Creation of Mamluk Social Identity Through *Madrasas* and Production of Texts

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Abstract

The diversity of education in the *madrasas* contributed to different social groups' feelings of belonging to the Mamluk community as well as to the formation of identity awareness. This study aims to examine the ranks the civil elite of the Mamluk period held in various scholarly and bureaucratic positions and the contribution of the texts they produced to the development of a Mamluk identity. Contrary to previous processes, the Mamluk ulama displayed a more conscious understanding of the Mamluk identity in their texts about the history of the Mamluk state and power. This study discusses how the ulama, who obtained scholarly or bureaucratic ranks because of various relationship networks they formed, constructed a Mamluk identity in their historical texts.

Keywords: Mamluks, madrasa, ulama, social identity.

Medrese ve Metin Üretimi Üzerinden Memlük Toplumsal Kimliğinin İnşası

Öz

Memlükler döneminde medrese farklı sosyal grupların Memlük toplumuna aidiyetinin ve kendilerine dair kimlik bilincinin gelişmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu makale, Memlükler dönemi sivil elitin çeşitli ilmî ve bürokratik pozisyonlarda aldıkları mansıpların ve ürettikleri metinlerin bir Memlük toplumsal kimliği geliştirmelerine sağladığı katkıyı incelemektedir. Memlük uleması kendinden önceki süreçlerden farklı bir biçimde Memlük iktidarının tarihine dair kaleme aldıkları metinlerde daha bilinçli bir Memlük toplumsal kimlik idrakine işaret ederler. Memlük toplumunda güç ilişkilerinin zamana ve mekâna yayılması noktasında siyasî elitin inşa ettikleri medrese yapıları ile sivil elitin kaleme aldıkları ve siyasî eliti meşru iktidar olarak tanıdıkları metinlerin bir kimlik ve aidiyet bilinci geliştirmede büyük etkiye sahip oldukları düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Memlükler, medrese, toplumsal kimlik.

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Introduction

The allocation of separate spaces for each of the four Sunnī *madhhabs* in Cairo's *madrasa* structures enabled recognition of members of different *madhhab*s, while helping to foster networks of relations among scholars that allowed them to transmit information and enrich their knowledge. In recent years, research on Mamluk intellectual life has significantly expanded our understanding of the Mamluk period. As revealed in J. Berkey's study, the *madrasa*s, built mainly by the political elite during the Mamluk period and affiliated with wealthy foundations, significantly influenced higher education in the Islamic sciences.[1] This study aims to contextualize the practices of appointing four *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s (chief *qāḍī*s) in the time of Baybars I and patronizing for each of these *madhhab*s in the *madrasa*s. These practices provided that sustained the identities of the members of different *madhhab*s living in Mamluk Cairo and constructed a new social structure in which they exchanged information with one another while also producing their own knowledge. This study is limited to the Mamluk period and primarily focuses on the role of Mamluk *madrasa*s in developing the identity and belonging of members of different *madhhab*s and how these experiences are reflected in text production. Central to this research are questions such as whether belonging to a particular *madhhab* in late medieval cities prevented studying in certain *madrasa*s, whether it was easier for members of certain *madhhab*s to reach higher ranks, and whether the words of certain *ulama* were more valid in the eyes of the political elite.[2]

The position of Mamluk Cairo in the post-Mongol invasion period is quite important. After the Mongols destroyed the Abbasid Caliphate in 656/1258, the Islamic world was defeated and lost its center of political

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1 Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992), 44-95. Mohammad M. Amin, *al-Awqāf wa'l-ḥayāt al-ijtimāʿiyya fī Miṣr* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabiyya, 1980). See also Jonathan P. Berkey, "Culture and society during the late Middle Ages", *The Cambridge History of Egypt* I, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 401-411. In his article, Berkey emphasizes the transformational and reconstructive role of the Mamluk political elite in Egyptian social life as they supported cultural and scientific activities, built various *madrasa*s and *hanqāh*s, and supported scientific activities. See also Berkey, "The Mamluks as Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt", in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. T. Phillip and U. Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), 163-173.

2 Donald P. Little, "Notes on Mamluk *Madrasas*", *Mamluk Studies Review*, 6 (2002), 9-20; Ulrich Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the 'Abbasids to Modern Egypt", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29 (1988), 175-196.

authority for the first time. About two years later, the Mamluks, who had defeated the Mongols, patronized the caliphate and thereby distinguished themselves from other military and political powers. As a result of the great crisis confronting Islamic societies after the Mongol invasions, support for a particular *madhhab* among those with political authority had lost its relevance. At this point, the Mamluk political elite developed a new attitude toward the *madhhab*s that included protecting and supporting all four Sunnī *fiqh* schools.

The Mamluk sultans and *amīr*s, who held military, political, and commercial superiority, sought to gain a reputation among the ulama by establishing *madrasa*s and similar institutions.[3] Many Mamluk sultans founded *madrasa*s where students in the four Sunnī *madhhab*s were officially educated together. This new *madrasa* model was intended to ensure the administration's legitimacy and enhance their reputations in society. Sultan Baybars I officially established equality between the four Sunnī *madhhab*s and appointed separate *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s for each of them in 663/1265. The scholars from the four Sunnī *madhhab*s, whose numbers especially in Cairo gradually increased due to the Crusades and the Mongol invasions, enjoyed an environment where they could securely undertake their scholarly activities. In this context, Ulrich Haarmann reminds us that we must avoid certain prejudices to understand the positive effects of the Mamluks. Although they did not naturally fit into the structure of the city due to their origins, they held political, military, and commercial superiority that influenced the religious and scientific life of the state.[4]

This study attempts to uncover the primary elements of identity in the Mamluk period by avoiding anachronistic approaches. How did the Mamluk ulama define Mamluk social identity in their written works? To answer this question, it becomes necessary to consider alternative approaches to the information presented by the Mamluk ulama. What determines identity in Mamluk society according to history and *ṭabaqāt* authors of the Mamluk period? Mamluk historians how defined identity in various works of *ṭabaqāt*, in which they examined social groups, *madhhab*s, or professional groups together. How should we understand what these historians also relayed information regarding ethnic, *madhhab*, and sufi affiliations in various biographies. The information provided by Mamluk biographies

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3 The earliest work on the period is that of Ayalon, who considered the Mamluks as a social and political group. David Ayalon, "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon", *Der Islam* 53/2 (1976), 196-225; Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in speech, Turkish in lineage: Mamluks and their sons in the intellectual life of fourteenth century Egypt and Syria", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988), 81-114.

4 Haarmann, "Arabic in speech, Turkish in lineage", 81-114.

contributes significantly to understanding Mamluk social structure, order, and continuity and illustrates various networks of relations in Mamluk society.[5] The historical and *ṭabaqāt* authors have also included important details about the mobility of the ulama in their works. In this context, how did scholars who came to and remained in Mamluk lands until the end of their lives understand the state and society? How did their understandings compare to those who participated in the lecture circles of the Mamluk scholarly councils and scholars at some point in their lives but then returned to their lands of origin? How did different scholars position themselves in this social and political structure? The understandings of belonging among ulama from different *madhhab*s—who obtained certain ranks in the Mamluk lands or taught courses in various scientific assemblies and published their writings—are unlikely to align with understandings of identity and belonging in today's semantic world. In other words, the Mamluk's identity, as defined by the ulama, included meanings outside contemporary terms of identity. The patronage that the civilian elite—that is, the Mamluk ulama—obtained as a result of their relationship networks with the political elite brought with it various ranks among the Mamluk ulama. At this point relations of power and competition between the ulama and the political-military elite make it possible to speak of a Mamluk social order. The government's societal legitimacy depended directly on the ulama's recognition of the government as legitimate. Following this precedent, Mamluk society demonstrated loyalty and obedience to the political administration. When it came to extending power relations across time and space in Mamluk society, the *madrasa* structures built by the political elite and the texts written by the civilian elite greatly influenced social recognition of the political elite as the legitimate power.[6]

Following Makdisi's studies on *madrasa*s in the Middle Ages, Berkey evaluated the transfer of higher knowledge in *madrasa* units reserved for members of different *madhhab*s compared with the foundations of these institutions and the *ṭabaqāt* books written by the scholars of the period. Chamberlain, on the other hand, attempted to evaluate how ulama families in Damascus constituted an essential channel in the transmission

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5   Konrad Hirschler, "Studying Mamluk Historiography: From Source-Criticism to the Cultural Turn", in *Ubi Sumus? Quo Vademus?,* 159-186; Nasser Rabbat, "Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt,* 59-75.

