

## Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History

# Islamic History and Civilization

STUDIES AND TEXTS

*Editorial Board*

Hinrich Biesterfeldt  
Sebastian Günther

*Honorary Editor*

Wadad Kadi

VOLUME 143

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





# Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History

*Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*

*Edited by*

Yuval Ben-Bassat



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

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

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

ISSN 0929-2403

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Contents

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

*Michael Winter*

Preface XI

Acknowledgments XXI

List of Figures XXII

Notes on Transliteration XXIV

Notes on Contributors XXV

## PART I

### *Social and Cultural Issues*

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

## PART 2

*Women in Mamluk Society*

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

## PART 3

*Literary and Poetic Genres*

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

## PART 4

*The Politics of Material Culture*

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



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



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

*Michael Winter*

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Acknowledgments

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

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

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

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



## List of Figures

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



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

## Notes on Transliteration

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

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

Short Vowels: a, u, i

Long Vowels: ā, ū, ī

Diphthongs: aw, ay

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

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

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

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

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

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

Petry, *The criminal underworld*.

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

## Notes on Contributors

### *Reuven Amitai*

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

### *Frédéric Bauden*

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

### *Joseph Drory*

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

### *Élise Franssen*

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

### *Yehoshua Frenkel*

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

### *Li Guo*

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

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

*Daisuke Igarashi*

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

*Yaacov Lev*

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

*Bernadette Martel-Thoumian*

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

*Carl F. Petry*

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

*Warren C. Schultz*

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

*Boaz Shoshan*

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

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

*Hana Taragan*

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

*Bethany J. Walker*

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

*Michael Winter*

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

*Koby Yosef*

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

*Limor Yungman*

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

## Maqriziana XIII: An Exchange of Correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī

*Frédéric Bauden*

### Introduction

In an article published in 2008, Werner Diem emphasized that “the problem connected with Arabic letters in pre-modern times is their great number and variety on the one hand and regional and chronological disparity on the other.”<sup>1</sup> Although letters predating the modern period have been preserved in great numbers for Islamic civilization, regardless of content, there remains a sharp discrepancy between two categories of letters; i.e., what Diem categorized as original letters, and letters preserved in copied or literary transmission.<sup>2</sup> Diem noted that the original letters that have reached us are mostly either official letters dealing with taxes in the broadest sense or private correspondence of the middle class related to commercial or private issues. In terms of the latter category, we are better informed thanks to documentary witnesses that provide useful details about the shape and dispatch of this kind of correspondence.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, letters exchanged by members of the upper class (scholars for the most part) have only survived in the form of collections where these copies serve as models of elegant prose and poetry or *inshāʿ*. These collections were at times assembled by a contemporary, usually an admirer, or by the author himself. Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) in particular collected letters he exchanged with friends and colleagues in book form (*Alḥān al-sawājiʿ*)

1 Diem, Arabic letters 843. In addition to his bibliography, see Grob, *Documentary Arabic private and business letters*.

2 Diem considered scholarly letters preserved in literary transmission to be a third category termed “pseudo letters”; i.e., “scholarly texts in the form of letters which, however, in contrast to real letters, were never intended to be sent to an individual addressee.” Diem, Arabic letters 852.

3 A rare example of a contract between a Venetian and a courier in Alexandria at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century has recently been published. The dispatch by a courier of the letter to Damascus and his return with the answer within a specified amount of time throws some light on the parallel activities that were linked to the exchange of commercial correspondence in the Mamluk realm. See Bauden, *D’Alexandrie à Damas et retour*.

where the material is organized according to the alphabetical order of the correspondents.<sup>4</sup> Such letters were in fact first copied by al-Şafadī in his commonplace book (*al-Tadhkira*) together with his response. This enabled him to later recover the material for the preparation of his epistolary collection.

Although several collections of letters written by scholars who were mostly active at the chancery from the ‘Abbāsīd to the Mamluk period have been published and studied,<sup>5</sup> epistolography in general, and the correspondence exchanged by the upper class in the Mamluk period in particular, have received little attention. Recently, Gully tackled the issue of letter writing in pre-modern Islam, but he mainly dealt with the correspondence produced by secretaries of state and only touched upon the private formal and informal letters of scholars in broad terms.<sup>6</sup> The present study aims to tackle the question of correspondence between scholars during the Mamluk period through the lens of one typical example found by chance in a chancery manual of the same period: a letter addressed by the famous historian al-Maqrīzī to al-Qalqashandī and the latter’s answer. Both letters are edited and translated here for the first time. Though only preserved as copies, they allow us to analyze their structure in diplomatic terms whereas their contents throw light on some of al-Maqrīzī’s works and the nature of the relationships between the two scholars.

### The Source

I came across the texts of the two letters exchanged by al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī in a rather overlooked text. My interest in this text was sparked by the fact that it deals with diplomatics and that it has never been the subject of a thorough study, though it was known to have been written by al-Qalqashandī’s son. In a recently published article, I addressed the question of the identity of the author and assessed the value of his chancery manual in the light of those already published for the Mamluk period.<sup>7</sup> The text, entitled

4 al-Şafadī, *Alḥān al-sawāji’*.

5 The following references can be added to Diem’s bibliography: Hachmeier, *Die Briefe Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Şābi’*’s; Pomerantz, *Licit magic and divine grace*. As for letters exchanged by scholars, see Nwyia, Note sur quelques fragments inédits; Haque, A letter of Ibn Taimiyya; Berjak and Iqbal, Ibn Sinā—Al-Bīrūnī correspondence translated [English translation of *al-As’ila wa-l-ajwiba* which was edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Mohaghegh]; Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar*.

6 Gully, *The culture of letter-writing*.

7 Bauden, Like father, like son. The information provided in this section is summarized from this article.

*Qalā'id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān* (The pearl necklaces regarding the conventions of present-day epistolography), is preserved in an unicum found in the collections of the British Library (London, MS OR.3625) where it has been housed since 1888, the date of its acquisition at an auction. Composed of 165 leaves and dated 868/1464, it is remarkable in that besides the title indicated on the title page and in the author's introduction, the name of its author does not appear. However, thanks to several hints by the author in the body of the text, he can be identified as the son of al-Qalqashandī. The first clue relates to a document issued by the author (fol. 108a: *min inshā' mu'allifihī*), an expression followed by his name (Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Qarqashandī [sic]). In another place (fol. 96b), he quotes a document composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Qarqashandī [sic] al-Shāfi'ī, who is described as the author's father (*wālid mu'allifihī*). The identification is further corroborated by another passage (fol. 125a) where he quotes his father, who was dead at the time he was writing (*fa-inna wālidī raḥimahu llāh*), and his book entitled *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. On this occasion, he specifies that he produced two copies of his father's work for the libraries of two important secretaries of state: one in eleven volumes for Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārīzī (d. 823/1420) and another in seven volumes for Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muzhir (d. 832/1429). All these elements leave no doubt that the author was al-Qalqashandī's son, identified as Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī, better known as Ibn Abī Ghudda. Born in 796/1394, he was active as a deputy judge, an administrator of *waqf* properties, and as a secretary in the service of various *amūrs*. He drowned in the Nile flood of 876/1471. His contemporary biographers (al-Biqā'ī and al-Sakhāwī) scarcely mention any book titles he might have composed but three works have come down to us in manuscript form. Beside *Qalā'id al-jumān*, there is an amplification (*takhmīs*) of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Burda* and a work on the genealogy of the Arabs, *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat ansāb al-'arab*, which is, as I have tentatively demonstrated in the article referred to above, a plagiarized copy of his father's *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat qabā'il al-'arab*.<sup>8</sup>

The *Qalā'id al-jumān* can be described as a manual aimed to be a *vade mecum* for secretaries working for *amūrs*. Though it deals with official correspondence in general, including that related to caliphs and sultans, its focus is clearly on the letters exchanged by state officials at various levels; i.e., letters described as *ikhwāniyyāt*.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 201–3.



## The Correspondence

In the section where the question of the decrees (*marsūm*) issued in answer to petitions (*qiṣṣa*) is addressed (fols. 27b–31a), the author quotes two letters. Having stated that the decrees can be issued either as a separate document or on the back of petitions,<sup>9</sup> he introduces the topic with a letter (*ruqʿa*)<sup>10</sup> “received by my father—may God the Sublime have mercy upon him—from the Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqlīzī l-Shāfiʿī.” The spelling of al-Maqlīzī’s name with a *lām* is of course remarkable. A similar feature appears in the manuscript with regard to al-Qalqashandī’s name, where the *lām* is replaced by a *rāʾ* (see above, al-Qarqashandī), though not systematically. It is difficult to ascertain whether these orthographic peculiarities are to be attributed to al-Qalqashandī’s son or to the copyist. However, it is interesting to note that al-Maqlīzī always wrote al-Qalqashandī’s name with a *rāʾ* in the biographies he devoted to him in his various writings.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the village where al-Qalqashandī was born and from which his *nisba* stems is nowadays spelled with a *rāʾ*, a form that was recorded as early as the seventh/thirteenth century by Yāqūt al-Rūmī in his *Muʿjam al-buldān*,<sup>12</sup> which may account for al-Maqlīzī’s spelling of al-Qalqashandī’s name with a *rāʾ*. In fact, the substitution of both letters (*rāʾ* for *lām* and vice versa) is attested from al-Andalus to Iraq.<sup>13</sup>

The incipit of al-Maqlīzī’s letter consists of an excursus that looks like an entry in a dictionary, as it provides the meaning of words derived from the root *r-s-m*. Al-Maqlīzī lists several words whose meaning is connected to the notion of trace (*rasm*: relic; *rasama*: to erase something, leaving only a trace on the ground; *tarassama*: to observe a mark; *rawsam*: stamp or mark; *rasama/ar-sama*: to leave/to cause to leave marks on the ground, speaking of a she-camel; *rasm*: a well filled up with earth; *irtasama*: to pronounce *Allāh akbar* and seek

9 For the first, I have used a free translation. The author speaks of decrees that are *muqtaḍab* (i.e., extracted) or *mulakkhkhaṣ* (i.e., summarized). He has in mind petitions whose contents are too long to allow the issue of a decree directly on their back, as is the case for the second category. For this, see al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā*, repr. ed. Cairo 1964, vi, 212–6.

10 In his article, Werner Diem noted that this word is one term, among others, that was used by a sender either to describe his/her letter or the letter received. See Diem, Arabic letters 857.

11 al-Maqlīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 312–3 (no. 222); idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda and ʿAshūr 1934–73, iv, 473–4; idem, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 1991, i, 512–3 (no. 496) = *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 2006, i, 312 (no. 496), though in the latter source, the editor restored the name with a *lām*.

12 Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* iv, 327–8.

13 Maṭar, *Lahn al-ʿamma* 229–30.

refuge in Him). This excursus is obviously related to the word *marsūm*, which is the main topic of the section where the letters were inserted; this is a word that stems from the same root and that was used by the chancery in a technical sense (literally “ordered” and, by metonymy, “decree”). Though al-Maqrīzī does not quote the dictionary he borrowed these lines from, it is quite easy to identify it, as in fact he is summarizing the entry devoted to this root in Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘arab*: there, the data are presented in the same order and with the same words.<sup>14</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī’s letter then starts properly with the usual expression “the slave kisses the ground and reports.”<sup>15</sup> The reason he was compelled to address this letter to al-Qalqashandī relates to some words derived from the root *r-s-m* that had come to be taken, in a technical sense in chancery terminology, to mean “order” (*amr*). Al-Maqrīzī gives the following examples: *marsūm sharīf* (noble, i.e., issued by the sultan, decree), *rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf* (the noble order has been issued), and *al-marsūm marsūmukum* (the decree is yours). Referring to the lexicographical excursus that preceded his letter, al-Maqrīzī presents his request: he enjoins al-Qalqashandī to defend or justify (*nāḍala*) the use the chancery makes of these words given that there is absolutely no indication of such a meaning in the dictionary. Al-Qalqashandī is invited to explain the meaning of these words in the terminology used by the chancery (*mā ma’nā dhālika fī ṣṭilāḥ al-inshā’*), and provide an answer that is coherent with the lexicon (*mimmā lā tukhālīfuhu al-lugha*); i.e., the etymology of the root. Al-Maqrīzī was prompted to contact him about such an issue, he says, because of the fame of his correspondent, whose book he does not name but which can easily be identified as *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā fī ṣinā’at/kitābat al-inshā’* (The daybreak of the night-blind on the craft/art of chancery writing). His interest in the issue, he says, was prompted by the fact that he plans to prepare the fair copy of his book on secretaries, an ambition he is now able to fulfill as he has neared completion of his other book entitled *al-Mawā’iẓ wa-l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*.

Al-Qalqashandī’s answer is structured in a manner that was fashionable for responses to an inceptive letter (*ibtidā’*) such as al-Maqrīzī’s letter.<sup>16</sup> First, he repeats, in his own words, the contents of his correspondent’s letter and then proceeds with the answer he is able to provide to al-Maqrīzī’s request; he does so after stressing, with the expected expressions of modesty, that he

14 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* v, 215–6.

15 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalā’id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 27b (for a discussion of this expression, see below).

16 Ibid., fols. 28a–29b.

is unfamiliar with the issue and far from being as competent as al-Maqrīzī implies. He starts by stating that the meaning of “order” taken by words derived from the root *r-s-m* and used by the chancery secretaries, like *rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf* and its derivatives, is, contrary to what most people think, far from being a recent practice, because he found this very expression with that meaning in the production of secretaries of the Ayyūbid period, more precisely after the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century. These secretaries, al-Qalqashandī underlines, were capable and knowledgeable men in the art of writing who would never have used such words without ensuring that they were consistent with the Arabic language. This statement allows him to demonstrate how this technical meaning of “order” came to be ascribed to words derived from the root *r-s-m*. He thus puts forward several hypotheses. Unfortunately, the manuscript presents a lacuna of half of one leaf in that part of the letter:<sup>17</sup> there is no doubt that the copyist had to deal with a mutilated passage (as shown by the last three words he penned on the leaf before the blank which do not make any sense) which he hoped he would be able to fill in later on, something that never happened. Nonetheless, it seems that al-Qalqashandī proposed no more than four possible etymologies. In such a case, only the end of the first and the beginning of the second are lacunar.

The first proposal regards the expression *rasamtu la-hu kadhā fa-rtasamahu* where the verb *rasama* means “he ordered” and *irtasama* “he executed.”<sup>18</sup> This meaning is attested in the source al-Maqrīzī relied on; i.e., Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘arab*, right at the end of the entry: *wa-rasamtu la-hu kadhā fa-rtasamahu idhā mtathalahu* (“I ordered him so and so and he carried it out, i.e. he executed it”).<sup>19</sup>

The second etymology, though lacunar for the most part, seems to rely on the principle of metonymy.<sup>20</sup> The end of the passage that has been preserved suggests that al-Qalqashandī is comparing the use of *marsūm* as meaning “decree”; i.e., the document issued and not only the meaning of “ordered,” with that of *tawqī‘*; i.e., the endorsement. The latter was originally used to designate the inscriptions written on the margins of petitions before its meaning was extended to the whole writ. In other words, *marsūm* as a word featured in documents issued in answer to petitions where it meant “ordered” came to be used for the whole document.

17 Ibid., fol. 29b.

18 Ibid., fol. 29a.

19 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* v, 216.

20 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 29b.

The third hypothesis, a metaphorical one, relies on the word *rawsam* that defines the seal used to stamp the mouth of a jar: in this case, the object of the *marsūm* (decree) is comparable to the seal that guarantees that the contents (the beverage in the case of the jar, the function granted in the case of the decree) are reserved for the person who disposes of it.<sup>21</sup>

The fourth proposal is connected to the same word as above, *rawsam*, though it has a different meaning: something used to polish dinars. In this case, the decree (*marsūm*) is assimilated to something that makes the contents comprehensible to the recipient because of the recommendations that it contains or because rulers elucidate the difficulties which the recipient will have to face in the frame of his new function.

Al-Qalqashandī concludes his answer with a further expression of modesty, repeating his incompetence in this matter. He is also fully aware that the question was asked by a person who was supposed to already know the answer, something he expresses very powerfully, through a verse attributed to al-Badī' al-Ašturlābī (d. 534/1139–40) and which can be rendered by the Latin proverb: *Solem lucerna non ostenderent*—you don't show the sun with a lantern.

Despite al-Qalqashandī's protest that he is not credentialed, it appears that he had already addressed the issue of the etymology of the word *marsūm* in his *magnum opus*.<sup>22</sup> There, he pointed out two possibilities: the first tallies with the first proposal found in his answer to al-Maqrīzī (*akhḍhan min qawlihim rasamtu la-hu kadhā fa-rtasamahu idhā mtathalahu*, "taken from the expression: 'I ordered him [to do] so and so and he carried it out'; i.e., he executed it") whereas the second does not appear there (*aw min qawlihim rasama 'alayya kadhā idhā kataba*, "or from the expression: 'He drew up so and so for me'; i.e., he wrote"). He further adds that the technical meaning could derive from both expressions taken together (*wa-yuḥtamal an yakūn minhumā jamī'an*).

### Structure of the Letters in Diplomatic Terms

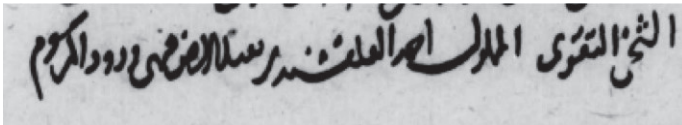
As an example of letters exchanged between two peers, i.e. two scholars who were active in the state chancery at some point in their lives, the two texts contain enough elements to allow for an analysis of their structure, both external and internal. In diplomatic terms, al-Maqrīzī's letter was an inceptive (*ibtidā'*) which called for an answer (*jawāb*). Furthermore, the letters follow a structure that was typical of letters produced by the chancery in the Mamluk period.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* xi, 107.

In fact, letters that were not produced in the sultan's name or addressed to him (*sultāniyyāt*) were called *ikhwāniyyāt* (literally “fraternal,” i.e. “friendly”). Generally, it was thought that *ikhwāniyyāt* only described letters exchanged in a personal tone between friends or colleagues, but recently it has been shown that this term was also applied to official correspondence exchanged by functionaries (e.g., the secretary of the privy writing to a governor).<sup>23</sup> On the basis of the level of both the sender and the addressee, several elements, such as the address and the *intitulatio*, were adapted as a function of different patterns.<sup>24</sup> From the Ayyūbid period onwards, this kind of letter was in many respects similar to petitions (*qiṣṣa, ruqʿa*):<sup>25</sup> It started, after the *basmala*, with the expression “the slave kisses the ground and reports ...” (*al-mamlūk yuqabbilu l-arḍ wa-yunhī ...*), proceeded with the request (*wa-l-masʿul ...*), and ended with “he has reported this if God the Sublime will” (*anhā dhālika in shāʾa llāh taʿālā*).

All these features are present in al-Maqrīzī's inceptive letter and in al-Qalqashandī's answer for the simple reason that they follow the pattern of the *ikhwāniyya* letter. Though the originals have been lost, the copy found in the manuscript displays enough elements to permit a comparison with the *ikhwāniyyāt* issued in the frame of the chancery and to reconstruct them as they were originally. As the manuscript of al-Qalqashandī's answer shows, the copyist left some space between the name of the addressee (*al-shaykhī l-taqawī*) and the incipit of the letter.



In so doing, the copyist wanted to give an indication of the original place of these words in the letter. According to the rules, the addressee's *laqab* should be written in the space between the *basmala* and the incipit of the letter in such a way that it would start in the right margin and end below the beginning of the word *bism* in the *basmala*. The name of the sender had to be preceded by *al-mamlūk* and placed below the incipit; i.e., *yuqabbil*. All this can be represented as follows:

23 Bauden, *Ikhwāniyyāt* letters.

24 Several examples are detailed in the preceding reference.

25 Stern, *Petitions* 241–2.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ  
 الشیخی القوی  
 یقبل الأرض ینهی ...  
 المملوک  
 أحمد القلقشندی

Though in the case of al-Maqrīzī's letter Ibn al-Qalqashandī did not note the addressee's *laqab*, it can be deduced quite easily, as it paralleled the one found in his father's answer: *al-shaykhī l-shihābī*, al-Qalqashandī's *laqab* being Shihāb al-Dīn. Of course, both scholars addressed each other with the title *shaykh*, which was reserved for their rank; i.e., 'ulamā'. They also used the hyperbolic form with the final *yā*.<sup>26</sup>

Obviously, there was no reason for al-Qalqashandī to mention letters exchanged by scholars that follow the patterns of the *ikhwāniyya* category, as these were not issued in the frame of the chancery. Nevertheless, he devoted some space at the very end of his encyclopedia to documents, including letters that were unrelated to the chancery such as epistles (*rasā'il*), licences (*ijāzāt*), and certificates of pilgrimage (called *ʿumurāt*).<sup>27</sup> Of these, he mentions letters that consist of questions and answers (*al-asʿila wa-l-ajwiba*), which he classifies into two categories, the first of which is defined as dealing with challenging or testing questions (*al-asʿila l-imtihāniyya*).<sup>28</sup> He further indicates that respectful belletrists (*mashāyikh al-adab*) and erudite secretaries often forwarded questions to each other about some topic either for the sake of inquiry (i.e., to enrich their knowledge by benefitting from the addressee's science) or simply for the pleasure of testing and disqualifying a peer. Al-Qalqashandī points out that some of these letters are answered, but others are not. The category is exemplified by a letter composed by Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) and directed to the chief secretary of the chancery in Damascus who had taken his side against some contender active at the chancery. The letter thanked him and presented

26 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* vi, 17.

