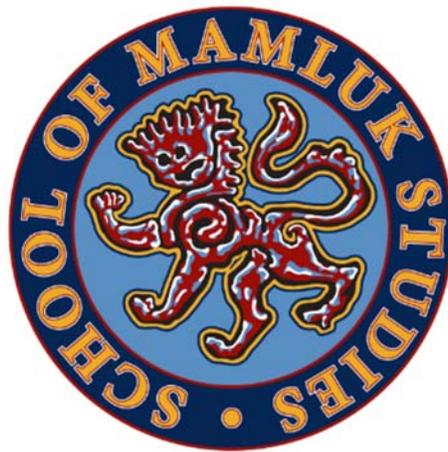# Sixth Conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies

Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

June 15-17, 2019

Program and Abstracts

Organized by:

- Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies Course, School of Humanities and Social Sciences/Graduate School of Letters, Arts and Sciences, Waseda University
- Research Institute for Letters, Arts and Sciences, Waseda University
- The School of Mamlūk Studies
- Middle East Documentation Center, University of Chicago

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- Frédéric Bauden (Université de Liège)
- Antonella Ghersetti (Ca' Foscari University, Venice)
- Marlis J. Saleh (University of Chicago)

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- Daisuke Igarashi (Waseda University)
- Takao Ito (Kobe University)
- Wakako Kumakura (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
- Alex Mallett (Waseda University)
- Nobutaka Nakamachi (Konan University)
- Takenori Yoshimura (Daito Bunka University)

Program

Venue: International Conference Center of Waseda University
   Conference Room No.1 (3rd Floor)

Saturday, June 15
Themed Day: *The Sacred in Mamluk Society*

8:45   Registration

9:15   Welcoming Remarks by Tetsuya Ohtoshi (Waseda University)

9:45   Part 1   Chair: Carl F. Petry (Northwestern University)

   -Mehdi Berriah (University of Paris 1 - La Sorbonne/SOAS /UMR 8167)
   "Visiting the Prophet's grave: bidʿa or not ? A Case of Divergence and
   Theological Debate in the Mamluk Period."

   -Daphna Ephrat (The Open University of Israel) "The Shaykh, the
   Saintly Tomb, and the Sacralization of Space: A View from Mamluk
   Palestine"

   -Hani Hamza (Independent Scholar, Egypt) "The Curious Case of the
   unrecognized turba of amīr Jirbāsh Qāshiq: New dating and attribution"

11:15 Coffee Break

11:30 Part 2   Chair: Alex Mallett (Waseda University)

   -Aida Gasimova (Baku State University) "Mamluk Sultans, Hurufis and
   Hurufi Poet Nesimi: Portraits from Medieval Arab Sources"

   -Elise Franssen (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice) "Al-Ṣafadī's al-Faḍl al-
   Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf...   according to his Taḏkira"

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-Kaori Otsuya (Kyoto University/University of Liège) "Reflections of the sacred in the historiography of Medina, city of the Prophet: Ibn Farḥūn and his Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir"

13:00   Lunch

14:30   Part 3   Chair: Linda Northrup (University of Toronto)

-Dotan Arad (Bar-Ilan University) "Moses, Samuel, Elijah and Ezra: The Cult of Biblical Saints among the Jews in the Mamluk Period"

-Asuka Tsuji (Kawamura Gakuen Women's University) "Contesting Sacred Places in Mamluk Egypt: The Case of Lower Egypt"

-Yehoshua Frenkel (University of Haifa) "The Sacred in Mamluk Society: A Socio-Historical Investigation"

16:00   Coffee Break

16:20   Part 4   Chair: Warren C. Schultz (DePaul University)

-Eman Shokry Hesham (BTU Cottbus-Sengtenberg) "The Veneration and Beauty of Marble Floors in Mamluk Mosques in Cairo"

-Daniella Talmon-Heller (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) "Muṣḥaf ʿUthmān and other Qurʾāns in Mamlūk Syria and Egypt"

-Richard McGregor (Vanderbilt University) "Relics and Religious Topography of Mamluk Cairo"

17:50   End

18:30   Reception (with a concert by Arabic violinist Nobuko Kimura)
        Venue: Restaurant "Mori-no-Kaze"
                (15th floor of Okuma Memorial Tower)

Sunday, June 16
Panels

9:15   *Mamluk Scholarship and the Transmission of Knowledge*
        Organizer – Chair: Elias G. Saba (Grinnell College)

        -Sean W. Anthony (The Ohio State University) "Before all things God
        Most High created the light of your prophet from His light": A Case
        Study in How to Forge Ḥadīth in the Post-Classical Period"

        -Youshaa Patel (Lafayette College) "'Blessed are the strangers':
        Interpreting an Apocalyptic Hadith"

        -Garrett Davidson (College of Charleston) "Reassessing the Role of
        Mamluk Women in Hadith Transmission"

        -Elias G. Saba (Grinnell College) "Islamic Law as Intellectual
        Refinement in the Writing of Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī"

11:00   Coffee Break

11:15   *Irrigation, Landscapes, and Environment: Towards a History of Mamluk
        Agriculture*
        Organizer: Anthony Quickel (University of Marburg)
        Chair: Wakako Kumakura (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

        -Yossef Rapoport (Queen Mary University of London) "Water
        management, iqṭāʿ and tribes in the Fayyum, from Fatimids to the
        Mamluks"

        -Stuart Borsch (Assumption College) "Water Management and the late
        Fatimid Restructuring of Egypt"

        -Muhammad Shaaban (Queen Mary University of London) "Counting
        Dirhams, Olives and Wheat: The Relationship Between Urban

Institutions and Endowed Agrarian Property in the Haram al-Sharif Documents"

-Anthony Quickel (University of Marburg) "A Topography of Taste: Mapping Mamluk Cairo's Food Markets"

13:00   Lunch

14:30   *Mobility of Ideas, Individuals and Goods*
    Organizer: Abdelkader Al Ghouz (University of Bonn)
    Chair: Stephan Conermann (University of Bonn)

-Abdelkader Al Ghouz (University of Bonn) "Paratexts in commentary manuscripts and their function of tracing the mobility of ideas"

-Bethany Joelle Walker (University of Bonn) "Locally Produced but Regionally Consumed: The Circulation of Household Goods in the Syrian Countryside"

-Anna Kollatz (University of Bonn) "Mobility in Immobility: Tracing travelling Narratives in Ibn Iyās' Writings"

15:50   Coffee Break

16:15   *Mamluks and Asia: Views from the East*
    Organizer – Chair: Nobutaka Nakamachi (Konan University)

-Yoichi Isahaya (Hokkaido University) "Maragha across the Euphrates: The Observatory in Mamluk Sources"

-Yihao Qiu (Fudan University) "An Episode of the conflict between Qaidu and Yuan in Mamluk Chronicle"

-Yasuhiro Yokkaichi (Rikkyo University) "From Fārs to Misr: Re-examining the Indian Ocean trade network between the Il-khanate and Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt"

-Yoichi Yajima (Nara Women's University) "Diplomatic correspondence between the Mamluks and the Mongols"

18:00 End

Monday, June 17
Panels

9:15   *The Material Culture of Mamluk Cairo: Urban Fabric, Building Typology, and Architectural Detail*
      Organizer: Naoko Fukami (Cairo Research Station, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science [JSPS])
      Chair: Takenori Yoshimura (Daito Bunka University)

      -Nicholas Jon Warner (American University in Cairo) "The urban fabric of Mamluk Cairo as represented in Matteo Pagano's view of 1549"

      -Naoko Fukami (JSPS) "Typologies of Mamluk religious architecture and their relation to Ilkhanid, Timurid, and Ottoman forms"

      -Gentaro Yamada (Tokai University) "Computational-geometrical Study of Mumluk Muqarnas: Comparative analysis of its morphology using 3D-parametric models"

10:35   Coffee Break

10:50   *Intellectual Activities across the Regions in the Mamluk period*
      Organizer – Chair: Kentaro Sato (Hokkaido University)

      -Maribel Fierro (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas [CSIC]) "Maliki jurists from the Maghrib in the Mamluk sultanate"

      -Mayte Penelas (Escuela de Estudios Árabes, CSIC) "Ibn Ḫaldūn's Kitāb al-ʿIbar as a Source for Mamluk Scholars on Iberian History"

      -Abdenour Padillo Soaud (Escuela de Estudios Árabes, CSIC) "The scholars of the maghrib in the Mamluk madrasas"

-Teruaki Moriyama (Doshisha University) "From Khurasani "Ashab al-Hadith" to Mamlukid Shafiʻi School: Succession to the Classical Hadith Studies"

12:35   Lunch

14:00   *Approaching Mamlūk Historiography: Narratologically, Literarily, Computationally*
   Organizer: Maxim Romanov (University of Vienna)
   Chair: Antonella Ghersetti (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

-Maxim Romanov (University of Vienna) "Computational Historiography: al-D̠ahabī's Taʾrīḫ al-islām and His Sources"

-Rihab Ben Othmen (Ghent University) "Moving texts: a few remarks on textual brokerage, intertextuality and authorial identity in the fifteenth century Mamluk Historiography"

-Kenneth Goudie (Ghent University) "A Tale of Two Dawādārs: al-Biqāʿī's Narrative Construction of Īnāl's Court"

-Zacharie Mochtari de Pierrepont (Ghent University) "The Inbāʾ al-ġumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr and inter-mad̠hab competition: a network analysis case study"

15:45   Coffee Break

16:00   *The Versatile Approach to the Diplomatic Dialogue*
   Organizer: Alessandro Rizzo (Milá y Fontanals Institute, CSIC)
   Chair: Stephan Conermann (University of Bonn)

-Georg Christ (University of Manchester) ""Alexander of our time": Was Venice part of the Mamluk Islamic Empire?"

-Frédéric Bauden (University of Liège) "Brokering power in Mecca: Rasulid-Mamluk diplomatic exchanges about the Meccan Sharifate"

-Malika Dekkiche (University of Antwerp) "Like father like son? Timurid parallel diplomacy with the Mamluk Sultanate"

-Alessandro Rizzo (Milá y Fontanals Institute, CSIC) "Beyond the dār al Islām/dār al-ḥarb paradigm: the multiform dialogue between Mamluks and Christian powers through a diplomatic approach"

17:45   Concluding remarks by Tetsuya Ohtoshi and Frédéric Bauden

18:15   End

19:30   Farewell dinner

Abstracts of Themed Papers

Visiting the Prophet's Grave: Bidʿa or Not ?
A Case of Divergence and Theological Debate in the Mamluk Period.