6   Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196; Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341-1382* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 16-22, 94-123; See also Jocelyn Sharlet, *Patronage and Poetry in the Islamic World: Social Mobility and Status in the Medieval Middle East and Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

of advanced knowledge in relation to the concepts of social competition and sedition, providing substantial contributions to the field.[7] Among the studies on higher education activities in late medieval Islamic societies, Berkey and Chamberlain focused within city limits and dealt comparatively with documents and social practices of the period. This study discusses how the higher educational institutions and the historical texts written by the ulama contributed to developing identity awareness and ensuring the belonging of social groups from different *madhhab*s in Mamluk cities.

The sultans allocated many *madrasa*s to wealthy foundations during the Mamluk period, allowing them to continue their scholarly activities and contribute to the intellectual life of Mamluk cities. The political elite's support of education and text production of the four Sunnī *madhhab*s by official institutions can be interpreted as signifying that the Mamluk state aspired to become the center of Islamic civilization not only in terms of politics, military, and trade but also intellectually. The Mamluk political elite's efforts to attract ulama point to such an aspiration.[8] The allocation of almost every sultan-sanctioned *madrasa* for the education of the four Sunnī *madhhab*s allowed the members of these *madhhab*s to develop a collective sense of self in Mamluk lands. This development, complemented by the production of texts on Mamluk history, contributed to the recognition as social groups affiliated with certain *madhhab*s. This situation also influenced the self-perception of *madhhab* members thanks to the social competition between members of different *madhhab*s, and the reproduction of their own knowledge.[9]

The relationships between members of different *madhhab*s who came together in courses other than *fiqh* may have influenced them to categorize themselves as distinct groups from each other too. However, it may also

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7   Studies that shed light on the elusive role of the ulama in the social and political life of the Islamic cities of the period include Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1967); Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981). Clifford made a significant contribution to social theory by evaluating and analyzing the structure of medieval Muslim societies to determine how the ulama and social order were maintained in Mamluk society. W.W. Clifford, "Ubi Sumus? Mamluk History and Social Theory", *MSR,* 1 (1997), 45-62. See also Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 27-69.

8   Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām Manṣūr ve banīh* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1976, al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya, 1986), I, 295-396, II, 331-448, III, 339-449; Haarmann, "Arabic in speech", 81-114.

9   Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 152-176; Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196.

have resulted in decreased and even blurred differences between social groups from time to time.[10] Further, individuals who participated in the education of different *madhhab*s sought a common method and wrote various texts in the advanced stages of their education for that purpose.[11] The Mamluk *madrasa*s were built by the sultans of the period, taking into account the role and power of the identities of the members of different *madhhab*s who came together in a historically and culturally complex world after the Mongol invasions. The Mamluk sultans' approach created a political order that enabled different *madhhab*s to come together to produce their own knowledge and social practices while ensuring the legitimacy and stability of Mamluk power in such lands.[12]

Related to this subject, Haarmann explains the ties that connect the Mamluk political elite and the civilian elite in the context of patronage and analyses the Mamluk social order through this mutual patronage relationship. According to Haarmann, the Mamluk ulama strengthened their relationship with Mamluk society through patronage networks established with the political elite, ensuring the construction of social identity. The ulama, who obtained various ranks in *madrasa*s established thanks to these relationship networks, assumed a critical intermediary role in creating a social order.[13]

Studies of Mamlukization by Steenbergen et al. have helped advance understandings of the issue in the next process. This team of researchers continues to work on the question of whether it is possible to talk about a Mamlukization policy in the state and social structure during the Mamluk period. The ulama's history and *ṭabaqāt* texts ensured the loyalty of individuals and communities of different languages, ethnic origins, and *madhhab*s who came together in these lands after the Mongol invasions of the Mamluk state and their self-proclamations as actors of this state. These texts were sometimes written by the Mamluk ulama at the request of a sultan, in dedication to a sultan, or as the product of an individual effort. Mamluk ulama's descriptive writings that distinguish their history and society from preceding periods is also worth examining in relation to Mamluk social identity.[14]

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10 Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 79-116; Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196.

11 Ibn al-Humām, Kamāl al-Dīn, *al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī, 1932).

12 Lev, Yaacov, "Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans", *Mamluk Studies Review,* 1/13 (2009), 1-26.

13 Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196.

14 Jo Van Steenbergen, "'Mamlukisation' between Social Theory and Social Practice: An Essay on Reflexivity, State Formation, and the Late Medieval Sultanate of Cai- →

Role of *Madrasas* in the Construction of Mamluk Social Identity

The issue of *madhhab* representation in the *madrasa*s can be better understood with the rich and detailed information from *ṭabaqāt* books about the knowledge networks and transmission of Islamic higher knowledge among the ulama. This section aims to describe the representation, patronage, and development of identity awareness among the members of the *madhhab*s in various *madrasa*s dedicated to either one, two, or four of the *madhhab*s. These institutions were established by the efforts Mamluk Cairo's political elite or various individual efforts. Mamluk Cairo *madrasa*s were institutions that allowed for the patronage and representation of different *madhhab*s, as they had ranks in direct proportion to the resources provided by their endowments and offered accommodation. Lapidus described a patronage system in the Mamluk urbân society that linked the ulama—who defined themselves as a group—to the political and military elites, who ensured obedience to the political administration and protected them from enemies. Referring to this issue, Berkey drew attention to the fact that the ties connecting the Mamluks to the ulama could differ and change.[15] Although the sultan appointed the *mudarris* as the head of a Mamluk *madrasa* as a general rule, the issue of who was effective in these appointments caused some contention. Sometimes, in a *madrasa*, some people changed *madhhab*s to obtain a certain rank, or those who were educated in different *madhhab*s sought to rise to various ranks through family connections. This situation created some areas of struggle and competition, allowing some to use their family's cultural capital to favor different *madhhab*s by taking advantage of an environment in which various *madhhab*s were educated together.[16] Shumunnī, for example, was educated in intellectual and religious sciences, took medicine and mathematics lessons, and later received permission to study from scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Furāt, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Damīrī, 'Umar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Zakhīra at a young age. Shumunnī favored later the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, although he was Mālikī like his father before him, and he advanced in the fields of Arabic language and literature, hadith, *tafsīr*, and *kalām* along with Ḥanafī *fiqh*.

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ro", *ASK Working Paper* 22 (2015), 1-48; Steenbergen, Wing, Patrick and D'hulster, Kristof. "The Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate? State Formation and the History of Fifteenth Century Egypt and Syria: Part II: Comparative Solutions and a New Research Agenda," *History Compass* 14, no. 11 (2016), 560-569.

15 Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 130-141; Petry, *The Civilian Elite,* 200-220.

16 Taqi al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, eds. M. Gaston Wiet, Fuat Sezgin (Goethe Universitāt 1995), II, 269; Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1354), III, 29, V, 2.

He taught at the Jamāliyya Madrasa, worked as a teacher and preacher in the Qayitbay funerary complex, and was an administrator of the Lala Madrasa.[17]

The fact that foundation owners left the choice of lessons to the ulama has also created differences between *madrasa*s and other educational institutions. However, the routinized interpreting through *madrasa*s and similar structures for higher education in Islamic sciences may yield misleading conclusions concerning the courses taught in these institutions and the overall higher education system. During the period analyzed here, this support for the development of higher education in the Islamic sciences allowed students from all over the Mamluk state, and especially Egypt, to travel to these institutions to maintain their education. In his study on *madrasa*s, Gary Leiser reveals the contributions of *madrasa* institutions to the Islamization of the Middle East, based on the example of Damascus.[18] The Mamluks provided the opportunity for the representation of the four Sunnī *madhhab*s within the *madrasa*s in adopting and promoting religious education. The establishment of these educational institutions, therefore, contributed to the strengthening of Sunnī Islam among the four *madhhab*s. This ensured the loyalty to the Mamluk society among the students who were educated in Mamluk *madrasa*s or who obtained various ranks in these *madrasa*s.[19]

The *madrasa*s established for higher education in Islamic sciences in Mamluk Cairo had incomes in proportion to their foundations. The diversity of *madrasa* foundations also determined the number and type of lessons given in these *madrasa*s and the scholarship and accommodation facilities that were offered. Constructed by amīrs, merchants, and scholars with various incomes and used for the education of various *madhhab*s or branches of science, the *madrasa*s imparted abundance and variety beyond the borders of higher education in Islamic sciences. As seen from *ṭabaqāt* records, the scientific dynamism and intellectual diversity of the city were complex and impressive, as the prominent scholars of the period had a much larger network of non-*madrasa* scholarly activities.[20]

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17 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, II, 174-178.

18 Gary Leiser, "The Endowment of the al-Ẓahiriyya in Damascus", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 27/1 (1984), 33-55.

19 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, X, 299; Sakhāwī, *Dhayl alā Raf' al-iṣr*, rev. ed. M. M. Subḥ, Cevdet Hilal (Cairo, 1966), 490-495; Haarmann, "Arabic in speech", 81-114.

