Konrad Hirschler
School of Oriental and African Studies

The Formation of the Civilian Elite in the Syrian Province: The Case of Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Ḥamāh

Introduction

In recent decades our knowledge of urban history in northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt during the post-formative period has continuously increased.[1] Studies such as those by Douglas Patton on Zangid Mosul, Anne-Marie Eddé on Ayyubid Aleppo, Louis Pouzet on thirteenth-century Damascus, Michael Chamberlain on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Damascus, Carl Petry on fifteenth-century Cairo, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian on the fifteenth-century Mamluk state, and others have added significantly to our knowledge of pre-modern Middle Eastern society.[2] A particular concern of these studies has been the section of the population that Petry termed the "civilian elite," i.e., the ulama and the non-military administrative personnel whom biographers regarded as notables.[3]

The present article further extends this stream of research by discussing the

[1] An early version of this paper was presented at the 15th Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, Leuven 2006. I wish to thank those present, especially Michael Brett (London), for their helpful comments. I would like to thank furthermore Stefan Heidemann (Jena) for commenting on a draft version of this article, and Stefan Conermann (Bonn) for the invitation to contribute to this volume.

[2] Douglas L. Patton, "A History of the Atabegs of Mosul and their Relations with the Ulama A.H. 521–660/A.D. 1127–1262" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983); Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999); Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: Vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique,* 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1991); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994); Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981); Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire Mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992).

[3] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 4 and 312–25. There are a number of individuals who crossed the boundary between the military and the civilian elite who do not fit into this simple differentiation. In the case of Ḥamāh this is illustrated by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Bulāʿī, who turned to the military profession after a career as religious scholar (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Ḥasanayn al-Rabīʿ, and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr [Cairo, 1953–77], and for years 646–59 Bibliothèque Nationale MSS Arabe nos. 1702 and 1703; here published edition, 3:163), and the case of Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭub, which is discussed below. For a detailed discussion of the vocabulary employed during this period for the different groups within the civilian elite cf. Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Les élites urbaines sous les Mamlouks Circassiens: quelques éléments de réflexion," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 271–308.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

example of the middle-sized north Syrian town of Ḥamāh during the period from the late sixth/twelfth to the eighth/fourteenth centuries. This urban settlement, situated on the banks of the Orontes River and with a population of some 7,000[4] during the period considered here, tended to stand in the shadow of neighboring Aleppo and Damascus. In the late fourth/tenth century it was included within the Aleppan realms of the Hamdanid ruler Sayf al-Dawlah (d. 356/967). In the following century this status of dependency continued with Ḥamāh either in the Fatimid sphere of influence or subject to Bedouin, especially Mirdasid, domination typical of this period in northern Syria. With the Saljuq conquest of Aleppo in 479/1086 Ḥamāh became a bone of contention in conflicts between the autonomous Saljuq rulers in the Syrian lands. It changed hands repeatedly until the founder of the Burid dynasty in Damascus, Ṭughtigin (d. 522/1128), incorporated it into his realm in 517/1123.[5] This period ended with the conquest by the Zangids who in 530/1135 included the town in their emerging empire, which gradually extended into Syria and al-Jazīrah. During the Ayyubid period the princes of Ḥamāh gained some degree of independence within the Ayyubid family confederation after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had handed over the town to his nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ʿUmar (r. 574–87/1178–91). Al-Muẓaffar's descendants and other members of the Ayyubid family were able to rule the town, with short interruptions, well into the early Mamluk period when this last Syrian Ayyubid principality was finally absorbed into the Mamluk administrative system in the 730s/1330s.

From an economic perspective, Ḥamāh could draw on the fertile soil of the surrounding lands, ample water supplies, and its location on the main north-south trade axis linking Aleppo and Damascus.[6] However, while Egypt experienced economic prosperity during the fifth/eleventh century,[7] the northern Syrian towns, like their north Mesopotamian and Iraqi counterparts, experienced a period of urban stagnation or even decline. The weakening of fiscal institutions and the near-complete absence of building activities during this period was

[4] According to Josiah C. Russel, "The Population of the Crusader States," in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison, 1985), 5:295–314, the population of the town was 6,750 in the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century.

[5] For the pre-Zangid political history of northern Syria, cf. Thierry Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359–468/969–1076): Essai d'interprétation de chroniques arabes médiévales* (Damascus, 1989), and specifically for Aleppo cf. Suhayl Zakkar, *The Emirate of Aleppo, 1004–1094* (Beirut, 1971).

[6] Thierry Bianquis, "Cités, territoires et province dans l'histoire Syrienne médiévale," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 52 (2000): 207–8.

[7] Cf. Paula A. Sanders, "The Fāṭimid State, 969–1171," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 151–74.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

characteristic of this decline. The predominant Bedouin rulers of northern Syria did little to support the region's urban network. With the establishment of Saljuq rule the towns of the region experienced a renaissance that continued during the Zangid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods. The Saljuqs' measures, especially those of the regional Atabeg dynasties, aimed at supporting their urban basis, most importantly through a reorganization of the fiscal system, and were accompanied by increased building activities.[8]

The disastrous Syrian earthquake in the year 552/1157 was a setback in the case of Ḥamāh's ascendancy. The epicenter was close to the town and further seismic shocks followed in subsequent months.[9] The destruction of the infrastructure must have been massive and the loss of human life considerable. The estimation of an Andalusian traveller who visited the town some fifteen years after the catastrophe, that of the purportedly 25,000 inhabitants of the town only 70 men survived, is certainly exaggerated.[10] However, the chronicles show that this earthquake was estimated to be among the most disastrous catastrophes in the Syrian lands during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth century. Anecdotes played, as is typical in premodern historiography, a crucial role in structuring the earthquake narrative. For instance, the Zangid chronicler Ibn al-Athīr included a report on a teacher leaving the teaching premises shortly before the earthquake. Not only did all of his students perish, but their relatives who might have inquired in the following days about the children's fate also did not survive.[11] In the same vein, later topographical descriptions of Ḥamāh are centered on this event. The only diachronic passage in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's seventh/thirteenth-century description of the town, for instance, sets the earthquake at center stage, and mentions the castle's

[8] On the urban decline and renaissance in northern Syria cf. Stefan Heidemann, *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien: Städtische Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen in ar-Raqqa and Ḥarrān von der Zeit der beduinischen Vorherrschaft bis zu den Seldschuken* (Leiden, 2002).

[9] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq* [History of Damascus, 363–555 a.h.: from the Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 125; being a continuation of the history of Hilâl al-Sâbi], ed. Henry Frederick Amedroz (Leiden, 1908), 337, 343–47, 351–52; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī al-Dawlah al-Atābakīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1963), 110; idem, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. Carolus Johannes Tornberg (Beirut, 1965–67) [reprint of 1851–71 edition with corrections and new pagination], 11:218; Abū Shāmah, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūrīyah wa-al-Ṣalāḥīyah,* ed. Ibrāhīm al-Zībaq (Beirut, 1997), 1:332–39; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 1:128; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-Aʿlām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002–3), vol. 551–60:17–18.

[10] Binyāmîn Ben-Yôna 'Tudela,' *Syrien und Palästina nach dem Reisebericht des Benjamin von Tudela [Sēfer ham-massāʿôt],* trans. Hans-Peter Rüger (Wiesbaden, 1990), 64, who visited the town in the early 560s/late 1160s.

[11] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Bāhir,* 110. This anecdote was to be included by most of the period's authors.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

destruction and the following efforts at refortification.[12] The consequences for the civilian elite are reflected in references to scholars who either perished in the earthquake or left the town in its aftermath.[13] However, Ḥamāh soon recovered and continued to enjoy "[i]n the Ayyūbid period, and during the governorship of Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ, . . . true prosperity."[14] This prosperity can be seen here, as elsewhere, in increased building activities, especially with regard to madrasahs, which will be discussed below.

The present article traces this urban renaissance in more detail by focusing on the civilian elite. The construction of a high number of endowed madrasahs provided the financial basis for a variety of civilian careers.[15] However, the source material currently available precludes a systematic examination of career patterns based on endowments in the case of a middle-sized town such as Ḥamāh. Consequently, the following discussion will focus on holders of judgeships and will be subsequently supplemented by the fragmentary material available on *khaṭīb*s, secretaries, and posts in madrasahs. This discussion will show the gradual formation of an indigenous civilian elite during this period that was increasingly able to monopolize the crucial civilian posts in the town.

The purpose of the present article in engaging with the case of the civilian elite in Ḥamāh is twofold. Firstly, it has a descriptive outlook, namely to give an overview of those names that appear repeatedly when studying the civilian elite of the town. In the course of the description it will become evident that the basic unit of the civilian elite organization was the elite household. In this sense the article describes how such families established themselves in a provincial town. Secondly, it puts forth the argument that the urban renaissance in northern Syria set the framework for the development of a strong civilian elite from the second half of the sixth/twelfth century onwards. Furthermore, this urban elite took on a

[12] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab,* ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut, 1988), 1:149–50.

[13] Among its victims in Ḥamāh were for example the scholar ʿAlī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tanūkhī (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Sukaynah al-Shihābī, et al. [Damascus, 1951–], 51:227–31) and the poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mudrak ibn ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī al-Maʿarrī, who died in a subsequent seismic shock in 553/1158 (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 41:372–78; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 551–60:124; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Hellmut Ritter et al. [Istanbul, 1931–2004], 18:265–66). Among those who left the town after the disaster was for instance the hadith scholar and Quran reader Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Qaysī (d. 553/1158) (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* ed. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī [Beirut, 1995–98], 7:112–13).

[14] Dominique Sourdel, "Ḥamāt," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. CD-ROM (Leiden, 2003).

[15] Discussed for the case of Damascus by Stefan Leder, "Damaskus: Entwicklung einer islamischen Metropole (12.–14. Jh.) und ihre Grundlagen," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Ulrike Stheli-Werbeck (Wiesbaden, 2005), 233–50.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

decisively local character during the seventh/thirteenth century and the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century.

Owing to the historiographical nature of the available sources, the focus is on chronicles and biographical dictionaries. The rise of historical writing from the seventh/thirteenth century allows the formation of the civilian elite, even in considering the case of a middle-sized town such as Ḥamāh, to be traced in some detail. This is because the prosperity enjoyed by the town also encouraged the publication of a multitude of historical works. Not only two rulers of the town, al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad and Abū al-Fidāʾ, but also a number of scholars or administrators from the town, such as Ibn al-Naẓīf (d. after 634/1236–37), Ibn Abī al-Dam (d. 642/1244), the latter's relative Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298), and ʿAlī al-Muẓaffarī Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 701/1302), composed chronicles. Despite the fact that the royal chronicles are of rather limited interest for any inquiry into a field beyond politics, Ibn al-Naẓīf's work[16] is rather focused on the neighboring town of Homs, and most of Ibn Abī al-Dam's chronicle is lost,[17] these works, especially the chronicle of Ibn Wāṣil and its supplement by Ibn al-Mughayzil, allow insights into the town's development. Although these insights cannot be compared with those gained for major urban centers, such as Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, the focus on this middle-sized town is a crucial addition to our understanding of urban society in the Syrian lands during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries.

