</td>
<td>Tel Hadıyā near Aleppo</td>
<td>20 feddans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page 17</td>
<td>Naḥrisīya</td>
<td>20 feddans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>837 feddans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complex of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan is considered one of the greatest architectural monuments of the Islamic world, even though it was never fully completed. The endowment was amply supplied to ensure its longevity and profitability and was still functioning when ‘Alī Bāshā Mubārak penned his famous al-Khiṭṭ al-Tawfiqiyyah in the nineteenth century. Although it would be difficult to argue that his main intention was to create a mechanism for accruing financial capital especially since the amount of money poured into the building was massive, it would have none the less produced a profit. The sultan spent an amazing 20,000 *dirhams* or 1,000 *dinars mithqāl* per day building his complex. The wealth needed to build this massive

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70 1 feddan = 5,929 square meters or 1.465088 acres. Stuart J. Borsh, *The Black Death in Egypt and England*, 160.


complex was probably funded from the property left by the numerous plague victims.\textsuperscript{74} The historian Ibn Kathīr (700-774/1301-1373) complained of Sultan Ḥassān’s abuse of the Bayt al-Māl (the public treasury) from which the sultan bought properties that were eventually endowed in his waqf and the collusion of religious officials who refused to bring him to account.\textsuperscript{75}

The amount of property endowed by Sultan Ḥassān in Egypt alone was substantial to say the least, especially in comparison to early Qalāwūnid endowments. The property generated profits even though the expenditures on the staff and other expenses found in the endowment deed amounted to over half a million dirhams per year which is impressive taking into account the overall economic situation during this period.\textsuperscript{76} The Black Death plague had a devastating effect on the economy of the Mamluk Empire. The reduced population would have caused wages to rise, increasing the price of goods and work, but saw a reduction in the amount of goods and foods produced.\textsuperscript{77} The rise in prices and labor coupled with the reduction in the population would have lowered profits from urban rentals which may also explain later Bahri period endowments having a higher proportion of agricultural lands in their endowments. This


\textsuperscript{75} Abdallah Kahlil, The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo, 1357-1364: A Case Study in the Formation of Mamluk Style (Beirut: Orient-Institut der DMG Beirut, 2008), 3.


\textsuperscript{77} Adam Sabra, Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamlūk Egypt, 1250-1517 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 121-122.
development also supports the argument of the institution’s flexibility, since founders could easily change the type of properties endowed according to return rates at certain periods. However, the amount of agricultural land endowed by al-Nāṣir Ḥassan would have served another purpose.

The growing struggle between powerful amirs and Qalāwūnid heirs would require large amounts of financial resources and agricultural property would become a contested commodity. When a powerful figure in the Mamluk state gained power they were able to buy or probably more likely confiscate property from the state treasury and place it in their endowments, as in the case of Sultan Ḥassan.

Table C: Egyptian Agricultural Properties Included in Sultan Ḥassan’s Endowment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Province/Area</th>
<th>Area in Feddans</th>
<th>Yearly Income (Dirham Nuqra)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Qahā</td>
<td>Qalyūb</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>131,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Dirin</td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>1,745</td>
<td>71,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Shanashā</td>
<td>al-Dahaqliya</td>
<td>3,253</td>
<td>133,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Kafr Minya Na’im</td>
<td>Kafūr Shanashā</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>14,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Ḥamāqiya</td>
<td>Kafūr Shanashā</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>19,393</td>
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<td>217</td>
<td>Bisāṭ al-Aḥlāf</td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
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<td>Arsāj</td>
<td>al-Buḥayra</td>
<td>5,386</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
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Nazir al-waqt: Inheritance and Power through Endowments

The changing political environment following the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1341 saw a change in the use of pious endowments by the Mamluk elite, especially the Qalāwūnids. The continual power struggles between powerful Mamluk amirs and ambitious Qalāwūnid sultans created a financial strain on the state treasury. Coupled with the devastating effects of the plague epidemics, political actors had to find new revenue streams to finance their ambitions. Pious endowments were used in novel ways to offset these changes. As control of the lifeline of the military aristocracy (iqṭāʿāt) became more contested between powerful amirs versus a Qalāwūnid sultan, the proportion of agricultural lands, which powerful Mamluk amirs or sultans had possessed as iqṭāʿ or taken from the state, in endowments increased. The growing need to finance supporting factions also saw the post of administrator of endowments become more important, as they had control of enormous financial resources. Lucian Reinfandt demonstrated this use during the late Mamluk period by examining the endowment deed of Sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857/1453–865/1461) and his son, al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad. The importance of the administrator's post mirrored the late Bahri period's changing political situation as senior Mamluk amirs grew more powerful. All of which is reflected in the growing complexity of the relevant stipulations in late Bahri period endowment deeds.

As noted earlier, Sultan Qalāwūn’s long reign saw the growing centralization of power in the hands of the sultan. Interestingly his endowment deed stipulated that the administration of his massive endowment be handed over to a civilian, the Chief Shāfi‘ī judge. However by the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, this had changed, perhaps reflecting the changing political structure of the Mamluk Empire. The late Bahri period saw the power of senior Mamluk amirs increase at the expense of the reigning sultan. Mamluk amirs were able to rebuild their own power during the political chaos that ensued following the murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl and the early reigns of the young al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The growing power of senior Mamluk amirs in relation to the Qalāwūnid sultans is demonstrated by their inclusion in the administration of royal endowments.

Their inclusion in the administration of endowments was done for several reasons. First, it was meant to entice powerful Mamluk officials to support the Qalāwūnid sultan that founded the endowment. Secondly, it was done in the hope of offsetting the chance of the confiscation of the endowment by including them in the financial rewards of the endowment. Igarashi Daisuke cataloged a number of endowments that were administered by high ranking Mamluk amirs. Daisuke’s data supports Ibn Taghrībirdī’s (813-874/1411-1470) statement that only high

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82 The endowments of powerful amirs also stipulated that senior Mamluk amirs hold the post of administrator after their deaths. Igarashi Daisuke
83 Igarashi Daisuke, Land Tenure and Mamlūk Waqfs, 42-25.
ranking officials were appointed to be administrators alongside the heir(s) of the endower. The Mamluk era writer al-Qalqashandi (756-821/1355-1418) also stated that the most powerful amir held the position of administrator of al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūri. It was a rich prize for whoever controlled it since it reputedly had an income around one million dirhams per year. It was al-Nāṣir Ḥassan who awarded Ṣarghitmish the administration post of al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūri, who was the leading amir during his reign. There is clearly a link between power, control of large endowments and financial profit.

Modern scholars have yet to decidedly prove that royal endowments created huge surpluses since we have yet to come across documents showing the financial accounting of these endowments. However recent studies, especially those done by Carl Petry, have pointed out the huge discrepancies between possible income and the expenditures. We also have contemporary observations of the vast sums of money these endowments generated. It was Shāfīʿ ibn ʿAlī (649-730/1252-1330), a scribe in Qalāwūn’s royal chancery, who stated the endowment amounted an

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85 Ahmad ibn al-Qalqashandi (756-821/1355-1418), Kitāb Ṣubh al-dāšā (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Khudaywiyyah, 1913-1922), 4:38.
amazing one million dirhams per year.\textsuperscript{88} Even if this amount was counted in half, it still provided an amazing income in comparison to its expenditures. The position of administrator was a financially rewarding office.

The stipulations of who would control the endowment after the passing of the original endower seem to have become more complicated. By the time of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan, the stipulations regulating who exactly would control the endowment as administrator reached multiple lines in comparison with that of his grandfather, Sultan Qalāwūn.\textsuperscript{89} Sultan al-Nasir Hasan’s stipulations over who should control his endowment after his passing was meant to ensure his dynasty, specifically his direct male heirs, continued. The stipulations laid out in his endowment deed are very concise and leave little room for legal discrepancies.

\begin{quote}
"كان النظر في ذلك للأرشد فالارشد من أولاد مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر الواقوف المسى فيهم من الذكور خاصة دون الابناء وأولاد الابناء نسله وعقبه الذكور دون الابناء من أولاد الظهير وأولاد البطن فان استو في ذلك فقدم اسنهم..."
\end{quote}

"The administrator should be the most mature of the children of the stipulated founder, Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Ḥassan), specifically the males not the females, and the


\textsuperscript{90} Howyda N. al-Harithy, Kitāb Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Hasan, 176.
founder’s children’s children, but only his male descendants from the offspring of his sons and daughters, if they are the same level and push forward the eldest…”

Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan went through great lengths to ensure his male progeny would succeed him as administrator of his large endowment institution (dūn al-ānāth: with the exclusion of the females). As the stipulation details the condition for who shall succeed the founder as its administrator, al-Nāṣir Ḥassan wished that his most able and mature male heir would gain control of this lucrative foundation using terms such as “al-ārshad fā-al-ārshad” (the most mature). Interestingly, there was no distinction made between the offspring of his sons or from his daughters (min āwlād al-ẓahr wa awlād al-batn), as long as that offspring who was to inherit the position was male. Why would he exclude his female progeny? This particular endowment was meant to help ensure the succession of the Qalāwūnid line during troubled times. Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan would provide for his wife in a different waqf all together.91 His intention was to ensure that the Qalāwūnid heir would have access to financial resources. Sultan al-Nasir Ḥassan stipulated in the endowment deed that four hundred thousand dirhams be saved in reserve, a significant sum.92 Although half of it should have been used to enlarge the complex’s endowment, maintenance or charitable purposes, it would have undoubtedly provided a quick source of capital for someone in need. When Barqūq fled Cairo in 791/1389, his complex was

found to have had 7,500 dinars stored in it.  

There are other instances recorded in contemporary sources that illustrate how Mamluk officials used these institutions to quickly acquire wealth.  

This use of endowments to help the stability of the Qalāwūnid dynasty was not only financial but symbolic as well, something that did not go unnoticed by the man who would finally bring an end to Qalāwūnid rule.

The next Qalāwūnid sultan who held serious power after al-Nāṣir Ḥassan was al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, who created two endowed institutions. The first created a madrasah below the citadel in Cairo most likely in the same place where the ruins of Sultan al-Muʿayyad Shaykh’s hospital now stand. The second endowment was to the benefit of al-Ḥaramayn, the cities of Mecca and Madinah.  

The endowment document for this last endowment provides an interesting clause regarding its administration (See Figure B). The stipulations regarding the position of administrator is quite regular, it was reserved for the founding sultan during his lifetime and then his descendants. However, the next clause is unusual. It states that after those provisions are met (in the case of his family line dying out) the administrator should also be the administrator of his great grandfather’s endowment, the bimaristān of Qalāwūn. While it was normal for the benefit of the financial surplus to revert to a more charitable cause after the end of the founder’s family line, this clause is interesting. It binds his endowment with that of his family. This link

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94 Igarashi Daisuke, Land Tenure and Mamluk Waqfs, 24.

was possibly another way to assure that the Qalāwūnids maintained a financial link to each other for the benefit of the family’s cause. Theoretically, a Qalāwūnid heir would have access to the financial windfall of several well-endowed institutions giving them the ability to have access to quick funds or posts for patronage.

**Figure B: Excerpt from Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān’s Waqfiyya**

“If there are no children of the founder qualified to be administrator, the position of administrator will be assumed by the proper beneficiary, the administrator of the al-Manṣūrī hospital in Cairo, the Protected City.”

**al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: An end to Qalāwūnid land tenure?**

The highly structured *iqṭāʿ* system, which under al-Nāṣir Muhammad had created a balanced power system in favor of the sultan, acted as the catalysis for the mounting struggles between senior amirs and Qalāwūnid sultans after his death in 741/1341 and the “waqfization” of state lands in an attempt to control more land. As seen earlier Qalāwūnid sultans appointed

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their sons as administrators of their lucrative endowments. In addition to this, Qalāwūnid sultans began to grant *iqṭāʿāt* to their sons and by the reign of al-Ashraf Sha`bān this had grown to immense proportions. Coupled with the rich financial resources from royal endowments and an heir’s own private landholdings, they had the best chance of having the financial resources to hold on to the throne. However this trend abruptly ended under the regime change under Sultan Barqūq. After Barqūq, Qalāwūnid sīdīs would no longer enjoy large shares of *iqṭāʿ*, which corresponded to this group’s declining importance during the Burji period.⁹⁷ There was a trend (albeit nothing in comparison to the Qalāwūnids in the fourteenth century), of sons attempting to succeed their fathers throughout the Burji period, although the majority of them only ruled for a year (See Table D). So why was there a change in policy that could have benefitted Barqūq and his heirs? It was meant to dismantle Qalāwūnid financial resources.

> As *atābak al-ʿasākir* in 780/1379, Barqūq summoned the men of state and important officials to discuss the issue of waqfs. He was concerned how state lands had been alienated from the state coffers and become part of endowments. Barqūq stated this trend had caused large financial losses for the state.⁹⁸ According to al-Maqrīzī, Barqūq was able to return some of these waqfs back into *iqṭāʿ* grants for mamlūks.⁹⁹ Another account states that Barqūq was stymied against any reform of the waqf system by opposition from powerful men of state. Either way,

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⁹⁹ Ibid., 123. See the original source: al-Maqrīzī, *Ṣūlūk*, 3:347.
Barqūq had come to the realization that endowments constituted a threat not only to state finances but to his ability to hold on to power. In order to remedy this, Barqūq came up with a novel solution, *dīwān al-mufrad*.