20 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, IV, 85. Saʿīd al-Suʿadā: It operated as a *madrasa*, khānqāh (Islamic monastery-sufiyye), and mosque. Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, X, 175; I, 224, 282; II, 17. It is recorded that a person named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Ṣāḥib al-*madrasa* had a *madrasa* at the door of Naṣr Baqtemur →

*Madrasa*s offered places for students from outside Cairo to stay and provided scholarships to students who pursued their education consistently. Studying in a particular *madrasa* allowed students to find accommodation and scholarship opportunities in that *madrasa*. However, students residing in a particular *madrasa* in Cairo could also attend lectures from prominent scholars in other official or unoffical venues. The participation of members of various denominations in the lectures at a *madrasa* was voluntary. For example, in the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, there were also people belonging to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, with Mālikīs among them participating in the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* lessons. Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad (d. 863/1458) was a member of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* but attended the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* lessons assemblies in the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa.[21] Likewise, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Azharī taught *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* lessons in the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa.[22] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Ajlūnī al-Shāfiʿī, born in Damascus-Ṣāliḥiyya in 861/1456, came to Cairo for education in 886/1481 and stayed in the Muẓhiriyya Madrasa.[23] There were Shāfiʿīs who stayed in the Baqariyya Madrasa close to Bāb al-Naṣr, such as ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Qāhirī (born in 755/1352 and studied various sciences at Ashrafiyya Ṣūfiyya).[24] Students and teachers who came from outside of the city sometimes lived individually or with families within the *madrasa* community. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn (d. 886/1481), the grandson of Qāriʾ al-Hidāya, was one of the Ḥanafī notables of his time, similarly to his father and grandfather. While Ibrāhīm was residing in the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, he also gave *fiqh* lessons there and attended the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* lessons.[25]

In Mamluk Cairo, knowledge about the *madrasa* courses was left to the authority of the leading *mudarris*, and the intensity and timing of the education could be quite different. Rather than assuming the *madrasa* founders maintained tight control, it would be more accurate to talk about their preferences as influencing the curricula. Indeed, the leading *mudarris* working in each *madrasa* could exert great influence over the curriculum and which lessons were actually taught in the *madrasa*s. This effectively

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of his father, Ibn al-Ḥājīb. Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, IV, 84. It is known that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdullah al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī also had a *madrasa* between two walls in Cairo. Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, IV, 103.

21 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, I, 154. See also Little, "Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs", 9-20.

22 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, IV, 127.

23 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, IV, 161.

24 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, IV, 164.

25 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, I, 160-161. Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, p. 85-86, 353.

meant that the head teacher of the *madrasa* had the power to represent the *madhhab* to which he belonged. In the social sense, members of their own *madhhab*s would come to them regarding the problems they faced or would send their children to receive education in accordance with their own *madhhab*s. This situation enabled the members of that *madhhab* to be officially recognized in Cairo, to convey their information, and to produce the information needed in accordance with their identities by the ulama of the *madhhab*.[26]

While some of these institutions focused on the Qur'an recitation or hadith education, they also offered lectures on topics from some other branches of science. However, these lessons were not very intense. In some institutions established primarily in the field of hadith, *fiqh* education focused on certain madhhabs, and lessons were taught in fields such as tafsīr and language education. Although the Kāmiliyya Madrasa, established during the Ayyūbid period, was a hadith *madrasa* that prioritized Shāfiʻī *fiqh*, *fiqh* lessons of all four *madhhab*s were taught there during the Mamluk period. There was also a mausoleum in Kāmiliyya where Zayn al-Dīn al-ʻIraqī taught. Individuals such as Ibn al-ʻAjamī (d. 857/1453), who had worked on scientific topics for a long time, were buried here.[27] Ibn Ḥajar mentioned the names of Shāfiʻī scholars such as Ibn Daqīq al-ʻĪd and Ibn Jamāʻa as the leading mudarris of the Kāmiliyya Madrasa. He further stated that this hadith *madrasa* provided Ḥanafī *fiqh* education and unique places to stay for those who came from the surrounding regions to engage in scientific undertakings.[28] ʻUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1402) stayed in this *madrasa* for a year when he was 12 years old.[29] Another example, the Kharūbiyya Madrasa, was a hadith *madrasa* built by Badr al-Dīn Kharūbī, known as a sugar merchant, on the Nile in al-Jīza. This *madrasa* had many fountains, schools, and a garden. First ʻUmar b. Raslān and then his son ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī (d. 824/1424) taught Shāfiʻī *fiqh* in Kharūbiyya.[30]

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26 Sofia Stathi and Claudia Roscini, "Identity and Acculturation Processes in Multicultural Societies", in *Understanding Peace and Conflict Through Social Identity Theory*, ed. Shelley McKeown, Reeshma Haji, Neil Ferguson (Switzerland: Spinger International, 2016), 55-69.

27 Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 375-378; Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ*, VII, 30; Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, 490-495; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 160, 235.

28 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʻyān al-Miṣr waʼl-Qāhira* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1993), III, 34.

29 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ*, VII, 30.

30 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ*, III, 310-311; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 240.

Each *madrasa* in Mamluk Cairo had its own curriculum. The *madrasa* curriculum, which prioritized specific courses as required by the relevant foundation, was also shaped according to the courses chosen by the leading *mudarris*. Therefore, higher education in late medieval Cairo had extremely distinct educational practices. This situation, on the one hand, ensured that certain texts received considerable attention. On the other hand, it gave great authority to the *mudarris* in higher education. Among the courses taught in the *madrasa*s, works written by scholars who taught in a specific *madrasa* or another institution could be included, which was considered a feature that increased the *madrasa*'s appeal to students.[31]

The courses that made up the curricula varied in the Mamluk Cairo *madrasa*s. Principally, texts on Arabic language and literature, logic, mathematics, astronomy, hadith, *tafsīr*, manners, and doctrine were taught by teachers from different *madhhab*s, and students from all madhhabs could attend them. *Fiqh* lessons, on the other hand, were provided by each *madhhab*'s teacher, preferably through concise texts. Sometimes teachers wrote various works in these sciences to teach students more efficiently. One of the striking aspects of education in late medieval Cairo was that many of these works were concise texts.[32]

Sometimes people from another madhhab could attend *fiqh* lessons for a particular *madhhab* taught in a *madrasa* in Mamluk Cairo. If they were accepted into the class, they could even be assigned to one of the ranks allocated to the members of that *madhhab*.[33] While it is stated in historical sources that various types of scientific activities were carried out by a lecturer or mentioned in famous texts of the period, virtually no information exists about the experience of being a member of a *madrasa* or studying specific courses in a *madrasa*. As a consequence of the teacher- and text-centered education, students received permission for their education and were allowed to read the texts that they learned from their teachers in different places.[34] A person's relationship with his teacher and the ability to receive a reference from him played a decisive role at this point. This was regarded as a condition that improved the teacher's authority in the

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31 For example, students who attended the hadith and *fiqh* classes that Ibn al-Ḥajar gave in various *madrasa*s competed to follow the texts he wrote in these fields. Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh Ibn Ḥajar* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1986), I, 64-78; Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, II, 38-39.

32 Ibrahim, "Practice and reform", 69-83.

33 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, III, 312-315; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, rev. ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya, 1982), II, 127, 137, 176, 275, 304.

34 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VIII, 95; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-iqyān fī a'yān al-a'yān*, rev. ed. Philip K. Hitti (Beirut: Maktabat al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 45.

system of scientific activities and made it possible to rise in scholarly position.[35]

Completing a specific curriculum was not a question of graduating from a *madrasa* in Mamluk Cairo. However, lessons were taught in the *madrasa*s, and students had the opportunity to participate. This scientific practice increased feelings of group belonging and helped to develop identity awareness among students in certain *madhhab*s who attended certain *madrasa*s. When there is no such thing as graduating from the *madrasa*, the development of the student in completing his lessons in that *madrasa* has been thanks to his personal determination. Therefore, completing one's lessons in only one *madrasa* was not seen as the primary condition for being appointed to a certain position. Assignment to a particular rank was based on one's ability to bring together many different scientific networks. In this regard, while the history and *ṭabaqāt* authors of the period provided detailed information in their works on their fields of expertise—such as the branches of science they taught and the tasks they performed, including biographies of the educated elite—they offered less information on educational institutions.[36]

The unofficial curricula in the higher education institutions of the period were distinct and flexible. The curricula of the *madrasa*s and the teachers who would participate in lectures in these institutions were determined by the prominent *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s of the period or the *mudarris* who was the head of this institution, in addition to the political elite. For instance, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was based near the grave of Imām Shāfiʿī and taught in the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa upon the death of Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAlāʾī. Ibn Ḥajar[37] was teaching Shāfiʿī *fiqh* in this *madrasa*. His student and son-in-law, Munāwī, whom Ibn al-Humām appreciated, was appointed by the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Chaqmaq as director and teacher of the

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35 On issues that highlight the authority of the teacher, see Ibn Jamāʿa, *Tadhkirat al-sāmiʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.), 90-93, 110, 147. On the existence of those who changed *madrasa*s to benefit from the rank entrusted by a foundation for a certain *madhhab*, see Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 269.