Ḥamāh's Growing Prosperity: Madrasahs and the Civilian Elite

The considerable ascent of Ḥamāh after the earthquake setback in 552/1157 can be traced by turning to the building activities within the town, which are well illustrated by the number of endowed madrasahs. These testify to the dynamic development of the urban infrastructure during the late Zangid, Ayyubid, and early Mamluk periods. The starting point of this development in Ḥamāh was in the late Zangid period under the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn (d. 569/1174). Nūr al-Dīn initiated a considerable building project encompassing representative and functional buildings, not only in the major towns of his realms such as Damascus

[16] On the author and his work cf. Angelika Hartmann, "A Unique Manuscript in the Asian Museum, St. Petersburg: the Syrian Chronicle *al-Taʾrīḫ al-Manṣūrī* by Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, from the 7th/13th Century," in *Egypt and Syria,* ed. Vermeulen and van Steenbergen, 89–100. Edition by Abū al-ʿĪd Dūdū (Damascus, 1981).

[17] The first part, covering the period from the Prophet Muḥammad until the late Umayyad era, has been edited by Ḥāmid Ziyān Ghānim Ziyān as *Al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī al-Maʿrūf bi-Ism al-Tārīkh al-Muẓaffarī* (Cairo, 1989). Passages from the final surviving part of the chronicle ending in 628/1230–31 have been edited and translated by Donald S. Richards, "The Crusade of Frederic II and the Ḥamāh Succession: Extracts from the Chronicle of Ibn Abī al-Damm," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 45 (1993): 183–206.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

and Aleppo but also in middle-sized towns such as Baalbek and Ḥamāh.[18] In Ḥamāh he built two madrasahs, one Shafiʿi and one Hanafi, in addition to the mosque in the lower town with a hospital next to it.[19] The Shafiʿi madrasah, the ʿAṣrūnīyah, was built for Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (d. 585/1189), who indeed taught there at least once.[20] It was situated, similarly to the Hanafi madrasah, in the market area of the lower town. Eminent scholars of the indigenous civilian elite, such as the town's *shaykh al-shuyūkh* Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 687/1288)[21] and the town's judge ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (d. 652/1254), taught there.[22]

In the following century, members of the ruling Ayyubid family endowed additional madrasahs. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad (d. 617/1221) founded the Shafiʿi Madrasah al-Manṣūrīyah.[23] This madrasah proved attractive even to a prominent scholar from outside the town, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), its first teacher.[24] In the later Ayyubid period Muʾnisah Khātūn bint al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd (d. 703/1303) endowed the Madrasah al-Khātūnīyah. She was the paternal aunt of the town's last Ayyubid ruler during the Mamluk period, Abū al-Fidāʾ (r. 710–32/1310–32). Having acted herself as attending authority *(musmiʿah)* in scholarly readings she provided this school with a generous endowment.[25] Abū al-Fidāʾ himself endowed the Madrasah al-Muʾayyadīyah (also known as al-Khaṭībīyah), in which members of grand Hamawian families such as ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 690/1291) and Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī (d. 875/1470)[26] taught.

The military elite formed the second group of madrasah founders. Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn al-Mashṭūb (d. 588/1192), one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's amirs, founded Madrasat Ibn al-Mashṭūb. A freedman of the town's first Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ʿUmar, Abū Manṣūr Jaldak al-Muẓaffarī al-Taqawī (d. 628/1231), endowed the Madrasah al-Jaldakīyah.[27] Shujāʿ al-Dīn Murshid al-Ṭawāshī (d. 669/1270–71),

[18] Cf. Yasser Ahmad Tabbaa, "The Architectural Patronage of Nūr al-Dīn (1146–1174)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983).

[19] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 1:282–83.

[20] Dominique Sourdel, "Sur quelques traditionnistes d'Alep au temps de Nur al-Din," *Arabica* 2 (1955): 354.

[21] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:290.

[22] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 10:4581.

[23] Also called Madrasat al-Turbah, as he had it built for the grave of his father.

[24] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:78, 80.

[25] Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanbalī, *Shifāʾ al-Qulūb fī Manāqib Banī Ayyūb,* ed. Nāẓim Rashīd (Baghdad, 1978), 447; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1907), 4:51; Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Tarwīḥ al-Qulūb fī Dhikr Mulūk Banī Ayyūb,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1969), 81.

[26] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–36), 10:24–25.

[27] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:311–12; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 11:174.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

a freedman of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd, set up the Hanafi Madrasah al-Ṭawāshīyah.[28] Finally, members of the civilian elite endowed a number of madrasahs, which illustrates the wealth of these families of notables. Among these civilian founders were Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghuffār Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 688/1289–90),[29] Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 659/1261), *khaṭīb* of the Great/Upper Mosque,[30] and Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Qarnāṣ (d. 648/1248).[31]

This rise of the madrasah as an urban institution from the mid-sixth/twelfth century onwards was paralleled by the formation of an urban elite that was firmly entrenched within the town itself. In contrast, the sources are almost completely silent, typically for northern Syria, with regard to the civilian elite in Ḥamāh in the preceding period. This might be explained as a result of chronological distance in the case of the works composed during the seventh/thirteenth century, such as the chronicle *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256) or the biographical dictionaries *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1281–82), *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), and *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), which rendered the events or persons linked to minor towns of limited significance.[32] However, even a contemporary work such as Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* which covers the Syrian scholars well beyond the borders of the town of Damascus, has little to say about scholars originating from or being active in Ḥamāh—in contrast to those linked, for example, to neighboring Homs.[33] Even appointments to the most eminent position, the chief judgeship, can only be traced systematically starting with the late sixth/twelfth century.[34] This picture is not altered when taking into account

[28] ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nūr al-Dīn Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 74; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:297.

[29] Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* 124.

[30] Ibn Wāṣil, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fol. 170r–v; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:129; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:389.

[31] Mentioned in al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 2:127–28. Further madrasahs founded by members of the civilian elite included, for example, the Madrasah al-Ṣihyawnīyah, founded by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb Ibn Ṣihyawn. Among its teachers was Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 649/1251) (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:413).

[32] In Ibn al-ʿAdīm's biographical dictionary of Aleppo *(Bughyat al-Ṭalab),* for instance, nineteen entries refer to individuals linked to Ḥamāh, of which five persons are only superficially connected to the town. Of the remaining fourteen, eight lived partly or mostly in the seventh/thirteenth century and only four in the sixth/twelfth century.

[33] In the only complete edition of the work (the commercial Dār al-Fikr edition) Ḥamāh is referred to 17 times, while neighboring Homs has some 700 entries. These numbers match my impression gained from the published volumes of the scholarly Majmaʿ al-Lughah edition.

[34] Similar to the case of al-Raqqah, where the names of the chief judges are only known from the mid-sixth/twelfth century onwards (Heidemann, *Renaissance,* 284–85).

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

the works produced in Ḥamāh: while chronicles such as those by Abū al-Fidāʾ or Ibn Wāṣil are indispensable in order to trace the civilian elite starting with the second half of the sixth/twelfth century, they have little to say about earlier periods.

Considering the civilian elite, a striking feature becomes apparent that parallels the rise of the madrasah and which hints again at the mid-late sixth/twelfth century as a decisive turning point in the urban history of the Syrian lands: the first relevant persons, in a sense the "founding fathers," of those families that came to dominate the civilian elite in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Ḥamāh were active during this period (Banū Rawāḥah, Banū al-Bahrānī, Banū Qarnāṣ) or in the following decades of the early seventh/thirteenth century (Banū al-Bārizī, Banū al-Mughayzil). The formation of this civilian elite, particularly the indigenous civilian elite, will be discussed in the following in three sections: First, appointments to the Shafiʿi judgeship, the crucial position in the town, are considered. This is followed by an analysis of the *khaṭīb*s, secretaries, and non-Shafiʿi judges. Finally, those grand scholarly families of the town that did not hold a large number of civilian posts will be discussed.

The Shafiʿi Judgeship: Locals and Cosmopolitans

Ḥamāh became, as was typical for the region, dominated by the Shafiʿi school of law and affiliation with it became one of the prerequisites for attaining prestigious religious posts during the Zangid and subsequent periods. All the grand local households discussed below were Shafiʿi. This *madhhab* was sponsored by the political elite, which furthered its dominant role. For instance, the town's last Ayyubid ruler, Abū al-Fidāʾ, and its Mamluk governor Sanjar were both themselves Shafiʿi jurisprudents[35] who supported the *madhhab*. This dominance is evident in the appointments to the town's judgeship during the early phase of the period considered here. The judgeship of Ḥamāh had initially not been explicitly restricted to any specific school of law. It was only with the introduction of the other *madhhab*s' judgeships in the late seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries that this judgeship became to be nominally attached to the Shafiʿi community. However, despite the theoretical possibility that a non-Shafiʿi scholar might be appointed before this introduction of *madhhab*-affiliated posts, the Shafiʿis were able, owing to their dominance, to monopolise the post entirely.

Appointments to the Shafiʿi judgeship (cf. fig. 1) followed, with regard to the geographical origin of the post holders, distinctively different patterns during the period considered here. While individuals from outside the town prevailed in the first stage until the early seventh/thirteenth century, the local elite dominated

[35] Heinz Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 228.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

this post in the following 150 years until the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. Thereupon, the post holders' provenance became significantly more varied and the dominance of the local elite started to vanish. These different patterns indicate two alternative career patterns—that changed in importance over time—which led to the post.

In the first and third phase, a "cosmopolitan" profile was decisive for the candidate's appointment.[36] It was crucial to belong to trans-regional networks of learning and/or political power. Many of the post holders, especially during the first phase, were distinguished scholars who had the prestige of having studied with the grand scholars of their time. In the third phase candidates belonged more often to the trans-regional Mamluk civilian elite. Owing to the integration of trans-regional networks, judges who left the post voluntarily or involuntarily during both phases frequently moved on to take up positions in other towns and regions.

In the second phase, in contrast, post holders typically had a "local" profile, i.e., they were closely integrated into the local network of influential families. Generally, they were born into one of the grand families and followed a career centered on the town, especially holding other (minor) posts before attaining the judgeship. In contrast to the preceding and following phases, judges often held the post until an advanced age or death. Those who left the post voluntarily or involuntarily tended to remain within the town, as it was here that they had networks that had been—and often continued to be—crucial for their career.

THE SHAFIʿI JUDGESHIP FROM 559/1164 TO 616/1219: THE COSMOPOLITANS' PERIOD

During the first sixty years of the period under discussion cosmopolitan scholars from outside the town played an important role in appointments to the judgeship. Initially these scholars originated in particular from the eastern lands, more specifically Mosul, the Zangid dynasty's first stronghold. In a sense the Zangids "imported" prestigious scholars from their possessions in the East to newly conquered towns such as Ḥamāh. These scholars tended to hold the post—typical for the cosmopolitan career pattern—only for a limited period and soon moved on to other urban centers.