Mehdi Berriah
(University of Paris 1 - La Sorbonne/SOAS/UMR 8167)

Tomb visit was, and still is, a topic about which much has been written in the ʿulamā's sphere. This phenomenon can be explained by the existence of a great number of hadiths dealing with tombs. But the main reason is probably because the Sunna encourages visiting tombs, warning in the same time against some practices, particularly these considered as being acts of širk, the worst sin in Islam. The case of visiting the Prophet's grave was an object of controversy during the Bahri Mamluk period between three contemporaries, each one belonging to a different madhab: the malikī qāḍī al-quḍā', Taqī al-Dīn al-Ikhnā'ī, the hanbali Ibn Taymiyya and his greatest and most famous refuter, the shāfiʿī qāḍī al-quḍā' Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī. All these scholars have written about the subject. In many of his writings, Ibn Taymiyya defends the opinion that if Muslims go to Medina it's only to visit the Prophet mosque and not his grave, considering the latter action as a religious innovation (bidʿa). On this last point, al-Ikhnāʾī and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī adopted antagonist position, the second refuted explicitly Ibn Taymiyya's opinion. The debate on the visit of the Prophet's tomb was intense and fiery as the number of works it produced during a short period testifies; each camp needed to refute the other. Besides, the debate was also so violent; Ibn Taymiyya's Radd ʿalā al-Ikhnā'iyya as response to al-Ikhnā'ī led him to prison where he eventually died.

Based on Arabic sources this submission proposes to shed light on the most important theological debates of the Bahri Mamluk period; on the one hand, by analysing the discourse of each scholar and, on the other hand, by confronting their religious arguments to understand how the visit of the Prophet's grave in Medina was simultaneously encouraged and criticized during the same period.

The Shaykh, the Saintly Tomb, and the Sacralization of Space: A View from Mamluk Palestine

Daphna Ephrat
(The Open University of Israel)

The proposed paper forms a part of my ongoing research on the creation of saintly spheres around charismatic Sufi shaykhs who lived in Bilad al-Sham during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. Focusing on Palestinian cities and their environs and placed within the broader context of the spread of the cults of saints from the twelfth century onwards, the investigation is designed to offer observations on the traditions, material means, and rituals that transformed the burial place of the Sufi saint into a sacralized space, central to Islamic piety, communal religious life, and the belief in the miraculous.

In studying the life-stories of the saintly figures, leaders of the spiritual paths that spread in the region, the paper analyzes the traditions that embed them in the particular environment and bind them to regional and local scared history and topography. In particular, the discussion seeks to highlight how Mamluk authors tied the charismatic shaykhs to the glorious jihad traditions of the Palestinian coastal towns and incorporated their burial places into an expanding landscape of sacred sites that began to take shape in the counter-Crusader period. These include narratives that extol their extraordinary virtues and marvels, lodge and tomb foundation legends, and descriptions of the devotional practices that highlighted the significance of the site and maintained its sacredness. In studying the concrete place that gave materiality to the presence of the charismatic shaykh and served as arenas to his baraka, I use complementary evidence, such a accounts that locate the burial places and describe the development of the site around them, inscriptions affixed to site, and physical remnants. Through this analysis the paper seeks to contribute to the study of the local manifestations of the emplacement of spiritual power during a seminal period in the history of in the spread of Sufism and the elevation of the Sufi shaykh authority into new heights. Perspectives from social and anthropological studies on the embodiments of charisma and the creation of landscapes of memories surrounding venerated figures are designed to enrich the discussion of the particular case study.

The Curious Case of the Unrecognized Turba of Amīr Jirbāsh Qāshiq: New Dating and Attribution

Hani Hamza
(Independent Scholar, Egypt)

The borderline between the sacred and profane, the living and the dead are so blurred in the Mamluk Northern Cemetery of Cairo as in no other place in Egypt. Sacred burial domes, prayer chapels, mosques, ṣūfī khanqās and zawīyyas stood side by side with profane residential quarters, kitchens, latrines, stables, kutābs and sabīls scattered around a ḥaūsh enclosed by a wall. The Northern Cemetery was dotted with over a hundred of such Mamluk turba complexes, many perished but thirty-five survived.

The majority of surviving turbas are identified with certainty but few have controversial attribution or doubtful dating. One surviving turba stands out as not being recognized at all, let alone given attribution or date. This is the peculiar case of the turba of Jirbāsh Qāshiq (d. 861/1456) standing between the complexes of Īnāl and of Qurqumāṣ at the edge of the Northern Cemetery.

Plan of Īnāl's complex (855-60/1451-56) has a peculiar square area protruding uncomfortably to the west, now in semi ruins. It was identified empirically by the Comite in 1919 as courtyard C of the complex of Īnāl. None of the later studies challenged this attribution. This paper will discuss the vague attribution of three turbas in the area in general, and as a case study challenges the Comite's attribution of the ḥaush C as part of Īnāl's complex; it proposes that it is a separate turba for Jirbāsh Qāshiq. This conclusion is reached through reading of several waqf manuscripts, comparison with other monuments of the same genre and era, biographical dictionaries and chronicles. A plan and a three-dimensional re-construction of the turba are drawn as well.

Mamlūk Sultans, Ḥurūfīs and Ḥurūfī Poet Nesīmī:
Portraits from Medieval Arab Sources

Aida Gasimova
(Baku State University)

ʿImāduddīn Nesīmī (d.1417-18) is one of the prominent figures of Medieval Azeri Turkic literature. Although his poetry testifies the variability of his philosophical thoughts, his name associates with Ḥurūfī teaching; the poet was a follower of Faḍlullāh Astarābādī (d.1394), and a passionate agitator of Ḥurūfism. Nesīmī was a martyr who suffered painful death by skinning alive that "raised him in the eyes of many to a level near that of sainthood"(Burrill). The poet suffered from the orthodox inquisitional policy of Egyptian Mamlūks who established their authority over Syria in the poet's lifetime. Particularly Sulṭān al-Muayyad and his followers demonstrated cruel pressure against Ḥurūfīs, although subsequently Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī (d. 1516) showed sympathy towards Nesīmī and Ḥurūfī tenet. The present paper aims to investigate Medieval Arab sources to shed light on Orthodox persecutions of Ḥurūfīs during the reign of Mamlūk dynasty in Egypt and Syria. The following sources will be analyzed: al-Nujūm al-zāhirah by ibn Taghrīburdī; Anbā' al-ghumr bi-abnā' al-ʿumr by ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d.1449); Kunūz al-dhahab fī tārīkh Ḥalab by Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjamī al-Ḥalabī (d. 1479); al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir fī bayān ʿaqā'id al-akābir al-ṣūfiyah by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿarānī (d.1565); Shadharāt al-dhahab by ibn al-ʿImād Shihāb al-dīn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1678).

Al-Ṣafadī's al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf...
According to his Taḏkira

Elise Franssen
(Università Ca' Foscari, Venice)

Ṣalāḥ al-dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (m. 764/1363) is the author, among many other books, of a small treatise about the Prophet's mawlid, entitled al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf, wa-Yalīh ʿIbrat al-Labīb bi-ʿAthrat al-Kaʾīb (ed. M. ʿĀyish, 2007). This short text will be contextualised in the Mamluk period interest for saints and ṣūfī spirit.

Al-Ṣafadī also kept a reading journal, the Taḏkirah (al-ṣalāḥiyya), where he would write excerpts of texts he thought of interest, texts he read, received or composed, in the frame of his personal or professional activities, and texts he would reuse later on in the frame of his scholarly activities.

At least one holograph volume of the Taḏkira, the 44th, is preserved, and it features the very first version of al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf... This unique testimony of the sacred in the Mamluk period finishes with a samāʿ thus giving us first hand information about the use and interets for this kind of texts. More broadly, it will be the occasion to understand better this important author's methodology.

The close study of the text and of its paratext will allow us to draw a precise image of the text conditions of composition and first transmission.

Reflections of the sacred in the historiography of Medina, city of the Prophet:
Ibn Farḥūn and his Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir

Kaori Otsuya
(Kyoto University/University of Liège)

While remarkable works on the historiography of Egypt and Syria have been published, studies have not fully examined the historiography of the holy city of Medina, with the exception of a few works including Munt's recent study on al-Samhūdī. This paper aims to fill this gap by examining the history of Medina as provided in: Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir by Ibn Farḥūn (d. 769/1367), who was born in a Medinan scholarly family, and became the first Mālikī judge in Medina.

First, I will outline the political situation of Medina and the life of Ibn Farḥūn including his career and his motivation for writing the history of Medina. Of utmost significance in this respect is that during the first half of the Mamluk period, the Sinān family of Medinan amirs seemed to adhere to the Imāmī branch of the Shia and opposed Sunni scholars. Second, I examine how Ibn Farḥūn emphasized the virtue of the Prophet's Mosque by quoting anecdotes of the Prophet, his companions, and preceding scholars. Third, I discuss how he describes various "bidaʿs" that these "rāfiḍūn" did in the Prophet's Mosque, and how Sunni scholars opposed the amir's family and eventually improved conditions for Sunnis. In this manner, I propose to explore how a Medinan historian tried to incorporate sacredness of the Prophet's Mosque into his work to support his view of the contemporary history and to express his ideas on what the Medinan society should be like.

Moses, Samuel, Elijah and Ezra:
The Cult of Biblical Saints among the Jews in the Mamluk Period

Dotan Arad
(Bar-Ilan University)

The Jews of the Mamluk Sultanate had an advantage over their brethren in Europe and other places. They lived in the lands where biblical events had happened and had the privilege to visit the tombs of Biblical and Talmudic figures. The tombs of the Patriarchs (in Hebron), of the Prophet Samuel (near Jerusalem) and of Joseph (in Nablus) were central places of worship.