27 They are found in the last volume of the edition. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 110–365. (These are literary productions by secretaries; they have no relationship to the secretariat of the chancery).

28 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 240.

some questions for the secretaries regarding the art of writing (*ṣanʿat al-inshāʿ*) and history (*fann al-taʾrīkh*).<sup>29</sup> Al-Maqrīzī's inceptive letter can hardly compete with Ibn Nubāta's but it is an interesting example of the category described by al-Qalqashandī.

### Al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī

Both letters are not only significant in terms of diplomatics, literature, and cultural history, but also provide detailed information about the authors themselves, the nature of their relationship, and their respective works. All the scholars who wrote about al-Qalqashandī's biography acknowledged that the entries devoted to him in the biographical dictionaries of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods were not very helpful and that, in this respect, his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* was more instructive.<sup>30</sup> Among his contemporaries who dedicated lines in their works to him (al-Maqrīzī, al-ʿAynī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī), al-Maqrīzī appears to be the most well-informed, and it is not surprising that most of the later authors relied on him when referring to al-Qalqashandī.

The two letters studied here reveal that they were in contact and that al-Maqrīzī valued al-Qalqashandī's opinion on a technical issue regarding chancery norms. It should be noted that al-Maqrīzī also worked for the state chancery, though for a shorter period before al-Qalqashandī started his own career as a secretary. According to al-Maqrīzī, he himself was active at the chancery, where he was responsible, until about the year 790/1388, for decisions regarding petitions (*tawqīʿ*).<sup>31</sup> His superior, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn

29 For more details, see Bauer, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah 194–5.

30 Bosworth, *A maqāma* 292 ("Little is known of al-Qalqashandī's life beyond that information which we can glean from his *Ṣubḥ*"); idem, al-Ḳalkāshandī, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iv, 509 ("It is remarkable how little notice was taken of al-Ḳalkāshandī by contemporaries or near-contemporaries. [...] Hence we do not know much about al-Ḳalkāshandī's legal and professional life beyond the salient points and dates of his official career, let alone about his early years, education and private life"); van Berkel, al-Qalqashandī 333 ("However, these references contain no extensive description of the author's life, education or literary production. [...] Therefore, modern historians too have to rely primarily upon the data provided by the author himself").

31 *Ayyām mubāsharatī l-tawqīʿ al-sultānī ilā naḥw al-tisʿin wa-l-sabʿimīʿa*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār*, ed. Cairo 1853–4, ii, 225 (where one reads *al-sabʿin*, which is a mistake) = *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 730 (correct reading).



Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 796/1394), was the Chief Secretary of the Chancery at that time.<sup>32</sup>

As for al-Qalqashandī, he states that he started to work at the chancery around the year 791/1389.<sup>33</sup> It is thus unlikely that the paths of these scholars crossed at the chancery at that time but they certainly had other opportunities to strike up an acquaintance as both remained close to the central power in subsequent decades.

Beside their exchange of correspondence the data gathered by al-Maqrīzī about his peer and reproduced in the biography he penned about him in three of his works is further confirmation that they knew each other quite well. The three works are *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*, and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.<sup>34</sup> It is in the latter, devoted to the author's contemporaries, that more precise details emerge on the nature of their relationship; this source is all the more significant as it has been overlooked by all the scholars who have written about al-Qalqashandī though it was available as early as 1992.<sup>35</sup> In it, al-Maqrīzī reveals sides of al-Qalqashandī that are not found in the other sources on his beginnings in Alexandria. Born in Qalqashanda/Qarqashanda, a village located in the province of Qalyūbiyya in the southern Delta, he moved to the harbor city where after his education, he served the governor Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿArrām. The latter occupied this position at several intervals (bef. 766/1365 to 767/1365; 768/1367 to 769/1367; 770/1369 to 772/1371; 774/1373 to 775/1373; 777/1376 to 779/1378; and in 782/1380, the year he was executed), which helps to reasonably date this employment to the penultimate or ultimate of Ibn ʿArrām's governorship and at the very beginning of al-Qalqashandī's career since he was born in 756/1355.<sup>36</sup> Shortly

32 He held this function from 4 Dhū l-Hijja 786/17 January 1385 to 14 Ṣafar 792/1 February 1390. See Wiet, *Les Secrétaires* 273–4.

33 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* i, 8 (*wa-kuntu fī ḥudūd sanat iḥdā wa-tisʿin wa-sabʿimīʾa ʿinda stiqrārī fī kitābat al-inshāʾ bi-l-abwāb al-sharīfa al-sulṭāniyya*), xiv, 111 (*anṣaʾtuhā fī ḥudūd sanat iḥdā wa-tisʿin wa-sabʿimīʾa ʿinda stiqrārī fī dīwān al-inshāʾ bi-l-abwāb al-sharīfa*).

34 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 473–4; idem, *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 1991, i, 512–3 (no. 496) = *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 2006, i, 312 (no. 496); idem, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, ii, 361–2 (no. 181) = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Darwīsh and Miṣrī, ii, 75–6 (no. 223) = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 312–3 (no. 222).

35 ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Qalqashandī*, is the only exception: he even edited al-Qalqashandī's biography in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* at the end of his book (p. 141).

36 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *Les Gouverneurs* 133 (no. 18), 135 (no. 21), 136 (nos. 24 and 27), 138 (no. 33), 139 (no. 37). Al-Qalqashandī mentions him in relation to the issue of gold coins in Alexandria in the late eighth/fourteenth century, something he may have witnessed when he was in his service. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* iii, 440.



after al-Qalqashandī settled in Cairo where, thanks to his access to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Faḍl Allāh, he secured a position at the chancery.

Here, al-Maqrīzī specifies that al-Qalqashandī worked in the capacity of *kātib al-darj pro bono* (*bi-ghayr ma'lūm*). This statement is curious because it is contradicted by al-Qalqashandī himself in the *maqāma* he composed in the same year he was employed at the chancery.<sup>37</sup> In this “autobiographical postscript,”<sup>38</sup> al-Qalqashandī stresses his quandary between proceeding further in his academic research and earning his living:

I became distressed, unable to do anything properly, as I remained perplexed, not knowing which of the two courses would be more profitable to me. For if I should make the pursuit of knowledge my living, I should be acting reprehensibly in my recourse to this, and if I should spurn earning my living in favour of study, I should perish of need and die of hunger.<sup>39</sup>

And further on, “as I became assured that I am established in his *dīwān*, and listed as one of his pages, I refrained from further search for gain.”<sup>40</sup> In introducing the *maqāma*, he further underlines that a man must have employment and ensure his subsistence.<sup>41</sup> It would be rather surprising that he would have accepted the job without a salary given his statement. On the other hand, why would al-Maqrīzī state that he worked *pro bono*? If there is any truth in this, it may have applied to the beginning of his career at the chancery. Al-Maqrīzī declares that afterwards he worked for many years as a deputy judge in an office of notaries (*shuhūd*).<sup>42</sup> As Bosworth emphasized, when he died, “it is not

37 He inserted it in *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (xiv, 112–28) and refers to it in his introduction (i, 8–9). See Bosworth, *A maqāma*, and al-Musawi, *Vindicating a profession*.

38 al-Musawi, *Vindicating a profession* 112.

39 Bosworth, *A maqāma* 295.

40 al-Musawi, *Vindicating a profession* 115.

41 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* i, 9 (*anṣa'tu maqāma banaytuhā 'alā annahu lā budda lil-insān min ḥirfa yata'allaq bi-hā wa-ma'tsha yatamassak bi-sababihā*) and xiv, 111 (*wa-ja'altu mabnāhā 'alā annahu lā budda lil-insān min ḥirfa yata'allaq bi-hā wa-ma'tsha yata-massak bi-sababihā*).

42 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 313 (*thumma nāba fi l-ḥukm bi-markaz min marākiz al-shuhūd 'an qāḍi l-quḍāt Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bulqīnī muddat sinīn*). This is confirmed by all the other sources, but the difference here is the chronological presentation: first, he worked at the chancery, then as a deputy judge for many years.

known whether he was still employed in the *dīwān* at that date.<sup>43</sup> If we rely on the information given by al-Maqrīzī, it is clear that he was not.

On a more personal note, al-Maqrīzī declares, after having said that he was a learned man who had memorized works on law, grammar, and literature and that he was also a poet, that al-Qalqashandī frequently visited him and took dictation. He was even, according to al-Maqrīzī, a great talker and babbler. The biographical entry concludes with an anecdotal report in which al-Maqrīzī talks about a geometry experiment that al-Qalqashandī described to him; namely how to measure the height of an object, like a palm tree, a minaret, or a mountain. The technique deployed is a simple wood stick and the method to calculate the height is fully detailed by al-Maqrīzī.

This is undoubtedly the most personal biography that we have about al-Qalqashandī. It also contains two pieces of information that confirm that al-Maqrīzī was well acquainted with him. The first concerns the date of his death: al-Maqrīzī was the only contemporary who established that it took place on the night of Saturday 10 Jumādā II 821 [15 July 1418].<sup>44</sup> Both al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, who belonged to the next generation and did not know al-Qalqashandī, had to rely on al-Maqrīzī for this detail.<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-ʿAynī, and al-Ṣayrafī, on the contrary, simply mention that it occurred in the month of Jumādā II and do not indicate the day.<sup>46</sup>

The second relates to the name of al-Qalqashandī's father. Most of the sources, including the modern ones, give al-Qalqashandī's name as Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad. Al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, mentions that his father's name was ʿAbdallāh.<sup>47</sup> Al-Sakhāwī does not miss an opportunity to criticize both al-Maqrīzī and al-ʿAynī for providing what he considers a mistake.<sup>48</sup> In this, he blindly follows his master, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who indeed indicates that the father's name was ʿAlī. Notwithstanding al-Sakhāwī's confidence, it seems that al-Maqrīzī was right, a fact that strengthens the impression that he knew al-Qalqashandī quite well. Al-Qalqashandī does not quote his full name in any

43 Bosworth, *al-Qalqashandī*, *ET* iv, 509, echoed in van Berkel, *al-Qalqashandī* 339 ("Whether he was still employed in the Mamluk chancery is unknown to us").

44 The time (night) is only indicated in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. The date fell on a Friday, but the night of Saturday starts after sunset on Friday according to the Muslim calendar. Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī should have said 11 instead of 10 Jumādā II.

45 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* i, 352; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, Cairo 1934–6, ii, 8.

46 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʿ al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥabashī, iii, 179; idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis* iii, 54; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumʿān*, ed. Qarmūṭ 1985, 339; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* ii, 432.

47 He was followed in this by al-ʿAynī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, and al-Ṣayrafī.

48 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ* ii, 8 (*wa-sammā l-ʿAynī wa-l-Maqrīzī wālidahu ʿAbdallāh wa-huwa wahm*).

of his books. However, it is mentioned on the title pages of some manuscripts of his works. One of these is *Ma'āthir al-ināfa*. As the editor noticed, the title page of the unique copy, which moreover is a presentation copy,<sup>49</sup> bears the following name: Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī.<sup>50</sup> The same holds true for the manuscript of another work (*Daw' al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jary l-dawḥ al-muthmir*), which is once again a presentation copy and probably a holograph as well, that shares the same features.<sup>51</sup> On the title page the name is given, without *laqab*, as Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Fazārī al-Qalqashandī.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, in the biography al-Sakhāwī dedicated to al-Qalqashandī's son, the name of his grandfather is 'Abdallāh. Al-Sakhāwī thus contradicts himself. All these elements seem to invalidate al-Sakhāwī's claim that the name of al-Qalqashandī's father was 'Alī.<sup>53</sup>

All the above clearly show that al-Maqrīzī was the only contemporary author who provided personal details that only he could know from his acquaintance with al-Qalqashandī. The correspondence studied here further supports this impression.

49 And maybe even the holograph: the title page gives the author's name without the *laqab*, a practice authors adhere to when they write their own name, and the invocation that follows shows that he was still alive (*qarana Allāh maqāṣidahu bi-l-qubūl*).

50 al-Qalqashandī, *Ma'āthir al-ināfa* i, *bā'*. The editor underlined that this contradicted al-Sakhāwī's allegation.

51 Tehran: Kitābkhānah-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān, ms 'Ayn 1122. The text is a summarized version in two volumes (the manuscript corresponds to the first volume) of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* made at the request of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārīzī, who was the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad. Nāṣir al-Dīn was chief secretary of the chancery from 815/1413 to 823/1420, the date of his death. His son inherited his position upon his father's death, though only for a period of three months (823/1420–824/1421). He was reinstated on two occasions later on. See Wiet, *Les Secrétaires* 286–8. Several details show that this copy of *Daw' al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* was produced when Kamāl al-Dīn's father was still living, hence corroborating the hypothesis that this is a holograph copy: Nāṣir al-Dīn's name in the introduction is followed by the invocation *zīdat 'aẓamatuhu*, indicating that he was still living; his title is *al-Maqrarr al-ashraf* and he is described as being the *ṣāhib dawāwīn al-inshā' al-sharīf* whereas his son's title is *al-Maqrarr al-karīm* on the title page and *al-Maqrarr al-sharīf* in the introduction; the colophon reads *najiza mu'allifuhu hadhā [l-ta'rif] fi l-'ashr al-awākhir min rabī' al-ākhir sanat ihḍā wa-'ishrīn wa-thamāni mi'a* and someone added *raḥimahu llāh* above *mu'allifuhu*. The edition of the first volume of this abridgement was published in Cairo in 1906 (and reprinted in 2009) and does not contain the details of the title page, as the editor worked from another manuscript preserved in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya, ms *Adab* 65).

52 The invocation is *laṭāfa [A]llāh bi-hi*.

53 All the modern sources repeat this mistake with the exception of 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *Abū l-'Abbās al-Qalqashandī* 24.

### Significance of the Correspondence

Besides the personal relationship between al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī, the letters are also important for the history of the literary production of both authors. In his letter, al-Maqrīzī justifies his request by the fact that al-Qalqashandī is the author of “that unattainable book of unprecedented example” (*wa-qad katabtum fihi* [i.e., *muṣṭalaḥ al-inshāʾ*] *dhālika l-kitab al-badīʿ al-mithāl wa-l-baʿīd al-manāl*).<sup>54</sup> Though he does not quote the title of the book, here he is clearly referring to *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*. Al-Maqrīzī knew the title, since he mentions it in the three biographies he dedicated to its author. In *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, he says that al-Qalqashandī composed *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, in which he gathered very useful material.<sup>55</sup> Both in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* and in *al-Muqaffā*, the second part of the title is given as *fī qawānīn al-inshāʾ*, an indication that he was probably quoting from memory.<sup>56</sup> In the first, he also specifies that this is a huge book, but he never states the number of volumes. This detail is provided by another contemporary, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who indicates that it was in four volumes,<sup>57</sup> which is hardly credible: the copies preserved are in seven volumes and, as we saw, al-Qalqashandī’s son made two copies of his father’s book, one in seven volumes and the other in eleven. This is not the only discrepancy: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī also cites the second part of the title in two different ways not attested for the book: *fī maʿrifat al-inshāʾ* and *fī fann al-inshāʾ*. All this strengthens the impression that in fact he had not seen a copy of the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, in contrast to al-Maqrīzī.

Al-Maqrīzī’s implicit reference to this book makes it possible to roughly date the letter and its response. In general, when al-Qalqashandī completed his works, he provided his reader with chronological indications to help them to date his output fairly precisely toward the end of his life, as is shown in the following list:

- 
- 54 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 28a.  
 55 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* iv, 474 (*jamaʿa fihi jamʿan kabīran muḥīdan*).  
 56 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 1991, i, 512 = *al-Muqaffā*, ed. Yaʿlāwī 2006, i, 312; idem, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, ii, 362 = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Darwīsh and Miṣrī, ii, 75 = *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, ed. Jalīlī, i, 313.  
 57 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* iii, 178–9 (*fī maʿrifat al-inshāʾ*); idem, *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis* iii, 54 (*fī fann al-inshāʾ*). It is important to stress that al-Qalqashandī always calls his book *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshāʾ* and not *fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*. See his introduction to *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* i, 10. His references to the book in his other works, such as in *Maʾāthir al-ināfa* (i, 272; iii, 98, 183, 279) and *Ḍawʿ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* (MS ʿAyn 1122) = *Ḍawʿ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* (ed. Salāma), further confirm this. The version of the title with *ṣināʿat* appears only on the title page of the latter.

*Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿArab*: 812/1409–10<sup>58</sup>

*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshāʾ*: 28 Shawwāl 814/12 February 1412<sup>59</sup>

*Qalāʾid al-jumān fī l-taʿrīf bi-qabāʾil ʿArab al-zamān*: 13 Rajab 819/6

September 1416<sup>60</sup>

*Maʾāthir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa*: 819/1417?<sup>61</sup>

*Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jany l-dawḥ al-muthmīr*: 20–29 Rabīʿ II 821/27

May–5 June 1418<sup>62</sup>

Thus the exchange of correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī can be dated roughly between 814/1412 (completion of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*) and 821/1418 (al-Qalqashandī's death). The *terminus post quem* must however be reconsidered in view of the fact that the oldest copy of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* is dated 1 Muḥarram 817/23 March 1414.<sup>63</sup> It is likely that it took time, perhaps several years, for al-Maqrīzī to learn of the existence of *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* and even before the book became known in Cairo. To narrow the temporal window suggested by the two termini, it is useful to turn to al-Maqrīzī's mention of two of his books related to his request; he states that both would greatly benefit from al-Qalqashandī's answer.

The first is cited without its title, but al-Maqrīzī indicates that it dealt with the history of secretaries and that he was determined to prepare the fair copy. Thus it is easy to identify it with his *Khulāṣat al-tibr fī akhbār kuttāb al-sirr*. We know that this work was started before the year 803/1400–1, because in that year al-Maqrīzī consulted a holograph copy of a volume of *al-Mughrib fī hulā l-Maghrib* by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) and left a dated note of consultation on the title page, as per his habit. He also scribbled a note in the margin of one leaf where the author speaks of a secretary from the Fatimid period. In this note, al-Maqrīzī says that he mentions the same person in the book he was compiling

58 See Bauden, Like father like son 200 and note 99.

59 al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* xiv, 404; van Berkel, al-Qalqashandī 336, is wrong when she says that this took place in 821/1418.

60 al-Qalqashandī, *Qalāʾid al-jumān* 206.

61 al-Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthir al-ināfa* ii, 211 (*ilā ḥin taʿlīf ḥādhā al-kitāb fī mabādīʾ sanat tisʾ ashara wa-thamānimīʾa*). The date of completion is not mentioned in the preserved manuscripts but the sentence quoted above helps to place it in the same year given that he had still roughly one third to compose at the beginning of 819/1416.

62 al-Qalqashandī, *Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir* (MS ʿAyn 1122) 659. Björkman, *Beiträge* 73, says that the date of completion is unknown; he just notes that, given that some parts are better formulated, it must have been composed after *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*.

63 Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS A2930/7.

at that time on individuals who were in charge of the chancery.<sup>64</sup> Though no copy of this work has been discovered so far, we may assume that al-Maqrīzī indeed made a fair copy of it in the end because he quotes it in *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār* with its full title.<sup>65</sup>

The second work referred to by al-Maqrīzī is *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*. He declares that it was almost finished (*fa-qad yassara llāh bi-muqārabat al-firāgh min kitābī [...]*) at the time he was writing his letter.<sup>66</sup> We still lack a precise dating for al-Maqrīzī's oeuvre thus far and the mention of these two titles and the phase of their redaction is essential to place them on a timeline. First, it provides a confirmation that al-Maqrīzī's work on the secretaries was his first major book since he started it before 803/1400–1 and completed it before what is considered his *magnum opus*, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*. In spite of this precedence, al-Maqrīzī preferred to work on the latter before taking time to prepare the fair copy of the former. As for *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, it has been recently established that the first version was composed between 811/1408–9 and 816/1413–4, with some updates dateable to 818/1415–6.<sup>67</sup> This fits perfectly with the letter in which he states that it is on the verge of being completed. Considering that the letter could not have been written before 814/1412 at the earliest and after 821/1418, as we saw, it may be concluded that the first version of that work must be located within this lapse of time and that the chronological window when the letter was composed must be narrowed between 814/1412 at the earliest and 818/1415–6 at the latest. This passage also provides evidence that al-Maqrīzī valued his work, and even felt smug complacency about the outcome (“if I were not its author, I would have praised it as it deserves”).<sup>68</sup> This is a unique expression of self-satisfaction with regard to his *magnum opus*.

Given the significance of the letters for both authors and their work, it remains to be established whether al-Maqrīzī made use of the answer provided by al-Qalqashandī. The answer cannot be ascertained, since his work on the secretaries of state has not been preserved. Consequently, we do not know if he ever exploited the material. Certainly there is no indication of a semantic

64 *Wa-qad dhakartuhu fīmā anā jāmiʿuhu min al-taʿrīf li-man wulliya waẓīfat al-inshāʾ wa-kitābat al-sijllāt fi Miṣr in shāʾa llāh yassara llāh fi itmāmihi wa-aʾāna ʿalā tabyīdihī. See Ibn Saʿīd, al-Nujūm al-zāhira 249 (note 2).*

65 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, ed. Cairo 1853, ii, 63 = *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 204 (*wa-qad dhakartuhu bi-absaṭ min hādihā [...] wa-fi kitābī Khulāṣat al-tibr fi akhbār kuttāb al-sirr*).

66 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fi mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 28a.