The first judge, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Anṣārī (d. 600/1203),[37] came from Mosul under the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn. He stayed in the post for eight years, but then moved on further west in order to settle in Egypt, where he was appointed

[36] The differentiation between "cosmopolitans" and "locals" is based on Merton's terminology; cf. his "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1968), 441–74.

[37] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:477–78; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 4:171; al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jubūrī (Baghdad, 1971), 2:443; Sourdel, "Traditionnistes," 354.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

to the judgeship of the Upper Egyptian town of Asyūṭ. The second judge, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāsim Ibn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 599/1203), held the judgeship twice: he had left Ḥamāh after his first appointment in order to move to Baghdad, where he was also appointed judge. However, after his deposition in Baghdad he had to return to Ḥamāh, where he filled the post again for some months until his death. Ibn al-Shahrazūrī belonged to a family which held high offices throughout the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries in Syria and Iraq.[38] His paternal uncle, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 576/1176), like al-Anṣārī, came from Mosul and had been appointed by Nūr al-Dīn to the judgeships of Damascus and Aleppo simultaneously.

That this family originated from Mosul and subsequently gained a great reputation within Syria parallels the shift of the Zangids' power base from the East westwards. This shift also became apparent in the nominations to the judgeship in Ḥamāh: after the first decades of Zangid rule, post holders were increasingly recruited from the Syrian lands. The early seventh/thirteenth-century judge Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (d. 622/1225),[39] for instance, was the son of the aforementioned Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, for whom Nūr al-Dīn had built the Shafiʿi madrasah of the town. Sharaf al-Dīn had succeeded Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī in the position of the most eminent Shafiʿi scholar in the Syrian lands and more specifically he had taken over the judgeship in Damascus. It was the family's cosmopolitan prestige that allowed his son to hold office in Aleppo and Ḥamāh, where he was twice judge and also vizier. Najm al-Dīn is in this sense representative of a transition period: his family still had hardly any connections to the local elite of Ḥamāh, but it was already well-placed within the civilian elite of the Syrian lands.

In this early period there are already three cases which hint at the developing local elite, most importantly two judges belonging to the al-Bahrānī family (cf. fig. 2 with sources), Amīn al-Dawlah/Dīn al-Ḥusayn (d. 587/1191) and Aḥmad ibn Mudrak (d. 590/1194 or 591/1195). This family also continued to play a remarkable role in the following seventh/thirteenth century. Two additional members of the family, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥamzah (d. 663/1264–65)[40] and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1300), were appointed judges in 642/1244–45 and

[38] On the al-Shahrazūrī family, cf. Eddé, *Alep,* 381–82. It seems that al-Anṣārī and al-Shahrazūrī for some time held the judgeship in Ḥamāh simultaneously (cf. Abū Shāmah, *Al-Rawḍatayn,* 2:158, and al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 571–80:105). On al-Qāsim cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:79; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:407–8.

[39] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:63 and 115; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:164; Eddé, *Alep,* 382–83. On Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn as judge cf. Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 6 and 8.

[40] On the dates of Muḥyī al-Dīn's judgeship cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:347, and idem, "Mufarrij," fol. 111r.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

697/1298 respectively. Other members of the family focused on scholarship without attaining formal positions of importance, such as Muḥyī al-Dīn's wife Ṣafiyat (d. 646/1248), one of the grand female hadith scholars of her time; Muwaffaq al-Dīn Nabā/Muḥammad (d. 665/1267), a hadith scholar who was at least appointed repetitor *(muʿīd)* in Cairo; as well as ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad (d. 654/1256) and Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 688/1289), son and grandson of Ṣafiyat respectively.

The third relevant case—although he only briefly held office—is Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Raffāʾ (d. 617/1220), who originated from Kafarṭāb (some 40 km to the north of the town).[41] He moved on to take the judgeship of neighboring Bārīn (some 40 km southwest of the town). His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 662/1263)[42] was to become the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* of Ḥamāh and entered the networks of the Hamawian civilian elite by marrying his daughters to members of the influential al-Mughayzil family. However, it is significant that neither the indigenous al-Bahrānī family nor Ibn al-Raffāʾ were yet able to control the post more tightly. Both lost it to Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, the outsider who was twice appointed to the post.

Tellingly, Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn's second office—the last of the cosmopolitan period—came to an end owing to his involvement in an event that had implications well beyond the confines of the town: the Ibn al-Mashṭūb revolt of 616–17/1219–20. ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Mashṭūb (d. 619/1225), a high-ranking Kurdish amir and son of the aforementioned madrasah founder Sayf al-Dīn Ibn al-Mashṭūb, had been exiled from Egypt after an attempted revolt against the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 615–35/1218–38). He found refuge in Ḥamāh and subsequently entered the service of the strongman in northern Syria, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsá (r. 607–17/1210–20 in Diyarbakr), whom he challenged soon after. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad of Ḥamāh supported him financially and provided armed men. Furthermore, he authorised Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, to whom Ibn al-Mashṭūb had promised an appointment as judge in the lands that were to be brought under his control, to resign and to participate in the endeavour.[43]

Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn was arrested after Ibn al-Mashṭūb's defeat and the entire correspondence with rulers of the region as well as copies of the oath of allegiance to be sworn by those allied with Ibn al-Mashṭūb were found in his possession. Nevertheless, in contrast to Ibn al-Mashṭūb, who perished in al-Ashraf's captivity, Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn was liberated owing to his family connections, which went well

[41] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:273–74; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 611–20:317–18; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi,* 4:26–28.

[42] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 3:215; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:101–4; Eddé, *Alep,* 428.

[43] The most detailed account of this revolt is in Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:28–31 and 70–77. For his biography cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 611–20:442 (with further sources). On him cf. also Eddé, *Alep,* 92–93, 383.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

beyond Ḥamāh. It was Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh (d. 647/1250), the influential member of the Damascene Ḥamawayh family, which had intermarried with the Banū Abī ʿAṣrūn, who came as Egyptian envoy to al-Ashraf's court. He convinced al-Ashraf to release Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, who returned to Ḥamāh without regaining a formal position of influence.[44]

The Shafiʿi Judgeship from 616/1219 to 764/1363: The Dominance of the Locals

With Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn's resignation in the early seventh/thirteenth century the second period in the recruitment pattern for the judgeship began. For some 150 years the judgeship was entirely monopolized by local scholars while cosmopolitan outsiders, be they from the neighboring large towns of Aleppo and Damascus or from Mosul, ceased to play an important role in Ḥamāh. In this period the urban renaissance began to bear fruit and a strong local civilian elite was able to gain complete control over the post. Particularly notable with regard to the judgeship were three of the town's grand families, the Banū Wāṣil, the Banū al-Bahrānī discussed above, and the Banū al-Bārizī.

The al-Bārizī family (cf. fig. 3)[45] was at the very core of the Hamawian civilian elite. It was able to monopolise the judgeship for some 120 years during the late seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries with only one interruption. The first notable individual of this family, Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm I (d. 669/1270),[46] specialised in jurisprudence, and taught and studied in various Syrian towns until he settled in his hometown. Here he taught, composed works, issued fatwas, and was finally appointed as the town's judge. He bequeathed this position upon his death to his deputy and son Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm I (d. 683/1284),[47] a multidisciplinary scholar. Najm al-Dīn was deposed after some ten years of holding office in favour of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Wāṣil (see below), but this did not loosen the grip of the Banū al-Bārizī on the post. A member of the clan

[44] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:76–77.

[45] This family has been treated comprehensively by Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 249–66. The following remarks, centered on Ḥamāh, draw on the results of her study. The following individuals who are mentioned in figure 3 will not be discussed in the present section: Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad II (d. 776/1374–75) (mentioned in biography of his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 9:137–38); Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm II (d. before 738/1337–38) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:145; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq [Cairo, n.d., reprint of 1966–67 edition], 1:77 and 2:461–62); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad II (d. 755/1354) (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:188–89).

[46] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 571–80:324 and vol. 661–670:276; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:146. On the dates of his judgeship cf. Ibn Wāṣil, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fol. 111r.

[47] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:149–52; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:317–20; al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1976–86), 1:92–94. He is named "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān" in some sources.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

was reappointed two years after Ibn Wāṣil's death and a short interlude by one of the Banū al-Bahrānī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1300).

This member was Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh I (d. 738/1338),[48] Najm al-Dīn's son, who was the most famous member of his family. He not only held the judgeship for forty years, but was also wealthy enough to dispense with the salary. Although he was offered the judgeship in Egypt, he preferred to stay within the confines of his hometown where he was embedded via his family into a tight network with members of the civilian elite. He passed the post on to his grandson and deputy Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II (d. 764/1363),[49] whose death marked the end of the Banū al-Bārizī's grip on the judgeship. However, the influence of the family extended beyond the judgeship to other posts so that it was able to retain crucial influence in the town despite having lost control of the judgeship. Further civilian posts held by this family in Ḥamāh included the deputyship of the judge,[50] teaching positions,[51] and administrative positions (*kātib al-sirr*,[52] *wakīl bayt al-māl,*[53] and vizier[54]).

Members of the family were still appointed in the following decades to the judgeship. Now it was the second main line of al-Bārizīs in Ḥamāh—going back to Sharaf al-Dīn's brother Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad I (d. 698/1299)—that started to play a more prominent role.[55] However, the careers of Kamāl al-Dīn's descendants show that the al-Bārizīs had been transformed from a typical local family of Ḥamāh into one with a cosmopolitan outlook. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II (d. 823/1420),[56] Kamāl al-Dīn's great-grandson, quickly abandoned the judgeship in

[48] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:124–27; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 27:290–91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:174–76.

[49] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:461–62.

[50] Besides those who later became judge themselves, such as Najm al-Din ʿAbd al-Raḥīm I and Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II, other members of the family remained deputies, such as Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar (mentioned in the biography of his grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad III [d. 847/1443–44]: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:69). Zayn al-Dīn deputized for his brother Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II and for Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān (d. 730/1330), who became judge in Aleppo and *khaṭīb* in Ḥamāh (Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:100–1; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:274; idem, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-Aʿlām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 275; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:466; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:50).

[51] Besides several judges of the family who obviously taught in addition to their juridical tasks, mention can be made of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad I.

[52] Cf. Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh II (mentioned in the biography of his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad III: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:69) and the aforementioned Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar.

[53] Cf. Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 733/1333) (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:445–46).

[54] Cf. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad II.

[55] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:364–65; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:248.