But the cult of saints among the Jews in Syria, Palestine and Egypt was not limited to prayers near sacred tombs. Two of the figures who were very central in the popular religious life in the Mamluk period, Moses and Elijah, had no grave at all. According to the Bible, the location of Moses' tomb is unknown, while Elijah arrived in heaven alive. How do Jews commemorate those figures? Which places were sanctified to Moses and Elijah and what was the character of the worship there? What gave the figure of Ezra the Scribe such a special importance in the Jewish mind in this period?

Discussing these questions can help us to clarify the nature of the religious life of the Jews in Syria, Palestine and Egypt and to illuminate the centrality of the sacred in their consciousness. Their religious life was characterized with a deep connection to the Biblical (and Talmudic) figures, special rites, which they shared with the local Muslims, and a variety of traditions and legends, which will be partly presented in the lecture. The different questions above will be discussed in the light of various sources: travel literature, Genizah documents, Responsa literature and more.

Contesting Sacred Places in Mamluk Egypt:
The Case of Lower Egypt

Asuka Tsuji
(Kawamura Gakuen Women's University)

Claiming sacred places as their own is a phenomenon witnessed in Egypt since Late Antiquity. The period first witnessed the destruction of temples and their transformation into churches, as well as that of its cults, such as that of Goddess Isis, into the Cult of Saints, thereby the transformation of their pilgrimage sites as well. The same phenomenon emerged during the Islamic period when churches and Christian holy places were transformed into mosques and Muslim sites of veneration. Such changes in the religious environment continued until the Mamluk period, as presented in this paper.

I would like to draw attention to the itinerary of a little-known Coptic saint/ascetic Yuhanna al-Rabban, who wandered from village to village in the Gharbiya province in the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries. His travels, as described in his Sira or Life, overlap those of Ahmad al-Badawi's disciples, who were, as claimed in their biographies, instrumental in spreading his cult in the Gharbiya as well, approximately during the same period.

One of the functions of hagiographies in Late Antiquity was to record place names in connection to a certain saint and claim the place "sacred" or "Christianized." Could it be that the same happened during the Mamluk period, but due to Muslim saints, and that Christians tried to fight against it? If so, then to what extent were they successful? Could this challenge the image of Islamization as a one-way street?

The Sacred in Mamluk Society:
A Socio-Historical Investigation

Yehoshua Frenkel
(University of Haifa)

Years ago Emile Durkheim constructed the dichotomy model of sacred and profane, a pattern that was taken up by later scholars. This paradigm, I believe, can serve for studying the history of Late Middle Islamic Period societies.

It is widely accepted that the Mamluk sultans relied on Islam as the major source of legitimacy. Administrative manuals clearly illuminate the role of the al-muḥtasib, who was nominated to impose law and order. Evidently his duties were based upon an Islamic perception of shared social imagination (Q. 3: 104).

Contemporary sources make it evident that the Sultanate's rulers and their subjects were guided by belief in the supernatural. We can distinguish three prototypes of sacred components in Mamluk existence:

1) Persons- Sufi authors regularly mention friends of God (awliya). Mamluk period Muslims highly believed in saints' blessing power (karāma) and their miraculous intervention in cosmic order (muʻjiza).

2) Space- Supported by legal deeds, contemporaneous narrative sources illuminate holy places (ḥaram) that attracted visitors and pilgrims, who hoped to gain blessing (baraka). Religious institutions dominated the urban landscape.

3) Time and Rituals- The third department were, not surprisingly, the presence of sanctity is observable are clearly perceived religious events that create liminal conditions. Rituals were a sacred time of elevation. Sufi dhikrs (Q. 33: 35) can be delineated as such arena. The participants were promised to generate positive energy (ḥasanāt).

The aim of this short contribution is to expose documented evidences of soldiers' and civilians' aspirations to draw close to sources of sacred inspiration: to dwell in a sacred place, to be in the circle that engulfed an admired sheikh, to touch sacred items and to participate in religious rituals. These data material will be used to depict the cultural history, sacred topography and the high visibility of search for holy and explain the social role of the sacred in Mamluk circles.

The Veneration and Beauty of Marble Floors in Mamluk Mosques in Cairo

Eman Shokry Hesham

(BTU Cottbus-Sengtenberg/The German Archaeological Institute Cairo)

The art and architecture of the Mamluk style in Cairo have dominated the architectural and urban character of Historic Cairo. Not only as part of its urban tissue, but the Mamluk architectural details also have contributed to the spiritual and the sacred of the interiors, prayer and study courts.

The key architectural details vary, from glass windows, minibars, marble Qiblahs, to marble floors in courts. The marble floors, in particular, enjoy unique and magnificent patterns and colors that complement the wholeness of the structure and its religious and spiritual role of the mosque buildings. Very recently, scholars start to focus more on such architectural details such as glass windows and minibars for documentation and protection reasons. Whereas, little have been conducted to give more attention to the marble floors, and having a standardized documentation for them have been underestimated.

This paper focuses on the design of patterns of three courts in three mosques in Cairo built in the Mamluk era. After proper documentation is provided in it, the paper tries to understand and construe the meaning of the patterns and their contribution to both the veneration and beauty of these mosques.

This paper is the nucleus to build a database for the marble floors of Mamluk mosques and madrasas in Cairo. The main objectives are to make a standardized documentation of what still remains of these marble floor patterns, and to explore beyond to reinterpret them and perhaps discuss their integration possibilities in new structures.

Muṣḥaf ʿUthmān and Other Qurʾāns in Mamlūk Syria and Egypt

Daniella Talmon-Heller
(Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

The fourteenth-century Syrian historian and commentator Ibn Kathīr labels the ancient Qurʾān that was held in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus "the best-known of the ʿUthmānī muṣḥafs." He describes it as a great, precious, noble book, written on parchment in steadfast ink in a good hand, and adds: "May God add to its honour, greatness and reverence." Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes that Damascenes swore oaths (yuḥlifu) on this particular muṣḥaf and treat it as a sacred relic. Chroniclers mention that on several occasion in the 12th-15th centuries it was taken out of its usual place and paraded, in order to ward off danger or deal with a crisis. Fearing defeat at the hand of the Ottomans, the last Mamlūk sultan, Ghawri, allegedly deposited an ʿUthmānī Qurʾān and a few other relics in the fortress of Alexandria, planning to take the collection with him to North Africa.

In line with the recent 'material turn' in Religious Studies - calling for a shift of emphasis from texts to things and from thought to practice, as better reflecting the religion of the people - my paper will focus on the sacred object of the Qurʾān in Mamlūk society. I will pay special attention to a couple of ancient copies known as muṣḥaf ʿUthmān, which enjoyed excessive veneration, as reflected in the examples above. I will analyze their use as cultic objects, precious gifts, political assets, symbols and relics. I will also draw on Mamlūk-era legal and prescriptive literature for the rules of proper conduct with all copies of the Qurʾān; regarding ritual purity, safe keeping, touching, holding, kissing and adorning of Qurʾān codices, and the disposing of copies damaged beyond use. Data about actual practices of Muslims - namely the employment of the codex in ceremonial, judicial, talismanic and therapeutic contexts, both in the public and in the private spheres (collected from sporadic reports in biographical dictionaries, chronicles, and travelers' accounts) - will be presented as well.

Relics and Religious Topography of Mamluk Cairo

Richard McGregor
(Vanderbilt University)

Any survey of Egyptian and Syrian relics of the medieval period encounters a wide variety of objects. Records from the period show that believers' contact with such objects took place within a web of competing significations, with relics regularly shifting location, adopting new identities, and evoking various devotional and ritual responses. From the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, various political projects were launched to collect the most valuable relics of the region, and to engineer pilgrimage itineraries; while in Syria, a distinct practice associating Prophetic relics with libraries   and hadith study developed (e.g. al-madrasa al-Ashrafiyya). In Mamluk Egypt, relics gave birth to new institutions expressly intended for their display and promotion (e.g. Ribat al-athar al-Nabi, or Shrine of Sayyidna Husayn). Using sources such as al-Maqrizi, al-Sakhawi, and Ibn Taymiyya.

Abstracts of Panel Papers

Panel 1: Mamluk Scholarship and the Transmission of Knowledge

This panel explores the ways in which the tradition of scholarly knowledge was transmitted in the Mamluk Sultanate. Although we now know a great deal about learning institutions, practices for teaching and learning, and book writing, this panel investigates three cases of the transmission of knowledge and its adaption in the Mamluk Sultanate. Sean Anthony's paper offers a look into the practice of hadith forgery in Mamluk Cairo. Through a study of the biography of Muḥammad written by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qasṭallānī, he sheds light on the malleability of history. Youshaa Patel, meanwhile, looks at the interpretation of the hadith of al-ghurabāʾ in a variety of Mamluk sources to see how Mamluk jurists adopted and understood the concept of strangers. Garrett Davidson's paper studies the role of women as hadith transmitters. Davidson shows how women's involvement in hadith transmission was not a product of a scholarly education, but rather of long lives and, consequently, the unusually elevated chains of transmission they sometimes possessed. Finally, Elias G. Saba's paper explores the legal dictionary, al-Manthūr fī al-qawāʿid of Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī. By analyzing al-Zarkashī's description of Islamic law, Saba demonstrates how this work presents a novel conceptualization of Islamic law through examples from Islamic legal history. Taken together, these four papers reveal the vibrant Mamluk engagement with the Islamic heritage and how they shaped this heritage for future scholars.

Organizer – Chair: Elias G. Saba

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Sean W. Anthony (Associate Professor; The Ohio State University; USA)

Before all things God Most High created the light of your prophet from His light": A Case Study in How to Forge Ḥadīth in the Post-Classical Period

The Cairene scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923/1517) composed one of the most influential biographical treatises on the prophet Muḥammad to emerge

from the Mamluk period, al-Mawāhib al-ladunniyyah. In its opening passages, the book reproduces a ḥadīth attributed to the famed Companion Jābir ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī in which the Prophet narrates his creation from God's own divine light before the creation of all things. Although previously a familiar theme in popular narratives of Muḥammad's birth, by the stroke of his pen al-Qasṭallānī here gives the tradition a scholarly pedigree and cites the revered early muḥaddith ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827) as his authoritative source. This paper examines the veracity of al-Qasṭallānī's citation and explores the intellectual debates between Ṣūfīs and traditionalists, and even a modern manuscript forgery, that followed in its wake.