67 Bauden, *Maqriziana* IX 205.

68 Ibn Abī Ghudda, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fi mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, fol. 28a.

shift in the meaning of the word *marsūm* and its derivatives in *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, although he devoted some space to the chancery and its practices.<sup>69</sup>

### Conclusion

The field of epistolography in general and the correspondence exchanged by members of the upper class, including scholars in the Mamluk period, in particular, certainly deserve more attention. There have been no studies of the genre for this period and the two letters discussed here show that such examples can be tackled from a variety of research angles, including the nature of the relationship between correspondents, and the fact that they convey new information on their authors' output. This type of study should certainly include a diplomatic and rhetorical approach given that the rules prevailing at the chancery thoroughly permeated letter writing in the Mamluk period.

### Edition<sup>70</sup>

[٢٧ب] النوع الخامس: 71 المراسيم الشريفة ومنها ما يكون مقتضبا ومنها ما يكون على ظهور القصص.  
ورد على والدي رحمه الله تعالى رقعة من الشيخ تقي الدين المقلبي [sic] الشافعي تغمده الله برحمته مضمونها:

الرسم بقية الأثر وقيل ما ليس له شخوص من الآثار وقيل هو ما لصق بالأرض منها والجمع أرسمُ {ورسوم} 72 ورسم الغيث 73 الدار عفاها وأبقى فيها أثر الاصقا بالأرض وترسم الرسم نظر إليه والرسم كالرسم والرسم خشبة فيها كتاب 74 يختم به الطعام والرسم الطابع والشين

69 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, ed. Cairo 1853, ii, 225–7 = *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, ed. Sayyid, iii, 730–4.

70 Ibn Abī Ghuddah, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī mukātabāt ahl al-zamān*, London, British Library, MS OR. 3625.

71 MS: corrected on السادس by the scribe.

72 MS: ورسم. The correction is made on the basis of Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* v, 215.

73 MS: الغيث.

74 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, *ibid.*: + منقوش (inscribed).



لغة فيه وخص بعضهم به الطابع الذي يطبع به رأس الخابية وقد جاء في الشعر [قرحة]<sup>75</sup>  
بروسم أي بوجه الفرس وإن عليه لروسما أي [علامة حسن أو قبح ورسمت الناقاة ترسم]<sup>76</sup>  
رسيما أثرت<sup>77</sup> في الأرض من شدة وطئها وأرسمتها أنا والرسم الركبة<sup>78</sup> تدفنها [الأرض]<sup>79</sup>  
والجمع رسام والارتسام التكبير والتعود<sup>80</sup> وقال الشاعر:<sup>81</sup> [متقارب] [١٢٨]

وقابلها الريح في دنها وصلّى على دنها وارتمت<sup>82</sup>

المملوك أحمد المقلبي يقبل الأرض وينهي أن مما يتداوله أهل الإنشاء اليوم قولهم مرسوم  
شريف ورسم بالأمر الشريف والمرسوم مرسومكم ونحو ذلك يشبه أنهم يعنون بذلك أمر  
واشتقوا منه وهذا جميع ما أعلمه في مادة رسم رسم م وليس فيها من ذلك شيء وعهدي  
بكم تناضلون عن مصطلح الإنشاء وقد كتبت فيه ذلك الكتاب البديع المثال<sup>83</sup> البعيد المثال  
والمسؤول<sup>84</sup> إفادة المملوك ما معنى ذلك في اصطلاح الإنشاء مما لا يخالفه<sup>85</sup> اللغة وإلا فقد  
صدق قول المملوك في واضعه ولم يرد المملوك بالسؤال عن ذلك إلا الفائدة فإني عازم على  
تبييض ما كتبت من أخبار كتاب السر فقد يسر الله بمقاربة الفراغ من كتابي المسعى بكتاب  
المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الحطط والآثار الذي لو وضعه غيري لقلت فيه ما يستحقه من  
الثناء غير أن المثل القديم يعجب بابه<sup>86</sup> وما هو إلا بنات صدري ووسواس فكري والله  
إني لكم المشتاق فالله بمن بالتلاقي بمنه وكرمه. أنهى ذلك إن شاء الله تعالى.

75 There is a lacuna here. The necessary addition is from *ibid.*

76 There is a lacuna here. The necessary addition is from *ibid.*, 215–6.

77 انزت: MS.

78 MS: الركبة.

79 There is a lacuna here. The necessary addition is from Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* v, 216.

80 MS: التعود.

81 In Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* v, 216, the name of the poet is al-A’shā. See al-A’shā, *Dīwān* 35 (verse 11).

82 The whole paragraph stems from Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* v, 215–6.

83 MS: المثال.

84 MS: والمسؤول.

85 MS: يخالفه.

86 This proverb does not appear in the classical repertoires that I have consulted. It is echoed however in the introduction Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Umar al-Qarāfi (d. 1009/1601) wrote for his *Tawshīḥ al-dībāj wa-ḥiyat al-ibtihāj* 14: *wa-t-mar’ yu’jabu bi-bnihi wa-bi-shi’rihi wa-bi-ṣun’ihi.*



فأجابه والدي رحمه الله تعالى:

الشيخ التقي المملوك أحمد القلقشندي يقبل الأرض وينهي ورود المرسوم [٢٨ب] الكريم العالي أعلاه الله تعالى على المملوك يأمره بالنظر في مادة قول كتاب الإنشاء مرسوم شريف ورسم بالأمر الشريف وما يجري هذا المجرى ومن أين أخذ ذلك من كلام أهل اللغة بعد إيراد ما سمح به القلم مما وقع عليه اطلاع سيدي الشيخ أمتع الله الوجود ببركته رسم على اختلاف معاني ذلك ونجوى<sup>87</sup> الخطاب يشير إلى أنهم يعنون بقولهم رسم أمر مع أنه ليس في المادة المذكورة ما يطابق هذا المعنى ثم كان من فضل سيدي الشيخ نشأ الله في أجله أنه أجرى تلهينه المستمنح من فضله والمغترف من بحر فوائده على عادة تفضلاته من التنويه بذكر تأليفه في كتاب الإنشاء الشبيه في الحقيقة بحديث خرافة بعد التصدير بعهد المملوك المناضلة عن مصطلح الإنشاء والذي يطالع به المملوك العلوم الكريمة أنه ليس من فرسان هذا الميدان ولا من رجال هذه الحلبة<sup>88</sup> غير أن أمر السادة لازم للعيد وعزيمة الموالي لا يبرح الخروج عن عهدها إلا بالامثال والمملوك يدي بين يدي سيدي ما سنح له من ذلك على ما هو عليه من جمود الفكر وكلافة القريحة والمسؤول<sup>89</sup> من جزيل الإحسان ووافر الامتنان النظر فيما يديه من ذلك بعين المجاملة والإغضاء عما في المعائب والمثالب [٢٩أ] ومما يقدمه المملوك أمام جوابه أن ما جرى عليه الاصطلاح مما يكتب فيه رسم بالأمر الشريف وما في معنى ذلك ليس مما استحدثه أهل العصر ولا من قارب زمانهم من بني فضل الله ومن دانا هم كما يقع في ظن كثير من أهل العصر بل قد ألقى المملوك ذلك في كتابة كتاب الدولة الأيوبية بعد الخمس مائة والكتاب إذ ذاك من قد علم سيدي الشيخ من ذوي الفضل والمعرفة بأصول الكتابة مما لا يظن به أنه يصطاح على المهمات المجانبة للغة العرب وإذا تأمل المتأمل مادة رسم وجد هذا المصطلح في رسم والمرسوم وما انحط في سلكهما مينا على عدة أصول من اللغة موجودة في كتبها:

الأول أن يكون مأخوذاً من قول القائل رسمت له كذا فارتسمه إذا امتثله ويكون المراد منه الأمر كما أشار إليه سيدي الشيخ أبقاه الله تعالى في كلامه + كما إذ ينحل +<sup>90</sup> إلى قولك أمرته بكذا فاتممه [blank of five lines] [٢٩ب]

87 MS: ونجوى.

88 MS: + لا crossed out.

89 MS: والمسؤول.

90 This passage is corrupted: The copyist seems to have tried to reproduce his model but this is meaningless and I cannot propose any alternative solution.

أن يكون مأخوذاً من [...] [...] في معنى التوقيع أنه الأثر الخفيف أخذاً من قولهم ناقة موقعة الجنب إذا تأثر جنبها بالقتب تأثراً خفيفاً والتوقيع وإن كان في الأصل اسماً لما يكتب على حواشي القصص ونحوها فقد توسع فيه حتى صار يطلق على جميع المكتوب كما في المرسوم ونحوه  
 91 [blank] أن يكون مأخوذاً من الرسم بمعنى الطابع الذي يطبع به على رأس الخاتمة ونحوها إذ المرسوم في الولاية وما يجاريها كالطابع الذي يطبع به على تلك الجهة حتى لا يسوغ التصرف فيها لغير متوليها  
 92 [blank] أن يكون مأخوذاً من الرسم أيضاً وهو شيء تجلي به الدنانير إما بمعنى أن الأمور تجلي لصاحب الولاية ونحوها بالوصايا التي تكتب في المرسوم أو بمعنى أن الأمور تجلي لصاحب الولاية الذي يكتب له المرسوم إذ بالحكام تجلي مدلهمات الأمور وتتضح<sup>93</sup> مشكلاتها هذا ما ظهر للمملوك على قصوره في هذا الباب وقلة بضاعته فإن كان خلل فمثل المملوك يعذر وإن وافق الصواب أو قارب فمن ندور سيدي حصل ويكون المملوك فيه كمثل التمر إلى هجر: [كامل]

وَالْبَحْرُ يَمْطُرُهُ السَّحَابُ وَمَا لَهُ فَضْلٌ عَلَيْهِ لِأَنَّهُ مِنْ مَائِهِ<sup>94</sup>

أنهى ذلك إن شاء الله تعالى.

### Translation

[Fol. 27b] The fifth category: The noble decrees among which there are those that are extracted and those that are [written] on the back of the petitions.

A letter (*ruq'a*) whose contents follow was received by my father—may God the Sublime have mercy upon him—from the Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqlīzī [sic] al-Shāfi'ī—may God encompass him with His grace—.

91 The space left blank should have been filled in with the number of the proposal to be added in red ink as for the first one.

92 The space left blank should have been filled in with the number of the proposal to be added in red ink as for the first one.

93 MS: ويتضح.

94 Attributed to al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī (Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī, d. 534/1139–40). See 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* ii, 127–46 (142 for the poem); Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Irshād al-arīb* vi, 2769–71 (no. 1200; 2771 for the poem). In both sources, al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī's verse starts with *ka-l-baḥr* instead of *wa-l-baḥr*.

A relic (*al-rasm*) is the remains of the trace (*al-athar*), or those traces that have no substance, or those of them that cleave to the ground. The plural is *arsum* and *rusūm*. The rain razed (*rasama*) the house, [i.e.,] it erased it leaving a relic thereof cleaving to the ground. He observed (*tarassama*) the mark (*al-rasm*), [i.e.,] he looked at it. The sign (*al-rawsam*) is similar to the trace (*al-rasm*). It is also a piece of wood upon which is an inscription with which food is stamped. It is also the stamp. [The form with] the *shūn* (*rawsham*) is a variant. Some use it particularly for the seal with which the mouth of the jar (*al-khābiya*) is stamped. It occurs in poetry “a blaze on the face of a horse” (*qurḥa bi-rawsam*) meaning the face of a horse. [In] “Verily upon him is a sign (*rawsam*),”<sup>95</sup> it means a mark of beauty or of ugliness. The she-camel left marks (*rasamat, tarsim, rasīman*) [means] she made marks upon the ground by the vehemence of her tread and I caused her to leave such marks (*arsamtu*). It (*al-rasm*) is also the well that the earth filled up, the plural being *risām*. *Al-Irtisām* is to say “God is great” (*Allāh akbar*) and to seek protection by God. The poet [al-A’shā] says:<sup>96</sup> [*mutaqārib*]

He exposed it [the wine] to the wind, in its jar,  
and he prayed over its jar, and petitioned (*irtasama*) for it.

The slave Aḥmad al-Maqlīzī [sic] kisses the ground and reports that among the words of which the people of the chancery make frequent use nowadays, there are “a noble decree” (*marsūm sharīf*), “the noble order has been decreed” (*rusīma bi-l-amr al-sharīf*), “the decree is yours” (*al-marsūm marsūmukum*), and the like. It would seem by this that they mean “it has been ordered” (*umīra*) and they derive from it [various expressions]. This [the definitions that precede] is all that I know with regard to *rasam* [root] *r-s-m* and there is nothing in it of this kind. I enjoin you to defend the terminology (*muṣṭalah*) of the chancery as you have written about it in that unattainable book of unprecedented example. What is asked [from you] is to inform the slave of the meaning of this [term] in the usages (*iṣṭilāḥ*) of the chancery provided that it is not incompatible with the lexicon (*luḡha*). Otherwise, what the slave has said regarding the person who instituted this term will be true. In inquiring about this, the slave only wishes to gain knowledge as I am determined to make a fair copy of what I have written on the stories of the secretaries and God has made it possible [for me] to almost finish my book entitled *al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* [Admonitions and reflections on the mention of the quarters and monuments] which, if I were not its author, I would have praised as it deserves, were it not for the old saying “He is proud of his son” because it would only be the result of my anxieties and my concerns. By God! I am longing for you. God bestows the encounter by His grace and favor. He reported this, if God the Sublime will.

95 This is taken from a poem by Khālid ibn Jabala.

96 Fol. 28a.

My father—may God the Sublime have mercy upon him—answered him:

The Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn

The slave Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī kisses the ground and reports the reception, by the slave, of the gracious and elevated decree<sup>97</sup>—may God the Sublime exalt it—where he [al-Maqrīzī] instructs him to examine the issue of the secretaries of the chancery saying “noble decree” (*marsūm sharīf*), “the noble order has been decreed” (*rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf*), and the like, as well as from where the lexicographers consider that this was taken after having listed what the pen permitted our master the shaykh—may God make him enjoy existence through His benediction—to discover regarding [the root] *r-s-m* according to the various meanings of this [root]. The letter (*khiṭāb*) implicitly indicates that what they mean by *rasama* is “to order” (*amara*) though there is nothing in the mentioned root that corresponds to this meaning. Then it was part of the graciousness of our master, the shaykh—may God increase his term—, to bestow upon his disciple, who desires to be granted his grace and who scoops out from the sea of his useful teachings, his usual favors in extolling the mention of his work on the secretaries of the chancery which is, in reality, commensurate with the story of Khurāfa,<sup>98</sup> after he expressed to the slave his admonishment to defend the terminology of the chancery.

What the slave reports to [his] eminent cognizance is that he is not competent in this field and he is unfamiliar with it.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, the master’s order is a duty for the slave and the only way to be released from the obligation to the lord’s decision is to execute it. The slave brings his master what has entered his mind about this as it comes from a lethargic mind and a weak talent. What is asked for from profuse benevolence and abundant bounteousness is to examine what he expresses about this with a friendly eye and with indulgence for the shortcomings and defects.<sup>100</sup>

What the slave answers is that the usage which consists in writing “the noble order has been decreed” (*rusima bi-l-amr al-sharīf*) and other expressions of similar meaning

97 Fol. 28b.

98 This is a reference to the story of a ‘Udhri whose tales of adventures after being abducted by demons were not believed; hence the use of the expression found here to designate entirely fictitious talk. However, the meaning can be seen as positive because “the Prophet himself vouches for the existence of the character and the authenticity of his statements” (Pellat, *Ḥikāya*, *ET*<sup>2</sup> iii, 369). Al-Qalqashandī is thus probably alluding to the Prophet’s judgment in favor of the veracity of Khurāfa’s story on one hand and, on the other, to the fact that al-Maqrīzī’s forthcoming book will be as wonderful as this story, as suggested by the use he makes of “in reality” (*fī l-ḥaqīqa*).

99 Literally “he is not one of the horsemen of this playing field nor one of the men of this arena.”

100 Fol. 29a.

is not something that the people of this time nor those of the Banū Faḍl Allāh who were almost their contemporaries nor those who were close to them introduced as our contemporaries believe. On the contrary, the slave found this in the production of the secretaries of the Ayyūbid dynasty after the year 500. At that time, the secretaries, as our master the shaykh knows, were men of erudition and knowledge in the principles of the art of writing so that there is no reason to think that it would have been applied to important matters by digressing from the language of the Arabs.

If someone looks attentively at the root *r-s-m*, he will find this technical meaning of *rasama* (“he decreed”), *al-marsūm* (“the decree”), and the like<sup>101</sup> clearly explained according to numerous etymologies found in the lexicons:

[1] [It could have] been taken from *rasamtu lahu kadhā fa-rtasamahu* when he executes it. What is meant here is the order as our master, the shaykh,—may God the Sublime spare him—indicated in his speech ...<sup>102</sup> when you say “I ordered him [to do] this and he executed it.”<sup>103</sup>

[2] [It could have been taken] [lacuna] in the sense of an endorsement (*tawqīr*), which is the shallow mark stemming from “a she-camel whose flank is galled” when the rope left a slight trace on its flank. Even if the endorsement (*al-tawqīr*) was originally a name applied to what is written on the margins of the petitions and the like, its meaning was extended until it was applied to the whole writ as for *al-marsūm* (the decree) and the like.

[3] [It could have] been taken from *al-rawsam*, meaning the seal that is stamped on the mouth of the jar and the like given that the decree (*al-marsūm*) of appointment and similar [deeds] is comparable to the seal that is stamped to this end in such a way that only the person who is in charge of it is allowed to dispose of it.

[4] [It could have] been taken from *al-rawsam* again, which is something that is used to polish the dinars, meaning either that the affairs reveal themselves to the owner of the position and the like through the recommendations that are written in the decree (*al-marsūm*), or that the affairs become clear to the owner of the position for whom the decree is written given that obscure affairs become plain and difficult ones appear clear through the rulers.

This is what has come to the view of the slave, notwithstanding his inability in this matter and his lack of knowledge. If he is mistaken, the one who is like a slave asks for forgiveness; if he is right or is close [to the truth], it is thanks to our lord’s vows

101 Literally “what descends their thread.”

102 The three words that follow are corrupted in the MS.

103 Fol. 29b.

that he succeeded. In this case, the slave is comparable to the one who brings a date to Hajar:<sup>104</sup> [*kāmīl*]

The cloud waters the sea  
 No merit for this as it is made of the sea's water

He reported this if God the Sublime will.



FIGURE 10.1 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 27b.

104 Hajar was the name of the capital of Bahrayn and the surrounding area (i.e., Eastern Arabia). It was reputed for its dates. A variant of this proverb is listed by al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl* ii, 152 (no. 3080): *ka-mustabdi' al-tamr ilā Hajar* (like the one who brings dates as merchandise to Hajar).

وَقَابِلَهَا الِيرْح فِي ذُنُوبِهَا وَصَلَّى عَلَيْهَا وَنَمَّاءُ وَارْتَسَمَ  
 الْمَلَكُ أَحَدَ الْمُقَلِّدِي عِبَادِ اللَّهِ فِي رَمَى لِرَحْمَانِيَا وَلِأَهْلِ  
 الْأَنْشَاءِ الْبُرْمِ قَوْلُهُمْ قَرَسَمُ شَرِيفٌ وَرَسَمٌ بِالْأَمْرِ لِيُزَيِّنَ وَالْمَرْسُومُ  
 مَرْسُومٌ وَكَوْرُ الدَّيْثِيَّةِ أَنَّهُمْ يُعْنُونَ بِذَلِكَ أَمْرًا وَسَقَوْا مِنْهُ هَذَا  
 جَمِيعَ مَا أَعْلَمَهُ فِي مَادَّةِ دَسَمٍ رَسَمٌ وَرَسْمٌ فِيهِمَا ذَلَالَةٌ وَعَمْدٌ كَمِ  
 تَنَاصُلُونَ عَنْ مَصْطَلَحِ الْأَنْشَاءِ وَقَدْ كُنْتُمْ فِيهِ ظَالِمًا لِكِتَابِ الْبَيْعِ الْمُنَالِ  
 الْبَعِيدِ الْمُنَالِ وَالْمُنَالُ إِفَادَةُ الْمَلَلِ أَوْ مَعْنَى ذَلِكِ فِي أَصْلِهِ الْأَنْشَاءُ  
 مَا لَا يَجَالِيهِ الْفَعْلَةُ وَالْأَفْعَدُ صِدْقٌ قَوْلُ الْمَلَلِ فِي وَاقِعِهِ وَلَمْ يَرِدِ الْمَلُولُ  
 بِالْمَسْرُوعِ عَنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا الْفَائِيْنَ فَانِي عَادَ عَلَى تَبْيِيضِ مَا كُنْتُمْ مِنْ أَحْبَابِ  
 كِتَابِ السَّرْفِ دَسِيرٌ لِنَهْ مَعَادِيهَا الْفِرَاعُ مَرْكَابِي الْمَسْمِيِّ بِكِتَابِ الْوَاعِظِ  
 وَالْأَقْبَارِ فِي ذِكْرِ الْخَطِّ وَالْأَمَارِ الدَّلِيلُ وَصِيَ غَيْرِي لَعَلَّتْ فِيهِ مَا سَمَّيْتُمْ  
 سُرَا شَاغِرًا فِي الْمَثَلِ الْعَزِيمِ بِمَجِبِّ بَابِنْدِ وَطَاهِرِ الْأَبْنَاءِ صَدْرِي  
 وَوَسْرَاسِ فِكْرِي وَوَأَسْهُ انِّي لِكَمْ شَتَاقٌ فَالِدِي يَمِينُ الْبَلَاءِ عِنْدِي  
 وَوَأَسْهُ انِّي ذَلِيلٌ تَائِبٌ تَعَالَى فَاجَابَهُ وَالَّذِي رَحِمَهُ لَعْنَةُ تَعَالَى  
 الشَّيْءُ التَّقْوِيُّ الْمَلَلُ أَحْمَدُ الْعَلْفُ فِي رَسْمِ الْأَرْضِ فِي رُودِ الْكُرُومِ

FIGURE 10.2 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 28a.



