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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 Fusṭāṭ — the earliest of the two being reserved for the Shafī‘i madhab (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-Maqrizi, *al-Mawā‘iz wa’l-i‘tibār fī ḏikr al-hiṭat wa’l-āṭār*, (reprint of Bulaq, 1972), II, 363-368.

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

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 madhab-s, Shafī'i and Maliki-s, and secondly to rally around him both the population which was largely Shafī'i and the religious « elite », whose salary depended on the waqf-s.

Although the Ayyubids themselves were primarily Hanafī-s, they refrained from openly sponsoring that particular school of law. On the contrary, they made sure that the Shafī'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, Salāh al-Dīn dismissed all the Shi'ite Qādī-s and appointed a Shafī'i — Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Idrīs al-Maridānī — as sole Qādī al-Qūdāt, with a number of Shafī'i Qādī-s acting as his deputies; two to represent him in the various districts of upper and lower Egypt⁽¹⁾. The predominance of the Shafī'i-s prevailed at least until the beginning of the Mamluk period, when things began to change.

Reflecting on the reasons why the Shafī'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-Hiġāz was ruled by those who were other than Shafī'i, it was destroyed; and whenever their rulers were not followers of al-Shafī'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 Shafī'i-s just as He had entrusted the Maghrib to the Maliki-s and Transoxiana to the Hanafī-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 Qādī al-Qūdāt to represent the three remaining madhab-s — the Hanafi, the Maliki, and the Hanbali — and rule side by side with the Shafī'i Qādī⁽³⁾; a move which he supposedly had regretted after Imam al-Shafī'i had appeared to him in a dream telling

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁽³⁾ Maqrizi. *Hiṭaṭ* II, 344; al-Suyūṭī, *Tā'riḥ*

⁽²⁾ Al-Suyūṭī. *Husn al-Muḥāḍara* (Bulaq, 1881),

al-Hulafā' (Cairo, 1976), p. 762.

II, 132.

him » (how dare) you humiliate my madhab 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 *Quḍāt al-Quḍāt*.

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 *ḥaṭib* or *imām* were still reserved for individuals of that madhab. In addition, in madrasa-s built for more than one madhab, 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 *Quḍāt al-Quḍāt* 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 *Qādī al-Quḍāt 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 *Qādī al-Quḍāt* were : he was to wear the *Tarha* (a kind of head veil) during the *hidma* (sessions where the court of justice was held). Likewise he was given precedence over the other *qādī*-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, hanqah-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 Sirğatmiş (757/1356) and the madrasa of Itmiş/ Aytmiş al-Bağāsī (785/1383) will be examined here in the light of their waqfiyya.

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

⁽²⁾ Maqrīzī, *Hīṭat* II, 208-209.

⁽³⁾ Maqrīzī, *Hīṭat* II, 316-317, *Huḡġat Waqf*

al-Sūltān Ḥasan, Maḥkama 365, dated 760 H.

Madrasa of Emir Sirğatmiš (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 Faqīh, teacher	300 d., 5 r. soap, 5 r. oil, 5 r. sugar for Ramadan, 60 d. for 'Id al-Adhā, 12 d. for grapes and watermelon in season.
3 Hanafi Faqīh-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 Mīdā'a	30 d.
2 Hādim/Zimām	70 d.
1 Hanafi, Hāzin al-Kutub	50 d.
1 Sawwāq for Sāqiya	40 d.

⁽¹⁾ *Hüggat waqf al-Amir Sirğatmiš*, Awqaf 3195, dated 757 H. See also 'Abd al-Latīf Ibrāhīm, «Naşṣān Ḡadidān min waṭīqat al-Amīr Sirğatmiš», *Mağallat Kulliyat 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 raşl müşri (r.). Oil and soap are distributed monthly : bread is distributed daily.

⁽⁴⁾ This reading differs from that given by 'Abd al-Latīf Ibrāhīm (*Naşṣān Ḡadidān*, 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/Ğābī	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 Ğami' of Ibn Tulūn — adjacent to the madrasa — for their prayer. Likewise the mu'addīn-s, who repeated the call for prayer had to say the *takbir al-Hanafiyya*. 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-Talaba al-Hanafiyya al-Ğurabā'*; 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 *Hākim al-muslimin al-Hanafi al-madhab*.

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

⁽¹⁾ *Huğgāt Waqf al-Amir Itmiš/Aitmīš 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'id-s	35 d.
28	Hanafi Students	30 d.
1	Hanafi Naqīb/Kātib Ġayba/Mufarriq Rub'a	30 d.
1	Hanafi Ḥāzin al-Kutub	30 d.
1	Qāri'/Mādiḥ	30 d.
1	Tafsir/Hadith/Luġa 'Arabiyya teacher	100 d.
1	Mudarris talqīn Qur'ān	40 d.
1	Qāri' Mī'ād	40 d.
1	Ḥāfiẓ 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'addin-s/Mukabbir	33 1/2 d.
2	Farrāš-s	40 d. ⁽²⁾
1	Saqqa/Raššāš	30 d.
1	Bawwāb	60 d.
1	Mubaḥhir	40 d. ⁽³⁾
1	Muzammalātī	90 d.
15	Orphans	1/4 d. daily, 2 r. for bread, 7 1/2 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 madhab. 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 madhab 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 madhab, 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-‘aġamī 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 iḥda al-lisānayn al-madkūrīna 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 madhab. 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 Sirğatmiš, Maqrizi writes : « He (Sirğatmiš), 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 madhab and associated (himself) with ‘aġam (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⁾ Maqrizi, *Hiṭāṭ* II, 405.