Panelist 2
Youshaa Patel (Assistant Professor; Lafayette College; USA)

'Blessed are the strangers': Interpreting an Apocalyptic Hadith

According to a hadith transmitted by Muslim (d. 261/875) in his Ṣaḥīḥ, the Prophet told his companions, "Islam began strange, and will [one day] return to being strange—just as it began—so blessed are the strangers (ṭūbā li'l-ghurabāʾ)." Other hadiths further define this idea of estrangement, strengthening the hadith's apocalyptic tone. Today, many followers of extremist groups such as ISIS call themselves ghurabāʾ, or strangers, but how did pre-modern religious authorities — Sufis, jurists, theologians, and historians — understand this concept? In this paper, I trace the reception of the hadith of al-ghurabāʾ during the Mamluk period, documenting its interpretation in a range of religious texts, including encyclopedic hadith commentaries, fatwa collections, and independent treatises such as Kashf al-kurba bi-waṣf ḥāl ahl al-ghurba by Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795/1393), in a preliminary attempt to compose a conceptual history of nonconformity in medieval Islamic thought.

Panelist 3
Garrett Davidson (Assistant Professor; College of Charleston; USA)

Reassessing the Role of Mamluk Women in Hadith Transmission

Mamluk sources preserve a substantial body of evidence attesting to the active role Muslim women played in the transmission of hadith. Recent studies of women hadith transmitters have, however, misinterpreted much of this material, inferring that because women participated in the transmission of hadith they must have also participated in learning and scholarship. This paper reassesses the nature of women's participation in Mamluk hadith transmission, demonstrating that contrary to claims made in previous studies, the evidence instead shows that the vast majority of women hadith transmitters, like many of their male counterparts, had no training in the texts they transmitted. While there were women who were both scholars and transmitters, such as the famous transmitter of the Ṣaḥīḥ, Karīma al-Marwaziyya, these women were the exception not the rule. Most of the women who engaged in transmission in the Mamluk period had little if any knowledge of the texts they transmitted. In fact, a significant body of evidence suggests that the majority of these women were likely illiterate. Many of these women, nonetheless, become prominent transmitters, not for any learning or scholarly reputation, but for their longevity and the short chains of transmission they possessed as a result. Indeed, it is shown that in almost all of the more than a thousand cases analyzed, these women audited hadith, or received ijāzas, as young very children or even infants, then have no contact with the world of learning and scholarship until they had outlived most of their peers and are sought out by hadith collectors not for any knowledge of the texts they transmitted, but for the unusually elevated chain of transmission they now possessed.

Panelist 4
Elias G. Saba (Lecturer; Grinnell College; USA)

Islamic Law as Intellectual Refinement in the Writing of Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī

Al-Manthūr fī al-qawāʾid by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahādur al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) is an alphabetically arranged legal companion to Islamic law. The entries contain definitions of legal terms, discussions about legal cases (masāʾil), explanations of legal maxims, and more. The work begins with a brief theoretical discussion of Islamic law, in which legal distinctions are a core component of

Islamic law. Additionally, knowledge of Islamic law included mastery over substantive law, legal scaffolding, difficult questions (muṭāraḥāt), sophistical argumentation (? mughālatāṭ), examinations (mumtaḥināt), riddles (al-alghāz), legal strategems (ḥiyal), knowledge of legal scholars, and familiarity with precepts and maxims (al-ḍawābiṭ wa-l-qawāʿid). Of the ten components of Islamic law, al-Zarkashī only includes entries for muṭāraḥāt, mughālatāṭ, mumtaḥināt, and ḥiyal in the main body of his text, discussions of the rest are interspersed throughout the volumes of this texts. It is possible that al-Zarkashī defines these components because he feels they are less understood than the others. Certainly, muṭāraḥāt, mughālatāṭ, and mumtaḥināt are parts of Islamic law that do not figure into twenty-first century expositions on Islamic law. In his discussions of the four components, however, al-Zarkashī is interested in justifying them through appeals to past practice, of the Prophet and of early jurists. This paper demonstrates how al-Zarkashī presents a particular and novel conceptualization of Islamic law through his discussion of Islamic law's history.

Panel 2: Irrigation, Landscapes, and Environment: Towards a History of Mamluk Agriculture

While the agricultural history of Mamluk Egypt, especially in economic terms, is being better comprehended, the environmental and rural history of the province remains greatly understudied. This panel hopes to expand beyond the taxable and economic study of Egyptian agriculture and land use and look at the relationships between the regime and the natural environment, the urban and the rural settings, and the relationship of people to the spaces they occupied. As irrigation and water-usage is fundamental to understanding Egypt's rural history, several of the papers in the panel highlight dynamic changes in irrigation over time. They will examine the agency and collaboration of state and local actors in designing irrigation systems and making decisions over allocation of water rights.

Furthermore, the panel will introduce the EGYLandscape Project, a joint French/German cooperation with an international scope, that will set out to explore the changing nature of the Egyptian landscape and environment during the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods (thirteenth to eighteenth centuries). The EGYLandscape Project proposes a multi-disciplinary approach that combines traditional textual analysis alongside archeological findings and new digital methods like GIS-mapping. This panel will illustrate some of the possibilities of this approach and give a sample of the sorts of research that the project will hopefully produce in the coming years while also showing the exciting direction that Mamluk Egypt's rural and environmental history is taking.

Organizer: Anthony Quickel
Chair: Wakako Kumakura (Assistant Professor; Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Yossef Rapoport (Reader in Islamic history, Queen Mary University of London; UK)

Water Management, Iqṭāʿ and Tribes in the Fayyum, from Fatimids to the Mamluks

This paper will describe the development of the irrigation system of the Fayyum from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, based on the uniquely rich sources for the history of the province. Fatimid-era sources show the Fatimid state to be directly involved in the supply and management of water resources. An irrigation schedule dating from 421/1030 CE, based on a survey (kashf) of the main branches of the canals in the Fayyum, includes a thorough technical explanation of the structure and function of the Lahun Dam, the locations of the main canals, the water rights of each village unit, and the schedule of opening and closing of the main canals. Another eleventh-century account shows that the key event in the annual cycle of local irrigation, the blocking of the Dam at al-Lahun, was an official ceremony attended by the local governor.

Following the great crisis of 1068-1073, which led to desertion of villages on the edges of the province, and as a result of decentralisation brought about through the introduction of the iqṭāʿ system in the twelfth century, management of water resources has been devolved to local officials and village communities. When al-Nābulusī visited the province in 643/1245, his main informant on the local irrigation system is the khawlī al-baḥr (Overseer of the Canal). The annual blocking of the dam at al-Lahun is described as led by self-appointed engineers from among the local villagers. Management of water rights appears to have been based on tribal networks, and amirs who hold fragmentary iqṭāʿ¬ units had limited influence on the water supply. While some aspects of this process may have been unique to the Fayyum, I will argue that the same picture was probably true of other Egyptian provinces under the Ayyubids and the Bahri Mamluk sultans.

Panelist 2
Stuart Borsch (Professor; Assumption College; USA)

Water Management and the late Fatimid Restructuring of Egypt

I present here a theory that explains why Egypt, c. 1100 CE, transformed its internal structure by creating large provinces in the place of the much smaller

kuras, and argue that water management must have been a primary consideration.

By the eleventh century, an increasing number of large-scale flood canals (the largest and longest in the Nile Delta: those which were taking the place of the old Deltaic river channels) were calling for effective water management. When new provincial boundaries were created, it is striking that the boundaries of the new provinces match exactly the boundaries of the individual water management systems, canal-by-canal. It seems that the intention was that each of these twelve or so large-scale canals be contained within a single province, a single-water management system. And therefore, though there could be more than one canal per province, the general rule seems to have been that a canal should not cross provincial boundaries. Quantitative simulation, the water law texts, and Ayyubid memoranda make the case that regional control of water law (and a single-authority for each canal) was a necessary corollary for what was a relatively new system of large-scale flood canal; after all, the sharing of canals or water-management across provincial boundaries would have presented the risk of water conflict. I will use spatial mapping, documentary evidence, and quantitative hydraulic simulation to show how the dictates of water management account for and explain this comprehensive alteration to Egypt's administrative structure that included its internal geography (kūra to ʿamal), its political governance (ṣāḥib al-kūra to wālī), and its economy (qabāla system to regional statist).

Panelist 3
Muhammad Shaaban (Graduate Student; Queen Mary University of London; UK)

Counting Dirhams, Olives and Wheat: The Relationship Between Urban Institutions and Endowed Agrarian Property in the Haram al-Sharif Documents

The relationship between urban religious institutions and the endowed agrarian properties that helped fund them has often been a subject of scholarly attention. Recent scholarship has focused on the growing agrarian assets of endowments in the late medieval period, especially in Egypt, from the perspective of political developments or socio-economic disasters like the Black Death. This macro lens vantage point provides evidence of historical trends but also leaves many

questions unanswered. While the extensive building programs of Mamluk sultans and amirs left an indelible imprint on the urban landscape, changes in the agrarian landscape which funded and fed these institutions are relatively opaque and largely unexplored in comparison. This paper will examine records found in the Haram al-Sharif collection in order to discuss issues of fiscal and asset management that will tackle these changes from a different perspective. An exploration of these records will not only provide a better understanding of how agrarian properties helped fund endowments, thereby placing their growing popularity in the late Mamluk period in the context of recent scholarship, but also demonstrate the ways in which endowments influenced agricultural development and markets.

The accounting records, declarations and other legal documents found in this collection provide a closer view of the interactions between urban and rural environments. These sources offer perspectives from the managerial aspect of endowments past the point of their inception documented in endowment deeds. The mundane but far more revealing daily operations of specific institutions permits individual case studies that can be integrated into the larger discussion on these developments for a more nuanced understanding, thereby posing further avenues of inquiry.