الكرم الحال اعلاه لله تعالى على الملوك باسمه بالنظر في مادة قول  
 كتاب الانشا من رسم شريف ودسم بالاسم الشريف وما جرى هذا الجرى  
 ومن اين اخذ ذلك من كلام اهل اللغة بعد اراد ما سمح به القامح ما وقع  
 عليه الخلاع سيدى الشيخ المنع الله الوجود بمرثته رسمه على  
 اختلاف معاني ذلك ونحو الخطاب ليشير الى الفهم بكون بقولهم  
 رسم اسمع انه ليس في المادة المذكورة ما يطابق هذا المعنى ثم كان من  
 فضل سيدى الشيخ شتالعه في اجله انه اجرى تليد المستمع من فضل  
 والترقى من محرواين على مادة تفضلا من التوسيع بتركها ليقفه  
 نكاح الانشا الشبيه في الحتمه بحدت خواجه بعد القدير بعصده  
 بالملك المناضلة من مصطلح الانشا والدرى العالم به الملوك العلوم  
 الحكمه انه ليس في رسال هذا الميدان وان اردوا ان هذا الحلبه لا غير ان  
 امر اساده لادوم للعبه وعزمة الهوا الى ابرج الخروج عن عمد بها الا  
 بالاعتقال والملك سيدى بى سيدى ما سمح له من الدليل هو علم محمود  
 الفكر وكلاهما الترجمة والمؤلف من بل الاحسان واول الانشا  
 النظر في ما يهيمه من ذلك بين الجملة والاعضاء عامه والمعايش والمطالب

FIGURE 10.3 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 28b.



29

وما تقدمه الملزوم جوابه ان ما جرى عليه الاصطلاح ملائمة في رسم الامر  
 الشريف وما في معنى اللبس ما استمدت من العمل العمري ولا من تاريخ زمانهم من  
 فضل له وفتح انما في نظر كثير من الملوك العرب بل قد انزل الملوك الكتاب  
 كتاب الدول لا يوسيه بعد الجسامة والكتاب اذ ان في قوله سيد محمد في  
 الفضايل الحرة باصول الكتاب مما انظر به انه بصريح على المهمات المجانية  
 للغة العرب واذا تأمل المتأمل ما دونه وسر وجود هذا المصطلح في رسم  
 والموسم وما اخطأ في سلمهما مبيدنا على عدل اصول من اللغة موجودة في  
 كتبها **الاول** ان يكون ما خذ من قول القائل وصمت له كذا فادرسه اذا  
 استعمله ويكون المراد منه الامر كما اشار اليه سيد محمد في قوله لغيره من كلامه  
 كما اذا نحل الى قول امرته بكذا فامرته

FIGURE 10.4 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 29a.

في معنى التوقيع انه الاثر الخفيف احد من قوتهم نأى موقعه الجنب في ان اثر  
 جيبها بالفتب تاثر اخفيا و التوقيع وان كان في الاصل اسما لما يكتب على  
 هو اى القمص ونحوها قد توسع فيه حتى صار يطلق على جميع الكتب كالتوقيع  
 ونحوه ان يكون ما يؤخذ من الرسم بمعنى الطابع الذي يطبع به على اس  
 الخايه ونحوها اذ الرسوم في الولاية وما يجاء بها كالتابع الذي يطبع به على تلك  
 الجمله حتى لا يبرغ التصرف فيها لغير متوليها ان يكون ما يؤخذ ا  
 من الرسم ايضا وهو شئ تجلي به الدنيا يبره اما بمعنى ان الامور تجلي لصاحب  
 الولاية ونحوها بالوصايا التي يكتب في الرسم او بمعنى ان الامور تجلي لصاحب  
 الولاية الذي يكتب له الرسم اذ بالحكام تجلي مد لهجات الامور وينصح  
 مشكلاتها هذا ما ظهر للملوك على تصوره في هذا الباب وقلة  
 بضاعه فان كان خلال قسمل الملوك يعجزون وان وافق الصواب او فادب فمز  
 يدوسير حصل ويكون الملوك فيه كما قل التمر الى حجر  
 والحسن مطر السحاب وماله فضل عليه لانه من مائه  
 ان يزدل ان شالته تجار قل

FIGURE 10.5 The British Library, MS OR. 3625, fol. 29b.

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

- al-‘Abbāsī, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh, *Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra, Beirut 1989.
- al-‘Almawī, ‘Abd al-Bāṣiṭ b. Mūsā, *Mukhtaṣar tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris*, trans. Henri Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” in *Journal Asiatique* 3 (1894), 385–501.
- Abū al-Fidā’, Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī, [*Kitāb*] *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, 4 vols., Cairo 1907.
- Abū al-Fidā’, Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī, [*Kitāb*] *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Maḥmūd Dayyūb, 2 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘il, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-Nūrīyya wa-l-Ṣalāḥīyya*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 2002.
- Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘il, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābi‘*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1947, repr. Beirut 1974.
- Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘il, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābi‘*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 2002.
- Abū Ya‘lā al-Farrā’, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, *Kitāb al-I‘tiqād*, Riyad 2002.
- Anonymous, *Miftāḥ al-rāḥa li-ahl al-filāḥa*, eds. Muḥammad ‘Īsā Ṣāliḥīyya and Iḥsān Ṣidqī al-‘Amad, Kuwait 1984.
- Anonymous, *Kanz al-fawā‘id fī tanwī‘ al-mawā‘id*, eds. Manuela Marin and David Waines, Beirut 1993.
- Anonymous, The description of familiar foods [*Kitāb Waṣf al-aṭ‘ima al-mu‘tāda*], trans. Charles Perry, in Maxime Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, Devon, UK 2001, 273–465.
- Anonymous, *Qānūn Nāmeḥ wilāyat al-Shām [=Kanunname-i Şam]*, trans. Halil Sahillioğlu, University of Amman, manuscript in the microfilm archive.
- Anonymous, *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā al-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa-l-ṭīb*, trans. Charles Perry as Scents and flavors: A Syrian cookbook, New York 2017.
- al-‘Ašhā, Maymūn b. Qays, *Dīwān al-A‘shā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Cairo 1950.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭawī al-Qarmūt, 2 vols., Cairo 1985–89.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*. ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, 4 vols., Cairo 1987–92.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. Islām Yūsha‘ Bīnū, Amman 2012.
- al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Ta’rīkh al-Badr fī awṣāf ahl al-‘aṣr*, London, British Library, MS Add. 22350.

- al-‘Ayntābī al-Amshāṭī, Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, *al-Qawl al-sadīd fī ikhtiyār al-imā’ wa-l-‘abīd: Risāla nādīra fī sharā wa-taqlīb al-‘abīd*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Īsā Ṣālihiyya, Beirut 1996.
- al-‘Aẓm, Jamīl b. Muṣṭafā, *al-Ṣubābāt fīmā wajadtuhu ‘alā zuhūr al-kutub min al-kitābāt*, ed. Ramzī Sa’d al-Dīn Dimashqīyya, Beirut 2000.
- al-Bā’ūniyya, ‘Ā’isha, *Kitāb al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-rutab fī ‘ilm al-Taṣawwuf*, Jerusalem, Jewish National Library, AP. Ms. Ar. Majmū’a 374 (second treatise).
- al-Bā’ūniyya, ‘Ā’isha, [*al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-rutab fī ‘ilm al-Taṣawwuf*] *The principles of Sufism*, ed. and trans. T.E. Homerin, New York 2014.
- al-Baghdādī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, trans. A.J. Arberry as A Baghdad cookery-book, in *IC* 13/1 (January 1939), 21–47 and *IC* 13/2 (April 1939), 189–214.
- al-Bakhīt, Muḥammad ‘Adnān and Nūfān Rajā’ Ḥammūd (eds.), *The Detailed Deftor of Liwā’ ‘Ajlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 970*, Amman 1989.
- al-Bakhīt, Muḥammad ‘Adnān and Nūfān Rajā’ Ḥammūd (eds.), *The Detailed Deftor of Liwā’ ‘Ajlun (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 185, Ankara 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.*, Amman 1991.
- Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn, *Mukhtār al-akhbār: Ta’rīkh al-dawla al-Ayyūbiyya wa-dawlat al-Mamālik al-Baḥriyya ḥattā sanat 702H.*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān, Cairo 1993.
- Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya fī l-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān, Cairo 1987.
- Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, Rukn al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta’rīkh al-hijra*, ed. Zubayda Muḥammad ‘Aṭā’, Cairo 2001.
- al-Biqā’ī, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar, *Izhār al-‘aṣr li-asrār ahl al-‘aṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Sālim b. Shadīd al-‘Awfī, 3 vols., Cairo 1992–3 [= *Ta’rīkh al-Biqā’ī*].
- al-Birzālī, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, *Juz’ fīhi min ‘awālī al-shaykhāt al-sitt*, ed. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-‘Ajāmī, Beirut 2011.
- al-Birzālī, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, *al-Muqtafī ‘alā Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, 4 vols., ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, Beirut 2006 [= *Ta’rīkh al-Birzālī*].
- Blachère, Régis (trans.), *Le Coran*, Paris 1966.
- al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā’il, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: The translation of the meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: Arabic-English*, trans. Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān, 9 vols., Medina 1981.
- al-Buṣrawī, ‘Alī b. Yūsuf, *Ta’rīkh al-Buṣrawī: Ṣafaḥāt majhūla min ta’rīkh Dimashq fī ‘aṣr al-Mamālik; min sanat 871H. li-ghāyat 904H.*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-‘Ulābī, Damascus 1988.
- al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb Duwal al-islām*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, 2 vols., Cairo 1974.
- al-Dimashqī, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib [known as Shaykh al-Rabwa], [*Kitāb*] *al-Siyāsa fī ‘ilm al-firāsa*, Beirut 2005.
- al-Dimyāṭī, ‘Abd al-Mu’min, *Kitāb Faḍl al-khayl wa-ajnāsihā wa-awṣāfiḥā wa-maḥāsinihā wa-faḍā’ilihā*, ed. Maḥmūd Khalaf al-Bādī, Damascus 2001.

- Evlüyā Çelebî, *Evlüyā Çelebî seyahatnâmesi*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman et al., 10 vols., Istanbul 1999–2007.
- al-Fakhr al-Râzî, Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, [*Kitâb*] *al-Firâsa*, ed. Muşţafâ Ashûr, Cairo 2002.
- al-Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid, *Ihyâ’ ‘ulûm al-dîn*, ed. Muşţafâ al-Bâbî, 3 vols., Cairo 1939.
- al-Ghazzî, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Murâh fi l-muzâh*, ed. al-Sayyid al-Jumaylî, Cairo 1986.
- al-Ghazzî, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Kawâkib al-sâ’ira bi-a’yân al-mi’a al-‘âshira*, ed. Jibrâ’îl Sulaimân Jabbûr, 3 vols., Beirut 1945–58, repr. 1979.
- al-Ghazzî, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Kawâkib al-sâ’ira bi-a’yân al-mi’a al-‘âshira*, ed. Khalîl al-Manşûr, 3 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Golden, P.B. (ed.), *The King’s Dictionary: The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*, trans. Tibor Halasi-Kun et al., Leiden 2000.
- al-Ḥaşkafî, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mullâ (Munlâ), *Mut‘at al-adhḥân min al-tamattu’ bi-l-iqrân bayna tarâjim al-shuyûkh wa-l-aqrân*, ed. Şalâh al-Dîn Khalîl al-Shaybânî al-Mawşîlî, 2 vols., Beirut 1999.
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Zâhir, Muḥyî al-Dîn, *al-Rawḍ al-zâhir fî sirat al-Malik al-Zâhir*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azîz al-Khuwayţir, Riyad 1976.
- Ibn Abî Ghudda, *Qalâ’id al-jumân fi mukâtabât ahl al-zamân*, London, British Library, MS OR. 3625.
- Ibn al-‘Adîm, ‘Umar b. Aḥmad, *Kitâb al-Wuṣla ilâ al-ḥabîb fî wasf al-ṭayyibât wa-l-ṭîb*, eds. Sulaymâ Maḥjûb and Durriya al-Khaṭîb, 2 vols., Aleppo 1986–8.
- Ibn Ajâ, Muḥammad b. Maḥmûd, *Ta’rikh al-Amîr Yashbak al-Zâhirî*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qâdir Aḥmad Ṭulaymât, Cairo 1974.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Faḍl umm al-mu’minîn ‘Ā’isha*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Ḥaddâdî, Beirut 2005.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Sa’at rahmat Allâh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Hâdî Manşûr, Beirut 1996.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Ta’rikh madînat Dimashq wa-dhîkr faḍlihâ wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahâ min al-amâthil*, ed. ‘Umar al-‘Umrawî, Damascus 1998.
- Ibn ‘Asâkir, ‘Alî b. al-Ḥasan, *Thalâtha majâlis li-Ibn ‘Asâkir fî sa’at rahmat Allâh wa-nafy al-tashbih wa-ṣifat Allâh*, ed. ‘Āşim al-Kiyalî, Abu Dhabi 1996.
- Ibn al-Batanûnî, ‘Alî b. ‘Umar, *al-Unwân fi l-ihtirâz min makâ’id al-niswân*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tünjî, Beirut 1989.
- Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallâh, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, 3 vols., Cambridge 1958.
- Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallâh, [*Tuḥfat al-nuzzâr fî gharâ’ib al-amṣâr wa-‘ajâ’ib al-asfâr*] *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭûṭa*, Beirut 1968.
- Ibn Buṭlân, *Risâla fî shirâ’ al-raqiḳ wa-taqlîb al-‘abîd*, in ‘Abd al-Salâm Hârûn (ed.), *Nawâdir al-Makhtûṭat*, vol. 1, Beirut 1990, 381–420.
- Ibn Dâniyâl, Muḥammad, *Three shadow plays*, ed. Paul Kahle, Cambridge 1992.

- Ibn al-Dawādārī, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh, [*Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi‘ al-ghurar*] *Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī*, various editors, 9 vols., Cairo 1960–82.
- Ibn Duqmāq, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ‘iqd al-amṣār*, ed. K. Vollers, 2 vols., Cairo 1893.
- Ibn Duqmāq, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fi l-dawla al-Turkiyya*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut 1999.
- Ibn Fahd, ‘Umar b. Muḥammad, *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-‘iqd al-thamīn fi ta’riḫ al-balad al-amīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abdallāh b. Duhaysh, 3 vols., Beirut 2000.
- Ibn al-Furāt, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Ta’riḫ al-Duwal wa-l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, trans. and eds. Ursula Lyons and Malcom Cameron Lyons, 2 vols., Cambridge 1971.
- Ibn al-Furāt, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, *Ta’riḫ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, eds. Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā ‘Izz al-Dīn, vols. 7–9, Beirut 1936–42.
- Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar, *Durrat al-aslāk fi dawlat al-Atrāk*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, n. 381.
- Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar, *Tadhkirat al-nabih fi ayyām al-manṣūr wa-banīh*, eds. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Āshūr, 3 vols., Cairo 1976–86.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Amālī al-muṭlaqa*, ed. Ḥamdī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ismā‘īl al-Silfī, Beirut 1995.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Dhayl al-durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī, Beirut 1998.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*, ed. Sālim al-Karnakawī, Beirut 1993.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Durar al-kāmīna fi a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wārith Muḥammad ‘Alī, 2 vols., Beirut 1997.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Abī ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Bāz, 14 vols., Beirut 1990.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-‘umr fi l-ta’riḫ*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu‘īd Khān, 9 vols., Hyderabad 1967–76, repr. Beirut 1986.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-‘umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 3 vols., Cairo 1969–72, repr. in 4 vols., Cairo 2009–2011.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assis lil-mu‘jam al-mufahris*, ed. Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ashlī, 4 vols., Beirut 1992–4.
- Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb Qahwat al-inshā’*, ed. R. Veselý, Beirut 2005.
- Ibn Ḥijjī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, *Ta’riḫ Ibn Ḥijjī: Ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 796–815H.*, ed. Abū Yaḥyā ‘Abdallāh al-Kundarī, 2 vols., Beirut 2003.
- Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Ḥawādith al-zamān wa-wafayāt al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 3 vols., Beirut 1999.
- Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols., Beirut 1979.



- Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī' al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols., Cairo and Wiesbaden 1960–75, repr. 1982–84, 2008.
- Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire: chronique d'Ibn Iyās*, traduit et annoté par Gaston Wiet, Paris 1955.
- Ibn al-Jawharī, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī.
- Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'riḫ ḥawādith al-zamān wa-anbā'ihī wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-l-a'yān min abnā'ihī*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 3 vols., Beirut 1998.
- Ibn Jī'ān, Yahyā b. al-Maqarr, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya bi-asmā' al-bilād al-miṣriyya*, ed. Bernhard Moritz, Cairo 1898.
- Ibn Kannān, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, *Ḥadā'iq al-yāsmūn fī dhikr qawānīn al-khulafā' wa-l-salāṭīn*, ed. 'Abbās Ṣabbāgh, Beirut 1991.
- Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Umar, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols., Cairo 1932–39.
- Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. E. Quatremère, 3 vols., Paris 1858.
- Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Khaldūn al-musammā Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-'arab wa-l-'ajam wa-l-barbar wa-man 'āṣarahum min dhawī al-sulṭān al-akbar*, eds. Suhayl Zakkār and Khalīl Shaḥāda, 8 vols., Beirut 2000–1.
- Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary*, trans. William MacGuckin de Slane, 2 vols., repr. Beirut 1970.
- Ibn al-Mallā, see al-Ḥaṣkafī.
- Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram, *Lisān al-'Arab*, ed. 'Alī Shīrī, 18 vols., Beirut 1988.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Akhbār al-nisā' al-musammā al-rusā lil-ṣāliḥāt min al-nisā'*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, Homs 1993.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *al-Fihris al-waṣfī lil-nusakh al-khatṭiyya*, ed. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq, Kuwait 2012.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār*, ed. Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Khiyamī, in *Rasā'il dimashqiyya*, Damascus and Beirut 1988, 13–16 [first edition as: Ṣalāḥ al-Haymī (ed.), *Ghadaq al-afkār fī dhikr al-anhār li-Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī*, in *BEO* 34 (1982), 196–206.]
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *al-Ikhtiyār fī bā' al-'aqār*, ed. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Kamālī, Damascus 2007.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*, ed. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in *al-Mashriq* 35 (1937), 370–6.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*, trans. Charles Perry as *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha: A fifteenth-century cookbook*, in Maxime Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, 467–75.
- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-musāmīr fī akhbār majnūn Banī 'Āmir*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, Beirut 1994.

- Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan, *Thimār al-maqāsid fī dhikr al-masājid*, ed. Muḥammad As'ad Ṭalas, Beirut 1943.
- Ibn Mubārak Shāh al-Ḥanafī, Aḥmad, *Kitāb Zahr al-ḥadiqa fī l-aṭ'ima al-anīqa*, 2007.
- Ibn al-Mughayzil, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *Dhayl mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut 2004.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa', Sāwirus, *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church*, edited, translated and annotated by 'Azīz Suryal 'Atiyya et al, 3 vols., Cairo 1948–59.
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, *Ta'riḫ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*, ed. 'Adnān Darwish, 4 vols., Damascus 1977–97.
- Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, 'Alī b. Mūsā, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī ḥulā ḥadrat al-Qāhira: al-Qism al-khāṣṣ bi-l-Qāhira min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā l-Maghrib*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1970.
- Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 'Alī b. Dāwūd, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, Cairo 1970.
- Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 'Alī b. Dāwūd, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-l-abdān fī tawāriḫ al-zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, 4 vols., Cairo 1970–94.
- Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, al-Muzaffār b. Naṣr, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, eds. Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh, in *Studia Orientalia* 60, Helsinki 1987.
- Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, al-Muzaffār b. Naṣr, *Annals of the caliphs' kitchens: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's tenth-century Baghdadi cookbook*, trans. Nawal Nasrallah, Leiden 2007.
- Ibn Sbāt (Ibn Asbāt), Hamza b. Aḥmad, *Ṣidq al-akhbār: Ta'riḫ Ibn Asbāt*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 2 vols., Tripoli 1993.
- Ibn Shaddād, (Ibn Asbāt), Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *Ta'riḫ al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Wiesbaden 1983.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi 'alā l-manhal al-ṣāfi*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, 2 vols., Mecca 1983.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duḥūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semetic Philology vol. VIII, Berkeley 1930–42.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duḥūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, 2 vols., Beirut 1990.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Ḥawādith al-duḥūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, vol. 1, Cairo 1990.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa-l-mustawfā ba'da al-wāfi*, eds. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al., 13 vols., Cairo 1948–2011.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, eds. Aḥmad Zakī al-La'rūwī et al., 16 vols., Cairo 1929–72.
- Ibn Ṭawq, Aḥmad, *al-Ta'lūq: Yawmiyyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, 834–915H/1430–1509M*, ed. Ja'far al-Muhājir, 4 vols., Damascus 2000–7.