Ulrich Haarmann’s study of land tenure and the *awlād al-nās* (the sons of Mamlûks) came to the opinion that this new policy “was not, or not primarily, an act of revenge on the former ruling house, for not only Qalāwūnids were affected by this new rule.” However, the data shows that it was primarily an act against the Qalāwūnids as almost a third of Qalāwūnid property was placed under the control of Barqūq’s *dīwān al-mufrad* or relatives of Barqūq by 800/1397-8 (See Table C). The table shows the massive amount of property held by the royal family under Sultan al-Ashraf Sha’bân, mainly through his sons, in the year 777/1375-6. It also shows the change in property ownership by 800/1397-8, mainly from the private property of the Qalāwūnid family to the control of Sultan Barqūq’s *dīwān al-mufrad*. This meant that these lands were under the direct control of Barqūq and not returned back to the proper *diwan* for re-allotment to mamluks, which naturally benefited him greatly. Barqūq was fully aware of the relationship between land, waqf and power.

Barqūq’s reign and policies directly affected the mechanisms that the Qalāwūnids had employed in the hope of maintaining their grasp on power. His attempts to undo endowments and his policy of reverting private property back to the state (albeit to his advantage under *dīwān al-mufrad*) greatly affected any resources at the disposal of the Qalāwūnids. This coupled with

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100 Ibid., 157.
the destruction of Qalāwūnid endowed institutions,\textsuperscript{101} it is possible this was a confiscation of Qalāwūnid financial resources which would have weakened their ability to challenge Barqūq’s claim to the sultanate. His original move to usurp a Qalāwūnid sultan resulted in Barqūq’s flight from Cairo. No matter how weak the Qalāwūnid heir(s) might be they still posed a significant risk to Barqūq’s plans, especially with their legacy and financial resources.

\textsuperscript{101} The destruction of al-Ashraf Sha’bān’s endowed complex in Cairo will be discussed in the following chapter.
Chapter 3

Power, Legitimacy and Architecture

The architectural component of a pious endowment, i.e. the building complex itself, was just as significant as its legal, socio-political and financial components. These endowed religious establishments were used to dominate the urban landscape as a testament to their founder’s legitimacy and power. The amount of planning and forethought that went into the building of a masjid, khānqāh, or madrasah negates any notion that their construction was a byproduct of a mechanism solely geared towards financial gain. Contemporary sources pointed out that several sultans were heavily involved with their endowments, personally supervising the layout and construction of their endowed institutions. The expensive materials, the skilled craftsmen, grandiloquent inscriptions, and the opulent financial outlay all point to an explicit intention of the founder to communicate something more than just a college, tomb or place of worship. Stephan Humphreys in his seminal essay argued that architecture is in itself a form of human communication.

It is nevertheless obvious that architecture must by its very nature have meaning, for it is a human artifact as completely as is language, and as such it represents a pattern of human intentions and motives. As a representing or signifying entity, a monument has

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102 For examples of this in the Ayyubid and Mamluk period see: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 32-33.
meaning: it must refer to the thought and attitudes of its builder, and these can in principle (if not always in fact) be reconstructed by an onlooker contemplating it.¹⁰³

So what were endowed institutions meant to communicate to the public? *Power.* These expensive ornate buildings were meant to express the Mamluk military elite’s right to rule or in the case of the sultan, preeminence. The Mamluk elite adapted the institution of waqf in their pursuit of hegemonic power, although this was not an original idea as their predecessors such as the Ayyubids or the Fatimids had used the institution in a similar manner. What differed in their use of endowments was the sheer number of endowments that were created and the sophistication in which they were employed.¹⁰⁴ This evolved usage of pious endowments was directly linked with the political changes within the Mamluk Empire. Again Humphreys eloquently sums up how religious architecture was used by the Mamluk elite.

(Mamluk religious architecture) constituted an architectural expression of the same attitudes which shaped the whole range of Mamluk political and social behavior, and which indeed were a decisive element in the structure of the Mamluk state. In their religious architecture, the Mamluks communicated to their subjects that in accepting Islam, they had become its masters; that its institutions were in fact subject to their own

¹⁰⁴ Although it would be unfair to judge the Ayyubids’ building programs against the two Mamluk periods, it should be kept in mind that under the last decade of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad some eighteen mosques and madrasahs were built.
values and needs; that, in the end, the splendid efflorescence of Sunni Islam in the
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was but a manifestation of their own glory\textsuperscript{105}

The public would have not missed the fact that the Mamluk elite not only had the power
and financial resources to endow these expensive institutions, but were also in some ways
superior in their acts of piety to those born Muslims\textsuperscript{106}. They were the guardians of Sunni Islam,
able to provide the means to educate the future ‘ulamā and protect the Holy Cities. Even the
‘ulamā begrudgingly acknowledged their accomplishments to Islam. A Mamluk sultan or amir
establishing an endowment might have been signaling “submission to the values and institutions
of the people” they ruled but “the larger and more ornate the building he erected, the more
visible became the religious worth and social significance of himself and (indirectly) of the class
to which he belonged.”\textsuperscript{107} In doing so, the endower aimed to build a consensus amongst the
various segments of the population in order maintain their rule. Although political machinations
could bind the Mamluk elite and the ‘ulamā, it is necessary to also induce the population to
support the regime since without their general acceptance no government could stand.\textsuperscript{108} The

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 119. Added wording and parentheses are mine.
\textsuperscript{106} Despite all of this, the ‘ulamā always viewed them as outsiders. For a discussion on how the Mamluks were
viewed in contemporary sources see: Nasser Rabbat, Mamlūk History Through Architecture: Monuments, Culture and
\textsuperscript{108} See De La Boétie’s theory on how the general public’s acquiescence is necessary for the survival of any
government even a tyrannical one: Étienne de la Boétie (1530-1563), The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of
Mamluk elite who endowed institutions made use of the imposing structures to advertise
themselves through one of the most important mediums of Islamic civilization, the written word.

The vain inscriptions that were incised on these institutions of religious learning and
practice are contradictory to the humility usually associated with pious acts. If a madrasah or
khānqah was meant to appease a founder’s guilty conscious or to follow religious beliefs, why try
to impress the public with lengthy titles and magnificent grandeur? Clearly pious endowments of
the Mamluk elite were an expression of their power and ambition. This expression of power and
right to rule was communicated through inscriptions and the position of endowed institutions
within the urban environment.

Endowed Institutions & Dynastic Space

The location of the endowments in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries tells a story
about the political development of the Mamluk sultanate. The Mamluk elite’s use of endowed
institutions to support their claims of preeminence in the political arena is reflected in the
conscious decision of their placement and design. The ability to change urban space is a
reflection of an individual’s power since this would require political, social and financial capital
to do so. Therefore an individual’s position can be expressed in their possession of a specific area
in a city. As individuals began to compete for power during the Bahri period, Cairo’s urban areas

109 This isn’t to suggest that endowed institutions founded by the Mamluk elite were all together devoid of piety.
Many endowed institutions were inscribed with the humble epithet “al-ʿabd al-fāqir” meaning “the humble or poor
slave”. For an example of this see: RCEA, XIII, n° 4917.
began to drastically change as these individuals competed to legitimize their power through architecture, thus creating a dynastic space in which a ruler could physically impose his power and claims of legitimacy on the urban landscape and therefore on the public. It also created a hierarchy of space within the urban landscape, since placement of an endowed institution was based on the founder's power. In other words, sultans were able to place their endowments in areas seen to be more important than less powerful amirs. By tracing the placement of mainly royal endowments from this period, the story the Qalāwūnid dynasty unfolds.

In order to understand the relationship between urban space and power during the early Mamluk period and how the Mamluk elite used pious endowments to demonstrate their legitimacy and power, a brief overview of the evolution of dynastic space in Cairo during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods is needed. The area known as Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, literally meaning "between the two palaces", was an area of special significance beginning with the Fatimids. Understanding its importance as a center for ritual ceremonies to enforce dynastic legitimacy is necessary in order to understand its importance later during the Mamluk period.

With the conquest of Egypt in 358/969 by the Fāṭimid general Jawhar, a new capital city was built for the Fatimid caliph, al-Muʿizz (r. 341-365/953-975), away from the ancient city of al-Fusṭāṭ. This imperial capital, al-Qāhirah or "the Victorious", was the exclusive domain of the caliph and his imperial court. It was dominated by a massive royal complex made up of the Great

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Eastern Palace and the Lesser Western Palace, giving it the name: Bayn al-Qaṣrayn.\footnote{Yaacov Lev, \textit{Saladin in Egypt} (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 110.} The Fatimids created a dynastic space within the urban landscape to hold their court ceremonies that reinforced their dynasty’s legitimacy by physically imposing their power on the public through architecture.\footnote{On al-Qāhira as a “ritual city” during the Fatimid period see: Paula Sanders, \textit{Ritual, Politics, and the City of Fatimid Cairo} (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 39-51.} Its seclusion from the older city of al-Fusṭāṭ was meant to separate the august majesty of the caliph from the ordinary masses. This area’s potent symbolism would have a profound influence on the use of pious endowments.

This dynastic space was modified after the takeover of Egypt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 564-589/1169-1193). Keen to establish his own authority and power in a capital that had been ruled by the Shiʿī Fatimids for almost two centuries meant that he would have to change the urban landscape to symbolize his control over the city. The first step in the dismemberment of the Fatimid legitimacy was the appropriation of the many urban properties held by the Fatimids and their court officials.\footnote{Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also temporarily closed al-Azhar mosque since it was a center of Shiʿī teaching and daʿwa (propagation). For a history of the mosque see: Nasser O. Rabbat, “Al-Azhar Mosque: An Architectural Chronicle of Cairo’s History,” \textit{Muqarnas} 13 (1996): 45-67.} Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn modified this dynastic space by distributing these properties to his supporters and family members, who in turn created law colleges and other endowed institutions within these buildings or their former areas.\footnote{Yaacov Lev, \textit{Saladin in Egypt}, 108. For a topographical study of Ayyubid Cairo see: Neil D. MacKenzie, \textit{Ayyubid Cairo: A Topographical Study} (Cairo: American University In Cairo Press, 1992).} Although Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built the Citadel in Cairo as the focus of his reign, later Ayyubids would go back and build endowed
institutions on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. This Ayyubid dynastic space would become the focus for much of the early Mamluk royal endowments.

The early Mamluk period was very unlike the establishment of a new dynastic order under the Fatimids or the Ayyubids. The legitimacy of the earliest Mamluk rulers was based on lineage with the previous dynasty, the Ayyubids. Aybak married a member of the royal family and Quṭuz would claim to be an offspring of the Ayyubids to legitimize his power.\(^{115}\) However, this could not be a lasting solution since basing their legitimacy on a family they disposed from power was counter-productive. It was not until the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, some ten years since the last Ayyubid sultan ruled, when the Mamluk state took its form and a more coherent policy towards legitimacy was formed. Baybars understood the instability caused by the continual shifting in the political order and recognized new regime’s lack of legitimacy. Baybars appropriated the dynastic space established by the Ayyubids utilizing the institution of waqf to proclaim his right to rule. He consciously associated his legitimacy with his former master, the last Ayyubid ruler al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 637-647/1240-1249), by claiming his place in the dynastic space of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn.

The complex of al-Ṣāliḥ was placed on the main thoroughfare of the former imperial city of the Fatimids, Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, which had been used as a dynastic space since the foundation

of al-Qāhira. He, like others before and after him, placed his complex here to signal his legitimacy through his pious deed and through his Ayyubid lineage. This complex would become a center of Bahri Mamluk legitimacy propaganda, its significance lasting even during the Burji period. During the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815-824/1412-1421) there was a discussion about where to place his royal endowment. Although he would later place it next to Bāb Zuwayla, the importance of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn and Barqūq’s complex, in particular, was suggested due to its importance as a dynastic space.

The complex of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb provided a model dynastic space that relayed a message through a physical object and was improved upon under the Bahri Mamluk sultans. One of the most potent propaganda tools were the various inscriptions found on the institution itself. Inscribed on the al-Ṣālihiyya complex is the usual acclamation of who the founder was. This inscription, like others, was also a declaration of power and legitimacy. In the case of the al-Ṣālihiyya complex, it read:

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Our Lord the Sultan, the King, al-Ṣāliḥ, the Master, the Knowledgeable, the Just, the Warrior, the One Stationed to Guard Territories, the Fighter at the Borders, Star of the World and the Religion, Sultan of Islam and Muslims, Master of the Warrior Kinds, Inheritor of the kingdom from his respectable fathers, Abū al-Fath, Ayyūb, son of the Sultan, the King, al-Kāmil, Supporter of the Religion, Abū al-Maʿālī, Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb.¹¹⁹

Al-Ṣāliḥ claimed the right to rule through his inheritance and his role as defender of the faith. His list of titles provided a model which later Mamluk sultans would emulate but his reign also provided a model of government in which power was concentrated in his hands.¹²⁰ Humphreys argued that “politically, these men [al-Ẓāhir Baybars and Qalāwūn] were taught both by al-Ṣāliḥ’s relationship to them as his mamlūks that political power resided in a single individual, that autocracy was the natural order of government.”¹²¹ When al-Maqrīzī describes the personality of al-Ṣāliḥ as a ruler this sort of rule becomes quite clear.

