The story told by various chronicles of the last fifty years of the Mamluk state (872–922/1468–1516) confirms how the long-established sale of office served as a source of license for holders of military, religious, and administrative office. The period under discussion was of course a difficult one for the Mamluk state, the last actually in which issues of foreign aggression and attendant, recurring economic crises were to be addressed. Did the sale of office, always a valuable source of revenue for the state, expand during this period? If so, into what areas? Also, depending upon whether the required sums were indexed to the office, to the location, or to the date of appointment, they could have had an impact on economic life.

This article considers the following chronicles: *Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr fī Abnāʾ al-ʿĀṣr* of al-Ṣayraḥī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl ʿalā Duwal al-Īslām* of al-Sakhaʿwī, *Tārīkh* of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn aṣ-Ṣawrāwī, *Taʿlīq* of Ibn Ṭawq, *Dhayl Nayl al-Īmām fī Dhayl al-Duwal* of Ṣadūq, *Badāʾiʿ iʿalā al-Zahhār fī Waqāʾiʿ iʿalā al-Duhūr* of Ibn Ṭawq, *Ḥawādīth al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, and *Muḥākāhāt al-Khillān fī Ḥawādīth al-Zamān* of Ibn Ṭūlūn. We have often noted that these works, which cover the period at some length, contain gaps—months, if not
years—though of course the most extensive writings are not always the most instructive on a given issue. A perusal of the table below will confirm this. Take the example of the first two chronicles, the Inbā’ and the Wajīz. Al-Ṣayrafī and al-Sakhawī each record nine cases of venality but in the Inbā’ the period under consideration is only four years while that in the Wajīz is twenty-six, a ratio six times greater. This leads us once more to question not only the sources of information of these authors but their perspective with regard to the given results. How objective or subjective could they be?

**Chronicles Studied and Cases of Venality Reported**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Chronicle (years covered)</th>
<th>Cases of Venality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900/1495)</td>
<td>Inbā’ (872–76/1468–72)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sakhawī (d. 902/1497)</td>
<td>Wajīz (872–98/1468–93)</td>
<td>9 (of which 1 is reported in Dhayl, 2 in Badā’i’, 1 in Hawādith, and 1 in Mufākahah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Buṣrawī (d. 905/1499–1500)</td>
<td>Tārīkh (871–904/1467–99)</td>
<td>11 (of which 3 are reported in Mufākahah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509)</td>
<td>Ta’liq (885–90/1480–85)</td>
<td>14 (of which 7 are reported in Mufākahah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl (d. 920/1514)</td>
<td>Dhayl (872–96/1468–91)</td>
<td>12 (of which 1 is reported in Wajīz and 7 in Badā’i’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524)</td>
<td>Badā’i’ (872–922/1468–1516)</td>
<td>37 (of which 2 are reported in Wajīz, 7 in Dhayl, 2 in Hawādith, and 1 in Mufākahah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 934/1528)</td>
<td>Hawādith (872–922/1468–1516)</td>
<td>6 (of which 1 is reported in Wajīz, 1 in Tārīkh, 11 in Badā’i’, and 12 in Mufākahah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546)</td>
<td>Mufākahah (884–922/1479–1516)</td>
<td>26 (of which 1 is reported in Wajīz, 3 in Tārīkh, 9 in Ta’liq, 1 in Badā’i’, and 2 in Hawādith)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chart reveals yet another issue of no less importance. Many cases are mentioned by two or more authors. This is no accident but reflects for the most part the geographical origins of these historians. It is hardly surprising, then, that Ibn Iyās records a great number of things borrowed from his master, ‘Abd al-Bāsīt ibn Khalīl, who like him resided in Cairo. One can perceive an identical phenomenon among Damascene authors such as al-Buṣrawī, Ibn Ṭawq, and Ibn Ṭūlūn. Only Ibn al-Ḥimṣī seems to have broken this pattern since his informants are also represented by the works of Ibn Iyās and Ibn Ṭūlūn. This bipolarization around the two great cities of the Mamluk state forms another impediment to our understanding of the profusion of venality. But the scholar who ventures beyond the confines of these two great metropolises will gain access to equally useful though little-cited regional sources of information—from cities like Aleppo and Jerusalem, for example—untapped by the chroniclers for whom the reproduction, either in part or in whole, of the writings of their predecessors seems to have been the norm.

As mentioned earlier, all offices that were by their nature military, religious, or administrative could be made the object of gift (badhl) or bribe (barṭalahl/birṭil), something to which we will return later. Study of the table below will elucidate this.

**Distribution of Cases of Venality by Author and by Type of Office**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Military Offices</th>
<th>Religious Offices</th>
<th>Administrative Offices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Ṣayarafī</td>
<td>Ṣayrab</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sakhāwī</td>
<td>Waḥīz</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Buṣrawī</td>
<td>Taʾrikh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Ṭawq</td>
<td>Taʿliq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-Bāsīt ibn Khalīl</td>
<td>Dhayl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Iyās</td>
<td>Badaʾiʾ</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn al-Ḥimṣī</td>
<td>Ḥawādīth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Ṭūlūn</td>
<td>Muḥākhah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5 According to Kazimirski, the term *barṭalahl/birṭil* signifies a "gift for bribing a judge." *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français* (repr. Beirut, n.d.), 1:112.

6 These figures take into account the plurality of offices held by an individual.
Religious posts were the object of great monetary activity. Three authors stand out clearly in this regard. The Damascenes Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn mention, respectively, thirteen cases in the *Taʾliq* and twenty in the *Mufākahah*. The Cairene Ibn Iyās records twenty-three in his *Badaʾiʾ*. However, these three figures require some comment. Actually, the duration taken into account in the *Taʾliq* and in the *Mufākahah* is less than that in the *Badaʾiʾ*, by several years for the *Mufākahah* and thirty for the *Taʾliq*. If one were to create a prospective for the same number of years, one would be right in thinking that the number of cases of sale of office recounted in the *Badaʾiʾ* would be surpassed.

It is equally interesting to note that the figures mentioned by Ibn Iyās for military and administrative office holders, seven and eight respectively, are half as many. This information is repeated more or less equally among the different authors, except al-Šayrafī. The supremacy of religious office is problematic. One must understand that when the sultan granted military and administrative posts in exchange for hard cash of full weight or accepted money offered by job hunters it was hardly surprising. Actually, title holders had to be of exemplary morality and probity; this at any rate is how they are extolled by the jurists in their works.  

To clarify and advance our thesis we append two lists. The first enumerates cases of venality chronologically; the second, which is subdivided into three small lists (I, II, III), follows a thematic classification with regard to which we have followed the order in the chancellery manuals (military, religious, and administrative office). We have, moreover, to bear in mind the plurality of offices held by a single person, which explains how the same individual could figure on both lists II and III. The chronological list allows us to establish that seventy-eight people paid to obtain the post or posts they desired to occupy during the period covered. Certain people paid for two renewals, some three or more. One must differentiate at this point between candidates and positions occupied, by virtue of the common practice in the Mamluk age of plurality of offices. If one were to make a general calculation of the number of positions, one would arrive at the number one hundred twenty-six. Again, this is not an accurate reflection since in two cases the offices obtained are followed by the vague expression “and other offices” (II/7, 16). If one divides by categories, one sees that nineteen military offices, seventy-five religious posts and thirty-two administrative positions were acquired in exchange for financial contributions.

These facts are of course not only relative with respect to the elements specified before but also because certain years appear altogether devoid of venality, or at least the authors are mute on the subject. But is this to say that no post was farmed

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out in 877–78, 880, 882, 884, 899, 901, 903, 907, 909–10, or 913–14? It is difficult to establish this when one knows that for a given year, the authors do not record the same facts. One might equally suppose that they could not know about every transaction, or that the popularization of this phenomenon led them only to consider the cases which appear interesting to them, such as that of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb, qāḍī al-quḍāḥ of Cairo, who had six renewals (II/41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 56). He paid once to obtain this office, then renewed it five times. One must not forget that in the great majority of cases it is the main posts that are mentioned, particularly in this sphere. This last point allows one to think that every gift or bribe connected to a minor post often avoided the scrutiny of the authors. It is also possible that they were not judged sufficiently useful to be recorded.

Consequently, the different parameters used do not allow us to establish an effective picture of those posts that were sold. We have mentioned above that the body of information which serves as the basis of this study does not reflect the whole of the reality, only part. The two following examples provide a good demonstration of this. In Al-Ḏawʿ al-Lāmīʿ, al-Sakhāwī mentions in the notice he dedicated to Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maṃṣūr that he obtained in 890/1485 the posts of nāẓir al-jayṣh and kāṭib al-sirr in Aleppo in exchange for 2,000 dinars. In the Wajīz the same author noted in the obituary of Shīhāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qarn al-Tāṣī, who died in Jumādā II 892/May 1487, that he paid 3,000 dinars for the post of qāḍī of Alexandria. Yet we have found no mention of these nominations. How many people escaped the attention of the chroniclers? Be that as it may, during a fifty-year period we have counted 126 cases, which is on average 2.5 cases a year. If we exclude those years for which no case of venality is seen, we obtain the figure of 3.4 cases per year. In the face of such results one many ask oneself if it is expedient to launch into a study of venality and its economic consequences if the numbers neither constitute nor reveal convincing indicators.

