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The Proposers and Supervisors of al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī in Mamluk Egypt

The Nāṣirī cadastral survey (al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī) in Egypt and Syria during the years 713-725/1313-1325 was significant in that it determined state structure during the early and middle years of the Mamluk period (648-922/1250-1517). The Egyptian rawk of 715/1315, in particular, brought about great changes in the iqṭā’ system through comprehensive land surveying and drastic taxation reform. In my recent book I investigated the object, content, and result of the Nāṣirī rawk, based on contemporary Arabic sources. However, the names of the proposers and supervisors of the survey were cited without mentioning their origins, careers, or official duties.

The present paper therefore will discuss in detail the proposers and supervisors of the Nāṣirī rawk in Egypt in order to better our understanding of this important survey. Using the biographical descriptions of the Coptic officials and the Mamluk amirs involved with the survey, the following questions will be addressed: (1) To what extent were the Coptic financiers responsible for iqṭā’ administration in Mamluk Egypt? (2) Were there any criteria for choosing rawk supervisors from among Coptic officials and Mamluk amirs?

The primary sources are four biographical dictionaries: Kitāb al-Waḍī bi-al-Wafayāt by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), al-Durar al-Kaṣīminah fī A‘yān al-Mi‘āh al-Thāminah by Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), and al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfā ba‘da al-Wāfī by Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470). In addition to these sources, Ta‘lī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A‘yān by Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī (d. after 725/1325), Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab

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2 Sato, State and Rural Society, 138-40.
THE PROPOSERS OF THE RAWKS IN MAMLUK EGYPT

In his third reign (709-741/1310-1341), Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun carried out four comprehensive cadastral surveys: in central and southern Syria (713/1313), Egypt (715/1315), Tripoli (717/1317), and Aleppo (725/1325). Prior to these surveys, Sultan al-Mansur Husam al-Din Lajin (696-698/1296-1299) had carried out an Egyptian survey in 697/1298, known as al-Rawk al-Husami. The person who proposed the rawk to Sultan Lajin was Taj al-Din al-Tawil (d. 711/1312), a Coptic convert to Islam.4

His full name was Taj al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Siraji al-Misri, but he was widely known as Taj al-Tawil.4 He was a Coptic Muslim (Muslimani al-Qibti), who had converted to Islam in the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil ibn Qalawun (689-693/1290-1293). Even after his conversion, it is said that he strongly favored the Coptic people.6 However, he was skilled in accounting (hisab) and finance (istifa), and understood well the characteristics of every Egyptian district. According

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3On Mamluk historiography, see the following works: Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leiden, 1968); Ulrich Haarmann, Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzzeit (Freiburg, 1970); Donald P. Little, An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography (Wiesbaden, 1970); idem, History and Historiography of the Mamluks (London, 1986); Muhammad Mustafa Ziyadah, al-Mu’arrikhu al-Mu’arrikhu fī Misr fī al-Qarn al-Khamis ‘Ashar al-Milad (Cairo, 1954).


to al-Nuwayrî, Tâj al-Tawîl also had full knowledge of the iqṭā’s held by the amirs in his time.\(^7\)

When Tâj al-Tawîl proposed the implementation of the Egyptian rawk to Sultan Lâjin, the sultan appointed two amirs, Badr al-Dîn Bilîk al-Fârisî al-Hâjib and Bahâ’ al-Dîn Qarâqûsh al-Zâhirî al-Brâdî, as supervisors of the survey.\(^8\) We are not well informed about Badr al-Dîn Bilîk’s career, but in 679/1298 he was cited as one of three chamberlains (ḫâjib) supervising Mamluk military affairs.\(^9\) Bahâ’ al-Dîn Qarâqûsh was appointed as governor (wâli) of Qûs in 680/1281, but his iqṭā’ was later granted to the Mongol amir, Jankalî ibn al-Bâbâ, who emigrated to Egypt from Âmid in 703/1304.\(^10\)

Together with these two amirs, Tâj al-Tawîl joined the Hûsâmî rawk as a chief of finances (mustawfî al-dawlah). When the rawk was completed, Tâj al-Tawîl distributed the land according to the order of Sultan Lâjin and Vice-Sultan Mânkûtamur. However, the distribution of iqṭā’s in favor of the two rulers caused a violent reaction by the amirs against the government, and the Hûsâmî rawk ended in the assassination of Sultan Lâjin and his mamlûk Mânkûtamur by these amirs.\(^11\) When Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Âshankîr (708-709/1309-1310) ascended the throne in 708/1309, Tâj al-Tawîl was dispatched to Tripoli to manage its financial affairs. However, as soon as al-Âsîr Muḥammad started his third sultanate in 709/1310, he was called back to Cairo and was appointed superintendent of the central administration (nâzîr al-dawâwîn).\(^12\)

From the very beginning of his third reign, al-Âsîr Muḥammad was annoyed with the increasing power of the Manṣûrî mamlûks, that is, the Burjî mamlûks formed by his father, Sultan al-Manṣûr Qalâwîn.\(^13\) A man called Aṣ’âd al-Shaqqî

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\(^8\)Al-Maqrîzî, al-Sulûk, 1:842; see also Sato, State and Rural Society, 127.


\(^10\)Al-Maqrîzî, al-Sulûk, 1:703; idem, al-Muqaffâ, 3:76. Jankalî ibn al-Bâbâ, also known as Badr al-Dîn Jankalî, was sent to the region of al-Gharbîyâh on the occasion of the Egyptian survey of 715/1315.