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

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

In 757/1356, Šayhū al-‘Umarī builds a ḥanqah/madrasa where the Hanafi-s are definitely given priority over the other madhab-s and where the control over the waqf-s was left in the hands of the Šayh al-Şūfiyya who was also the Hanafi teacher⁽²⁾.

A few years later, emirs like Yalbuġā al-‘Umarī, who was the atabek of al-Āšraf Šā‘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/madrasa in the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (786-88/1384-86), he sent for Šayh Aḥmad al-Sayramī al-‘ağamī al-Ḥanafī, to become Šayh al-Şūfiyya and teacher of the Hanafi-s whose number was higher than that of the three other schools of law⁽⁴⁾. Al-Mu’ayyad Šayh also keeps the number of the Hanafi students higher than that of the other madhab-s and so does Barsbay⁽⁵⁾.

The latter appoints Šayh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Ali al-Rūmī to be Šayh al-Şūfiyya and teacher al-Ḥanafīyya at the Ašrafiyya 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 Taġribirdī, 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 Šayh Sayf al-Dīn Laġin b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ğarkasī, who had died at the age of 80. He comments that the Šayh 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 Qādi — 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, *Hiṭāṭ* II, 321.

(3) *Ibid.*, 269.

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

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

(5) Ḥuġġāt waqf al-Mu’ayyad Šayh, Awqāf 931, dated 823 H; Ḥuġġāt Waqf al-Āšraf Barsbāy, Maḥkama 173, dated 876 H.

(6) Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Ğumān*, 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 *Qādī* from the Hanafi-s, or at least a *Qādī 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 *Qādī 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 Ġalāl al-Dīn Ġār Allāh al-Ḥanafī to the position of *Qādī 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* *Qādī al-Quḍāt* Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ġamā'a, who requested that the privileges be cancelled. A meeting was held in Barqūq's residence and the decision to cancel Ġār Allah's privileges was adopted. This, says Maqrīzī, was the second attempt made by the 'ağam (Persians) to try to secure a high position for the Hanafi-s and extend the jurisdiction of their *qādī*-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-Harāwī to the position of *Kātib al-Sīr* (private secretary), in 827/1423. For him, Maqrīzī's attack stems from pure fanataicism 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 Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Tabbānī and offered him the position of *Qādī al-Quḍāt* of the Hanafi. The Šayḥ declined the offer, as he had previously done in the days of al-Asraf 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-Żahīra* 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 *muhtasib* of al-Qāhira, which was offered to Mankalibugā al-‘aġamī in 816/1413. Ibn Iyās writes that he was the first Turk to occupy the *hisba* in al-Qāhira⁽²⁾.

With Sultan Taṭār, 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 madhab 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 madhab 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-Baġāsī 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-Šarif 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 qadā' itself.

According to Maqrīzī, in 784/1382, Ḥayr al-Dīn al-‘Aġamī, one of the Sufi-s of the hanqāh of Šayhū was invested with power as the *Qādī al-Quḍāt al-Hanafīyya* in al-Quds.

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Taġribirdi, *Nuġūm*, XII, 253.

⁽³⁾ Ibn Taġribirdi, *Nuġūm* XIV, 207.

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

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

Prior to his appointment, adds Maqrīzī, there was no Qādī al-Hanafīyya in al-Quds. The same year, Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-‘Ağamī, also one of the Sufi-s of the ḥanqāh of Ṣayhū was appointed as Qādī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafīyya in Gaza, and according to Maqrīzī, 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 Maqrīzī's report points out is the fact that both qadis had been recruited from among the Sufi-s of the ḥanqāh/madrassa of Ṣayhū, and consequently had been trained in Egypt. Some biographies of the Ṣayh-s indicate that students were coming from Iran or Anatolia to complete their education in Cairo. For instance, Ṣayh Ibrāhīm b. Illiyās b. ‘Alī Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Aqsarā’ī had to come to Cairo with Ṣayh Šams al-Dīn al-Ayyīki. He was later appointed to the position of Ṣayh al-Šūfiyya in the ḥanqāh of Malaṭia, and then returned to Cairo to occupy the position of Ṣayh al-Šūfiyya in the ḥanqāh of Fayyūm, after which he went to the East to be appointed in the Sivas⁽²⁾.

Other ṣayh-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 Qādī al-Quḍāt Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Qayṣarānī al-Ḥanafī, known as al-‘Ağamī. He spoke Turkish and Persian besides Arabic, according to the historian, and had come to Egypt in the reign of al-Asraf Ša'bān and remained for a long time in the madrasa of Sirğatmiš 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, Qādī ‘Askar, and Qādī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafīyya. He then simultaneously held the positions of Nāzir al-Ğayṣ and the Maşyāħat al-Šayhuniyya. He also held a number of other important positions⁽³⁾.

Another ṣayh, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Bakr al-Ṭarabulūsī, Qādī 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 Sirğatmiš. Subsequently, he was called upon to hold important positions⁽⁴⁾.

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

⁽¹⁾ Maqrīzī, *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 *hanqāh*-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-Bagāsi*, *Sirğatmiš*, *Šayḥū al-‘Umari*, 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 Haldūn*, the center of the Muslim world, and its sultan would then rightfully bear his title of *Sultān al-Islām wa ’l-Muslimīn*.