[56] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 7:71–72; Ibn

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

order to become secretary of the chancellery in Ḥamāh, judge in Aleppo, and finally secretary of the chancellery in Egypt. Here, his descendants attained positions in the Mamluk military and administrative elite.[57] His son Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I (d. 822/1419),[58] who opted for a military career, rose to such high rank that the sultan al-Malik al-Muʾayyad (815–24/1412–21) attended his funeral. The other son, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad III (d. 856/1452), succeeded his father in the post of *kātib al-sirr* in Egypt, which he held alternately with the same post in Damascus where he was also appointed chief judge for a while. He married into the sultan's family and the reigning sultan, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53), was present at his funeral.[59]

Back in Ḥamāh, Sharaf al-Dīn's great grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad I (d. 812/1409–10)[60] reinstated the pivotal role of his family in the town's judgeship. Although the family was no longer able to monopolize the post, two more al-Bārizī judges in the ninth/fifteenth century, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 875/1470)[61] and Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar (b. 844/1440),[62] are evidence of continuing influence. However, these appointments hint again at the transformation of the al-Bārizīs from a local to a cosmopolitan family. Appointments of family members in Ḥamāh now depended less on a local network than on the influence of the developing Egyptian al-Bārizī branch. For instance, it was Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad III who interceded with Sultan Jaqmaq in Egypt for the appointment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad to the judgeship of Ḥamāh.[63]

Another family, besides the Banū al-Bārizī and the Banū al-Bahrānī, that was of some importance for the judgeship was the Banū Wāṣil. This clan played a role in the civilian elite of Ḥamāh throughout the seventh/thirteenth century. Three members of the family were appointed judges: Sālim (d. 629/1232),[64] the

Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm Khān (Hyderabad, 1978–79), 4:137–41; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1963–72), 14:161; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 9:137–38. On his judgeship cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Iʿlām bi-Tārīkh Ahl al-Islām,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:504, 588, 613.

[57] Their integration into the Egyptian civilian and military elite is also evident in marriage patterns: such relations were established with the crucial civilian and military households. In the mid-ninth/fifteenth century the al-Bārizīs were one of the families with whom such alliances were regularly sought (cf. Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 258–60).

[58] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:159.

[59] Ibid., 16:13–18.

[60] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 8:236.

[61] Ibid., 10:24–25. Ṣadr al-Dīn taught also in the Madrasah al-Mukhliṣīyah that had been endowed by Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Qarnāṣ (d. 648/1248).

[62] Ibid., 6:131.

[63] Ibid., 10:24–25.

[64] On the dates of Sālim's judgeship cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:118.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

historian Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (deputized by his brother),[65] and Shihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī al-Dam,[66] who was linked to the Banū Wāṣil clan via Sālim's wife. Another son of Sālim was an intimate of the Hamawian ruler al-Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad (d. 683/1284) and one of his nephews was physician at the Hamawian court. Jamāl al-Dīn's appointment shows that even during the period of local recruitment trans-regional networks were of benefit. The reasons for the deposition of his predecessor Najm al-Dīn al-Bārizī are not known, but one might assume that Jamāl al-Dīn's tight network within the military and civilian elite of late Ayyubid and early Mamluk society was instrumental in his appointment.[67] However, the influence of this family was in sum rather limited, as it was not able to monopolize specific posts and only rose to some prominence for two generations.

During the period of local recruitment to the judgeship in Ḥamāh some individuals who did not belong to the grand families of the town were appointed. These individuals were nevertheless part of the civilian networks of the town and had the local background that was typical of this period of recruitment. ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (d. 652/1254) held the judgeship twice but had to flee owing to the conflicts of his brother, Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭub, with the town's ruler.[68] Shihāb al-Dīn had initially embarked on a civilian career, acting for example as Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī's repetitor *(muʿīd)* in the Madrasah al-Manṣūrīyah. However, he turned later to a military career and became an amir.[69] Although their family

[65] This brother was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 692/1293) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:158).

[66] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 39; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:174 and 5:346; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:112.

[67] On Ibn Wāṣil's network and the Banū Wāṣil in general cf. Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London, 2006), 18–28. The exact date of Ibn Wāṣil's appointment is curiously not identifiable as his nomination and Ibn al-Bārizī's deposition are not exactly dated. It is on al-Yūnīnī's statement (*Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 4:218–23) that the latter was deposed "a few years" before his death, that my estimation "late 670s" is based.

[68] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 39; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 10:4581–82; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:87, 119, 173–74; idem, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fols. 111v–112r; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:132 [ʿImād al-Dīn]; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:168–69 [Shihāb al-Dīn].

[69] This change from a civilian to a military career pattern was a consequence of Shihāb al-Dīn's close alliance with the younger son of Ḥamāh's ruler, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslan (r. 617–26/1221–29), who was to be installed on the throne against the explicit will of his father. Qilij Arslan granted Shihāb al-Dīn a considerable *iqṭāʿ,* so that he "took off the turban from his head, put on the *sharbūsh,* and wore the soldiers' garments. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir appointed him as governor of al-Maʿarrah [Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān]. He acted there just as the kings act in their lands." (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:87–88) (The *sharbūsh* was the distinct headgear of the amirs; cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* [Leiden, 1881], 1:742.)

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

was of no great importance within the civilian elite,[70] their marriage connections secured them the necessary local backing. ʿImād al-Dīn's wife, for instance, was the daughter of a prominent member of the Banū Qarnāṣ, Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 648/1248), discussed below.

ʿImād al-Dīn's predecessor, Ḥujjat al-Dīn Ibn Marājil (d. 617/1220),[71] also did not belong to one of the grand families. Nevertheless, his family, which was at least described as "a renowned household in Ḥamāh," had a somewhat prominent standing,[72] particularly due to its holding of administrative positions. Ḥujjat al-Dīn's nephew, ʿAfif al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, acted as envoy for the Ayyubid rulers of the town.[73] Isḥāq ibn ʿAlī Ibn Marājil (d. after 658/1260) was secretary of the chancellery under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd, before moving on to Cairo where he held the same position.[74] Members of the family also held administrative posts in other Syrian towns, such as Damascus and Aleppo.[75]

The dwindling grip of the indigenous elite on the Shafiʿi judgeship in the third period, that is from the death of Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II in 764/1363 onwards, is evident in the much more varied background of those appointed to the post. Most importantly, judges tended to be recruited from cosmopolitan individuals who had, just like the judges in the first period of the judgeship, hardly any connections to the town. A case in point is Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥijjī (d. 830/1427). During his career Najm al-Dīn was secretary of the chancellery in Egypt and judge in Damascus, Tripoli, and Ḥamāh without being linked to the local elite of the town.[76] This trend of cosmopolitan candidates

[70] Their father was a rather minor jurisprudent. Although Ibn Wāṣil describes him as "eminent in scholarship and fatwas" (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:87), biographical dictionaries refer to him only briefly (e.g., al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 611–20:98).

[71] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:118–19, who refers to him as "Ibn Marāḥil."

[72] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:359, in the biography of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Marājil (d. 663/1264); cf. also al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:155.

[73] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:128 and 141.

[74] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1489.

[75] ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Marājil (d. 703/1304) was secretary (in Ḥamāh?) and held further unspecified administrative posts (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 21:234–35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:131). His father Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm had been secretary in different functions in Aleppo and Damascus (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 21:234–35). His son Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī (d. 764/1363) was employed in several *dīwān*s, held the trusteeship in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and moved on to Egypt to become vizier (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:254–55; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:18).

[76] On him cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 6:78; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt,* 4:122–27; Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 61, 88, 96, 452. On his judgeship in Ḥamāh: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:23; 4:258, 269, and 311. The only traceable connections are marriage alliances that this family concluded with the Egyptian al-Bārizī branch (Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 367).

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

was accompanied by a significantly enhanced turnover. The average length for holding the judgeship now halved to under seven years, compared with more than thirteen years in the preceding period of local dominance. There were still some local scholars appointed to the post, such as Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī (d. 776/1374–75).[77] However, the example of the Bārizī family—which could retain some influence over the judgeship only because it became a cosmopolitan family—shows that the period of the local scholars had definitely come to an end by the mid-eighth/fourteenth century.[78]

THE NON-SHAFIʿI JUDGESHIPS, *KHAṬĪBS*, AND OTHER POSTS

The case of the Shafiʿi judgeship exemplifies the rise of the local civilian elite during the Ayyubid period and its continuing influence well into the Mamluk Sultanate until it lost its monopoly to candidates with a more cosmopolitan background. A consideration of appointments to other judgeships presents nevertheless a more complex picture. The Hanafi judgeship was established in Ḥamāh during the rule of the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77). In the 660s/1260s Baybars introduced the ruling according to which—at least theoretically—each *madhhab* was to be represented by a judge in the empire's major centers. With regard to the judgeships for the other two *madhhab*s, Ḥamāh followed the normal course of affairs in provincial Syrian towns that only introduced them hesitantly:[79] both the first Maliki judge and the first Hanbali judge in Ḥamāh would be appointed only about a century after Baybars' decree.

THE HANAFI, MALIKI, AND HANBALI JUDGESHIPS

The Hanafi judgeship (cf. fig. 4) was monopolized after its introduction[80] for

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–75), 3:1:243; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:190.

[78] Sources for those judges in figure 1 who are not discussed in the present section are as follows: no. 19: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:244; no. 20: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:216, Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:417–18 (d. 764/1363 [*sic*]); no. 21: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:473 and 504; no. 23: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:613 and 4:258; no. 26: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt,* 4:141–42; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:129–31; no. 27: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:129–31 (biography of no. 26); no. 28: al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris* (Beirut, 1990), 1:249 (al-Madrasah al-Ṣārimīyah); no. 29: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:24–25 (biography of no. 30).

[79] Cf. Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya: A History of Mamlûk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents* (Berlin, 1985), 192, for the case of Jerusalem where even the Hanafi judgeship was introduced only in 784/1382. Al-Qalqashandī describes for his time the status quo that had developed in the preceding periods: in Ḥamāh judges for each *madhhab,* in addition to a Hanafi *qāḍī ʿaskar,* were nominated (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* [Cairo, 1913–19], 4:238).

[80] Halm, *Ausbreitung,* 227, mentions Najm al-Dīn al-Khalīl ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī (d. 641/1243) as an

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

some eighty years by the Banū al-ʿAdīm. The Hamawian Banū al-ʿAdīm branch retained its close links to Aleppo, where the Banū al-ʿAdīm were one of the most influential families within the civilian elite. For example, the deputy of the Hanafi judge Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh[81] was sent to Ḥamāh from Aleppo by order of the Aleppan Hanafi judge, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Ibn al-ʿAdīm (fl. 738/1337–38).[82] However, the period of the Banū al-ʿAdīm in the Hamawian office had, parallel to the development of the Shafiʿi judgeship, a distinctive local character. The first Hanafi judge in Ḥamāh, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 694/1295), not only settled in the town but became part of the local elite. He was buried in his *turbah* in the cemetery in ʿAqabah Naqīrīn, a village close to Ḥamāh where other Hamawian notables such as the Shafiʿi judge Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Wāṣil had their *turbah*s built.[83] Furthermore, he was able to establish a kind of indigenous Hamawian line of succession as his son and grandson, Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar (d. 734/1333)[84] and Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, held the post too. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 711/1311), the second Hanafi judge of the town, was appointed as an outsider, but remained in the office for some forty years and died in Ḥamāh.[85] The local tradition established by the Banū al-ʿAdīm was continued by Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 760/1359),[86] who belonged to a Hamawian family that had a *zāwiyah* in the town and a *muḥtasib* among its members.[87] With Taqī al-Dīn's death in 760/1359 this local tradition came to an

earlier judge, but I was not able to find evidence for a judgeship for this individual in Ḥamāh. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʿyān* (Hyderabad, 1951–52), 8:2:743; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 7:3379–80; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:76; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 13:397; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah* (Hyderabad, n.d.), vol. 1, no. 596; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:769; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:348.