\(^11\)Al-Maqrîzî, al-Sulûk, 1:842-44; al-Nuwayrî, Nihâyat al-Arab, 31:346. See also Sato, State and Rural Society, 129-34.

\(^12\)Ibn al-Ṣuqâ’î, Tâlî, 110; al-Maqrîzî, al-Sulûk, 1:842-43, 2:114.


(d. 716/1316), who had been appointed superintendent of the central administration (nāzir al-dawlah) after the death of Tāj al-Ṭawīl, proposed to the sultan that a cadastral survey be carried out. Al-Maqrīzī has the following to say about this in his Kitāb al-Muqaffā:

[As’ad al-Shaqqī] advised Sultan [al-Nāṣir] to carry out the cadastral survey of Egypt, because the sultan was disturbed by [al-mamālik] al-Burjīyāh, the core of the Egyptian army. Because they had taken control of most of the districts [as iqtā’ı’s], there remains no income to cover the sultan’s expenditures. When he was informed of this, As’ad met the sultan secretly and discussed the rawk with him in order to regain and increase districts which might cover his expenditures.14

Like Tāj al-Ṭawīl, As’ad al-Shaqqī was also a Coptic convert to Islam. His full name was Taqī al-Dīn As’ad ibn Amīn al-Mulk, generally known as al-shaqqī al-ahwāl (Squint-eyed the Oppressive) due to his “evil” conduct.15 As already mentioned by Donald P. Little,16 he was forcibly converted to Islam by his Mamlik employer, the amir Burulghī al-Tatarī. After he served Burulghī as his scribe (kātib), As’ad al-Shaqqī was appointed financier of the sultan’s servants (mustawfī al-ḥāshiyāh). In 711/1311, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s senior officer Tāj al-Ṭawīl died, As’ad al-Shaqqī was appointed nāzir al-dawlah and administered state affairs single-handedly after the abolition of the vizirate (wizārah).17

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was pleased with As’ad’s advice about a cadastral survey. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh (d. 732/1332), supervisor of military affairs (nāzir al-jaysh), was ordered to draw up the documents according to As’ad’s specification. When the documents were about to be read before the sultan, however, Fakhr al-Dīn opposed As’ad’s plan, saying that his aim was to sow dissension between the sultan and his mamlūks. Although Fakhr al-Dīn persisted, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad did not change his favorable view of As’ad’s plan until the amirs and soldiers began criticizing him after the cadastral survey.18 However, al-Maqrīzī

14 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā, 2:77.
15 Ibid., 78; Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar, 1:383. According to Ibn Ḥajar, As’ad was called al-Shaqqī al-Ahwāl because the Muslims hated him.
16 Little, “Coptic Converts to Islam,” 264.
17 Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar, 1:383; al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā, 2:76. Burulghī al-Tatarī (d. 711/1311) was arrested by Muhannā ibn ‘Īsā, amīr al-‘arab in Syria, and presented to al-Malik al-ʿArshaf Khalīl; however, he later married the daughter of Sultan Baybars al-Jāshankīr and was put in a position of prestige under him; Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar, 2:9-10.
18 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā, 2:77-78.
says in his *Khitat*, "The sultan agreed with Fakhr al-Dīn about the implementation of the cadastral survey." If this account is correct, it might suggest that Fakhr al-Dīn, though unwillingly, gave in to As‘ad al-Shaqqi and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Incidentally, when the Syrian cadastral survey was completed in 713/1314, the sultan bestowed robes of honor on both Fakhr al-Dīn and his associate, Qutb al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Sallāmiyah.

Al-Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh was also a Coptic convert to Islam. After his conversion he would not allow any Christian to come near him, lest he associate with his former co-religionists. He made pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem many times and built many mosques in Egypt. Since he enjoyed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s full confidence, not a few notables, such as amirs, qādīs, and provincial governors, visited his house hoping to receive favors from him. One day al-Nāṣir said to a soldier who requested an *iqṭā‘*, "Don’t worry. If you are the son of the Qalāwūnid family, al-Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn will grant you a khubz (‘bread’; that is, *iqṭā‘*) with revenue exceeding 3,000 dirhams."

As mentioned above, three Coptic converts to Islam—Tāj al-Ṭawīl, As‘ad al-Shaqqi and Fakhr al-Dīn—all acquired high positions in the central government and made the most of their superior knowledge of fiscal affairs. They exerted great influence on state policy through their advice to the sultan, particularly in *iqṭā‘* administration. Although they were not favored by the common Muslims, the fiscal administration did not function well without their knowledge and efforts. According to Little’s study, besides the sultan’s privy purse, many other offices were often filled by Copts and Coptic Muslims. All of them were connected with finances and accounting during the Bahri Mamluk period.

### The Supervisors of the Rawk

As stated above, upon the advice of As‘ad al-Shaqqi, Sultan al-Nāṣir ordered the Egyptian rawk. During Sha‘bān 715/November 1315, therefore, the government dispatched amirs and Coptic officials as supervisors to five regions of Lower Egypt and six regions of Upper Egypt. Al‘Aynī lists the names of these supervisors in the most detail in “Iqd al-Jumān.” The following is the list quoted in my book with some revisions.