Panelist 4
Anthony Quickel (Graduate Student; Philipps-Universität Marburg; Germany)

A Topography of Taste: Mapping Mamluk Cairo's Food Markets

The layout of Mamluk Cairo's marketplaces and their orientation and distribution throughout the city is increasingly being understood. Critical to studying these markets is an understanding that their positioning within the city was representative of various factors, most of which were economic in nature, but also relating to demographic change and sultanic policy. The food markets of the city are a highly illustrative example of this process of siting and spacing, sometimes determinedly, markets throughout the city's quarters.   This paper will explore the aspects of the spatiality of food markets in Mamluk Cairo as both a consequence of the historical urban development of the city but also with regards to changing economic (especially agricultural) and environmental realities. Examples of these

transformations or critical factors include the shifting course of the Nile, the city's trade with Bilad al-Sham, Cairo's grain and sugar supplies, and more. Thus, this paper will show that by looking at the topography of the city's food markets alongside the historical and economic developments of the Mamluk Sultanate, a more complete portrait of the economic and urban development of the city may be gained as well as glimpses to the state of the Mamluk rural and natural environment.

Panel 3: Mobility of Ideas, Individuals and Goods in the Mamluk Period

Bilād al-Shām and its neighbours are considered in this panel not as a geographically clear-cut area but rather as a multiply interconnected space. This space is formed and re-formed by human acts and interaction crossing and transcending spatial, social and cultural boundaries. Mobility of ideas, individuals and goods is characteristic for this space of interaction: the physical movements of individuals and groups, i.e. social mobility along horizontal and vertical lines; mobility between social positions and within hierarchies; but also the mobility of knowledge expressed in the 'movement' and transfer of ideas, images and different aspects of material culture. The aim of this panel is to shed light on the mobility of ideas, individuals and goods in the Mamluk Period from a cross-disciplinary perspective.

Organizer: Abdelkader Al Ghouz
Chair: Stephan Conermann (Professor; University of Bonn; Germany)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Abdelkader Al Ghouz (Research Associate and Scientific Co-ordiantor; Annemarie-Schimmel-Kolleg, University of Bonn; Germany)

Paratexts in Commentary Manuscripts and their Function of Tracing the Mobility of Ideas

The Sunni-Ashʿarīte theologian and chief judge *(qāḍī al-quḍāt)* ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1316) composed his theological treatise entitled *Ṭawāliʿ al-Anwār min Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār* in Tabriz. A remarkable number of commentaries were written on al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawāliʿ* in Mamluk Cairo from the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. For instance, the Ashʿarīte theologian Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī composed – on behalf of the Mamluk ruler al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341) – a commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ* entitled *Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār Sharḥ Ṭawāliʿ al-Anwār*. In the Mamluk period, the *Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār* enjoyed

wide popularity among theologians and philosophers who wrote many glosses and super-glosses on it.

This paper is formed of two main parts. The first part – based on network analysis – expounds al-Iṣfahānī's network with the Damascene and Cairene political and intellectual elites that led to the composition of the commentary *Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār* and its diffusion in the Mamluk period. Using Gerard Genette's literary concept of paratext, the second part of this paper sheds light on paratextual evidences of different individual copies of *Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār* in order to identify some aspects of the social context of these manuscripts and to trace the kinds of scholarly hubs in which al-Iṣfahānī's philosophical ideas circulated.

Panelist 2

Bethany Joelle Walker (Chair of Mamluk Studies/Research Professor (tenured, life-time appointment) and Co-Director; Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg of Mamluk Studies, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Bonn; Germany)

Locally Produced but Regionally Consumed: The Circulation of Household Goods in the Syrian Countryside

A tight network of villages and smaller communities developed in the Syrian countryside from the 14th century under the impact of investment into travel and transport infrastructure by the Mamluk government and exponential growth in the number and diversity of rural markets. As a result, peasants were highly mobile and in regular contact with villages at some distance away. While these networks and this physical mobility are hinted at by contemporary written sources, they are vividly illustrated by the archaeological record, in the form of portable objects, travelers' graffiti, and production and storage facilities and their region-wide distribution.

This paper highlights the role that the circulation of everyday goods – both consumable commodities and household accoutrements – in the countryside played in reinforcing rural social and economic networks. It will center on the production of typical course wares (handmade table wares and cooking pots) and the cultivation/husbandry of food staples of the period (namely particular kinds of cereals, sugar cane molasses, olive oil, fish, and mutton) and their circulation among rural communities, near and far. The geographical scope

of the paper in southern Bilād al-Shām (Transjordan and Palestine), with a particular focus on the results of ongoing fieldwork at the castle-village site of Tall Ḥisbān in central Jordan and the amiral estate of Khirbet Beit Mamzil outside Jerusalem. Formal archaeological and laboratory analysis of domestic pottery, food remains, and agricultural fields from these two highland sites, compared with published results from other rural sites in the region and a critical readings of relevant period sources, suggest ways in which highly mobile "things" brought people in closer contact with one another.

Panelist 3

Anna Kollatz (Research Associate and Board Member, SFB 1167 "Macht and Herrschaft: Premodern Configurations in a Transcultural Perspective"; University of Bonn; Germany)

Mobility in Immobility: Tracing travelling Narratives in Ibn Iyās' Writings

Ibn Iyās' Badāʾiʿ az-Zuhūr is one of the most widely received sources, especially for the transition period of the 15th and 16th centuries in Egypt. The complete works of the historiographer, by contrast, have received little attention so far. While the historical author, after all we know, practically did not leave his hometown Cairo, his texts deal with the history of the whole Levant. Out of relative immobility they consider a broad time frame in which social, military, economic and individual mobilities shaped history. Yet a high degree of intertextual mobility of narratives, plots and narrative structures can be observed between the individual texts from Ibn Iyās' pen. This lecture follows those narratives and plots that appear again and again in the various writings of the historiographer. How does the representation of individual events change? Is it possible to dissect a working process among the sources that were created sequentially or in parallel? Along which criteria does Ibn Iyās process his material?

Panel 4: Mamluks and Asia: Views from the East

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Mamluk Society was forced to confront the wave of globalization of those era, so-called, the Pax Mongolica. Not only the Mamluk government had diplomatic relationship with the Mongol Empire, but also intellectuals and merchants exchanged their knowledge, materials, and culture with the Eastern countries. This panel aims to shed a light to the Asian connections of the Mamluk Sultanate in the fields of intellectual history, philological study, and archival study.

Yoichi Isahaya, comparing the descriptions of the Maragha observatory between the Mamluk sources and the Ilkhanate narratives, reveals unknown relationship between the Ilkhanate intellectual center and the Mamluk scholars. Yihan Qiu surveys Baybars al-Mansuri's reports on a conflict between Qaidu and Qubilai Qa'an and analyzes how and why the Mamluk historian get to acquaint the event, which occurred in the Mongol Empire. Yoichi Yajima examines diplomatic correspondence between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Empire and demonstrates a particular style of the documents from Mamluk to Mongol. Yasuhiro Yokkaichi, refferring to the collection of the Rasulid official documents, *Nur al-Ma'arif*, illustrates the multilateral trading network of Indian Ocean merchants, from China, via Kish and Hormuz, to Mamluk Hijaz and Cairo.

Organizer – Chair: Nobutaka Nakamachi (Professor; Konan University; Japan)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Yoichi Isahaya (Assistant Professor; Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University; Japan)

Maragha across the Euphrates: The Observatory in Mamluk Sources

The tide of the Mongols was dammed by a crushing defeat at ʿAyn Jālūt in 1260, which resulted in fixing the political boundaries between the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517) and the Mongol Ilkhanate (ca. 1256–1357), despite the latter's several encroachments after that. However, the boundaries were not much

confined to the mobility of intellectuals. Quite a few scholars in Syria and Egypt visited the Maragha observatory—a foremost intellectual center in the Nile-to-Oxus region—even from the time of its foundation. This paper attempts to reconstruct a history of the observatory from the Mamluk sources in comparison with narratives from the Ilkhanate. Information about the Maragha observatory in the Mamluk sources is mainly divided into two parts. On one hand, Mamluk chronicles refer to the observatory in particular in the political context. Biographical dictionaries authored in the regions of the Mamluk Sultanate, on the other hand, also provide us with a fair amount of information about the observatory in relation to scholars who were active there. That information includes not only scholars of the Ilkhanate such as Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201–1274) and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (1244-1323) but also ones from the Mamluk realm. Marshalling a wide variety of sources, unknown aspects of the history of the Maragha observatory are expected to be revealed. In fact, the scholar who mostly inherited the tradition of the Maragha astronomers was Ibn al-Shātir (1304–1375), a timekeeper (muwaqqit) in Damascus, but he did not come to Maragha at all. This paper would also shed some light upon this elusive connection between the Syrian scholar and the Maragha astronomical heritage.

Panelist 2
Yihao Qiu (Lecturer; Fudan University; China)

An Episode of the conflict between Qaidu and Yuan in Mamluk Chronicle

Among the numerous Mamluk historians, one important author who devoted a more informative work about the Mongols and their history is Baybars al-Manṣūrī (Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Dawādar al-Manṣūrī al-Khaṭaʾī, 645/1246-7—725/1324-5), a Mamluk general, local governor and historian (Ashtor, 1986: v.1, 1127-8). In his universal chronicle, *Zubdat al-fikra fī taʾrīkh al-hajira* (hereafter ZF), Baybars al-Manṣūrī reports on a fierce conflict which occurred between the Toluid prince Nomoqan and Qaidu, the nephew and a recalcitrant rival of Qubilai Qa'an. His record, so far as I know, is a distinctive narrative relating to Qaidu's military activity in Mamluk sources, but the information of the actual date and place was ambiguous. Furthermore, it is strange that the contemporary Persian historical works keep an unusual silence on this event. Likewise, in Chinese sources we

cannot find any record similar to the story recorded in the ZF. Thus, is it just a rumor due to the geographical distance or more likely, a misrepresentation because of the overt enmity against the Yuan Dynasty? In addition, since Qaidu's story seems rather abrupt in the entire text of ZF, so why the author includes it in his work?

To answer these questions, the report relevant to Qaidu's conflict should be examined in detail. Hence this article aims to follow two sections: firstly, based on the Chinese, Persian and Arabic sources, I try to identify the person, the place-name and date relevant to this event. This event and its influence, will also be surveyed from a macroscopic view. Secondly, from Baybars al-Manṣūrī's personal experience and the government policy of the Mamluk Sultanate, I will analyze the reason why this event gained this special attention by Mamluk historians.

Associated with it, the informants and economic motivation relating to the Mongol affairs has also to be discussed.

