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MAMLUK POLITICS AND EDUCATION: THE EVIDENCE FROM TWO FOURTEENTH CENTURY WAQFIYYA

Leonor FERNANDES

Shortly before the fall of the Fatimids and the establishment of the Sunni Ayyubid rule in Egypt, the founder of their dynasty, Salāḥ al-Dīn, was working on bringing the country back into the mainstream of Sunni Islam — ultimately proclaiming its allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad ⁽¹⁾.

Even before he had seized total control of the country, it was clear from the policy of the future ruler that he was determined to use all means at his disposal, including religion, to reach his goal.

Once he had secured the rule for himself, Salāḥ al-Dīn moved to consolidate this rule by winning the support of the religious « elite ». As a result of this, he, and later his successors initiated a policy whereby religious foundations were officially put to the service of the « state ». Among such foundations, and by far the most important at that early stage of the rule, were those reserved for institutions dispensing religious education, namely : madrasa-s.

The new rulers embarked on a campaign aiming at building a number of madrasa-s, first outside al-Qāhira proper, and then within the capital itself. As a result, in the short period of forty years, and in Cairo only, about twenty madrasa-s for one or two schools of law were built ⁽²⁾.

The first two madrasa-s built by Salāḥ al-Dīn were located outside al-Qāhira nearby the Ġāmi' al-'Atīq in Fustāṭ — the earliest of the two being reserved for the Shafi'i maḏhab (school of law), while the other was for the Maliki.

Six years later in 572/1176, the Ayyubid ruler decided to build a madrasa for the Hanafi-s — the madrasa al-Suyūfiyya — in al-Qāhira proper, on the site of a famous Fatimid palace : the Dār al-Wazīr Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī. One should note however, that the

⁽¹⁾ I. Lapidus. « Ayyubid Religious Policy and Development of the Schools Law in Cairo », *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (1969), Cairo, 1972, pp. 279-286.

⁽²⁾ For further information about Ayyubid madrasa-s, cf. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa'l-āṭār*, (reprint of Bulaq, 1972), II, 363-368.

madrassa al-Suyūfiyya was not the first one built in the Fatimid capital. Indeed, two years earlier an emir of Salāḥ al-Dīn had built a madrasa — the madrasa al-Qutbiyya — for the Shafi'i maḍhab.

All of the above foundations were endowed with considerable waqf-s, the revenues of which paid for the salaries and stipends of their appointees, as well as for the maintenance of the buildings.

The building of such foundations had enabled the ruler first to identify himself with the two prevailing maḍhab-s, Shafi'i and Maliki-s, and secondly to rally around him both the population which was largely Shafi'i and the religious « elite », whose salary depended on the waqf-s.

Although the Ayyubids themselves were primarily Ḥanafī-s, they refrained from openly sponsoring that particular school of law. On the contrary, they made sure that the Shafi'i-s' predominant position over the other schools of law was clearly established from the very beginning of their rule. Indeed, right after he had seized power, Salāḥ al-Dīn dismissed all the Shi'ite Qāḍī-s and appointed a Shafi'i — Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Idris al-Marīdānī — as sole Qāḍī al-Qūḍāt, with a number of Shafi'i Qāḍī-s acting as his deputies; two to represent him in the various districts of upper and lower Egypt ⁽¹⁾. The predominance of the Shafi'i-s prevailed at least until the beginning of the Mamluk period, when things began to change.

Reflecting on the reasons why the Shafi'i-s should prevail, al-Suyūṭī, who writes at the end of the fifteenth century says : « Ibn al-Subkī said that whenever a country like Egypt, al-Šām or al-Ḥiğāz was ruled by those who were other than Shafi'i, it was destroyed; and whenever their rulers were not followers of al-Shafi'i, their country suffered destruction, their rule ended abruptly, or they were killed ». This says al-Suyūṭī, is because God seemed to have secretly entrusted those countries to the Shafi'i-s just as He had entrusted the Maghrib to the Maliki-s and Transoxiana to the Hanafi-s ⁽²⁾.