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23 Little, “Coptic Converts to Islam,” 270.
24 Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 138-40; al‘Aynī, “Iqd al-Jumān,” fol. 318r.-v.; their names are
Lower Egypt

(A) al-Ghārbiyyah
1. Amir Badr al-Dīn Jankālī (Janghālī)\(^ {25}\)
2. Naqīb al-Jaysh Ṭaybars
3. Ḥājīb Āqūl (Aʿzāl)\(^ {26}\)
4. Kāṭīb Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarāwīnāh (Farawītāh)\(^ {27}\)

(B) al-Daqahlīyyah and al-Murtāḥīyyah
5. Qullī al-Silāḥdār

(C) al-Shārqiyyah
6. Amir ʿĪzz al-Dīn Aydāmur
7. Aytāmīsh al-Muḥammadī (al-Majdī)\(^ {28}\)
8. Amīn al-Dīn Qarμūt
9. Sanjār Khāṣṣ Turkī

(D) al-Manūfīyyah
10. Wābiyār Sātī
11. Balābān al-Muḥassīn (al-Muḥassīnī)\(^ {29}\) al-Zarrāq

(E) al-Buḥayrah
12. Mughūlṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis
13. Muḥammad ibn Ṭurūnṭāy\(^ {30}\)
14. Balābān al-Saḵḥādī (al-Saḵḥatī, al-Saḵḥadī)\(^ {31}\)
15. Ṭurūnṭāy al-Qulāniqī (al-Qalījī)\(^ {32}\)
16. Baybars al-Jaṁdār

Upper Egypt

(A) al-Īṭfāḥīyyah


\(^ {27}\) Al-Maqārīzī, ibid., has Makīn ibn Farawītāh.


Among these supervisors the following nine persons cannot be identified from any Arabic biographies and chronicles: (9) Sanjar Khāšš Turkī, (10) Wa‘biyār Sāti, (15) Turunṭāy al-Qulanjiqī, (18) Ţaŋqish ibn al-Ḩimṣī, (21) Baybars al-Ṣāqī, (24) Uzbek al-Jarmakī (27) Sanjar al-Marzūkī (28) Azuktamur al-Silāḥdār and (32) Ṭuqusbā. We find that two Coptic officials, (4) Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnāḥ and (8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūt, were appointed as supervisors of the rawk in Lower Egypt. According to al-Nuwayrī, the sultan dispatched one or several amirs into each region. Most of the other supervisors, therefore, must have been chosen from among the Mamluk or Mongol amirs.

33 Al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi, 10:300-301, lists al-Karkarī.
37 Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, 30:299; see also al-‘Āynī, “Iqd al-Jumān,” fol. 318r.-v.
THE SUPERVISORS DISPATCHED TO LOWER EGYPT

First, let us look at the careers of the supervisors dispatched to the regions of Lower Egypt.

(A) al-Gharb|yah

(1) Badr al-D|n Jankal| ibn al-Ba≠ba≠ al-Tatar| (d. 746/1346)\(^{38}\) migrated with his family from near Āmid, then under the rule of the Mongols, to serve al-Nās˝ ir Muhammad in 703/1304.\(^{39}\) He was granted an amirate of a hundred cavalrymen (imrat mi’at fāris) and enjoyed prestige and the favor of the sultan. He came to sit at the right hand of the sultan (ra’s al-maymanah) at banquets (simāt), following the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh.\(^{40}\) His daughter married al-Nās˝ ir Muhammad’s son, the amir Ah˝mad.\(^{41}\) Because Jankal| was talented in poetry and enjoyed amusements, he was said to have been loved by everyone. When al-Nās˝ ir died in 741/1341, Jankal| was reported to be the leader of twenty-five amirs of the rank of muqaddam al-alf (commander of a thousand).\(^{42}\) Two years later he was designated vice-sultan (na’ib al-salt¸anah) by these grand amirs to administer state affairs under the newly installed sultan, al-Śaliḥ Ismā’īl ibn al-Nās˝ ir Muhammad (743-746/1342-1345).\(^{43}\)

\(^{38}\)Ibn H˛ajar, al-Durar, 2:76, has Jankal| ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ba≠ba≠ ibn Jankal| ibn Khal|l ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ijli. See also al-Šafadi, A’yán al-‘Aṣr, 1:300.

\(^{39}\)Al-Maqr|z, al-Muqaffā, 3:75-76; Ibn Taqhr|bird, al-Nuju≠m, 10:143-44.

\(^{40}\)For example, Baybars al-Mansūr|, author of Zubdat al-Fikrah, held ra’s al-maysarah until 725/1325 when the post was transferred to the amir Aydamur al-Khaṭir| (6). See al-Maqriz|, al-Sulūk, 2:266, 269. The editor of al-Nuju≠m explains that ra’s al-maysarah designated an older amir holding the rank of a hundred, who gave advice to the sultan (Ibn Taqhr|bird, al-Nuju≠m, 12:274, note 2). According to al-Qalqashand|i, at the sultan’s banquets the nāʾ ib al-salṭanah sat first in line before the sultan, then the qaḍ˝| al-qud˝a≠h sat on his right side, and the ka≠tib al-sirr (chief secretary) on his left side. Amirs of ra’s al-maysarah sat behind the waz|r, and amirs of ra’s al-maysarah behind the kātib al-sirr. See al-Qalqashand|i, Šubh| al-A’shá fi S|ina≠’at al-Insha≠’ (Cairo, 1963), 4:195-96; cf. Muhammad Ahmad Duhmān, Dimashq fi ‘Ahd al-Mamāl|k (Damascus, 1964), 29.