¹¹⁸ RCEA, XI, n° 4298.
¹²⁰ The use of Arabic on buildings to relay messages to the public was pioneered by the Fatimids. See: Irene A. Bierman, Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 2.
Even when he sat with his companions there was silence. No one dared to speak except to answer him. Nor was anyone seated in audience with him, no matter his business, ever known to have spoken first, whether to intercede or to give counsel. Government officials were not permitted to act independently. Rather they would submit a petition and await the sultan’s reply with his instructions. Al-Ṣāliḥ, however, treated his subordinates with great respect and never uttered a vile word regarding anyone in his service.\footnote{122}

This model of kingship provided Baybars and Qalāwūn with a very instructive approach on their political path to power.\footnote{123} Although they might have arrived as the first among equals, they would push to create a regal aura around their rule. One of the mechanisms which they used to accomplish this was \textit{awqāf}. They would create architecturally stunning religious establishments to support their claim of regal status in a system of supposed equals. Their model for this strategy was again provided by their former master, al-Ṣāliḥ.

The complex of al-Ṣāliḥ projected his power and legitimacy on the urban landscape, a model which would be imitated and improved under the Mamluks. Its potent symbolic power was used for promotion ceremonies of Mamluk amirs during the early Bahri period, tying their right to rule as “heirs” of the Ayyūbid dynasty. The ritual procession is described in al-Maqrizī’s al-Khiṭaṭ:\footnote{122\textsuperscript{al-Maqrizī, Sūlūk, 1:2:340. This English translation can be found in: Linda S. Northrup, \textit{From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria} (678-689A.H./1279-1290A.D.) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 163-164.\textsuperscript{123} For al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb’s influence see: Northrup, \textit{From Slave to Sultan}, 163-164.}
It was the custom that whenever the sultan awarded the rank of amir to any of the amirs of Egypt and Syria, the latter would come down from the citadel, dressed with a robe of honour and with a fur hat, and while the city of Cairo was illuminated in his honour. He then would proceed to the Ṣāliḥiyya madrasa at Bayna l-Qaṣrayn. That is how [this ceremonial] was performed during the reign of sultan al-Muʿizz Aybak and during that of his immediate successors.  

However, a continuance of this policy would not allow for the legitimacy of Mamluk sultans to go on indefinitely. Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 658-76/1260-77) realized his rule, some ten years after the last Ayyubid ruler in Cairo, could no longer attach its legitimacy solely to the former dynasty. His solution to this problem was the use of pious endowments and projection of a power onto the urban landscape. The al-Ẓāhiriyya complex, which was mostly destroyed in 1874 to make room for a new road, was built right next to the complex of his former master, al-Ṣāliḥiyya. The decoration of his madrasa is similar to those of the Ayyubid

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period as well, symbolically signaling an unbroken continuance of legitimate rule.\textsuperscript{127} The choice of location was deliberate and therefore of great importance. It signals two significant points: the first is the homage to his former master as his rightful successor and secondly al-Ẕāhir Baybars’ equal stature to that of his former master since only an equal could build next to a sultan. Interestingly on his mosque he was described as “the One who ordered the allegiance to two Caliphs”, something his predecessor certainly never could claim.\textsuperscript{128} Perhaps the Mamluk sultans were aiming to outdo their famous predecessors.

The influential reign of al-Ẕāhir Baybars was eventually followed by Qalāwūn’s, whose long reign allowed him to cement the new state which saw a centralization of power in the hands of the sultan.\textsuperscript{129} However, like al-Ẕāhir Baybars, he was a mamluk and the issue of legitimacy was still a problematic issue. Egypt had known hereditary rule for centuries under the Ayyubids and the Fatimids before them. Following the example of his former master, al-Ṣāliḥ, and his predecessor, al-Ẕāhir Baybars, he would endow an institution, but his ambitions would require him to attempt something on a much grander scale. His ambition to create a legacy so resounding that it would cement his descendants’ claim to power for the next century had an enormous impact on the evolution of pious endowments.

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\textsuperscript{127} Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 126.
\textsuperscript{128} Translation found in: Heba al-Toudy, “Inscriptions of Bahri Mamlūk Sultans”, 101. The complete inscription can be found at: RCEA, XII, n° 4564. “الأمر ببيعة الخليقتين”
\textsuperscript{129} For details on Qalāwūn’s background and career prior to becoming sultan see: Northrup, From Slave to Sultan, 66-83.
\end{flushright}
The setting of the al-Manṣūriyya complex, like that of al-Zāhir Baybars, was deliberate and therefore intended to convey a message. We know its location was intentional because of the hassle to acquire the property. According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (620-692/1223-1292), female descendants of the Ayyubid dynasty inhabited the property which Qalāwūn exchanged for another property in order to acquire the property for his complex and then hurried their move.130 The site of his monumental complex faced those of his predecessors, al-Zāhiriyya and al-Ṣālihiyya. Yet, Qalāwūn did not intend to simply put himself on equal footing with or derive legitimacy by proximity to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb’s complex, as al-Zāhir Baybars had done, but to surpass them both.

Sultan Qalāwūn’s complex became the focal point of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, the dynastic space of both the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids. This massive structure would have drawn the public’s eye toward its impressive exterior and no doubt to the lengthy inscription band which ran the entire length of structure facing the main thoroughfare of the area. This would have operated like a modern billboard, influencing the public through a visual medium. Qalāwūn’s complex would have swayed public opinion in his favor which helped to build the necessary consensus to rule by creating the image of a pious Muslim that ensured the spiritual, intellectual and physical wellbeing of the Muslim community. Just as important was the expression of power and

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legitimacy in the inscriptions on the complex. These inscriptions which can still be clearly read today show a ruler who’s aspiration was as monumental as the complex.\textsuperscript{131}

Examining the material evidence from his complex leaves the distinct impression he intended to outdo his immediate predecessors and establish his legacy alongside that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 564-589/1169-1193) and Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī (r. 541-569/1146-1174). These two rulers, lauded as the defenders of Islam, won their fame during their wars against the Crusaders. Qalāwūn undoubtedly saw himself in a similar situation, with the exception of having to face two foes at once (the Crusaders and the Mongols). Both Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn had created legendary hospitals, the one created by the latter was supposedly visited by Qalāwūn. Although Qalāwūn’s titles follow a similar formula to the Zangids and Ayyubids, beginning with the personal adjectives of the ruler, his lengthy list of titles far outdo any of them.\textsuperscript{132} Qalāwūn also employed similar titles to that of Nūr al-Dīn who was described as “the Subdoer of Mutineers, the Suppressor of the Atheists, the Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists, King of the World”\textsuperscript{133} or to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who took the title “the Owner of the Lands of Egypt”\textsuperscript{134} and “Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries”.\textsuperscript{135} He even employed several titles used by al-Ẓāhir Baybars, however Qalāwūn builds upon these with much more grandiose titles. His use of the title “Sultan of the Two Iraqs (Arab & Persian), and of the Two Egyptians (Upper and Lower)”,

\textsuperscript{131} For inscriptions on the exterior of the Sultan Qalāwūn’s complex, see: \textit{RCEA}, XIII, n° 4845; \textit{RCEA}, XIII, n° 4846; \textit{RCEA}, XIII, n° 4847; \textit{RCEA}, XIII, n° 4848; \textit{RCEA}, XIII, n° 4849; \textit{RCEA}, XIII, n° 4852.

\textsuperscript{132} Heba al-Toudy, “Inscriptions of Bahri Mamlūk Sultans”, 139.

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 69.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 78.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 79.
“Sultan of the earth so vast in its length and width” and “King of the Earth” are novel and reflect an ambition to establish something more lasting than that accomplished by al-Zāhir Baybars.

Qalāwūn created a hospital on such a monumental scale as to arguably outdo even those two legendary rulers. In the taqlīd (diploma) given to Muhadhdhib al-Dīn b. Abī Ḥulayqa, as riyāsat al-ṭibb (post of chief physician) of Qalāwūn’s hospital, his intentions are laid bare.136 His predecessors had shown concern for the religious sciences by endowing institutions of learning and prayer but had neglected the science of the body (ʿilm al-abdān). Qalāwūn wished to outdo his immediate predecessors and create a complex of accomplish both sciences, an institution “to dazzle the eyes”.137 The decorations used to beautify his complex were said to have never before used in Egypt.138 All the more important since the institution was open to all Muslims, who needed medical services, to marvel at his beneficence and power.

Qalāwūn’s intention was to present to the public a building representing a ruler who surpassed all others before him. The titles included in the inscriptions on his complex follow a similar pattern like that seen on al-Ṣāliḥ’s complex or al-Zāhir Baybars’ but his titles go further than his predecessor’s as if he was signaling he was their superior (See for a comparison between them see Table E).139 Qalāwūn was deliberately justified his legitimacy in his own right,

136 Northrup, From Slave to Sultan, 120.
137 Ibid., 120.
138 Ibid., 120.
139 The mausoleum in the madrasah of al-Zāhir Baybars in Damascus has an interesting inscription that shows how powerful writing can be. The inscriptions states that the order of its completion was given by “al-sulṭān al-malik al-maṃṣūr sayf al-dunya wa al-din Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi”, although it was founded by Barakā Khan ibn Baybars. One imagines Qalāwūn doing this to cement an image of legitimacy through his predecessor. His use of royal titles would
something more than just “al-Ṣāliḥī”, a faithful mamlūk of the Ayyubid king al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. His right to rule originated with his protection of Islam and his endowments. His nisba, al-Ṣāliḥī, wasn’t simply a name of a mere mamluk but a special group of mujāhidūn (holy warriors) that had saved the Muslims from the enemies of their faith. His titles were meant to impress upon the public the image of a rightful ruler.

Our master and lord, the Greatest Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the Knowledgeable, the Just, the Supported, the Triumphant, the Warrior, sayf al-dunyā wa al-dīn, the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the Master of Kings and Sultans, the Sultan of the Earth so vast in its length and width, the King of the Earth, the Sultan of the Two Iraqs and the Two Egypts, the King of the Two Shores/Lands and the two Seas, the Inheritor of the Kingdom, the King of the Arabs and non-Arabs, the One in Charge of the Two Sanctuaries [Mecca and Jerusalem], the Servant of the Two

also be used to show his equal status to the legendary Mamluk ruler al-Ẓāhir Baybars. For the inscription see: RCEA, XIII, n° 4884.

140 RCEA, XIII, n° 4852. I have added commas to separate the various titles.
Holy Sanctuaries [Mecca and Madina], Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥ, the Partner of the Prince of the Faithful … the One of His Kind of the Kings of the time, the Owner of the Lands of Egypt … of the Hopeful, the Treasure of the Suffering and the Needy, the Obtainer of the Rights of the Oppressed from the Oppressors, the Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists, the Conqueror Over the Outcasts and the Mutineers, sayf al-dunyā wa al-dīn, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥ, the Partner of the Prince of the faithful.\textsuperscript{141}

Qalāwūn’s bombastic inscriptions were meant to proclaim to the public the arrival of a ruler unlike any of those before him. His titles included many that his predecessors hadn’t used such as “Āḥad al-malūk al-‘aṣriyya” or “the One of His Kind of the Kings of the Time”. Any visitor would have been reminded of this entering or moving around the complex as various inscriptions detailing his right to rule are found throughout the complex (See Image E and Image F). It would almost be impossible for any visitor to the complex not to know who had founded it. Easily readable inscriptions are found above the windows where anyone passing by could hear men reciting Quran, or the several inscriptions at the entrance door. Qalāwūn utilized his endowed complex to display his power by building on central property in the space previously employed by the Fatimids and Ayyubids for their own dynastic claims and influenced public opinion to build a consensus needed for his reign. This propaganda monument also served as a centerpiece for later Qalāwūnids’ ceremonial rituals to help enforce their unique claim to power. Qalāwūn’s reign left such an indelible mark on the Mamluk establishment that his progeny

\textsuperscript{141} A complete translation of the entire inscription can be found in: Heba al-Toudy, “Inscriptions of Bahri Mamlūk Sultans”, 138.
repeatedly became sultans for almost a century, a phenomenon in the Mamluk Empire. His complex modified the dynamic space of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn to display his power and legitimacy.

Whereas new amirs had once been invested in the complex of al-Ṣāliḥ, they now were invested in Qalāwūn’s majestic complex.