With the advent of the Mamluks, the prevailing situation was soon to be upset. Indeed, shortly after he was proclaimed sultan, Baybars al-Bunduqdārī decided to nominate three new Qāḍī al-Qūḍāt to represent the three remaining maḍhab-s — the Hanafi, the Maliki, and the Hanbali — and rule side by side with the Shafi'i Qāḍī ⁽³⁾; a move which he supposedly had regretted after Imam al-Shafi'i had appeared to him in a dream telling

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁽³⁾ Maqrīzī. *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, 344; al-Suyūṭī, *Tā'riḥ*

⁽²⁾ Al-Suyūṭī. *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Bulaq, 1881), II, 132. *al-Ḥulafā'* (Cairo, 1976), p. 762.

him » (how dare) you humiliate my maḏhab and the country is mine ! » ⁽¹⁾. This alleged remorse of Baybars was evidently not too deep since he did not do anything to reverse the power of the three Quḏāt al-Quḏāt.

One has to admit however, that despite this radical change of policy towards the Shafi'i-s, it is surprising to see that in madrasa-s founded during the early Bahri period, Shafi'i-s were still given preferential treatment, and that in important religious foundations, positions such as *ḥaṭīb* or *imām* were still reserved for individuals of that maḏhab. In addition, in madrasa-s built for more than one maḏhab, the privilege of sitting in the Qibla Īwān for the lesson was reserved for the Shafi'i teacher.

Some of the privileges enjoyed by the Shafi'i Quḏāt al-Quḏāt were, by and large retained by them, until the end of the Mamluk period. Many of these privileges were purely ceremonials while others gave them control over the financial interests of the community — a matter which sometimes involved large sums of money and promoted fraud. Hence, the Qāḏī al-Quḏāt al-Shafi'i was left to control the *Awqāf*, the orphans' monies and the Bayt al-Māl. Among some of the ceremonial privileges enjoyed by the Shafi'i Qāḏī al-Quḏāt were : he was to wear the *Ṭarḥa* (a kind of head veil) during the *ḥidma* (sessions where the court of justice was held). Likewise he was given precedence over the other qāḏī-s since he was seated first in order, to the right of the sultan ⁽²⁾.

While the Shafi'i-s retained, if not in reality, at least in appearance, their preponderance, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, there is a definite shift in the Mamluk policy with regards to religious educational foundations whereby the Hanafi-s and most commonly non-Egyptians (Persians and Turks) were given preferential treatment.

While some royal foundations such as the madrasa-mosque of Sultan Ḥasan (755-64 / 1356-62) ⁽³⁾ were still reserving the most prestigious and/or better paid positions to the Shafi'i-s, there soon appeared a number of foundations — madrasa-s, ḥanqah-madrasa-s — where Hanafi-s were clearly in favor.

Two of the most interesting foundations of the second half of the fourteenth century will best illustrate the shift in policy of the Mamluks. In fact, they show clearly the new direction given to religious foundations and the place they had in the political scheme of the military elite.

The two foundations, the madrasa of Sirḡatmiš (757/1356) and the madrasa of Itmiš/Aytmiš al-Baḡāsī (785/1383) will be examined here in the light of their waqfiyya.

⁽¹⁾ Al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḏara* II, 132-133.

⁽²⁾ Maqrizī, *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, 208-209.

⁽³⁾ Maqrizī, *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, 316-317, *Huḡḡat Waqf al-Sulṭan Ḥasan*, Maḥkama 365, dated 760 H.

Madrasa of Emir Sirġatmiš (index 218) ⁽¹⁾

The positions, salaries and stipends of the appointees to the madrasa are specified as follows :

| Position | Salary ⁽²⁾ and Remunerations ⁽³⁾ |
|--|---|
| 1 Hanafi Faqih, teacher | 300 d., 5 r. soap, 5 r. oil, 5 r. sugar for Ramadan, 60 d. for 'Īd al-Aḏḏhā, 12 d. for grapes and watermelon in season. |
| 3 Hanafi Faqih-s/Mu'īd | 70 d., 2 r. for soap, 2½ r. oil, 3 r. sugar for Ramadan, 6 d. for watermelon and grapes. |
| 60 Hanafi students | 55 d., 2 r. soap, 2½ r. oil, 2 r. sugar for Ramadan, 3 d. for watermelon and grapes. |
| 2 Hanafi-s (from students/ Naqīb/Mufarriq Rub'a | 5 d. in addition to what they receive as students. |
| 1 Hanafi, Imām | 70 d. and 200 d. for Ramadan. |
| 1 Hadith teacher | 150 d. ⁽⁴⁾ |
| 15 Hadith students | 25 d. |
| 48 Muqri' for Qubba | |
| 28 morning | 28 d. |
| 20 night | 20 d. |
| 2 Mu'addin-s | 30 d. |
| 4 Farrāš-s | 30 d. |
| 1 Attendant for Muzammala | 10 d. in addition to his salary as farrāš. |
| 2 Qayyim-s | 30 d. |
| 2 Bawwāb-s | 30 d. |
| 2 Attendant for Miḏā'a | 30 d. |
| 2 Ḥādim/Zimām | 70 d. |
| 1 Hanafi, Ḥāzin al-Kutub | 50 d. |
| 1 Sawwāq for Sāqiya | 40 d. |