\(^{41}\)Zetterstéen, Mamlükensultane, 195.


\(^{43}\)Al-Maqriz|, al-Khi≠a≠t, 1:425; however, in al-Maqriz|’s al-Sulūk, 1:620, the amir who was
(2) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ṭaybars (d.719/1319), an amir of forty (amīr al-ṭablakhānah), held the post of chief of military police (naqīb al-jaysh) for the long period of twenty-two years until his death.  

44 He was also called al-Khāzinda, since he originally came from the mamlūks of Badr al-Dīn Bilāk al-Khāzinda, vice-sultan during the reign of al-Malik al-Zahir Baybars (658-676/1260-1277).  

Ṭaybars designed the Khashshāb garden along the bank of the Nile, used for excursions, and constructed a school (al-Madrasah al-Ṭaybarsīyah) adjacent to the Azhar Mosque, where he was buried.  

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(3) Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Hājib (d. 738/1337-1338). In 725/1325 when al-Nāṣir ordered the amir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars to organize an army, Āqūl al-Hājib participated in it as an amīr al-ṭablakhānah. In 731/1331 Āqūl was also dispatched to the province of al-Buhayrah as a supervisor (mushidd) to repair the Alexandria Canal.  

Furthermore, he was appointed to the post of chamberlain in charge of the military administration under the grand chamberlain (hājib al-hujjāb), although we cannot ascertain the exact year of his appointment. In 734/1334 Āqūl went to Damascus to assume the office of grand chamberlain.  

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(4) Al-Qādī Makīn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Qarawiḥa (d. 771/1370) was a Coptic official who served al-Nāṣir, as did his brother, Mājīd ibn Qarawiḥa. After the Egyptian cadastral survey in 715/1315, Makīn al-Dīn took the office of chief financial administrator (mustawfi al-suhbāh), following Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. In 725/1325 he was appointed supervisor of the cadastral survey in Aleppo, together with the amir ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy al-Jamāli.  

designated as vice-sultan was not Jankalī, but Āqsunqur al-Salālī.  

44 Zetterstén, Mamlūkensultane, 149; according to al-Maqrizī (al-Sulāk, 2:199), Ṭaybars held the post of naqīb al-jaysh for about twenty-four years.  


47 Zetterstén, Mamlūkensultane, 183.  


49 Al-Maqrizī, al-Sulāk, 2:260, 371, 457; al-Shujā’ī, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 91; Zetterstén, Mamlūkensultane, 188.  

50 As to the year of his death, we have other accounts: 749/1348 (al-Šafādī, A’yān al-‘Āṣr, 1:27), 750/1349 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Nujūm, 10:243), and 751/1350 (al-Maqrizī, al-Sulāk, 2:812).  

51 Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, 1:54. Mājīd served Sultan al-Nāṣir as wazīr in Syria and Egypt; see al-Durar, 3:361.  

52 Al-Maqrizī, al-Sulāk, 2:247.  

posts of wazīr, nāẓir al-khāṣṣ (supervisor of the sultan’s estate), and mustawfī al-ṣulḥbah. Makīn al-Dīn was appointed supervisor of military affairs in 740/1339-1340. He constructed a grand mansion at the Khashṣāb garden; however, his entire estate was soon confiscated and he died of plague in 749/1348 as an unemployed person (baṭṭāl).

(B) al-Daqahlīyah and al-Murtāḥīyah

(5) Sayf al-Dīn Qullī al-Silāhḏār (d. 717/1318). In 711/1311 when he went to Syria with Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (1) and other amirs to subjugate Qarāsunqur al-Manṣūrī, the most prominent Manṣūrī (or Burjī) amir in Aleppo, Sayf al-Dīn Qullī commanded an army as raʾs al-maymanah. When he died in 717/1318, his iqṭāʾ was granted to his comrade, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī.

(C) al-Shaṛqīyah

(6) ʾIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭṭīrī (d. 737/1337) was a mamlūk of Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥwād al-Kaṭṭīrī. Then he became one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s mamlūks and was given the rank of amir when al-Nāṣir ascended to his second sultanate in 698/1299. He served the sultan as majordomo (ustādār), administering the distribution of monthly salaries and rations to the Royal Mamluks. In 708/1309 he traveled to Mecca together with al-Nāṣir. He was promoted to the rank of amir of a hundred as well as the holder of the left-hand seat at the sultan’s banquets (raʾs al-maysarah). People saw his favored status in the fact that he stayed at the Citadel in Cairo with al-Nāṣir even at night.

State and Rural Society, 144-45.

54 Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, 1:54-55; al-Shujāʾī, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 62.
58 Al-Maqrīzhī, al-Sulūk, 2:109; Zetterstéen, Mamlākensultane, 156.
59 Al-Maqrīzhī, al-Sulūk, 2:177, 180.

