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Awqāf in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām

The thesis of this article is that the desire for political hegemony was the primary motivation for the *awqāf* policy adopted by the Mamluk elite.

During its first century in Syria and Egypt (1516–97), the Ottoman Empire carried out several cadastral surveys. The data gathered in these surveys were recorded and catalogued. Among the items listed in the Ottoman registers of each of the provinces are religious endowments, their founders, and their property.[1] Looking some centuries backward and comparing the information provided in the Ottoman lists with the data on the Islamic religious endowments *(awqāf)* in Bilād al-Shām at the end of the Latin Kingdom (1099–1291), we can get a clear picture of the remarkable number of endowments established by Muslims in Damascus, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Palestine during the Mamluk period (1250–1517).

Considering the abundant additional information found in inscriptions,[2] legal compendia, biographical works, and chronicles, we can clearly see that the *waqf* had an unmistakable presence in Mamluk society.[3] It was represented in almost

[1]Mehmet İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd Tamīmī, eds., *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī ḥasab Daftar 522* (Istanbul, 1402/1982); Muḥammad ʿĪsá Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah ḥasab al-Daftar Raqm 312 Tārīkhuhu 963/1553* (Amman, 1419/1999); idem, *Sijill Arāḍī Liwāʾ al-Quds ḥasab al-Daftar 342 Tārīkhuhu 970/1562* (Amman, 1422/2002); Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, *Daftar Mufaṣṣal Khāṣṣ Liwāʾ al-Shām 958/1551* [tapu daftari 275] (Amman, 1989), 27 *(waqf ḥaramayn sharīfayn),* 28, 29, 30, *(al-ʿushr ʿan māl al-waqf),* 36 *(al-ʿushr ʿan jumlat mutaḥaṣṣil al-awqāf),* 40, 46, 67 *(awqāf ḥaramayn wa-quds sharīf wa-khalīl al-raḥmān wa-jāmiʿ banī umayyah sharīf),* 69, 76, 82, 89, 126, 128; idem, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982), 147–48; Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton, 1980), 101; Alexandrine Guérin, "Interprétation d'un registre fiscal ottoman: Les territoires de la Syrie méridionale en 1005/1596–97," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 61 (2002): 6–8. On the Ottoman method of taxation of endowments, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah: Ṣafaḥāt Mafqūdah min Kitāb Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Aḥmad Ībish (Damascus, 2002), 246.

[2]*Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe* (hereafter *RCEA*) 18:6–7 (784009), 27–28 (786003).

[3]Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt," *Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 31–47; Gilles Hennequin, "Waqf et monnaie dans l'Egypte mamluke," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38 (1995): 305–12; Jean-Claude Garcin and Mustafa Anouar Taher, "Les waqfs d'une madrasa du Caire au XVe siècle: les propriétés urbaines de Ǧawhar al-Lālā," in *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique: outil de pouvoir socio-politique,* ed. R. Deguilhem (Damascus, 1995), 151–86; Rudolf Veselý, "Procès de la production et rôle du waqf dans les relations ville-campagne," in ibid., 229–41; Carl F. Petry "A Geniza for Mamluk Studies?

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all aspects of urban and rural society as a means for accumulating wealth and influence. This leads to the crucial question: why did the military class[4] so eagerly pursue a policy that in effect transferred a considerable portion of agricultural land and urban property from the state treasury into religious endowments,[5] a development that seriously diminished the sultanate's resources?

It is not an easy task to solve this knotty problem, particularly as we possess no sound information as to the motives of the endowers, who couched their reasoning in general statements and citations from the Quran[6] and hadith.[7] In order to advance an answer to the question posited above, the present article aims to scrutinize the information concerning endowments, donors (particularly sultans, viceroys, and officers), beneficiaries, and *waqf* property that is preserved in various sources: endowment deeds *(kitāb al-waqf; waqfiyah),* inscriptions, juridical works, biographical works, and chronicles.

These sources clearly reveal Mamluk society as a contractual society, that is to say, a society that used legal documents to articulate personal relationships.[8] The

Charitable Trust *(Waqf)* Documents as a Source for Economic and Social History," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 51–60; idem, "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security vs. Profit?" in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study,* ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London, 2000), 99–115; Sylvie Denoix, "A Mamluk Institution for Urbanization: the Waqf," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honour of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 191–202.

[4]On the so-called "royal *awqāf*" see Adam Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity—The Ambivalent Character of Islamic Charitable Endowments," in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne: auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiosen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen,* ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin, 2005), 96.

[5]ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī: Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 2000), 105; Adam Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 205, 207. The Ottoman policy of reincorporating decayed *awqāf* in the *kharāj* lands is another illustration of this development; see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah,* 169.

[6]Frequently quoting Sūrat al-Tawbah (9), verse 18: "He only shall tend Allāh's sanctuaries who believes in Allāh and the Last Day and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due," and verse 60: "the alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of Allāh, and for the wayfarers; a duty imposed by Allāh." (trans. M. Pickthall).

[7]Commonly alluding to the tradition: "Only three things remain after death: a lasting charity, religious knowledge that teaches the next generations, and a righteous son that will pray for the deceased." *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Cairo, 1955), 3:1255 (no. 1631 *bāb mā yulḥaq al-insān min al-thawāb baʿd wafātihi*); ʿAbd Allāh al-Dārimī, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1398/1978), 1:139 (also printed as *Musnad al-Dārimī* [Mecca, 1421/2000], 1:462 [no. 578]); Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Beirut, 1412/1992), 1:349 (no. 65) (in the 1983 edition 2:22).

[8]Norbert Rouland, *Legal Anthropology* (London, 1994).

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ties between husband and wife, patron and client, or testator and inheritor were framed in legal contracts that were made public and verified by the qadi's court. In this context, a religious endowment should be seen as a contract between a benefactor and beneficiaries. In the *waqf* charter, the benefactor stipulates his intentions and the aims of the endowment. Moreover, he regulates the activities within the institution's walls, including instructions relating to accommodation, food, study, and prayer.