⁽¹⁾ Ḥuġġat waqf al-Amīr Sirġatmiš, Awqaf 3195, dated 757 H. See also 'Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm, «Naṣṣān Ġadidān min waṭiqaṭ al-Amīr Sirġatmiš», *Maġallat Kulliyyat al-Adab*, 27, part 1-2 (Cairo, 1965).

⁽²⁾ Salaries and stipends are distributed monthly and are paid in dirham nuqra (d.).

⁽³⁾ Oil, sugar, bread, and soap are paid in raṭl miṣṭri (r.). Oil and soap are distributed monthly : bread is distributed daily.

⁽⁴⁾ This reading differs from that given by 'Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm (*Naṣṣān Ġadidān*, 149), who reads it as 100 d.

| Position | Salaries and Remunerations |
|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 40 Orphans | 1/6 d., 2 r. bread, clothing. |
| 1 Mu'addib | 40 d., 4 r. bread. |
| 1 'Arif | 15 d., 2 r. bread. |
| 1 Šāhid | 60 d. |
| 1 Kātib/Ġābī | 100 d. |
| 1 Nāzir | 200 d. |

The information provided by the waqfiyya indicates that the primary goal of the madrasa was to foster the teachings of the Hanafi school of law, and while Hadith was taught in the madrasa, its importance was to remain marginal. Hence, the number of Hanafi students is four times that of Hadith students and the salaries and stipends of Hanafi appointees — teachers and students, are double. Other details in the document reveal the exclusive character of the foundation. For instance, when specifying the responsibilities incumbent on the Imām, who had to be Hanafi, the waqfiyya indicates that the five daily prayers were to be attended by the Hanafi-s; Hadith students had to go to the Ġami' of Ibn Ṭulūn — adjacent to the madrasa — for their prayer. Likewise the mu'addīn-s, who repeated the call for prayer had to say the *takbir al-Ḥanafīyya*. As expected in such a foundation, living accommodations were provided for the students, and once more it is to the Hanafi-s that they are distributed.

However, the most interesting and perhaps most revealing clause of the waqfiyya is the one concerned with qualifications for the selection of the 60 students to be appointed to the madrasa. Accordingly, the selected individuals had to be Hanafi-s and in addition, they had to be *min al-Ṭalaba al-Ḥanafīyya al-Ġurabā'*; i.e. they had to be foreigners.

Finally, a last minor detail but one which nonetheless points to the definite Hanafi favoritism of the founder, is his specific indication that in the event of the extinction of members of his family and his descendants, the control of his waqf-s should revert to the *Hākīm al-muslimīn al-Ḥanafī al-maḍhab*.

The second foundation to be examined here is the madrasa of Itmiš/Aitmiš al-Bağāsī (index 250) ⁽¹⁾.

(1) Ḥuḡḡāt Waqf al-Amir Itmiš/Aitmiš al-Bağāsī, Awqāf 1143 Muqarrar, dated 797 H.