(7) Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī (d. 736/1336). He was originally one of Qalāwūn’s mamlikūs (al-Manṣūrīyah) and then served al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After holding the post of governor (nāʿīb) of Karak for a period, Aytamish was called back to Cairo in 711/1311. The next year he took charge of the Citadel as acting sultan (nāʿīb al-ghaybah) during al-Nāṣir’s pilgrimage to Mecca. He was appointed amīr al-rakb or leader of the pilgrims to Mecca three times, in 724/1324, 731/1331, and 734/1334. He was a well-educated Mongol, fully literate in his native language, and had full knowledge of Mongol customs. Perhaps because of his abilities and reputation for truthfulness, Aytamish was made an emissary between the Mamluk sultan and the Ilkhanid ruler, Ābū Saʿīd, at the conclusion of a peace treaty (ṣulḥ) in 723/1323.62 In 736/1336 he was appointed governor (nāʿīb) of Šafad where he died five months later.63

(8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūt (d. ?) was a Coptic financier from the sultan’s treasury (mustawfī fi al-khizānah al-sulṭāniyyah). In 734/1333-1334 he was ordered by Ābū al-Wahhāb al-Nashw, the Coptic supervisor of the sultan’s estates (nāẓīr al-khāṣṣ), to confiscate the sultan’s property in order to reduce the Sultan to financial difficulties. However, in 738/1337-1338 Qarmūt’s property was confiscated by al-Nāṣir.64

(D) al-Manūfiyyah

(11) Balabān al-Muḥassin al-Zarraq (d. 736/1336) was given an amirate of ten (imrat ‘asharah) in 707/1307-1308 during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After he held the posts of the supervisor of the central offices (shādd al-dawāwīn) and the governor (wālī) of Cairo, Balabān was appointed governor (nāʿīb) of Damietta, probably in 735/1335.65

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(E) al-Buḥayrah

(12) Mughūltāy ibn ʿAmīr Majlīs (d. ?) is not to be confused with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughūltāy ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Jamālī (d. 732/1331), majordomo of al-Nāṣīr.66 The first account of Mughūltāy ibn ʿAmīr Majlīs says that he advanced into Syria as the commander of a thousand in 712/1312.67 When the bedouin captured ʿAydhāb in 716/1316, Mughūltāy was dispatched to regain it with five hundred troops.68 However, he was then ordered to go to Syria in 718/1318, retaining the same post of commander, and his iqṭāʿ of eighty cavalry in Egypt was granted to Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī.69

(13) Nāṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭūrūnṭāy al-Nāʿīb (d. 731/1331). The Arabic sources give us very little information on his career. We know only that his father Ṭūrūnṭāy was vice-sultan and that he was promoted to commander of a thousand.70

(14) Balābān al-Ṣarḥkhādī (d. 730/1330) was an amir of forty, and it is said that he was diligent in observing everyday prayer. In 725/1325 he participated in the expedition to Yemen under the command of the amir Baybars al-Ḥājib.71

(16) Baybars al-Jamālī al-Ruḵnī al-Muẓaffārī (d. 740/1339-1340). In 729/1329 the amir Baybars was appointed governor (wālī) of Alexandria.72 The city of Alexandria was included administratively in the province of al-Buḥayrah where Baybars took charge of the rawk of 715/1315. He held the post of governor until the year of 740/1339, when all his property was confiscated. He died in Alexandria.73

THE SUPERVISORS DISPENDED TO UPPER EGYPT

(A) al-ʾIṭḥāḥīyah

(17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādūr al-Saʿīdī al-Karakhī (d. 749/1348). In 710/1310 Sultan al-Nāṣīr arrested the mamlūks of the amir Salār al-Manṣūrī, who, together with the amir Baybars al-Jāshankīr, actually controlled state politics during al-Nāṣīr

66 Mughūltāy al-Jamālī was appointed supervisor of the rawk in Aleppo together with Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnī (4).
67 Zetterstéen, Mamlūkensultane, 157.
68 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulīk, 2:162; Zetterstéen, Mamlūkensultane, 165.
70 Ibn Hajār, al-Durar, 4:79; al-Shujāʿī, al-Nāṣīr Muḥammad, 121; according to al-Ṣafadī (Aʿyān al-ʿĀyr, 3:27), he made his pilgrimage to Mecca four times.
72 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulīk, 2:309; Zetterstéen, Mamlūkensultane, 180. Al-Maqrīzī relates that he was also governor of the frontier (nāʿīb al-thaqhr) in al-Sulīk, 2:319.
73 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulīk, 2:487, 505; Zetterstéen, Mamlūkensultane, 205.
Muḥammad’s second reign (698-708/1299-1309). Al-Nāṣir then bestowed the rank of amir on some of his own mamlūks, including this man, Bahādūr al-Karkar (al-Karak), as well as Baybugh ā al-Ashrafi and Ṭaybūghā al-Shamsī (29). Bahādūr first served the sultan as an amir of the banner (amīr ‘alam), which corresponded to an amir of ten. He was in charge of managing the storehouse for drums and trumpets. In 717/1317 he went to the Hijaz together with the amir Aytamish al-Muḥammad (7) and returned to Cairo after an absence of one hundred days. He was then appointed chief of administrative offices in Ḥims under the rule of Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz. He afterwards changed his post to that of an amir of forty in the local provinces of Syria, and died at Tripoli in 749/1348.

(B) al-Fayyūm

(19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuqṣūbā al-Zāhirī al-Nāṣirī (d. 745/1344) often transferred his services from one amir to another and was himself granted an amirate by Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn. During the Egyptian rawk in 715/1315, Ṭuqṣūbā held the post of governor (wālī) of Qūṣ. He made two expeditions to Nubia in 705/1305-1306 and 716/1316. In 733/1332-1333 he was appointed amīr al-rakb of the year. He lived over 120 years, and died as an amir of forty in Cairo in 745/1344. This information implies that he was over ninety years old when the cadastral survey was carried out.

(20) ‘Alām al-Dīn Sanjar al-Dāmilī (d. 732/1331). We know only that he participated in the campaign against the town of ‘Aydha b together with the amir Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Maḥlis (12) in 716/1316.