This aspect of the *waqf* as a legal tool in arranging financial relations among family members is well documented in the records I have studied.[9] These report on the role of *awqāf* in providing economic benefits to kin and others that the founder wished to support with cash payments,[10] salary *(jāmakīyah),*[11] food,[12] housing, etc. Administrators of *awqāf* were also beneficiaries of the endowment,[13] although it should be said that most Mamluk families varied from the ordinary civilian Muslim family in the fact that they were first generation families with no elders.[14] They thus found it difficult to claim nobility by birth.[15] Hence, by

[9]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī al-Musammá Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾihi al-Maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 1419/1998), 2:157, 200–1 (the story of Ibn al-Dajajīyah), 282; Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwá al-Subkī* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:508. This is not the place to launch a general inquiry into the link between endowment and family bonds. It is sufficient to indicate that this line of explanation reflects early source data on *ḥabs;* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futuḥ Miṣr,* ed. Charles Torrey (New Haven, 1921), 135–36.

[10]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq Mudhakkirāt Kutibat bi-Dimashq fī Awākhir al-ʿAhd al-Mamlūkī 885–908/1480–1502,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000), 1:245 (A.H. 888); *RCEA* 13:71 (no. 4902).

[11]Aḥmad Darrāj, ed., *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy* (Cairo, 1963), clause 22.

[12]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1401/1980), 1:266–68.

[13]ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf ʿalá Ghawāmiḍ Aḥkām al-Wuqūf* (Riyadh, 1418/1998), 1:213; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:468, 2:526; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:405.

[14]I am not arguing that sons of mamluks *(awlād al-nās)* did not join the ruling military elite. See Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, "*Awlād al-Nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 24–25. Later Mamluk sources report on sultans that sent emissaries to bring members of their families to the sultanate. See Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–), 4:646 (A.H. 826); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1982–84), 4:88 (ll. 11–12, A.H. 911); Ibn Ṭūlūn*, Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962), 1:82.

[15]One of the stories on the emergence of Quṭuz relates that he claimed to be the offspring of a royal family. See Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1937), 7:85.

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establishing *awqāf,* these manumitted slaves could preserve their wealth and reputation, for example in buildings that bore their names.[16]

The meticulous and extremely detailed clauses of the *waqfīyah* indicate that the endowment was not a random act of charity but a carefully calculated initiative, delineated in a meticulously formulated legal document. Thus, for example, the *kitāb* of *waqf al-maghāribah* in Jerusalem says: "This charity was established in support of the Maghribis who dwell in Jerusalem and those that will arrive." During the three sacred months (Rajab, Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān), "the *waqf*'s supervisor will prepare bread and distribute it among the inhabitants of the Maghribi lodge and all North Africans living in Jerusalem."[17] Another example that supports this line of reasoning is the *waqf* deed by al-Ashraf Qāytbāy that spells out the payments to the administrator and staff at the college he had built in Jerusalem. The thirty Sufis who resided in it would receive cash payments and food.[18]

Assuming that the Mamluk governing elite considered gifts to be a kind of personal transaction also leads us to view religious endowments as contracts.[19] The philanthropist presumably had faith that by providing material assistance he would be rewarded in the afterlife. In several records we come across formulas asking for reprieve *(ʿafw)* or pardon *(ghafar)*.[20] Benefactors asked God to accept their donation *(taqabbala Allāh minhu)* and requested his closeness *(qurbah)*.[21] Frequently, a paraphrase of verses from Sūrat Yūsuf (usually 12:88 or 90) or other Quranic verses was engraved on the walls of the *waqf*.[22]

There is no reason to discount the statements of men and women who believed that donations would contribute to keeping their memories alive.[23] Donors established endowments that paid for people who would come and pray for their

[16]Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:222; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:77.

[17]Muḥammad Asʿad al-Imām al-Ḥusaynī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣafī fī al-Waqf wa-Aḥkāmihi wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Tārīkhīyah lil-Arāḍī wa-al-Ḥuqūq al-Waqfīyah al-Islāmīyah fī Filasṭīn* (Jerusalem, 1982), 73, 74; İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 28 (item 20).

[18]Al-Ḥusaynī, *Al-Manhal,* 76–77; İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 39–41 (item 52); cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:6 (22)–7 (1).

[19]Kenneth Joseph Arrow, "Gifts and Exchanges," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (1972): 343–62.

[20]Heinz Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften aus Syrien* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1978), 78 (#146 l. 1), 84 (#159 l. 4), 86 (#163 l. 2), 92 (#176 l. 2); *RCEA* 18:185 (no. 796006).

[21]Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 110 (#197).

[22]Ibid., 40 (#65 l. 3); 65 (#119 ll. 2–3), 89 (#170), 111 (#198); Solange Ory, *Cimetieres et inscriptions du Ḥawrān et du Ǧabal al-Durūz* (Paris, 1989), 48.

[23]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:287; Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 115 (#208).

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souls.[24] This partially explains the existence of donations to maintain tombs,[25] as these endowments generated among donors a sense that their well-being was guaranteed not only on earth but in the hereafter as well.[26]

Religious or philanthropic motives need not be completely ruled out, and in many cases an altruistic impulse can be found. However, the pietistic formulas reflect only one element among many in this complex phenomenon.[27] In addition to philanthropic motives, the Mamluk elite certainly also had materialistic motives for establishing religious endowments. My chief argument is that we should search in the political arena for motives that drove sultans, viceroys, governors, and other officials to endow property and resources to establish *awqāf*.

This thesis, at least as a partial explanation for the vast scope of the *waqf* phenomenon, is generally agreed upon. Yet I would take this thesis a step further, advocating that the *awqāf* served the Mamluk ruling elite not merely as a tool to uphold its prestige, but as a device to establish its hegemony. Hegemony in this case was not only power over the civilian masses but total dominance of society. The rulers aspired to hold the governing power that controlled culture and shaped the organization of society.