His monumental complex became the focal point for his immediate successors, especially al-Ashraf Khalil and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, although they would not be the only ones attempting to derive legitimacy through his endowed complex. Although al-Ashraf Khalil had endowed a

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143 Jo Van Steenbergen, “Ritual, Politics, and the City in Mamlūk Cairo”, 232-233.
complex not located along Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, probably due to his foundation being created before ascending to the throne, he would use his father’s complex to imbue legitimacy on his reign. The beginning of his military campaign to attack the Crusader held Acre, he would start his long march at his father's complex, no doubt reminding those present of his legitimacy through his magnificent forbearer. Its importance was not relegated to only ceremonial processions since it in fact had created a new focal point in the urban landscape. The complex provided much of the social services needed for the city since it included a hospital, water fountain, college and even shops to buy from or rent located in close proximity. Qalāwūn’s lasting legacy was illustrated by his endowed complex which became the central space for Mamluk royal legitimacy for the next century.

The Dynastic Space of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn: Qalāwūn’s Heirs versus Usurping Amirs

Although al-Ashraf Khalīl’s endowed complex was located outside of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, it would still use inscriptions similar to those of Qalāwūn’s complex on its exterior to proclaim his legitimacy. His endowed institution was founded while Qalāwūn was still sultan and an inscription on his tomb mentions him as the son of the sultan. In other words, like the Ayyūbids, Qalāwūn’s son would derive his legitimacy through his descent of a royal forbearer. Although the description shows that al-Ashraf Khalil is the junior in this relationship, they do share similar titles (See Table F). There was an obvious attempt by al-Ashraf Khalil, and probably his father,  

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144 Northrup, From Slave to Sultan, 158.
to link the two together as rightful rulers through inscriptions. The son and father are described as:

مولا و سيدنا، السلطان، الملك الأشرف، العالم، العدل، المجاهد، المرابط، المتناغم، المؤيد المظفر، المنصور (صلى الله عليه وسلم) ... قاتل الكفرة والمشركين، فاهر الخوارج والمتمردين، مبيد الطغاة، والماروقين، محيي العدل في العالمين، منصف المظالمين من الظلمين، كنذر الفقراء والمساكين، كهف الفضعاء والمنقطعين، ناصر (4) الحق بالبراهين، محيي ملة سيّد المسلمين، حامي حوزة الدين، أبو الفتح خليل ابن مولا و سيدنا، السلطان الأعظم، الملك المنصور، العالم، العدل، المجاهد، المرابط، المتناغم، المؤيد المظفر، المنصور، سلطان العرب والعجم، مالك رقاب الأمام سلطان الشام واليمن، ملك البحرين، خادم الحرمين الشريفين، صاحب القيتين، ملك الديار المصرية والجهات المجازية والبلاد الشامية والأعمال الفرائّيّة والديار الكرية، أوحد ملوك العصرية بهلوان جهان ... سيف الدين والدين، سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين، قاتل الكفرة والمشركين، فاهر الخوارج والمتمردين، قلاون الصالحى، ق[ح]سن أمير المؤمنين

Our Lord and Master, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Knowledgeable, the Just, the Warrior, the One Stationed to Guard the Territories, the Fighter at the Borders, the Supported, the Triumphant, the Victorious, șalâh al-dunyâ wa al-dîn ... Killer of the Infidels and the Polytheists, Conqueror of the Outcasts and Mutineers, Exterminator of the Despots and the Dissenters, Reviver of Justice in All Worlds, the Treasure of the Poor and Needy, the Supported of the Truth with Evidence, the Reviver of the Religion of the Master of Prophets, the Defender of the Borders/Lands of the Religion, Abū Fāṭḥ Khalīl, son of our Lord and Master, the Greatest Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the Knowledgeable, the Just, the Warrior, the One Stationed to Guard Territories, the Fighter at the Borders, the Supported, the Triumphant, the Victorious, Sultan of

145 RCEA, XIII, n° 4895. I added the commas to separate the epithets and titles.
Arabs and non-Arabs, Possessor of the Necks of Nations, Sultan of the Levant and the Yemen, King of the Two Seas, Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries [Mecca and Madina], the One in Charge of the Two Sanctuaries [Mecca and Jerusalem], King of the Egyptian Homelands, of the Lands of the Hijaz, of the Lands of the Levant, of the Lands around the Euphrates, and the Land of Diyarbekir, the One of his kind of Kings of his time, the King of the World ... sayf al-dunyā wa al-dīn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists, Conqueror of the Outcasts and Muntineers, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, Partner of the Prince of the Faithful.

Comparing the titles used by al-Ashraf Khalīl and Qalāwūn, it is obvious that the son’s legitimacy was based on his father. More than half of the inscription matches the titles describing his father in the same inscription, unlike similar descriptions between a ruling father and heir (ex: al-Zāhir Baybars and Baraka Khān or Qalāwūn and al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Ali) which were much more simple when describing the heir. The Qalāwūnids utilized endowments to further their dynastic claims with growing sophistication. Although al-Ashraf Khalīl’s endowment was placed outside of the dynastic space on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, the employment of inscriptions to project his legitimacy and dynastic right was to become a trademark of the Qalāwūnids. But it was a model that not only they would try to employ.

Interestingly enough the next individual who wished to claim royal legitimacy by placing his endowment on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn was not a member of the Qalāwūnid dynasty. The powerful amir al-ʿAdil Kitbughā (r. 694-6/1295-7) had usurped power from the inexperienced al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the young son of Qalāwūn. Not only would Kitbughā endow a complex right next

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146 English translation can be found at: Heba el-Toudy, “Inscriptions of Bahri Mamlūk Sultans”, 148-149.
147 Ibid. 150.
to his former patron, Qalāwūn, he would use the portal of church brought back to Cairo by al-
Ashraf Khalīl.148 The importance of the endowment’s location is seen in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s
response when he was brought to power for a second time in 698/1299. Sultan al-Nāṣir
Muḥammad took over the construction of the complex, apparently before it was formally
endowed.149 He then proceeded to make it into his own endowed complex. The heavy brass door
knockers of the main entrance door however are inscribed to Sultan al-ʿAdil Kitbughā (See
Figure G). Why did al-Nāṣir Muḥammad leave this door knocker on the monument after he had
taken such time and effort to make sure the monument was associated with him? Perhaps as a
subtle reminder of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s actions to those passing by.

In addition to this al-Nāṣir Muḥammad repaired the minaret of the Qalāwūn complex
and endowed a sabīl (fountain) which was attached near the portal of the Qalāwūn complex as
well (See Figure I).150 He would inscribe on every conceivable space to remind those who passed
by his connection with his father, Qalāwūn, and his right to rule. These inscriptions are easily
read today with the naked eye so would have been very obvious to the public during that period
(See Figure J).

148 Philip Speiser, “The Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah in Cairo: Restoration and Archaeological
149 al-Maqrizi, al-Ḫiṭaṭ (I), 2:382
150 The founder of the sabīl is a matter of debate, but it seems he had ordered its building and it was completed after
his death. See: Sophie Ebeid, “Early sabils and their standardization,” (Master’s Thesis, American University in Cairo,
1976), 21.
The northern area of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, clustered around the religious establishments of al-Ṣāliḥ, al-Ẓāhir Baybars and Qalāwūn, was the prerogative of reigning monarchs. No other major religious establishments were endowed along this central thoroughfare until Sultan Barqūq founded his complex next to that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The use of endowments to project power on the urban landscape also resulted in spaces of hierarchy. Sultans were able to establish endowments along the important area on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn since it required large outlays of cash and power (no doubt used by Qalāwūn to acquire the property needed to establish his complex) to build on prime real estate. However, because endowments allowed for flexible uses endowments by powerful amirs were employed in a similar manner as those created by sultans.

The complex of Baybars al-Jāshankīr (r. 708-9/1309-1310) was not located on the main thoroughfare of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn but next to it. This is due to the fact the complex was first constructed and endowed when Baybars was still an amir. His endowment is located next another powerful amir: Qarāsunqur. However, after several years of political machinations Baybars eventually ascended to the throne in 708/1309. He would not only add to his original endowment, he would strive to create a more regal complex. The inscriptions on his complex would have displayed his royal titles, like the complexes of Sultan Qalāwūn and al-Ẓāhir Baybars before him. However, his removal by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 709/1310 would change the nature of his endowment. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would close the complex down for years until the
opening of his khānqāh at Sīryaqūs. But more importantly, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would change the inscriptions Baybars al-Jāshankir had placed on the complex. Since the complex was a consecrated endowment and technically beyond confiscation like that of Kitbughā’s, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could not simple remake it into his own complex like he had done before or chose not to since it was not located in the dynastic space of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn and thereby less regal. So he chose to remove the royal titular inscriptions on the complex leaving the part appropriate for an amir. His actions “can be interpreted as a gesture of disapproval of their claim to the throne on the one hand, and a desire to establish an uninterrupted royal lineage for the house of Qalāwūn on the other.”

These institutions and their endowments were a central part to the display of power and legitimacy for the ruling elite. The symbolism of their endowments is not a modern interpretation but one that held special significance to the people living in that era. The creation of spaces of hierarchy was not haphazard but reflected the realities of power. Evidence of the pious endowments’ importance and its relationship with the Mamluk power structure is proven by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s actions. The importance of location and inscriptions was deemed important enough to warrant his actions in confiscation of al-ʿAdil Kitbughā’s unregistered endowment, since his would have been located in an area of royal prerogative, and the rewording

152 Ibid., 23.
of the inscriptions found on Baybars al-Jāshankīr’s endowment. The use of pious endowments by the Mamluk elite would continue to be an important factor in politics during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign.

**Awqāf & Political Relationships: al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Third Reign**

The importance was endowments during the early period of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s three reigns has been shown to be central to the legitimacy of the sultan. His third reign (709-41/1310-41) would usher in a new phase in the use of waqf. Not only would he continue using endowments to promote urban growth and establish his legitimacy like his father had before him, he would use endowments in an effort to bind amirs to his cause and further establish his legitimacy. His third reign would see him firmly establish his rule after removing those amirs that proved to be disloyal to his own supremacy and his redistribution of iqṭāʿ in the favor of the sultan with his cadastral survey of the empire in 713/1313.154 This relatively peaceful period, in which he reigned supreme, would see the use of awqāf change in objectives hoping to bind chosen elite amirs to his family’s dynasty, therefore prolonging the Qalāwūnid’s claim to the throne and a move away from building on the royal venue of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn.

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This long period of rule by one man, along with the lack of hostile enemies threatening invasion, allowed the ruling elite to direct financial resources to other avenues.\textsuperscript{155} This lack of outside intrusions with a more centralized land tenure system after the cadastral survey meant that the sultan and the favored elite could spend more resources on building programs.\textsuperscript{156} Ibn Taghrībirdī reported that if al-\textasciitilde{N}āṣir Mu\textasciitilde{H}ammad heard that a foundation was established, the founder would receive the sultan’s congratulations in public and would receive money, equipment and more from him in private.\textsuperscript{157} This generous support to amirs was not only out of favoritism to those he held in esteem but also a form of control which helped him spread his legitimacy through his largesse via building programs. Much like the building programs of the sultans, these amiral endowments would provide a means to display his legitimacy. These calculated gifts were also meant to bind the forming ruling aristocracy to his family, therefore hopefully ensuring his dynasty’s survival. Sultan al-\textasciitilde{N}āṣir Mu\textasciitilde{H}ammad would use a two pronged approach to this task. First, he created an alliance with certain amirs through marriage, either by allowing them to marry into his family or the sultan into theirs.\textsuperscript{158} The second part would entail providing financial support for architectural programs, both in the forms of endowed institutions

\textsuperscript{155} Howayda al-Harithy, “Patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad”, 222-223.  
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 224. For the original source see: Mu\textasciitilde{H}ammad ibn \textasciitilde{A}hm\textasciitilde{D} Ibn Iy\textasciitilde{s} (850-930/1448-ca.1524), \textit{Bad\textasciitilde{A}r\textasciitilde{Y} al-Zuh\textasciitilde{H}r fi Waq\textasciitilde{A}\textasciitilde{Y} al-Duh\textasciitilde{H}r} (Cairo: al-Hay\textasciitilde{Y}ah al-Mis\textasciitilde{R}iyah al-\textasciitilde{A}mmah lil-Kit\textasciitilde{H}b, 1982-1984), 1:1:446.  
\textsuperscript{157} Ab\textasciitilde{U} al-Mah\textasciitilde{A}s\textasciitilde{N} Yusuf ibn Taghr\textasciitilde{H} Birdi, \textit{al-Nuj\textasciitilde{U}m al-Zahirah f\textasciitilde{I} Mul\textasciitilde{A}k Mis\textasciitilde{R} wa-al-Q\textasciitilde{A}hirah} (Cairo: al-Mu\textasciitilde{U}\textasciitilde{A}ssasah al-Mi\textasciitilde{R}iyah al-\textasciitilde{A}mmah, 1963-1972), 9:185.  
\textsuperscript{158} Jo Van Steenbergen, \textit{Order Out of Chaos}, 82.
or palaces. The financial support al-Nāṣir Muḥammad offered to his favored amirs was very substantial.