(22) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Martīnī (d. 749/1348). The sources give us no information on his origins. He was first appointed to the governorship (niyābah) of Bahnasā in Upper Egypt and was transferred to Syria

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74 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 2:87; see also idem, al-Muqaffā, 2:535-36.
76 Zetterstéen, Mamlūkensultane, 166.
78 Zetterstéen, Mamlūkensultane, 165; see also al-Ṣafadī, A’yān al-‘Aṣr, 1:407.
as the governor (nāʿib) of the citadel in Damascus. Then he was given the post of chamberlain, also in Damascus, but was arrested in 747/1346 and died of the plague in 749/1348.82

(C) al-Bahnasāwīyah

(23) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Talīlī al-Shamṣī (d. 728/1328) was one of the amirs in Damascus. In 705/1305-1306 during the second reign of al-Nāṣīr, he was sent to the ruler of the Maghrib with the amir Aydughdī al-Khwārizmī. In 710/1310 Aydughdī was also chosen to be amīr al-rakb.83 He died unemployed in Damascus.84

(25) Jamāl al-Dīn Khaḍīr ibn ʿUbd al-Nāṣīr (d. 758/1357). His father, ʿUbd al-Nāṣīr Ibn Nūkīyāh or Nūkāy al-Silāḥdār al-Tatarī, also had a daughter named Urdukīn. Khaḍīr was made an amir in 709/1309-1310 by Sultan al-Nāṣīr. His sister, Urdukīn, married al-Ashraf Khalīl, then after his death married his brother, al-Nāṣīr Muḥammad, and gave birth to a son. When she died in 724/1324, Khaḍīr was allowed to inherit her property.85

(26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādūr al-Ibrāhīmī (d. ?) changed service and was promoted to the rank of naqīb al-mamlūk, which was restricted to the Royal Mamluks.86 Although he was relieved from this post in 716/1316, Bahādūr still held an amirate and was repeatedly appointed amīr al-rakb. However, he failed to quell the revolt of Ḥumayyād ibn ʿAbī Numayy, lord of Mecca, against the Mamluk regime in 718/1318. When he returned to Cairo the next year, Bahādūr was arrested and imprisoned at Alexandria until 720/1320.87 However, he still held the rank of amir of forty when al-Nāṣīr Muḥammad died in 741/1341.88

(D) al-Ushmuṣayn and al-Ṭāhāwīyah

(29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamṣī (d. ?), together with Bahādūr al-Karakī (17), was given the rank of amir when al-Nāṣīr, as mentioned above, arrested amir Salār al-Manṣūrī and his mamlūks in 710/1310.89

(E) al-Ikhmīmīyah

83Zetterstéen, Mamlükensultane, 132, 154.
88Al-Maqrīzī, al-Khiṭat, 2:305.
89Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 2:87.
(30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāṣirī al-Silāḥdār (d. 731/1330) was one of the mamluks of al-Nāṣir Muhammad and was first appointed amīr silāḥ (amir of arms), which was customarily held by an amir of forty;90 that is, it was an exceptional promotion for the Bahri Mamluk period. He was said to have dressed well and to have had a sense of camaraderie. When the Mamluk army succeeded in conquering the town of Malatyah, Qijlīs returned from Syria with 350 captives in Rabīʿ I 715/June 1315, four months before the start of the Egyptian rawk.91 After the rawk was completed, he was chosen amīr al-rakb for 717/1317. Qijlīs became the supervisor of the Ibn Tulūn mosque in Cairo in 723/1323.92 When al-Nāṣir dispatched his son, al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, to Karak in 726/1326, Qijlīs and other amirs accompanied him.93 Since Qijlīs had been given great prestige under al-Nāṣir, it is said that he was always ready to manage the important affairs entrusted to him.94 Furthermore, he was well known as an expert in the making of time-pieces (mawāqīt), astrolabes (aṣṭurlāb), and quadrants (arbāʾ).95

(31) Shams al-Dīn Sunqūr al-Saʿdī (d. 728/1328) came from the non-Mamluk cavalry (ajnād al-halqah). When al-Nāṣir went to Mecca in order to avert the threat of Amir Salār and Sultan Baybars al-Jashānkīr in 708/1309, Sunqūr accompanied him, as well as the amir Aydamur al-Khatīrī (6).96 In Cairo Sunqūr held the post of naqīb al-mamlāk,97 but was exiled to Tripoli in 723/1323. He was greatly interested in the development of agriculture, and single-handedly established a village in the province of al-Gharbīyah.98

THE PRINCIPLES FOR CHOOSING SUPERVISORS

We have described the origins, careers and official posts of the supervisors appointed for the Egyptian rawk in 715/1315. Now we will examine whether any principles

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90 Ibn Taghribirdi, al-Dalīl al-Shafī, 535. According to Ayalon, the office of amīr silāḥ was held not by an amir of forty, but by an amir of a hundred (‘Studies on the Structure-III,” 60). This amir’s duty was to bear the sultan’s arms during public appearances.
91 Zetterstéen, Mamlûkensultane, 162-63.
92 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 2:247.
94 Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar, 3:328.
95 Al-Ṣafadī, A’yān al-ʿAyr, 2:350.
96 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā, 7:190.
97 According to Ibn Ḥajar (al-Durar, 2:273), he held the post of niyābat al-jaysh (supervisor of military affairs).

or criteria governed the way these twenty-three persons were chosen. Let us
examine the above accounts from several points of view.