To achieve this aim, rulers could not restrict their activity merely to policing the public sphere or monitoring society. They had to invest in buildings that embodied their position. The religious endowments functioned in the urban landscape as signs representing the lofty position of the donors. They were employed to institutionalize social hierarchy and to demonstrate the relationship between donor and recipient. As such, the *awqāf* represented the ideology of the rulers.[28] This could not be accomplished by army officers alone. Sultans and governors needed the support of a religious establishment that benefited from the *awqāf*.[29] Without securing support from other sectors of society, Mamluk rulers could not fully establish their hegemony.

[24]Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 21 (#20) and cf. 91 (#174 ll. 4–5), 116 (#210).

[25]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Cairo, 2001), 60–62.

[26]Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah,* 107, 119. This assumption is supported by comparison to other cultures. See Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia* (Princeton, 1961), 190–91.

[27]For an opposite evaluation, see Moshe Gil, *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza* (Leiden, 1976), 11.

[28]R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 79–80.

[29]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 1419/1999), 1:80 *(kathīr al-maḥabbah li-ahl al-ʿilm wa-al-qurʾān wa-al-ṣulaḥāʾ wa-al-fuqarāʾ);* and see the description of a sultanic procession in Damascus by Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:15.

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Waqf was probably the most prominent social and economic institution operating within the boundaries of the Mamluk sultanate. Considerable sums were invested in constructing impressive institutions and in financing their ongoing activity. The *waqf* acquired an image of an institution open to all. Theoretically, all social classes used the *awqāf,* utilizing one kind of *waqf* or another.[30] For this reason the *awqāf* conveyed the impression of being a social institution that supported the entire Islamic community without distinction, though practically speaking, most of the beneficiaries of the endowments belonged to the Mamluk elite.

Indeed, the *awqāf* may be classified in two categories. The great majority of the endowments supported a well-defined beneficiary. They were founded in order to provide family, associates, and the religious establishment with funds, assets, housing, and positions.[31] Considerably smaller was the number of *awqāf* that provided food, shelter, or money to the general public, let alone the poor and the needy. Moreover, in the *awqāf* documents, the meaning of the Quranic tags "*maskīn*" (needy; deprived) and "*faqīr*" (fakir = poor) lost its literal connotation and actually depicted a well-defined social group. The *fuqarāʾ* in Mamluk *awqāf* texts were Sufis, scholars, and other beneficiaries, not those suffering from hunger and misfortune.[32]

Looking at the religious endowments from this perspective, it seems proper to highlight two additional features of *awqāf*. First, the accommodation of Muslims at the *waqf* was supplemented by sustenance that was served ritually during the public gathering. Food was provided on a regular basis, together with lodging, to the chosen group of teachers and students that resided in the madrasahs and *zāwiyah*s. Communal consumption of food is an apparent vehicle for the diffusion of propaganda and for generating a sense of amity and community. In addition, scholars engaged in the study of law *(fiqh)* and Sufis busy with mystical rituals were supported by these *awqāf* that provided the means for payments and grants.

The economic advantage of being entitled to receive payments from the *awqāf* coffers is demonstrated by reports on people who paid to be named in endowment registers.[33] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad bought his position in the Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ.[34] The

[30] Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 2:411.

[31] L. A. Mayer, ed., *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed* (London, 1938), 84; *RCEA* 16: 83 (6116); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:236, 244.

[32] For a late Ayyubid image of the poor, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jawbarī, *Al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār wa-Hatk al-Astār* (Beirut, 1992), 57ff. (*La Voile arrache*, trans. René Khawam [Paris, 1980], 1:121ff., is based on a different manuscript).

[33] Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:173–76, 198; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:509 *(dafaʿa ilá al-dawlah mālan)*.

[34] ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1971–94), 1:142–43.

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economic benefit of being attached to a *waqf* can also be inferred from accounts about conflicts among beneficiaries.[35] To facilitate the examination of *waqf* data on these issues, additional cases will be presented below.

Yet, before elaborating on *waqf* institutions let us make a short detour to look at how economic support for these religious endowments was provided. Substantial data on the urban and rural property endowed by the Mamluk military elite is furnished by *waqf* documents and wall inscriptions.[36] One example is the *waqf* founded by Baybars to support Ibrāhīm al-Armawī.[37] Other examples can be found above gates and windows.[38] But if early generations of Mamluk army officers could endow Latin property to support their *waqf*s, later generations of viceroys and governors seized farm lands to finance the army.

Instances of rural properties in Syria and Egypt being alienated to support *awqāf* are recorded during the pre-Mamluk period,[39] yet the use of *iqṭāʿ* property to support urban institutions acquired new characteristics during the age of the Mamluk sultanate. Although some Mamluk *fuqahāʾ* considered the endowment of the sultanate's lands *(waqf irṣād),*[40] particularly in those regions that were reconquered from the Franks and the Mongols, as illegal,[41] this ostensibly legal barrier did not prevent donors from endowing fields and gardens that were not

[35] Albert Arazi, "Al-Risāla al-Baybarsiyya d'al-Suyuti: Un document sur les problèmes d'un waqf sultanien sous les derniers Mamluks," *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 329–54.

[36] Cf. ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (Damascus, 1367/1948), 1:326 *(wa-raʾaytu marsūman bi-ʿatabatihā)*.

[37] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:496–99. On Ibrāhīm al-Armawī, see al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 2:196; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:284.

[38] *RCEA* 13:98–99 (4946 Damascus: Khān Iyāsh), 14:91 (5343), 18:6 (784008 Damascus: Masjid Ḥaydar al-ʿAskarī), 40 (787009 Mardin).

[39] Aḥmad ibn Mughīth al-Ṭulayṭulī, *Al-Muqniʿ fī ʿIlm al-Shurūṭ,* ed. Francisco Javier Aguirre Sadaba (Madrid, 1994), 208–9.

[40] Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Balāṭunusī, *Taḥrīr al-Maqāl fīmā Yaḥillu wa-Yuḥarramu min Bayt al-Māl,* ed. Fatḥ Allāh Muḥammad Ghāzī al-Ṣabbāgh (al-Manṣūrah, 1989), 105–9, 137–38; Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law of Land Tax and Rent: the Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in Hanafite Legal Literature during the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London, 1988), 81, 92; Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity," 100–1, 105–6; Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul, 2000), 74–75, 110–12.