Panelist 3
Yasuhiro Yokkaichi (Associate Professor; Rikkyo University; Japan)

From Fārs to Misr: Re-examining the Indian Ocean Trade Network between the Il-khanate and Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt

According to the assertion of Arabic historians including Bernard Lewis, the center of Islamic economic sphere shifted from Baghdad to Cairo and that the mainline of the western Indian Ocean moved from the Persian Gulf route to the Red Sea route after the decline of the Abbas Caliphate. However, judging from the multilateral trading network of Indian Ocean merchants, the framework may not be as simple as they showed. Baghdād and Shīrāz under Mongol rule and Cairo under the Mamluk Sultanate functioned as the hubs of international trade, whereas the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea were, through the intermediary of Fārs, Iraq, and Hijāz, incorporated in the same multilateral trade network.
Generally speaking, Chinese and Indian goods were brought to Egypt by the Kārimī merchants via sea route. However, Indian Ocean merchants including Kish and Hormuz merchants who were patronized by the Il-khanid and Pandiya Dynasties brought commercial goods from China, Southeast Asia, and India to

not only Iran and Iraq but also Syria and Egypt. In addition, the royal family of Kish also had the commercial connection with the Rasulid court and Makka of Hijāz.

The *Nūr al-Ma'rif*, the collection of the Rasulid Sultanate's official commercial and administrative documents in the reign of Sultān al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (647-94 AH/1249-95 CE), includes the customs tariff of Aden Port used by the end of the thirteenth century. Based on these records, goods from China, India, Fārs, and Iraq were imported to Aden, and a large number of the goods transited Kish Island. In this manner, Kish merchants edged into the market of Aden Port. They had two commercial routes, namely, that between Fārs and Aden and that between Iraq and Aden via Hijāz. This paper addresses the multilateral structure of the Indian Ocean trade focusing on the commercial relation among Iran, Iraq, and Egypt under Mongol and Mamluk Sultanate's confrontation.

Panelist 4
Yoichi Yajima (Professor; Nara Women's University; Japan)

Diplomatic Correspondence between the Mamluks and the Mongols

A substantial number of diplomatic letters in Arabic were exchanged between the Mamluks and the Mongols. Although none of their original documents exist, in historical sources some are cited and some are mentioned without citing the contents. Whereas they have been utilized by historians as informative sources for the relationship between the Mamluks and the Mongols, their formats themselves deserve consideration. This paper aims at discussing the styles and backgrounds of the diplomatic correspondence between the Mamluks and the Mongols.

The Arabic letters sent to the Mamluks from the Ilkhans Hülägü, Abaqa, Aḥmad and Ghazan are preserved mainly in the Mamluk sources. They follow basically the format of the Mongol decrees as are the diplomatic letters by the Mongols in other languages such as Mongolian, Chinese and Latin, and are usually called farmān (Pers. "order, decree") in the Arabic sources. The main body of them, however, follows the Arabic epistolary tradition with rhyme sentences, Arabic poems, citations of al-Qur'ān, etc.

On the Mamluk side, manuals for chancery clerks written by authors such as al-Qalqashandī and al-ʿUmarī include the format of diplomatic letters to be sent to the Mongols, and its peculiarity obviously reflects the style of Mongol decrees. The style of the letters exchanged between the Mamluks and the Mongols were mixtures of the two epistolary traditions. Although the relation between the two were generally adversarial, they took it for granted that the diplomatic letters would be written with respect for the counterparts' traditions in some degree. What made it possible was the presence of the bureaucrats familiar with both traditions. The diplomatic correspondence reflects not only the political relations between the states concerned but also the cultural situation in those days.

Panel 5: The Material Culture of Mamluk Cairo: Urban Fabric, Building Typology, and Architectural Detail

Within Cairo's complex urban tissue there are multiple Mamluk architectures. This panel addresses Mamluk material culture at a variety of scales, starting with a presentation of the wide panorama of the city as first comprehensively documented by the Venetians in the time of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay. The focus then narrows in the second presentation to individual religious foundations, grouping them by plan-typology, rather than by denominations of function, and defining clear correlations with Ilkhanid, Timurid, and Ottoman building types. The third presentation examines a characteristic detail of Mamluk architecture – the Muqarnas – through the lens of a mathematical algorithm. The panel will apply new methodologies to address local and universal themes in Islamic architecture and to relate them to the lived continuum of the city of Cairo, adducing information that may be complementary to readings of Mamluk history based on written records. The historian, Dr. Takenori Yoshimura, will act as chair and make connections between the surviving material culture and historical data.

Organizer: Naoko Fukami
Chair: Takenori Yoshimura (Lecturer; Daito Bunka University; Japan)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Nicholas Jon Warner (Architect, Research Associate; American University in Cairo; Egypt)

The Urban Fabric of Mamluk Cairo as Represented in Matteo Pagano's View of 1549

Pagano's great bird's-eye view of Cairo was printed in Venice in 1549 but was seemingly compiled during the reign of Sultan Qaytbay. It is the first semi-accurate topographical representation of the city, not to be surpassed until the publication of the Description de l'Egypte 250 years later. The view not only informs us about the general lineaments of the Mamluk (and pre-Mamluk) city

and its urban components, but also provides some astonishing architectural detail at the scale of individual buildings. This presentation considers the streets, urban blocks, key junctions, and expressed architecture of the city as first graphically recorded by Europeans.

Panelist 2

Naoko Fukami (Director; Cairo Research Station, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science [JSPS]; Egypt)

Typologies of Mamluk Religious Architecture and their Relation to Ilkhanid, Timurid, and Ottoman Forms

This presentation is dealing about the existing religious monument of Cairo in Mamluk era comprehensively, once leaving from the historical name and rearranged by typology of architectural formation from colonnades, domes and iwans paying attention of their vaulting and arrangement, as a result the three types are revealed.

The first is using colonnade and inserting the small dome or the large dome that occupies plural bays. It did not become the main trend, although there are some examples and it is clear that the big dome was inserted from the late of the 13th century to the first half of the 14th century, and the new form was occurred in the first half of the 15th century.

The second is using the iwans in symmetry and added the domed room as the mausoleum. It is the main stream of Mamluk era from the beginning continuously, although the early examples are using tunnel vault in iwan, it is clear that the tendency towards localism gradually, for example to make the flat roof instead of tunnel vault or to be the shakhsheikha instead of the courtyard.
The third makes a domed walled room as main factor, and some small rooms are added, it includes some buildings that the original arrangement is unknown. It functioned as the mausoleum ordinarily, though it is very rare to be only the domed room like canopy tomb all over the Islamic territory, it increases to add the sub-rooms.

It will tackle these phenomena comparing to Il-Khanid, Timurid and Ottoman architecture, the changing process of Mamluk architecture in Cairo from the acceptance of new tendencies to create the local style with considering the

influence from other regions, the trigger of transformation and the sublimation as local style.

Panelist 3
Gentaro Yamada (Student; Tokai University; Japan)

Computational-geometrical Study of Mumluk Muqarnas: Comparative Analysis of its Morphology Using 3D-parametric Models

This article aims to apply methods of computational reconstruction to Egyptian muqarnas examples and pretends to clarify circumstances of their development from a viewpoint of computation.

Muqarnas, or stalactite vaults, are three-dimensional architectural ornaments made of numerous niche-like curved elements, arranged in horizontal tiers. Muqarnas are common in the Islamic world and used in different architectural parts such as portals or domes.

To produce such complex curvilinear ornamental structure in historic monuments, it is believed that artisans used plane projection drawings, consisting of simple straight lines. It is fairly safe to say that the interpreting process from this two-dimensional plan to three-dimensional structure is procedural and algorithmic. Although many studies have been done on the process and its computational reconstruction, most of their targets are chosen from rather limited regions such as Iran or Uzbekistan, covering the period from the Seljuk to the Il-Khanid.

However, muqarnas have a wide distribution in the Islamic world and reflect rich local diversity. Egyptian muqarnas, targets of this article, differ in material and appearance of planar information from examples in the regions mentioned above. The Mamluk era represents a remarkable turning point for their formation. Some of the most unique features of Mamluk muqarnas include stalactite-like dripping parts and ceiling-like flat muqarnas vaults, which start to appear in the Bahri Mamluk dynasty.

Geometrical analysis of muqarnas has generally done in direction from 3D to 2D, namely, reverse order of design process, but computational method makes us possible to trace practical procedure of its design. By using the method,

this article contributes to the understanding of the design process of the Mamluk muqarnas, overlooked in the context of computation despite their importance.

Panel 6: Intellectual Activities across the Regions in the Mamluk Period: Views from al-Andalus and Khurasan

Cairo under Mamluk rule, along with other cities of Egypt and Syria, saw a flourishing of intellectual activities. Many significant scholars emerged, and they produced several distinguished works on fiqh, hadith, history, and any other subjects. This dynamism of intellectuals has attracted much interest in modern scholarship. Such a prosperity, however, was not solely attained by the efforts of Egyptian or Syrian intellectuals. In Cairo, we find quite a number of intellectuals from various regions outside the Mamluk Sultanate: Maghrib, Iraq, and others. One of the most prominent examples is the famous historian from Tunis, Ibn Khaldun. Scholarly heritages accumulated in these regions also affected the intellectual milieu of Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Therefore, the following questions arise: What kind of influences did those intellectuals from various regions have on Mamluk Egypt and Syria? How and to what extent were scholarly accomplishments of those regions incorporated into the academic sphere of Egypt and Syria? How did intellectuals of the Mamluk Sultanate see those "foreign" intellectuals and scholarly heritages? Taking these questions into consideration, four speakers will give their presentations in this panel. None of them is a "Mamlukist", in the strict sense of the word, rather they are specialists on geographically remote regions from Mamluk Cairo, i.e. the western and eastern edges of al-Andalus and Khurasan. This panel aims to place intellectual activities in the Mamluk period against the background of a wider geographic range.