Clearly, to understand and judge venality in its entirety still seems an impossibility. Of course, the study of the thematic tables allows us to establish for the first time the phenomenon in its temporal and geographic dimensions. From these figures we will try to extrapolate the ultimate economic implications.

The table below allows us to maintain that venality was not just an economic phenomenon, but a political one as well. All sovereigns farmed out offices, even

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9Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḏawʿ al-Lāmīʿ fī Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāṣī (Cairo, 1934), 9:164–65, no. 413.

those who enjoyed only brief reigns. In the latter case the record is laughable since altogether there were but six posts for four rulers. This is certainly far from the totals racked up by Qāytbāy and Qānsūh al-Ghawrī, who elevated, respectively, sixty-eight and twenty-nine offices, little enough when one recalls how many years both exercised power. Be that as it may, Mamluk sultans employed this practice until the end, the last instance occurring in Rabi‘ II 922/May 1516 (II/63).

**DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY SULTAN AND BY TYPE OF OFFICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sultan</th>
<th>Military Offices</th>
<th>Religious Offices</th>
<th>Administrative Offices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qāytbāy</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(872–901/1468–95)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(901–4/1495–98)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qānsūh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(904–5/1498–1500)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ǧānbalāt</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(905–6/1500–1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūmānbāy</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(906/1501)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qānsūh al–Ghawrī</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(906–22/1501–16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one were to consider things from a geographic perspective, one would observe the clear predominance of Damascus with respect to offices of the pen. Actually, thirty-nine religious posts were farmed out there as against thirty-three for Cairo, two for Aleppo and two for Jerusalem. We find the same situation for administrative posts: eighteen for Damascus, ten for Cairo, three for Aleppo, and one for Jidda. Military offices constituted a case apart with regard to the fixed number of amirs eligible to be governors of provinces. We will return a little later to the significance that one may attribute to these different figures.

It would hardly be surprising to learn that the most elevated posts were frequently the object of financial transaction. But these were not the only ones, for the range of posts proves to be quite large. In the case of the military, gubernatorial posts—always a question of the locale of the city and its importance—were studied in eight cases. While the post of nāʿib of Damascus was leased only once (I/6), and again the information appears only in the obituary notice of its holder, the amir Qijmās, one will note that the governor of Ǧāfād renewed three times (II/10, 15, and 17). Coming thereafter are various offices, among which we find those of
Concerning religious offices, we will see that judicial posts occupied the first place and that among them were thirty renewals for the post of qādī al-quḍāḥ. Yet one big difference appears among the four judicial schools: the Shafi‘i madhhab comes first with eighteen leased offices (seven in Damascus and eleven in Cairo); this is followed by the Hanafi madhhab with ten posts (six in Damascus, one in Aleppo, and three in Cairo). The Hanbali and Maliki schools seem to have been little affected by venality since there exists but one case per school in Cairo.

When one reads Ibn Iyās’s reflections on venality it would seem that the practice was anchored in current morality. Ironically, the author expresses his own astonishment in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 919/December 1513 when Sultan Qānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī invested four grand qadis on the same day without any of the grantees having had to make the slightest payment.\(^{11}\) This observation leads one to think that venality of office became so commonplace, indeed, insignificant a practice that it attracted only occasional attention from historians. There is a possible explanation for this small number of cases. One can of course measure the importance of venality in the testimony of the Tārīkh of al-Buṣrawī, who was opposed to this practice. In Muharram 902/September 1496 he produced a list of Shafi‘is paired with their privileges and showed that the majority took gifts overtly (ba‘dum ya‘khudhu al-rashwah jahran)—in short, a bribe.\(^{12}\) Damascus was not the only city affected by this scourge. The same author on 7 Jumādá II 902/February 1497 recalled this problem at the same time as a reunion with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn, brother of the shaykh al-islām Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Sharīf. The discussion turned on the issue of the corruption which reigned in Jerusalem and which was the work of the Shafi‘i qadi. This person “plunged into debt and bribes (al-rashwah) in an indescribable manner.”\(^{13}\) In such a context one understands better that the chroniclers had at heart to bring to the attention of their readers honest men such as the Shafi‘i qadi ‘Alā‘ al-Dīn al-Akhmīmī, who never accepted a single bribe (‘afīfan ‘an al-rashwah) during his tenure.\(^{14}\) If the post of Shafi‘i grand qadi was the object of financial transaction, the same applied to his deputy (nā‘ib qādī al-quḍāḥ shafi‘i‘i) of which we have uncovered nine cases for Damascus.

Venality did not strike the judiciary alone; teaching posts were affected identically: five mudarrisūn (three in Damascus and two in Cairo) obtained their

\(^{11}\)Ibn Iyās, Badā‘i‘, 4:350–52.
\(^{12}\)Al-Buṣrawī, Tārīkh, 190.
\(^{13}\)Ibid., 203.
\(^{14}\)Ibn Iyās, Badā‘i‘, 4:352–53.
offices through purchase.\textsuperscript{15} We should note at this point that instructors were not obliged to disburse money to obtain a lecture post. According to ‘Abd al-Baṣīt this was a recent phenomenon. Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who obtained the post of 
\textit{mudarris} at the Shaykhūnīyah (Cairo) in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 895/September 1490, had been the first to be hired in a cashless deal (II/36). It is nevertheless difficult to say if the remark is applicable to all institutions or just the Shaykhūnīyah. In any case, in Damascus in Muḥarram 883/April 1478 ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī obtained a teaching post, though the establishment concerned is not mentioned (II/7). Other religious posts underwent the same process: those of 
\textit{muḥtasib} (two cases in Cairo),\textsuperscript{16} 
\textit{shaykh} (five cases, of which four were in Cairo and one in Jerusalem), and 
\textit{wakil al-sultān} (four cases, three of which were in Damascus and one in Cairo), as well as the different offices of controller (nāẓīr al-bīmāristān, nāẓīr al-ashrāf and nāẓīr al-asrā’ī) (of eleven cases, six were in Damascus, two in Aleppo, and three in Cairo).

With regard to administrative office, the two most important posts in the civil administration of the ninth/fifteenth century to be farmed out were those of 
\textit{kātib al-sīr} (seven cases) and nāẓīr al-jaysh (six cases). Again, Damascus accounts for five cases for the post of 
\textit{kātib al-sīr} and six for that of nāẓīr al-jaysh. We must remember that these two posts were often conjoined but also that the post of 
\textit{kātib al-sīr} was sometimes bundled with that of qādī al-quḍāḥ shāfī’ī (III/2, 9). That the vizier figures only in two renewals in our list is undoubtedly a reflection of the decline of the post in Cairo, which no longer existed in Damascus after 839/1435.\textsuperscript{17}

One notes also the frequency of the post of controller of the citadel (nāẓīr al-qal‘ah) (three cases in Damascus and one in Aleppo) but also the mention of the office of secretary of the mamluks (kātib al-mamālik), a less elevated post in the hierarchy, that had two renewals much later (in 912/1506).

Before going into greater detail on the question of disbursement, some remarks are in order. From the outset amounts were not mentioned systematically by the authors, who were no doubt informed about them, even though for the military and administrative offices we possess figures for more than three-quarters of them. Thus, for nineteen military posts the sum total was noted in twelve cases; for sixty-three religious posts there were thirty-nine cases, and for twenty-one administrative posts there were fourteen cases. In addition, if the Mamluks paid a sum of money to obtain or be reconfirmed in an office (I/2 and 5) they could only

\textsuperscript{15}Cf. Jonathan P. Berkey, “Tadrīs,” \textit{EI}, 10:83–84. This term usually designates the teaching of religious law, that is to say \textit{fiqh}.


retain one office. In religious and civil cases, the business was much more complex since one is faced with the plurality of offices (II/2 and III/4; II/4 and III/5; II/12 and III/6; II/3 and III/7; II/14 and III/8; II/30 and III/11; II/34 and III/16) or several posts of the same category (II/6, 7, 16, 39, 40, 46, 48, 49; III/15, 17, 20, 21). No information is ever given that reveals whether the sum demanded or paid was a lump sum; perhaps it was a forfeiture. We have only one detailed example. According to Ibn Ẓulq, in Shaʿbān 916/November 1510, the quaḍi al-qudāh shafʿi Ẓal al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr granted to ‘Alāʾ al-Dīn al-Ramlī the niyābah shafʿiyah for one hundred ashrafīs and, according to rumor, on the same day also accorded to him the post of mutakallim for the affairs of the Ḥaramayn for 150 ashrafīs (II/49).