[41] It seems that some Muslim scholars questioned the legal status of the territories taken by the Mamluks from the Latins and the Mongols, arguing that these lands were the collective property of the Muslim community *(fayʾ)*. By designating lands as *fayʾ* these jurists opposed its endowment by private donors. See Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Al-Istikhrāj li-Aḥkām al-Kharaj* (Beirut, 1985), 15, 43–45, 111. On the early history of this concept, see Werner Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen Bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der islamischen Eroberungsbewegung* (Bonn, 1972), 38–39, 127–32.

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their private property *(jārin fī milkihi)*[42] but rather belonged to the *iqṭāʿ* farms.[43] The growth of these endowments put pressure on the sultanate's sources of income.[44]

The economic and political importance of *waqf* impelled the Mamluk administration to establish an exclusive state bureau *(dīwān al-awqāf)*[45] staffed by inspectors and controllers *(shadd al-awqāf; mushadd al-awqāf)*.[46] Among their duties was the inspection of the *awqāf*'s receipts and expenditures.[47] Examples of this are the numerous records from Jerusalem mentioning the post of *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*.[48] A second example is an account of a thorough inspection *(kashf)* of the schools, which took place in Damascus in spring 725/1325.[49] The religious establishment of the city, along with the administrative staff, saw to the reimbursement of jurists and students.[50] Such measures were taken because some

[42]Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī, ed., *Wathāʾiq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Amman, 1983), 1:109 (l. 5); a related matter is when a property is owned jointly *(waqf al-mushāʿ)*. Cf. Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ṭarsūsī, *Anfaʿ al-Waṣāʾil ilá Taḥrīr al-Masāʾil,* ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad Khafājī (Cairo, 1344/1926), 77, 80–92.

[43]Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanafī al-Ṭarābulusī, *Kitāb al-Isʿāf fī Aḥkām al-Awqāf* (Mecca, 1406/1985), 20 (l. 20: "It is appropriate to endow private land that the sultan has allocated or barren land that a person has developed, but it is improper to endow property that is possessed by the treasury.")

[44]Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:195–96 (780/1378), 217 (835/1432). Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 196–200.

[45]A narration from southeastern Anatolia elucidates the political dimension of *awqāf* management. A Christian called Ibn Shaliṭah was nominated by the Marwanids (983–1085) from Mayyafariqin (Silvan) to administrate a *waqf* (ca. 425/1033). Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAlī Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Tārīkh al-Fāriqī,* ed. Badawī ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿAwaḍ (Cairo, 1959), 164.

[46]Étienne Marc Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1845), 1:110–12 (n. 141); Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ and others (Beirut, 2001), 14:206 (744). Ahmet Halil Güneş, *Das kitab ar-raud al-ʿāṭir des Ibn Aiyūb: Damaszener Biographien des 10/16 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1981), 19; Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (*Leiden, 1997–), 3:46–47.

[47]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:73–74, 197–98, 316–17, 320–21; Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamāʿah al-Ḥamawī, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām,* ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad (Qatar, 1988), 93; al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:333 *(wa-raʾaytu fī qāʾimah bi-kashf al-awqāf sanata ʿishrīn wa-thamānimiʾah)*.

[48]Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1984), index; *RCEA* 18: 91 (788054), 95–96 (789002).

[49]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:73–74 (Damascus 725), 196, 197–98 (Damascus 727); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 87, 88–89 (Damascus 893).

[50]For a later event, see Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:305 (891/1486).

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people attempted to use the *awqāf* for their personal benefit.[51]

The Mamluk military elite founded a range of institutions, both for the benefit of the religious establishment and the general public. The religious endowments financed their construction and everyday operations. In order to demonstrate the salient presence of the *waqf* and its significant imprint on the landscape, what follows is a list of structures that made the religious endowment a visible phenomenon that cannot be ignored even by historians writing centuries after the fall of the Mamluk sultanate.

Monumental mosques had dotted Syria's map since early Umayyad times. The Frankish and Mongol invasions did not manage to erase the Islamic presence. Thus, when Baybars conquered Damascus and Aleppo, he entered territories that were replete with places where believers could congregate. Yet the victorious sultan and his successors did not refrain from constructing new houses of prayer.

In the closing days of the Mamluk sultanate, a considerable number of mosques adorned the streets of towns and cities of Bilād al-Shām from Gaza in the south[52] to Aleppo in the north.[53] A *waqf* in the coastal town of Tripoli included two villages in central Syria and two orchards near the city, as well as shops and houses. The incomes from these properties paid the personnel that maintained the mosque and readers who prayed. Money was allocated to buy oil, water, bread, candles, and clothes.[54] Similar examples from Baalbek[55] and Damascus illustrate the situation.[56]

Mentions of Muslims' visits to sacred tombs in Syria are found in geographical and historical writings going back to the Abbasid period. Following the expulsion of the Crusaders, many new shrines emerged in the territory governed by the Mamluk sultans.[57] Near the village of Ashdod (Azdoud; Isdud), at the mausoleum of Salmān al-Fārisī, the manumitted Balaban ordered the construction of a mosque (667/1269) and endowed a garden and a water fountain. The memorial inscription concludes with the ominous warning: "cursed be the person who changes or exchanges it."[58] In Homs, at a mausoleum dedicated to Khālid ibn al-Walīd, a

[51] Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:320–21 (Damascus 729).

[52] *RCEA* 13: 68 (4898).

[53] Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 38 (#60 Qara-Sunqur's mosque built in 757/1356), 55 (#99 Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad's mosque built in 806/1404).

[54] *RCEA* 16:215–16 (6324 = 760/1359); al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:509–12.

[55] *RCEA* 12:232 (4748 = 676/1277).

[56] Ibid., 12:157 (4637), 158 (4638); 13:57–58 (4885), 164 (5034); 14: 190 (5486); Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 93–96 (#178), 100 (#179); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 20, 143.

[57] Nimrod Luz, "Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 135, 147–48.