First, let us compare these men with the supervisors dispatched to the Egyptian
regions to survey the irrigation system in 714/1314. According to al-Maqrizī, the
supervisors for the irrigation survey were:

Lower Egypt
(A) al-Gharbīyah:
   Amir Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Ḥājib
(B) al-Shaṛqīyah:
   Amir ‘Īzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī
(C) al-Buḥayrah:
   Amir ‘Ālā’ al-Dīn al-Talīlī
(D) al-Qalīyūbīyah:
   Amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā

Upper Egypt
(A) al-Fayyūm:
   Amir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī
(B) al-Bahnaṣāwīyah:
   Amir ‘Ālā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr
(C) al-Uṣmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥawīyah:
   Amir Sayf al-Dīn Qullī
(D) Ṯayyūt and Manfalūt:
   Amir Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥaydar (Jandar)
(E) Ikhmīm:
   Amir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādar al-Mu‘izzī
(F) Qūs:
   Amir Bahā’ al-Dīn Aṣḥam

Among the above-mentioned ten amirs, those who were re-appointed for the
cadastral survey the next year were the following five persons: Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl,
‘Īzz al-Dīn Aydamur, ‘Ālā’ al-Dīn al-Talīlī, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (in Lower Egypt),
and Sayf al-Dīn Qullī (in Upper Egypt). Among them, Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl (dispatched
to al-Gharbīyah) and ‘Īzz al-Dīn Aydamur (to al-Shaṛqīyah) were sent to the
same regions as in the cadastral survey. However, the above accounts of their
careers show that the two amirs had no close connection to either region.
Among the five amirs who were not chosen as supervisors in the cadastral survey in 715/1315, two—Aydughdī Shuqayr (al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwīyah) and Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī (Ikhmīm)—were arrested with the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughāy under suspicion of a plot to assassinate al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Rabī‘ 1 715/July 1315, just after the irrigation survey. ‘Alā‘ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr (d. 715/1315) originally came from the Mamluk corps formed by Ḥaṣām al-Dīn Lājīn. During al-Nāṣir’s reign he was promoted to a high position through the good offices of his comrade (khushdāsh), the amir Ṭughāy, and became one of the sultan’s favorites. Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī (d. 739/1339) was also one of the mamlūks fostered by Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Lājīn, and was given the rank of amir when Lājīn ascended to the throne in 696/1296. Thereafter Bahādur was arrested, but was later released. In 730/1330, he was promoted to commander of a thousand.

Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Jandar al-Rūmī (d. 729/1329), who was dispatched to Asyūt during the irrigation survey, came to Cairo from al-Rūm with his father and served al-Mansūr Lājīn in Egypt and Syria. When al-Nāṣir ascended to the sultanate for the third time in 709/1310, Ḥusayn was appointed amir of a hundred because of his talent for hunting (ṣayd). Although he had belonged to Ṭughāy’s group of suspected plotters, he was found blameless when Aydughdī, Bahādur, and Ṭughāy were arrested. However, the fact that Ḥusayn was one of Ṭughāy’s intimate comrades (min khawaṣṣ Ṭughāy) might explain why he was passed over for the position of supervising the rawk in 715/1315. It is not clear why the two remaining amirs, Baktūt al-Shamsī and Bahā‘ al-Dīn Ašlām, were not chosen as supervisors of the rawk. However, we may say that the way in which the supervisors chosen again as supervisors of the irrigation survey in 714/1314: ‘Īzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, Badr al-Dīn Jankali, Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī, ‘Alā‘ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr, Sayf al-Dīn Qullī, Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Mu‘izzī, Bahādur Ašlām, and Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn; cf. Amitai-Preiss, “The Remaking of the Military Elite,” 149.

Zetterstéen, Mamlükensultane, 162; al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulāk, 2:144; al-Ṣafadī, A‘yān al-‘Aṣr, 1:214-15. Aydughdī Shuqayr, accused of plotting to murder the sultan, was killed on the day of his arrest. In 713/1313 a dispute over iqṭā‘ holdings occurred between Aybak al-Mansūrī and Aydughdī Shuqayr. Sultan al-Nāṣir arrested Aybak al-Mansūrī, grand amir of the Mansūrī mamlūks, on the pretext that Aybak and his comrade intended to usurp the sultanate; see al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulāk, 2:128.


Al-Ṣafadī, A‘yān al-‘Aṣr, 1:264.


Bahā‘ al-Dīn Ašlām ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirī (d. 747/1346) was originally a mamlūk of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and was promoted to amir of a hundred by him, a rank he held until he lost it to the sultan’s anger after the cadastral survey; see Ibn Ṭaghribīrdī, al-Manhal, 2:455-56; al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī, 9:285.
were chosen was closely connected to the movements of the Mamluk factions competing around the sultanate in Cairo.

Now let us examine the accounts of the supervisors appointed for the cadastral survey in the following year. As mentioned above, among thirty-two supervisors we may identify twenty-three persons, including two Coptic officials. The biographical accounts do not reveal any close relation between the regions to which the twenty-one amirs were appointed and their posts or iqtâ’s. In the rawk of Tripoli in 717/1317, for example, Sharaf al-Dīn Ya’qūb al-Ḥamawi, chief of military affairs (nāẓir) at Aleppo, was put in charge of the cadastral survey. In the rawk of Aleppo in 725/1325, Mughultāy al-Jamālī, who held the offices of ustādār and wazīr, was appointed supervisor; that is, he was neither governor of Aleppo nor chief of military affairs there. This method of appointment was to avoid unfairness on the part of local chief officials or iqtâ’ holders (muqta’). Accordingly, it may well be said that such a principle was also followed in the rawk of Egypt in 715/1315.