The offices that we have cited were conferred in exchange for financial contributions, although in certain cases the authors were reticent about them. Indeed, one encounters in their writing the expression "wa-qil" signifying that they were only reporting rumor, perhaps without any foundation (I/16; II/11, 41, 62; III/21, 50, 60). It is in this vein that Ibn Ṭawq recorded in Shaʿbān 886/September 1481 the nomination of Ḥimād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Nāṣirī to the post of quaḍi al-qudāh Ḥanafī: "I have heard it said that he had obtained this post through an exchange of a sizeable cash gift, all to retain the offices that he already possessed" (II/16). The same author, speaking somewhat fatalistically of a similar case, that of Ibn al-Ghazzī, adds: "God alone knows the truth of it" (II/11). Paying to obtain a post had become an official act, at any rate a well-known practice, as when in Dhu al-Qa’dah 897/August 1492 Ṭāb al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī spent 1,000 dinars to land a teaching post in al-Manṣūrīyah; we have this from al-Sakhāwī (II/38). In the case of Ẓalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAdawī, one of his relatives, named ʿAbd al-Qādir, told al-Bushrawī that new amounts were required for the renewal of Ẓalāḥ al-Dīn in the office of wakīl al-sulṭān and for obtaining the office of nāẓir al-dhakhīrah. We are ignorant of the details of this operation, but the trip to Cairo, for the individual lived and worked in Damascus, cost him 28,000 dinars, which he had to borrow.

The language employed to invoke these monetary transactions is ambiguous to say the least. The question is one of badhl (gift) (I/7, 8, 11; II/15, 17, 26). The candidate proposed a sum to the ruler who had the right to accept it but also to refuse it in order to obtain more. It is perhaps better to speak not of a gift but a bribe. If sometimes the amount of this gift is noted, as in the case of Shāhīn al-Jamālī, who offered 20,000 dinars for the post of shādī in Jidda to Sultan Qaytbay in Rajab 876/December 1471 (I/2), this information is not systematic. In the case of Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzallīq one learns only that he gave an important

BERNADETTE MARTEL-THOUMIAN, THE SALE OF OFFICE

58

gift (to the same ruler) to obtain the office of qādī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī in Damascus in Sha‘bān 889/August 1484 (II/24). It is in no way easier to figure values described simply as “much” (kathīr). One might suppose that he paid the sum habitually demanded of the candidate for the highest judicial office, whatever his affiliation, namely 3,000 dinars (II/10, 35, 44, 45, 46, 52, 57, 59). That was at any rate the amount ordinarily required in Cairo, according to the authors. The situation seems slightly different for the provinces since Ibn al-Muzalliq paid in the previous month the tidy sum of 10,000 dinars for the same post (II/22). How much did he spend the second time? The sultan undoubtedly exploited his desire to be reinstated in the post of grand qādī. Our confusion is increased when Ibn al-Ḥiṃṣī says that Shārāf al-Dīn ibn ‘Īd confided to him that he was relieved of his obligation to satisfy Sultan Qāytbāy, who conferred the post of qādī al-quḍāh ḥanafī upon him (II/8).

One sees then the total ambiguity of the gift, indeed, its total ambivalence. Trapped between the voluntary and forced gift, candidates who ardently desired to obtain a post, which make up the majority of cases in this study, or extend their occupation (I/3), were ready to pay any amount to insure access.¹⁹ The result was a veritable rush for office by whomever, whatever his abilities, was able to fulfill the object of his dreams, if only he could entice the ruler financially. Shocked, Ibn Iyās tells how in Ẓafar 887/March 1482 Sultan Qāytbāy conferred on Muḥammad ibn al-‘Azāmah the office of controller of waqāfū under the pretext that he had promised him an important monthly deduction on the revenues derived from properties in mortmain. While this individual, intent on lining his own pocket, did not possess the capacity required to administer this office properly, the ruler took it (II/19). We have already had occasion to refer to the fickleness of rulers who had little scruples in distributing religious and administrative offices to incompetents for money.²⁰ Military offices do not seem to have entirely escaped this fate. Ibn Iyās, for one, was shocked to discover that one of the julbān obtained the lucrative post of nā‘ib of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād for the modest sum of 1,000 dinars (I/13). For the author, who cannot explain Qāytbāy’s action, this was very unusual (wa-hādhā min al-nawādir).

If the authors use the word badḥl, whatever its meaning, they never use the word bartalḥ/birṭīl and seem to prefer to it rashwah (gift), what one bestows on

¹⁹The following anecdote is evocative of the spirit that prevailed then. In Ẓafar 908/August 1502, when the pilgrimage amīr Aṣṭāmūr arrived in Batn al-Marr, before the Mecca station, he was received by al-Jāzānī, who came to meet him. Aṣṭāmūr offered him a robe of honor saying: “If you desire to be invested with the lordship of Mecca, you must pay the sultan 50,000 dinars.” This was understood by al-Jāzānī: “I will pay this sum.” Ibn Iyās, Badū’ī’, 4:36–37.

²⁰Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, Les civils et l’administration dans l’état militaire mamlouk: (IXe/XVe siècle) (Damascus, 1992), 78–121.
a judge or an officer for gain. Is this a question of bashfulness or was the word simply not in current usage? Thus, we have already mentioned that the authors are not always in a position to furnish us with the sum total paid out by the candidates. Monetary transactions are referred to as *bi-mablagh* (for an amount) (II/40, 63, 60, 61; III/9) and *bi-māl* (for cash) (II/6, 56; III/16, 46); some could be accorded the epithet *kathir* (much) (*bi-māl kathir*, II/31) or *kabir* (large, considerable) (*bi-mablagh kabir*, III/51). One observes a linguistic variant that signifies when the candidate is successful—*wa-qad saʿā fī dhālīka bi-mablagh lahu šūrah*—meaning that the person has been able to pay because of great wealth (I/14, 15, 17; II/31, 32, 42; III/13, 18).  

These different expressions underscore that the sums paid were sizeable, but of what magnitude? It is difficult to give an estimate or determine the range of unspecified gifts. We are unable to say if these sums were really large or just perceived as such by the authors. Moreover, amounts were assessed every fifty years, which complicates our effective understanding of them because during the same period economic progress undoubtedly occurred. To conduct a precise study, it would be necessary to take into account the various price indices, such as monetary variations.

Fortunately, we possess figures for fifty-six posts, that is, slightly less than half. The totals are always quoted in dinars ranging from 100 (*nāʾīb qaḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī*, II/49) to 100,000 (*nāʾīb* of Damascus, I/6). We have noted above that the price takes into account the office and unquestionably the plurality. The sums paid by the amirs are always greater or at least equivalent to those paid by individuals who accumulated religious and administrative offices. This demonstrates conclusively that the military disposed of greater resources or were otherwise able to make stronger bids. Certain details here are worthy of attention. Certain authors such al-Ṣayrafī (I/1; III/1, 2, 3) but occasionally also Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn (I/5) and even Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (I/4) mention that the dinars furnished were weighed coins composed of good alloy.  

In taking this precaution, Sultan Qāytbāy, to whom the sums ultimately reverted, was assured that the volume of money corresponded to the sums demanded. However, it is difficult to confirm that this practice was in fashion during the entire length of Qāytbāy’s reign or during the reigns of his successors; the last mention is in 886/1481. One can hope that Qāytbāy had confidence in the coins he ordered into circulation, as at the same time the chroniclers claimed a halt to counterfeiters. Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions two payments in *ashrafi* dinars (II/49, 51) and like Ibn Ṭawq uses the term *dhahab* (III/10, 11). Indeed, Ibn Iyās proved that in great detail in the case of Fakhr al-Dīn

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21 According to Kazimirski, the expression *māl lahu šūrah* signifies that an individual had considerable wealth (*Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 1:1384).

22 The term *wazana* means to give money to someone after it has been weighed (ibid., 2:1530).
ibn al-‘Afīf when he noted that he paid for the post of kātib al-mamālik with 2,000 dinars and change (wa-kusūr, III/19).23

Of course certain candidates made payments both in specie and in kind, things such as grain and livestock. Thus, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr paid 8,000 dinars and 5,000 ardabs of barley, about 45,000 liters (III/21).24 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī disbursed an unknown sum of cash to which he added livestock (II/27). Similarly, Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Mu‘tamid paid in kind, offering forty sacks of barley (II/50) for the post of qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī in Damascus. According to Muḥīb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf, he gave a thousand horses (III/17). Ibn Iyās noted that Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir paid a cash sum but also a portion of his inheritance to obtain the post of kātib al-sīrī held previously by his father (III/14). Unfortunately, we do not possess any details about this transaction. How much was the sum paid and what was the nature of the portion of the inheritance (house, property, livestock) demanded from the applicant by Qāyṭbāy? In the ledger of this arrangement it is difficult to calculate the proportion of each kind of payment but it is interesting to note that the sultan accepted all forms.

Of course, not everyone could furnish the required sum all at once. The government, if it did not have a candidate likely to pay an equivalent sum, would accept graduated payments. The amir Aydākī and the cleric Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, who undoubtedly lacked ready funds to take their offices, were permitted to pay half on the day of their installation and the balance on a date fixed by the authorities (I/12; II/11). Though the amir Ulmās had agreed to pay 41,000 dinars for the post of wali al-shurṭah, he offered 20,000 down and the rest in installments (I/19). Yet it happened that a candidate could not finally pay what he had offered to the sultan, or what the latter had charged. The sultan, pressed no doubt by necessity, took a sum less than that fixed at the outset. ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-Nāṣirī, who promised 8,000 dinars to Qāyṭbāy, could only pay 7,000 dinars in the end (II/7).