| | Position | Salary and Remunerations ⁽¹⁾ |
|----|---|--|
| 2 | Hanafi Faqīh-s, teachers | |
| | a — Mudarris Awwal, morning | 200 d. |
| | b — Mudarris Tānī, afternoon | 150 d. |
| 2 | Hanafi Mu'īd-s | 35 d. |
| 28 | Hanafi Students | 30 d. |
| 1 | Hanafi Naqīb/Kātib Ġayba/Mufarriq Rub'a | 30 d. |
| 1 | Hanafi Hāzin al-Kutub | 30 d. |
| 1 | Qāri'/Mādiḥ | 30 d. |
| 1 | Tafsir/Hadith/Luġa 'Arabiyya teacher | 100 d. |
| 1 | Mudarris talqin Qur'an | 40 d. |
| 1 | Qāri' Mi'ād | 40 d. |
| 1 | Hāfiḥ Qur'an/Murattil | 50 d. |
| 24 | Qurrā' al-Qubba | |
| | 14 Morning | 25 d. |
| | 10 Night | 30 d. |
| 1 | Imām | 150 d., 200 d. for Ramadan |
| 3 | Mu'aḍḍin-s/Mukabbir | 33 ½ d. |
| 2 | Farrāš-s | 40 d. ⁽²⁾ |
| 1 | Saqqā/Raššāš | 30 d. |
| 1 | Bawwāb | 60 d. |
| 1 | Mubaḥḥir | 40 d. ⁽³⁾ |
| 1 | Muzammalāti | 90 d. |
| 15 | Orphans | 1/4 d. daily, 2 r. for bread, 7 ½ for clothing for year. |
| 1 | Mu'addib | 50 d. 4 r. bread, 150 for clothing for year. |
| 1 | 'Arif | 30 d, 3 r. bread, 120 clothing for the year. |
| 2 | Qayyim | 20 d. |
| 1 | Šādd | 70 d. |
| 1 | Nāzir | 200 d. |

From the preceding appointments, it is clear that this madrasa was equally founded to promote the teachings of the Hanafi school of law, since the two *dār*-s offered were taught by two Hanafi Faqīh, and that all the students appointed were Hanafi-s.

It is not clear whether the remaining teachers had to be Hanafi-s since the waqfiyya is not explicit concerning their maḍhab. However, since there were no other students

⁽¹⁾ Salaries and stipends are paid in dirham nuqra (d.) and are distributed monthly. Bread is distributed daily.

⁽²⁾ This amount includes expenses for equipment.

⁽³⁾ This amount includes 10 d. for incense.

appointed besides the 28 Hanafi-s, one can safely assume that they were the ones attending the various *dār*-s in the foundation. This last assumption would indicate that the teachers would preferably, but not necessarily be of the Hanafi maḏhab as well.

The specifics for the qualifications to be required from the two main teachers as well as the 28 students are of crucial importance to us since they reveal the purpose of the foundation. The waqfiyya states that the nāzir (Controller) of the waqf is to appoint two *mudarris* (teacher) of the Hanafi maḏhab, conversant in the religious sciences of their school of law, ‘*ālim*-s in the sciences pertaining to the Arabic language and its problems. Moreover, they must be *mutakallim bi’l-lisān al-‘arabī wa’l-‘aḡamī wa’l-turkī*, i.e. they are required to be fluent in three languages : Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Exceptionally, the document states that if they can’t be fluent in the three languages, then they should know Arabic and one of the two languages mentioned above : *fa bi’l-lisān al-‘arabī wa iḥḏa al-lisānayn al-maḏkūrīna fīhī*.

The prerequisites of the fluency of two foreign languages is better understood in the light of the qualifications required from the students to be appointed in the madrasa. Indeed, the nāzir is asked to appoint 28 students from the Hanafi maḏhab. They have to be poor, foreigners, immigrants to the Egyptian domains : *awāfida ḡayr ahl al-diyār al-Miṣriyya*. Since the two foreign languages required are Persian and Turkish, we can assume that the students were coming from Iran and/or Anatolia ⁽¹⁾. The fact that they were immigrants would also indicate that they were not part of the *awlād al-nās* (sons of the military elite).

The appointments to the two madrasa-s examined above should by no means be regarded as exceptions, but rather as hailing the new climate of fanaticism which was strongly felt during the 15th century. Such fanaticism was indeed reported by historians of the time. Commenting on the madrasa of Sirḡatmiš, Maqrizi writes : « He (Sirḡatmiš), was handsome, he used to read the Holy Qur’ān and partake in the Fiqh of the Hanafi-s. He overstressed his fanaticism for his maḏhab and associated (himself) with ‘aḡam (Persians), honored them and held them in very high esteem » ⁽²⁾.

Maqrizi, who had turned from Hanafi to Shafi’i, frequently mentions the growing position enjoyed by the Hanafi-s. He thus reports that from the time of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī on, the fortune of the Hanafi-s was steadily growing ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ For more information on the pattern of migration into Cairo see : Carl Petty, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 61-72.

⁽²⁾ Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, 405.

⁽³⁾ Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, II-III, 367; *Ḥiṭaṭ* II, 343-344.