Organizer – Chair: Kentaro Sato (Associate Professor; Hokkaido University; Japan)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Maribel Fierro (Research Professor; Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas [CSIC] Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y del Próximo Oriente Antiguo CENTRO DE CIENCIAS HUMANAS Y SOCIALES; Spain)

Maliki Jurists from the Maghrib in the Mamluk Sultanate

Malikism had become the official doctrine of the Cordoban Umayyad caliphate during the 4th/10th century and prevailed in Ifriqiya after the Zirids abandoned their allegiance to the Fatimids. Although the Almohad period challenged Maliki predominance in the territories under control of the Mu'minid dynasty, Maliki jurists managed to maintain their tradition as they had previously done by adapting it to the new times. By then, in fact, they were used to successfully defend Malikism against attacks such as those of the Shafi`is and the Zahiris. The increasing emigration of Maghribi scholars to the Mashriq that took place from the 6th/12th century onwards made it more pressing to praise the merits of Malikism and therefore that of the Maliki jurists who represented it. The most outspoken representative of such a trend was al-Rāʿī, a Mālikī from Nasrid Granada who settled in Egypt where he died in 853/1449. His Intiṣār al-faqīr al-sālik li-tarjīḥ madhhab al-imām al-kabīr Mālik (English transl. by Y. Dutton) is a fascinating text that accumulates arguments in favour of Maliki superiority over the other legal schools such as a Prophetic ḥadīth stating that the people of the West will continue to be on the path of truth until the Hour comes, this being ensured by the adoption of Malikism, and also the merits of Mālik b. Anas, including that on his thigh it was written "in the writing of Divine Power, 'Mālik is Allah's proof against His creation'", and that there was a secret between Mālik and God. In my paper I will explore how Maghribi Maliki jurists who migrated to the lands under Mamluk rule fostered their insertion in the new legal milieus and the effects such efforts provoked.

Panelist 2
Mayte Penelas (Tenured Scientist; Escuela de Estudios Árabes, CSIC; Spain)

Ibn Ḫaldūn's Kitāb al-ʿIbar as a Source for Mamluk Scholars on Iberian History

As is well known, Ibn Ḫaldūn's Kitāb al-ʿIbar was an important source of information for Mamluk historians, including such influential authors as his contemporaries and near- contemporaries al-Qalqašandī (756–821/1355–1418)

and al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442), both of whom worked in the Mamluk chancellery (dīwān al-inšāʾ) in Cairo.

Born in Tunis in 732/1332, Ibn Ḥaldūn spent over twenty years in the western Maghreb and al-Andalus, devoting himself to both political and intellectual pursuits. He spent three years in Granada. There he enjoyed the favour of Muḥammad V (r. 1354–1359 and 1362–1391), who sent him as ambassador to Peter I, king of Castile (r. 1350–1369). At the age of 50 Ibn Ḥaldūn arrived in Cairo, where numerous students—al-Maqrīzī among them—were attracted to his lectures at al-Azhar and some of the most important madrasas. He was appointed to the office of Mālikī grand qāḍī of Cairo on several occasions, and in this city he died in 808/1406.

This paper will specifically focus on the information about the history of the Iberian Peninsula—both Islamic and non-Islamic—that Mamluk historians such as al-Qalqašandī and al-Maqrīzī derived from Ibn Ḥaldūn's ʿIbar. As a significant example, the passage concerning the Visigothic rule in the Iberian Peninsula was borrowed both by al-Qalqašandī, who inserted it in an abridged form into his Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā, and by al-Maqrīzī, who reproduced it almost verbatim in al-Ḥabar ʿan al-bašar. Mention will be also made to other Andalusi and Maghribi sources from which Mamluk scholars drew historical information on Iberia. An examination of this material will certainly inform us, among other questions, about what information on the Iberian Peninsula interested Mamluk historians and why that information was of interest to them, as well as about the perception they had on this land.

Panelist 3
Abdenour Padillo Soaud (PhD candidate; Escuela de Estudios Árabes. CSIC; Spain)

The Scholars of the Maghrib in the Mamluk Madrasas

The consolidation of the madrasas as a religious institution during the Mamluk period attracted numerous scholars from different parts of the Islamic territory. Among these were travelers and emigrants from al-Andalus and North Africa. During their stay in the East these scholars not only attended classes in the madrasas, but many of them also acted as teachers as a means to finance their

trips or as a profession in the places where they settled. Among these scholars were relevant figures in the Islamic West such as Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Šarīšī (d. 1286), professor at the Fāḍilīya Madrasa in Cairo and the Nurīya in Damascus; the Almerian grammarian Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṣāʾiġ (d. 1349), who taught at the Madrasa Ṣāliḥīya; and Muḥammad al-Mālaqī (d. 1370), who took over the direction of the Naǧībīya Madrasa. In my paper, I will identify the scholars from the Islamic West who played a role in the madrasas during the Mamluk period and will explore the impact they had on these institutions and their contribution to the institutionalization of religious knowledge.

Panelist 4
Teruaki Moriyama (Associate Professor; Doshisha University; Japan)

From Khurasani "Ashab al-Hadith" to Mamlukid Shafiʻi School: Succession to the Classical Hadith Studies

In this presentation, I discuss how theories and practice that the 10th to 12th centuries eastern Hadith scholars made around Hadith were transmitted to Syrian and Egyptian Shafiʻi scholars under the Mamluk dynasty. I also discuss how those theories and practice were transformed through the transmission.

The classical Hadith studies developed in the eastern regions of the Islamic world from Khurasan to Iraq between the 10th and 12th centuries. Especially, scholars who linked to a scholarly line originating from the 10th century Khruasan played important roles in development of theories and practice relating to authenticity of Hadith. They called themselves "Ashab/Ahl al-Hadith." Al-Hakim al-Naysaburi (d. 1014) and al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 1071) might be the most famous among them.

They extended their networks into Syria by the late 12th century. However, the Mongol invasion in the 13th century destroyed major parts of the networks. Consequently, their scholarly line melted into the Shafiʻi school. Their academic achievements were succeeded by Syrian and Egyptian Shafiʻi scholars, and crystallized as the Sunni orthodox Hadith studies in Cairo under the Mamluk dynasty. Those Mamlukid Shafi'i scholars who accepted the theories and practice of the Khurasani "Ashab al-Hadith" include many prominent figures such as Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (d. 1348), Ibn Hajar al-ʻAsqalani (d. 1449), and al-

Sakhawi (d. 1497).

To discuss that transmission of the theories and practice relating to Hadith and their transformation in the Mamlukid Syria and Egypt, I analyze literature that those Shafi'i scholars wrote on Hadith. Through the analysis, I consider how they accepted the legacy of the Khurasani "Ashab al-Hadith" and utilized it for their own activities in the Muslim society under the Mamluk dynasty.

Panel 7: Approaching Mamlūk Historiography: Narratologically, Literarily, Computationally

This panel presents several case studies focusing on the literary, narratological, and intertextual analyses of various Arabic historiographical works produced in the Mamlūk period. Each case study deals with a different period of the Mamlūk Sultanate's historiographical production, from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1299-1309; 1310-41) to al-Ẓāhir Ḫušqadam (r. 1461-1467). The case studies engage with the tools and approaches of redaction criticism and narratology, and use them in conjunction with computational methods text analysis in order to contextualise and analyse the writings of four major historians: al-Ḏahabī (d. 748/1347), Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Ibn Taġrībirdī (d. 874/1470), and Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480). By focusing on the intertextuality, narrative constructions, and discursive strategies in these texts, and how historiography was used to legitimise visions of the past, this panel seeks to reorient our understanding of the agency of these texts.

Organizer: Maxim Romanov
Chair: Antonella Ghersetti (Professor; Università Ca' Foscari Venezia; Italy)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Maxim Romanov (Universitätsassistent; University of Vienna; Austria)

Computational Historiography: al-Ḏahabī's Taʾrīḫ al-islām and His Sources

Many large works of Islamic history were produced in the Mamluk period: e.g., Ibn Taġrībirdī's al-Nuǧūm is the size of about 15 Qurʾāns, al-Ṣafadī's al-Wāfī—25, and al-Ḏahabī's Taʾrīḫ—40. We know these sources are "compilations", but we have a poor understanding of what "compilation" even means in this context, as their volume poses an insurmountable challenge. How were such texts compiled? How did authors work with the sources? What agendas were they pursuing? Despite the value of traditional approaches—close reading and codicological-cum-paleographic analysis—drawing broad conclusions based on necessarily

limited case studies can be problematic. How, then, can we answer these questions in a representative manner? Computational methods and digital corpora offer another option, which, in combination with traditional approaches (and only so!), promise to yield more comprehensive results. E.g., text-reuse detection methods allow us to assess the composition of such works through the comparison of all texts in a corpus with one another. Thus, we learn that quotations amount to at least 23% of al-Ḏahabī's Taʾrīḫ (750k words, 50% of quotations: 25-59 words). This number is so high that author's writing style vanishes from his own book—a conclusion corroborated by computational stylometry (2018). Algorithmic analysis (2017a) of his Taʾrīḫ suggests that al-Ḏahabī worked in a manner akin to that of modern quantitative historians—he queried his sources in a representative manner and had a solid grasp of the chronological distribution of his data (2017b). The current paper will address "the issue of selection", or why al-Ḏahabī chose some biographies and left out others, and "the issue of alteration", or which parts of biographies he changed and which he kept unaltered. Then, with clustering methods we can identify dominant patterns in these activities, and shed new light on al-Ḏahabī's historical method and agenda.

Panelist 2
Rihab Ben Othmen (Postdoc Researcher; Ghent University; Belgium)

Moving texts: a few remarks on textual brokerage, intertextuality and authorial identity in the fifteenth century Mamluk Historiography

Abstract: The study of intertextual transactions and different forms of texts' interacting in Mamluk historical writings has been largely neglected. Informed by a literary approach and by Latour's sociology of translation (Actor-Network-Theory), the present study will attempt to fill the current knowledge gap in the field. It will particularly observe the mobility of texts and their interactions through an investigation of the different forms of textual transactions such as quotation, literary allusion, and referencing in the 15th century Mamluk chronographies. Based on comprehensive case studies drawn from Ibn Taġrībirdī's (813-874/1410-1470) chronicle al-Nujūm al-Zāhira and from Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's (819-900/1416-1494) chronicles Nuzhat al-Nufūs and Inbāʾ al-Haṣr, it will try to unravel

the intricate strategies of "imitato" employed by Mamluk historians to construct their authorial identity and thus authority. The frequent resort of the 15th century historians, especially during their early career, to quote their masters' or their compeers' historical works, can be regarded indeed as a form of "textual brokerage" through which the verbatim reproduction of anterior texts come to be a prosaic means for introducing oneself to the scholarly community at that time.