Nevertheless, the sultan was not always so accommodating. In Rabī‘ II 879/August 1474, on Wednesday the 15th, the new nāẓir al-ashrāf of Damascus, al-Sayyid al-Ṣharīf, did not receive his robe of investiture because he did not fulfill his promise to pay. According to al-Ṣayyafī, he was finally installed in his new office on Friday the 23rd after having paid 1,000 dinars (II/3). These compromises do not seem to have been systematically applied and the affair could always take another turn when the sultan’s need for money proved urgent. The Shafi‘ī grand qādi Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb underwent such an experience in

24According to Sato Tsugitaka, State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta’s and Fallahun (Leiden, 1997), 241.
Jumādā I 916/August 1510 when Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī revoked his office after he had been in it for only two months and sixteen days. The qadi had not finished paying the agreed amount at the time of his nomination, on which he still owed 1,000 dinars. Though destitute he had to pay, and the sultan, to ensure payment, ordered him locked up in the home of the nāzīr al-khāṣṣ.

We have, to this point, noted transactions made face-to-face between the sultan and anyone seeking a post. But venality was not uniquely the purview of the sultan, for other high-ranking persons also took advantage of their positions for profit. This situation seems to have been so common in Damascus for religious offices that one cannot detect any exception. The following three cases refer to the same person, the Shafi‘i grand qadi Shiḥāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr. In Jumādā II 886/July 1481 he conferred the niyābah shāfi‘iyah on Muḥyī al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Ghāzī for a cash amount that was less than what was rumored (II/15). In Rajab 889/August 1481 it was Shiḥāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī to whom he gave the same post for eighty ashrāfī dinars, according to Ibn Ṭūlūn, and for 400, according to Ibn Tawq (II/23). In Jumādā II 889/June 1484 Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qādī Žūra’ became nā‘īb al-ḥukm after he paid a considerable amount of cash (II/21). A member of the Farfūr clan again figures years later. In Sha‘bān 921/September 1515 qādī al-qaḍā‘ shāfi‘ī Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr requested of Shiḥāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Ramlī 1,000 dinars. The latter was then imam of the Umeyyad mosque but was unable to pay more than half the balance. The post then went to Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā for an enormous sum (II/58)! We have related four scenarios involving high Damascene religious dignitaries, though this practice was not limited to them. In Muharram 892/December 1486 the governor of Damascus named as nā‘īb of Šafād the ḥājib al-ḥujjāb Iḥbāy for 20,000 dinars (I/10). Then in Shawwāl 895/August 1490 Sultan Qāytbāy enjoined the ḥājib kabīr Yūnīs al-Sharīfī to choose the Hanafi grand qadi; his choice was Muḥībb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf, who agreed to pay 3,000 dinars (II/35).

Often when money proved scarce it became necessary to solicit the support of influential people. It is unclear if such services were systematically compensated since we possess examples in which cash is not mentioned, only the names of intermediaries. A case in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482 is notable since Shiḥāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī obtained the niyābah shāfi‘iyah thanks to the intervention of Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn ibn al-Šayrafasī and for 200 dinars (II/20). In Șafār 898/November 1492 the Amir Qānībāy Qrā al-Rammāḥ obtained the post of nā‘īb of Šahyūn in exchange for a bribe and the intervention of the Amir Azbak al-Ḫázīndār (I/14).

It would seem, moreover, that candidates were obligated financially to their intercessors. In Dhu‘ al-Qa‘dah 897/August 1492 ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī spent 1,000 dinars to obtain a teaching post in al-Mansūrīyah. This amount consisted of a bribe but also gifts made to people who had supported him, including an anonymous
amir, who received one hundred dinars (II/38). The case of Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn al-Naqīb is particularly interesting. As we have already noted, this person occupied the post of Shafiʿi grand qadi in Cairo six times, paying each time with bribes. He also had recourse to the offices of certain individuals. Ibn Iyās mentioned that in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 911/March 1506 he obtained on three occasions the post of grand qadi for 5,000 dinars but also that he had distributed 2,000 more to those amirs who had supported his candidacy, to principal members of the sultan’s retinue (khawāṣṣ), notably the dawādār Azdamur. On the occasion of his sixth and last nomination, in Jumādā II 921/July 1515, he paid out the usual 3,000 dinars to which he added the amounts distributed to the dawādār, to his adjutant (dawādār thān) and to the kātib al-sīr. One can easily imagine all the resources expended by this individual to obtain the office of his dreams and then to maintain himself in it. According to rumor, he spent a total of some 36,000 dinars. One can easily believe, too, Ibn Iyās’ claim that in acting in such a fashion, he ruined his fortune (II/41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 56).

Venality caused money to change hands at such a rate that if they were not systematically important at the start, these sums could become so if the candidate solicited the same office frequently enough and put himself in debt to his intermediaries. One must not forget that the case of Ibn al-Naqīb noted before, as it constitutes a case of affiliation, is not really an exception. Thus in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 918/January 1513 Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl occupied for the third time the office of Shafiʿi grand qadi, achieving his ends by spending in excess of 10,000 dinars (II/48, 53, 57). Other individuals occupied the same posts two or three times by utilizing bribes rather than their abilities, which created discontent with their nominations. Such is the reminder of Ibn Iyās concerning the affection that Ḥusām al-Dīn Mahmūd ibn al-Shiḥnah possessed for the post of Hanafi grand qadi in Ramaḍān 921/October 1515 (II/59): “Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī interested himself in all things having to do with the procuring of money.” 25 The author deplored his youth, and consequently his lack of experience as judge, which paralleled his lack of learning, perhaps because he had not completed his education. The judgment of Ibn Iyās is severe: “He was undoubtedly the most incompetent of the Hanafi qadis,” 26 while other candidates who had been omitted possessed the requisite qualifications to administer the office.

Even so, it would not be right to place all responsibility for the sale of office and its convolutions solely on the rulers. It was after all the candidates themselves who sought backers to support their applications by means of gifts of varying value. It was in essence a contractual relationship: both parties were free to accept

26 Ibid.
or reject the proposed deal. Clearly, the sultans exploited the system to their advantage, but the candidates were certainly not inclined to invest, and invest substantially, to no purpose. They of course hoped their new position would allow them not only to recoup their investment but also exploit the system in turn.

Ibn Ṭūlūn relates that the nāẓir al-jaysh Shīhāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr and the qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘i Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī “disgraced themselves” in Damascus. In Ṣafar 886/April 1481 al-‘Adawī lost the post of qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘i while retaining those of nāẓir al-qal‘ah and wakīl al-sulṭān. Desirous of managing them, Ibn al-Farfūr agreed to pay 32,000 dinars and had his prayers answered. Al-‘Adawī, who had bid only 10,000 dinars to the dawādār, was dismissed, but only for a brief time because in the same month he regained two of his former offices (nāẓir al-qal‘ah and wakīl al-sulṭān) in exchange for 26,000 dinars. He did not succeed in retaining them, though, as Ibn al-Farfūr offered in Rabī‘ I/May the sum of 30,000 dinars and obtained as well the post of wakīl bayt al-māl (II/12, 13, 14). One wonders if any part of the money found its way into the sultan’s coffers. Regardless, the attitude of those two office holders gives us an idea of the amount of competition induced by the system. We note that the sum “pocketed” by the dawādār in the space of a month was close to 88,000 dinars! It is interesting to note, however, that the Ibn al-Farfūr reported here is the same Shīhāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr we have mentioned above in the three affairs of attribution of posts between 886 and 889. Shīhāb al-Dīn did not wait long to swap the status of solicitor for that of purveyor of offices, this providing the means of reimbursing himself quickly. This attitude was by no means exceptional. Ibn Iyās, in the notice he dedicated to the amir Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammān in Rabī‘ I 921/April 1513, recalled that he had obtained the post of nā‘ib of Ṣahyūn through a bribe and the intervention of the amir Azbak al-Khāzīndār, but also that his attitude towards his administrators leads one to believe that he was recouping his outlay by pressuring them (I/14). Undoubtedly, it was for the same purpose that the qāḍī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī came to Cairo in Dhu‘ al-Qa‘dah 891/October 1496. He knew in advance that, good year or bad, he would recoup the 28,000 dinars that he had borrowed for the trip (II/30).

Even so, it is not necessary to see in these practices the emergence of an entirely new phenomenon. When ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Kātib al-Manākh was nominated vizier in Shawwāl 826/September 1423 in exchange for 20,000 dinars, his father said to him: “I have occupied the office of vizier and I have left the 60,000 dinars that I would possess without ever being able to repair the breach in my fortune. How shall you manage it?” ‘Abd al-Karīm made this Sibylline comment: “I would fill this void by taking from the Muslims’ portion.” With these

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27 Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufakakah, 1:36, 37 et 39
profound observations the new vizier revealed to his father a pyramid scheme. One would be right in thinking that the top was not systematically composed of these "Muslims" but that, according to circumstance, other intermediaries would give money thinking that they would recoup in requisite time. Only the poor devil at the bottom of the pyramid would legitimately feel himself injured. In the chronicles it is only the apex of the edifice that is uncovered, while the rest remains hidden, appearing only rarely.