[58] *RCEA* 12:134 (4600). Next to it is the shrine of Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Matbulī (d. 877/1472). See

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long inscription narrates the deeds of Baybars, who is eulogized as the sultan of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks.[59] Baybars undertook a similar initiative in the Jordan valley, where he ordered the foundation of a cupola over the tomb of Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ. To maintain the mausoleum, the "lord of the Arab and Persian kings" endowed half of the revenues of Dayr Tubin, a settlement in the province of Homs that was in a territory controlled jointly *(munāṣafat)* by the Mamluks and the Franks.[60] Additional examples are unnecessary.[61]

Tombs *(turbah)* constructed by Mamluk army officers in preparation for their own deaths were entirely new types of buildings that emerged in the streets of Syrian towns.[62] In Ṣafad, Najm al-Dīn Fayrūz (741/1340–41) built a mosque and a tomb, and he endowed half a garden and a bath to maintain the foundation and to pay ten men, among them an imam, a muezzin, a custodian, and readers of Quran and hadith.[63] The chamberlain Ak-Turak constructed a mosque and a tomb in Tripoli (760/1359). He endowed two hamlets *(mazrāʿah)* in the district of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krak des Chevaliers), orchards, shops, a public oven, and a house, together with other buildings. The income from this property provided the salaries of an imam and a muezzin and compensated readers of the Quran and hadith. Sums were also allocated to provide oil, food, water, and clothing.[64] The story of the Ẓāhirīyah (Baybars' tomb in Damascus) is well known: its inscription describes the foundation that the sultan had endowed.[65]

Religious endowments financed a considerable number of educational institutions (madrasah; *maktab; dār al-qurʾān; dār al-ḥadīth*)[66] that proliferated throughout Bilād al-Shām. *Awqāf* deeds stipulated the curricula for these schools and colleges. Occasionally, the endowment document arranged for the provision of food and distribution of clothing. In the al-ʿUmarīyah madrasah, the endowment provided bread and gateaux *(ṭulmah)*. Two clerks were in charge of feeding the five hundred pupils enrolled in this institute. In winter, cooked wheat *(jashīshah)* was served in addition to a daily ration of about one thousand loaves of bread. On

Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 1:124–28.

[59] *RCEA* 12:104–5 (4556, 4557 Homs, Mausoleum of Khālid ibn al-Walīd 664/1266; two inscriptions), and cf. 13:149 (5011 waqf al-Turbah al-Ṣāliḥīyah).

[60] Ibid., 12:208–9 (4714).

[61] Ibid., 13:127 (Tiberias = 4981) and cf. no. 4980.

[62] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:478.

[63] *RCEA* 15:201–2 (5926).

[64] Ibid., 16:215–16 (6324).

[65] Ibid., 12:229–30 (4743).

[66] Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, "Wathīqat Waqf al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy ʿalá al-Madrasah al-Ashrafīyah wa-Qāʿat al-Ṣilāḥ bi-Dimyāṭ," *Al-Majallah al-Tārīkhīyah al-Miṣrīyah* 22 (1975): 343–90; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:139, 142.

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Friday nights, oil and roasted chickpeas *(quḍāmah)* were supplied. During Rajab and Shaʿbān, sweets were provided,[67] and during the month of Ramaḍān, a dinner was served that included dishes of meat and wheat *(harīsah),* sweet rice, and pickled vegetables. In order to facilitate the provision of food, the sultan Qāytbāy (1468–96) ordered that Dārayyā, a village close to Damascus, provide sixty sacks of wheat flour. A ten-percent tax levied on farmers in the Lebanon Valley would pay for the sheep. On the 15th of Ramaḍān pastries were distributed, and the same was done on the 27th night (al-Qadar). During the great festival, meat was allocated to the inhabitants. Long underwear was given twice a year and a wool cloak once a year. Each house received a small rug. The *waqf* also paid for a collective circumcision banquet that was celebrated once a year. As a result of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy's initiative, a place was set up for readers to recite verses from the Quran and praise the sultan.[68]

Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawājakī (d. 847/1443–44) built the al-Dalāmīyah madrasah in the al-Ṣāliḥīyah quarter of Damascus. The institution was designated as a school for the instruction of the Quran. According to a synopsis of the endowment document, the founder installed an imam to read verses from the Quran and prophetic traditions from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and to invoke God in favor of the donor, as well as an administrator who would serve as doorman and muezzin.[69] The institution accommodated six Sufis who arrived in Damascus from non-Arab lands, and six orphans. The Sufis' duties included ritual reading from the Quran, and their monthly stipend was 30 dirhams. The orphans received 10 dirhams. They were supervised by a shaykh who was paid 60 dirhams per month. Each Tuesday an instructor came to the school to read select books with them. Each year, money was allocated for the purchase of oil and candles, sweets, and two goats. Once a year each of the orphans was given a cotton gown, a long undershirt, and a kerchief. During the three sacred months of Rajab, Shaʿbān, and Ramaḍān, a reader was paid to read from al-Bukhārī's hadith collection. After the dawn and evening prayers, the residents of the madrasah could meditate and voice invocations on behalf of the donor.[70]

Some officers endowed schools specifically for orphans *(maktab lil-aytām)*. Thus, for example, an inkstand-holder *(dawādār)* who also served as the superintendent

[67]Cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 4:263.

[68]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:226–28 (based upon a narrative by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Mibrad [1436–1503]).

[69]The salary of the first was 120 silver dirhams per month, and that of the second was 100. The endowment inspector earned 60 dirhams per month. The annual salary of a laborer who was in charge of maintenance was 600 dirhams.

[70]Its *kitāb al-waqf* was summarized by al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:9–10; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid*, 1:125.