[81] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:123, 136.

[82] The deputy was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muhājir (d. 739/1338–39). On him cf. Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:129; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 7:136–38; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:194–95. His son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 794/1391–92) turned Shafiʿi and became judge in Ḥamāh for a period not further defined (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:417–18).

[83] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:227–28; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 4:263; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir,* vol. 2, no. 300; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:181; Eddé, *Alep,* 366f.

[84] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:110; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir,* vol. 1, no. 1098; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:265–66; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 9:302.

[85] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 111; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir,* vol. 1, no. 857; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:492.

[86] His *shuhrah* is sometimes given as "Ibn al-Ḥakam." Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:123, 136; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:105; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:332.

[87] For the *zāwiyah* cf. the entry on Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 678/1279) in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:305, and al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 17:583. The *muḥtasib* was Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 711/1311–12), cf. al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 114, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:15.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

end. For instance, Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad (d. 768/1367), one of the subsequent judges, had no background in the town.[88] Thus, the role of the local background in appointments to the Hanafi judgeship started to disappear, similar to the Shafiʿi case, in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century.

In this same period both the Maliki and the Hanbali judgeships were introduced. It is striking that in both cases local scholars from the outset played hardly any role, but that individuals with a cosmopolitan background dominated the list of post holders. The first Maliki judge in Ḥamāh (cf. fig. 5), Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Gharnāṭī (d. 771/1369),[89] originated—as was typical for this *madhhab*—from the western Islamic lands. This predominance of post holders originating from the Maghrib or al-Andalus remained unchanged in the following decades: among them were Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 795/1392),[90] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 840/1437),[91] and, indirectly, Sharaf al-Dīn's son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 828/1424).[92] Equally important was Damascus, with which the Maliki community of Ḥamāh entertained close links, as illustrated by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī (d. 796/1394)[93] and ʿAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 805/1402).[94] The latter was deposed and reappointed some ten times as judge in Damascus and filled some of the resulting intervals with appointments to the judgeship of Ḥamāh.

The same is valid for the Hanbali judgeship, which was introduced roughly in the same period as the Maliki post. Its first holder, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mardāwī (d. 787/1385–86),[95] was born in Mardā, a village close to Nablus which produced a number of Hanbali scholars active in Syria and Egypt.[96] He moved first to Damascus and then to Ḥamāh, where he was appointed to the judgeship and

[88] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:37; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:92. A similar case of an outsider in the Hanafi judgeship is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿArab Shāh (d. 854/1450), who held a number of offices in Persia, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt (J. Pedersen, "Ibn ʿArabshāh," *EI²* [CD-ROM]; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:549). Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 868/1463) descended from a Hamawian trader family and took for a while the Hanafi judgeship of the town, but moved on to Cairo where he was also appointed to the judgeship (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:326).

[89] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:406–7; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:368.

[90] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Hyderabad, 1967–75), 3:186.

[91] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:447; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:26–27.

[92] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:91–92; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 7:142.

[93] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:359; idem, *Inbāʾ,* 3:224; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:527–28.

[94] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 5:122–23; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:516, 4:334.

[95] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:179.

[96] In Damascus the Mardāwīyūn cemetery was favored by the Hanafi milieu of the town (Pouzet, *Damas,* 235).

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

taught.[97] He was followed by his brother Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh,[98] and among the post holders of the following decades, such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn al-Maghlī (d. 828/1424–25),[99] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Rassām (d. 844/1441),[100] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 869/1464),[101] his grandson Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir,[102] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kāzarūnī (d. 895/1489–90),[103] rarely can any specific link to Ḥamāh be detected.

This salience of outsiders in the case of the Maliki and the Hanbali judgeships cannot be directly linked to the shift from local to cosmopolitan post holders that was evident in the Shafiʿi case and to some degree also in the Hanafi case. Certainly, the introduction of the two former judgeships coincided with the period when the local elite also lost control over the Shafiʿi and the Hanafi judgeships to the benefit of individuals with a cosmopolitan background. However, the weak role of local families in appointments to the Maliki and the Hanbali judgeships can to a large degree be explained, as was the case in other towns,[104] by the quantitative weakness of these *madhhab*s in Ḥamāh. Arguably a similar quantitative weakness also explains the "importation" of the Hanafi Banū al-ʿAdīm judges from Aleppo. These *madhhabs*' weaknesses are apparent in the source material. The biographical dictionary by al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* for instance, shows hardly any entries for Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali scholars linked to Ḥamāh until the end of the seventh/thirteenth century. Similarly, *madhhab*-focused works, such as al-Qurashī's (d. 775/1373) biographical dictionary of Hanafi scholars *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah* and Ibn Rajab's (d. 795/1392) biographical dictionary of Hanbali scholars *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,*[105] are rather silent on Ḥamāh.

Similarly, no Maliki or Hanbali madrasah is mentioned with regard to Ḥamāh, while the Hanafis were represented by two madrasahs, one founded by Nūr al-Dīn and the Madrasah al-Ṭawāshīyah. However, the teaching staff in Nūr al-Dīn's madrasah was to a large extent comprised of scholars from outside the town. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Abyaḍ (d. 614/1217), for example, descended—

[97] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:179.

[98] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:140.

[99] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:86–88; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:262; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:126–28; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 6:34–36.

[100] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:262; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 1:249.

[101] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931–33), 7:309.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., 357.

[104] Cf. Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 315, for the example of Cairo, where many judges of the three "minority" *madhhabs* (Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali), possibly most of them, were outsiders to the town.

[105] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUthaymīn (Riyadh, 2005).

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

just like the Banū al-ʿAdīm—from an Aleppan Hanafi family. He had left Aleppo owing to conflicts with the central figure of the town's *madhhab,* Iftikhār al-Dīn al-Hāshimī, and taught in Ḥamāh in 609/1212–13 but then returned to his teaching post in Aleppo.[106] Another teacher in this school was ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar (d. 649/1251),[107] who had to leave Egypt owing to misconduct in his administrative post.[108] The relatively weak stature of the *madhhab* in the town certainly contributed to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd's (r. 626–42/1229–44) decision to have this madrasah destroyed in 630/1232–33 during fortification works.[109]

Khaṭībs and Other Posts: The Rise of the Banū al-Mughayzil

Turning to those positions that are less well-documented in the sources, i.e., *khaṭīb*ships and other civilian posts, a development similar to that illustrated above for the Shafiʿi and the Hanafi judgeships emerges: from the mid-sixth/late twelfth century onwards the number of post holders rose distinctively; these post holders were generally Shafiʿis and the majority belonged to the indigenous civilian elite. The *khaṭīb*ship especially, throughout the various locations (see fig. 6 with sources), was dominated by members of grand Hamawian families. Among these were names of families introduced previously such as the Banū al-Bahrānī and the Banū al-Bārizī.

Another name emerging from the list are the Banū al-Mughayzil (cf. fig. 7), a "grand household"[110] of the town whose members reappear frequently as *khaṭīb*s, especially in the central mosque of the upper town, the Great or Upper Mosque (*al-jāmiʿ al-kabīr/al-aʿlá*). The origins of this family are not clear, as they did not attract the interest of the authors of contemporary chronicles or biographical dictionaries. However, it is obvious that it was—or had recently become—an indigenous Hamawian family by the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. Family members rarely rose to prominence in other Syrian towns and focused their career patterns typically on Ḥamāh. The family's head, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh, was seemingly the *muḥtasib* of the town, although he is only mentioned in the biographies of his sons.[111] His sons started to rise to prominence in the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk period and Badr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf[112] (d. 690/1291),

[106] On him cf. al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 4th ed. (Beirut, 1988), 2:408–9; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 7:495–96; Eddé, *Alep,* 369.

[107] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:343.

[108] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:429–30.

[109] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 80.

[110] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 229.

[111] Cf. the entry on his son ʿAbd al-Ghuffār in al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:27.

[112] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:418–19; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:117; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:148.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

for instance, was nominated *khaṭīb* in the Upper Mosque. His two sons Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Bakr[113] (d. 724/1324) and Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad[114] (d. 725/1325) followed respectively. Further *khaṭīb*s emanating from this family are Badr al-Dīn's grandson Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf[115] (d. 719/1319), who was attached to a place that is not specified, and his nephew Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1299)[116] in the Lower Mosque (*al-jāmiʿ al-asfal*), the central mosque of the lower town. Together with Badr al-Dīn's three brothers, the family was able to fill religious posts and offices in different branches of the town's civil administration to an impressive extent.

Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 687/1288),[117] the eldest of the four brothers, became the town's *shaykh al-shuyūkh*, i.e., the head of the mystical milieu of the town who represented its interests vis-à-vis the political elite. In general the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* was chosen from the grand families of a town (in Aleppo, for instance, the Banū al-ʿAjamī and in Damascus the Banū Ḥamawayh)[118] because his influence transcended the mystical milieu considerably. Tāj al-Dīn was able to pass the post on to his sons, which reflected also the active marriage policy of the al-Mughayzil family: his son Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm[119] (d. 707/1307) had been married to a daughter of Tāj al-Dīn's predecessor in this post, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anṣārī (d. 662/1263),[120] the son of Ibn al-Raffāʾ, the town's previous Shafiʿi judge, who is mentioned above.

Two other brothers of Badr al-Dīn chose careers in the town's civil administration. Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghuffār[121] (d. 688/1289–90) became *kātib al-darj*, working for both al-Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad and his son al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III Maḥmūd (d. 698/1299), and acquired sufficient wealth to set up

[113] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 229; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:478.

[114] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 229; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:477.

[115] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 167; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 29:339; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:245: born 668.

[116] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 691–700:407 and 440; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 8:124 ("Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad").

[117] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:290–91; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:119.

[118] For Aleppo cf. Eddé, *Alep,* 427–28, and for Damascus cf. Pouzet, *Damas*, 213–14.

[119] Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* editor's introduction, 20.

[120] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 3:215; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:101-4; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:546–56. The political role of the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Ḥamāh is clearly reflected in his involvement in local and regional affairs: Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:273–74, 293, 303; 5:30, 69, 84, 94, 124, 307, 345, 383) as well as idem, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fols. 98v, 102r, 157r.