36 Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196.

37 Ibn Ḥajar also gave *fiqh* lessons in the Shaykhūniyya, Sharīfiyya, Muʾayyadiyya, Kharūbiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya, and Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasas. At the insistence of Malik al-Ashraf Barsbay, Ibn Ḥajar—who also served as a mufti in the Egyptian Dār al-ʿAdl—became the Egyptian Shāfiʿī *qāḍī al-quḍāt* in place of ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī in 827/1424 for 27 years and continued that duty until 852/1448. His experiences while teaching and serving as a *qāḍī* are described in Ibn Ḥajar's works. As an effective rhetorician, Ibn Ḥajar served as an orator in the Azhar, Amr b. Āṣ, and Qalʿa mosques and later in the Ẓāhir Mosque, and he also carried out the administration of the Maḥmūdiyya Library. Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir*, I, 64-78. For the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa, see Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 118.

Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa in 852/1447, and as the Egyptian Shāfiʿī *qāḍī al-quḍāt* in 853/1448. Munāwī, who was dismissed by al-Malik al-Ashraf Inal from his duties in 857/1452, returned to his position as mudarris in 859/1454.[38] ʿUmar b. ʿĪsā al-Shāfiʿī, who was also a student of Ibn al-Humām, received an excellent education with the approval of many scholars in various fields, and he was assigned by his teacher, Ibn al-Humām, to teach *fiqh* at the Shaykhūniyya Madrasa after the death of ʿAlā al-Qalqashandī.[39]

Exhaustive information regarding which scholars taught which subjects and where can be found in the lines of the *ṭabaqāt*s. Accordingly, in 662/1264 in the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, which officially allocated a separate place for each of the four madhhabs during the Mamluk period, the leading Ḥanafī faqīh Qāriʾ al-Hidāya was lecturing, and Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIraqī was teaching *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.[40] The Qalawun, Barqūqiyya, and Ḥasan Madrasas, founded by the sultan,[41] were among the *madrasa*s where *fiqh* education was officially provided for students from the four madhhabs.[42] While the lessons of Qāriʾ al-Hidāya had a strong reputation in the Barqūqiyya Madrasa, Sayrāmī was assigned the position of Shaykh al-Islām after his father. In the *madrasa* located in the Nuḥḥāsīn district, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādī taught the Ḥanbalī *fiqh* course, following his father, and the Shāfiʿī *fiqh* course was taught by Maḥallī beginning from 844/1440.[43] Similarly, ʿUmar b. Raslān taught tafsīr in the Barqūqiyya Madrasa and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī continued to offer those lessons after his father. Molla Gurānī (d. 852/1488) was among the ulama who taught in Barqūqiyya. ʿUbaydullah b. ʿIwaḍ (d. 807/1405), who was a Shāfiʿī initially but later affiliated himself with the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, taught many lessons

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38 Similarly, this pertains to a person appointed with the permission of Bulqīnī, a *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of the period. Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, VII, 242.

39 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, VI, 112.

40 Among the institutes of higher education in Mamluk Cairo, the Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa, founded by Sultan Baybars I, appeared as the first of the four-iwan higher education institutions. In that *madrasa*, whose construction was completed in 660-662/1262-1264, education on the *fiqh* of each *madhhab* was given in a different *iwan*. In this *madrasa*, where a four-iwan scheme was applied for the first time and an iwan was allocated to each madhhab, the leading ulama of the period, such as Qāriʾ al-Hidāya, Ibn Razīn, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, were *mudarris*. It is known that Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIraqī also taught *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* lessons here, and Sayrāmī was among the leading *mudarris*. Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, V, 204; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 238, 333, 366.

41 Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 158-159.

42 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, IV, 175-180; Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī waʾl-mustawfī baʿd al-wāfī*, rev. ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya, 1984), I, 335; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 278, 303, 360.

43 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, X, 299.

in this *madrasa*.[44] Sultan Ẓāhir Barqūq worked there for a while and built a mausoleum for himself and his family within the *madrasa*, hoping to be commemorated by the next generations. In this *madrasa*, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī *fiqh* were each taught by the appointed *mudarris*, and the teacher who would read hadiths would be titled with a unique rank.[45]

The endowment of the Baybarsiyya Madrasa, which attracted many teachers and students in Mamluk Cairo, allocated places for the tafsīr *mudarris*, the hadith *mudarris*, the qirāah *mudarris,* and the mīʿād (assistant) teacher after the Friday prayer in addition to providing *fiqh* education for the four *madhhab*s. The owner of this *madrasa* donated many resources, and accommodations were maintained for those who came from outside of Cairo to study science.[46] After Ibn Khaldūn came to Cairo, he was appointed as the administrator of the of the Baybarsiyya Madrasa. He was later suspended for signing off on the fatwa that dismissed Sultan Barqūq. Ibn Khaldūn wrote an ode to soften the sultan and was subsequently appointed as the Mālikī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s of Cairo in 801/1399, but he was dismissed again shortly after traveling with the sultan in 803/1400. After 813/1410, Ibn Ḥajar was the administrator and hadith teacher of the Baybarsiyya Hanqāh, and Ibn al-ʿIraqī (d. 826/1423) and Ibn Quṭlubughā (d. 879/1474) taught hadith lessons in this *madrasa*. In this *madrasa*, where Ibn Ḥajar organized various dictation assemblies, his son Badr al-Dīn became the administrator of the *madrasa*'s hanqāh after his father. Jalāl al-Bakrī (d. 891/1486), who was for a long time the regent of the *qāḍī* of Cairo, was appointed as the administrator of the Baybarsiyya Madrasa after the death of Qayātī.[47] As another example, it is known that students from the four madhhabs attended the lectures he gave in the *madrasa* built by Janibak, the mamluk of Malik al-Ẓāhir Chaqmaq's, of which Ibn Ḥajar was the administrator since 813/1419.[48]

In the Manṣūriyya Madrasa, which Sultan Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalawun built in 684/1285, a bīmaristān and a mosque was side-by-side. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in 819/1421 and Sharaf al-Matbūlī taught Ḥanbalī *fiqh* there. Space was allocated to accommodate Shāfiʿī students in the Manṣūriyya

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44 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, V, 118.

45 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, XII, 41.

46 Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 3/417; Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr*, rev. ed. Ali Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1998), 64; Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, I, 82, 322; X, 316; XII, 37-38; Amīn, *Fihrist*, 9; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 174, 209, 210.

47 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, III, 9, 12.

48 It was noted that Janibak (d. 867/1463) performed many good deeds for travellers coming to his country. He established a station and many charitable works for them. He was buried in his mausoleum in Qarāfa. Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, III, 58.

Madrasa. Individuals such as Naṣrallah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who came to Cairo in 800/1398 after receiving a strong education in the fields of *ḥikma*, philosophy, Arabic, and calligraphy, worked in the *bīmaristān* of this city.[49] Bahā al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 773/1372), the Shāfiʿī faqih, taught *fiqh* in this *madrasa* for 17 years. Born in this *madrasa* in 819/1421, Yūsuf al-Baghdādī memorized the Qurʾan, Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, and the *ʿUmdat al-Aḥkām* of Jammāʾīlī, *Mukhtasar of Khiraqī*, and then he presented them to Ibn Ḥajar. Yūsuf subsequently took *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* lessons and received ijaza for *tadrīs waʾl-iftā* from a group of scholars as well as his father, who taught in the *madrasa*. Ibn Ḥajar, the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s of the period, permitted Yūsuf, a member of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, to study. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, who taught *fiqh* in Manṣūriyya following his father, took over his duties after ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, and prominent qāḍīs and groups of notables of the period attended his various lectures. Similarly, Ibn Nasrallah (d. 844/1440), a Ḥanbalī *faqīh* and Egyptian *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s, taught Ḥanbalī *fiqh* in the Manṣūriyya Madrasa. Ibn Naṣrallah, who was the representative of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* in the Manṣūriyya Madrasa at the time, was viewed by the members of that madhhab as a counselor for the problems they faced, and he was known as a scholar to whom members of the *madhhab* sent their children to receive their education.[50]