- Ibn ʿUyūn, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *I’lām al-warā bi-man waliya nā’iban min al-atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus 1964, <sup>2</sup>1984.
- Ibn ʿUyūn, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols., Cairo 1962–4.
- Ibn al-Wardī, ‘Umar b. al-Muzaḥḥar, [*Ta’riḥ Ibn al-Wardī*] *Tatimmat al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Aḥmad Rifā‘at al-Badrāwī, 2 vols., Beirut 1970.
- Ibn Zayyāt, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra*, Cairo 1907, repr. Baghdad 1967.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1992.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-qudsī*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥī, Cairo 1965.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, [*al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-qudsī*] *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. Henri Massé, Paris 1972.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-‘aṣr: al-Qism al-‘Irāqī*, eds. Muḥammad Baḥjat al-Atharī and Jamīl Sa‘īd, 3 vols., Baghdad 1955–72.
- Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, see al-Malaṭī.
- al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-jalīl al-musammā lubāb al-ta’wīl fī ma‘ānī al-tanzīl*, 4 vols., Cairo 1910.
- al-Khāzindārī, Qaraṭāy al-‘Izzī, *Ta’riḥ majmū‘ al-nawādir mimma jarā lil-awā’il wa-l-awākhir*, eds. Horst Hein and Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī, Berlin and Beirut 2005.
- al-Khazrajī, al-Ḥusayn b. Jamāl al-Dīn, *Akhbār al-awliyā’ wa-manāqibuhum*, ed. Khālīd Aḥmad al-Mullā al-Suwaydī, Damascus 2005.
- al-Kutubī, Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols, Cairo 1951.
- al-Malāqī al-Ma‘āfirī, Abū al-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad, *al-Ḥadā’iq al-ghinā’ fī akhbār al-nisā’*, ed. ‘Ā’ida al-Ṭībī, Tunis 1978.
- al-Malaṭī, Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruḡ wa-l-masālik*, ed. Paul Ravaisse, Paris 1894, repr. Cairo 1988.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *al-Majma‘ al-mufannan bi-l-mu‘jam al-mu‘anwan*, Alexandria, Maktabat Baladiyyat al-Iskandariyya, MS 4448/800b, musalsal 5 Ta’riḥ.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *al-Majma‘ al-mufannan bi-l-mu‘jam al-mu‘anwan*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Kandarī, 2 vols., Beirut 2011.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, 9 vols., Sidon and Beirut 2002.
- al-Malaṭī, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nuzhat al-aṣāṭīn fī man waliya Miṣr min al-salāṭīn*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, Cairo 1987.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a‘yān al-mufīda*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, 2 vols., Beirut 1992.

- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda*, eds. ‘Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, 2 vols., Damascus 1995.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, 4 vols., Beirut 2002.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’ bi-akhbār al-a’imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā’*, eds. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, 3 vols., Cairo 1967–73.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa-l-‘itibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār (Khiṭaṭ)*, 2 vols., Cairo 1853–4; repr. 1987.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa-l-‘itibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār (Khiṭaṭ)*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, 4 vols., Beirut 1998.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iz wa-l-‘itibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār (Khiṭaṭ)*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, 5 vols., London 2002–4.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh al-Muqaḫḫā al-kabīr: Tarājim Maghribiyya wa-Mashriqiyya min al-fatrah al-‘Ubaydiyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya‘lāwī, Beirut 1987.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh al-Muqaḫḫā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya‘lāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991; rev. ed. 2006.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma‘rifat duwal al-mulūk*, eds. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda and Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Ashūr, 4 vols., Cairo 1934–73; repr. 2006–7.
- al-Māwardī, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles du droit public et administratif*, trans. Edmond Fagnan, Beirut 1982.
- al-Maydānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Majma‘ al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., Cairo 1955.
- Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā’il, [*al-Nahj al-sadīd wa-l-durr al-farīd fī mā ba‘da ta’rīkh Ibn al-‘Amīd*] *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā’il*, ed. and trans. S. Kortantamer, Freiburg im Breisgau 1973.
- al-Musabbihī, Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, [*Akhbār Miṣr*] *Tome quarantième de la chronique d’Égypte de Musabbihī*, eds. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, Cairo 1978.
- al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, 33 vols., Cairo 1964–98.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *al-Awwal min Ḍaw’ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jany l-dawḥ al-muthmīr*, Tehran, Kitābkhānah-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān, MS ‘Ayn 1122.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ḍaw’ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-jany l-dawḥ al-muthmīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Salāma, Cairo 1906.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ma‘āthir al-ināfa fī ma‘ālim al-khilāfa*, ed. ‘Abd al-Saṭṭār Aḥmad Farrāj, 3 vols., Kuwait 1964.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma‘rifat ansāb al-‘arab*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1959, sec. ed. Beirut 1980.

- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī l-ta'rif bi-qabā'il 'arab al-zamān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1963, sec. ed. Cairo and Beirut 1982.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī kitābat al-inshā'*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS A2930/7.
- al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šinā'at al-inshā'*, 14 vols., Cairo 1913–19, repr. Cairo 1964; 1985.
- al-Qarāfī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Tawshīḥ al-dībāj wa-ḥilyat al-ibtihāj*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Umar, Cairo 2004.
- al-Qushayrī, Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, trans. ‘Abdu Ḥamīd Šiddiqī, 4 vols., New Delhi 1978.
- Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-‘Āmirī, *Jāmi‘ farā'id al-milāḥa fī jawāmi‘ fawā'id al-filāḥa*. Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-‘Āmirī: London, British Library, Or. 5951 DL. 55.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *Alḥān al-sawāji‘ bayna al-bādī' wa-l-murāji‘*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Sālim, 2 vols., Cairo 2006–7.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *A'yān al-a'sr wa-a'wān al-na'sr*, ed. ‘Alī Abū Zayd, et. al., 6 vols., Beirut and Damascus 1998.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *al-Faḍl al-munif fī l-mawlid al-sharif*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Āyish, Beirut 2007.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Hellmut Ritter, Wiesbaden 1931.
- al-Šafadī, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. Hellmut Ritter, Sven Dederling et al., 30 vols., Wiesbaden and Beirut 1962–2004.
- al-Saḥmāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim fī šinā'at al-kātib wa-l-kātim*, ed. Ashraf Muḥammad Anas, 2 vols., Cairo 2009.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi‘ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi‘*, 12 vols. in 6, Cairo 1934–6, repr. Beirut 1966; 1992.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Dhayl al-tāmm ‘alā duwal al-islām lil-dhahabī*, ed. Ḥasan Ismā‘īl Marwa, 2 vols., Beirut 1992.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, eds. Najwā Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Labiba Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, 4 vols., Cairo 2002.
- al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Wajiz al-kalām fī l-dhayl ‘alā duwal al-islām*, 4 vols., ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma'rūf et al., Beirut 1995.
- Shāfi‘ Ibn ‘Alī (Ibn ‘Asākīr al-‘Asqalānī), [*Kitāb*] *al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr min sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Beirut 1998.
- Shāfi‘ Ibn ‘Alī (Ibn ‘Asākīr al-‘Asqalānī), [*Kitāb*] *Ḥusn al-manāqib al-sirrīyya al-muntaza'a min al-Sira al-Zāhirīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuwayṭir, Riyad 1989.
- al-Shirbīnī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Sirāj al-munīr fī l-i'āna ‘alā ma'rifat ba'ḍ ma'ānī kalām rabbīnā al-ḥakīm al-kabīr*, 4 vols., Cairo 1869.
- al-Shujā'ī, Shams al-Dīn, [*Ta'rikh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Šālīḥī wa-awlādihī*] *Die Chronik aš-Šujā'īs*, ed. Barbara Schäfer, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1977.

- al-Subkī, Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Mu‘īd al-ni‘am wa-mubīd al-niqam*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Najjār et al., Cairo 1996.
- al-Subkī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi, *Fatāwā al-Subkī*, 2 vols., Beirut [1975].
- al-Subkī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi, *Qaḍā’ al-arab fi as’īlat Ḥalab*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Ālim al-Afghānī, Mecca 1992–3.
- al-Sulamī, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, *Dhikr al-niswa al-muta‘abbidāt al-ṣūfiyyāt*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī, Cairo 1993.
- al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Nazm al-i‘qyān fi a‘yān al-a‘yān*, ed. Philipp K. Hitti, New York 1927.
- al-Ṭablāwī, Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Murshid al-mushtaghilīn fi aḥkām al-nūn al-sākina wa-l-tanwīn*, ed. Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sarḥān, Baghdad 2002, repr. Cairo 2007.
- al-Ṭayyibī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, *Jāmi‘ maḥāsīn kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munajjid, Beirut 1962.
- al-‘Ulaymī, Mujīr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-ta’rīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, ed. Muḥammad Mūsā al-Muḥtasib, 2 vols., Amman 1973.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Sulaymān al-Jabūrī, 3 vols., Beirut 1971.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār: Mamālik Miṣr wa-l-Shām wa-l-Ḥijāz wa-l-Yaman*, ed. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, Cairo 1985.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Sarīḥī et al., 24 vols., Abu Dhabi, 2001–4.
- al-‘Umarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jabūrī, 27 vols. in 15, Beirut 2010.
- United Nations, Convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses, New York, 7 May 1997, accessed on 29 December 2014, [http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/8\\_3\\_1997.pdf](http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/8_3_1997.pdf).
- Waqfiyya 8/49, *Hujaj Umarā’ wa-Salāṭīn* [endowments of Sultan Sha‘bān for his madrasa in Cairo], 777/1375, Cairo, Dār al-Wathā‘iq.
- Yāqūt al-Rūmī, b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 5 vols., Beirut 1979.
- Yāqūt al-Rūmī, b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*: *Irshād al-arīb ilā ma‘rifat al-adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 7 vols., Beirut 1993.
- al-Yūnīnī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, *Dhayl mir‘āt al-zamān*, 4 vols. in 3, Hyderabad 1954–61.
- al-Yūnīnī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, *Dhayl mir‘āt al-zamān: Ta’rīkh al-sanawāt 697–711H/1297–1312M*, ed. Ḥamza ‘Abbās et al., 3 vols., Abu Dhabi 2007.
- al-Yūnīnī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, *Early Mamluk Syrian historiography: al-Yūnīnī’s Dhayl Mir‘āt al-Zamān*, trans. and ed. L. Guo, 2 vols., Leiden and Boston 1998.
- al-Yūsufī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fi sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986.
- al-Zāhirī, see al-Malaṭī.

## Secondary Sources

- Ababsa, M. (ed.), *Atlas of Jordan: History, territories and society*, Beirut 2013.
- ‘Abd al-Nabī, H.M.S., al-Zawāj fī usar salāṭīn al-mamālīk, in *AI* 42 (2008), 25–47.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte*, Cairo 1973.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., al-‘Alāqāt al-usriyya fī l-muṣṭalaḥ al-mamlūkī, in *al-Majalla al-Ta’rīkhīyya al-Miṣriyya* 23 (1976), 155–81.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., *al-Badhl wa-l-bartala zaman salāṭīn al-mamālīk: Dirāsa ‘an al-rishwa*, Cairo 1979.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, A., Les gouverneurs d’Alexandrie au temps des Mamlūks, in *AI* 18 (1982), 123–69.
- Abou-Bakr, O., Teaching the words of the Prophet: Women instructors of the hadith (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), in *Hawwa* 1/3 (2003), 306–28.
- Abudanh, F. and S. Twaissi, Innovation or technology immigration? The qanat systems in the regions of Udhruh and Ma’an in southern Jordan, in *BASOR* 360 (2010), 67–87.
- Abū Ghāzī, ‘I.B. al-D., *Wathā’iq al-Sultān al-Ashraf Ṭīmānbāy: Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq wa-nashr li-ba‘ḍ wathā’iq al-waqf wa-l-bay‘ wa-l-istibdāl*, M.A. Thesis: Cairo University, 1988.
- Abu Shmeis, A., Taqrīr kashf ‘arḍī, unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan 2005.
- Adang, C., Women’s access to public space according to al-Muhalla bi-l-Athar, in M. Marin and R. Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine: Women in Arab sources*, London 2002, 75–95.
- Ährens, W., Studien über die ‚magischen Quadrate‘ der Araber, in *Der Islam* 7 (1917), 186–250.
- Ährens, W., Die ‚magischen Quadrate‘ al-Būnī’s, in *Der Islam* 12/3 (1922), 157–77.
- Akkach, S., *Letters of a Sufi scholar: The correspondence of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī (1641–1731)*, Leiden and Boston 2010.
- Allsen, T.T., The Rasūlid hexaglot in its Eurasian cultural context, in P.B. Golden (ed.), *The King’s dictionary: The Rasūlid hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*, translated by T. Halasi-Kun et al.; with introductory essays by P.B. Golden and T.T. Allsen, Leiden 2000, 25–49.
- Alston, R., Searching for the Romano-Egyptian family, in M. George (ed.), *The Roman family in the empire: Rome, Italy, and beyond*, Oxford 2005, 129–57.
- Amin, M.M., *Catalogue des documents d’archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516 (depuis le III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à la fin de l’époque mamlouke), suivi de l’édition critique de neuf documents*, Cairo 1981.
- Amitai, R., Mamluk perceptions of the Mongol-Frankish rapprochement, in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 (1992), 50–65.

- Amitai, R., *The Mongols in the Islamic lands: Studies in the history of the Ilkhanate*, Aldershot UK and Burlington VT 2007.
- Amitai, R., Dealing with reality: Early Mamluk military policy and the allocation of resources, in S. Leder (ed.), *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Frankish presence in the eastern Mediterranean (12th to 14th centuries)*, Würzburg 2011, 127–44.
- al-‘Amoush, H., Geoelectrical investigation of an ancient dam in Wadi al-Majarr, Hisban, Jordan, Unpublished project report, *Hisban excavation files*, 3 August 1998.
- Anawati, G.C., Le Nom suprême de Dieu (*ism Allāh al-a‘zam*), *Atti del terzo congresso di studi arabi e islamici, Ravello, 1966*, Naples 1967, 7–58.
- Antrim, Z., Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddād’s al-A‘lāq al-Khaṭīrah, in *MSR* 11/1 (2007), 1–18.
- Apellaniz Ruiz de Galarreta, F.J., *Pouvoir et finance en Méditerranée pré-moderne: Le deuxième état mamelouk et le commerce des épices (1382–1517)*, Barcelona 2009.
- Artan, T., Aspects of the Ottoman elite’s food consumption: Looking for ‘staples,’ ‘luxuries,’ and ‘delicacies,’ in a changing century, in D. Quataert (ed.), *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An introduction*, Albany NY 2000, 107–200.
- Arbel, B., Venetian trade in fifteenth-century Acre: The letters of Fransesco Bevilaqua, in B.Z. Kedar and A.L. Udovitch (eds.), *The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of Elyahu Ashtor (1914–1984)*, in *Asian and African Studies* 22/1–3 (1988), 227–288.
- Ashtor, E., Essai sur l’alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l’Orient médiéval, in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23/5 (1968), 1017–53.
- Ashtor, E., *Levant trade in the Middle Age*, Princeton 1983.
- Ashtor, E., The Kārimī merchants, in *JRAS* (1956), 45–56.
- Ashtor, E., The Venetian supremacy in the Levantine trade: Monopoly or pre-colonialism? in *Journal of European Economic History* 3/1 (1974), 5–53.
- Ashtor, E., The Venetian cotton trade in Syria in the later Middle Ages, in *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976), 675–715.
- Ashtor, E., *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle East*, London 1976.
- Ashtor, E., *Studies on the Levantine trade in the Middle Ages*, London 1978.
- Ashtor, E., Levantine sugar industry in the late Middle Ages: A case of technological decline, in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in economic and social history*, Princeton 1981, 91–132.
- Atiya, A.S., An unpublished XIVth century *fatwā* on the status of foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, in W. Heffening and W. Kirfel (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens: Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag*, Leiden 1935, 55–68.
- Ávila, M.L., Women in Andalusí biographical sources, in Marin and Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine: Women in Arab sources*, 149–65.

- Ayalon, D., The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom, in *JAOS* 69/3 (1949), 135–47.
- Ayalon, D., *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951.
- Ayalon, D., Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army-II, in *BSOAS* 15/3 (1953), 448–76.
- Ayalon, D., Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army-III, in *BSOAS* 16/1 (1954), 57–90.
- Ayalon, D., Studies in al-Jabartī: Notes on the transformation of Mamlūk society in Egypt under the Ottomans, in *JESHO* 3 (1960), 275–325.
- Ayalon, D., The Mamlūks and naval power: A phase of the struggle between Islam and Christian Europe, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1/8 (1967), 1–12.
- Ayalon, D., The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A re-examination, in *SI* 36 (1972), 113–58.
- Ayalon, D., Names, titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks, in *IOS* 5 (1975), 189–232.
- Ayalon, D., *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250–1517)*, London 1977.
- Ayalon, D., Mamlūk military aristocracy: A non-hereditary nobility, in *JSAI* 10 (1987), 205–10.
- Ayalon, D., Mamlūkiyyāt: A first attempt to evaluate the Mamlūk military system, in *JSAI* 2 (1980), 321–49.
- Ayalon, D., Bahri Mamlūks, Burji Mamlūks: Inadequate names for the two reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate, in *Tārīḥ* 1 (1990), 3–53.
- Ayalon, D., Mamlūk: Military slavery in Egypt and Syria, in idem, *Islam and the abode of war: military slaves and Islamic adversaries*, Aldershot UK 1994, 1–21.
- Ayalon, D., *Eunuchs, caliphs and sultans: A study of power relationships*, Jerusalem 1999.
- al-Azmeh, A., Rhetoric for the senses: A consideration of Muslim paradise narratives of Arabic literature, in *JAL* 26/3 (1995), 215–31.
- Bacharach, J., Circassian monetary policy: Silver, in *The Numismatic Chronicle* 11 (1971), 267–81.
- Bacharach, J., The dinar versus the ducat, in *IJMES* 4 (1973), 77–96.
- al-Bakhīt, M.'A., *Nāhiyat Banī Kināna (shamālī al-Urdun) fī l-qarn al-āshir al-hijrī/al-sādis 'ashar al-milādī*, Amman 1989.
- al-Bakhīt, M.'A., N.R. Ḥammūd, and A.'A. al-Q. Khuraysāt, *al-Quds al-Sharīf: Wathā'iq wa-sijillātuhā wa-makhṭūṭātuhā al-muṣawwara fī markaz al-wathā'iq wa-l-makhṭūṭāt fī Jāmi'a al-Urdunniyya (936H/1529M–1404H/1984M)*, Amman 1991.
- Balog, P., *Coinage of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria*, New York 1964.
- Balog, P., Coinage of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria: Additions and corrections, in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 16 (1970), 113–71.
- Balog, P., Unusual honorific title on a Mamluk coin, in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 28–29 (1978/9), 135–8.
- Balog, P., *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, Special Publication of the Royal Numismatic Society no. 12, London 1980.
- al-Bāshā, Ḥ., *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya fī l-ta'rikh wa-l-wathā'iq wa-l-āthār*, Cairo 1956, repr. 1989.



- Bauden, F., Les Manuscrits arabes dans les bibliothèques publiques belges: Une introduction, in J.N.Y. Chan and B.W. Lee (eds.), *International Association of Orientalist Librarians: Ninth General Meeting at the 34 ICANAS, 24–25 August 1993, Hong Kong, Proceedings*, Hong-Kong 1993, 149–70.
- Bauden, F., al-Ṭabarī, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, x, 16–7.
- Bauden, F., Mamluk era documentary studies: The state of the art, in *MSR* 9/1 (2005), 15–60.
- Bauden, F., The sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the politics of puppets: Where did it all start? in *MSR* 13/1 (2009), 53–81.
- Bauden, F., Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī be thrown out with the bathwater? The question of his plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the documentary evidence, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 159–232.
- Bauden, F., D'Alexandrie à Damas et retour. La poste privée à l'époque mamlouke à la lumière d'une commission accomplie pour le compte d'un Vénitien (821 A.H./1418 È.C.), in U. Vermeulen and K. D'hulster (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, vi. Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2005 and May 2006, Leuven, Paris, Walpole MA 2010, 157–89.
- Bauden, F., Like father, like son: The chancery manual (Qalā'id al-Jumān) of al-Qalqašandī's son and its value for the study of Mamluk diplomatics (ninth/fifteenth century) (*Studia Diplomatica Islamica* 1), in *Eurasian Studies* 11 (2013), 181–228.
- Bauden, F., Ikhwāniyyāt letters in the Mamluk period: A document (muṭāla'a) issued by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's chancery and a contribution to Mamluk diplomatics, in A. Levanoni (ed.), *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk rule: Political, social and cultural aspects* (forthcoming).
- Bauden, F., *al-Maqrīzī's collection of opuscles: An introduction* (*Bibliotheca Maqriziana* 1), Leiden-Boston (forthcoming).
- Bauden, F., *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in Belgium*. Vol. 1: Handlist. Part 1: Université de Liège (*Islamic Manuscripts and Books*, 12), Leiden-Boston 2016.
- Bauer, T., Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah, in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden 2009, 184–202.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., *Azbakīyya and its environs from Azbak to Ismail, 1476–1879*, Cairo 1985.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., The mahmal tradition and the pilgrimage of the ladies of the Mamluk court, in *MSR* 1 (1997), 87–96.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., *Waqf* as remuneration and the family affairs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Baktimur al-Sāqī, in idem (ed.), *The Cairo heritage: Essays in honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, Cairo and New York 2000, 55–67.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., Craftsmen, upstarts and Sufis in the late Mamluk period, in *BSOAS* 74/3 (2011), 375–95.