Though significant amounts were either paid or recouped by candidates, they pale in comparison with those disbursed during the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century. The three examples adduced here are, in this regard, significant. Of course, the question is the conferment of the post of kātib al-sīrr, the most elevated position in the administrative hierarchy and the most coveted. As one can see from the figures that follow, one is far from the kind of sums paid during the period which presently interests us. Thus, in Rabī‘ I 808/August 1405, Sa‘d al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Gharāb paid 60,000 dinars; in Shawwāl 826/October 1421 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Bārizī gave 40,000 dinars; in Rajab 832/April 1429, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muzhir paid 100,000 dinars. The rapacity and cupidity of the sultans in place—Faraj, al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh, and Barsba‘y—had nothing on Qāytbāy and Qānsūh al-Ghawrī. What is more, sums were paid entirely at the time of the purchase of office. If it is true that these three rulers exercised power during periods which were filled with political and economic crises, contrary to their successors, they were capable of sizing up issues, even bringing solutions to bear, though they proved to be temporary.

Be that as it may, these findings lead us to question the wealth of different office holders since even amirs seem to have had difficulty in paying. Are we faced with the onset of a general impoverishment, at least concerning certain notables? Is the situation the same in Cairo as in the provincial capitals? How does one explain this phenomenon? For the last fifty years of the Mamluk Sultanate’s existence, rulers confronting foreign dangers and diverse economic crises were focused less and less on devising a new fiscal regime to keep state coffers filled. Arbitrary exactions from notables, merchants, or non-Muslim communities, as well as new levies on various branches of commerce and the property of mortmain, allowed Qāytbāy to replenish his often empty treasury. His successor Qānsūh al-Ghawrī used similar methods; he had recourse to simple extraordinary levies, to confiscation of the goods of office holders fallen into disgrace, and to seizing the inheritances of the wealthy deceased.

In these circumstances, one sees how the government agreed on a price for certain offices, as in the case of the grand qadi: all candidates hoping to occupy

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28Cf. the lists in the appendices of ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *Al-Badhl wa-al-Barṭalah*. 

the position had to furnish 3,000 dinars to the sultan. The practice became virtual law. The procedure, without any legal sanction, became so implicit, on the one hand, by princely fiat and, on the other, by the voluntary acquiescence of the candidates. The relatively low asking price is easily explained: administrators, already subject to so many different financial drains, were no doubt unable to extend themselves any further. Of course, there were always exceptions, but the sultan could leave these offices without title holders. Thus, to confer such an office for such a relatively small sum was insurance for always having on hand a potential applicant. Thus, in Rabî‘ I 919/May 1513 Sultan Qânsûh al-Ghawrî spoke to ‘Īzz al-Dîn al-Shîshînî of his desire to award the post of qâdî al-qudâh hanbali: “Give me 1,000 dinars and I will confer on you the offices of your father” (II/54). If the ruler wanted to obtain more, since all appointments and removals depended on his good will, he had only to dismiss summarily the office holder and replace him. This was his most used gambit! The case of Muḥyî al-Dîn ibn al-Naqîb is instructive: in Dhu‘ al-Qa‘dah 918/January 1513 he had already been Shafi‘i grand qadi five times though the total length of his mandate had been less than a year, in fact, only nine months and eight days.

Did venality exacerbate the major political crises that crisscrossed the sultanate, particularly when it was time to mobilize against external enemies? During these critical periods demands for money but especially its collection proved vital for the raising and equipping of troops. In fact, only five years stand out distinctly: 886/1481 and 922/1516, with nine cases of venality each; 889/1484 and 921/1515, seven cases; and finally, 893/1488, six cases. The last two years of the Mamluk sultanate were marked by greater activity: sixteen offices were farmed out, bringing in some 60,000 dinars, although for three posts the amount is not precise. This sum seems modest ultimately and we may be right in thinking that it was only a balance, though not a negligible one, and nothing more. Moreover, the story in the chronicles is that when the sultan mobilized his forces he raised a new tax, justifying it by invoking the necessity of defending his territory.

Sultans preferred to bleed the population as a whole, with the help of the procedures enumerated above, rather than demand what appeared to be prohibitive fees from various grantees. They were being pragmatic since the sums collected in this way could not be compared with revenues induced through venality. If so, it is a question of yielding to a bad habit embedded in current mores, of assimilation into a quasi-levy, a tax on office. While we have been unable to illuminate fully this phenomenon in our study, it seems to us that during the last fifty years of the sultanate venality of office lost its financial importance. Revenues generated through venality are not attested in reports about other taxes. But did they contribute to the enrichment of all those who practiced it? It is difficult to answer affirmatively because a certain number of individuals undoubtedly had time to recoup their...
losses. Still, we cannot be absolutely sure. For those who had the opportunity, the government soon confiscated money won from the "Muslims’ portion." May morality be saved!