Sayf al-Dīn al-Damīrī founded the Ṣāḥibiyya Madrasa as the vizier of Malik al-ʿĀdil in 758/1355 in Mamluk Cairo, which was a *madrasa* with massive gates where 100 lamps were lit every night. This *madrasa*, dedicated to Mālikīs, also had a library. Members of the Mālikī *madhhab*, and especially those of Andalusian origin and coming from the Maghreb, attended this *madrasa*, which helped ensure the continuity and protection of the social identities of the members of the Mālikī *madhhab*, and benefited from its library. [51] On the other hand, the Ṣāliḥiyya Madrasa—which was built by Malik Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb in 640 to protect the social identity of members of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* and remained with the Ḥanbalīs—was an educational institution where Mālikī jurist and law scholar Qarāfī gave lesson, after the Shāfiʿī jurist Subkī during the Mamluk period in here. In this *madrasa*, which remained with the Ḥanbalīs, al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285) became a *mudarris* after Shāfiʿī faqih Sharaf al-Dīn al-Subkī. Shāfiʿī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s Ibn Daqīq al-ʿId (d. 702/1302) was among those who taught in this *madrasa*, where *fiqh* education included each of the four madhhabs. Shāfiʿī faqīh Badr

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49 Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, pp. 254, 363, 370. Linda S. Northrup, "Qalawun's Patronage of the Medical Science in Thirteenth-Century Egypt", *Mamluk Studies Review,* 5 (2001), 119-140. Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 254, 363, 370; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh*, I, 295-396.

50 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, VI, 16; X, 198-199.

51 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, II, 270; *Zayl*, 490-495; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 237.

al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻa (d. 733/1333) was appointed a mudarris in 693/1294, continuing that duty for a long time. ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻa (d. 767/1366) also worked as a *mudarris* in Ṣāliḥiyya, and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) started his service there with a ceremony. el-Rāʻī al-Andalusī (d. 853/1450), who attended the lectures of the leading ulama of the period, made use of the library of the Ṣāliḥiyya Madrasa while writing his own various works.

The *Sargatmishiyya* Madrasa, which provided education on the four *madhhab*s, was completed in 757/1356 by Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Sarigatmish, who was known for his patronage of the members of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Malaṭī used to teach the *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī at the *madrasa* located near the Ibn Ṭolun Mosque.[52] Sari al-Dīn Ibn Shihna also gave various lectures in this *madrasa*. Ibn Marzūq al-Khatīb (d. 781/1379) came to Cairo from Tilimsan in 773/1371 as a member of an Andalusian family that had been educating ulama for three generations, and he met with many scholars and politicians. He was greatly respected by Sultan Malik al-Ashraf Shaʻbān, served as a qāḍī, and gave lectures at the Sargatmishiyya Madrasa.[53] Ibn Khaldūn taught in this *madrasa* as a hadith teacher from 791/1389 until he became the Egyptian Mālikī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s in 801/1399.[54] Ḥanafī *faqīh* Sari al-Dīn Ibn al-Shiḥna served as a *muʻīd* (assistant of the mudarris) at the *madrasa* for a while. After Ibn al-Karakī, he served as both the Cairo Ḥanafī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*s and the *mudarris* of the Sargatmishiyya Madrasa as of 906/1501.[55] ʻAynī was among the ulama who taught in this *madrasa*.[56] Born in the city of Astrakhān on the northern shore of the Caspian Sea, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ʻArabshah first came to Crimea, then Adrianapolis, and then Damascus and Aleppo with his father. After 850/1446, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ʻArabshah, who became the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Damascus and Cairo, was in Cairo in 884-901/1479-1496 and taught Ḥanafī *fiqh* at the Sargatmishiyya Madrasa until his death.[57] Sakhāwī also taught hadith lessons in this *madrasa* and organized orthographic assemblies.[58]

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52 Amīn, *Fihrist,* 81; ʻAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Naṣṣān Jadīdān min wathīkati'l-Amīr Sarghatmish", *Jāmiʻat Qāhira Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb,* 28 (1966), 143-200; Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya", *Annales Islamologiques,* 23 (1987), 91.

53 Amīn, *al-Awqāf,* 270; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina,* III, 360-362; Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ,* VII, 51; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʻāt,* I, 46-47.

54 Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʻ al-iṣr an quḍāt Miṣr,* rev. ed. Ali Muḥammad (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1998), 233-237; Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ,* II, 145-149.

55 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ,* IV, 33-35; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-zuhūr,* IV, 7, 14, 37-39.

56 Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʼ al-lāmiʻ,* X, 131-135; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab,* VII, 286-288.

57 Ibn ʻArabshah, *Uqūd al-nasīḥa,* Ms. Orient A94, 62b-64a (digital images on microfilm), Gotha Bibliothek, Universität Erfurt.

58 Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʻiqyān,* 152-153; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab,* X, 23-25.

In 829-833/1424-1428, Ibn al-Humām gave lectures at the Ashrafiyya Ma-drasa, one of the most beautiful *madrasa*s of Cairo,[59] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bul-qīnī gave hadith lessons after his brother.[60] Qāri’ al-Hidāya was among the ulama who taught there.[61] In the *madrasa* where Ibn al-Karakī was a hadith teacher in 899/1493, Aḥmad b. ‘Ubāda taught Mālikī *fiqh* after his father. Al-Kāfiyajī, who was one of the leading Ḥanafī ulama of Mamluk Cairo, was buried in the mausoleum of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa upon his death in 879/1474.[62] The Maḥmūdiyya Madrasa, which was built by Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kurdī al-Ustādār in 797/1394, was also known as a mosque.[63] This *madrasa*, in which ‘Aynī was a *fiqh mudarris*, was one of the most mag-nificent educational institutions of the period and working there incurred high prestige. There was also a comprehensive library in the *madrasa*, where every branch of science was taught. Ibn Ḥajar worked as a hadith teacher at the Maḥmūdiyya Madrasa in 809/1406 and prepared indexes for its library.[64] In the Mu’ayyadiyya Madrasa, which Sultan Mu’ayyad Shaykh Maḥmūd built in 823/1419, *fiqh* of the four *madhhab*s was taught.[65] While ‘Aynī was a hadith teacher here in 820-824/1416-1420,[66] Maqrīzī was also a hadith teacher in 823-824/1419-1420. Until 827/1424, Ibn al-Dayrī’s father held the Shaykh al-Islām position of the *madrasa*, and after that date Ibn al-Dayrī took over the administrative responsibility.[67] Mālikī *fiqh* was also taught in this *madra-sa*. In 871-882, Ḥanafī *faqīh* Abū al-Faḍl Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485) became a hadith *mudarris*, but he subsequently sent his son Sari al-Dīn to his lessons. Ibn Ḥajar also gave *fiqh* lessons in this *madrasa*, and after 852/1449, he ap-pointed Maḥallī to replace him. While Sari al-Dīn Ibn al-Shiḥna gave lectures in this *madrasa* under the mandate of the hadith teacher, Yūsuf al-Baghdādī and ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Baghdādī taught Ḥanbalī *fiqh* here.[68]

In the Shaykhūniyya Madrasa, built by Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Shaykhū in 757/1356 in Qal‘a,[69] Qāri’ al-Hidāya taught Ḥanafī *fiqh*[70] and Ibn Ḥajar

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59 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, VIII, 127-132; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt*, I, 166-169.

60 Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, 490.

61 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li ma‘rifat duwal al-mulūk*, III, 730; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, VIII, 115-116.

62 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, I, 321; Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal*, II, 68.

63 Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 395-397; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 227-228.

64 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, V, 118; *Dhayl*, 490-495.

65 Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 395-397; Amīn, *Fihrist*, 96.

66 Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, 490-495.

67 Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-iqyān*, 27.

68 Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, 490-495.

69 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘*, VIII, 83.