The policy of promoting the Hanafi maḏhab is self-evident if we consider Mamluk foundations of that period ⁽¹⁾.

In 757/1356, Šayḥū al-‘Umarī builds a ḥanqah/madrassa where the Hanafi-s are definitely given priority over the other maḏhab-s and where the control over the waqf-s was left in the hands of the Šayḥ al-Šūfiyya who was also the Hanafi teacher ⁽²⁾.

A few years later, emirs like Yalbugā al-‘Umarī, who was the atabek of al-Ašraf Ša‘bān (d. 778/1376) as well as the sultan himself, were said to have incited people to turn from Shafi‘i-s to Hanafi-s ⁽³⁾.

By the end of the Bahri period, it had become clear that rulers were determined to reserve the best and most prestigious positions within the academic sphere as well as outside it, not only to the Hanafi-s, but to Hanafi-s who were specifically foreigners.

When Barqūq built his ḥanqah/madrassa in the Bayn al-Qašrayn (786-88/1384-86), he sent for Šayḥ Aḥmad al-Sayramī al-‘aḡamī al-Ḥanafī, to become Šayḥ al-Šūfiyya and teacher of the Hanafi-s whose number was higher than that of the three other schools of law ⁽⁴⁾. Al-Mu‘ayyad Šayḥ also keeps the number of the Hanafi students higher than that of the other maḏhab-s and so does Barsbay ⁽⁵⁾.

The latter appoints Šayḥ ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Rūmī to be Šayḥ al-Šūfiyya and teacher al-Ḥanafīyya at the Ašrafīyya in 827/1424 ⁽⁶⁾. When al-Rūmī decided to go back to his country, he was replaced by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Siwāsī in 829/1426.

As noted earlier, the preferential treatment enjoyed by the Hanafi-s during the Circassian period did not escape the attention of the historians of the time who would often allude to it. For Ibn Taḡribirdī, who was himself brought up at the court, the facts were clear : the Hanafi-s were the favorites of the Circassian Mamluks. In the obituaries of the year 804/1401, he refers to Šayḥ Sayf al-Dīn Laḡīn b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ġarkasī, who had died at the age of 80. He comments that the Šayḥ was held in high esteem by the Circassians, who claimed that he owned the Egyptian territories. People, he says, claimed that if he were to rule Egypt, he would abolish the waqfs on mosques, burn books on Fiqh and punish the fuqahā’. He would also appoint to Egypt only one Qāḏī — a Hanafi one.

⁽¹⁾ This policy of promoting the Hanafi-s has been noted by A. Schimmel, «Some Glimpses of Religious Life Under the Late Mamluks», *Islamic Culture* IV, (1965), 353-392.

⁽²⁾ Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭat* II, 321.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁽⁴⁾ Ḥuḡḡāt Waqf al-Zāhir Barqūq, Maḥkama 51,

dated 786 H; also Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/2, 835-837, al-‘Aynī, ‘*Iqd al-Ġumān, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*, ms. Tārīḥ 1584, vol. XXV/3, folio 53.

⁽⁵⁾ Ḥuḡḡāt waqf al-Mu‘ayyad Šayḥ, Awqāf 931, dated 823 H; Ḥuḡḡāt Waqf al-Ašraf Barsbāy, Maḥkama 173, dated 876 H.

⁽⁶⁾ Al-‘Aynī, ‘*Iqd al-Ġumān*, vol. 25/3, folio 556.

He would select him from the Turks and not from the (local) *fuqahā'*. The elite listened to him and acted upon his words, as they still do ⁽¹⁾.

The idea of appointing one Qāḍī from the Hanafi-s, or at least a Qāḍī al-Quḍāt who would be the equal if not higher in position than the Shafi'i, remained the cherished goal of the Circassians.

Maqrīzī reports that there were attempts to boost the position of the Hanafi Qāḍī al-Quḍāt by giving him some of the privileges enjoyed by the Shafi'i. One such attempt was made by Barqūq in 781/1379, when he appointed Ğalāl al-Dīn Ğār Allāh al-Ḥanafi to the position of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt with the privilege of wearing the *tarḥa* during the days of the *hidma*. In addition, he was invested with the power to delegate his deputies to the districts of Upper and lower Egypt, and was put in control of the orphans' monies. Apparently, all of the preceding deeply affected the Shafi'i Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ğama'ā, who requested that the privileges be cancelled. A meeting was held in Barqūq's residence and the decision to cancel Ğār Allah's privileges was adopted. This, says Maqrīzī, was the second attempt made by the 'aḡam (Persians) to try to secure a high position for the Hanafi-s and extend the jurisdiction of their qāḍī-s, but they failed ⁽²⁾.