- Beit-Arié, M., Quantitative typology of oriental paper patterns, in M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda (ed.), *Le Papier au Moyen-Âge: Histoire et techniques*, Turnhout 1999, 41–53.
- Benkheira, M.H., *Islam et interdits alimentaires: Juguler l'animalité*, Paris 2000.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, première partie: Égypte*, *MMFAC* 19 (1894), Paris.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte*, *MMFAC* 29 (1903), Paris.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem "Ville,"* *MMFAC* 43 (1922), Cairo.
- Van Berchem, M., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem "Haram,"* *MMFAC* 44 (1925), Cairo.
- Bergsträsser, G., Zu den magischen Quadraten, in *Der Islam* 12/3–4 (1922), 227–35.
- Berjak, R. and M. Iqbal, Ibn Sīnā—al-Bīrūnī correspondence translated, in *Islam & Science* 1/1 (2003), 91–8; 2 (2003), 253–60; 2/1 (2004), 57ff.; 2/2 (2004), 181–6; 3/1 (2005), 57–62; 3/2 (2005), 166–71; 4/2 (2006), 165–73; 5/1 (2007), 53–60 [English translation of *al-As'ila wa-l-ajwiba*, eds. S.H. Nasr and M. Mohaghegh, Kuala Lumpur 1995].
- Van Berkel, M., al-Qalqashandī (1355–1418), in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350–1850*, Wiesbaden 2009, 331–40.
- Berkey, J.P., *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo: A social history of Islamic education*, Princeton 1992.
- Berkey, J.P., Mamluks and the world of higher Islamic education in medieval Cairo, 1250–1517, in H. Elboudrari (ed.), *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam* (TAEI 31), Cairo 1993, 93–116.
- Berkey, J.P., The Mamluks as Muslims: The military elite and the construction of Islam in medieval Egypt, in T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, Cambridge and New York 1998, 163–73.
- Berkey, J.P., Women and Islamic education in Mamluk period, in N.R. Keddie and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history: Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven 1991, 143–57.
- Berkey, J.P., Circumcision circumscribed: Female excision and cultural accommodation in the medieval Near East, in *IJMES* 28 (1996), 19–38.
- Berkey, J.P., al-Subkī and his women, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 1–17.
- Berthier, A., Ottomanes, in M.-G. Guesdon and A. Vernay-Nouri (eds.), *L'Art du livre arabe*, Paris 2001, 152–4.
- Bettini, L. and P. La Spisa (eds.), *Au-delà de l'arabe standard: Moyen arabe et arabe mixte dans les sources médiévales, modernes et contemporaines*, Rome 2012.
- Björkman, W., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928.

- Blanc, P.-M. and D. Genequand, Le développement du moulins hydrauliques á roue horizontale á l'époque Omeyyade: Á propos d'un moulin sur l'aqueduc de Bosra (Syrie du Sud), in *Syria* 84 (2007), 295–306.
- Blau, J., *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic: A study of the origins of Middle Arabic*, London 1965.
- Borsch, S., Nile floods and the irrigation system in fifteenth century Egypt, in *MSR* 4 (2000), 131–45.
- Borsch, S., Environment and population: the collapse of large irrigation systems reconsidered, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/3 (2004), 451–68.
- Borsch, S., Tall Hisban excavation May-June 2014: Water resources analysis (10 June 2014), unpublished report, *Hisban Cultural Heritage Project files*.
- Borsch, S., Medieval Egyptian economic growth: The Maryūt Basin, *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg, Working Paper* 14 (2014), <http://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/working-paper/ask-wp-14.pdf>.
- Bosworth, C.E., A Maqāma on secretaryship: al-Qalqashandī's al-Kawātib al-Durriyya fī l-Manāqib al-Badriyya, in *BSOAS* 27 (1964), 291–8.
- Bosworth, C.E., al-Ḳalkāshandī, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iv, 509–11.
- Bouquet, O., The sultan's sons-in-law: Analysing Ottoman imperial *damads*, in *JESHO* 58/3 (2015), 327–61.
- Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*, trans. R. Nice, Cambridge MA 1984.
- Bourdieu, P., La métamorphose des goûts, in idem, *Questions de sociologie*, Paris 1980, 161–72.
- Bourdieu, P., Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée, in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13/4 (1958), 725–53.
- Bramer, F. et al., Long-term management of water in the central Levant: The Hawran case (Syria), in *World Archaeology* 41/1 (2009), 36–57.
- Braudel, F., Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée, in *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13/4 (1958), 725–53.
- Brentjes, S., The language of 'patronage' in Islamic societies before 1700, in *Cuadernos del Cemyr* 20 (2012), 11–22.
- Brilliant, R., I Piedistalli del giardino di Boboli: Spolia in se, spolia in re, in *Prospettiva* 31 (1982), 2–17.
- Brilliant, R. and D. Kinney (eds.), *Reuse value spolia and appropriation in art and architecture from Constantine to Sherri Levine*, Burlington 2011.
- Brinner, W.M., The murder of Ibn An-Našū: Social tensions in fourteenth-century Damascus, in *JAOS* 77/3 (1957), 207–10.
- Brinner, W.M., Ḥarfūsh, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 206.
- Broadbridge, A.F., *Kingship and ideology in the Islamic and Mongol worlds*, Cambridge 2008.

- Broadbridge, A.F., Sending home for mom and dad: The extended family impulse in Mamluk politics, in *MSR* 15 (2011), 1–18.
- Brockelmann, C. and F. Sezgin, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. and vol. 3 suppl., Leiden 1937–49.
- Buhl, F., 'Akkā, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, i, 341.
- Burgoyne, M.H., *Mamluk Jerusalem: An architectural study*, London 1987.
- Burke, P., History as social memory, in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory, culture and the mind*, Oxford 1989, 97–113.
- Busch, R.C., Over the bounding domains: The limits of kinship and kinship terms in Turkish, in *Anthropological Linguistics* 16/8 (1974), 415–9.
- Buturović, A., *Sociology of popular drama in mediaeval Egypt: Ibn Dāniyāl and his shadow plays*, Ph.D. Dissertation: McGill University 1993.
- Buturović, A., The shadow play in Mamlūk Egypt, in *MSR* 7 (2003), 149–76.
- Calmard, J., Mudjtahid, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, vii, 295–6.
- Chamberlain, M., The Crusader era and the Ayyūbid dynasty, in C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, vol. 1, Cambridge and New York 1998, 211–41.
- Chamberlain, M., *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*, Cambridge 2002.
- Chapoutot-Remadi, M., L'agriculture dans l'empire Mamluk au moyen âge d'après al-Nuwayri, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 22 (1974), 23–45.
- Chapoutot-Remadi, M., Femmes dans la ville Mamluke, in *JESHO* 38 (1995), 145–64.
- Chipman, L., *The world of pharmacy and pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, Leiden and Boston 2010.
- Christ, G., *Trading conflicts: Venetian merchants and Mamluks in the late medieval Alexandria*, Leiden 2012.
- Cilardo, A., The transmission of the patronate in Islamic Law, in F. de Jong (ed.), *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica: Dissertationes in academia ultrajectina prolatae anno MCMXC*, Leuven 1993, 31–52.
- Clermont-Ganneau, C., *Archeological researches in Palestine during the years 1873–1874*, London 1896.
- Cobb, P.M., *The race for paradise: An Islamic history of the Crusades*, Oxford 2014.
- Cohen, M.R., The voice of the Jewish poor in the Cairo Genizah, in L.H. Schiffman (ed.), *Semitic papyrology in context*, Leiden 2003, 239–55.
- Cohen, M.R., *Poverty and charity in the Jewish community of medieval Egypt*, Princeton 2005.
- Cohen, M.R., A partnership gone bad: Business relationships and the evolving law of the Cairo Geniza period, in *JESHO* 56/2 (2013), 218–63.
- Combe, E. et al. (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, 18 vols., Cairo 1931–64.

- Conermann, S. and S. Saghbini, *Awlād al-Nās* as founders of pious endowments: The *waqfiyya* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the year 870/1465, in *MSR* 6 (2002), 21–50.
- Constanble, O.R., *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world: Lodging, trade and travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2003.
- Coulon, J.-Ch., *La Magie islamique et le corpus bunianum au Moyen Âge*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Paris IV Sorbonne 2013.
- Da'adli, T., Mamluk epitaphs from Mamilla cemetery, in *Levant* 43/1 (2011), 78–97.
- Dain, A., *Les Manuscrits*, Paris 1997.
- Dalby, A., *Tastes of Byzantium: The cuisine of a legendary empire*, London 2010.
- Dalman, G., *Arbeit und Sitte*, Gütersloh 1928.
- Dankoff, R., *The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662) as portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels, with an historical introduction by Rhoads Murphey*, Albany NY 1991.
- Darnton, R., What is the history of books? in *Daedalus* 111/3 (1982), 65–83.
- Darrag, A., *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay 825–841/1422–1432*, Damascus 1961.
- Dekkiche, M., *Le Caire, carrefour des ambassades*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Liège 2011.
- Dekkiche, M., Correspondence between Mamluks and Timurids in the fifteenth century: An unpublished corpus of official letters (Bnf, Ms. Ar. 4440), in *Eurasian Studies* XI (2013), 131–60.
- Déroche, F., *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, deuxième partie: Manuscrits musulmans. Tome I, 2: Les Manuscrits du Coran, du Maghreb à l'Insulinde*, Paris 1985.
- Déroche, F., Les Études de paléographie des écritures arabes livresques: quelques observations, in *al-Qanṭara* 19/2 (1998), 365–81.
- Déroche, F. et al., *Islamic codicology: An introduction to the study of manuscripts in Arabic script*, London 2005.
- Déroche, F. and V. Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti in Caratteri Arabi: al-Makḥṭūṭāt bi-l-ḥurūf al-'arabī*, Rome 2012.
- D'hulster, K. and J. Van Steenberg, Family matters: The 'family-in-law-impulse' in Mamluk marriage policy, in J. Loiseau (ed.), *Histoire de familles*, in *AI* 47 (2013), 61–82.
- Dickey, E., Forms of address and terms of reference, in *Journal of Linguistics* 33/2 (1997), 255–74.
- Diem, W., Arabic letters in pre-modern times: A survey with commented selected bibliographies, in E.M. Grob and A. Kaplony (eds.), *Documentary letters from the Middle East: The evidence in Greek, Coptic, South Arabian, Pehlevi, and Arabic (1st–15th c CE)*, Bern 2008, 843–83.
- Dietrich, A., al-Būnī, in *Et<sup>2</sup>*, xii, 156–7.
- Dobbs, M., *House of Cards*, Naperville IL 1989.
- Douglas, M., Deciphering a meal, in *Daedalus* 101/1 (1972), 61–81.
- Doutté, E., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909.

- Dozy, R.P.A., *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1881.
- Eddé, A.-M., *Saladin*, tr. by J.M. Todd, Cambridge MA 2011.
- Elbendary, A.A., The sultan, the tyrant, and the hero: Changing medieval perceptions of al-Zāhir Baybars, in *MSR* 5 (2001), 141–57.
- Ensel, R., Colactation and fictive kinship as rites of incorporation and reversal in Morocco, in *The Journal of North African Studies* 7/4 (2002), 83–96.
- Establet, C. and J.-P. Pascuel, *Familles et fortunes à Damas: 450 foyers damascains en 1700*, Damascus 1994.
- Eychenne, M., Le Sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalil et son vizir: Liens personnels et pratiques du pouvoir dans le Sultanat Mamlouk, in *AI* 39 (2005), 249–73.
- Faroqhi, S., *Stories of Ottoman men and women: Establishing status, establishing control*, Istanbul 2002.
- Fay, M.A., Women and *waqf*: Toward a reconsideration of women's place in the Mamlūk household, in *IJMES* 29/1 (1997), 33–51.
- Fay, M.A., *Unveiling the harem: Elite women and the paradox of seclusion in eighteenth-century Cairo*, Syracuse 2012.
- Finkel, J., King Mutton: A curious tale of the Mamluk period (II), in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete* 9 (1933/4), 1–18.
- Fischel, W.J., The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt: A contribution to the economic history of medieval Islam, in *JESHO* 1/2 (1958), 157–74.
- Fischel, W.J., A New Latin Source on Tamerlane's Conquest of Damascus (1400/1401): (B. de Mignanelli's "Vita Tamerlani" 1416), in *Oriens* 9/2 (1956), 201–32.
- Fitzwilliam-Hall, A.H., An introductory survey of the Arabic books of *filāḥa* and farming almanacs, 2010 online publication of The *Filāḥa* texts project: The Arabic books of husbandry, last accessed on 27 December 2014, [<http://www.filaha.org/introduction.html>].
- Flemming, B., Literary activities in Mamluk halls and barracks, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 249–60.
- Flood, F.B., An ambiguous aesthetic: Crusader *Spolia* in Ayyubid Jerusalem, in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds.), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in context, 1187–1250*, London 2009, 202–15.
- Forand, P.G., The relation of the slave and the client to the master or patron in medieval Islam, in *IJMES* 2/1 (1971), 59–66.
- Fragner, B., From the Caucasus to the roof of the world: A culinary adventure, in S. Zubaida and R. Tapper (eds.), *A taste of thyme: Culinary cultures of the Middle East*, London 1994 and 2000, 49–62.
- Franssen, É., A *mağribī* copy of the *Kitāb al-Faraj ba'd aš-Šidda*, by the 'Irāqī *qāḍī* at-Tanūḥī: Study of a manuscript of Liège University (Belgium), in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1/1 (2010), 61–78.
- Frenkel, Y., The establishment of the *Waqf Hanqah al-Sallahiya* by Sallah ad-Din, in *Cathedra* 65 (1992), 25–7 [in Hebrew].

- Frenkel, Y., Political and social aspects of Islamic religious endowments (“awqāf”): Saladin in Cairo (1169–73) and Jerusalem (1187–93), in *BSOAS* 62/1 (1999), 1–20.
- Frenkel, Y., The chain of traditions (*Hadith*) or transmitting knowledge in medieval Damascus, based on Samāʿāt of Ibn al-Asākir, in U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenberghe (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV*, Leuven 2005, 165–84.
- Frenkel, Y., Women in late Mamluk Damascus in the light of audience certificates (*samāʿāt*), in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV* (2005), 409–24.
- Frenkel, Y., Some notes concerning the trade and education of slave-soldiers during the Mamluk Era, in C. Cluse and R. Amitai (eds.), *Slavery and the slave trade in the medieval Mediterranean 11th to 15th centuries*, Trier (forthcoming).
- Frenkel, Y., Mamluk ‘ulamā’ on festivals and rites de passage: Wedding customs in 15th century Damascus, in U. Vermuelen and K. D’hulster (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI: Proceedings of the 14th and 15th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit*, Leuven 2010, 279–89.
- Frenkel, Y., Marriage and family in Mamluk palaces, in M. Morgenstern, C. Boudignon, and C. Tietz (eds.), *Männlich und weiblich schuf Er sie: Studien zur Genderkonstruktion und zum Eherecht in den Mittelmeerreligionen*, Göttingen 2011, 239–48.
- Frenkel, Y., The management of water in fourteenth century Damascus, paper presented at the Mamluk conference, University of Haifa, 2011.
- Frenkel, Y., Between Mongols and Ottoman: Nazareth in the Mamluk period, in M. Yazbak and S. Sharif (eds.), *Nazareth History and Cultural Heritage* 2 (2013), 19–38.
- Frenkel, Y., al-Bāʿūnī, in *ER*<sup>3</sup>.
- Friedman, M.A., The ethics of medieval Jewish marriage, in S.D. Goitein (ed.), *Religion in a Religious Age*, Cambridge MA 1974, 83–102.
- Fuess, A., *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517)*, Leiden 2001.
- Fuess, A., Rotting ships and razed harbours: The naval policy of the Mamluks, in *MSR* 5 (2001), 45–71.
- Fuess, A., Sultans with horns: The political significance of headgear in the Mamluk empire, in *MSR* 12 (2008), 71–94.
- Fuess, A., Mamluk politics, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus? Mamluk studies—state of the art*, Bonn 2012, 95–118.
- Gabrieli, F., *Arab historians of the Crusades*, trans. F. Gabrieli, London 1969.
- Gacek, A., *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary of technical terms and bibliography*, Leiden 2001.
- Gacek, A., Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts, in J. Pfeiffer and M. Kropp (eds.), *Theoretical approaches to the transmission and edition of oriental manuscripts: Proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul March 28–30, 2001*, Beirut 2007, 217–35, 313–19 (illustrations).

- Gacek, A., *The Arabic manuscript tradition: A glossary of technical terms and bibliography, supplement*, Leiden 2008.
- Gacek, A., *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum for readers*, Leiden 2009.
- Galloway, J.H., The Mediterranean sugar industry, in *Geographical Review* 67/2 (1977), 177–94.
- Garcin, J-C., The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks, in Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, vol. 1, 290–318.
- Gardiner, N., *Esotericism in a manuscript culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and his readers through the Mamlūk period*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Michigan 2014.
- Garland, L., The life and ideology of Byzantine women, in *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 361–93.
- Ghaly, M.M., Physiognomy: A forgotten chapter of disability in Islam—the discourse of Muslim jurists, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 66 (2009), 161–97.
- Ghawanmeh, Y., *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥadārī li-sharq al-Urdunn fi l-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī*, Amman 1982.
- Ghawanmeh, Y., al-Qarya fi junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-Filistīn) fi l-ʿaṣr al-Mamlūkī fi dawʿ waqfiyyat adar, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982), 363–71.
- Giladi, A., Normative Islam versus local tradition: Some observations on female circumcision with special reference to Egypt, in *Arabica* 44/2 (1997), 254–67.
- Giladi, A., Toutes les femmes d'al-Saḥāwī: Quelques remarques sur le Kitāb al-Nisāʾ (“le Livre des Femmes”), comme source de “l’histoire intime” des sociétés musulmanes médiévales, in C. Müller and M. Roiland-Rouabah (eds.), *Les non-dits du nom: Onomastique et documents en terres d’Islam*, Beirut 2013, 548–66.
- Giladi, A., Fosterage, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe, Brill online.
- Giladi, A., Lactation, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, Brill online.
- Giladi, A., Wet-Nursing, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, Brill online.
- Goitein, S.D., *A Mediterranean society: The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols., Berkeley 1967–93.
- Goitein, S.D., The sexual mores of the common people, in A.L. Sayyid-Marsot (ed.), *Society and the sexes in medieval Islam*, Malibu 1979, 43–61.
- Goldziher, I., *Muslim studies*, edited and translated by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, 2 vols., London 1967–71.
- Goodwin, G., The reuse of marble in the Eastern Mediterranean in medieval times, in *JRAS* 1 (1977), 17–30.
- Gordon, D., Female circumcision and genital operations in Egypt and the Sudan: A dilemma for medical anthropology, in *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, New Series 5/1 (1991), 3–14.
- Gottlieb, B., *The family in the western world: From the Black Death to the Industrial Age*, Oxford 1993.



- Grabar, O., The Crusades and the development of Islamic Art, in A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, Washington D.C. 2001, 235–45.
- Grabiner, E., From raw material to a compound and back again: A look at one element of Crusader architecture, in *Assaph* 6 (2001), 119–38.
- Grabiner, E., *La Colonnnette Coudee: Diffusion d'un element architectural entre Orient et Occident aux XIIIe et XIIIe siecles*, Ph.D. Dissertation: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne 1994.
- Grob, E.M., *Documentary Arabic private and business letters on papyrus: Form and function, content and context*, New York and Berlin 2010.
- Grossman, H.E., On memory, transmission, and the practice of building in the Crusader Mediterranean, in *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 481–517.
- Guesdon, M-G., Reliures, in Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri (eds.), *L'Art du livre arabe*, 139–51.
- Guesdon, M-G., Les Réclames dans les manuscrits arabes datés antérieurs à 1450, in F. Déroche and F. Richard (eds.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Paris 1997, 65–75.
- Guesdon, M-G., La numérotation des cahiers et la foliotation dans les manuscrits arabes datés jusqu'à 1450, in G. Humbert (ed.), *La Tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe, première partie, REMM; série histoire, n° 99–100*, Aix-en-Provence 2002, 101–15.
- Gully, A., *The culture of letter-writing in pre-modern Islamic society*, Edinburgh 2008.
- Guo, L., Tales of a medieval Cairene harem: Domestic life in al-Biqā'ī's autobiographical chronicle, in *MSR* 9 (2005), 101–21.
- Guo, L., *The performing arts in medieval Islam: Shadow play and popular poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*, Leiden 2012.
- Haarmann U., The sons of Mamluks as fief-holders in late medieval Egypt, in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 141–68.
- Haarmann U., Arabic in speech, Turkish in lineage: Mamluks and their sons in the intellectual life of fourteenth-century Egypt and Syria, in *JSS* 33/1 (1988), 81–114.
- Haarmann U., Joseph's law: The careers and activities of Mamluk descendants before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 55–84.
- Hachmeier, K.U., *Die Briefe Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Šābi's (st. 384/994 A.H./A.D.)*, Zürich and New York 2002.
- Halasi-Kun, T., *La Langue des Kiptchaks d'après un manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul (al-Tuḥfa al-zakīyya fī l-lughat al-Turkiyya)*, Budapest 1942.
- Hallaq, W., From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*: Growth and change in Islamic substantive law, in *Islamic Law and Society* 1 (1994), 29–65.
- Ḥamāda, I., *Khayāl al-ẓill, wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963.
- Hamilton, R.W., *The structural history of the Aqsa Mosque*, Jerusalem 1949.