70 Sakhāwī, *Dhayl*, 490-495.

taught Shāfiʻī *fiqh*. Sari al-Dīn Ibn al-Shiḥna first served as an administrator and *mudarris* as the regent of his father and then proceeded to give those services himself.[71] In 805/1403, Bisāṭī taught Mālikī *fiqh* there.[72] In 827/1424, Sari al-Dīn Ibn al-Shiḥna was assigned to the Shaykh al-Islām position of this *madrasa*.[73] Kāfiyajī was the administrator of the *hanqāh* here,[74] and at that time, it would have been odd for someone to seek accommodations there even if they were Shāfiʻī.[75] It appears that the *madrasa* had a foundation dedicated to Ḥanafīs, and it also provided education about the other three madhhabs. Likewise, although they were Shāfiʻī, some members of the Bulqīnī family stayed with the Ḥanafīs in this *madrasa*. Bisāṭī (d. 842/1439), who long suffered from financial hardships, began his educational life by studying Mālikī *fiqh* in the Shaykhūniyya *Madrasa* (805/1402-1403), and then he became a *mudarris* in the Ṣāḥibiyya, Jamāliyya, and Barqūqiyya Madrasas and an administrator in the Nāṣıriyya Hanqāh.[76] Bisāṭī was known for his excellent knowledge of *fiqh* and hadith, having learned from faqīhs and muḥaddiths such as ʻUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī and Ibn al-Mulaqqīn to give fatwas and read *fiqh*. He taught *fiqh* between 811 and 848 (1408-1444) in Shaykhūniyya and some other *madrasa*s.[77] Sulaymān b. Abd al-Nāṣir al-Qāhirī al-Shāfiʻī was also one of the students of the Shāfiʻī *madrasa* and stayed at the Shaykhūniyya Ṣufiyya, although he was studying various lessons at the next *madrasa*. Al-Munāwī was very much in favor of Sulaymān, who was the regent of the *qāḍī* in Cairo.[78] Between 847/1444 and 858/1454, Abū al-Faḍl Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1484) held the Shaykh al-Islām position of the *madrasa* where Ibn al-Humām worked, and then he sent his son to take over his lectures there.[79]

Besides the sultans, the political elite of Mamluk Cairo also had various *madrasa*s built, and the ulama and students from four madhhabs allocated rich foundations to obtain accommodation and various *manṣib*s in these *madrasa*s. This approach of the Mamluk political elite contributed to the

71 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VIII, 83

72 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VII, 5-8; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʻāt fī akhbār al-lughawiyyīn wa'n-nuḥāt*, rev. ed. M. Amīn Khanjī, Aḥmad b. Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat al-Saʻāda, 1326), 32-33.

73 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, IV, 33-35; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ al-zuhūr,* III, 216, 466, 471.

74 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VII, 259-261; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʻāt*, 48; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ al-zuhūr*, II, 252.

75 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VIII, 83.

76 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VII, 5-8; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʻāt*, 32-33.

77 In the Sharīfiyya, Mu'ayyadiyya, Kharrūbiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya, and Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasas.

78 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, III, 266.

79 Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, IV, 33-35.

development of identity of social groups belonging to different madhhabs through their representation in higher education institutions in Cairo.

Role of Ulama's Text Production in the Construction of Mamluk Social Identity

*Madrasa*s in Mamluk Cairo effectively constructed a new social identity after the Mongol invasions. Most of the *madrasa*s built by the sultans in the Mamluk lands provided education and employment for all four Sunnī *madhhab*s. The transmission or production of knowledge outside the boundaries of the *madrasa*s continued from time to time in institutions such as mosques or *hanqāh*s. This situation not only increased the sense of group belonging of the members of different *madhhab*s in Cairo and their commitment to the political administration but also brought about the production and dissemination of information suitable for their own social identities.[80]

The Mamluk political elite's allocation of hundreds of *madrasa*s and educational institutions to the education of the *madhhab*s at different rates according to population demographics not only provided support for higher education activities. It also revealed the importance the political elite attached to the urbân design of an Islamic city and its intellectual foundation after the Mongol invasions with the higher education institutions they built, especially in Cairo.

The ulama's group and identity consciousness were defined through the information networks built in the process of securing the transfer and continuity of knowledge. Identity descriptions in *ṭabaqāt* and *tārīkh* books help us understand the Mamluk ulama in greater detail. The *ṭabaqāt* works, written by the ulama of the time, detail the ulama's grading according to a particular system, the differences of the people under consideration, their scientific activities and prominent aspects, specific identity definitions, group affiliations, and relations with knowledge. These works of *ṭabaqāt*, which were limited to specific times, places, or subjects, describe the knowledge that the ulama inherited from each other, the information networks that they utilized independently of the political authority, and intellectual groups with separate authority. From time to time, the awareness of the identities of the social groups addressed in the *ṭabaqāt* works, or the biographical literature of the period, became more

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80 Lev, Yaacov, "Symbiotic Relations", 1-26; Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196.

prominent, and special *ṭabaqāt* books were also written to address this issue.[81]

Besides the *ṭabaqāt* books, the history books in the Mamluk period mostly, written by the bureaucratic ulama, show us how the Mamluk ulama understood political power and its legitimacy, and how they envisioned the social order. These works convey historical order and continuity. We are able to see the social transformation and relational power associations of the Mamluk society through historical and *ṭabaqāt* works written by the ulama. These texts on Mamluk history convey the continuity of political views on social power and the social order created by the legitimate power recognized by social groups. Steenbergen, on the other hand, remarks that the understanding of power as constantly transforming due to competitive power relations between military and civilian elites constituted the legitimate Mamluk power. Steenbergen interprets social order and continuity in the Mamluk State through the stability provided by relatively strong dynastic structures in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and changing power relations in the fifteenth century. As a matter of fact, Steenbergen and subsequent researchers' efforts to interpret the transformation of the pre-modern Mamluk state based on Machiavelli and Ibn Khaldūn through the Mamluk meta-narrative have contributed significantly to the understanding of the Mamluk political structure. Clifford and Chamberlain's works on networks and social order in Mamluk society based on patronage, competition, and conflict between the political and civil elites, conducted thanks to the work of Steenbergen, have moved demonstrating social transformation to a new level.[82]

The main question of this section is whether it is possible to talk about a Mamluk belonging or identity defined in the social structure. This study is inspired by the efforts of Steenbergen et al. to interpret the order and continuity in the Mamluk state using "*dawlat al-atrāk*" in historical works. Actually, Mamluk historical texts were written by bureaucratic scholars due to their feelings of belonging to the Mamluk state and the fact that they saw themselves as a part of the Mamluk identity. Whether they define the position of the Mamluk state in world history or were historical works written about Mamluk political history or the reign of a sultan, these works jointly point to a belonging/allegiance to the legitimate Mamluk power domain recognized by the ulama and society. Historical

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81 Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 79-115, 116-143; Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity", 175-196; Ibn al-Humām, *al-Taḥrīr*. See also Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite*. See also Eyyüp Said Kaya, "Tabakat", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, XXXIX, 292-294.

82 Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos,* 146-169; Steenbergen, Wing, and D'hulster, "The Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate?", 560-69.

texts the ulama wrote on this well-known political power domain are seen as a clear reflection of Mamluk identity in the social structure.[83]

Ibn Shaddād's (d. 684/1285) *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* represents the first work written by a bureaucrat ulama that indicates a Mamluk social identity/belonging. Ibn Shaddād, who came to Egypt in 659/1261, had previously served as a court clerk. Baybars held him in high esteem, appointed Ibn Shaddād for a bureaucratic task in Egypt. Ibn Shaddād's diary discusses the period of Sultan Baybars and, importantly, defines himself as an element of the Mamluk social identity.[84]

Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292), a bureaucrat scholar and historian of the period, served as the head of the construction divan since the early period of the Mamluks. He wrote letters, appointments, and contracts on behalf of the Mamluk sultan that were sent to the rulers of the surrounding regions. He also wrote various official texts (*taqlīd*) during the reign of Qalawun and his sons. His work titled *Rawḍ al-ẓāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* includes his personal testimonies of the period and is significant in this regard. The author shared his own thoughts in his work that recorded the daily life of Sultan Ẓāhir Baybars until his death with the following words: "Allah has brought together aid, justice, and conquests that were not present in any state before Sultan al-Malik Ẓāhir's state. Allah has sent the Sultan as a ruler who strengthens the determination of the people of faith, encourages their zeal, makes their steps sounder and raises their banners."[85] The author's other work titled *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa'l-uṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, which describes the history of the period of al-Malik al-Ashraf, includes the historical testimonies of the bureaucratic scholar.[86] Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), who is known as a Mamluk scholar and historian, was the regent of the sultanate during the reign of Sultan Naṣir Qalawun. His work titled *Zubdat al-fikra fī tārīkh al-hijra*[87] is a 25-volume history of the world, discussing events up to the year of 709/1309. In his work, the author tries to interpret the position of the Mamluk state in world history and includes the following praise: "May Allah make this state permanent and protect its sultan." Such statements

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83 Steenbergen, Wing, and D'hulster, "The Mamlukization of the Mamluk Sultanate", 560-69.

84 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars,* Beirut: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa, n.d..

85 Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Katibinin Gözünden Sultan Baybars,* trans. Aydın Usta, Istanbul: Yeditepe Yay., 2021.

86 Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa'l-uṣūr fī sīrat al-malik al-Manṣūr,* Vizārat al-Thaqāfa wa'l-Irshād, 1961.