Panelist 3

Kenneth Goudie (Postdoctoral Research Fellow; Ghent University; Belgium)

A Tale of Two Dawādārs: al-Biqāʿī's Narrative Construction of Īnāl's Court

During his reign, Sultan Īnāl Ajrūd (d. 865/1461) founded his leadership and authority on the relationships, wealth, and charisma of his family. Aside from his wife, Zaynab bt. Ḥasan b. Khāṣṣ Bak (d. 884/1479) and son Aḥmad (d. 893/1488), it was the husbands of his daughters, the dawādār kabīr Yūnus al-Aqbāʾī (d. 865/1461) and the dawādār thānī Birdibak al-Qubrusī (d. 868/1464), who played an increasingly central role. Our understanding of the exact roles played by Yūnus al-Aqbāʾī and Birdibak al-Qubrusī is, however, more limited. The purpose of this paper is to remedy this, but not simply by pursuing a positive reconstruction of their respective careers. Indeed, postmodernism has collapsed the underlying certainty of positivist historiography: our historical narratives, be they of events or the careers of people, are contingent because there are no any "givens", no ready-made chronicles of events, with which we can confirm the historicity or otherwise of our historiographical sources. Consequently, this paper will examine how Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480), a fifteenth-century Qurʾān exegete and historian active in Cairo, presents the two dawādārs in his chronicle, the Iẓhār al-ʿaṣr li-asrār ahl al-ʿaṣr. It will address the themes around which he constructed them, and what his narratives can reveal about the relational realities of Sultan Īnāl's court, and how his narratives relate to the broader fifteenth-century historiographical discourse.

Panelist 4

Zacharie Mochtari de Pierrepont (Postdoc Researcher; Ghent University; Belgium)

The Inbāʾ al-ġumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr and inter-maḏhab competition: a network analysis case study

The competition between maḏhabs in historiographical works is a known topic among the narratives of the late medieval Syro-Egyptian territory. If it obviously rises from a concern regarding the legal, cultural and judiciary aspects of society, 15th century historiographical works also underlined constantly this motif. Yet, beyond the fierce social competition produced by the multiplication of scholarly positions in the environment of the Cairo sultanate society, when it comes to maḏhabs rivalry, we know very little about what was implied and at stake for historiographers.

By focusing on how Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (773-852/1372-1449) shaped various narratives regarding the question of inter-maḏhab competition in his main historiographical work, the Inbāʾ al-ġumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr, and gave account of the relationships and gradual changes inside distinct networks of scholars, we will try to determine how the author was able to bring about specific narratives shaping various groups of discursive representation. These narrative mises en scène participated in erecting social and political boundaries, archetypal images and documented dynamics of power inside the social order Ibn Ḥaǧar was both producing and giving account of, within which these groups were part and parcel.

Panel 8: Versatile Approach to the Diplomatic Dialogue: Levels and Strategies of Interchange in the Mamluk Diplomacy

In the course of its history, the Mamluk Sultanate maintained diplomatic relations with a wide range of political entities and interlocutors. These exchanges developed both horizontally, through an extensive network of "international" interchanges, and vertically, involving a multitude of actors from different levels of the administrative apparatus. From a theoretical point of view, the management of the relationships was based on a consolidated juridical tradition (principles of sharīʿa, siyar), but the Mamluk chancery - or chanceries - was also able to develop and implement new mechanisms for the diplomatic dialogue, adapting itself to the circumstances and the nature of their correspondents.

In the last two decades, Mamlukists have shown a renewed interest in the diplomatic practices, thanks to the exceptional richness and variety of primary sources (original documents, chronicles, chancery manuals) that have been preserved for the sultanate in comparison with other pre-modern Islamic states. Building on the results of recent scholarship, this panel aims to open up new perspectives in the field of Mamluk diplomacy, through the analysis of some specific cases and strategies. Taking into account both Muslim and non-Muslim interlocutors, the panel will focus on some theoretical and practical instruments adopted by the actors of the diplomatic game. In this analysis, a particular attention will be given to the tools offered by the New Diplomatic History.

Organizer: Alessandro Rizzo
Chair: Stephan Conermann (Professor; University of Bonn; Germany)

PANEL MEMBERS AND PAPERS

Panelist 1
Georg Christ (Senior Lecturer; University of Manchester; England)

"Alexander of our time": Was Venice part of the Mamluk Islamic Empire?

Mamluk-Venetian relations have traditionally been interpreted within the Dār al-Ḥarb etc. framework as bilateral relations structured by treaties. These are often

seen as some sort of semi-institutionalized exception to the rule of hostile Christian-Muslim relations in the wake of the Crusades. This paper argues that Venice and the Venetians were integrated into the Mamluk realm and courtly hierarchy as formally subordinate, tributary subjects thus side-stepping the traditional Dār al-Ḥarb framework. Emphasizing universal, trans- and, quasi, meta-confessional/religious rule while, perhaps, even cleverly implying Venetian jihād contributions, the Cairo Sultanate created a flexible diplomatic framework that allowed for an inclusion of Venice into the Mamluk realm conceived as a universal, Islamic empire. This inclusion may be seen as ephemeral and a mere formalism but it seems to have been robust enough as to facilitate an efficient integration of the Venetian consul and community into the courtly Mamluk taxonomy and the local Alexandrian community respectively.

Panelist 2

Frédéric Bauden (Professor; University of Liège; Belgium)

Brokering Power in Mecca: Rasulid-Mamluk Diplomatic Exchanges about the Meccan Sharifate

If the control of Mecca (and of the Hijaz in general) represented for the Mamluks a source of legitimation (notably by guaranteeing the yearly organization of the pilgrimage), it appears that their grip on the Holy City was characterized as seasonal. Once the pilgrimage ended, the Sharifs enjoyed political autonomy. In the early ninth/fifteenth c., the Sharif Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān (r. 797–826/1395–1423) was an emblematic example of the power that his family availed itself of. Ḥasan particularly took advantage of the increase in trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea that passed through the Hijaz to extend his power over the whole region. His exactions from pilgrims and merchants deeply annoyed both the Mamluk and the Rasulid sultans who tried to affect the situation by manipulating the local politics in Mecca.

Over the last decade, John Meloy and Eric Vallet have addressed numerous issues linked to Ḥasan's reign, respectively from the point of view of the Mamluks and the Rasulids. Their studies were largely based on literary sources, with a limited use of documents. In this paper, I propose to tackle the events that took place between the years 816–20/1413–7, a period during which

Ḥasan was briefly replaced by his nephew Rumaytha (818/1416), through the lens of documents. Apart from copies of letters preserved in Ibn Ḥijja's Qahwat al-inshāʾ, I will also consider a unique Rasulid original letter dated 817/1415 reused as scrap paper by al-Maqrīzī. These documents offer a different insight into the way both sultans tried to face the threat posed by Ḥasan by means of diplomacy.

Panelist 3
Malika Dekkiche (Assistant Professor; University of Antwerp; Belgium)

Like Father Like Son? Timurid Parallel Diplomacy with the Mamluk Sultanate

The exchanges of embassies are usually understood to have taken place between independent entities, recognised as being sovereign in nature. This is a common assumption now, but a look at past examples shows that premodern diplomacy also seems to follow that trend. This is especially the case of premodern Islamic diplomacy, for which many sources describe diplomacy as being an attribute of sovereignty. Furthermore rulers in the Islamic world are known to be hierarchically ordered: their status (low or high) being the basic tenet setting the rules of exchanges. The case of the Mamluk sultanate represents a prime example in the genre. But, while scholars have so far devoted much of their attention to the study of diplomatic relationship between the Sultans and their foreign counterparts among the kings, this paper aims to investigate cases of parallel diplomacy initiated by members of these rulers' family.

It seems indeed that in the fifteenth century, members of rulers' family (sons and grand-sons) also took part in the diplomatic games, and were accepted as diplomatic participants by the Mamluks. This is particularly the case of the Timurid and Turkmen (Qara Qoyunlu) dynasties in their contacts with the Mamluk sultanate. In this presentation, I intend to present an original sample of correspondences exchanged between the Mamluks and the Timurids Muḥammad Jūkī and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawlah (son and grand-son of Shāh Rukh). While those contacts were taking place in the name of their father, a close reading of the documents and their context show stronger ambitions from those sons that aimed at international recognition and support.

Panelist 4

Alessandro Rizzo (Postdoctoral researcher; Milá y Fontanals Institute, CSIC; Spain)

Beyond the dār al Islām/dār al-ḥarb paradigm: the Multiform Dialogue between Mamluks and Christian Powers through a Diplomatic Approach

For a long time scholarship on the relations between the Mamluks and the Christian powers have interpreted sultans' diplomatic dialogue with European interlocutors on the basis of the traditional dichotomy dār al Islām/dār al-ḥarb. This paradigm starts from the assumption – often based on the juridical evolution of the notion of jihād - that a permanent state of war exists between the Muslim and the non-Muslim territories. According to this conception, the interaction between the two parties could only be possible by a temporary suspension of the "natural" conflict through a truce. In the field of Diplomatics, this idea has heavily influenced the interpretation of the nature of the chancery documents concerning Mamluk diplomacy with the Christian States. Indeed, historians have often described these sources as tools regulating a transitory and even exceptional interruption of hostilities for commercial purposes. Only recently, the scholars have reinterpreted this paradigm, calling into question the concept of "offensive jihād" as the central principle regulating the relations between the Islamic world and the non-Muslim external communities.

Taking into account these new perspectives, my paper aims to highlight the multiform character of the peaceful diplomatic interaction between the Mamluk and the European States. The strategies adopted by the respective chanceries will be studied by a re-examination of the concrete function of the Mamluk documents kept in the European Archives (truces, decrees, safe-conducts, letters, etc.). The discipline of Diplomatics – through the analysis of the extrinsic and the intrinsic characteristics of the conserved testimonies – offer us the most direct approach to reconsider some historiographical narratives and to understand the specific nature of the several diplomatic interchanges.