The building of a mosque could be very costly. According to al-Maqrīzī, the mosque of amir Aydumur al-Khaṭīrī, built in 1337, cost 400,000 silver dirhams or 20,000 dinars. The mosque of al-Māridānī was supposed to have cost more than 300,000 dirhams or 15,000 dinars. Although in comparison to private buildings, such as the palace of Baktimur al-Sāqī which cost an estimated one million dirhams or 50,000 dinars, these endowed complexes did not cost an exorbitant amount.159 However, what we do notice in the sources is that material and financial funding for this did not solely come from the purses of the amirs, but from a generous patron, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

The historian al-Maqrīzī remarked that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad spent eighty thousand dirhams daily on his building programs during this third reign.160 While it is not certain that those funds also covered the gifts to amirs who were conducting their own building programs is not known, but it does show the amount of buildings created during this time. This period would see the creation of many Friday masjids, jāmī’, and a number of other religious establishments. During his reign alone, some thirty congregational mosques were built while only

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159 For a more detailed discussion on the cost of building during the Bahri Mamluk period see: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Cairo of the Mamluks, 47-48.

one (belonging to al-Zāhir Baybars) had been built in the 50 years prior. Amirs, like Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, benefited from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s largesse through cash funds, labor, or building materials. As stated earlier, these gifts were given in the hope of tying these powerful individuals to his dynastic house there were also more immediate benefits. Studying the inscriptions of these amiral endowed structures, many of them proclaim the founder was an officer of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (see Table G). Most inscriptions followed the basic structure of “amir x, position at court or rank, officer of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad”. These inscriptions of course would give legitimacy to the founding amirs through their relationship of the sultan, but it also reminded the public of his omnipresence. This legacy as a builder and patron of religious establishments would be looked back on by later historians, like al-Maqrizī, as the zenith of the Mamluk state. It is interesting to note that certain amirs who became sultans, like Baybars al-Jāshankīr and Kitbughā, purposely used the title al-Manṣūrī or “al-maliki al-manṣūrī” on their endowed complexes. This would have been done to illustrate the patron’s legitimacy through his relationship the Qalāwūn and perhaps his own right to power.

A New Dynastic Space?: Awqāf in the Late Fourteenth Century

The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad saw the creation of a new dynastic space in and around the area of the citadel in Cairo. This new development began his building program with

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162 Sāmī Ṣāliḥ ʿAbdal-Mālik, "Une inscription du sultan mamelouk Kitbuģā découverte à al-Qurrayṣ (Sinaï central)", in Le Sinai de la conquête arabe à nos jours, ed. J. M. Mouton (Cairo: IFAQO, 2001), 52.
the intention of leaving his lasting make on the urban landscape and outdoing any other Mamlûk sultan. His building program included endowed structures, bridges, waterworks and private residences for him and his amirs.\textsuperscript{163} There were many causes for shifting the focus area of his building program. The first is rather superficial as the sultan himself resided in the citadel and would have wanted to admire his own crowning achievement on the urban landscape to be seen from the citadel. Secondly, ceremonial possession through the city which would have either started or ended at the citadel would re-enforce the idea of Qalāwûnid legitimacy. A Qalāwûnid sultan could have begun the ceremonial entrance into Cairo at the khānqāh of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad located to the north of the city, then headed towards the endowments of Qalāwûn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on Bayn al-Qašrayn going south towards to citadel and coming to the complex of al-Nāṣir Hassan or al-Ashraf Sha'bân right before entering the citadel, all the while reminding those in attendance of the legacy of the Qalāwûnid dynasty. Finally, the construction of palaces was for patronage and control over powerful amirs in the retinue of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It is these powerful amirs and their ambitions that would influence the next phase of major royal endowments and the growing sophistication of the institution itself.

This focus on the citadel began with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s competition with the legacy of al-Ẓāhir Baybars.\textsuperscript{164} Although he had constructed other Friday mosques around Cairo, he would rebuild one (most likely endowed) inside the citadel which replaced one that was

\footnote{\textsuperscript{163} For details on these buildings, see: Howayda al-Harithy, “Patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad”, 225. Also see: Nasser Rabbat, \textit{The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture} (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 181-282. \textsuperscript{164} Howayda al-Harithy, “Patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad”, 234.}
supposedly built by the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Kāmil.\textsuperscript{165} A costly demolition and rebuilding of a mosque would serve to buttress his legacy as the patron of the Mamlūk state. This competition also resulted in him rebuilding and enlarging Qanāṭir al-Sibā‘ (The Bridge of Panthers) to outshine his predecessor.\textsuperscript{166} The historian al-Maqrīzī stated that he constructed a new palace in the citadel, Qaṣr al-Ablaq, to rival the place al-Ẓāhir Baybars had built in Damascus. In addition to these, al-Nāṣir Muhammad constructed two palaces for favorite amirs, Alṭunbugha al-Māridānī and Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī in Rumaylah. It was the amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign that would play a significant role in the political events after his death. Their ambitions would result in a series of Qalāwūnids being placed on the throne and removed which would have a strong impact on the development of pious endowments in the late fourteenth century. These two palaces, along with the other buildings of the elite amirs, were to become symbols of their elevated position within the Mamlūk state.

The majority of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s progeny would not enjoy the long stable reign he had during the Qalāwūnid’s sway over most of the fourteenth century (See Table H). Only three of his offspring would endow institutions during their lifetime: al-Ḥājjī\textsuperscript{167} (his son) al-Nāṣir Ḥassan (his son), and al-Ashraf Sha’bān (his grandson). The last two would have the longest reigns of all the Qalāwūnid sultans after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The endowed religious complexes of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and al-Ashraf Sha’bān reflected the growing change in the political situation

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\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., 228.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., 234-5. See original source: al-Maqrīzī, \textit{al-Sulūk}, 2:1:129.
\textsuperscript{167} See Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin, \textit{Catalog}, 11, no. 40.
and the adaption of *awqāf*. As the struggle between Qalāwūnid heirs and powerful amirs became hotly contested, Qalāwūnid sultans would use the institution to reinforce their claims as the rightful ruler of the Mamluk Empire by building imposing complexes that reminded all that the Qalāwūnids were unlike any other who might wish to claim the sultanate.

*Struggle for Power: Qalāwūnid Sultans versus Powerful Amirs*

The death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad brought about a shift in the internal power structure of the Mamluk state. The Mamluk sultans since al-Ẓāhir Baybars had slowly concentrated power in the hands of the sultan at the expense of the amirs. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had brought this concerted effort to its zenith with his final reign. However, after his death there would be a drastic reversal. Ambitious amirs would consistently challenge the power and prerogative of the Qalāwūnid sultan. This change in the power dynamic was reflected in how pious endowments were employed by the Mamluk elite. These ambitious amirs seeking “effective power” over the state apparatus would present a serious challenge to any Qalāwūnid sultan wishing to establish their own power.\(^{168}\) The Qalāwūnids who were able to obtain some measure of power would employ pious endowments in order to offset the growing power of the Mamluk amirs through financial manipulations of their endowments (See Chapter 2). They would also use the symbolic power of their royal endowments to extend the dynastic space of the Qalāwūnid sultans from

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\(^{168}\) The term “effective power” was used by Van Steenbergen, belonging to those who actually ran the state in contrast to “legitimate power” which belonged to those who derived their power, in theory, from their position within the Mamlūk political structure. Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamlūk Socio-Political Culture*, 1341-1382 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 53-122.
Bayn al-Qaṣrayn to the Citadel, marking their objective of dominating the nerve center of the Mamluk Empire.

The 1340’s, the decade following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death, would be a politically turbulent period in which no less than six different Qalāwūnids placed on the throne (See Table H). The longest reign during that period was that of Ismā’il b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for a little over three years. What was consistent throughout this period and the majority of the rest of the fourteenth century were the periodic power struggles between ambitious amirs and the reigning sultan. Several times, an amir would over power his rival, removing the reigning sultan and place a new sultan on the throne. These amirs were the favored amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s regime.

In August of 742/1341, Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī al-Sāqi would stage a rebellion against al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr and replaced him with Kujuk. Later that same year Ṭashtumur al-Badrī al-Nāṣirī al-Sāqi successfully challenged the power of Qawṣūn and placed al-Nāṣir Aḥmad on the throne (although for only a matter of months). The next sultan, al-Šāliḥ Ismā’il, would eventually be replaced after amir Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī al-Nāṣirī proved victorious against amir Almalik al-Jūkandar and placed al-Kāmil Shaʿbān on the throne. The end of his reign would start with the rebellion of amir Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, one of the favored amirs al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built a luxurious palace for close to the citadel, and would be joined by amirs Maliktamur al-Ḥījāzi, Arghūn Shāh

169 Ibid., Order Out of Chaos, 148.
170 Ibid., 148.
171 Ibid., 151.
and Aqsunqur al-Naṣirī who would place al-Muẓaffar Hājjī on the throne. These Qalāwūnid sultans had a very difficult task establishing their own power, although it was not impossible.

Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan reached the throne at an early age after his brother al-Muẓaffar Hājjī was removed and killed at the age of 20 in 748/1347. While the majority of the political intrigue up to this point had been caused by the favored amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the reign of al-Muẓaffar Hājjī would see the creation of a new generation of powerful amirs that had only been promoted after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s death. Although there are inconsistencies in al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s age according to different sources, he was a teenager at the time of his accession. His early days on the throne were much like those of his father’s two earlier reigns; “effective power” was in the hands of senior amirs. The purse strings of the Mamlūk state which had been so carefully placed in the hands of the sultan under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would be usurped by senior amirs like Baybughā Rūs and Shayḵū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī. As nāʾib al-saltanā he would hold power as a reigning sultan would, distributing and assigning iqdāʿ’s and position of nāʾibs in Syria. Shayḵū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī controlled the sultan’s treasury or khizānat al-khāṣṣ. These two amirs were of the same type as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s khāṣṣakīyah who had been so intertwined in the reigns of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s siblings. Therefore it should come to no

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172 Ibid., Order Out of Chaos, 114.
173 Van Steenbergen, “Is anyone my guardian...?”, 64.
174 Van Steenbergen, Order Out of Chaos, 154.
175 Van Steenbergen, “Is anyone my guardian?”, 64.
176 Van Steenbergen, Order Out of Chaos, 114.
177 Ibid., 191.
surprise it was two palaces of al-Nāṣirī amirs that al-Nāṣir Ḥasan choose to destroy and build his own endowed complex on top of.

There is no doubt that al-Nāṣir Ḥassan witnessed the cruel replacement of one sibling over another on the throne by powerful amirs of his father which would influence the building of his monumental complex. His resentment of their usurpation of royal Qalāwūnid prerogative would have festered over time especially as he would be treated in a similar manner by the amirs Baybughā Rūs and Shaykhū al-ʿUmari al-Nāṣirī (who controlled the sultan’s treasury or khizānat al-khāṣṣ). So powerless was his position when he first became sultan that he was given an allowance of just one hundred dirhams per day.\textsuperscript{178} His decision to place his endowed complex on the ruins of the palaces of Alṭunbugha al-Māridānī and Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī was undeniably symbolic.\textsuperscript{179}

Sultan al-Nāṣir Hassan’s complex was an expression of his power and legitimacy since it was built after the demise of the two most powerful amirs of his rule. The date of this complex’s construction beginning was either 1356 or 1357. However the latter date is more believable for several reasons. In July of 1357 Shaykhū was mortally wounded, supposedly by a jilted amir who had been seeking an iqṭāʿ and was refused. Shaykhū’s departure opened the way for al-Nāṣir Hassan to create his own patronage network and therefore his own power.\textsuperscript{180} He would have

\textsuperscript{178} al-Maqrizi, \textit{al-Sulāk}, 2:751.

\textsuperscript{179} Abdullah Kahil, \textit{The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo}, 1.

\textsuperscript{180} Van Steenbergen, \textit{Order Out of Chaos}, 156.
also been able to recoup financial resources that had long been at the disposal of the former
atābak al-ʿasakir. The first endowment deed for the complex is dated 15 Rabi al-Ākhir 760
(1359) and Thursday 2 Rajab 760 (1359)\(^\text{181}\), roughly eight months after al-Nāṣir Ḥassan
outmaneuvered another political enemy, amir Ṣarghitmish in 759/1358. His improved political
fortunes allowed him the necessary time to build his own patronage network and the financial
resources to establish an endowment.\(^\text{182}\)

The complex is unlike any other from the Mamlūk period in its size and grandeur, it was
meant to remind all that the Qalāwūnids were the rightful rulers. Its monumental size and
position across from the citadel of Cairo was intended to express al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s power and
contempt for the elite Mamlūk amirs. The Black Death which had decimated the Cairene
population would have made unnecessary another massive religious establishment.\(^\text{183}\) Its
intention is quiet clear from al-Maqrīzī’s description of it as an “anti-Citadel”.\(^\text{184}\) The Qalāwūnid
heirs were prisoners of ambitious amirs in the housing quarters of the Citadel, which was the
seat of the Mamlūk state. Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan had been a witness to his own removal and
manipulation of his position by ambitious amirs, not to mention the fate of his brothers, would
have felt bitterness at having being denied and barred from what he probably viewed as his right.