87 Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tārīkh al-hijra,* Berlin 1998.

show that the author recognizes Baybars' power as legitimate power. Another work of this author, titled *Tuḥfat al-mulūkiyya fī al-dawla al-Turkiyya,*[88] is a history of the Mamluk State starting from the accession of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak to the throne and ending in 711/1311. It is very important that the author defines the Mamluk State as "al-Dawla al-Turkiyya" in this work. Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who exhibited a very objective historiography in his work written for Sultan Naṣir Qalawun, wrote what was essentially a Mamluk historical diary. While the events between 1286 and 1312 recorded in the work are based on his own observations, he also records famines, epidemics, and floods, as well as losses suffered by the Mamluk army. At the beginning of his work, he records 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak being the first Turkish ruler to become a monarch in the land of Egypt and ends his work with the following words: "I wish from Allah that these holy days be eternal."

Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 779/1377), whose father was the muḥtasib of Aleppo and a hadith *mudarris*, personally defines the Mamluk State as "dawlat al-atrāk" in his work *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk*[89]. The author's work that records the history of the dynasty of Sultan Manṣur Qalawun and his sons, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām Manṣūr wa banīh,*[90] on the other hand, is among the most important sources of Mamluk history between 678-770/1279-1368. In *Jawhar al-thamīn fī sīrat al-mulūk wa al-salāṭīn*[91], written at the request of Sultan Barqūq, Ibn Doqmaq (d. 809/1407), who is one of the *awlād al-nās*, organizes his work according to years and records the life of each caliph in separate sections. The work ends with the chapter discussing the life of 'Abd al-Azīz Barqūq. Ibn Doqmaq's other work, entitled *Tārīkh dawla al-Turkiyya*, records the historical continuity and transformation of the Mamluk State. And in *Nuzhat al-nāzir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāsir,*[92] the author Mose introduces himself as one of the *halqa al-mansūra* and discusses the years between 733/1332 and 755/1354. *Nuzha*—which Maqrīzī, 'Aynī and Ibn Taghrībardī benefitted from—chronologically narrates the events that occurred during the period it discusses. The historical work, *Nuzha*, written by the author, who is a Mamluk, records the period of Sultan Nasir Qalawun, and is significant for reflecting the use of

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88 Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfat al-mulūkiyya fī al-dawla al-Turkiyya,* Cairo 1987.

89 Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawla al-atrāk,* Cairo 2014.

90 Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām Manṣūr wa banīh,* Cairo 1976-1986.

91 Sārim al-Dīn Ibn Doqmaq, *Jawhar al-thamīn fī sīrat al-mulūk wa al-salāṭīn,* Beirut 1985.

92 Mūsā b. Muḥammad Yaḥyā Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* Beirut 1986.

the Arabic language especially by the Mamluks and their perspective on the period and themselves.

Ṣafadī (d. 717/1317), another bureaucrat scholar and historian of the period, discusses the period between before the flood and the year of 717/1317 in his work also titled *Nuzhat al-mālik wa'l-mamlūk*.[93] The author tries to situate the Mamluk state in perspective of world history and devotes most of his book to the Mamluk state under the title "Dawlat Mamālik al-Turk" after the Ayyubīd period. Beginning this chapter with ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, Ṣafadī organizes the text by years, including information about famines, epidemics, the increase in wheat prices, and other catastrophes. The author, who also writes about his eyewitness testimonies under the title of author's observations in his work, mainly describes the period of Sultan Manṣur Qalawun and concludes his work with the words "tamma al-kitāb". Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), a significant Mamluk bureaucratic scholar, completed *al-Maʿāsir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa*[94] in 819/1416. This study was the first book written about the establishment of the caliphate, according to Ramazan Şeşen. The work, which contains many *manshūrs* (appointment letters), letters, testaments, and taqlīds belonging to the Mamluk sultans consists of an introduction, seven chapters, and an epilogue. The author dedicated the work to the caliph of the period, Mutazid Billah. His writing shows how the political power and religious authority were understood and how a Mamluk intellectual ideated his own identity within the legitimacy of this political structure.

Mamluk bureaucratic historian Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441) greatly influenced the understanding of history after him. *al-Mawāʿīẓ wa al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār,*[95] written by Maqrīzī, is now the most influential text on envisioning Egypt as the center of the world. Describing the city of Cairo and its buildings in detail for subsequent historical studies, the author positions himself as part of the Mamluk identity in full and the most decisive actor of subsequent historiography. In his work titled *al-Sulūk fī maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk,*[96] which records the period in which the author lived, Maqrīzī brings a decisive identity to the historiography of Islamic civilization. Maqrīzī's works of history are quite remarkable in that they explain how social identity and the legitimacy of political power were

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93 Ṣafadī, *Nuzhat al-mālik wa'l-mamlūk,* Beirut 2003.
94 Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa,* trans. Ramazan Şeşen, Istanbul: Yeditepe Yay. 2019.
95 Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiz wa al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār,* London 1995.
96 Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk,* Cairo 1956-1971.

understood by society in the central regions of the pre-modern Islamic geography.

al-Ta'līf al-ṭāhīr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhīr,[97] written by Ibn 'Arabshah after the period of Maqrīzī, is another work that has drawn the attention of modern researchers. His work can be understood as an explication of the author's own identity as a scholar who lived most of his life with the high ranks he achieved and the scientific councils he was involved in. *Rawḍ al-ẓāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* by 'Aynī (d. 855/ 1451),[98] another bureaucratic Ḥanafī faqīh and historian of period, has a similar nature. These works were likely written in order to approach the sultan of the period and to define themselves as a part of the political power structure. 'Aynī's works titled *Sayf al-muhannad fī sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad* and *Jawharat al-saniyya fī tārikh al-dawla al-Mu'ayyadiyya* highlight the self-identification of the ulama to establish connections to political power and to define themselves as actors of the state.

Ibn Taghrībardī (d. 874/1469), one of the awlād al-nās who gained fame through his affinity for science, organized his work *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī* as a Mamluk biography.[99] Ibn Taghrībardī, who defined himself as an actor of both the legitimate political structure and the ulama class, presents alphabetical biographies of 3,000 dignitaries, starting with 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, the first sultan of the Mamluks. The author conveys the information he gathered and witnessed regarding the history of the Mamluk state between 844-860/1441-1456 in his work titled *Ḥawadīth al-dahr*. The author's work *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira,*[100] written in Cairo, attempted to define the history of Egypt from its conquest to 873/1467 and the position of the Mamluk state in this history.

Finally, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk ilā aḥsan al-sulūk,*[101] written by Jan Temūr, one of the Mamluk amīrs, appears as a book of politics presented to Sultan Qansuh Gawrī. While Ibn Sayrāfī's work *Sīrat Malik Eshraf al-Qanbay* discusses the Qanbay period, the history books of Sakhāwī, Suyūṭī, and Nu'aymī include very important information on how the ulama identified themselves in the field of Mamluk political power and how they described

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97 Mustafa Banister, "Professional Mobility in Ibn 'Arabshâh's Fifteenth-Century Panegyric Dedicated to Sultan al-Ẓâhir Jaqmaq", *Mamluk Studies Review*, 23 (2020), 133-163.

98 Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, *Rawḍ al-ẓāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* Damascus 2014.

99 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal,* Cairo 1984-99.

100 Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira,* Cairo 1929-1933.

101 Jan Temūr, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk ilā aḥsan al-sulūk,* Riyad 2015.

social structure. Notably, Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524) work titled *Badā'i' al-zu-hūr*[102] tells of the daily historical testimonies of a scholar who defined himself as part of the Mamluk regime and as one of the awlād al-nās. The author, whose work discusses events up to the year 928/1522, provides a summary of the first periods of the Mamluks, adding more detail toward the end. In this work, the author depicts daily life, prices, the Mamluk palace, the first years of the Ottoman Empire, the exorbitant taxes they collected from the people, the tyranny of the Ottoman's over the people, the inability of Qansuh Gawrī to govern the country, the struggle between the Mamluks, and the economic downfall which doomed the state. These historical works by the Mamluk ulama are very significant for showing the continuity of the Mamluk state—of which they define themselves as members—and its social structure.

Conclusion

The *madrasa* structures built by the Mamluk political elite ensured the representation of different social groups living in these lands. With *madrasa*s, each social group had the opportunity to learn and reproduce their own cultural knowledge institutionally. The Mamluk political elite, who donated rich foundations to the *madrasa*s, helped champion a sense of self-awareness and group identity development of people belonging to the four Sunnī *madhhab*s in the Mamluk power domain, and ensured that they recognized the legitimacy of this political power. Thus, the Mamluk political-military elite, who belonged to diverse ethnicities and madhhabs, safeguarded the continuity and order of the state with the patronage networks they established in this social structure, made up of the majority Arab and Shāfi'ī population.