The resentment of the local religious elite, such as Maqrīzī, to the appointment of foreigners to various positions was often expressed by their open criticism of those appointees, especially that many of them did not know Arabic well. In an effort to make an excuse for such a flaw, Ibn Taġribirdī answers the attack launched by Maqrīzī against the appointment of Šayḥ Naġm al-Dīn 'Umar al-Ḥarāwī to the position of *Kātib al-Sirr* (private secretary), in 827/1423. For him, Maqrīzī's attack stems from pure fanaticism and that in reality, the šayḥ was well-qualified although he was not familiar with the terminology of the Egyptian chancery. Despite the fact that he was not fluent in Arabic, as it was usually the case for Persians, he had been well trained by previous appointments and had held high positions in Persia as well as in Egypt ⁽³⁾.

The objection of the local religious elite to the appointment of foreigners was felt by some of those foreigners and occasionally led them to decline prominent positions. For instance in 782/1380, Barqūq sent for Šayḥ Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Ṭabbānī and offered him the position of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt of the Hanafi. The Šayḥ declined the offer, as he had previously done in the days of al-Ašraf Ša'bān, saying : « This position is not (to be held by a Persian) while Arabs are worthiest of it ⁽⁴⁾ ».

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Taġribirdī, *al-Nuġūm al-Zahira* XIII, 27-28 (Cairo, 1929-80).

⁽²⁾ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/1, 358.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Taġribirdī, *Nuġūm*, XIV, 265-266.

⁽⁴⁾ Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/1, 398.

For a while the good fortune of the foreigners and namely Persians was halted because of the Timurid invasions of parts of the Mamluk empire. The anti-foreigner mood was at its height and by 803/1400 it was proclaimed that no Persians should (be permitted) to reside in al-Qāhira. They were given three days to leave the city, and threats were issued against those who would default. Yet, none of them left the city and people increased their graffiti writings, saying : « It is a victory for Islam to kill a Persian ! »⁽¹⁾.

Despite this temporary set back, by the reign of al-Mu'ayyad, things were forgotten and the Mamluks opened their arms even wider; more foreigners were appointed, not only to positions in Cairo, but in other parts of the Mamluk empire as well, which was even more significant to positions that had been customarily held by local religious dignitaries. One such position was that of *muḥtasib* of al-Qāhira, which was offered to Mankalibuḡā al-'aḡamī in 816/1413. Ibn Iyās writes that he was the first Turk to occupy the *ḥisba* in al-Qāhira⁽²⁾.

With Sultan Ṭaṭār, who was a staunch Hanafi fanatic, and Barsbāy, the position of the Hanafi-s and especially foreigners, had reached a new height⁽³⁾. It was to remain so up until the end of the Mamluk period and certainly thereafter.

At this point, it is perhaps proper to ask whether the sponsorship of the Hanafi maḡhab by the Mamluks was limited to Cairo, or whether it was equally extended to other regions of their empire. It is not clear whether the policy of promoting the Hanafi maḡhab through the foundation of madrasa-s or other religious institutions reserved for its teaching, extended to regions outside al-Qāhira. However, we do have some indications that it might have been the case. Indeed, there are some instances where waqf-s endowed on foundations outside the Mamlūk capital were specifically reserved for the Hanafi-s. One such instance is found in the waqfiyya of Itmiš al-Baḡāsī previously referred to. In the document, one reads that the founder reserves an annual sum of 3000 dirham-s from the total revenues of the waqf-s to pay for the salaries of a Hanafi teacher and seven Hanafi students appointed to the Ḥaram al-Šarīf in Mecca⁽⁴⁾.

Although this endowment in itself does not represent enough evidence for the definite sponsorship of the Hanafi-s, some appointments to high positions in the administration are more revealing, especially when it has to do with the qaḡā' itself.

According to Maqrīzī, in 784/1382, Ḥayr al-Dīn al-'Aḡamī, one of the Sufi-s of the ḡanqāh of Šayḡū was invested with power as the *Qāḡī al-Qudāt al-Ḥanaḡfiyya* in al-Quds.