\(^{181}\) Howayda al-Harithy, *Kitāb waqf as-suṭān an-Nāṣir Ḥasan Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Qalāwūn ʿalā madrasatihī bi-r-
Rumaila*, 181, lines 21-23.

\(^{182}\) Financial resources left by victims of the plague also helped finance the institution. See Howayda al-Harithy, “The

\(^{183}\) Kahil, *The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo*, 3.

\(^{184}\) Ibid., 3. For the original text see: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭṭat* (I), 2:316.
His description is apt since it would be used as fortified position against fights against Barqūq’s mamluks in the citadel. It was meant to display royal power in opposition to meddling amirs.  

This display of power was furthered when the complex by a formal ceremony for inauguration where the sultan publicly proclaimed his wealth, power and patronage. Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan gave five hundred robes of honor (khilʿa) to the various people involved in the construction of his complex. In addition to this magnanimity he awarded the princely sum of one hundred thousand dinars to the chief architect. This was done in full view of amirs and the four chief qādīs. This expression of Qalāwūnid power and legitimacy would last till the rise of Barqūq.

There is little epigraphic data from al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s complex which is probably due to his death prior to its completion. However there are inscriptions found above the doors in each corner of the madrasah that read:

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بإنشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة مولانا السلطان الشهيد المرحوم الملك الناصر حسن بن مولانا السلطان الشهيد المرحوم الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون وذلك في شهر

سنة أربع وتسعون وسبعمائة"  

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185 Ibid., 3.
186 Muhammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, s Badā‘ī al-zuhūr fi waqāʿī al-duhūr, 1:560-561.
187 The decorations in sections of the complex were left semi-complete in areas. See: Kahil, The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo, 62.
188 RCEA, XVII, n° 764 002.
“The construction of this blessed college was order by our Lord, the Sultan, the Martyr, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥassan, son of our Lord, the Sultan, the Martyr, the late al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Muhammad b. Qalāwūn in the year 764 A.H.”

Both sultans, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and al-Nāṣir Ḥassan are referred to as “al-shahīd”, or martyr). Although al-Nāṣir Muḥammad died of natural causes, al-Nāṣir Ḥassan was murdered. His body was never interred in the majestic complex he established below the citadel. The term employed here is interesting as it attests to their struggle for the faith but in the case of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan against those would be purveyors of injustice and civil unrest, the usurping amirs. The importance placed on names and titles is important and we know this because of an action of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan who changed his original name from Qumārī, the Qalāwūnid sultans are distinguished from other Mamluk sultans due to their Arabic names. Like his father before him, this gave him a distinction from the mamluk amirs who had “foreign” names. His name, endowment and titles inscribed on it were all meant to set him apart from the mamluk amirs and establish his legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The next Qalāwūnid sultan would also use endowments in a similar way.

Although the madrasa of sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān did not survive the Mamlūk period, the complex of Umm Sultan Shaʿbān did. The epigraphic data that remains provides a tantalizing clue as to the aspirations of what al-Ashraf Shaʿbān hoped to employ through waqf. The titular inscriptions left on his mother’s endowed establishment have a remarkable similarity to that of
his grandfather, Qalāwūn (See Table I). The embattled sultan probably strove to link his rule to that of his illustrious grandfather. Like the reign of his uncle, al-Nāṣir Ḥassan, al-Ashraf Sha'bān was forced to contend with ambitious amirs. His endowed institutions no doubt were meant to display his right to rule by displaying his royal descent to men of legacy, Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The inscription reads,

مولانا, السلطان, الملك, الأمير شعبان بن المرحوم حسين، سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين. قاتل الكفار والمشركين، محيي العدل في العالمين، حامي حوزة الدين، سيّد الملوك والمسلمين، قاهر الخوارج والمتمردين، كنّى العزا والمجاهدين، منصف المظلومين ومن ظالمين، ذخّر الأرامل والمحتجزين، صاحب الديار المصرية والبلاد الشامية وال حصون الإسماعيلية، حامية الدار، حامية الفاطميين، حامية المحتاجين، أساطير الحضارة الإسلامية.

Our Lord, the Sultan, the King of Kings, al-Ashraf Sha'bān son of the late Husayn, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists, the Reviver of Justice in all Worlds, the Supporter of the Truth with Evidence, the Defender of the Borders/Lands of the Religion, the Master of Kings and Sultans, the Partner of the Prince of the Faithful, the Conqueror Over the Outcasts and the Mutineers, the Treasure of the Poor and Needy, the One who obtains the rights of the oppressed from the oppressors, the Asset of the Widows and the Needy, the Owner of Egypt, Syria, the strongholds of al-Ismā'īliya, the ports of Alexandria, the citadels of al-Sāḥiliya And the Hijāz region.

This inscription on the complex of Umm Sultan Sha'bān follow the usual pattern for Qalāwūnid sultans, borrowing titles from their predecessors with a few additions, with the

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189 RCEA, XVII, n° 770 005
exception it was placed on the endowment of his mother.\textsuperscript{190} Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān borrows more than half of his titles from his forefather, Sultan Qalāwūn (See Table I). However, it doesn’t follow the usual list of personal adjectives found in the inscriptions of Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This might be due to the fact that the endowed complex actually belonged to his mother (according to the endowment deed for the complex). The complex he did endow next to the citadel no longer exists. This complex supposedly shared had much in common with al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s complex nearby.

Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān’s complex was in many ways very similar to that of his uncle al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s. He bought the palace of amir Sunqur al-Jamāli and destroyed in order to place his complex close to the citadel.\textsuperscript{191} Ibn Taghrībirdi said it imitated the complex of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan.\textsuperscript{192} It must have been a majestic building since both Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Maqrīzī said it was unlike any other building.\textsuperscript{193} Its strategic location, which would have been used for ceremonies to and from the Citadel by al-Ashraf Sha'bān made it useful during pitched battles between Mamluk factions. This might have been the reason was al-Nāṣir Faraj ordered it

\textsuperscript{190} Fernandes discusses how it was Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān who built and paid for the construction of the complex, but it was the mother who was the legal endower of the complex. See: Leonor Fernandes, “The Madrasa of Umm al-Sultān Sha'bān” (Master’s Thesis, American University in Cairo, 1976), 73-74. This complex and endowment deserves a separate study.


\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 8:123.

\textsuperscript{193} Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Nujām, 8:123.al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 6:294.
destroyed.\textsuperscript{194} However, his father simply closed the strategically located complex of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan which caused the same problem. So perhaps al-Nāṣir Faraj destroyed the complex to further dismantle the Qalāwūnid legacy with the excuse of it being a political nuisance.

Although he was able to gain the support of some judges, it is fairly amazing that he was able to destroy it.\textsuperscript{195} The complex, which is now occupied by the ruins of Sultan al-Muʿayyad Shaykh’s bimaristan, was majestic and would have undoubtedly been employed in a similar manner to the other Qalāwūnid foundations.\textsuperscript{196}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{194} al-Maqrizi, \textit{al-Sulâk}, 6:294.
\item \textsuperscript{195} al-Maqrizi, \textit{al-Khiṭat}, 2:408.
\end{itemize}
Barqūq: The End of the Qalāwūnid Dynasty

The two reigns of Barqūq (r. 784-791/1382-89 and 792-801/1390-99) marked the end of the Qalāwūnid dynasty and was manifested in the construction of his own complex in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn and his treatment of Qalāwūnid endowed establishments. Barqūq was not completely successful at first removing the legitimacy of the Qalāwūnids since his reign was interrupted by the return of Ḥājjī b. Sha'bān in June of 791/1389. Although this interruption would only last until the beginning of the next year, Barqūq would have felt it necessary to impose his claim through various means against the long term legacy of the Qalāwūnid dynasty. Barqūq would employ the same mechanism that the Qalāwūnids had. Waqf.

The al-Barqūqiyya complex on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn lies at the end of the of the Qalāwūnid complexes of Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as if to illustrate his ending of their regal line. The complex did not begin construction until two years after Barqūq had put down the last serious attempt to enthrone a Qalāwūnid sultan, Ḥājjī b. Sha'bān. This follows the trend of the later Qalāwūnids who would establish an endowment after gaining political control. His complex would be, just like those endowed by the Qalāwūnids, a proclamation of his power and legitimacy.

The inscriptions that adorn his complex on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn are just as important as his choice to build on the royal avenue. Barqūq chose the regnal title “al-Malik al-Ẓāhir” harkening back to the originator of the Mamluk state, al-Ẓāhir Baybars, and effectively bypassing the line of
Qalāwūn. His titles follow a very similar pattern as al-Ẓāhir Baybars but there are many similarities with the Qalāwūnids as well (See Table J). Even though Barqūq would have attempted to remove the legacy of the one group that could challenge his claim to the throne, he would still have had to compete with the Qalāwūnids claims through inscriptions. However, on the wall of the complex he refers to himself as “al-Maqarr al-Sayfī Jarkis Amīr Akhūr al-Malik al-Ẓāhir”, referring to his title amīr akhūr kabīr which he held before becoming sultan in 1382.

This title is missing on the cupola of the complex, where he refers to himself as “al-mālik al-mulk”. Why would he use this title is unknown, but it was probably meant to illustrate his mamlūk status unlike the non-mamlūk status of the Qalāwūnid heirs. Barqūq would plaster his name all over his endowment, just like Qalāwūn did in his, to remind all those who saw it of his power.

Barqūq would close the complex of al-Nāṣir Hassan and his son, al-Nāṣir Faraj, would destroy the complex of al-Ashraf Sha’bān, the last two Qalāwūnid sultans with effective power.

As noted earlier, the complex of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan was closed since it provided a strategic fortified position in opposition to the citadel. Closing of this complex, even if for military reasons alone, would alter the formal processions of the city. The nearest religious establishments were all

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197 Van Steenbergen, *Out of Order*, 172. None of the Qalāwūnids used the title al-Ẓāhir.
198 RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 040.
199 RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 042.
200 See the following inscriptions: RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 042; RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 040.
201 Van Steenbergen, *Out of Order*, 7. The term effective power is used by Van Steenbergen explain the complex political environment of the Mamlūk state. Although the Qalāwūnid sultans held “Legitimate power”, the amirs that ruled behind the throne and controlling the reigns of the state, held “Effective power.”
created by the Qalāwûnids, which Barqūq would definitely have been aware of. Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan had reversed the traditional procession through al-Qāhira in 761/1360 by entering the city through the southern gate of Bāb Zuwayla instead of the northern gate of Bāb al-Naṣr. This reversal probably was made to bring his own complex in to the formal procession to highlight his power and legitimacy. Barqūq’s closure of al-Nāṣir Ḥassan’s complex would have altered any procession to or from the citadel. It is also possible that the closing of this large endowment would possibly provide financial resources needed to establish effective control over the Mamluk state.

The Bahri Mamluk period witnessed a new phenomenon that affected the political, social, economic and cultural spheres of the Mamluk Empire. The Mamluk elite, especially the Qalāwûnid sultans, utilized the ubiquitous nature of endowments as a mechanism for political dominance. They were able to accomplish this by placing monumental structures located in key areas in Cairo, creating symbolic spaces that emphasized their status. This dynastic space was originally located in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn but was later expanded to the Citadel area. This space was used during ceremonies by the Qalāwûnid sultans to reinforce their image as the rightful rulers of the Mamluk Empire. Certainly no other family could boast so many magnificent structures. These structures made use of inscriptions to instill the viewer with a sense of the founder’s grandeur and power. This tactic should not be underestimated as these inscriptions are still easily read centuries later with the naked eye and made use of Islamic civilization’s most impressive art

202 Kahil, The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo, 33.
form, the written word. Inscriptions in the capital of the Mamluk Empire also differed from those on buildings located on the periphery of the Empire, suggesting that the Mamluks utilized them in different manners for different objectives. Although Mamluk sultans would continue to use pious endowments to help further their political power, the reign of Barqūq and al-Nāṣir Faraj marked the end of Qalāwūnid political influence which had dominated the urban landscape of Cairo for almost a century.

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203 Howayda al-Harithy, “Writing on the Wall: Mamluk Monuments of Tripoli,” in *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Empire*, ed. Mahmoud Haddad, Arnim Heinemann, John L. Meloy and Souad Slim (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut - Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2010), 83. Al-Harithy discovered that *waqf* inscriptions were more prominent in Tripoli, which was at the periphery of the Mamluk Empire, than in Cairo where “the emphasis is more on politically charged references.”
Chapter 4

Conclusion

The institution of endowments provided a flexible legal mechanism, which was outside of the traditional duties and powers of the Mamluk power system, which allowed the Mamluk military elite to obtain political goals. As the political system which centralized authority in the sultan began to unravel at the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, endowments provided a fairly safe and reliable legal mechanism for the Mamluk military elite to achieve their goals. The Qalāwūnid sultans especially became adept at using this legal mechanism to help bolster their family’s particular claim to pre-eminence within the Mamluk political sphere. In order to do this, they employed various strategies through their endowments to create a lasting image of legitimacy and a pool of financial resources.