Many scholars obtained positions within these institutional structures through patronage networks established between the Mamluk political-military elite and the ulama. Rank attainment or establishment of new patronage relations, which sometimes caused competition among the ulama, essentially made it possible reproduce the Mamluk social structure. The intellectuals of the surrounding regions heard that the four Sunnī *madhhab*s were being represented in the Mamluk lands within the institutional structures and bureaucracy and tried to gain places themselves within the society. Thus, the Mamluk cities of Damascus and Cairo became meeting places for the students and the ulama, who sought greater knowledge and intellectual appeal. Moving up in the Mamluk scientific

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102 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr,* Cairo 1982.

and bureaucratic ranks, the ulama transformed the political power and social structure.[103]

Historians of the period wrote texts, often for the simple goal of recording their experiences or sometimes at the request of and with encouragement from the political elite of their period. Whatever the reason for their creation, the political history texts written in the Mamluk period reveal the continuity of this social and political structure. The ulama who recorded testimonies recalled the ups and downs of their period, including developments and changes and periods of progress and decline in Mamluk political and social life. These history texts make it possible to talk about the existence and continuity of a Mamluk political power domain in the Mamluk political and social structure, the Mamluk social structure, and the distinctive characteristics of the Mamluk elite. Consequently, the social identity of the Mamluk period should be understood in all its own contextual complexity without pursuing anachronistic approaches. These individuals, who came from diverse cultural backgrounds, ethnic origins, and *madhhab*s, could find a structure where their identities were represented within the overarching Mamluk social structure. Through networks of relations with political powers where the civil elite could transfer their intellectual identity, intellectual environment, and knowledge, the Mamluk ulama ascended to a position never seen before. As a result of the patronage, they obtained in these lands and their ability to represent their own identity, the Mamluk ulama clearly expressed the legitimacy of political power in the history texts they wrote. The Mamluk political power, recognized by the ulama, owes the continuity of the state in this social structure to the networks of mutual relations established with the civilian elite. While this power domain established by the Mamluk political elite experienced the most active levels of social mobility for the ulama in history, it also witnessed the most productive period of intellectual stimulation and information sharing.

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103 Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos,* 16-22, 94-123.

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Appendix

The Mamluk scholars and their places of service, based on the Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary

Name	Date of birth and death	Origin	Place of duty
Jamāl al-Malāṭī (Ḥanafī)	725-803/ 1325-1400	Malatya	Egyptian Ḥanafī Qāḍī al-quḍāt
			Mudarris of Sarġatmishiyya Madrasa
Ibn Quṭlubughā (Ḥanafī)	802-879/ 1399-1474		Administration of the Jānibak Madrasa
			Hadith mudarris in Baybars Madrasa
			He lived in Ashrafiyya Khānqāh.
Qāri' al-Hidāya (Ḥanafī)	829/1426	Cairo	Mudarris of Ẓāhiriyya Madrasa
			Mudarris of Ashrafiyya Madrasa
			Mudarris of Barqūqiyya Madrasa
			Mudarris of Nāṣiriyya Madrasa
Khaṭīb al-Jawharī (Ḥanafī)	819-900/ 1416-1495	Cairo	Orator/Khaṭīb in Sultan Barqūq Mosque, Egypt, qāḍī al-quḍāt
Shahāb al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabshāh	791-854/1389-1450	Damascus	
Tāj al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabshāh (Ḥanafī)	813-901/ 1411-1496	Astrakhan	Cairo, qāḍī regent/nā'ib
			Sarġatmishiyya Ḥanafī fiqh mudarris

Name	Date of birth and death	Origin	Place of duty
Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (Shāfiʿī)	725-806/ 1325-1404	Cairo	Ẓāhiriyya hadith mudarris; Fiqh mudarris in Fāḍiliyya Madrasa; Hadith mudarris in Ibn Tolun Mosque
Munāwī Shāfiʿī faqīh, Qāḍī al-quḍāt	798-871/ 1396-1467	Originally Tunisian, born in Cairo	Mudarris and administrator in the Salāḥiyya Madrasa
Ibn Ḥajar Egyptian Shāfiʿī Qāḍī al-quḍāt (827-852)	773-852/ 1372-1449	Ancient Egypt	Fiqh mudarris in the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa; Fiqh mudarris in Sargatmishiyya Madrasa; Hadith mudarris in Ibn Ṭolun Mosque; Hadith mudarris in Shayhūniyya Madrasa in 809/1406; Administrator of this madrasa in 827/852; Hadith mudarris in the Jamāliyya Madrasa; Administrator of Baybars Khānqāh; Administrator of the Jānibak Madrasa; Hadith mudarris in Baybarsiyya Madrasa; Hadith mudarris in Kāmiliyya Madrasa; Egypt, Dār al-ʿadl mufti

Name	Date of birth and death	Origin	Place of duty
ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīni (Shāfiʿī faqīh)	724-805/ 1324-1403	Cairo	Azhar Mosque, ʿAmr b. Orator/Khatib in ʿĀṣ Mosque and Qalʿa Mosques Administrator of the Maḥmūdiyya Library Tafsīr mudarris in Barqūqiyya Madrasa Mudarris in ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣ Mosque Fiqh mudarris in Hashshābiyya, Kharūbiyya Madrasas Tafsīr mudarris in Ibn Ṭolun Mosque Fiqh mudarris in Malikiyya Madrasa
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīni (Shāfiʿī faqīh)	763-824/ 1362-1421	Originally from ʿAsqalān, born in Cairo	Hadith mudarris in Ashrafiyya Madrasa Tafsīr mudarris in the Barqūqiyya Madrasa Fiqh mudarris in Hashshābiyya, Kharūbiyya, Malikiyya Madrasas Tafsīr mudarris in Ibn Ṭolun Mosque
Ibn al-ʿIrāqī (Shāfiʿī faqīh)	762-826/ 1361-1423	Cairo	Shaykh al-shuyūkh, mudarris in the Jamāliyya Madrasa Mudarris in the Baybarsiyye Madrasa Fiqh mudarris in Fāḍiliyya Madrasa Hadith mudarris in Ibn Ṭolun Mosque Mudarris of Karasunguriyya Madrasa

Name	Date of birth and death	Origin	Place of duty
Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī Cairo, Ḥanafī Qāḍī al-quḍāt in 829-842	762-855/ 1361-1451	He was born in Antep.	Cairo, muḥtasib in 801 (instead of Maqrīzī) Nāẓir al-aḥbās in 803 Hadīth mudarris in 820 in the Muayyadiyya Madrasa Fiqh mudarris in Maḥmūdiyya Madrasa
Kāfiyajī (Ḥanafī)	788-879/ 1386-1474	Bargama	Administrator of Malik al-Ashraf Baybars Mausoleum Director/Nāẓir of Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān Mausoleum and Zāwiya Director/Nāẓir of Shaykh Shaykhūniyya Khānqāh
Shumunnī (He converted to Ḥanafī madhhab when he was Mālikī.)	801-872/ 1399-1468	Originally Algeria-Kus-antine/ He was born in Alexandria	Mudarris at the Jamāliyya Madrasa Administrator of Qayitbay Madrasa
Ibn al-Karakī (Cairo, Ḥanafī Qāḍī al-quḍāt)	776-853/ 1374-1449	Jordan-Karak	Hadīth mudarris and shaykh al-shuyūkh in Ashrafiyya Madrasa
Ibn al-Humām (Ḥanafī faqīh)	790-861/ 1388-1457	Originally from Sivas. He was born in Alexandria.	Mudarris of Ashrafiyya Madrasa Director/Nāẓir of Shaykh Shaykhūniyya Khānqāh Mudarris in the Mansūriyya Madrasa.

Name	Date of birth and death	Origin	Place of duty
Maqrīzī (First Ḥanafī then Shāfiʿī)	766-845/ 1364-1442	Cairo-Burcuvān	Muḥtasib in 801/1399 Orator/Khatib in Amr b. ʿĀṣ Mosque Imām in the Hakīm Mosque Hadith mudarris in Muʾayyadiyya Madrasa in 823/1420
Ebū al-Faḍl Ibn al-Shiḥna Egyptian Ḥanafī Qāḍī al-quḍāt 866/1462-877/1472	804-890/ 1402-1485	Aleppo	Mudarris and administrator of the Shaykhūniyya Madrasa Privy secretary/Kātib al-sirr in Egypt in 863/1459 Hadith mudarris in the Muʾayyadiyya Madrasa in 871/1467 Administrator of Shaykhūniyya Khānqāh in 882/1477
Sariy al-Dīn Ibn al-Shiḥna (Ḥanafī qāḍī)	851-921/ 1448-1515	Aleppo	Regent/nāʾib of his father's Egyptian qāḍī Ḥadith orator/Khatib in the Hakīm Mosque and hadith mudarris at Ḥasaniyya and Zayniyya Madrasas Tafsir mudarris in Jamāliyya Madrasa Muʿīd in the Sargatmishiyya Madrasa