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Taḡribirdī, *Nuḡūm*, XII, 253.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Taḡribirdī, *Nuḡūm* XIV, 207.

⁽²⁾ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* II, 9 (Wiesbaden, 1972-77).

⁽⁴⁾ Ḥuḡḡāt waqf al-Amir Itmiš al-Baḡāsī, Awqāf 1143 Muqarrar, dated 797 H.

Prior to his appointment, adds Maqrizī, there was no Qāḍī al-Ḥanafīyya in al-Quds. The same year, Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-‘Aḡamī, also one of the Sufi-s of the ḥanqāh of Šayḥū was appointed as Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafīyya in Gaza, and according to Maqrizī, there was no such known position there prior to his appointment ⁽¹⁾. Besides the fact that the position was an innovation, the other interesting detail which Maqrizī’s report points out is the fact that both qadis had been recruited from among the Sufi-s of the ḥanqāh/madrasa of Šayḥū, and consequently had been trained in Egypt. Some biographies of the Šayḥ-s indicate that students were coming from Iran or Anatolia to complete their education in Cairo. For instance, Šayḥ Ibrāhīm b. Illiyās b. ‘Alī Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Aqsarā’i had to come to Cairo with Šayḥ Šams al-Dīn al-Ayyikī. He was later appointed to the position of Šayḥ al-Šūfiyya in the ḥanqāh of Malaṭīa, and then returned to Cairo to occupy the position of Šayḥ al-Šūfiyya in the ḥanqāh of Fayyūm, after which he went to the East to be appointed in the Sivas ⁽²⁾.

Other šayḥ-s, who had been called upon to fill-in important positions outside Egypt, as well as in the Mamluk capital itself, had also received some training in the Cairene foundations.

In the obituaries of the year 799/1396, al-‘Aynī mentions the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Qayšarānī al-Ḥanafī, known as al-‘Aḡamī. He spoke Turkish and Persian besides Arabic, according to the historian, and had come to Egypt in the reign of al-Ašraf Ša‘bān and remained for a long time in the madrasa of Sirġatmiš as a student. He was then promoted to important positions with the help of emir Taštumur. Among the positions he held were : The *Hisba* in al-Qāhira, Qāḍī ‘Askar, and Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafīyya. He then simultaneously held the positions of Nāzīr al-Ġayš and the Mašyāḥāt al-Šayḥuniyya. He also held a number of other important positions ⁽³⁾.

Another šayḥ, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḡmad b. ‘Alī Bakr al-Ṭarabulūsi, Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafīyya, had come to Egypt after having studied Fiqh in his country. He came to al-Qāhira and was appointed as a student in the madrasa of Sirġatmiš. Subsequently, he was called upon to hold important positions ⁽⁴⁾.

The preceding cases underscore the importance of madrasa-s such as that of Sirġatmiš, and Šayḥū for the education of Hanafi foreigners. One is tempted to ask whether there

⁽¹⁾ Maqrizī, *Sulūk* III/2, 480.

⁽³⁾ Al-‘Aynī, *Iqd al-Ğumān*, ms. 1584, vol. 19,

⁽²⁾ Ibn Haġar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāmina*

folio 14.

I, 19 (Cairo, 1966).

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, folio 16.

were madrasa-s or ḥanqāh-madrasa-s in al-Qāhira specifically intended to train certain individuals — in this case Hanafi foreigners — for high positions in the empire.

The existence of madrasa-s such as that of Itmiš al-Bagāsī, Sirgātmiš, Šayḥū al-‘Umārī, as well as large royal foundations such as that of Barqūq, al-Mu’ayyad or Barsbay, which recruited their main teacher/head of their foundation, as well as the greatest number of their students from the Hanafi-s non-resident foreigners, suggest that this was perhaps the case.

The mere presence of these learning institutions however, indicates that the alien military class was determined first to change the structure of the civilian elite (probably to counter-balance the power of the local religious dignitaries and thus retain their control over the population), and secondly that the sultans as well as their emirs were eager to attract as many prominent scholars from other Muslim countries as possible, to their capital.

Finally, by attracting foreigners, namely scholars, to their capital, the Mamluks were making sure that al-Qāhira would remain as has been described by Ibn Ḥaldūn, the center of the Muslim world, and its sultan would then rightfully bear his title of *Sulṭān al-Islām wa’l-Muslimīn*.