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of the al-Yālbughā mosque (in Damascus) ordered the construction of such an institution, declaring that he was following the instructions of his late mother.[71] The list of institutions that housed students, teachers, and Sufis (occasionally under the same roof) is long, and it is not necessary to cite additional cases in order to demonstrate our argument.[72] We may now turn to look at the various institutions that housed Sufis.[73] The occupants of these lodges depended on endowments. Their donors took great pains to specify the distribution of food, clothing, and expenses that the Sufis and their shaykhs were to receive.[74]

The beneficiaries of *awqāf* were not confined to a narrow stratum. The ruling elite profited from the very fact that not all the religious endowments were conferred on professionals such as the jurists and Sufis. Sultans used *awqāf* to strengthen their reputation as impartial rulers. Those *awqāf* designated as institutions open to the general public surely contributed to achieving the goal of fortifying the image of the just sultan *(al-malik al-ʿādil)*.[75] Particularly instrumental were those religious endowments that provided relief services and other care for the needy, such as hospitals. Several sultans and viceroys financed the building and maintenance of hospitals *(bī-māristān; māristān),* institutions that were known in Syria prior to the victory at ʿAyn Jālūt (1260).[76] Yet the development of hospital facilities[77] in peripheral sites seems to be a new development that occurred after this turning point in the history of Syria. Examples of this development can be seen in remote places such as Gaza,[78] Ḥiṣn al-Akrād,[79] and Ḥamāh.[80]

[71] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:137.

[72] *RCEA* 11:233 (4350), 249 (4380), 257 (4391); 13:55–56 (4883); 14:102 (5359); 15:115 (*Dār al-Qurʾān* = 5780); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:140, 164, 245–46 *(Dār al-Ḥadīth)*.

[73] Donald P. Little, "The Nature of Khanqahs, Ribats, and Zawiyas under the Mamluks," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams,* ed. Wael B. Hallaq (Leiden, 1991), 91–106.

[74] *RCEA* 13:6 (4810), 146–47 (Jerusalem = 5009); İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 44 (Ribāṭ Qalāwūn al-Manṣūrī). Cf. *RCEA* 11:235 (Ayyubid Aleppo = 4353), 262 (Ayyubid Damascus = 4400).

[75] Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aydamir Ibn Duqmāq al-ʿAlāʾī, *Al-Nafḥah al-Muskīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah: min Kitāb al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Salāṭīn,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1420/1999), 57, 134, 214.

[76] Cf. İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 45–46 (*waqf* al-Ṣāliḥīyah in Jerusalem).

[77] "Wathāʾiq Waqf al-Sulṭān Qalāwūn ʿalá al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī," in Ḥasan Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīhi,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1976): 295–396 (Appendix).

[78] İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 6 (item 13 = the al-Nāṣirī *bīmāristān*).

[79] *RCEA* 13:13–14 (4820); 14:139 (5414 = Ḥiṣn al-Akrād 719/1319). Cf. 14:141 (5417).

[80] Ibid., 16:131–32 (6197 = Ḥamāh).

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Even wider in scope were those endowments that provided drinking water to passersby. In Cairo, several water fountains *(sabīl)* were built by sultans and commanders. The *waqfīyah* of the endowment founded by the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qarāqujā al-Ḥasanī (d. 853/1449) contains clauses concerning a *sabīl* and payment to a water bearer *(sāqī)*.[81] Additional water fountains were constructed in Cairo by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barsbāy (in Sūq al-Naḥḥāsīn), Jaqmaq, and Qāytbāy (in al-Azhar). In Jerusalem a *sabīl* was incorporated into the Ṭashtamurīyah. Qāytbāy restored a *sabīl* in the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock in 887/1482.[82] This *sabīl* would be used by every Muslim that entered the Ḥaram. The endowment of caravanserais for the benefit of travelers fulfilled a similar social function.[83] *Awqāf* also contributed to the general welfare of the Muslim community by financing the construction of bridges, renovation of fortifications and walls, and the ransoming of Muslims held in captivity by pirates *(fakk al-asīr)*.[84]

Following this partial list of *awqāf,* we can return to the primary question, i.e., what motivated the Mamluk rulers to donate sizeable properties to finance the construction and maintenance of religious endowments. Although in the following paragraphs the political dimensions of endowment will be emphasized, it should nonetheless be noted that the *waqf* was a complex phenomenon and hence there is no single answer to this question.

Sultans and governors invested considerable resources in buildings, streets, and squares *(maydān),* which helped support their claims to authority over the physical urban landscape. Absentee officers collected duties in goods and cash from villagers and city dwellers, and they funneled this income to support urban facilities.[85] *Awqāf* incomes were pooled, creating a network that bound farming communities together with the cities.[86]

Moreover, the alienated property did not finance nearby institutions exclusively. The *awqāf* supply lines stretched over thousands of miles. The Mamluks even constructed networks that linked cities and villages in Syria with *awqāf* in Cairo.[87]

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[81] ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, "Silsilat al-Wathāʾiq al-Tārīkhīyah al-Qawmīyah," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University* 18 (1956): 203–4 (ll. 56–59).

[82] Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (London 1987), 470, 606–12.

[83] Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 2:232–34.

[84] Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq*, 1:127, 128 (A.H. 887); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:155 *(waqf),* 192 (a synopsis of a legal decision); al-Balāṭunusī, *Taḥrīr al-Maqāl*, 102–5; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:105.

[85] Darrāj, *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy,* 7–8, itemized shops in Damascus that contributed to the support of the founder's mosque in Cairo.

[86] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:398–99, 427; al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:176–80.

[87] Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed*, 51 (Khān al-ʿAnbarī in Damascus); İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 16 (item 54 waqf Qānṣūh),

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This apparatus helped create the impression that the sultanate was a unifying force that brought together a vast territory and connected ports, farmland, towns, and cities with the governing centers and the heartland of Islam. The *awqāf* that supported the Islamic sacred territory (the lesser Ḥaramayn) of Jerusalem and Hebron are examples of this.[88] Numerous endowments supported the al-Aqṣá Mosque and the Patriarchs' tombs. They were run by the *nāẓir al-awqāf,* who was responsible for collecting the incomes and allocating the resources to the personnel who operated these holy shrines, which attracted visitors from afar.