**Chronological Table**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Office/Location</th>
<th>Amounts/Methods of Payment</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādā I 874/Nov. 1469</td>
<td>Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Hayṣam</td>
<td>mustawfi al-khāṣṣ, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Inbā’, 152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādā I 875/Oct. 1470</td>
<td>Qāsim ibn al-Qarāfī</td>
<td>vizier, Cairo</td>
<td>20,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumādā II 876/Nov. 1471</td>
<td>Taghrībirdī</td>
<td>kāšif al-jusūr wa-al-damm, al-Sharqīyah</td>
<td>1,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajab 876/Dec. 1471</td>
<td>Shāhīn al-Jamālī</td>
<td>shādd, Jidda</td>
<td>20,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 383</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajab 876/Dec. 1471</td>
<td>Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān</td>
<td>ṣayrafī, Jidda</td>
<td>10,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 383</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajab 876/Dec. 1471</td>
<td>Ibn al-ʿAjūnī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ ḥanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramaḍān 876/Feb. 1472</td>
<td>Qutb al-Dīn al-Khaydārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfiʿī, kāṭib al-sirr, Damascus</td>
<td>about 30,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 406, 423</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabiʿ II 879/Aug. 1474</td>
<td>al-Sayyid al-Shārīf</td>
<td>nāẓir al-haṣrāf, Damascus</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 498, 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šafar 881/May 1476</td>
<td>Qutb al-Dīn al-Khaydārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfiʿī, kāṭib al-sirr, Damascus</td>
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<td>Dhayl, fol. 271v; Badāʾī’, 3:119</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Nābiḥās</td>
<td>muḥṭasib, Cairo</td>
<td>800 dinars</td>
<td>Tārikh, 76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajab 881/Oct. 1476</td>
<td>Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī ʿAjūn</td>
<td>nāẓir al-āṣrāʾ, nāẓir waqf al-Ruknīyah, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 78</td>
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<td>Rajab 881/Oct. 1476</td>
<td>Jānibak</td>
<td>ḥājib thānī, Damascus</td>
<td>4,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥarram 883/Apr. 1478</td>
<td>Imād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Nāṣirī</td>
<td>nāẓir, mudarris, and other Hanafī functions, Damascus</td>
<td>asking price: 8,000; payment: 7,000 dinars</td>
<td>Hawādith, 1:221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawwāl 883/Dec. 1478</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm ibn Shādī Bak al-Julubbānī</td>
<td>kāšif, al-Ḥawlān</td>
<td>10,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25This person is likewise designated by the expression Ibn al-Khwājā bi-khān al-nashshārīn.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Office/Location</th>
<th>Amounts/Methods of Payment</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dhu‘ al-Qa‘dah 885/Jan. 1481</td>
<td>Muḥīb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf</td>
<td>qādī al-quḍāḥ ḥanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:28; Mufākahah, 1:30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sāfar 886/ Mar. 1481</td>
<td>Shiḥāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr</td>
<td>qādī al-quḍāḥ shāfī‘ī, nāẓīr al-jaṣṣ, wakīl al-sultān, nāẓīr al-qal‘ah, Damascus</td>
<td>32,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:49; Mufākahah, 1:36-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāfar 886/ Mar. 1481</td>
<td>Salāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-qal‘ah, wakīl al-sultān, Damascus</td>
<td>26,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:51; Mufākahah, 1:37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādá I 886/June 1481</td>
<td>Ilbāy</td>
<td>dawādār, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:64; Mufākahah, 1:42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādá I 886/July 1481</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Ghāzī</td>
<td>nā‘īb qādī al-quḍāḥ shāfī‘ī, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sha‘bān 886/Sept. 1481</td>
<td>‘Imād al-Dīn Iṣmā‘īl al-Nāṣirī</td>
<td>qādī al-quḍāḥ ḥanafī and other offices, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:82</td>
</tr>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Office/Location</td>
<td>Amounts/Methods of Payment</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sha‘bân 886/ Sept. 1481</td>
<td>Fakhr al-Dîn al-Hamawi</td>
<td>nā‘îb qâdî al-quoṭâh shâfi‘î, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta‘lîq, 1:83; Mufâkahah, 1:50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhû al-Hijjah 886/Jun. 1482</td>
<td>Qijmâs</td>
<td>nā‘îb, Damascus</td>
<td>100,000 dinars</td>
<td>Wajîz, 3:1014–15</td>
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<td>Safar 887/ Mar. 1482</td>
<td>Muhammad al-‘Azâma</td>
<td>nâζîr al-awqâf, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 319; Badâ‘i‘, 3:192</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumâdâ II 889/ June 1484</td>
<td>Qâsîm Shughaytah</td>
<td>vizier, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 336v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumâdâ II 889/ June 1484</td>
<td>Taqî al-Dîn ibn Qâdî Zura‘</td>
<td>nā‘îb al-ḥukm, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta‘lîq, 1:370; Mufâkahah, 1:63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajab 889/ July 1484</td>
<td>Shihâb al-Dîn al-‘Azâzi</td>
<td>nā‘îb qâdî al-quoṭâh shâfi‘î, Damascus</td>
<td>80 or 400 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘lîq, 1:380; Mufâkahah, 1:63</td>
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<td>Rajab 889/ July 1484</td>
<td>Shams al-Dîn ibn al-Muzalliâq</td>
<td>qâdî al-quoṭâh shâfi‘î, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘lîq, 1:380; Mufâkahah, 1:64</td>
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<td>Sha‘bân 889/ Aug. 1484</td>
<td>Sharaf al-Dîn ibn al-Baqarî</td>
<td>nâζîr al-awqâf, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 337</td>
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<td>Dhû al-Qa‘dah 889/Nov. 1484</td>
<td>Mûsâ ibn Shâhîn ibn al-Turjumân</td>
<td>naqîb al-jaysh, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Wajîz, 3:951</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sha‘bân 890/ Aug. 1485</td>
<td>Shihâb al-Dîn al-‘Azâzi</td>
<td>nîb qâdî al-quoṭâh shâfi‘î, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta‘lîq, 1:508</td>
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<td>Sha‘bân 890/ Aug. 1485</td>
<td>Shihâb al-Dîn al-Himşî</td>
<td>nîb al-ḥukm, Damascus</td>
<td>cash + livestock</td>
<td>Ibid., 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha‘bân 890/ Aug. 1485</td>
<td>Badr al-Dîn ibn Ajâ</td>
<td>qâdî al-quoṭâh ḥanaﬁ, Aleppo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fols. 346v–347</td>
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10 Appears as al-‘Azâzi in the Ta‘lîq and as al-‘Adhâwî in the Mufâkahah.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Office/Location</th>
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<td>Muḥammad ibn Shāhīn</td>
<td>nāʿ ib al-qalʿah, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars</td>
<td>Muḥākahah, 1:72</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa’dah 891/Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Amīn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī</td>
<td>kāṭīb al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>4,000 dinars</td>
<td>Taḥrīkh, 115–16</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa’dah 891/Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>14,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 116</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa’dah 891/ Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Ṣālāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAdawī</td>
<td>wakīl al-suṭṭān, nāẓīr al-dhakhīrāh, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
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<td>Muḥarram 892/ Dec. 1486</td>
<td>Ibāy</td>
<td>nāʿ ib, Ṣafad</td>
<td>20,000 dinars</td>
<td>Muḥākahah, 1:73</td>
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<td>Ramadān 892/ Aug. 1487</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Dahānāh</td>
<td>shaykh al-jāmiʿ, al-Muʾayyadī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 366v; Badāʾiʾ, 3:243</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ramadān 892/ Aug. 1487</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī</td>
<td>shaykh, al-Khashshābīyāh, Cairo</td>
<td>about 2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Waḥīz, 3:1009; Dhayl, fols. 366v–367; Badāʾiʾ, 3:243</td>
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<td>Šafar 893/ Jan. 1488</td>
<td>Duqmāq al-Sayfī Ināl al-Asḥqār</td>
<td>nāʿ ib, Jerusalem</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 372; Badāʾiʾ, 3:247</td>
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<td>Rabī’ I 893/ Feb. 1488</td>
<td>ʿAbd al-Rahīm al-Ḥamawī</td>
<td>kāṭīb al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fols. 372v–373; Badāʾiʾ, 3:248</td>
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<td>Rabī’ II 893/ Mar. 1488</td>
<td>Aydākī</td>
<td>nāʿ ib al-qalʿah, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars, payment in two parts</td>
<td>Taḥrīkh, 126; Muḥākahah, 1:87</td>
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<td>Ramadān 893/ Aug. 1488</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir</td>
<td>kāṭīb al-sīr, Cairo</td>
<td>cash + part of inheritance</td>
<td>Badāʾiʾ, 3:255</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Shawwāl 893/Sept. 1488</td>
<td>Muhībb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-jaysh, nāẓīr al-jawālī, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 or 20,000 dinars</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 130; Ḥawādīth, 1:321–22; Mufākahah, 1:99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajab 895/May 1490</td>
<td>Yūsuf ibn al-Minqār</td>
<td>kāṭib al-sīr̲r̲, nāẓīr al-jaysh, nāẓīr al-qal‘ah, nāẓīr al-bīmārīstān, Aleppo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Wajīz, 3:1139</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shawwāl 895/Aug. 1490</td>
<td>Muhībb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf</td>
<td>qādī al-qudāh ḥanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:130</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah 895/Sept. 1490</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Šayrāfī</td>
<td>mudarris shāfī‘ī, al-Shaykhūnīyāh, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajab 896/May 1491</td>
<td>Burḥān al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭb</td>
<td>qādī al-qudāh ḥanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 147; Mufākahah, 1:140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sha‘bān 896/June 1491</td>
<td>a jūl̲b̲ān</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Ḫiṣn al-Akrād</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 403</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah 897/Aug. 1492</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Ḥaq al-Sunbātī</td>
<td>mudarris, al-Mansūriyāh, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Wajīz, 3:1261</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah 897/Aug. 1492</td>
<td>Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā‘ah</td>
<td>khaṭīb, shaykh al-shuyūkh khānqāh, Jerusalem</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 1262</td>
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<tr>
<td>Safar 898/Nov. 1492</td>
<td>Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Ṣahyūn</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Badā‘i’, 3:294</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādā II 902/Feb. 1497</td>
<td>Muhībb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf</td>
<td>kāṭib al-sīr̲r̲, nāẓīr al-jaysh, nāẓīr al-jawālī, nāẓīr al-qal‘ah, Damascus</td>
<td>1,000 horses</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Office/Location</td>
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<td>Source</td>
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<td>Şafar 906/Aug. 1500</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>7,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 448</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajab 906/Jan. 1501</td>
<td>Burḥān al-Dīn ibn al-Karākā</td>
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<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 471</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Ḥijjah 906/June 1501</td>
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<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Badā‘i’, 4:12; Ḥawādith, 2:127</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qu‘dah 911/Mar. 1506</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>5,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
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<td>Jumādā I 912/Sept. 1506</td>
<td>Fākhr al-Dīn ibn al-‘Afi‘</td>
<td>kāṭib al-mamālik, Cairo</td>
<td>2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhū al-Ḥijjah 915/ Mar. 1510</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, shaykh al-Khashshābiyyah and al-Sharīfiyyah, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 171</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabī‘ I 916/June 1510</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 183</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādā I 916/Aug. 1510</td>
<td>Kāmāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, shaykh al-Khashshābiyyah, al-Sharīfiyyah and al-Baybarsīyyah, Cairo</td>
<td>5,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 189</td>
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<td>Sha‘bān 916/Nov. 1510</td>
<td>‘Alā‘ al-Dīn al-Ramālī</td>
<td>nā‘īb qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, Damascus; mutakallim, al-Haramayn</td>
<td>100 ashrafīs; 150 ashrafīs</td>
<td>Muṣākahah, 1:347</td>
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<td>Şafar 917/Apr. 1511</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Mu‘tāmid</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, Damascus</td>
<td>40 sacks of barley</td>
<td>Ibid., 354</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muḥarram 918/ Mar. 1512</td>
<td>Sharāf al-Dīn ibn Rawq</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-ḥazā‘īn al-sharīfah, mustawfī, Cairo</td>
<td>5,000 dinars</td>
<td>Badā‘i’, 4:257</td>
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<td>Rabī‘ II 918/June 1512</td>
<td>Ṭarāhāy</td>
<td>nā‘īb, Ṣafad</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 267</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<td>Office/Location</td>
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<td>Source</td>
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<td>Rajab 918/Sept. 1512</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfiʿi, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 280–81</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa’dah 918/Fan. 1513</td>
<td>Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfiʿi, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 290</td>
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<td>Rabī’ I 919/May 1513</td>
<td>Shīhāb al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ ḥanbālī, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 305</td>
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<td>Rajab 919/Sept. 1513</td>
<td>Jānim min Wali al-Dīn</td>
<td>nāʿib, Tripoli</td>
<td>60,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 330</td>
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<td>Dhū al-Qa’dah 919/Dec. 1513</td>
<td>Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf</td>
<td>nāẓir al-awqāf al-ḥanafīyah, Damascus</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:378</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabī’ I 920/Apr. 1514</td>
<td>Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr</td>
<td>nāẓir al-dawlah, kāṭib al-mamālīk, mutakallim fi thulth al-wizārah, Cairo</td>
<td>8,000 dinars + 5,000 ardabbs of barley</td>
<td>Badaʿi’, 4:370–71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jumādā I 921/July 1515</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfiʿi, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 460–61</td>
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<td>Jumādā I 921/July 1515</td>
<td>Yūsuf min Sībāy</td>
<td>nāʿib, Sāfād</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 461–62</td>
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<td>Tāhābāy min Yashbak</td>
<td>ḥājib al-ḥujjāb, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 463</td>
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<td>Rajab 921/Aug. 1515</td>
<td>Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ shāfiʿi, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 469</td>
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<td>Shaʿbān 921/Sept. 1515</td>
<td>Taqī al-Dīn al-Qārā</td>
<td>imām, al-Umawī, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:386</td>
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<td>Husām al-Dīn ibn al-Shīḥnāh</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ ḥanafī, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Badaʿi’, 4:477</td>
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<td>Ramadān 921/Oct. 1515</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Damārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāḥ mālikī, Cairo</td>
<td>2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥarram 922/Feb. 1516</td>
<td>Shams al-Dīn al-Sikandārī</td>
<td>imām, Cairo</td>
<td>1,200 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 5:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śafar 922/Mar. 1516</td>
<td>Shīhāb al-Dīn ibn al-Rūmī</td>
<td>imām al-sulṭān, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabī’ I 922/Apr. 1516</td>
<td>Ulmās</td>
<td>wali al-shurṭāḥ, Cairo</td>
<td>41,000 dinars, 20,000 dinars and the balance in staggered payments</td>
<td>Ibid., 26–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabī’ II 922/May 1516</td>
<td>Māmāy al-Ṣughayr</td>
<td>muḥtasib, Cairo</td>
<td>15,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY TYPE OF OFFICE