Endowments have always been viewed as an economic strategy employed by waqifs, endowers, even by Mamluk contemporaries. Many Mamluk contemporary scholars noted that endowments created rich financial resources for the Mamluk elite, even employing the same strategy themselves if possible. Looking at the evolution of endowments in the Bahri period, several patterns begin to emerge. The Qalāwūnid created a massive financial resource through royal endowments that initially began with dynasty’s founder, Sultan Qalāwūn. Several of the Qalāwūnid sultans created royal endowments and each specified that their offspring should benefit from its endowment as administrator. As the Qalāwūnid sultans became weaker due to
changing political conditions and a change in the empire’s economics, their endowments included larger tracts of agricultural properties and larger incomes as seen in the endowment of Sultan Ḥassan. This was probably done for several reasons. The first was to allow the sultan unfettered access to resources due to ever growing financial needs of their office. As *iqṭāʿāt* were the economic lifeline of the Mamluk state, control over it gave one political power. This was the purpose of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s cadastral survey and the same reason why later Qalāwūṇids began to endow large proportions of agricultural land in their endowments. Also the plague which caused economic and demographic problems required the Mamluk elite to fund their endowments with agricultural properties as the urban economy slumped. The second reason was to help the chances of their offspring succeeding them in office by stipulating their children, specifically male children as seen in the endowment of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan, succeed them as administrator of their endowment. This adaption of endowments for financial gain by sultans was imitated by high ranking Mamluk officials, who had a smaller scale version of the sultan’s household, as well. Like the endowments of the Qalāwūnīd sultans, the most powerful amirs of the day funded endowments to help further their own ambitions.

The Qalāwūnīd sultans were also to employ the institution of endowments in a more abstract way to bolster their legitimacy. The royal endowments of the Qalāwūnīd sultans were medieval billboards and campaign signs for their claim to the throne. Their royal endowments were expressions of their power and piety intended to convey the sultan’s majesty and reminded onlookers of the sultan’s special place in the world. The Mamluk sultans were the protectors of
Islam. Their armies protected the Muslim world from outside invaders and the Mamluk elite built and sponsored the colleges that taught the Islamic sciences. If the size and bustle of the endowments did not accomplish this, onlookers were reminded by inscriptions on almost every viewable part of the building(s), as one enters the main entrance, or goes to prayer, enter their dorm room at night, or along the walls of the exterior for those passing by. The heirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would use the edifices of their endowments to remind the public (and ambitious amirs) of their descent from Qalāwūn and especially al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The symbolic power of these endowments did not solely rest on their size or their inscriptions but also on their location within the city.

The geographic location of each endowment had just as much purpose as the inscriptions on its edifice. The early Mamluk sultans who established the state, al-Ẓāhir Baybars and Qalāwūn, purposely placed their endowments in the same location of the last Ayyubid sultan on Bayn al-Qaṣrāyn. This symbolic avenue in the most illustrious part of Cairo, which was also a lucrative commercial area, was the preserve of reigning monarchs symbolizing a continuity of rule since the Fatimid dynasty through visually stunning architecture. Bayn al-Qaṣrāyn served as the dynastic space for most of the Bahri Mamluk period with its symbolic and financial capital employed by early Mamluk rulers who built religious establishments that were funded by nearby urban rentals. Qalāwūn used his endowment to support the idea of not only his legitimacy through his predecessors but also his superiority. His son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, confiscated the early building foundations of his usurper al-ʿAdil Kitbughā and make it his own as a reminder of
his right to rule through his special bloodline. As he established his own power, his other endowments were placed in other parts of the city, creating his mark on the capital of the Mamluk Empire. His successors, namely al-Nāṣir Ḥassan and al-Ashraf Sha’bān, would build their endowments in opposition to the Citadel which was both the central nerve of the empire but also a prison for the Qalāwūnid s.

The institution of endowments has played a large part in the life of the Muslim world. Its importance is proven by its longevity up till the twentieth century and its death at the supposed “modernization” policies of nationalistic governments. The flexibility and adaption of this legal mechanism is proven not through modern studies but by Mamluk contemporaries who complained about the new usages by the Mamluk elite. It would not have been able to survive if it had not been a useful mechanism that could adapt to the changing political, economic and social climates of the region.
Appendix
Table D: Changes in Land Tenure Patterns From Later Qalāwūnids to the Reign of Barquq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>777</th>
<th>Change by 800</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Ushmūnain</td>
<td>Rawwāḥa</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
<td>1:130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bisfā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:149</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saft Rashīn</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:176</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gifted to a khangah al-Sha’bān in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 770/1368-69**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>777</th>
<th>Change by 800</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Giza</td>
<td>Abū Ruwaish</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barnasht</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:213</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qalyūb</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:251</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qalqashanda</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:317</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minyat ʿĀin Shams</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:321</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sumustā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:328</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abū ʿĀin Shams</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:124</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sumustā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibān</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:216</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Sultān al-Ashraf Sha’bān**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>777</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Fayyūm</td>
<td>Bilāla</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Qāhira</td>
<td>Damanhūr Shubrā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:413</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minyat ʿĀin Shams</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:417</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qalyūb</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:421</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tallībqā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:422</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itfīna</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
<td>2:423</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Butṣaina</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:487</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saft al-Ḥinnā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:491</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mallawī</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:495</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abū Ghālib</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:498</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimnawīya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:500</td>
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**Sūdī ʿAlī (Son)**

<table>
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<th>777</th>
<th>Change by 800</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khuṣūs ʿĀin Shams</td>
<td>Milk</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maṭariya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:239</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shubrā al-Khaima</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marṣafā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ṭanān</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:329</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qalamā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:338</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ṣanāfīr</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:332</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bibān</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:335</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Milk" indicates the form of the change in tenure, while "Waqf" indicates the establishment of a waqf. Numbers next to the village names refer to the specific page and line numbers in the reference document where further details can be found.
al-Gharbiya
  Birmā
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 2:484

al-Daqahlīya
  Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 2:762

Sīdī Aḥmad
(Son)
  Ibyār
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 2:248
  Qalyūb
  2:255
  Ibyār
  2:256

Sīdī Hassan
(Son)
  Asyūṭ
  1:198
  al-Fayyūm
  2:218
  Hammām
  1:130
  al-Gharbiya
  Maḥallat al-Marḥūm
  2:523
  Qūs
  Fargūṭ
  1:68

Sīdī Qāsim
(Son)
  al-Qāhira
  2:318
  Kōm Ishfīn
  1:238
  Qalyūb
  2:331
  Nāy
  2:620

Khalīl (Son)
  al-Gharbiya
  Ḥiṣṣat Ibyār
  2:508

Ismāʿil (Son)
  al-Daqahlīya
  Minyat Badrān
  2:732
  Qūṣ
  Gharb Qamūla
  al-Ushmūnain
  1:140
  Tanda
  1:69

Sīdī Aḥmad
Hājj, later Sultān
  al-Gīza
  Abū Ṣir al-Sidr
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 1:136
  al-Qāhira
  Minyat al-Umarāʾ
  Barshans
  2:321
  Minūf
  2:361
  Manyal Lubaisha
  2:371
  Subk al-ʿAbīd
  2:384

al-Gharbiya
  Minyat Ziṭāt Gawād
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 2:550

al-Ushmūnain
  Sanabū
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 1:132

Abū Bakr
(Son)
  al-Gīza
  Minyat ʿUqba
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and for Rukn al-Din Baybars, Son of a sister of Barqūq 1:231
  al-Sharqiya
  Abgūg
  2:597
  Qūṣ
  Banhā al-ʿAsal
  2:609
  al-Ushmūnain
  Dalga
  1:66
  al-Fayyūm
  Fānū/Naqalīfa
  1:113
  al-Buhairā
  Absūm
  1:255
  al-Gharbiya
  Shanarā al-Bahriya
  al-Dīwān al-Mufrad 2:399

Muḥammad
(Son)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Type</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sulaimān (Son)</td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:527</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Ushmnain</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
<td>2:567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Sharqiya</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
<td>2:692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asyūṭ</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khawand Wālida (mother)</td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:540</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ibyār</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:349</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
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<td>al-Bahnasā</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:154</td>
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<td>Atfīḥ</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:202</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minūf</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:382</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shībīn al-Kōm</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dahtūra</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:530</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minyat Huwai</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dilhānis</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ḫuwai</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shuṭb</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ikhshā</td>
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<td>1:202</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taqadūs</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
<td>2:692</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Saṭṭ Abī Turāb</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ḥuwai</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1:121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrāhīm (brother)</td>
<td>al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:540</td>
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<tr>
<td>Änūk (brother)</td>
<td>Al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>2:530</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dabīq</td>
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<td>Dabīq</td>
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1 Heinz Halm, Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979 & 1982). The column titled “777” refers to the status of the property in that year (either milk or waqf property belonging to x person). The column titled “Ref.” is the volume and page number for each listed village. Halm tabulated information on land tenure based on several Mamluk period sources. For the list of sources he used see page 59.
Table E: Father-Son Succession During the Burji Period (1382-1517)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sultan</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>C.E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Nāṣir Faraj</td>
<td>al-Ẓahir Barqūq</td>
<td>801-808, 808-815</td>
<td>1399-1405, 1405-1412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Manṣūr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz</td>
<td>al-Ẓahir Barqūq</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muẓaffar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz</td>
<td>al-Muʿayyad Shaykh</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>1421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad</td>
<td>al-Ẓahir Taṭar</td>
<td>824-825</td>
<td>1421-1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf</td>
<td>al-Ashraf Barsbāy</td>
<td>841-842</td>
<td>1438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Manṣūr ʿUthmān</td>
<td>al-Ẓahir Jaqmaq</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>1453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muʿayyad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz</td>
<td>al-Ashraf Ināl</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>1461</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Nāṣir Muḥammad</td>
<td>al-Ashraf Qāytbāy</td>
<td>901-904</td>
<td>1496-1498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Adjectives</td>
<td>Qalāwūn</td>
<td>al-Zāhir Baybars</td>
<td>al-Šāliḥ Nejm al-Dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Master</td>
<td>مسّدنا</td>
<td>السيد</td>
<td>السيد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Lord</td>
<td>مولانا</td>
<td>the Master</td>
<td>the High Master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Greatest Sultan</td>
<td>ملك التنور</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Knowledgeable</td>
<td>مالك التنور</td>
<td>al-Malik al-Ẓāhir</td>
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<td>the Just</td>
<td>مالك</td>
<td>al-Malik</td>
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<td>the Supporter</td>
<td>مالك التنور</td>
<td>al-Malik al-Nāṣir</td>
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<td>ماليك</td>
<td></td>
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<td>the Warrior</td>
<td>ماليك</td>
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<tr>
<td>the Victorious</td>
<td>ماليك</td>
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<td>Rukn al-dunyā wa al-dīn</td>
<td>ركن الدنيا و الدين</td>
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<td>صلاح الدنيا و الدين</td>
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<td>Arabic Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>سلطان الإسلام و المسلمين</td>
<td>the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims</td>
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<tr>
<td>سيّد الملك و السلاطين</td>
<td>the Master of Kings and Sultans</td>
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<tr>
<td>سلطان الأرض ذات الطول والعرض</td>
<td>the Sultan of the Earth so vast in its length and width</td>
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<tr>
<td>ملك البسيطة</td>
<td>the King of the Earth</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>سلطان العراقين و المصريين</td>
<td>the Sultan of the two Iraqs and the two Egyptians</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ملك البحرين ملك البحرين</td>
<td>the King of the Shores and two Seas</td>
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<tr>
<td>وارث الملك</td>
<td>the Inheritor of the Kingdom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ملك ملك الكيند العرب و العجم</td>
<td>the King of the Kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>صاحب القيام</td>
<td>the One in Charge of the two Holy Sanctuaries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>خادم الحرمين الشريفين</td>
<td>the Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>قسيم أمير المؤمنين</td>
<td>the Partner of the Prince of the Faithful</td>
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<td>أوحد الملك العصرية</td>
<td>the One of His Kind of the Kings of the Time</td>
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<tr>
<td>صاحب الديار المصرية</td>
<td>the Owner of the lands of Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>الآمنين</td>
<td>... of the Hopeful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كنز العفاة والمتقطعين</td>
<td>the Treasure of the Suffering and the Needy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>منصف المظلومين من العدائيين</td>
<td>the Obtainer of the Rights of the Oppressed from the Oppressors</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قاتل الكفرة والشركين</td>
<td>the Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قاهر الخوارج والتمردين</td>
<td>the Conqueror Over the Outcasts and the Mutineers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الصالحی</td>
<td>al-Ṣāliḥī</td>
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</table>