- Hanawalt, B.A., *Crime and conflict in English communities, 1300–1348*, Cambridge MA 1979.
- Haque, S., A letter of Ibn Taimiyya to Abū-l-Fidā', in J.W. Fück (ed.), *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, 155–61.
- Harari, Y.N., *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*, London 2014.
- Har-El, S., Silāḥdār, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ix, 609–10.
- Hartal, M., *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) fortress: Towers 11 and 9*, with contributions by R. Amitai and A. Boas, Jerusalem 2001.
- Ḥassan, M. U., *Ṭā'ifat al-maghānī fī Miṣr fī l-'aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, in *AI* 43 (2009), 376–416.
- Hawari, M.K., *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250): An architectural and archaeological study*, Oxford 2007.
- Heffening, W., 'Urs, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, x, 970–9.
- Heidemann, S., *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261)*, Leiden 1994.
- Herr, L., Area G.5, in R.S. Boraas and L.T. Geraty (eds.), Andrews University Heshbon expedition: The fourth campaign at Tell Ḥesbān (1974): A preliminary report, in *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 14/1 (1976), 107–8.
- Herzfeld, E., Damascus: Studies in architecture III, in *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946), 1–71.
- Hillenbrand, C., Some reflections on the use of the Qur'ān in monumental inscriptions in Syria and Palestine in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, in R.G. Hoyland and P.F. Kennedy (eds.), *Islamic reflections, Arabic musing*, Oxford 2004, 279–89.
- Hillenbrand, R., La Dolce Vita in early Islamic Syria: The evidence of later Umayyad palaces, in *Art History* 5/1 (1982), 1–35.
- Hillenbrand, R., The Ayyubid Aqsa: Decorative aspects, in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds.), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in context, 1187–1250*, London 2009, 301–26.
- Hirschler, K., Studying Mamluk historiography: From source-criticism to the cultural turn, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus?*, 159–86.
- Hodgson, M.G., *The venture of Islam*, 3 vols., Chicago 1974.
- Holt, P.M., *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922: A Political History*, Ithaca and London 1966.
- Holt, P.M., The sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696–8/1296–9), in *BSOAS* 36/3 (1973), 521–32.
- Holt, P.M., The position and power of the Mamlūk sultan, in *BSOAS* 38/2 (1975), 237–49.
- Holt, P.M., The virtuous ruler in thirteenth-century Mamluk royal biographies, in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24/1 (1980), 27–35.
- Holt, P.M., *The memoirs of a Syrian prince: Abu' l-Fidā', Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331)*, Wiesbaden 1983.
- Holt, P.M., *The age of the Crusades*, London and New York 1986.
- Holt, P.M., An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His ancestry, kindred and affinity, in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, Leuven 1995, 313–24.
- Holt, P.M., Ṭūmān Bāy, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, x, 621–2.

- Homerin, T.E., A bird ascends the night: Elegy and immortality in Islam, in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 58/4 (1991), 247–80.
- Homerin, T.E., Living love: The mystical writings of ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūniyah (d. 922/1516), in *MSR* 7 (2003), 211–34.
- Homerin, T.E., Writing Sufi biography: The case of ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūniyah (D. 922/1517), in *MW* 96/3 (2006), 389–99.
- Houlbrooke, R.A., *The English family 1450–1700*, London and New York 1984.
- Humbert, G., Les Papiers non filigranés utilisés au Proche-Orient jusqu’en 1450: Essai de typologie, in *JA* 286/1 (1998), 1–54.
- Humbert, G., Le Manuscrit arabe et ses papiers, in G. Humbert (ed.), *La Tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe, première partie, REMM, série histoire, n° 99–100*, Aix-en-Provence 2002, 55–77.
- Hume, D., Of the standard of taste, in C.W. Eliot (ed.), *English essays: From Sir Philip Sidney to Macaulay, The Harvard Classics* 27, New York 1910, 203–21.
- Humphreys, R.S., *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*, Albany NY 1972.
- Humphreys, R.S., Women as patrons of religious architecture in Ayyubid Damascus, in *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 35–54.
- Humphreys, R.S., Ayyubids, Mamluks and the Latin East in the thirteenth century, in *MSR* 2 (1998), 1–17.
- Igarashi, D., The establishment and development of al-Diwan al-Mufrad: Its background and implications, in *MSR* 10/1 (2006), 117–40.
- Igarashi, D., The financial reforms of Sultan Qāyṭbāy, in *MSR* 13/1 (2009), 27–51.
- Igarashi, D., The evolution of the sultanic fisc and *al-dhakhīrah* during the Circassian Mamluk period, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 85–108.
- Igarashi, D., *Madrāsahs*, their shaykhs, and the civilian founder: The Bāsiṭīyah *Madrāsahs* in the Mamlūk era, in *Orient* 48 (2013), 79–94.
- Igarashi, D., *Land tenure, fiscal policy, and imperial power in medieval Syro-Egypt*, Chicago 2015.
- İnalçık, H., Selim I, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ix 127–31.
- Irigoin, J., Les Papiers non filigranés: État présent des recherches et perspectives d’avenir, in M. Maniaci and P.F. Munafò (eds.), *Ancient and medieval book materials and techniques (Erice, 18–25 September 1992)*, i, Vatican City 1993, 265–312.
- Irwin, R., *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, Carbondale 1986.
- Irwin, R., Factions in medieval Egypt, in *JRAS* 2 (1986), 228–46.
- Irwin, R., The privatization of ‘justice’ under the Circassian Mamluks, in *MSR* 6 (2002), 63–70.
- Irwin, R., Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate reconsidered, in M. Winter and A. Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, Leiden and Boston 2004, 117–39.

- Irwin, R., Mamluk history and historians, in A. Richards (eds.), *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*, Cambridge 2006, 159–70.
- Irwin, R., Eating horses and drinking mare's milk, in idem, *Mamluks and Crusaders: Men of the sword and men of the pen*, Surrey and Burlington VT 2010, 1–7.
- İslamoğlu-İnan, H., *State and peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian power relations and regional economic development in Ottoman Anatolia during the sixteenth century*, Leiden 1994.
- ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAli, M.K. al-D., *Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Qalqashandī muʿarrīkhan*, Beirut 1990.
- Jacoby, D., The rise of a new emporium in the eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the late thirteenth century, in *Meletai kai Hypomnemata* 1 (1984), 145–79.
- Jacoby, D., *Studies on the Crusader states and on Venetian expansion*, Aldershot UK 1989.
- Jaimoukha, A., *The Circassians: A handbook*, Surrey 2001.
- Jiyad, M., *Anti-women sentiments in Arabic literature: The case of an eleventh i.c. manuscript*, Berlin 2011.
- Johnson, K., Royal pilgrims: Mamluk accounts of the pilgrimage to Mecca of the Khawand al-Kubrā (senior wife of the sultan), in *SI* 91 (2000), 107–31.
- Jones, J.M.B., Ibn Ishāq, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 810–1.
- Kaḥḥāla, ʿU.R., *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn: Tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-ʿarabī*, 12 vols., Beirut 1957–61; sec. ed. in 4 vols., [Riad]: n.d.
- Kahle, P., The Arabic shadow play in Egypt, in *JRAS* 1 (1940), 21–34.
- Kalus, L. and F. Soudan, *Thésaurus d'épigraphie islamique*, 15<sup>ème</sup> livraison, janvier 2015, online [<http://www.epigraphie-islamique.org/epi/login.html>].
- Kazhdan, A.P. and A.-M. Talbot, Women and iconoclasm, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991/2), 391–408.
- Keddie, N.R., The past and present of women in the Muslim world, in *Journal of World History* 1/1 (1990), 77–108.
- Keddie, N.R. and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history: Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven 1991.
- Kelekna, P., *The horse in human history*, Cambridge 2009.
- Kelekna, P., The politico-economic impact of the horse on old world cultures: An overview, in *Sino-Platonic Papers* 190 (2009), 1–31.
- Khoury, D.R., Slippers at the entrance or behind closed doors: Domestic and public spaces for Mosuli women, in M.C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1997, 105–28.
- Kilpatrick, H., Some late ʿAbbāsīd and Mamlūk books about women: A literary historical approach, in *Arabica* 42 (1995), 56–78.
- Kinney, D., Spolia. Damnatio and renovatio memoriae, in *Memories of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997), 117–48.
- Kinney, D., Introduction, in R. Brilliant and D. Kinney (eds.), *Reuse value spolia and appropriation in art and architecture from Constantine to Sherri Levine*, Burlington 2011, 1–11.

- Korn, L., Ayyubid Jerusalem in perspective: The context of Ayyubid architecture in Bilad al-Sham, in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds.), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: the Holy City in context, 1187–1250*, 388–407.
- Korn, L., The structure of architectural patronage in Ayyubid Jerusalem, in J. Pahlitzsch and L. Korn (eds.), *Governing the Holy City*, Wiesbaden 2004, 71–89.
- Korobeinikov, D., A broken mirror: The Kıpçak world in the thirteenth century, in F. Curta (ed.) and R. Kovalev (assisting), *The other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, Leiden and Boston 2008, 379–412.
- Krakowski, E., *Female adolescence in the Cairo Geniza documents*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Chicago 2012.
- Kreiser, K., Evliyā Çelebi, in C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, and C. Fleischer (eds.), *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, October 2005, online [[https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/evliya\\_en.pdf](https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/evliya_en.pdf)].
- Kropf, E. and C.A. Baker, A conservative tradition? Arab papers of the 12th–17th centuries from the Islamic manuscripts collection at the University of Michigan, in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 4/1 (2013), 1–48.
- Kuhnel, B., *Crusader art of the twelfth century: A geographical, an historical or an art historical notion?*, Berlin 1994.
- Kumar, S., When slaves were nobles: The Shamsī *Bandagān* in the early Delhi Sultanate, in *Studies in History* 10/1 (1994), 23–52.
- Kumar, S., Service, status and military slavery in the Delhi Sultanate of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, in I. Chatterjee and R.M. Eaton (eds.), *Slavery and South Asian history*, Bloomington 2006, 83–114.
- Kuun, G., *Codex cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*, primum ex integro edidit, prolegomenis, notis et compluribus glossariis instruxit, Budapest 1880.
- LaBianca, Ø.S., On-site water retention strategies: Solutions from the past for dealing with Jordan's present water crisis, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995), 771–6.
- LaBianca, Ø.S., *Sedentarization and nomadization: Food system cycles at Hesban and vicinity in Transjordan*, Hesban Final Reports 1, Berrien Springs, MI 1990.
- Labib, S.Y., Kārimī, in *Et<sup>2</sup>*, iv, 640–3.
- Lagardère, V., Abū Bakr ibn al 'Arabī, grand cadī de Seville, in *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40 (1985), 91–102.
- Laiou, A.E., The role of women in Byzantine society, in idem, *Gender, society and economic life in Byzantium*, Aldershot and Hampshire UK 1992, 233–60.
- Laiou, A.E., Women in the market place of Constantinople (10th–14th centuries), in N. Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, topography and everyday life*, Leiden 2001, 261–73.
- Lamdan, R., *A separate people: Jewish women in Palestine, Syria and Egypt in the sixteenth century*, Leiden 2000.

- Landau-Tasseron, E., Adoption, acknowledgment of paternity and false genealogical claims in Arabian and Islamic societies, in *BSOAS* 66/2 (2003), 169–92.
- Lane, E.W., *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, New York 1973.
- Laparidou, S., Changing land use strategies in Islamic Syria, in B.J. Walker (ed.), *Oxford handbook of Islamic archaeology*, Oxford (*forthcoming*).
- Larcher, P., Moyen arabe et arabe moyen, in *Arabica* 48/4 (2001), 578–609.
- Lassen, E.M., The Roman family: Ideal and metaphor, in H. Moxnes (ed.), *Constructing early Christian families: Family as social reality and metaphor*, London and New York 1997, 103–20.
- Leach, E., Anthropological aspects of language: Animal categories and verbal abuse, in E.H. Lenneberg (ed.), *New directions in the study of language*, Cambridge MA 1964, 23–63.
- Lentin, J. and J. Grand'Henry, *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire. Actes du premier colloque international (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 Mai 2004)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2008.
- Lev, Y., Symbiotic relations: Ulama and the Mamluk sultans, in *MSR* 13 (2009), 1–26.
- Levanoni, A., The Mamluk conception of the sultanate, in *IJMES* 26/3 (1994), 373–92.
- Levanoni, A., *A turning point in Mamluk history: The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341*, Leiden 1995.
- Levanoni, A., Rank-and-file mamluks versus amirs: New norms in the Mamluk military institution, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 17–31.
- Levanoni, A., Šaḡar ad-Durr: A case of female sultanate in medieval Islam, in U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenberghe (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* 3, proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th international colloquium, Leuven 2001, 209–18.
- Levanoni, A., The sultan's laqab: A sign of a new order in Mamluk factionalism? in Winter and Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, 79–115.
- Levanoni, A., Food and cooking during the Mamluk era: Social and political implications, in *MSR* 9/1 (2005), 201–22.
- Levanoni, A., The al-Nashw episode: A case study of 'moral economy'? in *MSR* 9 (2005), 207–20.
- Levanoni, A., *Awlād al-Nās* in the Mamluk army during the Baḥrī period, in D. Wasserstein and A. Ayalon (eds.), *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in honour of Michael Winter*, London and New York 2006, 96–105.
- Levanoni, A., Water supply in medieval Middle Eastern cities: The case of Cairo, in *al-Masāq* 20/2 (2008), 179–205.
- Levey, M., *Medieval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology*, Philadelphia 1962.

- Lewicka, P., *Food and foodways of medieval Cairenes: Aspects of life in an Islamic metropolis of the eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden and Boston 2011.
- Lewis, B., An Arabic account of the province of Safed-I, in *BSOAS* 15 (1953), 477–88.
- Lightfoot, D.R., Qanats in the Levant: Hydraulic technology at the periphery of early empires, in *Technology and Culture* 38/2 (1997), 432–51.
- Lightfoot, D.R., The origin and diffusion of *Qanats* in Arabia: New evidence from the northern and southern peninsula, in *The Geographical Journal* 166/3 (2000), 215–26.
- Lightfoot, D.R., Jordanian Qanat Romani, accessed 27 December 2014, [<http://www.waterhistory.org/histories/jordan/jordanqanat.pdf>].
- Lightfoot, D.R., Syrian Qanat Romani, accessed 27 December 2014, [<http://www.waterhistory.org/histories/syria/syrian.pdf>].
- Little, D.P., An analysis of the relationship between four Mamluk chronicles for 737–45, in *JSS* 19/2 (1974), 252–68.
- Little, D.P., Notes on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamlük, in U. Haarmann and P. Bachmann (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1979, 387–401.
- Little, D.P., Religion under the Mamluks, in *MW* 73 (1983), 165–81.
- Little, D.P., *A catalogue of the Islamic documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Wiesbaden 1984.
- Little, D.P., The fall of ‘Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim version, in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Leiden and Jerusalem 1986, 159–82.
- Little, D.P., Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, 1197–1516, in K.J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, Brooklyn NY 1990, 177–86.
- Little, D.P., Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlük epochs, in Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, 412–44.
- Loiseau, Julien. *Reconstruire la maison du sultan, 1350–1450: ruine et recomposition de l'ordre Urbain au Caire*, 2 vols., Cairo 2010.
- Loveday, H., *Islamic Paper: A study of the ancient craft*, London 2001.
- Lucke, B. et al., Questioning Transjordan's historic desertification: A critical review of the paradigm of 'empty lands', in *Levant* 44/1 (2012), 100–26.
- Lutfi, H., al-Sakhāwī's Kitāb al-Nisā' as a source for the social and economic history of Muslim women during the fifteenth century A.D., in *MW* 71 (1981), 104–24.
- Lutfi, H., Manners and customs of fourteenth-century Cairene women: Female anarchy versus male shar'i order in Muslim prescriptive treatises, in Keddie and Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History*, 99–121.
- Lutfi, H., The construction of gender symbolism in Ibn Sīrīn's and Ibn Shāhīn's medieval Arabic dream texts, in *MSR* 9 (2005), 123–61.
- Luz, N., Tripoli reinvented: A case of Mamluk urbanization, in Y. Lev (ed.), *Towns and material culture in the medieval Middle East*, Leiden 2002, 53–71.

- Luz, N., *The Mamluk city in the Middle East*, Cambridge 2014.
- Mahmood, S., *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton 2005.
- Malti-Douglas, F., *Woman's body, woman's word: Gender and discourse in Arabo-Islamic writing*, Princeton 1991.
- Marin, M., Sobre alimentación y sociedad, in *al-Qanṭara* 13 (1992), 83–122.
- Marin, M., Beyond taste: The complements of color and smell in the medieval Arab culinary tradition, in S. Zubaida and R. Tapper (eds.), *A taste of thyme: Culinary cultures of the Middle East*, London and New York 2000, 205–14.
- Marin, M. and R. Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine: Women in Arab sources*, London 2002.
- Marjiyya, B., *Shakhṣīyat al-mar'a fī l-adab al-'arabī al-qadīm*, Amman 2001.
- Marmon, S.E., Domestic slavery in the Mamlūk Empire: A preliminary sketch, in idem (ed.), *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, Princeton 1999, 1–23.
- Martel, R.T., The decline of Mamlūk civil bureaucracy in the fifteenth century, in *JIS* 6/2 (1995), 173–88.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., *Les Civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk (IX<sup>e</sup>/XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Damascus 1992.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., Du bon gouvernement d'après la Hadiyat al-'abd al-qāṣir ilā al-malik al-Nāṣir de 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ṣāliḥī, in *AI* 34 (2000), 227–313.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., De l'équité à l'arbitraire: État des prisons et des prisonniers sous les derniers Mamlouks (872–923/1468–1517), in *AI* 40 (2006), 205–46.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., L'Exil: Un châtement paradoxal dans l'État des Mamlouks (872–923/1468–1517), in J.-M. Durand, T. Römer et J.-P. Mahé (eds.), *La Faute et sa punition dans les sociétés orientales* (Publications de l'Institut du Proche Orient ancien du Collège de France 1), Leuven and Walpole MA 2012, 163–86.
- Martel-Thoumian, B., Ibn Iyās et les chanteuses ou quand l'art s'introduit dans la chronique historique (872–923/1468–1517), in *JA* 301/2 (2013), 425–34.
- Masters, B., *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516–1918: A social and cultural history*, New York 2013.
- Maṭar, 'A. al-'A., *Laḥn al-'amma fī ḍaw' al-dirāsāt al-lughawiyya al-ḥadītha*, Cairo 1966.
- Mattson, I., Adoption and fostering, in S. Josef (ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and Islamic cultures*, ii, Leiden and Boston 2005, 1–3.
- Mauder, Ch., *Gelehrte Krieger: die Mamluken als Träger arabischsprachiger Bildung nach al-Ṣafadī, al-Maqrīzī und weiteren Quellen*, Hildesheim 2012.
- Mayer, L.A., Satura epigraphica arabica II, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 2 (1932), 127–31.
- Meisami, J.S., Writing medieval women: Representations and misrepresentations, in J. Bray (ed.), *Writing and representation in medieval Islam: Muslim horizons*, London 2006, 46–87.



- Melčák, M., Reconstruction of the lost Ayyubid waqf: Madrasa al-Shāmiya al-Juwwāniya in Damascus as depicted in the *fatāwā* of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), in *Archiv Orientalni* 80/1 (2012), 1–39.
- Mennella, J.A. and G.K. Beauchamp, The early development of human flavor preferences, in E.D. Capaldi (ed.), *Why we eat what we eat: The psychology of eating*, Washington DC 1996, 83–112.
- Merling, D., The ‘pools of Heshbon’ as discovered by the Heshbon expedition, in D. Merling and L.T. Geraty (eds.), *Hesban after 25 years*, Berrien Springs, MI 1994, 211–23.
- Mikhail, A., *Nature and empire in Ottoman Egypt: An environmental history*, Cambridge 2011.
- Mintz, S.W., *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*, New York 1986.
- Miura, T., Administrative networks in the Mamluk period: Taxation, legal execution, and bribery, in S. Tsugitaka (ed.), *Islamic urbanism in human history: Political power and social networks*, London and New York 1997, 39–75.
- Montgomery Watt, W., al-Ghazālī, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, ii, 1038–41.
- Mortel, R.T., Grand Dawādār and governor of Jeddah: The career of the fifteenth century Mamlūk magnate Ġānibek al-Zāhirī, in *Arabica* 43/3 (1996), 437–56.
- Mottahedeh, R.P., *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980.
- Mouton, J.-M., D. Sourdel and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Mariage et séparation à Damas au Moyen Âge: Un corpus de 62 documents juridiques inédits entre 337/948 et 698/1299*, Paris 2013.
- Moxnes, H., Introduction, in idem (ed.), *Constructing early Christian families: Family as social reality and metaphor*, 13–41.
- Moxnes, H., What is a family: Problems in constructing early Christian families, in idem (ed.), *Constructing early Christian families*, 1–9.
- Muhtadī, ‘A.S., *Sijill maḥkamat al-Quds al-shar‘iyya: Fajrasa taḥlīliyya*, vol. 1., Amman 2008.
- Mukāḥala, N.M.H., *al-Zirā‘a fī Bilād al-Shām fī l-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, M.A. Thesis: University of Yarmouk 1992.
- Müller, Ch., *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen: Studie der mamlukischen Ḥaram-Dokumente aus Jerusalem*, Wiesbaden 2013.
- Mundy, M. and R.S. Smith, *Governing property, making the modern state: Law, administration and production in Ottoman Syria*, London 2007.
- al-Muqabala, Ayman Aḥmad Ḥussein, *al-Qarya fī Bilād al-Shām fī l-‘aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis: Yarmouk University, 1998.
- Murād, R.A. al-Ḥ. and Y.M. al-Sawwās (eds.), *Fihris makhtūṭāt dār al-kutub al-zāhirīyya*, 2 vols., Damascus 1982.
- Murphey, R., The Historical Setting, in R. Dankoff (ed.), *The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman*, 21–41.