[121] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:333; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:27; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:124–25.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

several endowments. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm[122] (d. 697/1297) was appointed assistant to the treasurer (*wakīl bayt al-māl*). The administrative role of the family was continued by two individuals mentioned above: Badr al-Dīn's son Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who was the vizier of the town and Nāṣir al-Dīn's son Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Muẓaffarī (d. 701/1301),[123] the author of the supplement to Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, who was appointed as *kātib al-dīwān* in 682/1283–4. After the early eighth/fourteenth century no member of the Banū al-Mughayzil held any further positions of importance in Ḥamāh and this local family ceased to play a prominent role.

Local Elite Families beyond Formal Positions

Not all the grand families that emerged in Ḥamāh during the late sixth/twelfth century and flourished from the early seventh/thirteenth century onwards necessarily occupied civilian posts in great number. However, the rise of these families was also a consequence of the urban renaissance that provided a framework for alternative ways to acquire a standing in the town. These alternatives were based on the usage of cultural and/or economic capital. In comparison to the families discussed hitherto, social capital in the sense of activating the networks of the town's civilian elite in order to acquire posts played only a secondary role.[124] A typical example of this are the Shafiʿi Banū Qarnāṣ (cf. fig. 8 with sources), a "renowned family,"[125] which possessed its *zāwiyah*[126] and whose members are called "grandee"[127] or "notable"[128] of the town. A number of them were renowned scholars, especially in the field of hadith, who never took any formal positions, such as Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad (b. 510/1117), Muḥammad ibn Hibat Allāh (d. 637/1239), Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 654/1256–57), Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 662/1264), Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (fl. 678/1279–80), and Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 700/1300–1). Only a few members held religious/civilian posts, such as Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 659/1261), a teacher

[122] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:331–32; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:208–9.

[123] For details on his career cf. his *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* passim. Fig. 7 includes also Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 690/1291), who died at a young age (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:427).

[124] On these different forms of capital cf. Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* ed. J. G. Richardson (New York, 1986), 241–58.

[125] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:171; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:182.

[126] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:385.

[127] Ibid., vol. 631–40:348–49 on Muḥammad ibn Hibat Allāh (d. 637/1239): "*kabīr baladihi.*"

[128] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:133 on Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī ʿAlī (d. 673/1274): "*min aʿyān baladihi.*"

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

both in the "Jāmiʿ Ḥamāh" and the Madrasah al-Mukhliṣīyah, and Fatḥ al-Dīn (d. 730/1329–30), who held the trusteeship *(naẓr)* in the central mosque of Ḥamāh.

The main exception to the family's focus on scholarly activities was Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 648/1248), the founder of the Madrasah al-Mukhliṣīyah. He later played an active political role in Homs, which started in a somewhat unfortunate manner as he was imprisoned by the town's ruler al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad al-Dīn (r. 581–637/1186–1240). The imprisonment of both him and other members of the Banū Qarnāṣ was a consequence of the aborted ruse by Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Hadhabānī, the strongman of Ḥamāh under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd. Al-Hadhabānī undertook with a number of Hamawian notables a feigned flight from Ḥamāh to Homs on the pretence of seeking the support of Asad al-Dīn. Asad al-Dīn saw through the stratagem and imprisoned al-Hadhabānī and his companions on the spot.[129] Nevertheless, Mukhliṣ al-Dīn was more fortunate than al-Hadhabānī and a number of notables who perished in captivity. Released by Asad al-Dīn's successor, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm (r. 637–44/1240–46), he made a career in the town's administration. He became vizier and de facto regent of al-Manṣūr's son, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsá (r. 644–62/1246–63).[130]

The Banū Qarnāṣ did not base their role within the civilian elite exclusively on intensive scholarly activities, i.e., the activation of cultural capital, and occasional political involvement. Rather, they are a typical example of the families who also profited from the economic development of the town from the late sixth/twelfth century onwards. Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 673/1274), for instance, was only described as a "notable of his town" because he had an outstanding fortune at his disposal.[131] Owing to this wealth of the family, Zayn al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. between 635/1238 and 642/1244), one of the town's grand estate owners, played a central role in the conflict between the town's landed elite and its ruler al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān. When the latter came to power in 617/1221 he obliged the inhabitants of Ḥamāh to buy overpriced wheat. Zayn al-Dīn refused and fled to Egypt and al-Nāṣir had his house destroyed and his estates confiscated. Seemingly his family had, owing to weak integration into the town's administration, insufficient standing to settle the affair through local mechanisms of conflict resolution. Zayn al-Dīn was only able to recover his estates when al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt enthroned his candidate in the town, al-Nāṣir's brother al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd. However, after al-Kāmil's death in 635/1238 Zayn al-Dīn

[129] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:222–27.

[130] Ibid., 5:371–72. On his regency cf. Konrad Hirschler, "'He is a child and this land is a borderland of Islam': Under-Age Rule and the Quest for Political Stability in the Ayyūbid Period," *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 19 (2007): 29–46.

[131] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:133.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

was imprisoned, where he died.[132]

A second example of a grand family of the town that did not hold civilian posts in considerable number is the Banū Rawāḥah (cf. fig. 9),[133] who gained in strength starting in the mid-sixth/twelfth century. This family originated from Ḥamāh, but its members appear in a number of different Syrian and Egyptian towns. They display a focus on scholarship mixed with some commercial activities and involvement in administrative posts comparable to the profile of the Banū Qarnāṣ. The family started to rise to prominence with ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Rawāḥah (d. 561/1165), the renowned *khaṭīb* of Ḥamāh.[134] His son Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (d. 585/1189–90) left the town for Damascus and Egypt where he studied hadith, was imprisoned for an extended period in Sicily, and finally died a martyr below the walls of Frankish Acre.[135] Jamāl al-Dīn's sons, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 646/1248)[136] and Nafīs al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 642/1245),[137] both dwelled in Ḥamāh and were hadith scholars who were renowned well beyond the confines of their hometown. Nafis al-Dīn's daughter Fāṭimah (d. 716/1316–17), who played a crucial role among the town's hadith scholars, subsequently continued this tradition of hadith scholarship.[138] Jamāl al-Dīn's brother Muḥammad (d. 631/1233)[139] and their nephew Zakī al-Dīn Hibat Allāh (d. 622/1225) exemplify the trading activities of the family.[140] Both seem to have left Ḥamāh and were active in Aleppo and Damascus where Zakī al-Dīn endowed madrasahs.[141] Mainly remembered for holding civil posts are Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 712/1312), *kātib al-inshāʾ* in Tripoli, who only returned to Ḥamāh shortly before his death,[142] and Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 722/1322–3), secretary in the Upper Egyptian

[132] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 49; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 4:1609–12.

[133] Not mentioned in this section on the family is Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 729/1329 in Cairo) (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:523).

[134] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 561–70:79; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 17:142–44; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 8:1:263; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus edition), 33:185.

[135] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ: Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1993), 3:1087–90; al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah,* 1:116; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 2:300–2; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 581–90:214–15; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 12:413–14; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:517–20.

[136] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:314–15; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 17:144–45; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 4:392; Eddé, *Alep,* 384.

[137] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:137; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:584.

[138] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 145.

[139] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 631–40:77.

[140] Ibid., vol. 621–30:138–39.

[141] Cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:199–207 for the Madrasah al-Rawāḥīyah in Damascus.

[142] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:56–57; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:176.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

town of Asyūṭ.[143]

From the sixth/twelfth century onwards, the Banū Qarnāṣ and especially the Banū Rawāḥah rose beyond the confines of the town to a considerably larger extent than the families discussed above. Focusing on scholarly and trading activities they had to seek contacts in the Egyptian and Syrian lands. A middle-sized town such as Ḥamāh did not offer the family members sufficient opportunity to pursue their careers. As these families did not seek civilian posts—or were not able to attain them—they chose the more promising cosmopolitan outlook. Nevertheless, they were firmly grounded in the town that offered, owing to its cultural and economic development, ample resources from which they could draw. In this sense they complete the picture of the town's local elite during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

Conclusion

Two principal points emerge from the analysis of the Hamawian civilian elite in comparison with the development of the civilian elite in other towns during the period: the importance of the household in structuring the civilian elite and the ability of the Hamawian families to close their social universe to outsiders until the mid-eighth/fourteenth century.

Starting with Lapidus, the household has been increasingly defined as the basic unit for exercising power during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[144] Chamberlain in particular has stressed the household's role in the post-Saljuq states, which were characterized by a low number of state agencies and autonomous corporate or religious bodies in both rural regions and urban centers.[145] Military and civilian households alike took charge of most of the administrative functions that were still hardly specialized and often applied on an ad-hoc basis. The Hamawian civilian elite discussed in this article was, similar to that in the region's large cities, structured according to such households. Only those functions that were at the very core of political power, such as the vizierate, were generally beyond the reach of these households.[146] The Hamawian families tended to some kind of

[143] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 201–2; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:145–46.

[144] Ira Marvin Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

[145] Chamberlain, *Knowledge,* and idem, "The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 211–41.

[146] Viziers in Ḥamāh who were not attached to the grand families of the town include for example: Shihāb al-Dīn Asʿad ibn Yaḥyá (d. 614/1217) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:101–2 and 183–84; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:32–34); ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad (d. 674/1275) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:164); Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, vizier under al-Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad (d. 683/1284) (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 3:147–48); Ṣafī al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh ibn Muḥammad (d. 683/1284) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:173 and al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt*

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

division of labor: the judgeship was largely the domain of the Banū al-Bahrānī, Wāṣil, and al-Bārizī; the Banū al-Mughayzil played a salient role in the *khaṭīb*ship; administrative posts that went to the grand families were dominated by the Banū al-Mughayzil and al-Bārizī; and finally the Banū Qarnāṣ and Rawāḥah were main actors in the transmission of knowledge.

It is not evident how these families put this division of labor into practice or, in other words, in which ways or by what means they conducted the struggle over posts and influence. The only indicators available to us are appointments to the judgeship. It has been shown above that the turnover in the post was relatively low during the period of the local elite. Also of relevance is whether new judges were appointed upon the death of the previous post holder or whether their predecessor was deposed. Between 617/1220 and 764/1363, i.e., the period of the local elite, the large majority of judges died in office and deposition was a rather rare occurrence. These two characteristics of appointments to the judgeship indicate that, compared with a town such as Damascus, the division of labor among the grand households secured a larger degree of social stability within the civilian elite.[147] Thus, we encounter in Ḥamāh the household as the typical basic unit of social organization, but the tight networks of this middle-sized town seem to have prevented social strife to a considerable extent.

The second point emerging from the comparison of Ḥamāh with other cities was the ability of the Hamawian families to close their social universe to outsiders during the period of the local elite. Studies of Cairo and Damascus have shown that scholars from outside the respective town played a considerable role within the civilian elites.[148] Yet in Ḥamāh cosmopolitans ceased to take a prominent position within the social fabric during the hegemony of the town's households in the local period. One explanation for the salience of local scholars is that a post in such a minor town was simply not prestigious enough for cosmopolitan scholars, especially those of greater standing. The case of the aforementioned judge Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Anṣārī, who later moved on to Egypt, shows that the judgeship of Ḥamāh was not necessarily perceived as the climax of one's

al-Zamān, 4:238); Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 696/1297) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:310–11).