2 RCEA, XII, n° 4476.
3 Heba el-Toudy, “Inscriptions of Bahri Mamluk Sultans”, 87.
4 Ibid., 65.
5 Ibid., 75.
6 Ibid., 110
7 Ibid., 113.
8 Ibid., 113.
9 Ibid., 110.
10 RCEA, XII, n° 4564.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Adjectives</th>
<th>al-Ashraf Khalīl¹</th>
<th>Qalāwūn²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مولانا و سيدنا</td>
<td>Our Lord and Master</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السلطان</td>
<td>The Sultan</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>العالم</td>
<td>the Knowledgeable</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>العادل</td>
<td>the Just</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المجاهد</td>
<td>the Warrior</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المرابط</td>
<td>the One Stationed to Guard the Territories</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المهاجر</td>
<td>the Fighter at the borders</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المؤيد</td>
<td>the Supported</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المظفر</td>
<td>the Triumphant</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
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<td>المنصور</td>
<td>the Victorious</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>al-Ashraf Khalīl¹</th>
<th>Qalāwūn²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>قاتل الكفارة والشركين</td>
<td>Killer of the Infidels and the Polytheists</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>فاهر الخوارج والتمردين</td>
<td>Conqueror of the Outcasts and Mutineers</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مبيد الطغاة والمارقين</td>
<td>Exterminator of the Despots/Oppressors and the Dissenters/Mutineers</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>محبي العدل في العالمين</td>
<td>Reviver of justice in all worlds</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>منصف المظلومين من المظلومين</td>
<td>the One who obtains the rights of the oppressed from the oppressors</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كنز الفقراء والمحتاجين</td>
<td>the Treasure of the Poor and Needy</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خف الضعفاء و المعتضعين</td>
<td>The Refuge of the Weak and the Needy</td>
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<tr>
<td>ناصر الحق بالبراهين</td>
<td>The Supporter of the Right/Truth with Evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>محيي ملة سيد المرسلين</td>
<td>Reviver of the Religion of the Master of the Prophets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حامي حوزة الدين</td>
<td>The Defender of the Borders/Lands of the Religion</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Matches** | **14 Out of 20**

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1. RCEA, XIII, n° 4895.
2. RCEA, XIII, n° 4852
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patron</th>
<th>Inscription Excerpts</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sayf al-Din Jawhar¹</td>
<td>بسملة أمر بإنشاء هذا المكان المبارك العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى صفي الذين جوهر الملكي الناصري تقبل الله عمله و بلغه في الدارين آماله في مستقبل ذي الخير سنة أربع عشر و سبعمائة.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunqur al-S̱adi²</td>
<td>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بإنشاء هذا المكان المبارك الأمير الأجل الكبير المختار المحدود الماجدة الزمانى الشهير المؤيد المظفر المنصور عمة الملك اختبار السلاطين المقدر الاسفسلالاري العوفي السيدى المنعمي المتفكرى الأخرى الأولى الحوارى الأكبر الظهري الكمال المعنى السنبدى المبرعى الزيتى الذكرى العالى العاملى العاملى الزاهدى العلىقامى الجنسى المقدى مقدم الأمراء الممالك السلطانية الشمسيات خمس الذين سئرون السعى الملكى الناصري أداء الله سعادته.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alṭunbūgha³</td>
<td>في أيام دولتونا السلطان الملك الناصر محمد عز نصره في شهر سنة ثمانية عشر و سبعمائة من المجرة النبوية والجنه. بسملة أنشأ هذا المسجد المبارك [العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى الملك الجوكرندور الناصري الراجي عقوله تعالى و مغرمه يتأخر سنة تسع عشر و سبعمائة للعبيرة النبوية على صاحبنا السلام.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almalik al-Jukanādār⁴</td>
<td>بسملة آنـا هذـا المـسجد المـبارك أراجـيا نواـب الله عز نـصفه الـمقرـن الـكـريم السـيني ~ـتـكر الملكي الناصري عـقا الله عـنه و أـتـابه (و ذكرى في شهر ) ۱۰۴ةـنة ثـمانـيت و وـثـنـيت و سـبعـمائة.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankiz⁵</td>
<td>أمر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك بكرم الله تعالى العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى على الساق الملكي الناصري في أيام موانا السلطان الملك الناصر أعز الله أنصاره وذلك في سنة ثلاثين و سبعمائة.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawṣūn⁶</td>
<td>أمر بإنشاء هذه الخاتمها المبارك العتيقة من فواضل آنام الله و جزيل عطائه المقرّن البارع على الملكى الناصري في الأيام موانا السلطان الملك الناصر المختار المحدود الاسفسلالاري العلاقيات المقرّن المختار الزاهدى منقذى النصي وسره في شهري حرام...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Mughalṭāy⁷             | م científico...
| Sayf al-Din Kujkun<sup>8</sup> | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما أنشأه و أوقفه و حبّسه على التربة المباركة المقرّة العلماء الموالي الأميري الأميري الكبير السنيجي السيد بني عبد الله الملكي الناصري أعزه اللهجميعما يذكره وجميعما كبيرهم من شرقي دمشق و من شرقي مصر و من غربي ركاب الدار المذكورة و من أعيان دمشق و من أعيان مصر و من أعيان عدن و من أعيان عدن و من أعيان عدن و من أعيان عدن. |
| Bahādar al-Badrī<sup>9</sup> | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أنشأ هذا التربة المباركة عبد الفقير إلى رحمة ربة القدير رجاء لرحلة الله رضوانه مستشفعا عنده بجيزات بهادر البدرى الملكي الناصري نائب السلطنة المعظمة بالكرك و الشوبك و مستحيلا و كان الفراغ منه في ثانى ذي الحجة عام سنة و عشرين و سبعمائة. |
| Aqsunqur<sup>10</sup> | هذا قبر المرحوم آق سنقر الناصري المعروف بجامع النور كان ابتداءه سادس عشر رمضان سنة ٧٤٨ و الفراغ في سنة ٨٤٧. |

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1. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5337.
2. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5355.
3. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5403.
4. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5408.
5. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5572.
7. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5581.
8. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5473.
9. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XIV, n° 5545.
10. <sup>RCEA</sup>, XVI, n° 6045.
### Table I: al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s Royal Progeny

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sultan</th>
<th>Relation to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Enthroned</th>
<th>Dethroned</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abū Bakr</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 June 1341</td>
<td>21 Dhū al-ḥijja 741</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kujuk</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 August 1341</td>
<td>21 Ṣafar 742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥmād</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>19 March 1342</td>
<td>10 Shawwāl 742</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>27 June 1342</td>
<td>22 Muḥarram 743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha’bān</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 August 1345</td>
<td>4 Rabī’ II 746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥājjī</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>19 September 1346</td>
<td>1 Jumādā II 747</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 December 1347</td>
<td>14 Ramaḍān 748</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ṣāliḥ</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>22 August 1351</td>
<td>28 Jumādā II 752</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hassan (2nd reign)</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 October 1354</td>
<td>2 Shawwāl 755</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muḥammad</td>
<td>Grandson through Ḥājjī</td>
<td></td>
<td>17 March 1361</td>
<td>9 Jumādā I 762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sha’bān</td>
<td>Grandson through Ḥusayn</td>
<td></td>
<td>30 May 1363</td>
<td>15 Sha’bān 764</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Ali</td>
<td>Great grandson through Sha’bān</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 March 1377</td>
<td>3 Dhū al-Qa’dā 778</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ḥājjī</td>
<td>Great grandson through Sha’bān</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 May 1381</td>
<td>24 Ṣafar 783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥājjī (2nd reign)</td>
<td>Great grandson through Sha’bān</td>
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<td>2 June 1389</td>
<td>6 Jumādā II 791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ashraf Sha'bān²</td>
<td>Qalāwūn</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مولانا Our Lord</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السلطان the Sultan</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الملك الملك the King of Kings</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>سلطان الإسلام و المسلمين the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>قاتل الكفرة والشركين The Killer of the Infidels and Polytheists</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>محيى العدل في العالمين The Reviver of Justice in All World</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مظهر الحق بالبراهين the Supporter of the Truth with Evidence</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>حامي حوزة الدين the Defender of the Borders/Lands of the Religion</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>سيد الملك و السلاطين the Master of Kings and Sultans</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قسيم أمير المؤمنين the Partner of the Prince of the Faithful</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قاهر الخوارج والمتمردين The Conqueror Over the Outcasts and the Mutineers</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كنز الفقراء والمجاهدين the Treasure of the Poor and Needy</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>منصف المظلومين من الظالمين the One who obtains the rights of the oppressed from the oppressors</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>ذخر الأرامل والمجاعين the Asset of the Widows and the Needy</td>
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<tr>
<td>صاحب الديار المصرية the Owner of Egypt</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Matching</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والبلاد الشامية</td>
<td>And of Syria</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وال حصون الإسماعيلية</td>
<td>And the strongholds of al-Ismāʿīlya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>والثغور السكندرية</td>
<td>And the ports of Alexandria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وال القلاع الساحليّة</td>
<td>And the citadels of al-Sāḥiliya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والأقطار المجازية</td>
<td>And the Hijāz region</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MATCHING 14 out of 20

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1 RCEA, XVII, n° 770 005.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Adjectives</th>
<th>Barqūq</th>
<th>al-Ẓāhir Baybars</th>
<th>Qalāwūn</th>
<th>al-Ashraf Shaʿbān</th>
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<tr>
<td>Our Lord</td>
<td>✔️</td>
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<td>The Sultan</td>
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<td>The King of Kings</td>
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<td>al-Malik al-Ẓāhir</td>
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<td>Sayf al-Dunyā wa-l-Din</td>
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<td>the Knowledgeable</td>
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<td>the Just</td>
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<td>the Warrior</td>
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<td>the One Stationed to Guard the Territories</td>
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<td>the Supported</td>
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<td>the Ghāzi</td>
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<td>Ruler in the</td>
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<td>Asset of Orphans and the Needy</td>
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| صاحب الديار المصرية والبلاد الشامية |
| Owner of the Lands of Egypt and Syria |

| صاحب الديار المصرية |
| Owner of the Lands of Egypt |

| كنز الغزاة والمجاهدين |
| Treasure of the Ghazis and the Mujahideen |

1. RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 040; RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 042; RCEA, XVIII, n° 788 050.
2. RCEA, XII, n° 4476.
3. RCEA, XIII, n° 4852.
4. RCEA, XVII, n° 770 005; RCEA, XVII, n° 770 008.
Figure C Madrasa of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars¹

Left picture: Side view of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars’ madrasah on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. Right Picture: Close up of the artistic work above the windows. Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars’ used panthers as a personal emblem.

¹ Author’s own photo.
Figure D: Bayn al-Qaṣrayn in the Early Bahri Mamluk Period

Modified image from: [http://tectonicablog.com/?p=25760](http://tectonicablog.com/?p=25760)
Figure E: Inscription on the Lintel above the Windows to the Right Side of Qalāwūn’s Complex Entrance Portal

The construction was ordered by our master and lord, the Greatest Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the Knowledgeable, the Just, sayf al-dunyā wa al-dīn, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi, the Partner of the Prince of the Faithful. The building began in the month of Shawwāl of 683 A.H. and was completed in the month of Safar of 684 A.H.

1 Author’s own photo.
2 RCEA, XIII, n° 4845.
Figure F: Inscription on Top of the Entrance Portal of Qalāwūn’s Complex

The Construction of this venerable tomb, greatest college, and blessed hospital was ordered by our lord, the Greatest Sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, sayf al-dunyā wa al-dīn, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī. Construction began in the month of Rabīʿ al-Akhar of 683 A.H. and completed in Jamādā al-Akhar of 684 A.H.

1 Author’s own photo.
2 RCEA, XIII, n° 4850.
The door knockers from the main entrance of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s complex. It clearly reads:

“... Kitbughā al-Manṣuri, Our Lord, the Sultan, the Just ...”

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1 Author’s own photo.
Figure H: The Entrance Portal to the Complex of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

The Gothic entrance portal to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s complex on Bayn al-Qaṣrayn which originally belonged to the Church of St. Agnes in Acre.

1 Author's own photo.
The inscription on the sabīl once read:

“مَوْلاَنَا ِالسُلطانِ ِالشَهِيدِ ِناصرُ ِالدُنياِ وَ ِالدِينِ ِأَبِي ِالفَتحِ ِمُحَمَّدُ ِبِنِ مَوْلاَنَا ِالسُلطانِ ِالشَهِيدِ ِالمَلِكِ ِالنَّاصِرِ ِقَلَاوُنِ الْصَالِحِيِّ…”

“Our Lord, the Sultan, the Maytr, al-Nāṣir, nāṣr al-dunyā wa al-dīn, Abū al-Fatḥ, Muḥammad the son of our Lord, the Sultan, the Maytr, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, sayf al-dunyā wa al-dīn, Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi…”

1 Author’s own photo.
2 RCEA, XV, n° 5821.
"The construction of this venerable tomb and blessed college was ordered by the august sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sayf al-dunya wa al-din, Muhammad son of the sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr, sayf al-din, Qalāwūn al-Ṣālihi..."

1 Author’s own photo.
2 RCEA, XIII, n° 5059.
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_Hujja Waqf Umm Sultan al-Ashraf Sha’ban_, Dar al-Wathâ’iqt Qawmiyeh 7/47

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