Moreover, Mamluk sultans alienated villages and urban property in Bilād al-Shām and Egypt to support the two holy sites in Arabia (al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn).[89] A single example should suffice. A long *waqf* deed illustrates the policy of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān towards the Ḥaramayn and his efforts to bolster his image.[90] To this end the sultan alienated (in 777/1375) villages in Transjordan, Syria, and Palestine, as well as a bath in the vicinity of al-Karak.[91] Shaʿbān's *waqf* was intended to support several foundations: the Kaʿbah in Mecca, the Prophet's tomb in Medina, and the rulers of these cities. In return, the rulers would not tax visitors. The sultan's deed also enumerates the personnel of the endowment and their assignments: six readers would assemble every morning and evening at the Kaʿbah, read chapters from the Quran, and invoke prayers during Shaʿbān. The *waqf* also supported a hadith teacher and ten students in Mecca, four law professors and forty law students, a teacher and ten orphans, an orator who would recite verses extolling the Prophet three times a week, eight individuals who would be in charge of cleaning the shrine, and two water carriers. All the people on the payroll of the *waqf* were to pray to God and appeal to Him to have

41 (53 Īnāl), 52 (90 Barqūq), 90 (10 al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh), 94 (1 Barqūq); al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:796.

[88] Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 2:177–91; Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah,* 163; and the plentiful references in the Ḥaram documents found in Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem.*

[89] İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 20–21; Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah,* 115 *(waqf ʿalá zayt al-madīnah).*

[90] Rāshid Saʿd Rāshid Qaḥṭānī, *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ʿalá al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh, 1414/1994).

[91] The village of Adar in the district of al-Shawbak [Crac de Montréal] (ll. 52–53) and an orchard near Karak (ll. 793–94); the village of Sāskūn in the district of al-Ḥamāh (l. 170); the village of ʿAyn Jārā (alt: ʿAyn Jārah) in Jabal Simʿān (ll. 263–64); the villages of Armanā (ll. 341–43) and Maʿar Ḥiṭāṭ (ll. 622–23) in Syria; the villages of Shaykh al-Ḥadīd (l. 562), Kūrīn (ll. 701–2) and Ḥīlān (ll. 763–64) near Aleppo; the village of Farʿatā (alt: Farʿatah) near Nablus (ll. 357–59); and a *ḥammām* near Karak (l. 705). Yūsuf Darwīsh Ghawānimah, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Urdun wa-Filasṭīn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Islāmī* (Amman, 1983), 87, 94–100.

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mercy on the donor.[92]

Sultans and viceroys drew on *awqāf* as a tool to influence the territory under their control. The endeavor to transform Crusader settlements into Islamic towns and villages is another aspect of this policy[93] and the alienation of property to support covering Bilād al-Shām with Islamic shrines is yet another.[94] It seems sufficient to name several well-known locations: Waqf Abū Ḥurayrah in Jabneh[95] and Waqf Nabī Mūsá[96] in Palestine are two such cases.

A third example is the mausoleum *(mashhad)* of Khālid ibn al-Walīd in the Syrian city of Homs. The endowment inscription praises Baybars: "the exterminator of the Franks, Armenians and Mongols, the king of the two seas (the Mediterranean and the Red Sea), the holder of Mecca and Jerusalem *(qiblatayn)* and servant of the two sanctuaries," and notes that the sultan alienated the village of Farʿam in northern Palestine/Israel in perpetuity (664/1266).[97] By securing sizeable funds in Syria and Egypt for the principal Islamic shrines, the sultans appeared not only as devoted Muslims but also as a unifying force.

In order to demonstrate their power and authority, rulers are inclined to invest considerable resources. The Mamluk ruling elite was no exception. Mamluk governors used *awqāf* to finance the construction of spaces that would embody the regime's ideology and spread the image of the sultanate as an everlasting, generous, and just power.[98]

[92]Qaḥṭānī, *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Shaʿbān,* ll. 844ff., 880, 891, 899, 915, 927, 943, 953.

[93]An example of this is an unpublished document (no. 306) in the Jerusalem Ḥaram collection. It is a copy of an endowment document bequeathed by al-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. The property of this endowment included the al-Burj (castle) district of Beirut. See Huwaydā al-Ḥārithī, ed., *Kitāb Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn* (Beirut, 2001), 3; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–92), 2:340–41. See in addition to it the inscriptions republished in *RCEA* 14:136 (5412 719/1319), 137 (5413 719/1319), 139 (5414 719/1319), 141 (5417). Yehoshua Frenkel, "The Impact of the Crusades on the Rural Society and Religious Endowments: The Case of Medieval Syria," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 237–48.

[94]Hana Taragan, "The Tomb of Sayyidna-ʿAlī in Arsuf: the Story of a Holy Place," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (2004): 83–102.

[95]İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 12 (item 35); L. A. Mayer et al., *Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1950), 20–24; Hana Taragan, "Politics and Aesthetics: Sultan Baybars and the Abū Ḥurayrah/Rabbi Gamliel Building in Yavne," in *Milestones in the Art and Culture of Egypt,* ed. Asher Ovadiah (Tel Aviv, 2000), 117–45; Andrew Petersen, *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine* (Oxford, 2001), 313–16.

[96]Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 3:119–21; idem, *Mawsim al-Nabī Mūsá fī Filasṭīn* (Amman, 1410/1990); İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 32 (item 29).

[97]*RCEA* 12:128–29 (4593).

[98]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:96.