We know the following posts of the supervisors, except the two Coptic officials, at the time of the cadastral survey:

(2) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ṭaybars: naqīb al-jaysh (chief of military police)
(3) Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl: ḥājib (chamberlain)
(5) Sayf al-Dīn Qullī: silāḥdār (bearer of arms)
(6) ‘Īzz al-Dīn Aydamur: ustādār (majordomo)
(11) Balābān al-Muḥassīn: shādd al-dawāwīn (supervisor of central offices)
(17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Karakī: amīr ‘alam (amir of banners)
(19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuqṣūbā: wālī Qūṣ
(26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī: naqīb al-mamlūk (chief of mamlūk affairs)
(30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs: amīr silāḥ (amir of arms)
(31) Shams al-Dīn Sunqur: naqīb al-mamlūk

It is remarkable that only one local governor (wālī Qūṣ) was appointed supervisor. The other supervisors held posts that were closely connected to the sultan’s privy council, the Royal Mamluks, or the central administration. This indicates that the cadastral survey was carried out under al-Nāṣir’s strong leadership. Al-Nuwayrī says, “Sultan al-Nāṣir himself proceeded to Upper Egypt to preside over the amirs and scribes.” The sultan had to obtain good results from the cadastral survey in order to establish a stable Mamluk regime.

108 Sato, State and Rural Society, 143-45.
109 Al-Nuwayrī, Niḥāyat al-Arab, 30:299-300; see also Sato, State and Rural Society, 140.
Finally, let us look at the origins of the amirs appointed as supervisors of the cadastral survey in 715/1315. Among the twenty-one amirs identified above, one, Shams al-Dīn Sunqur (31), was from the non-mamlūk cavalry, and two, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (1) and Khādir ibn Nūkīyah (25), were Mongol immigrants (al-Wāfidīyah) or the sons of such immigrants who came to serve al-Nāṣir. Both Mongol amirs were appointed to high positions through their relations by marriage to al-Nāṣir. From among the remaining supervisors, those who were mamlūks purchased and fostered by al-Nāṣir were (11) Balabān al-Muḥassīn, (17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Karakī, (29) Tāybugha al-Shamsī, and (30) Sayf al-Dīn Qīlis. Those who had been originally bought by another sultan or by an amir, and who later switched service to al-Nāṣir were (2) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Tāybars, (6) ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur, (7) Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish, (19) Sayf al-Dīn Tūqusūs, and (26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī. It is interesting that the same number of supervisors was chosen from among both the Nāṣirī and non-Nāṣirī mamlūks. However, even among these amirs we find no one who remained in his former faction, even after the accession of al-Nāṣir to the sultanate.

As I mentioned above, during al-Nāṣir’s second reign the Vice-Sultan Salār al-Manṣūrī and majordomo Baybars al-Jašankī actually controlled state politics. They were from the Burjī, or Mansūrī, mamlūks formed by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. Accordingly, when al-Nāṣir ascended to his third sultanate after eliminating Baybars al-Jāshankī and his followers in 709/1310, the first thing he had to do was eliminate the influence of the senior Mansūrī and other amirs. He immediately sent letters to the local wālis, ordering them to seize the estates of these amirs and send them to the prison in Alexandria. In 710/1310 Sultan al-Nāṣir captured Salār and his mamlūks, and in 712/1312 he arrested six amirs of a hundred, including three Mansūrī amirs. Furthermore, just after the irrigation survey in 714/1314, he arrested those senior amirs, like ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr and Bahādur al-Mu’izzī, who had been fostered by al-Manṣūr Lājīn.

112 Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 2:77-78.
113 Ibid., 2:87; Abū al-Fidā‘, Mukhtašar, 4:60.
115 Zetterstéen, Mamlākensultane, 162; al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 2:144. As to the affiliation of these amirs, see al-Maqrīzī, al-Muqaffā, 2:342-43, 501; see also Amitai-Preiss, “The Remaking of the Military Elite,” 149.
The next step was the execution of the cadastral survey, in order to decrease the *iqṭāʾ* revenue of those amirs left over from the reigns of the previous sultans.\textsuperscript{116} When al-Nāṣir resolved to establish a regime based on his own *mamlūk* s, it was probably deemed proper that the *rawk* supervisors be chosen not from the Maḥṣūrī *mamlūk* amirs, but from his own confidants, including the Naṣīrī *mamlūk* amirs. After the cadastral survey, al-Nāṣir granted new *iqṭāʾ* s to the amirs, his own *mamlūks* and the *ḥalqah* cavalrymen, and ordered that the land the Maḥṣūrī amirs had purchased in Giza be integrated into the sultan’s domain. Furthermore he declared that anyone who returned his authorization (*mithāl*) of *iqṭāʾ* or complained of the survey results would be beaten and imprisoned after his *iqṭāʾ* s were confiscated.\textsuperscript{117} This shows that al-Nāṣir evidently carried out the cadastral survey in order to implement his resolution to eliminate the senior non-Naṣīrī amirs.

\textsuperscript{116} On the causes and objectives of the Naṣīrī *rawk*, see Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 145-52.