[147] On the *fitnah* among the civilian households in Damascus cf. Chamberlain, *Knowledge.* In Ḥamāh in the above-mentioned period Shafiʿi judges died in office on eight occasions (nos. 7a, 9a, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17 in fig. 1) and were deposed on three occasions (nos. 9, 11, and 13 in fig. 1).

[148] Joan E. Gilbert, "The ʿUlamaʾ of Medieval Damascus and the International World of Islamic Scholarship" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1977), 40–42, estimates that about 50% of the senior religious scholars up to 1260 were outsiders. Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 313, shows for the case of Cairo that especially the jurist scholars were recruited from a wide variety of regional backgrounds.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

career. His successor al-Qāsim Ibn al-Shahrazūrī was even criticized for "lack of ambition" for taking up a post in such a minor town.[149] Like the renowned Damascene scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 660/1262), who refused the invitation of al-Malik al-Nāṣir (d. 656/1258) of al-Karak to join him at his court somewhat indignantly with the words "Your lands are too small for my knowledge" and moved on to Egypt,[150] many scholars from inside and outside the town preferred not to continue their careers in the province.[151] Whenever scholars of greater standing came to reside in the town for a longer period, they were mostly scholars of the rational sciences. These scholars found a particularly receptive climate for pursuing their careers in the town during the seventh/thirteenth century.[152]

However, while the comparatively low reputation of Ḥamāh might have facilitated the control of the town's posts by the local elite, this did not entirely exclude outside scholars, who played a role before and after this local period. In order to understand the local elite's capacity to dominate the distribution of the town's positions a further characteristic of Ḥamāh is of relevance: its prolonged status as a semi-autonomous principality, first within the Ayyubid family confederation and subsequently within the Mamluk Empire. The local elite flourished some decades after the town's first Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ʿUmar came to power in 574/1178. The economic ascent of the region, which was a prerequisite for the development of the local elite, took a decisively local turn with the consolidation of the town's autonomy. It was the following period of some 150 years of nearly uninterrupted autonomy that offered the local elite the political framework necessary for its development. The end of this local period followed the political development again with some delay: after the absorption of the Hamawian principality within the Mamluk Empire in the 730s/1330s, it took further decades until the dominance of the local elite on the town's posts was weakened. The local families either changed their profile to a cosmopolitan

[149] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:408.

[150] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw (Cairo, 1964–76), 8:210.

[151] A typical example of this is Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī al-Ḥamawī (d. 680/1281) who excelled in his hometown at the age of 18 years, was appointed professor in the Ashrafīyah in Damascus, and finally as chief judge in Cairo (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:365–67; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:18–19).

[152] On rational scholars in Ḥamāh (and al-Karak) cf. Hirschler, *Historiography*, 59–60. Typical examples of such scholars are ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Andalusī (d. 637/1239–40), an Andalusian scholar of rational sciences who, although criticized for his beliefs, stayed in Ḥamāh with the Banū al-Bārizī (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 631–40:336–37; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:317) and the above-mentioned Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, the first teacher in the Madrasah al-Manṣūrīyah. Al-Āmidī was a theologian with a brilliant reputation in the rational sciences who had to flee Egypt due to accusations of heresy (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:78 and 80).

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

outlook during this gradual weakening of their position or they disappeared from the social fabric of the town, which came to be dominated by the trans-regional Mamluk civilian elite.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

1	559–67	Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Anṣārī
2	550s/60s	Ibn al-Shahrazūrī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāsim (1)
3	571–?	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Aḥmad ibn Mudrak
4	?–587	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Amīn al-Dawlah/Dīn al-Ḥusayn
5	?–598	Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (1)
2a	599	Ibn al-Shahrazūrī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāsim (2)
6	599–ca. 600	Ibn al-Raffāʾ, Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad
5a	ca. 600–16	Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (2)
7	616	Ibn Marājil Ḥujjat al-Dīn (1)
8	616	Ibn Wāṣil, Sālim
7a	616–17	Ibn Marājil Ḥujjat al-Dīn (2)
9	617–22	ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (1)
10	622–42	Ibn Abī al-Dam, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm
11	642–52	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥamzah
9a	652	ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (2)
12	652–69	Ibn al-Bārizī, Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm I
13	669–late 670s	Ibn al-Bārizī, Najm al-Din ʿAbd al-Raḥīm I
14	late 670s–697	Ibn Wāṣil, Jamāl al-Din Muḥammad
15	697–99	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad
16	699–738	Ibn al-Bārizī, Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh I
17	738–64	Ibn al-Bārizī, Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II
18	760s/770s	Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī
19	780s	Nāṣir al-Dīn, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad
25a/22b	?–789	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad I or II
20	789–?	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Ibn Muhājir
21	795–96	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn Makkī al-Ḥamawī (1)
22	796–99	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II (1)
23	799	Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Maʿarrī
22a	799–?	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II (2)
21a	?–804	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn Makkī al-Ḥamawī (2)
24	804–5	Ibn al-Ḥijjī, Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar
25	early 9th c.	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad I
26	ca. 815–26	Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahshah, Maḥmūd
27	826–?	al-Zayn ibn al-Kharazī (1)
28	829–30	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Khaṭīb Qārā
29	?–842	al-Shihāb al-Zuhrī
30	842–ca. 857	Ibn al-Bārizī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad
27a	ca. 857–?	al-Zayn ibn al-Kharazī (2)
31	late 9th c.	Ibn al-Bārizī, Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar

Fig. 1. Shafiʿi Judges in Ḥamāh

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Name	Born	Died	Main Source(s)
Amīn al-Dawlah/Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamzah	?	587/ 1191	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 581–90:265, 290–91; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 2:377; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 8:1:412
Aḥmad ibn Mudrak	?	590/ 1194 or 591/ 1195	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:56–57; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1127–28
Ṣafiyat bint ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī	?	646/ 1248	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:310–11; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 4:361
ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad	?	654/ 1256	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:174
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad	?	663/ 1264–65	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:144–45; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 2:326
Muwaffaq al-Dīn Nabā/ Muḥammad ibn Saʿd Allāh	577/ 1181–82	665/ 1267	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:208
Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥamzah	621/ 1224–25	688/ 1289	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:334–35
Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad	622/ 1225	699/ 1300	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:456–57; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 1:284–85
Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad	642/ 1244–45	?	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:148
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb	645/ 1247–48	?	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:304

Fig. 2. Banū al-Bahrānī

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

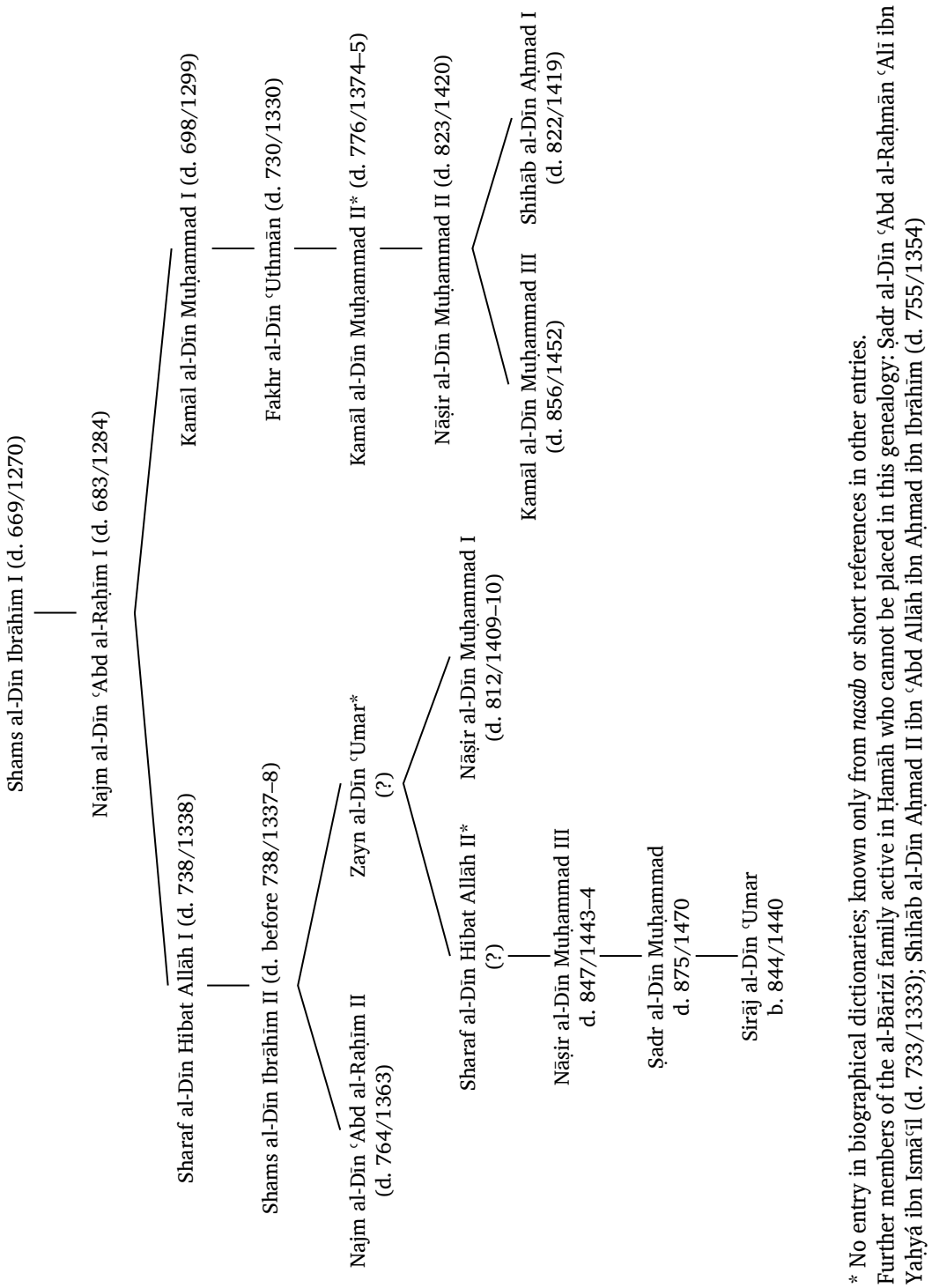

Fig. 3. Banū al-Bārizī (Ḥamāh)

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

after 658	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad
ca. 671–711	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
711–21	?
721–34	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar
?–738	Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1)
738–42	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh
742–60	Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd (2)
760–62	Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad (1)
762–63	?
763–68	Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad (2)
early 9th century	Ibn ʿArab Shāh, Aḥmad
mid-9th century	Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad

Fig. 4. Hanafi Judges in Ḥamāh

760s–ca. 770	Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Gharnāṭī
ca. 770–76	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī
776–84	Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī
784–89	Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī
790s	ʿAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (1)
796	ʿAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (2)
early 9th century	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī

Fig. 5. Maliki Judges in Ḥamāh

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Name	Place/Date	*Madhhab*	Source(s)	Further Posts in Ḥamāh
Ibn al-Bahrānī, Aḥmad (d. 590/1194 or 591/1195)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see fig. 2	judge
Ibn al-Bahrānī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1300)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see fig. 2	judge
Ibn al-Bārizī, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān (d. 730/1330)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see article	deputy judge
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 719/1319)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn Rawāḥah,ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 561/1165)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Zayn ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1299)	Lower Mosque	Shafiʿi	see article	
Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad (d. 659/1261)	Great/Upper Mosque	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Badr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 690/1291)	Great/Upper Mosque (– 690)	Shafiʿi	see article	*mudarris*
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Bakr (d. 724/1324)	Great/Upper Mosque (690–724)	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. 725/1325)	Great/Upper Mosque (724–25)	Shafiʿi	see article	previously vizier

Fig. 6. *Khaṭībs* in Ḥamāh

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad (d. 732/1332)	Great/Upper Mosque	Shafiʿi	Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, 4:107; al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām*, 306–7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar*, 5:249–50; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī*, 29:338–39	judge, *mudarris*
Ibn al-Bārizī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 875/1470)	Great/Upper Mosque	Shafiʿi	see article	
ʿAfif al-Dīn Isḥāq ibn Khalīl (d. 672/1274)	Citadel	?	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh*, vol. 671–80:87; Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, 87; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, 3:38; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī*, 8:412	
Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar, Abū Bakr (d. after 620)	Citadel	Shafiʿi	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh*, vol. 621–30:422–23	

Note: "Ḥamāh" is given as place when no further specification is given in the sources.

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

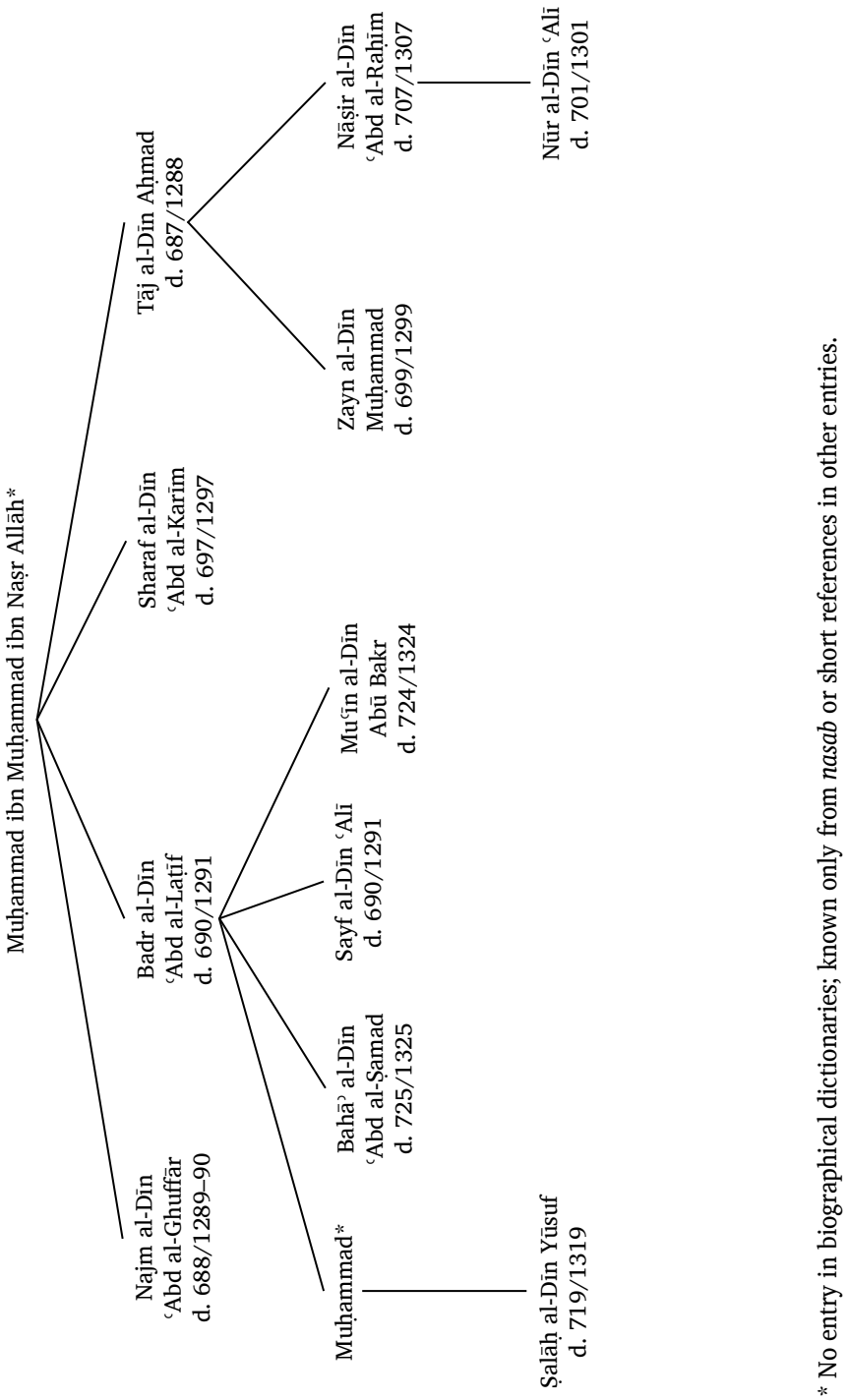

Fig. 7. Banū al-Mughayzil

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

Name	Born	Died	Main Source(s)
Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Hibat Allāh	510/1117	?	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1204–6
Hibat Allāh ibn Aḥmad	?	?	mentioned in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1205
Zayn al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm	?	635–42/ 1238–44	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 4:1609–12
Muḥammad ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Aḥmad	556/1161	637/1239	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 631–40:348–49
Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl	?	648/1248	Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:371–72
Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	588/1191–92 (?)	654/1256–57	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:170–71; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:519; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 1:19–21
Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar	602/1205–6	659/1261	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:385–86; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:182; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, 2:127/8; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 7:202; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 4:1721/2
Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad	613/1216–7	662/1264	Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 2:307–8
Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī ʿAlī	?	673/1274	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:133
Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī	604/1208	fl. 678/ 1279–80	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:385
Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Yaʿqūb	627/1229–30	700/1300–1	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:481; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:366
Fatḥ al-Dīn	?	730/1329–30	Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:100

Fig. 8. Banū Qarnāṣ

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.

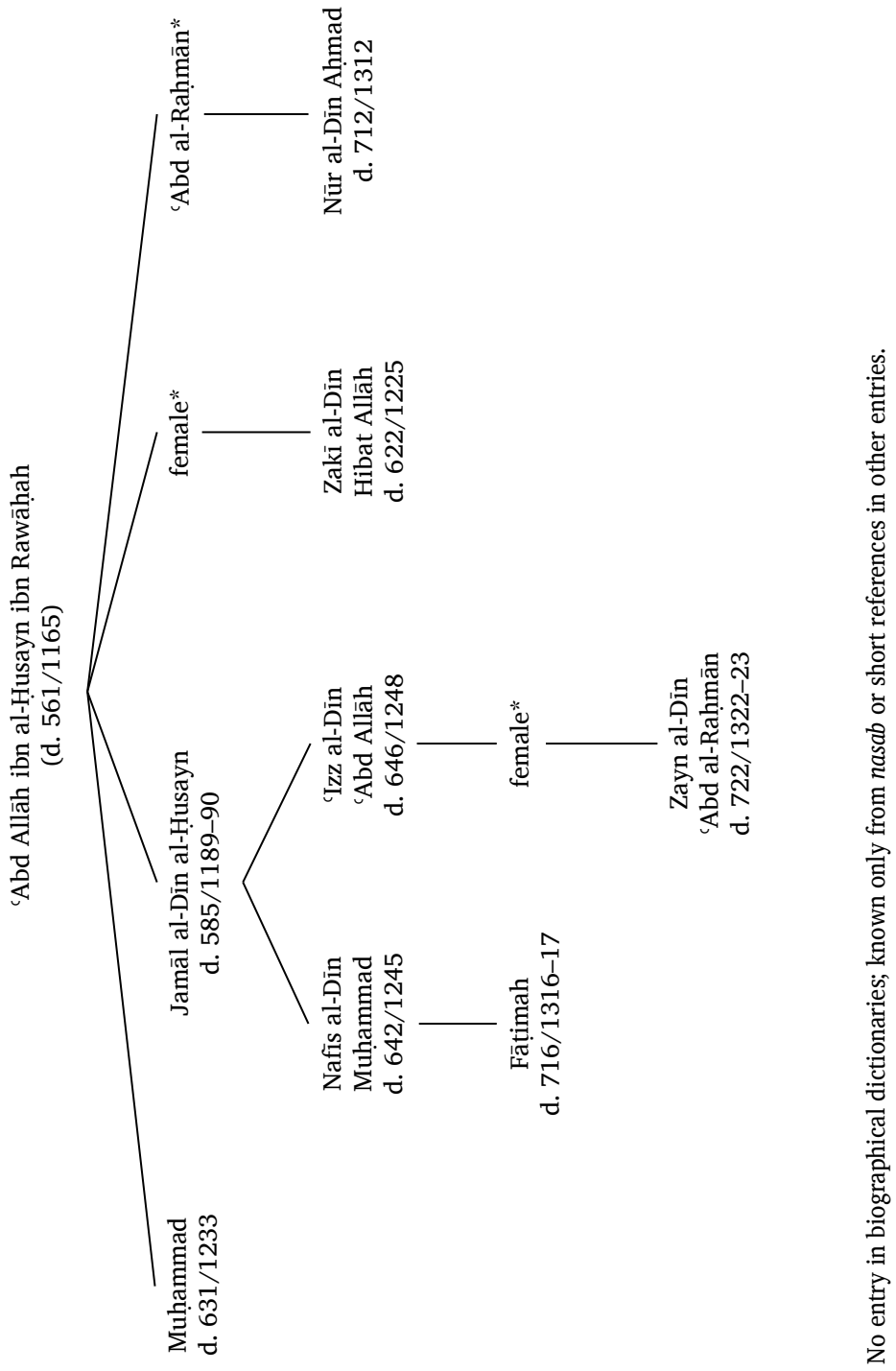

Fig. 9. Banū Rawāḥah

DOI: 10.6082/M1V69GRQ. (https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V69GRQ)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 2: 10.6082/M11G0JB2. See https://doi.org/10.6082/C3Z8-5N48 to download the full volume or individual articles.