- al-Musawi, J., Vindicating a profession or a personal career? Al-Qalqashandī's Maqāmah in context, in *MSR* 7/1 (2003), 111–35.
- Muzerelle, D., *Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits*, Paris 1985 [online <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/accueil/vocabulaire>].
- Nielson, J.S., The political geography and administration of Mamluk Palestine: The evidence of al-Qalqashandi, in H. Nashabe (ed.), *Studia Palaestina: Studies in honour of Constantine K. Zurayk*, Beirut 1988, 114–33.
- Nikolaev, V., *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire*, Sofia 1954.
- Northrup, L.S., The Bahārī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390, in Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, 242–89.
- Northrup, L.S., *From slave to sultan: The career of Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the consolidation of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)*, Stuttgart 1998.
- Nwyia, P., Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-'Arīf avec Ibn Barrajjān, in *Hespéris* 48 (1956), 217–21.
- Ollendorff, F., Two Mamluk tomb chambers in western Jerusalem, in *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982), 245–50.
- Onimus, Cl., *Les Émirs dans le Sultanat Mamelouk sous les Sultans Barqūq et Farağ (784–815/1382–1412)*, *Restauration sultanienne et conflits émiraux*, thèse en cours de publication soutenue à l'EPHE, Paris 2013.
- Opsomer-Halleux, C., *Trésors manuscrits de l'Université de Liège*, Liège 1989.
- d'Ottone, A., Il Manoscritto Vaticano Arabo 368: *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Ryād*. Il codice, il testo, le immagini, in *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 14 (2010), 55–70.
- Ouerfelli, M., *Le sucre: Production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Leiden 2008.
- Ousterhout, R., Architecture as relic and the construction of sanctity: The stones of the Holy Sepulcher, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62/1 (2003), 4–23.
- Palmer, C., 'Following the Plough': The Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan, in *Levant* 30 (1998), 129–65.
- Parker, T.S., Tell Hesban 1976: Area C.4, 6, 8, 9, 10, in *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978), 71–108.
- Parkes, P., Alternative social structures and foster relations in the Hindu Kush: Milk kinship allegiance in former mountain kingdoms of northern Pakistan, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43/1 (2001), 4–36.
- Parkes, P., Fosterage, kinship, and legend: When milk was thicker than blood, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/3 (2004), 587–615.
- Parkes, P., Milk kinship in Islam: substance, structure, history, in *Social Anthropology* 13/3 (2005), 307–29.
- Paul, J., *Khidma* in the social history of pre-Mongol Iran, in *JESHO* 57/3 (2014), 392–422.

- Paul, J., Sanjar and Atsız: Independence, lordship, and literature, in idem (ed.), *Nomad aristocrats in a world of empires*, Wiesbaden 2013, 81–129.
- Pellat, C., Ḥikāya, in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 367–72.
- Perry, C., The oldest Mediterranean noodle: A cautionary tale, in *Petits Propos Culinaire* 9 (October 1981), 42–5.
- Perry, C., Notes on Persian pasta, in M. Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, Totnes 2001, 251–5.
- Petry, C.F., *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981.
- Petry, C.F., A paradox of patronage during the later Mamluk period, in *MW* 73 (1983), 182–207.
- Petry, C.F., Class solidarity versus gender gain: Women as custodians of property in later medieval Egypt, in Keddie and Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history*, 122–42.
- Petry, C.F., The estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khaṣṣbakiyya: Royal spouse, autonomous investor, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, 277–94.
- Petry, C.F., *The Criminal underworld in a medieval Islamic society: Narratives from Cairo under the Mamluks*, Chicago 2012.
- Philipp, T., Acre, in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, i, 341.
- Philipp, T., Acre, in *EF*<sup>3</sup>.
- Pomerantz, M.A., *Licit magic and divine grace: The life and letters of al-Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbāb (d. 385/995)*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Chicago 2010.
- Popper, W., *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî’s chronicle of Egypt*, Berkeley 1955.
- Powers, D.S., Four cases relating to women and divorce in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, 1100–1500, in M.K. Masud, R. Peters and D.S. Powers (eds.), *Dispensing justice in Islam: qadis and their judgments*, Leiden 2006, 383–409.
- Praver, J., *Histoire du royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. tr. G. Nahon, Paris 1969–70.
- Pringle, D., Notes on some inscriptions from Crusader Acre, in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *Laudem hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and medieval culture in honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Aldershot UK 2007, 191–210.
- Pringle, D., *The churches of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols., Cambridge MA 1993–2009.
- Pryor, J.H., *Geography, technology and war: Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 641–1571*, Cambridge 1988.
- Puin, E., Silver coins of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn (678–689/1279–1290) from the mints of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥamāh, and al-Marqab, in *MSR* 4 (2000), 75–129.
- al-Qaradawi, Y., *The lawful and the prohibited in Islam (al-Ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām fī l-islām)*, London 1985.
- Quelquejay, Ch., Čerkes, in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 21–3.

- Rabbat, N.O., The changing concept of *Mamlūk* in the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria, in M. Toru and J.E. Philips (eds.), *Slave elites in the Middle East and Africa: a comparative study*, London and New York 2000, 81–98.
- Rabin, I. et al., Identification and classification of historical writing inks in spectroscopy: A methodological overview, in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 3 (2012), 26–30.
- Raphael, K., *Muslim fortresses in the Levant: Between Crusaders and Mongols*, London 2011.
- Rapoport, Y., *Marriage, money and divorce in medieval Islamic society*, Cambridge 2005.
- Rapoport, Y., Women and gender in Mamluk society: An overview, in *MSR* 11/2 (2007), 1–47.
- Rapoport, Y. and I. Shahar, Irrigation in the medieval Islamic Fayyum: Local control in a large-scale hydraulic system, in *JESHO* 55/1 (2012), 1–31.
- Rapoport, Y. and I. Shahar, Rural society in medieval Islam, internet site, last accessed on 27 December 2014, [<http://www2.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam/index.html>].
- Rawson, B., Introduction: Families in the Greek and Roman worlds, in idem (ed.), *A companion to families in the Greek and Roman worlds*, Malden, Oxford and Chichester 2011, 1–11.
- Ray, P., *Tell Hesban and vicinity in the Iron Age (Hesban, 6)*, Berrien Springs, MI 2001.
- Raymond, A. and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire: Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, Cairo 1979.
- Reyerson, K., Urban economies, in J.M. Bennett and R.M. Karras (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of women and gender in medieval Europe*, Oxford 2013, 295–311.
- Reynolds, J., Desertification, in *Encyclopedia of biodiversity*, vol. 2 (2001), 61–78.
- Rice, D.S., Studies in Islamic metal work-I, in *BSOAS* 14/3 (1952), 564–78.
- Richards, D.S., Mamluk amirs and their families and households, in Philipp and Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 32–54.
- Ritter, H., Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 247–8.
- Robson, J., ‘Abū Dā’ūd al-Sidjīstānī, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, i, 114.
- Rodinson, M., Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine, in *REI* 18 (1949), 95–165.
- Rodinson, M., Ma’mūniyya east and west, trans. B. Inskip, in M. Rodinson et al. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery*, Totnes 2001, 183–97.
- Rosen, A., *Civilizing climate: Social responses to climate change in the ancient Near East*, Lanham MD 2007.
- Rosenthal, F., *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947.
- Rossabi, M., Khubilai Khan and the women in his family, in W. Bauer (ed.), *Studia Sino-Mongolica*, Wiesbaden 1979, 153–77.
- Routledge, B., Household archaeology in the Levant: A review article, in *BASOR* 370 (2013), 207–19.

- Rozin, P., Sociocultural influences on human food selection, in E.D. Capaldi (ed.), *Why we eat what we eat: The psychology of eating*, Washington, DC 1996, 233–63.
- Runciman, S., *A history of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1951–4.
- Rustow, M., Formal and informal patronage among Jews in the Islamic east: Evidence from the Cairo Geniza, in *al-Qanṭara* 29/2 (2008), 341–82.
- al-Sajdi, D., Trespassing the male domain: The “qaṣīdah” of Laylā al-Akhyaliyyah, in *JAL* 31/2 (2000), 121–46.
- de Sandoli, S., *Corpus inscriptionum crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, Jerusalem 1974.
- Sauvaget, J., Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks, in *JA* 238 (1950), 31–58.
- Sayeed, A., Women and hadith transmission: Two case studies from Mamluk Damascus, in *SI* 95 (2002), 71–94.
- Sayeed, A., *Women and the transmission of religious knowledge in Islam*, Cambridge 2013.
- Schacht, J., Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, i, 123–4.
- Schacht, J., [and C.E. Bosworth], al-Subkī, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xi, 744.
- Schopen, A., *Tinten und Tuschen des arabisch-islamischen Mittelalters. Dokumentation—Analyse—Rekonstruktion: ein Beitrag zur materiellen Kultur des Vorderen Orients*, Göttingen 2006.
- Schultz, W.C., Mahmud b. ‘Alī and the ‘new fulus’: Fourteenth-century Egyptian copper coinage reconsidered, in *American Journal of Numismatics* 10 (1998), 123–44.
- Schultz, W.C., An Ayyubid-style dirham of al-Ashraf Khalil, in *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 161 (1999), 1–6.
- Schultz, W.C., Medieval coins and monies of account: The case of large-flan Mamluk dinars, in *al-‘Usur al-Wusta: Bulletin of the Middle East Medievalists* 12/2 (2000), 29–33.
- Schultz, W.C., Counterfeits, forgeries, and imitations in medieval Islamic numismatics: Four case studies, in Anne Regourd (ed.), *Proceedings of the international study day, documents & history III, Islam 7th/20th Centuries, held at CRNS, Paris, France (14–15/11/13) (forthcoming)*.
- Schur, N., *A history of Acre*, Tel-Aviv 1990 [in Hebrew].
- Sellheim, R., al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xii, 631–2.
- Seng, Y.J., Invisible women: Residents of early sixteenth-century Istanbul, in G.R.G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 241–69.
- Sesiano J., Wafk, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, xi, 28–31.
- Settis, S., Continuita, distanza, conoscenza: Tre usi dell’antico, in idem (ed.), *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana* iii, Turino 1986, 373–486.
- Shaham, R., Masters, their freed slaves, and the *waqf* in Egypt (eighteenth-twentieth centuries), in *JESHO* 43/2 (2000), 162–88.
- Sharon, M., *Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP)*, 7 vols., Leiden 1997–2013.

- Shatzmiller, M., *Labour in the medieval Islamic world*, Leiden 1994.
- Shatzmiller, M., Women and wage labour in the medieval Islamic west: Legal issues in an economic context, in *JESHO* 40 (1997), 174–206.
- Shoshan, B., Grain riots and the ‘moral economy’: Cairo, 1350–1517, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10/3 (1980), 459–78.
- Shoshan, B., *Popular culture in medieval Cairo*, Cambridge 2002.
- Shoshan, B., Mini-dramas by the water: On water disputes in fifteenth-century Damascus, in E. Margariti (ed.), *Histories of the Middle East*, Leiden 2011, 233–44.
- Shoshan, B., On the marital regime in Damascus, 1480–1500 CE, *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg Working Paper* 15, Bonn 2014, 1–20.
- Sievert, H., *Der Herrscherwechsel im Mamlukensultanat: Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu Abū Hāmid al-Qudsī und Ibn Tagrībīrdī*, Berlin 2002.
- Sievert, H., Family, friend or foe? Factions, households and interpersonal relations in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Everything is on the move: The Mamluk Empire as a node in (trans-)regional networks*, Bonn 2014, 81–123.
- Singer, A., *Palestinian peasants and Ottoman officials: Rural administration around sixteenth-century Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1994.
- Sivan, E., *L’Islam et la croisade: Ideologie et propagande dans les reaction musulmanes aux croisades*, Paris 1968.
- Sourdel, D., Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, iii, 987–8.
- Stern, S.M., Petitions from the Mamlūk period (notes on the Mamlūk documents from Sinai), in *BSOAS* 29 (1966), 233–76.
- Stewart, D.J., Professional literary mendicancy in the letters and *maqāmāt* of Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, in B. Gruendler, L. Marlow (eds.), *Writers and rulers: Perspectives on their relationship from Abbasid to Safavid times*, Wiesbaden 2004, 39–47.
- Tal, U., *Eretz Israel in medieval Arabic sources (634–1517): Selected translations*, Jerusalem 2014 [in Hebrew].
- Talmon-Heller, D., Muslim martyrdom and quest for martyrdom in the crusading period, in *al-Masaq* 14/2 (2002), 131–9.
- Talmon-Heller, D., Graves, relics, and sanctuaries: The evolution of Syrian sacred topography (eleventh–thirteenth centuries), in *Aram* 18–19 (2006–2007), 601–20.
- Talmon-Heller, D., ‘*Ilm*, *shafā‘ah*, and *barakah*: The resources of Ayyubid and early Mamluk *ulamā*’, in *MSR* 13 (2009), 23–46.
- Taragan, H., Sign of the times: Reusing the past in Baybar’s architecture in Palestine, in D.J. Wasserstein and A. Ayalon (eds.), *Mamluks and Ottomans: studies in honor of Michael Winter*, London and New York 2006, 54–66.
- al-Ṭarāwina, Ṭ.Th., *Mamlakat Ṣafād fī ‘ahd al-Mamālīk*, Beirut 1982.
- Tardy, L., The Circassian peoples and their neighbours in 1404, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32/1 (1978), 83–111.
- Taylor, C.S., *In the vicinity of the righteous*, Leiden 1999.

- Tekindağ, M.C. Şehabeddin, Īnāl (or Aynāl) al-Adj̄rūd, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 1198–9.
- Tetsuya, O., Cairene cemeteries as public loci in Mamluk Egypt, in *MSR* 10 (2006), 83–116.
- Thorau, P., *The lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the thirteenth century*, trans. P.M. Holt, London and New York 1992.
- Tillier, M., Women before the qāḏī under the Abbasids, in *Islamic Law and Society* 16 (2009), 280–301.
- Tor, D.G., *Mamlūk* loyalty: Evidence from the late Seljuq period, in *Asiatische Studien/ Études Asiatiques* 65/3 (2011), 767–96.
- Toru, M., The Salihyya quarter in the suburbs of Damascus: Its formation, structure, and transformation in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 47 (1995), 129–82.
- Tsugitaka, S., *State and rural society in medieval Islam: Sultans, muqta's and fallahun*, Leiden 1997.
- Tsugitaka, S., Sugar in the economic life of Mamluk Egypt, in *MSR* 8/2 (2004), 87–107.
- Tsugitaka, S., *Sugar in the social life of Medieval Islam*, Leiden 2014.
- Ulijaszek J.S., Human eating behaviour in an evolutionary ecological context, in *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 61/4 (2002), 517–26.
- Vajda, G., Hārūt wa-Mārūt, in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, iii, 236–7.
- Vallet, E., *Marchands vénitiens en Syrie à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1999.
- Van Steenberg, J., Mamluk elite on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death (1341): A look behind the scenes of mamluk politics, in *MSR* 9/2 (2005), 173–99.
- Van Steenberg, J., *Order out of chaos: Patronage, conflict and Mamluk socio-political culture, 1341–1382*, Leiden 2006.
- Van Steenberg, J., On the brink of a new era? Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366) and the Yalbughāwīyah, in *MSR* 15 (2011), 117–52.
- Van Steenberg, J., The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the cultural matrix of Mamlūk society: A reassessment of Mamlūk politics in the 1360s, in *JAOS* 131/3 (2011), 423–43.
- Vásáry, I., The institution of foster-brothers (*emildäš* and *kökeldäš*) in the Chingisid states, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36 (1982), 549–62.
- Wählin, L., The family cistern: 3,000 years of household water collection in Jordan, in M. Sabour and K. Vikør (eds.), *Ethnic encounter and culture change*, Bergen 1997, 233–49.
- Waines, D., Through a veil darkly: The study of women in muslim societies, a review article, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24/4 (1982), 642–59.
- Waines, D., Introduction: The formation of the classical Islamic world, in D. Waines (ed.), *Patterns of everyday life*, Aldershot UK 2002, xi–xviii.
- Waines, D., Luxury foods in medieval Islamic societies, in *World Archaeology* 34/3 (2003), 571–80.

- Walker, B.J., From ceramics to social theory: Reflections on Mamluk archaeology today, in *MSR* 14 (2010), 109–57.
- Walker, B.J., Tall Hisban excavation—2010: Madaba plains project, unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 4 June 2010.
- Walker, B.J., *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk frontier*, Chicago 2011.
- Walker, B.J., What can archaeology contribute to the new mamlukology? Where culture studies and social theory meet, in S. Conermann (ed.), *Ubi Sumus?*, 311–35.
- Walker, B.J., Tall Hisban excavation—2013: Hisban cultural heritage project, Unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 7 June 2013.
- Walker, B.J., Tall Hisban excavation—2014: Hisban cultural heritage project, Unpublished field report submitted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 11 June 2014.
- Walker, B.J., Planned villages and rural resilience on the Mamluk frontier: A preliminary report on the 2013 excavation season at Tall Hisban, in S. Conermann (ed.), *History and society during the Mamluk period (1250–1517): Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel research college I*, Bonn 2014, 157–92.
- Walker, B.J. and Ø.S. LaBianca, Tall Hisban, in D.R. Keller, B.A. Porter and C.A. Tuttle (eds.), *Archaeology in Jordan, 2010 and 2011 Seasons*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 116/4 (2012), 716–7.
- Walker, B.J. and Ø.S. LaBianca, Hisban Cultural Heritage Project, in D.R. Keller, B.A. Porter and C.A. Tuttle (eds.), *Archaeology in Jordan, 2012 and 2013 Seasons*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 118/4 (2014), 627–76.
- Walls, A.G., The Turbat Barakat Khan or Khalidi library, in *Levant* 6/1 (1974), 25–50.
- Weil G., and G.S. Colin, Abdjad, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, i, 97–8.
- Weiss, G., *Legal documents written by the court clerk Halfon ben Manasse (dated mo–1138): Study in the diplomatics of the Cairo Geniza*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Pennsylvania 1970.
- Westbrook, R., Patronage in the ancient Near East, in *JESHO* 48/2 (2005), 210–33.
- White, S., *The climate of rebellion in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2011.
- Wiet, G., Barsbāy, in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, i, 1053–4.
- Wiet, G., *Les biographies du Manhal Šāfi*, Cairo 1932.
- Wiet, G., Les secrétaires de la chancellerie (Kuttāb-el-Sirr) en Égypte sous les Mamlouks Circassiens (784–922/1382–1517), in *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales* 1, Paris 1923, 271–314.
- Wilkins, C.L., Slavery and household formation in Ottoman Aleppo 1640–1700, in *JESHO* 56/3 (2013), 345–91.



- Witkam, J.J., *Seven specimens of Arabic manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Leiden presented to the 9th congress of Arabic and Islamic studies, Amsterdam, 1–6 September 1978*, Leiden 1978.
- Witkam, J.J., Gazing at the sun: Remarks on the Egyptian magician al-Būnī and his work, in A. Vrolijk and J. Hogendijk (eds.), *O ye gentlemen: Arabic studies on science and literary culture, in honour of Remke Kruk*, Leiden 2007, 183–200.
- Wollina, T., *Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt-, und Selbstbild im Journal des Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq*, Bonn 2014.
- Wright, F.A., The food of the gods, in *The Classical Review* 31/1 (1917), 4–6.
- Yosef, K., *Ethnic groups, social relationships and dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)*, Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Tel-Aviv 2011 [in Hebrew].
- Yosef, K., Mamluks and their relatives in the period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517), in *MSR* 16 (2012), 55–69.
- Yosef, K., *Ikhwa, muwākhūn and khushdāshīyya* in the Mamlūk Sultanate, in *JSAI* 40 (2013), 335–62.
- Yosef, K., The term *mamlūk* and slave status during the Mamlūk Sultanate, in *al-Qanṭara* 19/1 (2013), 7–34.
- Yosef, K., Masters and slaves: Substitute kinship in the Mamlūk Sultanate, in U. Vermeulen et al. (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras VIII: Proceedings of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd international colloquium organized at the University of Ghent in May 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013*, Leuven, Belgium 2016, 557–79.
- Yosef, K., The names of the *Mamlūks*: Ethnic groups and ethnic solidarity in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517), in A. Levanoni (ed.), *Egypt and Syria under Mamluk rule: Political, social and cultural aspects (forthcoming)*.
- Zakkār, S., *Taʾriḫ Ṣafad*, Damascus 2009.
- Zeʿevi, D., My slave, my son, my lord: Slavery, family and state in the Islamic Middle East, in T. Miura and J.E. Philips (eds.), *Slave elites in the Middle East and Africa: A comparative study*, 71–80.
- Zerdoun-Bat Yehouda, M., *Les Encre noires au Moyen Âge (jusque 1600)*, Paris 1983.
- Zetterstéén, K.V., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hiğra nach arabischen Handschriften*, Leiden 1919.
- al-Ziriklī, K. al-D., *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 8 vols., Beirut 1979.