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One example is the inscriptions that the donors had engraved on the walls of their buildings. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, who served as director of the chancellery of Bilād al-Shām, instructed the builders of a minaret (in Aleppo 830/1427) to engrave the Quranic verse: "And Say: Praise be to Allāh, Who has not taken unto Himself a son, and Who has no partner in Sovereignty, nor has He any protecting friend through dependence. And magnify Him with all magnificence." From the early years of Islam, Muslim rulers maintained that this verse contained a sharp criticism of the orthodox interpretation of Jesus' personality, and they used it to send an anti-Christian message.[99]

Moreover, these structures were not static. *Awqāf* often provided for activities which would contribute to the ongoing religious life in Mamluk towns.[100] Such, for example, is the long account of an event in Damascus in 897/1492. Accompanied by an entourage of jurists, an architect *(miʿmār),* and other officials, the amir Ibn Manjak went to inspect the tomb of his grandfather. At the site he examined the endowment's deed and checked the inscription on the wall above the door. The text specified the payments to the imam and to the readers, and it stipulated which reading from the Quran they should recite. In addition, the endowment paid a teacher and ten orphan children who were to meet early in the morning. A reciter would read hadith intermittently during the three sacred months, one year from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and the next year from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. He would conclude the reading on the 27th night *(laylat al-qadar)*. During the two Islamic feasts *(ʿīd al-fiṭr; ʿīd al-aḍḥá)* money would be allocated to buy sweets.[101]

The governing elite nominated the religious personnel, who belonged to different law schools, to serve together under the same roof. This act sustained their claim that they constituted the cornerstone of the society under their charge.[102] In the madrasah al-Ṣābūnīyah, the donor stipulated that his offspring hold the position of the endowment's supervisor. This official would run the *waqf*'s budget and administration jointly with the chamberlain of Damascus and with the madrasah's imam. The imam was to be an adherent of the Hanafi school, while the preacher should adhere to the Shafiʿi *madhhab*.[103]

Many of the *waqf* institutions accommodated students of orthodox Islam as well as Sufis. They benefited from the hospitality of lodges that provided them with food and a stipend, in addition to living accommodations. The Tankizīyah in Jerusalem housed a madrasah and a Sufi lodge *(ribāṭ)*. On the ground floor

[99] Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 80 (#151 ll. 1–3, Quran 17:111).

[100] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:61–66.

[101] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:148–50.

[102] Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed*, 60, 64–83.

[103] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:14, 543, 604.

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eleven rooms housed law students *(fuqahāʾ ḥanafīyah),* while an additional eleven rooms on the second floor housed the Sufis. Next to this institution stood a *ribāṭ* for women.[104]

Supplying food for visitors flocking to festivals or other social gatherings helped to establish close relationships between the donor and the crowd. This idea was not foreign to Mamluk sultans, who were keen to strengthen their image as devoted Muslims and their role as lavish hosts. Army commanders used the *awqāf* funds to benefit the religious establishment, as can be inferred from several inscriptions.[105] Many *awqāf* deeds supplemented cash payments with a ration of bread *(khubz)* and occasionally with sweets and even meat. Some endowments provided a salary to a water carrier. Religious endowments seldom paid for the accommodation of visitors who gathered at a mosque, tomb, or other location.[106] In Hebron a local tradition had developed, connecting the practice of hospitality and visitation to Abraham (Khalīl Allāh).[107] Sayf al-Dīn Bulghaq supervised the building of a mill that was alienated to support a hospital, a lodge *(ribāṭ),* and an ablution room *(ṭahārah)* in the town of Hebron in 706/1307.[108] The amir Ṭaybars provided food for the visitors at the shrine *(simāṭ)*.[109] Sultan Barqūq founded a *waqf* (796/1394) for the same purpose.[110]

The religious establishment almost unanimously backed the sultanate's *awqāf* policy. One reason for this attitude might have been the very fact that Sufis and jurists were among the greatest beneficiaries of the *awqāf*. Gaining their support was a considerable advantage to the Mamluk officers who attempted to radiate power and attain supremacy. The benefits from *awqāf,* combined with government policies designed to suppress Jews and Christians, enabled the Mamluk ruling elite to win the support of the Muslim religious establishment.

It would seem that the widespread suggestion that *awqāf* were instruments ("tax shelters")[111] employed by the Mamluk elite in order to protect property from confiscation cannot withstand the numerous reports concerning the seizure and abolition of religious endowments.[112] In addition, the argument that the *awqāf*

[104] Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:109–12.

[105] *RCEA* 16:84 (6117).

[106] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:148–50 (quoting al-Nuʿaymī on Turbat Manjak).

[107] *RCEA* 12:257 (4787); 13:95–96 (4943); 14:4 (5205), 22–23 (5236).

[108] Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 1:118–19.

[109] Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 1:236.

[110] *RCEA* 18:179 (796001); Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 3:63.

[111] Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus,* 32.

[112] Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:194, 196; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 2:163 (908); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah,* 106. Al-Nuʿaymī composed his collection to commemorate those *awqāf* in Damascus that were in danger of being destroyed or confiscated; see *Al-Dāris fī*

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were used to circumvent the Islamic inheritance law cannot be accepted as an adequate rationalization for the foundation of numerous institutions by rulers and army commanders.

The political reasoning presented above can provide better answers to the primary question of the motives that drove the governing Mamluk elite to endow such considerable resources. The religious endowments provided them with property through which to express their ideology. These *awqāf* were useful tools that a sultan could utilize in his efforts to present himself as the embodiment of the ideal Muslim ruler.

The alienation of urban and rural property to finance the *awqāf,* and the networks used to collect their proceeds, functioned alongside government tax collectors as a parallel system of revenue extraction. Using income from farmland, the Mamluks boosted their image as devoted Muslims and protectors of social harmony. Thus the sultanate surrounded the harsh reality of levies and corvée with the image of religious propriety. They were able to utilize *awqāf* assets as a tool in their efforts to overcome conflicts.

Endowing institutions, supplying food, and distributing gifts were among the most powerful tools at the Mamluks' disposal in their difficult quest to gain support and recognition. Obtaining the political support of the religious establishment was a crucial component in the sultans' endeavor to gain social acknowledgment and approval. By becoming generous donors, they were able to maintain control over social and religious practices and thus preserve their dominant position in society.

In a political system that distanced the second Mamluk generation *(awlād al-nās)* from the dominating central positions of the sultanate, the establishment of religious endowments gave the Mamluk elite a powerful mechanism to help them preserve their fame and memory. Within the buildings financed by the *awqāf,* worshippers, most of them men of religion, raised their voices in the invocation of God *(duʻāʾ)* to protect the donors. Their prayers signaled that they shared with the rulers a vision of *awqāf* as the physical representation of sultanic ideology.

Tārīkh al-Madāris, 1:3, 5; Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī,* 79.

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