#### 1. MILITARY FUNCTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Office/Location</th>
<th>Amounts/Methods of Payment</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jumādā II 876/Nov. 1471</td>
<td>Taghribirdi</td>
<td>kāšīf al-jusūr wa-al-damm, al-Sharqīyah</td>
<td>1,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Inbā’, 365</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rajab 876/Dec. 1471</td>
<td>Shāhīn al-Jamālī</td>
<td>shādād, Jidda</td>
<td>20,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rajab 881/Oct. 1476</td>
<td>Jānibāk</td>
<td>ḥājīb thānī, Damascus</td>
<td>4,000 dinars</td>
<td>Tārikh, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shawwāl 883/Dec. 1478</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm ibn Shādī Bak al-Julubbānī</td>
<td>kāšīf, al-Ḥawrān</td>
<td>10,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Hawādīth, 1:226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jumādā I 886/June 1481</td>
<td>Ilbāy</td>
<td>dawādār, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ta’līq, 1:64; Mufākahah, 1:42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dhū al-Hijjah 886/Jan. 1482</td>
<td>Qijmās</td>
<td>nā’īb, Damascus</td>
<td>100,000 dinars</td>
<td>Wajīz, 3:1014–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa’dah 889/Nov. 1484</td>
<td>Mūsā ibn Shāhīn ibn al-Turjumān</td>
<td>naqīb al-jaysh, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dhū al-Hijjah 890/Dec. 1485</td>
<td>Amīr al-Ḥājj ibn Abī al-Faraj</td>
<td>naqīb al-jaysh, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rabi’ I 891/Mar. 1486</td>
<td>Muḥammad ibn Shāhīn</td>
<td>nā’ib al-qal‘ah, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:72</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Muḥarram 892/Dec. 1486</td>
<td>Ilbāy</td>
<td>nā’īb, Ṣafad</td>
<td>20,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 73</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rabi’ II 893/Mar. 1488</td>
<td>Aydākī</td>
<td>nā’īb al-qal‘ah, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars, payment in two parts</td>
<td>Tārikh, 126; Mufākahah, 1:87</td>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sha‘bān 896/June 1491</td>
<td>a julbān</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Hiṣn al-Akrād</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 403</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Śafar 898/Nov. 1492</td>
<td>Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Šahyūn</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Badā‘i‘, 3:294</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rabī‘ II 918/June 1512</td>
<td>Tarābāy</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Sa‘fād</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 4:267</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Rajab 919/Sept. 1513</td>
<td>Jānim min Walī al-Dīn</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Tripoli</td>
<td>60,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 330</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jumādā II 921/July 1515</td>
<td>Yūsuf min Sībāy</td>
<td>nā‘ib, Sa‘fād</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 461–62</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Jumādā II 921/July 1515</td>
<td>Tarābāy min Yashbak</td>
<td>ḥājib al-hujjāb, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 463</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Rabī‘ I 922/Feb. 1516</td>
<td>Ulmās</td>
<td>wali al-shurtah, Cairo</td>
<td>41,000 dinars, 20,000 dinars and the balance in staggered payments</td>
<td>Ibid., 5:26–27</td>
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</table>
## II. Religious Functions

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Office/Location</th>
<th>Amounts/Methods of Payment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rajab 876/Dec. 1471</td>
<td>Ibn al-‘Ajlūnī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars</td>
<td><em>Inbā’</em>, 390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ramadān 876/Feb. 1472</td>
<td>Qutb al-Dīn al-Khaydārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh ṣāḥīfī, kāṭib al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>about 30,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 406, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rabi’ II 879/Aug. 1474</td>
<td>al-Sayyid al-Sharīf</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-ʿashrāf, Damascus</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 498, 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ẓafar 881/May 1476</td>
<td>Qutb al-Dīn al-Khaydārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh ṣāḥīfī, kāṭib al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 271v; <em>Badā’i’</em>, 3:119</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rabi’ I 881/June 1476</td>
<td>Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Nahḥās</td>
<td>muḥtasīb, Cairo</td>
<td>800 dinars</td>
<td><em>Ṭārīkh</em>, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Muharram 883/Apr. 1478</td>
<td>*Imād al-Dīn Ismā’īl al-Nāṣirī</td>
<td>nāẓīr, muḍarrīs, and other Ḥanafī offices, Damascus</td>
<td>asking price: 8,000 payment: 7,000 dinars</td>
<td><em>Hawādīth</em>, 1:221</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Office/Location</td>
<td>Amounts/Methods of Payment</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah</td>
<td>Muḥiib al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf</td>
<td>qādī al-qudāḥ hānafī, Damascus</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:28;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>885/Jan. 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>885/Feb. 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>parts</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Śafar 886/</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfir</td>
<td>qādī al-qudāḥ shāfī‘ī, nāẓir</td>
<td>32,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:49;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mar. 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td>al-jaysh, wakīl al-sulṭān,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:36–37</td>
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<td>nāẓir al-qal‘ah, Damascus</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Śafar 886/</td>
<td>Shalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī</td>
<td>nāẓir al-qal‘ah, wakīl al-sulṭān,</td>
<td>26,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:51;</td>
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<td>Mar. 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:37</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Rabī‘ I 886/</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfir</td>
<td>qādī al-qudāḥ shāfī‘ī, nāẓir</td>
<td>30,000 dinars</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apr. 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td>al-jaysh, nāẓir al-qal‘ah,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wakīl al-sulṭān, Damascus</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Jumādā II 886/</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Ghāzī</td>
<td>nā‘ib qādī al-qudāḥ shāfī‘ī,</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sha‘bān 886/</td>
<td>‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-</td>
<td>qādī al-qudāḥ hānafī and other</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:82</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1481</td>
<td>Nāṣirī</td>
<td>offices, Damascus</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Sha‘bān 886/</td>
<td>Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī</td>
<td>nā‘ib qādī al-qudāḥ shāfī‘ī,</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:83;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1481</td>
<td></td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:50</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Office/Location</td>
<td>Amounts/Methods of Payment</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>19 Saffar 887/ Mar. 1482</td>
<td>Muḥammad al-ʿAzām</td>
<td>nāẓir al-awqāf, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 319; Badā‘i’, 3:192</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>21 Jumādā 2 889/ June 1484</td>
<td>Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qādī Zura‘</td>
<td>nā‘īb al-ḥukm, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta’liq, 1:370; Mufākahah, 1:63</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22 Rajab 889/ July 1484</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzaẓī</td>
<td>nā‘īb qādī al-quadāh shāfi‘ī, Damascus</td>
<td>80 or 400 dinars</td>
<td>Ta’liq, 1:380; Mufākahah, 1:63</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>23 Rajab 889/ July 1484</td>
<td>Shams al-Dīn al-Muzallīq</td>
<td>qādī al-quadāḥ shāfi‘ī, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta’liq, 1:380; Mufākahah, 1:64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>25 Sha‘bān 889/ Aug. 1484</td>
<td>Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Baqārī</td>
<td>nāẓir al-awqāf, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 337</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>26 Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzaẓī</td>
<td>nā‘īb qādī al-quadāh shāfi‘ī, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ta’liq, 1:508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>27 Sha‘bān 890/ Aug. 1485</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī</td>
<td>nā‘īb al-ḥukm, Damascus</td>
<td>cash + livestock</td>
<td>Ibid., 511</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Office/Location</td>
<td>Amounts/Methods of Payment</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah 891/Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī</td>
<td>qādī al-qaḍāh ḥanāfī, Damascus</td>
<td>14,000 dinars</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 116</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah 891/Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī</td>
<td>wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓīr al-dhakhīrāh, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Ramaḍān 892/Aug. 1487</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī</td>
<td>shaykh al-Khashshābīyāh, Cairo</td>
<td>about 2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Wajīz, 3:1009; Dhayl, fols. 366v–367; Badā‘ī, 3:243</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Safar 895/Dec. 1489</td>
<td>Sīrāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayrāfī</td>
<td>mudarris al-Shāmiyyah al-Barrānīyāh, Damascus</td>
<td>600 dinars</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 140; Ḥawādhīth, 1:321–22; Mufa‘akahah, 1:115</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Shawwāl 895/Aug. 1490</td>
<td>Muḥībb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf</td>
<td>qādī al-qaḍāh ḥanāfī, Damascus</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Mufa‘akahah, 1:130</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dah 895/Sept. 1490</td>
<td>Shīhāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrāfī</td>
<td>mudarris shāfī‘ī al-Shaykhūnīyāh, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 398</td>
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<th>Amounts/Methods of Payment</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Rajab 896/ May 1491</td>
<td>Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Qutb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh hanafī, Damascus</td>
<td>2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ṭārīkh, 147; Mufākahah, 1:140</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dāh 897/ Aug. 1492</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Haqq al-Sunbāṭī</td>
<td>mudarris al-Manṣūrīyah, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Wajīz, 3:1261</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Dhū al Qa‘dāh 897/ Aug. 1492</td>
<td>Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā‘ah</td>
<td>khaṭīb, shaykh al-shuyūkh khānqāh, Jerusalem</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 1262</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Rabī‘ I 904/ Nov. 1498</td>
<td>Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī</td>
<td>nāẓir al-bimāristān al-Manṣūrī, wakīl al-sultān, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ḥawādīth, 2:61</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Safar 906/ Aug. 1500</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>7,000 dinars</td>
<td>Badā‘i‘, 3:448</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Rajab 906/ Jan. 1501</td>
<td>Burḥān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh hanafī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Dhū al-Hijjah 906/ June 1501</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Badā‘i‘, 4:12; Ḥawādīth, 2:127</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Jumādā I 911/ Sept. 1505</td>
<td>Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Badā‘i‘, 4:91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qa‘dāh 911/Mar. 1506</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi‘ī, Cairo</td>
<td>5,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Dhū al-Ḥijjah 915/ Mar. 1510</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, shaykh al-Khashshābīyah and al-Sharīfīyah, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Rabī’ I 916/ June 1510</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 183</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Jumādā I 916/ Aug. 1510</td>
<td>Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl</td>
<td>qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, shaykh al-Khashshābīyah, al-Sharīfīyah, and al-Baybarsīyah, Cairo</td>
<td>5,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 189</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>Sha’bān 916/ Nov. 1510</td>
<td>‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ramlī</td>
<td>nā’ib qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, Damascus; mutakallim, al-Ḥaramayn</td>
<td>100 ashrāfīs 150 ashrāfīs</td>
<td>Mufākahah, 1:347</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Mu’tamīd</td>
<td>qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, Damascus</td>
<td>40 sacks of barley</td>
<td>Ibid., 354</td>
</tr>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511</td>
<td>Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dūbānī al-Ruḥaybī</td>
<td>nā’ib qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, Damascus</td>
<td>200 ashrāfīs</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Rajab 918/ Sept. 1512</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ḍādī’ī’, 4:280–81</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Dhū al-Qu‘dah 918/ Jan. 1513</td>
<td>Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl</td>
<td>qāḍī al-ṣudūr shāfī’ī, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 290</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>Rabī’ I 919/ May 1513</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shishāni</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qudāh ḥanbalī, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 305</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Jumādā II 921/ July 1515</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qudāh shāfi’ī, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td><em>Badā’i’</em>, 4:460–61</td>
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<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Rajab 921/ Aug. 1515</td>
<td>Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qudāh shāfi’ī, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 469</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Sha’bān 921/ Sept. 1515</td>
<td>Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā</td>
<td>imām al-Umawī, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td><em>Mufākahah</em>, 1:386</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>Ramadān 921/ Oct. 1515</td>
<td>Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn al-Shihānah</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qudāh ḥanafī, Cairo</td>
<td>3,000 dinars</td>
<td><em>Badā’i’</em>, 4:477</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Ramadān 921/ Oct. 1515</td>
<td>Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Damīrī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qudāh mālikī, Cairo</td>
<td>2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>Muḥarram 922/ Feb. 1516</td>
<td>Shams al-Dīn al-Sikandārī</td>
<td>imām, Cairo</td>
<td>1,200 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 5:13</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Safar 922/ Mar. 1516</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Rūmī</td>
<td>imām al-sulṭān, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 15</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Rabī’ II 922/ May 1516</td>
<td>Māmāy al-Ṣughayr</td>
<td>muḥtasib, Cairo</td>
<td>15,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 27</td>
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### III. Administrative Functions

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jumādā I 874/Nov. 1469</td>
<td>Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Hayṣam</td>
<td>mustawfi al-khāṣṣ, Cairo</td>
<td>1,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Inbā’, 152</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Jumādā I 875/Oct. 1470</td>
<td>Qāsim ibn al-Qārāfī</td>
<td>vizier, Cairo</td>
<td>20,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 226</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Rajab 876/Dec. 1471</td>
<td>Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān</td>
<td>šayrafī, Jidda</td>
<td>10,000 weighed dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 383</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Ramadān 876/Feb. 1472</td>
<td>Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qūḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, kāṭib al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>about 30,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 406, 423</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Śafer 881/May 1476</td>
<td>Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍārī</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qūḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, kāṭib al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 271v; Badā‘i’, 3:119</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Śafer 886/Mar. 1481</td>
<td>Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farḍīr</td>
<td>qāḍī al-qūḍāḥ shāfi‘ī, nāẓir al-jaysh, wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-qal‘ah, Damascus</td>
<td>32,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:49; Mufākakah, 1:36–37</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Śafer 886/Mar. 1481</td>
<td>Śalāh al-Dīn al-‘Adawī</td>
<td>nāẓir al-qal‘ah, wakīl al-sulṭān, Damascus</td>
<td>26,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ta‘līq, 1:51; Mufākakah, 1:37</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Jumādā II 889/June 1484</td>
<td>Qāsim Shughayṭah</td>
<td>vizier, Cairo</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Dhayl, fol. 336v</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Dhu‘ al-Qa‘dah 891/Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Zayn al-Dīn al-Hasbānī</td>
<td>kāṭib al-sīr, Damascus</td>
<td>4,000 dinars</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 115–16</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Dhu‘ al-Qa‘dah 891/Nov. 1486</td>
<td>Šalāḥ al-Dīn al-‘Adawī</td>
<td>wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-dhakhīrah, Damascus</td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>Ibid., 116</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Ramadān 893/Aug. 1488</td>
<td>Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir</td>
<td>kātib al-sīr, Cairo</td>
<td>cash + part of inheritance</td>
<td>Badā‘i’, 3:255</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Shawwāl 893/Sept. 1488</td>
<td>Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-jāysh, nāẓīr al-jāwālī, Damascus</td>
<td>10,000 or 20,000 dinars</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 140; Hawādīth, 1:321–22; Mufākahah, 1:99</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Jumādā II 902/ Feb. 1497</td>
<td>Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf</td>
<td>kātib al-sīr, nāẓīr al-jāysh, nāẓīr al-jāwālī, nāẓīr al-qal‘ah, Damascus, Aleppo</td>
<td>1,000 horses</td>
<td>Tārīkh, 202</td>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Jumādā I 912/Sept. 1506</td>
<td>Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-‘Afīf</td>
<td>kātib al-mamālīk, Cairo</td>
<td>2,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 4:99</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Muḥarram 918/Mar. 1512</td>
<td>Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Rawq</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-khāzā‘īn al-sharīfah, mustawfī, Cairo</td>
<td>5,000 dinars</td>
<td>Ibid., 257</td>
</tr>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Rabī’ I 920/Apr. 1514</td>
<td>Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr</td>
<td>nāẓīr al-dawlah, kātib al-mamālīk, mutakallim fī thulth al-wizārah, Cairo</td>
<td>8,000 dinars + 5,000 ardābbs of barley</td>
<td>Ibid., 370–71</td>
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